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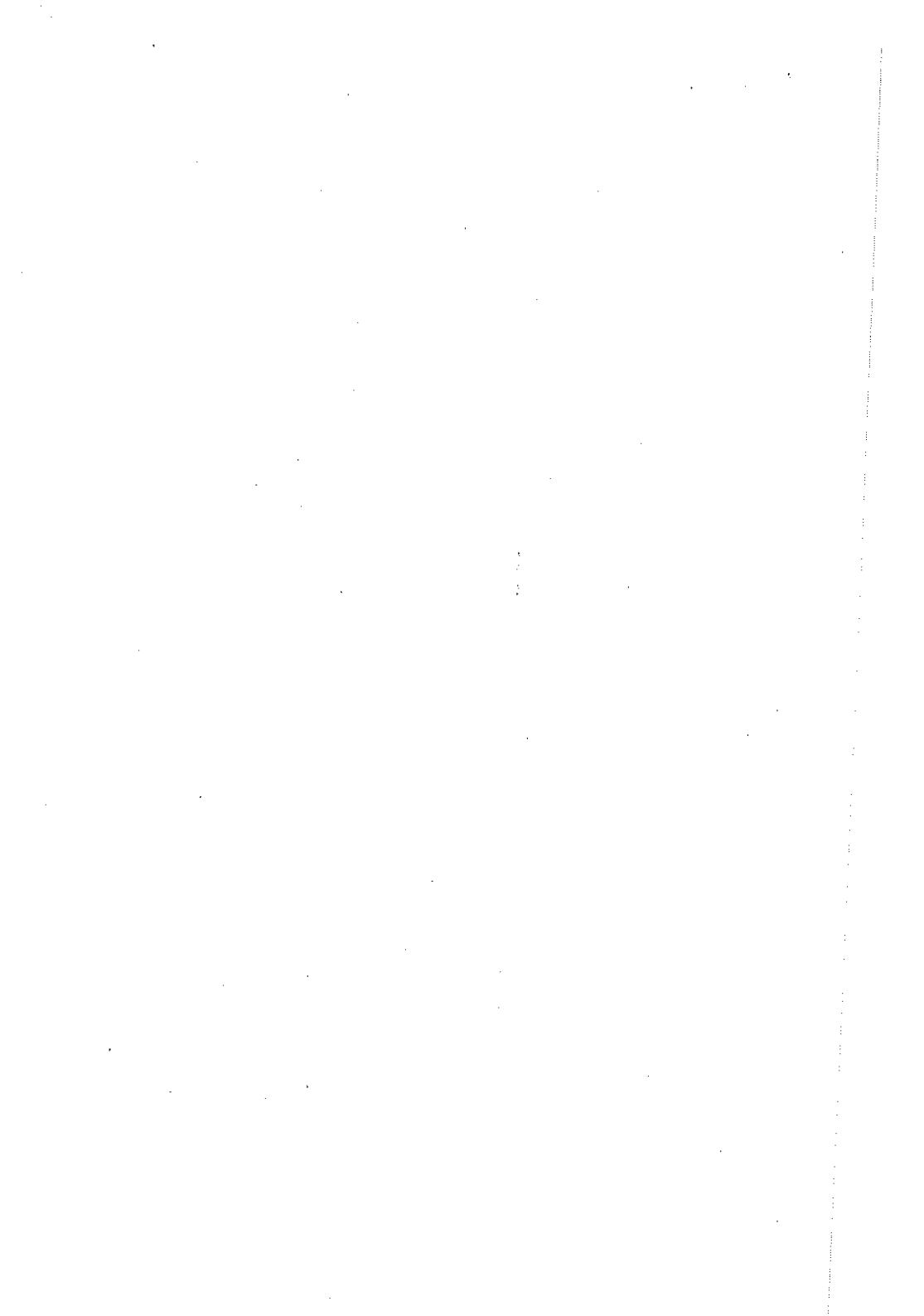
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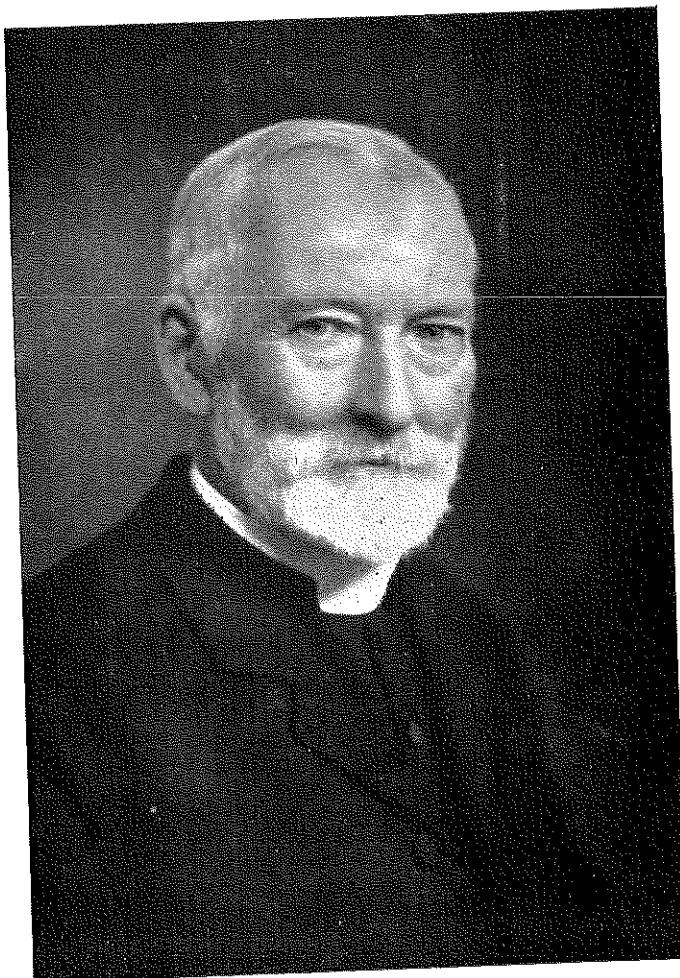
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REV. W. G. D. FLETCHER, M.A., F.S.A.

## WHITE LADIES.

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

In an open field, and approached by a drive through a wood leading from the main road between Tong and Boscobel are the ruins of the once prosperous Convent of White Ladies.<sup>1</sup>

When it was founded nearly 800 years ago, it was hidden away in the vast Royal Forest of Brewood. Leland described it as situated in the "very Marche of Shropshire;" and Tanner says the parish in which it stands is "part in Shropshire and part in Staffordshire," so that White Ladies is in Shropshire, "and its neighbour Black Ladies (two miles distant) in Staffordshire."

These scanty ruins, little more than the bare walls of the Nuns' church, are all that remain of the Convent which for 350 years had been the home of the White Nuns of Brewood Forest.

<sup>1</sup>In 1651. The church, although it survived the dissolution, was unfortunate enough to be destroyed by fire, when the troops of the Parliament, in hot pursuit of Charles II, wreaked their vengeance upon it, when they found that he had escaped from his temporary refuge in the house adjoining.

The story of the Convent commences somewhere late in the 12th century. It was probably founded by a scion of some noble and wealthy family who gradually gathered around her ladies, like herself, of gentle birth attracted by the simple happy lives of those who lived in cloistered homes. Like the Abbess of Wherwell she "built a place set apart for the refreshment of "the soul, for the Glory of God, and for the weal of both the "souls and bodies of her sisters in health and sickness."

One of the earliest references to the Convent is in 1186, when Ema de Pulverbach granted a virgate of land to White Ladies, giving the remainder of her land to Haughton Abbey.

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<sup>1</sup>. This paragraph is explained and modified on page 13, where the date of the destruction of the church is considered.

No Chartulary or Seal of the House is known to exist, but the endowments collectively warrant the idea that the property of the Sisterhood was acquired by gradual and small instalments, and that each item represents the encouragement of some female member of a wealthy or powerful family to the service of religion.

White Ladies was entirely independent of any parochial or manorial authority. The sisterhood elected their own Superior, and the Bishop confirmed, or cancelled the choice. The Bishop in general exercised a certain degree of supervision, and any matters of dispute or complaint were referred to him for settlement.

The following incidents of interest may be referred to, in a brief chronological review—

In 1326. Bishop Roger de Northburgh wrote a letter directing that search be made for Elizabeth de la Zouche, a grand-daughter of the great Alec de la Zouche, and Alice de Kellenhal, Nuns regularly professed to the house, who had left the Convent. In 1332, one of the missing Nuns re-appeared and makes her confession before the Bishop in Brewood Church, and petitions before the Convent gate to be re-admitted : after which the Bishop gives her absolution, and admits her to penance.

In 1338, complaints reached the Bishop of laxity in the rule of the house. In the letter then sent to him, there is a phrase "expensæ voluptariae" which may be translated as meaning that "too much was being spent on pleasure and enjoyment." The letter further charged the sisterhood with keeping dogs, "canes venatici," the kind that might be used for hunting wild animals. This does not necessarily mean that they took part in the chase, but rather that they allowed their out-door staff, servants and retainers to keep such hunting dogs within the precincts of the convent. The Bishop may have thought that the presence of these animals, the feeding, breeding, and noise of barking, etc. would introduce an atmosphere of worldliness into what was essentially a house of silence, prayer and recollections since dogs, particularly puppies, would naturally attract the interest and affection of the sisters who

might be inclined to spend time and money on the puppies, all of which would distract their attention from their religious duties.

1332. That the Bishop of the Diocese had kept control over the appointment of the prioress is evident from the following. In 1332, the position having become vacant owing to the resignation of Dame Alice de Huggefond, the Sub-Prioress summoned a Meeting in the Chapter House, in which it was agreed to elect a prioress by scrutiny, the election falling on Dame Alice de Harlegh one of the community. On this being reported to him, the Bishop ordered an enquiry, and finding the process of election by scrutiny to be informal, cancelled it altogether and instead, he appointed Dame Alice de Harlegh to be prioress, on the grounds that he "had heard of the many 'virtues by which the said Alice is recommended to the Office.'" Sir Richard Mory, Chaplain, received the Bishop's mandate to induct her; and she held the office until her death in 1349, when Beatrice de Dene succeeded her.

The story of successive appointments is continued, with additions to the endowments and properties which the sisterhood acquired, until the end came and White Ladies was surrendered to the Crown on the 27, Henry VIII, 1536. At this date the net income was £17 10s. 8d. and the demesne lands at White Ladies contributed £6 13s. 4d. gross income. The balance was made up by rents from Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire and some other counties. Amongst the outgoings was a chief rent of Ten shillings to the Lord of Donyngton. An annual fee of sixteen shillings and eightpence to Thomas Giffard Esq. the Seneschal, and a salary of £5 to the Chaplain, who by appointment of the nuns, performed service within the Convent, and prayed for the souls of the Founders.

At the dissolution, there were only six nuns in the house—Dame Margaret Stamford being prioress. By an order of Henry VIII "all those religious persons were set at liberty," it being provided that they "were to have such apparel as secular women 'wore, and to go whither they liked best."

We have still with us a reminder of this late period, in an elaborate piece of embroidery, ornamented with cherubs and

other designs, now preserved in the Vestry of Tong church, which is supposed to have been the work of the ladies of this Convent.

On this income, a pension of £5 was assigned to the Prioress, and the "Scite was granted in 31. Henry VIII. to William Whorwood," from whom it passed into the possession of the Giffard family, with whose descendants it has remained to the present day.

The actual area of the Convent surroundings is not known, but an area of about 1 Acre has been marked off with boundary stones by the present owner, Lord Stafford of Swynnerton Park, Staffordshire.

Dugdale in Vol. V. page 730 of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* gives a detailed account of the various sources of revenue.

#### CÖNOBIUM DE BREWOOD.

##### NUM 1.

VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS 26. HENRY VIII.  
MONASTERIUM ALBARUM MONIALIUM DE BREWOOD.  
in COMITATU SALOPIÆ.

SUMMA TOTALIS VALORIS MONASTERII PRÆDICTI	£31	1	4
SUMMA TOTALIS REPRISARUM	£13	10	8
ET REMANET CLARE	£17	10	8

##### NUM 2.

COMPUT MINISTRORUM DOMINI REGIS. TEMP.  
HENRY VIII. ABSTRACT OF ROLL 28. HENRY  
VIII. AUGMENTATION OFFICE.

#### BREWOOD ALBÆ MONIALES.

	£	s.	d.
COM. SALOP. BRIDGNORTH. LIB. REDDIT.	3	0	
COM. STAFFORD. BEKEBURY .. ..	6	8	
COM. SALOP. ERCALL .. ..	6	8	
BROMEHALL .. ..	5	0	
BRINSFORTE .. ..	3	0	
INGWARDEN .. ..	13	1	
HOPTON .. ..	0	6	

BRIDGNORTH. REDDIT. CROFT. ETC.	2	0
RIGGE. REDD. TENEMENTI	1	4
CHETWALL. — TEN. ET TERR.	1	0
ABRITON. — TERR.	3	0
BEKBURY. — CROFT.	2	0
SALOP. — MESSUAGE	5	0
HAUGHTON. — TERR.	6	8
ST. MARGARET CLEE. — CROFT.	1	4
HIGSLEY. FIRM. MES. ET MOL.	1	10
SUTTON MADOK ET BREWOOD. MESSUAGE ET TERR.	16	0
BEXBRUE. FIRMA. TERR.	10	0
BRIDGNORTH. FIRMA. ET TERRA.	6	0
BERETON. FIRMA TERR.	8	0
FIDESTELL. FIRMA. ET TERR.	1	0
HOMEPESTON. FIRMA. COT. ET TERR.	7	6
RIGGE. FIRMA. ET MES.	15	0
DONYNGTON. FIRMA. ET TERR.	12	0
BREWOOD. MANER. ET TERR. DNICAL.	10	9
COM. NOT. CALVERTON. DIVERS REDD. ET FIRM.	2	0
COM. SALOP. MONTFORD. FIRMA. RECTOR.	8	0
COM. DERB. TYDSHULL. FIRMA. RECTOR.	5	6

## PRIORESSES OF BREWOOD. WHITE LADIES.

ALDETHA c. 1225 (Salop, Chartulary No. 376, see Eyton ii, 189)

CECILIA, immediately after ( „ „ „ „ )

AGNES, in 1256.

( „ „ )

SARRA, in 1292.

( „ iii, 208)

JOANNA DE HUGGEFORD in 1331. (Lich. Northburgh Letters iii.21.)

ALICE DE HARLEGH, app. 1332, on resignation of Joanna de Huggeford, (Lich. Northburgh Register ii, 210.)

BEATRICE DE DENE, app. 1349, on death of Alice de Harlegh, (Lich. Northburgh Register ii, 224.)

ELIZABETH CRIGHTON occurs, 1458, (Lich. Boulers Reg. x., 94.)

JOANNA SHIRLEY, app. 1463, on death of Elizabeth Crighton, (Lich. Boulers Reg. xli, 83.)

(occurs also in 1484, see Letters and Papers Henry VIII., 1540, p. 287.)

ELIZABETH HORDE, app. 1485, (Lich. Boulers Reg. xli, 92.)

Also occurs in 1488, (Lich. Boulers Reg. xli, 93.)

ALICE WOOD, appt. confirmed 1491, (Lich. Boulers Reg. xiii, 122.)

resigned 1498, (Lich. Boulers Reg. xiii, 225)

(Still alive in 1541, see Letters and Papers Henry VIII, 1541. App. I, 731.)

MARGARET COWPER, app. 1498, (Lich. Boulers Reg. xlii, 225.)

probably—Margery mentioned in 1499.

and —MARGARET STAMFORD who occurs 1519 and 1529.

(Letters and Papers, Henry VIII. (for those years) and in Valor. Eccl. 1534.

The last Prioress.

#### CISTERCIAN OR AUGUSTINIAN.

Black Ladies was a Benedictine foundation. It was a smaller house, and of correspondingly lesser endowment and influence. The Convent of White Ladies was dedicated to St. Leonard, a Saint of French origin, who, as a hermit was associated with forest areas, such as Brewood was at the time of the foundation of the convent. It has been generally assumed to have been attached to the Cistercian order, and the Roman Catholic authorities have believed it to be Cistercian; this tradition has been widely accepted in modern times.

But an examination of the Magnum Registrum Album, and extracts made by the William Salt Library show that in their own deeds and in the various grants made to the Convent they are described as Augustinians. A deed in the collection at Stafford is a typical example:—

“ The Prioress and Convent of White Nuns of the Augustinian  
“ order of St. Leonard, unanimously consent to the parish church  
“ of Tibshelf (Derbyshire) now vacant, the patronage of which  
“ belongs to them in right, to be given to Walter de Langton,  
“ Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, to be ordered by him accord-  
“ ing to his will and pleasure.”

The enrolment of the Tibshelf Charter and similar documents can be seen at Lichfield.

The Register of Richard Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford 1283-1317, *Cantilupe Society*, page 454, has the following entry:—  
License to the Prioress and Convent of the White Nuns of Brewood, Coventry and Lichfield Diocese of *the order of St. Augustine*, to appropriate the parish church of Bold (now in the parish of Aston Botterell. May 11, 1310.)

An extract from her Notes has been contributed by Miss Garbett, Librarian, William Salt Library.

Bishop Hales' Register 1459-1493, Act Book, Vol. XII, Fol. 122d.), Confirmation of the Prioress of White Ladies 1491-2. Item XXV — die mensis Februarii Anno Domini

mo

Millesimo CCCC — monagesimo primo in Domo  
Capitulari Prioratus Sancti Leonardi albarum  
monialium de Brewoode ordinis Sancti Augustiani  
Conventrensis et Lichfeldensis diocesis in  
presencia dominorum Johannis Bromhill et Thome  
Longworth Capellanorum.

<sup>2</sup>Abbot Gasquet has stated on the other hand—that the “Convent ‘at Grace Dieu in Leicestershire, was the only religious house ‘of Augustinian Nuns in England.” Possibly on the statement made by the Convent authorities to Henry VIII. commissioners.

I had the privilege of submitting the above evidence to Professor Hamilton Thompson, who kindly allows me to quote from his letter in reply:—

“Miss Garbett's citation is a valuable piece of evidence to which no doubt additions could be made from other documents in episcopal registers. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that there may be medieval authority for calling them Cistercian. Apart from episcopal supervision, medieval nunneries in England seem to have been left very much to themselves, and there was very little cohesion, if any, between nunneries nominally of the same order. There is certainly evidence that there was occasional doubt as to what order a nunnery

<sup>2</sup> *English Monastic Life* by Abbot Gasquet; p. 158.

Haughmond Abbey is stated to have been a house of Augustinian Canons.

belonged. Thus St. Michael's Priory at Stamford is called indifferently Benedictine and Cistercian in fifteenth-century documents ; and, if there was this confusion between orders which wore habits of different hues, it is much more likely that two which had very similar habits would be liable to confusion.

I do not know how Cardinal Casquet was misled into the idea that Grace Dieu was the only house of Augustinian nuns in England. There were no less than thirteen others about which there is no possible doubt, viz. the two abbeys of Burnham (Bucks) and Lacock (Wilts), and the priories of Harrold (Beds), Cornworthy (Devon), Aconbury, Lymbrook (Hereford), Dartford (Kent), Crabhouse (Norfolk), Rothwell (Northants), Goring (Oxon), Minchin Buckland (Somerset), Campsey, Flixton (Suffolk). There were nine in the northern province, and of the fourteen five were in Lincoln Diocese, three in Norwich, two in Hereford, and one each in Bath and Wells, Exeter, Rochester and Salisbury. Brewood gives one to Lichfield.

The fact that a benefactress made a simultaneous grant to Haughmond and Brewood is not in itself any evidence that both houses followed the same rule. Benefactors sometimes divided their attentions between two orders : thus Walter Espec founded an Augustinian priory at Kirkham and a Cistercian abbey at Rievaulx, and there is the famous story of the foundation on the same day of the nunnery at Lacock and the Charterhouse at Hinton by Ela, Countess of Salisbury. But it is just possible in the circumstances that there was a certain connexion between Haughmond and Brewood.

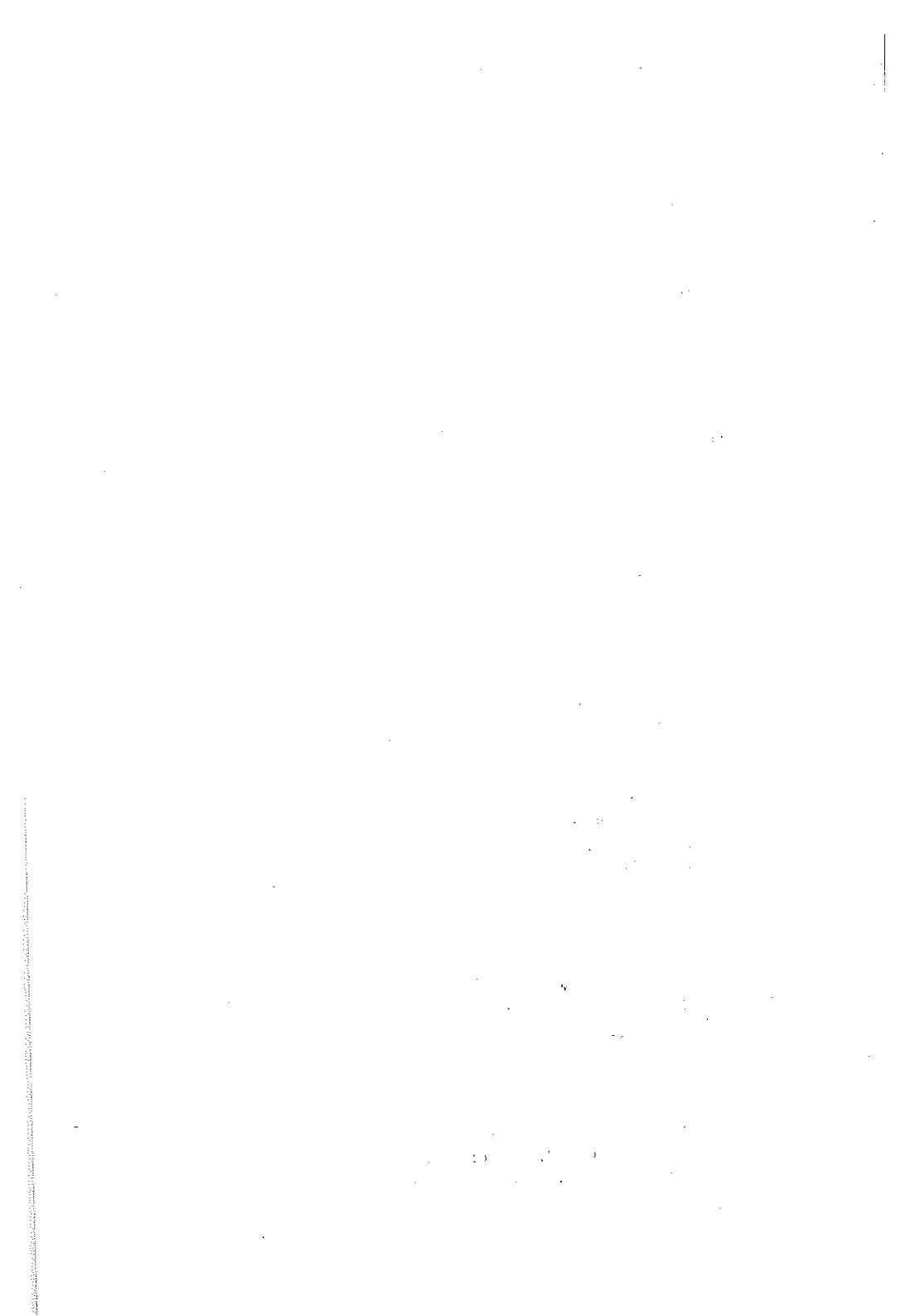
There was more than one attempt in the twelfth century to duplicate a body of canons by attaching a body of nuns to it, on the principle which succeeded in the Gilbertine and later in the Brigitine Order.

The Arroasian congregation of Austin canons, for example, made this experiment, as well as the Premonstratensians. There were two Premonstratensian nunneries in England, Irford (Lincoln) and Brodholme (Notts), and, if I remember right, there are indications that Irford was subordinate to the not far distant abbey of Newhouse. Swine in Yorkshire began life as a Premonstratensian nunnery, but later was reckoned as Cister-



OUR LADYE OF BREWODE.

*Photo by Bates & Hunt.*



cian : and there was for a time a small nunnery at Guyzance in Northumberland, which was in dependence on the Premonstratensian Abbey of Alnwick. There is one good instance of a double house of Augustinians at Marton in the North Riding, from which the nuns subsequently migrated to Moxby, two miles away, where they were always called Benedictine."

I may add that this subject is still more fully dealt with in a paper which Professor Hamilton Thompson contributed to the Report to the Archbishop's Committee on the Ministry of Women.

In view of the foregoing explanation, the question is not radically important whether the nunnery should be described as Augustinian or Cistercian. Legally they were Augustinians, but there was little to distinguish them in their rule and dress from the Cistercians. As the years rolled on, they may have forgotten that they were Augustinians, and counted themselves as part of the great Cistercian order.

#### POST-DISSOLUTION HISTORY.

Looking back over the 350 years of its existence, it is probable that much of the surrounding forest had been cleared, and the land cultivated.

Something like a miniature village may have grown up around the Convent, where the retainers and labourers employed in the service of the sisterhood and the cultivation of the land, would be housed.

A slit in the north wall of the church, made a century or more after its creation, suggests the ringing of the "Sacring Bell" to call those dwelling outside the Convent to prayer. During the stormy period which succeeded the Reformation, the old form of service would be continued in the little church until it was destroyed.

There is no record as to the condition of the buildings or particulars of any furniture, goods or plate that may have been found when the six nuns and their Prioress vacated the Convent.

The story of the Convent appears to end with the surrender in 1536, and nothing is known of its history during the remainder of the century.

The Nunnery with the church and buildings had been granted to William Whorwood, who sold them to Sir John Giffard, the head of the ancient family, attached to the old faith, residing at Chillington, Brewood.

It may be that the Giffard's had converted White Ladies into a farm-stead, making use of the material from the domestic buildings to erect another house.

In 1608 another John Giffard built Boscobel, a short distance away, later to become linked with White Ladies as a refuge for Charles II. after the Battle of Worcester.

An illustration, published in "Blount's Boscobel" - 1660, shows a little of the north wall of White Ladies and the north-west entrance to the church. Further west is a large timber-framed house, with barns and outbuildings behind. It has the appearance of a family mansion, and was approached by an entrance lodge. The precincts were enclosed with a boundary wall. The architecture suggests a date in the latter part of the 16th century, and that it was erected very soon after the dissolution.

The Lodge and some of the Cottages remained until the end of the eighteenth century, but there is nothing left to-day to show where this house stood.

White Ladies ceases to be of interest until 1651 when after the Battle of Worcester, "Mr. Giffard was required to conduct his Majesty to some house neare Boscobel, the better to blind the design of going thither. Mr. Giffard proposed White Ladies (another seat of the Giffard's) lying about half a mile beyond Boscobel, and 26 miles from Worcester, and still retains its ancient name of White Ladies, from its having formerly been a monastery of Cistercian nuns whose habit was of that colour."

"His Majesty and his retinue (being safely conducted to White Ladies by Mr. Giffard) alighted, now, as they hoped out of danger of any present surprise by pursuit; George Pendrel (who was a servant in the house) opened the Dores, and after his Majesty and the Lords were entered the house, his Majesties horse was brought into the hall, and by this time it was about break of day on Thursday morning. Here everyone was in a

sad consult how to escape the fury of blood-thirsty enemies, but the greatest solicitude was to save the king, who was both hungry and tired with this long and hasty march."

"Colonel Roscarrock presently caused Barthol. Martin (a boy in the house) to be sent to Boscobel for William Penderel, and Mr. Charles Giffard sent also for Richard Penderel, who lived near at hand at Hobbal Grange, they both came forthwith to White Ladies, and were brought into the parlour to the Earl of Derby, who immediately took them into the inner parlour, where the king was, and told William Penderel in particular. This is the king (pointing to his Majesty) thou must have a care of him, and preserve him as thou didst me ; to which commands William yielded ready obedience, and Mr. Giffard did also much conjure Richard to have an especial care of his charge.

"Whilst William and Richard were thus sent for, his Majesty had been advised to rub his hands on the back of the chimney, and with them his face, in order to a disguise, and some person had cut off his locks of hair. His Majesty, having put off his blue ribband, buff-coat, and other princely ornaments, put on a noggen coarse shirt of Edward Martins, who lived in the house, and Richard Penderels green suit, and leather doublet, but had not time to be so exactly disguised as he was afterwards ; for both William and Richard Penderel did advertise the Company to make haste away, in regard there was a troop of rebels commanded by Colonel Ashenhurst, quartered at Cotsel, but three miles distant ; some of which troop came to the house within half an hour after the company had gone."

"Richard Penderel conducted the King out at a back dore, unknown to most of the company, (except some of the Lords and Colonel Roscarrock, who waited on his Majesty into the backside, and there with sad hearts took leave of him) and carried him into an adjacent wood belonging to Boscobel, called Spring Coppice, about-half a mile from White Ladies. William, Humphrey and George scouting abroad, and bringing what news they could learn to his Majesty in the wood, as occasion required."

This ends the story of King Charles' visit to White Ladies. A very complete and graphic account of his escape to Boscobel is contained in Rev. J. E. Auden's Charles II. and Tong S.A.S. Transactions Vol. VII. Third Series 1907.

He tells us that the leader of the Parliamentary forces having traced the King and his friends to White Ladies, made a very thorough search of the building shortly after his escape. Tradition avers that not content with ransacking the house, and committing great damage, they revenged themselves by destroying the church. They tore down the woodwork and set fire to the building : they collected the lead from the roof and carried it off to make bullets, and so destroyed all that was left of the ruined church.

In the Lady Chapel of the Church of St. Mary (R.C.) Brewood, a wooden statue of "The Virgin and Infant Christ" stands on the Altar under an alabaster shrine. Tradition says that this statue came from White Ladies and that during the scenes of vandalism which occurred when the church was destroyed, it was sadly maltreated, receiving a sword thrust in the right thigh, and a bullet wound in the back. It was afterwards taken to the Benedictine Convent of Black Ladies, and carefully hidden and venerated until it was occupying the place of an altar-piece in, or about 1786. There it remained until Black Ladies was closed in 1844, when it was transferred to the church at Brewood.

"The Statue is a representation of Our Blessed Lady holding her Divine Son in her arms, the features and colouring being equisitely distinct." From a photograph, a high authority has expressed the opinion that it is not of English workmanship. It might have come from the Low Countries, and is quite possibly the work of a Spanish sculptor.

The age of the statue is unknown, but it has always been said to date from pre-Reformation times, and there seems no reason to doubt this tradition.

#### WHEN WAS THE CHURCH DESTROYED ?

My purpose in writing this paper has been to invite attention to the ruins of White Ladies, to prevent further desecration, and to show cause why the authorities should take control, and preserve what remains from destruction.

The story of the demolition of the building is derived from information supplied to me by those who have had charge of the site since the Dissolution. They have kindly allowed me to make use of the information that they have published. The Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. give some scant information about the property shortly after the Dissolution.

27. HENRY VIII, PAGE 314, 1536. APRIL 28, 749.

Henry, Lord Stafford to the Earl of Westmorland.

If it cannot be had (Renton) pray speak for the White Ladies in Staffordshire. It is only £40 rent by year, and in great decay.

28. HENRY VIII. PAGE 285, 1537, MARCH 12.

Lutcote came down to White Ladies and showed the King's letter for the house, and offered to sell at such a price that no one will buy.

29. HENRY VIII. PAGE 584, 1538, MAY 10. AUG. BOOK 209, f.77.

Lease granted to Wm. Skeffington of Wolverhampton, Staffs.

31. HENRY VIII, PAGE 287, 1540 APRIL.

Grant in fee being part of a larger grant of monastic property in all parts of the country to Wm. Whorwood. The King's Solicitor-General and Margaret his wife, includes:—

(1) By the Crown 10 May, 29. Henry VIII. to Wm. Skeffington of Wolverhampton, Staffs. of the house and site etc. of the late Priory of Brewoode, alias of the nuns alias of St. Leonard, of Brewoode, Salop.

Term 21 years. Rent £10. 9. 6.

It may be, that as at Tintern "the church was the first thing put to spoil," or, it may have been only partially destroyed, and left in such condition that it might be used for service by Wm. Skeffington, his successors, and the little colony of retainers that resided in the surrounding cottages.

Lord Stafford has been good enough to ask Mr. Martin Gillett, who is interested in White Ladies for his opinion; and he sent me an extract from his reply:—

"It is probable that the church was stripped in 1536 and remained disused until the Giffards acquired the property. The statue survived. By tradition the church was used until 1650.

Owing to the fact that recusant priests were in peril of their lives, no lists were kept during the period in question: but several names occur including Rev. Robert Collingwood.”<sup>3</sup>

I have had the advantage of submitting this paper to Prebendary W. G. Clarke-Maxwell, and I very gratefully acknowledge his help and advice. He sums up the differing theories, as follows:—

“ It is perhaps only fair to state, that in the opinion of some, it seems more probable that the Conventual Church was already in ruins by 1651. At the Dissolution in 1536, it was taken into the hands of the royal officials, whose customary procedure was to dismantle the church, sell the lead and bells, and any furniture and fittings that could be disposed of. The domestic buildings being left until a tenant or purchaser could be found. It was not till two years later, in 1538, that the site was let on a 21 years’ lease to William Skeffington of Wolverhampton, who seems to have lived at White Ladies till his death in 1550. He may have inhabited part of the domestic buildings of the Priory, or may have been the builder of the timber-framed house that was standing in 1651. Whorwood, who was Henry VIII’s Solicitor-General, acquired the ownership in 1540, but seems never to have lived at White Ladies. When the Giffards obtained possession, they would no doubt preserve anything that was left; but there would be little then remaining of the Priory Church but the bare walls. Is it possible that the tradition of the burning of the church and injury to the statue refers to some wanton damage done to the private chapel or oratory of the house, by the Parliamentary troops in revenge for their fruitless search? ”

3. S. N. and Q. Sep. 15, 1899.

“ In 1691 the Rev. Robert Collingwood resided at Boscobel, where he was chaplain to the Fitzherberts. He became Superior of S. Chad’s College, and some of S. Chad’s relics were in his keeping. These sacred relics had been recovered by Basil Fitzherbert, of Boscobel, who proved a trusty and jealous guardian; they were finally deposited, and are now carefully preserved, in S. Chad’s Roman Catholic Cathedral, Birmingham. It was the above Basil Fitzherbert who married Jane, daughter and heiress of John Cotton, Esq., of Gedding Abbots, Huntingdonshire, and Boscobel and White Ladies, Shropshire.” J.E.A.

## REGISTER BOOK. KEPT AT BREWOOD.

The following account of the building is copied from the "REGISTER BOOK OF INTERMENTS"—preserved at St. Mary's Rectory, Brewood.

The only visible remains of the Convent are the ruins of the church, which appears to have been of Norman architecture, and built in the form of a cross. The walls now standing are the north walls, the west end, the south wall as far as the transept, and the gable of the south transept. All the other buildings of the Convent have been destroyed, though some of the foundations still remain under ground.

The greater part of the ground that was occupied by the church, as likewise by what appears to have been a chantry chapel in the south-east corner, has been long made use of as a burial place for the congregation at Black Ladies, and a few families in the neighbourhood. Owing to the confined area, and the length of time it had been used, it became necessary to enlarge the cemetery, and accordingly in the year 1834 a small piece of ground adjoining the church on the south side was added to it, containing a space of 20 yards by six. In the same year a new wall to a height of 8 feet was built to enclose that part of both the old and new burial ground, around which the walls of the ruins now extend.

The stones for this purpose were got principally from the foundations of some of the monastic buildings, on the south side of the church. The interior of the cemetery which had been overgrown by weeds and bushes was cleared, and the ground levelled. The expense attending this improvement amounting to upwards of £40.

The length of the church is 114 feet, the breadth 25 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

Length of the transept 70 feet, breadth 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

A plan (copied from this book) shows the Norman cruciform church, the supposed Chantry chapel at the south-east corner, and the area enclosed on the south side in 1838.

The north transept lies open to the meadow.

There is evidence that some bodies have been buried outside the walls, grave stones having been found near the east end under the turf. Two of these appear to have marked the graves of priests: the stones have been removed into the cemetery, on each of them there is a chalice, but no inscription or date.

An Annual Mass for the repose of the souls of those who are buried at White Ladies is said by the nearest officiating priest for which a sum of money has been left.

The donor and his instructions are as follows:—

Rev. Thomas Stone died at Noseley, March 7, 1797. He left £10 to the common purse, the interest of which is to be given to the priest who shall officiate, requiring that he should on the anniversary say mass for the repose of the souls of all those who are buried at White Ladies.

The register also contains the names of the priests in charge of White Ladies from 1651 to the present day; and the names of 120 persons interred between 1669 and 1844 when burials ceased.

The Gentleman's Magazine of 1853, page 504, contains an interesting and amusing account of the destruction of Dame Joan Penderal's tombstone and its replacement, by David Parkes.

Late in the 18th century, the old gate house, used as a labourer's cottage, and two other cottages at the west end were taken down.

#### PRESENT CONDITION OF THE RUINS.

In March, 1934, I visited the ruins with Mr. Forrest: we made a report from which the particulars as follows are extracted:—

"From the road the building has the appearance of a mass of Ivy, with which the walls are heavily clothed. The floor area shows signs of litter, and damage caused by animals; and by parties of trippers, picnickers, and youths, who frequent the ruins during the summer months.



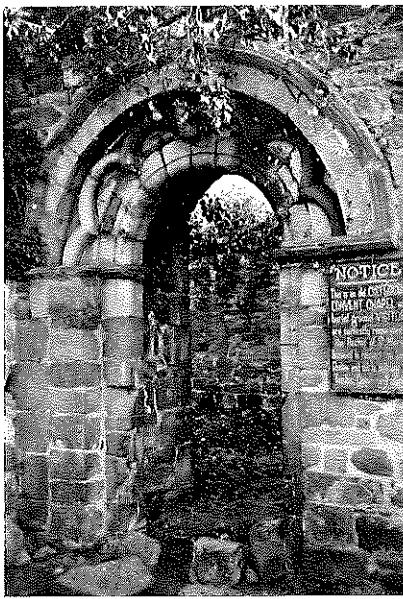
SOUTH ENTRANCE.



NORTH WALL LOOKING WEST.  
Transect Arch and Joan Penderell's  
Stone in centre.



WINDOW IN NORTH WALL AND  
OPENING FOR SACRING BELL.



NORTH ENTRANCE.



"In many places the stems of the ivy have grown into the interior of the walls. They have burst the facings as well as bringing down masses of masonry.

"Some of the stems are 8 inches in diameter, suggesting that the depredations caused by the ivy have been going on for many years.

"The area of the church has been used as a burial ground, probably since the dissolution of the Monastery, until the early part of the last century. Many of the headstones are placed against the north wall, and some are lying on the ground. At the east end there is a vault, which has had an iron railing enclosure on stone curbing. Only a standard remains of the railing: the curbing and vault covering has been smashed—probably by trespassing horses. There is no inscription to record the names of those interred therein.

"Amongst the headstones, is a replica of the original headstone marking the grave of Joan Penderel, which was replaced in 1853, with the copied inscription as under:—

HERE LYETH  
THE BODIE OF A FRIENDE  
THE KING DID CALL  
DAME JOANE.  
BUT NOW SHEE IS  
DECEAST AND GONE  
INTERRED ANNO DO

1669.

" This replica is chipped and damaged.

"Lying on the ground, we found the broken headstones of one of the Giffards who were the King's hosts, and conducted the King to White Ladies. This we managed to raise, and place alongside another Penderel headstone. We photographed both inscriptions.

"Amongst a heap of broken stones, we found a moss-covered 14th century recumbent tombstone, with a foliated cross and chalice, cut into the surface.

"There are also several broken ends of 14th century tombstones, with the cross inscribed, in differing designs.

"The only portion of the building in fair condition, is the outer face of the south wall adjacent to the south door. This has no ivy near it.

"We found that the farm (White Ladies) is now held with another farm adjoining by Mr. Parry. One of his workmen told us that he had been employed at White Ladies for 20 years. During the time, he had a vague recollection of seeing the ivy clipped, but he did not know how long it was since this was done.

"He described the ruins as being visited by crowds of trippers and boys during the summer months, without any kind of supervision. He also told us that the Roman Catholic Priest from Brewood is accustomed to hold a Service in the ruins annually, about the month of June.

"The destruction caused by the Ivy must have been going on for many years, as is evidenced by the damage.

"In our opinion, it is essential to avert the destruction of the walls, that the ivy should be annihilated. This can be done by severing the stems near the ground, and so allowing the ivy to decay and die."

Having obtained permission, I have carried out these recommendations and most of the ivy is dead. In time it will fall away.

With the permission of the owner—Lord Stafford, and the approval of the Roman Catholic authorities, the ruins have since been recommended to the Ancient Monument Board for scheduling as an Ancient Monument.

Lord Stafford has also kindly supplied me with plan, which has been submitted to the Ancient Monument Department of the Board of Works, showing the area marked off by boundary stones, allotted to the church and precincts. When funds are available it is highly desirable that it be fenced in, and if possible, a Caretaker's Cottage erected.

The plan shows that when the Boscobel Estate was sold in 1810, an acre of land was retained by Thomas Fitzherbert, Esq., as belonging to the Convent, with a right of road to the Ruins.

## THE CHURCH NOW IN RUINS.

On entering the field in which the ruined church is to be seen, it is difficult to carry one's mind back to the days when this was perhaps an open glade in an extensive forest, far from the haunts and dwellings of the scanty population in the early centuries.

To-day, it stands on an open site, gently sloping towards the north, with little or no evidence of the conventional buildings, the cluster of cottages occupied by the retainers, or even of the Elizabethan mansion that stood at the west end of the church, and was Charles II. first place of refuge after the Worcester fight.

Along the western side of the field runs a brook, and excavations which show where it had been broadened out, and dammed to form a fish pool.

On the higher ground at the east end of the church, the turf is raised over the foundation of an isolated building, between which and the church interments have been found.

Passing around this end of the south side of the church, there is evidence in the irregular surface of the ground of the foundations of extensive buildings. It is here that I have assumed that considerable remains existed above ground until early in the last century when the walling was taken down, and re-used for building a wall at the destroyed east end, and enclosing the additional burial ground on the south side of the church.

It seems likely that excavations on the southern side would disclose the general plan and limits of the Convent.

Having made a brief survey of the surroundings, we now return to an examination of the ruins.

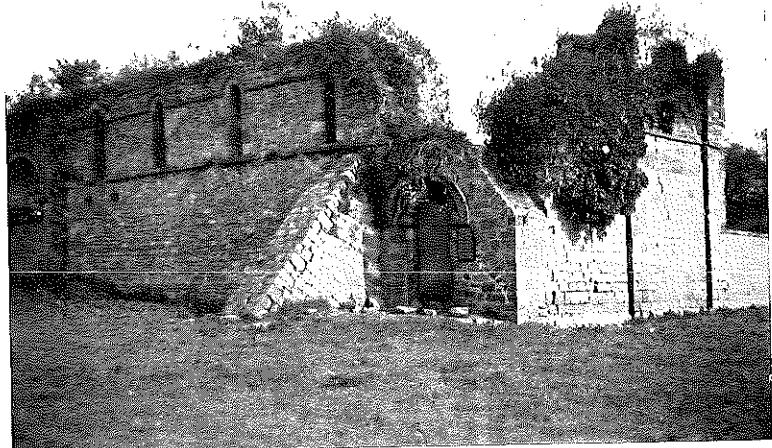
The north wall of the church is perhaps the most instructive, although not the most attractive. It leans outwards considerably, and is supported by several rudely built, but substantial buttresses of no great age.

The north transept has been entirely destroyed, only the arch giving entrance from the main building remains. Fragments of the east and west walls remain as buttresses and the opening has been built up to the level of the springing of the arch at some period since the transept had disappeared.

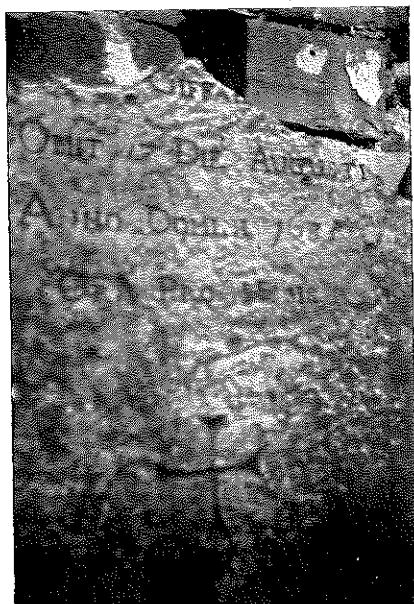
The base of the north wall is of very inferior workmanship, it suggests that in the early days inferior labour was employed, pending the arrival of more skilful craftsmen. The courses are out of level and not well bonded together ; and the single plinth course is very roughly worked. The western portion of this wall appears to have been plastered up to the level of the window sills. The windows are high up, with slightly chamfered jambs on the outer face ; and broad splays inwards. The arches are semi-circular with chamfered label moulds. Just below the window sills there is a continuous projecting label course, between the transept and the west end, suggesting that some kind of lean-to building was erected against this wall. Entrance to the church is by a doorway at the western end. It has been much damaged and clumsily restored. In its original condition, it had bold rounded jambs and chamfered abaci. The arch is semi-circular with a continuous series of connected semi-circular roll mouldings above. The outer arch is square, with label mould above. Continuing along this north wall to the eastern end, the remains of the corbel table and corbels under the eaves, showing the height of the building, can be seen through the decaying ivy. Two of the flat Norman buttresses remain on each side of the most eastern window and below this is an interesting feature, which invites explanation.

There had evidently been a doorway at this point, which had been closed up ; the later masonry not having been properly bonded into the old. On examining the inner face, part of the chamfered jambs and pointed arch of the doorway can be seen ; this may date from the 13th century. But the point of interest is the narrow splayed opening which was made when the doorway was built up. It has a lintel with two consecration crosses.

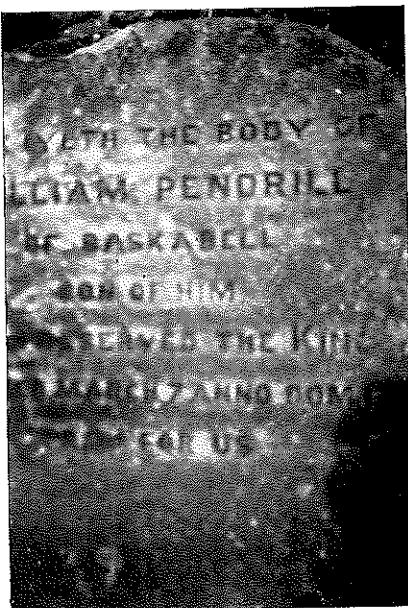
I have already referred to this opening in an earlier part of my paper, and I am permitted to repeat an explanation of its purpose which has been supplied to me.



NORTH WEST VIEW OF CHURCH.



RICHARD GIFFARD  
1685



WILLIAM PENDRILL  
1707



The opening may have been for the "use of the sacring bell and the ringing of it," which was rung in churches where there was no sanctus bell turret. "The aperture would be used for the ringing of the sacring bell to denote to those outside the church that the elevation of the host was taking place." In 1281 Archbishop Peckham ordered that "in elevatione Corporis Domini pulsetur campana *in uno latera* ut populares seu in agres seu in domibus flectant genua."

This appears to be a reasonable explanation of the purpose of the aperture. Assuming, as is probable that the retainers resided and were employed on the northern side of the church, it would be intended to call them to prayer and worship.

The east wall of the church appears to have been entirely destroyed to the level of the plinth, and a thinner wall built on the old foundations with the masonry from the conventional buildings.

The single chamfered plinth terminates with the width of the east end of the church. Beyond this there is a double plinth to the southern half of the east wall, which is continued on the south side, as far as the gable of the south transept.

A glance at the plan will elucidate this complicated explanation. The double plinth suggests a building at the south-east angle of later date than the Norman church. There are meagre references in the accounts of the convent, to a "chapter house" and a "chantry chapel." It may be that this corner space was the site of this building.

The gable of the south transept remains, with a window in the middle similar to those in the north wall of the church. The western portion of the south wall, beyond this gable dates from 1834, when the area of the burial ground was enlarged.

This also was erected with the materials from the conventional remains.

The western gable of the church retains an original window, and is badly cracked owing to the destruction caused by ivy. There is a groove in the masonry indicating the line of a roof which was placed against it.

Having completed the circuit of the church, we now enter by the north-west door, and we shall be appalled by the destruction that has resulted from the uncontrolled growth of ivy, and the damage that has been done to the memorials of past generations of those who "lie beneath the turf."

The arch which gave entrance to the north transept will be noted: it is in two plain orders resting on square abaci, ornamented with rosettes. The capitals of the round shafts are delicately carved with conventional ornaments and volutes. The malicious damage to one of the shafts will be observed with regret.

On the top of the projecting pilaster in the rebuilt east end, there is a piece of carved Norman string course, and lower down a jamb stone with filleted roll has been used; this suggests that additions were made in the 13th century.

The attic base of the western jamb of the south transept arch remains in a damaged condition. In the gable of the south transept there is a built up recess, which may have been an altar. Last of all, there is the most beautiful relic of the past that has come down to us—the south entrance to the church. This doorway is in almost perfect condition, and is a typical example of Transitional Norman work. The inner jambs are slightly rounded, the outer fully-engaged shafts have delicately carved capitals, with the square chamfered abaci and quirked chamfer which is generally used all over the building. The arch above is in two orders with a bold roll and smaller quirked round moulding. One would like to think that this was the doorway used only by the ladies of the convent for their approach to the church, and that they admired and preserved it from injury so that it remains for our admiration to-day. The autumn crocus, and some of the herbs from their garden, still grow in the locality.

We pass: the path which each man trod  
Is dim, or will be dim, with weeds:  
What fame is left for human deeds  
In endless age? It rests with God.

## WHITE LADIES' PRIORY.

Wall built in 1838.

Possible site of  
Chantry or Chapter House.  
Tra  
Se  
3

Site of 16th or 17th cent. House

South Entrance

DIES PRIORY.

Site of North  
Probably a pent roof against this wall



## TWO OLD WILLS.

The first of these wills is actually a Staffordshire will, being connected with Newcastle in that County ; but it is now in the Shrewsbury Free Library among a series of Deeds relating to Dorrington in the parish of Woore, deposited by Mr. John Beddoes. The will is interesting, not only in itself, but also on account of its great antiquity, the date being 1307. The Calendar of Wills at Lambeth begins in 1312 ; at Somerset House in 1383 ; while those at Hereford, Lichfield and S. Asaph date from the 16th century only. Wills proved in the Peculiar Courts of Shropshire are also of a comparatively late date. The earliest wills are to be looked for in Ecclesiastical and Municipal Muniments, or in private collections. The earliest Shropshire will may be that of Agnes Orm in the Ludlow Collection, which is dated 1304. It is printed in full in *Transactions*, Vol. V. p. 259. In the Smythe Papers is the will of Adam de Bykedon, bearing the same date as the first of the wills here given, viz. :-1307, of which a very meagre abstract will be found in Rev. E. Williams MS. (Free Library MSS., Vol. 2, fol. 7). Four early Wills relating to Shrewsbury are printed in abstract in *Transactions*, Vol. XI. p. 97. The Rev. W. A. Leighton, in his introduction to that paper, states that they were taken from a volume containing copies of very early deeds from the Halston MSS. He goes on to say that " these curious and invaluable Deeds are now in all probability lost or irrecoverably dispersed." Fortunately, however, there is a large collection of these deeds in the Free Library, among them two of the original Wills printed in Mr. Leighton's paper. These deeds have now been calendared, and the second of the Wills here given is one of them.

In the first of these wills there is no indication of the testator's place of abode or of his occupation, but he was evidently connected with Newcastle, and at this early period he may have been in fact what he was in name—William the Tavern-keeper. The will is written on a small square of parchment in Latin which is very much abbreviated, and there are some words which (to me at any rate) are undecipherable. I have transcribed the Latin without the abbreviations, and have added a translation to the best of my ability.

The second Will, dated 1343, is that of Juliana de Lynleye of Shrewsbury, who was evidently a widow, though not so described. She possessed considerable property in Shrewsbury, and the first part of the Will is of the nature of a settlement, probably to confirm some previous deed, with the usual remainders and repetitions. but Burgage tenures, unlike other property in land, could by custom be devised by will. The second half is of great interest as it mentions various kinds of personal apparel, household furniture and utensils, etc., and the Latin equivalents of these articles have given considerable difficulty in translation. Perhaps someone versed in the mysteries of medieval housekeeping will throw additional light on some doubtful words. The will is unfortunately in very bad condition, and the right-hand side of it is decayed and torn. The portions thus lost are indicated by dotted lines. The Will is evidently a draft only, as there are many erasures and no mention of Probate.

It is difficult to give the equivalents in terms of modern currency for the sums mentioned in these wills. It has been stated that rd. was equal to 2s. 6d., and rs. to 30s., and so on, but these values are somewhat misleading, as money had a different place in the lives of the people from that which it holds to-day. 2d. was the ordinary day-wage for labourers, and was by no means the pittance that it sounds. It was customary to leave a few pence to the Cathedral Church, and rather more to the parish Church. When it is remembered that probate of wills was in the hands of the Church, and that those who drew them up were generally ecclesiastics, it is not surprising that religious interests should be fully recognized. In medieval wills the testator made elaborate arrangements for burial, which involved the burning of many wax candles. In the will of Adam de Bykedon, alluded to above, he leaves four wax candles to be burned "circa corpus" in the Church of S. Chad, four in the chapel of Rossale, four in the chapel of S. George in Shrewsbury, and one in the chapel of S. John Baptist in the same town. The consumption of wax in the churches was therefore enormous, and if the testator left a swarm of bees to his church, the legacy would be a most acceptable one.

The wills of country gentlemen and yeomen were largely concerned with livestock and implements of husbandry ; but the two wills which form the subject of this paper were evidently town wills, and there is no allusion to the country-side except the cow which William le Taverner left as a mortuary. These mortuaries or " principals " often took the form of the best beast, which was presented with the body (*coram corpore meo*) at the funeral. They were gifts left to the parish church in recompense for personal tithes not paid by the testator during his life-time. The will of Thomas Bentley of Hodnet (1552) who bequeaths to the parson " for all those dewties (i.e. dues) as belongeth to him and to praye for me a brynded cowe of v years of age " no doubt refers to the same subject ; but in later times mortuaries usually took the form of a money payment, and occur in many parish Registers.

R. C. PURTON.

I.

" In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti Amen. Hoc est Testamentum Willielmi Le Taverner die Mercurii proxima post festum Sancti Edmundi Regis & Martyris conditum anno Domini MCCC septimo Coram Domino Willielmo de Fonte capellano parochiale Johanne Pollard & aliis ibidem existantibus. In primis Lego animam meam deo & beate Marie & omnibus sanctis & corpus meum in cimiterio beati Egidii abbatis ad sepeliendum & *coram corpore meo* unam vaccam nomine principalii In cera & cilico . . . . Presbyteris & clericis iiiis. Fabricio ecclesie Lichfield xiid. ad opus ecclesie beati Egidii Novi Castri vs. fratribus predicatoribus Novi Castri iiis. Anachorete Novi Castri xiid. Domino Willielmo de Fonte capellano parochiali vid. Thome Hiksdon clero vid. Domino Ade de Wolstanton vid. Item Lego Thome fratri meo xxxs. Item Nicholao fratri meo vs. & supertunicam cum uno gardecorcio. Item Edithe matri mee xs. Ad distribuendum pauperibus die sepulture mee unam marcam Lucretie uxori Johannis Pollard vid. Item Lego Johanni de [Normingham] iiis. Item Margarete sororis [sic] mee vs. Agnete sororis mee vs. Item Edithe nutrici Johannis Pollard vid. Alicie Le Walse vid. Item Johanni Pollard & Thome

fratri suo . . . . de Wrstude. Item Hawisie uxori Thome filii Thome xii [d.] Thome gardiano Johannis Pollard vid. Item Johannni fratri meo unam robam meam. Item . . . . beate Marie ecclesie beati Egidi.

Ad istud Testamentum perficiendum ordino & constituo executores meos videlicet Thomam & Johannem fratres meos ut ipsi agant de bonis meis sicut Legatum est d . . . . prout melius viderint expedire deum pro oculis habentes.

Mem. quod istud testamentum probatum fuit coram Domino Johanne Decano Staff. et Novi Castri in ecclesie beati Egidi Novi Castri die Martis p.p. f. beate Nicholai Episcopi A.D. MCCCVII Et concessa est administratio Bonorum dicti defuncti executoribus infra scriptis . . . .

#### TRANSLATION.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. This is the Will of William Le Taverner, made on Wednesday next after the Feast of S. Edmund, King and Martyr, A.D. 1307, before Sir William de Fonte, parish chaplain, John Pollard and others living in the same place. Imprimis I leave my soul to God and Blessed Mary and all the Saints, and my body to be buried in the churchyard of Blessed Giles, Abbot, and before my body one cow in the name of a mortuary. In wax and hair-cloth . . . . To the Priests and Clerks 4s. To the fabric of the Church of Lichfield 12d. For the work of the Church of Blessed Giles of Newcastle 5s. To the Friars Preachers of Newcastle 2s. To the Anchoret of Newcastle 5s. To Sir William de Fonte, parish chaplain, 6d. To Thomas Hiksdon, clerk, 6d. To Sir Adam de Wolstanton 6d. Item I leave to Thomas my brother 30s. Item to Nicholas my brother 5s. and a surcoat with one Jerkin.<sup>1</sup> Item to Edith my mother 10s. For distribution to the poor on the day of my burial one marc. To Lucretia wife of John Pollard 5s. Item I leave to John de [Normingham] 3s. Item to Margaret my sister 5s. To Agnes my sister 5s. Item to Edith nurse of John Pollard 6d. To Alice Le Walse 6d. Item to John Pollard and Thomas his

1. Gardecorsium, "pars vestis muliebris quo<sup>e</sup> pectus constringit," (Du Cange), what is called a bust-bodice; but as the reference here is evidently to male attire, it must mean a close-fitting under-vest or Jerkin.

brother . . . . of worsted. Item to Hawise wife of Thomas son of Thomas 12 [d.] To Thomas guardian of John Pollard 6d. Item to John my brother one of my robes. Item . . . . of Blessed Mary of the Church of Blessed Giles.<sup>2</sup>

For the carrying out of this will I ordain and constitute my executors to wit Thomas and John my brothers that they may act concerning my goods as it is left . . . . as they shall see most expedient having God before their eyes.

Memorandum that the will was proved in the church of S. Giles, Newcastle, on Tuesday after the Feast of S. Nicholas 1307.

## II.

In dei nomine Amen Die Martii proximo post sancti Barnabe Apostoli Anno domini Mille ccc mo quadragesimo tertio Ego Juliana de Lynleye de Salop condo testamentum meum in huic modo . . . . . sepieliendum ecclesia sancti Cedde Salop. Ita quod volo quod omnes chori quatuor ecclesiarum ville Salop in exequiis meis faciendi prout mos est respiciantur. Item lego in cera ad ardendum . . . . . dicte ecclesie et residuum volo quod disponatur per voluntatem executorum meorum. Item lego in pane ad distributionem pauperibus vii liberos argenteos. Item volo quod tres capellani uno anno . . . . . xiid. et fabrice ecclesie Sancti Cedde Salop vs. et fraternitati ecclesie antedictie xiid. Et capello meo parochiali xld. et cuiilibet ordini fratrum villa Salop xxxd. Item do . . . . . cum omnibus pertinentiis suis quodquidem tenementum meum scituatum est in vico de Mardefole inter terram Johannis Baldewyn ex una parte et vicum qui vocatur Rosehulleslone [et se] extendit in . . . . . & tenendum predictum tenementum Thome et heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis imperpetuum. Et si contingat quod absit dictus Thomas sine heredibus de corpore suo legitime procreatis . . . . . Ricardo filio meo & heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis integre revertat. Et si contingat quod dictus Ricardus sine herede de corpore suo legitime procreato decedat tunc volo quod . . . . . Item do & lego Ricardo filio meo domum meam lapideam cum una domu dictae domui annexa cum reversione illius in quo

2. This last item was evidently added later.

dominus Thomas Reyner inhabitat quod . . . . . domui  
 annexa scituat' est in vico de Romaldesham inter terram Thome  
 Colle ex parte una & terram quondam Walteri Geffrey ex altera  
 parte & extendit se in longit. . . . . ex una parte & linealiter  
 ad terram Johannis de la Croys ex altera Habendum & tenendum  
 dictam domum lapideam & aliam domum dicte domui annexam  
 cum revertione ten. . . . . heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime  
 procreatis imperpetuum. Et si contingat dictum Ricardum  
 sine herede de corpore suo legitime procreato infat' decedere  
 volo quod dicta . . . . . predicta tenementa Thome filio meo  
 & heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis pacifice  
 revertant. Et si contingat quod dictus Thomas sine herede de  
 corpore suo legitime procreato . . . . . predictum post decessum  
 dicti Thome Reyner propinquiori heredi libere revertant. Item  
 do et lego Margerie filio mee unam domum cum quadam placea  
 adjacente una cum libero ingressu . . . . . quaquidem domus  
 cum dicta placea scituata est inter tenementum Thome Colle  
 ex una parte & tenementum Johannis de Croys ex altera et  
 extendit se in longitudine a tenemento Thome . . . . .  
 Mardefolde Habendum & tenendum dictam domum cum placea  
 antedicta & cum libero ingressu & egressu dicte Margerie &  
 heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis imperpetuum  
 . . . . . de corpore suo legitime procreatis decedere volo  
 quod dicta domus cum placea adjacente cum libero ingressu &  
 egressu Ricardo filio meo & heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime  
 procreatis . . . . . Ricardum sine herede de corpore suo  
 legitime procreatis infat' decedere tunc volo quod domus cum  
 placea adjacente cum libero ingressu & egressu Thome filio meo  
 . . . . . revertat. Et si contingat dictum Thomam sine  
 herede de corpore suo legitime procreato infat' decedere tunc  
 volo quod predicta domus cum dicta placea cum libero ingressu  
 & egressu . . . . . filio meo vi li argenti cum omnibus vasis  
 pertinentibus ad brassiandum in domo sibi legata contentis  
 cum omnibus p . . . in eadem domo existantibus cum iii ollis  
 eneis melioribus ii . . . . . bolstream & i maser optimum  
 & optimum cyphum argenteum & xi coclares argenti iii tapeta  
 cum i cooptorio lecti de Choker' & i coylte & viii linthia & i  
 mappam cum ii . . . . . de Nesse mihi impigneranti (erasure)  
 Item lego Ricardo filio meo viii li argenti & i cistam magnam  
 (erasure) . . . . . post electionem (?) dicti Thome filii mei

& i urciolum & i Maser secundam optimam (*erasure*) & i coup  
argenti cum pede iiiii tapetas viii. . . . . et i parvam pelinam  
cum laviatorio. Item lego Margerie filie mee viii li argenti &  
omnia vasa pertinentia ad brassiandum contenta in domo sibi  
legata & i cista de Lynde ij lectos de plum ' domo sibi legata  
existentes cum ii aliis ollis cum urciolo & i Maser altera & i  
cyphum ingentem de queru argento ligatum & ii cyphos parvos  
argenti viii tapetas & xiiii lin . . . . . (*torn*) mappas & v maniterga  
& ii sinapes & i molam cum ii molariis cum v petris & dia (?)  
lana (et i cupam cum rubea lana *erased*) existand & alia cupa  
(*erasure*) cum i pecia pani pro vet . . . es & iii cornvetton' cum  
quodam Knedetrogh annexa ad le Wodevyn Et eidam lego  
(*long erasure*) cum i archa in celar' cor' guar' & i pelium de  
harneys cum lavatorio & i cistam pro boltynq quod emi de  
Thome le Sadlere (*erasure*) Item lego Juliane filie Thome de  
Lynleye xxiis. argenti (*erasure*) & unam cistam in le bredsolere.  
Item volo quod Ricardus filius meus habeat xx. iiiis. sterlingor'.  
Et Margeria fil . . . . . sterlingor' quas Johannes de Lynleye  
in ultima voluntate sua dictis Ricardo & Margerie legavit Et  
quod dicta summa predictis Ricardo & Margerie legata sit in  
custodia Reginaldi Perle & Ricardi de Mutton . . . . . quod  
si pueri (?) mei predicti pacifice cohabitare voluerint quod  
(*stain*) gaurum ? meum videlicet blada in guar' & carnem in  
lardar' . . . . . filee mee xls. Et Thome filio Reginaldi Perle  
xxx. (*stain*) Item lego Agneta sorori mee i supertunicam de  
skarlet cum . . . . . & capuce de Tany. Et Alicie de Fittes  
i mantell. Et Isolde (*stain*) i courtepy cum capuce i capet  
magnam & ii linthia arossa Item lego dicto . . . . . pro  
corpore meo pacta (?) & i cellam cum i freno. Item volo quod  
tota pecunia quam Thomas Perle michi tenet eque dimidiatur  
inter Thomam & (*torn*) filios . . . . . volo & lego quod equalis  
dimidat' inter pueros meos predictos & meipsam ita quod perpars  
mea distribuatur pro anima mea (*torn*) ad istud . . . . .  
executores meos vide'licet Thomas de Mutton & Ricardus de  
Mutton, et volo quod Reginaldus Perle sit supervisor dicti testa  
menti. In cuius testimoni (*torn*) Salop die & anno supradictis.  
Et volo quod mei (?) bolstres cum lecto de plume eque dividand'  
inter Thomam Ricardum & Margeriam In (*stain*)

## TRANSLATION.

In the name of God Amen. On Tuesday next after S. Barnabas Apostle A.D. 1343 I Juliana de Lynleye of Shrewsbury make my will in this manner . . . . . to be buried in the Church of S. Chad in Shrewsbury. Item I will that all the choirs of the four churches of the town of Shrewsbury shall be remembered for doing at my funeral as the custom is. Item I leave in wax to be burned . . . . . of the said church, and the residue I will to be disposed of according to the wish of my executors. Item I leave to be distributed to the poor in bread 7 pounds of silver. Item I will that three chaplains in one year . . . . . 12 pence and for the fabric of the church of S. Chad in Shrewsbury 5 shillings and to the fraternity of the aforesaid church 12 pence And to the Chaplain of my parish 40 pence and to each of the orders of friars in the town of Shrewsbury 30 pence. Item I give . . . . . with all its appurtenances the which my tenement is situated in the street of Mardefole between the land of John Baldwyn on the one part and a street which is called Rosehulleslone<sup>3</sup> and extends in . . . . . and to hold the aforesaid tenement to the aforesaid Thomas and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten forever and if it shall happen that (God forbid !) the said Thomas shall [die] without an heir of his body lawfully begotten . . . . . to Richard my son and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten shall wholly revert. And if it shall happen that the said Richard shall die without an heir of his body lawfully begotten then I will that . . . . . Item I give and leave to Richard my son my house of stone with a house annexed to the said house with the reversion of it in which Sir Thomas Reyner dwells which . . . . . house annexed is situated in the street of Romaldesham<sup>4</sup> between the land of Thomas Colle on the one part and land formerly of Walter Geffrey on the other part and extends in length . . . . . on the one part and in a line to land of John de la Croys on the other To have and to hold the said house of stone and the other house annexed to the said house with the reversion . . . . . to his heirs of his body lawfully begotten forever. And if it shall happen that the said Richard shall unfortunately die without

3. Rosehulleslone, i.e. Rowhill lane, on the right hand going down Mardol. C/o *Transactions III*, vi, p. 405 (and note).

4. Romaldesham, now Barker Street.

a lawful heir of his body I will that . . . . . the said tenements shall peacefully revert to Thomas my son and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten. And if it shall happen etc. . . . . . after the death of the said Thomas Reyner shall freely revert to the next heir. Item I give and leave to Margery my daughter a house with a certain plat adjoining together with free ingress . . . . . the which house with the said plat is situated between the land of Thomas Colle on the one part and a tenement of John de la Croys on the other and extends in length from a tenement of Thomas . . . . . Mardefolde To have and to hold the said house with the aforesaid plat and with free ingress and egress to the said Margery and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten forever . . . . . of her body lawfully begotten die I will that the said house etc. to Richard my son and the heirs etc. . . . . Richard die without an heir etc. then I will that the house etc. shall revert to Thomas my son . . . . . And if it shall happen etc. then I will that the aforesaid house etc. . . . . my son 6 pounds of silver with all the vessels pertaining to brewing contained in the house left to him with all the . . . . . existing in the same house with 3 brass pots of the better sort 2 . . . . . bolster and 1 best maser and the best silver bowl and 11 silver spoons, 3 carpets with 1 bed-coverlet of checker-work<sup>5</sup> and 1 quilt and 8 linen sheets and 1 napkin with 2 . . . . . de Nesse pledged to me (*erasure*) Item I leave to Richard my son 8 pounds of silver and 1 great chest . . . . . after the option of the said Thomas my son, and 1 little pitcher and 1 second best maser (*erasure*) and 1 silver standing cup 4 carpets 8 . . . . . and 1 small pelerine<sup>6</sup> with a ewer. Item I leave to Margery my daughter 8 pounds of silver and all the vessels pertaining to brewing contained in the house left to her and 1 chest of limewood<sup>7</sup> 2 feather beds in the house left to her with 2 other pots with a pitcher and 1 other maser and one large bowl of oak bound with silver and 2 small bowls of silver 8 carpets and 14 (*torn*) napkins and 5 hand-towels and 2 cloths and 1 mill with 2 little mills with 5 mill-stones and . . . . . wool (*erasure*) and another cask (*erasure*) with 1 piece of cloth for — and 3 corn waynes

5. But the word looks like "Choker."

6. A pelerine is a tippet with long ends coming down in front.

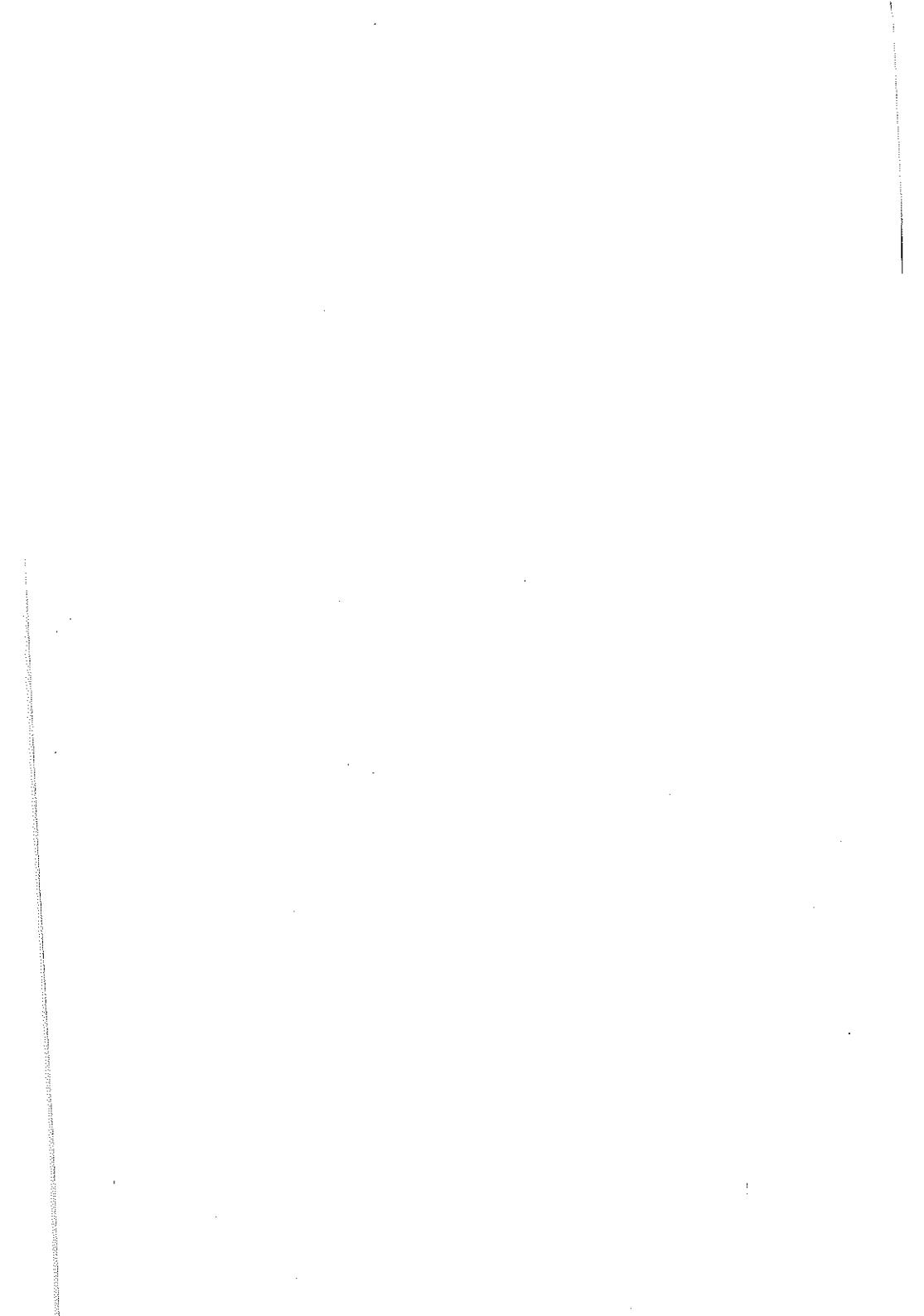
7. For lynde or linde, see the New English Dictionary.

with a certain Kneading trough annexed to the Wodevyn.<sup>8</sup> And to the same I leave (*long erasure*) with 1 coffer in the cellar before the yard and 1 pillion of harness with a ewer and 1 hutch for boulting which I bought of Thomas le Sadlere (*erasure*) Item I leave to Juliana daughter of Thomas de Lynleye 22s. of silver (which Edith Godberd owes me *erased*) and one chest in the breadloft. Item I leave to Ann wife of Thomas de Lynleye 12 pounds of wool with the wool in the cask. Item I will that Richard my son have 24s. sterling. And Margery ..... sterling which John de Lynleye left in his last will to the said Richard and Margery and that the said sum left to the aforesaid Richard and Margery be in the custody of Reginald Perle and Richard de Mutton ..... that if my aforesaid boys (?) are willing to live together peaceably that (*stain*) my—— to wit corn in the yard and meat in the larder .... my daughter 40s. And to Thomas son of Reginald Perle 30s. (*stain*) Item I leave to Agnes my sister 1 surcoat of scarlet with ..... and a hood of tawny<sup>9</sup> And to Alice de Fittes 1 mantle And to Isolda (*stain*) 1 short Jacket with a large hood and 2 linen towels arossa.<sup>10</sup> Item I leave to the said ..... for my body paid (?) and 1 saddle with 1 bridle. And I will that the whole of the money which Thomas Perle holds for me be equally divided between Thomas and (*torn*) sons ..... I will and leave that an equal half between my aforesaid boys and myself so that my share be distributed for my soul (*torn*) to this ..... my executors to wit Thomas de Mutton and Richard de Mutton and I will that Reginald Perle be overseer of the said will. In witness whereof (*torn*) Shrewsbury the day and year abovesaid. And I will that my bolsters with a feather bed be equally divided between Thomas Richard and Margery In (*stain*).

8. Woodvin or Woodin occurs as a surname in Registers, but I do not know the meaning of the word.

9. Cp. " Jakets murry and tany," Paston Letter (1462).

10. I cannot translate this word, unless it means "gnawed" (by mice or rats), damaged articles, left perhaps to a maid Isolda.



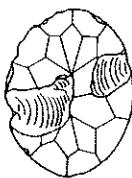
A ROCK-HEWN GRAVE NEAR BRIDGNORTH.



THE EXCAVATION, VIEWED FROM THE EAST.

The bank in the middle distance is of earth cleared off the  
rocky plateau.

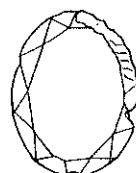
(Photo, by W. B. Roden, 17/2/35.)



Front.



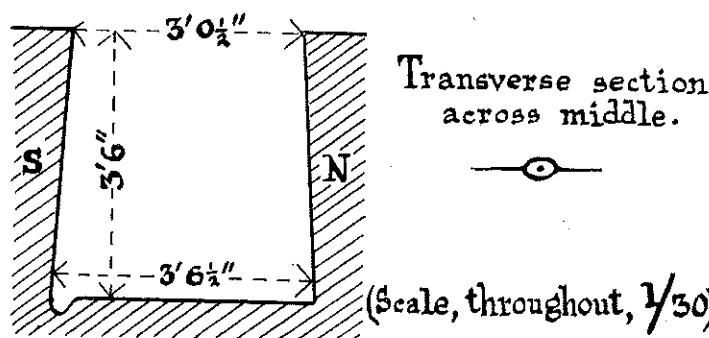
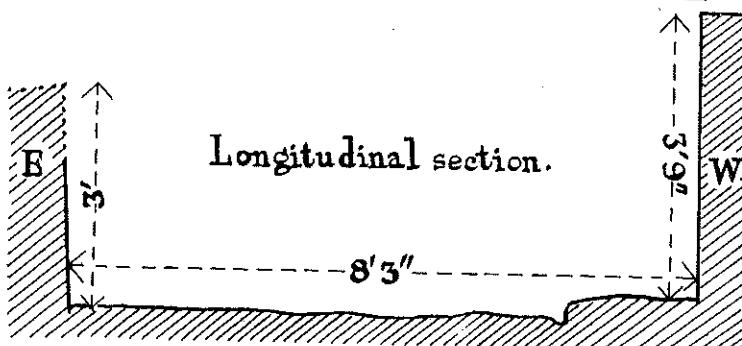
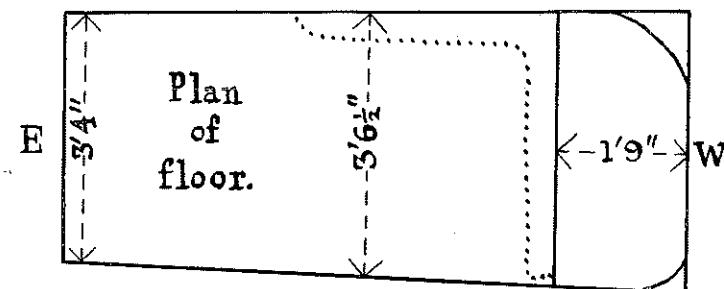
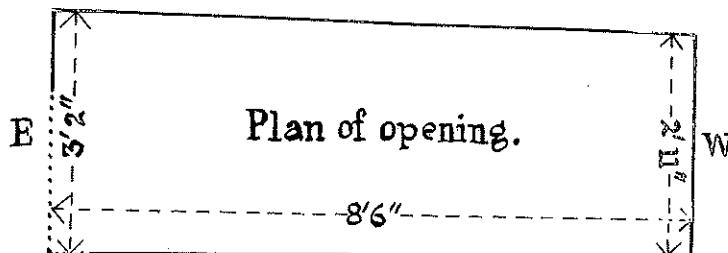
Side



Back.

THE GEM WHICH WAS FOUND IN THE EXCAVATION  
(Actual size.)

A ROCK-HEWN GRAVE NEAR BRIDGNORTH.





## A ROCK-HEWN GRAVE NEAR BRIDGNORTH.

W. WATKINS-PITCHFORD, M.D.

On the 1st of February, 1935, a solitary excavation, the characters of which suggest those of an early Christian grave, was discovered on the Bridgnorth Golf Links. Two days later, the Captain of the Club (Mr. W. T. Cornfield) informed me of the discovery, and I visited the site. Unfortunately, the whole of the contents of the supposed grave had been removed before my arrival, but I was assured that the only noticeable objects found in the earth were a faceted gem and a few small lumps of some chalk-like substance which, of course, were supposed to be "fossilized bone." The statement that nothing else was present was corroborated, as far as this could be done, by the sifting of, and repeated searches through, the earth which had been removed; the only things which I found in this were a few more lumps of the calcareous material, several small pieces of slag, and a few small fragments of wood charcoal. Examination of the earth which had been cleared off the rocky surface in the immediate vicinity, but which had certainly not been taken out of the excavation, resulted in the discovery of several more lumps of the calcareous material, further small pieces of slag, and two fragments of water-worn oyster-shell.

Apart from the faceted jewel, which will be discussed later, there was nothing which certainly associated the excavation with any known person or with any definite period; this, of course, deprives the discovery of much of the interest which would otherwise attach to it. Despite this lack of specific identification, however, it is desirable that the discovery should be placed on record, since further finds may be made, or documentary evidence brought to light, which will remove the matter from the unsatisfactory domain of speculation.

Assuming that the excavation is a sepulchre, its most obvious peculiarity is the absence from its contents of recogniz-

able skeletal remains ; this might be explained by any one of three theories—(1) that no burial had ever taken place ; (2) that the body had been removed at some time or other after its burial ; and (3) that the date of burial was so remote that all remains had undergone complete disintegration.

The excavation was discovered during the removal of the surface soil, preparatory to making a new green, on a small plateau in the south-west corner of the Bridgnorth Golf Links. There are no buildings, or remains of buildings, in the vicinity ; the site is very secluded, although it is only six furlongs, in a straight line, from Bridgnorth. It lies in the parish of Astley Abbots, from the church of which it is distant, in a straight line, about one-and-a-quarter miles ; from the original mother-church of Morville it is distant three miles, again in a straight line. The excavation is situated in the sloping north-east corner of a small plateau on the western extremity of the ridge which here forms the southern boundary of the links. In an estate map of 1777 this ridge is called "Mill Hill," but it has no name at the present time. Its eastern extremity abuts upon the road (Stanley Lane) from Bridgnorth, and is surmounted by a much larger plateau ; the artificially irregular surface of this plateau is suggestive of some sort of former, but not very remote, occupation. It is possible that a windmill once stood here, and that this gave to the hill its old name. The sides and base of this eastern extremity of the ridge are covered by an old plantation which is marked on the 6-in. Ordnance Map of 1903 as "Bishop's Wood" ; the name is still in local use, but no reason for it can be given. The central, and highest, part of the ridge is crowned by a plantation of Scotch fir and beech. The rocky ground which forms the west end of the ridge (the site of the find) was covered, until quite recently, by turf overlying from one to two feet of soil ; it was the removal of this turf and soil, preparatory to levelling the top of the hill by blasting, which disclosed the excavation.

The old country mansion of Hoard's Park, now a farmhouse, is about one quarter of a mile distant north-west from the site. From this house an old, but now little used, track runs down towards the Severn, and passes about forty yards to the north of the site. A footpath leaves this track about opposite

to the site and leads down to Stanley Cottages, in Stanley Lane, which are the nearest habitations to the site ; the main track continues on past the Golf Club-house and could at one time be followed as far as the west bank of the Severn ; local residents state that there was a ford across the river at this point, and that the track was continued up the escarpment of the east bank of the river to Woodside and Fenn Gate.

The excavation has been made downwards into the solid red sandstone rock ; this rock, especially near the surface, is soft. The excavation is oblong and approximately rectangular : 8 ft. 6 ins. in length, 2 ft. 11 ins. wide at the head, and 3 ft. 2 ins. at the foot. The long axis of the opening lies nearly east and west, being inclined 10 degrees to the equator (east end depressed to the south). The sides of the excavation are smooth, except for the occurrence of several series of shallow, widely-curved, concentric scorings, such as would be produced by the progressive sweeps of some implement held in the hand ; there are no definite pick-marks. On the lower half of the face of the west end are some large markings, deeply scored in the soft rock and somewhat resembling Arabic letters ; these markings, I am assured, were not there when the earth was first removed, and it is probable that they are the work of the same mischievous visitor who has also scored his initials on one of the large pieces of stone removed from the grave. The sides of the excavation are not vertical but slope slightly outwards as they descend, so that the floor is about 6 ins. wider than the opening. The east end inclines slightly inwards as it descends. The depth is 3 ft. 9 ins. at the west end, and 3 ft. at the east, the difference being due mainly to the slope of the ground towards the east, but partly to the fact that the floor at the east end is slightly higher than elsewhere. The floor is smooth but somewhat hummocky ; where it joins the south side its level is lowered by a roughly-cut vallecula, about 5 ins. broad and 4 ins. deep, which extends about half-way along the side. The natural red-brown colour of the floor has become light grey, and in the central parts are several large blackish patches, at which places the rock is definitely softer than elsewhere. At the west end of the floor a clumsily-cut bench, or pillow, of rock has been left, 5 ins. high and 1 ft. 9 ins. broad ; this is separated from the rest of the

floor by a vallecula about two inches deep which runs into the similar channel on the south side. The corners between the sides and the west end, above the pillow, are unsymmetrically rounded off in rock left *in situ*. There is no drainage-exit in any part of the floor. No part of the interior shows any signs of the action of fire. The north-east angle of the excavation was broken away whilst clearing the site.

The lumps of calcareous material stated to have been found in the excavation, and those subsequently found in the vicinity, vary in size from three or four inches down to half-an-inch in diameter. The larger lumps are dense and hard ; they are brown or yellow in colour, but when cracked open with a hammer show the appearance of grey limestone ; the smaller lumps are light, porous, and very friable, and although soft have the characters of travertine (calcareous tufa). Both varieties are found on analysis to consist of calcium carbonate. It is to be noted that no natural deposits of either limestone or travertine are known to occur in the district : the nearest are at Much Wenlock.

The fragments of slag are not uniform in composition ; some of them enclose pieces of but slightly altered limestone or travertine, whilst others are fused on to the surface of lumps of limestone. These appearances indicate, I assume, that a very primitive process of smelting has been employed. That iron-ore has indeed been smelted here seems to be a reasonable deduction from the simultaneous occurrence of pieces of limestone, charcoal and slag ; hand-power alone would have been used, however, as there is no stream in the vicinity, such as was used, through the medium of a waterwheel, to work the bellows and the trip-hammers at the charcoal-furnaces and forges which formerly existed at Harley, Willey and Linley. Despite this evidence of the early smelting of iron, on a small scale, on or near the site, there is nothing to indicate that the excavation was connected with such work ; the fragments of limestone and slag which were in the excavation (presumably near the surface) were no more abundant here than in the soil elsewhere on the plateau.

The faceted gem was found lying loose in the soil near the west end of the excavation and at a depth of about one foot below the surface of the rock. It is oval in outline: the front is convex and faceted, but the highest point has been broken off: the back is flat and has a bevelled and faceted edge. The diameters of the gem are 2.15 cm. and 1.65 cm, and the thickness at its central part about .6 cm. It is transparent and of a pale wine-red colour tinged with violet. Its hardness is such that it scratches crown glass, but is scratched by an amethyst. The facets are glossy. Small portions of the stone have been chipped off in several places, and there are numerous scratches on the flat back.

As the gem was evidently intended to be held in a metal setting, presumably gold, and as this setting is missing and the stone extensively scratched and chipped, one concludes that the jewel has not lain protected in the depth of the excavation, but that it has been lying upon the surface of the ground for some time. It is quite possible that it fell, unnoticed, into the excavation whilst this was being cleared out.

My first impression was that this stone was a specimen of the flash jewellery contained in Christmas crackers, but the coincidence of its occurrence in such an unfrequented locality was so remarkable that the opinion of the British Museum authorities was sought. Mr. Reginald A. Smith kindly examined the jewel and reported:—"The gem is a puzzle, and looks like a ruby or spinel ruby, but I thought that style of cutting was not earlier than Queen Elizabeth. It has been examined in our Laboratory, and the specific gravity (4.2) is much less than ruby, which is again much harder, but the specimen is not glass. Could it be a kind of garnet? Your diagnosis of the 'calcareous lump' is confirmed as travertine, with no trace of bone."

A description, with photographs, of the excavation was also submitted to Mr. Reginald A. Smith, who opined:—"The head at the west end suggests a Christian burial, but I am at a loss to date it apart from the furniture."

The gem was also sent to Perbendary W. G. Clark-Maxwell, who took it to London and discussed it with certain members of the Council of the Archaeological Institute ; he writes :— “The upshot of it all is that the stone, from its faceted cutting, cannot be earlier than the 16th century, and, from its style of cutting, probably not later than the 17th century. We must therefore, I think, abandon the idea of a Saxon or even mediæval date for it, and also any connexion with the grave, which must, I think, be older than 1550.”

My own conclusions and surmises are as follows :— From the shape and orientation of this excavation it seems justifiable to conclude that it is a Christian grave. The presence of a pillow suggests an early date, whilst the want of symmetry and the clumsy workmanship suggest a very early date. No remains of a skeleton have been discovered, and the only indication which suggests that a body has decomposed in the grave are the patches of staining, with alteration in texture, in the central parts of the floor. The apparent absence of all traces of grave-furniture and of skeletal remains may be reasonably explained, as previously stated, either upon the hypothesis that the body and its accompanying objects were removed long ago, or upon the assumption that no durable objects were buried with the body, the bones of which, owing to the lapse of very many years, have undergone complete disintegration. In favour of the latter theory it is to be remarked that, when damped, the ferruginous soil of the site is distinctly acid to litmus. So complete a disappearance of all the hard parts of the body, especially the teeth, would, however, be most unusual ; the former theory (that of the intentional removal of the body) therefore seems to be the more tenable.

The presence of the faceted gem in the grave might easily have led to erroneous deductions ; I have given my reasons for concluding that this object was not buried with the body. It is probably to be associated with the time, presumably in the 16th century, when iron-ore was being smelted on or near the site.

Viewing all the circumstances, I incline to the conclusion that the grave dates from the Saxon period, and from the early days of Christianity in Mercia, when there was no church at Bridgnorth, Astley Abbots, or even Morville, that is to say, the second half of the 7th century. The fact that the grave is solitary might imply that the first church at Morville was erected soon afterwards, and that further interments took place there. If, as I have surmised, the body which originally occupied this grave was removed, it is a reasonable assumption that it was removed in order to transfer it to some consecrated site which had now become available, this would have been the burial-ground of the newly-established church at Morville. The grave is such as would only have been made for a person of importance, and failing any other explanation of the name "Bishop's Wood," it is possible that this name gives us a hint as to the profession and status of the original occupant of the grave.

Another theory, which, however, seems to me to be far less tenable, is that the grave was hastily excavated in the Elizabethan period for the reception of a person dead of the plague, and that the body was covered with quick lime. On this theory the presence of the gem need not be deemed fortuitous; but the theory is practically negatived by the fact that the calcareous material was not concentrated at the bottom of the grave.

Prebendary W. G. Clark-Maxwell, who has interested himself very closely in the discovery, thinks that "the careful preparation of the grave, with its 'pillow,' is against the theory of a burial in time of plague." He considers that, "on the whole, the most likely explanation" (which, however, he does not offer confidently) is that a burial was made here during the time of the Interdict laid upon the Church in the reign of King John. We have it on good authority that the dead were not buried in consecrated ground during the Interdict (1208-1213), but I have already mentioned the evidence which leads me to assign a considerably older date to the excavation; moreover, what has become of the body?

Another correspondent has put the question—"If the gem dates from about Elizabethan times, can the grave be that of a recusant?" The reply to this is that no recusant is known to have been resident in this district; nor does it seem probable that recusants forfeited their right to be buried in consecrated ground.

I have tried to place the reader in possession of all the evidence in connection with this unexpected and anomalous discovery. If anything further comes to light I hope to be allowed to publish it as a note in our "Miscellanea." It is gratifying to be able to report that the owner of the site (Major A. W. Foster) has forbidden any further destruction of the grave; but it is very desirable that the excavation should be roofed over, protected from storm-water, and fenced round. The soft sandstone in which it was sunk is very liable to damage, especially by the boots of visitors who clamber in and out of the grave; a piece of the pillow has already been broken away.

Bridgnorth :  
4, June, 1935.

## SHROPSHIRE DIALECT STORIES.

At the present time much interest is felt in the rapidly vanishing features of local folk-speech. Unfortunately Shropshire speech is exceptionally difficult to reproduce in print. A specimen is given in "Shropshire Folklore," but the only other printed sketches extant are some by Dr. Josiah Oldfield, which he has kindly allowed the Shropshire Archaeological Society to reproduce.

H. M. A.

- (I.) "Dunnie Sam an the howd sow."
- (II.) "I gid 'im 'is answer."
- (III.) "Yeddurt an Tummus."

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"DUNNIE SAM AN THE HOWD SOW."

"Yo wantn to know weer I've bin, well I'll tell yo if yo oona mind shettin the door a bit, az these oud ramshankin places bin all wind an' wayter uthis time a year. Sit ya down itha oud arm cheer an mak yerself cumfertuble while I scrat a few bits a coal to put a tha fire fur the wind's despert varse, innad it ? "

I ventured to ask what she wanted to scratch the coal for, to make it burn better or why ?

"Yo binnad a Shropshire mon I con see if yo dunna know wad 'scrat' means, it inna 'scratch' at all, it's to scrat and tar anythin together yo known (I didn't know, but let that pass), that's scrawmblin and scrawlin about the place, now dunny know ? "

I can't say I was one whit the wiser, but I was afraid of another torrent of such words as 'scrawmblin,' and 'scrattin,' and 'tarrin,' so I meekly assented that I *thought* I did.

" Well so yo ought'n Ish think, I thought every softy knew what 'scrat' meand."

I thought that very complimentary to my appearance, so I gently smiled and perhaps looked more of a "softy" than ever.

" Well, as I was jest a sayin to meself afore yo cum in, it's a mercy 'e wanna killed, that it is, for that owd sow's no great shakes I con tell yo, er'd as lif chawmble yo as look at yo when er's riled a bit. Yo sen it wuz jest a thisn owd Dikkin ud cum to ring sum pigs fur Jones, a tha uvver farm that is, and a sted uv aputtin em in the sty they druv em up into that bit uv a slang at the top a the yord, they wun but little uns, only jest weanded so they didna think to 'ave any trubble ooth em. Well owd Long Ivvans stood to shoo em back while Dikkin cotched an rung em, and theer jest by, little Dunnie Sam, yo known little Dunnie, dunna ya? Well, 'e was stondin clos by watchin em, and as owd Dikkin was busslin about tryin to catch em, yo known 'e inna so lissom as 'e was, 'e's gettin a howd fella now—'e stood theer cloppin 'is little ons and dainsin about shoutin: 'Now 'e's got im, now 'e's got im, no 'e anna, e e e little piggie, 'e's got outen 'is teel, 'e's gon again, now 'e's got 'im, e e e e. Oh, 'e's tumbled down poor little piggie, didum make in squeal.' But jest in the midst on is antics when 'e wuz cloppin an shoutin away a thatn wad should cum up but tha howd sow, erd got out someow, an was in a despert way eerin er little uns squealin a thatn. So er took at poor little Sam, thinkin I spose ut 'e must be doin' summat at em, dainsin about and caperin; awever er took at im, an bein deaf 'e didna 'eer 'er cummin, so jest uz 'e was a shoutin again, "Now 'e's got 'im" 'er 'ad 'im, and got her tit into 'is jacket an carri'd 'im off like a fither, 'e begun to squeal like a good un then, an Ivvans and Dikkin after 'er shoutin' like mad, an' all the little pigs a squealin' an' runnin' atween ther legs threw owd Long Ivvans down swosh into the mixen 'ole, and the owd 'ens flyin' an fluskerin all roads, theer wuz a perty ow-dya-do, I con tell yo. But that owd thing oodna loose 'im, but was carryin' 'im off to the sty only 'er coodna get 'im in as 'e was cross wised in 'er mouth, and Dikkin fotched her a slosh ooth a big stick, then 'er dropped 'im, but 'er dar'd em fur lung after, the owd brute, 'e wanna urt very much only despert frittened

an 'is muther oodna let 'im get up to-day, so I've bin up jest to see 'ow 'e wuz, but 'es uz as 'appy as a king, only 'e tells us "they munna catch those little piggies, munny mother? it inna right to 'urt their little noses is it? I oona never goo theer again." Oh ay, 'ell be all right again never fear, well if yo *mun* goo I oona 'inder yo, on'y I should a liked yo to a stayed an ad a cup-a-tea. Well, good-day, be kyarful 'ooth these winds they bin very bad fur catchin coud 'ooth, good day." "Good day."

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"I GID 'IM 'IS ANSWER."

"Well I never! wadny think?" "I dah no, wad is it?" Such were the words that caught my ear as cosily nestled in an old ivy bower beside a country lane in Shropshire, I was half dozing in an ecstacy of poetic imagination: thus rudely brought back to the world of reality, I drank in with infinite amusement the colloquy that ensued.

Need I say they were two women?

"Why oud Mrs. Watsername up yander has lost some gis (geese) 'r summat, an sent fur the pleeceman."

"Dear 'art alive, I never urd nothin about it, wen wus it?"

"A Munday I expect, a well awever as I was a givin the pig 'is brekfust, oo should come lordin' down the gyarden but that oud red yedded bobby from Dawriton."

"Well I never!"

"It put me in a perty puther I can tell yah, I was afeard our Tum ad bin doin' summat, 'e's such a gallus lad, allis up to sum mischiff, but thinks I, I'll give 'im is change if 'e comes 'ere with 'is summinges, so I waits *for* 'im. 'Sted o saying anythin, he cum rite through the wicket and was makin fur our oud ovvil yo known, at the back o' the pigstye?"

" Iss sure I know."

" So I styarred at 'im a bit, but he went on round as cheeky as could be. So I axed 'im,—weer binny gween? "

" Oh, round 'ere a bit, to see wat yo've got in that ovvil place."

" That's no bisnis o yourn I ses, an look ya 'ere I ses, ses I if yo dunna clire out o' ere pretty soon, I'll shown yo wad I'm made of, yo impudent scoundril."

" Well dun, yo sarved *'im* right."

" Ish think so, the very idea cummin spyin about my places, so he turns round and says"—

" My good woman."

" Good ooman yourself, I ses, ya red yedded oud beggar, wadni think we want such fellas as yo about the place for, peepin' and pryin', yo dar put a fut in that ovvil and I'll clire the kit of yo, I ses, and I ood a done it too, I'd a took at 'im an knocked 'im into next wik tho' 'es as big as the side of a 'ouse, I 'ood let the *consequences* a bin wat it 'ood afore 'e should a put a fut on my premises, well, awever 'e didn't seem inclined to tackle me (I looked through the hedge and thought very likely not, unless being " red yedded " made him venturesome) and begun makin some cock-an-bull story about the gis bein lost, an 'e mun 'unt for um, an so I'd better let him jes' look in to say as e'd bin, an a wunna theer, but I wanna gween to be done a-that-a-road, so I ses, ses I—theers the wicket, out you gwoan or I'll put yo out, that's plain ses I."

" Well, wat did 'e say? "

" Oh begun a 'aglin summut about it been 'is juty, but I oodn't ere 'im, but took to'rds im, to get past him to the ovvil door, but w'ether 'e thought I was cummin at 'im or no I caw tell, but awever 'e backed off out uv my road on to that bit uv a plank yo known uz our Ned put over the mixen ole, just annunst the pigste wall to get over to the 'edge by, well jest as the oud beggar stepped back he cotched 'is fut again the edge of the plank and

went backurts slosh into the very middle on it, it surprised 'is nonsense, but 'e wanna very long tootherin' out I can tell yo, 'e didna stop for no more gis after that, but uckled off as 'ard as 'is legs could take 'im."

" 'e would go at a perty bat, I should liked to a sid 'im, but yo coodn't but say it sarved him right."

" Dear me " I ejaculated to myself, " I should beg to be excused from being a " pleeceman " in this part of the country."

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#### " YEDDURT AN TUMMUS."

They had been off to a flower show at Pitchford, and, sad to say, they had got somewhat " over the score," so that their journey home—a distance of some four miles—was not performed so steadily and quickly as it ought to have been ; and as their conversation showed they would have been much wiser to have done without " that last quart, mun." They were going off, arm in arm, down the fields, doing their very best to keep straight in the path, but when they came to the first stile they tried for a long time without success to get over *both together*.

" I tell ya wad, mun," at last Yeddurt began to say, " this wona doo, this stile innud a right un, ween atta av it down."

" Yo bin right, we mun pool it to pieces, yo gether outen that end, and I'll tak thisun," and so for some time they pulled away, or rather thought they were pulling together, but, as may be imagined, they didn't alter the stile at all. At last a bright thought struck Tummus.

" Yeddurt, my lad." " Wad now ? " " Yo get over the other side, an we shan ammore play at it like, mun."

" Aw right, I dah kyar," said the willing Yeddurt, and forgetting all about the first difficulty which was the cause of their wrath against the poor stile, he managed to get over by himself without much trouble.

" Now then, *'eave oh, theyur*, that stirred im a bit, *hagain, hall* together," and so like a couple of old sawyers they kept swaying backwards and forwards, in reality not stirring it a bit, but thinking they were doing it, till at last Tummus, being the right side and getting tired, said, " lets go back an 'ave another pint, an then we shan do im sweetly."

But visions of an irate wife began to dawn on Yeddurt's not quite so muddled brain, so he answered, " Nod now, mun, we mun be gween wummurts, come on, my lad, we wona bother with the ould thing, ween leave it for *now* awever."

And so at last they managed to start off again, and as luck would have it, the other stiles for some distance were very low ones, and they got over without much bother, till presently coming to where the road divided they got a bit fogged again, Yeddurt persisting that "strite on" was the way, while Tummus wanted to go " that a way."

" Dunna yo tell me," says Yeddurt, " think I dah know the road from Pitch-pitch-pitchfurt? Allus keep strite on's my motto, so come on I tell yah."

" Nod fur jo," argued Tummus, " yo keepan strite on this fur, and then turnan right round, and goo athatn for a tidy bit like, and then yo keepan round by the coppis, an yo bin right theer, that's the way. I know, I know. No use yo sayin anythin, fur *that's* the way."

" Well, mun, we wona quarrel, shake ons, mun, we wona quarrel. I'm quite willin to goo *er* a road ats right." And so these two worthies set to shaking hands for a bit, till at last, joining arms again, they went jogging off down the road to the left, which, to the credit of Tummus be it said, was the shortest though the worst road.

They were not long in getting down to the Row Brook from there, for it was down bank, and once they got on the start they couldn't stop, but kept going faster and faster. Off went Tummus's hat, but he couldn't stop to get it. Faster and faster they went their hair flying and their great corduroy trouser legs flapping, till at last Yeddurt caught his foot in a stone, and went bang down all along, as he afterwards said, "a pretty trollocker," but Tummus, managing to keep up, went right down to the bottom, but then he couldn't stop himself, but over the bank he went, down "slosh" into the brook. Happily it wasn't very deep, but he was very frightened, and too much shaken to get out again, so holding on to the bank, lay half in and half out of the water, "dithering like tha hagur," and bellowing—

"Oh, Yeddurt, I'm drowndin, come an 'elp me out, Yeddurt. Oh, my poor owd ooman. I wish I'd never gwun. Yeddurt, mun, 'elp me, mun."

But Yeddurt didn't like to get down the bank for fear of slipping himself, so looking over the top he tried to cheer his comrade up a bit.

"I tell thee wud, Tummus, houd thee fast on to the bottom, an thee costna goo no dipper, mun, that's my motto."

"But I'm sinkin, gi me yer ond. Oh, Yeddurt, tak cyar a my poor owd ooman, I shall never see ur again. Oh, I'm drowndin, I'm gween."

"I tell thee, mun, houd fast to the bottom, I say that's my motto, then yo conna goo no dipper. Houd fast, that's it, houd fast to the bottom, an yone be right enough."

"But ther *is* no bottom, lad. I'm gooin dipper an dipper."

"That's it then, goo dipper still, yo'n find it if yo'n only goo dip enough, and *then* houd fast, that's my motto, lad, houd fast to the bottom, and yo conna goo no dipper."

"Oh, I'm drowndin, I'm drowndin. If I'd only a knowned. It was that last afe-pint as did it. What'll my owd ooman do when I'm gwun? I da know. Oh, Yeddurt, Yeddurt, I'm gwine."

And poor old Tummus subsided into a dismal wail. And so far as Yeddurt could help him or he could help himself, it's most likely his "owd ooman" would have had to do without him as best she could, but as good fortune would have it, "Dicky Davies" was just coming down, or as he says himself, "I was jest a gwine down the bonk to wayter owd Odge's orses, an I urd sum'd'y a roarin an blubberin, so I stood moithered a bit, fur I coodna fur the life of me tell weer the row cum from till I ketched sight a oud Yeddurt Preece sittin utha bruck bonk, scrattin is yed like a ouse a fire, so I shouted, an axed him wad was the matter, but 'e only kep pointin down into the bruck, and I coodna ear wad 'e was sayin, so I went to'ard im, an 'e kep on pointin, an I bagan to make out wad 'e said. "I tell im to houd fast to the bottom, an then 'e conna goo no dipper, but 'e oonad, but that's my motto, mun, houd fast, I allus say, houd fast to the bottom lad if yo bin drowndin." So it struck me ther must be sum'd'y itha wayter, an the houd fool was too drunk ta 'elp him out. An wen I got theer, who d'n'y think it was? Why oud Tummy Weever, 'im as they callen Volver, lyin kicken itha bruck, an callin for 'is oud ooman an swarrin 'e'd never goo to tha public 'ouse again. It'll be a good thing fur 'er an 'im if 'e'll only keep to it. Well, after a good bit a trubble, I got 'im out, but 'e was like a drownded rot, an 'e'd lost his 'at, an 'is face was all over mud an slosh, sich a figger yo never sid in yore life. I was fit to laff my eyes out, only I was afraidn 'im ketchin 'is death a coud, so I 'urried 'im on whum as fast as I could, drivin the 'orses along ooth us as soon as they wun ready, an that oud sawny Yeddurt Preece kep on all the while the ool way whum, " 'E oodna doo as I toud im, to houd fast to the bottom, or 'ed a bin all right, for 'e coodnad a gwun no dipper, that's my motto, *Wenever yo bin drowndin, houd fast to tha bottom an then yo conna goo no dipper.*"

They got a perty blowin up when they got whum though, but I think it's done oud Volver good, for I've never seen him drunk since awever."

“ MY CASE WITH THE COMMITTEE OF SALOP.”  
 COLONEL MYTTON VERSUS THE PARLIAMENTARIAN COMMITTEE.  
 BY J. E. AUDEN, M.A.

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In my paper on *Lieut.-Col. Reinking in Shropshire*, (Transactions vol. XLVII, p t. I, p. 33), I alluded in a Footnote (p. 46) to Letters among the *Tanner MSS* in the Bodleian, which referred to the quarrel between Mytton and the Shropshire Parliamentarian Committee, in February 1645-6. At the time I wrote I had not seen the said Letters, but have since then obtained copies, which I now append with a few preliminary notes, and the answers to them as found in the State Papers, Domestic.

Directly after Oswestry was taken from the Royalists, and Colonel Mytton appointed Governor, on June 23, or 24, 1644, Lord Denbigh received peremptory orders from\* the London Committee of Both Kingdoms, to proceed at once to Knutsford, and there meet Sir Thomas Middleton, commanding the Parliament's forces in North Wales, Sir William Brereton those in Cheshire, Sir John Meldrum those in Lancashire, Sir John Gell those in Derbyshire, and Lord Grey of Groby those in Leicestershire. They were to consult together how they might join forces and block Prince Rupert's return and his march to attack Sir William Waller in Gloucestershire, should he be successful in raising the siege of York.

The following is Malbon's account in his *Civil War in Cheshire*. “ On Midsom' daye, 1644, Colonell Brereton retorne from London to Namptwiche. The weeke before S<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Midleton came back alsoe to Namptwiche. On Thursday, the xxvii<sup>th</sup> of June, the Earle of Denbighe, w<sup>th</sup> one troupe of horse, came lykewyse to Namptwiche, quartring the rest of his horse att Whitchurche, and by the way as hee came; And then w<sup>th</sup> their forces marched all togeither towards Lancashire, and kepte their Randevous on Saturday upon Rudheath: unto whom came the Lord Graye and Sir John Gell, w<sup>th</sup> greate forces bothe of horse and foote. And from Rudheath they marched altogether to Knottesford, being in number about twelve thowsand.”

The disaster, however, to the Royalists at Marston Moor on July 2, rendered an expedition from Knutsford unnecessary.

But before he left Oswestry, Lord Denbigh made all necessary arrangements for the safety of the Governor and his new charge. On 27 June, he wrote to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, from Wem, " upon my march to the rendevois at Knotsford to follow those commands you have laid upon me " :—" Upon my leaving Oswaldstre, I ordered a good quantity of ammunition and three companies of Sir T. Middleton's to be sent to reinforce that garrison, w<sup>th</sup> by my horse were safely convaide into the towne, so that now there are neare upon 400 musquettiers fitted with all necessaries, and a good ingenier to secure that garrison, and a full troope of horse." On the next day he wrote to the same from Nantwich " June 28, att three o'clock in the afternoone, 1644 " :—" My regiment of foote and Sir Thomas Middleton's are grown so weake that they are not able to guard theire colours, and therefore wee thought fitt to leave them for the defence of Wem and Oswaldestre."

Now Lord Denbigh's infantry had been raised in Warwickshire and Staffordshire, and Middleton's in Denbighshire and Flintshire, and this fact may have had a considerable bearing on the actions of the Shropshire Committee. For no sooner had the Earl left on distant service, than the latter found opportunity for revenging themselves for the snubs they had received when they tried to oppose Colonel Mytton being appointed to an independent command without consultation with themselves.

Among the *Denbigh MSS* is a letter to the Earl from a Major Ramsay, dated from Wem as early as 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1644, reporting of " the ill-fame of things since his departure in the diminishing of his regiment," and laying stress on the want of money for the payment of his men, and stating that they are " without clothes."

Yet the Shropshire Committee were living at Wem, and must have known of the straits the soldiers were in. Probably their argument was that as they had had no voice in appointing Mytton, and, as he was Deputy Commander and Vice-gerant for Lord Denbigh, let him or his Commanding Officer find the pay. And they could do this more easily because the men were strangers, who could apply no local or family pressure and influence on the Members.

The following is a letter from the Earl to Colonel Mytton:—

Coll: Mytton: I will not trouble you with the injuries that are offered to you and myselfe by the Committe of Wem. I am sure you have deserved more of the Parliament than the rest of the Committee. Captaine Clive, as I am informed, reports I was not at the takeing of Oswaldstre, and that my Horse stood att too great a distance. I am sure they entred with the foote. But the false representations of passages heere shall not divert me from those occassions that may fully expresse me to be

Your faithfull frend and servant

Condor. 29<sup>th</sup> of Oct.  
1644.

Denbigh.

The official report of the Capture of Oswestry Town, and Castle ran:—"We forced open the gates, and the horse entered resolutely. My Lord himself entered the town with the horse, neglecting thoughts of his own safety." But it is easy to understand why Capt. Clive should try to belittle his conduct, when we remember how, as reported, the Earl had looked passively on when one of "his officers at Oswestry, Colonel Stepkins, an officer of Staffordshire, called Mr. Clive, a member of the Shropshire Committee, "a Jack-an-apes," and kicked him in the presence of his Lordship."

Then again among the *Denbigh MSS.* is another letter to the Earl from the officers of his Regiment, dated "Wem. Nov. 22, 1644," representing the extremities to which they had been reduced by the destructive courses adopted by the Committee of Wem, to "ye end that they may overthrow us by policy, it not being in their power to disband us." The writers therefore crave speedy orders from his Lordship to remedy this extreme necessity, and, will approve themselves Lord Denbigh's faithful servants "notwithstanding the Committee's report of your Lordship's no more coming down as Generall."

Basil, Earl of Denbigh, had been appointed "Commander in Chief for the Associated Counties of Warwick, Worcester, Stafford and Salop," in 1643, with the power of appointing officers, and retained this position till April 2, 1645, when he resigned under the Self-Denying Ordinance, which precluded

Members of the Houses of Lords or Commons from holding a military commission. After his exploits at Oswestry, he was ordered back to Stafford to "remaine there as long as he shall finde himself usefull to the service of the Kingdome," and he does not appear to have revisited Shropshire, as later on Coventry was assigned to him as Head Quarters. No doubt he felt quite sure that Colonel Mytton would and did act as a very efficient deputy, and representative of his "General in Chief"; also his disagreements with the Shropshire Committee would not encourage him to come into a district they claimed to be under their sole jurisdiction.

This Committee wanted to make Denbigh only general in name, and to set at naught his authority, since his force was supported from local sources. But he left Colonel Mytton as an independent commander in North Shropshire, to perform military operations untrammelled by consultations with, and orders from, that Committee. And Mytton seems to carried out his expeditions "entirely on his own," no references being found to it in the accounts of his exploits in News Letters. In fact he appears in these as "Colonel Mitton, Commander in Chiefe of the Forces in Shropshire, under the Right Honourable the Earle of Denbigh."

In action he proved almost as brilliant a leader of Cavalry as Prince Rupert, for the same dash and vigour and courage characterised his raids, forays and fights. The "full troope of horse," however, left him by Denbigh, must have been greatly increased, for a troop in those days comprised only 70 men. His horses, too, must have been splendid animals to go the long distances they were called upon to traverse.

As instances of his activity—we read in the Parliamentarian *Mercurius Civicus* :—"By letters, dated Aug. 7. 1644, it is advertised that Col. Mitton lately faced Shrewsbury with his horse, and with another party kept Montford Bridge, and wheeled about the town with another party through Crow Meole and Brace Meole to Atcham bridge. Col. Hunkes, the governor of Shrewsbury, sent a party of horse against Col. Mitton's forces. Our forces fell upon them on both sides, whereupon the enemy's forces fled."

In the same month, hearing that the remnant of Prince Rupert's own cavalry-regiment, which had escaped from Marston Moor, were quartered at Welshpool, he, with about 300 horse assisted by some infantry of Sir Thomas Middleton's, beat up their billets one night and took nearly 100 Royalists prisoners.

Again, learning that Sir William Vaughan and his officers in Shrawardine Castle were in the habit of attending service at the Church just outside the walls, the Colonel led a party, who captured them while on their knees, and ordered Vaughan, with a pistol at his head, to surrender his Castle. The latter, however, managed to wrench himself free, and regain the fortress, and Mytton had to retire with a loss of 5 killed, but taking with him 5 prisoners. This took place on Sunday, Oct. 13, 1644.

As a last exploit,—told at length by Gough, (*Myddle* pp. 410, 412)—there is his own narrow escape from capture in March, 1644-5. Rupert and Maurice “took their quarters all night at Cockshutt and the next day made their rendez-vous at Ellesmere.” Mytton “hoping to find some stragglers in Ellesmere that stayed behind the army came with a troop of horse through byways. But when he came to the gate that goes out of Oakley Park, he found he was come too soon for there were 3 or 4 troops of horse at Oakley Hall, which got between him and home.” These latter “followed so close that all the general's men before they came to Ellesmere were taken except the general and one George Higley. The general lost his hat, but being furnished again he went to Oswestree.” [Of his men taken Rupert hanged 12 in retaliation for the execution of the 2 Irish soldiers from Shrawardine taken at Myddle, and the 11 Irish taken at Shrewsbury, one of Mytton's being begged off.]

(1) FROM THE COMMITTEE IN SHROPSHIRE TO THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH KINGDOMS.<sup>(1)</sup>

According to the trust reposed in us by the Parliament and ye Instruccons received from the House of Comons, we have

(1) *Tanner MSS.* in the Bodleian, LX. 444.

The Committee of Both Kingdoms was formed in Feb. 1643-4. Its sittings made a sort of War Office, where the plans of campaigns were devised, and the movements of Commanders were directed. It also communicated with all the country committees, and chief officers in their service. The members met at Derby House, the London mansion of the Royalist Earl who bore the title of Derby, which is now the Heralds' College.

employed our endeavours to settle an orderly Militia in this Country, which we have effected in all places where due orders are observed, w<sup>th</sup> none oppose but ye Garrison of Oswestre, and y<sup>t</sup> with such Insolency y<sup>t</sup> their example hath a bad Influence on ye rest of ye souldiary in this County. And although we have endeavoured by faire meanes to reduce y<sup>m</sup> to a more regular governm<sup>t</sup>, all o<sup>r</sup> endeavors have proved abortive, they being protected from punishment, and we now hopeles of doing any good, Coll: Mytton countenanceing them therein. Of late a paper bearing the Collonell's name was disperst in several parts of this county scandalizing us, endeavouring thereby, as we conceive, to work a division in ye county, and to cast ye odium of the miscarriages of his souldiers upon us. On ye 11<sup>th</sup> of this instant month we sent out a party of horse and foote, to secure ye collectors of ye weakely pay from Arcall garrison.<sup>(2)</sup> They of Oswestree hearing thereof, on ye 13<sup>th</sup> drew out ye strength of y<sup>t</sup> garrison and marched up to ours, telling y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> if they gathered contribucon they would fight with y<sup>m</sup>, for they have their Collonell's orders so to doe. The Capt: y<sup>t</sup> comandid o<sup>r</sup> party, being a religious and discreet man, drew into his own quarters, and told them he was unwilling to fight, but if they fell upon him he would defend himselfe, and sent word thereof unto us. We, knowing these to be desparately bent, and our partie too weake to secure themselves, sent out some more horse and foote<sup>(3)</sup> only to bring y<sup>m</sup> off, and to require ye cause of ye disorder. W<sup>th</sup> took this effect, (for w<sup>th</sup> we blesse God), y<sup>t</sup> they of Oswestree, w<sup>th</sup>out any harme done, engaged themselves to return in peace, and y<sup>t</sup> Captain Seint Symkins<sup>(4)</sup> and Pitchford, two deboyce persons, and the actors in this disorder, should appear before us on Thursday next, w<sup>th</sup> we expect they will observe, as they have done our orders. Although we have been ever unwilling to trouble you w<sup>th</sup> complaints, though we

(2) *Arcall*, (i.e. High Ercall), was a Royal Garrison till March 27, 1646. Hence the strong escort to protect the Parliamentarian Collectors from Shrewsbury, and perhaps also to overawe the Garrison of Oswestry.

(3) *More horse and foot.* "About 800 horse and foot," under Lieut. Col. Reinking, according to the *Mercurius Veredicus*.

(4) Captain Thomas Symkis or Symkins was made by Col. Mytton his Deputy governor of Beaumaris Castle, on June 25, 1646. I do not know if he was the above Captain Symkins. He had commanded Mytton's own troop of horse, before his appointment to Beaumaris.

have had as just a cause as any yet, so high a contempt of y<sup>t</sup> power you have been pleased to enstruct us with we conceived not fitting to conceale, not knowing to what it may tend, nor how farre it may indanger the safety of this Country, w<sup>ch</sup> is so much distracted by so publique expression, y<sup>t</sup> at present we are unfit for action. Wherefore we humbly beseech you to consider how much these distractions will retarrd ye publique service, (we being thereby taken of a designe of consequence ready to be put in execution), and what a burden it will be to this almost ruined country to maintain an unnecessary strength in a governor y<sup>t</sup>, now Chester is taken,(5) may be well secured by putting some foote in ye Castle,(6) and a faythful Comand<sup>r</sup>, and making the Towne a horse-quarter, of all w<sup>ch</sup> wee shall be very carefull. And y<sup>t</sup> Coll: Mytton's Regiment, consisting of about 550 foote, and his horse may be drawne very advantageously into ye service of North Wales.(7) And thereby ye peace of this Country will be settled, w<sup>ch</sup> is really ye end of o<sup>r</sup> desires, and we shall be much encouraged to manifest o<sup>r</sup> desires to bee

Your faythfull and homble servauntes,

H. Mackworth. Ambyozl Rollines(8). Rob<sup>t</sup> Charlton,  
Leigh". Owen.

Salop. feb. 15, 1645-[6].

(2) FROM COLONEL THOMAS MYTTON TO THE SPEAKER OF THE  
HOUSE OF COMMONS.(9)

Necessitie enforceth me to become an humble sutor unto you, that you will bee pleas to procure me the favour that theis lynes maye have audience. Things beinge growne to y<sup>t</sup> height they can admit of no delaye.

(5) Lord Byron surrendered Chester to the Parliament on Feb. 3, 1645-6.

(6) The Castle of Oswestry.

(7) North Wales. " Mytton, whose disputes with the local committee had not impeded his successes, took Ruthyn on April 8," (Webb, *Herefordshire* II, 267), and was away from Oswestry at the siege of this place when the above letter was written complaining of his men. The Committee wished to get rid of him, and his soldiers, and be themselves the sole authority in Shropshire, with " a faythful Commander " of their own choice and appointment at Oswestry. Their complaints, however, did not interfere with Mytton's advancement, for he was gazetted Major General of North Wales on May 12.

(8) I have not been able to trace Rollines; Mackworth, of Betton, Charlton, of Apley, and Owen, of Braginton, are well known Shropshire men.

(9) *Tanner MSS. LX. 461. Bodleian.*

The Comittee of Saloppe have denied to pay my soulders att the Garrison on Oswaldestree neere uppon 6 months. Whereupon for the keepinge of them from disbandinge, I have taken uppe above 400 li. to content them in some measure, and for w<sup>ch</sup> I paie interest, hopeinge before this to have had a Positive order for paye for them. But ye Comittee, notwithstandinge 3 letters from the Comittee of both Kingdomes unto them, have Refused to pay them, and, about ffrydaye last, sent out a stronge Partye of Horse and ffoote from Saloppe to force ye countrie neere Oswaldtree to paye their contribuccons unto them. Whereupon my men drewe out of Oswaldtree, and both Partyes quartered in a Towne called Ellesmire that night. I have sent the Bearer, my Secretarye, nowe thither, and soe w<sup>th</sup> all speed, to Accquaint the hon<sup>ble</sup> howse of Comons what is done. I hope God will not suffer them to destroye one ye other. As soone as I heard of it, I sent w<sup>th</sup> all speed to Comand myne back to theire garrison, Though I heare the Comittee have sent a Reserve after theirs. Uppon their denyall to Paye my men after Comand from ye Comittee of both Kingdomes, my men sent me word hither y<sup>t</sup> they would stay in ye garrison noe longer, unlesse I would procure them Paie. Whereupon I sent some letters abroad unto ye 2 hundreds of Oswalds Tree and Pymhill, w<sup>ch</sup> usuallie heretofore paid unto that Garrison, to desire them to paye unto them still, not doubtinge but this hon<sup>ble</sup> howse will allowe of y<sup>t</sup> Course rather than ye Garrison should be endangered, all my horse and ffoote disbanded, yea such, that I am persuaded the Comittee Themselves will not denye but have done as good service for so manye months as any in these Partes of ye Kingdome. I have sent hereinclosed the truth of the differences betweene ye rest of The Comittee of Saloppe and my selfe.<sup>(10)</sup> I humblie desire that this hon<sup>ble</sup> Howse wil bee Pleased to a Positive order Therein, or els that they wil bee Pleased to order the Comittee to pay them theire arreares till this matter be decided.<sup>(11)</sup> And y<sup>t</sup> I may receave my moneye I am engaged for. W<sup>ch</sup> engagement and ye Comittee with theire fforces usinge mee as they do, in my estate, cawseth mee to borowe moneye to have a beinge for myselfe and famelye. And, Mr.

(10) See Document at the end of this letter.

(11) The hurry and stress of emotion under which this letter was written is apparent in almost every sentence."

Speaker, if it Please ye hon<sup>ble</sup> howse but to send my Gentleman and owne [i.e. one] w<sup>th</sup> comission to examyne the Passages betweene them and me, howe I have both spoken unto them and written unto them to desire all amitye [and] ffreindshippe w<sup>th</sup> them, and howe they Reward mee, and [how] they thinkew<sup>th</sup> mee, or respecte mee. I am assured my case will appeare much to be pitted, that I and all my friends from these for whom I have done Service to the uttermost of Abilietie, should receave such a Requitall. Neverthelesse I will not by God's assistance bee dismayed, but do Relye uppon God, who I doubt not but will bringe mee out of all these troubles. If knowing my intentions in all my Actions in this great worke of God now in this Kingdome, to be voyd of any end but the Publique good, Let any one shewe that I have any wais sought my owns endes, and then I shall have no longer desire to be Accompted

Your most humble and faythfull Servant

Ruthyn,

Thos: Mytton.

18<sup>th</sup> feb<sup>y</sup> 1645[6].

#### MY CASE w<sup>th</sup> YE COMITTEE OF SALOPPE.(<sup>12</sup>)

Aboute ye latter end of Maye, 1643, came 3 or more of his Comissions from the Earle of Essex, then L<sup>d</sup> Generall,(<sup>13</sup>) for me to raise 3 regiments, horse, foote and dragoones, with power to make all comanders and officers. 3 of ye said Comittee tooke comissions for Captaines under mee, 2 of them for horse, and one for foote. About Maye, 1644, some of ye Comittee, not Acquaintinge ye rest of us, obtained an ordinance enablinge them To raise forces to bringe into obedience the said countie, and To dispose of all the money raised in ye said countie to paie the men so raised by ye Comittee. And in ye said ordinance added to and suspended from the Comittee whom they pleased. And by the instructions for the countie of Warwick,(<sup>14</sup>) unto

(12) This is Mytton's "Truth of the differences between the rest of the Committee of Saloppe and himselfe."

(13) The Earl of Essex was appointed Lord General of the whole army of the Parliament in July, 1642, and Col. Mytton naturally valued highly the commission granted by the Commander-in-Chief himself. It was a much greater honour than those the Committee granted to each other.

(14) On April 10, 1643, Parliament appointed by Ordinance an anti-Royalist Committee of twenty members, for "the Association of the Counties of Warwick, Stafford, and Salop." Among its members were Robert Corbett, Andrew Lloyd, Humphrey Mackworth, Thomas Hunt, etc. who formed the Wem Committee.

which our ordinance and Association relates, they make themselves collonels and other officers, and so by these ordinances they have engrossed the whole Militia into theire own regiments and pay them onlie, and cast off all ye rest of us. About 3 months since I rec<sup>d</sup> a Comission from the Committee of both Kingdoms, according to an ordinance of Parli<sup>t</sup>, to be governor of the garrison of Oswaldis Tree. But ye Committee of Saloppe denie to give mee anie paie for that garrison except I will take theire men into ye Towne, and putt oute my owne. Now I do humblee appeale unto ye hon<sup>ble</sup> howse of Comons whether I shall thus bee put out of my Countie, (alliaging nothing against me), in case it be in theire power, havinge got that power as above mentioned, and whether it is in the interest of The howse that the Committee should be Collonells in that Countie. I humblie offer allsoe whether the forces raised by Consent of ye Committee before the ordenance 1644, and denied no paie untill September last, are not to be paied.

Thomas Mytton.

18<sup>th</sup> feb<sup>y</sup>, 1645-[6].<sup>(15)</sup>

Here follow the answers to the two letters, which show a clever attempt to satisfy both Mytton and the Committee of Shropshire, and to throw the blame of failure to do so on the Parliament. They pass no verdict on Mytton's charge of usurping a military authority the latter did not possess or on the suggestion that he should be removed.

(3) THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH KINGDOMS TO COLONEL THOMAS MYTTON.<sup>(16)</sup>

Derby House,

28 February, 1645-6.

Sr. We have received yours of the 18<sup>th</sup> from Ruthin relating to the differences between the forces of Oswestry and the Committee of Salop, which we look upon as likely to prove very dangerous, if not presently composed. We thank you for your endeavour to keep them together till some course can be taken for the further effecting thereof. We have reported both your letters and theirs to the House that an expedient may be found to determine and settle the difference. We desire you, in the meantime, to improve your power with them,

(15) *Tanner MSS. LX.*, 463. Bodleian.

(16) *State Papers, Domestic*, 1645-7, p. 359.

that no further inconveniences may happen. We have received many complaints of the disorders of those at Oswestry, which in regard of your absence from them<sup>(17)</sup> you can neither take notice of nor prevent, and also of very great and insufferable insolencies towards the Committee, who, we know, have done very good service to, and deserved very well of, the public. We are informed by the Committee that, upon the receipt of your letter to pay those at Oswestry, they sent thither the Muster-master of the County of Salop to muster the garrison, that they might know what their pay would amount to, but he was received with resenctful [resentful] language, and an absolute denial by them to be mustered. It behoves the Committee to be as careful as they can be for regular issuing the Collections and Contributions of an impoverished Country. We shall be ready to take notice of any good service these forces have done to the public; but their merit therein may be much lessened by their own disorders. We hope the Houses will do that which shall end the difference, and doubt not but you will add this to the rest of your own good services, to prevent all further inconveniences till the Houses shall have taken a resolution thereon. We have written to the Committee of Salop again to pay your men as their other garrisons are paid, and we desire you to give order to your men that they molest not the Committee in gathering the Contributions of the Country.

Sent by Mr. Butler.

(4) LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH KINGDOMS TO THE COMMITTEE OF SALOP.<sup>(18)</sup>

Derby House,

28 February, 1645-[6].

Sirs: We have received yours of the 15<sup>th</sup> inst:, and we are very sorry to hear the differences are grown so high amongst you, so that they are like to prove dangerous to yourselves, and may give the enemy an advantage against you. We know that very great service as rendered to the public by your Committee, and that they principally contributed to the reducing of that Country. We before wrote several letters in behalf of the soldiers of Oswestry, urging that they might be paid

(17) Colonel Mytton was now, by order of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, away from Oswestry, on his task of reducing the Royal Fortresses in North Wales.

(18) *State Papers, Domestic, 1645-7*, p. 358.

equally with the rest of your garrisons, but of which they complain that they have received no fruits. Whatever reasons there may be why they should not be so paid, yet there can be none to balance this danger of raising a division in the Country. And therefore, although the affronts you complain of are great and insufferable, and concerning which we have written to Colonel Mytton, yet we doubt not but your temper and great affection to the public will enable you to bear them till they can be reformed. And the rather by Provision of some pay for the soldiers make them serviceable to you in expediting the rest of your work, than by lengthening it out by Divisions, put your country to a greater charge. Meantime we desire they may have pay the same as other garrisons, and we have written to Colonel Mytton that you may gather those contributed without any molestation. We have likewise received a letter from Colonel Mytton, and have reported both his and yours to the Houses, that they may consider of an expedient to determine and settle these differences.

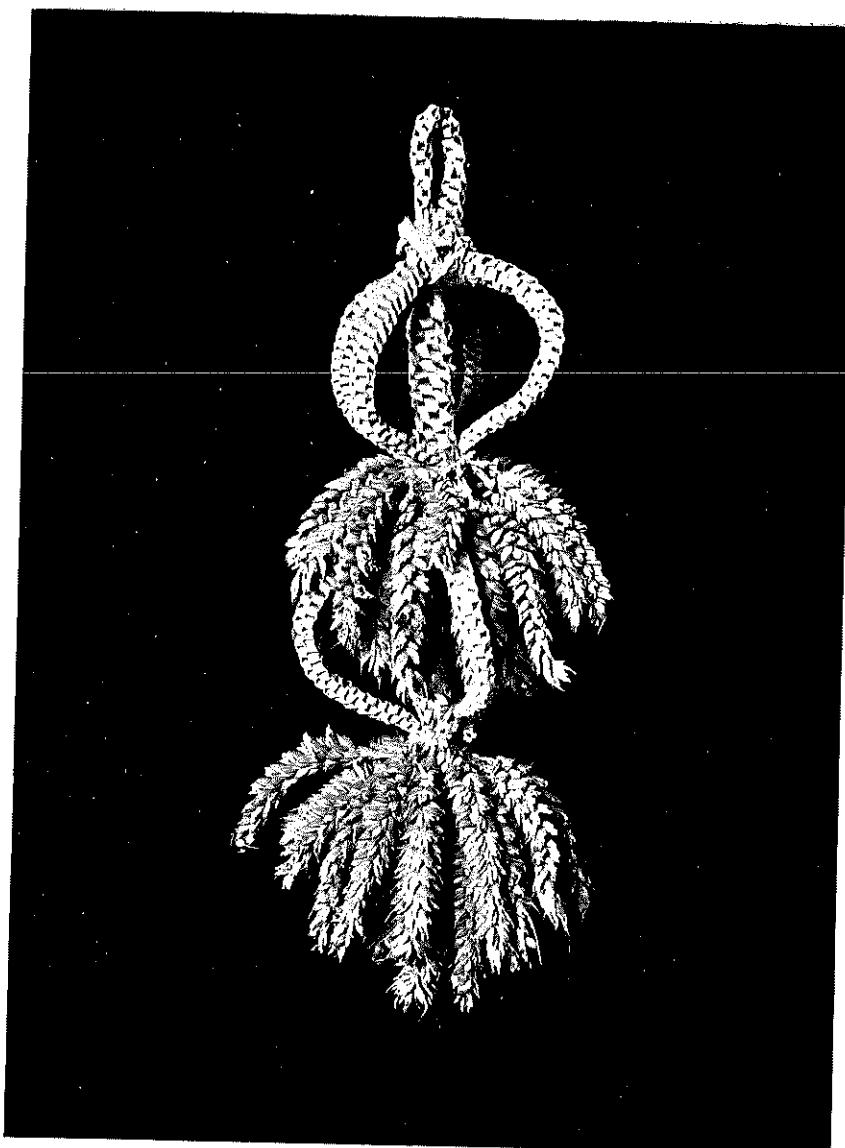
#### NOTES

PARLIAMENTARIAN COMMITTEES. "When the King's authority waxed feeble, and no sooner had his opponents gained sufficient force to keep their footing, than they introduced a Committee into their strongest and securest garrison. They would not wait till they had obtained possession of the chief town ; and if they could but establish themselves in a smaller place, as was done at Wem in Shropshire, it was sufficient for their purpose ; the destructive insect was lodged in the core, and sooner or later its ravages would appear. It is true that among the earliest appointments, persons of consequence in their respective districts were willing to accept the charge ; but, in process of time, the business fell into the hands of agents who were neither proof against the temptation to which their office exposed them, nor ashamed to employ their power to private ends. The intercourse of these local committees with the military in their own districts was not always cordial or efficient. Jealousy, humour, or clashing interests would impede it ; delay in procuring timely supplies would bring on disputes." (Webb, *Civil War in Herefordshire*, ii, pp. 87, 89).

The *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, Parliamentarian Governor of Nottingham, are full of complaints of the way he was treated, and his orders thwarted, by the Committee there.

"THOMAS MYTTON—MYTTON OF HALSTON,—above all others, was instrumental in keeping together the friends of the Parliament in the county of Shropshire, and in neutralizing in a great measure the influence of the Royalists there. And his superlative ability as a military commander, his unswerving fidelity to the Parliament, and his eminent humanity to his enemies, placed him in a more favourable light than any man in Wales, or the borders, who took sword in hand during that terrible struggle." (Phillip's *Civil War in Wales and the Marches*, p. 160).





*Photo : National Museum of Wales,*

*Reproduced by kind permission.*

PLAITED CORN ORNAMENT FROM YOCKLETON, SHROPSHIRE

Now in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.

## A HARVEST FIGURE FROM YOCKLETON, SHROPSHIRE.

BY

LILY F. CHITTY.

After the harvest of 1928, when visiting the Lynches, Yockleton, I espied hanging from a beam in the dining room an object of plaited wheat-stalks and heads of corn, evidently of the Corn-Maiden category. My delight at the discovery surprised the household, who knew it only as the ornament that old Edward Minton, a farm worker, had made annually for many years past for the Bromley family and brought to them each harvest, Mrs. Bromley allowing him a sheaf of wheat for the purpose. His only name for it was "the little cage" and enquiries showed that he knew no traditions about it and had only an idea that it would bring luck to the house. At the end of each year, when a new one was brought, the old one was generally fed to the fowls. Once Mrs. Bromley had suggested using the new ornament in the harvest decorations, but Minton said emphatically, "No, don't take it to the Church; it would only get spoiled." This was the sole suggestion of its pagan origin and may have been quite unconscious. He told Mrs. Bromley that when he was a boy he had seen an old man making these ornaments for the ends of corn stacks and was taught by him how to make them. He promised to make one for me at the next harvest, and Mrs. Bromley kindly agreed to give hers, at the end of its season, to the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, where it is now exhibited in the Bygones Section. It was published by Iorwerth C. Peate in the *Western Mail*, 3rd December, 1929, and in *Man*, September, 1930, No. 122, pp. 151-5, the illustrations being reproduced also in *Early Man* (Benn, 1931), Plates XI, XII, to illustrate H. J. E. Peake's paper, p. 125: Mr. Peate shows the relationship of our object to the Harvest Tuft, Mare (*Y Gaseg Fedi*) and Hag (*Y Wrach*) of Wales and the Marches. Its ultimate origin is possibly in human sacrifice made at the end of harvest to ensure fertility in the ensuing year.

Before the next harvest old Minton had become bedridden, but his promise was not forgotten and, after the threshing, corn was set aside for him and I received a message that my ornament was being made. In February 1930 I went up to his house on Ford's Heath and found it hanging ready in the kitchen. The old man was feeble and questions puzzled him ; his story did not accord with what he had told Mrs. Bromley. The account he gave me was that, when he was a lad of about 17, he watched such ornaments being made by a gang of six men<sup>1</sup> who came to work in the harvest for Mr. John (name forgotten) at Halston (Auston) by Pontesford : they used to plait them on Sundays when sitting at the inn. The corn, he said, ought to be pulled just before it is cut ; it is better to work then. His old wife, when asked, said they called the ornament "The Harvest Maiden," but I fear this name derived only from my conversation with Mrs. Bromley ! Edward Minton died in April 1930, aged 84, and was buried at Ford.

Although it is thus evident that its significance was unrecognised, there can be little doubt that the Yockleton corn ornament is a much-stylized female figure, complete with head and hair, body, cloak and skirt. Its length is roughly one foot, or 15 inches including the loop for suspension. Its foundation is a plaited rod of corn stalks tapering from the head downwards and ending in five heads of wheat. The body is represented by four loops, two made by plaits of seven stalks, two of five, caught in tightly to form a waist above the radiating skirt of heads, 29 in all, the longest in the centre. It appears that each bunch of heads was first tied together, then the plait begun. The head is formed likewise of four loops, each made by plaiting five stems of corn with good heads, which are caught in at the neck and stand out like a cloak above the body. In my specimen, eight ears of wheat have been tied around the top of the head, but these were absent from the Lynches ornament now at Cardiff. A separate plait formed a loop for suspension. Ordinary string was used to bind the several parts.

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<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the gang consisted of Welshmen or of men from the hill country where the harvest is later ; the custom of making these corn ornaments may thus be an importation from another region.

Miss Marjory Wight has kindly sent me a photograph of a "Corn-Baby" made at Mordiford about 1923, which is now in Hereford Museum; the general technique is similar to ours, though far less elaborate; a bundle of fine wheat has been bound so that the heads form a skirt, with the addition of a plaited loop on each side ending in a bunch of wheat-ears, and with a single ear at the neck terminating the suspension loop.

Edward Minton's last corn ornament will be placed in Shrewsbury Museum, where I trust it will be carefully preserved and may help to form the nucleus of such a collection of local "Bygones" as Salopians should be proud to collect and exhibit.

## CORSELLE AND SIWALDSTON.

CORSELLE. Eyton supposes this manor to be Cross-hills in Hinstock. I suggest it should be identified with Couls-hurst near Sutton in Market Drayton. The name shews many variations. In 1346 "Colshesell" was held by William Tittenleye under Wem. He was followed here by Roger Corbet, whose widow was seised of "Culseye" in 1396. In 1412 Roger Corbet and Roger Adams of "Colcesse" were presented as disturbers of the King's peace. In 1431 Thomas Corbet held "Colleshull." In a Subsidy Roll cir. 1540 John Barker was assessed for goods in "Colfos." In a Hodnet will of 1564 "Maister Barker of Colfis" is mentioned; in another of 1564 John Barker of "Colsiche" occurs; and in another of 1599 George Barker of "Colversuss." William Barker of "Colstes" occurs in the pedigree of Weever of Ternhill (1623). These Barkers were, I believe, all of Couls-hurst.

SIWALDSTON (Wroxeter). Eyton says, "I can only guess at the situation of this lost member of Eyton," and supposes it to lie between Aston and Rushton. In a Deed of 4 Hen. iv "Snallesdon infra dominium de Eyton" is mentioned. In the Grant of Wroxeter to Oteley, 37 Hen. viii, "Sewardstone" occurs, and in the Grant of 41 Eliz. this has become "Stewardstone." In 1655 we have a Lease from Newport to William Dorsett "of Snalston *alias* Shevalstone," where this latter form of the name suggests the original Siwaldston. Later Richard Jenkins was of "Snalstons Hill," and it was here presumably that he built Charlton Hill, which may be said to represent this "lost" member of Eyton. The above-mentioned Lease is among the Shrewsbury Free Library MSS.

R. C. PURTON.

## THE BOOK-TRADE IN SHROPSHIRE.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE STATIONERS, BOOK-SELLERS AND PRINTERS AT WORK IN THE COUNTY TO ABOUT 1800.

BY

LLEWELYN C. LLOYD.

No English county has been better served by capable and accurate historians than Shropshire. In Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*, Miss Jackson's *Shropshire Word-Book*, Miss Burne's *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, and Dr. Cranage's *Churches of Shropshire*, we have a quintet of authoritative works which cannot be bettered by any county in England; while the forty-odd volumes of the *Transactions* of the Shropshire Archaeological Society and many other works contain a rich store of information concerning almost every aspect of the past history of the shire. It is strange that amid all this evidence of careful research into Shropshire's "storied past" hardly any attempt has been made to investigate the history of bookselling and printing in the county. This, however, is a branch of local history which does not seem to have proved very attractive to antiquarians generally, for surprisingly little has been published on the history of provincial printing and publishing. In 1911 there appeared in *Bye-Gones a cri du coeur* from a correspondent signing himself "B. G." "Is it not possible", he asked, "to get more Shrewsbury light on Shrewsbury printing? Will someone investigate the whole history?" More than twenty years have passed since that appeal was printed, and it has remained unanswered. This paper is an attempt to answer it, with the addition of some particulars relating to the printers and booksellers of other towns in Shropshire.

It should be made clear at the outset that all this paper sets out to do is to give as full an account as possible of the men who have exercised the trade of bookselling or the craft of printing within the borders of Shropshire up to about 1800. A few names dating from more recent years have been included, usually because they are those of relatives of or successors to the earlier craftsmen. The real biography of a bookseller or printer is told

by the books he issues, and, with this in mind, it was my original intention to embody herein a list of the books printed in Shropshire up to 1800. The compilation of as complete a list as possible—and nothing less would be of much value—would necessitate a great deal of work at the British Museum, the Bodleian, the National Library of Wales, and other libraries, and this I have been unable to undertake. The only books mentioned, therefore, are those of particular interest or importance, or those which by their dates or imprints throw light upon the activities of their printers or publishers. There is urgent need of a complete bibliography of Shropshire literature—something on the lines of Hyett and Bazeley's *Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*—and this is a work which one hopes may be undertaken before the continued production of further books makes it an even more forbidding task than it is at present.

All the authorities consulted in the preparation of this paper have been acknowledged either in the Bibliography or in the relevant places in the text. A special indebtedness, however, must be acknowledged to the *Transactions* of the Shropshire Archaeological Society ; to Mr. Ifano Jones's *History of Printing and Printers in Wales* ; to the *Shrewsbury Burgess Roll*, edited by Mr. H. E. Forrest ; to the four dictionaries of booksellers and printers issued by the Bibliographical Society ; and to the *Journal* of the Welsh Bibliographical Society. Particular thanks are due to Mr. E. J. James and his staff at the Shrewsbury Public Library for ever ready and always courteous help ; while valuable assistance has also been given by Mr. W. Ll. Davies, M.A., of the National Library of Wales ; Mr. Morus Parry, of Chester ; Mr. H. Hughes, of Shrewsbury ; Mr. J. B. Oldham, M.A., librarian at Shrewsbury School ; Mr. H. E. Forrest, F.L.S. ; and Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth, of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.

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## ABBREVIATIONS.

B.M.—British Museum Library.

L.C.L. indicates that the book referred to is in the writer's collection.

M.P. indicates that the book referred to is in the collection of Mr. Morus Parry, of Chester.

S.P.L.—Shrewsbury Public Library (reference department).

## I.

## BOOKSELLING IN SHROPSHIRE TO 1700.

The monks were the first booksellers, and no doubt those who found shelter in Haughmond, Buildwas, Shrewsbury, Lilleshall, and the rest of the Shropshire abbeys played their part in the dissemination of literature both before and after the introduction of printing into England. Their labours in this direction resulted in the establishment of colonies of craftsmen such as parchment-makers, binders, illuminators, copyists, and so on. Of the existence of such craftsmen in Shrewsbury as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century we have ample evidence in the series of Gild Merchant rolls edited by the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater for the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society.* In rolls dating from 1209-10

and 1219-20, for instance, we find craftsmen described as "parmentarius" (parchment-maker), "mineator" or "minur" (illuminator), and "pictor" or "pinctor" (painter) (*Trans.*, 2, viii, pp. 21 ff.). Another series of rolls, dating from 1232 to 1268, includes the names of six parchment-makers and one "peynter" (*Trans.*, 2, xii, pp. 229 ff.), while another, dated 1281, includes a "scriptor" (writer or copyist), a "parmentarius", a "parmenter", and a "pictor" (*Trans.*, 2, ii, p. 29). In the following century we find the same state of affairs prevailing. Rolls of uncertain date within the fourteenth century give the names of one "pictor", three "scriptors", one "tableter" (illuminator), one "parchemener", two "parmonters", and one "peynter" (*Trans.*, 3, ii, pp. 65 ff.). Other examples could be given, but probably enough has been said to show that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Shrewsbury appears to have been a centre of the (manuscript) book-trade.

Soon after the coming of printing in 1476, however, parchment-makers, illuminators, writers, and the like found themselves superseded by the printer and the bookseller, the latter almost invariably known at first as the stationer. The earliest Shropshire bookseller of whom we have any record was John Oswen, one of the most notable of the early English printers, who maintained a bookselling agency at Shrewsbury in 1549. There is, however, no evidence that he himself was ever in the town, and the same must be said of Roger Ward, the London printer and bookseller, who is stated to have kept a shop at Shrewsbury in 1582. It is not until 1588 that we come upon any record of a Shrewsbury bookseller conducting his business *in propria persona*. This was Roger Sawyer, who seems to have been in business in Shrewsbury until 1607 at any rate. In 1606 we find mention of William Poulter, and in 1613 Robert Forster, senior, comes on the stage, to be followed during the succeeding half-century by Richard Jennings (1635), John Matthews (1637), Thomas Owen (1647), Robert Forster, junior (c.1649), William Harrison (1654), and Esau Watkis (1655). Others who became established in the town before 1700 were Joseph Allen (1669), Gabriel Rogers (1682), Edward Solden (1688), John Allen (1697), Thomas Gittins (1695), Thomas Jones (1695), and John Phillips (1698). To continue the catalogue beyond the turn of the

century would be both wearisome and of little service. Enough has been said to show that by 1700 Shrewsbury had become the centre of a flourishing booktrade.

Turning to the other towns in the county, Ludlow had a bookseller and binder as early as 1555 in the person of John Dalton. John Clarke was established there in 1592, followed by his son Philip and by one Jennings in 1633. At Bridgnorth Francis Woodhouse was settled as a bookseller in 1610, but there is no record of any successor until 1730, when Benjamin Haslewood was in business there. For over fifty years these towns seem to have been the only places in Shropshire with resident booksellers, apart from Shrewsbury. Newport joined them in 1679, when John Felton was established there, and in 1699 one Taylor was a bookseller at Whitchurch. The position with regard to Oswestry is not quite clear. Jonathan Barnett, a bookbinder, was settled there in 1684, but it is uncertain whether he was also a bookseller. David Lloyd, a mercer, was the agent for Thomas Jones's publications about this date, which would seem to indicate that Oswestry did not boast a bookseller at this time. If this is so, the earliest Oswestry bookseller would be one Phillips, who was established there in 1739. After 1700 the book-trade spread slowly but steadily through the county, and by 1800 booksellers were settled at Bishop's Castle, Ellesmere, Madeley, Market Drayton, Wellington and Wem.

## II.

### THE EARLIEST PRINTER.

In the history of printing in England there have been two periods when the art has made its way into the provinces. The first, which may be dated approximately from 1500 to 1557, was only temporary; the second, which began about 1690, has continued into the present day. By 1557 presses had been established at York, Oxford, Cambridge, Abingdon, Tavistock, St. Alban's, Ipswich, Worcester, Canterbury, Norwich, and (perhaps) Bristol. The incorporation of the Stationers' Company in 1557, however, and subsequent legislation effectively prevented any further extension of the art. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign an injunction was issued ordering that all books published in or imported into England should be licensed,

but it was observed only indifferently (Plomer (1), p. 43). On 23 June 1586, accordingly, came the first of a series of legislative acts which for the next century were to bind the press in fetters so tight that they not only prevented its development but allowed it to exist only with great difficulty. These were *The Newe Decrees of the Starre Chamber for Orders in Printing*, which again enacted that all books should be licensed, and added a clause restricting all printing to London and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Plomer (1), p. 97).

One result of this repressive legislation was, as might have been anticipated, the setting-up of secret and unlicensed presses in various parts of the country, and of these there were several at work during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Some printed Roman Catholic literature, others Puritan tracts ; of the latter, the most celebrated was the famous Marprelate press which was active in 1588-9. Shropshire's first printer seems to have been the operator of one of these unlicensed and unlawful presses. He was William Hamner, who in 1590 was found with printing materials in a cave in "the Parke in Shropshire" and was arrested, but escaped (McKerrow, p. 13, quoting *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, vol. xix, p. 454). Whether Hamner was a Shropshire man is not known ; where "the Parke" was is equally uncertain. It is also a matter for conjecture whether Hamner actually worked his press in Shropshire or whether he was merely passing through the county when he was discovered. The fact that he was found in a cave suggests that he may have set up and operated his press in its shelter. This, however, is mere supposition ; nothing has been found which might be ascribed to his press.

Apart from this single incident, we have no record of the printing-press in Shropshire until 1642, when it was brought to Shrewsbury by Charles I.

### III.

#### THE KING'S PRESS AT SHREWSBURY, 1642-3.

Historians have long been aware that when Charles I. held his court at Shrewsbury in September and October, 1642, a printing-press was set up in the town "to print his declarations and such other seasonable papers as he judged it expedient to

circulate among his subjects" (Owen and Blakeway, vol. i, p. 427). All writers on the Civil War in Shropshire with whom I am acquainted, however, make only passing reference to its establishment. Perhaps its influence upon the passage of events in those troublous times was not of great importance—indeed, as will be seen later, it does not appear to have been particularly active—but it has a special interest for Shropshire folk in that it marked the first appearance of a working printing-press in the county. On this point Owen and Blakeway (vol. i, p. 427) considered the very fact that the King imported a press into the town "a proof, as it should seem, that this powerful engine for the guidance of public opinion had not till now commenced its operations within our walls". There is no evidence of the previous existence of a press in Shrewsbury—indeed, the restrictions and prohibitions under which the English press laboured at this time would make it remarkable if there were—and if there had been a press established in the town, we cannot doubt that the King would have commandeered its services as he did elsewhere, notably at Oxford. Taking into account all the available evidence, it would seem a reasonable conclusion that Shrewsbury owed its first printing-press to the visit of Charles and his court in the autumn of 1642. This being so, it appears worth while to bring together such scattered references concerning the press as may be found and to attempt to make out of them some kind of a connected story of its activities.

Throughout the Civil Wars the Parliament held a great advantage over Charles in their command of the press. The Parliament held London, and London held every printing-press in the country with the exception of about half a dozen. This state of affairs had been brought about by the long series of Acts of Parliament, Star Chamber decrees, and other legal enactments referred to previously, all aimed at the severest possible limitation of the freedom of the press, and culminating in the Star Chamber decree of 1637, one effect of which was to render unlawful the setting up of a press anywhere outside London or the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The consequence was that when Charles cut himself off from London in the early stages of the Civil Wars the Parliament were left with almost a monopoly of the not inconsiderable support afforded by the press. As Webb (vol. i, p. 138) has pointed out:

. . . . those [printers] in London that were favourable to him [Charles] were gradually seduced or put down ; or if after a while any continued to work for him, they could only do it in the most secret manner ; and the publications went forth without the printer's or vendor's name or abode.

J. R. Phillips (vol. i, p. 118) puts the position well :

. . . . the Parliament had almost a monopoly [of the press]. Their pamphlets were more numerous ; their newspapers were almost countless, while Charles had to rest content with an irregular and will-o'-the-wisp-like appearance of *Mercurius Aulicus*, and an occasional broadside. Charles complained of this in his speech at Wrexham, when he requested the Sheriffs to distribute copies of his protestation.

All this explains why Royalist pamphlets and newsbooks are so much rarer than those issued in the interests of the Parliament, and it also explains why Charles found it necessary to cumber himself with a printing-press in his journeyings about the country—first at York and subsequently at Newcastle, Nottingham, Shrewsbury and Bristol.

We first hear of the King's itinerating press in 1639, when Charles was on his march against the Scots. Writing to Secretary Windebank from York on 20 April of that year, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey says :

His Majesty would have you with all expedition to send down a printer with a press, to set out his Majesty's daily commands for his court or army, and that to be done by more than ordinary diligence, the want being daily found so great. I conceive a waggon by land the surer way, to change horses as often as they will, by express warrant to take up teams daily. (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1639, p. 65.)

These commands were obeyed, and a press was despatched, later accompanying the King to Newcastle. Several pamphlets and broadsides bearing the Newcastle imprint and dated 1639 are still preserved in various libraries. We do not hear of the press again until 1642 ; in the interim it had no doubt returned to London. On Saturday, 18 March 1641/2, Charles entered York, and we are told that

. . . . the King's printing-press was set up in one of the apartments of the house previously occupied by Sir Henry Jenkins, situated within the quadrangle of Saint William's College, and at so short a distance from the royal residence as to admit of quick and unobserved communication between the King and his printer. (Allnutt (1), p. 283, quoting from Davies's *Memoir of the York Press*.)

No fewer than thirty-nine pieces emanating from this York press have been recorded. They must have been printed between March and the end of August, for on 1 September the King—who had left York for Nottingham on 16 August—sent orders that the press should join him at Nottingham. Presumably it did so, but no piece of its printing there has so far been discovered. The King was at Nottingham for only three weeks, and on 20 September he entered Shrewsbury.

Four weeks later the press arrived. This we know from a letter dated 18 October, written by Basil Waring, "an officer of the Mayor's", who describes himself as "mighty employed about the King's business". He says:

The Mint is come to our town, and one Master Bushell doth coin every day, for abundance of plate is sent in to the King from the several counties about us, and a great deal of plate comes daily out of Wales and Cornwall to be coined here. Also the press for printing is come to this town and this day they are setting of it up in some vacant rooms in my house. (J. R. Phillips, vol. ii, p. 30, quoting from *The True Copy of a Letter . . . written by one Master Tempest . . . with divers remarkable Passages from Shrewsbury and Coventry, concerning the King . . .* London, printed for H. Thompson, 1642 (B.M., King's Pamphlets, 80-15).)

This letter is evidently the source of a paragraph in the Parliamentarian newsbook, *Special Passages*, 17 October to 1 November, which gives the same information in almost the same words:

October 23, 1642. A malignant in Shrewsbury writes, that the King's mint is now come to Shrewsbury, and one Master Bushell doth coyne every day and abundance of plate is brought thither from several counties, especially from Wales and Cornwall, and that also the press for printing is come hither. (Owen and Blakeway, vol. i, p. 427).

From Waring's letter\* we are thus able to fix the exact date of the setting up of the King's press in Shrewsbury. As to its

\* Of Basil Waring, who thus figures as a kind of foster-father to the press in Shrewsbury, it would seem proper to give some account here. He was the fourth son of Richard Waring, of Shrewsbury and Woodcote, a member of the Drapers' Company and Alderman of the town in 1598-9. Basil was born at Woodcote on 18 September 1584 and baptised at Hanwood. He was admitted to Shrewsbury School in 1599, to the Mercers' Company on 1 May 1631, and to the Drapers' Company in the same year. On 24 February 1611/2 he married Anne, the daughter of John Perche, of Shrewsbury, who bore him four sons and was buried at St. Mary's Church on 17 December 1637. In the Charter of 1638 Basil Waring was one of the 48 "assistants" or councillors nominated to assist the newly-created Mayor and the 24 aldermen in their government of the town. For the rest, all we know of him is that he was a zealous Royalist, and that he was buried at St. Chad's Church on 28 February 1647/8. (W. Phillips, vol. iv, p. 74; vol. vi, p. 37).

situation we are not quite so fortunate in the possession of direct, contemporary evidence. There can be little doubt, however, that the house to which Waring refers was Charlton Hall, the embattled stone mansion which, having become ruinous, was taken down in 1833 to make room for what is now the Royal County Theatre. When Charlton Hall was first built is not known—tradition says it was originally the palace of the Princes of Powys (T. Phillips, p. 145)—but in 1325 it was in the possession of John de Charlton, who in that year obtained the King's licence to have it crenellated (Eyton, vol. ix, p. 33). About 1470 the premises were demised to one Nicholas Warynge, a merchant of the staple at Calais, and soon after 1600 the mansion became the property of the Warings, who had long been its tenants (Owen, pp. 480-3). Charlton Hall seems to have been an extensive property, the boundary wall probably enclosing the whole space between Cross Hill, St. John's Hill, Shoplatch and Swan Hill, and there is no doubt that it would provide abundant accommodation for the King's printers and their plant.

Thirteen productions of the King's Shrewsbury press are listed by Allnutt ((2), pp. 361-3), eleven found by him in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, and two discovered at the British Museum by Mr. R. A. Peddie. Allnutt's list is as follows :

(1)

A complaint to the House of Commons, and Resolution taken up by the free Protestant Subjects of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Counties adjacent. *Shrewsbury, Printed by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie : And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1642.* (4to, title and pp. 1-25. Queen's College.)

(1a)

A Just and True Remonstrance of his Majesties Mines-Royall in the Principality of Wales. Presented by Thomas Bushell Esquire, Farmer of the said Mines-Royall, to his Majestie. [Imprint as No. 1.] 1642. (4to, unpaged, sigs. A-D in fours. Queen's College.)

(2)

His Majesties speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the County of Denbigh and Flint. At Wrexham the 27 of September. 1642. [Imprint as No. 1.] (4to, title and pp. 1-5. Queen's College.)

(3)

The Humble Desires and Propositions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, tendered to His Majestie, February 1. And His Majesties Gracious Answer and Propositions the third of February, 1642. [Imprint as No. 1.] (4to, title and pp. 1-13. Queen's College.)

(4)

The Votes agreed on by the Lords and Commons concerning a Treatie; And their Desire of a Safe-Conduct for a Committee named by them in the Earl of Manchesters Letter of the 28. of Feb. to the Lord of Falkland; With His Maiesties gracious Answer thereunto: And His Maiesties Safe-Conduct. Also the Articles of both House of Parliament concerning a Cessation, With a Letter of the 28. of February from the said Lord Viscount of Falkland, wherein they were inclosed; Together with His Maiesties gracious Answer to the same. [Imprint as No. 1.] (4to, title and pp. 1-14. Queen's College.)

(5)

To the Kings most excellent Majesty. The humble Petition of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, met at Edinborough January 4. 1642. And now lately presented to His Majestie, at Oxford. With His Maiesties Gracious Answer thereunto, March 16. 1642. *Printed at Oxford, and reprinted at Shrewsbury, 1642.* (4to, title and pp. 1-18. Queen's College.)

(6)

The Articles of Cessation of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, Presented to His Majesty upon consideration of the former Articles, with the Alterations and Additions offered by His Majestie. And His Maiesties Gracious Answer thereunto, March 22, 1642. *Printed at Oxford and reprinted at Shrewsbury, 1643.* (4to, title and pp. 1-6. British Museum.) (Thomason, vol. i, p. 245).

(7)

Arthur Lord Capell, lieutenant generall under the Prince His Highnesse of His Majesties Forces in the Countie of Worcester, Salop, and Chester, and the sixt Northern Countie of Wales, to all Commanders, Officers, and Soldiers, and to all his Maiesties Subjects whatsoever, whom these presents shall or may in any wise concern. [3 April 1643.] [Imprint as No. 1.] 1643. (Folio, a single sheet. British Museum.) (Thomason, vol. i, p. 248.)

(8)

The Reasons of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, Why they cannot agree to the Alteration and Addition in the Articles of Cessation offered by His Majestie. With His Majesties Gracious Answer thereunto, Aprill 4. 1643. *Printed at Oxford, and reprinted at Shrewsbury, 1643.* (4to, title and pp. 1-17. Queen's College.)

(9)

A Paper received by His Majesty from the Committee of both Houses, upon the Eight of Aprill. With His Majesties Gracious Answer to both Houses in Answer to the same. [Imprint as No. 1.] 1643. (4to, four leaves. Queen's College.)

(10)

His Majesties Message to both Houses, concerning disbanding of both Armies, and his Majesties Return to both Houses of Parliament. Oxford, 12 Aprill, 1643. [Imprint as No. 1.] 1643. (4to, title and pp. 1-6. Queen's College.)

(11)

The Collection of all the Particular Papers that passed between His Majesty, both Houses, and the Committee, Concerning the late Treaty. [Imprint as No. 1.] 1643. (4to, title and pp. 1-50. At p. 43 is a separate title-page for the "Message" of 12 April, the text of which occupies pp. 45-50. Queen's College.)

(12)

His Majesties Message to both Houses of Parliament May 5. 1643. Occasioned by a Bill delivered to His Majesty from both Houses, by Sir Robert King Knight, and William Iephson, and Arthur Hill Esquires, entituled, An Act for the speedy payment of Moneys Subscribed towards the reducing of the Rebels in Ireland, which yet remain unpaid. [Imprint as No. 1.] 1643. (4to, title and pp. 1-5. Queen's College.)

(13)

His Majesties Declaration to All His loving Subjects, after his Victories over the Lord Fairfax in the North, and Sir William Waller in the West, and The taking of Bristoll by His Majesties Forces.

Charles R.

Our expresse pleasure is, That this Our Declaration be Published in all Churches and Chappells within the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, by the Parsons, Vicars or Curates of the same. [Imprint as No. 1.] 1643. (4to, title and pp. 1-6. Queen's College.)

To these may be added a broadsheet found by the late William Phillips among the Ottley papers relating to the Civil War; this bears no imprint, but Phillips was probably correct in supposing that it was printed at Shrewsbury.

(14)

The Ingagement and Resolution of the Principall Gentlemen of the County of Salop, for the Raising and Maintayning of Forces at their own Charge, for the Defence of His Majestie, their Countrey, and more particularly [sic!] the Fortunes, Persons, and Estates of the Subscribers undernamed. (*Trans.*, 2, vii, p. 254.)

This dates from 1642 and is, says Phillips, "a good specimen typography".

Another piece which, as suggested by Allnutt, was probably printed at Shrewsbury, but of which no copy with the Shrewsbury imprint has yet been recorded, is :

His Majesties offer of Pardon to the Rebels now in Arms against Him. . . . Given at Our Court at Edge-Hill, this 24. day of October, in the eighteenth year of Our Reign.

According to Clarendon, the King had caused to be printed a large number of copies of this proclamation. These he intended to have distributed among the soldiers of the Parliamentary army, but by some mischance the plan came to nought. The British Museum (Thomason, vol. i, p. 185) has copies of two different editions of this proclamation, both bearing Barker's London imprint. Allnutt (2), p. 359) points out, however, that as the dating of both is printed, neither can be the original issue, which was probably printed at Shrewsbury.

Only one of these pieces is in the Shrewsbury Public Library. This is No. 11, and since it is certainly one of the earliest pieces of Shrewsbury printing in existence, it is, perhaps, worthy of a somewhat more detailed description. It is an ordinary small quarto of the period, the page measuring 198 mm. by 146 mm., and the type-page measuring 168 mm. by 108 mm. The text type employed is english (=about 14-point) black-letter for the King's letters, great primer (=about 16-point) black-letter for the "King's Message" on pp. 45-9, and pica (=12-point) roman for the Parliament's letters. (This method of distinguishing the utterances of the King from those of the Parliament was also employed in the productions of the royal press at York. The title-pages, too, are embellished with borders of printer's ornaments "resembling somewhat attenuated acorns"—another feature associating the productions of the Shrewsbury press with those issued earlier at York and later at Bristol (Allnutt (2), p. 363).) The pamphlet contains twenty-nine letters from the King and answers thereto from the Committee of Both Houses, the earliest message being dated 25 March 1643 and the latest 15 April 1643. All are concerned with the terms of a proposed treaty of peace between King and Parliament, and they reveal such divergencies of conviction and policy that the breakdown of the discussions is not surprising. It is a point of interest to note that this copy bears the signature "Tho: Carte"—doubtless that of the biographer of the Duke of Ormond.

THE  
COLLECTION  
OF  
ALL THE PARTICULAR PAPERS  
*Tho:* that passed between *Parte*  
HIS MAJESTY,  
BOTH HOUSES, AND  
THE COMMITTEE,  
Concerning the late  
T R E A T Y.



SHREWSBURY,  
Printed by ROBERT BARKER, Printer to the  
Kings most Excellent Majestic: And by the  
Assignes of J O H N B I L L. 1643.

The fourteen pieces listed above are all that have so far been recorded as emanating from the King's Shrewsbury press, but there is little doubt that a search among the Civil War pamphlets preserved in the British Museum and other libraries would bring to light further examples. None is mentioned in the *Catalogue of Tracts of the Civil War and Commonwealth Period relating to Wales and the Borders* (Aberystwyth, 1911), which enumerates 264 pamphlets and books preserved in the National Library of Wales. The catalogue of the Thomason collection in the British Museum describes several publications of "Robert Barker and the Assigns of John Bill" which might very well have been printed at the Shrewsbury press, but since they contain no definite statement to that effect they have been omitted from the foregoing list. Other indications of the activity of the Shrewsbury press are scanty. One is contained in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon) to Sir Francis Ottley, the governor of Shrewsbury, dated from the King's court at Oxford in January, 1642/3. In the course of his letter Hyde says :

I have sent you severall Bookes which 'tis very fitt should be reprinted at Shrewsbury, and spread abroade about the countey, in which his Maty. desyres your Assistance upon all occasyons. . . . (Trans., 2, vi, p. 56.)

We hear of the Shrewsbury press also from John Taylor, "The Water Poet", well known to Shropshire people for his account of the "old, old, very old man", Thomas Parr. According to Allnutt ((1), p. 286), Taylor claimed in 1643 to have intercepted *A Letter sent to London from a Spie at Oxford*, in which the writer said :

I assure you the Printing Presses at Yorke, Shrewsbury, and now at Oxford, have done our cause a world of mischiefe.

These—with one other, which will be cited later—are all the contemporary references to the Shrewsbury press which have been noticed, and it must be acknowledged that they provide us with scant information. J. R. Phillips (vol. i, p. 118) says that from the Shrewsbury press "were issued pamphlets, declarations, and packets of news", but he give no particulars of any that he had seen, and it would appear that he made the statement on the assumption that since there was a press at Shrewsbury it was continuously active. Incidentally, in another

passage (vol. i, p. 119), he seems to suggest that Shrewsbury also housed a Puritan press at some period of the Civil War. Discussing the growth of the influence of the press at this time, he says :

The Parliament advocates gave publicity to matters which were calculated to instil into the minds of the puritans a deadly hatred of the King and his party. From Shrewsbury came many a news-letter which had this object.

As to this, all that need be said here is that no Puritan publication emanating from a Shrewsbury press is known, and that there is no evidence of the existence of such a press in the town at any period of the struggle.

When the King's press left Shrewsbury is known only approximately. As Allnutt ((1), p. 287) has pointed out, "it would certainly not be required with the Court at Oxford, where the services of the University printer were called in", and we know from a letter shortly to be quoted that it was still at Shrewsbury in July, 1643. It is next heard of—still in 1643—at Bristol, and if it went directly from Shrewsbury to Bristol, as seems probable, it could not have left before August, as Bristol was not taken for the King until 2 August 1643. This means that the press was in Shrewsbury for a period of at least ten months, and in view of this fact one would have expected more of its productions to have come to the notice of historians and bibliographers. It was at York from March to September, 1642—a period of five and a half months—and, as we have seen, thirty-nine pieces are known to have been issued during that time. How is it that during a stay of ten months in Shrewsbury it produced only fifteen pamphlets and broadsides which are known to us? No doubt a partial answer to this question is provided by the fact that the history of printing in Shropshire has not hitherto been seriously studied, while that of Yorkshire has been the subject of earnest and capable investigation for many years. But the simplest and most probable explanation of the small number of issues recorded seems to be that the press was not very active. Perhaps Sir Francis Ottley had no very lively appreciation of the power of the press to influence public opinion. At all events, we have a piece of contemporary evidence as to the non-activity of the press in a

letter to Sir Francis from an unidentified correspondent with the King's court at Oxford; the letter is dated 5 July 1643, and the relevant passage is as follows:

.... there is a complaint here that your Press is Idle, and doth the King no servis; that the Parliament Diurnals and Pamphlets are in every Body's hands, but no country work on the King's side to antidote their Poison. If it shall please you to have an Eye upon the Press, and to see our Diurnals reprinted there, you would do the King and his Cause good Service and Secretary Nicholas shall thank you. (*Trans.*, 2, vii, 344-5).

It was perhaps due, at least in part, to Sir Francis Ottley's apparent lack of appreciation of the value of the press that it was removed to Bristol; this letter, at any rate, goes far to explain why so few productions of the Shrewsbury press are known. In this connection, it is worthy of notice that, as Allnutt ((2), p. 360) has pointed out, two gaps of several months occur in the list of publications given above—the first between No. 2 (27 September 1642) and No. 3 (3 February 1642/3), and the second between No. 12 (5 May 1643) and No. 13 (3 August 1643). Whether the press was actually idle during these periods, or whether the gaps exist merely in our knowledge of its productions, is uncertain, but the fact that the letter quoted above is dated in the middle of the second gap lends support to the suggestion that the press was by no means continuously active during its attendance in Shrewsbury.

Of the subsequent history of the King's itinerating press little need be said. How long it remained at Bristol is not known, but it was still there in 1645 (Allnutt (1), p. 288). No doubt it soon afterwards returned to London, whence the majority of its productions emanated.

In conclusion, something should be said of the printer who first brought the press to Shrewsbury. As we have seen, the imprints of most of the publications issued from Shrewsbury state that they were "Printed by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill." Robert Barker held the office of King's Printer—with some interruptions—from the death of his father, Christopher Barker the first, in 1599, to his own death in 1645. He was made free of the Stationers' Company in 1589, admitted to the livery in 1592, and held office as Warden in 1601-2 and as Master in 1605-6 (Plomer (1), p. 127). He is notable in the annals of

English printing for having produced the first edition of the "authorised version" of the Bible in 1611. Financial difficulties overtook him towards the end of his life, and on 27 November 1635 he was committed to gaol for debt, remaining there until his death on 10 January 1644/5. He was thus unable personally to answer the summons which the King sent from York in 1639, and his son-in-law, John Legate, appears to have taken the presses and workmen to Newcastle (Plomer (1), p. 181). Three years later, as we have seen, the press was again called upon to join the King, this time at York. On this occasion it was Robert Barker's grandson, Christopher Barker the third, who undertook the journey, as we know from the fact that in 1643 he was sequestered for having operated the York press (Plomer (2), p. 13). Presumably it was he also who later took the press to Nottingham, Shrewsbury and Bristol. Little more is known of him. On the Restoration his moiety of the office of King's Printer was restored to him, but he immediately sold it for an annuity and retired, although his name continued to appear in the imprints until the expiry of the patent in 1680 (Plomer (2), p. 13). It is interesting to notice that he had a family connection with Shropshire through his mother, Sarah, who was the eldest daughter of Bonham Norton, stationer, of London, and his wife Jane, the daughter of Judge Thomas Owen, the builder of Condover Hall. Bonham Norton was, of course, a Shropshire man, serving as Sheriff in 1611, but his story is one to be told on another occasion.

Although the John Bill mentioned in the Shrewsbury imprints had died in 1630 and thus had nothing to do with the Civil War press, he is interesting because he was another Shropshire man, born at Much Wenlock. He and Norton, by the way, are only two out of a large number of prominent London booksellers and printers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who acknowledged Shropshire as their native heath. But that, as Kipling says, is another story.

#### IV.

##### PRINTING IN SHROPSHIRE, 1695—1800.

Several attempts to limit the freedom of the press were made during the seventeenth century. The Star Chamber decree of 11 July 1637 was severe, but was "practically a dead letter," as the Government was fully occupied with other matters and

did not make any very serious attempt to enforce it (Plomer (1), p. 150). In 1641 the Star Chamber was abolished, and the printing-press had a brief period of liberty—of which full advantage was taken—but the Puritans soon showed that they were no greater friends to the freedom of the press than their Royalist opponents. In 1643 they made an attempt to control the publication and printing of books—an attempt which called forth Milton's *Areopagitica*—but in the unsettled state of the country they were unable effectively to enforce it, and by 1649 the number of printing-houses in London, which had been limited to twenty under the Star Chamber decree of 1637, had increased to over seventy (Aldis, p. 49). Soon after the Restoration, in 1662, came the Licensing Act, the "most stringent measure of press control ever put into force in this country" (Aldis, p. 50). This was renewed in 1685 and 1692, but, as Plomer ((1), p. 179) has pointed out, "there is no evidence that it had been very strictly enforced during its short revival; in fact, it is clear, from the number of presses found in various parts of the country during the last five and twenty years of the century, that it had remained practically a dead letter from the time of the Great Fire." In 1694 the Licensing Act expired and no further direct attempt has been made to curb the expansion of the craft of printing.

As a result of the removal of legislative restraint, printing-presses were soon established in all the more important provincial centres, among them Shrewsbury. The exact date of the establishment of Shrewsbury's first permanent press has not yet been satisfactorily settled. What evidence there is on the point is discussed later under the name of Thomas Jones, who must be hailed as Shrewsbury's first printer. He probably removed from London and set up his printing-office at Shrewsbury in 1695, and the first production of the Shrewsbury press seems to have been an anthology of Welsh carols and hymns called *Carolau a Dyriau Durwiol* ("Carols and Godly Songs"), which came out in 1696.

Jones was able to enjoy a monopoly for some years, but about 1706 John Rogers succeeded Gabriel Rogers (a bookseller only) and began to print. Five years later Thomas Durston appeared on the scene, and for the rest of the century there were never fewer than two printing-offices busily at work in the

town, while from about 1760 onwards there were at times three or four. The eighteenth-century Shrewsbury printers were engaged chiefly in the production of Welsh books—mostly devotional and theological treatises, almanacs, and ballads. As Sir John Rhys (p. 531) has pointed out, "In the days of pack-horses Shrewsbury enjoyed a geographical position of great advantage for all purposes of communication between Wales and England," and it was without question chiefly due to its geographical situation that Shrewsbury, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, was the headquarters of the Welsh book-trade. No doubt Thomas Jones, with characteristic acuteness, perceived the geographical advantages which Shrewsbury had to offer when he set up his press here in 1695. He had his mind firmly fixed on the opportunities which Wales presented to an enterprising printer, and his perspicacity was amply justified in the event. Although Wales had a press of her own as early as 1719, when Isaac Carter settled at Adpar, near Newcastle Emlyn, and although others followed in various parts of the country, Shrewsbury held its position without any very serious challenge until about 1760 and did not begin to lose its pre-eminence in Welsh book-production for another ten years at least. These facts are attributable to Shrewsbury's convenience of access from all parts of Wales rather than the excellence of the printers who practised here. Indeed, the copies of their books which have survived show that as craftsmen they left much to be desired. Slovenly and incorrect composition, careless make-up, and poor presswork are the most noticeable characteristics of their productions. Haste, rather than care, seems to have been their watchword. Book after book poured forth from their presses with a profusion which has proved confusing to later bibliographers. Archdeacon A. Owen Evans, for instance, writing of the numerous Shrewsbury issues of *Patrwm y Gwir Gristion* (the Welsh translation of *The Imitation of Christ*), says :

Most of the copies were undated. They were apparently printed in sheets and when a new issue was required, the printer looked up his stock and simply printed fresh sheets to fill up any gaps that were needed at the time. I remember some years ago, when trying to arrange chronologically the Welsh Prayer Books printed about the same time at Shrewsbury, how difficult it was to catalogue them. Even though every wile was applied, such as comparison of title-pages, colophons, advertisements mentioned in the

book, examination of the type, yet the placing of the copies has defied the most diligent search. The Shrewsbury printers unmistakably were not public benefactors, but were past masters in commercialism. The idea that the Shrewsbury producers were any worse than their English contemporaries must not be entertained. . . .  
(*J.W.B.S.*, iv, p. 18).

All the blame for their imperfect work must not, however, be laid at the door of the printers. They must often have experienced great difficulty in obtaining supplies of paper, ink, type and other requirements—difficulties which did not confront the London printers whose work we compare with theirs. Indeed, when one considers the disadvantages under which they worked, it is remarkable that they did so well. They must have been stout-hearted craftsmen, these Durstons, Lathrops, Pryses, and the rest!

An interesting sidelight on eighteenth-century Shrewsbury printing is provided by Goronwy Owen, the famous Welsh poet, who was curate at Uppington and master at Donington school from 1748 to 1753. Writing to his friend, William Morris, on 8 December 1752 with regard to the printing of his masterpiece, *Cywydd y Farn* ("Ode to the Day of Judgment"), he says:

The rate of printing at Salop is two guineas a sheet for 1,000 copies. (*Llyfrau Goronwy Owen*. ("The Letters of Goronwy Owen"), Edited by J. Morris Jones, Liverpool, 1914, p. 21).

Compared with Shrewsbury, other parts of Shropshire did not attain prominence as centres of printing during the eighteenth century. William Parks—probably the most notable of all Salopian printers if his later career be taken into account—was established at Ludlow in 1719, but remained there only about a year, and there is no record of another printer settled there until James Turner is found at work in 1777. At the end of the century some notable work was done at Ludlow by Henry Procter and George Nicholson, but they belong to the nineteenth century rather than the eighteenth. Oswestry had no printer until about 1785, but between then and the turn of the century a number of books were printed by Jackson Salter and William Edwards, none of them of any particular note, however. At Madeley, J. Edmunds was at work in 1791, while R. B. Jones was printing at Whitchurch in 1794, and in 1799 H. P. Silvester operated a press at Newport. This completes the roll of Shropshire towns in which printers were at work by 1800, beyond which date it is not the purpose of this paper to extend.

A statement of the earliest booksellers and printers in the principal Shropshire towns has been thrown into tabular form and is appended. It should be noted that in the column headed "Earliest printer" the date given is that of the earliest recorded piece of printing emanating from that town, to which a date can be assigned with some certainty, or other dependable documentary evidence. Thus, although we know that George Gitton was established at Bridgnorth about 1785 and that he was a printer as well as a bookseller, the earliest piece of Bridgnorth printing of which we have any record is an election broadside printed by Benjamin Partridge in 1806. These, then, are the name and date included. This may seem a hard rule, but in the past bibliography has suffered too much from guesswork ; if a bibliographical study is to be of any value it must be based upon foundations of solid fact.

TOWN.	EARLIEST BOOKSELLER.	EARLIEST PRINTER.
Bishop's Castle	John Wollaston, 1716 (? Charles Lewis, 1710)	John Griffiths, c. 1810
Bridgnorth	Francis Woodhouse, 1610	Benjamin Partridge, 1806 (? Charles Stanton, c. 1790)
Ellesmere	—. Madox, 1789	William Baugh, 1804
Ludlow	John Dalton, 1555	William Parks, 1719
Madeley	J. Edmunds, 1791	J. Edmunds, 1791
Market Drayton	—. Taylor, 1738	Samuel Burley, 1828 (? Edmund Snelson, 1796)
Newport	John Felton, 1679	H. P. Silvester, 1799
Oswestry	Jonathan Barnett (bookbinder), 1684 John Phillips, 1739	John Hocker, 1785 (probably a journeyman) Jackson Salter, c. 1788
Shifnal	—. Scarrott, 1805	—. Scarrott, before 1825
Shrewsbury	John Oswen (by deputy), 1549 Roger Sawyer (in person), 1588	Thomas Jones, 1695 (The King's Press, 1642)
Wellington	Edward Houlston, 1779	F. Houlston & Son, 1805
Wem	—. Gregory, 1796	G. Franklin, 1818
Whitchurch	—. Taylor, 1700	R. B. Jones, 1794

## V.

## THE SHREWSBURY BOOKSELLERS' COMPANY.

In Shrewsbury, as in certain other towns, the booksellers and printers were not numerous enough to form a trade company of their own, so they combined with other traders in a similar position and with them made up the Combrethren of Saddlers, Painters, Glaziers, Plumbers, Curriers, Tinplaters, Booksellers and Lorrainers. Records of the company are scanty. Henry Pidgeon (*Trans.*, i, vi, p. 174) says that the company was incorporated by royal charter dated 8 May 1479; at this date, of course, there were no booksellers or printers in the town, and in the absence of records we do not know at what period the booksellers joined with the saddlers, painters, and others. Neither charter nor composition relating to the company seems to be in existence.\* Pidgeon (*Trans.*, i, vi, p. 187) says:

From a document in the possession of the writer, it appears that previously to the year 1821 there was in existence a translation of a Charter made in the 19th year of Edward IV. to the Saddlers, Painters, Glaziers, Curriers, and others, of this town. In the year first mentioned a search was made for the original Charter in the Record Office of the Tower of London, by the Deputy Keeper, but without success. He at the same time wrote, stating "that of the period before mentioned, viz., 19th Edward IV., nothing is on record touching any of the Companies of Shrewsbury." It also appears that all Charters passing under the Great Seal of England should be enrolled in the Court of Chancery, and that the Tower is the only legitimate depository for such records from their earliest period to the year 1483.

The only surviving records of the company seem to be those transcribed by the Rev. W. A. Leighton and printed in *Trans.*, i, vii, pp. 403-30. These consist of lists of admissions dating from 1685, lists of apprentices, lists of office-holders, minutes of business transacted from 1740, and a few miscellaneous records such as the freeman's oath, etc. Such portions of these as refer

\* In the catalogue of the late Joseph Morris's library, which was sold by auction in 1870, lot 48 was a copy of Blakeway's *Sheriff's of Shropshire* containing a large number of MS. notes, among which, a copy of the Composition of the Combrethren of Saddlers, Painters, Glaziers, etc., is said to be included. This book, according to a MS. note in the copy of the catalogue preserved in S.P.L., sold for £21. Its present whereabouts are unknown. In the catalogue of the Exhibition of Shropshire Antiquities, 1898, item No. F. 114 is described as "The Book of the Guild of Saddlers, Booksellers, Tinplate Workers, etc.," (tent by Mr. T. Slaney Eyton, Walford Manor). This was probably the book transcribed by the Rev. W. A. Leighton in *Trans.*, i, vii.

to individual booksellers and printers are cited hereafter, and the remainder contains nothing referring specifically to the book-trade. With the passage of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835 the privilege of exclusive trading was abolished, and henceforth the companies existed only in name. The Company of Saddlers, etc., struggled on for some years further, but no officials were appointed after 1849, and apparently the company ceased to exist about this date.

A few words may be added concerning the company's contribution to Shrewsbury Show. As is well known, the various trade companies used annually to go in procession to Kingsland, where they feasted and made merry, on the Monday eight days after Whit-Sunday. At Kingsland each company had a plot of ground which was enclosed and on which they erected a tent, or a wooden or stone building ; this was their "arbour." The arbour of the Saddlers', etc., Company, says Pidgeon (*Trans.*, i, vi, p. 194), stood in line with that of the Butchers' Company, from which it was separated by a hedge. It was rebuilt with brick in 1792, and was not taken down until 1862. Pidgeon gives an interesting view of Kingsland, in which four of the arbours, including this, are shown.

In the procession to Kingsland the Saddlers', etc. Company came last of the companies. During the greater part of the eighteenth century they seem to have been represented by "a gorgeously caparisoned horse, led by a groom in proper costume" (Pidgeon, *Trans.*, i, vi, p. 202). Later, however, the Painters adopted Rubens as the representative of their art, and with the addition of a roll of paper in his hand (to symbolise the trade of the booksellers and printers) he became the representative of the entire company. S. M. J. Hulbert, in a MS. *History of Shrewsbury Show* preserved in the Shrewsbury Public Library, thus describes the Saddlers', etc., Company's exhibit as it appeared in the Show of 1831 :

... After which come the Painters, Booksellers, Saddlers, Plumbers, Braziers, Tinmen, etc., preceded by their excellent representative of Peter Paul Rubens, the celebrated painter, whose dress is certainly splendid, having a purple silk mantle, edged with gold lace and lined with bright yellow silk, which covers a dress of rich though dark crimson velvet with leggings and boots of buff strong cloth ; on his left side is a sword in an ornamented sheath ; the hilt of the former is of brass, as are the ribs of the latter,

which is covered with velvet ; in his right hand he carries a wooden imitation of a roll of paper, the emblem of the Booksellers, with which he bows most respectfully to the spectators ; in his left a guide and pallet for the Painters ; his ornamented saddle and bridle display the Saddlers' art ; his black beaver hat, broad-brimmed, with an embattled band of brass fastening a plume of white ostrich feathers, which wave over the crown in a graceful manner ; his chin was covered with a short pointed beard of brown hair ; his horse covered with net. After come two fine flags (with the armorial bearings of the Printers and Booksellers painted on each), the numerous company with purple and yellow ribbon rosettes, bearing three banners of the arms of the various trades in this company.

The arms of the Saddlers', etc., Company are illustrated in *Trans.*, 4, vii, facing p. 180, and are described as : Azure, a chevron or between three saddles ; with the motto, "Hold fast, sit sure." The company's pennant—blue, bordered with yellow, and with a white rectangle in the centre—is also figured.

## VI.

### SHROPSHIRE NEWSPAPERS BEFORE 1800.

To conclude this part of the paper, a word may be said concerning Shropshire's early newspapers. The earliest was Thomas Jones's *A Collection of all the Material News*, which seems to have been first issued at Shrewsbury in March or April 1705. How long it lasted we do not know—nor, indeed, do we know anything more about it, for no copy seems to have survived. For the next newspaper in the county we must turn to Ludlow, where William Parks issued the first number of *The Ludlow Post-Man* on 9 October 1719. Here we are more fortunate, for the British Museum has a number of copies of this early organ. The *Post-Man* did not long survive, however, for by 1721 Parks had left Ludlow for Hereford. Shropshire was destined to be without a newspaper of its own for more than fifty years after Parks's removal from Ludlow, but in 1737 an enterprising London publisher, Robert Walker by name, brought out a periodical which he called *The Shropshire Journal*. This seems to have been first noticed by Charles Hulbert, who gives the following account of it in *The Salopian Magazine* (vol. i (1815), p. 452, note) :

We have before us seventy-two Numbers of the *Shropshire Journal*—No. 1, of which was published Dec. 19, 1737, by R. Walker, London. The occurrences of the week are briefly detailed, and a few advertisements inserted. From the nature of the Work, we have no doubt it was intended to promote the sale of Walker's periodical publications.

The late Mr. W. E. A. Axon also had a copy of it, which is described as follows (*N. and Q.*, II, ii, p. 26):

From a fragment of *The Shropshire Journal, with the History of the Holy Bible*, for Monday, 12 February, 1738/9, it appears that so far from being a real local periodical it came from a metropolitan press—"London: Printed by R. Walker, in Fleet Lane. Of whom, and of the Person who serves this Paper may be had the former Numbers to complete Sets." The paper then claimed to have reached its seventy-third number.

Walker seems to have published more than one of these periodicals, each aimed at a different part of the country, for another correspondent of *N. and Q.* (II, ii, p. 78) writes that he had a volume of *The Warwick and Staffordshire Journal, with the History of the Holy Bible*, extending from No. 13 (12 November 1737) to No. 149 (18 June 1740), and published by "R. Walker, the Corner of Seacoal Lane, next Fleet Lane." This enterprising publisher is almost certainly identical with the Robert Walker, of London and Cambridge, who flourished roughly between 1730 and 1760. He first came into prominence about 1734, when he issued a duodecimo edition of Shakespeare, in opposition to that of Tonson. Then seems to have followed his *Shropshire Journal* period, and in 1744, in company with a printer named Thomas James, he descended upon Cambridge and started *The Cambridge Journal and Flying Post*, the first newspaper to be published there. Hitherto the university printers had held a monopoly under their grant of Letters Patent of 20 July 1534, and Walker and James were thus the first printers to establish themselves in Cambridge without appointment from the university authorities. When Walker died or retired is not known, but in 1764 the *Journal* was printed by Sarah James (Plomer (4), p. 252).

It was not until 1772 that Shropshire again had a newspaper produced within its borders. This was, of course, *The Shrewsbury Chronicle*, founded by Thomas Wood on 23 November 1772 and flourishing still. The *Chronicle* had no opposition for over twenty years, but in 1794 William Eddowes started

*The Salopian Journal*, which lasted until 1843, when it was succeeded by *Eddowes's Journal*, as is told under the heading of John Eddowes. This completes the roll of Shropshire newspapers established before 1800. During the succeeding century newspapers and periodicals sprang up in abundance all over the county, but their story does not fall within the scope of this paper.

A BIOGRAPHICAL LIST  
OF THE STATIONERS, BOOKSELLERS, AND PRINTERS AT WORK  
IN SHROPSHIRE TO ABOUT 1800.

ADAMS (HUGH ACTON). Apprenticed to Thomas Durston, of Shrewsbury (q.v.), 25 December 1737; apprenticeship entered in Company's books, 22 June 1739, fine 2s. (*Trans.*, 1, vii, p. 415). His name is not met with again, and probably he did not complete his apprenticeship.

ADAMS (ROGER), printer in Shrewsbury (?), c.1714-41. Mentioned by Davies (no. 708) as having printed an undated 8-page booklet of Welsh ballads:

Tair o Gerddi Newyddion . . . . Argraffwyd gan  
Roger Adams . . . . Mwythig . . . . ("Three New Bal-  
lads . . . . Printed by Roger Adams . . . . Shrewsbury  
. . . .").

Apart from this, Adams is unknown as a Shrewsbury printer. He was admitted a freeman of Chester, 20 February 1713/4, was the printer and owner of *Adams's Weekly Courant* (afterwards *The Chester Courant*) from about 1733, and died in 1741 (Stewart-Brown, p. 118).

ALLEN (JOHN), bookseller in Shrewsbury, 1698. Probably the son of Joseph Allen (q.v.), baptised 12 February 1676/7 (St. Chad's parish registers, p. 436). Married Sarah Hampton on 18 March 1696/7 (*Ibid.*, p. 560). Known as a bookseller only from the record of the baptism of Robert, "son of John Allen, booke Seller, and Sara," on 23 June 1698 (*Ibid.*, p. 569).

ALLEN (JOSEPH), bookseller in Shrewsbury, 1669-78. Son of Edward Allen, of Montgomery, gentleman; admitted burgess of Shrewsbury in 1676 (*S.B.R.*). Mentioned in a list of voters in Shrewsbury in 1676 (*S.P.L.*, MS. 286). Married by licence at St. Chad's, 7 June 1669, to Sara Wattson (St. Chad's parish registers, p. 365). Baptism of son Edward recorded on 3 March 1669/70, when the father is described as "Joseph Allenn, booke-binder" (*Ibid.*, p. 371). Entries relating to other children are as follow: 10 September 1672, Sara, baptised (p. 396); 22 September 1672, Sara, buried (p. 397); 30 September 1672, Edward buried (p. 397); 30 September 1693, Joseph (born 25 September), baptised (p. 405); 12 February 1676/7, John, baptised (p. 436). Joseph Allen was buried at St. Chad's on 11 December 1678 (p. 735).

ATKINS (W . . .), bookseller in Shrewsbury, 1741. Known only from the imprint of a Welsh almanac, *Newyddion Mawr oddiwrth y Ser* ("Great News from the Stars"), 1741: "Argraffwyd yn y Mwythig ac ar werth yno gan T. Durston a W. Atkins . . ." ("Printed at Shrewsbury and on sale there by T. Durston and W. Atkins . . .") (*Bye-Gones*, 1878, p. 128).

BARKER (CHRISTOPHER) the third, printer, 1640-80. Included here as the printer who brought the King's Press to Shrewsbury in 1642. He had family connections with Shropshire through his mother, Sarah, the eldest daughter of Bonham Norton and his wife Jane, who was the daughter of Judge Owen, the builder of Condover Hall. Plomer gives the following account of him: Son of Christopher Barker the second and grandson of Robert Barker, the King's Printer. In 1643 he was sequestered for carrying the printing-presses to the City of York, and the inference is that he was also the printer of the documents that were printed subsequently at Nottingham, Shrewsbury and Bristol. At the Restoration, Christopher Barker the third and John Bill the second were restored to their moiety of the King's Printing Office, but Barker immediately assigned his moiety over to Sawbridge, Hills, Kirton, Roycroft, and Mearne, for an annuity of £100 a year, and appears to have given up printing, although his name continued to appear in the

imprints of books down to the expiration of the patent in 1680. (Plomer (2), p. 13). In an anonymous pamphlet published in September, 1660, under the title of *The London Printer his Lamentation; or, The Press oppressed, or overpressed* (reprinted in vol. iii of the *Harleian Miscellany*, 1809, pp. 289-94), the allegation is made that Barker was not a practical printer. In the course of an attack on the King's Printing Office the author writes: "Mr. Christopher Barker and Mr. John Bill, by their education and quality, have little or no skill or experience in the faculty and art of Printing, as to the manual operation thereof, being never brought up in that mystery." It must be remembered, however, that this pamphlet was written for a purpose, and its statements cannot be accepted unreservedly.

BARNETT (JONATHAN), bookbinder at Oswestry (Bailey Street), 1684-1729. Known only from references to him in Oswestry parish registers. The earliest is dated 15 January 1683/4 and records the baptism of "Andrew, son of Mr. Jonathan Barnett, bookbinder" (Oswestry parish registers, iii, p. 119). This son was buried on 14 July 1686 (iii, p. 425), and on 25 August 1686 another son, also named Andrew, was baptised (iii, p. 135). References to other children are as follow: 2 June 1685, John, baptised (iii, p. 128); 17 February 1687/8, Mary, baptised (iii, p. 144); 13 July 1689, Mary, buried (iii, p. 437); 12 September 1689, Jonathan, baptised (iii, p. 155); 12 November 1691, Benjamin, baptised (ii, p. 168); 19 June 1693, Martha, baptised (iii, p. 179); 6 July 1695, Jane, baptised (iii, p. 192); 23 December 1695, Benjamin, buried (iii, p. 466); 8 March 1697/8, Elizabeth, baptised (iii, p. 209); 25 May 1701, Joshua, baptised (iii, p. 228); 21 May 1704, Sarah, baptised (iii, p. 248). On 7 January 1726/7, Sarah, Barnett's wife, was buried (iii, p. 575), and two years later, on 15 February 1728/9, Barnett himself was buried (iii, p. 585).

BAUGH (WILLIAM), bookseller and printer at Ellesmere (Market Place; afterwards High Street and Scotland Street), 1804-50. In 1804 Baugh printed an 8vo pamphlet of eight pages,

A Hint to Volunteers . . . . with necessary Instructions to be observed on their March, or on permanent Duty in case of actual Invasion . . . . (N.C., ii, p. 393).

*The Salopian Journal* of 5 June 1805 records the death at Ellesmere of "Mrs. Mary Jones, aunt to Mr. Baugh, bookseller and printer, of that town," while the issue of 21 August 1833 reports the death of his eldest son John, and that of 15 January 1834 the marriage of his daughter Sarah. In 1828 he is described as bookseller, stationer, printer and bookbinder, of High Street (Tibnam). Pigot's *Shropshire Directory* of 1829 credits him also with keeping a circulating library and holding the office of stamp distributor. In 1835 and 1850 his shop was in Scotland Street (Pigot). By 1851 he had been succeeded by Edward Baugh, probably his son (Bagshaw). In 1849 he printed an 8vo pamphlet of twelve pages :

An Address to the Rev. George Walker, and his Reply,  
on the Occasion of the Bridgewater Lodge, I.O.F.-M.U.  
presenting him with two framed Engravings of the Em-  
blems of the Order of Odd Fellows, and of the Widow and  
Orphan's Fund. July 14th, 1849. *Ellesmere: Printed by*  
*W. Baugh, Market-Square.* (N.C., vii, p. 102).

Baugh appears to have been the first Ellesmere printer.

BROWNE (THOMAS), bookbinder at Ludlow, 1664-5. Known only from the following entry in the Ludlow churchwardens' accounts for 1664-5 : "It. to Tho. Browne for bindinge ye church bible, £1" (*Trans.*, 2, iv, p. 162).

BURLEY (SAMUEL), bookseller and printer at Market Drayton (High Street), 1828-9. Mentioned in Tibnam's *Salop Directory* (1828) and in Pigot's directory of 1829. The first Market Drayton printer of whom there is any definite record.

BURLEY (WILLIAM), stationer, of London. Son of William Burley, of London, gentleman; admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury, 1723 (S.B.R.).

CALLUM (THOMAS), stationer in Shrewsbury, 1781. Known only from the record of the christening on 4 March 1781 of Maria, daughter of Thomas Callum, stationer, and Mary (St. Chad's registers, p. 1408).

CARSOUS (WILLIAM), stationer, of London ("near St. Dunstons Church in Fleet Street"). Buried "from ye bush" (? Inn), Shrewsbury, on 17 June 1694 at St. Chad's (St. Chad's registers, p. 794).

CLARKE (JOHN), bookseller and bookbinder at Ludlow, 1592-1638(?). John Clarke received 3s. from the churchwardens of Ludlow in 1592-3 for "bynding and Covering of one church Booke called the Phrases booke" (*Trans.*, 2, i, p. 267). In 1602-3 the churchwardens paid "John Clarke the Bookebynder" 7s. for "xlty leaves of p'chmt put in the Christeninge etc. booke and for byndinge the same" (*Ibid.*, p. 277), while in 1609-10 he received 13d. "to make the booke [for their accounts] and p'chment to Cover him" (*Ibid.*, 2, ii, p. 109). Lastly, in 1625-6 he was paid 13s. 4d. for binding the "great Bible" and 7s. 4d. for binding two Common Prayer books (*Ibid.*, p. 133). In 1611 he was a benefactor to Shrewsbury School library (Paget, p. 172). The Ludlow parish registers of the period contain records of several John Clarkes, but it is impossible satisfactorily to identify any of them with the bookseller. The baptism of a "John Clark" on 3 March 1566/7 (p. 62) may refer to him, and the same may be said of the burial of "John Clarke" on 26 July, 1638 (p. 363).

CLARKE (PHILIP), bookseller at Ludlow, 1633-68. In 1633-4 the following entry appears in the Ludlow churchwardens' accounts: "Payde Mr. Phillip Clearke for Two Comon prayer bookes, xijs." (*Trans.*, 2, iv, p. 128). In 1636-7 he received a more substantial order, £3 being paid "for a new Bible for the church" (*Ibid.*, p. 131), and in 1637-8 he was paid 8s. 6d. "for a newe booke of Homylies" (*Ibid.*, p. 135). In this last entry he is described as "Mr. Bayliff Cleark," and Wright ((2), p. 497) also tells us that he was bailiff in 1637. In 1633 copies of Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix* were sent to a bookseller at Ludlow named Clarke (McKerrow), and this was probably Philip. From the Ludlow parish registers it appears that Philip Clarke was the son of John Clarke (probably the bookseller last mentioned) and was baptised on 29 December 1594 (p. 111). He next appears in 1618 (9 April), when the baptism of his daughter Elinor is recorded (p. 155); two years later, on 4 June 1620, appears the entry of her burial (p. 320). Another daughter, Joyce, was baptised on 16 October 1619 (p. 158), and a third on 25 August 1622 (p. 165). On 6 March 1638/9 the burial is recorded of "Margaret, wife of Mr. Philip Clarke" (p. 364). He is among the signatories to deeds relating to charities in 1629

and 1634-5 (pp. 384-5). Evidently he married a second time, for on 30 November 1645 the baptism is recorded of "Anne, daughter of Phillip Cleark and Anne" (p. 403). He was buried on 11 April 1668 (p. 439).

CLEMSON (WILLIAM), printer in Shrewsbury, 1721. Son of William Clemson, brickmaker, Castle Foregate, Shrewsbury; admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury, 1721 (S.B.R.). St. Chad's parish registers record the burial of a William Clemson on 17 October 1725 (p. 922); this may be the same.

COLE (WILLIAM). Son of the Rev. W. Cole, of Wolverhampton; apprenticed to J. and W. Eddowes (*q.v.*), of Shrewsbury, 17 February 1796 (printing), 27 April 1797 (bookbinding) (*Trans.*, 1, vii, p. 418); otherwise unknown. Another William Cole, printer, who was admitted burgess of Shrewsbury in 1806 (S.B.R.) and who died on 26 June 1809, aged 27 (*The Salopian Journal*, 28 June 1809; St. Chad's registers, p. 1722) was the son of a hop-dealer living in Frankwell, Shrewsbury. (*The Salopian Journal*, *loc. cit.*).

COTTON (JOHN), bookseller in Shrewsbury, 1740-66. John Cotton came of a family long connected with the town and liberties of Shrewsbury—a younger branch of the ancient family of Cotton, of Cotton, in the parish of Wem (*Trans.*, 3, x, p. 257). He was the second son (of fourteen children) of the Rev. John Cotton, M.A. (vicar of Meole Brace, 1709-34; rector of Hanwood, 1716-34; vicar of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, 1734-57) (*Trans.*, 1, x, p. 319; 2, viii, p. 137), and Elizabeth Marigold, of the parish of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, whom he married at Sutton Chapel on 26 May 1712 (Meole Brace registers, p. 28). The bookseller was born on 23 November 1715 (*Trans.*, 3, x, p. 257), baptised at Meole Brace on 14 December 1715 (Meole Brace registers, p. 31), and was admitted to Shrewsbury School during the head-mastership of Hugh Owen (1723-7) (J. E. Auden in *Trans.*, 4, vi, p. 76). On 6 June 1740, on payment of the usual fine of 17s. 4d., he was admitted a freeman of the Booksellers' Company, in which he held office as steward in 1740, warden in 1749, and sitter in 1750 (*Trans.*, 1, vii, pp. 413, 428, 423, 426).

He was sworn a burgess of Shrewsbury on 2 October 1741 (*Trans.*, 3, x, p. 257), and in 1743 was a benefactor to Shrewsbury School library, being described as "bookseller, and formerly a scholar of this school" (Paget, p. 179). In 1754 he was mayor of Shrewsbury (Owen and Blakeway, i, p. 536). He died on 14 May 1766, aged 51 years, and was buried at Meole Brace on 17 May (*Trans.*, 2, viii, p. 129; Meole Brace registers, p. 175). For nearly ten years after his admission to the Booksellers' Company in 1740, John Cotton seems to have carried on a bookselling business by himself. In 1747, according to Plomer (4) (p. 63), his name occurs in the imprint of a sermon preached at St. Chad's on 1 October 1747 by the Rev. Matthew Horbery (B.M., 225, f.16 (3)). In 1749 he took into partnership Joshua Eddowes (*q.v.*), who had just become a freeman of the Company. It seems probable that Cotton himself was not a printer, for nothing has been found bearing his imprint, but very soon after he was joined by Eddowes a stream of books began to issue from their office. The earliest of their publications so far recorded seems to be *An Elegy on the much lamented Death of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. . . . the 26th of September, 1749* (Jones, p. 12). The imprint of William Adams's *Essay on Mr. Hume's Essay on Miracles . . . 1752* (S.P.L.) mentions the name of Cotton alone among the sellers of the book; this is curious in view of the fact that the Cotton-Eddowes partnership was undoubtedly in being nearly three years earlier. The partnership came to an end with the death of Cotton in 1766, after which Eddowes carried on the business alone for some years.

CROSS (RICHARD), bookseller in Shrewsbury, 1768-1820. Admitted freeman of the Booksellers' Company, 3 June 1768, fine 17s. 4d.; steward, 1769; sitter, 1809, 1815-7, 1820 (*Trans.*, 1, vii, pp. 413, 427, 428). Several persons of the same name figure in the Shrewsbury parish registers of the period, but none of them can be satisfactorily identified with the bookseller.

CROSS (THOMAS), printer in Shrewsbury (Mardol), 1796. Admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury, 1796, when he had three children—Hannah (10), Frederick (6) and John (4) (*S.B.R.*).

DALTON (JOHN), bookseller and bookbinder at Ludlow, 1555-75. Payments to John Dalton (also spelt Dowghton, Dawghton, Daulton, Dawton, and Dallton) for books and bookbinding occur on eleven occasions between 1555 and 1569 in the Ludlow churchwardens' accounts (Wright (3), pp. 68, 71, 86, 93, 115, 126, 136, 140). In 1565-6 the churchwardens record the fact that they had let half a seat in the church to Dalton and his wife Jane for 2s. (*Ibid.*, pp. 123-4). He was himself a churchwarden either in 1572-3 (Ludlow parish registers, p. 7) or in 1574 (Wright (3), p. 157), and was buried on 4 September 1575 (Ludlow parish registers, p. 230). The John Dalton buried on 9 February 1559/60 (*Ibid.*, p. 51) was perhaps his father.

DARBY (EDWARD), bookseller at Market Drayton, 1756. Was an agent for Schofield's *Middlewick Journal or Cheshire Advertiser* in 1756 (Plomer (4), p. 70).

DAVIES (JAMES), bookbinder in Shrewsbury (Cross Hill), 1796-1814. Mentioned in Shrewsbury poll-list, 1796. In a list of subscribers published in *The Salopian Journal*, 4 April 1798, "James Davies, bookbinder" is included under the heading, "At Mr. Wood's, printer." He died suddenly on 20 October 1814, aged 46 (*The Salopian Journal*, 26 October 1814).

DAVIES (JOHN), printer and bookbinder in Shrewsbury (Cross Hill), 1796-8. Admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury, 1796 (*S.B.R.*). In a list of subscribers published in *The Salopian Journal*, 4 April 1798, "John Davies, bookbinder" is included under the heading, "At Mr. Wood's, printer." Probably this is the same man.

DU LIGNON (ALDEBARD), printer (?) in Shrewsbury, 1695-1706. It is doubtful whether this man—a French refugee—was a printer, although he is so described in St. Mary's parish registers (p. 238): "1703 September 5. Hester, daughter of Aldebard du Lignon, printer in ye Castle foregate, and Dorothy, baptised." In other entries in the same registers he is variously described as a "Diar" (p. 227) and as a "Paynter of Calicos" (p. 248). He married Dorothy Toison on 20 February 1695/6 (p. 211) and the baptisms of their children are recorded in 1696 (p. 213), 1698 (p. 218), 1700 (p. 227), and 1706 (p. 248). Du Lignon was buried on 19 December 1706 (p. 250).

DURSTON (THOMAS), bookseller and printer in Shrewsbury (Shoemakers' Row [now Pride Hill]), 1711-67. Durston had set up a printing and bookselling business in Shrewsbury by 1711, when he issued a *Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* ("Book of Common Prayer") with the following imprint: "Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Thomas Durston, lle y gellir cael Printio pob math ar Copiau am bris gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Llyfrau Cymraeg a Saesnaeg" ("Printed in Shrewsbury by Thomas Durston, of whom may be had printing of all kinds at a moderate price, and any books, Welsh and English") (Jones, p. 11). This publication has no date, but the *verso* of the title-page bears the following *imprimatur*: "We do approve and recommend this book. Humph. Hereford, W. Asaph, Jo. Bangor, Jo. Llandaff, Geo. St. David's." Ifano Jones points out that George Bull, Bishop of St. David's, died on 17 February 1709/10; while Moses Williams, in his *Cofrestr* (1717), gives the date of publication as 1711. Rowlands (p. 265) attributes three books published by Durston to the year 1700, but this is an error; none of the books bears any date of publication, and Rowlands, lacking the knowledge which has since accrued, was merely guessing. Durston was admitted a freeman of the Shrewsbury Booksellers' Company on 28 May 1714, and held office as sitter in 1744 and 1756 (*Trans.*, I, vii, pp. 413, 425-6). He does not appear ever to have become a burgess. Of his personal history we know practically nothing. St. Chad's parish registers record the baptism of Mary, daughter of Thomas and Mary *Dunston*, on 10 March 1716-7 (p. 700) and of Bould, son of Thomas and Mary *Duston*, on 18 December 1718 (p. 711), while the burials are recorded of Bold, son of Thomas *Durston*, on 18 June 1719 (p. 894) and of Thomas, son of Thomas *Durstone*, on 27 October 1727 (p. 939). These entries probably refer to the bookseller, who appears to have lived in this parish, since he was buried at St. Chad's on his death in 1767. In Gwilym Howel's almanac for 1766 (published in 1765) there appeared the following advertisement (quoted by Jones, p. 11):

To be Sold upon very moderate Terms. The Stock in Trade of Thomas Durston, Bookseller in Salop: consisting of a great number of English, Latin and Welsh books, together with Brass Tools for Gilding and Lettering, Standing Press, Cutting Press, and all other Conveniences thereunto belonging.

At this time Durston would be about seventy-eight years old and was apparently considering retirement, but he still advertises his business as a bookseller at the end of the same almanac for 1767 (Jones, p. 11). He died soon afterwards, however, and was buried on 26 September 1767 (St. Chad's registers, p. 1288). Durston seems to have been in business as a printer and publisher of Welsh books for some fifty-six years, and his press was easily the most prolific of those established in Shrewsbury during the first half of the eighteenth century. Rowlands records fifty-seven books as printed by him, and although Rowlands is not as reliable as one might desire, there can be little doubt that Durston produced at least this number of books, and probably many more which did not come to Rowlands's notice. In addition, Davies lists thirty-four Welsh ballads as Durston's



DURSTON'S "DEVICE"

From *Saith o Bregethau . . . o waith Robert Russel*  
 ("Seven Sermons . . . by Robert Russel")

work. His "device" is illustrated herewith. As was not unusual at that date, he was frequently involved in disputes with the authors whose books he printed (with or without their authority), and Jones (p. 54) refers to him as "the knavish Shrewsbury printer whose dishonest dealings with Shon Rhydderch and John Jones the almanacer . . . are well known to Welsh bibliographers. . . . " Stewart-Brown (p. 126) mentions a "Mr. Durston," a bookseller, "under the two Churches in Bridge Street," Chester, so mentioned in the *Chester Weekly Journal* of 25 June 1729, and suggests that he may have been

a "foreign" bookseller. Perhaps this was the Shrewsbury man, who may have kept a branch shop at Chester or have visited that city at intervals. In this connection it is worth noting that in 1747 Durston was an agent for Adams's *Weekly Courant*, which was published at Chester (Plomer (4), p. 81). As some indication of the miscellaneous nature of a bookseller's stock at this period, the following advertisement, which occurs on p. 114 of an undated edition of *Trugaredd a Barn* ("Mercy and Judgment") (M.P.) is worth quoting :

By Thomas Durston, Printer and Bookseller in Shoemaker Row in Shrewsbury, you may be Furnished with all sorts of Books in Divinity, History, Law, Physick, Poetry, Mathematicks, &c., Bibles and Com. Prayers of all sorts and sizes; all sorts of School Books, Account Books, Pocket books, Ink-horns, Fountain Pens, Slates and Slate Books with Pencils, Wax, Wafers, Sand boxes, Standishes, Maps, Pictures, Spectacles, Skagareen Cases, Reading Glasses for all Ages, Burning Glasses, Red and Black led Pencels, Letter Cases, Prospectives; The best sort of Holman's Ink-powder, Cake Ink, Japan Ink, Paper Hangings for Rooms, Good Writing Paper of all Prizes [sic], Bate-mans true Spirit of Scurvy Grass both Golden and plain, Dr. Stoughtons Great Cordial Elixir for the Stomack; and the only true Prepared Daffy's Original and Famous Cordial Elixir. Stampet Paper and Parchment Bonds and Indentures for Apprentices.

Likewise sells all sorts of Flutes, Flagelets, Hoo Boys and Reeds; Super fine large and small Pip Cards fit for Gentlemen and Ladies, and old Books you may have well bound at Reasonable Rates.

N.B. You may have Ready Money for any Study or Parcel of old Books.

A somewhat similar advertisement of Durston's is given by Askew Roberts in *S. and P.* (1874, p. 22). It seems probable that Durston took over the bookselling business of Esau Watkis (*q.v.*), who died at the beginning of 1711—about the time when Durston first appears.

DYAS (EDWARD), printer at Madeley, 1792-1836. According to Randall (*Salopian and West Mid. Mag.*, March, 1875), Dyas carried on printing at Madeley with Walters and Edmunds (*qq.v.*) "for some years during the latter end of the last and the beginning of the present centuries in the house which was purchased for Miss Tooth, the adopted daughter of the Rev. John and Mary Fletcher, and which after her death was converted into a public house" (the "Royal Exchange"). Elsewhere

(*Hist. Madeley*, p. 194), Randall states that he was "a very clever carver on stone and on wood" and that he engraved the woodcut illustrations for Dr. Beddoes's poem, *Alexander's Expedition down the Hydaspe* (see Edmunds). Dyas's strongest title to remembrance, however, seems to be his discovery of the composition of which printers' rollers are made. Until about 1815 printers applied the ink to their formes (i.e., type made up into pages ready for printing) by means of a "pelt-ball." This consisted of a wooden stock, in shape something like a stone-mason's hammer but hollowed at the top. Into the hollow a ball of wool was inserted, more wool was wound over it, and the whole was finally covered with a piece of soft leather (the "pelt"). The ball was dabbed first into the ink and then on the forme, until every part of the latter bore a thin and even covering of ink. This process was, of course, both slow and laborious, and the invention of a roller, by means of which the entire forme could be inked with one movement, marked a great improvement. Dyas, however, is credited only with the discovery of the composition of which rollers are made. The story was thus told in *Chambers's Journal* (quoted in *S. and P.*, 1874, p. 22);

A Salopian printer, in a hurry to get on with a job, could not find his ball, and inked the forme with a piece of soft glue that had fallen out of the glue-pot, with such excellent results that he henceforth discarded the pelt-ball altogether, and by adding treacle to the glue, to keep it from hardening, hit upon the composition of which printers' rollers have ever since been made.

(It should be noted, perhaps, that this last statement is no longer strictly accurate. Nowadays printers' rollers are not made of treacle and glue, but of a mixture of other substances which has similar properties.) Dyas's discovery, like many others, seems to have been due to luck rather than design, and he evidently felt no inclination to take financial advantage of his good fortune, for it is recorded that he "gratuitously distributed" his composition balls among the trade (*S.C.*, 23 November 1836). Edward Cowper (1790-1852), the inventor of the printer's roller and of many other improvements in printing machinery, has frequently been credited with Dyas's discovery. Adam Stark (p. 80), for instance, writing in 1855 of the improvements made in the cylinder printing machine in 1818, states that "the great difficulty was the inking apparatus, which was

not overcome until a fortunate discovery, made by Cowper, superseded the ancient, stuffed, round-formed ball, and substituted one of an entirely new form and construction." H. R. Tedder, however, in his article on Cowper in the *D.N.B.* (vol. xii, p. 385) expressly states that "Cowper did not invent the soft composition for distributing the ink, which superseded the old pelt-balls in hand-presses, but devised the system of forming it into rollers." Edward Dyas died in November, 1836, aged 86 years, having been parish clerk of Madeley "until unable to fulfil the situation" (*S.C.*, 23 November 1836).

EDDOWES, J. and W. Partnership between Joshua Eddowes (*q.v.*) and his son, William Eddowes the first (*q.v.*), booksellers and printers in Shrewsbury (Corn Market [now The Square]), 1785-1810.

EDDOWES (JOHN), bookseller and printer in Shrewsbury (Corn Market [now The Square]), 1824-45. Second son of William Eddowes the first (*q.v.*); born 2 March 1799 and baptised 4 July 1799 (Swan Hill Chapel registers, p. 13). Apprenticed to his father, and admitted to the freedom of the Booksellers' Company on 24 July 1824, fine £1 17s. 8d.; sitter, 1826-7 (*Trans.*, 1, vii, pp. 414, 427). Admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury, 7 March 1820 (*S.B.R.*; W. Phillips, iv, p. 284). On completing his apprenticeship in 1824 he became partner with his father, and on the latter's death in 1833 carried on the business alone until 10 November 1841, when he announced that he had been joined by one Henry Robinson, "upon whom in future will devolve the chief management of the business" (*N.C.*, i, p. 81). The true significance of this announcement appeared in January, 1843. From leaflets, pamphlets, etc., issued at this time it appears that in 1841 John Eddowes had got into low water financially. He made over his property to trustees, who appointed Henry Robinson to manage the business on their behalf. Eddowes complains that efforts had been made to force him to take Robinson into partnership, and on his refusing to do so the trustees sold the business (including *The Salopian Journal*) over his head in January, 1843. Eddowes not unnaturally resented this deeply, especially as he claimed that his book debts alone were more than sufficient to pay off all he

owed ; and by means of pamphlets and leaflets he made considerable efforts to win public sympathy—efforts attended by no little success, as will be seen. The last number of *The Salopian Journal* appeared on 18 January 1843 ; no *Journal* came out on 25 January, the workmen having downed tools in sympathy with Eddowes ; and on 1 February appeared the first number of *Eddowes's Journal, and General Advertiser for Shropshire and the Principality of Wales*. This was "printed and published by the Proprietor, John Eddowes, whose Place of Abode is Bromlow Hall, in the Parish of Worthen, in the County of Salop." This, of course, was not the John Eddowes who is the subject of these notes, but a relative who had come to his assistance. *The Salopian Journal* is heard of no more ; presumably public opinion made it impossible to continue it in opposition to *Eddowes's Journal*. It is, surely, a striking instance of poetic justice that the persons who had made great exertions to dispossess Eddowes of his property should find it valueless as soon as they had succeeded in their design. On 4 April 1825 Eddowes married Maria, daughter of John Nealor, of Minsterley Hall, at Westbury ; she died on 13 February 1840 (Betton, ii, p. 79 ; *S. J.*, 19 February 1840), and on 15 October 1841 he married at Liverpool "Martha, relict of the late Mr. E. G. Wood, of Liverpool" (*S. J.*, 27 October 1841). He died on 23 April 1845 and was buried in the family vault at St. Chad's (Betton, *loc. cit.*). By his death was severed the almost century-old connection of his family with the bookselling and printing trade in Shrewsbury, although the name was retained in the title of the firm (as Eddowes and Leake) as late as 1850 (N.C., vii, p. 294).

EDDOWES (JOSHUA), bookseller and printer in Shrewsbury (Cornmarket (now The Square)), 1749-1811. Son of Ralph Eddowes, grocer, of Whitchurch, Salop ; baptised 26 April 1724 "at his own house in Whitchurch, being Lord's Day evening" (Registers of Dodington Presbyterian Chapel, Whitchurch, p. 6 ; Betton, ii, p. 78). Under whom he served his apprenticeship is not known, but it must have been in Shrewsbury, for when he was admitted a freeman of the Booksellers' Company on 26 May 1749 the fine payable was only 17s. 4d. (*Trans.*, 1, vii, p. 413). He was a frequent office-holder in the Company—steward in 1749, warden in 1755 and 1762, sitter in 1756, 1763-4, 1767,

1773, 1776, 1780, 1783, 1793, 1795-6, and 1804; he was appointed clerk on 23 April 1777 (*Trans.*, i, vii, pp. 423-8). He was admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury on 31 August 1750, free (*S.B.R.*; W. Phillips, iv, p. 284). He entered into partnership with John Cotton (*q.v.*) about 1749—probably on his admission to the Company—and thus began an association of the name of Eddowes with a publishing and bookselling business which remained in the family for almost a century, during which time it held an unrivalled position in the West Midlands and Wales. Cotton died in 1766, and from then until 1785 Joshua Eddowes carried on the business alone. He was in partnership with his son William (*q.v.*) from 1785 to 1810, when he retired, and in the following year he died. On 13 September 1753 Joshua Eddowes married Lydia, the daughter of William Phillips, of Horseman's Green, who was baptised on 21 February 1728 and died on 20 March 1803 (Betton, ii, p. 78). They were members of the High Street Chapel, Shrewsbury, the registers of which contain a number of references to the family. 'William, son of Joshua and Lydia Eddowes' was baptised on 24 November 1754 (p. 15), and the baptisms of other children are recorded as follow: Lydia, 18 October 1756 (p. 16); Elinor, 22 January 1758 (p. 17); Catherine, 4 November 1759 (p. 18); Elizabeth, 5 March 1761 (p. 19); Mary, 30 October 1763 (p. 20); and Joshua, 22 June 1766 (p. 22). On 12 October 1766 there was a large secession of members from the chapel following the election of Benjamin Stapp, an Arian, as minister. The secessionists, among them the Eddowes family, founded the Swan Hill chapel, the registers of which record the baptism of Ann, the daughter of Joshua and Lydia Eddowes, on 17 September 1769 (p. 2). St. Chad's parish registers record Eddowes's appearance as a witness at the marriages of four of his daughters—Elinor, to William Urwick, of Shrewsbury, on 6 April 1779 (p. 1811); Catherine, to Eddowes Bowman, of Nantwich, on 25 November 1784 (p. 1824); Elizabeth, to Thomas Williams on 17 December 1795 (p. 1849); and Ann, to Watkin Watkins, of Myddle, on 13 February 1798 (p. 1856). His wife, Lydia, died on 20 March 1803 at the age of 74 years (N.C., i, p. 78), and Joshua Eddowes died on 25 September 1811 in his 88th year and was buried at Swan Hill chapel (Betton, ii, p. 78; *The Salopian Journal*, 2 October 1811). (William Urwick, a descendant, says he died

on 23 September (S.N. & Q., 24 February 1899), but this is incorrect). Hunter, the antiquary, describes Eddowes as "a very respectable, friendly man" (B.M., Add.MS.24569, quoted by Plomer (4), p. 82). Some indication of both Eddowes's character and his mode of business may be gathered from two letters which he wrote to his wife while on a business trip in Wales during the summer of 1783. What appear to be contemporary copies of these are preserved in N.C., i, pp. 72-7. They reveal a man of kindly and affectionate nature and of deep piety. He evidently performed the functions which to-day would be carried out by a commercial traveller, calling on lawyers, clergymen, and men of similar standing, and his journeys, perforce made on horseback, must have exposed him to considerable hardship. In one of the letter he describes a meeting in the midst of North Wales with Stafford Pryse (q.v.), who was evidently engaged in a mission similar to his own.

EDDOWES, W. and J. Partnership between William Eddowes the first (q.v.) and his son, John Eddowes (q.v.), booksellers and printers in Shrewsbury (Corn Market [now The Square]), 1824-33.

EDDOWES (WILLIAM) the first, bookseller and printer in Shrewsbury (Corn Market [now The Square]), 1785-1833. Son of Joshua Eddowes (q.v.); born in Shrewsbury, 1 October 1754, in the parish of St. Alkmund (W. Phillips, iv, p. 284); baptised 24 November 1754 (Registers of High Street Chapel, Shrewsbury, p. 15). Apprenticed to his father, 30 May 1777, and admitted a freeman of the Booksellers' Company 27 May 1785, fine £1 rs. 5d. (*Trans.*, i, vii, pp. 414, 417). Admitted burgess of Shrewsbury 17 September 1784 (S.B.R.; W. Phillips, *loc. cit.*). Held office in the Booksellers' Company as steward in 1785, warden in 1802-3, sitter in 1804 and 1806, and treasurer from 4 June 1790 to 1829 (*Trans.*, i, vii, pp. 420, 422, 424, 427-8). On completing his apprenticeship William Eddowes was taken into partnership by his father, and they carried on the business together until 1 January 1810, when the partnership was dissolved on Joshua Eddowes's retirement (N.C., i, p. 78). During the partnership the *Salopian Journal* was established, the first number appearing on 29 January 1794, and a large number of books in both English and Welsh were published. From 1810

William Eddowes appears to have carried on the business under his own name—the notice of dissolution of partnership says that the business “will in future be carried on by William Eddowes”—but with the assistance of his son, William Eddowes the second (*q.v.*) ; the latter died in 1824, in which year, however, his younger brother, John (*q.v.*), completed his apprenticeship and joined his father in a partnership which lasted until 1833, when William Eddowes died. William Eddowes married twice. His first wife, whom he married on 23 February 1786, was Elizabeth, the daughter of Joshua Ridgway, of Bronington, Flintshire (Betton, ii, p. 79). By her he had four children, whose baptisms are recorded in the registers of Swan Hill Chapel, Shrewsbury, as follow : 6 July 1788, Elizabeth (p. 10) ; 16 August 1789, William (p. 10) ; 1 April 1792, Lydia (p. 11) ; 4 April 1794, Mary (p. 12). In the last entry the child is described as the daughter of “William and Elizabeth (dec.) Eddowes,” making it clear that Elizabeth Eddowes died about this time. On 17 December 1795 William Eddowes was married at St. Chad’s to Sarah, the daughter of Humphrey Gregory, of Mulso, Flintshire, who died on 2 March 1849 (Betton, ii, p. 79 ; St. Chad’s registers, p. 1849). The baptisms of their children are recorded in the registers of Swan Hill Chapel as follow : 4 July 1799, John (p. 13) ; 20 February 1804, Catherine (p. 16). William Eddowes died on 4 February 1833, at the age of 79 years, and was buried at Swan Hill Chapel (Betton, ii, p. 79 ; Parkes MS., S.P.L. 1302, p. 90). While carrying on business at Corn Market, he appears to have lived at Murivance, and this is given as his residence in poll-lists of 1796 and 1806.

EDDOWES (WILLIAM) the second, bookseller in Shrewsbury (Corn Market [now The Square]), 1812-1824. Eldest son of William Eddowes the first (*q.v.*) ; baptised 16 August 1789 (Swan Hill Chapel registers, p. 10). There is no record of his having been regularly apprenticed to bookselling or of his entrance into the Booksellers’ Company, but on his admission as a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1812 he is described as “of Cornmarket, bookseller” (*S.B.R.*). Probably he assisted his father in the business but was not a partner on account of his not having served an apprenticeship ; the imprints of books issued during this period

bear the name William Eddowes only. William Eddowes the second died on 30 January 1824 and was buried at Swan Hill Chapel (N.C., i, p. 72).

EDMUND (J. ), bookseller and printer at Madeley, 1791-c.1805. John Randall (*The Salopian and West Midland Magazine*, March 1873) states that Edward Dyas, Walters (qq.v.) and "Edmonds" (*sic*) carried on printing at Madeley "for some years during the latter end of the last and the beginning of the present centuries, in the house which was purchased for Miss Tooth, the adopted daughter of the Rev. John and Mary Fletcher, and which after her death was converted into a public house" (the "Royal Exchange"). The books issued from this press seem to have borne Edmunds's name in the imprint; at all events, I have found none bearing the name of either Dyas or Walters as printer. Plomer ((1), p. 237) records "a press at Madeley, in Shropshire, from which several religious tracts were printed in 1774 by the Rev. John Fletcher, and in 1792 a work entitled *Alexander's Feast* [*sic*] by Dr. Beddoes." I have been unable to find any evidence that there was a press in operation at Madeley as early as 1774, and the scanty references to printing which occur in Benson's *Life* of Fletcher and Fletcher's own letters (*Posthumous Pieces*) seem to indicate that his pamphlets were printed at Shrewsbury (by Joshua Eddowes) or in London. The earliest Madeley imprint I have found is:

Posthumous Pieces of the late Rev. John William de  
la Flechere; by the Rev. Melvill Horne, Curate of Madeley.  
Madeley: Printed and Sold by J. Edmunds: . . .  
M,DCC,XCI. (L.C.L. 8vo, pp. viii, 436) (Allnutt (3), p. 255.)

In 1792 Edmunds printed a book which is of unusual interest in several respects. This was *Alexander's Expedition down the Hydaspes and the Indus to the Indian Ocean, a Poem*. It was "represented as being published in London and sold by J. Murray, 32, Fleet Street, and James Phillips, George Yard, Lombard Street; but these names were only inserted with an object," writes the possessor of a copy (*Shreds and Patches*, 1874, p. 34). The same authority tells us that "the title is engraved on wood, in the form of a chart, showing Susa, Sunderbund, and other places." The work was issued anonymously, but was written by Dr. Thomas Beddoes (1760-1807), the notable physician and father of Thomas Lovell Beddoes, the poet. The

circumstances in which it was written are recounted in the following letter, accompanying a copy of the book, from William Anstice, of Madeley Wood, to Dr. Samuel Parr (1747-1825), the famous scholar (*Bibliotheca Parriana*, p. 513; *Shreds and Patches*, *loc. cit.*):

The late Dr. Beddoes must be known to Dr. Parr, by character if not personally. In any case, the literary fragment which accompanies this cannot prove uninteresting. It owes its origin to a conversation which took place at the table of the late Mr. Wm. Reynolds, a notable Madeley ironmaster; in which some men of taste and genius contended that the poetic effusions of Erasmus Darwin were imitable. Dr. Beddoes maintained a contrary opinion, and to try the point produced to the same party a short time afterwards the manuscript of the present piece as from his friend Darwin, and sent to him for his inspection previous to publication. The advocates for Darwin's style were deceived, and the Doctor triumphed. Mr. Reynolds had it printed at his own expense, but for obvious reasons it was not published, and therefore may never have met Dr. Parr's eyes. It was printed at Madeley, the types were set by a woman, and the engravings made on wood by the then (and present) clerk of this parish. —Madeley Wood, Oct. 9, 1819.

The reference in the last sentence of this letter to the type having been set up by a woman compositor indicates another of the points of interest about this volume. This female compositor was, we are informed by Randall (*The Salopian and West Midland Magazine*, June 1875), a daughter of Edmunds, who in an "Advertisement" prefixed to the book and quoted by Randall, refers to the circumstance in the following passage:

I know not if women be commonly engaged in printing, but their nimble and delicate fingers seem extremely well adapted to the office of compositor; and it will be readily granted that employment for females is among the greatest desiderata of society.

The woodcuts were by Edward Dyas (*q.v.*). On the death of Dr. Parr his library was dispersed, and this copy of *Alexander's Expedition* came into the possession of John Camden Hotten, the London publisher and antiquary. At the sale of his library it was bought by the correspondent (already quoted) who wrote to *Shreds and Patches* on 23 September 1874 over the initial "A." Probably this was William Reynolds Anstice, who a year later presented a copy of the book to the Anstice Memorial Institute at Madeley (*The Salopian and West Midland Magazine*, June 1875). In some manner it has since disappeared, and Mr. E. Owen, the secretary of the Institute, writes on 14 June

1934 that he can find no trace of it. Altogether, the book would seem to be a real bibliographical curiosity, and the disappearance of the copy presented to the Anstice Memorial Institute is much to be deplored. Apart from the works mentioned above, the only productions of Edmunds's press which have come to notice are the following :

An Aunt's Advice to a Niece, in a Letter to Miss Mary Gaussem. Also some Account of a Correspondence with the late Dr. Dodd, during his imprisonment. By Mary de la Flechere. The Third Edition . . . Madeley : Printed by J. Edmunds. M,DCC, XCV. (S.P.L. 8vo, pp. 76).

An Account of the Death of Sarah Lawrance, who died at the Vicarage in Madeley, Shropshire, December 3rd, 1800. Aged 44 years . . . Madeley : Printed by J. Edmunds. And sold at the House of the Rev. Mr. Waller, Curate of the Parish. 1800. (S.P.L. 12mo, pp. 16).

Edmunds died before 1810, for *The Salopian Journal* of 6 June 1810 records the death at Madeley, "lately," of "Mrs. Edmunds, relict of the late Mr. Edmunds, printer. 'Mr. Daniel Edmunds, of Madeley, in this county, printer,' whose marriage to Miss Rhoda Morris, of Stafford, is recorded in *The Salopian Journal* of 5 September 1817, was perhaps a son of the earlier printer. He was afterwards in business at Shifnal (Tibnam, 1828 ; Pigot, 1829, 1835).

EDWARDS ( ), bookseller (?) at Ludlow, 1795. "Mr. Edwards, Ludlow," is advertised as an agent for "Jones's English System of Book-keeping" in *The Salopian Journal* of 16 December 1795 ; all the other agents mentioned in the advertisement are booksellers.

EDWARDS (ELLEN), bookseller and printer at Oswestry (Bailey Street), 1812-23. Née Ellen Mansell, of Edgerley ; married William Edwards (q.v.) on 15 January 1810 (*The Salopian Journal*, 24 January 1810). The business in Bailey Street established by William Edwards was carried on in her name from his death in 1812 until 1823, when it was taken over by his son Thomas Edwards (q.v.). A correspondent in *Bye-Gones* (1877, p. 178) says that the *Reports of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor in the Hundred of Oswestry* from 1812 to 1817 all bore the imprint of either "E. Edwards" or "T. Edwards," and adds : "By this it would appear that the son's name was as often used as the [step]mother's."

EDWARDS (ROBERT), bookbinder in Shrewsbury, 1717. Known only from the record of the baptism on 28 January 1716/7 of "Mary, daughter of Robert Edwards, bookbinder, and Mary" (St. Chad's parish registers, p. 699). The baptism of "Robert, son of Peter Edwards, clothier, and Allice" is recorded on 16 June 1672 (*Ibid.*, p. 373); this may refer to him.

EDWARDS (THOMAS), bookseller and printer at Oswestry (23 Bailey Street; afterwards at 6 The Cross), 1823-71. Second son of William Edwards (*q.v.*) and his first wife, Mary; born 24 March 1796, baptised 2 April 1796 (Oswestry parish registers, iii, p. 444). After managing the Bailey Street business established by his father for some time on behalf of his stepmother Ellen Edwards (*q.v.*), he carried it on in his own name from 1823. He was Mayor of Oswestry in 1853 and on retiring from business lived at Cae Glas, 36 Church Street, until his death in 1871 (Watkin, pp. 85, 187, 198). On William Edwards's retirement in 1809 his premises at 6 The Cross had been taken over by Nathaniel Minshall (*q.v.*), but some years later Minshall removed to Church Street, and Thomas Edwards then purchased the property, rebuilt the shop, and occupied it for many years, leaving his brother, Alexander, at Bailey Street (Watkin, p. 187). In 1819 Ellen Edwards published:

Some Account of the Ancient and Present State of  
Oswestry, by Thomas Pennant, Esq., with Notes and con-  
siderable Additions by Thomas Edwards. . . . Oswestry :  
Printed and published by and for E. Edwards, Bailey  
Street. 1819.

A correspondent of *Bye-Gones*, writing on the authority of Thomas Edwards himself, states that he had no hand in the authorship or editing of this book, despite the testimony of the title-page, and that the notes and additions were actually the work of the Rev. C. A. A. Lloyd, rector of Whittington (*Bye-Gones*, 1877, p. 178; 1909, p. 28).

EDWARDS (WILLIAM), bookseller and printer at Oswestry (23 Bailey Street; afterwards also at 6 The Cross), 1794-1812. Born in 1771 and apprenticed to Jackson Salter the first (*q.v.*); started business in Bailey Street in 1794, when he published an edition of Theophilus Evans's *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* ("Mirror of the Earliest Ages"). On 10 December 1793 he married Mary

Kyffin, spinster, of Oswestry (Oswestry parish registers, iv, p. 273). The baptisms of their children are recorded as follows: 4 October 1794, William (born 26 September) (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 436); 2 April 1796, Thomas (born 24 March) (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 444); ? February 1799, Alexander (born 17 February) (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 463); 22 August 1800, John (born 25 July) (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 473); 11 October 1801, Ann (born 4 October) (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 480). On 11 December 1803 "Mary, wife of William Edwards, printer," was buried (*Ibid.*, iv, p. 180), and six days later the burial is recorded of a son, Charles (*Ibid.*, iv, p. 180). On 15 January 1810 William Edwards married, at Kinnerley, Ellen Mansell, of Edgerley (*The Salopian Journal*, 24 January 1810). At the end of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth, Edwards acquired premises at 6 The Cross, but still retained his shop in Bailey Street (Watkin, pp. 187, 198). He retired from 6 The Cross in 1809, being succeeded by Nathaniel Minshall (*q.v.*) (Watkin, p. 187), and was buried on 22 June 1812 (Oswestry parish registers, iv, p. 212).

ELDERSHAWE (HARRY), bookbinder, 1574. Known only from the following entry in the Cheswardine churchwardens' accounts for 1574: "To Harrie eldershawe for byndyng the byble, iijs. ixd." (*Shropshire Parish Documents*, p. 65). It does not seem likely that Cheswardine could support a bookbinder in the sixteenth century, and probably he resided at some larger town in the district—Shrewsbury, Stafford, or, perhaps, Market Drayton.

EVANS (HUMPHREY), printer in Shrewsbury (Barker Street), 1796-1829. Mentioned in a Shrewsbury poll list of 1796, published by J. and W. Eddowes, as of Barker Street. *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* of 29 May 1829 records the death at the age of 58 years, of "Mr. Humphrey Evans, printer, of this town."

EVANS (JOHN), bookseller and printer in Shrewsbury (High Street), 1794-9. Apprenticed to Thomas Wood (*q.v.*), February 1783; admitted freeman of the Company, 5 June 1795, on payment of fine of £1 1s. 5d. (*Trans.*, 1, vii, p. 414). The following advertisement, which appeared in *The Salopian Journal* of 24 September 1794, announced his setting up in business:

J. Evans, Printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Music and Printseller, Bookbinder, and Vender of Patent and Public approved Medicines, (Late Apprentice to Mr. Thomas Wood) Begs Leave to inform his Friends and the Public (whose Favors he hopes to Merit, by due Attention to their Commands,) that he will open his SHOP, next door to Mr. Tipton's Grocer, High Street, Shrewsbury, THIS DAY, Wednesday September 24.

A Circulating Library, consisting of near SEVEN-HUNDRED VOLUMES of well selected Novels, Histories, Plays, etc.

Copper-plate Printing, in one or more Colours, on reasonable Terms & in the neatest Manner.

Writing Paper of all Sorts, Copy and Brief Papers for Attorneys, (purchased before the last Duty was laid on) on advantageous Terms.

N.B. Good allowance made to Wholesale Dealers.

On 27 November 1794 he married "Miss Slater, of this town, whose gentle manners, and amiable disposition, are peculiarly calculated to render the matrimonial yoke easy, and its burden light" (*The Salopian Journal*, 3 December 1794). She died on 11 January 1799 (*The Salopian Journal*, 16 January 1799). Evans is mentioned in a patent medicine advertisement in *The Salopian Journal* of 22 April 1795, and in publishers' announcements of 13 January 1796 and 3 January 1798.

FELTON (JOHN), bookseller at Newport, 1679-80. What little is known of this worthy is hardly to his credit. William Thackeray, a London bookseller, 1664-92, who dealt largely in ballads and theological literature, "sold him goods to the value of £200 and had to sue him in the King's Bench for the recovery of the money" (Plomer (3), p. 286, quoting Common Plea Rolls, Trin. 33 Chas. II, Roll 2995, m. 1876, *verso*).

FELTON (JOHN), printer and bookseller at Oswestry, c. 1790. Known only from the imprint of an undated map of Denbighshire and Flintshire by William Williams, "now printed, colour'd and sold by John Felton, of Oswestry" (*Bye-Gones*, 1893, p. 125).

FELTON (WILLIAM), bookseller and printer at Ludlow (King Street), 1794-1851. According to Wright ((1), p. 147), Felton established himself in business in 1794 in King Street. He was, says Wright, "the more popular printer—I might perhaps say the radical printer, as far as Ludlow was concerned—that is, pamphlets or books, satirical or critical, against the existing

state of things in the town, advocating municipal or any other reforms, usually came from his press, which was more noted for expedition than accuracy." His earliest publication seems to have been :

An Historical Account of Ludlow Castle ; the Ancient Palace of the Princes of Wales, and Supreme Court of the Welsh Judicature of the President and Council of the Welsh Marches . . . . With an Appendix. By W. Hodges, Attorney at Law . . . . *Ludlow* : Printed and sold by W. Felton . . . . M,DCC,XC,IV. (S.P.L. 8vo. pp. xxiv, 104).

In *The Salopian Journal* of 1 October 1794 this is advertised as having been published on 27 September. Wright (*op. cit.*, pp. 152-6) mentions four more booklets printed by Felton. These were :

Wilkes's Mug-House Society. Regulated according to Act of Parliament, October 25th, 1794. (This consists merely of the rules and regulations of an early mutual benefit society.)

Poetical Remarks on the Game Laws : showing how far they are Badges of Slavery and inconsistent with Real Liberty. Written with a view to disseminate useful Knowledge, by a Lover of Freedom . . . . 1797.

Verses on a Festive Meeting ; lately held in the Town of —— in the County of ——. By an Observer . . . . 1799 .

The Beauties of Ludlow, a Poem. By Joseph Bullock, Bell Lane . . . . 1818 .

Felton also published the following :

Plain Argument ; addressed by a Plain Man to the Plain Understanding of the Whole Body of Electors in Great Britain ; but more immediately and particularly to the Burgesses of Ludlow ; on the Choice of Representatives in Parliament . . . . *Ludlow* : Printed and sold by W. Felton . . . . (Advertised in *The Salopian Journal*, 27 January 1796).

A Description of the Town of Ludlow . . . . 1811  
(S.P.L. 8vo, pp. iv, 142).

In 1804 Felton was an agent for Thomas Minshull's *Salopian Guide*. *The Salopian Journal* of 11 May 1808 records Felton's marriage "last week" to a Miss Rawlings, of Ludlow. In Tibnam's *Salop Directory* (1828) he figures as bookseller, stationer and printer, of King Street; and on 16 April 1834 *The Salopian Journal* records the death of his eldest son, Charles, at the age of 22 years. He was still in business in 1851, when his address is given as "Nairrows" (Bagshaw).

FERRIER (WILLIAM), printer in Shrewsbury, ?—1803. *The Salopian Journal* of 20 July 1803 records the death “on Monday last” (18 July) of “Mr. William Ferrier, printer.” Otherwise he is unknown.

FORSTER (ROBERT) the first, stationer in Shrewsbury (Corn-market or Kiln Lane (now The Square and Princess Street respectively)), 1613-67. Son of the Rev. Richard Forster, M.A., rector of Berrington, 1574-89, rector of the first portion of Pontesbury, 1589(?) - 97 (Berrington parish registers, p. viii; Pontesbury parish registers, p. ix). Robert Forster was baptised at Berrington on 8 April 1587 (Berrington registers, p. 12) and admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1613 (S.B.R. Joseph Morris (*Trans.*, 3, x, p. 254) says 30 March 1620). In Suit Rolls for 1617 (S.P.L., MS.227) “Robtus Forster” appears among those living in Cornmarket and Kiln Lane. St. Chad’s parish registers record the christening of “Richard, son of Robert Forster, bookbinder” on 21 December 1618 (p. 8), and other entries referring to his children are as follow: 4 June 1621, Sara, christened (p. 19); 5 June 1621, Sara, buried (p. 19); 24 February 1623/4, Martha, christened (p. 27); 27 July 1625, Robert, christened (p. 44); 7 December 1627, “a child of Mr. Robart Fauster, bookbynder,” buried (p. 56). By 1638 Forster had evidently attained a position of some consequence among his fellow-townsmen, for in the charter which was granted to the town in that year—the charter which replaced the two bailiffs who had hitherto governed the town by a mayor—he was nominated one of the forty-eight assistants or councillors (Owen and Blakeway, i, p. 409). By 1644 he had become an alderman, his name appearing as “Mr. Foster, Alderman” in an agreement dated 19 February of that year between Sir Francis Ottley, the Governor of Shrewsbury, and the Corporation, regarding certain payments to be made to the Governor and his officers (Owen and Blakeway, i, p. 440). Just over a month later “Robert Forster, stationer” appears in a list of the principal burgesses “somoned to appeare before Prynce Rupert his Highnes Commissioners upon Wednesday the 27th day of March 1644” in connection with the levying of an assessment upon the town to help replenish the King’s depleted exchequer (*Trans.*, 2, x, p. 162). In 1643 Forster had lost his son Richard, who was

buried at St. Chad's on 21 April (St. Chad's parish registers, p. 152), and on 4 July 1651 his wife was buried there (p. 226). In a Shrewsbury Corporation rental of 1657, "Robert Foster, stationer" is entered as paying 1s. for a tower on the town walls (*S. N. and Q.*, 1886, p. 173). During the struggle between King and Parliament Forster was evidently a good King's man, for on the restoration in 1661 he was appointed mayor of Shrewsbury in place of Richard Bagot, a Parliamentarian sympathiser, who was displaced by the Act for Regulating Corporations (Owen and Blakeway, i, p. 534; *Trans.*, 3, x, pp. 251-2). Forster died six years later and was buried at St. Chad's on 15 July 1667, being described in the register as "one of the Aldermen of this town" (St. Chad's parish registers, p. 346). He bore arms as follows: Quarterly per fesse indented sable and argent, in first and fourth quarters a pheon's head point down and in second and third a bugle horn stringed, all countercharged, quartered with sable a pheon's head point down argent. (In another, three pheons' heads.) (*Trans.*, 1, vi, p. 422).

FORSTER (ROBERT) the second, bookseller in Shrewsbury, c. 1649-64. Second son of Robert Forster the first (*q.v.*); christened 27 July 1625 (St. Chad's parish registers, p. 44). Entered his father's business, presumably about 1649, when he would be twenty-four years old—the earliest age at which he could be admitted to the freedom of the Booksellers' Company. On 23 October 1657 the baptism of his daughter Jane is recorded (St. Chad's parish registers, p. 266), and on 19 February 1662/3 "George, son of Mr. Robert Forster, booke binder, and Margaret" was baptised (*Ibid.*, p. 295). Entries relating to other children are as follow: 16 December 1663, Robert, baptised (p. 307); 19 January 1664/5, Margaret, baptised (p. 319); 11 February 1664/5, Robert, buried (p. 319); 3 April 1666, Thomas, baptised (p. 330); 14 November 1667, "Catherina," baptised (p. 350); 8 April 1670, "Shusanna," baptised (p. 372); 10 February 1670/1, "Shusanna," buried (p. 770). In these entries, those for the years 1666 to 1671 describe Forster as a draper, from which it appears that he gave up bookselling some time between 1663, when he is described as a bookbinder, and 1666. In the charter which was granted to the town in 1664 "Robert Forster, junior" appears as a common councillor (Owen and Blakeway,

i, p. 487), and in 1677 he was mayor (*Ibid.*, i, p. 534); by the charter of 1685 he was appointed an alderman (*Ibid.*, i, p. 493). In 1683 he appears as "Robert Forster, gen." among the half-brothers of the Tailors' and Skinners' Company (*Trans.*, i, iv, p. 268). He was buried at St. Chad's on 3 January 1687/8, being described in the register as "Mr. Robert Forrester, Alderman of this towne" (St. Chad's parish registers, p. 769).

FOWKE (JOHN), printer in Shrewsbury (Frankwell), 1796. Admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1796 (*S.B.R.*). A John Fowke, aged 33 years, was buried at St. Chad's on 16 February 1798 (St. Chad's parish registers, p. 1604); perhaps this was the same.

FOWLKS (EDWARD). On 20 July 1713, "Mr. Edward Fowlks, of Church Street, formerly a stationer in London" was buried at Oswestry (Oswestry parish registers, vol. ii, p. 535).

FRANKLIN (GEORGE), bookseller and printer at Wem, 1818-46. Franklin was the printer of the Rev. Samuel Garbet's *History of Wem*, 1818, the earliest known production of a Wem press. In 1828 Tibnam describes him as an auctioneer as well as a bookseller and printer. *S.C.* of 24 June 1846 records the marriage of his fourth son, Robert, to "Susan, third daughter of the late Richard Tayler, Esq., of Stableford House, near Bridgnorth."

GITTINS (THOMAS), bookseller in Shrewsbury (Mardol Head) 1696-1742. Admitted to the freedom of the Booksellers' Company, 12 July 1696 (*Trans.*, i, vii, p. 413). In St. Chad's parish registers (p. 576) he is mentioned in the following entry: "1699 March 21. Gittins, a bastard child of Grace Cooper's, living at Gittins's, bookbinder, baptised." Despite the implication which this record appears to carry, two years later (16 October 1701) Gittins signs the register as churchwarden (p. 598), and he was again churchwarden in 1705 (*Ibid.*, p. 625). He was admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1717 (*S.B.R.*). The baptism of his daughter Ann is recorded on 8 September 1701 (St. Chad's registers, p. 597), and that of another daughter, Sara, on 14 March 1702/3 (*Ibid.*, p. 609). A son, Thomas, was baptised on 5 November 1704 (*Ibid.*, p. 621), but he lived only a few

days and was buried on 24 November (*Ibid.*, p. 840). "A childe of Tho: Gittins, bookseller" was buried on 26 March 1706 (*Ibid.*, p. 846), while his son Richard was baptised on 27 July 1707 (*Ibid.*, p. 641) but died in childhood and was buried on 4 May 1716 (*Ibid.*, p. 882). Another son, John, who was baptised on 21 February 1708/9 (*Ibid.*, p. 651) was buried on 20 July 1709 (*Ibid.*, p. 862). "Sara, wife of Mr. Thomas Gittins" was buried on 18 November 1715 (*Ibid.*, p. 880), and three years later, on 7 October 1718, Gittins was married to Susannah Blaney, of Allhallows Minories, London, by Dr. Edward Waddington, at St. Michael's, Cornhill (Betton, ii, p. 147). Soon after the death of his first wife Gittins seems to have left Shrewsbury for a time—probably for London—for his name does not occur again until 1733, when he is mentioned as the executor of the will of "Mrs. Elinor Hinkes, spinster," of Shrewsbury, and as one of the trustees of a charity created by the will (*Trans.*, i, x, pp. 202-3). On 5 April 1740 he was granted letters of administration in respect of the will of his brother John (Betton, *loc. cit.*). He was buried on 23 April 1742 (St. Chad's registers, p. 1060), and letters of administration in respect of his estate were granted on 9 June 1742 to Anna, his only surviving child (Betton, *loc. cit.*). The following advertisement, issued by Gittins, was found by the late William Phillips in an old book and by him communicated to *Shreds and Patches*, 1879, p. 228 :

By Thomas Gittins, Bookseller on Mardol Head in Shrewsbury. You may be furnishit with all sorts of Bookes, and Play bookes, Stamped Paper and Parchment; Inke-hornes, Fountain-penns, Scales, Wax, Wafers, Sand boxes, Maps, Pictures, Spectacles, Shaggareen Cases, Hagilets, pencils, Prospectives and Reading Glasses for all Ages the best sort. Holmans Inke-powder, Harbin's Japan Cake Inke, Paper hangings for Roomes Sheet and Yard, Bate-man's true spirit of Scurvey Grass, and old bookes you may have well bound at reasonable rates.

The only publications bearing his name which have come to notice are :

W. Powell: Ways that lead to Rebellion laid open. 1715/6. (B.M., 225, g. 19 (7), quoted by Plomer (3), p. 128).

William Powell: Sermons against Swearing, preached at Llanly Mynach [sic] in Shropshire. 1727. (*Wilford's Monthly Catalogue*, quoted by Plomer (4), p. 103).

A Prospect of ye ancient and beautifull Town of Shrewsbury, taken from Higgins Barn near Coleham. Sold by Philip Overton against St. Dunstan's Church, London; by Thomas Gittins, bookseller in Salop; and by Benj. Cole in Oxford. (Trans., I, iv, p. 109). The dedication is signed by Cole, and the publication bears no date.

In 1717 Gittins was an agent for *The Worcester Post-Man*, where he appears as "Mr. Getting, bookseller, at Salop" (William Bennett, "A Note on *The Worcester Post-Man*" in *The Book-Collector's Quarterly*, no. xiv (April-June 1934), p. 78).

GITTON (GEORGE), bookseller and printer at Bridgnorth (High Town), c.1780-1825. When he died in 1825 Gitton had been postmaster and stamp distributor at Bridgnorth for "over forty years" (S.C., 22 April 1825); this indicates that he began business some time previous to 1785, but he does not seem to have done any printing until some years later. According to a writer in *Bye-Gones* (1908, p. 259), "Messrs. Gitton and Partridge [q.v.] were the first booksellers who undertook printing at Bridgnorth." Allnutt ((3), p. 254), quoting the late Mr. Hubert Smith as his authority, says that Gitton was "the first permanent printer" in the town. He is mentioned as an agent for *The Salopian Journal* in the first issue of that newspaper, 29 January 1794, and his name also occurs in an auctioneer's bill dated 7-8 June 1811 (N.C., iii, p. 43). He died on 15 April 1825 in his seventy-third year, and S.C. of 22 April has the following comment :

His loss will be long and sincerely lamented by his family; and in him society loses a worthy member, whose characteristics during a long and active life have been those of distinguished honesty and firm integrity of principle.

From the parish registers of St. Leonard's, Bridgnorth, we learn that George, the son of John and Bethia Gitton, was baptised on 16 April 1750. He served as churchwarden in 1795, and the baptisms of his children are recorded as follow: 3 September 1795, Catherine; 16 February 1800, George Robert; 11 October 1802, John. In 1828 Tibnam gives the names of "Catherine Gitton, printer and bookseller at High-town" and "George Robert Gitton, printer, bookseller, postmaster and stamp distributor, High-town"; probably these were the daughter and son baptised in 1795 and 1800 respectively.

GOUGH (RICHARD), bookseller at Whitchurch, c.1721-37. Born about 1700, the son of William Gough, of Shrewsbury, grocer and mercer, and grandson of Richard Gough, of Newton-on-the-Hill, the author of *Antiquities and Memoirs of the Parish of Myddle* (*Trans.*, 2, v. p. 275). With his father, was admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1701 and sworn in 1721 (*S.B.R.*). Voted at the election of 1722 for a freehold at Newton-on-the-Hill; buried at Whitchurch on 8 November 1737, having died intestate; administration of his estate was granted on 28 April 1738 to Richard Palin, of Baschurch, husbandman, his cousin-german and next of kin; by his death the male line of the historian of Myddle became extinct (*Trans.*, *loc. cit.*). Plomer (4), p. 106, quoting from J. P. Earwater, *Local Gleanings*, i, p. 237) says that Gough was advertised as an agent for Daffy's "Elixir" in 1738; there is evidently a mistake here, since the bookseller had died in the previous year.

GREGORY (T. ), bookseller and printer at Wem, 1796, 1824-73. "Gregory, Wem" is mentioned as an agent for "Davenport's Fine and Original Black Balls" in *S.J.*, 6 July 1796. In 1824 "T. Gregory, Wem"—probably a son of the earlier Gregory—printed and published *The Shropshire Gazetteer*, an octavo volume of nearly a thousand pages crammed with antiquarian and topographical information (largely inaccurate) concerning the county. He was still alive in July, 1873 (*Bye-Gones*, 9 July 1873).

GRIFFITHS (EDWARD), bookseller and printer at Bishop's Castle, 1825-51. R. E. Davies (*Bye-Gones*, 1900, p. 397) says that Edward Griffiths was in business as a printer and bookseller at Bishop's Castle in 1825, and in 1828 Tibnam describes him as "printer, bookseller, stationer, and auctioneer." *The Salopian Journal* of 29 November 1843 records the marriage at Bishop's Castle of "Mr. Seward, surgeon, of Liverpool, to Miss Griffiths, daughter of Mr. E. Griffiths, printer and auctioneer, of the former place." He was still in business in 1851 (Bagshaw). He was perhaps a son of John Griffiths (*q.v.*).

GRAFFITHS (JOHN), bookseller and printer at Bishop's Castle, 1791-c.1810. Mentioned (as "Griffiths" *tout court*) in the advertisement of a book catalogue issued by Ann Pryse, of Shrewsbury, 30 May 1791 (N.C., vii, p. 366). He was an agent for *The Salopian Journal* from its first issue on 29 January 1794. From 29 January to 19 February 1794 his name appears therein as "C. Griffiths"; on the latter date the initial is corrected to "J." He died before 1837, for *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* of 18 January in that year records the death at Bishop's Castle of "Mrs. Ann Griffiths, relict of Mr. John Griffiths, bookseller, etc., of that place." According to the late Mr. T. Caswell (*Bye-Gones*, 1900, p. 397), he was an elder brother of Thomas Griffiths, of Ludlow (*q.v.*), and retired about 1810. In the imprint of *A Copy of a Letter written by our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ* (undated), printed by Thomas Griffiths, he is described as a printer (*Bye-Gones*, 1900, p. 364).

GRAFFITHS (THOMAS), bookseller and printer at Ludlow (Broad Street; afterwards Bull Ring), 1794-1851. Thomas Griffiths began business in 1794 in Broad Street, in part of the premises later occupied by Henry Procter (*q.v.*) and Richard Jones (Wright (1), p. 147). He was, according to the late Mr. T. Caswell (*Bye-Gones*, 1900, p. 397), a younger brother of John Griffiths (*q.v.*), of Bishop's Castle. Wright (*loc. cit.*) gives the following account of him: "I understand that he opened shop with a stock of toys, children's books, and a limited supply of stationery, and that he joined the business of auctioneer with that of a printer; but he was chiefly known as printing play-bills and such things, and what one of my informants describes technically as 'slap-dash work.'" When Procter purchased the Broad Street premises in 1803, Griffiths removed to Bull Ring, where there was a printer and bookseller of the same name in 1851 (Bagshaw)—probably the same. He was, at any rate, still in business in 1847, when *The Salopian Journal* of 15 December records the death of his granddaughter. Wright (*loc. cit.*) says he never saw a book printed by Griffiths, and the only production of his press which has come to my notice is a broadsheet, *A Copy of a Letter written by our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ* (undated) (*Bye-Gones*, 1900, p. 364).

HARRISON (WILLIAM), bookseller in Shrewsbury, 1655-67(?). Son of Mathew Harrison, of Roeth in Swaledale, Yorkshire, yeoman; admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1655, when he had issue one son, Nehemiah, aged one year (S.B.R.). He married Sarah Owen (probably a daughter of Thomas Owen (q.v.), whom he seems to have succeeded in business) on 1 May 1654, and is described as "Bookseller" in the record of publication of banns (St. Alkmund's registers). Entries in St. Alkmund's registers relating to their children are as follow: 18 March 1654/5, Nehemiah, baptised; 5 November 1656, Sarah, "borne"; 24 October 1658, Joseph, baptised; 7 May 1659, Joseph, buried; 12 September 1660, Mary, "borne"; 26 April 1664, Hannah, baptised; 24 April 1667, "a daughter of William Harrisons, Stationer," buried. On this last date St. Chad's registers (p. 341) record the burial of a William Harrison who may be the bookseller. Shrewsbury Museum contains a token issued by Harrison in 1666. On the obverse appear the words: "William Harrison. His Half Penny," while on the reverse is the legend: "Of Salope, 1666," encircling a shield which appears to contain the arms of the Company of Booksellers, etc. This token is illustrated by Owen and Blakeway (vol. i, facing p. 490).

HARWOOD (SACHEVEREL), bookseller and printer in Shrewsbury (Mardol Head), 1784-94. Admitted a freeman of the Booksellers' Company, 11 June 1784, fine £1 1s. 5d.; steward, 1785 (*Trans.*, i, vii, pp. 414, 429). Mentioned in an advertisement of books published by "Lane, at the Minerva, Leadenhall Street," London, in *The Salopian Journal*, 5 February 1794, and in an advertisement of "Dr. Bateman's Pectoral Drops" on 12 March 1794. On 29 October 1794 the following advertisement appeared:

S. Harwood, Printer, Bookseller, etc., having declined business, he hopes that the Persons who stand indebted to him will immediately pay their respective Bills to his Sister, Mrs. France, Golden Heart, Doglane . . . . . 21 October 1794.

This business was taken over by Partridge and Hodges (q.v.). St. Chad's parish registers record the birth and baptism of Sacheverel Harwood, son of Sacheverel and Ruth Harwood, on 6 and 9 May 1757 (p. 1194); this was probably the bookseller.

He is also probably the person named in the record of the marriage of Sacheverel Harwood and Leatitia (*sic*) Williams on 25 January 1784 (p. 1822), and in the entry of the baptism of Sarah, daughter of Sacheverel Harwood and Laetitia, his wife, on 24 July 1785 (p. 1459).

HASLEWOOD (BENJAMIN), bookseller at Bridgnorth, 1730-93. One of the younger sons of William Haslewood, attorney-at-law and town-clerk of Bridgnorth, who had eleven children and died in 1746. Benjamin, who is described in the Haslewood pedigree as stationer and gentleman, was born on 2 October 1710 and became a burgess of the town in 1730. He was probably then in business, but the earliest mention of him that has been found is in an advertisement in the *Northampton Mercury* of 1749, where he is named as an agent for the distribution of the sale catalogues of T. Warren, the Birmingham bookseller. Benjamin Haslewood married Sarah, the daughter of John Wells, of Bridgnorth, clothier. He was elected bailiff of the town in the years 1756, 1766, 1773, and 1786. He died 27 April 1793. He was the publisher of John Barrow's *Psalm Singer's Choice Companion* (*Whitehall Evening Post*, 2 January 1755) and in 1772 and 1776 of *Sermons* by the Rev. T. Humphries, of Shrewsbury (B.M., 4408.dd.). In 1769 he is mentioned in the imprint of Henry Jones's *Shrewsbury Quarry, a Poem* (S.P.L.), and in 1778 and 1791 in the advertisements of book catalogues issued by Joshua Eddowes and Ann Pryse (*qq.v.*) respectively (N.C., i, p. 78; vii, p. 366). (Nearly the whole of the above account of Haslewood is quoted from Plomer (4), p. 119, and is based upon information supplied by R. J. R. Haslewood, Esq., of Bridgnorth).

HOCKER (JOHN), printer and bookbinder at Oswestry, ?-1785. Known only from the record of his burial on 13 December 1785 (Oswestry parish registers, iv, p. 123). He is the earliest Oswestry printer of whom any record has been found; perhaps he was a journeyman employed by Jackson Salter the first (*q.v.*).

HODGES (JOHN), bookseller and printer in Shrewsbury (Mardol Head ; afterwards The Square), 1794-1807. Apprenticed to Philip Sandford (*q.v.*), 4 December 1786 ; admitted a freeman of the Booksellers' Company, 5 June 1795, fine £1 rs. 5d. (*Trans.*, i, vii, p. 414). In October, 1794, he joined Benjamin Partridge (*q.v.*) in the business which the latter had established, and the partnership was carried on until May, 1798, under the style of Partridge and Hodges (*q.v.*). On 30 May 1798 Hodges published the following advertisement in *The Salopian Journal* :

John Hodges (Late Partner with Mr. Benjamin Partridge), Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, etc., Mardol-Head, Shrewsbury, begs leave to return his sincere thanks to his Friends and the Public in general, for the very good Encouragement and Support received by him during his Co-Partnership with Mr. Partridge ; and informs them, that he intends carrying on the above Businesses in all their various Branches, at the same Shop occupied by him and his late Partner on Mardol-Head, Shrewsbury . . . .

Hodges was admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1796, when he was described as "of Lee Stalls, bookseller and printer" (*S.B.R.*). In 1803 and 1804 he printed the fourth and fifth editions of the *Shrewsbury Guide and Directory* of Thomas Minshull (*q.v.*) (*S.N. and Q.*, 1897, p. 69 ; *S.P.L.*). In *The Salopian Journal* of 29 June 1803, Hodges advertises his removal from Mardol Head to "opposite the County Hall." In a poll-list of 1806 he is described as of the Market Place. How long he continued in business is uncertain ; the latest production of his press seen by me is a playbill dated December 1807 (*N.C.*, iv, p. 267).

HOME (JOHN), bookseller at Bishop's Castle, 1791-5. Distributed a book catalogue issued by Ann Pryse, of Shrewsbury (*q.v.*), 30 May 1791 (*N.C.*, vii, p. 366) ; mentioned as a sub-distributor of stamps in *The Salopian Journal*, 3 June 1795.

HOTCHKISS (RICHARD), printer in Shrewsbury, ?-1805. The *Salopian Journal* of 1 May 1805 records the death of 'Mr. Richard Hotchkiss, of Shrewsbury, printer,' at the age of twenty-five years. Otherwise he is unknown.

HOTCHKISS (SAMUEL), bookseller at Oswestry (Bailey Street), 1747-78. On 28 September 1747, "Samuel Hotchkiss, stationer, Bayly Street, and Mrs. Mary Price, spinster, Leg Street" were married (Oswestry parish registers, iii, p. 162). The baptism of their son, Thomas Price Hotchkiss (*q.v.*), is recorded on 27 December 1748 (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 174), and that of another son, Samuel (born 10 August 1754), on the day of his birth (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 217). Samuel Hotchkiss is mentioned in the imprint of *Taith y Pererin* ("The Pilgrim's Progress"), published by Stafford Pryse, of Shrewsbury, in 1761 (*Bye-Gones*, 1907, p. 123), and in the imprint of Henry Jones's *Shrewsbury Quarry*, published by Joshua Eddowes, of Shrewsbury, in 1769. In 1778 he is mentioned in the advertisement of a book catalogue issued by Joshua Eddowes (N.C., i, p. 78). He was buried at Oswestry on 5 May 1778, aged 55 years (*Bye-Gones*, 1877, p. 178).

HOTCHKISS (THOMAS PRICE), bookseller at Oswestry (Bailey Street), 1778-94. Elder son of Samuel Hotchkiss (*q.v.*); born 7 December 1748, baptised 27 December (Oswestry parish registers, iii, p. 174). On his father's death in May 1778 he succeeded to the business, which he carried on until his own death. He is mentioned in the advertisement of a book catalogue issued by Ann Pryse, of Shrewsbury, 30 May 1791 (N.C., vii, p. 366), and as an agent for *S.J.* from its first issue on 20 January 1794. He died 29 May 1794 (*S.J.*, 4 June 1794). His name appears in the imprint of *A Collection of Psalms, Hymns and Anthems . . . . for the use of Oswestry Church . . . . Shrewsbury: Printed by J. Eddowes . . . . 1784* (*Bye-Gones*, 1877, p. 313). He was succeeded by Edward Williams (*q.v.*), and on his death all accounts were payable to the latter (*S.J.*, 4 June 1794).

HOULSTON (EDWARD) the first, bookseller at Wellington, 1779-1800. "Mr. Houlston, Wellington" subscribed for two copies of Phillips's *History and Antiquities of Shrewsbury* in 1779, and in 1791 "Houlstone, Wellington" was an agent for a book catalogue issued by Ann Pryse, of Shrewsbury (N.C., vii, p. 366). "Mr. Edward Houlston, Wellington" is mentioned as a sub-distributor of stamps in *S.J.*, 3 June 1795. He was an agent for *S.J.* from 29 January 1794, when it began, until 2 July 1800, when the name changed to "Mrs. Houlston," presumably on the death of Edward.

HOULSTON (EDWARD) the second, bookseller and printer at Wellington, c.1804-40. Son of Edward Houlston the first and his successor in business. From about 1804 the business was conducted under the style of F. Houlston and Son ; it may be surmised that "F. Houlston" was the widow of Edward the first, and that the "Son" was Edward the second. In 1805 appeared from the Houlston press the Rev. Henry Gauntlett's *Sermon on Baptism and Confirmation, preached . . . . May 19th, 1805* (S.P.L.) and the Rev. John Eyton's *Sermon preached on occasion of the late Naval Victory . . . . Nov. 10th, 1805* (S.P.L.). These are the earliest pieces of Wellington printing so far recorded. Born in 1780, Edward Houlston the second was responsible for advancing the business to the prominent position it occupied during the first third of the nineteenth century, when it became one of the largest provincial publishing houses in the country. It specialised in educational and religious books, and published hundreds of tracts and paper-covered booklets of stories from the pens of Mrs. Sherwood and similar writers, as well as some cheap editions of the classics. Afterwards the firm extended its interests to London and about 1840 gave up the Wellington business, so renouncing any further claim on these pages. Edward Houlston the second died on 29 August 1840 at the age of 60 years (S.J., 9 September 1840), and his wife, Ellen, died in London on 27 September 1846, aged 71 years (S.C., 8 October 1846).

HOULSTON (EDWARD) the third, bookseller and printer at Wellington (and in Paternoster Row, London), c.1825-33. Eldest son of Edward Houlston the second ; married Martha Ann Kent, "daughter of the late Mr. Kent, surgeon, of Shawbury, in this county" on 3 July 1828 (S.C., 4 July 1828) ; died 17 January 1833 (S.J., 23 January 1833). In the account of his marriage he is described as "bookseller, Paternoster Row, London," and in Tibnam's *Salop Directory* (1828) the name of the firm is given as Houlston and Son, of the Market Place, Wellington.

HUGHES (OWEN), bookseller (?) at Oswestry, 1710. Mentioned in Thomas Jones's almanac for 1710 as Jones's agent at Oswestry (J.W.B.S., ii, p. 101).

JAMESON (DAVID), bookseller at Oswestry (Bailey Street), 1796-c.1809. Married Elizabeth Williams, spinster, of Llwyny-maen, Oswestry, 1 February 1796 (Oswestry parish registers, iv, p. 277; *The Salopian Journal*, 2 March 1796). Entries in the Oswestry parish registers relating to their children are as follow: 4 August 1797, William, baptised (Old Chapel registers, p. 4); 9 April 1799, Edward, baptised (*Ibid.*, p. 5); 7 September 1800, Ann, baptised (*Ibid.*, p. 6); 26 September 1802, Ann (born 22 July 1802), baptised (*Ibid.*, p. 8) (evidently the daughter of the same name baptised in 1800 had died); 3 March 1803, Elizabeth, buried (Parish registers, iv, p. 178); 24 June 1804, Mary, baptised (Old Chapel registers, p. 10); 17 November 1805, John, baptised (*Ibid.*, p. 12); 30 March 1807, Mary, buried (Parish registers, iv, p. 192); 1 June 1807, Thomas, baptised (Old Chapel registers, p. 14); 21 May 1809, Samuel, baptised (*Ibid.*, p. 16); 3 January 1810, Elizabeth (born 30 December 1809), baptised (*Ibid.*, p. 17). In the last two entries Jameson is described as "formerly bookseller." He gave up bookselling to become a corn and seed merchant, and afterwards acted as secretary and treasurer of a movement against the payment of gate and market tolls to the lord of the manor (Watkin, p. 202). For nearly the whole period of his book-selling career he seems to have carried on a maltster's business as well; a correspondent of *Bye-Gones* (15 May 1935) gives extracts from his ledger, dated from 1800 to 1824, relating to purchases of barley, sales of malt and hops, manufacturing expenses, etc.

JENNINGS ( ), bookseller at Ludlow, 1633. Jennings is "mentioned in a list of those in whose shops copies of William Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix* had been found" (McKerrow). He is perhaps to be identified with the following.

JENNINGS (or JENYS) (RICHARD), bookseller in Shrewsbury, 1635-42. Son of William Jennings, of High Walton, yeoman; admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1635 (S.B.R.). On 20 February 1639/40 the baptism of "Houmfrey, son of Richard Jenions, Stationer, and Joane" is recorded in St. Alkmund's

parish registers, and on 1 August 1642 his burial is entered. The register of marriages at St. Julian's Church, Shrewsbury (S.P.L., MS.166) records the marriage of Richard Jennings and Jane Davies on 9 May 1635, and on 23 February 1647/8, Thomas, "son of Richard Jennings," was baptised (*Trans.*, 1, x, p. 288). It was probably this same Thomas Jennings who was apprenticed to John Powell, of Pulley, tailor, on 3 September 1662, when he was described as "son of Richard Jennings, of Shrewsbury, deceased" (*Trans.*, 1, iv, p. 240). The Richard Jennings here referred to may have been the bookseller, but a Richard "Jennyns" occurs as a freeman of the Tailors' and Skinners' Company about 1640 (*Trans.*, 1, iv, p. 264).

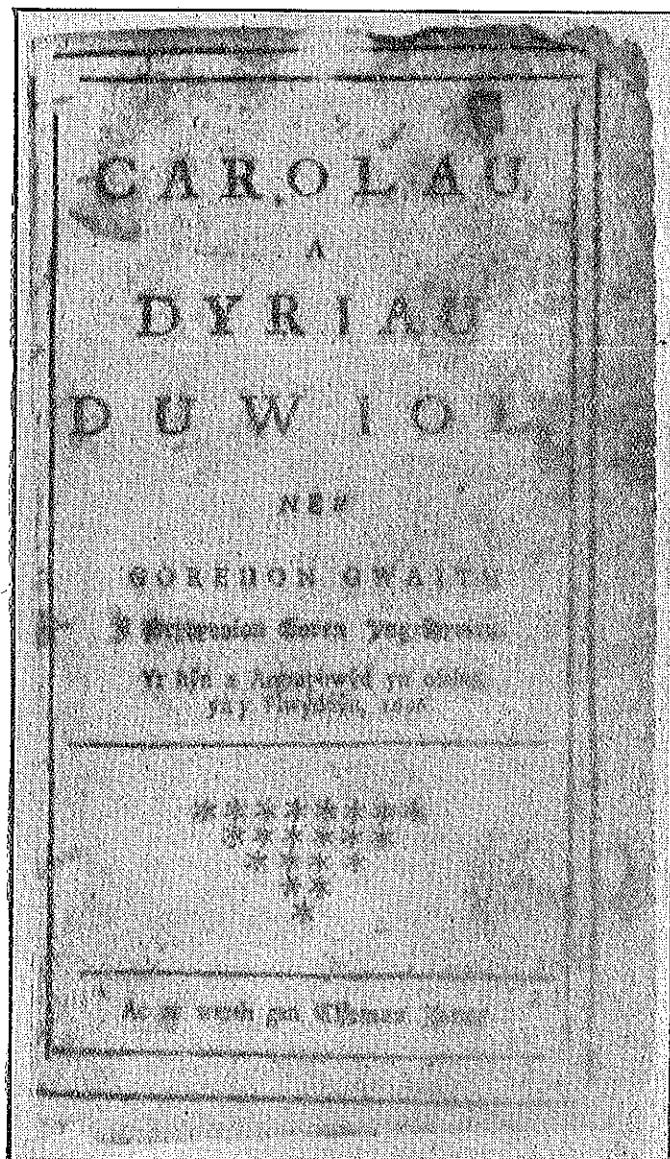
JONES (J.      ), bookseller at Whitchurch, 1769. Mentioned in the imprint of Henry Jones's *Shrewsbury Quarry*, printed by Joshua Eddowes (*q.v.*) in 1769.

JONES (JOHN), printer in Shrewsbury (Doglane (now Claremont Street)), 1796-1835. Admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1796 (*S.B.R.*); a note in *S.B.R.* states that he was living in 1835, and he is mentioned in a Shrewsbury poll list of 1830, but not in lists for 1835 and 1837.

JONES (R. B.      ), bookseller and printer at Whitchurch, 1794-1808. "Jones, printer, Whitchurch," is advertised as an agent for "Dr. Lambert's Balsam" in *The Salopian Journal* of 14 May 1794. On 12 October 1808 the same newspaper records the death "lately" of "Mr. R. B. Jones, printer and bookseller, of Whitchurch, in this county." Robert Barrow Jones, probably a son, carried on business as a bookseller and printer at Pepper Alley, Whitchurch, in 1828 (Tibnam), but by 1835 had removed to High Street (Pigot). He is probably the "Mr. Jones, printer and bookseller, of Whitchurch," whose marriage to "Miss Ann Mason, second daughter of the late Mr. Edward Mason, of Wem," is recorded in *The Salopian Journal* of 14 March 1810. He was still in business in 1851 (Bagshaw).

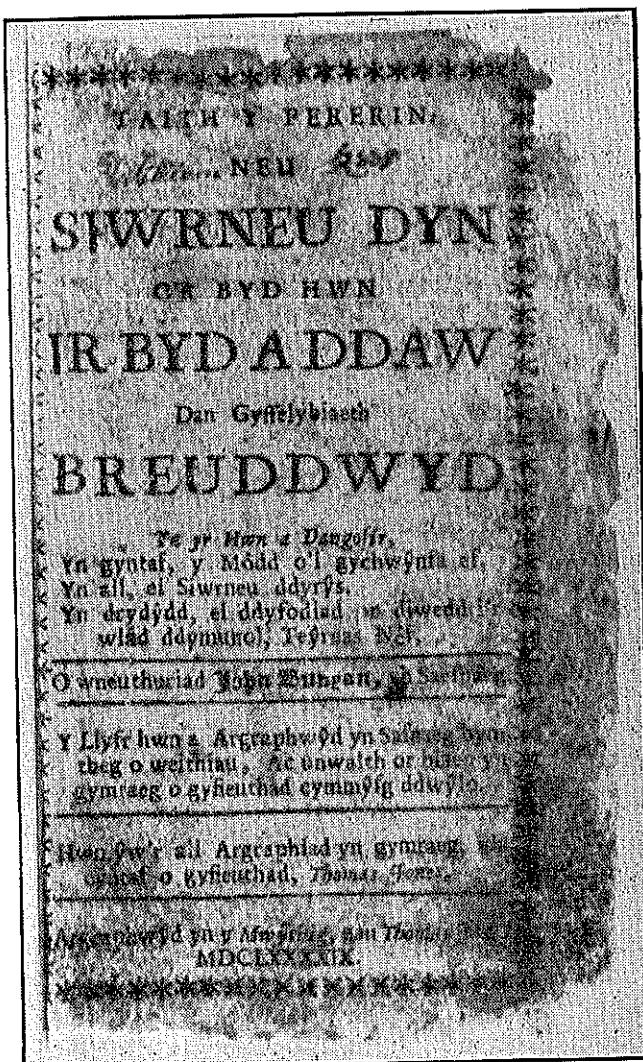
JONES (THOMAS), bookseller and printer in Shrewsbury (Hill's Lane ; "at the sign of the Bell, between the Corn and White Cloth Market and the Fish Market" ; "of ye Castle Hill"), 1695-1713. Shrewsbury's first printer was a remarkable and versatile man. During a lifetime of sixty-five years he followed at various times—and usually simultaneously—the callings of printer, publisher, journalist, translator, lexicographer, astrologer and poet, and won for himself a distinguished position in the literary history of Wales. Briefly to summarise his claims to distinction he was: the compiler, printer and publisher of the first regular Welsh almanac and the first Welsh "copy-book"; the printer, publisher, and probably compiler, of the first Welsh newspaper and the first Shrewsbury newspaper; probably the first person to set up in the business of publishing Welsh books; and the first person to establish a printing-press in Shrewsbury. He is said to have been born at Tre'r Ddol, near Corwen, Merionethshire (Rowlands, p. 243). In his almanac for 1699 he tells us that he was fifty years old on 1 May 1698, which fixes the date of his birth as 1 May 1648 (Ifano Jones, p. 10; *J.W.B.S.*, i, p. 239), and not 1647, as is stated by several authorities. Of his earlier career nothing seems to be known with certainty. At the age of eighteen years he is said to have gone to London as a tailor, but apparently he did not long confine his activities to that city, for we are told that he used to travel about the country, attending the fairs at Chester, Shrewsbury, Wrexham and Bristol—whether as a tailor or a bookseller is uncertain, but probably in the latter capacity (Rowlands, p. 243). Exactly when he forsook tailoring for bookselling is unknown; the earliest book yet recorded with which his name is connected is *The Character of a Quack Doctor*, which came out in 1676 (Plomer (3), p. 175). In 1679 (for 1680) he began the issue of the first regular Welsh almanac, which he continued to publish annually until 1712 (Ifano Jones, p. 10, quoting Moses Williams's *Cofrestr*). From the imprint to an English tract published in 1681 it appears that at this time his shop was in Paul's Alley (*J.W.B.S.*, i, p. 239), while in 1685 he was settled in Blackfriars; this is made clear by the imprint to his almanac issued in that year (*J.W.B.S.*, i, p. 240). In 1688 he addresses the preface of his Welsh dictionary, "From my house near the Sign of the Elephant in Lower Moorfields, London" (Rowlands, p. 241). While in London,

Jones published a number of books and pamphlets in both Welsh and English, one of the most interesting of which is the recently-discovered *Athrawiaeth i ddysgu ysgrifenu amriw fath ar ddweylo* ("Instructions for teaching various styles of handwriting"). This came out in 1683, and is described by Mr. W. Ll. Davies as "the first Welsh copybook" (*J.W.B.S.*, iv, p. 113). It is a waistcoat-pocket-size booklet of twelve leaves, containing four leaves of written alphabets in various styles and thirteen pages of most interesting instructions on making a quill pen, the selection of paper, and the preparation of ink. In 1688 Jones published his Welsh dictionary, *Y Gymraeg yn ei Disgleirdeb* ("The Welsh Language in its Lustre"), one of the works on which his position in Welsh literary history mainly rests. Ashton (pp. 69-70) sums up its merits well. After pointing out that Salesbury's *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* (1547) and Dr. Davies's Welsh-Latin and Latin-Welsh dictionary (1632) were the only Welsh dictionaries previously published, and that Jones's work was new in that it gave the Welsh words first and explained them in English, he says that "it is, indeed, very imperfect, but this was probably the fault of the printer rather than of the author..... But in spite of its faults it was a masterpiece for the period, and it provided the only means available to the Welshman of learning English." Second and third editions were published at Shrewsbury in 1760 and 1777 respectively, which indicates that its value endured for at least a century after its first appearance. Jones seems to have worked up an extensive business as a bookseller, for in his early almanacs he mentions agents at Chester, Abergavenny, Bala and Dolgelly, Llanfyllin, Oswestry, Wrexham, Shrewsbury, and Welshpool (*J.W.B.S.*, ii, p. 101). It was probably the extension of his business that encouraged him to establish himself in Shrewsbury, where he would be a great deal more conveniently situated to deal with the demands of his customers in Wales. In what year Jones removed his business to Shrewsbury and so became the first printer to set up his press permanently in the town, is known only approximately. Ashton (pp. 16, 68) and others of the older Welsh bibliographers state that he began operations in Shrewsbury in 1685 with an edition of *Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb* ("The Practice of Piety"), but the Rev. Thomas Shankland has shown conclusively that this book must be placed much



TITLE-PAGE OF *Carolau a Dyriao Duwiol* (1696)  
— BELIEVED TO BE THE FIRST PRODUCTION OF  
THOMAS JONES'S SHREWSBURY PRESS.  
(From the copy in the National Library of Wales).

later—probably about 1709 (*J.W.B.S.*, ii, p. 98). Probably his first Shrewsbury book was *Carolau a Dyriau Duwiol* ("Carols and Pious Songs") which came out in 1696 with no statement in the imprint as to the place of printing. Jones was not only the printer and publisher but also the compiler of this anthology, and the preface is dated "Pengwern, Ionawr 29, 1696" ("Shrewsbury (?), January 29, 1696"). Pengwern is undoubtedly the old Welsh name for Shrewsbury, and it was largely on account of this fact that the Rev. Thomas Shankland—one of the most trustworthy of Welsh bibliographers—came to the conclusion that this was Jones's first Shrewsbury publication. The writer of an anonymous article in *J.W.B.S.* (vol. ii, p. 98) suggests—with rather exaggerated caution, it would seem—that "Pengwern" in Jones's preface might refer to somewhere other than Shrewsbury; he is unable, however, to suggest any identification. The same writer notes that an advertisement of Gabriel Rogers, another Shrewsbury bookseller, is included in the book, and remarks: "If Jones had actually started business in Shrewsbury, it is curious that he should not have made a statement to that effect in the book, and still more curious that he should have given a free advertisement to a rival bookseller . . . ." As to the first point here made, it was, of course, by no means unusual for printers to omit either date or place of printing—or, indeed, both—from their publications; while the second point loses a good deal of its force when we find that in some copies of *Bucheddau'r Apostolion* ("The Lives of the Apostles") (stated in the imprint to have been printed at Shrewsbury in 1704 by Jones) there appears an advertisement of "Thomas Gittins, Bookseller on Mardol Head in Shrewsbury" on the page preceding the title-page (*J.W.B.S.*, ii, p. 108). Further, are we entitled to assume that Gabriel Rogers's advertisement was free? From Jones's writings in his almanacs and prefaces he does not seem to have been the sort of man to disdain accepting any slight help to the financial success of his undertakings which might be forthcoming. If copies of his almanacs for this period were available they would at once settle the date of his establishment in Shrewsbury, but unfortunately none is known between 1692 and 1698—the former printed in London and the latter in Shrewsbury. If *Carolau a Dyriau Duwiol* be accepted as a Shrewsbury publication, the date of the preface (29 January



TITLE-PAGE OF *Taith y Pererin* (1699) — THE FIRST  
 BOOK CERTAINLY KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN PRODUCED  
 AT THOMAS JONES'S SHREWSBURY PRESS.

(From the copy in the National Library of Wales).

1696) would seem to indicate that Jones had come to the town some time previously, and probably we shall not be greatly in error if we assume that he settled here during 1695. Two more of Jones's publications are believed to date from his first few years in Shrewsbury. These are: *Artemidorus—Gwir Ddeon-gliad Breuddwydion* ("Artemidorus—The true Interpretation of Dreams") and *Yr ABC, neu, Lyfr i ddysgu darllen Cymraeg* ("The ABC, or, Book to teach the Reading of Welsh"). As to the former, only one copy is known—an imperfect one in the National Library of Wales—and this lacks the title-page, together with any indication of the date or place of printing (*J.W.B.S.*, iv, p. 68). Of the latter, no copy is known. These, then, are of no assistance in determining the date of Jones's settlement is Shrewsbury. The first book certainly known to have been issued from his Shrewsbury press is his own translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which appeared in 1699 under the title, *Taith y Peyerin ; neu, Siwrneu Dyn o'r Byd hwn i'r Byd a ddaw, dan Gyffelybiaeth Breuddwyd* ("The Pilgrim's Progress ; or, Man's Journey from this World to the World to come, in the Semblance of a Dream"). This is one of his most notable contributions to Welsh literature. From this time onwards Jones was actively engaged in compiling, printing and publishing Welsh books and establishing Shrewsbury's position as the centre of the Welsh book-trade—a position which it held for nearly a century. After leaving London he seems to have confined his attention chiefly to Welsh books ; at all events, the only English publication—apart from his news-sheet, which will be discussed later—which has been traced to his Shrewsbury press, is *Old Dr. Harwood's Sayings. . . . Shrewsbury : Printed by Thomas Jones* (Hilliwell, p. 236) ; this is undated. At first Jones's house and place of business was in Hill's Lane, as he informs us in several imprints. In that of *Ymadrodd Gweddaiidd* ("A Reverential Discourse") (? 1703), for example, his address is given as : "Yn yr Hwylfa a elwir, Mr. Hill's Lane" ("In the street called Mr. Hill's Lane") ; while in *Llyfr o Weddian Duwiol* ("A Book of Pious Prayers") (1707) it appears as "ei dy ef yn agos i Hewl Mardal" ("his house near Mardol Street"). In *Llythyr oddiwrth Weinidog o Eglwys Loegr* ("A Letter from a Minister of the Church of England") (? 1711), however, the imprint locates his office as "yn agos i farchnad

yr yd a'r brethyn gwyn" ("near the Corn and White Cloth Market") while according to Rowlands (p. 294) this book contains an advertisement which states that his house was "tan arwydd y Bel, rhwng marchnad yr yd a'r brethyn gwyn, a marchnad y Pysgod" ("at the Sign of the Bell, between the Corn and White Cloth Market, and the Fish Market"). The Corn Market was, of course, what we know as The Square, and the Fish Market was at this time on St. John's Hill (Owen, p. 456). Some time between 1707 and 1711, therefore, Jones would seem to have removed from Hill's Lane to somewhere probably in the vicinity of Shoplatch. He made another move before his death in 1713, for he was described in the record of his burial as "of ye Castle Hill." One of Jones's several titles to distinction is that he appears to have founded the first Welsh newspaper. No copy of it has survived—even its title seems to be unknown—but its existence has been inferred from statements made in Jones's almanacs of 1691 and 1692 (*J.W.B.S.*, ii, p. 99). "The venture was not a success, and writing in October, 1691, Jones blames the Welsh shopkeepers for not ordering copies. The excuses some of them gave, he says, were that it was unnecessary to send to London for news, as there were plenty of people in the country who were capable of concocting news, while others said that news was far easier to come by than money" (*Ibid.*, pp. 99-100). Such were some of the trials of an early would-be press-lord! Jones's journalistic ambitions do not, however, seem to have been wholly damped by the failure of his first venture, for a few years after his establishment in Shrewsbury he began the publication of a news-sheet here. The evidence on this point is of the scantiest—nothing, in fact, but a note communicated to *Bye-Gones* (25 May 1881, p. 240) by Mr. T. W. Hancock, who says:

The first newspaper printed in Shrewsbury appears to have been a small fly-sheet, not much larger than an ordinary half-foolscap, of two pages only, having the following title and imprint:

"A Collection of all the Material News."

"Printed and sold by Thomas Jones at his house in Hill's Lane (?), near Mardol. Price 1d."

The number which I saw bore the date "16(-)1"; there was an erasure of the figure, here indicated within brackets. I had an impression that the whole date was tampered with, and according to a note written by some hand, this seventeenth-century date was false, and it was

printed in 1704. The following news paragraph which it gave may serve to help out its date :

"His Grace the Duke of Marlborough is gone to Woodstock to give his last instructions about building his palace, being to go immediately to Holland, on the French army's moving on the Rhine."

It is some years since it came under my observation, and I recollect that I was under the distinct impression that this was the first issue ; and having no note made of any "No." on it, I still retain that impression. The news it contained, if my memory serves me correctly, were merely gleanings from London papers, rather than local news.

The news paragraph quoted by Mr. Hancock does indeed serve to fix the date, for it was on 13 August 1704 that Marlborough gained the most famous victory of his career at Blenheim, and as a reward was granted Woodstock (then renamed Blenheim) Park in Oxfordshire. On returning from the Continent he arrived in London on 14 December 1704 and left again four months later, reaching the Hague on 14 April 1705 (Sir Leslie Stephen in *D.N.B.* (1887), vol. x, p. 325). The copy of Jones's newspaper which Mr. Hancock saw must, therefore, have been published between these two dates—probably nearer the latter than the former, as the paragraph implies that Marlborough was on the point of returning to Holland. It was on 17 February 1705 that the Queen "informed the House that in conformity with their application she purposed to convey to the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs the interest of the crown in the manor and honour of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootton . . ." (Coxe, *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough*, Bohn's edition, 1876, vol. i, p. 252). "A bill for the purpose being immediately introduced," continues Coxe, "passed both Houses without opposition, and received the royal sanction on the 14th of March . . . . The Queen accompanied the grant with an order to the Board of Works to erect, at the royal expense, a splendid palace, which, in memory of the victory, was to be called the Castle of Blenheim. A model was immediately constructed for the approbation of the Queen, and the work was commenced without delay . . ." It will thus be seen that 1704, the date mentioned by Mr. Hancock, requires correction, and that the probable date of this copy of Jones's newspaper is some time during March or the beginning of April, 1705. His publication of a news-sheet at Shrewsbury at this time entitles him to a place among the select band of pioneers who in the early years of the eighteenth

century brought about the establishment of the provincial newspaper press. The earliest provincial weekly newspaper seems to have been Francis Burges's *Norwich Post*, which began publication in September 1701 (Allnutt (1), p. 295); this Shrewsbury venture, only two and a half years later, was almost certainly among the first half-dozen provincial newspapers to be established in this country. Of what may be called Jones's private life in Shrewsbury we know practically nothing. We catch a glimpse of him, however, in St. Chad's registers for 1705 (p. 842), where the burial is recorded on 13 June of "Jane, daughter of James Hayward, Awditor of the parish of Lee Leighton neare London, from Mr. Jones House, the printer." Jones died on 6 August 1713. This date is fixed by a Welsh elegy to his memory which appears in the Phillipps MS. 8393, pp. 47-8 (quoted by Ifano Jones, p. 10): "Marw-nad am yr enwog Sywydd Thomas Jones yr hwn a fu farw y 6 Dydd o fis Awst 1713" ("Elegy for the famous Astronomer Thomas Jones, who died on 6 August 1713"). St. Mary's parish registers (p. 276) record the burial of "Thomas Jones, of ye Castle Hill" on 8 August 1713, and this probably refers to the printer, for no other Thomas Jones appears to have been buried in Shrewsbury at about the same time.

LAPLAIN (WILLIAM), bookseller in Shrewsbury ("facing the Shambles on Pride Hill"), 1769-72. Son of the Rev. William Laplain, vicar of Wrockwardine, Salop (son of Joseph de la Plaigne, of Bordeaux, King's Counsel to Henry IV of France and registrar of the lands of Guienne; married Mrs. Hannah Edwards of Wrockwardine, 28 January 1745; vicar of Wrockwardine from 23 June 1733 until his death on 25 September 1764 (*Trans.*, 3, x, p. 230; 1, i, p. 92)). William Laplain the younger married Catherine Churchill at St. Chad's on 11 September 1768, when he is described as of the parish of Wrockwardine (St. Chad's registers, p. 1788). Admitted to the freedom of the Booksellers' Company, 26 May 1769, on payment of a fine of 17s. 4d., which indicates that he was apprenticed in the town (*Trans.*, 1, vii, p. 413). The baptism of his daughter, Susannah Ann Gibet, is recorded in St. Julian's parish registers on 31 August 1769 (*Trans.*, 1, x, p. 330). He seems to have been succeeded in business by Thomas Wood (q.v.), who, in the first

number of *The Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 23 November 1772, gives his place of business as "facing the Shambles on Pride Hill, Shrewsbury, but lately occupied by Mr. William Laplain, Bookseller." Rowlands gives the following books as issued by Laplain :

The Scourge for the Assirian the great Oppressor . . . .  
Collected out of the works of ancient Authors . . . . 1770  
(Rowlands, p. 518).

Some observations on Passages of Scripture; and  
Letters by Thomas Meredith. 1770 (Rowlands, p. 525).

LATHROP (RICHARD), bookseller and printer in Shrewsbury, 1738-64. "Mr. Rich. Lathrop, of St. Alkmond's" and "Mrs. Mary Hesketh, of St. Mary" were married at the Abbey Church, Shrewsbury, on 14 February 1737/8 (*Trans.*, i, i, p. 92). He set up in business in the same year, printing "with brand-new type" the following book (Ifano Jones, p. 12) :

"Cambriae Suspiria in Obitum desideratissimae  
Reginae Carolinae. Ad Reverendum in Christo Patrem,  
Isaacum, Episcopum Asaphensem. Authore Tho.  
Richards, Cambro-Britanno . . . Salopiae, Excludit R.  
Lathrop. M DCC XXXVIII." (8pp., folio).

He was admitted to the freedom of the Booksellers' Company on 22 June 1739, paying a fine of 17s. 4d., which indicates that he had served his apprenticeship in the town; and during the same year he held office as steward (*Trans.*, i, vii, pp. 413, 428). On 2 July 1739 his daughter Susanna was baptised (St. Chad's registers, p. 1030). Either this year or in 1740 he issued *A Prospect of the Town of Shrewsbury taken as it appear'd in the Great Frost, 1739 . . . . Printed for Richard Lathrop, Bookseller in Salop*. This, which is in size 40 in. by 28 in., shows the Severn frozen over and "crowded with visitors variously occupied, and printing and copperplate presses at work" (*Trans.*, i, iv, p. 114). In the same year Lathrop appears among the subscribers to *The Scripture Genealogy . . . . A Display of Heraldry*, by John Reynolds, "of Oswestry, Antiquarian" (Chester, Roger Adams, 1739) (S.P.L.). In a Shrewsbury poll-list for 1747 he is one of the two booksellers included (*Trans.*, i, iii, p. 232), while in 1752 he printed a handbill describing the execution of Captain Thomas Anderson at Kingsland on 11 December (Hulbert (2), p. 258). He was buried on 1 November 1764 (St. Chad's registers, p. 1259), and evidently remained in business up to his death, for he was described as "bookseller"

when his son Robert was apprenticed to Edward Smith, grocer, in the same year (*Trans.*, 1, viii, p. 392). Rowlands notes nine Welsh books as printed by Lathrop, by an obvious mistake dating two of them 1687 and 1699. Davies lists only two Welsh ballads as issued from this press. Lathrop seems to have succeeded John Rogers (*q.v.*).

LEWIS (CHARLES), bookseller (?) at Bishop's Castle, 1710. Mentioned in Thomas Jones's almanac for 1710 as Jones's agent at Bishop's Castle (*J.W.B.S.*, ii, p. 101).

LLOYD (DAVID), mercer and bookseller at Oswestry, c. 1685. In one of Thomas Jones's early almanacs "Mr. David Lloyd, mercer," of Oswestry, is mentioned as one of the provincial agents from whom Jones's publications could be obtained (*J.W.B.S.*, ii, p. 101).

MADDOCKS (or MADDOX) (RICHARD), bookseller in Shrewsbury, 1800 - ? ; at Oswestry, ? - 1808. Maddocks was admitted a freeman of the Booksellers' Company on 13 June 1800 on payment of the "foreigner's" fine of £10 (*Trans.*, 1, vii, p. 414). In the same year his name occurs as a seller of Dr. Samuel Butler's *The Mercy of God; especially considered with reference to our present Situation* (S.P.L.) ; this has the following imprint : "Shrewsbury : Printed and sold by J. and W. Eddowes. Sold also by Messrs. Sandford and Maddocks, and T. Wood." Maddocks afterwards removed to Oswestry, where he died on 1 August 1808 (*S.J.*, 17 August 1808).

MADDOX ( ), bookseller at Ellesmere, 1789. Mentioned in the imprint of *The Trial of Thomas Phipps*, etc. (Oswestry, J. Salter, 1789) (Rowlands, p. 647) ; otherwise unknown.

MATTHEWS (JOHN), bookseller in Shrewsbury, 1637. Son of Mathew ap Thomas, of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, glover ; admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 1637, when he had three children—Thomas (7), Mary (4) and Elizabeth (1) (*S.B.R.*).

MILLNER (FRANCIS). See Woodhouse. (Francis).

MINSHALL (NATHANIEL), bookseller and printer at Oswestry (6, The Cross ; afterwards 16, Church Street), 1809-19. "When a youth resided with his uncles, Nathaniel and John Minshall, at Preeshenlle Farm, and married Sarah, daughter of Joseph

Roberts and Sarah (Bickerton), of Earleshill, Pontesbury, and afterwards of Dudley, Ellesmere" (Watkin, p. 187). In the record of the baptism of his daughter Mary, on 28 September 1804, and in that of his daughter Sarah, in 1807 (Oswestry Old Chapel registers, pp. 11, 13), Minshall is described as a "writer." On the retirement of William Edwards (*q.v.*) in 1809, Minshall succeeded him at 6, The Cross (Watkin, p. 187); in the Shropshire Quarter Sessions records for July 1809 there appears a notice from him that he has a printing press which he proposes to use at Oswestry (*Bye-Gones*, 1912, p. 285). A son, Thomas, was baptised on 7 January 1810, and Minshall is described in the record as "writer and bookseller" (Oswestry Old Chapel registers, p. 17). A handbill printed by him in April 1810 is preserved in N.C., ii, p. 516. He left 6, The Cross after having carried on business there for some time, and removed to 16, Church Street. At the same time he was articled to T. Longueville Jones, a well-known Oswestry solicitor, and on his own admission as a solicitor in 1819 began to practise. The printing and bookselling business was transferred to Samuel Roberts, a brother-in-law (Watkin, p. 124). Apart from the handbill mentioned above, the only productions of his press which have come to notice are:

A Declaration of the Faith and Order, owned, and practised, in the Congregational Churches in England: agreed upon, and consented to, by their Elders and Messengers, in their Meeting at the Savoy, October 12, MDCLVIII. *Oswestry: Printed, and sold, by N. Minshall. . . . 1812.* (S.P.L. Small 8vo, pp. (iv), xlvi, 84)

and *The Whole Art of Bookbinding*, 1811 (*Bye-Gones*, 1877, p. 339).

MINSHULL (JOHN), printer in Shrewsbury, 1783-5 (?). Second son of Giles Minshall, linen-draper, of Chester, and thus a brother of Thomas Minshall (*q.v.*); baptised at St. Michael's, Chester, 18 January 1762; married there, December 1783, when he was described as of Shrewsbury, printer, Mary Howell, spinster, of St. Michael's parish. By her he had one son, John, who died an infant in 1785. John Minshall himself died in May of the same year at Chester, "in the prime of life" (*Chester Courant*, 17 May 1785). He, his wife (who died in 1833), and their child, were all buried at St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester (Stewart-Brown, p. 137, quoting Mr. P. H. Lawson, F.S.A.).

(To be continued)

## BURWARTON OLD CHURCH.

BY

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

This little church, erected late in the twelfth century to serve a small community, was never enlarged, and except for alterations to increase the lighting of the building, it remained much as it was built until 1877, when it fell into disuse; another church having been built nearby to replace it.

An illustration of the interior appears in Anderson's "Shropshire" showing the Jacobean and earlier woodwork now in Ditton Priors church. A view of the exterior accompanies a paper on Burwarton by Rev. R. C. Purton in Vol. 4. of the fourth series of the *Transactions*, 1915. The architectural features are described as Transitional Norman, in Dr. Cranage's "Churches of Shropshire."

After the interior was dismantled, and the roof destroyed, the church was allowed to fall into decay. Ultimately the west-end disappeared, and ivy was allowed to clothe the walls, according to the fashion of the times.

Through the generosity of Lord Boyne, the ivy has now been cleared away; and the walls have been restored and strengthened. The ruins are now in such stable condition that they will stand for many years to come.

On the north side, the original windows still remain. Two deeply splayed openings in the Chancel have been untouched by time. All loose masonry has been re-set and made secure, and two later windows in the nave have been restored.

All the other windows have long since been destroyed.

The wall between the nave and the chancel is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick. The Chancel arch rests upon two corbel brackets having stiff foliated capitals interlaced with bands of nail head ornament; these brackets are supported on short slender columns, having carved terminals.

The upper portion of the gable was found to be in a perilous condition ; serious cracks having resulted from the construction of a flue in recent times. The chancel and nave roof being at different levels, a window had been constructed above the chancel roof to increase the lighting of the nave.

The exterior arches of this opening sprang from different levels, so as to direct the light downwards : and the vault between had partially collapsed. This has been reinstated and made secure.

The ruins of the old church are now in good order ; the walls have been strengthened, and the architectural features carefully preserved.

A report, with photographs showing the condition of the ruins before and after restoration, has been sent to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, from whom a letter of approval and congratulation has since been received.

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#### NOTE.

The Editors have heard with profound regret of the death of the Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher, for many years a member of the Council of the Society, and one of its Vice-Presidents. A portrait of Mr. Fletcher appears in this Part, and a fuller notice of his life and work for the Society will be given in the next issue.

## NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Copies of the following books can be obtained by members on application to the Assistant Secretary:—

SHREWSBURY SCHOOL REGISTER (3s. 6d.).

BLAKEWAY'S HISTORY OF SHREWSBURY LIBERTIES (5s.).

THE BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY, BATTLEFIELD CHURCH, etc. (3s. 6d.)

SHROPSHIRE LAY SUBSIDY ROLL 1327 (5s.).

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