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CONTENTS

Front cover: 18th century drawing of the tomb of John Biest and his first wife Ann Egerton formerly at Atcham. '*Moste Stately Tombes*', page 88.

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Church Building and Restoration in Shropshire, 1800–1850: A Reappraisal

By MARTIN SPEIGHT

The church building and restoration boom of the mid-19th century has traditionally been ascribed to the influence of the Oxford and Cambridge Movements, which were founded in 1833 and 1839 respectively. Detailed analysis of more than a hundred churches in Shropshire which were built, rebuilt or re-ordered in the first half of the 19th century has shown that no more than a half-dozen would appear to have been influenced by these movements.

It is suggested that the origins of the church building boom of the 1830s and 1840s go back to the early years of the century, and were motivated primarily by the need to provide extra accommodation, particularly for the poor. This was assisted by the work of the Incorporated Church Building Society and other grant-awarding bodies. Consideration is also given to the architects and builders who worked in the county, and to the architectural styles which they employed, as well as to the means by which they were financed.

INTRODUCTION

In 1989 David George published a paper in these *Transactions* entitled 'Early Victorian Church Restoration in Shropshire: Cound 1841–3' in which he discussed the restoration of Cound church in the context of developments which were taking place both in the county and in the country at large. Mr George rightly drew attention to the influence of the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society as a stimulus for church building and restoration in the decades after 1840, but failed to recognise the extent to which these activities were part of a process which pre-dated the revival begun by the Oxford and Cambridge movements.

In the same year that Mr George's paper appeared, the late Professor Nigel Yates published the first edition of *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, which was essentially a revision of Addleshaw and Etchells' pioneering work of 1948 on the subject.[1] Yates' work suggested that during the 18th century the traditional internal arrangements of Anglican churches became increasingly under pressure from various forms of liturgical experiment, mainly centring on the position of the pulpit in relation to the rest of the building. These will be discussed in relation to Shropshire later in this paper. Yates was primarily concerned with the relationship of liturgy to architecture,

and, because of this, did not discuss other factors at any length. Subsequently other researchers have begun to consider the question of seating in churches, and the effect of the need to increase capacity, especially for the poor. In 2011 the Ecclesiological Society published a collection of essays under the title *Pews, Benches and Chairs*, which contained two papers dealing with the early 19th century, with particular reference to the Incorporated Church Building Society.[2] Five years later Roger Brown published *In Places Where They Sit*, which approached the history of pewing from a Welsh perspective. Most recently in 2018 the bicentenary of the ICBS was marked by the publication of *Free Seats for All* by Gill Hedley, which chronicled in some detail the early years of the Society as well as its subsequent activities.[3]

There has, however, been something of a dearth of local studies of early 19th century church building and restoration, and in particular of investigations of factors such as the extent to which ideas from Oxford and Cambridge had penetrated into the country by 1850, or the role played by pre-existing factors which had been in action for some decades. Geoff Brandwood's work on Leicestershire and Rutland is a pioneering study, but the long time-span which it covers (1800–1914) limits the amount of space devoted to the earlier years

of the period.[4] It is the intention of the present article to consider the situation in Shropshire during the first half of the 19th century with reference both to the reasons for the considerable amount of church building, extension and re-ordering carried out during the period, and the way in which these projects were carried out.

BACKGROUND

Shropshire in the 19th century was in the unusual position of coming under the jurisdiction of three dioceses. This was the product of historical factors dating back to the 8th century, when the southern part of the county was given to Hereford, while the north remained in what was to become the diocese of Lichfield. Nine parishes in the north-west of the county were part of the Welsh diocese of St Asaph until the disestablishment of the Welsh church in 1920. The boundary between the dioceses of Lichfield and Hereford follows the River Severn for much of its way, though in 1850 there were still anomalies which were adjusted in succeeding decades. One of the greatest of these, six parishes to the east of the Severn which formerly comprised the Peculiar of Bridgnorth, had already become part of Hereford diocese in 1846.[5]

At the end of the first fifty years of the 19th century just over one third of Anglican churches in Shropshire had been either newly built, rebuilt, extended or had undergone internal re-ordering. While most of the churches built or rebuilt during this period survive, albeit often greatly altered, it is hard to find an interior which has not been altered out of all recognition. Cressage, More and Shelve retain more than a flavour of their early Victorian past, but even they have undergone later alterations. This is due to the wave of church restoration which swept the country after 1850 under the influence of the Cambridge Camden Society, founded in 1839 and from 1845 known as the Ecclesiological Society. The Society initially aimed to promote the study of medieval churches but rapidly took upon itself the role of proselyting a view of church architecture which incorporated the theological outlook of the Oxford Movement, otherwise known as the Tractarians. Both the Cambridge and Oxford movements looked back to the early period of the Reformation, when the Anglican Church still retained elements of both Catholic liturgy and church furnishings. Both also propagated their views through the medium of pamphlets. Ninety *Tracts for the Times* were issued from Oxford between 1833 and 1839, when the series was closed down by the Bishop of Oxford. These tracts were aimed at different audiences, some to the clergy, some to scholars and some to the people. In 1841 the Camden Society began a series of pamphlets entitled *A Few Words...* which were addressed to church builders, churchwardens and parish clerks respectively.[6]

These cost only a few pence and ran into many editions. While containing good practical advice about the maintenance of church fabric, these publications aimed to turn public as well as clerical opinion against features of existing churches which they deplored. These specifically included box pews, galleries and the prominent 'three-decker' pulpits which were to be found in virtually all churches at the time. The Society's magazine, *The Ecclesiologist*, assumed the role of arbiter of taste in the matter of church building, furnishing and services, criticised buildings which fell short of their standards, and castigated their architects.

While there was opposition to the views of the Camdenians, it is undeniable that their influence was largely responsible for the wave of church restorations which swept the country in the decades after 1850, leaving only some seventy interiors in the whole of England completely untouched.[7] Many of these are now safely in the custody of the Churches Conservation Trust (CCT) or the Friends of Friendless Churches. Given the extent of Camdenian propaganda, and its obvious success, it would be easy to infer, as Mr George did to an extent, that the church building boom witnessed in Shropshire in the 1830s and 1840s owed much to the influence of the Oxford and Cambridge Movements. Yet an examination of churches which were built, rebuilt, extended or re-ordered during that period reveals that very few show any ecclesiological influences. Scott's new church at Donnington Wood and his restoration of Ellesmere, which was praised by *The Ecclesiologist*, and Wyatt's of Stanton Lacy stand out as exceptions to the vast majority of very conservative works. Closer examination reveals that the process may be traced back to the beginning of the century, gaining momentum after 1830 (see Appendix 1).

INFLUENCES ON CHURCH BUILDING AND RESTORATION

If so very few works in the county show ecclesiological influences, it must therefore be assumed that other forces were at work which drove the process. These bear some detailed consideration.

Population growth
Shropshire had undergone substantial population growth in the first half of the 19th century, with the total number of inhabitants rising from 167,639 in 1801 to 229,341 fifty years later. These figures, however, conceal a much more complicated picture. Population had grown rapidly in the decade between 1831 and 1841, only to undergo a temporary decline of almost 10,000 by 1851. When figures for the individual parishes and the hundreds into which they were grouped are examined a number of further points emerge. Growth was much less pronounced in the south and west of the county than

it was in the north and east. The most spectacular rise in population took place in Bradford South Hundred, which contained much of the East Shropshire coalfield, where the total rose from 27,713 in 1801 to 43,720 half a century later. By contrast the southern hundreds of Purslow and Stottesdon recorded increases of a few hundred, with the population of Overs actually having declined by almost one hundred.

While the population of the hundreds of Bradford North and South rose in a steady curve over the five decades, most other areas experienced wild fluctuations, particularly in the 1830s and 1840s. This was most dramatic in the case of Oswestry Hundred, where the population peaked at over 19,000 in 1831 and by 1851 had fallen to 14,842, just over one thousand more than the total for 1801. This rapid temporary increase is noticeable across the county, and, while it is beyond the scope of this article to attempt to examine the reasons for this phenomenon, it is significant that the majority of newly built churches in Shropshire date from the period between 1830 and 1850.[8] Many of these were situated in industrial areas where an influx of manual workers forced the Established Church to provide a great deal more accommodation for the poor, particularly as the Primitive Methodists were successfully recruiting from this social group.

The challenge of Primitive Methodism

Nonconformity was not strong in Shropshire at the beginning of the 19th century. Of the older denominations, the Baptists had few followers, while the Congregationalists tended to be concentrated in the north of the county. The Wesleyan Methodists were strong in their heartland in the East Shropshire coalfield, but more thinly dispersed through the remainder of the county. Relations with the Church of England were often cordial, and 'Church Methodism,' where attendance at church in the morning was followed by chapel in the afternoon, was noted as late as 1851.[9] The real challenge came after 1820 with the rapid spread through the county of Primitive Methodism, with its links to social and political radicalism. Introduced by missioners from Staffordshire and Cheshire in 1821, in thirty years it had become the second largest denomination in Shropshire with 158 places of worship, and nearly 15,000 attending their services on census day. Significantly this position as the leading Nonconformist denomination was mirrored in only 47 of the 624 registration districts in England and Wales.[10] Although only half the places of worship were permanent chapels at this time, the Primitive Methodists had begun to establish circuits throughout the county by 1851. While some parts of the county had yet to be reached by the movement, it had spread from its heartland in the coalfield to such unlikely places as rural Wistanstow in the south of the county where there were no less than six congregations in 1851.[11] While there is little other than circumstantial

evidence to view church building in the 1830s and 1840s, particularly in the east of the county, as a response to the growth of Primitive Methodism, it is reasonable to assume that those behind the projects at this period were not unaware of the threat.

Dilapidation

Nineteenth-century writers, and not only members of the Camden Society, often dwell on the neglected state of church buildings before the great wave of ecclesiological restorations. It is undeniable that there were cases of neglect. Examination of documentary records such as churchwardens' accounts show parishes valiantly struggling every year to maintain roofs, windows and other aspects of their churches, while at the same time attempting to keep down the church rates. The visitation records of Joseph Plymley, Archdeacon of Salop from 1792 until 1838, are a valuable source of information for that part of the county which formed part of Hereford diocese.[12] Plymley notes a number of cases of structural weakness, and more of dirt and 'untidiness', but Dr Watts concludes in her introduction to the published Visitation that 'only a relative few of the churches are described in severely critical terms', and makes the interesting point that most were better cared for than the parsonages.[13] Plymley's contemporary, the Ven. J. C. Woodhouse, Archdeacon of Salop in Lichfield diocese noted a number of cases of severe dilapidation in his 1799 Visitation. These were Adderley, Church Aston, Longford and Rowton, all of which were subsequently rebuilt.[14] Dawley Magna suffered badly from mining subsidence, and was closed from 1805 to 1819, before being reopened after repairs. Curiously Woodhouse had commented in 1799 that the fabric was 'plain and decent', and reserved his censure for the lack of accommodation. A drawing by the prolific local artist John Homes Smith (1797–1868) shows the heavily buttressed exterior of the church prior to its rebuilding in 1844.[15] A drawing of Tasley church in Archdeacon Vickers' scrapbook shows heavy buttressing to the east wall (Figure 1), while an illustration accompanying

Figure 1. A drawing of Tasley church from Archdeacon Vickers' scrapbook. *Reproduced by kind permission of Shropshire Archives, SA P40/5/2/6.*

plans for Shelve submitted to the ICBS suggests that the church was in extreme disrepair.[16] The most dramatic instance of structural failure was the collapse of the tower at Pontesbury in 1825, which demolished all the church except the chancel.

It is not surprising that, faced with heavy repair bills, churchwardens and vestries were anxious to save money and opted for demolition and rebuilding. Architects and architect masons, however, had a vested interest in such work, and their recommendations may not always have been unbiased. In 1794 Thomas Telford had recommended that nothing short of demolition and rebuilding was appropriate for Bitterley.[17] The church survived without restoration until 1880. Nor should the verdict of clerics like Plymley be regarded as completely accurate. He remarked in 1793 that the arcade at Diddlebury was out of perpendicular, yet it survives to this day, only mildly leaning.[18] Comments that churches were dirty or slovenly may have been true, but were subjective judgements, and it would be dangerous to read too much into them.

Liturgical and other clerical factors

The Camden Society and its allies were vigorous critics of many features of the late Georgian church, but some of their objections had been made half a century before the foundation of the society, and had an important influence on the ordering of churches in the first half of the 19th century. In the decades after 1660, church seating was generally aligned eastwards, with the pulpit being placed at the eastern end of the nave pews. This allowed the altar to be visible to all in the nave seats. From the middle of the 18th century, particularly but not exclusively in churches with aisles, alignment began to be changed to focus on the pulpit, which was often placed towards the middle of the north or south wall of the nave. This meant that seats in many pews had their backs to the altar. In larger churches, particularly those which were fairly newly built and which had galleries around three, and in some cases four sides of the nave, the pulpit was placed centrally in front of the altar. This was the arrangement at the new St Chads Shrewsbury, Madeley and a number of other churches in the county before 1800. While this arrangement came increasingly under fire after 1800, several examples were installed in the county, the last being at Newport in 1838.

After 1800 focus on the pulpit rather than the altar became unacceptable to a growing number of clergy, and after 1818 both the Church Building Commissioners and the (Incorporated) Church Building Society attempted, with varying degrees of success, to end the practice. A minority of socially radical clergy began to question the established system of the appropriation of pews to properties and individuals by renting, purchase or other means. Their main objection was that social divisions which pertained in the outside world had no place in church,

and they favoured uniform seating which treated all members of the congregation alike. Needless to say, such views were generally unpopular with pew-holders, while the financial contribution to church expenses made by pew rents presented a practical objection to reform. These questions about the ethics of private pews merged rapidly with a more practical problem, that of accommodation in churches, which it is contended was the prime factor in the overwhelming majority of church building and re-ordering schemes in the first half of the century.

Accommodation

In 1800 there was an overwhelming shortage of accommodation in the Established Churches throughout the British Isles. Late Georgian depictions of church services generally feature numbers of the congregation lolling about in various poses of inattention, while pew-holders were equally bored but in greater comfort. The cataclysmic events of the French Revolution awakened fears of similar events spreading across the Channel, and with it an awareness of the importance of organised religion as an agent of social control. This was realised first in Ireland in the aftermath of the 1798 Rebellion, and from 1800 until 1833 the Board of First Fruits embarked upon a programme of assisting the building of Anglican churches across the whole country. In all some six hundred new churches were built, and a million pounds of public money awarded in grants and loans.[19]

In England the threat from revolutionary ideas was supplemented by the growing strength of Methodism, which, though gaining strength locally in the East Shropshire coalfield, did not present a problem in the county at this time. Action was needed nationally to try to neutralise these challenges, and encourage working people into the church. There were, however, considerable obstacles facing parishes or individuals who wished to build new churches, not least the difficulty of obtaining a Private Act of Parliament for the purpose. In 1817 a group of influential Anglicans met at the City of London Tavern with the intention of forming a voluntary society 'to provide additional church room for the middle and lower classes.' In February 1818 the Church Building Society was formed to carry out these aims. Concurrently the government of Lord Liverpool brought forward the first Church Building Act, which established Commissioners with the task of administering a million pounds to be spent on building new churches. The Commissioners were authorised to award grants, and if necessary to fund completely new buildings. In Shropshire the only grant from the First Parliamentary Grant was awarded to Trefonen, but in 1824 a further sum of a half million pounds was awarded following the unexpected repayment of a two million pound war loan by Austria. A further six churches in the county benefitted, with sums ranging from £10 to £2,551 (see Appendix 2).[20]

Figure 2. Thomas Rowlandson, 'Dr Syntax preaching, 1812'. *Author's collection.*

In the period of the First Grant the Commissioners often employed first rate architects like John Nash and Robert Smirke who built expensive churches, some of which like St Luke, Chelsea and All Souls, Langham Place, London, rank as architectural masterpieces in their own right. The period from the late 1820s has been described as the years of cheap churches, when design was often sacrificed to economy, and Commissioners' Churches soon became a subject of scorn, from which they have not fully recovered.[21] In many respects the Commissioners and the Church Building Society (incorporated in 1828 and hereinafter referred to as ICBS) followed parallel paths, though the ICBS financed extensions and refurnishing as well as new buildings. The ICBS has been described as 'the Commission in the guise of a Church, as distinct from a State, society' and the two bodies shared a degree of common membership.[22] Both bodies imposed similar rules concerning the internal arrangement of churches which received their grants. These included the provision of east-facing pews of a uniform height which enabled occupants to see the altar, and the banning of double or square pews. Centrally placed pulpits were also prohibited, as were eastern galleries. As will be seen below, these conditions were very often ignored. One key point was, however, that all churches had to have a proportion of free seats available for poorer parishioners.

It is clear that the need for more accommodation was at the heart of most building and refurnishing projects undertaken in Shropshire in the first half of the 19th century. In 1839, under orders from the Bishop of Hereford, Archdeacon Vickers sent a form of inquiry to all parishes requesting details of accommodation in each church in relation to the population of the parish. Suggestions of ways to increase accommodation were

also required. A copy of the questionnaire, together with answers, has survived among the parish records of Church Stretton. A number of plans sent with replies were pasted into the archdeacon's scrapbook, now also in Shropshire Archives.[23]

A total of 52 churches received aid from the ICBS during the period from 1818 to 1850. Projects ranged from simple galleries such as that at Abdon, to large scale building projects like Holy Trinity, Oswestry and Broseley. While the prospect of grant aid may have been an inducement to carry out works, it is clear that lack of accommodation was a major problem. Woodhouse noted that Dawley could not accommodate a tenth of its population, while at Wellington the greater part of the inhabitants were 'colliers and low-educated people who are not easily brought to the Sacrament.'[24] In addition to grant aided projects, privately financed schemes such as the new church at Doddington and the gallery at Stirchley were specifically carried out by the Botfield family to provide accommodation for their mining employees. A significant amount of church building activity took place in the industrial areas of the East Shropshire Coalfield, the Stiperstones mining area and the Clee Hills in response to the problem noted by Woodhouse.

It is contended in the foregoing sections that the church building boom of the 1830s and 1840s was an acceleration of a process dating back to the end of the 18th century, and that in Shropshire the influence of the Oxford and Cambridge movements was minimal until the very end of the period. Furthermore there is strong evidence that the need for accommodation in churches for the poor was the overriding consideration behind church building and refurbishment in the period up to 1850. In the second part of this paper examination will

be made of work which was carried out, considering first what was done in the way of church building, and secondly how churches were arranged internally.

CHURCH BUILDING: WHAT WAS ACHIEVED AND HOW IT WAS DONE

Architects and Contractors

One of the most striking features of Appendix 2 is the fact that an overwhelming number of architects and others who designed Shropshire churches during this period were based within the county. Of those who worked outside the county, Francis Egington came from Worcester, and James Trubshaw from Staffordshire, and Thomas Jones from Chester. The London architects, Gilbert Scott and Thomas Henry Wyatt, both fairly early in their careers, were involved with restorations in the late 1840s. Scott's work at Ellesmere and particularly Wyatt's at Stanton Lacy show the beginnings of ecclesiological influence in the county. No other London architect appears to have worked in the county before 1850, and even in the following half century their numbers were relatively few.

What constituted an architect in the 19th century is somewhat problematical. Formal architectural training generally took the form of serving articles with another practitioner, although studying at institutions such as the Royal Academy was another option. Thomas Penson served articles to Thomas Harrison of Chester, and Samuel Pountney Smith was similarly articled to his uncle, John Smallman of Quatford. Haycock alone of Shropshire architects at this time, was educated at the Royal Academy.[25] The great majority of those styled 'architects' in the county in the early 19th century were engaged in various aspects of the building trade working as masons, carpenters and surveyors, who designed and contracted to erect buildings for their clients. Thus Francis Halley was styled 'Architect, Builder and Surveyor', and John Cobb was 'builder and architect'. It is significant that Edward Haycock, the leading Shropshire architect of the period, was involved in the family building concern until 1845, and that John Carline III, like Haycock and Penson, a member of an architectural dynasty, continued to combine architecture and contracting.[26]

In addition to the 'professional' architects and the architect masons, the work of two amateurs Rev. John Parker and Rev. T. F. More may be found in the county. Alberbury, Cardeston and Holy Trinity, Oswestry experienced Parker's input. A curious 'oriel chancel' was added to Holy Trinity at Parker's expense, but his most eccentric work at Llanyblodwell was mostly carried out in the 1850s.[27] More designed the charming church at Shelve with supervision from Carline.

Haycock was by far the most prolific professional architect practising in the county, with a dozen new churches to his credit. His practice may be described as regional, extending through Shropshire and Herefordshire into much of mid-Wales, and encompassed public buildings, country houses and even a new town (Aberaeron, Ceredigion) as well as churches. While many of his public buildings, such as the Royal Salop Infirmary and the Music Hall in Shrewsbury, and country houses like Millichope Park are impressive achievements, it is difficult to disagree with Colvin's judgment that his churches do little to enhance his reputation. All but one of his churches (Tilstock) were Gothic in style, generally with thin lancet windows, and often embellished with pinnacles. Some of these have considerable charm, reminiscent of the 'First Fruits' churches in Ireland. Comparison of the designs of Newcastle-on-Clun and Hope shows that they are virtually identical, and suggests something of a production line. Haycock's churches have classic pre-Tractarian plans, with small, shallow chancels attached to 'preaching boxes'.

Thomas Penson of Oswestry was a second generation member of an architectural dynasty, and, like Haycock had an extensive practice in Wales, where he held the posts of County Surveyor in Montgomeryshire and Denbighshire. In addition to designing a range of churches, public buildings and houses, he carried out a great deal of civil engineering work. Interestingly, he became a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects.[28] While Haycock's churches were overwhelmingly Gothic in style, Thomas Penson favoured the Neo-Norman or 'Rundbogenstil' which became popular in the third and fourth decades of the century. St Agatha's at Llanymynech was his sole example of the style in Shropshire, though he produced others in Wales, the most notable of which was his masterpiece at Christ Church, Welshpool (now closed.) Penson also worked in the Gothic style, as at Holy Trinity, Oswestry, and like Haycock produced a range of public buildings and country houses.

John Carline produced three churches in the county, in classical, Gothic and Neo-Norman styles, as well as two restorations. Carline, was the third generation of a Shrewsbury architectural family, but his career was cut short in the mid-1840s due to large losses made as contractor for L. N. Cottingham's restoration of Hereford Cathedral and other financial difficulties. Samuel Pountney Smith, who was to become a prolific designer of churches as well as country houses and public buildings, was at the beginning of his career in the 1840s. He is represented by the rebuilding of Harley (1844) and the new church at Little Drayton two years later.

Two architects from neighbouring counties, Thomas Trubshaw and Francis Egington did not develop their practices to the full, as both died at the age of forty. Egington, whose work, with the exception of his two Shropshire churches, was almost entirely carried out

in Worcestershire, was the more talented of the two. Two London architects worked in Shropshire before 1850. Gilbert Scott was at the beginning of his career as a church architect when he worked in the county in the 1840s, having spent the previous decade designing workhouses with his partner Moffatt before moving on to churches. Scott was destined to become one of, if not the most important architects of the Gothic Revival, and his first Shropshire church, Donnington Wood predated his conversion to ecclesiological principles. By the time of his restoration of Ellesmere five years later in 1848, he had fully imbibed the architectural principles of the Ecclesiologists if not their churchmanship. In contrast, Wyatt had become well established as a church builder by the time of his work at Stanton Lacy, with a formidable list of works to his credit, particularly in Wiltshire and Monmouthshire.

When a new church was being built or rebuilt at the expense of an individual, as, for example, at Doddington or Hopton Wafers, the choice of architect lay with the benefactor. In other circumstances, architects could be chosen in a number of ways, one of which was to place an advertisement in the press requesting designs and estimates. The minute book of the Building Committee for Holy Trinity, Coleham, Shrewsbury gives a valuable insight into the workings of this process, and also hints at possible abuses. In March 1836 ten tenders were submitted, with estimates ranging from £1,700 to almost £2,500. After due consideration, Samuel Pountney Smith's proposal at £1,800 was adopted, and his appointment was advertised in both Shrewsbury newspapers. At some point in the following month Smith withdrew – the reason is not known, as the minute book is badly damaged at this point. On 12 May 1836, the proposals of Joseph Stant, a speculative builder with a large yard in Coleham, were accepted for the sum of £1,789. Interestingly Stant was churchwarden of St Julian's, the mother parish of the new chapel, and signed the plans submitted to the ICBS in this capacity.[29]

One advantage of employing mason/architects like Stant was that building costs and architect's fees were taken together in one account, rather than paying the architect a fixed fee or a percentage commission of the cost of the job. These could vary according to the sums negotiated at the time of awarding the contract. At Broseley, for example, Egington was paid £410 plus £100 5s 0d expenses, which represents a rate of about 5% on a project which came out at nearly £9,500. At Holy Trinity Oswestry, which cost some £6,000 less, Penson's 5% commission came to £156 19s 9d. Architects' fees could be a bone of contention, as seen at Stanton Lacy, where in May 1851 the wardens and vestry were still contesting Wyatt's bill, which they considered 'very exorbitant'. As no further mention of the matter is made in the vestry minutes, it may be assumed that they were unsuccessful.

Building costs and how they were met

Erecting a new church generally involved expenditure which was not encountered when rebuilding took place on the site of an existing building. A majority of the churches which were built *de novo* in the county at this period began their lives as chapels within existing parishes, though most acquired parochial status after two or three decades. These chapelries had no tithe revenues, as clergy from the parent parishes were generally unwilling to surrender any of their income, and it was necessary for new foundations to obtain endowments to pay the salary of a minister and other running costs. At Rhydycroesau the bishop of St Asaph required the church to have an annual income of £45 as a precondition for consecration. This explains the survival of appropriated pews throughout this period. At Christ Church, Wellington the endowment was £145 p.a., of which £105 was from pew rents. However much clergy might desire all seats to be free, pew rents were a financial necessity.

If ground was not provided for a new building (as it generally was) it had to be purchased. This could be a formality, as at Rhydycroesau, where a former toll house and just over an acre were conveyed to the vicar of Llanyblodwell for ten shillings as the site of the new church. At Holy Trinity, Oswestry a site of 1440 square yards was purchased at a cost of three shillings per square yard. Where new buildings were erected at the expense of a wealthy patron, this was generally not a problem, nor were the incidental expenses such as consecration fees. These did not apply in the case of churches which were rebuilt on or close to the site of a previous building, such as Broseley, Dawley Magna or Pontesbury.

Appendix 3 illustrates the range of building costs incurred during the period. Broseley stands out as the exception at nearly £9,500. This was by far the most ambitious church building project undertaken in the county, costing nearly £7,000 more than Egington's other church at Dawley. Only four other churches – Ironbridge, Holy Trinity, Oswestry, St George, Shrewsbury and Christ Church, Wellington – cost over £3,000. Six were built for less than £1,000. Newtown and Sambrook represented the cheapest constructions. Both were small, Newtown being a rebuilding of a 17th-century timber framed structure. Sambrook enjoyed a life of just seventeen years before it was replaced. As a general rule, it would seem that a perfectly acceptable church could be built for between one and two thousand pounds. Most built in this price range were fairly plain structures with basic fittings, though a few such as Cressage and Llanymynech stand out from the rest in terms of design.

Restorations and re-orderings are less well documented as to cost, partly because neither Bagshaw nor the 1851 census provide information on this aspect. Such information as is available is dependent on the survival of relevant material within parish records,

which is comparatively scarce. A straightforward re-pewing could be carried out comparatively cheaply. In 1822 the chancel at Child's Ercall was refurnished at a cost of £39, while the complete re-seating of Munslow in 1842 by a local carpenter/builder cost £108 10s 6d. Structural work was more expensive. Rebuilding the tower at Chetton was estimated at £490 in 1827, while more comprehensive rebuilding at Badger (1835) and Church Pulverbatch (1851) cost £1,179 and £735 respectively. At the top end of the scale a major re-working of the interior at Newport in 1838 which involved the construction of new galleries on three sides of the church cost £2,283. A total of £1,698 4s 4d was paid to the contractors, J. and J. Cobb, while extras included £294 for gas fittings and £116 for painting and glazing. Comparing the cost of repairing and building anew, it is hardly surprising that many vestries chose the latter path as cheaper in the long run.

The raising of funds for new buildings and restorations provided a major headache for the promoters of such schemes, unless they had the good fortune to be funded by an individual. Shropshire fared rather badly in this respect. Only three churches had noble funding. Neither Ketley nor Tilstock were particularly distinguished works, though St Catherine's, Whitchurch, financed by the dowager Lady Bridgwater, had an imposing classical façade. The rebuilt churches at Hopton Wafers for Sir Thomas Botfield and Monkhopton for Sir Francis Lawley, as well as Thomas Hope's new church at Dorrington were most probably done for embellishment of the donor's estate rather than for higher motives. Lady Botfield's church at Doddington was a memorial to her husband, but was no doubt influenced by the rapid growth of Primitive Methodism in the Hopton Bank area. The Earl of Sutherland built Donnington Wood specifically for colliery workers.

The majority of church building projects depended upon funds raised by individual subscriptions. For a number of churches such as Hope, Middleton in Chirbury and Newtown these were sufficient to fund the whole project. At Broseley all but a thousand pounds of the total cost of £9,474 was met by subscriptions, a majority of which were donated anonymously. At Trefonen all but £150 of the bill for £815 was raised by subscriptions, with a similar situation at Eaton Constantine.

Briefs, which were royal warrants allowing collections to be made in churches nationally, had been a traditional source of funds for church building, but by 1800 were in rapid decline. Most of the moneys raised were creamed off by the administrators, so that of the £707 15s 1d collected for Whittington in 1800, the parish received a mere £42 2s 1d. Adderley did rather better in 1812, netting £171 17s of a brief for £863. A number of other Shropshire parishes applied for briefs before they were abolished in 1827, but it is not known how much, if anything, they received.[30]

Fund raising projects played a significant role in some cases. A bazaar held at Ludlow in 1837 raised a total of £921 6s 10d. towards the cost of building a new church at Knowbury in the Clee Hill mining area, and a similar event in Broseley grossed almost £691. Such sums appear extraordinary in comparison with similar events today, allowing for the difference in the value of money. Both were untypical in that they took place in larger settlements where there were an ample numbers of moneyed inhabitants.

For many projects commenced after 1818, grant aid was an important source of income. This came from three main bodies, the Church Commissioners, the Incorporated Church Building Society, and the relevant Diocesan Church Building Societies. Other grant awarding bodies dependent upon local conditions included Queen's College, Oxford at Pontesbury and the local Co-operative Society at Broseley. The Commissioners aided relatively few churches in the county. Only Trefonen benefitted from the First Parliamentary Grant, receiving £300 towards the total cost of £700. Interestingly, Trefonen was the only church in the country funded by the first grant in which all seats, 400 in number, were free.[31] Six churches were awarded contributions from the Second Parliamentary Grant of 1824, the most generously funded of which was St George's, Frankwell, Shrewsbury which received a grant of £2,551. Perhaps the Commissioners regretted this generosity, for the other Shropshire grants ranged from £10 for Holy Trinity Coalbrookdale (1853) to £400 for Christ Church Wellington.

Grants from the ICBS tended to range between £100 and £500. Like the Commissioners, the ICBS attached conditions to their grants, which became more prescriptive as time progressed. Both bodies were concerned with maximising the provision of seating for the poor as a priority, but also attempted, with varying degrees of success, to impose regulations about such matters as the form of seating and the position of the pulpit. These will be discussed in a later section of this article. An additional source of grant aid was provided by the Church Building Societies which were established in each of the three dioceses in the county. These were sometimes more generous than the ICBS itself, (most markedly in the case of Holy Trinity, Shrewsbury), being more limited in the geographical area covered by their activities. Both national and diocesan societies awarded grants for extensions and re-ordering of existing churches as well as for new building and rebuilding of existing churches (see Appendix 3).

CHURCH PLANS AND ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

While the later 18th century had seen some radically innovative designs for Shropshire churches, such as Telford's at Bridgnorth and Madeley and Steuart's at
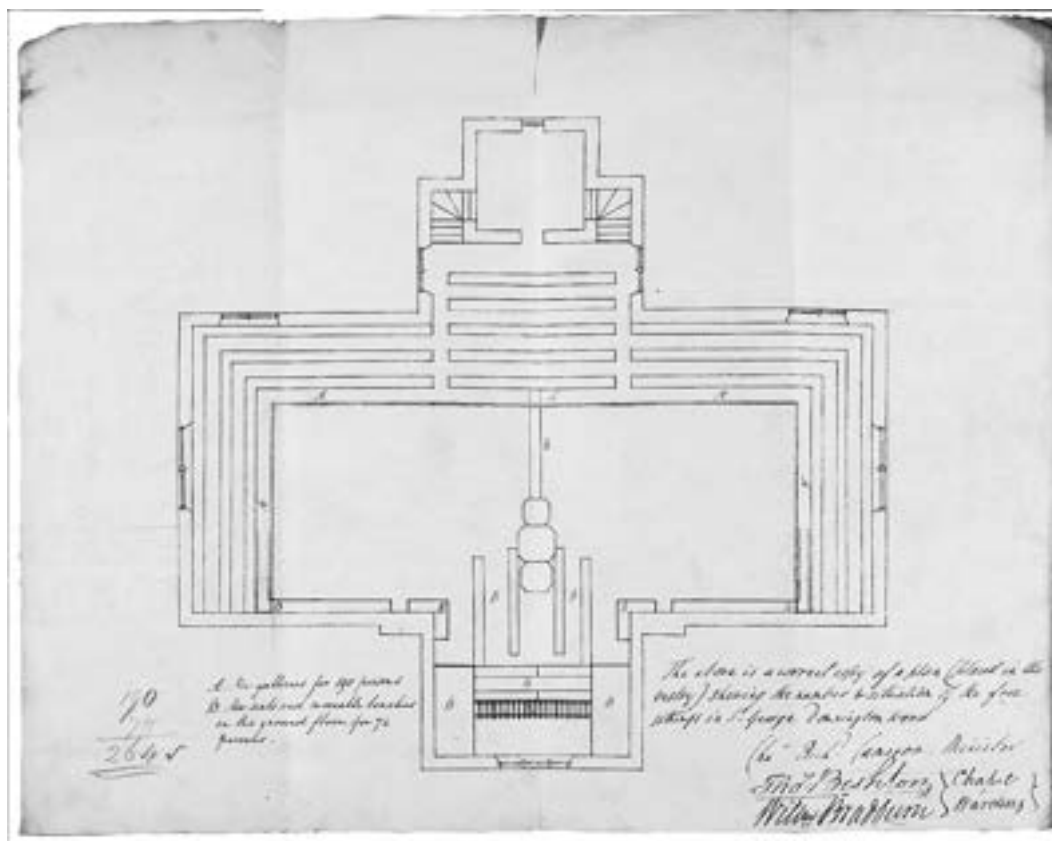
Figure 3. St. George's (Pain's Lane), ICBS 01246, plan 1831. *Reproduced by kind permission of Lambeth Palace Library.*

Wellington and Shrewsbury St Chad's, for the first four decades of the 19th century neither plans nor architectural styles showed much originality. The church at Malinslee, consecrated in 1805 was a scaled down version of Telford's church at Madeley rather than an original composition. The majority of new churches erected during this period may be described as variants on the traditional Georgian 'preaching box.' These featured a rectangular nave, with arcades providing space for side galleries in larger buildings such as St Luke, Ironbridge. Where a chancel was provided, it generally took the form of a shallow eastern projection, and occasionally an apse as at Newport and Chapel Lawn, or the curious so-called 'oriel chancel' at Holy Trinity, Oswestry. Many churches, particularly smaller examples, were originally built without a chancel, with the altar accommodated at the eastern end of the nave. Most received chancels later in the century, sometimes in incongruous styles, such as the Gothic addition to the Grecian St Michael's, Shrewsbury.

Churches rebuilt or extended in the earlier part of the century sometimes featured transepts at the east end, as at St George's (Pains Lane Chapel) (1806) (Figure 3), Church Aston (1823) and Wombridge (1824), as increasing accommodation by means of a single transept was a cheaper option than adding an aisle. If erected midway along the nave this created a T-shaped building

with the seating in the transept facing directly on the pulpit. This arrangement – which was common in the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland at the time, and is also found in some Welsh churches – was adopted at Selattyn and the rebuilt chapel at Newtown. Blakeway Smith's unadopted 1847 scheme for Bitterley would have produced a true T-Plan, focussed on the three-decker pulpit.

Mention has already been made of architectural styles, and the great majority of churches built in the county during this period may be loosely described as Gothic in style. This was generally of a 'pre-archaeological' character, which is one which makes little or no use of contemporary studies of Gothic architecture such as Thomas Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, first published in 1817. Most churches until the 1840s were still essentially Georgian auditoria with lancet windows. Some examples of so-called 'Churchwarden Gothic' were produced in the earlier part of the period, notably St George's (Pains Lane) and Rowton, both of which might have stepped from the pages of the Hare brothers' satirical *Hints to some Churchwardens* of 1825.[32] These homespun efforts possessed a certain quirky charm, but most of the Gothic churches built in Shropshire before 1850 were somewhat run-of-the-mill productions. Chapel Lawn (Figure 4), which retains its

Figure 4. St Mary's. Chapel Lawn, Clun (Haycock 1841–4.) Characteristic thin lancet style, with small polygonal chancel apse. *Photograph Author.*

original polygonal apse, is a pleasant, if undistinguished, example of the *genre*.

During the 1840s a few churches began to show a more scholarly appreciation of Gothic forms. Broseley was a highly competent example of English Perpendicular, though this was a style which the Ecclesiologists would castigate as 'debased.' Its interior arrangements, with side galleries and twin pulpits, were also anathema to them. A very small number of buildings began to show ecclesiologically 'correct' features during the decade. Scott's church at Donnington Wood of 1843 showed some ecclesiological influences in its plan, while his virtual rebuilding of Ellesmere five years later met with praise from *The Ecclesiologist*. John Lloyd of Llanymynech used the Decorated style, beloved of the ecclesiologists, as did J. P. Harrison at Smethcott and Scott at West Felton. The revised *Buildings of England* detected possible ecclesiological influence at Eaton Constantine, though the highly conservative internal arrangements make this unlikely.[33]

A relatively small number of churches were built in other styles. By 1840 the rout of Classicism in Shropshire

was complete, with no new buildings in the style erected after 1837. Frodesley and Wrockwardine Wood still employed basically 18th-century designs and Malinslee mimics Telford's octagonal church at Madeley, but the remainder of the dozen or so churches built in this idiom were loosely Grecian in inspiration. Moreton and the south transept at Adderley were austere Doric temples with flat pilasters. The rest were mainly cheap renderings of the types of designs which had been produced for the Commissioners by renowned architects like Soane, Inwood and Smirke at eight or ten times the price. Holy Trinity, Coleham, Shrewsbury was a pleasing example of the style, replaced in 1886–7 by a Gothic structure in fiery Ruabon brick. Sometimes, as at Church Aston, a Grecian top storey on the west tower was the only nod to the style. Woore was described by the revised Buildings of England as 'a little disjointed, but quite individual'.[34] Neo-Norman was a style used in a few cases in the 1840s when it was generally in vogue. Llanymynech is the most ambitious exercise in the style, with other examples at Albrighton (nr Shrewsbury), Little Dawley, Cwm Head and Grinshill, none of which was outstanding. Llanymynech is particularly interesting because of its use of terracotta for internal detailing, which is also found in Penson's more famous church at Welshpool.[35]

Internal arrangement of churches in the period

It has been contended that ecclesiological influences upon the building of churches in Shropshire was fairly negligible before 1850, and that the need for increased accommodation both for the poor and also for 'respectable inhabitants now in want of accommodation'[36] was paramount in promoting church building and extension. This meant that the interiors of at least a hundred of Shropshire's 310 Anglican places of worship which existed in 1851 had been wholly or partially furnished in this period in order to meet this end. That so little survives of this work testifies to the success of the later Victorian restorers in eradicating most traces the work of their immediate predecessors

Figure 5. Picturesque view of a classical style church – Holy Trinity, Meole Brace sketched by David Parkes in 1829. *Reproduced with kind permission of Shropshire Archives.*

Figure 6. Thomas Penson's Neo-Norman church of St Agatha at Llanymynech, ICBS0313. *Reproduced by kind permission of Lambeth Palace Library.*
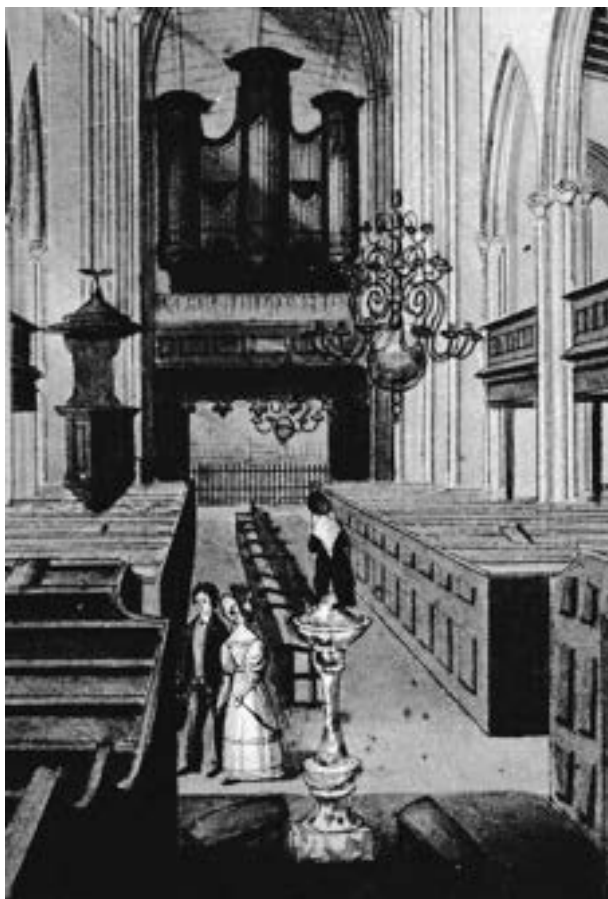
Figure 7. Ludlow St Lawrence, *c*.1840 showing benches for the poor in 'knifeboard' arrangement in the central aisle. Painting by Edward Hodson. *Author's collection.*

and placing their own stamp on the Anglican church interior. In order to discover what existed prior to 1850, reference must be made to church plans, and in particular those of the ICBS as well as those which accompanied faculty applications. In examining the nature of church furnishings during the first half of the 19th century four aspects will be considered – seating, galleries, the pulpit, and the chancel and altar.

Seating

Any attempt to create more accommodation in churches was beset by a number of problems, which mostly centred around the appropriation of pews. In addition to the vested interests of pew holders who may have bought, inherited or rented their pew, in most churches pew rents formed an important source of income for the church. Thus while the ICBS, the diocesan societies and the Commissioners might see the provision of free seats for all as a worthy objective, in practise only a handful of churches are recorded in the 1851 census as having completely free seating, while a very much larger number had no free seats at all. The vast majority had both appropriated and free seating, the balance no doubt partly depending on the amount of grant money which had been received.

Seats which were available for the poor in 1800 were generally few in number, and took the form of open benches. These were normally placed in inconvenient parts of the church, such as under the west gallery, where their occupants would be out of the sight of their more prosperous neighbours. These were probably less embarrassing than those which placed poor parishioners in full view. At Ludlow the poor were seated in the main aisle of the nave on a 'knifeboard' arrangement, as shown in Figure 7. This arrangement was also found at St George's in 1831, and in alternative proposals for Stottesdon in 1838. At St Oswald's in Oswestry pull-out seats fitted to pews in the main aisle allowed the poor to sit in a humble position by their wealthier neighbours.

One solution to providing more seats was the replacement of square box pews with linear pews facing the altar. This satisfied the objections of those who disliked seats with their backs to the altar, and also freed up space for more benches for poorer inhabitants. Ideally this arrangement involved moving the pulpit to the east end of the nave, which was done at Munslow in 1842. Such expedients, however, provided only a limited amount of extra seating, and extending the church or building galleries were often favoured options. Adding an aisle to an existing building was a costly operation, and generally occurred where wealthy individuals put up the funds, as at Bourton and Hodnet. For the price of the new aisle at Hodnet (£3,200) a new church could have been erected. The cheaper alternative of building transepts has been discussed above. Building galleries, was by far the most popular means of providing extra seating economically.

The availability of grant aid after 1818 meant that at least in theory schemes had to meet certain conditions. Those attached to the ICBS were suggestions rather than mandatory and in consequence were often ignored. Interestingly the 'Suggestions from the Society' required that the main focus should be the pulpit, but no seats were to have their backs to the altar. Enclosed pews

Figure 8. Benches for the poor in the Elizabethan style in the central aisle at Worthen (1846). *Photograph Author.*

were required to be kept to a minimum,[37] and the rest of the seats were to be open benches with backs. Most churches before 1840 installed box pews of traditional height, with open benches being kept to the minimum required by the grant awarding bodies.

1842 was something of a watershed, for in that year the ICBS tightened its regulations, which became prescriptive rather than mandatory, with a strong emphasis on the desirability of open benches.[38] By this time a novel solution to the problem of seats for the poor had been adopted. In a number of churches where the nave was sufficiently wide, benches for the poor were placed in the central aisle of the nave, with enclosed box pews ranged along the walls. Early examples of this arrangement were found at St George, Shrewsbury and Pontesbury at the end of the 1820s and somewhat later at Oswestry Holy Trinity, Harley and Worthen. Those at Worthen are the only examples to survive in the county, and are something of an enigma, being constructed in a convincing Elizabethan style which has fooled a number writers from Glynne onwards.[39]

During the 1840s, probably linked to the change in ICBS rules, open benches began to appear in greater numbers in Shropshire churches, usually combined with box pews. Haycock's section of Hope shows open seats with rounded tops to the bench ends throughout, except for the east end, where doors have been added to create enclosed pews. Even in privately-funded Bourton, the box pews were given poppy heads in a nod to the Gothic in an otherwise traditionally arranged church. During the 1840s the ICBS began to issue working drawings of medieval seating from a number of Oxfordshire churches, and these may well have been models for the seating at Cound.[40] It is interesting to compare the different approaches of three churches re-ordered between 1846 and 1848. At More and Worthen the existing 17th-century box pews were lowered and converted into a linear arrangement. At Stanton Lacy, however, the church was re-arranged in accordance with ecclesiological principles, no doubt instructed by the vicar, Rev. Dr Bowles, fresh from a living near Oxford. The last 'true' box pews were installed in Church Pulverbatch in 1851, though a significant number of churches have retained box pews from before this date to the present day. This no doubt reflects the county's conservatism in religious matters.
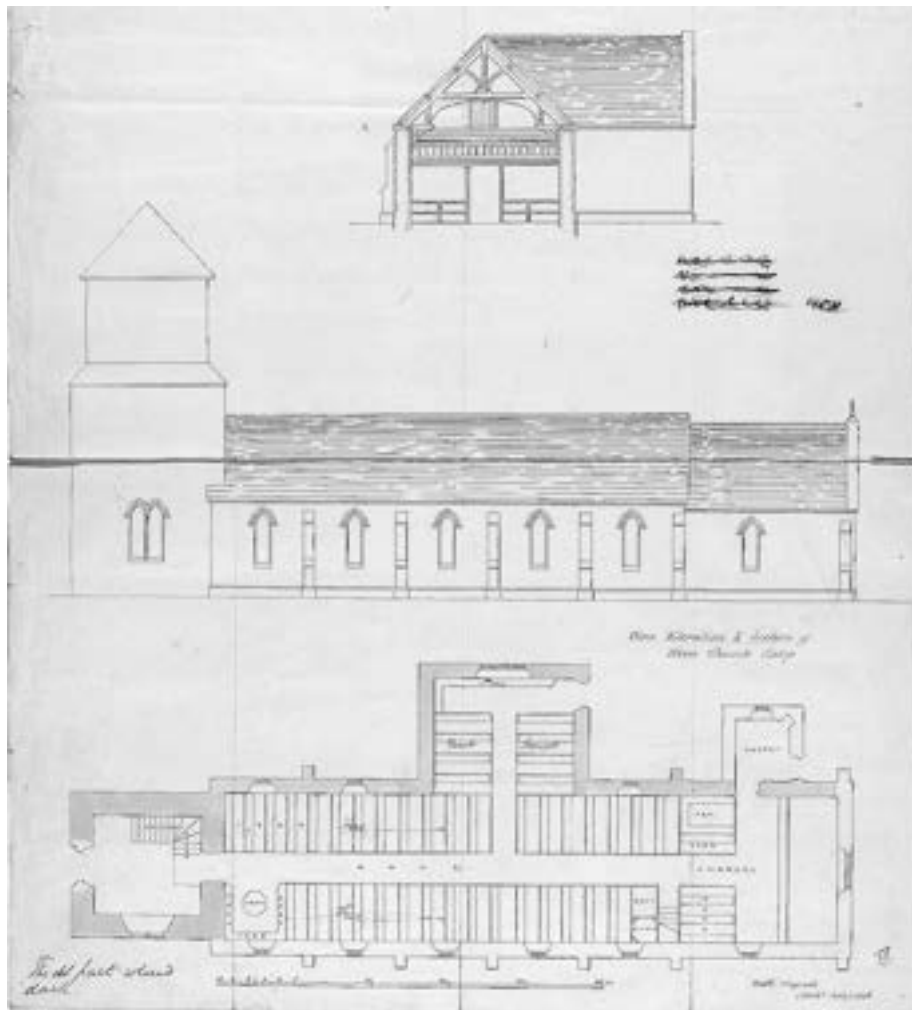

Figure 9. More, ICBS03878, plan 1847–8. *Reproduced by kind permission of Lambeth Palace Library.*

Galleries

In 1800 the vast majority of English churches possessed a west gallery. Contrary to popular belief, these had not originally been intended for the accommodation of singers and musicians, a development in the latter part of the 18th century, but for seating the congregation.[41] Galleries, which were later to be anathematised by the Ecclesiologists, were a convenient way of accommodating large numbers of worshippers, and *inter alia*, thereby obtaining larger grants. Many of the larger town churches possessed side galleries, and at Ludlow the easternmost seat in the north gallery was the most prestigious in the church, owned by the Earls of Powis. For churches with one or more aisles, the addition of side galleries was an easy solution to the accommodation problem, for example at Llanyblodwell where the north gallery built by Thomas Jones of Oswestry in 1834 still survives.

The larger new churches of the period, such as Ironbridge, Broseley and Christ Church, Wellington were equipped with side galleries from the start. An interesting arrangement found in a number of churches was the provision of an eastern gallery across the chancel arch, generally to accommodate an organ. This arrangement had been introduced in Ludlow in 1764, and appears to have become increasingly popular in Shropshire towns in the first four decades of the 19th century. It occurred at St Leonard's Bridgnorth, St Oswald's Oswestry, Dawley Magna old church, and latest of all at Newport in 1838. This arrangement completely separated the body of the church from the chancel, transforming it into an auditorium – an arrangement which was increasingly out of favour by 1840. Unusually, the rebuilt church at Whittington had only a west gallery, whereas its predecessor was galleried on the north, east and west sides. Wem began life in 1813 with a west gallery, but this proved insufficient, and in 1841 the side galleries which survive today were installed.

The position of the pulpit

It was not until 1842 that the ICBS changed its requirement that the focus of worship should be on the pulpit, and it is not surprising that this was the case in the vast majority of Shropshire churches which were built or re-ordered before 1850. There were, however, a number of different ways in which this was achieved. The conventional arrangement for a pulpit in the early 19th century was the so-called two- or three-decker, where the reading desk and pulpit formed a unit (two-decker) which more usually incorporated the clerk's seat, thereby creating a three-decker pulpit. The normal position of the pulpit was part way along one of the nave walls, but by the end of the 18th century other arrangements were also being introduced. One of these involved splitting the pulpit from the reading desk and clerk's seat and placing them on opposite sides of the chancel opening. This arrangement originated with George Herbert's church at Leighton Bromswold, Cambridgeshire in 1626–30, and was adopted by a small number of churches in the succeeding century. By 1800 more churches were placing pulpits in this way, for example Wem in 1813, though here the arrangement had been abandoned by 1841.

The breaking up of the three-decker was endorsed by both the Commissioners, who made the arrangement mandatory, and the ICBS who recommended it. Twenty-one churches in the county have been identified as having this arrangement, and no doubt there were others for which no plans exist. A particularly spectacular example was at Pontesbury, with high twin pulpits which survived until 1904. It is significant that three of these (Ironbridge, Little Dawley and Shrewsbury St George) were aided by the Commissioners, while the rest received grants from the ICBS, and that twelve of the schemes dated from the 1840s. The separation of pulpit and desk, though popular throughout England and Wales, was as unacceptable to the Ecclesiologists as the three-decker had been, and nearly all were destroyed in subsequent restorations. In Shropshire a somewhat altered example at Bourton is the sole survivor.[42] Despite the popularity of separating pulpit and desk, a number of schemes in the county retained or introduced the three-decker as late as the 1840s.[43]

Surprisingly the placing of the pulpit centrally continued to be employed, despite being contrary to the principle that the congregation should have an unobstructed view of the altar. This fashion had developed from the middle of the 18th century particularly, though by no means exclusively, in large town churches. One of the advantages of a centrally placed pulpit was that in churches with side galleries it was visible from all parts of the building. This would explain why in some churches pulpits were moved into the centre, having initially been placed in other positions. This happened at Wem, Bridgnorth St Mary and at Newport, where in 1838 the arrangement was fast becoming anachronistic. New churches which incorporated central pulpits included Malinslee, Rowton, St George's (Pains Lane) and Wrockwardine Wood. Only two examples of this arrangement now survive in the whole country.[44] A rarer variation of this design was to be found at Madeley until 1904, in which the altar was placed in front of the central pulpit. Significantly Madeley has always had very evangelical churchmanship, and so was unreceptive to ecclesiological and Tractarian ideas.[45] By 1850 the movement to replace the varieties of pulpit described above was well under way. In their place, most churches would be fitted out with a pulpit, and a stall for the clergyman at the entrance to the chancel during the ensuing half century.

The Chancel and the Altar

It has been noted above that nearly all churches built between 1800 and 1850 had shallow, and in some cases no chancel. This resulted from an emphasis on Word

rather than Sacrament, with Holy Communion being generally celebrated three times a year. In addition the altar was used more frequently in most parishes for the ceremony of Holy Matrimony, which the officiant conducted from within the altar rails. This meant that the medieval 'long' chancels which survived in most pre-Georgian churches were 'redundant' for much of the year. As the chancel was the property of the rector whether lay or clerical, it became common for pews to be erected in the chancel, which were often let out to wealthier parishioners. At Diddlebury, for example, this had happened as early as 1603, and in many parishes a pew in the chancel indicated social prestige.[46]

Where the chancel was not pewed, it was sometimes customary to install moveable benches for the accommodation of Sunday scholars except on Sacrament Sundays. This survived into the 1840s, with examples at Munslow (1842) and Eaton Constantine (1848). Elsewhere by the latter date new developments were beginning to be seen. Gothic stalls had been introduced into the chancel at Alberbury in 1846 by the lay rector, All Souls' College, Oxford, and around the same time at Bridgnorth St Leonard's. At Albrighton similar proposals brought opposition from a pew holder who faced displacement. In 1848 Scott transformed the chancel at Ellesmere with stalls for clergy and choir, though it is not known whether they were used by actual choirs at this time.[47]

Figure 10. Bridgnorth St. Leonard, showing chancel seating in an engraving of a drawing by Mary Stringer *c*.1850. *Reproduced by kind permission of Shropshire Archives. SA P90/5/2/6.*

The altar itself was set against the east wall and almost always railed. While there were cases where the altar was neglected, these represented a small minority of churches. It was usual, and required by Canon Law, for the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and Decalogue to be displayed behind the altar on a reredos or even plain panels. This arrangement was unacceptable to the Ecclesiologists, and relatively few examples survive *in situ*. At Stanton Lacy (1847) there is an early example of an altar which fulfilled the requirements of the Ecclesiologists and Tractarians. Here, set under a Gothic reredos was a stone altar. It is surprising that this arrangement, which still survives, appears never to have been challenged, particularly given the unpopularity of the vicar, Dr Bowles, and the fact that stone altars had only recently been declared unlawful in the case of the Round Church, Cambridge.[48] Stone altars remained technically illegal until the Holy Table Measure 1964, but the principles behind the re-ordering at Stanton Lacy were destined to become the norm during the succeeding half century.

AFTERWORD

It has been the intention of this paper to demonstrate that the great boom in church building and re-furnishing which took place in the 1830s and 1840s was an acceleration of a process which may be traced back at least to the beginning of the century. Except in a handful of cases, these works were carried out in a very traditional manner which reflects the continuance of Georgian churchmanship in a county which was essentially conservative. Sometimes these changes were very short-lived. Sambrook chapel was erected in 1839 and completely rebuilt after seventeen years, and the galleries installed at Albrighton in 1837 were removed in 1852.[49] Significantly this was for 'the architectural improvement of the church', an expression of the new attitude which was about to sweep the country. These changes were not always well-received, particularly among anti-Catholics. When the Bishop of Hereford preached on apostolic succession when consecrating Hope chapel in 1843 he was accused by T. Jones of Oswestry in a letter to the Shrewsbury Chronicle of introducing the 'Tractarian heresy' into Shropshire.[50] But his was a lone voice, though possibly a prophetic one, for ecclesiologically 'correct' restoration would shortly sweep through the county, giving its churches an appearance which remained unaltered until the spread of new ideas on liturgy at the end of the 20th century.

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2. C. Webster, 'Patterns of church seating from Waterloo to 1850 and the role of the Cambridge Camden Society'; T. Cooper (ed.), 'Victorian guidance on seating from the Incorporated Church Building Society', both articles in T. Cooper and S. Brown (eds), *Pews, Benches and Chairs* (London: Ecclesiological Society, 2011), 197–210 and 211–36.
3. R. L. Brown, *In Places where they sit* (Welshpool: privately published, 2016); G. Hedley, *Free Seats for All* (London: National Churches Trust, 2018).
4. G. K. Brandwood, *Bringing them to their knees; church-building and restoration in Leicestershire and Rutland, 1800–1914*, (Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 2002).
5. *The Victoria County History of Shropshire* [hereafter *VCH*], Vol. II, 1973 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research), 1–3.
6. These four pamphlets are reprinted in C. Webster (ed.), *'temples worthy of His presence': the early publications of the Cambridge Camden Society* (Salisbury: Spire Books, 2003).
7. Most are included in M. Chatfield, *Churches the Victorians Forgot* (Nottingham: Moorland Publishing, 1989).
8. Statistics taken from *VCH*, Vol. II, 1973, 219–29.
9. C. D. Field, *Church and Chapel in Early Victorian Shropshire*, Shropshire Record Series Vol. 8, (2004), xxxi.
10. *Ibid*., 32; *VCH*, Vol. II, 14–5.
11. Field, 21–2.
12. Shropshire Archives [SA] 6001, 6860/6865, published as S. Watts (ed.), *The Visitation Records of Archdeacon Joseph Plymley, 1792–1838*, Shropshire Record Series Vols 11 and 12, (Keele: Keele University, 2010 and 2011).
13. *Ibid*., xxviii.
14. Archdeacon Woodhouse's Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Salop, typescript: SA LS12479.
15. SA 6009, 64
16. SA P40/S/2/6; ICBS 2338.
17. Watts, 114.
18. *Ibid*, 125.
19. S. Hutchinson, *Towers, Spires and Pinnacles A History of the Cathedrals and Churches of the Church of Ireland* (Dublin: Wordwell, 2003). The Board of First Fruits had been established in 1711 to administer clerical taxes which had been transferred to it from the Crown, similar to Queen Anne's Bounty in England. From 1800 its meagre revenues were augmented by government grants.
20. M. H. Port, *Six Hundred New Churches* (London: SPCK, 1961), Chapters 2 and 9. The £10 grant was made in 1853 to Holy Trinity, Coalbrookdale, and does not appear in Appendix 2.
21. J. Leonard, *Churches of Shropshire and their Treasures* (Almeley: Logaston Press, 2004), 158, (rather unjustly in the writer's opinion) describes St George, Frankwell, Shrewsbury as 'a grim reminder of the style of the Church Commissioners.
22. Port, 108.
23. SA P67/W/1/1–2 Church Stretton; P40/S/2/6 Vickers' scrapbook.
24. Woodhouse.
25. H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1660–1840* (London Yale University Press, 1995), 478–81.
26. *Ibid*., 215–6.
27. Parker's work is discussed in E. Parry, 'The Revd John Parker: a warm partisan of Gothic Art', Ancient Monuments Society *Transactions* 64, (2020), 90–115.
28. Colvin, 749.
29. However the *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 1 September 1837, in its report of the consecration states that 'the design for the church was finished by Mr. Clinton, architect, formerly of Shrewsbury but now of Cardiff. It has been erected by Mr. Stant of this town, at an expense of £1,834.' Colvin, 256, discusses the possibility of collusion between Clinton and Stant.
30. *TSAS*, 2 series xi, 285–300.
31. Port, 137.
32. Discussed in S. Clark, 'Hints to Some Churchwardens', in *Thomas Rickman and the Victorians* (London: Victorian Society, 2019).
33. J. Newman and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Shropshire* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), 256.
34. *Ibid*., 711.
35. G. Brandwood, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2012), Chapter 1, endnote 101.
36. Chetwynd parish records, vestry minutes for 22 April 1841: SA P60/B/4/1.
37. Cooper (ed.), 219.
38. *Ibid*., 220.
39. D. C. Cox (ed.), *Sir Stephen Glynne's Church Notes for Shropshire*, Shropshire Record Series, Vol. 1 (Keele: Keele University Press, 1997). Visited by Glynne in 1855, nine years after re-seating.
40. Cooper (ed.), 213.
41. G. Brandwood, 'Anglican Churches before the Restorers: A Study from Leicestershire and Rutland, *Archaeological Journal* 144, (1987), 383–408.
42. Fine examples survive outside Shropshire at Portland, Dorset (CCT) and Mildenhall, Wiltshire.
43. Grinshill (1839–41); Knowbury (1838–9); Llanyblodwel (1846–56 – two decker); Ruyton-XI-Towns 1844–5; Tibberton (1842)
44. St John's Chapel, Chichester (CCT) and King's Norton, Leicestershire. A third example at Congleton, Cheshire was destroyed in the 1970s.
45. *VCH*, Vol. XI, 1985, 64. The last surviving example of this may be found at Gibside Chapel, Tyne and Wear (NT).
46. Staffordshire Record Office D1788 B33 B10.
47. The first use of a surpliced choir in a parish church is generally credited to Leeds Parish church in 1840. Curiously one had existed in St John's propriety chapel in Chichester since 1813. Subsequently this became a bastion of extreme Evangelicalism.
48. Faulkener *v*. Litchfield, 1843.
49. SA P7/B/4/52.
50. *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 8 September 1843.

GAZETTEER OF SHROPSHIRE CHURCHES BUILT, REBUILT OR RE-FITTED 1800–1850

Key to headings:
Capitals in bold = NEW BUILDING ON NEW SITE OR COMPLETE REBUILDING OF EARLIER CHURCH;
Italicised capitals in bold = *SUBSTANTIAL REBUILDING OF EARLIER STRUCTURE*;
Regular text in bold = Refurnishing;
Italised regular text in bold = *Gallery or galleries only*
*** Interior fittings largely unaltered
** Significant interior fittings remaining, but later alterations (e.g. to chancel or pulpit)
* one remaining item of furniture (e.g. gallery)

Key to Abbreviations.
Bagshaw   S. Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Shropshire* (Samuel Bagshaw: Sheffield 1851)
B of E   J. Newman and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire* (London: Yale University Press, 2006)
Cranage   D. H. S. Cranage, *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire* (Hobson & Co: Wellington,
             1894–1912)
ICBS   Incorporated Church Building Society
Leonard   J. Leonard, *Churches of Shropshire and their Treasures* (Almeley: Logaston Press, 2004)
Plymley   S. Watts (ed.), *The Visitation Records of Archdeacon Joseph Plymley, 1792–1838*, Shropshire Record Series, Vols.
             11 and 12 (Keele: Keele University Press, 2010–11)
Port   M. H. Port, *Six Hundred New Churches* (London: SPCK, 1961)
SA   Shropshire Archives
TSAHS   *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society*
VCH   *The Victoria History of Shropshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, various dates)

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1   *Abdon* (St Margaret) ICBS 0735
     W gallery by *Joseph Harper* 1832, ground plan and elevation. Also pasted in parish register. Plan shows arrangement of pews and pulpit. Swept away in restoration 1859–60.

2   **Acton Scott** (St Margaret)
     Cranage (62–3) suggests that the transept was built in 1819, and that the gallery, pulpit and pews date from this period. Pen and ink drawing of 1844 in Vickers collection (SA P40/5/2/6) shows box pews in nave and transept, poppy head benches in chancel facing E, and two-decker at E end of nave on S side by screen.

3   *ADDERLEY* (St Peter)
     Body of the church rebuilt 1801. Ashlar facing to brick, Gothick iron tracery to windows. Kilmorey aisle rebuilt 1822 (Cranage, 662–6). Described by Woodhouse in 1799 as being in a very bad state with roof terribly decayed. Briefs between 1800 and 1812 raised a net sum of only £171 7s 0d. (*TSAHS*, 2 Series xi, 285–300)

4   *ALBERBURY* (St Michael)
     Plans and notes for restoration 1846 (SA P6/7/1–10) Detailed plan of stalls, altar rails etc. in 7/3. The church was almost completely rebuilt with the exception of the tower. Choir stalls were provided by All Souls' College, Oxford, the lay rector. Reredos designed by *Rev. John Parker*. (D. George, *TSAHS* Vol. LXI, 1989).

5   **ALBRIGHTON** nr Shrewsbury (St John the Baptist)
     Neo-Norman rebuilding of medieval chapel by John Carline 1840–41. Later chancel. (J. Leonard, 115).

6   *Albrighton* nr Shifnal (St Mary Magdalene)
     Faculty for new gallery 1837 (SA P7/B/4/1). Detailed plans, specifications etc. (SA P7/B/4/2–10; 4/39–4). Plans to introduce stalls into chancel 1847, Galleries removed 1852 after a mere 15 years for 'the architectural improvement of the church'. (SA P7/B/4/52).

7   **ASH MAGNA** (Christ Church)
     'Erected in 1836 in the style of the early Gothic Revival. There are the usual broad lancets, queen-post roof, west gallery and pinnacle western tower'. (Cranage, 667). By *George Jenkins*, surveyor, of Whitchurch (*B of E*, 117).

Brick, Gothick windows with iron tracery. Illustrated in Leonard, page 100. Bagshaw states that the cost was £1,557, of which £857 was raised by voluntary subscription, £450 was donated by Rev. C. M. Long and family, with the Diocesan and Incorporated Societies contributing £250.

8   **Aston Botterell** (St Michael and All Angels) ICBS 1051
     Ground plans existing and proposed 1829 (a). Revised plan of proposed alterations 1830 (b). Attributed to *James Amies*. The revised proposals pewed the church uniformly, of which 24 out of 30 were to be free, plus another 30 sittings in the gallery which was erected at the W end. Three-decker retained at E end of N wall. Family pews retained in chancel.

9   **Badger** (St Giles)
     Major restoration by *Francis Halley* of Shifnal, 1833–4, for Mrs Browne of Badger Hall. (*B of E*, 131). Specification for work (SA P20/B/4/1) and accounts (SA P20/B/4/6).

10   **Baschurch** (All Saints)
     Estimates and specification for moving pulpit, desk and clerk's seat to the chancel end, December 1829. (SA P22/B/3/1); ditto for alteration to gallery and poor's pew, 1834 (SA P22/B/3/2); estimate for altering gallery (SA P22/B/3/3).

11   **BAYSTON HILL** (Christ Church) ICBS 3178
     By *Edward Haycock*, 1843. Nave, W tower, shallow chancel in lancet style. Plan shows pulpit on N side of chancel arch, desk and clerk's seat on S. Now a dwelling.

12   **Bicton** (Holy Trinity) ICBS 1421
     Formerly a chapel of ease to St Chad, Shrewsbury, 18th century brick, nave and chancel with large N and S transepts. Abandoned 1888. *Edward Haycock's* plans of 1832 show interior with pews in nave, chancel and transepts, with three-decker on S side at entrance to chancel. Proposals for erection of new gallery in S transept, with new pews at ground level. Were these proposals carried out? Cranage (850) mentions 'two chapels or squires' pews' on the N side of the nave, one of 1754 belonging to the Sandford family, and to its E

another built about 1833 by the Wingfield family. This bears little relation to any of Haycock's drawings.

13 **Billingsley** (St Mary) ICBS 1727
Re-pewing 1836 by *Dovey Elcock* and *William Haycox*. Free pews linear, five family pews seated round three sides.

14 [**Bitterley** (St Mary)]
Unexecuted scheme of 1847 by *E. Blakeway Smith* of Ludlow for a N extension and re-arrangement of seating. Three-decker pulpit and square pews for Henley Hall and Bitterley Court to be retained, but other seating to be open benches as at Eaton under Heywood (*q.v.*). (Vickers' Scrapbook, SA P40/5/2/6, p.103b).

15 **Bourton**** (Holy Trinity)
Restoration and N aisle of 1844 at expense of Lady Wenlock. Neo-Norman windows throughout, and chancel arch in same style. Box pews with poppy heads in nave, six open benches at W end of N aisle. W gallery. Pulpit and reading desk either side of chancel arch, made up from 17th century predecessor.

16 **Bridgnorth** (St Leonard)
Cranage (6) mentions the deplorable condition of the church in the early 19th century, and states that restoration was begun in the incumbency of Rev. G. Bellett, commencing with the chancel. Vickers' scrapbook (SA P40/5/2/6) contains a lithograph of a drawing by Mary Stringer (*c*.1850) which shows the chancel after Bellett's alterations. Clergy desks with poppy heads, and enclosed raked seating. Was this intended for a choir?

17 *Bridgnorth* (St Mary Magdalene) ICBS 1529
Plans for erection of new galleries in Telford's church of 1792–4, by *John Smallman* of Quatford, 1833. New Galleries to be much steeper than existing, and to double amount of free seating. Section shows pulpit placed centrally at E end of nave.

18 **BROADSTONE CHAPEL** (no dedication)
Chapel of ease to Munslow, rebuilt 1842–4. Lancet style with W bellcote.

19 **BROSELEY** (All Saints) ICBS 3018
Large church by *Harvey Egington* of Worcester 1843–5 in an authentic Perpendicular style. W tower, nave, aisles and short chancel. ICBS plans show galleries over the aisles. Cranage (188) comments that 'the only really good feature is the tower, which is said to have been admired by Ruskin'. Illustrated in Leonard, page 214. Detailed building accounts SA P41/B/2/1.

20 *CALVERHALL* (Holy Trinity)
Earlier chapel rebuilt 1843 at the expense of Joseph Whitehall Dod of Cloverley Hall, and described by Bagshaw in 1851 as 'a modern erection of beautiful workmanship, executed in freestone'.

21 *CARDESTON* (St Michael)
Remodelled 1844 by *Thomas Jones*, though *B of E* suggests that the tower may be by *Rev. J. Parker*, brother in law of Sir Baldwin Leighton (D. George, *op.cit.*).

22 **CHAPEL LAWN** (St Mary) ICBS 2859
Built as chapel of ease to Clun 1841–44 by *Edward Haycock*. Nave and shallow apsidal chancel, lancet style. Original apsidal chancel survives.

23 **Chelmarsh** (St Peter) ICBS 2714
Re-pewing and gallery 1842, by *Josiah (?)* and *Robert Griffiths* of Quatford.

24 *CHETTON* (St Giles)
Tower rebuilt 1829 (*William Smith*, Ludlow), at cost of £297 (SA P59/B/6/1–3). *B of E* says *William Smallman*, but this is not confirmed by the Churchwardens' Accounts above.

25 *Chetwynd* (St Michael)
Minutes of vestry meeting 22 April 1841 to consider replacement of gallery with new one to provide 54 additional sittings 50 of which to be in new pews and four free sittings (SA P60/4/1). Bagshaw notes that this was done.

26 **Child's Ercall** (St Michael)
Chancel rebuilt 1822 at expense of Sir Corbet Corbet, at cost of £39 4s 8 d (SA P61/B/3/1). Complete re-ordering 1823. Pulpit moved from NE corner of nave westward, and new pews orientated to face the pulpit. New W gallery for singers, with seats for Sunday School children beneath. Plans and faculty, SA P61/B/6/3–5. None of these works noted by Cranage, 686–8.

27 **CHURCH ASTON** ICBS 417
'Modest classical church of *c*.1800 by *Joseph Bromfield*' replaced by *Street* 1866–7. (*B of E*, 202). Drawing by Homes Smith (SA 6009/49) shows W tower, nave and transepts. These were added 1823 by *John Cobb* of Newport and each contained a gallery.

28 *CHURCH PULVERBATCH*** (St Edith) ICBS 1924
Plymley (225) notes enlargement of W gallery in 1815 to create 30 new seats, and erection of N gallery at expense of different proprietors in 1828. Also notes benches for Sunday School children within and outside communion rails. Plans of 1836 by *Edward Haycock* for extension on N side of Chancel, with large round-headed window, family pews at chancel end, and benches elsewhere. Scheme abandoned. In 1851 Haycock produced a new scheme which added a complete new N aisle. This cost £735, and was carried out by *Henry Thomas* of Shrewsbury, builder. Box pews, possibly the latest in the county, still survive. (SA P65/B/2/3–5).

29 **Church Stretton** (St Lawrence)
Re-ordering of galleries and seating, and improvements to chancel under influence of Rev. R. N. Pemberton between 1819 and 1841. Tiered seating removed from the chancel and reredos formed from Jacobean panelling, stained glass by Betton and Evans donated by the Rector. (D. Grounds, *A History of The Church of St Laurence, Church Stretton*, Logaston, 2002, 166–78).

30 *Claverley* (All Saints) ICBS 1397
Erection of new galleries 1832, possibly by *John Smallman* of Quatford (*c*.1783–1852). These extended from the existing W gallery one bay into the nave on the N and S sides. Gothic fronts discussed by Cranage (12), who discounted the possibility of re-use of screen, as 'wood was very common stuff'. Photographs *c*.1900 show these galleries in position (SA 1277/8A).

31 **Cleobury North** (Ss Peter and Paul) ICBS 1523
Re-pewing 1833, by *John Smallman* of Quatford.

32 **Clunbury** (St Swithun)
Minor alterations (removal of porch) and major re-flooring and re-pewing, 1842, by *Edward Haycock*. Specification for work (SA P75/B/2/1). All seats except Coston, Purslow and Clunbury Hall pews to be free for ever.

33 **Cound** (St Peter)
Re-pewing with open benches 1842–4, by *S. Pountney Smith*, possibly working under *Edward Haycock*. (D. George, *op.cit.*, 114–5)

34 **CRESSAGE**** (Christ Church) ICBS 2625
New church of 1840 by *Edward Haycock* to replace earlier building. Simple lancet style, nave with W bell tower and shallow chancel of one bay. Pulpit and desk either side of chancel arch. Pews with doors, W gallery, and pulpit (moved from S to N side of chancel) survive.

35 **CRUCKTON** (St Thomas) ICBS 2258
    1837–40 by *Edward Haycock* as chapel of ease to
    Pontesbury. Lancet style, nave and shallow chancel. (*B of
    E*, 241).

36 **CWM HEAD** (St Michael)
    1846–9 Neo-Norman by *H. J. Whitling* of Shrewsbury.
    Nave, apsidal chancel and thin tower. Disused. (Leonard,
    203).

37 **DAWLEY MAGNA*** (Holy Trinity) ICBS 3294
    Faculty to take down dilapidated old church and rebuild
    on new site in churchyard, 21 February 1844, (SA
    P89/B/4/1–9). Plan of old church shows galleries round
    three sides of nave, including across chancel arch. New
    work cost £3,000 (Bagshaw) and received grants of
    £550 from Lichfield Church Extension Society and £300
    from ICBS, while £1,650 was raised by subscription.
    Possibly by *Harvey Egington*. 'The style is on the whole
    Perpendicular, of much better character then is often the
    case in earlier Victorian buildings.' (Cranage, 537).

38 **DODDINGTON*** (St John)
    1849 for widow of Thomas Botfield. Nave and W tower,
    without chancel. W gallery. (*B of E*, 248).

39 **DONNINGTON WOOD*** (St Matthew) [see also St
    George's]
    By *Sir Gilbert Scott*, 1843, and showing ecclesiological
    influence, though still with W gallery. Built by 2nd Earl
    of Sutherland for colliery workers (*B of E*, 636). Early
    English style with chancel, nave, transepts and S porch.
    (Cranage, 570; Leonard, 168–9)

40 **DORRINGTON**** (St Edward)
    1845 in lancet style by *Edward Haycock* for Thomas
    Hope of Netley Hall at a cost of £3,000. Hope further
    endowed the church with an additional £3,000. Lancet
    style, W tower with recessed spire, nave, short chancel
    and transepts containing family pews, which survive, as
    does the W gallery. 'In Haycock's normal meagre style'
    (*B of E*, 250). 'A handsome church' (Leonard, 203).

42 *DUDLESTON* (St Mary)
    Timber-framed medieval chapel of ease to Ellesmere
    radically extended in 1819 (*George Edgcumbe*) by
    addition of aisles to accommodate galleries. Rubblestone
    walls with Perpendicular details 'much better than
    one often gets at the period' (Cranage, 784). Internal
    remodelling 1888, when the timber arcades were replaced
    (*B of E*, 252–3; Leonard, 83–4). Cost £431 13s, with £200
    grant from ICBS (Bagshaw), though the church does not
    appear on ICBS list.

43 **EATON CONSTANTINE**** (St Mary) ICBS 3799
    Complete rebuilding of medieval church 1848 by *Thomas
    Smith* of Madeley. Nave, chancel and western bellcote
    in lancet style which 'present no features of interest
    or beauty' (Cranage, 571). *B of E* (256) suggests that
    the design shows Smith's awareness of Ecclesiological
    dictates, but Smith's two bay chancel contained moveable
    benches in traditional manner. Box pews and W gallery
    survive. Plans of 1838 by *John Carline* for proposed
    additions. (SA B/A/1311/101).

44 [**Eaton under Haywood** (St Edith)]
    A design for an unexecuted scheme of 1845 by
    E. Blakeway Smith of Ludlow to increase seating
    accommodation. This would have retained the three-
    decker pulpit, but replaced all pews with open benches,
    the designs of which are shown in Vickers' Scrapbook
    (SA P40/5/2/6, p.103a).

45 *ELLESMERE* (St Mary) ICBS 4088
    Partial re-pewing in 1810 following a fire, to be done
    in uniform manner, proprietors of pews to bear half the
    cost of their remaking. (SA P105/B/6/2–3). In 1848 *Sir

George Gilbert Scott was called in, and described the
nave as so decayed that it should be rebuilt. Commented
that he never seen a nave and side chapel so cluttered with
galleries (Leonard, 84). Scott's restoration transformed
the medieval church in accordance with ecclesiological
dictates, with stalls for clergy and choir in the chancel,
though the transepts and side chapels were filled with free
seats orientated N/S. Bagshaw states that the cost was
upwards of £8,000. Faculty application with plan 1848
(SA LD412/400).

46 **FRODESLEY**** (St Mark)
    Nave and chancel of 1809, described as 'minimally
    classical' by *B of E* (271), with N aisle of 1859 in lancet
    style. W gallery and box pews.

47 [*GREAT NESS* (St Andrew)]
    Unexecuted scheme of extension 1835, by *Isaac Porter* of
    Oswestry. (SA P114/B/10).

48 **GRINSHILL** (All Saints) ICBS 2462
    Neo-Norman by *John Carline* of Shrewsbury 1839–41.
    Faculty 1839 (SA P117/B/3/1) shows three-decker pulpit
    at E end of S wall as in the old church, and pews on N
    and S sides of the altar.

49 **HARLEY**** (St Mary)
    Rebuilt (except tower) 1845 (*S. Pountney Smith*).
    Perpendicular windows, nave and chancel. Box pews
    from old church re-used, with open benches (now
    destroyed) in central aisle as at Worthen. Nave financed
    by subscription, chancel by the rector (H. Pigeon,
    Gentleman's Magazine, 1853, Part I, 50–2).

50 *HODNET* (St Luke)
    N aisle and chapel reconstructed 1846–9 (*John Laing*)
    at the expense of Mary Heber (*B of E*, 300). Bagshaw
    however states that the cost was £3,200 towards which
    Thomas Cholmondeley donated £1,000; Charles
    Cholmondeley £500; Lord Hill £100, while the
    parishioners raised £170. The rector, Rev. S. H. Macaulay
    gave the remaining £1,430.

51 **HOPE*** (Holy Trinity) ICBS 2871
    Chapel of ease to Worthen 1842–3 (*Edward Haycock*).
    Nave, short chancel and bellcote. Lancet style. Gallery.
    Architect's plans and elevations in Vickers' scrapbook
    (SA P40/5/2/6, fo.79). Earlier plan by Haycock 1841 (SA
    P40/5/2/6, fo.103a) has transverse section showing Gothic
    pews, those at E end with doors.

52 **HOPTON WAFERS** (St Michael) ICBS 0519
    Rebuilding of earlier church 1824–5 for Sir Thomas
    Botfield. Unusual plan with apses at E and W ends.
    Three-decker pulpit at E end on S side. Open benches in
    central aisle as at Harley and Worthen.

53 **Hughley** (St John the Baptist) ICBS 0878
    Notice (SA P/B/3/1) states that church was re-pewed in
    1842, creating 39 additional seats, of which 35 were to be
    free. ICBS plan (possible attribution to *Edward Haycock*)
    shows pulpit and desk on either side of chancel.

54 **IRONBRIDGE*** (St Luke) ICBS 1691
    By *Thomas Smith* of Madeley, 1835–6 of brick, W tower,
    nave and small chancel. Lancet windows. Received
    grant of £200 from the Commissioners under the Second
    Parliamentary grant towards cost of £3,176. Galleries on
    three sides (surviving). Twin pulpits (*cf.* Pontesbury) were
    entered by stairs from within chancel.

55 **KETLEY** (St Mary, Red Lake)
    Described by *B of E* (642) as 'a workaday church, though
    erected at the expense of the 2nd Duke of Sutherland'.
    By *James Trubshaw*, 1838–9. Lancet style, but with neo-
    Norman W tower.

56 *KNOCKIN* (St Mary)
'Obtrusive' restoration of 1847 (*B of E*, 319) Neo-Norman in yellow brick. Transept added.

57 **KNOWBURY** (St Paul) ICBS 1903
Nave and tower by *John Grosvenor* of Ludlow 1838–39. W gallery, open benches throughout, six at E end appropriated. Three-decker pulpit at E end on N side. Three-sided rails. A bazaar held in Ludlow in 1837 to raise funds for the project produced an astonishing profit of £921 6s 10d (M. Tomlinson, *Knowbury: A History of a Church and Parish*, 1992).

58 **LITTLE DAWLEY** (St Luke) ICBS 3516
Possibly by *Robert Griffiths* of Quatford, 1844–5. Brick building in neo-Norman style, described by Cranage (569) as 'no better or worse than similar structures of the date'.

59 **LITTLE DRAYTON** (Christ Church)
New church built 1844–7, *Samuel Pountney* and *John Smith* of Shrewsbury, described as 'a neat structure in the early English style of architecture' costing £2,600. £500 donated by Mrs Nonelly, who gave the same for a parsonage house (Bagshaw). Five-bay aisled nave, short chancel and tower, lancet style. Pulpit and reading desk with clerk's seat on either side of main aisle at E end of nave. W gallery. Grant of £325 from ICBS on condition that 538 of 595 seats should be free. Total cost £2,115, total grants £896 (Bagshaw).

60 *LITTLE WENLOCK* (St Laurence) ICBS 0384
Extended by addition of a wide and incongruous brick S aisle 1822. (*Samuel Smith* of Madeley). Square-headed windows with hood moulds on extension. Open benches facing inwards, earlier seating arrangements retained in rest of the church.

61 Llanyblodwell* (St Michael) ICBS 1702
The ICBS reference is to the gallery in N aisle of 1834, by *Thomas Jones* of Oswestry and Chester. Extensive (and eccentric) restorations during the incumbency of Rev. John Parker (1846–56) in idiosyncratic Gothic. Interior arrangements included Gothic two-decker pulpit midway along the S wall, and pews arranged collegiate fashion. This arrangement was destroyed 1937–45 (*B of E*, 337).

62 **LLANYMYNECH*** (St Agatha) ICBS 3136
Neo-Norman 1842–45 by *Thomas Penson* of Oswestry. Nave, short chancel, and SW tower. Pulpit and Desk placed either side of the chancel arch. Neo-Norman W gallery.

63 **LONGFORD** (St Mary)
Almost complete rebuilding of medieval church, 1803 by *John Cobb* of Newport, builder. Detailed specification in SA P171/B/3/1/2. Pews to be seated on three sides, three-decker pulpit and W gallery (no plan). W tower, nave and apsidal chancel. Total cost £839 14s 4d., at expense of R. Leake, local landowner. Closed and converted into a dwelling.

64 **MALINSLEE** (St Leonard)
Rebuilt 1803–5 (deed of consecration September 1805: SA P183/B/5/1–3), at the expense of Isaac Hawkins Browne of Badger and Rev. Thomas Gisborne of Yoxall Lodge, Staffordshire. Octagonal, and a scaled-down version of Madeley, which has led to it being regarded as Telford's third Shropshire church, but without any documentary evidence. This attribution is firmly rejected by Friedman. Intended to replace the old church at Dawley.

65 **MIDDLETON IN CHIRBURY** (Holy Trinity) ICBS 2681
By *Edward Haycock* 1841–43. Nave, shallow chancel (replaced by apse 1875), and shallow transepts. These are stated by *B of E* (403), to be coeval with the apse, but appear on Haycock's plan for the ICBS. Pulpit and desk either side of main aisle at E end. Four box pews at E end of nave, free open benches behind.

66 **MIDDLETON SCRIVEN** (St John the Baptist)
Rebuilding of medieval church 1845–6, at expense of Dr Rowley, headmaster of Bridgnorth Grammar school. (*B of E*, 403) Nave, bellcote and slightly later chancel.

67 **Monkhopton** (St Peter)
Restored for Sir Francis Lawley, 1835–40, when the W turret in pre-ecclesiological Gothic was added, and the church rendered. All other traces removed by later restorations.

68 *MORE*** (St Peter) ICBS 3878
Rebuilt 1847–8 with exception of part of N wall, massive W tower, and 17th century N chapel. By *Robert Haycock* and *Joseph Whittall* in lancet style. W gallery, box pews (from earlier examples lowered and re-formed), pulpit and reading desk survive, though the latter are not in original positions. Family pews with tall poppy heads in N chapel. Some alteration to chancel seating (free pews in ICBS plan), but one of the least altered interiors of the period.

69 **Moreton** (Ss Philip and James) ICBS 0281
Existing chapel of 1746 enlarged 1820 by *Thomas Jones* of Oswestry and Chester, who added a western extension to house a vestry with gallery over. Cranage (806) quoting Bagshaw, describes it as a 'plain brick fabric with nave and transepts'. Replaced by a new church in 1872.

70 **Munslow** (St Michael) ICBS 2645
Complete re-seating 1842. Signed off by *Edward Haycock* (then working on Millichope Park), contracting by *David Pugh* of Munslow. Cost £108 10s 6d (SA P200/C/1/1). Uniform box pewing facing E, with three-decker pulpit moved from mid-way along S wall to position at its E end.

71 **NEWCASTLE ON CLUN** (St John the Evangelist) ICBS 3769
By *Edward Haycock* 1846–49, similar design to Hope. Plans and elevations also in Vickers' Scrapbook (SA P40/5/2/6). Pulpit reversed from plan for Hope. Cost £1,200 mostly raised by individual subscriptions (Bagshaw).

72 **Newport** (St Nicholas) ICBS 0872
Extensive re-ordering 1837–38 by *John* and *William Cobb* at a total cost of £2,283 5s 2d (SA P207/B/3/2/2), towards which the ICBS gave £250 and the Diocesan Society £200. The remainder was largely raised locally. Plans in SA (P207/B/2/1/19–22) show that the pulpit was moved from the N side of the nave to a central position, and an eastern gallery erected to accommodate the organ. Detailed account in Cranage, 610–11.

73 *NEWTOWN* (King Charles the Martyr) ICBS 1539
Newtown chapel was rebuilt and enlarged 1835–6 by *Thomas Francis*, providing 50 additional free seats in addition to the existing 160 appropriated seats (SA P208/V/1/1). Previously a timber-framed structure converted from a house in 1659, it was taken down in 1835 'and a neat edifice of brick erected on the site, at a cost of £417 12s. raised by subscriptions' (Cranage, 707 – quoting Bagshaw). Unusually, the new building was designed on a T-plan (the only true example in the county?) with the seating in the N transept focussed directly on the pulpit. Replaced by a new church in 1869.

74 *NORTON IN HALES* (St Chad)
According to Cranage (710) the nave was rebuilt with money raised by briefs between 1801 and 1817, because the building had been in poor condition. Briefs were

issued in 1801, 1805, 1810, 1814 and 1817, but the amount raised has not been recorded. This work was swept away in 1864–5.

75 **OSWESTRY** (Holy Trinity) ICBS 1774
Unusual design by *Thomas Penson* of Oswestry 1835–7 with wide nave and narrow apsidal chancel. Gothic box pews in nave, benches for the poor towards E end of wide central aisle. Gothic two-decker pulpit on N side of chancel arch, clerk's seat on S. Minutes of Building Committee (SA P215/B/3/2) reveal that 'oriel' chancel was donated by Rev. John Parker. Total cost £3573 10s 1 d of which subscriptions and a bazaar raised £2,252 3s 3d. Grants of £450 from ICBS, £250 from St Asaph Church Building Society. Interior illustrated in George, *op.cit.*, 112.

76 *Oswestry* (St Oswald)
Faculty 28 June 1815 for enlarging W gallery for extra seating, and creating new organ gallery (SA P214/B/3/1). W gallery enlarged, and organ moved to new gallery facing W from the chancel arch. Indistinct plan (ICBS 1774) appears to show pews with pull-out side seats for the poor.

77 *PONTESBURY* (St George) ICBS 0602
Rebuilt except for chancel 1825–29 following collapse of the tower in 1825. By *John Turner* of Whitchurch, completed after his death by *Thomas Smith* of Madeley. The work cost £5,000 mostly raised by loans and mortgages, with grants of £200 from the ICBS and Queen's College, Oxford (Whiteside, *The Churches and Chapels of Pontesbury Parish*, (2006), 30). Aisled nave and W tower in pointed style. Box pews in nave and aisles, open benches for the poor in the wide central aisle. Very imposing high twin pulpits. This arrangement survived until 1904, and is illustrated by photographs in Whiteside, *op.cit.*, 34. The ICBS plans of 1829 clearly show that this arrangement was original, and refutes the fanciful explanation put forward by Whiteside on page 35. Alternative plans by *John Carline* of Shrewsbury in the ICBS files show a cruciform church with a centrally placed three-decker pulpit.

78 *PRIORSLEE* (St Peter) ICBS 1346
Rebuilding of a medieval chapel by *Francis Halley* of Shifnal. *B of E* dates this to 1825–7, though the ICBS plans and elevations are dated 1831–7, and the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* reported its consecration on 1 September 1837. Brick, lancet style with iron tracery in the windows. Originally nave and W porch, tower and chancel added later. Interior was box-pewed, with W gallery. Described by Cranage (24) as 'about as ugly as it can be'.

79 **RHYDYCROESAU** (Christ Church) ICBS 1994
By *John Rogers* of Selattyn, 1838. Nave, W tower and chancel, with domestic windows. Box pews on N side of nave, benches on S. Pulpit and desk either side of chancel. Total cost of building church £503 4s 11d. Additional expenditure of £300 for purchase of glebe land, and £625 7s 2d for building Parsonage House. £1,188 raised by subscriptions and grants of £100 from ICBS and £200 from St Asaph CBS (SA P228/F/1/10). Much altered 1868.

80 *ROWTON* (All Hallows) ICBS 1446
Woodhouse states that the nave was reconstructed and widened in 1800 in consequence of his 1799 Visitation, but it is clear from the ICBS plans that further work took place in 1834, by *Robert Madeley*. Widened nave with very shallow apse. Three-decker pulpit place centrally before altar. Box pews at E end of nave, benches behind and in gallery. 'Churchwarden gothic' in style.

81 *RUYTON XI TOWNS* (St John) ICBS 3433
N aisle extended 1844–5 by *John Lloyd*, builder of Llanymynech, in Decorated style, to provide free seats. Three-decker pulpit moved eastwards at same time.

82 **ST GEORGE'S** (also known as Donnington Wood and Pain's Lane Chapel) ICBS 1246
Built 1806 as chapel of ease to Lilleshall. Unusual plan, large rectangular nave orientated N/S, and shallow chancel, tower containing entrance at ritual W end. Three-decker pulpit placed centrally in front of the altar. A fine example of 'churchwarden gothic'. In 1831 extra free seating was provided by new galleries around three sides of the nave. Central bench from the pulpit to the entrance, and around the altar, and either side of the pulpit for the poor. This interesting structure was demolished to make way for a new church by *Street* in 1862.

83 **St Martin's**
Until the early 1980s this church possessed one of the finest late Georgian interiors in the county. Box pews and family pews installed in 1810 (Cranage, 827) were swept away and the fine three-decker pulpit banished to the W end of the church. It originally stood half was along the S wall of the nave. Photograph by John Piper in *Shell Guide to Shropshire,* page 49 (1951 edn); page 118 (1973 edn).

84 **SAMBROOK**
Cranage, 717), quoting Bagshaw mentions a small chapel of ease erected 1839. Confirmed by 1851 Religious Census. Rebuilt 1856.

85 *SELATTYN* (St Mary) ICBS 0218
Interesting solution to seating for the poor provided by *John Roberts,* 1820. N transept built to accommodate those who had held pews in the gallery, where all seats were afterwards to be free. Two additional square pews in the transept to be sold for £50. S transept added 1828 (*B of E*, 497).

86 **SHELVE**** (All Saints) ICBS 2338
The dilapidated medieval church was rebuilt in 1839 to the design of the then Rector *Rev. T. F. More* supervised by *John Carline* (*B of E*, 500). Nave and W tower, with chancel added later. Despite re-pewing and reduction of the gallery, this interior captures the atmosphere of the period better than any in the county with the possible exception of More. Castigated by Cranage (522) for being rebuilt in the dullest and dreariest style in the year 1839, modern visitors would probably agree with Pevsner that it is a 'sweet little rubble church high up in the hills' (*B of E*, 1st edn, 242).

87 **SHREWSBURY** (St George, Frankwell)
1829–32 by *Edward Haycock* in lancet style. Cruciform with small western tower. Pews were originally placed along the side walls, with free benches in the aisles and transepts, and also the W gallery. Pulpit and desk placed either side of chancel arch. The total cost was £3,752 of which £2,551 was provided by the Church Building Commission. Contractors: Joseph Birch and Sons of Shrewsbury. Described rather unkindly by Leonard (158) as 'a grim reminder of the style of the Church Commissioners'. Full account by Henry Pidgeon in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1832, Part I, 589–90.

88 **SHREWSBURY** (St Michael)
By *John Carline* 1831, Greek revival in brown brick, with W tower. Small recess for altar replaced by gothic chancel in 1873. Interior originally galleried on three sides, the western gallery having been donated by Rev. W. G. Rowland for the use of poor children. Pulpit and desk, both octagonal were placed on either side at the E end. Correspondence re grant of £500 from ICBS (SA P258/B/2/2). Now a Masonic Lodge. Full account by

Henry Pidgeon in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1831, Part I, 594–6.

89 **SHREWSBURY** (Holy Trinity, Coleham) ICBS 2023
All trace of the classical church of 1837 has disappeared following rebuilding in 1861 and 1887. The original building had a W tower, a wide nave, and a shallow polygonal recess for the altar. Pulpit and desk were placed on either side of this. A deep W gallery contained 287 of the church's 504 free sittings. The Minutes of the Committee for building the Church (SA P251/B/4/1) suggest that the building was designed and erected by *Joseph Stant*, a local builder, who incidentally was a signatory to the ICBS plan as churchwarden. It is likely that the design was actually produced by *George Clinton* of Cardiff (see main text, endnote 29). Total cost £2,045. Grants of £600 from Lichfield Diocesan Church Building Society and £150 from ICBS.

90 *SMETHCOTT* (St Michael)
Largely rebuilt in 1849–50 by *J. P. Harrison*. The influence of the Ecclesiologists can be seen in the Decorated windows (*B of E*, 597).

91 *STANTON LACY**** (St Peter) ICBS 1930
Edward Blakeway Smith of Ludlow produced a scheme in 1836 which was not proceeded with. In 1847 a scheme by *T. H. Wyatt* brought about a full-blown Ecclesiological/Tractarian make over, most of which remains intact today. Open benches throughout, though seats were to be allocated by the churchwardens in proportion to amount of church rate paid (Vestry Minutes, 20 June 1850, SA P265/C/1/1). A stone altar was included from the start, with decorated reredos. The church deserves to be as noted for this early Tractarian ensemble as it is for its Anglo-Saxon features.

92 *Stirchley*** (St James)
N aisle built 1838 by the Botfield brothers to accommodate their workmen and the poor. (Cranage, 622).

93 **Stottesdon** (St Mary) ICBS 1458
Plans 1838–40 for providing additional free seating. Possibly by *Daniel Robertson* of Oxford. Alternative plans, one of which provides for a 'knifeboard' seating arrangement down the centre aisle (cf. St George's). Central three-decker pulpit retained in all plans.

94 **TASLEY** (Ss Peter and Paul) ICBS 2699
1840 rebuilding of medieval chapel by *Josiah Griffiths* of Quatford. Described by *B of E* (618–9). as a 'cheap pattern book preaching box in the lancet style built of only too durable yellow brick'. Original arrangements included W gallery, mixture of pews and benches inn the nave, two-decker pulpit, and, unusually, a litany desk in front of the chancel arch. Usual shallow chancel.

95 **TIBBERTON** (All Saints) ICBS 1041
Rebuilding of medieval church 1842 in Early English style, by *William Williams*, builder and *John Baddeley* of Wellington, surveyor. Described by Cranage (624) as 'a very characteristic structure of no interest or beauty'. Internal arrangements conservative for the date. Free benches in N aisle and gallery, but box pews, some square, and a three-decker pulpit in the nave. Over £600 raised by subscriptions and grant from ICBS (Bagshaw)

96 **TILSTOCK*** (Christ Church)
Rebuilding of earlier chapel by *Edward Haycock* in classical style 1835. Brick, with (ritual) W tower and shallow chancel. Partly funded by Earl of Bridgewater. W gallery and seating survive. (*B of E*, 658; Leonard, 111–2)

97 **TREFONEN*** (All Saints) ICBS 0892
Much altered gothic stone church of 1820, by *T. Jones*. W gallery 1828 by *Thomas Penson* of Oswestry (subject

of ICBS plan) still survives. Total cost £700, to which the Commissioners contributed £300 (Port, 136).

98 **WELLINGTON*** (Christ Church)
By *Thomas Smith* of Madeley 1839, brick in lancet style and similar in design to St Luke, Ironbridge. Only the W gallery survives in the much-altered interior. Bagshaw gives cost as £3,600, but Port makes it £2,887. The Commissioners gave a grant of £400. The endowment was £145 per annum, of which pew rents accounted for £105 (Bagshaw).

99 **WEM*** (Ss Peter and Paul) ICBS 2575
Medieval church completely rebuilt 1810–13 except for tower. In 1813 the plans were modified by *William Turner* of Whitchurch to change the W gallery (Faculty 15 June 1813, reciting 1810 faculty, SA P295/b/5/1/1). This plan shows the pulpit on the N side at the entrance to the Rector's Chancel, with the reading desk and clerk's seat on the S. In 1841 new galleries were erected on the N and S sides of the nave, and the plan, possibly by *George Jenkin* of Whitchurch, shows a centrally placed three-decker pulpit in front of the chancel arch, a late example of this practice.

100 *WEST FELTON* (St Michael) ICBS 2981
N aisle of 1842 by *John Lloyd* of Llanymynech, builder, to accommodate eight free benches and nineteen pews. These pews face the pulpit on the S wall, while the benches face E, a conservative arrangement. The seating arrangements in the rest of the church were left unchanged. Chancel rebuilt 1848 in Decorated style by *George Gilbert Scott* (*B of E*, 682). Cost 'upwards of £600' raised by subscriptions and grants from diocese and ICBS (Bagshaw).

101 **WHITCHURCH** (St Catherine) otherwise known as Dodington
Imposing classical church by *Edward Haycock*, 1836–7, for dowager Lady Bridgewater. Elaborate stone-built façade, with body of the church in brick, as in some later 19th century Welsh chapels. Cost £8,000 and 'very beautifully fitted up with oak pews, and has a gallery supported on iron pillars' (Bagshaw). Disused.

102 *WHIXALL* (St Mary) ICBS 0641
Eighteenth century and earlier brick chapel, in ruins when seen by Cranage (740). Replaced by new church designed by *Street* 1867. New S transept 1826 with gallery over.

103 *WHITTINGTON* (St John the Baptist)
Body of the medieval church rebuilt 1805–6 'upon a larger scale and more convenient plan' (SA P305/B/3/1/1. Faculty with plan 16 October 1802). The demolished church had galleries on the W, N and E sides, but the new church had only a W gallery. Pulpit placed on the S wall as in the demolished church. Pewing was to be 'uniform and decent'. Rebuilt in 1806, at a cost of £1,500 (Bagshaw). A brief in 1800 raised £767 14s 8d, of which the parish received only £42 2s 1d. (*TSAS*, 2 Series, xi, 285–300).

104 *WOMBRIDGE* (Ss Mary and Leonard) ICBS 0174
Georgian brick church of 1756 extended in 1824 by the addition of transepts, galleries and an eastern apse (Leonard, 107). Brief for £650 obtained in 1824, but it is not known how much the parish received.

105 **WOORE** (St Leonard) ICBS 1208
Rebuilding of earlier chapel by *George Ernest Hamilton* 1830 in classical style. Nave, W tower and shallow chancel. Pulpit and desk/clerk's seat either side of altar space. Cost £1,300 according to Bagshaw.

106 *Worfield* (St Peter) ICBS 1506
Galleries altered 1832 to designs of *John Smallman* of Quatford. Grant of £60 from ICBS in consideration of

large sums expended by the parish in repairing the church (SA P314/B/4/1). In 1835 a faculty was granted to rebuild some of the 'irregularly built' pews in the body of the church, with the old carved work incorporated into the new framing. Chancel screen also to be removed (SA P314/B/5/1/4).

107 Worthen (All Saints)

An enigmatic re-ordering of 1846. Plans with faculty (SA P315/B/11/1) show existing church with haphazard arrangement of box pews in the nave. The reordering placed linear box pews along the N and S walls, re-using material from the earlier pews. Open benches were placed in the wide central aisle. This seating arrangement survives largely intact, as does the two-decker pulpit at the NE end of the nave. The benches have fooled a number of writers into thinking that they are of great antiquity, but the faculty plans confirm that they date from 1846. The arrangement of benches in the central aisle is the only example to survive in the county.

108 WROCKWARDINE WOOD (Holy Trinity) ICBS 1326

1833 by *Samuel Smith and Son* of Madeley. Red brick, classical with W tower, wide nave and shallow polygonal apsidal chancel. Three-decker pulpit placed centrally in front of the altar. Box pews in central aisle, free benches on N and S walls. Cost £1,550 to which the Commissioners granted £300 (Port).

APPENDIX 1

Churches built and rebuilt
1801–1850

1801 – 1810
Church Aston *c*.1800; Adderley 1801; Longford 1803; Malinslee 1803–5; Whittington 1805–6; St George's (Pains Lane) 1806; Frodesley 1809.

1811 – 1820
Wem 1810–13; Norton in Hales 1817; Dudleston 1819.

1821 – 1830
Trefonen 1821; Little Wenlock 1822; Hopton Wafers 1824–5; Pontesbury 1825–9; Woore 1830.

1831 – 1840
Shrewsbury St Michael 1831; Shrewsbury St George 1832; Wrockwardine Wood 1833; Rowton 1834; Tilstock 1835; Ironbridge 1835–6; Newtown 1835–6; Oswestry Holy Trinity 1835–7; Church Pulverbatch 1836; Ash Magna 1836; Whitchurch St Catherine 1836–7; Priors Lee 1837; Shrewsbury Holy Trinity 1837; Cruckton 1837–40; Rhydycroesau 1838; Ketley (Red Lake) 1838–9; Knowbury 1838–9; Sambrook 1839; Shelve 1839; Wellington Christ Church 1839; Grinshill 1839–41; Tasley 1840; Cressage 1840

1841 – 1850
Chapel Lawn 1841–44; Middleton in Chirbury 1841–3; Alberbury 1842; Broadstone 1842; Cwm Head 1842; Hope 1842–3; Llanymynech 1842–5; Bayston Hill 1843; Dorrington 1843; Donnington Wood 1843; Calverhall 1843; Broseley 1843–5; Dawley Magna 1844–5; Little Dawley 1844–5; Little Drayton 1844–7; Harley 1845; Dorrington 1845; Middleton Scriven 1845–6; Newcastle on Clun 1846–9; More 1847–8; Eaton Constantine 1848; Smethcott 1849–50.

APPENDIX 2

Architects of new and rebuilt Shropshire churches
1800–1850

Baddeley, John (Wellington): **95** (1842) G
Bromfield, Joseph: **27** (*c*.1800) Cl
Carline, John (Shrewsbury): **88** (1831) Cl; **86** (1839) G; **48** (1839–41) NN
Clinton, George (Cardiff – originally Shrewsbury): **89** (1837) Cl
Cobb, John (Newport): **63** (1803) G
Edgecumbe, George: **42** (1819) G
Egington, Harvey (Worcester): **19** (1843–5) G; **37** (1845) G
Griffiths, Josiah (Quatford): **94** (1840) G
Griffiths, Robert (Quatford): **58** (1844–5) NN
Grosvenor, John (Ludlow): **57** (1838–9) G
Halley, Francis (Shifnal): **78** (1837) G
Harrison, J. P.: **90** (1849–50) G
Haycock, Edward, snr (Shrewsbury): **87** (1829–32) G; **96** (1835) Cl; **101** (1836–7) Cl; **28** (1836 and 1851) G; **35** (1837–40) G; **34** (1840) G; **65** (1841–3) G; **51** (1842–3) G; **120** (1841–4) G; **11** (1843) G; **40** (1845) G; **71** (1846–9) G
Haycock, Robert: **68** (1847–8) G
Jenkins, George: **7** (1836) G
Jones, Thomas (Oswestry and Chester): **69** (1820) G; **97** (1820) G; **21** (1844) G
Lloyd, John (Llanymynech): **100** (1842) G; **81** (1844–5) G
Madeley, Robert (Wellington): **80** (1834) G
Penson, Thomas (Oswestry): **75** (1835–7) G; **62** (1842–5) NN
Roberts, John (Selattyn): **79** (1838) Vernacular
Scott, Gilbert: **39** (1843) G
Smith, Samuel (Madeley): **60** (1822) G; **108** (1833) Cl
Smith, Thomas (Madeley): **77** (1827–9) G; **54** (1835–6) G; **98** (1839) G; **43** (1848) G
Smith, Samuel Pountney (Shrewsbury): **59** (1844–7) G; **49** (1845) G
Stant, Joseph (Shrewsbury): **89** (1837) Cl (to a design by George Clinton – *q.v.*)
Trubshaw, James (Haywood, Staffs.): **55** (1838–9) G
Turner, John (Whitchurch): **77** (1825–7) G
Turner, William (Whitchurch): **99** (1810–13) G
Whitling, Henry John (Shrewsbury): **36** (1846–9) NN
Williams, William (Wellington): **95** (1842) G

Numbers in bold refer to the churches listed in the Gazetteer

Abbreviations:
Cl   Classical
G   Gothic
NN   Neo-Norman

APPENDIX 3

New churches: building costs and how they were met

Ash Magna	£1,250	ICBS £100; Diocese £150 (not in ICBS plans)
Bayston Hill	£1,400	
Broseley	£9,474	*ICBS £400; Diocese £350; Cooperative Soc. £28;* *Subscriptions £2,837; Anonymous subscriptions £5,639*
Chetwynd, Sambrook chapel	£424	Exclusive of site
Cressage	£1,400	Private subs and grants ICBS and Diocese
Cruckton	£900	
Dawley Magna	£2,550	*ICBS £300; Diocese £550; private subs £1,650*
Donnington Wood (St. Matthew)	£1,875	
Dorrington	£2,500	Thomas Hope, Esq.
Dudleston	£431	
Eaton Constantine	£800	Church Societies £185; Subscriptions £615
Hope	£1,200	Private subscriptions
Ironbridge	£3,176	Societies £800; Commissioners £200
Ketley Red Lake	£2,000	Duke of Sutherland
Knowbury	*£1,200*	
Little Dawley	£1,320	Commissioners £300; Subs and grants
Little Drayton	£2,600	
Longford	*£649*	*Ralph Leake, Esq.*
Llanymynech	£1,962	ICBS and Diocese £150 each; Parish rates £108
Little Drayton (Christ Church)	£2,115	Societies £896; private benefactions etc. £1,219
Middleton in Chirbury	£1200	Individual subscriptions
Newtown	£417	Individual subscriptions
Oswestry (Holy Trinity)	*£3,573*	*ICBS £450; Diocese £250; Subs. etc. £2,253*
Pontesbury	*£5,000*	*ICBS £200; Queen's College, Oxford £200*
Rhydycroesau	*£503*	*ICBS £100; Diocese £200*
Shrewsbury (H. Trinity Coleham)	*£2,045*	*ICBS £150: Diocese £600.*
Shrewsbury (St George Frankwell)	*£3,752*	*Commissioners £2,551*
Shrewsbury (St Michael)	*—*	*ICBS £500*
Tilstock	£2,000	Earl of Bridgwater
Trefonen	£815	Commissioners £150; subscriptions etc. £665
Wellington (Christ Church)	£3,600	Commissioners £400
Wem	*£2,000 plus Turner's fee £100*	
Whitchurch St Catherine	£8,000	
Whittington	£1,305	
Woore	£1,300	
Wrockwardine Wood	£1,550	Commissioners £300 also ICBS (no details)

Information from C. D. Field (ed.), *Church and Chapel in Early Victorian Shropshire: Returns from the 1851 Census of Religious Worship*, Keele, 2004, except where italicised. Italicised entries referenced under relevant entries in the Gazetteer.

SAMUEL GARBET AND THE *HISTORY OF WEM*

By JAMES P. BOWEN and JUDITH EVERARD

The new Victoria County History of Shropshire project recently published its first Short on the small market town of Wem.[1] *It relied extensively on Samuel Garbet's* History of Wem *and his private papers which were rediscovered during the early stages of research and deposited at Shropshire Archives.*[2] *This article presents a summary of the life of Garbet, discusses his antiquarian interests and use of sources and traces the numerous copies of the manuscript which survive.*

The Revd Samuel Garbet MA (1686–1756) was a clergyman and schoolmaster in Wem and is one of Shropshire's most able, if least known, antiquaries. His *History of Wem* was published posthumously in 1818 by Geoffrey Franklin, who in 1828–9 was listed as a bookseller, stationer, printer and auctioneer.[3] It is the earliest writing on the parish and an invaluable source for the history of Wem and its surrounding area up to 1755.

Born at Norton, a township in Wroxeter parish, Garbet was educated at the local Donnington School and entered Christ Church, Oxford, on 12 June 1700, graduating with a BA on 23 May 1704 and an MA on 5 July 1707.[4] A religious man, Garbet was ordained deacon on 22 September 1706 at Eccleshall in Staffordshire by Dr John Hough (1651–1743), bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, becoming curate of Great Ness in Shropshire.[5]

He was appointed second master of Thomas Adams's School in Wem on 11 March 1712 and curate of Edstaston in 1713, a post he held until his death, having been recommended by Richard, earl of Bradford and Henry, Lord Newport.[6] Garbet married Anna, daughter of John Edwards of Great Ness, on 16 May 1714. They moved to Wem on 11 June 1714 setting up home in a house sited in a burgage plot in New Street. He claimed it had previously stood in Edstaston and was moved and rebuilt at Wem after the great fire in 1677.[7] When he purchased the house it 'was framed anew, and made a convenient dwelling'.[8] Garbet stated that he owned four burgage plots in the street and could name the previous owners back two centuries. These were the Cadmans (tenants in Lowe and Ditches who had already died out by the 1561 survey), the Whitfields of the Lowe,

Richard Newns of Lee Brockhurst and Richard Lyth of Acton Reynald.[9] Garbet was also proud of the landed estate he purchased, apparently in the west of Newtown township, part in Wolverley.[10]

Their son, Samuel (d.1768), baptised at Wem on 17 July 1716, also graduated from Christ Church, Oxford and became curate of Wem and of Newtown, a township in Wem.[11] He too had antiquarian interests and according to Richard Gough was the principal contributor to Valentine Green's *Survey of the City of Worcester* (1764), but published nothing under his own name.'[12]

In 1724 Garbet declined the headmastership of the school, due partly to ill health and retired from teaching in 1742. Thereafter he concentrated his efforts on researching and writing the history of Wem manor and parish. Garbet wrote of himself that: 'Having for thirty years kept up the credit of the school, and being in easy circumstances, he thought fit to retire from toilsome employment, and at his leisure hours to compile these memoirs, for the information of posterity.'[13] He appears to have finished writing his history of Wem *c*.1751 but made additions until 1755.[14] Garbet is best known for his history of Wem which he wrote over several decades. Yet his work has been largely ignored by historians with the exception of those concerned with local, landscape and county histories of Shropshire. Perhaps this is because Richard Gough's (1635–1723), *The Antiquityes and Memoryes of the Parish of Myddle*, written between 1700 and 1706 and published later in the 19th century, is more widely known following David Hey's pioneering work.[15]

Garbet's work is mentioned only once in a survey of the published and unpublished histories of Shropshire, although it is acknowledged that it was written *c*.1750–5

'ostensibly as the first instalment of a history of Bradford hundred'.[16] He is, therefore, deserving of historians' attention particularly given the rediscovery of his private papers. Garbet's papers, among those of his son and grandson, were for many years in the possession of a firm of solicitors in Wrexham, where they were catalogued by the late Beryl M. Jones whilst undertaking an MA in

Local History Studies at the University of Liverpool. She subsequently published *'The goode Mr Garbet of Wem'; The Life of the Revd. Samuel Garbet, M.A. of Wem, Shropshire 1685–1756*.[17] These papers were located and deposited at Shropshire Archives in 2015 when work on the Victoria County History of Shropshire resumed.[18] They include personal letters, accounts and bills; leases,
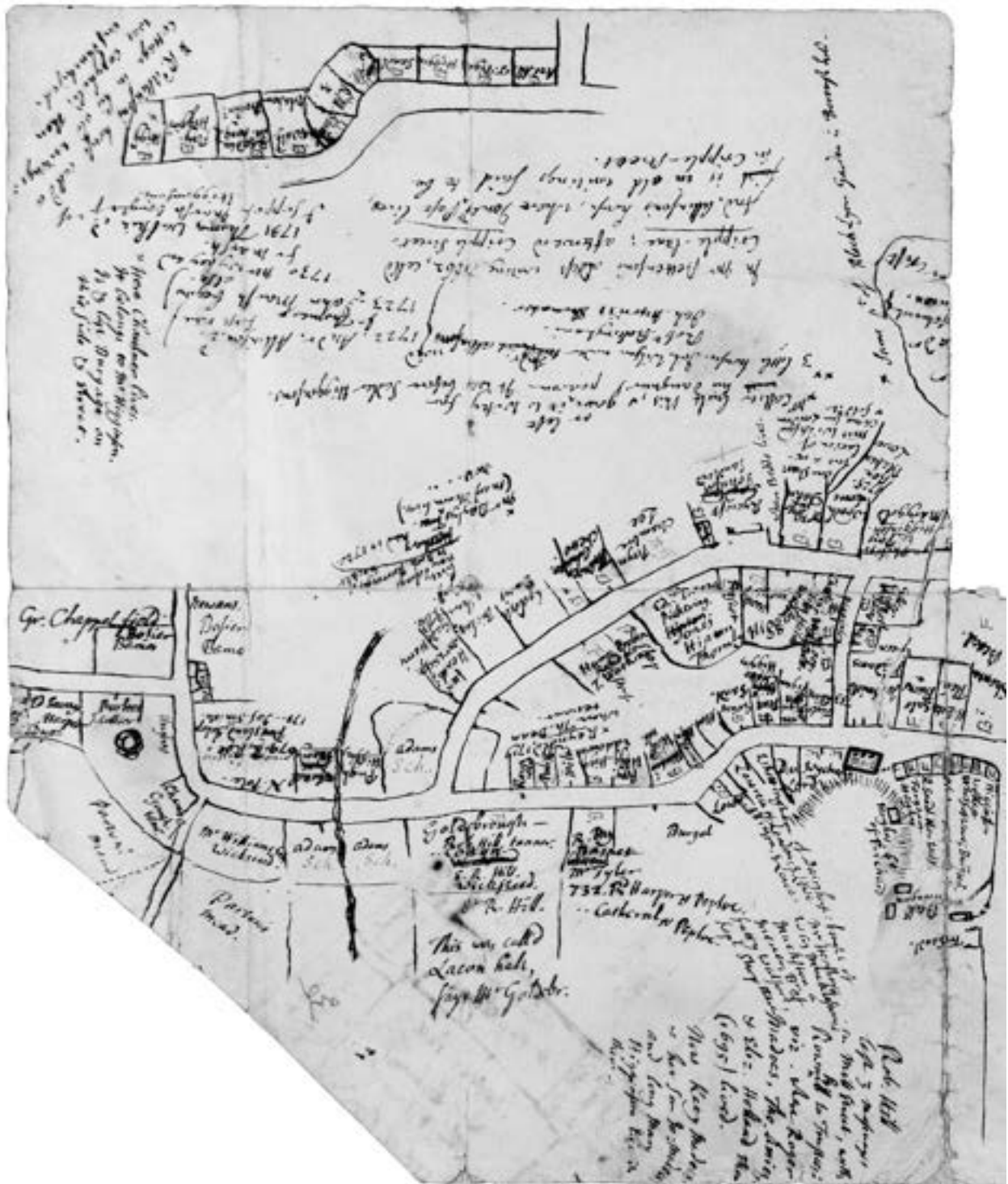

Figure 1.   Sketch map of Wem by Samuel Garbet. *SA 9053, file W, 9ab. Reproduced by kind permission of Shropshire Archives.*

mortgages and property-related material; documents about Thomas Adams's School and religion, including sermons; and notes and drafts for Garbet's history of Wem including several original hand-drawn maps (Figure 1).[19]

County, parish and town histories

It appears that Garbet's motivation to research and write the history of the community of which he was a prominent member was his personal interest in antiquarianism and local history. This reflects a wider antiquarian tradition of local history writing from the 17th century onwards.[20] Members of the professional classes played an important role in town life and the importance of towns was growing as economic, social, cultural and political centres. Garbet is an example of a late 17th- and early 18th-century antiquary who combined his professional role as an Oxford-educated teacher and clergyman with his antiquarian interests. Significantly he was one of the lesser gentry and the professional classes, not from the gentleman or urban elites. They had dominated the compilation of 17th-century county histories. As Rosemary Sweet has pointed out:

> For those who, like Richard Gough, pursued antiquarianism with a whole-hearted dedication, it was an all-consuming interest, even obsession, which structured his politics, his friendship and his life. There were numerous others, however, for whom antiquities represented one of many interests and who pursued the subject alongside

a professional career, scientific inquiry or an appreciation of the arts.[21]

If the county history was a symbol of power and wealth, the parish and town history, albeit of a small provincial market town like Wem, represents a clear sense of pride in the locality and reflects their growing popularity in the 18th century.[22] John Beckett has highlighted 'the appearance of histories mirrored the growing ascendency in town life of business and professional groups.'[23] Most 18th-century urban histories were, however, concerned with London and larger provincial towns, for example, Birmingham, Derby Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham and York, including those undergoing an 'urban renaissance', and there was a shift from histories aimed at the urban elite to a wider audience.[24] Presumably as Garbet envisaged his work to result in a county study it was intended to be read by an educated county elite interested in archaeology and history rather than the local populace of Wem.

In the Preface to his *History of Wem*, Garbet wrote, 'It has long been lamented, that Shropshire has produced no Author that has taken a Survey of it, and published its natural and civil History, its Antiquities, and present State'.[25] Furthermore, he wrote:

> This county does indeed Boast of famous Lawyer Plowden, the celebrated Hebrician Broughton and the learned divine, Dr Whichcote, the admirable linguists, Wheelock and Hyde [and] the excellent grammarians, critics and antiquaries Burton and Baxter. But,
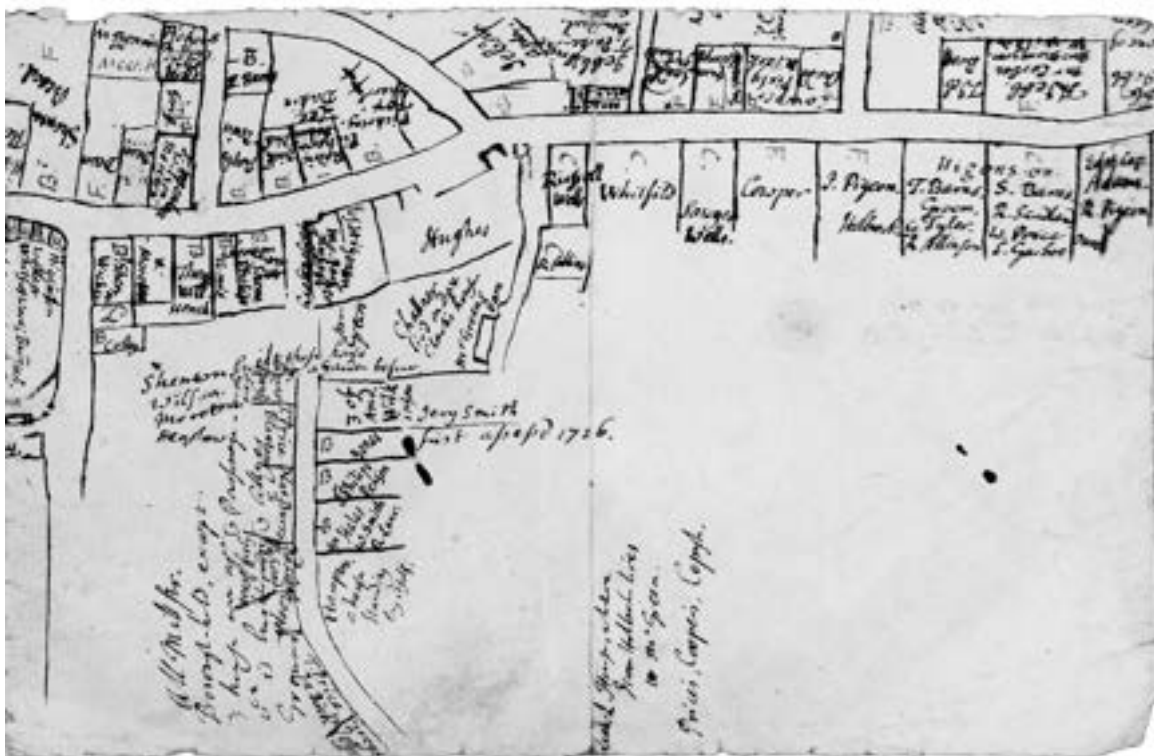
it still needs a Plot or an Ashmole to give a topographical and historical description of it. Mr Mytton lately undertook to supply this defect, and with that view has made very valuable collections; but the difficulties and discouragement he met with, prevented the execution of so good a design.[26]

Clearly Garbet planned a history of North Bradford hundred starting with Wem. He outlined his intention to write such a history: writing, 'Several Years ago I began my Enquiries about Wem, which as Time and Opportunity serve, I shall carry through North Bradford. But at Present I shall confine myself to the Allotment of Wem and Shawbury.'[27] This was clearly his inspiration for his work which, whilst initially concentrated on Wem, he intended to become a wider study of the history of Bradford Hundred.[28] He began gathering material for his history of Wem after moving to the town. It has been suggested that Garbet probably knew of the work of Gough – the parish of Myddle lies adjacent to Wem.[29] *The History of Wem* adopts a similar structure and themes examining the commons, woods, meres and pools, customs, highways, the derivation of place names, manorial and parochial organisation and the genealogies of leading families. It also has parallels with other early topographical works written in a chorographical style, for instance, those by John Leland (1503–1552) and William Camden (1551–1623).[30] The Revd G. H. F. Vane (1856–1905), who was himself a respected antiquary, drew parallels with Gough and wrote that:

> … the history of the Parish has been traced with some acuteness and considerable diligence by the Rev. Samuel Garbet, who "preached at the Chapel of Edstaston" in the Parish of Wem for the long period of 43 years and was buried there on Aug. 10th, 1756. Garbet, besides being a laborious and painstaking antiquary, lacked not humour, and had a love of anecdote which, though not as scandalous as that of the author of the Antiquities of the neighbouring parish of Myddle, is yet sufficiently refreshing.[31]

Nevertheless Vane pointed out weaknesses in the work, remarking that: 'Garbet's printed work is unfortunately marred by serious typographical errors and, though every copy which I have seen has date 1818, internal evidence makes it clear indicated that the book was written between 1740 and 1753.'

Garbet described the name of Wem and its boundaries, the extent of North Bradford hundred, natural history, ecclesiastical and civil divisions, the parish allotment and civil manor of Wem, the township and town of Wem, the barony and barons of Wem, customs of the jury, bailiffs and burgesses, rectors,

curates, school masters and dissenting ministers. Events in the town during the Civil War are also coverered, along with the great fire (a detailed account by Garbet apparently based on eyewitness testimony and the brief issued in aid of those who had suffered loss was published separately as a pamphlet in 1802). Markets and fairs, streets, lanes, common fields and charters are also detailed.[32]

The content of his *History* reflects the approach of the 17th- and 18th-century antiquary, covering traditional subjects such as manorial and parochial history, the church, school, worthies ('Persons of Note'), office holders and significant events in the town's history. It includes transcriptions of documents such as the customs of the manor, jury presentments and customs claimed in the Court of Exchequer in 1673 and 1676.[33] The manuscripts of Garbet's 'History of Wem' also contain copies of charters from the 1561 survey of Wem, but these texts were omitted from the published version.[34] His information comes from sources such as manorial court rolls, the 1561 survey, parish registers and churchwardens' accounts (Figure 2), as well as papers in the possession of William Wycherley, grandson of Daniel Wycherley, lord of the manor.[35] Garbet's use of sources is of particular interest as he generally acknowledges his sources, although some of them seem no longer to survive. For instance, he refers to William Mytton who found in an ancient deed that the church was dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul.[36] It has been highlighted that the structure of early 18th-century urban histories reflected 'the fact that the history of a town was not yet interpreted in terms of its people.'[37] Instead they were more concerned with the history of towns as represented by their 'buildings, monuments, charters and institutions, since these embodied traditions and represented an element of historical continuity in what was otherwise a very transient and impermanent society.'[38]

Garbet's links with other antiquaries

Garbet was in correspondence with the antiquary William Mytton of Halston (in Whittington) (1693–1746) who visited him in Wem. Between 1732 and 1736 Mytton travelled around Shropshire with his assistant James Bowen (d.1774), a draftsman, antiquary and genealogist, viewing parish registers and title deeds in preparation for his planned county history.[39] In his letters to Mytton, Garbet provided a great deal of information on Wem and the surrounding parishes, including the descent of the lords of the manor (Figure 3) and parish church dedications. Garbet also translated a Latin document concerning Lawrence Rocke, rector of Wem, which Mytton had shown him and which appeared in Garbet's *History*.[40]

Garbet in turn asked Mytton to check sources for him, one being Fabyan's Chronicle, because it 'is not to be had in the country, but you may easily procure it

Figure 2. The vestry minute of 1716 with Samuel Garbet's signature. *SA P295/B/3/1/1 Wem Churchwardens' accounts and vestry minutes, 1683–1739. Reproduced by kind permission of Shropshire Archives.*

at London or Oxford'.[41] Mytton died in 1746 without publishing anything.[42] After Mytton's death Garbet bought several of his county histories and letters on historical subjects. He also acquired and copied Mytton's copy of the pages on Wem from the manuscript of Edward Lloyd of Drenewydd ('Wem Market Town').[43] Garbet appears to have written his history right up until his death and credited the work of others. As he wrote, 'The church is dedicated to the Apostles, Peter and Paul, as Mr. William Mytton found in an ancient deed; but no wakes is kept in memory thereof'.[44] This seems to have been drawn from Mytton's notes on wakes and church dedications that are now deposited at the British Library.[45] Garbet also refers to having had access to the manorial court rolls, parish registers and churchwardens' accounts.

Garbet's use of sources

Garbet appears to have been diligent and remarkably well-informed given his limited access to sources. He refers to having consulted records at Wem including a court roll. In cases where he was uncertain Garbet prefaced his account with a qualification. For example,

Garbet's genealogy of the Pantulf lords of Wem is incorrect, however, his own version begins with a demonstration of the differences in genealogies devised by others, and justifies his own interpretation. In that sense his errors are due to the authorities that he drew on.[46] Likewise there are problems with Garbet's chapter on the Civil War, although these are only apparent in light of recent work.[47] For example, his account confuses the summer of 1642 and 1643 and interweaves contemporary written accounts and, apparently, local oral sources without distinction, although it does cite Richard Baxter's *Reliquiae Baxteriana*, a work with which Garbet might have been familiar as his great-grandfather was Baxter's teacher and correspondent.[48]

Garbet's description of the line of the ramparts has not been substantiated by archaeological investigations and research carried out to reconstruct the Norman town plan of Wem suggests that his claim that the town had walls cannot be substantiated.[49] He is the only source for the frequently recounted story that Prince Rupert viewed Wem from Trench Farm and then from 'the bank at the Ditches', and slighted it as but 'a crow's nest that would not afford each of his men a piece of bread'.[50]
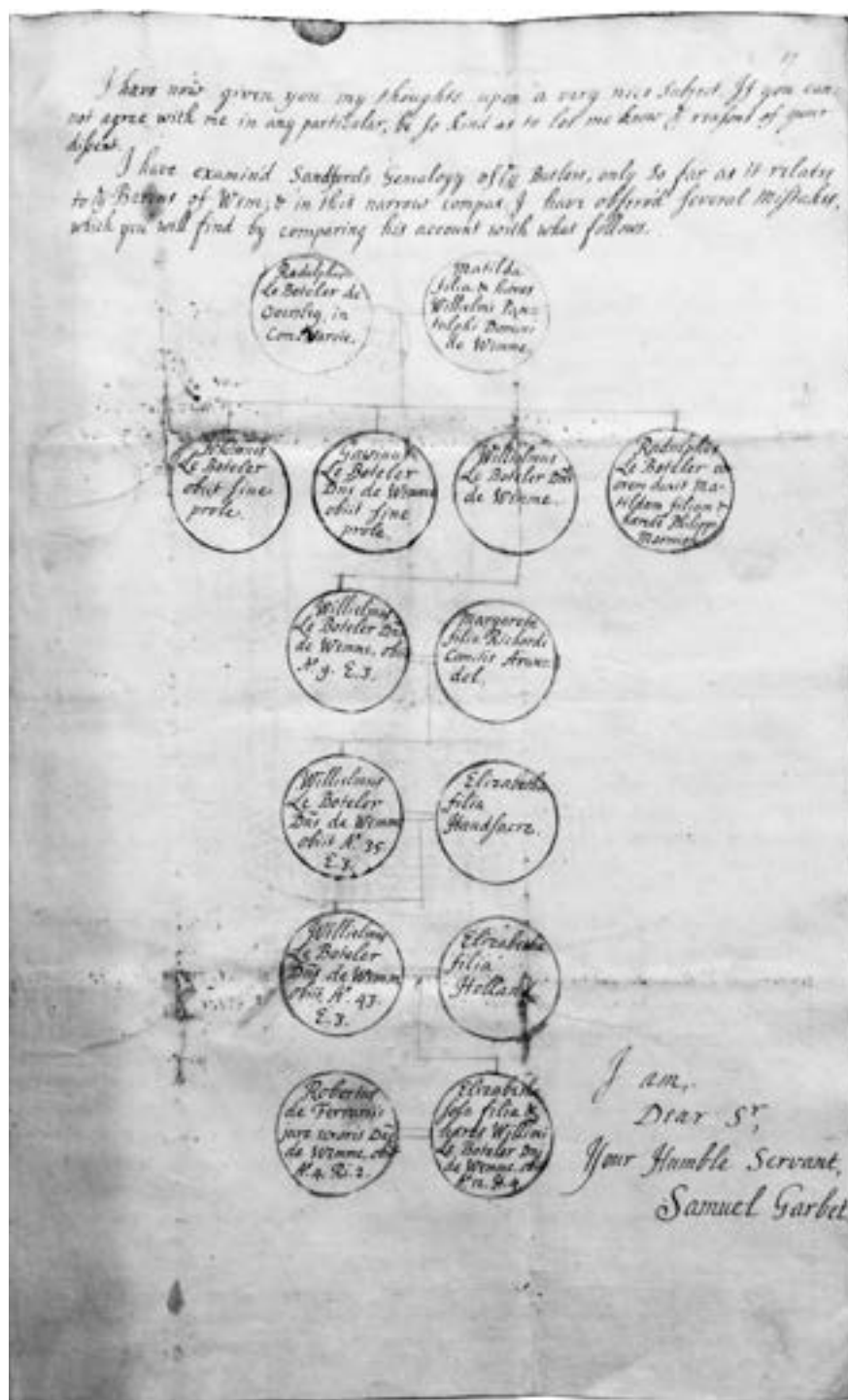
Figure 3. Letter from Samuel Garbet with a genealogical table for the barons of Wem. *BL Additional MS 30315, f. 17. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.*

Garbet's story of the betrayal of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, at Lacon is spurious, apparently based on polemical written sources, although he made an interesting and original observation that the events could have occurred at Milford near Baschurch.[51]

Earthworks at Edstaston, Creamore ('Crane Moor') and Trench Farm he explained as the remains of residences of Saxon lords.[52] He also believed that both Wem and Edstaston churches were of Saxon foundation, the latter being 'of the Gothic order'.[53] In that sense, like other town histories, he perpetuated myths about the town's history, however, it is unfair to criticise Garbet for having an 18th-century understanding of early medieval history.[54] In giving prominence to the school where he was second master, he overlooked other features of the built environment, for example, the

school house and the large building that became the poor house namely The Bank or Bank House.[55]

Another criticism is that Garbet assumed the reader's familiarity with the Wem of his own day, for instance, by referring to properties by the names of their contemporary owners or occupants and his information on the tenurial history of the town which is spread throughout his text and is a distinctive feature of 18th-century antiquaries.[56] Markets and fairs are described in every detail, but not their location within the town. Perhaps surprisingly for a clergyman, Garbet's *History* largely ignores arrangements for poor relief and other aspects of social life and welfare. This is in keeping with the pre-eminent interest of 18th-century antiquaries in the history of land tenure, arising from the need of the property-owning class to prove title to land.[57] As Sweet has highlighted:

> Social mobility and the rapid transfer of property in a buoyant property market created a fear of instability amongst those who placed their faith in the unbroken transmission of property and saw the rise of new families within a county as an indicator of a dangerous degree of social change.[58]

Notably among Garbet's papers are several maps he drew by hand between 1720 and 1750 (Figure 1).[59] Whilst not to scale, they give a good representation of the town in the early 18th century, showing streets, fields and property boundaries, and the names of their successive owners. They provide a great deal of information about the burgage plots and property owners. Garbet's interest in mapping the property ownership of Wem provides an urban parallel with Gough's *Observations Concerning the Seates in Myddle and the Familyes to which they Belong* including a plan of the church pews and their occupants of Myddle parish church.[60] Unfortunately the maps he produced were not included in the published version.

Garbet's death and surviving manuscripts

Garbet died on 7 August 1756.[61] He was buried on 10 August in the graveyard at Edstaston Chapel (now St Mary's Church, Edstaston) where he had served as curate for forty-three years, the entry in the parish register being as follows: 'Aug. 10. The Reverend Mr. Samuel Garbet, the elder, late Curate of Edstaston was ... bur.' (Figure 4).[62] His epitaph, written in Latin and inscribed on his tombstone, describes how: 'Versed in the learning of a more graceful time, in his old age he devoted his work to antiquity and explained the history of the town.'[63] Over sixty years passed from Garbet's death until publication of his *History*. The reason for this long interval is unknown, but the history of the manuscript could shed some light upon it. Garbet left his son, also the Reverend Samuel Garbet, the curate of Newtown chapelry, as his sole heir.[64]

An inventory of Garbet's personal goods and chattels records that his wealth was appraised on 25 August 1756 and totalled £247 12*s* 3*d*.[65] In addition to his household goods, notable items that were in his possession included, 'A map of Shropshire rolled up, and a set of maps in half-binding' (£1 10*s*), collections of books in the chamber and study (£8 and £50 respectively) and 'Manuscript books, pamphlets, smaller maps, and of writing paper not a full quire.' (12*s*). With his books and papers, the original manuscript passed to his son who soon after moved to Worcester.[66] In his will of 1767, Samuel Garbet junior made a special bequest of the manuscript history of Wem, 'a manuscript volume in small quarto bound in pasteboard and parchment entitled a new description of North Bradford Part 1 written by my honoured Father', to his friend and executor Samuel Lowe, a Wem merchant, 'to be in his family preserved for posterity'.[67] If Garbet intended the manuscript to return to Wem and remain there, it was not to be.

Lowe died just a few years later, in 1773, and the manuscript passed to his son, also Samuel Lowe (bapt. 1752), who had moved to London. There it was consulted by men with Wem connections. In 1774 George Whitfield, a surgeon at St Thomas's Hospital, sent his brother, Richard Whitfield at Marchamley, an account of their ancestors' estates in Wem, 'taken from a MS of the late Mr Garbett of Wem which I have by me'.[68] A copy of the manuscript was made, it was later
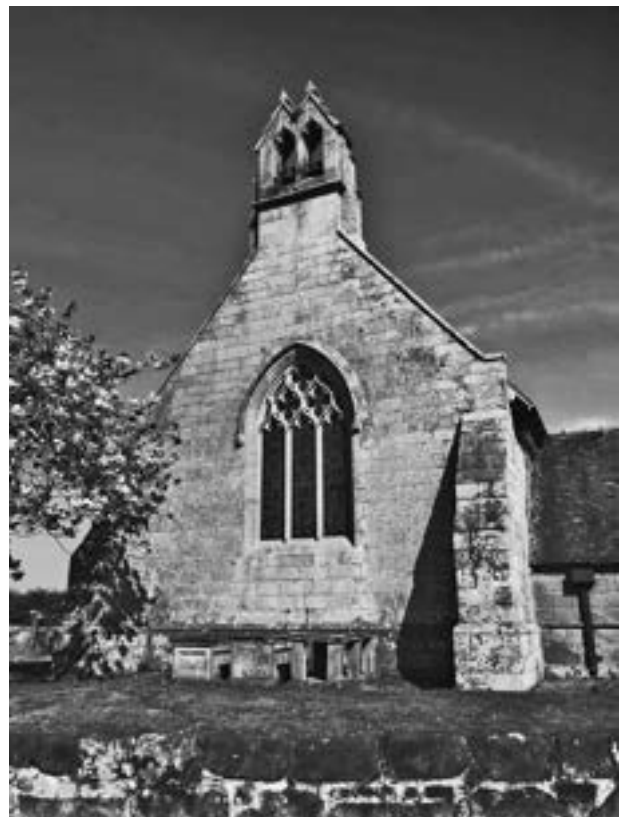

Figure 4. Photograph of St Mary's Church, Edstaston and Samuel Garbet's tomb in the churchyard (leftmost of the three).
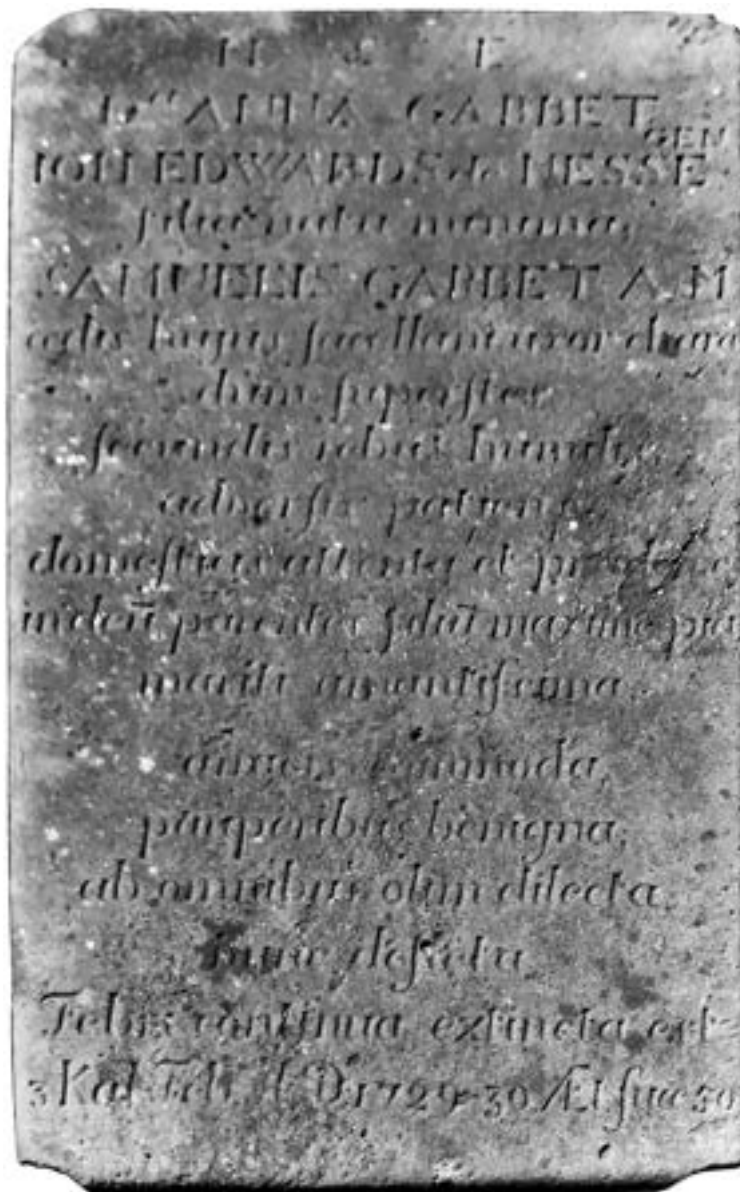
Figure 5.   The Latin inscription on Samuel Garbet's tomb.

claimed, by a William Howard of Maddox Street, London, who was said to have been a friend of Lowe.[69]

Samuel Lowe died of a fever in London in 1788. The application for letters of administration provides further evidence for a community of fellow townsmen maintaining friendships and cooperating for their mutual benefit and support in the metropolis. On his deathbed, Lowe had dictated his last will to Thomas Ashford of All Hallows, ironmonger, naming Ashford and Samuel Lawrence of Cheapside as executors. Thomas Ashford, who deposed to having known the deceased from infancy, was born in Wem in 1762, probably the son of Joseph Ashford whose family had traded as barbers and perukemakers in the town for several generations.[70] Samuel Lawrence was the uncle of Lowe's wife, Elizabeth.[71]

In 1773 Samuel Lowe had returned to Wem to marry Elizabeth Lawrence, a daughter of John Lawrence of the Moat House, Aston. In 1789 Elizabeth was granted administration of her late husband's personal estate and guardianship of the children.[72] As a young widow, Elizabeth soon remarried, in 1790, to Reverend Edmund Butcher (1757–1822), a Unitarian minister.[73] Having formally renounced his executorship, Thomas Ashford must have continued to be involved in the administration, however: when the Wem attorney John Walford went to London to make a copy of Garbet's manuscript, it was in the possession of Lowe's 'executor', Thomas Ashford.[74] Walford was born in 1774,[75] so it is unlikely he visited London to make the copy before the mid-1790s.

Whatever the ongoing role of Thomas Ashford, Garbet's manuscript ultimately remained in Elizabeth's

possession. In 1821 she moved with her ailing husband to Bath,[76] and presumably it was while living there that in 1828 she lent the manuscript to the antiquary Joseph Hunter. Hunter would have been acquainted with Reverend Butcher as, before being appointed a commissioner of public records, Hunter was a Unitarian minister in Bath.[77] Hunter's copy of the manuscript, described in the British Library catalogue as an abstract of Garbet's history of Wem, is in fact an almost complete copy.[78] Elizabeth died at Bath in 1831.[79] The Butcher family papers deposited at Bristol Archives contain documents relating to the Lawrence family of Wem that evidently passed from Elizabeth to her son, Edmund Butcher (1791–1872), an alderman of Bristol.[80] The Garbet manuscript is not in this collection, however.

This account has referred to three copies of the manuscript 'History of Wem', and a fourth also exists. The first, said to have been copied by William Howard in London, was in the possession of Corbet Howard of Hinstock Villa near Market Drayton in 1821, and later of Sir Andrew Corbet of Acton Reynald Hall (d.1835).[81] This copy is now in the National Library of Wales, having been acquired with a collection of Corbet papers.[82] The second was the copy made by John Walford in London, between *c*.1795 and 1818, which was the text used for the publication of the book at Wem in 1818. This may well be the complete fair copy, in two hands, with no annotations, now in Shropshire Archives.[83] The third was the copy made by Joseph Hunter in 1828, demonstrating that, even after publication, the book was not widely available. The fourth known complete copy is among the historical collections for Shropshire of the Reverend J. B. Blakeway (d.1826) in the Bodleian Library.[84] Blakeway evidently intended to use Garbet's 'History of Wem' as the basis of the parish history of Wem within his planned county history. Unlike other parishes, for which Blakeway collected notes and documents, for Wem he made a bound copy of Garbet's manuscript and added notes on numerous slips. The circumstances in which Blakeway acquired his copy are unknown.

In summary, Samuel Garbet's original manuscript passed from his son to the Lowe family of Wem, and then to Elizabeth, née Lawrence, and is last heard of in her possession at Bath in 1828. The edition published in 1818, meanwhile, was based on a copy of the original manuscript made in London by John Walford of Wem. The eventual publication of the *History of Wem* in the early 19th century is suggestive of the town's civic pride and growing prosperity. As for the author, rather than his profession as a schoolteacher and clergyman, Samuel Garbet should be remembered as the first historian of Wem and one of Shropshire's earliest antiquaries.

NOTES

1. J. Everard, J. P. Bowen and W. Horton, *The Victoria History of Shropshire: Wem* (London: University of London Press, 2019).
2. Shropshire Archives [hereafter SA] 9043.
3. S. Garbet, *The History of Wem, and the Following Villages and Townships, viz. Edstaston, Cotton, Lowe and Ditches, Horton, Newtown, Wolverley, Northwood, Tilley, Sleap, Aston, and Lacon Taken from the Manuscript of the late Rev. Sam. Garbet, A.M.* (Wem: G. Franklin, 1818); *Pigot and Co's National Commercial Directory for 1828–9; Comprising A Directory And Classification Of The Merchants, Bankers, Professional Gentlemen, Manufacturers And Traders* (1828–9), 697.
4. This following biography, unless otherwise stated, is based on Garbet 1818, 208–9; B. M. Jones, '*The Goode Mr Garbet of Wem': The Life of the Revd. Samuel Garbet, M.A. of Wem, Shropshire 1685–1756* (Wrexham: Bridge Books, 2001) and the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [hereafter *ODNB*], Garbet, Samuel (b.1684/5, d. in or after 1751); J. Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1891), 546.
5. For Bishop John Hough, see *ODNB*, Hough, John (1651–1743).
6. Garbet 1818, 209. Several copies of the first edition and reprints are held at SA. The book is also freely available online.
7. Garbet 1818, 244; Jones, 32–6.
8. Garbet 1818, 244.
9. *Ibid*., 244. For the Cadmans, see S. Watts (ed.), *Survey of the Lordship of Wem 1561*, Vol. 1 (Birmingham: Birmingham University, 2012), 22–3, 62–3.
10. Garbet 1818, 314, 326, 330–1, SA 9043 file K. Some of the landholdings are apparent from dealings with the estate on behalf of Samuel Garbet junior's infant son in 1770s.
11. *ODNB*, Garbet, Samuel. For Samuel Garbet junior, see G. H. F. Vane (ed.), *The Parish Registers of Wem, Edstaston and Newtown, Shropshire Parish Registers, Diocese of Lichfield*, IX (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Parish Register Society, 1908), 404; F. T. Purcell (ed.), *The Register of Edstaston* (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Parish Register Society, 1908), 11. Available at http://www.melocki.org.uk/salop/Edstaston.html#top (accessed 24 June 2020); R. Gough, *British Topography*, II (London: J. Nichols and T. Payne, 1780), 388–9.
12. *ODNB*, Garbet, Samuel.
13. Garbet 1818, 209.
14. *Ibid*., 139, 174, 206, 215–16, 280.
15. R. Gough, *The History of Myddle*, ed. D. G. Hey (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1981); D. G. Hey, *An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1974).
16. G. C. Baugh, 'Shropshire', in C. R. J. Currie and C. P. Lewis (eds), *English County Histories. A Guide* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), 338.
17. Jones 2001.
18. SA 9043; Jones, Preface.
19. SA 9043, file W, for example, contains original hand-drawn maps including several of the town.
20. J. V. Beckett, *Writing Local History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 27–52, 53–69.
21. R. Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon, 2004), 78.
22. For parish and town histories in the 18th century, see Beckett, 53–64; R. Sweet, 'The production of urban

histories in eighteenth-century England', *Urban History*, 23, 2 (1996), 171–88; R. Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

23. Beckett, 59.
24. Everard, Bowen and Horton, 15; Beckett, 58.
25. Garbet 1818, iii.
26. *Ibid*. See below in this chapter for William Mytton.
27. Garbet 1818, 208–9; Baugh, 338.
28. Baugh, 338.
29. Jones, 50.
30. *ODNB*, Leland, John (*c*.1503–1552); Camden, William (1551–1623).
31. Wem Parish Registers, iii. Available at http://www.melocki.org.uk/salop/WemPart1.html (accessed 24 June 2020). Revd G. H. F. Vane copied the parish registers up to 1811 and also wrote an introduction. He died in 1905 and the edition, with this brief introduction by Vane, was published posthumously under the care of W. G. Fletcher.
32. S. Garbet, *An account of the dreadful fire of Wem, in Salop, by which nearly the whole town was consumed on the third of March, 1677; by the Rev. Samuel Garbet. With an interesting address to the inhabitants by the Rev. Andrew Parsons, M.A. their minister of the Established Church* (Shrewsbury and Wem, 1802). It was republished in Garbet 1818, 223–6.
33. Garbet 1818, 108–41.
34. SA 6001/2749, e.g., 356–9, 370–2, 418–23, 442–4; Watts (ed.), *Survey of the Lordship of Wem 1561*.
35. British Library [hereafter BL] Additional MS 30315, f. 16r.
36. Garbet 1818, 230.
37. Sweet 1996, 177.
38. *Ibid*., 177.
39. Baugh, 338–9; for William Mytton (1693–1746), see *ODNB*, Lloyd, Edward (bap. 1666, d.1715); for James Bowen (1718–1774), see *ibid*., and T. D. Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, III (London: T. Tegg, 1840), 83.
40. Garbet 1818, 148–51.
41. BL Additional MS 30315, ff. 15–17, 117, 118.
42. Baugh, 338–9.
43. *Ibid*., ff. 14v–15r. See *ODNB*, Lloyd, Edward (bap. 1666, d.1715). For a discussion of the purported Wem market charter, see J. Everard, 'In Search of the Wem Market Charter', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 95 (2020), 97–102.
44. Garbet 1818, 230.
45. BL Additional Ms 30315.
46. Garbet 1818, 21–2.
47. J. Worton, *To Settle The Crown: Waging War in Shropshire, 1642–1648* (Solihull: Helion and Company, 2016).
48. Garbet 1818, 218; R. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae: or, Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times* (London: printed for T. Parkhurst, etc., 1696); Jones, 13.
49. Everard, Bowen and Horton, 15.
50. Garbet 1818, 221.
51. *Ibid*., 363–4.
52. *Ibid*., 259, 262–3, 339.

53. *Ibid*., 231, 272, 273.
54. Beckett, 59.
55. Everard, Bowen and Horton, 101.
56. Sweet 2004, 38.
57. *Ibid*., 38.
58. *Ibid*., 38.
59. SA 9043, Box 2 file W 1 Original map hand drawn by Sam Garbet and 9ab Slip and part of map of Wem by S.G.
60. For comparison, see Gough, *Myddle*, 80–3.
61. The *ODNB* simply states that Garbet died 'in or after 1751'.
62. Purcell (ed.), *Register of Edstaston*, 34. Available at http://www.melocki.org.uk/salop/Edstaston.html#top (accessed 24 June 2020).
63. Tombstone, Saint Mary's Church, Edstaston, see Jones, 63.
64. SA 9043, file M 1; Garbet 1818, 172–3, 325.
65. SA 9043, U5 An Inventory of the personal goods and chattels of the Revd. Samuel Garbet late of Wem clerk, deceased the 7th of August 1756.
66. SA 9043, files T, V.
67. SA 306 box 7a, Will of Samuel Garbet junior; SA 306 (Dickin of Loppington papers) box 7d: Will of Revd. Samuel Garbet of Worcester 20 April 1767, proved at Worcester 18 January 1768.
68. SA 587/56.
69. 'A Friend of Justice', Wem, letter in *Salopian Journal*, 28 Nov. 1821, citing 'a Lady, now residing in Wem' as the source for this friendship.
70. Wem Parish Registers; *ODNB*, Mary Ann Ashford, (1787–1870). Two Joseph Ashfords were trading in Wem in the mid-18th century, however.
71. Will of Debora Lawrence of Wem, 1798: The National Archives, Kew PROB 11/1305/229.
72. The National Archives, Kew PROB 11/1178, 108–9.
73. *ODNB*, Butcher, Edmund (1757–1822).
74. *Salopian Journal*, 28 Nov. 1821.
75. Wem Parish Registers: baptisms: 1774, Nov. 1. John, son of George Walford and Rebeccah.
76. *ODNB*, Butcher, Edmund (1757–1822).
77. *ODNB*, Hunter, Joseph (1783–1861).
78. BL Additional MS 24478, fos. 268–31; account of Mrs Butcher's possession of Garbet's manuscript at f. 268r (p.569).
79. *ODNB*, Butcher, Edmund (1757–1822).
80. Bristol Archives 32955, Papers of the Butcher family, 1676–1954.
81. For the connection between Howard and Corbet, see SA MI3527/1, 'The Haywards or Howards of Tilley, Shropshire' (anonymous typescript, 5 pages); Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'The manuscripts of Sir Walter O. Corbet', in *The Manuscripts of Shrewsbury and Coventry Corporations [Etc] Fourth Report*, Appendix: Part X (London, 1899), 66–77.
82. National Library of Wales MS 10752C.
83. SA 6001/2749.
84. Bodleian Library MS Blakeway 21.

Robert Clive, John Probert and the Growth of the Walcot Estate

By R. J. SILVESTER

Between 1763, the date that Robert Clive purchased Walcot near Bishop's Castle, and the mid 1790s the estate almost doubled in size to over ten thousand acres. The aggressive policy of land acquisition so revealed is reflected in the exceptionally full archives that were formerly held in Powis Castle. Employing a wide range of eighteenth-century estate maps, the growth of the estate can be plotted, and the agricultural improvements initaited by the Clive family and their land agent John Probert can be identified.

INTRODUCTION

Aged only thirty-five, Robert Clive returned from his second period of duty in India in July 1760 an incredibly rich man.[1] The scale of his wealth and how he acquired it is only of peripheral interest here, the details readily available in various biographies and in more general works on the East India Company. How he and his heir Edward employed that wealth, though, is central to this paper, and specifically in the development of his newly acquired estate at Walcot in the south-western reaches of the county. Land acquisition particularly in the 18th century could serve varying purposes: it was a mechanism for fostering political interests and influence, it was an investment, and it was of course perceived as a measure of social status and prestige. Clive's political ambitions were all too evident, a factor stressed in most recent commentaries. His determination to establish himself amongst the landed elite in the region generally receives less attention, though it has its own fundamental place in the social history of the region during the 18th century.[2]

Walcot was but one of a series of land deals that Robert Clive entered into, seemingly indiscriminately. His family home was at Styche near Market Drayton in the north of the county, a modest manorial estate that had been the ancestral residence for several generations and in 1760 was still occupied by his father, Richard. Clive unsurprisingly aspired to his own estate in his native county but initially he leased Condover Hall, a few miles to the south of Shrewsbury.

Almost immediately he initiated a spending spree on estates and properties across southern England and Wales. From Lord Montford he purchased the manors of Montford and Shrawardine on the Severn a few miles to the west of Shrewsbury in October 1761, 7500 acres for £70,000, and in the following year he bought Leigh Hall in Worthen, below the eastern flank of Long Mountain, settling it through trustees on his younger brother, William. Also he rapidly paid off his father's debts and had Styche rebuilt.[3] Next, in 1763, came the purchase of Walcot for the reputedly inflated price of £92,000, and eight years later he acquired Oakley Park (later to be termed Oakly) near Ludlow through a land exchange with Lord Powis, this becoming a favoured family residence and used later by his widow. A hiatus in purchases coincided with his return to India between 1764 until July 1767, but in the years that followed he invested in estates in Okehampton in Devon in 1772 buying some land from Thomas Pitt MP and more from John Hippisley Coxe; in extensive estates in Monmouthshire centred on Usk and Trellech that had formerly belonged to Lord Windsor, probably inspired by his political aspirations; and from the Duke of Newcastle's widow, Claremont in Surrey for £25,000.[4] This last purchase can be dated to June 1769, the Monmouthshire acquisitions only to the late 1760s. And inevitably, there was also a London residence, on Berkeley Square, initially rented from Lord Ancram and later purchased.[5] The out-of-county landholdings were not held for long: Usk and Trelech were sold on to the Duke of Beaufort in 1772, Claremont was disposed of

by Clive's son Edward in 1786, while Okehampton's story is obscure though it had been jettisoned by 1779.[6] There is little evidence to suggest that Clive made any concerted effort to increase the size of the estates that he purchased outside the county. But Walcot was different; unlike the other estates with the exception of Oakley, it retained its importance for the family, and it was as Baron Clive of Walcot that Edward Clive was elevated to the British peerage in 1794.

THE SOURCES

Built up through marriage and inheritance, the merging of the Powis and Clive estates following the death of the Earl of Powis, Edward Clive, in 1839 created one of the greatest hereditary lordships in Wales and the Welsh borderlands. A measure of its size came in the publication of the Government's *Return of Owners of Land* in 1875. Colloquially termed the 'New Domesday', this revealed the family landholdings as 33,545 acres in Montgomeryshire, 26,986 acres in Shropshire.[7] Estates of this magnitude usually generated enormous archives and those at Powis Castle were no exception. Today they are distributed across several repositories: much of the material relating to the Welsh landholdings has been deposited at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, the bulk of the material specific to the Shropshire estates is held in the county archives at Shrewsbury, some documents and many estate maps have been retained by the estate office near Powis Castle, and there is further material in Robert Clive's archives in the British Library in London.

The amount of documentation from the high Middle Ages onwards is a key feature of the Powis Castle archives, aided by the fact that much of it is well catalogued, a positive that cannot be claimed for all large estate collections. And there is a further factor that enhances its collective value. Coinciding with what was without doubt one of the critical periods in the development of the estates, the lengthy stewardship of John Probert, land agent to both Lord Powis and Lord Clive from 1770 until his death in 1818, saw their administration at the highest level.[8] This is not to suggest that Probert controlled the estates as his own fiefdom, though presumably there is at least a kernel of truth in Dr Edward Johnes' observation at the beginning of the 19th century that politically Probert was the third most powerful individual in Montgomeryshire.[9] Rather as an exemplar of the new breed of land agents who were taking up positions of responsibility in the second half of the 18th century, Probert was meticulous in his record keeping and it is these records that now provide so much of the detail on which the modern researcher can draw. By way of example there are frequent 'particulars', essentially schedules of estate lands, in both their draft and final forms. Also sometimes termed as particulars were the chronological listings of acquisitions and sales, often providing the earlier history of blocks of land long before they were acquired by Powis or Clive; and there are the estate accounts including one particular set relevant to the present study which covers the period from 1761 to 1835 listing financial transactions for the Walcot and Oakley estates.[10]

There is more though to Probert's proficiently documented administration. Assiduous in his record keeping – one might almost be tempted to view him as a hoarder – he must have worked on the principle that a document that appeared superfluous soon after its creation might prove important some time later. Witness his stance in retaining draft and working plans from his years as a land surveyor (1760–70); many contemporary surveyors would have discarded these after their final surveys were drawn up.[11] And a further aspect of his administrative policy, and the one specifically pertinent to Walcot and this study, was his acquisition of any maps that had previously been prepared for lands newly purchased.

Probert's administrative thoroughness becomes evident in the mid-1780s when Robert Hale, the in-house surveyor for the Powis Castle estate, completed the mapping of the Powis lands around Welshpool and Montgomery. A survey of a large estate normally generated a single product, conventionally a set of manuscript plans incorporated into an estate atlas depicting the various properties, both tenanted and those farmed in the demesne. Occasionally there might be two products, the surveys presented in different forms to meet different needs. It is, though, virtually unparalleled to encounter three variants, yet this is what Hale produced on Probert's instructions. First was a display copy, the maps carefully drawn with a degree of decorative embellishment to enhance their visual appearance and cross-referenced to detailed field schedules laid out in a neat hand, all of them bound into one or more leather-covered volumes. Then there was a less elegantly crafted version in soft card covers, evidently a working copy destined for the estate office which over the years accumulated annotations and adjustments to both the maps and the schedules as changes were made to field layouts, leases changed hands, and land values rose. Minor differences between the two versions appear primarily in the order in which the tenanted properties appear, but not in the information that was given, and it seems probable that the working copy was in fact the preliminary compilation, a trial run for the estate owner's own atlas. The third variant of the survey was a large wall map on a wooden roller, which in the case of the Lymore estate straddling the county boundary east of Montgomery was some 2.55m by 1.94m in size and showed the entire estate layout, and thus the geographic relationships of all the individual holdings, both to each other and to the estate

centre on the edge of the town. Three of these large roller maps survive, two for the estates to the south and east of Welshpool, a third from 1796 for the Montford holdings near Shrewsbury. Regrettably there is nothing comparable for the Clive family's landholdings around Walcot.

What is available for the Walcot estate is a group of maps and associated land schedules that go back in to the middle of the 18th century. The pick of the acquisitions is John Probert's own surveys prepared for John Walcot prior to the sale of Walcot in 1763. Probert had surveyed the dispersed Walcot holdings in and around Clun Forest in 1760, one of his earliest commissions and perhaps even his earliest as a surveyor, and he had then been entrusted with their auction in April 1761 (Figure 1).

A rare survival (and a further example of his policy of retaining just about everything), his auctioneer's catalogue is annotated with details of the properties sold and the prices' realised, and as interestingly those that failed to find a buyer.[12] Three years later and prior to its sale he surveyed the rest of the estate including the park and demesne around the hall on a set of at least 23 maps, which though largely intact as a collection has suffered damage to individual maps over the years.[13]

Collectively these surveys provided baseline mapping for the Walcot estate in the third quarter of the 18th century. Significantly, not a single example of any land

Figure 1. The title page from John Probert's 1760 estate atlas commissioned by John Walcot. *Reproduced by kind permission of the Rt Hon. The Earl of Powis and the Trustees of Powis Castle Estate. Powis Estates Map Volume PE11.*

newly surveyed following its acquisition by the Clive family has come to light. Instead the existing surveys were ultimately superseded by an atlas of the entire estate at the end of the century, compiled in two black leather-covered volumes (1796) which match in their physical appearance the display copies of the Powis Castle estate prepared by Robert Hale some years earlier. An additional copy of one of the two volumes bound in soft beige leather has the appearance of a draft version.[14] The compilation on which this atlas was based had been planned several years earlier: one of Probert's memoranda, almost a prospectus in its form, is dated to 1791.[15] Taking the 1796 atlas at face value, a researcher might assume, quite understandably, that it presented maps of a newly taken set of land surveys. However, close inspection of those schedules accompanying maps which have known precursors reveal that they copied the information that had been compiled at an earlier date: in their descriptive sequence, in the field names, and in the acreages down to the last perch (160th of an acre), they are identical. Only where fields had been re-configured in the intervening decades were field names changed and acreages revised.

It follows that as some schedules were duplicated from earlier surveys, so too were existing maps simply redrawn. We may speculate that the surveyor, presumably instructed by the land agent, took a copy of the original map into the field and inserted any changes in the field pattern onto that copy. Demonstrating that this was the case is difficult, for assuming a reasonable level of accuracy from the original surveyor, the delineation on paper of different surveys ought to be very similar. The uncertainty is compounded because the 1796 maps are often more representational in appearance than their predecessors, that is boundaries lines, stream courses and other linear features had their courses smoothed out and simplified by the draughtsman. Direct comparisons then are not helpful, but some support for copying comes from the inconsistencies in the standard features that would be expected on estate mapping. Each map certainly has its decorative title cartouche, some simply foliated frames, others elaborated with scenes of rural life, and north indicators are usually included, though there are some maps where their omission hints at a casual attitude on the part of the copyist (Figure 2).

More significant is the absence of a scale bar, replaced by the more economic alternative of a written statement on the number of chains to the inch. In at least one case an obvious error has been introduced by the reduction of the original map to a size that would fit comfortably in the atlas whilst failing to alter the scale accordingly.

There is a broader truth implied by this atlas. The earlier surveys commissioned by individual landowners produced maps that provided precise visualisations on which a landowner could base decisions on the administration and development of his estate. The atlas
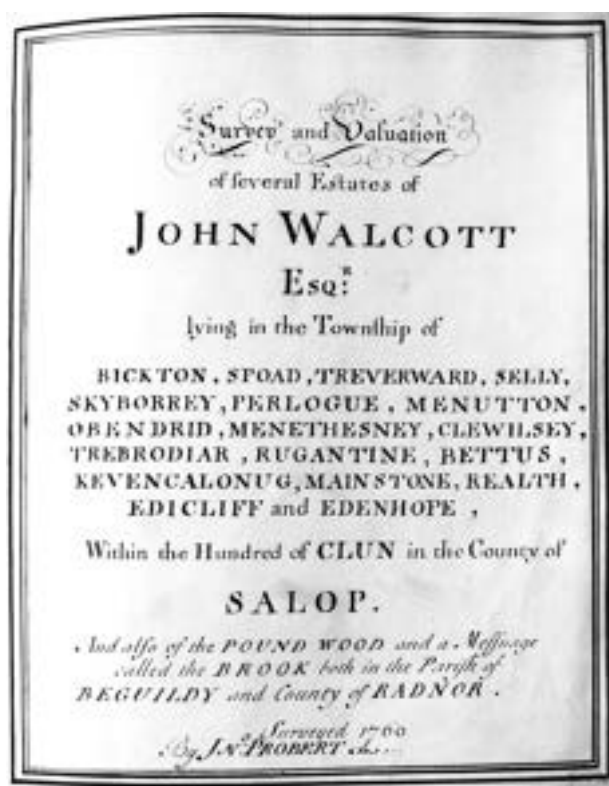
Figure 2. Leasows Farm, Clun. A typical farmholding map in the 1796 atlas. *Reproduced by kind permission of the Rt Hon. The Earl of Powis and the Trustees of Powis Castle Estate. Powis Estates Map Volume 15.*

of the Walcot estate landscape created at the end of the 18th century was less concerned with these details and more with displaying the general picture of the estate landholdings. Aesthetically attractive and consistent in appearance, the maps offered only a visual signpost to every parcel of land in every holding, but were secondary to the carefully penned schedules. Arguably, then, the atlas exposes a subtle shift in emphasis and purpose from the earlier surveys.

THE GROWTH OF THE ESTATE

Walcot Hall itself lies some four kilometres to the south-east of Bishops Castle. Sheltering beneath twin spurs of higher ground running off a prominent elongated

ridge now known as Sunnyhill with the Iron Age fort of Bury Ditches on its crest, the mansion, somewhat unusually is set on a north-facing flank and faces the village of Lydbury North across the fledgling River Kemp. John Rocque termed this with more accuracy the Kemp Brook, in the mid-18th century, although any distinction is now academic for it has long been transformed into a lake that arcs around the house.[16] Walcot was home to the family of the same name from the 13th century and probably earlier, most of its land lying in the immediate vicinity of the hall and also in the uplands to the south-west. But by 1763, John Walcot had been in severe financial difficulties for some years and in 1760, as noted above, he had already sold off some outlying properties in the hills to the north (Clun Forest) and south (Tempseter) of the Clun Valley.[17] Their sale
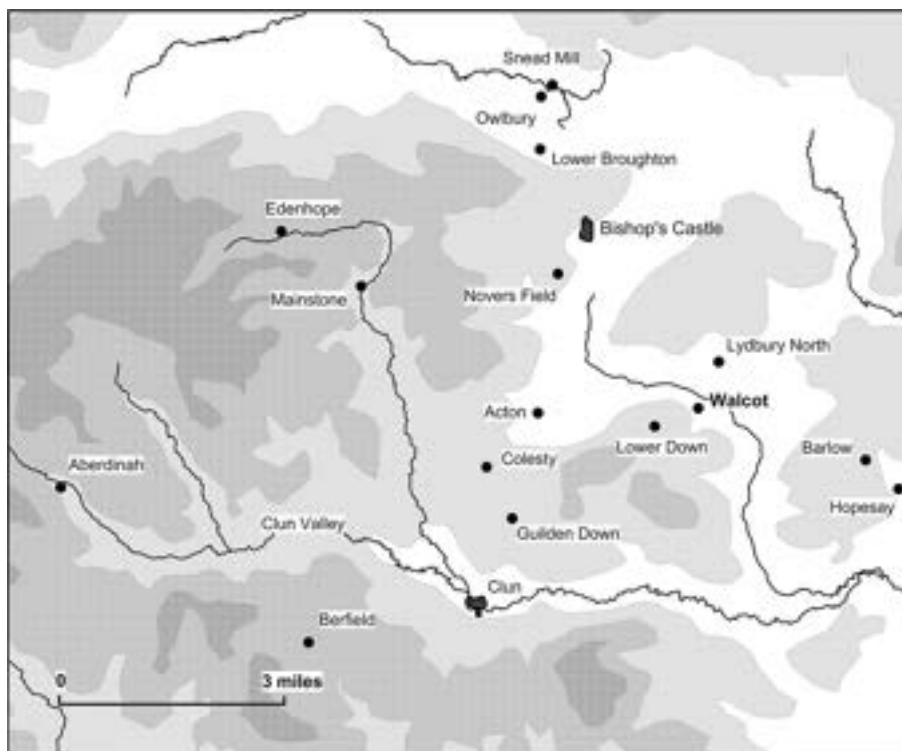
Figure 3. General location map showing places mentioned in the text.

however only delayed what was probably inevitable and three years later the house at Walcot together with its parklands, demesne, tenanted farms and urban properties in Bishop's Castle and Clun were purchased in their entirety by Robert Clive, the estate extending over nearly six thousand acres. The Walcot family in turn retreated to Bitterley Court near Ludlow

Little evidence exists for the enlargement of the estate until the end of the decade, just as Walcot Hall seems to have been left largely untouched. The only acquisition recorded was the Castle Inn in Bishops Castle, purchased in 1765. With the purchase of Walter Waring's estate around Bishop's Castle in 1768, Clive's interest quickened. Waring, a former MP for the town and a political opponent of Clive, had sizeable holdings in the town and their acquisition enhanced Clive's political influence. The centre of Waring's estate was to the north at Owlbury in the Camlad Valley.[18] One or two of his properties may have been sold off before Clive entered the market – the farm of Lower Hebland, south of Owlbury for example – but most of the lands, a little over a thousand acres, were added to Walcot and included Snead Mill on the Camlad, significant in that it was the only property that was subsequently retained on the Montgomeryshire bank of the river. All of Waring's lands had been surveyed by the Brecon surveyor, Meredith Jones in 1756,[19] perhaps in preparation for a sale, though the map of the Owlbury demesne itself seems not to have survived.

The year following saw the acquisition of Benjamin Hudson's small estate at Lydbury, purchased for £525; this was to become the core of the rather larger Lydbury Farm mapped in 1796. Clive purchased the Blunden Hill estate from the daughter of Corbyn Morris in 1771. Living in Epsom Surrey, she probably had little interest in lands in the Welsh borderlands. Morris had died in 1770, his estate comprising lands in Bishop's Castle and Mainstone, and perhaps Clun, Wentnor and Kerry. For the sum of £5400, 351 acres were integrated into the Walcot estate.[20]

Well-attested in the records of Clive's growing portfolio was the acquisition of Oakley Park outside Ludlow. June 1771 saw Clive exchanging his lands in the Heightley and Rockley estates for the Earl of Powis's Oakley (now Oakly), a transaction which was undoubtedly facilitated in an equitable fashion as John Probert, acting as land agent to both nobles, had no reason to favour one or the other. Heightley lay on the edge of Marrington Dingle, immediately to the east of the village of Chirbury, and was the centre of an estate that spread across Chirbury parish. It had only recently been purchased by Clive from the heirs or executors of the late Hester Webb, its survey by John Probert in advance of the sale being dated to 1768. The details are obscure other than that they involved purchase through the Court of Chancery and that completion occurred in September 1770.[21] The Rockley estate was a very different proposition. The house of that name in Churchstoke had been the main residence of Charles Mason, the ultra-corrupt MP for Bishop's Castle earlier in the century. In serious financial trouble he mortgaged his landholdings with a London lawyer Thomas Lake,

and after Mason's death in 1739 the lands passed to the Lake family.[22] When surveyed and comprehensively mapped by William Hole in 1760, on behalf of the executors of the late Sir Bibye Lake, the lands extended across the Montgomeryshire parishes of Churchstoke, Kerry, Llandyssil and Montgomery, and Bettws-y-Crwyn, Bishop's Castle, Chirbury, Clun, and Lydbury North in Shropshire.[23] At the end of the decade in 1770, Clive acquired the entire estate, and in a most unusual move for the 18th century had all the farm buildings surveyed.[24]

Both Heightley and Rockley should probably be seen as speculative purchases on the part of Robert Clive, acquired because they were both available and affordable. The Rockley properties in Bettws and Bishop's Castle were integrated into the Walcot estate, but the greater portion of the Lake family's landholdings and the entire Heightley estate were packaged together with an isolated farm at Hyssington near Churchstoke that came with William Waring's manor, for an exchange with the Earl of Powis. Indeed, there was a deeper plan here with the cash-rich Clive being encouraged to buy Heightley in the knowledge that he would be well placed to effect a land transfer with the less financially fluid Powis.

Surviving documents reference other purchases, though not with much clarity of detail. A map of lands at Acton to the west of Walcot was prepared in 1771 for John Johns and J. P. Hungerford, two gentlemen otherwise anonymous in the archives whose lands had been incorporated into Walcot twenty-five years later; likewise the securing of some lands totalling 79 acres near Walcot formerly owned by a Mr Sayce.[25] Thomas Lloyd's tenement and lands in Lydbury were purchased for £800 in November 1774, while other purchases are evidenced in the record only by their vendors' names – Mr Head, Mr Perkins, Mr More and Richard Wollaston, Esq – without any locational details.[26]

Later, land purchases became less frequent. William Thomas' lands at Aberdinah (modern Aber-dwy-nant) in Clun Forest were acquired around 1785, and lands at Tribethwyn in Mainstone that belonged to John Oakley when mapped in 1781 had been renamed as Edenhope on the Walcot estate by 1796.[27] The largest acquisition, from a Thomas Smith, were the Little Barlow and Barlow estates in Hopesay for which £8900 changed hands in 1786, with the Burough and Oaker woodlands in that parish being acquired for an additional £1650 in the same year.

More difficult to identify than the purchases are the exchanges of land that occurred. Other landowners in the Bishop's Castle area may well have rejected any attempt to acquire their lands without hesitation, but would perhaps have been amenable to an exchange if it was perceived to be in their interest. A documented agreement with John Charlton Kinchant, a squire whose family's primary residence was at Park Hall outside Oswestry, reveals such an exchange in 1768 though without any details of the locations of the grounds,[28] while indirect evidence from maps implies similar transactions with both John Bright and the Plowden family of Plowden Hall some three miles to the east of Bishop's Castle. The clearest evidence comes from an exchange of 1786 whereby Samuel Evans parted with his farm in Lower Down for a portion of Barlow Farm in Hopesay together with the incentive of £200.

Building up the Walcot estate was clearly a sporadic activity. Walcot had been purchased only a year before Clive's third trip to India and it comes as no surprise that during the following three years there is virtually no evidence of the estate being added to substantively. The years immediately following his return in July 1767 witnessed a period of more aggressive land procurement and not only in Shropshire. Walcot itself as a residence was clearly close to Robert Clive's heart, and Sir William Chambers one of the better known architects of the time was brought in to enlarge it.[29] Clive's son, Edward seems to have been less enamoured of Walcot, at least initially, and his attitude cannot have been improved by John Probert's report on the house in May 1775, a year after Robert Clive's death. Probert and the Shrewsbury solicitor John Ashby who maintained close links with the Clive family, were instructed by the trustees to assess the cost of maintaining both Walcot and Oakley. There was no sentimentality in their observations that 'Walcot is so circumstanced (altho' completely furnished) that a proper tenant cannot be got to pay Rent for the House and Gardens, the situation being so cold and wet in winter. It is apprehended a Family of Fortune will not like to reside there in that season'.[30] Nevertheless, Edward Clive's view may have mellowed over later years not least because his mother, though she spent more time at Oakley, continued to frequent Walcot, but his enthusiasm for the place never matched that of his father, and there were periods – 1775–8, 1780–1 and 1783–4 – when Probert's accounts reveal an absence of expenditure on both the house and its estate.

Robert Clive's approach to land acquisition was selective and discriminating, although anything that came onto the market close to Walcot was snapped up. Lands north of the Camlad and the Onny were sold on, and eastwards he appears to have purchased nothing beyond Hopesay. Only in the hilly lands in the former Forest of Clun and in Tempseter did the estate stretch further afield, mostly in the form of small properties dispersed across various parishes. Some purchases were not pursued: in March 1770, John Probert reported, in a somewhat negative fashion, on Lady Jerningham's estates in Culmington and Diddlebury, east of Wenlock Edge.[31] There is no evidence that Clive purchased this estate.

Some years ago H. V. Bowen implied that Clive's land purchases were primarily a means to political control, specifically citing the purchase from Walter Waring as

providing complete control over the two Bishop's Castle seats, and the acquisition of his Monmouthshire estates as also politically motivated.[32] True to a degree, this is perhaps too simplified a view – there can be no doubt that investing his money in land, particularly around his favoured residence at Walcot, was undoubtedly in line with the social practices of the age.

What is not in contention is that Clive developed his estate rapidly (Figure 4). Upon its transfer from the Walcot family to Clive in 1763, it extended over 5805 acres. Just over thirty years later when the 1796 survey was finalised it had nearly doubled in size to 10607 acres, and its growth continued into the 19th century, albeit at a more leisurely pace, for in 1806 it was estimated at 11391 acres. Put into a broader context there was nothing innovative or unusual in the expansion of the estate at Walcot. It has been reported that 'of the 160 gentry and squires in Shropshire with landed estates yielding over £1000 a year according to the 1873 [Parliamentary] *Return,* the identity of 106 can be established. Nearly a quarter of these families were founded in the course of the 18th century…'[33] Creating an estate from nothing was not commonplace, but nor was it rare. A determined individual with the financial resources to support such single-mindedness could create a substantial landholding as long as the local land market was sufficiently fluid. Generally though

it fell within the prerogative of industrial barons, or of successful merchants bankers and lawyers. Witness events on the far side of the Severn valley where in the vicinity of Welshpool a successful lawyer, Arthur Davies Owen, carved out an estate of thousands of acres at Glansevern at the very beginning of the 19th century, and later the Liverpool banker John Naylor developed the Leighton Hall estate from 1847.[34]

IMPROVING THE ESTATE

There is little to suggest that the Clive family and John Probert consciously pre-determined a parcel of measures to improve Walcot or indeed any of the other estates that they acquired. The driver, as it was for so many other large landowners in the second half of the 18th century, was to optimise the income that was derived from the land, whether it was farmed directly (i.e. in the demesne) or leased to tenants. What the Powis Castle records reveal – and what this paper seeks to show in an exercise in analysing a rich group of maps with their accompanying land schedules – is how the revenue was increased over a period of three decades, through the gradual phasing in of agrarian improvements.

Let us start with one of the less obvious of the improvement indicators. Wood and timber were a
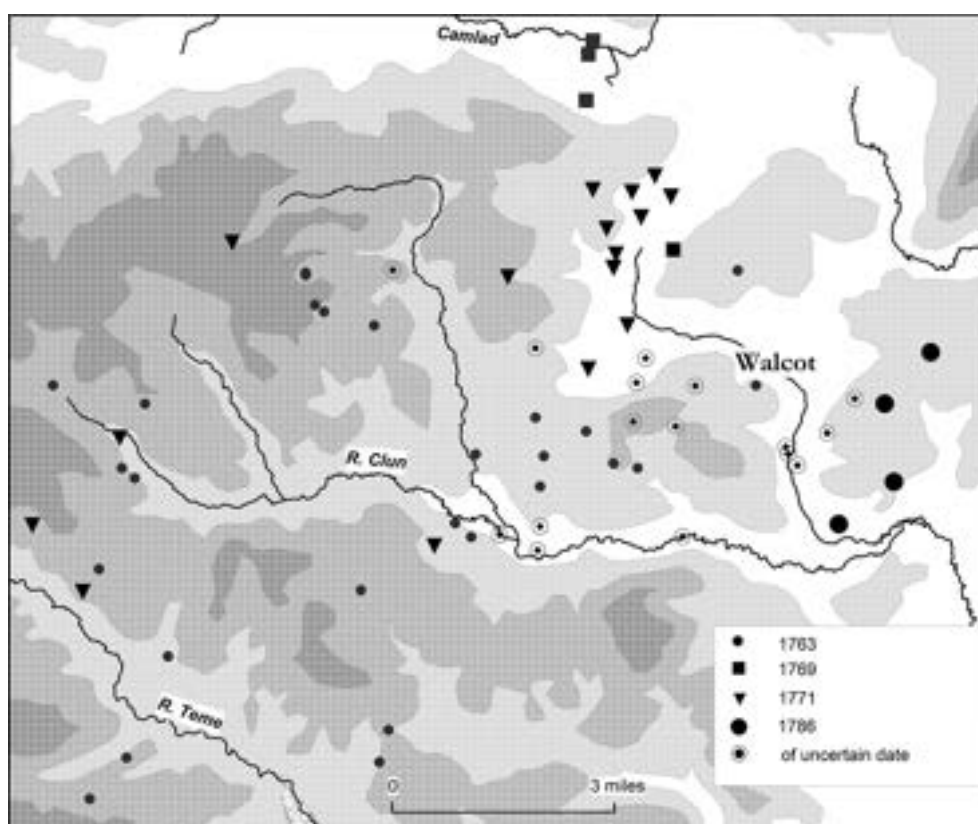

Figure 4. The growth of the Walcot estate between 1763 and 1796. Each symbol represents a block of land, farmed or wooded, that was individually mapped.

Figure 5. Burrow Wood with its hillfort and Oaker Wood, both in Hopesay, from the 1796 atlas. *Reproduced by kind permission of the Rt Hon.*
The Earl of Powis and the Trustees of Powis Castle Estate. Powis Estates Map Volume 15.

valuable commodity during the 18th century. Modern authorities refer to their use in iron-working, tanning and above all in the construction of ships particularly for the navy, with heightened demand in times of conflict, as during the Seven Years War (1756–63) and the Napoleonic era at the end of the century.[35] Indirectly, the importance of woodland can be detected through some of the maps in the Earl of Powis' archives. One of the few maps commissioned during the twenty years before Probert's appointment as land agent is of the woods on Mathrafal 'Freeth' in Meifod parish, together with 'ten other coppices, all in the county of Montgomery....' (1754). The map itself is unusual for its careful depiction of woodland and in defining the acreages involved, and the logical explanation is that it served as a guide to the estate's timber resources. Similarly, the level of arboreal information in Isaac Messeder's map book displaying a London lawyer's estate holdings around Welshpool (1759–60), many soon to be acquired by the Earl of Powis, is remarkable.[36] Each map and schedule, generally showing one or two tenanted holdings is accompanied by a table of saplings, timber and 'pollods' [pollards] of oak and ash growing in the field boundaries, listed according to the size of trunk diameter in two-inch gradations.

Usually, however, in cartographic analysis, the importance of woodland is less immediate. With the purchase of Walcot in 1763 came several spreads of woodland. Some small stands of trees, primarily linked with minor holdings in Clun Forest, remained with the tenantries, but between Guilden Down and Lower Down to the north of Clun were more extensive woods such as Stepple Wood (now Steppleknoll) and Red Wood. These were retained in-hand by the estate, separated from the tenanted farms surrounding them, and when Burrow and Oaker Woods in Hopesay were acquired in 1786, they too were kept separate from the other land purchases in the parish and were itemised in their own right in the accounts. That woods were managed as a distinct resource is reinforced in the 1796 survey where seven woods had their own maps (Figure 5).

The details provided for Pound Wood in Beguildy (Radnorshire), virtually the only estate holding outside the county, reveal its exploitation: in the 1760 survey there were 709 oak timber trees with 350 black polls and copy wood, the value of which would be worth £760 in seven years' time. By 1796 Pound Wood was described as coppice, thinly grown with small oaks. As a revenue source, it had been utilised and was presumably being carefully managed.

Agrarian improvements to the widely spaced holdings in Clun Forest and in the hills south of the Clun Valley, the latter an area variously termed Purslow and Clun Hundreds (Probert's mapping) or the more archaic Tempseter, are less in evidence. Elsewhere in the borderlands land-hungry farmers nibbled away at the open grounds of former forests like Clun adding new intakes to their existing holdings. No such enclosures can be detected on the Clun uplands, possibly because of the tenants' inertia and their realisation that there was little financial advantage for them from new enclosures, perhaps because the Walcot estate discouraged the practice. There are signs of improvement, though, within these small holdings. Putting aside the numerous small cottages with no more than a couple of attached enclosures, many of them now untraceable, there were upwards of seventeen tenanted holdings of over eight acres dispersed across this upland corner of Shropshire, virtually all of them purchased either in 1763 or in 1771. Ten or eleven are sufficiently well documented to show a mixed farming regime, with small arable and pasture enclosures interlocked with the occasional meadow. By 1796, at six farms the arable had largely been replaced by grassland; in the case of Brynorgan, Llanfair Waterdine, six fields underwent this conversion and two further fields had arable converted to 'sound high ground', i.e. hill grazing. At most farms only a single field was left under cultivation. Some meadows too were put down to permanent pasture – four in the case of Cwm Shirk, also in Waterdine, but perhaps more significantly meadows at Brynorgan and at Cwmhooga in Mainstone parish were recorded as being 'half-watered', in other words they had been deliberately redesigned to foster winter-flooding and thus an early growth of grass for grazing stock.[37] John Probert's hand can be detected in these changes, the land agent encouraging and probably initiating alterations in land use that were better suited to the hilly environment, and at the same enhancing the estimated value of the lands.[38]

Moving from the hills to the lower-lying farms around Bishop's Castle improvements are less easy to identify, but this is generally because untangling the interlocking holdings is dependent on map detailing that is not consistently comparable. Thus as an example the Acton estate of Johns and Hungerford mentioned above seems to have been acquired in its entirety sometime after 1771, allowing the creation of Acton and Nunton Farms (so named in 1796). A few fields on these farms had, however, come into Clive's possession before 1794 when an estate that had been owned by the Reverend Mr Hedgerton was procured by Granville Jukes, and other lands in this area may already have been in hand from the original Walcot purchase of 1763.[39]

Some holdings clearly were rationalised. Colesty Farm near Clun, first mapped in 1763, had its area reduced to 172 acres by the removal of four fields on its north-eastern edge, while Lower Broughton, one of Walter Waring's former possessions overlooking the Camlad Valley, shrank from 119 acres in 1756 to 107 acres in 1796 as a result of the removal of two fields from the holding. More complex is the situation at Guilden Down, ringed by higher ground a mile or so to the north of Clun, which witnessed the reorganisation of an entire landscape block. In 1763 when Robert Clive

bought Walcot there may have been up to ten holdings, only two of which had established names. By 1796 these had been reduced to five main farms, four of them clustered together with tracks off in four directions serving their surrounding fields. Over the three decades there had been some significant reallocation of lands, with Luthers Farm for example incorporating fields from six of the 1763 holdings. More generally across the Walcot estate during these years individual fields were amalgamated or divided up, boundaries were re-aligned and rough ground was cleared to create better pasture. Whether such disparate changes reveal a coherent management strategy at Walcot is less easy to determine, but given the recommendations for improvement that Probert consistently wrote into his estate surveys in the years 1760 to 1770, it appears highly probable.

More obvious are the efforts made to clear away the open fields of Bishop's Castle. There is no general map of the town's environs that shows the extent of its medieval open fields surviving into the 18th century. By the end of the century only residual pockets of open fields remained, to be extinguished by a parliamentary act which must have been promoted by the MPs under Edward Clive's control.[40] Clive had certainly accumulated open field strips around Bishop's Castle prior to this date and had brokered occasional land exchanges with other owners that reduced the number of strips. Parliamentary enclosure completed the process. Three of the surviving estate maps show the process at work. The earlier maps depicts a group of open field strips a few hundred metres to the south of the town. William Hole's map of 1761 displays only the strips held by the Lake family, while Meredith Jones' 1756 survey for William Waring displays both the entire open-field furlongs with each strip assigned an owner, 29 strips on an east to west axis with a minimum of five owners, 24

on a north to south one with a similar number. Neither map gives the name of the open field in which the strips lay, although Jones referenced them collectively as The Nevers, while Hole simply referred to the 'common field'. In the 1796 atlas, a map shows the amalgamation of the north to south strips into two fields, the east to west strips into three, collectively known as Novers Field, supplemented by only a single barn and tenanted by a Richard Williams whose place of residence has not been determined (Figures 6 and 7).[41]

As a postscript, it is a measure of the quality of these long cultivated arable grounds that that they were the only lands on the Walcot estate with a value calculated to be in excess of £1 per acre.[42]

Improvement was not universal on the Walcot estate during the late 18th century. We can end this section by examining the strange case of Berfield (or alternatively Burfield) in the hills south of the Clun Valley. Together with the other lands in the hills on either side of the River Clun Berfield had been purchased from the Howards by John Walcot in 1677. Not offered for sale in 1760, it was the subject of detailed mapping for the first time in 1763. In his survey Probert classed it as 'the decayd [sic] Township of Burfield', elaborating in the accompanying text that it was a 'town destroyed by Owain Glyndwr'.[43] Probert showed only a single building, the Warren House, adjacent to which was 'a fine piece of water', named on the map as a' fish pool'.[44] That there had long been a warren here is revealed by its lease in 1684, only a few years after the Walcot family had acquired it, while Thomas Salt at the end of the 19th century linked Berfield to a record of warrening much further back in time in 1292.[45] As Burfield warren it was named on John Rocque's smaller-scaled county map of 1752, and it retained the name into the early 19th century.
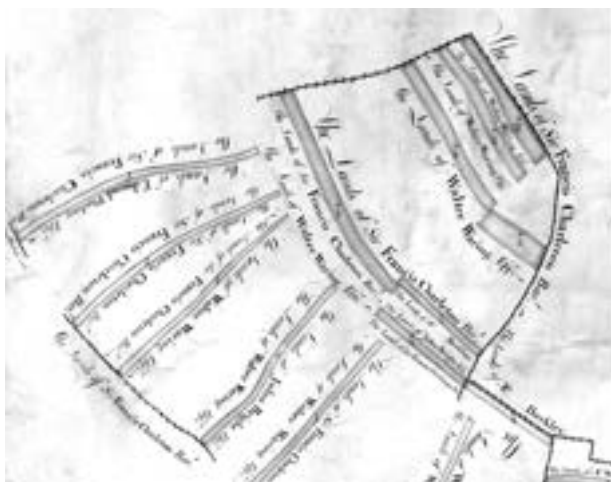
Figure 6. Novers Field, Bishop's Castle in 1761, with the open-field strips owned by the Lake family highlighted; the owners of adjacent strips are generally named, presumably for locational purposes. *Reproduced by kind permission of Shropshire Archives. SA/783/1.*
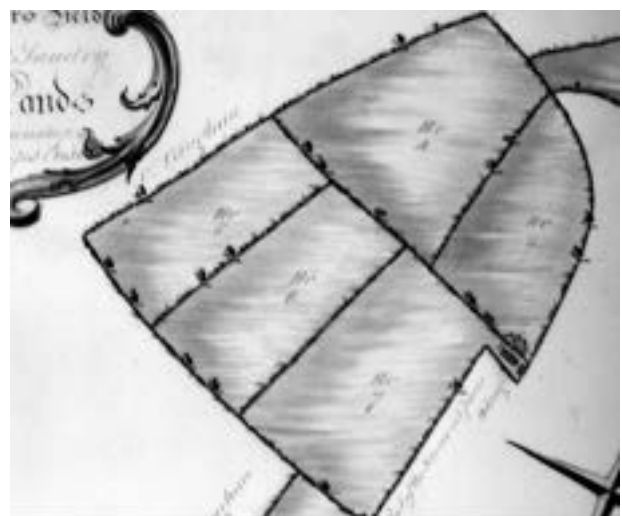
Figure 7. Mapped in 1796, the same part of Novers Field following enclosure. *Reproduced by kind permission of the Rt Hon. The Earl of Powis and the Trustees of Powis Castle Estate. Powis Estates Map Volume 13.*

The atlas map of 1796 is a pallid simplification of the 1763 plan (Figure 8); there was nothing on it that hadn't been named by Probert. Berfield warren appears to have been of limited importance by this date, its 347 acres leased out for an insignificant sum annually; a later memo from 1822 by the Powis estate attorney and steward, Edmund Edye, claimed that the major problem with Berfield over the previous three years had been no more than an ongoing dispute about the rights of local farmers to cut fern, gorse and peat.[46] In 1825 a new plan, undoubtedly by Charles Mickleburgh, a surveyor retained by the Powis estate, showed the warren house, now with several enclosures appended.[47] It also named, a short distance to the west, the 'Old Church' though without a symbol to signify its precise position. This omission was rectified on Mickelburgh's post-enclosure map of 1841.[48] Taking the church label at face value,[49] together with the stream 'Clough Mellin' and the adjacent hillside of 'Ross Vellin' signalling the likelihood of a lost mill, it seems plausible that Probert's allusion to a destroyed 14th-century settlement may not be unfounded, and indeed is reinforced by the occurrence of *Berefeld* in the Close Rolls of 1254, with *bere* meaning 'barley' and *feld* signifying 'open land', indicative of medieval farming in this remote valley (David Parsons; *pers. comm.*). The history of Burfield warren in the early modern era may have been insignificant, but this didn't prevent it being mapped four times in eighty years.
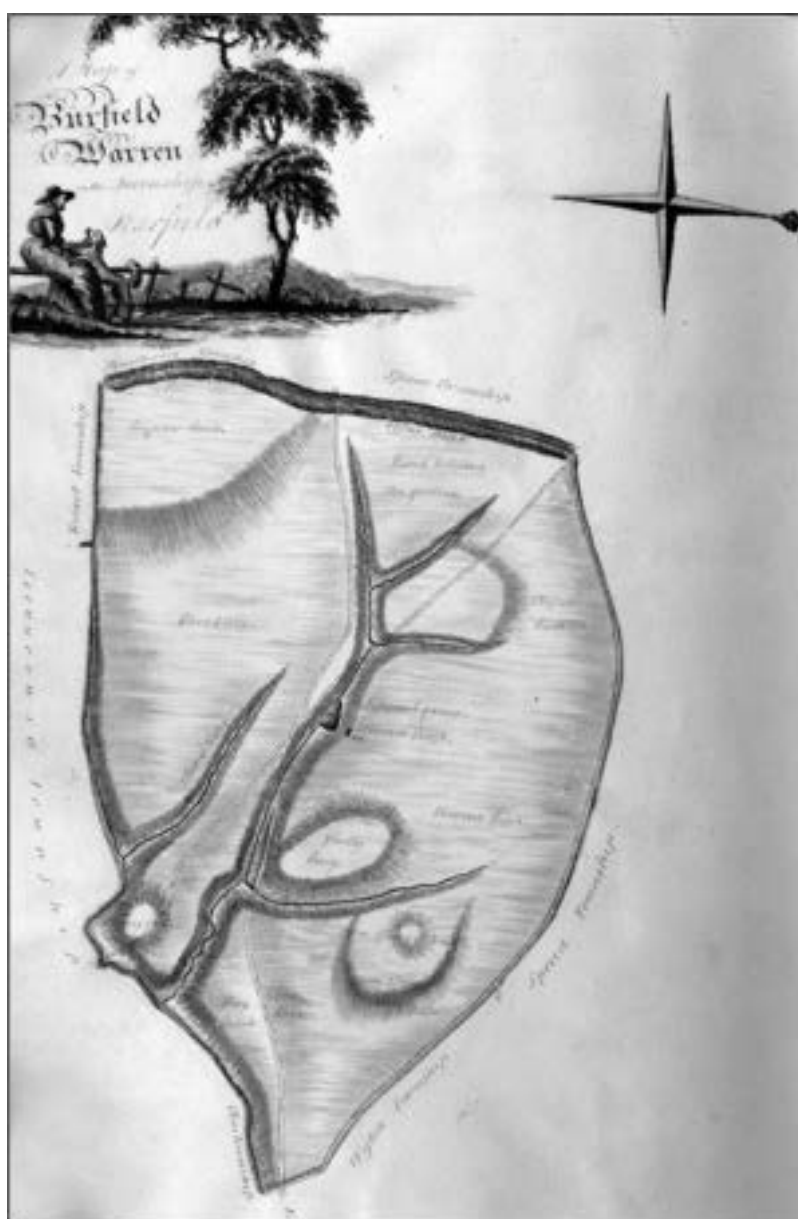

Figure 8. Berfield warren in 1796. The Warren House shows as a small dark rectangle in the centre of the map with the fish pool to the left of it. *Reproduced by kind permission of the Rt Hon. The Earl of Powis and the Trustees of Powis Castle Estate. Powis Estates Map Volume 15.*

WALCOT IN A BROADER CONTEXT

From the late 17th and through the 18th century Britain witnessed an agricultural revolution with improvement in many areas of farming practice. First proposed by Lord Ernle at the beginning of the 20th century, this view has been supported by a growing and now formidable body of research and commentary: in the last decades of the 20th century by distinguished economic and agricultural historians such as J. D. Chambers and Gordon Mingay, in the regional and national studies consolidated within the authoritative volumes of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, and in more recent times by academics with a stronger leaning towards the landscape, notably those at the University of East Anglia, such as Susanna Wade Martins and Tom Williamson.[50] Shropshire, perhaps uniquely amongst the counties, has made its own contribution in the innovative volume on agriculture produced by the Victoria County History researchers.[51] While views differ on the time span of the major agrarian developments – the term the 'Age of Improvement' has been adopted, for instance, by some commentators to define a broad era from around 1720 to 1870 – it is universally recognised that farming practices in early modern Britain changed in many ways, and it has been claimed that during this time English agriculture became the most productive in the world.[52]

From the earlier 17th century, and even more so from the 1720s, landowners driven to generate increased profit from their land, introduced or modified farming practices. Crop improvements and planned rotations, enclosure of the medieval open fields and also of commons and wastes, farm amalgamations, convertible or 'up-and-down' husbandry, drainage and reclamation, meadow watering and tree planting, represent most though by no means all of the processes involved. The documented evidence focuses generally on the larger estates across the country witnessing higher levels of improvement. In addition to land inferring social prestige and generating political influence, the consolidation and expansion of an estate was a necessary step in building up the family inheritance, together with fostering its profitability.[53] The value of an estate could be enhanced by improvements to the agrarian systems which led to more change as the 18th century progressed: in increases in yields through more flexible crop rotations, in rising land prices and rents, and in fundamental alterations to the landscape through enclosure of the unenclosed commons and the common fields.[54]

Walcot in the early decades of the Clive family's ownership falls squarely within the timeframe of the Age of Improvement as defined by Wade Martins. When compared with the ambitious works of some of the improving landlords of lowland England, the changes identified through the Walcot estate records seem conservative, modest even. There are of course some aspects that went hand in hand with improvement such as rising rents and land prices, a part of a more universal trend across the country in the 1760s and 1770s, which have not been considered here,[55] and others where cartography can obviously make no contribution, as with the awards to turnip-growing tenants on the estate, and the improvement of the sheep breeds [56] What then makes Walcot of interest? It is not that the improvements introduced by the Clives and their land agent John Probert were particularly wide-ranging, nor innovative. Rather it is the estate's geographical location. Agricultural improvement is consistently viewed through the window of lowland England, in the grain-growing regions of the south and east, occasionally the English midlands and also in eastern Scotland. Improving farming on the western side of Britain rarely gets a mention and where it does it was frequently down to the agricultural commentators of the late 18th and early 19th century, not modern researchers, although the Victoria County History's volume is an exception.[57] There must be a suspicion that the dichotomy between east and west is in part a reflection of where detailed research has focussed in the recent past. Certainly evidence of improvement in the western borderlands and Wales exists: a poem eulogising Watkin Williams Wynn's farming achievements after his death in 1749, farm improvements on the Marquess of Stafford's estates at Lilleshall in northern Shropshire, crop improvements on the Trevor, Myddelton and Edisbury-owned estates around Wrexham at the end of the 17th century, and the work of Wynne of Bodewryd on Anglesey, the best-documented improver in Wales in the first quarter of the 18th century.[58] John Probert himself in surveying Watkin Williams Wynn's landholdings in Much Wenlock and in Montgomeryshire thought 'the settling on the estate of a few "improving" English tenants … the most likely expedient to bring the Welsh farmers out of that dull, slovenly method thay [sic] have been for ages pursuing'.[59] Yet these references to improvement derive from estate records and other documentary sources rather than from synthetic studies of individual estates. Susanna Wade Martins has argued that written evidence of agricultural improvement is difficult to come by, with only the best organised landlords keeping detailed accounts. Walcot with its extensive documentation offers a useful contribution.[60]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1. Oxford Dictionary National Biography [ODNB]: https//doi/org10.1093/refosnb/5697. Published 3 January 2008.
2. In the context of the politicalemphasis seen in the ODNB, the most important paper, well-researched and admirably nuanced, is Mason 1998. See also VCH 1989, 205.
3. Bence-Jones 1974, 189.
4. Harvey 1998, 326. There is also a suggestion (Mason 1998, 54) that Clive showed some interest in purchasing an estate at Tring in Hertfordshire in 1767, though evidently he did not pursue this to completion. Successful purchases were often protracted affairs, and specific dates when Clive took possession of an estate are not often identified. Mason (1998, 57) puts the Usk estate purchase in 1768, that at Okehampton in 1771 or perhaps 1772, while the date of acquisition of Claremont is unclear.
5. Harvey 1998, 271.
6. The main sources for this section are the ODNB, several modern biographies of Clive, and various manuscript documents in the archives. Dr Melvin Humphries has kindly clarified some of the outstanding issues.
7. The *Return of the Owners of Land 1872–3* was released as British Parliamentary Paper 72 in 1874. The material in it was analysed by John Bateman, particularly focussing on landholdings of over 3000 acres (for which see Bateman 1883).
8. During the last decade of his life Probert was more a figurehead with others including his daughter Rebecca and his assistant Robert Wilding overseeing the estates. See Silvester 2001; 2009.
9. Humphreys 1996, 200.
10. These in both their original manuscript form and in a 20th-century typescript remain in the estate office.
11. This is admittedly a subjective assessment, based on the writer's observations of the rarity of such working maps in the Welsh and border county archives.
12. Shropshire Archives [SA] 552/18/5/33.
13. The atlas of maps was purchased by the British Library in 1953 where they are archived as MSS/EUR/D513. Negative copies of the larger maps are held by the Shropshire Archives as 804/4. A missing map is that of Walcot Hall itself together with its parkland and demesne land. There is, however, in the Shropshire Archives, a photograph (MI/875/2) of a map of the Walcot demesne which on stylistic grounds is undoubtedly by John Probert and thus almost certainly the missing map. The present location of the original remains unknown.
14. The two display copies are classified as NLW/Powis Castle M15 and M13, the draft copy as Powis Estate PE16.
15. SA 552/8/110 & 111.
16. Stamper 1996, 48.
17. In modern geography there is no widely adopted district name for that area of Shropshire that lies to the south of the River Clun. Probert simply referred to the whole area including Clun Forest by the Hundred names of Purslow and Clun. A map of 1595 now in the British Library (*BL Royal MS. 18. D.III f.93)* terms this area *Temceter* which elsewhere appears to relate primarily to a manorial holding (Barton 2012). As Tempseter this archaic term is used here simply as a conveniently short descriptive label for the region between the Clun and the Teme, the latter also functioning as the border with Wales.
18. Bowen in the ODNB attributes this £30,000 purchase to November 1767. See note 1.
19. For Meredith Jones' life and career see Silvester 2019.
20. SA D3651/B/1a/151. Mason (1998, 57) dates the initial negotiations of the purchase to 1769 when Morris was still alive.
21. The original survey volume cannot now be located. A photocopy is registered in the Shropshire Archives as 4303/1. There are seventeen maps depicting land and tenanted properties (lots) all in Chirbury, and two general maps of the Heightley estate. A document detailing the exchange is archived as D3651-B-1-2-107-1.
22. https://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690–1715/member/mason-charles-1661-1739 (accessed 13 October 2019).
23. The story of how William Hole, a Devon-based surveyor came to survey an estate in the Welsh borders is recounted in Ravenhill and Rowe 2012. His ten brightly coloured manuscript maps, two of them duplicated, are lodged in the Shropshire Archives as 783/1–7 and 552/8/600, other than two in the National Library of Wales [NLW] as Powis Castle M233 and M249.
24. The original is retained in the Powis estate office at Welshpool; a microform copy is held at the NLW as Powis Castle/M5. The work of John Probert, E. Morgan and W. Heycock, it contains plans of 94 farm buildings with individual assessments of their condition.
25. SA 552/8/1016/2, SA 552/8/717.
26. SA 552-8-115.
27. SA 552/8/753.
28. SA 552/17/183.
29. Chambers seems to have been involved in the years 1764–7: see Harvey 1998, 8; Mason 1998, 55.
30. SA 552/18/1/13.
31. SA 552/18/1/29/1.
32. H. V. Bowen (2004) in the ODNB, https://www.oxforddnb.com (consulted 14 October 2019). See note 1.
33. Beckett 1989, 553 quoting Leighton 1896, 13.
34. Cadw 1999, 82; 128.
35. Linnard 2000.
36. Silvester, forthcoming.
37. There is now a sizeable literature on water meadows, e.g. Cook and Williamson 2007. The importance of water-meadow creation in this age of improvement is well-referenced in Wade Martins 2004. However, relatively little work has been undertaken on water meadows in the Welsh borderlands, despite the fact that amongst the very earliest records (perhaps even the earliest) of their construction in the UK comes from Rowland Vaughan's efforts in the Golden Valley of Herefordshire at the beginning of the 17th century (for which see Golden Valley Study Group 2016).
38. One entry in Probert's 1760 atlas advised for one field a change of use from pasture to meadow at Gelli in Clun parish, though this advice appears not to have been followed.
39. Survey of the Estates in the parishes of Welch Pool, Buttington, Churchstoke……belonging to Jukes Glanville Clifton Jukes Esq, October 1794 (NLW/Map Volume 8).
40. The map informing the parliamentary act is dated 1791, the award two years later.
41. Meredith Jones' map is SA 552/8/662; William Hole's map is SA 783/1.
42. In 1796 the 141.0.32 acres were valued at £174.4s 6d.
43. British Library, EUR D513, p.182.
44. The modern Burfield Farm is close to but seemingly not on the site of the Warren House.
45. Salt 1888, 249. For this reference we are indebted to the notes of the indefatigable Lily Chitty who collated whatever sparse information she could find on Burfield (SA 339/76). Salt also cited a survey of 1603 which in

turn referenced a document of 1427, presumably no longer extant, which appears to have been the origin of the story of Glyndŵr's destruction of Burfield.

46. SA 552/15/763.
47. SA 552/8/680. In addition there are other maps, almost certainly draft copies of the same: 552/8/679.
48. SA 552/15/679 from 1825; SA 552/15/677 from 1841.
49. A terse note in the *Transactions of the Caradoc and Severn Valley Field Club* (Vol. 11.2 for 1941, 31) reveals that its members had cleared the building remains, but thought it too large to have been a church. Unfortunately there is no excavation report. The Shropshire Historic Environment Record states that no traces of the site could be found by the Ordnance Survey in 1973.
50. Ernle 1912; Chambers and Mingay 1966.
51. Victoria County History [VCH] 1989.
52. Robinson 1988, 67.
53. Beckett 1989, 551; Robinson 1988, 71.
54. Beckett 1989, 545.
55. *ibid.*, 558.
56. Advert in the Shrewsbury Chronicle, June 1795, referenced in VCH 1989, 178. For sheep, *ibid*. 196. Elsewhere in this VCH volume is the suggestion that Walcot became a 'centre of experimentation': *ibid*, 214, fn. 9.
57. Beckett 1989, 570.
58. Howell 1985, 273; Emery 1984, 418.
59. Robinson 1988, 71, 80, Howell 1985, 294.
60. Wade Martins 1995, 75.

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The Life, Times and Contributions of George Nesse Hill: Landowner, Surgeon and 'Psychiatrist', of Shropshire and Cheshire

By TIMOTHY PETERS

George Nesse Hill was the hereditary Lord of Alcaston Manor, near Church Stretton, and was a descendant of the Hills of Court of Hill, Nash, in south Shropshire. His career in London and Chester as a surgeon and 'psychiatrist' was financially supported by income from the Manor rents. What follows presents the significant events of his life and discusses the various contributions to medicine and science made by Hill. Hill was ahead of his time in his belief that 'psychiatric patients' should not be confined to specialist hospitals including asylums or private 'Madhouses' but treated where possible in the community, a policy remaining in place up to the 1960s (Enoch Powell, Minister of Health 1960–64). Hill's most significant contribution to medicine was his 446-page Essay on the Prevention and Cure of Insanity. He also regularly contributed articles to respected Medical Journals on the diagnosis, nature and treatment of various 'medical surgeon' patients, as well as contributing to medical teaching.

Alcaston Manor

Alcaston is one of three settlements in the rural Acton Scott parish, adjacent to the Church Stretton/Ludlow Road. Alcaston is the most southerly, lying just below the steep, wooded scarp of Wenlock Edge. The drawing of Acton Scott parish in 1776 (Figure 1) gives the location of the Manor Farm, Alcaston; and the picturesque view of the house (Figure 2) was produced by Frances Acton for *The Castles and Old Mansions of Shropshire 1142–1660*.[1] The Court of Hill family acquired Alcaston Manor by marriage in the mid-16th century, building themselves the fine manor house in 1570–80, shortly after Edward Acton built his mansion at Acton Scott. Alcaston Manor subsequently passed to the Nesse Hill branch of the Hill family (which includes also the Hills of Hawkstone) in the early 18th century.[2]

The history of Alcaston Manor has been well documented,[3,4] but, by contrast, the life-history and contribution to medicine of George Nesse Hill (1761–1830) have been little studied and assessed. Hill inherited ownership of Alcaston Manor from 1780, thereby becoming Lord of the Manor. This landownership clearly gave financial support to his London- and Chester-based medical and surgical practices and his research activities, though he was to find that landownership also entailed significant administrative duties. A significant example of the problems attending landownership shows George Nesse Hill involved in a Chancery lawsuit arising out of claims that in 1765 his deceased father, Thomas Hill (1732–1780), had incurred a debt of £150 annual rent for some Alcaston Manor property.[5] Hill, his wife Elizabeth and their son William were subjected to lengthy legal proceedings (1800–1805) to rebuke the claims.

George Nesse Hill's sons William Nesse Hill (1803–1850) and the Revd Thomas Leonard Hill (1807–1881) succeeded him as Lords of the Manor. But by the 1850s, the estate and manor were heavily mortgaged and were sold to the Warren family. The Warrens' estate was broken up and offered for sale in 1909; it is currently occupied by several purchasers' descendants.

George Nesse Hill's early life

George Nesse Hill was born 13th July 1761, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Hill and was baptised at St Chad's, Shrewsbury, on 14th July 1761 (Figure 3).[6] His ancestors (and predecessors as Lords of the Manor) included Thomas Hill (1696–1720), Nesse Hill (1699–1732) and Thomas Hill (1732–1780) (see Appendix 1 for a family tree of five generations of the Hill family). George Nesse had at least seven siblings born between 1759 and 1774.

Figure 1. Acton Scott parish in 1778. *Reproduced from the Victoria County History of Shropshire, Volume 10.*

Hill's schooling and early education has not been identified. It is suggested that the local Acton Scott schooling facilities would not have been appropriate for Hill and his siblings (Lucy Acton, pers. comm.) and perhaps a personal family tutor would have been employed. Attempts to find Hill family members attending Shrewsbury,[7, 8] Ludlow,[9] Oswestry[10] or Harrow[11] schools have been unsuccessful.

Hill's medical training and qualifications, however, have been located (Figure 4). He attended a six-month course in 1784–85 at The London Hospital's recently opened Medical School course of (Sir) William Blizzard (1743–1835; Senior Surgeon) and Dr James Maddocks (?– 1786; Physician).[12] This course was clearly beneficial as Hill subsequently dedicated his book to Sir William Blizard and refers to Dr James Maddocks's contributions. He qualified as a regimental surgeon in the Royal College of Surgeons Examination (Figure 5) in 1794.[13] There is no evidence though that he served in the military forces, although he had several patient referrals from the Chester garrison.[14]

A brief description by Hill of his early experience in patients with mental illness is quoted by Hunter and MacAlpine in their major treatise in the history of medicine[15] – he 'devoted considerable attention to insane cases in two asylums and had in early life the superintendence of two houses of reception for lunatics'.

George Nesse Hill married Sarah Garner daughter of John Garner of Chester, Lawyer, at St John the Baptist Church, Vicars Lane, Chester in 1788. The Marriage Allegation and Licence Bond (Figure 6) are available.[16]

Figure 2. Alcaston Manor in the 19th century. *From the Frances Acton watercolour.*

Figure 3. St Chad's, Shrewsbury: record of the christening on 14th July 1761 of 'Hill George Ness Son of Thomas and Elizabeth born the 13th'. *Reproduced by kind permission of Shropshire Archives.*

Figure 5. Record of George Hill's qualification as a Regimental Surgeon, 3rd July 1794. *Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.*

Figure 4. London Hospital Minutes: George Hill enrolled on 28th September 1784. *Reproduced by kind permission of Royal London Hospital Archives.*
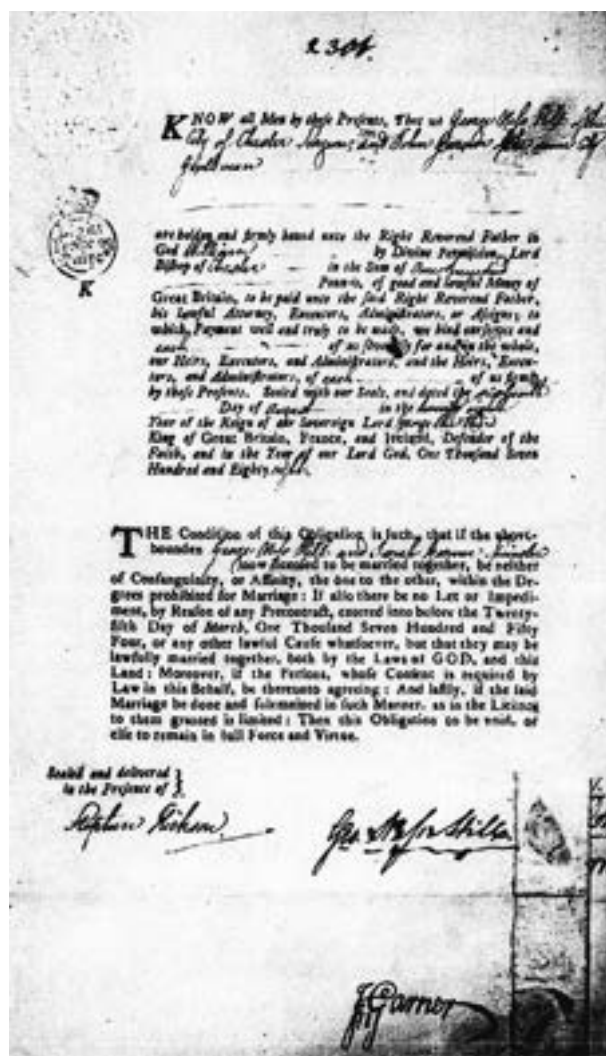

Figure 6. George and Sarah Hill's Marriage licence; St. John the Baptist, Chester, 1788. *Reproduced by kind permission of Cheshire Record Office.*

The former is of poor quality so a transcript follows with the handwritten component in italics;

Marriage Allegation; George Nesse Hill and Sarah Garner; 16th August 1788

The *Sixteenth* Day of *August* in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty *eight* On which day personally *George Nesse Hill of the Parish of Saint John the Baptist within the City and Diocese of Chester, Surgeon* and being sworn on the Holy Evangelists, alleged and made Oath as follows, That he is of the Age of *twenty seven* Years and upwards and a *Bachelor* and intends to marry *Sarah Garner of the same Parish* aged nineteen and upwards, and a *Spinster (by and with the Consent of John Garner of the said City and Diocese, Gentleman, her natural and lawful Father)* not knowing or believing any lawful Let, or Impediment, by reason of any Praecontract entered into before the Twenty-fifth day of March, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Four, Consanguinity, Affinity, or any other cause whatsoever, to hinder the said intended Marriage: And he prayed a Licence to solemnize the said Marriage in the *Parish Church of Saint John Baptist* foresaid. In which said Parish the said *George Nesse Hill* further made Oath, That the said *he* hath had *his* usual Abode for the past Four Weeks last past. *On the same day also appeared personally the said John Garner and being sworn upon the holy Gospels under oath that he is the natural and lawful father of Sarah the minor above named, and that he is consenting to the said intended marriage.*

Geo. Nesse, Hill Joseph Eaton, J. Garner,

LICENCE issued the *sixteenth* Day of *August* one thousand Seven Hundred and *eighty-eight Joseph Eaton, Surrogate*

Cheshire Residence; Life and Work

Records show that Hill leased (£120 p.a.) a brick and slate house on the east side of Queen Street, Chester in 1787,[17] some two years after completing his medical course at The London Hospital, and a year before his marriage. The only other record of his residence in Chester is in his Will, dated 1829, which refers to the family Messuage in Nicholas Street, Chester – a distinguished terrace, built and designed in 1780 by Joseph Turner, and appropriate for a wealthy medical man and his family. Designated grade II in 1955 Nicholas Street was known as Pillbox Promenade as many of the houses were used as doctors' surgeries up to 1998,[18] but it is not known which house the Hill

family occupied or when they moved there. For his surgical work Hill was based in Pepper Street, Chester where he had a medical-surgical and (notably) a 'private psychiatric practice' between 1818 and 1829, with associated apothecaries and druggists.

Hill states on the title page of the book he published in 1814, that he is 'Surgeon to The Benevolent Institution for the Delivery of Poor Married Women in Chester' (Figure 7).[19] This Institution was founded in 1789 by Mr Griffith Rowland, surgeon, aided by the ladies of Chester and its vicinity. Rowland was the sole superintending accoucheur, until 1812 when eight honorary surgeons including George Nesse Hill were also appointed. They attended the Charity in monthly rotation, superintending the midwives and giving professional assistance when required. The patients were recommended by annual subscribers to the charity and provided with the necessary clothing, nutrition and facilities for themselves and their infants. All infants were vaccinated within one month of delivery. In 1814, 276 women were delivered at a total cost of £174 0s 1d.[20] The Benevolent Institution continued until 1925 when it amalgamated with the District Nursing Association to form the Chester Maternity Hospital; it was subsequently incorporated into the local National Health Service facilities.[21]
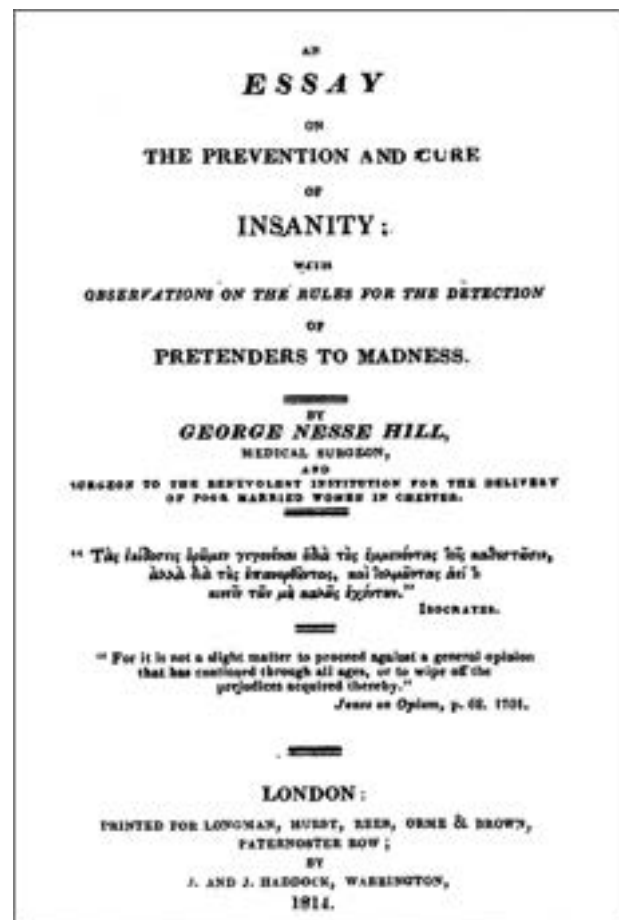

Figure 7.   Title page of Hill's book

The author has attempted to determine whether Hill obtained a position in any of Chester's major hospitals. The first psychiatric hospital, the Chester Asylum, did not open until 1829 – the year before Hill's death – he may, however, have had associations with almshouses and the earlier private and licensed 'madhouses' but no relevant records were located. The Chester Royal Infirmary opened in West Chester in 1761 and remained active until 1998. Its development, staff and various activities are well documented but no reference to George Nesse Hill has been located.[22]

In September 1801, in addition to his medical practice, Hill undertook the four-year training (for £200) of an apprentice, William De Caulier (1784–1861) from Derby. Family history studies show that De Caulier married and lived in the South of England, apparently of independent means. There is no evidence from local or the Apothecary's records that he obtained any appropriate qualifications.[23]

The Philosophy of George Nesse Hill

Hill's major work, *An Essay on the Prevention and Cure of Insanity with Observations on the Rules for the Detection of Pretenders to Madness*, published in 1814, details his views on mental illness, and he was particularly critical of several authorities. He opens his Introduction with the statement 'Publications upon the subject of Insanity have within these few years become so numerous, that any additional one seems to require an apology, but with the exception of the "Observations of Dr. Cox,"[24] none of them are so directly practical as the importance of the subject certainly demands…'

The basis of Hill's opinions and practice, reflecting his medical and surgical training, are tabulated in the book's Introduction:

That Insanity …

I. has always corporeal disease for its foundation

II. consists of one species under two forms viz. the STHENIC and the ASTHENIC, or *Mania* and *Melancholia*

III. is not a hereditary disease in the vulgar sense of the word

IV. is as generally curable as those violent diseases most successfully treated by medicine.

These four statements were used by Hill as the headings for the four chapters of his book.

Hill's philosophy follows that of Dr John Brown (1735–1788) who developed an influential medical theory especially in Germany (Brunonian Medicine).[25] A discussion of the differences between Brunonian Medicine (Brown) and Brunonian Psychiatry (Hill) is provided by Roy Porter who indicates that Hill's approach is more dependent on prescribed medications compared to Brown's extensive use of dietary, alcohol usage and physical activities. These approaches, especially Brunonian Medicine, required prolonged inpatient care in asylums or 'private madhouses.[26]

Appendix 2 illustrates Hill's diagnoses, treatment and outcome in a series of 30 patients. It is clear that he treated a variety of men and women with differing backgrounds including at least two children. He lists the 'apparent cause' of their psychiatric diagnoses and the outcome of their treatment. The majority of diagnoses are either Mania (6) or Melancholia (14). The final columns are a current diagnosis according to the ICD-10 Classification.[27]

Patients I and XXX were novel diagnoses by Hill. Patient I was a soldier with a syphilitic infection who developed a short episode of mania. Hill attributed this to the potentially toxic medications used to treat the syphilis; the current diagnosis would have Symptomatic Neuro-syphilis. Patient XXX, also a soldier, feigned mental illness to avoid his duties. Diagnosed by Hill as Pretended Lunacy (Malingerer according to ICD-10) and successfully treated with two courses of vitriolic powders (Powder of Sympathy), dehydration and confinement. Of the 20 cases of mania and melancholia diagnosed by Hill twelve were confirmed by ICD-10 criteria. The remainder were diagnosed as having subsequently currently identified conditions: schizophrenia, substance misuse, neurological or bodily disorders. In contrast to Hill's approach to the treatment of mentally disturbed patients, a similar series of cases has been reported in 1808 by John Haslam MD (1764–1844) of Bethlem Hospital. The treatments included; bleeding, purging, vomiting, cold bathing and blisters. Of the medications extolled, camphor was given to ten cases for two months but only two recovered.[28]

During his career Hill wrote a series of medical articles, essentially case reports, which he mostly published in the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journals; between1800 and 1827: *Case of Angina Pectoris*; *On the Inconvenience of Healing Wounds by First Intention*; *Case of Scirrhus of the Rectum*; *Mr. Hill on Ptyalism; Memoir on the Extraction of a Tooth*; *Fatal Case of Intestinal Disease with the Appearance on Dissection*; *Case of Malignant Cancer, in which Iodine was Administered with Powerful Effects*; *On Uterine Haemorrhage*.

George Nesse Hill's death and burial

George Nesse Hill died in his house in Chester on the 19th February 1830, aged 68,[29] and was buried with his ancestors at St Margaret's, Acton Scott on 25 February (Figures 8, 9). His grandfather (Nesse Hill, 1699–1732), father (Thomas Hill, 1732–80) and other relatives are commemorated there in the chancel and choir with appropriate ledger stones. The author's attempts to locate George Nesse Hill's gravestone were initially

Figure 8. Register of burial in the parish of Acton Scott, of George Nesse Hill on 25th February 1830. *Photograph by the author.*

Figure 9. St Margaret's Church Acton Scott. *Photograph by the author.*

Figure 10. Uncovering of George Hill's gravestone at St Margaret's, Acton Scott. *Photograph by the author.*
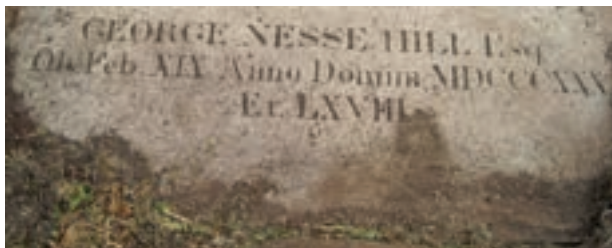
Figure 11. George Hill's gravestone partly uncovered. *Photograph by the author.*

unsuccessful. With the support of Henry Hand and colleagues, however, it was eventually found, much overgrown, alongside the west wall of the south transept (Figure 10). The gravestone (Figure 11) also bears the name of his grandson Andrew George Clark who died aged 17 in a boating accident on the banks of the River Niger in 1832.

Hill's Will dated 18th August 1829 was proved 19th April 1831. He left an estate in Henley and house in Nicholas Street, Chester to his Executors to provide benefits for his wife Sarah Hill and their unmarried children. Additional bequests totalling £7,000 were made to named friends and colleagues. Noteworthy is that no obituary, medical or otherwise has been located; perhaps reflecting his conflicting and controversial comments about the psychiatric authorities fashionable in the 19th century.

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APPENDIX 1. Court of Hill family tree 1698-1881
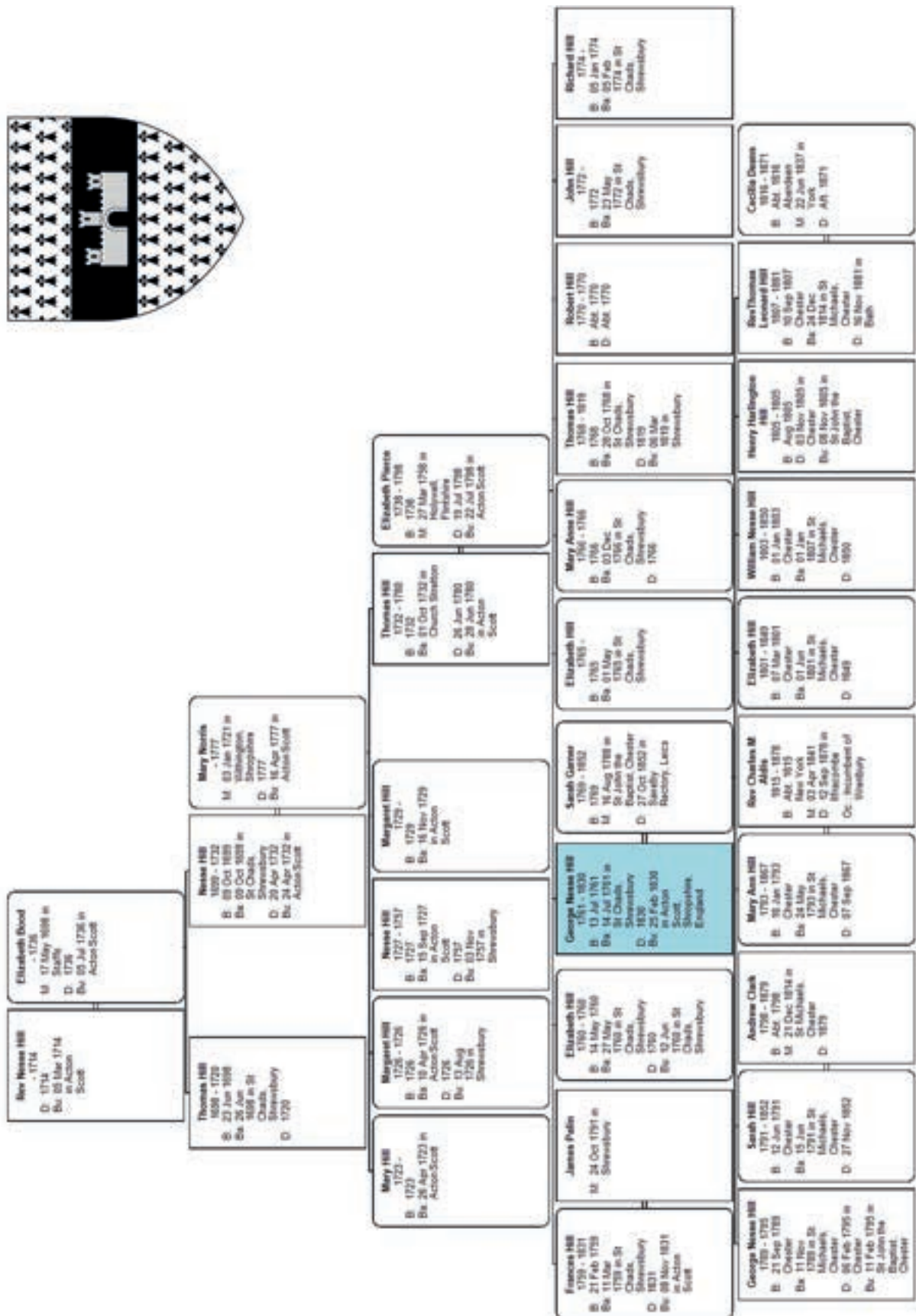
APPENDIX 2. Summary of GNH case reports

Case	sex; age	Occupation	Medical features	Duration	Diagnosis GNH	Treatment	Diagnosos ICD-10
I	Male; 19	Soldier	Local Syphilitic infection; Excessive fatigue & hyperactivity	4 months with good recovery	Mania	Caerulean emetics, Aperients, Digitalis, Antimony, Liniments, Mercurials	Symptomatic Neurosyphilis ; Insanity claimed to have followed treatment
II	Male; 19	Mechanic	Drunkenness, Head injury. 'Complete Maniac'	6 months with recovery.	Mania	Venesections, Emetics, Camphor (topical analgesic)	Substance Misuse & Post-trauma Disorder; No relapse for 24 years.
III	Male; 28	Farmer	Business failure, drunkenness, attempted suicide	2 months. Relapse after 2 & 7 years	Mania	Emetics, Digitalis, Antimony, Camphor	Acute Mania; various pains; chest & head
IV	Male; 70	Not stated	Gloom, suspicion, attempted suicide; haemorrhoids; rectal bleeding & pains	3 months	Melancholia	Leeches, Opiates, Iron sulphate, Hyoscyanus (Henbane), Calomel.	Major Depressive Disorder
V	Male 27	Tradesman	Melancholy features, urinary & alvine (intestinal) discharges; head pains & attempted suicide	Died after two weeks	Melancholia	Appropriate medications without response	Major Depressive Disorder with Epilepsy P.M. Previous head injury & tuberculosis
VI	Female 19	Married	Ten days post-partum developed a breast abscess & after three weeks suddenly maniac disturbed	Breast Abscess; discharged & insanity subsided	Mania	Digitalis, Camphor & Salient Aperients	Post-partum Manic Episode.
VII	Female 28	Not married	Menstrual Catamenia & obstruction. She became mentally deranged & attempted suicide.	4 months with full remission after 18 months	Melancholia	Detailed care with hydrotherapy. Subsequently slowly improved with premenstrual symptoms	Dysmenorrhoea with Dysthymic Disorder Medical condition with mental features.
VIII	Male 19	Apprentice Tradesman	Scabies with a mercurial girdle. Hypochondria, self-neglect & confusion	Not specified but at length cured	Troublesome	Variety of quack remedies; Emetics, Sudorifics, Aperients, Tonics & Euphorbium	Somatisation Disorder Relief after skin disorder in remission
IX	Male 36	Reformed Rake	Chest pain, Cough & Hemoptoe [Haemoptysis] followed by depression, & hypochondriasis	2 months then died from exhaustion	Melancholia	Opium (Full dose) relieved medical & mental features but relapse following withdrawal of medications	Major Depressive Disorder
X	Female 35	Irish Sempstress	Morose, peculiar religious notions with mental aberrations. Abdominal pain with constipation.	c.3 months but relapsed & 6 years later died	Mania	Caerulean Emetics, Calomel, Antimony, Digitalis, Camphor & Belladonna	Chronic Mania
XI	Male. 56	Lancashire manufacturer	Vexatious law suits, Alcoholism; Maniacal & secured in an asylum	Expired after 8 days	Mania	Camphor mixture, Digitalis	Alcohol Misuse with Mania

APPENDIX 2. Summary of GNH case reports (continued)

Case	sex; age	Occupation	Medical features	Duration	Diagnosis GNH	Treatment	Diagnosis ICD-10
XII	Female c.55	Farmer's widow	Flatulence. Constipation, Palpitations, Incoherent; Insane with Jaundice & Epilepsy but improved	6 months; followed by 10 years remission	Melancholia	Venesections & drastic purges. Various medications & therapies	Post-menopausal Confusion
XIII	Male c.25	Divine	Head injury from a gunshot. Fixation concerning his proposed marriage	Died aged 80	Chronic Lunacy	Not Specified	Post Traumatic Dementia
XIV	Male 28	Medical man	Delusions, paranoia, emancipation, idiocy	Not specified	Idiotic Lunacy	Various medications & care with improvement but relapsed with withdrawal	Schizophrenia
XV	Male 27	Barrister's servant	Recurrent severe epilepsy followed by insanity	10 weeks	Not specified	Various medications & care with remission	Post-traumatic Stress Disorder
XVI	Male 64	Labourer	Insanity following turbulence with various medical treatments	Died following acute stroke after 3 months	Melancholia	Various medicaments gave some improvement	Chronic Depression
XVII	Female 40	Wife of a drunken mechanic	Chronically depressed with partial response to tonics & remission during pregnancy. Subsequent suicide	Suicide by hanging	Melancholia	Various medications & care but family situation not relieved	Major Depressive Disorder
XVIII	Female 37	House-keeper	Depression from workload, gloomy & bewitched & dispute with fiancé	Ultimately in remission	Melancholia	Anxiety, depression & chronic jaundice with liver disease.	Dysthymic & Depressive Disorder
XIX	Female 21	Farmer's daughter	Menstrual Catamenia, incoherent, profound reveries, automatism with attempted suicide	Died in asylum of infectious disease.	Suppressed Catamenia	Various medications Long term debilitation with asylum placement	Chronic mental illness; Hebephrenic Schizophrenia
XX	Female 20	-	Symptoms following a protracted dance with left sided pain, mental confusion, & paranoia	Died of recurrent Tuberculosis	Melancholia	Treated in a nursing home with sthenic diet, & emetics with some improvement. Returned home after 15 months, relapsed in 9 months with chronic phthisis	Chronic mental illness; Hebephrenic Schizophrenia. Died of recurrent tuberculosis
XXI	Female 28	Housemaid	Onset with Menstrual Catamenia Head pains, depression, memory loss & disturbed sleep		7 months	Treated by sthenic plan with Camphor, Antimony & Digitalis. Employment, Menstruation & remission	Depressive personality disorder. Remission following return of menstruation
XXII	Male 52	-	Mental derangement after 18 months of inebriety. Jaundice, costive & dyspeptic. Disturbed		20 years	Treated with aperients, Calomel & progressive alcohol withdrawl	Severe Alcohol Misuse Remained well from 1796

APPENDIX 2. Summary of GNH case reports (continued)

Case	sex; age	Occupation	Medical features	Duration	Diagnosis GNH	Treatment	Diagnosos ICD-10
XXIII	Male 11	-	Severe epilepsy. Deranged Faculties & violence	20 years	Intestinal Parasites	Purgatives, Calomel, Tin Filings	Organic Delusional Disorder
XXIV	Female 30	Mother	Post-partum Vaginal Discharge; ceased with onset of insanity. Febrile.	9 months	Melancholia	Medical Support, Various medications, Diuretics, Aperients, Camphor, Opium	Post-partum Depression/ Delirium. Remained well with several children
XXV	Male 9	Child	Teacher child abuse with persistent multiple physical complaints, shrieking, somnambulism	20 years	Idiocy	No specific treatment	Disintegrative Disorder Persistent head pain & deranged mental faculties
XXVI	Female 23	-	Severe blow on back of head. Behavioural changes including inequality of temper stupidity, inertness; Intellect largely unaffected	15 years unchanged	Delayed Post-traumatic Insanity	Twelve months later noted distressing conduct with variable excitation that may have reflected her state prior to the injury.	Post Concussion Syndrome
XXVII	Female 43	-	Corpulent with sudden onset of abdominal symptoms, irritability & alterations in temper related to Catamenia (Menstrual) changes	2 years	Melancholia	Calomel, Jalap, Digitalis without benefit.	Organic Personality Disorder. Death from hydrothorax; P.M. Diseased right ovary
XXVIII	Male 35	-	Eccentric with melancholia & movement disorders & ptyalism [Excess saliva]. Severe Maniacal episode c.10 years previously.	18 months	Melancholia with previous Mania	Opium, Hyoscyamus & Aperients with improved ptyalism	Bipolar I Disorder
XXIX	Female 70	Multiparous (17 infants)	Stomach uneasiness with constipation, disturbed night vertigo, melancholy, itch due to Lepra	3 years	Confusional State with Melancholia	Relief from emetics, aperients, digitalis, silver nitrate ointment & regular vinegar & washing	Body Dysmorphic Disorder
XXX	Male c.18	Soldier	Idle. Avoided duty by effecting insanity with discharge & recovery. Repeated episodes	c.3 months	Pretended Lunacy	Courses of vitriolic powders, dehydration & confinement. Remission with successfully military duties	Malingerer; persons feigning illness with obvious motivation

Commons of the Stiperstones Mining District

By DAVID PANNETT

The following study explores the relationship between common land, past and present, and its associated settlement pattern in part of the South Shropshire Hills. The significance of the history of metal mining, relief patterns and the role of land-owning estates will be discussed. The appreciation of such historic landscapes has now become part of the planning and management of the countryside, in the context of conservation, public access and tourism and agricultural-support policies. This is especially the case in those areas designated as Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty such as the Shropshire Hills, where statutory bodies, including Natural England and Historic England are also paying more attention to the wider landscape rather than just isolated 'sites'.

INTRODUCTION

Commons were defined historically, as areas of land held by one owner, normally as 'Lord of the Manor', over which others, normally local inhabitants and farmers, had some right of use. Grazing was the usual use and indeed the main one which such legal status allowed, although 'turbary' or peat-cutting featured in some areas. Importantly, access and exploitation was not a free for all: access to common grazing for example, was generally limited to animals that belonged to common rights holders, and 'stints' relating to both numbers and certain times of the year, were introduced to ensure that commons were not over-exploited.[1] Those who abused their allocated rights could be reported to the manor court, and punished. Outer boundaries were clearly defined legally, even if not physically, in some upland areas and outsiders had no right of access. Most commons had been part of a medieval manorial system in which a Lord of the Manor automatically held the soil of any unenclosed waste in that manor. To varying degrees, many manors had also once included 'open' arable fields where parcels were held by individual tenants, but most had long since been 'inclosed'. Many common grazings, however, survived much longer in an open state as they often occupied land unfit for cultivation through poor soils or high elevation. Not all upland rough grazings were necessarily commons in a legal sense, but 'common' status often perpetuated

such use and associated unimproved vegetation even on lowland heaths. During the 18th and 19th centuries, a drive towards agricultural improvement and increased profit from the land led to extensive areas of common land being enclosed by their landlords under parliamentary acts[2] – it has been suggested that at least 25% of the area of England was still 'manorial waste' at the end of the 17th century compared with some 3% in the 20th.[3]

One general feature of the history of commons, both lowland heaths and upland moorlands, and discussed by many writers, is their association with cottage settlement, often known as 'squatting'. Here landless workers were able to settle and even gain small plots of land, for which they paid an annual fine or 'emercement' to the manor court. Court Rolls record many examples from the 16th century onwards as population increased. Such cottagers had both opportunity and economic necessity to engage in a variety of non-agricultural activities which the location allowed,[4] so that concentrations occurred where mining, quarrying and domestic craft industries provided employment. On the Pennines, for example, it was the textile industry, while in the Midlands, commons filling up with coal miners and metal workers went on to evolve into industrial towns such as West Bromwich.[5] Meanwhile, upland smallholdings developed on the marginal land around the slate quarries of North Wales.[6] Locally, Clee Hill, especially Catherton Common, has often featured as an
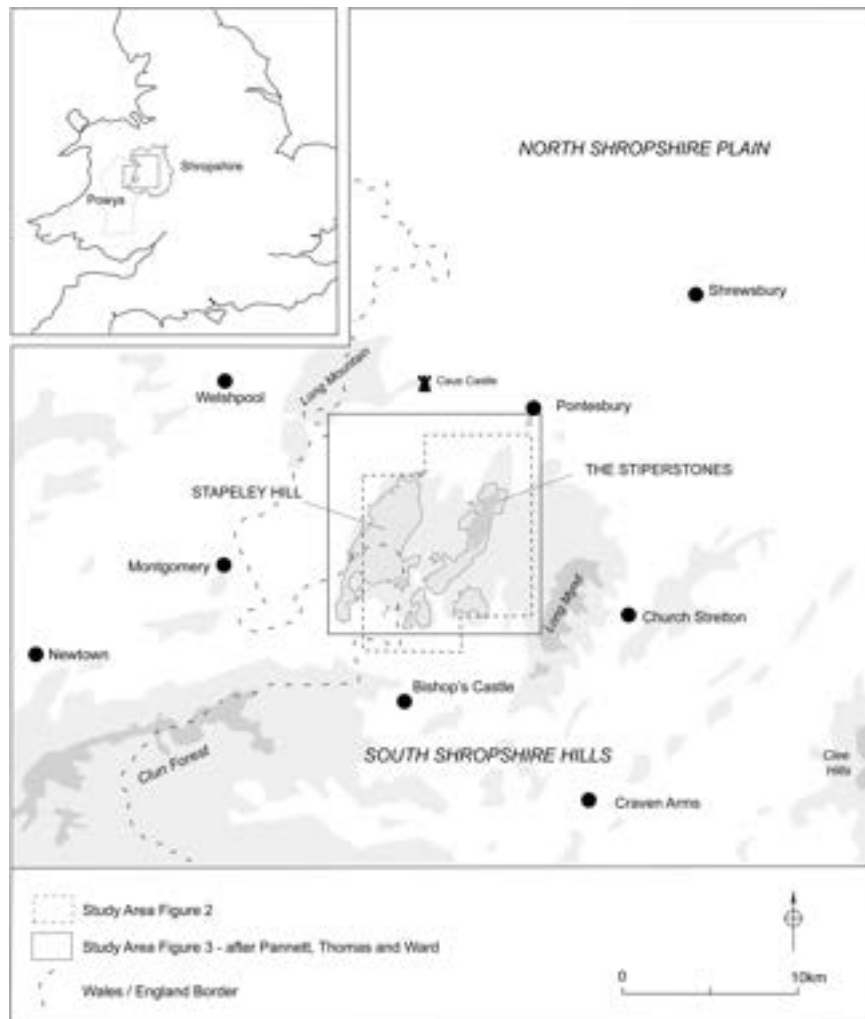
Figure 1. The Shropshire uplands, showing the location of the two areas of commons / open land under discussion in this paper.

illustration of this type of landscape, thanks to aerial photography.[7]

In 1953 a House of Lords debate on derelict land and agriculture heard calls to make commons more productive, and prompted the Ministry of Agriculture to set up a high-level, broad investigation of commons. A Royal Commission was charged 'to recommend what changes, if any, are desirable in the law relating to common land in order to promote the benefit of those holding manorial and common rights, the enjoyment of the public, or, where at present little or no use is made of such land, its use for some other desirable purpose'. The Commission's twelve members spent about eighteen months travelling through England and Wales gathering written and oral evidence from 156 organisations, 97 individuals, and 61 county and 81 county borough councils. Their findings and recommendations were published as *The Report of the Royal Commission on Common Land 1955–1958*.[8]

The Commissioners' Report showed that the distribution of surviving commons reflected the well-known geographical regions of the country. The locally-

poor soils of parts of south-east England were occupied by large and small areas of common, while the varied soils and uplands of the north and west still held some extensive areas of common. Between these two main zones lay the former Midland open-field landscapes, where most common land had been ploughed up before the end of the middle ages, and any remainder enclosed soon after, almost none surviving into the 20th century.

Shropshire Commons
In Shropshire (adjoining the North West zone) the Royal Commission reported appreciable areas of common surviving on the Long Mynd, Stiperstones and Clee Hills.[9] Local historical studies confirm that, as elsewhere, these were but a fraction of the earlier spread of common land, reduced through several centuries of enclosure discussed by many writers.[10] In neighbouring Montgomeryshire (not covered by the Commission) it seems likely that even more common land had been lost to enclosure.[11]

There were two influential commentators on Shropshire commons and commoners in the later

18th and early 19th centuries. Archdeacon Plymley's Visitation tours in his Hereford diocese allowed him to witness and record the growth of cottage settlement communities on the margins of commons.[12] In the 1790s too, John Bishton expressed his views about commons and cottagers in his report on the agriculture of Shropshire – recommending to the Board of Agriculture – under the heading of *Improvement of the Commons* – that he could not 'say any thing more than, inclose them all as soon as convenient'.[13]

> Let those who doubt, go round the commons now open, and view the miserable huts, and poor, ill-cultivated, impoverished spots erected, or rather *thrown together*, and inclosed by themselves, for which they pay 6d. or 1s. per year, which, by loss of time both to the man and his family, affords them a very trifle towards their maintenance, yet operates on their minds as a sort of independence: this idea leads the man to lose many days work, by which he gets a habit of indolence; a daughter kept at home to milk a poor half starv'd cow, who being open to temptations, soon turns harlot, and becomes a distressed ignorant mother, instead of making a good useful servant. The surrounding farmers, by this means, have neither industrious labourers or servants, therefore the commons with the cottagers around, become a great burden instead of a convenience; for most certain it is that in all the countries where this is the case, the labourers are generally indolent, — and the contrary is the case where they live under the farmer, in comfortable cottages, with only a quarter of an acre of land, work every day in the year, and have their children taught to read and put out to work *early*.[14]

Archdeacon Plymley quoted the entirety of Bishton's report on the 'Improvement of the Commons' in his own very much fuller report to the Board of Agriculture in 1803,[15] without comment on Bishton's uncompromising point of view. It can be noted however that in his own earlier chapter on *Cottages*, Plymley strongly advocated giving cottagers sufficient land for their support as a means of preventing rural poverty.[16] He lamented the loss of the Elizabethan *Act against the erecting and maintaining of Cottages*[17] with its requirement that four acres should be assigned to each cottage.

In 1962 a team from University College, London (UCL) undertook a survey of farm boundaries in the Stiperstones mining district. This was part of a wide-ranging human geography project to characterise the essential differences between the agricultural systems of highland and lowland Britain. The Stiperstones district was chosen as being one of many small regions of metal extraction where the mines were no longer in economic production, but there were still high rural population densities. The investigation into farming patterns in the Stiperstones area was to clarify the relationship between farm structure and mineral exploitation (Figure 3).[18]

The publication of the Royal Commission Report had led to the passing in 1965 of *The Commons Registration Act* (HMSO 1968) under which any land in England and Wales that claimed to be a common or village green had to be registered by a given date, with the same applying to any common rights. In the later 1960s and independently of the UCL geography project, Worthen Parish Council and the local NFU invited Preston Montford Field Centre to clarify the status of common land in the same area during the process of registration of commons in 1968 – incidentally helping the historical interpretation of local farm patterns, especially their relationship to 19th century landed estates.[19]

LOCATION AND ORIGIN OF THE WEST SHROPSHIRE COMMONS

The significance of choosing 1816 as a starting point for this study lies with the field drawings prepared by the Ordnance Survey as part of their programme of national mapping. After some delay, the results contributed to the published one inch Old Series maps (1836). The settlement and 'rough pasture' symbols provide the first reliable picture of the entire landscape at this period and form the basis for Figure 2.

On the ridge of the Stiperstones itself, a continuous band of common/open land, *c*.1,400 acres (566ha), stretched the 4½ miles (7km) from Habberley Office to Black Rhadley Hill. This lies along a spine of Ordovician Quarzite and/or Flagstone, with its steep slopes and rocky acid soils, as well as on poorly-drained shales around the Bog and Brookshill Marsh. Beyond those, detached blocks of open land also existed on isolated hills in More, Linley and Norbury, occupying an outcrop of Lower Ordovician shales and pre-Cambrian mudstones.

To the west, towards and over the Welsh border, a parallel band of commons/open land of over 2,000 acres (809ha) stretched along the flagstone, shale and volcanic outcrop from Bromlow Callow across the hills of Stapeley, Shelve and Mucklewick, and the intervening marshes as far as the Montgomeryshire border. Here, further open land spread over Corndon Hill and Hyssington Marsh and down to Todleth Hill in Churchstoke.

These two bands were divided between at least fourteen separate townships in seven Shropshire parishes[20] and another two parishes in Montgomeryshire,[21] so that many administrative and ownership units each had a 'slice of the cake' (Figure 2). This pattern of a ring of lowland and valley hamlets on the best agricultural land whose territories also stretched

up onto the open hill pastures is typical of many hill areas in England and Wales. In Shropshire, the Clee Hills give a good example,[22] emphasising how rough pasture was valued as a resource.

The origins of this boundary pattern in our area of western Shropshire, lie back in the Middle Ages, both before the Norman Conquest and during the formative years of the 'Marcher lordships' created by the Normans to control this area after a period of wastage and warfare. On the western side, a particularly close pattern of small villages was maintained along the strategically important and early-settled Vales of Marton and Montgomery from Worthen to Chirbury. Similar village settlement occupied the southern flanks of this band of upland which is therefore well subdivided by old township and manor boundaries. Further to the north-east, on the other hand, ancient settlement was less dense, because of the limitations of the narrow upland valleys, and here the evolution of landscape was dominated by later clearance of forest and enclosure of waste in the former Lordship of Caus.

After the Norman Conquest, Earl Roger of Shrewsbury had established the lordship of Caus under his tenant, Robert Corbet, who built a castle near Westbury, which he named after his district of Caux in Normandy. The lordship included several manors along the Rea Valley and Vale of Marton, from Yockleton and Pontesbury to Worthen with, in addition, vast tracts of forest and waste on the uplands of the Long Mountain to the north and the Stiperstones to the south.[23]

During the 12th century, some manors, including Pontesbury and Habberley, were sub-let to other feudal tenants who subsequently became independent. Shelve, for example, was one of these: it had been part of the Corbet manor of Worthen and its first church was but a chapel in Worthen Parish. By the 14th century, however, it had become an independent parish and had also been separated from other Corbet properties when their estates were divided between heirs.[24]

The development of a medieval village and parish at such altitude, *c*.1000ft (305m) OD, was quite unusual in Shropshire, where single township parishes were the exception rather than the rule, even on well farmed lowlands. In 1300, Shelve contained sixteen tenants 'at will', a number of cotters and a watermill.[25] The explanation probably lies in the combination of reasonably good soil on weathered dolerite, a south-facing slope and the favourable climate of that period, which was also encouraging settlement higher into other hills in the borderland.[26] However, less than half of the land in Shelve was farmed and fit for cultivation, when the first map and survey of the parish was made in 1650.[27] This showed 568 acres (227ha) of enclosed farmland surrounded by 606 acres (245ha) of common on Shelve Hill on the west and Whiteway Common on the east (later occupied by Benree farm). More significantly, perhaps, early lead mining within the

parish could have supported a population even higher than today's, as has been noted in the villages of Mendips and Derbyshire.[28]

King Henry II acquired the mines in this area of western Shropshire for his own use in the 12th century.[29] Veins were exposed both in the deeply cut Hope Valley and on the ridge at Old Grit where scars of old workings still cross the surface, while below, there are deeper levels which caused 19th century miners to speculate about Roman working. At White Grit in 1677/8 Richard More 'contracted some workmen from Derbyshire to search for lead in some old mines in the manor'. They were successful, though the ore was then removed by Lord Herbert's men on the grounds that he held rights to the waste.[30] More successfully challenged this action in law and was prompted no doubt to clarify boundaries of his manor across its unenclosed waste near Mucklewick. This was to be the first of several similar boundary disputes.[31]

In the 13th century parts of the upland in Ritton and Kinnerton in the Parish of Wentnor, including the appropriately named *Hulemor / Hulemore* ('hill moor') had been granted to the Abbey of Buildwas,[32] which probably exploited the land for sheep farming in the characteristic manner of a Cistercian house. In 1291 it had 300 sheep on its estates in Hereford diocese, including Wentnor and Kinnerton.[33] Significantly, the boundary between Kinnerton and Ritton, and Gatten was still known as 'Monks Ditch' in the 19th century.[34] The cultivated land of Gatten was granted to the monks of Haughmond Abbey, who would have managed it along with their pastoral estates on the adjacent parts of the Long Mynd.[35] The remaining waste in this part of Caus lordship, constituting the Forest of Hogstow within Worthen Parish and Minsterley and significantly within sight of the castle, remained in the direct control of the Corbets and demesne farms were established here at Capsall and Hogstow by the 13th century.[36]

In 1347, the lordship passed from the Corbets to the Earls of Stafford who held it until 1573 and the forest was divided for administrative purposes into Minsterley Park and the 'baileywicks' of 'Upper Heath', 'Nether Heath' and 'Habberley Office'. Much of it was used as a common pig pasture by the tenants of the lordship who were nevertheless charged for the privilege –'The tenants here … had pannage at 2d per hog, or one hog for ten, which was the custom' (*pannagium cum tack* [tenth] *porcorum*).[37] By the 16th century many open areas were being enclosed and let to individuals,[38] so that it is clear that forest was gradually being reduced. For instance, in 1571 over 500 acres (202ha) of forest in Minsterley were cleared and added to the estate.[39] Nevertheless Saxton's map of 1575 still shows a recognisable woodland symbol in the hollow between the bare summits of the Stiperstones, while Drayton in his topographic epic *Poly-Omnium*, expressed the same poetically:
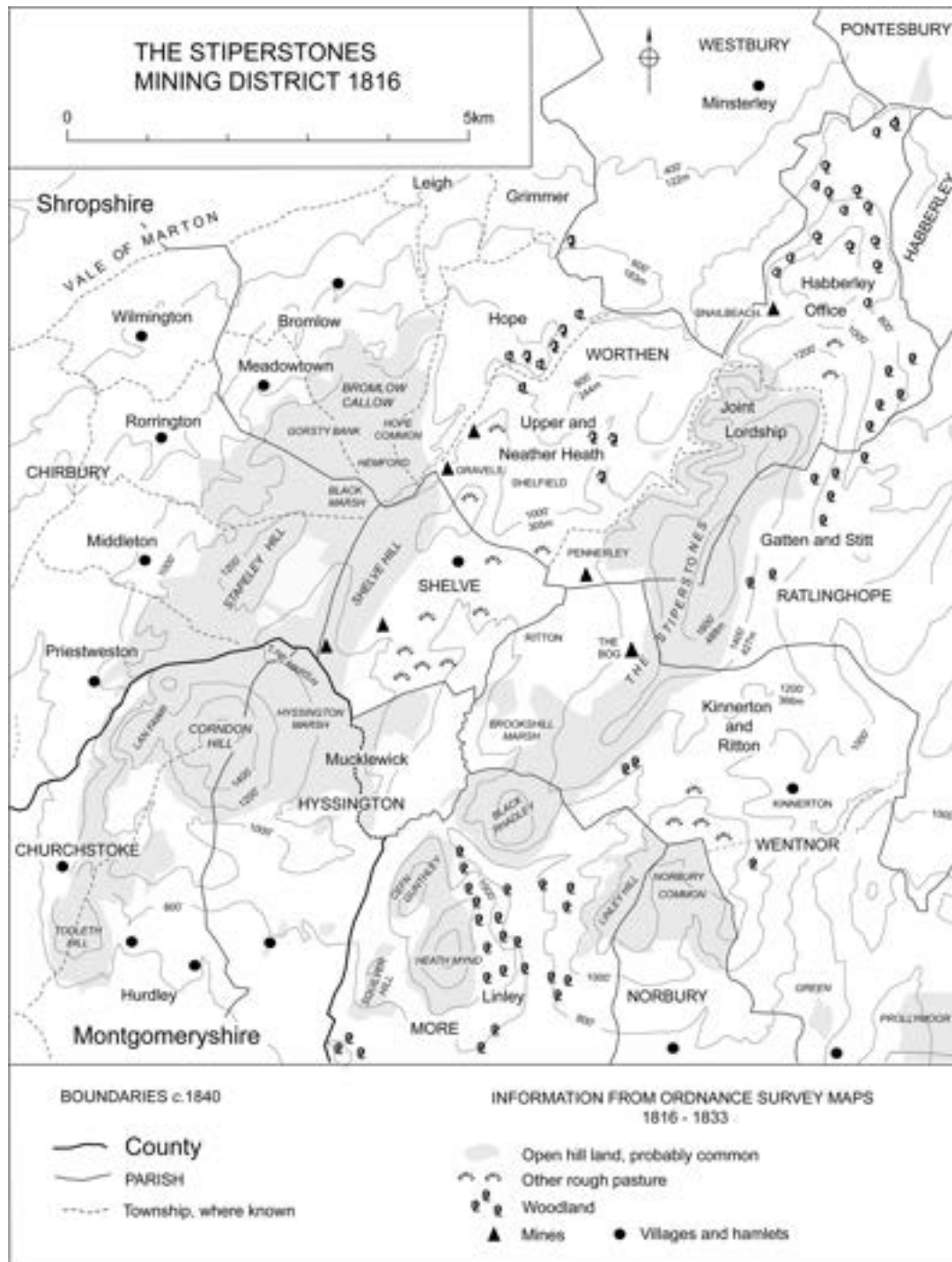
Figure 2. The west Shropshire hills from 19th century mapping, showing how each parish and township had a share of upland and lowland giving landowners and tenants access to the common land above the settlements.

….Then *Stipperston* a hill, though not of such renowne / As many that are set heere tow'rds the going downe … Yet for our Country still, stout Mountaines let us stand. / Here, every neighbouring Hill held up a willing hand, /As freely to applaud what *Stipperston* decreed: / And *Hockstow* when she heard the Mountaines thus proceed, / With ecchoes from her Woods, her inward joyes exprest, /

To heare that Hill she lov'd, which likewise lov'd her best, / Should in the right of *Wales*, his neighbouring Mountaines stirre, / So to advance that place which might them both preferre; / That she from open shouts could scarce her selfe refraine.[40]

In 1573, the Stafford lordship was broken up into smaller estates by Sir Richard Hayward. He settled most of the property on his son-in-law Thomas Thynne,
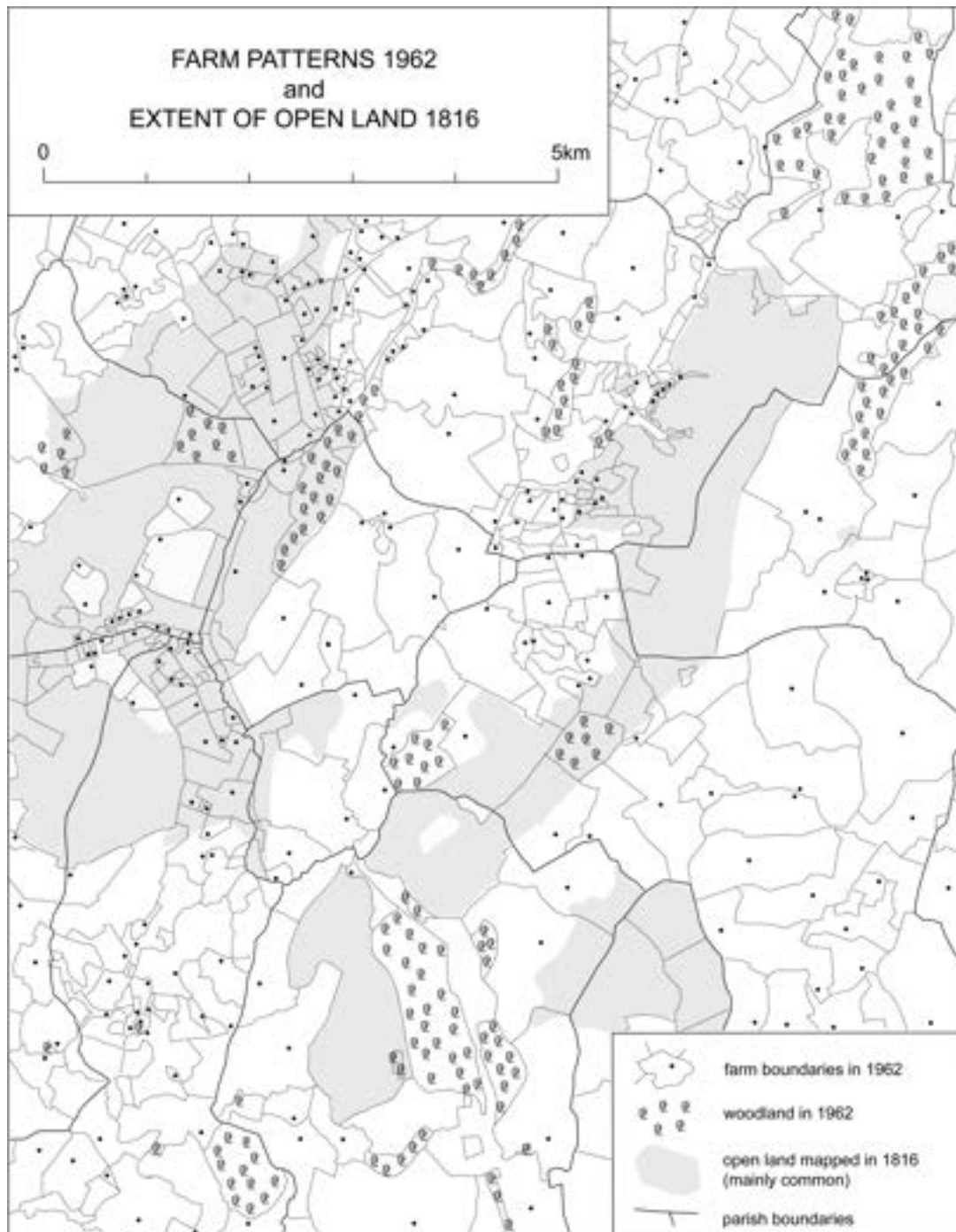
Figure 3. The West Shropshire hills. Shaded areas show the extent of open land in the Stiperstones district as mapped by the Ordnance Survey in 1816, with the mid-20th-century pattern of farmsteads and farm boundaries mapped during the University College London survey in1962 overlain. *After Pannet, Thomas and Ward 1973.*

whose descendants held it into the 20th century. Another part, the whole of Nether Heath, he sold to Edward Gittins, who had already held it on lease from the Earl of Stafford. In 1595, Gittins then sold this property to Edward Jones,[41] who in turn sold it in 1601 to William Scarlett, his sitting tenant at Hogstow.[42] This family then held it until 1743 when it passed by marriage to Edward Lloyd of Leaton Knolls near Shrewsbury.

At this time most of Upper Heath including farms at Hogstow, Shelfield and Pennerley, was acquired by Richard Prince of Whitehall, Shrewsbury. This estate then descended with the remainder of his property *via* Sir Thomas Astley and his descendants to the 4th Earl of Tankerville in 1771.[43]

The residue of the unenclosed wastelands on the Stiperstones within the township of Heath was later to be known as the 'Joint Lordship' since it was

claimed by these two new estates. The most vigorous were William Scarlett and his successors of Hogstow Hall, who claimed grazing rent from other tenants since it was not an old manorial common, and also continued to enclose portions not necessarily adjacent their own closes. These included land at Bergum and also 'Waltons Meadow' occupying the poorly drained hollow straddling the ill-defined boundary with the adjacent manor of Shelve. In 1683, Peter Scarlett was presented at the manor court of Shelve for encroachment upon the waste at this point,[44] and by 1723 this land was marked out by new boundary stones. Incidentally such enclosure completely blocked an 'Outrack' or droveway which once connected Whiteway Common on the east side of Shelve with the Stiperstones at Manstone Rock. In 1770, significantly when mining had started at Pennerley, the More Estate made an unsuccessful bid to recover this lost territory[45] and the boundary remains today, giving an impression of having originated as a 'bite' taken out of this corner of Shelve. Thanks to such activities, William Scarlett, at least, has even entered the folk memory of this area, thanks partly to his being a locally resident landlord, while others were more remote. In a similar way the boundary with Gatten was disputed in 1807[46] and also boundaries of Kinnerton and Ritton near Black Rhadley Hill, in 1830.[47]

A similar but much smaller hunting forest on Corndon Hill was held by the Lordship of Montgomery. With the eventual removal of timber it became simply a pasture let to various tenants by the Earls of Powis, successors to those estates,[48] and at no stage were common rights claimed, although three farms had been established on its flanks by 1831.[49]

Otherwise, the remaining wastelands of the area were normal manorial wastes, the 'soil' of which was held by a lord whose tenants could graze it. By the 17th and 18th centuries encroachments or enclosures were being recorded in the Manor Court Rolls as fines for occupying the Lord's waste, and many of these had produced islands or irregular rings of encroachments shown on the 1816 distribution map (Figures 2; 3). The 'fines' were of course simply a means of paying ground rent to the landlord, and by the 19th century this was often clearly stated and the legal formula dispensed with. For instance in 1795 the Manor Court Rolls of Linley record 'John Hodges of Radeley common …, miner, attorns tenant of Robert More esq for a cottage and garden on Radeley Common in the township of Linley' 6d.[50] In 1803, another 6d was received from Eleanor Hodges 'being a years rent and acknowledgement for a cottage built on the common of Rhadeley adjoining the Stiper Stone Rock and belonging to the lord of the manor of Linley'.[51] Eleanor was probably Robert's widow and thereby demonstrates the value of cheap cottages to the dependants of miners killed or injured at work.

THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE COMMONS

During the subsequent history of these commons, quite contrasting landscapes evolved. As already noticed, some hills remained largely open whilst others were enclosed and subdivided into fields and cottages to produce the patterns shown in Figure 3.[52] These differences largely reflect the policies of the different landowners and the numbers involved in each township.

The Western and Southern Commons
Hope to Norbury

Wherever a single estate such as that of the Mores of Linley, held open hill land in the 19th century, its 'common' status was often allowed to lapse along with any traditional manorial customs. The only commoners would have been tenants of the estate and their use of the land could now be regulated by the tenancy agreements rather than any ancient custom of the manor. The common was therefore held 'in hand' by the estate, which thereby managed it directly or added to existing estate farms as at Linley Hill and Black Rhadley. Normally the landscape did not change significantly at first, but with time many parts were let for forestry, particularly on Shelve and Rorrington Hills. Some farms and small holdings were also been laid out on Shelve Hill, but it seems that the traditional squatting cottages were kept off, reflecting each landlord's wish to avoid a population of potential paupers while he was the sole ratepayer. In other words, these were typical 'closed' parishes.[53] The former commons of Gatten and also Ritton and Kinnerton were similarly dominated by a single estate, best discussed in conjunction with the Joint Lordship.

By contrast, commons where a lord of the manor merely held the freehold of the soil and shared common rights with other large and small landowners within the same township or manor, encroachments continued for a longer period and final enclosure required outside arbitration: that is, a formal enclosure agreement involving an Act of Parliament and a carefully planned Award. In Bromlow and Meadowtown in 1820, for instance, this process settled the claims of twenty owners, but such was the cost involved that over 100 acres (40ha) had to be sold to defray expenses and were thereby acquired by yet another estate.[54]

By the time of the award, cottages and encroachments, especially in the hollows at Pentervin and above Bromley, already fringed the common. They included some less than twenty years old, which had their title confirmed as new allotments.

Although legally separate and under a single owner, the adjacent Hope Common was becoming part of this changing landscape, contributing its own fringe of encroachments near Bent Lawnt. As a normal manorial common, such encroachments had been allowed from time to time, for instance in 1540: 'New Rents 10d. the

new rent of a newly built [house] on the Lords Common there leased to Edo Edge this year'.[55] However, just when old manorial customs were lapsing, with amercements being replaced by rents, the expansion of the adjacent Grit and Gravels mines in Shelve stimulated rapid settlement on the common. In a test case to clarify his rights, Peter Beck, lord of the manor, therefore challenged one of these encroachments. It was pointed out by witnesses that there were only three cottages in 1800, but by now, in 1837, there were 33, about 100 acres (40ha) having been enclosed in the last ten years since the mine began to be worked, so that 'not more than 4 or 5 acres remained open!'.[56]

The result on both Bromlow and Meadowtown, and Hope Commons is a mixture of both informal and planned patterns of smallholdings covering the upland, in sharp contrast to the adjacent Rorrington Hill. The famous landmark of trees on Bromlow Callow was planted on the allotment made to the Wakeman Estate, already well wooded at Leigh.

The Hope Common smallholdings, numbering 24, were sold off in 1886 and allowed more individual landholding which helped the community to survive the subsequent closure of local mines.[57]

Further south along this ridge, the open hill on Priestweston was inclosed in 1871 by an Award arranged by the Earl of Powis and ten other landowners.[58] In Montgomeryshire, the Welsh system of shared ownership of the waste meant that in 1853 and 1855, 25 owners were recognised in Hyssington and Muckleswick, and 65 in Churchstoke during the inclosure process.[59] The newly enclosed land was therefore well subdivided and occupied by further smallholdings adding to the densely settled appearance of this upland valley around the Whitegrit mines and Corndon, shown in Figure 3. The only Inclosure Award which did not facilitate new settlement was that affecting Norbury Hill in 1851, probably because this area was more remote from the mines.[60]

Such commons thereby illustrate the typical association of varied ownership with expanding settlement in 'open parishes' which often supplied additional labour to both farms and mines in the adjacent 'closed' parishes.[61]

Of these commons on the western belt, only the Middleton portion of Stapeley Hill, covering 500 acres (202ha) survived to be registered in 1968, mainly on account of uncertainty over which estate held the Lordship of the Manor. Historically the owners of both Kinton and Middleton, two separate manors at Domesday – both parts then called *Mildetune*[62] – had an interest in the hill and included intakes from it amongst their estates. Land sales, especially one in 1850 after the death of Reverend Stokes, included the manor of Middleton and 530 acres (214ha) of common.[63] Another in 1919, created new small freeholds on the inclosured holdings, but failed to clarify or change the status of the

open hilly area.[64] During the 19th century change was confined to the addition of a few cottages and gardens in between the large holdings which had existed from at least the early 18th century.[65] The particular pattern of these holdings forming 'islands' in the common, reflected the most favoured sites between the bleak ridge and ill drained valley.

The open land on Stapeley hill still holds many mysteries; the summit is crowned with well-known ancient earthworks and stone circles[66] but in addition it is crossed by several hedge banks, actually indicated by pecked lines on the Tithe map, which have no apparent relationship to the 19th century development of the holdings. Also, clear marks of ploughing cover the flatter and well drained bracken covered upper slopes,[67] as if some reclamation or reseeding had been attempted in the 19th century, otherwise the nearest similar patterns are found with Bronze Age reaves on Dartmoor.[68] The boundary against Rorrington Hill does not show any clear ancient banks or meer stones and, as a result, the precise line of the wire fence and more recently forestry fences are open to dispute in places.

Originally, the whole band of common across Stapeley Hill and Shelve Hill provided a convenient routeway, perhaps dating back to the Bronze Age and later known as Hen Fford. Roads still followed this general route at the beginning of the 19th century but as engineering techniques improved and mining traffic increased, a new road was built in 1833 exploiting the hitherto impassable route through the Hope Valley, so that the remaining tracks across the hills were abandoned or reduced in status.

The Eastern Commons
Stiperstones, Ritton and Kinnerton

The only other common registered in 1968 occupied much of the Stiperstones ridge in the 'Joint Lordship', where its story is also linked to that of the adjacent estates in Gatten and in Kinnerton and Ritton.

By 1816 the general encroachment by cottages seemed to be well underway all around the edge of the open land in each of these areas, picking out suitable sites in the 'beaches' and on drier slopes above Pennerley and the Bog (Figure 4). Scarlett's original encroachment at Pennerley Flat was likewise being occupied by cottages around its drier rim (Figure 5).[69] Plymley had already recorded 24 cottages in the Worthen portion of this area in 1793.[70] In 1818, a rental, which also incidentally referred to 'sheepwalk' on the hill as part of Hogstow and Crowsnest farms, excused the 'poor miners' rent for one year because of their poverty.[71] However, in 1820, there were more vigorous efforts to collect rents from the 41 cottages by then established in the 'Joint Lordship'. Two, who at first refused, had a pig and a cow impounded to help change their minds, while another two were found to have been living quietly and unnoticed by the rent collector
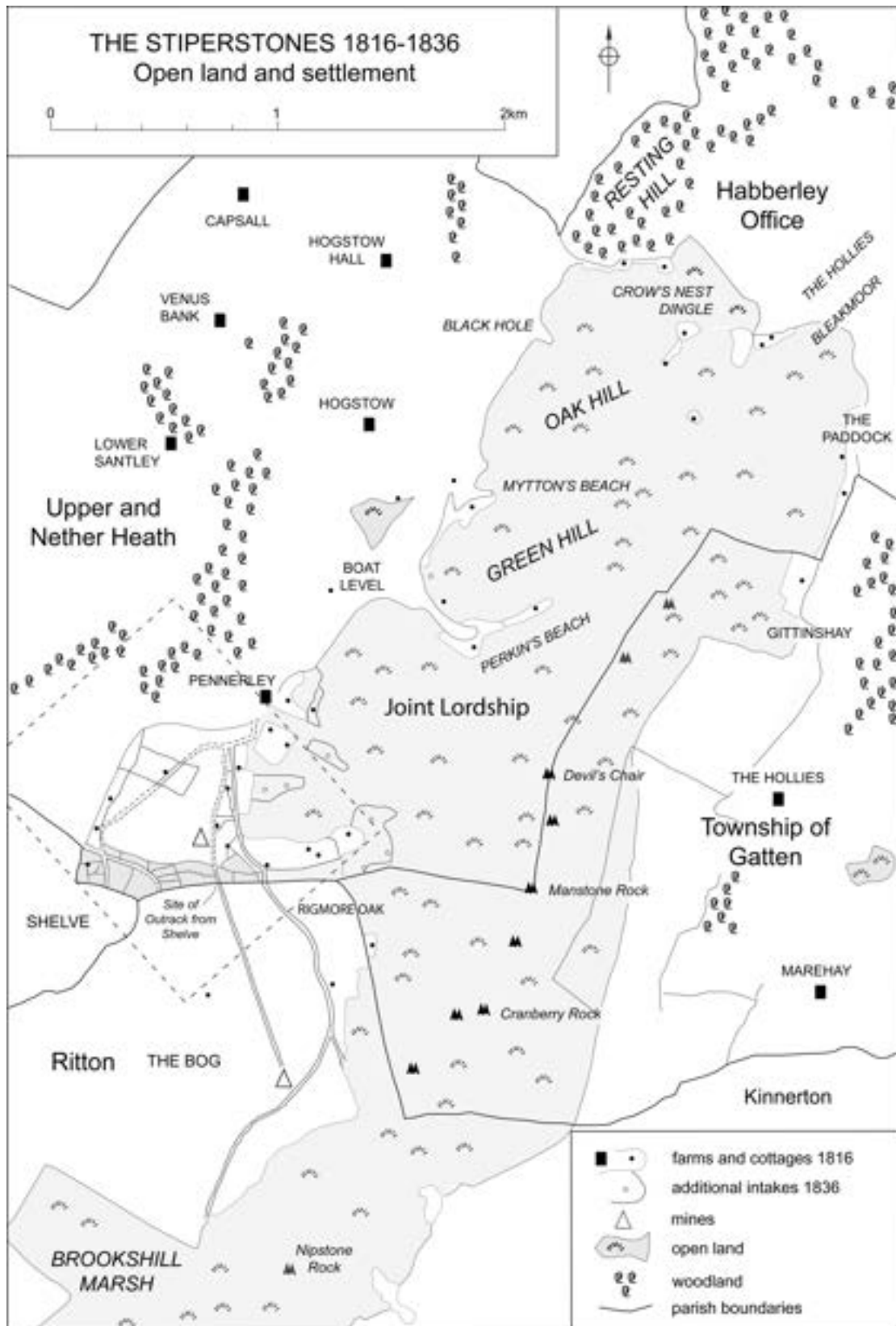
Figure 4. The Eastern Commons: parts of Wentnor, Worthen and Shelve Parishes, from Ordnance Survey mapping, showing smallholding cottages as existing in 1816 on the edges of the open land (closed circles), and a number of further cottages that had been built by 1836 (open circles). The cottages and fields within the dashed rectangle at Pennerley are shown in detail in the estate map reproduced as Figure 5.

Figure 5. Estate map of Pennerley Flat, originally Walton's Meadow, on the western end of the Stiperstones ridge, showing in detail cottages and their fields in 1816. From the collection of deeds and estate papers of Lloyd of Leaton Knolls held at the Shropshire Archives. *Reproduced by kind permission of Shropshire Archives.*

for some years.[72] Such events shed some light on the small scale rural economy and the pace of changes taking place. Even between the Ordnance Survey's 1816 reconnaissance and map publication in 1836, a revision showed expansion at Pennerley.

Rentals continued to show a steady rise in numbers of cottages: 43 in 1825, 58 in 1833, 64 in 1837 and over 100 in the 1840s.[73] Names suggest both newcomers and apparent natural growth of existing extended families. Some cottages were also recorded as 'falling down', reflecting on the quality of self-build structures which were the sole responsibility of the tenant, while the landlord only collected 'ground rent'.

Meanwhile, few new cottages appeared on the Gatten side beyond existing encroachments at Rigmore Oak and Gittinshay. Instead, Birchill Wood was being expanded up the hill as 'Gatten Plantation', reducing the common from 439 acres to 385 acres (177ha to 159ha).[74]

The estate was now under new ownership, perhaps attracted to the area by its opportunities for hunting and shooting.[75] Around the Bog, although no further growth appears to have taken place, new straight roads had been laid out across the damp hollow bypassing the original circuitous but drier route around Rigmore Oak and Pennerley. Meanwhile, below ground, the 'boat level' was being extended from 1808 onwards in order to drain Pennerley and Bog mines to the Hogstow Valley.

Unfortunately, the more detailed story of the landscape around these mines in Kinnerton and Ritton is not clear since records are lacking, but circumstantial evidence suggests that the remaining common here was being divided up into larger blocks and small farms by the Lyster Estate as a planned pattern. In 1824, 26 tenants were recorded here.[76] A related factor was the tradition of housing many more miners actually at the Bog mine site during the working week. In 1793

Figure 6. The Stiperstones district in the mid-19th century. Large estate farms and smaller farms occupy the lower land, squatter cottages occupy the margins of the common land, and cluster around the mines at Snailbeach and on Pennerley Flat. From tithe and estate maps.

Plymley recorded over 100 living in some 'sheds' there.[77] But these may have only been a temporary situation while extra labour was brought in for shaft sinking.

In the Joint Lordship, 311 acres (126ha) were now occupied by 97 cottage holdings leaving only 664 acres (269ha) as common. Each cluster present in 1816 had expanded wherever suitable 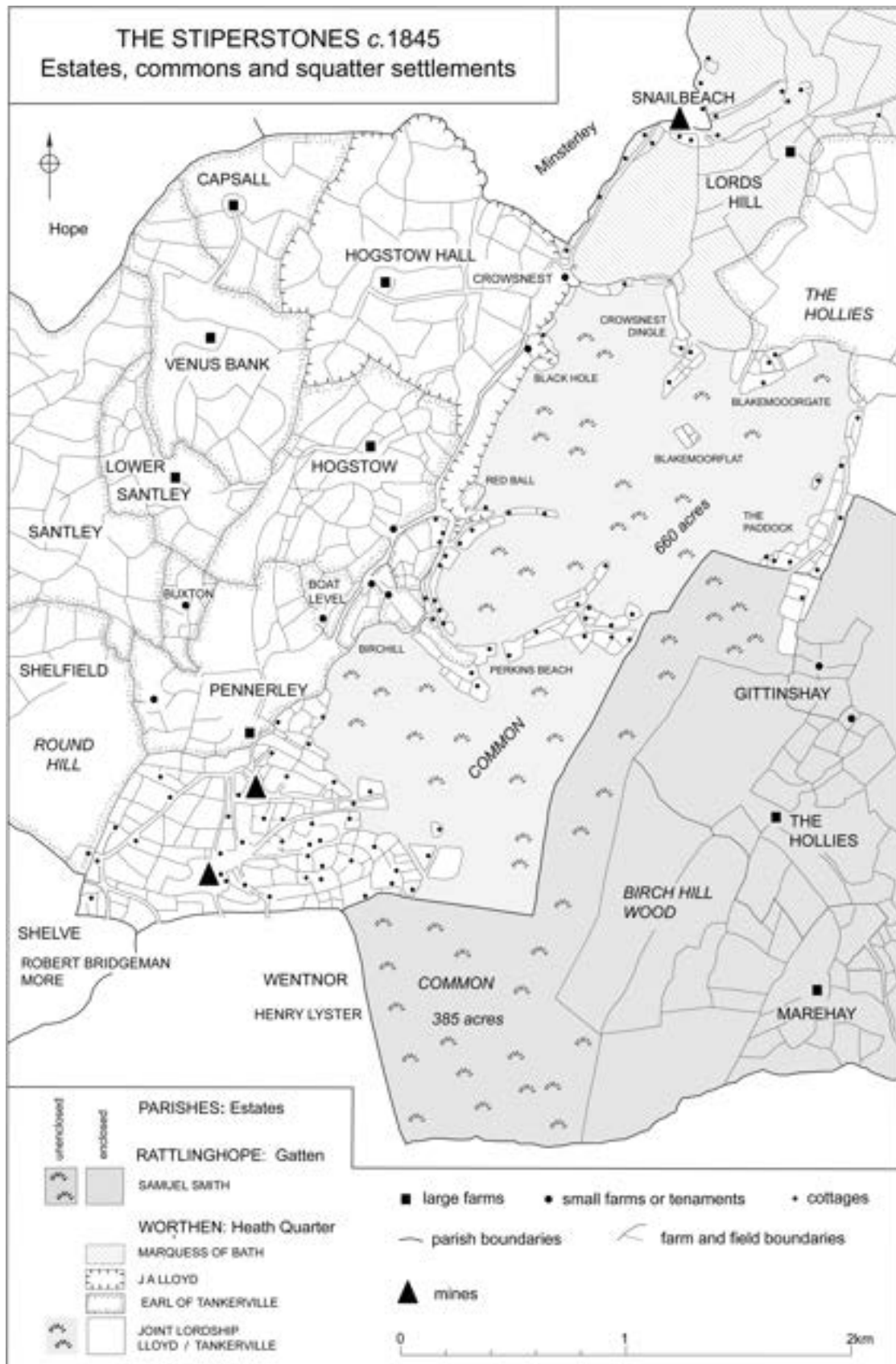flatter land could be found. Most holdings were 4–5 acres (c.2ha) or less – except those 10 acre (4ha) holdings at Pennerley Flat which had been created by subdivision of Waltons Meadow. Significantly, these particular field boundaries were quite straight in contrast to irregular intakes all around.

Around Snailbeach mine, the largest in the district, cottages fitted in spaces between the mine buildings or along the base of Resting Hill and Snailbeach Coppice had been allowed the absolute minimum of land. This settlement pattern, therefore, stands out in striking contrast to that around the common. Obviously the topography restricted the creation of smallholdings, but the policy of the Bath estate may also have been restrictive, as can be judged from the way in which the first Nonconformist chapel was not allowed here, although the more liberal Earl of Tankerville allowed it to be built on his land at Lords Hill instead.

In the wider area, tithe and estate maps provide a clearer picture of the district of Upper and Nether Heath containing the separate Lloyd and Tankerville properties (Figure 6). Both consist mainly of large isolated farms but in addition there is also a series of tenements of about 10–16 acres (4–6ha) each, lining the foot of the hill at Birchill, Boat level, the Green and Perkins Beach, which had been created by about 1832, out of parts of Hogstow and Pennerley farms.[78] A similar set of tenements also occupied part of the Hope Valley at Batholes and Gravels on the same estate, and Habberley Office was likewise dominated by large farms and woods owned by both the Earl of Tankerville and the Marquess of Bath. A similar pattern also occurred in Gatten, with the exception of two old-established smallholdings at Gittinshay and another at Rigmoreoak on the edge of the common.

At this time, Pennerley Mine had been lying out of use, but new companies took over in 1845, and also sank Tankerville and Perkins Beach mines to exploit new veins, including the Big Spar lode running the length of Perkins Beach.[79]

In 1840 the Tithe Commissioner settled the otherwise open and undefined boundary across the hill, while the tithe map was used as the basis of a plan to divide the whole Joint Lordship into separate Lloyd and Tankerville portions. However, this was never finally carried out and the area remained in Joint Ownership, albeit largely managed by the Tankerville agents. The Tankerville farms were offered for sale in 1848 but nothing came of this.[80] The pattern of holdings could therefore continue to grow, but now at a slower rate, in

which only seven cottages and 88 acres (35ha) of new closes were added by 1883 (Figure 7). As at Stapeley, part of this area consisted of closes added to existing holdings on the upper edge of Pennerley and the Paddock which exhibit the new fashion for straighter lines. This same trend can also be seen in Gatten where only new land was taken in and significantly no more cottages after 1857 when the estate was bought by Jonah Harrop who allowed the common status to lapse. He was then free to manage it as grouse moor in accordance with contemporary Victorian practices in the northern uplands.[81] By contrast, on the Tankerville estate more smallholding land was created by the subdivision of the whole of Hogstow farm and part of Pennerley farm. Whitebanks, Hogstow and the Inn 'tenements' became new holdings while certain fields were added to the existing tenements to bring their acreage up to 30 acres (12ha). In the process several original irregular fields were subdivided with contrasting neat straight hedges. Land on the Bath estate was also laid out as smallholdings near to Snailbeach.

About the same time, additional small closes were added to Pennerley at Round Hill. Although no contemporary document records these changes, the action is quite in keeping with the known character of the Earls of Tankerville, whose concern for the welfare of the area is still remembered in other ways.[82] It also reflects the contemporary attitude of many enlightened landowners and social reformers who advocated adequate land for cottage dwellers, as first discussed by Plymley.

Also at this time a religious revival stimulated further chapel building at both Pennerley and Perkins Beach in 1862, while the Church of England school was later built in 1872. The importance of Nonconformism is a very typical feature of all communities of this type, both locally and in adjacent Wales.

As mining output passed its peak in the 1880s,[83] few if any new cottages were built, although an extra 13 acres (5ha) was taken in above Pennerley, although Ordnance Survey mapping shows no change to the heathland vegetation.[84] Additionally, two or three cottages appear to have become deserted by 1902.[85] However, as lead production at the old established mines declined and even ceased altogether at Snailbeach (1910), Tankerville (1890) and Pennerley (1890), shallower levels were exploited for barytes. The 'Big Spar Load' for instance, was worked from the surface along Perkins Beach, while further east, in the Gatten township, new mines were sunk in the Pre-Cambrian rocks, and achieved maximum production during the First World War.[86] Significantly however, this new mining did not create any new settlement pattern, since workers were able to walk across the hills from the existing communities. Daily walks over several miles had in fact always been a feature of life in the district,[87] where the mines of one parish could be
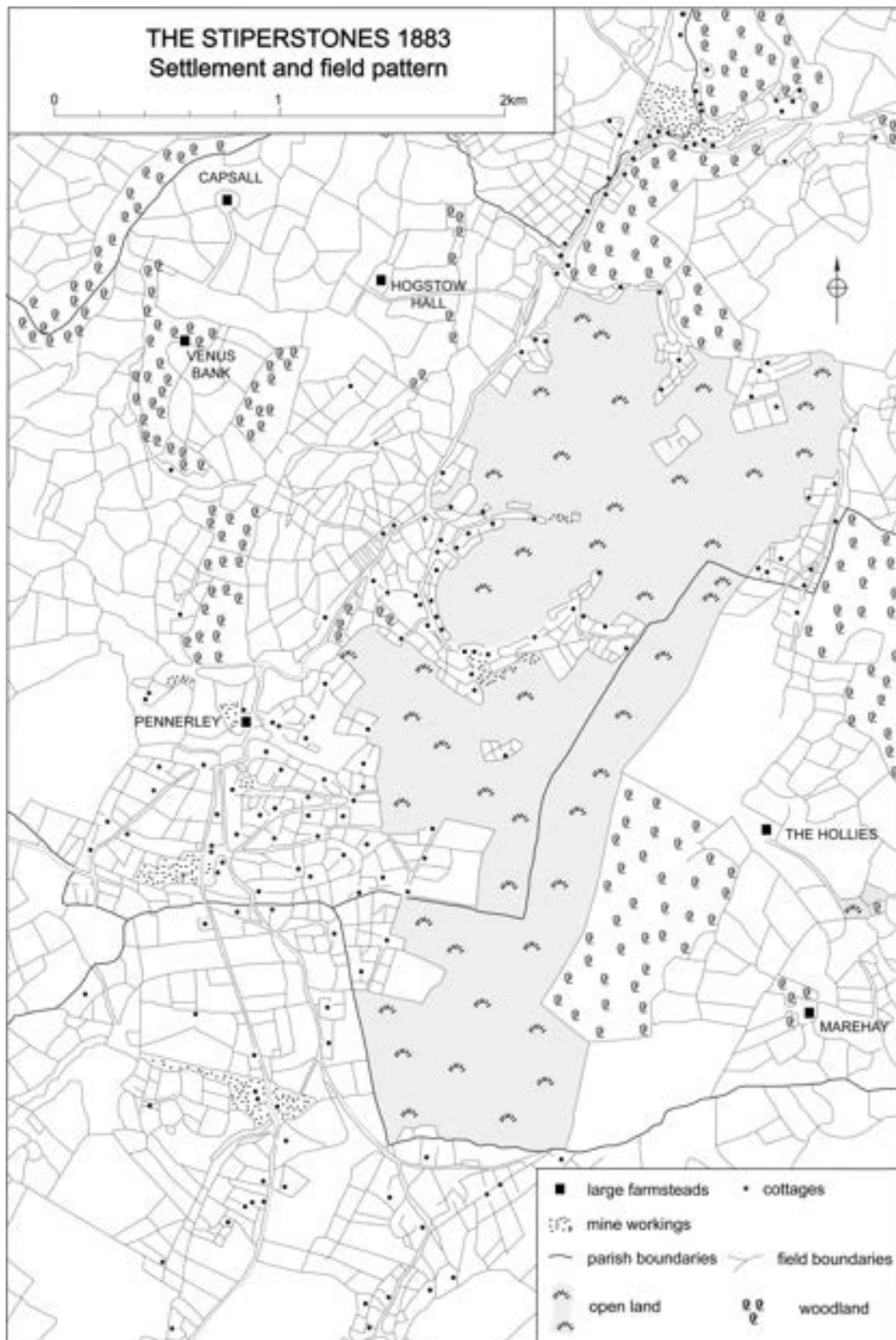
Figure 7. The Stiperstones district in 1883. The number of cottages has not increased appreciably compared with those shown in the tithe records of the 1840s, but enlargements of settlements have been made by the establishment of new fields taken out of the common.
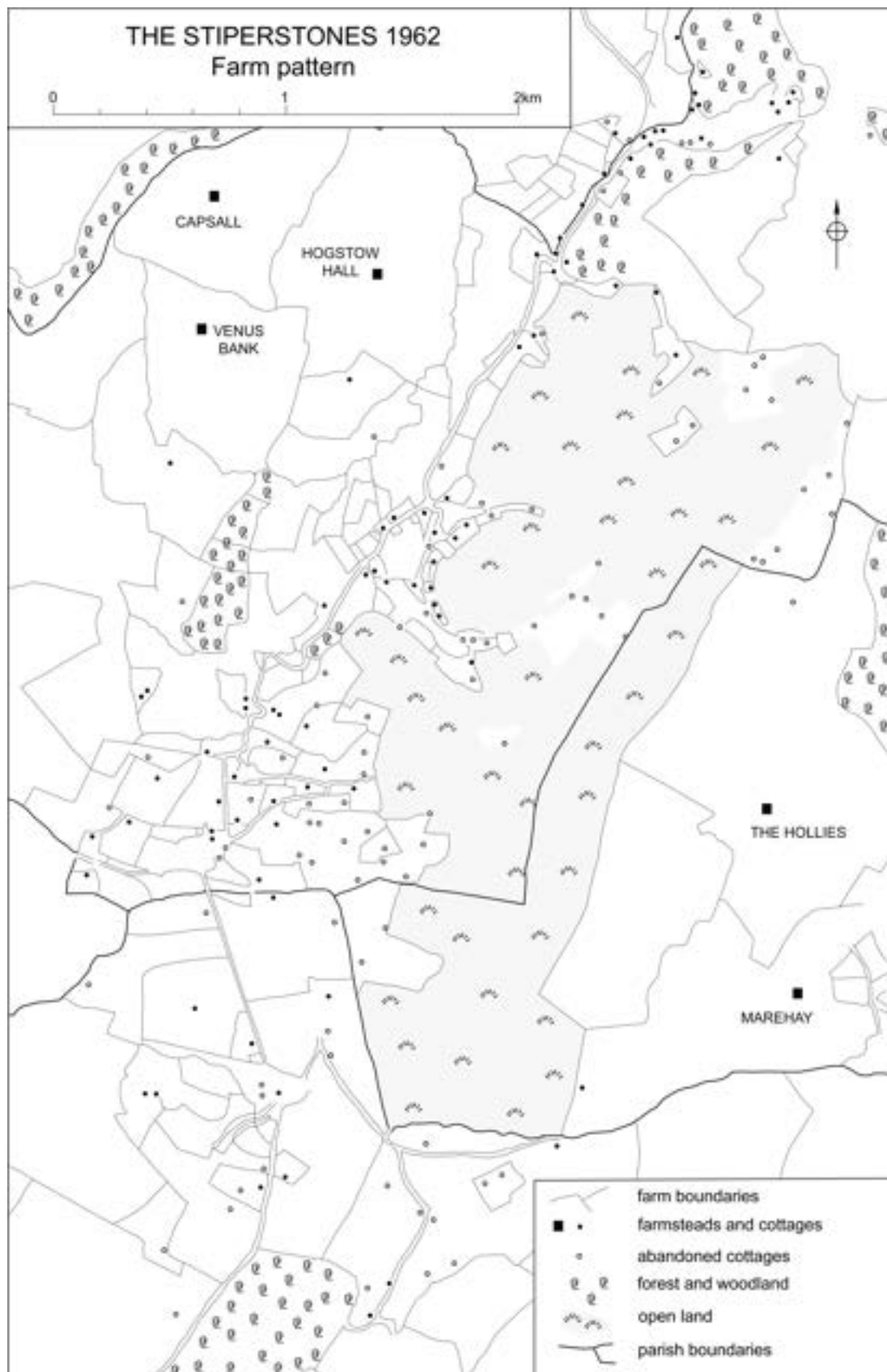
Figure 8. The Stiperstones in 1962. The edges of the common are at this date characterised by numerous abandoned cottages (open circles), their fields amalgamated with others or deserted. *After Pannett, Thomas and Ward 1973*.

worked by miners from another, and is a most important consideration in the flexible relation of settlement pattern to constantly fluctuating mining activity, in which some mines closed while others opened with the changing fortunes of different companies.

After the First World War, many estates in Britain began shedding land and this area was no exception. First, in 1920, Hogstow Hall was sold off, although its right to 497 acres (201ha) of sheepwalk was retained by the Trustees of the Lloyd Estate.[88] Meanwhile Tankerville holdings were being sold to the tenants by private treaty, which took account of their 'existing rights and privileges'. The tenants took these to include rights to turn stock onto the hill, but there was no mention of these when the unsold farms were offered for public auction in 1922.[89] In fact, in 1923, the open hill of the Joint Lordship, along with certain holdings around the Paddock, Blakemoor and the top of Perkins Beach totalling over 600 acres (245ha) were sold to the Gatten Estate[90] which thereafter managed it as a grouse moor along with their existing hill land. One by one the smallholdings and cottages were then allowed to decay as tenancies lapsed, except the Cook family holding at Blakemore Gate.

The remaining holdings on the Joint Lordship, totalling 300 acres (121ha) and held by 'annual verbal tenancies' were not sold until 1953, by which time they consisted of only 44 cottages and smallholdings containing the ruins of some 22 other cottages (Figure 8).[91] Now the holdings were freehold, they could change hands on a free land market, and the present pattern of abandoned cottages and holdings amalgamated by sale or letting, reflects many individual personal stories and transactions.[92]

Several families who left the higher cottages did not in fact leave the area altogether but moved into more conveniently sited property on the lower ground, both old cottages and new bungalows set on smallholdings, especially those held by relatives around the school, Stiperstones Inn, Blackhole and Tankerville. Such trends have certainly been encouraged by Planning Regulations favouring infilling. Council houses were also built in the 1920s. In this way Stiperstones has been taking on more the appearance of a compact village rather than an open scatter of cottages. Work provided by Minsterley Creamery and local transport business as well as that available in Shrewsbury did much to hold the community together in the later 20th century. Outlying freehold cottages now no longer fall into ruins since they have been eagerly sought after as retirement and holiday homes of city outsiders wishing to enjoy the beauty of the hills.

Throughout this period of contraction, inhabitants of the lowland tenements and the remaining upland cottages continued to use the hill for grazing sheep and picking bilberries. Once the latter had been economically important to the poor mining families[93]

and local tradition records how children would sell berries in Shrewsbury market to pay for new winter clothes. By 1968, when registration of the remaining 575 acres (233ha) of the common took place under the 1965 Act, many local people registered berry-picking as a right and in particular eighteen claimed grazing rights on the grounds that they were still turning stock out on the hill or that this had been done in the recent past from those holdings. In actual practice, only four flocks still actively grazed the hill, making use of some 55 acres (22ha) of abandoned fields on Gatten Estate as well as the heather moorland. The heather, maintained by a cycle of periodic burning, for the sake of the grouse, offers little keep and has perhaps discouraged stock from wandering off the more grassy land. Accidental overburning was also destroying peaty soil and exposing more bare rock and clitter along the summit.

In 1966, the Gatten Estate leased parts of its open land, including the Joint Lordship, to the Forestry Commission whilst reserving the summits as grouse moor. This move, for the first time, drew public attention to the disputed 'common' status of this part of the hill and denied any common rights claimed by smallholders living on the Worthen side. Arbitration by the Commons Commissioners was needed in 1978, and the claims of three smallholders were actually allowed since they had acquired rights by 'prescription', whatever the original uncertain legal status of the hill first agreed by William Scarlett in the 16th century.

The public was by this time unofficially treating the whole hill as a public open space to an increasing extent and was prepared to resent afforestation as much as any commoner or conservationist eager to safeguard what had become a Site of Special Scientific Interest. A happy solution to all these parallel and conflicting interests came in 1982 when the whole area of open land was transferred to the Nature Conservancy Council, now Natural England, and declared a National Nature Reserve. Interest in the conservation of the industrial remains was growing,[94] and the remains make an important contribution to local tourism.[95] All this has also aroused considerable nostalgia for the associated mining communities.[96]

One lasting result has been the restoration of two surviving cottages at Blakemoor Gate which, together with their traditional grassland, have become lasting monuments to this special type of settlement. Otherwise, unlike Stapeley, the numerous landscape relics all around – settlement ruins, mines, boundaries and even shooting butts, mainly relate to the story discussed here, rather than to some distant past.[97]

CONCLUSIONS

The Stiperstones mining area is a part of the Shropshire Hills which is now officially designated as an area

Figure 9. The north part of the Stiperstones commons, with the Devil's Chair or Great Rock (see Appendix 3) in the foreground, then successively the Perkins Beach valley, Green Hill, Mytton Dingle, Oak Hill, the cultivated plateau of Lords Hill and Snailbeach Coppice on the last ridge before the drop to the Shropshire plain. *Photograph Chris Musson, CPAT 93-02MC-0014*.

of outstanding natural beauty and its most prominent ridge is now a National Nature Reserve. In spite of such emphasis on nature however, it is clear that this area, like most of Britain, is very much a man-made landscape in which distinctive patterns of settlement and land use have evolved over a long period within a framework of land ownership and local administration.[98] The historical approach is, of course, a study in its own right, but it is too an essential background to any other studies of either modern agriculture, amenity planning or nature conservation.[99] The contribution of such history and land use to the biodiversity of the Nature Reserve is but one aspect of this.

This area must not be considered unique in its landscape features. Mining, smallholding settlements, hill farming, forests, commons and moorland occur over many other areas of highland Britain to varying amounts.[100] The Stiperstones, however, provide a very conveniently compact concentration of such features in which their origins and relationships may be demonstrated to all students seeking to understand the British landscape.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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2. Tate 1947.
3. Common lands have been widely discussed by geographers and landscape historians. See http://contestedcommons.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/index.html%3Fp=403.html (accessed 25 March 2020).
4. Everitt 2000; Howell 2000; Wiliam 2010.
5. Trinder 1982.
6. Barnes 1970.
7. Rowley 1972, pl. 19; Watson and Musson 1996, 34–5.
8. The history and geographical distribution of commons revealed by The Royal Commission report were subsequently summarised county by county by the historian W. G. Hoskins and geographer L. D. Stamp – both of whom had been members of the Commission. Hoskins and Stamp 1963.
9. For a recent report on one of the Clee commons see Young and Williams 2019.
10. e.g. Roberts and Wrathmell 2002 and 2003.
11. Jones 1879.
12. Watts (ed.), 2011; Plimley visitation returns: Shropshire Archives [hereafter SA] 6001/6863.
13. Bishton 1794, 24.
14. *Ibid*., 24–5.
15. Plymley 1803, 225.
16. *Ibid*., 110–9.
17. 31 Eliz c. 7.
18. Pannett, Thomas and Ward 1973.
19. Pannett 1969.
20. Chirbury, Worthen, Shelve, Rattlinghope, Wentnor, More and Norbury.
21. Churchstoke and Hyssington.
22. Rowley 1961
23. *The Victoria County History of Shropshire* [*VCH*] 'Sources: subject files', deposited 2002: SA 6908/2.
24. Eyton XI, 111.
25. *Ibid*., 111.
26. Rowley 1972; Eyre 1957
27. SA 1037/1/204.
28. Blanchard 1972.
29. Eyton XI, 110.
30. SA 1033/12–13.
31. SA 1037/2/19.
32. Eyton XI, 184.
33. *VCH*, Vol. II (1973), 50–9; Vol. IV (1989), 58.
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41. Lloyd of Leaton Knolls: SA 103/1/8/5/132.
42. Lloyd of Leaton Knolls: SA 103/1/8/142.
43. *VCH*, Vol. VIII (1968), 266.
44. SA 1037/1/53.
45. SA 1037/2/26.
46. SA 112/8/6.
47. SA 9071/A/1/1/2.
48. Williams 1909, e.g. 222.
49. Silvester 2012, 179 fig. 9.
50. SA 1037/1/165–6.
51. SA 1037/1/168.
52. Pannett, Thomas and Ward 1973.
53. Holderness 1972.
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55. Anon 1951, 50–1.
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65. Map of Kinton: SA 1291/1.
66. Ray 2007, 69; Watson 2002, 7–14.
67. Watson and Musson 1993, 20–3.
68. Fleming 2008.
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70. Archdeacon Plymley visitation returns: SA/6001/6863.
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72. SA 5381/7/1–4.
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74. SA 4991/2/1/3.
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79. Brook and Allbut 1973; Shaw 2009.
80. Sales catalogue for freehold estates in the parish of Worthen: SA SC/6/15.
81. SA X4991/2/1/3.
82. Corfield 1961.
83. Brook and Albut 1973.
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95. Wall 2014.
96. Francis *et al*. 2000, Price and Yapp 2011.
97. Hannaford 2013a.
98. Hannaford 2013b.
99. e.g. Cameron and Pannett 1980; Hannaford 2013a; Wall 2014.
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APPENDIX 1

Stiperstones District - commons and wastes in early 19th century

Parish	Township or manor	Name of common	Approx. size a / ha	Lord of the manor and principle landowners	Date of inclosure
Chirbury	Middleton	Stapeley Hill & Middleton Hill	557 / 223	J. C. Stokes and 2 others	-
Chirbury	Priestweston	Weston Hill Rudge Hill	195 / 78 31 / 12	Earl of Powis and 10 others	1871
Chirbury	Rorrington	Rorrington Hill & Black Marsh	429 / 172	Sir Offley Wakeman	-
Churchstoke	Churchstoke and Hurdley	Corndon Marsh, Lan Fawr, Todleth Hill	776 / 308	65 owners	1853
Hyssington		Hyssington Marsh other small commons	295 / 118 28 / 11	Earl of Powis	1855
Hyssington	Mucklewick	Mucklewick Hill other small commons	135 / 54 10 / 4	Revd J. C. H. Stoker and 20 others	1855
More	More and Linley	Black Rhadley Linley Hill Cefn Gunthley & Heath Mynd Squilver Hill	285 / 114 187 / 80 467 / 188 56 / 23	Robert Bridgeman More of Linley	-
Norbury	Norbury	Norbury Hill	380 / 152	John Thomas of Hardwick and 6 others	1851
Pontesbury	Pontesbury	Nills Hill	35 / 14	part of Manor of Ford	1848
Ratlinghope	Gatten and Stitt	Stiperstones	c.400 / 160	Samuel Smith of London	-
Shelve	Shelve	Shelve Hill further 17th century commons	357 / 143 not calculated	Robert Bridgeman More of Linley	-
Wentnor	Wentnor	Prollymoor Wentnor Green (also part of Long Mynd)	225 / 90 23 / 9	-	1852
Wentnor	Kinnerton and Ritton	Stiperstones Brookshill Marsh	not calculated not calculated	-	
Worthern	(Aston Piggot), Bromlow, Meadowtown	Bromlow Callow, Hemford and Whitsburn Hill	1,100 / 440	Revd Edward Mickleton and others	1820
Worthen	Hope	Hope Common	110 / 44	Peter Beck	-
Worthen	(Heath Quarter) Joint Lordship	Stiperstones	660 / 264	Earl of Tankerville and J. A. Lloyd of Leaton Knolls	-
Worthen	(Heath Quarter) Upper and Nether Heath	The Green* Round Hill alias Wynne Hill**	11 / 4.5 99 / 40	Earl of Tankerville	-

*   The Green was open but probably not common
** Round Hill was still considered common until the end of 18th century

APPENDIX 2

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Westbury: Minsterley, A 1838, M 1839?

Worthen: Bromlow, Meadowtown: A 1843, M 1848?

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APPENDIX 3

The Stiperstones Commons: a Postscript

By R. J. SILVESTER

Deposited on loan by its owner in the North East Wales Archives (Hawarden), a recently catalogued atlas of manuscript maps displays the widely-spread estates of Walter Robinson, squire of Gwersyllt Hall near Wrexham, as they were in 1734 (reference: D/NA/1346). Prepared by the Flintshire surveyor William Williams, the outsized atlas is relevant to David Pannett's paper in that, under the title of the manor of Hockstow and Gatten, one of the seven sheets of maps shows the Gatten estate on the eastern side of the Stiperstones ridge.

This has claims to be the earliest visual depiction by more than a century of the Gatten estate. It reveals an agrarian landscape centred on Lodge (now Gatten Lodge) with a number of other farms some such as Hollies (now The Hollies, located on Figure 4) that still exist, and others that have undergone a name change as with Over Gatten which is today Far Gatten, and a few others such as Yoakshay that have disappeared entirely. Alpha-numeric codes for each field, a common feature on 18th-century maps, refer to a separate schedule of details such as acreages and land values, but sadly this has not survived. Unsurprisingly there is no hint of any mining activity on the map, and the boundary of the Stiperstones common is not so very different from what it is today, although some of the irregularities of its edge have been since been straightened out to create the linear north-east to south-west boundary that is now in place. Put another way enclosure of the open land had largely reached its maximum limits by the earlier part of the 18th century.

Probably the most interesting feature of the map is the names attributed to the outcrops and other features along the Stiperstones ridge which William Williams must have collected from local informants. From south to north are the Black Ditch, Woman Stone, Man Stone, Great Rock, Woof Stone, Wooffitch Stone and Harwood's Wall. The Black Ditch, then as now, is the name given to the boundary earthwork which acquired the more romantic mantle of the Monks Ditch in some 19th-century sources as the main text above makes clear. Then the Woman Stone, without doubt a more politically apposite term than its modern successor, Cranberry Rock, given that the adjacent Manstone Rock has managed to retain its label over more than four centuries, for the name was in use in 1599 (Dr Paul Cavill, University of Nottingham: pers. comm.). This is more than can be said for the prosaic Great Rock which has subsequently been burdened with the folkloric Devil's Chair, presumably the whim of some 19th-century romantic. Next, the enigmatic Woof Stone equates with the outcrop known at the beginning of the 20th century as Scattered Rock, while Wooffitch Stone is Shepherd's Rock, leaving Harwood's Wall as the bank towards the northern end of the Stiperstones that is followed by the parish boundary. In sum, of the Stiperstones' outcrops, only the Man Stone has retained its name over the past three hundred years.

Figure 10.   The southern part of the Stiperstones commons looking along the ridge with, in the foreground, Manstone Rock ('Man Stone') and Cranberry Rock ('Woman Stone') in the further distance. The enclosed fields and woodland of Gatten lie just downslope to the left of the ridge. *Photograph Chris Musson, CPAT 93-03MC-0005.*

'Moste Stately Tombes': Four Late-Elizabethan Monuments and their Designer

By TONY CARR

Walter Hancock (d.1599) is known for his work on several late-Elizabethan buildings in the West Midlands and nearby parts of Wales, but his contemporaries also knew and admired the church monuments he had been commissioned to make. The monument to Richard Herbert (d.1596) and his wife at Montgomery has been identified as one of his designs. This paper proposes that three further tombs, one at Condover, another at Ashley in Staffordshire and a lost monument formerly at Atcham, were also by him. Three of the tombs feature a cadaver which was an unusual element at the end of the sixteenth century.

Among the numerous routine entries in the Much Wenlock parish register for 1599 is an exceptional record noting the burial of a townsman who had achieved considerable respect and fame in the locality. The entry for 16 September reads:

> Walter Hancox free Mason was buryed. This man was a very skilfull man in the art of masonry in setting of plottes for buildinges & performinge of the same, ingravinge in aleblaster, & other stone, or playster, & in divers other giftes that belonge to that art, as dothe appeare by his workes whiche may be seene In diverse parts of England & Walles, moste sompteouse buildinges moste stately tombes, moste curyouse pictures, and to conclude in all workes he tooke in hand he hathe lefte behinde him longe lastinge monuments of skilfull workmanship & besides these qualityes he had others whiche passed these he was a moste honest man, devout and zealouse in religion, pittiful to the poore & had the love & good will of all his honeste nighbours.[1]

Hancock's name has been associated with a number of buildings in the West Midlands and nearby parts of Wales, but the tomb of Richard Herbert (d.1596) and his wife Magdalen Newport at Montgomery in Powys is the only monument which has so far been attributed to him. This article suggests that three other late-Elizabethan tombs may be considered as examples of his work.

The tomb of Thomas Scriven (d.1587) and his wife Elizabeth Leighton at Condover has previously been identified as a potential candidate.[2] Hancock is known to have been working on Condover Hall for Judge Thomas Owen in 1591[3] and was resident in the parish when his daughter Jone was baptised in the church on 26 March of that year. He was probably known to the Scriven family as his will of 1599 recalled a debt of 3s 4d owed to him by 'Collins, servant to Mr Scryven.'[4] The Scriven monument is built into the south wall of the chancel. Newman gives this description 'Recumbent alabaster effigies, and frontally placed children against the tomb chest below. Deep four-centred recess between Ionic pilasters which carry an entablature and a towering gable much enriched with strapwork. The gable is copied from an engraving by Vredeman de Vries.'[5]

In the spandrels below the entablature are low-relief carvings featuring a three-lobed fleshy leaf design. This is repeated in the spandrels above three groups, two of two sons and one of two daughters, fronting the tomb chest. A *vanitas* motif in the form of a grinning skull at the right-hand angle of the tomb chest includes a large worm, which is entering the skull through the right eye socket, its knotted body trailing back in the spandrel above one of the daughters. The groups of children are separated by four decorated Ionic pilasters. These pilasters recur in various forms on the monuments to be discussed and elsewhere (Figure 1).

The Herbert monument dominates the Lymore chapel or south transept in the church of St Nicholas at Montgomery, Powys (Figure 2). It is 15ft 6ins (4.72m)

Figure 1.   Tomb of Thomas Scriven (d.1587) and his wife Elizabeth Leighton at Condover. *Photograph: author.*

high, 10ft (3m) wide and 7ft (2.13m) deep. The alabaster effigies of Richard Herbert and his wife are supported by a colonnade of five decorative colonettes with Ionic capitals, similar to the pilasters on the Scriven monument. Behind the colonnade is the shrouded effigy of Richard, which is tied round the waist and folded open to show his bearded face and bare feet. His bare hands lie on his stomach. The space above the effigies is rib-vaulted. A painted inscription below the entablature reads:

> Heare Lyeth the Body of Richard Herbert Esquire Whose Monument was made at the coste of Magdalene his wyfe Daughter to Sr Richard Newport of highe Arcoall in the County of Salop Knighte (deceased) & of Dame Margaret his wyfe Daughter & Sole heyre to Sr Thomas Bromley Knighte late Lord Cheife Justice of England & one of the Executors Of the Late Kinge of Most Famous Memorye Kinge Henry the Eighte Ano Dom 1600.

The monument was the subject of two articles published by J. D. K. Lloyd in the mid-20th century. The first of these states that the two effigies and the ledge on which they lie, the Corinthian columns, the architrave and

cornice, and five of the shields are of alabaster the rest being freestone which has been painted.[6] Behind and above their parents, eight doll-like praying offspring look out towards the viewer. They appear two by two (six males and two females) beneath semi-circular arches which are supported by narrow versions of the colonettes fronting the cadaver. Lloyd asked Katharine Esdaile, an authority on post-Reformation monuments, for her opinion on the designer. She considered William Cure the younger (d.1632) of Southwark as a possible attribution. Lloyd's second paper was written when it was discovered that Walter Hancock had worked at Montgomery shortly before his death.[7] In his will Hancock lists among the debts that he owes 'To Willm Rooe which he is to receave of Mris Mawdelin Herbet owt of that worke which he and others have done for and by my appointment at Mountgomorie three poundes nineteene shillings.'[8] Hancock is now the accepted designer of the tomb.[9]

Hancock's name is associated with several domestic or civic buildings in addition to Condover Hall. The architectural historian Sir John Summerson, who described Hancock as 'a local genius among masons', thought that Shipton Hall might be one of his works.[10]

Figure 2. Tomb of Richard Herbert (d.1596) and his wife Magdalen Newport at Montgomery, Powys. *Reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Wales.*

He observed that 'Hancock used his de Vries but remained solidly native in his compositions'. Forrest listed Soulton Hall, near Wem, Preston Brockhurst and Wilderhope as possible additions to his designs.[11] Denbigh Shire Hall has been suggested as a further example, as has Trevalyn Hall near Wrexham.[12] He was employed at Madeley Court in the last decade of the 16th century.[13] Unfortunately, neither High Ercall Hall nor Eyton-on-Severn, on which Hancock is known to have been employed by the Newport family, have survived but the letter of 11 November 1595 sent by Sir Francis Newport to the bailiffs of Shrewsbury, recommending Hancock when a new Market House was planned is clearly based on his own experience. The letter reads:

> Good Mr. Bailiffs – Whereas I am enformed that you intend to buyld a new market house of stone in that towne and so go forward with the work next spring, I pray you let mee comende a Mason of approved skyll and honestye, one Walter Hancock, unto you for the doing thereof. I think it is not unknown to you that I have great cause to make tryall of workmen, and therefore can well write unto you of myne owne knowledge and experience

that you cannot match the man in these parts (with any of that occupacon) neyther in scyence and jugement of workmanship, nor in playnes and honestye to deal with all. And therefore doe praye you that he maye undertake the worke, which I assure you I doe wish more in good will to the Towne (to have the work sufficyently and truely done) than unto him (although I love the man well). I know that if Mr Justice Owen were in the country he would say as much on Hancock's behalf as I have done. And so praying you to regard him the rather for my sake doe with my very heartie commendacons commit you to God.[14]

The Market Hall in the Square at Shrewsbury was completed in 1596.[15] The date is recorded on the west side of the building above the main entrance to the upper floor. A large canopied recess, supported on a consoled shelf just below the level of the first-floor entablature, contains a complete royal coat of arms and crest. The canopy is supported by two pilasters which closely resemble those on the Scriven and Herbert tombs (Figure 3).

Hancock's date and place of birth are unknown. His will, made on 31 July 1599, reveals a little more about the man.[16] In it he bequeathed 40s [£2] and 'my paire of Buffe Britches' to his father William Hancock, made arrangements for the education of his young children John (baptised 1592) and Mary (baptised 1593) and named his wife Frances as his sole executor. He would appear to have been still a relatively young man himself when he died a few weeks later in September. He had

Figure 3. Royal coat of arms and date above the main entrance to Market Hall, The Square, Shrewsbury. *Photograph: author.*

moved from Condover to Much Wenlock by the time his son John was baptised there on 31 May 1592. On 29 September 1597 he had been made a burgess.[17]

Ashley parish church in Staffordshire contains the huge monument to Sir Gilbert Gerard (d.1593) and his wife Ann Radcliffe (*c*.1539–1603) (Figure 4). It is entirely of alabaster apart from the shrouded corpse which is of freestone. The shroud is tied round the neck and waist, but the body is not visible and its feet have been damaged. Fronting the corpse is a colonnade of five Ionic colonettes which are plainer versions of those in the same position on the Herbert tomb at Montgomery; the outer and central columns are larger than the other two. Behind and above the recumbent effigies, four daughters are shown, two in each of two recesses which are again supported by three narrow pilasters similar to those on the colonnade but with square capitals and decoration on the front face of each. The carefully depicted costumes of these ladies provide a date of *c*.1600 for the monument. The space above the effigies is rib-vaulted. Sir Gilbert's two sons, Thomas (*c*.1564–1618) and Ratcliffe, are shown in the round kneeling, somewhat precariously, on narrow cushions, at the heads and feet of their parents. Two praying infants now kneel on the floor between a crested helm in front of the tomb.

The spandrels at the front of the monument below the entablature are filled with low-relief carvings of a four-lobed leaf design, somewhat reminiscent of the leaves on the Scriven monument in the same location at Condover. The arches above the effigies at the front and sides of the tomb are disrupted by decorative features similar to those on the canopy above the royal arms on Shrewsbury Market Hall; the flower decorations there each have five petals, whereas at Ashley there are six (Figure 4).

The Herbert and Gerard tombs share some common features as well as their date and may share their designer, but the workmanship at Ashley is considerably more accomplished than that at Montgomery. It would appear to have been more costly to produce but the family had the means and the status to require this. Sir Gilbert's family held estates in Lancashire giving them considerable influence in that county.[18] Gerard was called to the bar in 1539, became MP for Liverpool in 1545 and for Wigan in 1553 and 1555. On Elizabeth's accession to the throne in 1558 he was appointed attorney-general, possibly because he had ably defended her during Mary's reign. In 1579, he was passed over by Sir Thomas Bromley (see below) when the lord keepership of the great seal became vacant, but he was made master of the rolls which brought him £1000 a year and considerable patronage. He had established his country seat at Gerrard's Bromley near Ashley in Staffordshire *c*.1575. His wife and two of his daughters were Catholic and it was said of him that he was 'protestant at London and a papist in Lancashire.'[19] In

this context it is relevant to consider the choice made by his executor to erect a shrouded, or cadaver, tomb. A recent survey found only thirteen late-Elizabethan cadaver tombs in England.[20] The author noted:

> By utilising the *memento mori* element of the cadaver form (and thus the charitable nature of the depiction), Catholic tomb patrons effectively found a way of shortening their time in Purgatory even in the face of a largely Protestant congregation. The cadaver tomb is therefore the ideal form of monument for an Elizabethan Catholic. Its ambiguity meant that it was permitted to be physically sited in the Protestant parish church, while its form allowed it to continue to function spiritually as it had done in the century before the Reformation.'[21]

Among the notes of the Shropshire antiquary William Mytton (1693–1746) concerning Atcham parish are two sketches of an impressive late-Elizabethan monument which was standing in the church *c*.1736.[22] One of the sketches includes measurements showing that it was 13ft 9ins (4.16 m) high and 10ft (3m) wide (Figure 5).[23] In addition, Mytton, or more probably the artist James Bowen (*c*.1718–74) who was assisting him, recorded an incomplete inscription; 'Heare lieth John Biest and An Egerton his first wife who died without issue of…'[24]

Behind a colonnade supported by two elaborate colonettes with Ionic capitals, the sketches show a shrouded body with the shroud tied at the neck and around the waist. Above this is a cartouche below a pointed arch shown as black in one of the sketches. Two bulbous fluted columns topped by Ionic capitals flank the monument supporting the entablature which carries the inscription. Above this an elaborate gable is surmounted by Biest's arms *Gules, three bundles of three arrows, 2 and 1, or, headed and feathered argent, tied with ribbons of the third*.

There are no effigies shown in either sketch, apart from the shrouded corpse, but it seems unlikely that none had been intended. However, the sketches appear to leave little space for them. There were no children of this marriage, or of John's second marriage to Elizabeth (surname unknown), so none would be included unlike the numerous offspring at Condover, Montgomery and Ashley. The nature of the stonework is not recorded in Mytton's notes. As only the beginning of the inscription could be read when the drawings were made it would appear that the monument had already become dilapidated. By the time the antiquary Edward Williams (1762–1833) was recording Shropshire's church monuments in the late 18th century, it seems that the Biest monument had disappeared as his comprehensive survey at Atcham does not include it.[25] Some interior alterations were made after 1788 to the south side of the church for the Burton family of Longner. The alabaster

Figure 4.   Tomb of Sir Gilbert Gerard (d.1593) and his wife Ann Radcliffe at Ashley, Staffordshire. *Photograph: author.*

incised slab of Edward Burton (d.1524) and his wife was rescued from the collapsed St Chad's church in Shrewsbury and inserted in the south wall near the Burton family pew.[26] Might this have been the occasion for the removal of the bulky Biest monument which was by then in a poor state of repair? Mytton unfortunately does not record the location of the monument, but an inconspicuous tablet now on the south side of the high altar on the east wall has the inscription 'In this corner lie the remains of John Byeste of Atcham Grange Esqr

Figure 5. Tomb of John Biest (d.1587) and his first wife Ann Egerton formerly at Atcham. Drawn *c*.1736 probably by James Bowen (*c*.1718–74) for William Mytton (1693–1746). MYT/1/106. © *Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham University.*

who died 1588 [sic]', which suggests that the monument was erected south of the high altar in the chancel, the same location as the Scriven tomb at Condover.

Atcham Grange is located immediately south of the churchyard on the bank of the Severn. The Biest family had lived there for several generations.[27] John's grandfather, Roger Biest, had acted as bailiff for the abbot of Lilleshall,[28] whose abbey held the grange and

manor until its dissolution in 1538. In 1533 Roger had leased the grange from the abbey.[29] John's mother was Lucy Poyner whose brother William Poyner of Beslow (Wroxeter parish) was married to Jane Scriven, sister to Thomas whose monument is at Condover.[30] In 1576/7 John Biest purchased the manor and rectory of Atcham with the tithes of Atcham, Uckington, Berwick, Emstrey, Chilton, Cronkhill and the advowson of the vicarage

of Atcham.[31] He married Anne Egerton at Betley in Staffordshire in September 1574. He received his grant of arms in 1586.[32]

The families of Thomas Scriven, Richard Herbert and John Biest were inter-related and formed part of a wealthy group of Shropshire gentry which included the extensive Bromley family, two of whose members became leading legal officers of the Tudor government. Evidence does not survive to show how this group of individuals might have influenced the commissioning of monuments, but their close connection may have been instrumental.

Anne Egerton's mother was Jane Lacon who first married George Bromley of Hodnet (d.1545)[33] whose cousin Sir Thomas Bromley (d.1555) was Lord Chief Justice.[34] This Sir Thomas had acquired former monastic property at Eyton-on-Severn in the parish of Wroxeter. He had been Recorder of Shrewsbury and a member of the Drapers Company, and through his legal prowess and position at court he became a vital member of the corporation.[35] His tomb at Wroxeter is by the Burton-on-Trent alabasterer Richard Parker;[36] its inscription records that he had been Lord Chief Justice and one of Henry VIII's executors. His daughter Margaret was sole heiress to his extensive property; she married Sir Richard Newport (d.1570). When she died in 1598, the Shrewsbury town chronicle recorded that on the day of her funeral at Wroxeter 'all the bells in Shrewsburry dyd ringe in remembrance of hyr the whiche towne she lovyd wel and she was belovd of the inhabytents therin.'[37] It was their daughter Magdalen who commissioned her husband Richard Herbert's tomb at Montgomery with its lengthy inscription recalling her grandfather Sir Thomas Bromley and it was their son Sir Francis Newport who wrote to the bailiffs of Shrewsbury recommending Hancock in connection with the Market Hall.

Jane Lacon's marriage to George Bromley produced two sons – George (c.1526–89) and Thomas (c.1530–87). Thomas was admitted to Clifford's Inn in 1547 and in 1557 he became MP for Bridgnorth.[38] When his namesake, the Lord Chief Justice died in 1555, he left his cousin an annuity of 40s provided he continued his law studies. In 1558 Thomas became MP for Wigan possibly through the influence of the Gerard family. He was appointed solicitor-general in 1569 in which role he was much involved in several treason trials. When the question of the jurisdiction of the Shropshire-based Council of the Marches of Wales over the city and county of Worcester was raised in 1574, the case was referred to Bromley and attorney-general Gerard; they found in the Council's favour.[39] Bromley's reputation came to overshadow that of Gerard and it was Bromley who was appointed lord chancellor in 1579, at which time he was also knighted. Bromley supported Shrewsbury when the city of Chester, abetted by Robert Dudley, petitioned the Privy Council to be granted a staple of North Wales cottons and friezes to

the detriment of the Oswestry-Shrewsbury-London axis. By using his influence with the queen, Bromley saw that the petition was refused.[40] It is thought that the anxieties arising from the trial and execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, to whose death warrant Bromley had set the great seal, caused him to take to his bed a few weeks before he died in April 1587. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.[41] The Shrewsbury town chronicle recorded his death saying he 'was a greate frynde and a pryncypall juell to Shropshyre.'[42]

Jane Lacon's second marriage, to William Egerton of Betley in Staffordshire, produced four children including Anne[43] who was married to John Biest of Atcham at Betley in 1574. She was thus the half-sister of Sir Thomas Bromley, the Lord Chancellor, and related to his cousin Sir Thomas the Lord Chief Justice. It is not known when she died but it was before her husband, as the Atcham inscription indicates. Did her death prompt the erection of the Atcham monument, or was this created after his death in 1587? John Biest left his estates to be divided between three of his sisters all of whom had married into local gentry families.[44] The lands in his manors of Atcham and Edgebold contained about 800 acres, the annual value of which in 1591 was about £210.[45] His sister Katherine had married Thomas Burton of Longner, the estate adjoining Atcham parish. Their son Edward was probably the 'Edward Burton gent' to whom Walter Hancock had lent 5s as noted in his will.[46] The sisters divided the estate by casting lots, Katherine Burton gaining the Atcham portion.

The four monuments discussed share certain characteristics. Three of them feature a shrouded cadaver which was an unusual element by the 1590s. Three of them make considerable use of Burton alabaster, while the fourth may have done so. The families to which those commemorated belonged were either related through marriage or through membership of the legal or political professions. They were living in fairly close reach of each other in Shropshire and Staffordshire. If, as his burial notice claims, Walter Hancock was competent in designing 'stately tombes' for the gentry and was a reliable craftsman known to members of the group it would have been understandable if he was chosen by executors when ordering monuments in preference to employing a distant metropolitan workshop. He was fortunate in gaining the patronage of the wealthy and influential Bromley/Newport family but perhaps they and their associated relatives, neighbours and legal/political friends were fortunate in being able to commission work from an honest man who was also 'a local genius among masons.'[47]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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THE NAVE ROOFS OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH, MYNDTOWN, AND EARLY ROOF CARPENTRY IN SHROPSHIRE CHURCHES

By BOB MEESON

Following a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund, preliminary investigations directed by Arrol and Snell (Shrewsbury) led to the discovery of early roof fragments buried in the top of the nave walls of St John the Baptist Church at Myndtown, prompting tree-ring dating and an archaeological watching brief. During the subsequent programme of conservation work Nottingham Tree-ring Dating Laboratory secured a felling date range of AD 1225–50 for the early roof fragments, and of AD 1326–48 for the substantially complete replacement roof.[1] The following account includes a description of the two consecutive structures, but the main focus is upon the earliest timber fragments which have characteristics consistent with common tiebeam roofs. This exceptional survival is placed into its chronological framework in relation to other early church roofs in Shropshire and further afield.

LOCATION

Myndtown is 7km (4 miles) south-west of Church Stretton in south Shropshire. The church of St John the Baptist is located at NGR SO39038954 near the southern end of the Long Mynd at an altitude of *c*.220m (725 feet) on a west-facing slope overlooking the confluence of the rivers East Onny and West Onny. The church is adjacent to medieval settlement earthworks near the boundary between enclosed pasture fields falling away to the south-west and open grazing land to the east across Old Churchmoor Hill which rises to just over 460m (1,500 feet). Settlement desertion, the consequent relative poverty of the parish and the marginal location of the church probably contributed to the survival of the early roof fragments.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CHURCH

The Grade II* listed parish church is of 12th-century or earlier origin, now having a nave with a west belfry, a south porch, and a chancel (Figure 1). The history of the church was recently summarised elsewhere and need not be repeated here beyond noting that a Walter le Clerk was recorded as rector of Munad during the episcopacy

of Bishop Braose (1200–16).[2] The lime-washed un-coursed rubble masonry employed in the construction of the walls is not readily datable, and all of the windows have been altered or replaced, but Cranage noted 'the remains of what looks like a Norman string course at the east end of the nave.[3] The present south porch was altered in the 19th century, replacing a 14th-century predecessor with curved braces to a cranked tiebeam. The nave south doorway with two-centred arch and plain chamfer is possibly early 14th-century. Cranage attributed the chancel roof to the 15th century but did not suggest a date for that over the nave. Limewash on the north wall of the nave hides medieval paint, fragments of which were exposed in 1964 and again during the recent works.

The mid-fourteenth-century nave roof

If, as Cranage asserted, the walls are Norman, nothing of the original roof has survived as it was replaced *c*.1225–50, so the mid-14th-century roof described here was the third to be assembled over the nave. The average internal span of the nave is approximately 5.3m (17 ft 5 ins). Including those over the west wall and the chancel arch, the present nave roof has 26 uniform scantling *sans purlin* coupled rafter trusses, set over a single wall-plate of rectangular section along the middle

Figure 1. Detail of exterior showing exposed roof frame in west gable and the former south porch. The porch has been replaced, but the cranked tiebeam shown here now supports the bellcote. Portion of the Williams watercolour of 1791. © *Shropshire Archives X6001/19/372C/39.*

of the wall. The sole-plates, which project beyond the outer faces of the walls, are halved over the wall-plates; they support ashlar pieces and the feet of the common rafters, employing mortice and tenon joints throughout. Curved soulaces extending up to a single collar have triple-pegged tenons to the rafters and double-pegged tenons to the collars. The rafters are joined at the apex by mortice and tenon joints.

The extensive use of mortice and tenon joints alone would indicate that this roof could not be the first to be built over the plausibly Norman walls, but the felling date range of 1326–48d is somewhat later than

might have been anticipated from two characteristics. Firstly, instead of stone gables the rafter couples at each end of the roof were assembled over the outer faces of the walls; the western couple was open to view in 1791 (Figure 1), and the eastern truss was also open to the weather where it overlooked the chancel roof. Secondly, using rubble masonry packed into clay, the side walls had been built up around the sole-plates and ashlar pieces, forming a sloping top in the plane of the roof—a methodology that had been employed to resist racking since at least the 12th century. C. Hewett cited Harlowbury Chapel (Essex) as
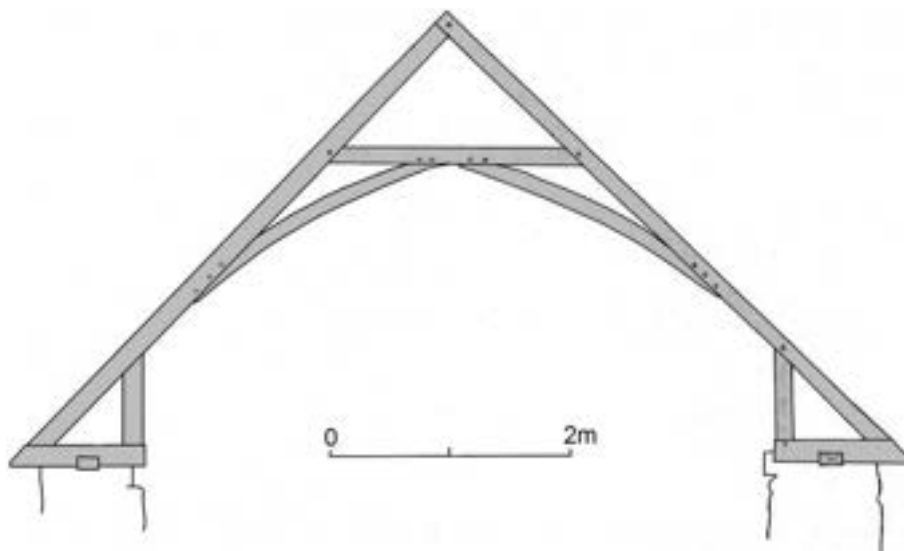

Figure 2. A typical coupled rafter truss belonging to the second nave roof.
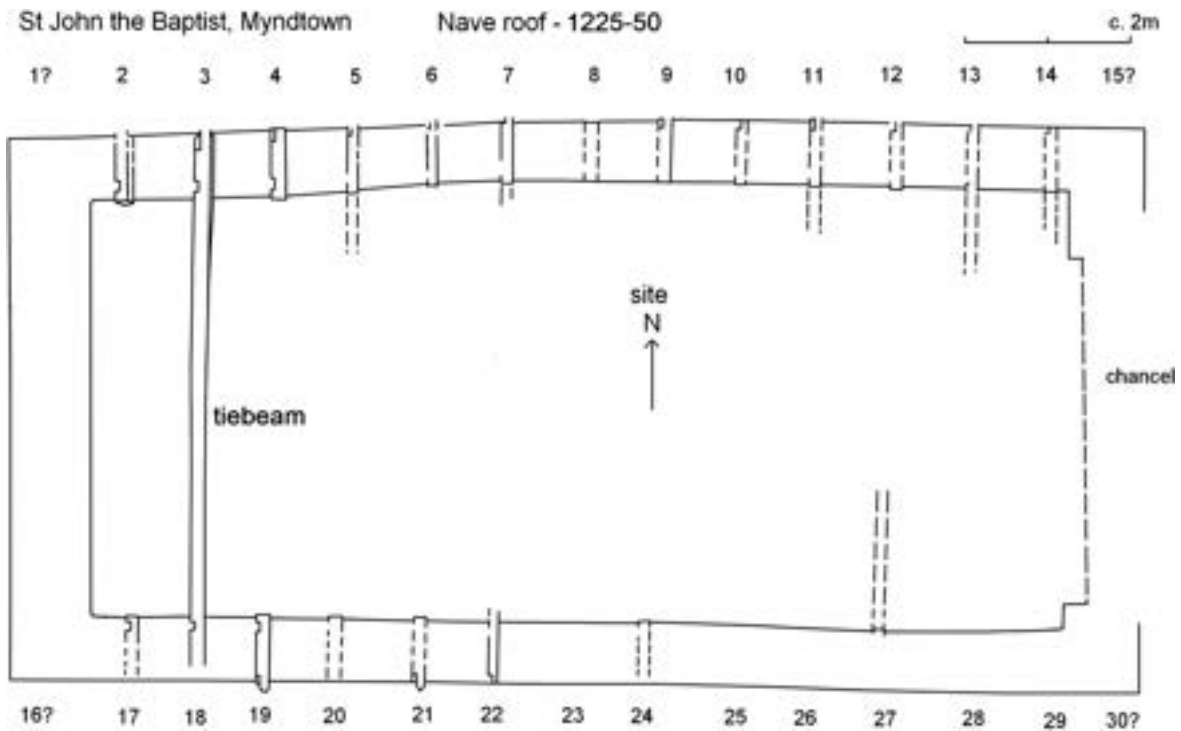
Figure 3.   Simplified plan of nave showing the surviving 1225–50 roof timbers at eaves level.

an example of rafter couples embedded in the primary inclined upper facets of the walls (here with no wall plate, sole-pieces or ashlars), and he attributed these to *c*.1180.[4] Although in his report on St Mary's Church, Kempley (Gloucestershire), subsequently tree-ring dated to 1128–32d, Beric Morley noted that there are few surviving examples of the inner wall face being 'carried up beyond the wall plate level'.[5] However, the transept walls were completed in this way at nearby Wistanstow *c*.1200–21 (see below), and at St John's
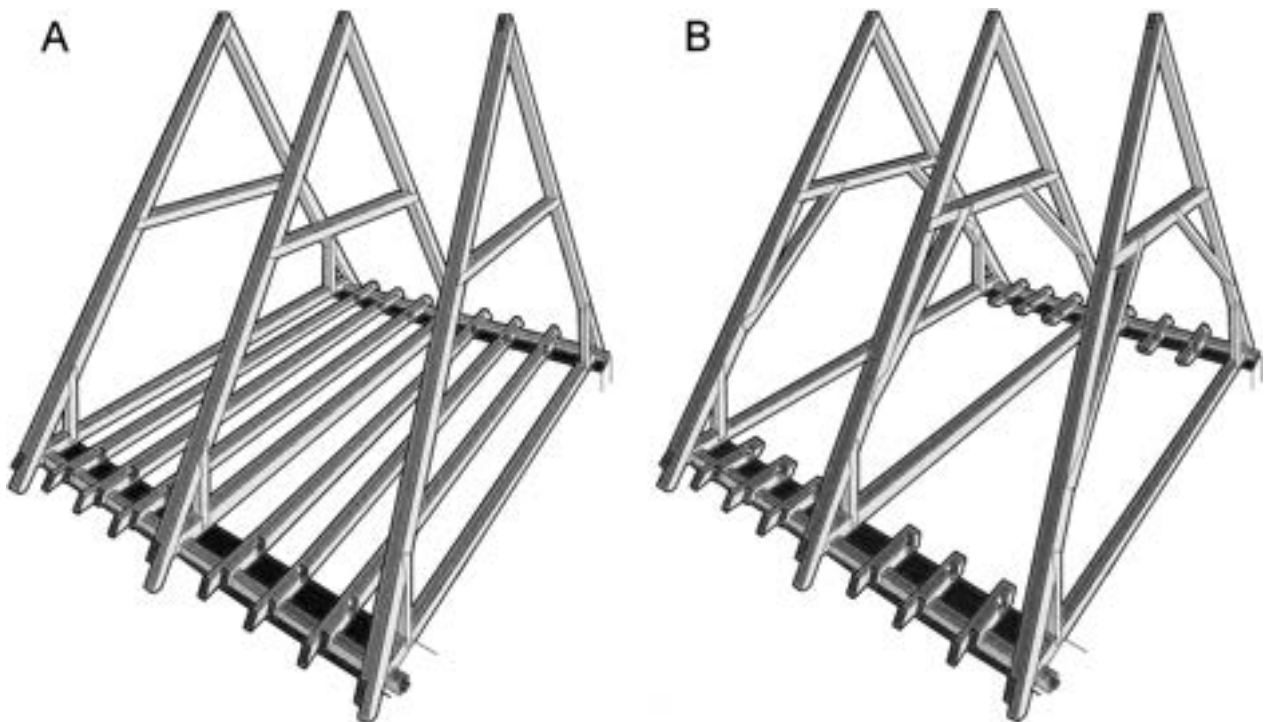

Figure 4.   A – a common tiebeam roof: B – an intermittent tiebeam roof.

Hospital and Chantry, Cirencester (Gloucestershire) *c*.1202–25d.[6] This old technique might have been used as late as the 14th century at Myndtown by carpenters who, having dismantled the older nave roof, elected to retain the same method of securing the rafter feet in its replacement.

The thirteenth-century nave roof

Apparently replacing the putative Norman roof, but trapped in the tops of the walls by the 14th-century roof described above, the timbers belonging to the second roof were felled between AD 1225 and 1250. One timber found in the church dated to 1218–43d, but as this was *ex-situ* the combined felling date-range of 1225–43 should be treated with caution, and here the wider date range obtained from in situ timber is used. This roof remained intact for only about 100 years. The surviving elements of the 1225–50 roof include wall-plates along the outer edges of the north and south walls, and timbers laid over them at right-angles (Figures 3 and 4). Near the west end of the nave a single tiebeam remains in its original position (3 = MYN-T02). Whether all of these timbers began life as tiebeams, or only some of them, determines how the roof type is interpreted; an intermittent tiebeam roof cannot be ruled out, but the limited surviving evidence is more consistent with the remnants of a typologically earlier common tiebeam roof (Figure 4).

None of the remaining transverse timbers retain mortices, and all of the surviving joints are of an early type. Projecting beyond the outside face of the wall, the ends of the horizontal timbers are halved to receive the corresponding face-halved scarfs at the feet of the common rafters, which were held in place only by single pegs. The *c*.55° angle of the halvings indicates the approximate inclination of the former roof. Over the inner face of the wall simple open housings, some straight-sided, others of half-dovetail profile, and retaining single peg-holes, once contained the halved and single-pegged lower ends of short vertical timbers extending up to meet the rafters; in coupled rafter trusses without tiebeams they would be defined as ashlars or ashlar pieces, but in a common tiebeam roof they could equally be described as struts (Figure 5).

The tree-ring dating report includes illustrations and descriptions of the truncated inner ends of the timbers 2–29 so only a summary is required here. Apart from the one extant tiebeam (3=MYN-T02), all of the timbers have been crudely shortened, some have fractured end-grain, and the end of 5 has been cut off through the middle of a drilled hole. A superficial analysis could conclude that these are the remnants of an intermittent tiebeam roof of the type illustrated in Figure 4B, with only three tiebeams, the rest of the timbers being internally projecting sole plates that were cut off when the roof was replaced. However, careful comparisons
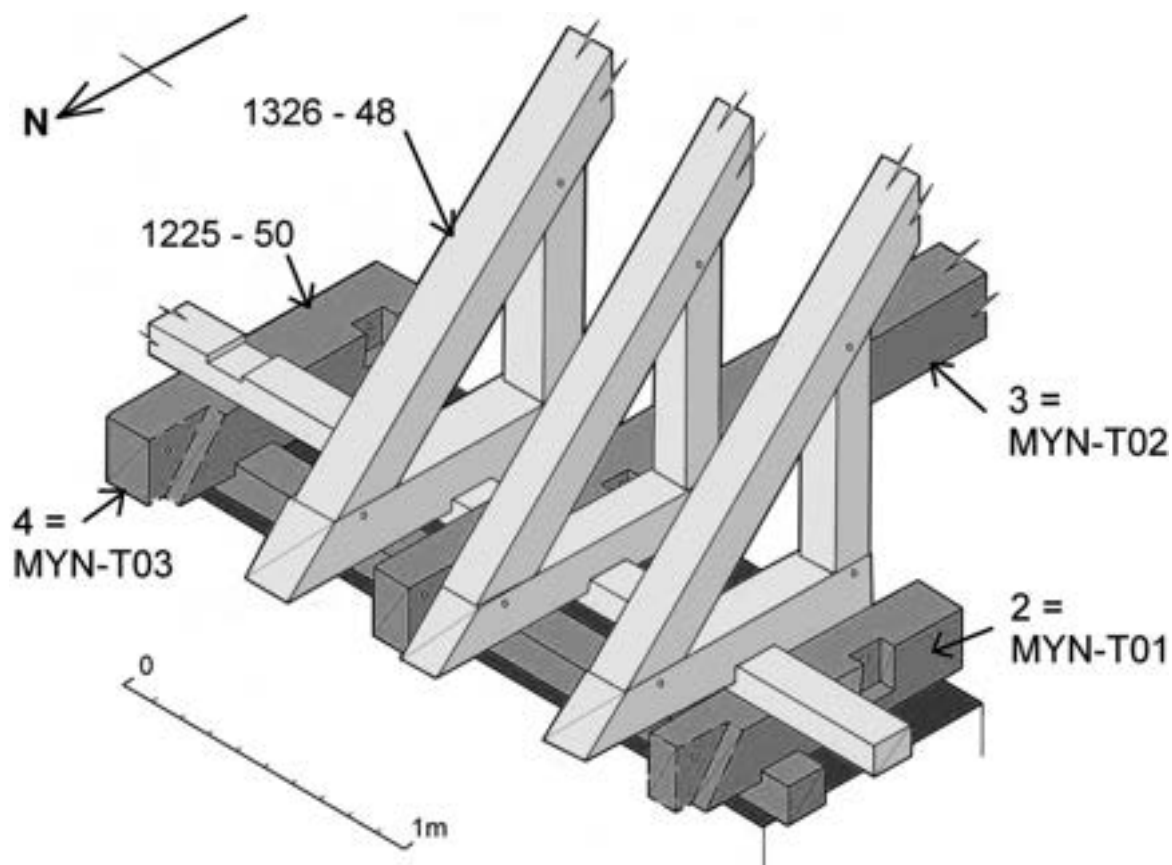

Figure 5.   NW corner of nave: remains of the 1225–50 roof, trapped below the extant roof of 1326–48.
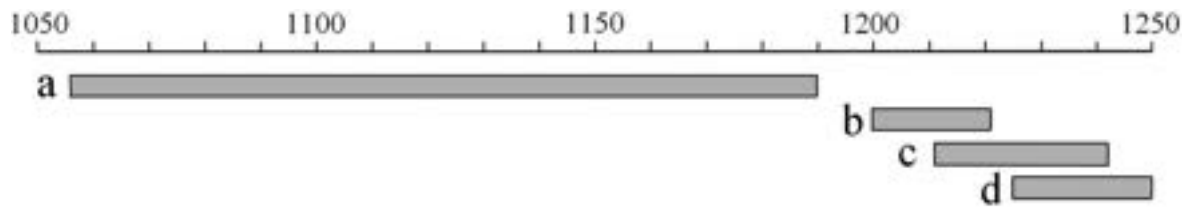
Figure 6. The chronological context of a former nave roof at Myndtown –
   a   The generally accepted range of common tiebeam roofs in England
   b   Holy Trinity, Wistanstow: transept roof 1200–21d
   c   St Mary the Virgin, Cleobury Mortimer: porch roof 1212–42d
   d   St John the Baptist, Myndtown: nave roof 1225–50d.

of the scantlings, proportions and ring profiles of the surviving short timbers has not identified any examples that might have been cut from contiguous lengths of the same timber specifically to make sole pieces. Conversely, close examination of all the surviving and accessible timbers suggests an alternative interpretation of these early 13th-century remnants as truncated tiebeams. Several of the transverse timbers (including 9, 11 and 20) had poor sectional profiles with their top faces left in the round, more suggestive of the limitations imposed by the extremities of long tiebeams than of short sole plates. More significantly, the tree-ring dating cores MYN-T01 and MYN-T07 (from opposing timbers 2 and 17) match at $t = 14.5$ and the samples MYN-T03 and MYN-T08 (from opposing timbers 4 and 19) at $t = 14.7$, with each pair almost certainly representing a single timber. Additionally, due to how well these four samples match each other (grouping at a level of $t = 14+$) it is suggested that one tree may have been used to produce two tiebeams.[7] These timbers would have spanned the nave on each side of the tiebeam 18 (Myn-T02) which remains *in situ*, and three contiguous tiebeams are open to interpretation as components of a common tiebeam roof (Figures 3 and 5). As there are no nail- or peg-holes in the surviving tiebeam soffit there is no evidence that the nave was given a ceiling.

DISCUSSION

Whether the early roof timbers of 1225–50d at Myndtown are remnants of an intermittent tiebeam roof or a common tiebeam roof, the discovery prompts several speculations about the development of early roof typologies, both locally and nationally.

Beginning with the local comparators, only two other Shropshire church roofs have been tree-ring dated to the early 13th century. The primary roof over the transept of Holy Trinity Church at nearby Wistanstow was built with timber felled 1200–21d — an earlier date range than that for Myndtown. It has a seven-cant coupled rafter roof entirely of lap-jointed assembly, the inner faces of the ashlar pieces have always been flush with the ends of the soulaces, and it is devoid of tiebeams.[8]

Overlapping the felling date range for Myndtown, the Church of St Mary the Virgin at Cleobury Mortimer has a porch roof assembled with timber felled 1212–42d. This roof retains numerous early carpentry features, including sole pieces with cogged joints across T-section wall-plates, notched lap joints, and curved ashlar pieces abutting curved soulaces.[9] Perhaps no tiebeams should be expected in such a small roof as that over the porch of St Mary's, but why might the nave at St John the Baptist have been given a typologically earlier common tiebeam roof some time after the carpenters of Holy Trinity Church had dispensed with tiebeams altogether? Arguably, any of these three different early roofs types might have been employed by their early 13th-century carpenters, but it is more difficult to explain why the nave at Myndtown might have been given a common tiebeam roof later than the currently accepted chronological limits attributed to the type in England (Fig 6).

L. Courtenay and N. W. Alcock have listed numerous common tiebeam roofs in northern Europe, ranging in date from 1015–20d in Liège (Belgium) to as late as 1498–1503d over the choir of the stave church at Hedared (Sweden), but they corroborated a much smaller number of such roofs in England, ranging in date from c.1056 to c.1187.[10] The original common tiebeam roof over the nave of Odda's Chapel at Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), with an internal span of 5.5m (18 ft), is attributed to 1056 on the basis of the dedication stone now in the Fitzwilliam Museum.[11] On a much larger scale, the Romanesque Westminster Hall, built for William Rufus c.1097, could have had a common tiebeam roof with an extraordinary single span of more than 20m (65 ft).[12] Several possible common tiebeam roofs have been recognised in Ely (Cambs.), including re-used timbers of 1105–40d which formerly spanned the cathedral nave — so far the oldest dendrochronologically dated example in England.[13] The Church of the Holy Cross and St Lawrence, Walthamstow Abbey (Essex) may have had a common tiebeam roof, attributed on carpentry details to 1120–30.[14] Although the roof of St John the Baptist at Adel (West Yorkshire) was destroyed in the 19th century, a drawing of its raking struts from tiebeams to principals and single collars has been taken to suggest that its

common tiebeam and coupled rafters might have been assembled as early as *c*.1150–70.[15] Re-used timbers over the south-east wing of Priory House, Ely, might be the remains of a common tiebeam roof with lap-jointed ashlar pieces, soulaces, upper and lower collars, tree-ring dated to *c*.1190.[16] The most widely-published remnants of an English common tiebeam roof are those in 15 Strait, Lincoln (otherwise known as Jew's House) which have been attributed on documentary grounds to *c*. 1175 but its single-pegged rectangular housings for ashlar pieces are similar to some of those at Myndtown, which was made at least half a century later.[17] If the early 13th-century timbers at Myndtown are the remnants of a common tiebeam roof it sits comfortably within the parameters of continental common tiebeam roofs but extends the range of tree-ring dated examples of the type in England, prompting speculation that other later remnants might await recognition elsewhere.

More than a century separates the third nave roof at Myndtown (1326–48d) from the transept roof at Wistanstow (1200–21d); although both of them have seven-cant coupled rafter trusses, the later roof was assembled with mortice and tenon joints and the earlier-was constructed entirely with lap joints; additional to the tree-ring dating, and overriding the shape of the trusses, it is the jointing technology which indicates the relative ages of the two roofs. Whilst the roofs of Wistanstow's transept and Cleobury Mortimer's porch were in the vanguard of English roof carpentry, the plausible common tiebeam roof at Myndtown would have been a late example of its type, replaced in 1326–48d by a seven-cant roof of a long-established form.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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7. As note 1.

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In Search of the Wem Market Charter

By JUDITH EVERARD

The article investigates evidence for a market charter for Wem (Shropshire) which, according to an antiquarian source, was granted by King John in 1205/6. Finding that the charter never existed, the article examines other sources of authority for the medieval fair and a weekly market in Wem that has continued uninterrupted to the present day.

Wem has been a market town for over 800 years, dating from the award of a market charter by King John — as the modern literature on the town has it.[1] In undertaking research for a new history of Wem, therefore, locating the market charter and investigating its wording was naturally a matter of priority.[2] The author's efforts to trace this charter, however, yielded surprising results. No sign of an original charter of King John relating to Wem, or a later copy of it, could be found.

What looks like an abstract of the Wem market charter does appear in the history of Wem by the Revd Samuel Garbet (*c*.1685–1756).[3] Garbet was a conscientious and dedicated historian, whose manuscript volume included summaries and even complete transcripts of some source documents.[4] His account of the market charter is no exception; as will be shown below, his source was the manuscript of a noted antiquary who had searched the public records in London to which Garbet, as a Shropshire curate and schoolmaster, did not have access.[5] Printed posthumously in 1818 as a limited edition for subscribers, copies of Garbet's *History of Wem* soon became hard to find. In the 20th century it could be said that the book 'has long been out of print, and there are few copies to be found in the district'.[6] There was thus little opportunity for anyone to examine or even be aware of Garbet's assertion that Wem had a medieval market charter. In *The Story of Wem*, published by Wem Town Council in 1952, Iris Woodward aimed to make Garbet's work 'more widely known' among her contemporaries.[7] Relieved to find *something* to say about Wem's poorly-documented medieval period, Woodward uncritically repeated Garbet's account of the market charter, and thereby entrenched it as fact.

The details of the charter as given by Garbet in his chapter, 'The Market and Fairs at Wem', are plausible:

that Warin FitzGerald, in the seventh year of King John's reign, obtained a charter for a weekly market at Wem on Sundays, and an annual fair on the eve, the day and the day after the feast of St Peter (28–30 June).[8] And a search of the charter roll of the royal chancery for 7 John (1205/6) indeed reveals an award to Warin FitzGerald of a weekly market and an annual fair, given by charter dated 20 April 1206 — but the manor named there is not Wem but *Wrth'* ('Worth', now Highworth, Wilts.), the market day is Wednesday and the annual fair is on the eve and the day of Michaelmas (28–29 September).[9] Furthermore, Warin FitzGerald is not otherwise known to have had any connection with Wem, which was the baronial caput of the Pantulf family.

As royal chamberlain, it is plausible that FitzGerald might have been given custody of Wem, though, if the manor had been in the king's hand at some point — typically, in the event of a minority.[10] On this basis, Samuel Garbet surmised that the market charter was awarded to Warin FitzGerald as guardian during the minority of a young William Pantulf.[11] In Garbet's favour, the genealogy of the Pantulf barons of Wem was not settled at the time he was collecting material for his planned history of North Bradford hundred. Descendants of William Pantulf (d.1112), the Domesday lord and founder of the dynasty, proliferated in north Shropshire and Staffordshire in the 12th and 13th centuries, and antiquaries had added members of these cadet branches into the lineage. Garbet did his best to reconcile the various Pantulf genealogies by preparing a table to aid comparison of the conflicting information he found in antiquarian writings and documents available locally.[12] In these circumstances, it was not difficult to conjecture an underage heir who was in wardship in 1205/6. Indeed, in a circular argument, Garbet relied on

the purported market charter having been issued during a wardship as evidence for the succession of the infant 'William Pantulf 4th'. It is now clear, however, that there were just six Pantulf barons of Wem from 1086 to 1290, and that William Pantulf's direct descendants: Robert, Ivo, Hugh and William II all succeeded as adults. William II's two young daughters were in wardship after his death, from 1233 to c.1250, but the eventual heiress, Matilda, maintained the family history of longevity, ruling as lady of Wem until her death in 1290.[13] The lord of Wem in 1205/6 was Hugh Pantulf, who was typical of his dynasty in enjoying a long and active baronial career, which lasted from c.1175 until his death in 1224.[14]

Without the minority of a putative infant heir, Wem might nevertheless have been in the custody of Warin FitzGerald in 1205/6 if the barony were temporarily in the king's hands for some other reason. In 1205 Hugh Pantulf was charged with mismanagement of royal manors and castles during his term in office as sheriff of Shropshire (1179–89) and ordered to pay sums totalling £380 to compensate for lost revenue and the cost of restocking. Could this disgrace and debt have caused Pantulf's estates to be taken into the king's hand? In that case, there should be some record of their forfeiture and/or restoration. There is none; indeed Hugh attested a charter of King John at Nottingham in February 1206 and was sufficiently high in the king's favour to be pardoned the remaining £240 of his debt in 1208/9.[15]

Even if it could be shown that Warin FitzGerald had custody of Wem in 1205/6, a favoured royal official with temporary custody of a manor is unlikely to have invested in acquiring a market charter for the place.[16] Such an enterprise would be more typical of the hereditary tenant-in-chief, developing his dynastic estates with a view to the long term, and also wishing to stay on the right side of the king by ensuring his market and fair were legitimately (and expensively) authorised by the crown. That was in fact the case of Warin FitzGerald concerning Highworth, which was part of his inherited estate, having been awarded by Henry II to Warin's uncle. Highworth was a planted town being developed by its hereditary lord,[17] which at the time typically involved the establishment of a market and fair.

It might then be argued that the survival of the documentary record is incomplete – that there was once a market charter for Wem but it has been lost or destroyed. That argument might have weight for a royal charter issued before 1200, but under King John the royal chancery began to keep registers of charters issued, the charter rolls, along with other registers of royal government, so that even if the original document went missing, there was still an official record of its issue.[18] That the market charter issued to Warin FitzGerald for Highworth is recorded in not one but two official registers from 1205/6 (both the charter roll and the fine roll, as discussed below) highlights the silence regarding

a similar charter for Wem. In these circumstances, it is impossible for there to have been a market charter issued to Warin FitzGerald for Wem. Hence it is necessary to explain how the cautious scholar Samuel Garbet came by his account of the purported market charter.

Garbet does not name his source for the market charter, but it is evident that the source was the manuscript 'Antiquities of Shropshire' by Edward Lloyd of Drenewydd (1666–1715), in particular the chapter on Wem, headed 'Wem Market Town'.[19] Among Garbet's papers are two copies of this text, probably the copy that was lent to Garbet and the copy he made of it.[20] Garbet had access to Lloyd's collections through his fellow antiquary, William Mytton of Halston (1693–1746), who had acquired some of Lloyd's papers.[21] Mytton visited Garbet in Wem and the two corresponded on matters related to the planned topographical history of Shropshire. In December 1733 Garbet wrote to Mytton, 'I have received your Collections, and will keep them safe, till I have an opportunity of delivering them into your hands',[22] probably referring either to Lloyd's manuscripts or Mytton's copies of them. Garbet's autograph copy of the 'Wem Market Town' text is headed, 'Mr Mytton's Acc[oun]t of Wem, taken from Lloyd's MS'. Comparison with Lloyd's manuscript shows that Mytton's copy was an accurate transcript.[23] There is thus no doubt that Garbet copied and used Edward Lloyd's material on Wem.

Lloyd's 'Wem Market Town' consists of brief extracts from the public records, arranged chronologically, of which the relevant extract is the following:

> 6/7 John Warenus filius Geroldi procured a market and a fair to be kept at Wemme.[24]

A marginal note gives the source as 'Rot Fin 7 John m.2'. This source, the second membrane of the fine roll of 7 John (1205/6), records that Warin FitzGerald offered to render to the king, by 26 May 1206, two riding horses (*palefr[idum]*, 'palfrey') for the award of a weekly market and an annual fair of two days at (a place whose name can best be read as) '*Win*', as is attested in the charter he has.[25] The chancery clerk here seems to have been uncertain about the name of the place. '*Win*' is written in small characters, followed by space for an extension or correction that was never made. The '*W*' is clear enough, but the three tiny minims that follow could easily be read as '*m*', giving '*Wm*', which Lloyd evidently identified as Wem. It should be noted here that 'Wem' is a relatively modern spelling, occurring from the later 16th century; in the Middle Ages the place-name was written as *Weme* or *Wemme*,[26] and not normally abbreviated as *Wm*. But Lloyd was not looking for Wem sources in particular, he was seeking out all Shropshire references in general, and would have had no particular knowledge about the various forms of Wem as a place-name.
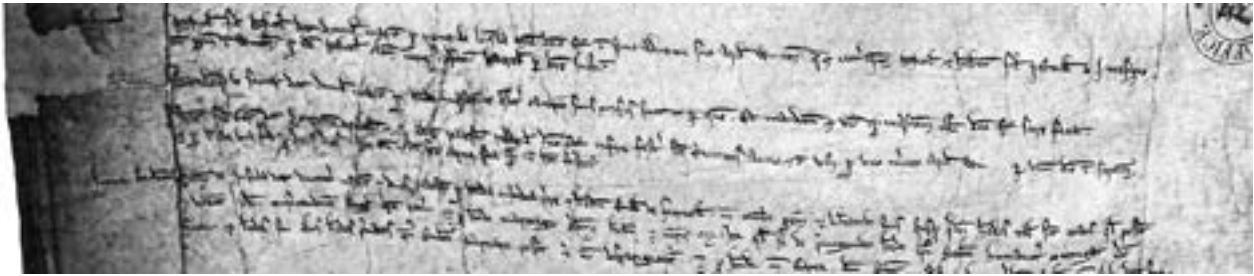
Figure 1. Entry in fine roll of 1205/6, recording payment due from Warin FitzGerald for the award of a market and fair. *TNA, C 60/3A, m. 2.*

To add to the confusion, most entries on this roll have a note in the left margin indicating the county concerned, but there is none for this entry. If something other than 'Salop' had appeared there, Lloyd would have passed over it. There may be traces of script in the margin, but there is no legible indication of the relevant county. Any marginal annotation that might have been written there has been either deliberately erased or rendered illegible by grime and wear at the edge of the parchment.

There can be no doubt, however, that this enrolment refers to FitzGerald's payment for the Highworth market charter of 20 April 1206, with its corresponding weekly market and two-day fair. The identification of Highworth in the charter roll entry is clear from *Wrth'*, and as we have seen, Warin FitzGerald was the hereditary lord of Highworth but had no known connection with Wem.

It thus appears that, when searching the 1205/6 fine roll, Lloyd spotted *Win*, which he read as 'W[e]m'. The absence of a county name in the margin and the tiny script make such a mistake understandable considering the challenges of scanning unwieldy medieval parchment rolls in 17th-century conditions. If Lloyd had connected the fine roll entry with the market charter for Highworth in the charter roll he would have realised his mistake, but there is no reason why he would have done so, as the latter held no interest for a historian of Shropshire.

Neither Lloyd nor the eventual publisher of his collections, Thomas Farmer Dukes,[27] troubled to explain why Warin FitzGerald should have procured a market charter for Wem — that is where Garbet comes in. Garbet's starting point was Lloyd's brief citation, as quoted above. In his chapter titled 'The Market and Fairs at Wem', Garbet's record of the market charter shares the terminology and the concision of Lloyd's:

> A.D. 1205. Then Warin Fitz Gerold *having obtained the wardship of William Pantulph*, procured a charter for a weekly market, and annual fair at this town.[28]

Relying on Lloyd, and repeating him, Garbet perpetuated the error. Better informed than Lloyd on the particulars of Wem's history, Garbet knew that Warin FitzGerald did not fit in to the known descent of the
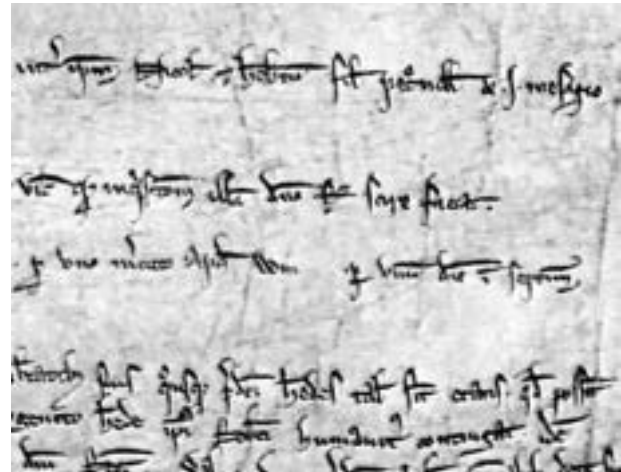

Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1, showing the abbreviated place-name misread by Edward Lloyd as 'Wem'.

manor, so he sought to rationalise this detail. Garbet reasoned that FitzGerald must have had temporary custody of the manor at the time. Based on the then poorly understood Pantulf genealogy, Garbet was able to conjecture an underage heir, 'William Pantulf 4th', aged about fifteen, as FitzGerald's putative ward.

Having simply quoted Lloyd almost verbatim in his account of Wem's market and fairs, in his account of the Pantulf lords of the manor Garbet elaborated on the contents of the purported charter of King John, writing:

> William Pantulf 4th … was a minor, about 15 years old when his guardian, Warin Fitzgerold, in 7th, John obtained a grant for a market every week at Wem on Sunday, and an annual fair on the eve, day and the day after the feast of St. Peter.[29]

Lloyd's account, from the brief fine roll entry, does not specify any day for the weekly market, or date for the annual fair. Instead Garbet probably derived the market day and the fair dates from a later source cited on the same page of Lloyd's manuscript, the 1292 Shropshire assizes, where it was attested that Wem had a fair on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul and a market on Sundays.[30] The fair needed no explanation, as there was still an annual fair on St Peter's day (29

June) in Garbet's time, and Saints Peter and Paul is the dedication of Wem parish church. After the Reformation, the name of the feast day was changed to that of Saint Peter alone, as Garbet explained. As for the market day being Sunday, not Thursday as it was in Garbet's day and still is, Garbet invoked a decree of Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, of 1350 ('24 Edw III') prohibiting the holding of markets on Sundays.[31] This explanation for the change of market day, like that of the market charter, has been generally accepted and repeated in reliance on Garbet as authority. An inquest of 1361 does refer to the market being held on Thursday but later in the 14th century, if the records of inquests *post mortem* are to be relied upon, market day was Sunday, or Saturday.[32] The prohibition on Sunday markets may indeed have taken effect, eventually, but the change of market day and its eventual settling on Thursday was not such a straightforward process as Garbet implied.

Garbet's fullest account of the Wem market charter, just quoted, has the appearance of a summary of a charter of King John. It contains terminology similar to the contemporary market charter for Highworth – but that is because the latter was in fact its model. The charter of '7th John' never existed; Garbet's account is a conflation of documentary records and surmise, all built upon the simple misreading by Edward Lloyd of *Win*... for Wem. There was no market charter of King John — but was there another royal charter?

The earliest mention of a market and fair at Wem is a survey of the tenants-in-chief of Bradford Hundred, *c*.1283/4.[33] The jurors there declared that Walter de Hopton, in right of his wife Matilda (Pantulf),

> *habet apud Weme mercat[um] et feria[m] per cart[am] reg[is] Henrici tercii*
> [has at Wem a market and fair by charter of King Henry III]

No such charter of Henry III has been found. It could be said also that if there had been a market charter of King John, then the jurors would have referred to it here. As noted by Edward Lloyd, at the Shropshire assizes in 1292 Matilda's heir, her grandson William le Botiler, 'then underage and the King's ward', was said to hold

> a market every week *per diem Dominicam* [Sunday] with a fair on the eve, the day, and the day after the feast of St Peter and Paul Apostles.[34]

This text, as cited by Lloyd, is repeated by Garbet in his account of the descent of the barony in the late 13th century.[35] Hence it could have been the source for the days on which the market and fair were originally held, which Garbet retrospectively attributed to the purported charter of King John.

William le Botiler as lord of Wem actually did acquire a market charter, in 1318, from Edward II – but for a different manor. It was for a weekly market on Tuesday and an annual fair on the eve and day of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (23–24 June) to be held at his manor of Narborough, near Leicester. This market charter had been granted initially by Henry III in 1219 to Fulk FitzWarin, from whom Narborough passed to the barons of Wem with his daughter Hawise, the mother of Matilda Pantulf.[36] FitzWarin acquired another market charter in 1219, for a Wednesday market and a two-day annual fair at his manor of Whittington, near Wem.[37] Like Warin FitzGerald, Fulk FitzWarin was required to render palfreys as payment for both of these charters. The market charters for Narborough and Whittington are mentioned here to emphasise that official records of other market charters for barons of Wem and their kin have survived from the early 13th century, and hence it is unlikely that a market charter once existed for Wem but somehow left no trace.

Since there appears never to have been a market charter for Wem, on what authority were its markets and fairs held? Market rights were certainly granted by kings of England before 1200, often along with other privileges such as freedom from tolls, and possession of a charter recording such a grant must have been valuable in any dispute over the right to hold a market or fair. But the right could also accrue by prescription: 'Many of the oldest and most successful markets and fairs were held by prescriptive right, that is, by custom.'[38] If from the 13th century no new markets or fairs could be established without paying for royal licence, there was no compulsion to obtain permission retrospectively for a market or fair that was already of long standing, at least, not unless it was challenged or in new circumstances such as changing the date.[39] The record of the 1292 assizes – when William Pantulf was called to account for his market and fair – shows that a weekly Sunday market and annual three-day fair on 28–30 June were being held at Wem by that date. Perhaps then we can see this as evidence that the development of Wem as a market town was never contested. As long as the market and fair were thriving, traders were going to and fro unmolested, and no rival markets were set up nearby, there was no need to go to the expense of acquiring a royal charter.

Most of what we know about Wem from the late 13th to the 15th century is from inquests conducted at the death of each tenant-in-chief to inform the crown about the deceased's holdings and their value. Inquests *post mortem* for Wem begin in 1281, but the first to mention the market is that of Matilda Pantulf, who died in 1290, when her revenues from the assize of ale plus the market tolls of Wem were assessed at 20 shillings per annum. In 1361 it was reported that a market was held every week on Thursday and an annual fair on the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul which was worth 20 shillings per annum. When assessed in 1369 the tolls had more than doubled, to £2 6s 8d.[40] A survey of Wem, when it escheated to the crown in 1589, found that there

were now two fairs: one on St Peter's day and one at Martinmas (11 November), where the lord of the manor collected tolls for 'standings' and on sale of goods above the value of one shilling from both strangers and tenants of the manor (except burgagers), and there was a free weekly market on Thursdays.[41] Apart from indicating their value as a financial asset, these assessments demonstrate that Wem's market and fair were no secret from central government. They were not challenged by the crown and, after the survey of *c*.1283/4, there was no further mention of a market charter of Henry III or any other king.

Markets and fairs could be carried on without the imprimatur of royal authority represented by a market charter. A market right acquired by prescription is well recognised, and it would have been sufficient to show that the market had been held unchallenged since time immemorial. Hence it is possible that the lords of the manor of Wem, and anyone else who gave thought to the market right in later centuries, assumed it was held by prescription. Samuel Garbet identified what he believed was a market charter for Wem, but even publication of his *History of Wem* in 1818 seems to have made little impression until it was amplified in Iris Woodward's *Story of Wem* in 1951. Evidently markets and fairs did take place at Wem, and probably had long before they are first noted in written records in the late 13th century. In fact, the very absence of a charter may be regarded as a sign of a market's antiquity, and so it can be concluded that Wem was already a market town before the reign of King John.

NOTES

1. E.g. D. Sylvester, *The Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland: A Study in Historical Geography* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 302, apparently relying on the 1951 *Story of Wem* (below, note 6). See also S. Alsford, 'Wem' in 'Market Towns: A study of market network growth in four counties of medieval England': http://users. trytel.com/~tristan/towns/market/shropshire/wem.html (accessed 30 March 2020).

2. J. Everard, J. P. Bowen and W. Horton, *The Victoria History of Shropshire: Wem* (London: University of London Press, 2019).

3. *History of Wem … Taken from the Manuscript of the late Rev. Sam. Garbet, A.M.* (Wem: G. Franklin, 1818).

4. E.g. *Ibid*., 254–9. Garbet's autograph volume has not been traced, but a copy from it (*c*.1800) includes texts of medieval charters that were omitted from the printed edition: Shropshire Archives [SA] 6001/2749, pp. 356–9, 370–2, 419–23, 442–4.

5. B. M. Jones, *'The Goode Mr Garbet of Wem'. The Life of the Revd. Samuel Garbet, M.A. of Wem, Shropshire 1685– 1756* (Wrexham: Bridge Books, 2001).

6. I. Woodward, *The Story of Wem and Its Neighbourhood* (Wem: Wildings of Shrewsbury, 1952, reprinted 2012), Preface.

7. *Ibid*., 10–11.

8. Garbet, 277–8.

9. Kew, The National Archives [TNA], C 53, 7 John, m.1; *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, vol. 1, ed. T. D. Hardy (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1837), 165. John's regnal year commenced on Ascension Day, hence the seventh year was 19 May 1205–10 May 1206: C. R. Cheney and M. Jones (eds.), *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, new edition 2000), 32. For Highworth, see Samantha Letters *et al*., *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*, http://www.history. ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html (accessed 30 March 2020).

10. N. Vincent, 'Warin and Henry FitzGerald, the King's Chamberlains; The Origins of the FitzGeralds Revisited', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21, 1998, 233–60.

11. Garbet, 29.

12. *Ibid*., 21–31; see also letter from Garbet to William Mytton, 25 April 1741: London, British Library [BL], Additional MS 30315, fo. 117.

13. I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies. A Study of Their Origin and Descent, 1086–1327* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 94–5; Everard, Bowen and Horton, 44.

14. R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, 12 vols (London: J R Smith, 1856–9), IX, 164–7; J. Boorman, 'Pantulf, Hugh (d. 1224)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [*ONDB*] (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21239 (accessed 30 March 2020).

15. *Rotuli Chartarum*, 162; Eyton III, 67–9; *ODNB*, 'Pantulf, Hugh'.

16. Alsford.

17. Vincent, 'Origins of the FitzGeralds', 235–6, 253; 'About Highworth', 2, http://highworthhistoricalsociety.co.uk/ highworth-archives.html (accessed 30 March 2020).

18. N. Vincent, 'Why 1199? Bureaucracy and Enrolment under John and His Contemporaries', in A. Jobson (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 17–48; D. A. Carpenter, '"In Testimonium Factorum Brevium": The Beginnings of English Chancery Rolls', in N. Vincent (ed.), *Records, Administration and Aristocratic Society in the Anglo- Norman Realm* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), 1–28.

19. *ODNB*, 'Lloyd, Edward (bap. 1666, d. 1715)'; G. C. Baugh, 'Shropshire', in C. R. J. Currie and C. P. Lewis (eds), *English County Histories. A Guide* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), 336–47 at 338.

20. SA 9043, file A, 9 and 20.

21. *ODNB*, under 'Lloyd, Edward (bap. 1666, d.1715)'; Baugh, 338.

22. BL Additional MS 30315, fo. 16.

23. Baugh, 338.

24. SA 6001/5705, p. 282. Printed in T. F. Dukes, *Antiquities of Shropshire from an Old Manuscript of Edward Lloyd, Esq. of Drenewydd* (Shrewsbury: John Eddowes, 1844), 129, where 'm.5' is a typographical error for 'm.2'.

25. *War' fil' Ger' dat i. optimum palefr' et i. alium palfr' reddend' domini R. infra fest' sancte Trinitatis anno etc' viii°, pro uno mercato apud Win' per unum diem in septim' et pro habenda una feria per duos dies, … sicut carta sua qua inde habet testatur*: TNA, C 60/3A, m. 2; *Rotuli de Oblati et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati tempore regis Johannis*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835), 363. The date by which the horses were to be rendered to the crown is recorded here as the feast of Holy Trinity in the king's eighth regnal year (i.e. 26 May 1206).

26. M. Gelling and H. D. G. Foxall, *The Place-Names of Shropshire, Part 1. The Major Names of Shropshire* (Nottingham: EPNS, 1990), 303.

27. Baugh, 341. See above, note 24.

28. Garbet, 227. My italic shows Garbet's addition to Lloyd's text.
29. *Ibid*., 29.
30. SA 6001/5705, p. 282.
31. Garbet, 36, 227–8; *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. D. Wilkins, III (London, 1737), 43, from Lambeth Palace Library, MS Register of Simon Islip, fo. 150.
32. TNA, C 135/157/4, C 135/206/15, C 136/14/11.
33. *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica I* (1834), XVI, 111–21, at 114. MS copies of the undated survey: SA 6000/2651; University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS PHC/3. See Eyton IX, 172.
34. SA 6001/5705, p. 282; Dukes, 130.
35. Garbet, 35–6.
36. *Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. 3, 1300–26*, 397; SA 6001/4072, p. 207. Although worded as a grant, the charter confirmed a market and fair for which a royal charter had first been issued to Fulk FitzWarin in 1219: TNA, C 60/11 m. 1.
37. Fine Rolls of Henry III, 4/16 (23 November 1219), http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/ .
38. *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs*, 'Types of Markets and Fairs', https://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/summy.html (accessed 30 March 2020).
39. *Ibid*.
40. TNA, C 135/157/4, C 135/206/15, C 136/14/11.
41. TNA, LR 2/225.

FROGMORE HALL, ATCHAM, SHROPSHIRE – EXCAVATIONS JUNE 2017

By ROGER WHITE[1] and JANINE YOUNG[2]

This report outlines the findings of the evaluative student training excavation of the cropmark site at Frogmore Hall, Atcham, Shropshire (SJ5511) carried out between 30th May and 16th June 2017. The purpose of the evaluation was to research the potential damage to the scheduled monument caused by an infestation of rabbits occupying the field since its reversion to pasture in 1990. Additional concerns about the clandestine activities of metal detectorists operating illegally on the site ('nighthawking') informed the research design of the evaluation.[3] The outcome of the controlled metal detecting survey was instrumental in establishing a fuller picture of the date range of the cropmark remains that extensively cover the scheduled area. Excavation successfully established the accuracy of the cropmark information and sufficient stratified carbonised material was retrieved to enable AMS radiocarbon dating of a small number of features, including the principal structure. The excavation uncovered and sampled the remains of two timber buildings, both of which appear to have been burnt down. AMS dating and the mode of construction confirmed a mid-7th-century date for these structures. An enclosure ditch probably of Roman date and other discrete features of indeterminate purpose were identified and sampled for environmental and dating evidence. Two of these provided AMS dates in the late Bronze Age or early Iron Age (c.1000–800 BC) while another proved to be contemporary to the date of the structure (c.AD 600–800). A single AMS date from Trench 2 proved to be of Roman date, contemporary with pottery recovered from the same context. Later evidence for activity in the field comprised remains of Medieval ridge-and-furrow which had impacted on the survival of earlier remains on the site and a large Post-Medieval pit probably dug to extract clay.

EXCAVATION

BACKGROUND TO THE PROJECT

Site discovery and initial work

In 1975, a complex of cropmarks was identified from the air adjacent to Frogmore House, Berwick Wharf, Atcham in Shropshire by Professor J. K. St Joseph of the Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography (CUCAP; St Joseph 1975) (Figures 1; 3). These comprised a paleo-channel aligned roughly north/south on either side of which were well-defined marks indicative of a complex of enclosures and ditches with overlying and associated trackways overlain by later ridge and furrow cultivation. To the south of the eastern complex were two identifiable buildings of a distinctive style comprising rectangular rooms with square annexes at both ends of the buildings.

The buildings were aligned north-east/south-west and lay adjacent to each other on their long axes. Both can be estimated to be around 25m long and 10–12m wide at their widest point. While some internal features could be discerned, none appeared to be structural and the southern building appeared to be damaged on the east side by a large irregular pit. The northern building appeared to be intact and was assumed to cut a linear feature extending from an enclosure to the north-west which runs up to the mid-point of the western side of the building. There were further identifiable features (apparently pits) lying to the south of the southern building which appear to form regular patterns. These may be structures or features associated with the two buildings immediately to the north but equally could be unassociated.

Figure 1. Cropmarks at Frogmore Hall, Atcham, 1975. View is to the northeast. The buildings lie by the dark oval to the right of centre. *Photographed by J. K. St Joseph, 1975. © CUCAP BTP054.*

The lack of overlap between the two main buildings, the features to the south and the lack of relationship to the enclosures to the north and west of the complex (other than the apparently overlying relationship for the north building noted above) suggests this is an isolated and discrete cluster of buildings. Nonetheless, it is possible that some of the enclosures and other features are related in time to the complex under discussion. If the identification of this complex as an Early Medieval high status site is correct, however, these were not generally enclosed, unlike lesser status sites of the same era (Ulmschneider 2011, 159–60; Hunt 2016, 76–7).

Although the site was not investigated after their discovery the form of the buildings is so distinctive that it was thought that both are halls to be dated to the early middle ages, and specifically the period between the 7th and 10th centuries AD (Hamerow 2011, 136–43). This suggestion is based on analogy with the halls excavated by Brian Hope-Taylor at Yeavering, Northumberland, identified by him with the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon

palace of *Ad Gefryn* mentioned by Bede *sub anno* 627 (*Historia Ecclesiastica* II.14; Hope-Taylor 1977, 15–6). Other examples include the hall excavated at Northampton which has been dated to before AD 820 and which is now interpreted as a monastic refectory (Ulmschneider 2011, 162) and to the halls at Cheddar, also of the 9th century (Rahtz 1976a; Rahtz 1979). The complexes at Northampton and Cheddar are now considered not to lie within the Great Hall group which has recently been more closely defined and described (McBride 2020). If the relationship with the enclosures is indeed overlying, then that would suggest that at least some of these features were earlier than the hall – Roman or perhaps later prehistoric. On morphological grounds, this interpretation seems plausible. Features of other, earlier dates (Bronze Age or Neolithic) are also potentially visible in the aerial photograph (A. Wigley, pers. comm.).

Speculative interpretations at the time of discovery (St Joseph 1975; Rahtz 1975, & 1976b) suggesting that the halls are of a similar date to Yeavering led to
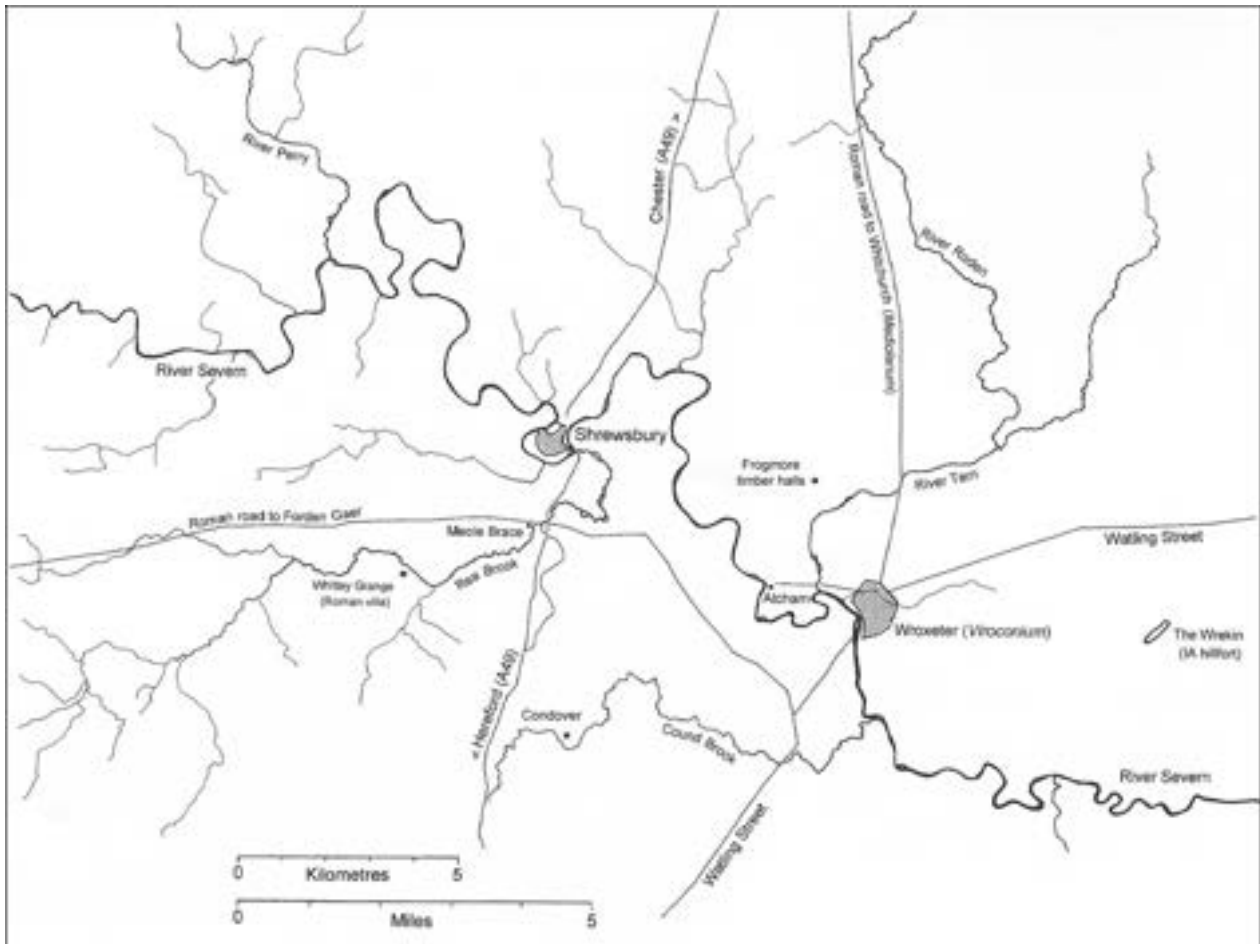
Figure 2. Location of the Frogmore timber halls in relation to Shrewsbury and Wroxeter. *After Baker 2010, fig. 6.1.*

Figure 3. Cropmark plot of the archaeological features identified on CUCAP BTP054. Note the extension of the scheduled area into the adjacent field; the curving line is that of the Newport/Shrewsbury canal. *Courtesy of Giles Carey, Shropshire Council. © Crown copyright, overlay © RCHME 1979. Shropshire Council 100049049 (2013).*
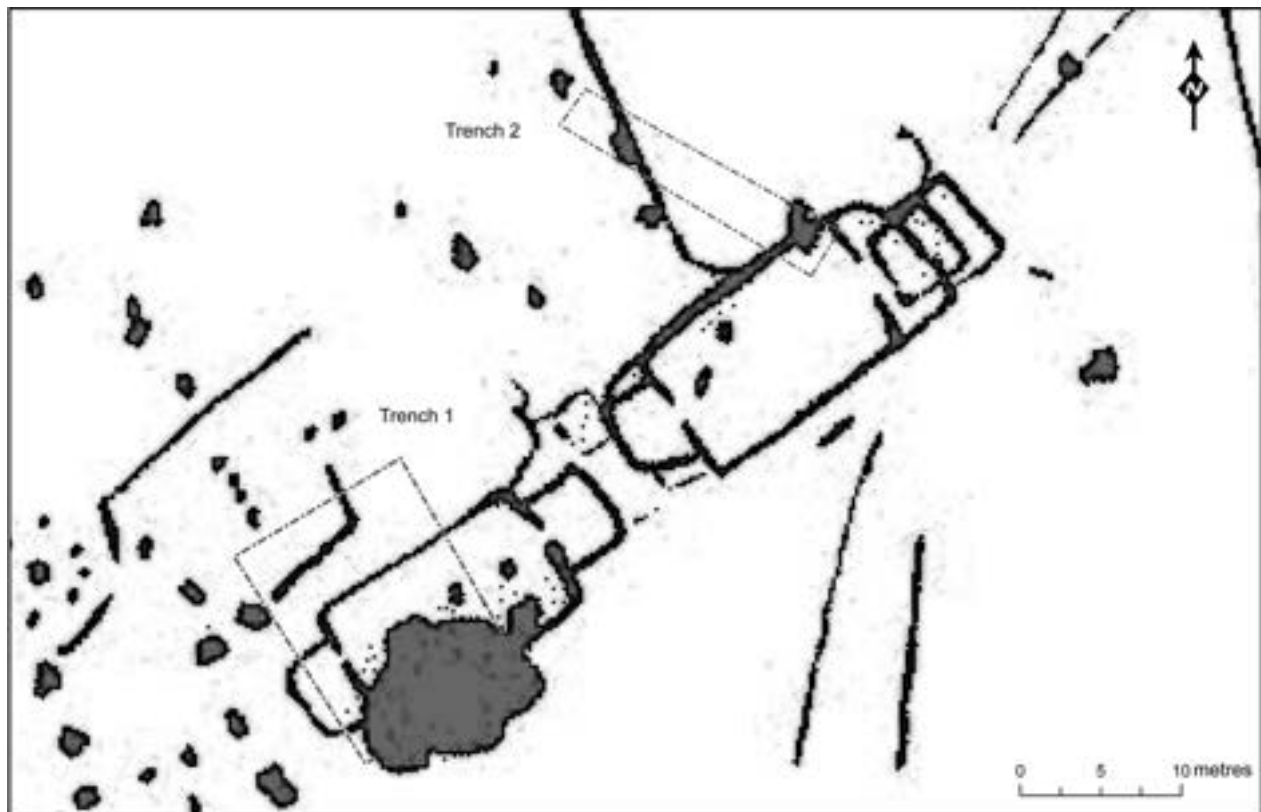
Figure 4. Location of excavation trenches *Janine Young*. © *Crown copyright and database right 2014. Ordnance Survey AL100023974. Additional map layers derived from measured survey © The National Trust.*

further interpretation that the site at Frogmore Hall could have been occupied in the apparent hiatus between the abandonment of the Roman city of Wroxeter (*Viriconium Cornoviorum*) and the foundation of Shrewsbury at some point in the later 7th or early 8th century (Figure 2; Baker 2010, 88). An alternative interpretation made by Philip Barker that this could be the site known as *Pengwern,* a Brittonic site mentioned in 9th century Welsh poetry (Rahtz 1976b, 53) has found less favour since all the parallels are Anglo-Saxon rather than Brittonic.

Following the scheduling of the site in 1975, ploughing continued for a further fifteen years but in 1990 Jeremy Milln, the then National Trust Archaeologist for the West Midlands, was able to take the entire field out of cultivation and it has remained under pasture since then. In 2011, a geophysical survey was commissioned by the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society to establish the condition of the buried archaeology. The survey was carried out by Archaeophysica and clearly demonstrated the excellent survival and potential of the site (Roseveare 2011).

SITE ESTABLISHMENT AND METAL DETECTOR SURVEY

Prior to excavation, a full metal-detector survey was carried across the whole field with the aid of the

Newport History Society. The intention behind this was three-fold. First, it was feared that once the site had been opened up illicit metal-detecting might take place; by carrying out our own controlled sweep we would eliminate any potential targets. Second, the data gathered by the survey would aid in understanding the broader archaeological context of the site and could potentially offer a likely date for the underlying features. Last, by conducting the survey we could hope to answer whether the site had been targeted in the past by illicit metal detecting.

The full results are summarised below (Table 1) but the consistent discovery of items of aluminium foil (mostly ointment tubes for the on-site treatment of livestock) and shotgun cartridges suggested to the club members that there had been little prior detecting on the field since the signals generated by these two items are commonly confused with ancient artefacts. In all, a total of 156 finds was made by the club members while

Table 1. Special Finds recovered during the excavation (total 199)

Prehistoric	Roman	Early Medieval / Medieval	17th–19th century	Modern
1	38	4	25	131
0.5%	19%	2%	12.5%	66%

a further 43 special finds were found within the two trenches, of which all but four were metal objects also found by the metal detectorists. The results indicted the strong presence of Roman features most of which occurred in the area of the densest cropmarks and, to a lesser extent, Medieval and early Post-Medieval activity in the same area. The bulk of the finds were, as anticipated, modern.

Two trenches were laid out – both aligned roughly north-west/south-east. Trench 1 (15 14m) lay across the southern building. Trench 2 (18.25 1.25m) was placed 20m north-east of trench 1 to cut across the west side of the northern building and the feature running towards it (Figure 4). The topsoil was stripped using a JCB with a narrow ditching bucket and then a small 360° tracked excavator with a 2m toothless bucket. Pre-excavation the location of the trenches was found to lie on a very slight eminence in an otherwise largely flat field. The

buildings were thus situated on the highest point within the immediate surroundings, giving excellent all-round visibility

RESULTS OF EXCAVATION

Trench 1

Five phases of activity were detected in Trench 1: features cut into the natural subsoil (Phases V, W and X; Prehistoric / Roman / Post Roman) with 27 contexts; a single context, **1014**, was believed to be a buried Medieval ploughsoil (Phase Y); and seven contexts were attributed to Post-Medieval / modern activity (Phase Z) (Figure 5).

The remaining context numbers (**1019 – 1023**) relate to natural subsoil deposits, which were fluvio-glacial sands and gravels with evidence for localised extensive
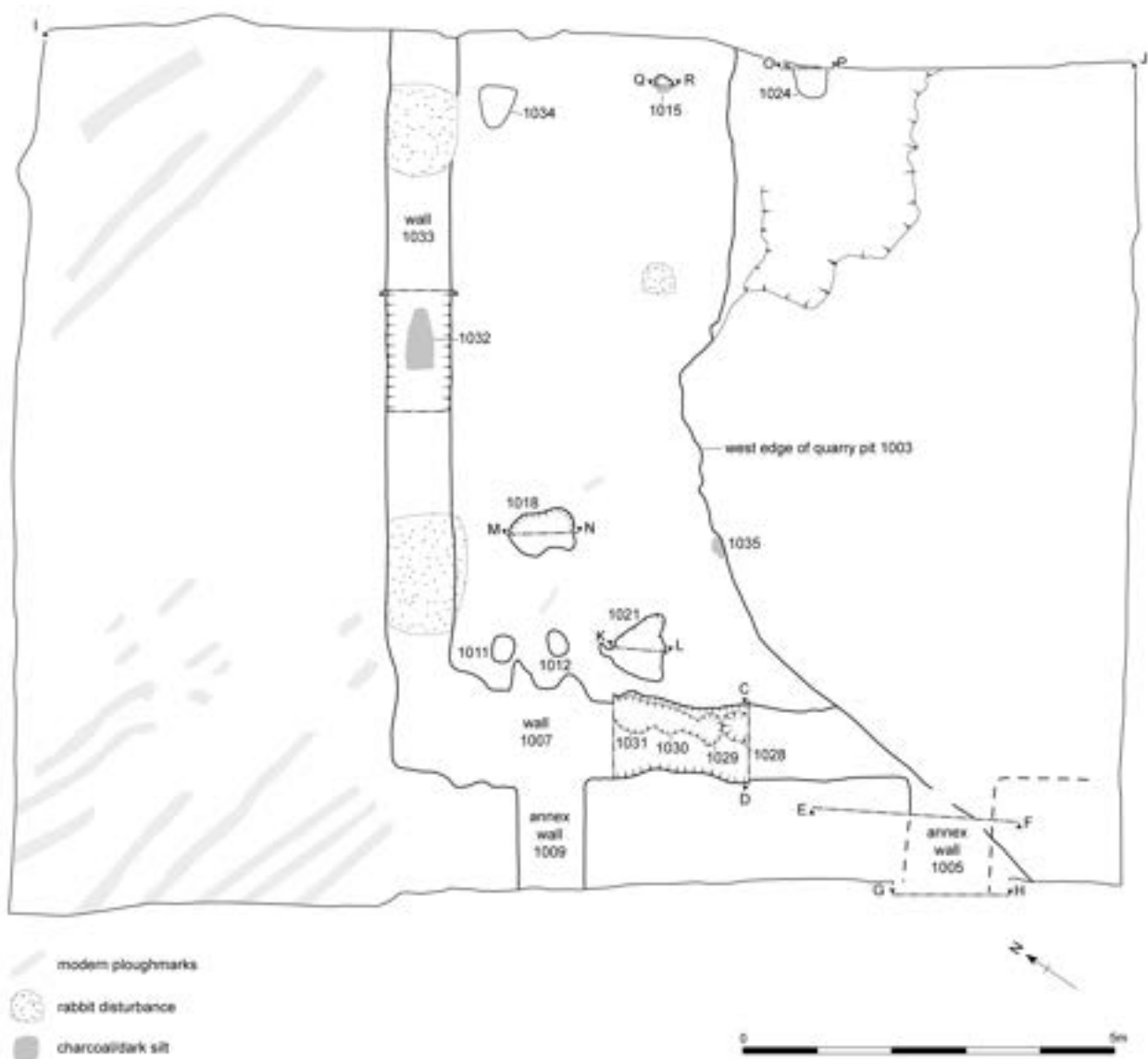

Figure 5.   Plan of features in Trench 1. *Nigel Dodds*.

patches of dense red clay. In the on-site opinion of Dr Andy Howard, these natural sands and gravels exhibited evidence of turbation caused by freeze-thaw conditions indicative of peri-glacial environments at the end of the Devensian Ice Age (*c*.10,000 BC). In places, these effects could easily be confused with archaeological evidence, as seen in the south side of the trench (Figures 6; 9 E-F). Fortunately, once we were aware of these features, we were able to discount them as of anthropogenic origin

Phase V: Prehistoric (Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age)
Two features were assigned to this phase on the basis of radiocarbon dating. Both were pits that were located just north and east of the walls of the phase X building and thus lay within the floor area of that structure, although they clearly cannot be associated with it (Figure 5). The larger of the pits (**1021**) was a roughly circular cut 0.6m in diameter. The fill (**1020**) varied in depth between 0.2 and 0.3m and the dark grey silty sand fill had abundant heat-shattered stone within it. The cut was asymmetric

with a steeper east side (Figures 7; 9 K-L). Another pit (**1018**), lay 1.5m north of **1021** and was sub-oval in plan and 0.8 0.7m in size. As with **1021** its fill (**1017**) had abundant charcoal in it while the cut was shelving and up to 0.2m deep (Figures 8; 9 M-N). This feature too had burnt stone within it. Neither of these features appeared to be structural.

AMS radiometric dating indicated that **1017** dated to 14th–13th century BC (1389–1338 BC (33.1%) / 1321–1265 BC (35.1%)) while **1020** dated to the 9th century BC (892–877BC (13.4%) / 847–806 BC (54.8%)). These dates were obtained from cereal grains – rye and barley– but there were no associated finds in the features. While little can be said about this phase it does at least indicate that there is potential on the site for settlement evidence, and suggests the agricultural nature of that settlement.

Phases W and X; Roman or Early Medieval
No features could be independently verified as being Roman in date, although Roman pottery was recovered from the otherwise undated shallow cut **1024**. The

Figure 6.   Section through eastern annexe wall (1005) to the right, and the natural sands and gravels. *Photograph Roger White*.

Figure 7.   Pit 1020 / 1021 shown half sectioned. *Photograph Roger White*.

Figure 8.   Pit 1017 / 1018 shown half-sectioned. Note burnt stone in 1017. *Photograph Roger White*.

uncertainty in attributing this feature unequivocally to the Roman period is that a number of other features, including the wall trench **1006** also produced Roman pottery even though AMS dates showed clearly that they were mid-7th-century features.

The principal features identified in this phase were the components of a building aligned north-east/south-west representing most of the southern half of the southernmost of the two buildings identified on the original 1975 cropmark photograph. This building had been damaged by Post-Medieval activity and was

consequently targeted for examination given this later activity had removed the eastern wall in its entirety within our excavation area. The remaining elements that were identified and sampled comprised the western wall **1033** and southern wall **1007**. The south annexe western wall **1009** and eastern wall **1005** were identified but only the latter was sampled.

The western wall **1033** was uncovered for a length of 10m, with a consistent width of 1m. The cropmark evidence suggests at least a further 4m of wall remained unexposed. The sandy silt fill (**1022**) was uniform
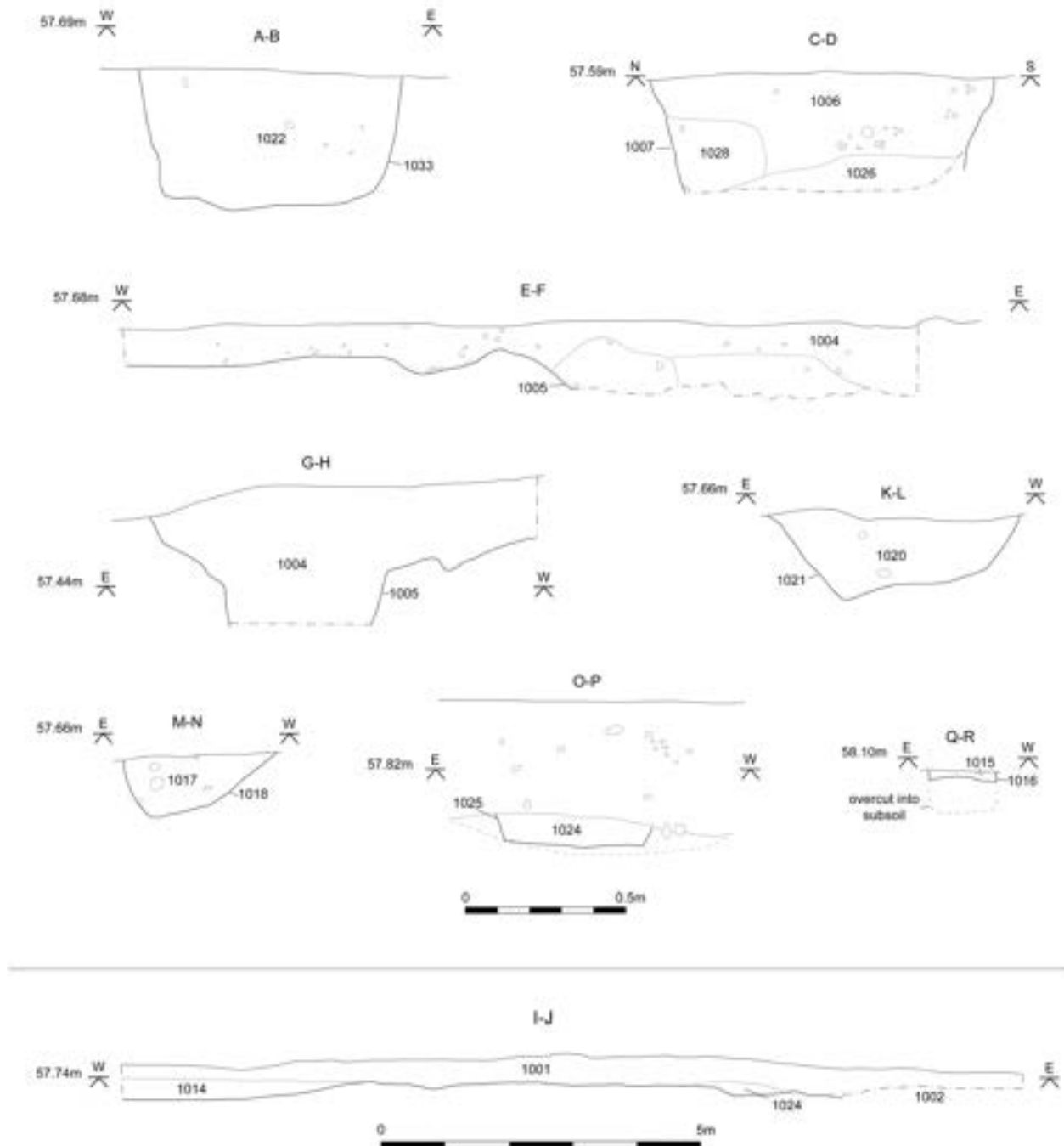

Figure 9.   Trench 1: sections of features and of south-facing baulk. Benchmark heights are metres above Ordnance Datum. *Nigel Dodds*.

throughout and in places towards the north end of the trench pieces of daub were randomly clustered in the upper fill. A total of 1.477kg of daub was recovered from the *sondage*, including SF-142. Two metres north of the south-west corner of the structure the fill was observed to be soft and the entrances to rabbit holes were observed immediately to the west of this area within the Medieval ploughsoil **1014**. This localised disturbance did not affect the edges of the wall noticeably but had clearly disturbed the fill and the area was not investigated further. Another area of rabbit disturbance was located at the northern end of the trench within the Medieval ploughsoil **1014** but did not appear to impinge directly on the wall line (Figure 11). A third area of rabbit disturbance was located within the area of the building, closer to the later pit **1003**. The wall trench was sampled nearly 2m further north of the southern disturbance, the *sondage* measuring 1.6 1m. The depth of the wall trench was 0.4m with straight sides and a flat base (Figure 9 A-B). A rectangular patch of charcoal or compacted dark grey silt (**1032**) in the base of the cut was 0.8 0.35m in size but only 3mm thick. It perhaps represented a post-position. No further features were observed in the fill or in section.

No features could be associated with the western wall, other than perhaps a sub-triangular feature (**1034**), 0.7m south of the northern edge of excavation, which was defined partly as a drying mark but mostly by slightly darker grey fill with abundant pebbles. The feature was 0.5m long, 0.5m wide at its northern side, and 0.2 at its southern end. It was identified too late in the excavation to be investigated but it may have been the setting for an internal post perhaps buttressing the adjacent western wall which lay 0.3m away from its western side.

The southern wall **1007** was uncovered for a length of 7m but the eastern end of the feature had been destroyed by the Post-Medieval quarry pit **1003**. However, the total wall length can be estimated to be 9.5m based on the 2.5m measurement from the south-west corner of the building to the internal junction with the unexcavated west wall of the annexe (**1009**). Given the symmetry of the building and the survival of the internal junction of the eastern annexe wall **1005** and the southern wall, there is confidence in the reconstruction of the total width. The internal annexe width (north-west/south-east) was 4.5m.

A 1.8m long section of the southern wall **1007** was excavated, sited to the east of the western annexe wall where a gap is shown on the cropmark evidence. No such gap was visible when the feature was exposed, however. The upper fill (**1006**) was an undifferentiated silty sand with occasional stones and pebbles. As with the fill of the western wall trench (**1022**), abundant pieces of daub were found (0.742kg), as well as charcoal, but the remains had no coherence as found. The cut was 0.38m deep and vertical on the north side but more gently sloping on the south side where a lower

fill (**1026**) up to 0.13m deep extended 0.6m across the width of the cut (Figure 9 C-D). This was a finer silty sand with fewer inclusions than the main fill. Against the northern side of the feature, a row of four ill-defined post settings was detected (**1028** – **1031**) (Figure 12). The easternmost (**1028**) was discrete from the others but adjacent to them; the other three intersected with each other. The post holes were 0.2m in diameter, with small variations and very closely spaced so rather than being evidence for a wattle-and daub construction, it is more likely that this was a post-in-trench construction plastered with clay as a finish. The occasional piece of charcoal round wood of 50mm diameter does, however, suggest some strengthening woven within this wall. No differentiated fill was found within the posthole cuts. Another cut (**1037**) was detected in the north-east corner of the wall trench where the charred remnants of a horizontal timber (**1036**), 0.36m in diameter was excavated. The function of this, presumably structural, timber, was not clear.

While the walls of the annexe were not fully explored, over-cutting during machining gave an opportunity to examine a locally discrete area where the narrow ditching bucket had cut into **1004**, the fill of the eastern annexe wall **1005**. Cleaning up the north and south faces of the cut indicated that the wall width was 0.45m widening out to 0.6m where first exposed (Figure 9 G-H). The feature was not bottomed but was at least 0.2m deep. The fill was a fine silty sand. The western wall of the annexe (**1009**) was not excavated but the silty sand fill with abundant pebbles (**1008**) was clearly differentiated from the natural sand and gravels around it.

In summary, the building in Trench 1 may be reconstructed as a wall-in-trench structure constructed of timber that in the southern wall at least comprised a post-built wall with little spacing between individual posts, in the manner of construction seen at St Andrew's Greensted, Essex and elsewhere (Blair 2018, 57). The external finish appeared to be of clay, perhaps completely concealing the structural timbers. There was not enough evidence from the western wall to indicate its mode of construction but one possible post position was identified. It is possible that the construction differed from that seen in the southern wall. The general plan of the building as indicated on the cropmark was confirmed with the overall dimensions of the main body of the building being around 15 9.5m. The annexes appear to be roughly 4 5m in size, giving an overall length for the building of around 23m.

Cultural material dating evidence was entirely limited to the Roman period, between the 2nd and 4th centuries. In **1006**, a single rim sherd of late Roman shell-tempered ware and a structural nail were the only significant finds. The pottery can be dated to the last quarter of the 4th century (Timby 2000, 282). Primary fill **1026** produced two sherds of Roman pottery: a fragment of a Mancetter mortarium rim and a fragment of the wall of a Black

Figure 10. View of southern end of building 1 before excavation of the features, looking north. The two prehistoric pits – 1017 and 1020 – have noticeably darker fills than the surrounding features. *Photograph Roger White*.
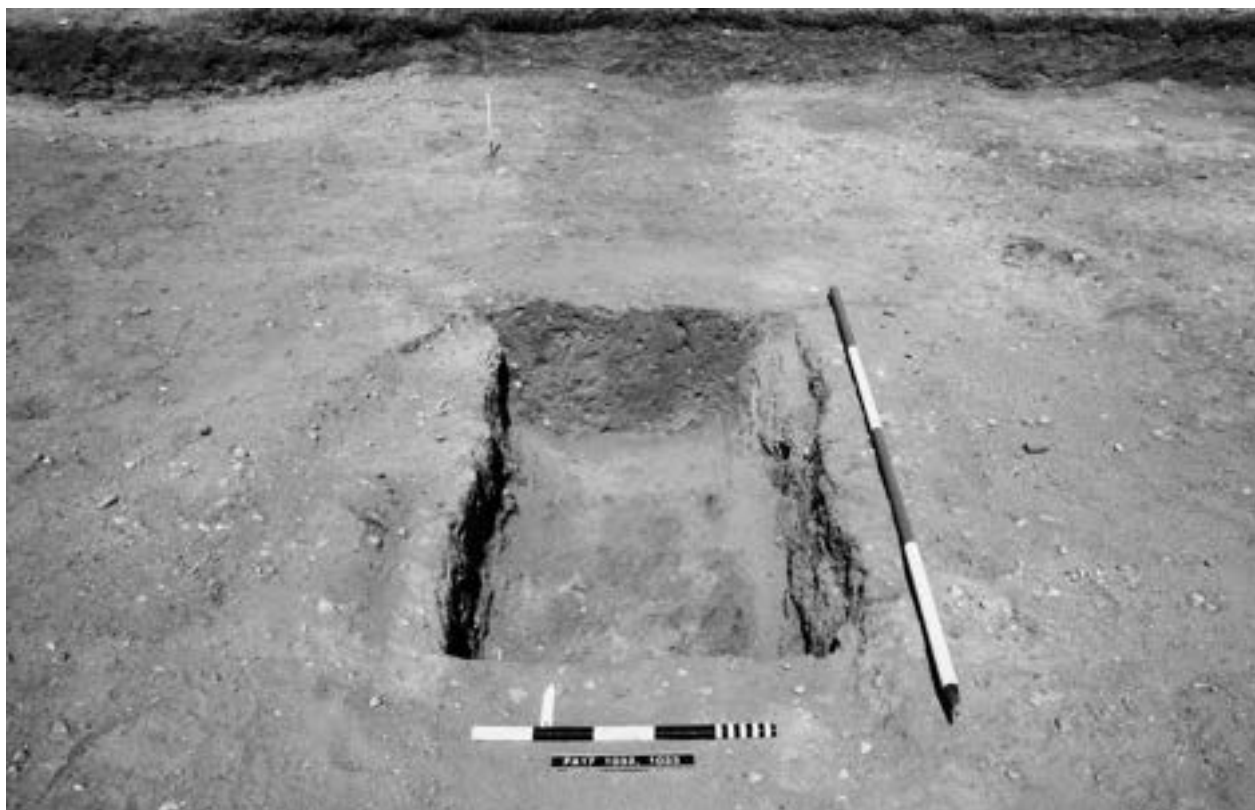

Figure 11. South-east facing section across wall trench 1033. An area of rabbit disturbance lies beyond the white grid peg. *Photograph Roger White*.

Burnished ware 'dog-dish'. These both date from the 2nd to the end of the 4th century (Timby 2000, 234). In **1022** there were a further two sherds: a single small sherd of Severn Valley ware decorated with a sgraffito narrow wavy line, and a Post-Medieval sherd of 2g weight, the latter presumably intrusive.

AMS dating provided contradictory evidence. Two samples from **1006**, a hand-collected roundwood fragment of hazel / birch about 10–15 years age and cereal grains, produced dates consistently in the 7th century AD centring on the 650s. One sample was dated to 1355±30 calibrated at 68.2% confidence to AD 648–677 and at 95.4% confidence to either AD 652–711 (90.6%) or AD 746–764 (4.8%) while the other was dated to 1405±30, calibrated at 68.2% confidence to AD 620–657 and at 95.4% confidence to AD 595–668. In contrast, the date of a barley grain from **1022** gave a date in the 10th century BC. The date was given as 2805±30, which was calibrated to 996–921 BC at 68.2% confidence, and at 95.4% confidence to 1046–894 BC (94.2%) or 866–855 BC (1.2%). Since **1006** and **1022** were part of the same feature, the prehistoric date is rejected as dating evidence given that **1022** also produced Roman and Post-Medieval pottery. Although disturbance was not noted in the fill, the likelihood is that it was contaminated by rabbit action.

At the northern end of the Trench, another charcoal-filled pit was identified (**1024**) extending from the edge of the excavation. This was 0.4m wide and at least 0.4m north-south but only 0.12m deep. The cut was a shallow scoop (Figure 9 O-P). Contained within the fill was a single Roman Severn Valley bowl rim sherd. Although an environmental sample was taken from this feature, nothing dateable was identified. As noted above, this feature may genuinely be Roman in date, but the possibility that it is later cannot be ruled out. Lastly, a single regular circular feature was identified, once again indicated by charcoal inclusions (**1015**). This proved to be a feature 0.2m in diameter and perhaps only 40–50mm deep (the feature was probably over-excavated into natural due to poor conditions during excavation) (Figure 9 Q-R). It is interpreted as a post setting rather than a post hole. AMD dating of cereal / barley grains produced a date of 1320±30, calibrated at 68.2% confidence to AD 658–693 (52.3%) or AD 747–763 (15.9%) and at 95.4% confidence to either AD 652–723 (73.0%) or AD 740–768 (22.4%). The dating suggests this feature at least was the same date as the building. It was relatively slight, however, so is unlikely to be structurally significant.

Other, more ephemeral and ill-defined (or merely un-investigated) features, were identified in this area, recognition being complicated by surviving patches of modern ploughsoil and the very dry conditions (Figure 10). One feature, discernible as a small charcoal patch (**1035**), was detected adjacent to the Post-Medieval quarry pit **1003**. Due to the probability of contamination

and disturbance by the later feature, this context was not investigated further. Two other charcoal-flecked circular features 0.3m in diameter (**1011** and **1012**) were located in the south-west corner of the building at an angle to the corner of the building. Evidence for an upright loom was given some weight by a fragment of a bun-shaped loom weight (SF-159) that was found in the cleaning layer **1010** close to this location.

Phase Y: Medieval
Only one feature could be attributed to the Medieval period, a layer of reddish silty sand with abundant pebbles (**1014**) that covered the western side of the trench, extending for around 7m east/west (Figure 9 I-J). Comparison with the aerial photographs (Figure 1) demonstrated very clearly that this was part of a broad reverse-S shaped furrow, an interpretation confirmed by the presence of the adjacent ridge to its east occupying the centre of the trench where the natural sand and gravel was directly under the modern ploughsoil. The Medieval ploughsoil was not fully excavated, being taken down only to a depth of 0.4m as there was insufficient time. The cropmark feature anticipated in the south-west corner of the excavation did not emerge but may well have lain beneath this context. Dating evidence was provided by green- or brown-glazed rouletted sherds of probably late 12th- or early 13th-century date. The largest of these lay directly over the corner of the underlying building.

Phase Z: Post-Medieval / Modern
Evidence for Post-Medieval activity was limited to two categories, industrial and agricultural. In the former category was the excavation of the large quarry pit **1003** that occupied the whole of the eastern half of Trench 1, extending up to 6m into the site in an irregular arc. The pit was not investigated in detail other than in the south-eastern corner of the trench where it cut into the southern wall of the building, and at the northern edge of the excavation. In both areas, the upper fill of the pit spilled out into a shallow scoop overlying the natural subsoil. No particular dating evidence was identified but the dark sandy silt pit fill (**1002**) was characterised by the regular occurrence of coal and coke as well as Post-Medieval artefacts. It is assumed that the pit was dug to extract a localised 'plug' of dense red clay, a characteristic feature of the geological deposits seen nearby in the Wroxeter area as well. A small amount of dense red clay was found in one of the features in Trench 2 which gives some support to the hypothesis as otherwise clay was absent from the sands and gravels. A similar area of dense clay may be suggested to be located close to the north-western corner of the field where the ground is regularly waterlogged causing cattle poaching at times. The habitat generated by such wet patches may have given rise to the frog element in the fieldname.
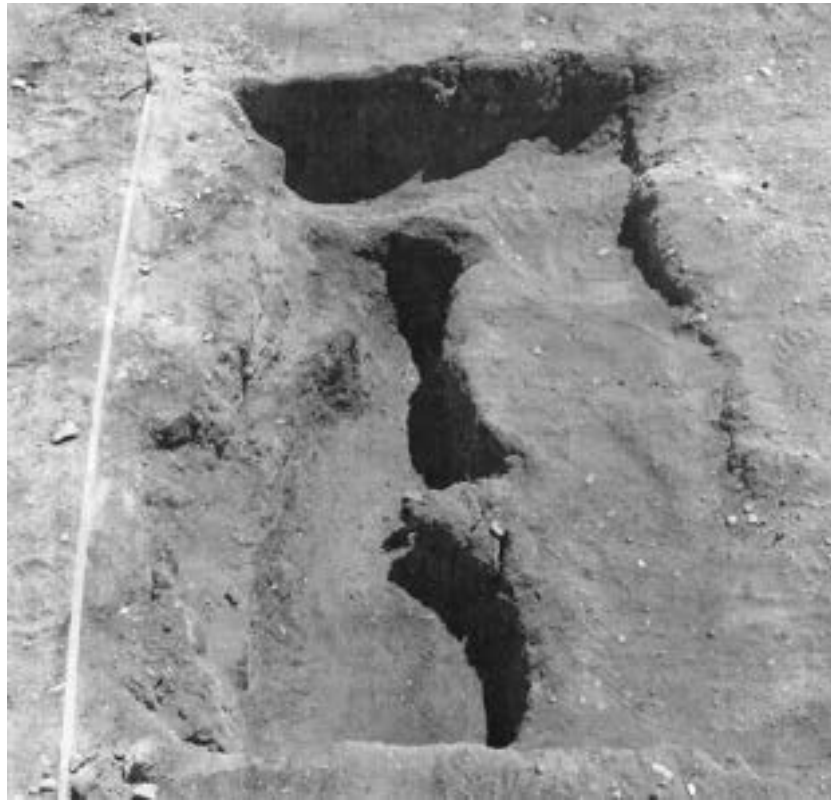
Figure 12. Post-positions 1028 – 1031 as defined in excavation, looking east. The fragile edges of these features did not survive long enough to be properly recorded and this is the only visual record available of them. *Photograph Viviana Culshaw.*

The excavation of a clay area can be accounted for in a number of ways during the Post-Medieval period, and specifically in the 18th or 19th century. First is the exploitation of the clay for industrial purposes, including but not limited to supplying a brick kiln recorded in a place-name 400m to the south-west of the site, adjacent to the canal (National Trust MNA 143234) or supplying a puddled clay lining for the Shrewsbury to Newport canal which was opened in 1796 and lay immediately adjacent to the field (Figure 3). Barrie Trinder notes that at Rodington, 4.3km north-east of the site, the brick-built canal aqueduct there had 'a great thickness of puddled clay needed to seal the bottom of the waterway' (Trinder 2016, 177–9).

Post-Medieval agricultural activity on the site was represented by the homogenised ploughsoil 0.5m deep uncovered over the whole site (**1001**). At its base were parallel furrows caused by modern tractor-pulled ploughshares, identifiable by their pale grey fill (**1013**) in shallow V-shaped cuts (**1027**), which occasionally gouged into the archaeological levels (Figure 5). At the interface of the archaeology and the ploughsoil was a cleaning layer (**1010**) but above this the ploughsoil itself (**1001**) was preserved under the current pasture (**1000**). Modern finds within the ploughsoil included tractor parts such as disc harrows and tines as well as modern tools and other artefacts.

Trench 2

Four phases of activity were detected in Trench 2, the most intense of which were Phases W and X (Roman and Early Medieval) with twelve contexts. Phases Y (Medieval) and Z (Post-Medieval) comprised four contexts each. The remaining six contexts (**2006 – 2008**, **2010**, **2024**, **2025**) were allocated to the natural subsoil which comprised bands of sand and sand with gravels of fluvio-glacial origin.

Phases W and X: Roman or Early Medieval

Two features were detected in Phases W and X. Six metres from the western end of the trench a shallow V-shaped cut (**2023**) 1.2m wide and orientated almost east/west was excavated (Figures 13; 16 A1-B1; 17). The sides were relatively ill defined in places and it was clear that the upper levels of the feature had been truncated by later ploughing (see Phase Y). The fill (**2022**) was of pale yellow/red sand with a few inclusions of stones and gravel and was up to 0.35m deep.

Ten sherds of Roman pottery were recovered from the fill weighing 212g including two plain samian sherds, one of which was a rim possibly from an 18/31 bowl. Two other small sherds were of black-burnished ware, a rim and a base but otherwise undiagnostic. The remaining sherds were of Severn valley oxidised ware including a narrow reeded-rim from a bowl, a jar rim, and two substantial and joining fragments from a large

jar with a triangular rim. A later 2nd- or 3rd-century date is indicated for this group. Samples were taken for environmental and dating purposes but nothing suitable was found but the feature is thought to be Roman in date due to the joining sherds.

The remaining contexts in this phase related to a wall trench located 3m from the eastern end of the excavation, the wall itself being orientated roughly north-east/south-west. The wall trench (**2013**) was 0.8–0.9m wide, 0.5m deep and nearly vertically sided (Figures 13; 16 C1-D1). On the west side two rectangular cuts were located 1.2m apart and were presumably external buttresses (Figure 18). The southern (**2015**) was 0.53 0.24 0.4m deep while the northern (**2017**) was 0.44×0.32×0.33m deep. The fill of **2015** (**2016**) was undifferentiated from the overall fill of the main wall trench, and the fill of **2017** (**2018**) differentiated from the fill (**2014**) of the main wall trench only at the base of the feature. Fill **2014** was a pale brown sand-with-gravel and during excavation appeared to be uniform. However, it was observed in the south-facing section that a drying mark appeared demonstrating that the wall itself was 0.7m wide and that there was a construction trench up to 0.2m wide on the east side (Figures 15; 16 C1-D1).

On the base of the wall trench were two compacted areas of dark sand (**2018**, **2020**) thought to represent the bases of rectangular-sectioned posts. Spaced about 0.4m apart, centre to centre, **2020** was 0.39 0.13m, and **2018** 0.18×0.11m (Figure 14). Both lay in shallow, flat-bottomed depressions only a millimetre deep (**2019**, **2021**) (Figure 13).

Four undiagnostic sherds were recovered from **2014** weighing 30g, three of which were oxidised Severn Valley ware. The fourth was possibly a Severn Valley organic tempered ware. A single abraded and undiagnostic Severn Valley sherd was found in **2016**. A single nail was found in **2014** which may have come from the building.

Phase Y: Medieval
The next phase of activity was represented by a truncated ploughsoil overlying the two earlier features and separated by a shallow ridge of subsoil. The first layer (**2003**), at the east end, was a grey ashy brown sandy silt with occasional small pebbles and occasional lumps of red clay that extended for 3m from the end of the trench to cover the wall trench and was up to 0.15m deep (Figure 16 E1-F1). While not directly contained within the cut for wall trench **2013**, it was thought that this layer was the truncated and homogenised upper fill of the wall trench, perhaps as a consequence of Medieval cultivation (see **2009** below). Layer **2003** contained 46 sherds of Severn Valley oxidised ware weighing 293g, including a fragment of a cheese-press. This group could not be dated other than broadly to the 2nd to 4th century. An AMS dating was obtained from cereal or grass grains in a sample from this context. The date of these was 1845±30 which was calibrated at 68.2% confidence at AD 130–215 and at 95.4%

Figure 13. Plan of Trench 2. *Nigel Dodds*.

Figure 14. Post impressions 2018 and 2020 in the base of wall trench 2013. *Photograph Roger White*.

Figure 15. Drying mark showing width of wall in section across wall trench 2013. Looking north. *Photograph Roger White*.

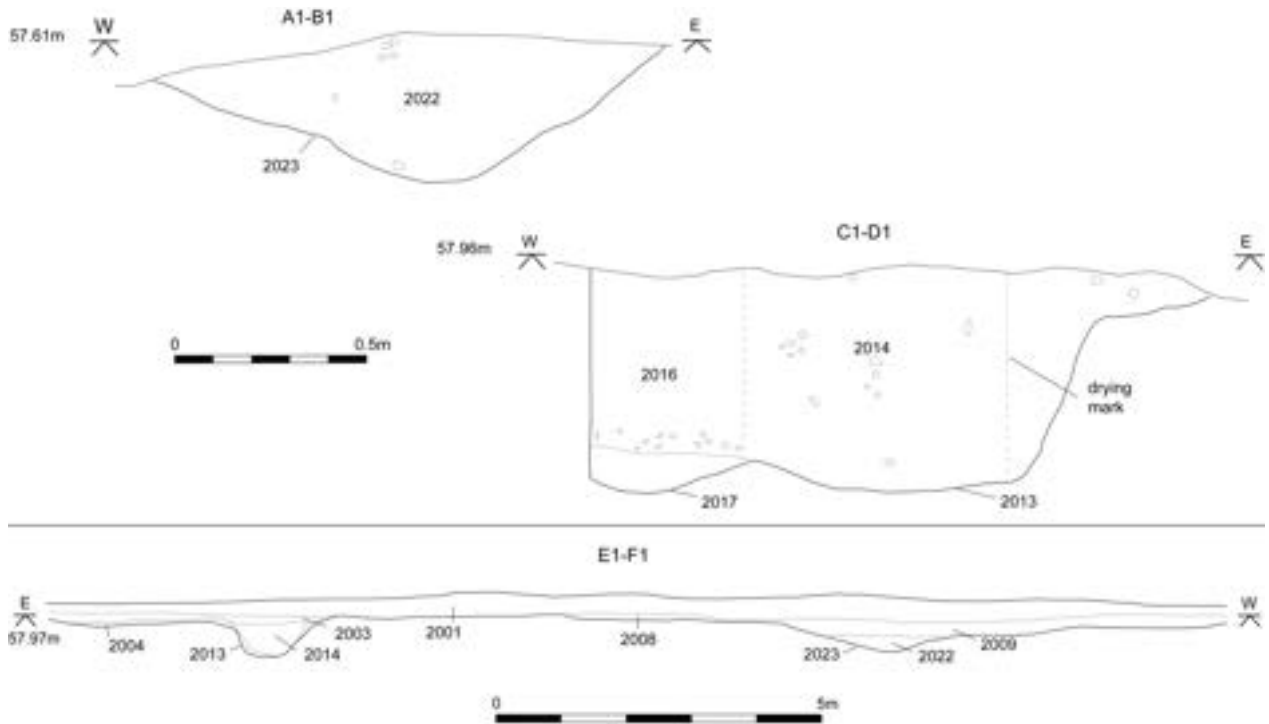**Figure 16.** Trench 2. Upper drawing: sections of features 2023 and 2013 (see Figures 17 and 15 respectively). Lower drawing: north-facing baulk. Benchmark heights are metres above Ordnance Datum. *Nigel Dodds*.

Figure 17. Ditch cut 2023 in trench 2, looking north-east. *Photograph Roger White*.

Figure 18. Wall trench 2013 with postholes 2015 and 2017. Looking north. *Photograph Roger White*.

confidence at AD 85–239, a date contemporary with the pottery. However, the evidence for the structure of the underlying building suggests that this was Early Medieval in character so these dates are presumably residual. Overlying this was a reddish-brown sandy silt with pebbles (**2002**) which produced three sherds of Roman pottery weighing 37g (two Severn Valley oxidised, one black-burnished ware).

Overlying ditch fill **2022** was an extensive area of dark grey brown sandy silt with pebbles 0.25m deep (**2009**) (Figure 16 E1-F1). This layer tapered out to the east and was not fully excavated at the western end of the trench. It seems likely that this layer was the edge of a Medieval ploughing furrow (cf **1014**, Trench 1). As with **2003** abundant pottery was found lying almost directly above the buried ditch, comprising 26 sherds weighing 248g. Of these, 21 were Severn Valley oxidised ware, including a substantial rim sherd from a large storage jar and the neck of another jar. One sherd was of Severn Valley organic ware. The remaining five sherds were black-burnished ware including two rims from later jars, perhaps of 4th-century date. The localisation of these sherds above the ditch strongly suggests the truncation of the upper fill of the ditch caused by Medieval ploughing.

Phase Z: Modern
Modern activity on the site was limited to the modern ploughsoil (**2001**) and turf layer (**2000**). Ploughmarks (**2011**) were detected at the high point of the ridge between the ditch and wall trench. Fourteen sherds of Roman pottery were found in the ploughsoil, all but two of which were Severn Valley oxidised ware, the exceptions being Severn Valley organic. Another base sherd, weighing 9g, in a reduced and sandy fabric which is heavily sooted is thought to be Medieval in date.

SPECIALIST ASSESSMENTS

The extremely limited number of finds from the excavation rendered a full analysis unnecessary. The following reports offer an overview of the material and provide more detailed comments for those finds believed to offer significant dating or cultural evidence.

POTTERY
by Roger White

A total of 249 sherds was recovered with a total weight of 1.623kg, the majority in the excavation trenches but also from machining and field survey. One unstratified sherd is thought to be prehistoric, 131 Roman, four Medieval (1066–1600 AD) and the remaining 113 Post-Medieval (Table 2). The bulk of the material by sherd count and weight was Roman. The Post-Medieval material is not considered further since it has no bearing on the date of the features encountered other than the large quarry pit whose date range was established stratigraphically. Pottery was recovered from eight contexts in Trench 1 and seven contexts in Trench 2 (including ploughsoil and cleaning layers). No pottery was thought to be significant or diagnostic enough to be illustrated.

Four sherds of Medieval date were recovered. One, from Trench 2, was a rim in a black gritty fabric

Table 2. Summary of pottery by period

Context no.	Context description	Prehistoric	Roman	Medieval	Post-Medieval
Trench 1					
1001	modern ploughsoil	1	14	1	91
1002	modern pit fill	-	2	-	3
1006	fill of wall trench	-	2	-	-
1010	cleaning layer	-	2	-	1
1014	Medieval ploughsoil	-	2	2	-
1022	fill of wall trench	-	1	-	1
1024	pit fill	-	1	-	-
1026	fill of wall trench	-	2	-	-
Trench 2					
2001	modern ploughsoil	-	14	1	9
2002	Medieval ploughsoil	-	3	-	-
2003	Medieval ploughsoil	-	46	-	7
2009	Medieval ploughsoil	-	26	-	1
2014	fill of wall trench	-	5	-	-
2016	fill of posthole	-	1	-	-
2022	fill of ditch	-	10	-	-
Totals		**1**	**131**	**4**	**113**

reminiscent of late Saxon or Anglo-Norman style cooking pots. This may, however, be a Roman sherd. The remaining three sherds were clearly Medieval in date and were found in Trench 1. Two were perhaps of the 12th or 13th century in that they comprised two sherds of early glazed sandy ware decorated with rouletting before being lead-glazed (Bryant 2002, 93). The last remaining sherd was undiagnostic but was probably a cooking pot, also in a sandy fabric.

While this small assemblage does not justify full quantification and analysis beyond a basic record, the quantity of Roman pottery recovered in excavation is significant given how little pottery is found on sites in Wroxeter's hinterland (Gaffney and White 2007, 240–1). It is suggestive of an important Roman site in the immediate vicinity. In one case (**2003**), the pottery and radiocarbon dating were in accord and while this may indicate that the building in Trench 2 was actually Roman in date, the cultural parallels for the structure of the building suggest a later, Early Medieval, date. Certainly, the structural features in Trench 2 produced significant amounts of pottery, although joining sherds were limited to the ditch fill **2022**.

FIRED CLAY AND CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL
by Roger White

Fired clay (daub) was recovered from five contexts, all in Trench 1. In all but one case (finds from **1014**), the debris was in or immediately over wall trenches. These finds must, therefore, represent the remains of elements of the building that stood in these contexts and offers an insight into its construction methods. Most of the pieces are relatively small and undiagnostic, but some larger elements survive and are catalogued below in summary form, grouped under their context numbers.

Catalogue
1006: 87 pieces weighing 729g. Largest piece 60 35 35mm. Fabric predominantly clay with abundant voids caused by chaff / straw (dung). There are impressions of pebbles in some places although few survive in situ. Impressions of roundwood survive in five cases offering diameters of 11–15mm. Nine pieces have flat surfaces.
1010: 14 pieces weighing 165g. Largest piece 55 35 30mm. Fabric as **1006**. Roundwood impressions on 1 piece where rods are spaced 17mm apart. One piece is faced. These finds were recovered immediately above context **1022**.
1014: 13 pieces weighing 136g. Largest piece 47 30 26mm. Fabric as **1006**. Roundwood impression of up to 25mm on one piece. One small piece with a flat surface. From Medieval

ploughsoil but immediately adjacent to western wall.
1022: SF-142 Single piece weighing 411g. 140 104 36mm. Fabric as **1006** but the voids left by the abundant organic component are very clear on the flat surface. On the other side, impressions of five individual rods survive, varying in diameter from 11mm to 17mm. These are mostly spaced at similar distances to the width of the rods.
Bag 2: 20 pieces weighing 696g. Largest piece 85×64×28mm. These pieces all have flat surfaces and all but two have roundwood impressions. Diameters of roundwood vary between 11mm and 21mm and in some cases are only separated by a narrow ridge. One example has a rod running at right angles to two adjacent rods forming a lattice. Another has a roundwood impression adjacent to the impression created by a right-angled corner. A very distinctive element has a T-shaped section, gently curving on one side, but with a right-angle impression on the other. This piece is presumably from an opening in the wall or from a door frame.
Bag 3: 45 pieces weighing 366g. Largest piece 45×30×30mm. Five pieces have flat surfaces, one comprising a right angle with two roundwood impressions internally. This may have been from an opening. Another piece has a right-angled impression. Roundwood diameters are 11mm to 15mm.
1026: Bag 1: four pieces weighing 1.31kg and six pieces weighing 7g. The smallest of the large pieces has a flat but curving surface with a dark grey core to the fabric, which is otherwise as **1006**. The second large piece has a flat surface and the prominent impressions of roundwood that have been almost completely surrounded by daub. There is a gap of 35mm between the surface and the three roundwood impressions. The depth of one impression is 35mm so despite the rounded impression, the shape of the void is more like a rounded slat. This piece also has a roundwood impression at right angles to the other impressions. The third piece is the largest at 140×110×60mm. It has a curving flat surface, like a coving, and there is a prominent triangular angular stone incorporated in the surface at the time of manufacture. Also visible in the surface are impressions of straw. The three prominent roundwood impressions lie 40mm deeper than the surface and are up to 15mm in diameter. A fourth roundwood impression lies over two other impressions demonstrating a depth to the wattling or woven rods. The fourth piece preserved no outer surfaces but appears to derive from the core of the wall since impressions

of roundwood appear to lie in a variety of directions. Roundwood impressions are up to 15mm in diameter, but the other impressions are less distinct and do not appear to be roundwood. (Figures 19; 20).

Bag 2: 35 pieces weighing 711g. The largest piece is 85×85×35mm. One piece with a flat surface has a stone incorporated within it. The roundwood impressions range between 11mm and 15mm and within the fabric are impressions of straw or grass. One piece has impressions running at right angles to each other.

Analysis

This group of material is consistent in its evidence for a wall with a smoothly finished surface of daub at least 35mm thick overlying a framework of roundwood rods forming a lattice. However, the rods in one direction are closely spaced while in the other they are much less frequent. It may be surmised that the closely spaced ones are the vertical elements with the others forming horizontal strengthening and shaping. This lattice was, however, far too slight to support the weight of a building and must have been attached to a wall core which, on the evidence of the excavation, comprised closely spaced timbers. How this was achieved is not clear but there was no evidence for a sole-plate for the wall, and the timbers in the wall core were too closely spaced to admit woven withies, slats or mud-bricks as would be expected in Roman wall construction (Adam 1999, 120–4). The construction suggested here is unusual and suggests a degree of improvisation rather than experience, although it could be considered consistent with the range of designs recorded in 10th-century London and other Anglo-Saxon sites (Blair 2018 57, figs. 14, 15). On this basis the buildings are clearly Early Medieval rather than Roman in date. Evidence was found for openings and squared timbers but how these latter were used was not obvious. Calcined bone was found in contexts **1006**, **1022** and **1026** with a temperature reaching at least 600° C (see Hammon, below). This is consistent with the destruction of the building by fire evidenced by both the daub and recovery of charcoal.

METAL FINDS excluding coins
by Roger White

A total of 195 metal objects was found, virtually all by metal detector survey either on the field or (more rarely) in the excavation trenches. Most were patently modern and of little interest; 49 were discarded although a photographic record was kept of these items. Of the remaining objects, fourteen have been catalogued by period below: ten were of Roman or presumed Roman

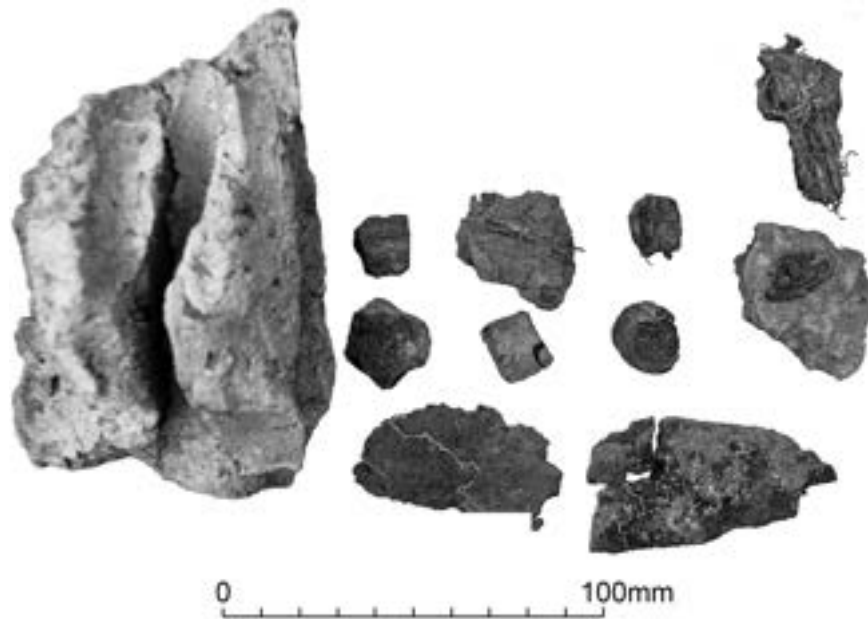**Figure 19.** Daub from wall trench fill 1026. *Photograph Roger White.*

Figure 20. Daub from 1026 with carbonised roundwood from the same context. *Photograph Roger White*.

date; the remaining four were believed to be Early Medieval (defined as *c*.410–1066, in conformance with the Portable Antiquities Scheme broad dating categories). Note that the hand-made nails found during the metal detector survey have not been catalogued as the date of these are not certain. Those catalogued are from secure contexts, including structural features.

A further six items, mostly dress fittings of 16th- or 17th-century date and a Late Medieval religious tinned pendant, are not catalogued here.

Catalogue
Roman
1. Trumpet brooch. Recovered in two parts but broken in antiquity. Length: 65mm; width at head 16mm; catch plate broken and pin missing. An unadorned example, the head plate is circular with a thick projecting pierced plate to hold the pin. There was no head-loop. The bow is strongly profiled and slightly facetted during the working of the wax model. The three projecting rings at mid bow are separated by deep grooves and the wider central projection has a knurled finish. The foot is a plain disc while the catch plate is relatively slight. Smooth finish overall with signs of tinning. Similar to Mackreth 2011, Pl. 82, 5214 but with the profile of 14149. Later 1st century to mid-2nd century, paralleled in north Wales and Wroxeter (Mackreth 2011, 121–2). SF-47, ploughsoil.
2. Trumpet brooch. Complete brooch but lacking a pin and catch plate. Length: 53mm; width at head 12mm. Simple shape with twisted profile when viewed from the front. Large central projecting disc, discs above and below much slighter. Catch plate

narrow and end knob simple. Similar to Mackreth 2011, Pl.82, 5217 but slightly more robust. Dating and parallels as above – a Severn Valley type. SF-158, ploughsoil.
3. Part of shoe-shaped plate brooch. The lozenge-shaped sole is present but not the 'heel' end, where the pin was located. The projecting catch plate is broken. No enamel survives on the shoe surface. Mackreth 2011, Pl. 123, 7861 is a close parallel. Possibly Hadrianic to early 3rd century (Mackreth 2011, 179–80). SF-145, ploughsoil.
4. Roughly oval piece of lead with white powdery surface in places. The outer surface is uneven as is the other side. A narrow lip shows that this was probably a crude plug-repair for a metal vessel and thus likely to be Roman in date. SF177, context **1001,** ploughsoil.
5. Segment of large triangular, domed piece of iron with a pitted surface. Fragment of an iron bloom; likely to be Roman in date. . SF-167, ploughsoil.
6. Head and part of shank of iron nail. Head lozenge-shaped, shank square-sectioned. SF-187, context **1006,** wall trench fill.
7. Tapered rectangular sectioned nail with domed head. SF-184, context **2003.**
8. Dome headed hobnail. SF-186, context **2003**.
9. Head and part of shank of iron nail. Head lozenge-shaped, shank square-sectioned. SF-185, context **2014,** wall trench fill.

Early Medieval / Medieval
10. Plain strap tag of two rectangular copper alloy sheets riveted together at two points. Length 26mm, width 12mm, gap between sheets 2mm.

There may be mineralised leather between the two pieces of metal. The edges of the sheet are irregular and clearly hand-cut, which makes it unlikely that this is a Roman, or Post-Medieval piece. There is absolutely no decoration, but the likelihood is that this is of Anglo-Saxon date. SF-163, ploughsoil (Figure 21).
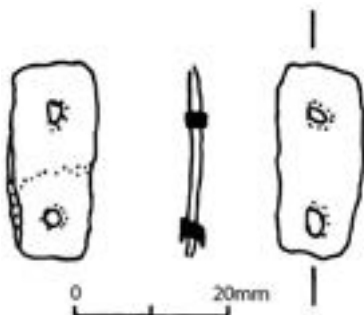

Figure 21. Copper alloy strap tag, metal-detector find from ploughsoil. Scale 1:1. *Roger White*.

11. Cast copper alloy openwork object. Length 29mm, width 10mm, depth 19mm. A roughly rectangular object with a flat oval foot, a triangular oval depression on the inner face side and a curving, openwork crest with two cast piercings on the outer face. The object tapers to create a narrow channel. Viewed from the side, the object can be seen to be a stylistic rendering of an animal head, perhaps a wolfhound, or a boar. An example of a Williams Type 4 terminal on a late Saxon stirrup (Williams 1997, 96–8, fig. 4). The decoration is reminiscent of the Ringerike style so likely to be 10th or 11th century in date. SF-100, ploughsoil (Figure 22).
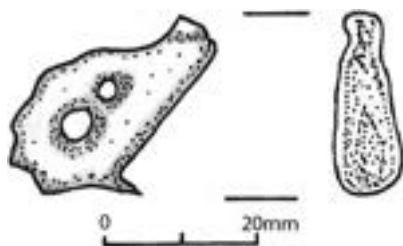

Figure 22. Cast copper alloy stirrup mount, metal-detector find from ploughsoil. Scale 1:1. *Roger White*.

12. Flat, circular lead weight. 28mm in diameter and 9mm thick. There is a square central hole 6mm wide on one side but on the other the hole is circular – clearly it was made with a square-headed iron nail. Undated, but likely to be Early Medieval or possibly Roman. SF-46, ploughsoil (Figure 23).

13. Flat circular lead weight. 19mm in diameter and 12mm thick. The central piercing is 4mm and
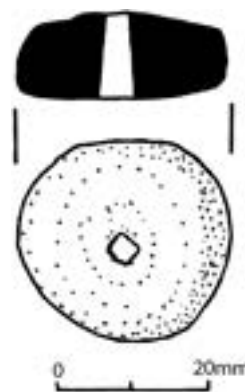

Figure 23. Lead spindle whorl, metal-detector find from ploughsoil. Scale 1:1. *Roger White*.

square on one face and round on the other so, as with 12, this has been made with a nail. Both 9 and 10 are likely to be spindle whorls and are likely to be either Roman or Anglo-Saxon in date. SF-124, ploughsoil (unillustrated)

14. Rectangular piece of iron 45 16mm with curved section. Possibly the end of a spoon-bit (cf Wilson 1981, fig. 6.2, a & b). Undated but possibly Roman or Anglo-Saxon. SF-149, context **1010** cleaning layer (unillustrated).

COIN REPORT
by Roger White

A total of 23 coins was found. Of these, seven were of Roman date, one of 17th- or 18th-century date, eleven were Georgian and four were of the 20th century. Only the Roman examples have been detailed here, although all have been retained. The format follows Brickstock (2004).

15. DOMITIAN. Date: AD 86. Denom: *As*. Cat.: RIC II, 335. Wear: SW/SW Axis: 6 Diam.: 26mm Wt.: 7.57g. Obv: IMP CAE DOMIT AVG GERM COS XII CENS PER PP Bust R, laurel wreath with aegis; Rev: MONET(A) AVG(VSTI) Moneta stg l with cornucopia and scales. In field S C Mint: Rome. SF-166, ploughsoil.

16. TRAJAN. Date: AD 100. Denom: *Denarius*. *Cat*.: RIC II, 33. Wear: SW/SW Axis: 6 Diam.: 18mm Wt.: 2.67g. Obv: IMP CAES NERVA TRIAN AVG GERM; Rev: PM TRP COS III PP Vesta seated l with torch and patera in extended r hand. SF-87, ploughsoil.

17. ANTONINUS PIUS? Date: AD 138–161. Denom.: *As*. Cat.: ? Wear: C/EW Axis: 6 Diam.: 23mm Wt.: 5.02g Obv: corroded; Rev: female figure stg. L. with arm out (possibly *Libertas* or *Aeternitas*); Antoninus Pius / Diva Faustina; *As* of mid-2nd century. SF-86, ploughsoil.

18. TETRICUS I? Date: AD 270–3. Denom.: *Antoninianus*. Cat.: ? Wear: W/W Axis: 1 Diam.: 15mm Wt.: 1.38g. Obv: radiate bust of Emperor (Tetricus I?), r; obv: Victory stg l holding wreath. SF-15, ploughsoil.

19. TETRICUS II Date: AD 270–3. Denom.: *Antoninianus*. Cat.: Wear: W/W Axis: 12 Diam: 18mm; wt. 1.89g. Obv; radiate bust of (beardless) Emperor; obv.: Pax stg l holding patera and staff. SF-189, context **2001**, ploughsoil.

20. HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE. Date: AD 330–348. Denom.: *Nummus*. Cat.: ? Wear: W/C Axis: ? Diam.: 15mm Wt.: 0.88g Obv: bust of Emperor , diad, dr., r.; obv: illegible. SF-101, ploughsoil.

21. Illegible Denom.: *Dupondius*. Cat.: ? Wear: EW/EW Axis: – Diam.: 31mm Wt.: 18.08g. Obv: bust of Emperor r., radiate?; Rev: worn flat; 1st / 2nd cent. SF-148, ploughsoil.

This small group of coins is not statistically significant and does not bear further analysis other than to observe that the range of coins covers the whole Roman period and includes issues of the most common types found in Britain (nos 18, 19 and 20). The extreme wear on the *As* and *Dupondius* (17 & 21) are typical of coins that could have been in circulation for over a century before deposition in the 3rd century or later. The coins of Domitian and Trajan are well preserved and indicate an early Roman site in the vicinity.

FINDS IN OTHER MATERIALS
by Roger White

22. Lozenge shaped chip of black flint. Prominent bulb of percussion on one side, retouching on opposite side and edge. Small scraper – probably early Neolithic. SF188, context **2002** (unillustrated).

23. Small piece of greenish flat glass with opaque surfaces. Looks too flat to be a vessel and too thin to be a pane, unless a late-Roman free-blown panel. SF168, context **2001**, ploughsoil (unillustrated).

24. Fragment of conical bun-shaped ceramic loom weight. The fabric is relatively fine with only occasional inclusions up to 1mm. Enough survives to estimate the diameter as 67mm with a diameter of the off-centre piercing of 9mm. The narrow piercing and bun shape suggest a mid-Saxon date (AD 600–900; Leahy 2011, 448). SF 159, context **1010** (Figures 24; 25).

25. Fragment from a quern, possibly in millstone grit. From layer above building in Trench 2. The piece has been shaped into a rough square, akin in size to a Victorian hand-cut sett. The upper surface is very slightly concave while the opposing surface has the traces of six radiating ridges forming the grinding surface. This is likely to be an upper stone.

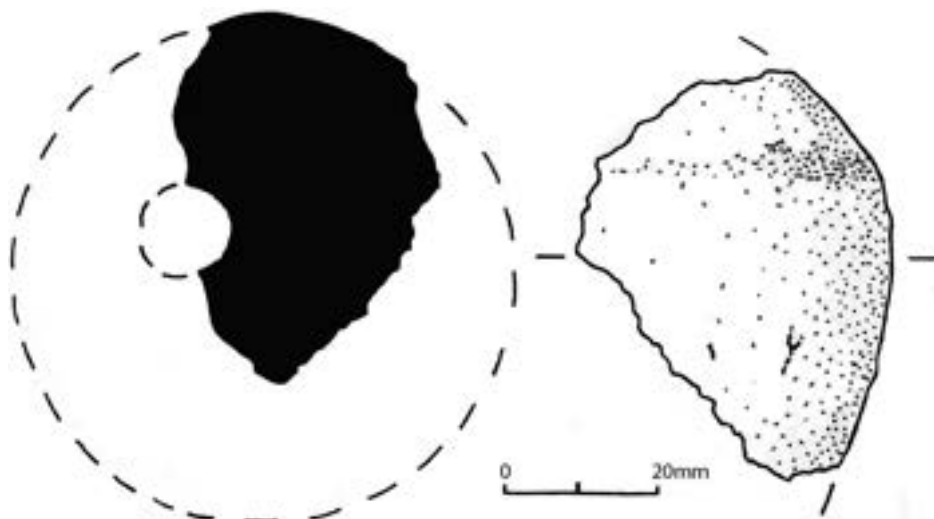**Figure 24.** Fragment of a Mid Saxon fired clay loom weight from 1010. Scale 1:1. *Roger White*.

Figure 25. Mid Saxon loom weight. Scale 1:1. *Roger White*.

Possibly Roman or Medieval. SF 143, context **2003** (unillustrated).

ANIMAL BONE
by Dr Andy Hammon[4]

The small highly fragmented and poorly preserved assemblage is of no interpretative value (Table 3). Two points are worth noting, however:

• The calcined bone from context **1022** indicates temperatures may have exceeded 600°C (see Lyman 2001: 385).
• None of the material is suitable for radiocarbon dating; it did not appear to derive from discreet depositional episodes, and no articulated specimens were present, so could be residual.

Table 3. Animal bones by context

Sample no.	Context no.	Description
7	1015	2 x unidentified bone fragments (un-burnt tooth enamel or burnt bone?)
14	1006	1 x cattle / equid-sized long bone fragment (burnt) 1 x sheep / pig sized rib fragment (burnt)
15	1022	1 x equid right maxillary premolar/molar (burnt)
16	1022	40+ unidentified sheep-sized bone fragments (un-burnt, poorly preserved, calcined)
18	1024	2 x unidentified cattle / equid-sized bone fragments (un-burnt, poorly preserved)
20	1026	1 x sheep-sized rib fragment (burnt)
22	2003	1 x cattle / equid-sized long bone fragment (un-burnt, poorly preserved)

BRIEF STATEMENT ON ASSESSMENT RESULTS FOR CHARRED PLANT REMAINS[5]
by Wendy Smith[6] and Lisa Moffett[7]

Assessment notes were not made by Wendy Smith when this work commenced in April 2018, because it was hoped that Lisa Moffett would be able to carry out the full archaeobotanical assessment on the material. As a result, the flot volumes were not recorded for most of the samples presented here. Unfortunately, it was not feasible for Lisa Moffett to assess these samples in 2018 and, therefore, Wendy Smith has submitted these notes in lieu of a full archaeobotanical assessment.

Results
Table 4 lists the notes made for radiocarbon selection by Wendy Smith for the sixteen samples assessed here. Nomenclature of indigenous taxa follows Stace (2010) and Zohary and Hopf (2000) for cultivated taxa. The traditional binomial system for the cereals is maintained here, following Zohary and Hopf (2000: p. 28, table 3 and p. 65, table 5).

All sixteen Frogmore, Atcham (FA17) samples were uniformly poor. Only sample 6 generated a small (<10–15 items) collection of cereal grains from one part.[8] The remainder of samples each generated <5 items per sample part. This means that all of the Frogmore samples (combined charred plant remains results for all parts – separate flots from *c*.10 litre samples of sediment – for each sample) generated less than 50 items of charred plant remains in total, and, therefore, none of the samples rapidly scanned for the selection of items to submit for radiocarbon determination are sufficiently rich to merit further archaeobotanical analysis.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, archaeobotanical sampling has generated small quantities of charred plant remains (Table 4), which has enabled selection of items for possible radiocarbon determination but are not sufficiently rich to provide interpretable archaeobotanical assemblages. The abundance of modern root, seeds and insects in all of these samples suggests that the deposits sampled are relatively shallow and likely to be subject to bio-turbation, possibly also freezing/ thawing action. This could be a factor in the limited recovery of charred plant remains in the samples examined here. Nevertheless, sampling at Frogmore, Atcham has resulted in the recovery of short-lived charred plant remains for radiocarbon determination and has established that charred plant remains are preserved on site.

Recommendations
In general, the small quantities of charred plant remains recovered from the 2017 field season are typical of low-level charred debris, often found in unproductive samples on archaeological sites. Ideally, assemblages of >250 charred plant items are required in order to consider results interpretable (see van der Veen and Fieller 1982); however, none of the 2017 samples meet this criteria. Further archaeological work at Frogmore, Atcham should consider increasing the volume of sediment sampled and prioritise sampling from deeper/ well-sealed deposits for the recovery of interpretable charred plant remain assemblages.

Table 4. Charred plant remain notes and any radiocarbon selections for archaeobotanical samples

Context number	Sample number	14C selection	Notes
2003	1 parts 1–4	A - indet cereal/ large grass fragment - 0.002g/ B - indet cereal/ large grass fragment - 0.002g/ C - indet cereal/ large grass fragment - 0.002g (use individually if possible or combine for 14C)	Root abundant. Charcoal present – one damaged fragment of roundwood only, not really suitable for 14C. Three small fragments of indeterminate cereal grain/ large grass were observed and have all been extracted for 14C determination.
2014	2 parts 1– 4 pt 1 - 25ml/ part 2 - 18ml/ part 3 - 25 ml/ part 4 - 15ml		All four parts were dirty. No CPR or roundwood for 14C selection was noted in any of the parts of sample 2. Primarily small-sized charcoal present.
1006	3 parts 1–2	indeterminate cereal grain extracted for 14C - 0.006g	Both parts were extremely dirty. Roots present. Part 1: small-sized charcoal noted, one indeterminate cereal grain extracted for 14C – 0.006g. Part 2: charcoal present, looks to be mostly oak, no roundwood observed. Nothing suitable for 14C.
1020	4 parts 1–2 part 2 submitted later by Lisa Moffett	2 x barley grains extracted from part 2 for 14C - A: 0.010g/ B: 0.011g	Part 1: dirty flot. Charcoal present, looks to be mostly oak, no roundwood, nothing suitable for 14C. Part 2: very dirty flot – looks to need re-washing completely, charred grain noted (possible rye – but encrusted), indet cereal and barley noted. Two achenes of black bindweed (Fallopia convovulus (L.) Å. Löve) also noted. Flot vol. 110ml.
1023	5 parts 1–2 part 2 submitted later by Lisa Moffett		Part 1: dirty flot., charcoal present but no roundwood. Nothing suitable for 14C. Part 2: fairly dirty flot with one large nodule of sediment present. Lots of wasters (presumably pottery) noted in flot. No CPR observed. Some small-sized charcoal noted. No items for 14C selection available. Part 1 flot. vol. 125 ml
1022	6 parts 1–3 part 2 - 10ml 3rd part was not scanned	part 2 - 2 x barley grains extracted for 14C - A: 0.011g/ B: 0.010g	Part 1: some bone frags, very small, unlikely to be identifiable. One charcoal fragment observed, but not roundwood. Nothing suitable for 14C. Parts 2 & 3: dirty flot. Modern root present. Cleaver (Galium aparine L.) noted – but presumed modern. Two barley grains were extracted for 14C. Charcoal is present – but primarily small-sized. Flot vol. sample 6/ part 1 - 30ml
1015	7	A: indet cereal grain - 0.010g/ B: barley grain - 0.009g	Modern root. A few fragments of cereal noted – interestingly the charred material is much cleaner and darker than other samples – ?modern intrusion in this deposit. Flot vol. 10ml
1017	8 parts 1–4		Part 1: quartzite sand and soil. <2mm charcoal present in small quantity but too small-sized for 14C. Nothing available for 14C Part 2: charcoal present - but no roundwood fragments. Nothing suitable for 14C.

Table 4. Charred plant remain notes and any radiocarbon selections for archaeobotanical samples (continued)

Context number	Sample number	14C selection	Notes
2017	8 (contd) parts 3 & 4 submitted later by Lisa Moffett	from parts 3 & 4: A: cf. barley grain - 0.008g/ B: cf. indet. large grass - 0.003g	Parts 3 & 4: abundant modern root in both flots, charcoal present was primarily small-sized. The possible barley grain and possible large grass were the only CPR noted. Flot vols: part 3 - 40 ml; part 4 - c.20 ml
2020	10		Modern root and charcoal noted from very small flot (< 5ml). Nothing available for 14C.
1026	11 parts 1–2		Part 1: modern root. Oak charcoal fragments noted - none roundwood. Not suitable for 14C. Part 2: quartzite sands and soil. Small fragments of charcoal (<4mm in size) present. No roundwood. Nothing available for 14C.

Hand-collected samples

Context number	Sample number	14C selection	Notes
1006	12	A: hazel/birch roundwood fragments (<10 years growth) - 0.789g/ B: hazel/birch roundwood (<15 years growth) - 0.360g.	Charcoal present, two roundwood fragments extracted for 14C.
1006	13		All oak charcoal, no roundwood fragments noted. Oak is not suitable for 14C unless roundwood because so long-lived. No charcoal extracted for 14C.
1022	17		Charcoal present, but no roundwood fragments. Nothing suitable for 14C.
1026	19		Only oak charcoal noted, no roundwood fragments observed. Nothing suitable for 14C.
1036	21		Dirty flot. Charcoal present, but no roundwood. Nothing suitable for 14C.
2016	23		Highly vitrified charcoal – quite tarry between growth rings – looks to be oak, but cell structure very warped. No roundwood. Nothing suitable for 14C.

RADIOCARBON DATES
by Tomasz Goslar[9],

A total of seven samples were submitted for AMS Radiocarbon dating. The outcomes are given in Table 5.

Table 6 give the dates at intervals of calendar age (AR Date), where the true ages of the samples encompass with the probability of $c.68\%$ and $c.95\%$. The calibration was made with the OxCal software (OxCal v4.2.3 Bronk Ramsey (2013); r:5; IntCal13 atmospheric curve (Reimer *et al*. 2013).

Table 5. Samples sent for AMS radiocarbon determination

Sample name	Lab. no.	Age 14C	Remark
Atcham 1 2003 A	Poz-109942	1845±30BP	+B +C - reserve
Atcham 2 1006 A	Poz-109967	1355±30BP	-
Atcham 3 1006 B	Poz-109969	1405±30BP	-
Atcham 4 1020 A	Poz-109999	2685±35BP	+C - reserve
Atcham 5 1022 A	Poz-109944	2805±30BP	label: 8 +B - reserve
Atcham 6 1015 A	Poz-109900	1320±30BP	+B - reserve
Atcham 7 1017 A	Poz-109945	3055±35BP	+B - reserve

Table 6. Radiocarbon determinations on samples from FA17

Sample number	Context number	Sample type	A R date	68.2% probability	95.4% probability
Atcham 1	2003	A - indet. cereal/ large grass fragment - 0.002g B - indet. cereal/ large grass fragment - 0.002g C - indet. cereal/ large grass fragment - 0.002g (combined for 14C)	(1845,30)	AD 130–AD 215	AD 85–AD 239
Atcham 2	1006	A - hazel/ birch roundwood fragments (<10 years growth) - 0.789g B - hazel/ birch roundwood (<15 years growth) - 0.360g	(1355,30)	AD 648–AD 677	AD 625–AD 711 (90.6%) AD 746–AD 764 (4.8%)
Atcham 3	1006	indet. cereal grain extracted for 14C - 0.006g	(1405,30)	AD 620–AD 657	AD 595–AD 668
Atcham 4	1020	2 x barley grains extracted for 14C A: 0.010g B: 0.011g	(2685,35)	892 BC–877 BC (13.4%) 847 BC–806 BC (54.8%)	902 BC–801 BC
Atcham 5	1022	2 x barley grains extracted for 14C A: 0.011g B: 0.010g	(2805,30)	996 BC–921 BC	1046 BC–894 BC (94.2%) 866 BC–855 BC (1.2%)
Atcham 6	1015	A: indet. cereal grain - 0.010g B: barley grain - 0.009g	(1320,30)	AD 658–AD 693 (52.3%) AD 747–AD 763 (15.9%)	AD 652–AD 723 (73.0%) AD 740– AD 768 (22.4%)
Atcham 7	1017	A: cf. barley grain - 0.008g B: cf. indet. large grass - 0.003g	(3055,35)	1389 BC–1338 BC (33.1%) 1321 BC–1265 BC (35.1%)	1411 BC–1223 BC

ANALYSIS

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

The sequence recovered by the excavation identified five phases of activity in Trench 1 and four in Trench 2. The earliest phase comprised two features cut into natural which radiocarbon determinations showed dated to the 2nd and 1st millennium BC. Evidence for Roman activity was limited to a ditch cut into natural in Trench 2 and a possibly Roman feature in Trench 1 but Roman pottery and other finds were made in both trenches and in the metal detector survey. The majority of other cut features related to Early Medieval buildings which were successfully sampled to provide scientific dating material. The remaining features in both trenches comprised agricultural activity dating from at least the 12th century overlain by modern ploughing and a single large Post-Medieval quarry pit. With more than 900 years of continuous agricultural practice in the field, therefore, it is not surprising that there was very little observable stratigraphy in the earliest phases identified. It can be assumed that many of the features encountered have been truncated, and indeed this was demonstrably the case in Trench 2 where contexts **2003** and **2009** contained Roman material apparently displaced from underlying features.

Late Bronze Age activity

Two shallow, roughly circular, pits found within the floor area of the Early Medieval building proved to be of late Bronze Age date following radiocarbon assay. There were no diagnostic finds in these features to indicate their purpose but their fills were notably darker than other features within the floor area and there were burnt sandstone lumps in both. The grains of barley perhaps suggest that these features were related to food production or consumption. A stray rim sherd from the modern ploughsoil was potentially of prehistoric date but whether this was contemporary with these pits is unclear.

While only of limited extent, these features (and a third radiocarbon determination from the disturbed fill of the wall of the Early Medieval building) hint at an agricultural community using this locale in the later 2nd millennium BC up to the 9th century BC, just before the conventional start of the Iron Age. Habitation sites of the late Bronze Age outside of hillforts are very rare in Shropshire so the identification of remains of this date on an already protected site is of great significance to elucidating time-depth in the county (Dalwood 2017, 18–20; Wigley 2017).

Roman period

A single feature in Trench 2 was thought to date to the Roman era. This was a linear V-sectioned ditch aligned at right angles to the wall in Trench 2. The junction between these two features was not investigated so it was not possible to confirm which was earlier but the abundant Roman pottery in the ditch fill, including adjoining sherds, from an oxidised Severn Valley jar, suggest the pottery does date this feature.

Roman sherds were also found in virtually all the other features excavated, but not in large quantities. A radiocarbon date for the 2nd or 3rd century was obtained from a layer, also containing Roman pottery, overlying the Early Medieval building in Trench 2. This date is presumably residual.

To the north of the excavation trenches extensive metal detecting of the field located a significant cluster of Roman metal finds, principally brooches and coins, in the area above the dense spread of cropmarks visible in the 1975 and later aerial photographs. This strongly suggests that the underlying features are at least Roman in date but there is potential that prehistoric, and possibly post-Roman, features are also represented within the complex. As a multi-period lowland site it represents a highly significant site so its continuing protection is important.

Early Medieval activity

The contexts of this phase comprised negative features used for structural purposes. The majority were located in Trench 1 and related to a timber building whose principal structural elements were located and sampled. The building was constructed using the post-in-trench method with at least one wall having closely spaced round posts surfaced in wattle and daub, the latter being applied in a 35mm thick external and (probably) internal finish. The evidence from the other walls was less conclusive. The overall thickness of the wall appeared to be 0.7m with a 0.2m wide construction trench inside the building, visible as a slight shelf in the profile of the wall trench. The depth of the wall trenches, at around 0.4m – 0.5m, was relatively slight when compared to other buildings of similar date. At Yeavering and at Sutton Courtenay the wall trenches were 1m deep (Hope-Taylor 1977, fig. 45; Hall 2010, 11). The discrepancy suggests considerable truncation caused by Medieval ploughing (see below). The base of a single small posthole found cut into the floor area of the building in Trench 1 was dated to the mid-7th century, identical to the main building. It likely represents a fitting within the building rather than a structural element since it was relatively slight. The discovery of half of a loom weight from an upright loom suggests the kind of fixture that this posthole could have functioned as. A further element of the building was identified but not examined – an associated annexe seen at the southern end. The matching feature at the northern end visible in the aerial photographs of the site was outside the excavated area. Dating evidence for this building comprised sherds of Roman pottery but the building tradition and parallels (see discussion below) firmly indicate an Anglo-Saxon date for the structure, as indicated by the radiocarbon dates.

In Trench 2, a short section of a timber wall trench was excavated. Its dimensions were very similar to those of the building in Trench 1. In the base of the trench ephemeral marks appeared to indicate the rectangular ends of vertical planks closely spaced. These suggest tongue-and-groove uprights spaced at 1.2m apart, a feature noted too at Sutton Courtenay (Hall 2010, 11–12). The mode of construction thus appears to differ from the building in Trench 1, but is clearly in an Anglo-Saxon rather than a Roman tradition (Blair 2018, 55–7).

The lack of cultural material from the site is not unusual for sites of this type (Hope Taylor 1977, 199–200; McBride 2020, 50–1) but is seemingly odd if, as is argued, they are taken as a class of buildings as elite, even royal, residences. McBride accounts for the anomaly by suggesting that the central precinct (sic) of these sites, i.e. the halls and their immediate vicinity, were kept scrupulously clean and that refuse was deposited elsewhere (McBride 2020, 51–6). Blair's thesis, discussed further below, is that these building complexes are essentially transitory in the landscape, distinctive and spectacular demonstrations of power which were then rapidly eclipsed as England reintegrated with the European economy of emporia and the Christian community (2018, 103–31). If so then the fact that they are often burnt down, perhaps after deliberate clearance, suggests some kind of expression of ritual or power that it itself is as much a statement as the construction of the complex in the first place.

Middle Ages

In the western half of both trenches, an homogenised reddish-brown sandy layer shelving in depth from the centre of the trench to the western baulk was interpreted as a Medieval ploughsoil in a furrow, dated by two decorated sherds of 12th- or 13th-century date. This interpretation fits with the prominent evidence on the aerial photographs of the site taken in 1975. Localised areas of Roman pottery were found to overlie earlier features beneath suggesting their upper fills had been homogenised.

Post-Medieval / Modern

The final phase was represented by the modern topsoil and pasture. Ample evidence for modern cultivation of the field up to 1990 was found in the plough-scoring of the archaeological levels and various pieces of agricultural machinery found by the metal detectorists. Use of the field for pasture was also evidenced in the form of ointment tubes for the treatment of livestock. Underlying these levels, and cutting the eastern wall of

building 1 was a large pit occupying the whole of the eastern side of Trench 1. This feature was interpreted as a quarry pit dug perhaps in the 18th or 19th century for the extraction of a plug of glacial clay, and coincidental improvement of the agricultural capacity of the soil by backfilling with topsoil and perhaps organic waste.

DATING AND INTERPRETATION

Roman pottery was found in all of the excavated wall trenches and thus these buildings must date to the Roman period or later. The finds were not diagnostic enough to indicate a precise date within the Roman period, but 4th-century material was found in at least one (**1006**). The presence of joining sherds from a large Severn Valley ware jar in the fill (**1022**) of the V-shaped ditch may point to this being in use in the Roman period – the same fill also had the highest total of Roman pottery, excluding ploughsoils. One pit fill in trench 1 (**1024**) also produced a sherd of Roman pottery and thus might be contemporary with the buildings and / or ditch.

While the stratified material culture indicated a date in the Roman period for these features, the nature of these buildings suggested that they belonged to the Early Medieval period, a date which two determinations from the south wall confirmed. Primarily, of course, their plans indicated a date in the Anglo-Saxon era rather than a Roman date. As was noted in the project design, buildings of this type (Blair's 'Great Hall complexes') are distinctive and limited to the period between around 600 – 800 AD (Hamerow 2011, 130; Blair 2018, 114–25); this is consistent with the AMS dating of the wall (**1006**) which centres around 650 AD (Figure 26). As Ulmschneider notes, after 600 a small number of

settlements demonstrate greater complexity in timber construction including the careful alignment and arrangement of buildings to control access, introduction of foundation trenches, annexes and large halls. She suggests this implies the rise of elites who could access local resources as well as a competent workforce and craftsmen (Ulmschneider 2011, 159). Excavation proved that the Atcham buildings conform to these Early Medieval rather than Roman traditions of construction and there are plenty of parallels in the literature for the use of closely spaced posts in a trench (Hamerow 2011, 131; Blair 2018 figs. 14, 15). However, it has also been noted that settlements of this date, especially high-status ones, are usually found in enclosures (*burhs*) (Gardiner 2011, 200). While this is true for most Anglo-Saxon high status sites from the seventh century, it is not the case with Great Hall complexes (Blair 2018, 149–54). No crop mark evidence was found suggesting such an enclosure around or associated with these buildings despite their size and implied grandeur given their parallels with other prestige sites, such as Yeavering (Hope Taylor 1977). There were, however, many cropmark enclosures and ditches identified to the north of the buildings. The abundance of Roman coins and cultural material in the area between the trenches and the boundary for Frogmore Hall, suggest that in origin at least these cropmarks are of Roman or perhaps Iron Age and Roman date, although we clearly cannot rule out their continued use into the early middle ages given that two Anglo-Saxon finds – the strap tag and the stirrup mount – were located by metal detectorists in this same area.

The presence of the bun-shaped loom weight, which has a relatively narrow date identical to that for the buildings was the only associated find and
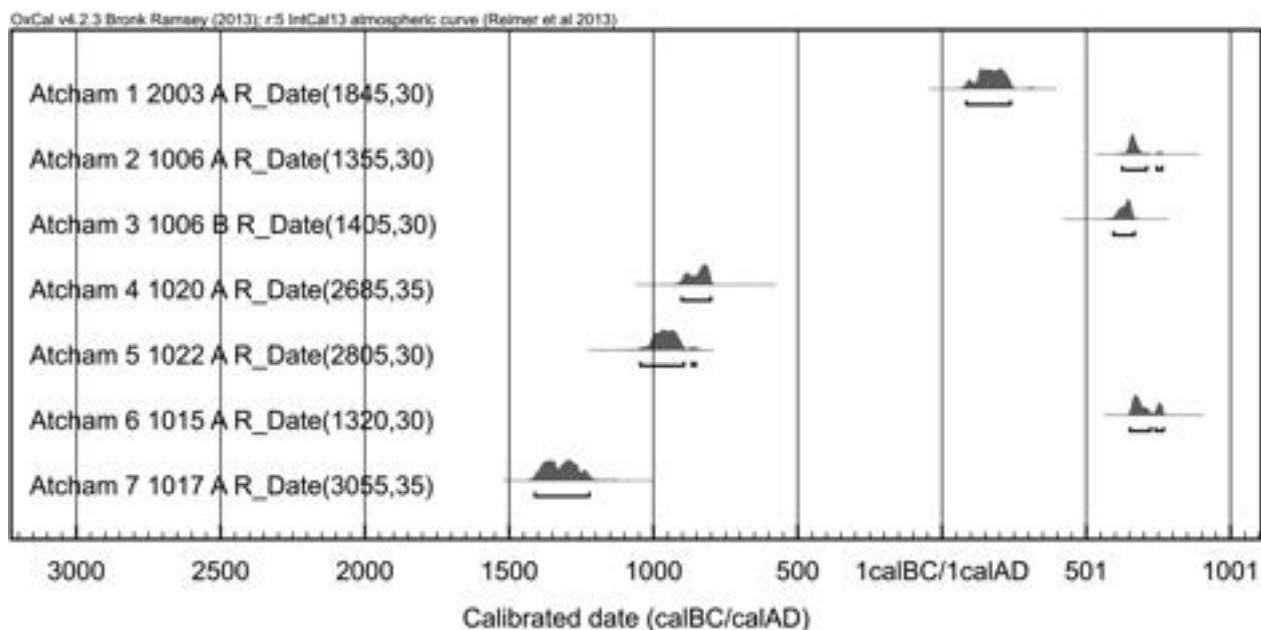

Figure 26.   Probability distributions of dates from Frogmore. *Source: Tomasz Goslar.*

it is worth noting that the lack of finds from Anglo-Saxon buildings is commonly encountered (Hall 2010, 26–7). The find is unusual in that generally Great Hall complexes have little evidence for craft production (McBride 2020, 50–1). Such considerations suggest that the relatively large amounts of Roman pottery in the narrow Trench 2, as opposed to the much larger Trench 1, should be viewed as residual material scattering from the enclosures immediately to the north. Another factor in favour of an Early Medieval date is the careful positioning of the buildings on a slight eminence. A viewshed analysis by Henry Chapman is dominated by the view to the north-west, to Haughmond Hill, but also demonstrates a clear view towards Shrewsbury in the west and to the Wrekin in the east. The view to Wroxeter, only just over a mile to the south, is currently poor because the Great Wood at Attingham Park is interposed. However, the viewshed analysis demonstrates that the higher northern half of Wroxeter would have been comfortably visible from the Anglo-Saxon buildings if the interposed wood did not exist in the 7th century. This intervisibility is important since Blair suggests that one of the influencing factors in the design and landscape presence of the Great Hall complexes was to respond to continuing traditions of Romano-British timber architecture (Blair 2018, 37–8). At the moment whether the Great Hall complex at Atcham was constructed and in use at the same time as the activity on the Baths Basilica site at Wroxeter is unknown since the buildings at Wroxeter do not currently have adequate scientific dating and their late, post-Roman, date is not entirely accepted (Lane 2014).

REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXT – ANGLO-SAXON SHROPSHIRE

It is worth briefly considering what is known about the archaeology of Shropshire and the region more generally during the early Middle Ages, and what research priorities can be identified. The regional research framework papers for the West Midlands, written in 2003, are archived online (ADS 2016) but the paper for Shropshire is not included so we are reliant on the overview for the region (Hooke 2011). This makes the telling point about the known historical importance of the region; for three centuries Mercia was one of the leading kingdoms of England yet the archaeology barely reflects this. The identified priorities include research into the reuse of hillforts, into evidence for the early church, into the populations via cemetery and DNA evidence, for urban settlement, and above all publication of unpublished or partially published excavations (Hooke 2011, 167). No mention is made, however, of the portable antiquities scheme which, as we shall see, is one area where substantial contributions to understanding of the period have been made.

The lack of archaeological information for this period, especially in relation to settlements, is true too for the broader region. Only one substantial settlement is known – that at Catholme in Staffordshire (Losco-Bradley & Kinsley 2002), while sunken-floor buildings are known from a handful of sites, most of which are in Warwickshire or Worcestershire (Hooke 2011, 154–6), coinciding with the area of known Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. From the same area come the only other two hall-type cropmarks: at Hatton Rock (Hirst and Rahtz 1972–3) and Long Itchington, both in Warwickshire. The second of these may be an ecclesiastical site (Hooke 2011, 157). To these can be added two sites of indeterminate type from Herefordshire – an enclosure at Rotherwas and a ring-ditch at Sutton St Michael (Ray 2015, 205–7) while over the border, a possible Anglo-Saxon hall site of 9th- to 11th-century date has been identified at Forden Gaer, near Montgomery (Blockley 1990). In adding to this meagre list, the excavations at Atcham have at least partly answered Sally Crawford's call (quoted in Hooke 2011, 156) that:

> the desperate lack of excavated settlement evidence for this area should put the need to conduct a more careful excavation of a settlement, should the ghost of an opportunity arise, at the top of the research agenda.

Archaeobotanical analysis has only provided a limited amount of information and a handful of radiocarbon dates from which to characterise the nature of the post-Roman landscape of the region (Rippon, Smart and Pears 2015, 247–266). Despite this, it is evident that there is a substantial continuity in the use of the landscape and we cannot consider widespread abandonment of the late Roman landscape to have been a factor here or elsewhere in England (Hamerow 2012, 144–7).

In terms of excavated Anglo-Saxon sites in Shropshire, only two may be counted (excluding that is the interventions on Offa's Dyke). The first is the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of 31 individuals at Bromfield (Stanford 1995) and the second is the evidence for an 8th-century enclosed Anglo-Saxon settlement and associated field ditches at Atcham (Hannaford 2000). The latter site is, of course, very close to the excavation site (Figure 2). Also of the same date is the fine Anglo-Saxon cross, of oolitic limestone, now built into the Church of St Andrew at Wroxeter and indicative no doubt of the minster status of the site at that time (Bassett 1992; Bryant 2012, 314).

It is only when looking at the contribution made by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) over the last two decades that real progress can be detected. In regional terms the spectacular discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard has overshadowed everything, but in some respects has left us even more in the dark since the context of this extraordinary find is frustratingly unclear

(Keynes 2010; Fern, Dickinson & Webster 2019). Focusing specifically at the evidence from the county, looked at in detail by Hookway (2015, Appendix 1), 60 finds are recorded. For the period between *c*.410 – 800, only seven finds have been reported. Four of these are brooches; two fragments of small-long brooches (one from Much Wenlock) which are probably 6th century in date, a possible bow-brooch fragment of 6th- or 7th-century date, and a disc brooch of 5th- to 7th-century date. The remaining finds are all high-status items and comprise a garnet-inlaid cloisonné gold dagger pommel from Dinham (Webster 2012, 31–2), a garnet-inlaid gold pendant set with a large cabouchon garnet from West Shropshire, both 7th century in date, and a gold ring that is thought to be of 6th- or 7th-century Brittonic manufacture.[10] Interpretation of such a small group of finds can only be tentative but Hookway concludes that for this early period, we can see two foci – one in the south in the Teme and Corve area that corresponds to the *Magonsaete* and the other in the central Shropshire region corresponding to the *Wreconseate*. The bulk of the other objects in the rest of the group belong to the later phase of Mercian domination and include dress accessories such as strap tags, garter hooks, ornamental pins as well as some horse harness fittings. A small number of coins, ranging from sceats to regular pennies of Mercian designs, largely completes the group (Hookway 2015, 79–90). The era of Mercian domination – roughly 800 to 1100 – also encompasses probably most of the known Anglo-Saxon churches in the county (Newman and Pevsner 2006, 15), perhaps including those at Wroxeter and Atcham.

In national terms, the 'Great Hall complex' at Atcham has recently been put into context by John Blair (2018, 114–25) and more comprehensively by Adam McBride (2020). In Blair's study of Anglo-Saxon buildings he notes that sites of this type have a limited date range of roughly 600–800 AD, as mentioned above, but also a very limited and distinct distribution. The Great Halls are found on the periphery of Anglo-Saxon settlement, not in its cultural core (Blair 2018, fig, 29). The periphery can be coastal (as in the sites in Suffolk, Essex or Kent) but also in the Thames Valley, Warwickshire, the site at Atcham, where the confrontation would be with the Brittonic peoples, and in Northumberland where the opposing peoples were the Picts. Blair envisages these complexes as aristocratic display, highly visible in the landscape (like their contemporary counterparts, the princely burials in barrows at Sutton Hoo, Prittlewell and Taplow). These complexes are meant to be noticed, and are a statement of cultural difference:

> Both kinds of monument point to competitive and probably insecure potentates anxious to impress their neighbours, whether Anglo-Saxon, British, Pictish or Frankish. (Blair 2018, 115).

He goes on to note other unusual elements that the group of eighteen known sites hold largely in common. These include a predilection for a planned layout, and especially axial linearity, the distinctive building type with buttresses that, he suggests, is almost tent-like in character, and the fact that virtually all examples have been burnt down (Blair 2018, 122–4). These traits suggest to him that the Great Hall complexes were relatively transitory – almost like tented camps – designed to make a local impact and shout out the presence of a new kind of cultural identity. Equally, this new presence is grounded in the existing landscape since the complexes are often associated with earlier monuments, both Prehistoric and / or Roman which were visible in the landscape which he believes endows the complexes with a sacred quality (Blair 2018, 124–5). The brief span of occupation, and the perhaps deliberate conflagration when the sites ceased to be occupied, might also account for the paucity of associated material culture which would be otherwise unexpected in a high-status site such as these appear to be. McBride echoes Blair's conclusions, suggesting that these sites are

> … commonly interpreted as regional royal centres, called royal villae … acting as regional or supra-regional centres at certain times, presumably when regional or supra-regional magnates were present." (McBride 2020, 50).

Quite who these magnates might be in this context is, of course, impossible to say given the state of knowledge of the area at this time, but perhaps it can be suggested that the site was a focus for the *Wreconseate*.

CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ISSUES

In respect of the other research aims of the excavation, it was clear that there is some damage to the site from the activity of rabbits. Burrows were observed within one of the wall trenches and in other areas of Trench 1. Disruption to the fill of the north-south aligned wall trench was detected and confirmed by an anomalous late Bronze Age date for the fill, and a small sherd of Post-Medieval pottery. It was also very clear that resumption of ploughing on the site would be very detrimental to its survival given the fragility of the subsoil. The metal detecting survey demonstrated that there had not been significant looting of the site and the project will have largely sterilised the site thus further lessening the risk. There was no evidence that the current use of the site by livestock was having a detrimental impact on the archaeology.

In terms of the results of the excavation, the significance of the site is if anything raised since we have added an otherwise unknown later prehistoric element to the site. This in itself is worthy of further study, especially so since it has been proven to have

relatively good preservation of organic remains. This makes the protection of the site and its stratigraphy only more important. In the long term, if measures continue to fail to protect the site, more extensive excavation may be required to understand the site sequences before they are irreparably damaged.

LIMITATIONS OF THE PROJECT

Although the project was able to achieve its principal aims of investigating rabbit damage and providing potential evidence for scientifically dating the site, it was not possible to fully open up Trench 1 to the extent wished. This was due to the lack of availability of a ditching bucket of appropriate width. In consequence a trench about half the size intended was excavated. In addition, the very dry conditions were not conducive to easy identification of features to define or excavate.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the excavation results it is recommended that the current agricultural regime is maintained and that continued action be taken to control the existing population of rabbits. Construction of above-ground warrens (pillow-mounds) should be considered so long as these do not significantly hamper agricultural activity on the field. Their construction might limit below-ground damage. The situation needs further monitoring and assessment in the future.

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NOTES

1. University of Birmingham.
2. National Trust, Attingham.
3. White and Young 2017.
4. Historic England (12th July 2017).
5. Date submitted: 11 June 2018. The 2017 field season at the joint National Trust/ University of Birmingham excavations of a Saxon building at Frogmore, Atcham (centred on crop marks recorded by the National Trust at SJ 5523 1147) included sampling for the recovery of archaeobotanical remains and, potentially, the selection of short-lived plant remains for radiocarbon determination. The assessment of charred plant remains was intended for Lisa Moffett (LM) (Historic England); however, due to an unforeseen heavy work load whilst covering for a colleague on leave, LM was unable to complete this work, and the selection of charred plant remains for radiocarbon determination and brief notes on the potential of the assemblages were carried out by Wendy Smith.
6. Dept. of Classics, Ancient History & Archaeology, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT / e-mail: k.w.m.smith@bham.ac.uk.
7. Historic England, The Axis, 10 Holliday Street, Birmingham, B1 1TF/ e-mail: Lisa.Mofett@Historic England.org.uk.
8. A part is defined as 'a flot derived from a c.10 litre soil sample, a number of which would form the entire sample'.
9. Poznan Radiocarbon Laboratory.
10. PAS references include LVPL-7070E4, WMID-73E745, WMID-60E178, HESH-BD1AD8, HESH-842BC5, and HESH-B61048. Note that the pommel was found before the PAS started.

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A stray Elizabethan gold coin from the seventeenth-century Madeley Court coin hoard

By MURRAY ANDREWS

In December 1839 a large hoard of 16th- and 17th-century gold coins was found by a ploughman working in a field immediately southwest of the 16th-century manor house of Madeley Court. No surviving specimens from this hoard are known, and such records of its composition as exist are frustratingly terse: a contemporary newspaper report describes a parcel of *c*.50 coins from the hoard as having consisted entirely of gold coins of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) and James I (1603–25) (Lewis 2006, 75), while a slightly later account by the Madeley historian John Randall (1880, 14–15) summarises the find as 'a large number of gold coins, chiefly of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and of the modern value altogether of between three and four hundred pounds'. At 1870–80s bullion prices this would suggest a hoard weighing upwards of 2kg, representing anywhere from *c*.500 to *c*.1500 Elizabethan and Jacobean gold coins.

Fresh insights into the 1839 hoard, however, may be provided by a previously unnoticed newspaper report concerning the discovery of a gold coin in a field near Madeley Court in 1870. An account of this later find, published in *Eddowes's Shrewsbury Journal* (2 November 1870, 7), reads as follows:

> DISCOVERY OF AN ELIZABETHAN GOLD COIN. – On Saturday last a young man found a gold coin of the reign of Elizabeth in a field near the Court House, an old Elizabethan structure, where a jar full of similar coins were found some time since. The coin, which is in an excellent state of preservation, has a very good profile of Elizabeth, with the inscription, "REG. ELIZABETH, D.G. ANG. FR. ET. HI." and on the reverse side the Royal arms, with the following, "SCVT. VM. FIDEI. PROTE. GET. EAM.'.

Details provided in this account leave no doubt that the gold coin found near Madeley Court in 1870 was indeed Elizabethan, and the description of the design,

enhanced by the reproduction of obverse and reverse legends, provides important clues as to its numismatic identification. The reverse legend 'SCVTVM FIDEI PROTEGET EAM' ('The shield of faith shall protect her'), circumscribing a crowned shield bearing the royal arms, appears on four separate denominations struck at the Tower mint during the reign of Elizabeth I: the pound (struck during the Third Issue (1593–1603) only), half pound, crown, and halfcrown (all struck during the First (1558–72) and Third Issues only). Of these four options, a small flan denomination is implied by the heavy use of titular contractions on the obverse ('D G ANG FR ET HI REG'), narrowing the field to either a half pound or halfcrown instead of a whole pound or crown (cf. Woodhead 1996, pls 67–76). The complete rendering of the royal name provides an important chronological indicator, since this form was eschewed on Third Issue half pounds and halfcrowns in favour of the abbreviated form 'ELIZAB' (Brown and Comber 1989); indeed, as far as can be determined the closest parallels for the Madeley Court coin are a First Issue half pound with the obverse legend 'ELIZABETH D G ANG FRA Z HIB REG', now in the British Museum collection, and a First Issue halfcrown with the obverse legend 'ELIZBETH D G ANG FRA ET HIB RE', now in the private collection of C. H. Comber (Brown and Comber 1989, 111, G4; *ibid*, 116, J2). On the balance of probability, therefore, it seems highly likely that the Madeley coin was either a half pound or halfcrown of Elizabeth I's First Issue, and hence struck in the period 1558–72, although it is presently impossible to favour either one of the two denominations over the other.

The observation that this coin was found 'in a field near the Court House...where a jar full of similar coins were found some time since' provides an explicit spatial connection between the 1870 half pound or halfcrown and the 1839 hoard, and constitutes strong circumstantial evidence for interpreting the former as a 'stray' coin from the latter, perhaps having been disaggregated from the rest of the hoard as a result of

historic plough action or disturbance by burrowing animals. This phenomenon is well attested in British hoard contexts (Andrews 2019, 16–17), and seems considerably more likely than the alternative interpretation of an unrelated casual loss incurred on the same field; indeed, 'single finds' of casually-lost Elizabethan gold coins are exceptionally rare, with just 15 examples having been recorded across the entirety of England and Wales by the Portable Antiquities Scheme to December 2019. If the 'stray' interpretation is accepted, the 1870 half pound or halfcrown assumes a great deal of significance as the sole coin from this hoard to have been documented in any level of detail. It is reassuring, therefore, to find that the coin poses no substantive challenge to those compositional descriptions of the hoard outlined in other sources: a First Issue half pound or halfcrown would certainly not look out of place in a hoard dominated by Elizabethan gold, and evidently would not extend the *terminus post quem* of the deposit beyond the reign of James I.

Recent research into the 17th-century history of Madeley has drawn attention to episodic disturbances caused by the events of the English Civil War (1642–51), which have been used in turn to interpret the Madeley Court hoard as a sum of money hidden for temporary safekeeping at a time of military and political unrest (Phillpotts 2006, 56). This interpretation, however, is precluded by numismatic evidence from both the Madeley Court hoard and other English and Welsh coin hoards of the early to mid-17th century. While the latest coins in the Madeley Court hoard were issued for James I, Randall's account of the find suggests that most were struck in the reign of Elizabeth I, a point at least partly corroborated by the early Elizabethan half pound or halfcrown found in 1870. This composition is entirely consistent with a sum of money removed from circulation in the first decade of the 17th century, before a dramatic expansion in the scale of gold coin output at the Tower mint from 1608 began to significantly alter the relative shares of Elizabethan and Jacobean gold coins in domestic currency (Challis 1992, 313). The effects of these shifts in production are confirmed by the contents of a hoard of 59 gold coins buried after 1619 at Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, which consisted exclusively of Jacobean issues struck no more than 15 years before its terminal coin (Kelleher and Cook 2008, 424). Given these developments, gold coins predating the reign of James I are predictably rare in Civil War coin hoards. For example, just two pre-Jacobean coins, both half sovereigns of Edward VI (1547–53), were present among the 41 gold coins buried *c.*1642–44 at Pembroke College, Cambridge (Allen 1999, 225), and none at all were present in the hoards from Catford, Kent (110 gold coins; Besly and Briggs 2013, 184, no. F6) and Lewisham, Kent (420+ gold coins; Besly and Briggs 2013, 186–87, no. H13). These latter hoards were both buried in 1644–45, a particularly tumultuous period in which the Royalist owner of Madeley Court, Sir Basil Brooke (d.1646), was imprisoned in the Tower of London, and the town was occupied by successive garrisons of Royalist and Parliamentarian troops (Phillpotts 2006, 56). It therefore seems most improbable that the deposition of the Madeley Court hoard might relate to the upheavals of the English Civil War, but instead is rather more likely to relate to events occurring two generations earlier. Quite what circumstances induced an individual in the early 1600s – perhaps Basil Brooke himself, in view of the high monetary value of the hoard and its proximity to the family seat – to bury their gold coins in a Shropshire field and never recover them is unclear, but there is no reason to favour a catastrophic explanation over simple misfortune and forgetfulness.

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SHROPSHIRE ARCHIVES REPORT FOR 2019

By MARY MCKENZIE, Archives Manager

The impact of coronavirus

Although this report largely covers the year 2019, writing it in May 2020, the impact of the coronavirus cannot be ignored. Shropshire Archives has been closed to the public since March 20th, with staff largely working from home. We hope to be able to reopen in some way during the summer, but the service will look very different, as will be what we can offer our customers. During the period of lockdown we have been experimenting with different ways to engage with our customers, supporters, Friends and volunteers. The creativity of everyone is inspiring, and I'm sure that culture and archives will find new ways to continue to connect with and enhance people's lives in future.

Archives Accreditation

Shropshire Archives became an accredited archive service in November 2016. Archive accreditation is the UK standard for archive services and is administered by the National Archives. It defines good practice and agreed standards for archive services across the UK, thereby encouraging and supporting the development of the archive service. As part of the accreditation process, archive services submit a review three years into the 5 year period that the accreditation covers. In November 2019 Shropshire Archives submitted its mid-term review and was successful in maintaining the accreditation standard. This enabled the service to look back at progress since 2016 and look forward to 2020 and beyond. Highlights included the projects linked to the commemoration of the centenary of the First World War, the new website with online ordering and image downloads, as well as the continuing progress with cataloguing and digitisation – largely thanks to the work of volunteers.

Conservation projects

Funding was secured for two important conservation projects during the year. One, as a result of an appeal organised by the Friends of Shropshire Archives, is to work on the 16th century manuscript life of Sir Philip Sidney by Fulke Greville. This unique manuscript requires urgent conservation work to prevent it deteriorating further as the ink used in the volume is acidic and is literally eating away the paper it is written on. Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) was one of Elizabeth I's pre-eminent courtiers. A scholar, poet and soldier, he died at the age of 31 at the battle of Zutphen in the Netherlands. Both Sir Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville (1554–1628) were educated at Shrewsbury school, arriving on the same day in 1564, and became lifelong friends. Following Sidney's death, Greville, who was also an author and an important politician under Elizabeth and James I, wrote the life which was first published in 1652. This manuscript was part of the collections acquired by Shrewsbury Library, and now forms part of the Shropshire Archives' collections.

The other project is to conserve a collection of large-scale cartoons or working drawings we believe are by the 19th century stained glass artist David Evans (1793–1861). Evans was born at Llanllwchaiarn near Newtown. He worked in partnership with Sir John Betton of Shrewsbury and his work can be found in churches across Wales and Shropshire. It is unusual for such cartoons to survive but they are in very poor condition, showing their use as working documents, and require urgent conservation work. Funding for this project has been received from the National Conservation Manuscripts Trust and we are very grateful for their support. As part of these projects both works will also be digitised to support wider access. It is hoped that the projects will be able to start once conditions improve.

Shropshire Victoria County History

2019 saw the publication of the Victoria County History's history of Wem with a launch in November. The volume has been very well received with excellent sales to date. Attention is now turned to Newport with preliminary research being undertaken, with the aim of producing a history of the town along the lines of the

Wem volume. A very well attended event promoting the project was held in Newport in May. The Newport History Society's support has been key to the progress made to date and they have also organised a number of successful fund-raising activities in the town. For further information see http://www.vchshropshire.org/.

Friends of Shropshire Archives

The Friends of Shropshire Archives programme of events started with a visit to Shrewsbury's Roman Catholic Cathedral in March. Two fascinating talks by Helen Haynes and Father Philips about the building's history and Catholic archives, provided the background to our tour of the cathedral. In May Andrew Pattinson gave a wide ranging talk on the history of the Shrewsbury suburb of Coleham followed by a tour of Coleham Pumping Station.

The 2019 AGM was hosted by Shrewsbury School. Members had an opportunity to see the unique school library and archives, as well as the school chapel. The Taylor Librarian and Archivist Dr Robin Brooke-Smith was an excellent guide throughout the afternoon.

Two other summer visits saw the Friends visiting Pitchford Hall and Chillington Hall just over the border in Staffordshire. Both visits were very much enjoyed. Large numbers wishing to go to Pitchford resulted in a repeat visit planned for 2020.

In November the Friends were pleased to welcome back Dr Kate Croft to deliver the annual lecture on 'Women of Excellent Understanding: The Wives and Daughters of the Lunar Society'. The talk revealed the lives and work of some of the wives of members of the Lunar Society including their roles in business, as well as their interests in science and philosophy.

Accessions

Accessions received during 2019 have included:

Photographs of House of Fraser store (formerly Rackhams and Della Porta) of Shrewsbury, 1930s–2019 (9551)

Acton Reynald School minute book, 1991–2002 (9552)

Survey of Minsterley and Map of Drenewydd Estate, 1829–1834 (9559)

Shropshire Magistrates Court Records, 20th – 21st century (9560)

Berrington Parish Records, 1980–2017 (9562)

Much Wenlock Parish Records, 2008–2017 (9563)

Shifnal Parish Records, 1924–1987 (9564)

Shropshire and the Marches Methodist Circuit Records, 1858–2017 (9566)

Lilleshall Parish Records, 1928–2016 (9570)

Cleobury Mortimer Parish Records, 1924–1933 (9571)

Shropshire Cartes de Visites, Late 19th Century (9575)

Neen Savage Parish Council Records, 1967–2012 (9576)

Market Drayton Town Council Records, 2000–2017 (9582)

Cleobury Mortimer Records, 18th–20th century (9583)

Neen Savage School Records, 1903–1965 (9584)

Cleobury Mortimer Tithe Apportionments, 1839–1846 (9585)

Coroners' Records, 1938–1950 (9592)

Shrewsbury and Atcham Borough Council minutes, 1987–2009 (9598)

Minute Book of Trustees of Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society, Cleobury Mortimer, 1922–1965 (9602)

Ruyton XI Towns Parish Council minutes, 1996–2001 (9610)

Salopian Lodge of Charity (Freemasons) Records, 1990–2019 (9611)

Shawbury Parish Council Records, 1896–2018 (9614)

Myddle, Broughton and Harmer Hill Parish Council minutes, 2016–2018 (9615)

Holy Cross Church, Shrewsbury architect's report and files, 1886–1999 (9625)

Tibberton and Cherrington Parish Council Records, 1997–2017 (9626)

Ellesmere Parish Records, 1892–2004 (9627)

Shrewsbury St Mary, marriage bond, and Hales (Market Drayton) parsonage file, 1759–1890 (9628)

Shropshire and the Marches Methodist Circuit Records, 19th–20th century (9629)

Stanton Lacy Parish Council Records, Dec 1894–Mar 2015 (9630)

Correspondence and Papers of Toby Neal, journalist, c. 2005 (9631)

Buildwas Parish Records, 1941–1987 (9635)

Tibberton and Cherrington Parish Council Records, 1996–2006 (9639)

Withington Parish Records, 1813–2004 (9640)

Eaton Constantine Parish Records, 1842–2016 (9641)

Uffington Parish Records, 1914–2016 (9642)

Bridgnorth Young Wives, later Ladies Group Records, 1997–2019 (9646)

The People's Hall Church, Bridgnorth, marriage register, 1995–2009 (9648)

Ledgers of Henry Price and Sons (later Price and Jacks), builders, of Frankwell, Shrewsbury, 1916–1957 (9649)

Stretton en le Dale Manor, court book, 1901–1925 (9650)

FBC Manby Bowdler, solicitors, deeds relating to land and property in Bridgnorth, Much Wenlock, Madeley, Broseley, Highley and Church Stretton, 18th–20th century (9651)

Munslow Parish Council Records, 20th century (9654)

Wenlock Borough, list of books, 17th century (9655)

Shifnal Parish Records, 19th – early 21st century (9656)

Eaton-under-Heywood and Hope Bowdler Parish Council Records, 1894–2013 (9657)

Records of the Old School, Albrighton, 1990s–2000s (9659)

Record of weather observations, Hanwood, 1871–1882 (9661)

Records of Hiatt Ladies College, Wellington, 20th century (9664)

Miscellaneous Shropshire deeds and documents, including 1468 letters patent, land in Aston Boterell, 15th–20th century (9665)

High Green, Chorley, Stottesdon Baptist Chapel Records, 2006–2015 (9666)

Upton Magna Parish Records, 1903–2010 (9667)

Records of Shropshire branches, National Union of Teachers, 20th century (9669)

Badger Parish Council Records, 2007–2017 (9672)

Records of the John Evans's Hospital Trust, Shrewsbury, 1842–2004 (9675)

Records of Clifton Court Housing Association, Ludlow, 1995–2019 (9680)

Records of the Shrewsbury consort of recorders, 1969–2019 (9681)

West Midlands Agricultural Show Records, 1881–2017 (9682)

Two maps of Aldon, Stokesay, 19th century (9686)

Ludlow Society of Friends, minutes of elders' meeting, 2008–2013 (9690)

Note: this list does not include a number of smaller accessions received during the year which have been catalogued and can be found on the Shropshire Archives website, www.shropshirearchives.org.uk

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN SHROPSHIRE IN 2018

By GILES CAREY, Historic Environment Team, Shropshire Council

This article summarises archaeological fieldwork and historic building recording undertaken in 2018 and 2019 in the County of Shropshire and the Unitary Authority of Telford and Wrekin that was subsequently reported to the Historic Environment Record, Shropshire Council. Further information on all these Events and the related Monuments can be found on the Discovering Shropshire's History website (http://search.discovershropshire.org.uk). Please contact the Historic Environment Record, Shropshire Council for further information, including access to the original reports: her@shropshire. gov.uk; 01743 25 4619.

The references in brackets prefixed 'PRN' are the Historic Environment Record numbers for individual sites and those prefixed 'ESA' are the Historic Environment Record numbers for individual events or activities, such as archaeological excavations. We would like to thank the contributors who provided summaries for some of the reports included in this review.

Solely desk-based research has been excluded from this gazetteer, but full details can be obtained directly from the HER.

PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN BY THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT TEAM, SHROPSHIRE COUNCIL, 2018–19

Work continued on the Shropshire aerial survey and reconnaissance project in 2018–2019, funded by Historic England. As widely reported, the extended drought conditions in Summer 2018 were particularly productive for the formation of cropmarks and parchmarks; this led to a sustained programme of aerial reconnaissance undertaken in the latter half of June and early July. This included a series of sorties across Wroxeter and its hinterland, with the best formation of parchmarks for over a decade recorded across the Roman town. Detail of individual buildings and streets was visible, including a number of features which had not been extensively recorded since 1976.

A significant number of new sites were also photographed during this dry summer, together with many known sites that had not been extensively photographed since the 1980s.

The conditions in the summer of 2019 proved less conducive to the formation of cropmarks/parchmarks, with sustained rainfall in mid-late June and into July. Despite this, prospection in previously under-flown areas of the county provided an opportunity to photograph a number of new and known sites.

All of this imagery has been indexed and stored in the Historic Environment Record, and is available as part of our public archive – please email her@shropshire.gov.uk in the first instance to arrange access.

The results from this programme of aerial reconnaissance has been significantly enhanced by the review of county-wide Google Earth imagery, captured in June 2018, during the height of the drought conditions. Members of the Historic Environment Team and volunteers have used this imagery to identify over 70 sites which have not previously been recorded, away from areas which have previously been extensively flown. A range of ring ditches, pit alignments and single ditched prehistoric enclosures have been identified. This work is ongoing but indicates the potential of an integrated analysis of aerial imagery to expand the evidence-base for particularly prehistoric Shropshire.
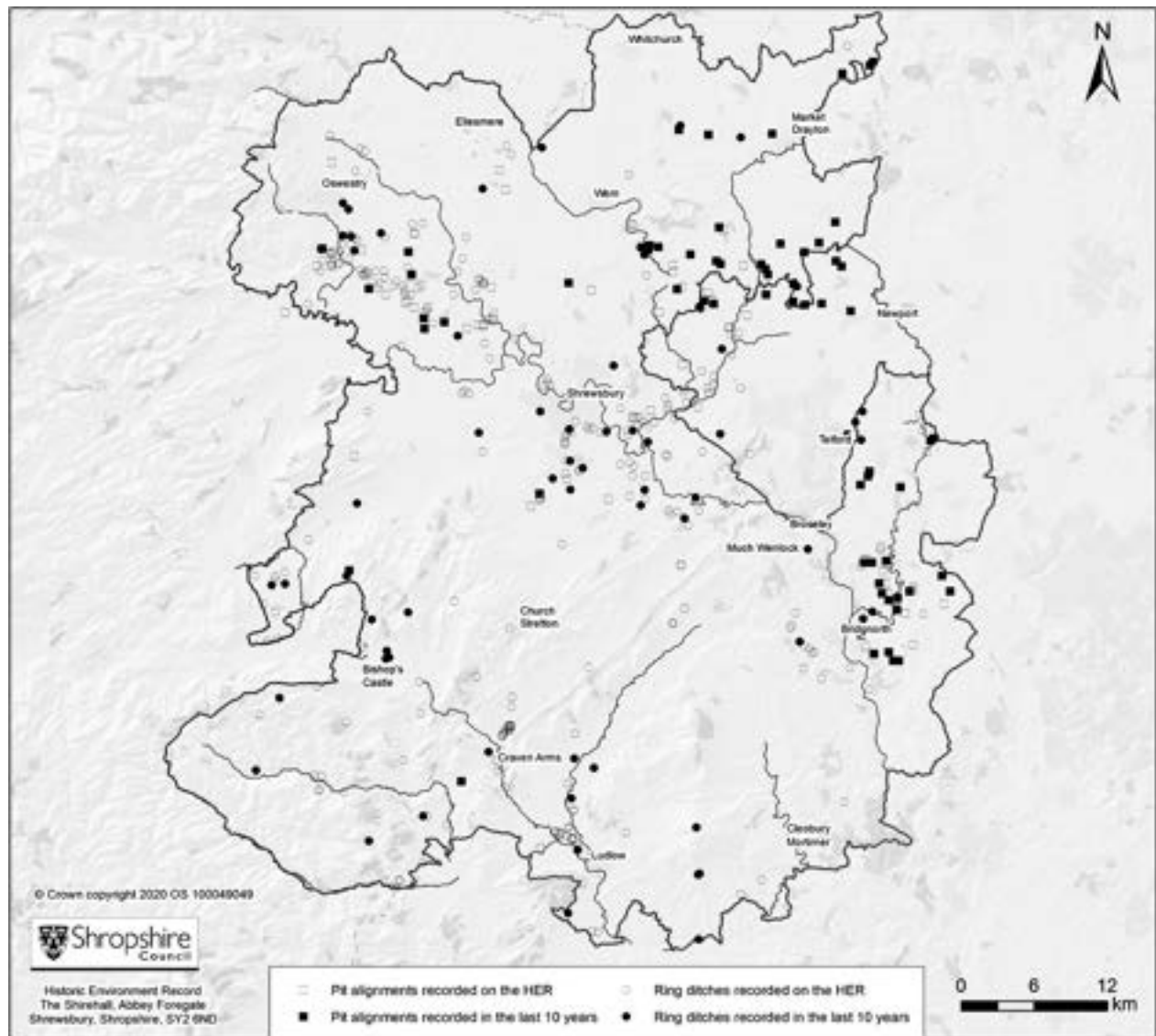
Figure 1. Distribution map of ring ditches, and pit alignments, showing the contribution made by aerial reconnaissance, and analysis of Google Earth imagery over the last 10 years. © *Shropshire Council HER*.

GAZETTEER OF PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN IN 2018

Abdon SO 562 896. An emergency watching brief was undertaken on a 5m length of electricity cable trench at Holdgate Hall Farm, following storm damage in March. No structures or artefacts of archaeological significance were recorded. The clay subsoil present may have been a disturbed deposit of natural origin or a deliberately redeposited layer.

Baker, N., 2018. 'An archaeological watching-brief at Holdgate Hall Farm, Abdon, Shropshire', unpublished report, Nigel Baker. ESA8547.

Acton Burnell SJ 531 020. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken within the former garden adjacent to Corner House, 8 Acton Burnell. The development site was situated within the historic core

of a settlement recorded in the Domesday Survey of 1086 as 'Actune', held by Roger FitzCorbet from Earl Roger de Montgomerie. From 1200, the manor was held by the Burnell family and the ruins of the nearby Acton Burnell Castle represent the fortified manor house built *c*.1284–5 by Robert Burnell, the Bishop of Bath and Wells and Lord Chancellor to King Edward I. Burnell refounded the settlement as a town which was granted a weekly market and two annual fairs in 1269–70. Despite being in an area of potential archaeological interest, no features were uncovered during the ground reductions within the former garden plot, and finds comprised only occasional fragments of blue and white willow pattern ceramics.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Land adjacent to Corner House, 8 Acton Burnell, Shrewsbury, Shropshire: archaeological

Figure 2. Distribution of archaeological fieldwork and historic building recording undertaken in 2018 in in the County of Shropshire and the Unitary Authority of Telford and Wrekin reported to the Historic Environment Record. © *Shropshire Council HER*.
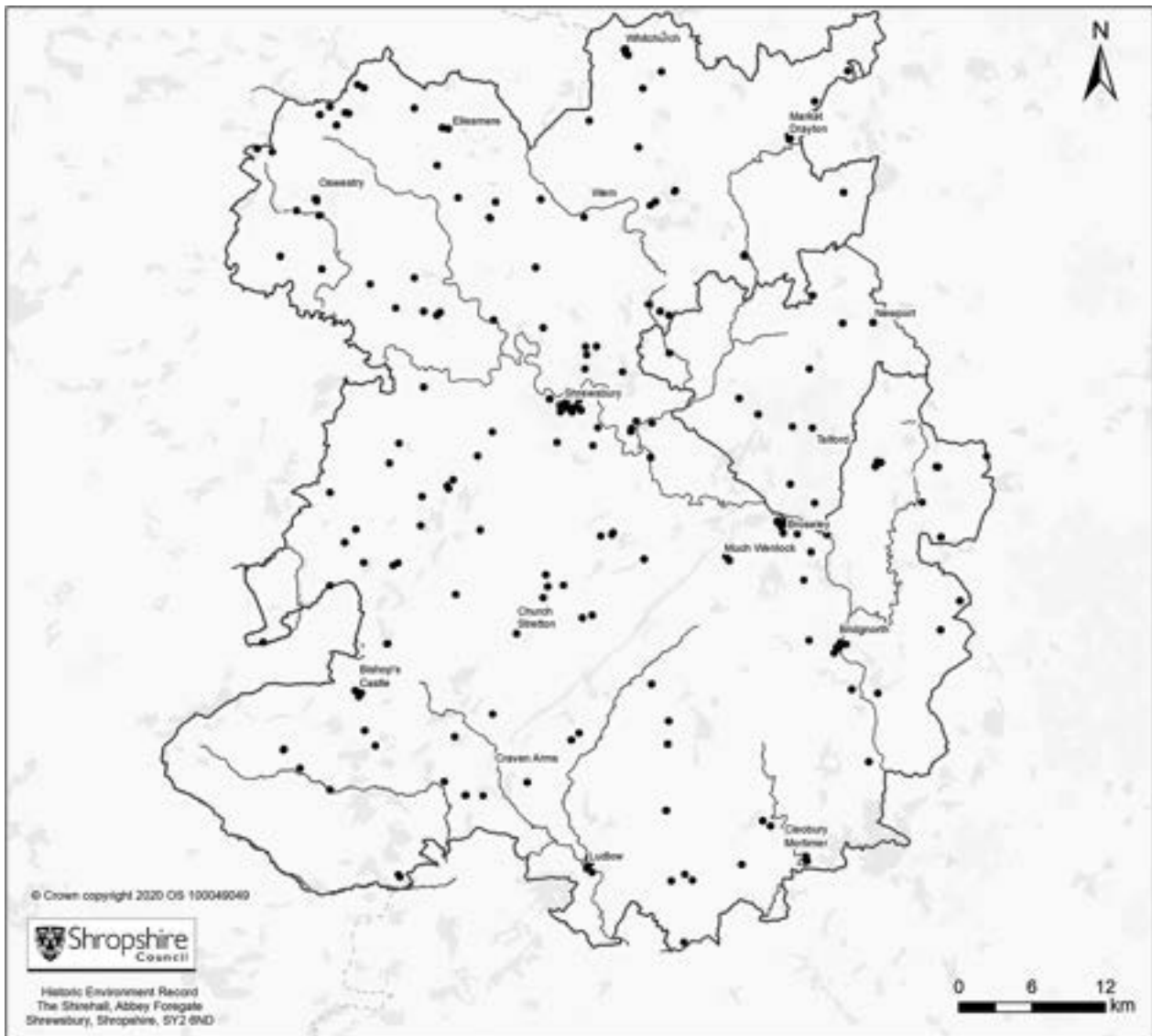
watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 647. ESA8614.

All Stretton SO 473 966. An archaeological watching brief was maintained on land adjacent to Heath House, Hollyhurst, Leebotwood, in July. The proposed development site was located immediately west of the line of the Roman road of Watling Street between Wroxeter and Leintwardine, which is believed to be perpetuated in the minor road that exists today (HER PRN 00108). Due to the proximity of the Roman road, the proposed development site was deemed to hold moderate-high archaeological potential.

In April 2018, a similar development approximately 1km north-east of the current site on land to the east of Oakfield Farm (see below, under *Leebotwood*), which was also sited immediately west of the postulated line of the Roman road, recovered substantial evidence of the road within the development plot itself near the

hedgeline. In the creation of the new splayed access for the development at Heath House, a compacted gravelly metalled surface was revealed beneath the hedgerow, extending further west of the current edge of the road. Despite a full clean, it was not possible to ascertain whether this hard surface dated to an earlier post-medieval road construction, or to either an earlier medieval or Roman phase. However, the fact that it underlay the hedge does indicate it is not of modern origin.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Development on land adjacent to Heath House, Hollyhurst, Leebotwood, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 656. ESA8677.

All Stretton SO 459 954. An archaeological evaluation was undertaken on land that was once part of The Yew Tree Inn. The development site lies within the former curtilage of Yew Tree Inn, which is a Grade II listed

building, and is also within the All Stretton Conservation Area. In the wider landscape there are a number of known archaeological sites and Scheduled Monuments and the archaeological potential of the site was considered worthy of evaluation prior to development. The site was located at the base of an eastward sloping hillside and the deposits encountered during the evaluation are interpreted as typical of hill-wash deposits overlying bedrock. The evaluation recorded no archaeological features or deposits and the few finds recovered suggested light use of the site.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Land adjacent to the Yew Tree Inn, All Stretton, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 670. ESA8715.

Atcham SJ 545 102. Three trenches were excavated. at the beginning of June, in areas south and west of the Walled Garden at Attingham Park in order to evaluate these areas for archaeological remains, 18th-century and earlier roads and trackways, prior to the design and installation of new access routes for service traffic to the Walled Garden. Trench 1 was excavated across the path known as Acacia Avenue and demonstrated that, at that point, it was of purely 20th-century construction, having diverged from the course of its 18th-century and earlier predecessor, which was found to the south. Trench 2 was excavated across a north-south ridge west of the Walled Garden representing a 19th-century and earlier trackway, and metalling was found on this line. Site 3 was a machine-cleared area around a depression in the field surface north of Acacia Avenue from which brickwork protruded. This was found to be the remains of a previously unknown 5m-square brick building, which was the subject of further investigation in 2018 (see below).

Baker, N., 2018. 'An archaeological evaluation of new access routes to the Walled Garden, Attingham Park, Shropshire', unpublished report, Nigel Baker. ESA8666.

Atcham SJ 545 102. Excavations took place in August 2018 on the site of a previously unrecognised brick building exposed by machine removal of topsoil in June during a programme of archaeological evaluation, interpreted as a summerhouse probably constructed in the period c.1810–20 for the second Lord Berwick.

Further excavation was carried out on this site in May and June 2019. This resulted in the complete ground-plan of the summerhouse building being recovered and defined three phases of development – the (short-lived) original summerhouse design, rapidly succeeded by a lodge design and succeeded by the summerhouse design as built (only the third phase was probably completely built and used).

The excavated assemblage indicated the status of the building – very thin window glass from windows with leaded lights, some of it painted; fragments of moulded stone panels, probably formerly polished; pieces of Purbeck Marble, very clearly from a small fireplace with its mantelpiece and overmantle; thick wall/ceiling plaster with lath impressions on the reverse; pieces of sandstone, possibly Grinshill stone, remaining from the cladding and possibly window jambs or sills.

Baker, N., 2018. 'The 2018 Attingham Park excavation: a summary', unpublished report, Nigel Baker. ESA8667.

Baker, N., 2019. 'The early 19th-century summerhouse in Attingham Park: second interim excavation report', unpublished report, Nigel Baker. ESA8667.

Figure 3.   The early 19th-century summerhouse in Attingham Park, as revealed in excavations in 2018. © Nigel Baker.

Atcham SJ 518 105. A trial trench evaluation consisting of eight machine excavated trenches was undertaken to investigate a parcel of land between Thieves Lane and the A5 carriageway on the southern outskirts of Shrewsbury. The results strongly indicate that there was little of archaeological interest within the site.

Lewis, D., 2018. 'M1135 Hatfields JLR, Shrewsbury: field evaluation (trial trench – archaeology)', unpublished report, TigerGeo, report no. TLS191. ESA8905.

Atcham SJ 550 111. A heritage statement was prepared to accompany a planning application for the conversion of former agricultural buildings at Berwick New House Barns, Berwick New House Farm, Upton Magna. This included a programme of photographic survey and recording.

McKnight, P., 2018. 'Heritage statement: Berwick New House Farm Barns', unpublished report, apT Group. ESA9194.

Barrow SJ 665 029 etc. As part of ongoing research, Broseley Local History Society undertook a series of desk-based assessments and site visits to sites in and around Barrow, which were reported to the HER in 2018. These included:

- Desk-based analysis and site visit to Broad Acre Farm, Benthall
- Desk-based analysis and site visit to Coneybury Blast Furnace
- Desk-based analysis and site visit to Spout Lane Ironstone Mine, Benthall
- Desk-based analysis and site visit to Barn Fold Mine, Benthall
- Desk-based analysis and site visit to Linley Mill, Astley Abbots
- Desk-based analysis and site visit to Hill Top Farm, Benthall

Dewhirst, S., 2018. Unpublished reports held in Shropshire HER.

Barrow SJ 668 028. A watching brief was carried out on an extension at The Bailiffs House, 60 Spout Lane, Benthall; no archaeological finds or features were recorded.

Brookes, D., 2018. 'Watching brief report: The Bailiffs House, 60 Spout Lane, Benthall, Broseley', unpublished report, Wenlock Archaeological Services. ESA8877.

Baschurch SJ 433 194. A photographic record was undertaken in March, ahead of repairs and alterations to The Bailiff's House, Yeaton.

Arrol and Snell, 2018. 'Photographic recording supplement for proposed repairs and alterations to The Bailiffs House, Yeaton, Shropshire, SY4 2HY', unpublished report, Arrol and Snell. ESA8567.

Baschurch SJ 430 277. An archaeological watching brief was maintained on agricultural land at Stanwardine Hall, Cockshutt. The development lay adjacent to the Grade II* Listed Stanwardine Hall, a late 16th-century former manor house, and the Scheduled Monument of Stanwardine moated site, associated fishpond and formal gardens, which stand to the south of the Hall. Despite being in an area of potential archaeological interest, no archaeological features other than evidence of former land drainage were uncovered during the recent groundworks within the area of development.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Agricultural development at Stanwardine Hall Farm, Stanwardine in the Wood, Cockshutt, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 659. ESA8679.

Bishop's Castle SO 324 888. In March, Shropshire Council Archaeology Service carried out a photographic record of the Methodist Chapel, Station Street (HER PRN 28907). The Methodist Chapel on Station Street is an early 20th-century non-conformist chapel, built in 1904 of brick and stone on the site of an earlier chapel of 1864.

Hannaford, H., 2018. 'A photographic record of the Methodist chapel, Station Street, Bishop's Castle 2018', unpublished report, Shropshire Council, Archaeology Service, report no. 404. ESA8534.

Bishop's Castle SO 323 887. A programme of archaeological monitoring and recording was undertaken in advance of and during remedial works and alterations at The Co-op Store. The Store stands at the junction of Church Street and Harley Jenkins Street within the Bishops Castle Conservation Area and is believed to be of 16th- and 17th-century origins. Although phases of alteration have already taken place, including mid-20th-century additions, the Store receives statutory protection as a Grade II Listed building of national importance.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Remedial works and alterations at Bishop Castle Co-op Store, Church Street, Bishop's Castle, Shropshire', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 610. ESA8542.

Bishop's Castle SO 322 885. A watching brief was undertaken on groundworks for a new development at Copall Paddock, within a block of tenement plots on the west of Church St (HER PRN 05150) developed in the later medieval period outside of the town walls located to the north. No archaeological features or deposits were encountered.

Hannaford, H., 2018. 'A watching brief at Copall Paddock, Bishop's Castle, Shropshire, 2018', unpublished report, Shropshire Council, Archaeology Service, report no. 408. ESA8605.

Bishop's Castle SO 324 889. An archaeological field evaluation was undertaken in response to proposed development at Station Street. Trench 1 revealed the remains of a post-medieval ditch, possibly corresponding to a field boundary documented on historic maps of the area. It also revealed a square cut feature of post-medieval date. Trench 2 yielded the remains of a cut feature. A fragment of medieval pottery

and post-medieval/modern finds were found within this cut.

Garcia-Rovira, I. and Shelmerdine, P., 2018. 'Land at Station Road/School Lane, Bishop's Castle, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation', unpublished report, Archaeology Wales, report no. 1692. ESA8626.

Boscobel SJ 837 082. In March an archaeological watching brief was carried out on behalf of English Heritage during the groundworks for a drain at Boscobel House in Shropshire. Trenching work unearthed an assemblage of mid- to late 19th-century domestic and agricultural artefacts within the topsoil. No features or earlier structural remains were encountered.

Logan, W., 2018. 'Boscobel House, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1576. ESA8714.

Bridgnorth SO 717 927. A watching brief was undertaken during the installation of an electricity supply for a house adjoining Castle Hill Walk. The associated trenches were located on a tarmac pathway on the south-east of the promontory surrounding Bridgnorth castle. No archaeological deposits were identified within any of the trenches.

Bryant-Buck, H., 2018. 'Castle Hill Walk, Bridgnorth: archaeological watching brief on cable installation', unpublished report, Headland Archaeology, report no. 1286. ESA8568.

Bridgnorth SO 717 929. A site inspection was carried out on groundworks for an extension to the rear of Simba House, 22 East Castle Street. The foundations of the existing northern boundary wall were seen to rest on a wider red sandstone wall at a depth of c.0.7m below the existing ground level. A close inspection of this wall was not possible for safety reasons, but it had the appearance of a considerably older structure.

Hannaford, H., 2018. 'A site inspection at Simba House, 22 East Castle Street, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, 2018', unpublished report, Shropshire Council, Archaeology Service, report no. 407. ESA8601.

Bridgnorth SO 721 928. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken during the groundworks associated with the erection of two-storey extension at Bernard's Hill. This found that the areas excavated had been previously stripped down onto the horizon of the natural sandstone and there were no archaeological finds or features cut into the sandstone to suggest that any earlier phases of occupation were present – the modern inclusions within deposits were indicative of only the very recent past. Furthermore, the deposits encountered were probably contemporary with the construction of the eastern garden terrace walls.

Dean, J., 2018. '39 Bernards Hill, Pepperpot Cottage, Bridgnorth, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Aeon Archaeology, report no. 179. ESA8693.

Bridgnorth SO 714 926. A detailed magnetometer survey was conducted over approximately 1.3 ha of grassland on land to the west of the Severn Valley Railway station. No archaeological anomalies were identified.

Nine trenches were subsequently excavated over an area of 1.9ha. Bedding trenches containing 17th- to 19th-century pottery relating to a previous use as a nursery were identified in the northern part of the site, along with an undated and isolated posthole. No other archaeological features were encountered. A subsequent watching brief identified no further archaeological finds or features.

Davies, R., 2018. 'Geophysical survey report: land West of Severn Valley Railway, Bridgnorth, Shropshire', unpublished report, SUMO Surveys, report no. 12601. ESA8724.

Lovett, P., 2018. 'Archaeological evaluation of land west of Severn Valley Railway, Bridgnorth, Shropshire', unpublished report, Worcestershire Archaeology, report no. 2587. ESA8723.

Arnold, G. and Vaughan, T., 2018. 'Archaeological watching brief of Field 3, west of Severn Valley Railway, Bridgnorth, Shropshire', unpublished report, Worcestershire Archaeology, report no. 2625. ESA8725.

Broseley SJ 674 028 etc. As part of ongoing research, Broseley Local History Society undertook a series of desk-based assessments and site visits to sites in and around Broseley, which were reported to the HER in 2018. These included:

- Desk-based analysis and site visit to remains of Broseley Wood tramway
- Desk-based analysis and site visit to Turners Yard Colliery, Caughley
- Desk-based analysis and site visit to Woodlands Green Mine, Broseley Wood

Dewhirst, S., 2018. Unpublished reports held in Shropshire HER.

Bucknell SO 356 738. An archaeological observation was undertaken during late May and early June, on land behind Yew Tree House. No features or deposits of archaeological significance were revealed, apart from the partial remains of brick paving in a discrete area of the site, associated with a known, now demolished, auxiliary building.

Rosen, C., 2018. 'Archaeological watching brief: land behind Yew Tree House, Bucknell, Shropshire', unpublished report, Caroline Rosen Archaeology. ESA8635.

Cardington SO 506 950. A watching brief was undertaken during topsoil stripping of two areas at Southmere. Potential evidence of medieval activity was discovered from buried remains to the south-west of the property in question, and a series of pits dating from the 17th to 18th century (HER PRN 34413). Middens from domestic use and farming, indicate an area that was

occupied from the medieval period onward, containing bovine bone and indications of burning activity, including potential metal working in the vicinity.

Children, J., 2018. 'A final report on an archaeological watching brief for an extension to the Southmere Property, Cardington', unpublished report, Cursus Archaeology, report no. CRD18. ESA8781.

Cheswardine SJ 719 298. A watching brief was carried out to monitor preliminary overburden stripping on land south of The Vicarage, High Street, followed by the excavation of foundation trenches. No finds nor features of archaeological interest were identified during this fieldwork.

Davey, G., 2018. 'Land south of The Vicarage, High Street, Cheswardine, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Thames Valley Archaeological Services (TVAS), report no. HSC 18/28. ESA8696.

Chirbury with Brompton SO 244 929. In May, a watching brief was undertaken during groundworks associated with the construction of a new dwelling on land north-east of Pentreheyling House, Pentreheyling, which lies a short distance from a well attested Roman fort. No archaeological remains were revealed during the groundworks.

Logan, W., 2018. 'Land north-east of Pentreheyling House, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1583. ESA8590.

Chirbury with Brompton SO 299 976. A watching brief was undertaken on land at Priestweston Bank, Priestweston in association with a new agricultural storage building. No archaeological finds or features were recorded associated with the nearby Bowers Shaft (HER PRN 29264).

Greene, M., 2018. 'Agricultural land at Priestweston Bank, Priestweston, Shropshire: an archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, M. J. Greene. ESA8665.

Church Stretton SO 452 937. A watching brief was undertaken on an extension to the Scout Hut. Excavations revealed the remains of a small wall, using the same type of brick as seen in the *c*.1834 wall along Church St, as well as 20th-century rubble. No remains were discovered of any garden features which, within the site area, would have consisted of a line of trees along the west site boundary and a footpath leading from the south of the Rectory building, in parallel to Church Street. These features would have been removed when the Scout Hut was constructed in the 1960s.

Children, J., 2018. 'Final report on an archaeological watching brief at the Scout Hut, Church Stretton', unpublished report, Cursus Archaeology, report no. SHCS18. ESA8565.

Cleobury Mortimer SO 690 750. A statement of significance and impact assessment was prepared for the Fountain Garden, to the south of, and forming part of the designed landscape around, Mawley Hall (HER PRN 07740). This included an outline overview of the gardens' development.

In July, an archaeological evaluation was undertaken of the Fountain Garden at Mawley Hall. This involved the excavation and recording of five targeted evaluation trenches within the area of a former formal garden in advance of proposed restoration of garden features. The evaluation located features in the five excavated trenches, which included pathways, steps and walls as well as a possible structure and planting bed within the formal garden. However, post-medieval pottery, ceramic building material and glass was recovered from topsoil deposits associated with most of the features. The lower stone flags at the southern end of the steps and associated retaining wall were in relatively good condition along with relatively well-preserved gravel paths and the driveway which could be clearly identified upon excavation. By contrast, the remains of the circular garden structure and the possible rectangular planting bed were more ephemeral. Evidence of previous phases of repair or rebuilding were identified at the formal garden steps.

A condition survey was subsequently undertaken of the bothy at Mawley Hall in association with proposals for its reinstatement.

A statement of significance and impact assessment was also prepared in order to understand the contribution made by the area of the Pool Garden and the adjacent former coach house yard to the setting and significance of Mawley Hall, and the former Coach House and Stables.

Ayton, J., 2018. 'Mawley Hall, Fountain Garden: statement of significance and impact assessment', unpublished report, Justin Ayton Ltd. ESA8702.

Day, C., 2018. 'Mawley Hall, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation', unpublished report, Foundations Archaeology, report no. 1260. ESA8703.

Craig Hamilton Architects, 2018. 'Mawley Hall Bothy: architectural condition survey', unpublished report, Craig Hamilton Architects Ltd. ESA8866.

Ayton, J., 2018. 'Mawley Hall, Pool Garden: statement of significance and impact assessment', unpublished report, Justin Ayton Ltd. ESA9198.

Clun SO 274 827. An historic building record, and timber-frame survey was undertaken of the grade II Listed Building of The Roneth, Whitcott Keysett (HER PRN 13563), in advance of renovation.

Cooke, R., 2018. 'The Roneth, Whitcott Keysett, Clun, Shropshire SY7 8QE…level 1 historic building record', unpublished report, Aeon Archaeology, report no. 0154. ESA8548.

Ward, P., 2018. 'Timber frame survey: in respect of – The Roneth, Whitcott Keysett, Shropshire', unpublished report, Heritage House Consulting Limited. ESA8549.

Clun SO 299 809. In December, a watching brief was undertaken at Clun Castle, on behalf of English Heritage, during the excavation of postholes associated with the installation of a new kissing gate. No features or artefacts of archaeological significance were revealed

in any of the postholes, which were excavated through material containing 18th- and 19th-century pottery.

Grant, I., 2018. 'Clun Castle, Shropshire: Archaeological Watching Brief', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1629. ESA9216.

Craven Arms SO 410 804. An analysis and photographic record was prepared in association with alterations and extensions of The Granary at Rowton Manor.

Richards, C., 2018. 'Rowton Manor Barns WSI Report', unpublished report, CJR Heritage. ESA8552.

Culmington SO 460 815. Building recording was undertaken at Upper Norton Farm, Craven Arms (HER PRN 24052) in association with conversion of four agricultural buildings for holiday lets and leisure use. The buildings at Norton Farm were considered to date to the 19th century and whilst this was broadly the case, a single timber-framed hardwood truss within one of these structures demonstrated the presence of a structure potentially dating to the middle of the 16th century. The features of this timber indicated that it was an internal truss and most likely of domestic nature. The remaining elements of the buildings were of stone, tile and softwood construction and of 19th-century origin. The function of these ranged from the housing of cattle to crop storage and a cart shed.

Cornah, T., 2018. 'Building recording at Upper Norton Farm, Craven Arms, Shropshire', unpublished report, Worcestershire Archaeology, report no. 2698. ESA8951.

Dawley Hamlets SJ 676 059. A full photographic survey was undertaken in May of the Squatters' Cottage, Lightmoor (HER PRN 17584) ahead of restoration. The squatter's cottage was built by Robert Bayley, who was fined in 1797 for 'encroaching on the Lord's waste'.

Baker, N., 2018. 'An archaeological photographic survey of the Squatters' Cottage, Lightmoor, Telford', unpublished report, Nigel Baker. ESA8608.

Diddlebury SO 503 855. A photographic record was made of an outbuilding at Bache Mill House, in association with proposed conversion from storage to an office space.

Hewett, T., 2018. 'Photographs November 2018 – Proposed conversion of outbuilding… [Bache Mill House, Diddlebury]', unpublished report, Trevor Hewett RIBA, report no. RTWT.1. ESA9125.

Diddlebury SO 496 850. In November 2018 and July 2019, a watching brief was carried out during the construction of a new detached dwelling at Corfton. Although the development was located within the postulated medieval core of the village, the groundworks revealed no archaeologically significant features or deposits within the site, which appeared to have been historically in cultivation or in use as an orchard.

Logan, W., 2019. 'Residential development at Corfton, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1677. ESA9182.

Edgmond SJ 694 213. A building investigation was undertaken concerning the listing of the gatehouse at Caynton Manor. The gatehouse (HER PRN 33873) is the only intact survivor of a historic manorial complex. The building's two upper rooms have decorative plasterwork friezes similar to a group of several early 17th-century schemes in Shropshire. One overmantel features the arms of the Yonge family and the date 1635, which is probably the date of the building. Very little is known about the building's original context and use, or the house it served. Although in farm-related use for a long time, the gatehouse and its plasterwork survive relatively intact. The gatehouse was subsequently listed at Grade II*.

Roethe, J., 2018. 'The Gatehouse, Caynton Manor, Edgmond, Shropshire: building investigation', unpublished report, Historic England, report no. 70–2018. ESA8784.

Ellesmere SJ 391 351. A programme of strip, map and record was carried out prior to residential development, on land to the south of the Hawthorns. This was concentrated on revealing and recording the remains of a small structure documented in historical maps dating to the later 19th century, located on the north-west extreme of the site. It was also aimed at exposing the remains of a brick kiln. The presence of the latter was inferred through an examination of the Tithe Map of 1839 which defines the northern area of the development as the 'Brick Kiln' Field.

The strip, map and record exercise revealed the remains of a post-medieval working surface and several walls related to the structure documented in historical maps. It also exposed the remains of a pre-industrial brick kiln and a pond which may have initially been a clay extraction pit. The latter had been filled with modern debris linked to agricultural activity at the site.

Ward, F., Weaver, J. and Garcia-Rovira, I., 2018. 'Land South of the Hawthorns, Ellesmere (Shropshire): Phase 1 (pots 1–28): Strip-map-record', unpublished report, Archaeology Wales, report no. 1659. ESA8566.

Ercall Magna SJ 577 166. An archaeological watching brief was carried out in conjunction with the groundworks for a new nursing home in the grounds of Roden Hall. No significant archaeological remains were encountered; however, undated possible pits, ditches and a stake hole were recorded in the site's southeastern corner. The structural remains of late 19th or early 20th-century garden outbuildings were also encountered close to the site's northern edge, buried beneath made-ground deposits. A brick culvert was also exposed in section.

Portch, A., 2018. 'Roden Hall Nursing Home, Roden, Ercall Magna, Shropshire: archaeological monitoring and recording', unpublished report, Archaeology Warwickshire, report no. 1860. ESA8671.

Frodesley SJ 521 017. A watching brief was undertaken of approximately 1.6km of trenching in connection with the renewal of mains pipework between Frodesley and Acton Burnell. Trenching was excavated across

farmland adjacent to, and crossing, Frodesley Lane/Watling Street. Trenching was approximately 0.3–1m wide with an average depth of 1.1m. A series of earlier road surfaces and associated post-medieval artefacts were encountered. Towards the northeastern extent of the scheme, evidence for a palaeochannel, or buried wetland deposit, was encountered. This possibly predates the existing watercourse, which has been redirected and channelled.

France, J., 2018. 'Archaeological observation… water main renewal; Frodesley to Acton Burnell, Shropshire', unpublished report, Border Archaeology, report no. BA1665FAB. ESA8613.

Great Ness SJ 386 197. A photogrammetric survey by UAV (drone) was undertaken of Nesscliffe Hillfort in June, to inform management and conservation of the monument. The HER holds the project archive, with a 3d model available online at https://skfb.ly/6ATnM.

Walters, M., 2018. 'Photogrammetric survey by UAV (drone) of Nesscliffe Hillfort', unpublished report, Skywest Surveys. ESA8640.

Great Ness SJ 389 200. An archaeological watching brief was maintained during groundworks, undertaken in association with the erection of a single dwelling on land south of Quarry House, Hopton. The development site lies *c*.215m north-east of the Scheduled Monument of Nesscliffe Hill Camp: a small multivallate hillfort. H. D. G. Foxall's transcription of the Tithe Map for Great Ness Parish of 1847 indicates that the site was previously occupied by at least one small post-medieval common edge cottage, which had been demolished prior to the publication of the 1st edition of the 1:10,560 Ordnance Survey map in the 1880s. Despite being in an area of potential archaeological interest, no features were uncovered during the ground reductions within the plot and no finds recovered.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Plot 2 Land South of Quarry House, Hopton, Nesscliffe, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 649. ESA8651.

Great Ness SJ 375 201. A geophysical survey was conducted over land at Nesscliffe Crematorium. The survey demonstrated the presence of several anomalies of possible archaeological interest. A weak linear anomaly was detected that is thought to be evidence of the continuation of a ditch identified during an archaeological evaluation in 2002. Several smaller curvilinear and pit-like anomalies were identified throughout the survey data, the origin of which could not be determined conclusively but were considered possibly archaeological in origin.

Schmidt, A., 2018. 'Nesscliffe Crematorium, Oswestry, Shropshire: detailed gradiometer survey report', unpublished report, Wessex Archaeology, report no. 211661.03. ESA8789.

Highley SO 740 832. An archaeological watching brief was maintained during groundworks undertaken in association with the conversion of a traditional agricultural building into a single residential dwelling.

The single storey red brick building was built in 1950 in a farmyard, within Highley Conservation Area and within the historic core of Highley. Despite being in an area of potential archaeological interest, no archaeological features were uncovered during the recent groundworks.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Conversion of agricultural building adjacent to Springfield House, Highley, Bridgnorth, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 668. ESA8717.

Hodnet SJ 582 300. An archaeological evaluation consisting of a single trial trench, 17m long, was carried out in advance of the construction of a new carpark at Hawkstone Hall. The new car park overlays a former range of outbuildings to the north of the hall. The trench exposed walls and floor levels associated with one of these buildings and parts of the associated walled trackways and yards, all probably late 18th to early 19th century in date.

Gethin, B., 2018. 'Hawkstone Hall, Marchamley, Shropshire: Archaeological Evaluation', unpublished report, Archaeology Warwickshire, report no. 1865. ESA8708.

Hopesay SO 401 852. A photographic survey was undertaken of former farm buildings at Upper Carwood Farm, ahead of conversion and reuse. Internal and external photographs were taken of the former farmhouse, a barn and granary.

Morriss, R., 2018. 'Upper Carwood, Hopesay, Shropshire: a photographic survey', unpublished report, Richard K Morriss and Associates, report no. 1271. ESA8706.

Hopton Wafers SO 636 748. A programme of earthwork survey was undertaken in association with the construction of an outlet chamber to the south-east of Ditton Mill Caravan Park. This succeeded in providing a drawn, written and photographic record of the industrial earthwork features on the proposed development site, interpreted as an ironworking site (HER PRN 08672). Elements of the earthwork features appear to have been backfilled at some point, perhaps to provide access for cattle/sheep watering.

Cherrington, R., 2018. 'Hopton Siphon Outlet Chamber, Hopton Wafers, Shropshire, DY14 0DJ', unpublished report, Benchmark Archaeology. ESA8669.

Knockin SJ 332 223. An archaeological evaluation was carried out on land to the north of Lower House Farm. The area had been partially evaluated in 2014, when a medieval ditch was identified in the eastern part of the development area which appeared to form part of the defences of either a medieval borough or a large outer bailey associated with the timber castle at Knockin. Some areas were not accessible in 2014, so four additional trenches were excavated within the site in late 2018 to provide a comprehensive picture of the likely sub-surface deposits and features that might be affected by the development.

Additional features were revealed by the work, including a post-medieval metalled trackway running across the eastern part of the site from north to south and a second ditch immediately to its east. This ditch was initially undated but seemed to run broadly parallel to the medieval ditch seen in 2014.

Given the potential importance of these features in understanding the medieval activity in Knockin, in early 2019, a strip, map and excavate exercise was carried out on a building plot to the north of the village war memorial and a watching brief along the first 60m of the development access road from the street frontage. These works identified additional features in this area and proved that the second ditch was of medieval origin. One of the features was an oven or corn-drying kiln.

A further excavation was undertaken within the area of the 2 ditches in association with the installation of an LPG tank. The results corroborated earlier work which had suggested that the ditch was of medieval origin and had gone out of use before the start of the post-medieval period.

Further evidence was identified for activity in the space between the two ditches and this now seems most likely to represent encroachment of settlement into the area of the defences in the late medieval period, once the inner ditch had been abandoned and infilled. The outer ditch seems to have continued in use as a boundary into the post-medieval period.

Hankinson, R., 2018. 'Residential Development at Knockin, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation and mitigation', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1630. ESA8982.

Hankinson, R., 2019. 'Residential Development North of Lower House Farm, Knockin, Shropshire: archaeological excavation', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1665. ESA8969.

Leebotwood SO 477 975. A programme of archaeological monitoring was conducted during groundworks undertaken in association with the construction of a single dwelling with detached double garage and new access on Land East of Oakfield Farm. The development site lay immediately west of the line of the Roman road of Watling Street between Wroxeter and Leintwardine (HER PRN 00108), believed to have remained in use as the minor road leading from Frodesley, to meet the A49 just north of Church Stretton and therefore passing east of the development site. The initial stages of the watching brief monitored the removal of 200mm of reddish-brown sandy stony topsoil over the site. Over the larger part of the site, the topsoil lay above the natural pale brown sandy subsoil. However, towards the eastern hedge line, in the area of the proposed garage, a layer of compacted stone became apparent and further investigations revealed that this layer was a substantial feature. In view of the proximity of this part of the site to the lane and thereby to the postulated alignment of the Roman road, together with the substantial nature of the stone layer, it was immediately recognised that this was likely to be a feature associated with the Roman period and potentially part of the road itself.

Further investigations were undertaken revealing evidence that the feature exposed and subsequently recorded was undoubtedly a section of the Roman road from Wroxeter to Leintwardine, running further west of the alignment it was formerly believed to take. The surface of the road was constructed in locally sourced water-borne rubblestones, no more than 10mm thick, laid above a densely packed small-sized rubblestone foundation course. The feature was continuous across the excavated area for 11m at an approximate width of 1.5m, although the foundation layer had partly been ploughed out towards the west side. The surface of the road included well-worn parallel cart ruts. In the absence of any dating evidence it has not been possible to state the length of time that the road followed this alignment. It can only be assumed that by the later medieval period the alignment of the present lane had come into use.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Land East of Oakfield Farm, Hollyhurst, Leebotwood, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 633. ESA8678.

Leebotwood SO 475 985. In May and June, an archaeological watching brief was undertaken on land at Manor Farm Barns. The development site fell within an area recorded as previously containing earthwork remains of several building platforms of possible medieval date (HER PRN 03837). No archaeological features were identified during the fieldwork. A thick clay-loam plough-soil 0.5–0.75m in thickness was seen across the excavation area, overlying undulating river gravels.

Pitt, K., 2018. 'Plot 1–2, Manor Farm, Leebotwood, Church Stretton: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Archaeology Wales, report no. 1677. ESA9047.

Lilleshall and Donnington SJ 692 153. Proposals were developed to restore and convert to dwellings the two surviving but ruinous canal-side buildings on Lubstree Wharf, Lilleshall (HER PRN 34202), on the rural northern edge of Telford. The Warehouse, the larger of the two, is a transhipment shed of *c*.1870; the other, the oddly and perhaps inaccurately named Steam House, is of uncertain date and function and almost certainly a little later in date.

Morriss, R., 2018. 'Lubstree Wharf, Humber Lane, Lilleshall, Telford, Shropshire: a heritage impact assessment on proposed adaptive reuse', unpublished report, Richard K Morriss and Associates, report no. 1235. ESA8636.

Ludford SO 525 756. An archaeological field evaluation was undertaken on proposed development land to the south of Rock's Green, Ludlow. Thirty trenches were excavated, targeting geophysical anomalies and considering locations which were to be disturbed during groundworks associated with the development.

Trenches in the south-western field revealed the most evidence of regular use, demonstrated by large spreads of charcoal and post-medieval finds within the subsoil.

Trench 11 contained one piece of medieval pottery. Land drains and modern water pipes were present in three trenches. One tree bole was encountered and recorded. No archaeological features were encountered.

Muller, J. and Moore, D., 2018. 'Land to south of Rocks Green, Ludlow, Shropshire: archaeological field evaluation', unpublished report, Archaeology Wales, report no. 1746. ESA8898.

Ludlow SO 512 749. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken during groundworks associated with excavations for an extension to the former Marston's Mill building, following demolition of a former mill warehouse building known as Harvest House, Portcullis Lane. The site lies downslope of the medieval town centre and there is no record of pre-19th-century activity on the site. The site comprised former meadowland until developed in the late 19th century by the local family firm of Marstons as part of their milling enterprise.

The watching brief revealed the impact that these phases of development have had on the site. Ground reductions revealed variable depths of demolition rubble above sandy red clay natural. No archaeological features were revealed. However, a small amount of post-medieval ceramics was recovered from the demolition layers, which give some indication of the material culture used nearby from the late 17th century.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Excavation associated with the construction of an extension to the former Marston Mill, Portcullis Lane, Ludlow: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 641. ESA8616.

Ludlow SO 509 745. A programme of detailed historic building recording was undertaken of the Grade II* listed Ludlow Castle Lodge.

McIlroy, P., 2018. 'Castle Lodge, Castle Square, Ludlow, Shropshire: historic building recording', unpublished report, PJM Associates Ltd. ESA9129.

Lydbury North SO 336 845. An archaeological field evaluation was carried out in February in association with a proposed building extension at Lower Down. The archaeological field evaluation was carried out over the footprint of the proposed 10m 1.8m building extension. The proposed extension was located 16m south of the Scheduled Monument of Motte Castle and its associated settlement remains, 150m north-west of Lower Down Farm (NHLE 1012853), and immediately east of cottages 17–18, adjacent to Lower Down farm (HER PRN 14860) – structures of local interest dating to the 18th and 19th centuries. Four features of modern date related to the construction of the cottage and subsequent landscaping were revealed during the evaluation. No features or finds associated to the adjacent motte were recovered.

Moore, D. and Garcia-Rovira, I., 2018. '17 Lower Down, Lydbury North, Shropshire: archaeological field evaluation', unpublished report, Archaeology Wales, report no. 1648. ESA8579.

Market Drayton SJ 674 344. An archaeological watching brief was carried out in December during the groundworks phase of development on land at Towers Lawn, Frogmore Road. No archaeological features were present within the site.

Groundworks Archaeology, 2018. 'Archaeological watching brief report on land at Towers Lawn, Frogmore Road, Market Drayton, Shropshire', unpublished report, Groundworks Archaeology, report no. TLF18. ESA8841.

More SO 346 928. A photographic survey was undertaken in accordance with listed building consent at Linley Hall, for the removal of three windows and the installation of three replacement doors together with the excavation of a terrace on two levels with steps.

Hewett, T., 2018. 'Linley Hall, More – West Terrace: Level 2 photographic record', unpublished report, Trevor Hewett RIBA. ESA8618.

Morville SO 712 921. A series of baseline assessments was undertaken of historic farmsteads on the Dudmaston and Morville Estates, commissioned by The National Trust. The purpose of the project was to provide summaries of the historic significance and character of individual farmsteads and the estate farmsteads as a whole. Detailed descriptions were prepared of Morville Barn (HER PRN 23303), Sandybury (HER PRN 20886) and Little Mose Farm (HER PRN 20893).

Hayman, R., 2018. 'Dudmaston Estate, Shropshire: historic farmstead survey (Morville, Sandybury and 47 Mose)', unpublished report, Richard Hayman (consultant). ESA9007.

Much Wenlock SO 626 997. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken during groundworks in association with the erection of a small side extension to The Gate House, Barrow Street. The former Gate House lies within the Saxon and medieval urban form of the town and within a group of tenement plots identified as potentially of medieval date. Despite the development works being in an area of archaeological interest, no archaeological evidence was uncovered during the groundworks. 1840s cartographic evidence identifies the south-east end of Barrow Street as an area of small crofts including the linear garden plot on which The Gate House was later built. The watching brief revealed no evidence of pre-1840s occupation.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Side extension to the gate house, Barrow Street, Much Wenlock, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 582. ESA8500.

Much Wenlock SJ 623 000. A watching brief was carried out on a drainage trench at The Coach House, The Old Police Station. The depth of disturbance was minimal, through areas of made-up ground, and no archaeological finds or features were recorded.

Brookes, D., 2018. 'Watching brief report: sewerage and water supply installation, The Coach House, The Old Police Station, Sheinton Street, Much Wenlock',

unpublished report, Wenlock Archaeological Services. ESA8897.

Myddle and Broughton SJ 467 237. An historic building survey was undertaken of the Old Rectory, Myddle, in associated with proposals for alterations and extensions to the building. This includes documentary research, a site survey and a statement of significance of the building.

Drake, C. and Hamilton, R., 2018. 'The Old Rectory, Myddle: pre-application historic building report', unpublished report, Donald Insall Associates. ESA8853.

Neen Savage SO 660 779. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken at Stepple Hall, Cleobury Mortimer, in advance of a proposed development comprising alterations to the existing residence and excavation for a sunken patio area. Groundworks comprised the excavation of two areas, which were archaeologically monitored throughout. Trench 1 was located against the western wall of the property and covered the area of a proposed sunken patio. Trench 2 comprised a narrow foundation trench to the north of the property, in preparation for a small extension. The only archaeological feature observed on site comprised a brick-lined well. The well, located off the western wall of the early 17th-century house, may be dated through association. However, the construction cut for the well may extend below the stone chimney stack on the north wall of the house, which would make it earlier that this chimney, whilst the bricks of which it is made appear to be of 18th-century date. The small assemblage recovered from the upper backfill inside the well indicates that it was backfilled in the 19th century.

Wilkins, J., 2018. 'Archaeological watching brief at Stepple Hall, Catherton Road, Cleobury Mortimer, Shropshire', unpublished report, Worcestershire Archaeology, report no. 2627. ESA8791.

Newcastle on Clun SO 261 842. A watching brief was undertaken at three locations along Offa's Dyke path at Lower Mount, Mardu, in association with the installation of footpath furniture. These locations were closely spaced centred on SO 261 842. No archaeological features were observed.

Hannaford, H., 2018. 'A watching brief on the installation of new path furniture on Offa's Dyke Path at Lower Mount, Mardu and Selattyn Lodge, Selattyn, Shropshire', unpublished report, Shropshire Council, Archaeology Service, report no. 403. ESA8532.

Oakengates SJ 694 105. An archaeological watching brief was conducted during April, on land at Holyhead Road. Although the trenching was over the known course of the former Ketley Canal (HER PRN 03405), no archaeological features were encountered. The trenches had minimal effect on any underlying archaeology due to the raising of the ground level prior to the commencement of the groundwork.

Greene, M., 2018. 'Land at Holyhead Road, Oakengates, Telford: an archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, M. J. Greene, Archaeological Consultant. ESA8664.

Oswestry SJ 288 292. In May and June, an archaeological watching brief was undertaken during groundworks for a housing development on land to the west of Upper Church Street. The watching brief revealed a single feature of medieval date, located at the north-eastern end of the southern block of housing, and some evidence of later features which collectively corresponded with the evidence provided by the evaluation. These features are thought to be related to the occupation of houses located along Upper Church Street, though the area of the northern block of housing, nearest to the street frontage, was devoid of comparable features, probably owing to disturbance from the construction of a modern house that was extant in 2015 but had been demolished prior to the commencement of the watching brief.

Hankinson, R., 2018. '32 Upper Church Street, Oswestry, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1602. ESA8645.

Oswestry SJ 287 293. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken during groundworks on land off Oswalds Place, Oswalds Well Lane. The only feature revealed during the excavations was the small brick lined subterranean cellar clad in a single skin of rough handmade bricks. The feature was presumably associated with one of the several small dwellings recorded on the site by the OS in 1875. The excavations uncovered no evidence of the foundation of those buildings and no evidence of past material culture.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Development on land off Oswalds Place, Oswalds Well Lane, Oswestry, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 661. ESA8680.

Oswestry SJ 301 306. An archaeological evaluation, comprising seven trial trenches, was carried out on proposed development land off Whittington Road (HER PRN 31654).

First World War practice trenches were recorded in a number of these trial trenches, aligned with features shown on an earlier geophysical survey. The practice trenches were truncated by more recent ploughing and no earthworks survived. The practice trenches may have been excavated at different times and probably by different teams. However, the group, as a whole, seem to represent a planned group of trenches. The practice trenches were generally too small for the free movement of soldiers and too shallow to safely protect the occupants, although if the up cast had been used to build up parapets on the surface of the field this would have been less of an issue. In general, the trenches were likely to have been dug to give soldiers some experience of their construction and may have been used during exercises, including manoeuvres. There was however no evidence of earthworks, and no personal artefacts were recovered.

Although no specific dating evidence, such as coinage or dated rifle cartridges, were found it may be that

these particular trenches were relatively early versions associated with Park Hall army camp. It is possible that they were replaced by larger examples on the hillfort and near Gobowen.

Gethin, B., 2018. 'Whittington Road, Oswestry, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation', unpublished report, Archaeology Warwickshire, report no. 1886. ESA8978.

Oswestry Rural SJ 271 283. A building survey was carried out in association with conversion of the stone outbuilding building range at Llwyn y Maen Farm. This included a written, drawn and photographic record of the interior and exterior of the building.

Dean, J., 2018. 'Llwyn Y Maen, Oswestry, Shropshire: historic building record level 2', unpublished report, Aeon Archaeology, report no. 0157. ESA8526.

Oswestry Rural SJ 290 279. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken during construction works of Phase 1 of the Kingfisher Way, Morda, development from January to June. A number of minor archaeological features were recorded, including a lynchet and three undated pits. A small historic bridge which crossed the Morda, providing access for the mill on the north bank to the community and fields further south, was also identified.

Malim, T., 2018. 'Kingfisher Way, Morda, Oswestry, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, SLR Consulting, report no. 406.04964.00005. ESA8633.

Oswestry Rural SJ 292 235. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken at Crickheath Wharf, Montgomery Canal. The project was undertaken during restoration of a short length of the canal between Bridge 85 and a point a little to the north of a winding hole on the offside of the canal. The project was undertaken to record a sample of a length of drystone walling supporting the towpath, the bridge forebay walls and a maintenance punt recovered from the vicinity of the winding hole. A length of tramway rail was also found.

Cook, M., 2018. 'Archaeological watching brief at Crickheath Wharf, Montgomery Canal', unpublished report, Martin Cook. ESA8870.

Pontesbury SJ 420 082. A programme of photographic recording and building survey was undertaken in February following the conversion of redundant agricultural buildings at Greenacres, Lea Cross.

Morriss, R., 2018. 'Greenacres, Lea Cross, Pontesbury, Shropshire: an archaeological and photographic survey', unpublished report, Richard K Morriss and Associates, report no. 1205. ESA8522.

Pontesbury SJ 432 102. A watching brief was carried out at 12 Church Close, adjacent to the site of Cruckton Roman Villa (HER PRN 00112). The only archaeological feature identified was a shallow scoop that may represent the very base of a furrow.

Hannaford, H., 2018. 'A watching brief at 12 Church Close, Cruckton, Shropshire, 2018', unpublished report, Shropshire Council, Archaeology Service, report no. 405. ESA8575.

Pontesbury SJ 400 063. A geophysical survey was commissioned to prospect land at Hall Bank, for buried structures of archaeological interest. The survey mapped elements of a field system depicted on the 1840s tithe map including an area of associated ridge and furrow cultivation which might suggest the former system had a medieval origin. In the western part of the survey area, there appear to be a few associated enclosure features as a well as separate and apparently independent linear ditch fills.

Roseveare, M., 2018. 'Hall Bank, Pontesbury, Shropshire: geophysical survey report', unpublished report, TigerGeo, report no. HBP181. ESA8644.

Prees SJ 552 335. A programme of basic building recording and photographic record was undertaken at the former United Reform Church (previously the Congregational Chapel) in association with conversion of the building into a single two-floor dwelling. A watching brief was undertaken on service trenching around the chapel in the former burial ground. Two pipe bowls of *c*.1700 date were recovered.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Conversion of former United Reform Church, Mill Street, Prees, Shropshire: archaeological monitoring and recording', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology. ESA8649.

Quatt Malvern SO 749 878. A brief building survey was undertaken of Park Farm, Quatt, including outline map regression and description of buildings.

Hayman, R., 2018. 'Park Farm [Shropshire Historic Environment Record: 20896, Park Farm]', unpublished report, Richard Hayman (consultant). ESA9081.

Ratlinghope SO 402 969. In September, an archaeological watching brief was undertaken on land at the development of an outdoor riding arena at Yew Tree Cottage.

The development site lies within the scattered medieval settlement of Ratlinghope, and north-west of the possible location of a medieval priory (HER PRN 00221). Excavations immediately south of the site revealed a wall and a cobbled surface of medieval date. The remains of a dry-stone boundary wall and its associated stone demolition rubble was revealed in the eastern site area, with one piece of redeposited red earthenware medieval pottery. There is a high potential for medieval archaeological remains in the adjacent field that is located immediately to the north of the church, which is uneven and undulating.

Pitt, K., 2018. 'Yew Tree Cottage, Ratlinghope, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Archaeology Wales, report no. 1718. ESA8731.

Ruyton-XI-Towns SJ 368 228. A photographic survey was undertaken of former northern range of an L-shaped agricultural building at The Wheelhouse, Shotatton. This included exterior and interior photographs.

Turnell, A., 2018. 'The Wheelhouse, Shotatton Court: Level 1 photographic record', unpublished report, Base Architects. ESA8628.

Selattyn and Gobowen SJ 251 331. A watching brief was undertaken along Offa's Dyke path at Selattyn Lodge, in association with the installation of footpath furniture. The work here involved the replacement of a stile on top of the dyke bank, and a series of deposits corresponding with the dyke bank were recorded. No other archaeological features were observed.

Hannaford, H., 2018. 'A watching brief on the installation of new path furniture on Offa's Dyke Path at Lower Mount, Mardu and Selattyn Lodge, Selattyn, Shropshire', unpublished report, Shropshire Council, Archaeology Service, report no. 403. ESA8533.

Shawbury SJ 559 206. Two trial trenches were excavated to investigate the postulated line of the Roman Road from Wroxeter to *Rutinium* (Roman settlement on the Roden north of Morton Corbet), Whitchurch and Chester [HER PRN 00066] across a development site at Poynton Road, to the south of Shawbury. This trial trenching failed to identify any features associated with the *agger* of a Roman road, or with a feature previously identified in geophysical survey across this area; it is suggested that the line of the Roman road here runs under the modern Poynton Road.

SLR Consulting Ltd, 2018. 'Poynton Road, Shawbury, Shropshire: archaeological trial trench investigation', unpublished report, SLR Consulting, report no. 406.08161.00001. ESA8524.

Shawbury SJ 576 197. An archaeological observation was undertaken of topsoil stripping operations for the construction of a free-range chicken shed on land at Wytheford House, Wytheford. The site lies within an area of recorded cropmark features of probable Iron Age or Romano-British date. No deposits or features of archaeological significance were present on the site.

Crooks, K., 2018. 'Archaeological observation…Free Range Chicken Unit, Wytheford House, Wytheford, Shawbury, Shropshire', unpublished report, Border Archaeology, report no. BA1839WFF. ESA8604.

Shawbury SJ 569 201. A building and photographic survey were undertaken at Papillion, Wytheford Road, in association with the reinstatement of use of the former squatter cottage of early/mid-19th-century date (HER PRN 33602) as a residential annexe.

Bleazard and Galletta, 2018. 'Heritage assessment of former cottage at Papillion, Wytheford Road, Shawbury, Shropshire', unpublished report, Bleazard and Galletta LLP. ESA8623.

Shifnal SJ 747 078. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken during the demolition of the Old Baptist Chapel, Shrewsbury Street (HER PRN 29015). The archaeological watching brief encountered no evidence to suggest that the site had seen the burial of individuals other than the two burials that had been previously recorded to the north of the site.

However, the watching brief allowed for an opportunity to record the substantial below ground archaeological remains of the building and the unique interior features of the chapel which had been hidden by the mass deposition of ash probably from local industrial processes. These remains included numerous brick archways and columns which extended onto sandstone bases situated below the water table, a slate-lined interior drainage system, a brick-lined well, and a baptismal pool with steps and drainage systems. Furthermore during examination of these remains it was possible to formulate an elementary plan of building phases associated with the development of the structure ranging from its initial construction, investiture as a baptismal chapel, renovation and finally its conversion into a courthouse for the town of Shifnal shortly after World War 2.

Dean, J., 2018. 'Zionist Baptist Chapel, Shifnal, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Aeon Archaeology, report no. A0153.1. ESA8683.

Shifnal SJ 745 074. During August and September, a watching brief was undertaken on land at the corner of Church Street. Excavations for the new garage plot revealed the truncated remains of brick-built outbuildings of probable 19th-century date depicted on Ordnance Survey mapping during the period 1881/82 to 1938. The truncated remains of a brick-built WWII air-raid shelter (HER PRN 04718) were recorded immediately to the north of this feature.

Cherrington, R., 2018. 'Land at the corner of Church Street, Shifnal, Shropshire: an archaeological watching brief 2018', unpublished report, Benchmark Archaeology. ESA8820.

Shifnal SJ 750 077. A small watching brief was carried out on land adjacent to the telephone exchange, Aston Street. Cartographic evidence indicates that this was the site of the former Baptist chapel and associated graveyard (HER PRN 05335), which was demolished during the late 20th century.

Remains of the chapel were recorded across part of the area. The structure of the chapel was most likely built *c*.1810 as a joiner's shop, becoming a place of worship in about 1815. The Chapel House to the rear seems to have been added or extended *c*.1840. A red quarry tile floor would seem to have been installed between *c*.1820 and 1840. There is no clear evidence for a structure on the site prior to *c*.1810. The structure seems to have gone out of use as a chapel between 1879 and 1885 and by 1906 was being used as a warehouse.

Brookes, D., 2018. 'Watching brief report: land adjacent to Telephone Exchange, Aston Street, Shifnal', unpublished report, Insite Archaeological Services. ESA8887.

Shrewsbury SJ 496 132. A heritage assessment was undertaken to accompany a planning application for redevelopment of the Grade II Listed Canal Tavern and the land surrounding it. The Canal Tavern is a three-storey whitewashed brick building of early 19th-century

date which once stood alongside the Shrewsbury Canal. The Tavern and the Canal are recorded by Hitchcock's map of Shrewsbury dated 1832, a time when the canal side was the focus for local industries setting up along Castle Foregate. However, these industries have long since declined, the last regular traffic along the canal came to an end in 1931 and the canal was subsequently infilled. Its route can be traced as a sunken footpath as it passes to the rear of the Tavern.

Subsequently, a programme of archaeological standing building survey was undertaken in October.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Redevelopment at The Canal Tavern, New Park Road, Shrewsbury: heritage impact assessment', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 614. ESA8596.

Richards, G., 2018. 'An archaeological standing building survey, The Canal Tavern, New Park Road, Shrewsbury', unpublished report, Archaeological Building Recording Services (ABRS), report no. 2018-CTSS. ESA8750.

Shrewsbury SJ 489 123. A historic building record was undertaken of Swan Hill Congregational Church, in association with conversion proposals. In addition, a photographic survey was undertaken of the graveyards at Swan Hill Congregational Church in 2018 prior to landscaping works being undertaken. General views of the front and rear graveyards were captured, and each grave slab in the north-east half of the front graveyard and the whole rear graveyard was individually photographed. A record was also made of all legible inscriptions on the grave slabs.

Hannaford, H., 2018. 'A photographic record at The Swan Hill Congregational Church, Shrewsbury, 2018', unpublished report, Shropshire Council, Archaeology Service, report no. 409. ESA8718.

Humphreys, D., 2018. 'Level 2 Historic Building Record. Site: Swan Hill Congregational Church, Shrewsbury', unpublished report, Dyanne Humphreys, report no. 18-1001. ESA8597.

Shrewsbury SJ 497 122. In March, an archaeological evaluation was conducted in connection with a development proposal on the site of a former yard and warehouse at Old Coleham. The site lies within the historic core of Shrewsbury's medieval suburb of Coleham. A previous heritage impact assessment indicated the potential for the plot to contain well-preserved medieval and later archaeological remains associated with suburb of Coleham. The evaluation, which comprised two trenches, one along the street frontage and the other to the rear of the property, demonstrated that medieval and later archaeological deposits survive along the street frontage, which does not appear to have been disturbed significantly by the construction in the 19th century of a row of terraced housing. There was no evidence to suggest that the terrace contained cellars.

A deposit containing exclusively medieval artefacts was revealed along the frontage which, although disturbed by modern services, demonstrated the potential for medieval archaeology to survive.

Investigations at the rear of the plot revealed a significant depth of 19th-century and later material, comprising demolition rubble overlying garden soils, with alluvial deposits beneath likely to have resulted from episodic flooding.

In late 2019 a programme of archaeological mitigation was conducted during the demolition and ground reduction phases of the development. This revealed part of a stone building beneath the warehouse which remains undated, although examination of the overlying deposits suggested that it could pre-date the 18th century. The foundation design was such that only minimal ground reduction was required which did not reach archaeologically significant levels and consequently the later phases of mitigation were not required.

Grant, I., 2018. 'Potential development at Old Coleham, Shrewsbury: archaeological evaluation', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1564. ESA8641.

Hankinson, R., 2019. 'Old Coleham Court, Shrewsbury, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1723. ESA9223.

Shrewsbury SJ 492 126. An archaeological watching brief was carried out during the essential replacement of a gas main beneath Pride Hill. The watching brief was implemented because of the potential for archaeological remains on the site. The site formed one of the main pedestrianised high streets in the centre of the medieval town of Shrewsbury and one of its early medieval thoroughfares. During the watching brief, evidence of 18th- and 19th-century demolition material was identified, however, there were no surviving medieval or earlier archaeological deposits present. This is likely due to the high number of truncations by modern and disused services and limited depth of excavation, which extended to a maximum of 1.2m, without encountering natural deposits. A small assemblage of finds was retrieved from Trench 3, located in the centre of the site area, which were all post-medieval in date.

Matthews, C., 2018. 'Archaeological watching brief report: Pride Hill, Shrewsbury', unpublished report, L-P Archaeology, report no. LP2768C-WBR-v.1.3. ESA8663.

Shrewsbury SJ 492 122. A programme of desk-based assessment and building survey was carried out in connection with proposals to remove the old billiard room and associated structures in the garden of No 4 Belmont.

Peers, A., 2018. '4 Belmont's Garden Structures: a consideration of their history and significances and an assessment of the heritage impacts of the demolition proposals', unpublished report, Arrol and Snell. ESA8668.

Shrewsbury SJ 488 118. A photographic survey was carried out prior to the demolition of Rosemount Cottage, 1 Canonbury, Kingsland. This identified three structural phases to the development of the building, with the 1930s construction of Rosemount Cottage built

on the retained basement of The Beehive Inn, probably of the early to mid-19th century.

Baker, N., 2018. 'A level-1 photographic survey of the demolition of Rosemount Cottage, 1 Canonbury, Kingsland, Shrewsbury, May 2018', unpublished report, Nigel Baker. ESA8670.

Shrewsbury SJ 479 129. A historic building survey was undertaken of 19th-century barracks buildings within the former Copthorne Barracks site (HER PRN 31402).

The barracks were first established in 1876 as part of the Cardwell Reforms that saw the modernisation of the British Army and the regionalisation of its command structure, with the first phase of buildings commissioned in 1880. These were constructed around a central parade ground on open land outside of the town boundary. The barracks buildings have subsequently seen numerous phases of alteration and addition through the 20th century to meet the operational requirements of the army.

Gwilliam, P., 2018. 'Historic building recording (level 2): former Copthorne Barracks, Shrewsbury, Shropshire', unpublished report, Lanpro Services, report no. BEL001/0996H/01. ESA8698.

Shrewsbury SJ 508 153. A survey and analysis of the buildings that form Centurion Park, Harlescott, formerly the RAF Motor Transport Depot (HER PRN 33989), was undertaken in order to assure a degree of 'preservation by record' of these former RAF structures.

Morriss, R., 2018. 'Centurion Park (The Former RAF MTU Depot), Harlescott, Shrewsbury, Shropshire: an outline archaeological and architectural survey', unpublished report, Richard K Morriss and Associates, report no. 1265. ESA8699.

Shrewsbury SJ 498 121. An external, and limited internal photographic survey was conducted of the former Castle Inn, Old Coleham, in September.

Humphreys, B., 2018. 'Historic building record, in relation to The Proposed Demolition of The Castle Inn, Old Coleham', unpublished report, Berrys Ltd. ESA8811.

Shrewsbury SJ 504 121. A historic building survey was undertaken of a former NHS property known collectively as Chaddeslode House, Abbey Foregate. This included a photographic record.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Chaddeslode House, Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury, Shropshire: level 1 historic building survey', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 675. ESA8839.

St Martin's SJ 311 363. A geophysical survey and subsequent watching brief were carried out on the site of a new commercial unit immediately to the north of the Bank Top Industrial Estate. It had been intended that the geophysical survey would provide information which would allow a targeted evaluation of the development area, but the results revealed little of archaeological interest. The evaluation was dropped in favour of a watching brief during soil stripping. The watching brief revealed only a modern foundation and a series of land drains, none of which were archaeologically significant.

Hankinson, R., 2018. 'Bank Top Industrial Estate (Primoris Site): archaeological investigation and mitigation', unpublished report, CPAT, report no. 1591. ESA8657.

St Martin's SJ 327 383. An earthwork survey was undertaken at Ifton Hall Farm. These earthworks, including a field system, were recorded to the south of the farmhouse as part of the Overton to Chirk pipeline survey in 2003 (HER PRN 08257).

A number of features of potential archaeological interest were identified during the survey, including three potential short stretches of hollow way, a bank caused by the infilling of a pond, two ditches thought to be the sides of a paddock, and three other bank/ditches which have been tentatively interpreted as possibly being the intermittent remains of a single boundary feature surrounding Ifton Hall, although this remains conjectural.

Brown, A., 2018. 'Ifton Hall Farm, St Martins, Shropshire: a report on a level 2 earthwork survey', unpublished report, Archaeological Research Services, report no. 2018/141. ESA8802.

St Martin's SJ 322 386. A building survey and analysis was undertaken in association with proposals to redevelop New House Farm in Pen-y-Bryn. The oldest building was the Barn which probably dates to the early 18th century; the Farmhouse dates to the early 19th century but has been so radically altered and the third building, the Byre, is probably also of the early 19th century. Other structures were added later, mostly in the mid-20th century.

Morriss, R., 2018. 'New House Farm, Pen y Bryn, Nr St Martins, Shropshire: a level 3 building survey', unpublished report, Richard K Morriss and Associates, report no. 1298. ESA8848.

Stoke St Milborough SO 574 792. An archaeological evaluation was undertaken on the site of a proposed grain store, at Manor Farm, Cleestanton, within an area of known medieval earthworks (HER PRN 02583). Three trial trenches were excavated. A ditch was encountered in the evaluation; no dateable material was recovered, although it is suggested that it was associated with the medieval earthworks visible in the area. A stone-lined drain was also encountered, which was stratigraphically suggested as being of medieval or post-medieval date.

Hadley, A., 2018. 'Manor Farm, Cleestanton, Stoke St Milborough, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation', unpublished report, Archaeology Wales, report no. 1665. ESA9181.

Tasley SO 691 931. An archaeological watching brief was maintained during groundworks, undertaken in association with the erection of four new poultry units at Footbridge Farm.

The development lies within an area of multi-period sites where evidence of occupation and material culture

dating from prehistoric times having been recorded, principally during archaeological assessments, to the west of Footbridge Farm at Morville Heath Sand Quarry and to the south at Bridgwalton Quarry. The route of the Roman Road running from near Stourbridge into Wales may have been crossed by the existing farm access track, although this has not been proven. The farm lies within the ancient Parish of Tasley recorded in Domesday in 1086 and both the farm and the Parish became part of the extensive Gatacre Park Estate of the Acton family in the post-medieval period.

Despite being in an area of potential archaeological interest, no archaeological features other than evidence of modern land drainage were uncovered during the recent groundworks within the area of development.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Land at Footbridge Farm: new poultry unit site, Tasley, Bridgnorth, Shropshire', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 627. ESA8650.

The Gorge SJ 706 018. A desk-based assessment and historic building survey were undertaken prior to building works at Sweyney Cliff House, Coalport.

Smith, S., 2018. 'Sweyney Cliff House, Coalport: report on an archaeological desk-based assessment and level 2 building survey', unpublished report, Ironbridge Archaeology, report no. 346. ESA8827.

Tong SJ 796 073. A photographic survey was undertaken at the Red House, in early 2018, in association with conversion/alteration.

Johnson Design Partnership, 2018. 'The Red House – Tong, Shifnal, Shropshire: level 1 photographic survey', unpublished report, Johnson Design Partnership. ESA8505.

Tong SJ 795 073. Archaeological monitoring and recording were conducted during groundworks undertaken in association with the reflooring of the Vestry at St Bartholomew's Church.

The PCC had advised that the present Vestry floor was laid during the 1891/92 refurbishment of the church. Within the centre of the Vestry floor a rectangular brass plaque affixed to a stone slab recorded the burial of Archdeacon Buckeridge and his family, believed to lie in a vault below the floor. Rev. Charles Buckeridge was the Minister of Tong Parish for sixteen years, from 1791 to 1807. He died in 1827 and, although his death preceded the 1891/92 refurbishment work, no documentation had come to light concerning the form or nature of the burial.

In August 2017, an archaeological watching brief was conducted during groundworks in association with improvements to drainage adjacent to the north-east side of the Church. The works included investigating the possibility of an external entrance into the Buckeridge tomb. No evidence of an entrance was exposed and in the same month, a ground penetrating radar survey was undertaken of the floor area of the Vestry which confirmed the presence of the tomb. It was estimated that the feature was 300mm below the floor level and the new floor construction was designed to ensure that the vault would not be impacted on.

The watching brief was conducted in December, while the concrete screed floor was broken up and hand excavation was undertaken to reach the required depth for the construction of the new floor. The Buckeridge memorial brass plaque and stone slab were removed and set aside for reinstatement. Overall the removal of the floor exposed a soft red sand layer mixed with fragments of brick and speckled with mortar. Further excavation towards the centre of the room exposed the raised eastern arch of the tomb and the top of the vault, which extended east as far as the foundations of the east wall. The location of the top of the tomb at 300mm below the east wall sill level ensures that the proposed new floor can be constructed according to plan, with no impact on the tomb.

An area of the vaulted surface was hand cleaned to allow for some recording; however it was not within the remit of the project to make a full investigation of the tomb. The structure measured 2.2m on an east-west alignment, constructed in hard-fired red bricks measuring a regular 240mm 70mm 60mm and laid with a medium hard lime mortar. Eight full bricks formed the length of the body of the tomb and the vaulted section extended for *c*.1.1m in width. No further ground reductions were required, and the tomb was left intact.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Vestry reflooring at St Bartholomew's Church, Tong by Castlering Archaeology', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 677. ESA8925.

Wellington SJ 649 116. A watching brief was undertaken during November on groundworks for a residential development on land at Church Street. No features or deposits of archaeological significance were recorded during groundworks and no pre-modern finds were recovered.

Cherrington, R., 2018. 'No. 5 Church Street, Wellington, Telford, Shropshire: an archaeological watching brief 2018', unpublished report, Benchmark Archaeology. ESA8875.

Wem Rural SJ 507 278. A conservation area appraisal was undertaken for the newly-designated conservation area at Tilley, near Wem, in August. This followed on from work undertaken by the Tilley Timber Project as part of an HLF-funded project between 2014 and 2017 which drew attention to the significance of the settlement and its built heritage, particularly as highlighted through dendrochronology.

TDR Heritage, 2018. 'Tilley Conservation Area Appraisal', unpublished report, TDR Heritage. ESA9173.

Westbury SJ 355 092. An archaeological watching brief was maintained during groundworks undertaken in association with the erection of four new dwellings on Land adjacent to Jubilee Gardens.

The site lies immediately south of the historic core of Westbury village. Previous archaeological investigations within the central part of the village have produced Roman material, leading to the suggestion that there

may have been a fort and a later settlement at this location. The present village has pre-Norman origins and the form of the inner road loop in the centre of the village, which contains the church, has prompted speculation that it follows the boundaries of a late Saxon 'Burh' or fortified settlement.

The watching brief was undertaken intermittently between November 2018 and April 2019, during which time the topsoil strip and excavation of footings for four dwellings were monitored. Despite being in an area of potential archaeological interest, no archaeological features were uncovered, and no finds recovered during the groundworks. There was no indication that the site had been used other than for pasture in the past.

Frost, P., 2019. 'Land adj Jubilee Gardens, Westbury, Shrewsbury, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 673. ESA8945.

Weston Rhyn SJ 290 362. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken during enabling works for the construction of a new pumping station on land adjacent to Retford Villas and Preesgweene Farm, Preesgweene. The proposed development lay within an area associated with the former Preesgwyn Colliery and near a former 19th-century mine shaft (HER PRN 06530).

The footprint of the pumping station was situated on an artificial bund within the fields, to the rear of Retford Villas. This bund was known from historic mapping to be a spoil heap associated with the former Preesgwyn Colliery. Except for this spoil heap, no archaeological remains were encountered during the watching brief. All recovered finds were 19th/20th century in date and recovered either from the topsoil or from the colliery spoil heap.

Trow, R., 2018. 'An archaeological watching brief at Retford Villas Pumping Station, Preesgweene, Weston Rhyn, Shropshire', unpublished report, Archaeological Research Services, report no. 2018/113. ESA8681.

Whitchurch Rural SJ 555 383. A geophysical survey, covering approximately 2.6 hectares, was undertaken on land to the west of Heath Road, Prees Heath. The magnetic survey detected no anomalies of archaeological origin. Responses recorded were mainly of a natural or geological origin along with field drains and ferrous anomalies.

Brunning, E., 2018. 'Aston Barclay Parking, Prees Heath, Whitchurch, Shropshire: geophysical survey', unpublished report, Archaeological Services WYAS. ESA8506.

Whitchurch Rural SJ 570 397. An archaeological evaluation was undertaken on land north of Ash Road, Ash Magna. 3 trial trenches were excavated. The cut features that were identified during trial trenching consisted of a pit, two gullies and a ditch in Trenches 1 and 2, as well as a probable sand quarry in the central southern part of the site. The fills within the features suggested relatively recent topsoil-type infill, and the artefactual evidence from one pot sherd and brick

fragments suggested a post-medieval and probably relatively recent (19th-century) date. No evidence for any earlier remains was found.

SLR Consulting Ltd, 2018. 'Ash Manor, Ash Magna, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation', unpublished report, SLR Consulting, report no. 406.03317.00007. ESA8845.

Whitchurch SJ 541 415. Further to building recording carried out on the ground floor of 36–38 High Street, prior to remedial and remodelling works, a programme of building recording was carried out on the upper floors of the building.

Davey, G. and Elliott, G., 2018. '36–38 High Street, Whitchurch, Shropshire: building recording', unpublished report, Thames Valley Archaeological Services (TVAS), report no. HSW 18/104. ESA8655.

Whitchurch SJ 543 410. A building survey was undertaken to improve understanding of Pauls Moss (HER PRN 34494), a large late 19th-century house in Dodington, on the southern edge of the north Shropshire market town of Whitchurch.

Morriss, R., 2018. 'Pauls Moss, Dodington, Nr Whitchurch, Shropshire: an architectural and archaeological analysis', unpublished report, C. Henshaw, Archaeological Consultants, report no. PMS18. ESA8847.

Whitchurch SJ 540 415. A strip, map and record was undertaken prior to the commencement of groundworks associated with the proposed development of 6 dwellings and 3 apartments with related access and parking, following the demolition of the existing Herald Printers Works at Newtown.

A desk-based study had noted that the development area was located within the historic centre of Whitchurch, and partially within the possible suburbs of the Roman town (HER PRNs 02702, 05916).

The work revealed the remains of a wall and a posthole of possible Roman date.

Moore, D. and Stratton, S., 2018. 'Herald Printers, Whitchurch, Shropshire: archaeological strip, map and excavate', unpublished report, Archaeology Wales, report no. 1741. ESA9088.

Whitton SO 578 734. An extensive building and photographic survey was undertaken at Whitton Court, in association with alterations and renovations of the Grade I Listed building.

Phillips, A., 2018. 'Archaeological report: Whitton Court, Whitton, Ludlow, Shropshire: Level I and Level II Building Recording Survey', unpublished report, Archaeological Perspectives Analysis Consultancy, report no. BS/WCW18. ESA9231.

Wistanstow SO 432 871. A watching brief was undertaken at 14 Leamoor Common, Craven Arms in association with a single storey extension. No significant deposits or archaeological features were discovered during the groundworks on the site. During groundwork, a small number of Victorian ceramics were discovered

all within a mixed context from previous known ground disturbances.

Bracelin, L., 2018. 'Watching brief report: 14 Leamoor Common, Craven Arms, Wistanstow, Shropshire', unpublished report, Leon Bracelin (Archaeological Contractor), report no. 14LMC18. ESA8943.

Worfield SO 739 941. A geophysical survey was undertaken over an area of land to the north of the A454 at Swancote to the east of Bridgnorth. The survey included an area of rugby pitches, adjacent land outlined for a proposed clubhouse and lawns adjacent to a former country club. The results demonstrated the presence of widespread natural anomalies formed in periglacial conditions within the western part of the site, along with magnetic debris. A rectilinear feature formed by magnetically enhanced anomalies contained within a negative rectilinear anomaly may indicate a former structure, although its age and function is uncertain. Several other positive anomalies of uncertain origin were located, and it is not possible to determine whether they relate to anthropogenic activity or natural features.

Donaldson, K. and Sabin, D., 2018. 'Land north of the A454, Swancote, Shropshire: magnetometer survey report', unpublished report, Archaeological Surveys Ltd, report no. J763. ESA8829.

Worthen with Shelve SJ 299 052. A photographic survey was undertaken of features to be removed/altered/repaired during renovation works of an agricultural building at Walton Hall.

Pemble, S., 2018. 'Photographic supplement of recordings/features for proposed conversion of the Malthouse at Walton Hall, Worthen, Shropshire', unpublished report, Pemble Architecture Conservation. ESA8728.

Worthen with Shelve SO 351 992. The groundworks for a new garage were undertaken in June close to a mound that is a Scheduled Monument, described variously by the Ordnance Survey as a bowl barrow of Bronze Age date or a Norman castle motte.

The 2018 groundworks found no archaeological features, deposits or artefacts, but did find clear evidence for a geological fault running south to north straight towards the east side of the mound. Published geological data confirms the mound sits astride a major geological fault. This fault had previously been seen in 2015 when a cross-section of the south-east corner of the monument was exposed by the removal of an old retaining wall. This revealed two vertical sided pits cutting the bedrock that were probably the top parts of filled-in shafts. They remain undated. A masonry lined entrance to an adit was found at the south-east corner of the mound. This was dated by pottery to the late 18th/early 19th centuries. It now survives intact behind a new retaining wall. These features strongly indicate that the monument is a spoil heap for a long-forgotten mine. The adjacent cottage is probably one of the 93 squatters' crofts established on the common land hereabouts by miners before 1847.

Tavener, N., 2018. 'The Napp, Pennerley, Minsterley, Shropshire: report on a second archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Nick Tavener Archaeological Contractor, report no. 76_15. ESA9068.

Worthen with Shelve SO 355 994. An archaeological watching brief was maintained during the removal of hard standing and groundworks, undertaken in association with small-scale residential development on land at the former Tankerville Mine Site. The mine site is located on three levels; the upper levels comprising the impressive standing remains of the mine, separated from the lower level and former site of the dressing floors by a substantial revetment wall. The development site itself formed part of the dressing floor of the mine, of which there are no surviving above ground remains.

The mine is believed to have started in a small way in the early 1800s, working a 'pipe vein' which outcropped in the valley, and at this time it was known as 'Ovenpipe Mine'. Oven Pipe Shaft is believed to be in the region of the present ornamental pond to the north-east of the new development. The early years of the mine were not very productive until, in 1870, the Tankerville Mining Company was formed to exploit the mine and sink a new shaft, Watson's Shaft. The pumping engine house used for winding at Watson's Shaft forms an impressive backdrop to the development site today.

In 1997 the site of Tankerville lead mine, focusing on the site of Watson's Engine House and features dating from the 1860s to 1884 period, received statutory protection as a Scheduled Monument, regarded as one of the finest surviving 19th-century mining complexes in Shropshire. The standing remains within the Scheduled Area are considerable, including the substantial Cornish engine house.

The watching brief was maintained from April to December 2018 and no archaeological features or finds were uncovered.

Frost, P., 2018. 'Residential development on land at former Tankerville Mine, Pennerley, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 625. ESA9137.

Wroxeter and Uppington SJ 561 081. An archaeological watching brief was maintained during groundworks, undertaken in association with the erection of an extension to the existing house and detached garage at The Boathouse, Wroxeter. The house, which stands on the banks of the River Severn, was renovated in the 1960s, from a pair of early 19th-century cottages which had fallen into a derelict state. The house is accessible from the private drive that leads down towards the river from opposite the Grade I Listed Church of St Andrew. The track is believed to follow the alignment of the route that led from the Roman city of *Uriconium* (later Wroxeter) to the fording point of the river.

The property abuts the boundary of the extensive Scheduled Area of the Roman City and village of Wroxeter and the property itself has been excluded from

the scheduling in view of the artificial platform on which it stands. Although it is acknowledged that the site thus has low archaeological potential, in view of the close proximity of the Scheduled Area, the watching brief was placed as a condition of planning consent. However, throughout the groundworks, no archaeological features were uncovered, and no finds recovered.

Frost, P., 2018. 'The Boathouse, Wroxeter, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief', unpublished report, Castlering Archaeology, report no. 642. ESA8648.

BOOK REIVEWS

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF SHROPSHIRE: WEM. Edited by J. Everard, J. P. Bowen and W. Horton. Paperback. 254   178mm. xii + 173 pages. University of London Press, 2019. ISBN 978-1-912702-08-4. Price £16.00.

In a mere review it is difficult to do justice to so ambitious a work as this collaborative history of a single small town. Although marketed as a VCH 'short' and intended one day to be subsumed in a volume treating a wider area, it is a substantial achievement and more than worthy to stand beside any town history yet produced in Shropshire. In the VCH tradition, it is densely detailed, with hardly a word wasted. All the relevant dates and names are recorded and referenced and will never have to be searched for again. The extensive footnotes and bibliography also form a resource from which Wem historians of the future can pursue their own enquiries. After all, research into Wem's history does not end at this book but can be safely continued from it, just as the VCH team has drawn gratefully upon the previous histories by Samuel Garbet and Iris Woodward.

The book begins its history of the town with a discussion of its origin and growth round the outer bailey of the 12th-century castle, though there is a suggestion that the northern part of the 'bailey' was in fact a market place. The interpretation and chronology offered here are quite reasonable but they have to be tentative, especially because the medieval plan-units cannot be closely dated until new archaeological evidence can be produced.

The rest of the history is arranged under the headings of 'Landscape, settlement and buildings', 'Landownership', 'Economic History', 'Social History', 'Religious History', and 'Local Government'. Those categories, and the sub-categories within them, are conceived in order to make a detailed narrative intelligible, and inevitably they disguise the complex relationships that actually define the history of any place. Well aware of that, the authors make what connections they can without dissolving the thematic structure, and there is a helpful short introduction to the volume in which something like a broad overview is laid out. It would have been relevant there to emphasize that the lords of Wem manor were usually absentees after the 14th century; as the text goes on to show, the township's subsequent development was driven instead by local investors and philanthropists. An excellent account of the town's buildings reveals that its last economic heyday was in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, while later chapters cannot help chronicling the modern loss of Wem's major industries and of its dignity as a seat of local government. The melancholy is relieved, however, by a narrative of the town's evolution into a pleasant and sociable place in which people can live contentedly while gaining a livelihood elsewhere.

The volume has a quantity of photographs, mostly apt and useful, but some are puzzling. Why are there two different photographs of Wem mill on one page, the second and later one showing no significant change from the first? And it is unhelpful to be shown a photograph of Garbet's 18th-century map of the town, which names the owner of each property but is so reduced as to make the writing illegible. The same difficulty attends Telford's plan of Wem bridge and mill. And why, in a volume that pays due regard to the physical structure of the town and has photographs of particular buildings, is there no ground-level view of any of the streets to show what Wem actually looks like? If those are shortcomings they are redeemed by some well-designed plans of Wem and its fields, specially drawn, which complement the text perfectly. The index is mildly selective without saying so, which makes it less than totally reliable. Anyone consulting it for, say, William Lawrence (d.1695) or Richard Southall (d.1666) would think that they are not mentioned (both are on p.64).

In the end, however, every remark in this review, whether favourable or not, needs to be taken as provisional until this 'short' attains its final form in a 'big red book'. Other 'shorts' are contemplated, and one

is already in preparation for Newport. Our hope must therefore be that every small town in Shropshire will soon be as well researched as Wem.

DAVID COX

SHROPSHIRE HEARTH TAX EXEMPTIONS 1662-1674. By the late Sylvia Watts and Ralph Collingwood. Paperback. 216 × 279mm. vi + 423pp. Private publication, 2018. ISBN 978-0-9548262-5-3. Price £10.

It is now seventy years since Dr Watkins-Pitchford's transcription of the Shropshire Hearth Tax Roll of 1672 was published by this Society. While a number of such publications had been produced during the preceding thirty years in other counties, Watkins-Pitchford's work broke new ground in Shropshire. The only other tax records previously published in the county had been W. G. D. Fletcher's series on the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1327, published in nine parts in these *Transactions* between 1899 and 1907. Since 1949 more transcriptions of Shropshire tax records have been published, largely by Michael Faraday, whose works have also encompassed Herefordshire and Radnorshire. However, although it is a cliché that death and taxes are the only inevitable things in life, there have always been a number of people who have managed to avoid the latter. The further one goes back in time, the more this group of non-taxpayers grows in number.

The Hearth Tax, which was levied at intervals between 1662 and 1689, was one of the most unpopular taxes ever imposed in England, and met with opposition which was sometimes violent. There were, however, two categories of householder who were exempt from payment: those who paid neither poor rate nor church rate, and those who inhabited houses of less than twenty shillings rental value and whose possessions were worth less than ten pounds. In the document transcribed by Watkins-Pitchford, these names were grouped together at the end of each Hundred, the administrative unit used for collection. This meant that it was difficult to relate names to their parishes of residence, yet these are the very people of 17th-century Shropshire about whom least is known, and about whom we should like to know more. The poor have generally left few traces of their lives for historians, unlike their more prosperous neighbours who paid taxes, served as parish officers and sometimes left wills. Any information about the 'forgotten people' of 17th-century England is to be welcomed.

In the E179 class in the National Archives are a number of boxes containing certificates of exemption which the authors have meticulously transcribed and

analysed. These cover the years 1662–64 and 1670–73/4, though for the 1660s relatively few have survived. The certificates, sometimes printed and sometimes manuscript, list the names of individuals, occasionally with the grounds for their exemption. Certificates, whether for individuals or for a group required the signatures of the minister and churchwardens of the parish and (normally) of two Justices of the Peace. These have been transcribed and arranged chronologically according to each year of levying of the tax, with entries being arranged alphabetically by parish rather than by hundred as in Watkins-Pitchford's book. Though not all certificates have survived, those for 1672 in particular may be used in conjunction with the lists of those who actually paid the tax in order to calculate the population of the county.

Much of the 30 page introductory essay discusses the use which can be made of the exemption documents, for example in calculating the size of population at both county and local levels, and discrepancies between the hundred lists and the numbers of certificates are considered with possible explanations. Another topic which is dealt with is the use of the sources to calculate wealth, and it is interesting to note the large number of exemptions in parts of the Wenlock Liberty, which it is suggested reflects the growth of the coal mining industry in the area. This was stimulated by the increased use of coal as a means of domestic heating, and aided by the proximity of the river trade on the Severn. The introduction also includes detailed analysis of the information contained in the certificates, with considerable use being made of tables, graphs and maps to interpret the findings,

The bulk of the book is, not surprisingly, made up of transcripts of the original documents. The presentation of parishes alphabetically makes for ease of access, particularly if individual parishes are being studied over the period. Another helpful feature of the book is a comprehensive index of all persons named in the certificates, a truly monumental piece of work running to 158 pages. Furthermore, it should not be assumed that the book is entirely a collection of names, for occasionally there are fascinating vignettes of some of the individuals concerned. Take for example Cecily Russell of Shrawardine who was '*a very lame woman and gets her living by teaching little children; she is not worth £5 in goods, neither is the chamber which her brother gives her worth above five shillings the year.*' Similarly, John Phillips, a labourer of Wem, had '*a great charge of children; he lives in an old cote between Wolverley and Horton which is ready to fall on their heads and it hath no chimney.*' Though not numerous, such comments give a graphic insight into the conditions endured by the rural poor in the days of Charles II.

This book is a work of meticulous transcription and analysis, as might be expected of a product of the Watts/Collingwood collaboration. It is gratifying to see

Sylvia's unfinished researches completed and presented in this way, because so often the product of years of research is lost when its author dies. This is a work which will be of use and interest to all who work on the history of 17th-century Shropshire, and is a fitting memorial to one of the most outstanding Shropshire historians of recent years.

MARTIN SPEIGHT

SHROPSHIRE AIRFIELDS THROUGH TIME. By Alec Brew. Paperback. 234 × 165mm. 96 pages, b&w and colour photographs throughout. Amberley Publishing, Stroud. ISBN 978 1 4456 9629 4. Price £14.99.

Alec Brew is a local historian and curator of the Tettenhall Transport Heritage Centre in Wolverhampton, the author of 40 books for Amberley, The History Press and several other publishers. He has a particular interest in Boulton Paul Aircraft of Wolverhampton but as well as aviation has written about public transport and towns and villages in the Black Country.

The author has produced several volumes in a similar format to this one, using historical and more recently taken photographs to compare and contrast their topics. The content of this book consists of an introduction, followed by 180 photos grouped by airfield, each page featuring a pair of photographs, many presented as 'then and now' views, and accompanied by a paragraph of text.

Many books about airfields tend towards recounting their histories and exciting or humorous anecdotes about life during their operational days, the attention of their authors finding only occasional focus on the often neglected or abused buildings and site infrastructure. Mr Brew, however, while leavening the pages with images of people and aircraft, makes sure that the main focus of his volume remains the physical components of the airfields themselves. This is to his credit; as an enthusiast who has photographed many airfield buildings in north Wales, I would be amongst the first to admit that the majority do not possess architectural elegance or visible traces of their specialist purpose that make for fascinating images; but they often played an important role in our history, albeit most for only a short period of time, and should at the very least be shown the respect of being recorded before being swept away or allowed to collapse.

The author has done well to pair many historical photographs with 'modern' views, but here there is a problem; many of the recently taken photographs are too dark. Granted, many have clearly been taken by enthusiasts who probably didn't have publication in mind at the time, but the publisher should have taken care to ensure their presentation at a suitable brightness and clarity, or to see that they were re-taken, where this was possible, at an appropriate standard. A couple of typographical or editing errors have also crept through.

This book might appeal to the young enthusiast or holidaymaker to the county with an interest in aviation. It does not aim to be a definitive history or comprehensive record of surviving buildings and structures at Shropshire Airfields, but as a photo-history many of the images are not up to the standard one would hope for.

JEFF SPENCER

THE PLACE-NAMES OF SHROPSHIRE. PART SEVEN, STOTTESDON HUNDRED AND THE BOROUGH OF BRIDGNORTH. The Survey of English Place-Names, Volume XCII. By John Baker and Sarah Beach. Hardback. 220 × 145mm. xlvi + 531 pages. English Place-Name Society, 2018. ISBN 978-0-9048899-3-2. Price £37.20.

This seventh part of the survey of Shropshire place-names covers almost all of the south-east of the county. As the name 'survey' suggests, it is essentially a gazetteer of the known place-names, street-names and field-names of the area, supported by a record of their early spellings derived from a thorough sweep of the surviving documents. The coverage is therefore very impressive, reaching down even to the names of single cottages, while the scholarly presentation is of the highest. In that sense the work is a complete and near-definitive survey of the place-names of a significant portion of the county.

Of course the volume is more than a gazetteer. We await a list of the place-name elements found in the county and a full examination of the history of the Shropshire landscape in the light of its place-names; those are matters reserved for the last Shropshire volume, which is due to appear within the next few years. Meanwhile the introduction to the present part briefly discusses the place-name evidence for the early settlement of south-east Shropshire, and for its dialect, ancient folklore, administrative boundaries, early infrastructure, agriculture, and industries.

Moreover the authors seek the meaning of every name that is not self-explanatory, and in that respect their work is not supposed to reach finality. Some names in the present volume have an obvious and certain

meaning, especially if they were coined in or after the late Middle Ages, but those of early origin can be hard to interpret with confidence. That is especially so in Shropshire, which has few of the pre-Conquest charters that elsewhere provide early spellings. There are four Domesday names that are thought to lie within the scope of the volume and that are still not convincingly located: *Bosle*, *Bolebec*, *Buchehale*, and *Costeford*. All are interrogated thoroughly here, but they still refuse to be identified. In such circumstances, the most learned scholars are the most cautious and their findings the most tentative. For example Margaret Gelling, in Part One (1990), recorded and discussed all the county's major place-names, including those of the south-east, but she would have welcomed the fact that her suggested interpretations have been revisited here and, if possible, amplified. Discussion of the difficult names has to take the form of an intimate appraisal of the local topography and archaeology, sometimes in the light of similar names and sites elsewhere. In those cases, of which there are many in this volume, there are no easy explanations, but the reader is treated to a careful discussion of the possibilities and is usually offered one or more suggestions.

This lack of finality is not a matter for regret. Rather, it serves to inspire the local historian and the archaeologist, who can take up where the volume leaves off. To give one example, the name Oldbury, near Bridgnorth, means literally 'old fortification' and can be traced back to 1086. Margaret Gelling suggested that the fortification was at Panpudding Hill but, according to the present volume, there is 'current' evidence to indicate that Panpudding Hill is of post-Conquest construction; the authors therefore conclude that it was probably not the fortification described as 'old' in 1086. Where, then, was the fortification? How old was it? What form did it take? The questions are there, and only local research can take them further. If the present volume can give no certain explanation of a name, as in the Oldbury example, its data nevertheless provide a powerful springboard to local progress. That applies not only to major antiquities but also to the volume's many places of quite trivial appearance; what, for instance, are the human stories that lie behind 'Jubilee Spout' in Hope Bagot or 'Icehouse Coppice' in Morville? By means of its generous documentation, the volume offers us thousands of such routes into the local past.

In short, this is a book that anyone probing their local history and archaeology in south-east Shropshire will need to use and probably to own.

DAVID COX

LIVING OFF THE LAND AGRICULTURE IN WALES *c*. 400–1600 AD. Edited by Rhiannon Comeau and Andy Seaman. 185   246mm. 263 pages. Many b&w and colour illustrations. Windgather Press, 2019. ISBN: 978-1911188391. Price £34.99.

At several points in this conference-derived volume the point is made that the study of Welsh agriculture in the long Middle Ages (here defined as 400–1600) lags a long way behind – certainly in quantitative terms – the English canon. That's curious, because both countries were equally reliant on the ploughman for, as the 14th-century Welsh poet Iolo Goch observed, without him 'no pope / or emperor can keep alive…'. In part that it may be because in Wales, until the regular use of coin in the 13th and 14th centuries, rents and tributes were largely paid in kind, while much of the country had a largely pastoral economy with custom and sometimes transhumance governing practice: there was much less need for written record keeping, and thus evidence for modern scholars. There have also been missed opportunities. Bob Silvester, for instance, is very critical of the approach taken by the late Glanville Jones in his chapter on north Wales in Baker and Butlin's 'landmark' overview *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (1973). One way or another all the other contributors used the evidence of the fields themselves; Jones, on the other hand, took a more conceptual and theoretical approach based (like much of his other writing) on the Welsh law books. The 'otherness' of Welsh studies is also picked up by Andrew Fleming in his excellent concluding chapter which looks back across the volume. Why, for instance, has there never been an equivalent to Hoskins's *Making of the England Landscape* (1955)? After all, its tone (disliked by modern critics such as Matthew Johnson) is elegiac and pastoral, not so very far removed from the Welsh *hiraeth*, the sense of an exile longing for the land.

In comparing and contrasting Welsh with English agriculture some elements are familiar. Bob Silvester's welcome re-assessment of 'Medieval Field Systems in North Wales' notes how open fields were commonplace in areas of Anglo-Norman or later English settlement, and to a limited extent elsewhere. In other regions communities' core arable was cultivated in small open fields called sharelands, divided into strips: this would comprise what is sometimes termed the inland, with the outland around the periphery occasionally put under the plough. And especially in north-west Wales prehistoric and Roman fields appear to have been re-used in the medieval period. Ridge and furrow has been mapped in many parts of Wales, but Silvester makes

clear there is no direct correlation, necessarily, between this and any particular type of field system. In general, in terms of place and time, considerable variation can be seen in how arable land was allotted and farmed, and this chapter will immediately become an essential starting point for future research and thinking. In this respect Riannon Comeau's multi-disciplinary chapter on north Pembrokeshire with its *hendrefi* (permanent arable settlements) and *hafodau* (seasonal pastures with temporary settlements) is an excellent model.

Overviews of the relatively few pollen studies yet available are found in some chapters; while several more consider upland or other 'marginal' land, so often written off as second-best, to be used only if really necessary. Rather, as Fleming suggests, Wales's diverse environments gave an opportunity for exploitation strategies which were diverse, flexible and resilient. In this regard we have to set aside modern perceptions, so often coloured by 'improvers'. Andy Seaman provides a telling case study of the large (2,500-hectare) royal estate of Llandeilo'r-fân, whose location high among the hills of Mynydd Epynt seems curious given the relative proximity of much better valley-floor land. The answer is probably that this was a summer ranch for cattle and horses, the ruler's vast herd and the underpinning of his ability to exercise patronage and power. Marginality and especially transhumance are the specific subject of Della Hooke's wide-ranging chapter on 'Resource management of seasonal pasture: some English Welsh comparisons' which presents several studies of transhumance. Most of her English examples, on the exploitation of woodlands in west midlands and in the Weald of Kent and on transhumance on Dartmoor, are well-worn, but it's useful to have them drawn together. (Shropshire doesn't feature, but discussions of the seasonal movement of stock, and distant rights of pasture, were discussed in *V.C.H.* Shropshire IV

(1992), e.g. pages 54, 62–3, 118). Hooke notes while the documentary evidence for transhumance in Wales is much less, there are more physical traces; commonest was the relatively short-distance summertime movement of cattle away from lowland (including coastal plain) crop-growing land to the hills. Quite how the herds were moved and managed (in some parts of Europe women and girls stayed in the high pastures dairying) is unclear, although in in some areas the 'long huts' of the upland habitations, the *hafodydd*, have been mapped. Sometimes, between the lowland and the *mynydd*, was a recognised intermediate zone, the *ffridd*, which in many respects resembled wood-pasture and which provided a sheltered bite for beasts in spring and autumn. This was often being reduced by the 16th century through enclosure and other encroachments, while some *hafod* settlements were becoming permanent farms. *Ffridd* also features in Dave Austin's exploration of the 'micro-topographies' and landscape history of the small locality around Strata Florida, where he has been working for twenty years. Using sources including map regression oral history he works backwards from what – probably misguidedly – is seen as a golden age of Welsh culture and sense of community in the decades either side of 1900, through the post-medieval centuries to the refoundation of the Cistercian abbey in 1184. This, he shows, was set not in an uncultivated wilderness but in a well-established agricultural landscape, one which it continued to be exploited according to Welsh law and custom rather than through a system of granges.

If this volume is not quite the comprehensive once-in-a-generation overview I had hoped – a couple of the papers are of dubious relevance to the topic – there is much that is of real substance, and being parochial, much that is relevant to Shropshire's Welsh borderland.

PAUL STAMPER

THE SHROPSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society was founded in 1877 (as the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society), and from that time it became, and has remained, the foremost continuous promoter of research into the archaeology and history of the county. The Society's regularly published *Transactions* have become the journal of record for the county's history and archaeology.

In its early years the Society organized an annual excursion for its members. In recent times that side of its activity has increased, and there is now a regular programme of summer excursions and a winter programme of lectures, for which speakers well qualified in their specialisms are engaged. Early in December there is also an annual social meeting, and from time to time day schools are organized—sometimes on topics such as industrial archaeology (so important in Shropshire) and sometimes on a subject of current interest such as that provided in 2009 by the Anglo-Saxon treasure found in Staffordshire.

In 1923 the Shropshire Parish Register Society (founded in 1897) amalgamated with the Archaeological Society, and the work of publishing the county's parish registers was continued. After a lapse that work has been resumed, and the most recent achievement has been the publication of the Bishop's Castle register. Work continues on other parishes, and the Society's as yet unpublished transcripts up to 1900 have been digitized and are available online on the Find My Past website. The registers after 1900 (and also those before) are available at Shropshire Archives.

In addition to its *Transactions* and the parish-register programme, the Society has published occasional monographs and other works: notable in recent years have been the cartularies (registers of property deeds) of Haughmond Abbey (1985; jointly with the University of Wales Press) and Lilleshall Abbey (1997); Dr Baker's *Shrewsbury Abbey: Studies in the Archaeology and History of an Urban Abbey* (2002); D. and R. Cromarty's *The Wealth of Shrewsbury* (1993) – a detailed study of early 14th-century Shrewsbury people from taxation records, which survive so abundantly in the Shrewsbury borough archive and so rarely elsewhere; H. D. G. Foxall's *Shropshire Field-Names* (1980); and the historic county maps published by Robert Baugh in 1808 (1983) and by Christopher Greenwood in 1827 (2008). These maps, whose detail was unrivalled until the Ordnance Survey began work in Shropshire, give a vivid bird's-eye view of the county before the great changes of the Victorian period. Greenwood's map is available as paper sheets and on a CD. Further details of the Society's publications for sale can be found on our website.

In addition to the *Transactions* members receive a twice yearly *Newsletter*, which keeps them in touch with all the Society's activities and work and with its programmes of excursions and lectures.

For further information about the Society, and how to join it, see:

https://shropshirearchaeologyhistory.org

Rules

1. The Society shall be called 'The Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society (with which is incorporated The Shropshire Parish Register Society)'
2. The Society's objects shall be the advancement of the education of the public in archaeological and historical investigation in Shropshire and the preservation of the county's antiquities. In furtherance of those objects, but not otherwise, the Society shall have the power (i) to publish the results of historical research and archaeological excavation and editions of documentary material of local importance including parish registers, and (ii) to record archaeological discoveries.
3. Management of the Society shall be vested in the Council. The Council shall consist of the Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer who shall be elected at each annual general meeting; and such other officers as shall be elected by the Council and shall consist of a Membership Secretary, Editor, Newsletter Editor, Meetings/Field Meetings Secretary, Publications Secretary and any other officers deemed necessary by the Council. Officers shall act in an honorary capacity. Not more than twenty members of the Council (in addition to the Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer) shall be elected by the annual general meeting. Members of the retiring Council, including those elected by the Council to carry out specific duties and those co-opted by the Council, shall be eligible for election by the annual general meeting. If there is no objection, those willing to stand may be elected *en bloc*. In the case of other candidates a proposal signed by 2 members of the Society must be sent to the Secretary not less than 7 days before the annual general meeting. The Council may co-opt not more than 5 additional members for the year.
4. A President and Vice-presidents of the Society shall be elected at an annual general meeting; they shall be elected for five years and shall be eligible for re-election.
5. At Council meetings five members shall be a quorum.
6. The Council, through the Treasurer, shall present the audited accounts for the last complete year to the annual general meeting.
7. The Council shall determine what number of each publication shall be printed, including any complimentary offprints for contributors.
8. Candidates for membership of the Society may apply directly to the Membership Secretary who, on payment of the subscription, shall be empowered to accept membership on behalf of the Society.
9. Each member's subscription shall become due on election or on 1st January and be paid to the Membership Secretary, and shall be the annual sum of £19 for individual members, £20 for family and institutional members, and £23 for overseas members, or such sums as the Society shall from time to time decide. If a member's subscription shall be two years in arrears and then not paid after due reminder, that membership shall cease.
10. The Council shall have the power to elect honorary members of the Society
11. Every member not in arrears of his or her annual subscription shall be entitled to one copy of the latest available *Transactions* to be published, and copies of other publications of the Society on such conditions as may be determined by the Council.
12. Applicants for membership under the age of 21 may apply for associate membership, for which the annual subscription shall be £1. Associate members shall enjoy all the rights of full members, except entitlement to free issues of the *Transactions* and occasional publications of the Society. Associate membership shall terminate at the end of the year in which the member becomes 21.
13. No alterations shall be made to the Society's rules except by the annual general meeting or by an extraordinary general meeting called for that purpose by the Council. Any proposed alteration must be submitted to the Secretary in time to enable the Secretary to give members at least twenty-one days' notice of the extraordinary general meeting. No amendment shall be made to the rules which would cause the Society to cease to be a charity at law.
14. The Society may be dissolved by a resolution passed by not less than two-thirds of those present with voting rights at either an annual general meeting or an extraordinary general meeting called for that purpose, of which twenty-one days prior notice had been given in writing. Such a resolution may give instructions for the disposal of any assets held by the Society after all debts and liabilities have been paid, the balance to be transferred to some other charitable institution or institutions having objects similar to those of the Society.