

Transactions

of the

Shropshire Archaeological Society

with which is incorporated the Shropshire Parish Register Society

VOLUME LVI
Part III
(1960)

SHROPSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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Transactions
of the
Shropshire
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SHROPSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Volume LVI, 1957-60

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

EDITORIAL

NOTICE

To facilitate printing and avoid unnecessary cost, the following points are brought to the notice of contributors:—

It will generally be possible to consider for publication, in the Part then next forthcoming, only such papers as are submitted to the Editor (complete in all details), in sufficient time for consideration by the Editorial Committee towards the end of the year, and hence not later than the 31st October.

Papers offered should have the text in double-spaced typescript. Illustrations, plans, etc., must be submitted at the same time, and be accompanied by a note of the intended captions. If notes and references are numerous, it is preferable for them to be placed together at the end of a paper, rather than as footnotes to each page. Printers' proofs are sent to contributors for checking. They should be corrected clearly in ink, and in accordance with the established customs of proof correction. The process should be strictly confined to rectifying typographical errors, and *not* extended to making new insertions; if any insertions are made, or alterations other than typographical corrections, the contributor may be asked to reimburse to the Society the extra expense involved. Corrected proofs must be returned speedily to printers.

It may be of advantage for all Plates and Figures to be numbered consecutively throughout a Volume, and with this end in view contributors are requested *not* to place indelible numberings on their illustrations. The relevant numbers will be notified during the course of printing.

GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting was held on the 21st May, 1960, at the Priory School for Boys, Shrewsbury (by kind permission of the Headmaster), the President, Capt. Sir Offley Wakeman, Bt., C.B.E., being in the Chair. The Accounts and Hon. Secretary's Report, presented by Mr. Beaumont, were unanimously adopted. The Meeting proceeded to the election of two new Vice-Presidents, proposed by the Council, Mr. T. Hamar, in recognition of his work in establishing the Clun Town Trust Local History Museum, and Mr. L. C. Lloyd, for his active work in numerous and varied fields of study. The proposition was gladly adopted. After the election of other Officers and Council, Mrs. Thickpenny proposed a vote of thanks to the President, whose support was so much appreciated by the members, and this was similarly carried.

Following this part of the Meeting, a lecture was kindly given by Mr. Arnold Baker, entitled "Aerial Survey Work for Archaeology in the Border Counties," which was profusely illustrated by slides. By means of these, he pointed out examples of crop marks recorded by aerial photography, showing their mysterious and numerous signs of rings, squares, etc. He touched on some of the difficulties, such as that arising on the variable results given by different types of crops, and that of interpretation of some of the kinds of marks when their presence was shown. Slides shown towards the end of his lecture were of Wroxeter and the indicated lines of Roman roads. Cordial thanks to Mr. Baker were expressed by the President on behalf of all who were there.

EXCURSIONS AND OTHER MEETINGS

EXHIBITION IN SHREWSBURY, 1960.—On the 11th March an Exhibition, which was open for ten days in the Art Gallery at Shrewsbury, entitled "Recent Archaeology in Shropshire and the History of the Society", was formally opened in the presence of a considerable gathering. Preliminary remarks were made by the Chairman of the Council, Mrs. C. E. Thickpenny, who outlined the scope and organisation of the Exhibition, and expressed thanks to those who were mainly instrumental in making the arrangements for it—the Committee, Messrs. P. A. Barker, J. A. Pagett, A. W. J. Houghton, W. A. Silvester, and the Hon. Secretary, with Mr. J. L. Hobbs, Borough Librarian, Miss M. C. Hill, County Archivist, and the Stewards and other helpers. She then called on Sir Offley Wakeman to open the Exhibition. He said that he was very glad to come and do so, and explained how it had grown, on a somewhat larger scale, out of earlier exhibitions recently held in the County. He hoped that it would show something of the work of the Society, in keeping abreast of archaeological technique through Research Groups, as well as in its long record of publication, and act as an expression of the vigour of the Society and its desire to enlist more members interested in these studies.

Numerous exhibits were arranged carefully on display, and attendance throughout the period of the exhibition was satisfactory. The event has doubtless been the means of making the Society's work more widely known, with beneficial results.

EXCURSION TO CAYNHAM AND LUDLOW, 1960.—This took place on the 30th June, the main purpose being to view the important hill-fort site at Caynham, and examine the excavations in progress, under the guidance of Mr. Peter S. Gelling, who was in charge of them. It was a great pleasure for such members and others who could attend to have the opportunity to see the actual work being done, and hear the explanation of its details on the spot. As reports of the excavations are in course of publication in these Transactions there is hardly need to say more here.

After a picnic lunch, the party went on its way to Whitcliffe, where Mr. Reeves kindly pointed out the main features of archaeological interest visible from there. This was followed by a visit to St. Lawrence's Church, Ludlow, under the kind guidance of Mr. Blackledge, and after tea there was a period available in which those attending were able to wander at will through that wonderful old town, and refresh their memories of its many features.

JOINT EXCURSION WITH THE CARADOC AND SEVERN VALLEY FIELD CLUB.—Held on the 9th July, 1960, this took the form of a tour of the upland area of Clun Forest, under the leadership of Mr. T. Hamar and Mr. T. Beardsley. At Bicton, the party viewed the remains of a motte and bailey, and at Whitcot Keyset the site of a Bronze Age burial, and the standing stone (now fallen). There also they inspected an old cooking jack still in position in a farm-house. Lunch was taken at Bryndrynog, where a section of Offa's Dyke was seen, and the small Iron Age camp on the adjacent Vron Hill was pointed out.

At Newcastle a very large tumulus known as Maes y Garn was visited, and in the course of the journey through the Clun Valley Messrs. Hamar and Beardsley referred to questions of Hall in the Forest. Continuing along the old trackway of the Kerry Hill-Titterstone Clee route (which is here a modern road), the party stopped to visit the Church of St. Mary, where a short account was given by Mr. Beardsley, who subsequently did so also at a particularly fine section of Offa's Dyke. Here a member of the party noticed and picked up a small stone, scored with seven notches about half an inch deep (this is at present in Clun Museum).

Descending to Clun by way of The Llwyn, the party went on past Twitchen to the Llan Farm for tea. Mr. John Morgan, the occupier of the farm, was questioned with regard to the possible site of a church at that place, and as to flints found there. He kindly produced and handed over to Mr. Hamar worked flints (of a total weight

of about 3 lbs.), including some fine scrapers, which had recently been picked up in one field. The excursion concluded with thanks to all those who had been concerned in its organisation.

COUNCIL MEETINGS

The following notes contain a summary, which is purposely very brief, of such of the items of the Minutes as (generally) may seem of special interest or likeliest to be needed for future reference.

LEGACY.—It was reported that the late Rev. R. C. Purton had bequeathed £100 to this Society.

TUMULUS NEAR MORVILLE.—A letter from the County Surveyor indicated that the mound or tumulus near Bridgwalton Farm might be partially removed, and information was requested as to its archaeological value. It was decided (February 1960) to refer him for advice to the Ordnance Survey Department and the Ministry of Works.

EXCAVATIONS.—Brief reports were made by members concerned (July-December 1960) as to excavations at Hen Domen, Dothill, Quatford, Redhill, and at the junction of Severn and Tern.

HONORARY ADVISERS TO THE MUSEUM, SHREWSBURY.—The question of appointment of two new Hon. Advisers having arisen, the Hon. Secretary was instructed (April 1960) to inform the Town Clerk, in reply to an enquiry, that the evidence of the right of this Society to make nominations was contained in the Minutes of the Society's Council Meeting of the 12th December, 1906.

TRANSACTIONS.—In reply to an enquiry as to the cost of a complete set of the Society's Transactions for supply to Attingham College, it was agreed (September 1960) that the set be given free in recognition of the co-operation existing between this Society and the College in furthering the study of local history and archaeology.

BENNETT'S HALL, SHREWSBURY.—Fears with regard to deterioration of this building led to correspondence with the Ministry of Works, the Borough Surveyor, and others, to express the Society's serious concern (October-December 1960).

PROPOSED CIVIC SOCIETY FOR SHREWSBURY.—Agreed (December 1960) that preliminary steps be taken with a view to form such a Society.

PUBLICATIONS

The following publications of the Society may be obtained at the prices quoted, plus postage or carriage charges (the special prices for Members are indicated in brackets). Applications should be made to the Hon. Secretary for all publications except Parish Registers.

Shrewsbury Burgess Roll. Ed. H. E. FORREST. Bound 10/6 (Members 7/6). Unbound 7/6 (5/-).

The Lordship of Oswestry, 1393-1607. (A series of extents and rentals.) Ed. W. J. SLACK. Bound 21/- (12/6).

Transactions of the Society (where available). Unbound. First, Second and Third Series, 5/- per Part. Fourth Series, 10/6 per Part. New Series (*i.e.* all since end of the Fourth Series), 25/- per Part. Price to Members, half of each of the above.

Printed Parish Registers.—From 3/- to 7/6 per Part, according to size of Register. Wellington Register 20/-. *Note:* Applications for Registers should be made to Mrs. L. H. Hayward, Ticklerton, Church Stretton, Salop.

An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire. DR. D. H. S. CRANAGE. Parts 2-9 inclusive, 5/3 per Part; Part 10, 10/6; Shrewsbury Churches (portion of Part 10), 5/3; the Appendix, 1/3; General Survey, 2/6.

The above are subject to stocks being still available.

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1960

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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1959

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Balance in hand 1st January, 1959...	430 16 3	By Printing of Transactions, Vol. 56 Pt. 1 ...	231 5 0
" Members' subscriptions ...	207 16 0	Expenses of Meetings:	
" Return of Tax on covenanted subscriptions	73 19 4	Printing and Advertising ...	3 14 0
" Sale of Parish Registers ...	21 12 5	Speaker ...	4 0 0
" Sale of Transactions and other publications	34 8 3		7 14 0
" Donations ...	13 10 0	Expenses of Excursions ...	11 9 6
" Members' payments for Excursions ...	13 19 0	Postages for Archaeological Newsletter ...	2 6 4
" Visitors to Rowley's House ...	19 10 8	Clerical expenses, postages, telephone, duplicating ...	21 0 1
" Dividend on 3½% War Stock ...	1 15 0	Printing of Stationery, etc ...	6 14 9
" Interest on Deposit a/c West Mid. Sav. Bank	2 16 8		
	<hr/>	Total expenses ...	280 9 8
	£820 3 7	Balances at 31st December, 1959:	
		Current a/c Lloyds Bank ...	421 3 0
		Dep. a/c W.M. Sav. Bank ...	118 10 11
			<hr/> 539 13 11
			£820 3 7

C. S. WOOLLAM MEMORIAL FUND

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Balance 1.1.59 ...	52 6 4	By Balance at West Mid. Sav. Bank 31.12.59 ...	53 12 4
" Interest West Mid. Sav. Bank...	1 6 0		
	<hr/>		£53 12 4

H. BEAUMONT,
Hon. Treasurer.

JOHN DYKE, F.C.A.,
Hon. Auditor,
14th May, 1960.

THE EARDINGTON BRONZE HOARD

BY J. PHILLIP DODD, M.Sc., M.A., F.R.G.S.

History of the Find

In November 1959 the bronze artefacts, which form the subject of this paper, were brought to me for identification by John Wells, Esq., B.Sc., Science Master at the Boys' Modern School, Bridgnorth. They had been taken to school by a pupil, Michael Price, whose father had made the original find. I subsequently saw Mr. Frank Price of 7 Friar Street, Bridgnorth, and learnt that he had discovered the artefacts in c. 1925, when he was a boy of twelve out on a birds-nesting expedition.

With Mr. Price I visited the site, a former quarry, at Eardington, about 900 yards to the south-east of the village. Grid reference Salop. S.O. 727 899 (6 inch O.S. Shropshire Sheet LXVI. N.E.). The location of the find is indicated by X on the map (figure 4).

At this point a ridge at approximately 200 feet O.D., runs N-S between the deep, gorge valley of the Mor Brook on the west and the broader valley of the Severn on the east. The surface of the ridge is formed of the Main Terrace fluvio-glacial gravels which rest on the Lower Mottled Sandstone beds of the Lower Trias. These rocks form a prominent feature of much of the local topography of the Bridgnorth area.¹

Immediately to the east of the site of the find, a shallow valley was formerly occupied by a stream flowing south to the Severn or the Mor Brook (Figure 4). A cross section of the area is shown in Figure 2, which indicates the much gentler fall of the land towards the flood plain of the Severn. A small pit had been opened up in the side of this valley to exploit the fluvioglacial gravels for local building purposes. The gravels were about eight feet in depth at the spot where Mr. Price found the implements, lying together four feet below ground level and about the same height above the floor of the gravel pit. He found nothing further in the course of later visits.

The Hoard

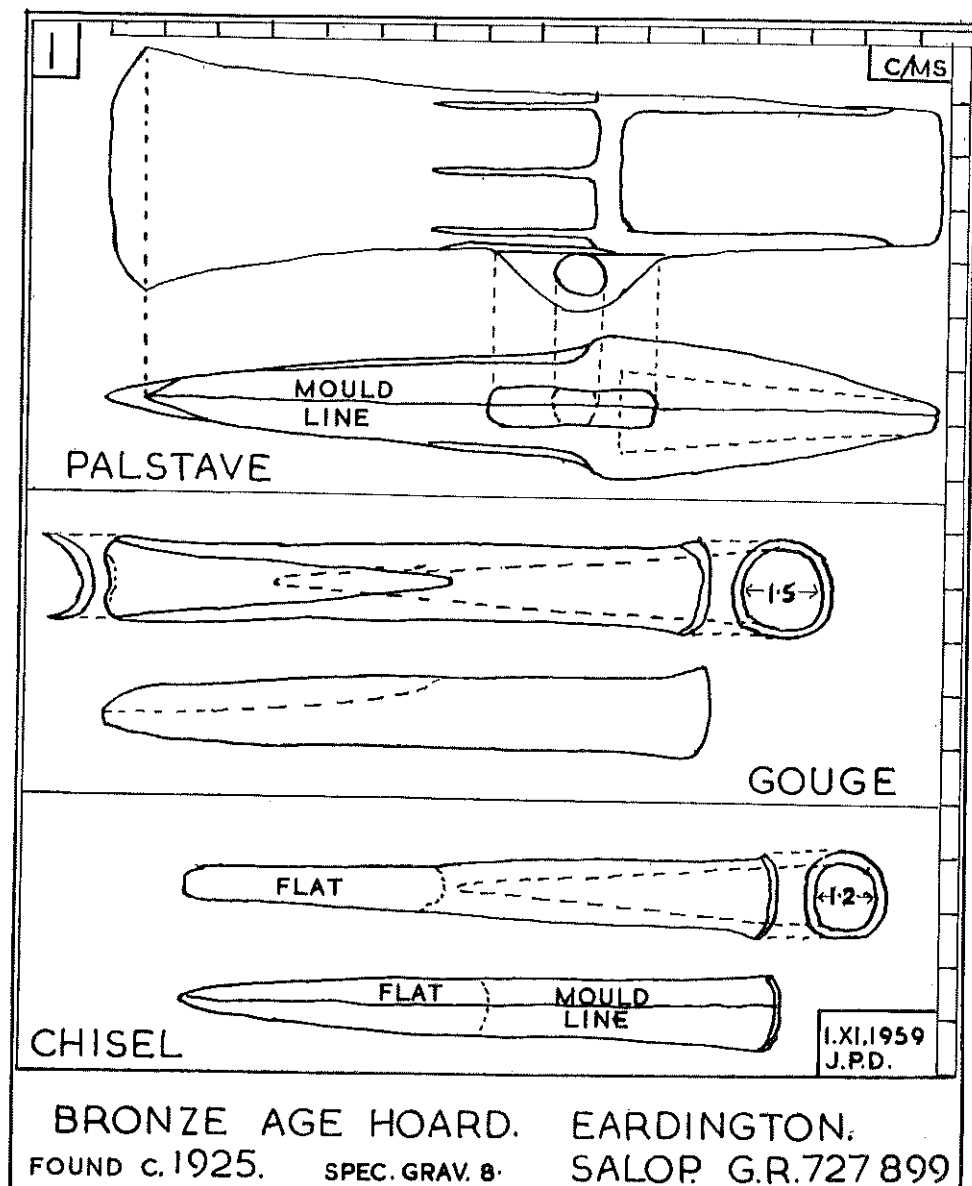
This consists of four bronze artefacts which date to the Late Bronze Age, c. 1000-500 B.C. (Figure 1).

- These are: (A) A socketed chisel.
 (B) A socketed gouge.
 (C) Two looped and ribbed palstaves.

All four implements are cast mould-made specimens, the palstaves being cast in the same mould.

The cutting edges show some signs of wear and may be presumed to have formed the working equipment of a woodworker. The find is now located as follows:— one palstave in the museum at the Boys' Modern School, Bridgnorth, the remaining three artefacts in the Northgate Museum, Bridgnorth.

In the course of discussion, Miss Chitty has drawn my attention to papers by Savory² and Clark³, which illustrate artefacts of similar type and age. Also the Carlton Rode, Norfolk, specimens shown in Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements*.⁴



Savory² in describing ribbed palstaves says these were a development of the Bronze industry of the Gironde. This association immediately calls to mind the important trade route of the Western Seaboard and connections via the Cardigan Bay rivers with the valleys of the Upper Dee and Severn.

Miss Chitty's map of the distribution of ribbed palstaves,⁵ shows four finds in a line between Cardigan Bay and the Upper Dee, and another two east of the Severn near Wolverhampton, at Wrottesley and Finchfield. Between these two groups of

ribbed palstave finds can be fitted the gouge found near Oswestry (?) and the leaf-shaped sword and tanged chisel, described by Miss Chitty,⁶ and the Thonglands (Munslow) gouge,⁷ the latter lying on a natural route from the Severn gorge at Ironbridge. Further downstream two bronze gouges were found near Bewdley, these are in the Worcester museum.

The Eardington find has I think a number of points of significance.

- (a) As a hoard in contradistinction to a chance placing, it is evidence of settlement of a definite geographical location.
- (b) The variety and nature of the artefacts are such as to exhibit affinities with those of each of the locations previously mentioned. In effect this hoard provides a connecting link between these finds and thus strengthens the case for a trade route from the Severn at Quatford through to Cardigan Bay; where the route from Ireland made a crossing of the Lleyn Peninsula of North Wales and also met the Western Seaboard route from the south.
- (c) The artefacts demonstrate the changing techniques of bronze working over the period from the Middle to Late Bronze Age: (i) the palstaves have the stop-ridge at the end of the flanges, an improvement designed to prevent longitudinal movement of the axe in the knee-shaft; (ii) they have the further improvement effected by the looping which contributed to the security of the thonging of the axe; (iii) the chisel and gouge (Late Bronze Age) show the revolutionary technical advance made through the discovery of socketing; (iv) the latter prove that although "old fashioned" implements, *e.g.* the palstaves, were still in use here, news of more advanced methods was reaching the area—via the Severn?

Settlement

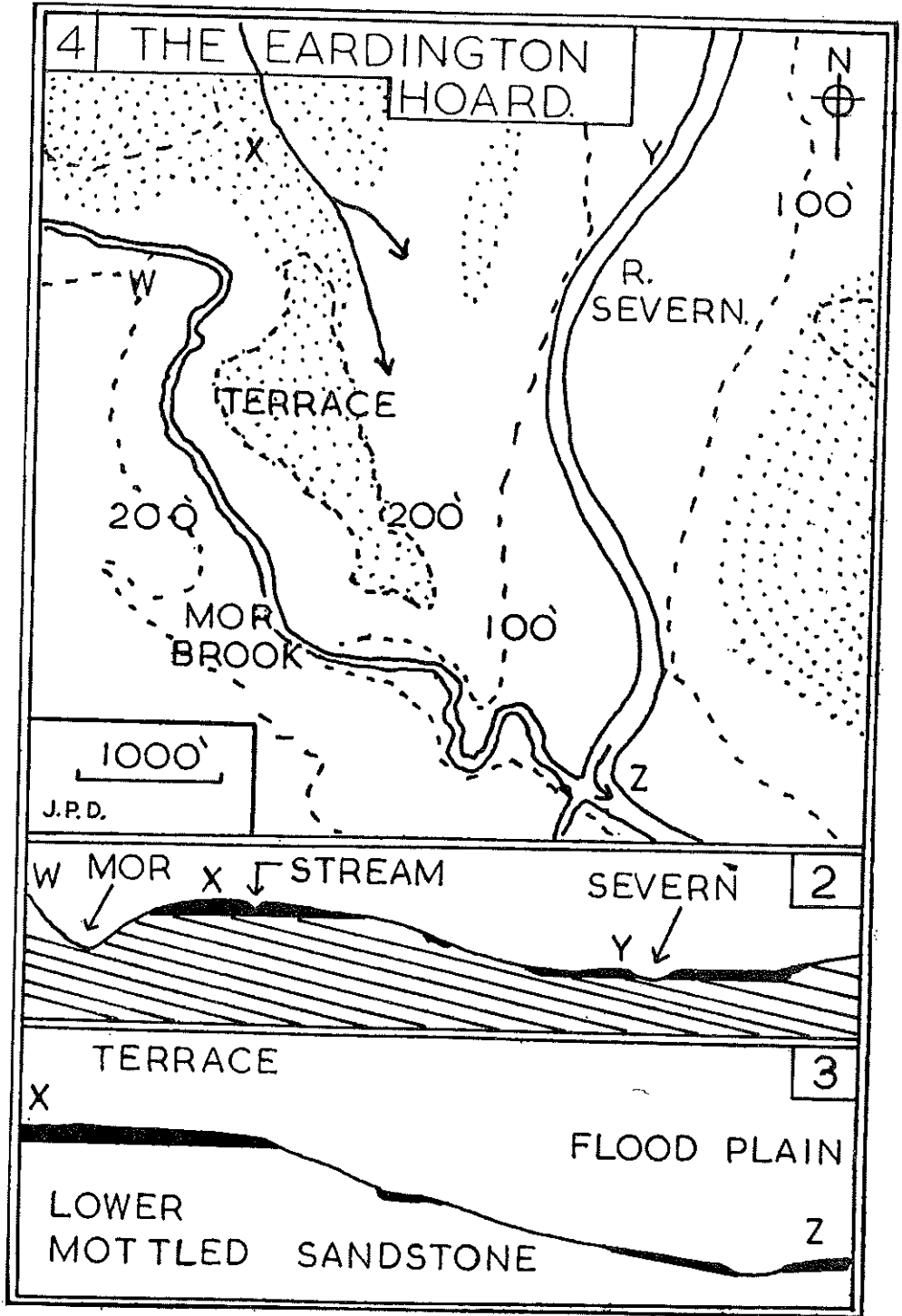
As can be seen from Figures 2, 3 and 4 the site was very suitable for settlement in Bronze Age times. The terrace gravels, with a water supply from the stream occupying the shallow depression to the east of the site, provided a favourable location. The natural vegetation of open birch heath and grass pasture on the Lower Mottled Sandstone and hazel-birch on the gravels, would have presented little obstacle to clearance to men armed with bronze tools. Recent experiments have shown that oak up to a foot in diameter can be felled in half an hour with a stone axe,⁸ a much less efficient tool than a bronze palstave.

Possibly these tools were buried beneath the floor of the owner's dwelling. This fact we cannot now establish as the site has in recent times been subjected to three acts of disturbance.

(i) The building of the Severn Valley Railway, opened in 1862, entailed the making of a cutting through the sandstone, and along the line of the shallow depression mentioned earlier.

(ii) The gravel pit, opened up in the gravel terrace to the west of the railway, destroyed other traces, if any, of early occupation of the site.

(iii) Complete bulldozing and levelling of the site, including the infilling of the gravel working, has taken place within the last few years. Unfortunately before I received knowledge of the hoard.



Conclusion

The site is one of importance and should be kept under observation.

(a) Within a mile to the south-east (Figure 4) is a potential fording place of the Severn and the site of the perforated stone implement found in 1940.⁹

(b) From the Severn, somewhere about or above the position of Y on Figure 4, was fished up a bronze sword in 1775.¹⁰

(c) 3,000 yards to the south-west in the grounds of the Manor House, Glazeley, is a site earlier disturbed by the present owner, which could be a round barrow.

(d) Daddy's Wood, an isolated gravel-capped hill to the immediate east of X on Figure 4, might prove rewarding.

(e) Air Ministry air photograph 3205, shows traces of old field patterns between road and railway immediately north of X.

I have to thank Miss L. F. Chitty for her very helpful discussion of the points raised in this paper regarding earlier finds.

REFERENCES

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3. J. G. D. Clark, *Antiquaries Journal*, 1940, pp. 63-6.
4. Sir John Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, 1881, p. 171 and figure 200.
5. L. F. Chitty, Map, Figure 5 in Clark, 1940.
6. L. F. Chitty, *Arch. Camb.*, 1940, pp. 27-35.
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8. Axel Steensberg, *Ag. Hist. Review*, Vol. 5, 1957, II, p. 68.
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EXCAVATIONS AT CAYNHAM CAMP, NEAR LUDLOW
SECOND INTERIM REPORT

BY PETER S. GELLING

A second season of excavation was carried out at Caynham Camp in June and July, 1960, by the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, Birmingham University (assisted by students from the Departments of Latin and Greek) in conjunction with the Ludlow Group of the Shropshire Archaeological Society. A large part of the cost of this work was met by a grant from Birmingham University.



PLATE I.—View of the east entrance taken from inside the fort.

Previously, important contributions had been made by the Ludlow Group alone in October 1959 and in April and May, 1960. Once again we are most grateful to the owner of the land, Mrs. C. Harrison, and the tenant, Mr. J. P. Powell, for permission to proceed with the excavation. Camping facilities were provided by Mr. D. Lamb, of Camp Farm, Caynham. Mrs. L. Ramos gave valuable assistance in the preparation of illustrations for this report.

The work in June and July, 1959, consisted mainly of a single section through the defences on the south side of the fort; it is published in the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, Vol. LVI, Part II, p. 145 *sq.*, where the four structural periods which were revealed are summarized as follows:

- i. stone wall reinforced with upright timbers: rock-cut ditch (?)
- ii. small rampart of rubble with crude outer revetment of stone, surmounted by a stockade; first version of inner ditch; outer ditch.
- iii. large rampart with more competent stone revetment; inner ditch re-cut, and rubble counterscarp built outside it; outer ditch largely silted up.
- iv. height of rampart increased; perhaps repairs to stone revetment.

Very little was revealed of period i; its existence and nature were rather a matter of inference. The defences of period ii were on a different line and on a modest scale. Only in period iii was a really large rampart constructed, and the additions to it which marked period iv suggested only a small-scale reconstruction.

As the interior of the fort was again covered by a crop in June 1960, the main excavation was confined once more to the defences, this time to those at the eastern entrance (marked C on fig. 1). It was hoped that not only would the structural history of the entrance be revealed, but that it might be possible to link one or more of its phases with occupation material in the spaces available for excavation behind the inturned ends of the rampart. The first half of this hope was fulfilled, but not the second. No coherent occupation layer was discovered anywhere, and the few sherds which were found were in residual deposits. The most satisfactory results were the uncovering of interesting features connected with period i, and the discovery that period iv had involved much more reconstruction than the previous year's section had suggested.

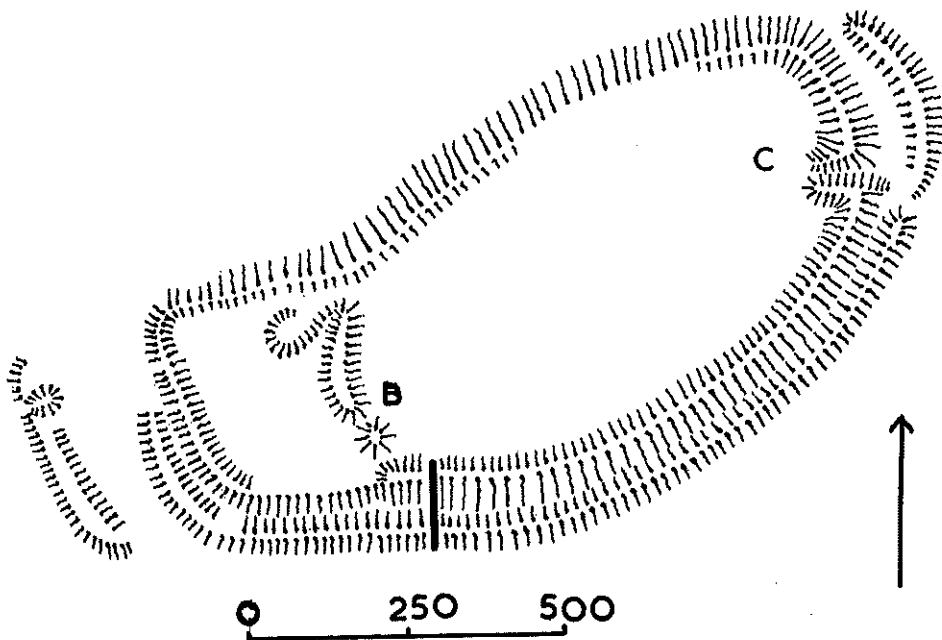


FIG. 1.—General plan of Caynham Camp.

Period i. The difficulty of investigating this period was that its remains were overlaid by the inner side of the large rampart of period iii. A trench was dug to locate its ditch behind the southern inturn (fig. 2) and here, fortunately, it proved to be much less encumbered than it had been in the 1959 section; even so, only perhaps half of the ditch's profile was recovered, and this at a cost of digging down 17 feet.



PLATE 2.—Walling of period iv built over the filled-in ditch of period i.

It was entirely rock-cut, steep-sided, and about 11 feet deep (fig. 3). Its filling, beneath the rubble which was later placed to level it off, consisted of a band of large stones, above and below which there were thicker deposits of reddish-brown clay. At the very bottom there was a thin layer of greyish clay. This corresponds to the filling of the early ditch partly revealed in 1959 in so far as it includes reddish clay and a band of large stones; but otherwise there is no precise correspondence, and there were no traces whatsoever of burnt timber. Inside the ditch there was no depth of deposit in which material from the associated rampart might have been preserved, but a search was made, in the very limited area available, for post-holes in which upright timbers might have stood. At first it seemed that the search was going to be rewarded, for three post-holes appeared at 10 feet intervals in a line approximately parallel with the inner side of the ditch, and about 9 feet away from it (nos. 1-3 on fig. 2. No. 1 was 18 inches deep, and the other two, 12 inches). But another smaller trench revealed

that the area was pitted with post-holes, any or all of which might be connected with later structures.

The period i ditch could be followed in the trench dug through the southern inturn, and it came to an end about 8 feet short of the eventual south side of the entrance. It was picked up again after an interval of some 27 feet, projecting to the south of the final north side of the entrance. It was not found to the north of the northern inturn, which implies that it did not curve back like the later defences; and no post-holes which could plausibly be connected with an associated rampart were found there either.

Once the gap in the ditch had been located, it was possible to look for the period i entrance. The south side of it was buried under the southern inturn, but the north side lay nearly in the centre of the later entrance-passage. It was represented mainly by a line of three large sockets cut in the rock to take very substantial posts (fig. 4). The middle one was roughly oval, measuring about 3 feet 8 inches by 4 feet. The innermost was apparently cut to take two posts, to judge by its waisted outline. On the outer side of the outermost post-hole a natural depression in the rock had been filled with rubble which was not easily distinguishable from the rubble with which the post-hole itself was eventually filled; its exact size is therefore uncertain, but it was probably an irregular circle with a maximum diameter of about 5 feet. The general level of the rock rose steadily towards the inner side, so that the rock-cut part of the outermost post-hole was not more than 13 inches deep, the middle post-hole ranged from 15 to 20 inches deep, and the innermost was between 27 and 30 inches deep. Between the middle and the outermost post-holes there was a rock-cut socket 4 inches deep, with a diameter of 25 inches, projecting into the entrance-passage. It is hard to imagine what can have been the purpose of even a substantial post which was so lightly bedded, for it can hardly have been part of a gate unless it was very firmly secured to the larger posts on either side of it. There was also a semicircular socket 14 inches deep on the outer side of the innermost post-hole. To judge by its position it is probably an original feature rather than a repair. The inner side of the innermost post-hole was unlike the others in that it had a sloping ramp leading down into it.

The most natural explanation of these sockets is that they mark the positions of very large posts—perhaps whole tree-trunks—which supported the butt-end of the rampart. A small cross-trench beside the ramp sloping down into the innermost socket revealed another rock-cut depression just over 5 feet away, cut almost vertically to a depth of 35 inches. This is presumably connected with a structure in the centre of the entrance, but there was no time to examine it more fully; in fact, this whole complex is so closely surrounded by trees that it will be very difficult to investigate it further.

The large sockets must be ascribed to period *ia*, because their posts were eventually removed and their whole area filled with rubble in which four very modest posts were set. The innermost pair, which were 23 inches apart, were the larger, having a maximum diameter of 15 inches. Then there was a gap of 4 feet 7 inches before the two outermost post-holes, which were smaller (about 9 inches diameter) and set 32 inches apart. This larger gap between the second and third posts is reflected in a less pronounced manner in the large rock-cut sockets. As the posts were set in rather loose earth and rubble which had apparently caved in when at least posts 3 and 4 were

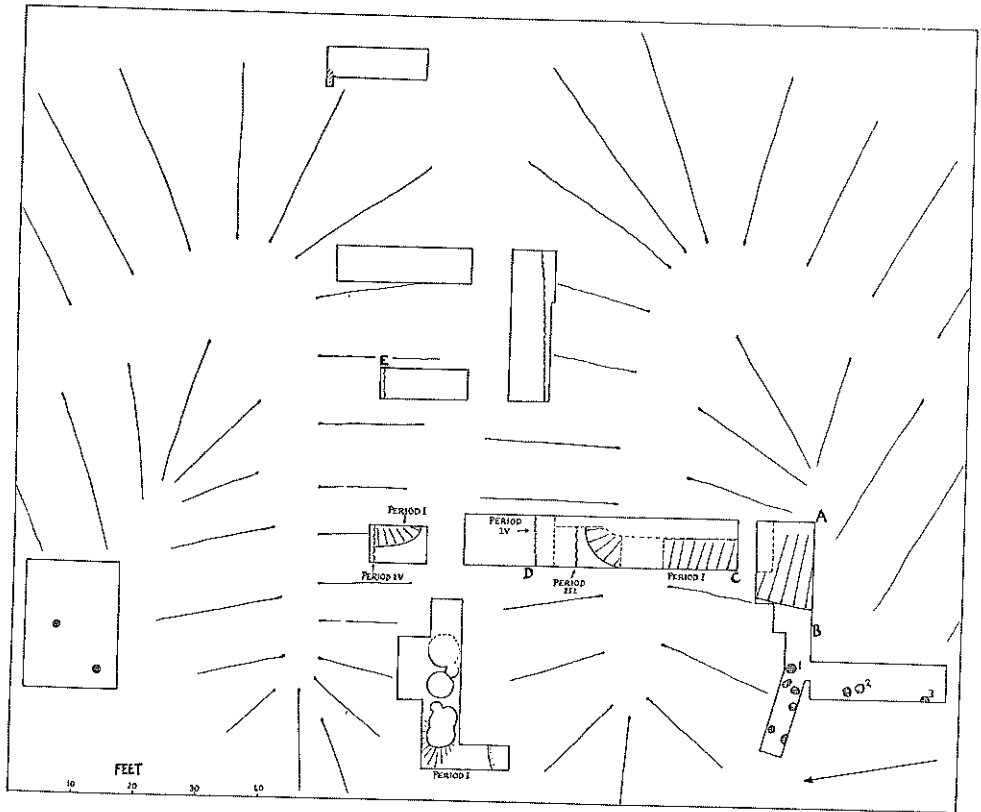


FIG. 2.—General plan of the excavation at the east entrance.

eventually extracted, it was very hard to decide how deep the post-holes had been. Nos. 1 and 2 were probably about 12 inches deep; no. 2 had apparently been burnt *in situ*. A fifth post-hole, apparently belonging to this period, was set beside nos. 1 and 2; it was about 9 inches deep. This remodelling of at least one side of the entrance may be labelled period *ib*, and may be taken as showing an increased confidence on the part of the builders in their skill at dry-walling.

The evidence for the succeeding periods was best revealed in the section dug through the southern inturn (fig. 5). Most of the lowest part of the section consists of the sloping side of the period i ditch. Above it, marked by horizontal shading, is a layer of clayey ditch-filling corresponding to that which is similarly marked on fig. 3. The layer of stones which lies above it cannot here be ordinary ditch-filling, because towards the right it overlies a layer (marked by diagonal shading) which can hardly belong to period i. This layer had a pinkish tinge, and its texture was gritty rather than plastic. It bore a remarkable resemblance to the layer found covering the period ii rampart in 1959, described in the key to the published section as "pink layer covering period ii rampart". That contained numerous isolated flecks of charcoal, which were not paralleled in the 1960 deposit; but this did contain two very marked continuous streaks of charcoal. If the resemblance, such as it is, justifies the ascription

of this layer to period ii, it may represent the tail of a small inturn, and show that this feature of the defences already existed at that stage.

The construction of an inturn of monumental size is presumably to be ascribed, on the analogy of the 1959 section, to period iii. Most of the great rubble mass was piled up at this stage, and the associated wall flanking the entrance-passage can be seen about six feet six inches behind the later wall which is near the extreme right of the section. The bank of material which has been ascribed to period ii was left rising upward slightly from the foot of the wall, suggesting that in this period the level of the entrance-passage was a little higher than in period iv, when it was probably about a foot lower than the top of the unexcavated baulk on the extreme right of the section. The layer of large stones which constitutes the lowest level of the period iii inturn may have been derived from the debris of the period i rampart. Above it there was a deep deposit of fairly large rubble, the rear of which was retained by some very rough walling of material hardly to be distinguished from the rest of the rubble.

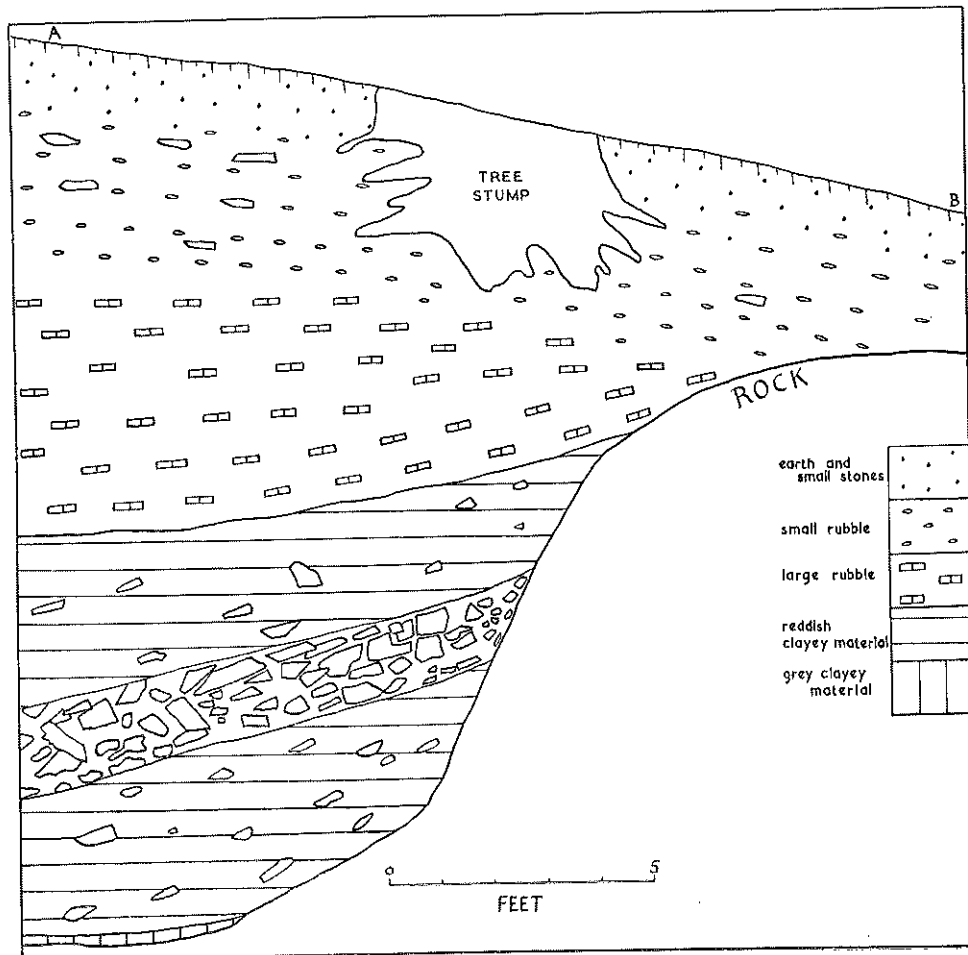


FIG. 3.—Partial section of the period i ditch.

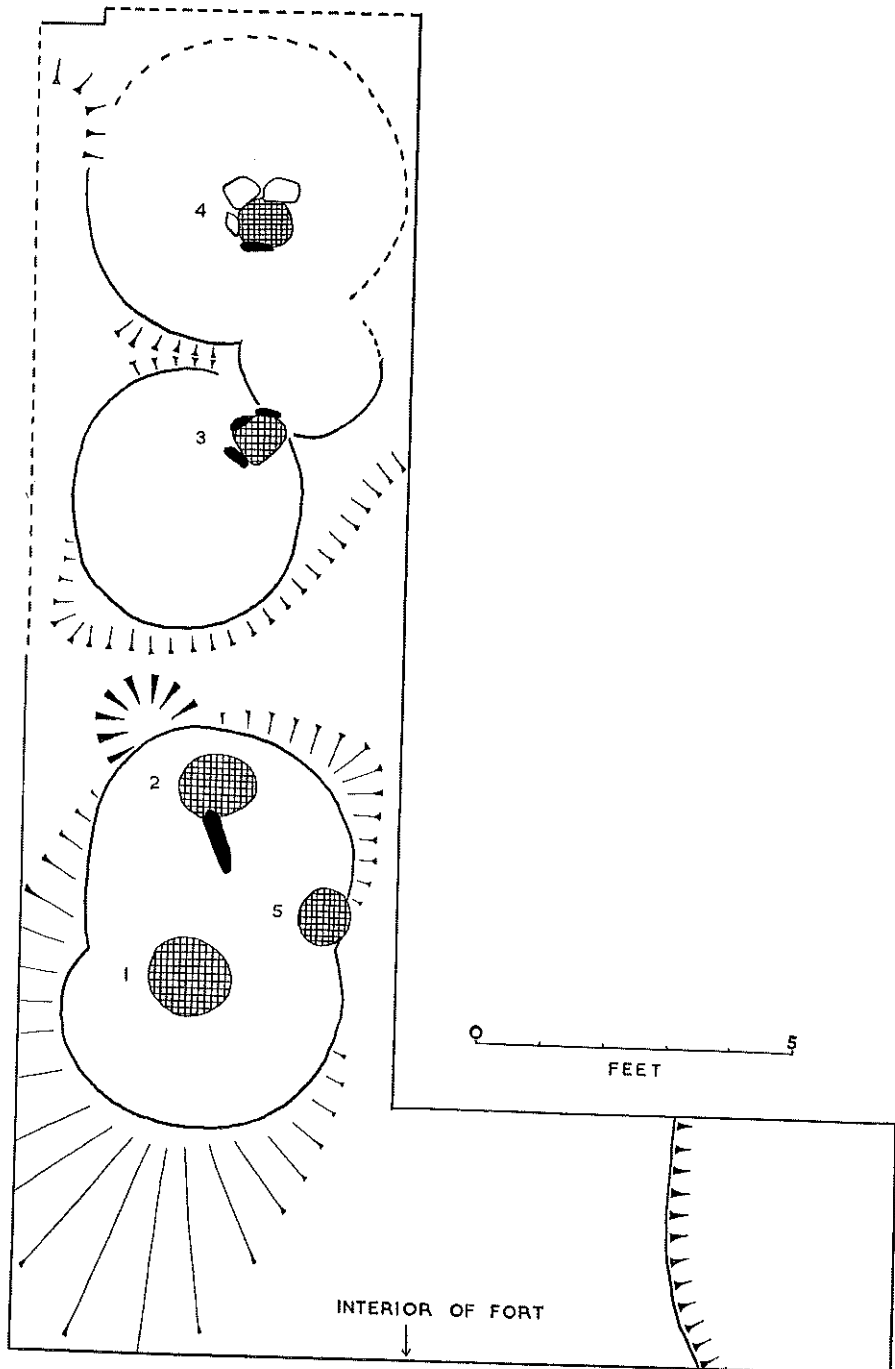


FIG. 4.—Plan of post-holes belonging to the period i entrance. The hatched post-holes belong to period i(b).

By period iv the side of the entrance was in a state of ruin. The upper part of the wall had collapsed, and rubble had spilled forward over it. The full extent of the remodelling which took place cannot be assessed, because the change was only revealed on one side of the entrance; but here, on the south side, a new wall was built 6 feet 6 inches further forward, the space behind it being filled up mainly by large stones and rubble, no doubt partly derived from the ruins of the period iii wall. The new wall was neatly built of much small stones than those used for its predecessor, and its lowest courses were on a slightly lower level.

This change probably marks a narrowing of the entrance rather than a re-alignment, because the general line was presumably fixed by the period iii inturns. The only objection to this is that it implies a very wide entrance for period iii, especially if there was a similar contraction on both sides of the entrance. The width in period iv was between 25 and 26 feet, and if the period iii wall was 6 feet 6 inches further back on both sides, the width then must have been at least 38 feet, which seems excessive. It is possible that the period iv wall on the north side is in virtually the same position as its predecessor. At the point marked E on fig. 2 it appeared to be built on uncleared earlier deposits, suggesting that that side of the entrance had received less attention than the other. But if the earlier wall had been even a little behind it, the width of the period iii entrance must have been at least 33 or 34 feet.

At most places where the trees permitted the line of the period iv wall was uncovered in the hope of finding traces of a gate; but none were discovered. There was a slight suggestion that the entrance-passage contracted towards the outside, but as the wall was missing entirely on the relevant part of the north side this could not be established. A trial trench was dug on one side of the outer end of the entrance in the hope of finding signs of a ditch. It did reveal a sudden downward slope in the rock, but it could not be taken far enough for the results to be conclusive.

A rectangular area was uncovered in the angle behind the northern inturn. As has been mentioned, it revealed no trace of either the period i ditch or of the associated rampart. Immediately above the rock there was a layer of stones and rather stiff clayey earth which looked man-made, but there was no occupation deposit in it, and only a few fragments of burnt daub lying on its surface. The few fragments of pottery found here were all in residual deposits.

The work at the east entrance was the major excavation after the 1959 section, but trial digging was carried out by the Ludlow Group in two other parts of the fort. One result of this was the identification of an entrance leading from the annexe through the west rampart. There are three gaps through this rampart today, any one of which might conceivably have been original; but the one chosen first for investigation (marked B on fig. 1) proved in fact to be ancient.

On the south side of this entrance, where the rampart has been severely damaged, no trace of walling remained, but on the north side walling was located at three points (fig. 6). In trench 3 it had begun to curve round the outer side of the rampart; it was beginning to be ruinous, but it seemed clear that it had been rebuilt, perhaps more or less *in situ*, on top of collapsed material. There were no signs of an earlier period in trenches 1 and 2, where the wall stood in places to a height of 4 to 5 feet. Only excavation in the rampart behind it could have established its period with certainty, but the style of the stonework strongly suggested that it belonged to period iv.

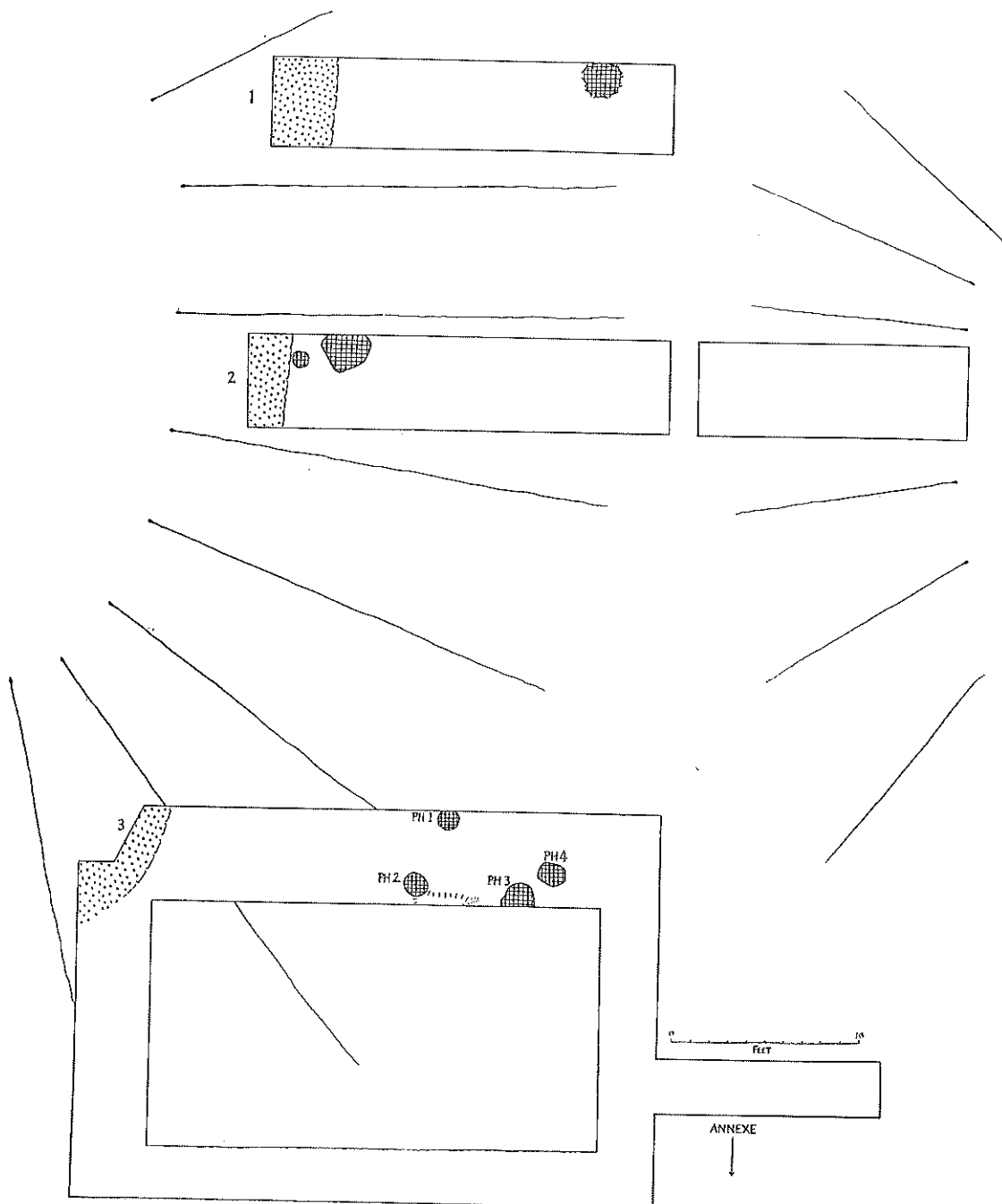


FIG. 6.—General plan of the excavation at the west entrance.

The post-holes in trench 3 were shallow and rather irregularly cut. No. 1 was 7 inches deep, no. 2, 15 inches, and nos. 3 and 4, 10 inches. In trench 2 the small post-hole close to the wall was $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, but the large one beside it was only 11 inches deep. The single post-hole in trench 1 was very carefully cut, the lower part of it being in the rock, and neatly lined with packing-stones. The post which stood in it must have been of about 24 inches diameter, and its resemblance to the rock-cut post-holes in the east entrance-passage suggests that it may possibly belong to period i. If so, it was the only trace of this period to be found at this part of the site.

The structural sequence which has been worked out so far has not been matched by any quantity of small finds, and this will only be remedied, if at all, by excavation in the interior of the fort. In April 1960 a trial excavation, lasting four days, was carried out by the Ludlow Group on the top of the rising ground in the centre of the fort. The soil is very thin here, and a relatively large area of rock, approximately 100 square yards, was uncovered. Fifteen post-holes or small pits were found, none more than 30 inches deep, and the majority between 18 and 24 inches. Apart from an irregular area of stones set in clayey material the occupation deposit had been completely swept away by cultivation, and the few sherds which were found were loose in the soil. In the filling of the post-holes there was a fair quantity of carbonized grain.

It is hoped that it will be possible to follow up this important exploratory work in 1961, and a full report on it will be postponed until excavation has been carried out on adjacent areas where there is more chance of an undisturbed occupation deposit.

THE ROMAN ROAD AND OTHER ROMAN REMAINS AT WHITCHURCH, SHROPSHIRE

By A. W. J. HOUGHTON, M.B., M.R.C.P.

Demolition and reconstruction of buildings has lately occurred at two sites in Whitchurch. The 18th century premises of Messrs. Barclays Bank are on the east side of the High St. and here excavations for a strong room have been carried to a depth of approximately 12 ft. at which level much water and large areas of running sand were encountered. At a depth of 8 ft. and at a distance of about 25ft. from the kerb of the street, fragments of a poppy head beaker in bluish grey rustic ware were found.

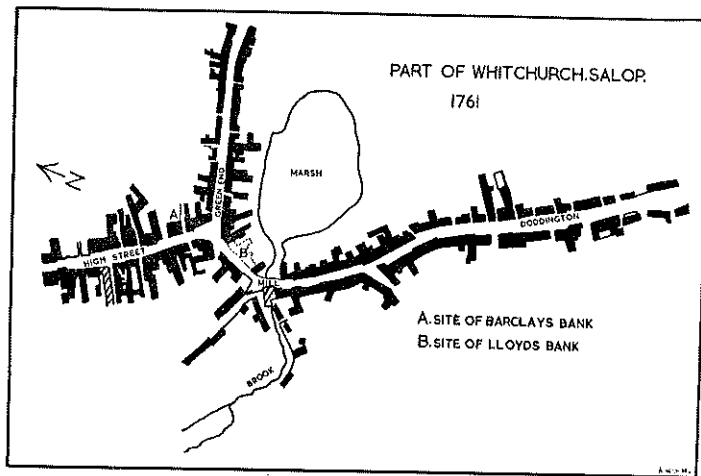


FIG. 1

Associated with this were a number of rims of cooking pots in hard grey and brown ware. No traces of buildings or any structures were noticed. Observation was difficult on account of the dark and cramped conditions but it is possible that this material came from a rubbish pit or a ditch.

Extensive demolition has taken place on the east side of the north end of Watergate St. where Messrs. Lloyds Bank are erecting new premises. To the east of this site is a low marshy place which is drained by a stream running westwards now culverted under Mill St. To the south of the town, Doddington, on the line of the Roman road from Wroxeter, ascends a slope and then descends as Watergate St. curving somewhat to the west, evidently to avoid the marsh. At its junction with Mill St. this road turns north and in 80 yds. turns north-east into the High St. which is in a direct line with Doddington. These features are shown on a map of Whitchurch dated 1761 (Fig. 1).

The discoveries made as a result of the builders' excavations fall into two groups.

1. The Roman road has been found at a depth of 9 ft. from the present surface (Fig. 2). It was not possible to determine the width, though the eroded north-east edge was exposed for a distance of 100 ft. It was constructed of close rammed cobble

stones of average size 3 by 4 ins. and was not more than 12 to 14 ins. in thickness. It lay upon the natural sandy subsoil and on its surface was found a *dupondius* of Vespasian in fine condition (Fig. 2).

The alignment of the exposed section seems to indicate that originally the road continued north on the Doddington alignment edging along the marsh. It then forded the stream and made straight for the line of the present High St. which now offsets it slightly to the north-east.

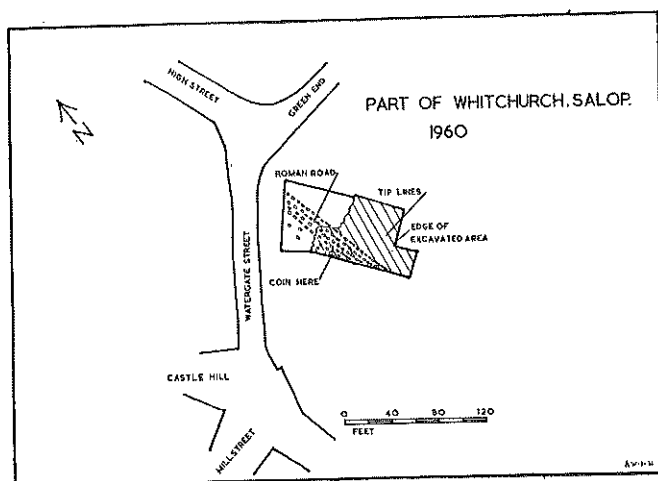


FIG. 2

2. A series of tip lines have been cut through, the lowest of which extend from the north-east edge of the Roman road and spread down to the peaty bed of the marsh. The upper levels cover the road and consist largely of black sticky material containing pottery, quantities of bones of oxen, sheep and pigs together with wood fragments. Upon these upper levels houses had been built in the 17th and 18th centuries.

A rotary quernstone and Roman pottery spanning the first to the fourth centuries were found in the Roman levels and the medieval sherds covered the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. No trace of any Saxon material was noted and the impression gained was that here was a town rubbish dump by the roadside which had been in use since Roman times until the seventeenth century with an interregnum in the Saxon period. Due to the exigencies of the building operations it is unfortunately impossible to indicate the position of the quernstone or of the various sherds.

Thanks are due to the Managers of Messrs. Lloyds and Messrs. Barclays Banks for permission to visit the respective sites and to examine the pottery and other finds. I am also grateful to Messrs. Bertram Butler and Co. the Architects of the Lloyds Bank new building for providing a site plan and for helpful co-operation. I also thank the contractors, Messrs. H. Willcock and Co. for all that they did to help. I am indebted to Mr. Brian Hartley, M.A., F.S.A., for his comments on the Samian pottery, to Mrs. Brian Hartley for her comments on the mortaria and to

Mr. P. Barker for identifying the medieval sherds. Thanks are also due to Professor F. W. Shotton, F.R.S., for his report on the quernstone. Finally I am most grateful to my friend, Mr. Graham Webster, M.A., F.S.A., for his helpful advice in the preparation of this paper.

* * *

COARSE POTTERY FROM LLOYDS BANK NEW SITE

1. Medium mouthed jar in pinkish fabric with blue core. White slip externally. Frilled rim. An unusual form. (Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, XLI (1930), Fig. 64, no. 73, and p. 152).
Late second cent. A.D.
2. Short necked jar in self coloured pinkish yellow ware. Exterior of rim divided equally by a deep groove. Raised cordon at base of neck. (Cf. *Archaeologia*, second ser., XXXVIII (1920), 115, Fig. 15, No. 5. Near Wroxeter Forum, fig. 46, c4). The form had a long life from Hadrianic times to circa A.D. 275.
3. Handled beaker in smooth black fabric. (Cf. *Arch. Ael.*, fourth ser., XXXV (1957), 10, no. 65. Wroxeter Forum, fig. 46, c7.)
A.D. 140-300.

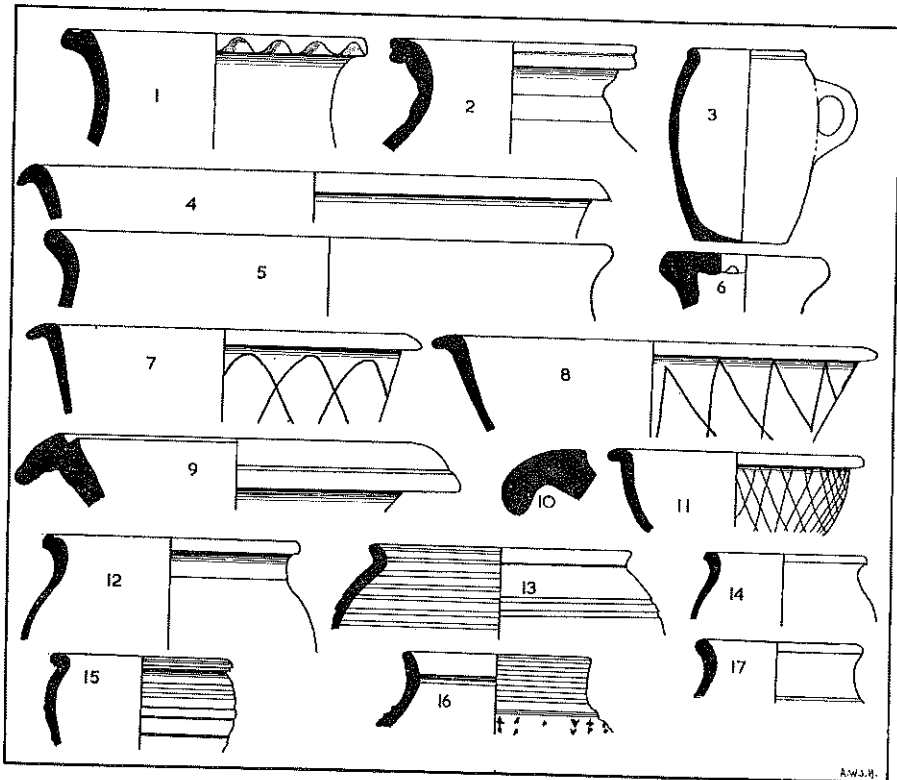


FIG. 3

4. Bowl in pale orange buff self coloured fabric. Rim triangular in section and sharply turned down. (Cf. *Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc.*, LXXV (1959), fig. 8, no. 6. Near Wroxeter Forum, fig. 45, c5.)
A.D. 150-160.
A similar rim sherd was lately picked up on newly ploughed ground south of the Baths site at Wroxeter.
5. Bowl in hard yellowish buff mica dusted fabric. (Cf. *Jewry Wall*, fig. 46, no. 23.)
A.D. 180.
6. Fragment in hard pinkish red fabric with grey core. Circular top or base with shallow circular groove and square hole punched in the centre. This could be the base of a candlestick or the top of a vessel with a square hole for a stopper or plug.
7. Straight sided pie dish in black burnished fabric with grooved rim and hooped laticing externally. (Cf. *Arch. Ael.* fourth ser., XXXV (1957), 24, no. 227. *Jewry Wall*, 83, no. 22 and fig. 19.)
A.D. 260-320.
8. Pie dish in black burnished fabric. Broad rim. Angle with wall rounded above and below. Burnished laticing on exterior of body. (Cf. *Jewry Wall*, 81, no. 15 and fig. 19, no. 15 *Archaeologia* (see 2 above), fig. 10, no. 5).
A.D. 160-200.
9. Raetian or Wroxeter type mortarium. Red slip internally and externally. Antonine period.
10. Mortarium with thick heavy rim in hard reddish buff ware with orange skin surface. There is no bead.
Flavian-Trajanic period.
11. Pie dish in black burnished ware. Rim forming sharp angle with wall. Wall convex externally and concave internally. Chamfered base. Crude acute angled laticing on exterior of body. (Cf. *Jewry Wall*, near fig. 19, nos. 1-3).
A.D. 90-130.

* * *

COARSE POTTERY FROM BARCLAYS BANK SITE

12. Necked jar in hard rough grey ware. Red brown at break. Neck moderately high, rim turned over and slightly grooved on top. (Cf. *Jewry Wall*, fig. 25, nos. 6-9.)
A.D. 70-110.
13. Jar in pinkish red ware with black slip internally and externally. Everted rim. High rounded shoulder with two girth grooves. Lightly grooved and burnished internally. (Cf. *Jewry Wall*, fig. 25, no. 2 and *Wroxeter I*, fig. 18, no. 31.)
A.D. 80-120.
14. Short necked jar in hard brownish buff ware. Mica dusted. Rim flattened and everted. (Cf. *Jewry Wall*, fig. 26, no. 6.)
A.D. 70-110.
15. Globular jar in hard self coloured burnished grey ware. Short thick rim sharply everted. A series of girth grooves externally and rim burnished in parallel lines internally. (Cf. *Jewry Wall*, fig. 27, no. 7.)
To A.D. 120

16. Poppy head beaker. Hard light grey ware with dark bluish grey smooth exterior. Thin mica dusting. High everted neck with burnished parallel lines. Narrow raised cordon below neck. Parallel rows of nodular rustication. For distribution and discussion see F. H. Thompson, "A Romano-British Pottery Kiln at North Hykeham," *Antiq. J.*, XXXVIII (Jan.-Apr. 1958), 34 et seq. (Cf. *Richborough I*, 98 and Pl. 25. *Richborough III*, 180 and Pl. 39).
A.D. 70-120.
17. Narrow necked jar in hard burnished grey ware. (Cf. *Jewry Wall*, fig. 25, nos 21-22).

* * *

SAMIAN POTTERY

Mr. B. R. Hartley reports. The Samian ware ranges from Flavian to late Antonine times.

Form 27. Base. Stamp of ATTIVS FE. Lesoux. Trajan-Hadrian.

Form 27. Two rims. South Gaulish. Flavian. High glaze.

Form 27. Rim. Central Gaulish. Trajan-Hadrian.

Form 29. Two bases and two rims. South Gaulish. Flavian.

Form 31. Two rims and sides. Central Gaulish. Trajanic.

Form 18/31. Two rims. Probably Central Gaulish. Antonine.

Form 33. Rim, wall and chamfer. Possibly Lesoux. Domitian-Trajan.

Curle 15. Large rim sherd. Heavy rim everted at right angles to concavity of wall.

Patchy glaze. East Gaulish. Antonine. (Cf. O. and P.Pl., LVI, no. 14).

Curle 15. Rim. East Gaulish. Antonine. (Cf. O. and P.Pl., LVI, no. 9.)

* * *

DECORATED SAMIAN POTTERY

Form 29. Six sherds. Central Gaulish. Antonine. One by DIVIXTVS. One by the Potter of the small S.

* * *

THE QUERNSTONE

This is the usual type of circular nether stone with signs of moderate wear on the upper convex surface. Professor F. W. Shotton reports:

"The small piece of stone you sent from the quern is a feldspathic grit. The feldspar is mainly rotten, the quartz is in well rounded grains of quite large size, and the rock is fairly porous. I strongly suspect that it is a piece of Millstone Grit which the Romans certainly used extensively for querns. If it is true Millstone Grit, then it probably came from Derbyshire or further north in the Pennines, but one would need to be a little cautious about this as the rock type could probably be matched in some of the other outcrops of Carboniferous."

* * *

THE COIN

Vespasian. Dp. Obv. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII PP

Head laureate r. globe below neck.

Rev. S. C. Victory advancing l. holding shield inscribed SPQR. A.D. 77-78.

THE ROMAN ROAD FROM GREENSFORGE THROUGH THE CENTRAL WELSH MARCH

BY A. W. J. HOUGHTON, M.B., B.S., M.R.C.P.

Purpose and History

This road provided communication between the Roman forts at Forden, Caer Sws and Castell Collen and the midlands area, where at Greensforge, the site of another fort, it joined the road coming north from Droitwich. It also crossed the Watling street (West) to the north of Leintwardine (*Bravonium*) and so provided an important link with this great military highway which connected the legionary fortresses of Chester (*Deva*) and Caerleon (*Isca*). The significance of this cross has lately assumed greater proportions on account of the discovery of five Roman temporary marching camps¹ (as yet undated) and a stone fort² occupied in Hadrianic times in the Leintwardine-Affcot area. To the south at Walltown near Cleobury Mortimer, what appears to be a permanent fort³ with 2nd century pottery has been discovered. Moreover at the western extremity of Corvedale the road crosses another Roman road coming north from the direction of Weston-under-Penyard (*Ariconium*) and Gloucester (*Glevum*).

The construction of this road may have occurred during the initial conquest of Wales before the final defeat of the *Ordovices* by Agricola in A.D. 84. The subsequent organization of the frontier would require rapid communication with the hinterland forts and the alignment of the road in close proximity to the British hill forts at The Ditches and Norton Walls in Corvedale, Wart Hill and Caer Din east of Offa's Dyke can hardly be coincidental. The small amount of work done at Greensforge⁴ has revealed no evidence of military occupation after the Claudian-Flavian period nor does this fort belong to the same context as the Welsh forts though it is conceivable that it may have served as a depot for the latter stages of the initial conquest of Wales.

For a great part of its length this road traverses that part of the highland zone which protrudes farthest east into the midlands. In these uplands the way keeps to the high ground and has been known for centuries as yr Hen Ffordd (the ancient road). It is so aligned that for 27 miles it crosses only two small brooks. At Bishops Moat, west of Bishops Castle, a branch passes north-west to Forden near which place the metalled *agger* is well preserved. Three miles to the west, at Pantglas, the road forks, one branch going by way of Hopton Bank and City to Sarn and so along the upper Mule valley to Caer Sws passing through Kerry and Newtown. The south-west branch continues along the county boundary past the Upper and Lower Short Ditches, Kerry Pole and Kerry Hill where it turns southwards to Llanbadarn. It then passes down the Ithon valley to Castell Collen. In this area the road was deliberately blocked by Offa's Dyke and the pre-Offan earthworks.

The Alignments (Fig. 1)

It is not proposed in this paper to deal with any part of this road which lies outside the county of Shropshire except at the point of crossing of Offa's Dyke.

THE ROMAN ROAD FROM GREENSFORGE

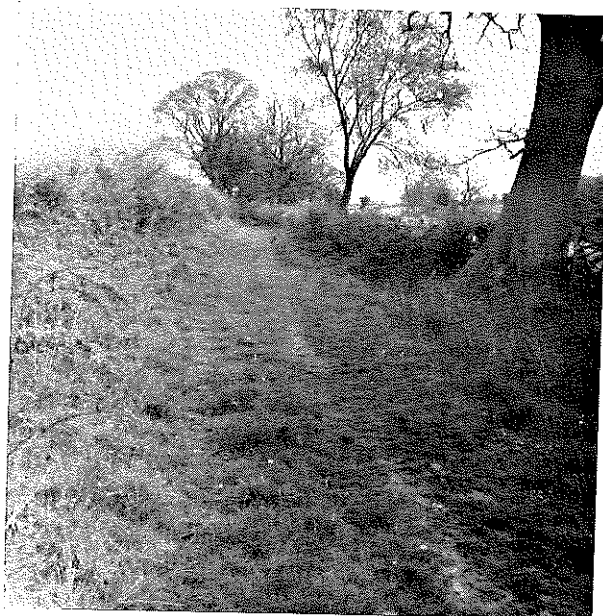


PLATE 1.—The Roman Road near Row Lane, Corvedale.



PLATE 2.—The way to the Lowlands. Looking east to Corvedale, Norton Walls to the south.



PLATE 3.—Deserted length of Roman Road. Looking west near Long Lane, Craven Arms.



PLATE 4.—The Roman Road climbing from Bishop's Castle to Bishops Moat,



PLATE 5.—At Offa's Dyke north of Mainstone. A is the Dyke; B is the lane in the ditch, and C the stump of the Roman agger.

The general alignments will however, now be indicated:

1. Cider House—Upper Short Ditch $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles.
2. Upper Short Ditch—Pantglas, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles.
3. Pantglas—Moat Hill, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles.
4. Moat Hill—Red House. 5 miles.
5. Red House—Halford. 6 miles.
6. Halford—Halford vicarage. 1 mile.
7. Halford vicarage—Monkhopton. $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles.
8. Monkhopton—Bridgnorth. 6 miles.
9. Bridgnorth—Roughton. 4 miles.
10. Roughton—Greensforge. $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

These alignments are for the most part straight and from the western extremity as far east as Red House appear to follow a British trackway along which stone and flint implements have been found.⁵ From Bishops Moat to Halford the road is part of Ogilby's London to Montgomery road⁶ and the milestones indicating the distances from London may still be seen. Between Halford and Monkhopton the road follows the only possible course between the great limestone ridge of Wenlock Edge to the north-west and the Clee massif to the south-east, after which a long descent to the Severn valley at Bridgnorth brings the way into easier country east of the Severn.

The Route

Coming from Greensforge across Highgate common, where traces of the *agger* are visible on the north side of the road, the way enters Shropshire just east of Whitecross and in half a mile descends into a steep valley passing through the hamlet of Broughton. To the west the present road curves to the south around farm buildings though it seems likely that the Roman road went under these buildings. Still on the same alignment the old farm called Winchester is passed on the north corner of a crossroads beyond which the Roman road is a completely deserted straight way for the next quarter mile. Excavation at this point revealed details of the construction of the road (fig 2).

The alignment alters course then slightly to the south-west in the direction of Roughton. Passing Sandford and Cheyknell the road is in use as far as The Cross where it descends, as a deserted wide track, the steep escarpment to the west of Wall-hill. Here it crosses an ancient way and for the next two hundred yards is lost in a field. It then reappears as a firm cart track and turning to the north and then west, avoiding a steep hill, it is lost in the village of Roughton. A short length of road in the village

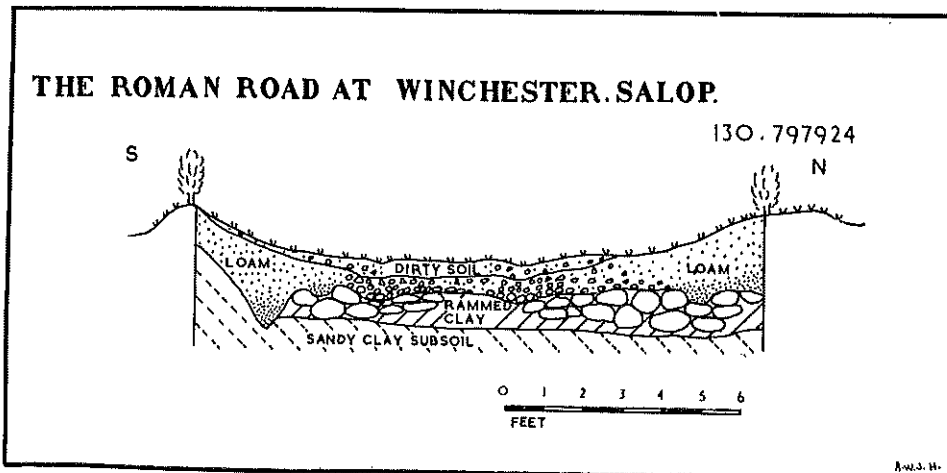


FIG. 2

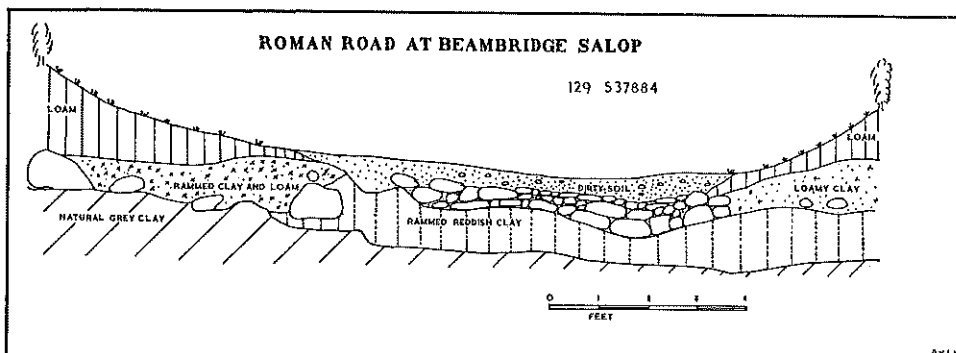


FIG. 3

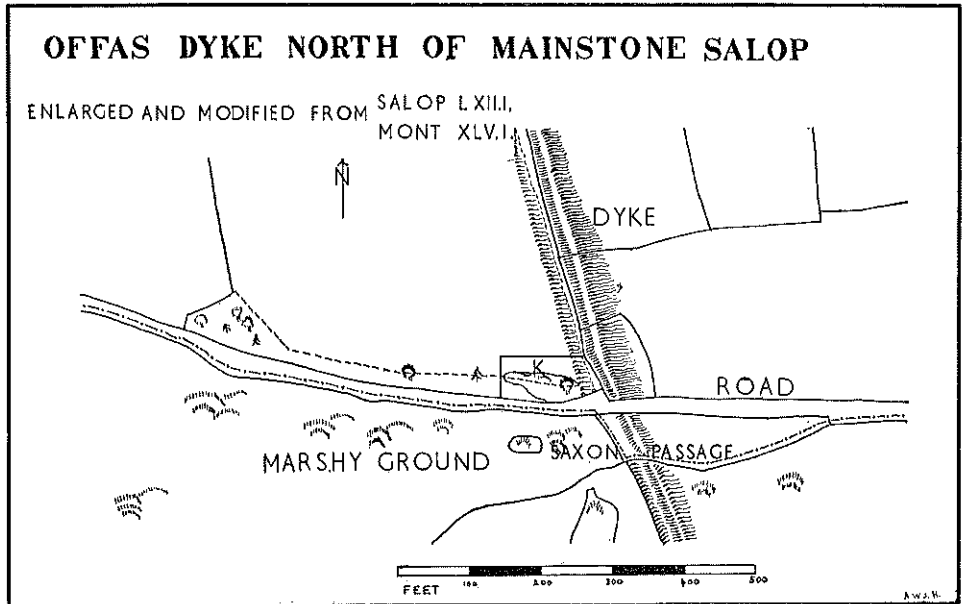


FIG. 4

Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.
(Crown Copyright reserved)

may mark the course which then continues on as a straight right of way passing south of Swancote Farm and running at this point into the high road to Bridgnorth. It is only possible to guess at the course of the ancient road through this town though there is no reason to suppose that it need have followed any other course than that which the present road follows.

From Bridgnorth the present high road pursues a generally straight course to Morville, though across Morville Heath there are a good many twists and turns and cultivation has obliterated all traces of the ancient road in the bends. In the western part of Morville the present road forks, the Roman Road taking a north-west course to cross the Mor Brook at Ash Bridge and then turning south-west to rejoin the western alignment east of Aston Eyre. This deviation is clearly made in order to avoid the marshy lowlands between Aston Hill and the river.

The present perfectly straight highroad west of Aston Eyre is of modern construction as far as Brickyard Farm. The ancient road kept on a straight alignment on the north side past the church and then may be traced as a footpath leading into Aston, Lane. Here old cottages still face the lane and parts of the agger are very well preserved, remaining to a height of nearly four feet in places, though the worn road is seen as a shallow hollow way with a hard base of large flat stones. A small stream is then crossed, after which trees in a row mark the course of a faint hollow way which runs to a long hedge line going north of Brickyard Farm, beyond which the present road is rejoined.

Two miles south-west of Weston a deserted green and overgrown lane branches off to the south-west and this indicates the course of the Roman Road. Until as late as the first edition of the Ordnance Survey, 1833, this was the main coach road to Bishops

Castle, the present course across the river Corve to Shipton being constructed at a later date. In about a mile the lane is asphalted and is called Row Lane and still follows a perfectly straight alignment along the spine of low hills for about two miles. Opposite Broadstone which at Domesday was part of the great manor of Stanway⁷ (this place name still survives to the north on the southern escarpment of Wenlock Edge) and Hungerford the road is again deserted and here the fine broad alignment is well worth a visit. It dips to ford the Trow Brook and excavation on the opposite rise revealed certain interesting features. (fig. 3).

At Beambridge the lane, still deserted, joins the road from Balaam's Heath and does a right and left bend across the Corve River after which the present road via Munslow, Diddlebury and Culmington follows its course. Half a mile west of Shawbank, Greenway Cross is reached and at this point another Roman road is crossed. Rather less than a quarter of a mile short of the Halford turning Halford Vicarage is seen on the north side of the road and at this point the Roman Road went by a direct route to Halford. A right of way still marks the course through the vicarage garden, along a hedgerow and finally by a short stretch of hollow way about ten feet wide where it falls into the present road through Halford. Here it may be noted that the final present stretch of road to Craven Arms is of late 18th century construction.

The brook from Strefford is forded at this point though a parish boundary south of the present ford may indicate the ancient route across the flood plain. At Newington, north of Craven Arms, the Shrewsbury-Hereford road is crossed; then the railway and the Watling Street West are successively crossed practically at right angles. At least one Roman marching camp exists in the north-east field on the north side bounded by the two Roman Roads and the railway. Then, as Long Lane, the road commences the ascent into the hills. About two hundred yards west of the next crossroads the ancient road may be seen on the north side as a hollow way bounded by low banks going directly up the hill while the modern road curves to the south around a stone quarry. The hollow way crosses two fields and then is cut by a rough hedge. Continuing as a deeply cut terrace way it passes an ancient dry-stone built cattle pound and here the parish boundary runs along it. On high ground to the west great stones mark the course of this boundary and the green way is 30 feet wide in places. Entering a wood it may easily be traced still climbing and perfectly straight finally joining the present road to the south-east of Wart Hill.

South of the present road a wide slang⁸ with traces of *agger* exists and then the way curves tightly round the jutting base of Wart Hill with its Iron Age fort, a steep scarp falling away to the south. At Round Oak traces of multiple rutting are seen on the south side of the way and passing through the valley at Basford it climbs steeply past Edgton and then by a straight alignment dips to the Red House.

Here it turns on a north-westerly line and climbing five hundred feet to the summit of Oakley Mynd it is known as Stank Lane. The way then descends a long straight stretch, a parish boundary following the course for much of the way. At Lydbury North just to the south, a Roman figurine, now in Shrewsbury museum, was discovered in 1929.

The Shrewsbury Clun road south of Bishops Castle is crossed at this point, the way now being a broad motor road. West of Bishops Castle the road narrows and becomes a straight deeply sunken lane and with the exception of one bend at

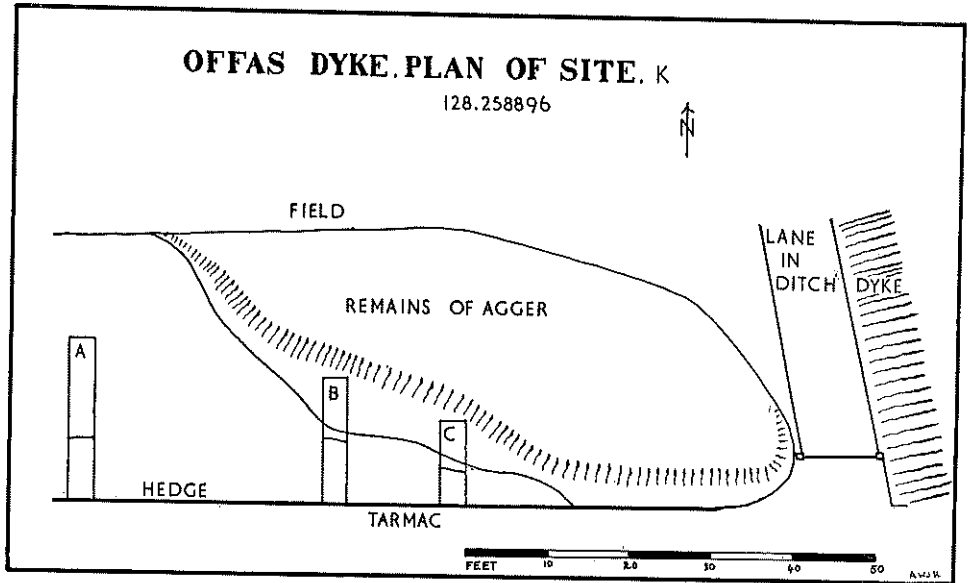


FIG. 5

Caeglas, it is perfectly straight heading north-west for the summit of Moat Hill, a parish boundary following its course for the upper part.

At the top of Moat Hill there is a characteristic abrupt change of alignment to the west. At Bishops Moat, a fine motte and bailey castle, the bailey touches the north side of the road, which then forks, the stress of later development being on the north-west branch which goes to Montgomery and Forden here leaving Shropshire. The west branch, however, continues on a straight line and traces of agger may be seen beyond the short hedge immediately in front and on the north side of the present way which here curves slightly off the alignment. In a short distance the road dips into the valley past the Dog and Duck Farm and then climbing it continues on the county boundary and reaches Offa's Dyke at an altitude of 1,250 feet. The County Boundary at this point turns about twenty yards to the south here traversing one of the rare Saxon passages⁹ through the dyke while the modern tarmac road passes a manifestly

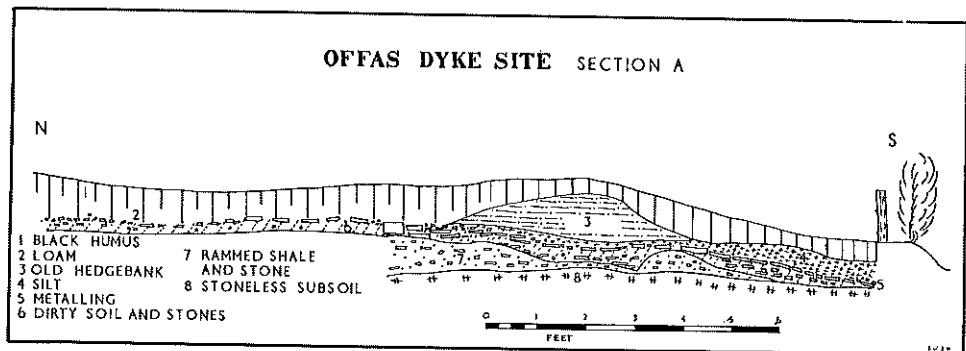


FIG. 6

recent cut through the dyke (fig. 4). Immediately to the west of the dyke and ditch, however, is a long mound on the north side of the present road, and this is seen to lie at the east end of a slang which borders the road. Excavation has revealed that the Roman Road followed the course of the slang, that the mound was in fact the eroded stump of the Roman agger which had here fallen out of use when the dyke was constructed at the end of the 8th Century, and that the dyke was in fact deliberately placed across the Roman Road, so compelling travellers to turn aside to the south and pass through the small entrance. Finally, in a short distance the slang is seen to fall into the course of the present road making with it a straight alignment.

At Pantglas the road again forks and the west branch continuing on a straight alignment enters Montgomeryshire, passing by way of City, Sarn and Kerry to Newtown and Caer Sws. The south west branch dips into the valley and curving slightly to the south to avoid an awkward incline climbs to a height of 1,400 feet passing a Bronze Age barrow. The direction is now west-south-west and the broad green way passes over desolate moorland. West of the barrow well marked traces of agger are visible, first on the north and then on the south side of the present track. Turning south-west just before Lower Short Ditch is reached, the way avoids a deep cwm on the north side while the Saxon bank, however, renders the road narrower than average at this point. Still following the county boundary the greenway continues perfectly straight along the south-east edge of Long Plantation, here reaching its maximum altitude in Shropshire of 1,575 feet. Curving round a steep bluff the way dips to reach Upper Short Ditch and, turning on a more westerly alignment, it leaves Shropshire just beyond this point.

Excavations

1. East of Winchester farm. (Fig. 2).

A trench three feet wide was cut across a deserted section of the road at this point. It was found to be trench built a hard bed of rammed clay being laid on the natural sandy clay with a small ditch cut into the subsoil close to the clay base. No true kerb was found but great stones reinforced the outer parts of the clay bed. The present lane offsets the Roman road to the south.

2. At Beambridge, Corvedale. (Fig. 3).

Here the road was at least fifteen feet wide and was founded on great stones over a foot in diameter. To the south the ground rises and here the stones were very large and close-packed though many had been robbed away with consequent tumbling down of loam from the bank above.

This was another trench built road.

3. At Offa's Dyke.

For the general plan of the site see Fig. 4.

Three trenches were cut and the position of these is shown in Fig. 5.

At A post-Roman metalling was found on top of the eroded base of the *agger* (Fig. 6).

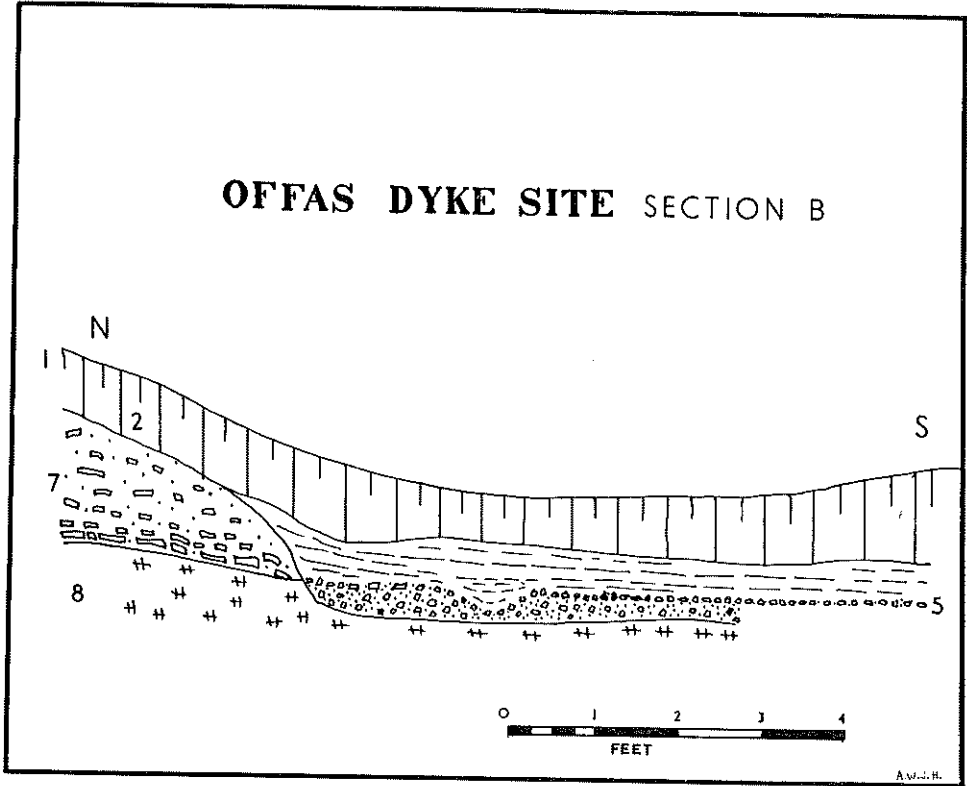


FIG. 7

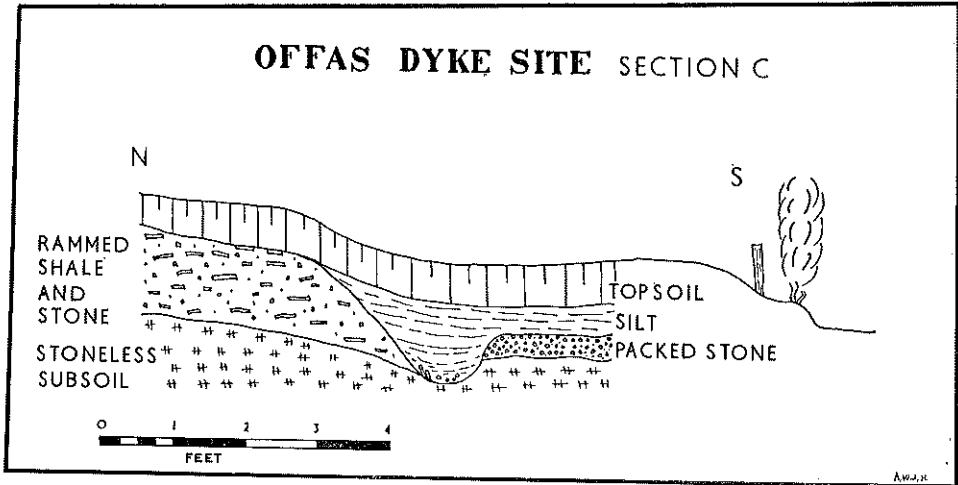


FIG. 8

At B the worn remains of the *agger* were found at the north end of the trench while rutted post-Roman metalling was discovered to the south (Fig. 7).

At C (Fig. 8) the post-Roman road had curved still more to the south. The *agger* was constructed of rammed shale strengthened by pitched stone and was immensely hard.

I am most grateful to Mr. Graham Webster for having read the manuscript and for helpful comments and suggestions. I also thank Mr. Arnold Baker for providing me with information concerning the marching camps. Thanks are due to the Director-General of H.M. Ordnance Survey for permission to publish part of the 25 in. maps of the Offa's Dyke region. I would also like to thank all members of the local Roman Research Group who assisted with the excavations. In particular mention should be made of Miss J. Wood and Messrs. T. Cole, T. Ewart, L. Moseley and E. Jenks.

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THE OFFICERS AND CLERKS OF THE NORMAN EARLS OF
SHROPSHIRE

BY J. F. A. MASON, M.A., D.PHIL.

English barons, like English kings, have always possessed their own officers, Stewards, Butlers, Chamberlains, and so on ; but the officers of English barons in the first two centuries or so after the Norman Conquest of 1066, unlike the officers of English kings during that period, have not attracted much attention in detail from historians other than Sir Charles Clay and the late James Tait. Yet there is a good deal of evidence about the officers of barons during those years, and this material is especially valuable in the first generation or so after 1066, because we are then able to use the evidence of Domesday Book itself about conditions in 1086. One man of the period immediately after 1066 about whom Domesday and other sources are especially helpful is Roger de Montgomery, first Norman Earl of Shropshire; Roger's officers, who for the most part were also the officers of the two sons who succeeded him as Earl, are discussed here against the background of a study of the officers of the new Norman baronage as a whole. Most of the relevant facts were well known to Eyton; but it may be worth while to bring them together from a fresh point of view.

Very few Norman tenants-in-chief had their own Sheriff; but Earl Roger did, and we will begin with this officer. First of all, as with many Domesday subjects, we must look outside Shropshire itself. On Roger's numerous estates outside Shropshire we hear with certainty of only one officer, his Sheriff in the Rape of Arundel which Roger held in West Sussex. In 1086, according to Domesday Book, Earl Roger's vassal Robert fitz Tetbald held of Roger in Sussex a large number of manors—certainly 24, probably 29, perhaps as many as 36—which later constituted the Honor of Petworth, and together gave Robert over one-third of the estates in Earl Roger's Rape not kept in demesne by the Earl himself (*Domesday Book*, i, 23 b, etc.). In Shropshire Robert held of Earl Roger Shifnal and three other manors (*D.B.*, i, 256 d). Fitz Tetbald is nowhere in Domesday described as Sheriff (*Vicecomes*), but he occurs as "Rotbertus Vicecomes, filius Tedbaldi" in the Shrewsbury Cartulary.¹ Eyton was thus led to write of Robert: "Being thus by far the greatest Feoffee in Roger de Montgomery's Earldom of Arundel and Chichester, it was doubtless in this relation, that Robert Fitz Tetbald acquired his title of *Vicecomes*, though his Shrievalty is nowhere noticed in Domesday, and perhaps had not then commenced".² J. H. Round seems later to have thought that Eyton meant by this that Robert was Sheriff of Sussex; Round's slights on Eyton long after the latter's death are an unedifying and unrewarding subject, but (though Roger de Montgomery is not now held to have received an earldom of Arundel and Chichester) Eyton does not really say that fitz Tetbald was Sheriff of the whole of Sussex. In fact he was Earl Roger's Sheriff within Roger's Rape of Arundel, and this is probably what Eyton meant, though it was left to Round to record a belief that each Sussex Rape had its own Sheriff at the time of Domesday.³ The Cartulary of the Norman abbey of St. Martin at Sées, which Eyton did not see, confirms that Robert fitz Tetbald was a Sheriff, and a Cluny charter also published since Eyton's day gives Robert the suggestive description

"of Arundel" (*de Arundello*).⁴ This description is similar to those sometimes given to other men (such as Urso of Worcester, Picot of Cambridge, Baldwin of Exeter, Robert of Stafford) who are known to have been Sheriffs and are consequently sometimes given styles derived from the chief town of their counties. Arundel was the chief town of Roger's Sussex Rape, which is nowhere in Domesday called the Rape of Chichester. On one point Eyton seems to have erred: the Sées Cartulary shows that far from surviving the fall of Earl Robert, as Eyton thought, Robert fitz Tetbald in fact died in 1087.⁵ Whether his son Hugh succeeded him in office we do not know.

Earl Roger, then, had a Sheriff in his Rape in Sussex, though we know nothing of his activities as Sheriff except that he could be termed "of Arundel". Roger also, as is well-known, had a second Sheriff in his county of Shropshire.⁶ A variety of converging evidence shows indisputably that Roger's first Shropshire sheriff was Warin the Bald, and that the latter was succeeded as Sheriff in 1085-6 by Renaud de Bailleul. Ordericus Vitalis of St. Evroul, the Shropshire-born monastic chronicler who was the son of Earl Roger's clerk Odelerius, has a valuable paragraph on the government of Shropshire under Earl Roger; he begins, naturally enough, by enumerating the Earl's clerical advisers, and then immediately mentions the Earl's appointment of Warin as Sheriff, though without mentioning the office by name: *Warino autem calvo, corpore parvo, sed animo magno, Amieriam neptem suam et praesidatum Scrobesburiae dedit, per quem Guallos altosque sibi adversantes fortiter oppressit et provinciam totam sibi commissam pacificavit.*⁷ There are several points of interest in this single sentence. The description of Warin as "small in body but great in mind" must, as Eyton noted, be a boyhood reminiscence,⁸ for Orderic had surely seen Warin at Shrewsbury before Orderic himself left for St. Evroul in 1085 at the age of ten; the sobriquet "the Bald" is almost flattering when compared with some of those bestowed by the Normans on their fellows on account of some personal characteristic. Warin's marriage to the Earl's niece (*neptem* can hardly mean grand-daughter here) means that we can include Warin in the list of officers of barons who were related to their lords. The words *praesidatum Scrobesburiae* may perhaps mean something like "the custody of Shropshire"; or they may refer to the custody of Shrewsbury itself, with its castle, for the custody of the castle in the county town was the Sheriff's perquisite in Norman England.⁹ Orderic recites two descriptions of Warin as *vicecomes de Scrobesburia*, and the Welsh *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* neatly refers to Warin as Warin "o Amwythic" ("of Shrewsbury"),¹⁰ just as Robert fitz Tetbald is once described as "of Arundel". We know that both Warin and his widow possessed property in Shrewsbury.¹¹ Orderic's reference to Warin's deeds against the Welsh is confirmed, as will be seen, by the location of an important part of his Shropshire fief, by the general advance against the Welsh made by Earl Roger and his men before 1086, by Warin's successor's tenure in that year of Cynllaith and Edeyrnion (*D.B.*, i, 255 a), and by the reference in the *Hanes* to Warin as one of the leaders (the only one named from Shropshire) of a Norman army which penetrated to the Lleyn peninsula. (The first column of the Shropshire Domesday actually specifies a penalty for disobedience to the summons of the pre-Conquest Sheriff of Shropshire when the latter wished to go into Wales; so here Warin seems to follow in his predecessors' footsteps). Warin's activities within Shropshire are most obscure; references to or attestations by him as Sheriff, of which there are several in Orderic and the Shrewsbury Cartulary,¹² tell one nothing

here, though we seem to see him playing a leading part among the Earl's barons in the foundation of Shrewsbury Abbey. Warin's most interesting and best authenticated attestation was among his last; some time in 1085, after March 27th, as "vicecomes Warinus" and by implication as a member of Earl Roger's household or *familia*, he attested a land-grant made by the Bishop of Hereford to another Marcher lord, Roger de Laci.¹³ Warin attests after two of the Earl's sons and the Countess Adeliza, and at the head of six barons of the Earl including himself. This seems fair evidence of his precedence in the shire.

Warin died soon after this attestation, but before the compilation in 1086 of the Domesday Survey, in which he is twice mentioned (*D.B.*, i, 254 b, 255 c), though not as Sheriff. His widow Amieria, the Earl's niece, was married, before Domesday and with the minimum of delay, to Renaud de Bailleul,¹⁴ who is described as *Raynaldus Vicecomes* in the first entry for his fief in the Shropshire Domesday (*D.B.*, i, 254 b). Renaud came from Bailleul-en-Gouffern, fairly near the two places named Montgomery in Normandy from which Earl Roger himself came.¹⁵ (We do not know where Warin came from). Renaud probably remained Sheriff until 1102 or later; the transmission of the office from Amieria's first husband to her second shows something of a hereditary tendency in this particular office, and this tendency would be quite clear if, as is possible but far from certain, Renaud was followed in office, however briefly, by Hugh son of Warin and Amieria.¹⁶

In 1086 Renaud held a compact group of estates facing the Welsh border in the Hundred of "Mersete", between the Severn and the Oswestry area; at what is now Oswestry itself Renaud had built his castle, *Luvre* (i.e. "l'Oeuvre") (*D.B.*, 253 c). Renaud held some seventy estates in Shropshire altogether, most of them scattered throughout the county, while he held a single hide on the Earl's demesne manor of Ellesmere (*D.B.*, i, 253 d); this is reminiscent of the small holdings on their lords' demesne manors of officers of other tenants-in-chief.¹⁷ In 1086 Renaud's Shropshire holdings were worth nearly £100; though they had been worth more twenty years earlier, in 1086 Renaud's Shropshire estates were still worth more than those of the Corbet brothers (originally granted to their father Corbet) and Picot de Say, three of the next most prominent barons in the county, combined. By any standard—kinship, resources, office—Renaud was the Earl's most important tenant in Shropshire; it can scarcely be coincidence that in Sussex too Robert fitz Tetbald was similarly marked out by office and resources—we do not know whether he was related to Earl Roger, or, indeed, his place of origin in Normandy. In the course of that long and important discussion of the Norman Sheriffs of Shropshire which has already been laid under contribution here, Eyton pointed out that Roger de Montgomery, as *Vicomte* of the Hiémois in Normandy, would be "right competent to estimate the toils and to apportion the emoluments of such an office"¹⁸; one might perhaps also add that Roger's first wife was the grand-daughter, and his second the sister of French *vicomtes*. Both Robert fitz Tetbald and first Warin and then Renaud were extremely important men in Norman England, leading members of the "honorial baronage". Renaud, and presumably Warin before him, was in fact himself a tenant-in-chief of the Conqueror in Staffordshire in 1086 (*D.B.*, i, 250 c), though a very minor one; he also held, probably preceded in every case by Warin, further estates of Earl Roger in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, and indeed held some land of the Earl in Sussex

(*D.B.*, i, 248 a, 239 b, 24 d), just as fitz Tetbald held a few manors of the Earl in Shropshire.

One major problem concerning Warin and Renaud ought to be mentioned here: Professor Darlington has doubted whether they were in fact the nominees of Earl Roger as Sheriffs of Shropshire, and has suggested that they may in fact have been the king's nominees, despite the special status of Shropshire.¹⁹ But his arguments do not seem to have upset the normal view,²⁰ which regards the first two Norman Sheriffs of Shropshire as indeed the nominees of the Earl of that county. All that we know about Domesday Shropshire is in favour of the normal view, especially the Domesday statement (*D.B.*, i, 254 a) that Earl Roger held of the king the city of Shrewsbury, Edward the Confessor's royal demesne in the county, the hundreds of the county, and the pleas of the county; if all this was Roger's, surely the sheriff was his also. Furthermore, Orderic's statement quoted earlier, that Earl Roger gave Warin the *praesidatum Scrobesburiae*, is almost decisive of itself.

In appointing not one sheriff but two—the baronial appointment of the sheriffs of Sussex Rapes seems not to have been questioned—Earl Roger may not have been alone among the Conqueror's barons, though the Sheriff was of course normally appointed by the king. Count Robert of Mortain had a Sheriff in his Sussex Rape of Pevensy, and the Sheriff of Cornwall, most of which Robert held in chief, was possibly appointed by Robert; William fitz Osbern, who was killed in 1071, had certainly appointed the Sheriff of his county of Hereford, and may have had a Sheriff in the Isle of Wight, the whole of which he had held in chief. The three possible recipients of this special mark of favour, Count Robert, Earl William and Earl Roger, were all related to the Conqueror and to each other.

Renaud the Sheriff may have had a deputy, Fulcuius the Sheriff, or rather Under-Sheriff. One Fulcuius is recorded in the Shropshire Domesday as tenant under the Earl of two small manors, Withington near Renaud the Sheriff's important manor of Upton Magna, and Little Withyford rather further away (*D.B.*, i, 259 b); half of the former, and all the latter, were later held of Fitzalan (Renaud's successors). Eyton seems at one point to hint a doubt as to whether this Domesday tenant was identical with the later Deputy Sheriff of this name, who was alive in 1121, but this does not affect the fact that such an officer at some time existed. Fulco the Sheriff (*Viccomes*) is among the barons of Earl Hugh whose existence is alleged by the Shrewsbury Cartulary, but it is possible that this title was applied to him retrospectively by reason of his undoubted tenure of office as, or under, the Sheriff after 1102.²¹ There seems to be no firm evidence for the existence of Under-Sheriffs as such before the earlier twelfth century.²² Another possible Under-Sheriff of Shropshire is Arthur the Sheriff who attested one of the documents attending the foundation of Quatford Church in 1086; his place among the witnesses strongly suggests that he was connected with Shropshire, but nothing further seems to be known about him.²³

Immediately after his description of Warin, Orderic says that Earl Roger put over Shropshire (*praefecit*) various loyal and brave men, among whom he mentions five by name, William Pantulf, Picot de Say, Corbet, and Corbet's sons Roger and Richard.²⁴ But we cannot take this passage to mean that any of these otherwise well-known men held any office of the Earl, for there is no other evidence of this, and the passage refers simply to their position as leading tenants of Earl Roger in the shire.

However, there is evidence about other officers of the Earl. For many years the most commonly found baronial officer is the Steward (*Dapifer*), and it is unfortunate that the only evidence we have about Roger's Steward comes from the verdict of a Shropshire jury of 1303. This, discussed by Eyton at the beginning of his account of the Mortimers, states that the Domesday Ralf de Mortimer (who indeed survived Earl Robert's fall) held his manor of Cleobury Mortimer as of the escheat of Earl Robert de Bellême by the service of being Robert's Seneschal (a later term which superseded *Dapifer*) in respect of all Earl Robert's lands in Shropshire, and also by service of being *Custos* of Bridgnorth Castle. Eyton duly points out that Ralf could not have held Cleobury Mortimer of Bellême's escheat (i.e. after 1102) because he already held it of the King in 1086, and that Ralf could hardly have held the manor by a service at Bridgnorth Castle, which came into being well after Ralf's acquisition of Cleobury. But Eyton had "no doubt that what Ralf de Mortimer did hold in Shropshire under Earl Roger was by service of being his seneschal, a service, which, on the subsequent foundations of Brug (i.e. Bridgnorth) Castle by Earl Robert, may have been construed to involve the custody of that fortress."²⁵ (The last possibility is a deduction from Ralf's heir's attempts to hold Bridgnorth Castle against Henry II in 1155—but this can be explained perfectly well by a failure to realise that times had changed, without recourse to the hypothesis that Stephen had allowed Ralf's heir to regain his father's Stewardship, which anyway had no point without an Earl under whom to hold it).

This Inquisition of 1303 is very late, and Eyton cites no compelling contemporary evidence in its support; furthermore, medieval juries at times deposed to some very strange "facts". But there seems no good reason why this statement about the first Mortimer should have been fabricated, and one is strongly inclined to follow Eyton in accepting it. In Florence of Worcester's account of the Norman rebellion of 1088 Ralf seems to be associated with Earl Roger's vassals as though he held some special position in the county²⁶; in 1102 he did not support Robert de Bellême, but neither did Robert's Sheriff Renaud. After all, it would be odd indeed if the Norman Earls had no *Dapifer* in Shropshire, for it is quite clear that Earl Roger's third son Arnulf did have a Steward in his lordship of Pembroke.

If we accept Ralf as *Dapifer*, two points may be made. First, he was a man of real importance, being a tenant-in-chief in his own right in South Shropshire, Herefordshire and elsewhere, and one of much greater importance than Renaud the Sheriff; in Shropshire itself Ralf held nearly a score of manors of Earl Roger, though their value was not great. Second, like Renaud Ralf was a kinsman of the Earl: Eyton thought that Ralf, as Earl Roger himself undoubtedly was, was descended from one of the sisters of the Conqueror's great-grandmother, the Norman Duchess Gunnor, but his view on the early Mortimer descent (which followed that of Stapleton) is not now generally accepted. However, Ralf was apparently related in some way to William of Warenne (another Shropshire tenant of Earl Roger), who was indeed descended from one of Gunnor's sisters,²⁷ and Ralf was thus in some way related to Earl Roger himself.

Since Eyton wrote the question of the Stewardship to the Norman Earls of Shropshire has been complicated by the publication in 1899 from the Cartulary of the Aquitanian house of La Sauve Majeure of a charter of 1095-8, by which Gual "dapifer" and his wife granted to La Sauve the church of Gual's manor of Worfield and other

rights in that manor.²⁸ The grant is confirmed by Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury, overlord of Worfield, and presumably Gual was that Earl's *dapifer*. The Cartulary revealed that Earl Hugh had granted to La Sauve the Collegiate Church founded by his father at Quatford²⁹; the grant in nearby Worfield was a natural result. Had Gual replaced Ralf de Mortimer as Steward? Was Gual Steward at the same time as Ralf (perhaps household steward while Ralf was estates steward)? Or is there some other likely explanation? It seems at least possible that Gual had been Steward of Earl Hugh during the years when Hugh, as in 1086, held only Worfield, and that of the king in chief, not of his own father (*D.B.*, i, 248 c); Hugh held Worfield in demesne in 1086, and Gual must have been enfeoffed with the manor after 1086, or perhaps after Hugh's own succession to the earldom in 1094. (The value of Worfield had increased six-fold between 1066 and 1086). It is certainly difficult to see in this man, who is otherwise unrecorded, the Earl's Steward for the whole of Shropshire. The absence of his heirs from Worfield in later years may of course be accounted for by a forfeiture in 1102.

The possibility has also been put forward that Richard "de Belmeis" was Steward to Earl Robert de Bellême, but it seems best to postpone a discussion of that point until later.

Earl Roger's Butler can easily be found: "Rotbertus Pincerna" (i.e. Butler) is named in Domesday as holding of the Earl six manors to the north-west of Shrewsbury; the nearest of them, Walford, lay seven miles from Shrewsbury, and the most valuable of them, "Crugetone", seems to have lain rather further away. This is one of several cases where a tenant holding an office which involves the performance of duties in attendance on his lord is found endowed with land within easy reach of a place of residence of that lord. Robert (who was also a tenant of Renaud the Sheriff) occurs with the style of "pincerna" in the Shrewsbury Cartulary; he probably incurred forfeiture in 1102.³⁰

The Shropshire Domesday names a second Butler on the Earl's demesne manor of Morville; two hides of the land of that manor were held by "Ricardus pincerna". If Richard was the Earl's Butler, then he held land near the Earl's demesne manor of Chetton as well as near Morville itself; but Domesday does not actually say that he held of Earl Roger, and Eyton's "flair" in dealing with this manor, in the very first volume of his book, is most noticeable. After a survey of all the lands belonging to Morville at Domesday, he placed these two hides in Tasley and Henley, and then, as the lordship of these two places was later held by Renaud the Sheriff's representatives the FitzAlans, he deduced that in 1086 Richard the Butler held his two hides not directly of the Earl but of Renaud.³¹ Richard is therefore more likely to have been Renaud's Butler than Earl Roger's. It is a little odd that Renaud held no important demesne manors near Tasley, but he did hold two unimportant ones (at Upton Cressett and Eudon), and had enfeoffed tenants with others; however, Richard may perhaps have been identical with another tenant of Renaud of the same name elsewhere in the county, though Eyton, perhaps rightly, does not think this possibility worth a mention.³² If we accept Eyton's conclusion about Richard—and his proof is as near complete as such arguments can be—we have from Morville a reminder that it was not only leading tenants-in-chief who needed and possessed their own officers; the same is true of an important mesne-tenant, and in fact Renaud exceeded in

importance and resources some tenants-in-chief whom elsewhere in England we find with their own officers.

Earl Roger possessed a Constable, though he is not to be found in Domesday. On one honor, that of Chester, the Constable was a well-endowed officer of a baron; not so on the honor of Earl Roger. The episcopal land-grant of 1085 already mentioned is attested by one "Gislebertus cognistabilis Rogeri comitis"—a satisfactorily precise description. Gilbert is the sixth and last of the witnesses to that grant from the baronial members of Earl Roger's *familia*. We have one other reference to him: Orderic recites a charter to St. Evroul which Earl Roger must have issued soon after Amieria's second marriage and before the death of Robert fitz Tetbald in 1087; this charter (styled a *testamentum*) was subscribed at Alençon in Normandy by certain of the Earl's magnates (*proceres*), among them Gilbert the Constable (*conestabilis*), not to mention a mere reeve or *praepositus*.³³ But Gilbert, though a *procer*, held no land in England in 1086.³⁴ One can only suppose that in England, at least, he lived in the Earl's household and may have commanded the Earl's household knights, men like the sixteen led in vain pursuit of his mother's murderers by Earl Roger's son Hugh on an occasion graphically described by Orderic.³⁵

Addiction to the chase was a common baronial trait, and that Earl Roger shared it is perhaps shown by the much later account of the foundation of his church at Quatford, in the vicinity of which place (i.e. in the Forest of Morfe) he was hunting when met by his wife Adeliza³⁶; Domesday itself shows that Earl Roger had at least four parks, one of them at Salwarpe in Worcestershire (*D.B.*, i, 176 a). At any rate, in 1086 Earl Roger had two Huntsmen, Norman and Roger. Domesday (*D.B.*, i, 259 b) lists first the seven manors held by Norman, but does not describe him as a *Venator*; however, a grant to Shrewsbury Abbey at one of these manors in which Norman is described as *Venator* proves that such was his office.³⁷ In Domesday Norman is immediately followed by "Roger Venator" (probably his younger brother³⁸), who also held seven estates of the Earl, though one of these was a single hide which was part of the Earl's demesne manor of Condover (*D.B.*, i, 253 b). This hide was a holding like that of Renaud the Sheriff at Ellesmere; in the same way, at Earl Roger's demesne manor of Hales Owen (entered under Worcestershire) Roger the Huntsman held $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides of a total of ten in that manor, and it was especially appropriate that a Huntsman should have a stake in some of his lord's demesne manors. If we study the locations of the estates of Norman and Roger we find, what is not unexpected, that they were granted land in the vicinity of the known forests of the county, into which their official duties will of course have taken them: thus Roger at Beckbury and Norman at Albrighton and Bishton held in or near the forest of Brewood, and not far from that of Morfe; while Norman at Cantlop and Roger at Pulverbatch, Wrentnall and "Lege" held within the later area of the Long Forest.³⁹

Neither of these small fiefs was of much value; but Tait, with his customary acuteness, noted one curious characteristic which they had in common with the fief of Robert the Earl's Butler, and thought it "perhaps more than mere coincidence" that these three officers of Earl Roger held of him estates the assessment of which was in each case, ten hides, neither more nor less.⁴⁰ No similar instances have yet been noted on other honors, but it seems distinctly possible that Earl Roger brought this result about in Shropshire of deliberate intent. The coincidence at least allows the

supposition that Earl Roger regarded his Butler and his Huntsmen as deserving a similar reward in terms of land.

The two Huntsmen seem to have disappeared from the scene even before Robert the Butler. However, another Huntsman, "Ulgerius Venator" is mentioned by Orderic as one of the three commanders of Bridgnorth Castle on Earl Robert's behalf in 1102⁴¹; it seems probable that he was in some way related to the brothers Norman and Roger.⁴² Whether or not "he first occurs in the court of Earl Hugh", as Eyton thought, he certainly survived Earl Robert's fall,⁴³ which he helped to procure and from which he benefited: a writ conjecturally assigned to 1105 was addressed by Henry I to Ulger, Geoffrey "de Bortona", and all the King's Foresters in Shropshire.⁴⁴ Eyton concludes that Ulger's Forestership "was founded by the Norman Earls, and greatly augmented by Henry I". But Ulger's garrison duty at Bridgnorth in 1102 warns us against seeing in him a mere Huntsman or Forester: his office was not so specialised that Ulger could not take part in ordinary warfare.

At the end of the Domesday account of Earl Roger's Shropshire lands there are two columns which list the estates held of him by a mixed band of small men, some with French but most with English names. These men correspond to the (French) King's Serjeants and the (English) King's Thegns who are similarly listed at the end of the survey of most counties of England. The English tenants of Earl Roger form an obvious parallel to the King's Thegns; were the men with French names in the same miscellaneous section of the Earl's fief the Earl's Serjeants in a technical sense, holding land of him in return not for rent (as the Earl's English vassals doubtless did), not for knight-service (as the greater vassals of the Earl must have done), but for serjeanty services of an administrative or menial nature? Early Serjeanties held of lords other than the king are an obscure subject; no man holding of Earl Roger in 1086 is actually described as a Serjeant (*serviens*), but there are several hints that some of the Frenchmen now to be mentioned may in fact have held of him by Serjeanty.⁴⁵

The first of these miscellaneous entries concerns the manor of "Ludecote", held (in equal proportions, later evidence suggests) by Ralf the Cook and Tochi (*D.B.*, i, 259 b). If Eyton identifies this manor correctly with Cotton on Tern, this estate lay on the eastern edge of the Earl's demesne manor of Hodnet⁴⁶; it seems natural enough for a Cook to be given land in such a position, but there is no evidence to suggest that Hodnet was especially favoured by Earl Roger as a place of residence. At any rate, service as a Cook was one possible form of Serjeanty.

Ralf the Cook and Tochi are followed in Domesday by Fulcuius, mentioned earlier, Fulcuius by Ernucion, and Ernucion by Teodulf. Fulcuius may have been an Under-Sheriff; half of one of his manors (Withington) was later a royal Serjeanty, the service being the provision of a knight to conduct the Welshmen of Powis whenever they had to visit the King's Court.⁴⁷ Eyton has no information about Ernucion, but his single manor of Kinnerley was apparently conferred by Henry II on his Interpreter.⁴⁸ Pulley, one of Teodulf's two manors, "being an Escheat in the hands of the Earl, or King, was constituted a Serjeantry, but whether by Earl Hugh, Earl Robert, King Henry I, or King Henry II", Eyton cannot say; the serjeanty service involved custody of the royal haye at Lythwood.⁴⁹ With one exception there is no further information about later Serjeanties to be gained about manors held by Frenchmen in this particular section of the Shropshire Domesday; but at least one fief held of the

Earl and entered earlier was later in part held by Serjeanty: Walcheline held of Earl Roger only two manors, Grinshill and Faintree (*D.B.*, i, 257 c), and Faintree was later held by the service of providing one foot-soldier, with bow and arrows, in the King's army in Wales. The late thirteenth century jury which stated the fact of this service (known from earlier evidence) may have meant that Walcheline the Domesday tenant had owed it, though he cannot of course have owed it to the King.⁵⁰ It is not suggested that these various manors were necessarily already held, in 1086, by the services which later applied to them; but it is at least a possibility that those services were later applied to them because they were already subject to services of a similar general kind.

The last entry of all in these two columns of miscellaneous estates deserves special attention. It shows Harcott (Stottesdon) as held of the Earl by Alcher, who held several other manors of Renaud the Sheriff, including one at Great Withyford. We know that in 1212 the serjeanty service due from Harcott was similar to that which applied to Faintree⁵¹; but we have also the statement by a Shropshire jury in 1357 (on the occasion of the death of one of Alcher's descendants), that Earl Roger himself died seised of the services set on Harcott. Eyton's conclusion must be given in his own words: "This proves Fitz Aer's Serjeantry to have existed at Domesday and that the silence of that Record is no proof of the non-existence of such tenures".⁵² Again, of course, this is very late evidence, and from a not necessarily reliable source, but the jury in question was on almost all other points very well-informed, and the information could obviously have come down the generations from the Domesday Alcher. In all probability this is the only kind of evidence we ever will get about early serjeanties held of lords below the King, and there is a very real possibility that services in the nature of serjeanty services had been created in Shropshire before 1086.⁵³

At the manorial level supervision of Earl Roger's estates was carried on by a village official inherited from Anglo-Saxon times: the reeve (*praepositus*). We hear of four reeves on Earl Roger's demesne manors, Hodnet, Chirbury, Lydham and Chetton (*D.B.*, i, 253 b, 253 c(2), 254 a); these men were unnamed, and we can only guess that they were English.

Before dealing with Earl Roger's clerical advisers we may briefly dismiss Nigel the Physician, who was thought by Eyton to be the Earl's physician. But this was an error, due apparently to a failure for once to take evidence from other shires into account. Nigel was the Conqueror's physician if he was anyone's, not Earl Roger's.⁵⁴

The men so far enumerated as officers of the Earls were, as laymen, illiterate. A man like Earl Roger, himself illiterate, had to provide for the performance of such written work as the administration of his lands required by a staff of clerks, that is of men ordained in the Church. In Sussex it may have been the clerks of St. Nicholas of Arundel who provided this service; in Shropshire we can clearly see the Earl endowing his clerks with land for their maintenance. Here I can only traverse ground already covered with great learning and skill by Mrs. Chibnall. At the centre of the county we have Earl Roger's new foundation, the (?collegiate) chapel of St. Michael in Shrewsbury Castle, endowed with two manors and with certain tithes (*D.B.*, i, 252 d). In the south-east of the county, an area in which Earl Roger's main interest may have lain in his later years, we have the earl's chaplains (*capellani comitis*) who held three hides of his demesne manor of Morville, six miles from the Earl's "new house" of 1086 at

Quatford. The Earl's chaplains had received a much larger grant at Stoke St. Milborough, a manor of twenty hides (*D.B.*, i, 252 d), but this manor belonged of right to St. Milburga, who eventually recovered it as Roger's chaplains died off.⁵⁵ Finally there is the possibility that Earl Roger's endowment of the canons of Quatford in 1086 was not totally disinterested: these canons, within a stone's throw of his new house there, were also a potential secretariat. We cannot call these clerks, thus endowed, a "Chancery", a name almost unknown in the administrative history of the medieval English baronage; but they may nonetheless have been efficient.

We know more about individual clerical advisers of Earl Roger than about those of any contemporary Anglo-Norman baron, because one of them was the father of Orderic Vitalis. Orderic gives us priceless information about the Earl's three clerks, who were long with him and of whose services he made much use. Indeed, as we have seen, Orderic naturally lists them first in his enumeration of the Earl's advisers and assistants: *tres sapientes clericos, Godebaldum et Odelerium ac Herbertum diutius secum habuit, quorum consiliis utiliter paruit*.⁵⁶ Orderic tells us nothing more of Godebold and Herbert, but again Mrs. Chibnall has ably summarised the evidence.⁵⁷ Godebold in 1086 held several of the manors of St. Alkmund's Church, Shrewsbury, and his son Robert held them later; Godebold also held a hide at Preen of Earl Roger's vassal Helgot, and "the fact that Preen later owed a rent-charge to the chapel of St. Michael in Shrewsbury Castle suggests that Godebold may also have enjoyed some preferment in that chapel". Earl Roger's clerk Herbert we know less about, but he is identified with the Herbert "Grammaticus" who was Archdeacon of Salop in the diocese of Chester, and as such was, like Godebold, an appropriate witness of one of the documents issued in the foundation of Quatford Church. The third clerk, Odelerius of Orleans, son of Constantius, was father of Orderic, who in the last pages of his great work brings before his readers so vividly the unhappiness of father and son at parting over half a century before. Orderic thought highly of his father: he describes him as an outstandingly gifted, eloquent and learned man (*vir ingenio et facundia et litterarum eruditione praepollens*), a valuable confidant of the Earl (*utilis que jam dicti comitis erat auricularius*), and so (by Orderic's account) the man who incited Earl Roger to the foundation of Shrewsbury Abbey. (Odelerius must have been bi-lingual with an English wife, for Orderic writes as though he himself had never heard French spoken before his arrival at St. Evroul: *linguam . . . quam non noveram audivi*).⁵⁸ Odelerius, though married, founded no short-lived ecclesiastical dynasty as did Godebold: he gave to Shrewsbury Abbey his hide at Charlton and his Church of St. Peter, and dowered his sons as monks with part of his movable wealth.

There remains one more clerk in the service of the Norman Earls who demands attention: Richard "de Belmeis", later Bishop of London. Orderic unfortunately gives no details of Richard's career before 1102,⁵⁹ but there is much information to be derived from other sources. As a former lord of Tong Richard was of special interest to Eyton, who spent part of his boyhood there; Eyton gives a full account of Richard,⁶⁰ tribute to which is paid by Tout in his life of Richard for the *D.N.B.* Richard came from Beaumais-sur-Dive, which, though in Earl Roger's Norman vicomté of the Hiemois, was apparently a fief of the Grandmesnil family⁶¹; however, the fact that the latter had been at feud with Earl Roger's first wife's family seems to have been no bar to Richard's employment by the Montgomery family, though

probably after Roger's first wife's death. Richard de Beaumais may have been the Richard who in 1086 held Meadowley of Earl Roger's vassal Helgot; Meadowley itself is near Morville, where the Earl's chaplains held land. Richard de Beaumais was probably also the Richard who held two hides at Preen of Helgot,⁶² the third hide there being held by Godebold, so that the whole of one of Helgot's manors may have been held of him by two clerks of his own lord. Richard's name occurs in the portions of the Shrewsbury Cartulary purporting to state transactions of the years before 1102,⁶³ and he is described by the Annals of Winchester as Robert de Bellême's clerk (*clericus comitis de Belesme*).⁶⁴ Richard doubtless had some connexion with Sussex under the Earls, for immediately after Bellême's forfeiture he was, as will be seen, given employment there; later he came back to Shropshire in an almost vice-regal capacity. After nineteen years as Bishop of London Richard died in 1127. Anselm's biographer Eadmer, when noting Richard's promotion to the episcopate, describes him as most able in secular affairs (*in secularibus multum valentem*)⁶⁵; there is perhaps a hint in William of Malmesbury of some financial capacity,⁶⁶ and according to the inscription on his tomb Richard was *per totam vitam laboriosus*. The point about Richard which deserves emphasis is that here we have a man who could pass from the service of a baron to the service of the king, and be fully competent to serve the latter. This passage from baronial to royal service is characteristic of the later medieval period, but here we have an undoubted early example, though the servant concerned is a clerk and not, as often later, a layman.

Did Richard de Beaumais hold a particular office of the Norman Earls before 1102? Bishop Stubbs strangely described him as "sheriff of Shropshire under . . . earls . . . Roger, Hugh, and Robert de Belesme"⁶⁷; but this must be a misunderstanding, based on Orderic's description of Richard as *vicecomes Scrobeshuriae* in connexion with his appointment to London in 1108. The editors of Henry I's charters have recently made a suggestion which must be taken more seriously, that de Beaumais "had probably been steward of the honour of Bellême in both Sussex and Shropshire"; the basis for this suggestion is the fact that within a few months of Earl Robert's fall Richard appears as dealing with both West Sussex and Shropshire on Henry I's behalf.⁶⁸ Evidence for other Stewards on the Earls' honor has already been discussed; but it is not inconceivable that de Beaumais should have dealt with the "business" side of the Steward's duties, while Ralf de Mortimer (if it was he) dealt with the merely ceremonial; nor is it impossible that, although all other certainly known stewards of barons at this time were laymen, a particularly able family like the Montgomeries should have resorted to a clerical Steward who cost little to endow with land. The possibility that de Beaumais was Steward is a real one; but there is no definite proof.

The mention of Sussex in connexion with Richard de Beaumais suggests a further question. Did the Norman Earls have separate staffs of officers in Sussex and Shropshire? (They held other estates also, but the great majority of their lands lay in these two compact blocks). So far we have found a separate Sheriff in each area; it is possible that one Steward was responsible for both areas in 1102, and also that Gilbert was Earl Roger's only Constable in England; but otherwise we are quite in the dark about other officers who must have served Earl Roger in Sussex, for Domesday (*D.B.*, i, 24 b) mentions there only an obscure Falconer (an Englishman who had held his small estate in 1066). The men who held of Roger in Sussex do not on the whole seem to

have followed him to Shropshire, and the only two major tenants who certainly held of Earl Roger in 1086 in both Sussex and Shropshire were his two Sheriffs, Robert and Renaud; it is, though, at least suggestive that three names of men who were minor tenants in Shropshire (perhaps by Serjeanty) also occur in Sussex: Fulcoius, Ernucion, and Alcher. But it seems a fair deduction that the Earls' officers in Sussex and those in Shropshire cannot to any great extent have been identical because, by and large, the Earls' tenants in Sussex were not their tenants in Shropshire.

Thus far we have equipped Earl Roger with a Sheriff in Sussex, and in Shropshire with a Sheriff, with a possible Steward, with certainly one Butler, possibly two, with two Huntsmen, and with men who may have performed Serjeanty services; we have found evidence that Earl Hugh had a Steward at least at Worfield; we have found a possibility that Earl Robert in 1102 had a clerical Steward who acted in both Sussex and Shropshire, besides a third Huntsman or Forester who served him in Shropshire. We have also found a considerable clerical establishment, at least in Shropshire. But there are some gaps in this list. We have no evidence that any Earl had a Chamberlain as some of their contemporaries did—the *cubicularius* who helped Earl Robert's ill-treated wife to escape from Bellême castle can have been only a castle servant⁶⁹; nor is any man described as the Earls' Dispenser.⁷⁰ The fundamental distinction between the Earl's Hall, the sphere of his Steward and his Butler, and the Earl's Chamber, the sphere of the Chamberlain, is thus not illustrated on this great honor. (Of course, if we accept Richard de Beaumais as Steward we must regard at least Earl Robert as already advanced in administrative methods, a trend that may also be shown by the apparent lack of landed status of Earl Roger's Constable). More serious, however, is the fact that this laborious examination of Earl Roger's officers will not show us how his honor worked, or how efficiently it was administered: systematic information on these points is a thirteenth century growth in England. However, there are certain hints which ought at least to be noted.

An obvious point of attack is the values of Earl Roger's estates in 1086. This is not the place for a detailed study of the economic fortunes of Earl Roger's estates; but in Sussex we find that Earl Roger clearly farmed out his demesne manors with considerable financial success. At Chichester, Singleton, Harting and Trotton, Westbourne and Stoughton the amounts rendered (i.e. by way of "farm") were greater than the stated value of the places concerned. Of the Earl's Hampshire manors, Boarhunt and Chalton were farmed in the same profitable way (*D.B.*, i, 44 c, d). In Shropshire, too, though some manors decreased in value between 1066 and 1086, taken as a whole the revenue from the Earl's demesne estates was greater in 1086 than in 1066, the most spectacular increases being at Shrewsbury itself and at Whittington, Ford and Ellesmere; whereas the value of estates in the county as a whole had declined. Of course efficient Norman estate management may have been only one reason for such increases, but it will doubtless have been one reason. In Shropshire there are two small hints of an enterprising attitude: at Chetton there was a new mill, established since 1066; at Quatford there was a small borough, still yielding nothing in 1086 because it too was new. In the same category of new ventures one may note a vineyard in Middlesex (*D.B.*, i, 129 a).

For many, of course, increases in the revenue drawn by the Earls meant subjection to extortion, but for the Earls themselves it meant a full "treasury". There is some

corroborative evidence of the success of the Earls' government in extracting large sums of money: according to Orderic, William Rufus imposed on Earl Hugh a fine of £3,000 for Hugh's recovery of the King's favour after his revolt in 1095, and a further fine of £3,000 on Earl Robert in 1098 by way of "relief", or succession duty, not to mention a large sum of money (*grandi pondere argenti*) for the succession to the fief of a kinsman. Perhaps these sums should not be accepted as they stand, and in any case they were probably not intended to be paid at once⁷¹; but at least they suggest that, in Rufus' and Flambard's calculating eyes, Earls Hugh and Robert had considerable cash resources. Moreover, such resources are implied by Earl Robert's employment of mercenaries in 1102. There are even hints that Earl Roger had some sort of accounting system in his finances: when, in 1085-7, he ordered the payment to St. Evroul from his revenues at Alençon of thirty (Mancel) shillings at the beginning of every Lent,⁷² he was surely implying the ability to keep some sort of rudimentary financial record, and he is not likely to have been less efficient in England than in Normandy. Such Domesday entries as those about renders imply a watchful baronial administration. Nevertheless, in the period under review, it is easier to find evidence of the existence of officers and advisers than of actual administrative methods; but, for the period, the evidence is in sum impressive. Earl Roger and his sons can be shown to have had their officers and their advisers, and as far as can be judged their financial administration, at least, was highly successful.

NOTES

1. *Monasticon Anglicanum* (new ed.), iii, 518.
2. R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, ii, 267.
3. J. H. Round, *Calendar of Documents preserved in France* (1899), pp. 1-1i; cf. *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xlii (1899), 86; *V.C.H. Sussex*, i (1905), 352.
4. Round, *Calendar*, nos. 656, 1391 (p. 510).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
6. The untrustworthy charter of Earl Hugh to Shrewsbury Abbey (*MA*, iii, 520) is addressed to his Sheriffs (*Viccomitibus*); but this merely reflects the practice of a later day.
7. *Orderici Vitalis Historia Ecclesiastica Libri XIII* (ed. A. Le Prevost), ii, 220.
8. Eyton, vii, 203. It is curious, however, that Orderic gives no similar detail about Earl Roger's own personal appearance.
9. Round, *English Historical Review*, xxxv (1920), 496.
10. Orderic, iii, 21, 29; ed. A. Jones, *Life of Gruffydd ap Cynan* (Manchester, 1910), p. 123.
11. *MA*, iii, 518.
12. Orderic, ii, 414, 420, iii, 21, 29 (cf. ed. H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, i, no. 140); *MA*, iii, 518 (four refs.), 519.
13. Ed. V. H. Galbraith, "An Episcopal Land-Grant of 1085"; *EHR*, xlv (1929), 372.
14. Orderic, ii, 220, 414; *MA*, iii, 518. Cf. J. Tait, *V.C.H. Shropshire*, i, 296-7.
15. Eyton, vii, 206; L. C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families* (Harleian Soc., 1951), pp. 11-12.
16. Eyton, vii, 210, 211. Eyton himself exploded the legend which made Warin's daughter marry Alan fitz Flaald, though his account of the origins of the fitz Alans needs amendment in the light of later work.
17. Another hide at Ellesmere was held of Earl Roger by Mundred, who may possibly have been Sheriff of Cheshire.
18. Eyton, vii, 203.
19. R. R. Darlington, "Ethelwig, Abbot of Evesham", *EHR*, xlviii (1933), 15, n. 7.
20. W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff* . . . (1927) pp. 44-5, and refs. there cited. As nominee of the Earl, Warin and Renaud will have stood in an unusual position towards the other five lay tenants-in-chief of Shropshire.
21. Eyton, vii, 208, 221, 304; viii, 72, 75; *MA*, iii, 518, 519.
22. Morris, pp. 53, 88.
23. Eyton, i, 112.
24. Orderic, ii, 220-1.

25. Eyton, iv, 199; the inquisition is now calendared in *Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem*, iv, p. 118. Contrast, however, Eyton ix, 328.
26. *Florence of Worcester* (ed. B. Thorpe), ii, 24.
27. Eyton, iv, 199; *Complete Peerage* (new ed.), ix, Appendix A.
28. Round, *Calendar*, no. 1238.
29. *Ibid.*, no. 1234.
30. *MA*, iii, 518; Eyton, x, 291-2.
31. Eyton, i, 30, 84.
32. Eyton, iv, 109; vii, 268, 350-1; ix, 288, 293.
33. *EHR*, xliv, 372; Orderic, ii, 415.
34. He might be the Gilbert of Condober in Round, *Calendar*, no. 656; but no Gilbert occurs at Condober in 1086.
35. Orderic, ii, 411.
36. Eyton, i, 107.
37. Eyton, ix, 361, citing *MA*, iii, 519.
38. Eyton, vi, 189.
39. Cf. Eyton, ii, 185; iii, 212; vi, 335, for the three forests named. Other estates of the brothers lay near Ellesmere.
40. *VCH Shropshire*, i, 298. Roger's hide at Condober has to be counted in to get this result; the 1½ hides at Hales Owen would of course destroy the symmetry, but they were outside the shire. Roger also held the *caput* of "Lege" (Salop), but this was not hidated.
41. Orderic, iv, 173.
42. Eyton, i, 355, n. 438; vi, 190, 268, 287.
43. Eyton, viii, 265.
44. Now calendared by C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, *Regesta*, ii, no. 698. Some Domesday instances seem to show Foresters as inferior to Huntsmen.
45. Two *servientes* held of an unidentified Roger (de Laci or Corbet) at "Cerlitone" (*D.B.*, i, 255 d), and four of Roger de Laci at Stanton Lacy (*D.B.*, i, 260 d). There were three *francigenae servientes* on St. Alkmund's land (*D.B.*, i, 253 a).
46. Eyton, ix, 358-9. Tochi may have been a Cook also, but we know nothing of him; he may be the Quatford witness of that name in 1086 (Eyton, i, 112.).
47. Eyton, viii, 77.
48. Eyton, xi, 24.
49. Eyton, vi, 206.
50. Eyton, i, 160.
51. Eyton, iv, 181.
52. Eyton, ix, 317; the inquisition is now calendared in *C.I.P.M.*, x, p. 271. This is an interesting example of the way in which Eyton's knowledge multiplied as his book progressed. His word "Serjeantry" is a perfectly proper rendering of the Latin *serjenteria*, but has been replaced in modern usage by "Serjeanty".
53. For a discussion of later tenures peculiar to Shropshire, cf. Una Apps, "The Muntatores . . .", *EHR*, lxxviii (1948). These men were a feature of FitzAlan lands; Renaud the Sheriff had more recorded Frenchmen (*francigenae*) than anyone else in the shire in 1086.
54. Eyton, x, 1; *VCH Shropshire*, i, 290.
55. Marjorie Chibnall, *Annales de Normandie*, viii (1958), 112-3.
56. Orderic, ii, 220.
57. *Annales de Normandie*, viii, 113-4.
58. Orderic, v, 135, ii, 416. There is a lengthy discussion of Orderic's father and background in H. Wolter, *Ordericus Vitalis: Ein Beitrag zur Kluniazensischen Geschichtsschreibung* (1955), pp. 47 ff.
59. Orderic, iv, 275-6.
60. Eyton, ii, 192-201.
61. Loyd, pp. 13-14.
62. Eyton, i, 149; vi, 221.
63. *MA*, iii, 518.
64. *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), ii, 43.
65. *Historia Novorum* (RS), p. 197.
66. *Gesta Pontificum* (RS), p. 146.
67. *Ralf de Diceto* (RS), i, p. xxi.
68. Johnson and Cronne, *Regesta*, ii, 26, 27 (nos. 614, 618); cf. p. xviii. The word "dapifer" was certainly used of Richard in Shropshire after 1102.
69. Orderic, iii, 423-4.
70. A "Rogerus dispensator" witnessed a charter of Arnulf de Montgomery to Sées in 1098 (Round, *Calendar*, no. 666), together with Warin the Bald's son; but he was most probably Dispenser to Arnulf or to Sées.
71. Orderic, iii, 411; iv, 32, 33.
72. Orderic, ii, 413 (cf. iv, 307). Round, *Calendar*, gives similar grants to Sees by Earl Roger's sons (nos. 665, 668).

MEDIEVAL POTTERY FROM SITES IN SHROPSHIRE: II

A GROUP FROM THE MOTTE AT ADDERLEY

By P. A. BARKER

The pottery here illustrated was discovered in the side of a mound at Adderley in north Shropshire (Grid Ref. SJ. 664404) in 1930 by the Hon. Mrs. Reginald Corbet, and, on a subsequent visit to the site, Miss L. F. Chitty recognised the mound to be a motte, and noted this and the finding of the pottery in her "Three Unrecognised Castle Sites in North Shropshire", *Shrop. Archaeol. Soc. Trans.*, Vol. LIII, 1949, p. 91. In that article the pottery was dated by Mr. G. C. Dunning to the 13th century, and probably not early in that century, and desertion of the castle by 1300 was assumed. The sherds described and illustrated here are those of the type series given to the Shrewsbury Museum by Reginald Corbet, Esq., and thanks are due to the Curator, Mr. J. L. Hobbs, for permission to publish them.

The group is of particular interest not only because of the evidence it provides for the late occupation of the motte,¹ but because the site is within three miles of the kiln discovered at Audlem in 1948, which was producing pottery dated by Mr. Dunning to the later 13th and early 14th centuries,² so that one would expect to find material from the Audlem kiln amongst the Adderley sherds. However, it is clear, on comparing the two finds, that the bulk of the pottery used at Adderley did not come from Audlem. The fabrics of the sherds from Adderley are hard and thin, some even harsh to the touch, whereas the majority of those from Audlem are comparatively soft and friable, a light red fabric, quite unlike anything from Adderley, predominating. There are two or three sherds from Audlem, however, which have their parallels at Adderley. These are rim sherds from cooking pots and are of a distinctive square-section type which has occurred on other sites in the region. One of the Audlem rims of this type is illustrated in Fig. 1, 3A. It will be seen that it compares fairly closely in shape and in the tilt of the rim with sherds from Adderley, (3), Smethcott, (3s), and Brockhurst Castle, Church Stretton, (3B). The Brockhurst Castle sherd (which was found in excavations there in 1959) was stratified in the uppermost layer of Building I, which was abandoned with the castle in 1255. Another rim type, 5, from Adderley is also paralleled from Smethcott and Brockhurst Castle (5s and 5B). Once again, the sherd from Brockhurst Castle, one of a number of similar, closely related shapes, was stratified in the uppermost, mid-13th century layers of Building I.

If the correspondence of these rims be allowed this confirms the probable dates of the rims from Adderley and Audlem, and strengthens the dating of the continued occupation of the motte at Smethcott until at least the mid 13th century. It is, nevertheless, remarkable that so few of the Audlem products were used at Adderley, and that the Audlem fabrics, apparently going on into the 14th century, should be, with some exceptions, much softer than those from Adderley. On the other hand, the pottery from a timber-lined well at Loppington, near Wem, found in 1959,³ was

¹There is accumulating evidence for late dates, not only of occupation, but also of building, of mottes throughout the border area.

²G. Webster and G. C. Dunning, "A Medieval Pottery Kiln at Audlem, Cheshire", forthcoming in *Medieval Archaeology*.

³Forthcoming, but see the *Shropshire Newsletter*, No. 9, December 1959.

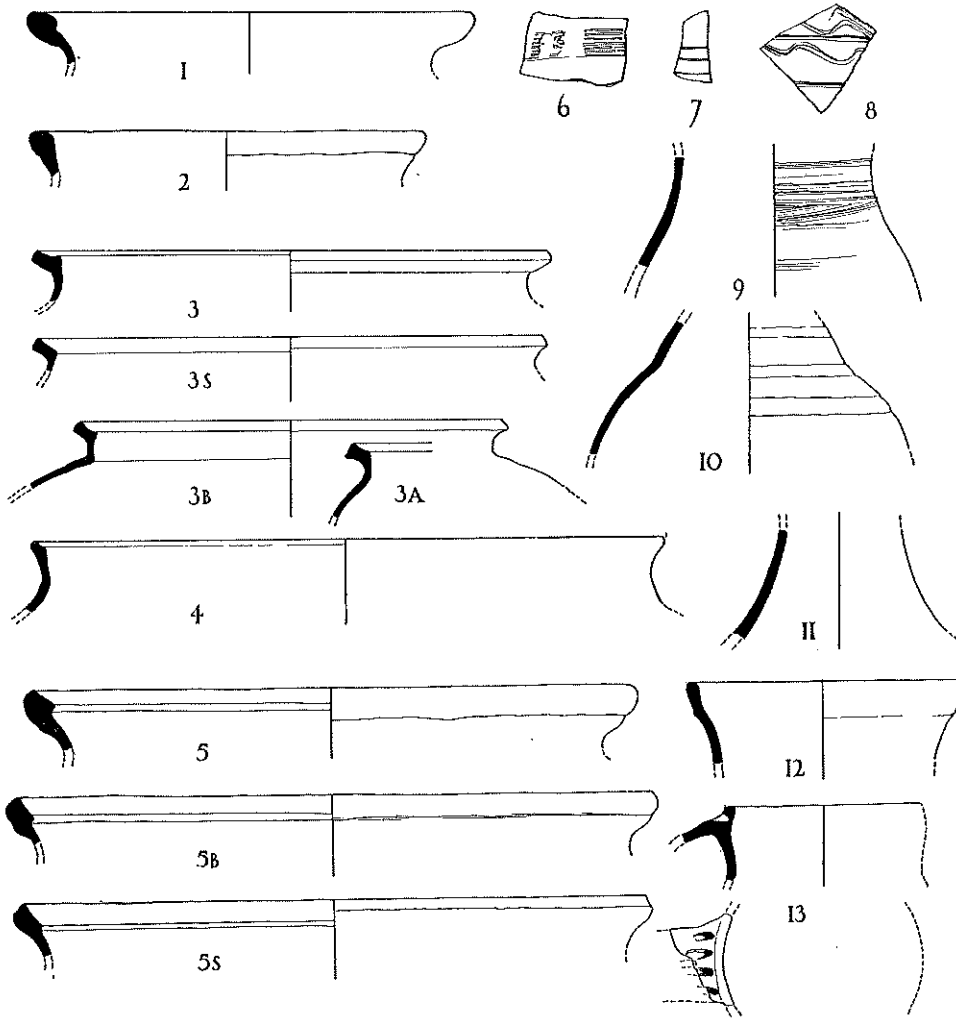


FIG. 1. Scale one-quarter
 Medieval Pottery from sites in Shropshire. II

much closer to the Audlem material in fabric and glaze, though not in form and decoration, the Loppington pottery appearing to be simpler and earlier. The solution of these difficulties must wait until more kilns and associated groups of pottery are discovered.

As has been shown, the cooking pot rims from Adderley fit in well with the known development of the type in the region, and in addition, nos. 1 and 2 are paralleled by rims of similar date from Roushill, Shrewsbury.⁴ There is little that is unusual about the decorated sherds 6, 7, 8 and 9, or the fragments of jugs 10-13, though it is not easy to visualize the shape of jug no. 10, with its extremely narrow neck

⁴Forthcoming in *Medieval Archaeology*.

and full body. The stabbed handle fragment 13 is unlike the rest of the group of jugs, consisting of a fine pinkish-white fabric with a patch of light apple green glaze. There is a remarkable series of thumb-pressed bases, nos. 14-18, presumably from massive jugs, though 14 and 15, which have been in a fire, might be from cooking pots. Bases 14-18, arranged in numerical order, seem to exhibit the whole development of the thumb-pressed base, from tentative beginnings on base 14 to the long sweeping hollows of base 18. Since the whole find was made in one place on the motte, was presumably associated, and can only have a fairly narrow date range, this apparent "development" demonstrates that pottery typology has its pitfalls. On base 19, which has been smoothed by knife trimming, the potter has replaced thumb-pressing by triangular nicks cut with a knife out of the basal angle. The writer prefers not to hazard where this fits into the development of these decorated bases.

CATALOGUE

1. Rim sherd of cooking pot; slightly sandy ware, grey throughout, the rim being folded inwards. The outside diameters of this and the next pot are considerably smaller than those of 3, 4 and 5. There was a tendency, shown for instance in the examples discovered at Brockhurst Castle, for cooking pots to be made increasingly larger during the 12th and early 13th centuries, though it is not yet clear whether this is a consistent development in this region.

2. Rim sherd of cooking pot; slightly sandy ware with a few added quartzite grits. Pink with a grey core and black surfaces. The rim has, rather unusually, been folded outwards and smoothed down. It is paralleled by a rim of much greater diameter from Roushill, Shrewsbury.

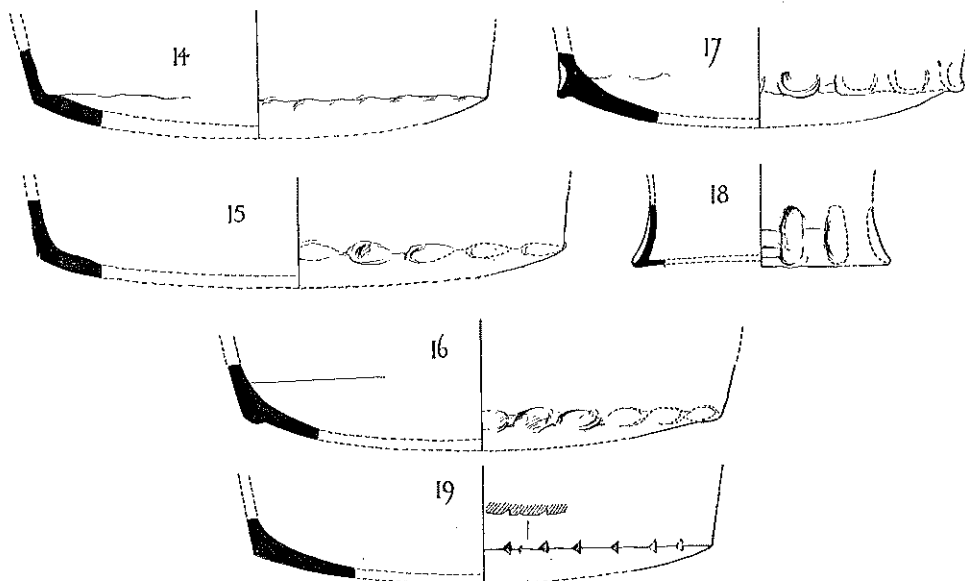


FIG. 2. Scale one-quarter.
Medieval Pottery from sites in Shropshire. II

3. Rim sherd of cooking pot; fine sandy fabric, with no added grits. The profile of the rim moulding, like those of the comparative sherds 3s, 3b and 3A, is precise and angular, though not so delicate as 3s and 3b. All are in marked contrast to the heavy shapes of rims 1, 2 and 5, and lend strength to the theory that some medieval pots were made by women.⁵ The comparatively wide distribution of this rim shape (the fabrics also being similar) is of great interest, in view of the pronounced variety of styles within the area.⁶ Only the finding of the kiln sites will solve these problems of distribution.

4. Rim sherd of a ? storage vessel, of remarkable size. The fabric is fine but sandy, grey with light orange-red surfaces. The rim and wall are both very thin for a vessel of this diameter.

5. Rim sherd of a cooking pot; hard, slightly sandy grey-buff fabric throughout. This shape is familiar in the area, occurring in a variety of closely related forms at Brockhurst Castle, 5b, and at Smethcott, 5s, though it has not yet been found in Shrewsbury.

6. Body sherd of jug; grey fabric, pinkish-buff interior surface, pink exterior surface. Decorated with horizontal parallel combing which has been partly obliterated while still wet. 7 mm. thick.

7. Body sherd of glazed jug; very hard grey fabric, light red exterior surface except where covered with yellow-green pimply glaze. Decorated with horizontal combing. Varieties of horizontal combing are by far the most common form of decoration on 13th century pottery so far found in Shropshire. 5 mm. thick.

8. Body sherd of jug, fine sandy fabric, grey core, dull red surfaces, with a few spots of brown glaze on the inner surface. Decorated with alternate horizontal and wavy grooves made with a blunt point. 5 mm. thick.

9. Part of neck of jug; grey sandy fabric fired very hard, orange interior surface, darker red exterior surface with patches of dull green glaze. The apparent decoration of horizontal lines is caused by wiping the neck roughly while it is spinning. 5 mm. thick.

10. Part of neck of glazed jug; grey fabric with lighter, buff interior surface glazed dull green over the whole outer surface, with an underlying layer of light grey slip. Combed with horizontal lines made before the slip and glaze, which have partly filled them up, were put on. 5 mm. thick.

11. Neck sherd of glazed jug; light grey sandy fabric containing many small grains of quartzite, light orange inner surface, darker red outer surface except where it is covered with a streaky green glaze, which has run towards the rim during firing, showing that the jug was fired standing on its rim. 6 mm. thick.

⁵In fact, a fifteenth century playing card, reproduced in *A History of Technology*, Vol. II, fig. 271, p. 289, shows a woman making a pot on a kick-wheel, though most medieval illustrations of potters are of men. The organisation of the potter's craft, which never had guilds, is not clear.

⁶See Part I of this paper, in Vol. LVI, Part II, 1959, of these Transactions, p. 166.

12. Rim sherd of jug; grey sandy fabric, with warm buff surfaces, partly glazed towards neck with dull green glaze. There is no indication of the form of the lip or of the handle. 7 mm. thick.
13. Fragment of rim and handle of glazed jug; pinkish-white fabric with a chalky appearance, slightly friable. Remains of a fine apple green glaze on outer surface under the handle. This is flaking off. The handle is stabbed.
14. Base sherd of grey sandy fabric with buff surfaces (except where the vessel has been in a fire); with impressions of ? grass where the pot has been stood down when wet. There are very light finger or thumb pressed indentations on the basal angle. The fabric appears to contain tiny fragments of iron pyrites, which gleam on the surface. It is being submitted for expert examination in the hope that the source of the clay may be discovered.
15. Sherd of base of large jug; pinkish fabric throughout, with thumb-pressing along the basal angle. The thumb has been pressed from right to left pushing a little mound of clay in front of it.
16. Sherd of base of jug; grey fabric with red outer surface under base (? due to fire) and black inner surface. Here the thumb-pressed decoration has been made in the other direction and the potter has left a fine set of fingerprints.
17. Sherd of base of jug; grey fabric with orange surfaces, one spot of brown glaze on underside of base. Deep thumb-pressing at intervals of half an inch.
18. Sherd of pedestal base of glazed jug; grey-buff fabric, fine and hard fired, with red inner surface and light orange outer surface where the base is not covered with yellow green glaze. The "thumb-pressing", as in many cases, seems to fit the finger tips better than the thumb, and here is unusually long.
19. Sherd of base of jug; fine hard grey fabric, with light red inner surface and buff outer surface (this too seems to have been in a fire). Both the side and the underside have been knife trimmed and the basal angle has been notched with a knife at irregular intervals. The writer does not know a similar example in the region.
- 20 (Not drawn). Sherd of base of a cooking pot? This has been grossly overfired and is brittle and distorted. It is possible therefore that it is a waster, and that some of this pottery was made close by.

WILLIAM BURLEY OF BRONCROFT
SPEAKER FOR THE COMMONS IN 1437 AND 1445-6

BY J. S. ROSKELL

The career of William Burley of Broncroft, who was Speaker in only the closing stages of the parliament of 1437 but for the whole duration of the parliament of 1445-6, supplies a useful illustration of the way in which a lawyer of that period could turn employment by the Crown and by magnates with territorial and other interests in his locality to the furtherance of his own career and the benefit of his family. It also shows how this employment might lead such a man into political courses where, provided he did not overreach himself, he stood to gain more than he was likely to lose. Although the most important judicial office Burley ever held was merely as one of a panel of Deputy-Justices in Cheshire and North Wales, his abilities as a lawyer and administrator not only took him into the service of Henry VI, but also gave him the *entrée* to the households of a fair number of peers, some of whom were mutual friends, some of whom were at least to become mutual enemies: Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; Richard, Duke of York; William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk; Thomas FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel; John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; Hugh Lord Burnell; John Arundel, Lord Mautravers; and Richard Lord Strange (whose grandson married one of Burley's daughters). In the society of the local gentry of his shire Burley, it is hardly surprising, enjoyed considerable respect: it is true that he was sheriff of Shropshire only once and the King's escheator in the county no more than twice, but he was a J.P. for over forty years and, more positively suggestive still, during roughly the same period (1417-55) sat for the shire in three out of every four parliaments, quite consistently monopolising one of the two county seats in the ten parliaments which met between 1427 and 1446.

Born almost certainly in the second half of Richard II's reign, William Burley died in 1458. He was perhaps unfortunate in the time of his death. By then he was deeply committed to the support of Richard, Duke of York, the nearness of whose chief power-point, Ludlow, to Burley's place at Broncroft can only have strengthened this attachment. But on account of his age Burley might well have escaped being involved in the Yorkist rebellion of 1459 and the attainders which followed its failure, and, had he lived to see Edward IV's accession in 1461, this would surely have brought him profit. As it happened, it was his son-in-law, the celebrated Thomas Littleton who, rising to a royal judgeship in 1466, benefited from this course of events. But then Littleton would have given lustre to any legal bench. That relationship apart, Burley has a right to his place among Shropshire worthies: he is the only M.P. sitting for the county ever to have been Speaker.

* * *

Not to be confused with his kinsman, William Burley of Malehurst, M.P. for Shrewsbury in 1427 and 1437 and one of the yeomen of the Crown in 1450, William Burley, Esquire, of Broncroft in Corvedale (some eight miles north-east of Ludlow), which Leland knew a century later as "a very goodly place like a castle" built of red

sandstone standing near Clee Hill, came of a family which had made its mark in the fourteenth century. His father's grandfather, great-uncle, and uncle had all been Knights of the Garter. The first of these, Sir John Burley, had been a witness to the will of Edward III; the second, Sir Simon Burley, governor and close friend of Richard II, was executed by the Lords Appellants of 1388; the third, Sir Richard Burley, was councillor to John of Gaunt whom he accompanied to Spain, whence in May 1387 he was brought back to England for burial in St. Paul's Cathedral. The family had first sprung into prominence in the person of Walter Burley, a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, tutor to Edward III (when Prince of Wales) and later to the Black Prince, to whose service he introduced his kinsman Sir Simon. In spite of these important political attachments, the family had not been represented in parliament until William Burley's father, John, was returned for Shropshire to the parliament which witnessed the deposition of Richard II and the accession of Henry IV (1399) and subsequently in 1401, twice in 1404, and again in 1410 and 1411. John Burley was concurrently standing counsel to Edmund, Earl of Stafford, who was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury in July, 1403, and to Thomas FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel. He was holding the position of steward in the FitzAlans' lordship of Oswestry in 1392-3, was one of the feoffees in their estates at Chirk and Chirklands in 1395, and was first witness to the charter granted by Earl Thomas to the burgesses of Oswestry in 1407.

Early in Henry IV's reign John Burley had successfully petitioned parliament to restore the forfeited estates of Sir Simon his great-uncle, and so William Burley's estates in Shropshire were considerable. Besides Broncroft, he held the manors of Thonglands (in Munslow), Felton Butler (in Great Ness), and Brocton (in Long Stanton), as mesne tenant of the Earls of Arundel, Aston Munslow (along with John Lord Talbot) as a Crown tenant, and towards the end of his life he was also occupying the manors of Aldon, Marshton, Clongonford, Whittingslow, Newton (in Westbury), Bromfield (formerly a FitzAlan estate), Alghampton, Affecott, and Norton-in-Hales. In Staffordshire, he held lands in Oakley (in Muckleston) and, purchased from the Duke of York, the manor of Arley. Another purchase from the Duke of York was the manor of Cressage in Shropshire.²

At the time of John Burley's death in the winter of 1415-16, William, his son and heir, was a rising young lawyer with ability and influential connexions, not the least factor in his career being his marriage with Alice, a daughter of Richard Lord Grey of Wilton. He soon filled his father's place on the commission of the peace in Shropshire and was a J.P. from February 1416 until his death in 1458, except for the latter half of 1453, when he was temporarily dropped, probably for political reasons. Before the end of Henry V's reign, he was one of the justices of the *quorum*.

Before his father's death, William Burley was already in close touch with Thomas, Earl of Arundel, whom Henry V on his accession had appointed Treasurer of England and to whom John Burley had long been a feoffee and counsellor. On 1 March, 1415, William Burley was given at the royal Exchequer £10 special reward, being appointed by royal commission to go to Calais with the Earl of Arundel to pay the garrison there. Royal letters patent of 29 May, 1415, licensed the settlement of a score of FitzAlan manors in Sussex and Surrey held in chief of the Crown, including the castles and lordships of Lewes and Reigate, on the Earl, his wife Beatrice (the illegitimate daughter of Joao I of Portugal), and their bodies' heirs; William Burley was one of the

committee of feoffees, and he appeared in a similar capacity, respecting other FitzAlan estates in Wiltshire and Berkshire, in the Earl's *ultima voluntas* regulating their administration, drawn up on 10 August, 1415. Precisely two months afterwards, when the Earl had been invalided home from the siege of Harfleur, Burley was appointed one of his executors and, in the codicil of the *testamentum*, was authorised to take an annuity of £20. On 13 October, three days later, Arundel died. The executors and feoffees were still busy over the settlement of the late Earl's affairs when, towards the end of February 1416, four of them, including Burley, were associated with Gilbert Lord Talbot and William Troutbeck (the Chamberlain of Chester) in a royal commission to arrest those of the Earl's officers and tenants in his lordships of Bromfield, Yale, and Oswestry (in Denbighshire) who were refusing to pay debts and arrears of rents and so hindering the payment of the Earl's retinue in the recent expedition.³ The Earl had left no issue, and the bulk of the FitzAlan estates was divided among his three surviving sisters. The lordship of Arundel itself passed, however, to his second cousin, John Arundel, Lord Mautravers, whose son was later summoned to parliament as Earl of Arundel. At the time of the latter's death in France in the summer of 1435, Burley was steward of his castle and lordship of Oswestry; it is probable that Burley had retained an administrative interest in the old FitzAlan estates in Shropshire uninterruptedly.

In November 1417 William Burley was for the first time returned as knight of the shire (M.P.) for Shropshire—he had been administering the office of royal escheator in the shire and its adjacent March since December 1416—and was successively re-elected to all but the last of Henry V's parliaments.⁴ Much legal business continued to come his way in these years. On 12 April 1418 the then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, John Talbot, Lord Furnival, nominated him to act for a year as one of his four attorneys in England. Eight days later he was associated with Sir Roland Lenthall (as one of his feoffees) in a royal grant of the estates of the alien priory of Wootton in Warwickshire and Worcestershire and of three manors of the Norman monastery of Conches. At the time of the meeting of the important parliament of May 1421, Burley was doubtless immersed in business relating to the settlement of the estates (mainly in Shropshire) which had lately been held by Hugh Lord Burnell of Weoley (Herefordshire) and Holgate (Shropshire). This peer, of whose feoffees Burley was one, had died in November 1420 and been buried at Hales Abbey in Shropshire, leaving as his heirs his three granddaughters, one of whom had married a son of Lord Furnival, another, a son of the Steward of the King's Household, Sir Walter Hungerford. Royal patents licensing conveyances of their separate purparties passed the Great Seal on 10 May and 8 June, 1421.

One of the *quorum* of the commission of the peace in Shropshire, William Burley had been made a royal commissioner of array in the shire in May 1418, and on 15 July, 1421, following the parliamentary session of the spring, he was appointed to enquire into cases of concealment of feudal revenues due to the Crown in Shropshire.⁵ He was not re-elected to parliament in the county court held at Shrewsbury on 20 November following, but was himself present there and attested the election of the new shire-knights, one of whom was Sir Richard Laken, his father's executor six years before. Burley was again returned, however, in November 1422, to the first parliament after Henry V's death. His colleague was Hugh Burgh (his own feoffee and a retainer

of John Talbot, formerly Lord Furnival, now summoned to parliament as Lord Talbot), with whom he had sat eighteen months before, and with whom he was again to be elected to the parliament of April 1425. In the meantime, he had been present at the shire hustings on 23 September, 1423, and had been put by a royal patent of 23 November, 1424, on the commission controlling weirs in the rivers and meres of Shropshire and five days later included in an inquiry into escapes of felons from Shrewsbury castle. On 15 January, 1426, Burley was appointed sheriff of Shropshire and on 7 February, at Shrewsbury, in his official capacity held the shire-elections to the parliament of Leicester. In the following summer, in accordance with a royal writ of 23 July, he was a member of a commission in the county authorised to solicit individual loans to the Crown. A year later, on 20 July, 1427, he was authorised to serve, along with six other prominent lawyers domiciled in one or another of the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Shropshire, and Stafford (and with the sheriffs), in an inquiry into deficiencies in the administration of Crown estates, instances of failure to exact feudal dues, and official abuses, since the accession of Henry V.⁶

A month later, on 21 August, 1427, Burley was once again returned to parliament for Shropshire. He was now to be continuously re-elected to every one of the nine parliaments which sat between 1429 and 1446. Meanwhile, on 20 February, 1428, in the second session of the parliament of 1427-8, he was appointed Deputy-Justice in the county palatine of Chester, by letters patent of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the Protector, issued by the Duke as Justice of Chester. (It was doubtless in this capacity that on 10 January, 1429, he was associated with William Troutbeck, Chamberlain of Chester, in a royal commission to arrest all those who, by arms or threats, sought to interfere with an election to the vacant abbacy at Vale Royal.) On 7 July, 1428, he was one of the *quorum* of a commission set up to inquire into a petition regarding the castle and manor of Mold, presented to the Council by the sole surviving feoffee of John Montague, Earl of Salisbury, by whose attainder in 1401 the estate had been forfeited to the Crown. Eight weeks earlier he had been associated with the Abbot of Shrewsbury and his own feoffee, Hugh Burgh, in a royal loan-raising commission in Shropshire. On 6 March, 1430, following the dissolution of the parliament of 1429-30, and again on 26 March, 1431, within a week of the end of the parliament of 1431, Burley served on similar commissions along with the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, the Abbot of Shrewsbury, and others. (On each occasion parliamentary sanction had been obtained for security being given to the creditors.) It is worth noting that Burley had acted in the parliaments of 1429-30 and 1431 as one of the parliamentary proxies of the Abbot of Shrewsbury.

After being re-elected to the parliament of May-July 1432, along with John Wynnesbury (his own feoffee), Burley was appointed royal escheator in Shropshire and the adjacent March on 5 November, 1432.⁷ Early in his year of office, by patent of 24 February, 1433, he was made the key member of a commission of inquiry in his bailiwick into wastes committed in royal manors and other estates under the Crown's administration, and into attempts to conceal wardships, reliefs, escheats, and other feudal incidents due to the King. It was during his last four months as escheator that Burley again sat in the Commons, in the parliament which met in July 1433. When,

two years later, he next sat in parliament, he again became escheator, his tenure of office dating from 7 November, 1435.

Between the two parliaments of 1433 and 1435 William Burley had been employed on numerous royal commissions in Shropshire. On 27th December 1433, following the dissolution of parliament, he and his fellow-knight of the shire, Sir Richard Laken, had been associated with the Abbot of Shrewsbury in a commission to apportion among the local units of taxation the county's share of the general remittance of £4,000 from the recently voted subsidy. Some three weeks later, he and Laken were together ordered to submit a schedule containing the names of Salopian gentry of sufficient status to take an oath not to "maintain" breakers of the King's peace, the oath which they themselves had sworn with the Lords and Commons during the recent session; and on 1 May, 1434, along with the Bishop of Lichfield and Lord Talbot, they were appointed commissioners to administer the oath. Meanwhile, on 26th February, 1434, Burley had been authorised to act with the Bishop, the Abbot of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Stafford, and the sheriffs of Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire, as a commissioner for negotiating Crown loans in these counties. (In July 1435 Burley himself received security for a loan of 100 marks.) On 18 November of the same year he was put on the *quorum* of a royal commission of inquiry into the alleged misappropriation of murage-dues, during the last three years, by the Shrewsbury bailiffs; the commissioners were authorised to ascertain the facts from the Abbot of Shrewsbury, the overseer of the collection, and to audit the murage accounts. Five months later, on 20 April, 1435, the delivery of Shrewsbury gaol was entrusted to Burley and one or two other local lawyers. He was appointed to act as a justice in the same capacity four weeks after parliament met in the autumn of the same year.

Three months before the opening of parliament on 10 October, 1435, following the death of the Earl of Arundel in France and the seizure of his estates by the Crown for the duration of his son's minority, Burley had taken out royal letters patent to ensure his being allowed by the Exchequer to continue in the office (which he had held under the late Earl) of steward of the castle and lordship of Oswestry and the Earl's property in Shropshire. (How long he had held this post is not known.)⁸ His appointment as escheator in Shropshire on 7 November, 1435 (in the course of the parliamentary session) doubtless facilitated the royal administration of the Arundel estates. Six days before this appointment, Burley had been put on the *quorum* of another commission set up to investigate, this time in Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, cases of feudal incidents due to the Crown being withheld. Obviously these commissions would have to wait until after the parliament. But along with a number of other apprentices-at-law, most of whom were occupying seats in the parliament—William Tresham (M.P. for Northants), John Hody (M.P., Somerset), Nicholas Metley (M.P., Warwicks.), Nicholas Ayssheton (M.P., Truro), Robert Rodes (M.P., Newcastle upon Tyne), John Vampage (the King's Attorney-General), and John Chamberlain—Burley was certainly engaged on important royal business during the session itself. And, even before its close, rewards began to be paid to him and his legal colleagues: for expediting divers necessary matters for the King's profit, he was paid at the Lower Exchequer on 2 December the sum of 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.); and a fortnight later (16 December) he received a special reward of £3 *pro laboriosis scripturis*

et ingrosacione diversis concessis (sic) tam dominorum quam Communitatis regni Angliae in presenti parlamento Regi concessis pro commodo ipsius domini Regis per ipsos sic ingrossatis.

In the year of his third tenure of the escheatorship in Shropshire (November 1435-6), Burley served on only one special royal commission, namely, the commission of array for the county issued on 6 August, 1436. In the previous February he had himself made a loan of £40 to the Crown, part of the country's answer to a vigorous drive by the government to meet the immediate costs of an expedition for the relief of Calais, which was then being threatened by the Duke of Burgundy. Burley was still a member of the *quorum* of the commission of the peace in Shropshire, Deputy-Justice in Cheshire and North Wales, and steward of the late Earl of Arundel's estates in Shropshire and the March, when, at the end of his year of office as escheator, he was for the sixth consecutive time re-elected to parliament. The session opened at Westminster on 21 January, 1437. On 19 March, following news of the illness of the then Speaker, Sir John Tyrell (Treasurer of the King's Household), the Commons elected William Burley instead.⁹ The session lasted, however, only another eight days, until 27 March, when Burley declared the financial results of the session, that is, the renewal of the grants of the previous parliament, and an allowance of parliamentary authority for security to be given for Crown loans up to £100,000.

Over two and a half years passed before parliament was again summoned to meet. In the meantime, on 12 December, 1437, doubtless as Deputy-Justice in North Wales, William Burley was put on a royal commission, which also included the Chamberlain of North Wales and the Chamberlain of Chester, authorised to induce the communities and tenantry of the lordships of Anglesey, Flint, Chirk, Chirklands, Hawarden, and Mold, to grant the aids and subsidies now due by custom following the death of Henry V's Queen, Catherine of Valois, who had held those lordships in dower. Nine weeks afterwards, Burley was associated with Sir John Sutton of Dudley as attorney for the King in another Welsh commission, their duty being to receive the attornment of the tenants of the former FitzAlan lordship of Chirk and Chirklands, which had now been purchased by the Crown, and to demand the customary reliefs. A year later, by patent of 19 March, 1439, he was again commissioned to raise Crown loans in Shropshire, along with the Abbot of Shrewsbury and his late fellow knight of the shire.

On 12 November, 1439, parliament assembled at Westminster and sat until 21 December, when it was prorogued to meet at Reading on 14 January, 1440. Here it continued in session until 9 February. Roughly a fortnight after the dissolution (24 February), Burley received from the Exchequer a special reward of £5 "for his labour and diligence in the parliament at Reading in expediting certain matters specially touching the King's profit" (Issue Roll). This payment was made to him by the hands of Richard Blyke, one of the parliamentary burgesses for Bridgnorth in this parliament, who was himself given one mark (13s. 4d.) for his services there. On the previous day (23 February), Burley had been re-appointed as a Deputy-Justice of Chester, the office of Chief Justice itself being now held by William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. On 20 August following he was also included in a royal commission of oyer and terminer touching all offences committed since Henry V's accession in the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke. Some three months later

he was put on a royal loan commission in Shropshire along with the Bishop of St. Asaph, the Abbot of Shrewsbury, the sheriff, and his own feoffee, John Wynnesbury. Three months later again, by patent of 18 February, 1441, he was appointed a member of another commission in Shropshire, one authorised to treat for the earlier payment of an instalment of the subsidy granted to the King in the parliament of the previous winter.¹⁰

An instructive illustration of the way in which local animosities could be created is furnished by a piece of business which came up before the royal Council in December 1441, and in which Burley was concerned. He made a declaration to the Duke of Gloucester, Cardinal Beaufort, and other lords of the Council, in which he drew their attention to the fact that no profit had accrued either to the present King or his predecessor from the lands which Thomas Foulesherst had held in chief of the Crown by knight-service in Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire, at the time of his death in 1417-8. The daughter and heir's marriage had been disposed of by William Troutbeck, who still occupied her inheritance. Troutbeck, who had recently been superseded as Chancellor of the County Palatine of Lancaster (a Duchy of Lancaster office) and also as Chamberlain of Chester, was clearly no friend of Burley, who was now promised by the Council a reward of £100 if his information proved true.¹¹

Nearly two years elapsed between the dissolution of the parliament of 1439-40 and the meeting of its successor in January 1442. Burley—it seems almost as a matter of course—was again returned for Shropshire. On the last day of the session, 27 March, 1442, he was granted for life a Crown annuity of £40, over half of which was charged on the fee-farm of the borough of Shrewsbury and the rest on three royal manors in Staffordshire. The date suggests that the grant may have been in the nature of a recognition of "diligence" in the recent parliament, such as he had been accorded two years before. In August following he was again a commissioner for raising a royal loan in Shropshire, and in May 1443 and October 1444 he himself advanced loans to the Exchequer, £20 in each case. Meanwhile, by 1442 (perhaps earlier) Burley was steward of Richard, Duke of York's lordship of Montgomery and a member of his council, with an annual fee of 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.), a connexion of importance, especially because Burley was later to become very prominent as a Yorkist retainer and partisan.

In the next parliament, which met on 25 February, 1445, William Burley was again elected Speaker for the Commons, only this time he served for the whole of the parliament in the normal way. In the course of its long duration—it sat with several prorogations until April 1446—this parliament yielded grants amounting to as much as two tenths and fifteenths. It was during its first recess that, on 30 April, 1445, Henry VI's Queen, Margaret of Anjou, was crowned. On 4 June following, Suffolk, the contriver of the royal marriage, for whom Speaker Burley was Deputy-Justice in the palatinate of Chester, repeated in the Commons the account of his recent diplomatic missions which, two days before, he had given before the Lords. On 2 July, during the summer recess, Burley was appointed to serve on a royal commission of oyer and terminer in Cardiganshire and also to inquire about the activities of a rebel of Aberystwyth. Nearly a year later, following the dissolution of parliament, by patent of 1 June, 1446, he was again authorised to co-operate in raising Crown loans in Shropshire. By this time (but for how long before or after is not known)

Burley was steward of Denbigh. About the same time the borough of Shrewsbury recognised his "labour in parliament about the business of the town" by arranging for a London draper to provide him with a gift of cloth worth £4. It is quite probable that Burley was already standing counsel to the burgesses of the county town; he was certainly occupying that position at the end of his life with a fee of 11 shillings a year.¹² By September 1446 he was in receipt of a livery of cloth from the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe of the Royal Household, almost certainly as a lawyer retained by the King.

In 1447 William Burley, for the first time in twenty years, was not returned to parliament, although he was present in the shire-court when the elections were held at Shrewsbury on 12 January. He also missed the next parliament. In November 1449, however, he was again elected for Shropshire. During the last decade, in spite of the prestige which his various offices, his frequent service in parliament, and his two elections to the Speakership must have given him, Burley had not been in great demand as a party to private land settlements important enough to be registered in the royal archives. One exception had been his appointment in 1439 to membership of a committee of feoffees in the manor of Colham Green (near Uxbridge, Middlesex) for the Shropshire peer, Richard Lord Strange of Knockin, whose grandson, John Hopton, was married to Burley's daughter Elizabeth. A little later Burley was first witness to a series of charters disposing of the Shropshire estates of Lord Strange. In 1443 he had witnessed a charter of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, relating to his manors at Whitchurch (Shropshire). More important than all this, however, was his connexion with the Duke of York, which clearly was becoming stronger as time passed. Already the Duke's steward in Montgomery and a member of his council, Burley was included among York's feoffees when the Duke made a settlement of some of his estates, in a series of final concords arranged in the Court of Common Pleas, during the Trinity and Michaelmas terms of 1449 and in Hilary term 1450. In the course of the previous year Burley had been involved in purchasing from the Duke the manor of Cressage (Shropshire) and also the manor of Arley (Staffs.), over which the Duke had been recently engaged in a suit with the Crown grantee of the manor, John Harpour, a retainer of the Duke of Buckingham.¹³ The way was certainly open for Burley to become a Yorkist.

When parliament met at Westminster early in November 1449, York was abroad as the King's Lieutenant in Ireland. But his interests did not go unrepresented in the Commons. Besides Burley, who sat for Shropshire with William Laken, a serjeant-at-law, two of the Duke's other feoffees were returned in the persons of the apprentices-at-law, William Tresham and Thomas Young, respectively elected for Northamptonshire and Bristol. (Thomas Young was at this time town-clerk of Shrewsbury, where Burley's interest was also strong.) On re-assembling after the Christmas recess, parliament witnessed the impeachment of Suffolk. The parliament's final session, which was held at Leicester from late in April to early in June, saw a general Act of Resumption passed, but Burley was able to procure the insertion of a clause providing that his own Crown grants should in no way be prejudiced. He and Laken were re-elected for Shropshire to the parliament which met at Westminster on 6 November following. A strongly Yorkist Lower House elected his co-feoffee, Sir William Oldhall, York's chamberlain, as its Speaker, and Thomas Young actually

proposed the Duke's recognition as heir to the throne and was thrown into the Tower for his rashness. Before this parliament began, both Burley and Young had done their best to secure Speaker Oldhall's help for two former supporters of the recently murdered Duke of Suffolk, John Heydon and Sir Thomas Tuddenham, who were now in peril from the reaction against the court party. Although he was present at the Shropshire elections, Burley was not returned in March 1453 to the parliament summoned to Reading, a parliament where Lancastrian sympathies were strong, and on 7 April, 1453, he saw fit to procure royal letters of pardon. Official recognition of his close standing with York came in July following when he was omitted from the commission of the peace in Shropshire. In December, however, he was re-included.¹⁴

York's administration of the office of Protector from March 1454 (during Henry VI's mental illness) was met at the end of a year by the challenge of a resurgent court party, now under the leadership of the Duke of Somerset, and civil war was not long delayed. After the military victory of the Yorkist lords at St. Albans in May 1455, parliament was summoned to meet on 9 July following. Burley was again returned to what proved to be his last parliament—it was his nineteenth election as knight of the shire. After a short session of some three weeks, parliament was prorogued to meet on 12 November. By this date the King was again insane, and, on the second day of the second session, the Commons, as in the previous year, requested the nomination of a Protector. A broad hint of their sympathies was contained in their choice of Burley as head of the deputation to the Lords on this occasion, similarly two days later, on 15 November, and for a third time, on 17 November; on each occasion he used the situation in the West Country to bring the unwelcome issue to the fore. The Commons' pressure proved irresistible in the end, and on the day of the last deputation, the Chancellor announced the Duke of York's appointment. Three days later Burley took out a general pardon. Parliament continued to sit until 13 December; it met again on 14 January, 1456, and sat until the end of February, by which date the King's recovery had made the Protectorship no longer necessary.

Before parliament next met, at Coventry nearly three years later, Burley was dead. Apart from the commission of the peace, he had served on no more than a few local commissions in the meantime: a Shropshire commission of array in September 1457, a levy of archers nearly three months later, and, by patent of 20 June, 1458, on a royal commission of inquiry in Staffordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire, into riots, forfeitures of the peace, cases of illicit granting of liveries, and other trespasses. On 9 April, 1458, he had mediated in a tithe dispute between the prior of Wenlock and the abbot of Haughmond. He died on 10 August, 1458, leaving a widow, Margaret (not his first wife), and two daughters, Elizabeth and Jane. Elizabeth married Sir Thomas Trussell of Billesly (Warwickshire). Jane had married, firstly, Philip Chetwynd of Ingestre; her second husband, to whom she was married sometime before 1445, was the great common lawyer, Thomas Littleton of Teddesley (Staffordshire), the author of the celebrated treatise on Tenures, a member of the Inner Temple, Recorder of Coventry at the time of Henry VI's visit to the city in 1450, serjeant-at-law from July 1453, king's serjeant-at-law from May 1455, and eleven years later appointed a Justice of Common Pleas. Littleton's rise may well have owed something to his father-in-law's influence in Yorkist circles.¹⁵ The royal writs of *diem clausit extremum*, authorising inquiries by the King's escheators into Burley's lands in Shropshire and

Staffordshire were issued by the Chancery two months after his death (10 October, 1458). Burley died intestate, and it was to his son-in-law, Littleton, his daughter, Jane (Littleton's wife), William More, chaplain, and Humphrey Swynnerton (M.P. for Staffordshire in 1455-6), that, at Lambeth on 6 November, 1458, Archbishop Bouchier of Canterbury issued letters of administration, ordering an inventory of Burley's goods to be drawn up and exhibited before Candlemas following.

NOTES

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes: BM—British Museum; CCR—Calendar of Close Rolls; CFR—Calendar of Fine Rolls; CPR—Calendar of Patent Rolls; DKR—The Reports of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records; PRO—Public Record Office; Rot. Parl.—Rotuli Parliamentorum (Record Commission).

1. *Official Return of Members of Parliament*, i, 290-351.
2. *Trans. Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Series, Vol. VI, 223 *et seq.*; *ibid.*, XI, 4; J. B. Blakeway, *The Sheriffs of Shropshire*, 60; *Feudal Aids*, IV, 249, 250, 252, 267-8; T. F. Dukes, *The Antiquities of Shropshire*, 229; *CCR*, 1447-54, 482; *ibid.*, 1468-78, 165.
3. *CPR*, 1413-16, 422, 336, 344; Exchequer, Issue Roll, *PRO*, E 403/619, mem. 15; *The Register of Henry Chichele*, ed. E. F. Jacob, ii, 71.
4. *CPR*, 1429-36, 464; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, II, C 2398; *PRO List of Escheators*, 127.
5. *CPR*, 1416-22, 153, 331, 362, 371, 198, 390.
6. *PRO C 219*, bundle 12, no. 6; *ibid.*, bundle 13, nos. 2, 4; *CCR*, 1422-29, 207; *CPR*, 1422-29, 276, 354, 406.
7. *DKR*, XXXI (*Chester Plea Rolls*), App. 181; *BM*, Harleian MS. no. 139, fo. 237; *DKR XXXVII (Recognisance Rolls of Chester)*, 109; *CPR*, 1422-29, 481, 496; *ibid.*, 1429-36, 50, 126; *CCR*, 1422-29, 207; 396; *PRO*, S.C. 10, nos. 2390, 2396; *PRO, List of Escheators*, 127.
8. *CPR*, 1429-36, 275, 354, 408, 467, 470, 474, 518, 464; *CFR*, 1430-37, 187, 282, 352; *CCR*, 1429-35, 271.
9. *PRO List of Escheators*, 127; *CPR*, 1429-36, 526, 524; *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, IV, 323; *Rot. Parl.*, IV, 502.
10. *CPR*, 1436-41, 147-8, 249, 452, 505, 537; *DKR*, XXXVII (*Recog Rolls of Chester*) 673.
11. Privy Seal warrants for issue, *PRO*, E 404/53/158.
12. *CPR*, 1441-46, 73, 369; *Rot. Parl.*, V, 67; *Ancient Deeds*, VI, C 4190; *Trans. Shropshire A. and L. H. Soc.*, 4th Series, VI, 223; *ibid.*, XII, 167.
13. *PRO*, C 219, bundle 15, no. 4; *CCR*, 1435-41, 355, 362; *ibid.*, 1441-7, 155. *Dorset Fines*, 327-8, 368; *Somerset Fines*, 113, 201; I. H. Jeayes, *The Lyttelton Charters*, 89-92.
14. *Rot. Parl.*, V, 196; *Paston Letters* (Library Edition), ed. James Gardiner, ii, 175; *CPR*, 1452-61, 676.
15. *Rot. Parl.*, V, 284-6; *CPR*, 1452-61, 403, 407, 442; R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, V, 43; *The Genealogist*, vol. 37, pp. 23-4.
16. *CFR*, 1454-61, 211; *Registrum Thome Bourgchier*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay, 190.

SOME LETTERS OF WILLIAM FOWLER,
STEWARD OF SHREWSBURY, 1593-1595

EDITED BY J. L. HOBBS, F.L.A., F.R.HIST.S.

William Fowler, of Shrewsbury and Harnage Grange, was the third son of Roger Fowler, of Broomhill, co. Stafford by Isabella, daughter of William Lee of Morpeth, co. Northumberland. His mother was a sister of Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry and also Lord President of the Marches in Wales. Fowler married Mary, daughter of John Blythe, M.D., their issue being three sons and five daughters. He purchased the estate of Harnage Grange from Edward Grey, the illegitimate son of Lord Grey. Harnage was a grange of Buildwas Abbey which had been granted to Lord Grey by Henry VIII.

William Fowler was appointed steward of Shrewsbury for life in 1561, apparently after a long intermission in that office, the previous steward mentioned by Owen and Blakeway being Thomas Cooper in 1516. He was also admitted a free burgess of the town on January 16, 1561/2. Taylor's MS. records him as holding the office in 1580 and Owen and Blakeway in 1594, and he probably held it until his death in February 1597. He was buried at Cound on 1st March, 1597.

He contributed £28 towards the defence of the Kingdom against the threatened Spanish Invasion in 1588, and in the same year he sat with the High Sheriff, Edward Leighton, Esq., and other Justices of the Peace to fix a levy of 42 men on the Town and Liberties of Shrewsbury for the trained bands. On September 24, 1587, he was elected Recorder for the Borough of Much Wenlock.¹

The Fowlers were a family of great antiquity and held "a highly respectable position in Society before Richard I"² for during the latter's Crusade to the Holy Land Richard Fowler, of Foxley, Bucks. attained fame by preventing, with extraordinary care and vigilance, an attempt by the Infidels to surprise the Crusaders' camp by night during the siege of Acon. The King knighted him in the field, and changed his crest to that of a vigilant owl. From this Richard descended John Fowler of Foxley who married a daughter and heiress of Loveday; and his son, Henry married a heiress of Barton. Their son was Sir William Fowler of Ricote, co. Oxford, who married Cicely, a coheiress of Sir Nicholas Englefield, Comptroller of the Household to Richard II. One of their two sons, Thomas was the great grandfather of William Fowler, the steward of Shrewsbury.

Fowler's father was slain in Scotland while his children were in their childhood and his mother, too, apparently died before 1538, when the children were the responsibility of her brother, Bishop Lee, as the following letter which Lee addressed to King Henry VIII shows:

"Where, at my being with your Majesty I moved the same for the late priory of St. Thomas, I was minded to pay a certain sum as your Grace should determine.

¹S.A.T. 2nd ser. v. 6, p. 265.

²George Morris Mss. (Shrewsbury Public Library), v. 5, p. 531.

I am so much bound to your Majesty that I can crave no more; but being charged with eight poor children of my sister's, now fatherless and motherless, I am forced to show the truth. Scraysbury, 26 December"³.

Lee had for some time been seeking to obtain possession of St. Thomas's priory, Stafford, and had referred to this in several previous letters addressed to Thomas Cromwell. The above letter was sent via Cromwell, to whom, in a covering letter, he says "If I might have it for £40 a year, or by yearly instalments, I am satisfied."

Other entries in the State Papers show that Lee was active in trying to obtain favours and preferments for his kinsmen. On May 8, 1538 he writes to Cromwell "I have married one of my sister's daughters to one John Bradshawe, merchantman, who has a certain tith of the abbot of Wigmore for two or three years, and thinks that, at your letters to the abbot he might have it for life, and for his widow".⁴ This was Alice, one of the sisters of William Fowler, who married John Bradshaw, of Presteigne, co. Radnor.

In a further letter, dated 3rd September, 1538, he says "I would one of the auditors might hear the accounts, one comes every year to Montgomery, and there my husbandry shall appear to the confusion of some who say that I take the King's money for my own use". A month later Wigmore had been dissolved and Lee informs Cromwell that "Mr. Sulyard and I, as commissioned, have taken the surrender of Wigmore monastery, and committed the custody to my cousin Bradshawe, beseeching your remembrance of him for the farm".⁵

Possibly some of Fowler's own appointments were similarly due to the influence of his uncle, especially that of one of the Justices of the Court of the Marches, of which Lee was the Lord President. Fowler's name appears in 1576 in a draft copy of the orders made by Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord President of the Marches, and others "on behalf of themselves and others appointed by the Queen, to survey and amend the sewers, etc. of the river Severn within the county of Salop".⁶

When Fowler was Steward of Shrewsbury capital offences were usually tried at the town sessions, at which he officiated. The harsh and summary manner in which he conducted the judicial business is well illustrated in the following extract from Taylor's MS. History of Shrewsbury in the year 1580:

"This yeare and the ij daye of Novembr. the quarter sessyons was kept in Shreusbery callyd the grete sessyons, and so callyd for the number of prysoners that there were, as also the number of people, Mr. Foular then being Stuart, which sate upon them iij dayes, which never was seene to any memory but that the gaole delyvery was don and dispatched in a day and a halffe at the most, there were XV persons condempnyd, of the which there were V that went to the place of execucion, and the reast were sayvd by theire boockes, and whomen supposyd to be with child; it is to be notyd as conserninge the V p'sons which cam to the place of execucion iijj of them were put to dethe, and the Vth being a mayd, and for a smale tryfull beinge condempnyd, who beinge of sutche pacious and godly behavyor in hyr jurney towards hyr deathe and howe she was mortfyed to dye in perswadinge also the

³*Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1538. Henry VIII, vol. 13, pt. 2, no. 1143.*

⁴*Ibid. Henry VIII, vol. 13, pt. 1, no. 1232.*

⁵*Ibid. Henry VIII, vol. 13, pt. 2, no. 868.*

⁶*S.A.T. v. 11, p. 425.*

stubbernes of hyr fellowes at the place of execucion, was stayed by one Mr. Doctor Bouckeley, a lernyd preacher of God's woorde, which dyd well vewe the conversacon of the sayde mayde uppon greate pytie brought hyr home for a tyme, promessinge to begge hyr lyffe and so dyd, which mayde lyvythe in the feare of God, and dothe verey well".⁷

The same chronicle relates that "This yeare and the 29th day of October 1594 beinge Tuesday was the towne sessions of gaole delivery there and master Fowlar beinge stuard and sittinge there with the baylyffs. In the whiche Sessions were condepnid, Hughe Preece, servant with Robart Taylor, of Salop, sherman and William Morris soon unto Will Morris, of Salop, sherman for wilfull murther for murtheringe of one Thomas Lakon, servant unto Mr. Ric. Chirwell,⁸ drap' . . . who were executid at the old heathe the next daye followinge beinge the 30 daye of October in the afternoone of the same daye, who althoughe in their lyve tymes were unruly youthes yeat at their end they died with pacience repentinge their former lyves to the exsample of all youthes and people present at whose execution were a greate multitude."⁹

Harnage Grange is situated two miles south-west of Cressage, near Shrewsbury, and is now occupied as a farm-house. The Harnage estate remained in the Fowler family until the 19th century, when it was sold, after much litigation. In 1590 William Fowler sold three messuages with lands in Cressage to Peter Osborne.¹⁰

BOROUGH RECORDS, No. 2621

To hys lovyng
frynde Mr. Adam
Mytton, gentylman.

Good Mr. Mytton, Lett me understand by some lynes from Mr. Baylyffes of the state of the sycknenes in the towne that I maye signifie unto the iudgges the same, for order, as God in his mercye shall Determyne, wiche I wish as unto my self / God do knowith, unto whome I comytt you all / Harnage, the last of June a'o (Anno) 1585.

Yors as of olde assured

William Fowlar.

The Plague referred to in this letter is mentioned in the Taylor MS. (Shrewsbury School Library) as follows:

"Thys yeare and about this tyme God sennt a strandge sycknes in Shreusbery, mutche lycke the plage, but was not the plage, it wolld tacke them in the headd and hartt, with a laxe eyther upwarde or downwarde, and those which should dye were trobblyd with a cramp in their leggs, soon havinge styches in their syde that were of contynewance, and the most part of them escaped throughe good tendinge, but manye dyed sodenly, in a manner soom well overnyht and dead before morninge, soom ij hourse, soom in one hour, soome in more, soome in lesse, and it fell in every part of the towne; the lycke hath not been seene; it towchid pore and ryche; it was properly termed stowp gallants broother".¹¹

⁷Taylor MS. Shrewsbury School Library.

⁸Richard Cherwell, admitted to the Draper's Company in 1583; and bailiff of Shrewsbury in 1597.

⁹Taylor MS.

¹⁰Phillips' MSS. *Shropshire Men*, vol. 5, p. 95b. (Shrewsbury Public Library).

¹¹Stowp gallant = the sweating sickness (O.E.D.).

BOROUGH RECORDS, No. 2621

Right worshipfull Mr. Fowler, I hop and tryst in the lord that your good worshiye ys in good helthe, the w'ch I pray God long to conteneue. And for that trewe and faythfull goodwill that I ever found in you towards me I will not only w'th my tonge in spredeinge your name, but allso I and my children withe all our harts night and Daye will praye for your p(ro)sperus conteneuanc in helthe. I sent a leter to your wors'p by Simkines to know your plesur w'the yor counsell consarning the baylyve of Sherousbury, whos disobedienc I have showed to Sir George Carye and Sir Thomas Henage, beinge at diner w'the s'v' (several) of the shiryvs of London wher was my lord kep'rs children allso, Sir George Carye maid answer and sayd yt was a great presumption in the baylyve in letinge the caws slyp unexameind eyther trewe or untrewre punishinge the ofender of w'che syd so ever; then answered Sir Thomas and sayd the prinsepall was the quens and yt ought not to be unpunished, for, sayd he, thear ys two maneye shuch bad oficers w'ch hindrith the queen greatly, etc. and for all he ys thretino to be comited upon hys first aperance y't will I be rulyd by you so that amongst them I be payd of my mony elsse I will not only be satisfyed by lawe but that I will go forward w'the that w'ch now I have in hand that ys to saye all shuch that wear at the Riffing of me by ther manres w'ch the disobedienc of good Mr. baylyve and all his petiffogers by whoes contenanec he was carid awaye that night imagening he had all the law in his houes and all powers in him selff. I will sett them out in print as you shall se(e) very shortly that Eingland may singe and laugh at their knavery. Now I beseech your worship to send to me that I may know your plesur, and yt might plesse your worship in wryting aword your worship may know the baylyvs will therein, thuse I comyt your wor' to the lord. London, this present saterdaye March xii th. with harty comendatyons to Mr. Vaughan and Mrs. Vaughan and all the Rest of your childryn.

Your poor s(er)vant in what he can,

Thomas Holand.

Yf yor worship doth send to me I lyve at one Mr. Norton at the blewe bor in berbinder lane hard by the stoks, my L. of Honslows house.

(The following note is apparently in Mr. Fowler's handwriting):

"To hys verye lovyinge frynd Mr. Thomas Holland, potycarye, lyinge at Mr. Norton hys howse at the signe of the Blue boore in Bearebynder Lane, London." Address: To the Right Worsh' Mr. Fowler at Harynege Grange gave this w'th sped.

BOROUGH RECORDS, No. 2621

Right Wor' ll my dutie remembred havinge this day Receavid yo'r l' rs I p(re)sently imp' ted the same unto Mr. Bailiff Hughes who affirmed he nev' hard nor yet knewe any thinge touchinge the said cause, but att his comynge to the hall makeinge his fellowe Mr. Owen acquainted w'th yo'r saide l'rs they thought itt requisite to send for all p' ties that could saye any thinge to the matter, as far as they could find them out who have been sworne and exa(min)ied as by their deposicons w'ch thys Bearer will shewe unto you may appeare. And for any thinge that I can understand the said Sunday night as the said Holland affirmed him self to bee robbedd was very farr ov'r scene with drinke and came no nerer unto Mr. Bailiff Hughes his house then the great

Conditt at the flesheboords end,¹² wherefore there is no cause of complaint against the Bailiffs or any their officers, But as conc(er)ninge the p(ar)ties w'th whom the said Holland quarrelled the same night, they are all forthcomynge and will be redy to answer anythinge that shalbe objected against them, and as touchinge his dagger it remayneth in the Exchequire untill he come to answeere his misdemeanors, and this isall I can certifie you in this cause, praying you to hold mee excused for that my p(re)sent occasions be such as I could not come to wayte on you my self as my dutye was. Thus humbly takinge my leave I comitt you to god. Salop this xix.th. of January, 1593.

Yor's assured ever att comand,

Adam Mitton.

To the right wor'll
William ffowler, Esquir,
att his house att the
Grange.

dl. these.

This is endorsed "Deposicons taken consyrninge misdemenurs touchinge Thomas Holland".

BOROUGH RECORDS, NO. 2621

My moste hartie comendacons used. I pray you Mr. Bayleffes take some paines for this bearer my friende Mr. Rowland Tizedalles who had one of his apprentices called John Emerie runne away from him without his lycence, and by my means I have caused him to be attached, and is nowe in the custodie of William Hurste, one of your officers, to answeere for his contempte contrarie to the statute, my desier is for my said freinde that he maye be safelie kepte untill such tyme as he shall put in suffyciente suertyes to serve out his tearme of prentishipe iustlie and truelie. Or els that he and suffyciente men bound for him doe compoude with his said master for his said tearme of prentishipe, and to make satisfacion for such things unto his master as his master shall duellie charge him withall, and in that acion that you will call before you one Daniel Maddox his niefe (nephew?) who receaved a cheste of his and divers stufte of the said Rowland Tizedalles of the which he will enforme you, and soe comitt you to God. You must remember that the offence is contrarie to the statute and some punishment muste be for example sake, either whippinge, or puttinge in stocks, that your prentises may take warning: from Harnege the xxiiii.th of Januarie, 1593.

Your verye lovyngge ffrynde to use,

William ffowler.

To the wor'll his verie Lovinge
freindes Mr. Edward Owen and
Mr. Humffrey Hughes, gent.
bayliefes of the Towne of
Salop and unto everie of them.

¹²The top end of Pride Hill by the present Post Office and opposite the High Cross.

BOROUGH RECORDS, No. 2621

My verie hartie comendations, this bearer John Shelvocke, my freinde and your neighbour by the hand and visitation of God had his dwellinge house and barne with all his goodes therein to the value of threescore poundes besides his books utterlie consumed and burnt with fyer, and he having obteigned letters placards from her ma' . . . ts Counsaill in the Marches of Wales, for to take and receive the charitable benevolence and devotion of well disposed and good people towards the recoverye of his grete losses and hinderances: Desiring you both to speke unto Mr. Lawton and the reste of your ministers within the towne of Shrewsburye that they in their sev(er)all p(ar)ishes, will cause his letters to be read, and open his miserable estate unto their p(ar)ishoners to the ende he maye receive some reliefe and comforte amonge the charitable people of your towne: and that you (the rather at my requ(e)ste) as magestrates and gov(er)nores of the said Towne, wille shewe him what favour and furtheraunce you may towards his reliefe herein: wherein noe doubt you shall doe a verie charitable deed and receive the reward thereof at god's hand, unto whose grace I comytt you, from Harnege the thirde of June 1595.

Yo'r verie lovyng frynde,

William Ffowler.

To the Wor'll his verie lovinge
freindes Mr. David Lloyd and
Thomas Lewis gent, bayliefes
of the towne of Salopp and
unto eyther of them.

BOROUGH RECORDS, No. 2621

Right wor'll, after our verie hartie comendacons, having receavid her ma'ts letters from her highnes Councell in the Marches of Wales for the ex(am)inacon of a cause toughinge the murder of Thomas Lacon. These are to c(er)tifie you howe the state of that cause standeth, and howe farre we have proceded therin. Upon ffrydaye night last, being the iiij th of this moneth about viij of the clocke, it chaunced the said Thomas Lacon with others to passe into the hey street of this towne, where they mett (as it seemeth by chaunce) with one Hugh ap Rees and one William Morris, which said ap Rees and Morris began presently to quarrell with the said Lacon, at which tyme the said ap Rees and Lacon takinge faste hold one on th'other, beinge then somewhat darke, the said Lacon was presently stricken upon the hedd, and with the said blowe felled to the ground and slayne. It is proved by axaminacon of witnesses and the circumstance therof that the said ap Rees specially gave hym his deathes wound, And by othersome witnesses that ap Rees and Morris did both strike him at that instant when he so fell downe, both which parties do remayne in Gaole, and shall contynue untill the tryall therof. The said Lacon beinge after the said hurte carryed to his master his house and somewhat revived did affyrme that the said Morris did strike him behind upon the hedd with a Cudgell att such tyme as ap Rees and he had faste hold one on th'other as aforesaid, And then ap Rees loosinge his hold, strake the said Lacon in like sorte, And as concerninge malice pretended we do fynd that the said ap Rees and Lacon had divers tymes heretofore fought together, and we thinke

that upon that quarrell this murder was comytted. We have examined the parties, and as many witnesses as farre as we can learne that can testefye any thinge concerninge the same. As yet we can finde no more Confederates therin, but will proceade to further examinacon as occasion shall serve. Our special care and desyre is to have this matter throughly examined and severely punished, Therefore we would desire specially yor assistance, And if convenyently you maye, to keepe a Sessions within our towne which we desire to have with what convenyent speede you may, wherein we desire to knowe your pleasure by the bearer herof, agaynste which tyme, by the grace of God, we will have and provide all things reddie, and necessary for you. We have not any thinge at this instant to certifie the boddy of the Councell by force of her ma'ts said letters. But if occasion shall falle out, wee will be bould to crave their ayde, we are sorry to heare that you have conceavid some ylle opynyon against our predecessors, But, we will endeavour our selfs (by the grace of God) to amende what is amysse to the uttermost of our powers as shall be to your good lykinge. And thus beinge bould to trouble you att this tyme, trustinge to see you shortely heere, we comytt you to god. Salop this ix.th of October, 1594.

To the right wor'll William
Ffowler, Esquire, one of her ma'ts
councell in the Marches of Wales,
and Steward of the towne of Salop.
d.d.

BOROUGH RECORDS, No. 2621

Makynge Mr. Croke prevye unto your letters we bothe doo fynde that you have done nothyng as concernynge the Certificat of herr Ma'ty Letters, but take yt that the absence of Mr. Medlycot beinge the Quene herr Ma'ties Solycyter and of the Quorum in that accyon of herr Ma'ties was the Lett therof, wherfor he nowe repayryng unto you, doo wishe you, with hym to procede for th'examinacon of that heynous facte, and all you to certifie your proc(e)dyngs therin, and with th'examinacons, accordynge to the mandates of the Quenes letters, and uppon the recepte therof you shall have knowledge, what tyme I Willm Ffowler maye be there, And soo with our hartye comendacons comytt you to God, ffrom Ludlowe the xj.th of October, 1594.

Yo'r lovyng frynds

F. O. Croke
William Ffowler.

You muste appoynte suche
a tyme for your Sessions
as Mr. Solycyter may be
there.

ffowler.

(Endorsed) To the W. Mr. David Lloyd
and Mr. Thomas Lewes gent.
baylyffs of the towne and
liberties of Shrewsbury and
unto every of them.

BOROUGH RECORDS, No. 2621

Not mysdowntunge Right W. and my good frynds, but that you will folowe suche good profytable Councell, as shall tend to gods glorye, and the utylyte of the comon welthe, of your towne and lyberties, and comaundements of thys Councell, doo meane god wyllynge to be with you tuysdaye the nine and twentyth daye of thys monyth nexte, to assosyate you, in your affayers wiche yf it hadd bene in your predecessors tyme not for more then I now speke of, I wolde for causes wiche I will imparte unto you, wee dydd meane to serve in suche a place wherof the officers doo wante consideracon, and wolde neyther aske nee (nor?) folowe any good counsell, for the welthe of that ffraunchys I have sente unto you, by thys bearer, all the bookes and examynacons you sente, you have satisfied the Councell well, of your carefull procedyngs therein, wherein yf by your endustries you cane fynde any more, I pray you procede, that suche an obomynable acte maye receyve condyng punyshemente, in the meane tyme have care for the returne of verye good Jurors, bothe for th'enquyre and delyverie, I pray you looke to your wightes and measures, Breade drynke and all other things, and thus in haste thys mornynge, with my ryght hartye comendacons unto you, and unto all suche as love the utylyte of your towne and liberties, unto god hys grace comytt you, ffrom Ludlowe the xiiij.th of October 1594.

Yo'r verye lovyng frynde

William Ffowler.

To hys lovyng and W. frynds
Mr. David Lloyd draper
and Mr. Thomas Lewes, gent.,
baylyffs of the towne and liberties
of Shrowsburye, and unto eyther
of them.

BOROUGH RECORDS, No. 2621

Mr. Bayliefes my very hartye comendations used, whereas heretofore I have sente unto you and nowe of late I have wrytten unto yowe upon the behalves of Rowland Tyzedale and John Puleston dwellinge in the suburbes of your towne, myselfe knowinge them both to be verye honest men and heretofore have bine admytted and lycensed by your predecessors then byliefes of the towne of Salop, and my selfe, for to sell ale, that now from hernceforth you will lycense them both for to sell ale, they putting in such suffyciente suertyes as by you upon inspection shalbe thought meete for the observation of such good orders as by you is imposed and sett downe upon others to be observed and kepte in that behalfe. Also if there be anye cause to be obiected against them or eyther of them to the contrarye desiringe I maye be advtized thereof for I have not nor will not write unto you upon the behalfe of anye but such as I take to be honeste and of a good conv(er)sacon and behaviour in

theire house, and soe, referringe my requeste and theire erneste peticons unto your good consideracon, to god's grace I commytt you, Harnage this 24th of February 1595.

Yo'r very lovyng frynde

William Ffowler.

To the wor'll his ver lovinge
freindes William Jones and
Thomas Chorleton, gents.
Bayliefes of the towne
of Saloppe.

BOROUGH RECORD, No. 2624

Mr. bayliefes, I doe understand that one of your officers Will'm Hunte did areste two bushels of barly malte, of the goodes of Mrs. Grace Harnage; upon Saturday laste, at the suite of a bad lewde p(er)son: he was servaunte unto her, and upon his dep(ar)-ture stole a shete awaye with him, and other thinges. Therefore I would wish you that, if he come before you againe, you bind hyme for his app(er)ance at the nexte sessions to answeere unto such thinges as upon her Ma't's behalfe shalbe objected against hym. And further I ame to desyer you to deliv(er) unto the gentlewoman, or some of her s(er)vaunts, the malte againe, and I wilbecome answerable, with her in the accon if the man doe p(ro)ceade and recover. I pray you deliver the same unto the first messenger, in respecte of the credit of the gentlewoman, and I wilbe answerable for the ij bushels of malt, beinge suffycient for the same, and soe w'th my most hartly comendacons used to god's grace, doe comyt you, from Harnage the xij of December, 1597.

Your lovinge freinde,

Wyllm. ffowler.

Endorsed: To the W'l and his verie lovinge freindes
Mr. Thomas Burnell and Mr. Richard Chirwell,
gents. bayliefs of ye towne of Shrewsbury
and unto either of them.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN LUDLOW, 1590-1642¹

With the slow and general migration of the woollen industry from the towns into the countryside during the later middle ages, the once rich clothing borough of Ludlow had seen its economic foundations shrink. This is shown by the conversion of the town's fulling-mills to corn-mills, by the dwindling revenue of the town's *alnager*, who inspected and sealed the cloth, and by the complaints of contemporaries.² Yet Ludlow had other resources. To begin with, there were various minor industries, such as the crafts of the Hammermen. There were the extensive corporation properties, many of which had been secured by the town when the rich Palmers Guild was dissolved in the reign of Edward VI.³ The rents from these houses, shops, and farms enabled the town to meet its social obligations cheaply, since they provided for a grammar school, a preacher, and thirty-three poor persons. More important, perhaps, these properties gave the town a means of rewarding and succouring its burgesses, since the rents and entry-fines remained apparently stable while the value of money fell; seemingly the corporation tenants were given highly favourable terms and were in this way protected from the economic difficulties of the town.⁴ Ludlow acquired another source of income when the headquarters of the Council in the Marches of Wales was fixed at the Castle.⁵ To the town came the President and his retinue, the judges and their servants, the officers of the court, and its countless litigants. They brought a valued custom to the Ludlow tradesmen, especially to the inn-keepers, which helped to compensate them for industrial decline.

This outline of the economic history of Ludlow is inevitably both sketchy and tentative. But it forms an essential prelude to the discussion of government and politics, to which we can now turn.

The Castle not only provided Ludlow with a useful income; it dominated the government of the town. Expected, like most agents of the central government, to supervise the affairs of the boroughs within its rule, it prevented local courts from hearing some cases, prodded them into hearing others, used local officials to carry out its punishments, and intervened in the disputes of urban politicians.⁶ Its relations with Ludlow were of course especially close, partly because the Castle officials could so easily watch the doings of the town, partly because the town authorities were anxious to attract the Council away from its other seats and to make it welcome when it came.⁷ Lavish presents were given to the Lord President, slightly less lavish ones to other members. In 1604 Lord President Zouch was to have a fat ox "whether his Lordship come downe or not", but the vice-president was to have two sugar-loaves only if "he be attendinge here at newe daie next, or els not"; in 1600 the town bailiffs were given an allowance for "all such guyftes as are geven in the castell and to others at Chrystmas"; and in 1613 a collection was made in the borough to raise the means for persuading the Council to spend the next term in Ludlow.⁸

Like all towns in that period Ludlow needed influential friends who could give help and advice in its relations with the higher circles of government.⁹ Quite naturally the town turned for this assistance to the members and officials of the Council in

the Marches. The Recorder of Ludlow was generally an important member of the Council. Under Elizabeth one of the Ludlow M.P.s was invariably a minor official of the Council; under the early Stuarts the town provided parliamentary seats for more exalted members of the Castle group.¹⁰ Even members of the Council who had no official link with the town were ready to help: Sir Richard Lewkenor, Chief Justice of Chester, enabled the town to get its contribution for purveyance reduced, and the grateful borough gave him some hay in return for "his great favor shewed towards this corporacion".¹¹

At the summit of the town government proper stood the Twelve and Twenty-Five, the aldermen and councillors, who made up the common council of Ludlow. As their minute-book shows, they supervised, in a rather haphazard way, most aspects of town life; and their activities were consequently so varied that we can do little more than indicate the most important. Essentially they played a dual role, for they were at one and the same time agents of the central government and representatives of the borough. The central government used them to carry out its military policy, to raise money for the administration and for the royal household, and to execute the poor laws.¹² As the corporation's representatives they appointed and dismissed the preacher, the schoolmaster, and the choristers¹³; they administered the town's property, approving and registering leases, ordering surveys of town lands, supervising the repair of Ludlow's buildings, walls, gates, bridges, and streets;¹⁴ they saw to the conduct of the innumerable lawsuits in which the town became involved;¹⁵ they raised money for its expenses and supervised its charitable bequests;¹⁶ they regulated trade, fixed tolls, and excluded foreigners from crafts and commerce;¹⁷ they even tried, with what primitive means they had, to improve health and hygiene, telling the inhabitants that they "shall from tyme to tyme sweepe and keepe cleane the streete before their doores unto the chanell of the said streete, and that noe mucke or dunghill be here suffred to remayne above the space of two howres"¹⁸—which was no doubt quite long enough.¹⁸ However, this catalogue, necessary to give some idea of the range of the council's activities, is by itself misleading. For the work of the council was concentrated heavily upon the management of property and finance. What we normally think of as local administration—regulation of trade, the poor law, justice, hygiene, and so on—received little attention beside the granting of leases, the surveying of lands, the conduct of law-suits. And, as the Table suggests, this disproportion grew as time went on.¹⁹

The bulk of local government proper, apart from finance, was delegated by the common council to the town's officials. The most elevated of these was the Recorder, who acted as a justice of the peace and of gaol delivery within the borough. Theoretically he was elected annually; in practice, once elected, he generally continued to serve until he died or retired. Almost always he was an important legal member of the Council in the Marches: Sir Henry Townshend, second justice of Chester, held the post till his death in 1621; and he was succeeded in turn by Sir James Whitelock, Edward Waties, Sir John Bridgeman, and Sir Thomas Millward, each of whom, except Waties, was chief justice of Chester and the principal judge at the Council.²⁰ Naturally the Recorder was very much a part-time official: the town's full-time executive officers were the two bailiffs, annually elected from the Twelve and Twenty-Five. In their hands, during their term of office, lay most of the administration

of the town. Acting as J.P.s they held quarter sessions and gaol deliveries, heard petitions, examined criminals and investigated crimes. In other words they carried out the numberless duties imposed upon justices by the central government.²¹ But they were also the servants of the corporation, on whose behalf they collected fines on entry from the tenants of town property, represented the town in negotiations with outside officials, administered the gaols, and directed the spending of the very large sums which the corporation devoted to entertainment.²² Life must have been crowded for a bailiff during his term of office, but no-one ever seems to have felt reluctant to take the post. From 1627 onwards they were assisted by two new officers, the chief magistrates, chosen annually to act, together with the bailiffs and Recorder, as justices of the peace.²³

Administratively less important, but socially quite as elevated, were the chamberlains. Sometimes there was one, sometimes two. They were elected annually and were charged with the task of keeping the buildings, walls, streets, and conduits in good repair. Then there were the common and bailiffs' sergeants, three in all, who kept the peace; the alnager, who inspected and sealed the cloth; the Six Men, who audited the accounts; the rent-gatherer, who collected the corporation rents; and the churchwardens. All these, except the rent-gatherer, were elected annually, though the common sergeant was generally chosen for several years successively.²⁴

The foundation documents of the town were unhappily vague about the way in which elections were to be made. The Charter of Richard, duke of York, stated simply that the Twelve and Twenty-Five had governed the town time out of mind and should continue to do so. The Charter of his son, Edward IV, made no mention of the Twelve and Twenty-Five, entrusting elections simply to the burgesses.²⁵ But whatever this charter may have intended, the aldermen and councillors probably kept control of the town's affairs very much in their own hands. By the second half of Elizabeth's reign they alone administered the corporation property; and probably, though of this we cannot be certain, their power was long-standing.²⁶ It had not however been unopposed. In 1536 eight townsmen petitioned that the whole body of burgesses should elect the bailiffs; to which the Twelve and Twenty-Five replied that the petitioners were "nyght-watchers" and tavern-haunters, who only wished to stir up trouble; and the Council in the Marches, to whom the dispute was referred, upheld the rights of the common council to make the choice.²⁷ In 1554 the Council in the Marches again supported the Twelve and Twenty-Five, this time over the right to elect members of parliament.²⁸ Further dispute over elections is reflected in an order of 1563, according to which no parliamentary candidate was to canvass support except within the council chamber on election day.²⁹

These incidents suggest that townsmen excluded from the closed body of the common council were challenging established power. But there is little record of their motives or of the disputes themselves. Much better documented, and probably more important in itself, is the great dispute over Ludlow government in the 1590's. This seems to have opened with a petition to the Council in the Marches by certain discontented burgesses, who complained that the corporation lands were not being properly administered, that some burgesses were being allowed to follow more than one trade, and that the constables were failing to prosecute men for "frays and

bloods.”³⁰ Henry Townshend, a member of the Marcher Council and Recorder of the town, seems then to have intervened by drawing up twenty-seven articles to which the common council and the opposition leaders assented. These articles met some of the minor complaints; decided a few points not mentioned in the bill; and made two significant changes in the practice of town government. The first of these changes gave the burgesses a voice in choosing their rulers, for, on the death of an alderman or councillor, the bailiffs were to name seventeen townsmen, who would in turn elect three men, from whom the town council would itself fill the vacancy in its own numbers. This type of arrangement was much favoured in sixteenth-century towns; and similarly complex franchises have more recently become familiar in the attempts of some multi-racial societies to combine, with ingenuity rather than success, democracy and vested interest. In Ludlow’s case it hardly exposed the town’s government to the dangers of popular control; but it was a step away from the self-perpetuating oligarchy which had until then controlled affairs.³¹ The second change was in some ways the more important: corporation lands were to be leased out for twenty-one years only; no man was to have more than three parcels of these lands, unless the total value of his holdings was under fifty shillings *per annum*; and at least twenty-five members of the town council were to be present when leases were granted.³²

This agreement does not seem to have settled the disputes, and two years later Townshend had to add an explanatory order. By then, however, the quarrels had become much fiercer and the council’s meetings had been sharply disturbed. One of the attorneys in the borough court, Philip Bradford, had been sequestered from the council for refusing to take an oath against “disclosinge of the counsell out of this house”; probably he wished to discuss the town’s affairs with his allies outside the council.³³ John Bradford, possibly a relative, had brought against the corporation an action of *Quo Warranto* in King’s Bench.³⁴ The town council, in its turn, had asserted that John Bradford and his ally, John Sutton, had “breeden great disobedience”, and had made “the meaner and simpler sort of the said towne beleve that they the said Bradford and Sutton wold overthrowe the said auncient government and bring all in common”; they were therefore disfranchised and struck off the burgess-roll.³⁵ Philip Bradford, who had apparently been restored to the council in the meantime, now made “undecent and unreverent speches in the councell house (being then one of the company)” and announced that he would “worke all the villany he could”. Once more he was removed from the Twenty-Five, to be restored again two years later.³⁶

Outside the town walls both sides now began some highly complicated manoeuvres. The town councillors seem to have hampered the progress of the *Quo Warranto* in King’s Bench by winning the support of the attorney-general, Edward Coke. They then set about consolidating their power through a new charter, which they hoped to procure by the agency of Dr. William Aubrey.³⁷ The popular faction, with two hundred supporters, presented a bill of complaint at the Council in the Marches, for which it won the backing of Sir Thomas Baskerville, a well-known Herefordshire soldier.³⁸ Temporarily blocked at King’s Bench, this faction also began a suit at the Exchequer, accusing the town council of abuses in government and of monopolising power through the new charter. The opposition leaders claimed

that they would be content if the town council could be chosen by three of the Council in the Marches, vacancies being filled as they occurred by "the major voyce of the burgences".³⁹

By this time both sides had stated their cases at such length that we can see the main issues. The two Bradfords, John Sutton, and the rest clearly wished to break the closed ring of council membership; they wanted vacancies to be filled by an election in which all burgesses should take part; and they probably wanted bailiffs and M.P.s to be chosen on a wider franchise. To justify their attacks on the existing government they made a number of accusations: unsuitable persons, particularly unmarried mothers, had been placed in the almshouses; foreigners had been allowed to trade in the town; false measures had been used in the market; councillors had taken "pickage and stallage"; market tolls had been mis-spent; accounts had been falsified; elections had been rigged; and so on.⁴⁰ But undoubtedly their main concern was the management of the town's property. The lengthy and meticulous articles drawn up by Henry Townshend in 1591 themselves suggest that the granting of leases was the principal issue in the dispute; the bills and answers of the two parties confirm this impression. Carefully detailed charges accused the councillors of feathering their own nests by granting themselves leases of corporation property on favourable terms. For instance, they alleged that Richard Bayley had leased a farm worth £40 *per annum* for 33s. 4d.; that Robert Berry had taken a house without entry-fine at 6s. 8d. *per annum* and had sold his interest for £13 6s. 4d.; that Thomas Evans had secured a lease secretly.⁴¹ It is not surprising that these leases should have been the centre of controversy. The corporation lands were an oasis of wealth in the town; and while the clothing industry decayed, the inhabitants sought economic refuge in the unusually rich lands acquired by the town from the Palmers' Guild. Let out for long terms at low traditional rents, this property was obviously a boon to its tenants. Naturally there was competition to receive the corporation's patronage; just as naturally there was rancorous disappointment among those who failed to get it.

The councillors rebutted all the charges brought against them. The town was governed under its charters, which empowered the Twelve and Twenty-Five to elect officers, to lease out lands, and to fill vacancies among themselves. There had been no abuses in the almshouses, the markets, or anywhere else. Nor had the councillors given themselves favourable leases. On the other hand, the opposition, led by "a man of grete mallice and revenge", supported by mutinous young persons "not fytt to governe in any good comon welthe", had attempted to "make all comen" and had used the "common multitude" to bring the government "into a popularitie". Finally, the councillors asserted, as oligarchs always do, that the duties of their offices were an intolerable burden, beneath which many of them had "greatly decayed"; only their duty to the town, one is led to infer, prevented their instant resignation.⁴²

We should like to know more of the economic circumstances and interests of the two sides; but it has proved difficult to discover much. A tax assessment of July 1598—for equipping six soldiers sent to Ireland—does however tell us something. The highest rating was 5/- and most of the leading oligarchs in the list seem to have paid 4/- or 5/-. On the other side John Crowther paid 4/-, Simon Cupper and Andrew Sombank 3/- each; but John Bradford paid only 1/-. A tentative inference is that while

the oligarchic party was mostly drawn from the economic *élite* of the town, the popular faction was drawn from a wider range: at the top were rich men, excluded presumably from the inner circle of power; supporting them were men well below the economic level of the ruling class within the town. Yet there is no sign that the popular faction was a working-class party. Its principal complaint was about the leasing of farms, houses, and shops. This would suggest that its main strength lay among the smaller tradesmen and the better-off craftsmen.⁴³

To return to the narrative: in October 1596 the oligarchy managed to procure a new charter for the town. A London goldsmith had loaned to the corporation £40 or £50 "for the stablishing of thauncient governement of this towne, wich chardg hath purchased a newe charter from her majestie . . . wherby our former charter is amplified to the good of this corporacion."⁴⁴ Its terms were exactly what the existing council wished. The Twelve and Twenty-Five were to govern the town in all things; they would choose the head bailiff from the Twelve, the low bailiff from the Twenty-Five; all existing aldermen and councillors were reappointed for life and were empowered to fill any vacancies in their own number.⁴⁵ Government by a self-perpetuating oligarchy was unambiguously established. But the opposition's suit at the Exchequer had still to be heard.

The popular faction now chose to play a forcing game. Bailiff John Crowther, who had gone over to the opposition, proceeded, with the help of the two Bradfords and various others, to pick the lock of the council chamber and remove the corporation seal. They then dismissed the town clerk and displaced from the council Richard Rascoll, Richard Baily, Robert Berry, Thomas Langford, and Francis Jenks, all of whom were defendants in the Exchequer suit; and in their place seven men were chosen each of whom was one of the many plaintiffs in the same action.⁴⁶ The Crowther faction then ejected some tenants from the town lands and granted their leases to others. These forcing tactics were a disastrous mistake, for the aldermen complained of their rivals' behaviour to the Privy Council and the Exchequer. The Privy Council at once ordered the Council in the Marches to restore the traditional form of government until the case should be finally decided; and the court of Exchequer told Crowther and his allies to replace the seal and restore the ejected councillors and tenants.⁴⁷ Crowther's last fling was an attempt to rig the parliamentary election in Ludlow. His chance came when the sheriff of Shropshire directed the election writ to only one of the two bailiffs. Apparently without consulting the Twelve and Twenty-Five,⁴⁸ Crowther returned Thomas Canland, a senior member of the common council, and Hugh Sanford, an outsider.⁴⁹ In doing so he excluded Robert Berry, who had been the senior member for the last three parliaments and was a leading member of the oligarchy. In choosing Sanford, Crowther was probably trying to gain the support of the Earl of Pembroke, Lord President of the Council in the Marches; for Sanford was Pembroke's secretary and later sat in his interest as M.P. for Wilton.⁵⁰ However, the trick failed, for the House of Commons declared the election null and void. Consequently, on December 5th, the Twelve and Twenty-Five, helped by a new pair of bailiffs, elected Berry and Canland. The popular faction then tried to prevent Berry from taking his seat by having one of their own number, Thomas Blashfield, serjeant-at-arms at the Council in the Marches, serve on him a

writ of process. This led only to the disciplining of Blashfield at the bar of the House of Commons.⁵¹

When the case came to a final hearing, the court of Exchequer announced that "this court doth very well like and allow of" the provisions of the new charter; ordered the ancient form of government to be "henceforth quietly and inviolably observed"; found for the defendants in all the charges brought against the corporation; and instructed that any further disputes should be taken before the Lord President and Council in the Marches.⁵² The oligarchy was now decidedly on top. When John Bradford and others began a suit at the Council in the Marches against the corporation, the Exchequer issued an injunction against them and held them in contempt; they could only confess their fault and submit.⁵³ In 1601 Crowther was removed from his place among the aldermen for refusing to submit and left the town.⁵⁴ In the same year the Twelve and Twenty-Five decided that every person elected a councillor should give a silver spoon to the corporation; this symbolic entrance-fee marked the triumph of the oligarchy.⁵⁵

During the next forty years the oligarchy seems to have encountered no serious opposition. There were however moments when tension and conflict become apparent in the records. In 1609 the town-clerk, Thomas Turner, lost his temper with one of the bailiffs, William Gregory, saying "Thow Gregory, I will keepe a callander of thy doinges and will question thee ells where for thy doinges in thy office." Turner made matters worse by speaking "without any reverent or due addicion (as did befytt him)" and was removed from office until he submitted, which he very soon did.⁵⁶ This quarrel was probably the result of personal ill-feeling and was soon ended. Political hostility may perhaps be indicated by a general ordinance which the grand jury found it necessary to publish in the following year: in it they complained of the "little respect and sometimes the contumelious behaviour" of some burgesses towards the bailiffs and laid down that anyone who spoke "lewde or sawcy wordes" to the bailiffs should be fined 20/- or imprisoned for eight days, while "whosoever shall give lewd words, as knave, rascoll, begger, drunkard or the like, or shall in vile scurrilous behavior demeane himself or themselves towards any of the twelve or xxv of this towne . . ." should be fined 6/8d. or imprisoned for four days.⁵⁷

One or two instances show that such high language was occasionally used. In 1611 an inn-keeper, Thomas Wood, refused to attend a court-leet and called the magistrates "knaves"; and in the next year Edward Harries abused one of the bailiffs.⁵⁸ In 1619 the common council ordered that on fair days the Twelve and Twenty-Five were to assemble in their gowns for breakfast, so that by 11.0 a.m. "they may all goe lovingly together to make their proclamacions in their faires".⁵⁹ This may perhaps suggest that the processions had not been exactly loving in the past; and one or two incidents reveal personal hostilities within the oligarchy. Thomas Edwards, a member of the Twenty-Five, was sequestered for nine months in 1630 for accusing a bailiff of drunkenness. Three years later John Ambler was also sequestered from the Twenty-Five for revealing the secrets of the council house. He was restored to his place, removed from it again for "uncivell and undecent speeches publicly used" to an alderman, and then once more restored.⁶⁰

Between 1600 and 1640 there is then little sign of political, as opposed to personal tension. In the next two years Ludlow reflects something, but disappointingly little, of the conflicts of the nation. However, before we can examine the fragmentary material for the two years before the civil war, we must turn to the history of parliamentary representation in the borough. In the second half of the sixteenth century Ludlow's M.P.s were chosen by the Twelve and Twenty-Five from their own number.⁶¹ There had been some protest at this under Mary but the practice continued, broken only by the popular faction's unsuccessful attempt in 1597, until 1614. Under Elizabeth the senior member was, in every parliament save that of 1563, an official of the Council in the Marches, as well as being a member of the Twelve and Twenty-Five; and the year 1563 saw an exception only because the Council official concerned, William Poughnill, sat as the junior member.⁶² The popular party's action in 1597 only served to reveal the strength of this convention; Berry and Canland were again returned in 1601; Berry and Richard Benson, a well-established member of the common council, in 1604. In 1609 a by-election became necessary, on the death of Richard Benson, and the town was now urged to choose the *protégés* of two important magnates. First, the Lord President, Lord Eure, asked them to elect his brother, Francis. Then the Earl of Salisbury asked them to elect John Leveson of Lilleshall. Both requests were refused, on the ground that only resident burgesses could be chosen. In any case, the Twelve and Twenty-Five had already decided, before the writ was even received, to return one of their own number, Richard Fisher. By 1610 therefore Ludlow had the distinction, rare among English boroughs, of having been represented by its own inhabitants for over fifty years.⁶³

This was not to last. In 1614 the town returned Sir Henry Townshend, member of the Council in the Marches, second justice of Chester, and Recorder of Ludlow. True, Townshend had been conveniently made one of the Twenty-Five at the previous meeting; but he was not exactly a resident of the town. As his companion Robert Berry was chosen M.P. for the seventh time.⁶⁴ But here arose a complication, for Berry was that year serving as bailiff and thus as returning officer in the election. Although Berry had no scruples about returning himself, the House of Commons declared his action illegal and ordered a new election.⁶⁵ In his place the Twelve and Twenty-Five chose a new type of candidate, Robert Lloyd, sewer to the Queen, Anne of Denmark.⁶⁶ It may be significant that Lloyd agreed to serve without pay. Certainly, he was not a resident of Ludlow, and the common council resolved to ignore its previous order on the subject "for this time and parliament only."⁶⁷ Lloyd was a courtier with his way to make in the world. Starting, so it was said, from a low social rank, he had already achieved a post in the royal household. Within a year or two he had been knighted, made Admiral to the Queen, and appointed joint collector of the customs duties on northern cloth. In 1618 he over-reached himself by getting from the Queen a lease of the royalties of all her lands; her anger led him to a disgrace which delighted his fellow-courtiers. Yet two years later he had recovered his balance and acquired a valuable monopoly of engrossing wills and inventories. This was his undoing, for it led to his censure and expulsion in the parliament of 1621.⁶⁸ His misfortunes do not bear on Ludlow history, except in showing that Lloyd was a courtier M.P. of a type previously unknown to the town.

Once Ludlow had fallen from grace it could not easily rise. In 1621 the town again suspended its rule that the members should be chosen from the Twelve and Twenty-Five. Its new representatives were Henry Spencer, Lord Compton, son of the Lord President of the Council in the Marches, and Richard Tomlyns, a native of Ludlow and a sworn burgess of the town who had settled in Westminster and was ready to serve without pay. Lord Compton's political views do not emerge from the parliamentary debates; but his career suggests strong leanings to the Court. His companion, Tomlyns, wrote various letters to the bailiffs while he represented the town between 1621 and 1629; but beyond the incontrovertible statement that the parliaments of 1621 and 1625 were "no great good success" and the irreproachable sentiment that "sound religious honest men" were needed in the House of Commons, he gave no indication of his political attitudes.⁶⁹

In the next four parliaments the regulation about membership of the Twelve and Twenty-Five was again ignored. Tomlyns continued to represent the town, and his companion was now Ralph Goodwin, a burgess of Ludlow, who became examiner at the Council in the Marches in 1625 and deputy-secretary there in 1628. To judge from his only recorded speech, he seems to have sympathised with the Court in the parliament of 1624-29, for he supported the cause of Acton, the Sheriff of London, in the 1629 session.⁷⁰ The year 1614 had therefore marked a break in Ludlow's parliamentary history. Before that date its members had always been solid borough worthies, many of whom held posts, but essentially minor posts, at the Council in the Marches. After that date they ranged from courtiers like Lloyd and Compton, who had no real local connections, to non-resident natives of the town, like Tomlyns, and important officers of the Council in the Marches, like Townshend and Goodwin.

By the time of the Short Parliament there were rival candidates to represent the town. The unsuccessful candidate was Sir Robert Napier, son-in-law to the Lord President, the Earl of Bridgewater. Napier later sat for Peterborough in the Long Parliament and fought, somewhat lukewarmly, for parliament in the civil war.⁷¹ The successful candidates were Ralph Goodwin and Charles Baldwyn. Goodwin, who had become a member of the Twenty-Five in 1635, had been most anxious to gain the seat and it was said that he "hath feasted the Burgesses, and endeavours by their bellies to gain their tongues, but it is thought the Burgesses are not well affected towards him". Nevertheless he succeeded in this election and the next. His companion, who also sat in the Short and the Long Parliaments, was Charles Baldwyn of Elsieh and Stokesay, who was elected to the Twenty-Five in November 1639. Both men were royalists.⁷²

Very little is known of the opposition party in Ludlow. Probably it was led by John Aston, the bailiff in 1640. Aston did his best to obstruct the royal administration during his tenure of office, by refusing to provide horses for the officers of the Brecknock and Herefordshire levies or to hand over £6 coat-and-conduct money.⁷³ During the Long Parliament he was in touch with Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan, M.P. for Herefordshire, a strong Puritan and parliamentarian. Harley aroused the anger of the Ludlow Castle officials by sending letters to Aston through the government mail, "the business therein being oneley (as I hear) advertisements of the proceedings in the Parlemt, to the Puritan Party in these parts".⁷⁴ Later, when the news of the Irish

rebellion had reached London and Pym was multiplying the resulting fears by colourful stories of a proposed massacre of Protestants in England, Harley used Aston to exploit local feeling. While Pym kept up the political temperature in Parliament, the burden of Harley's letter was "looke well to yor towne, for the Papistes are discovered to have a bloody designe, in generall, as well against this kingdome as elsewhere."⁷⁵

For the time being Aston and his friends were unsuccessful. Ludlow was situated in a thoroughly royalist shire and had, in any case, a long history of contact with the Court through the Council in the Marches. The town took the King's side and, when Charles I came to Shropshire, presented him with its plate.⁷⁶

* * *

This account of Ludlow politics has, of necessity, left many questions unanswered. We should certainly like to know more about the men behind the popular agitation in the 1590's, about their background, their associates, their social status, their economic interests. But that this agitation aimed at a wider franchise in local elections, that it was much concerned with the leasing of corporation property, and that it evoked a strong, indeed a bitter, response among what might be called the lower-middle classes of the town, seems certain. Although its story is mainly significant in local history, it has also perhaps some bearing upon national events. For fifty years later John Lilburne and his followers demanded, among other things, the democratic election of all local officials and a more popular government in the City of London.⁷⁷ In so doing they were perhaps appealing for support especially to that urban lower-middle class whose aspirations we may have seen behind the Ludlow agitations.⁷⁸ But historians of the Leveller movement have mostly been concerned with its leaders and their ideas; and little appears to be known of their following. Still less is known of that following's "pre-history" and this mass-movement appears unheralded in our histories of the civil-war period. Obviously national politics was innocent of its influence before 1641. But local politics perhaps was not; and if we are to understand the energies, aspirations, and conflicts released by the civil war we must look to the histories of the towns. For this reason studies of borough politics in the generations before 1642 acquire a significance in national history; and it may not be wholly fanciful to regard the Bradfords and their allies as weak, isolated, undramatic precursors of the Leveller movement.

PENRY WILLIAMS.

TABLE

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMON COUNCIL

This table shows the number of entries in the common council's minute book devoted to different activities during two five-year periods. Obviously this method of analysis is somewhat crude. An entry in the minutes gives no indication of the time spent over a particular item, and the categories used are inevitably somewhat arbitrary. Nevertheless no other method is open to us; and this one, even allowing for its weaknesses, probably gives some idea of the council's preoccupations. It shows, among

other things, that the management of property, buildings, and finance (items 3-6) received the greatest attention from the council in the 1590's and still greater attention in the 1630's.

Activity	Number of Entries	
	1590-95	1631-36
1. Election of officers, aldermen, councillors, etc....	30	34
2. Appointment, dismissal, salary of corporation servants	17	8
3. Management of property: granting of leases, appointment of surveyors, etc....	76	127
4. Repairs to buildings, walls, bridges	2	3
5. Conduct of law-suits	24	16
6. Administration of finance: assessing and collecting contributions; management of loan-funds; extraordinary payments	29	33
7. Poor-law administration	11	3
8. Military affairs	4	2
9. Trade	5	1
10. Health and hygiene	2	0
11. Entertainment	5	3
12. Miscellaneous	26	9
TOTAL	231	239

NOTES

- All references to manuscript sources are, unless otherwise stated, to the Ludlow Corporation Archives in the Shropshire Record Office.
The dates chosen for this paper are necessarily somewhat arbitrary. The year 1590 saw the start of the earliest surviving council minute book and from that point our knowledge of the town's history becomes more abundant. The outbreak of the civil war seemed an obvious date at which to end.
My thanks are due to the Leverhulme Trustees whose generous grant enabled me to pursue these, and other, researches. I am also grateful to the Mayor and Corporation of Ludlow for permission to quote from the borough records. To Miss Hill, County Archivist for Shropshire, and to Miss Jancey, now Assistant County Archivist for Herefordshire, I am deeply indebted for their help and consideration when I was working on the borough archives at the Shropshire Record Office: without their arrangement, cataloguing, and knowledge of the records this paper could not have been written. I am also grateful to Mr. J. B. Lawson, who unearthed the Ludlow Red Book, or Order Book, and thus provided some useful links in the story. Mr. E. L. C. Mullins, of the History of Parliament Trust, has, as always, been most kind in passing on to me relevant information.
- Ludlow Bailiffs' Accounts for sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cardiff Public Library MS. 3.25 article 5. G. Unwin, *Industrial Organisation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London, 1904), pp. 86-100. Cf. the example of Bridgnorth, as described by John Leland, *Shropshire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 1st series, Vol. IV, p. 136.
- Charter of Edward VI to Ludlow, 6th April, 1552.
- Ludlow Bailiffs' and Renters' accounts. This point could only be made with certainty if a close examination were made of the town's management of its property.
- Penry Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (Cardiff, 1958), pp. 8, 10, 12, 127, 187.
- Ibid.*, pp. 181-2, 185-6, 189.
- Ludlow minute book, f. 3.
- Ibid.*, ff. 3, 34, 54, 99, 151, 160.
- See Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640* (Harvard U.P., 1958), ch. IX.
- See below pp. 289-90.
- Minute book f. 56.

12. *Ibid.*, ff. 7v., 31v., 36, 38v., 44, 123v., 129, 137v., 199v., 213-14.
13. *Ibid.*, ff. 1v., 2v., 23v., 32, 34, etc.
14. *Ibid.*, ff. 34v., 47v., 119v., 125, 132, 139, 145, 182v., 208-9.
15. *Ibid.*, ff. 2v., 4v., 6v., 8, etc.
16. *Ibid.*, ff. 16v., 39, 60, 95, 109, 119v.
17. *Ibid.*, ff. 11, 70, 95, 138, 140, 156v., 161.
18. *Ibid.*, f. 199v. See also ff. 47, 50v., 74-5, 124, 151, 158v.
19. See Table on p. 291-2.
20. Minute book ff. 135, 151, 204.
21. Ludlow quarter sessions files, *passim*.
22. Ludlow bailiffs' accounts—files and books. See *Shropshire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 1st series, Vol. VIII, p. 203.
23. Charter of Charles I to Ludlow, 31st July, 1627.
24. Minute book and bailiffs' accounts, *passim*.
25. Charter of Richard, duke of York, to Ludlow, 1st April, 28 Henry VI.
26. Ludlow Order Book, f. 7v.
27. Ludlow Archives, box I: petition to Lord Chancellor; order of Council in Marches, dated 16th October 28 Henry VIII. See also *Copies of Charters and Grants to the town of Ludlow* (no date), pp. 213-215.
28. Order book, f. 34.
29. *Ibid.*, f. 31.
30. Documents re suit of Bradford v. Corporation: bill to Council in Marches.
31. Order Book, f. 39, article 1.
32. *Ibid.*, articles 22-26.
33. Minute book, f. 4.
34. *Ibid.*, ff. 6v., 10v., 11-13.
35. *Ibid.*, f. 10.
36. *Ibid.*, ff. 12v., 18.
37. Bradford v. Corporation: evidence of Philip Bradford.
38. *Ibid. Acts of the Privy Council*, edited by J. R. Dasent, Vol. XXIV (London, 1901), p. 260.
39. Bradford v. Corporation: English bill in Exchequer, 1596.
40. *Pickage* and *stallage* were both forms of tolls levied on the erection of booths at fairs. Bradford v. Corporation: bills, answers and depositions. Public Record Office, Exchequer depositions E.134/39/40 Elizabeth Mich. 37 Salop.: interrogatories and depositions on behalf of the plaintiffs. I owe this reference to Mr. R. C. Gabriel.
41. *Ibid.*, also Order Book, ff. 38-39. For a similar agitation elsewhere see W. G. Hoskins "An Elizabethan Provincial Town: Leicester", in *Studies in Social History*, edited by J. H. Plumb (London, 1955), pp. 51-52.
42. *Ibid.*
43. These assessments are given in the Ludlow muster book. The Ludlow Archives might well yield more information about the parties to the dispute than I have been able to gather. For instance, an examination of the corporation deeds, which could form the basis of an interesting study of property-administration, might tell us something of the economic circumstances of the protagonists and might also enable us to form a judgment on some of the charges of corruption.
44. Minute Book, f. 21v.
45. Charter of Elizabeth I to Ludlow, 23rd October, 1596.
46. Minute Book, f. 24.
47. *Acts of the Privy Council*, Vol. XXVII, p. 329. Bradford v. Corporation: bills, informations, and decrees in Exchequer. *Copies of Charters and Grants*, pp. 217-31.
48. There is no mention of this "election" in the Minute book.
49. The return itself (P.R.O. C.219/33) is badly damaged by damp. But both Crowther and his colleague, Richard Benson, are given as returning Officers.
50. Ex. inf. Mr. E. L. C. Mullins. J. E. Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons* (London, 1949), p. 335. H. T. Weyman's identification of Sanford with Humphrey Sanford of Lydbury North is implausible: see *Shropshire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 2nd series, VII, p. 17.
51. Minute book, ff. 25v., 27v., 28v. S. D'Ewes, *The Journals of All the Parliaments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1682), pp. 556a, 593b. For Blashfield's post see Public Record Office State Papers Domestic Elizabeth 219/73.
52. Bradford v. Corporation: orders of Exchequer dated 16th October, 24th November, 1597, and 11th May, 1598. See *Copies of Charters and Grants*, pp. 217-31.
53. *Ibid.*, orders of Exchequer dated 30th April, 4th June, 1600.
54. Minute book, ff. 28v., 37.
55. *Ibid.*, f. 35v.
56. *Ibid.*, ff. 75v., 76, 78.
57. Order book, f. 42.
58. Minute book, ff. 92, 97.
59. *Ibid.*, f. 127v

60. *Ibid.*, ff. 164, 178v., 179v., 185-86.
61. Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons*, pp. 163-64. H. T. Weyman, *Shropshire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 2nd series, VII. The present section is intended as a commentary on Ludlow's parliamentary history not as a supplement to Weyman's biographical notes.
62. I owe this point to Mr. R. C. Gabriel.
63. Minute book, ff. 80v.-81v. Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic, James I, 50/5. Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons*, pp. 163-4.
64. Minute book, ff. 103v., 104.
65. *Commons Journals*, I, pp. 457, 464.
66. The sewer supervised the arrangements for meals, the serving and tasting of dishes, etc.
67. Minute book, f. 104. It is worth remarking that Lloyd was also known as Floyd, Flood, and Floud.
68. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1611-18*, pp. 357, 444, 471, 522; 1619-23, p. 187. W. Notestein, F. H. Relf, H. Simpson, *Commons Debates, 1621* (New Haven, 1935, seven vols.), II, pp. 250-1, 255; III, p. 191; IV, p. 82; V, p. 13, etc.
69. Weyman, *Shropshire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 2nd series, VII, pp. 21-24.
70. M. F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640-41* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 190-91. W. Notestein and F. H. Relf, *Commons Debates for 1629* (Minneapolis, 1921), pp. 53, 134, 181.
71. Keeler, *Long Parliament*, p. 284.
72. Weyman, *Shropshire Transactions*, 2nd series, VII, p. 25. Keeler, pp. 94-5, 190-91.
73. Shropshire Record Office, Bridgewater Papers, 212/a: Martin to Bridgewater, 17th July and 23rd November, 1640.
74. *Ibid.*, same to same, 17th May, 1641.
75. This item is reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, where its reference number is HM EL 7352: Ecclestone to Bridgewater, 22nd November 1641. See also letter from Martin to same, in Shropshire R.O. 212/a of even date. On Pym's tactics see D. H. Pennington, "A Day in the life of the Long Parliament". *History Today*, October 1953, pp. 681-94.
76. Minute book, f. 224v.
77. W. Haller and G. Davies, *The Leveller Tracts, 1647-53* (New York, 1944), p. 326. D. M. Wolfe, *Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution* (London, 1944), pp. 269, 288. J. Frank, *The Levellers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 90-94, 151, 168.
78. Mr. P. Zagorin has however some illuminating, but necessarily brief, remarks on the subject in *A History of Political Thought in the English Revolution* (London, 1954), p. 39.

THE HAYES, OSWESTRY¹

I. THE HOUSE AND ITS OCCUPIERS

BY L. C. LLOYD

The Hayes, which stands a little way outside Oswestry on the Llansilin road, is described by Professor Pevsner² as "a very curious Elizabethan stone house". One may feel, perhaps, that his second epithet is something less than appropriate, since the house was not built until half a century after Queen Elizabeth's death; but of the justice of his first adjective there can be no doubt, as is made abundantly clear in the architectural description by Messrs. Hubbard and Woodward printed below. The Hayes may be described in a sentence as an early and remarkable example of the impact of Renaissance ideas on a vernacular building tradition. For this reason, we have thought it well to put its features on record before the disintegration which has already set in makes such an enterprise impossible. To this end Messrs. Hubbard and Woodward have prepared a full set of measured drawings, copies of which have been deposited in Oswestry Borough Library, and Mr. Hubbard has taken a series of photographs showing almost every detail of the house.

Tradition says that The Hayes was originally a monastic establishment, connected with the Cistercian abbeys of Buildwas, Strata Marcella and Valle Crucis, and serving as a house of call for travellers or pilgrims on their way from one abbey to another. Its geographical position is certainly in accord with such a supposition. It lies roughly eight miles S.E. of Valle Crucis, twelve miles N. of Strata Marcella, and twenty-five miles N.W. of Buildwas. But there is no historical evidence that it ever served such a purpose, or that it had any monastic associations whatsoever.

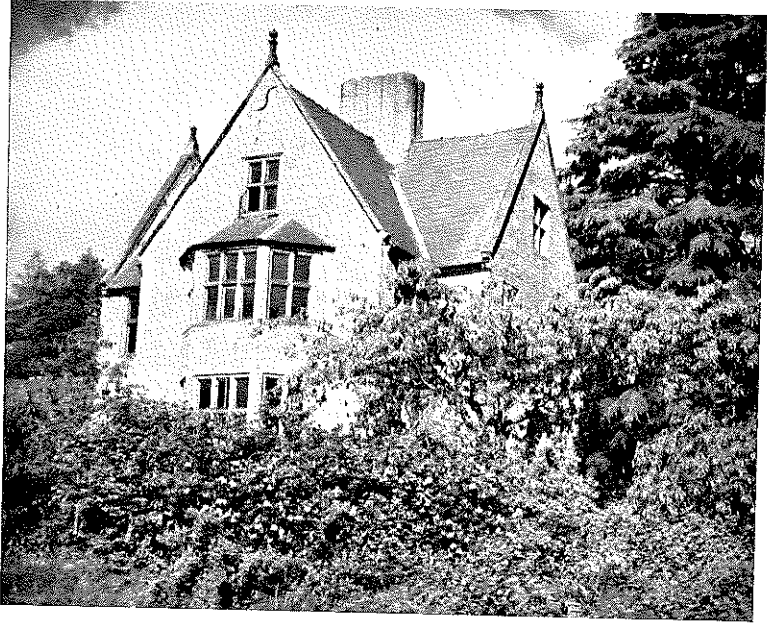
The present house, it is said, is the third to occupy the site. The first was of "Saxon" date, demolished some time in the 16th or 17th century, when it had fallen into a ruinous condition. Its successor lasted only a short time before being burned down (according to one tradition) or falling into ruin (according to another version). It was then replaced by the present building.

Leading out of two of the main rooms of the house are small rooms, approximately six feet square, which, in accordance with the monkish tradition, are sometimes said to have been "prayer cells" or confessionals. They are, of course, much more likely to have been powder-closets, such as are common in 17th- and 18th-century houses. In that part of the house recently used as a cellar is a small chamber which tradition describes as a penitentiary cell.³

¹This paper is a publication of the University of Birmingham Extra-Mural Research Group on the History of Oswestry, comprising Mrs. J. C. Gittins, Mrs. L. E. Jones, Mrs. J. Phillips, Mrs. M. E. Reeves, Miss P. Goodman, W. S. Davies, W. Day, G. Griffiths, G. H. J. Jones, H. Kynaston, T. M. Rogers, and L. C. Lloyd (tutor).

²Nicolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire*, Penguin Books, 1958, p. 146.

³For much of the information contained in the opening paragraphs of this paper I am indebted to Mrs. L. E. Jones, who lived at The Hayes until 1957. Mr. Hubbard is of the opinion that the "prayer cells" were the result of 19th-century replanning. "Certainly", he says, "that on the lower floor was formed at a date later than the building of the house, and it is most likely that the upper one was, too."



THE HAYES, OSWESTRY

(Above) From the north-east.

(Below) North (entrance) front.
(Photographs by E. H. Hubbard)

In the garden is a row originally of 22 but now of 21 ancient yew trees, under which is a walk called the Monks' Walk. At the west side of the house was a large pool, now filled in, which was supposed to be haunted by a woman in a long white robe, while another ghost was a headless man seen going from the house towards the drive gates.⁴

So much for tradition. The earliest documentary references to The Hayes which I have found occur in the 1577 survey of Oswestry, when the property was held by John Edwards, mercer, in fee farm.⁵ It was then said to include 10 enclosures comprising 50 acres and one meadow of 20 acres called Long Meadow, together with a pasture called Vicars Hill or the Hay-land. In another part of the survey it is called the Upper Hayes, and the rental is given as £2/18/4 a year.⁶

Between 1583 and 1604 there are references in the Oswestry parish registers to servants at The Hayes, e.g., David o'r Haye, John ap John o'r Hie, and Edward Cowper of the Hayes.⁷

In John Norden's survey of the Lordship of Oswestry (1602) we find that "Richard Massons ferme called the Heyes" is included among several properties which the jury "heard it reported to have been the demeysne landes belonging unto the same (Oswestry) castle".⁸ Elsewhere the same survey records "The ferme called the Upper Haies granted by Charter in fee ferme to one Edwards . . . Valet per ann. £26/13/4".⁹ Presumably this was the same property, but there is room for some uncertainty on this point.

In the 1607 survey of the lordship, Richard Mason is included as paying £2/18/4 for the rent of the Hayes¹⁰—the same amount as was paid by John Edwards thirty years earlier. Richard Mason was a benefactor to St. Oswald's Church, where, among the church plate, is a tall silver cup and cover, "The gift of Richard Mason, of the Hayes, esq., unto the Church of Oswestree in the countie of Salop." In a terrier of 1791 it is said to weigh 30 oz. 5 dwt.¹¹ The donor was perhaps "Richard Mason, glover" whose name occurs in the parish registers in 1606/7 and 1609/10,¹² and was probably the "Richard Masonne thelder" whose burial is recorded on 25 August, 1619.¹³

There is no documentary evidence concerning the occupancy of The Hayes for nearly forty years after Mason's death in 1619; possibly it was unoccupied and falling into ruin, as tradition suggests. But we know from the architectural evidence, supported by the date on the overmantel in an upstairs room that the house was rebuilt about

⁴I was told of this "ghost" by Mr. J. H. Owen, whose uncle lived at The Hayes until 1930 and who was a frequent visitor here. It seems possible that the tradition of a *headless* man may reflect an imperfect popular recollection of the Davenport crest, which consisted of a man's head cut off at the shoulder, with a golden halter round the neck; the halter signified that the Davenports, as hereditary lords of the Forest of Macclesfield, held powers of life and death over trespassers (see J. B. Blakeway, *The Sheriffs of Shropshire*, 1831, p. 143.)

⁵W. J. Slack, *The Lordship of Oswestry*, 1951, p. 134.

⁶Slack, *ibid.*, p. 139.

⁷Oswestry Parish Registers, printed by the Shropshire Parish Register Society, Vol. I, pp. 95, 174, 198, 247.

⁸Slack, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

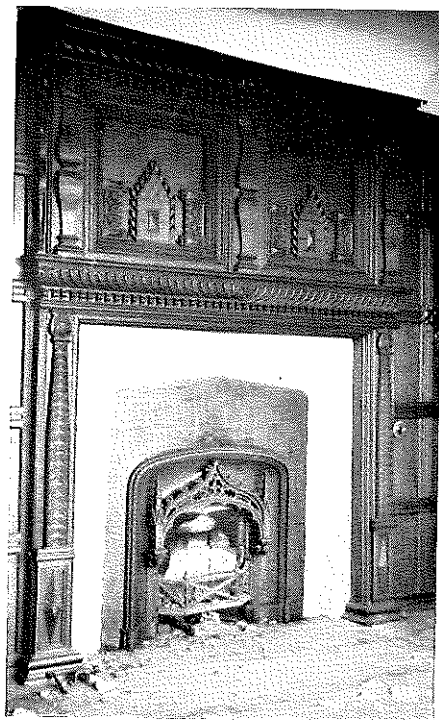
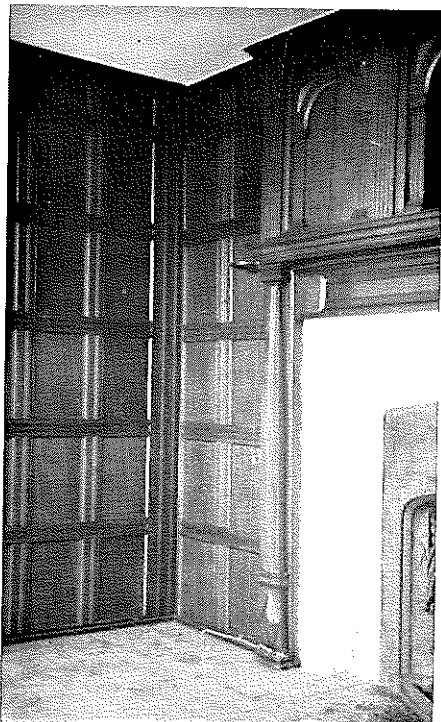
⁹Slack, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁰Slack, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹¹Askew Roberts, "Oswestry Ecclesiastical History: The Old Church," *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.*, 1880, p. 210.

¹²Oswestry Parish Registers, Vol. I, pp. 277, 305.

¹³*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 389.



THE HAYES, OSWESTRY

Overmantel detail and typical panelling in ground-floor east room.

Fireplace and overmantel in first-floor east room.

(Photographs by E. H. Hubbard)

1656. In 1658 there are references to Richard Cartwright and John Griffith, both described as of The Hayes¹⁴; possibly they were servants or workmen there rather than the actual occupiers.

On 30 July, 1667, the parish registers record the burial of "Hanna, the daughter of Mr. Ralphe Davenport, of The Heys".¹⁵ This is the first documentary record of the family who occupied the house for the next two or three generations and who played a prominent part in the affairs of Oswestry. They appear to have been a junior branch of the Davenports of Davenport and Chorley (Cheshire) and afterwards of Hallon and Davenport House (Worfield, Shropshire).¹⁶ Ralph Davenport's initials, with the date 1656, appear above the fireplace in one of the upstairs rooms, and it was evidently he who was responsible for its rebuilding at this time. Together with Richard Pope, he appears to have been the prime mover in obtaining the Oswestry borough charter in 1674. In the Mayor's Accounts for that year is a document headed "Mr.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 588, 592.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 655.

¹⁶J. B. Blakeway, *The Sheriffs of Shropshire*, 1831, p. 143. See also A. Oswald, in *Country Life*, 27 June, 4, 11 July, 1952; Burke's *Landed Gentry*; and J. Randall, *Worfield and its Townships*, 1887, pp. 88-90.

Pope's account of what money hee and Mr. Davenport received towards the renewing of the Charter and what money the said Mr. Pope received during the time of his being Mayor and how the same was laid out". Among the items is included a sum representing "the expences and disbursements of Mr. Davenport and Mr. Pope in the affaires of the Towne, being absent 11 weeks and odd dayes, the whole amounting unto £45/7/6d."¹⁷

Richard Pope became the first Mayor of Oswestry under the Charter of 1674, but Davenport seems to have taken no further part in municipal affairs; he was not included among either the aldermen or the councillors named in the charter. He died on 19 February, 1682/3, aged 81, and was buried on 22 February, being described as "Ralph Davenport, of ye Haies, gentle."¹⁸

In 1673 there are references in the parish registers to Richard Davenport, of The Hayes, who died in 1700.¹⁹ In the same period—*i.e.* during the last thirty years of the 17th century—there also occur Richard Davenport, gent., without any indication of where he lived; Richard Davenport, of Trevlech, gent.; and Richard Davenport, of Church Street, gent.²⁰ There was also a younger Ralph Davenport, who lived in Willow Street in 1688, in Church Street in 1700, and who died in 1727.²¹ What their relationship may have been to the elder Ralph Davenport or to one another I have been unable to discover. The Richard Davenport who lived at The Hayes married Jane, daughter of Richard Sandford, of The Isle, near Shrewsbury.²²

During this same period the parish registers contain various references to servants at The Hayes. In 1690 the baptism of a base daughter of Hugh Jones, of The Hayes, and Elizabeth, "their servant maid", is recorded; in 1698 occurs the baptism of a daughter of John Jones, of The Hayes, and Mary; and in 1708 Robert Lewis, "servant at The Hayes", and Sarah Edge were married.²³

In 1702 we find Humphrey Davenport of The Hayes serving as Mayor of Oswestry.²⁴ He died in 1710, when he was described as "of the Hayes, Esq."²⁵

Humphrey Davenport's widow, Hannah, married Richard Waring, of Woodcote, near Shrewsbury, and Lincoln's Inn, and so The Hayes came into the possession of the Waring family.²⁶ Apparently they did not at first occupy the house, for in 1717 Humphrey Kynaston was living there; the parish registers describe him as "now Churchwarden" in recording the baptism of his son.²⁷ I have not attempted to identify him among the numerous members of this great Shropshire clan, since it is evident that The Hayes was not long occupied by a Kynaston. In 1729, for instance, the

¹⁷Stanley Leighton, "The Records of the Corporation of Oswestry", *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.*, 1882, pp. 149-150.

¹⁸Oswestry Parish Registers, Vol. II, p. 410; Leighton, *op. cit.*, 1884, p. 61.

¹⁹Oswestry Parish Registers, Vol. II, pp. 37, 487.

²⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 52, 53, 64, 78, 81.

²¹*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 145, 485, 578.

²²Blakeway, *Sheriffs*, p. 224.

²³Oswestry Parish Registers, Vol. II, pp. 161, 213, 279.

²⁴Leighton, *op. cit.*, 1884, p. 61. In Price's *History of Oswestry*, 1815, p. 134, he is described as of "Hayes-gate".

²⁵Oswestry Parish Registers, Vol. II, p. 522.

²⁶H. E. Forrest, "Some Old Shropshire Houses and their Owners: Lower Woodcote", *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.*, 1920-21, p. 302.

²⁷Oswestry Parish Registers, Vol. II, p. 329.

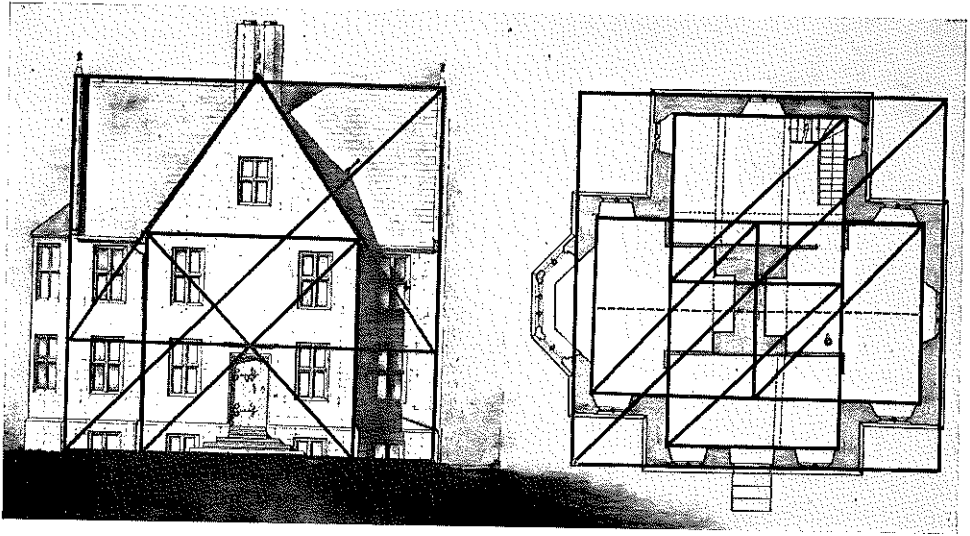


FIG. 1—THE HAYES, OSWESTRY.

Regulating lines based on squares. North elevation and reconstructed ground-floor plan.

(Drawn by E. H. Hubbard and K. Woodward)

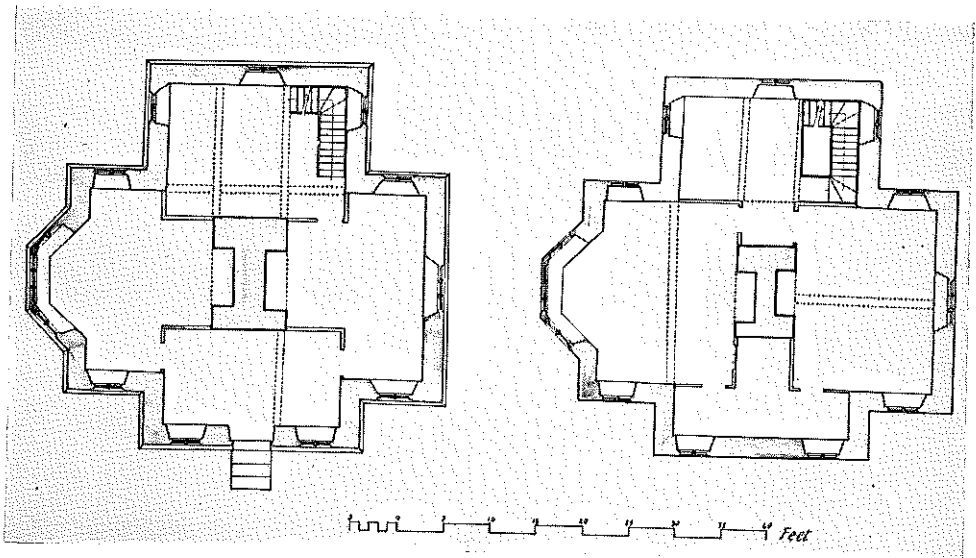


FIG. 2—THE HAYES, OSWESTRY

Probable reconstruction or original ground-floor and first-floor plans.

(Drawn by E. H. Hubbard and K. Woodward)

parish registers record the burial of John Lewis, "servant with Mr. Lloyd of ye Hayes" and in 1732 that of "Mr. John Lloyd of ye Hayes."²⁸

Not until twenty-five years later is there any evidence of the Waring's actually residing at The Hayes, though the parish registers contain several references to the house during the intervening period. In 1730 the burial of Morris Davies, "a servant att ye Hayes" is recorded; in 1747 there is the burial of "A straing woman yt dyde att ye hayes of ye smalpocks"; and in the same year William Borrows, "Waggoner at Llanvorda" was married to Sarah Waters of the Hayes.²⁹

In 1757 the burial is recorded of John Brewer, "servant with Richard Waring, of ye Hayes, esq."³⁰, and in 1764 "Madam Mary Waring of ye Hayes" was buried at Shrewsbury.³¹ She was Richard Waring's second wife, Hannah (Davenport) having died without issue. The daughter of Robert Hill, of Tern Hall (later Attingham), near Shrewsbury, she was a niece of Rowland Hill, the founder of the Hill fortunes, who gave her a marriage portion of £1,000.³² Her marriage to Richard Waring took place on 5 February, 1719.³³

When Richard Waring died his estates, including The Hayes, descended to his son by the second marriage, Richard Hill Waring, who was born in 1719, and who held office as Recorder of Oswestry from 1763 until his death in 1798.³⁴ He lived at The Hayes and became a notable figure in the town and neighbourhood. An account published in 1813³⁵ describes him as "highly eminent for his classical and scientific learning" and continues:

"He had made the grand tour of Europe, and spent a long and laborious life in the pursuit of knowledge. His singularity of manners and dress (though clean and neat to an uncommon degree) and his attention to economy, occasioned the babbling and the ignorant to form strange opinions of him; nay, some have even dared to stigmatize him with the horrible appellation of avaricious; but since his death a very different opinion has prevailed, and it has been clearly seen that his abundant riches could not have been held by a worthier possessor. He maintained a regular and uninterrupted correspondence, for nearly fifty years, with the late John Dovaston, Esq. of West Felton, where a very large collection of his letters is still preserved, on natural history, philosophy and antiquities. Botany was one of his favourite pursuits, and many of the rare plants found about Oswestry are stragglers from The Hayes, which passing botanists have set down as indigenous."

Recorder Waring was the last representative of the senior branch of a family which had been seated in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury since the early 14th century. He died without issue on 20 December, 1798, aged 79, at Leeswood, near Mold, a property which had come to him in 1760 with his second wife, daughter and heiress of Sir George Wynne, Bt.³⁶ His estates devolved upon his cousin and heir-in-law,

²⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 588, 600.

²⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 593, 656; Vol. III, p. 162.

³⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 28.

³¹*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 58.

³²Blakeway, *Sheriffs*, p. 182. See also E. M. Jancey in *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.*, 1955-56, pp. 143-158.

³³Forrest, *loc. cit.*

³⁴Forrest, *loc. cit.*; Leighton, *op. cit.*, 1884, p. 264.

³⁵J. Nightingale and R. Rylance, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, Vol. XIII, Shropshire, 1813, pp. 268-69.

³⁶Joseph Morris, "The Provosts and Bailiffs of Shrewsbury", *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.*, 1904, p. 260; Forrest, *loc. cit.*; Leighton, *loc. cit.*

Major John Scott, who assumed the name and arms of Waring upon his succession.³⁷ Major Scott-Waring, who was born in 1747 and died in 1819, made his career in the service of the East India Company, and in 1781 returned to England as political agent for Warren Hastings, whose affairs he conducted "with great industry but with small judgement"; he was M.P. for West Looe, 1784-90, and for Stockbridge, 1790. By extravagant entertainment of, among others, the Prince Regent, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, Lady Hamilton, and an assortment of actors and actresses—one of whom he married as his second wife—he dissipated a large fortune and sold off most of his estate to meet his debts.³⁸ Soon after coming into possession of The Hayes he is said to have sold the stained glass from the front windows, which was described as "old and curious stained glass, richly dight, representing stories both serious and comic"³⁹; this glass, said to have been "very ancient and curious", is also mentioned by Nightingale and Rylance.⁴⁰ In 1801 he is said to have sold The Hayes to a Mr. Jennings for £80,000, a figure which must surely be an exaggeration⁴¹; the purchaser was presumably Thomas Jennings of Penylan.⁴²

Parish register references to The Hayes during the Waring regime include the burial in 1770 of Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Morris, "gardener to Mr. Waring"; the burial in 1779 of Mrs. Blanch Jones, "late housekeeper at The Hayes"; the burial of Margaret Jones of The Hayes; and the burial in 1801 of Thomas Hampson, who "fell from a Tree at the Hayes about a year past."⁴³

During most of the 19th century the fortunes of the house are somewhat obscure. In 1856 it was occupied by William Jones, farmer, and was then described as "Hayes farm".⁴⁴ In 1868 the occupier was Alderman David Lloyd, J.P., an ex-Mayor of Oswestry, who formerly kept the Wynnstay Arms hotel and who died some time before 1873.⁴⁵ His widow continued to live at The Hayes until 1885 or later,⁴⁶ but by 1900 the house was in the occupation of Mr. Robert Owen.⁴⁷ Mr. Owen died in 1930, and the property was left to his nephew, Mr. L. E. Jones, who lived there and farmed the land until 1957, when the house and land were disposed of to Mr. J. H. Jones, the present owner.⁴⁷

In the possession of Mrs. M. E. Leighton, of Sweeney Hall, Oswestry, are two drawings of The Hayes by the late Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P. One was made from nature in 1883, and the other was copied from a drawing in the British Museum by David Parkes, the well-known Shrewsbury schoolmaster-artist, who flourished during the first half of the 19th century. The latter drawing, said to be dated 1820, could not be traced at the British Museum when enquiries were made in 1955.⁴⁸

³⁷Forrest, *loc. cit.*

³⁸Forrest, *loc. cit.*

³⁹Information from Mrs. L. E. Jones.

⁴⁰Nightingale and Rylance, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁴¹Information from Mrs. L. E. Jones.

⁴²See Cathrall, *History of Oswestry*, 1855, p. 147.

⁴³Oswestry Parish Registers, Vol. IV, pp. 79, 105, 160, 173.

⁴⁴Kelly's *Directory of Shropshire*, 1856.

⁴⁵Slater's *Directory*, 1868; Kelly's *Directory*, 1856; *Bye-Gones*, 15 Feb. 1873.

⁴⁶Kelly's *Directory*, 1879, 1885.

⁴⁷Kelly's *Directory*, 1900. Mrs. L. E. Jones tells me that after the death of Mrs. David Lloyd the house eventually came into the possession of a Mrs. Stewart, who sold it in 1900 to Mr. Robert Owen, Miss Owen, and Miss Winifred Owen.

⁴⁸Information from Mrs. L. E. Jones.

THE GREEK-INSCRIBED STONE

In the early years of the present century, when the central chimney-stack of The Hayes was rebuilt—presumably in 1905⁴⁹—a large stone slab was found, bearing a three-line inscription in Greek characters. In its removal from the chimney-stack it was accidentally broken in two, and was preserved in this state in the garden until 1957. It is now at Tanat House, Llanyblodwel, the home of Mr. and Mrs. L. E. Jones.

A photograph of the stone was submitted to Mr. D. S. Colman, senior classics master at Shrewsbury School, who kindly reported that “The inscription consists of three quite unconnected and very oddly chosen sentiments from Greek poetry. The first two look as if they ran to one word more than a line, but are actually in each case a complete single hexameter.” The three lines of the inscription, identified, translated and annotated by Mr. Colman, are as follows:

(1) Στέργετε τοὺς φιλέοντας ἴν' ἂν φιλέεθε
 (“Show affection to those who love you, so that if ever you love you may be loved (in return)”.) This is from Moschus, quoted by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 63, 29, and can be found in the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse*, p. 552, where it is the last line of piece No. 572. The last word in line 1 is a mistake; it should be φιλεήτε.

(2) Πολλὰ μεταξύ πέλει κύλικος κ' χεῖλος ἄκρου
 (“There is many a slip 'twixt cup and lip.”) This is from the Greek Anthology, Book x, where it is No. 32. It is to be found in the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse*, p. 592, where it is piece No. 689. The Anthology ascribes it to Palladas, but the Oxford editors give it as “Anonymous”.

(3) Γυναιξί κόσμον ἢ σιγή φέρει
 (“To women silence brings credit.”) This is part of v. 293 of the *Ajax* of Sophocles; it is an iambic verse less the first two syllables. The missing syllables consist of the word Γυναι (“woman” in the vocative case) which is of course composed of the first five letters of the first word that appears in the inscription. “I suppose the carver might have made a mistake”, adds Mr. Colman, “but more likely it was intentional”.

How did such a stone come to be at The Hayes? There is little evidence to help us answer this question, and we have to fall back upon the probabilities of the case. We do not know what was the purpose of the stone, but from its shape and dimensions it looks as though it might have been intended for the lintel of a doorway or for a chimney-piece; the fact that it was found in the chimney-breast perhaps favours the latter supposition. If such were its purpose, there is a strong 18th-century flavour about the whole thing, and one would be inclined to suggest that the person responsible for it was Richard Hill Waring, the Recorder of Oswestry, who lived here from 1763 to 1798, who was described as “highly eminent for his classical and scientific learning”, and who was, as far as we know, the only occupant of The Hayes likely to engage in such an enterprise.

This conjecture is supported by the character of the inscription itself. Mr. Colman writes: “I have not the slightest doubt that you are right in thinking that the inscription was set up by the worthy Richard Hill Waring. The lettering is copied (and very

⁴⁹See p. 306, below.

elegantly copied) from the Greek type that was in use in scholarly Greek-printed works of his time. The contractions for $\sigma\nu$ and $\sigma\varsigma$ were much in use then, and the forms of letters such as θ and ϕ agree with the period. The moment I looked at the photograph, which was before I had read your letter, it gave me the feeling of the eighteenth or very early nineteenth century. I am surprised, though, at a good scholar's allowing the mistake in line 1 to stand. The word is perfectly clear in the photograph and in itself beautifully executed, but $\phi\lambda\lambda\epsilon\theta\epsilon$ (a) does not exist, (b) would not yield a construction even if it existed, and (c) would not scan even if it existed and yielded a construction".

If the hypothesis of Waring's responsibility be accepted, it is evident that the stone was either never used (perhaps on account of the mistake in line 1) or that it was removed and consigned to the interior of the chimney-stack during some of the many alterations to the house that were carried out during the 19th century.

II. ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION

BY E. H. HUBBARD AND KENNETH WOODWARD
(*Liverpool School of Architecture*)

This cruciformly-planned house has outer walls of stone, and a central brick chimney-stack rises through the house. Beams carrying the floor-joists span from outer walls to the chimney-stack, and all internal partitions are timber-framed, except in the basement where brick is used. Both arms of the cross are of equal length, and the north-to-south arm is placed centrally on that running east and west. But the axis of the east-west arm itself is some three feet north of central, thus only two of the four elevations mass symmetrically. This departure from the obviously intended Greek cross plan was probably to accommodate the staircase in the south wing, where the complexities of ceiling beams suggest its original position.

The centralised plan, one of the most characteristic manifestations of the Italian High Renaissance, remained rare in England, and the unusual Hayes plan, with its central solid instead of central void, is related to a simple set of regulating lines—a device used throughout the centuries for the establishment of architectural proportions (see Fig. 1). Internally, the two arms of the plan are both double squares, and although asymmetrically related, are still contained within a larger square, the external dimension of which is repeated in the height to the gable apex of the principal (north) elevation. The house is thus contained within a cube. Moreover, the north elevation's central projection, measured to the eaves, is also a square; a horizontal drawn through its central point produces a baseline for the extended triangle of the gable.⁵⁰

Such a sophisticated initial concept is belied by the forcing of an internal plan pattern, the departure from pure symmetry, the partial absence of right angles in the setting out, and, above all, by its retardataire appearance. High pitched gables surmount crude and simple mouldings at the eaves. A more complex drip-mould above

⁵⁰For the sake of simplicity, the compass references are only approximate. In fact, the entrance front faces north-north-east rather than north.

the main door, the conventional leaf pattern in the spandrels of its four-centred head, and the heavily-studded door itself, complete the strongly vernacular picture of a building contemporary with the refinement of Coleshill and some forty years later than the commencement of the Queen's House at Greenwich.

No original features, other than the windows, survive, either in the re-planned attics or in the basement, though in the south-west corner of the latter a small two-light window may be a fragment of an earlier house. Reconstruction plans (see Fig. 2) show four large rooms, two on both the principal floors. The geometrical relationship of ground-floor rooms to the chimney stack is repeated in reverse on the floor above, where the moving up of the east-west arm to accommodate the stairs in the south wing has resulted in unfortunate proportions for a secondary room. All mullions and transoms line in on elevation; four-light Guelph-cross windows are used throughout the two main floors, except in the four large rooms, where the centre windows of the west rooms are of six lights, and those in the east are the canted bay (doubtless contemporary with the house⁵¹); in both instances the lights are identical in size and detail with those of the guelph crosses.

The large rooms were lined with simply moulded panelling, much of which, like some of the similarly panelled doors, remains. All four rooms retain wide, four-centred-arched stone fireplaces; that in the ground-floor west room has an exuberantly carved overmantel. Of Jacobean character, it is obviously older than the house, and may have been part of a piece of furniture. The simple overmantel in the room above belongs to the house; it is carried on crude consoles and divided into two panels within a heavily moulded frame. Although possessing similar mouldings, more complex woodwork surrounds the fireplaces in the east rooms, where flanking pilasters carry the overmantels (see Plate II). Like the house plan itself, these display a superficial knowledge of Renaissance forms, with no understanding of their true meaning, proportions or details. Despite the awareness of column and entablature apparent in these fireplaces, the triple arcade on stumpy pilasters of the ground-floor overmantel displays a misuse of the orders characteristic of fashionable work a full century earlier. In the room above, the overmantel, dated 1656 and initialled R.M.D. in a high central medallion, is divided into two large panels, like its neighbour in the west room, but is ornamented with undisciplined designs in carving and marquetry. Inventiveness has here outrun judgement, though nowhere else in the house has the marriage of alien fashions with an indigenous local building tradition proved so aesthetically disastrous.

Alterations have obscured the original plan; enlarging the ground-floor east room at the expense of the entrance hall might well have been contemporary with the insertion of charming late 18th or early 19th century cast-iron grates in the four main rooms, the wide arches having been blocked up. The grates are all typical of their romantic period; those in the west rooms have refined, slightly Grecian detail, and those in the east are of equally delicate "Gothick". A block containing basement stair,

⁵¹But Professor Pevsner considers the bay to be a later insertion (*The Buildings of England: Shropshire*, 1958, p. 147). It is shown on the two drawings at Sweeney Hall, and on a drawing, dated 1842, in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. L. E. Jones.

pantry and bathroom, and terminating in an open water-tank, was built in the south-west angle of the house some time in the latter half of the 19th century.⁵² Although it destroys the cruciform plan, this addition looks by no means incongruous; the masonry matches the old work in colour and texture, if not in scale, and original windows have been re-used. It is certain that the present main stairs date from the time of the bathroom block; rising from ground floor to attic, this massive and attractive Victorian staircase reduces two of the four fine rooms to the status of circulation areas, as staircase hall and landing. However, increased living and sleeping accommodation were allowed by the removal of the stairs from the south wing, and by extensive first-floor re-planning.

Some Victorian grates, two marble mantelpieces, and the beautiful spreading front-door steps probably belong to the staircase and service-block phase. A most competent designer was obviously responsible for the alterations at that time. The abundant evidence of the money and care lavished on The Hayes in the 19th and early 20th centuries includes (besides the virtual re-planning of the house with the stairs and service-block) the present attic plan, the raising of the floor in the ground-floor south room to increase ceiling height in the kitchen below, and the building of brick stables. Wire bells were introduced, and the house was piped for gas, both resulting in the use of pleasant brass fittings. The fireplaces and flue for the first-floor south room were built in 1904, and in 1905 the central chimney-stack itself was entirely rebuilt, from the basement upwards, and was rendered for its external height above the roof. Its immediate brick predecessor was potted and exuberantly Victorian,⁵³ although the ridge was originally crowned by a plain brick stack, with simple moulded capping. Only eight flues appear in illustrations prior to 1905, but it is probable that the house always had the present number of ten fires about its central stack.

A large pond, immediately east of the house, was filled in to form a lawn in the 1880's (with earth from the Vyrnwy aqueduct excavations), and the woods, through which the entrance drive passes, were planted in 1919.

The ingenious quarter-circle guide-tracks, which with a spring device keep the casement windows steady when open, appear to be original, despite the efficiency with which they still work. The panelling in the ground-floor west room (the present staircase hall) is differently detailed from that in the other three main rooms, and although obviously antique, it is probably a 19th-century insertion. Similarly, it is unlikely that the panelling in the entrance hall, with its length of seating, was made for the house, or that its disorderly state results from the re-planning of the room and its doors. Heraldic shields, traces of which still survive, were painted on the hall panelling by the Lloyds; theirs also were the small decorative devices still to be seen high in the ground-floor east room.

The charm of The Hayes results not only from rich warm panelling or textured stone, but from the beauty of the house within its setting; on a small scale are present elements characteristic of many larger houses and their attractive grounds. Today,

⁵²It existed at the time of the 1873 Ordnance Survey, which also shows the entrance drive as it is today, with its skilful relationship to road, garden and house.

⁵³It is shown on a photograph belonging to Mr. and Mrs. L. E. Jones.

however, the flowers and shrubs run wild, the terraces and steps are overgrown. The present owners, who are bringing more land into cultivation, have felled the extensive orchard, and the yew trees themselves are soon to come down. Inside the house, the ravages of damp, woodworm and dry rot have been accelerated by a gang of youthful invaders, and, most serious of all, a vertical crack has appeared at the south-east corner.

The only room at The Hayes which has survived the successive periods of reconstruction materially unaltered is the first-floor east room—always the largest and finest in the house. This great room, with its ample windows and lovely panelling, has remained unchanged since the day Ralph Davenport inscribed the date above the fireplace, three hundred years before his house fell empty and ruin set in.

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THE BRIDGEWATER ESTATES IN NORTH SHROPSHIRE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

ERIC HOPKINS, M.A. (LOND.)

It is perhaps pardonable to suppose that in counties such as Shropshire where no battles of national importance took place during the Civil War the period of hostilities made little impact upon the daily lives of ordinary men and women. One is reminded of Dr. Maurice Ashley's story of the farm labourer who was found on the field of battle at the time of Marston Moor, and who, on being told to get out of the way as the king and parliament were at war, incredulously exclaimed, "What! Has them two fallen out then?" It is a good story, but it is questionable whether such ignorance was general among the rural population, particularly after more than two years of war. From the evidence which has survived of the course of events in Shropshire it seems unlikely indeed that many of its inhabitants were unaware that the king was at war against his own subjects, particularly after Charles's visit to Shrewsbury in the early days of the war. At all events, even in areas remote from the larger towns of Shropshire the war must have made itself felt from time to time, bringing loss of possessions and sometimes death itself to men and women who wished to have no part in the fighting. This is certainly the case on the Bridgewater estates.

These estates consisted of two groups of manors in North Shropshire, one at Ellesmere and the other at Whitchurch, which had been purchased at the end of the sixteenth century by Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor of England, and father of the first Earl of Bridgewater. It is impossible to do more than guess at the size of the estates at this time.¹ From the documents which have survived, it appears that the total acreage might have been about 60,000 acres; but this is a very rough figure, indeed. A better idea of the general importance of the estates may perhaps be gained from the revenues obtained from them just after the Restoration, when they brought in about £3,000 per annum. The total revenue of all the Bridgewater estates, in Shropshire and elsewhere, was then about £6,250, the only other property of comparable importance being at Ashridge in Hertfordshire, where the rental amounted to £1,600.² These figures show that the Shropshire estates of the Bridgewaters must have been of considerable value to them, providing as they did about half of their income from land, and double the revenue of the more famous Ashridge estate. It cannot be doubted that such estates were very large and among the richest in Shropshire, if not in the West Midlands as a whole in the mid-seventeenth century.

However, the first Earl of Bridgewater was not a frequent visitor to North Shropshire—if indeed, he ever visited his estates there³—and at the onset of war he

¹This problem is discussed in detail in Chapter II and Chapter VI of my unpublished thesis for the degree of M.A. in the University of London, "The Bridgewater Estates in North Shropshire in the First Half of the 17th Century". A copy of this thesis is available in the Shropshire Record Office and in the Shrewsbury Public Library.

²For further details of the revenues obtained from the Bridgewater estates as a whole, see the Bridgewater Collection, Herts. Record Office, letters and papers of the 2nd Earl of Bridgewater.

³A. H. Dodd: "Studies in Stuart Wales", page 63.

retired to Ashridge, there perhaps to seek consolation in the great library which he had created for the untoward turn of events. The Shropshire estates were left to fend for themselves. It must have been very difficult to maintain communication between them and Ashridge, and the transporting of rents was a perilous enough business in peacetime, let alone in times of war. The collection of rents thus ceased altogether during the war years on the Ellesmere properties, and Whitchurch rents in all probability were also left untouched. For a period of at least four years, the general picture is one of economic dislocation—uncollected rents, untilled lands, damage to crops and plundering of tenants by bands of marauding soldiery.

Ellesmere features less frequently in contemporary accounts of the war than does Whitchurch, partly because it was smaller and partly because it was not so geographically important, Whitchurch being nearer to the parliamentary stronghold of Nantwich, besides being on the direct route from Shrewsbury to Chester.¹ This accounts for the fact that Ellesmere was never permanently garrisoned by either side during the war, and consequently was never besieged. There are only two incidents in or near the town which deserve mention: the first was when an ammunition convoy returning from Shrewsbury under the command of Sir Nicholas Byron, the Royalist governor of Chester, was surprised and captured, more than a hundred Royalists being taken prisoner. The second was when Prince Rupert appointed Ellesmere as a meeting place for his troops while on his way to York, and there hanged three Roundheads captured from the forces of Colonel Mytton at Whitchurch—a reprisal for the execution by the Roundheads of 13 Irishmen taken in the attack on Shrewsbury in the previous month.

Of Myddle, which was an outlying manor of the Ellesmere group, Gough says in his *History of Myddle* (1700/1), "there happened noe considerable act of hostility in this parish during the time of the warres, save onely one small skirmage in Myddle, which I saw . . ." and which he then describes. From the three towns Myddle, Marton and Newton (according to Gough) twenty men went to join the king's armies, of whom thirteen were killed. A lesser number joined the parliamentary armies, and of these none was killed and only one wounded.

Yet, as indicated earlier, this lack of major incident did not mean that the tenants on the Ellesmere estates escaped unscathed, and this is made clear when rent collection began again after the war. For example, Richard Matthews of New Marton "had lost all by the wars" according to a survey of the estates made in 1650, and could not pay a fine for a new lease. In Colemere, it was recorded of John Tonna, "acquittances all lost by the prince's army—lost all by the warrs not a ragg left". Thomas Leigh in the same township could pay nothing for he "was plundered of all", while Widow Davies was described as "a poor widow her husband killed at Montgom(er)y fight". Not far away in Hampton Sam Widdoes was plundered and lost his lease, but it was after-

¹See Chapters IV and VIII of the thesis referred to in the first footnote for a more detailed account of the Bridgewater estates in North Shropshire during the period of hostilities, and for a list of authorities. The principal sources consulted were: the Bridgewater Collection, Salop County Record Office; W. J. Farrow, "The Great Civil War in Shropshire"; J. Roland Phillips, "The Civil War in Wales and the Marches"; "The Ottley Papers relating to the Civil War", T.S.A.S., Series 2, Vols. VI, VII, VIII.

wards found in Staffordshire. In Cockshutt, Thomas Jenks senior was "plundered of all in the times" and so was Francis Lloyd. Roger Harrison also declared he was "undone by the warrs". Kenwick Park tenants certainly suffered: William Mullinex was described as "a cavalier plundered divers times is poor"; Oliver Harrison was "undone by plunder and fire"; while John Illitch, Thomas Houlston, and Mullinex were described as having "lost more than all the park besides".

Examples such as these give some idea of the losses sustained by some tenants as a result of the "times of troubles and distractions", as they are called in more than one place in the survey concerned. Nor were these examples mere excuses offered by the tenants in order to avoid paying rent, for the facts are recorded by the second Earl's commissioners in order to give as much information as necessary regarding each tenant; and the second Earl himself, who succeeded his father in 1649, did not seem disposed to question the authenticity of the statements made, although his comments on other matters in the 1650 survey are often terse and pointed.

It seems clear, then, that a certain proportion of the tenants suffered hardship during the war, even though the temporary abandonment of rent collection must have been of benefit to some. Curiously enough, if the Royalist Corporation of Shrewsbury had had their way, even these tenants would have reaped no advantage from this fact; for, faced with a command from Prince Rupert that they were to pay the debt of £1,053 10s. 0d. owed by them to the governor of Shrewsbury, the Corporation decided to confiscate the rents of the Shropshire estates of the so-called recusant Earl of Bridgewater. The terms of the order were "it is ordered that all the rents of the Lord of Bridgewater that are unreceived and to be received within this county be received by S(ir) Francis Ottley for satisfaction of all arrears due to him and his Offic(e)rs". However, there is no record of the order ever being put into force.

The war had its effect on the larger tenants no less than on the small. Thus, Arthur Swanwick, bailiff for both the first and second earls, made this comment in his accounts for the 8½ years to 1649: "Note yt about ye 29th of March 1643 I Arthur Swanwick was driven from ye Lodge ffarme plundered by ye kings forces and lost of Corne Cattell and Household Stuffe at least 200^{li} worth and God knowes whether ev(er) I shall enjoy foote of itt againe". The same bailiff in his account to Michaelmas 1650 notes of one holding, "Nothing was made of this farm these two years it being eaten up and destroyed by Col(one)ls Willis, Vaughan, Hosiers and other troops quartered at Ellesmere, Lyth, Lee, and Tetchill". Such happenings were not uncommon, and the Ellesmere tithe rental of the time contains frequent references to troopers taking all the hay and oats. In Birch, no tithes at all were paid because of this at Michaelmas, 1644 and Lady Day, 1645, and it is remarked in the rental, "yt were very hott betwixt both p(ar)ties here".

Undoubtedly the hardships suffered by the Ellesmere tenants during the war constitute one reason for the large arrears of rent in 1650; but there are additional reasons which help to explain why there should be £3,313 11s. 9d. still owing in this way. The outbreak of war came at a particularly inconvenient time for the smooth running of the Ellesmere estate. An extensive re-leasing of all the farms had begun in 1637 and was still not completed in 1642; for although the bargaining over the terms

of the new leases had ended by that date, the new fines payable were in many cases still outstanding when hostilities began. Consequently Bridgewater's officials had not only to collect arrears of rent after the war but also to see that fines were paid up. In fact, they appear to have concentrated on the latter, and by 1648 much of the sums owing by way of fines was paid. If it had not been for the complication that arrears of fines as well as of rents had to be collected, the amount owing for rents in 1650 might perhaps have been less.

The history of the Whitchurch group of manors during the war period provides an interesting contrast to the story of the Ellesmere manors. There is a good deal more information available regarding events in Whitchurch itself than was the case for Ellesmere, but hardly any facts emerge from the estate records concerning the adventures of individual tenants. There was certainly a fair amount of small scale fighting in and near Whitchurch. The most important incident of the war was perhaps the capture of the town by Parliamentary forces on May 30th, 1643. This was a triumph for Sir William Brereton, the parliamentary commander of Nantwich, and 150 royalists were killed in the battle. The town did not remain permanently in roundhead hands, however, being safe enough for Prince Rupert to encamp there in May, 1644; but by the end of 1645 all royalist control had come to an end.

From the amount of skirmishing which took place, it seems fair to assume that there must have been at least as much damage done on the Whitchurch manors as on the Ellesmere group, and probably more. Unfortunately, as already indicated, the estate records which have survived are silent on the matter. There are no rentals extant after 1642 until the rental of 1650, and there is no reference to the fighting either in this document or in the succeeding rentals. Moreover, the 1650 rental contains no figure for arrears. It is true that a figure for arrears collected is mentioned in the 1652 rental, but it is for only £248 11s. 0d.—very much smaller than the Ellesmere figure for 1650—and there is no indication given of the years to which this sum relates.

The question therefore arises, why should the arrears for Whitchurch and its members appear to be so much less than on the Ellesmere manors? Clearly, it is dangerous to argue on the basis of incomplete evidence. The amount given for Ellesmere for arrears in 1650 is calculated from a survey of the estate made in that year; the Whitchurch figure mentioned above is merely an item in a rent-collector's account for 1652. It may be that a survey was in fact made of the Whitchurch manors in 1650—the first year of the second Earl's coming into his inheritance—and has since been lost; such a survey might reveal a much more substantial amount of rents owing.

Nevertheless, it seems more likely that the arrears were small by the early 1650s, either because rents were collected during the war, or because the arrears had mostly been paid by 1650. The former suggestion seems improbable, particularly as the town of Whitchurch was royalist for a good proportion of the period. The latter explanation appears more feasible, particularly when one bears in mind the fact that the Whitchurch collectors had a less complex task than was the case on the Ellesmere properties—that is, they had to collect rents, not fines and rents. Indeed, it may well be that the administration of the Whitchurch manors, which seems to have been rather more

efficient before the war than the management of the Ellesmere manors, soon settled down after the alarms and excursions of the war. Some colour is lent to this suggestion by the survival of a list of surrenders and admittances for Whitchurch, dated 1653—

1637 — 30	1642 — 24	1648 — 44
1638 — 23	1643 — 4	1649 — 44
1639 — 29	1644 — 10	1650 — 53
1640 — 17	1645 — 3	1651 — 32
1641 — 18	1646 — 32	1652 — 47
	1647 — 88	1653 — 23

These figures show a marked decrease for the war years, particularly in 1643, when Whitchurch changed hands, and again in the last year of the war. 1646 shows a return to something like normal, while in the following year there was a great increase. 1647 was the year in which rent collection was resumed on the Ellesmere manors, so that it was likely that a drive began in that year to restore the administrative machine to good working order throughout the estates. The figures may even be taken to show that some form of estate administration continued in Whitchurch throughout the war, but this of course would be very much of a guess. However, the administration of the Whitchurch manors certainly seems to have been more business-like and efficient than was the case on the Ellesmere group.

From this account of the effects of the civil war in Shropshire on the Bridgewater estates it is clear that neither landlord nor tenants are likely to have avoided considerable loss and inconvenience. Certainly the first earl suffered a complete cessation in the payment of rents and fines by his Ellesmere tenants over a period of about five years. The failure to pay fines due for the new leases which had been bargained for between 1637 and 1642 must have been peculiarly vexatious to him; there was still £2,221 9s. 8d. outstanding in this respect in 1642. There is no evidence one way or the other to show whether Bridgewater received any rents from the Whitchurch tenants during the war, but it is obviously very improbable that he did so. Living quietly at Ashridge, he may well have been in financial difficulties at this time, and was not even safe from the physical dangers which beset his tenants in Shropshire; early in 1643 he was forced to complain to parliament that his lands and properties at Ashridge had been pillaged by royalist troops. Some years later in 1649 he seems to have had some difficulty in paying over to the authorities a debt of £3,200 owing by him to a royalist, Robert Joffrey.¹ During the course of the dispute which took place he complained bitterly of "his greate and manyfould sufferings" resulting from his obedience to Parliament "in divers places where his estate did ly and for w(hi)ch as yett he hath had no reparat(i)ons". The anxieties caused by this matter may well have hastened the first earl's death; he died shortly after on December 3rd, 1649, aged 70.

There is no doubt that he was pressed for money at the time of his death. His bond debts at this time amounted to £26,950, together with annuities payable to the extent of £1,654 10s. 0d. In addition, he was saddled with another very heavy debt of £49,000 arising out of the bankruptcy of his son-in-law, the merchant William

¹See the Bridgewater Collection, Hertford County Record Office for letters relating to this debt.

Courten. It is little wonder that his son, the second earl, was afterwards to lament the fact that "debt and my estate both descended on me at one time". His father even owed him £2,700 of his allowance in 1649.

None of the Shropshire tenants could complain of such massive debts in 1649, but certainly they suffered as much as the first earl as a result of the war, and in some cases far more; one can scarcely lose more of one's possessions than to have "not a rag left", and there were some who lost their lives. Still others forfeited official positions for having supported the wrong side, such as Thomas More, the royalist vicar of Ellesmere and Myddle who fled the county in 1642 and was fined £154 7s. 0d. in 1649 for his delinquency. Thomas Fowler, vicar of Whitchurch, similarly was fined £130 for refusing to subscribe to the parliamentary cause.

Nevertheless, it was perhaps the interruption of peaceful farming and of the profitable marketing of produce which caused the most widespread distress of the war period. The more fortunate might escape the attentions of plundering soldiery, and be unaffected by the shortage of manpower; few except the occasional profiteer could benefit from the disturbance of peacetime patterns of trade. When one considers this fact, and adds to it the damage caused to person or possessions by passage of troops, it seems hard to resist the conclusion that the war brought difficult times to the Bridgewater estates. Even in 1650 there were Ellesmere tenants complaining of their impoverishment when visited by the earl's commissioners, and more than one, like Widow Lanchford of Tetchill, "craved abatement in view of the times." From the short term point of view, neither the owner of the estates nor the tenants appear to have profitted financially from the Civil War, whatever its ultimate gains, political and economic, may be thought to have been.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION IN AN AREA
OF SOUTH SHROPSHIRE¹

BY L. C. LLOYD

Apart from S. and B. Webbs' standard work on *The King's Highway*,² little seems to have been published on the history of highway administration and maintenance at the parish level. It is hoped, therefore, that this examination of a series of highways surveyors' returns for an area of South Shropshire in the first quarter of the eighteenth century may be of some use as a contribution to the somewhat neglected history of this branch of local administration.

By an Act of 1555 (2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 8) the obligation to maintain the highways in good repair was placed upon the inhabitants of the parishes through which they ran; upon the surveyor of highways in each parish, an office created by the Act; and ultimately upon the justices of the peace for the division in which the parish was situated, who were charged with the duty of seeing that the inhabitants carried out their obligations under the Act. Many more Highway Acts were passed during the next two hundred and eighty years, but despite changes in detail this arrangement for the maintenance of the roads held good basically until 1835. The highway surveyors were not, of course, in any sense professional men, nor had they any training or experience in highway maintenance. They were simply inhabitants of the parish—farmers, innkeepers, blacksmiths, carpenters, schoolmasters—who were chosen in rotation to fill the office for a year, as they filled other offices such as those of overseer, churchwarden or constable. The actual work of repairing the roads was performed by the parishioners themselves, and the surveyor's chief duty was to see that they did it. The Act provided that every occupier of a ploughland (later defined as a holding of £50 annual value), and every person keeping a team of horses or a plough, should provide a cart, with oxen or horses and two men, and that all other parishioners should work personally on the roads (or send others in their place) for eight hours on each of four days (increased in 1563 to six days) appointed by the surveyor. An Act of 1670 (22 Charles II, c. 12) provided that anyone who defaulted in the performance of his statutory duty was liable to pay a penalty of 1s. 6d. for a day's labour by one man; 3s. for a man and horse; and 10s. for a cart and two men. Should the parish fail to maintain its roads in repair it could be indicted before the court of Quarter Sessions, and the justices had the power to impose a substantial fine. It was frequently ordered that such fines should be spent upon the roads, so that the process of indictment and fine operated in effect as a highway rate imposed upon the parish.³

Two or three times a year (in Wenlock in January and June) the surveyors were under an obligation to attend special highways sessions of the justices to report on the condition of the roads in their charge, to present those parishioners who had defaulted in the performance of their statutory labour, and to account for any monies they had received for highway maintenance. This was a duty often neglected, by both justices and surveyors, but in the Wenlock area it seems to have been carried out at any rate

TABLE I
PARISHES AND TOWNSHIPS IN THE FRANCHISE AND LIBERTIES OF WENLOCK
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

	Highway Surveyors' Returns dated							
	Jan. 1714	Jan. 1718	Feb. 1721	June 1721	June 1722	June 1723	Jan. 1724	June 1724
Atterley T.							x	
Badger P.					x		x	x
Barrow P.							x	x
Beckbury P.					x	x		x
Benthall P.		x					x	x
Bourton T.			x	x			x	
Broseley P.	x				x		x	x
Callaughton T.							x	
Clee Stanton T.								x
Deuxhill P.								
Ditton Priors P.					x		x	x
Downton & The Moor T.							x	x
Eaton P.							x	x
Harton T.					x			
Hatton T.					x		x	x
Hughley P.							x	x
Hungerford T.								
Linley P.					x		x	x
Little Wenlock P.								
Longville T.					x		x	
Madeley P.							x	x
Middleton Priors T.				x			x	x
Monkhopton P.							x	x
Much Wenlock P.					x		x	
Posenhall T.					x		x	x
Presthopte T.					x		x	x
Shipton P.							x	x
Stoke & Kingston T.							x	
Stoke St. Milburgh P.					x			
Ticklerton T.					x		x	x
Walton T.					x		x	x
Weston & Oxenbold T.							x	x
Wigwig & part of Harley T.							x	x
Willey P.								
Wyke & Bradeley T.							x	x

NOTE.—In the above Table, P=parish; T.=township. The townships of Atterley, Bourton, Callaughton, Presthopte, Walton, Wigwig, and Wyke and Bradeley are situated in Much Wenlock parish. Clee Stanton, Downton and The Moor, and Stoke and Kingston are in Stoke St. Milburgh parish. Harton, Hatton, Hungerford, Longville and Ticklerton are in Eaton-under-Heywood parish. Middleton Priors is in Ditton Priors parish, and the township of Weston and Oxenbold is in Monkhopton parish. Posenhall was formerly extra-parochial, but is now combined with Barrow parish.

No Highway Surveyors' returns have been found for Deuxhill, Hungerford, Little Wenlock and Willey.

in some years, and this paper is based mainly upon a series of returns made by the surveyors in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The documents concerned were found among a mass of unsorted papers relating to the Corporation of Wenlock and preserved in the Guildhall at Much Wenlock. They number seventy-three, relating to thirty-one parishes and townships at that time included in the Franchise of Wenlock (see Table I). There are fairly full series for January and June, 1724, fourteen returns for June, 1722, and odd reports dating back to January, 1714.

The list of parishes and townships is taken from a paper headed: "Wenlock ss. At a Special Sessions for the Highways held at the Sergeants in Much Wenlock the 16th day of January in the Eighth year of the Reigne of our Sov^reigne Lord George by the Grace of God King over Great Britain &c. before Edward Browne Esq^f Bayliffe, George Weld Esq^f and John Smitheman Gen. Justices of the peace for the sd. Franchise and Lib^ties." It gives, besides the list of parishes and townships, the names of the highway surveyors, with a note as to their appearance or otherwise before the justices.

From this list and the map (p. 317) it will be seen that the area included in the eighteenth-century "Franchise and Liberties" of Wenlock is considerably more extensive than that of the modern Borough of Wenlock (which is itself the largest non-county borough in England, covering some thirty-five square miles). The parishes and townships of Badger, Beckbury, Clee Stanton, Deuxhill, Ditton Priors, Downton and The Moor, Eaton, Harton, Hatton, Hughley, Hungerford, Longville, Middleton Priors, Monkhopton, Shipton, Stoke St. Milburgh, Stoke and Kingston, Ticklerton, and part of Harley are no longer included in the borough. Their inclusion in the former franchise of Wenlock is accounted for by their having formed part of the estates of the Cluniac Priory of Wenlock previous to the Dissolution.⁴ It is a remarkable fact that for local administrative purposes the identity of the priory estates endured for more than two hundred and fifty years after they had been split up among a multiplicity of owners after the Dissolution. This identity applied not only to highways, but also to the administration of justice, and to the assessments for Land Tax and Window Tax, in all of which the Franchise was treated as a unit.

I. THE APPOINTMENT OF SURVEYORS

Most of the parishes and townships in the Franchise of Wenlock appointed only one highway surveyor, but five of the larger parishes found it necessary to appoint two: Benthall, Barrow, Broseley, Madeley and Much Wenlock. How they were chosen does not appear. It may be that they were elected at a parish meeting, or that they served in rotation on a "house-row" system. On this point there is only one scrap of evidence among the documents under survey: at Broseley in January, 1724, the outgoing surveyors nominate their successors in these words: "We do Return for ye year ensuing according to due Election, Tho. Beddow, Robt. Whitmore, Shuper-visers." The office was an annual one, and in the majority of returns the outgoing official nominates his successor, usually in the form: "I return A.B. surveyor (or supervisor) for the year ensuing". But the final appointment rested with the justices, and in some instances the retiring surveyors, instead of nominating their successors, provide a list of qualified parishioners from among whom the justices may make

their choice. At Broseley, for instance, in January, 1714, the outgoing surveyors give a list of six names, and someone—probably the justices' clerk—has bracketed the two topmost names together and written against them "New ones". In the Much Wenlock return for January, 1724, a similar list of six names is provided, but in this case there is no indication of those who were chosen. In the same year the outgoing surveyor for Wigwig and part of Harley provides "A List of the Persons within the Township abovesaid fit to serve the office of a Supervisor"; six names are included in the list. At Presthope, in January, 1724, the surveyor, Richard Francis, reports: "... and for persons to serve the office for the year ensuing we have but two, namely John Parsons, John Morris. I return the former of the two to serve for the year ensuing".

Not always did the justices accept the nominations of the outgoing officials. At Benthall in January, 1724, the retiring surveyors nominate "Thomas Hartshorne of ye hill top and Richard Penn, Surveyors for ye year Runing on"; but the paper is endorsed in another hand—probably that of the justices' clerk—"We Return Richd. Harper, Tho. Hartshorne". Presumably it was in anticipation of some such action on the part of the justices that Peter Cole, the surveyor for Monkhopton in

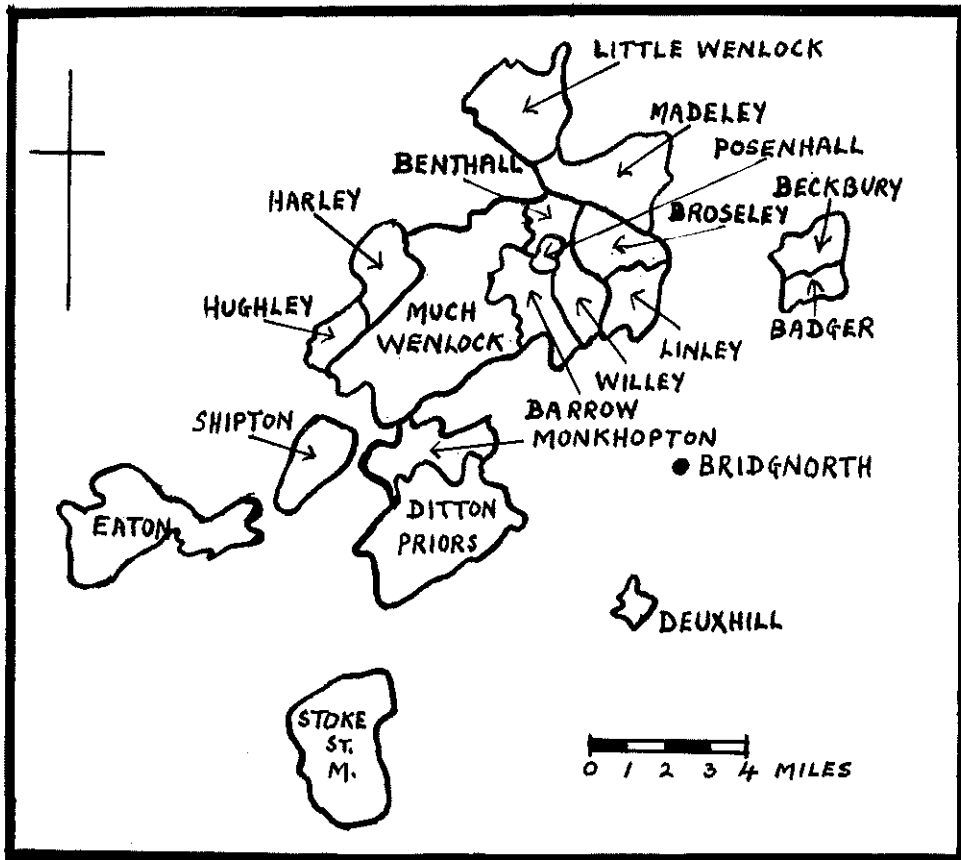


FIG. 1—The Franchise of Wenlock in the Eighteenth Century.

January, 1724, made his nomination in an unusual form: "We have Agreed and I Retorne Jacob Weale Surveyor for the yeare insuing, if your worships mislicke I Retorne Francis Hayward". In the event, the justices accepted his first choice, and Jacob Weale signs the return in the following June.

It is often stated, and probably with justice, that parish offices were undertaken with considerable reluctance, since they were not remunerated, were apt to interfere with a man's normal employments, and, if performed conscientiously, were liable to make him unpopular among his fellows. Despite these considerations, which, one imagines, would apply with particular force to the office of highways surveyor, one sometimes finds men apparently willing to undertake the duties for more than the minimum term of a year. In January, 1724, for instance, the outgoing surveyors for at least four townships—Middleton Priors, Stoke and Kingston, Ditton Priors and Linley—nominate themselves to serve for the succeeding year. Whether this was a matter of choice or necessity does not appear, but it is clear that they were not the only persons in these townships qualified to fill the office. At Stoke and Kingston the retiring surveyor, John Collins, speaks of "being obliged to serve ye office for ye year ensueing", but does not explain why.

At Benthall in January, 1718, the outgoing surveyors, Richard Benthall and Thomas Hartshorne, neglect to nominate successors, and their return bears an endorsement (presumably by the justices' clerk): "Get a new nomination for ye same Surveyors next year". The fact that Richard Benthall was one of the surveyors is interesting, for he was the local squire, and according to the Webbs⁵ it was unusual for the office to be undertaken by the "gentry", even such as were not justices of the peace.

II. THE CONDITION OF THE ROADS

In reporting on the condition of the roads in their charge the parish surveyors are generally laconic to a disappointing degree. They tend to employ what appear to be well-established formulas, of which the most frequent is exemplified by the return for Atterley in January, 1724: "Our highways are in reasonable good Repair, the time of the year considered". More than a dozen of the returns are couched in similar terms, with only minor variations. The reference to the time of year is, of course, significant; it commonly occurs in the returns made for the January sessions, when the roads would be nearly at their worst and when repair work would be difficult if not impossible.

Sometimes the roads are said to be "in good repair" or "in sufficient repair" without qualification. Such returns are made in January, 1724 by Eaton, Posenhall and Badger, and in the following June by Harton, Hatton, Longville, Ticklerton, Badger and Presthope. On the other hand, some surveyors frankly admit the shortcomings of their roads. In July, 1722, for instance, John Matthews and Richard Weaver report from Broseley: "Wee . . . Present our highways out of Repaiar and desire time to Amend them"; while the Much Wenlock surveyors in January, 1724, "Returne oure High ways out of Repaiar". When the condition of the roads is admittedly unsatisfactory the surveyors usually ask for time in which to effect an improvement, or promise that repairs shall be carried out. At Madeley, for instance, in January, 1724, the surveyors "present our Roads to be in indifferent Repaire

according to the time of the yeare. And Any thing that is wanting shall be done in due time". In the following June a similar state of affairs appears to prevail, for the new surveyors "p^rsent our ways in indifferent repair and we desire further time to amend the same". Returns in somewhat similar terms are made by Callaughton, Longville, Middleton Priors and Walton in January, 1724, and by Linley, Shipton and Wyke and Bradeley in June, 1724.

In June, 1722, it is reported from Ditton Priors that "Our highways are not in good repaire but Care shall be taken to have them Speedily amended"; while the Hatton return for June, 1724, reports that "Our High ways are not as yet in Good Repair But I shall take Care to have them well Amended with all Convenient speed that may be". Similar promises are made by Middleton Priors in June, 1721, by Linley and Walton in June, 1722, and by Middleton Priors in June, 1724. In January, 1724, the Barrow surveyors are less hopeful, though owing to the absence of punctuation in their report it is difficult to see exactly what they mean: "Wee Returne oure Highways out of Repaier ye Season considered they cannott be Reparied".

In a number of returns the surveyors state that repair work has been begun but has not yet been completed. From Posenhall in June, 1722, William Evans reports: "I present our ways in reasonable order soe far as we have mended and desire time to amend the rest". In June, 1724, both Presthope and Weston report in identical terms: "Our ways are part of them repair'd and part not repair'd. The which we are repairing and will be compleated in a months time". Ditton Priors also promises completion in a month. John Pinches, the Ticklerton surveyor, is slightly less specific: "I present our Highwais not sufficiently repair'd as yet. We have bene four days all-ready Repairing ye Highwais and ye rest we desire to Repair before Harvest". At Eaton, too, the surveyor hopes to complete his work by harvest. At the same time Broseley reports: "We are now repairing, in two Months we design to perfect". The Much Wenlock surveyors in June, 1722, state merely that the highways "are now in repairing".

Occasionally the surveyors forsake their usual brevity and include in their reports some comment or remark that is often informative or illuminating. In January, 1724, for instance, the Broseley surveyors "present our High ways in good sound Repair as the season of ye year will allow, the greatness of use made thereof being considered"; which reminds us that the coal mines in the Broseley district were at this time in full activity. Reporting from Benthall in January, 1718, Richard Benthall and Thomas Hartshorne state somewhat ambiguously that "The highways in our division are in sound Repaire and safe from danger: yet they are not in suficient Repair by Reason of winter wearing and what is amis shall be amended as the season draweth on by us the present Surveyors". In June, 1724, the same Thomas Hartshorne is partnered by Richard Harper, and they report, rather wordily: "Wee doe not p^rsent the highways in our division in sufficient Repair: nor Indiferent: but in the Repairing for wee have taken all ye care wee could for safety hither too and wee will take all the care wee can that what is Amis sall be Amended by us".

In June, 1724, the surveyor for Wigwig and part of Harley was Mossenden Carter, who is distinguished not only by his unusual Christian name but also by a

beautifully and carefully written report, in strong contrast to the scribbled scraps of paper that are more usual; he was evidently a man of education, perhaps the village schoolmaster. He reports that the highways in his care are "not in sufficient repair", and adds: "The reasons are as followeth: Imprimis, We have been hindered by the water from getting stones and Gravel to lay upon other stones in the Highway. Secondly, the Bridge at Sheinton being broken, the Teams from the Lime Kilns come our Road, and throw up Rowts and Stones. I do not know of any Team that hath stuck or over thrown. And if any incommodious place happen, it shall be mended by the first opportunity by the command of me, Mossenden Carter, Supervisor".

There are interesting notes in the reports from Badger for both January and June, 1724. In the former Edward Child reports that "Our high wayes are in good and sovicient Repayer haveing no publick Roads thorow our parish"; while in June Richard Taylor presents William White "for not leaving a suffitient Church way".

III. STATUTORY LABOUR

It appears from the documents at our disposal that most of the parishes and townships in the Franchise of Wenlock relied upon the six days' compulsory work per annum for the labour necessary to keep their roads in order. Not unnaturally this obligation was decidedly unpopular, but evidence of refusal or neglect on the part of the parishioners to perform this duty is less abundant than one might expect. Occasionally, indeed, the surveyors go so far as to insert in their returns a statement to the effect that all the inhabitants have fulfilled their obligations. In January, 1724, for instance, the surveyor for Walton reports, with uncertain grammar but clear meaning: "Every inhabitant have done their Duty according to ye Act of Parliamt.", and the surveyor for Wyke and Bradeley reports in similar terms. The Monkhopton official appears to make a similar report, but his return has been damaged and it is difficult to be sure of what he writes.

Sometimes, however, a surveyor found it necessary to present parishioners for having neglected or refused to perform their statutory labour on the roads. At Shipton in January, 1724, Richard Dyke lists four defaulters, valuing the contributions which they should have made at 10s. per day:

Jo ⁿ Davies, being a Town Land, 3 days for default	01-10-00
Richd. Bullock, 2 days	01-00-00
Charles Williams, 3 days	01-10-00
Richd. Cross, 3 days	01-10-00".

One of the defaulters, Richard Bullock, was nominated as surveyor for the following year, and duly signs the return for June, 1724; presumably he had better luck than his predecessor in getting the statutory labour performed, since he has no presentments to make.

The parishioners of Barrow seem to have been more than usually negligent, or recalcitrant, in the performance of their statutory labour, for there are reports of

defaulters in the returns for both January and June, 1724. In January the offenders were:

Richard Addams, 6 days Default.
 Richard Whelor, 6 days Default.
 William Hood ye older, 6 days Default.
 Thomas Hood, 6 days Default.
 William Hood, yonger, 6 days Default.

In other words, these five people had done no statutory labour at all. In a different hand the names of two more defaulters were added:

George Weld Esqr., 4 days.
 Edwd. Browne Esqr., 4 Days.

—which makes it evident that even the “gentry” were not above neglecting their duty to the highways. George Weld, the squire of Willey, was a justice of the peace, Bailiff of Wenlock on many occasions, M.P. for Wenlock in 1701, 1702, 1705 and 1710, and Sheriff of Shropshire in 1746.⁶ There is a nicely ironic touch in the fact that seven years earlier he was one of the justices who signed the warrant against Henry Mytton for a similar default (see below). Edward Browne, of Caughley, was Bailiff of Wenlock in 1714 and 1721, and Sheriff of Shropshire in 1719.⁷

In June, 1724, the Barrow return, a very brief one, merely states that “the Repaires of ye Highwaies being not fully finished, we desire time for the same, sev^rall persons not haveing done their Duty”.

In 1721 Edward Doughty, reporting from Bourton, presents Edward Sotherne for one day’s “neglect of duty”, valued at 10s.

On occasion the justices were prepared to take extreme measures against those who neglected or refused to perform the statutory labour for which they were liable, even though their position was high in the social and economic scale. Evidence of this is provided by a warrant issued by William Hayward, Bailiff of Wenlock, and George Weld, in 1717:

“Wenlock ss. To the Surveyor of the Highwayes in the Townshipp of Shipton, And alsoe to the Conbles of the sd^d Townshipp and to evry of them.

“Whereas due notice hath been given unto Henry Mytton Esq. to work on the highwayes in the said Town^p with one Teame on certaine days appointed for that purpose in order to amend the same, And whereas it appeareth unto us upon oath that the sd. Henry Mytton hath neglected or refused soe to do, These are therefore to require you forthwith to levy upon the goods and chattells of the said Henry Mytton for neglecting sending one Teeme Five dayes the summe of Two pounds Ten shillings and to sell the same rendring the overplus, and that you employ the sd. summe when Levved for and towards the amending the Highwayes in the sd. Townshipp, Hereof faile not at yo^r p^rills. Given under our hands and seals the 5th day of February in the Third year of the Reigne of our Sov^eigne Lord George by the Grace of God over Great Britain France and Ireland King, defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord god 1716.

“Wm. Hayward, Ball.”
 “Geo. Weld.”

Henry Mytton was of Shipton Hall, the owner of extensive estates, and altogether a figure of considerable importance locally.

IV. HIGHWAY LEWNS

In 1654 a Commonwealth ordinance empowered the parish meeting to levy a rate, or lewn, not exceeding a shilling in the pound, for highway maintenance, and by the Highway Act of 1691 it was made lawful to raise a rate of up to sixpence in the pound for the same purpose.⁸ In the Franchise of Wenlock this expedient was adopted in only a minority of parishes and townships. In several instances the surveyors specifically mention their not having raised a lewn. At Benthall in January, 1718, for instance, Richard Benthall and Thomas Hartshorne say: "We have neither Lewyn to Receive nor noe accompts to give"; while in January, 1724, the surveyors for the same parish report: "We doe Repair our highways according to ye Appoint seasons by the hand labour of our parrishoners: Insomuch that we have no Accompts to give, for we Recd. no moneys into our hands, nor layd no lewn to collect any moneys . . ." At the same time the surveyor for Wigwig and part of Harley, after reporting on the state of his roads, adds: "This is likewise to certifie that I have neither rec'd nor disburst any money." The return for Stoke and Kingston, also in January, 1724, similarly contains a statement that no lewn had been made. But the majority of returns make no mention of a lewn, from which it would appear that in these parishes and townships no money was collected for highway maintenance, since otherwise it would have had to be accounted for.

In a few parishes lewns for highway purposes were collected and are duly accounted for in the surveyors' returns. At Bourton, in February, 1721, Edward Doughty lists nine persons from whom he had collected sums ranging from 6d. to 1s. 10d., and totalling 11s. 1d.; he also names four inhabitants who had not paid their dues, ranging from 6d. to 1s. 6d., and amounting to 4s. 4d. The Broseley surveyors, in January, 1714, account for the sum of £6 11s. 4d., and in January, 1724, they record a lewn of £6. In the same year the surveyor for Weston and Oxenbold accounts for the expenditure of £4 11s. 4d., a remarkably large sum for a small township; at Downton and The Moor the lewn amounted to 17s. 11d.; and at Monkhopton to £1 10s. 2d. At Beckbury, too, a lewn was collected but owing to the damaged condition of the return the amount is irrecoverable.

Thus, out of the seventy-three surveyors' returns analysed in this paper, only seven provide evidence of a lewn having been raised for the maintenance of the highways. This proportion agrees roughly with that estimated by the Webbs, who say: "It is impossible, in the absence of any statistics, to ascertain how many parishes had recourse to these rates. Our impression is that during the first half of the eighteenth century at any rate, the number in rural districts was exceedingly small—perhaps averaging in any one year fewer than half-a-dozen in each county—and that more than nine-tenths of the parishes and townships contrived to avoid the noxious impost".⁹

There is one instance where the surveyors claim to have spent money on the roads out of their own pockets. This was at Benthall in 1723, and must be, one imagines, an almost unique occurrence. "We Rec'd", they say, "no moneys into our hands, nor layd no lewn to collect any moneys, but what was disburst was out of our purses".

V. METHODS OF MAINTENANCE

What kind of repair work was carried out under this somewhat haphazard system of road maintenance? Most of the surveyors' reports are disappointingly (but perhaps understandably) reticent in this respect. But a few provide details which enable us to form some idea of how the statutory labour was employed and how the lewns were spent. At Ticklerton, where no lewn was raised, we are told in January, 1724, that "We have taken the water of the Rode in convenient places"; while at Stoke and Kingston, where also only statutory labour was employed, "We have brushed up our Hedges that are adjoining to ye Highways. And likewise scoured ye Ditches. And lugged Stone to places where it was wanting". Richard Crudginton reports from Downton and The Moor in January, 1724, that "We have brushed up our Hedges that are adjoining to ye Highways. I have disburst for repairing ye Causeys and a foot Bridge fiveteen shillings eightpence".

The fullest accounts of expenditure come from Broseley. In January, 1714, Richard Pearce and Richard Crompton give the following details of their disbursements:

Imp ^s for Paveing 252 yards of a four foot broad causey at 3d. p. yard comes to	...	...	...	...	...	03-03-00
For mending several places, Richard Bagley, 4 days...	...	...	...	...	...	00-05-04
John Roper, 6 days	...	...	...	...	...	00-08-00
John Bagley, 6 days	...	...	...	...	...	00-06-00
pd for Six new Kipes: ¹⁰	...	...	...	...	...	00-01-06
pd James Garmston and James Hartshorn for cutting two cutts in a yew tree to make posts...	...	...	...	...	...	00-01-00
pd for Drink according to the usual Custom	...	...	...	...	...	01-09-06
for Journeys to Wenlock to attend the Sessions	...	...	...	...	...	00-02-06
for Drawing a Lewn and Makeing and keeping our accts.	...	...	...	...	...	00-02-06
For posting the Causey	...	...	...	...	...	00-10-00
two warrants	...	...	...	...	...	00-02-00
						<hr/>
						06-11-04
						<hr/>

It is perhaps worth noting that by far the biggest item of expenditure here is for drink, "according to Custom". This would be provided on the occasions when the parishioners were called out to perform their statutory labour.

In January, 1724, the Broseley surveyors present the following account of their expenditure:

Imp ^s Paid to Charles Smith Mason and other Labourers for Mending the pavements and other places belonging to the Comon Road in our Division	03-13-06
It ^m Paid for drink given to the Labourers at severall times as need Required	00-18-00
It ^m Paid to Thomas Griffis for Sharpning tools for ye Labourers use and for more Drink given them at times Spent at severall times in our office	00-03-00 00-01-00
It ^m For Drawing our Lewne and accounts	00-02-06
For a Nomination Warrant for ye New Shupervisers ...	00-01-00
For Passing our Accounts at Wenlock	00-01-06
<hr/>	
Disburstments totall	05-00-06
<hr/>	
We Charge ourselves with our Lewne ye totall Amounting to	06-00-00
<hr/>	
Remains to be returned to ye enshueing officers when Collected	00-19-06
<hr/>	

At Bourton in February, 1719, Edward Doughty accounts as follows:

For 2 pikes	00-03-06
paid for ye masons work	00-08-00
paid to ye Carpenter	00-02-00
paid for 3 lode of stone	00-01-00
paid for lime	00-02-00
paid for nails	00-00-03
<hr/>	
	00-16-09
<hr/>	

Robert Bostock's account from Weston and Oxenbold in January, 1724, has some interesting features:

Paid to John Osland and his Son 28 days work at 14d. a day for the getting of Stone. Paid to him for Paving 248 yards at 2d. a yard. for the getting of the Stone in Hopton Parish	01-12-06
for the laying of Stone in Hopton Parish	02-01-04
<hr/>	
Sum	03-13-10
<hr/>	
Within Stanton Parish paid to him for the getting of 9 load of Stone	00-04-06
for the laying of Stone in Stanton Parish	00-13-00
<hr/>	
	00-17-06
<hr/>	

Perhaps the most significant items in these accounts are those relating to the purchase of stone. This, apparently, was a rare indulgence. "Our impression", say the Webbs, "is that in the first half of the eighteenth century very few rural parishes, if any, dreamt of such an extravagance as purchasing road material".¹¹

The Monkhopton surveyor's account dated January, 1724, is less informative:

Disburst for Reparing the Highways and Expended upon								
Account	...	...	...	...	...	...	01-03-00
for timber for to Repare a bridge	...	...	...	...	...	...	00-04-08
for my jurney to wenlocke and a nomenacon...	...	...	...	...	...	...	00-02-06
Total Disburst							...	01-10-02

Finally, the Beckbury account dated May, 1723, lacks figures because the document is torn:

Pd John Davis for Paveing	...	—
Pd John Davis for Paveing	...	—
Recd. of the Last Supervisor	...	—
Due to me from the Parrish	...	—

VI. RECORDS OF INDICTMENT

Most contemporary observers are agreed on the calamitous state of English roads in the eighteenth century, and on the ineffectiveness of the system employed to keep them passable and in repair. Arthur Young's pungent comments belong to a later period than that dealt with in this paper, but there can be little doubt that throughout the century English roads were frequently "ruinous, miry, deep, broken, and in great decay", to use the words of Burn's *Justice of the Peace*.¹² Whether the roads in the Franchise of Wenlock shared the general condition we have little evidence on which to form an opinion. Probably they did. The statements of the highway surveyors are obviously *ex parte* and therefore little to be relied upon. There seems to be some slight evidence that perhaps a little more care was taken over the maintenance of the roads than was general, in the raising of lewns and the occasional purchase of material for repairs. There is, too, the infrequency with which parishes and townships in the franchise were indicted at Quarter Sessions for the non-repair of their roads. The Quarter Sessions records show only four instances of indictment during the first half of the century. In 1704 proceedings were instituted against the parish of Much Wenlock but were stayed, the roads having been repaired; nevertheless the parish was fined 50s. for its neglect and an order was made that the money should be spent on the highways. In 1711, and again in 1728, the township of Callaughton was indicted, but the process was stayed, the roads presumably having been attended to. In 1729 proceedings were begun against the parish of Barrow, but here again they were discontinued.¹³ One's impression is that other parts of the county were more frequently in trouble on this account.

All this suggests that during the period under review perhaps the roads in the Franchise of Wenlock were slightly better looked after than they were in other parts of the country. But the evidence is slight, and the possibility must be borne in mind that the Shropshire justices may have been lax in their enforcement of the law relating to the highways; on this point, however, there is unfortunately no evidence.

APPENDIX

THREE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RETURNS

Among the miscellaneous documents preserved in the Guildhall at Much Wenlock were also found three highways surveyors' returns dating from 1656-57. On account both of their date and their contents, these appear to be worth quoting in full. They refer to Benthall, Ditton Priors and Middleton Priors.

I. BENTHALL.

An account of money recd. by William Rutter, Supaviser for the Townshipp of Benthall for 1656.

Imps. The Demeanes of Benthall	00-16-00	John Dodson	00-00-06
Clarke & Heynes	00-06-00	William Rutter	00-01-00
Ralph Bealby	00-02-00	John Asson	00-00-06
George Lloyd	00-01-00	Thomas Bowkley	00-00-06
Naboth Dawley	00-00-10	Frances Bowen	00-00-06
Thomas Eastope... ..	00-01-00	Edward Andrews	00-02-00
James Dawley	00-00-06	Roger Millington	00-00-06
John Brooke	00-00-06	Thomas Abrey	00-00-06
Edward Dawley	00-00-06	Edward Jones	00-00-06
John Hager	00-00-10	John Hartshorne Junr....	00-01 06
John Bassett	00-00-06	Thomas Hartshorne Junr.	00-00-06
John Martin	00-00-06	Thomas Hodgetts	00-00-06
John Evans	00-00-06	Thomas Hartshorne Senr.	00-01-00
Tho. Allsop	00-01-00	Widow Cranadge	00-02-00
John Harley	00-01-00	Richard Sugar	00-00-06
John Huse	00-00-09	Thomas	00-02-04
Richard Abrey	00-00-06	William Hartshorne	00-00-06
Richard Jones	00-00-06	John	00-01-00
Walter Gotier	00-00-06	Henrey Readley... ..	00-00-06
Thomas Grinston	00-00-06	Frances Readley	00-00-10
Moris Hartshorne	00-01-00		
John Constable	00-00-10	tot. recept. is	02-18-05
Edward Hartshorne	00-00-06	more	
Richard Hill	00-00-06	John Hartshorne Senr.	00-01-00
Thomas Clarke	00-00-06	John Mathews	00-00-06
Xtopher Tayler	00-02-00	Thomas Huse	00-00-06
		the tot. is	03-00-05

Money disbursd by William Rutter for the yeare afforsd.

Imps. for the getting of stone and for the carriage	00-19-06
for on teeme 13 dayes at the rate of 4s. per day	02-12-00
the tot. is	03-11-06

Wee Returne Sup^rviser for the year ensuing

Edward Andrews.

II. DITTON PRIORS

The returne of the Sup^rvisor of Priors Ditton Aprill the 13th 1657.

Rec. of the inhabitants of the sayd township of priors Ditton the some of one pound seven shillings and five pence.

Disburst to Francis Smallman Mason for paving in the high wayes the some of one pound one shilling and fower pence.

Disburst to Edmund Power for the Carriage of Tenn waine lode of stone, five shillings.

Disburst for the Carriage of more stone to plowddens Bridgg the some of one shilling and two pence.

I returne Mr. Edward Hulland of Sidnall for Refusing to pay his Lewne, 3s. 10d.

By me, Thomas Hammonds,
Sup^rvisor.

III. MIDDLETON PRIORS

The retorne of William Page the yonger, supervisor of the high wayes for Midleton Pryors made the xiiijth of Aprill 1657.

I have gathered a peny a pounce of the sev^rall inhabitants w^thin the said Township w^ch amounteth unto 18s. 4d. and over that I and others that keepe teemes have carryed stone w^th our teemes div^rse dayes unto the high wayes.

I have hired a Mason w^ch did lay the same stone in the high wayes for mending the same where it was needfull and he hath receaved of me the afforesaid some of 18s. 4d.

And o^r high wayes at p^rsent are in good repaire.

William Page.

There are two noteworthy features about these three returns: (1) the apparent alacrity with which the parishes took advantage of the power to raise a highway lewn conferred upon them only a year or two earlier by the Commonwealth ordinance of 1654; and (2) the fact that all three parishes spent what they raised in lewns on the provision of materials and skilled labour for the repair of the highways. As has been pointed out above, this seems to have been extremely unusual.

REFERENCES

1. This paper is a publication of the University of Birmingham (Extra-Mural Department) Research Group studying the history of Wenlock and comprising Mrs. M. H. Hill, Mrs. A. Massie, Mrs. M. S. Smith, Mrs. J. Stables, B.A., Mrs. A. Williamson; J. Corbett, B.A., V. H. Deacon, and L. C. Lloyd (tutor). The documents on which it is based were made available by permission of the Corporation of Wenlock through the courtesy of Mr. A. G. Matthews, Town Clerk.
2. S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government: The Story of the King's Highway*, London, 1913.
3. The summary of highway law contained in the preceding paragraph is based upon S. and B. Webb, *King's Highway*, Chap. II.
4. R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. iii (1856), pp. 223-4 *et seq.*
5. S. and B. Webb, *King's Highway*, p. 27.
6. Henry Weyman in *Shrops. Arch. Soc. Transactions*, 3rd series, vol. II, pp. 336-7. J. B. Blakeway, *The Sheriffs of Shropshire*, 1831, p. 188. H. E. Forrest, *Old Houses of Wenlock and Wenlock Edge*, 1915, p. 121.
7. J. B. Blakeway, *Sheriffs*, pp. 25, 238. Forrest, *loc. cit.*
8. S. and B. Webb, *King's Highway*, pp. 20-24.
9. S. and B. Webb, *King's Highway*, p. 37.
10. A "kipe" was "a strong osier basket with a twisted handle on each side, of circular form, but wider at the top than the bottom; it is computed to hold about half a bushel, and is used for general gardening purposes" (G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Word Book*, London, 1879, p. 237). In the present context it was probably used for carrying earth and stones.
11. S. and B. Webb, *King's Highway*, p. 48.
12. Quoted by the Webbs, *King's Highway*, p. 51.
13. R. Ll. Kenyon, Sir Offley Wakeman, Bt., and R. G. Venables, *Abstract of the Orders made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire*, n.d., Vol. I, p. 214; Vol. II, pp. 9, 64-66, 68.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION
IN THE PARISH OF OSWESTRY*

BY P. H. GOODMAN, B.LITT., M.A.

The parish of Oswestry in the eighteenth century consisted of the borough of Oswestry (referred to as Oswestry Town) and the country districts to the south, east and west (Oswestry Parish). In 1737, these districts were arranged in four groups, as follows:—

1. Aston, Hisland, Middleton and Wootton.
2. Llanforda, Trefarclawdd, Pentregaer and Cynynion (sometimes called the Upper Division).
3. Sweeney, Weston Cotton, Treflach and Trefonen (sometimes called the Lower Division).
4. Crickheath, Maesbury and Moreton.

Each group was under the supervision of an overseer, and there are instances of women holding this office: for instance, in 1797 one of the overseers for the Lower Division was Mary Jones, and in 1806 the widow of Bell Edwards Jones held this office for the Upper Division of the parish.

Material for a study of poor law administration is provided mainly by the Overseers' Account Books which cover the whole parish outside the town for the period 1728 to 1737, Group 1 for the period 1768 to 1799, Group 2 for the period 1737 to 1759 and 1789 to 1816, and Group 3 for the years 1784 to 1816. No accounts survive either for the town itself or for the Crickheath-Maesbury division after 1737, and the books themselves have in places been mutilated. Another source is the Vestry Minute Book for 1781 to 1809, which relates to the Town as well as the Parish. The Churchwardens' Accounts also contain some items which deal with the poor. These materials are kept in the Parish Church, and thanks are due to the former Vicar of Oswestry, Prebendary A. R. Vincent, and to the present Vicar, the Reverend T. O. Boulton, for having given facilities for their use and transcription. The other important source for this study is the Minute Book of the Directors of the Poor for the Oswestry Incorporation, Volume I (1791-1800), which is in the County Record Office at Shrewsbury.

The greater part of the parish was an agricultural area, though farming in the scattered upland hamlets beyond Offa's Dyke to the west of the town must have differed considerably from that in the more fertile lowland area to the east. In the Morda valley to the south coal had been mined since 1600, and there were also brick works. In the later eighteenth century there was some industrialisation at Morda, where the river provided power for calico-printing and woollen mills. There was also a fulling mill at Llanforda.¹

The system of poor relief in the eighteenth century was based on the Elizabethan Acts which had made each parish responsible for the support of its poor by a rate

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levied on property owners and had given charge of the poor to Churchwardens and Overseers. Under the Act of 1601, the aged and ill were to be given money, food and clothing; orphan children were to be apprenticed; the unemployed were to be found work. This last provision proved so difficult to carry out, in country districts especially, that in the eighteenth century the parish authorities tended to concentrate on the task of relieving (or trying to prevent) poverty by paying rent or allowances or giving occasional sums of money for a variety of purposes. All payments were entered in the overseers' account books (which an Act of 1693 obliged them to keep). The records for Oswestry show examples of the more usual payments, as well as some less usual ones such as a payment of 3/- to one Elizabeth Thomas "to get the children's cloaths out of pawn", and the loan of 5/- in 1785 to a glazier to help him to go to Birmingham to look for work.

In Oswestry, as in other parishes, the most usual form of relief given to those who were not in the workhouse was a weekly allowance. This varied in Oswestry from 6d. a week (found both in 1736 and 1790) to 4/- a week, though this sum seems to have been given to a large family and it was reduced to 3/6d. after the death of a child. These amounts are similar to those generally given in the Midlands and South of England in the early eighteenth century, though in the North rates were lower². Many of these allowances must have been to supplement wages, especially where a family was large, but it is obvious that many old people had to live entirely on a weekly dole supplemented by occasional extra sums of money from the overseers. Prices began to rise steadily after 1760³, but in Oswestry there seems to be no noticeable increase in the size of allowances between 1740 and 1760, though the number of allowances and of supplementary payments made by the overseers was greater by the later date. By 1790, the overseers, instead of paying allowances by the year as they had done earlier, were paying them for a few weeks at a time and adjusting them when necessary. In this way they reduced the necessity for supplementary payments.

The parish boarded-out orphan or illegitimate children too young to work, sometimes with people already receiving poor relief. In Oswestry the amount allowed for their keep varied from 6d. to 1/6 a week, the latter sum being usual by 1790. In 1734 the sum of £3 was allowed for the maintenance for a year of "a child found on the open road at Wootton", evidently abandoned by its parents in the hope that the parish would maintain it; a not unusual occurrence in the eighteenth century.

Parish relief was frequently sought as a result of illness. The Oswestry overseers would pay a weekly allowance to a family in which the breadwinner was ill, and there are instances of payments to a woman to look after a family during the illness of the mother. In 1775 there is a payment to "Mary Prichard when her children ad the smalpox". In the earlier part of the period there were occasional payments for medical treatment. In 1731, Mary Goodall of Wootton was allowed £2 towards "the cure of her leg" by a doctor at "Llanvilling"(Llanfyllin), and the overseers also paid for her keep during treatment and for "a man and horse to fetch her back". When the Widow Francis's boy broke his thigh twice in 1768 the parish paid the doctor £2. By 1786 the parish realised the advantage of having the poor treated by contract, as in that year they appointed a surgeon and apothecary to attend "the Out- and In-Poor" and supply "proper physic and surgical applications" for the sum of £10 a year. In 1793 the salary allowed was £8 and one guinea for each obstetrical

case. The Vestry in 1793 laid it down that although other doctors could be paid for their attendance in emergencies, the subsequent care of the patient was to be handed over to the parish doctor. Insanity presented a problem to the authorities⁴. In 1787 the Vestry decided to enquire at Chester and at Bilston about their "terms of taking in Lunaticks or Insane persons under their care weekly or otherways" and to send Mary Davies, at that time in the workhouse, to one of these places. It was probably Bilston, for in 1799 they sent another woman there.

Clothing was another form of relief. By 1780 the overseers were apparently making more grants for this than they had done in 1740, and this may indicate an increasing need to supplement the regular allowances. The number of grants for clothing seems to vary in the different parts of the parish, but this may be due to a difference in the overseers' methods of recording. The overseers' accounts for Sweeney, Trefonen and Treflach in 1784 show money given only for one yard of flannel and one pair of second-hand shoes. However, they paid out many other small sums, some of which may have gone towards clothes. In 1790 the overseers for Llanforda, Trefarclawdd and Pentregaer provided money for shoes, clogs, stockings, cloth, "grey flannel for a Bedgown and Pettycoat", hats and breeches, as well as clothing

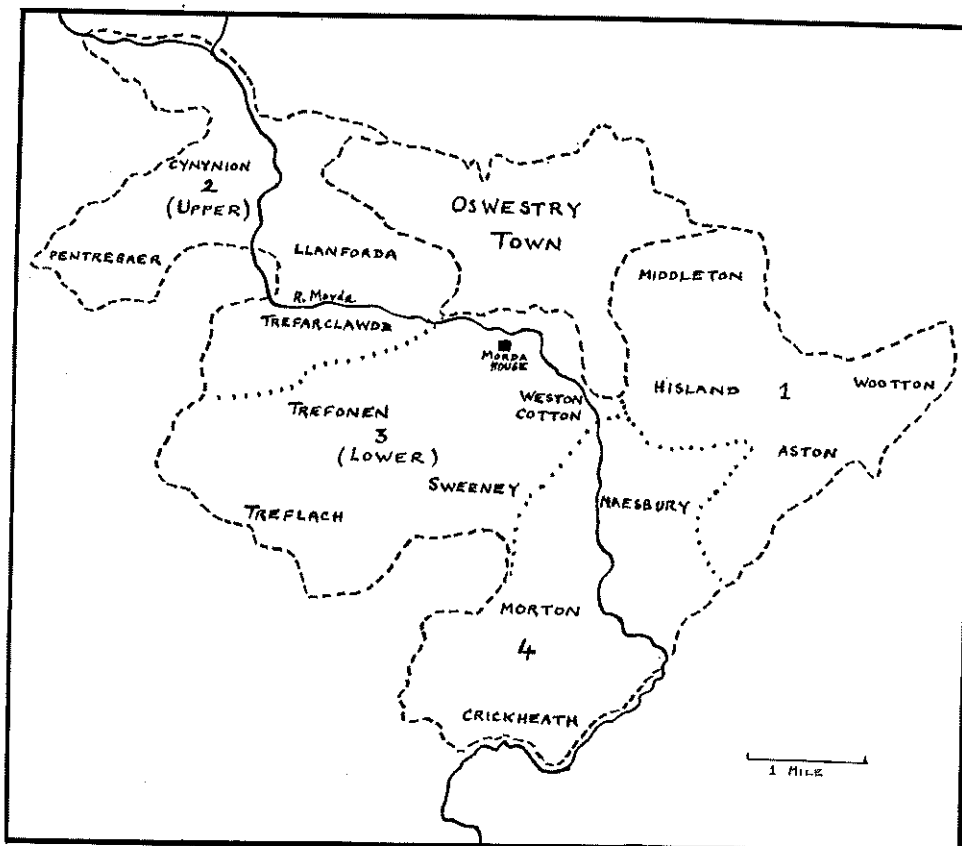


FIG. 1.—The Parish of Oswestry, showing Divisions made for Poor Law purposes.

for two apprentices. The scope of this is shown by the provision made for "David Davies's boy" of Llanforda:—

2½ yards of cloth	2	3d.
Cloth & Trimmings	11	1d.
Making clothes	3	0d.
1 pair stockings		9d.
2 shirts	1	0d.
1 pair shoes	3	10d.
1 pair shoes	4	3d.

Other overseers are found giving money for shoe-repairs, stays (5/2d.1), shifts, aprons and handkerchiefs.

The poor were also helped with lodging and fuel. Paupers had their rents paid, and these ranged from 15/- to £3 a year, both sums found in 1782. There must have been some houses in the town specially for the occupation of the poor, since in 1804 the Vestry decided that they should be vacated by Lady Day 1805 and re-let at their full value. There are two examples in 1790 of payments for lodgings. As both are made for women, it may be that they were widows boarding with people who themselves were receiving poor relief, as this was common practice in the 18th century⁵. The overseers might go to some length to keep a roof over the head of a family, as is shown in the accounts of 1755 for Llanforda which contain payments made for repairing "Margaret Lewis her house". These comprise:—

Lime and carriage	5/-
Mason work	7/6
Carpenter	11/6
4 thraves ⁶ of straw and carriage of it	8/-
300 of twigs and rods for minding the roof	1/-
thatching and attending	
3 days at 1/8 a day	5/-
cutting and carrying 12 Horse loads of ferns for thatching	2/6
carry timber	1/-
1 Thrave of straw for mending old thach and for mending old	
wolles and carrying sand	1/6
nails,	1/4
27 ft. of timber at 4d. a foot	9/-

The next year the overseers for the same division paid Edward Williams of Cynynion "for the Room of Robert Howel and family when his house was repaired". Furniture was occasionally provided; for instance in 1784 Edward Edwards of Sweeney received a pot and pothooks (3/4d.), a chair (10d.), a table (1/6), a pail (2/-), a shovel (3/4d) and two "wrappers for a bed" (3/10). The poor also received coal. There is an interesting comparison between the accounts for the Aston division of the parish and those for Trefonen and Sweeney. The Aston regular poor were provided with cartloads of coal at 15/- the load, but in Trefonen and Sweeney payments for coal were rare and then only amounted to 6d. or 2/-. Probably there was coal to be picked up near the mines in the Morda Valley.

In the later part of the eighteenth century payments of money for food are recorded, potatoes, wheat and barley being the usual items. One would like to know what lay behind the entry in 1784 for Sweeney: "Gave Gwen Phillips's child a shoulder of Mutton, 10d."

The parish might bear the cost, or part of the cost, of a funeral. Funeral expenses like others, rose during the century. In 1740, when a coffin cost 5/- and a shroud 2/6, the usual cost of an Oswestry funeral was 14/4d. By 1782 a payment of 25/- was recorded. The authorities were not miserly on these occasions. Bells would be tolled and money was given for drink, and when this item does not appear in the accounts they include the payment of 1/- or 2/- to the bearers—which presumably came to the same thing. The funeral expenses of Tabitha Parry of Cynynion in 1737 are typical of the parish:—

Paid for leying her out	00 - 01 - 00
for a Coffin	00 - 05 - 00
for a srowd	00 - 02 - 00
Paid the Vicar	00 - 01 - 04
the Clark and Secston	00 - 01 - 06
her daughter for attendance	00 - 00 - 06
for Drink	00 - 01 - 02

An example of the working of the system of outdoor relief in Oswestry parish is provided by the records relating to the family of Richard Francis, a coalminer of Sweeney, and his family between 1784 and 1793. In 1784 and 1786 occasional payments were made by the overseers to Richard Francis or his wife, Mary. In 1787 Richard Francis was given an allowance of 2/- a week for nine weeks and on three occasions was given wheat and barley as well. These payments may have been the result of illness. In the same year, Mary Francis was provided with "flannel against her lying-in" and in April the midwife received 2/6 for her services. The addition to the family caused an increase in their allowance from 2/6 to 3/- a week, and they also received money to buy corn and 8/- for children's clothing. In January, 1788, Richard Francis was "killed in Sir Watkin's coalworks", and his funeral cost the parish 11/6. The number and size of the payments subsequently made to his widow suggest that she may have been hard to refuse. The overseers in 1788 paid three years' rent for her and allowed her 3/- a week. This was not, however, the full extent of the help given. Apart from several small sums, she received in 1788 one shilling to pay a workman to hedge her garden, 3/- to buy seed potatoes for the garden, and in July, ten thraves of straw costing £1 to thatch her cottage. The family also needed clothes. Mary Francis received money for shoes and stockings for the children, as well as for shoe-repairs. For herself she had 2/4d. for two yards of linsey for a bedgown, which no doubt proved useful during her illness in January and February, 1789. In these two months the overseers paid the family sums amounting to £1 3s. 4d., as well as supplying coal. During the rest of 1789 Mary Francis received a weekly allowance of 3/- which rose to 3/6, additional money totalling £1 14s. 6d., and shoes, shirting and linsey for the children. The parish also paid her arrears of rent. In 1790 her allowance was increased to 4/3d. a week, and the overseers gave her corn and more money for clothing the children. In September, 1790, the sum of £1 0s. 6d. is recorded for clothing one of her daughters—probably put out to service. Mary Francis died in September, 1790; the parish paid a woman to attend her and watch by her, and

her funeral cost 19/8d. An allowance of 3/- a week was continued to her children, who also received clothing. The parish then made arrangements for their future. One girl "at service with Mr. Hayward" was clothed for 8/-, two were to be boarded-out at 2/9d. a week and one at 1/6d. a week, and the remaining girl, Sarah, was to be apprenticed to Ellis Jones, a farmer. No doubt the younger children eventually went into the new House of Industry.

One of the tasks of the parish authorities was to apprentice the children of the poor. "In the country, the majority of the children were placed out with the neighbouring farmers for the sake of their labour . . . or if not bound to farm service the boys would be apprenticed to the local craftsmen. They were taken for the sake of their labour rather than for the relatively small premiums offered with them"⁸. Jonas Hanway's Act of 1767, which had originally been intended to protect London apprentices and which was applied in 1778 to the rest of the country, laid it down that the premium paid to an employer should not be less than £4 2s. 0d., half being payable after seven weeks and the rest at the end of three years. This was done in order to protect the apprentice from bad treatment and exploitation by his employer⁹. In Oswestry, however, it appears from the entries in the Vestry Book that the usual allowance given with a parish apprentice was £2 10s. 0d. Sometimes the apprentice would be equipped with "decent cloathing at the discretion of the officers" though in 1798 this was forbidden by the Directors of the Poor. There is some evidence that the parish found difficulty in placing its apprentices. In 1785 the Vestry decided to clothe John, son of Lydia Turner, a pauper, and apprentice him to Messrs. Crompton and Byers of Manchester. In May, 1788, it was decided to advertise in the Shrewsbury paper that the parish had children available as apprentices. Whether this had any effect is not known. Oswestry tradesmen at this time who accepted apprentices included a tailor, a butcher, a watch-maker, a stays-maker and a shoemaker. In February, 1788, the Vestry took the unusual step of apprenticing Vincent Boodle, son of Edward Boodle, a shoemaker, to his own father for five years. As the boy was to be "cloathed immediately" and his father was to receive one guinea in hand and one guinea at the end of the year, it may be that this was done in order to prevent both father and son from falling on the rates. The apprentices mentioned in the Vestry Book were all boys, but the overseers in the country districts record the apprenticeship of girls, presumably put out to service with farmers or townspeople. The employment of children from the House of Industry in Morda after 1792 presented a problem. In 1798 the Overseers were instructed to find suitable people to receive as apprentices children from the House, which suggests that the Act of 1697, which gave the parish officials the power to force people to take apprentices, was being invoked. In 1801 instructions were given to keep the children in the workhouse for another twelve months "unless an opportunity occurs to place them out to advantage." It must have been a boon to the parish authorities when the Manchester firm of Warren, Roberts and Co. began the printing and dyeing of calico at Morda in 1803. They were willing to take parish apprentices and other children from 14 to 21 years of age, and in 1804 the parish agreed on wages for their apprentices. These began at 1/- a week for a child of 7, rising by 3d. a week for every year of the child's age until at 13 a wage of 2/6d. was given. This factory continued until the slump in 1818 forced it to close down¹⁰.

The parish was supposed to provide employment for adults, as well as apprentice children. There are a few entries in the Oswestry overseers' accounts which record payments for the weaving of cloth (in 1786 and 1788) and also the purchase of a spinning wheel (in 1786). The most interesting item of this type is a resolution of the Vestry in February, 1785, that the overseers "shall buy 2 asses for John Humphreys, a pauper belonging to this town, now living in Salop". (John Humphreys did not live long enough to make much use of the animals; the Vestry in August, 1786, is found ordering the payment of 30/- a year to his widow towards her rent). From the scarcity of such entries relating to the provision of work for individuals it may be deduced that Oswestry, like the majority of the parishes in the eighteenth century, came to depend on the workhouse as a means of providing employment for the poor.

The origins of the workhouse in Oswestry are obscure. In 1691 the Corporation gave its consent to a scheme to encourage the manufacture of linen in the town. They agreed to provide a workhouse and warehouse in the Town Hall and promised that there would be at least 100 people available for employment in spinning and weaving¹¹. Nothing more is known of this scheme, which resembles other late seventeenth-century efforts to employ the poor, but the assignment of the Town Hall to such a use suggests that there was no workhouse existing in Oswestry at that date. The early part of the eighteenth century saw a general increase in the number of workhouses established, an increase marked, rather than inaugurated, by the Workhouse Test Act of 1722, which allowed parishes to unite to build workhouses and empowered overseers to withhold relief from those who refused to enter them. In 1737 the Vestry spent £32 of a "Leagesy left by the late Reverend Mr. Thomas Owen, Vicker of the Parish & Mr. Daniel Poole, Late School Mr." on repairs to a house in Church Street for the use of the poor¹². In 1748 the Overseers' accounts for the Upper Division of the parish recorded a payment of £2 8s. 0d. to Edward Lloyd of Llwynymaen for his house "as was set to the use of the poor". Here we seem to see the beginnings of the Town and Country workhouses referred to in the records of the time. An inventory exists of goods in the Country workhouse in May, 1776 (*see Appendix*). This does not suggest either a very large establishment or that much work was being done there, as there were only four spinning wheels. That this workhouse was furnished only when the need arose is suggested by the fact that in 1772 the Overseers paid 5d. for the lodging of one Mary Edwards "till the Bed was ready". By the time she gave birth to her child there, the workhouse had been stocked with nine yards of sheeting costing 6/9d., seven yards of cloth for bolster and bed (3/9½d) and a bedstead and rug. The location of the Country Workhouse is not known, but a resolution of 27 January, 1788, in the Vestry Book suggests that it was at that time actually in the town: "We the Inhabitants and Parishioners of the said Town do now Order and agree that the Paupers of the Parish of Oswestry which are now in this Town be immediately removed and that proper steps be taken to prevent in future the Workhouse of the said Parish being kept within the said Town or Liberties". The resolution also authorised the Town overseers to sue the Parish overseers if they offended in future. Meanwhile the Town had provided accommodation for its poor by purchasing in 1781 the old Grammar School adjoining the churchyard. For this the Vestry borrowed £126 from Swinnerton's Charity¹³, then lent out to the Turnpike Commissioners, and in 1783 they arranged to have a 9-foot brick wall built to separate it

from the churchyard. At first the poor in this workhouse appear to have been farmed out to a contractor, William Winstanley, who was at first allowed 1/6d. a week for each person, and later 1/8d. which eventually was increased to 1/10d. In 1783, however, the Vestry decided to advertise for a governor of the workhouse. John Hughes and his wife were appointed to this office in May, 1785, and in June, 1786, they were succeeded by John Penrhyn who was to receive a salary of five guineas a year and support for himself, his wife, and their two children.

Oswestry was undoubtedly influenced by the Act of 1782, called Gilbert's Act, which granted parishes the right to combine and to build workhouses for the reception of the aged and infirm while the able-bodied poor were to be found work outside. During the 1780's, as shown by the Vestry Book, aged people and widows were being presented with two alternatives, to have their allowances either reduced or stopped, or to go into the workhouse. In January, 1791, it was decided, after consultation with the neighbouring parishes to petition Parliament for a private Act¹⁴ to allow the parishes in the Hundred of Oswestry (Oswestry, St. Martin's, West Felton, Selattyn, Whittington, Ruyton, Kinnerley, Knockin, Llanymynech and Llanyblodwel) to unite to build a public workhouse. This Act gave the management of the poor in the House of Industry to Directors of the Poor elected in each parish by £30 landowners and £10 ratepayers. Oswestry Town and Parish were separately represented. The Act also authorised the Directors to buy land, buildings and furnishings for a workhouse. Clause 11 of the Act provided that the Directors "shall and may receive, order and compel all and every idle and disorderly person or persons, who . . . shall neglect or refuse to maintain or shall leave . . . their families, not being afterwards able to maintain themselves, and also all other people who shall beg, seek or want relief for the time being . . . to come in, work, dwell and inhabit in the said House of Industry, and to detail, keep, maintain, and employ all such . . . so long as it shall appear to the said Directors that such poor persons are not of ability sufficiently to maintain and provide for themselves". All fit persons in the workhouse were to work for their keep, and the industrious poor were to be rewarded out of the profits of such work "so as no part of the money to be distributed shall be expended in the purchase of unwholesome or unnecessary liquors". Children were to remain in the charge of the Directors until the age of 14, when they were to be apprenticed, but below that age they could be hired out for corn- and hay-harvesting. The Churchwardens and Overseers of the various parishes were to pay to the Directors all money received except that which the Directors could allow them to keep for the occasional relief of "such Poor as cannot, on account of some sickness or accident, be removed to the said House of Industry", and for expenses incurred for funerals or for removals. The Act also empowered the Directors to make bye-laws.

The first meeting of the Directors took place at the Oswestry Guildhall on 1 August, 1791. The next two and a half years they spent in buying land and building and equipping the House of Industry. The land, at Morda, cost £720, the building nearly ten times that sum. It was built of brick and stone quarried from Sweeney Mountain, and John Hiram Haycock, the County Surveyor, superintended the work. Although much of the furniture was to be provided from the small workhouses within the Incorporation, the Directors, in January, 1794, ordered 50 bedsteads, and sheets, blankets and coverlets for them. In March, 1794, they ordered the overseers of the

various parishes to send their poor to the house "with good, new cloathing." Men were each to be provided with a coat, waistcoat, breeches, two shirts, two pairs of stockings, shoes and a hat. Women were each to have two caps, two handkerchiefs, two shifts, two aprons, one bedgown, three petticoats, two pairs of stockings, shoes and a hat. Before the paupers entered the House during the week beginning 20 April, 1794, the Directors had appointed staff for the House. Thomas Cooper was to be Governor at a salary of £70 p.a., his wife, Maria, was to be Matron at a salary of £30 p.a. They were also to receive £5 a year for each of their children over the age of one year. A Baker, a Brewer and a Porter had been engaged for 7/- a week each, with board, lodging and washing. During April the Directors appointed a Chaplain at a salary of £20, and in May, Edward Evans was engaged to teach the children in the House psalm-singing on Tuesdays, Fridays and Sundays—this for £5 a year. A Surgeon-Apothecary was also appointed to attend the poor in the House, though there were still enough out-poor in the Incorporation for the Directors to arrange that Thomas Puleston should attend them and act as Man-Midwife for £42 a year.

While the Directors were supervising the erection of the workhouse, the Town overseers had been trying to employ their poor by contracting with the Liverpool firm of Pryce, Henderson and Pryce to rent them in the north-west end of the prison building for the purpose of wool-manufacturing (June, 1793). It is not known whether this scheme came to anything. In June, 1794, the Directors were ordering a carding and a "scribbling" machine for the workhouse from a Rochdale firm. In October they appointed one David Davies to superintend the manufactures in the House, and the year's bills included one of £42 for wool.

In its early years the Oswestry House of Industry faced difficulties which were not entirely the fault of the Directors. War, heavy taxation and a run of bad harvests combined to increase the numbers of the poor and the prices of food and necessities for them. The Directors' Minute Book during the 1790's begins to show traces of the attitude later attacked by Dickens in *Oliver Twist*. To save expense a number of measures were adopted. In 1795 the infirm poor were to be removed to the east end of the House. In 1798 the expense of removing paupers from the parishes was to be reduced by providing a light cart to be drawn by the horse belonging to the House. This might be justified by the saving on the considerable claims made by the Constables for hire of horses and for sustenance of them and their riders, but no such excuse can be made for the action of the Directors in 1799, when they forbade the supply of handkerchiefs to the children in the House, and in 1800, when they halved the gratuities paid to the poor for work there. These measures were the result of a financial crisis. In November, 1799, the Treasurer reported a shortage of cash because about £700 worth of cloth remained unsold. In March, 1800, when the cloth had still not been sold—owing to the depression resulting from a bad harvest—the Directors were forced to borrow £250 to tide themselves over until the Overseers paid in the poor-rates. The most obvious examples of severity and, indeed, of inhumanity, resulted, however, from the determination of the Directors not to increase the number of those needing poor relief.

This leads to a consideration of the working of the 1662 Law of Settlement which empowered Overseers to remove from the parish within forty days of arrival anyone likely to become chargeable to the rates. This might have seriously affected the mobility

of labour, but after 1697 it was customary for a man to leave his parish to find work with a certificate in which his native parish agreed to support him should he need poor relief. This reduced the numbers of removals and expulsions, but in Oswestry, as elsewhere, the Overseers' and Churchwardens' accounts show a number of removals, generally of men with families or of single women. The Overseers usually hastened to remove the latter, especially if they were pregnant, since illegitimate children took the settlement, not of the father or mother, but of the parish in which they were born. The Oswestry Act of 1791, however, provided that they should take the settlement of their mothers, and this proved an additional incentive to hasten these women out of the parish if they had a settlement elsewhere or to take strong measures against them if they were natives of the district—measures such as the chain and log put on the leg of "Red Moll" in 1795 to stop her from straying out of the House, and the designing in 1799 of a distinctive dress for such women to wear in the workhouse to impress them with "a due sense of their improper conduct". Where the father could be traced he was expected to support the child or to compensate the parish. In the 1790's, sums paid in compensation in Oswestry varied between ten and sixteen guineas. If the authorities hoped to make a profit out of such transactions it boded ill for the children.

It is not possible to draw any conclusions from the number of removals from Oswestry as the records are so incomplete. In the accounts that survive, 29 removals are recorded between 1771 and 1792, of 13 men and 16 women. Most of these were to neighbouring parishes, until 1791 when the incorporation made such removals unnecessary.

An unusual, more distant and very much more expensive removal is recorded in 1786, when Joseph Watson and his family were transferred to Derby at a cost of £13 3s. 1d. The details are interesting enough to be quoted in full:

1785,	Dec. 30.	Pd. for the examination of Joseph Watson & Order of Removal to Darby...	...	...	4.	6.
1786,		Rel'd Joseph Watson	...	...	5.	6.
	Jan. 19.	Pd. for Joseph Watson and family eating	...	...	1.	0.
		Pd. in Removing Do. at the Half Moon in Salop & Bill	...	...	5.	6.
		Do. at Haygate	...	...	11.	0.
		Do. at Newport	...	...	5.	7.
		Do. at Cheadle	...	...	5.	10.
		Do. Kings Arms Eccleshall	...	...	11.	4.
		Do. Blasin Star	...	...	1.	5. 2.
		Do. Ashburn	...	...	3.	7.
		Do. Stone	...	...	13.	0.
		Do. Swan in Winster	...	...	4.	5.
		Do. Newhaven	...	...	11.	6.
		Paid at Hartington Derbyshire	...	...	7.	10.
		Do. Bottom House, Staffordshire	...	...	2.	10.
		Do. Drayton	...	...	3.	8.
		Do. Newcastle	...	...	8.	4.
		Do. Wem	...	...	8.	5½
		Do. Ellesmere	...	...	4.	0½
		To 3 Horses 8 days at 5/- each Horse for each Day	6.	0.	0.	

Frequently in the eighteenth century there were disputes between parishes over their obligations, and these had to be decided by the magistrates. During the period 1743 to 1805 the Shropshire Court of Quarter Sessions made orders in twenty cases where settlements were disputed between Oswestry and other parishes. Oswestry brought three cases against other parishes, two of which were decided in Oswestry's favour. Seventeen appeals were made against Oswestry of which only four were successful¹⁵. Cases concerning Oswestry may have been dealt with by the Justices of other counties, but the small number of cases coming before the Shropshire Quarter Sessions suggests that the Churchwardens and Overseers of Oswestry were not unduly litigious.

The eighteenth century saw a marked rise in the cost of poor law administration. The figures for Oswestry Parish demonstrate the increase. In 1729 (a year which followed a bad harvest and a severe winter) the disbursements of the Overseers totalled £146 4d. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. After the Act of 1791, the parishes of the Incorporation had to furnish the Directors with the average sum spent on poor relief during the previous seven years. The annual average for Oswestry Parish for the period 1783-1790 was reported as £574 5s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Even this, however, compares favourably with the amount spent during the third quarter of 1800 (also a year following a bad harvest and a severe winter) which was £362 19s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. This amount had to be found by a community which numbered 3,167 in the 1801 census, and there can be little doubt that the system imposed a great strain on those who had to pay. The sole source of income for Oswestry Parish was the Poor rate, though the Town had money from charities such as those of Yale and Phillips, which provided for the distribution of bread and cloth to the poor¹⁶. The poor rate was levied on land, and sometimes very small parcels of it. The Overseers' Accounts for the four townships of Sweeney, Weston, Trefonen and Treflach during the period December, 1786, to April, 1787, show how the finances worked. In December, 1786, a poor rate of 1/- in the £ was levied, and in January, 1787, another rate of 2/- in the £ was decided on. The results are shown in the following table:

Township	Amount produced by Rate of 3/- in £.	Total Paid Out	No. of Ratepayers	No. of Regular Poor	Surplus
Sweeney	£88. 18. 9	£88. 11. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	24	£0. 6. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Weston	£53. 10. 3	£40. 15. 8	15	6	£12. 14. 7
Trefonen	£33. 15. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	£32. 7. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	13	£1. 7. 10
Treflach	£30. 12. 9	£19. 2. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	4	£11. 10. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

Practically all the surplus money went to the support of the workhouse and the Overseers were left with a balance of 5/7d. It can therefore be seen that Sweeney and Trefonen could not support all their poor. This table does not show the total number of ratepayers, which was 66, since several people paid rates on parcels of land scattered through the four townships. The total of 66 ratepayers can be compared with that of 47 people in receipt of regular allowances, and of these more than half came from Sweeney. The narrow margins shown by these figures meant that the poor rate had to rise with every increase in costs, so that while the total poor rate levied in 1787 was 3/- in the £, it rose to 3/6d. in 1790, 4/- in 1793 (though it fell to 1/9d. in 1794),

4/5d. in 1797, and in 1800 it reached its peak of 5/2d. The small number of landowners or occupiers of land had much to complain of.

These increases in costs can be attributed partly, though not wholly, to two factors common to Shropshire and the rest of England, the increase of population (especially after 1750)¹⁷ and the rise in prices which resulted from that increase and the consequent pressure on food and consumer goods. Bad harvests also influenced expenditure. It is interesting to note that the years in the 1790's when the cost of poor relief was highest (1790-1, 1793-4, 1796-7, 1800-1) were the years following bad harvests (1789, 1792, 1795, 1799)¹⁸, not the years in which they occurred. This suggests that it took some time for shortages to be felt. The same relationship is seen between good harvests and low expenditure on poor relief. Rising prices and population increases, however, cannot wholly account for the fact that Oswestry's total expenditure on poor relief in 1800 was at least five times what it had been in 1740 (also a year which was preceded by a bad harvest and a severe winter). The cost of food and clothing does not seem to have increased to the same degree. For example, in London in 1740 the quartern loaf cost 7¼d., and in 1800 it cost 1/5½.¹⁹ and the Overseers' accounts for Oswestry do not show any appreciable increase in the prices recorded for clothing between 1772 and 1794. The increasing cost of Oswestry's poor relief during the last quarter of the eighteenth century was probably due to two additional causes. Firstly, outdoor relief of all kinds seems to have been given more extensively and possibly more generously by the country overseers as the century progressed. Secondly, there was the huge expense of building and equipping the new House of Industry, and of running an establishment larger than any previous one. There is little doubt that the Directors were alarmed at the amount of money they had to handle and were quite unfitted to deal with the problems that arose. In spite of their attempts at economy, the amount required for the House increased steadily as did the demand for outdoor relief in years of distress such as 1800.

There is a contemporary comment on the working of the poor law in Oswestry in the early nineteenth century. In 1811 was founded the "Society for bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor within the Hundred of Oswestry". This Society was supported by charitable subscriptions and it aimed to increase independence and self-reliance among the labouring poor by such measures as the provision of schools, the repair and improvement of cottages, the founding of Friendly Societies and a Savings Bank, and the award of money prizes to those who exhibited proof of thrift or industry. Its Seventh Report²⁰, published in 1819, contained a sharp attack on the national system of poor relief "by which millions of the poor are now become wholly or partly dependent on parish aid", and particularly on its practice in Oswestry. "The immense establishment called the House of Industry (though it ill deserves that name)" was condemned on a number of counts. The large population of the House—in 1818 it averaged 673—with no incentive and little opportunity to work, was one in which bad and idle habits prevailed. This situation would have a particularly unfortunate effect on the children "who seldom become good and useful members of Society." The report also criticised the standard of living in the House, which, it considered, was better than that of the labourer outside, and this treatment discouraged industry and foresight. "There was a time indeed when

a very strong aversion to the House existed generally among the Poor, and they would in many cases have endured the greatest hardships rather than have undergone the disgrace of entering its walls. But this feeling is now almost wholly extinct. The good treatment which they experience . . . (has) reconciled them to the disgrace of pauperism". The remedy suggested in the Report was that paupers should be placed "in worse circumstances and on coarser diet than laborious independent workmen". The report also criticised the assessment of the poor rate for the injustices it produced, and quoted from the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* figures which purported to show that while the ratepayers of Chirk, in contributing the sum of £417 1s. 0d., were paying £59 11s. 6¾d. for each of the seven Chirk paupers in the House of Industry, Whittington ratepayers in contributing £148 4s. 1d., were paying only at the rate of £2 8s. 7d. for each of the 61 Whittington paupers. The report then furnished another objection: "The establishment has failed in economy, that is, in the very object for which it was originally erected", but "the main point to be considered and provided for, is the happiness of the Poor, and if this could be purchased with money, money ought not to be spared. It should be withheld only when the consequences of its expenditure are clearly proved to be ruinous. The preceding remarks are offered to the Society, because it is conceived that nothing so materially obstructs the improvement of the Poor as the prevailing system of their management throughout the country, and particularly the great establishment of the House of Industry in this neighbourhood".

Poor law administration in Oswestry before 1790 did not differ in any marked degree from that in the majority of English parishes in the eighteenth century. The practice of giving regular allowances was well established, and there was considerable variety in the kind of outdoor relief given. The Overseers' accounts seem to show that in Oswestry the system was humane; there is no trace of the practice of distinguishing those in receipt of parish relief by badges²¹. One would, moreover, expect a certain amount of generosity on the part of Overseers who must quite often, in such a small community, have been related to those who sought relief. Occasionally an Overseer would be censured for extravagance, but it was the system itself, in its dependence on people who had no skill or training for the task they had undertaken for a year at a time, which was open to wastefulness and even corruption. The Act of 1791, allowing Oswestry to combine with the neighbouring parishes to build a general workhouse, was obviously an attempt to achieve a more uniform, and therefore more economical system of dealing with the poor. Unfortunately, the new Directors of the Poor were just as unfitted for their task as the Overseers had been for theirs. The Directors were responsible for an ambitious programme of capital expenditure at a time made particularly unfavourable by war and bad harvests, and in their attempts to tidy up, by consigning nearly all the poor to the workhouse and stopping nearly all outdoor relief, they imposed a very heavy burden on themselves and the parishes they served. The Oswestry House of Industry, which in some respects anticipated the Union workhouses of the New Poor Law, was a telling argument in favour of the centralized supervision and control of local poor law authorities introduced by the Act of 1834.

APPENDIX

May ye 14th 1776.

*An Inventory of what Goods are then
in Workhouse.*

Acct. of Goods in the kitchen

- One long Table and three benches.
- One grate, three shilves, two Dishes.
- 1 pair of tongs.
- 2 pairs of pot racks, 1 Frying pan.

Acct. of Goods in the other kitchen

- 2 benches, 1 Shilfe
- 1 boylar, 2 Porn Pots, 1 Turnil, three little wheels.
- 3 Stooles

Goods in the butery

- 1 Shilfe.

Goods in the first Room Upstairs

- 3 pairs of bed steeds
- 3 Chaf beds, 10 blankets & 1 Rug, 5 sheets and 4 bouldsters
- 1 Coffe & 1 Wheel.

Goods in the second Room Upstairs

- 3 pairs of bed steeds
- 2 Chaffbeds, 7 blankets, 1 Rug, 4 Sheets
- 1 Table, 1 Coffe, 1 bench, 1 stoole.

Goods in the third Room upstairs

- 2 pairs of bed steeds, 2 beds, 3 bouldsters,
- 6 blankets, 2 Rugs, 1 blanket, 1 Rug more
- 4 sheets, 1 Coffe, 1 Rug, 3 stools, 1 box.

(Extract from Overseers' Accounts, 1768-1799, for Aston, Hisland, Middleton, Wootton.)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. R. D. Thomas, *Industries of the Morda Valley* (Oswestry, 1939), pp. 7-9.
2. D. Marshall, *The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century* (1926), pp. 92-5.
3. T. S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800* (1959), pp. 22-6.
4. Marshall, pp. 118-20.
5. Marshall, p. 211.
6. A thrave was 24 sheaves (G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Word Book*, 1879).
7. Shropshire Parish Registers, Oswestry, Vol. IV, p. 127.
8. Marshall, p. 194.
9. Marshall, pp. 204-5.
10. Thomas, pp. 25-6.
11. Oswestry Corporation Records, Mayor's Book, f. 23.

12. I. Watkin, *Oswestry* (1920), pp. 231-2, records this transaction, but with two errors. He records the house as being in Cross Street and the money as coming from Swinnerton's Charity.
13. They never repaid this sum, but used the money realised by the sale of the house in 1808 to procure an Act to light and pave the town. *Report of the Commissioners to enquire concerning Charities—Salop* (1819-37), p. 433.
14. 31 Geo. III, cap. 24.
15. *Shropshire County Records*, Vols. 2 & 3. Abstracts of the Orders made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire.
16. *Report of Charity Commissioners*, pp. 237-9, 429.
17. J. P. Dodd, "The State of Agriculture in Shropshire, 1775-1825", *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 1954, p. 7.
18. Ashton, pp. 24-6; Dodd, pp. 9-14.
19. Ashton, p. 181.
20. *Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, 1812-1817* (Oswestry, n.d.), pp. 129-147.
21. Marshall, pp. 102-3.

MISCELLANEA

SUTTON FARM, WEST FELTON

BY DOROTHY CHARLESWORTH

Mr. T. W. Rogers recently drew the attention of the Ministry of Works to some surprising architectural features on a barn at Sutton Farm and I was asked to report on the building. The barn forms part of the north range of farm buildings and has been added to at both ends. It is a plain rectangular gabled building of local stone and on its west face, looking onto the broad farmyard is a blocked central door, flanked on either side by a mullioned window. Over the windows and door are ogee heads lined out on carefully faced but otherwise irregular blocks of local stone. The door, in spite of the worn threshold stone, looks as though it has always been blocked and is in fact just a decorative feature. The actual entrance is on the south side of the barn, through a doorway far too grand for the building, which must have been re-used from the earlier farmhouse. Also on the south wall, placed centrally on the gable, is a heraldic cross.

The explanation seems to be that the material for this barn came from the old farmhouse, part of which stands at the north-east corner of the present house, which was put up about 150 years ago, and that the builders, having some good material to hand, elaborated the barn for their own amusement. That would account for the south door, the mullioned windows and the worn threshold to the false door. The ogee heads can only have been outlined *in situ*. Mrs. Nicholas told me that the local quarries employed stone masons until quite recent times and there must have been some masons working on the site at that time, as the details on the present brick house are of stone. It is interesting to notice that the woodwork inside the house, the work of the estate carpenter, shows strong ecclesiastical influence, which throws light on the tastes of local craftsmen.

I am very grateful both to Mr. Rogers and to the tenants of the Tedsmore Estate, Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Nicholas, for their assistance.

VESSELS AND ARMOUR AT WOODHOUSE, WEST FELTON

BY T. W. ROGERS

An examination of part of the records of the Offa Field Club, a society which existed in Oswestry from 1888 to the Second World War, revealed that an excursion on 23rd August, 1894, had visited Woodhouse, West Felton. Here members "saw the various objects of interest. Prominent amongst these were two large bronze urns—believed to be Roman—dug out of some boggy land between Rednal and Queens Head during some excavations some years ago. In the house was shown plate armour found near the urns". It was afterwards discovered that this report had appeared in the *Border Counties Advertiser* and was reproduced in "Bye-Gones" under the date 12th Sept., 1894. It was felt desirable to discover whether the objects mentioned still existed after an interval of sixty-six years and by the courtesy of the agents of the Estate, Messrs. C. E. Williams & Co. of Oswestry, and of Mrs. Mostyn-Owen, it was found that they were still at Woodhouse and could be seen there by arrangement.

Some doubt as to the Roman attribution of the "urns" was inevitable but the writer was able to secure the co-operation of Miss L. F. Chitty and we jointly inspected the so-called urns and armour on 27th May, 1960. It became at once apparent that the "urns" were cooking vessels not older than the late Middle Ages and the armour,

consisting of a breastplate, suggested a Civil War date. Photographs and measurements were taken and these have been used to secure other opinions.

On the armour, Mr. A. N. Kennard, Assistant to the Master of the Armouries, H.M. Tower of London, wrote that it "is a trooper's breastplate of about 1640-50"

The examination of the cooking vessels showed two large cauldrons. These had dimensions as follows:—

1. (on left of photograph): Height $14\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; Diameter $16\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; Depth (to angle with flange) $9\frac{1}{8}$ ins'; Flange 3 ins.; Legs 3 ins. (one leg broken). It had two rounded handles.

2. (in centre of photograph): Height $13\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; Diameter at top $13\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; Depth $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; Flange 3 ins'; Legs $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. It had two angular handles.

A third vessel (on right of photograph) was found with the above. It had originally three tall legs, one of which had been broken off and was missing. Those surviving were $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins. tall. The Dimensions of the vessel itself were: Diameter $11\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; Depth $11\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; Flange 2 ins. It had two angular handles.

All the vessels had a green patina and seemed to be of bronze.

An opportunity was taken to discuss these vessels with Mr. Adrian Oswald of Birmingham City Museum, and he gave as his opinion that the two larger vessels were likely to be of mid-16th century date and the tall tripod of early 16th century date. Mr. P. Lasko, Assistant Keeper in the British Museum Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, confirmed this dating, remarking that had there been no association for the three pots he would have suggested a 16th-17th century date for them.

Consideration of these opinions and the place where the articles had been dug up suggested an explanation of their presence which, though not susceptible of complete proof, had a high degree of probability. At the end of June 1644 the Parliamentary forces under the Earl of Denbigh had captured Oswestry and then moved into Cheshire, leaving a garrison under Col. Thomas Mytton. Oswestry was too important a point on a vital line of communications to be left lightly in Parliamentary hands and the Royalist commander at Shrewsbury, Sir Fulk Hunke, gathered a force under Col. Marrow which attempted to re-capture the town. A message from Mytton brought from Cheshire a relieving force under Sir Thomas Myddelton. Sir Thomas's cavalry reached Whittington on 2nd July, 1644, and an engagement followed with Col. Marrow's forces. After some indecisive cavalry actions Myddleton's Cheshire foot arrived and the Royalist force was defeated and was pursued "five miles towards Shrewsbury to a place called Felton Heath". Sir Thomas Myddleton's letter of 3rd July to the Speaker of the House of Commons,¹ gives a lively brief report of the battle, adding that "we found in the way of our pursuit . . . good provisions . . . and also such necessary appurtenances to an army . . ." In a list of prisoners and spoil captured he mentions "great store of arms found in the corn and ditches". The spot given for the discovery of the pots and armour is close enough to the line of retreat of the defeated force to make it likely that these were part of the discarded equipment. Fugitives, especially some who were finding difficulty with cumbersome cooking vessels in "some boggy land", would have been glad to get rid of them.

I am indebted to Mrs. Mostyn-Owen for permission to inspect these finds; to those, already mentioned, who have been so good in passing on their expert knowledge; to Mr. H. Beaumont and to Mr. Norman Tucker for reference to printed sources relating to the Civil War; and particularly to Miss Chitty who has given generously of her fund of learning and has spurred me to the compilation of this report.

¹*The Civil War in Wales and the Marches* by John Rowland Phillips, 1874. Vol. II, p. 179; citing K.P. 164-16.



Barn at Sutton Farm, West Felton.



16th Century Cooking Pots at Woodhouse.

HEN DOMEN, MONTGOMERY (S.O. 214981)

Two cuttings of the motte-bailey ditch of this pre-Domesday castle were made by the Shrewsbury Research Group during 1960 in the hope of obtaining stratified 11th and 12th century pottery. A good series was obtained from one cutting, though the stratification is suspect, and more work will be needed to clarify the sequence of types. The second cutting unexpectedly revealed the remains of a timber bridge, of at least two periods, spanning the ditch between the bailey and the motte. The whole area is being stripped in the hope of recovering the plans of this early bridge and its successor. Present indications are that they were wider and more complicated than those shown on the Bayeux Tapestry.

P. A. BARKER

QUATFORD, MOTTE AND BAILEY CASTLE (S.O. 738907)

A short excavation, on behalf of the Ministry of Works, was carried out between the 29th August and the 10th September, 1960, on the outer edge of the bailey of this site, an area which was due to be destroyed during the course of road widening.

The Quatford region deserves thorough investigation as it was the reputed site of a camp of the Danish host in 895/6¹; the recorded site of a "new house" built by Roger de Montgomery before 1086, and of a borough then rendering nothing²; and, visibly, the site of a motte and bailey castle, presumably deserted by 1102, when Robert de Belesme moved castle, borough and collegiate church to Bridgnorth.³

In view of the promise of the site, the results of this excavation were baffling. A segment 90 feet long and 30 feet wide was thoroughly examined, the central area of about 900 square feet being stripped to the bedrock. A complex of more than seventy postholes, ranging in diameter and depth from two inches to three feet, all undatable, and at present indecipherable, occupied this central area. There were no floors, nor hearths, nor any other evidence of continuous occupation, nor was there any firm evidence of more than one period of construction. The finds consisted of a leaf-shaped flint arrow-head of Windmill Hill type, dating from the neolithic or early bronze age, a 12th/13th century bronze annular brooch, a 15th/16th century bronze buckle, together with a thin scatter of sherds of pottery dating from the 12th to the 19th centuries. The apparent rampart along the edge of the bailey had 17th/18th century pottery in its base, there was no evidence of a stockade, and there was no bailey ditch. It seems likely that the postholes represent out-buildings which were hardly used before being abandoned; there was nothing to connect them with the Danes or with Roger de Montgomery and the search for the earlier sites must continue elsewhere. A full report of the excavation is in preparation.

P. A. BARKER

MARDOL HEAD, SHREWSBURY (S.J. 491125)—A MEDIEVAL ROAD

In August 1959, during the course of sewer laying operations in Pride Hill, a manhole pit 6 feet square and 9 feet deep was dug in Mardol Head, almost in the centre of the road (Fig. 1). At a depth of 4 feet 6 inches below the present road, and under 3 feet 6 inches of earth and rubble filling, a layer, 18 inches thick, of cobbles set in clay, was revealed extending throughout the area of the pit (Fig. 2). This heavy cobbling had been laid on the subsoil, an extremely wet, loose, yellow gravelly silt. During the few hours in which it was open, this silt flowed slowly downwards into the

¹*Anglo Saxon Chronicle* sub anno. 895.

²*Domesday Book*, fo. 254, a.1.

³*Florence of Worcester*, vol. ii, p. 49.

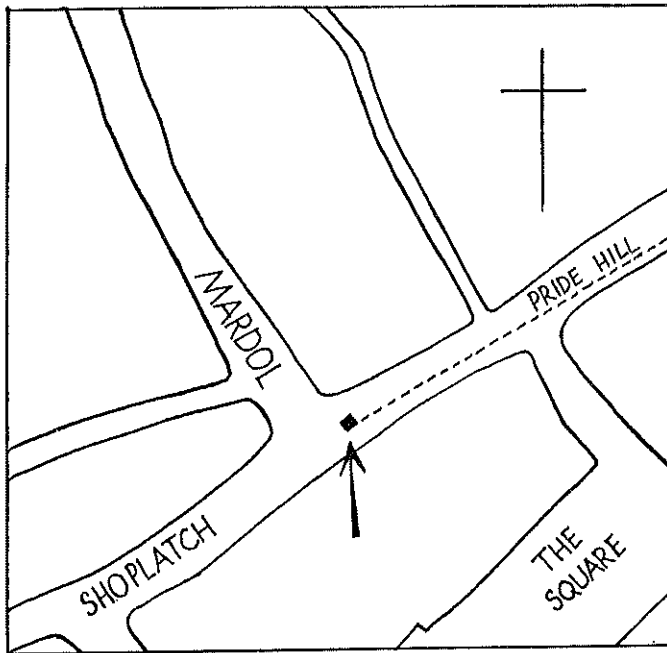


FIG. 1

Mardol Head, Shrewsbury. A medieval road. Plan of Shrewsbury, showing site. The dotted line represents the subsequent sewer trench.

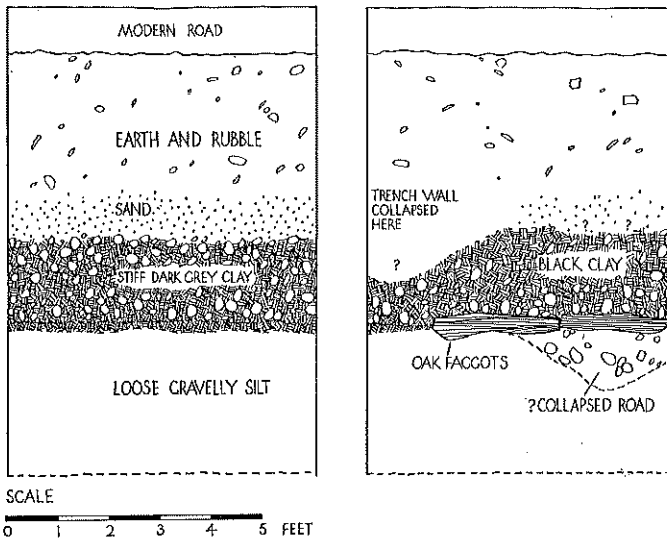


FIG. 2

Mardol Head, Shrewsbury. A Medieval road. Sections of N.E. and S.W. sides of trench.

bottom of the pit, making work on the manhole very difficult. In the south-western corner of the pit the subsoil was particularly loose, and must have been so during the laying of the cobbled surface, since it is clear that the first layer of cobbles had sunk into this mire, and that beams of oak (called "faggots" by the workman on the site) had been laid here horizontally to form the foundation for a second cobble layer which had remained firm.

There seems no doubt that this very massive cobbling is an early road, which, as it did not appear in the trenches dug further up Mardol Head and Pride Hill, apparently ran along the line High Street-Mardol, in which case it may well have been a road between the bridges. Since there were no other roads in the section below the modern surface, it is tempting to see this early road as one of those built in 1269/70, perhaps on the orders of Henry III,¹ but throughout the paving accounts of those years mention is specifically made of stone brought from quarries at Bayston Hill and Downton, near Haughmond, and from no other source.² Since the road surface (if that is what it was) revealed in 1959 was made of large waterworn cobbles, and since there was no independent dating evidence, it seems unlikely to be related to the 1269/70 paving, and it may have been an earlier road on a different alignment from the final medieval layout,³ though in this case, one would have expected the later roads to have appeared somewhere in the 1959 trenches. It is to be hoped that further evidence of the early system of roads at this nodal point will be found in future excavations in the area.

P. A. BARKER

HARLESCOTT GRANGE MOATED SITE, SHREWSBURY (S.J. 502160)

The Shrewsbury Research Group dug exploratory trenches on this site in advance of landscaping by the Borough Council as part of the Harlescott Grange Estate plan. A house on the site is mentioned by Blakeway in his *History of the Liberties of Shrewsbury* (p. 267) but a number of trenches cut in the area enclosed by the moat failed to reveal any structures or floors or hearths or any other trace of occupation. There were no finds except a handful of very small fragments of pottery dating from the 13th century to the present day. It seems probable that the gardeners of the past two hundred years had been only too efficient in clearing the site of stones and every sort of debris which they encountered. Blakeway (*op. cit.*) mentions a line of masonry which, he says, "may have been the inner wall of the mansion". This could not be found. He further suggests that the building within the moat was half-timbered, and this may account for its complete disappearance, since the foundations of timber framed buildings are often very shallow, sometimes, as at Roushill, where half timber buildings were demolished in 1959, merely resting on the surface.

The writer was told that "13th century pitchers" had been found at a point on the moat edge, but enquiries failed to substantiate this rumour, and digging at the place suggested produced nothing. However, a large fragment of the thumb-pressed

¹*Shrewsbury Paving and other Accounts 54 Henry III, 1269/70*, transcribed and edited by the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater, *Shrop. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 3rd Series, Vol. VII, 1907, p. 193.

²Drinkwater, *op. cit.*, points out that the stone from both quarries is a 'purple or gritty slate' (?shale). There was no stone like this in the section exposed. He mentions also that the Bayston Hill quarries were given up early in favour of those at Downton. The accounts show clearly that the stone from Downton was brought by river from Uffington, whereas the stone from Bayston Hill would have to be brought by road, and since this paving was done from November 1269 to May 1270 it is probable that the Bayston Hill quarries were abandoned because the roads were impassable.

³It can hardly be post-medieval.

base of a jug of rather coarse, sandy ware, probably datable to the 13th century, which was found when the moat was drained in 1950, is in the possession of Mr. M. Peele.

P. A. BARKER

A COLLECTION OF POTTERY, ETC., FOUND IN SHROPSHIRE

During recent years a private collection of pottery and other small objects from sites in Shropshire has been made, which is kept in the Old House, Dogpole, Shrewsbury. It has been suggested that a record of its existence and an indication of its contents might be given in these Transactions. This note is intended for that purpose, *i.e.* solely as an indication of what may possibly be of some interest in the collection (available to anyone studying any special site or period). All finds which have been made are of things on the surface, or brought to the surface by disturbance of the ground by such means as farming or building operations. Some post-medieval pottery has been added by way of gift or purchase, but all of earlier date is in varying degrees (generally very) fragmentary.

Pre-Historic. None certainly identified. If any is, it will be recorded. *Roman.* From Wroxeter (Viroconium) very numerous pieces, of wide range of usual types; to date, eleven Samian potters' names are included (not every one of which appears so far to have been recorded in excavation reports at this site). Several known villa and fortified sites are represented by a modicum of fragments. There are stray finds up to the present of one sherd each from Meole Brace and the slope of Burrow Hill, Hopesay. *Medieval.* Various well known monastic and castle sites are represented by tiles as well as sherds; there are also fragments from a few castle mounds and moated sites. Miscellaneous fields, villages, etc., have provided sherds (*e.g.* a field at Upper Berwick, Shrewsbury, shows pieces from about the 13th century to far into the 18th). *Post-Medieval.* It need hardly be said that examples of this are by far the most numerous, and the majority are of well known types of stoneware and slipware; a few, however, might be of special interest to a student of these. *Of Uncertain Date.* Occasionally some piece is found to which I myself cannot assign a date with any confidence. A few at present await authoritative opinion.

MICHAEL PEELE

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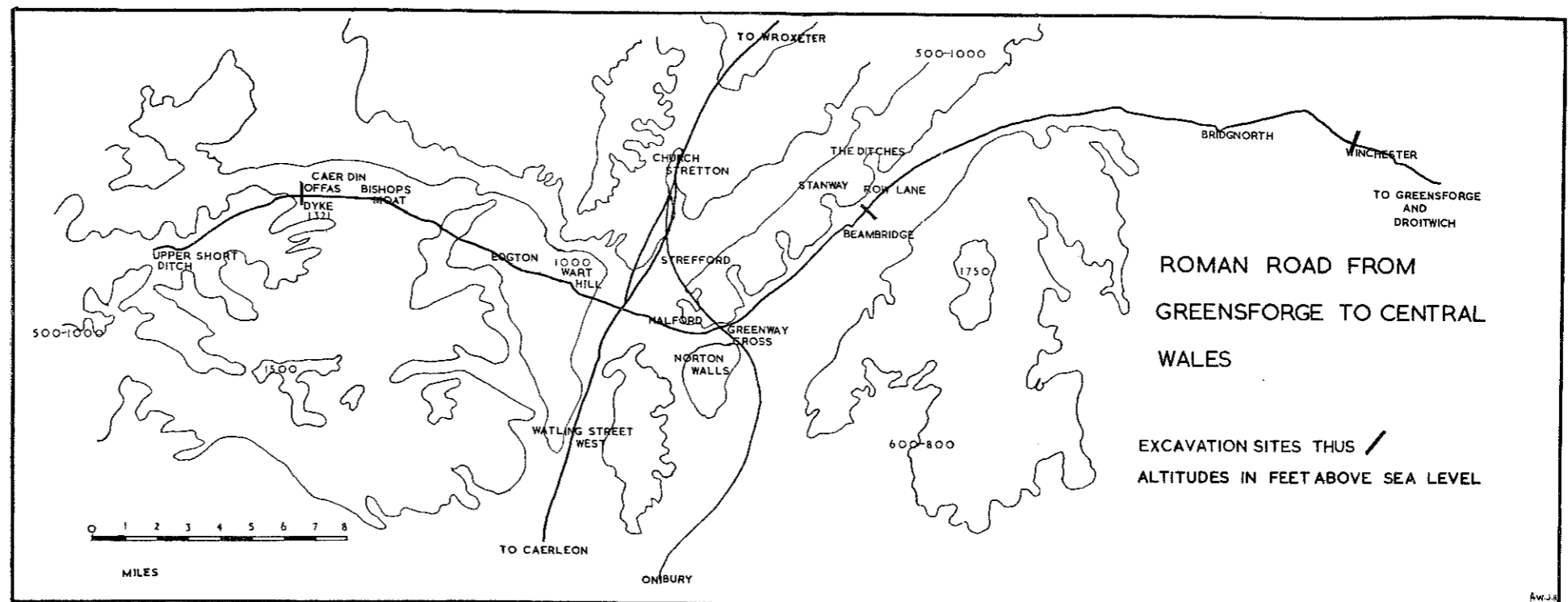


FIG. 1

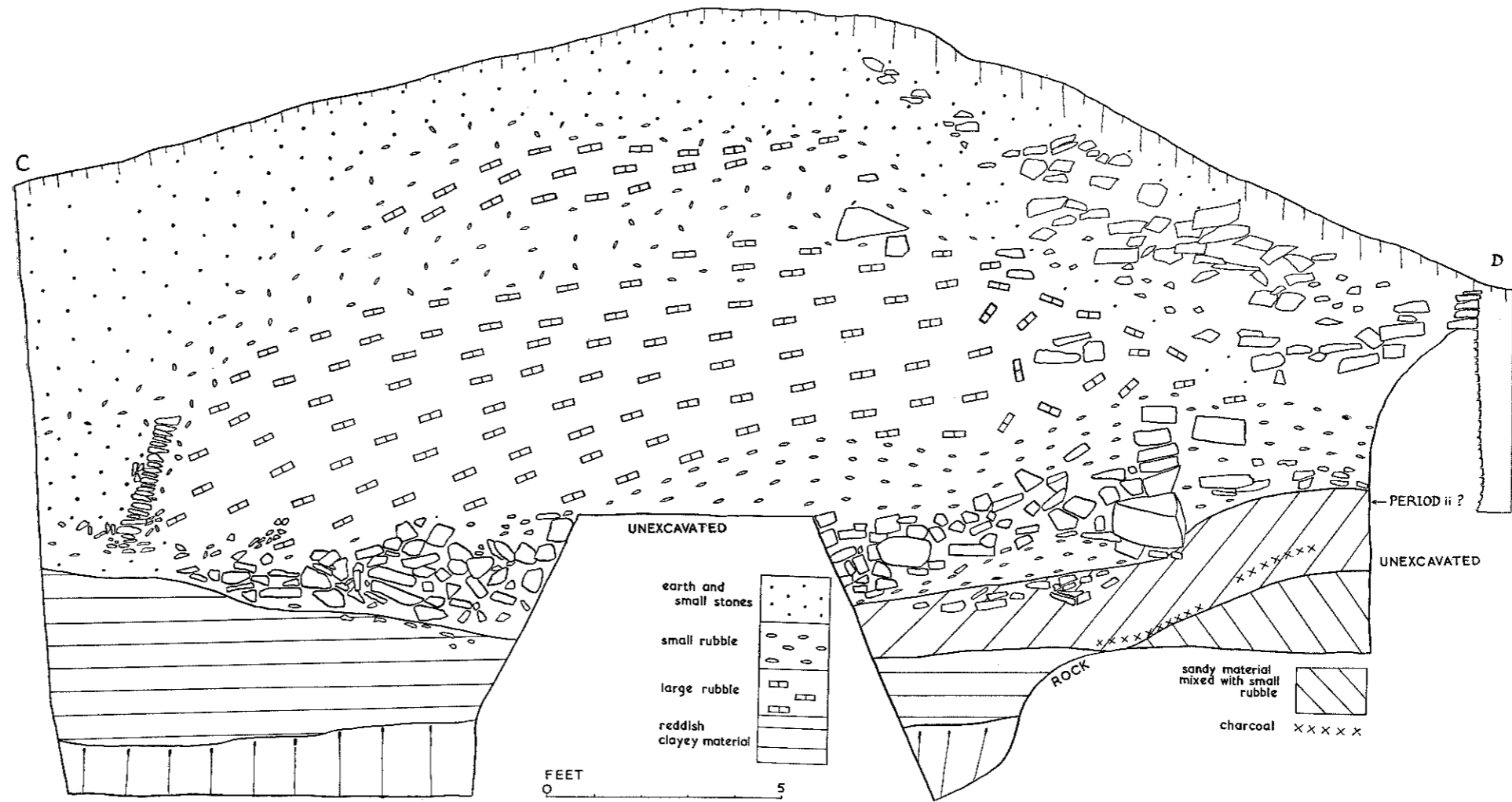


FIG. 5.—Section through the inturned end of the rampart on the south side of the east entrance.