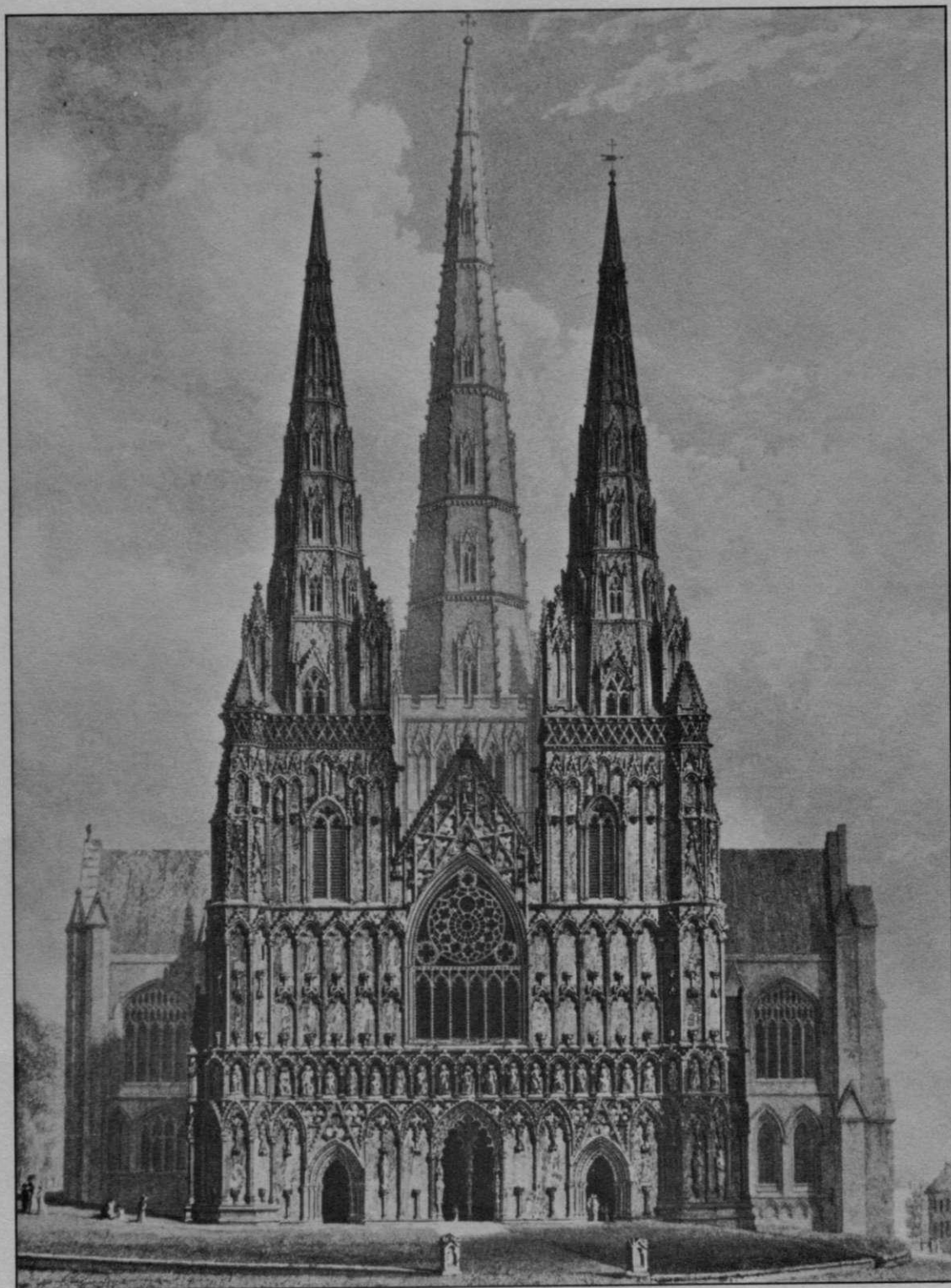




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ERRATA

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Page 14: *The references from Hooper, M. 1970 . . . to Rivet, A. L. F. 1966 should follow
on (at page 13): Historical Association . . .*

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ARTIFACTS FOUND IN THE MOAT OF WEST BROMWICH MANOR-HOUSE

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THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LANDSCAPE IN THE PARISHES OF ALREWAS, FISHERWICK AND WHITTINGTON; A RETROGRESSIVE ANALYSIS.

CHRISTOPHER SMITH

SUMMARY: An outline is given of the methods and sources available for the study of landscape history. Examples are taken from three parishes in south-east Staffordshire, and a reconstruction is attempted of the development of the landscape in the area over the past three millennia.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this short article is to summarize the results of a programme of research carried out between 1972 and 1976. A full report of the work is given in my doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham in November 1977 (Smith, 1977b), and further details will be found in various publications, both extant and forthcoming (Smith, 1975a and b; Hammond, 1975; Smith, 1977a; Smith, 1978; Smith, 1979). This summary is of necessity brief, but I hope will provide an indication of the results of my research and how they were achieved. In PART I, after an introduction to the area studied, a discussion of the methods used is followed by an account of the sources employed. The sources included documents and maps, aerial photographs, place-names, archaeological field-work and excavation, and botanical field work. PART II consists of a series of maps depicting the landscape of the study area at various stages during its development; viz: the mid 18th century, *circa* 1300, *circa* 200, and the late first millennium B.C. Each map is provided with a commentary, but it is really the maps themselves that are the results of the research. Space does not permit the detailed documentation of each map but all features depicted are supported by the kinds of evidence referred to above. The full evidence is presented in my thesis (Smith, 1977b).

PART I

The area studied forms the western side of the valley of the river Tame between its confluence with the river Trent at Alrewas and the high ground at Hop was Hays Woods. The western boundary is provided by National Grid Easting Line SKI6, while the river Tame provides that on the east. The southern boundary follows that of the parish of Fisherwick and the northern the river Trent. The area includes the whole of the parish of Fisherwick and parts of Alrewas and Whittington, although the built-up areas of the villages of Alrewas, Fradley and Whittington were excluded. The area studied amounts to about 23km². This area was chosen because the gravel terraces, of which it is mostly composed, have produced abundant evidence of past landscapes in the form of crop-marks recorded in aerial photographs.

As the title of this paper suggests the method used in studying the development of the landscape in this part of Staffordshire has been that of *retrogressive analysis*. The essence of this method is that the analysis proceeds from the relatively well-known conditions of the present and recent past to the increasingly less well-known conditions of the more distant past. It is almost the opposite of the *evolutionary method* used by Hoskins (1955) in his

general study of the English landscape and by Cunliffe in his local study of Chalton (1973a and b). Evolutionary studies start in the remote, poorly known past and proceed towards the better known present.

Retrogressive analysis was first developed by historical geographers as a means of elucidating contemporary spatial relationships in terms of their temporal development (Baker, 1966 and 1968; Ogilvie, 1952; Yates, 1960; Prince, 1969; Baker and Butlin, 1973). The starting point for a retrogressive analysis of the landscape is the contemporary map or aerial photograph. Using field-work and documentary research, an attempt is made to suggest dates at which various features originated. Many features, often of remote antiquity, survive in the landscape of the present or can be traced as relict features in the form of crop-marks or earthworks. If dates can be suggested for a substantial number it becomes possible to plot features of different dates on different maps. For example, it may be possible to distinguish features of the modern period from those of the 17th or 18th centuries, or the latter from those of the Middle Ages or pre-mediaeval period. Thus working backwards through time a series of maps can be compiled depicting features of progressively earlier origin.

The further back a retrogressive analysis is taken the less information there is to plot on the map, for fewer features will have survived down to the present. A map of the 18th century might be nearly complete, whereas one of the 11th century will be mostly incomplete. If the object of a study is to depict, in as much detail as possible, the landscapes of the past it is necessary to make some attempt to supplement the information provided by the retrogressive analysis of the present landscape. The various sources employed in that analysis can also be used to provide information about features which have not survived and have left no trace in the present landscape. For example; early maps may show long vanished field boundaries and buildings, archaeological field-work and excavation may lead to the discovery of hitherto unknown settlements, and botanical field-work or place-name study may lead to the discovery of forgotten areas of former woodland or reclaimed waste. Such information may be added to the results of the retrogressive analysis in order to make the reconstruction of the topography of past landscapes more complete.

I have attempted to reconstruct the landscape of the study area at four periods in time; viz: the mid 18th century (map 2), *circa* A.D.1300 (map 3), *circa* A.D. 200 (map 4), and the 1st millennium B.C. and the 1st century A.D. (map 5). I have also made some attempt to isolate features earlier in date than the 1st millennium B.C. (map 6), but before this date the evidence is insufficient for the landscape to be reconstructed.

The analysis was carried out within an ecological framework; the landscape being seen as a tangible expression of the ecosystem of which man is a part. The ecosystem may be subdivided into the physical environment, consisting in the terrain and climate; and the biomass, which includes both plants and animals (Billings, 1964, 5). I include man and his artifacts in the latter category. At each step in the analysis consideration was given to each of these facets.

In fact the terrain of the study area altered very little during the period covered by my research. With the exception of comparatively minor changes in the courses of the rivers Tame and Trent it may be regarded as a constant factor in the history of the landscape. It acquired its basic form during the latter stages of the Pleistocene glaciations and early in post-glacial times (Smith, 1975b, 3-5). Data on the terrain were obtained from large scale

Ordnance Survey Maps, One Inch and Six Inch Geological Survey Maps with their accompanying memoir (Barrow *et al.*, 1919) and the volume on *The Soils of the West Midlands* (Mackney and Burnham, 1964), supplemented by field observation of micro-relief. The climate is thought to have changed somewhat during the period in question, although specific data is hard to obtain. I have followed the scheme proposed by Lamb (1966) with modifications to the chronology of its prehistoric phases suggested by the calibration of radio-carbon dates with tree rings (Piggott, 1972). Following a cold spell at the end of the 2nd millennium the climate appears to have become steadily warmer throughout the next two millennia reaching an optimum at about A.D. 1000. The following episode was somewhat cooler, culminating in the *Little Ice Age* of the period from 1450 to 1850.

The different phases in the history of the landscape are distinguished mostly by changes in the biomass. During the period considered the majority of such changes have occurred as a consequence of human activity. The history of this activity is recorded by both documentary evidence and field evidence. As well as documents in the strict sense, I include in the former category both cartographic evidence and illustrative materials such as paintings, drawings, engravings and last, but perhaps the most important of all, aerial photographs. A wide variety of sources provide an introduction to the documentary evidence for landscape history. I made extensive use of J.J. Bagley's *Historical Interpretation* Volumes 1 and 2 (1971), *Village Records* by J. West (1962), F. G. Emmison's *Archives and Local History* (1974), *The Parish Chest* by W. E. Tate (1960), the *Short Guides to Records* published by the Historical Association, and Colin Piatt's *Medieval Archaeology in England* (1969). Cartographic sources are discussed by J. B. Harley in the *Historian's Guide to Ordnance Survey Maps* (1964) and *Maps for the Local Historian* (1972).

The strictly documentary sources found to be of value were divided into three groups. The first of these was the series of antiquarian accounts of the country beginning with that of Erdeswicke compiled in the late 16th century but not published until 1717 (Erdeswicke, 1717), and followed by those of Plot (1686), Shaw (1801) and Pitt (1817). The second group consisted in those sources dealing with the post-mediaeval period. It was subdivided into national statistics such as the Hearth Tax Returns and Muster Rolls; the records of local administration such as Tithe Apportionments, Enclosure Awards, Quarter Sessions Papers, and the Proceedings of the Star Chamber; and estate papers such as sale catalogues, rentals and surveys, deeds, and wills and probate inventories. The third group consisted in those documents dealing with the Middle Ages. These were similarly subdivided into national statistics such as Poll Taxes, Lay Subsidies, Feudal Inquests and Domesday Book; the records of local administration such as Plea Rolls, and Manorial Court Rolls; and estate papers such as deeds, inquisitions, and rentals and surveys. Examples of the use of various documents will be found in Part II.

The cartographic sources used were divided into either large scale or small scale maps. The former included early editions of Ordnance Survey Maps at six and twenty-five inches to a mile, Tithe and Enclosure Maps, and a series of estate maps beginning early in the 16th century. The small scale maps used were the first edition of the Ordnance Survey One Inch series, and a series of commercially produced county maps beginning with Saxton's map of 1577. Although potentially an important source of evidence for the history of the landscape the few paintings, drawings and prints that survive for the study area made no material contribution to this study.

An aspect of the use of documentary and cartographic sources that deserves treatment on its own is the study of place- and field-names. These can contribute to the study of landscape history in three ways. Firstly, they function as labels whereby the features named can be identified in different documents and their history traced. In this sense place- and field-names are a source of evidence regardless of their linguistic derivation or meaning. Secondly, the linguistic derivation of the names found in an area is a principal source of evidence on the early history of settlement there. In the study area there are names of Celtic, Old English and Old Norse derivation, implying the presence there of people speaking those languages. Thirdly, places are named so that they can be identified. This was often achieved by naming the place after some local feature, and such names are a major source of evidence on the appearance of the landscape at the time the name was first applied. In the absence of any definitive account of the place-names of Staffordshire I have relied mostly on Cameron's *English Place-Names* (1963) and Field's *English Field Names* (1972). Where sufficiently early forms are available reference has been made to *English Place-Name Elements* (Smith, A., 1956). Examples of the use of place-names in topographical studies are provided by Gelling (1974), and Sawyer (1974) ~~has pointer!~~ ~~nut snmpnf the Hiffirnlrip<i~~_____.

Field evidence employed in this project has been both archaeological and botanical. Archaeological evidence was collected from 107 sites. Of these 7 survive as earthworks, 3 of which were surveyed during the course of the project. Of the remainder 59 survive as crop-marks and excavations have occurred at 6 of these. The remaining 41 sites include the locations of 5 casual finds and 36 sites with no visible features. These latter, and 53 crop-marks sites were all systematically field walked. The purpose of field walking those sites with no visible features was to provide some check on the completeness of the pattern of settlement suggested by the crop-mark evidence. The results of this investigation suggested that for any single period the pattern of settlement recorded by crop-marks was substantially complete. Several of the excavations have already been reported (Smith, 1975a and b; 1977a 59-61; 1979; Miles, 1969) and further details are not given here. Records of the field-walking are given in Smith (1977b appendix 4), and have been deposited with the Trent Valley Archaeological Research Committee at the University of Nottingham.

Botanical evidence was gathered during the course of a survey of 213 hedgerows in the study area. Recent research has suggested two ways in which a study of hedgerows may contribute to our knowledge of landscape history. Max Hooper, studying hedges throughout England and in particular in the East Midlands, has established a significant correlation between the number of species in a hedge and its age (Hooper, 1970; Pollard, Hooper and Moore, 1974, 74-85). Thus it is possible, in certain cases, to date individual hedges and groups of hedged fields on floristic evidence. From a study of the composition of hedges Pollard, Hooper and Moore (1974, 86-104) have suggested that the presence of certain species may be used to draw inferences about the landscape at the time the hedges came into being. For example, this method seems to make it possible to define areas of former woodland by the presence of typically woodland species in hedgerows. The hedgerow dating hypothesis was found not to be widely applicable in the study area. This was partly due to the poor state of most of the hedges which made accurate species counts difficult to obtain, and partly also to the small number of hedges accurately dated from documentary sources, making it difficult to establish that any local correlation existed between age and species number. The hedgerow evidence for the distribution of former woodland made a much more significant contribution to the study and is discussed more fully in Part II.

PART II

The retrogressive analysis began with the plotting of crop-mark evidence from some 422 aerial photographs on twenty-five inches to a mile Ordnance Survey maps. The photographs had been taken over a period of twenty-five years, the earliest dating from 17 February 1948 and the most recent from 11 June 1973. Of the aerial photographs examined 117 were vertical views taken at altitudes in excess of 2000 feet. The remainder were low level oblique views taken specifically for archaeological research. Details of each photograph consulted are given in Smith (1977b, appendix 1).

THE LANDSCAPE OF THE MID 18th CENTURY (MAP 2)

Map 2 depicts the landscape of the study area as it may have appeared during the decades between 1740 and 1760. It represents the first step in the retrogressive analysis in that all features shown from the evidence to have originated since 1760 have been removed from the analysis. The same evidence was also used to establish which of the remaining features were part of the mid-18th-century landscape and which had already become relict by that time.

The evidence used in compiling map 2 was mostly cartographic; in particular the open-field maps of Alrewas for 1740 (Stafford Record Office (henceforth SRO) D1840/1), and Whittington for *circa* 1749 (SRO D1 124/4) and estate maps for various parts of Fisherwick parish, including Tamhorn, dating from 1760 (William Salt Library, Stafford (henceforth WSL) 114/31), 1763 (SRO D1746/161/P1) and *circa* 1700 (SRO D1746/161/3). Tithe (WSL SMS417) and Enclosure (SRO Q/RDc.62) Maps were also used along with later estate maps and early Ordnance Survey maps. The 1740 maps of Alrewas cover only a small part of the area and to make map 2 more complete it was necessary to make use of two manuscript surveys of 1722 (SRO D1840/2) and 1621 (SRO D1851/1/1/34).

The evidence shows that the landscape depicted in map 2 was undergoing a number of fairly rapid changes. Open arable fields and meadows in Alrewas and Whittington, which had survived into the 18th Century, were undergoing a process of piecemeal enclosure that was to be largely completed by the end of the century. Areas of common waste in Alrewas and riverine moors at Tamhorn were being reclaimed and subdivided into small, but regular, blocks of fields. In Fisherwick hitherto enclosed farm land was being added to the park. The principal centres of settlement were the same as those that survive today. This pattern of continual piecemeal change had been established for generations and was a dominant feature of the landscape of the Middle Ages.

THE LANDSCAPE OF *CIRCA* A.D. 1300 (MAP 3)

Map 3 represents the next step in the retrogressive analysis. It has been compiled by using the evidence available to identify which features depicted in map 2 originated after about 1350 so that they can be removed from the analysis. As was the case with map 2 this evidence was also used to suggest which of the remaining features formed part of the landscape at *circa* 1300.

The principal sources used in this part of the analysis were documents and field archaeology. Maps, the earliest of which dates from 1508 (a map of the river Tame at Elford in the Birmingham Reference Library), contributed very little. Virtually every class of

document listed in Part I was used in the compilation of map 3 and only a few of the most important can be mentioned here. Large numbers of mediaeval and post-mediaeval deeds were found relating to all parts of the study area. Many have been calendared in the *Staffordshire Historical Collections* between 1882 and 1911 while the SRO and WSL have several large collections of transcripts referring to the study area, of which the SRO D661/2 group is the most useful. Some deeds are long and contain a wealth of topographical evidence whilst others are brief mentioning little more than the existence of a piece of land. A typical example of a mediaeval deeds is provided by SRO D661/2/279 which dates from 1316 and refers to land in Fisherwick Wood enclosed with a ditch and hedge and lying between the land of William de Walton and Reginald the Bedel of Lichfield.

Manorial Court Rolls are a major source for this period and although they survive for most of the study area from the 14th century onwards, only those for Alrewas were sufficiently accessible to be used by the writer. Transcripts with notes have been published for 1259-61, 1268-9, and 1272-3 (Landor, 1907 and 1910), and the 14th-century rolls have been the subject of an MA thesis by M. Kelly deposited in the William Salt Library (WSL TH13). I also consulted the original rolls for the years 1286, 1287 and 1288 in the Public Record Office (SC 2 202 56). The manorial courts were concerned with administration as well as breaches of the law and provide '... abundant evidence about mediaeval agriculture, local government, and the life of the free tenants and servile villeins and serfs. They are an essential source for all who seek knowledge of ... the mediaeval countryside'. (Bagley, 1971 Vol. 1 91). A typical example of the kind of evidence to be obtained from this source is provided by one of the rolls for 1286 in the Public Record Office (SC 2 202 56 sheet 1). This includes an interesting reference to a field called Salterholm, while a conveyance enrolled on the back of the roll refers to 8 butts of arable land formerly 12, 3 butts formerly 5, and 2 'seyliones' formerly 6, all said to be clear of crops. This entry appears to record the amalgamation of strips of open-field land, probably after the harvest.

The Plea Rolls are a further major source of evidence about the landscape of the Middle Ages. During this period a great deal of what is regarded today as local government as well as the administration of justice fell within the province of the courts, both at the national level in the courts of the King's Bench (*de Banco*) and in the court of *Coram Rege*, and at the more local level of the Assize Courts. Extracts from the Staffordshire Plea Rolls have been published by G. Wrottesley in the *Staffordshire Historical Collections* between 1882 and 1903. A typical entry is that in the *de Banco* Roll for 1389 (Wrottesley, 1894). A Henry Heronville sued William Peres of Fisherwyke and Henry Stoupere of Tymmore for cutting down trees and underwood at Tymmore, taking timber from his houses there worth 20 marks, taking fish from his fish-ponds and for treading down and consuming his growing crops with cattle. This evidence provides information on land-use at Tymmore at the end of the 14th century and possibly sheds some light on the decline of the settlement, which was number 91 in the table of lost village sites in the county (Bate and Palliser, 1971 36). It is unlikely that the defendants could have removed timber from houses still occupied and, accordingly, the entry may suggest some dereliction at Tymmore in 1389.

Rentals and surveys also made an important contribution to the compilation of map 3, although with one exception all those available dated from the post-mediaeval period. The contribution of these documents was mainly in establishing when certain features depicted in map 2 originated. The two most important such documents were a rental of 1635 referring to

lands in Fisherwick, Horton and Tymore (SRO D661/21/1/1-k)f.73r); and a survey of Whittington dated 1571 (SRO D1734/1/3/90). The single exception referred to above is also a survey of Whittington, and is included in the 1298 survey of the estates of the Bishop of Chester (SRO D(W)1734/j2268). This document provides a wealth of information on the landscape of Whittington at the end of the 13th century, and can be used in conjunction with the 1571 survey to illustrate the development of the landscape during the later Middle Ages.

An aspect of documentary evidence that became important in this stage of the analysis was the study and interpretation of field-names. Many documents provided no evidence other than a few field-names, but such evidence was valuable both in establishing the existence of the features mentioned at the time in question and in providing early forms of the names thus facilitating interpretation. An example of the use of field-names at this stage in the analysis is provided by the recording of those including the element 'hay'. In the 18th century many of the areas in between the open fields and common wastes used 'hay' as a second element; for example Whitemore Hay. According to Cameron (1963, 218) this is derived from the Old English (*ge*)*haeg*, meaning a fenced or enclosed piece of ground. As areas taken out of the open fields were usually referred to as enclosures or intakes the use of 'hay' may imply enclosure direct from the waste. All those fields with names ending in 'hay' are marked on map 3 with an 'H'. It is not known which, if any, were made before 1300 although the documentary evidence suggests that the process of piecemeal enclosure from the wastes was well under way by then.

Field archaeology, both excavation and field-walking, made a two-fold contribution to this stage of the analysis. Firstly, it enabled the location to be established of several settlements hitherto regarded as 'lost'. The settlements in question, Fisherwick, Horton, Tamhorn and Tymore, all appear in the 1971 list (Bate and Palliser, 1971), and are to form the subject of a separate paper. Secondly, it supplemented the documentary evidence for the extent of mediaeval arable lands by suggesting areas of cultivation outside the known extents of the open fields. If the quantity of mediaeval pottery collected at a site was insufficient to suggest settlement it was taken to indicate manuring, and, by implication, cultivation.

Map 3 is *not* a generalized statement of what the landscape of *circa* 1300 was *thought* to look like. For every feature depicted there is some evidence that it was probably present in 1300 or soon after. Where such evidence is lacking the map has been left blank or marked '?', and the temptation to fill in the gaps with guesses has been resisted.

The decades around 1300 mark, for the study area, the full development of the mediaeval landscape. Its principal ingredients consist in open-field arable and meadow land, common waste providing grazing and woodland, enclosed land held in severalty and taken out of the wastes or open fields, and nucleated settlements ranging from villages like Alrewas and Whittington to small hamlets like Horton and Tamhorn.

In the 12th century the whole area had been part of the Royal Forest of Cannock (Gould, 1966) and the pattern of agriculture and settlement that had emerged by 1300 was typical of Roberts' *woodland system* (Roberts, 1973), although he classified the area as belonging to the *champion system*. The parishes he quotes all lie east of the river Tame and outside the forest area.

A characteristic of the *woodland system* is multiple field complexes. In 1300 Alrewas had at least twenty areas of open-field arable land and Whittington had five. Fisherwick and Tamhorn appear to have had blocks of open-field arable land adjoining their settlements.

Tymore and Horton may have had some but it was a relatively small part of the manorial area.

The statistical sources available suggest that Tymore and Horton were the smallest communities in the area and may, accordingly, have had field systems of the simplest kind. Baker and Butlin (1973) and Taylor (1975b, 68-9, 74-5) suggest that this would have been of the *infield-outfield* type. Each community would have had a small, continuously cultivated, infield—perhaps the areas of ridge and furrow shown on map 3—and would have used the rest of the manor as an outfield. Fisherwick and Tamhorn appear to have had somewhat larger populations and their field systems may have developed to the next stage in which the infield had been expanded at the expense of the outfield to such an extent that continuous cultivation was no longer possible because of inadequate supplies of manure. When this happens the infield is cultivated on a rotation, probably of the two-course kind. Such rotations do not require a two-field system as they were based on the furlong unit and not the field (Taylor, 1975b, 72). Alrewas (with Fradley) and Whittington had developed into large settlements by 1300 and had complex, multiple field systems although the rotations used cannot be established.

The landscape of 1300 reflects an equation between rising population, "terrain, and the resources of the former to exploit the latter. Although there still remained waste to be reclaimed it can be argued that by 1300 the limit of expansion had been reached. Little further increase in arable acreage was possible without endangering the balance of the whole system, for the area of arable partly depended on the amount of manure available which was determined by the amount of pasture available to support stock. The landscape of 1300 is the full development of the mediaeval system. By 1400 a new landscape had begun to emerge.

According to Palliser (1974) 'The early fourteenth century marked a turning point in economic and demographic history'. This is reflected in the landscape. It is likely that soil exhaustion would, in any case, have necessitated some changes in the system even if the population had not risen above the numbers attained in 1300. But two decades of disastrous weather, murrains of beasts, and famine between 1310 and 1330, followed by recurrent outbreaks of bubonic plague culminating in the Black Death of 1349 precipitated change. The cumulative effect of these disasters in the study area was a gross decline in population of one third between the second and third quarters of the 14th century. The mediaeval system had aimed at community self-sufficiency, or autarchy, in essential foodstuffs. With an ever increasing population there had been little surplus for investment. The removal of population pressure led to increased prosperity for those who survived. Marginal lands could be returned to the pasture to which they were best suited. Surviving farms could be enlarged and a community could easily support itself and produce a surplus. This surplus was used to improve the standard of living, to support the growing urban populations, and to improve agriculture. The latter included the development of new crops, the implementation of new forms of husbandry, and, most significant for the landscape, enclosure.

From the landholders' point of view, it was far more economical to farm the land in enclosed fields than in the old open fields. In some cases the scarcity of labour meant that the old system could not be retained anyway. The history of the landscape in the study area from the mid 14th century onwards is, to a large extent, the history of enclosure. This process did not always go unopposed and examples occur where new enclosures are reported to have been thrown down or broken into (*de Banco* Roll 1415 (Wrottesley, 1896, 53) and Star

Chamber Proceedings 1547/53 (*SHC*, 1912, 194)). The process of enclosure was long, protracted and still incomplete in the mid 18th century. Map 2 illustrates this process under way and summarizes the post-mediaeval phase of the development of the landscape. This phase had begun by 1400. Map 3 illustrates the final and full development of the preceding mediaeval phase.

THE LANDSCAPE OF *CIRCA* A.D. 200 (MAP 4)

Map 4 was compiled using the same procedure as was described for map 3. All the features shown are those that the evidence suggests were part of the landscape at *circa* A.D. 200.

Field evidence, both archaeological and botanical, has been the principal source used in this part of the analysis. Documents, apart from being sources of place- and field-name evidence, have contributed very little. There are no documents referring to the study area earlier than 942 (Bridgeman, 1916) and few dating from before the latter half of the 13th century. Although Domesday Book does provide some information about the area at the end of the 11th century it has recently been shown how difficult it is to use as a source of topographical evidence (Sawyer, 1974).

Most of the settlements and field systems shown on map 4 have been dated to *circa* 200 on the evidence of excavation or field-walking, or by their relationship to the Roman road Ryknield Street. Others have been included because the evidence suggests that they did not belong to any subsequent period in the development of the landscape. A number, for example the barrows, may have origins antedating the precise period of map 4 by centuries or even millennia. They have been included because even if they were already ancient by the 2nd century A.D. they were nevertheless part of the landscape, albeit as perhaps meaningless earthworks. Of the features that were recorded at the beginning of the analysis, map 4 represents the residue that have not been shown to belong to either the mediaeval or post-mediaeval phases in the development of the landscape. This evidence has been supplemented by studies of the surviving flora and field-names.

In Part I mention was made of a survey of hedgerows in the study area. During this survey data was collected on both the number and type of species growing in each hedge. Pollard, Hooper and Moore (1974, 86-104) have suggested that the presence of certain species in hedgerows may indicate that the hedge was itself once part of, or in close proximity to, woodland. The species in question are known as *woodland relic species* and include hazel (*Corylus avellana*), field maple (*Acer campestre*), spindle (*Euonymus europaeus*), and wayfaring-tree (*Viburnum lantana*); and the herbs bluebell (*Endymion non-scriptus*), dogs mercury (*Mercurialis perennis*), wood anemone (*Anemone nemorosa*), and herb paris (*Paris quadrifolia*). A record was kept of all those hedges with *woodland relic species* and they were found to occur in precisely those areas known to have been woodland in the Middle Ages.

Records were also kept of all field-names in the study area that suggested the former presence of woodland. Such names might include specific references to woodland such as 'Wood Field' or 'Coppice Piece', or might simply refer to woodland species such as 'Ashcroft' or 'Seven Oaks'. Yet others recorded the actual clearance of formerly wooded ground, such as 'Stockford' which includes the Old English element *stocc*, referring to the stumps of trees. The areas of former woodland suggested by field-names correspond very closely to the areas suggested by the *woodland relic species*. It was stated that these latter

occurred in those areas known to have been woodland in the Middle Ages on documentary evidence. This botanical and field-name evidence for the extent of former woodland is shown, conventionally, in map 4. Comparison with map 3 demonstrates the correlation of this evidence with later documentary sources.

I have suggested that these woods may also have been part of the landscape of *circa* 200 because their distribution complements that of, and is exclusive to, the known distribution of settlements and field systems at that time. There is virtually no evidence for settlement or cultivation during the Romano-British period within any of the areas thought to have been woodland.

Ten settlement sites are recorded in map 4 giving a density for the study area of 1 per 2.275km². This is comparable to the 1 per 2.3km² recorded in the Nene Valley (Taylor, 1975a, 113), but somewhat less than the 1 per 0.5km² for parts of Northamptonshire (Taylor, 1975b, 49) and the 1 per 0.72km² suggested by Simpson's (1966, 22) map for part of the Welland Valley. This, and similar evidence from other parts of the Midlands has made it necessary to completely revise our ideas of the population of Roman Britain.

The typical Romano-British farmstead of the Tame Valley consisted of a number of interlinked, subrectangular enclosures. The buildings found within these enclosures seem usually to have been round houses of timber. No rectangular buildings have so far been identified. The site excavated at Fisherwick in 1968 may be regarded as typical (Miles, 1969).

Several of the settlements appear to be late additions to a pre-existing field system as they were built onto field boundaries or double ditched trackways. Many of the features shown in map 4 originated in the pre-Roman period and it is often difficult to isolate the specifically Romano-British features.

Two types of field may be identified within the study area, distinguished on grounds of size. Firstly, there are small fields of between 0.1 and 0.75 hectares. These are usually closely associated with settlements and were probably either gardens or grazing paddocks. Secondly, there are larger fields, mostly of between 1 and 5 hectares but with occasional examples up to 10 hectares. These appear to be the same as the larger fields described by Taylor (1975b, 53-9), except for those larger than 5 hectares which he generally regards as enclosed pastures. This is not necessary in the case of the study area, as at least one large field of 10 hectares has produced evidence of cultivation during the Romano-British period in the form of surface scatters of pottery.

In several cases it is possible to suggest the extent of the field system associated with individual settlements. The range is from 12 to 25 hectares with an average of 19. This corresponds to the mediaeval virgate of about 12 hectares which was regarded as sufficient to support a household.

The settlements are linked by trackways represented by pairs of parallel crop-marks. Similar trackways link the settlements to Rykniel Street to the west and to fords across the river to the east.

There is no way in which the precise extent of any of the farms identified can be established. If the study area is simply divided by the number of known settlements each would have approximately 225 hectares, which agrees with the figures of 200 hectares for Hampshire and 150 to 250 hectares for Dorset quoted by Taylor (1975b, 62). If these statistics have any relevance they suggest that only a small part of the farm area was cultivated. Baker and Butlin (1973) and Taylor (1975b, 62) argue that most Romano-British

farming was probably based on an *infield-outfield* system. The field systems associated with the settlements probably represent the intensively cultivated arable infields while the rest of the farm area served as an outfield providing rough grazing and raw materials such as timber.

Considering briefly the wider connections of the Tame Valley settlements, they probably looked mostly to LETOCETVM as their local commercial and administrative centre. Taylor (1969, 49-52) has suggested that the whole of the Lichfield district, including the study area, lay within the *territorium* of LETOCETVM, while Rivet (1966) has argued that the See of Lichfield may correspond to a late Roman *civitas Letocetensium*, distinct from the *civitas Cornoviorum* to the west and the *civitas Coritanorum* to the east. Painter (1970, 5-6) suggests that the late Roman fragmentation of territories, of which this may be an example, could correspond with pre-Roman intra-tribal divisions. These arguments, plausible enough in historical terms, are not in any way reflected in the archeology of the study area.

Of the ten settlements identified only two have produced evidence of occupation after the 3rd century A.D. and both of these subsequently became the sites of mediaeval settlements. I suggest that other late Roman settlements may lie under the villages of Alrewas, Fradley and Whittington, and that by the end of the 4th century the main outlines of the mediaeval settlement pattern had begun to emerge. This would imply a decline in the number of settlements from ten to five but need not imply a decline in population. The economic climate of the late empire may have favoured larger holdings, or the population may simply have become concentrated in fewer centres.

The argument of the foregoing paragraph implies a degree of continuity between the pre-mediaeval and mediaeval periods. Comparison of maps 3 and 4 will show that such continuity is reflected in the field systems of the area: Sowfield, Stiforlong and Spellow Field all appear to have had antecedents in the Romano-British period.

THE LANDSCAPE OF THE 1st MILLENNIUM BC AND THE 1st CENTURY AD (MAP 5)

Map 5 is based wholly on archeological evidence and represents those features thought to date from the Iron Age. This dating is based on the results of excavations at several sites in Fisherwick (Smith, 1975a and 1977a, 59-61; 1979) and a typological study of Iron Age settlements throughout the Midlands river valleys. Several of the sites plotted on map 5 have been dated purely on typological evidence. Pre-Roman pottery was only very rarely found during field-walking and as the sites in question have not produced evidence of occupation during any subsequent period this dating seems reasonable.

In many respects the landscape was similar in appearance to that of the Romano-British period described above, though perhaps less intensively exploited. The farmsteads were themselves simpler, consisting usually of a single subrectangular enclosure occupied by a single round house. The field systems included areas of permanent fields demarcated by permanent boundaries; ditches cannot be moved. This suggests that, as in the Romano-British period, an *infield-outfield* system was in use.

Most of the evidence for the actual appearance of this landscape comes from the organic remains preserved in the waterlogged deposits excavated at Fisherwick. These remains included the bones of cattle and horses; many seeds and insects suggesting both pasture lands and cultivated ground; and pieces of wood, some which appeared to have been cut from

hedges growing around the fields while others were probably brought to the farmstead for use in building. A few wooden artifacts were also found. Only about 35% of the pollen spectrum was from woodland species suggesting that by the Iron Age the gravel terraces at least had been substantially cleared. The extent of woodland may have been similar to that suggested for the Romano-British period (map 4). Further details of these remains and the way in which they can be used to provide a picture of the Iron Age landscape will be found in Smith (1978), while a full account will be provided in the excavation report.

IN MAP 6 I have recorded the evidence of earlier settlement in the study area. The only features that can be accurately plotted are the barrows and it is not possible to speak of a landscape as such. A number of occupation sites have been identified by field-walking from surface collections of worked flint and two others have been found by excavation (Miles, 1969, 19-22; Smith, 1975b, 5-9), but none of these are specifically associated with crop-marks. A gazetteer of finds from field-walking is provided as an appendix to my thesis (Smith, 1977b, appendix 4). This evidence suggests that while the settlements themselves may have been permanent features they were not surrounded by substantial enclosures and their associated farmland was not demarcated by permanent boundaries. This in turn suggests that these settlements practised a form of shifting agriculture. If this is correct it is necessary to explain why, in the Iron Age, a pattern of landuse employing permanent boundaries replaced it.

The most likely explanation is that the adoption of the new system, with its permanently demarcated fields, represents a response to population growth. Hitherto it may have been possible to accommodate increases in the population by simply expanding the area brought into temporary cultivation. Eventually a point would be reached when such expansion was no longer possible without neighbouring communities competing for resources. The most likely response is an intensification of land-use making expansion unnecessary. The substitution of a pattern of shifting cultivation by an *infield-outfield* system would produce such an intensification, making it possible to support an increasing population without increasing the area of cultivation. According to Challis and Harding (1975, 163-5) the development of a complete system of land division is a feature of the whole Trent/Tyne province during the Iron Age, while Bradley (1971) has proposed an intensification of land-use as an important factor in the development of southern Britain during the Iron Age.

If the various maps presented with this article are compared it will be seen that a number of features thought to have originated in the Iron Age survived as part of the landscape down to the 18th century, and indeed it is still possible to visit some today. The main theme in the development of the landscape in the study area over the past two and a half millennia has been its subdivision into fields marked by permanent boundaries. Decisions taken by Iron Age farmers have, to some extent, influenced the history of the landscape in the area down to the present day.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS PAPER

BAR	British Archaeological Reports
CRO	County Records Office, Stafford
SHC	Staffordshire Historical Collections
Trans.	Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society
W.S.L.	William Salt Library, Stafford

TENTH TAMWORTH EXCAVATION REPORT, 1977: THE NORMAN BAILEY DEFENCES OF THE CASTLE

R. A. MEESON, F.S.A.

SUMMARY

In 1972 an excavation took place on the site of Tamworth castle in advance of redevelopment of the area, but evidence of the earliest defences of the bailey was not located. When, in 1977, the expected redevelopment encompassed the east end of the bailey a further emergency excavation was conducted during the course of large-scale earth-moving operations². In a small area at the extreme north-east corner of the site of the castle three lines of post-holes were located which clearly related to the timber defences. This report comprises a brief description of the bailey and the evidence for its timber palisade defences. In the discussion a double vertical revetment on the inner face of the ditch and a fighting platform within are strongly suggested. It is proposed that this arrangement was supported by a jointed timber frame. There is a brief comparison with selected architectural and archaeological evidence from elsewhere.

THE EXCAVATION

It is not difficult to discredit the tradition held in the locality that Aethelflaed built the castle¹, but the available documentary sources do not provide a full account of its early history. Gould has done much to unravel the facts from a secondary manuscript source⁴. He has found that the Marmions inherited the castle through a niece of Robert le Despencer⁵. This Robert would have raised the castle in the decade 1080-90. The dating evidence from the excavation was negligible but it is likely that at least part of the bailey was defended by a substantial herring-bone masonry wall in the Norman period. There was evidence for only one phase of timber defences in the excavation. The shell keep may have been built during the reign of Henry II⁶. The herring-bone curtain wall is unlikely to be earlier than the timber phase of the defences, or later than the shell keep. The quoin-stones in the bailey curtain wall are similar to those in the first visible phase of the shell keep and this may indicate that the two structures are contemporary.

1. T. E. McNeill, 'Tamworth Castle, Staffs.', *West Midlands Archaeological News Sheet*, 15 (1972), pp.26-8. Also *Medieval Archaeology (Med. Arch.)*, xvii (1973), p. 163.
2. The contractors, Messrs. Kendrick and Sons Ltd., offered every possible assistance, including the use of earth-moving machinery. The Borough Planning and Technical Officer liaised between the contractors and the architects, Elsom, Pack and Roberts for permission to conduct the excavation, which was readily granted. I am especially grateful to P. Field for his substantial contribution to an arduous excavation, and for the help of D. Cole, M. Hodder, D. Drewe and R. Davies. B. K. Davison kindly read the typescript.
3. This tradition was still reflected in the confusion between the *burh* defences and the castle bailey rampart in the report of the Summer meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute at Keele in 1963: C. A. Raleigh Radford (1964) 'Tamworth Castle' in 'The summer meeting at Keele', *Archaeological Journal* 120 (for 1963), 255ff. Dr. Radford has since recognized the distinction between the castle defences and those of the *burh*.
4. A date of construction of about 1086 has been proposed: J. Gould, 'The medieval burgesses of Tamworth; their liberties, courts and markets', *Trans*, xiii for 1971/72 (1972), pp.18 and 20.
5. Brit. Museum Add. MS. 28024, folio 126b.
6. Suggested by C. A. Raleigh Radford, *op.cit.* note 3.

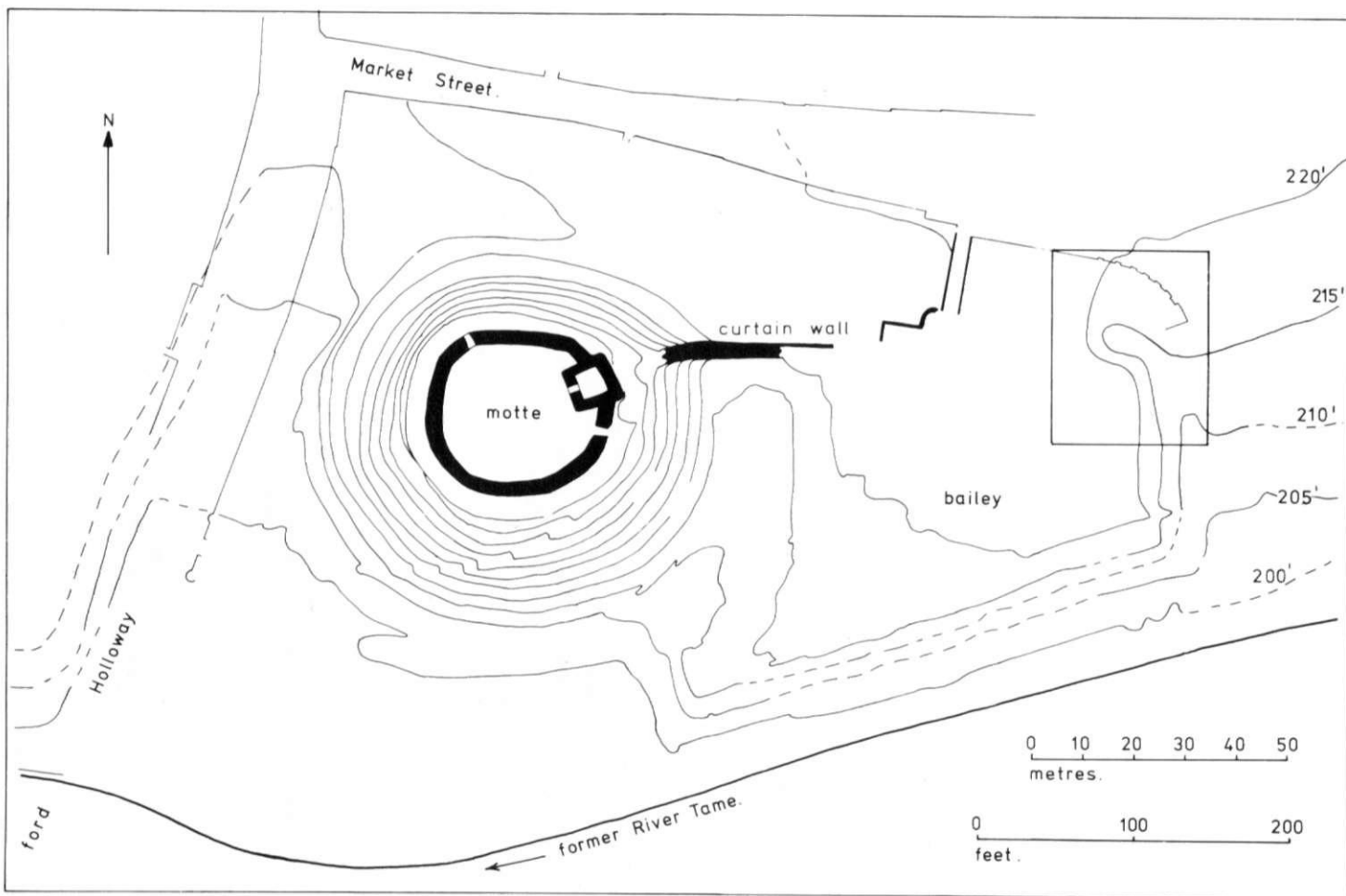


Fig. 1 Five-foot interval contour plan of the motte and bailey castle at Tamworth

The castle was built in the south-west corner of the 10th-century *burh* (NGR SK 20650390) adjacent to the confluence of the rivers Anker and Tame. The course of the R. Anker was altered in 1976 and prior to that it had migrated south from the edge of a river cliff. Based on geological borings, site observation and archaeological excavation⁷, the suggested north limit of the river Tame in the Norman period is shown on fig. 1.⁸ The motte was built over a low, sloping site adjacent to a river terrace. The latter was adopted as the site of the bailey.

The rectangle drawn round the north-east corner of the bailey in fig. 1 represents the area shown at a larger scale in fig. 2, in which the corner of the bailey is indicated by three lines of post-holes. The inner edge of the first-phase ditch corresponds with the outer row of post-holes. The course of a later ditch (see below) is reflected by the 215 feet contour.

Line AB in fig. 2 represents the section in fig. 4 and the southern limit of the excavated area as shown in the plan, fig. 3.

Mixed deposits of clay, sand, gravel and pebbles formed the natural surface where the castle was built; in places the sand was very soft.

During the excavation, a watching brief was kept on adjacent contractor's work. Post-holes were observed, cutting into natural sand, just inside the bailey at 17 and 18 (fig. 2). 17 was 30 x 22cm in plan and a depth of 15cm survived. Both post-holes were at the top of a high, steep bank.

The area shown in fig. 3 was examined in more detail. Post-holes 3 and 5 were on the same alignment as 17 and 18, and they too were just inside the break of slope between the bailey and the ditch. 5 was 30cm deep: the profile of 3 can be seen in the section, fig. 4. The first trial trench ABCD (fig. 3) was cut by spade so post-holes 3 and 4 were not recognized until seen in section. A similar feature at 2 in section CD had the profile of a post-hole but little survived in plan when the area was extended to the north. Therefore, the horizontal dimensions suggested for 2, 3 and 4 in fig. 3 are not exact. Despite the far from ideal conditions of observation and excavation, there was clearly a row of post-holes adjacent to the inner lip of the bailey ditch.

Outside the top row of post-holes the natural sand and clay had been cut away to form a very steep edge to the bailey, falling at least 1.5m to a horizontal ledge. The drop from the edge of the bailey to that ledge was in two planes: the upper was cut consistently at 45° and the lower plane was almost vertical. Fig. 5 best illustrates this significant feature, viewed from the north-west.

On the ledge was a double row of post-holes (fig. 3 nos. 6-13 and fig. 5). Set at the back of the ledge was an inner, almost continuous row of post-holes, most of which were no more than 10cm deep. However, five of the post-holes were very much more substantial (figs. 3 and 5): 6 was 22cm deep, 8 was 49cm deep, 10 was 32cm and 12 was 31cm deep. The back of 15 was 35cm deep. All these post-holes were quadrilateral in plan. The intermediate post-holes varied in size and shape: some were just shallow depressions (about 3cm) showing where the bases of posts had made impressions in the soft sand.

7. Borehole survey no. 1 for Ankerside redevelopment, for J. Tetlow and partners. Borehole survey no. 2 for Moore, Vaughan Maclean and partners.

8. This 5-foot interval contour plan is derived from a 1-foot interval contour aerial survey by Hunting Surveys Ltd. prepared in 1965 and 1966.

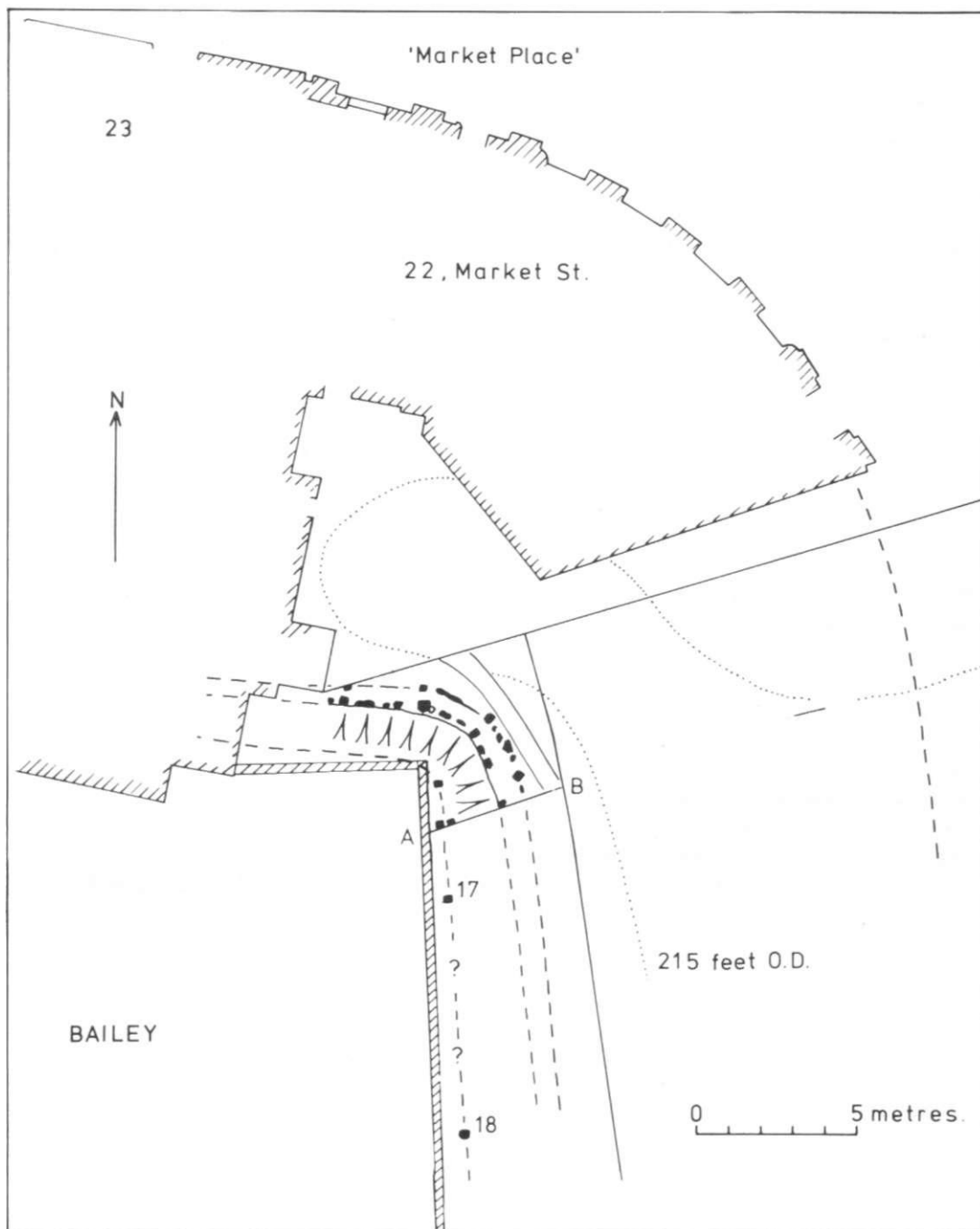


Fig. 2 Plan of the NE corner of the castle bailey, illustrating the site of the excavation and the positions of post-holes 17 and 18.

Four of the post-holes on the outer edge of the ledge (7, 9, 11 and 13) formed pairs with the main posts on the inner row. 7 was 48cm deep, 11 was 24cm and 13 was 23cm deep. 14 was not one of a pair: it was 38cm deep. A narrow slot south of 14 (fig. 3) indicated the alignment of the outer face of the rampart but much of this slot had been cut away, probably later in the medieval period. Features 7, 12 and 14 retained evidence of disturbed natural sand packed round the post-pipes. 8 had the distinct impression of a rectangular (squared) timber in the base of a larger post-pit. Between 11 and 9 the intermediate depressions were cut into sandy clay: up to 17cm wide at the top and 11cm deep, they had rounded and pointed profiles. Near to 9 was a slot no more than 5cm wide. There were two intermediate post-holes between 11 and 13, and there was space for a third post. North of a line between 7 and 11 the soft, natural sand sloped northwards away from the bailey for a depth of up to 40cm. In places the slope was pitted with irregular water-worn gullies, some of which were filled with washed sand. 8 and 9 formed a pair of post-holes where the soft sand had been repaired. Sand, clay and pebbles (16) had been puddled to form a stiff packing around 8 and 9 simultaneously to restore the profile of the bank. A depression between 8 and 9 may also have contained a post, but it was filled with 16. Post-hole 9 was only 7cm deep at the back, but gave the clear impression of the corner of a squared post. A substantial post could not have been self-supporting in this position. There was no evidence to suggest that the inner and outer rows belonged to separate phases of rampart construction. On the contrary, the manner in which 8 and 9 had both been packed about by the same material suggests that the two rows of post-holes may be contemporary. If there ever was a post between 8 and 9, 9 was probably a repair or replacement.

Feature 1 (fig. 3) was a post-medieval brick wall. 19 was the base of a late robber-trench best seen in the section (fig. 4). 20 (fig. 4) was a layer of dark-grey and orange sand with pebbles, overlying undisturbed sand. 21 was brown, gritty soil. 22 was sand with pebbles. 23 was a dark-grey turf line which might have represented the top of a repair of the bank which sealed 15. The layers at 25, succeeding 24 in the section (fig. 4), contained a residual medieval potsherd and three clay pipe bowls.

A silty deposit of grey sand overlay the natural sand at 26 (fig. 3). 27, over 26, contained a grey, gritty potsherd. The succeeding layers over the north face of the rampart (over 26 and 27) contained late medieval sherds of pottery and a fragment of decorated floor tile in a residual context with clay pipe bowls. 26, 20-24, and several later, very mixed tip-lines were all cut through by 19. The bottom 40-60cm of 19 had been filled back with large, irregular blocks of sandstone rubble. A few fragments of brick and a clay pipe stem were found amongst the sandstone blocks.

THE LATER BAILEY DEFENCES (fig. 6)

Prior to the excavation described above, part of the outer edge of a later bailey ditch was examined during a week-end when the contractors were not working on the Ankerside redevelopment site. Post-medieval cellars had disturbed the top 3m of the ditch. Below the cellars, the face of the ditch was followed for 1.4m (28 in fig. 6). The undisturbed fill of the ditch (fig. 6) yielded four fragments of pottery. In fig. 6 the former ground surface is reconstructed from the level of natural sand on either side of the ditch. The suggested profile is based partly on McNeill's observations on the north side of the bailey* and on

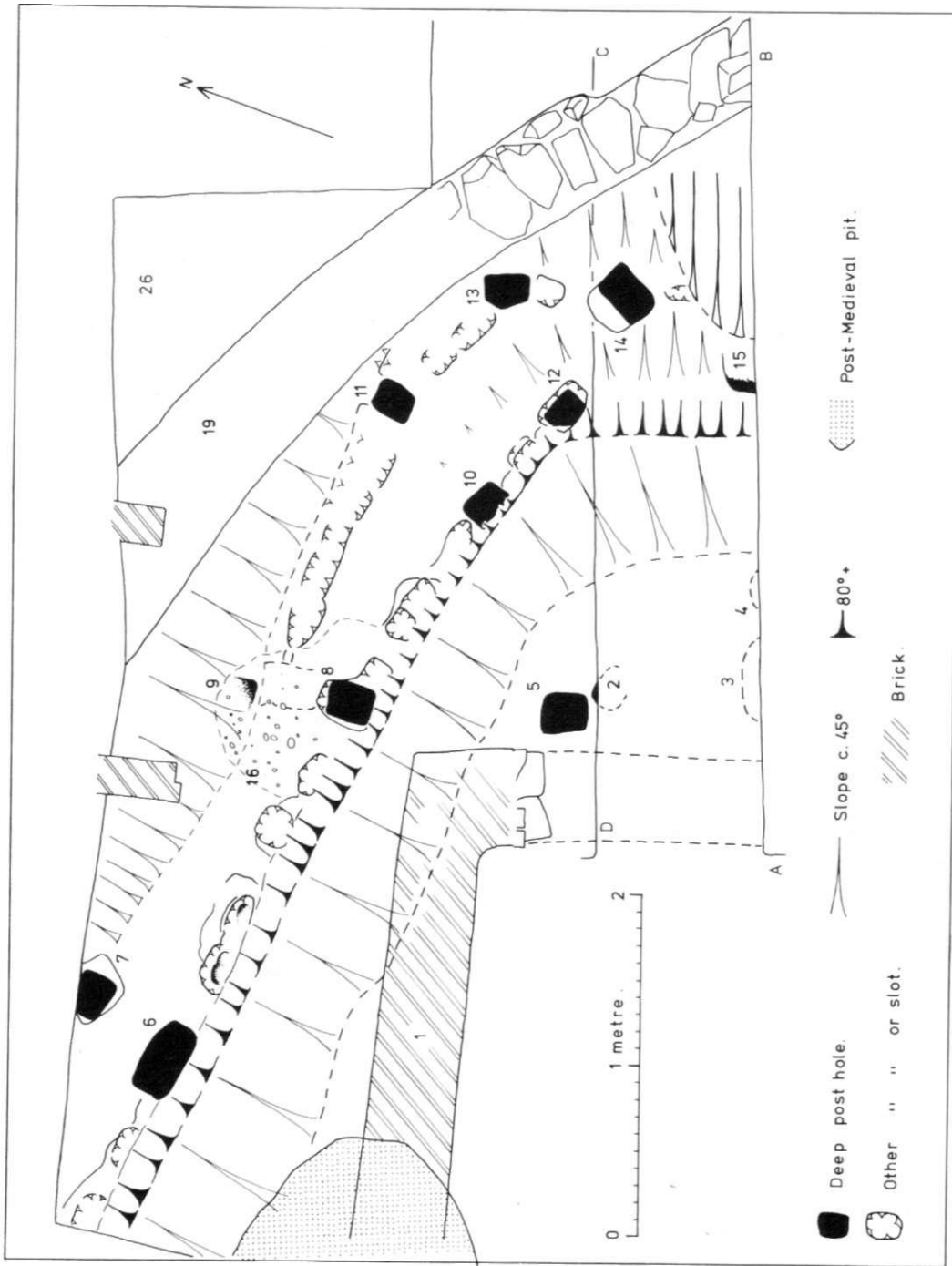


Fig. 3 Plan of the excavated area at the NE corner of the castle bailey

readings from a borehole¹⁰. The drawing illustrates the relationship between the large, later bailey ditch and the smaller ditch which was associated with the timber ramparts. Fig. 6 also indicates the robber trench which may reflect the line of the stone bailey wall. The herring-bone masonry wall already referred to ('curtain wall' in fig. 1) may relate to a major reconstruction of the defences, when a substantial second ditch was cut.

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE TIMBER RAMPART

Feature 24 and each of the succeeding tip-lines (fig. 4) provide evidence of a considerable volume of material being deposited over the edge of the bailey at the north-east corner in a post-medieval context. This agrees with the observation by McNeill¹¹ that the bailey ditch had been filled during the 17th century with earth stripped from the area of the castle bailey. Sandwiched between those tip-lines and the natural sand and clay were three rows of post-holes. The ledge which supported the lower, double row of posts was no more than 30-40cm above the bottom of the ditch with which it was associated. This chance survival appears to represent significant evidence of the nature of the first rampart at Tamworth castle, and it is possible to argue that the structure had a complex timber frame.

Post-holes 7, 9, 11 and 13 may have been linked by a continuous row of closely-spaced vertical timbers, either of split logs or sawn planks. It is suggested that the back row of principal posts (6, 8, 10 and 12) was also interspaced with vertical timbers and these may have formed a strong revetment to the edge of the bailey. The intermediate timbers in the front row could only have been supported by horizontal members between the principal posts. The irregular gullies in the sloping sand north of the outer row of posts are taken to have been caused by water-erosion when rain poured down the timber face of the palisade.

The repair of the ledge around post-holes 8 and 9 implies that both posts were part of a single structure and, significantly, none of the post-holes can be shown to belong to a second phase of construction.

Further interpretation is complicated by the fact that a corner was excavated, rather than a straight alignment. However, the main pairing of posts 6 with 7, 8 and 9, 10 with 11 and 12 with 13 is evident from the plan (fig. 4). 14 might have been an additional member required for structural stability at the corner. 15 may have been paired with another post before part of the bank was disturbed. These observations imply that the principal posts in the two front rows were structurally linked. Hence, there might have been a double vertical revetment at the edge of the bailey. A number of post-holes (3, 5, 17 and 18) just inside the edge of the bailey may have supported posts at the back of the rampart. Therefore, a horizontal fighting platform behind a vertical revetment is firmly suggested by the evidence.

It may be held that the double revetment was designed to contain the face of an earth rampart and that the posts in the top, inner row, were part of a simple palisade just behind a low double revetment. There are several objections to this. A simple palisade would not require squared timbers and it would have left a continuous row of closely-spaced

10. *Op.cit.* note 7.

11. *Op.cit.* note 1.

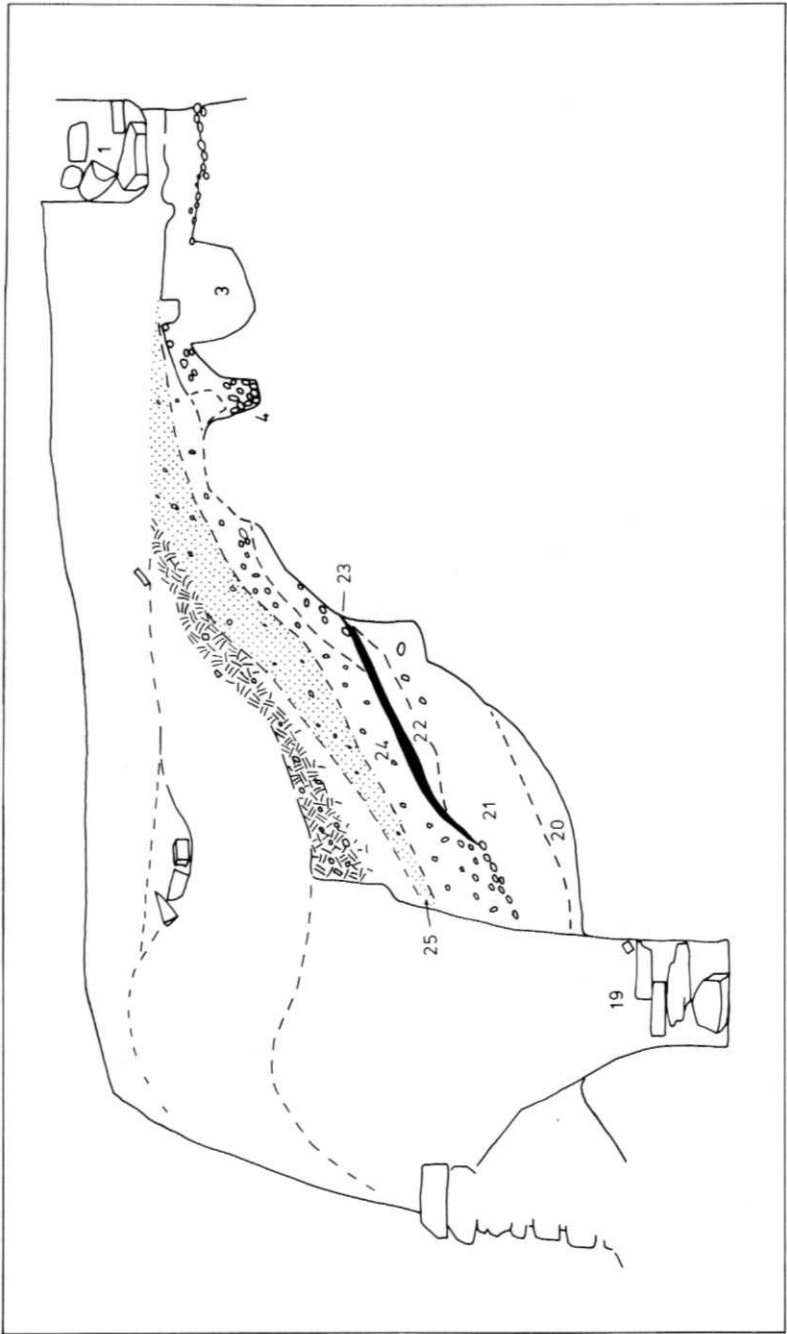


Fig. 4 Section A-B at the edge of the castle bailey

post-holes of uniform dimensions. A revetment rising only to the level of the bailey would have been no more than 1.7m high. A framed, double row of post-holes seems extravagant for such a purpose and leaves the problem of a very deliberate 45° chamfer of half the height of the bank unexplained. Evidence for substantial principal and secondary vertical timbers in the outer row obviates the possible interpretation of a sloping revetment or plinth. It is more likely that the double vertical revetment projected above the level of the bailey at the front of a fighting platform. Against this interpretation, it may be objected that such a heavy, apparently framed, double timber revetment could not have been a stable structure on a soft sand ledge above the base of the ditch. The outer revetment would have a tendency either to fall forward or to push out at its base, particularly if an earth fill had been piled up at the back of the revetment. But it has already been noted that the edge of the bailey was in two planes, the upper at an angle of 45°. This feature was so regular across sand and clay of varying hardness that erosion can be discounted as the cause: the angle seems to have been cut deliberately. This created a space of triangular section between the timber revetment and the edge of the bailey, and it introduces the possibility that the edge of the bailey was angled to accommodate diagonal braces in a fully framed rampart (fig. 7). The timber defences could have been supported by transverse frames which were reared into place as in timber-framed building construction. In fig. 3, post-holes 5, 8 and 9 form a straight line which could have supported such a framed truss, perhaps linked at the corner with another truss at 5, 10 and 11. Likewise, 13 and 12 could have been linked with 2, 15 could have been linked with 3 or 4 or both. The likely site of an inner post linked with 6 and 7 had been cut away by the post-medieval rubbish-pit (1). Post-holes 17 and 18 (fig. 2) could each have been similarly linked with post-holes on the ledge below. The spacing of the posts suggests that such transverse frames would have been an average of 2.2m apart.

This hypothesis takes into account both the slope at the edge of the bailey, and the means whereby the feet of a tall, vertical revetment could have been stabilized. The edge of the bailey could have been cut away to accommodate diagonal braces. Such braces would have resisted any tendency for the feet of the vertical revetment to push out and they could have been made to transfer the thrust from the front row of posts to the row at the back of the ledge. Such a framed structure could have been filled with earth, but it would have been perfectly stable with no earth fill. Squared timbers are suggested by the shape of a number of the post-holes and impressions. Once the builders had gone to the expense of cutting the timbers down to a rectangular profile it would have been reasonably easy to cut joints for a framed structure. Conversely, there would have been little point in squaring the timbers if there had been no intention to frame the structure, though simple lap-joints and mortices can be cut into timbers still in the round.

The thorny problem of interpreting timber structures from surviving post-holes rightly makes the archaeologist wary of detailed or dogmatic reconstructions. However, in this instance the combined evidence for principal and subsidiary squared vertical timbers forming a double revetment, fronting a diagonally chamfered bank and a further single row of squared timbers, all of regular disposition, allows the possibility of more detailed speculation than is often desirable. For this reason, it is worth considering the tentative proposal in fig. 7 alongside evidence from other sites and some knowledge of the building techniques of the period.

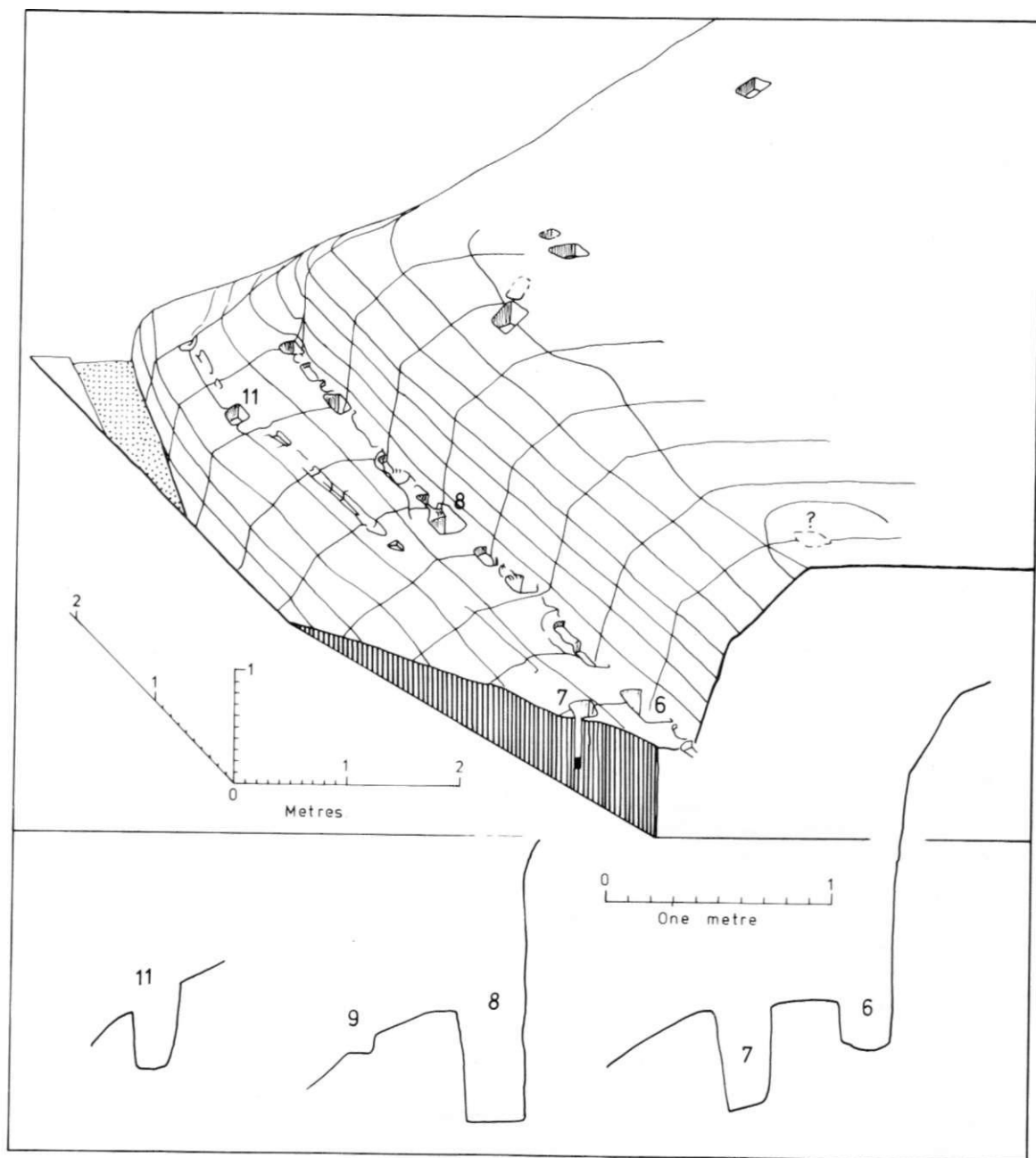


Fig. 5 Contour drawing of the NE corner of the castle bailey and post-hole profiles, viewed from the NW.

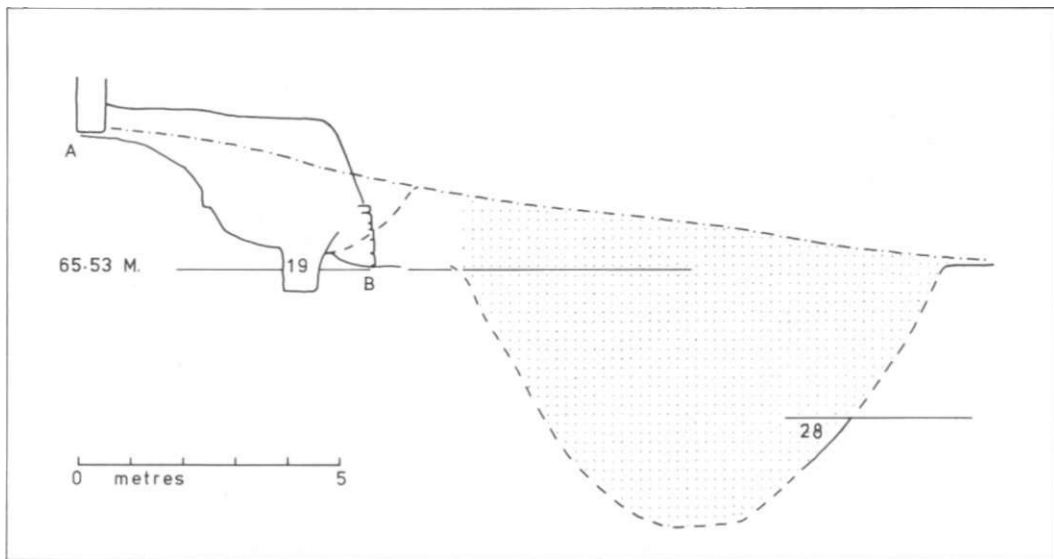


Fig. 6 Profiles of the site-section A-B: the first bailey ditch reconstructed and the second bailey stippled

It is now well established that the pre-Conquest *burh* defences were often provided with vertical timber revetments. There was a timber revetment at Wallingford, Berks.¹² The stone revetment facing an earth rampart around the borough of Cricklade probably replaced a timber predecessor.¹³ There may have been a vertical revetment to the first phase of the earth ramparts at Wareham.¹⁴ At Hereford, Shoesmith has proposed, the original Anglo-Saxon rampart had been fronted by 'a timber wall consisting of vertical round posts a metre apart . . . These were backed by horizontal timbers split from the round into rough planks up to 25cm in width.'¹⁵ The bank behind this fence was consolidated with horizontal branches. Even more significant is the construction of the A.D. 913 defences at Tamworth. Gould has suggested that a triple line of posts supported a stepped rampart with a vertical timber face.¹⁶ The subsidiary posts were vertical, so they were probably supported by horizontal timbers fastened or jointed to the principal posts. Hence, a vertical timber revetment was a common means of facing Anglo-Saxon ramparts and there is some reason to believe that crudely-jointed timbers might have been employed at Tamworth in 10th-century defences.

After the Norman Conquest the employment of vertical revetments to earth banks continued, and examples are known which retain both bailey ramparts and the sides of mottes. There were vertical motte-revetments at Aldingham,¹⁷ Huntingdon siege castle,¹⁸

12. *Med. Arch*, xvii (1973), pp.159-60.

13. *Med. Arch*, xiv (1970), pp.88 and 90.

14. *Med. Arch*, iii (1959), 125.

15. R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford', *Current Archaeology* 33, July 1972, pp.256-8.

16. J. Gould, 'First report of the excavations at Tamworth, Staffs., 1967—The Saxon Defences', *Trans*, ix for 1967/68(1968), pp. 17-29.

17. *Med. Arch*, xiii (1969), p.258 and fig. 77.

18. *Med. Arch*, xii (1968), p. 175.

Winchester,¹⁹ and South Mimms.²⁰ The bailey rampart was timber-faced at Castle Bromwich.²¹ At Hertford an early timber palisade was replaced by flint walls.²² At Ludgershall '... post-holes and emplacements for horizontal timbers' were found fronting the outer bank of the north ringwork and the inside of the rampart must also have been revetted.²³ At Ratley and Upton, Warwickshire, the 'rubble and earth bailey rampart may have been timber-laced'.²⁴ Not only are there precedents for the use of vertical revetments prior to the Conquest, but there are numerous examples of such timber facing being employed in the Norman period, and there is an increasing body of evidence for timbers passing through the line of the rampart.

At Lismahon, Co. Down²⁵ a Dark Age occupation site was heightened 'in the manner of a motte' after 1177. In addition to evidence for angled braces within the motte, there was a double row of posts forming the outer revetment. D. M. Waterman proposed that the timber revetment there had an external batter or sloping plinth. In the light of new evidence from Tamworth, it is possible that the inward-sloping post-impressions belonged to angled braces inside the line of a vertical outer revetment.

Surmounting the motte of about 1100 at Abinger²⁶ was a wooden palisade erected 'apparently before the middle of the twelfth century'. Hope-Taylor proposed that an outer row of post-holes supported the front of the rampart and an inner row held up the back of a fighting platform. He suggests that this palisade was diagonally braced, and such bracing would have been essential to stabilize the structure which he proposed. Neither at Lismahon, nor at Abinger do the excavators attempt to suggest a method of securing the diagonal braces to the vertical timbers, but surely they must have been jointed.

A number of 12th-century castle halls were built on a large scale and would have required jointed timber roof-trusses.²⁷ Aisled halls were the normal plan where a wide roof-span was required, as at Farnham²⁸ and Leicester.²⁹ Two important features of these early roofs need concern us here—the use of passing braces and of halving joints. Examples of both employed in English Romanesque buildings are discussed by C. A. Hewett.³⁰ Radiocarbon dates for timber from Cressing Barley Barn suggest a date in the 11th century for the felling of the oaks used in the original building where passing braces and halving joints were employed.³¹ Further, 'the use in roof-construction of halved joints, prior to the development of the mortice and tenon, is one of several techniques that are known from N. France . . . and can also be' traced in S.E. England, so by inference they are of Norman

19. M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, 1971. Tenth and final interim report, part 1', *Antiquaries Journal*, lv, pt. 1 (1975), pp. 104-5 and plates XXIV and XXVa.

20. D. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (1968), p.314.

21. *Med. Arch.* xv (1971), p. 148.

22. *Med. Arch.* xvi (1972), p.181.

23. *Med. Arch.* xi(1967), p.288.

24. *Med. Arch.* xv/7(1973), p.163.

25. D. M. Waterman, 'Excavations at Lismahon, Co. Down', *Med. Arch.* 3 (1959), pp.139-76.

26. B. Hope-Taylor, 'The excavation of a motte at Abinger, Surrey', *Arch. J.* 57 (1950), pp.23-31.

27. M. Wood, 'Norman Domestic Architecture', Royal Archaeological Institute monograph (1974), pp.77-8.

28. *Ibid.* pp.51-2.

29. *Ibid.* pp.36-7.

30. C. A. Hewett, *The development of carpentry 1200-1700; an Essex study*, (Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 22-39.

31. C. A. Hewett, appendix to 'Structural carpentry in medieval Essex', *Med. Arch.* vi-vii, (1962-3), p.271.

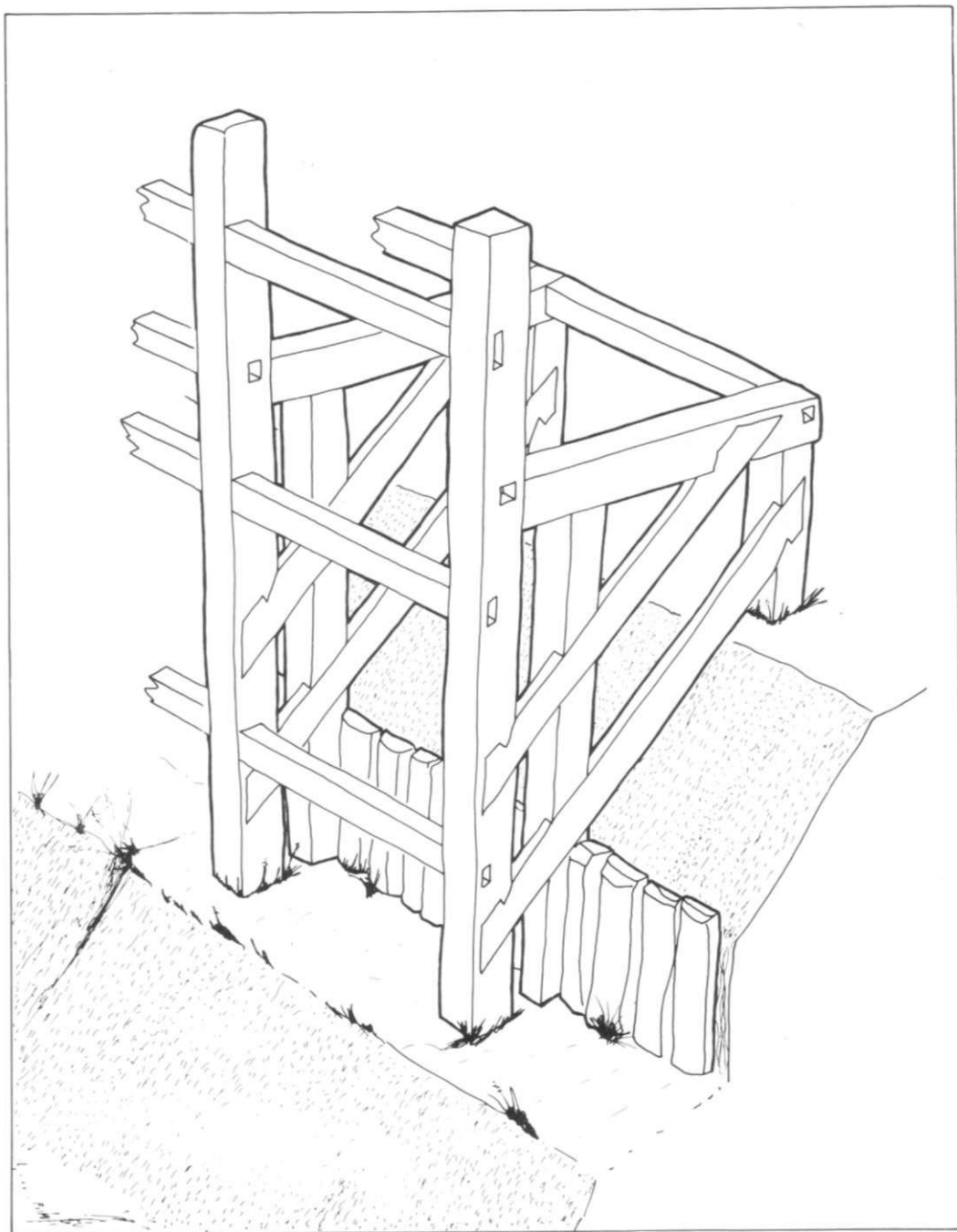


Fig. 7 Hypothetical reconstruction of the timber-faced rampart

inspiration'.³² These sources contain assertions that passing braces, halving joints and notched lap-joints were all available to the Romanesque builder: not only available, but a normal means of constructing timber frames in Romanesque northern France, the home of the first owners of Tamworth castle. Therefore, the use of passing braces with notched lap-joints to resist withdrawal might have been a natural, if not an automatic choice of jointing technique for the framing of the palisade at Tamworth, and would add credence to the suggested explanation for the 45° chamfer at the edge of the bailey. The use of such braces is evidenced at Rayleigh Mount, where an oak gangway has been found with 'ten-feet-tall squared uprights' and diagonal braces jointed on. At least one of the braces there was notched and pegged.³³ The Normans had the techniques available to construct a rampart framed in like manner to that in fig. 7.

In assessing some of the parallels, it is clear that there is a continued need for wide discussion of the nature of construction of timber-faced and timber-framed ramparts in the Norman period. The details in the reconstruction in fig. 7 are speculative, but they are logically based upon what is known of Norman timber building techniques and the archaeological evidence. If the details arouse discussion they will serve their purpose, but the case for a double vertical timber revetment with a fighting platform to the rear, all of framed construction, is supported by good evidence at Tamworth.

32. S. R. Jones and J. T. Smith, 'The Great Hall of the Bishop's Palace at Hereford', *Med. Arch.* /v(1960), p.77, note 18.

33. Op.cit. note 20, p.290. I am grateful to Mr. D. G. Macleod for the following information from excavations at Rayleigh Castle, which he directed in 1969 and 1970: 'At one phase (of the timber defences of the barbican) there was evidence for horizontal framing not only directly back but diagonally across the line of uprights, and angled diagonal struts were possibly used on the bridge structure as well.' The surviving timbers are in Prittlewell Priory Museum, Southend-on-Sea.

ARTIFACTS FOUND IN THE MOAT OF WEST BROMWICH MANOR-HOUSE

PART I

INTRODUCTION

After the report on the West Bromwich manor-house by S. R. Jones in *Transactions* xvii for 1975-76 (1977), Mr. Adrian Oswald, lately Keeper at the City of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, suggested that the material found in the moat should be published. The suggestion was enthusiastically received by Mr. James Roberts and Mr. Richard Ludgate, Director of Library Services, Sandwell M.B.C.

Mr. Roberts excavated and cleared the moat in 1959 while the manor-house was being restored. He was assisted by Mr. E. T. Richardson, Chief Administrative Officer of West Bromwich County Borough and his brother, with some boys from the local grammar school. They all worked hard and enthusiastically and were encouraged and helped by Alderman G. S. W. Jones and Mr. E. Thomas, who was then Assistant Town Clerk of West Bromwich.

Since the artifacts were taken from the moat in 1959, they have been in the custody of West Bromwich (now Sandwell) local authority and are now stored in the Art Gallery, Holyhead Road, Wednesbury.

The reports on the material will be published in parts: this the first deals with the shoe leather and the clay pipes. Reports on the pottery, tiles, glass and a small number of other artifacts will be published later.

The Society is indebted to Mr. John Thornton and Mr. Adrian Oswald for their reports, to Mr. R. Ludgate and Mr. M. Dillon (Curator of Wednesbury Art Gallery) for their co-operation, and to Sandwell M.B.C. who have generously given a grant for the publication of the papers.

J. W. Whiston.

THE SHOE LEATHER

JOHN H. THORNTON, F.S.A., F.C.F.I.

CONSERVED SPECIMENS

The present state of these makes accurate and detailed examination extremely difficult. The conserving agent has now become a tacky adhesive, the pieces are inflexible and important details such as stitch holes are filled. This emphasizes the importance of examining excavated leather *before* conservation rather than afterwards, in this case many years afterwards.

There appears to be the parts of at least four shoes, none complete although the missing parts may be among the unconserved specimens also examined. No attempt has been made at this stage to relate the two separate sets.

Those marked * are illustrated in figs. 1-2.

1.* **WELTED SHOE**, man's, probably right foot; consists of part of the vamp,¹ toe-puff, two incomplete quarters, insole, fragment of welt, middle-sole (three-quarter); fragment of repair clump sole; part of heel seat. The upper is of reversed cowhide or buff leather.

Vamp: although the instep portion (top) including the tongue is now missing, probably having been deliberately removed and the leather used for another purpose, the forepart remains with a square toe and mitred corners with stitch holes. The lasting margin is well defined and carries the welt-sewing holes, stitch length 10mm-15mm (variable). The rear ends of the vamp wings although deteriorated still show the butted seams where they were joined to the fore-ends of the quarters, stitch length c. 3.5mm. Inside the toe there is a moulded leather toe-puff (toe reinforcement) also with mitred corners.

Quarters: a pair originally joined at the back but now separated and very much worn away especially near the bottom. The fore-ends retain their butted seams, stitch length 3.5mm, where they joined the vamp wings but the instep tie-straps which would originally have extended from the top front corners are now missing. The cleanness of cut of the present top edges and also of the vamp throat suggests that the original shoes were converted into slippers by removing the tongue and tie-straps. There is a slight trace of the back seam remaining, apparently butted with stitch holes at 3.5mm. The lasting margins are very well defined and carry the welt-seam holes, stitch length c. 11mm.

Insole: complete. The important features are:

- (a) the long narrow and squared toe;
- (b) the impression of the bracing thread on the flesh side (underneath) which was used when lasting the upper;
- (c) the very prominent edge/flesh welt-seam holes, stitch length 10mm-15mm, all round the specimen;
- (d) small holes, hardly discernible, down the central axis showing where the insole was tacked to the last during shoemaking.

The insole corresponds in shape and holing to the vamp and quarters.

L. 250mm; W. (toe) 35mm; W. (tread) 55mm; W. (seat) 55mm.

Welt: there are several fragments of welt characterized by their two rows of stitching holes: (a) for the welt/upper/insole seam and (b) for the welt/middle-sole/sole seam. Seam (a) is always coarser than seam (b) in a welted shoe. The pieces of welt which appear to belong to this particular shoe, since the stitch holes more or less coincide, are of the folded-over type used to give a platform effect.² The inner flange has peaks and holes where it was held down flat before sole attaching.

Sole, middle-sole and repair clump: the sole is of three-quarter length finishing where the heel began (heel now missing); it has a broad square toe. The original channel of holes through which it was stitched to the welt is clearly visible in the waist, stitch length c. 5.0mm (as in the welt itself). In making the shoe a groove would have been made round

1. A glossary of technical terms and a description of the welted shoe construction, both by J. H. Thornton, are printed in *Transactions of the Museum Assistants Group* 12 (1973). This also contains a full report of a seminar on 'Excavated Shoes to 1600' held at the Institute of Archaeology, London, in November 1973. There is also a glossary of shoe terms in *Trans*, xiv, pp. 57-60.
2. *Platform welts* of the 17th century are described and illustrated in the report by J. H. Thornton contained in: *A Post-Medieval Excavation in Woodbank Street, Burslem, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs. SJ866497* by S. J. Greaves (City of Stoke-on-Trent Museum Arch. Soc. Report No. 10, 1976).

the margin of the sole on the grain surface and then the holes pierced in this groove (not always accurately). The *middle-sole* corresponds to the sole. The *repair clump* was nailed on and only a fragment now remains with some nails. The general shape and wear of sole and repair suggests a right-foot shoe.

There is also a fragment of what may be the *heel seat* but the heel itself has now disappeared. Both sole and middle curve downwards at their seat end indicating where the heel was placed. It is possible that originally the sole may have continued to form the breast of the heel and the top-piece and that the present sole is actually a repair replacement which is why it is three-quarter length.

Dating: the long square-toed latchet tie shoe, welted construction, was fashionable c. 1650 and can be seen in many portraits of that time, e.g. those by Gerard Terborch.³

2. WELTED SHOE PARTS, probably woman's, consisting of insole (now in two parts separated at waist), mitred toe-puff, sole forepart, wooden heel (covered). The shoe would have had a long narrow and square toe.

*Insole:** has edge/flesh welt sewing holes, stitch length c. 8.0mm (variable); also carries the criss-cross impression of the bracing thread and of the upper-lasting margin. The seat of the insole is markedly cupped from foot pressure. L. c. 240mm.

Sole: also has the bracing thread impressions on the flesh side (uppermost in the shoe) indicating there was no middle-sole in the shoe. Only the forepart now remains and the toe is missing. The attaching seam, grain/flesh, has a stitch length of c. 4.5mm.

Welt: although there several fragments of welt, some with the same length of welt sewing stitch as on insole, the sole seam itself is apparently bigger on some pieces. The 'conservation' has masked this so that it is not certain whether any of the pieces belong to this shoe although it would seem logical. Restitching of repair additions has also confused the issue.

3. SOLE AND MIDDLE-SOLE FRAGMENTS of a square-toed welted shoe. There is the usual sole stitching in channel set in c. 8.0mm from the edge and with a stitch length of 2.5mm (very fine).

4. INSOLE AND SOLE fragments of a welted shoe. One shows an edge/flesh welt seam, stitch length c. 7.5mm and another is unusual as it has been cut across the waist where there is a row of edge/flesh stitch holes indicating that the heel seat was a separate piece stitched to the forepart. As there is normally very little abrasive wear on insoles perhaps it can be assumed that the leather available to the shoemaker was not long enough to accommodate the full length of the insole so he made it in two parts and joined them together; such a device has been noted in the case of medieval long-pointed soles.

A fragment of welted insole heel seat has a welt seam with a stitch length of c. 6.0mm and the front edge is torn and not cut, so it may not belong to the forepart just described.

A fragment of sole forepart is very deteriorated but could belong to the insole.

5.* HEEL AND HEEL-SEAT FRAGMENTS, One is a *top piece* (i.e. the layer of the heel in contact with the ground) with a stitching channel and a nail *in situ*; D-shape. L. 40mm; W. 45mm.

6. VARIOUS WELT FRAGMENTS, all showing the two seams already described. Also a few unidentified fragments. Some of the welt pieces show the shaping round the toe and scalloping of the flanges where these have been stitched down flat before sole attaching.

3. Gerard Terborch, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, 1656, and *Paternal Admonition*, c. 1650, both in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

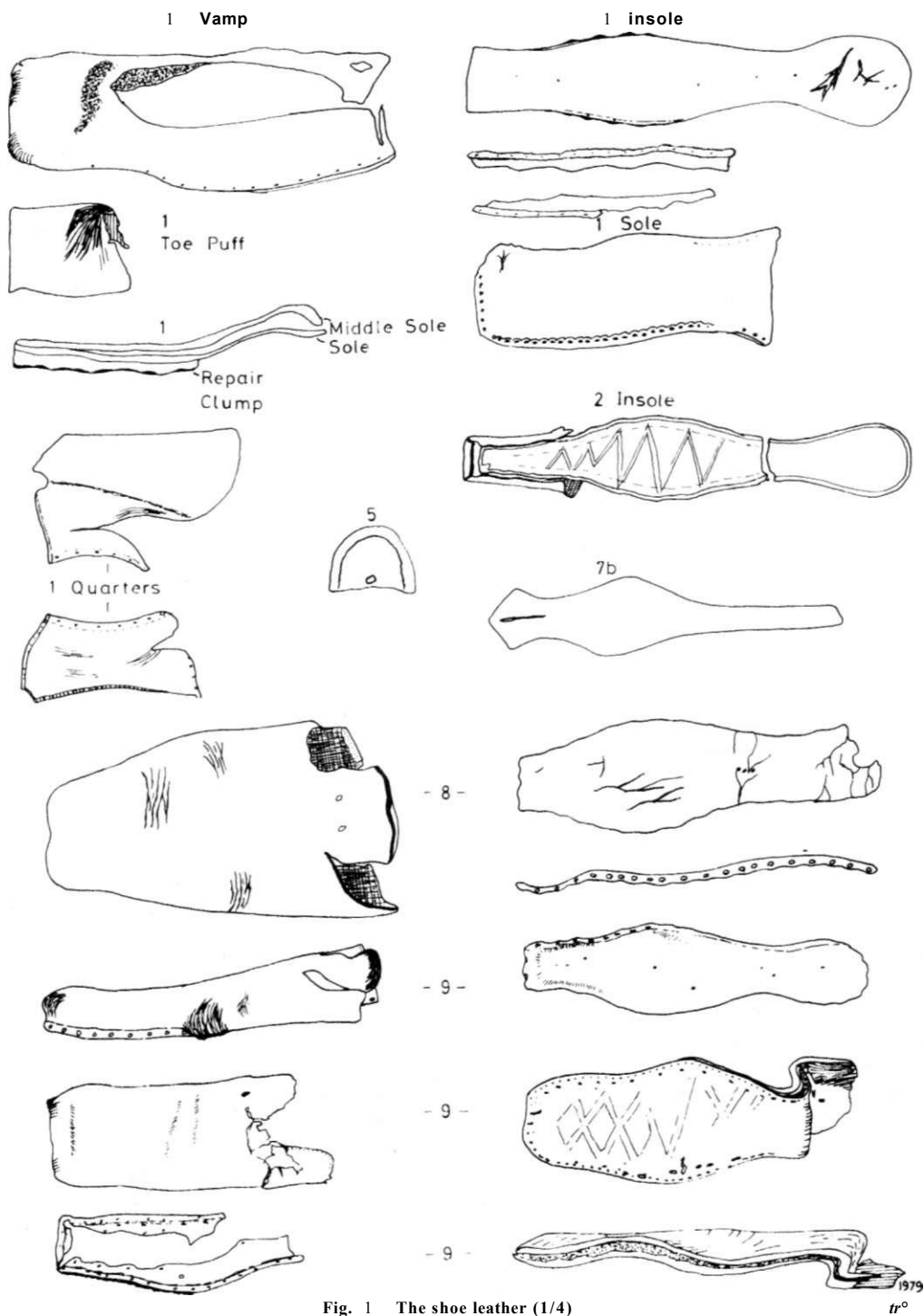


Fig. 1 The shoe leather (1/4)

7. (a) A KNOTTED LEATHER THONG, possibly a shoe tie.

(b)* A STRAP. L. 205mm; W. (max.) 47mm. The main central portion is oval with a short wide tongue extending from one end and a long narrow one from the other. The short tongue has a central longitudinal slot c. 35mm long, presumably a button- or tie-hole; the end of this slot nearest the end of the strap itself has the impression of a button or possibly a stud. The piece may be spur leather but this is not certain.

DRY SPECIMENS

Some of these may actually have been conserved with an oil or wax but the majority appear just to have dried out from the wet excavated state and could be wet back and softened if desired. They consist of upper sections, welt fragments, insoles, middle-soles, soles, piece-soles, a heel cover, a spur leather, strap and other fragments and two washers. In three cases it has been possible partially to assemble shoes and these are described first below. They all appear to date from the first half of the 17th century, some earlier than others.

8.* WELTED SHOE, man's, incomplete; consists of vamp and insole only, probably left foot.

Vamp: of thick hide with square-moulded but not mitred toe, the pleats being very prominent inside. The throat extends upwards into a tongue with a convex top edge and carrying two tie-holes for the tie-string. The lasting margin is well-defined and carries large welt-seam holes, stitch length 8.0mm. The end of the right vamp wing has an edge/flesh butted seam, stitch length 4.0mm, where it joined the right quarter. There is also row of stitch holes inside at the top, possibly to hold a reinforcing tab at this point of weakness subject to stress in wear. The left vamp wing has now deteriorated but again there are a few holes round the adjoining throat. L. (end of toe as moulded to top of tongue): c. 175mm.

Insole: complete except for back of heel seat; square toe and edge/flesh welt-seam holes, both features matching those of the vamp to which it can be fitted. Also has possibly three central holes where it was tacked to the last in shoemaking. L. 207mm.

None of the spare welt pieces, soles and heel pieces can be positively allocated to this shoe although it would seem logical that some are associated.

Date.c. 1650.

9.* WELTED SHOE, probably woman's, left foot, incomplete; consists of vamp, welt, insole, middle-sole and sole. The sections are all distorted and it is not certain that they actually belong to each other; it does however seem probable.

Vamp: reversed cowhide (buff); square moulded toe with pleated but unmitred corners. The throat has now deteriorated but it would originally have been extended upwards into a tongue (as 8). The end of the left vamp wing still shows the butted seam where it joined the left quarter, stitch length c. 2.5mm. The lasting margin is well defined and carries the welt-seam holes, stitch length 7.0-11.0mm. L. (end of toe as moulded to end of left wing): 155mm.

Insole: complete and showing a slight foot impression. The square toe and edge/flesh welt-seam holes appear to match those of the vamp (the present contorted state of both specimens makes precise matching difficult). The heel seat is cupped from foot pressure. The flesh side (underneath) shows the criss-cross impressions of the bracing thread used for lasting and there are four or five holes down the central axis where tacks were used to hold the insole to the last. L. 205mm.

Welt: outside waist and forepart, toe and inside forepart. Still retains the shape given to it during welt sewing and matches the insole with a broad swing round the outside joint

(little toe) and sharp corners at the toe. It has a rolled or folded edge used to give a platform effect (see 1. above) particularly in women's shoes, and a broad irregular flange on the inside with scallops and holes where thread held this flat. The impression of this section and its scallops remains on the insole flesh side. There are several sets of holes; the original welt sewing ones and at least two sets of sole stitching ones indicating a repair, possibly the attaching of a new sole.

Middle-sole and sole: these remain together although the outer sole has worn away at the inside tread (right). Both sections turn down at the waist to form the heel breast and the sole only continues to become the top-piece of the heel (next to the ground), now considerably worn. A few flakes of the heel itself remain, also some nails. There is the criss-cross impression of the bracing thread on the surface of the middle-sole matching that on the insole. The original sole stitching channel remains in the waist but on the inside surface (middle-sole) there are numerous holes round the margin (as on the welt) indicating repair. There is also a curved score mark on the inside waist, apparently deliberate, possibly made by a knife when a clump repair sole was added and the end was trimmed; the lines of holes support this theory.

Heel: as already mentioned, a piece remains *in situ* and consists of fragments of the 'jumps'⁴ or thin layers from which it was built with a few nails.

Date:c. 1650.

10. WELTED SHOE: instep tie, right foot; apparently complete except for part of welt. Consists of vamp, pair of quarters, insole, welt (part), middle-sole and sole (with repair additions).

Vamp: Complete although deteriorated in centre of instep. It has the usual central tongue with a pair of tie-holes but it appears to have been cut deliberately down the centre of the tongue into the vamp itself, presumably to provide more room for the foot here. The lasting margin has disappeared at the toe end which itself has deteriorated but elsewhere it is well defined and carries large welt sewing holes, stitch length c. 8.0mm. The rear ends of the vamp wings at right angles to the lasting margin have edge/flesh butted seams, stitch length 4.5mm, where they were joined to the fore-ends of the quarters.

Quarters: a matched pair originally joined down the back centre (as in modern shoes). The top front corners are extended forward into latchet tie-straps, each with a single hole for the tie-string itself. The butted edge/flesh seams down the front edges match those of the vamp wings and the back seams, also edge/flesh, match each other with a stitch length of 4.0-4.5mm. The top of the back part of each quarter has now worn away and as there are grain/flesh stitch holes near to the worn edges and also further forward at right angles to the lasting margin, presumably a large repair patch was stitched on round the back of the shoe. The lasting margin is well defined and moulded round the back of the shoe; as does the vamp it carries the welt sewing holes, stitch length c. 8.0mm.

Both vamp and quarters show traces of stitch holes inside at the top of the butted side seams which joined them together; presumably a reinforcing tab was stitched across on each side at these points of weakness where there is considerable stress when the shoe is taken off and put on.

4. In his *Academy of Armory and Blazon* (Chester, 1688), Randle Holme gives the definition, 'The jumps for heels are only the shavings of leather beaten together, of which a heel is raised.' He also mentions 'The top piece of the heel' without defining it and 'The pegs that fasten the leather of the heel together'.

Insole: complete and showing a slight foot impression. The toe is rounded and not square like the previous specimens suggesting that the shoe was made rather earlier in the century, perhaps c. 1620. This view may also be confirmed by the fact that the insole is very obviously for a right foot and in general after c. 1600 shoes became 'straight', i.e. neither left or right and remained so for the next two hundred years. The edge/flesh welt-seam has large holes matching those of the vamp and quarters; also the scalloped edge of the toe end matches the pleats in the vamp lasting margin. Some large holes in the forepart have been made by the sole reinforcing and repairing nails (see below). Smaller holes show where the insole was tacked to the last during making. L. 177mm; W. (tread) 53mm; W. (waist) 26mm; W. (seat) 38mm.

Welt: if this is in fact the appropriate welt for this shoe, about three-quarters of it remain. It is of the plain type, wedge-shape cross-section, and carries the two seams: welt/upper/insole, stitch length 8.0mm and welt/sole, stitch length c. 5.0mm.

Middle-sole: complete except for the toe end. It shows the impression of welt and lasted upper but neither here nor on the insole are there any impressions of bracing thread which appears to be associated with the folded type of welt. It is still fixed to the sole with the repair nails protruding.

Sole: worn away at toe and heel-seat, particularly at the right corner (as usual for a right shoe). At the heel seat between sole and middle-sole several *lifts* have been inserted to give heel elevation. Traces of the original sole stitching channel are visible in the waist, stitch length c. 5.0mm (as in the welt). On top of the sole there is now a forepart repair

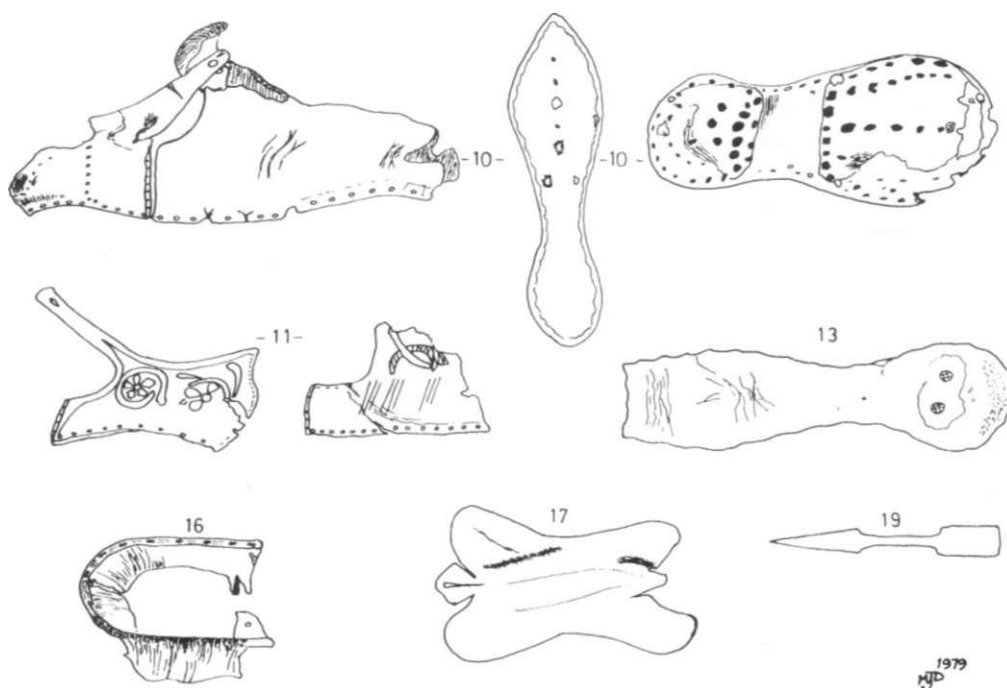


Fig. 2 The shoe leather (1/4)

clump and a heel repair top-piece, both nailed on. The forepart nails are placed in two parallel rows round the sides and end in a single row down the centre and across the waist. The heel nails are scattered. L. c. 205mm.

Dating: as stated above, the shape of the insole suggests early 17th century. This view is also strengthened by the insertion of a 'wedge' heel which heralds the introduction of heels proper round about 1595-1600.

11.* VAMP (PART) AND QUARTER of a girl's latchet-tie shoe.

Vamp: only a small portion remains of the right side including the right side of throat and wing; the left side, toe-end and tongue have gone. The lasting margin is narrow and carries the welt sewing holes, stitch length 5.0mm. The wing end has a butted seam where it joined the quarter with edge/flesh holes, stitch length c. 3.0mm. The remaining throat edge is a deep re-entrant curve. The most interesting feature of this specimen, however, is an incised decorative pattern, possibly of entwined leaves, suggesting that this and the following section are from the same shoe which must have been a high quality one.

Quarter: left side. The front edge has a deep re-entrant curve and the top corner extends forward into a long narrow instep tie strap. The front edge carries a butted seam, stitch length 3.5mm where it joined the left vamp wing (now missing) and the back seam is also butted but in this case the seam is edge/grain so that the stitching would show on the outside, stitch length c. 2.0mm, which is very fine indeed, again indicating a high quality shoe. The lasting margin is well defined and moulded where it began to turn round the back of the heel; it carries welt sewing seam holes, stitch length 5.5-7.0mm. The striking feature of this specimen is again the incised decoration. It is a floral pattern and as there is no evidence of stitching in the score marks it suggests that it was originally picked out in colour, perhaps on a white background (note: the present white colour of some of the lines may not be contemporary with the shoe itself; also, cracks in the leather have tended to confuse the design). L. (diagonally ignoring the strap): c. 110mm.

Dating: This type of tie shoe with very long straps and cut-away sides can be seen in early 17th century portraits.⁵

THE REMAINDER OF THE SPECIMENS are grouped together in various categories; some of them may belong to shoes already described.

12. *Upper fragments:* seven; identifiably by the lasting margins with welt sewing seams or side seams. One fragment appears to be a toe-puff (see 1 above) from a square-toed shoe rather than the actual toe of the vamp itself. Some are lasting margins from which the remainder of the upper has been removed.

13.* *Insoles:* one complete one has a very square cornered toe end with a slightly concave front edge suggesting a date of 1630-40. It has the usual edge/flesh welt-seam, stitch length c. 9.0mm (as small as 5.0mm at the toe) and the usual tack-holes for attaching it to the last during making. There are also two corroded nails at the seat suggesting that a heel was attached; also the flesh surface (underneath) is smoother here than elsewhere where it would have been covered by a heel. Some indication of cross-bracing thread. L. 206mm; W. (tread) 55mm; W. (waist) 28mm; W. (seat) 53mm.

The four other fragments are incomplete but all show welt-seams and three of them the cross-bracing thread impressions.

5. e.g. Isaac Oliver, *Richard Sackville, Third Earl of Dorset*, 1616, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

14. *Heels and heel seats*: a complete heel showing the pack of very thin layers or 'jumps' wood pegged together. The top is cupped to take the heel of the foot. (Note: Some of the top layers are detached and it is not certain that they actually belong to this heel. The shape and holes roughly correspond.) L. c. 70mm; W. (max.) 57mm; H. c. 50mm.

15. *A built heel*, roughly circular in shape, showing the many thin 'jumps' (now distorted by drying). The large diamond-shape peg holes remain although the pegs have gone. L. (back to front) c. 60mm; W. c. 56mm.

Also various lifts, seats and top-pieces.

16.* *Heel cover*: the leather cover for a wooden heel, still retaining the curvature of the heel itself. It shows the folded top edge where it was stitched to the heel seat before turning down over the wood, stitch length 10mm; the seam down each side of the heel breast (front), stitch length 3.0mm; and the edge/flesh back seam where the two sides were butted together, stitch length 3.0mm. The two small projecting flaps at the front would have been covered by the sole itself curving downwards here to form the heel breast and then continuing underneath to form the top-piece. A slight trace of the bottom seam remains. The estimated height of the heel which was covered is c. 35mm.

17.* *Spur leather (?)*: a bone-shaped piece of leather, possibly the instep strap (across the top of the foot) for a spur. Has slot for a hook or stud at one end. L. 120mm.

18. *Two circular washers*: (a) external diameter 57mm; internal 16mm; (b) (irregular shape) external 55mm (max.); internal 10mm (max.).

19.* *Shoe tie (?)*: a strip c. 120mm long squashed for the middle third of its length but spear pointed at one end and rectangular at the other. I have not seen this type before.

20. Various fragments of strap (six).

21. A quantity of scrap including pieces cut from shoes, fragments of welt, upper, sole, etc. There does not appear to be any actual workshop cutting scrap i.e. waste leather produced during the cutting up of skins, suggesting the material here is not from the site of a shoemaker's shop but rather from a cobbler's shop. One long triangular piece with an edge/flesh seam down each side resembles the toe-end of a long narrow insole but it is very narrow indeed for the 17th century, even allowing for shrinkage during drying; there is also a seam across the end (the short side of the triangle) which might indicate that the piece is a repair addition to an insole. The edge/flesh seam has a stitch length of 6.5mm, so could be a welt-seam.

The illustrations for this paper were very kindly drawn by Mr. Michael Dillon, Curator of Wednesbury Art Gallery.

THE CLAY PIPES

ADRIAN OSWALD, F.S.A.

UNMARKED BOWLS (fig. 3)

Nos. 1 and 2 are representative of types produced in London from 1600-50, nos. 3-5 are probably local products. No. 3 with large heart-shaped base foreshadows types made in Lincolnshire from c. 1660 onwards, as does no. 4 with large round base and bowls varying in size and shape from a to b. No. 5 with narrow base and slimmer bowl is a forerunner of Broseley type 2.¹ In date the unmarked pipes range from c. 1600-50 being probably slightly earlier than those from the Bishop's Palace at Lichfield.²

Apart from those drawn there were two stems of red clay, one pinched stem, one green-glazed mouthpiece, and a mere scatter of fragmentary bowls of the 18th and 19th centuries. Two curved stems perhaps represent fanciful shapes of 18/19th century date.

MARKED BOWLS (fig. 4)

Nos. 6-13 marked WH with no less than eight different dies must surely represent a local maker working over a period from c. 1630-50. Of the others nos. 16-19 are probably of Broseley origin. Nos. 14 and 15 also appear to be Midland products.

No maker's name can be given for WH. The bowl shape of nos. 10 and 11 is purely Midland in character and the die of no. 10 with a central tobacco plant foreshadows the common use of this feature in Yorkshire pipes. The varieties of die and shape covering twenty to thirty years implies the existence of a local maker within a delivery area of perhaps 20-30 miles. The use of so many dies and moulds indicates a maker of some substance and the whole group is of interest since it shows a range of bowl shapes in use at an early date by one maker. Very similar marks to nos. 7 and 11 occur at Broseley in the Atkinson and Robinson collections and the bowl shape of no. 11 is also found there. On the other hand the type of die of nos. 6, 9 and 10 is not found at Broseley so that the weight of evidence is in favour of a maker nearer West Bromwich.

The date range for the bulk of the pipes is from c. 1620-50 with a scatter of later examples.

Fig. 3

1. Yellowish Clay, smooth semi-polished surface. Type 3/4G. c. 1620-40
One example, 7/64in. bore.
2. White smooth clay, no visible grits. Type 16/17G. c. 1630-50.
11 examples, 7/64in. bore.
3. White and yellow clay with some black grits, large heart-shaped base. c. 1640-50. The type occurs in the London area c. 1640-70 and larger in Lincolnshire post-1660.³
Two examples, 7/64in. bore.
4. White and yellow clay, larger and protruding bases. The type occurs in Lincolnshire post-1650.
Nine examples, 6/64in. and 7/64in. bore.
5. Smooth white/buff clay. Small bases and slim bowls. No. 11 fig. 2 is representative of the type. c. 1645-60.
Seven examples, 6/64in. and 7/64in. bore.

1. Type references are to Adrian Oswald 'Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist'. *Brit. Arch. Report* 14(1975).
2. Adrian Oswald, 'Clay Pipes from the Garden of the Bishop's Palace, Lichfield'. *Trans.* xvi for 1974/75 (1976), pp.65/6.
3. E. Russell, 'Excavations at Kettleby Thorpe, Lines.', *Journ. Scunthorpe Museum Soc.* Ser. 3, no. 2 (1974), fig. 21.

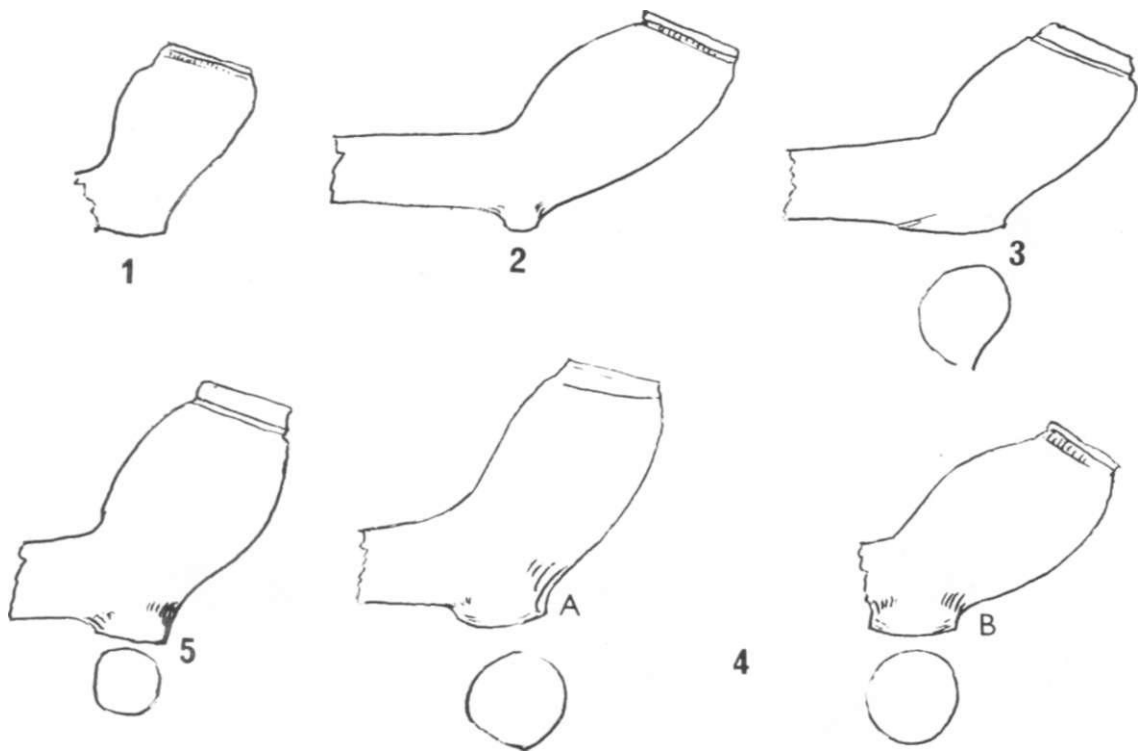


Fig. 3 The clay pipes with unmarked bowls

Fig. 4

- Nos. 6-13 All marked WH in relief. Clay grey/buff, white. Smooth surface, no visible grits. Bores 6 and 7/64in.
- 6. c. 1630-50. Wavy lines above and below initials. Three examples.
 - 7. c. „ „ Dots above and below initials. Two examples. Slight polish.
 - 8. c. „ „ Diagonals across horizontal lines above and below initials. Three examples. Slight polish.
 - 9. c. „ „ Diagonals each side of horizontal lines above and below initials. Two examples.
 - 10. c. 1640-60. Tobacco plant between initials. Two examples (a) polished with rouletted pattern on stem, (b) unpolished.
 - 11. c. „ „ Plain initials. Two examples.
 - 12. c. „ „ Band of dots round initials which perhaps read WAH(?). One example.
 - 13. c. „ „ Mullet above initials. Three examples.
 - 14. c. 1640-60. A wheel of eight spokes in relief. White clay. Polished.
 - 15. c. 1630-50. M in relief. The mark occurs at Shrewsbury on a Broseley Type 2B.⁴ Yellow clay. Bore 7/64in.
 - 16. c. 1630-40. Probably Broseley Type 1. Mark occurs on Broseley Type 2 pipes c. 1650-60. Buff-white clay.
 - 17. c. 1630-40. Conjoined HB in relief. Similar mark on Broseley Type 2 c. 1650-60 in Hartlebury Museum. Buff-white clay.
 - 18. 1650-70. Conjoined HB in a heart in relief. Duplicate marks on Broseley Type 3 in Robinson Collection, Rotherham Museum and British Museum. Grey clay. Polished. Bore 7/64in.
 - 19. c. 1670-90. Broseley Type 3. Uncertain mark. Buff-white clay. Bore 7/64in.

4. D. R. Atkinson, *Tobacco Pipes of Broseley, Shropshire* (1975), fig. 1.

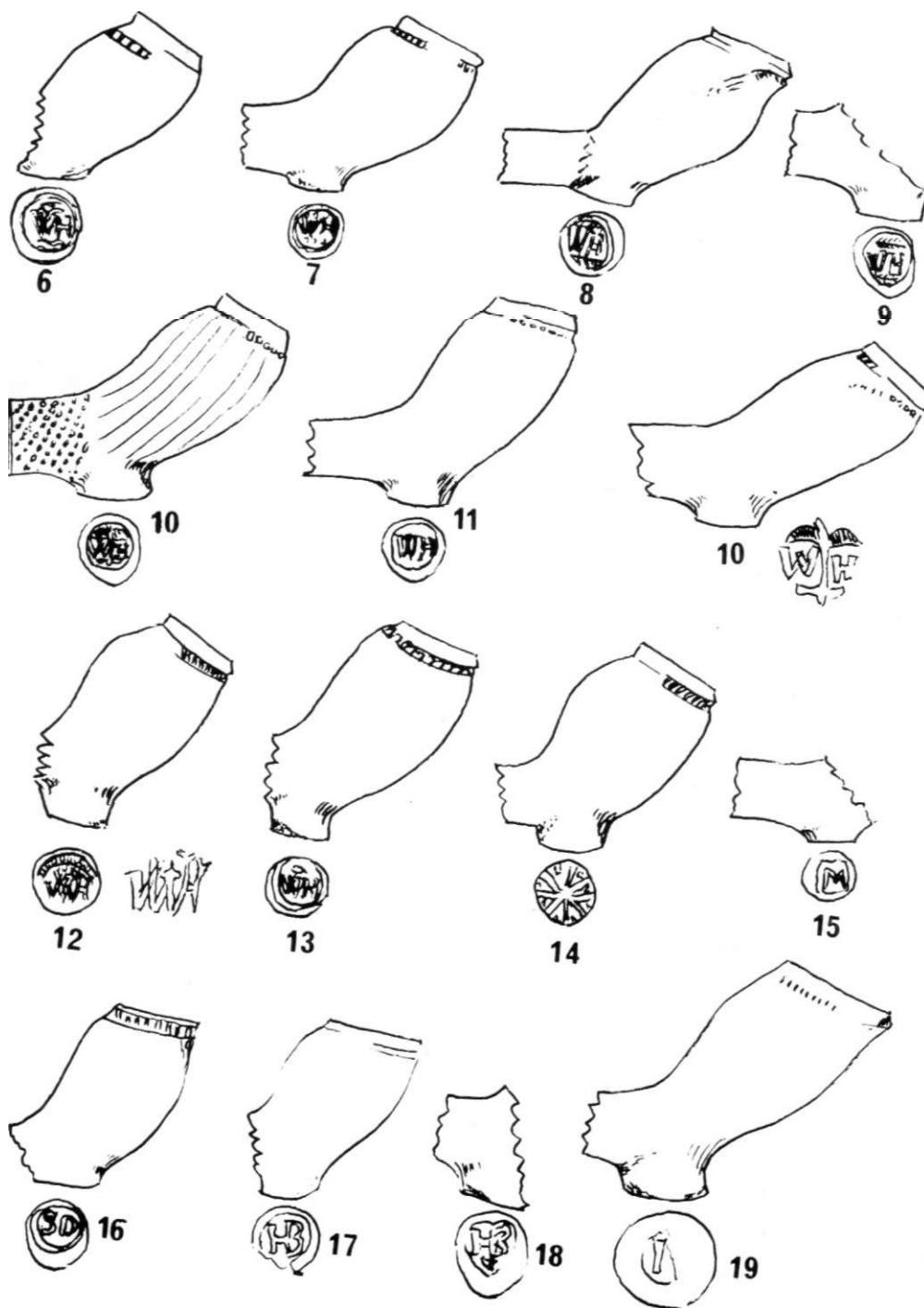


Fig. 4 The clay pipes, with marked bowls

SETTLEMENT AND FARMING IN THE PARISH OF ALDRIDGE (WEST MIDLANDS) PRIOR TO 1650

JIM GOULD, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION

From about 1200 to 1849 the parish of Aldridge consisted of the two townships of Aldridge and Great Barr as shown in fig. 1. Apart from an extensive mesolithic chipping floor¹ by the Bourne Brook, there is no evidence for any settlement within the parish boundaries during prehistoric times though the odd worked flint and three stone-axes have been found.² Despite the proximity of the Ryknield Street, there is a similar lack of evidence for settlement during the Roman period, save for a number of Roman coins with a brooch found near the parish boundary (Nat. Grid Ref. SK 0301) at the end of the 18th century,³ followed by a billon tetradrachma (A.D. 287-8) found near the same place in 1957.⁴ Air photographs have not revealed any crop-marks suggesting early settlement within this area which is now part of the West Midlands conurbation.

Evidence for Saxon settlement is also scarce. In view of the different types of settlement that emerged, the difference in name of the two townships is interesting: Barr is non-habitative and British (Celtic—a summit): Aldridge is habitative and Saxon (Alrewic, the *wic* by the alders). A Saxon charter of 957 refers to a grant of Little Aston and Barr giving the bounds.⁵ Unfortunately these cannot be identified on the ground save for part of the northern boundary that followed the Bourne Brook.⁶ Domesday shows that by 1086 this estate had been split up with Little Aston becoming part of Shenstone whilst Magna Barr and Parva Barr were separated from each other. This happened before the Conquest since Domesday shows each part as having been held by different Saxons.

After the Conquest, both Great Barr and Aldridge were granted to William fitz Ansculf of Dudley Castle. They were joined to form the manor of Great Barr and Aldridge. Eventually Aldridge became a separate but subsidiary manor. When the parish-church was built at Aldridge c. 1200, Great Barr was included in Aldridge parish though it soon had its own chapel subsidiary to the parish church.

From the 11th century the whole parish was within the royal forest of Cannock. In 1125, Great Barr was disafforested and became part of a private chase—Sutton Chase, belonging to the Earl of Warwick. Aldridge was disafforested at the end of the 13th century, but unlike Great Barr did not become part of a private chase.⁷

1. A. Saville, 'Reconsideration of the prehistoric flint assemblage from Bourne Pooop', *Trans.* xiv for 1972-73 (1973), pp. 6-28.
2. F. W. Shotton, *Stone Implements of Warwickshire*, *Trans. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.* lviii for 1934 (1937), p.46.
N. Thomas, *Three pre-Roman Antiquities*, *Trans. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.* lxxvii for 1959 (1961), pp.1-4.
Proc. of Soc. of Antiquaries of London, 2nd Ser. vii (1876), p.268.
3. S. Shaw, *Hist. and Ant. of Staffs.* 1(1798), p.35.
4. Found by a Mr. Williams who then resided at 5 York Road, Rushall. Identified by BM.
5. C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England* (1975), p.94.
6. This is despite Rune Forsberg, 'Old English *ad* in English Place-Names', *Namn och Bygd*, lvii (Uppsala, 1970), pp.20-82.
7. J. Gould, 'Food, Foresters, Fines & Felons', *Trans.* vii for 1965-66 (1967), pp.23 and 38.

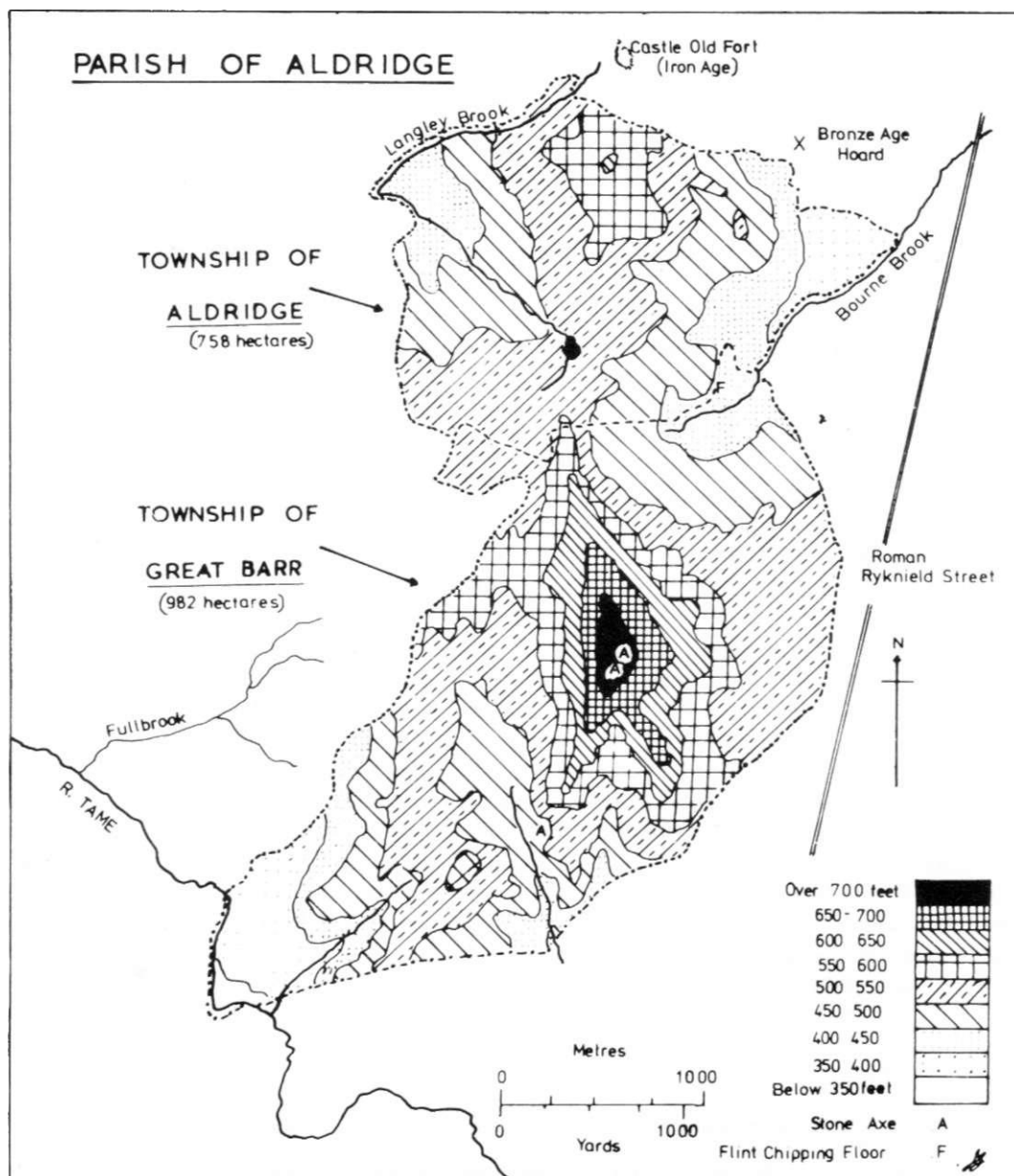


Fig. 1 Aldridge parish: Relief

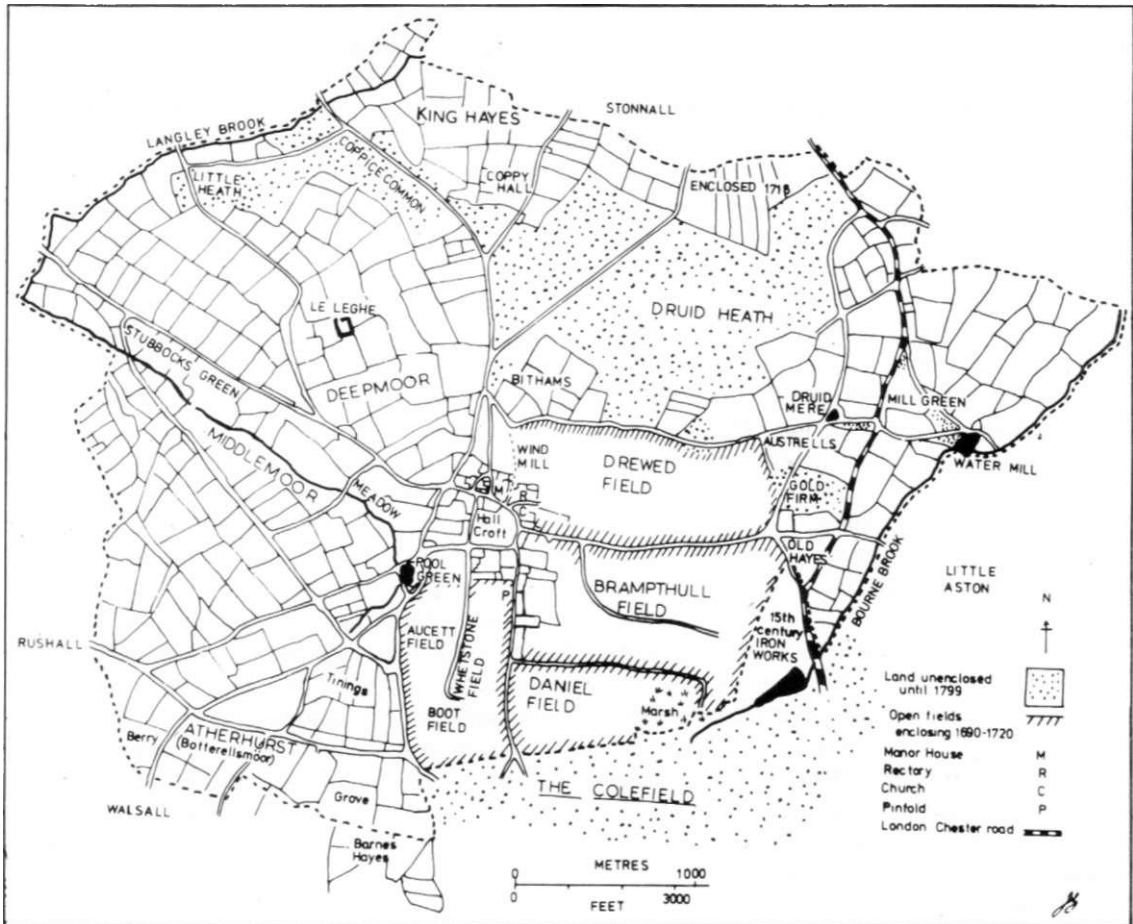


Fig. 3 Aldridge township: Settlement

with Thomas Boden until noon when it rained.¹³ In 1583 it was recorded that Richard Scottesfield held a 'cottage, croft and certain closes of arable land in the common fields of Aldridge'.¹⁴ Such enclosures cannot now be located by botanical means for most of the hedges have gone. Some that remain have been reduced to clumps of thorn linked with barbed wire, much of Drewed field is a golf-course, half Brampthull field is a huge sand quarry and part of the remainder are school playing-fields, whilst Whetstone field (all three parts) is entirely built over. The fact that enclosures within common fields were allowed at Aldridge reflects the extent of pasture available making the loss of an enclosure from the common pasture, when an open field was fallow, of less importance to the community generally. There was a shortage of arable by the 16th century as demonstrated by the fines levied in Great Barr courts on Aldridge men for ploughing on the Colefield.¹⁵

13. For Slade Croft see CRO. MS. 3005/34; Tithe map and tithe returns in Lichfield Joint Record Office. For Thos. Carm, see Quarter Sessions, 40-41 Elizabeth, *SHC* 1935 (1936), p. 163.

14. WSL. MS. D634A/3, p.4.

15. *Ibid.*

Between the common fields and the heavy clays was the centre of the settlement. The manor-house or Old Hall (fig. 3, M) stood on a sandy site near the church. In the 17th century it consisted of hall, kitchen, parlour, buttery, cellar, bolting house, kitchen chamber, best chamber, first chamber and a cock-loft.¹⁶ It has suffered several rebuildings since then. The church was built c. 1200¹⁷ and until recently the rectory stood immediately north of the church, on the opposite side of the Green (the short road giving access to Drewed field—not the road now so-called). The 'town butts' were there.¹⁸ This could be considered the name of the near strips or butts in Drewed field, but Shaw had access to a court roll which stated that the constable was ordered to set 'long shooting butts in their ancient and accustomed place'.¹⁹ In the early 18th century part of this area was known as 'the play piece'.²⁰ The terrier of 1684 refers to the rectory as then being of five bays with nine bays of barning and other outbuildings, a foldyard, two gardens and two orchards. The rector farmed his glebe as well as collecting his tithes. An inventory shows the rectory had a hall, parlour, kitchen, buttery, parlour chamber, hall chamber, kitchen chamber, brew house, bolting house, dairy-house and two small rooms or cupboards, where books and valuables were kept, known as the study and the closet.²¹ The rectory compared favourably with the manor-house. One rector, the Rev. John Scott (1575-1621)²² was at that time the richest man in the parish, but an earlier rector, Philip Whildon (1544-56)²³ who lived during the religious troubles of the 16th century, died one of the poorest.

Farm-houses clustered in the village centre and were still there last century (the Elms, Rookery Farm, Noddy Park Farm, Manor Farm, etc.). One large medieval cruck-house that stood on the High Street has recently been described in detail²⁴ though unfortunately it is not yet possible to connect the house with a particular family or landholding.

Windmill field appears in undated extracts from medieval court rolls compiled for a 17th century brief.²⁵ There are many other 17th century references to Windmill field in deeds, etc. and a poster of 1801, describing land for sale, refers to 'the old windmill'. Tithe returns and the tithe map fix the position of Windmill field where there is still a large man-made mound presumably once used for a post-mill.

Meadow land adjoined Pool Green and its associated stream. The meadow was enclosed²⁶ not common meadow and stretched out towards Stubbocks Green.

The Domesday entry refers to but a small part of the later township. The area around the settlement must have been woodland for later medieval documents are full of references to woods, assarts and the clearance of woodland—all part of the royal forest in 1086 and as elsewhere not mentioned in the Domesday survey. The woods were gradually cleared giving way to moors and heaths which were later enclosed, but retaining 'moor' as an element

16. Inventory John Jordan, will proved 1671.

17. J. Gould, 'Observations at Aldridge Church', *Trans.*, xviii for 1976/77 (1977), pp.49-52.

18. Terrier 1684, CRO. MS.D120/A/PC/313.

19. S. Shaw, *Hist. and Ant. of Staffs.* ii(1801), p.99.

20. Indenture 6 Aug. 1718. Thos. Cooper's grant of land for a charity school at Aldridge.

21. Inventory Gamaliel Pretty, will proved 1674.

22. Inventory J. Scott, will proved 1621.

23. Inventory P. Whildon, will proved 1556.

24. S. R. Jones & V. F. Penn, 'Medieval Cruck-trussed House in High Street, Aldridge', *Trans.*, xviii for 1976/77 (1977), pp.1-23.

25. BM Add. MS.24822, f. 4.

26. W. Fowler-Carter, Deeds in possession of Mr. Fowler, *Mid. Record Soc.* ii (1899), p.153.

in later field-names. No surviving Aldridge field-name suggest Saxon enclosure. From 1086 to 1300 waste of woods within the forest area was a punishable offence. Records of fines imposed give some indication of where land was cleared in the 13th century. Some refer to clearances at Atherhurst²⁷ where woodland gave way to Botterellsmoor and by the 15th century to many enclosures. Some hedges there are botanically rich with six or seven different species of shrub per 30 yard stretch (for botanical dating see below).

At the end of the 12th century, Drogo of Aldridge was fined for a forest offence.²⁸ The diminutive of Drogo is Dru, hence his wood became the Druwode of medieval charters, later Drewed and then Druid, so that clearance there became Druid Heath. There are many 14th century references to enclosures there and the name King Hayes (like Old Hayes further south) indicates some of these medieval enclosures.²⁹ Coppy Hall was a medieval house destroyed this century but held in the 14th century by the Gorwey family.³⁰ The enclosures called Bithams date from that time too.³¹ The enclosures of 1718 are marked on fig. 3, as their strip-like appearance might seem to indicate an earlier common field. In fact the enclosures were taken from Druid Heath in 1718 to endow the new Aldridge Free Grammar School. The shape of the fields may be due to the continued use of oxen then for ploughing. Alternatively the shape may reflect earlier, short-term enclosure. Cultivation of part of the common was permitted occasionally for four year stretches the land then returning to the common for at least seven years before again being ploughed.³²

Land to the east, by Bourne Brook is alluvium and some was enclosed early; some hedges near the mill yield seven species of shrub per stretch. Here too the names of a number of fields include 'moor' suggesting some lapse between clearance and enclosure.

Druid Mere must have been very welcome for cattle on Druid Heath and also to drovers who could leave the near-by main road to feed and water their animals on the heath. The road by Druid Mere later was known as Drover's Lane. There are many references to drovers breaking into closes elsewhere in the parish from the 15th century onwards.³³ In the 17th century Dr. Plot reported that an abundance of water in Druid Mere was a certain sign of a poor harvest to come.³⁴

The Austrells and land immediately east of it were enclosed before 1348" but some common remained at Gold Firm and only disappeared with the enclosure award of 1799.

On the opposite side of the township was the medieval moated house called 'Le Leghe'. Very little is known about this site which was destroyed last century by a colliery and a railway embankment. The earliest documentary evidence for it comes from 1388.³⁵ The name, a French form of the Saxon *leah* (meaning woodland or woodland clearance) need not indicate a Norman origin. In the 18th century it was a farm-house. By the 14th century trees in this area had not only been cleared but the resulting moor (Deepmoor) had given way to enclosed meadow.³⁶

27. Major-Gen. Hon. G. Wrottesley, 'Pleas of the Forest', *SHCv*, pt.1 (1884), p. 153.

28. Pipe Roll 2 John.

29. BM Add.MS., 24822, f.3; Scott Charter 35, BRL 608903; etc.

30. S. R. Jones, 'Shelfield Lodge Farm', *Trans*, x for 1969/69(1969), p.69.

31. BMAdd.MS. 24822, f.3&4.

32. Great Barr manor court roll, 2 Oct. 1612.

33. e.g. *De Banco* Rolls 10 Henry VI, SHC xvii (1896), p.142; 17 Henry VI, *SHC* New Ser. iii (1900), p.147.

34. R. Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire* (1686), Ch.2, para. 29.

35. Scott Charter, BRL 608917.

36. Ibid. Also BM Add.MS. 24822, f.3.

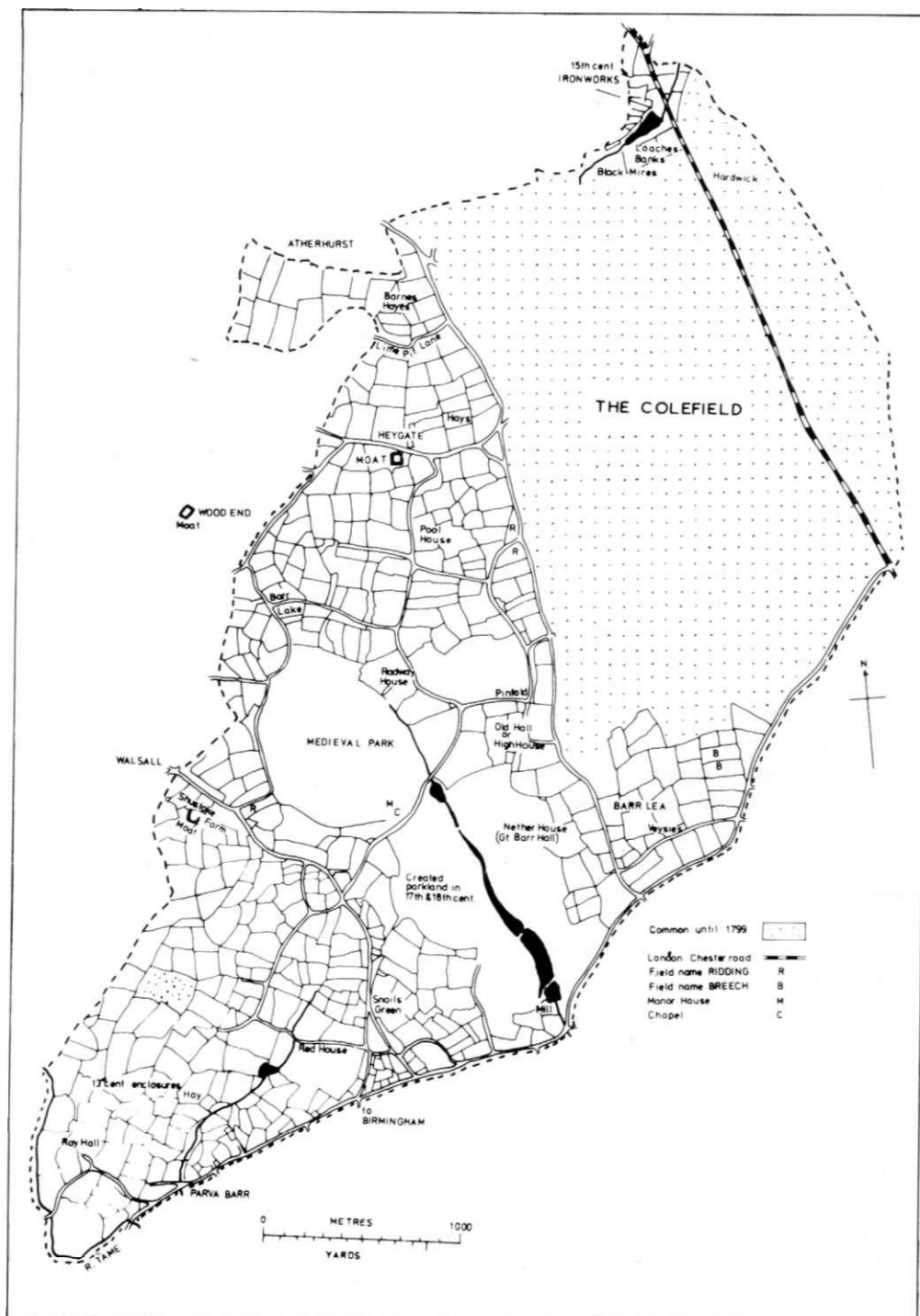


Fig. 4 Great Barr township: Settlement

The Tinings was waste land until 1605 when William Wiggin received permission to erect a cottage there on the waste and presumably enclosed some of the land. At Berry was enclosed pasture.¹⁷

GROWTH OF SETTLEMENT—GREAT BARR (fig. 4)

The settlement pattern at Great Barr was very different to that at Aldridge. The only documentary reference to selions or strips is to a block of four that were bounded on two sides by roads and on each of the other two sides by land of one man only.¹⁸ This was not part of an open-field system but rather a close cultivated in four ridges possibly to secure good drainage. If there ever was an open-field system here it had disappeared long before the time for which we have documentary evidence. The field pattern is against such a system ever having existed.

At Domesday Great Barr had but a small population (one villein and one bordar) but much woodland pasture (one league by four furlongs). Taken from Cannock Forest in 1125 it became part of Sutton Chase held by the earls of Warwick.¹⁹ By the 13th century, the earl was allowing assarting and the cutting of underwood extensively.⁴⁰ At first this seems to have been especially at the south-western end of the township, an area now covered by modern development but where the field pattern at the time of the tithe survey showed a mosaic of small irregular fields typical of woodland enclosures. The border here with Parva Barr was ill-defined.⁴¹ The documentary references are not only to enclosures but also tenements in this area.⁴²

The closes included woodland⁴³ as well as enclosing pasture and arable.⁴⁴ Some small patches of common land remained until the 17th century.⁴⁵ Other enclosures were near Atherhurst (referred to under Aldridge) where again the border was doubtful. Here several fields include 'hay' as an element in their names. Some woodland may have remained or else was replanted for there are 17th-century references to wood at Barnes Hays. One will of that date also refers to limestone-burning and the right of 'egress and regress' which perhaps explains Lime Pit Lane (fig. 4).⁴⁶ A case has also been stated for a lime-kiln somewhere in this area in Saxon times.⁴⁷ Medieval enclosure here was with ditch and dead hedge.⁴⁸ At Wood End, too, enclosures straddled the Great Barr border.⁴⁹ There also surviving hedges are botanically rich (six varieties of shrub per stretch).

37. For Tinings, see Quarter Session Rolls 1605, *SHC* 1940 (1940) p.239. For Berry, see WSL. MS.D634A/30, p.4.

38. Scott Charter 16, BRL 608894.

39. J. Gould, *op.cit.* in note 7.

40. [A. Bracken], *Forest and Chase of Sutton Coldfield* (1860), p.35.

41. *Close Rolls (1237-1242)*, p.237.

42. Scott Charters 10, 84, 86, 116, BRL 608888, 608963, 608964, 608993.

43. e.g. *De Banco* Rolls, 33 Ed.III, *SHC* xii, pt. 1 (1891), p.172; 17-18 Ric.II, *SHC* xv (1894), p.64; etc.

44. e.g. *De Banco* Roll, 3 Henry V, *SHC* xvii (1896), p.54; etc.

45. Great Barr manor court roll, 15 March 1610.

46. John Jordan, will proved 1660.

47. Rune Forsberg, *op.cit.* in note 6.

48. Major-Gen. Hon. G. Wrottesley, *op.cit.* in note 27, p. 165.

49. Scott Charter 38, BRL 608916; *De Banco* Roll, 18 Ric. II, *SHC*xv (1894), p.66.

The settlement seems to have had no real nucleus. The chapel built before 1257⁵⁰ adjoined the original manor-house (now Chapel Farm)⁵¹ the road originally passing south of the church and not north of it as at present. Today there is no evidence for other medieval buildings in this vicinity though the creation of parkland to the south in the 17th and 18th centuries may have removed such evidence. Even in the 14th century some buildings were deliberately destroyed in adjoining Parva Barr⁵² and the same forces could have been at work in Great Barr. Eventually there was a straggle of houses at Snails Green and elsewhere by the Walsall—Birmingham road. Shaw who consulted documents not now available claimed that one lord of the manor, Sir Robert Stapleton, lived at the moated site at Heygate.⁵³ Construction of such a site, fashionable in the 14th century, would be in accord with what is known of the man.⁵⁴ If enclosure there followed construction of the moat and did not precede it, it would explain why the near-by hedges are not quite so rich botanically (four or five species per stretch) as the hedges at Wood End and Atherhurst. It is to be noted though that two fields to the south-east (fig. 4) bear the name 'Ridding' which suggests Saxon clearance as do also those field-names near Barr Lea that include 'breech' (Saxon *brec*).

The medieval deer-park, by the chapel and manor-house, is first mentioned in 1335 when men were accused of breaking in and stealing.⁵⁵ As lords of the manor seldom resided in Great Barr from that date until the mid 16th century, it is not surprising that the park was soon divided into six enclosed fields, later subdivided further.⁵⁶

The sandy land stretching eastwards from the top of Barr Beacon was cleared by medieval charcoal-burners. From 1304 onwards there are many references to the 'Colefield'⁵⁷ which reached across to Little Aston and on to Sutton. The theft in 1323 of £200 from Elias the Collier from London⁵⁸ suggests that at that time charcoal burning here was on a large scale. Two hundred years later, the Colefield was just a big expanse of furze and heath.⁵⁹ The destruction of trees would lead to some leaching of the light soils. This, with the absence of water on the cold eastern slope of Barr Beacon may explain the lack of settlement until recent times. In the Middle Ages it was a lawless place where murders and robberies were committed.⁶⁰ Occasionally parts of the Colefield were ploughed by men from Aldridge as well as Great Barr.⁶¹ The court roll of 15 March 1610/11 suggests that at that time one day's ploughing on the Colefield was permitted for each cottage in Great Barr. A later roll, 27 Oct. 1685, laid down rules for fencing, showing that parts of the Colefield then were at times converted into temporary common fields.

50. *Close Rolls (1256-1259)*, p. 145.

51. Scott Charters 84, 86, 116, BRL 608963, 608964, 608993.

52. *De Banco Roll*, 50 Ed.III, SHC xiii (1892), p.131. A medieval homestead site has been claimed at Nat. Grid Ref. SP 04789552 but the present writer is unconvinced.

53. S. Shaw, op.cit. in note 19, p.98.

54. J. Gould, *Men of Aldridge* (Walsall, 1957), p.25-6.

55. *De Banco Roll*, 9 Ed. III, SHCxi (1890), p.62.

56. Scott Charter 84, BRL 608963.

57. Cal. of Final Concords, SHC 1911 (1911), p.61; etc.

58. *Coram Rege Roll*, 17 Ed.II, SHC x (1889), p.46. For Confirmation see *Magnum Registrum Album*, doc. 701, SHC 1924(1926), p.335.

59. Cal. of Final Concords, SHC xiii (1892), pp.296-7.

60. e.g. *Coram Rege Roll*, 17 Ed. II, SHCx (1889), pp.46-7.

61. WSLMS.D634A/30, pp.3&4.

The ironworks on the fringe of the Colefield, belongs to the closing decades of the 15th century.⁶² It consisted of a bloomery and a hammer-pond.

The name 'Hardwick' does not appear in documents until Elizabethan times. Since the Countess of Shrewsbury had held land at near-by Drayton, it is not impossible that the name came from that family. No early enclosures are known at this point and so no deductions are made from the place-name which, when occurring elsewhere, is taken to indicate a Saxon sheep-farm.

How far the Colefield stretched westwards is not certain. Probably it was no further than the crest of Barr Beacon as shown on fig. 4. Reference has already been made to the early enclosures near Heygate. Part of Barr Lea was enclosed by the 13th century⁶³ but, as this is now part of the Pheasey housing estate, one cannot check hedgerow dating there. The name Pheasey comes from Simon Vesey who in 1559 held a messuage there with 80 acres of arable, 12 of meadow, 3 of pasture, 3 of wood and 40 of furze and heath.⁶⁴ Radway House is mentioned in the will of Alice Scott (1588) though Alice who had inherited the house did not live there. It should not be confused with Radway Manor which is a timber-framed house erected in 1934 on a different though near-by site, using old materials. Pool House and Pinfold House are mentioned in the 17th century and could be earlier. When the Scots bought the manor of Great Barr, the Old Hall became in effect the manor-house. According to the inventory of William Scott (will proved 1577/8) the Old Hall, sometimes called the High House or Over House included hall, kitchen, parlour, buttery, maids' chamber, solar over each of the buttery, parlour, hall and kitchen, a bolting house, bakehouse, servants' chamber, stable, cote house, barn and wain house. His son's inventory (Thomas Scott, will proved 1616) shows alterations giving a chamber over a porch, a new parlour and a gallery. Nether House, probably so-called in contrast to Over House, also was large. In 1675 it included parlour, old parlour, day house, kitchen, buttery, best chamber, little chamber, cheese chamber, parlour chamber, Follows (a personal name?) chamber and a kiln house (Ric. Scott inventory, 1675). Later it was much altered to become the Great Barr Hall of the 19th and present century. There were other large houses in the early-enclosed south-western area. Such was Red House, the home of William Brasebrygge in 1541 (see will of Ric. Newman proved 1541). At Ray Hall lived relatives of the Stamford family who owned half the manor in the later medieval period.

Great Barr was a township of scattered farms, some of them large, with a big expanse of heath to the east and enclosed fields of arable, pasture and meadow to the west—a division which again reflects the geological differences shown in fig. 2.

BOTANICAL DATING⁶⁵

Botanical dating in this parish is not entirely satisfactory. In all 151 hedgerow counts were made. There is evidence in the field to suggest some mixed planting of hedges. Also there are hedges consisting only of hawthorn with a few bushes of field maple—a shrub normally

62. J. Gould, 'Excavation of 15th Cent. Iron Mill', *Trans*, xi for 1969-70 (1971), pp.58-63.

63. BM Add.MS. 24822, f.2.

64. Cal. of Final Concords, *SHC* xiii (1892), pp.235-6.

65. Dr. Hooper's hypothesis is that each different species of shrub present in a 30 yard stretch of hedgerow indicates an age of approximately 100 years. See M. D. Hooper's *et al. Hedges and Local History* (1971), pp.6-13.

only found in old, botanically-rich hedges. Even away from industrial and housing estates many of the hedges are in a bad state. Some of this appears to be due to land being over-grazed by horses who eat hedgerow shrubs. Where hedges remain, often woodland herbs, bluebells, wood anemonies, etc. which were present in the same hedges fifty years ago (boyhood memories), have now departed like the chaffinches, snipe and newts before them. Sometimes there is but polythened rubbish and sadness.

FARMING 1533-1643

There is insufficient documentary evidence for a worthwhile survey of medieval farming in the parish. The one surviving 12th century deed emphasizes the importance of pigs in the surrounding woods.⁶⁶ Medieval court rolls were assembled in a dispute between the lords of the two manors in the early 17th century. The briefs for each side containing extracts from the rolls, have survived⁶⁷ but the court rolls have not been seen since. One can say that money rents had been substituted for services by the 14th century, that the Great Barr court met every third week and at times dealt with Aldridge matters including those arising from the open fields and that at other times such matters were dealt with by the Aldridge court. Apart from that, there is little other than what has already been said about enclosures etc. The picture changes in the 16th century when another type of evidence becomes available. For the 110 years following 1533, 39 wills and 48 inventories have survived for Aldridge men and 36 wills and 46 inventories for Great Barr men. In all these relate to 100 parishioners. They include some of the very poor as well as richer people and are fairly evenly spread throughout the period except for an increase in 1597 and 1598 but those inventories do not suggest food shortage as was the case elsewhere at that time. On the muster roll for 1539⁶⁸, 55 men are named for Aldridge and Great Barr. Details have survived for 16 of these suggesting that we have information for about one man in every three or four. This is sufficient to give a picture of farming here and to contrast in some respects open-field Aldridge with non-nucleated Great Barr. Further, the wills and inventories were usually written by either the curate of Great Barr or by the curate of Aldridge. As the resident rector of Aldridge controlled both men, policy in writing wills and inventories would not have differed much between the townships.

Farming was mixed and even the craftsmen were primarily farmers. The documents relate to rectors, millers, smiths, a weaver, a tailor, a wheelwright and a silver spurrier; they all farmed. Of 48 Aldridge inventories, 40 list at least one cow. Of the remaining eight, one was lord of the manor, five were living with other people and were not heads of households (witnessed by the absence of equipment relating to the fire and to cooking), one left cows in his will not included on the inventory and the eighth relates to a farmer, heavily in debt, who had been selling his stock. Thus virtually every household owned a cow reflecting the plentiful common and meadow. The position at Great Barr was similar. Of the 46 inventories, two relate to people living with others and 43 of the other 44 include at least one cow. Some had up to 26 cows and heifers so that dairy produce was obviously marketed. Butter must have been sent to market immediately it was made for it appears only on five Aldridge and six Great Barr inventories and then in small amounts except for two gallons on one inventory, three pots and two lots of four pots on others. A pot held about

66. CRO 3005/1.

67. WSL MS. D634A/30; BM Add.MS. 24822.

68. Muster roll of Staffs., 1539, *SHC* New Ser. iv (1901), p.95.

14 lb. Cheese-making equipment appears frequently but cheese itself is only mentioned on five Aldridge and seven Great Barr inventories. Thomas Cox of Aldridge with 31 cheeses is the only person who seems to have made cheese on any scale. Oxen were the draught animals; 15 Aldridge inventories include them usually in teams of four or six. They appear on 25 Great Barr inventories. Only one inventory suggests that horses may have been used for ploughing. Some people hired others to plough and cart for them as is shown by debts for these services recorded as outstanding at the time of death. Numbers of young beasts suggest beef production. In all, apart from cows, heifers and oxen, 25 Aldridge men owned 172 calves and other cattle whilst 37 Great Barr men owned 294. Sheep were also important. For Aldridge 33 inventories refer to two or more sheep (2,987 in total) whilst the 42 Great Barr inventories mentioning sheep give a total of 2,538. Wool is seldom mentioned, presumably being sold soon after shearing. The exception is that of the rector, the Rev. John Scott who had 60 stone of wool on hand at his death in 1621. His was the largest flock (320 sheep) but some wool may have come from tithes. Sheep were obviously regarded as wealth. In many wills, a ewe or a lamb were left to grandchildren and godchildren in a manner reminiscent of the way Victorians opened bank accounts for children. Lambs are seldom distinguished from other sheep. They appear only sixteen times, the earliest inventory being dated 3 April. The inventories mention 155 lambs but as the same inventories refer to 871 other sheep (including wethers and 'hogges') the fertility rate does not seem very high. Nevertheless the sheep were increasing in importance against cattle as the following figures show:

Total value as shown on inventories:

	ALDRIDGE		GREAT BARR	
	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>
1533-1600	£274	£94	£337	£108
1601-1643	£316	£243	£418	£245

Horses were also kept. Thirty-two Aldridge and thirty-three Great Barr inventories mention 182 horses. Of these, 41 were colts or fillies, 86 mares, 11 nags, 2 proper horses, 4 pack-horses, 18 caples, one gelding and 19 are just called horses. The caples are all on inventories before 1600. Their comparative value was small. They were probably small horses used for general purposes like the Irishman's donkey.

Of the 43 Aldridge inventories representing households, 17, mainly those of labourers, had no poultry, 21 people had hens, 15 had geese, 2 had ducks and one had turkeys. Five just used the general term 'poultry'. Of the 43 Great Barr inventories referring to households, 13 have no mention of poultry, 7 just use the general term poultry, 19 list hens, 17 list geese, 4 list ducks, 3 list turkeys and strangest of all, 5 including that of a blacksmith, list peacocks. The maximum number of hens kept was 13 though three or four was more usual. No one had more than 6 geese. Hence eggs and poultry were not being produced in quantity for the market. Only four Aldridge men and six of Great Barr had bees, but of these one man had eleven and another man six stalls (hives).

Pigs were kept by most people except the poorest; 25 Aldridge men had 87 Vi pigs whilst 35 Great Barr men had 176. These figures include a number of piglets. Whenever inventories mention food—and few do—they usually refer to flitches of bacon 'in the roof; one refers to two flitches of beef there also; none mention mutton.

The Final Concords for Great Barr⁶⁹ often refer to free common of pasture for cattle but those for Aldridge⁷⁰ usually refer to free common of pasture for sheep. Many of the enclosed fields were of pasture. This is understandable especially for fattening and where oxen were used. After a day's work oxen cannot be turned on to well-grazed common if more work is required the following day; enclosed pasture was essential for these animals. Commons were also used for fuel, turf and peat, and these were often cut on the Colefield especially near Black Mires.⁷¹ Reference has already been made to ploughing on the waste and two Great Barr inventories refer to corn 'growing on the heath'.⁷² The will of Thomas Smith (proved 1590/1) refers to a fine of 3*d.* per sheaf due from corn growing on pasture at Great Barr suggesting some concern for the quantity of grass available at that time.

It is difficult to assess the importance of corn against livestock. With the advent soon after harvest of Michaelmas and the need to pay rents then, much corn was probably sold as soon as possible. Unthrashed corn, like hay, was stored in barns by even the poorest. There is no mention of cornricks and only one mention of a haystack. Growing corn is referred to in inventories as being of so many acres or of so many days' (work). Thrashed corn is always indoors, usually in a dry upper chamber, to appear on the inventories mixed with beds and bedding. Usually no distinction is made between the various crops. Those that do, show 13 Aldridge men with a total of 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, 2 butts, 18 strikes, and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ thraves of rye; four men with 4 days, 4 acres and 20*Vi* strikes of barley, bere or malt; ten men had 27 days, 4 acres and 7 strikes of oats; two men had five days of peas. Only one man grew wheat (1 *Vi* days); three men grew dredge; one man had 1 *Vi* days of French wheat and barley and one man had half a day of oats and vetches. The figures for Great Barr are 21 men had 35 days, 1 close, 41 acres, 36 thraves, 48 strikes and 1 bushel of rye; 14 men had 38 *Vi* days, 6 thraves, and 17 strikes of oats; 9 men had 6 acres, 33 thraves and 11 strikes of barley, bere or malt; 1 man had three days of peas; 1 man 2 acres of French wheat and 4 men had 2 days and 22 acres of wheat. Save for slightly more wheat and barley with a little less oats, the heavy clay enclosed fields of Great Barr were producing the same crops as the light sandy open-fields of Aldridge. No one grew beans. Prices varied considerably throughout the period but where an inventory gives separate prices for the different crops it is clear that one day of rye was worth two days of oats and that a day of barley was worth only two thirds of a day of rye.

There seems to have been a growing appreciation of dung. It first appears on inventories in 1553 when 13 loads were valued at one shilling.⁷³ After 1578 such entries become common. It is often described as 'muck about the house' which raises the question of sanitation. This is especially so since only three inventories mention chamber-pots, one a close-bucket and none refer to close-stools or commodes.

It is possible that small amounts of hemp and flax were grown in gardens. Only one inventory mentions hempseed and linseed but 26 mention slippings of hemp, knickins or runches of hemp, hempen yarn, towe or the like showing that hemp was spun in households, whilst one mentions a 'rypple combe' and three mention 'hetchells' (tools used for dealing with hemp). Thirteen inventories mention dressed flax or flax yarn. Only 24 of the lists

69. Cal. of Final Concords, *SHCxi* (1895), pp.150, 221, 225; etc.

70. Cal. of Final Concords, *SHCxiv* (1893), p.192; *SHCxv* (1894), p.130; etc.

71. BMAdd.MS. 24822, f3; etc.

72. Thomas Smith, will proved 1590/1; Ric. Dutton, will proved 1606.

73. Ric. Shelfield, will proved 1553.

include spinning-wheels and those were not for the poorest households although they were only valued at between one shilling and two shillings each. Some may still have used distaff and spindle for spinning.

The Great Barr manor court rolls that have survived for 1610 and 1612 show that much land was copyhold. Heriot was paid on inheritance of land or when land was sold to another person. The wills often refer to leases but give little detail since land was often already transferred to sons or dealt with by marriage settlements. What references there are show that leases were for long periods; sufficiently long for young children to grow up and for there still to be some years of the lease to run.

Although Aldridge was a nucleated village with open fields on light sandy soil, whereas Great Barr was non-nucleated with enclosed arable on heavy soil, farm products were almost identical. It must be asked which was the more efficient. The following figures are offered for comparison.

	ALDRIDGE (48 inventories)		GREAT BARR (46 inventories)	
	Total value	Average per person	Total value	Average per person
Cattle	£590	£12.3	£755	£16.4
Sheep	£337	£7.0	£353	£7.7
All livestock	£1,059	£22.1	£1,231	£26.7
All pertaining to farming including ploughs, etc.	£1,492	£31.1	£1,565	£34.0
Value of household chattells	£371	£7.7	£518	£11.3
Household chattells as percentage of farm goods	25%o		33%o	

Averages may be weighted by the very large or the very small so that sometimes the median gives a clearer picture. Ignoring sums included on some inventories for leases or debts which are omitted from other inventories, the median for Aldridge is that of J. Hopkys. He lived in a house with hall and parlour downstairs and with a chamber over each. He also had an 'old house' where there were two spinning-wheels, kneading trough, barrels and the like. He slept in the parlour where there were a bedstead, featherbed and bed-clothes with painted cloths that probably hung on the wall. Cooking was done in the hall where was the only chair in the house together with two forms and three stools. The chamber over the hall contained thrashed wheat, oats, barley and malt as well as a flock bed and bedding. The chamber over the parlour had two bedsteads, two mattresses, wool cards, scythe, etc. In the fields on 26 April, 1583, he had two days of rye, two days of oats, 1 *Vi* days of wheat (the only Aldridge man known to have grown it). He owned four cows, two heifers, one yearling calf, three young calves, two horses, two mares, thirty-six ewes, wethers and hogges, fourteen ewes with lambs, one pig and two hens. He had no oxen and as he had neither plough, harrow nor cart, he probably did not use

his horses for draught purposes. His only farm tools were a scythe, mattock, bill, shovel and a spade. He owned various pieces of pewter but used wooden trenchers and had two flitches of bacon and two flitches of beef 'in the roof. His goods were worth £21. 18s. 10d.

The median for Great Barr is the inventory of John Shelfield. With a wife, two sons and two daughters, he lived in a house with hall and parlour downstairs and one chamber upstairs over the parlour. He too cooked in the hall where there were three chairs, a trestle-table and a form. He had eleven platters, eight pewter dishes and six saucers but no wooden trenchers. In the parlour were two bedsteads, a feather bed and painted cloths 'about the bed', a store of bedding (including twelve pairs of sheets), various barrels, churns, etc. In the chamber were two bedsteads, two flock beds, a tirl bed, a coffer and other odds and ends. He owned a wain body and new wheels for it, three yokes, a harrow, four oxen, four cows, three young beasts, two calves, a mare, a sow with three piglets, thirty-eight sheep, twelve lambs, six geese, four hens, three capons and four ducks. On 3 July 1588 he had no thrashed corn on hand but had in the fields three and a half days of rye, one and a half days of bere and four days of oats. Exceptionally he also had the wool from thirty-eight sheep with an unspecified quantity of butter and cheese. His goods were worth £32. 3s. 4d. He owed £1. 19s. 0d. and was owed £2. 15s. 7d. including 12d. for 1 % days ploughing and another 12d. for 'carrying coles'. For these no doubt he had used his ox-team.

However one looks at it, it appears that Great Barr farmers had the edge over those of Aldridge. During the following century the open fields of Aldridge disappeared after much buying and selling of strips by private arrangement, well illustrated by deeds now in the County Record Office.⁷⁴

NOTE

All wills and inventories referred to are in the Lichfield Joint Record Office. I am indebted to the staff of that office for courteous help in finding the large number of documents consulted. The field boundaries shown on figs. 3 and 4 are based on the tithe map of Aldridge parish, 1840. The following abbreviations have been used:

BM	British Museum
BRL	Birmingham Reference Library
CRO	County Record Office, Stafford
SHC	Staffordshire Historical Collections
WSL	William Salt Library, Stafford

74. Especially papers under reference 3005.

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PROGRAMME 1978-79

1978

- | | | |
|---------|-----|---|
| 20 May | | Excursion to Herefordshire. Leigh church and tithe-barn; Herefordshire Beacon: Ledbury church and town. Leader: M. M. Hallett, C.B.E., F.S.A. |
| 17 June | | Excursion to Southwell Cathedral, Bishop's Palace and Deanery: St. Mary Magdalen, Newark-on-Trent: Newark castle and town. Leader: R. A. Meeson, F.S.A. |
| 1 July | | Perambulation of Tamworth, including castle and church. Leader: R. A. Meeson, F.S.A. |
| 6 Oct. | (L) | Annual General Meeting.
The Lichfield Canal and Wychnor Ironworks: Farming in Aldridge—Jim Gould, F.S.A. |
| 27 Oct. | (T) | The Vernacular Architecture of Shropshire—Mrs. M. Moran. |
| 3 Nov. | (L) | Excavations at West Hill, Uley, Glos.—Dr. Ann Ellison. |
| 17 Nov. | (T) | The Englishman's Castle—R. C. Pope. |
| 24 Nov. | (L) | Lichfield Cathedral—Preb. E. C. C. Hill. |
| 1 Dec. | (L) | Local History:
Miss Isobel Morcom on Hanbury
R. W. Knight on Milwich
Dr. N. Swindells on the turnpike road through Shenstone |
| 8 Dec. | | At Central Methodist Church, Gungate, Tamworth.
Aerial Photography—Jim Pickering, F.S.A. |
| 7979 | | |
| 5 Jan. | (L) | The Unique Industrial Archaeology of Staffordshire—Michael Rix. |
| 26 Jan. | (L) | Medieval Enclosures in Sutton Park—M. Hodder. |
| | (T) | Fieldwork at Luddington and Teddington—Delia Hooke. |
| 2 Feb. | (L) | The Chatterley Whitfield Mining Museum, Stoke-on-Trent—Jonathan Bryant. |
| 23 Feb. | (T) | The Royal Free Chapels—Dr. Robin Studd. |
| 9 Mar. | | Civic Evening in Arts Centre, Lichfield.
Excavations at Wall—A. A. Round, F.S.A. |
| 23 Feb. | (T) | Madeley Court, Salop: Excavations in Bolebridge Street, Tamworth, 1978—R. A. Meeson, F.S.A. |
| | (L) | Lichfield Public Library |
| | (T) | Tamworth Castle. |

EXCAVATIONS

- WALL Excavations continued on the 'villa' site at Wall on behalf of the Dept. of the Environment under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Ball.
- TAMWORTH The Dept. of the Environment, Staffordshire County Council and Tamworth Borough Council jointly sponsored two excavations in Bole-bridge Street, Tamworth, under the direction of R. A. Meeson, F.S.A.
- (a) A section through the eastern defences of the burh (10th century and earlier) in Nov./Dec. 1978.
 - (b) The Anglo-Saxon mill-pool and timber bridge, the post-Conquest town ditch and post-medieval metal working (Easter 1978).

OBITUARY

We regret to record the deaths of P. R. Sheppard and F. Marston, B.A., A.R.I.B.A., M. T.P.I.

Mr. Sheppard was the first treasurer of the Society and he held this office until 1963 when he retired to the Isle of Man. He contributed papers on cruck-trussed buildings to the *Transactions*: the drawings in these papers showed his skill as an artist and draughtsman. After his retirement he continued to show a great interest in the progress of the Society.

Mr. Marston served on the Committee from 1970 to 1974 and did valuable work for the Society in dealing with proposals for alteration and demolition of listed buildings.

ERRATA

vol. xix

page 56, para. 2, line 7: *for* Anglican *read* Anglian
para. 3, line 6: *after* However, *delete* a

KEY TO MAPS 2 TO 5

Open field arable land

Open field meadows

Common wastes

Woodland

Woodland indicated by botanical or

Place-name evidence

Enclosures

Probable boundaries

Possible boundaries

Buildings

Other settlements

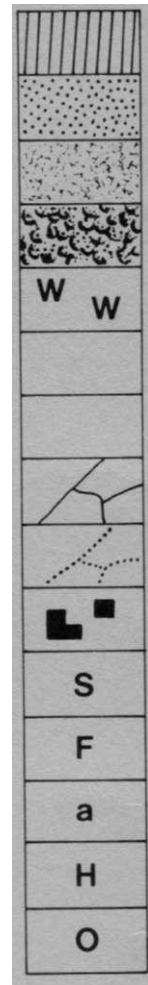
Fords

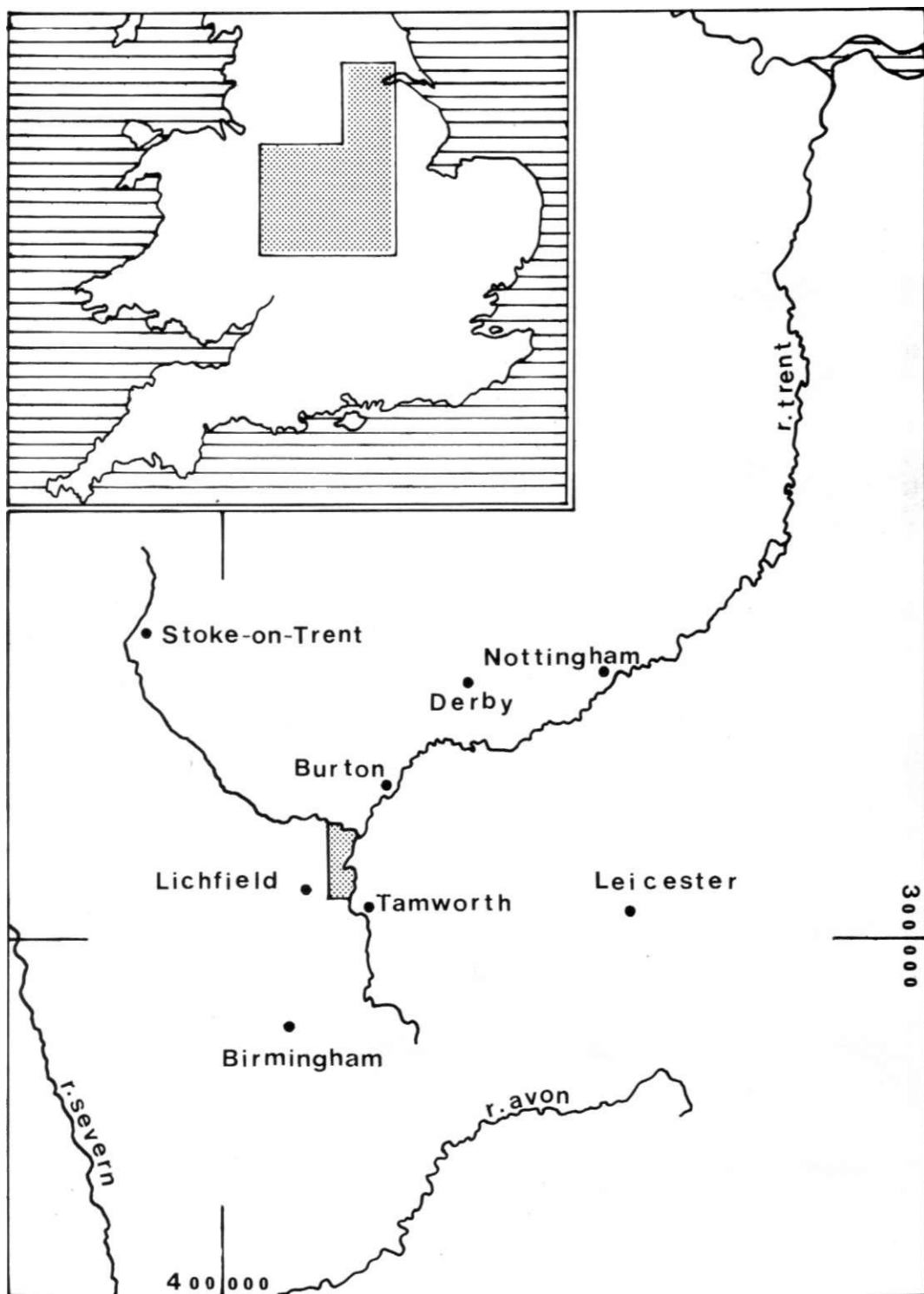
Arable land suggested by surface finds

Field-names ending in 'hay'

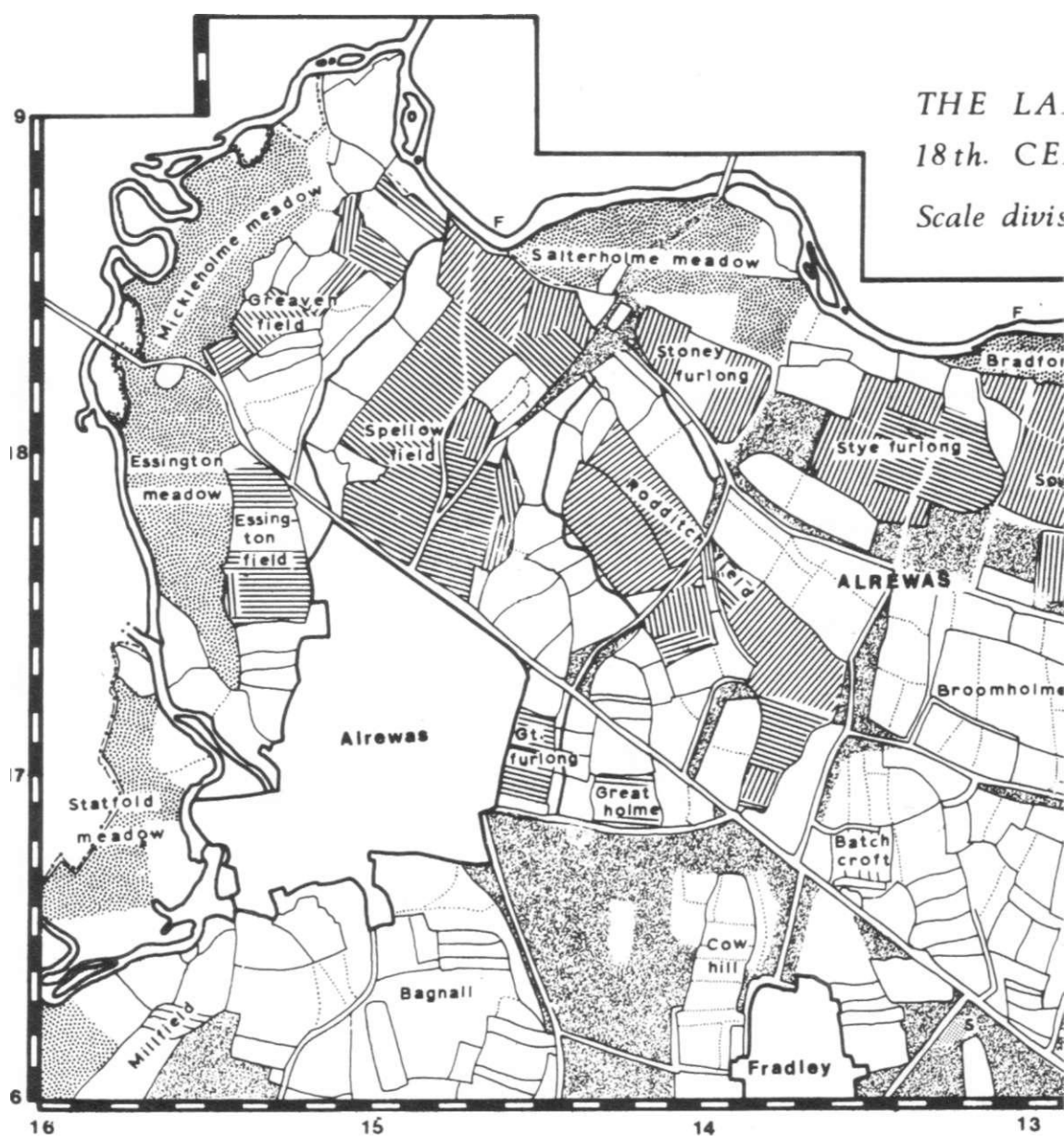
Barrows

Parish names given in heavy print.



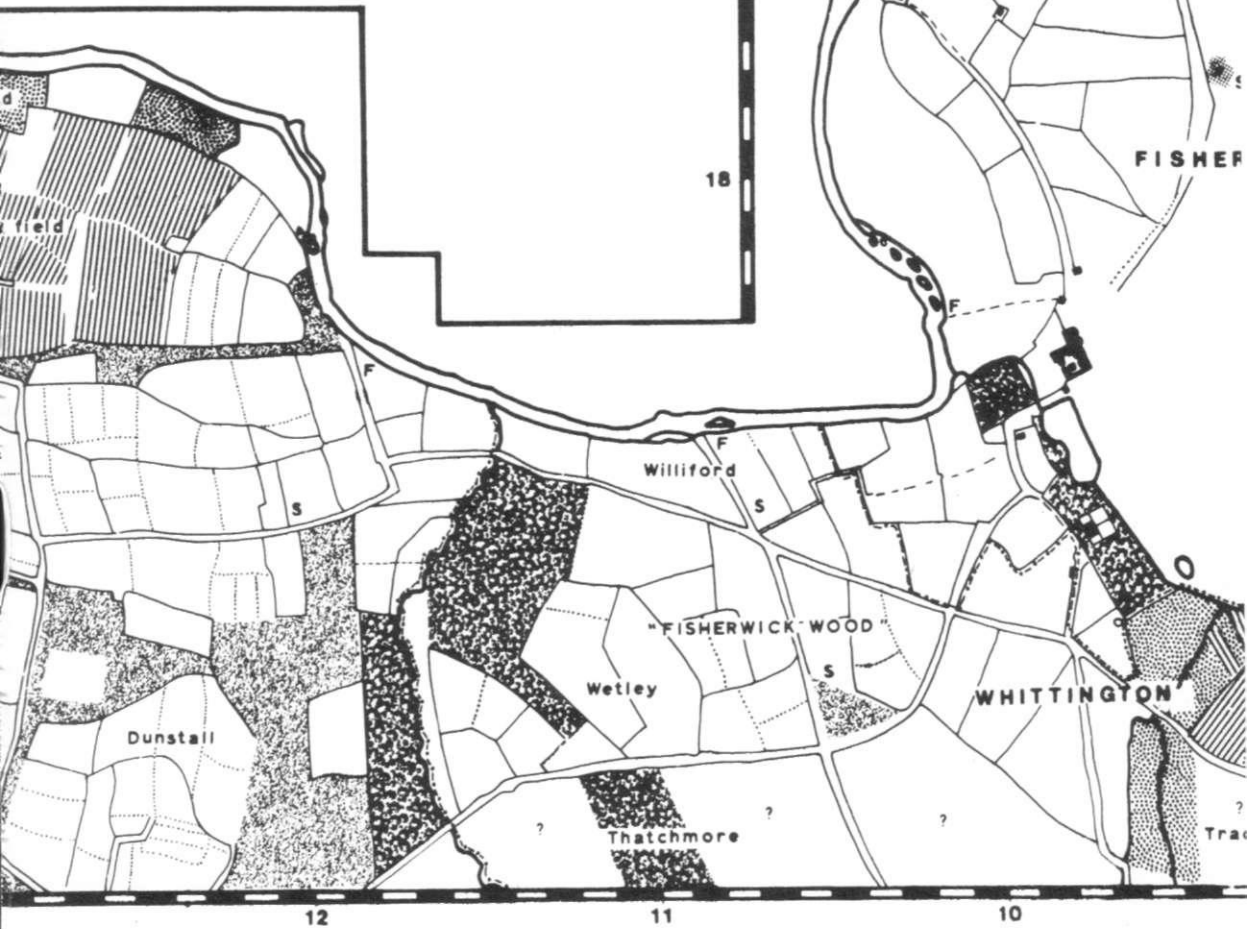


THE LA.
18th. CE.
Scale divis

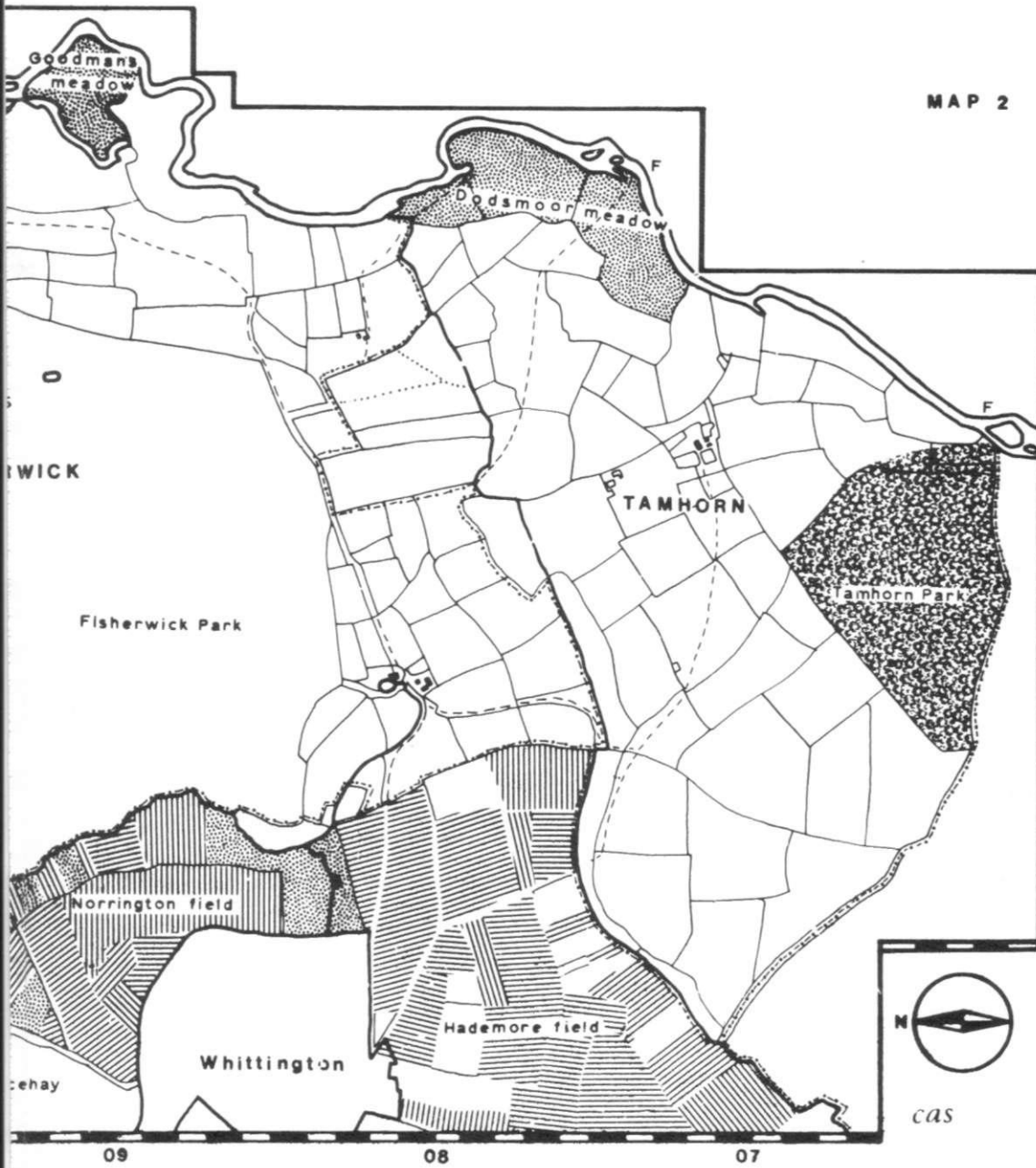


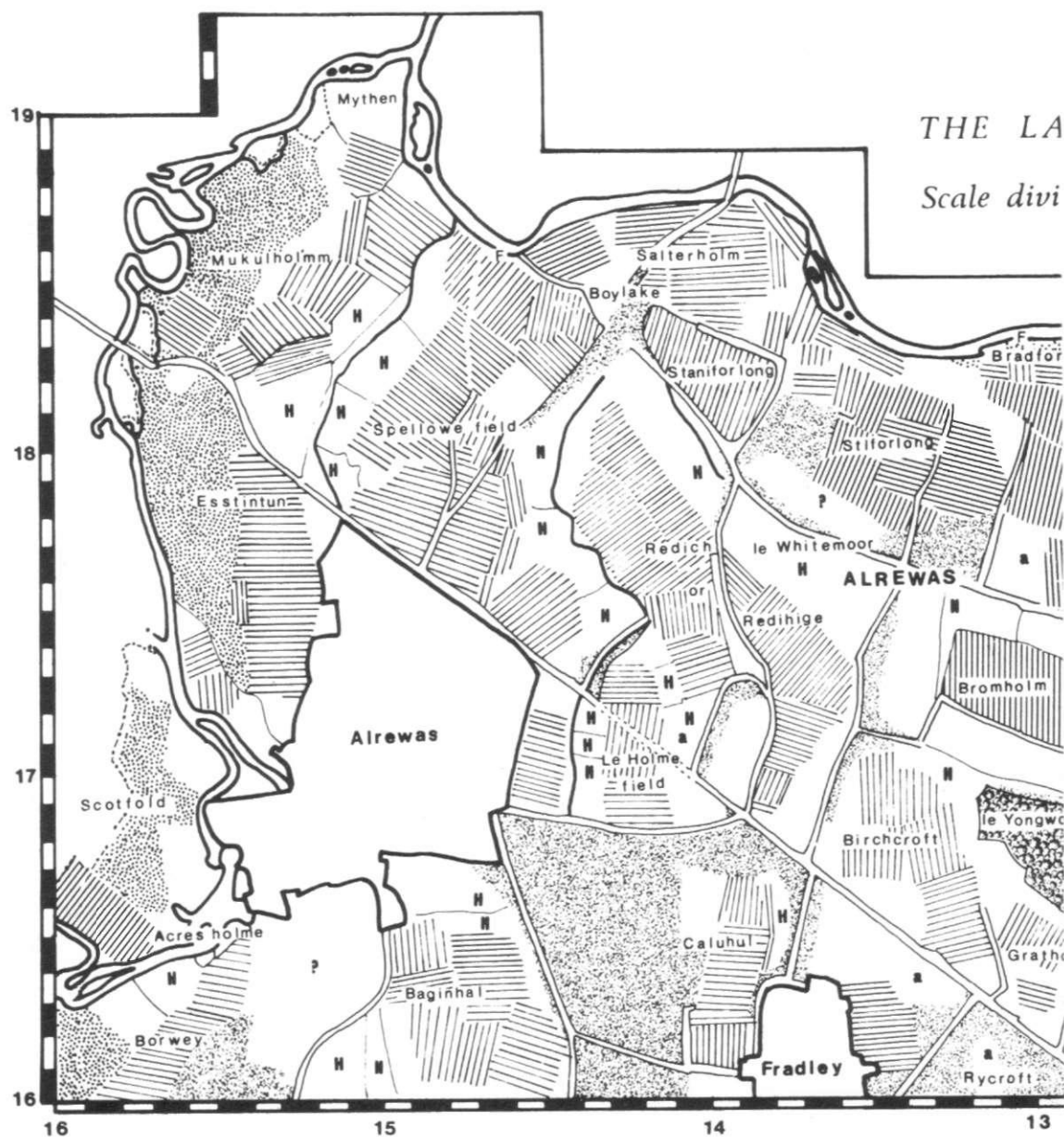
LANDSCAPE DURING THE MID
CENTURY AD. (c.1740 - 1760)

100 metres



MAP 2





LANDSCAPE OF c. 1300 AD

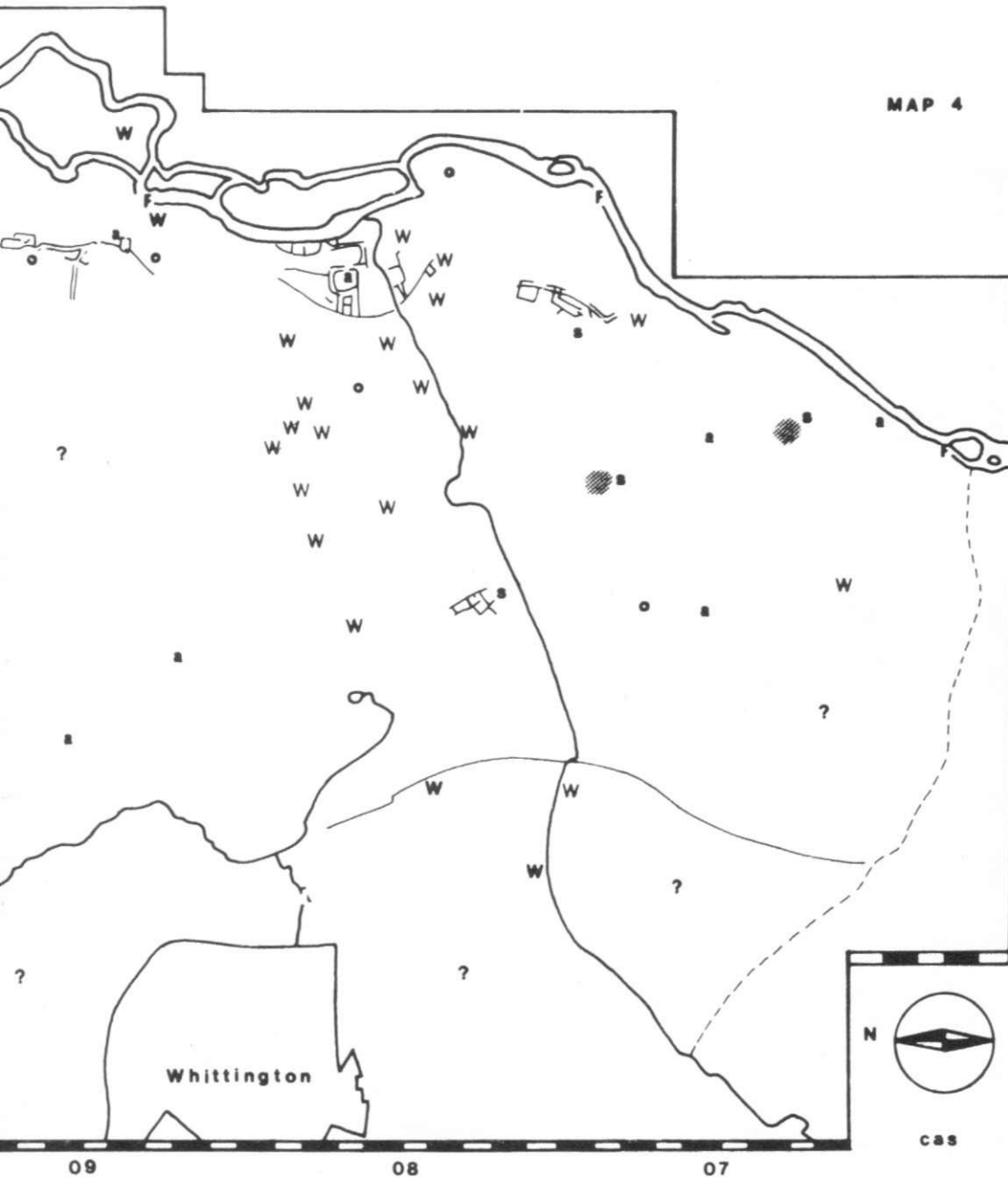
Dimensions equal 100 metres



MAP 3

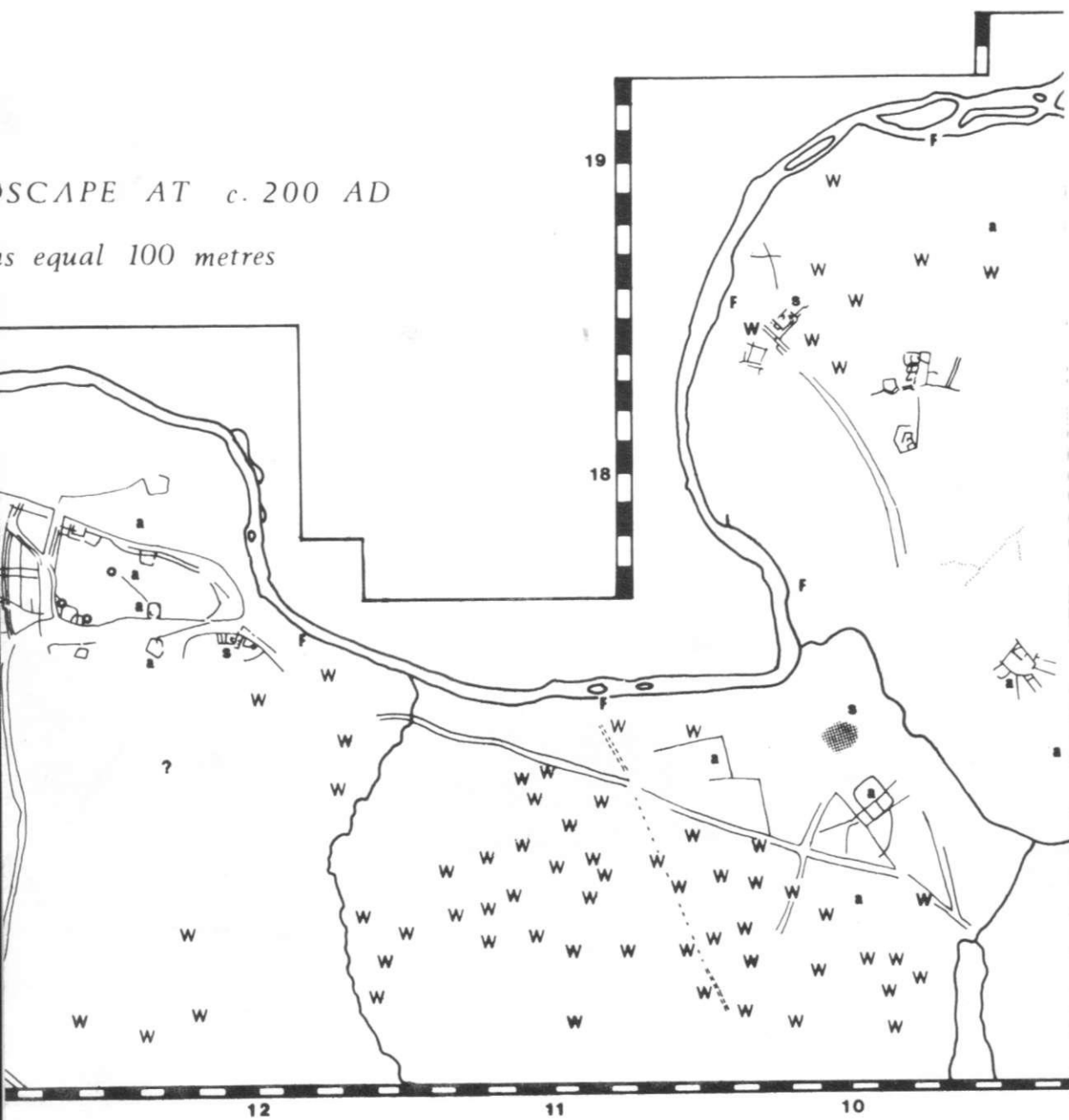


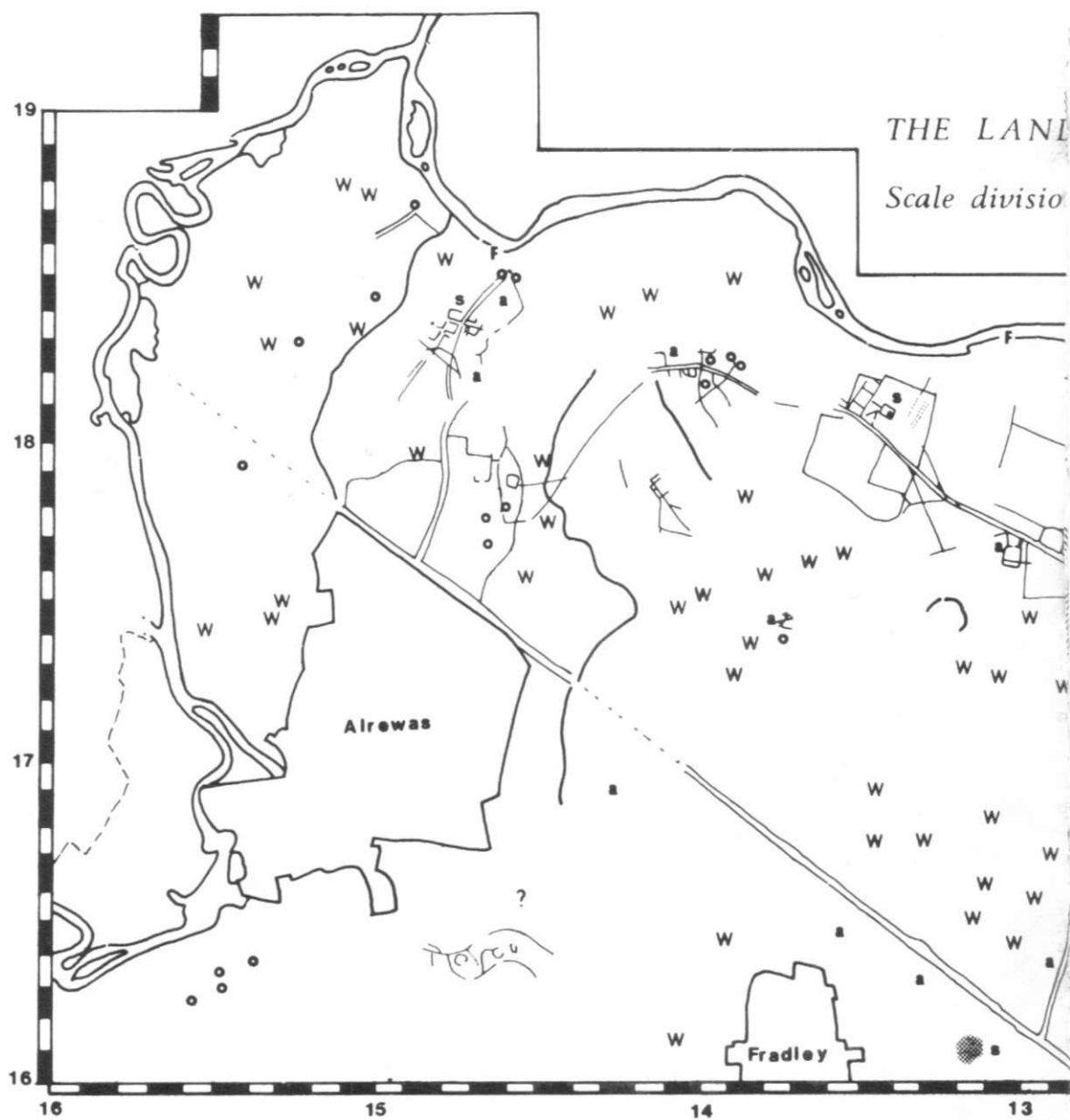
MAP 4

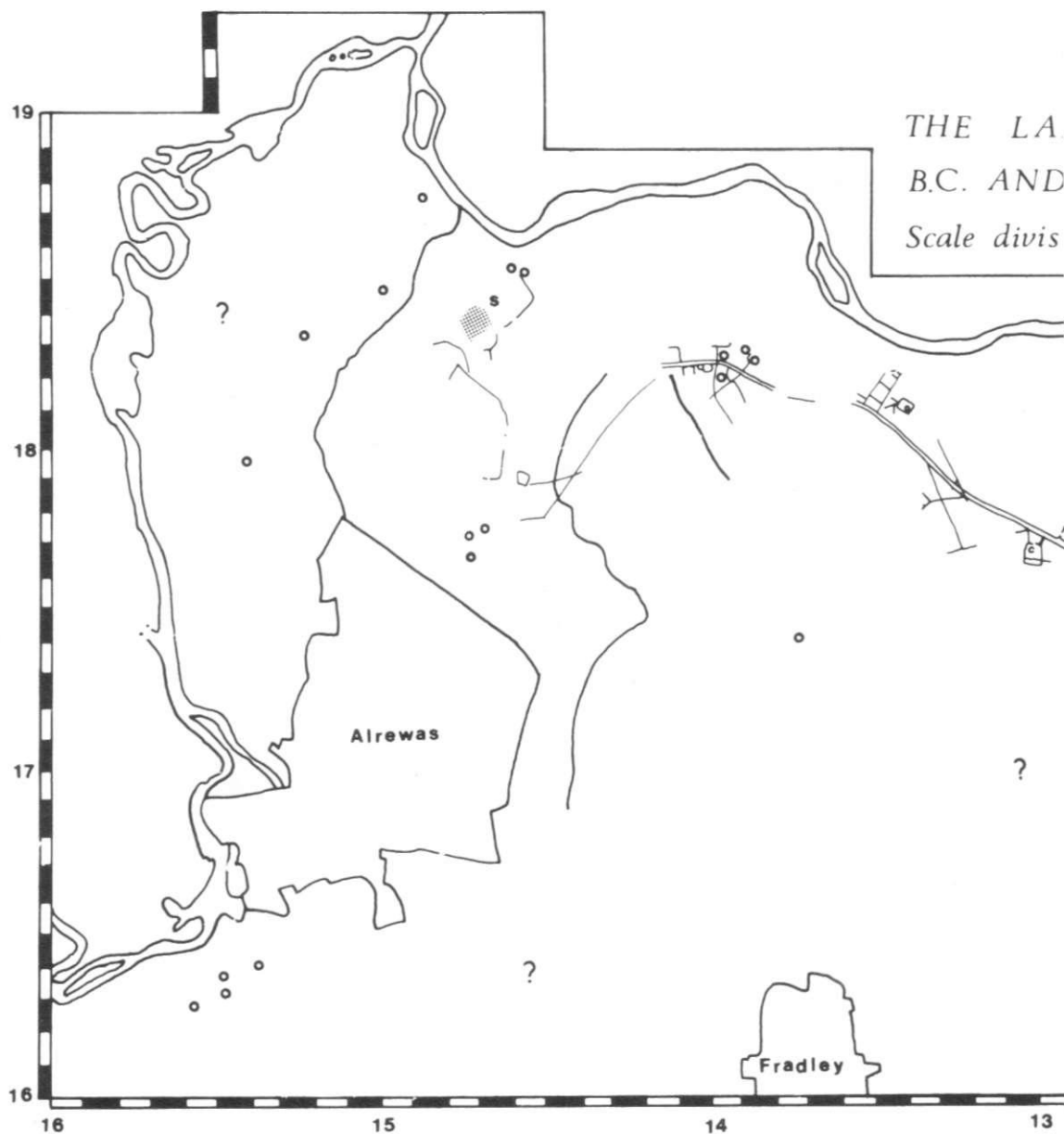


SCAPE AT c. 200 AD

s equal 100 metres

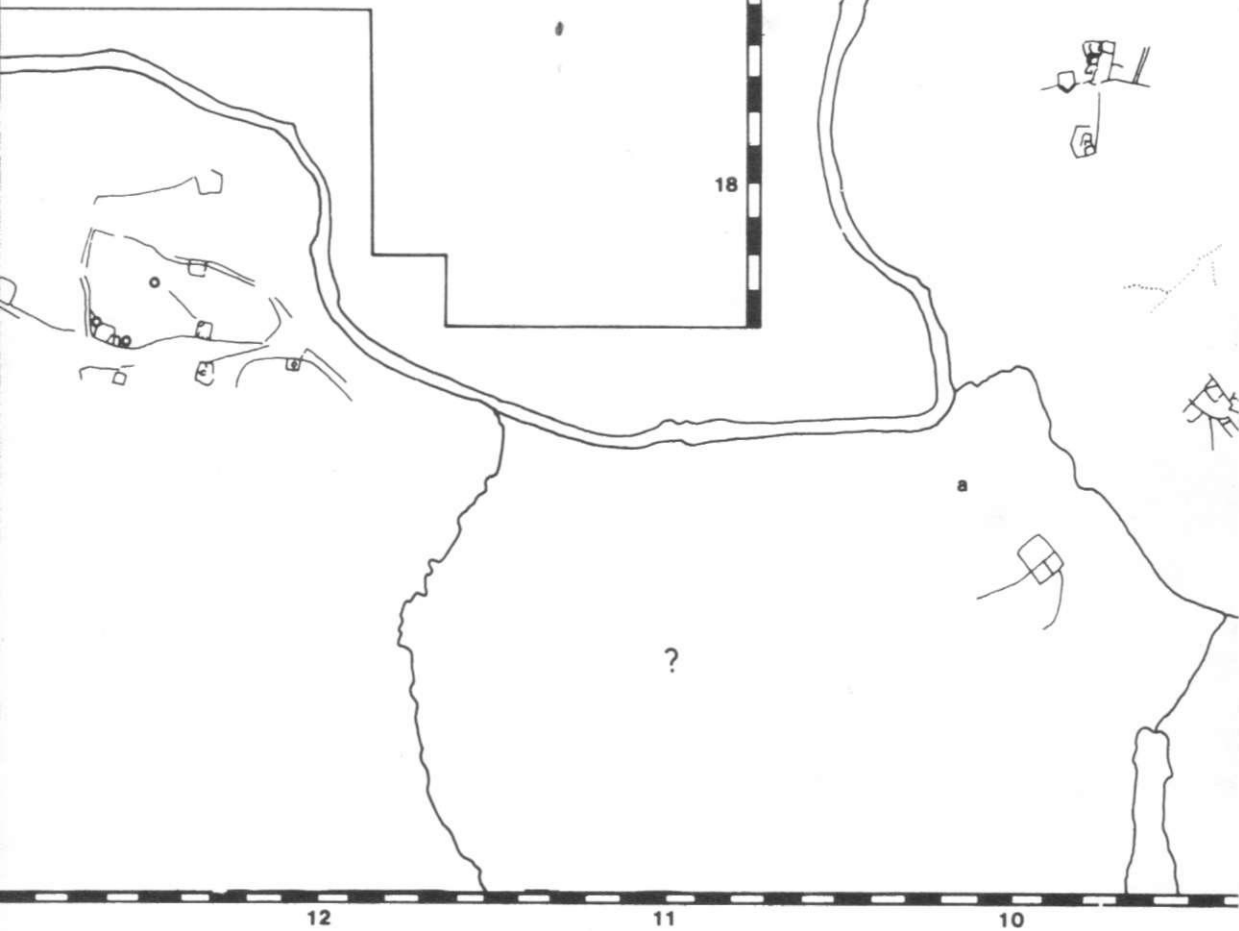




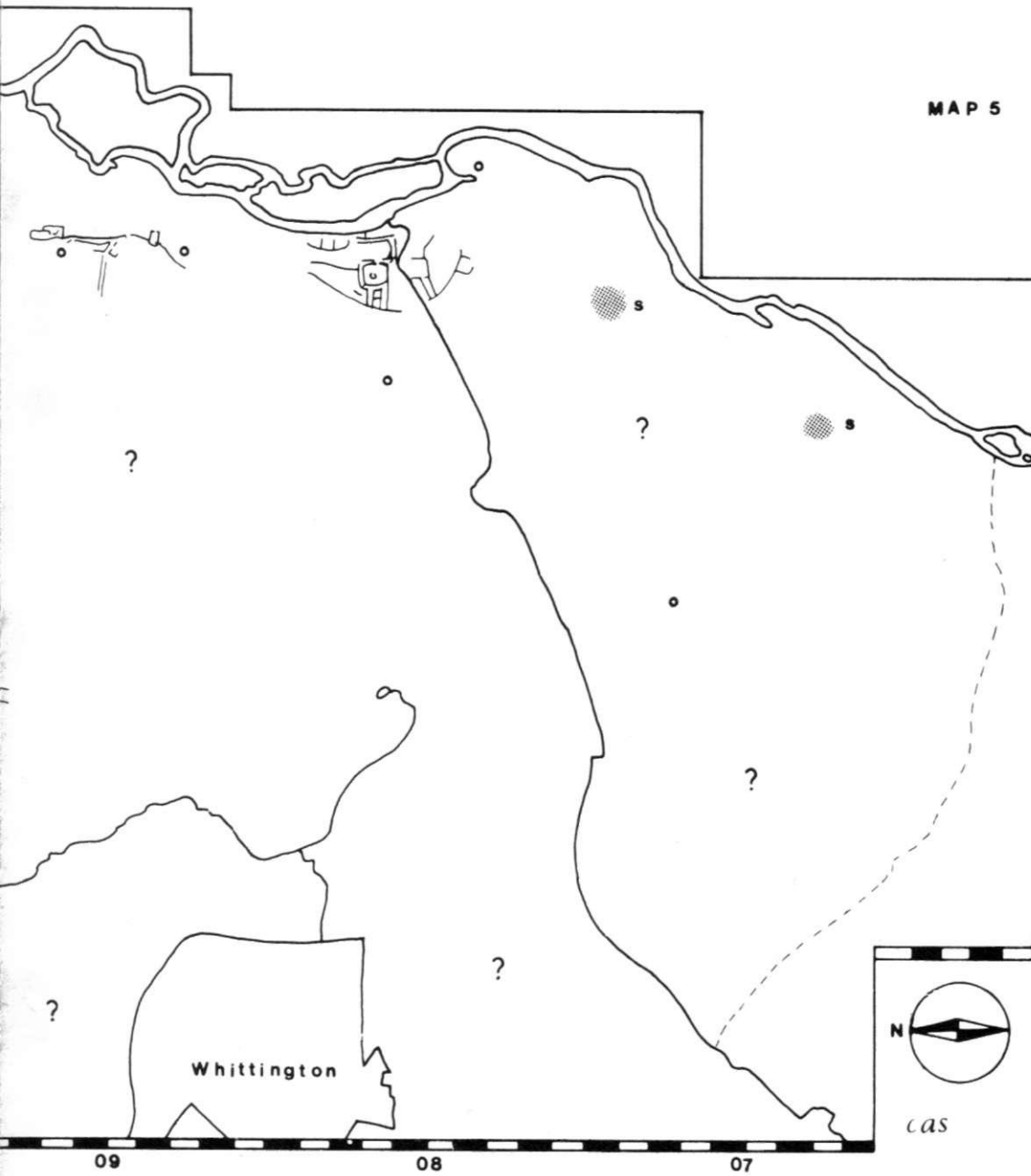


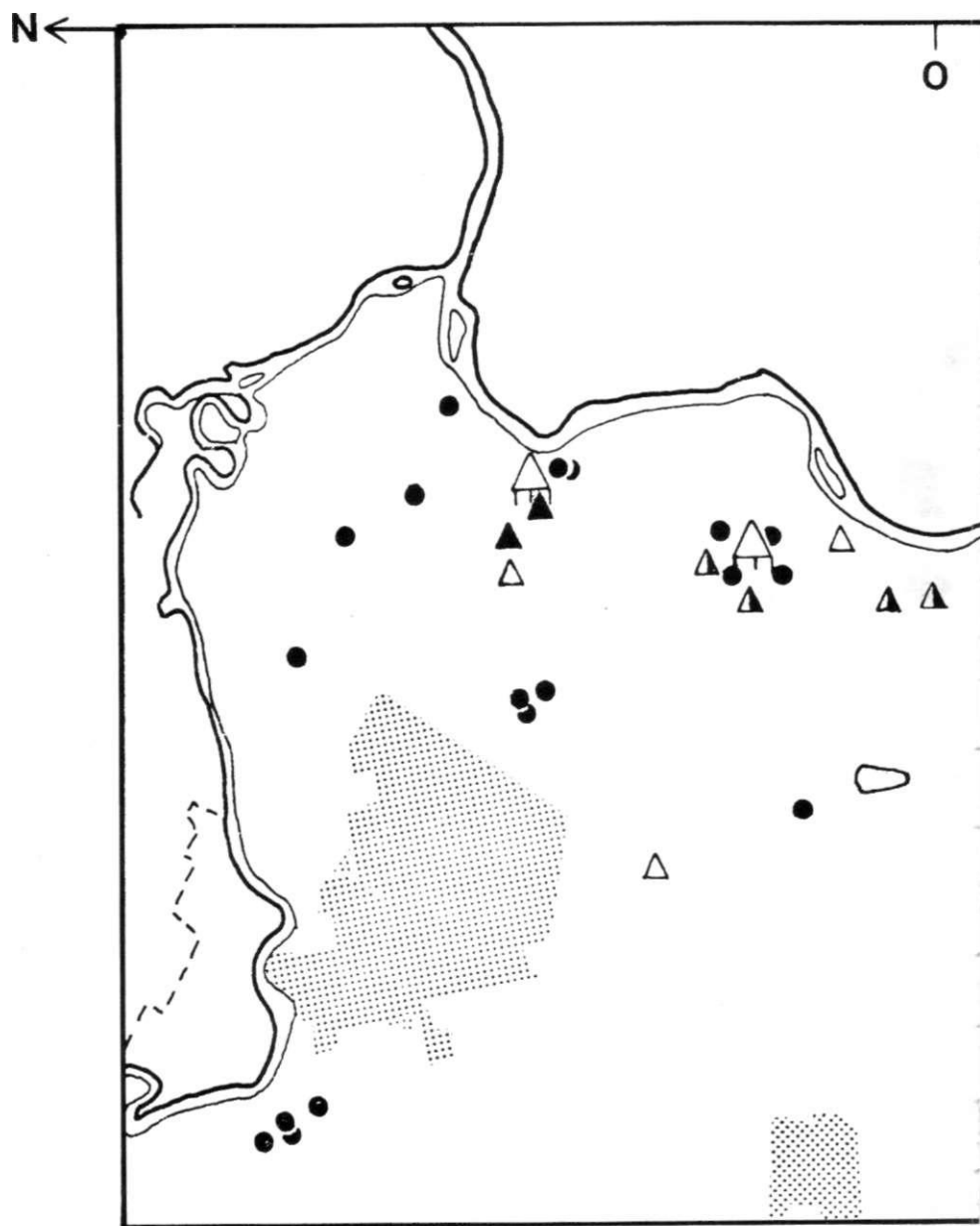
LANDSCAPE OF THE 1st MILLENNIUM
THE 1st CENTURY A.D.

ons equal 100 metres



MAP 5





Material probably dating from

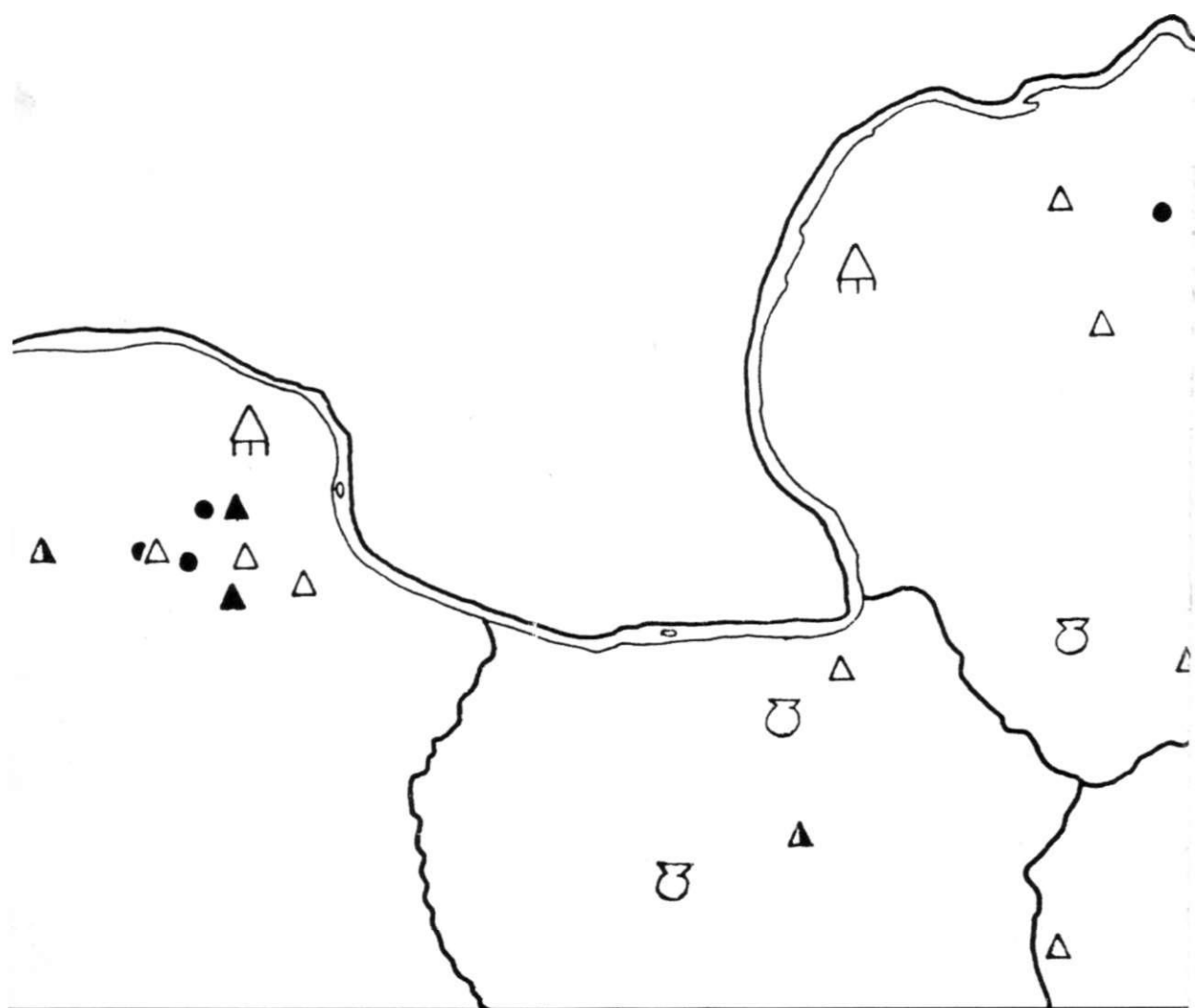
● barrows

△ flint knapping debris

△ " implements

▲ " " & knapping d

1 km



the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC.



settlements



pottery sherds



stone axe



bronze axe

debris

MAP 6

