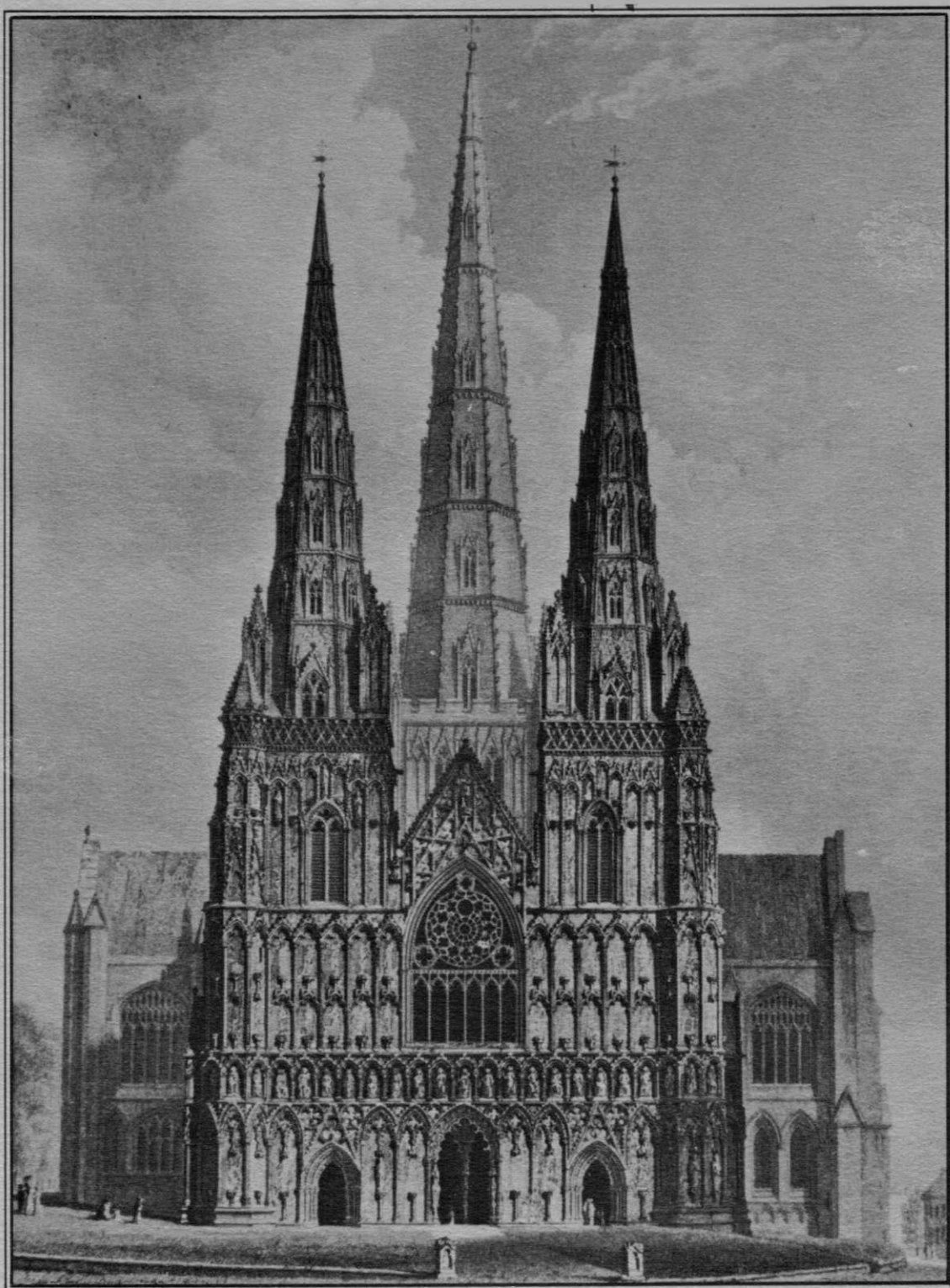




SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRANSACTIONS 1980-1981      VOLUME XXII

**SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY**

**T R A N S A C T I O N S**  
**FOR 1980-1981**

**VOLUME XXII**

**Walsall  
1982**

The Society acknowledges the grants generously given towards  
the cost of publishing this volume by

COUNCIL FOR BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY  
DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT  
TRUSTEES OF LICHFIELD CONDUIT LANDS  
TRUSTEES OF SWINFEN—BROUN TRUST

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ISBN 0 86061 017 9

ISSN 0457 7817

*Printed in Great Britain by:*

W. J. Ray & Co. Ltd., Warewell Street, Walsall, West Midlands WS1 2HQ.

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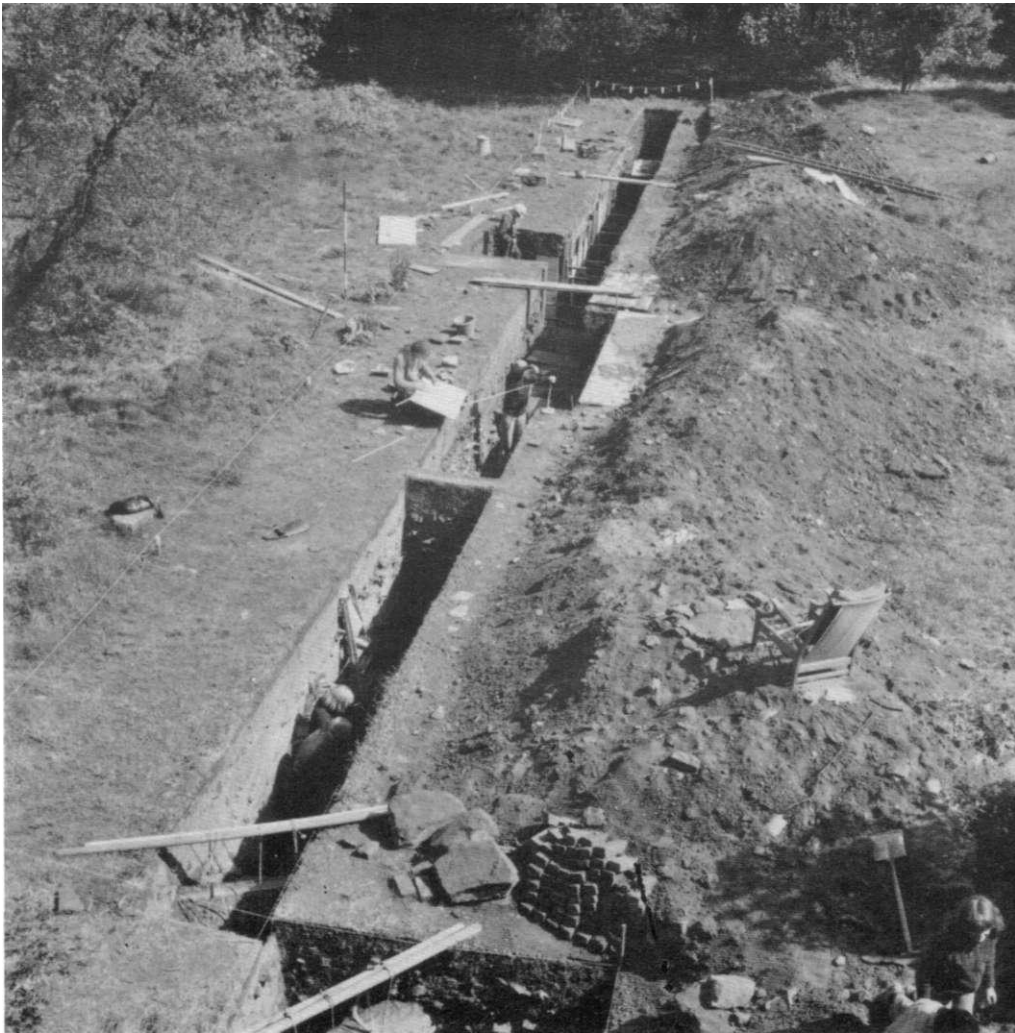
## EDITORIAL

Since the Society was formed in Lichfield in 1959 it has published several papers on the history and topography of the city and cathedral. The only paper or lecture of the Society which induced the *Lichfield Mercury* to report it on its front page — with banner headlines — was a Lichfield paper, 'The Origins of Lichfield', in which the author, Christopher Taylor, put forward the suggestion, now generally accepted, that the town of Lichfield was not of ancient origin but a medieval 'new town'.

This volume is devoted to papers on early Lichfield and they report on research which has been carried out recently on the archaeology and history of the city and cathedral. They are important papers which we believe will be quoted locally and nationally for a long time.

When Martin Carver, Director of the Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit, heard that the Society had proposed to publish other papers on Lichfield with that of his own and other members of his Unit, he suggested to us that we should publish an extended volume on Lichfield on the lines of his successful volume on Worcester, published in 1980 by the Worcestershire Archaeological Society. We are very grateful to Martin Carver for his suggestion, for his plan for the composition of the volume and for the large amount of work which he has done in preparing the papers of his Unit. The extent of the research and archaeological work done in Lichfield is much less than in Worcester, but this volume is a scholarly and up-to-date contribution to its archaeology and history. The papers show that much more research still needs to be done, particularly on the documentary evidence.

Lichfield offers a quarry to researchers with a wide range of interests with the prospect of important and rewarding finds.



Excavations in advance of draining operations in Lichfield Cathedral Close, 1977, from the north

# I THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF EARLY LICHFIELD: AN INVENTORY AND SOME RECENT RESULTS

M. O. H. CARVER

In 1976, Jim Gould, in the latest of a distinguished series of contributions to the archaeology and history of Lichfield, gave a brief account of the archaeology of the city and an assessment of how it might be affected by impending redevelopments.<sup>1</sup> Now, some five years later, much of the forecast redevelopment and some of the recommended archaeological investigations have taken place, albeit on a modest scale. Excavations and observations have been made at St. Michael's and St. Mary's churches,<sup>2</sup> within the 12th-century 'new town' at Wade Street,<sup>3</sup> in the park by Sandford Street,<sup>4</sup> and south of the Cathedral itself, on the site of the former Theological College.<sup>5</sup> Some of this work has endorsed the conclusions of earlier students of the city,<sup>6</sup> while other results break new ground and offer new potential. The time has therefore come for a critical reassessment of the evidence gathered to date, and an estimate of the value of the archaeological deposits that remain to us. The purpose of this paper is firstly to provide a *catalogue of archaeological data* relating to Lichfield, such as has been offered for other historic West Midland towns,<sup>7</sup> and secondly to present a revised synthesis and model in the light of the new evidence.

The modern city of Lichfield has an agreeably open and ornamental appearance which betrays little of its natural topography. The broad expanse of the Minster and Stowe Pools separates the Cathedral Close, St. Chad's church at Stowe, the grid of streets surrounding the market and the churchyard at St. Michael's on its promontory of Greenhill, all appearing as so many distinct elements of a dispersed settlement for whose evolution we now have a bare framework. Thorpe had already suggested that the unexploited site consisted of a gentle, open valley with a marsh-bordered stream (the Curborough Brook) formed by the confluence of two other brooks (the Leomansley and Trunkfield Brooks).<sup>8</sup> These streams were liable to small-scale alterations in conformation, capable of forming islands, as for example at Stowe<sup>9</sup>, and of depositing alluvium along a litoral some 50 metres across. This tributary of the Trent (fig. 1) varied through time both in its depth and mobility,<sup>10</sup> and it would be unwise to assume in this case, or for other West Midlands streams such as the Sowe and the Tame, that they were never navigable." The depth of peat encountered in the confluence area implies that the streams may have ponded at some stage before their systematic impounding. The analysis of columns drawn from these peat deposits can not

1. Gould 1976c.
2. Wilson, this vol. ch. V. Catalogue 1.20. The Catalogue is at pp. 5-7.
3. Hummler, this vol. ch. VI. Catalogue 1.19.
4. Catalogue 1.22.
5. Carver, this vol. ch. IV. Catalogue 1.18.
6. Thorpe 1954; Taylor 1969; Gould 1976c.
7. See M.O.H. Carver, 'Early Shrewsbury: an archaeological definition in 1975', *Trans. of Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.* 59 (1974), 225-263; and 'The site and settlements at Worcester', *Trans. of the Worcestershire Archaeol. Soc.* 3S 7 (1980), 15-30.
8. Thorpe 1954 and MSS. notes in the care of the Dept. of Geography, University of Birmingham.
9. Suggested in Taylor 1969, fig. 1.
10. See Catalogue 1.10, 1.12 and 1.22.
11. ButseeD. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (1981), 11.

only chronicle the available living space in the long pre-Christian centuries at Lichfield but describe, in close focus, its vegetational environment (see Colledge, p.47). Such exercises should be high on the agenda of future work.

At least two sites in the area were exploited in prehistoric times (fig. 2). At St. Michael's, a low hill where natural springs occur, there was Mesolithic activity of some kind,<sup>12</sup> while on a terrace of sandstone beside the boggy stream, later to be used to site the Cathedral, a settlement of Neolithic date was present.<sup>13</sup> This brings the total of probably Neolithic sites in the area to four, all apparently occupying similar positions beside tributaries of the river Trent.<sup>14</sup>

There is still no evidence for the exploitation of the Lichfield site between the Neolithic and Anglo-Saxon periods. If the site is really analogous to that of Fisherwick by the Tame (fig. 1), some Iron Age activity might be expected, but there has been no trace of any. At the Theological College excavations, the early medieval features superseded those of neolithic date, and no evidence for the interim landscape had survived. Forest<sup>15</sup> and marsh<sup>16</sup> are essential elements for the understanding of this landscape, whose accurate mapping would undoubtedly aid our understanding of why and how the site of Lichfield came to be chosen.

These new early medieval features (see below) raise again the question of the inter-connection between Lichfield and Wall, the Roman fortified settlement of Letocetum, where walls still stood 12 feet high in 1724.<sup>17</sup> Much research is still needed on this question, and it is research to which, as Taylor and Bassett have suggested,<sup>18</sup> landscape and territorial studies have much to contribute. The analysis of the field boundary patterns, carried out by Meeson for Tamworth, revealed a pre-Roman route passing south of Lichfield, and Bassett's work on the Lichfield hinterland itself confirms this and discovers other features of the early topography, including the medieval routes and limits to the planted town."

In this context, it might be worth recalling the discovery, before 1798, of a preserved timber palisade at least 500 yards long, constructed of whole oak trees.<sup>19</sup> It was situated at Pipe Hill, between Lichfield and Wall, and apparently follows the line of both the parish boundary and Meeson's route (fig. 1). A lane in the area is now known as Fosseway, which crosses the Trunkie'd Brook. This astonishing construction must have been discovered during the digging of the Wyrley and Essington canal, which presumably crossed its route

12. Wilson, this vol. ch. V. Catalogue 1.20.

13. Carver, this vol. ch. IV. Catalogue 1.18.

14. Hodder, this vol. ch. II.

15. See Gould 1967, 1972, 1976c, 7; and see Smith 1980 for a reconstruction of the landscape from the first millenium B.C., along the western bank of the lower Tame.

16. Catalogue 1.4 and 1.10.

17. Webster 1958. For other Wall reports, see Anon. 1927; Bagnall 1874; Blay 1925; Gould 1964a, 1964b, 1966, 1968, 1973a; Hodgkinson 1929; Lynam 1913, 1915; Lyon and Gould 1960/61, 1964; Oswald 1968; Ross 1980; Round 1971a, 1971b, 1974, 1980; Thorpe 1958; Webster 1959; Whitehouse 1964.

18. Taylor 1969, 50; Bassett, this vol. ch. VII.

19. Meeson. 1976. For a recent account of the archaeology of Tamworth, see R. A. Meeson, *The Formation of Tamworth* (unpub. MA thesis, University of Birmingham, 1979). For Bassett, see this vol. ch. VII.

20. Shaw(1798), 19 and fig. opposite. See also Pitt 1817, 128; Erdeswick 1820, 228 and *VCH*, 191.

(SK0965 0765).<sup>21</sup> If it is indeed an ancient structure, then it may have formed a boundary (perhaps of the type that gives rise to pit-alignments) or have been a barrier of the Devils's Dyke type, but realized in timber. Systematic field-work to re-discover and radiocarbon-date these timbers comprise another major item of Lichfield's archaeological programme of priorities.

At the excavation south of the Cathedral, a series of post-sockets and beam-slots was isolated whose importance goes far beyond their slight appearance. Stratigraphically they occurred between the neolithic levels and an orientated inhumation, which was itself touched by cultivation in about the 11th century A.D. But these structural features also contained a Roman tile and a single sherd of pottery of early medieval type. It is therefore argued that the posts belonged to buildings erected in the post-Roman or Middle-Saxon era.<sup>22</sup> On such a tiny sample, this is as far as we can go. St. Chad is documented as bishop from A.D. 669 and by his death in 672, or at least by the consecration of Headda's Cathedral in c. A.D. 700, the attendant community is no doubt to be thought of as integral with the Middle-Saxon monastic culture of the country as a whole.<sup>23</sup> However, as Gould, Benedikz, Studd and earlier authorities have argued, there is every likelihood that Chad's appointment as bishop was the direct consequence of decades of previous missionary work within a British community in the Lichfield area.<sup>24</sup> The early settlement south of the Cathedral at Lichfield, which survives in a band about 50 metres wide and perhaps 150 metres long (fig. 3) is thus of quite exceptional importance for those who would know more of secular and monastic settlements in the 5th to 9th centuries, and of their Roman, British or Anglo-Saxon attributes.<sup>25</sup>

In the later Saxon period, when the Cathedral had lost its national status, a religious settlement of some interest ensued, in contact with the new burh at Stafford.<sup>26</sup> Such information as we have, suggests that structures are to be found to the north of the present (and ancient) Cathedral site, while the cemetery was to the south.<sup>27</sup>

By good fortune, much of this early evidence, (although perhaps not the Minster itself) has survived the major development operations which followed in the 12th century (fig. 3). Independent archaeological confirmation is now available for the artificial creation

21. C. J. Gilson, 'The Wyrley and Essington Canal', *TSSAHS* 1 (1960), 20-40. Cutting began in 1792 and the engineer in charge was W. Pitt—that same Staffordshire historian who appears to have escorted Stebbing Shaw to the site (Shaw 1798, 19).
22. Carver, this vol. ch. IV.
23. The only artefact so far identified for this period from Lichfield is a 7th-century spiral-headed pin which was found in dredgings from the Minster and Stowe Pools in 1855 (Gould 1977a). See now M. McCarthy, *Carlisle—A Frontier City* (Carlisle, 1980), 11 for another example which is perhaps not from a grave.
24. Gould 1973; Benedikz 1977; Studd, this vol. ch. III all assert the presence (from documentary evidence) of a British church and community in Lichfield from at least the 660s, although *VCHU* is less confident. St. Chad's church at Stowe, St. Michael's on Greenhill and the Cathedral Close have all been suggested as sites for some or all of this post-Roman pre-Saxon activity.
25. See R. J. Cramp 'Excavations at the Saxon monastic sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Co. Durham: an interim report' *Medieval Archaeology* 13(1969), 21-66 for a Middle-Saxon monastic site known to Bede and S. Losco-Bradley 'Catholme' *Current Archaeology* 59 (vol. V, no. 12, 1977) and Meeson on Tamworth (op. cit. in note 19) for contemporary and near-by secular sites of the same period (fig. 1).
26. The documentary record expects a reduced settlement in the period 9th-11th century, see Studd, this vol., quoting William of Malmesbury. Note that the latter speaks of Lichfield as a 'tiny village ... in the midst of a woody district. *A stream of water flows before it*' (Thorpe, 1954, 153/4, quoting Rolls Series 52, 1870, 307).
27. A group of tools was found on the north side of the Close (Catalogue 4.2), while evidence for an inhumation cemetery was found on the south (Carver, this vol. ch. IV).

or impounding of the Minster Pool<sup>28</sup> and for an initial 12th-century occupation in Wade Street, part of the area identified by Taylor from documentary and topographical evidence as a new implanted town of about 1150.<sup>29</sup> Gould has shown that the Cathedral Close had been provided with piped water from Maple Hayes (fig. 1) at about the same time,<sup>30</sup> and it is likely that the 13th-century lead pipe clad in clay excavated in the Cathedral Close belonged to this system.<sup>31</sup> The new town too had its piped water supply from Aldershawe (fig. 1), the whole forming, by virtue of its low-lying position, a most unusual medieval public service.<sup>32</sup>

It is however less clear, from the archaeological evidence, that the town ever thrived, or that it had any kind of formal defences.<sup>33</sup> We now have, in a small sample, a sequence of pottery for Lichfield from the 10th to the 16th century<sup>34</sup> and it is curious to note that no evidence for occupation between the early 13th century and the 15th century was noticed at Wade Street, while during the same period, urban pit-digging occupants are temporarily present in the Close, living by a road called 'altus Vicus' by 1411.<sup>35</sup> All casual sightings of pottery in the town have been of 15th century and later pottery.<sup>36</sup> There is thus a hint here of depression, if not desertion, during the 13th and 14th centuries.

We have unfortunately very few observations recorded which might throw light on such industry as was practised, inside or outside the Close during the Middle Ages.<sup>37</sup> Even if, as suspected, the later medieval town was reduced commercially, the activities of its craftsmen and the imports of its bishop are vital pieces in the overall jigsaw puzzle of medieval urbanism in Staffordshire. Here, it seems likely that the strip to the south side of the Minster Pool, complementary to that to the north, will play an important part in the future successes of archaeology. Now largely occupied by a car-park, the deposits so far sighted<sup>38</sup> suggest that an excavation sample of reasonable size survives here, one which might one day serve to put the social and economic life of the Lichfield townsmen on the map of medieval England (fig. 3).

The site of Lichfield—a marshy dell extracted from a pre-existing agricultural system—and its curiously individual component settlements thus present an archaeological challenge of uncommon character. Exploration has begun, and if the results are not yet definitive, or even decisive, it is clear that ample areas of high quality evidence have survived. Their protection and careful retrieval, combined with intensive topographic study, will eventually indicate something of the true diversity behind that concept perhaps too easily designated as a 'town'.

28. The section in the Theological College excavations suggested the deliberate cut" \_ and embanking of the pool. Sedges were found in the pre-12th-century contexts (Carver, this vol. ch. IV) and see Thorpe, *op. cit.* in note 26 for mention of a stream where the pond now is.

29. Taylor 1969 for documentation; Hummler, this vol. for archaeological evidence.

30. Gould 1976b.

31. Carver, this vol. ch. IV.

32. Gould 1976b.

33. Bassett, this vol. ch. VII.

34. Carver, this vol. ch. IV.

35. Carver, this vol. ch. IV; Hummler, this vol. ch. VI.

36. See Catalogue 5.2, 5.5, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9.

37. Gould 1976c suggests tanners working along the south edge of Minster Pool, on the basis of scrap retrieved from the Pool.

38. See Catalogue 1.14.

## CATALOGUE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

### relating to the City of Lichfield

Search area: National Grid, SK 10-13

08 - 11

#### SITE COMPOSITION

- 1.1. *Minster Pool* (SK 115 096). In 12th century, pool created out of existing boggy stream by damming at Dam Street (Carver, this vol. ch. IV.).
- 1.2. *Close* (area SK 114 097). Ditch cut around the Close between 1299 and 1312 (Turner and Parker III, 404; Gould 1976c). Mapped by OS field workers in 1956 (OS Antiquity Notes, Staffordshire SMR).
- 1.3. *Bird Street* (SK 1148 0958). In 1310, causeway, 7ft. (2.10 m) wide, built across west end of Minster Pool joining what is now Bird Street and Beacon Street (Gould 1976b, 10, quoting Magnum Registrum Album, 495 and Wharton 1691, 442). Actually a bridge, with seven arches, now about 4 ft. below the pavement (OS Antiquity Notes, Staffordshire SMR).
- 1.4. *Upper St. John Street* (SK 118 090). In 14th century, area known as *Culstubbemerch* (marsh) (Thorpe 1954, n4).
- 1.5. *Cathedral* (SK 1153 0974). In 1751, gypsum (?) burial, 2.50 m below floor of south aisle (Greene 1751, 398).
- 1.6. *Beacon Street* (SK 1145 0963). In 1802, Roman pot with human bone, 3.70 m beneath surface of causeway to west of Minster Pool (Lomax 1819, 131).
- 1.7. *Minster Pool* (SK 116 096). In 1855 (1857), pool dredged and made into a reservoir (Thorpe 1954; Gould 1977a).
- 1.8. *Stowe Pool* (SK 118 098). In 1855 (1857), pool dredged, embanked and made into a reservoir; large quantity of silt dumped at the west end of the pool (SK 1181 0982). Stowe Pool now (1960s) 21 ft. (6.30 m) deep (Thorpe 1954; Gould 1977a).
- 1.9. *Cathedral* (SK 1153 0974). In 1860, sandstone bedrock found 7 ft. (2.10 m) below the pavement of the aisle (Willis 1861).
- 1.10. *Sandford Street* (SK 1138 0936). In 1910 survey, 24 ft. (7.20 m) of peat located in excavations for foundation of a gasholder (Geological Survey 1910).
- 1.11. *Friary* (SK 1158 0938). In 1933, walls of Friary traced in excavations (Laithwaite 1934). Walls probably at modern road level (Gould 1976c, 12).
- 1.12. *Beacon Street* (SK 1142 0961). In 1938, trial hole dug at SW corner of the Public Library gave: 'rubbish 4 ft., soft soil 4 ft., peat 3 ft., peat and sand 4 ft. 6 in., peat 1 ft. 9 in., gravel 1 ft. 9 in., Gravel and sand 1 ft. 2 in., thereafter red marl'. Total depth to marl: 20 ft. 2 in. (6.05 m); depth of archaeological deposit 17 ft. 3 in. (5.18 m). NW corner of Library on hard sandstone (cf. L. Straw quoted in Thorpe 1954, n7).
- 1.13. *Cathedral Close* (SK 1142 0974). In 1960, excavations of small area in yard of Vicar's Close found clay floor sealed by 'well-defined group of cooking pots, dating to 1050-1200 (more probably 13th-14th century from rim shape), cut by a 14th-century cistern (Lyon 1960).
- 1.14. *Market Street* (SK 1165 0960). In 1964, observations during sewer pipe-laying saw 80 mm of pond deposit beneath c. 2m of later make-up. Top 3 ft. 6 in. (1.05 m) consisted of rubbish pits of 15th century and later (Thorpe MSS and annotated map in the care of the Dept. of Geography, University of Birmingham).
- 1.15. *Baker's Lane* (SK 1194 0950). In 1966, excavations on the site of the New Post Office found a cutting 14 ft. (4.20 m) wide and 5 ft. (1.50 m) deep extending along Frog Lane (north side) with stepped access (Lyon 1966). Interpreted as a 'quarry' (Lyon 1966); 'perhaps encountered town ditch' (Gould 1976 c, 12). However, cutting is almost certainly a row of rock-cut cellars off Frog Lane (see plan in Lyon 1966).
- 1.16. *Rotten Row* (SK 121 095). In c. 1969, 'Massive foundations recently revealed at junction of Rotten Row and Birmingham Road by-pass' (Marston 1969).
- 1.17. *St. Michael's Church* (SK 1252 0955). In 1974, excavations of the churchyard bank gave 400-500 mm of broken clay (ploughed ?) and soil with late-medieval and 19th-century pottery resting on marl, to the east of a turf bank (or lynchet) (Gould and Gould 1976a).
- 1.18. *Cathedral Close* (SK 1161 0971). In 1976-1977, excavations on the site of the Theological College gave a wedge of deposit deepening to 2 m at old pool edge. Sequence was Neolithic to 20th century; 12th-13th deposits in pool had organic preservation (Carver, this vol., ch. IV).
- 1.19. *Wade Street* (SK 1175 0936). In 1977, excavations in advance of redevelopment found 1 m of post-medieval deposit over natural sands with truncated 12th-century features (Hummeler, this vol. ch. VI.).
- 1.20. *St. Michael's Church* (SK 1239 0950). In 1978, excavations in advance of a new vestry building found 1.4 m of strata disturbed by burials on top of natural marl (Wilson, this vol. ch. V).
- 1.21. *St. Mary's Church* (SK 1177 0955). In 1979, observation during reconstruction gave 500 mm of (medieval) grave-earth below 1 m of later make-up below modern floor (Wilson, this vol. ch. V).

- 1.22. *Sandford Street* (SK 1145 0952). In 1981, section observed during housing construction gave 2 m of peat (inf. site foreman) below 2 m of peat banded with sand, below 1 m of clayey black soil with 19th/20th-century pottery. Horn cores sighted and adjacent debris included red sandstone blocks 500 x 300 x 200 mm (obs. M. O. H. Carver, 23 Oct. 1981).

#### PREHISTORIC

- 2.1. *Beacon Park* (SK 11 09). Leaf-shaped flint arrowhead (see this vol. ch. 2, Appendix 1) found in 1955. Now in Lichfield Museum.
- 2.2. *Gaia Lane* (centre SK 115 099). Polished flint axe, now in Birmingham City Museum (Gould 1976c, 9).
- 2.3. *Lichfield*, site unknown. Polished flint axe (see this vol. ch. 2, Appendix 3). Now in Lichfield Museum.
- 2.4. *Rugeley Road* (SK 1061 0986). Polished stone axe, group VI (source Great Langdale), found on an allotment in 1976 (Birmingham City Museum Records).
- 2.5. *Lichfield*, site unknown. Unlooped bronze palstave (see this vol. ch. 2, Appendix 4) bought in an auction in Lichfield before 1835. Now in Shrewsbury Museum (Chitty 1927, 143-144).
- 2.6. *Lichfield*, site unknown. Looped bronze palstave (see this vol., ch. 2, Appendix 2). Now in Lichfield Museum (Gould 1976c, 9).
- 2.7. *Cathedral Close* (cf. 1.18 above). Neolithic settlement found in 1977 (Carver, this vol. ch. IV).
- 2.8. *St. Michael's churchyard* (cf. 1.20 above). Mesolithic activity found in 1978 (Wilson, this vol. ch. V).

#### ROMAN

- 3.1. *Toad's Hole Piece* (centre SK 1137 1135). Pottery, including part of a stamped mortarium (see Hartley, see Appendix 1), a jar and some coarser ware associated with a granite bowl, a rounded stone 100 mm diameter, a halberd of probable 17th-century date, and 'a considerable quantity of human bone' found at a depth of 1.20 m in a peaty soil, amongst roots and branches in 1802 (Lomax 1819, 4-6).
- 3.2. *Beacon Street* (SK 1145 0963). 'Roman' pot found with human bones 3.70 m under surface of causeway to west of Minster Pool, in 1802 (Lomax 1819, 131).
- 3.3. *Cathedral* (SK 1153 0974). Possible gypsum burial found in lead coffin 8 ft. (2.40 m) below floor of south aisle, between second and third pillars, in 1751 (Greene 1751, 398; Gould 1976c, 10).
- 3.4. *16 Ash Grove* (SK 1301 0978). Three coins, one each of Severus Alexander (AD 222-235), Constantine (AD 307-337) and Constantine II (AD 337-340), found in topsoil in rear garden in 1969 (Birmingham City Museum Records).
- 3.5. *Cathedral Close* (cf. 1.18 above). Roman tile in post-Roman or Middle-Saxon settlement site found in 1977.

#### EARLY MEDIEVAL

- 4.1. *Minster Pool* (SK 116 096). Spiral-headed pin found during draining of the Pool in 1857; spearhead found in 1817 (Gould 1977a).
- 4.2. *St. Chad's School* (SK 1145 0977). Four axes, a bill-hook and other tools, with an inhumation, found in foundations during alterations in 1816 (*The Times*, 26 June 1816, 3; Gould 1977a).
- 4.3. *Cathedral* (SK 1158 0978). Possible Saxon stone font found among stone foundations under floor of choir in c. 1860 (Willis 1861, 3). Also some stone blocks, possibly part of St. Chad's shrine (Gould 1976c, 10).
- 4.4. *Cathedral* (SK 1158 0978). Built c. AD 700. Stone foundations of a rectangular building found below choir in c. 1860, possibly part of the pre-Conquest cathedral (Gould 1976c, 10 and fig. 3; plan based on D30 in Muniments of Dean and Chapter LJRO). Pre-Conquest cathedral dismantled by Bishop Clinton (Lomax 1819, 11).
- 4.5. *Cathedral* (SK 114 097). Masonry unearthed in NW corner of Close in 1932 included Norman font, window tracery and 'Saxon cathedral' (Stockley 1932), subsequently recognized as part of a 17th-century niche (Gould 1977b).
- 4.6. *Cathedral* (SK 114 097). Cist burial associated with silk, silver and gold lace and a chalice found beneath Cathedral floor (Harley MS. 864, 73; Gould 1976c, 10).
- 4.7. *Mills*. Two mills in existence in Lichfield in 1086 (*Domesday Book* 1976, 2-16).
- 4.8. *Greenhill* (SK 123 095). Possibly site of St. Chad's *mansio remotior* (Gould 1976c, 10). Large oval graveyard, but no enclosure before the later Middle Ages (Gould and Gould 1976a).
- 4.9. *Stowe* (SK 122 102). Small monastery around St. Chad's church and cell (Bede, 208).
- 4.10. *Cathedral* (SK 1155 0975). Late Saxon or Saxo-Norman cross-shaft built into foundations of north wall of nave (inf. J. Gould; plate I).

## LATE MEDIEVAL

- 5.1. *'Castle'*. No archaeological evidence known. See 1.15, 5.16, ch. VII, 112-14.
- 5.2. *Minster Pool* (SK 1152 0963). Pottery, including some sherds of Cistercian ware, leather shoes, leather fragments and horn cores of ox, goat and sheep found in dredgings (Gould 1973b). Finds made in 19th century include horseshoe and knife (Gould 1977a; see also Crofton).
- 5.3. *Friary* (cf. 1.11). Walls traced in 1933 (Gould 1976c, 12 for references).
- 5.4. *Cathedral Close* (cf. 1.13). In 1960, excavations gave 14th-century cistern and 13th/14th century pottery on site of Vicar's Close.
- 5.5. *Market Street* (cf. 1.14). In 1964, observations gave 15th-century pottery in sequence above stream alluvium.
- 5.6. *Baker's Lane* (cf. 1.15). In 1966, excavations found rock-cut cellars backfilled with sand, etc. and two small sherds of (?) 14th-century pottery.
- 5.7. *Dam Street* (SK 1169 0961). In 1962, 15th-century pottery jug found at rear of Youth Centre (Barton 1969).
- 5.8. *Pool Walk* (SK 116 096). In 1965, 15th-century pottery jug found in car-park (Barton 1969).
- 5.9. *Bird Street* (SK 1152 0953). 15th-16th century leather and pottery found in excavations for deep stormwater sewer adjacent to Minster Pool (Gould 1973b).
- 5.10. *St. Michael's Churchyard* (cf. 1.17). Late medieval pottery in plough-soil.
- 5.11. *Cathedral Close* (cf. 1.18). 12th-century pool, 13th-century garden, 14th-century pits, 15th-century garden-house south of Cathedral (Carver, this vol. ch. IV).
- 5.12. *Wade Street* (cf. 1.19). 12th-century pits and no later medieval occupation (Hummler, this vol. ch. VI).
- 5.13. *St. Michael's church* (cf. 1.20). (?) 15th-century glazed tiles (Wilson, this vol. ch. V, compare with Carver, this vol. ch. IV).
- 5.14. *St. Mary's Church* (cf. 1.21). Burials (of medieval date ?) within church (Wilson, this vol. ch. V).
- 5.15. *Sandford Street* (cf. 1.22). Sandstone blocks and horn corers from old pool bed.
- 5.16. *Frog Lane* (SK 1177 0923). Town ditch nowhere seen by OS field walkers but plaque at reference declared that ditch had existed, and was subsequently used as a public waste tip. When full, ditch was made into a road called 'Castle Ditch', which was closed in 1849 (OS Antiquity Notes, Staffordshire SMR).

## APPENDIX I

## THE STAMPED MORTARIUM FROM TOAD'S HOLE PIECE

K. F. HARTLEY

The stamp can be attributed without doubt to a potter who stamped —IMIIMI— which I take to be  
W<sup>o</sup>HOVT

IMEMITUOBON[. . . .] retrograde. It involves a slight misreading on the part of Woodhouse but it is nothing compared to many misreadings; none of his other stamps are easy to read and in fact this must have been a rather good impression.

His stamps have been noted from Corbridge (4), Leicester (5), Manduessedum (kiln area), Market Overton/Thistleton area, Wall; and in Scotland from Ardoch (unassigned), Camelon, Munrills (2), and Newstead (2).

His work is dated on the Scottish evidence which points to a date of c. AD 140-165 primarily. Although there is only one example from Manduessedum it is quite likely that he worked there—the distribution is typical for a Mancetter potter.

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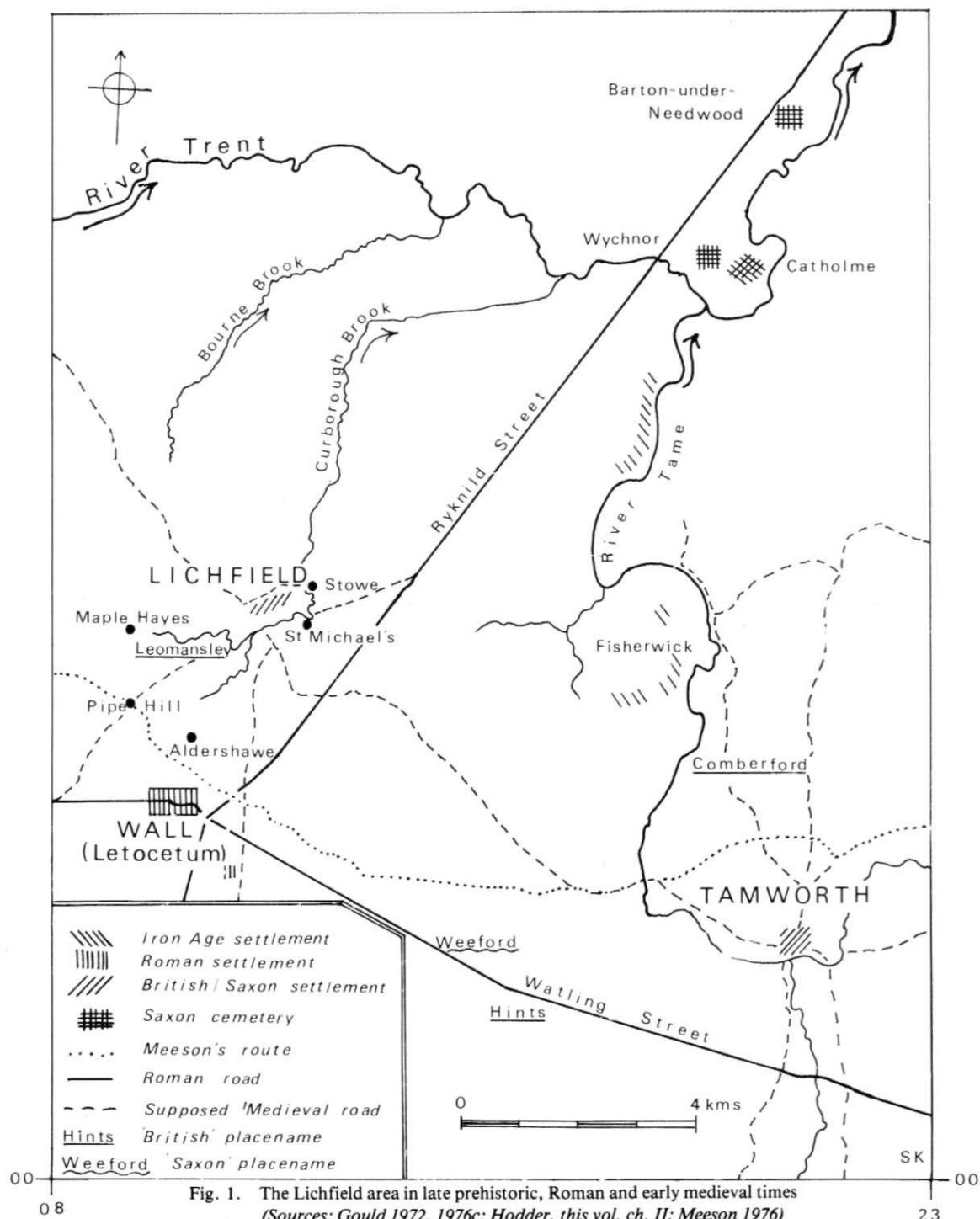
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## MAPS

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- Crompton 1862 Perspective map of Lichfield.
- \*OS 1882 Map of Lichfield at 1 : 500.
- \*OS 1902 Map of Lichfield at 6 in. to the mile.
- GS 1910 Geological Survey, conducted by H. Dixon.
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## ABBREVIATIONS

- Ant, J.* *Antiquaries Journal.*
- Arch, J.* *Archaeological Journal.*
- LJRO Lichfield Joint Record Office.
- SHC *Staffordshire Historical Collections.*
- TBWAS *Transactions of Birmingham (and Warwickshire) Archaeological Society.*
- TNSFC *Transactions of North Staffordshire Field Club.*
- TSSAHS *Transactions of (Lichfield and) South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society.*
- VCH *Victoria County History, Staffordshire.*
- WEMRAC West Midlands Rescue Archaeology Committee (1974-78).
- WMANS(WMA) *West Midlands Archaeological News Sheet* (1957-79) : *West Midlands Archaeology* (1980- ).



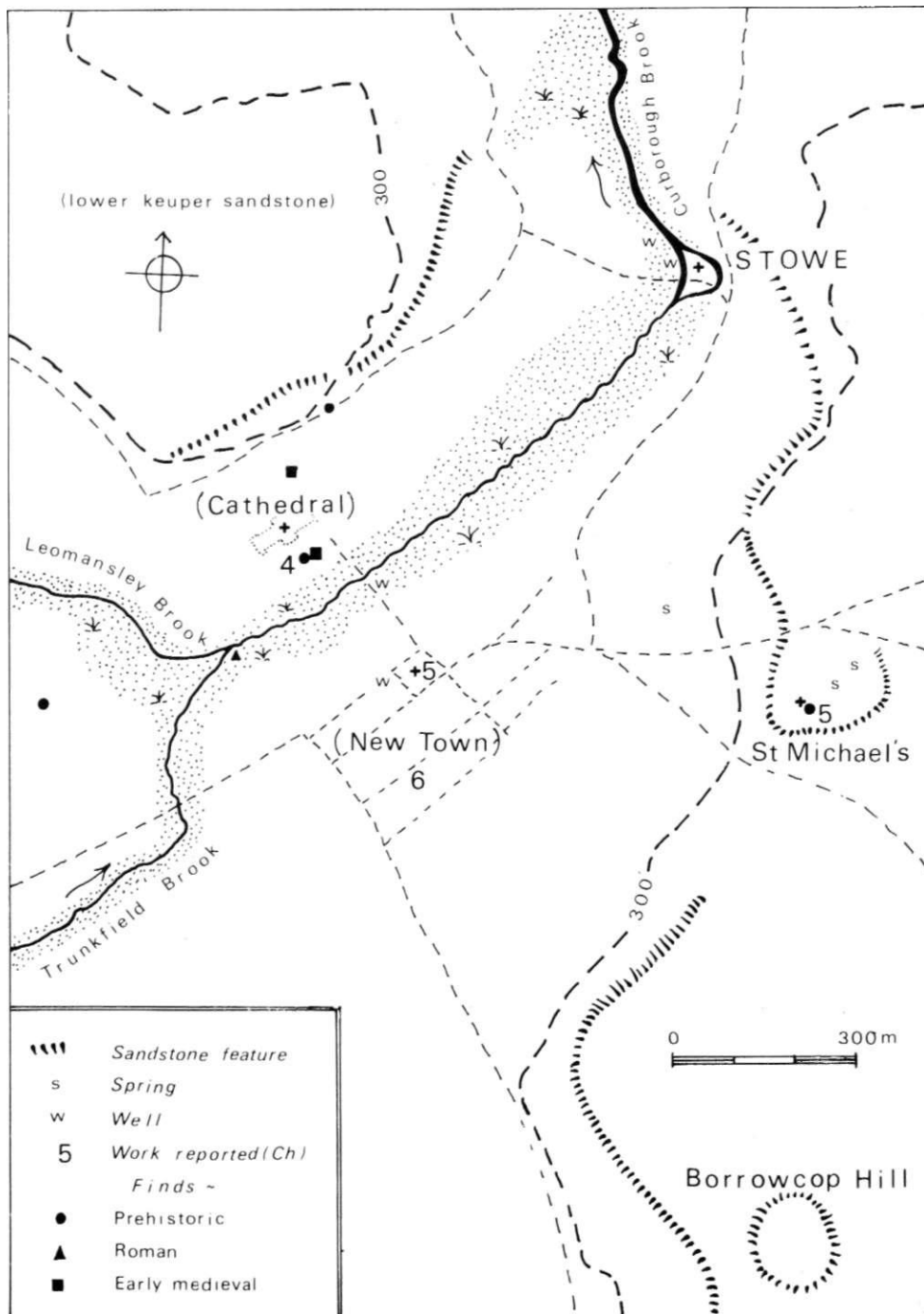


Fig. 2. Lichfield: early exploitation and settlement  
 (Sources: ch. I; Geological Survey 1910; Thorpe 1954; Gould 1976c; Taylor 1969)

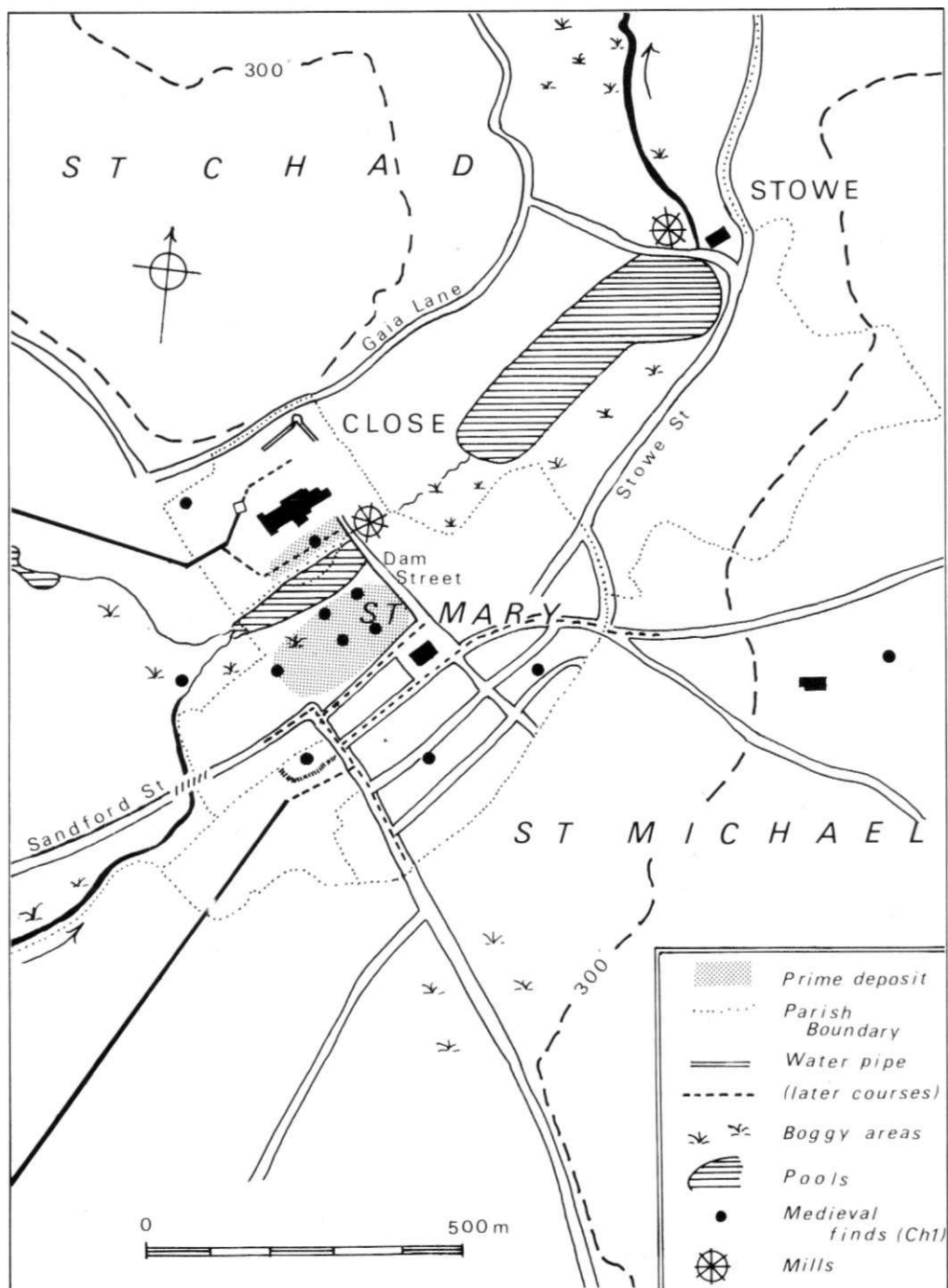


Fig. 3 Lichfield in the 12th century

(Sources: fig. 2; Thorpe 1954; Gould 1976b, 1976c; Laithwaite 1947; Speed 1610; Snape 1781)

## II THE PREHISTORY OF THE LICHFIELD AREA

M. A. HODDER

This paper reviews the evidence for human activity, from the Mesolithic to the Iron Age, in the area bounded on the north and east by the valleys of the rivers Trent and Tame respectively, and on the south and west by the edges of National Grid square SK (fig. 1). No such review has previously been attempted for the whole of this area. Gunstone compiled gazetteers for the whole of Staffordshire, with brief comments, including all prehistoric sites and finds (1964) and barrows (1965). Within the Lichfield area, Meeson (1979) discussed some aspects of the prehistory of the Lichfield-Tamworth area, Gould (1976, 9) listed and commented on the finds of prehistoric objects from the city of Lichfield, and Smith (1977; 1980) made a detailed study of part of the Tame Valley. Vine (1981) has collated much of the evidence for the Neolithic and Bronze Age in the area, but has excluded most of the flints.

The evidence available from the Lichfield area as defined above is influenced by both the physical characteristics of the area and present land-use, and taking these into account it can be divided into an 'upland zone' and a 'lowland zone' by the 400 ft. (c. 122m) contour line. The upland zone rises to 795 ft. OD (c. 242m) at Castle Ring on Cannock Chase, and its solid geology consists of Coal Measures and Bunter Pebble Beds. The southern part of this zone includes Aldridge and Brownhills on the northern edge of the Birmingham conurbation, and is the most densely built-up part of the Lichfield area. Much of Cannock Chase is open to public access and consists predominantly of heathland and Forestry Commission plantations, but coal-mining has taken place on the southern edge and on the northern edge near Rugeley. The lowland zone includes the valley floors and gravel terraces of the Tame and Trent and an undulating landscape on Keuper Marl and Keuper Sandstone around Lichfield itself. Land-use is mainly agricultural, and the only significant built-up area is the city of Lichfield.

Since crop-marks were first observed from the air on the Trent and Tame gravels, air reconnaissance has been concentrated in these areas, and the density of sites so revealed together with the threat of their destruction posed by gravel extraction led to the excavations of Miles (1969) and the survey and excavations of Smith (1976; 1977; 1979; 1980). The remainder of the lowland zone does not normally produce crop-marks of such quantity and quality as on the gravels. There have been no surveys and excavations have been confined to Lichfield and Wall, neither of which was undertaken with the intention of investigating prehistoric activity. In the upland zone no survey work has been done by archaeologists but the presence of coal measures resulted in an intensive geological survey in the course of which several 'burnt mounds' were located.

The lack of systematic archaeological survey in most of the Lichfield area is reflected by the poor representation of the Mesolithic, since microliths are unlikely to be found in quantity other than in excavation or through systematic surface collection. There are chance finds of individual struck flints and a pebble 'macehead' of possible Mesolithic date but only two assemblages (fig. 2). At Bower Farm, near Rugeley, excavation in 1979 of a cave or rock shelter near the river Trent produced over 250 struck flints including flakes and tools of later Mesolithic type associated with blackened sand and burnt pebbles. The high

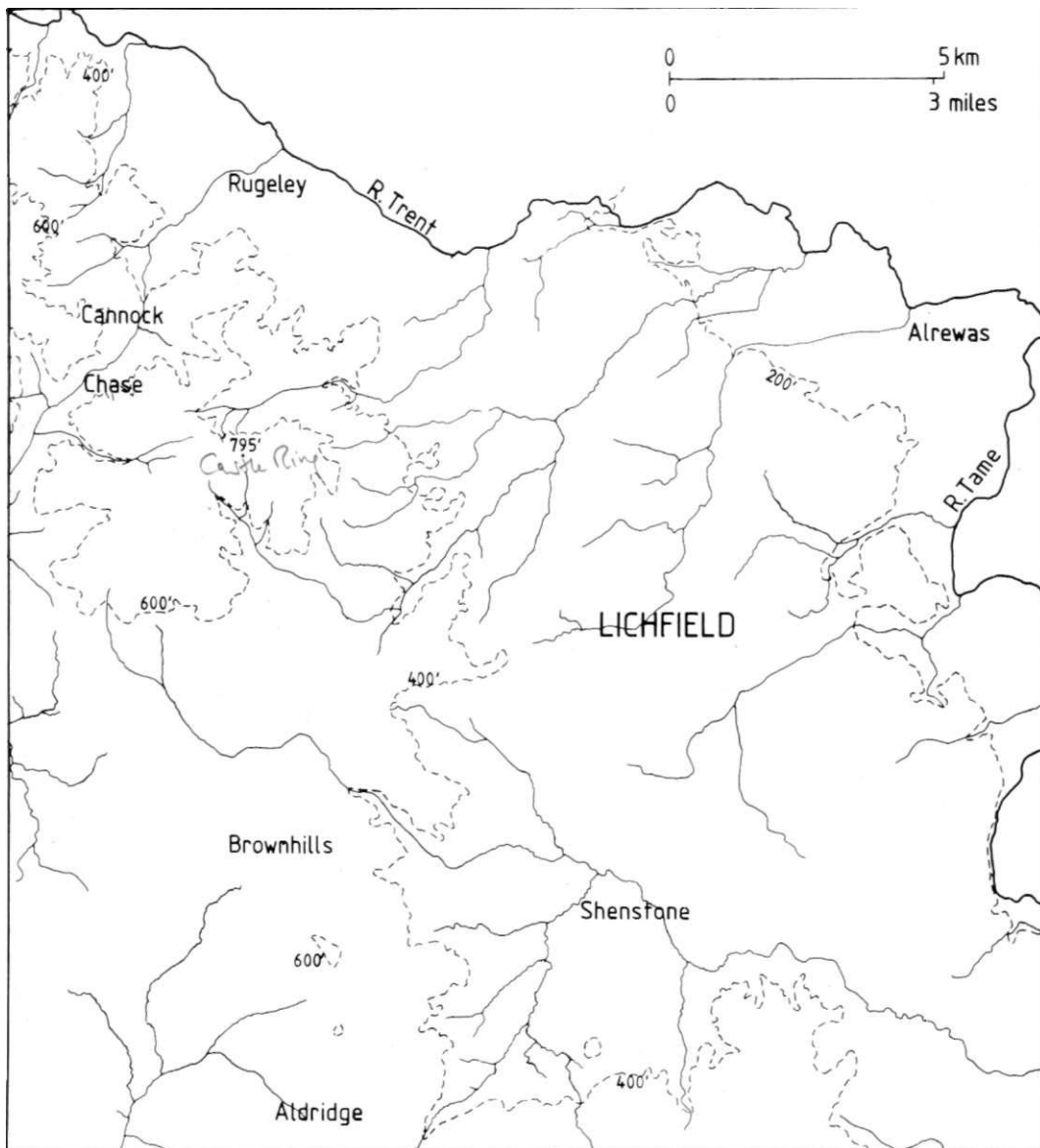


Fig. 1 The Lichfield area: Definition

tool/flake ratio and the absence of evidence for organized occupation led to the interpretation of the site as a seasonal hunting-camp (Hilton 1979). At Court Bank Covert in the southern part of Cannock Chase surface collection from *c.* 0.5 ha produced about 600 struck flints including tools, cores and flakes (Cantrill and Cockin 1917).

Similar problems of site location apply to the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. Three probable settlement sites are known in the Lichfield area, all of which are later Neolithic. At Fisherwick (Miles 1969), crop-marks were shown by excavation to be of Romano-British date but Neolithic features not visible from the air were also found. These consisted of a pit containing three sherds of a vessel of Peterborough type, and a possible rectangular hut and shallow irregular scoops, none of which produced any dating evidence but were distinguished by their leached fill from Romano-British features. Worked flints of Neolithic type were found in the plough-soil. At Lichfield and Wall objects of late Neolithic date were found in excavations but there were no associated features. The assemblage from Lichfield Theological College includes worked flints and pottery in the Peterborough tradition, and at Wall large quantities of flints, including waste flakes and tools of later Neolithic type, were found residually in Roman contexts (Gould 1968, 10; Thomas 1971).

Other sites of probable Neolithic date have been located from the air as crop-marks, but since none has been excavated the dating is from morphology alone. At Alrewas and Mavesyn Ridware there are crop-marks of possible causewayed enclosures (Wilson 1975, 180; Palmer 1976, 161, 180, 184). The two sites are closely comparable in terms of size, form and situation. Each has three close-set ditch circuits, and the maximum and minimum areas are 4.15 and 3.8 ha at Alrewas and 4.15 and 3.15 ha at Mavesyn Ridware. The sites belong to a group of causewayed enclosures identified on river terraces, contrasting in location with those in elevated positions in southern England, but a detailed analysis has shown that the two groups are closely comparable in size and form, suggesting that they are of similar date and served similar functions (Palmer 1976). Field-walking at the Alrewas and Mavesyn Ridware sites yielded no finds (*ibid.* 184). Also near Alrewas two possible 'Woodhenge' type sites have been identified from the air, each consisting of pits, interpreted as post-holes, arranged in concentric circles (Vine 1981, 193).

Probable round barrows in the Lichfield area survive as earthworks or have been identified from the air as crop-marks of 'ring-ditch' type. The dating of both types is problematic since none of the latter and only one of the former has been excavated. This is Borrowcop Hill in Lichfield where excavations by Erasmus Darwin located burnt bones under the mound (Anon 1819). The date of the excavation is not known; Erasmus Darwin left Lichfield about 1781.

The mounds previously identified as 'tumuli' in the area include natural mounds at Hints (three mounds) (Gunstone 1965, 39) and Rugeley (four mounds) (*ibid.* 46) and a probable windmill mound at Aldridge (*ibid.* 29). The only sites which are likely to be barrows are Offlow near Lichfield (*ibid.* 48), Catshill near Brownhills (two mounds) (*ibid.* 46), and Knaves Castle near Brownhills (*ibid.* 45). Of these, the sites at Catshill and Knaves Castle are built over and Offlow is virtually levelled by ploughing. The distribution of ring-ditches is, like that of all crop-mark sites, biased towards the gravels.

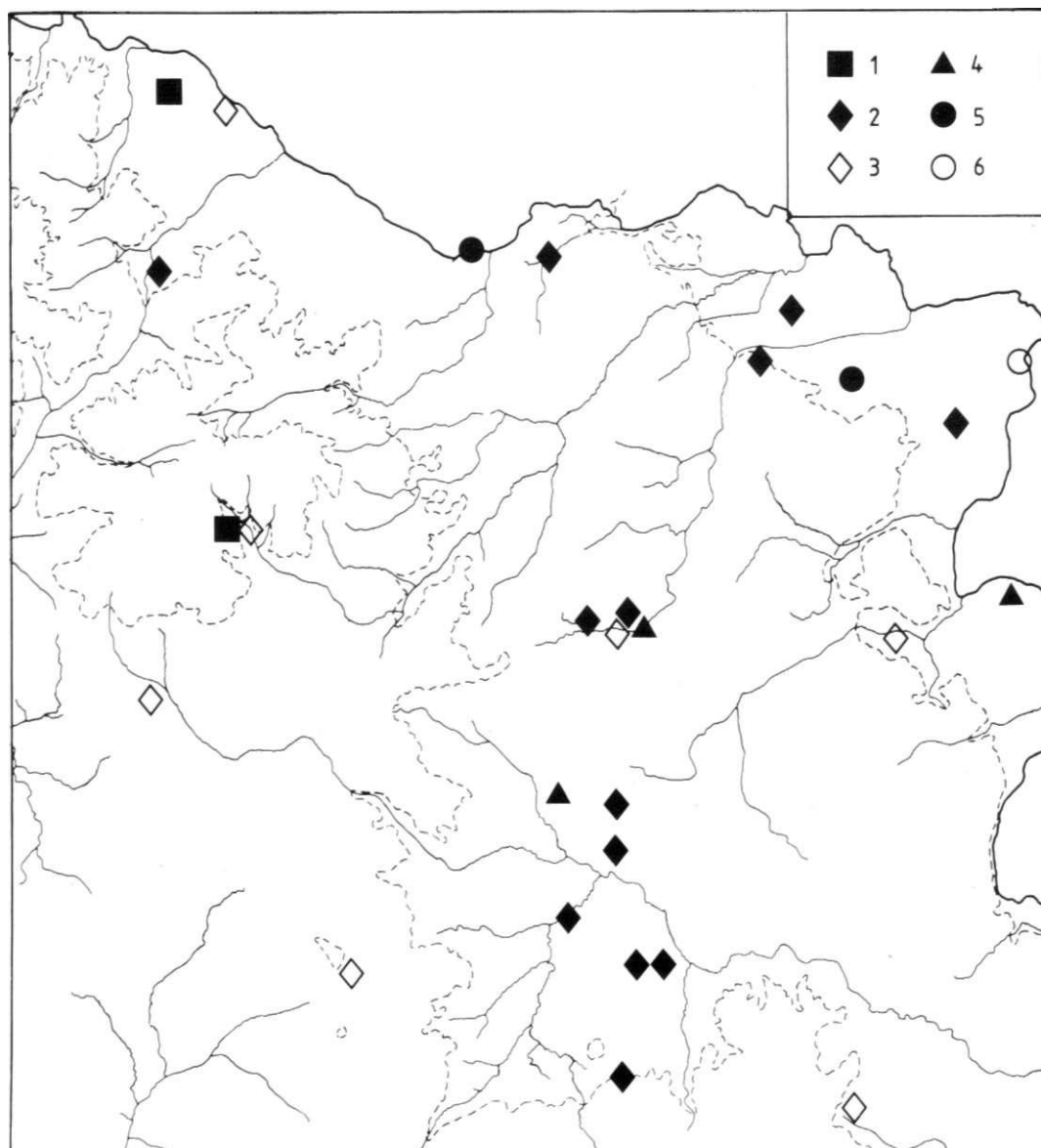


**Fig. 2 The Lichfield area, Mesolithic, Neolithic and Early Bronze Age**  
 1, Mesolithic flint assemblage    2, Polished flint or stone axe    3, Flint arrowhead  
 4, Neolithic pottery and/or flints    5, Causewayed enclosure    6, Henge

In the Fisherwick part of the Tame Valley a density of one per 0.87 km<sup>2</sup> has been noted (Smith 1977, 329). However in the absence of associated finds not all ring-ditch crop-marks can be interpreted as ploughed-out round barrows; some are certainly bomb-craters and others filled-in pits and ponds of more recent origin.

Chance finds of portable objects of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age include polished stone and flint axes and flint arrowheads (e.g. plate lib). The problems of the interpretation of the distribution of chance finds of axes have been discussed by Manby (1979, 74-5, 78) with reference to Yorkshire. He notes that towns which served as centres for the 19th-century trade in archaeological material have been given as the provenance of axes which were found in the surrounding area and brought in for sale. In the Lichfield area, Lichfield itself may have operated as such a centre with the establishment of Greene's museum in the 18th century (Gould 1976, 7; Whiston 1977).

The Middle and Late Bronze Ages (fig. 3) are represented by one excavated settlement site, seven 'burnt mounds', and chance finds of individual pieces of metalwork (e.g. plate Ha) and two hoards, both of late Bronze Age date, from Armitage (Greene 1782; Shaw 1798, \*208 and plate A, nos. 11 and 12) and Gainsborough or Greensborough Hill Farm (Chitty and Coombs 1968). At Fisherwick (Smith 1976) the site was located during the investigation of crop-marks which were shown to be of periglacial origin. Sherds of cordoned, bucket and secondary series collared urns and radiocarbon dates of 1170 ± 140 be and 850 ± 140 be were associated with a probable timber house.

The burnt mounds should belong mainly to the Middle Bronze Age, judging from the radiocarbon dates so far available for similar sites in the Birmingham area, south of Lichfield (Barfield and Hodder 1980). The sites consist of mounds of burnt pebbles and charcoal and are situated alongside and near the headquarters of small streams. Intensive fieldwork in the south Birmingham area has revealed large numbers of burnt mounds (Nixon 1980) but despite recent excavation the interpretation of the sites is difficult in the absence of finds (Barfield and Hodder 1980). In the Lichfield area all the known burnt mounds were discovered in the course of geological survey, at Aldridge (two mounds), Pelsall, and on Cannock Chase at Brindley Heath (two mounds), Bose's Well and Rugeley (Anon 1930; Bullows 1930, 294; Cantrill 1913, 649; Cantrill and Cockin 1917, 96; New 1914; OS; J. Gould, pers. comm.). None of these sites have been excavated, there are no radiocarbon dates, and most have now been destroyed. All but one of the sites are situated above the 400 ft. contour and near the headwaters of a small stream, as in the Birmingham area, but this distribution has been influenced by both the method of discovery and the preservation of the sites.

It has been noted that the reason for the concentration of sites in the Cannock Chase part of the Lichfield area is a result of the concentration of the geological survey on the Coal Measures (Anon. 1930), and there has been no systematic searching of stream banks for sites as has been undertaken in the Birmingham area. Except for Bose's Well, which was found as a scatter of burnt stones in a ploughed field (Cantrill and Cockin 1917, 96), all the sites survived as upstanding mounds with their composition revealed by partial erosion. In the lowland zone of the Lichfield area the mounds could have been destroyed by ploughing and the sites remain unrecognized in the absence of a systematic survey. Only one certain burnt mound is known to have existed in the Tame Valley, at



Fig. 3 The Lichfield area, Middle and Late Bronze Age  
1. Fisherwick 2. Burnt mounds 3. Metalwork, single object 4. Metalwork, hoard

Middleton, just outside the Lichfield area (Hodder 1976-7), perhaps significantly preserved within a medieval deer-park. In an Iron Age context, processes resulting in burnt stones were employed at Fisherwick, where at each of two ditched enclosures there was a pit containing burnt stones just within the entrance (Smith 1979, 42, 146, 156). Here a mound may never have existed, but the pits could be the remains of mounds destroyed by ploughing since many of the sites in the Birmingham area are known to have pits below them.

The distribution of burnt mounds is complementary to that of Middle and Late Bronze Age metalwork (fig. 3), but this is probably largely due to the more recent land-use pattern, since the metalwork is from the lowland zone where burnt mounds would have been destroyed by ploughing but metal objects have been found through agricultural and horticultural soil disturbance. The problem of the original provenance of stone axes is also applicable to metalwork, and the position of Lichfield as a centre for recent trade in objects is particularly clear. The museum there contained a palstave 'believed to have been found in Lichfield' (Gould 1976, 9) and a palstave now in Shrewsbury Museum was bought in an auction in Lichfield before 1835 (Chitty 1926-27, 143-4: App. 4).

The Iron Age in the Lichfield area (fig. 4) is best known in the Fisherwick part of the Tame Valley, through excavation and repeated aerial observation. The typical settlement form was a single round house in a subrectangular ditched enclosure of 0.25-0.5 ha, surrounded by associated ditched field systems (Smith 1977, 317). In the Fisherwick region the density of settlement sites dated to the second half of the first millennium BC by excavation, surface collection and morphological analysis of crop-marks is greater than one per square kilometre (*ibid.* 338). The rectangular or subrectangular enclosures, sometimes containing circular huts, occur as crop-marks over the whole of the Lichfield area wherever soils and present land-use are suitable for crop-mark formation (eg Gould 1972) but in the absence of excavation their date is uncertain.

Smith (1977, 338), has suggested that, as a result of population increase, the Tame gravel terrace was divided by permanent ditched boundaries for the first time during the first millennium BC. The other sites in the Lichfield area for which an Iron Age date can be suggested can be considered as elements of the organized landscape which this implies: hill-forts, pit alignments, and trackways.

Two hill-forts are known in the area, Castle Ring on Cannock Chase and Castle Old Fort near Brownhills (fig. 4). Both of these are small compared to the hill-forts of southern England and the Welsh Marches, Castle Ring enclosing 3.7 ha and Castle Old Fort 1.5 ha. In southern England, hill-forts may have developed on pre-existing boundaries dividing areas of different land-use (Bradley 1971); the two hill-forts of the Lichfield area are on the highest ground in the north-west and south-west, on which may have been a north-south boundary line. Pit alignments in the Midlands appear to be integrated with prehistoric field systems and therefore probably of similar date (Wilson 1978), but the pits at the Shenstone site were shown by excavation to have been open in the Roman period (Whitehouse 1964). The dating of trackways is difficult, but a ditched droveway along the Tame Valley is associated with Iron Age settlement (Smith 1977; 1980). Meeson (1977) has traced a route of possible Iron Age date running east-west across the southern part of the area and through the gap between the two hill-forts.

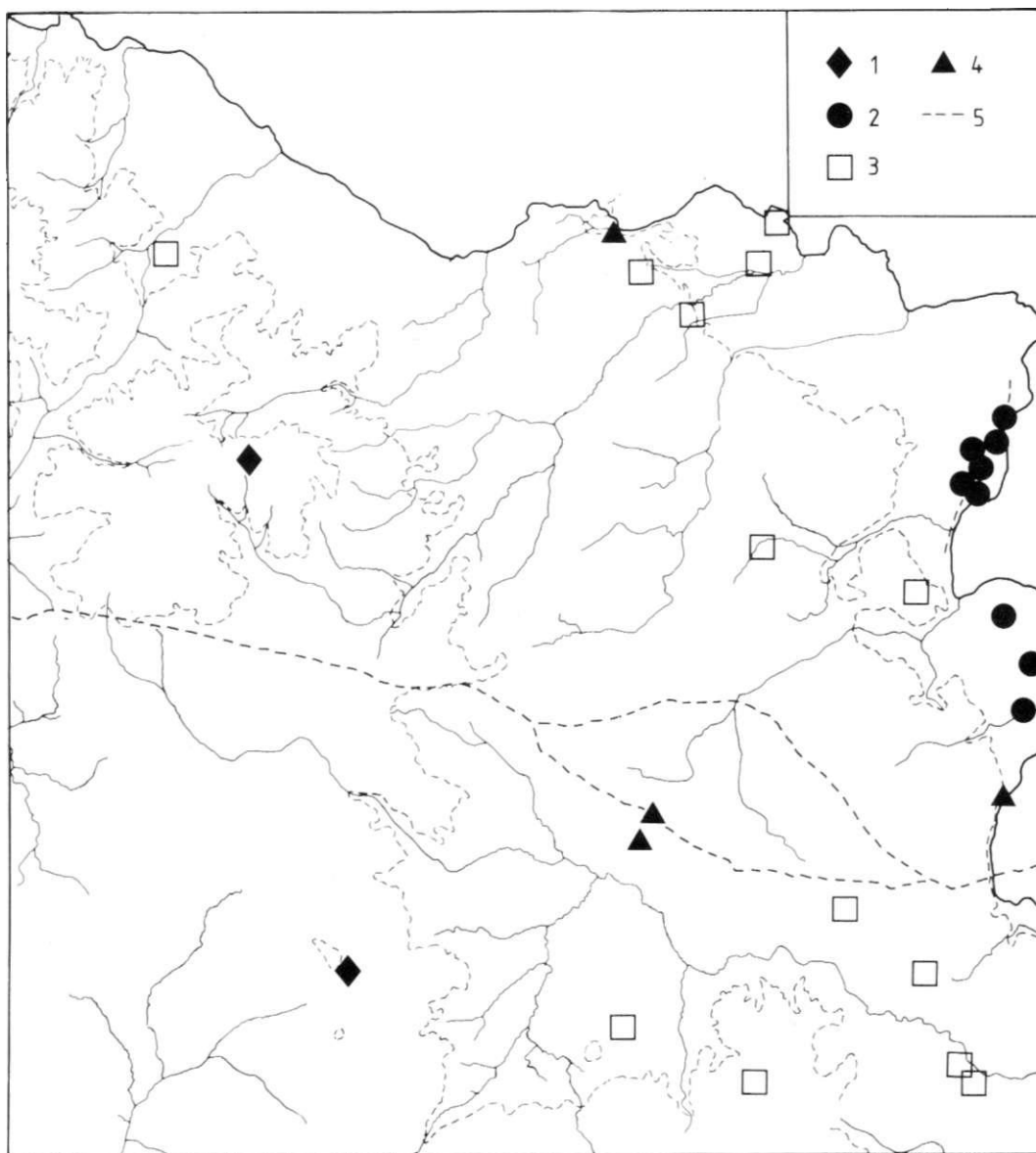


Fig. 4 The Lichfield area, Iron Age

1. Hillfort 2. Settlement 3. Undated rectangular enclosure crop-mark  
4. Pit alignment 5. Trackway

In conclusion, this summary has emphasized the limitations of the existing evidence for the understanding of the prehistoric period in the Lichfield area. The distributions recorded on the maps (figs. 2, 3, 4) are derived from archaeological activity in small parts of the area and chance finds of material elsewhere. The chance finds are largely limited to certain well-preserved and easily recognizable types such as stone axes, bronze implements and the more ornate flintwork. There is a need for continued reconnaissance from the air of those parts that have so far been less productive of crop-marks than the river gravels, combined with a systematic programme of field-walking for site location since it was shown in the Fisherwick excavations that pre-Iron Age sites may not be visible as crop-marks.

## APPENDIX 1

## A FLINT ARROWHEAD FROM BEACON PARK

The arrowhead is leaf-shaped, and is 42mm long, 17mm wide, and its maximum thickness is 2mm. One side has been left smooth apart from some retouching around the edges and around the point, though the other has been entirely retouched, forming a ridge along the centre. The tip has been broken off. The flint has a white-grey patina, with some blue-grey patches. The arrowhead may be dated to c. 3500-3000 B.C. Its find-spot, Beacon Park, is in the valley of Leomansley Brook, west of the Close, at c. 80m OD.

Found in 1955; now in Lichfield Museum.

## APPENDIX 2

## A LOOPED BRONZE PALSTAVE FROM LICHFIELD (plate IIa)

The palstave is 157mm long, 50mm wide across the blade and 25mm wide at the butt. Its maximum thickness, at the stop-ridge, is 41mm and the butt is 26mm thick. It has a single loop, 24mm long and 10mm wide, with a flattened oval cross-section. The palstave is dark grey-brown in colour, with green corrosion in the hollows between the flanges, and some patches of orange corrosion, though some metallic bronze is exposed on the stop-ridge and along the edges of the flanges. A slight line of juncture is visible down the sides. The surface of the palstave is pitted, and there are some dents in the blade; the butt seems to have been compressed, and there is a crack near the edge.

The total width of the flanges, 30mm, places the palstave in the looped low-flanged palstave group, Anglo-Welsh Group III (Burgess 1974, 198), which belongs to the Taunton phase of the Middle Bronze Age, 1300-1100 B.C. (ibid. 203). It is now in Lichfield Museum.

A palstave of this group was found at Middleton, in the Tame Valley, 14km south-east of Lichfield, and is now in Birmingham City Museum.

## APPENDIX 3

## A POLISHED FLINT AXE FROM LICHFIELD (plate Iib)

The axe is 139mm long, with a maximum width of 49mm and a maximum thickness of 25mm. It has been slightly squared towards the butt, at which it is 25mm wide. The axe is not completely polished, several flaking marks still being visible. A chip out of the blade, however, seems to be relatively recent since it exposes dark grey flint, whereas the rest of the surface of the axe is patinated light brown. The axe is labelled '... round near Lichfield. From Dr. Power's collection'. It is Neolithic, 3500-2000 B.C.

Now in Lichfield Museum.

## APPENDIX 4

## AN UNLOOPED BRONZE PALSTAVE FROM LICHFIELD

The palstave belongs to Group I of the Anglo-Welsh palstave series (Burgess 1974, 198), in the Acton Park phase of the early Middle Bronze Age, 1400-1200 B.C. (ibid. 201). Examples of this group have been found at Curdworth in the Tame Valley, 19km SSE of Lichfield (Mitchell 1923), and at Shareshill, 17km WSW (Gunstone, 1972, 48-49 and fig. 1, no. 4).

Now in Shrewsbury Museum.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

|                   |                                                                                                         |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>NSJFS</i>      | <i>North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies</i>                                                     |
| <i>TBWAS</i>      | <i>Transactions of Birmingham (and Warwickshire) Archaeological Society</i>                             |
| <i>TNSFC</i>      | <i>Transactions of North Staffordshire Field Club</i>                                                   |
| <i>TSSAHS</i>     | <i>Transactions of (Lichfield and) South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society</i>        |
| WEMRAC            | West Midlands Rescue Archaeology Committee (1974-78)                                                    |
| <i>WMANS(WMA)</i> | <i>West Midlands Archaeological News Sheet</i> (1957-79);<br><i>West Midlands Archaeology</i> (1980- ). |

### III PRE-CONQUEST LICHFIELD<sup>10</sup>

ROBIN STUDD

In the 12th century the great Anglo-Norman chronicler-historian, William of Malmesbury, described Lichfield as 'a small village in Staffordshire far from the habitations of men'.<sup>2</sup> He was seeking to explain the reasons for moving the see from Lichfield to Chester during the archiepiscopate of Lanfranc and, even if one allows for the fact that he may never have visited the place in person, his description is most informative. It is clear, from what he wrote, that Lichfield was, and always has been, primarily an ecclesiastical settlement. There was no town and his 'village in Staffordshire' was presumably situated to the north of the pools adjacent to the Cathedral. Lichfield, in the Anglo-Saxon period, was a Christian site, and a site of some importance at least in the eyes of the Mercians and those who dwelt in these parts of Midland England. The earliest origins of Lichfield are, therefore, seemingly inextricably bound up with the beginnings of Christianity in this area.

Christianity came to Mercia in the 7th century as to most of the other English kingdoms. But it is highly probable that Lichfield and its region had already witnessed a measure of Christian activity before the coming of Chad and the fixing of a see for the bishop of the Mercians.<sup>3</sup> Archaeological evidence suggests that there were Christians in the vicinity in the late Roman period. Objects of a clearly Christian association datable to the 4th century have been found at Tripontium and Viroconium as well as at Biddulph in the far north of the county.<sup>4</sup> Closer still, at Letocetum (Wall), what is said to have been a stone with an 'inscribed cross' was excavated in 1912 and a small bronze bowl with the Chi-Rho monogram was discovered ten years later.<sup>5</sup> Both these objects have been lost; their present whereabouts is unknown so that further verification is not now possible. But other evidence points to the same conclusion, the early, if not continuous, association of the region with Christianity.

The place-names Eccleshall and Exhall have been shown, like others incorporating derivatives of the primitive Welsh *egles*, dating from the pagan period of Mercian history, to be settlements of Celtic Britons with a church.<sup>6</sup> These Britons, Celtic peoples,

1. This paper was first presented at a symposium arranged by The St. Mary's Project Committee and the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society, which was held at Lichfield on 1 July 1979, to launch the Lichfield Heritage Centre.
2. William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (Rolls Series, 1870), 307.
3. J. Gould, 'Letocetum, Christianity and Lichfield (Staffs.)', *TSSAHS* 15 (1972-3), 30-1.
4. From Tripontium we have a late-Roman bronze buckle depicting the tree of life, immortal birds in the form of peacocks and swastikas. (S. C. Hawkes, 'Late Roman Buckle from Tripontium', *TBWAS* 85 (1973), 145-59). Inhumations at Wroxeter and a lead tablet, once in the Pump Room, Bath, referring to the Arian Christian heresy indicate a Christian presence at Viroconium. (W. D. G. Fletcher, 'Christian Letter from Uriconium', *Trans. of Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.* 3rd ser., 5 (1905), 1-2). A silver spoon with the Chi-Rho monogram between Alpha and Omega was found at Biddulph (K. S. Painter, 'Roman Spoon from Biddulph, Staffs.', *Ant J.* 51 (1971), 323).
5. C. Lynam, 'Excavations at Wall', *TNSFC*, 49 (1915), 139, 142; 'Open Meeting, Wednesday, Jan. 23, 1924', *TBWAS* 50 (1924), 50 and plate XIII.
6. K. Cameron, 'Eccles in English Place Names', *Christianity in Britain, 300-700*, ed. M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson (1968), 87-92.

speaking a form of primitive Welsh, are known from other place-name evidence to have been settled throughout the area at the time of the Anglian penetration of the Midlands in the mid-6th century. There are at least five places called Walton in the county or upper Trent valley as well as a Walsall indicating communities of Welsh speakers and the names Comberford, Leomansley, Hints, Brewood and Lichfield each contain elements indicating Welsh settlement. Indeed the name Lichfield, the most argued over and, in many ways, the most tantalizing name in Staffordshire, appears to include a borrowing from the primitive Welsh *luitged*, indicating, as before, the presence of a Welsh community in the vicinity in a period after the first arrival of Anglian settlers.<sup>7</sup>

The religion practised by these Welshmen was the Celtic form of Christianity which was probably introduced into Britain in the 3rd and 4th centuries by missionaries sent from Gaul; it differed in many forms from that introduced into England by St. Augustine and his followers at the end of the 6th century. There were technical differences over the dating of Easter and the shape of the tonsure but, more important, Celtic Christianity was a tribally based religion in Britain, and advocated a type of monasticism, eremetical in character, derived from that followed in the Egyptian deserts by the earliest Christian monks. This had gained general favour in time and had percolated through Gaul into Britain by late 4th century. It was an extremely austere form of monasticism, often involving great physical deprivation, long fasts, prolonged immersion in cold water, self-imposed exile and missionary work in the remotest part of eastern and northern Europe. The most celebrated of these Celtic monasteries established in Britain was that set up in the year 563 by Columba on the island of Iona, for this monastery became the centre of Celtic missionary endeavour in mainland Britain. But the largest Celtic monastery on the British mainland, until its destruction in 616, was that at Bangor Iscoed on the frontiers of Mercia and Powys which Bede described as a house of more than two thousand monks.<sup>8</sup>

Such a monastery, if not on such a scale, may have existed at or near Lichfield in the 7th century according to a group of 9th century Welsh poems.<sup>9</sup> These poems, based on earlier oral tradition, are known as the Cynddylan poems because they celebrate the deeds of a 7th century prince of Powys of that name who was active in the 640s and 650s.<sup>10</sup> They are significant from our point of view because they contain references to a raid made on a *Caer Lwythgoed* which has been identified as Lichfield and its district and because they allude to monks there. The date of this raid and its circumstances are somewhat conjectural, but it probably took place between A.D. 650 and 655 after attempts by King Penda to establish a marcher subkingdom of the western Hecani in what is now Shropshire, or else in 655 after the Northumbrians had expelled a local British chieftain called Morfael from the vicinity of Lichfield." The precise historical details of these events are of small

7. M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (1978), 88-105.

8. For a discussion of the nature of Celtic monasticism see, for instance, H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (1972), 78-93, and for Bede's description of Bangor, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (1969), 138-43.

9. J. Gould, '*Letocetum*: The Name of the Roman Settlement at Wall, Staffs.', *TSSAHS* 5 (1962-3), 514.

10. On whom see I. Williams, 'Poems of Llywarch Hen', *Proc. of Brit. Academy*, XVIII (1932), 296; K. H. Jackson, 'Northern British Section in Nennius', *Celt and Saxon*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (1963), 39; H. P. R. Finberg, *Lucerna* (1964), 79-80.

11. *ibid.* 70, et seq.

matter; what is important is that the poems indicate that there was a monastic establishment hereabouts before any Mercian king embraced Christianity. The possibility, however, that this Celtic monastic establishment was itself a victim of the raid of Cynddylan and that, like Bangor Iscoed after the battle of Chester some forty or so years earlier, it was destroyed, should not be overlooked.

It was nevertheless in its Celtic form, that Christianity was introduced—or re-introduced—into the Mercian kingdom in the middle decade of the 7th century. This owes much to the initiative of King Oswald of Northumbria who, in 634, sent to Iona for a bishop for his kingdom. The monk Aidan was sent in response and he, in characteristic Celtic monastic fashion, founded his monastery on an island off the Northumbrian coast. This was Lindisfarne where he started a school which had as some of its earliest pupils two brothers called Cedd and Chad.<sup>12</sup>

Missions began to be sent out from Lindisfarne during the time of Aidan's successor as abbot-bishop including, in A.D. 653, a mission to the Middle Angles of Lindsey, then a subkingdom of Mercia ruled by Peada, the son of King Penda himself. Peada was converted to Christianity, to Celtic Christianity, in the same year and this provided the entree for Christian missionaries to pagan Mercia. Peada himself became client king for the Northumbrians of the whole kingdom of Mercia in 654 after his father had been killed in battle near Leeds. The two Christian kings, Oswy of Northumbria and Peada jointly founded a monastery at what is now Peterborough in celebration of their victory which indicates that the political climate was favourable to the Christian mission in Mercia.<sup>13</sup>

But Peada was murdered in 656 and was eventually succeeded in the whole of Mercia by his brother Wulfhere, a pagan who was nonetheless not unsympathetic to the Christian mission. The date is not certain (Florence of Worcester suggests 655),<sup>14</sup> but it was at about this time and either at the suggestion of Peada or his brother, Wulfhere, that Bishop Finan of Lindisfarne consecrated the first bishop of the Mercians and Middle Anglians. This was a man called Diuma who was one of the Celtic missionaries who had been sent to Mercia in 653 or 654. So far as is known, he had no fixed see; Lichfield was certainly not the seat of his bishopric. In the Celtic tradition his ministry was peripatetic and he was followed in office in rapid succession by three other Celtic missionaries none of whom appear to have attempted to create any links with Canterbury where the Roman Christian mission had been established since 597. Iona and Lindisfarne continued to be the foci of the Mercian church. We cannot be certain what was achieved in Mercia by the Celtic missionaries and their first bishops in the first decade following the Mercian conversion, although new monastic houses may well have been set up at Repton and elsewhere.

The conflict between Celtic and Roman forms of Christianity came to a head in 663/4 at a council of the whole English church held at Whitby. The Synod of Whitby decided that

12. H. Mayr-Harting, *op.cit.* 96-102; J. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (1962), 104-5.

13. *ibid.* 109.

14. *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, ed. T. Forester (1854), 18-19.

henceforth Roman usage would be followed in the English church and that the Celtic forms in such matters as the dating of Easter, the shape of the tonsure and the authority of bishops would have to be abandoned. This decision clearly presented problems for those parts of England which adhered to the Celtic rite including Mercia, although, even in this year, Chad, a monk educated in the Celtic tradition was appointed to the see of York in the absence overseas of the former bishop, Wilfrid.<sup>15</sup>

The later 660s were, however, a time of tribulation for the original church for there was one of those periodic visitations of plague which not only carried off Cedd, who was by now bishop of the East Saxons, but also Wigheard the archbishop-elect of Canterbury. The remaining English bishops, depleted in numbers by plague and suspicious of each other's degree of commitment to the decisions of the Synod of Whitby, had to work strenuously to prevent a wholesale pagan reaction. There was no bishop of the Mercians at this time and King Wulfhere was forced to seek the assistance of the Northumbrian bishop, Wilfrid of Ripon. According to his biographer, Eddius Stephanus, Wilfrid made frequent visits to Mercia during the period 666-669 to ordain, confirm, baptize and to perform those things which only a bishop could do. It was in gratitude for this that Wulfhere is said to have granted to Wilfrid many pieces of land in various places in his kingdom, amounting, in sum, to an estate appropriate to a bishop's requirements.<sup>16</sup> Some of these were far afield; Farndon-on-Dee and Wybunbury in Cheshire were almost certainly acquired by the church at this time. Others were grouped in the Trent and Tame valleys, lands still held by the church at Lichfield at the time of the Norman Conquest.<sup>17</sup> According to Eddius Stephanus, Lichfield was among them, and here, and elsewhere, Wilfrid is said to have founded *monasteria* (ministers or monasteries) to serve as mother churches for the area in which they stood.<sup>18</sup> Here, then, is further confirmation that there already was a church at Lichfield before it became an episcopal see.

The centralized organization of the English Church was the work of Theodore of Tarsus, a native of Asia Minor and a monk in Rome, who was sent to Canterbury in 669. When he became archbishop he found that there were only three bishops still active in England. Territorial redefinition of the dioceses and their internal re-organization were his immediate task and since Theodore was anxious to achieve Pope Gregory the Great's wish for twenty four English sees he set to work to increase their number throughout England. In Mercia, which hitherto comprised a single vast diocese coterminous with the kingdom, he created new bishoprics centred on Hereford, Worcester and Leicester, while Lichfield became, for the first time, a fixed diocesan centre for the area represented by the later counties of Staffordshire, Shropshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire and

15. *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave (1927), 30-31; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 316-7.

16. *Eddius Stephanus*, 32-3. On the choice of Lichfield as a *sedes episcopalis*, see J. Campbell, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Towns', *Studies in Church History*, xvi (1979), ed. D. Baker, p. 120.

17. *Domesday Book: 24: Staffordshire*, ed. J. Morris (1976), 2/1, 2, 5, 10, 15, 16, 22; *Domesday Book: 26: Cheshire*, ed. J. Morris (1978) B/3, 8.

18. For a discussion of the term '*monasteria*' as used in the seventh century see M. Deansley, 'Early English and Gallic Ministers', *T.R. Hist. S.*, 4th ser., 23 (1941), 36 et seq. and J. Godfrey, *The English Parish, 600-1300* (1969), 13etseq.

Cheshire. This still vast diocese remained broadly the same in extent for the remainder of the Middle Ages, but its bishop was no longer peripatetic as he had been since the conversion of King Peada, but had his see at Lichfield.<sup>19</sup>

According to Eddius Stephanus, the choice of Lichfield as the site of the principal Mercian bishopric was Wilfrid's. Wilfrid had been given Lichfield by Wulfhere and, regarding it as a suitable place for an episcopal see, is said to have made arrangements with Chad for him to have this land.<sup>20</sup> Bede, noting that Chad was appointed to the bishopric of the Mercians and Middle Anglians and was given land at Barrow in Lincolnshire on which to found a minster church to serve as his see, says the choice of Lichfield was Chad's.<sup>21</sup> Hagiographical details of this kind really do not matter, but whoever was responsible made a most interesting choice, as was the choice of Chad to be the first bishop of Lichfield.

Chad had been educated in the Celtic Christian tradition, had become a bishop in the Celtic Church and had been removed from office on the accession of Archbishop Theodore because as bishop of York he had been improperly consecrated. The archbishop was uncompromising in his opposition to what he saw as Celtic backsliding irrespective of who was concerned and, in that Chad had been consecrated by only three bishops, two of whom were adherents of the Celtic subscription, he had to resign. Theodore ordered Chad to seek re-consecration and Chad withdrew to the Abbey at Lastingham which had been founded by his brother when bishop of the East Saxons. That was in 669. When, shortly afterwards, King Wulfhere asked for a new bishop to be sent to the Mercian see Theodore chose Chad as a man of much humility and considerable spirituality, and in spite of his long-standing Celtic sympathies. But Archbishop Theodore is known to have required of Chad that he should observe scrupulously the Roman forms in religious matters agreed at the Synod of Whitby and that he should have a fixed cathedral see within his diocese.<sup>22</sup>

Even so, there can be no doubt that Chad continued to hanker after the old Celtic forms. Bede tells how Chad preferred, in the Celtic manner, to carry out his pastoral visitation on foot rather than on horseback, and how, when Chad showed resistance to the change, the archbishop personally assisted him to mount his horse. The choice of Lichfield, or more accurately, <sup>Stowe</sup>, as the site of his first cathedral may itself be another aspect of Chad's reluctance to abandon the tradition in which he had been brought up. If, indeed, Bede is right and the choice of Lichfield was Chad's own, then Theodore's continuing suspicions of the first bishop of Lichfield were well founded. For the site of Stowe, at the eastern end of the Minster pools was, in the 7th century, marshland, and probably an island surrounded on all sides by marshes, a site corresponding as closely as possible in Mercia to Lindisfarne, or Iona, Skellig Michael or Clonmacnois, or to that early Celtic monastic foundation of the Irish abbess, Modwen, at Burton-upon-Trent which was situated on an island in the middle of the river.<sup>23</sup> There simply were not very

19. J. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, 133 et seq.

20. *Eddius Stephanus*, 32-3.

21. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 336-7.

22. *ibid.* 335-9.

23. *VCH Staffordshire*, III (1970), 199 & n.

many alternative sites which offered, at least to Chad's mind, so many facilities and obvious attractions as this particular stretch of water and marshland. In this context the story of Eddius Stephanus of Wilfrid's negotiations with Chad, the 'friendly arrangement' (*pacifice inito consilio*) of the chronicler, whereby Chad acquired Lichfield as the site for his see, takes on a new light and one is forced to ask whether Chad's failure to establish his see at Barrow in Lindsey on the fifty hides of land he is said by Bede to have received from Wulfhere for the purpose was not because it was an inadequate endowment for a *sedes episcopalis* but simply because it did not offer the kind of typically Celtic site for which Chad was searching.

But, as a site, Lichfield must have had other attractions to Chad too. A case has already been made for the probable continuity of Christianity in Lichfield and its district from the later Roman period onwards. For it is clear that there were already ecclesiastical buildings at Lichfield when Chad became bishop, and it was probably for this reason that Lichfield was chosen by Wulfhere as a suitable gift for Bishop Wilfrid in the first place. Bede clearly implies the pre-existence of some kind of Celtic monastery when he says that Chad built himself a house near the church where he used to retire with his brethren to pray or study whenever he was able, a description that is evocative of the organization and structure of a Celtic monastery.<sup>24</sup>

Later references by Bede to an oratory to which Chad would retire to read and pray alone also seem to indicate that, as an ecclesiastical centre, Lichfield is a site of greater antiquity than Chad's appointment to the bishopric.<sup>25</sup> The late Professor Finberg pointed to the especial devotion of the Celtic Church to the Archangel Michael and the antiquity of Christian association of places dedicated to him.<sup>26</sup> From the parallel of St. John of Beverley, the late-7th-century bishop of Hexham who retreated to the cemetery of St. Michael above Warden (Northumberland), he has argued that Chad's oratory is likely to have been situated in the graveyard of St. Michael's on Greenhill, high above Stowe and the site of his cathedral. Just as Christ went up into high places to meditate so did his 7th century disciples. And certainly the site and commanding position of this churchyard have attracted the inquisitive attention of historians and archaeologists even if, as yet, no conclusive evidence is available to substantiate hypotheses about its pre-Conquest history.<sup>27</sup>

Chad was bishop of Lichfield for only two and a half years. He died, the victim of an epidemic, in 672 and was buried in his cathedral at Stowe. This is no place for biography but Chad's immense spiritual reputation in his own time and his virtues which Bede lists as continence, humility, right preaching, prayer, voluntary poverty and many others earned him after death a widespread fame throughout Mercia and, on the testimony of Bede, in Northumbria too. Miracles of healing were soon being reported at his shrine. Pilgrims

24. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 338-9: 'Fecerat vero sibi mansionem non longe ab ecclesia remotiorem . . . .'

25. *ibid.* 338-43.

26. H. P. R. Finberg, 'The Archangel Michael in Britain', in *Millenaire Monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, III (1971), 459 et seq.

27. J. Gould, 'St. Michael's Churchyard, Lichfield, Staffs.', *TSSAHS* 16 (1974-5), 58-61; and his *Lichfield: Archaeology and Development* (WEMRAC, 1976), 10 (and see Wilson, this vol. ch. V).

seeking intercession and cure began to make their way to Lichfield from the very moment of his death.<sup>28</sup>

By 700 it was clear that the old cathedral site could not accommodate all who wished to pray at the tomb. Bishop Headda built a new cathedral, the first on the present site, on a sandstone eminence just to the north of the pools. Like its predecessor at Stowe, it was almost certainly a wooden structure but it was built specifically to house the shrine of Chad, 'a wooden tomb made in the form of a little house with an aperture in the wall through which those who visit it out of devotion may insert their hand and take out some of the dust' (Bede).<sup>29</sup> Bishop Headda's cathedral was probably dedicated from its construction to St. Chad (Bede says that it was dedicated to St. Peter, but he is surely wrong) for Chad whose own cathedral church appears to have been dedicated to the Virgin was already being venerated as a saint.<sup>30</sup>

Headda's contribution to the history of Lichfield was to provide the proper facilities for pilgrims to the shrine of St. Chad and to permit the church to tap the wealth engendered by the pilgrimage. In the 8th century the cathedral seems to have had an influential school to which the production of at least five extant 8th and 9th-century manuscripts, including the so-called Book of Cerne, has been attributed, though the case for this is far from established.<sup>31</sup> What can be said is that the pilgrimage to St. Chad's shrine almost certainly produced the wealth that would have been necessary to support such a school.

But the most significant event in the history of Lichfield in the 8th century was the elevation of the bishopric to archiepiscopal status. This was the work of Offa (757-796) the greatest of the Mercian kings, who had established himself as the High King of Britain. A council of the whole English church held at Chelsea in 787 was dominated by this overbearing king. Here he won the assent of the English clergy for a petition to the Pope Hadrian I, requesting the elevation of Lichfield as an expression of the common desire of the English people. The archdiocese of Canterbury, it was argued, was so unwieldy that it was unmanageable, which was a statement far from the truth, but one which the kingdom of Kent, as a client kingdom of Mercia, at this time, was in no position to rebut. As a consequence, the next year, Hygebeorht, the bishop of Lichfield, received the pallium from the Pope and assumed the dignity of an archbishop with a new archdiocese stretching through Midland/Mercian England from the Thames to the Humber.

Offa died in 796. He was eventually succeeded by a collateral, Cenwulf, who demonstrated hostility to the archiepiscopal see of Lichfield from the outset of his reign and sought to have the archbishopric transferred to London in conformity with Pope Gregory's original intention. On this occasion the Pope refused his assent, but, in the meantime, the archbishop of Canterbury appealed to the Pope in person against the

28. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 343 -7.

29. *ibid.* 347. The quotation is from the translation by L. Sherley Price of Bede's *A History of the English Church and People* (Penguin Classics, 1955), 212.

30. The present dedication is to St. Mary and St. Chad. For a discussion of the problems raised by Bede's ascription see *VCHStaffs.* III, 140.

31. S. M. Kuhn, 'From Canterbury to Lichfield', *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 591-629; but see the discussion of Kuhn's thesis in *Review of English Studies*, new ser., VII (1956), 1-10, 113-31; VIII (1957), 354-74.

political manoeuvring of Offa which had resulted in the promotion of Lichfield. A papal decree of 802 pronounced in favour of Canterbury and restored to her archbishops all rights they had ever had in the novel archdiocese in Lichfield. At a synod held at an unidentified place called *Clovesho* in 803 King Cenwulf presided over a ceremony, attended by all the English bishops, during which the archbishop of Lichfield was solemnly dismantled and the papal grant of 788 publicly abrogated. Lichfield reverted to mere episcopal status.<sup>32</sup> It remained for the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period a diocese of declining fortunes as Mercia sank in political importance and Wessex rose to pre-eminence. Although still a place of pilgrimage, Lichfield did not, in the pre-Conquest period, recover from the shock of its rapid demotion at the beginning of the 9th century. Almost nothing is known either of the place or of its many bishops in this century. To what extent Lichfield was affected by the Viking invaders is not known but it is hardly likely to have escaped unscathed. The River Trent became something of a highway for Viking penetration of the interior of England. Repton periodically served as the headquarters of the Danish army and Catholme, it is believed, was destroyed by a Danish incursion of the 890s.<sup>33</sup>

Even so, in 822, according to the 14th-century Lichfield Chronicle, Bishop Aethelweald introduced canons into the cathedral for the first time<sup>34</sup>. By 1066 there were twenty of them, headed by a provost, making up the clerical staff of the cathedral. Almost certainly this innovation was a response to a European ecclesiastical reform movement headed by Bishop Chrodegang of Metz who advocated, besides oaths of chastity and obedience to the bishop, a common life for the clergy of his cathedral, with common meals, a common dormitory and a common fund to supply their needs. The reform had a limited success in England, Canterbury adopting it in 813 and Lichfield nine years later, and this may indicate that even at this low period in the political fortunes of the Mercian kingdom the see of Lichfield was able to maintain contacts with continental Europe. Lichfield kept the organizational structure it adopted at this time until after the Norman Conquest, and was, therefore, not affected by the so-called 10th-century Reform Movement which, in England, saw the conversion of some cathedrals, like Worcester, into monasteries. Lichfield remained a secular cathedral.<sup>35</sup>

The lowest point in the fortunes of the cathedral was reached after the Norman Conquest. In spite of the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Chad, it is believed that Lichfield was among the poorest of the English cathedrals at the Conquest and Lichfield itself lay at the centre of perhaps the poorest part of the entire diocese. The Anglo-Danish earls of Mercia were not benefactors of the church as the former kings of Mercia had been. Its last Anglo-Saxon bishop, Leofwine (1053-67) was a glaring example of clerical irregularity in the eyes of the Gregorian reformers, the new brooms of the 11th century who were attempting to sweep the church clean. Bishop Leofwine, a former abbot of Coventry, a married man with children, was summoned to appear before a council of the English Church in 1070, and having refused to appear, resigned his office.

32. F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (1971) 207, 217-8, 226-8; J. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, 263 et seq.; *VCHStaffs.*, III, 4-5.

33. S. Losco-Bradley, 'Catholme', *Current Archaeology*, 59 (vol. V no. 12, 1977) 358-64.

34. *VCH Staffs.*, III, 140.

35. K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (2nd ed. 1967), 3 et seq.

The new bishop was Peter, a Norman and a chaplain in the new king's household, who, in response to Lanfranc's instruction that cathedral sees should all be situated in the principal centre of population in their diocese, removed his see to Chester. Lichfield, seat of a bishopric since 669, ceased to be one in 1075. The new see was St. John's outside the walls of Chester which remained the episcopal seat until 1102 when the bishop, Robert de Limesey, translated it to Coventry.<sup>36</sup> Lichfield, where only five canons of the complement of twenty remained, was reduced to the status of a minster church and the name was dropped from the bishop's style. Like the bishoprics of Elmham (Norfolk), Selsey (Sussex) and Sherborne (Dorset) that at Lichfield was, at least in the eyes of the Normans, never likely to become wealthy. It was in a remote part of England, off the main trade routes, and as William of Malmesbury makes plain, in a mean and undistinguished settlement 'far from the habitations of men'. Nor had the Normans the least regard for the bones of St. Chad, an English saint with a strange name, whose veneration they failed to comprehend. But Chad's remains suffered less than many. English saints with unpronounceable guttural names and dubious claims to sanctity were often dug up and thrown out of their churches by the first generation of Normans in England. Fortunately for the fortunes of Lichfield Chad's bones remained neglected but intact. But all this shows quite plainly that in the Anglo-Saxon period and until 1075 Lichfield was first and foremost an ecclesiastical centre, a relatively humble community of cathedral clergy and their households, 'a small village in Staffordshire'.

Lichfield, however, was swift to begin to recover from what might have been a mortal blow in 1075, and it was the only former Anglo-Saxon bishopric, demoted by the Normans at the Conquest, to recover its position as a cathedral see. And that was a considerable, and long drawn out, achievement at the expense of Coventry and Chester.

For Lichfield had one great advantage, the cult of St. Chad. Robert Peche, the Bishop of Chester from 1121-26 and his successor Roger de Clinton (1126-48) realized that the Normans had been unable to suppress the veneration of St. Chad. Pilgrims still came, and in large numbers, as they had done before the Conquest to pray at the shrine, and, as bishop Headda had realized before them, pilgrims generate wealth.<sup>37</sup> Peche and Clinton positively encouraged the pilgrimage and probably, as hard headed business men, for this reason alone. The antiquated Anglo-Saxon cathedral was pulled down and a new edifice in the very latest Romanesque style of architecture was built in its place to house the shrine of St. Chad.<sup>38</sup> A new town was laid out on the southern side of the bishop's pools with inns, hospices and all the trappings, it seems, needed to encourage the pilgrimage traffic.<sup>39</sup>

Lichfield was, therefore, saved from the obscurity of North Elmham, Selsey, Sherborne and Dorchester-on-Thames in no small measure thanks to the intercession of St. Chad. In the 1220s it recovered its cathedral status; from 1228 the bishopric was known as the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. But all this is part of another chapter.

36. An account of these events is given in *VCH Staffs.* III, 6-8, 140.

37. The number of churches of an early date dedicated to St. Chad, especially in the north west, and the evidence of early calendars that the saint's feast was kept widely throughout England attest the popularity of the cult.

38. *VCH Staffs.* III, 141-3.

39. C.C.Taylor, 'The Origins of Lichfield, Staffs.', *TSSAHS* x (1968-9), 43-52.

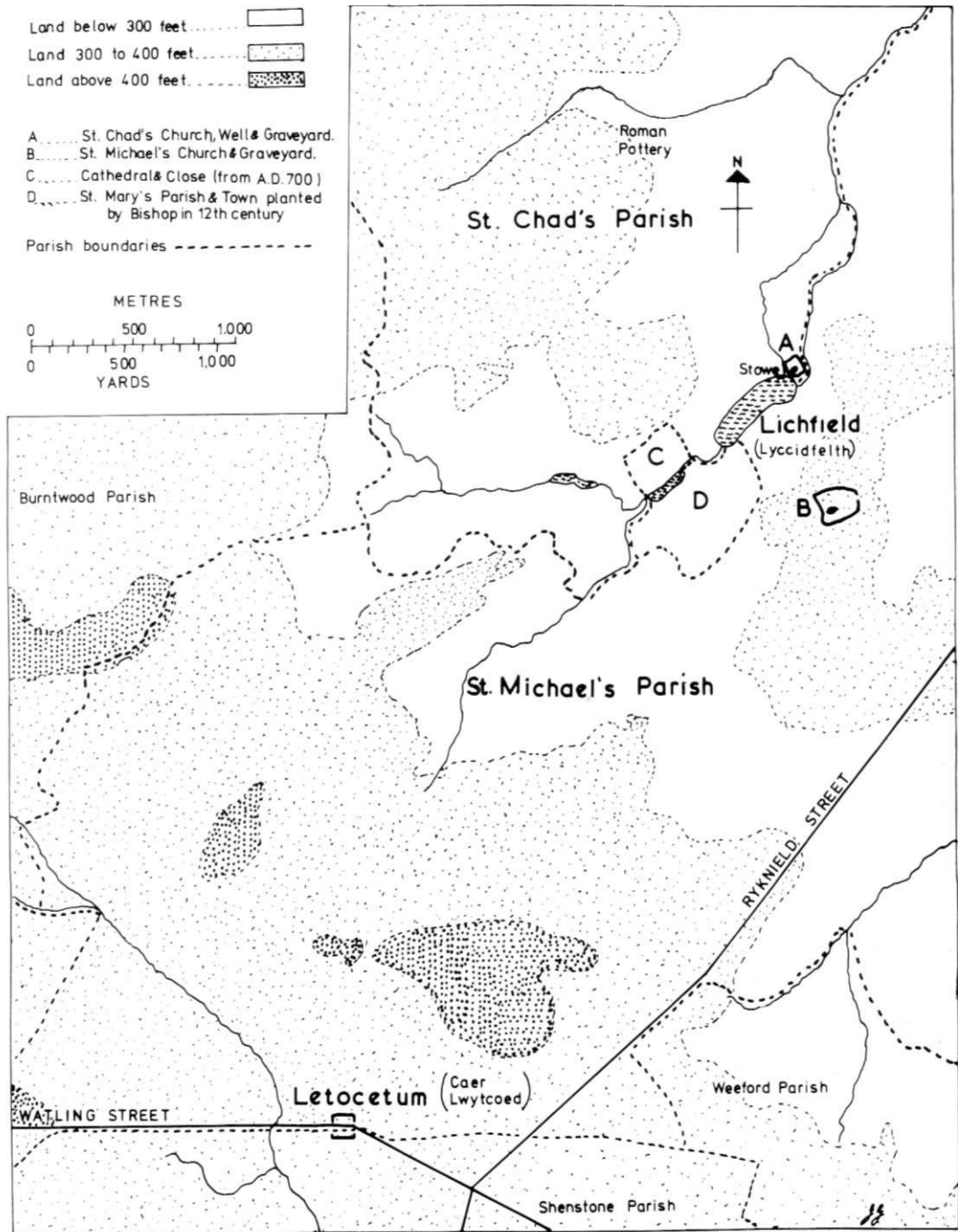


Fig. 1 Lichfield and Letocetum, showing the parishes of St. Chad, St. Michael and St. Mary

Acknowledgement is made to Mr. Jim Gould, F.S.A., for allowing me to use his unpublished paper 'Letocetum and Lichfield—a case for continuity', and his map showing the boundaries of the parishes of St. Chad, St. Michael and St. Mary (fig. 1).

#### ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS PAPER

|                       |                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Ant. J.</i>        | <i>Antiquaries Journal</i>                                                                                                                               |
| <i>TBWAS</i>          | <i>Transactions of Birmingham (and Warwickshire) Archaeological Society</i>                                                                              |
| <i>TNSFC</i>          | <i>Transactions of North Staffordshire Field Club</i>                                                                                                    |
| <i>T. R. Hist. S.</i> | <i>Transactions of Royal Historical Society</i>                                                                                                          |
| <i>TSSAHS</i>         | <i>Transactions of South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society (formerly Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeol. &amp; Hist. Soc.)</i> |
| <i>VCH</i>            | <i>Victoria County History</i>                                                                                                                           |
| <b>WEMRAC</b>         | <b>West Midlands Rescue Archaeology Committee</b>                                                                                                        |

## IV EXCAVATIONS SOUTH OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL, 1976-77

M. O. H. CARVER

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

*A profile c. 60 metres long through strata immediately south of Lichfield Cathedral, gave notice of a sequence of activity commencing in the Neolithic period. The Minster Pool was formerly a natural stream, pond or marsh. Structures and a cemetery were established beside it in the middle and/or late-Saxon period. The area was reorganized in the 12th century as a garden bordering an embanked vivarium. There was no trace of a defensive wall. Water was piped beneath the 13th-century garden in a lead pipe clad in clay. In the 14th century, the area was settled by residents digging rubbish and cesspits. In the 15th century the area was reconverted into an ornamental garden with a decorated 'garden-house' and latrine. However by the Dissolution the latter had been demolished. The garden was expanded southwards at the expense of the Minster Pool during the 19th and 20th centuries, when a number of main drains and sewers were also laid.*

*The sequence is presented in the form of annotated sections with commentaries, and brief descriptive notes on the earlier material are provided in a digest of evidence. The full records are to be held in archive at Stoke-on-Trent Museum.*

### INTRODUCTION

Few sites in the West Midlands are more attractive to Anglo-Saxon archaeology than Lichfield Cathedral Close: it is likely to be the burial-place of St. Chad in A.D. 672, the site of Headda's cathedral constructed in c. A.D. 700, and the seat of a metropolitan archbishop whose diocese stretched from the Thames to the Humber until A.D. 803. And yet it has been little explored (see Chap. I above) and no systematic evaluation of its archaeological content has been attempted. The proposed reconstruction of the former Theological College, which lay immediately due south of Lichfield Cathedral, therefore offered a valuable opportunity to assess the deposit with a view to its protection and exploitation for research purposes in the long term. The archaeological work was commissioned by the Department of the Environment, and the strategy adopted was to follow as nearly as possible the line of disturbance proposed by the developer, expanding into unthreatened strata only where the nature of the deposit was unrecognizable.

Two seasons were undertaken. In the winter of 1976, a week-end expedition tested deposits beneath the Principal's House and its garden (Cuttings CI, C2, D, D3, D2; figs. 1 and 2). This showed that within the area expecting development, the undisturbed deposits lay between the College and the Minster Pool, where a main sewer was to be laid. It was decided to characterize the deposits by digging the proposed sewer trench archaeologically, work which was carried out in the summer of 1977. The cutting was extended at only one point, where it crossed the foundations of a late-medieval wash-house or pavilion (E3). Otherwise, the results are derived entirely from a cutting one metre wide. Clearly this represents a sample which is totally inadequate for almost all the structural periods represented. Nearly all contexts, and therefore all assemblages, were incomplete. Seriation of assemblages being invalid, it was impossible to distinguish, with certainty,

primary from secondary deposits. Similarly, pottery groups were generally too small to establish a medieval typology. Nevertheless, full stratigraphic analysis and pottery sedation were completed, used to create the sequence of interpreted events (Tables 1-3), and are now held in archive. The excavation was thus intended to assess the quantity and quality of deposits, without however expecting to read historical activity from them.

In the event, however, the sequence given by the cuttings was remarkably consistent and suggestive, and a full interpretation has been attempted (figs. 3-6; Tables 1-3). Each part of the long section is accompanied by a commentary (associated with the relevant figure in each case). This commentary takes the form of a Table which shows all the events interpreted from the full sequence. Three important phases are then presented in plan (figs. 7-8), and the report concludes with summaries of the information that is held in Archive (*Digest of Evidence* pp. 39-50).

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The 1977 excavations were commissioned by the Department of the Environment and I am grateful to P. F. Gosling of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments for discussions on strategy and findings. The Diocesan Board of Finance, who were developing the site, also kindly administered the excavation grant. I am grateful to the Venerable Richard Ninnis, Archdeacon, for taking trouble in person with the accommodation and well-being of the excavation team, who were lodged in the College itself. The 1976 test excavations were carried out by members of Birmingham University Archaeology Society; and the 1977 excavations by West Midlands Archaeology Unit, now Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit. I am particularly grateful to Nigel Baker and Cameron Moffat for their recording, and their assistance in the early part of the season, and to Madeleine Hummler, Roy Hooper, Liz Hooper (nee Pritchard), Tim Yarnell, Mike Hodder and Debbie Ford, who dug and recorded the remaining parts of Cutting E; and to Pete Sokol, Kevin White and Liz Owen for all their hard work. Jim Gould and Jane Isaac (now Mrs. Hampartumian) have provided helpful advice, and processing for publication has been helped by analyses and drawings by Mike Hodder, Annette Roe, and particularly, Rowan Ferguson who also contributed the finds report printed here. I am very grateful to Dr. L. H. Barfield for reporting on the neolithic material, and to the Unit's illustrator Liz Hooper for preparing all the figures for publication.

#### RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

##### — The Sequence

The area south of Lichfield Cathedral formerly dropped gently southwards towards a wide stream, pond or marsh (see pp. 1-4). The earliest ground surface found was a light sandy subsoil developed over sandstone bedrock (layer 236 in Cutting E), in which there were traces of neolithic activity (see below, p.37). The shore line, marked in Cutting F by a scatter of stones, is some 25 m north of the present pool bank; and the water is now impounded to give a surface some 4 m higher than that of the Neolithic period. The few early water-laid deposits that were reached (275) appear to be alluvial with flecks of charcoal.

The pool bank was improved and reconstructed several times in the same place (Cutting F) until the 16th century. At this time, there began a process in which the usable ground surface was extended some 25 m southwards by dumping into the water (Cutting E,

events 8-12), until the bank arrived at its present position. The former pool edge is remembered however in the Close boundary marked on the 1781 map. At the same time or earlier the sandstone bedrock now beneath the Principal's House was terraced, with elimination or disturbance of earlier strata. By 1977, therefore, the extant archaeological deposit consisted of a wedge which increased both in depth and in legibility as it approached the pool. From a point coincident with the old pool bank, southwards up to 2 m of the deposit is post-medieval dumping to claim land from the pool. Beneath this, however, the water has preserved organic levels.

A strip therefore some 50 m wide, and running east-west along the crest of the old bank, constitutes an archaeological archive that is relatively intact and readable, with some organic preservation at the southern end. It is also historically very informative.

***Period 1: NEOLITHIC***

The earliest sign of activity took the form of half a dozen shallow pits cut into loose sand above the bedrock in Cutting E3 (Event 1) (plate III). A patch of slightly scorched sand with charcoal dust and burnt bone (363) may have been a cooking area. An assemblage consisting of flint tools and flakes, pottery, burnt bone, and two pot-boilers (p.42) was recovered from within the pits, and from the two layers immediately above them (338 and 220). These two layers had been disturbed at this point in the early middle ages, firstly by a later inhumation cemetery, and secondly by cultivation. It was therefore generally impossible to attribute the large number of stake-holes and post-holes accurately to period. Some of these may of course have belonged to a neolithic structure such as was suggested at the comparable site at Fisherwick (Hodder, this vol. ch. II) (fig. 3). The site lay immediately beside a stream, pond or marsh (Cutting F. Event 1).

***Period 2: NEOLITHIC — SAXON INTERLUDE***

The neolithic ground surface may have survived in Layer 236 (Cutting E, fig. 3), where a root-line was untouched by the cultivation layer (220) above it. Unless this cultivation has erased any aceramic activities, this implies a desertion of two to three thousand years, during which time the stream bank was apparently subject to slight alluvial intrusions (Cutting E, events 1, 2).

***Period 3: MIDDLE/LATE SAXON***

The earliest post-Neolithic activity consisted of a ditch or foundation trench (F80) running north-south, together with a number of slots, post-pits and post-holes cut into the loose sand in Area E (fig. 5, fig. 8). Three inhumations and some disturbed bone were also found (E: F65; C2, D1 fig. 4 and plate III). All these features were decapitated, smudged and sealed by a cultivation layer 220, which contained only late-Saxon pottery (Table 2). In the one relationship observable, the grave F65 cut the post-pit F68, and was probably cut from a much higher level (fig. 5). There would therefore appear to be at least two phases belonging to the first millenium. In the first, (event 2) large and small timber structures stood beside a marshy pond or stream, from which reeds had been cut or pulled (311, Cutting E, fig. 5). One body sherd of fabric 2 was recovered from the back-filled trench F80, and the only other finds were a fragment of Roman flue tile, an antler tine and an unrecognizable corroded iron object. In the second phase (event 3) the site was used as an inhumation cemetery, the bodies being buried with their feet to the east and without grave goods. Pottery was received from the new burh at Stafford.

These events may be matched with those known from the documentary record. The site was chosen as the seat of a bishop by Wilfred in 669 and St. Chad was buried there in 672. The first Cathedral Church was begun in 700, but by 803, the archbishop's seat had moved, and twenty years later a community of 19 Canons was founded. It seems likely that beneath the gardens to the south side of Lichfield Cathedral, therefore, lie the traces of the first ecclesiastical middle-Saxon timber-built streamside settlement, directly comparable to that at Jarrow (Cramp 1969) and only slightly damaged by the short-lived late-Saxon secular cemetery that succeeded it. The successful excavation and analysis of this settlement will clearly require sample sizes not smaller than 40 metres across and the appropriate resources. Meanwhile, it deserves protection at the highest grade.

*Period 4: 11-13th CENTURY*

No later inhumations or disturbed bone were found, and it seems that burial was discontinued on the south side of Lichfield Cathedral in the Norman period. The ground was cultivated (as a garden? E: events 5, 6) and the pool-bank was refurbished twice at some instant during the period crudely datable from pottery as 11-13th century (F: events 3, 6). On the second occasion (F: event 6) large quantities of sand were obtained, presumably from some levelling operation further north and used to raise the pool bank by means of pinning by stakes (plate Vb). At some instant in the same approximate time bracket, an underground water-supply running west-east was installed. A seamed lead pipe, clad in a jacket of (green) clay was laid in a narrow trench, some 40 cm below the supposed level of the contemporary lawn (F9 in fig. 5; fig. 13; plate Va).

All these events may of course be closely connected. The arrival of Roger de Clinton as bishop in 1126 offered new life to the former episcopal centre in the period immediately after the Norman Conquest. A new cathedral was built and a new town laid out (Taylor 1969) and these fundamental redevelopments may have been accompanied by a hydraulic engineering project of considerable importance: the impounding of the Leomansley and Trunkfield Brooks through the construction of a dam at Dam Street. This would have created both a vivarium (fish-pond) and a head of water to drive a mill.

The supply of clean water, piped from a spring at Maple Hayes, as Gould (1976a) has shown, by the mid 12th century, would no doubt have been necessary by virtue of these operations.

*Period 5: 12-15th CENTURY*

The next event recognized (event 7 in E) consisted of the cutting of a large number of pits for cess and domestic rubbish through the garden of event 6. At the same time quantities of domestic debris were deposited in the pond (event 7 in F).

It appears that the land was temporarily exploited in a manner which resembles (archaeologically) the ordinary urban tenement. The pottery recovered is not yet well dated, but bearing in mind the events which bracket this new activity it probably belongs to the 14th century or thereabouts. The road south of the Cathedral existed by 1411 and was known as 'Altus Vicus' (High Street) by that date (Harwood 1806, 294).

*Period 6: 15-17th CENTURY*

At a date suggested by the pottery to lie in the 15th century, the ground was again improved. No further pit-digging took place, and a 'garden-house' was erected over-

looking the pool (plate IV). This structure (E; event 8) consisted of a set of footings of mortared ashlar, with a large rectangular stone lined pit, probably a garderobe pit, adjoining to the west (fig. 9). The debris from its demolition (which occurred about a century later) included yellow and green glazed roof-tile, stone roofing slate, red painted wall plaster and decorated window-glass set in lead comes (fig. 15). The ultimate fill of the pit contained a nearly complete jug.

This is the information which has been used to make the reconstruction given in fig. 9. The building was a suitable size for a dovecote, but the decorated roof and fenestration, and the garderobe chute, suggest rather a garden pavilion or a wash-house of some affluence. A 'New College' was established on the site in 1411 (Harwood 1806, 294), 'new' in that it was a successor to that of the Vicar's Close whose buildings occupied the north-west corner of the Close. Additions were made to the New College in 1468: a bakehouse and a brewhouse (Cox 1890, 622). The College was dissolved in 1548. This documentation well parallels the archaeological story of the 'garden house'. If it was, indeed, the *lavatorium* for the College, it could have been used with comfort by a community of eight to twelve persons.

#### *Period 7: 16-20th CENTURY*

At the north end of the garden, the documented structures attributed to Bishop Hackett (1622) and the Principal's House of the Theological College (1873) share common foundations which the archaeological evidence does not place earlier than the 16th century. In this century there began a process of encroachment into the Minster Pool which continues into the present day. Apart from a large number of drains, all following a west-east line, the area apparently enjoyed consistent use as an expanding ornamental garden for four hundred years.

## DIGEST OF EVIDENCE

1. LIST OF PLOTTED ARTEFACTS.
2. NEOLITHIC MATERIAL. Report by L. H. Barfield.
3. EARLY MEDIEVAL MATERIAL. Report by R. E. Ferguson.
4. MEDIEVAL MATERIAL. Report by R. E. Ferguson.
5. POST-MEDIEVAL MATERIAL. Report by R. E. Ferguson.
6. MEDIEVAL POTTERY. Report by R. E. Ferguson.
7. BUILDING MATERIALS. Report by R. E. Ferguson.
8. LIST OF PRE-CEMETERY STRUCTURAL FEATURES, probably belonging to a post-Roman or Middle Saxon phase (see fig. 8).
9. INDEX TO THE ARCHIVE.
10. BOTANICAL MATERIAL, from Saxon levels at Lichfield Cathedral. Report by S. Colledge.

## LIST OF PLOTTED ARTEFACTS

| SFNo. | Site | Context | Feature | Description          | Date         |            |
|-------|------|---------|---------|----------------------|--------------|------------|
|       |      |         |         |                      | Manufacture  | Deposition |
| 1     | F    | 200     |         | Leather sheath       | Medieval ?   | Post - Med |
| 2     | F    | 122     | F3      | Silver spoon         | Modern       | Modern     |
| 3     | E2   | 250     | F35     | Jug                  | Medieval     | Post - Med |
| 4     | F    | 188     |         | Leather shoe         | Medieval     | Post - Med |
| 5     | F    | 232     |         | Sole of leather shoe | Medieval     | Medieval   |
| 6     | F    | 232     |         | Wooden bowl          | Medieval     | Medieval   |
| 7     | E2   | 289     |         | Coin: jetton         | 16th C       | Modern     |
| 8     | E3   | 290     |         | Coin: 1867 halfpenny | 19th C       | Modern     |
| 9     | E    | 220     |         | Metal object         | Early Med    | Early Med  |
| 10    | E    | 220     |         | metal object         | Early Med    | Early Med  |
| 11    | E3   | 315     |         | Bronze object        | Medieval     | Medieval   |
| 12    | E2   | 317     |         | Flint flake          | Neolithic    | Early Med  |
| 13    | E2   | 292     |         | Iron nail            | Medieval     | Medieval   |
| 14    | E3   | 338     |         | Flint scraper        | Neolithic    | Neolithic  |
| 15    | E    | 220     |         | Flint flake          | Neolithic    | Early Med  |
| 16    | E3   | 342     |         | Flint flake          | Neolithic    | Early Med  |
| 17    | E3   | 342     |         | Flint flake          | Neolithic    | Early Med  |
| 18    | E3   | 338     |         | Flint flake          | Neolithic    | Neolithic  |
| 19    | E3   | 338     |         | Hint flake           | Neolithic    | Neolithic  |
| 20    | E3   | 338     |         | Pot-boiler           | Neolithic    | Neolithic  |
| 21    | E3   | 338     |         | Hint flake           | Neolithic    | Neolithic  |
| 22    | E3   | 338     |         | Flint flake          | Neolithic    | Neolithic  |
| 23    | E3   | 220     |         | Sherd                | Neolithic    | Neolithic  |
| 24    | E3   | 348     |         | Sherd                | Neolithic    | Neolithic  |
| 25    | E3   | 347     | F80     | Sherd                | Unidentified | Early Med  |
| 26    | E3   | 347     | F80     | Flint flake          | Neolithic    | Early Med  |
| 27    | E3   | 220     |         | Flint flake          | Neolithic    | Early Med  |
| 28    | E    | 291     |         | Flint flake          | Neolithic    | Medieval   |

| SF No. | Site | Context | Feature | Description                 | Date        |            |
|--------|------|---------|---------|-----------------------------|-------------|------------|
|        |      |         |         |                             | Manufacture | Deposition |
| 29     | E    | 220     |         | Flint flake                 | Neolithic   | Early Med  |
| 30     | E    | 338     |         | Flint scraper               | Neolithic   | Neolithic  |
| 31     | E    | 347     |         | Bone tool                   | Early Med ? | Early Med  |
| 32     | E    | 355     |         | Sherd and calcined bone     | Neolithic   | Neolithic  |
| 33     | E    | 338     |         | Flint tool                  | Neolithic   | Neolithic  |
| 34     | E    | 356     |         | Sherd and bone              | Neolithic   | Neolithic  |
| 35     | E    | 326     |         | Pot-boiler                  | Neolithic   | Neolithic  |
| 36     | E    | 354     |         | Group of flints             | Neolithic   | Neolithic  |
| 37     |      |         |         |                             |             |            |
| 38     | E    | 342     | F80     | Flint flakes                | Neolithic   | Early Med  |
| 39     | E    | 342     | F80     | Pottery                     | Neolithic   | Neolithic  |
| 40     | E    | 347     | F80     | Iron object                 | Early Med   | Early Med  |
| 41     | E    | 338     |         | Pottery                     | Neolithic   | Neolithic  |
| 42     | E    | 186     |         | Heel of leather shoe        | Medieval ?  | Post-Med   |
| 43     | E    | 364     | F92     | Pottery                     | Neolithic   | Neolithic  |
| 44     | E/F  | 101     |         | Tumbler bell                | Modern      | Modern     |
| 45     | E/F  | 101     |         | Glass phial                 | Modern      | Modern     |
| 46     | E    | 112     | F4      | Bronze fastener             | Modern      | Modern     |
| 47     | E    | 151     |         | Rectangular metal object    | Medieval    | Medieval   |
| 48     | E    | 173     |         | Iron pin                    | Medieval    | Medieval   |
| 49     | E    | 124     |         | Iron stake                  | Modern      | Modern     |
| 50     | E    | 117     |         | Bronze buckle               | Modern      | Modern     |
| 51     | E    | 289     |         | Iron hinge                  | Modern      | Modern     |
| 52     | E    | 289     |         | Iron spike                  | Modern      | Modern     |
| 53     | E    | 174     |         | Iron nail and bronze object | Medieval    | Medieval   |

## 2. NEOLITHIC MATERIAL. L. H. Barfield (fig. 10).

### *Flint*

30/338: Bifacially worked arrowhead roughout

14/338: Discoidal scraper

15/220: Flake with probably intentionally serrated edge

338 and other contexts: Seventeen struck flakes with no secondary working

The raw material used is black flint in the form of large abraded nodules. The collection is unpatinated.

30/338 appears to be an almost finished leaf-shaped arrowhead. This would suggest an early Neolithic date, although leaf-shaped arrowheads do occur in later assemblages (Green 1980). The discoidal scraper cannot be closely dated, while serrated tools are known from early Neolithic through to, at least, Beaker contexts.

### *Burnt Stones*

Two fragmentary burnt pebbles of quartzite come from context 338. Although it is possible that these are accidentally burnt, it is more probable that they had some functional use, either for cooking or in the context of steam baths. If the latter explanation is the case, then it is likely that the stones derive from a burnt mound in the vicinity, and may indeed not be contemporary with the Neolithic settlement but be of Middle Bronze Age date. However, burnt mounds are very common in the West Midlands, especially along water courses (Nixon 1980; Barfield and Hodder 1980) and one at Harborne is dated to c. 2000 bc by radiocarbon dating, suggesting that this type of site does date back to the neolithic period in our area.

### *Prehistoric Pottery*

23/220: Grey ware with quartz and flint (?) filler

37/338: Base sherd, 18mm thick, hard black fabric with brownish surfaces, fine quartz filler

43/364: Black ware with large quartz filler

39/342: Soft black ware with quartz filler, decorated with two ridges, outlined by rows of oblique oval impressions

24/348: Sherd of same vessel as 39/342

32/355: Hard black ware with red outer surface and large quartz filler, decorated with horizontal rows of close-set impressions executed with a stick or other instrument.

All the pottery appears to be Neolithic in date, while the consistent use of quartz filler suggests a single source.

Sherds 24/348, 32/355 and 39/342 can be compared with the general tradition of heavily decorated Peterborough pottery. It is probable that these sherds relate to the later development of Peterborough, being closer to the Mortlake style than to the earlier Ebbsfleet tradition. Criteria for a closer attribution to one or other style are absent from these pieces and indeed one may question whether the Ebbsfleet/Mortlake tradition distinction has any validity for the West Midlands area.

*Conclusions*

In spite of the typological preference for the arrowhead being early Neolithic, it is probable that the whole assemblage is dated to the late Neolithic. The river/lakeside location is also in keeping with many Peterborough assemblages.

## 3. EARLY MEDIEVAL MATERIAL. R. E. Ferguson

*Iron*

- 9/220 Tube, round section, piercing large irregular lump of corroded metal and soil with charcoal. Shaft 70mm long; Lump 25mm diam.
- 10/220 Roughly egg-shaped, corroded. Long axis 30mm; short axis 15mm (at widest point). Nail-head.
- 40/347 Very corroded lump, now broken in two. Round section. 55mm long; lower half 15mm, upper half 20mm diam.

*Bone*

- 31/347 Antler tine. No signs of being worked.

## 4. MEDIEVAL MATERIAL. R. E. Ferguson

*Metal*

- 11/315 Incomplete bronze ring. Very corroded. Too large to be a finger ring. No sign of pattern or ornamentation. 25mm diam., 30mm thick.
- 13/292 Bent iron nail, square section. Head 20mm diam., shaft 50mm long.
- 47/151 Piece of lead strap with staple. Pattern of three small holes at one end of strap; two incised lines at either side. 35mm by 20mm; length of staple 20mm.
- 48/173 Curved iron strip. 170mm long.
- 53/174a Corroded nail. Head 20mm diam., shaft 50mm long.
- 53/174b Piece of bronze strap, folded back over a piece of iron, now broken. 20mm by 76mm (inferred length).

*Leather and wood (fig. 11)*

- 42/186 Leather shoe heel. Perforations (by staples?) at irregular intervals. 70mm by 60mm.
- 4/188 Part of leather shoe. Almost complete sole, probably lady's. Part of upper, wider than sole, with stitching band. Stitching holes, 4mm spacing.
- 5/232 Pieces of leather, including almost complete sole, too bent to determine size, and stitching band. 90mm at widest point.
- 1/200 Leather sheath, broken in two, with stamped decoration. Length 140mm, width 40-47mm.
- 6/232 Fragments of wooden bowl, curved and with a rim.

## 5. POST-MEDIEVAL MATERIAL. R. E. Ferguson

- 7/289 Bronze counter. Very thin, seems to have been stamped out of a sheet of metal. Particularly worn round the edges so that the writing is indecipherable but most of the design is fairly clear. 25mm diam.  
Obverse: Floral device with crowns.  
Reverse: Shield with Reichsapfel.  
Identified as *Nuremberg counter* struck by Hans Krauwinckel (name should appear on obverse) in the late 16th century.

## 6. MEDIEVAL POTTERY R. E. Ferguson

Because of the small quantities of medieval pottery recovered only a limited amount of analysis has been attempted leaving a more thorough study to be done in conjunction with medieval pottery from other West Midlands sites. The pottery from Sites E and F has been seriated and a copy of the seriation diagram is in the Archive. All of the pottery has been sorted into fabric types (see Table 4) and assigned to broad time periods. A discussion of the fabric and forms within these periods follows. Every feature and decorated sherd has been drawn but no reconstruction has been attempted (figs. 12-14). The pottery from Period 1, the Neolithic, is treated separately, (see pp. 42-3 and fig. 10).

### *Period 3: Late Saxon*

The fabrics belonging to this period are numbers 1-4. Of these 2 is probably Stafford Ware while 4 is a St. Neots type. The forms present seem to belong to sagging-based cooking pots or bowls. There is one sherd with the rouletted decoration typical of Stafford Ware (sherd 3), (Carver and Williams, forthcoming).

### *Period 4: 11th-12th century*

In this period the fabrics are types 5-7 and the forms are again largely cooking pots and bowls. Sherd 6 shows incised decoration on the inside of the rim.

### *Period 5: 12th-15th century*

Most of the pottery found in the trial excavations dated from this period and more than half of it was in Fabric 11. The forms present are cooking pots and bowls and, probably, jars. For the first time however jugs, such as sherds 46, 34, 42, 36, 38 and 40 appear and shallow dishes like sherds 39 and 66. Decoration is incised (sherds, 48, 55, 59, 61, 41); stamped (sherds 51, 60); or gouged with a blunt ended tool (sherds 50, 53, 57, 58, 62, 43). The presence of tripod pitchers or skillets is shown by legs, either short and fat (sherds 47, 54) or more decorative (sherds 49 and 50). Most of the handles probably came from jugs but sherd 48 was part of a skillet. Two particularly unusual sherds are also present: sherd 14 is the rim of a jar or bowl with a groove all the way round the top probably to take a wooden lid; the other rarity is sherd 56 which seems to be part of a ceramic lid.

### *Period 6: 15th-17th century*

All the sherds illustrated are made of Fabric 15, Midlands Purple, and are probably cooking pots or jugs. Sherd 63 has an applied strip of rouletted decoration round the neck of the jug.

## 7. BUILDING MATERIALS (fig. 15). R. E. Ferguson

### A. *Window Glass*, from context 123.

The glass itself is pale green and less than half a centimetre thick. It is thickly coated on either side with a dark red-brown paint, and onto this a curvilinear design has been sketched in black. Some of the glass was coated with an iridescent black paint and no design. The lead comes associated with the glass indicate that it was arranged in panes varying in area from 30 mm x 60 mm to 50 mm x 30 mm. There is also a came, 105 mm long which could have come from the point of a lancet window. So little survives however as to make a reliable reconstruction very difficult.

### B. *Glazed Roof and Floor Tiles*

Most of the pottery roof tile is flat although some of the glazed tile is slightly curved, and probably derives from hooped ridge-tiles (see fig. 15). There are two main types of glaze:

- i) A mustard yellow to light green glaze with some spots of iron staining. The glaze is shiny and quite thick particularly on the yellow tiles. However on other tiles the glaze is rather thin and has only been dripped or splashed on. One of these tiles has a hole in it for hanging, or, more probably, the hole might be the remains of a knib on the crest of the ridge. Thicknesses vary between 7 mm and 15 mm. Only the thickest of these comply with the standards laid down in 1477 (Salzman 1967, 230). Pinkish-grey fabric.
- ii) A darker grey-green to reddish-brown glaze. The glaze has a very 'tweedy' look, possibly due to the sandier fabric of the tiles. One tile is only partially glazed, but this is not splash-glazing. Another example is splash-glazed on both sides and seems to have been coated in a reddish-brown slip prior to glazing. It is possible that this tile is a floor tile but it is rather uneven. None of the tiles in either glaze category seems to be at all worn or weathered. Thicknesses of the green tile vary between 9 mm and 15 mm. The fabric is of a grey-white colour.

There is one piece of tile which is definitely floor tile; it has a red brick fabric and a design in brown and yellow. It is probably inlaid in white clay on brown, the yellow colour resulting from the glaze. The tile is 18 mm thick.

### C. *Unglazed Tile*

- Most of the unglazed tile found is roof tile. The fabric is fine and varies in colour from dark red to orange. One side shows signs of brush marks and is much smoother than the other which is sandier and uneven.

None of them are flanged but several have a short lug about 30 mm long and protruding about 1 cm from the surface of the tile. These lugs always occur on the smooth side of the tile and are the means of hanging the tiles from wooden laths. There is only one tile fragment with a nail-hole. The hole is small and must have been punched by something with a square section. The lugs are pinched up out of the tile rather than stuck on. Behind each lug there is a finger groove. From the very small number of almost complete tiles their size can be reconstructed as 180 mm wide, length unknown, thickness 17 mm.

One curved ridge tile has been found. It is not complete. Thickness 17 mm.

One piece of coarse red floor tile has been found. One surface has been combed in the way that tiles are roughened so that they take the grout more easily. Thickness 20 mm.

### D. *Brick*

Much less brick was found than tile. The colours are the same as those of the tile but the brick fabric is much coarser. It is so fragmentary that no dimensions can be reconstructed.

There is one piece of black brick which is of a finer fabric than the red brick. Thickness: 50 mm. This is probably 16th century in date.

E. *Stone Roof Tile*

The stone roof tile was split into 'slates' *c.* 20 mm thick, and complete examples give two size types: 180 x 290 mm and 90 x 250 mm (fig. 15). Suspension holes were bored and worn. One side of the slate was covered with white mortar. The use of stone tile is well attested from the 14th century (Salzman 1967, 232). They were sometimes used (reused?) as infilling or cladding in timber-frame structures (Salzman 1967, 233 and see Innocent 1916, fig. 48 for a photograph of a surviving example).

## LIST OF PRE-CEMETERY STRUCTURAL FEATURES, PROBABLY BELONGING TO A POST-ROMAN OR MIDDLE SAXON PHASE AT LICHFIELD (see fig. 8)

| Feature | Description                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Dimensions                                                              | Identification                           |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| F61     | Column of sand and charcoal (348) representing post burnt out <i>in situ</i> .                                                                                                                                                                       | 200 x 200 mm square post in post-pit<br>400 x 400 mm.                   | Structural post                          |
| F62     | Sticky black sand with small pieces of red sandstone (320, 329) filling vertically sided slot butt-ending to west.                                                                                                                                   | At least 1 m long, 400 mm across. Truncated to <i>c.</i> 400 mm deep.   | Post slot; containing posts F63 and F64. |
| F63     | Socket containing soft wood pulp, lozenge-shaped in plan.                                                                                                                                                                                            | 120 mm long axis in plan;<br><i>c.</i> 250 mm deep as found.            | Post                                     |
| F64     | Socket containing grey silt, sub-rectangular in plan.                                                                                                                                                                                                | 160 mm long axis in plan;<br><i>c.</i> 150 mm deep as found.            | Post                                     |
| F68     | Oval socket, containing decomposed wood (330).                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 300 mm long axis in plan.                                               | Post                                     |
| F80     | Cutting, with nearly vertical sides. Filled primarily with dark grey micaceous silt (347) with no traces of post-pipes or other features. Secondarily filled with mixed red clays. Charcoal, broken sandstones and animal bone (337, 341, 342, 343). | Max. width: 600 mm;<br>Min. width: 400 mm;<br>Length: more than 3.40 m. | Robbed structural trench                 |
| F81     | Oblong feature, cutting F80 at south end. Filled with grey brown sandy loam, sandstone pieces, charcoal and daub.                                                                                                                                    | 370 mm x 250 mm in plan.                                                | Trench, dismantling F80?                 |

## 9. INDEX TO ARCHIVE

A. *The Written Record*

- (1) Index (2) 2 Site Note Books (3)—(4) 364 context cards.
- (5) 92 Feature Cards (6) 17 Small Finds Cards (7) Finds Cards
- (8) Sample List. (9) List of Small Finds. (10) Context/feature concordance.
- (11) List of Drawings in B (12) List of Contents of Boxes of E.

B. *The Drawn Record*

- (1) 6 Location plans (2) 7 plans (3) 11 section drawings

C. *The Photographic Record*

- (1) 96 colour slides (2) 58 black and white prints and negatives.

D. *Analysis*

- (1) Stratification diagram, annotated with seriated pottery periods. (R. E. Ferguson 1981)
- (2) Seriation diagram. (R.E. Ferguson 1981)
- (3) Fabric typology for pottery. (A. Roe 1980)
- (4) Assemblage summaries. (R.E. Ferguson 1981)

E. *Material Recovered*

- (1) *Pottery*: 2 boxes and 5 bags (2) *Special Finds*: 1 box of 53 (3) *Wood*: none
- (4) *Cloth*: none (5) *Leather* (conserved): 1 bag (6) *Clay pipe*: 1 bag (7) *Building Material* samples: 3 boxes (8) *Stone*: none (9) *Flint*: 1 bag (10) *Iron*: 9 items with E(2) (11) *Copper alloy*: 4 items with E(2) (12) *other metals*: 2 items with E(2)
- (13) *Slag*: 7 bags (not analysed) (14) *Window glass*: with E(2) (15) *Human bone*: 5 bags (not analysed) (16) *Animal bone*: 7 bones (not analysed)

F. *Material Discarded*

- (1) All context components other than E(1)-(16)
- (2) *samples* a, b, d, e, h, i, j; 1-9, 11 (not suitable for analysis).

The excavation archive is currently (1981) the property of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral.

10. BOTANICAL MATERIAL FROM SAXON LEVELS AT LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL  
S. Colledge

A sample for botanical investigation was collected by archaeologists excavating in the grounds of the Theological College in Lichfield. It was taken from what appears to have been a deposit on the former bank to a stream or pool (310, see fig. 15).

a. *Macroscopic remains*

Four litres of the deposit were washed down and sieved through a 300/'' mesh. The sample was a sandy clay and did not disaggregate easily. The flotant was immersed in alcohol and was sorted for plant and insect remains under a low-power binocular microscope. The plant remains were identified using modern reference material.

There were not many seeds present in the deposit. Most were preserved by waterlogging but there were some charred remains which must have somehow become incorporated in the sediment. The species as indicated by the plant remains in context 310 have been listed according to habitat preference.

It is interesting to note that the largest habitat group represented by the seeds is the cultivated and waste land plants. The poppy, *Papaver* sp., and the black bindweed, *Polygonum convolvulus*, are common weeds of cornfields. The charred remains give evidence of the presence of crops. It is impossible to make a positive identification of the oats to either *Avena sativa* (cultivated) or *Avena fatua* (wild) without the flower bases (part of the husk) which characterize the species. Godwin (1975) comments that in Iron Age and Roman times oats were probably accidental contaminants of other crops (Jessen and Helbaek 1944) and it was not until Saxon times that they were cultivated as an independent food plant. Presumably the oats were introduced by people who were familiar with them in their own homeland. At Lichfield it is impossible to determine the status of the crop. The wheat is badly preserved but the shortness and plumpness of the grains indicate that it is probably one of the hexaploids wheats, i.e. bread or club wheat, *Triticum aestivo-compactum* Schiem. Godwin (1975) states that these species only became important crops in England during historic times. The charred grasses, Gramineae, and dock, *Rumex* sp., could have been weeds of the cornfield. Burning of the plant remains probably took place near by. In sample 310 there was a considerable quantity of charcoal. It is possible that domestic rubbish was being burnt on waste ground. The elder, *Sambucus nigra* and stinging nettle, *Urtica dioica*, suggest that there were areas of disturbed ground and that these were possibly near to habitation. The proximity of a pool or stream is suggested by certain plant and animal remains. The *Chara* sp., stonewort, would be found growing on the bottom of shallow pools and the hemlock, *Conium maculatum* and marsh woundwort, *Stachys palustris*, at the water's edge. Also in 310 there were caddis fly larvae cases, made of sand and small twigs. The larvae would also inhabit shallow water. A fish vertebra in the sample further confirms the presence of the water. Grassland is indicated by the last habitat group.

b. *Pollen Analysis*

A sample was taken from context 310 and was prepared for pollen analysis using the standard methods (Faegri and Iverson 1975). Over 350 pollen grains were counted on one slide. The pollen was fairly well preserved but the slide was covered in small black specks. This seems to be quite common in pollen preparations of samples from urban contexts and would appear to indicate the presence of ash or soot (J. Greig pers. comm.). Therefore it could be implied that there probably had been burning in the vicinity of the deposit 310.

In the sample from 310, 13% of the total pollen sum was tree pollen, 86% was non-tree pollen and 1% was aquatic pollen. The tree pollen included *Alnus*, alder and *Corylus*, hazel and these are species which could have been growing around water as scrub vegetation. The *Salix*, willow, which is a waterside species would have grown at the edge of a stream or pool. *Quercus*, oak, *Tilia*, lime and *Ulmus*, elm were also present and probably indicate woodland which was growing in the vicinity.

Gramineae, (grasses) and *Cerealia*, (cereals) dominated the non-tree pollen in the spectrum. There were also high percentages of Compositae pollen, including *Centaurea cyanus*, the cornflower, a common weed of arable land. As shown previously, the seeds in 310 were mainly of weeds from cultivated fields and the information from the pollen spectrum supports the association of the sample with crops and arable land. The presence of charred oats and wheat in the sample would tend to indicate that the crops were burned,

either accidentally or deliberately, after they had been gathered in from the fields. Cereal pollen can be transported in the hulls of the cereals spikes (Robinson and Hubbard 1977) and thus the high cereal pollen percentages in 310 need not necessarily suggest the immediate proximity of cornfields but is more probably an indication of the transportation of crops into the settlement. The high cereal pollen and grass pollen could perhaps suggest that straw and hay was being brought in to the area for domestic purposes and with these there would also be the associated weeds of arable and pastoral land, some of which are represented in the pollen spectrum, e.g. the goosefoots, Chenopodiaceae, ribwort plantain, *Platago lanceolata*, buttercup, *Ranunculus* sp. The high grass pollen percentage could reflect an area of grassland.

Considering the information from both the seeds and the pollen from 310 it would seem that during the Saxon period there was in the centre of Lichfield an area of open water, bounded by marshy ground. Identification of the caddis fly larvae cases and the fish vertebra may provide evidence as to the nature of the water, i.e. whether it was still or flowing. There is however insufficient information from the botanical remains to draw definite conclusions on this subject.

TABLE A: MACROSCOPIC PLANT REMAINS FROM CONTEXT 310

| <i>Species Lists:</i> I <u>Waterlogged remains</u>  |                           | Number             |                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| a)                                                  | Cultivated and waste land | of seeds           | Habitat                                   |
| <i>Chenopodium album</i> L.                         | Fat Hen                   | 62                 |                                           |
| <i>Papaver argemone</i> L.                          | Long prickly-headed poppy | 3                  | Cornfield weed, especially on light soils |
| <i>Papaver</i> cf. <i>dubium</i> /<br><i>rhoeas</i> | Long headed/field poppy   | 18                 | Cornfield weed                            |
| <i>Polygonum convolvulus</i> L.                     | Black bindweed            | 2                  | Weed of arable land                       |
| <i>Sambucus nigra</i> L.                            | Elder                     | 35                 | Waste places                              |
| <i>Urtica dioica</i> L.                             | Stinging nettle           | 3                  | Waste places                              |
| b)                                                  | Wet places                |                    |                                           |
| <i>Chara</i> sp.                                    | Stonewort (Algae)         | 2                  |                                           |
| <i>Conium maculatum</i> L.                          | Hemlock                   | 11                 | Damp places, open woods and near water    |
| <i>Stachys palustris</i>                            | Marsh woundwort           | 2                  | On moist banks, by ditches                |
| c)                                                  | Grassland                 |                    |                                           |
| <i>Rumex</i> sp.                                    | Dock                      | 2                  |                                           |
| <i>Stellaria graminea</i> L.                        | Lesser stitchwort         | 1                  | Especially on light soils                 |
| II Charred remains                                  |                           |                    |                                           |
| cf. <i>Avena</i> sp.                                | Oats                      | 4                  | ? Wild or cultivated                      |
| Gramineae indet                                     | Grasses                   | 2                  |                                           |
| <i>Rumex</i> sp.                                    | Dock                      | 1                  |                                           |
| cf. <i>Triticum</i> sp.                             | Wheat                     | grains 3           |                                           |
|                                                     |                           | rachis fragments 2 |                                           |

TABLE B: POLLEN SPECTRUM FROM CONTEXT 310

(+ represents less than 1 %)

|                            |                     | °70's of the<br>total pollen |
|----------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| <u>Tree Pollen</u>         |                     |                              |
| <i>Alnus</i>               | Alder               | 5%                           |
| <i>Betula</i>              | Birch               | 2%                           |
| <i>Corylus</i>             | Hazel               | 3°70                         |
| <i>Quercus</i>             | Oak                 | 2%                           |
| <i>Salix</i>               | Willow              | +                            |
| <i>Tilia</i>               | Lime                | +                            |
| <i>Ulmus</i>               | Elm                 | 1%                           |
| <u>Non-Tree Pollen</u>     |                     |                              |
| <i>Cerealia</i>            | Cereals             | 23%                          |
| Chenopodiaceae             | Goosefoots          | 1%                           |
| Compositae:                |                     |                              |
| <i>Artemisia</i>           | Wormwood            | 2°70                         |
| <i>Centaurea cyanus</i>    | Cornflower          | 9%                           |
| <i>Centaurea nigra</i>     | Knapweed            | 1%                           |
| Liguliflorae               |                     | 15%                          |
| Tubuliflorae               |                     | 7°70                         |
| Cruciferae                 |                     | 4%                           |
| Ericales                   | Heather             | 1°70                         |
| Gramineae                  | Grasses             | 15°70                        |
| Labiatae                   | Dead nettles        | +                            |
| <i>Plantago lanceolata</i> | Ribwort plantain    | 4°70                         |
| <i>Polygonum bistorta</i>  | Bistort             | +                            |
| <i>Ranunculus</i> type     | e.g. Buttercup      | +                            |
| <i>Rubus</i>               |                     | 1 %                          |
| Umbelli                    | ferae               | 2%                           |
| <u>Aquatic Pollen</u>      |                     |                              |
| <i>Alisma</i>              | e.g. Water Plantain | 1%                           |
| <i>Caltha</i> type         | e.g. Marsh Marigold | +                            |

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TABLE 1: LICHFIELD EXCAVATIONS 1977 CONCORDANCE OF EVENTS

| Archaeological Period | Date                                                | C <sub>1</sub>         | C <sub>2</sub>      | D <sub>1</sub>        | D <sub>3</sub> | E                                                                            |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ©                     | 1977                                                | Principa               | 's House            |                       | GAR DEN        | (10) Levelling and drainage                                                  |
| ©                     | 17 <sup>th</sup> C                                  | Construction of vaults |                     | Stone wall<br>— F18 — |                | (9) Demolition of garden house                                               |
| ®                     |                                                     |                        |                     | Pit digging           |                | (8) Erection of garden house<br>© 'Urban'pit digging<br>© Cultivation/garden |
|                       | Norman                                              |                        |                     |                       |                | (5) Cultivation/<br>(4) garden                                               |
| ®                     | Late Saxon                                          |                        | Inhumation cemetery | Inhumation cemetery   |                | (3) Inhumation cemetery                                                      |
| ©                     | British/<br>Saxon<br>5-9 <sup>th</sup><br>centuries |                        |                     |                       |                | (2) Buildings                                                                |
| ©                     | Neolithic                                           |                        |                     |                       |                | 0 Neolithic occupation                                                       |

| F                                                                                      | Documented event                                                                                                                                           |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>© Expansion of (f^)(JO) garden</p>                                                  | <p>1873: Theological College established in old buildings</p> <p>1822: Site leased to Wm. Mott (for 10,000 years)</p>                                      |
| <p>(9) Debris into pool</p> <p>(D) New pool revetment</p>                              | <p>c. 1662: Banqueting Hall established by Bishop Hackett</p> <p>1548: Dissolution of New College</p>                                                      |
| <p>Debris into pool</p> <hr/> <p>f</p> <p>©</p> <p>I</p> <p>(6) New pool revetment</p> | <p>1468: Additions to New College: bakehouse and brewhouse</p> <p>1411: Foundation of New College</p>                                                      |
| <p>©</p> <p>@ Pool revetment</p> <p>©</p>                                              | <p>1126: Arrival of Roger de Clinton and foundation of new town — 1150</p>                                                                                 |
|                                                                                        | <p>822: Establishment of community of 19 Canons</p>                                                                                                        |
| <p>(2) Bank to marsh or stream</p>                                                     | <p>803: Bishopric discontinued</p> <p>700: Headda's Cathedral constructed</p> <p>672: Death of St. Chad</p> <p>669: Lichfield chosen as seat of Bishop</p> |
| <p>® Bank to marsh or stream</p>                                                       |                                                                                                                                                            |

TABLE 2: LICHFIELD 1977 EVENT SEQUENCE IN CUTTING E (see fig. 5)

| Event No. | Event                      | Date       | Contexts                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Diagnostic Finds<br>(Small find nos. in square boxes)                                                                                                                     |
|-----------|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 11        | Extant Garden              | 1977       | 101                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | g§ Bottle                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 10        | Levelling and drainage     | 19C        | F4/6: <i>pits</i> ; F50: <i>levelling</i> (108) 110119                                                                                                                                                                         | g§ Bronze fastener §9  §2j Iron<br>[Tt Jeton U Iron hinge                                                                                                                 |
| 9         | Demolition of Garden-house | 16C        | 123 130 137 248 249<br>250 290 291 302                                                                                                                                                                                         | red painted plaster<br>    1867 penny: ?intrusive [T Jug<br>from garderobe                                                                                                |
| 8         | Erection of Garden-house   | C.15C      | F53: <i>northwall</i> ; F54: <i>eastwall</i><br>F55: <i>internal wall</i><br>F56: <i>post hole</i><br>F35-7: <i>garderobeshute</i><br>F52: <i>robber trench</i><br>F38: <i>construction trench</i> ;<br>243, 257 (299 300 303) |                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 7         | Medieval Occupation        | 13-15C     | F8: <i>cess pit</i> ; F9: <i>water pipe</i><br>(F10, 11,/M7S); F12:/W7; F15<br>\6pits; F4S: <i>pit</i> ; F51;<br>F57:p;7,F58;60,p/'tt;<br>F69: <i>post-pit</i> ; F73: <i>pit</i> ;<br>172. F47 PH. 180 118 <i>wall</i>         | [T Iron nail §7  Iron object<br>[l Bronze object<br>§3l Bronze object, Iron object                                                                                        |
| 6         | Medieval Horticulture      | C.13C      | 129<br>139                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | H flint flake                                                                                                                                                             |
| 5         | Horticulture/<br>Expansion | ?12C       | 148/269                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 4         | Tillage of Cemetery        | ?12C       | 220 317 (338 surface)                                                                                                                                                                                                          | [9]  o  Metal obj.<br>[F] M M M Flint flakes<br>Slag                                                                                                                      |
| 3         | Early Medieval Cemetery    | Late Saxon | F65                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Articulated human skeleton                                                                                                                                                |
| 2         | Early Medieval Structure   | Pre-10C    | F61:po5/,F62 63 64<br><i>post slot</i> ; F68/66/70/67<br><i>post pits</i><br>F80/81:rf/7c/i                                                                                                                                    | Roman flue tile (313);<br>Rushes/reeds from marsh (311)<br>i @ @ i Flint flakes<br>[-3-] antler tine §<  iron object                                                      |
| 1         | Neolithic occupation       |            | F84, 85, 86: <i>shallow pits</i><br>F90: <i>pit</i> ; F91: <i>socket</i> ; F92,<br>F93: <i>pit</i> (338); F88: <i>socket</i><br>182 236 321 322 354 363<br>(hearth?) 354 355                                                   | i l l     flint flakes<br>g  burnt pebbles<br>g  flint scraper [33] flint tool<br>gT  g3  neolithic pottery<br>[34] sherd + bone<br>[32] burnt bone, charcoal<br>H flints |

## A S S E M B L A G E

| Building Materials |          |      |             |       |            |              |             | Pottery                     |                  | Period |
|--------------------|----------|------|-------------|-------|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--------|
| Ashlar             | Brick    | Tile | Glazed Tile | Slate | Floor Tile | Window Glass | Daub Timber | Types                       | Date Range       |        |
|                    |          |      |             |       |            |              |             | 11                          | 12-14C           | ©      |
| X                  | X        |      | X           | X     |            | X<br>Dec     |             | 2 8 11 16 PM<br>15 Med      | 18-20C           |        |
| X                  |          | X    | X           | X     |            | X<br>Dec     |             | 8 11 16 PM<br>9 5 12        | Late Med<br>— PM | ©      |
|                    |          | X    |             |       |            |              |             | 11<br>14                    | 12-15C           | ©      |
| X                  | X        | X    |             |       |            |              | X           | 2 11 14<br>6 8<br>7 9<br>10 | 12-15C           |        |
| X                  |          |      |             |       | X          |              |             | 6 7 8 9<br>2 6 7 8 9 11 13  | 12-14C           |        |
|                    |          | X    |             |       |            |              | X           | 4 9 11                      | 12-14C           | ©      |
| X                  |          | X    |             |       |            |              | X           | 1 2 3                       | 9-11C            |        |
|                    |          | X    |             |       |            |              | X           |                             |                  | ©      |
| X                  | X<br>329 | X    |             |       |            |              | X           | 2                           | 9-11C            | ©      |
|                    |          |      |             |       |            |              | x           |                             |                  | ®      |

TABLE 3: LICHFIELD EXCAVATIONS 1977: EVENT SEQUENCE IN CUTTING F (see fig. 6)

| Event No. | Event                        | Date                                     | Contexts                                                                               | Diagnostic finds<br>(Smallfind nos. in<br>square boxes)       |
|-----------|------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 13        | Extant garden                | 1977                                     | 101                                                                                    |                                                               |
| 12        | Garden                       | 19 <sup>th</sup> C                       | 121/2: Wall; 122/3: Drain<br>102; 103; 113; 105; (114)                                 | [2] Silver spoon                                              |
| 11        | Levelling                    | 19 <sup>th</sup> C                       | 117; 157; 118; 126; 127;<br>135; 125/F1                                                | [50] Bronze buckle                                            |
| 10        | Post-medieval<br>disturbance | 7                                        | 134; (133); 142; 143                                                                   |                                                               |
| 9         | Demolition                   | 16 <sup>th</sup> C                       | 130; 131; 161; 162; 168;<br>169; 170; (189)                                            |                                                               |
| 8         | Bank and<br>dumping          | 16 <sup>th</sup> C                       | 144; 145; 152; 156; 190;<br>192; (186); (187); (185);<br>(184); (176); 188; 200        | [2] Leather shoe heel<br>[4] Leather shoe<br>m Leather sheath |
| 7         | Medieval<br>Pool             | 13 <sup>th</sup> -<br>15 <sup>th</sup> C | (201); (199); (226); (244/32);<br>160; 222; 198; 218; 254 (F39);<br>223; 232; 255; 224 | [6] Wooden bowl<br>H Sole of<br>leather shoe                  |
| 6         | Medieval bank                | 13 <sup>th</sup> >C                      | 177; F25; 153; 229; 228;<br>239; 240; 241; 242                                         | F25 Revetment stakes                                          |
| 5         | Early medieval<br>Pool       | Norman                                   | 256; 267; 261; 280                                                                     |                                                               |
| 4         | Early medieval<br>structures | Norman                                   | 263/43; Posthole;<br>258/40: Slot; 260/42: PH                                          |                                                               |
| 3         | Early medieval<br>bank       | Norman                                   | 243; 282 (285: Slot)                                                                   |                                                               |
| 2         | Early bank                   | 7<br>Saxon                               | 286; 266; (284/F49 PH)                                                                 |                                                               |
| 1         | Early bank                   | ?pre-<br>Saxon                           | 283; 275; 273                                                                          |                                                               |

(Contexts in brackets do not appear in the section)

| ASSEMBLAGE                    |       |      |             |       |            |              |              |                         |                                    | Period |
|-------------------------------|-------|------|-------------|-------|------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|
| Building Materials and Debris |       |      |             |       |            |              |              | Pottery                 |                                    |        |
| Ashlar                        | Brick | Tile | Glazed Tile | Slate | Floor Tile | WINDOW Glass | Daub/ Timber | Types<br>Sax. Med. Late | Date range                         |        |
|                               |       |      |             |       |            |              |              | 11                      |                                    | ©      |
| X                             | X     | X    | X           | X     |            | X            |              | 11,15 PM Med            |                                    |        |
| X                             | X     | X    |             |       | X          | X            |              | 15 PM Med               |                                    |        |
| X                             | X     | X    | X           | X     |            | X            |              | 11 16 7                 |                                    |        |
| X                             | X     |      | X           |       |            |              |              | 11 15                   | 12 <sup>13</sup> -16 <sup>13</sup> | ©      |
| X                             |       | X    |             | X     |            |              |              | 11 15                   | 12th-16 <sup>13</sup>              |        |
| X                             |       |      | X           | X     |            |              |              | 2 11 6 7 10             | 11 <sup>h</sup> -14th              | ©      |
| X                             | R     |      | X           | X     |            |              |              | 11,6 8,9                | 11th_14th                          |        |
| X                             |       | X    |             |       |            |              |              | 4 7, 10 8               | 11 <sup>h</sup> -14 <sup>13</sup>  | ©      |
| X                             |       |      |             |       |            |              |              |                         |                                    |        |
| X                             |       |      |             |       |            |              | X            | 7,9 8                   | 11 <sup>13</sup> -14 <sup>13</sup> |        |
|                               |       |      |             |       |            |              | X            |                         |                                    | © ©    |
|                               |       |      |             |       |            |              |              |                         |                                    | ©      |

TABLE 4: POTTERY — TABLE OF FABRICS

| TYPE NO. | SURFACE TREATMENT                        |               | METHOD OF MANUFACTURE |      |      | HARDNESS | INCLUSIONS                                  | COLOUR                         |                           |                        | DATE |
|----------|------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|------|------|----------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|------|
|          | GLAZE                                    | SLIP          | WHEEL                 | SLAB | COIL |          |                                             | INTERIOR SURFACE               | EXTERIOR SURFACE          | INTERIOR               |      |
| 1.       | —                                        | —             |                       | —    | —    | F        | QU, QUZ                                     | LIGHT GREY                     | BLACK                     | PINKY BUFF             |      |
| 2.       |                                          |               |                       |      |      | F        | QU                                          | PINKY BUFF-GREY                | DARK GREY-PINKY BUFF      | LIGHT GREY-PINKY BUFF  |      |
| 3.       |                                          |               |                       |      |      | H        | QU                                          | ORANGE AND GREY                | DARK GREY-BROWN           | DARK GREY              |      |
| 4.       |                                          |               |                       |      |      | S        | LIMESTONE                                   | ORANGE-LIGHT GREY              | DARK GREY-BUFF            | DARK GREY-BUFF         |      |
| 5.       |                                          |               |                       |      |      | F        | QUZ                                         | ORANGE BUFF                    | DARK GREY-BROWN           | DARK GREY              |      |
| 6.       |                                          |               |                       |      |      | F        | METASED QUZ LIMESTONE SIRAW                 | ORANGE-BUFF GREY               | ORANGE-GREY               | BUFF GREY              |      |
| 7.       |                                          |               |                       |      |      | F        | QUZ                                         | PINKY BUFF LIGHT-DARK GREY     | PINKY BUFF-DARK GREY      | DARK GREY              |      |
| 8.       | TRACES BROWN                             |               |                       |      |      | F        | QUZ                                         | MID GREY                       | MID-DARK GREY             | MID-GREY GREY          |      |
| 9.       | TRACES BROWN                             |               |                       |      |      | F        | QUZ, GROG, BLACK FE, GRASS, PINKY LIMESTONE | OFF-WHITE BROWN BUFF BUFF GREY | DARK GREY BROWN OFF-WHITE | DARK GREY PINKY BUFF   |      |
| 10.      |                                          |               |                       |      |      | F        | BLACK FE QUZ BLACKMICA                      | LIGHT-DARK GREY                | LIGHT GREY-OFF-WHITE      | MID-DARK GREY          |      |
| 11.      | GREEN, BROWN SPLASH DRIP INT. !\T        | BROWN         |                       |      |      | H        | QUZ                                         | WHITE-PINKY BUFF               | WHITE                     | WHITE PINKY BUFF       |      |
| 12.      | TOTAL GREEN EXT.                         |               |                       |      |      | S        | QUZ GROG LIMESTONE                          | WHITE                          |                           | WHITE                  |      |
| 13.      | PARTIAL ORANGE BROWN EXT.                | REDDISH BROWN |                       |      |      | H        | QUZ BLACK FE                                | PINKY ORANGE                   | PINKY ORANGE              | LIGHT GREY (SAND-WICH) |      |
| 14.      | TOTAL DARK-LIGHT GREEN EXT. DRIPPED INT. |               |                       |      |      | H        | QU/ BLACK FE                                | WHITE                          |                           | WHITE                  |      |
| 15.      | PARTIAL PURPLE                           |               |                       |      |      | H        | QUZ GROG MICA                               | PURPLE                         | LIGHT GREY BUFF-PURPLE    | REDDISH BROWN          |      |
| 16.      | MUSTARD BROWN                            |               |                       |      |      | H        | QUZ MICA LIMESTONE HAEMETITE                | ORANGE-MID GREY                | ORANGE-BUFF-LIGHT GREY    | ORANGE                 |      |

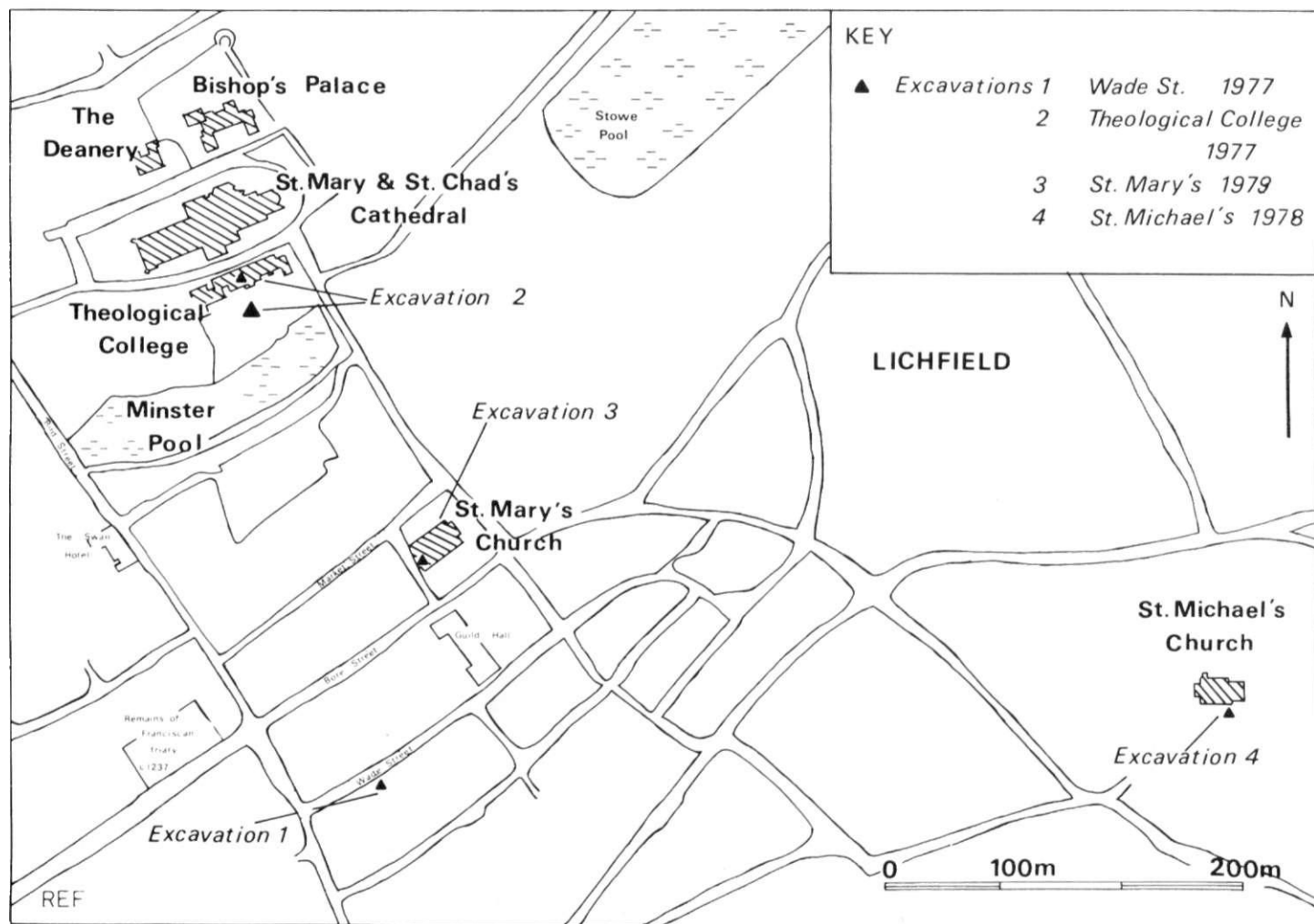


Fig. 1 Site of excavations 1976-8 (REF)

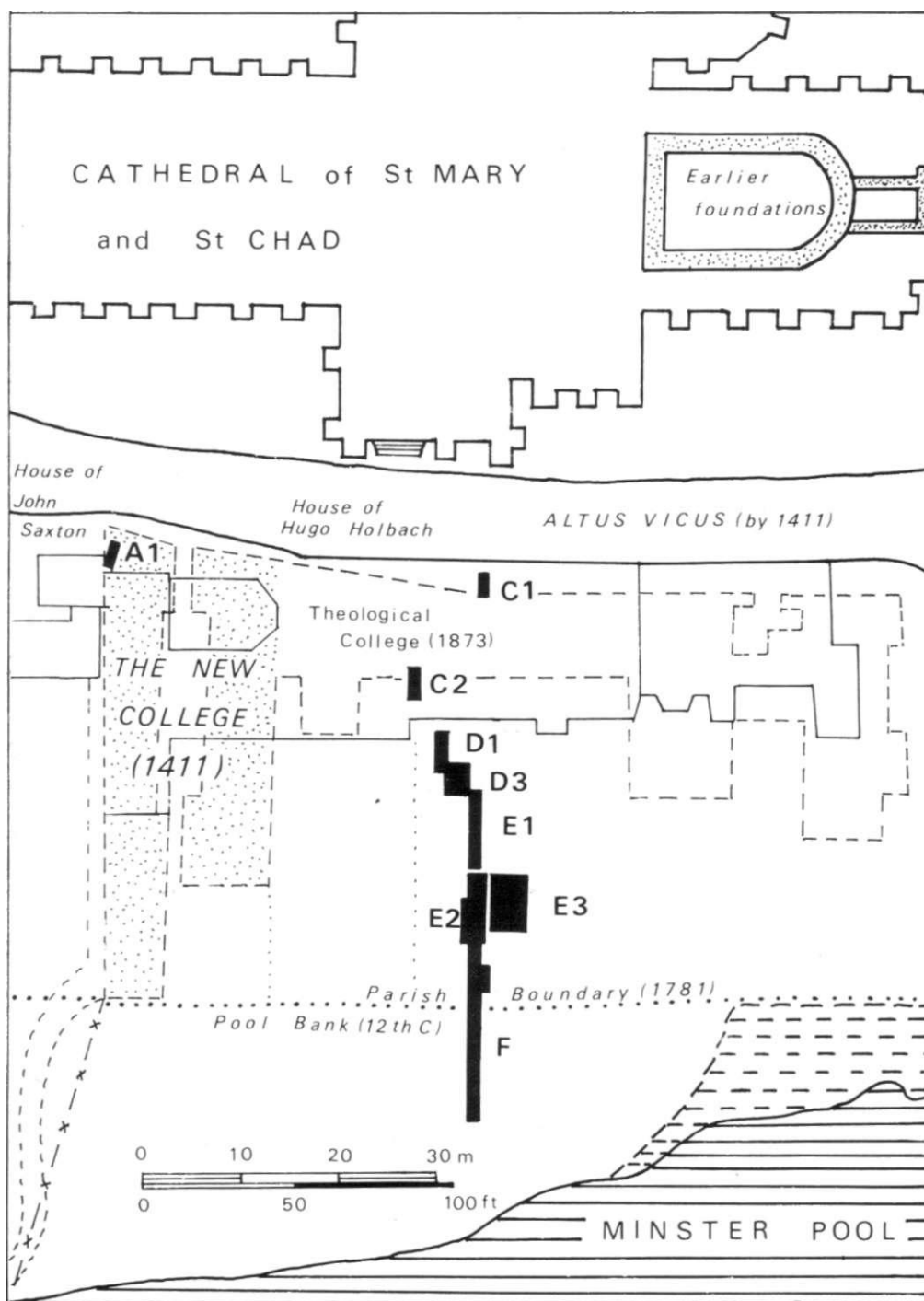
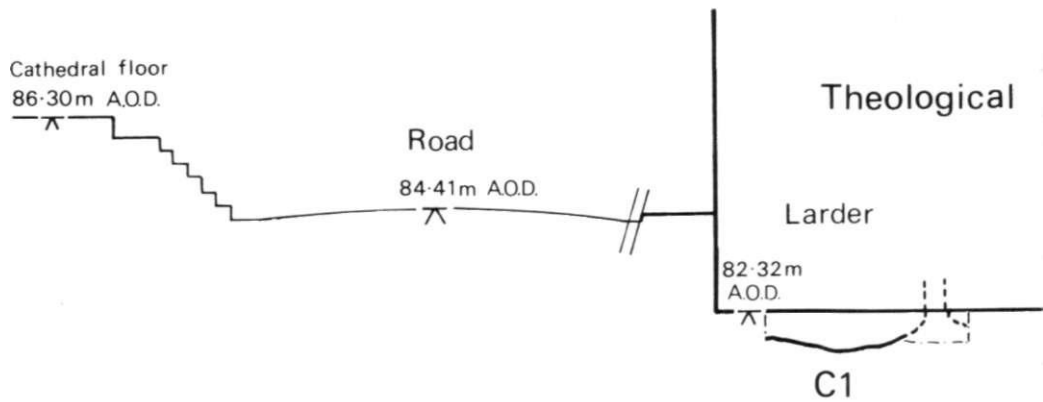
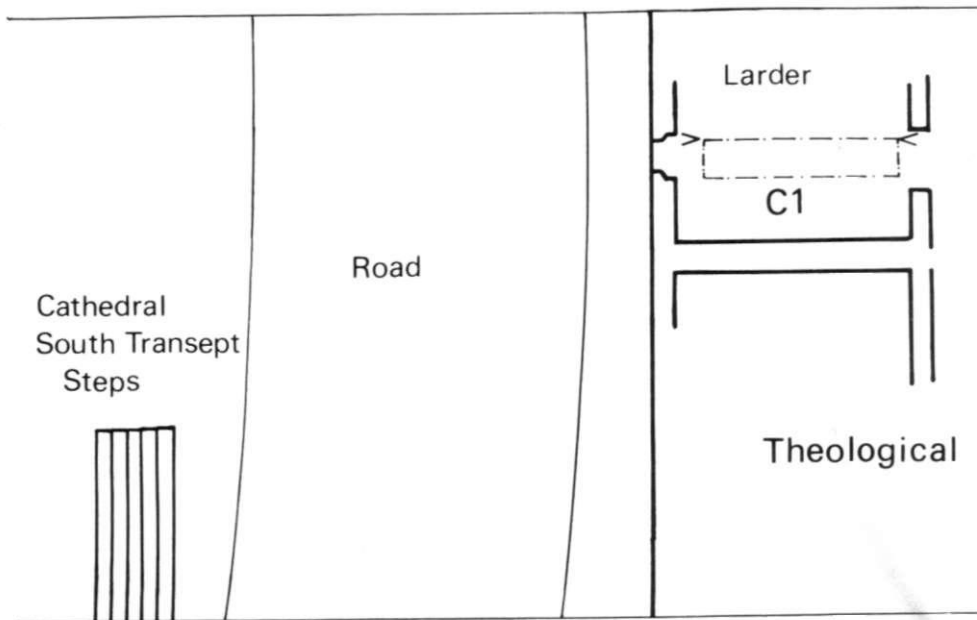


Fig. 2 Theological College: location of excavations (MAH/REF/EH)

# LICHFIELD THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE



North



# AGE 1977 Plan and Profile of Excavations

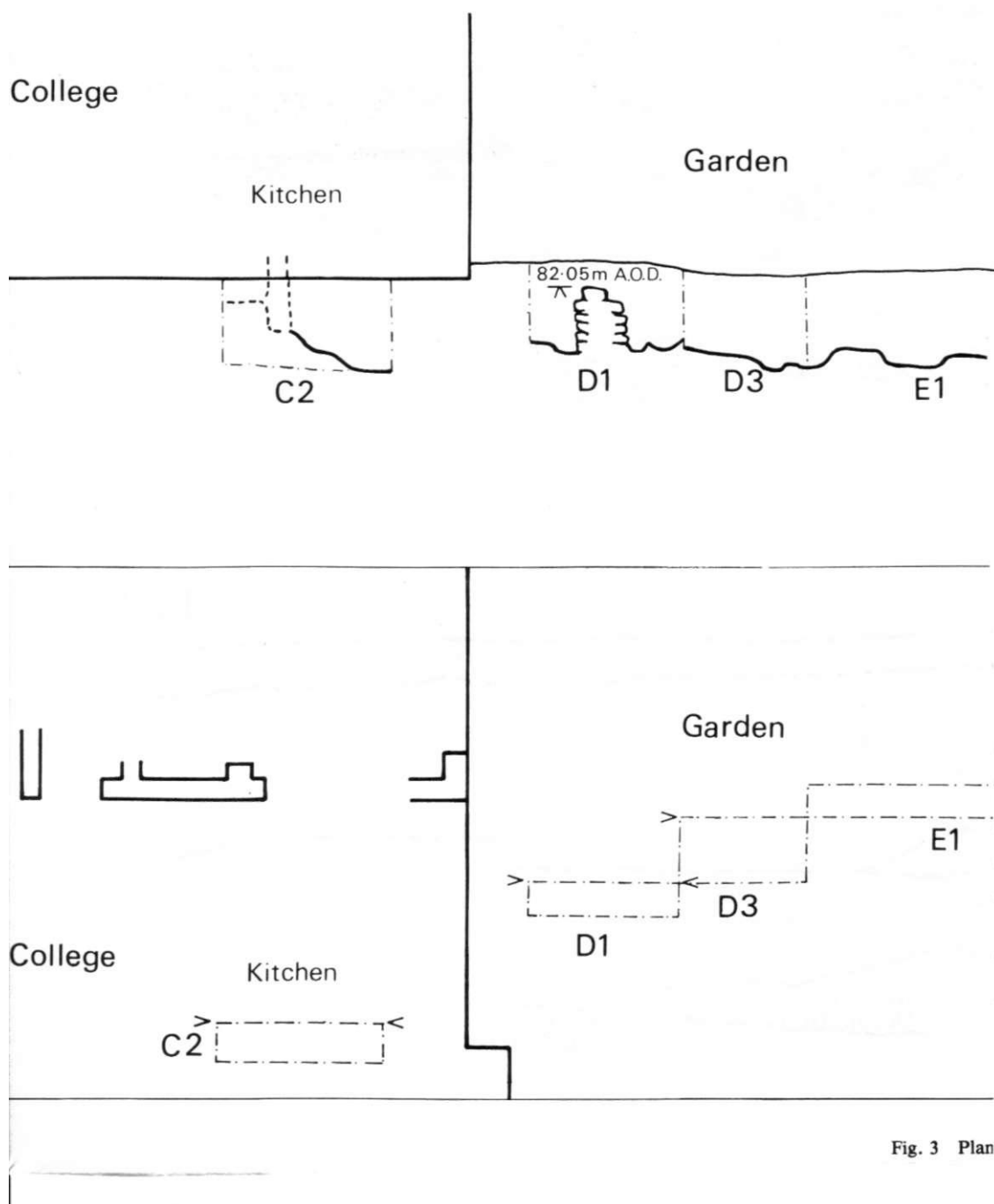
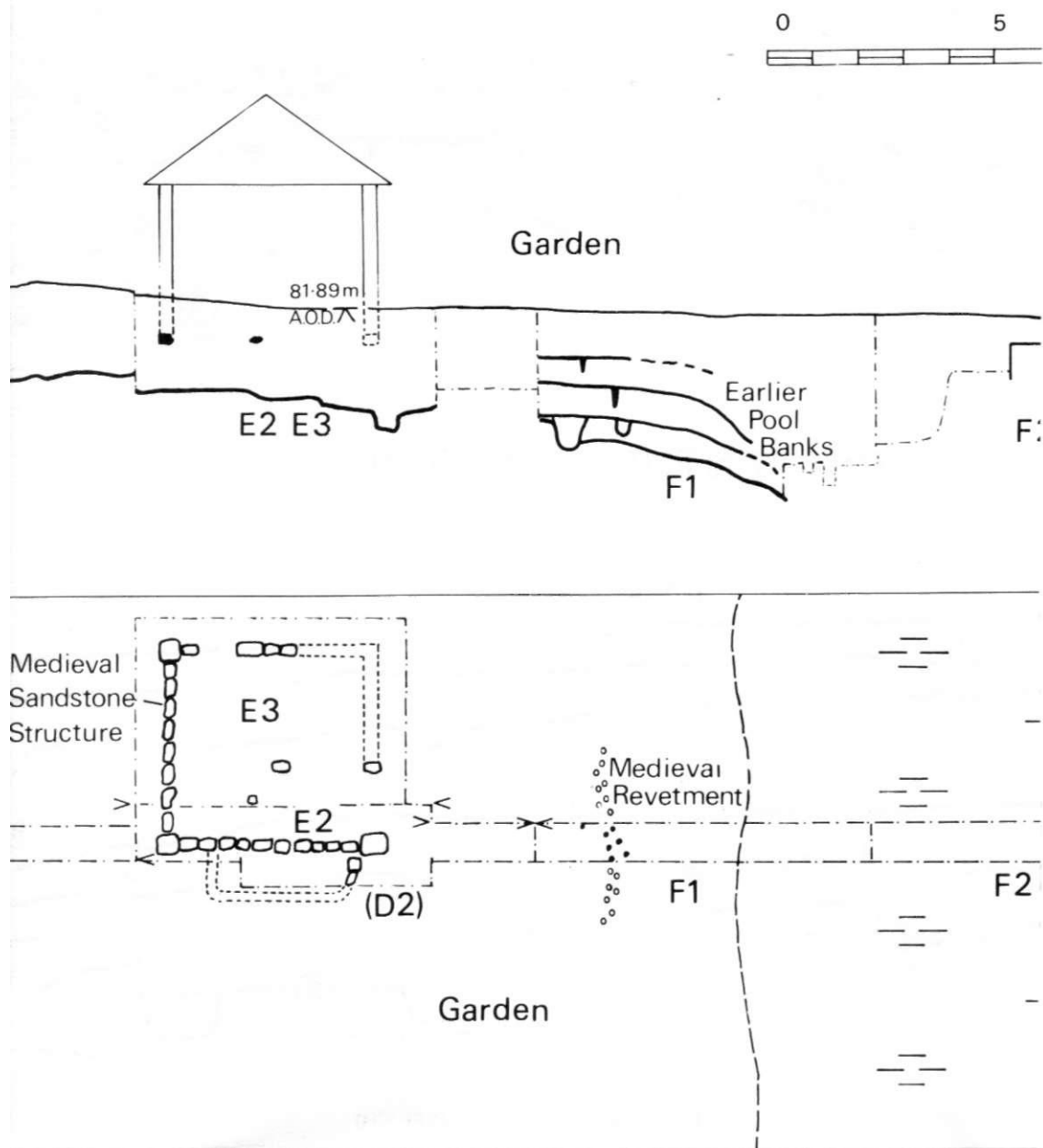
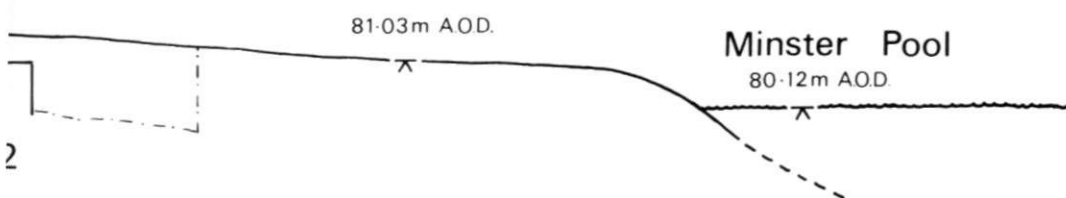
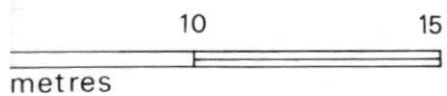


Fig. 3 Plan

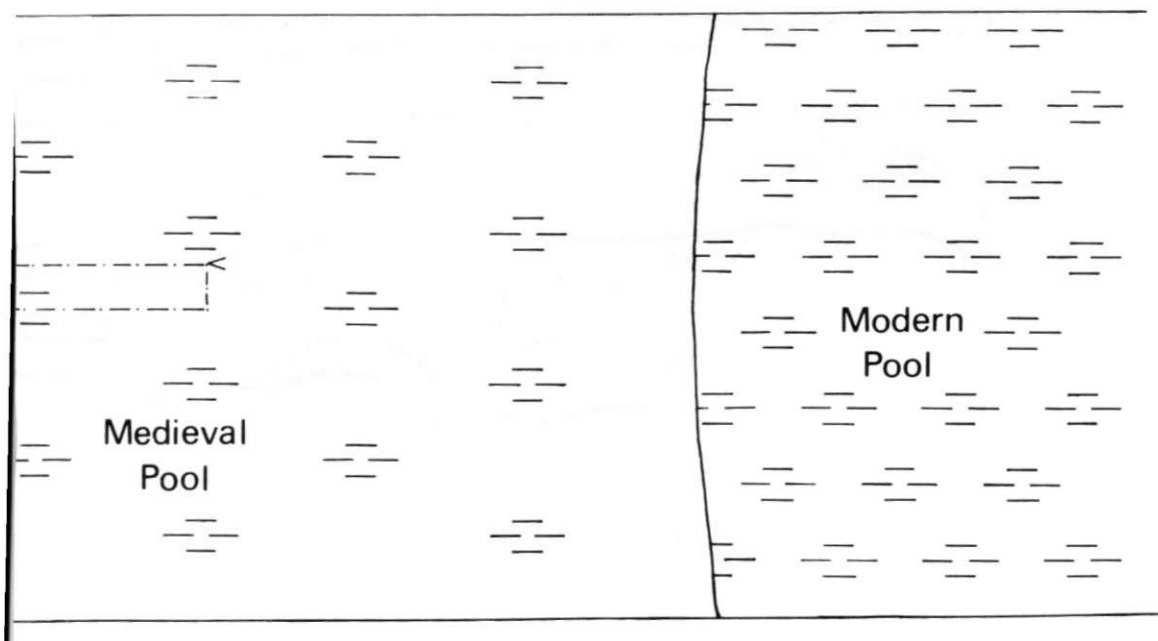
ons



and profile (REF/EH)



South



S

# CONVENTIONS



Loam



Sand



Clay



Silt



Pebbles



Sandstone



Charcoal



Rootmarks



Bone



Brick



Tile



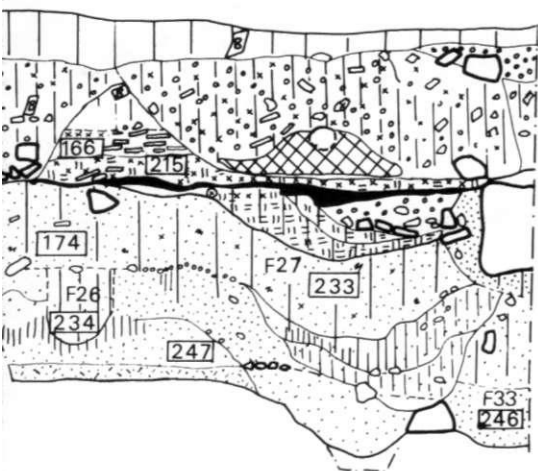
Slate



Mortar

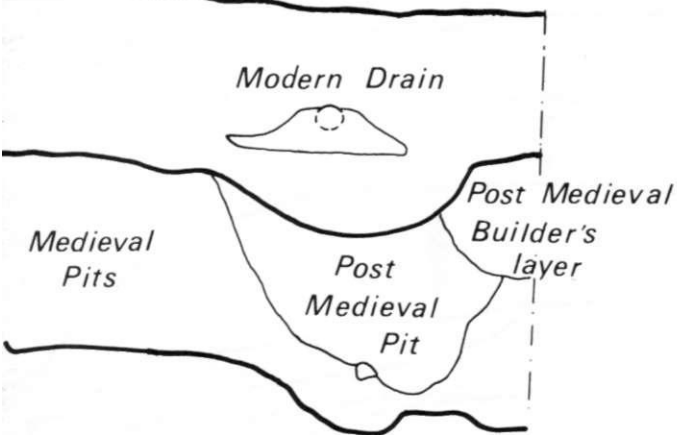


Concrete



GARDEN

D3 D3/E1



ROCK

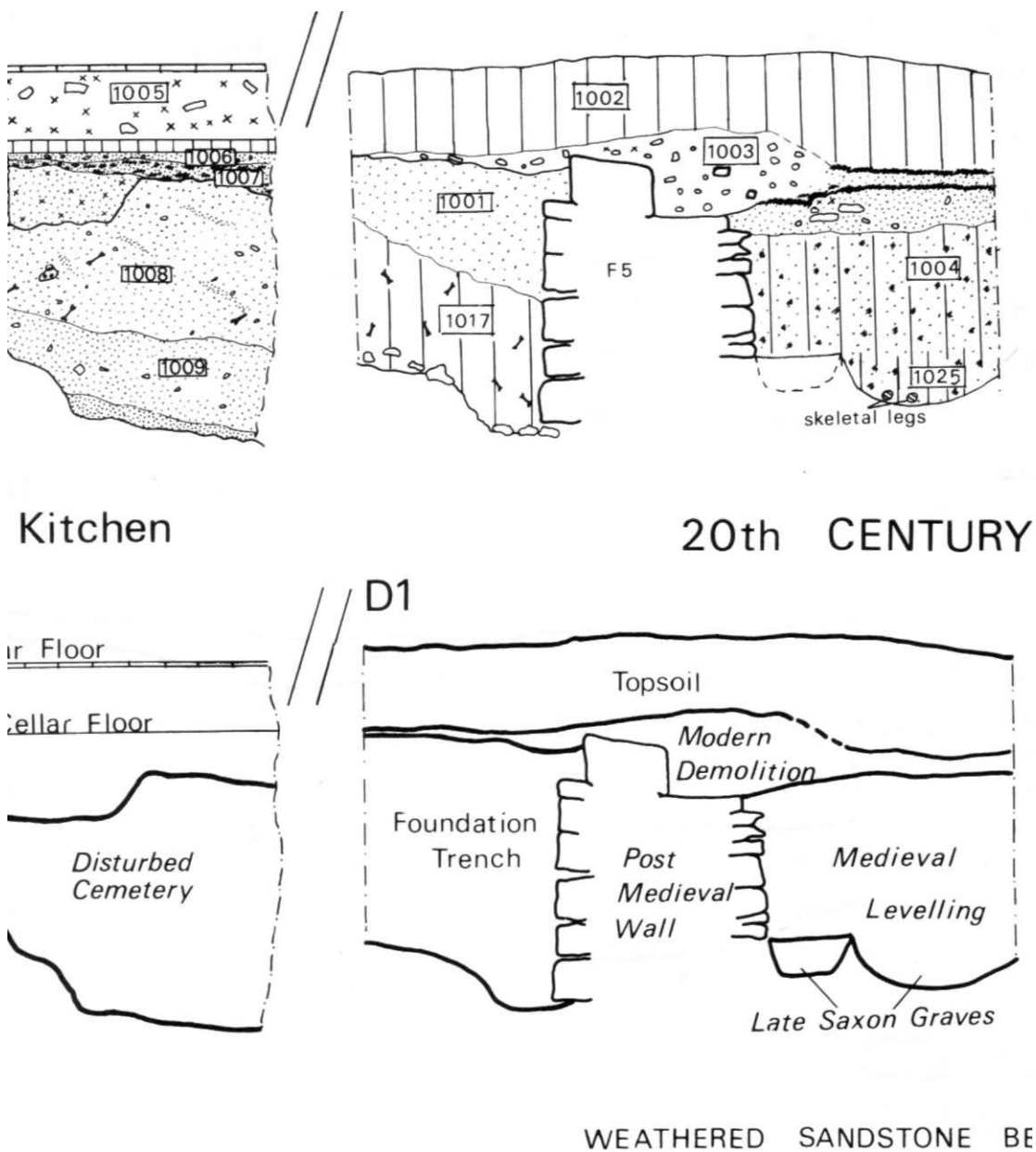
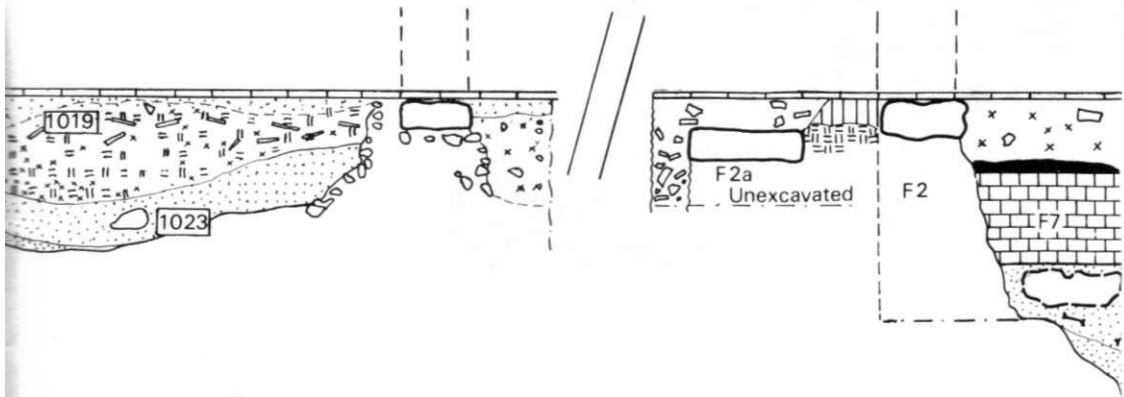
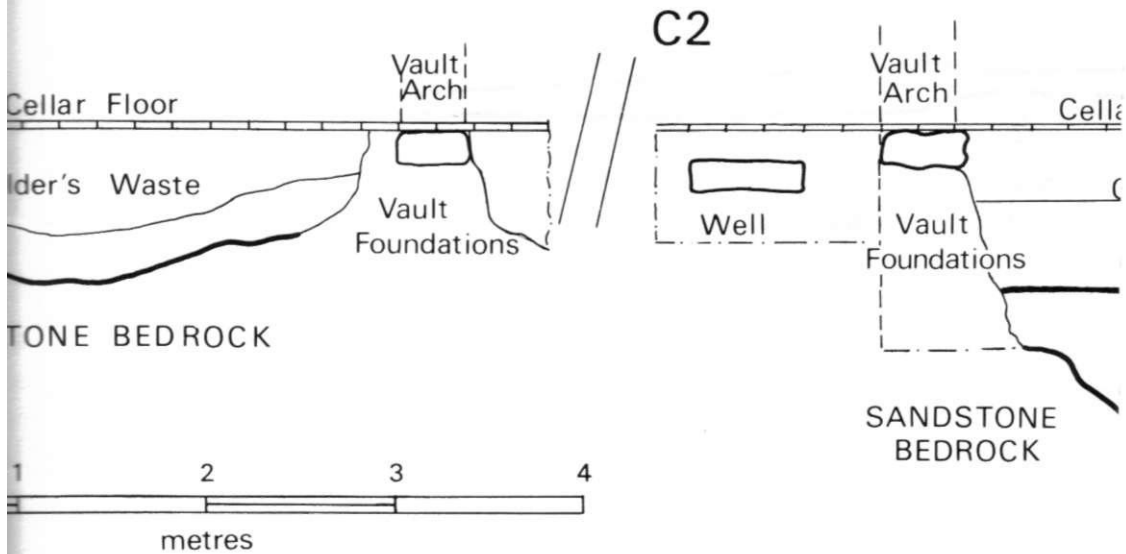


Fig. 4 Main section, Areas C and D (Ref/E.H.)

# FIELD THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE 1977

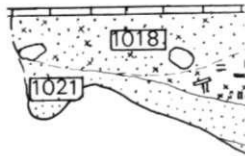


## THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE



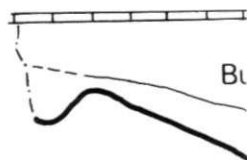
# LICHT

N



Larder

C1

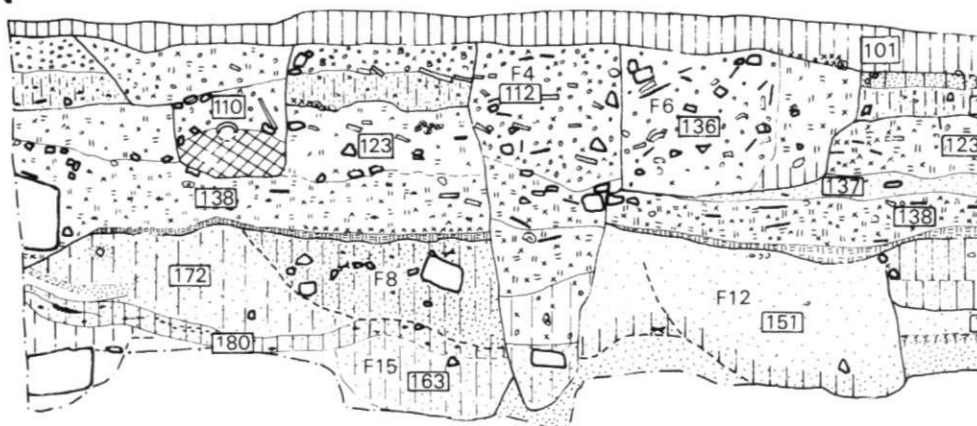


SANDS

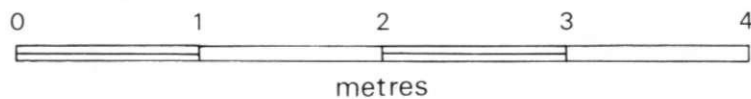
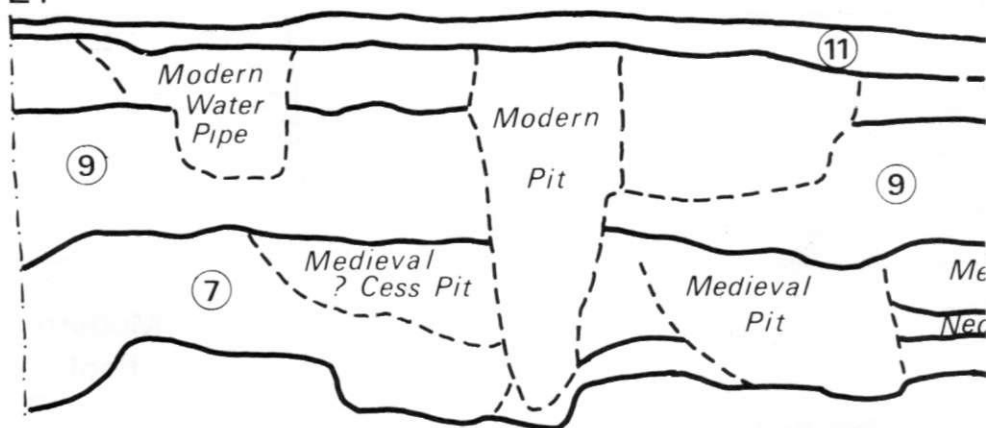


# LICHFIELD THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

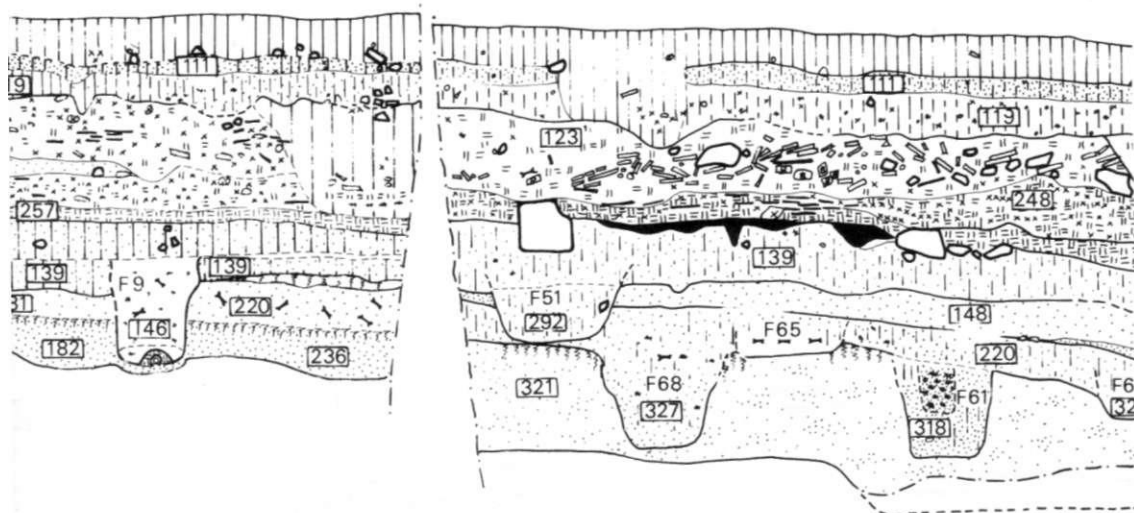
N



D3/E1



EGE 1977



## 20th CENTURY GARDEN

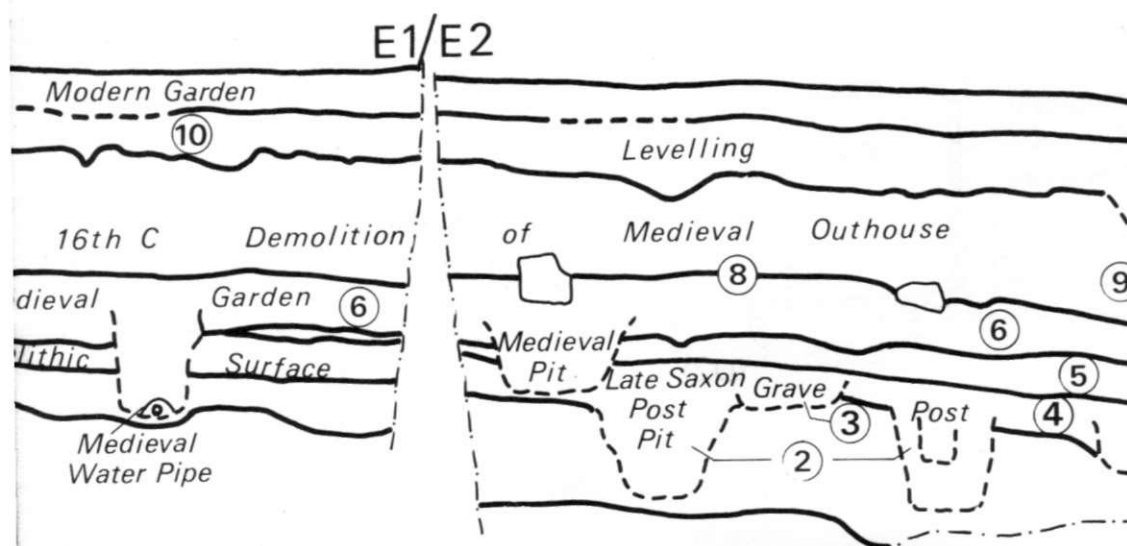
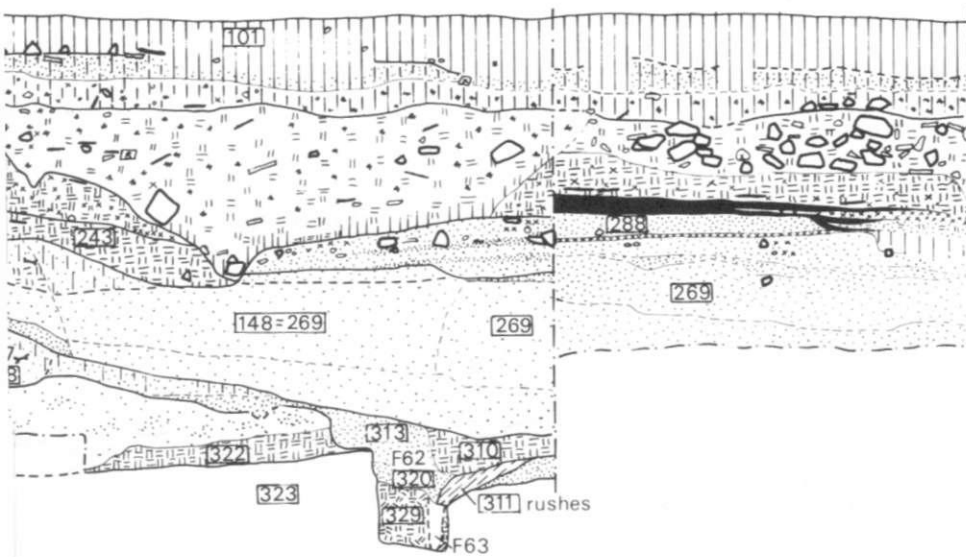
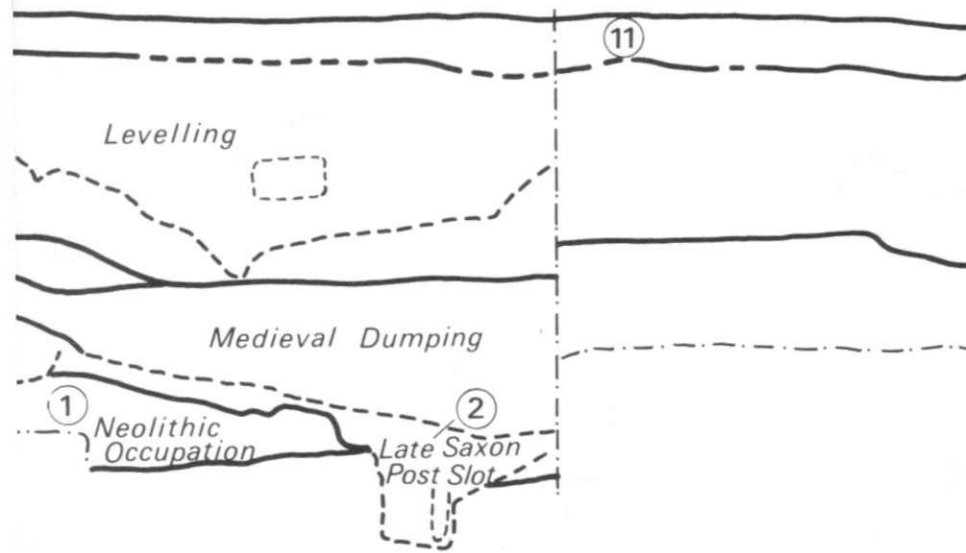


Fig. 5 Main section, Area E (REF/EH)

S



E2/F1



S



GARDEN

F2

12

19th C Levelling

15 AOD  
N-E

2

3

4

metres

# LICHFIELD THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE 1977

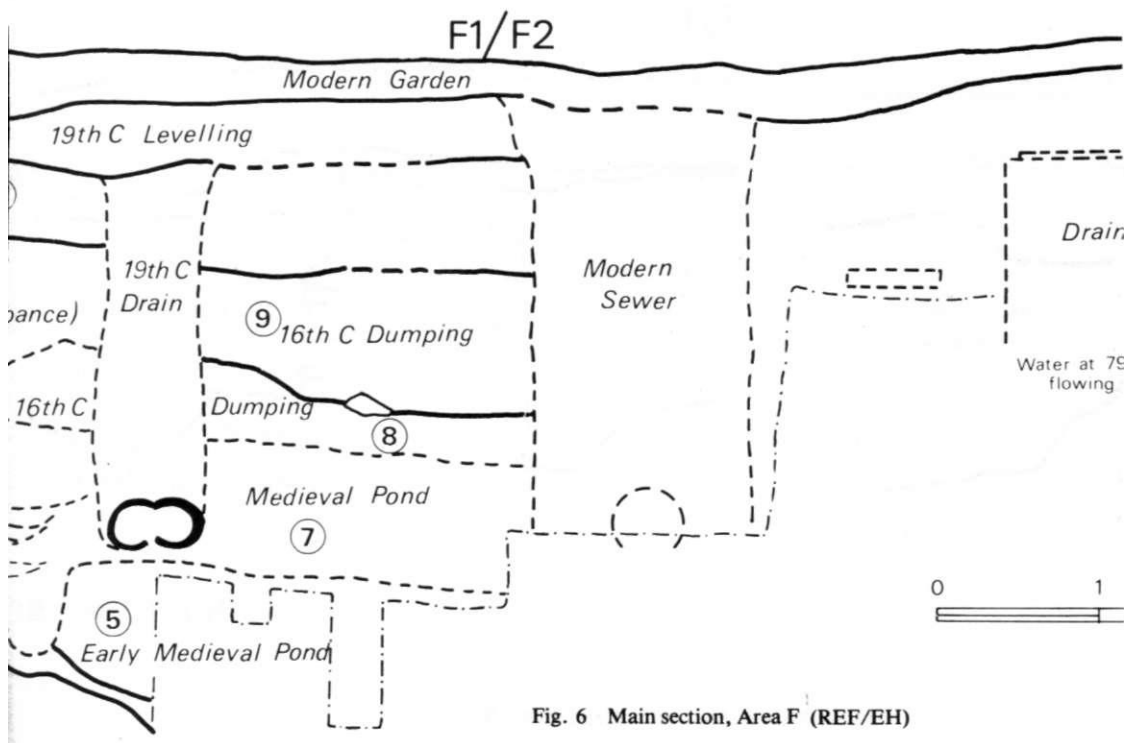
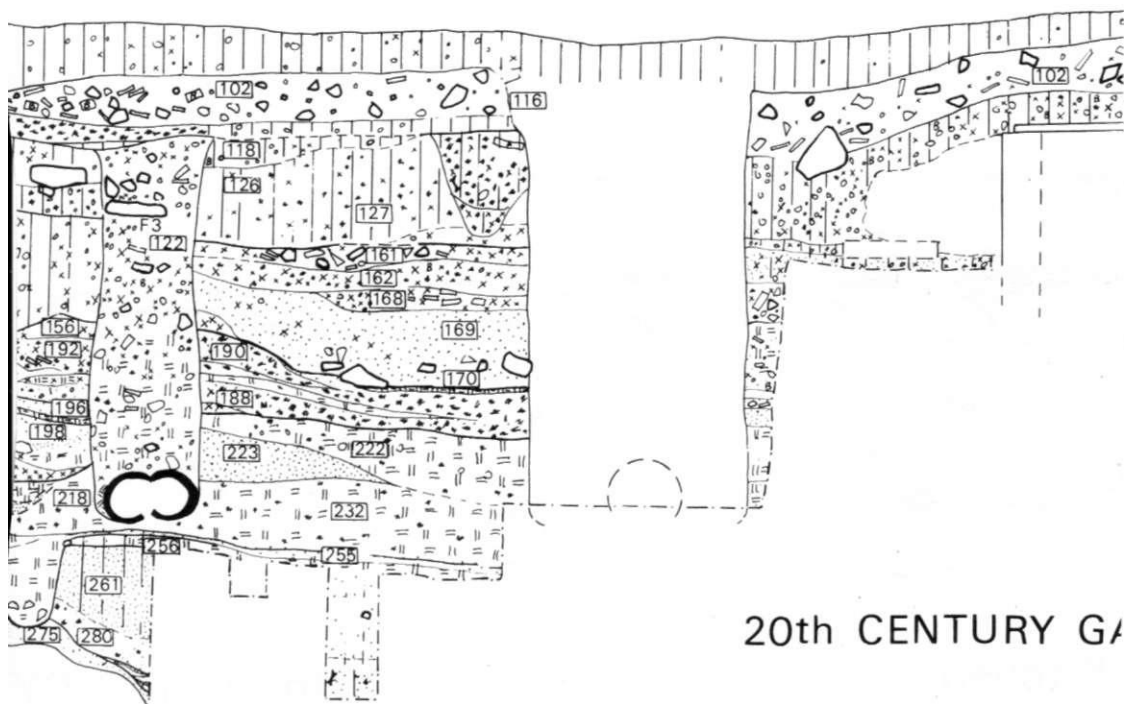
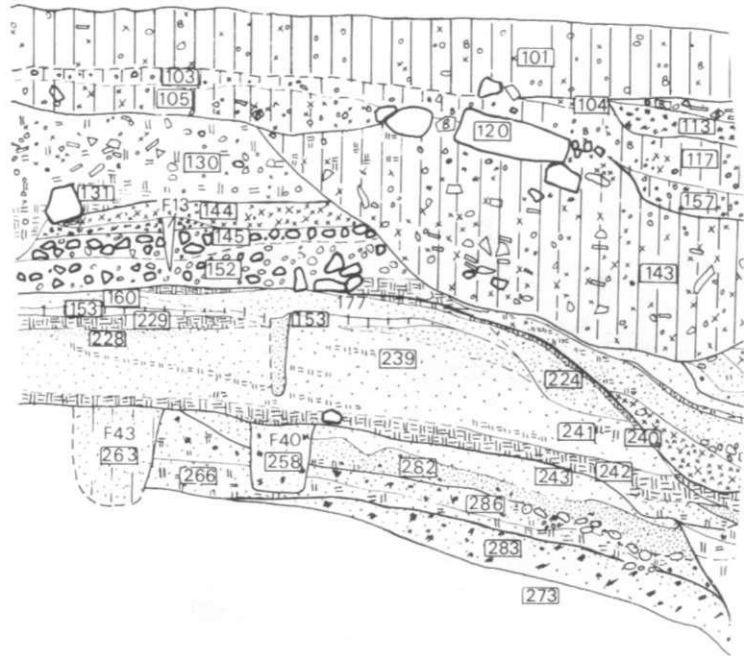


Fig. 6 Main section, Area F (REF/EH)

N



E2/F1

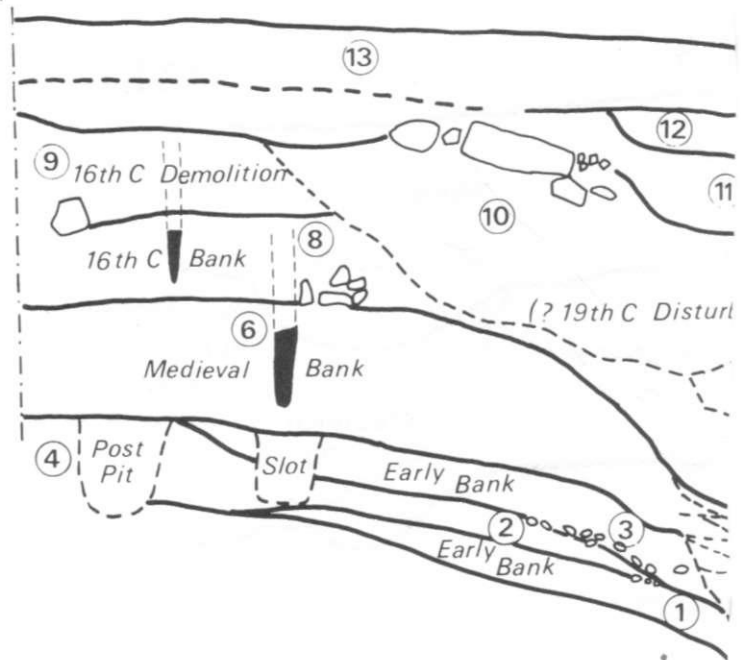




Fig. 7 Neolithic features: plan and section (REF)

# EXCAVATIONS SOUTH OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL

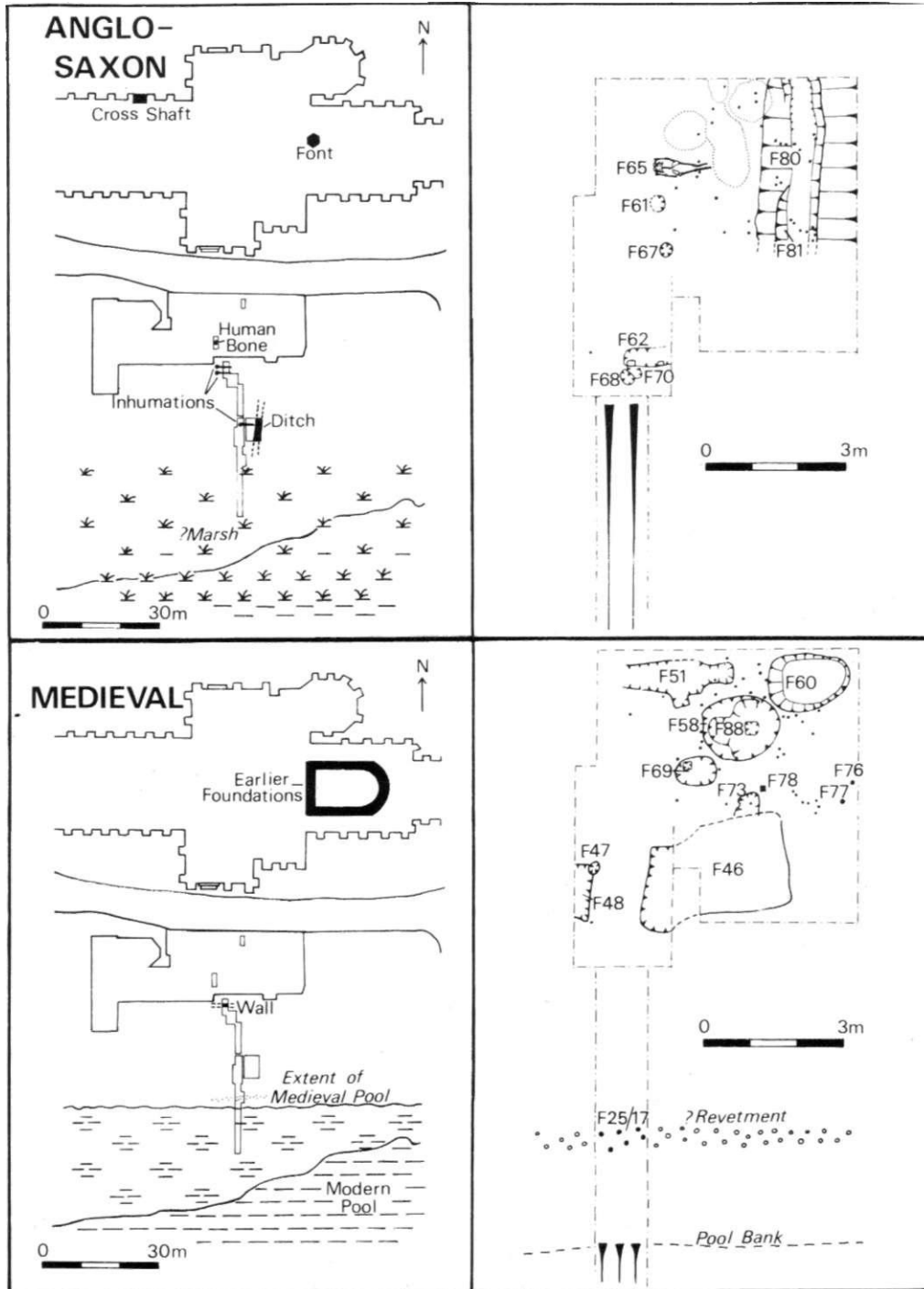
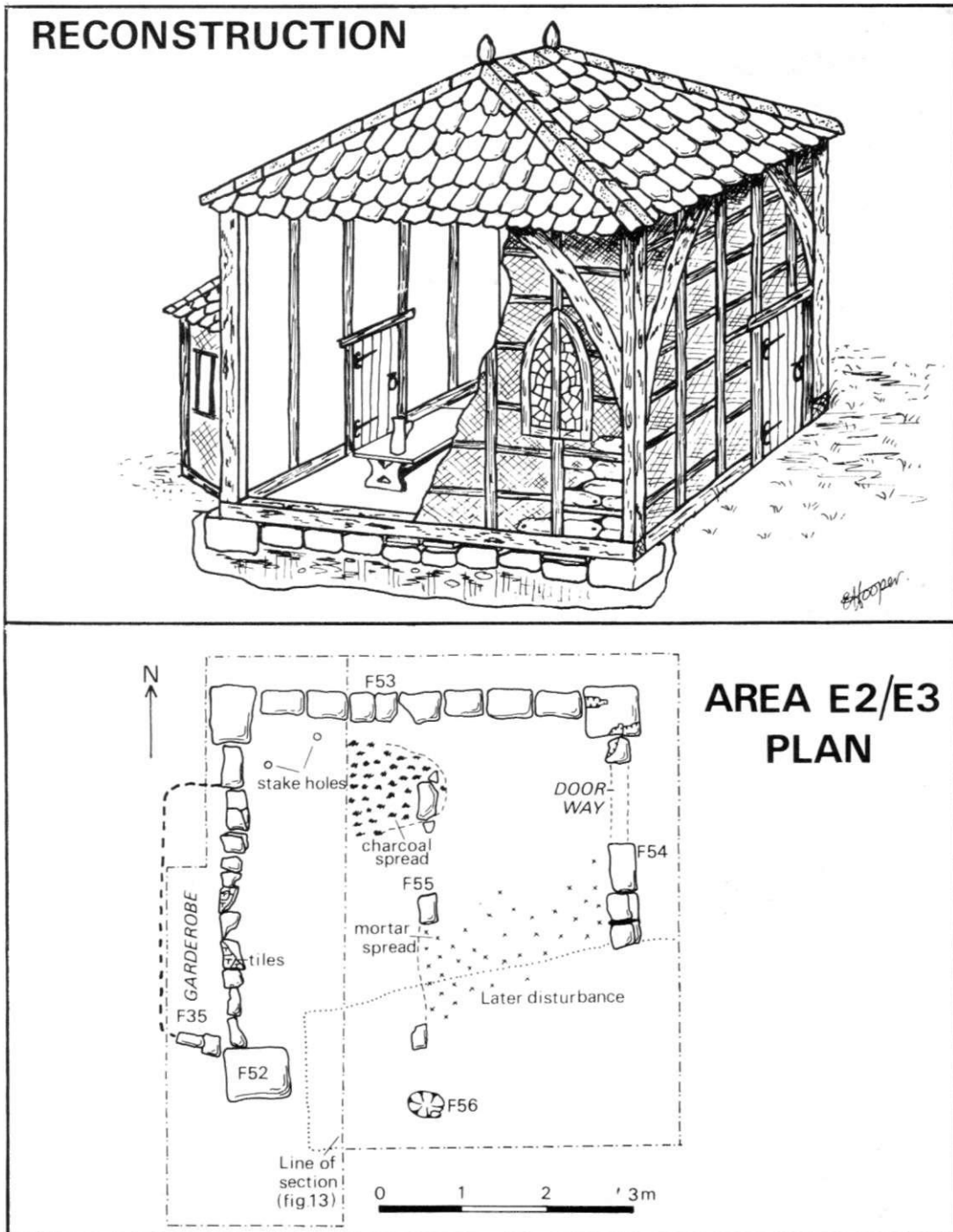


Fig. 8 Anglo-Saxon and medieval features (EH)(NA REF)



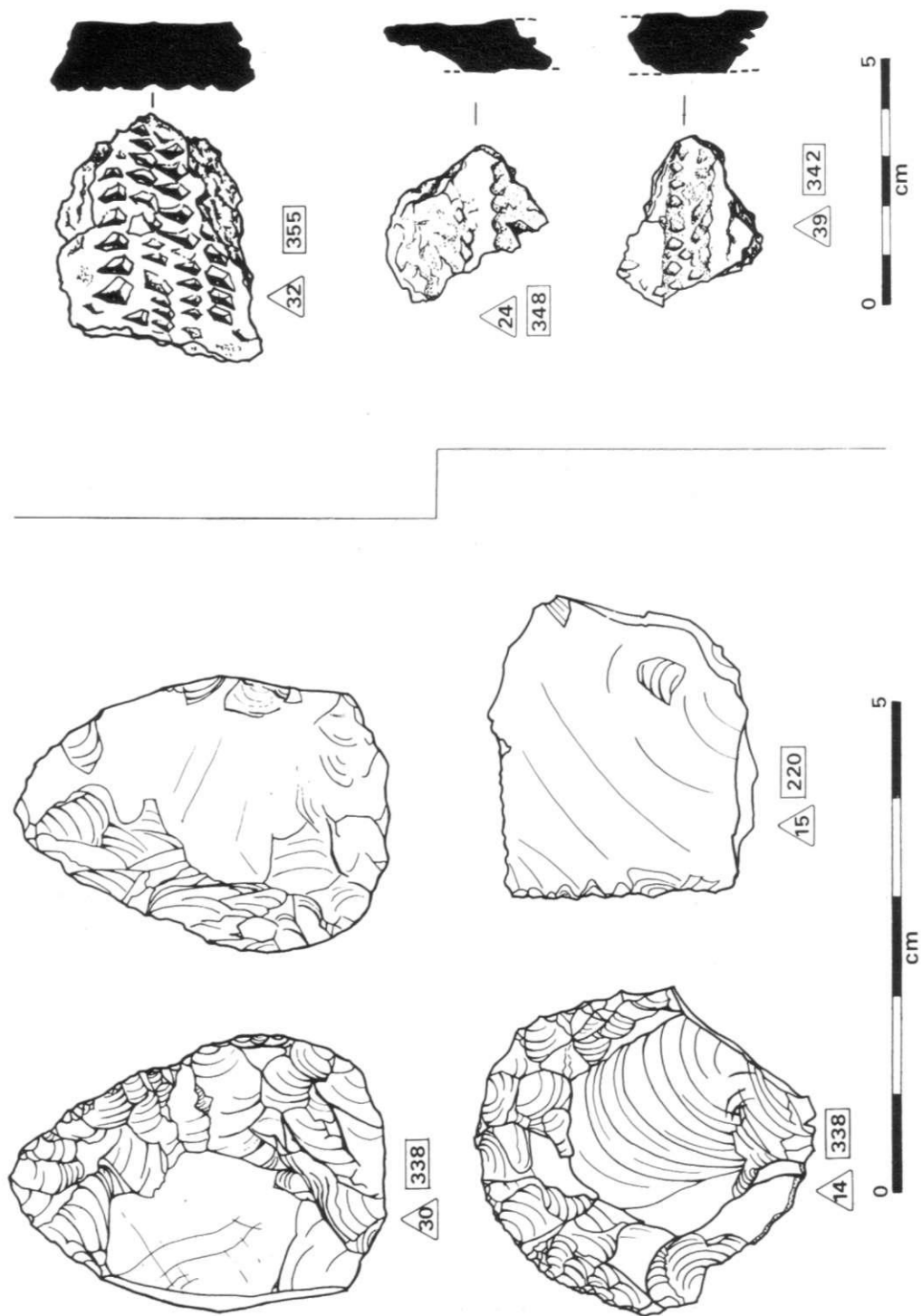


Fig. 10 Neolithic material (EH)

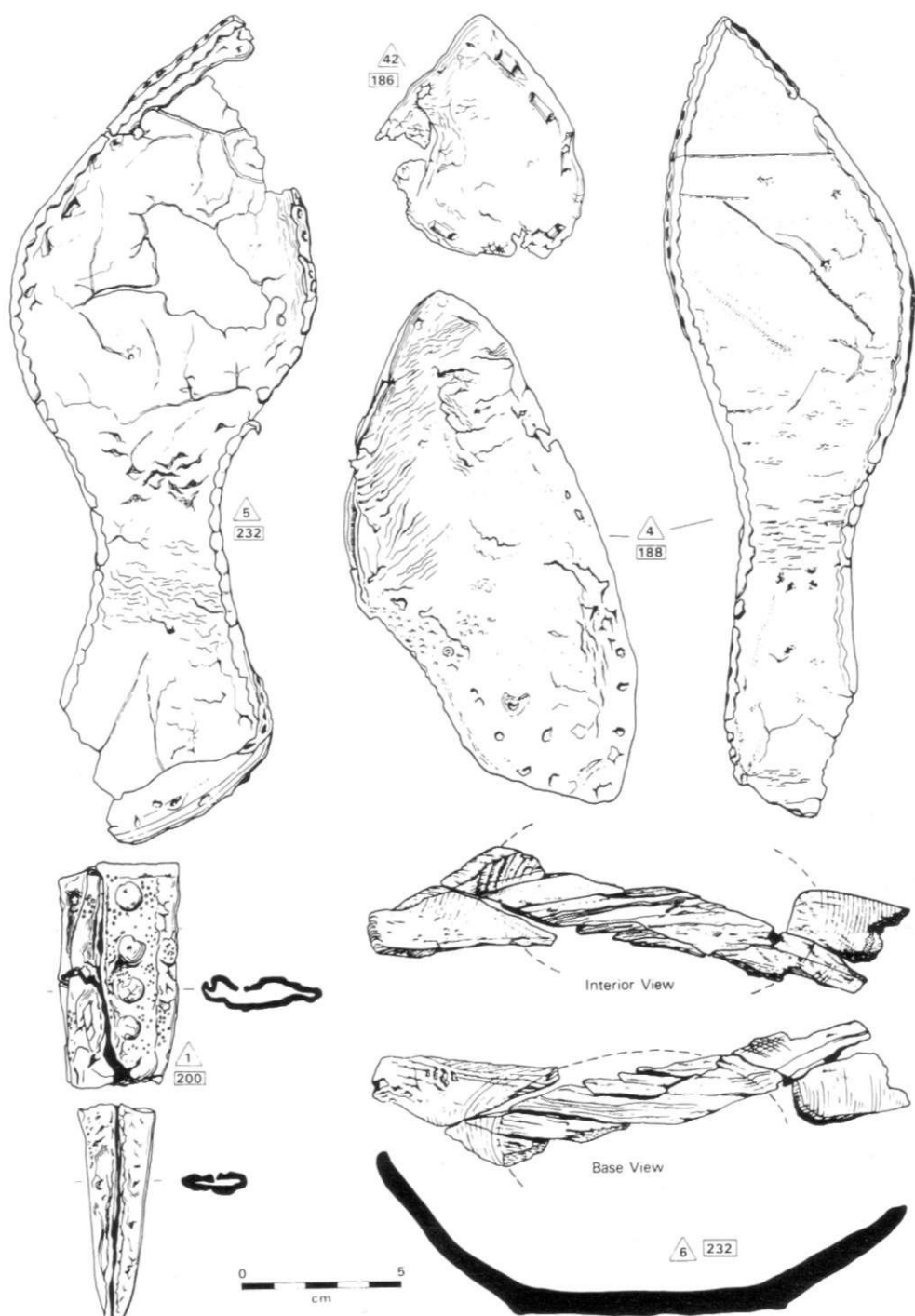


Fig. 11 Medieval objects (EH)

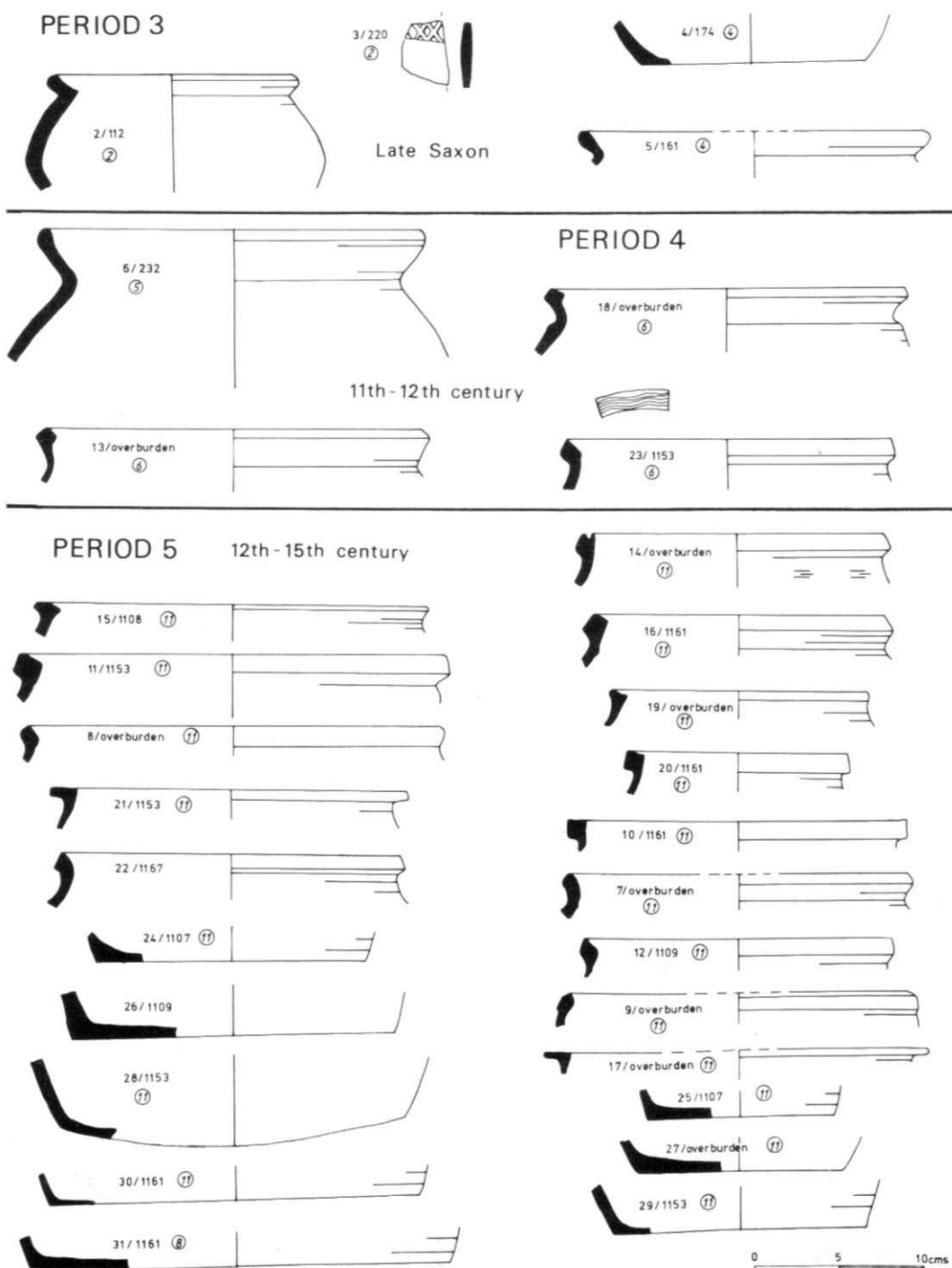


Fig. 12 Early medieval, medieval and late-medieval pottery (REF)

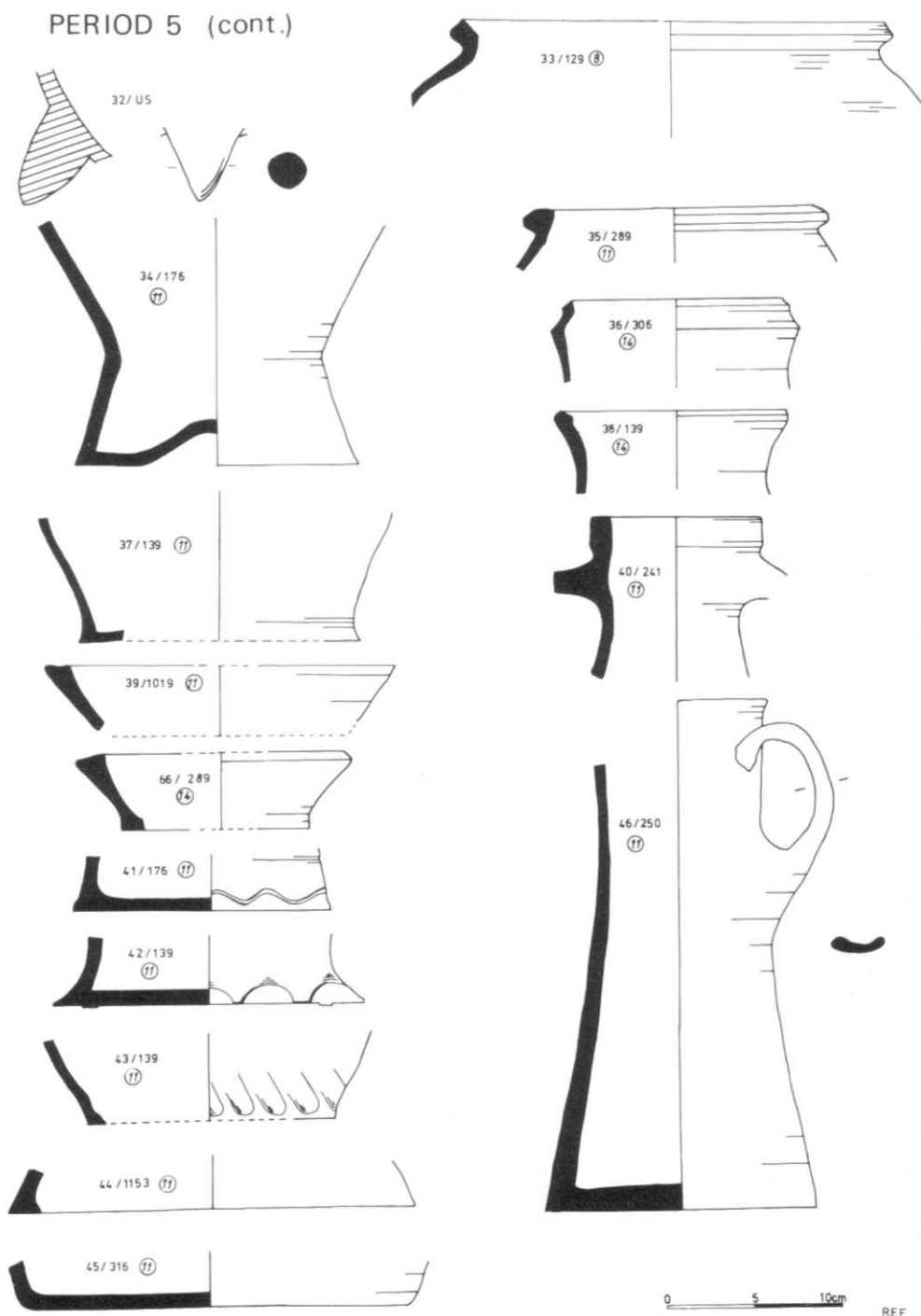


Fig. 13 Late-medieval pottery (REF)

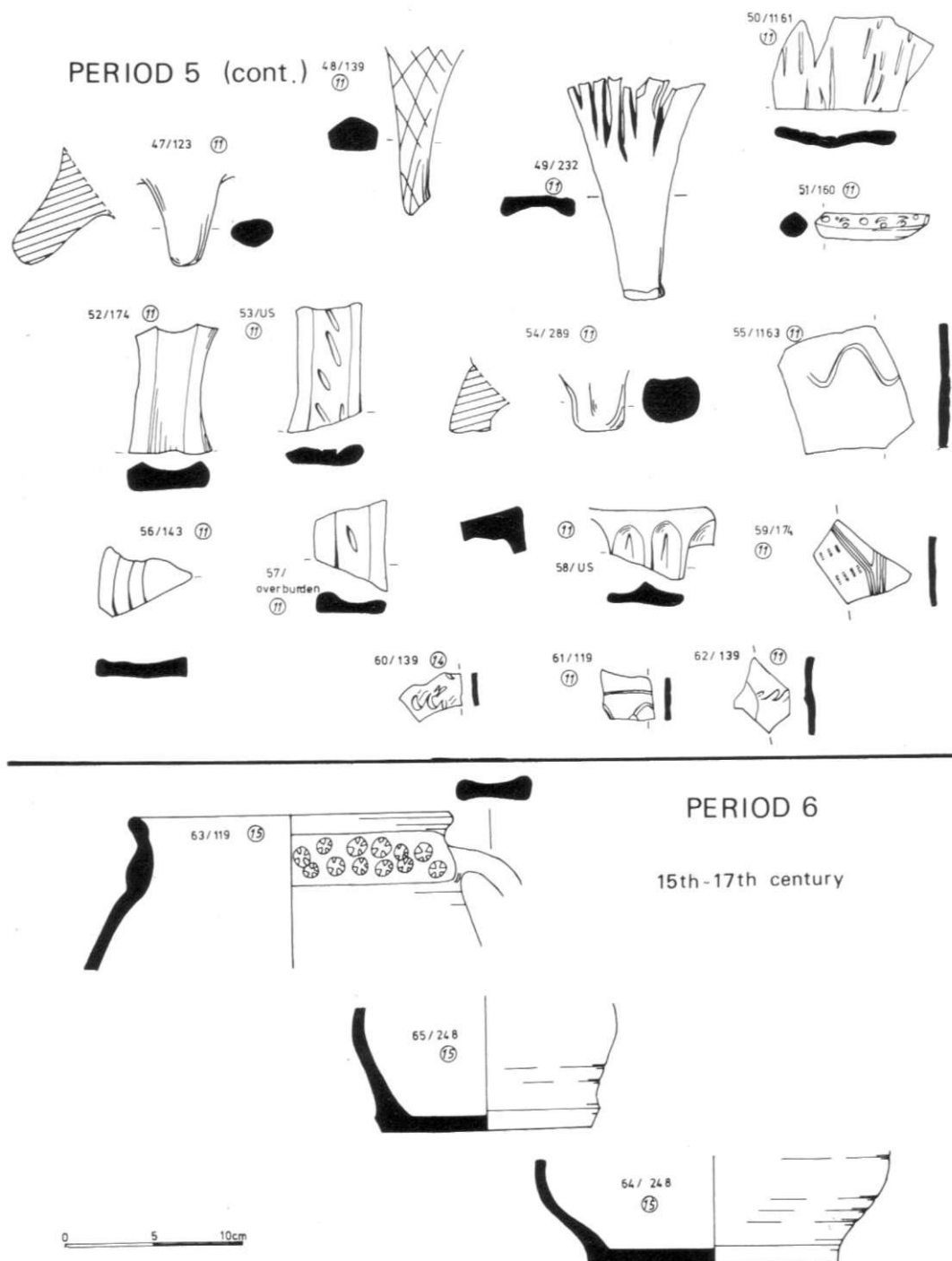


Fig. 14 Late-medieval pottery (REF)

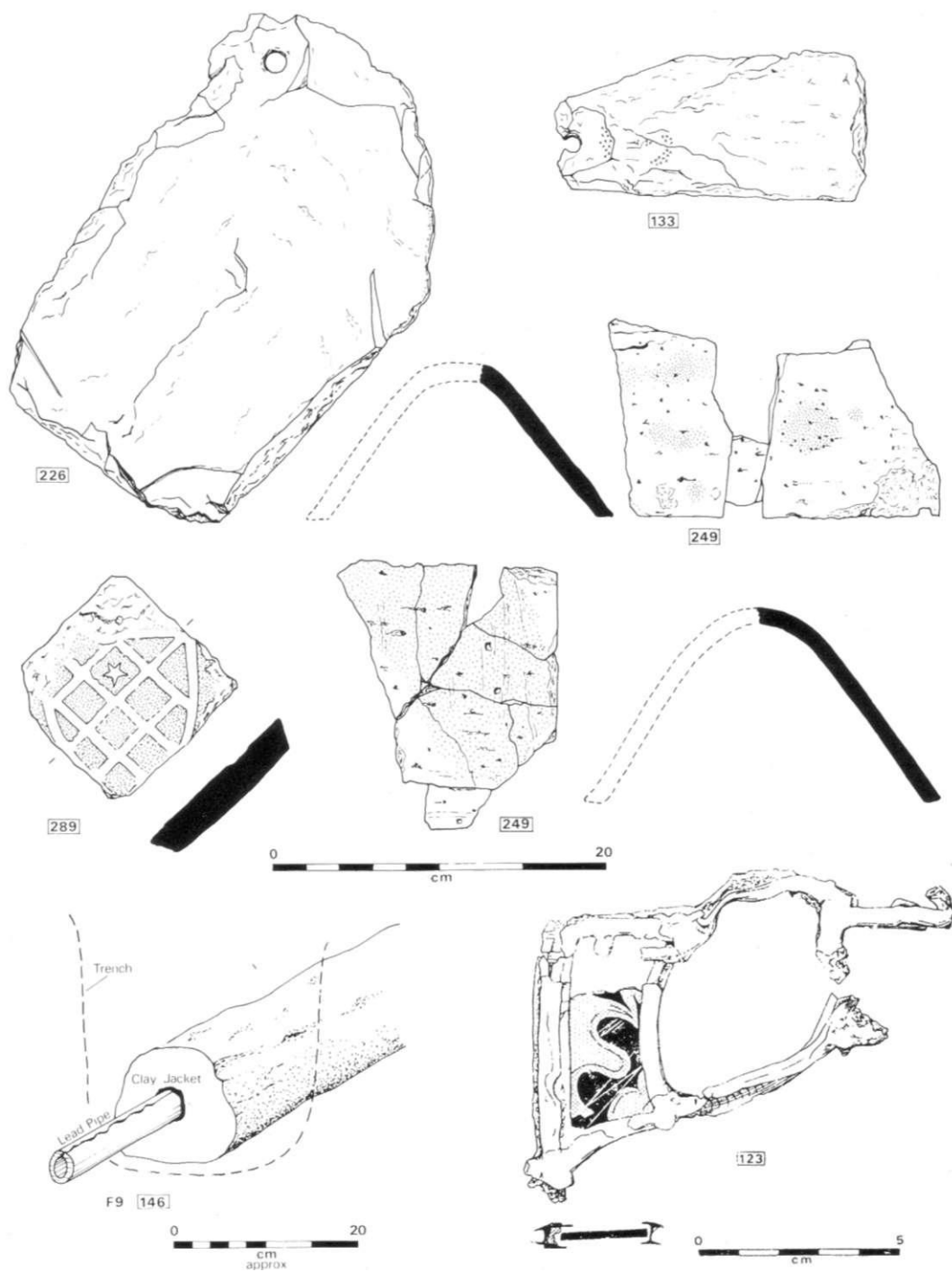


**Fig. 15 Building materials (EH)**

## V INVESTIGATIONS IN ST. MICHAEL'S AND ST. MARY'S CHURCHES, LICHFIELD

P. R. WILSON

### INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF RESULTS

St. Michael's church stands on Greenhill to the south-east of Lichfield town. It is notable for its large cemetery, which has been suggested as an early if not the earliest feature of the Lichfield ecclesiastical complex (Gould and Gould, 1975). In 1978, a small area was excavated at the south-east corner of the church in advance of a building project. The earliest finds were five flints of Mesolithic date, none of which were, however, in a primary context. The earliest feature was a single undated post-pit, with no associated structure or material. It was succeeded by an orientated (Christian) cemetery which offered no independent dating. The burial sequence was sealed in turn by a series of post-medieval features, some probably relating to building work on the site, and others forming part of the church's drainage system.

St. Mary's church, by contrast, lies in the centre of the 12th-century Lichfield new town, and its parish was probably extracted from that of St. Michael's (Taylor, 1969). Renovations in 1979 gave the opportunity for the testing of strata by means of a trial trench dug on behalf of the architects. The deposit contained three inhumations.

The exploratory work at both churches therefore indicates some archaeological survival, and excavations of adequate size could be expected to yield existence of settlement and exploitation of the hill and valley before the implementation of the 12th-century town.

### EXCAVATIONS AT ST. MICHAEL'S, 1978

#### BACKGROUND

The graveyard and church of St. Michael's (N.G.R. SK124095) are both believed to be early foundations, and it has been suggested that St. Michael's may occupy the site of a late Roman/early Christian cemetery (Gould and Gould, 1975). The present church, the result of much rebuilding and restoration, is basically a 19th-century structure, although the tower is Perpendicular in style (Pevsner, 1974, 190). The importance of the large graveyard of St. Michael's, 2.8 hectares (7 acres) in extent, has long been known and it, together with the graveyard of St. Chad's, received most of the burials from the urban parish of St. Mary's, as is demonstrated in the St. Mary's parish registers (LJRO D20/1/1 ff.).

The only other archaeological investigation of St. Michael's to date, took the form of a trench dug across the churchyard boundary in 1974 by J. Gould (Gould and Gould, 1975), (fig. 1).

#### CIRCUMSTANCES

Early in 1978 it was proposed to add a new vestry on to the existing one, which itself dates from 1922 (LJRO B/C/12, Lichfield St. Michael's), the site being at the south-east corner of the church (fig. 1). In view of the archaeological threat posed by this development

and its associated service trenches, a faculty was obtained for a rescue excavation in advance of the building work.

The area of excavation was, by agreement with the church architect, confined to the limits of the proposed building, less the area occupied by a concrete path on the northern side of the site. The area examined was 6.9 m east-west and 4.5 m north-south. As the development was postponed, the service trenches were not dug.

#### THE EXCAVATION

After the post-burial features had been examined (fig. 3), the site was excavated in quadrants for the recording of the grave-earth (fig. 2). The requirements of the building work made it necessary to step-in the edges of the excavation by between 0.7 m and 1.0 m. This constraint, along with the discovery of a large post-medieval drain F.13 on the western side of the site, made that half of the site too restricted to be viable for excavation. Therefore a trench was cut across the southern half of the site to obtain a complete profile (fig. 2) and an area excavated to natural in the northern half.

*The excavated sequence* (Table 1, figs. 2, 3)

The earliest feature on the site was a single undated post-pit F.36, containing a D-shaped post-pipe 0.15 m in radius. The pit was packed with large irregular sandstone fragments and the natural clays of the site. Obviously little can be said about a single post-pit; it may be representative of earlier Christian activity on the site, or, it could equally have had a secular origin.

The post-pit was sealed by the burial sequence, which consisted of 49 complete or partial skeletons. With two exceptions (Skeleton 21 and 58), all of the burials were in the normal Christian manner. That is, they were extended inhumations with their heads to the west, so they could rise and face their Maker on the Day of Judgement (Rahtz, 1978). There were no datable finds from the graves which could be regarded as being in a primary deposit.

#### *Skeleton 21*

This adult skeleton was buried with its feet to the west, contrary to normal Christian practice. This can be indicative of the burial of a priest, who on the Day of Judgement would rise and face his flock. However, in this case, neither chalice nor paten were found, perhaps because the grave extended beyond the limit of excavation. In general the burial of priests with their heads to the east is a late phenomenon, not being known before the 16th century (Rahtz, 1978). Alternatively, east-west orientation can be the result of carelessness, as is suggested for the two examples found during the excavation of over one thousand graves in the cemetery of St. Helen-on-the-Walls, York (Dawes and Magilton, 1979). There it is known that the cemetery ceased to exist after 1550, and therefore largely pre-dates the introduction of the reverse orientation of priest burials.

#### *Skeleton 58*

This was a crouched burial, orientated in the normal Christian manner but with its knees drawn tightly up under its chin, as if bound at the time of burial. Crouched burials are known from the Paleolithic period onwards. In Christian contexts they are far more common in the Anglo-Saxon period than in the medieval. The crouched burial from a Cannington (Rahtz, 1977, 58) affords an example from an Anglo-Saxon period context.

*Skeletons 2 and 8*

These were an adult and tiny baby found buried together, the baby being positioned by the left shoulder of the adult. It is possible that they represent a mother and child who died at childbirth, or soon after.

The condition of the majority of the bone varied from poor to very bad. Some skeletons were represented by nothing more than a dark stain and a set of teeth, however, the preservation of a few of the later skeletons was quite good. No skeletal analysis was undertaken due to the necessity of reburial. Two samples of bone were submitted for Carbon 14 testing, but unfortunately the yield of collagen (the only datable constituent of bone) was too low for any kind of measurement. It is hoped to submit the samples to the more sensitive techniques of ion counting when these are available.

All of the graves were less than six feet beneath the present ground surface. This may be taken to indicate that the burials pre-date the introduction of the 19th-century health laws requiring graves to be six-feet deep. Alternatively, this may mean that the site was levelled after burial had ceased. This levelling may be represented by F9 which seals the grave-earth.

Of the features which post-date F9, F23 and F11, a drain and water-pipe are associated with the church building, while the gully F8 gives no indication of its purpose. The group F7, F4 and F5, ceramic pipe, brick structure and pit, (the last of these with a spread of charcoal F5d at its southern end), would seem to relate to an unknown heating process, perhaps associated with restoration or rebuilding of the church. F4 may have been roofed with a disused slate grave-slab, parts of which were found in its infill, and if this is so it might serve to emphasize the temporary nature of the structure. The cinder path F2 was orientated on the entrance to the boiler-house (to the north-west of the site). Presumably the path was made of waste material from the boiler-house before the present oil-fired boiler was installed.

**OTHER FINDS** (Table 2)

The only finds which could be regarded as coming from a primary deposit were those directly associated with the burials. These included coffin nails and fittings, and also one pin. The pin, along with four others found in disturbed contexts, may originally have held shrouds in place.

Of the finds from disturbed contexts the earliest were five fragments of worked flint of Mesolithic date. Three of the five fragments were broken blades, one of which was obliquely truncated, one a broken burnt flake and the fifth could have been part of a flake or blade. Dr. L. H. Barfield (pers.comm.) suggested that these may represent a Mesolithic flint industry on the site. They are of particular interest in view of the recent discovery of Neolithic material in the valley (Carver, Ch. IV).

As might be expected the site produced large quantities of building material from earlier churches. Over 300 fragments of medieval roofing tile similar to that found by J. Gould (Gould and Gould, 1975) were recovered. Most were glazed, the colour of the glaze varying from dark brown to yellow brown, with some greens. These variations in colour are probably the result of differential firing, and variations in the lead-based glaze, an increase in the copper content producing greens.

Several different traditions of floor-tile decoration are represented from the site (fig. 4). The most common type, of which eight examples were found, had decoration in counter-relief (FT. D.2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12). All the decoration on these tiles consisted of geometric patterns, with traces of yellow and green glaze. Four of the eight had mortar on their decorated surface, indicating that they had been reused before they were deposited on the site.

There were three fragments of floor tile which had decoration painted on in a white pipe-clay slip, and the tile given a clear glaze (FT.D. 3, 5 and 7). FT.D. 13 combined counter-relief decoration with white slip decoration, the linear patterns being done in the first tradition, and the floral pattern in the second. The site only produced one example of the most common type of decoration, inlaying, (FT.D. 1). Variations, on the 'two birds and a tree' motif are common on the tiles of the Midlands.

Other building material included sandstone blocks and fragments, including one large ashlar corner-piece with a plain chamfer, window lead and glass. Two fragments of the glass bore red-painted designs (fig. 4).

The majority of the pottery was post-medieval in date, although there was one abraded sherd of Roman grey ware and a fragment of coarse hand-made pottery of indeterminate date. Two coins were found, one post-medieval halfpenny (very worn, possibly George III) and a silver penny of the reign of Richard II from the York mint.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The discovery of Mesolithic material is of particular significance as it reveals a new phase in the prehistory of the area. The lack of evidence of the late Roman cemetery does not disprove its existence, but the general lack of Roman material from the site might argue against it. The post-pit F36 although indicating pre-burial activity on the site, tells us nothing of its nature. The burial sequence suggests fairly intensive use of the area of the churchyard investigated, perhaps due to its proximity to the church. The possibility of post-burial levelling suggests that perhaps the cessation of burial in the area of the site was a deliberate decision, prior to a programme of restoration and improvements to the church, of which the creation of the drain, F13 was one part.

Should the opportunity arise, the chance to learn more about the prehistoric and pre-burial aspects of the site would be invaluable.

The finds are held by St. Michael's Church.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Rev. A. C. Payne, his Parochial Church Council and the Chancellor of the Lichfield Diocese for permission to excavate, and to Rev. Payne and his congregation for their interest and enthusiasm. The excavation was undertaken on behalf of Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit, with funding from the Parochial Church Council and the Department of the Environment. Particular thanks are due to Mrs. J. Hampartumian for her invaluable help with the documentation and to Dr. L. H. Barfield for examining and commenting on the flint. I also wish to thank Birmingham University Archaeology Department for the loan of a level, and members of the University Archaeology Society and all other volunteers for their work.

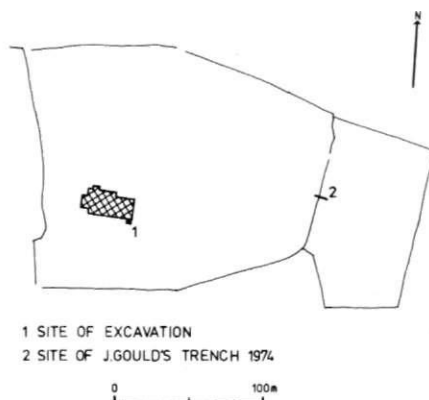
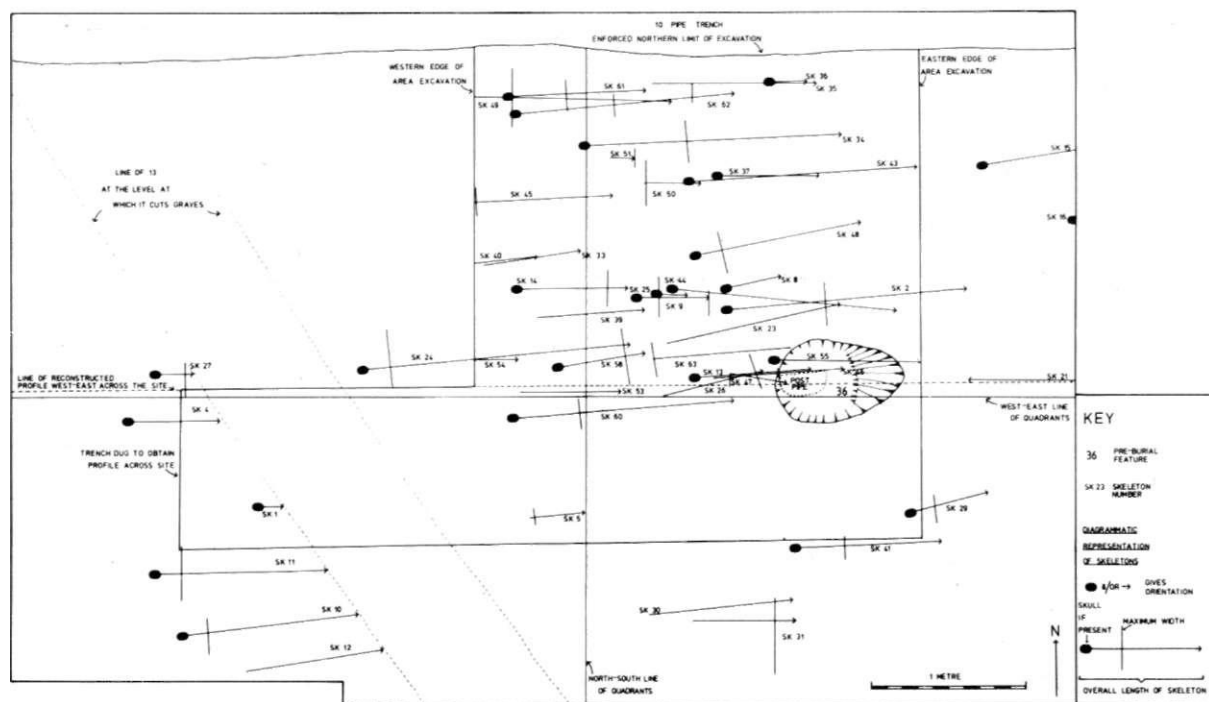


Fig. 1 St. Michael's: location of excavations



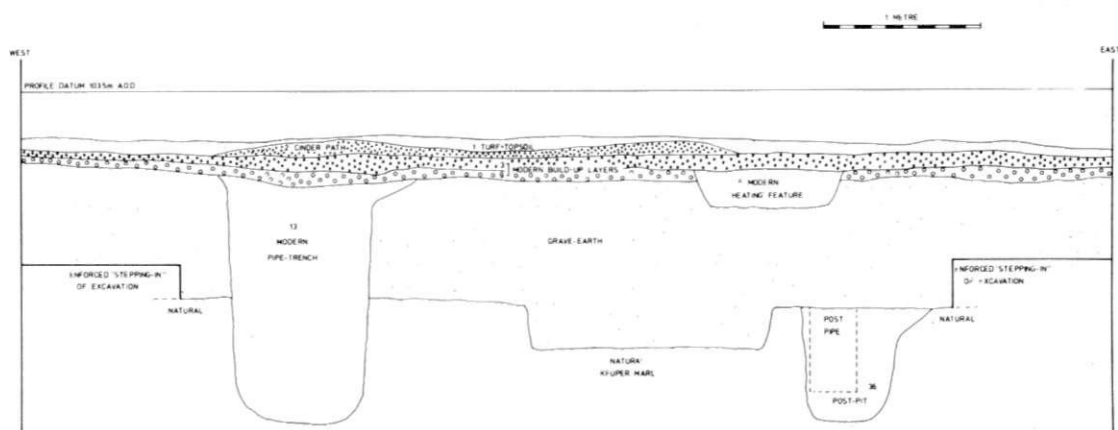
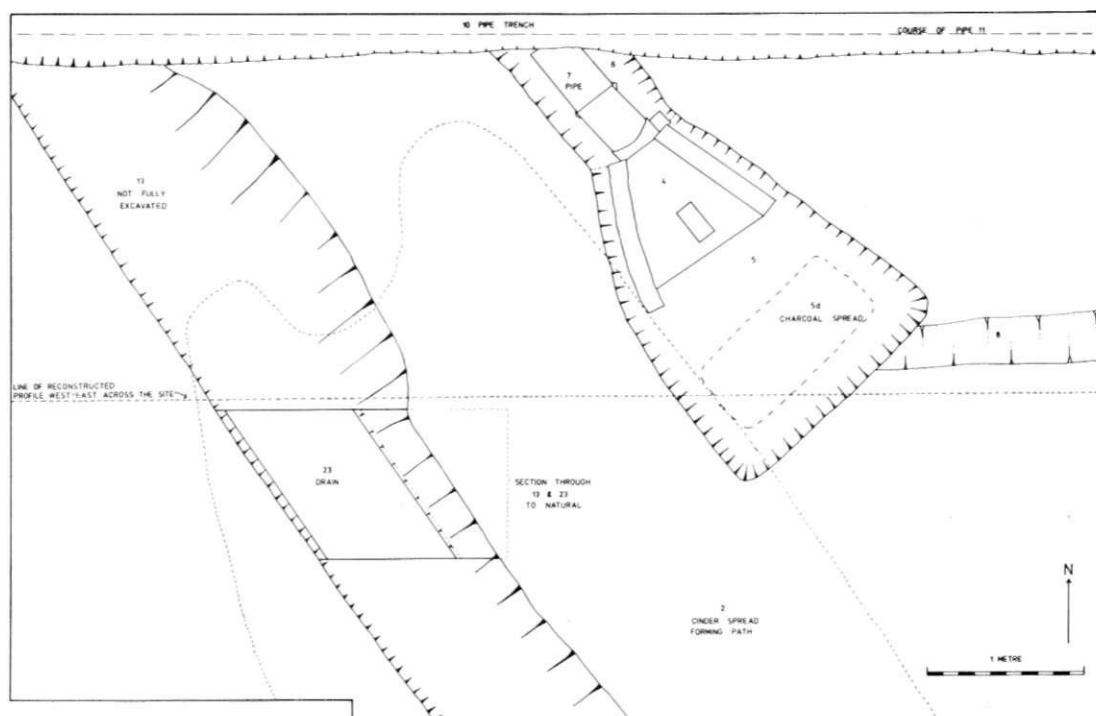
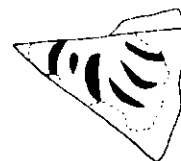
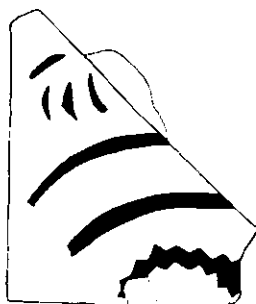


Fig. 3 St. Michael's: plan and section of later features and section through the site

## WINDOW GLASS

## FLOOR TILE

LM 13b  
GLW D1LM 105  
GLW D2LM 5a  
FT D3LM 9  
FT D4LM 8  
FT D5LM 3  
FT D1LM 3  
FT D2LM 13b  
FT D6LM 16a  
FT D7LM 24  
FT D8LM 105  
FT D12

0 5cm

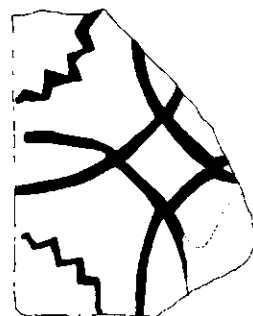
LM 105  
FT D13

Fig. 4 St. Michael's: window glass and floor tiles

## EXCAVATIONS AT ST. MARY'S, 1979

## BACKGROUND

The church of St. Mary's stands in the market-place of Lichfield (N.G.R. SK 119097). The present building dates largely from the second half of the 19th century (Richards 1968, 7). The earliest documentary reference to the church found by Isaac (1977, 60) is dated *c.* 1260 (LJRO D30 Vicars Muniments B104), but as Taylor suggests the first church on the site was presumably contemporary with the creation of the planned town by Bishop Roger de Clinton in the second quarter of the 12th century (Taylor, 1969).

## CIRCUMSTANCES

The proposal to turn St. Mary's into a Heritage Centre for Lichfield necessitated the investigation of the subsoil and foundations by the architects. The investigation took the form of a trial hole in the south aisle (fig. 5). The opportunity was taken to record the sections produced and recover artefacts from the excavated material.

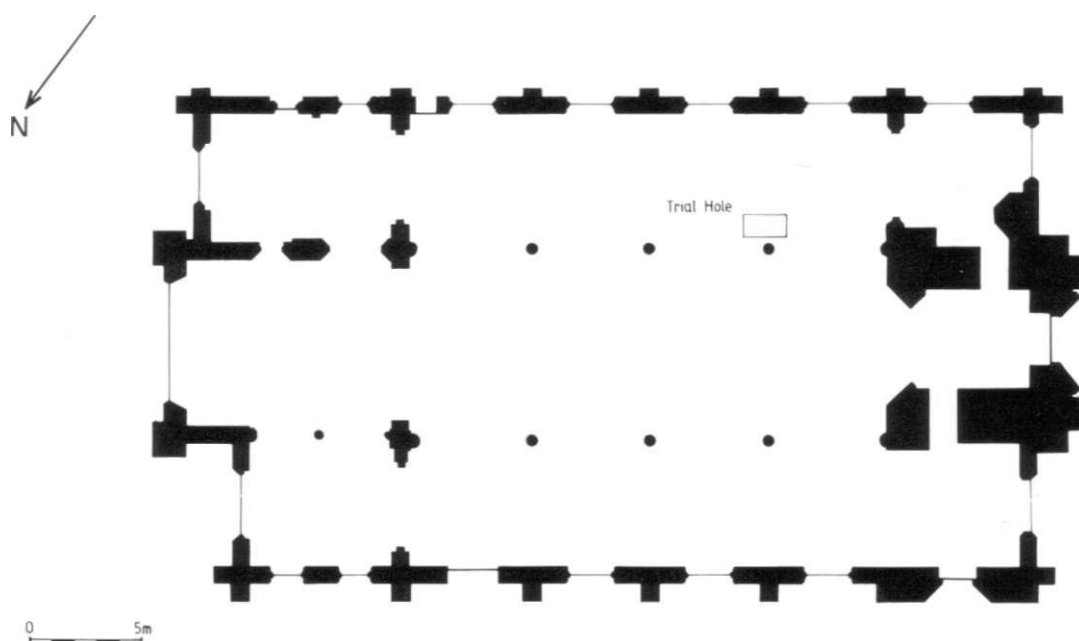


Fig. 5 St. Mary's church: position of trial hole

## THE SECTIONS (location shown on fig. 5)

Section A-B (fig. 6) illustrates the construction of the foundations of the pier adjacent to the trial hole. There was evidence of two quite distinct methods of construction: the lower part consisted of rough stone blocks irregularly coursed, while the upper part is far more regularly constructed. The two types of masonry are divided by a band of mortar up to 40 mm in thickness. The top course of the earlier masonry over-sailed those below it by up to 0.3 m producing a shelf or ledge with no structural function.

Sections B-C, C-D and D-A closely resembled the material surrounding the pier, and therefore are not illustrated. Under the modern floor of the church there was a post-medieval make-up layer containing clay-pipe, hand-made brick, mortar, both floor and roofing tiles and other building material. This overlay a fine red-brown sand, which in turn sealed the grave-earth. The make-up layer appeared to be contemporary with the building of the second stage of the foundations of the pier.

#### **THE BURIALS (fig. 6)**

Quantities of human bone were recovered from the spoil from the trench, presumably the majority of it came from the three burials revealed in the sections. However the possibility of intrusive, or disturbed material cannot be ruled out.

Little can be said about the burials, other than that they were all orientated in the normal Christian manner, with the head to the west. Skeleton 3 post-dated the construction of the lower part of the pier, as presumably so did the other two. However, due to the nature of the discovery this cannot be said with certainty.

A dark organic stain around Skeleton 3 suggested the presence of a coffin.

#### **DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR BURIAL AT ST. MARY'S**

The majority of entries in the parish registers of St. Mary's (LJRO D20/1/1 ff) give the place of burial as either Stowe (St. Chad's) or St. Michael's. However, in the register for the years 1813-1891 (LJRO D20/1/16) there are fourteen entries recording burial at St. Mary's, nine of which are for members of the Dyott family.

#### **THE FINDS**

All of the finds from the site are either from the builder's spoil, or from the modern make-up layer. As the two groups are exactly parallel it can be reasonably assumed that all of the finds originated from the make-up layer, and therefore from a disturbed context.

With the exception of a fragment of clay-pipe stem, all of the finds were building materials, presumably from earlier phases of the church.

The building material included: plain red medieval floor tiles, hand-made red brick, ceramic roofing tiles, a fragment of stone roofing tile with nail-holes, nails, window lead, sandstone and mortar.

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

Although it is certain from the documentation that St. Mary's did receive burials in the 19th century, these cannot be equated with those found with any certainty, therefore more than one phase of burial cannot be ruled out.

The lower part of the foundation of the pier is undated and could relate to almost any period of work on the church. The association of the second stage of the pier with the make-up layer containing post-medieval material indicate that it too must be post-medieval. Its exact date is not certain, but it is quite likely that it represents part of the major reconstruction in the late 19th century.

The finds are held by St. Mary's Church.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank the vicar, the Rev. A. C. Payne and the architect Mr. C. Brown of Hinton, Brown and Langstone of Warwick for their help and interest, and Mrs. J. Hampartumian for her invaluable help with the documents.

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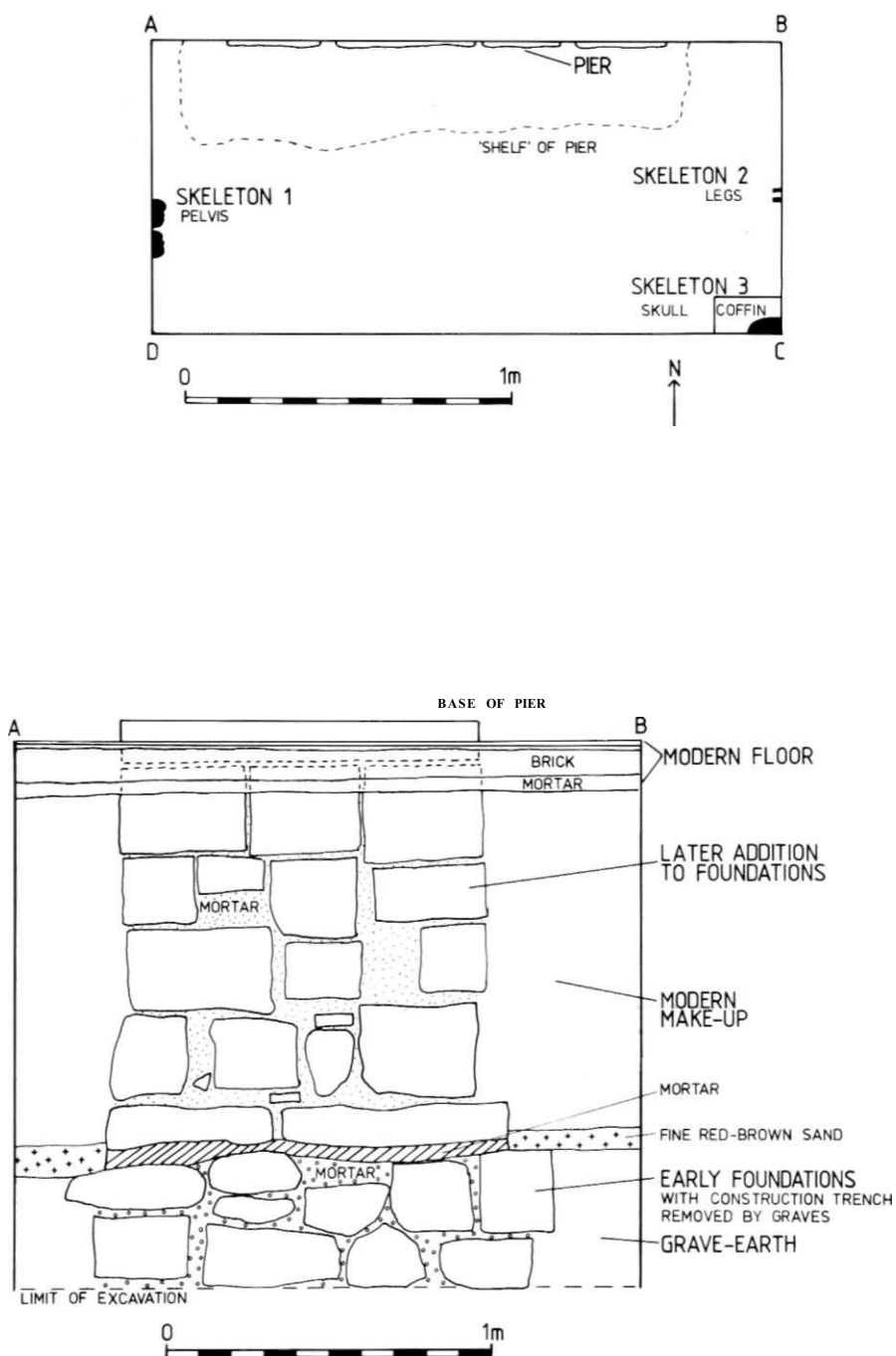


Fig. 6 St. Mary's: plan and section of trial hole

TABLE 1

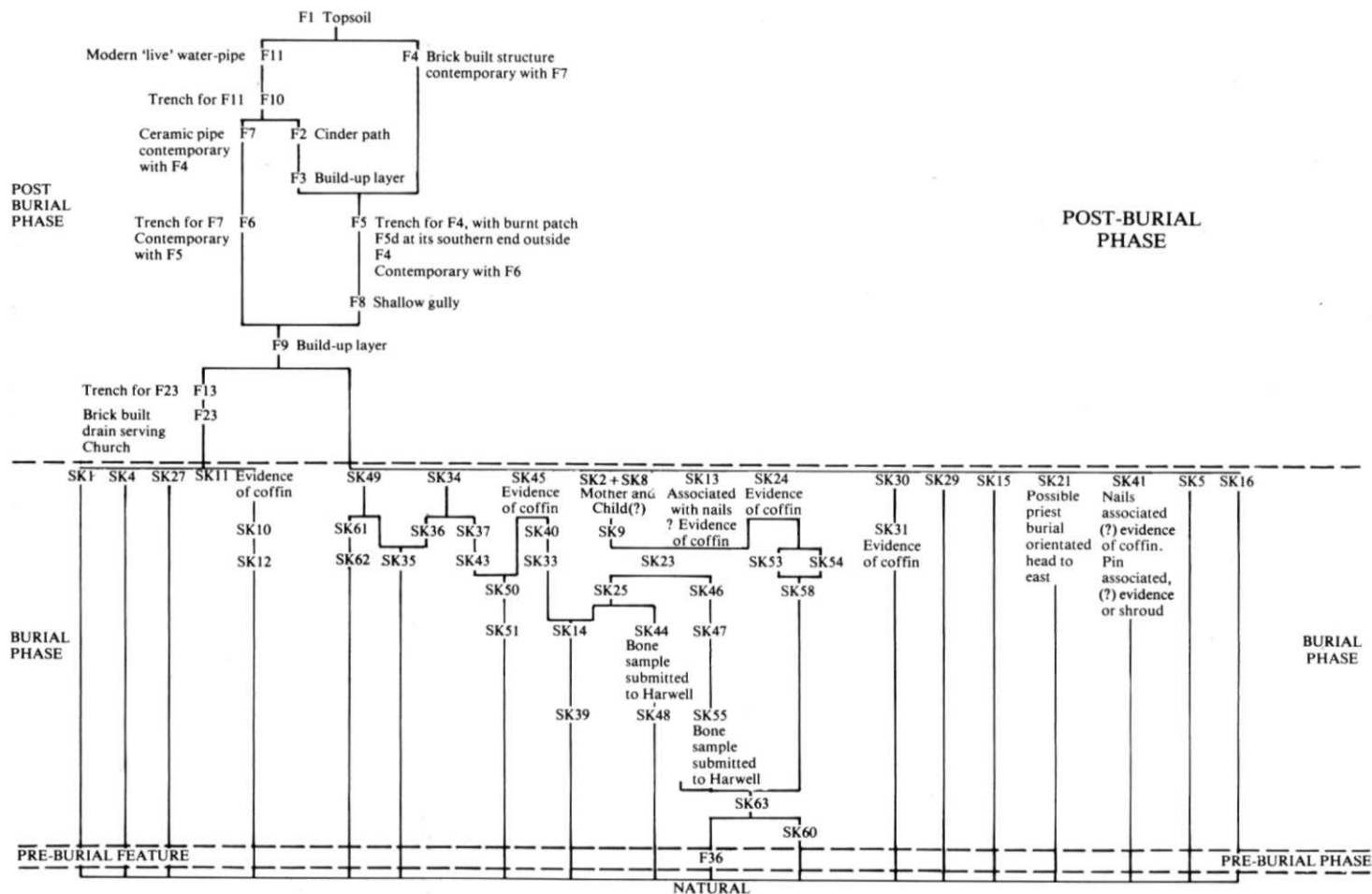


TABLE 2

| Feature | Finds (other than skeletons)                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Interpretation                                                                                               |
|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Topsoil                                                                                                      |
| 2       | Fragment of lead                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Cinder path                                                                                                  |
| 3       | 61 fragments of bone, 7 fragments clay-pipe, 22 sherds post-medieval pottery, 34 fragments of window glass, 1 copper alloy pen nib, 19 fragments of roofing tile, 2 fragments floor-tile, 12 fragments vessel glass, 12 iron objects | Build-up layer of post-medieval material                                                                     |
| 4       | 61 fragments of bone, Coin George III(?) 'id., 1 fragment of clay pipe, 2 copper alloy studs, 10 fragments of slate gravestone (no dates or names), 1 iron object(?), 2 fragments of window glass                                    | Brick structure, associated with rebuilding/restoration^<br>(?) roofed with gravestones                      |
| 5       | 81 fragments of bone, 1 fragment shell, 1 fragment of clay pipe, 2 sherds post-medieval pottery, 6 fragments of window glass, 12 fragments roofing tile, 2 fragments floor tile                                                      | Foundation trench for 4, with a burnt patch at its southern end outside 4                                    |
| 6       | 63 fragments of bone, 2 fragments of window glass, 4 fragments of roofing tile                                                                                                                                                       | Foundation trench for 7                                                                                      |
| 7       | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Inlet/outlet from 4                                                                                          |
| 8       | 1 fragment vessel glass                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                              |
| 9       | 297 fragments of bone, 1 fragment of slag, 4 fragments of clay pipe, 7 sherds post-medieval pottery, 17 fragments window glass, 41 fragments roofing tile, 2 fragments brick (machine made), 2 fragments lead, 1 copper alloy object | Make-up layer sealing grave-earth. Possibly representing levelling prior to construction of 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 |
| 10      | 22 fragments of bone, 6 sherds of post-medieval pottery, 19 fragments of roofing tile, 3 fragments brick (machine made), 2 fragments of vessel glass                                                                                 | Trench for 11                                                                                                |

| Feature | Finds (other than skeletons)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Interpretation                                   |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 11      | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Modern 'live' water pipe                         |
| 12      | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Concrete path around church, to North of site    |
| 13      | 406 fragments of bone, 1 flint object, 2 fragments of clay pipe, 2 sherds post-medieval pottery, 8 fragments of window glass, 47 fragments of roofing tile, 4 fragments of floor tile, 1 copper alloy thimble, 1 fragment lead, 3 fragments sandstone, 8 iron objects | Trench for 23                                    |
| 14-15   | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Part 24/25                                       |
| 16      | 115 fragments of bone, 1 coin (long-cross penny), 1 fragment of shell, 3 sherds post-medieval pottery, 5 fragments of roofing tile, 1 fragment of floor tile, 2 fragments of lead, 8 iron objects                                                                     | Grave of skeletons 2 and 8. Mother and Child (?) |
| 17      | 50 fragments of bone, 1 fragment of slag, 1 sherd post-medieval pottery, a fragment of roofing tile                                                                                                                                                                   | Grave of skeleton 11. Child burial               |
| 18      | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Grave of skeleton 5. Baby burial                 |
| 19      | 1 fragment of roofing tile                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Grave of skeleton 7                              |
| 20      | 12 fragments of bone, 113 iron objects                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Coffin of skeleton 11                            |
| 21      | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Grave of skeleton 25                             |
| 22      | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Grave of skeleton 27                             |
| 23      | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Brick-built drain serving Church                 |

| Feature    | Finds (other than skeletons)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Interpretation                                               |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 24)<br>25) | 2308 fragments of bone, 4 flint objects, 1 fragment of slag, 22 sherds of post-medieval pottery, 11 fragments of window glass, 4 copper alloy pins, 185 fragments of roofing tile, 4 fragments of floor tile, 2 bricks (machine made), 4 fragments of lead, 3 fragments of sandstone, 149 iron objects | Grave-earth in which individual graves could not be defined  |
| 26         | 101 fragments of bone, 1 sherd of post-medieval pottery, 1 fragment of window glass, 7 fragments of roofing tile, 37 iron objects                                                                                                                                                                      | Coffin of skeleton 24                                        |
| 27         | 1 fragment of clay pipe, 1 sherd pottery, 2 fragments of roofing tile, 53 iron objects                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Grave of skeleton 29                                         |
| 28         | 1 copper alloy pin, 60 iron objects                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Coffin of skeleton 41                                        |
| 29         | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Coffin of skeleton 42                                        |
| 30         | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Grave of skeleton 46                                         |
| 31         | 34 fragments of bone, 1 fragment of window glass, 1 copper alloy stud, 7 fragments of roofing tile, 21 iron objects                                                                                                                                                                                    | Coffin of skeleton 49                                        |
| 32         | 37 fragments of bone, 3 fragments of roofing tile, 8 iron objects                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Grave for coffin 29 and skeleton 45                          |
| 33         | 9 fragments of bone, 1 fragment of roofing tile, 5 iron objects                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Grave of skeleton 43                                         |
| 34         | 1 sherd of Roman pottery                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Grave of skeleton 58                                         |
| 35         | 1 very abraded sherd of very coarse pottery                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Grave of skeleton 62                                         |
| 36         | None                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Stone packed post-pit with D-shaped post-pipe in S.W. Corner |

## VI AN EXCAVATION IN MEDIEVAL LICHFIELD NEW TOWN

M. R. HUMMLER

Excavations at no. 18 Wade Street, Lichfield (SK 1175 0936) (plate Vc) took place in July 1977 prior to development by Sefton Property Investments Limited of an extensive plot on the south side of the street. The area available enclosed about 1400 m<sup>2</sup>, between nos. 10 and 26, and there were sufficient resources to open about 50 m<sup>2</sup> for purposes of archaeological evaluation (fig. 1; ch. IV, fig. 1).

The natural sandstone was found to slope gently downwards to the north towards what is now the Minster Pool (fig. 3), and the site itself may have been reached by floods from the feeder streams. The first detected occupation of the Wade Street site belonged to the 12th century and was intensive, comprising six pits, a hearth, and some post-holes within a small sample area (fig. 1). A case can be made for a timber-built house fronting onto Wade Street, with an open hearth inside, and a garden at the back. Although three sherds of Stafford Ware were recovered from secondary contexts, these do not invalidate the overwhelming evidence for the settlement beginning in the 12th century, which thus corroborates Taylor's view of this part of Lichfield as a mid-12th century new town (Taylor 1969).

Domestic occupation, which included pit-digging for clay, continued into the 13th century, but there were no signs of later activity until the 17th century. This absence of occupation cannot be explained in terms of later demolition and levelling, since residual pottery and negative features at least would be expected. It seems that the site was largely abandoned or at least unexploited during this long interval.

The excavated sequence belonging to the 17th century and later is closely correlated with the map evidence (Speed 1610; Snape 1781; Crompton 1862; OS 1884; OS 1902). Small brick-built houses lined the street and had well-developed gardens at the back, reaching as far as Frog Lane. Unfortunately no independent evidence was encountered for property boundaries, either of the earliest settlement or later.

### LOCATION AND STRATEGY

Within the area available for excavation, properties nos. 10-14 were in use as a coal-yard and car-park, while nos. 22-26 seemed, on map evidence, and on the ground, much disturbed by recent buildings, sheds, etc. This left properties nos. 16-20 as areas likely to be least disturbed. The final choice of area was further restricted by trees and undergrowth. A trench *c.* 29 m long and 1 to 1.5 m wide and up to 1.40 m deep was cut as far back as possible towards the property boundary with the Frog Lane malt-house (34 m from house frontage) within tenement no. 18 (Area A). This trench was completely excavated by a mechanical excavator (JCB 3) in order to test the survival of stratigraphy along the whole length of a tenement and to record recent alterations of the natural subsoil (sandstone).

In conjunction with this recording exercise, it was decided to excavate manually a small area (Area B) to the E of trench A, *c.* 4.5 x 9 m, designed to catch both street frontage and garden areas at the intersection of properties nos. 18 and 20. This was undertaken in the hope of recovering some intact contexts and assemblages.



The results from these excavations are summarized in fig. 1, the assemblage summary and stratigraphy diagram (held in archive). They will be briefly presented here (following the same period-scheme as for Theological College, see Chapter IV).

## MEDIEVAL STRUCTURES

### *Period 3:*

There are no structures earlier than the 12th century (on pottery evidence) at Wade Street, but three sherds of Stafford Ware of perhaps pre-12th-century date have been recovered in later contexts in the NE of area B.

### *Period 4-5:*

Intensive activity, mainly in the form of pit-digging, is attested in the 12th and 13th centuries (from ceramic evidence). A number of pit groups and medieval contexts may be identified:

- remains of a layer (1145) sealing 2 post-holes (F29, F30) to the NE of area B, containing early-12th-century cooking pot and jug fragments. Similar layout to SW: 1108.
- a large circular shaft (F31), 1.35 m in diameter and 2.95 m deep, dug through clay and sandstone, backfilled with wet sand, wood and charcoal, containing a group of cooking pot and jug sherds ranging from early 12th to early 13th century. It is interpreted as a failed well.
- Similar pottery assemblages were recovered from two large (rubbish?) pits sectioned by trench A: F11/F12 and, the slightly later, F13/F36.
- While rubbish was buried at the front end of tenements, the back may have been exploited for extracting clay which overlies the natural sandstone. This is the interpretation put upon two very large (c. 2.30 x 2.50 m and 1.70 x 3.20 m) irregular, shallow (1.15 and 1.50 m deep) undercut pits (F28, F34) filled with garden soil and containing early-12th/early-13th-century cooking pot and jug sherds.
- Last in our sequence of medieval structures, is hearth F27, overlying shaft F31 and containing late-12th/early-13th-century pottery, incidentally, in similar position as the 17th/18th-century fireplace F4 at the back of house no. 18.
- A number of other contexts can be ascribed to this period on stratigraphic grounds: contexts 1114, 1123, 1128 and perhaps F17 in section.

### *Period 6-7: Later structures*

Nothing can illuminate the occupation of Wade Street between the 14th and 17th centuries, on the grounds of pottery. Only one sherd of 15th/16th-century Cistercian Ware (from scoop F33) belongs to this period.

- A large number of post-holes, sockets and scoops (F2, F6, F7, F8, F9, F10, F20, F26, F32, F37) may not be assigned to a specific period, but contain post-medieval material (tile, brick, clay-pipe, mortar, sandstone and modern pottery).

- A set of features can be related to property no. 18, which appears on the 18th and 19th-century maps: F3 a N-S sandstone, internal (?) wall, fireplace F4 and its associated contexts abutting to the property brick back wall F14 and its outside drain F15.
- While the street frontage is built up, a thick (0.75 m in section) garden soil develops at the back of the property, occasionally cut by late (Victorian) rubbish pits (F22, F24, F23, F16, F18) or builder's waste pits (F21, F35).
- Modern (20th century) disturbances (concrete drain, F1 and F5) account for the last events at Wade Street.

#### THE SUBSOIL

Although it was expected to encounter a sandstone matrix under Wade Street properties, it was thought worthwhile to test the natural subsoil. Indeed a great variety of 'natural' soils were encountered, in, roughly, this sequence: the pink sandstone bedrock (1117) is generally overlain by red clay (1116, 1125), itself mixed with or sealed by sand and gravel (1115, 1130, 1134, 1166). The sandstone bedrock dips markedly towards Wade Street, leaving clay and gravel to accumulate against its slope, perhaps during incidences of flooding.

#### MAP EVIDENCE

The area to be redeveloped appears on the following maps, used for defining the position of excavations:

- 1610 (Speed): small (1 storey, timber-framed?) houses, with frontage onto Wade Street, garden/open land at back (Frog Lane).
- 1781 (Snape): houses with frontage onto Wade Street, occupying generally, two tenement widths while gardens retain property boundaries at back as far as Frog Lane: orchards and vegetable gardens. Small passages lead into gardens from Street.
- 1862 (Crompton): houses with frontage onto Wade Street, occupying two tenement widths while gardens at back retain property boundaries. Gardens are walled and have been halved in length—abutting large walled garden of property fronting onto Frog Lane malt-house.
- 1884 (OS 1st edition 1 : 500): similar situation.
- 1902 (OS 25 in. map): identical to 1884 map.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavations were undertaken with the kind permission of Sefton Property Investment Limited and Lichfield District Council, with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment. The work was carried out by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit, of whom I would like to thank in particular Debbie Ford, Mike Hodder, Roy Hooper, Elizabeth Hooper, Tim Yarnell and Peter Wilson for their work as excavators and recorders on site, Rowan Ferguson for her preliminary post-excavation work, and Martin Carver for various assistance throughout.

## INDEX TO ARCHIVE

- A. *The Written Record*  
(Site Code: LWS 77)
  - (1) Index to the record; (2) 1 site note book;
  - (3) 35 context cards, Area A; 13 feature cards, Area A;
  - (4) 37 context cards, Area B; 24 feature cards, Area B;
  - (5) 34 finds assemblage cards
  - (6) List of small finds
  - (7) List of feature/context concordances; (8) List of drawings.
- B. *The Drawn record*
  - (1) 1 location plan 1 : 100; (2) 1 feature plan 1 : 20;
  - (3) 3 section drawings 1 : 10
- C. *The Photographic record*
  - (1) 19 black and white prints + negatives; (2) colour slides
  - (3) Reduced print of section along area A (1 : 40)
- D. *Analysis*
  - (1) Stratification diagram; (2) Medieval pottery typology
  - (3) Assemblage summary
- E. *Material recovered*
  - Pottery
  - Building material (tile, brick, s/stone)
  - Animal bone
  - Metal, slag, clay-pipe, glass
  - Small finds: 6 (5 metal objects, 1 bead)
  - Charcoal, wood
- F. *Material discarded*
  - Building material (tile, brick, plaster, mortar, s/stone)
  - Charcoal, coal, wood

The field records are held in archive at Stoke-on-Trent Museum.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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AREA B

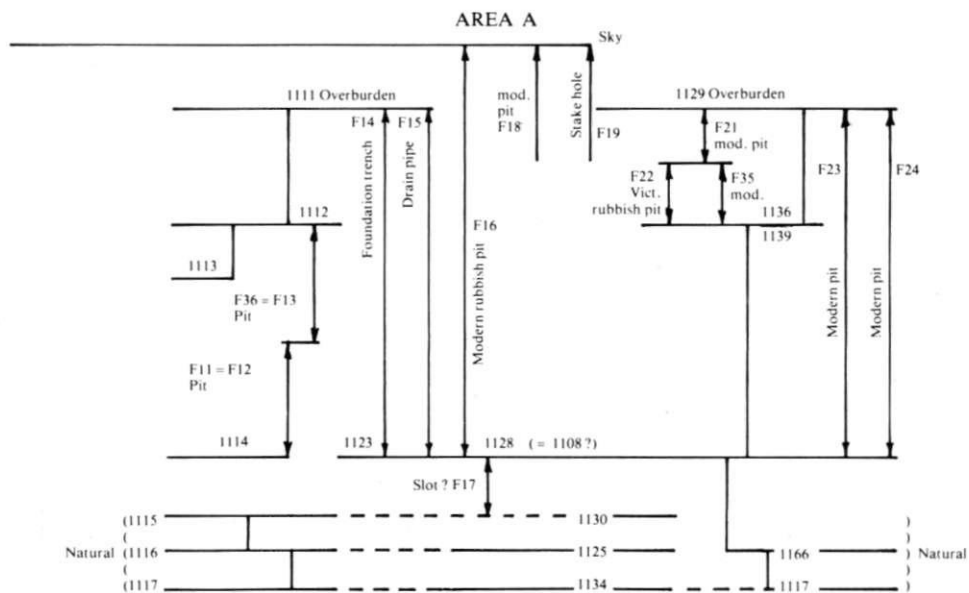


TABLE 2: LICHFIELD — WADE STREET 1977: ASSEMBLAGE SUMMARIES

| ASSEMBLAGE SUMMARY    | Context | Features | Area | Period | Date    | Description    | Pot   | Tile | Brick | Building Material            | Bone | Metal | Slag | Clay-pipe | Glass        | Charcoal | Coal | Other    |
|-----------------------|---------|----------|------|--------|---------|----------------|-------|------|-------|------------------------------|------|-------|------|-----------|--------------|----------|------|----------|
|                       |         |          |      |        |         |                |       |      |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
| LICHFIELD WADE STREET | —       | F 1      | B    | 7      | Mod     | Mod. drain     |       |      |       | drain                        |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1101    | F 5      | B    | 7      | Mod.    | Mod. disturb.  | 23    | 1    | X     |                              | 1    | 3     |      | 8         |              | X        |      | Asbestos |
|                       | 1102    | F 6      | B    | 6-7    | LM.Mod  | Recent PH      |       | 1    |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1103    | F 7      | B    | 6-7    | LM.Mod  | Scoop          |       |      |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1104    | F 8      | B    | 6-7    | LM.Mod  | Recent PH      |       | 3    |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1105    | F 9      | B    | 7      | Mod     | Recent PH      | 9     | 3    |       |                              |      |       |      | X         |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1106    | F10      | B    | 7      | Mod.    | Recent PH      | 7     | 1    | 2     |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1107    | F11      | B    | 4      | 11-12   | Med. pit       | 60    |      |       |                              | 14   | 4     | 1    |           |              | 1        |      |          |
|                       | 1108    | —        | B    | 4-5    | 12-13   | Med. layer     | 3     |      |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1109    | F12      | A    | 4      | 11-12   | Med. pit       | 20    |      |       | s/stone<br>2                 |      |       |      |           |              |          | 9    |          |
|                       | 1110    | F 4      | B    | 6-7    | LM      | Fireplace      | 2     | X    | X     | s/stone<br>plaster<br>Rubble | 1    |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1111    | —        | A    | 7      | Mod.    | Mod. floor     |       | X    |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1112    | —        | A    | 7      | Mod     | Mod. levelling |       | X    |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1113    | —        | A    | 7      | Mod     | Mod. levelling |       | X    | X     | Mortar                       |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1114    | —        | A    | 4      | Med     | Med. layer?    |       |      |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1115    | —        | A    | —      | —       | Natural        |       |      |       | sand and<br>gravel           |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1116    | —        | A    | —      | —       | Natural        |       |      |       | clay and<br>sand             |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1117    | —        | A    | —      | —       | Natural        |       |      |       | clay and<br>s/stone          |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1118    | F12      | A    | 4      | Med     | Med. pit       |       |      |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1119    | F12      | A    | 4      | Med     | Med. pit       |       |      |       | s/stone                      |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1120    | F12      | A    | 4      | Med     | Med. pit       |       |      |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1121    | F13      | A    | 4-5    | Med     | Med. pit       |       | X    |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1122    | F 4      | B    | 7      | Mod     | Fireplace      | 7     | 11   | 6     | mortar                       |      | 2     |      |           | 1            | X        | 1    | Wood     |
|                       | 1123    | —        | A    | 4      | Med     | Med. layer?    |       |      |       |                              |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1124    | F14      | A    | 6-7    | LM. Mod | Found. trench  |       |      | X     | Mortar<br>cement<br>s/stone  | X    |       |      |           | X            |          | X    |          |
|                       | 1125    | —        | A    | —      | —       | Natural        |       |      |       | s/stone<br>and clay          |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1126    | F14      | A    | 6-7    | LM. Mod | Found. trench  |       |      | X     |                              |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1126    | F15      | A    | 6-7    | Mod     | Drain pipe     |       |      |       | drain                        |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1128    | —        | A    | 4      | Med     | Med. layer?    |       |      |       | mortar                       |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1129    | —        | A    | 7      | Mod     | Garden soil    |       |      | X     | mortar                       |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1130    | —        | A    | —      | —       | Natural        |       |      |       | sand and<br>gravel           |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1131    | F16      | A    | 7      | Mod     | Rubbish pit    | China |      | X     |                              | X    |       |      |           | bot-<br>tles | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1132    | F 2      | B    | 6-7    | LM.Mod  | Post socket    |       | 42   | 1     | s/stone<br>mortar            |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1133    | F17      | A    | 4      | Med     | Med. slot(?)   |       |      | 2?    |                              |      |       |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
|                       | 1134    | —        | A    | —      | —       | Natural        |       |      |       | clay and<br>gravel           |      |       |      |           |              |          |      |          |
|                       | 1135    | F18      | A    | 7      | Mod     | Recent pit     |       |      | X     |                              |      | X     |      |           |              |          |      |          |

TABLE 2: (cont.)

| Context | Feature | Area | Period | Date    | Description   | Pot  | Tile | Brick | Building Material         | Bone | Metal      | Slag | Clay-pipe | Glass        | Charcoal | Coal | Other    |
|---------|---------|------|--------|---------|---------------|------|------|-------|---------------------------|------|------------|------|-----------|--------------|----------|------|----------|
|         |         |      |        |         |               |      |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              |          |      |          |
| 1136    | —       | A    | 6 7    | LM.Mod  | Garden soil   |      |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1137    | F19     | A    | 7      | Mod     | Stake hole    |      |      |       |                           | X    |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1138    | F20     | B    | 7      | Mod     | Post socket   | 4    | X    | X     | mortar                    |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1139    | —       | A    | 6 7    | LM.Mod  | Garden soil   |      |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1140    | F21     | A    | 7      | Mod     | Rubbish pit   |      | X    | X     | mortar<br>lime            |      |            |      |           |              |          |      |          |
| 1141    | F22     | A    | 7      | Mod     | Rubbish pit   | 2    |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           | bot-<br>tles |          |      |          |
| 1142    | F23     | A    | (5)6 7 | LM.Mod  | Recent pit    | (1)  |      |       |                           |      |            |      | 1         |              | X        |      |          |
| 1143    | F24     | A    | 6 7    | LM.Mod  | Recent pit    |      |      |       | X                         |      |            |      | 2         |              | X        |      |          |
| 1144    | F25     | B    | (3)7   | Mod     | Disturbance   | (2)  |      | X     |                           |      |            |      |           |              |          |      |          |
| 1145    | —       | B    | (3)4   | 11-12   | Med. layer    | (78) | 1    |       | mortar                    | 3    |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1146    | —       | B    | ?      | ?       | Layer         |      |      |       | s/stone                   |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1147    | F26     | B    | 6 7    | LM.Mod  | Recent scoop  |      |      |       | mortar                    |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1148    | —       | B    | ?      | ?       | Layer         |      |      |       | s/stone                   |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1149    | F27     | B    | 5      | 12-13   | Med. hearth   |      |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1150    | F 3     | B    | (5)6 7 | LM.Mod  | Tenem. wall   | (2)  | 1    |       | slate<br>mortar<br>mortar | 1    |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1151    | F 4     | B    | 6 7    | LM.Mod  | Fireplace     |      |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              |          |      |          |
| 1152    | F27     | B    | 5      | 12-13   | Med. hearth   | 2    |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      | [1] bead |
| 1153    | F28     | B    | 4 5    | 12-13   | Med. clay pit | 191  | 2    |       |                           | 12   | [3]        |      |           |              | X        | X    |          |
| 1154    | F29     | B    | 4      | Med     | P.hole/scoop  |      |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1155    | F30     | B    | 4      | Med     | P.hole/scoop  |      |      |       | s/stone                   |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1156    | F31     | B    | 4      | 11-12   | Med. well-pit | 2    |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1157    | F31     | B    | 4      | 11-12   | Med. well-pit |      |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1158    | F32     | B    | ?      | ?       | P.hole        |      |      |       |                           | 1    |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1159    | F33     | B    | (4) 6  | LM      | Slot/P. hole  | (2)1 | 8    |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1160    | F31     | B    | 4      | 12-13   | Med. well-pit | 9    |      |       | daub                      | 8    | [5]<br>[6] |      |           |              | X        |      | Wood     |
| 1161    | F34     | B    | 4 5    | 12-13   | Med. clay-pit | 135  | 2    |       | mortar                    | 1    | 1          |      |           |              |          |      |          |
| 1162    | F35     | A    | 7      | Mod     | Recent pit    |      | X    | X     | mortar                    |      | X          |      |           |              | Ash      |      |          |
| 1163    | F11     | B    | 5      | 13      | Med. pit      | 2    |      |       |                           | 8    |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1164    | F11     | B    | 4 5    | 12-13   | Med. pit      | 9    |      |       |                           | 1    |            |      | 1         |              | X        |      |          |
| 1165    | F36     | B    | 4 5    | 13      | Med. pit      | 3    |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1166    | —       | A    | —      | —       | Natural       | sand |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              |          |      |          |
| 1167    | F31     | B    | 4      | 11-12   | Med. well-pit |      |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      | Wood     |
| 1168    | F34     | B    | 4      | 11-12   | Med. clay-pit | 3    |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1169    | F37     | B    | 6-7    | LM.Mod. | Post pit?     |      |      |       | s/stone                   |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |
| 1170    | F34     | B    | 4      | 11-12   | Med. clay-pit | 4    |      |       |                           |      |            |      |           |              | X        |      |          |

(Small find numbers are in square boxes)

## VII MEDIEVAL LICHFIELD: A TOPOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

S. R. BASSETT

The origins and growth of towns has been one of this century's most studied themes in medieval history, and our understanding of the subject has increased quite considerably in the last two decades as archaeologists have undertaken major excavations in many of the larger British medieval settlements. This infusion of fresh evidence has sufficiently reinvigorated a jaded debate for general essays on the nature of medieval urbanism, written by both historians and archaeologists, to appear in force for the first time since the 1930s (e.g. Biddle, 1976; Piatt, 1976; Reynolds, 1977).

However, it is most unlikely that this recent rate of progress in urban studies can be sustained for much longer. The cost of archaeological excavation in towns continues a steep rise while its sources of finance diminish; and for many historians and archaeologists alike the chances of seeing their material through to final publication seem fairly slim. So it is essential that nothing should be overlooked which promises large amounts of new information about medieval settlements and urbanism, and which, moreover, has the advantage of needing rather less expenditure of time and money.

There may in fact be one such approach which, despite some notable pioneering efforts (Conzen, 1960, 1968; Barley, 1975), has not received adequate attention. This is the study of settlement topography. Its value is that a great many of the towns of medieval Britain have evidence for their origins and development, and for the nature of their layout at all times, embodied in their plans. There are several sources for this evidence, of which the chief ones are usually maps and other pictorial depictions of a place at fixed points in the past, and, second, its present physical appearance. Much additional topographical data may come from written sources and from archaeological excavation; while both of these—particularly the latter—have provided valuable empirical proof for many propositions which were initially based on pure topographical logic. At both Winchester and York, for instance, some streets and property boundaries can be shown to have remained fixed in the townscape from the 9th-10th centuries to the present day (Biddle, 1976, 133 and *passim*; Webster and Cherry, 1977, 248-9). On a much smaller scale, excavations in Saffron Walden, Essex, located lost elements of the 13th-century borough's planned layout which topographical reasoning had predicted (Bassett, 1982); and measuring burgages on the ground in Stratford-upon-Avon showed their correspondence with the documented dimensions (Slater, 1981, 214).

In the most general terms it seems that wherever a finite area of land, such as a medieval settlement, is subject to regular subdivision and internal rearrangement, then the form and alignment of each of its component elements (plots of land, buildings, streets, etc.) will to a large extent be determined by, or at least reflect, its physical relationship to the other elements. Often this will only be of local significance, but sometimes these relationships will mirror an important aspect of the whole area's layout at one stage in its development. Most changes to this complex of physical relationships will have been slow and piecemeal, leaving enough of the earlier arrangements untouched for them to be easily re-created. On occasion, however, an extensive alteration may have been made, such as would happen with the addition to a town's plan of a castle, a second market-place,

or a new road on an eccentric course. Even then just enough of the previous layout may still be reflected in surrounding areas for its appearance to be reasonably suggested.

Of course the extent to which a settlement's plan in (say) the last two centuries still retains sufficient evidence of its much earlier layout depends very much on the place's history. Fortunately the rate and scale of redevelopment to which we are accustomed today are recent phenomena in most places, so that, even where large parts of a historic townscape have been obliterated this century, one can expect to find a number of detailed, accurately surveyed maps to illustrate its former layout. Many of our medieval towns also underwent considerable 18th and 19th-century alterations and extensions. However, in marked contrast to the effects of modern urban redevelopment, these changes usually seem to have taken place within the existing framework of the town's plan (and that of its suburban fringe), or else to have extensively modified, but not obliterated, that framework, so that the earlier layout can still be reconstructed with care.

In general it may be that the small towns, and the larger non-urban settlements, of Britain will provide at least as much new information about medieval urbanism as comes from great cities like London, York or Southampton (cf. Hilton, 1979). Far more of these have survived into the 19th and 20th centuries with their medieval plan virtually intact, and there is often better documentary evidence for their earlier history than is commonly realised. Also it is these smaller places where the rural hinterland, just as much as the town itself, is most likely to have escaped the obliterations resulting from 19th and 20th-century industrialization and rapid population growth. A medieval town cannot be adequately studied in isolation; and the symbiotic relationships it has with the agrarian society round about it may be just as clearly (if differently) expressed in terms of local topography as they are in the place's written records or archaeology. In many instances, of course, this topographical evidence is all that survives, or else all that can realistically be looked for from the place.

The study of urban topography is clearly an important field of research in its own right. Its models may occasionally be rather flimsy or its conclusions superficial by comparison with the results of detailed documentary and archaeological research, but they have a far broader application through both time and space than any comparable expenditure on these other forms of study can produce. In addition, the overview they provide of a town's physical development can stimulate an awareness of context from which historians and excavators alike will benefit in their more specific work.

So in this context it is particularly useful to study the topography of a place like Lichfield and its hinterland.' The town itself is ideal. The basis of its plan is clearly still that of the new borough created in the mid 12th century by two successive bishops, and it retains a considerable number of its medieval buildings. It is depicted in a very useful series of maps which begins with Speed's of 1610, continues with two by John Snape of 1766 and 1781 (plate VI) and an excellent set of Tithe maps of 1849-51, and ends with a regular succession of Ordnance Survey maps including a 1 : 500 plan surveyed in 1884.

1. I am very grateful to the following for their assistance in the preparation of this paper: Dr. C. C. Dyer for his valuable criticism of a first draft, and Mr. M. O. H. Carver, Professor R. H. Hilton and Dr. R. N. Swanson for discussion of a number of points; Mrs. P. S. Bassett for her palaeographical assistance; the archivists and staff at Lichfield Joint Record Office; and Mr. J. Peart of the Birmingham University Dept. of Geography's map room. All opinions expressed here, however, and any errors are entirely mine.

As a borough founded by a bishop in one parish and immediately adjacent to another which were both peculiars of the Dean and Chapter, many aspects of its medieval and early modern topography are mentioned in the Cathedral's archives as well as in its own records. Finally, it is a place about which valuable topographical descriptions have been recorded incidentally at intervals for over 1200 years. On the debit side very little is known of the town's below-ground archaeology, despite the destruction of several key sites (Gould, 1976, 14-17 and fig. 8).

What we already know of Lichfield's origins and earlier growth is largely due to three fairly recent studies (Thorpe, 1954; Taylor, 1969; Gould, 1976). Before they appeared, the place was commonly thought to have developed organically in the Cathedral's shadow, encouraged by occasional episcopal initiatives. Not even Beresford's seminal work on created boroughs considered its plan worth a comment (1967, 486-9); while Thorpe noted the regularity of layout without realising its full significance (1954, 20). It was left to Taylor (1969) to identify Lichfield as a seigneurial plantation, probably created by Roger de Clinton towards the end of his episcopate (1129-49). It certainly seems to have existed by 1154,<sup>2</sup> but probably not for long as its market charter is likely to have followed soon after the borough's creation.

Taylor suggests that the rectangular grid of new streets, market-place and regularly apportioned burgage plots was not created in an empty landscape. Rather, it was put in a low-lying area roughly equidistant from the Cathedral and its probable adjacent settlement, another small but well established rural settlement by St. Michael's church at Greenhill, and a third one which may have lain in the area of Lower Sandford St. (1969, 49). The Cathedral and its Close have subsequently received detailed attention from Gould (1976) and from Carver in this volume.

So Lichfield's layout has already been discussed at length. However, its plan can reveal a great deal more about the place's origins and development if the techniques of topographical analysis are applied to it rather more rigorously than before. In presenting the results of such a study here, it is best to discuss the topographical evidence on its own in the first instance, treating it as an independent body of data. It can then be related to what is known of Lichfield from other sources as a separate operation. In this way one hopes to minimize the influence of preconceptions, both those of previous writers and one's own.

## THE TOPOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

Fig. 1 shows a number of landscape elements which all appear on the mid-19th-century Tithe maps of the area.<sup>3</sup> Each field boundary which has been included lies more or less parallel or at right angles to all the others in its vicinity. On the wider scale it is possible to see the main trend of these alignments occurring throughout the area, with due allowance made for variations in natural topography. In other words, the overall impression is that the majority, if not all, of these field boundaries belong to a pattern which is common to a great deal of the illustrated area.

2. The latest possible date for Stephen's market charter to Clinton's successor Walter Durdent (Cronne and Davis, 1968, no. 456).

3. St. Michael's, Lichfield (1849); St. Mary's, Lichfield (1850); St. Chad's, Stowe in Lichfield (1851).

Many roads have also been shown, all of which appear on the 1849-51 maps. Today some of these are major through-routes while others have effectively disappeared; but as potentially ancient features of Lichfield's landscape, they have all been given equal weighting in the figure. It will be seen that the majority of the roads fit in well with the pattern of alignments of the fields they lie between. Road 1 is a good example of this conformity: adjacent boundaries lie parallel to it or meet it at right angles, but they rarely continue the same course to either side of the road as though it had been laid out across them. A little to the south of the area covered by fig. 1, Watling Street also conforms to this same prevailing system to the west of *Letocetum*.

By contrast there are quite a few roads on fig. 1 whose courses are entirely at variance with the prevailing field system. Roads 8 and 9 illustrate this well. They lie at a diagonal angle to the boundaries, which also often appear on the same line to either side. Sometimes one can even make out a rectangle of boundaries which the road seems to cut across. All these characteristics point to the strong probability, approaching certainty in many cases, that the 'nonconformist' road is a secondary feature, laid out across a well established agrarian landscape. A glance at a large-scale modern map will show that this is exactly the impression made along the course of a new by-pass or motorway.

Some of the roads on fig. 1 which are clearly superimposed in this way were of relatively recent origin in 1849-51. Road 16, for example, now called Trent Valley Road, was created in 1835, and is, like roads 2, 5 (southern course), 7a, 8, 9 and 13, the product of turnpiking. Other turnpiked roads, however, were long-established through-routes whose existing course was improved with only minor alterations, as for instance road 7. But there are three roads on the figure which, although 'nonconformist', are apparently of much earlier origin; roads 10 (north of G), 11, and 15 (west of J). These are the crucial ones in the present discussion. Because they are superimposed across existing fields, the date of their construction must post-date the establishment of the system these fields belong to." This system may only be a very local one; but if (as here at Lichfield) it is apparently widespread, the implications of that *terminus ante quern* may be very considerable. Roads 10 and 15 both depart from 'conforming' courses, at G and J respectively, so as to head for major points of access to the borough's street grid.

More will be said of these two roads in later sections (pp. 106-9, 110-11). Here it is sufficient to note two things about them. The first is that lengths of the courses which they abandoned still survive, both on maps and in part on the ground, at F and K. Elsewhere field and property boundaries show their former lines. So it is possible to see something of the eventual destination of these roads before their traffic was diverted. The second point is that both diversions seem likely to belong to the earlier years of the borough's existence, since both become major roads within it and are associated with important aspects of its medieval layout. So even if they were not immediately laid out to serve the new borough, these roads are nonetheless almost certain to be medieval. Therefore they show us that the basic elements of the field system depicted in fig. 1 must already have been well established in the late middle ages. Further work, concentrated on the appropriate

4. Though, of course, it will not necessarily post-date the establishment of every boundary within the system; many of them will be much later subdivisions of these early fields. Boundaries not shown on fig. 1 are those on markedly different alignments, very often parallel or at right angles to the 'nonconformist' roads.

documentary evidence and on systematic field survey, would no doubt show how far these boundaries perpetuate the minor, as well as the major, subdivisions of the late medieval agrarian landscape (cf. Bassett and Dyer, 1979, 1980, and 1982).

The third superimposed road (11), however, is of even greater interest, because it is a major Roman road, Ryknild Street (Margary, 1957, 19-21, 38-9; Whiston, 1979 and refs.). For most of its course across the area of fig. 1 there was little or nothing left by 1849-51 of the field system which has survived well elsewhere, and therefore little against which to test the road's conformity. But in one section there is clear evidence that it was superimposed. For over three-quarters of a mile it passes diagonally through a group of fields of which three (around L) are cut in two by it. As this section of road is exactly on the line of the rest of Ryknild Street, there can be no doubt that, in this area at least, the road post-dates the origins of the field pattern it crosses, which must therefore be earlier Roman or pre-Roman.

This situation can in fact be paralleled elsewhere in lowland Britain. In Essex (Rodwell, 1978; Bassett, 1982) and parts of Wessex (Bonney, 1972), for example, detailed studies have shown that the prevailing alignments of field systems, and of the larger land units they belong to, are of similar antiquity. There is a particularly close analogue for the Lichfield area at Little Waltham, Essex. Excavation has demonstrated that a major road there, directly analogous to Ryknild Street, was built as a military road in the mid 1st century A.D., and that the field system it cut across (which, there also, was still predominant in the mid 19th century) was laid out in the 1st century B.C. (Drury, 1978, 134-6 and *passim*).

There are other roads at Little Waltham, however, which do conform to the field system. The two most important of them were demonstrably earlier than this military road, and so they (and perhaps others too) must have originated as prehistoric thoroughfares. The same is probably true of several of the 'conforming' roads at Lichfield.<sup>5</sup> Although fragmented by later alterations to their courses, similar thoroughfares can be discerned on fig. 1. Meeson (1976) has already suggested that road 7 forms part of one, and sections of others may survive in the line of roads 6-17 and of some of the north-south roads to either side of the main valley. Not all of these would have been important through-routes, of course, any more than their medieval or modern counterparts are. In fact it is easiest, and probably perfectly valid, to picture the network of prehistoric and Roman roads and tracks in areas like Little Waltham and Lichfield as essentially similar to that of the later periods. After all, many of them have stayed in use right through to the present day.

A summary of what we have learned by observing fig. 1, and by extrapolating from it, will be useful. In one part of the Lichfield area a known Roman road is demonstrably later than the main axes of the field system it crosses and, in some cases, than the individual fields. Those axes can be traced through into other parts of the area, and indeed are shared by a number of thoroughfares which reinforce the impression of an essential conformity of layout. So the basis of the whole area's layout may well be Roman (but earlier than Ryknild Street) or pre-Roman, and many of the individual boundaries and conforming roads within

5. Many of them, however, will be of much later origin, developing as purely local access tracks within a group of fields or furlongs whenever the need arose.

it will be equally ancient. Others (perhaps the majority) represent continuing subdivision and use of the layout throughout the medieval and modern periods, but always reflecting the ancient dominant alignments.

These observations prompt some general comment. As has been shown elsewhere in the West Midlands (Bassett and Dyer, 1979, 1980, and 1982), it is no longer safe to presume that there was no extensive settlement and agriculture in traditionally wooded areas like Lichfield until the medieval period (cf. Thorpe, 1954, 8-9). Here is not the place to discuss its wider implications, but one hopes that this realization will lead to detailed field survey around Lichfield, not least so as to locate its Romano-British and earlier rural settlement sites.

More specifically one now has a much clearer impression of the topographical context of Lichfield's earlier written history. Fig. 1 suggests that the valley below the Cathedral was far less of an obstacle to early traffic than it allegedly became in the later middle ages. In fact the local pattern of field boundaries and roads, wherever it shows through the urban landscape, seems to cross the stream unhindered. It is safe to believe that there was an early ford just west of the town at Sandford, perhaps on the earlier course of road 10, and there may have been others to the east. No doubt the valley bottom was sometimes marshy, but there is no reason why it should have been impassable until the 14th century, as is usually assumed; (also see below, pp. 109-10).

The Cathedral itself fits well enough into a local pattern of fields and roads extending far beyond its own area of topographical influence, and even the present structure has an alignment (30° north of east) much nearer to the field system's than to a true orientation. Road 19, which skirts the Cathedral Close on the N, seems to have moved from an original course immediately beside (or even below) the first church there. Road 1 may also once have passed very close to it, probably continuing across Curborough Brook to become road 18 (below, p. 109).

So there is really no need to think that the first churches at Lichfield (St. Chad's, St. Michael's and the Cathedral) were set in a remote, virgin landscape. Indeed, one or two of the sites could have had an extremely early, possibly pre-Anglo-Saxon, religious importance. One wonders, for instance, about the significance of the complete Roman pot found in association with human bones in Beacon St. in 1802 (Harwood, 1806, 511), and of the Roman flue tile from the Cathedral Close (above, pp. 6, 37). The timber structure(s) and the possibly associated burials on Carver's site (above, p. 37) may also be pre-Anglo-Saxon. There could well have been a domestic and/or religious site of that date beside the junction of two or more ancient through-routes at an important river crossing. Certainly it is no longer presumptuous to suggest that an Anglo-Saxon church was built on or beside a Roman (or sub-Roman) structure, sometimes one with a known religious function. A considerable number were (Morris and Roxan, 1980), and Lichfield Cathedral may prove to be another.

The new borough of the mid 12th century also fits well into the field system, with its street grid on the same axes and its perimeter apparently largely determined by the pre-existing layout. There is no obvious evidence of settlement on the site before its creation. As at Stratford-upon-Avon, for example (Slater and Wilson, 1977, 9), it seems to have been laid out on agricultural land, though probably on meadowland here rather than over the strips of an open field.



Fig. 1. Early landscape elements surviving into the mid-19th century in the vicinity of Lichfield



Fig. 2. Modern Lichfield, according to the 1923 edition of the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map

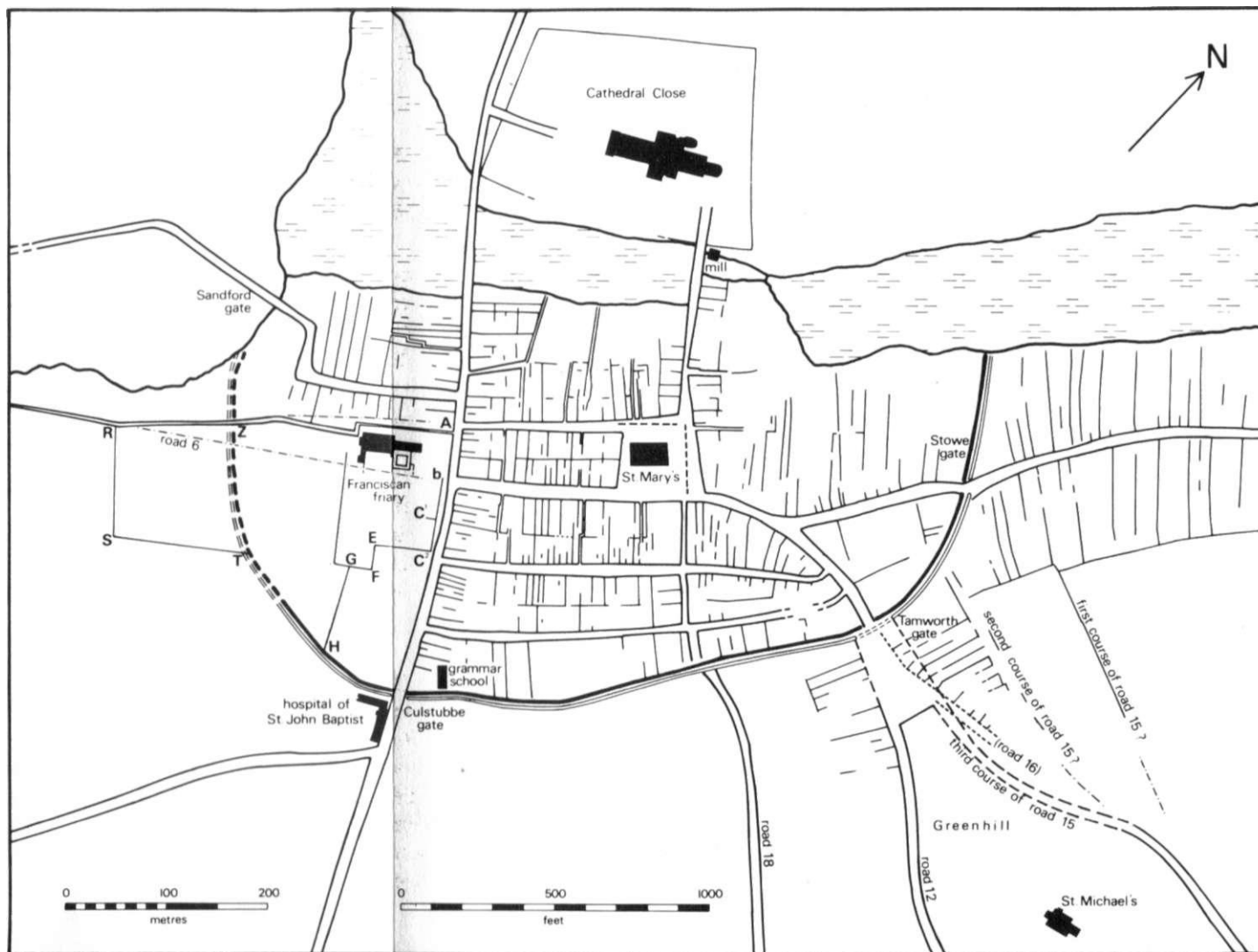


Fig. 3 Elements of medieval Lichfield on the basis of topographical, documentary, archaeological and architectural evidence. (Property boundaries shown within the *insulae* are those which appear on 19th and 20th-century maps at 40 ft. or 20 ft. intervals and so seem likely to be burgages or half burgage boundaries.)

# THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE BOROUGH

Taylor rightly commented on the rectilinear layout of quite a large part of the borough, while noting that the *insulae* (or 'chequers') become much less regular to the NE (1969, 45). But he did not try to explain these differences, or several other anomalies which he found in the plan. By detailed topographical analysis, however, one can show that the borough's layout was originally a great deal more uniform than we now see it. It had an extensive grid of streets, all set out to a strictly rectilinear plan, with no less than five or six streets on one axis and at least four on the other. Within each *insula* the land was divided into burgage plots, each 40 ft. wide by 80 ft. long and held for a fixed annual rent of 12d. (Isaac, 1977, 60).

First we need to reconstruct this primary layout, and then to study the ways in which different elements or areas have drifted away from it, or lost it altogether. This will reveal a great deal about the borough's origins and subsequent growth—not merely about its topographical development, but about its founder's ambitions and the extent to which they were realized.

Fig. 4 shows the town as it was in 1923 with an exact grid of red lines superimposed on it. The grid lines represent 40 ft. intervals on the ground.<sup>6</sup> As Taylor suggested (1969, 46), 40 ft. is clearly the basic module of the borough's entire plan, or at least a very close approximation to it.<sup>7</sup> Inevitably, encroachment and post-medieval road widening have often destroyed the absolute symmetry of the best preserved *insulae*, and elsewhere more serious alterations have left only the remnants of them. Yet so much does still conform to this basic layout, and (as will be seen) even more so to its internal subdivisions, that one cannot doubt its validity for the entire borough as first laid out in the mid 12th century.

## 1. Streets on the SW-NE axis

The three areas contained by the borough's four main parallel streets (*Market St.*, *Bore St.*, *Wade St.* and *Frog Lane*) were once 160 ft. wide between frontages. Three of these streets were each 40 ft. wide; but Bore St. seems to have been twice as wide at 80 ft. (below, p. 109). Beyond Frog Lane the boundary of St. Mary's parish coincides with the earliest known limit of the borough, and this line is usually taken as its medieval limit.<sup>8</sup> At most it lies just short of 200 ft. SE of Frog Lane and effectively parallel to it for some distance. So there could originally have been a further street here, running beside the borough's perimeter; but there is little evidence (above ground, at least) of such a

6. Each square is 1600 sq. ft. This grid, of course, is the writer's empirical device for analysing and accounting for the borough's plan.

7. The module may in fact have been 41.25 ft., i.e. 2.5 perches, in which case each burgage will have been of 2.5 by 5 perches (below p. 103). However, the borough's builders were clearly unable (or unconcerned) to lay out a straight line over any great distance or to subdivide it exactly. For this reason one cannot be sure which measurement was used. Certainly 40 ft. is a close enough estimate for present purposes. In any case our uncertainty about statute measurements and the prevalence of local variants at the time when most plantations were being laid out (Slater, 1981, 212) makes it safest to use the more enduring modular measurement.

8. But see below, p. 113, about its NE course.

road, and 'wall streets' are not in any case too common a feature of similar boroughs elsewhere.<sup>9</sup>

However, there can be no doubt that a 40 ft. street originally ran NE from Bird St., parallel to Market St. and 160 ft. NW of it. *Cock Alley* (formerly *Wroo Lane*) perpetuates its SW end, much narrower now and slightly askew, while it survives for a short distance beyond Dam St. as *Quonian's Lane*. Quite a few back boundaries on the earlier maps clearly mark the road's former course between these two remaining lengths. There may have been yet another parallel road even further to the NW. The remains of an alley-way which runs back for c. 230 ft. from Bird St. can be seen on the 1850 Tithe map. This is parallel to Market St. and fits exactly into the 40 ft. grid at a distance of 160 ft. beyond Cock Alley. There is no sign of any continuation further to the NE, to either side of Dam St.; but it is interesting to note that 80 ft. long burgages on its NW side (the standard original length) would have abutted tidily on the edge of Minster Pool.

Out of all these SW-NE streets, only three still continue for any distance beyond the line of Dam St., Conduit St. and Baker's Lane. The most interesting one is represented by *Bore St.*, the W part of *Tamworth St.*, and *Lombard St.* (which carries on outside the borough as *Stowe St.*). Its former course was a straight line; but it has deviated SE from this beyond the market-place, and only returns to its original course for the final 150 ft. to *Stowe Gate*. The chief evidence for the road's former line is behind the buildings fronting onto the NW side of Tamworth St.—Lombard St. There, the side and rear property boundaries are still on the grid alignment. However, as the road slowly migrated ever further to the SE, the boundaries and building lines nearest to it also moved, in a continual effort to stay at right angles to the street. This realigning of boundaries as a road migrates is a common feature of urban topography. It can be seen elsewhere in Lichfield on the NE side of St. John's St., for example, and the N side of Church St. (formerly Greenhill).

Both *Wade St.* (as *Back* or *Backcester Lane*) and *Frog Lane* once continued through to Tamworth St., and perhaps beyond. The earlier maps show how both had their routes deflected—Frog Lane's seriously—by development of the extensive property called Redcourt (fig. 3). A prominent property boundary on the far side of Tamworth St. continues the line Frog Lane takes to meet this road. While this may not be significant, it could indicate that Frog Lane and Backcester Lane formerly converged in the area beyond Tamworth St.

Snape's maps and the 1850 Tithe map suggest that *Market St.* once carried on beyond Dam St. Its former continuation is reasonably obvious for c. 270 ft.; but after that there is only the occasional short length of back boundary to show that it might have gone further. *Sandford St.* and other roads to the SW of Bird St. will be discussed separately (below, p. 106).

## 2. Streets on the NW-SE axis

Streets on the borough's other axis are much rarer. To the NW of its junction with Cock Alley, *Bird St.* conforms exactly to the grid, apparently 40 ft. wide. However, fig. 4

9. The alleyway (Castle Dyke—Gresley Row) and its continuation George Lane are far likelier to be a road which developed in the largely filled up ditch of the borough's perimeter earthwork. This is quite a common occurrence.



shows that, in the opposite direction, it and its continuation, *St. John's St.*, move progressively further away from their 'ideal' course, as the result of a major reorganization of this area (below, p. 106). Some distance to the NE, *Dam St.*, *Conduit St.*, and *Baker's Lane* together represent a second 40 ft. street on the NW-SE axis. The considerable dislocation of *Conduit St.* seems to be part of a late-18th/early-19th century replanning<sup>10</sup> of the NW and NE sides of the market-place. New frontages were established, at right angles to each other but away from the earlier lines. The scheme presumably re-established a continuous road of suitable width around these two sides, to compensate for substantial encroachment by buildings in the market-place itself. The Corn Exchange of 1849-50 (Pevsner, 1974, 195) replaced a group of small houses built right across the original course of *Conduit St.* (plate VI). The earlier maps also show buildings to the NW of *St. Mary's church* which would similarly have blocked *Market St.*

There is nothing unusual in finding extensive encroachment near a medieval town's market-place which has caused whole lengths of street to be lost. The solution adopted here in the 18th-19th centuries is an interesting one, which can be understood and assigned to its proper historical context by noting topographical and architectural evidence. The Tithe map proves that similar encroachment and rerouting explains the dislocation of the SE part of *Baker's Lane*. In this instance, however, the road itself may have migrated towards a track outside the borough called *Levett's Field* (below, P. 109).

The only other street in Lichfield which obviously follows the NW-SE axis is *Breadmarket St.* But in fact this is not an original street. Its SW side is really one edge of the market-place, which, as Taylor noted (1969, 45), was a square of land left vacant at one end of the *insula* between *Market St.* and *Bore St.* In the original scheme its maximum dimensions were 240 ft. SW-NE by 280 ft. NW-SE, (but the 40 ft. difference is accounted for by the doubled width of *Bore St.*). *St. Mary's church* was probably an original feature of the market-place; it was certainly there by c. 1260 (Vicars' Muniments, B 104). *St. Mary's* three successive structures apparently all sat in the same central position, aligned on the grid, though too little is known about the earliest one's architecture for us to guess its date of construction (Harwood, 1806, 406; Pevsner, 1974, 190).

One other street certainly once ran on the NW-SE axis, though it has now deviated a long way from it. This is *Tamworth St.*, between *Tamworth Gate* and its junction with *Lombard St.* Presumably it could migrate this far for the same reason as the *Bore St.*—*Lombard St.* section did. The area to the SE of the latter cannot have been properly built up, unlike the areas further W, with the result that roads could eventually stray from their original courses on the mid-12th-century grid, taking whatever short cuts the predominant traffic flow dictated. So *Tamworth St.* moved to a more direct line between its gate and the market-place, and *Lombard St.* shifted slightly to meet it. *Tamworth St.*'s earlier alignment is suggested by some boundaries to the N of it, and, beyond *Lombard St.*, by what looks like an alley-way shown used as a rope-walk on *Snape's* 1781 map (plate VI).

10. On architectural evidence.

11. Formerly *Wommones-Chepyng* (Harwood, 1806, 329, 478 and note 82). On the 1850 Tithe map *Conduit St.*, between *Market St.* and *Bore St.*, is called *Butcher Row*, and the area just SW of it is *Pot Market*.

There may once have been other roads on this axis, in particular in the densely built up areas in the middle of the borough. Fig. 3 shows the fragments of alley-ways that appear on the 18th and 19th-century maps. Some of them may once have formed parts of streets as substantial as the main survivors; but it is obvious that, on this axis, only through-routes would escape from eventually being engulfed by encroachment.

### 3. *Burgage plots within the borough*

Throughout the borough it is clear that the standard size of a burgage was originally 40 ft. wide by 80 ft. long, along streets on both axes.<sup>12</sup> A great many of these can still be seen on Lichfield's late-19th and early-20th-century maps (fig. 3), and many of them in its townscape today. Almost as frequent are halved burgages of 20 ft. width. The entire layout of these burgages and their subdivisions conforms exactly to the grid on which the streets were all first laid out in the mid 12th century. As fig. 3 shows, the common back boundaries midway between parallel streets (80 ft. to the rear) are still prominent in all of the central *insulae*. At one point near the market-place the ditch forming the back boundary between Market St. and Bore St. is still fossilized in the building lines (plate VIII).

The very fact that so many of the original burgages and their simple subdivisions can still be quite easily made out is testimony to the borough's relatively slow progress towards urbanism. There cannot ever have been a sufficiently active market in real property in Lichfield, such as characterized the most successful boroughs and caused so much dislocation of their original burgage layout (Hilton, 1975). The impression is greatly reinforced by the grid's disappearance over wide areas beyond the central *insulae*. The mid-12th-century plan was too ambitious by far. Its scale presumably reflects the founder's grandiose ambitions for Lichfield, similarly expressed in the complete rebuilding of the church around St. Chad's shrine (above, p. 32). But despite Lichfield's importance as a place of pilgrimage and a local market centre, the borough may at first have offered too few privileges to prospective burgesses, and too few economic opportunities, for it to match its founder's expectations (below, pp. 118-19). Ecclesiastical lords tended to be among the least generous or lax owners of new boroughs, and Lichfield's topographical history suggests that its bishops were no exception.

So, as often happened elsewhere, the original scheme was on too large a scale (Beresford, 1967, 154 and *passim*; Bassett, 1982, section 1.6) and not enough people could be attracted to fill it. A survey of the Bishop of Lichfield's estates in 1298 (SRO, D(W) 1734, J2268, fo. 1<sup>v</sup>; Isaac, 1977, 60) shows that 283 burgages were each paying *lid.* and 3 1/2 others were held rent free. This sum of £14 35. *Od.* was a pleasing return no doubt, enough to leave most of the bishops relatively unconcerned about their predecessor's over-ambitiousness. However, 286 *Vi* burgages are only half the number which the enclosed area of Lichfield borough could have contained at even the most conservative estimate. A great many other burgage plots were presumably unoccupied and so do not figure in the 1298 survey.<sup>13</sup> Sooner or later they would have been absorbed by occupied ones, as would even some of the streets which bounded them. This certainly seems the case on the NW sides of Market St. and Lombard St.

12. Or 2.5 by 5 perches; see note 7.

13. But see note 31.

But not every bishop was content to collect his annual rent and do no more. One of them at least, probably Walter Langton (1296-1321), took a further initiative, probably in response to the great fire of 1291 (below, pp. 107-8). This is made plain by the W part of the borough's topography.

4. *Bird St.—St. John's St. and the area to the W, including the Franciscan Friary*

We have already noticed how the course of *Bird St.* and its continuation *St. John's St.* moves progressively further (from NW to SE) from its 'ideal' line on the mid-12th-century grid. This is one of several topographical anomalies in the W part of the borough for which there may be an explanation in common. Another is the curious route which *Sandford St.* takes to leave the borough, turning through two right angles and eventually going through a gate which lies on the same grid line as one of the early streets beyond Bird St. (fig. 4).

The third obvious anomaly is the course of *Friar's Alley*. Within the borough this skirts the N side of the Franciscan Friary's lands at their fullest extent, but once beyond them it immediately changes direction. A glance at fig. 3 shows that this realignment brought it right into line with *Bore St.* and its NE continuations Lombard St. and Stowe St.—a line, in fact, from which the Friary must have diverted it. There can be no doubt that the Friary site has interrupted an important road, one indeed with all the characteristics of an early through-route.<sup>14</sup> Recalling the considerable prominence which Bore St. has in the borough's plan from its double width, one can confidently suggest that this long-distance road crossed the area for a long time before the rectilinear street grid was created. This is the medieval borough's main axis, not as one would think today the NW-SE one which the line of Bird St.—St. John's St. emphasizes; and there is confirmation of this in early references to Bore St. as the borough's *alta via* (*high street*).<sup>15</sup>

This throws important light on the early history of the Friary. It is no coincidence, of course, that the friars' church lay beside this former through-route, on its NW side (fig. 3).<sup>16</sup> For here is demonstrably where its original land endowment was situated, the **5V2** burgages which it occupied rent free in 1298 and thereafter (Isaac, 1977, 60). By tradition these were the gift of the Friary's founder, Alexander Stavensby, bishop from 1224 to 1238 (Toulmin Smith, ii, 100; *VCH*, 1970, 268).

Most of what we know of the Friary's topography comes from incidental information in written sources (usefully summarized in Martin, 1937, 163-8) and from maps. Besides those which cover the whole town, there is John Hill's 1638 map of the Friary precinct (plate VII), which Harwood reproduces with a list of ground measurements (1806, plan opp. 480, and 483-5).<sup>17</sup> This is an extremely valuable source, since it strongly suggests

14. It had adopted its present course by 1610 (Speed's map). To the W, its course is interrupted by Trunkfield Mill (at E on fig. 1), and cannot be reliably traced beyond it.
15. Of which the earliest I can find is of c. 1260, in a grant of *quamdam placeam terre mee in Lich' iuxta altam viam ejusdem civitatis ex opposito capelle b'e marie in eadem* (Vicars' Muniments, B 104); the abutments given in this and later grants in the same bundle (*ibid*) leave little doubt that the plot lay on the SE side of Bore St. opposite the market-place.
16. It is sadly ironic that the construction of Friary Road in 1925-8, which effectively re-established the course of this early road, should have led to the discovery and 'excavation' of the friars' church and main claustral buildings.

where the precinct's major subdivisions lay at its greatest extent (fig. 3). One of those subdivisions coincides with the site of the excavated church and major claustral buildings. The piece of land in question is recorded as 154 ft. wide (ie NW-SE; this is A-b on Hill's map). However, this measurement includes the adjacent course of Friar's Alley, so that one can well believe it exactly represents the width of *3/4*i standard (40 ft.) burgages, with an extra 14 ft. for the alley-way.

The meagre archaeological evidence from the site apparently reinforces this. The church and its main claustral buildings were poorly excavated in 1933-4 and even more poorly reported (Laithwaite, 1934; Martin, 1937). There is a carefully drawn but superficial plan in Martin's treatise on Franciscan architecture (1937, fig. opp. 172) which shows that the excavated church lay hard up against the NW side of its eventually extensive precinct. This suggests that the structure was built at an early period in the Friary's history, when there was very little available land. Otherwise it would presumably have been situated in a less cramped position. It may well not have been the first church on the site. That could have lain to the NE, in the area between the excavated choir and St. John's St., by analogy with monastic sites like Bordesley abbey (Webster and Cherry, 1976, 178; 1980, 239). The early cemetery could also have lain there (ibid; Harwood, 1806, 488; Martin, 1937, 171).

The plan depicts the excavated church with two adjacent cloisters, the larger one flanking the nave and the smaller one tucked up against the choir. We have no archaeological information about the structural relationship of these cloisters—that is, whether they were built together or at quite different times—but there is documentary evidence that both still stood at the Friary's dissolution in 1538 (Martin, 1937, 165-6). Only two other Franciscan friaries are known to have had two cloisters, and in both instances the smaller cloister lay some distance from the church, separated from it by the greater one and very probably associated with an infirmary (Martin, 1937, 30). At Lichfield, however, it seems likelier that the small cloister, lying in its entirety to the NW of the Bore St. continuation, was the earlier one; and that the large cloister was added (as one of more suitable size and site) once the road had been cut off and the Friary's lands extended to the SE (by 1329; Cal. Pat. 1327-1330, 465). This first extension apparently contained the main cemetery. Later land grants greatly increased the precinct's size, but the church was never repositioned.<sup>18</sup>

Shutting off part of such an important road cannot have been a small matter; but it could just as well have been achieved by the friars slowly persuading traffic to divert round the outside of their precinct, once they had land to either side of the road,

17. The map is not fully annotated—no point C is shown—and does not correspond to the list of measurements, which is itself defective. The chief problems are (i) the measurement of 154 ft., which Harwood gives for distance A-B, is in fact for A-b; and (ii) the list uses C for two separate points: A-B-C is a straight line, but A-C is given as 379 ft., A-B as 154 ft., and B-C as 125 ft. If one labels the two points as C' and C" (fig. 3), B on Hill's map is actually C' (125 ft. from b), and C" is 379 ft. from A. Other inaccuracies further SE are irrelevant to the present discussion.

18. Harwood argued, from the word *habitatio* used by both medieval sources to describe the Friary buildings lost in the great fire of 1291 (refs in note 22, below) that the church itself survived (1806, 481). This view has recently been rejected (Gould, 1976, 12) on the grounds that the 13th-century church must have been of timber. However, the topographical and archaeological evidence seems to support Harwood.

as by any sweeping seigneurial initiative on their behalf.<sup>19</sup> However, that cannot be the case with the other major changes of layout in this part of the borough, even though they may have occurred at much the same time. These clearly resulted from a replanning of the area on so extensive a scale that it could only have been effected by the borough's owner.

The chief feature of this replanning seems to have been the creation of two entirely new roads. One of them, mainly *St. John's St.* within the borough, ran to the SW end of Minster Pool from a point of origin in the countryside c. 1200 yds. (c. 1.1 km) to the S. of Lichfield (above, p. 96). Fig. 4 shows the road's course to be noticeably at variance with the 'ideal' grid alignment as far as Cock Alley. From there onwards, however, (as *Bird St.*) it is strictly aligned. The creation of this new road is reflected in the altered courses of three streets which join it from the NE. Frog Lane, Wade St. and Bore St. all diverge from the grid (as indeed do all the adjacent property boundaries) as they change direction in order to meet *St. John's St.* at right angles. Market St. may not have needed to turn, but in any case a slight change there would have been eradicated by late-18th-century road widening (Laithwaite, 1947, 44).

*Sandford St.* (or at least the majority of it) may also have been newly established at much the same time. Before *St. John's St.* was created there is no good reason why the borough's main SW-NE streets should not have continued much nearer towards its SW perimeter. Bore St. certainly did; the position of *Sandford Gate* suggests that it originally served a different road; and the NW and SE limits of the Friary precinct nearest *St. John's St.* presumably reflect the former extension of Market St. and Wade St. respectively. *Sandford St.*, however, does not continue the line of any of these streets; nor does it conform to the grid alignment with any strictness towards its SW end (though that could be as a result of changes accompanying the construction of Queen St.—Walsall Road in 1833). It looks like a secondary feature in the townscape. There are burgage plots along both sides of *Sandford St.*, which may initially have been 80 ft. long.<sup>20</sup>

Another new street was apparently laid out parallel to *Sandford St.* and 160 ft. to the NW, of which a passageway on the 1850 Tithe map (whose line is continued by property boundaries) is the partial survivor. This street seems to be heading for *Sandford Gate*, and so its eventual disappearance could provide a simple explanation for *Sandford St.*'s curious route. But the gate itself is probably an original feature of the mid-12th-century plan (below, p. 112 and note 25), giving access to the borough from the area between the Leomansley and Trunkfield Brooks.

5. *The mid-12th-century layout in the W part of the borough*

Beyond noticing that the borough's SW-NE streets probably once ran beyond *St. John's St.*'s line, it is difficult to reconstruct the superseded layout in this W area. There

19. A similar process of exclusion can be seen at Walden Abbey, Essex, and elsewhere (Bassett, 1982, section 1.5(e); ed. Royce, 1903, 105-6).
20. On the SE side, the remains of a common rear boundary can be seen on the 1850 Tithe map 80 ft. from the frontage. Its course strongly suggests that the original diversion of Friar's Alley round the Friary precinct was designed to join onto the continuation of Market St. SW of *St. John's St.* Speed's map of 1610 and Ogilby's (1698, plate 22) both reinforce this view. On the NW side, however, there is little evidence of a similarly distant rear boundary line.

are, however, one or two clues. It seems likely enough, for instance, that the part of *Bird St.* conforming to the 'ideal' grid is all that survives of a NW-SE street which originally ran to the borough's SE perimeter. The majority of property boundaries at right angles to the NE side of St. John's St. are entirely SW of the line this road would have taken.

However, one building between the two roads clearly mirrored the latter's alignment despite its closeness to St. John's St. This was the *Lichfield grammar school*, a rectangular brick structure erected between 1577 and 1587 (*VCH*, 1979, 160 and note 10) which survived until its rebuilding on the same site in 1848-50 (*VCH*, 1979, 160 and note 26). It is shown on Snape's maps of 1766 and 1781, as well as on the town's later ones. This structure apparently replaced the 'tenement or brick-house now used as a School, called the New School' referred to in a conveyance of 1577 (SRO, D(W) 617/2; Harwood, 1806, 497) and quite possibly erected soon after 1495 as part of Bishop William Smith's refoundation of the Hospital of St. John Baptist (*VCH*, 1979, 159; Laithwaite, 1925, 22). Though nothing is known of this earliest building's precise site, it is quite likely that the succession of schools on the same piece of land perpetuated the line of the NW-SE street which St. John's St. superseded.

There was presumably another street on the same original alignment, 200 ft. to the SW, but if so it has disappeared almost without trace. This would have run NW from *Culstubbe Gate*—which is first recorded as early as 1208 (MRA, no. 42)—and so would once have crossed the site of the excavated Friary church.<sup>21</sup> There is no way of telling, however, if there were any other streets of the original layout in the area.

#### 6. *The chronology of the topographical alterations*

So far we have concentrated on the main changes made to the borough's mid-12th-century plan from a purely topographical standpoint. Now, however, they must be related to Lichfield's known history. Immediately a context is apparent and an obvious candidate for perpetrator of this reorganization of the borough's W part.

Two early sources record that Lichfield suffered from a major fire in 1291 (Wharton, 1691, i, 447; ed. Luard, 1866, 365). Though differing in their precise wording, both sources show that a very large part of the borough, if not all of it, was burned, and that the western part certainly suffered badly, since the Friary was destroyed.<sup>22</sup> This happened very near the end of the long episcopate of Roger Meuland (1257-95).<sup>23</sup> His successor Walter Langton (1296-1321) is well known as one of Lichfield's most energetic builders. He erected much of the Cathedral's W front and was responsible for its Lady Chapel (*VCH*, 1970, 157), and he re fortified the Close with a stone wall (Wharton, 1691, i, 442).

21. This is quite feasible, whether the church was the first or the second in the friars' precinct, and can be paralleled elsewhere (see note 19).
22. Though probably not the church (above, p. 105). Wharton, 1691, i, 447; *Anno Domini MCCXCI mensis Mail die iv civitas Lichfeldiae et tota habitatio Fratrum Minorum combusta sunt* (on 4 May 1291 the city of Lichfield and the entire house of the Friars Minor were burned); ed. Luard, 1866, 365; *Anno gratiae MCCXCI per infortunium combusta est fere tota villa de Lycheffeld et habitatio Fratrum Minorum, sed clausum canonicorum est salvatum* (in the year of grace 1291 by misfortune almost the entire town of Lichfield was burned, also the house of the Friars Minor, but the canons' close was saved). For the authorship and date of the former, see *VCH*, 1970, 140 note 13, and of the latter, ed. Luard, 1866, x-xiv.
23. Less than a year after the borough had received a grant of pavage for two years, dated 28 May, 18 Edward I (1290); unless, that is, the fire was really on 4 May 1290 (not 1291), and an actual date in 18 Edward I (20 November 1289/19 November 1290) was incorrectly converted in the source from which the two surviving accounts were drawn (Cheney, 1948, 20).

Langton was also very active in the borough. He built a stone causeway across the W end of Minster Pool (ibid; Cal. Pat. 1348-1350, 56) and, allegedly, also the one at its E end,<sup>24</sup> as well as obtaining pavage grants for Lichfield for a total of 21 years (Cal. Pat. 1292-1301, 408; 1307-1313, 440-1; 1317-1321, 518-19). Further grants were made to his successor, Roger Northburgh, ending in 1345 (Cal. Pat. 1334-1338, 119; 1338-1340, 126; 1343-1345, 519). Taken together these grants indicate a major programme of works, and no doubt represent the slow recovery of Lichfield from the 1291 fire. Here, then, is an obvious context for the rationalization of much of the borough's W area, including the replacement of old streets with new ones on different lines (such as Sandford St.) and perhaps the enlarging of the Friary precinct.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time it seems easy enough to conclude that Langton's causeway across the W end of Minster Pool must also date the creation of St. John's St. Certainly this new street would not have been laid out until the pool could be properly crossed there; and the extent to which it cuts across the earlier layout suggests its creation was at a time of major works, such as no doubt followed the 1291 fire. But there may be a serious obstacle to this neat explanation of how and when all these important changes occurred.

This obstacle can be seen in the plan of the *Hospital of St. John Baptist*, which lay just outside Culstubble Gate on the continuation of St. John's St. Its present plan shows buildings ranged round four sides of a square cloister. The main building on the NW is the Hospital's chapel, a simple rectangle of six bays with an early /mid-13th-century *terminus ante quern* on reliable architectural grounds; while its NE range comprises a wing rebuilt in brick in or soon after 1495-6 (*VCH*, 1970, 286).<sup>26</sup>

However, the Hospital's layout certainly does not share the alignment of the borough's street grid, nor evidently did it as early as the earlier 13th century. This may create a major chronological problem. For if the Hospital was in existence by the mid 13th century (as it may well have been since the mid 12th),<sup>27</sup> and Culstubble Gate was too (MRA, no. 42), there must have been a road approaching them from the countryside by then. And as the Hospital's alignment presumably reflected the road's in its vicinity, the latter must have been more or less on St. John's St.'s extramural line. In other words the chronological problem is this: either the whole road from point G on road 10 (fig. 1) to Minster Pool was laid out much earlier than Bishop Langton's time, thereby as good as proving that his stone causeway merely replaced an earlier means of crossing the water; or else the extramural road was created a long while before St. John's St. within the borough.

24. Langton is usually alleged to have built the first causeway on both lines (e.g. by Harwood, Thorpe, Taylor), but I have found no evidence to associate him with the Dam St. causeway. On the contrary, Cal. Pat. 1348-1350, 56 suggests that it was already in existence by his time; j(l am most grateful to Mr. J. Gould for drawing my attention to this reference).

25. There is a reference to Sandford Gate in a charter of before October 1208 (MRA, no. 112), but the earliest reference I have found to Sandford St. is *temp.* Edward I (*SHC*, 1886, 182, B 93).

26. The grant of a chantry 'within the bounds of their hospital' between 1224 and 1238 (MRA, no. 420) may provide a more precise *terminus ante quern*. The new brick wing was clearly erected at a time when the Hospital's land was more strictly confined on its NE side than originally. For not only was it built on a slightly different angle from the Hospital's older ones, but it was also forced to 'overlap' the chapel quite considerably (e.g. *VCH*, 1970, plate opp. 286). This unsatisfactory arrangement was no doubt due to St. John's St.'s greater width by then, or its slightly altered course in the immediate vicinity.

27. It was traditionally founded by 'Bishop Roger'; if this is true, he must be Roger de Clinton, the borough's probable founder (*VCH*, 1970, 279 and note 1).

There is no way of learning the right answer without archaeological excavation. Either explanation could be correct, or indeed a combination of both. St. John's St. is undoubtedly a secondary element in the townscape; the comprehensive rectilinearity of the mid-12th-century plan, wherever reconstructed, clearly precludes it as an original feature. However, there is no reason why its extramural course should not have been one. Indeed, the borough's founder had ample motive to force as much of the district's traffic to pass through the place as he could. Every traveller was a potential source of income to him, directly through tolls or court fines or indirectly from a contribution of some sort to the borough's prosperity. When Geoffrey de Mandeville undertook an urban venture similar to Clinton's and at very much the same time, he gained royal permission to shut off a length of the main London to Cambridge road, so as to divert its traffic through his new market-place at Walden, nearly a mile away. The new road he built for this purpose is still a prominent feature of the landscape (Cronne and Davis, 1968, no. 274; Bassett, 1982, section 1.5(c) and fig. 4). So the diversion of road 10 onto a new course heading straight for the borough may well have been done early on, perhaps even as part of the original scheme of plantation.

Once inside the borough the traveller could probably find at least one means of crossing to the other side of the valley, even in the place's earliest years. A deed of 1176 mentions 'a burgage on the Lichfield causeway' (MRA, no. 495). At that early date it is most unlikely that *burgagium* would be used to describe any tenement except one in the borough; and, *pace* Thorpe (1954, 20), *calcia*, 'dam, causeway', is a specific enough term for there to be no doubt about its meaning. Even without this useful early reference one could have confidently presumed the presence of at least one ford, bridge, or other crossing place in the borough from its outset.

Moreover, there is no reason why there should not have been one there for a long while before the mid 12th century. Several of the through-routes which fig. 1 shows on a generally NW-SE line across the Lichfield area could be thought to maintain a line to either side of the valley; but one of them in particular seems to do so. This is made up of roads 1 and 14 and, between them, the track called Levett's Field (road 18). Within the borough Dam St., Conduit St. and Baker's Lane effectively continue this line to the causeway at the head of Minster Pool.<sup>28</sup>

There is a good possibility that we have here identified a second through-route across the future borough's site (cf. Cal. Pat. 1348-1350, 56). It would once have gone over the stream below the Cathedral by a ford or bridge. Later on, whenever Minster Pool was created—at different times used for defensive purposes (Thorpe, 1954, 19), to drive a mill and for pisciculture<sup>29</sup>—it was raised onto a dam. Travellers entering the borough from the S would presumably have approached it along the streets of the grid. They would have done the same, no doubt, to reach any crossing place preceding Langton's stone causeway at the W end of

28. There was apparently no gate at the SE end of Baker's Lane; so it is interesting to see how this street migrated to rejoin Levett's Field once the borough's earthwork was no longer an effective obstacle.

29. The bishop had two mills at Lichfield in 1086 (*VCH*, 1958, 42), one of which may have been there, as may the bishop's mill recorded in 1252 (MRA, no. 352). A deed of 1176 refers to 'a tithe of the fish from the bishop's fishponds in Lichfield' (MRA, no. 497), and Minster Pool was known as *vivarium Lichfeldense* (e.g. Wharton, 1619, i, 442).

the pool. Only later on, most probably after the 1291 fire, was a direct route constructed to it as a continuation of the extramural course of St. John's St.

#### 7. *The Greenhill area*

The area between St. Michael's church and the borough has seen a number of important changes to its topography. There can be little doubt of the antiquity of St. Michael's present site (Finberg, 1971; Gould, 1975), which was presumably a focus of early medieval settlement (Taylor, 1969, 49). However, its proximity to the new borough has destroyed the area's identity, so that nothing is known of that settlement at present.

One important topographical change was to the roads in St. Michael's vicinity. At present road 12 (fig. 1) runs SE to a junction with roads 13 and 14, but this arrangement is clearly secondary. Road 13 has a 'nonconformist' course; so too does the nearer part of 12, which has been diverted from a line apparently parallel with 14. Further N, road 15 was also diverted to the W of J, (long before the construction of 16). Its original course is uncertain; but, judging from the prevailing trend of topographical alignments in the area, it is probably marked by the line of field boundaries through K. This course would have taken the road just NE of the borough, so that its eventual diversion towards Tamworth Gate is reminiscent of what happened to road 10 to the SW.

This redirection of roads near St. Michael's was obviously part of a scheme to concentrate all traffic from the E and SE on Tamworth Gate (or its predecessor in the vicinity). Eventually a trapezoidal open space—probably a new market-place—was created just outside the gate, and regular tenements (35 ft. wide) were laid out along its N and S edges. (At some time 35 ft. tenements were also put along either side of Stowe St. for some distance from Stowe Gate.) The S edge of this extramural open space had not moved too far from its original line by the time of Snape's maps, though there had clearly been considerable encroachment near the gate.

However, the N edge presents difficulties. These seem to arise from the continuing influence of an intermediate arrangement in the area. There is clear evidence (fig. 1) that road 15 formerly ran some distance N of its 18th/19th-century line, where its course is marked by a surviving length of hollow-way and a consistent alignment of rear boundaries. It may well have passed through a gate on that line: the early maps (especially Snape's of 1781) suggest that its course could have continued to Lombard St. Presumably road 12 also used this gate, running to join 16 just outside it in the same way that Birmingham Road (the continuation of 8 and 9 on fig. 1) joins St. John's St. at Culstubble Gate.

So it seems that one can trace a succession of different layouts in this area. Initially several well established roads were diverted in order to carry their traffic to one of the borough's gates. Later on, the site of this gate was apparently moved (becoming Tamworth Gate), an open space with adjacent 35 ft. wide tenements was laid out in front of it, and the relevant roads were diverted. Besides the roads themselves, the main evidence for these alterations comes from the marked change of direction made by the property boundaries on the N side of Greenhill. They encroached progressively more into the road the nearer they lay to Tamworth Gate, with the result that their common frontage changed its alignment quite considerably. As is usual, the buildings there continually realigned themselves on the

new frontage, with the result that its migration is mirrored in changes of angle in the side and rear boundaries of their tenements.

The earliest references to the area are generally undated. A tenement outside Tamworth Gate is mentioned in a deed of *c.* 1208 (MRA, no. 112), but this need not refer to the gate on its later site. In 1246 two messuages outside Tamworth Gate carried a rent of 2s. (MRA, no. 213), though there is no specific reference to burgages there (or outside Stowe Gate) until the 1250s or later (MRA, no. 432).<sup>30</sup> So the considerable replanning of this area was presumably complete by the mid 13th century or thereabouts; though it could conceivably date from rather earlier.

It is possible to guess what prompted the scheme. Each new tenement may have had a much larger area than those inside the borough—though only 35 ft. wide, they probably extended back about 200 ft.—but was held for the same annual rent of 12d. They would also have been better placed for trade than many of the burgages on the outer edges of the borough, or much more so if the open space they fronted was a new market-place.

The addition of a second market-place often showed that a place's main one had become too congested, and perhaps also the streets leading into it. Or else a more spacious site might seem preferable for livestock sales, though it could merely be created in the first place as a marshalling area for carts or livestock waiting to go in to a central market-place (Keene, 1975, 73-4). Many small planted boroughs had this secondary feature in their plan, which cannot always have signified the place's growing commercial success (cf. Bassett and Drury, 1976, 133).

However, it probably did in this instance. Lichfield's original market-place was always likely to prove inadequate, even though stalls could also be set up in Bore St. (SHC, 1886, 177 note 1). The presence of St. Mary's church reduced the available space, and would also have encouraged the erection of other permanent buildings around. A deed of *c.* 1242 refers to a stall there which, though only 8 ft. by 7 ft., paid an annual rent of 12d. silver and cost its new tenant nearly £9 to acquire (MRA, no. 153). Space was apparently in some demand in the middle of the borough," but unwanted on its periphery (as the excavation in Wade St. has shown; above pp. 85-92). So the new market-place and burgages at Greenhill, with others presumably laid out along Stowe St. at much the same time, were a sensible scheme to increase the borough's attractiveness and its owner's revenues. Such schemes were clearly successful. By the late 14th century the poll-tax evidence shows that Lichfield had become the most populous place in Staffordshire (Thorpe, 1954, 31-2), with an occupational structure which demonstrates its fully urban character by then.

30. The introduction of the term *burgage* is chronologically quite significant. It suggests that they were held under *burgage* tenure—rather than merely as extramural tenements to which no such rights were attached—and therefore that the borough's limits had been extended to include them. However, in the 18th century the area was outside the borough.

31. Though Harwood refers to a deed of 1387-8 which concerns *unum messuagium el unam vacuam placeam terre non aedificatamj cum pertin' suis in Lichefeld situat' in vico vocato Wommones-Chepyng* (a messuage and an empty plot of land which has not been built on, with their appurtenances, situated in Lichfield in the street called Women's Market), (1806, 478 note 82).

#### 8. *The perimeter earthworks and 'Lichfield Castle'*

There need be little doubt that the borough once had some sort of perimeter earthwork, allegedly the work of Roger de Clinton.<sup>32</sup> This was probably a fairly substantial bank and ditch, but without embellishments such as a palisade. There is no evidence that the bank was ever replaced or supplemented by a wall, or that the gates were of any architectural pretension.<sup>33</sup> Such an earthwork was, of course, potentially defensive, but its main functions would have been to control access to the borough, so that tolls and dues could be collected and law and order more easily enforced, and to give it prestige and a sense of privileged community.

There are several medieval references to the borough's ditch as a feature on which properties abutted, but these rarely contain enough specific topographical information for us to identify the length of ditch concerned with any particular line in the townscape (e.g. MRA, no. 337; Harwood, 1806, 500). Among the exceptions are a later-13th-century reference to the town ditch (*fossatum ville*) at Sandford Gate (MRA, no. 724); and a number of 15th-century references, given by Barns (1914, 125-6), to its course along the SE side of the borough between Culstubbe Gate and Stowe Gate. In a much later context the 1850 Tithe apportionment for St. Mary's lists a considerable number of properties on the S side of Frog Lane as 'Garden in Castle Ditch' (nos. 587-90, 592-4).

The maps and plans of the town also help. The key to Hill's 1638 map of the Friary precinct describes its boundary with the extramural Hospital of St. John Baptist and the continuation of the line as far as Friar's Alley, as a 'common ditch' (Harwood, 1806, 484). Snape's 1781 map gives a particularly useful piece of information about this boundary by showing it as a watercourse which ran from the W edge of the Hospital to join Trunkfield Brook just beyond Friar's Alley. There is a little evidence from the 19th-century maps that this watercourse may once have come from the area beyond St. John's St. However, its line is not that of a natural feature, or not entirely, as it does not seem to conform to the local natural topography towards its upper end. So it would be better to call it a wet ditch, and to suggest that, at least in part, its course is artificial. This area was certainly marshy in the middle ages (Gould, 1976, 12; MRA, no. 42), and a deep ditch through it would assist with local drainage, and possibly serve the Hospital's reredorter, as well as demarcate the borough's perimeter.

Snape also shows a track, twice entitled Castle Ditch,<sup>34</sup> running round the borough's edge between St. John's St. and Greenhill, which is continued as far as Stowe St. by George Lane (called Joyles Lane on Speed's map of 1610). Doubtless this developed in the ditch of the perimeter earthwork as it became largely filled up by erosion, the tipping of rubbish,<sup>35</sup> and the collapse or deliberate slighting of its bank (cf. Bassett, 1982, sections 1.5(b) and 1.6(b), figs. 33 and 36). The boundaries of St. Mary's parish and the extra-parochial Friary precinct together coincide with this line and its continuation beyond Stowe St., and so give confirmation to it, as well as considerably increasing the likelihood of

32. *Qui Ecclesiam Lich' erexit tarn in fabrica quam in honore . . . villam vallo vallando* (who built the church both in structure and in repute . . . by fortifying the town with a ditch), (Wharton, 1691, i, 434).

33. But see Gould, 1976, 12 and MRA, no. 354 about Sandford Gate.

34. cf. deeds cited by Harwood (1806, 500) referring to a *vinella voc'le Castledich* (an alley-way called the Castle-ditch) in 1402-3, and to *fossatum ville anglie Castel-dyke* (the town ditch called Castle-dyke in English).

35. *Casteldych vocat'le Muchyll* (Harwood, 1806, 499).

its course on the SW and W; and wherever the position of a late-medieval gate can be independently established, it too coincides with the line.

Our difficulty, however, is that this course is largely based on fairly recent evidence. There is little in the medieval documentation to show that it kept to its original (presumably mid-12th-century) line; and in the complete absence of any archaeological information about the earthwork, it would be unwise to assume automatically that it did. Any of the gates could have been moved some distance while retaining their name, and indeed there is good reason to believe that one of them did move. Moreover, the generally accepted course of the earthwork does not conform at all well to the mid-12th-century street grid in some places; the only place where it does conform entirely is for a relatively short distance to either side of Culstubbe Gate.

However, not all of the remainder need be suspect. The rest of its course to Tamworth Gate is not particularly eccentric, and seems to be dictated by the local relief. The same trend in the vicinity of Greenhill can be seen in the field-system alignments shown on fig. 1. To the W of Culstubbe Gate the earthwork's course may have reflected the presence of marshy ground; but only archaeological excavation will show if this was so. However, there must once have been a gate on the original line of Friar's Alley. As the present parish boundary crosses that line obliquely, its course may well have altered across the area SW of the Friary, if nowhere else.

It is only beyond Tamworth Gate that there may be independent evidence of a major change in the earthwork's course. Two things suggest this. The first is the extent to which its present course is entirely at variance with the predominant alignment of streets and property boundaries both inside and outside the borough. This 'nonconformity' is in itself a strong indication that the earthwork is superimposed. In addition, there is the possibility that Tamworth Gate was moved (above, p. 110). In its former position on the present line, it would have been near enough to Stowe Gate for one of them to be superfluous.

However, the course which any earlier earthwork would have taken in this area is still obvious in its topography. The earthwork's line SW of Tamworth Gate is continued to the NE, after an interval, by a long boundary E of George Lane. This meets the probable original line of road 15 at right angles, and, significantly, both of these are followed by the boundary between St. Chad's and St. Michael's ecclesiastical parishes. A projection of that road's course to the NW carries it through just beyond where the perimeter earthwork's (presumed) present line returns to the SW by Stowe Pool.

These two lines and their right-angled corner conform to the borough's street grid very well indeed. Moreover, they would allow the predecessor to Tamworth Gate to lie at a credible distance from Stowe Gate. Confirming this as the earthwork's former course by archaeological excavation would be a relatively simple matter, though dating the change might not be so straightforward. However, it would certainly have occurred within the middle ages, and perhaps at much the same time as the replanning of the Greenhill area and the creation of burgages along Stowe St. occurred—another rationalization of an underdeveloped part of the borough.

The matter of 'Lichfield Castle' is not difficult to resolve (Renn, 1973, 225). Despite the efforts of Barns, by documentary research (1914), and later of Lyon, by excavation (c. 1966; Marston, 1969), to prove that a castle lay in the vicinity of Frog Lane, it is clear

that none ever did. Lyon's records of his excavation in 1965-6 leave no doubt that the vertical-sided cuttings he found were merely the cellars of domestic buildings which stood on either side of Frog Lane until well into the modern period.<sup>36</sup> Some of the references to a 'castle' (*castrum*, *castellum*) which Barns gathered, and others he was unaware of, relate to the Cathedral Close (1914, 123-4; MRA, nos. 205, 235-6, 387), as Leland concluded (Toulmin Smith, 1907-10, ii, 99; iv, 19). All the others relate to the borough's perimeter earthwork between Culstubble Gate and Tamworth Gate, and to the large field immediately beyond it. The names *Oxonbury* (properly Oxenbury) and Castle Field were applied to this field at different times, or to different parts of it (Harwood, 1806, 500; Tithe apportionment for St. Michael's, 1849). The former is one of the *bury* field names commonly found in the vicinity of a borough. The latter presumably relates to the field's NW boundary on the 'castle ditch'.<sup>37</sup>

#### 9. *St. Michael's, St. Chad's and St. Mary's, and their parish boundaries*

As Taylor surmised (1969, 46-7), St. Mary's church was founded to serve the new borough, and was initially a dependent chapel of St. Michael's. It never had its own cemetery, even when it became parochially independent, though there were burials within the church (Wilson, 1979) as commonly happened in other chapels. In this respect it has always remained subordinate to its mother church. St. Mary's parish boundary clearly reflects that subordination. Its plan is rather confused by the extra-parochial area of the Friary, which became a separate civil parish in the 19th century. However, the two together form an area which, in topographical terms, can only have been formed out of St. Michael's parish. For the same reason the extra-parochial area of the Cathedral Close was, appropriately enough, formed out of St. Chad's.

Yet despite these sure signs that St. Mary's was founded as a dependent chapel of St. Michael's, at a time when both the latter and St. Chad's were already ancient, it was for much of its history the senior parochial church of the Lichfield area. The first reference to St. Mary's is in a deed of c. 1260 (Vicars' Muniments, B 104), and from then until the late 15th century it is always referred to as *capella*, a chapel. During that period the wills of Lichfield inhabitants show that St. Michael's (where most of them were buried) and St. Chad's were parochial—already peculiars of the Dean and Chapter in the earliest records—while St. Mary's was still the former's chapel (Visitation Book, fo. 3: will of Alicia Fysscher, [1461-6]; fo. 14b: will of Thomas Hoge, 1465). It was served by a number of chaplains, some of whom were specifically attached to the gild of St. Mary there (ibid, fo. 15b). The gild was given a royal charter in 1387 (Cal. Pat. 1385-1389, 373, 380), though it had probably been in existence for some time by then (Thorpe, 1954, 35); and it became in effect the borough's government until the general abolition of gilds in 1548.

36. As he had begun to suspect himself: 'The idea of quarrying is contradicted somewhat by the careful dressing of the cut surfaces and steps cut carefully in the rock at the corner by point G', (c. 1966, 8).

37.. Snape's map of 1766 calls the track which bounds the field on the SE 'Castle ditch lane'.

In 1490 St. Mary's was made into a vicarage, and the Dean and Chapter admitted Richard Leylond as the first vicar (CAB, III, fo. 4).<sup>38</sup> On his death in 1502, however, it was the new bishop, Geoffrey Blyth, and not the Dean (also new) and Chapter, who presented the second vicar, John Foster, (ibid. fo. 60b).<sup>39</sup> Blyth was still claiming this right in 1529, when he ordered the admission of John Stare as the new vicar (ibid. fo. 60b). This prompted considerable debate between the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter, which the latter eventually won. It resulted in an agreement that a new vicarage should be established in St. Mary's, and that the Dean and Chapter had the right of presentation to it (D and C Muniments, C31). The vicarage was not in fact established until 1532, in a period of several months after Blyth's death when there was no bishop (ibid. C32).

By 1563, ten years after Lichfield had become a separate county (Cal. Pat. 1553-1554, 50-2), St. Mary's church had clearly attained an equal status to St. Michael's and St. Chad's (SHC, 1915, 397). In 1593 it was the only one of them to be named in a return of the clergy in the archdeaconry of Stafford, the two older churches being omitted along with many other Dean and Chapter's peculiars (ibid. 398-9). This may not show that St. Mary's was the senior church by then; but it certainly was from 1625-6, when it was made the sole parish church, and St. Michael's and St. Chad's were reduced to the status of its curacies (D and C Muniments, C33). It still retained this seniority in the later 18th and 19th centuries.<sup>40</sup>

The history of St. Mary's changing status is most unusual, though not in fact unique. Many chapels, founded to serve a new borough set in a rural parish, eventually became independent parish churches. Henley-in-Arden chapel managed this, though its near neighbour at Stratford-upon-Avon did not. A few were even able to exchange status with their mother churches, each becoming the parish church while the mother church was reduced to a chapel; this happened at Braintree, Essex, for instance (Bassett and Drury, 1976, 134-5).

However, the special feature of the history of St. Mary's, Lichfield, is its role in the borough's efforts to loosen the Bishop's control over its affairs, and, at the same time,

38. Leylond was admitted *ad vicaria[m] de novo ordinal[am] eccl[esi]e sive capelle b[e]at[e] marie iux[t]a foru[m] civitatis Lien' ad collacionem d[omi]ni[n]or[um] decani et capit[u]li...* (to the newly established vicarage of the church or chapel of Blessed Mary in the market-place of the city of Lichfield at the collation of the Dean and Chapter). It is not clear, however, that any new arrangements were made for the burial of its parishioners, who may still have used St. Michael's yard. For a similar upgrading and decanal appropriation, cf Adbaston, a chapel of Eccleshall, Staffs., in 1192 (MRA, no. 251).

39. Foster admitted *ad vicaria[m] p[er]petua[m] eccl[esi]e sive capelle b[e]at[e] marie virginis in foro civil' fate] Lien' . . . ad presenlac[i]fifofnjem Revferenjdi in Chfristjo palris et domini Johannis dei gracia Coven' et Lich' ep[iscop]ji* (to the perpetual vicarage of the church or chapel of BVM in the market-place of the city of Lichfield . . . at the presentation of reverend father in Christ and lord John bishop of Coventry and Lichfield by God's grace).

40. As shown by the earliest surviving nominations and presentations for St. Michael's (1773), St. Chad's (1782), and St. Mary's (1851) in the diocesan records (LJRO, Presentation Deeds, B/A/3).

in the Dean and Chapter's to resist his control over them.<sup>41</sup> St. Mary's was deliberately created in Lichfield market-place to serve the Bishop's borough; but, because the latter lay in St. Michael's parish, the new chapel came under the Dean and Chapter's peculiar jurisdiction. Once the borough was flourishing, the religious gild in St. Mary's took on many aspects of its administration and control (Furnivall, 1920). So both the gild and the Dean and Chapter, with equally good reasons to resist the Bishop, may have used the borough chapel to further their ends.

This could well be the context in which to view the Dean and Chapter's establishment of St. Mary's as a vicarage in 1490, and the Bishop's subsequent—but improper—moves to put his own man in. It is surely no coincidence that, at more or less the same time as the issue came to a head in 1529-31, the borough was able to build its first market-house with the aid of money from James Denton, Dean from 1522 to 1533 (Lomax, 1819, 138). The Bishop lost the dispute over the right to present to St. Mary's vicarage.<sup>42</sup> Within twenty years the borough was able to purchase its fee-farm from him (Harwood, 1806, 336). Thereafter, St. Mary's status continued to increase, in step with the borough's prosperity and prestige, up to the 19th century.

#### CONCLUSIONS :

This study has tried to show what the plan of a fairly well developed medieval and modern town and its hinterland can reveal through topographical analysis. The result could add considerably to what we know about Lichfield.

The following are the study's main conclusions (fig. 5):

- (1) There was once a system of field boundaries and roads, many of them through-routes, which was common to a great deal of the Lichfield area. Other, later roads, which do not conform to this system, give a *terminus ante quern* for its laying out at different points. So it can convincingly be shown to have been well established by the later middle ages, and in one place by some time within the Roman period. Analogues elsewhere in lowland Britain suggest that the origins of this system as a whole may be early Roman or earlier. In consequence, previous accounts of the small extent of Lichfield's pre-medieval land-use and the difficulty of crossing its main valley can no longer be accepted.
- (2) The Cathedral and its Close have been inserted into this field system. A little archaeological and specific topographical evidence may indicate a pre-Anglo-Saxon use of the site, possibly a religious one.
- (3) The new borough laid out in the mid 12th century was also fitted into the existing system. It consisted of a very ambitious rectilinear layout, based on a recurrent 40 ft. module which governed the exact position of roads, the market-place, and all property boundaries, both major and minor. By the time of its creation, if not before, there was at least one bridge or causeway across Curborough Brook to the Cathedral

41. Lichfield was the last but one of the English secular cathedrals to submit to episcopal visitation, in 1428 (*VCH*, 1970, 163). There were periodic attempts by the Dean and Chapter thereafter to curb the bishop's rights over them.

42. But he won his other dispute with the Dean and Chapter at this time, over the right of visitation to the Hospital of St. John Baptist (*VCH*, 1970, 281-2).

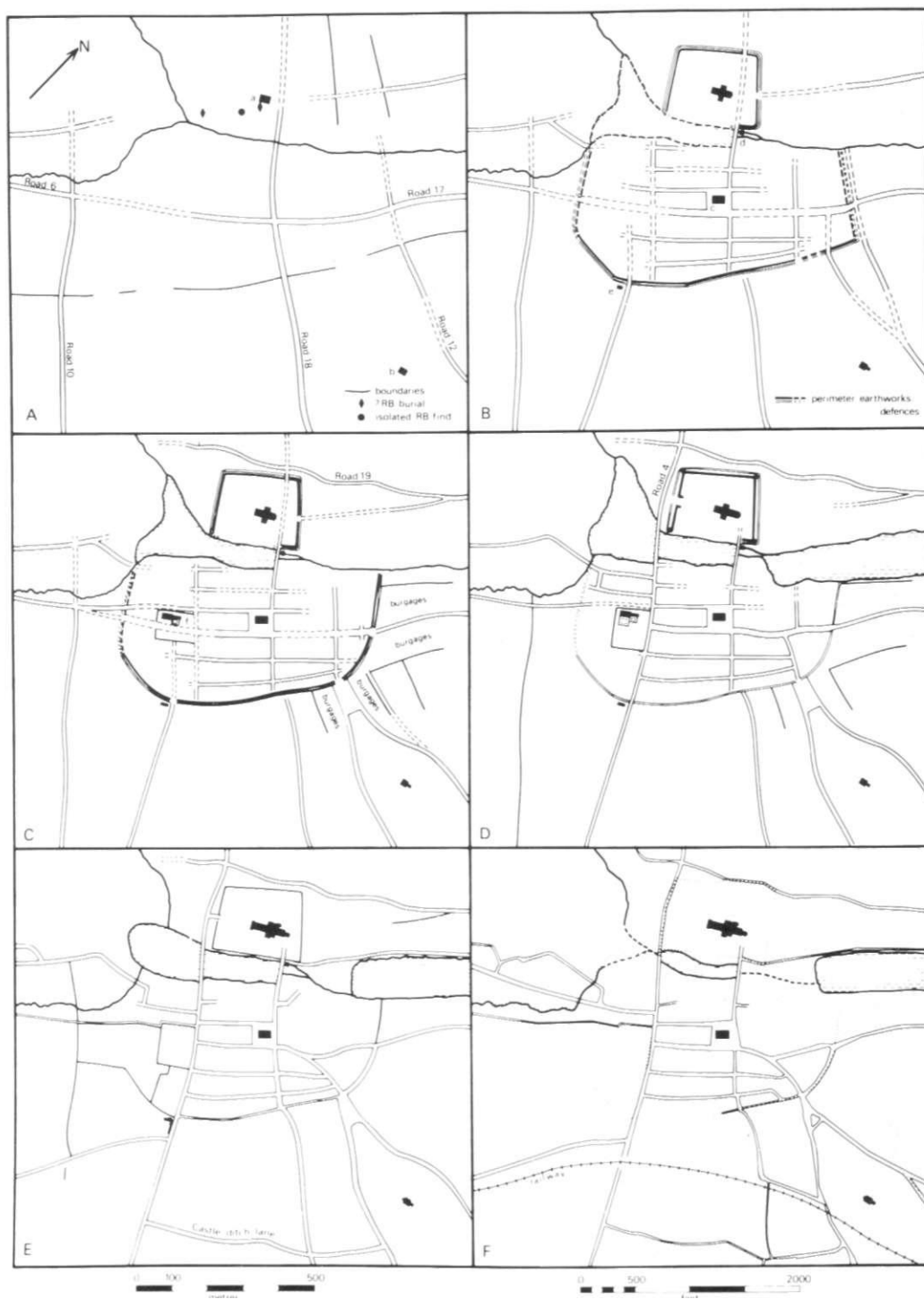


FIG. 5 A MODEL FOR THE TOPOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LICHFIELD TO 1849-51.  
 (A, BEFORE THE BOROUGH'S CREATION; B, C.1150; C, C.1250; D, C.1350; E, 1610 (AFTER SPEED); F, 1849-51  
 (SIMPLIFIED WITH CIVIL PARISHES, AFTER TITHE MAPS) A, CATHEDRAL; B, ST. MICHAEL'S; C, ST. MARY'S; D, MILL;  
 E, HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST; F, FRANCISCAN FRIARY)

Close. Two or more new roads were laid out to divert long distance traffic into the borough, though its major E-W axis was based on a pre-existing through-route.

- (4) By about the mid 13th century, the new borough's market was thriving. Most burgages on the main streets were probably occupied, but there were not nearly enough burgesses to fill the more peripheral *insulae*. A Franciscan Friary, founded in the earlier 12th century, could expand its precinct considerably and eventually shut off one of the most important roads of the original layout. A second market-place was created at Greenhill, and 35 ft. tenements were laid out to either side of it. This was part of a wider scheme which apparently involved moving Tamworth Gate and a sizeable length of the borough's perimeter earthwork, diverting roads into the new market-place, and also laying out 35 ft. tenements along Stowe St. for some distance from Stowe Gate.
- (5) The major fire of 1291 probably occasioned an extensive remodelling of the W part of the borough. The chief aspect of this was the construction of a second causeway and of a new road leading traffic directly to it from Culstubble Gate. Adjacent roads were realigned or abandoned; and other new ones were laid out (with burgages) in the NW of the borough. Much of this work must have been financed from the frequent royal pavage grants made between 1290 and 1345. Most of the Friary, except the church, was probably rebuilt at much the same time.
- (6) Subsequent changes were, until recent centuries, largely slow and organic. Frontage buildings increasingly encroached onto the chief streets and the market-places, and enlarged their land to the rear by absorbing untenanted properties, and even roads, in the borough's peripheral areas. Some roads migrated to more direct courses as the rigidity of the original layout became relaxed in this way. The perimeter earthworks largely disappeared.
- (7) St. Mary's began as the borough's chapel, set up in its market-place as a dependency of St. Michael's, but eventually it became the chief parish church of the Lichfield area. Its change of status can be closely linked with the borough's growing importance and independence in the 15th-16th centuries and thereafter.
- (8) In the 18th and 19th centuries, several important alterations were made in and close to the borough. These included replanning the main market-place and some street widening; and the improvement or replacement of many of the roads leading into Lichfield.

In more general terms the study has substantially increased our knowledge of the circumstances of the borough's creation, of its founder's expectations and how far they were realised, and of the measures his successors adopted to safeguard or increase their revenues from it. Gauging the extent to which the owners of such boroughs actively fostered their economic development is an important aspect of the study of medieval urbanism. So what we now know about Lichfield gives us a lot of help in this. It is another good instance of the limited capital investment which medieval lords were prepared to make so as to gain a large and regular cash income, and to some extent of the scope of their flexibility in protecting the investment. At the same time it is clear that the owners of Lichfield were hardly generous in the privileges they offered to prospective burgesses. The borough was burdened with obligations of a manorial flavour which the majority of new boroughs never

suffered or else managed to escape.<sup>43</sup> So the imaginative schemes of civil engineering by which the bishops hoped to foster Lichfield's growth are in marked contrast to the limited personal and institutional freedom they offered as inducements. This further evidence of seigneurial policy and involvement in medieval urbanism has a wider significance than for Lichfield alone.

But the most important result of this study may be its illustration of the value of topographical evidence. The layout of Lichfield has been examined in great detail, and some of the arguments advanced have been complex or protracted. Often the information gained from this seems of only local interest or significance. However, Lichfield provides an excellent opportunity for demonstrating techniques of topographical analysis which have an almost universal application. Used on the plans of other settlements they are capable of producing similarly useful explanations of their physical development. When archaeological and written evidence is also available, the end-product can often be a substantive model for a place's origins and growth which will stimulate and direct all further study of it.<sup>44</sup>

43. Including heriot (SRO, D(W), 1734, J2268, fo.1'; Hemmeon, 1914, 22-3) and the compulsion on all brewers and bakers to use the bishop's mills (MRA, no. 352).

44. The predictive aspect of topographical models should also be stressed. This is of particular importance in formulating archaeological policy. The best excavation sites in a settlement are not only those where the stratification is deepest, but also those which most effectively test the current model for the whole settlement's development. (It is clear, for instance, that if Lichfield's Franciscan Friary had been properly excavated, the results would have been an invaluable aid to dating many of the borough's more important topographical alterations.) Above all, the study of historic towns in Britain will always need to be cost effective. Here is a readily available and independent source of new data which must be used to the full, if research priorities for urban studies are to be both academically and financially realistic.

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BAR, BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORTS; CAL. PAT, CALENDAR OF PATENT ROLLS; CAB, CHAPTER ACT BOOKS; CBA, COUNCIL FOR BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY; D AND C MUNIMENTS, DEAN AND CHAPTER MUNIMENTS; LJRO, LICHFIELD JOINT RECORD OFFICE; MRA, *Magnum Regisrum Album*; SHC, *Staffordshire Historical Collections*; SRO, STAFFORDSHIRE RECORD OFFICE; TSSAHS, *Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological & Historical Society*; VCH, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*.

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## VIII LICHFIELD FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE CIVIL WAR

C. J. HARRISON

The Reformation was a massive challenge to the power and authority of the Church, a challenge from which it never recovered. The break with Rome and the consequent changes in doctrine, the introduction of a vernacular Bible and later a vernacular liturgy, the dissolution of the monasteries and the friaries, the destruction of shrines and later of chantries (foundations established to pray for the souls of the dead), the ending of clerical celibacy, and the seizure of episcopal and capitular wealth, all attacked the autonomy and status of the Church. Where Church and State had been partners, each with its clearly defined sphere of influence, the Church was now reduced to a department of State and a subordinate one at that. Lay dominance over Church affairs was established once and for all. These events had a profound effect on the history of Lichfield.

The city of Lichfield was the creation of the bishops; the Cathedral came first and then the city. Medieval Lichfield was merely one part of the Bishop's manor of Longdon. It had no charter of liberties and, theoretically, was institutionally dependent upon its mesne lord, the Bishop. Even its internal government was in the hands of a religious institution; the guild of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist which ran the city 'was clearly a religious guild unlike the merchant guild of Newcastle-under-Lyme'.<sup>1</sup> There were economic as well as these institutional links between the Church and the city. Firstly, and most importantly, the Cathedral was, right up to the Reformation, an important place of pilgrimage. According to Cromwell's commissioners who visited Lichfield in December 1535, the shrine of St. Chad was worth over £400 a year, a considerable sum at that time. The pilgrims who came to St. Chad's would have brought wealth not only to the shrine but also to the townsmen who provided for their secular needs. Both the Bishop and the archdeacon of Stafford held their courts in the Cathedral as did the Dean and Chapter. Thus, in addition to pilgrims, there came to the Cathedral litigants, witnesses and lawyers, all of whom must have stimulated trade and services within the city. The Cathedral had a large establishment of resident clergy; the Vicars Choral to perform the Cathedral services and the chantry priests who served at the seventeen endowed altars established within the Cathedral itself. The priests must have provided further economic opportunities for the people of the city.

How and why did things change? Let us look first at the Bishop, for he was the key to many fundamental changes in Lichfield. Bishop Rowland Lee (1534-43) saw the first major inroads into the wealth and status of the diocese. In 1539 the Coventry Priory "was suppressed."<sup>2</sup> Two years later there was a worse blow to the diocese with the loss of the archdeaconry of Chester to the newly formed diocese of Chester.<sup>3</sup> Thus, when Bishop Lee died in 1543 he left a much weakened diocese; his successor, Richard Sampson (1543-54),

1. H. THORPE, 'LICHFIELD: A STUDY OF ITS GROWTH AND FUNCTION'. *Staffordshire Historical Collections* (HEREAFTER *SHC*) 1950/51 (1954), 171; *SHC* 1915 (1916), 171.

2. *Victoria County History, Staffs*, III (1970), 43.

3. *IBID.*

fared even worse. Sampson sided with the conservative faction on the Privy Council led by Bishop Gardiner and fell from favour with Gardiner in 1546. As a result he was forced to surrender a major portion of his estate to the Crown which regranted it to the most powerful minister of the day, Sir William Paget. The livings the Bishop received in exchange were no compensation for the lands lost. The result of this enforced transfer was that the Bishop and his successors were left impoverished and a powerful lay influence, namely, the Pagets, was introduced into the life of the city.<sup>4</sup>

There were other changes in both the Close and the city as a result of the Reformation. The shrine of St. Chad's was destroyed and Lichfield ceased to be a place of pilgrimage, to the spiritual detriment of the diocese and the economic loss of the city. (The desire to seek spiritual restoration through a journey of intent remains. The tourist who visits stately home, country house, or, even, a Heritage Centre, is the secular heir of his medieval cousin, the pilgrim.) In 1538 the Lichfield house of Franciscans was closed. The Friary was of particular practical significance to the city for it was from its gates that piped water, from the Aldershaw springs, was supplied. The city took over the management of this supply of fresh water and the Lichfield Conduit Lands Trust was to be an important civic institution for centuries to come.<sup>5</sup>

The most important change to occur as a result of the Reformation took place in 1548. Legislation in Parliament led to the dissolution of all chantries and religious guilds and the seizure of their lands and property to the use of the Crown. This led not only to the destruction of the numerous chantries in the Cathedral and the city churches but also to the suppression of the guild of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist which had governed the city up to that time. If civic anarchy was not to ensue new arrangements were needed. The city was fortunate to have at this time a powerful friend in high places, Sir William Paget, who had bought the Bishop's lands in 1546, had orchestrated the seizure of power by Somerset on the king's death in 1547, and in 1548 was still a favoured minister of the Crown. I have little doubt that it was he who facilitated the city's request for a charter which was granted in July 1548. This established two bailiffs, to be elected annually, and twenty-four other burgesses to form a corporation for the government of the city. (Continuity with the old civic government was ensured by the appointment as burgesses of twelve men who had previously served as Masters of the Guild.) The corporation was granted its own court, the right to have a prison, and the right to own property. The bailiffs were made Justices of the Peace, their jurisdiction being restricted to the city limits. There still remained a problem with the Bishop who, despite the charter, seems to have retained certain residual rights over the city. These rights along with certain property he surrendered to the city in October of that year in return for an annual payment of £50 and with this act the city gained full independence.<sup>6</sup>

The city's new found status was confirmed when it started to return its own members to Parliament; once again this was, no doubt, as a result of Paget's patronage. It is not

4. S. R. Gammon, *Statesman and Schemer*. . . (1973).

5. P. Laithwaite, *The History of the Lichfield Conduit Lands Trust* (Lichfield 1947).

6. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI*, i, 386-7; Thos. Harwood, *History of . . . Lichfield* (Gloucester, 1806). p. 336.

exactly certain when it first sent members to Westminster but it was probably in the same year as incorporation, 1548. The first members were William Layton who died and was replaced by Alexander Walker, and Edmund Twynyho who, significantly, was Paget's senior official in Staffordshire.<sup>7</sup>

When Northumberland conspired to prevent Mary Tudor's accession by placing Lady Jane Grey on the throne, it would appear that the city of Lichfield remained loyal to the House of Tudor, for in December 1553 Queen Mary confirmed the city's charter of 1548 and granted further privileges in a second charter 'on account of the service rendered to the queen by the bailiffs, burgesses and citizens of the . . . city in the time of the rebellion'. (What that service was we do not know. It may be as relevant to the granting of this second charter that Paget, that wildest of mid-Tudor politicians, had survived Northumberland's coup and been given a place on the new Queen's Privy Council where he was ideally placed to advance the interests of his adopted city.) The city was given county status, freeing it from subordination to the shire of Stafford. It was given its own sheriff, to be elected annually from amongst the burgesses, and its own coroner, recorder and escheator. And, as far as I can see, it gained not only its own Quarter Sessions but also its own Assizes. Furthermore, its citizens were relieved of the obligation to serve on juries outside of the city, no small concession given the number of juries impanelled at Stafford during meetings of the Assizes and Quarter Sessions.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, in six brief years Lichfield changed from being dependent on the Bishop and subordinate to the county town to being an independent county with its own corporation and courts and its own representatives at Westminster. And, in my opinion, it is unlikely that this would have come about but for the Reformation. If the Bishop had not lost wealth and status, if Paget had not gained the Bishop's lands and with them an interest in the city, if the chantries and guilds had not been suppressed then it is unlikely that the city would have gained its independence at that time. (This was a curious if not untypical side-effect of the English Reformation and may, in part, explain why townsmen tended to favour the reformed religion.) But there was, of course, a price to be paid. It is difficult to see what spiritual function an English cathedral had after the Reformation save as a centre for the dissemination of the new doctrine. But Lichfield was situated a distance from the major centres of population, was not itself a major market and, therefore, did not attract large numbers. (The situation seems to be much the same today.) And, anyway, the Cathedral was mainly serviced by conservative clergy who were unlikely to have seen their role as teaching and preaching the new doctrine. There were still the (much disliked) church courts but save as a defendant, litigant, or witness I can see little reason for mid-Tudor man to visit his cathedral. (If the later medieval cathedral establishment, which had a spiritual function however inadequately discharged, is to be seen as a corrupt sinecure then how much more so that of the reformed church. Such a view no doubt underlay many of the Puritan attacks upon the episcopacy.) The practical effect of this change in worship was that fewer men and women came to the Cathedral to worship and, therefore, to the city to spend. It is not possible to quantify the economic effects of this change but they undoubtedly contributed towards the city's difficulties later in the century.

7. *SHC 1917-8* (1919), 321, 327.

8. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Mary*, i, 50-3.

We may conclude that the Reformation had a profound effect upon the men and women of Lichfield.

## II

What did Tudor Lichfield look like? We are fortunate to have a relatively full description by the antiquarian Leland who visited the city about the time of the dissolution of the Friary in 1538. He wrote:

The towne of Lycheffild for all the substaunce of it stondithe upon a low and equall ground, only the close and the cathedral church, with a longe streete, that lyethe northe on the bridge of the towne is somewhat upon a highe ground. . . .

In the mayne towne that is a fayre large thing be 3 paroch churches: St. Maries, a right bewtyfull pece of worke in the very market stedd; St. Michaels in the southe est ende of the towne; Stow-churche in the est end of the towne, whereas is St. Cedd's well, a thinge of pure watar .. .

There was a howse of St. John's in Licheffild at the very south end of the towne, where was a mastar and fellowes as religius men . . .

B. Smithe, Bysshope of Coventrie in Kynge Henry the 7 dayes . . . began a new foundation at this place setyng up a mastar with 2 pristes, and 10 pore men in an hospitall.

He set there also a scoll-mastar and an usshar to teach gramer. . . and mad a schole. . . .

There was a howse of Gray Friars in Licheffild in the southe west parte of the towne.

There comithe a conducte of water out of an hill browght in leade to the towne, and hathe 2 castelets in the towne, one in the est waule of this fryers close on the strete syd, another about the market place.

And owt of the same hill comithe another into the close . . .

There was of old tyme a fayre old crosse environid with stepps in the market place of lichfeld. Denton Dene ol Lichefelde invironyd this crosse of late tyme with 8 fayre arches of stone, makyng a round vault over them for pore market folks to stond dry in . . .

The northe parte of Lichefilde is devidyd from the sowthe parte with 3 ponds or lakes, whereof bothe the 2 first lienge by west, be nothinge so greate as the third that liethe by este. . . .

The first western poole is devidyd from the second poole by a greate mayne longe cawsey waullyd of eche syd with stone . . .

There is also a fayre stone cawsey, and an isswe for the water, betwixt the second poole and the third poole leadyng out of the towne hard to the southe gate of the close . . . and on the este syd of it is a fayre mylle. . . .

The third poole that lyethe by est is a very fayre thinge, and plentifull of fishe, . . .

That parte of the towne of Licheffild that liethe by northe the great cawsey or bridge is but one faire strete in lengthe: and in it was some tyme bothe sum prebendaries howsys, and also the coledge of the vicars.'

Apart from commenting upon the increased price of wood in Lichfield, Leland makes no comment upon the economic state of the city, but it cannot have been too bad given the foundation of a hospital and a school and the building of a market-hall. He also gives no indication of the size of population or their occupations and for these we must turn to other evidence.

A report of 1564 records a total of 400 households in the city. (The roundness of the figure suggests that the survey was not based upon an accurate counting and, therefore, one must treat the figure with some caution. With this proviso, the figure suggests a population of about 1800 in the city (assuming an average of 4.5 persons per household) with an estimated additional 200 in the Close, a total population of about 2000.<sup>10</sup> Plague and war were to take their toll and at times the population probably fell below this figure, but by 1664

9. L. T. Smith (ed.), *Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales* (5 vols., 1906-8, reprinted 1964), ii, 98-103.  
10. *SHC 1915*, (1916), 152.

there had been an overall rise with about 2500 in the city. When Gregory King carried out the first proper census of Lichfield in 1695, he counted 3038 in the city and the Close." There was, then, an overall rise in population but this general trend hides certain significant short-term falls.

Plague was the most feared and in many ways the most dangerous disease in early modern England and Lichfield did not escape its ravages. There was plague in the city in 1564 when one, Wilkes died of it but as far as one can tell the visitation was not serious.<sup>12</sup> 1593 saw the worst plague of the Elizabethan period.

This yeare in the Summer time 1593 there was A great plague in England in Divers Cities and Townes . . . and in Lichfeild their died to the number of xj hundred and odde and as at this time of wryting not cleane ceased being the 28 of November.<sup>13</sup>

Thus wrote the incumbent of Alrewas and his report is partially confirmed by the St. Michael's parish register which records an increase in burials in May and June with very high figures in July and August. Significantly no further records were kept until July 1594.<sup>14</sup> The last visitation of plague in the city was a severe one.

During 1645-7 plagues became widespread, Lichfield suffering especially heavily. There is no adequate coverage from parish registers, but fortunately a note survives written by Elias Ashmole (a native of the city) listing total deaths, by streets, from 1645-6. Altogether 821 died during the year, probably at least a third of the population . . . The "plague" was still present in July 1646 when Ashmole's mother fell victim to it, and possibly throughout the following winter. In February 1647 Isaac Smith, "sickness then cruelly handling him", dictated his will through the bedroom window, a clear indication of contagious illness.<sup>15</sup>

Despite these demographic disasters the overall figures for the city's population increased from c.2000 in 1563 to over 3000 in 1695. The most likely explanation is that there was major immigration into Lichfield from the surrounding countryside. This in turn would suggest that economic activity and hence job opportunities were greater than some gloomy contemporary comments allege.

What trades were open to residents and immigrants? The best indicator of the relative importance of the various trades in the city is to be found in an analysis, made by Thorpe, of the occupations of the Lichfield Bailiffs and Sheriffs in the second half of the sixteenth century. Thorpe's figures, slightly adjusted, are given below.

#### OCCUPATIONS OF LICHFIELD BAILIFFS (1548-1604) AND SHERIFFS (1553-1599)

| <i>Occupations</i>                         | <i>Total</i> | <i>Percentage</i> |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Bakers, Innholders, Butchers & Fishmongers | 47           | 31                |
| Mercers & Drapers                          | 19           | 13                |
| Tanners & Saddlers                         | 16           | 11                |
| Cappers & Shoemakers                       | 16           | 11                |
| Upholsterers                               | 7            | 5                 |
| Pewterers & a Goldsmith                    | 3            | 2                 |

11. Thorpe, *op.cit.* 183.

12. Harwood, *op.cit.* 526.

13. Alrewas Parish Register (Staffs. Rec. Off. D783/1/1/1).

14. Lichfield Joint Rec. Off. D27/1/1.

15. David Palliser, 'Dearth and Disease in Staffordshire, 1540-1670', C. W. Chalkin & M. A. Havinden (eds.), *Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500-1800*, 65.

|              |     |    |
|--------------|-----|----|
| Dyers        | 2   | 2  |
| Lawyers      | 20  | 13 |
| Clergy       | 4   | 3  |
| Apothecaries | 3   | 2  |
| Husbandmen   | 4   | 3  |
| Gentry       | 10  | 7  |
|              | 151 |    |

It can be seen from this list that the largest group was concerned with the provision of food and drink; this is unsurprising although it does remind us of the importance of these trades. If we assume that the mercers and drapers were retailers rather than manufacturers then only a minority of Lichfield men were directly involved in the making of goods. (There is one intriguing entry, the seven upholsterers; one wonders where their business came from.) It is clear from this list that Lichfield does not benefit from the large production of iron on Cannock Chase. The potential industrial revolution which transformed such towns as Walsall and Birmingham seems, in the main, to have passed Lichfield by. It is interesting that the second largest group consisted of lawyers. No doubt the large number reflects the existence not only of church courts but also of a full range of secular courts. The apothecaries included the appropriately named George Curitwell.<sup>16</sup> But there were no surgeons in Lichfield, at least not in the sixteenth century. When one of Paget's officers was injured in a fight on Cannock Chase in May 1581, he was carried to Lichfield where he was tended by a visiting surgeon from Nottingham.<sup>17</sup> The inclusion of four husbandmen in the list reminds one how closely integrated urban and rural society was at this time. What made these husbandmen different from their country cousins presumably was not what they did but the civic liberties that they enjoyed.

### III

On 22 August 1642 Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham. It proved impossible to remain neutral and by November the whole country was embroiled in war or the preparation of war. 'The war split Staffordshire society, as it did most counties in the kingdom.'<sup>18</sup> Some declared for the King, some for Parliament. Lichfield remained loyal to the Crown and in the autumn of 1642 a royalist garrison was established in the Close. It proved an ideal fortress. It was captured by the Parliamentarians in early March 1643 but only after heavy fighting. The Parliamentary garrison, which was then installed, vandalized the Cathedral. The Close was re-captured for the King by Prince Rupert after much destructive fighting in December 1643. From then on the city remained a royalist stronghold until the end of the war. Only then did the garrison surrender, on 10 July 1646. The fortifications were then destroyed.<sup>19</sup>

16. Harwood, *op.cit.* 423.

17. Early Paget Correspondence, 1/6 fo. 78 (Staffs. Rec. Off.).

18. D. A. Johnson & D. G. Vaisey (eds.), *Staffordshire and the Great Rebellion* (1964), 25.

19. *SHC*, ser. 4, i, (1957), lxi-lxxiv.

Lichfield suffered grievous harm as a result of the Civil War. Two fiercely contested sieges with heavy use of cannon, the doctrinaire iconoclasm of the Parliamentary garrison, the destruction of the fortifications in 1646, the desecration of the Cathedral in 1651 when lead was stripped from the roof and the bells broken-up, left a melancholy trail of physical destruction.

A report in 1652 noted that

the said Pallace and buildinge were very much ruened by the souldiery when it was a garrison and alsoe, since the late warr, by some of the inhabitants . . . the orchard and gardens are destroyed soe as that there is not any trees remaineinge there . . . There was within the wall untill this warr a garden with a stone wall about it and lyinge right before the Pallace; but dureing the time the Close was made a garrison by the King's partie the wall was demollished and the garden spoiled, beinge digged upp to make workes and trenches within . . . The Pallace is very much ruinated by the warr, much lead, iron, windscott and tymber stollen away by the souldiers since it was in the Parliament's hands . . . The whole Close is very much defaced and spoiled, the Cathedrall Church much ruined, part by granadoes and great shott, and part by the dishonesty and carelesnesse of officers intrusted by the county of Stafford since the enemy left it. The cistrens of lead were taken and sould, the pipes of lead digged upp and cutt off, great quantities of lead imbesled and sould from the Cathedrall Church, the bells some broken others convayed away.<sup>20</sup>

According to the most recent authority, Lichfield's Cathedral and Close 'suffered more severely than any other' as a result of the war. Bishop Hacket had to spend the enormous sum of £20,000 on repairs.<sup>21</sup>

There was, too, the cost in human life. How many died not only from the fighting but also from plague and famine which accompanied the fighting, we shall never know but it was clearly no small number. That the city could recover its numbers by 1664 and that the Bishop could raise such a large sum for the repair of Cathedral and Close is evidence of recuperative powers in the city. But the disruption of war and the destruction of property and life had long term economic effects. The potential for expansion and development existing before the war was either destroyed or severely curtailed by the war and, in part, explains the slow development of the city.

There was one further serious loss as a result of the Civil War from which Lichfield still suffers. Indeed, it is a major 'though not insuperable problem for those who would make Lichfield a major tourist centre. I refer to the destruction during the war of most of the civic and many of the Cathedral records. Without records, archaeological and archival, there can be no history. And a tourist centre without a history is, surely a contradiction in terms. Support for archaeological investigation is crucial for, in many cases, it will be only through such work that the history of the city can be recovered.<sup>22</sup> The gaps in archival material could be made good or at least ameliorated by the transcribing and copying of documents relating to Lichfield in other centres. It would, in my judgement, be a happy outcome of the city's legitimate desire to draw men and women once more to the shrine of St. Chad if at the same time we handed on to future generations a reconstructed archive worthy of the city's history.

20. Johnson & Vaisey, *op.cit.* 35.

21. Phyllis Hembrey, 'Episcopal Palaces, 1535 to 1660', Ives *et al.* (eds.). *Wealth and Power in Tudor England* (1979), 165.

22. J. Gould, *Lichfield: Archaeology and Development* (WEMRAC 1976).

IV

I have tried to show that the Reformation and the Civil War were two important watersheds in the history of Lichfield. Much that we see today was formed by one or other of these events. The significance, religious, historical and contemporary, I leave to the judgement of the reader.

## NOTICES

COUNCIL FOR BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY (CBA) no. 8 GROUP (Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, West Midlands, Herefordshire/Worcestershire).

The A.G.M. was held at the Civic Centre, Lichfield, on 9 May 1981. It was followed by talks on Wall by Frank Ball, Catholme by S. Losco-Bradley and Stafford Castle by Charles Hill.

### JIM GOULD

The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on our Vice-President, Jim Gould, F.S.A., by the Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon, Chancellor of Keele University at a Congregation for Conferment of Honorary Degrees, held on 7 May 1981. The citation by Professor A. L. F. Rivet proclaimed the outstanding work by Jim Gould on the archaeology of Staffordshire.

### R. A. MEESON

The degree of Master of Arts of Birmingham University has been awarded to R. A. Meeson, F.S.A. The subject of his thesis was 'The Formation of Tamworth'.

In 1979 he was elected Chairman of CBA no. 8 Group.

### REV. A. P. F. SELL

Our member, the Rev. A. P. F. Sell, B.A., B.D., M.A., PH.D., F.R.HIST.SOC, F.R.S.A., was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London on 26 November 1981.

### M. M. HALLETT

, We regret that the name of M. M. Hallett, C.B.E., M.SC, F.S.A., was omitted from the list of Vice-Presidents on page 49 of volume xxi.

TAMWORTH ARTS ADVISORY COUNCIL has kindly given a grant towards the cost of publishing the paper on the Norman Bailey of Tamworth Castle by R. A. Meeson, M.A., F.S.A., in volume xx.

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## OBITUARY

We regret to record the death of F. J. Tibenham, former Honorary Treasurer of the Society, on 16 June 1981. He was a conscientious and meticulous guardian of our finances from 1973 to 1979.

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# PROGRAMME 1980-81

1980

- 17 May Visit to excavations at Wall. Leaders: Jim Gould, M.A., F.S.A., Frank and Nancy Ball.
- 14 June Excursion to Ludlow. Leader: David Lloyd, M.A., M.ED.
- 5 July Excursion to Lapley, Church Eaton, Gnosall churches, Stafford Castle and deserted medieval village (Charles Hill, B.A.). Leader: Jim Gould, M.A., F.S.A.
- 3 Oct. (L) Annual General Meeting.  
History and archaeology of gardens (Part 2) — Jim Gould, M.A., F.S.A.
- 31 Oct. (T) Archaeology of Shropshire — Alan Tyler, B.A.
- 7 Nov. (L) Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500 — Prof. Charles Thomas, M.A., F.S.A., M.I.R.A.
- 28 Nov. (T) Archaeology in Warwickshire — Helen MacLagan, M.A.
- 5 Dec. (L) Sources for South Staffordshire history in the County Record Office — F. B. Stitt, B.A., B.LITT., F.R.HIST.Soc.
- 12 Dec. Central Methodist Church, Tamworth.  
Recent archaeology and building conservation in Telford New Town — Ursula Rayska, M.A.

1981

- 9 Jan. (L) Sheldon Parish Chest — Dr. D. W. Young, M.B., M.R.C.P.
- 23 Jan. (T) Aulnot (France) and the first Iron Age towns in temperate Europe — John R. Collis, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.
- 6 Feb. (L) Sutton Hoo Burial — Jim Gould, M.A., F.S.A.
- 20 Feb. (T) Burton Abbey on the eve of the Dissolution — D. G. Stuart, M.A.
- 6 March Civic Evening, Arts Centre, Lichfield.  
Solo across the Sahara — S. Avery.
- 20 March (T) The history and architecture of Sudbury Hall (Derbyshire) — Mrs. Judith Rhodes.
- (L) Lichfield Library                      (T) Tamworth Castle

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## EXCAVATIONS

- WALL Excavations continued on the Roman 'villa' site at week-ends.  
A rescue excavation was also started on a small triangular site at the west end of Wall village, where Lichfield District Council propose to build bungalows.  
Both excavations are being carried out on behalf of the Department of the Environment, under the direction of Frank and Nancy Ball.



**PLATE I** Late-Saxon cross-shaft built into the foundations of Lichfield Cathedral



(a) A looped palstave (ch. II, App. 2)



(b) A polished flint axe (ch. II, App. 3)



**PLATE III** Excavations south of Lichfield Cathedral: Neolithic and Late Saxon levels

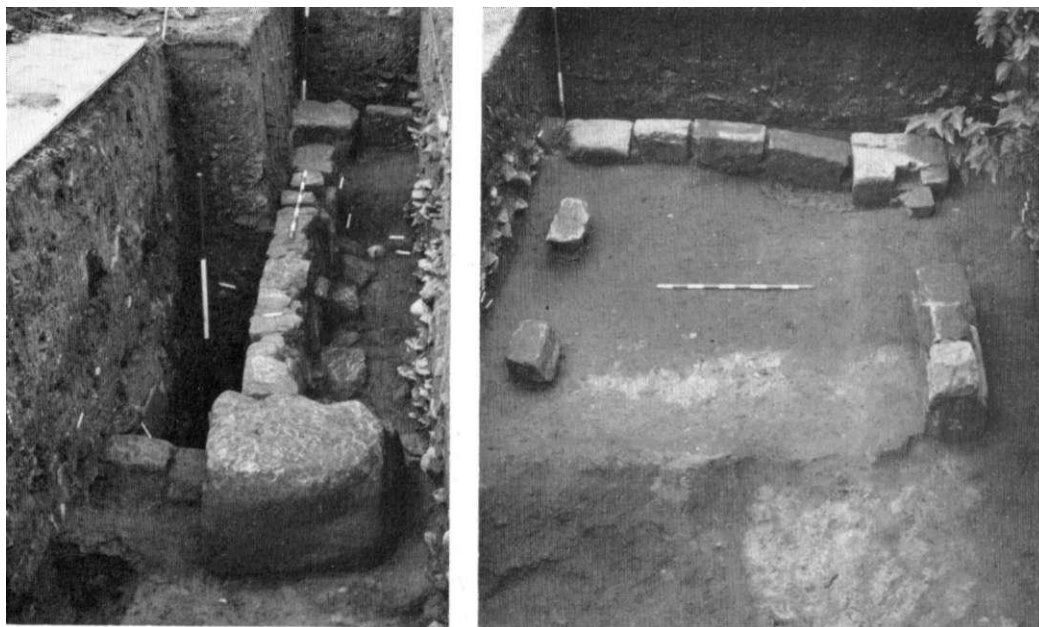
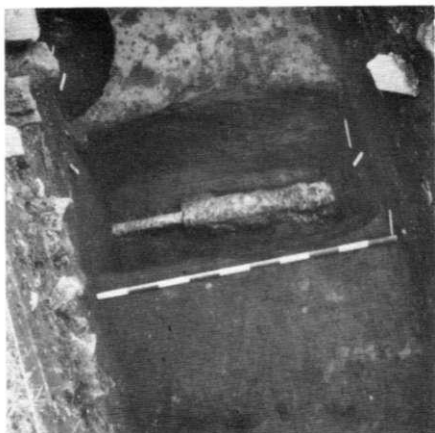
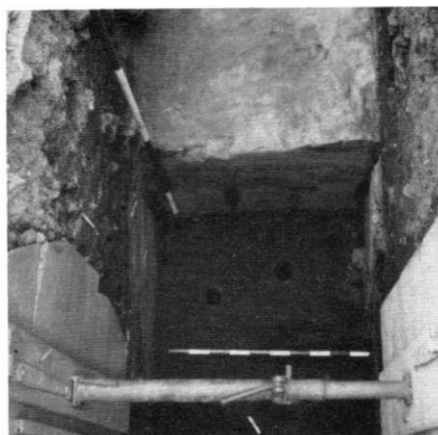


PLATE IV Excavations south of Cathedral: 13th-century garden-house foundations



(a) Excavations south of Cathedral: 13th century lead water-pipe, clad in clay.



(D) Excavations south of Cathedral: early medieval pool bank revetment.



(c) Excavations in Wade St. Lichfield

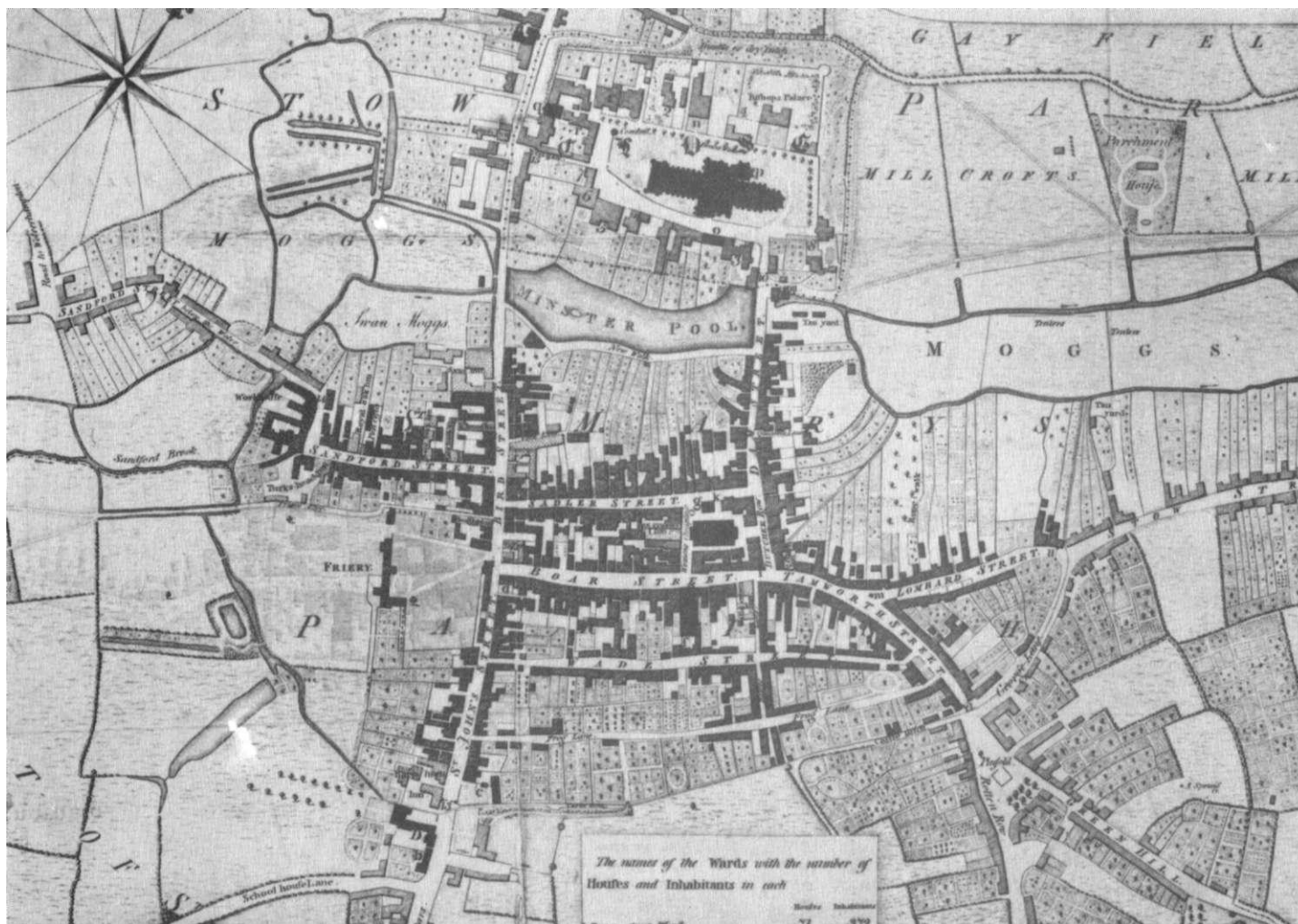


PLATE VI. John Snape's 1781 map of Lichfield (extract)



**PLATE III** Excavations south of Lichfield Cathedral: Neolithic and Late Saxon levels



**PLATE IV** Excavations south of Cathedral: 13th-century garden-house foundations

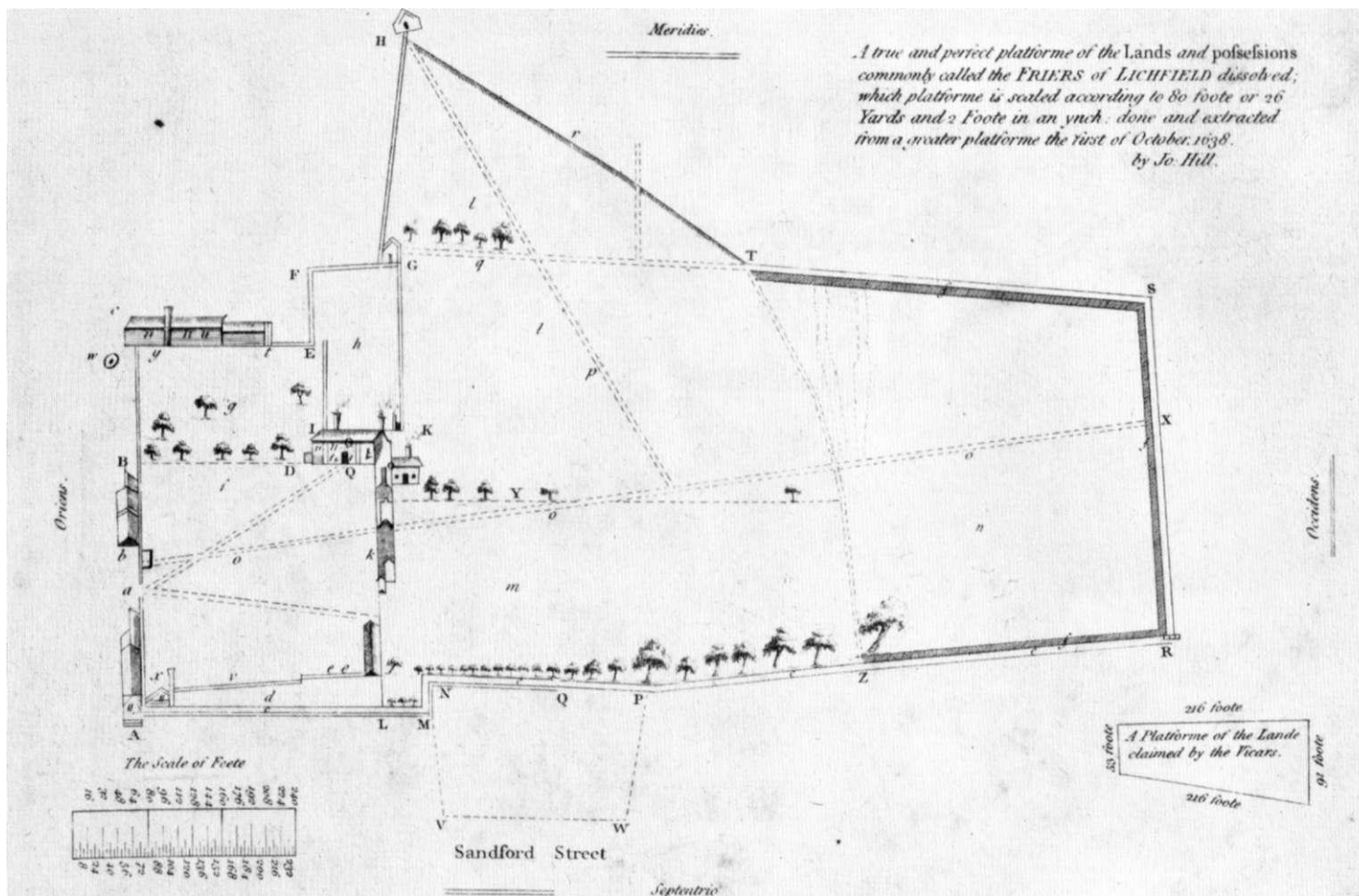


PLATE VII.

John Hill's 1638 plan of the site of the Franciscan Friary and its adjacent lands (Reproduced from Harwood, 1806)



PLATE VIII

Rear view of properties fronting the south-west side of Lichfield market-place. (The course of the common back boundary ditch midway between Market St. and Bore St. is fossilized in the building lines. The right-hand building has encroached over it at second-storey level.)