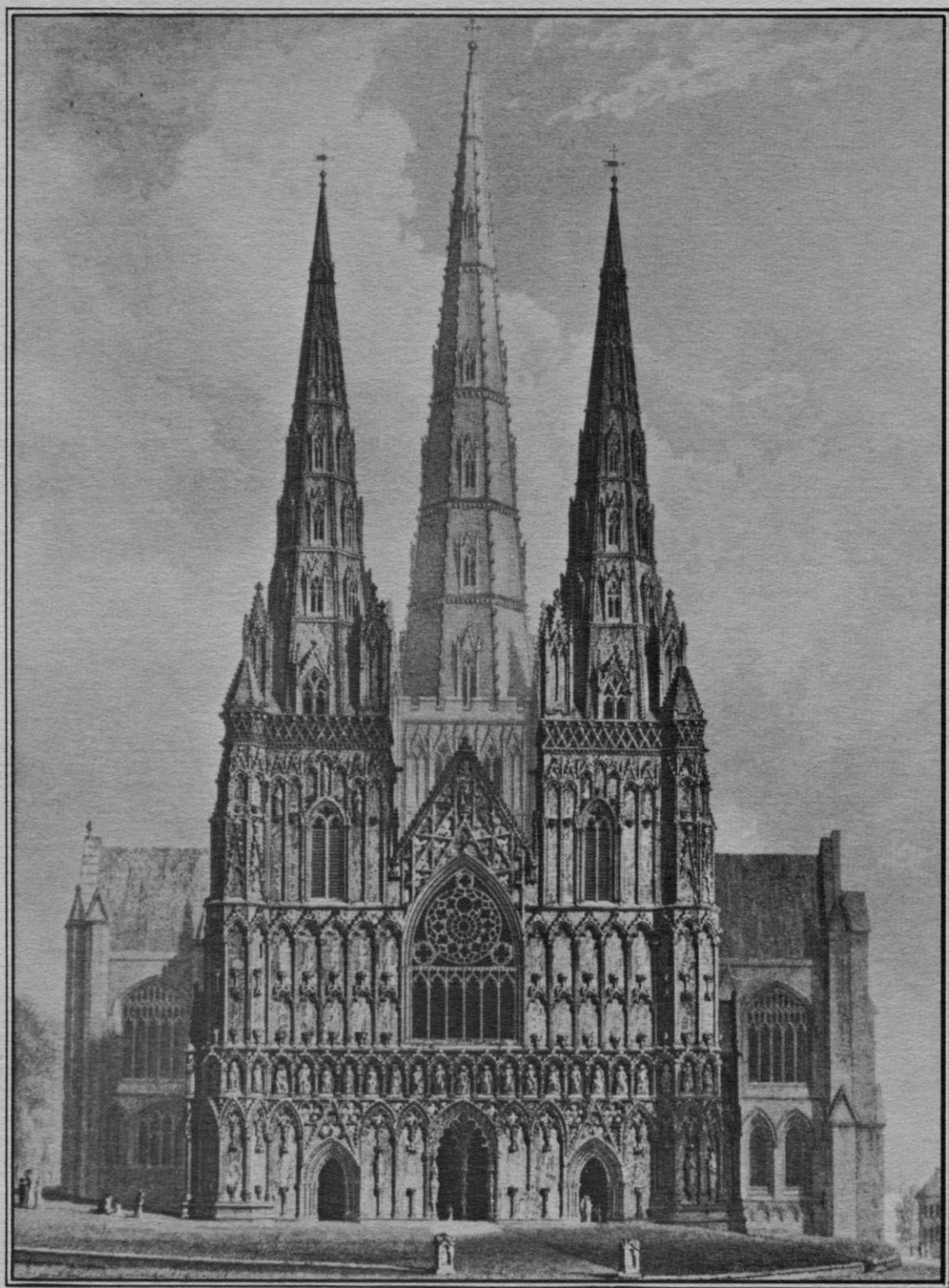




SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TRANSACTIONS 1983-1984 VOLUME XXV

SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
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RESCUE' EXCAVATION AT WALL (STAFFORDSHIRE), 1980/81 (WALL EXCAVATION REPORT No. 13)

FRANK BALL AND NANCY BALL

LOCATION OF SITE Grid reference SK096065 (fig. 1)

The area concerned was approximately 0.3034 ha. ($\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre), roughly triangular in shape, situated at the west end of the village on the south side of the modern Watling Street at its junction with the A5. In 1776 Stukeley commented on the position of a brook and the cottages he saw on its eastern side, with marshes to the west. Today the brook runs approximately north-south and through a culvert at the west end of the village. In view of the evidence for continued occupation of this area during the Roman period and later, it seems unlikely that the part of the village to the east of the brook was water-logged during the Roman period. This would appear to be confirmed by the report on the pollen spectrum by Dr. J. Grieg (below).

REASON FOR EXCAVATION

The site was to be developed by Lichfield District Council which planned to build seven bungalows.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Initially 3 areas were opened by machine — WT/1, WT/2 and WT/3. WT/2 was then incorporated into WT/1, the area ultimately measuring 150 square metres. Area WT/3 measuring 108 square metres was located approximately 18 metres to the east of WT/1.

The earliest occupation observed on the site was of the Roman period, represented by a number of different building phases extending from the 1st century A.D. to at least the early 5th century and possibly beyond. In the 18th/19th centuries cottages and outbuildings were erected fronting the modern Watling Street, and a large septic tank to serve the village was constructed slightly to the south and west of the cottages. During the 20th century ploughing was carried out over the whole area, and in 1965 it was used as a vehicles park during the construction of the by-pass, now the A5. In 1970 a pumping station was built at the north-west corner. In 1980 the eastern side of the site was used as a tip for building debris derived from the demolition of the old cottages.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The excavation was commissioned by the Department of the Environment which provided a small grant to enable an assessment of the archaeological potential of the site to be carried out. Our thanks go to Mr. A. J. Fleming of the Department of the Environment for his visit to the excavation to inspect the findings and discuss priorities.

The work was carried out each weekend by volunteers. So many people helped, including members of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society, that it is impossible to name them all, but our thanks and appreciation are extended to everyone who participated. Special thanks go to Mrs. D. Wilkes of the Saturday group, and Mr. R. Jerromes of the Sunday group for their unfailing support throughout.

Our thanks and appreciation are also extended to the specialists who have generously provided reports as follows:—Dr. L. Barfield (flints), Dr. T. F. C. Blagg (column capital), Dr. J. L. Cole (animal bones), Dr. Elisabeth Corbett (human jawbone with teeth), Dr. J. Greig (pollen spectrum), Mr. B. R. Hartley (Samian pottery), Mrs. K. Hartley (mortaria), Mr. M. W. C. Hassell (inscribed stone), Dr. J. Kent (coins), Mr. D. Mackreth (brooches), and Dr. G. Webster, O.B.E. (military bronze, coin and Hofheim jar). The inset in fig. 1 is based on the Ordnance Survey with the permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationary Office, Crown Copyright Reserved.

We also wish to thank Lichfield District Council for allowing the work to take place and for the interest taken; Mr. Palphreyman of the architects Butler, Wones and Partners, for supplying plans of the proposed development; the Gas Board and the Central Electricity Generating Board for plans of their installations; Sheldon Contracting Co. Ltd., whose site supervisor, Mr. B. Gregory, kindly permitted recording and examination to be carried out during building operations, and also drew our attention to features and artefacts uncovered.

Special mention must be made of the kindly interest and comments from Mr. J. Gould and Mr. A. A. Round, and our thanks go to Mr. B. Meeson who kept a "watching brief" on the site during the summer of 1981 prior to the builders moving in.

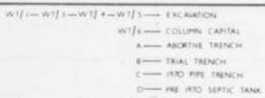
Above all, special thanks must go to Dr. Graham Webster for his encouragement at all times, his willingness to visit the site when requested, and for agreeing to act as referee for this report. However, we take full responsibility for the opinions expressed and for any errors.

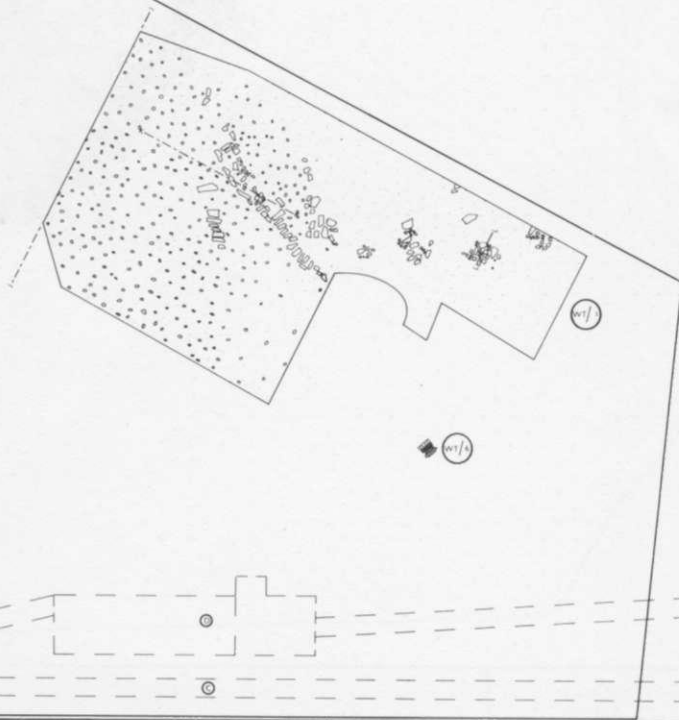
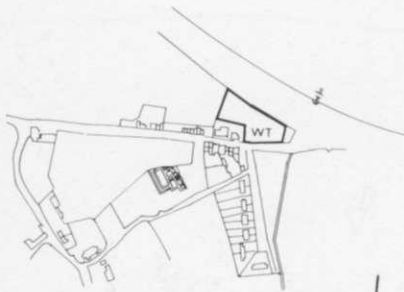
INTRODUCTION

Although excavations have been carried out over a number of years at WALL, this was the first time there had been the opportunity of assessing the full archaeological potential south of Watling Street at the west end of the village. Reporting on excavations at Wall from 1961-1963, J. Gould recorded that no surface indications of Roman occupation were to be seen on land on the south side of Watling Street at this point (Gould, p. 14, fig. 12). In a report on his observations kept when the by-pass was being constructed in 1965, A. Oswald commented on seeing two rough walls with associated clay floors (Oswald), but the recorded position was not very precise. When A. A. Round examined the trench and pit cut for the installation of the pumping station in 1970 he found only disturbed material and no evidence of occupation (Round). In view of the foregoing, it was decided to investigate the area broadly indicated by Oswald in order to trace the walls and clay floors mentioned by him (Area WT/1 on Area Plan, fig. 1). At the same time a small north-south trench (B on Area Plan) was cut by machine just to the east of the pipe trench examined by Round, to check for any trace of ditches associated with Roman Watling Street, but disturbance caused by 18th/19th century cellars and other foundations had removed any evidence at this point.

There was also the possibility of finding the military defences which should exist between the Bath site and the brook (Frere and St. Joseph, p.7 and fig. 3). The corner of a built-up garden hedge to the south and east suggested a possible site, and a trench was cut by machine through an existing gap (Area WT/3 on Area Plan, fig. 1).

Several factors imposed constraints upon the extent of the areas which were examined. These were the presence of underground electricity cables, the large pits dug by machine into





SCALE 1:100

WALL TRIANGLE SITE PLAN

GRID REF. SK096065

DWG. NO. 80/1

DRAWN BY 1/14/8



REPORT ON DRAINAGE TRENCHES AT WALL MUSEUM

FRANK BALL AND NANCY BALL

(Grid ref. SK097065)

In November 1980 work on the new toilets being installed in WALL Museum was observed for the Department of the Environment over a period of three days. The museum is situated to the north of the modern Watling Street. In the past Roman Watling Street was assumed to run east-west partially under the modern village road and also under the museum front garden', but there was no indication of this in the contractor's trenches. The contractor carrying out this work cut two trenches approximately at right angles to each other (see fig.)

Trench No. 1 — immediately outside and parallel to the front of the museum.

Trench No. 2 — extending to the boundary wall on the left-hand side of the entrance gate and cutting into the existing road outside the boundary wall to connect with the sewer.

The trenches were approximately 0.5 metres wide and 1.2 metres deep, and careful examination revealed that in both there had been late disturbance to the full depth. This disturbed layer was composed of a reddish sandy loam which was very dirty and topped by a turf layer. No section was drawn as, other than the turf layer, no stratification was discernible. There was no evidence of Roman occupation and the only artefacts recovered were 19th/20th century pottery: one piece of manganese glaze ware and (appropriately) a large sherd of a transfer decorated chamber-pot.

1. H. R. Hodgkinson, unpublished papers on Roman roads in Wall area (deposited in Lichfield Public Library); A. A. Round, 'Excavations at Wall (Staffs.)', *T.S.S.A.H.S.* xi (1969-70).

the natural undisturbed ground during the by-pass construction work, the presence of a large quantity of building debris from the demolished cottages, and a request from the architects that the positions of the foundations for the new bungalows should be avoided. Apart from these considerations, the investigation was limited by the time and resources available. Areas WT/1 and WTO became, in effect, separate excavations as all attempts to link them together stratigraphically were unsuccessful due to the pits related to the by-pass construction.

AREA WT/1 (figs. 2 and 3)

As set out in Table 1 below, five phases of activity were represented in this area on the western part of the site.

TABLE 1

PHASE	LAYERNUMBER	FEATURE NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
1.	19		Layer of gravel
2.	13 and 17 16 and 18 11	F. 5	Make-up layer with timber post Gravel layers Gravel road surface
3.	22	F. 17	Timber posts cutting Phase 2
4.	3	F. 3	Sandstone foundation
	4	F. 4	Sandstone pads
	12	F. 19	Sandstone foundation
5.	1		Sandstone spread from destruction of Phase 4
	5		Sandstone spread from destruction of Phase 4

PHASE 1

The lowest of three gravel layers associated with unabraded R.B. pottery, and considered to be a road. The samian from the layer (19) suggested a Flavian/Trajanic date.

PHASE 2

This phase consisted of sand make-up (17), immediately underlying gravel layers (18 and 11), and in the case of (11) was associated with a timber corduroy, leaving no doubt that this can be interpreted as a road. Its direction is impossible to project and would prove to be a matter of pure conjecture as so little directional evidence remained. The pottery ranged from A.D. 100 to A.D. 400+ with some earlier pieces which were probably residual.

PHASE 3

The timber posts and foundation trench of this phase were the remains of a structure cutting through the Phase 2 road, the gravel from which had fallen into the voids left by the tops of the posts. No interpretation was possible as to what the structure could have been.

PHASE 4

When Phases 2 and 3 went out of use, podsol formed (10) prior to Phase 4 which consisted of two pitched sandstone foundations (F. 3 and F. 19), with four associated pads (F. 4). These foundations appeared to have been placed initially on the surface of the podsol, but due to its nature and probably the weight of the superstructure of the building, excavation revealed that they had sunk level with the top of the podsol. No dating evidence was recovered for this phase, but the inscribed stone (fig. 6) was incorporated in F. 3 which also contained other re-used sandstone building stones, some with mortar still adhering to them. These foundations (F. 3, F. 4 and F. 19) are not characteristic of the Roman period, and the pottery date of A.D. 400+ from Phase 2 suggests that, chronologically, the structures of Phase 4 are well into the post-Roman period.

PHASE 5

This phase represented the final destruction of the Phase 4 structures, and was a spread of sandstone underlying the ploughing of later periods. The pottery recovered of 2nd/3rd century date appeared to be residual.

AREA WT/3 (figs. 4 and 5)

As set out in Table 2 below, three phases of activity were represented in this area on the eastern part of the site.

TABLE 2

PHASE	LAYERNUMBER	FEATURENUMBER	DESCRIPTION
1.	12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 18.	7; 9; 10; 11; 12; 18.	Gullies
2.	10		Cobble surface
3.	3; 4; 11	1; 4; 6.	Cobble, limestone and sandstone foundations
		13	"Eavesdrip"
	17		

PHASE 1

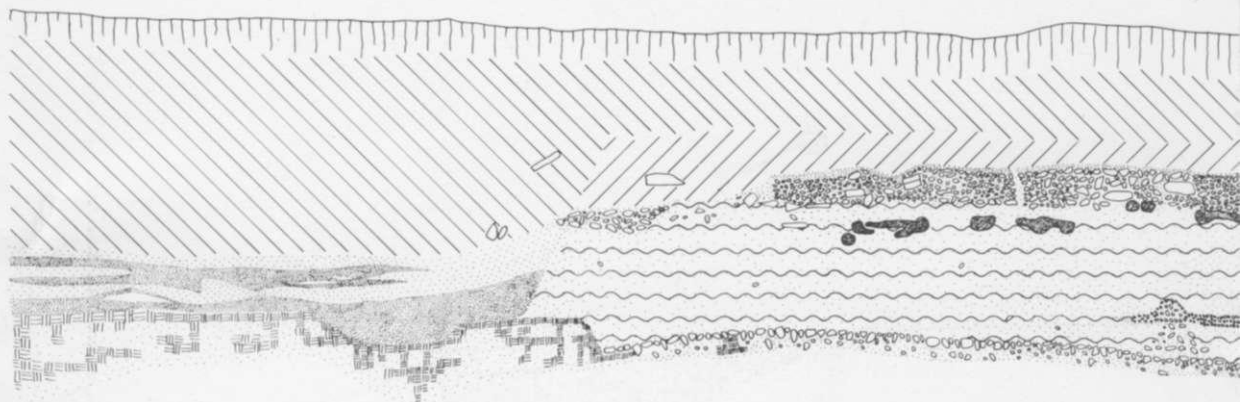
The earliest occupation related to the Roman period and was in the form of gullies, presumably for timber buildings, but of unknown structure, construction and form. As seen, there could have been several phases and/or buildings, or merely alterations to existing structures. The artefacts, including coins and a military bronze, point to 1st century occupation.

PHASE 2

This was located at the southern end of the excavation and consisted of a cobble surface of single thickness, fragmentary in parts (10), which sealed the Phase 1 features. The mortaria from this Phase gave a date of late first/early second century.

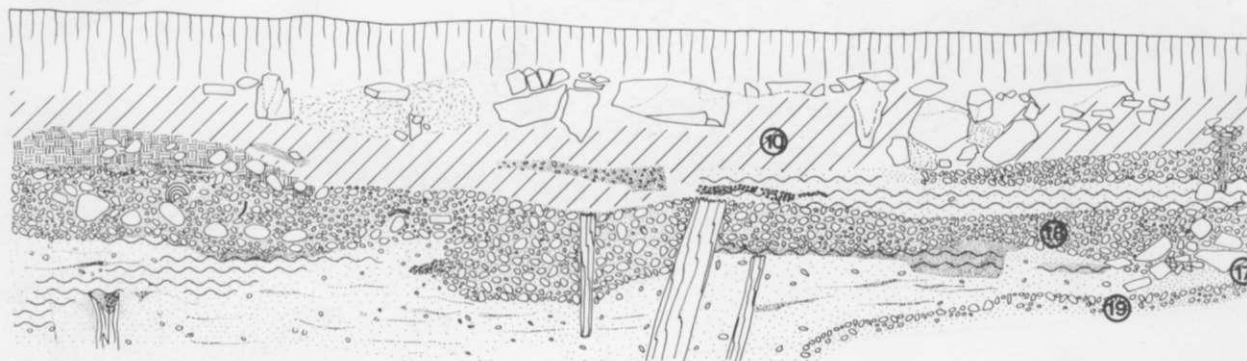
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J



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K



SECTIONS J—J DRG. NO. 80/1 AND 80/3 PLANS
 K—K DRG. NO. 80/1 AND 80/3 PLANS
 L—L DRG. NO. 80/1 AND 80/3 PLANS



PLOUGH SOIL



PODSOL



PEAT



DIRTY SAND



1945 DISTURBANCE



1945 DISTURBANCE



GRAVEL



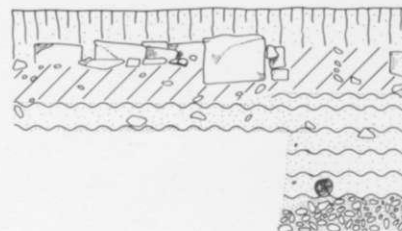
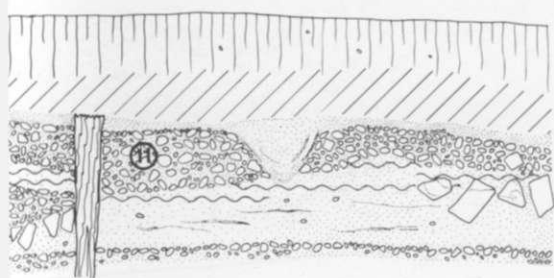
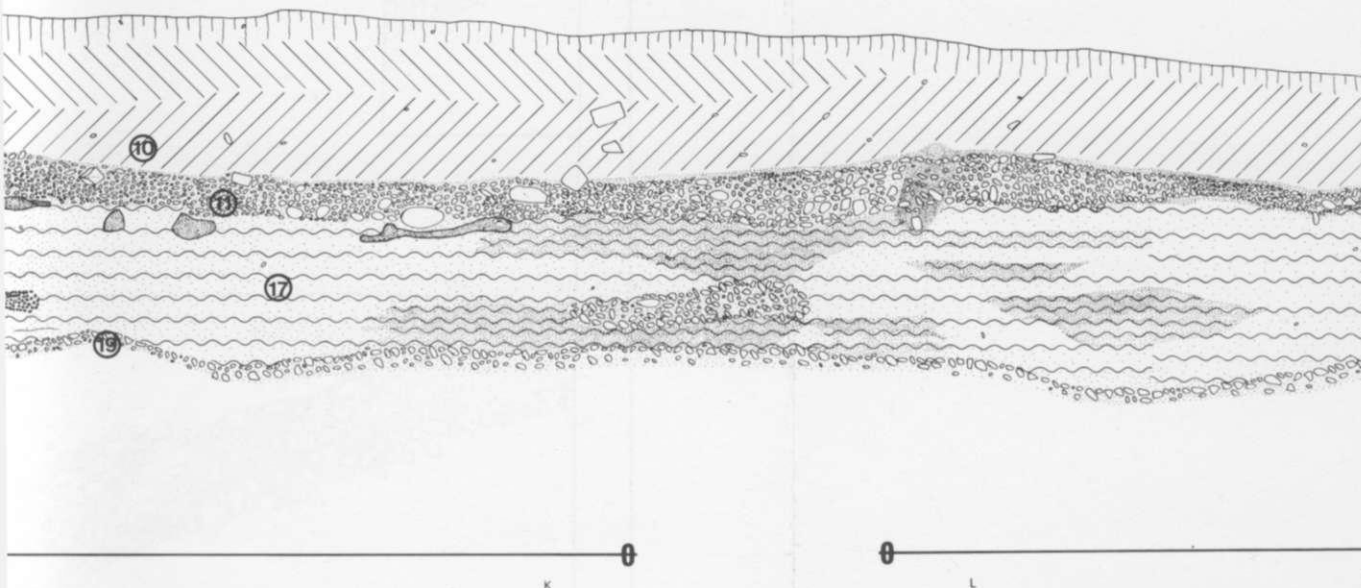
SAND



CLAY



1945 DISTURBANCE



TIMBER CORDUROY



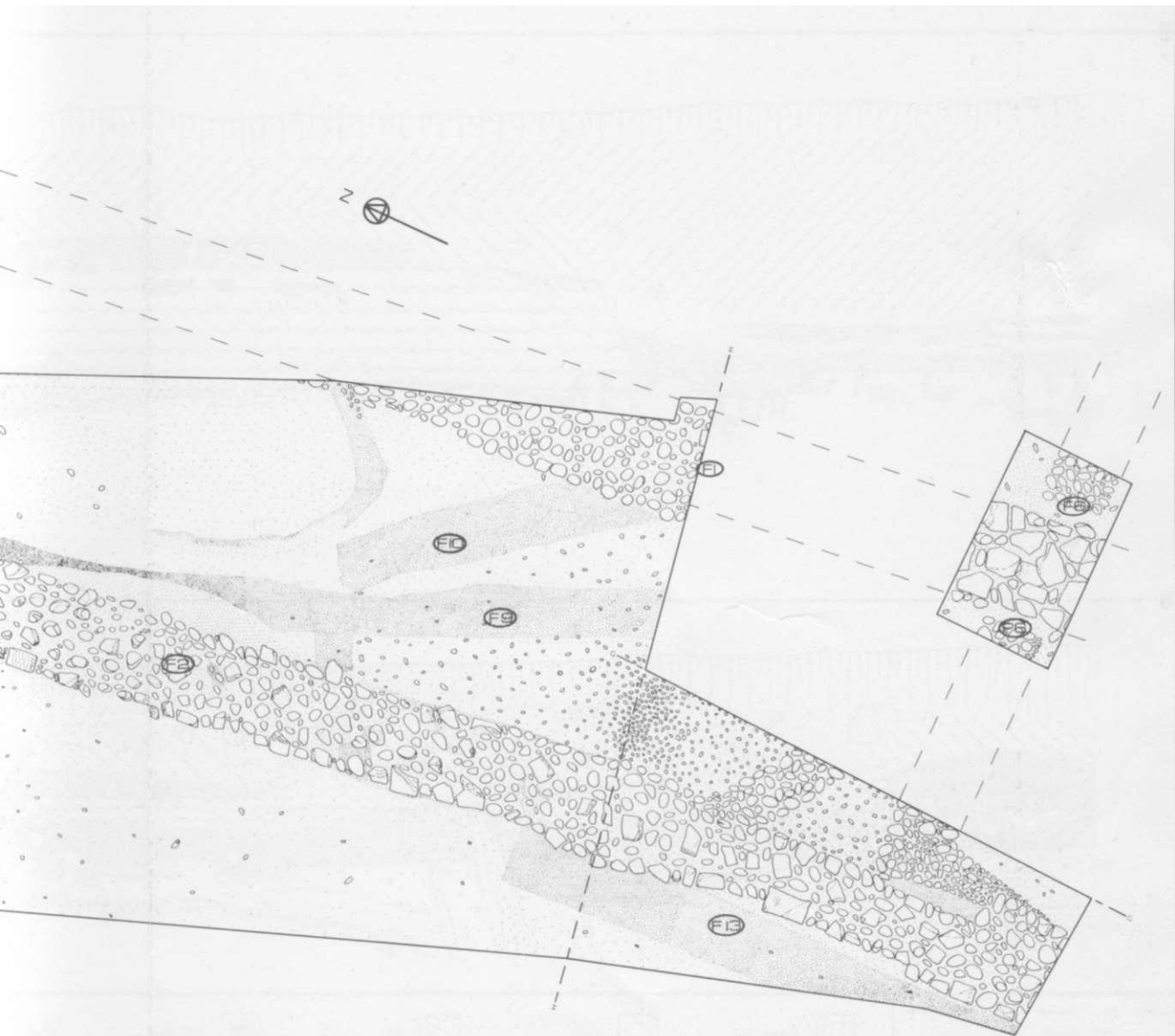
SANDSTONE



COMMON HORIZONTAL DATUM

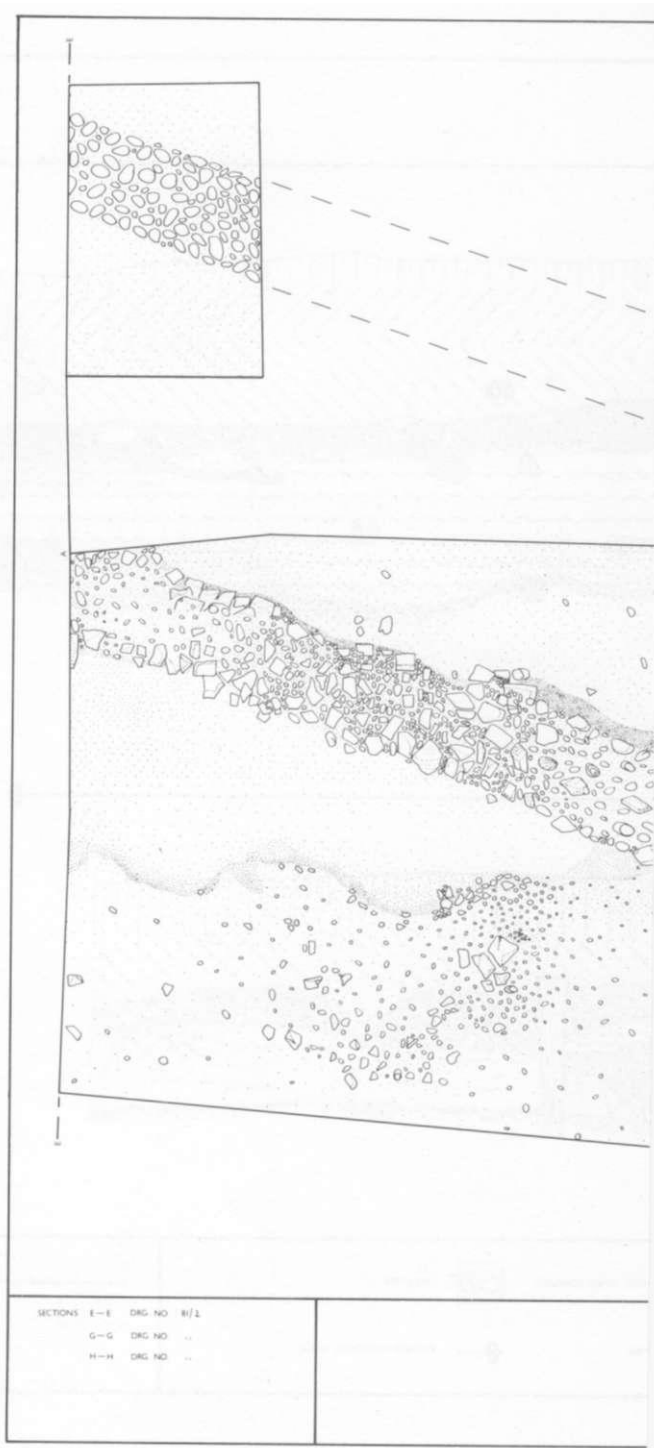


WALL TRI
GRID REF SK096
Dwg. NO. 81/1
Dwn. BY 1/7/80



0 1 2 3 4 5 METRES
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 16 FEET
SCALE 1"=20'

WALL TRIANGLE AREA WT/3
GRID REF 096065
DRG. NO. 1032
DIN BY 1/7/8



PHASE 3

This phase was represented by two parallel north-south and one associated east-west foundation trenches, containing alternately coursed cobbles and limestone with some sandstone, bonded with a fine white mortar which appeared to be gypsum based. These features cut the features of the earlier phases. Associated with the westerly foundation (F. 2) was an "eavesdrip" trench (F. 13), and a stake-hole, indicating probably a wooden lining, and with evidence of re-cutting and re-lining (fig. 5). Very few artefacts were related to this phase and the function of the building remains undetermined, although the arrangement of the foundations, their size and relationship to each other indicates a load-bearing wall (F. 1) to the east, with a narrower one (F. 2) to the west, which would be suitable for supporting a stylobate. Together, these two north-south foundations and the east-west crossing wall foundation (F. 6) suggest either a corridor or portico of a reasonably substantial building. Also the column capital (fig. 7) found nearby cannot be ignored. Later examination of a foundation trench cut by the building contractors revealed that the eastern foundation (F. 1) still continued for at least a further 4 metres to the south. The northern extent of these foundations was never seen owing to the later disturbance. Artefacts recovered from Area WTO suggest occupation of this eastern part of the site extending from the first until the first quarter of the second century.

CONCLUSIONS

It will be clear from the limited amount of evidence recovered due to the serious working restrictions that any interpretation is extremely difficult. However, what the excavations have shown beyond any doubt is occupation on the south side of Watling Street at the west end of the village from the first century to at least the fifth century and possibly beyond.

Although the walls and clay floors described by A. Oswald were not seen in these excavations, they confirm the findings related to the size of settlement.

The defences of the early fortress were not found, but this does not rule out the possibility of their existence somewhere between these excavations and the Baths site to the east, and they may yet be discovered by later excavation.

The drains imply an establishment requiring these facilities, and they were on a similar alignment to the wall foundations (F. 1 and F. 2) in Area WTO. The lack of building debris from the early structures points to demolition materials being cleared away and the area left reasonably tidy — an attribute of the military.

The building materials recovered from Area WT/1 included roof tiles, flue tiles, daub, nails and a few tiny scraps of glass, suggesting stone buildings and heated rooms in use in the vicinity during the period of occupation.

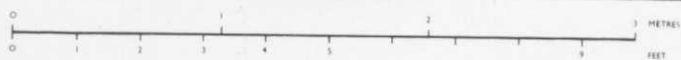
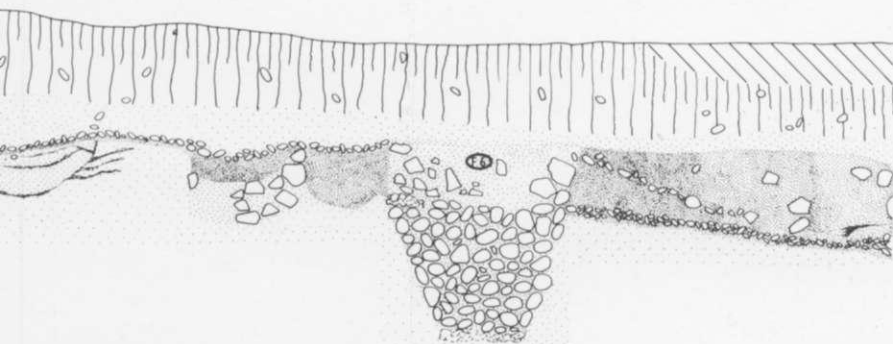
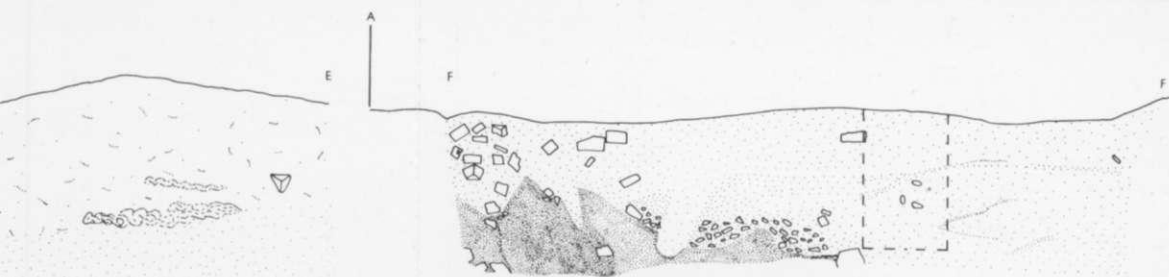
The dating evidence and lack of black-burnished pottery from Area WTO suggest that the structures represented by the remaining features on the eastern part of the site were considerably earlier than those of Area WT/1 where the pottery date of A.D. 400+ for Phase 2 indicates that chronologically the structures of Phase 4 are well into the post-Roman period.

We can now say with some confidence that on the south side of Watling Street at the west end of the village occupation extended from the first century into the fifth century. This is an important breakthrough as previously there had been no evidence of continued occupation into the post-Roman period.

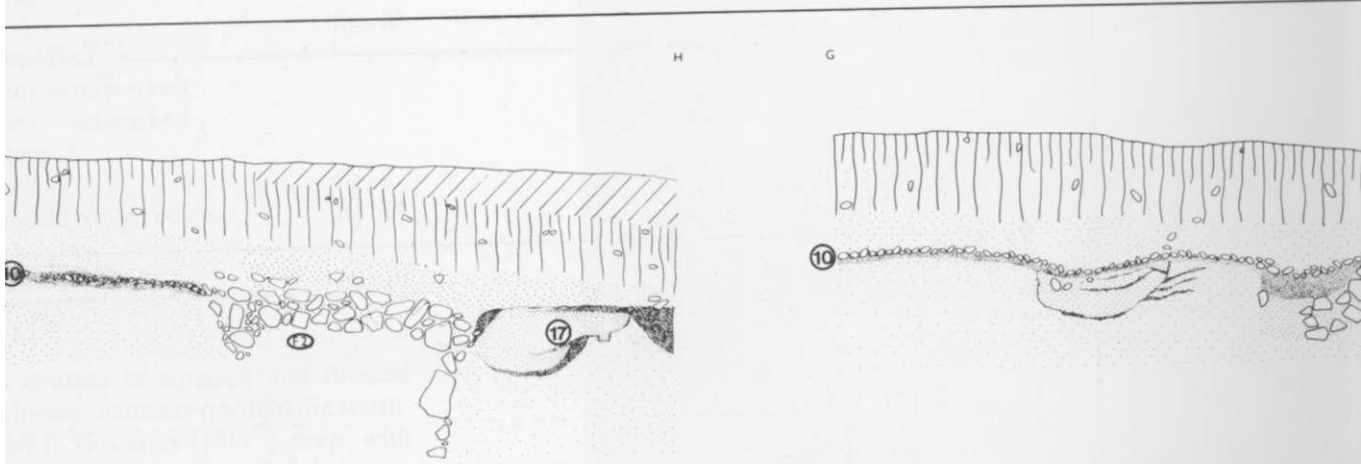
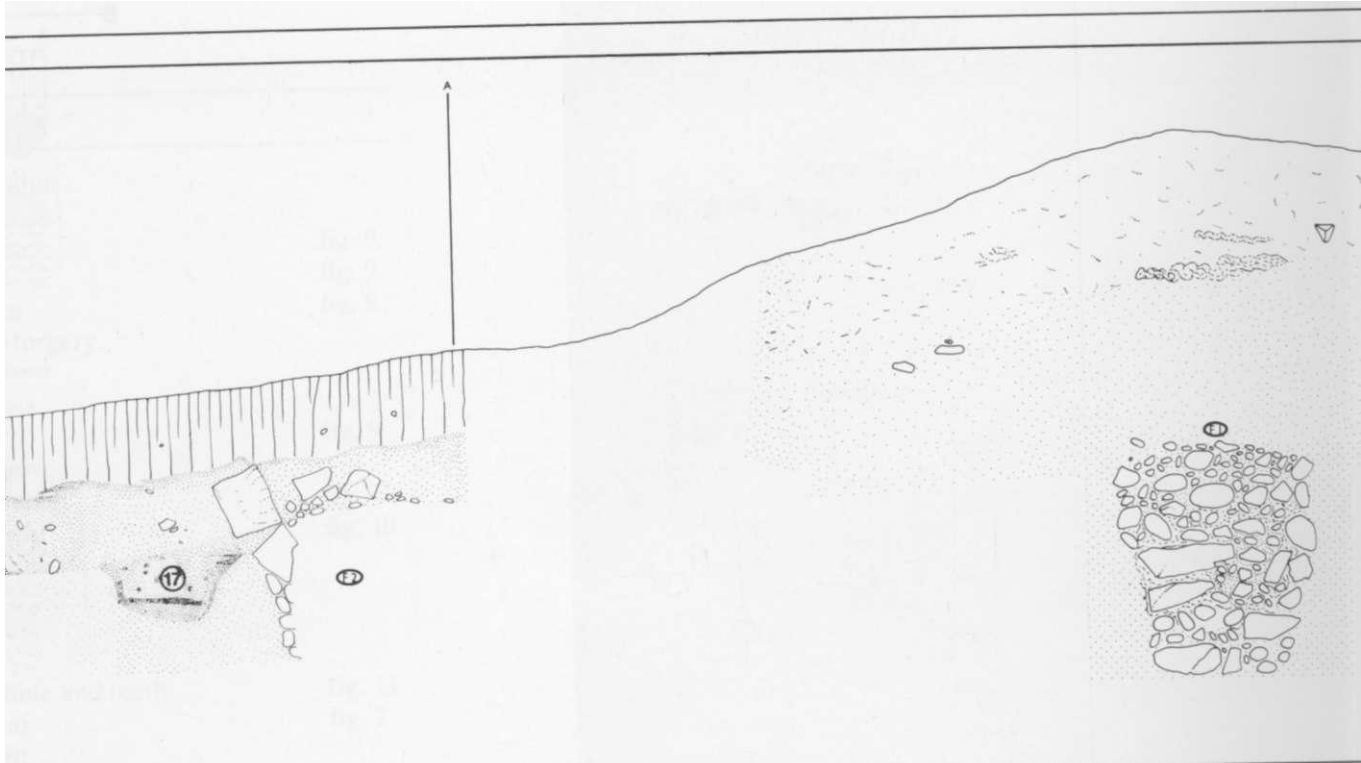
CONTEXT TABLE — AREA WT/1

TABLE 3

Layer No.	Context	Interpretation	Coarse	Pottery Fine	Samian	Coins	Small Finds No.
1.	Sandstone spread	Destruction debris	x	x	x		3:23
2.	Dark loam	Occupation	x	x	x		19
3.	Pitched sandstone	Wall foundation	x	x			22
4.	Sandstone pad	Post pad?	x	x	x		24
5.	Sandstone spread	Destruction debris					
6.	Dirty sand						
7.	Light sand						
8.	Dark sandy loam	Occupation	x			x	5
9.	Grey-black sand	Modern pit					
10.	Podsol	Natural development	x		x		
11.	Gravel	Road surface	x	x	x		2:12:13:20
12.	Pitched sandstone	Wall foundation					
13.	Sand and peat	Make-up for road	x	x	x		6
14.	Peat		x				
15.	Red clay	Floor surface					
16.	Sandy gravel	Road surface	x		x		8
17.	Sand and peat	Make-up for road	x		x		
18.	Pebbles and cobble	Road surface	x				21
19.	Gravel	Road surface	x	x	x		
20.	Timber	Post					
21.	Timber	Post					
22.	Timber	Posts					
AREA	WT/3						
1.	Light sand		x		x	x	1:4:16
2.	Burning and sand	Patch	x		x		
3.	Cobbles	Wall foundation	x				
4.	Cobble & sandstone	Wall foundation	x				
5.	Sandy clay		x				
6.	Dirty sand	Occupation trample					10
7.	Sandstone & pebble	Occupation	x		x		
8.	Dirty sand	Disturbance					
9.	Sandy loam	Occupation	x		x	x	7:9:11:17:25
10.	Cobbles	Surface	x				
11.	Cobble & sandstone	Wall foundation	x				
12.	Pebbles & sandstone	Wall foundation					
13.	Dirty sand	Gully	x		x		18
14.	Dirty sand	Gully	x				
15.	Grey sand	Gully					
16.	Dirty sand	Gully					
17.	Dirty sand	Eavesdrip	x		x		
18.	Dirty sand	Timber slot					



WALL TRIANGLE AREA WT/3
 GRID REF SK096065
 DRG. NO. B/2
 DWN. BY 1/NB



DIRT SAND



MORTARED CORBEL AND STONE FOUNDATION



WORK HORIZON



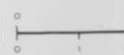
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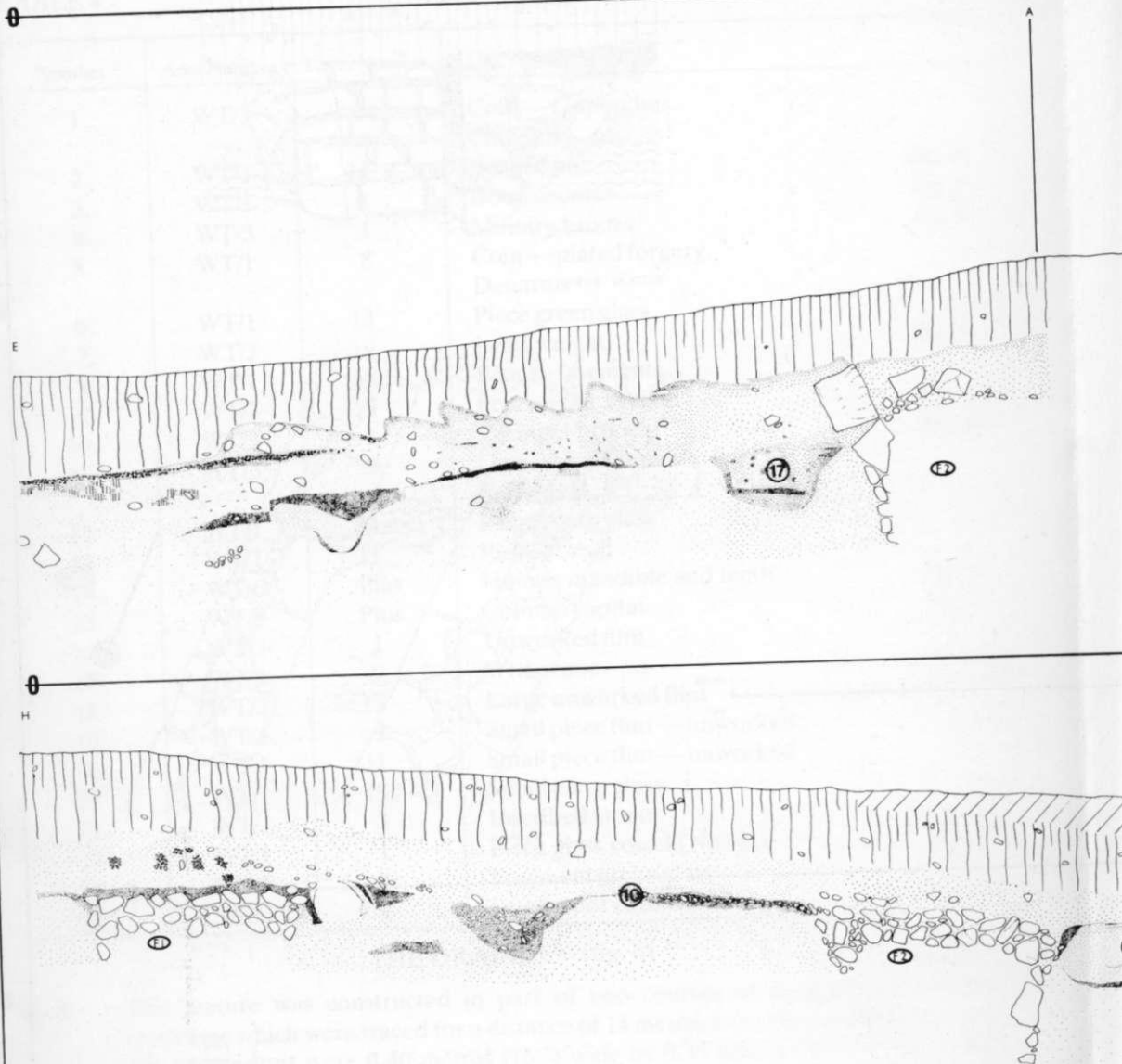


COMMON HORIZONTAL DRUM



CHARCOAL FLECK





SECTIONS E—E DIG NOS BQ/1 AND BQ/2 PLANS

E—E 11 12 13
 F—F 14 15 16
 G—G 17 18 19
 H—H 20 21 22



PLOUGH



GRAVEL



DIRTY SAND



MORTARED CORBEL AND STONE FOUNDATION



FMS DISTURBANCE



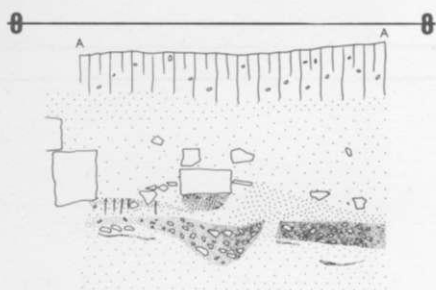
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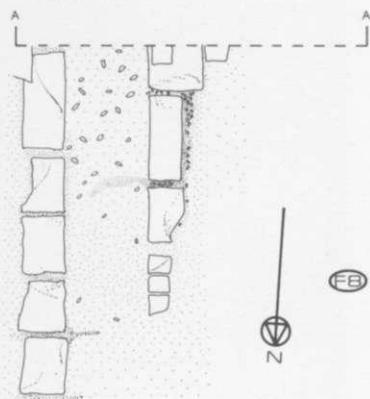
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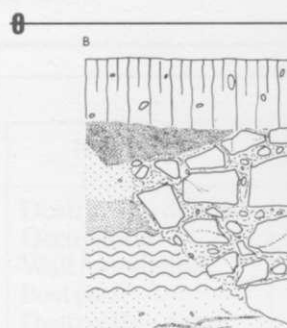
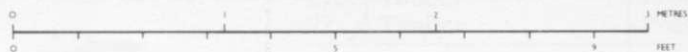
COMMON HORIZONTAL DATUM



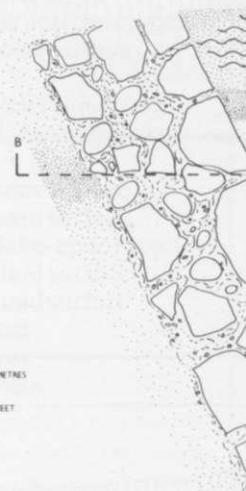
SECTION A-A



PLAN



SECTION B-B

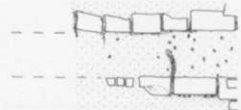
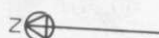


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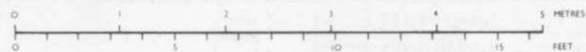
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GRADIENT 1-66



PLAN



SECTIONS	A-A	ORG. NO. 80/1
	B-B	" "
PLANS	WT/4	" "
	WT/5	" "



PLOUGH SOIL



PEAT



SAND



DIRTY SAND



SANDSTONE



MORTAR



HORIZONTAL DATUM

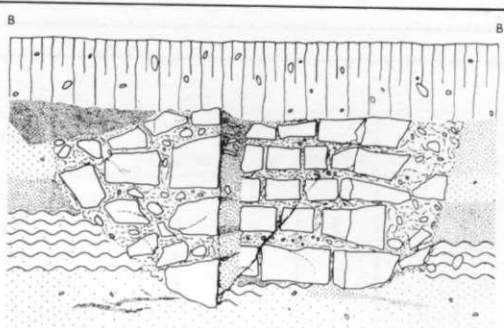


RIVER COBBLES

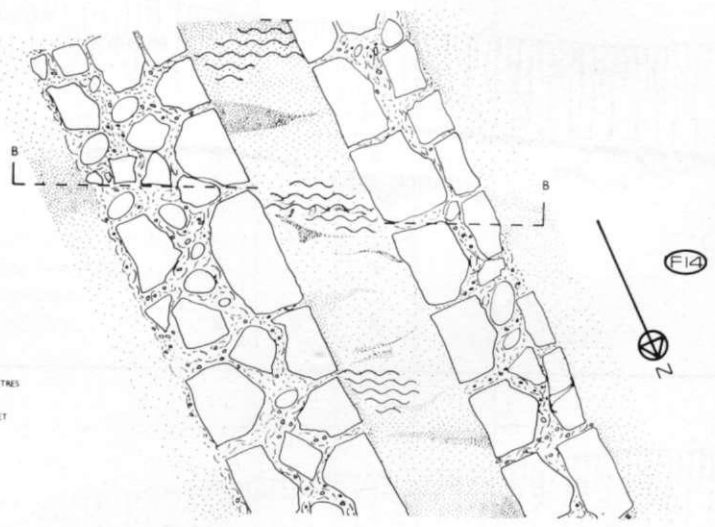
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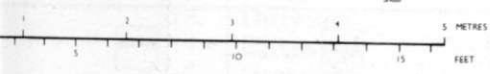
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SECTION B-B



PLAN



- | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|--|--------|--|------------------|--|------------|--|---------------|
| ROUGH SOIL | | PEAT | | SAND | | DIRTY SAND | | RIVER COBBLES |
| ANDSTONE | | MORTAR | | HORIZONTAL DATUM | | | | |

WALL TRIANGLE AREAS WT/4&5
 GRID REF. SK 096065
 DRG. NO. 82/1
 DRN. BY 11/NB

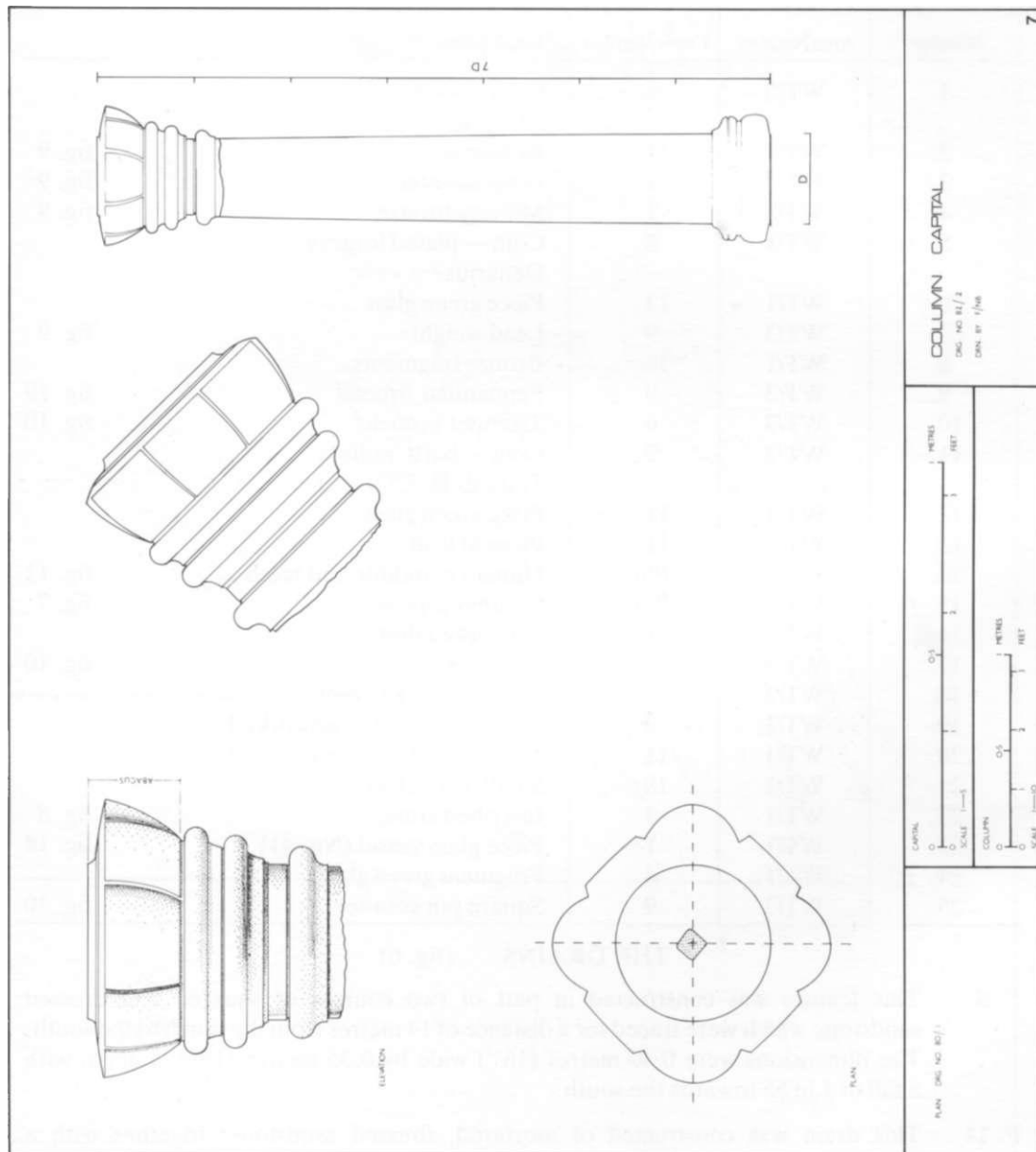
SMALL FINDS

TABLE 4

Number	Area Number	Layer Number	Description
1.	WT/3	1	Coin — Dupondius. Claudius
2.	WT/1	11	Bronze pin fig. 9
3.	WT/1	1	Bone counter fig. 9
4.	WT/3	1	Military bronze fig. 9
5.	WT/1	8	Coin — plated forgery. Denarius
6.	WT/1	13	Piece green glass
7.	WT/3	9	Lead weight fig. 9
8.	WT/1	16	Bronze fragments
9.	WT/3	9	Pennanular brooch fig. 10
10.	WT/3	6	Trumpet brooch fig. 10
11.	WT/3	9	Coin — barb, radiate Tetricus II
12.	WT/1	11	Piece green glass
13.	WT/1	11	Piece of lead
14.	WT/6	Plus	Human mandible and teeth fig. 11
15.	WT/6	Plus	Column capital fig. 7
16.	WTO	1	Unworked flint
17.	WT/3	9	Whetstone fig. 10
18.	WT/3	13	Large unworked flint
19.	WT/1	2	Small piece flint — unworked
20.	WT/1	11	Small piece flint — unworked
21.	WT/1	18	Small piece glass
22.	WT/1	3	Inscribed stone fig. 8
23.	WT/1	1	Piece glass vessel (No. 41) fig. 14
24.	WT/1	4	Fragment green glass
25.	WTO	9	Square pot counter fig. 10

THE DRAINS (fig. 6)

- F. 8 This feature was constructed in part of two courses of squared and dressed sandstone which were traced for a distance of 14 metres from the north to the south. The dimensions were 0.40 metres (16") wide by 0.35 metres (13W) deep, with a fall of 1 in 55 towards the south.
- F. 14 This drain was constructed of mortared, dressed sandstone, together with a mortared rubble and cobble backing. The dimensions were 0.50 metres (19½") wide by 0.95 metres (37½") deep, with the top course of stone and the capping missing. The fall could not be determined, but the dimensions imply a main drain with a reasonable volume of water.

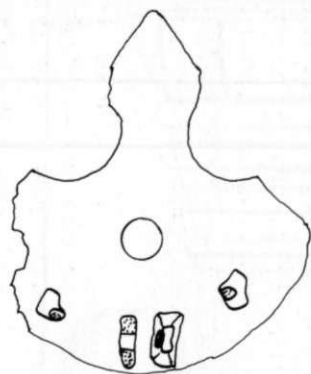




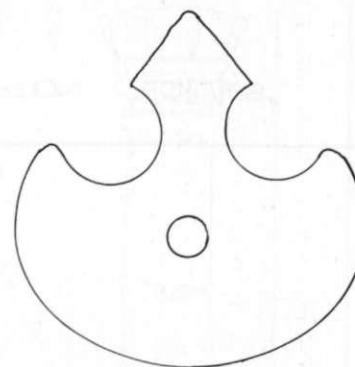
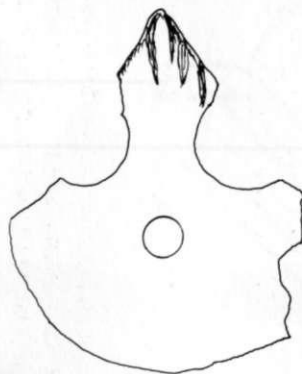
INSCRIPTION "EQ[L]ES"

DRG. NO. 83/1

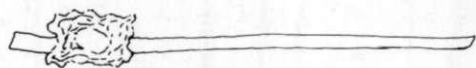
DRN. BY F/N.B.



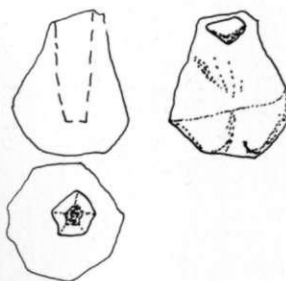
MILITARY BRONZE



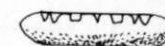
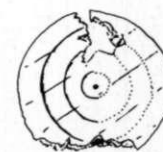
RECONSTRUCTION



BRONZE PIN



LEAD WEIGHT



BONE COUNTER

SCALE 1—1

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

UNSTRATIFIED COLUMN CAPITAL (fig. 7)

T. F. C. BLAGG, F.S.A.

A rather unusual piece, it is unconventional by Romano-British standards in having projecting half-round mouldings in place of the usual inclined profile of cyma recta, cyma reversa and cavetto. The closest parallel for the way the half-round moulds are set out in profile is on capitals from the fortress granaries at Chester (unpublished information from T. J. Strickland). By analogy with them, an early second century date may be proposed.

The form of the abacus with its rebated quarter-round corner is probably unique, but the square panels on the side recall the projections on either side of the abacus of a Corinthian capital. Military stone-masons in Britain produced some very idiosyncratic versions of Roman architectural decoration.

INSCRIBED STONE (fig. 8)

M. W. C. HASSELL, F.S.A.

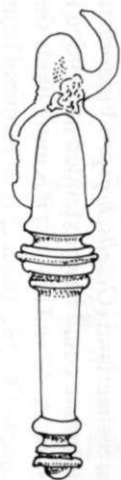
Block of sandstone, 0.39m. x 0.21m. and 0.3m. thick, found in 1981 re-used in the foundation of the wall of a Roman building at the western end of the village, on the south side of Watling Street. On one face is a crudely cut inscription: IIQIIS (...), Eq(u)es. . . . For the omission of - u - in eques, see RIB. 108 and 109, and in equitis RIB. 1064 and *Britannia*, lx (1978), 479, no. 49, where it is perhaps used as a personal name, possibly as here.

MILITARY BRONZE (fig. 9)

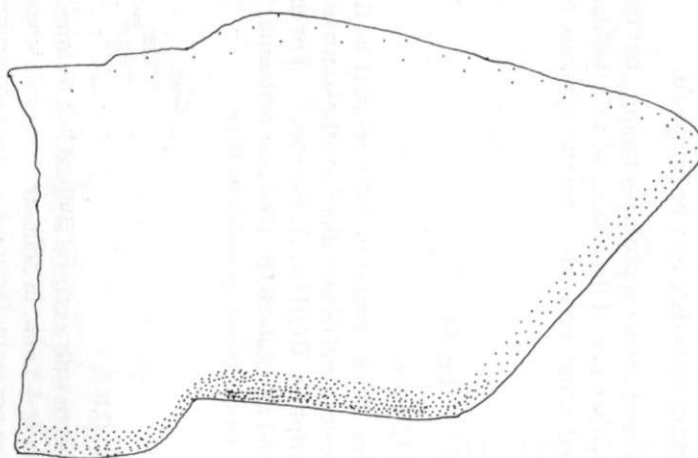
Dr. G. WEBSTER, O.B.E.

This is part of a composite pendant of a lunate pattern with a central stylised leaf terminal. The surface appears to be plain, but a neat central hole 4.5 mm. in diameter indicates where a circular boss has been attached. Such pendants are normally fastened to other decorative mounts and they themselves often had smaller attachments. The interest of this particular piece is at the back where two short tangs, their ends bent and broken, show how the piece was fixed to a leather belt or strap the width of the pendant. At the top, however, are a pair of small loops projecting horizontally, which function as a hinge. This means that there was a junction between the two straps; an arrangement which is somewhat unusual, although common in calvary harness traces. It affords the possibility of the junction having been between two straps at right angles to each other, and that this piece was fastened to a horizontal, whilst a vertical one was attached by the hinge at the top. The tangs exclude the possibility that it was a freely hanging pendant, and this strongly suggests horse equipment rather than an infantry baldric.

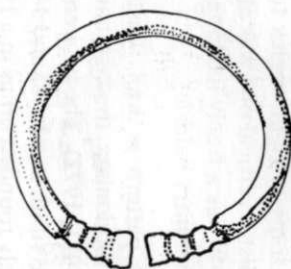
The general pattern is well illustrated in the series of pendants from the 1893-98 excavations at Vindonissa, the legionary fortress in Switzerland (*Gesellschaftpro Vindonissa*, Jashresbricht 1971, 1972). The broken ends of this lunate could have extended and ended in round terminals (ibid, as nos. 43 and 44, or *Hod HUH*, A. 42 and 43), but it is more likely that they were merely rounded off as in a Hod Hill example (A. 38); the leaf type terminal being well exemplified from Vindonissa (nos. 49-51).



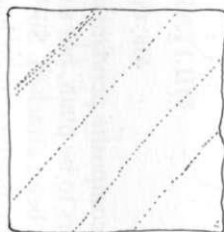
TRUMPET BROOCH



WHETSTONE



PENANNULAR BROOCH



CUT SHERD COUNTER



SCALE 1—1

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

BROOCHES (fig. 10)

D. F. MACKRETH

TRUMPET

1. The spring, now missing, was housed partly in the hollowed head of the bow and mounted on an axis bar whose ends were held in pierced plates. On the head is a cast loop, largely missing, rising over a semi-circular projection and offset from the rest of the brooch by a groove. The upper bow has a marked central arris and is straight-sided except for a minor sweep out to meet the oval plate hiding the pin-fixing arrangement. The knop of the bow consists of a cross-moulding top and bottom separated by flutes from a central triple set of mouldings, the middle one being beaded. The lower bow also has a marked arris and terminates in a repeat of the knop, save for the lower cross-moulding, and has a small boss under. The bulk of the brooches belonging to the Trumpet type have a single lug behind the head on which the spring, with an internal chord, was mounted by means of a rolled sheet metal tube through the coils and the lug. The whole arrangement was kept in position by the wire loop whose ends were seated in the tube. It is this type of spring fixing arrangement which is found on the two earliest dated Trumpets published so far (Hobley 1969, 110, fig. 19, 9; Hobley 1973, 66, fig. 19, 8). However, a brooch from South Ferriby has the stump of the spring joined to the brooch itself and the system would be the same as that on a Colchester, except that there is no sign of a hook (Dudley, 163, fig. 52, 5; Scunthorpe Museum, Rom. 23). The remaining two ways of mounting the pin have cast-on loops, sometimes with a collar, on the head of the brooch. The more common of these two is that to which the present brooch belongs; the other method uses a hinged pin.

As for distributions, enamelled Trumpets with a single loop behind the head are found mainly south of the Humber; the classic Trumpet (cf. Stead, 95, fig. 59, 6) occurs essentially north of a line drawn approximately from Gloucester to Norwich; the remaining, hinged, specimens lie markedly in the Midlands and the south-west. Those Trumpets with the same spring-holding system as here can be divided into two main groups: those with ornamental plates instead of a knop are widespread running from the Hebrides and the Scillies into Germany; the rest, with knops, have a much more limited distribution covering England south of the Humber. The hinged Trumpet is the least common and, at present, it is more characteristic of south-west England than elsewhere, and is not really to be expected in the lands of the north-west.

Close parallels for the Wall brooch are not to hand. The profile and the character of the upper bow are reminiscent of a mixed group of Trumpets and what appear to be derivative types which are to be found, apparently, mainly in the southern Pennines and the immediate territories. As the present brooch is clearly not particularly close to those with the single loop, the dated specimens chosen here have the same style of spring-fixing arrangement: Wroxeter, c. 110-130 (Busche-Fox, 26, fig. 9, 8); Shakenoak Farm, Wilcote, Oxon., first half of the second century (Brodribb *et al.* 110, 117-8, fig. 47, 66); Silchester, c. 120-160/70 (Cotton, 145, fig. 8, 2); Caerleon, 130-60 (Wheeler and Wheeler, 164, fig. 13, 16). Allowing for survival-in-use after the end of manufacture, it may be suggested that the period of manufacture lay in the first half of the second century and had probably finished before c. 140, but the date range of the objects as they enter the ground is from c. 110-170 A.D. and, on present information, there is little sign that the Wall brooch had been made in the first century, unlike the main Trumpet type.

PENNANULAR

2. The ring has a circular section and thickens towards the terminals. Each of these has a strong moulding at the end with two smaller ones connected by a waist between that and the ring, each divided from each by a groove. On one side of the ring next to the terminals are paired grooves laid out to form an elongated vesica running along the ring. There are traces of punched dots in the bottom of each groove. The brooch belongs to Fowler's type A3 and is dated by her from the first century A.D. to early Saxon times (Fowler, 152,174). The date range is over-extended and those which occur in Saxon graves may safely be regarded as having been casual finds. Similarly, the definition of the type is too wide in itself to be useful and the examples given here are confined to those which have closely similar mouldings, although no parallel to the longitudinal grooves is known to the writer: two come from Newstead and therefore have a maximum date range on that site from c. 80-180, possibly also into the early third century (Curie, 326, pi. LXXXVIII, 3, 17; Hartley, 54). On balance, it seems more than likely that the brooch design should be thought of as being second century rather than later, and it is possible that it had come into being in the first.

HUMAN MANDIBLE AND TEETH (fig. 11)

Dr. ELISABETH CORBETT, J.P.

The specimen consists of two friable pieces of human mandible. The body of the mandible is fractured obliquely through 34 sockets and this indicates post-mortem damage. Part of the right ascending ramus is present but right condylar and right coronoid processes are missing. The left ascending ramus is missing completely.

Teeth

All mandibular teeth are present except the right central and lateral incisors. Empty sockets for these two teeth indicate that they have been lost post-mortem. Other single rooted teeth 543/12345 are loose but can be repositioned in their sockets. Teeth present are therefore: _____

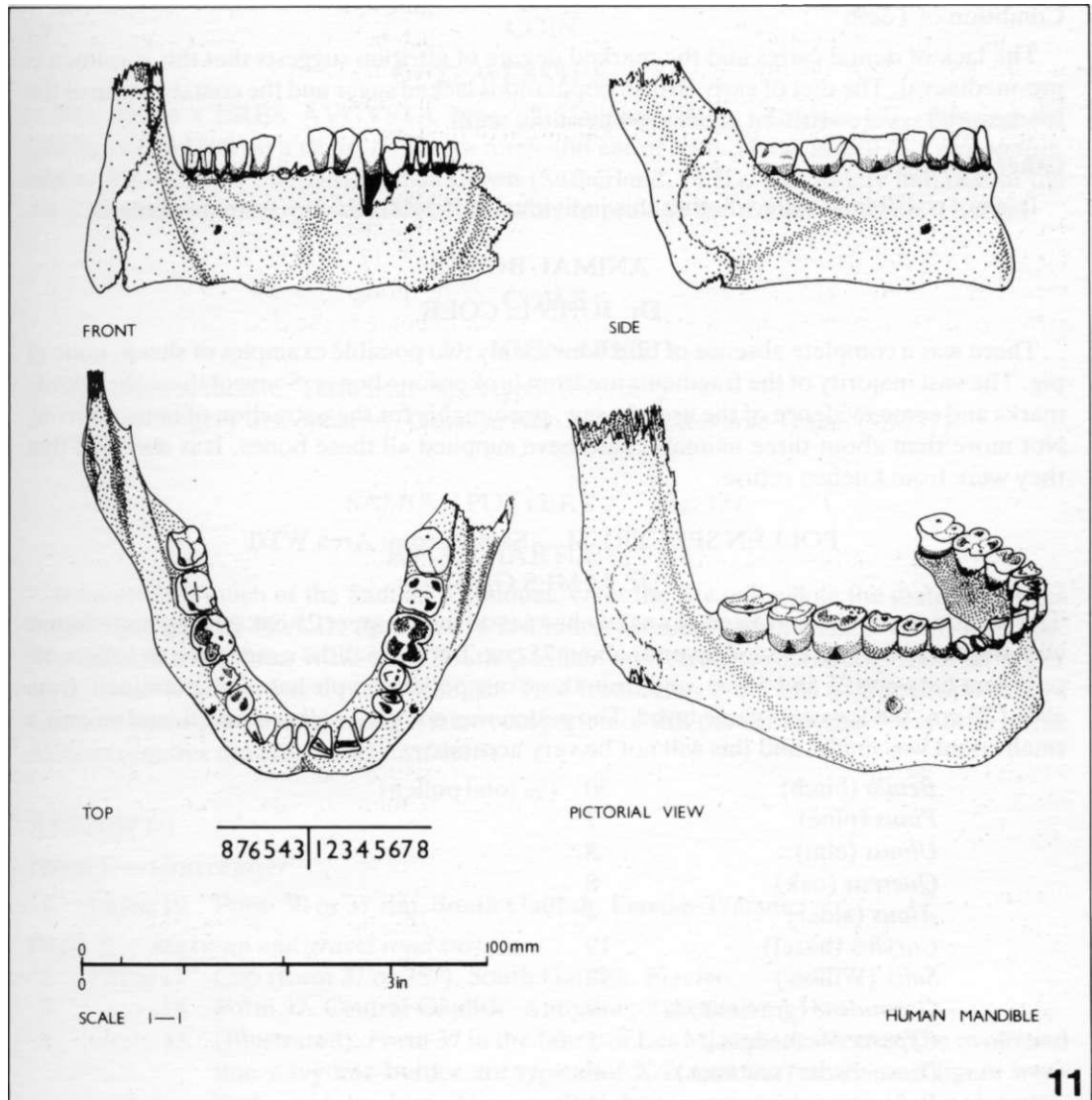
876543/12345678

There is considerable attrition (wear) on the first molars. There is no evidence of dental caries in any tooth. Post-mortem fracture and loss of enamel for the lingual surfaces of 65/78 and for the distal surface of 8/ is not significant.

Loss of calcified tooth tissue in the apical areas of the loose single rooted teeth is most likely to be post-mortem change as a result of soil action. The state of the bones and teeth suggests that the soil in which the remains were found is of an acid nature.

Age

The jaw is that of an adult as all permanent teeth have erupted. As there are no immature dentitions for this population from which to assess ages by degrees of attrition, it is not possible to give the age of this individual. The process of attrition is usually rapid in pre-mediaeval British teeth so a tentative guess would put the age of this individual at 25 to 35 years.



Sex

As there is no post-cranial skeleton, it is not possible to state the sex of the individual. However, the muscle ridges and sites of muscle attachments suggest that this mandible may be from a male.

Condition of Teeth

The lack of dental caries and the marked degree of attrition suggests that this specimen is pre-mediaeval. The diet of early British populations lacked sugar and the coarse nature of the food caused severe attrition of the crowns of the teeth.

Other diseases

It is not possible to state whether this individual suffered from any systemic diseases.

ANIMAL BONES

Dr. JOHN L. COLE

There was a complete absence of bird bones, only two possible examples of sheep, none of pig. The vast majority of the fragments are from broken long bones. Some of these show knife marks and some evidence of the use of a saw, presumably for the extraction of bone marrow. Not more than about three animals could have supplied all these bones. It is assumed that they were from kitchen refuse.

POLLEN SPECTRUM — Sample from Area WT/1

Dr. JAMES GREIG

The section examined consisted of a sandy humic soil in the upper 25 cm. getting more humic with depth until the grey sand layer at about 75 cm. Two monoliths were taken to collect the sediment between 25 and 75 cm. and from these one pollen sample has been examined, from about 73 cm. the lowest organic layer. The pollen was not very well preserved, and so only a small count was made, and this will not be very accurate.

<i>Betula</i> (birch)	30	(% total pollen)
<i>Pinus</i> (pine)	7	
<i>Ulmus</i> (elm)	8	
<i>Quercus</i> (oak)	8	
<i>Alnus</i> (alder)	4	
<i>Corylus</i> (hazel)	19	
<i>Salix</i> (Willow)	12	
<i>Gramineae</i> (grasses)	9	
<i>Cyperaceae</i> (sedges)	1	
<i>Dipsacaceae</i> (scabious)	+	
<i>Polygonum bistorta</i>	1	
(amphibious bistort)		

100%————pollen sum: 74

Such a pollen spectrum, with mainly tree and shrub pollen, would represent a vegetation of woodland and scrub that grew in and around the peat. It is similar to the pollen spectra obtained by C. A. Dickson from peaty deposits at Wall (Godwin and Dickson). As the

organic band seems to be under the Roman deposits at Wall, and as the indications are of woodland and scrub rather than a mainly open vegetation, the deposit is probably pre-Roman in age and therefore not very informative on the environment of Roman Wall.

COIN

Dr. G. WEBSTER, O.B.E.

This is the CERES AVGVSTA type of Claudius (RIC. Claudius 67), showing the goddess seated left on a chair, holding a torch and ear of corn. It was issued as a *dupondius*, and as Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland has shown (Sutherland, pi.II), was widely imitated in the early Neronian period, presumably by the army to provide the troops with small change.

COINS

Dr. JOHN KENT

1. Barbarous radiate. Tetricus II. Spes type (reversed)
2. Plated forgery of a denarius. Obverse Nerva (96-98) Reverse Trajan (98-117).

SAMIAN POTTERY (fig. 12)

BRIAN HARTLEY, F.S.A.

It seems as if much of the Samian is residual. Over the site as a whole the material ranges from a date of *c.* 70-90 A.D. through to a 3rd century example from an East Gaulish source. The Samian from Area WT/3 is all South Gaulish, apart from a small scrap from an upper layer which is queried as Central Gaulish. That from Area WT/1 has a large proportion of Central Gaulish ware, suggesting a later occupation of this part of the site. Very little of the Samian requires drawing on its own merit.

AREA WT/1

Phase 1 — *Gravel layer*

1. Layer 19 Form 30 or 37 rim. South Gaulish. Flavian-Trajanic.

Phase 2 — *Make-up and gravel road surface*

2. Layer 17 Cup (form 27 or 35?). South Gaulish. Flavian.
3. „ 16 Form 37. Central Gaulish. Antonine. 2 sherds.
4. „ 13 (Illustrated). Form 37 in the fabric of Les Martres-de-Veyre. The ovolo and fine wavy-line border are typical of X-2, and the 'crown' and figure were both used by him. His panelled bowls are comparatively uncommon. Cf. Stanfield and Simpson, pi.5, nos. 50 and 54. The figure, impressed horizontally, is on pi.3, 21. *c.* A.D. 100-120.
5. „ 13 Form 37, rim and part of ovolo, Les Martres-de-Veyre. *c.* A.D. 100-125.
6. „ 11 Forms 30 (rim) and 37 (base).
7. „ 11 Forms 18,27,35 and scrap > South Gaulish. Flavian.
8. „ 11 Scrap of decorated ware J

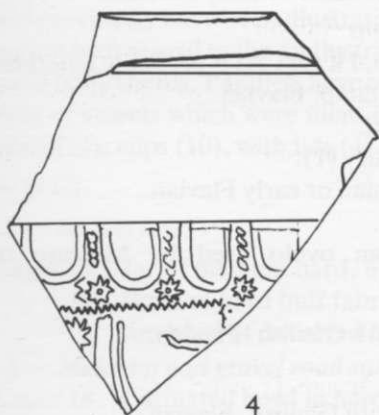
9. „ 11 Form 37, Les Martres-de-Veyre, in the style of one of the mould-makers associated with Ioernalis (cf. Stanfield and Simpson, pis. 35-38). *c.* A.D. 100-125. (Illustrated).
10. „ 11 Form 33 (?) footring. Central Gaulish. Antonine.
11. „ 11 Form 37. Central Gaulish. The erotic group in the medallion (Oswald B) was used by many Lezoux potters, but was probably Cinnamus's work in this instance, *c.* A.D. 150-180.
12. „ 11 Form 45, rim, Central Gaulish. This mortarium is heavily worn inside. *c.* A.D. 170-200.

Phase 3 — *Podsol*

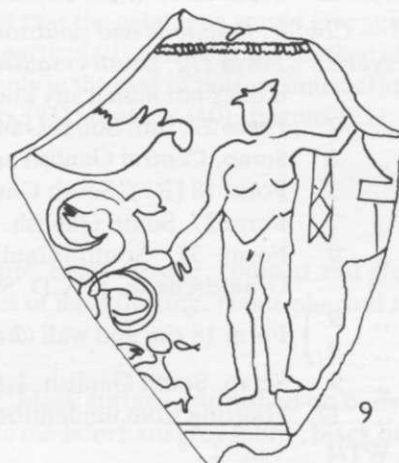
13. Layer 10 Form 18. South Gaulish. Flavian.
14. „ 10 Form 30 or 37, rim. South Gaulish. Flavian-Trajanic.
15. „ 10 Form 27 in the fabric of Les Martres-de-Veyre. The stamp has been almost totally obliterated by wear. *c.* A.D. 100-125.
16. „ 10 Form 18/31. Central Gaulish. Hadrianic-Antonine.
17. „ 10 Form 37. Central Gaulish. A fragment from below the decoration. Hadrianic or early Antonine.
18. „ 10 Form 37. Central Gaulish. The ovolo (Rogers, B24) and untidy work suggest that the bowl is probably by Docilis of Lezoux. One (blurred) figure has not been identified; the other is a smaller version of 0.566. *c.* A.D. 130-150.
19. „ 10 Form 37. Central Gaulish. The decoration is much eroded but has panels with details used by Sacer of Lezoux and his group, including a lion (D.766), panther (0.1566) and trifled ornament (Rogers, G76). *c.* A.D. 125-145.
20. „ 10 Form 31R. Central Gaulish. Mid-Antonine.
21. „ 10 Fragment of a gritted mortarium. Central Gaulish, *c.* A.D. 170-200.

Phase 5 — *Destruction of Phase 4 structures*

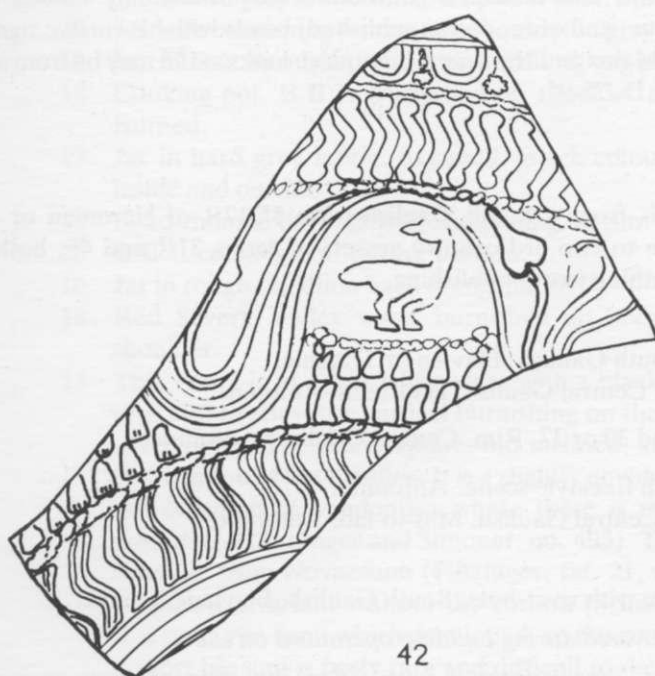
22. Layer 2 1 Form 37 rim and base (two vessels), both South Gaulish and Flavian
23. „ 2 J or Trajanic.
24. „ 2 Form 31. Central Gaulish. Antonine.
25. „ 2 Form 36. Central Gaulish. Antonine.
26. „ 2 South Gaulish scrap.
27. „ 2 South Gaulish scrap.
28. „ 1 Form 37 with rivet-hole. South Gaulish A.D. 90-110.
29. „ 1 Form 37. Central Gaulish, with the serpent-on-rock (D.960 bis), characteristic of Sacer and his associates, *c.* A.D. 125-150.
30. „ 1 Form 37 (burnt). Central Gaulish. The panelled decoration is in the manner of Paternus, who used both the figure (D.172 or 174) and the spindle, *c.* A.D. 160-190.



4



9



42

DECORATED SAMIAN

AREA WTO

Phase 1 — *Gully*

31. Layer 13 Form 15/17 or 18. South Gaulish. Neronian or early Flavian.

Phase 3 — *Cobble, limestone and sandstone foundations*

32. Layer 2 Form 27g. South Gaulish. The stamp, IV (or) AI is probably illiterate since it does not match any known name-stamp. Flavian.

33. „ 2 Form 27, rim. South Gaulish. Flavian.

34. „ 2 Scrap. Central Gaulish and 2nd century (?).

35. „ 3 Form 18 (R?). South Gaulish. Neronian or early Flavian.

36. „ 7 Form 27. South Gaulish. Neronian.

37. „ 9 Form 37. South Gaulish, with an ovolo used by Mercato of La Graufesenque. c. A.D. 80-110.

38 9 1

2g " g r Form 18 rim and wall (2 dishes). South Gaulish. Flavian.

40. „ 9 Scrap. South Gaulish. 1st century.

41. „ 17 Footring from unidentified form. South Gaulish. Flavian?

AREA WT/4

42. Layer 2 (Illustrated). Form 37. South Gaulish. The ovolo, wreath leaves in the scroll, leaf-tips and S-shaped gadroons were all used by Pontus of La Graufesenque, and occur on (unpublished) bowls with his cursive signature at London, Mainz and Nijmegen. This piece looks as if it may be from a worn mould, c. A.D. 75-95.

UNSTRATIFIED

AREA WT/14-

The range is from a South Gaulish form 15/17R of Neronian or early-Flavian date to two 3rd century vessels of forms 31R and 45, both East Gaulish. Nothing worth publishing.

AREA WT/2+

43. Form 35. South Gaulish. Flavian or Trajanic.

44. Form 18/31. Central Gaulish. Hadrianic-Antonine.

«• 1 Forms 33 and 30 or 37. R.m. Centra, Gan.ish. An.onine.

46. J

47. Form 37 with freestyle scene. Antonine.

48. Form 31R. Central Gaulish. Mid-to-late Antonine.

AREA WT/3+

49. Form 37, rim with rivet-hole. South Gaulish. Flavian-Trajanic.

AREA WT/+ *Material recovered during building operations on site*

The material ranges from a form 37 in the style of Germanus of La Graufesenque (c. A.D. 70-90), through a Hadrianic-Antonine bowl and two bowls of Cinnamus of Lezoux (c. A.D. 150-180), to a 3rd century example of form 33 from an East Gaulish source.

(None of the decorated ware is worth illustrating.)

COARSE POTTERY (figs. 13 and 14)

All the pottery recovered during excavation has been catalogued and is in the archive. From the 2000+ sherds of coarse pottery, only those which do not appear to have been recorded previously have been illustrated. It was felt that the catalogue would give sufficient information with regard to the unillustrated pieces, particularly as a large percentage of these were small body sherds. Parallels have been drawn only in the case of pottery unusual at Wall. The types of vessels which were identified were jars (91); beakers (10); flagons (21); bowls (8); dishes (12); cups (10), with lids (4).

AREA WT/1

Phase 1 — *Gravel layer*

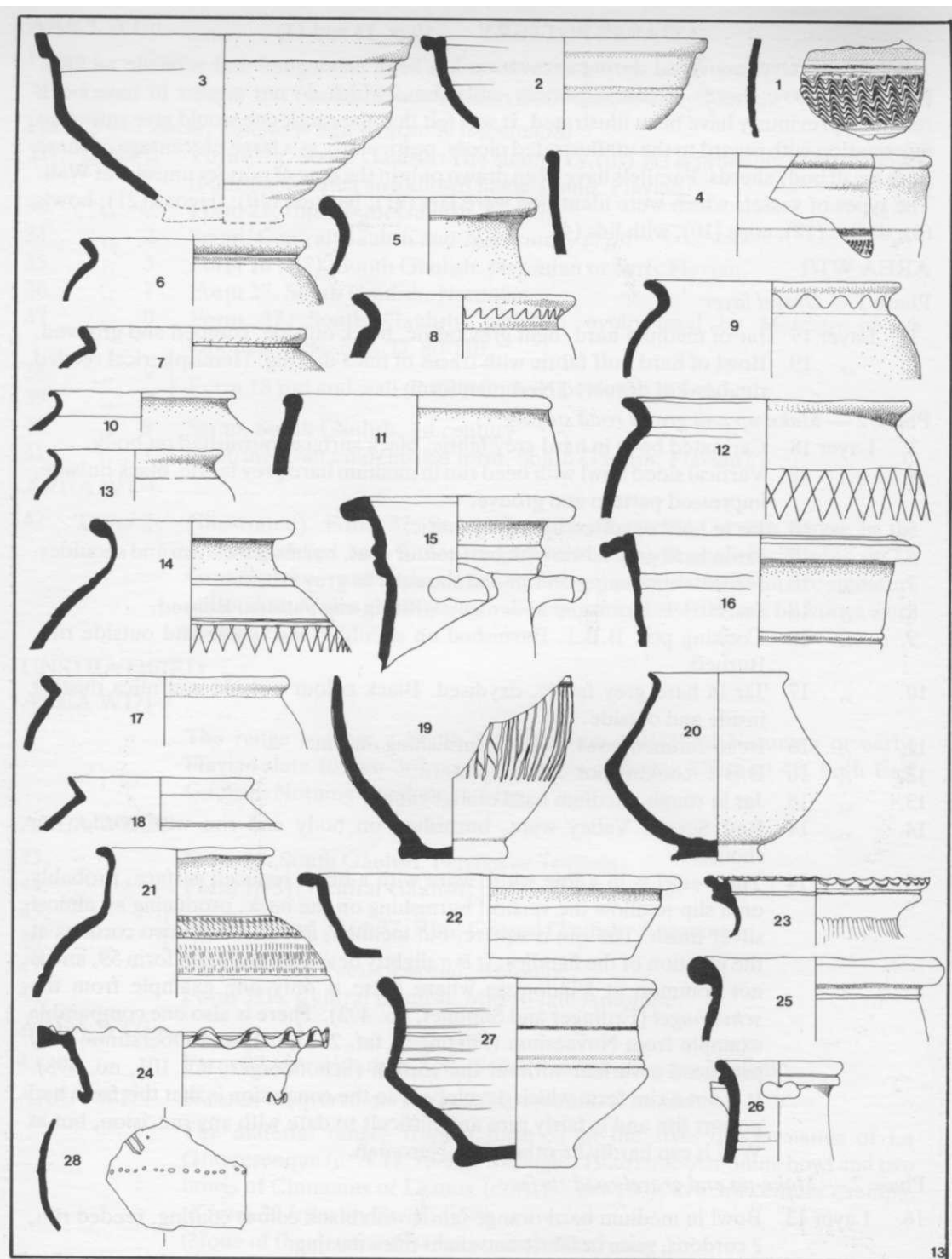
1. Layer 19 Jar of medium hard, light grey fabric, black outside, combed and grooved.
2. „ 19 Bowl of hard buff fabric with traces of mica dusting. Hemispherical reeded rim bowl of devolved Neronian form.

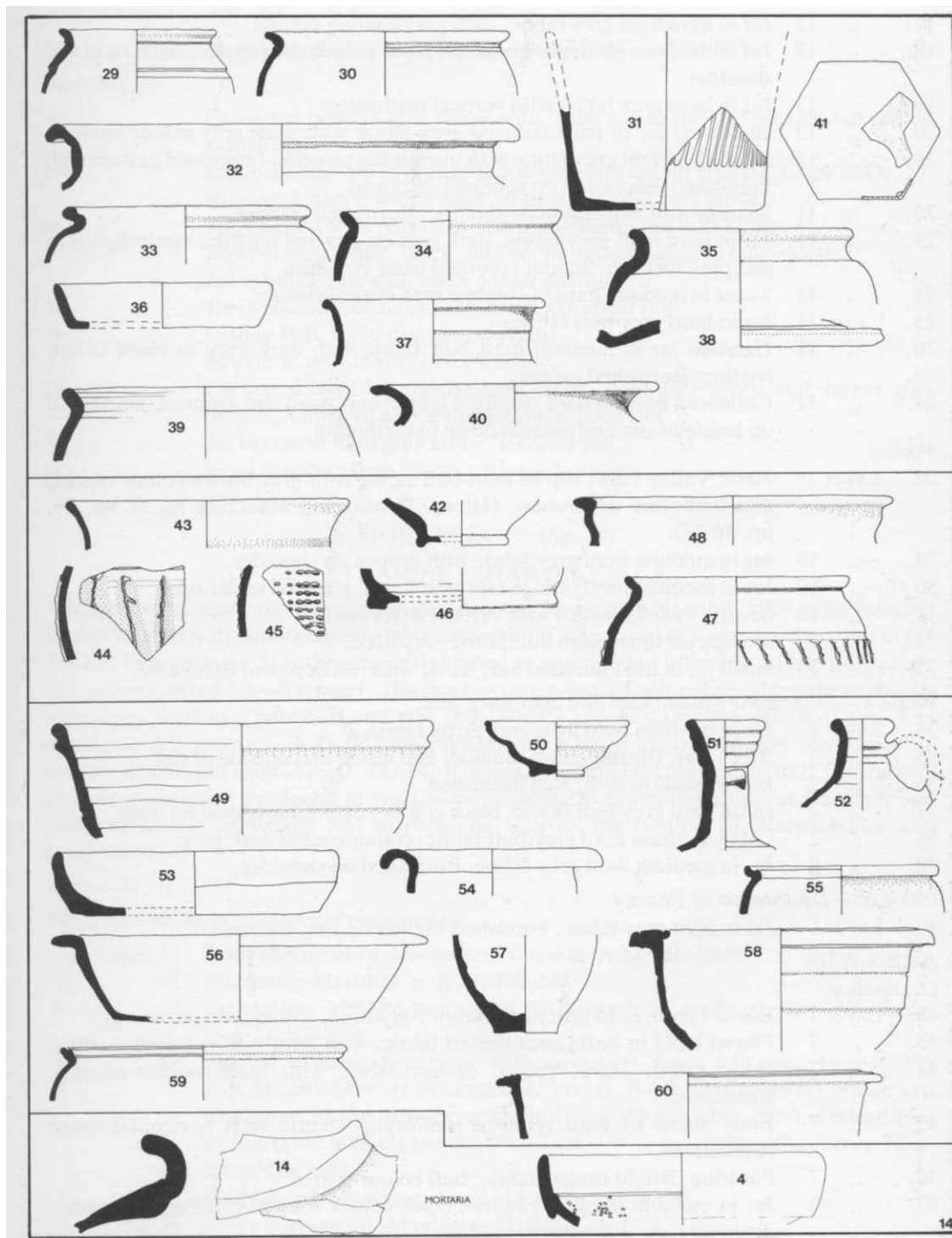
Phase 2 — *Make-up and gravel road surface*

3. Layer 18 Carinated bowl in hard grey fabric, black surface, burnished on body.
4. „ 18 Vertical sided bowl with bead rim in medium hard grey fabric, black outside, impressed pattern and groove.
5. „ 18 Jar in hard oxydised light grey fabric.
6. „ 18 Jar in hard grey fabric with buff colour coat, burnished on rim and shoulder.
7. „ 18 Jar with burnishing on rim and shoulder in grey fabric.
8. „ 18 Jar. B.B.I, burnished under rim; with zig-zag pattern. Burned.
9. „ 18 Cooking pot. B.B.I. Burnished on shoulder and inside and outside rim. Burned.
10. „ 17 Jar in hard grey fabric, oxydised. Black colour outside and mica dusting inside and outside.
11. „ 16 Bead-rimmed bowl. B.B.I. Burnishing on rim.
12. „ 16 B.B.I, cooking pot. Lattice pattern.
13. „ 16 Jar in rough, medium hard orange fabric.
14. „ 14 Red Severn Valley ware, burnished on body and rim with cordon on shoulder.
15. „ 14 This vessel is in a fine white ware with a black reduced surface, probably on a slip to allow the vertical burnishing on the neck, producing an almost silver finish. The rim is square, but inclined, and there are two cordons at the junction of the handles. It is a slightly devolved Hofheim form 59, and is not common at Vindonissa where there is only one example from the *schutthugel* (Ettlinger and Simonet, no. 493). There is also one comparable example from Novaesium (Filtzinger, taf. 21, no. 1) and Oberstimm only produced a variant without the cordon (Schonberger, taf. 101, no. 498). It is not a rim form which developed, so the conclusion is that this form had a short life and is fairly rare and difficult to date with any precision, but at Wall it can hardly be other than Neronian.

Phase 2 — *Make-up and gravel road surface*

16. Layer 13 Bowl in medium hard orange fabric with black colour coating, reeded rim, 2 cordons, mica in fabric and slight mica dusting.





- 17. „ 13 Jar in hard light grey fabric, dark grey coating outside.
- 18. „ 13 Jar in medium hard orange fabric, black colour coating, burnished rim and shoulder.
- 19. „ 13 Jar in hard grey fabric with vertical rustication.
- 20. „ 13 Bi-conical jar in hard reduced grey fabric with dark grey colour coating.
- 21. „ 13 Jar in hard light grey fabric with burnishing on neck. Impressed pattern with thumbnail decoration on shoulder; grooved.
- 22. „ 11 Shallow dish in medium hard fabric. Burnished on base.
- 23. „ 11 Jar in hard light grey fabric, dark grey on rim and outside, vertical pattern and pie-crust rim. Similar recorded from Wiltshire.
- 24. „ 11 Tazza in medium hard buff fabric with burning inside.
- 25. „ 11 Jar in hard grey/buff fabric.
- 26. „ 11 Handled jar in medium hard buff fabric with dark grey to black colour coating. Burnished on rim.
- 27. „ 11 Carinated bowl in hard oxydised fabric; cordoned and grooved. Burnished on inside of rim and outside down to carination.

Podsol

- 28. Layer 10 Nene Valley Hunt cup in hard buff fabric with grey/brown colour coating and barbotine decoration. (Howe, Perrin, and Mackreth fig. 3, no. 26; pp. 16-17).
- 29. „ 10 Jar in medium hard grey fabric with groove on shoulder.
- 30. „ 10 Jar in medium hard orange fabric, smooth, grooved under rim.
- 31. „ 10 Severn Valley tankard with vertical decoration.
- 32. „ 10 Storage jar in medium buff fabric; oxydized.
- 33. „ 10 Small jar in medium hard buff fabric with rim designed to take lid.

Phase 4 — *Sandstone foundations and associated pads*

- 34. Layer 4 Jar in medium hard light grey gritty fabric.
- 35. „ 3 B.B.I, jar. Burnished on shoulder and inside and outside of rim.
- 36. „ 2 B.B.I, shallow dish, well burnished.
- 37. „ 2 Jar in hard grey/buff fabric, black colour coated, burnished on neck.
- 38. „ 2 Lid in medium hard grey/buff fabric, colour coated dark grey.
- 39. „ 2 Jar in medium hard grey fabric. Burnished on shoulder.

Phase 5 — *Destruction of Phase 4*

- 40. Layer 1 Jar in light grey fabric, burnished slightly on rim. Burned.

AREA WT/3

Occupation

- 42. Layer 7 Base of jar in hard gritty grey fabric, oxydised, with quartz inclusions.
- 43. „ 7 Flared bowl in buff, mica-dusted fabric, with faint yellow colour coating.
- 44. „ , 7 Body sherd. Hard, rough, orange fabric with black colour coating. Rusticated.
- 45. „ 7 Body sherd of hard reduced buff/orange fabric with horizontal linear rustication.
- 46. „ 7 Footring. Bright orange fabric; buff colour coated.
- 47. „ 2 Jar in medium hard grey fabric, black colour coated. Cordoned shoulder; diagonal rustication below cordon.

AREA WT/4 — *Fill of drain F.8*

48. Layer 2 Bowl in dark grey oxydised fabric. Burning on outside.

Unstratified

- 49. Carinated bowl in grey fabric with black slip inside and outside but not on carination.
- 50. Campanulate cup in orange fabric with buff colour coating. Copy of Dr. 27.
- 51. Ring neck flagon with 4 rings, in medium hard buff fabric.
- 52. Flagon neck with part of handle in medium hard buff fabric.
- 53. Bowl in grey fabric, black outside, burnished inside. Hand-made.
- 54. Jar in buff fabric with black colour coating.
- 55. Jar in coarse grey fabric, oxydised. Grooved rim.
- 56. Dish in B.B.I. No decoration visible.
- 57. Beaker in grey fabric; black outside.
- 58. Carinated bowl in medium hard fabric, light grey inside and darker grey outside. Grooved above carination; reeded rim.
- 59. Jar in coarse hard grey fabric. Reeded rim.
- 60. Bowl in soft orange fabric, with reeded rim.

MORTARIA (fig. 14)

KATHARINE F. HARTLEY, F.S.A.

Much of the mortaria appeared to be from the Mancetter-Hartshill kilns. The fabric is usually distinctively fine-textured and creamy-white, often fired to a very hard texture in the 3rd and 4th centuries. It is sometimes described as pipeclay but often has a little fine quartz and occasional red-brown temper. The mortaria are normally self-coloured but the surface is sometimes fired to a pale buff and may occasionally appear to have a pale buff slip. The trituration grit before c. A.D. 135 usually contains a lot of quartz and may sometimes be entirely quartz, but after c. A.D. 135-140 it consists of abundant blackish to dark brown and/or red-brown grog. Produced in workshops adjacent to Manduessedum, at Hartshill and probably in the intervening and surrounding area on the borders of Warwickshire and Leicestershire.

AREA WT/1

Phase 2 — *Make-up and gravel road surface*

- 1. Layer 13 Bodysherd-worn. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 150-360+.
- 2. „ 11 Mancetter-Hartshill. c. A.D. 140-200.
- 3. „ 11 Incomplete rim section from a mortarium made in the Midlands. c. A.D. 100-150.
- 4. „ , H Surface eroded. Fragment with rivet-hole from a Young form C.97. c. A.D. 240-400+. (Christopher J. Young, BAR. Oxford 1977). Made at a workshop in the vicinity of Oxford (e.g. Dorchester, etc.); Oxfordshire mortaria are unlikely to have been used in Wall before the 4th century. Illustrated (fig. 14).
- 5. „ 11 Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 140-360+.
- 6. „ 11 Worn body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 130-360+.

7. „ 11 Worn body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 130-360+.
8. „ 10 Burnt and worn body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 140-360+.
9. „ 10 Worn and burnt body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 140-360+.
10. 10 Incomplete rim section from a reeded hammerhead mortarium, made at the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries later than A.D. 240.

Phase 5 — *Destruction of Phase 4 structures*

11. Layer 2 Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. Apparently unused A.D. 150-360+.
12. „ 1 Somewhat discoloured, flange fragment. Probably Mancetter-Hartshill. c. A.D. 130-170.

AREA WT/3

General Layer

13. Layer 9 4 rim fragments (3 joining). Made in the Verulamium region, perhaps at Brockley Hill. c. A.D. 70-110.

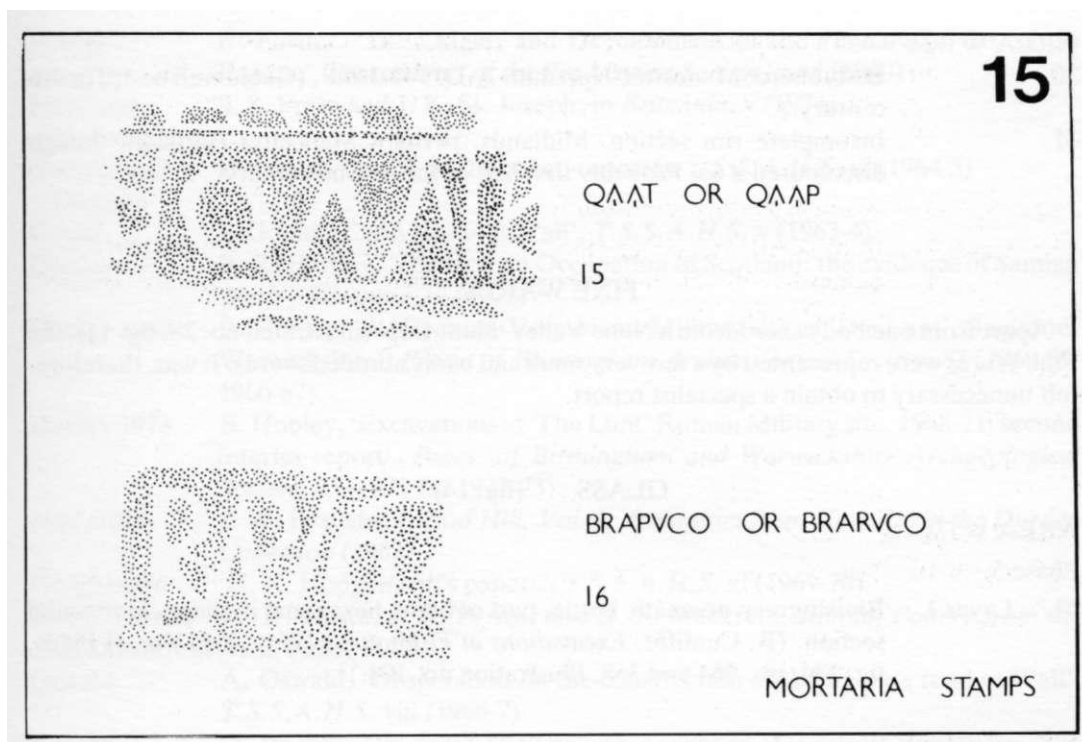
Phase 2 — *cobble surface*

14. Layer 10 Two joining, worn and burnt fragments from a mortarium made in the Midlands, perhaps at the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries. In the style of Coertutinus and Erucaus. c. A.D. 100-130, but a date in the late 1st century is not entirely impossible. Illustrated (fig. 14).

UNSTRATIFIED and STAMPED (fig. 15)

AREA WT/1

15. A heavily discoloured flange-fragment with small patches indicating that the original colour was cream. It is probably a Midland product, and the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries, so close to Wall, or possibly Little Chester, are the likeliest possible sources. The battered and incomplete potter's stamp is from the same die as others from Binchester and Newstead ('3), which read Q torQ P. Various interpretations are possible and the *tria nomina* could be involved. Only one of these mortaria is in a buff fabric; the rest are in pinkish-orange fabric with grey core and buff slip. This suggests that he moved during his production period, no doubt to a site in the north. The stamps at Newstead point to Antonine activity and the rim-profiles support a date within the period A.D. 110-160.
16. A fragment with incomplete rim section, in fine-textured cream fabric with some quartz and red-brown inclusions. The incomplete stamp is from the single die of a potter whose name was either BRARUCO or BRAPUCO, the letters being too ingeniously ligatured for the reading to be certain. The name is presumably Celtic, and the Holder (Altceltischer Sprachschatz) does cite names in both BRAP and BRAR.
Other stamps of his have been recorded from High Cross; Leicester; Northwich; Ribchester; Rocester; Whilton Lodge, Northants. (Bannaventa); and Wroxeter. Fabric and distribution point to a Midland potter, and the rim-profiles would fit with activity within the period A.D. 110-160.



UNSTRATIFIED and UNSTAMPED

AREA WT/1 +

17. Two joining pieces, worn. Mancetter-Hartshill. c. A.D. 180-220.
18. Similar type of mortarium. Mancetter-Hartshill. c. A.D. 180-230.
19. Chemically weathered by deposit. Midland. A.D. 110-150.
20. Probably Mancetter-Hartshill. c. A.D. 140-190.
21. Extremely hard, fine-textured, pinkish-brown fabric with thick dark grey core and perhaps a cream slip; quartz trituration. Possibly from south-west England. Second century - perhaps first half.
22. Mancetter-Hartshill. Reeded hammerhead, c. A.D. 210-270.
23. Very hard-fired fragment. Mancetter-Hartshill, probably. A smooth hammerhead. A.D. 260-360.
24. Mancetter-Hartshill. Probably 3rd century.
25. Worn body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 130-180+.
26. Worn and discoloured body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 130-360+.
27. Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. c. A.D. 140-360+.
28. Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. c. A.D. 140-360+.
29. Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. Midlands. A.D. 100-360+.

AREA WT/2+

30. Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 140-360+. (Could well be 3rd or 4th century.)
31. Incomplete rim section. Midlands, perhaps Mancetter-Hartshill, though discoloured if so. Probably first half of the second century.

FINE WARES

Apart from one body sherd from a Nene Valley 'Hunt Cup' (illustrated no. 28, fig. 14), the Fine Wares were represented by a few very small and badly abraded sherds. It was, therefore, felt unnecessary to obtain a specialist report.

GLASS (fig. 14)

AREA WT/1

Phase 5

41. Layer 1 Bluish-green prismatic bottle, part of body, hexagonal in shape. Horizontal section. (B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne* 1961-1969, Vol. II Finds, fig. 144; pis. 364 and 365; Illustration no. 104.)

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used for references to authorities:

- Blay W. F. Blay, *Letocetum* (Walsall, 1925)
- Brodribb *et al* A. C. C. Brodribb, A. R. Hands, D. R. Walker, *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, near Wilcote, Oxfordshire, part II: Sites B & H*, (priv. print, 1971)
- Bushe-Fox J. P.-Bushe-Fox, *Excavations on the site of the Roman town at Wroxeter, Shropshire, in 1912*. Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, no. 1 (1913)
- Cotton M. A. Cotton, 'Excavations at Silchester 1938-9', *Archaeologia*, 92 (1947)
- Curie J. Curie, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People: The Fort of Newstead* (1911)
- Dudley H. E. Dudley, *Early days in north-west Lincolnshire, a Regional Archaeology* (1949)
- Ettlinger and Simonett E. Ettlinger and C. Simonett, 'Romischen Keramik aus dem Schutthugel von Vindonissa', *Gesellschaftpro Vindonissa*, Band III (1952)
- Filtzinger P. Filtzinger, *Novaesium V, Die Romische Keramik aus dem militärbereich von Novaesium*, *Limesforschungen* 11 (1972)

- Fowler E. Fowler, 'The Origins and Development of the Pennanular Brooch in Europe', *Proceedings of the Pre-historic Society*, xxvi (1960)
- Frere and St. Joseph S. S. Frere and J. K. St. Joseph, in *Britannia*, v (1974)
- Godwin and Dickson H. Godwin and J. H. Dickson, report in *T.S.S.A.H.S.* vi (1964-5)
- Gould J. Gould, 'Excavations at Wall', *T.S.S.A.H.S.* v (1963-4)
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- Hobley 1969 B. Hobley, 'A Neronian-Vespasianic Military site at 'The Lunt', Baginton, Warwickshire', *Procs. of Birmingham Archaeological Society*, 83 (1969 for 1966-67)
- Hobley 1973 B. Hobley, 'Excavations at 'The Lunt' Roman Military site, 1968-71: second interim report', *Procs. of Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society*, 85 (1973 for 1971-73)
- Mod Hill I* J. W. Brailsford, *Hod Hill, Vol. I, Antiquities from Hod Hill in the Durden Collection* (1962)
- Hodgkinson 'H. R. Hodgkinson's papers', *T.S.S.A.H.S.* xi (1969-70)
- Howe, Perrin, and Mackreth M. D. Howe, J. R. Perrin, and D. F. Mackreth, *Roman Pottery from the Nene Valley* (1980).
- Oswald A. Oswald, 'Observation on the construction of the by-pass road at Wall', *T.S.S.A.H.S.* viii (1966-7)
- Rogers O. Rogers, *Die Terra Sigillata von Augsburg*, Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Nueburg (Augsburg, 1913-15)
- Round A. A. Round, 'Excavations at Wall', *T.S.S.A.H.S.* xi (1969-70)
- Schonberger H. Schonberger, *Kastell Oberstimm*, Limesforschungen 18 (1978)
- Stanfield and Simpson J. A. Stanfield and G. Simpson, *Central Gaulish Potters* (1958)
- Stead I. M. Stead, *Rudston Roman Villa* (1980)
- Sutherland C. H. V. Sutherland, *Romano-British Imitations of bronze coins of Claudius I*, The American Numismatic Society (1936)
- T.S.S.A.H.S.* Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society
- Todd M. Todd in *Britannia*, i (1970)
- Wheeler and Wheeler R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler, 'The Roman Amphitheatre at Caerleon, Monmouthshire', *Archaeologia* 78 (1928)

INDEX TO ARCHIVE

- i. Written record
 - Site notebooks (2)
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- iv. Material recovered
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 - Animal bones (1 box)
 - Special Finds (1 box)
- v. Correspondence file relating to the excavation.

The Archive is deposited with the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, with the exception of the column capital (S.F. 15) and the inscribed stone (S.F. 22) which are displayed in the site Museum at Wall.

A copy of the report is in the City of Birmingham Polytechnic Art and Design Centre Library, at Gosta Green.



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'JOHNSON IS BEATEN!': A CASE OF 'ROUGH MUSIC AT WEST BROMWICH IN 1611

D. A. JOHNSON, F.S.A.

Versions of the custom known variously in England as 'rough music', 'the skimmington ride', or 'riding the stang', and in France as 'le charivari' have been found throughout Europe from Antiquity to the present century. Sometimes the mood of the participants was good humoured. Most frequently, however, 'rough music' was organised as a collective and public ritual humiliation of those who had offended popular notions of correct behaviour — adulterers, wife- or child-beaters, henpecked husbands, shrewish or domineering wives, strikebreakers. The ceremony was simple: offenders were serenaded by cacophonous music, ribald or angry shouting, and the beating of pots and pans. Effigies of the offenders, persons got up to resemble them, or even the offenders themselves could be paraded through the streets in ridiculous or humiliating postures (seated on a donkey facing the tail, astride a pole or ladder carried on men's shoulders) to the accompaniment of the music, the shouting, and the general noise. Perhaps the best known English example is fictional — the 'skimmington' aimed at Michael Henchard and Lucetta Farfrae which Thomas Hardy introduces into *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. The earliest recorded occurrence in Staffordshire found so far comes from West Bromwich and dates from 1611. It provides an interesting comparison with a case at Burton upon Trent in 1618 which has recently been discussed in detail.¹

In the late afternoon of Saturday, 18 May 1611, the Revd. Thomas Johnson, minister of West Bromwich, then a sparsely populated South Staffordshire parish, was buying meat in a butcher's shop in Lyndon, the main settlement of the parish, about half a mile south of the parish church. Johnson himself lived in a house at Hall End, just west of the church;² one of his neighbours was a Simon Preston. While Johnson was buying his Sunday joint a small group of men appeared from Preston's house and yard and made for Johnson's front door. One, Robert Shepherd, got up to represent Johnson, was carried on a ladder; another, Thomas Gibbins, dressed as a sluttish woman ('mawkin fashion'), took the part of Johnson's wife; others lending support and making a noise included Robert, Walter, and Thomas Stanley, sons of Richard Stanley and nephews of the lord of the manor, Walter Stanley of West Bromwich Hall.³ Having demonstrated outside Johnson's house, the 'disordered crew' went on, shouting, to the churchyard gate and thence along the main road into Lyndon, attracting one or two other people, including Richard Stanley, on the way. When they reached the butcher's shop they came to a halt and yelled 'Johnson is beaten!' — presumably the gist of their previous shouts. There was then apparently general confusion for a time until 'the chief men of the parish' calmed things down. About a month later Johnson appeared at

1. Joan R. Kent, ' "Folk Justice" and Royal Justice in Early Seventeenth-Century England: A "Charivari" in the Midlands', *Midland History*, ix, 70-85. This gives a list of the principal recent works dealing with the custom; to it should be added *Le Charivari*, edd. J. Le Goff and J-C. Schmitt (Paris, 1981), which includes an article by Martin Ingram, 'Le charivari dans l'Angleterre du XVI^e et du XVII^e siècle'. What follows is based, unless otherwise stated, on the West Bromwich petition which is printed below by kind permission of the Staffordshire County Archivist.
2. *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, xvii, 2-3, 52.
3. *Ibid.* 16; Mary Willett, *History of West Bromwich* (West Bromwich, 1882), pedigree 1.

Staffordshire Midsummer quarter sessions with a petition to the justices from almost twenty of his parishioners. It deplored the episode, named the guilty men, and demanded redress. The justices decided that the petition could not be ignored, but were lenient. Of the twelve men named as participants in the 'rough music', seven were bound over to be of good behaviour (*pro bono gestu*) — the principal figures, Shepherd and Gibbins, the three young Stanleys, a William Hadley, and Richard Stanley. There the matter seems to have ended.

Presumably Thomas Johnson was, or was widely reputed to be, henpecked; otherwise the episode would have been pointless. Presumably, also, 'rough music' was as common in Staffordshire as it was elsewhere: the language of the petition suggests that the petitioners were describing something that they assumed would be familiar to the county justices — the 'rabble', they remarked briefly, followed the pseudo-Johnson and the pseudo-Mrs. Johnson 'with distaff, frying pan, spade, besom'. No further explanation was considered necessary. The justices would understand.

Some aspects of the episode are unclear. Did the 'unruly crew' plan an itinerary that would cause Johnson the maximum embarrassment, lying in wait until they saw him well out of the way, and then demonstrating outside his house to frighten his wife before going over to his church and then pursuing him to his place where they knew they would trap him before the largest audience? Or did they originally expect to find him at home, and then get carried away by their own enthusiasm? Richard Stanley, who probably knew more about the preparations than he admitted, claimed rather feebly that if he had known that the group was going to parade into Lyndon he would have stopped them; but he appears to have made no attempt to do so even when he knew where they were going. Did any deeper feelings of social or religious protest lie behind the affair? It seems doubtful. The rather unctuous language of the petition to quarter sessions may suggest that this was an attack by a small group of the ungodly on the leader of the godly in the parish. If so, the Stanleys are unlikely to have enjoyed the sympathy of their relative, the lord of the manor, who in 1614 endowed a lectureship at the parish church to enhance the preaching of the Gospel. (Since Stanley clearly intended that Johnson should not hold the lectureship, he may even have thought him insufficiently zealous.)⁴ We cannot even say that the 'rough music' was yet another case of the young trying to shock their elders, 'the chief men of the parish'. The West Bromwich parish registers survive only from 1608,⁵ and we do not know how old the participants in the affair were, save that Richard Stanley was a man in his fifties.⁶ Perhaps the simplest and most obvious answer is in fact correct, and, as in a similar affair in a Buckinghamshire parish later in the 17th century,⁷ the West Bromwich 'rough music' was merely a demonstration designed to put the domineering wife of a mild parson in her place.

The contrast with the Burton affair is striking. There, a rather shady couple, William and Margaret Simons *alias* Cripple, newly arrived in the town, allegedly suspected of theft, incontinency, or worse, were dragged through the streets to the accompaniment of 'rough music', pelted with muck, put in the stocks, and finally driven out of town. One of the leaders

4. *VCH Staffs*, xvii. 51.

5. *West Bromwich Parish Register*, vol. i (Staffs. Parish Register Soc. 1909).

6. *VCH Staffs*, xvii. 16; Willett, *West Bromwich*, pedigree 1.

7. E. C. Cawte, 'Parsons who Rode the Stang', *Folklore*, lxxiv. 400.

of the mob was the constable, who later justified the proceedings to the Court of Star Chamber as licit and even laudable. The Cripples suffered physical injury and, if they are to be believed, financial loss. At West Bromwich an unofficial attempt to assert the traditional superiority of the husband was quickly squashed by some leading parishioners, the only participant whose views survive seems to have tried to give the impression that the affair had been a joke in poor taste that had got out of hand, and the only injury was to Thomas Johnson's self-respect.

Johnson must have been comforted by the support he received from his parishioners. He was not driven away by the experience, but remained at West Bromwich until his death in 1636. What happened to the formidable Mrs. Johnson is unknown, except that she predeceased her husband. At least she did not leave her husband a confirmed widower, for in 1635 he married again.⁸

8. *West Bromwich Par. Reg. vol. i*, 28, 65.

Staffordshire Record Office, Q/SR T. 1611, nos. 45-6

To the Kinges Maiesties Justices of the peace and quorum for the cownty of Stafford, Salvation by Christ.

Maye yt please all those to understand, and be advertised whome yt doth concern, of a disordered company that did assemble themselves in the howse and yard of one Frauncis Preston th'elder over against the howse of this bearer Thomas Johnson in the Haule end of Westbromwich in the cownty of Stafford, he being our minister and preacher by space of 3 yeares and a halfe, which disordered crwe did sally forth befor his doore, one being caryed on a ladder on mens showlders naming himselfe Johnson, one other atyred mawkin fashion naming him Johnson's wife, thus with their rable following them, with distafe, frying pann, spade, besome with strong showtings passed to the church yate; from thenc, throwgh a street called Linedon, and at that tyme being the 18th daye of Maye abowt the setting of the sonne the foresayd Johnson was in the shopp of John Reumer(?) Bucher bying of meat and against the window they made a stopp crying Johnson is beaten setting the street on an uprore, to his great amazement and our discomfort the dishonor of God and breache of peace, which we humbly referr to your worships' censur for amendment.

predictus Thomas Johnson iuret ad veritatem huius petitionis [in another hand]

[Signed] John Turton, Thomas Orme, George Partriche, Francis Simcox, Edward Piner (mark), John Orris (mark), An Reave (mark), William Wiley, Thomas Bird (mark), John Wiersdale (mark), Francis Wiersdale (mark), Constance Partrige (mark), Thomas Briscoe (mark), Barbery Briscoe (mark), Eedy Wily (mark), Elizabeth James (mark), Willam Hardwicke (mark) [and at least one more name, now illegible].

The names of the disordered crue

Robert Shepheard [pro bono gestu *added*] ryding on a ladder by the name of Johnson

Thomas Gibbins [pro bono gestu *added*] in disguised attyre by the name of Johnson's wife
acompanied with with (*sic*) Robart Stanleye [bonis gestus *added*] Water Stanley
and Thomas Stanleye sonnes of Mr. Rychard Stanley

Edward White

William Hadley [bonus gestus *added*]

William Dudley

John Hawle

John Wilye

William White meeting them and folowed to th'end

Mr. Rychard Stanley [bonus gestus *added*] meeting the companye followed them in like sort,
affirming, that yf he had thowght they would not (*sic*) have gone throwgh the town; they
showld never have begunn. The disorder being pacified bye the cheife menn of the parish
and soe ended.

TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SURVEYS OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL CLOSE

NIGEL J. TRINGHAM

During the Civil War the cathedral close at Lichfield was occupied by both royalist and parliamentary forces, resulting in extensive damage to the cathedral and the houses around it. The purpose of this article is to publish the text of two contemporary surveys of houses in the Close in order to show which parts suffered most and to illustrate the effect of that destruction and of the later abolition of the cathedral establishment. The first survey was made in 1649 and the other almost certainly in 1660.¹ For ease of reference entries in both texts have been numbered: **1** to **45** refer to that 1649 survey, **46** to **60** to that of 1660.

Cathedral establishments were abolished by Parliament in April 1649 by an Act which provided for the confiscation of cathedral property, to be vested in Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers.² A survey of the property of the dean and chapter of Lichfield, together with the college of vicars choral, was made in July 1649; it is the first of the texts produced below. For the most part the survey deals with the houses of the canons (including the deanery) and those of the vicars choral. There was, however, other capitular property: the house formerly occupied by the choristers (**25**), houses for the chapter clerk (**38**) and the verger (**40**), the south gatehouse (**30**), the library (**39**), and a building once a house 'but now a barn' (**33**). Garden plots were also mentioned (**23,32**). Reference was made to the damaged cathedral (**42**) but no details were given. Nor does the survey concern itself with the bishop's palace which stood in the north-east corner of the Close. The appropriation of episcopal property had taken place earlier under an Act of 1646, and a separate survey of the palace at Lichfield was made in 1652.³ A further omission was the house of the former chantry chaplains of the cathedral on the south side of the Close; after the dissolution of the chantries in 1548, the house had eventually become the property of Lichfield corporation,⁴ and so was no longer part of the chapter's estate in 1649. The survey does, however, refer to it when describing an adjoining property (**33**). The survey ends with a summary of the legal position of the Close, which enjoyed a jurisdiction distinct from that of the city of Lichfield (**43**).

The task of surveying the Close in 1649 was entrusted to three men (**1**). Their brief was to establish whether the occupier of each house had possession by right of his place or office in the cathedral establishment, or by lease; if by lease, what rent was paid and whether an increased rent could be charged by making improvements to the property; and, if a house was thought to be beyond repair, an assessment of the sale value of its materials was to be made.

1. Lichfield Joint Record Office, D. 30/LIV, ff. 92-9; *ibid*, list of squatters. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield for permission to publish the texts. Thanks also to Mary Edwards for drawing the plan on p.36.
2. W. A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth, 1640-1660*, ii, 214-5.
3. Staffordshire Record Office, 547/1, ff. 107-10 (printed in D. A. Johnson and D. G. Vaisey, *Staffordshire and the Great Rebellion* (1st edn., 1964), 34-5).
4. *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, iii, 167.

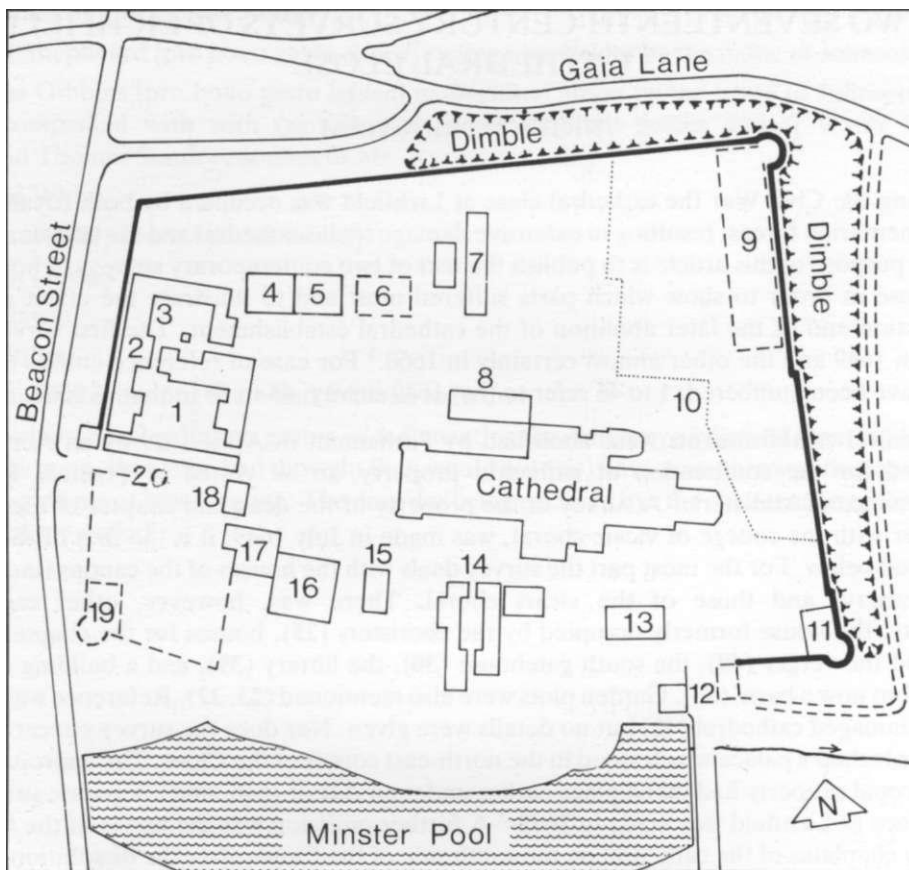


Fig. 1 Probable lay-out of Lichfield Close in the mid 17th century.

(The figure, which is intended to give only a rough guide to the position of houses mentioned in the surveys, is based on John Snape, *Plan of Lichfield* (1781); the site of the medieval palace is taken from a 17th century plan: see footnote 10. The line of the Close wall, where known for certain, is shown by the thick black line and its probable extension at the south-west corner by the dotted line; the wall on the southern side appears to have been incorporated in the front of houses there and ran up to the south-east gate. Minster Pool probably stretched further northwards in the 17th century; the outline given here is that shown on Snape's *Plan*.)

Key, with references to numbers in the edited texts:

1. Lower courtyard of Vicars' Close 2-11, 54.
2. Vicars' common hall 15.
3. Upper courtyard of Vicars' Close 12-22.
4. Precentor's house, the present St. Chads Cathedral School, 24, 52.
5. Former choristers' house, the present nos. 13 and 14, 25, 26.
6. Canonical house, on the site now occupied by no. 15, 27, 51.
7. Deanery 28, 50.
8. Library and chapter clerk's house 38, 39.
9. Palace 48; the dotted line marks the extent of its grounds.

10. Site of verger's house 40, 49.
11. Canonical house, the present St. Mary's House, 29.
12. South gate 30, 47.
13. Canonical house, the present no. 19, 31.
14. New College, on the site now occupied by St. John's Hospital in the Close, 33, 57.
15. ("Three houses, respectively the present 16. Bishop's House, no. 23, and no. 24, of 17. which only two are mentioned in the 1649 survey 34, 35; and see 56.
18. Canonical house 37.
19. Canonical house 36, 55.
20. West gate 37.

The surveyors had some difficulty in carrying out their duties: they were unable to inspect leases on which three houses were allegedly held (25, 31, 34; and see 32). Even where leases were seen, it seems that in some cases their authenticity was accepted too readily. William Webb, the supervisor general to whom the survey was sent in August 1649, promptly returned it with the comment that he believed it to be 'generally imperfect' (44,45); marginal notes, evidently made by Webb, called for the handing over of some of the leases, and he also wanted the surveyors to investigate more thoroughly the claims that some held their property by right of place.

The second survey is much shorter and less substantial. In fact to call it a survey is perhaps unjustified: all it claims to be is a list (46). It gives the names of all those who had taken the opportunity of intruding themselves into ruined or half-ruined houses since the royalist surrender in 1646 (46). It was almost certainly drawn up late in 1660 by the restored dean and chapter: one house mentioned in the list had been assigned to its canon in September that year (51). Like the 1649 survey the 1660 list does not refer to all the houses in the Close: those which were not in a ruinous condition and had continued to be occupied by 'gentle and honest families' were excluded (60). It does, however, include the ruined bishop's palace (48) and even extends to the cathedral itself where parts of the south transept contained squatters (58, 59). Squatters do not negotiate leases or pay rent and the 1660 list has no financial details which could be compared with those given in the 1649 survey. The chief interest of the list lies in its naming of the squatters and their occupations. It also provides a vivid picture of the squalor into which the Close had sunk after the exodus of the dean and chapter (60).

To identify each house mentioned in the surveys is a relatively straightforward task as there has been little change in the number and position of houses.⁵ One complication, however, is the fact that each survey proceeds around the Close in a different direction: the 1649 survey begins in the north-west and goes round clockwise, that of 1660 begins in the south-east and goes around anti-clockwise. Caution is also required in interpreting the compass directions given in the 1649 survey when referring to some of the property in the vicars' court. (15). The following account will use the more detailed 1649 survey as its basis. Reference to surviving houses is made according to the modern numbering, which has one sequence for houses which face onto the road around the cathedral, and another for those which stand in what is now known as Vicars' Close and form a quadrangle around a central garden. Vicars' Close, in fact, represents the upper or second court or quadrangle of houses occupied by the once numerous college of vicars choral; since at least the late 18th century the houses in the lower or first court, which would have similarly faced each other, have had their fronts opening out onto the greater Close and its approach from Beacon Street.

The 1649 survey begins with the houses of the vicars choral, arranged in two courts or 'vicarages'. The first or lower court with its southern range backing onto the western approach to the cathedral was entered through a passage, presumably that between nos. 7 and 8. There were eight houses in the court, one of them the subchanter's (11); there were also 'two little houses' (10) in the north-east corner, and a boghouse (6) at the south-west. The surveyors entered the second or upper court not from the first but from the greater Close, presumably through the passage between nos. 11 and 12. There were ten houses in the court,

5. A detailed history of the Close is now being prepared for the next volume of the *Victoria History*, which will cover the city of Lichfield and the surrounding villages.

two of them (**19, 22**) only small, each of a single bay. The upper court also contained the vicars' hall (**15**). In the 1660 list the courts are (**54**) and (**53**) respectively.

The 1649 survey continues with the houses of the dean and chapter, beginning with the precentor's house (**24**), where St. Chad's School now stands. It was included in the 1660 list (**52**). The next two houses (**25, 26**) stood on the site of nos. 13 and 14. Originally there had been a single house, built for the cathedral choristers in the early 16th century; it was extended in the early 17th century when a schoolroom (**26**) was built over its gateway.⁶ The schoolroom also extended over the gateway of the neighbouring canonical house to the east (**27**); that house evidently stood in the plot now occupied by no. 15, but as it was reported to have adjoined the schoolhouse, it presumably stood further to the west than the present house.⁷ Because of its ruined condition, **27** is almost certainly to be identified as **51** in the list of squatters. The next house was the deanery (**28, 50**); it too was ruined and most of it was rebuilt in 1705.⁸ To the south of the deanery stood the cathedral library (**39**), which abutted the north-west corner of the north transept of the cathedral. The house of the chapter clerk (**38**) adjoined the library. Both buildings were pulled down in 1757.⁹ A house occupied by the verger or porter (**40, 49**) stood against the enclosing wall of the palace and faced the east end of the cathedral.¹⁰ The ruined bishop's palace itself is mentioned only in the list of squatters (**48**); the present palace was built in 1687 on a site slightly to the west of its medieval predecessor.¹¹

The present St. Mary's House in the south-east corner was included in the 1649 survey (**29**), but apparently not in that of 1660. Both surveys mention the south gatehouse (**30, 47**), most of which was demolished in the later 18th century.¹² To the west where no. 19 now stands was a canonical house, occupied in 1649 by a Dr. Hewitt (**31**). It does not appear in the list of squatters. The house held by Hewitt in 1660 (**57**) may be identified as New College, originally built for the chantry chaplains of the cathedral; it stood on the site of the present St. John's Hospital. Hewitt was living there by the later 1650s; in 1649 it was occupied by Lichfield corporation's town clerk, Michael Noble (**33**). There followed in the 1649 survey two more canonical houses (**34, 35**), for which it is not possible to make a certain identification; the candidates are the present Bishop's House and nos. 23 and 24. Another canonical house, which stood at the south-west corner and had been occupied by the cathedral chancellor, may have incorporated the corner tower of the Close wall, matching in its position St. Mary's House at the south-east corner; by 1661 a tower which belonged to the chancellor's house was no longer standing.¹³ The house was evidently that assigned to a later chancellor, (**55**) in the list of squatters. Finally a house (**37**) stood near the west gate; there was still a house there in 1800 when the construction of Newton's College required its demolition.¹⁴

6. *VCH Staffs*, iii. 164-5, 172-3.

7. From architectural evidence, no part of no. 15 need date from before the mid 17th century: inf. from Mr. A. P. Baggs, architectural advisor to the Victoria County History.

8. H. E. Savage, *Dr. Binckes, in Convocation and the Deanery* (1929), 21-22.

9. *VCH Staffs*, iii. 189.

10. There is a 17th-century plan of the ruined palace in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Tanner 217, f. 42 (reproduced in W. Beresford, 'Lichfield Close in the Middle Ages', *The Reliquary*, vii. 249).

11. *VCH Staffs*, iii. 176-7.

12. T. Harwood, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (Gloucester, 1806), 11.

13. LJRO, D. 30/XXXI, f. 57.

14. Harwood, *Lichfield*, 292-3; J. Snape, *Plan of Lichfield* (1781).

In order to assess the damage done to houses in the Close it is necessary to give an outline of the sieges that took place during the Civil War. The Close was a natural stronghold, having been fortified in the early 14th century with a stone wall and deep outside-ditch, now known as the Dimble; there was also a tower at each corner and two gateways, one at the south-east and the other at the west.¹⁵ In its strength, however, lay the seeds of its destruction, as each of the rival factions tried to dislodge the other with liberal use of gunpowder and artillery. The Close was first garrisoned in 1642, for the king.¹⁶ A parliamentary force opened its attack on 2 March 1643 with an assault on the south-east gate, in the course of which the commander, Lord Brooke, was fatally wounded. The west gate was attacked on 3 March and the next day the new commander, Sir John Gell, bombarded the southern side of the Close with artillery positioned in the garden of a house in what is now Market Street. The royalist garrison surrendered the day after (5 March). A month later, on 10 April, Prince Rupert arrived with a royalist force and made camp on the eminence, now known as Prince Rupert's Mound, which overlooks the northern side of the cathedral. The royalist siege lasted until the parliamentarians surrendered ten days later on 21 April.¹⁷ While held by the royalists the Close was visited three times by Charles I — on 15 June, 10 to 12 August, and 2 October 1645. A parliamentary force, led by Sir William Brereton, opened its counter-attack in April 1646. It, too, set up quarters on the high ground to the north of the cathedral: summons to the royalists inviting their surrender were sent by Brereton on 13 April and 12 May from his camp on Beacon Hill.¹⁸ The second summons coincided with the climax of a five-day bombardment of the cathedral which brought down the central spire 'about 7 o'clock'. For Brereton the downfall of the highest of the cathedral's spires, 'which (it is believed) were erected in resemblance of the pope's triple crown', was an ominous sign and a prognostication of a further downfall.¹⁹ If, by that, he meant the downfall of the garrison, then he had to wait another two months until 10 July. The royalists actually left the Close six days later, under articles of 16 July.²⁰

During the 1646 siege well over 800 people must have been crowded into the Close. The articles of surrender enumerate a garrison of 85 officers and some 700 soldiers. They also name twenty one esquires and gentlemen, four clerks (two of them canons), and five city magistrates.²¹ Undoubtedly many of the non-combatants had sought shelter together with their wives and families. Living conditions cannot have been easy, apart from the threat of attack. It even appears that the ladies and 'grandees' lodged in the central spire, until that was denied them by its collapse.²²

From what is known of the military operations, it is not surprising that the 1649 survey should reveal extensive damage to property on the north side of the Close. Two houses, the deanery, and the library (24,27,28,29,41) were ruined, and it is known from other evidence that the palace was almost totally destroyed.²³ It seems likely that very little remained of the two

15. Harwood, *Lichfield*, 10-11, 288, 292, 295.

16. For the rest of this para, see, unless otherwise stated, Harwood, *Lichfield*, 21-30.

17. It was during their short occupation that the parliamentarians desecrated the cathedral: *VCH Staffs*, iii. 174.

18. Birmingham Reference Library, 595611, pp. 246-7.

19. *Ibid.* p. 250.

20. *Articles for the Delivering up of Lichfield Close* (London, 1646).

21. *Ibid.* pp. 9-11.

22. BRL, 595611, p. 250.

23. See above, note 3.

canonical houses (**24, 27**) as nothing in the fabric of either house now standing on the same sites appears to be earlier than the mid 17th century. The former choristers' house (**25**), however, seems to have been left relatively unscathed and it still contains some 16th-century timbering. The west gate and its nearby canonical house (**37**) were ruined, as was the house at the south-west corner (**36**). The vicars' hall along the western side of the Close wall was considered to be beyond repair (**15, 41**). The south gatehouse (**30**) was damaged, but other houses on the south side, including those near the gate (**29, 31**) do not seem to have suffered greatly: Minster Pool evidently prevented any serious attacks being mounted on houses on that side.

Hardly anything is known about life in the Close during the Interregnum, although there was a minister serving the cathedral in place of the dean and chapter.²⁴ The survey of 1660 gives some idea of the kind of people to whom he had to minister. Amongst the squatters were two tobacco-pipe makers (**54, 55**); their kiln was presumably that which was discovered, along with some pipes, in the garden of the bishop's palace in 1869.²⁵ A variety of other trades were represented and there was also a large number of widows and single women recorded. Presumably most of the squatters were ejected when the cathedral chapter was restored in 1660, although the gentleman named Cotes, who was living with his wife in one of the houses of the vicars choral (**53**), may have been socially acceptable: a man of the same name was resident in what was probably a vicar's house in 1666.²⁶ Another survivor may have been Daniel Morgil, called a labourer in the 1660 survey (**58**): there was a vicar choral so named by 1663.²⁷

With no garrison the Close would have been less crowded than during the 1640s, but it was by no means underpopulated in 1660. Besides people of quality, there were 111 or 112 squatters according to the survey (**60**): presumably the uncertainty related to the whereabouts of the child recently born in a vault under the south transept (**59**). That event itself must have scandalized the restored chapter of canons, along with indecorous spectacle of a herd of pigs digging for food in the graveyard (**60**). Indeed, the entire condition of the Close must have been an immensely depressing one — broken-down walls and gates, damaged houses, and a ruined and desecrated cathedral.

24. *VCH Staffs*, iii. 175.

25. *Trans. South Staffs. Archaeological and Historical Society*, xvi. 65-6.

26. *Staffordshire Historical Collections* (Staffs. Record Society), 1923, 240.

27. *Ibid.*; Lichfield Diocesan Registry, DC/C/Acta, 19 June 1663.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The spelling and punctuation of both texts has been modernised, except that the original spelling of surnames has been preserved. The bold numbering has been added for ease of reference; the 1660 survey (Text II) has its own numbering, running from 1 to 13 where the edited text has **47** to **59**; to avoid confusion the original sequence has been omitted.

TEXT I

f.92

- 1 A survey of the jurisdiction of the several houses within the Close of the cathedral church of Lichfield within the county of Stafford with the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, parcel of the late possession or late belonging to the late dean and chapter, canons, prebends, subchanter, and vicars chorals of the said cathedral church of St. Chad Lichfield, made and taken in the month of July A.D. 1649 by George Smith, John Fisher, and Samuel Foxcrofte, appointed to be surveyors by virtue of an Act of the Commons of England bearing the date the third of April 1649 intituled an Act of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled for the abolishing of deans, deans and chapters, canons, prebends, and other offices and title of or belonging to any cathedral or collegiate church in England and Wales, and by commission to us granted from the trustees nominated and authorised by the said Act.

VICARS CHORAL HOUSES

- 2 William Lambe of Coventry holds a house in the Close by lease from the subchanter and vicars choral for 21 years. The house is situate first entrance into the Close from Bacon Street on the north side. It is in good repair. One Zachary Millington lives in it and pays rent *6s. 8d.*, but it is worth on improvement over and above the said rent £3 16s. *8d.*

In margin: This house to be made good within the time limited.

Note: No further information about Lambe has been found. Millington was admitted as a vicar choral in 1638 (LJRO, D. 30/C.A. vi, f. 23v); and see 9.

- 3 Mr. Braddock has a house within the Close being next to Lambe's house on the same side. It belongs to him by right of his place for life. One Mr. Kirke lives in it and it is worth p.a. £2 10s.

In margin: Q[uary] his place.

Note: George Braddocke was admitted as a vicar choral in 1630 (LJRO, D. 30/C.A. vi, f. 9); and see 7.

f.93

- 4 Mr. Hind has a house being the end of the aforesaid row of building and is the corner house turning to the first court or vicarage. It is all torn in pieces by granadoes and much of the materials carried away. The rest valued as worth to sell [], and the ground p.a. *3s. Ad.* It belongs to him by right of his place for life.

In margin: Q[uary] his place.

Note: A Richard Hynde was recorded as a vicar choral in 1600 (Lichfield Diocesan Registry, DC/C/1/1, 11 July 1600); and see 13.

- 5 Mr. Mason has a house in the first court or vicarage situate and being between the house of Mr. Braddock on the one side and Mr. Lambs on the other side but it opens into the court on the south side. It is ruined and most of the materials carried away. The rest valued at to be sold. The ground worth p.a. *2s. Ad.* He has it by right of his place for life.

In margin: Q[uary] his place.

- 6 The boghouse and chamber over it at the corner of the said court west. The material valued as they were worth to be sold [].

- 7 Mr. Braddocke has another house in the said court and has a lease of it for 21 years, which house Mr. Braddock has put in good repair. He pays rent p.a. 10s., but it is worth upon improvment over and above the said rent £4.

In margin: This lease to be produced within the time limited.

Note: For Braddock see 3.

- 8 Michael Harding's house situate within the said first court or vicarage on the north side, which house he holds by right of his place for life. Worth p.a. £1 13s. *Ad.*

In margin: Q[ue]ry] his place.

- 9 Zachary Millington has a house situate in the same court north, which house he holds by right of his place for life. Worth p.a.

In margin: Q[ue]ry] his place.

Note: For Millington see 2.

- 10 Two little house[s] void and much ruined situate in the corner of the said court north-east. Worth p.a. £1 13s. *Ad.*

- 11 The subchanter's house within the said court or vicarage east, which he holds by right of his place for life. Worth p.a. £2 13s. *Ad.*

The subchanter's kitchen adjoining to the said house. Worth p.a. 20s.

In margin: This place is defunct.

f.94

- 12 Mr. Williams' his house situate at the corner turning into the second court or vicarage from the Close or cathedral, which he holds by right of his place for life. Worth p.a. £2 3s. *Ad.*

In margin: Q[ue]ry] his place.

Note: Richard Williams was admitted as a vicar choral in 1631 (LJRO, D. 30/C.A. vi, f. 11).

- 13 Mr. Hind has another house situate within the said second court or vicarage north, which house he holds by lease for life and pays 6s. *8d.*, but it is worth upon improvment over and above the said rent 20s.

In margin: This lease to be produced within the time limited.

Note: For Hind see 4.

- 14 Mr. Robinson's house in the same court north, in which he lives and holds it by right of his place for life. It is much out of repair. Worth p.a. 40s.

Note: Robinson may be the Henry Robinson who was admitted as a vicar choral in 1595 (Lich. Dioc. Registry, DC/C/1/1, 18 July 1595).

- 15 The vicarage hall situate within the same court north with all houses and buildings thereto belonging; much demolished and spoiled, not worth repairing. The materials valued as worth to be sold []. The ground worth p.a. 10s.

Note: Although the hall is said to be on the north side of the court, there is no reason to believe that it did not stand in its present position at the south-west corner, where it actually divides the upper and lower courts.

- 16 Mr. Unitt's two houses held by lease for 40 years, if he live so long, situate within the said court west; well repaired at his own charge. He pays p.a. 10s., but it is worth upon improvement over and above the said rent p.a. £3 3s. *Ad.* The said William Unitt [is] aged 70.

In margin: Query the date of the lease.

Note: Unitt is presumably the man who, along with two other laymen, had taken up residence in the vicars' close in order to avoid having to take up public office; orders given in 1636 by Archbishop Laud to the dean and chapter following his visitation of the cathedral included the removal of Unitt and his fellows 'so that they may live publicly among laymen and bear such offices as may be imposed upon them' (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 520). Unitt was later threatened with sequestration by the parliamentary committee in charge of the Close, because he had held an office under the royalist garrison — despite his age, he had been forced to assist in maintaining a watch over the magazine. He appealed against the sequestration, drawing attention to his age and the fact that he had never taken up arms. A postscript to his letter of appeal notes that he had been told that those who had lived constantly in garrisons were not liable to sequestration. Unitt died in 1654. (Lichfield Public Library, box labelled 'Anna Seward MSS. letters' (part of the petition is printed in S. Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, i (1798), 309).

- 17 Mr. Smith's house is situate in the second court west, which he holds by right of his place for life. Worth p.a. 40s.

In margin: Q[ue]ry his place.

- 18 Thomas Fletcher's house situate in the said court west, which he holds by right of his place. Worth p.a. £1 13s. *Ad.*

In margin: Q[ue]ry his place.

Note: Fletcher was admitted as a vicar choral in 1631 (LJRO, D. 30/C.A. vi, f. 10).

- 19 Mr. East has a little house, about a bay of building, situate in the said court by right of his place. Worth p.a. 30s.

In margin: Q[ue]ry his place.

Note: Michael East, a vicar choral, was the son of the cathedral's master of choristers, also called Michael, who died in 1648 (*VCH Staffs*, iii. 172 and n); he appears not to have occupied this house, see 26.

f 95

- 20 Mr. Homerslies house situate in the said court or vicarage, which he holds by lease made to Isabel Homerslie. He pays rent 2s., but [it] is worth over and above the said rent £2 10s.

In margin: This lease to be produced within the time limited.

Note: A William Homerslie was admitted as a vicar choral in 1633 (LJRO, D. 30/C.A. vi, f. 18).

- 21 Also a plot of ground lying behind the said Isabel Homerslie's house, containing in length 36 yards and in breadth 29 yards. Worth p.a. 20s.

- 22 Mrs. Hopkins alias Thacker holds a little house, about a bay of building, situate within the said court on the east side. She has it by lease for 3 lives, all living, aged 22, 24, [and] 17. She pays rent p.a. 4s., but it is worth upon improvement over and above the said rent £1 10s.

In margin: Query the date of the lease.

Note: A Thomas Hopkins was admitted as a vicar choral in 1630; he was dead by 1645 (LJRO, D. 30/C.A. vi, f. 8v-9; C. H. Josten, *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692)* (Oxford, 1966), iv. 1391 n).

- 23 There are in the middle of each of the aforesaid courts or vicarages a square garden plot which belongs in common to the vicars. Worth p.a. £2.

The whole yearly value of the rents for the house[s] belonging to the vicars chorals is p.a. — guess —

f. 96

DEAN AND CHAPTER HOUSES

- 24 The house late of Mr. Higgins canon resident and chantor of the church of Lichfield situate on the north side of the Close, being exceedingly ruined and demolished, not likely to be repaired. We value the materials are worth to be sold [], and the ground and garden plot worth p.a. £1 10s., viz. all the ground containing the breadth of the house and passage.

Mr. Walter Collins who was scoutmaster to the garrison in Stafford, having been plundered and his own house spoiled, was by the Committee of Stafford put into possession of this house whilst it was in sequestration and still claims a right as possessor.

Note: William Higgins, the precentor, was among those taken prisoner at the battle of Edgehill (1642) and was imprisoned at Coventry for three months. He was again taken prisoner in 1646 when the Close surrendered to the Parliamentary forces; at first he was allowed to support himself by teaching, but that was forbidden in 1655 and he is stated to have been reduced to penury. Together with the chapter clerk (see 38), Higgins rescued some of the cathedral MSS. in 1646, including the St. Chad gospels. He was one of the first canons to return to residence in 1660. (*VCH Staffs*, iii. 174n, 175; *The Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, Knight*, ed. W. Hamper (1827), 320).

- 25 The house where the quirristers [choristers] have been taught, now Dr. Hinton's dwelling house. He says he holds it by lease for 3 lives. [It is] situate on the north side of the Close. We find he pays rent p.a. 10s. for the house and garden but we could not see any lease though several times required. The answer was, the lease was at London, but where we could not know, nor to show it to any there we could get no promise. We find the premises [are] worth over and above the said rent upon improvement p.a. £8 10s.

In margin: This lease to be produced within the time limited.

Note: Samuel Hinton (1599-1668) was a physician (Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, i. 251). He was one of the gentlemen who surrendered along with the royalist garrison in 1646 (*Articles for delivery*, 11).

- 26 The house where Mr. East dwells and the school belonging to it adjoining to the said Dr. Hinton's house, in which the said Mr. East has no time nor right either by lease or place. Worth p.a. £3.

Note: For Michael East see 19.

- 27 The house of Mr. Hipps prebendary of Freiford next adjoining to the school; all ruined and pulled to pieces, not like to be repaired. We value the materials as worth to be sold [], the ground and garden plot p.a. £2 10s.

Note: George Hipps or Gipps was collated to the prebend of Freeford in 1624; he took up residence in 1635 (John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, continued by T. D. Hardy (1854), i. 605; LJRO, D. 30/ C.A. vi, f. 21v.)

- 28 The house belonging to the dean situate next to Mr. Hipps house west, likewise torn in pieces and much demolished and not likely to be repaired. We value the materials as worth to be sold [], the ground and garden plot p.a. £2 13s. *Ad.*

f. 97

- 29 The house of Mr. Williams prebendary of the prebend of Offlowe, situate in the corner of the Close east, leased by the said Mr. Williams to Mr. Goodale for 21 years, near out. He pays yearly rent *12d.*, but it is worth upon improvement, though out of repair, £7 10s. p.a.

In margin: This lease to be produced within the time limited.

Note: Nathaniel Williams was inducted into the prebend of Offley in 1630 (John Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 617).

- 30 The gatehouse near unto the said house that goes towards Dam Street and Dimple belonging to it; much ruined. Worth p.a. 30s.

In margin: 5s.

- 31 The house of Mr. John Hayward canon resident of Alderwas [Alrewas] situate on the south side. Let, as is pretended, to Dr. Littleton by lease for Mr. Hayward's life, paying a peppercorn yearly lawfully demanded. But we could find no such lease nor anything in writing to that purpose. Dr. Hewett physician lives in the house which is in reasonable good repair; which house with stable yard and garden belonging to it is worth p.a. £16.

In margin: This lease to be produced within the time limited; peppercorn.

Note: Hayward came into residence in 1630 (LJRO, D. 30/C.A. vi, f. 8).

- 32 There is also a garden in which Mr. Archbold pretends to have some interest lying and being on the west side of the said Mr. Hayward's house but the said garden is laid to Dr. Hewett's garden, but we know no right Mr. Archbold or Dr. Hewett has to it. The said garden is worth p.a. £2.

Note: Henry Archbold was the diocesan registrar (*Cal. State Papers Domestic* 1635, p. 455). He surrendered along with the royalist garrison in 1646 (*Articles for delivery*, 11).

- 33 There is a house now a barn, backside and stable, joined to Mr. Noble's houses on the east side of it, situate on the south side of the Close. Mr. Noble's house is his own freehold, but the barn and stable is leased to Mr. Noble for 3 lives and belongs to the dean and chapter, for which he pays yearly 10s.; but [it] is worth upon improvement p.a. £3 13s. *Ad.*

In margin: Query the date of the lease and what lives [are] in being.

Note: Michael Noble (d. 1649) was M.P. for Lichfield and a former town clerk (*Staffordshire Historical Collections*, 1920 and 1922, 83-4).

- 34 House of Mr. James Fleetwood late prebendary of the prebend of Eccleshall, situate on the south side of the Close, is pretended to be held by lease from the said prebendary by Mr. Davies for the prebendary's life, but Mr. Davies produced no lease nor any other writing to make good that pretence. The house is much out of repair and spoiled. The materials valued as they be worth to be sold [], the ground rent p.a. £4.

In margin: This lease to be produced within the time limited.

Note: Fleetwood became prebendary of Eccleshall in 1636; at the outbreak of the Civil War he became chaplain to the Royalist regiment of John, Earl Rivers; in 1655 he went into exile in France as chaplain to the duke of Richmond and Lennox; in September 1660 he returned to Lichfield as a canon; in the same year he became provost of King's College, Cambridge, and in 1675 bishop of Worcester; he died in 1683 (*DNB*; John Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 602).

f.98

- 35 The house of Dr. Babington late canon resident, situate on the south side of the Close, being much out of repair yet repairable with reasonable charges. We value the house and garden to be worth £13 6s. 8d.

Note: It has not been possible to identify this canon; it seems that he was either Brutus Babington who was mentioned in 1600 (LJRO, DC/C/1/1, 11 Apr. 1600) or Zachary Babington who was precentor in the early 1600s (John Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 580).

- 36 The house of William Jeffray late canon resident, situate at the corner of the Close south west, being greatly ruined, broken and torn with granadoes. We value the materials as they may be worth to be sold [], the ground and garden p.a. £4.

Note: Jeffray was chancellor of the cathedral in 1630 (John Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 585).

- 37 House of John Arnewey late canon resident, late prebendary of Hulme, being ruined and spoiled and not likely to be repaired. We value the materials of the house and the stone of the broken gatehouse next Bacon Street belonging to the said house as worth to be sold [], the ground and garden worth p.a. £2 3s. Ad.

Note: John Arneway, who became archdeacon of Coventry in 1642, was taken prisoner by the Parliamentary forces at Shrewsbury in 1645, but he later escaped first to Oxford and then to The Hague; he then emigrated to Virginia, where he died in 1653 (John Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 580; Harwood, *Lichfield*, 209; A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1947), 303).

- 38 The house belonging to the chapter clerk, situate between the dean's house and the cathedral, held by lease from the dean and chapter for his own life, paying a peppercorn yearly. The house worth upon improvement £4 p.a. The chapter clerk [is] aged 41.

In margin: Query this lease; peppercorn.

Note: The clerk was Jeffrey Glasier, who surrendered along with the royalist garrison in 1646. He returned to Lichfield as clerk at the Restoration and died there in 1667. (*Articles for delivery*, 11; *VCH Staffs*, iii. 174 n; Staffordshire Parish Registers Society, volume for 1973-4, p. 7).

- 39 The library belonging to the cathedral near adjoining to the chapter clerk's house. We value the materials all to be sold [].

- 40 The verger's house situate near the bishop's palace, held by George Bakewell who pretends to have a lease of it for his life. Aged 60; paying yearly Ad., but [the house] is worth upon improvement p.a. £1 13s. Ad.

- 41 The whole rents valued to be yearly arising out of the houses belonging to the late dean and chapter within the Close amount p.a. to — guess —.

f. 99

The value of the materials of all those houses ruined and not valued at a yearly rent.

Mr. Hind's house vicar choral valued at	£8
Mr. Mason's house vicar choral at	£4 10s.
The materials of the chamber over the boghouse	£5
The vicarage hall and storehouses belonging to it	£60
Mr. Higgins' house late canon resident	£110
Mr. Hipps late prebend of Freiford	£120
The dean's house at	£120
The house of James Fleetwood late prebendary of Eccleshall	£80

Mr. Jeffrays house late canon resident at	£100
Mr. Arnewayes house late canon resident with the wall and gatehouse valued at	£55
The library at	£60
The whole sum of the valued materials amounts to	£722105.

- 42 The ground of the open place of the Close we valued not, most of which is the churchyard belonging to the cathedral. Nothing about the cathedral church valued. The whole fabric of it is exceedingly ruined; much lead and iron was taken away whilst it was a garrison and much lead and other materials is taken away since and is continually by evil persons stolen away in the night. A great part of the roof [is] uncovered. If some course be not taken to preserve it within a little time the lead will be all gone and the whole fabric fall to the ground.
- 43 Note that the Close of Lichfield is a peculiar jurisdiction of itself by charter for long time since and was confirmed by Edward 4th and again confirmed by King James. Every canon was a justice of peace within that precinct and no other justice of peace either of the county of Stafford or city or county of Lichfield might exercise any authority there. None that were of that liberty were to serve upon any jury within the city of Lichfield or county of Stafford. No writ was to be served within the Close *[struck through]* — except by the consent of the canons] but by the immediate officer of the Close except by the consent of the canons and their officer. All felons, goods, waifs, and strays were to be seized by the officers of the church and the same to be employed for the repairs of the church.

The bailiffs of Lichfield had only leave to carry up their mace when they came to divine service to the cathedral and when they went from the cathedral.

44

George Smith
Sam: Foxcroft
John Fisher

Examined by William Webb supervisor general 1649.

In margin: This survey I conceive to be generally imperfect and have taken course for amendment of the same. W.W.

- 45 Transmitted to the surveyor general 3 August 1649. Returned August 8th 1649.

TEXT II

- 46 A list of such persons as have possessed themselves intrusively of the church and sundry other houses within the Close of the cathedral church of Lichfield in the county of Stafford since the late unhappy war ended there etc.
- 47 In the house at the south gate
one Shaw, a miller, and his wife
one Clewly, a tailor

- 48 In the old palace part of the bishop house
 one Baldwin with 3 sons and 2 daughters, a tailor
 Roger Undull, a miller, and his wife
 John Myster, a tailor, and his wife
- 49 In the bishop's porter's lodge
 a basket-maker
- 50 In the deanery
 one Cope, his wife and children, a gardener
 William Lindon junior, a weaver, and his wife
 Samuel Sault and his wife, a letter-carrier
 William Lindon senior, a weaver, with his wife and children
- 51 In the house of Mr. Robert Hill, one of the prebendaries
 Thomas Lindon, a weaver, and his wife
 John Davis, a weaver, and his wife
 Henry Davis, a labourer (a desperate, quarrelsome fellow), and his wife and children
 Widow Terry with 3 children

Note: Robert Hill, prebendary of Prees, was inducted into a house between the choristers' house and the deanery on 6 September 1660 (LJRO, D. 30/C.A. vii, ff. 4v.-5).

- 52 In the house of the precentor and senior canon residentiary of the church
 one Halsy, a labourer, wife and children
 one Choite, wife and children, a shepherd
 2 Piotts sisters with a child

Note: The precentor was William Higgins, see 24.

- 53 In the upper college of the vicars choral being ministers and clerks
 Hopkins and his wife, a soldier
 Mr. Cotes and his wife, gent[leman]
 Richard Hill, tailor, and his wife
 Fletcher, a butcher, with his wife and children
- 54 In the lower college of vicars
 Johnson, wife and children (a tobacco-pipe maker)
 Hewes, wife and [*struck through* children] daughter, a herbmaker
 William Alsop, tailor, and his wife
- 55 In the house of Mr. Harrison chancellor of the church
 Widow Withers and her daughter
 Gunsen, his wife and son, a tobacco-pipe maker
 Mrs. Royle, a widow
 Jane Birde, widow
 Ellen Gardiner with children 3 in number and they bastards (widow)
 Robert Allen, labourer, wife and son
 Onyon, a cobbler, wife and children

Note: Richard Harrison was admitted as prebendary of Alrewas on 6 September 1660 (LJRO, D. 30/ C.A. vii, f. 1)

- 56** In the house of Dr. James Fleetwood canon residentiary] and provost of King's College
 one Langley, a towdresser, wife and children
 Hewson, a labourer, wife and daughter
 Nicklin, a labourer, wife and children
 Mansfield, a soldier, wife and children

Note: For Fleetwood see **34**.

- 57** In Dr. Hewett precinct, part of the bishop's manor (taken now to be the city's by ancient purchase)
 2 Brownes, maidens
 one Wright, wife and children
 Widow Ballard

Note: In 1657 and 1659 Hewett paid the bailiffs of Lichfield corporation a rent for New College (LJRO, D. 35/ bailiffs'accts. 1657-1707).

Dorse

- 58** In the revestery part of God's House
 Daniel Morgil, labourer, wife and children
- 59** In the lower vault of the same and under the church
 2 women with children, both bastards and one there lately brought to bed of a
 bastard and affirmed to be still there

- 60** The number of persons one hundred and eleven or twelve.
 We say nothing of gentle or honest families in other canonical houses not ruined
[struck through Foul] dunghills are made everywhere up and down the Close
 Swine that were never permitted formerly in the Close daily root in the graves of the
 dead; the keepers

Davis	2 great sows
Cope	1
Joan Browne	1
Nicklin	1
The Lady Wolsley	2
Mr. John Smith	2
Richard Hill	2
Mary Smith	1
Mrs. Robinson	1
Mrs. Williams	1
Bi..destly	5
In all 19 swine.	

These five are sold upon the first reprehension

Alehouses: six within the Close walls where formerly no one was suffered.



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THE WALSALL RIOTS, THE ROOKER FAMILY, AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DISSENT

ALAN P. F. SELL, F.S.A.

That eighteenth-century Walsall was the scene of riots and acts of vandalism that were politically and religiously inspired is universally agreed. As we move from the universal affirmation to the particular disturbances, however, agreement as between the several authorities becomes more elusive. This is partly because at crucial points documentary evidence is weak, and partly owing to the predilection of some writers for oral tradition which may contain a significant proportion of myth. We are principally concerned with the 1751 riot at Hill Top, Walsall, and with the Rooker family, some of whose members were at the 'sharp end' of it. We shall take the religious temperature of the times, set the Rookers against their theological background, and trace the influence of this Walsall family in other parts of the country. However, both because the 1751 Brief for the Crown¹ twice incorrectly gives the date of the Hill Top riot as 1715, and because we shall not understand the Rookers' motives unless we know something of the Presbyterian congregation from which they seceded, we shall do well to take our bearings from as untangled a view as the evidence permits of the riots of 1715 and 1743. We shall examine the available primary and secondary sources, and shall find that at certain points the clinching evidence is doctrinal in character.

I²

An older historian was neither fanciful nor partisan when he wrote, 'In Staffordshire, one of the least civilised and most tory counties . . . scarcely a Whig or Dissenter there could escape insult or more serious injury.'³ None was more implacably opposed to the Whigs and the Dissenters than Henry Sacheverell (16747-1724).⁴ On Sunday 20 October 1714—the day of George I's coronation — Sacheverell preached a virulent sermon to a congregation in Sutton Coldfield parish church, which was swollen by about two hundred Jacobites from Birmingham.⁵ Political feeling was running high. There was widespread Tory anger at the taxes imposed by the Whigs with a view to sustaining the war which William III had joined with France, and trade was in the doldrums. Something of the alarm felt by those who sympathised with the government emerges from the columns of the Whig newspaper, *The Flying Post*. In July 1715 a correspondent wrote, 'I find a great many people alarm'd on the apprehensions of an invasion by the Pretender;' and by 6 August another could write from Coventry: 'I was last week at Birmingham, where things were in the utmost confusion,

1. Birmingham Central Library Archives, 328830.

2. In this section I rework and expand the opening paragraphs of my article, 'The social and literary contributions of three Unitarian ministers in nineteenth-century Walsall', *UHS* xv. no. 3 (Oct. 1973), 77-97.

3. Quoted by Frederic W. Willmore, *A History of Walsall* (Walsall 1887), 352. Recent studies of early eighteenth-century turbulence include N. Rogers, 'Popular protest in early Hanoverian London', *Past & Present* lxxix (1978), 70-100; G. V. Bennett, 'English Jacobitism, 1710-15: myth and reality', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.* 5th ser. xxxii (1982), 137-51.

4. For him see *DNB*; G. S. Holmes, *The Trial of Dr. Sacheverell* (1973).

5. See C. H. Beale, *History of the Old Meeting House, Birmingham* (1882), 13-14; M. Wright, *The Best of Cannock Chase* (Wolverhampton 1933), 142-46; E. J. Homeshaw, *The Corporation of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall* (Walsall, 1960), 92.

because the Dissenters' meeting houses in all that county are pulled down, and in most places they have no conveniency of meeting together'.⁶ In Staffordshire dissenting meeting houses were destroyed at Newcastle, Pensnett, Stafford, Stone, Walsall, West Bromwich, and Wolverhampton, and damaged at Leek and Coseley. According to the records of the Clerks of Assize, Walsall's meeting house fell on 8 July 1715.⁷

In his account of the 1715 riot (which he dates as 1714) E. L. Glew asserts that the demolished meeting house 'had been for sixty years the only dissenting place of worship in the town,' and Willmore declares that it was 'built in 1662'.⁸ This is misleading. There was a dissenting interest in Walsall in the 1660's, but no 'place of worship' in the sense of a meeting house as such. The Episcopal Returns state that in 1669 Richard Hilton, who was ejected from his perpetual curacy at West Bromwich in 1662, preached to more than three hundred persons 'at the *houses* of Mrs. Pearson, Mr. Fowler and Mr. Eves'.⁹ Hilton was born in Oxfordshire c.1625, matriculated at Christ Church in 1641, and died at Walsall in 1706. Under the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672, the Presbyterian Richard Bell (ejected from Polesworth, Warws.) was licensed to teach; and in the same year the houses of Edward Eves, George Fowler, and Elizabeth Deale (or Deakin) — all Presbyterians — were licensed for worship.¹⁰ In 1690 Hilton was maintaining a lecture in Walsall despite receiving 'little assistance' from the 'many able men in the town';¹¹ in 1693 his own house was licensed for worship.¹²

In 1707 George Fowler's father, Simon Fowler of Cheadle, leased to his son 'a great room', otherwise 'the chapel', which adjoined George's house in Walsall.¹³ This would seem to be the meeting house (possibly recently completed) which was situated in Bank Court (later known as Fox's and Cox's Court) on the north side of the High Street, near its top. No

6. William Salt Library, Stafford, Burney's Coll., II. 491.

7. PRO, ASSI/2/15. With this documentary evidence one source of confusion is removed. Thus, F. W. Willmore, E. J. Homeshaw, and E. L. Glew (*History of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall in the County of Stafford*, (1856), 58) opt for 1714 as the year of the riot; G. E. Evans (*Midland Churches: A History of the Congregations on the Roll of the Midland Christian Union* (1889)) has the destruction of the meeting house 'about' 1710; while Hugh Warnock ('Short sketch of the origin and progress of nonconformity in Walsall', *UHSTiv* (1927-30), 109) and R. D. Woodall (*Midland Unitarianism and its Story, 1662-1962*) are firmly for 1710. Alfred Willis (*A History of Bridge Street Chapel, Walsall* (1893), 3) plays for safety in declaring that the destruction occurred 'in or about the year 1710'. Those who correctly give 1715 include: J. C. Wedgwood, *Staffordshire Parliamentary History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, SHC, 1922, 221; *VCH Staffs*, xvii. 248; and J. H. Y. Briggs, 'The burning of the Meeting House, July 1715; Dissent and faction in late Stuart Newcastle', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, xiv (1974), 71. The 1715 option is borne out by John Evans in his, 'An account of the damages done in the riots, 1715, according to the several estimates returned by the Commissioners appointed by the King to inquire into them'. Mr. J. Creasey, Librarian of Dr. Williams's Library, where Evans's list is to be found, points out that it is wrongly attributed to Thompson by A. G. Matthews in his *The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire* [1924], 128. Evans's list was begun in 1715 and added to until 1729.

8. Glew, *Hist. of Borough and Foreign of Walsall*, 58; Willmore, *Hist. of Walsall*, 351.

9. *FAE*, 284 (my italics); G. Lyon Turner (ed.), *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (1911), i. 60ff; *VCH Staffs*, xvii. 247. For Hilton see *Calamy Rev.*; *FAE*; Hugh Warnock, 'Unitarian ministers of Walsall and their predecessors', *UHSTiv* (1927-30), 270; Matthews, *Cong. Churches of Staffs*. 90. In addition to Hilton the following were described as 'Heads' of the Walsall congregation: Messrs. Fincher, Osland, Steele (probably Richard Steele, ejected from Hammer, Flints.), Bladon, Coape (ejected from Sandbach, Ches.), and Myles, and others.

10. G. Lyon Turner, *Orig. Records*, iii. 17. For Bell see *Calamy Rev.*

11. *FAE*, 96, 284.

12. *LJRO*, B/A/12(ii).

13. William Salt Library, 337/34 and 349/34.

authorities dispute this location, and G. E. Evans, a 19th century historian, describes the building, with its capacity of four hundred persons, thus:

The windows had heavy outside shutters, a sounding board hung over the pulpit, and the pews, which were six feet high, had locks on the doors; whilst the pulpit stood with a curtain ready to be drawn before the preacher, and a door behind him leading on to the roof, to facilitate his escape, should spies or informers intrude upon the service.¹⁴

Alfred Willis, also writing in the 19th century, adds that 'The windows were placed high in the walls', and that 'The place was made to have as much the appearance of a dwelling house as possible'.¹⁵ Clearly the dissenters were not going out of their way to be provocative.

This, then, was the building destroyed by rioters on 8 July 1715. The minister at the time was John Godley who, together with Roger Walker, John Smith, Foulmer Walker, John Cooper, and Abraham Norris, is said to have owned the property.¹⁶ Godley, educated at the University of Leyden, was highly esteemed: 'he was a man of great zeal and charity, void of all pride, a diligent servant in the gospel, and blessed with remarkable success, and was universally missed when dead'.¹⁷ It is impossible to ascertain the date of his arrival in Walsall. Evans¹⁸ affirms that he was there in 1710, but this could be a deduction from his erroneous belief that the riot occurred in that year. He follows Willis in stating that Godley 'harangued the mob and sought to dissuade them from their purpose. They assured him that from personal respect he should not be injured . . . and pressed him earnestly to depart to avoid a scene they knew would be so painful to him. Finding words useless, the good man left the spot, and the building was speedily levelled with the ground'.¹⁹

On 16 July 1715 the House of Commons was informed 'of great disorders in the County of Stafford by several evil-disposed persons going from place to place in a tumultuous manner and that they had assaulted and wounded several of His Majesty's good subjects, without any provocation'.²⁰ Mr. Bayley provided verbal confirmation of this, and the Member for Tamworth, Mr. Bracebridge, lent further support by reading a letter which had been written on 13 July by Ronald Hines of Bilston to the county M.P., William Ward.²¹ It was resolved *nem. con.* to present a humble address to the king. Special mention was made of the need to discipline the Staffordshire magistrates, and to recompense the dissenters.²² Eventually, on 12 March 1717, the government agreed to pay £151 1 Is. in compensation for the destruction

14. G. E. Evans, *Midland Churches*, 213.

15. A. Willis, *Hist. of Bridge Street Chapel*, 3.

16. PRO, *Cal. Treas., Bks.* xxxi (Part II), 184-86. For Godley see *FAE*, 284; *Memoirs of the Life of the late Pious and Learned Mr. John Reynolds* [compiled by his nephew, the Rev. Mr. Williams of Atherstone] (1735), 155; Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 266; T. S. James, *Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England* (1869), 678; G. E. Evans, *Vestiges of Protestant Dissent* (1897), 247; idem. *Midland Churches*, *passim*; and derivative refs. in local histories. The father of the Rev. Joseph Barber was a deacon during Godley's Walsall ministry (see J. Pye Smith's funeral sermon for Barber). Barber subsequently ministered at Basingstoke, and on 10 January 1754 he signed the dismissal of his member James Kitchener to James Rooker's church at Bridport. Kitchener became a deacon at Bridport, and one of Rooker's sons was named after him: see the Bridport Congregational Church Book. I am greatly indebted to the Rev. E. B. Short for providing information from the Bridport Church Book and other relevant papers, and from the Dorset RO, Dorchester.

17. So Willmore, *Hist. of Walsall*, 353, summarising the *Life of Mr. John Reynolds*, 155.

18. Evans, *Midland Churches*, 210, 219.

19. Willis, *Hist. of Bridge Street Chapel*, 3; Evans, *Midland Churches*, 214.

20. HLRO, C.J. XVIII, 227.

21. For Bayley's speech see A. Boyer, *A compleat and impartial history of the impeachment of the last ministry* (1716), 177-79. For eighteenth-century MPs see G. P. Judd, *Members of Parliament, 1734-1832* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1955).

22. HLRO, C.J. XVIII, 232.

at Walsall. By this time the meeting house had been rebuilt. A list of dissenting and congregational ministers begun by John Evans in 1715 and added to until 1729 shows that the King's Commissioners estimated total damage in Staffordshire at £1,722 17s. 8d., and in the country at large at £5,580 4s. 7*Vid.* This confirms the remark of the historian quoted by Willmore to the effect that the anti-dissenting interest was particularly venomous in Staffordshire.²⁴ Evans's *List* further states that in 1717 the Walsall Meeting received a grant of £5 from the Presbyterian Fund Board (established in 1690), and that its hearers numbered four hundred and its voters twenty-nine.

John Godley remained at Walsall until his death in 1729. From 1721 until 1727 he was assisted gratuitously by the Rev. John Reynolds, who died in the latter year.²⁵ Reynolds was the son of the John Reynolds, ejected from Wolverhampton in 1660.²⁶ Reynolds the younger had ministered at Shrewsbury and London, and was a respected author whose book, *A Practical Discourse of Reconciliation between God and Man* (1729), was commended by both Isaac Watts and Matthew Henry. Reynolds is described as Henry's intimate and beloved friend, in whose learning and piety Henry took particular pleasure. Indeed, Reynolds delivered the sermon at Henry's funeral on 24 June 1714.²⁷ The implication of this is that neither Reynolds, nor his 'true . . . sincere . . . ingenious and good humour'd Friend' John Godley, had so much as a whiff of heterodoxy about them. We shall not be able to say the same of some of their successors at the Walsall meeting.

II

It has been suggested that the Bank Court meeting house 'appears to have been' damaged during the riots which attended the first visit of Charles Wesley to Walsall in May 1743,²⁸ though no documentary evidence of damage has come to light. It is certainly the case that Wesleyan Methodism was given a rough reception in many parts of the Midlands, and that riots took place in 1743/4 at West Bromwich and Darlaston, as well as at Walsall, where Charles Wesley preached from the steps of the market house to a mob of 'fierce Ephesian beasts . . . who roared and shouted and threw stones incessantly'.²⁹ John Wesley's treatment was still more disturbing. In September 1743 he was seized by the Walsall mob, dragged into

23. PRO, *Cat. Treas. Bks.*, Jan.-Dec. 1717, 186.

24. *Seen*. 3.

25. For Reynolds see his *Life*; DNB; Willmore, *Hist. of Walsall*, 353-4; Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 121-2.

26. For Reynolds snr. see *Calamy Rev.* He was baptised at King's Norton on 14 Feb. 1631/2. He graduated B.A. (Pembroke College, Oxford) 1654; was assistant at Wolverhampton, 1656-7, and minister, 1657-60. In 1662 he returned to his estate at King's Norton, removing to St. Giles parish, London, in 1683. There he owned a house with a meeting house attached. He died in Dec. 1683.

27. See J. B. Williams, *Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings of the Rev. Matthew Henry* [1828] (Edinburgh; Banner of Truth Trust 1974), xiii. 154, 164, 173. For Reynolds's testimony to Henry see *ibid.* 174, 178, and Reynolds's *Life*, 137. See also J. Reynolds, *A sermon upon the mournful occasion of the funeral of the Reverend and Excellent Mr. Matthew Henry. . . preach'd at Nantwich, June 25, 1714* (1714).

28. E.g. Willis, *Hist. of Bridge Street Chapel*, 3; Evans, *Midland Churches*, 214. Willmore and *VCH Staffs*, do not speculate thus.

29. *Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.* (1849), i. 307-8, 347-8.

the town, but not silenced until his voice failed.³⁰ He later recorded that the 'sharpest adversaries' he had known were 'the scum of Cornwall, the rabble of Bilston and Darlaston, the wild beasts of Walsall, and the turnkeys of Newgate'.³¹ Nevertheless, when in 1764 he returned to Walsall and preached in the open air (the Methodist Meeting in New Street presumably being too small to contain his hearers) his fears of further violence proved groundless.³²

Reverting to 1743, it is interesting to note from a letter written by George Whitefield on 31 December that, in contrast with Wesley, he suffered from only 'one or two' who made a noise when he preached at Wednesbury on Christmas Day; that exercising soldiers withdrew as he was about to preach in Birmingham on Boxing Day, thereby facilitating a quiet and blessed time; that after preaching again in Birmingham in the afternoon he returned to Wednesbury and preached in the evening until 'About one, I went to bed exceeding happy'; and that on the Tuesday morning when he preached at Mares Green, 'Several clods were thrown, one of which fell on my head, and another struck my fingers, while I was in prayer'.³³

It is not easy to ascertain the motives of the mobs, and it certainly is not a foregone conclusion that on the whole mobsters preferred Whitefield's evangelical Calvinism to Wesley's Arminianism. Did some just seek a riotous rampage? Were they to some degree under the thumb of the magistrates and the gentry? Some of the riots seem to have been orchestrated by prominent persons — Wesley himself certainly thought that this was the case: in a letter dated 25 June 1746 he declared to John Smith that 'The Minister of Darlaston, and the Curate of Walsall, trod in the same steps [as Edward Eggington, vicar of Wednesbury]. And these were they who (not undesignedly) occasioned all the disorders which followed' in Walsall.³⁴ Again, amidst the hubbub may be detected a certain restraint which suggests that the mobsters may have been under orders to frighten rather than to kill. Such a mob could surely have killed Wesley had its members so desired. He himself was surprised by certain remarkable features of the Wednesbury-Walsall riot — for example, 'That a lusty man just behind struck at me several times with a large oaken stick; with which, if he had struck me on the back part of my head, it would have saved him all farther trouble. But every time the blow was turned aside, I know not how . . .'.³⁵ Perhaps the man wielding the stick knew. Did those behind the riots simply detest 'enthusiasm', or fear the break-up of society's fabric if the evangelists were too successful? A full-scale examination of the evidence of mob behaviour over the country as a whole would be required to answer such speculative questions as these.

30. *The Works of John Wesley*, ed. Gerald R. Cragg (1975), ii. 286, 288-9. See also, *Some papers, giving an Account of the Rise and Progress of Methodism at Wednesbury, in Staffordshire, and in other Parishes Adjacent* (1744); Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.* (3rd edn., 1876), i. 408-12; J. F. Ede, *History of Wednesbury* (Wednesbury 1962), 207-11; Willmore, *Hist. of Walsall*, 360-3; J. Leonard Waddy, *The Bitter Sacred Cup: The Wednesbury Riots 1743-44* (London: World Methodist Historical Society (British Section), 1976).

31. *Works*, ed. Cragg, ii. 322.

32. *Works*, iii. 163.

33. Quoted by L. Tyerman, *The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield* (2nd edn. 1890), 81-83. Cf. Whitefield's *Works* (1771), ii. 46.

34. *Works of John Wesley*, ed. Cragg, xii. 80 (letter to John Smith).

35. *Journal of John Wesley* (standard edn.), iii. 101.

36. It will be interesting to read the conclusions of the Rev. Geraint Tudur's Oxford doctoral researches into mob activity in relation to Whitefield's Welsh contemporary Howel Harris. See also John Walsh, 'Methodism and the mob in the eighteenth century' in *Popular Belief and Practice (Studies in Church History, viii.)* ed. G. J. Cumming and Derek Baker (1972), 213-27.

What is clear is that, whether or not the mob was under orders not to kill Wesley, he *thought* his life was at risk and, no doubt, matters could have got sadly out of hand. He wrote: 'whoever saw the mob either at Walsall or Cork (to instance no more) saw that they were not "in jest" but in great earnest, eagerly athirst, not for *sport*. . . but for *blood*'.³⁷

The response to the visits to Walsall of the Wesleys and Whitefield helps us to locate — theologically and temperamentally — those members of the Presbyterian Meeting who remained at Bank Court, and those who, after spasmodic secessions, eventually formed the first Congregational Church in Staffordshire, at Dudley Street, Walsall, in 1763. First we should observe that under the influence of Enlightenment rationalism some of the ministers and members of Bank Court, like many of their religious counterparts elsewhere, were beginning to be influenced in an Arian direction. That is, they held, *vis a vis* orthodox trinitarian doctrine, that the Son, though divine, was created, and was therefore subordinate to the Father. Overt unitarianism was to be the eventual outcome of this doctrinal movement (an outcome which was strictly illegal until 21 July 1813).³⁸ That this doctrinal movement imposed a strain upon the Bank Court fellowship seems clear from the fact that the orthodox minister, James Warner, who served some time after the death of Godley until his own death in 1741,³⁹ found it necessary to licence the minister's house in Rushall Street as an additional place of religious worship for Protestant dissenters. The certificate, signed by the town clerk at Quarter Sessions, is dated 25 July 1737.⁴⁰ The house had been devised by Thomas Walker to the trustees of the High Street meeting house on 21 July 1737.⁴¹ Evidence of Warner's doctrinal orthodoxy is cumulative and fourfold. First, the main body of members at Bank Court continued to move in a unitarian direction after the Dudley Street secession and its predecessors. Secondly, the Dudley Street members subsequently took pains to distinguish themselves from the Presbyterians they had left behind:

Mindful of the manner in which the Arian party in High Street had obtained possession of the pulpit and diverted the intention of the Presbyterian founders, the Dudley Street people were exceedingly careful in defining the purpose for which the new place was erected. By the wording of the Trust Deed the Minister must teach and instruct the people in the tenets, faith, and doctrine of the Larger and Smaller Catechism, composed by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and other parts of the doctrine relating to the faith of Protestant Dissenters, called Independents; that he should hold his office so long only as he does this, and so long also as he maintains a strictly moral and religious manner of life.⁴²

Thirdly, we have the following testimony: 'Mr. Warner, an Orthodox minister, was their pastor for some years. A Mr. Jones, who was also orthodox, succeeded him'.⁴³ This seems accurate as regards Warner's theological position. However, John Dobson and John Winter intervened between Warner and David Jones, serving from 1741-1743 and 1743-1753 respectively. Of Winter a Presbyterian historian affirms, 'There was evidently an Arian note

37. *Works*, ed. Cragg, ii. 485.

38. Until this date the profession of unitarianism was punishable in England by removal of citizenship. In Scotland it was a capital crime. Dissenters were not alone in being subject to Arianising tendencies. The Anglican Samuel Clarke (see *DNB*), for example, was prominent in this field. For an assessment of the prevailing intellectual climate see A. P. F. Sell, 'Arminians, deists and reason', *Faith and Freedom*, xxxiii (1979), 19-31.

39. Warner was trained at Sheriffhales Academy, and ministered at Tewkesbury before coming to Walsall, where he died on 23 Mar. 1741: see Evans, *Midland Churches*, 219; idem. *Vestiges*, 247; T. S. James, *Presbyterian Chapels and Charities*, 661, 801; Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 264; J. Toulmin, *An historical view of the state of the Protestant Dissenters in England* (1814), 561; *CM* (1831), 74; *CHST*, iii. 394; H. Warnock, *UHST*, iv. 270-1.

40. So Willis, *Hist. of Bridge Street Chapel*, 3.

41. *Ibid.* 8.

42. *Ibid.* 13.

43. 'The Manchester Socinian Controversy' (1825) quoted by Evans, *Midland Churches*, 215-16.

in his preaching toward the end of his pastorate, which was perceptible also in that of his successor'.⁴⁴ Accordingly, Jones was *not* orthodox, and this would explain Warnock's quotation: 'His election brought about a breach in the High Street Meeting'.⁴⁵ Fourth, in the nineteenth century the trustees of Bridge Street Congregational Church (Dudley Street's 1791 successor), acting in the aftermath of the successful Wolverhampton case (1816-1847), contemplated, but in the event did not proceed with, action to restore the Rushall Street manse to themselves on the ground that morally it was theirs.⁴⁶

Thus far we have ample cumulative evidence of orthodox unrest at Arian tendencies within the Bank Court Meeting. The subsequent commitment of the Dudley Street members to the (Calvinistic) Westminster Assembly documents; their calling after 1783 of some ministers trained under the auspices of the countess of Huntingdon (with whom the evangelical Calvinist Whitefield was closely associated); the fact that seven letters from John Holmes (a beneficiary under Joseph Longster's will) to the countess survive;⁴⁷ the fact that James Rooker, to whom we shall come, was in charge of the Calvinistic Academy at Bridport, Dorset, — all of this suggests that the disaffected at Bank Court sympathised with Whitefield's Calvinism rather than with the Arminianism of the Wesleys. It does not follow, however, that the Bank Court dissidents were enthusiastic ranters.⁴⁸

Many dissenters, fully aware of the previous century's examples of the excesses in which the 'inspired' could indulge, were more than happy with Samuel Johnson's definition of

44. Quoted by H. Warnock, *UHST*, iv. 271. For Dobson (d. 3 Mar. 1743) see Evans, *Midland Churches*, 219; idem, *Vestiges*, 247; *Job Orton's Letters* (ed. Samuel Palmer; 1806), i. 23; Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 264; Ernest Elliot, *A History of Congregationalism in Shropshire* [c. 1898], 18; R. F. Skinner, *Nonconformity in Shropshire 1662-1816* (Shrewsbury 1964), 13; *PDM* (1795), 179; *CM* (1831), 75; Warnock, *UHST*, iv. 271. For Winter see Evans, *Midland Churches*, 219; *Vestiges*, 247; Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 264; *CHST*, iv. 342; *UHST*, iv. 271. For David Jones see *UHST*, iv. 271; Evans, *Midland Churches*, 213, 215, 217, 219; *Vestiges*, 247.

45. H. Warnock, *UHST*, iv. 271.

46. Willis, *Hist. of Bridge Street Chapel*, 8.

47. The will of Joseph Longster, woollen and linen draper, reads thus: 'To Samuel Rooker Son of Samuel and Joanna Rooker the Sum of ten pounds and to the said John Holmes the sum of ten pounds . . . Also I give and devise unto the said John Holmes All those my eight Messuages Dwelling houses or tenements . . . Situate standing and being in the Town of Walsall aforesd. in the new row Hole End and Hill Top . . .' The will is dated 27 Oct. 1778, and James Rooker is among three witnesses to it: Walsall CL Archives, 115/5/4. Seven letters of John Holmes to the countess of Huntingdon are preserved in the Cheshunt MSS at Westminster-Cheshunt College, Cambridge. It is quite possible that the same John Holmes, on 23 Nov. 1798, paid the Corporation £7/10/0 in settlement of Mary Stubbs's rates. See Walsall CL Archives 277/180/4. The father Samuel in Longster's will would seem to be James Rooker's brother; for we know from the Bridge Street Congregational Church records, and from the Samuel Lucas MS. notebook now at Swan Hill Congregational Church, Shrewsbury, that Keturah, daughter of Samuel and Joanna Rooker, was baptised on 10 Jan. 1774. This would make her contemporary with the Rev. James's children. I am grateful to Mr. Arthur Stephens for giving me access to the Bridge Street records (which are now deposited in Walsall CL Archives), and to the Rev. T. Watts of Shrewsbury for providing a copy of the Lucas MS. In *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, by a member of the houses of Huntingdon and Ferrers [i.e. A. C. H. Seymour] (1839), ii. 278, we are informed that in 1771 Lady Huntingdon's students 'first began to visit Staffordshire and Warwickshire. The number of pious and faithful ministers of Christ was few indeed in these counties; hence their sphere of action was extensive, and their labour heavy. At Birmingham, Wednesbury, Darlaston, Walsal (sic), Bilston, Wolverhampton, and many other intervening places, they frequently preached in the open air, and in some of them met with considerable persecution, yet never received any serious injury'.

48. For an account of the major theological distinction here see A. P. F. Sell, *The Great Debate: Calvinism, Arminianism and Salvation* (Worthing: Henry Walter, 1982; Grand Rapids, U.S.A.: Baker Book House, 1983). John Wesley was at pains to distinguish his teaching from enthusiasm: 'Fanaticism', if it means anything at all, means the same as "enthusiasm", or religious madness, from which . . . these doctrines are distant as far as the east from the west' (*Works*, ed. Cragg, ii. 290).

'enthusiasm' as a 'vain confidence of divine favour or communication'. Thus, Isaac Watts wrote to Benjamin Colman on 22 April 1742: 'if Mr. Whitefield tells you that the Dissenting ministers are but his *cooler friends*, I believe he speaks the truth';⁴⁹ and Watts was distinctly fearful that his good friend Philip Doddridge would incline too much towards Whitefield. He did not wish Doddridge to be 'too forward in promoting any appearance of . . . Mr. Whitefield's turning Dissenter',⁵⁰ and he was alarmed when Doddridge went so far as to visit Whitefield's Tabernacle. On 20 September 1743 he wrote,

I am sorry that, since your departure, I have had many questions asked me about your preaching or praying at the Tabernacle, and of sinking the character of a minister, and especially of a tutor, among the Dissenters so low thereby. I find many of your friends entertain this idea; but I can give no answer, not knowing how much you have been engaged there.

Nathaniel Neal, the secretary of the Coward Trust — a body which gave financial aid to Doddridge's Academy in Northampton — wrote to Doddridge on 11 October 1743: 'It was with the utmost concern that I received the information of Mr. Whitefield's having preached last week in your pulpit, and that I attended a meeting of the Trustees this day, when that matter was canvassed, and that I now find myself obliged to apprise you of the very great uneasiness which your conduct herein has occasioned them'. That Doddridge managed to reassure Neal on this point is clear from Neal's letter to him of 15 October 1743. But a further letter from Doddridge confirmed Neal's earlier fears, and in a letter of 10 December he reiterated his complaint. Doddridge replied on 12 December. He expresses regret at Methodist and Moravian excesses; explains that his attitude towards Whitefield is inspired by 'a fear to offend God'; pleads for 'moderation of sentiment' towards Whitefield; and declares, 'I am not so zealously attached to him as to be disposed to celebrate him as one of the greatest men of the age'.⁵¹ Consistently with this, when replying to Richard Witton, minister at West Bromwich, who had asked his advice concerning a forthcoming visit of Wesley, Doddridge wrote,

I am much concerned at the anxiety and disturbance which Mr. Wesley's coming into your neighbourhood has occasioned . . . I think the gentlest methods will be the most effectual. Opposition will but give strength to the faction, it if be attended with violence and heat . . .⁵²

49. *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 2nd ser. ix. 394.

50. Letter dated 25 May 1742; see G. F. Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge, D.D. (1702-1751)* (HMSO 1979), no. 746.

51. Quoted by L. Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, ii. 72-3; cf. Nuttall, *Calendar of Correspondence of Philip Doddridge*, no. 917.

52. Nuttall, *Calendar*, nos. 922, 923, 933, 934.

53. Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, ii. 72 (letter of 8 June 1743); cf. Nuttall, *Calendar*, no. 899. For Witton, minister at West Bromwich 1721-62, see Nuttall, *Calendar*, no. 458; Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 121, 266; James, *Presbyterian Chapels and Charities*, 678, 801; J. Hunter, *Familiae Minorum Gentium* (1894), f. I, 362, 365; *CHST* iii. 105; v. 19. Witton married Hannah Savage, granddaughter of Philip Henry; he died aged 82 on 28 Dec. 1765. For a further indication of the shades of opinion within Calvinism consider on the one hand that on 6 April 1743 the Conference of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists invited Whitefield to serve as President of the Conference whenever he was available (thereby by-passing the clash of personalities and views as between their home-grown leaders Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland) and on the other hand, and in the aftermath of the Cambuslang Revival, that the Associate Presbytery in Scotland condemned Whitefield on 15 July 1742 for abjuring the Solemn League and Covenant, and for seeking 'by his lax toleration principles, to pull down the hedges of government and discipline which the Lord has planted about his vineyard in this land . . .'. In a word, Whitefield sat loose to Presbyterian discipline, and that, to the Seceders, was to flout Scripture. Whitefield's toleration of what they deemed enthusiasm did nothing to assist relations. See A. P. F. Sell, *The Great Debate*, 66; John McKerrrow, *History of the Secession Church* (1847), 166; cf. Andrew Thomson, *Historical Sketch of the Origin of the Secession Church* (1848), 132-6.

In the light of the evidence, and not least of the doctrinal considerations, we may conclude that those who later supported the building of a meeting house at Hill Top, Walsall, in 1751 had been meeting for worship in the Rushall Street manse; that they were Calvinists, some of whom may well have been suspicious of 'enthusiasm'; and that they were unquestionably opposed to Arianism. Of their determination to maintain and promote their version of the faith once delivered to the saints there can be no doubt.

III

Before turning directly to Hill Top a further tantalising question arises: was the Bank Court meeting house partially pulled down in 1751? Willis and Evans state, in almost identical words, that it was, and that the rioters were 'hounded on, there is much reason to fear, by some in a higher walk of Society, whose public position and office would have led us to expect better things from them'. They further both explain that for want of sufficient evidence the rioters, who were tried at Stafford, were fined £10 only, and that the order was made for the meeting house to be rebuilt farther from the parish church. Both authors deem this last point 'an ominously significant injunction'.⁵⁴ However, no documentary evidence of damage to the building in 1751 has come to light; nor have we any evidence of compensation or of rebuilding. As to the last point, it is certain that the meeting house was not rebuilt farther from the parish church. It was still in use until it was sold in 1827, when the congregation removed to Christ's Chapel, Stafford Street.⁵⁵ Could it be that the remarks of Willis and Evans really refer to the Hill Top meeting house which was demolished in 1751? We have no means of resolving this matter. What is clear is that Bank Court and Hill Top were not alternative names for the same building. Although they were geographically close to each other, Bank Court was to the west of the parish church and to the north of High Street, while Hill Top ran roughly east-west, to the south of the parish church.⁵⁶ Also, there is ample evidence that Hill Top was demolished, whereas Bank Court remained in use until 1827. Finally, the theologised evidence already adduced establishes the motives of the seceders and the need of a new building.

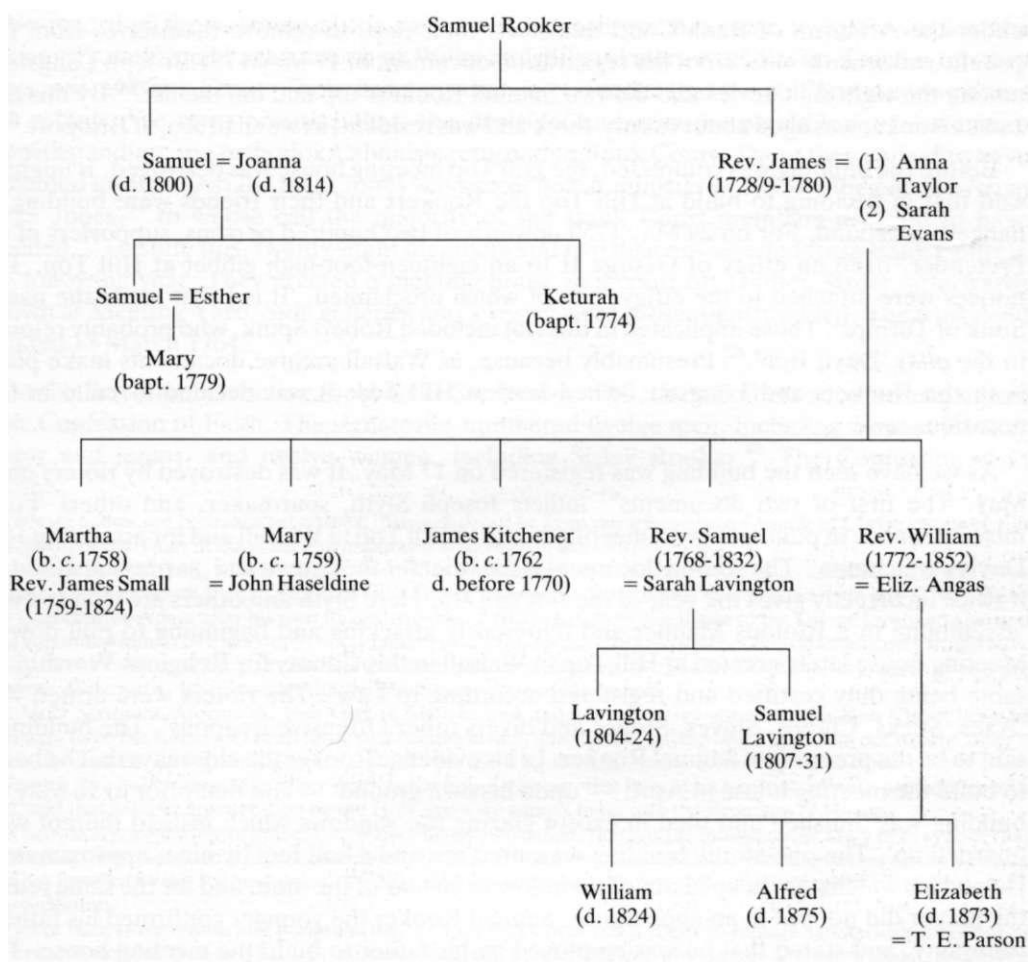
Turning at last to the Hill Top meeting house, it is necessary first to introduce the Rooker family, who were so closely associated with it.⁵⁷ In 1749 Samuel Livesay of Walsall, a joiner

54. Willis, *Hist. of Bridge Street Chapel*, 3; Evans, *Midland Churches*, 214. Willmore, (*Hist. of Walsall*, 353), agrees that the meeting house was (not even partially) destroyed by a Church and King mob in 1751. Neither Matthews nor *VCH Staffs.* mention damage to Bank Court in 1751, though both refer to the Hill Top demolition of that year. See Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 145; *VCH Staffs.*, xvii. 248.

55. This avowedly Unitarian building was demolished in 1980.

56. See the 1679 plan of Walsall in *VCH Staffs.*, xvii. 146.

57. The sources for this pedigree are the Rooker documents in Walsall CL Archives; the MS. A Register belonging to the Dissenting Church at Walsall' (i.e. Dudley Street/Bridge Street), 1763 ff; the Church Book of the Congregational Church, Bridport and local Rooker papers; the register of St. Mary, Bridport, and James Rooker's will in Dorset R.O. (DAAV/1781/1); the parish register of Ottery St. Mary in the Devon R.O.; the MS. notebook of Samuel Lucas; and the biographical references to individual members of the family to be noted below. For James Rooker see John Sibtree and M. Caston, *Independency in Warwickshire* (1855), 167; W. Densham and J. Ogle, *The Story of the Congregational Churches of Dorset* (1899), 52-3; David Bogue and James Bennett, *History of Dissenters* (1812), iv. 274-5; H. McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts* (1931), 6, 12; *PDM* (1798), 247; *EM* (1794), 310, 490, 492; (1850), 150; (1852), 37, 665; *CHSTv.* 69; xvii. 247.



and carpenter, sold Samuel Rooker the younger, a cooper of West Bromwich, a small parcel of land in Saint George's Street, Walsall, for £9 9s. The plot adjoined land belonging to Joseph Longster and others, and Robert Holmes witnessed the transaction.⁵⁸ It thus appears that Samuel the younger, presumably James's brother, was at the time living away from home, or perhaps he was already married. The possibility that Samuel Rooker of West Bromwich is unrelated to the Hill Top Rookers is reduced by the consideration that subsequent documents link the names Rooker, Longster, and Holmes — and this not least in connection with Hill Top. Further documents referring to the property transactions of Samuel Rooker are dated 19 April 1751, and 18, 20, and 21 April 1759 — by which time he is said to be lately of West Bromwich, but now of Tanworth, Warwickshire. Joseph Longster is a party to the first 1759 transaction, and John Rooker (James's brother, uncle, or cousin?) is involved in all three.⁵⁹ That the Rookers were prominent among those who, uncomfortable

58. Walsall CL Archives, 115/4/1.

59. Ibid. 115/4/2-5.

under the Arianism of Bank Court ministers, took steps to remove themselves from that baneful influence is clear from the registration document of 17 May 1751. Joseph Longster is among the eight signatories and the two Samuel Rookers top and tail the list.⁶⁰ By this date James Rooker was aged about twenty-three and was resident, as we shall see, at Bridport.⁶¹

Before the building was completed, the Hill Top meeting house was destroyed. It might be said that in deciding to build at Hill Top the Rookers and their friends were building on dangerous ground. For on 29 May 1750 upwards of two hundred persons, supporters of the Pretender, fixed an effigy of George II to an eighteen-foot-high gibbet at Hill Top. Two notices were attached to the effigy, one of which proclaimed, 'It is I that made the nation Stink of Turnips'. Those implicated in this riot included Robert Spink, who probably rejoiced in the *alias* 'Devil Bob'.⁶² Presumably because, as Walsall archive documents make plain, both the Rookers and Longster owned land at Hill Top, it was decided to build in that notorious area.

As we have seen the building was registered on 17 May. It was destroyed by rioters on 24 May. The first of two documents⁶³ indicts Joseph Slyth, spurmaker, and others 'For a misdemeanour in pulling down a meeting house at Hill Top in Walsall and for assaulting John Davis a watchman'. The second document is the brief for the Crown and, as previously noted, it twice incorrectly gives the year of the riot as 1715. Here Slyth and others are charged with 'assembling in a Riotous Manner and feloniously attacking and beginning to pull down a Meeting house lately erected at Hill Top in Walsall in this County for Religious Worship the same being duly certified and registered according to Law'. The rioters were armed with 'Axes, Sticks, Clubbs, Staves, Stones and divers other Offensive weapons'. The building is said to be the property of Samuel Rooker. In his evidence Rooker the elder says that he began to build the meeting house in April — 'upon his own ground' — and that prior to 16 May the building was 'finished and tiled in except glazing the windows which instead thereof were boarded up'. The one-storey building measured ten and a half feet by nine, approximately. He and his watchman escaped out of a window from fear of the mob, and for the same reason the mayor did not put in an appearance. Samuel Rooker the younger confirmed his father's testimony, and stated that he was employed by his father to build the meeting house. This thirteen-page Brief contains the evidence of a number of other witnesses, including the watchman John Davis.

60. LJRO, B/A/12, ii. Reproduced here by kind permission of the Diocesan Registrar. At this point Barbara Donaldson, 'The registration of dissenting chapels and meeting houses in Staffordshire, 1689-1852' (*SHC* 4th ser. iii. 1) requires correction. She notes the registration of Hill Top and comments, 'This was the registration of a chapel in Dudley Street, built by a group who followed the teaching of Whitefield and seceded from the Presbyterian Meeting House'. She refers to Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 145. But (a) this was not the Dudley Street Meeting House of 1763; (b) it is not a foregone conclusion that, their Calvinism notwithstanding, the seceders sympathised in 1751 with Whitefield in all doctrinal respects. Some may well have been suspicious of his 'methodism' and of the enthusiasm it engendered. No doubt post 1783 the connection of Dudley Street with ministers trained under the auspices of the countess of Huntingdon indicates that a majority of the members were by now in the Whitefield tradition of evangelical Calvinism. But this was thirty years on.

61. See Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 52.

62. Birmingham CL Archives, 328833; 328834.

63. Ibid. 328830.

No record of the outcome of the case, or of any redress, has come to light — unless the previously mentioned speculation of Willis and Evans refers to Hill Top and not, as they supposed, to Bank Court. There is, in any case, no evidence that the Hill Top meeting house was rebuilt. We must presume that, the doctrinal and now the psychological discomfort notwithstanding, the orthodox Calvinists returned to Bank Court. There they appear to have remained until the Arian David Jones was succeeded as minister in 1762 by the equally Arian Noah Jones,⁶⁴ to whose call the majority of the Bank Court members are said to have acceded.⁶⁵ Despite this, twenty-eight members and two deacons seceded from Bank Court in the following year. They erected a meeting house in a court off Dudley Street, afterwards known as Meeting Yard. Side galleries and a vestry were subsequently added. The trust deed is dated 13 March 1764.

At the first church meeting, held on 21 September 1763, the members adopted and signed their Confession of Faith. The signatories numbered twelve men, including Samuel Rooker senior and junior, and twelve women, including Sisley Rooker.⁶⁶ The Confession is as follows:

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being desirous to form ourselves into a Church of Christ, do make this confession of our Faith in the great and important Doctrines of the Gospel.

We believe in One God, who is infinite, eternal and unchangeable in all his perfections, and that there are three persons in the Godhead, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the same in Substance, equal in power and glory. We believe that God created Adam after his own Image, capable of yielding perfect obedience to the Divine Law, and also that God appointed him to be the federal, or covenant Head of all his posterity; so that upon his standing they would have stood; but he falling, all his posterity fell with him, and were thereby involved in sin and misery; agreeable to the Apostles declaration, By one man's disobedience many were made sinners.

The Holy Scripture informs us, that God of his free and undeserved mercy appointed his Son Christ Jesus as God-man to be the Redeemer of all those that believe in him, and that he, having taken upon him our nature, obey'd and suffer'd as the surety of his people, and gave his life a Ransom for many: so that by his obedience we become Righteous. We hold it as an important Truth in the holy Scripture, that man in his unrenewed state is at enmity with God, and that without regeneration by the Holy Spirit we cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Tho' salvation is absolutely of grace, yet, We are firmly persuaded, that it is the indispensable Duty of every one that believeth to maintain good works. For without Holiness no man shall see the Lord. We believe that all those whom God has justified by the Righteousness of Christ, and sanctified by his holy Spirit, shall be kept by his mighty power unto Salvation.

We learn both from reason and Scripture that a Church of Christ has a Right to require satisfactory Evidence of Repentance towards God and Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, of every one who desires admission into it; and that it also has a Right, to dismiss its Members to another Church, to admonish Offenders, and to put away from amongst themselves Disorderly persons, according to the Rules prescribed by our Lord and his Apostles. And after having solemnly humbled ourselves before God, and sought Counsel from him; We, hoping thro' grace that we have given

64. For Noah Jones see A. P. F. Sell, 'Retirement denied: the life and ministry of Noah Jones, 1725-1785', *UHST* xviii (1984), 91-105.

65. So the James Scott MS. Diary, 33. I am grateful to Mr. J. Ray, Secretary of Cradley Unitarian Church for putting me in touch with Messrs. Haward & Evers, Solicitors, of Stourbridge, who hold the Scott MS., and who kindly allowed me to take extracts with a view to publication in the article cited in n.64.

66. Willis, *Hist. of Bridge Street Chapel*, 4, wrongly implies that the first covenant was entered into on S. Lucas's arrival in 1774. Samuel Lucas (1748-99) ministered at Dudley Street, Walsall, 1773-79 (ordained 11 Aug. 1774), and at Swan Hill, Shrewsbury, 1779-97. See his MS. notebook; Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 264; E. Elliot, *Hist. of Congregationalism in Shropshire*, 24; R. F. Skinner, *Nonconformity in Shropshire*, 47; *PDM* (1799), 120; *CM* (1829), 427; *CHSTiv*. 35; vi. 124; xiv. 90. The following appears on the last written page of the first Bridge Street Church Book: 'This is the last entry in the Old Church Book ... It is greatly to be regretted that the history of the place, especially the cause of its secession from the Old Presbyterian Congregation in High Street, and other important matters, have been so treated with neglect, as to have been rescued from oblivion only by recourse to various sources other than the regular records of the Church'. I hope that my doctrinal detective work has filled some of the gaps in the story.

up ourselves first to the Lord, do now give up ourselves to each other in Church fellowship in his name; desiring to watch over one another with all Christian tenderness, and to walk together in all the Ordinances and commandments of the Lord.

Being desirous to study the things that make for peace We Agree that all matters among us, relating to the Church shall be determined by the Vote of the Major part of the Members of this Church.

These are the Articles of our Faith in the great Doctrines of the Gospel and this Solemn profession, We make before God, desiring mercy of the Lord to be found faithful. Done at our first Church Meeting on September the Twenty first, and in the year one Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty three.

As might be expected of the seceders from Bank Court, this is a staunchly trinitarian statement. It is Calvinistic in its federal theology, and in its insistence that salvation is by grace alone. It is not, however, antinomian, for members are obliged to show their faith in their deeds: Christians are not above the moral law. The church order and discipline are declared to be scriptural, and that they are Independent or Congregational is clear from the reference to the procedure by which decisions are to be reached. As far as the traditional 'departments' of systematic theology are concerned the Confession is silent upon eschatology. Presumably this was not an issue as between the seceders and those they left at Bank Court; and in any case creeds and confessions cannot but be historically determined to some extent.

A further four people (three women and one man) subsequently signed the Confession, and the whole was renewed at the church meeting on 1 August 1777. The list of members as at 3 April 1778 is appended. It is headed by Samuel Lucas, pastor;⁶⁷ Samuel Rooker is the first-named of four deacons (whose election on 5 July 1776 is elsewhere recorded); Andrew, Sisley, and Joanna Rooker now appear, and the total membership of forty-two is equally divided as between men and women. Since one Samuel Rooker only is mentioned, Samuel the elder must by now have died: we shall see later that in 1775 the Rev. James Rooker, as sole executor, was dealing with matters pertaining to his father's will. By 3 March 1786 Samuel Rooker (Rev. James's brother) and Samuel Loynes are called 'Old Deacons', and Andrew Rooker is among the three further deacons, John Rooker having been among the witnesses to their appointment. The covenant was re-written and reaffirmed on 2 October 1789. The first signatory is the Rev. William Boddily; Samuel and James Rooker are among the five deacons; and the sixty-two further members include John, Ann, Sarah, Joanna, Mary, Eliza, and Lydia Rooker.

By 1790 the Dudley Street members found their premises once again too small, and plans were laid to erect a new chapel in Bridge Street. Among the Bridge Street Congregational Church records are documents of 20 February 1790 and 25 August 1792 which refer to the transfer of land from the earl of Bradford to Charles Foster, merchant, and Samuel, James, and John Rooker, among others. The trust deed is dated 25 August 1792. Boddily's name appears first, but there is a space where his signature would normally have been; Samuel, James, and John Rooker are among the twenty-three further signatories. Boddily had been trained at Trevecca under the auspices of the countess of Huntingdon, and had come to Walsall from Westbury in 1789.⁶⁸ He did sterling money-raising work on behalf of the new

67. Lucas preached at Job Orton's funeral (see *DNB* s. v. Orton). The King's Head Church, Shrewsbury, had united with that at High Street on Orton's arrival, because the former had had no minister since John Dobson removed thence to Walsall.

68. For Boddily see Willis, *Hist. of Bridge Street Chapel*, 5-6; Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 139, 141; G. F. Nuttall, 'The students of Trevecca College, 1768-1791', *Trans. of the Honourable Soc. of Cymmrodorion* (1967), 270.

building. He visited London, Manchester, and Sheffield among other places, and returned with £815 for the building fund. Walsall contributors gave £407 10s., of which £40 was given by James Rooker.⁶⁹ This James was not the minister, who had died in 1780. He may have been a cousin or a nephew of the Rev. James, and he was a witness to Joseph Longster's will.⁷⁰ One of the difficulties of tracing the Rooker relationships at this point is that the Bank Court baptismal records for the years 1752-1788 are lost.⁷¹ The post-1780 James Rooker is referred to in the diary of Dr. Thomas Foxall, who returned to Walsall, where he had served his apprenticeship as a surgeon, in 1785: 'Spent the evening at Mr. Holland's with friends Loynes, Rooker and wife, Mr. Wathew, Fanny and my wife, we engaged in prayer in rotation'.⁷² As for Boddily — despite the financial generosity of his members he was given to haranguing them. They were 'A people not to be equalled in the world for pride, bigotry, blindness, and ignorance of the very outlines of religion, mere formalists, void of all experience'.⁷³ Not surprisingly, Boddily left for America in 1790. The chapel for which he had worked so hard was opened in Bridge Street in September 1791 at a cost of £2,125 13s. All debts on the building were cleared by 1795.

IV

What of the wider influence of the Rooker family? Beginning from the Rev. James Rooker we shall show how the family became linked with a dissenting dynasty whose roots went back to the Great Ejectment of 1662, and which was important not least for its contribution to ministerial education.

As we have seen, James Rooker was born in Walsall in 1728/9. He received his ministerial training at an academy founded by Julius Saunders at Bedworth, Warwickshire.⁷⁴ Saunders (d. c. 1730) was 'a stern and awful minister of the strictly Calvinistic or Independent sort'. He was not, however, an antinomian. On the contrary, during his concurrent ministry at Bedworth some members were expelled from the church because of their antinomianism, and Saunders wrote, 'I hope I shall loathe Antinomianism while I live upon the earth'. Saunders was succeeded by John Kirkpatrick, who was born at Irongray near Dumfries, and was reputedly an M.A. of Glasgow University. He was assistant to Saunders before 1730 — possibly from 1724 — and he died c. 1750.⁷⁵ Ten of the academy's students are known to us. They include Saunders's sons John (of Bury St. Edmunds and Hertford) and Julius (of Denton), and his nephew Thomas Saunders (of Coventry and Kettering). James Rooker and Thomas Reader (of Weymouth, Newbury, and Taunton) were among those who were under Kirkpatrick's sole charge. However sternly Calvinistic the regime may have been, considerable responsibilities were early laid upon young shoulders. Thus, when William Adam of Painswick arrived in Bedworth as Kirkpatrick's successor in the pastorate, Rooker, 'who had not yet left for Bridport', preached at the evening induction service on 5 June.

69. So Willis, *Hist. of Bridge Street Chapel*, 12.

70. See note 47.

71. So Evans, *Midland Churches*, 216-17.

72. Matthews, *Cong. Churches*, 140.

73. Ibid. 139, where Boddily is thrice incorrectly named as Bradford.

74. See 'Early Nonconformist Academies. VI. Bedworth', *CHST* v. 68-9. Cf. McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts*, 6, 14, 236; G. F. Nuttall, 'The beginnings of Old Meeting, Bedworth', *CHST* xx. 255-64.

75. For Kirkpatrick see Evans, *Midland Churches*, 137, 141; idem. *Vestiges*, 117; Sibree and Caston, *Independency in Warws.* 163; *EM* (1794), 445.

However, 'Mr. Adam had not been with his people more than a month, before he was called upon to perform the pleasing duty of giving an honourable dismissal to Mr. James Rooker from his church, and from the nursing school of the prophets in which he had been trained under Mr. Kirkpatrick, to enter on his pastoral engagements at Bridport, over the Independent church in that town'.⁷⁶ This was in 1750.

The church to which Rooker went as first pastor had been founded in 1742 by seceders from the Presbyterian Meeting. Thomas Collins was called to the latter church as minister in 1735, and by 1742 some members of the congregation were questioning his orthodoxy. In Densham and Ogle's words, 'It was not what he said, but what he did not say' that confirmed these suspicions.⁷⁷ It will be recalled that Exeter was at the hub of West Country trinitarian controversy at this time, and acute doctrinal sensitivity prevailed in many quarters. It appears that Collins's position was 'nearly, if not strictly, trinitarian', but this did not satisfy his critics. Against their wishes Collins, in the interests of religious liberty, refused to subscribe to the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, whereupon 'about two hundred or more separated from him, formed themselves into a distinct congregation, and chose, afterwards, Mr. Rooker, for their minister. Mr. Collins still continued to preach to the major part of the society, who adhered to him; till disabled for public services by a paralytic stroke in 1762. He died by a second seizure in 1765'.⁷⁸ The Independents built their new meeting house in 1746 and, interestingly, their first trust deed maintains the principle of non-subscription — and this despite the staunch Calvinism of their members. The new chapel was to be 'a place of public religious worship and service of God, by the church, society, or congregation of Protestant Dissenters, called and known by the name of the congregation or people now belonging to James Rooker, and whereof he is now pastor or minister, and by such others as shall hereafter come into the society or attend the worship of God in that place'.⁷⁹

It was quite common practice for ministers to serve a fairly lengthy apprenticeship before their call by a local church was confirmed by ordination. Rooker, who had arrived in Bridport in 1750, was not (according to the Bridport Church Book) dismissed by the Bedworth church until 28 July 1751. On 16 October 1751 he was ordained at Bridport, and the text of the main proceedings is extant.⁸⁰ Samuel Hayward of Poole gave an Introductory Discourse in which he proclaimed the right of a Gospel-church to choose its own officers, and took the

76. Sibree and Caston, *Independency in Warws.* 167. William Adam served at Painswick (1734-50) and Bedworth (1751-62); he resigned in 1762.

77. Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 50. Thomas Collins was trained at Taunton under H. Grove. He ministered at Templecombe (1718-34?) and was co-pastor at Ilminster (1725-35?). He removed to Bridport in 1734/5, remaining there until 1762-4. He died in 1765. See Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 50; James, *Presbyterian Chapels and Charities*, 677; Evans, *Vestiges*, 112; Jerom Murch, *A History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England* (1835), 231, 234, 254, 260; *PDM* (1798), 246.

78. *PDM* (1798), 247.

79. See E. Basil Short, *A Respectable Society: Bridport 1593-1835* (Bradford on Avon: Moonraker Press 1976), 35. Short adduces evidence to show that doctrinal divergences notwithstanding there were continuing happy relations between at least some members of the new and old congregations. Thus, for example, the Rev. Samuel Fawcett was secretary and treasurer of the new chapel, while his wife attended the old. For Fawcett (d. 1835 aged 81) see Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 11; Murch, *Hist. of Presbyterian and Gen. Baptist Churches*, 217-8; *CM* (1835), 713; (1836), 269 ff.; *C* (1836), 61; *DNB* s.v. Benjamin Fawcett.

80. *DWL*, PP 12.8.84. For Hayward see Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 194-5; for Pearsall see *DNB*.

opportunity of denouncing contradictory church orders. Less pugilistically, he pointed out that 'Unless we are called to the Ministry by our glorious Master, we cannot expect his Presence with us, nor Success in the Work'. A church member then explained how nine years ago 'we gave up ourselves to the Lord, and to one another'. At first they had no settled ministry, but eighteen months ago James Rooker had been recommended to them 'as a sound, serious Gospel-minister'. After he had preached on six Lord's Days he was unanimously called to the pastorate. James Rooker then responded, and gave his Confession of Faith which runs to sixteen pages and contains twenty-nine clauses. It is resolutely trinitarian, Calvinistic, and anti-antinomian, as the following summary extracts will show:

- V. 'I believe that there are three Persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that these Three are one God'.
- IX. Rooker here advances the federal, or covenant, theology: Adam is the federal head of the race.
- X. God could have left sinners in distress, but instead made the covenant of grace. Those 'chosen unto salvation' in Christ are effectually called by the Holy Spirit, justified, and sanctified.
- XX. 'Good works, though no wise meritorious, yet are the genuine Fruit of true Faith.'

Unlike the Bridge Street confession, Rooker's statement continues by dealing with the church and the ministry, the sacraments, and death and judgment.

Rooker's statement finished, the Rev. John Lavington senior delivered the ordination sermon on the text John xxi. 17. Then came Richard Pearsall's charge to the new minister. His text was Acts xx. 28(a), his theme was ministerial diligence, and his illustrations were homely: 'act the Part of the diligent Bee, who is never idle, but adds to her store, not only for her own Livelihood, but the Use of others'. Rooker must remember that he is to give an account of his ministry to Christ his Judge. Finally, Hayward brought the proceedings to a close with a statement in which he denounced those who have 'forsaken the Truth as it is in Jesus', and those who are 'cold and lukewarm in the Defence of it; by which means the Enemy triumphs'. That the new minister took his duties seriously is clear from the Bridport Church Book in which the movements of members are recorded, as are members' moral lapses and the resultant suspensions from communion.⁸¹ The register of St. Mary's, Bridport, shows that on 21 April 1757 Rooker married Anna Taylor of Bridport.

Given the theological tensions of the times, and in particular the 'drift' into Arianism on the part of many Presbyterians, the question of ministerial training could not but be raised. With a view to maintaining an orthodox ministerial succession the Congregational Fund Board of London established an academy under the Rev. John Lavington junior at Ottery St. Mary in 1752-4. On Lavington's death on 20 December 1764 the academy removed to Bridport under James Rooker, Mr. Wheeler of Axminster having declined to serve as tutor.⁸² Samuel

81. So Short, *A Respectable Society*, 37.

82. John Lavington junior served at Broadway (Somerset) c. 1739, and was ordained on 27 Aug. 1739. He was subsequently minister at Luppitt (Devon); supplied at Bridport for about one year (c. 1748/9); and became pastor at Ottery St. Mary in 1751 and tutor from 1752 until his death. See *DNB*; Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 52; Murch, *Hist. of Presbyterian and Gen. Baptist Churches*, 320 n; Bogue and Bennett, *Hist. of Dissenters*, ii. 298; iv. 273 f.; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts*, 12; EM (1794), 310; CHST iii. 357. For Wheeler (ordained 29 Aug. 1739) see *Devon Association Minutes*; T. Coleman, *Memorials of the Independent Churches of Northamptonshire* (1853), 70; CHST iv. 110. Wheeler preached on the occasion of the death of the Rev. John Lavington. See Jonathan Wheeler, *The faithful servant's release and reward. A sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Mr. John Lavington who died Dec. the 20th [1764]. Preached at Ottery* (1765).

Buncombe (1734-1794) succeeded to the pastorate at Ottery in 1760, James Rooker preaching at his ordination on 'The Nature and Importance of walking worthy of the Christian vocation'.⁸³ His text was Ephesians iv. 1. Buncombe assisted as classical tutor at Rooker's academy until it removed to Taunton after Rooker's death in 1780. Buncombe remained at Ottery until his death. The sermon at his grave was delivered by the Rev. James Small (1759-1824), whose first wife, Martha, was James Rooker's daughter.⁸⁴

James Rooker's tutorial duties commenced in 1765, and by 1768-9 he was able to build a fine set of premises by Bridport's East Bridge.⁸⁵ Densham and Ogle opine that 'Mr. Rooker made no money out of his students, on the contrary, he was probably a poorer man for the work'.⁸⁶ E. B. Short comments, 'If this is true he must have been very prosperous beforehand, for he built Bridge House, a property at the far end of East Street, paying a church rate of 2s. 6d., compared with 1s. for an ordinary house. This is not explained solely by his need for a large house for his academy. His widow continued to live there; while his daughter's property carried a church rate of 5s., an amount exceeded by only five other properties, two of them large inns and two mills'.⁸⁷ James Rooker may well have been prosperous. We know that his father was a cooper and a chapel builder, and that by his will dated 16 October 1765 he left James property in Saint George's Street and Hill Top, Walsall. Although it was not until 29 September 1775 that James sold these properties to Mrs. Elizabeth Haseldine for £140 and £60 respectively, he could have been drawing rents prior to that date.⁸⁸ Further income would come from those of the academy's twenty students⁸⁹ who were supported by the Congregational Fund Board. The Board subscribed £14*p.a.* to every student on its books.⁹⁰ After Rooker's death the academy was continued by Thomas Reader at Taunton. Reader assumed tutorial duties in 1780, and continued until his death in 1794. Reader was born in Bedworth and, as we have seen, he was educated there under Kirkpatrick.⁹¹ James Small, Rooker's son-in-law conducted the academy after Reader's death, at Axminster, from 1796-1828.

Of Rooker's daughter Martha we have already spoken. His ministerial sons, by Sarah Evans of Ottery St. Mary, whom he married there on 3 April 1766, were Samuel and

83. Published in 1761. For Buncombe (1734-94) see Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 84; Bogue and Bennett, *Hist. of Dissenters*, iv. 274; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts*, 12; PDM (1794), 336; CM (1818), 192; (1825), 389; EM (1794), 309-17, 337 ff.; CHSTv. 214; vii. 99.

84. See 'Memoir of the late Rev. James Small, formerly Tutor of the Western or Independent Academy, at Axminster', EM (1834), 265-9. He published *Three Hundred Hymns on Select Texts of Scripture* (1832). The Bridport Church Book states that Martha was admitted to communion in 1773 and dismissed to Axminster in 1787. Her sister Mary was admitted in 1779. A Sarah Rooker was admitted in 1798. For further references to Small see Short, *A Respectable Society*, 37; EM (1794), 315; CM (1834), 128; DH 1624; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts*, 12.

85. Short, *A Respectable Society*, plate 9.

86. Ibid. p.53.

87. Ibid. 36-7.

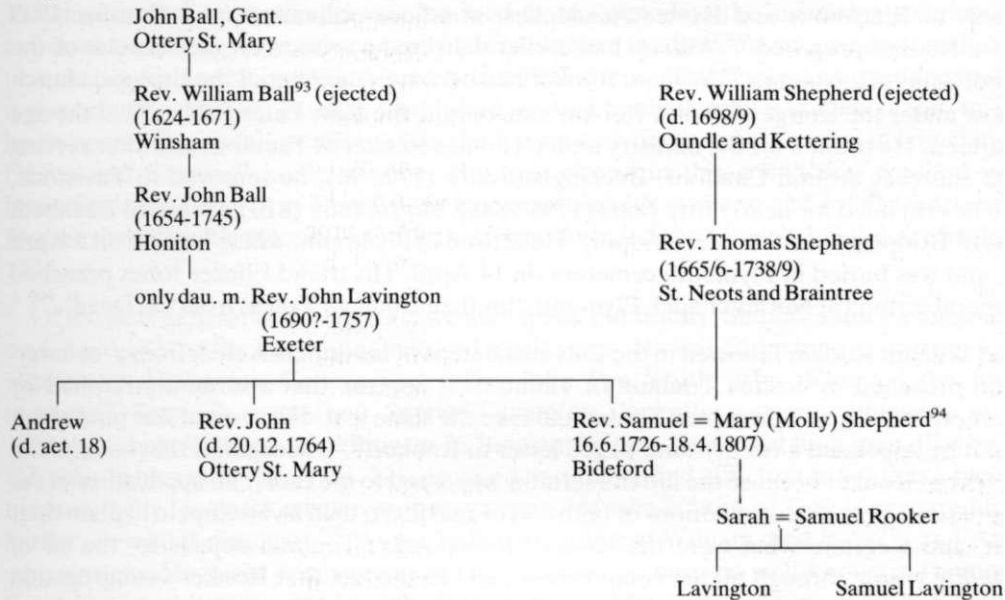
88. WalsallCLArchives, 115/4/6-7.

89. McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts*, 12.

90. Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 53; cf. the Board's Minutes at DWL.

91. For Reader (1725-94) see Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 373; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts*, 6, 12; PDM (1794), 333; EM (1794), 311, 441-8, 485-94; CHST i. 390; iv. 36; v. 69; vii. 100 f., 131. On Reader's death Samuel Rooker published his sermon on *The dignity and felicity of the conquering saint* (1794).

William.⁹² With the marriage of Samuel to Sarah Lavington the Rookers became linked a significant line of dissenting ministers, as the following pedigree will show:



From the above we see that the sons of Samuel and Sarah Rooker stood in a succession going back to the ejected ministers William Ball and William Shepherd. A third ejected minister, William Yeo (1618-1699) of Wolborough, Devonshire, was also a great-great-great-grandfather of Lavington Rooker and his brother.⁹⁵

Samuel Rooker was ordained, together with his younger brother William, at Tavistock on 19 June 1799. The sermon was delivered by Samuel Lavington, Samuel's father-in-law. Since

92. For Samuel Rooker see *CM* (1818), 113; (1825), 275; *EM* (1832), 404; *PDM* (1799), 318; *CHST* vii. 100. For William Rooker see *PDM* (1799), 318; *EM* (1834), 112; (1852), 271, 449; *CHSTiv*. 58; vii. 100; *DH*, 882; *CYB* (1853), 226-8.

93. There is some confusion among the authorities as to whether William Ball of Winsham, or Nathanael Ball (1623-81) ejected from Barley (Herts.), should appear here. Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformists' Memorial* (1775), ii. 45-9 and 387 correctly distinguished between William and Nathanael, but J. Toulmin, *An historical view of the state of the Protestant Dissenters in England*, 254, does not. He makes Nathanael John's father. We might have supposed that Toulmin, being of Taunton in relatively close geographical proximity to Rooker country, would be correct, especially in view of his dealings with William Rooker, to which we shall shortly refer in the text. But two considerations weight against Toulmin. Firstly, Dr. John Pye Smith's sermon on the occasion of Lavington Rooker's funeral is clear that the ejected William Ball was among Lavington's forebears. Secondly — and this clinches the matter — Urwick names the first five of Nathanael Ball's thirteen children, born between 1652 and 1658 and registered at Barley (Herts.), and there is no John among them, yet our John was born in 1654. See J. Pye Smith, *The Presence of God in Death. A sermon preached at the Old Gravel Pit Meeting-House in Hackney, April 11th 1824, on the occasion of the much lamented death of Mr. Lavington Rooker* [1824], 25; William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts.* (1884), 738 n.

94. For letters of Whitefield concerning this marriage see L. Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, ii. 402-403.

95. William Ball, William Shepherd and William Yeo are in *Calamy Rev.* and *FAE*. John Ball is in *DNB*, where his father is wrongly said to be Nathanael — see note 93. John Lavington, father and son, are in *DNB*. Calamy gives Shepherd as an after-conformist, who eventually resigned his living in 1689, and became the nonconformist minister first at Oundle, then at Kettering.

1795 Samuel Rooker had assisted Lavington at Bideford; he succeeded him as pastor in 1807, and remained there until his death.⁹⁶ He was succeeded at Bideford by the Rev. John Edwards of Blackburn and Exeter Academies, at whose ordination on 2 October 1833 William Rooker preached.⁹⁷ William had earlier delivered a sermon on the occasion of the death of Samuel Lavington.⁹⁸ William Rooker had become a member of the Bridport church (by now under the charge of James Rooker's successor, the Rev. Peter Fabian⁹⁹) at the age of fourteen. He trained for the ministry under Thomas Reader at Taunton, and after serving village churches around Chalfont, Buckinghamshire (1792-96), he removed to Tavistock, where he remained for nearly fifty years (1796-1848). On 1st June 1810 he married Elizabeth Angas of Bridport at St. Mary's, Bridport. He retired to Plymouth, where he died on 9 April 1852, and was buried in Plymouth cemetery on 14 April. His friend Eliezer Jones preached the funeral sermon at Norley chapel, Plymouth, his theme being, 'Voices from the Dead'.¹⁰⁰

That William Rooker followed in the Calvinistic steps of his fathers is clear from a 'counter' sermon preached by Joshua Toulmin of Taunton. It appears that a sermon published by Rooker on Jude verse 3 prompted Toulmin to take the same text. His sermon was published, and to it he appended a twenty-nine-paged letter to Rooker. He explains that he took the same text as Rooker because the latter's sermon 'appeared to me rather an application of the words to some preconceived notions of faith and of zeal for it, than an attempt to explain their design, and ascertain what were the ideas of the apostle'. Toulmin objects to 'the *air of infallibility* visible through all the composition', and to the fact that Rooker's congregation were not invited to test their minister's remarks by the scriptures. Rooker wrongly lays down as essentials the very doctrines over which Christendom is divided: particular election, the Trinity, original sin, justification by the righteousness of Christ alone — a righteousness which is imputed to us. Toulmin finds the gospels — and Philip Doddridge — silent on these doctrines *considered as essentials*. He is saddened by the way in which Rooker treats those who differ from him: 'How can you, or I venture to judge a brother, or set at nought a brother?' and concludes by addressing Rooker's congregation. Did they judge their minister's sermon by the scriptures before requesting its publication? They must view matters from all sides: 'Why have you reason, unless you exercise it about the study of God's will?' He concludes: 'May you, Sir, and I, and the respective people to whom we minister, be lead into all truth, and find acceptance and mercy with our common Lord and judge at his coming!' There speaks temperate Arian-Presbyterianism.

96. *EM* (1832), 404. For Lavington's ordination charge see Cheshunt College Collection, B2/11. For Samuel Lavington see *EM* (1807), 323; (1834), 113; *CM* (1818), 57f, 113f; (1825), 275; *CHSTv*. 214.

97. *EM* (1834), 112.

98. *EM* (1807), 323.

99. For Fabian (d. 1786) see Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 54; *CHSTv*. 214; xii. 191; G. F. Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge*, nos. 1246, 1332, 1351. For a letter of Fabian to Mercy Doddridge (25 Apr. 1756) see New College MSS, DWL, LI/5/138.

100. For Jones (1809-1883) see *EM* (Dec. 1858) portrait; *CHST*, x. 286; xvi. 110; J. Rees and J. Thomas, *Hanes Eglwys Annibynol Cymru* (1871-1875), i. 323; ii. 59; E. Pan Jones, *Oriel Coleg Presbyteriaidd Caerfyrddin* (1909), 43; John Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk* (1877), 385; T. J. Hosken, *Congregationalism in Suffolk* (1920), 108; *CYB* (1884), 301-3.

101. See J. Toulmin, *The manner of contending for the Faith considered in a Sermon Preached at Taunton . . . To which is subjoined A letter to the Reverend Mr. Rooker, occasioned by his Sermon on the same Subject, lately published* (1771). For Toulmin see *DNB*.

William Rooker's Calvinistic predestinarianism did not, it must be emphasised, prevent his evangelistic labours. In this respect he was in Whitefield's line. He had not long been at Tavistock before a new chapel was required to accommodate the increasing congregation; and double galleries were subsequently added. In turn this building became too small, and a new chapel replaced it in 1820. After a fire of 1832 almost completely destroyed the building it was rebuilt debt-free. Rooker established the first Sabbath school in Devon and, in 1797, he co-operated with fellow ministers in the Exeter Calvinistical Association in launching the Devon and Cornwall home mission. His own efforts in this connection resulted in the formation of the church at Beeralston. Rooker's breadth of vision and evangelistic zeal are further shown by his association with those who founded the London Missionary Society in 1795.

Of the next generation of Rookers we may speak but briefly. Samuel's son Lavington died on 1 April 1824 at the age of nineteen and a half years. He was at the time in training for the ministry at Homerton College under Dr. John Pye Smith, who delivered the funeral sermon.¹⁰² Samuel's second son, Samuel Lavington, died after a six-year illness on 16 June 1831. His uncle William, preaching on 26 June on the text, 'It is good for a man, that he bear the yoke in his youth' (Lam. iii. 27), declared that 'sanctified affliction in youth is a blessing, because it fits for death whenever it may occur. He who is born of God is prepared for an earlier, or a later removal'.¹⁰³ As for William's children: William died in 1825; and Alfred, who wrote and lectured on historical and literary themes, and was well-known in Devonshire Congregational circles, died in 1875. Best known is Elizabeth, who married T. Edgcumbe Parson of Plymouth. She wrote a number of (mainly children's) hymns, of which 'Jesus, we love to meet' appears to have been the most durable.¹⁰⁴

V

Our story is all but ended. We have charted the stormy political and theological background in Walsall out of which James Rooker emerged. We have traced something of the influence of the Rooker family both within Walsall and further afield. We have seen how, with the marriages of Samuel Rooker to Sarah Lavington, and of Martha Rooker to James Small, the Rookers became part of a line of dissenting ministers stretching back to the Great Ejection. That this wider family made a significant contribution to ministerial training is clear from the fact that John Lavington educated eighteen students; James Rooker, twenty; and James Small, fifty-three — a total of ninety-one.¹⁰⁵ We have speculated that Walsall's ubiquitous Hill Top may have made a financial contribution to this work.

102. See note 93; also *EM*(1824), 523.

103. W. Rooker, *The benefit of early affliction; a discourse delivered at Bideford June 26th 1831, on the occasion of the death of Samuel Lavington Rooker, Son of the Rev. Samuel Rooker of Bideford [1831]*, 25. An appendix gives extracts from the deceased's diary and papers.

104. For Elizabeth see *DNB*; *DH*.

105. H. McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts*, 12. When Small resigned on health grounds in 1828 the sole remaining student was placed in the care of Samuel Rooker of Bideford. See J. Charteris Johnstone, 'The story of Western College', *CHSTvu*. 98-109. In this article James Small is wrongly named Samuel.

The records of Bridge Street Congregational Church, Walsall, make it clear that the Rookers continued in active association with that church. John Rooker, elected a deacon on 4 November 1802, is the leading signatory (out of twenty-one) to an indenture dated 31 July 1824 concerning the use of land and premises for public worship 'by a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters who adhere to the principles and doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith (and) Catechisms and to the Plan which is made use of by Churches of such Independent Persuasion . . .' There is no relaxation of things Calvinistic here! John Rooker is involved in further property documents dated 16 August 1834, 20 December 1835 and 8 November 1836. By this time, however, John had, for no discoverable reason, resigned on 21 October 1833 both as a deacon and as a church member. His daughters Elizabeth and Kezia 'withdrew by desire' on the same day. They were readmitted to membership, however, on 29 June 1849, and were parties to a trust document of 26 April 1853, as was their sister Priscilla, wife of William Sleigh. Elizabeth died on 6 October 1865 aged eighty-four, Kezia on 28 January 1876, aged eighty-three. When John resigned in 1833 he was the sole surviving deacon. No Rookers appear on the diaconate elected on 5 September 1834. As for other Rookers: James removed to America; Andrew and Mary withdrew from church membership on 30 January 1798, and Mary did likewise on 2 January 1807. Between 1786 and 1837 twenty-nine Rooker infants are recorded, eleven of whom were the children of James and Mary; nine of Joseph and Elizabeth; four of John and Sarah; three of James and Lettice (the younger generation); and one each of Samuel and Esther and Joseph and Mary.¹⁰⁶

Of the Rookers who are best known to us we may say that they were strong men. They were undeflected by what they regarded as false doctrine; undaunted by riot; unafraid of death. No doubt they sometimes exhibited the angularity of the utterly convinced. This, at least is how it seemed to Joshua Toulmin; and Job Orton wrote of a supply minister, 'Mr. Parminter . . . was a pupil of Mr. Rooker, but has nothing of his narrowness . . .'¹⁰⁷ For all that, their Calvinistic doctrine did not quench their evangelistic zeal.

James Rooker the minister and father of ministers suffered a paralytic stroke in 1779, and in the following year he died, 'leaving a high reputation for superior learning and ardent attachment to evangelical truth, which exposed him to much reproach from those who were fierce for moderation'.¹⁰⁸ Among his last words were these:

I have the exercise of a strong faith, through Christ. Free grace, free grace is all my support. My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever . . . These truths of the gospel which I have maintained in the course of my ministry, are the only foundation now, on a dying bed, for my soul to rest upon — and they appear so exceedingly precious, in the immediate views of eternity, and so substantial, that I venture the whole weight of my soul thereon, and I cannot make a greater venture.

106. See the Bridge Street Church Book.

107. See Job Orton's *Letters to Dissenting Ministers*, ed. Samuel Palmer (1806), ii. 19: a letter to John Hughes dated 13 Sept. 1780.

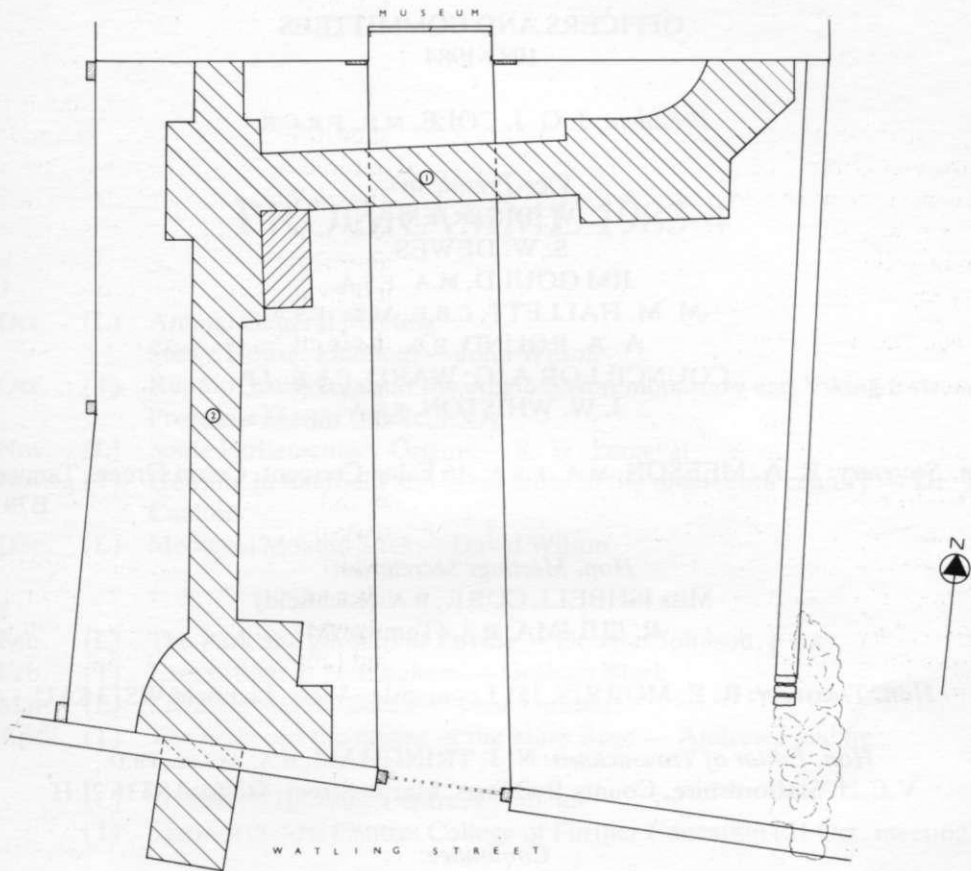
108. Bogue and Bennett, *Hist. of Dissenters*, iv. 274-275; see Sibree and Caston, *Independency in Warws.*, 167 for a further tribute to James Rooker.

109. J. Pye Smith, *The Presence of God in Death*, appendix, 23-24. By his will dated 7 Dec. 1799 Rooker left property to his daughters Martha and Mary; and £750 in trust for his children by Sarah, the trust to be administered by Samuel Buncombe and William Burd Evans, Mercer, both of Ottery St. Mary. Sarah, who was left the Bridport house and the residue after expenses, is nominated the sole executrix. Her will, of 1816, is at PRO.

THE WALSALL RIOTS

Abbreviations used in notes:

<i>Calamy Rev.</i>	A. G. Matthews, <i>Calamy Revised</i> (1934)
<i>CHST</i>	Congregational Historical Society, <i>Transactions</i> .
<i>CM</i>	<i>Congregational Magazine</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Christian Reformer</i>
<i>CYB</i>	<i>Congregational Year Book</i>
<i>DH</i>	J. Julian, <i>A Dictionary of Hymnology</i> (2nd edn., 1907)
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>DWL</i>	Dr. Williams's Library, London
<i>EM</i>	<i>Evangelical Magazine</i>
<i>FAE</i>	A. Gordon, <i>Freedom After Ejection</i> (1917)
<i>HLRO</i>	House of Lords Record Office
<i>LJRO</i>	Lichfield Joint Record Office
<i>PDM</i>	<i>Protestant Dissenter's Magazine</i>
<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office, London
<i>SHC</i>	<i>Staffordshire Historical Collections</i>
<i>UHST</i>	Unitarian Historical Society, <i>Transactions</i>
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>



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PROGRAMME 1983-4

1983

- 7 Oct. (L) Annual General Meeting
Stowe House, Lichfield — John Wilson
- 21 Oct. (T) Repton: excavations at the Anglo-Saxon monastery and Viking fortress —
Professor Martin Biddle, F.S.A.
- 4 Nov. (L) Some Parliamentary Origins — R.W.Perceval
- 18 Nov. (T) Housing in Sheffield and other cities in the nineteenth century — Dr. Tim
Caulton
- 2 Dec. (L) Medieval Moated Sites — David Wilson

1984

- 3 Feb. (L) The Park and gardens at Enville — Douglas Johnson, F.S.A.
- 17 Feb. (T) Excavations at Nottingham — Graham Black
- 2 Mar. (L) Lichfield and its diocese — Ann Dornier
- 20 April (T) The finds and the raising of the Mary Rose — Andrew Fielding
- (L) St. Mary's Heritage Centre, Lichfield
- (T) Tamworth Arts Centre; College of Further Education (21 Oct. meeting)