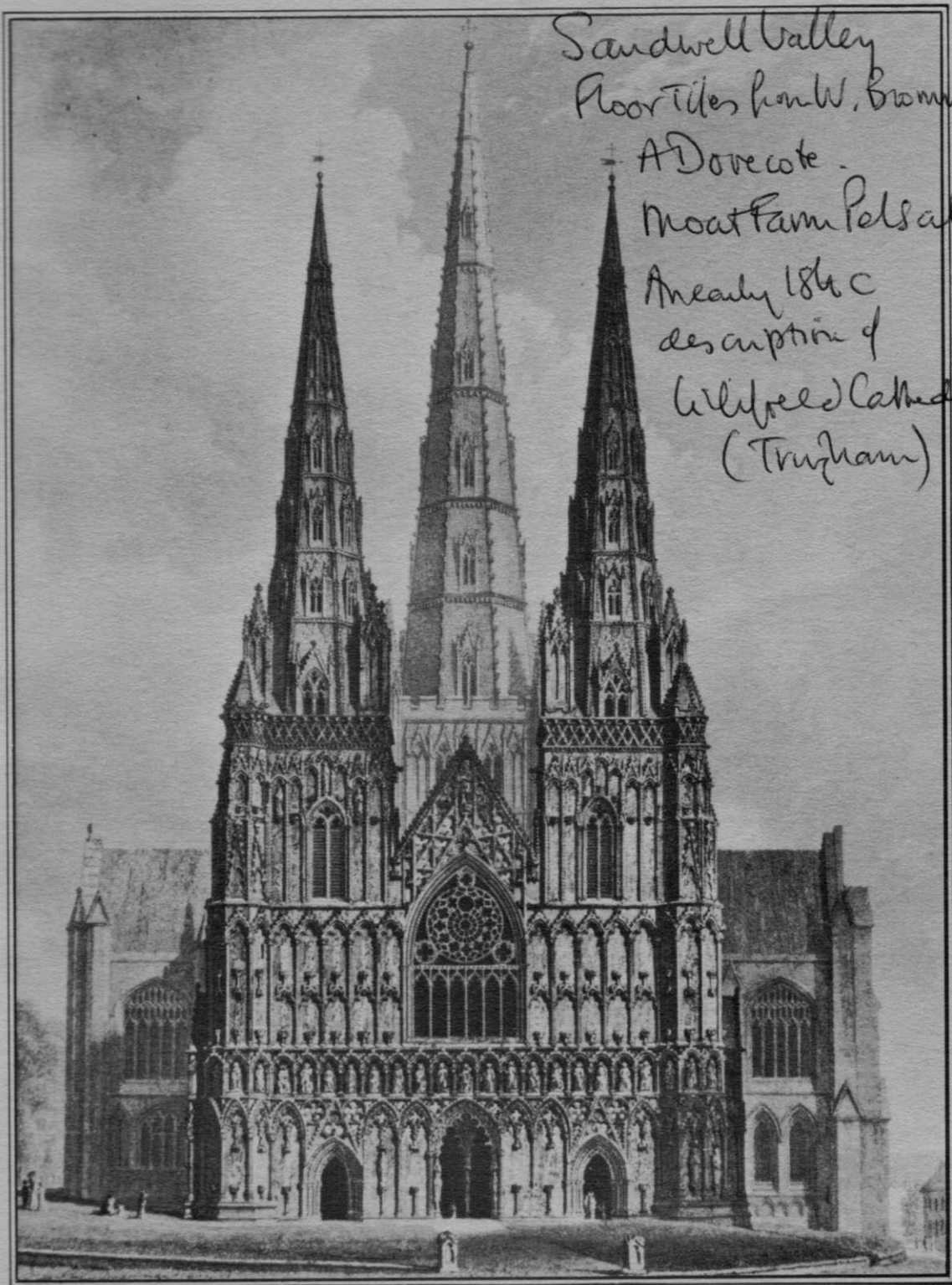


Origins of "Lichfield"

Sandwell Valley
Floor Tiles from W. Bromwich.
A Dovecote.
Moat Farm Pelsall
A nearly 18th c
description of
Lichfield Cathedral
(Tringham)



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'LICHFIELD' AND 'ST. AMPHIBALUS': THE STORY OF A LEGEND

DOUGLAS JOHNSON

'Et apres tout, quelle que soit la position des historiens, chaque lecteur n'est-t-il pas toujours libre, au fond de son coeur, de preferer la Legende ou le Mythe a l'Histoire? L'essentiel est qu'il en soit conscient.'

Jacques Poucet, *Les origines de Rome: Tradition ethistoire* (Brussels, 1985), 314.

Nowadays all discussion of the etymology of the place-name 'Lichfield' goes back, wittingly or unwittingly, to the work of the eminent philologist Henry Bradley (1845-1923). In a short article published in *The Academy* in 1886, he propounded the theory that 'Lichfield' was an Anglo-Celtic hybrid. The second element in the name was the Old English *feld*. That had long been recognised. Bradley, however, was the first to point out that the first element was Celtic — the toponym *Luitcoit*, 'grey wood', already known, in its Latin version, as the name of the Roman station at Wall. In a further short note published in 1889 Bradley amplified his theory.¹ The theory is now generally accepted, and the only disputes that arise are over its interpretation. When and in what circumstances was 'Lichfield' coined? What is the historical significance of the survival and absorption of the Celtic name, and what in fact did *Luitcoit* mean to the English who coined the name 'Lichfield'? Did they think of it as an area, and if so what kind of an area, or was it a place, and if so which place? Furthermore, what did *feld* mean to them? Was 'Lichfield' one of those toponyms that began as an area-name and then became a settlement-name?² Such disputes ultimately rest on Bradley's work. But perhaps they are too abstruse. At the end of his first article Bradley expressed the fear that, in spite of all he could say, some people would go on affirming that 'Lichfield' means 'field of corpses'.³ His fears were justified; but he was, after all, trying to dethrone an etymology that had flourished for more than six centuries.

The popular etymology of 'Lichfield', which maintains that the first element of the name is derived from the Old English *lie* (Middle English *lich*), 'a corpse', first comes to light in the mid 13th century. It may have been older — as has been pointed out, fanciful etymologies for perfectly ordinary Old English place-names were not unknown even before the Conquest,⁴ and in the case of 'Lichfield' the memory of *Luitcoit* had probably vanished long before the Conquest, leaving the origin of the place-name a mystery. Antiquarian speculation on the meaning of the name may even have been partly responsible for the emergence in the 12th century of the modern spelling of the name.

The earliest known spellings, variations on *Lyccidfelth* and *Lyccitfeld*, occur in the 8th century.⁵ They were still echoed in the 1120s by William of Malmesbury's *Licetfeld* and

1. H. Bradley, 'Etocetum or Letocetum?' *Academy*, 30 October 1886; 'The Etymology of "Lichfield"', *Academy*, 9 November 1889; *Collected Papers* (1928), 117-19 (slightly shortened versions of the two *Academy* articles).
2. For a discussion of some of these matters and a survey of the literature, see the account of Lichfield in *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, xi v (forthcoming).
3. *Academy*, 30 October 1886. The sentence was omitted when the article was reprinted in *Collected Papers*.
4. Dorothy Whitelock, 'The English Place-Name Society 1923-1973', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, v (1973), 6.
5. *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave, 30, 50; *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, i, 207, 350; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, 336, 558.

Licetfeld.⁶ Domesday Book gives *Licefelle* and *Lecefelle*.⁷ *Licefeld* was probably used at Lichfield itself in the 1140s,⁸ and variations on that are found in documents written in Ireland until at least the end of the 12th century.⁹ The future lay, however, with a different spelling: *Lichefeld*, also used in the 1120s by William of Malmesbury.¹⁰ The royal clerks preferred that form, or the variants *Lichesfeld* and *Licheffeld*.¹¹ By the early 13th century *Lichefeld* (*Lichesfeld*, *Licheffeld*) had triumphed. To an English-speaker it must have seemed obvious that the name was derived from the word *lich*. Some sort of explanation was, however, desirable. As we shall see, the people of Lichfield seem to have been unable or unwilling to provide anything more than a rather vague suggestion. To compensate for local people's lack of imagination, however, the curious were offered a picturesque, not to say bizarre, story that spread from, and perhaps originated at, the Hertfordshire abbey of St. Albans. The story linked Lichfield with the legend of St. Alban, traditionally the first British martyr.

Nothing is known of the historical St. Alban apart from his name.¹² The date and circumstances of his martyrdom remain a mystery, and its site has been disputed. Until the 12th century all that was written about the saint came from three sources: a *Passio* of St. Alban, a work of hagiography, not history, partly composed of motifs taken from the lives of other saints, existing in three versions, and probably originally written at Auxerre (France) in the early 6th century; the monk Gildas, writing in the 6th century and making use of a version of the *Passio*; and Bede (d. 731), who based his account of Alban's martyrdom on Gildas and the *Passio*. The story they tell is simple. During a time of persecution (under the Emperor Septimius Severus, according to the *Passio*; under the Emperor Diocletian conjectures Gildas; under Diocletian states Bede, followed by all later authors) Alban, a pagan inhabitant of Verulamium, the modern St. Albans, gave refuge to a fugitive Christian priest. Impressed by the priest's teachings, he became a convert, and when the priest's whereabouts were betrayed to the authorities he helped him to escape by exchanging clothes with him. Wearing the priest's cloak (*caracalla*), Alban was arrested and interrogated; he proclaimed that he was a Christian, and as a result was put to death outside the town walls. Various miracles accompanied his death. The name of the priest (probably a fictitious character) who converted Alban is not given in any of these early sources, and his subsequent fate is not mentioned. Gildas, followed by Bede, records that about the same time as Alban's martyrdom two other Christians, Julius and Aaron, were also martyred, not at St. Albans, but at Caerleon on Usk (Mon.).

By 429 there was a church, almost certainly at St. Albans, in which Alban's relics were enshrined. Bede stated that in his day the shrine at St. Albans was well frequented. Several centuries later, however, the monks of St. Albans told a different story. According to them,

6. William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (Rolls Series), 16,41,68,216,277,307-8,311; William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* (Rolls Series), ii. 352-3.

7. *VCHStaffs.* iA2-3.

8. *Worcester Cartulary*, ed. R. R. Darlington (Pipe Roll Society, IMS. xxxviii), p. 102.

9. *Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland* (Rolls Series), 5,15,18.

10. William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum*, i. 79,85,100.

11. See e.g. *Staffordshire Historical Collections* (Staffs. Record Society) [hereafterS/ZC], i. 3,38,53,108,115,121; ii(1),30,43,57,59,101.

12. For this and the next three paragraphs see, unless otherwise stated, W. Levison, 'St. Alban and St. Albans', *Antiquity*, xv (1941), 337-59. For the *Passio* see W. Meyer, 'Die Legende des h. Albanus, des Protomartyr Angliae, in Texten vor Beda', *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philol.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge viii (Berlin, 1904), 1-82.

the shrine had been abandoned long before Bede, at the time of the English invasions. The saint's tomb had remained neglected and deserted until 793, when the Mercian King Offa, accompanied by the archbishop of Lichfield, was led to it by a vision.¹³ The king then erected a shrine and a church, and founded a monastery, which he richly endowed. Offa's work was in fact probably more modest, limited to a translation of the saint's relics, the repair or rebuilding of an existing church, and the establishment of a modestly-endowed monastic community. Nevertheless, that did not inhibit future chroniclers at St. Albans from exalting their royal founder. It may also have aroused in them an interest in Lichfield.

The story of St. Alban remained untouched until well after the Conquest; nobody possessed, or claimed to possess, any information about the martyr that was not in Bede. Then, in the 12th century, came new and startling developments. About 1139 the Welsh chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth produced his *History of the Kings of Britain*, a masterly blend of fact and fantasy that was to bedevil the writing of British history for over five centuries. In his *History* Geoffrey created a St. Amphibalus, said that he had been the abbot of a monastery at Winchester, and identified him with the unnamed priest of the Alban story. It has long been accepted that neither Amphibalus nor his Winchester church ever existed; the only, mild, disagreements among 20th-century historians have been over the question of how Geoffrey came to apply the name to the priest (also, it must be remembered, probably fictitious) who converted Alban.¹⁴ Once Geoffrey had produced the name matters were taken further at St. Albans. William of St. Albans, a monk of the abbey, wrote for Abbot Simon (1167-83) a new and more elaborate story of St. Alban, which included the career and martyrdom of the saint's instructor St. Amphibalus. William claimed that he was producing no more than a Latin version of an old English book, but the claim can be dismissed as a pious fiction; he admitted that he took Amphibalus's name from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and it must be emphasized that what he was writing was not history but hagiography. According to his version of the story, Amphibalus went north after he parted from Alban. Alban was martyred, but only after an imprisonment of six months, marked by a great drought. On the night after his martyrdom a light shone from his tomb, astonishing the citizens of Verulamium. A thousand of them set out to seek Amphibalus, whom they eventually found in Wales, preaching to a great multitude. The thousand were converted and were baptized. When that news reached Verulamium, the remaining inhabitants were infuriated and decided to wreak vengeance on Amphibalus and their renegade fellow-citizens. They set out in pursuit, found the converts in Wales with Amphibalus, and slaughtered all the thousand save one. Amphibalus was taken back to Verulamium and martyred. Meanwhile, the souls of the nine hundred and ninety-nine martyrs ascended to heaven and, thanks to the prayers of Amphibalus, their mangled bodies were made whole again, watched over by an eagle and a

13. For this episode see Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), i. 356-61; *Matthaei Paris Monachi Historia Major*, ed. W. Wats (1684), 983-7; R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (1958; reprinted 1976), 189-94.
14. J. S. P. Tatlock, 'St. Amphibalus', *University of California Publications in English*, iv (1934), 249-57, 268-70. Alban was wearing the priest's *caracalla* when he was arrested, and the suggestion used to be that *amphibalus*, which also means 'cloak', had been added as a gloss in a MS. of Gildas, had become misplaced, and had been taken to be the priest's name. It is now generally accepted that a faulty MS. reading in a totally unconnected passage in Gildas (two boys killed *sub sancto abbate amphibalo* instead of *sub sancti abbatis amphibalo*) gave Geoffrey his saint, whom he then attached to Alban.

wolf, and their spilt blood was turned to milk.¹⁵ It was probably soon after the production of this detailed narrative that, in 1178, St. Alban himself appeared in a vision to a pious inhabitant of St. Albans and led him to Redbourn, 4½ miles north-west of St. Albans; there, said the saint, Amphibalus had been martyred and there his remains lay buried. Responding to the vision, the monks of St. Albans excavated the site — in fact, a prehistoric burial mound — and found the bones of Amphibalus, which were carried off to join those of his disciple, St. Alban, in the abbey church. The abbey established a cell on the site at Redbourn.

The 'discovery' of Amphibalus's bones closed the first stage of the Alban-Amphibalus story, a stage inspired by Geoffrey of Monmouth's fertile imagination. It was, however, only the beginning of a process of elaboration and exaggeration that was to continue at St. Albans for the next two or three centuries. The early versions of Alban's martyrdom had given no indication that he was a man of particular distinction in Verulamium, but William of St. Albans made him steward of the city. Later accounts provide complete and prestigious biographies for both Alban and Amphibalus: Alban is son of the lord of Verulamium, and the emperor makes him steward of all Britain and leader of its knights, whilst Amphibalus is son of a Welsh prince, learned in Latin, Gallic, Greek, and Hebrew, and is sent by Pope Zepherinus to convert Britain.¹⁶

The foregoing may seem far removed from Lichfield. The newly revealed St. Amphibalus had been named, his passion and miracles had been described, the site of his martyrdom had been revealed, and his relics had been found and were being venerated. The hagiographer William of St. Albans had accomplished his task — the glorification of his saint and of his abbey, and the production of a tidy story. Nevertheless, he left one matter unresolved — the site of the massacre of the nine hundred and ninety-nine converts from Verulamium. He was vague about that: Amphibalus had gone north after leaving Alban, and the pagans had slaughtered his converts somewhere in Wales. The site of such a mass martyrdom was obviously to be sought out as a holy place. It was eventually found; not in Wales, however, but at Lichfield.

Lichfield seems to owe its involvement to Matthew Paris (c. 1200-1259), the most distinguished of the St. Albans chroniclers. Matthew had a deep love for his monastery and a great pride in its saints and its traditions, and he accepted the Amphibalus story unquestioningly. He was also interested in etymology.¹⁷ Somehow, towards the end of his life, a mixture of historical curiosity, devotion to Alban and Amphibalus, and fascination with words led him to consider the place-name 'Lichfield'. He had already treated the story of the massacre of the converts several times. His writings, for example, include a French poem, *La Vie de Seint Auban*. It is basically a translation of the work of William of St. Albans, and in it Matthew duly places the massacre in Wales: the future converts find Amphibalus 'en Wales prechant' and the pagan persecutors are ordered 'k'en Wales tuit aillent sanz targer' to seek them out.¹⁸ The date of the poem, which survives only in Matthew's autograph copy,

15. William's account is printed in *Acta Sanctorum* xxv (*Junii* 5) (Paris, 1867), 129-38. For the popular hagiographical motif of martyrs' blood turning to milk, see H. Delahaye, *Les Passions des Martyrs* (Brussels, 1921), 298-9.

16. See e.g. the 14th-century *Tractatus de Nobilitate, Vita et Martirio Sanctorum Albani et Amphibali*, printed, with some errors, in John Lydgate, *Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*, ed. J. E. van der Westhuizen (Leiden, 1974), 277-85.

17. For a full survey of the chronicler's life and work see Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*.

18. [Matthew Paris], *La Vie de Seint Auban*, ed. A. R. Harden (Anglo-Norman Text Soc. xix, 1968), 31, 36.

with his illustrations, has been disputed; it may have been written out and illustrated in the 1230s but composed earlier,¹⁹ or it may perhaps be one of his last works.²⁰ Certainly it did not incorporate Matthew's final thought on the story, which was that the massacre had in fact taken place at Lichfield.

Against the description of the massacre in his copy of William of St. Albans's work, Matthew added a marginal note: *Hoc apud Lichefeld evenit. Inde Lichfeld dicitur quasi campus cadaverum. Lich enim Anglice cadaver sive corpus mortui dicitur.* ('This happened at Lichfield. Whence it is called "Lichfield", as it were, "field of corpses". For "Lich" in English means a corpse or the body of a dead person.')

²¹ No earlier identification of the site of the massacre with Lichfield has yet been found, and the reason for Matthew's choice remains obscure. Among his known informants were Alexander Stavensby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Richard, bishop of Bangor (d. in or before 1267), and John Mansel, one of Henry III's councillors. The source of the Lichfield story is unlikely to have been Stavensby: he died in 1238, which would have given Matthew over twenty years in which to have worked the exciting new information into something more than a mere marginal note. Mansel apparently lent Matthew a book containing an elaborated version of the legend of St. Alban, but it has not been identified.²² Another of Matthew's notes suggests that it may have been the bishop of Bangor who aroused or re-aroused his interest in the site of the mass martyrdom: those who wished to learn more about St. Amphibalus, wrote Matthew, would find information in the *antiqua scripta* of Lichfield and Bangor cathedrals.²³ The *antiqua scripta* of Lichfield cathedral were almost certainly an illusion; there appears to have been no tradition of historical or hagiographical writing at Lichfield before Matthew's time²⁴ and, as will be seen, there was no interest at the cathedral in Amphibalus or the massacre. Probably the identification was in fact Matthew's own work. He was interested in etymologies, and the *lie* or *lich* etymology for 'Lichfield' may already have been current at Lichfield (see below). Lichfield lay on the main road north from St. Albans, the route presumably imagined to have been taken by the fugitive Amphibalus and the two groups from Verulamium. It could be considered to lie on the borders of Wales; or, possibly, Matthew may have finally decided that the *Wallia* of William of St. Albans's account, the word that he himself had translated as 'Wales', was in fact Wall — Wall, with its substantial Roman remains, standing on Watling Street just south of Lichfield. The St. Albans historical tradition, moreover, encouraged a favourable view of Lichfield. The church of Lichfield had, like the monastery of St. Albans, been greatly favoured by King Offa and, as we have seen, the St. Albans historians said that it had been Offa and the archbishop of Lichfield who had discovered St. Alban's neglected grave.²⁵ A further link between Lichfield and the martyr may have seemed to Matthew both fitting and probable.

19. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 177-8; La *Vie de Saint Auban*, pp. xv-xvii.

20. As argued by Florence McCulloch, 'Saints Alban and Amphibalus in the Works of Matthew Paris', *Speculum*, lvi(1981), 761-85.

21. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 195-6.

22. *Ibid.* 14-15, 196.

23. T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (Rolls Series), i(1), 17. The bishop of Bangor was present at the 'discovery' of St. Alban's tomb in 1257: *Matt. Paris Hist. Major*, ed. Wats, 809.

24. See e.g. *VCH Staffs.* iii. 151.

25. *Matt. Paris Hist. Major*, ed. Wats, 983-7; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 41-8, 89-90, 189-94.

Matthew's reputation and the prestige of the St. Albans historians gave his deduction, if it was indeed his, a long life. Lichfield was said to be the site of the mass martyrdom in a *Tractatus de Nobilitate, Vita et Martirio Sanctorum Albani et Amphibali* copied at St. Albans in the late 14th century, and in John Lydgate's long poem *Saint Alban and Saint Amphibalus*, commissioned by John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Albans, completed in 1439, and printed in 1534.²⁶ The Warwick antiquary John Rous (d. 1491) repeated the story, basing himself on books and pictures at St. Albans. The more notable antiquary John Leland (d. 1552) preserved Rous's account, and from Leland (who, ironically, thought that the massacre had taken place at Caerleon) it passed into the mainstream of English antiquarian writing: it was noted by John Stow (d. 1605) and by William Camden (d. 1623), whose *Britannia* helped to give the story of a massacre of Christians at Lichfield a wider readership. It was again versified: in *Poly-Olbion* Michael Drayton (d. 1631) told how a thousand saints whom Amphibalus had taught 'Were slain where Lichfield is, whose name doth rightly sound, / There of those Christians slain, dead field, or burying ground.'²⁷

By Drayton's time the story was finally being taken seriously at Lichfield. Things had not always been so. The *lie* or *lich* etymology had probably been current in the city since at least the 13th century. A manuscript fragment dealing with the topography of Lichfield and the cathedral close survived among the cathedral muniments in the 17th century, but has since been lost. It was almost certainly compiled in the mid or later 13th century, probably at Lichfield. It claimed that the city was named 'Lichfield' because once upon a time (*olim*) a battle had been fought there; the city took its name from the corpses. (*Civitas Lichfeldensis olim ex bello de liches nominata fuit.*)²⁸ The statement is very vague; it seems clear that the writer had no specific battle in mind and was merely using popular etymology to provide what he thought was a plausible explanation why a city should be called 'field of corpses'. In fact, it is quite likely that in the 7th century a battle involving a prince of Powys had taken place at or near Lichfield,²⁹ but its circumstances remain obscure, and there is no evidence whatsoever that anything was known of it in 13th-century Lichfield. The topographer was obviously not referring to it. Certainly he was not referring to the legend of St. Amphibalus and the mass martyrdom. In medieval Lichfield, as at medieval Winchester,³⁰ St. Amphibalus aroused little or no interest. The story of the mass martyrdom is not mentioned in any of the surviving medieval Lichfield chronicles or in Leland's account of the city,³¹ and there is no evidence of any cult of the 'Lichfield martyrs' in the cathedral or the city. The

26. Lydgate, *St. Alban and St. Amphibal*, ed. van der Westhuizen; Lydgate, *St. Alban and St. Amphibalus*, ed. G. F. Reinecke (Garland Medieval Texts, 1985).

27. *Leland's Itinerary in England*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, ii (1908), 159 (Rous); B. L. Harleian MS. 247, f. 12 (Stow); W. Camden, *Britannia* (1607 edn.), 440; M. Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, song xxiv (cited by R. Nares, *Glossary* (1822), 285). For Leland's rejection of Rous's story and choice of Caerleon, see J. Leland, *CommentariideScriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. A. Hall (Oxford, 1709), i. 22.

28. The fragment was first printed, apparently from the original MS., by Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, iii (1673 edn.), 219. His version is followed here (without Dugdale's initial capital for 'liches'), although the transcript contains demonstrable errors elsewhere and is evidently not by Dugdale. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (1691), i. 459, printing a copy of a 17th-century transcript of the original MS., reads *olim ex bello Liches*. Again, his copytext contains demonstrable errors.

29. *Academy*, 9 Nov. 1889; J. Gould, 'Letocetum', *Trans. South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, v (1964), 51-4.

30. The Winchester monks seem to have ignored the Amphibalus story until the later 15th century: Tatlock, 'St. Amphibalus', 254, 269 n. 15; DA'S *sub* Rudborne, Thomas (*fl.* 1460).

31. *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, ii. 99-103. For the chronicles see *SHC* 4th ser. xi. 8-9.

Amphibalus story was obviously known at Lichfield: in 1345 the cathedral's rather motley collection of relics included some of his dust (*De pulvere sancti Amphibali*).³² There was, however, nothing significant about that — in 1372 Durham cathedral, which had no connexion whatever with Amphibalus, also possessed some of the martyr's dust³³ — and clearly Amphibalus's alleged local connexions were not taken seriously by the Lichfield cathedral clergy. One would have expected that some interest would have been taken in them during the episcopate of William Heyworth, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield from 1419 to 1447. Heyworth came to the see from St. Albans, where he had been abbot. During the years of his episcopate at Lichfield there was a revival of interest at St. Albans in the cult of St. Amphibalus. In 1429, for the first time, Amphibalus's shrine was carried round St. Albans on St. Alban's day. In 1439 Abbot Whethamstede, wishing to honour Amphibalus, made new rules for the cell at Redbourn, increasing its income and ordering that St. Amphibalus was to be commemorated there in the same way that St. Alban was commemorated in the monastery itself.³⁴ It is possible that Heyworth was at least partly responsible for the renewed interest in Amphibalus: he was a regular visitor to the abbey after becoming a bishop, visited Redbourn with the abbot in 1427, was a benefactor to the abbey, and chose to be buried in the abbey church near the altar of St. Amphibalus.³⁵ At Lichfield, however, he aroused no enthusiasm for the saint. On the contrary, another list of the cathedral's relics, compiled in 1445, did not even mention the dust of St. Amphibalus; it had either been lost since 1345 or was regarded by the compiler of the list as one of those unimportant relics unnecessary to enumerate in detail.³⁶

The restraint of the Lichfield canons in the face of the burgeoning legend may be regarded either as a mark of their sound common sense or as a sign of their lack of business acumen. Lichfield cathedral was only modestly endowed — in 1535 it was the poorest of the English secular cathedrals.³⁷ St. Chad's shrine no doubt brought in a steady income,³⁸ but St. Chad was a saint of only diocesan importance, of whom little was known. His cult would no doubt have flourished if the kingdom of Mercia had survived, and at one time it seems to have been widespread throughout the Midlands. But there was apparently nothing very much to be said about him. A Mercian *Life* adds nothing to Bede's account, and elsewhere Chad seems to have appeared only as a colourless hermit saint in the legend of the princely martyrs Wulfad and Ruffinus, as a stereotype ascetic, and as a vengeful rejected missionary whose curses on stiff-necked pagans explained the fate of the Roman settlement near Alcester.³⁹ Bede remarked on the miracles that occurred at his tomb,⁴⁰ but Chad does not seem to have been noted subsequently as a wonder-worker; just as there was no full-scale *Life*, so there was no collection of miracles. Unlike some other Anglo-Saxon saints Chad was never forgotten, but

32. S//Cvi(2), 199.

33. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum . . . auctore Sancto et Venerabili Baeda*, ed. J. Smith (Cambridge, 1722), 741.

34. John Amundesham, *Annates Montasterii S. Albam* (Rolls Ser.) i. 38; ii. 203-12.

35. Amundesham, *Annates*, i. 12, 15, 17, 31, 50-1, 55, 57, 438; ii. 190-1.

36. Shrewsbury Public Library, MS. 2, f. 94v.

37. *VCHStaffs*, iii. 162.

38. Ibid. 168 gives £400 a year as the income of the shrine in the 1530s, citing *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, x (1887), p. 137. The £400 is, in fact, an estimate made in 1536 of the cathedral's total income.

39. *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. R. Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam, 1953) 12-14; *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (1949), 143 sqq.; *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, ii. 51, 99, 159-60.

40. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 344, 346.

he lacked the prestige of a Cuthbert or a Wulfstan: medieval pilgrims with their gifts never flocked to his shrine in such numbers as were seen at the tombs of newer and more fashionable English saints. Within a few years of Thomas Becket's death, for example, men and women of Chad's diocese were directing their prayers not at Chad but at Becket; it was because of her prayers to Becket, a Lichfield mother claimed, that her son had been miraculously restored to life.⁴¹ On a more everyday note, 'Chad' never became an accepted Christian name even in the diocese: 14th-century tax rolls and the 1539 muster roll reveal no Chads in Staffordshire,⁴² and a list containing some 50,000 named individuals in the archdeaconry of Stafford, compiled in 1532-3, reveals only five Chads — four in Lichfield and one at Burton-upon-Trent.⁴³ There was, therefore, every incentive for the cathedral clergy to take advantage of the massacre legend and to attract the curious and the devout by the 'discovery' of the remains of some new saints — as will be seen, when the martyrs' resting place was seriously sought at least four sites were suggested — but they did not do so.

In the mid 16th century, however, the story of the martyrs was taken up in the city of Lichfield and became a matter of civic pride. The corporation that was formed when the city was granted its first royal charter in 1548 did not assume a conventional coat of arms; instead its first seal, of 1549, depicted the massacre of the Christians at Lichfield.⁴⁴ The motive for the choice remains obscure. The seal of Lichfield's medieval guild of St. Mary had depicted the Virgin and Child, and a 1301 seal of the *communitas* the figure of St. Chad.⁴⁵ The corporation was thus breaking new ground. It was probably anxious to choose a device that would mark, but not too ostentatiously, its break with a religious guild, its independence from the bishop (from whom it had leased the lordship of the manor of Lichfield),⁴⁶ and possibly its Protestant zeal. Any reference to St. Chad might be taken to imply that the city was somehow dependant on the cathedral chapter. More dangerously, it could be politically damaging, if it were interpreted as an implied criticism of Henry VIII's seizure of the treasures of the saint's shrine and of the recent royal order for the removal of statues from churches.⁴⁷ The religious iconography of the guild seal might have been thought to be inappropriate and unfitting for the spirit of the times. The use of the massacre motif, on the other hand, emphasized the city's Christian past, but in a form acceptable to Protestants: the martyrs were further evidence that Christianity had flourished in Britain long before the coming of St. Augustine.⁴⁸ Underlying it all was a growing popular interest in the early history of Britain.⁴⁹

41. See e.g. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), i. 163-4, 221, 246, 276-7, 287, 345-6, 346-7. The last entry is the Lichfield case; the Canterbury monks were suspicious of it.

42. Returns printed in 5//Cvii(1); x(1); xvii; N.S. iv, V, and vi(1); 4th ser. vi.

43. Ibid. 4th ser. viii. 150, 178, 181.

44. William Salt Library, Stafford, S.MS. 413, f. 16v.

45. Guild seal: Lichfield Joint Record Office, D. 77/16/1; Public Record Office, London, E 40/13437. Community seal: Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Ashmole 855, p. 190 (a later 17th-century drawing).

46. T. Harwood, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (Gloucester, 1806), 336.

47. For the destruction of the shrine and the removal of statues see *VCH Staffs.* iii. 168.

48. John Foxe, the martyrologist, seems to have accepted the Amphibalus story, but with some reservations and with regret at 'the admixture of all these abbey-like additions of monkish-miracles': J. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. J. Pratt (1870), i. 259.

49. For the topic see e.g. D. C. Douglas, *English Scholars, 1660-1730* (1951 edn.); T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (1950); J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (San Francisco, 1950).

Later in the 16th century began the process of trying to prove the story correct by appeals to local topography; it has been pointed out that such attempts to give verisimilitude to a hagiographer's fantasies are seductive, even though they are ultimately a waste of time.⁵⁰ In the 1570s a Lichfield canon, William Whitlock, claimed that the martial-sounding Lichfield place-names Boley ('Bow-ley') and Spearhill were evidence that a folk memory of the slaughter had survived into modern times among local people; he added for good measure that the large graveyard of St. Michael's church at Lichfield was said to have been the spot where the martyrs were buried, and that it had been marked as a sacred spot by St. Augustine when he visited the area.⁵¹ In fact, the two place-names probably reflect the wooded nature of the Lichfield neighbourhood in the early Middle Ages: *bola-leah*, 'wood where logs are cut',⁵² and *spere-hyll*, 'spear-shaft hill'.⁵³ The origins of St. Michael's remain obscure, but the story of St. Augustine's visit is a fabrication and Whitlock's motive in suggesting it is suspect — he wanted Lichfield to be one of the earliest centres of Christianity in Britain, and had happily pointed out that it was no more than two or three days' journey from Wells, where, according to legend, Joseph and the Apostle Simon had died.⁵⁴

The massacre remained a feature of civic art in the 17th century. Successive corporation seals bore versions of the 1549 design.⁵⁵ Pictures showing Diocletian's army, and St. Amphibalus preaching to his converts, were painted in the city church of St. Mary in 1630, with four appropriate Latin texts beneath them.⁵⁶ A stone bas-relief with a design reflecting that of the corporation seal was made, apparently in 1677, probably to decorate the guildhall;⁵⁷ its remains now form an ornament in the city's Museum Gardens, off Bird Street.

Topographical details about the massacre continued to be elaborated. In 1686 Dr. Robert Plot, relying on local information, located the martyrdoms north of the city in Elmhurst, at 'a ground call'd Christianfield near Stichbrook'; he added that according to local tradition the pagans responsible for the slaughter came from Wall and not from Verulamium.⁵⁸ The land at Elmhurst occurs in 1365 as *Cristiannsfeld*.⁵⁹ Possibly the name had a religious significance, although Plot seems to have been the first writer to link it to the story of the massacre. On the other hand, it may be relevant that some time before 1257 a Christiana Huntress (*Venatrix*) owned land in Elmhurst and Stichbrook;⁶⁰ the field may have been named after her or a member of her family bearing the same Christian name.

It is evident that local enthusiasm for the massacre story was not confined to the corporation. In 1651 George Fox, the Quaker pioneer, visited the city and had a vision;

50. H. Delehay, *Les Legendes Hagiographiques* (3rd edn., Brussels, 1927), 211-14.

51. H. E. Savage, *The Church Heritage of Lichfield* (Lichfield 1914), 6, 14, printing the relevant passages of Whitlock.

52. Land of *Bolele*, 1215 (Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1527, f. 34v.), field of *Bollele*, later 13th century (Staffordshire Record Office, D. 661/1/561). For the suggested elements see *English Place-Name Society*, xxv. 41; xxvi. 18-21.

53. Land in *Sperehull*, 1472 (LJRO, D. 30/VC, B 73). For the elements see *EPNS* xxv. 274-5; xxvi. 137.

54. Lichfield Cathedral Library, MS. Lichfield 13, pp. 2-3.

55. Bodl. MS. Ashmole 855, p. 190; W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, ii. 105.

56. Bodl. MS. Ashmole 853, f. 85v. The texts are printed in [C. E. Stringer], *A Short Account of the Ancient and Modern State of the City and Close of Lichfield* (Lichfield, 1819), 7.

57. Documents of the Lichfield Conduit Lands Trust, loose account for 1677; URO, D. 77/5/2, f. 52; W. Pitt, *A Topographical History of Staffordshire* (1817), 103.

58. R. Plot, *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686), 398.

59. SRO.D.4566/S, parcel 45, deed of 16 Mar. 1364/5.

60. *SHC* 1924, pp. 207, 320.

blood, it seemed to him, was running through the streets and into the market place. At first he was unsure of the interpretation of what he had seen, but local people told him of the massacre of Amphibalus's converts and all became clear; he realised that what he had seen was the blood of the martyrs.⁶¹

By then, however, the legend of Amphibalus, his martyred converts, and the other accretions that had been added to the story of St. Alban by Geoffrey of Monmouth and later writers had already been denounced as fables. In a book published in 1639 James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, analysed the evidence relating to the martyrdom of St. Alban. He pointed out that 'Amphibalus' was an invented name and offered a plausible explanation for Geoffrey of Monmouth's choice of it. Crushing, he remarked that it was only the people of Lichfield (*Lichfeldenses*) who still believed that the city had been so called because Amphibalus's converts had been slaughtered there.⁶² Ussher's reputation as a scholar was formidable, and his conclusions were rapidly accepted by most antiquaries. There was, nevertheless, a reluctance to abandon the story of Christian martyrdom, despite the fact that the only authority for it was the now discredited Amphibalus legend. The reluctance, as has been seen, was especially strong at Lichfield, and local patriotism sometimes outweighed feelings of scholarly objectivity. Thus, both Thomas Fuller (d. 1661) and Robert Plot knew and cited Ussher's work; but Fuller, whose patrons included Elias Ashmole and Theophilus Biddulph (d. 1683) of Elmhurst, printed the Amphibalus story in his *Church History of Britain* (1655), although with evident reluctance,⁶³ while Plot, as has been seen, used the stories of local informants to embroider the story with yet further topographical detail.

There was a pause in the 18th century. The final topographical elaboration came in the early 19th century. In 1811 John Chappell Woodhouse, dean of Lichfield, and William Newling muddled the waters by asserting that the 'inconvenient' site of Lichfield cathedral had been chosen by the Northumbrian king, Oswy (d. 670) 'as the venerated spot where a large number of Christian Martyrs had suffered death under the Diocletian persecution'. In a circular argument they then urged the alleged inconvenience of the site as 'an additional proof, to those which have been obtained from history, of the truth of this tradition concerning the Christian Martyrs of Lichfield'.⁶⁴ A few years later, in 1816, human and other remains were discovered at Elmhurst during the draining of a meadow called Toad's Hole Piece, which adjoined Christian Field and another field known as 'Hie Films'. C. E. Stringer, a Lichfield artist and antiquary, wrote to the *Lichfield Mercury*, claiming that the finds confirmed the traditional story of a massacre. A letter from Stringer, with his drawings of a few of the objects found at the site, was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1818. He remarked on 'the great number of bones discovered mixed with fragments of pottery and pieces of iron, four feet beneath the surface of the earth', claiming that the mixture of bones, pottery, and weapons 'proves them the reliques of people surprised in their retreat, rather than the remains of a battle; and being upon the spot pointed out by tradition [as the spot where the early Christian converts gathered and where they were massacred], may serve to

61. *Journal of George Fox*, ed. N. Penney (1911 edn.), i. 15-16.

62. J. Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (Dublin, 1639), 147-68, esp. pp. 151 (*caracallalamphibalus*) and 161 (Lichfield).

63. T. Fuller, *Church History of Britain* (1837 edn.), i. 30-5; iii. 505, 508. For Fuller see *DNB*.

64. [J. C. Woodhouse and W. Newling], *A Short Account of Lichfield Cathedral; More particularly of the Painted Glass with which its Windows are adorned* (Lichfield, 1811), 3-4.

rescue the legend [of Amphibalus and the Christian martyrs] from being "consigned to the nursery of papal superstition" as a mere monkish fable'.⁶⁵ In his brief history of Lichfield, published in 1819, Stringer repeated his assertions and added further details, both about the finds (fragments of bone had been scattered over an area of more than half a mile, there was apparently a burial of some kind in a field near Pones Mill, and 'several cart loads' of bones had been found in 'Hie Filius' and Christian Field) and about Amphibalus (in A.D. 289 he had been the first chancellor of Cambridge University, and according to 'the ancient records of free-masonry' he was by birth a Roman and had preached the Christian faith at Caerleon c. 300). Stringer added for good measure that St. Chad had been accustomed to gather his converts in 'Hie Filius' and Christian Field 'as a spot sanctified by the blood of the martyrs'.⁶⁶ Needless to say, his enthusiasm had far outrun his judgement and his evidence. The archaeological finds he records are heterogeneous and their context remains to be determined: a mid 2nd-century Roman stamped mortarium has been identified from his drawings, but so has what was probably a 17th-century halberd.⁶⁷ As for 'Hie Filius' field, recorded as such from 1629,⁶⁸ it is probably a late 16th-century antiquarian coinage prompted by the massacre legend; in the 1570s it was known merely as *Hyckefield* or *Hickefield*.⁶⁹ There is no evidence that St. Chad ever gathered his converts there.

By the early 19th century enthusiasm for the old story such as that shown by Stringer was unusual. Nevertheless, the force of inertia and the tendency of topographers to copy or precisely respected earlier writers was strong, and during the 18th and early 19th century the story of mass Christian martyrdom at Lichfield during Diocletian's persecution continued to be rehearsed in many influential topographical works.⁷⁰ The name of Amphibalus was generally avoided, although without him the massacre legend was meaningless. Dr. Johnson lent the massacre story the weight of his authority: when defining 'lich' in his *Dictionary*, he added as an example '*Lichfield*, the field of the dead, a city in Staffordshire, so named from martyred Christians.'

Two other versions of the *lich* etymology remain. Both hark back to the vague 13th-century story of a battle, and both are to some extent overshadowed by the Amphibalus legend. From the late 17th century there was a variation which merged the 'battlefield' explanation with the theme of a Christian massacre. It apparently arose from a misinterpretation of the civic arms. The corporation seal was taken to represent 'Three slain Kings', an allusion to 'the many Martyr'd Bodies in the Dioclesian Persecution'.⁷¹ The city was said to take its name from the corpses left on the ground after three Christian kings had been defeated by Diocletian in a battle or battles at Lichfield. Borrowcop Hill, it was claimed, was a tumulus marking the

65. P. Morgan, 'C. E. Stringer's collections for the history of Lichfield', *TSSAHS* iv. 37; *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxviii(2), 305 and plate facing (letter and drawings by C. E. S[tringer]).

66. [Stringer], *Short Account of Ancient and Modern State of City and Close of Lichfield*, 3-6, 159.

67. M. O. H. Carver with K. F. Hartley, 'The Archaeology of Early Lichfield: An Inventory', *TSSAHS* xxii. 6-8, wrongly attributing the *Short Account of the City and Close* to Dean Woodhouse. Stringer's remark (*Short Account*, 159n.) that the 'several cart loads' of bones 'were thrown into a marl pit near the spot' seems to refer to the activity of 19th-century workmen, not to the find spot.

68. LJRO, D. 15/10/3/24.

69. SRO, D.(W.) 1734/2/1/612, m. 9;/631.

70. See e.g. Camden, *Britannia* (various edns. to 1806); H. Moll, *A New Description of England and Wales* (1724), 221; S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England* (1831 edn.), iii. 72.

71. J. Ogilby, *Britannia* (1698 edn.), 11.

spot where the ashes of the dead Christians had been buried.⁷² Amphibalus was safely ignored. Although the theory had no basis in fact and no merit apart from that of providing a fanciful explanation for the existence of a burial mound and for the design chosen by a seal engraver, it was mentioned even by writers who favoured alternative etymologies for 'Lichfield'.⁷³ It had the merit of allowing its supporters to have their cake and eat it too.

Finally, there were those who followed the uncomplicated 13th-century derivation and claimed merely that Lichfield took its name from the corpses left after a battle had been fought there. The identity of the combatants was unknown, and there was no question of a Christian massacre. The idea that the name was derived from a battle was reinforced in the 18th century by the mistaken assertion, repeated in the 19th century, that every place-name containing the element *lich* marked a battlefield. Lichfield was thus the site of an otherwise unrecorded battle. Possibly, suggested Dr. Richard Wilkes (d. 1760), the Willenhall antiquary, it had been fought during the years of the Viking invasions.⁷⁴ It seems to have been the idea that there must have been something, somehow, behind so many centuries of guesswork and conjecture that prompted Dean Savage to uncharacteristically rash speculation in March 1914. He pointed out that the *lich* derivation of the city's name was impossible and that the Amphibalus story was a legend; yet he thought that something could be salvaged from the wreck. He proposed that the 'local traditions' cited in the 16th century should be accepted, but in a modified form; what they preserved was a folk-memory of a battle at Lichfield between Celtic Christians and pagan 'Teutonic forces', the 'heathen Angles'. St. Michael's churchyard was the burial place of the British dead, who were later regarded as Christian martyrs. The pagans' westward advance was halted, and they settled no nearer to Lichfield than Repton (Derb.).⁷⁵ Savage was a fine historian, but one feels that in this case he was influenced less by the evidence — a so-called folk-memory that actually amounted only to the etymological speculations of a 16th-century clergyman — than by the atmosphere of patriotic alarm that was being created by Anglo-German rivalry in the years leading up to the First World War. And, despite his rejection of Amphibalus, there still lurked in the background the shades of Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of St. Albans, and Matthew Paris.

72. WSL, S. MS. 302, p. 245; [J. Jackson], *History of the City and County of Lichfield, &c.* (Lichfield, n. d. but 1795), 1, 60, 68, mentioning both battle and massacre, and doubting relevance of Borrowcop; Jackson, *History of the City and Cathedral of Lichfield* (1805), 1, 41-3, elaborating battle story.

73. See e.g. S. Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, i (1798), 343; Harwood, *Lichfield*, 561. For the Neolithic round barrow at Borrowcop Hill see *TSSAHS* xxxh. 15.

74. See e.g. WSL, S. MS. 468, ff. 33-4 (1st nos.), containing Wilkes's speculations; I. Taylor, *Words and Places* (1896, reprinting an edn. of 1873), 202-3. For a dismissal of the 'battlefield' theory see *Jnl. Eng. Place-Name Soc.* v. 7.

75. Savage, *Church History of Lichfield*, 6-7. The mention of Repton, which was the base of a Viking army but not apparently a significant point in the Anglian advance, suggests that he may have been confusing the two invasions.

APPENDIX

'LICHFIELD': SOME OTHER ETYMOLOGIES

In the later 17th century William Somner and others suggested that the first element in 'Lichfield' was ultimately derived from the Old English verb *laeccan*, 'to irrigate'.⁷⁶ The theory, which may have owed something to doubts about the *lich* etymology following the attacks on the Amphibalus legend, offered a rational topographical explanation of the place-name: proponents of the theory pointed out that Lichfield was on a marshy site, and claimed that 'boggy field' would have been a suitable description in pre-Conquest times. Nevertheless, they remained in a minority. Although it was the explanation favoured by Stebbing Shaw and, apparently after some initial reluctance, by Thomas Harwood,⁷⁷ it had few other supporters.⁷⁸ As a Lichfield writer who favoured it explained, it was 'the unromantic and, of course, unpopular derivation'.⁷⁹ It was the derivation chosen and defended in 1902 by W. H. Duignan, even though he had to admit that it did not fit the earliest known spellings of the place-name.⁸⁰ Other derivations were more eccentric. Gilbert Dyer (d. 1820) suggested in 1805 that 'Lichfield' came from Gaelic words meaning 'little lake town',⁸¹ while in 1818 W. R. Whatton (d. 1835) reviewed various suggested Old English etymologies, including 'doctors' field' (leeches' field), before proposing 'fallow field'.⁸²

76. *Chronicon Saxonicum*, ed. E. Gibson (Oxford, 1692), 34 (2nd nos.); 'Part of a Letter from Smart Lethieullier, Esq., to Mr. Gale; concerning the old Roman Roads', *Archaeologia*, i (1770), 57n., citing Somner and Stephen Skinner. For them see *DNB*.
77. Shaw, *Staffs*, i, 231; Harwood, *Lichfield*, 1-3, 515, 561; S. Erdeswick, *A Survey of Staffordshire*, ed. T. Harwood (1844 edn.), 288n.
78. See e.g. G. A. Walpoole, *The New British Traveller* (1784), 100; Walpoole, *The Modern Universal British Traveller* (1794), 116.
79. [J. Rawson], *An Inquiry into the History and Influence of the Lichfield Waters* (Lichfield, 1840), 20.
80. W. H. Duignan, *Notes on Staffordshire Place Names* (1902), 91-5.
81. G. Dyer, *A Restoration of the Ancient Modes of Bestowing Names* (Exeter, 1805), 265-7. For Dyer see *DNB*.
82. W. R. Whatton, 'On the Etymology of Lichfield', *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxviii(2), 513-16. Whatton (for whom see *DNB*) wrongly ascribes the 'doctors' field' derivation to Lydgate.

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A LANDSCAPE SURVEY OF SANDWELL VALLEY, 1982-87

N. R. HEWITT AND M. A. HODDER

SUMMARY

The site of Sandwell Priory and Sandwell Hall lies within a large open space within the West Midlands conurbation now known as Sandwell Valley. The development of the landscape of this area from prehistory to the 20th century is traced, using field survey, documentary research and excavation.

INTRODUCTION

The Sandwell Valley (centre, Nat. Grid Ref. SP 0296) is north-east of West Bromwich town centre (fig. 1); the M5 motorway runs through the centre of the Valley to join the M6 to the north. The Sandwell Valley has an area of c. 800 ha and measures c. 3 km from north to south and c. 3 km from east to west. Present land use is mainly recreational; it contains four golf courses, playing fields, horse-grazed fields and areas of grass and woodland, two working farms, each both arable and stock, and a third farm run as riding stables.

The highest parts of the Sandwell Valley are on its south and west boundaries and in the south-east. From these areas, at just over 500 feet AOD, the land slopes fairly steadily down to the River Tame, which makes a right-angled bend across the north-east part of the Valley.

The rocks outcropping in the Valley are red marls, red and white sandstones and a coarse element of thin bands of pebbly conglomerate and quartzite breccias. The solid geology is overlain by extensive glacial drift, consisting of a stiff red clay with varying amounts of sand and gravel, sometimes mixed together and sometimes interdigitated. In a small area around Sandwell Park Farm the drift consists of well-bedded sands and gravels, and in a field to the east of Hillhouse Farm, in the west of the Valley, it contains appreciable amounts of flint. The drift makes up the higher land around the south-east, south and west of the Valley, with a marked slope at the edge of the deposits. The River Tame has formed an alluvial floodplain across the north-eastern part of the Valley. A large fault, the Sandwell Park Fault with a throw of about 200m, runs north to south across the Valley but does not form a pronounced feature on the surface. Another fault, the Eastern Boundary Fault, cuts across the north-west corner of the Valley, largely concealed by glacial drift. The Productive Coal Measures underlie the whole area, though they only outcrop in a small area near Wigmore Farm in the north. There was one mine in the Valley, the Jubilee Pit (see below) (Hains and Horton 1969; Eastwood *et al* 1925).

The excavation of the site of Sandwell Priory and Sandwell Hall began in 1982, and from the outset the surrounding landscape was studied to trace its development and to assess its future archaeological potential as an aid to future management.

METHODS

Documentary research employed primary and secondary written sources, maps, drawings, photographs, and aerial photographs. The principal primary source for the Sandwell Valley as a whole is the Dartmouth collection in the County Record Office, Stafford. The earliest

large scale maps of the area date from c. 1800; the first reasonably reliable maps date from 1834 onwards. A list of maps consulted is appended below. The aerial photographs consulted were those taken by the R.A.F. in the late 1940s (in County Record Office, Stafford and Department of the Environment, Acton), a local survey of 1969, and surveys of West Midlands County in 1977 and 1980 (copies in Technical Services Department, Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council). All of these are high-altitude vertical photographs taken for planning and mapping purposes rather than for archaeology.

The landscape was recorded in the field in five ways, for each of which a recording card was devised to facilitate uniformity of recording (fig. 2). The *field survey* was intended to make a record of every visible man-made feature without going into great detail, and, from this, specific features could be chosen for closer study. All features were recorded by a written description on the front of the card and an annotated sketch plan on the back. Where land was divided into fields, these were used as the recording unit as far as possible; elsewhere, such as on the golf courses, various landmarks, such as trees and bends in tracks, were used as the boundaries of recording units. A total of 256 units was recorded. On the *landscape survey* cards, particular features and chance finds of objects were each assigned a unique number prefixed 'SV', following on from the numbering of the main excavated sites; 387 features were recorded in this way. The purpose of the *tree survey* was to record the species and location of the older trees and to identify planted exotic species in the gardens of Sandwell Hall. The age of each tree was estimated by measuring its girth at about five feet above the ground. Mitchell (1974) describes the well-known formula of one inch in girth representing a year in age for a free-standing tree with a full crown, and about half an inch per year for a tree in a wood, with partially hemmed-in examples graded between. Many of the larger old

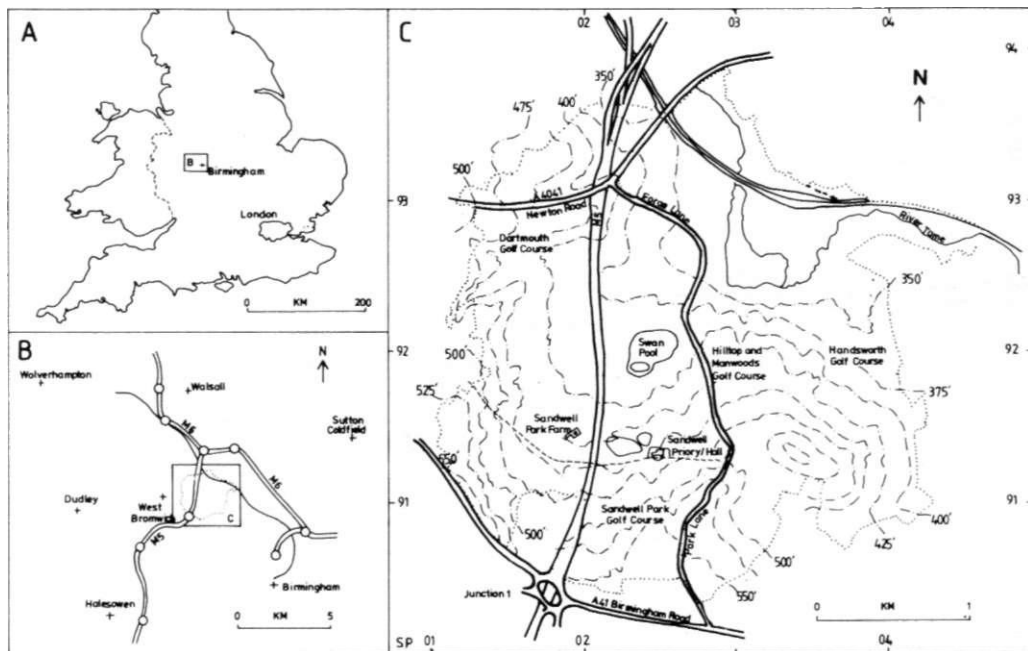


Fig. 1 Sandwell Valley: location and relief.

SANDWELL VALLEY ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

LANDSCAPE SURVEY						SITE	SV
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GENERIC TYPE							PERIOD
MOUSE							
CONDITION							
OWNER					TENANT		
PLAN			WTIAI	DATE	CLEANING	MITAL	DATE
PROFILE					EXCAVATION		
SECTION					VEGETATION SURVEY		
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top Sides							
FEATURE MIX							
CONTEXT							
OCCULT NOS							

SVAP FIELD RECORO

Master plan no.

Weather conditions :
Land use : Posture/recrMtion/aratte/wocxd/other:
Animals or other details
Owner SBC/other

Vegetation / Grazing :

Boundaries: Fences/hedges/ditches/streams:

Others / documents :

Landscape Survey Sites SV
Tree Survey Numbers

SVAP | FIELDWALKING RECORD

Location 1 Farm

Sal texturefs)
Stone content: Vstony/Medium/Few/

Weathering: Good/medum/Poor/
Lighting Sumy/Hazy sun/pull/
Moisture Pomp/ Dry/
 Comments / Changes in conditions :

SVAP TREE SURVEY

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100	100

CO ORDI NATES

Width of traverse
Finds discarded

Comments on finds:

Finds summary (Finds office only)

[illegible]

Fig. 2 Recording Forms: actual sizes A4 (landscape, field, fieldwalking) and A5 (tree survey, tree group); back of each is blank for sketch, photograph, or further information.

trees in Sandwell Valley may have begun life free-standing but are now crowded by others, and many have lost portions of their crown or are partially dead. Thus the girth measurements can at best only indicate a minimum age for the tree. Numbers of tree rings were counted on logs or stumps, and their girths were measured for comparison; 695 individual trees were recorded. The *tree groups* were more appropriate than the recording of individual trees in the parts of the Valley outside the gardens of Sandwell Hall, for there few exotic species would be expected, and interest would lie more in trying to date woods and hedges by their species content and the age of standard trees; 229 tree groups were recorded. Trees and woody shrubs were recorded by their Latin name as listed by Mitchell (1974).

Fieldwalking was undertaken on the present arable fields of the Valley, which are restricted to Hillhouse Farm in the west and Forge Farm in the north. In each case the entire field was walked, in traverses approximately 2m apart. Material such as fragments of modern pottery, brick, tile and land drain were not collected. Because of the small area of ploughed land in the Valley, every area of bare earth resulting from erosion along paths or streams or from horses overgrazing was examined, but only relatively recent material was found. Fieldwalking was undertaken on 16 fields, some up to three times on different occasions, and 18 areas of bare earth were examined.

Areas of fieldwalking, fields surveyed, landscape features, individual trees and tree groups were all plotted on overlays to the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 maps. In addition to the various surface surveys, small-scale excavations were carried out at a few sites.

RESULTS

The results are presented as a synthesis of the evidence, physical and documentary, in a series of maps and descriptions of the Sandwell Valley during various periods in its history. The full records are contained in the survey archive, held by Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council. For the purpose of this study the history of man's activity in the Valley has been divided into four major stages:—

- (i) *Pre-Priory*, before the foundation of Sandwell Priory in the later 12th century;
- (ii) *Priory*, during the existence of Sandwell Priory, and the occupation of the Priory buildings after the priory's suppression in 1524-25;
- (iii) *Dartmouth*, the period of greatest activity in the Valley while the Dartmouth family were in residence at Sandwell Hall, 1701-1853;
- (iv) *Post-Dartmouth*, the decay and division of the estate after the departure of the Dartmouths to Patshull in 1853.

The excavation of the site of Sandwell Priory and Sandwell Hall will be the subject of a separate report, so details of that site will only be included in this report where they have affected the surrounding landscape.

Four sites have been identified as certain or probable 'burnt mounds', from their similarity to sites of this type found elsewhere in the Midlands. Each burnt mound consists of a low mound of heat-shattered pebbles and charcoal up to 20m across, adjacent to a stream. Radiocarbon dates of 1500-1000 b.c. *i.e.* the Middle Bronze Age, have been obtained for some of these sites, and one has been excavated and a pit and hearth were found under the mound. The sites have been interpreted as the remains either of a cooking process using heated stones or 'pot-boilers', or of steam baths or saunas (Barfield and Hodder 1981; 1987). Site S V6 was visible as an exposure of heat-shattered stones in both banks of a drainage ditch, on each side of an 18th-century brick culvert. The total length of exposure was about 14m, and a very slight mound could be seen on each side of the stream. The field in which the site lies is pasture used for horse-grazing. Partial excavation of the site was undertaken from June to September 1983 to establish its extent and state of preservation.

Four areas were excavated, and in each the surface and edge of a mound of heat-shattered pebbles, charcoal dust, and charcoal fragments were exposed (fig. 4). The upper part of the mound was covered by turf and a ploughsoil 15 to 20 cm deep, containing pottery, clay pipe, and brick and tile of 18th- or 19th-century date, and its slopes were covered by a silty clay alluvium. The edges of the mound in the areas excavated and the limits of the exposures of heat-shattered pebbles in the stream bank suggested that the mound was oval, about 17m long and 15m wide. In three areas the entire mound deposit was removed, but in the north-east quadrant excavation was limited to a trench on its south side, to obtain an east-west section. The maximum thickness of the mound deposit was 45cm in the north-east quadrant, where it lay in an apparently artificial hollow. The only other feature under the mound was a pit in the north-west quadrant, the excavated part of which was 1.4m long, 0.8m wide, and 0.8m deep. The south and east edges of the mound slumped into a former stream channel, implying that the site was originally in a meander. Despite sieving of the whole of the excavated burnt mound deposit, the only artefact recovered was a small body-sherd of coarse sand-tempered pottery, with no diagnostic features. The sherd was found in the east side of the mound, where it dipped into the former stream channel. A radiocarbon date of 1020 ± 160 b.c. (Birm - 1268) was obtained for charcoal from mound material which had slumped into the former stream channel on the south side and had subsequently been covered by alluvium. Identification of charcoal from several parts of the mound (by Rowena Gale; full report in archive) showed that at least nine tree species were present, alder (*Alnus*) and ash (*Fraxinus*), being the most abundant. All the species represented would have been available from the stream edge, adjacent damp ground, or mixed woodland in the vicinity of the site. All the charcoal was from stems or branches, most of which had been cut, but insect infestation indicated some use of dead wood. Coppicing may have been practiced, but the evidence is inconclusive.

Site SV8 is visible as a mound within a meander of a small stream on the edge of Dartmouth Golf Course. The mound has a maximum height of about 50cm and measures about 22m north-south and 12m east-west. Heat-shattered pebbles and charcoal are exposed in the stream bank on the west side of the mound and heat-shattered pebbles are visible in the stream bank. Site SV358 consists of a concentration of heat-shattered pebbles over an area c. 4.5m long and c. 3m wide on the surface of a ploughed field, adjacent to a small stream. On the site of Sandwell Priory and Sandwell Hall (sites SV2 and SV4) many heat-shattered pebbles have been found during excavations. A particular concentration occurred in a buried

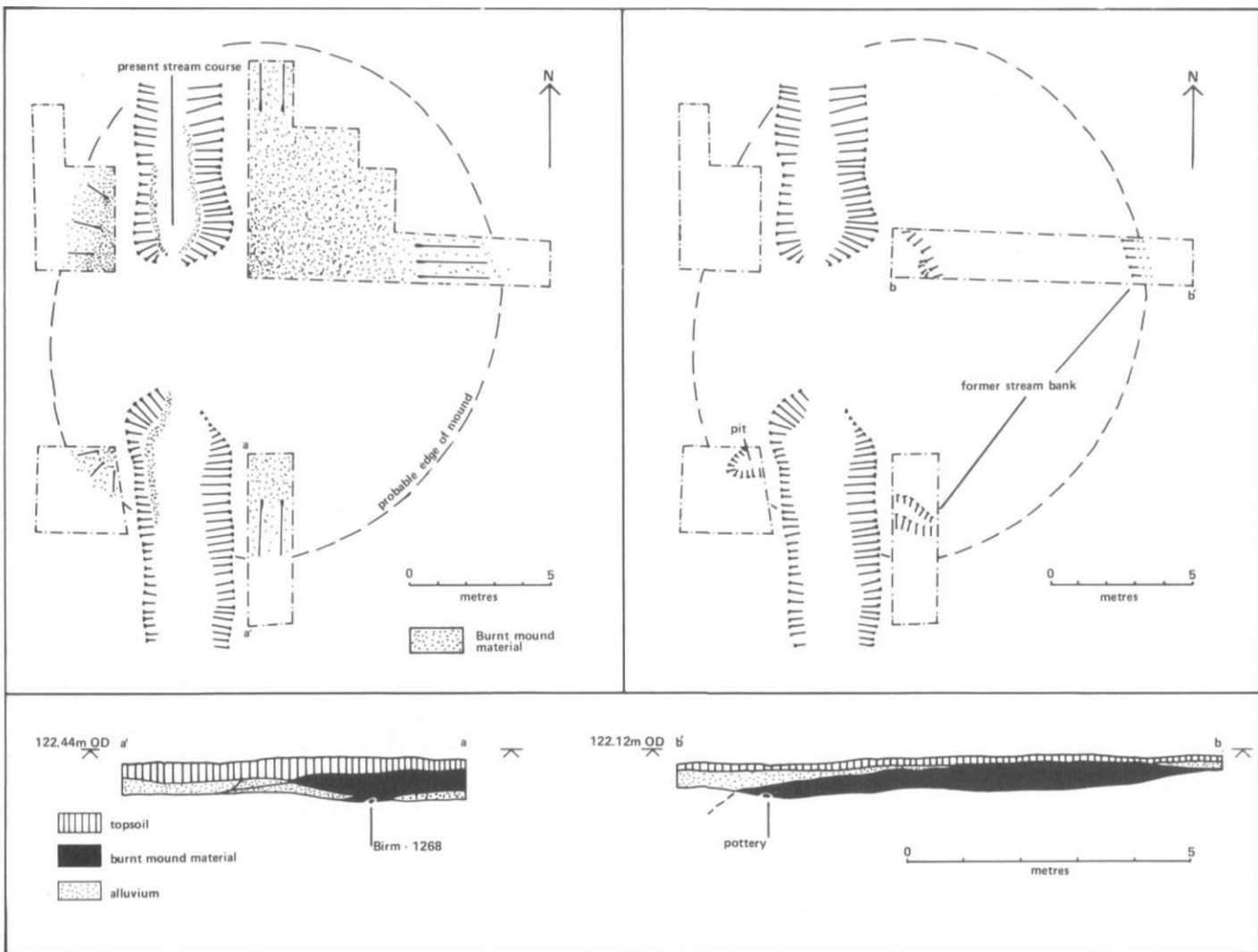


Fig. 4 Sandwell Valley: plans and sections of burnt mound (SV6).

soil horizon under the priory church, probably representing the remains of a destroyed burnt mound.

Stakeholes and short lengths of gully under the buried soil horizon mentioned above may have been derived from a pre-medieval settlement on the Priory site; indeed, the buried soil itself may result from cultivation of the site at some time before the priory's construction. A few sherds of Iron Age pottery, some Roman pottery, and part of a Roman *fibula* brooch were found in medieval and post-medieval deposits on the Priory site. Two sherds of Roman pottery were found in fieldwalking near Hillhouse Farm, and there are chance finds of Roman coins from near Sandwell Park Farm and near Swan Pool (BMR) (fig. 3). The small quantity of Roman pottery probably indicates the presence of arable fields of this period which were manured with domestic waste.

In the field east of the Sandwell Priory and Sandwell Hall site, now used as horse pasture, several lines are visible on aerial photographs taken in 1948, 1977 and 1980 (SRO, RAF/CPE/UK/2617/5112; West Midlands County Council Aerial Survey 1977, 101/077; *ibid* 1980, 9182 and 9183) (fig. 5). The clearest line runs east from the north-west corner of the field, continuing the line of an 18th-century ha-ha (see below), then turns to the south. Its north-south arm is broken by a gap of c. 15m. A second line runs parallel to the north-south part of the first line, c. 40m to its east. A third line runs east-west in the southern part of the field, towards the north side of the gap in the first line.

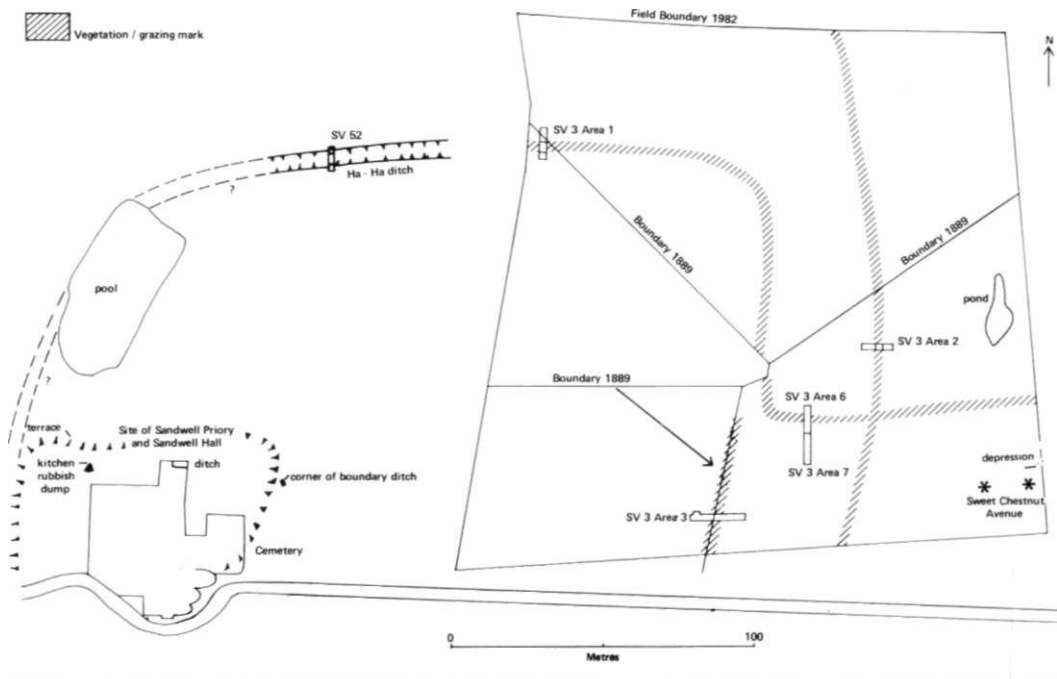


Fig. 5 Sandwell Valley: features around Sandwell Priory and Sandwell Hall.



Fig. 6 Sandwell Valley: sections of excavated features around Sandwell Priory and Sandwell Hall (see fig. 5 for location).

These lines are not 'cropmarks' as normally defined; they result from variations in the frequency of different species of grasses, rather than variations in growth of a single species. The effect is accentuated by differences in the intensity of grazing by the horses; the lines are more heavily grazed than the rest of the field (Hodder and O'Donnell 1985). The first line is also visible as a parch mark in dry summers, but resistivity surveys showed a low electrical resistance, indicating enhanced moisture content at a greater depth. The lines were further investigated by the excavation of trenches across them (figs. 5 and 6) and soil pits. The first and second lines are visible as slight dips on the surface; the east end of the third line may be represented by a slight depression to the north of an 18th-century avenue of sweet chestnut trees. Some parts of the lines and their intersections are followed or respected by field boundaries marked on the 1889 OS maps.

The west-east arm of the first line (SV3 Area 1, figs. 5 and 6) proved, as expected, to be a continuation of the 18th-century ha-ha, with the remains of a brick revetment on its south side. The second line (SV3 Area 2) was shown to be a ditch *c.* 5.5m wide and *c.* 1.8m deep. Its steep western side was revetted with sandstone blocks on a brick and sandstone foundation (1352 and 1360 on fig. 6), and there was a strip of root disturbance *c.* 65cm wide parallel to and 1m away from the western lip of the ditch, possibly representing a hedge line (F203, 1335). The sandy fill of this ditch (1340) was very different from the fill of the ditch in Area 1. A land drain consisting of cylindrical pipes (1351) had been inserted into the fill. The continuation of the first line south of the 15m gap described above was followed by a field boundary shown on the 1889 map. Excavation revealed a ditch *c.* 4m wide and *c.* 50cm deep, with equally sloping sides and a flat base (SV3 Area 3, fig. 6). It was filled with sandy loam, sand, and pebbles (3534, 3533, 3529). All of these fills overlay a spill of clay on the base and west side of the ditch (3525, 3528), possibly the result of the erosion of an accompanying bank into the ditch, followed by deliberate infill. Other patches of clay occurred along the base of the ditch (3532). The ditch was overlain by a ploughsoil (3489, 3510) cut by a narrow trench (F906) filled with brick rubble and mortar (3514). The trench was cut in turn by a similar trench (F898) with a fill of sandstone rubble, bricks, and mortar (3487). In each case the bricks were narrow and hand-made. Both trenches were probably field drains. There were no finds from the main ditch, but the ploughsoil (3489) contained medieval and 17th-century pottery, the later of the two trenches (3487) contained a fragment of medieval decorated floor tile (see below) and the earlier of the two (3514) contained 17th-century pottery.

The third line described above could not be located in excavation (SV3, Areas 6 and 7, fig. 5). In both of the excavated areas a trench filled with sandstone rubble, bricks, and mortar was found, similar to those found in SV3 Area 3 (above), and probably field drains. Neither of these was large enough to give rise to the line observed on the aerial photographs.

Although it is clear from their contents that most of the excavated deposits in these features are of post-medieval date (and will therefore be discussed in detail later), they are included here because it is possible that their post-medieval use represents a re-use of earlier features. It was noted above that the westernmost ditch is continued to the west by the ha-ha ditch; thence its line is continued by the edge of a pool and the western edge of the terrace on which Sandwell Priory and Sandwell Hall stand. Taken together with the parallel ditch (SV3 Area 2) this may indicate a double-ditched sub-rectangular enclosure of pre-medieval date, parts of whose ditches were later re-used and parts deliberately filled in.

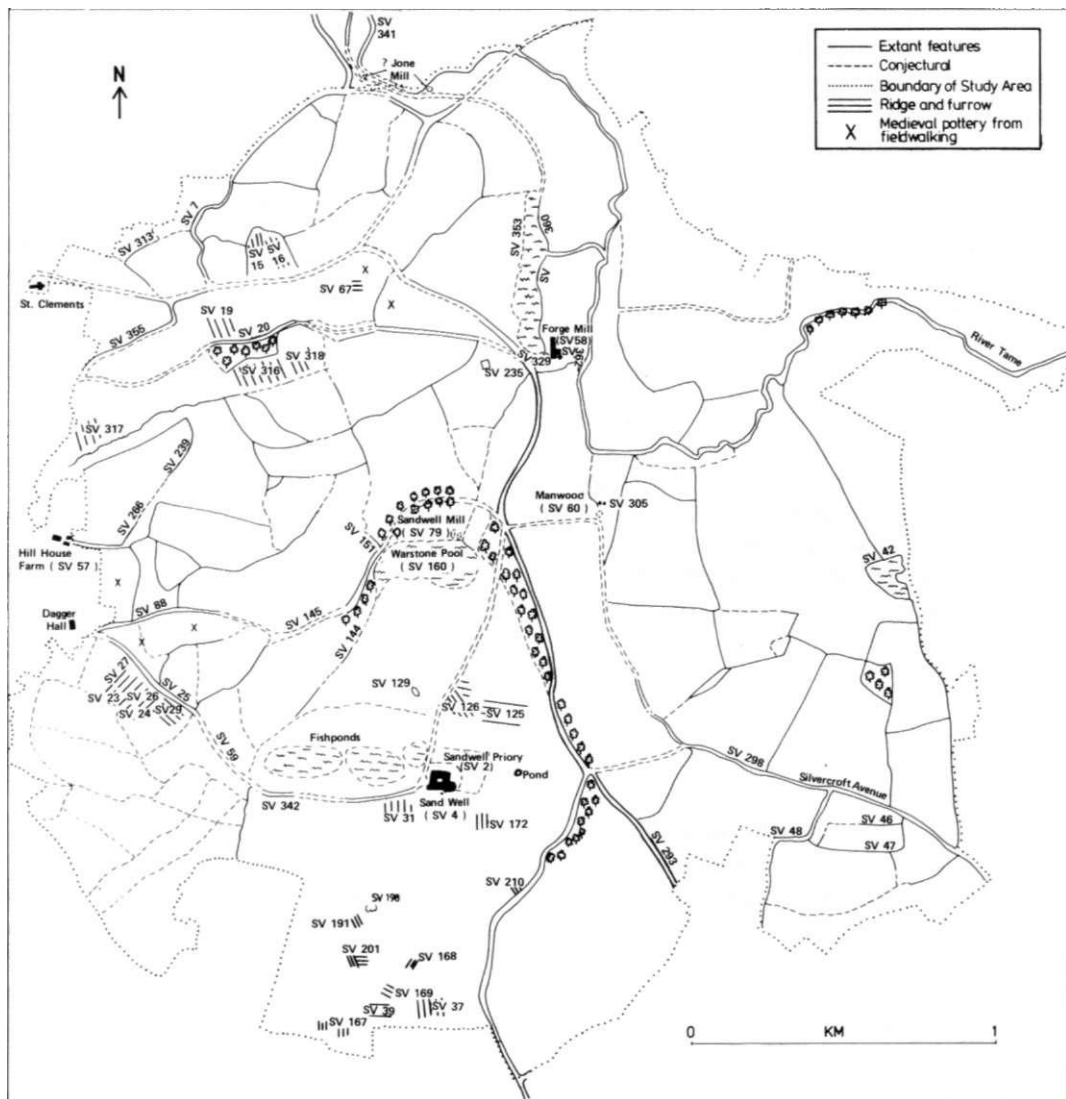


Fig. 7 Sandwell Valley: Priory and immediate post-Priory (12th century to 1701).

(ii) *Priory* (fig. 7)

The exact date of the foundation of Sandwell Priory is not known (*VCH* iii. 216). A confirmation by Gervase Pagnell of a land grant to the priory on its foundation (Dugdale 1846, iv. 190-1) is dateable to between 1180 and 1190. Felling dates of 1105-6 and 1159-60 have been obtained by dendrochronology for large oak timbers used in the earliest claustral buildings, and architectural details of the priory church as revealed by excavation are of later 12th-century style. The priory was built close to a spring called the Sand Well, which is probably the spring still surviving to the south of the priory church.

Little is known of the priory buildings or their surroundings from documentary sources. Following a visitation in 1330 the then prior, Richard de Eselberg, was relieved of his duties due to his age and infirmity. He was granted some land near the graveyard with a fishpond and dovecote (LJRO, B/A/1/3, f.39). When the priory was suppressed in 1525, it included a 'great messuage together with a garden, kitchen garden and orchard to the same adjoining' (Homer 1928). There was also a dried-up moat enclosing an overgrown orchard west of the priory buildings (*VCH* iii. 216-9). A survey of the priory in 1526 (Dugdale 1846, iv. 191) concentrates on the main buildings but also mentions a barn, a hayhouse, a water mill, three pools, and enclosures.

There has been little excavation beyond the main priory buildings, but part of the monastic cemetery was found to the east of the buildings in 1984, and stone foundations found to the west of the main buildings may be those of the barn recorded in 1526. The 'dried-up' moat could have been one of the ditches described above.

The 1526 survey included '3 decayed pools with a fair spring running through them'. These were presumably the monastic fishponds, which most likely lay to the north and west of the priory buildings. Thus the water from the spring, to the south of the buildings, could be channelled to supply the kitchen and reredorter, and then out to the fishponds beyond. The shape of the large pool of the 18th-century gardens, described below, suggests that it was created by joining one or more of the priory's fishponds (Hodder 1986).

The priory may have been established in the south-west corner of the earlier double-ditched enclosure postulated above (fig. 5). The existing ditch could then have formed the south and west sides of the priory precinct. To the north-east of the main priory buildings, the corner of another ditch was found in excavations. It was at least 2.5m deep and at least 7m wide, but only one edge lay within the excavated area. The line of this ditch projected to the south would skirt the cemetery. To the west, the butt end of a ditch was found under a room added to the original priory buildings, and further west a dump of pottery and animal bone, probably kitchen refuse, may indicate the site of the ditch. Thus the priory buildings appear to have been closely surrounded by a boundary ditch. To the east and north, beyond this, the rest of the larger, pre-existing enclosure may have functioned as an outer court, and could have contained the barn and hayhouse mentioned in the 1526 survey. Kilns for the production of roof- and floor-tiles for the priory buildings may also have been in this area. At other monastic sites, for example Norton Priory, Cheshire (Greene 1980), floor tiles were manufactured adjacent to the buildings. At Sandwell, a fragment of a decorated floor-tile with the same design as those used in the priory church was found in the fill of a field drain to the east of the priory (SV3 Area 3, fig. 5), and a pond further east may have been dug for clay extraction.

There is a quarry south of the priory site (SV198 fig. 7) on what is now Sandwell Park golf course. This may have been a source for stone for the priory as its face is a similar red sandstone to that used in the priory buildings.

The extent of the priory's estate has been discussed elsewhere (Hodder 1986). The priory lies beyond the open-field system of West Bromwich (Dilworth 1967-70). The endowment of land to the priory on its foundation included the assart of *Ruworth* and a piece of land called *Duddesrudding*, whose name suggests that it too was an assart. Both of these could be included in the enclosures around the priory mentioned in 1526. Medieval arable land around

the priory is represented by small areas of ridge and furrow and by small quantities of medieval pottery found in fieldwalking (fig. 7); the pottery is probably the result of manuring with domestic waste. It is noticeable that very little pottery of 16th- or 17th-century date has been found in fieldwalking; this may indicate either a change in manuring practice or a greater concentration on stock-rearing in these periods.

The evidence for the existence of dwellings in the Valley other than the priory before the 18th century is sparse. In a field south of Forge Farm a square ditched enclosure (SV235, fig. 7) is visible on aerial photographs of 1948 (SRO, CPE/UK/2466/5445) and on the ground it was c. 58m square, surrounded by ditches each c. 10m wide, before it was buried by dumping early in 1988. The present farmer has reported ploughing up 'sandstone foundations' in this field and finding similar foundations when a rickyard was built to the north of the farmhouse. It is possible that the ditched enclosure was a moated homestead of medieval date.

Hill House (SV57) is a timber-framed building consisting of a central hall with projecting wings at each end. It is square-framed, with some close-studding, and is stylistically dateable to c. 1600, a date confirmed by the finding of late 16th-century jetons in a joint in the roof timbers. The building may have been constructed on the site of the dwelling of a tenant of the priory in the north of the valley (Hodder 1986).

At Manwoods (SV60), in the east of the Valley, there are no surviving buildings, but a drawing (in Prince 1924) shows a timber-framed house in 17th-century style. Dagger Hall and its farm lay on each side of Dagger Lane at its junction with Salters Lane, on the west of the Valley. The Hall was in existence by 1625 (Willett 1882) and was demolished some time after 1868. The farm buildings were demolished in 1874 (SRO, D.564/8/1/29).

Three water mills existed in the Valley, but only one, Forge Mill, survives. The history of these mills is described by Dilworth (1976). The oldest was Sandwell Mill (SV79) on the north side of Warstone (now Swan) Pool (SV160), which was its mill pool. The priory's endowment at the time of its foundation included a mill at *Grete* (now Great Bridge, west of West Bromwich), but by 1291 (*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*) it owned mills at Grete and Sandwell. The survey of 1526 (Dugdale 1846) included 'a water mill thacked, built with good substantial timber, containing in length 20 ft. and in breadth 15ft., which was want to go by the water of the pool, which be now decayed and with a little cost would be made to go again for it has sufficient water belonging to it, if the heads of the pool were mended'. It presumably was made to 'go again' and continued as a cornmill through the 17th century. It was used for rolling and slitting iron in the late 18th century, and by 1851 was being used as a sawmill. The site of Sandwell Mill was buried by spoil from the Jubilee coal pit (see below), and now only the pool remains.

Old Forge Mill (SV58), or West Bromwich Old Forge, was probably built c. 1585 and was first described as a forge in 1597. By 1785 it was a rolling and slitting mill, and by 1836 it was a corn mill. About 1914 its mill pool was emptied and the mill machinery dismantled. The mill buildings are currently being renovated. The position of the water wheel and headrace can be clearly seen, as can the dam on the east side of the empty mill pool. The leat which fed the pool (SV360) can still be traced over most of its length from the River Tame to the north.

The third mill, called Joan or Joanne mill, is scantily documented and never seems to have been very large or important. The survey of the estates of Sandwell Priory in 1526 mentions a corn mill called Jone, let with a meadow of 4 acres bounded on the east by Barr Meadow,

on the north by Jone Bridge, and on the south and west by a lane. This is probably the land between Wigmore Lane and the River Tame, as Jone Bridge is where Charlemont Road crosses the river. Jone Mill was thus probably where the motorway crosses the river, and any remains of the mill will have been destroyed by motorway construction. The leat for Old Forge Mill, described above, was dug in 1585, Jone Mill lying about halfway along it. The only reference to a pool at Jone Mill is in 1606.

The parish boundary between West Bromwich to the west and Handsworth to the east runs along Park Lane and Forge Lane as far as Forge Mill Farm. The course of Park Lane/Forge Lane has probably changed little through its history; a few straightened parts are apparent. The track running due east from the Sandwell Priory and Sandwell Hall site to Park Lane is probably of 18th-century date and contemporary with the laying-out of gardens and a park around Sandwell Hall (see below). The medieval route from Sandwell Priory to West Bromwich survives as a hollow way (SV25) running parallel to the present Lodge Hill Road, west of Sandwell Park Farm. Lodge Hill Road itself was created in the early 19th century to supersede this route, and the hollow way seems to have been masked by planting trees on its south-western edge.

Salters Lane (SV88) was originally known as Saltwell Lane and is mentioned in the late Middle Ages (*VCHxvn*. 12). The eastern part of this road originally ran up the western side of Warstone Pool and north of Sandwell Mill to join Park Lane opposite the track from Manwoods Farm. This former line is still visible, north-west of what is now Swan Pool, as two parallel ditches with banks on the insides (SV144-146) and stretches of hedges grown into thickets. In the early 19th century the road was diverted to its present course, running south of Warstone Pool, straight across to Park Lane.

At the north end of the Valley, Water Lane (SV7) is probably medieval in origin and has high banks on each side. Newton Road, the present A4041, has been widened and straightened in recent years but its original course, as recorded on 19th-century maps, clearly cuts across and therefore postdates the field system through which it passes. The road probably replaced an earlier road further south which does conform to the field system. Part of this earlier road is visible as a hollow (SV20) along the north side of a wood on Dartmouth golf course, and its continuation to Churchfields Farm to the west and Forge Farm to the east survived as tracks before the construction of the motorway. From Forge Farm it continued across Forge Mill Farm to cross the River Tame. To the west, this road seems to have been heading for Lyndon, probably the earliest settlement nucleus of the West Bromwich area, while Newton Road may have been established to serve a new, planned settlement and its open fields around St. Clements Church (now All Saints), possibly in the 12th century.

(iii) *Dartmouth period* (1701-1853)

In 1701 William, Baron (later Earl of) Dartmouth, bought Sandwell Hall, then a dwelling house created from the renovated remains of Sandwell Priory. Extensive rebuilding took place from 1705-11, and pleasure gardens and a park were probably laid out by the second earl, who succeeded to the title in 1750 (refs. in *VCH xvii*. 18-20).

That was the age of the great landscape designers and improvers; complex, small-scale geometrically laid out gardens were being replaced by sweeping lawns and specimen trees, and views of the surrounding countryside were unbroken by wall or hedge. There is no

evidence that any particular designer was employed in the shaping of Sandwell but the family probably had access to any help they required: the third earl, George, was the first President of the Royal Horticultural Society, in 1802 (Hadfield 1960, 270), and no doubt there were plenty of examples among their acquaintances and neighbours of parks newly completed or in the process of being created. Two local examples are Admiral Smith's home at Hagley Hall and the poet William Shenstone's at Leasowes near Halesowen (Hadfield 1960, 201).

In previous centuries emphasis had been laid on the privacy of the gardens around a house, using high walls and hedges to turn the eye inwards, but in the 18th century the boundary of this privacy was pushed much further out to encompass large tracts of countryside, again within high walls. Thus pleasure gardens immediately around the house needed only to be protected from deer and cattle grazing around them. This was achieved by the use of ha-has around those parts of the garden where a view was required. Ha-has were probably first used in this country by Charles Bridgeman around 1712 and the gardens at Stowe (where Bridgeman worked from 1713) have very early examples (Hadfield 1960, 183f). A ha-ha consists of a wide ditch with a vertical wall on the side nearest the garden, thus rendering wall and ditch practically invisible from the inside but making it an impassable barrier to cattle and deer.

At Sandwell, ha-has bounded the eastern part of the gardens. In the north-west, two stretches are fairly well preserved (SV52 and SV154) and the line is continued to the east as a vegetation- and grazing-mark (SV3, figs. 5,8). South of the gardens a long narrow canal-like feature, now known as Monks Pool (SV55) is a flooded ha-ha. The brick wall on the north side can clearly be seen.

A trench dug across the ha-ha in the north-east corner of the gardens (SV52, figs. 5, 6, 8) showed that the ditch was originally 5.8m wide and 1.6m deep. The brick wall on its southern side was constructed of hand-made brick in English Bond. The fill of the ditch contained many fragments of flower pots, suggesting use as a gardener's rubbish dump. The marks in the field to the east have been described above. One of them (SV3 Area 1) continues the line of the ha-ha, and here the wall had been dismantled and some of the bricks used to construct

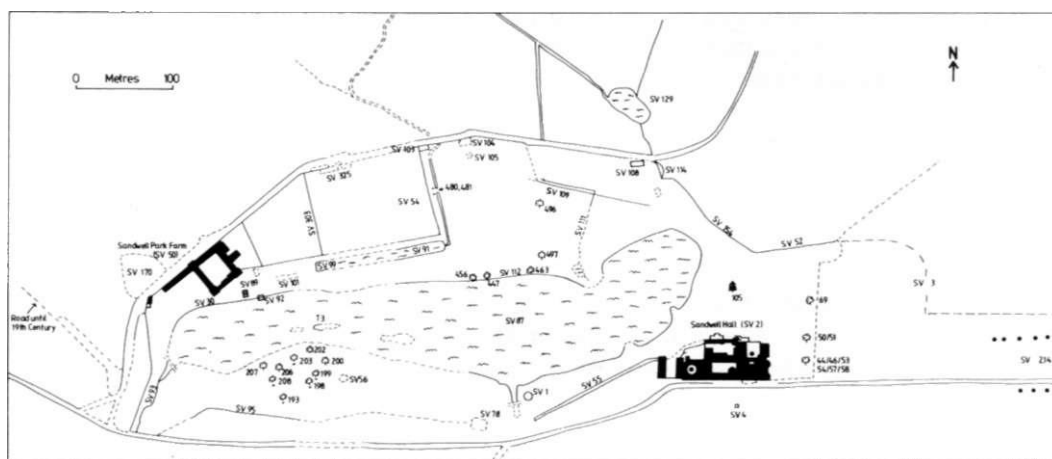


Fig. 8 Sandwell Valley: Dartmouth period (1701-1853): Sandwell Hall and its gardens.

a drain, the trench for which was cut into the fill of the ditch. The ha-ha may have used an existing ditch, as suggested above.

Around the rest of the garden, woodbanks were used, except on the north-west where Sandwell Park Farm formed a barrier. In 1697 a lease taken by Henry Freeth for the then existing house and gardens required him to hedge the property with fence and mound (SRO, D.564/3/1/2). The positions of these boundaries are unknown, but they might have formed a basis for the later works. In Park Farm Wood the garden boundary can be traced as a bank (SV95, fig. 8). All the trees between this bank and the track to its south are young (less than 100 years old) and of an intrusive nature, mainly grey poplar and sycamore, so it can be

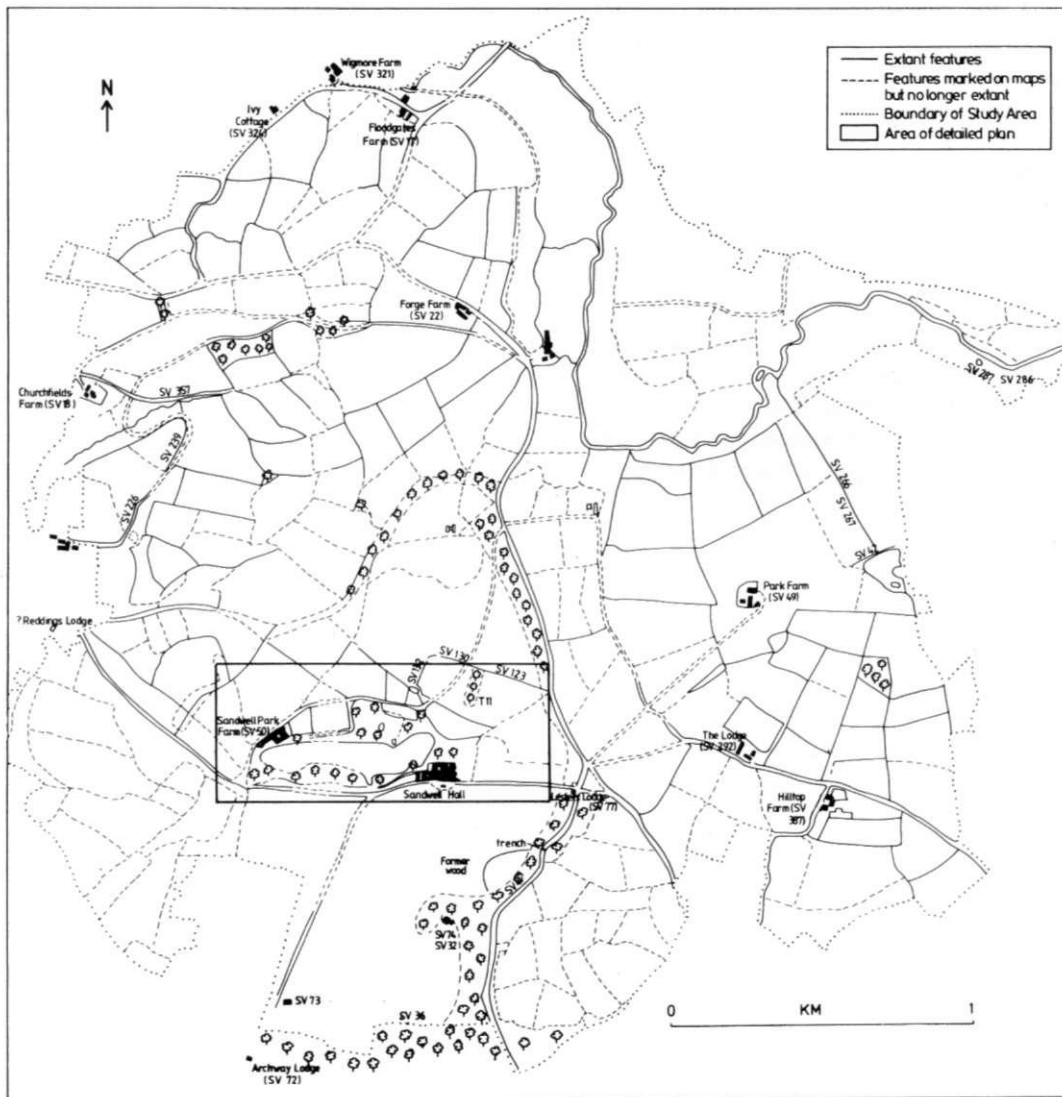


Fig. 9 Sandwell Valley: Dartmouth period (1701-1853).

inferred that this area was originally open grassland outside, the gardens although it is now heavily wooded. The bank itself reaches a maximum height of 1.5m and a maximum width of 7m, but it is nowhere well preserved. North of the gardens a low bank (SV109) can be picked out, bordering an area which was formerly a paddock but has been planted with trees in recent years. It is 0.7m high and 4.7m wide and is concealed for much of its length by rhododendron invasion.

The western edge of the gardens is lost under a car park south of Sandwell Park Farm, and the north-western boundary is formed by the farm buildings and walled gardens attached to it. The farm was probably constructed soon after Sandwell Hall, and in a similar style (*VCH* xvii. 20). The walled gardens have been much mutilated, first by the construction of a colliery tramway in the 19th century (see below), then by the motorway, and then by their use as a convenient source of bricks for the restoration of Sandwell Park Farm. The east wall of the gardens, together with adjacent parts of the north and south walls (SV54), has been removed to foundation level. The remains of the walls enclose an area of undergrowth interspersed with old fruit trees. A gap in the wall on the east side shows the former site of a gateway, flanked externally by two large pollarded beech trees (tree nos. 480, 481). Inside a thicket of bushy apple trees are the remains of what appear to be espalier trees trained on each side of the path running up to the gate. Along the wall there are two old pear trees, originally trained as espaliers but now leaning inwards.

In the western part of the garden (SV303) the walls have been destroyed only recently, so that their original height and shape have been recorded. The most interesting feature is the small part remaining of the north wall of the large square garden. This once formed the back wall of a lean-to greenhouse (SV235; figs. 8,10) warmed by the flue from a fire-place, which zig-zagged through the core of the wall. The top of the wall had disappeared before its final

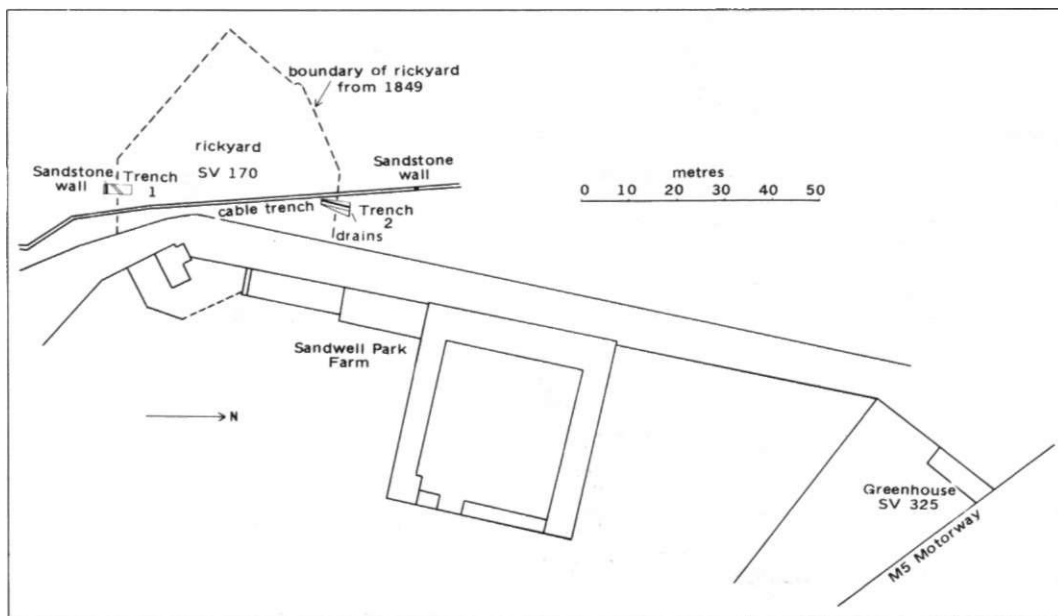


Fig. 10 Sandwell Valley: greenhouse and rickyard near Sandwell Park Farm.

destruction, so the shape of the chimney was unknown. A trench dug out from the visible wall in 1986 located the base of a brick wall 4.6m (15 feet) away from it. The wall was demolished in 1987 with a view to its reconstruction and the area around was cleared, exposing the original extent of the greenhouse (fig. 11). The outermost brick wall probably supported glass lights, and was divided from the other walls by a flagstone path. The other walls formed an oblong box, with brick pillars supporting something unknown at one end. The flagged path bends round the west end of the raised bed and goes up three steps to a doorway. North of the heated rear wall, in an area of debris which is probably derived from potting sheds, there was a pit, which was emptied to 2m without reaching the bottom. This was directly behind the fireplace in the greenhouse and may represent the use of a different method of heating in a later phase of the structure. By the 1830s the hot water boiler system of heating was becoming popular, now that it was possible to make long lengths of iron pipe. When a boiler was installed it had to be at the lowest point in the water flow system to utilise the effect of gravity to bring cooled water back to the boiler. This often required the boiler house to be up to 5m below ground level behind the north garden wall, if the gardens were on a sloping site (Davies 1987). Further clearance around the greenhouse in 1988 exposed sandstone walls of unknown date, but antedating the brick walls of the greenhouse.

The centrepiece of the pleasure gardens was the large pool (SV87) running the length of the gardens from the Hall to the Farm, with an earth dam (SV30, SV112) along the north side, reaching a maximum height of 3.7m. As suggested above, the pool was probably created by amalgamating and enlarging the fishponds of Sandwell Priory. Work at the pool is recorded in 1766 (SRO, D.742/F/1/8/1-2), but it is not clear whether this relates to the pool's construction or to subsequent maintenance.

A small part of the base of the original pool, now dry, survives between the motorway and a high bank built as a sound barrier. The area is covered by a grove of grey poplar trees mostly not very old, but a small group of older poplars (T3, fig. 8) are growing on a bank measuring approximately 10.5m west-east and 5.5m north-south. From its size and position this bank can be identified as one of the small islands shown in the lake on 19th-century maps.

The original pool seems to have been equipped with various plugs and sluices though the main overflow points may have changed during its history. There are large overflow channels (SV92) in the west, near a flight of steps (SV89) running down the bank. A hollow with rocks in it below the outflows suggests an ornamental cascade, with the steps bringing a path down off the pool bank to obtain a view of the waterfall. The water then flowed away to a culvert under the farm wall while the path continued along a bank (SV101) parallel to the pool bank. There was possibly a small stream which was diverted to feed a long narrow fishpond south of the walled garden. This survives now as two pieces of stagnant pool on each side of the motorway (SV91 and SV99) which have no obvious water sources, unless they conceal their own springs.

Late 19th-century maps show the western end of the pool as swampy and shallow, and in 1893 it was reported that nearly half the pool's surface was dry because of the subsidence of the bed at the west end (SRO, D.564/8/1/27). In 1895 the pool was being prepared for use as a potato growing area (SRO, D.564/8/1/28).

Several old trees exist in the gardens, including some exotic species. Although the old maps vary as to whether there were small pools east of the main one, there are now two, and in one

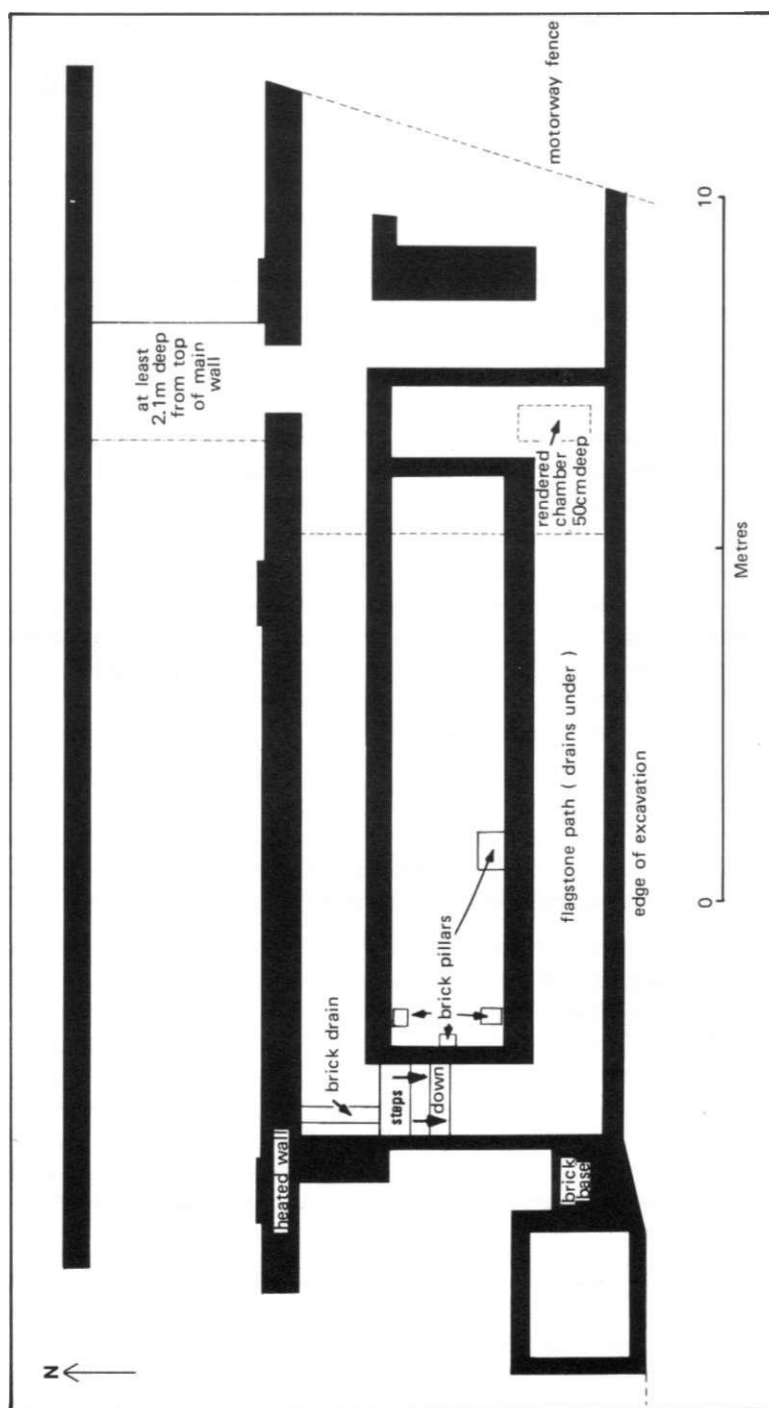


Fig. 11 Sandwell Valley: plan of heated greenhouse.

grows a Swamp Cypress (*Taxodium distichum*, tree no. 105, fig. 8), a native of North America. Its home is the swamps of the Mississippi so it may have had a special pool or bog made around it. Its girth is only 67 inches, but its growth has probably been severely restricted by the cold, as it is near the northerly limit of its habitat. In Park Farm Wood, defined by the south-west side of the original pool, there are a Cut-leaved Beech (*Fagus sylvatica* 'heterophylla', tree no. 193, fig. 8), a Cut-leaved Hornbeam (*Carpinus betulus* 'incisa', tree no. 198), several Turkey Oaks (*Quercus cerris*, tree nos. 200,202,203,206,207,208) all with girths of over 100 inches, one Turkey Oak being 156 inches. Further east there are some large beeches (*Fagus sylvatica*, tree nos. 445, 457) by the pool bank as well as some large horse chestnuts (*Aesculus hippocastanum*, tree nos. 496, 497). Wild cherries (*Prunus avium*) were planted to overhang the pool, and on the east side there is also a Whitebeam (*Sorbus aria*) (tree no. 463) and yews (*Taxus baccata*) for variation in colour. Two Lucombe Oaks (*Quercus x hispanica* 'lucombeana') (tree nos. 69, 199), a Holm Oak (*Quercus ilex*) (tree nos. 50, 51), and some Black locusts (*Robinia pseudoacacia*) (tree nos. 44, 46, 53,54,57, 58) are the other planted exotics which have survived. In Park Farm Wood large numbers of Grey Poplars (*Populus canescens*) have suckered, though none is over 100 inches in girth. It may be that the original parent plantings have died, leaving only suckers.

Several buildings originally existed in the gardens. The best preserved is an ice house (SV1), which has been excavated and restored (Hodder 1987). It lies next to an inlet of the lake, which was probably the source of ice for it. To the south-west is the site of a building (SV78) which housed Lady Dartmouth's menagerie of North American animals. This building was in existence in 1769, and in 1798 five turkeys were stolen from it (Bargar 1965, 7, 45-6, 176). A plan and elevation of the building (SRO, D.564/12/10) shows an elaborate porticoed entrance with a large octagonal enclosure behind and a rectangular one on each side. A building is marked near to the ice house on 19th-century maps, but it only survives now as brick rubble. However, probing has revealed the outline of the foundations, which are identical in plan and size to the menagerie recorded in the 18th century. A second ice house (SV56) stood further west, but was destroyed by the construction of the M5 motorway (Hodder 1987).

Outside the north-east corner of the kitchen gardens, there was a small cottage, 'Sandwell Hall Farm' (SV103), the foundations and demolition rubble of which survive. To the east of this, a single row of brick foundations is all that remains of the orangery (SV104). Photographs show it to have been a large impressive structure, with a colonnaded front. It was demolished in the 1960s. In a hole to the south there is a section of column drum. This hole (SV105) shows signs of having been stone-lined and may be the basin of a fountain shown on 19th-century maps. Further east again, at the far end of what used to be an open paddock north of the woodbank, there was another building next to the track, now visible only as a concrete platform covered in debris. Maps show that other buildings lay to the south of it; this may have been a stabling-area for horses used at the Hall.

To the north-west of Sandwell Park Farm, maps from 1840 onwards show a roughly pentagonal rickyard. The area was levelled for playing fields in the 1950s and no traces of the rickyard are visible. Trenches were dug across the boundaries of the rickyard at two points to find its form and state of preservation (fig. 10). On the south-western side a worn cobble surface was found, probably the rickyard surface. It was bounded by a low sandstone wall and both wall and cobbles were covered by clay levelling. On the north-eastern side similar

levelling layers overlay three periods of land drain and pebble spreads, possibly related to those further south-west. No evidence of a boundary was found here, but in a mechanically-dug trench for an electric cable sandstone blocks were observed 18m north-east of the boundary of the rickyard as shown on maps, and could be a wall related to it.

Two detailed maps of the Sandwell Valley of c. 1800 survive (BRL, Robins Collection, box no. 3). They are similar in their main features, but differ in detail and neither seems very complete. It is possible that one is what existed at the time, while the other shows projected improvements, or they may be just discarded drafts. One shows the track from Dagger Lane to Sandwell Hall running east of Park Lane, while the other also shows the old line, turning north to Sandwell Mill, so it may be that this old route was finally abandoned at the turn of the 19th century and Lester's Lodge (SV77) was built on Park Lane. An area of paving in the modern gateway and a corner of brickwork are all that now remains of Lester's Lodge (fig. 9).

An avenue of sweet chestnut trees (*Castanea sativa*, SV214, fig. 8) runs parallel to the track. Not all the trees are alive and some have been removed but the largest living one has a girth of 196 inches and the largest stump has a girth of 203 inches. The avenue is probably over 200 years old and probably pre-dates the track.

The western end of the track also had a lodge, called Reddings, at the junction of Lodge Hill Road and Salters Lane. Only Lester's Lodge appears on the c. 1800 maps, but that is not a very reliable indication of the existence or not of the others. A third lodge, Archway Lodge (SV72, fig. 9) survives in isolation on the roundabout at Junction 1 of the M5 Motorway. It has a rounded arch with a pointed roof over the top and used to be flanked by two mature oak trees. It is in a style which is similar to the Hall itself, and was probably also used in the menagerie and orangery. The line of the track to the Lodge is still a path on Sandell Park golf course for part of its length. The 1837 map shows a 'temple' (SV73) and a 'Deer Court' (SV74) on what is now the golf course. No trace of the temple remains, but a brick wall (SV32) may be part of the Deer Court.

Engravings made in the 18th century (e.g. Shaw 1801, plate 19) show deer around the Hall. The 'cultivated lawns' were praised in verse in 1767 (Iago 1767). The Park was well stocked with all kinds of timber, particularly oak (Pitt 1796, 96) and the Hall was protected from the sight and noise of increasing industrial activity around it by 'a lofty park wall and a rich phalanx of plantations on rising ground to the south' (Shaw 1801, 132).

Little remains of those trees now, but areas of Sandwell Park golf course next to Park Lane have a pock-marked appearance which may be the result of trees having been grubbed up. Thick woods are marked between the Birmingham Road and the park wall on the south side of the estate on the 19th-century maps, and extended inside the wall. The woods have gone, but the wall (SV36) still remains. It also runs (SV41) along Park Lane, where it has recently been restored. The wall was built of sandstone, possibly partly taken from the priory ruins, and originally stood 2.1m high. A trench dug across the line of the wall along Park Lane prior to restoration to find whether it had followed an earlier boundary line, revealed shallow hollows on each side of the wall. These possibly resulted from trees being grubbed out before the wall was constructed and may have belonged to a hedge previously forming the boundary. A gap 5.20m wide in the north-south stretch of the wall may have provided access to the 'Deer Court', mentioned above.

The northern and western boundaries of the park are marked on Yates's Staffordshire map of 1775. On the north, the boundary follows Salters Lane and then runs between the garden pool and Warstone Pool, and on the west it runs slightly west of Sandwell Park Farm, down to Birmingham Road. When Dartmouth Park was opened in 1878 it was walled around where the edge did not coincide with the existing park wall (SRO, D.564/8/1/14), *i.e.* on the north and south-west sides.

The farms in the Valley date mainly from the 18th century; all were in existence by 1775, when they were marked on Yates's map, and were presumably built or rebuilt on the acquisition of the estate by the Dartmouths. Of Churchfields Farm (SV18) only a brick barn remains. Wigmore Farm (SV321) and Floodgates Farm (SV17) were run together for a long time; most of the farm buildings at Wigmore Farm were demolished in 1875 (SRO, D.564/8/1/14), and Floodgates was demolished in 1955. At Forge Farm (SV22) the 18th-century house and farm buildings survive.

Park Farm (SV49) is now within Hilltop golf course. One large brick barn and a curved garden wall survive. The farm was worked jointly with Manwoods (see above) for most of its life. The Lodge (SV292), variously known as Lodge Farm, The Uplands, and Sandwell Cottage, seems to have been a smallholding rather than a farm, with a vinehouse, greenhouse, and conservatory (SRO, D.564/8/1/24). It is possible that it may have been on the site of an earlier house, as was Manwoods. All that remains on the site now are some areas of brick floor and low brick walls. Hilltop Farm (SV387) does not seem to have been part of the Sandwell Estate as its records do not appear with those for the other farms. It is now just an area of demolition rubble, and an overgrown orchard.

Many former field boundaries are preserved on the golf course and open areas in the Valley. On the working farms, Hillhouse and Forge Farm, the field shapes have changed little since the 18th century, and at Wigmore Farm the internal field boundaries are still clear.

In the north-east corner of the Valley, where the River Tame runs into a narrow corridor through a built-up area, there are traces of the gardens of Hamstead Hall. These consist of the circular walls of an ice house (SV286) with characteristic cavity walling, close to the river, and part of the walled kitchen gardens of Hamstead Hall which now serves as the back wall of gardens of modern houses. The wall is of cavity construction and soot deposits indicate that it was heated in the same way as the greenhouse wall in the gardens of Sandwell Hall, though in this case no greenhouse appears on 19th-century maps, only a free-standing area of glass in the middle of the garden.

The pool on Handsworth golf course has culverts and sluices in its dam (SV42), the bricks of which are of 18th-century type. The stream (SV266) draining the pool towards the River Tame has brickwork for old sluices (SV267) in it, although their purpose is uncertain.

Ivy Cottage (SV324) on Water Lane in the north of the Valley is a brick building of 18th-century date, but has always been a dwelling house with no agricultural connections.

(iv) *Post-Dartmouth* (1853 onwards)

In 1853 the Dartmouth family left Sandwell Hall to take up residence at Patshull, west of Wolverhampton, and the Hall was let out first as a school and as a training institution for servants, and then as a lunatic asylum, before its demolition in 1928 (refs. in *VCH* xvii. 20). From about 1860 onwards the park around the Hall was used for training the volunteer militia

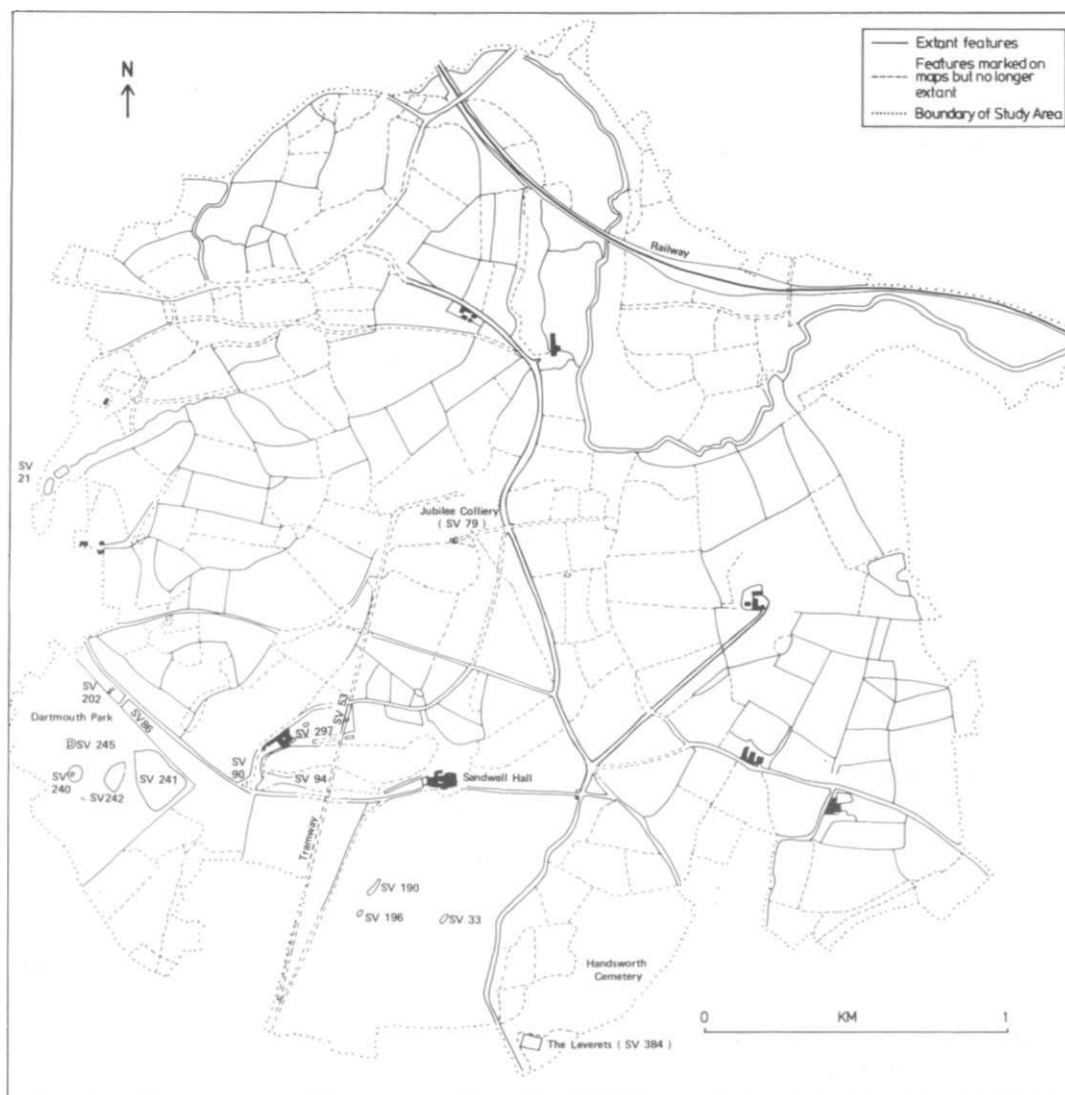


Fig. 12 Sandwell Valley: Post-Dartmouth (post-1853).

(e.g. SRO, D.564/8/1/3), and various target mounds on Sandwell Park golf course (SV33, 190 and 196) and practice trenches near Lodge Hill Road (SV202) probably date from this time. Sandwell Park golf course, which now occupies most of the park south of the Hall, was laid out in 1897 (SRO, D.564/8/1/30).

In 1878 Dartmouth Park was opened by the Earl of Dartmouth. It covered an area of 56 acres of former agricultural land. The park, which included a bandstand (SV240), boating pool (SV241), and duckpond (SV242), was designed by McLean, a landscape gardener, who also created Darlington Park, near Derby (SRO, D.564/8/1/16). The park was surrounded by a two-foot high brick wall with iron palisades; the wall still survives (SV86). On the north-east

In 1897 the Sandwell Park Colliery signed a contract to sink two new shafts just north of Warstone Pool, on the site of Sandwell Mill (SRO, D.564/8/1/34). Thus Jubilee and Primrose pits were dug, to work the 'Thick Coal' seam. The mine continued in operation until 1960. One of its buildings still remains; the spoil heaps were landscaped and turfed in the 1970s, and at the same time Warstone Pool was enlarged and renamed Swan Pool.

Handsworth cemetery has grown to occupy the land east of Park Lane although a square walled enclosure (SV384) is the remnant of a walled garden of a house called 'The Leverets'. Another remnant of a Victorian house garden is in Scotts Hollow (SV21), just north-west of Hillhouse Farm, where there are remains of two artificial pools, whose dams are still visible. They seem to have belonged to a nearby house called 'The Parsonage', marked on the 19th-century maps.

The landscape survey was part of the Sandwell Valley Archaeological Project, which was sponsored by the Technical Services Department of Sandwell Metropolitan Council and financed by the Manpower Services Commission. The Project was directed by M. A. Hodder; N. R. Hewitt supervised the field survey, assisted by Dave Pitt, Kerry Butler, Mark Fearon, Martin Clarke, Glyn Davis, Keith Wood and Stan Banfield; the tree survey was initially supervised by S. O'Donnell, assisted by Elise O'Donnell; documentary research was done by Jackie Glew; the excavations reported here were supervised by Roy Barnes, Gary Higginson, Ian Greig, Chris Jones and Jenny Hall, with particular assistance from Gary Higginson and Phil Rennie (boundary wall and greenhouse) and Carl Vaughan (rickyard). Lesley Collett assisted with post-excavation analysis, and Adrian Cox prepared reports on the finds from fieldwalking and excavations, with assistance from Tracey Keeling, Mandy Skipp, and Alison Lenihan. The figures were drawn for publication by Heidi Butlin and Hazel Pitt. The cooperation and assistance of Geoff Groom (Manager, Sandwell Valley Heritage Scheme), Terry Jukes (Sandwell Valley Manager), and the owners and tenants of land in the Sandwell Valley are gratefully acknowledged.

The following abbreviations have been used for references to authorities:

- Barfield, L. H. and 'Birmingham's Bronze Age', *Current Archaeology* 78, pp. 198-200.
Hodder, M.A. (1981)
(1987) 'Burnt mounds as saunas', *Antiquity* 61, pp.370-379.
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ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, WEST BROMWICH: MEDIEVAL FLOOR TILES, AN ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT, AND AN EXCAVATION

M. A. HODDER

INTRODUCTION

All Saints' Church (Nat. Grid. Ref. SP 011929), the parish church of West Bromwich, lies 2 km north of the present town centre, but probably lay within the medieval settlement. The church is first mentioned in 1140;¹ it was almost entirely rebuilt in 1786-7 and again in 1871-2² and the only surviving part of an earlier structure is the base of the tower, which is probably 14th century in date. The floor tiles and architectural fragment described in this note were found during the construction of the present church in 1871-2 and built into the north wall of the tower.³ The note also describes a small excavation undertaken inside the church in 1986.

THE FLOOR TILES

These tiles are reported to have been found under the wooden floor of the former church during the rebuilding work of 1871-2.⁴ They are now set into the wall of the tower, and are covered by a glass screen. There are over 50 tiles in all, most of them decorated. Five designs are represented (fig. 1); designs A to D are on tiles c. 12cm square, and design E on tiles c. 5cm square. The worn nature of some of the surfaces make it difficult to determine their original pattern, and the dimensions given here are approximate because of the difficulty of obtaining precise measurements of tiles behind a glass screen.

Designs A to D are all line-impressed or relief decorated, but design E has inlaid white clay. In addition to the decorated tiles, there are two plain tiles c. 12cm square and several small triangular tiles. All of the tiles are in a red/orange clay.

Design A is represented by one complete tile. Tiles of this design laid together on a floor would produce a pattern of overlapping concentric circles with quatrefoils in their centres. This design has been assigned a probable 15th-century date;⁵ it occurs on tiles at Leicester Abbey and at Stretton-en-le-Field and Newton Solney Churches, both in Leicestershire,⁶ and nearer to West Bromwich at Dudley Priory⁷ and Sandwell Priory, about 2 km to the south-east of All Saints' Church. In recent excavations at Sandwell Priory, some tiles of this design were found *in situ* in the small part remaining of the north transept of the priory church.⁸ Adjacent to these tiles, impressions in mortar revealed where others had been removed; it is possible that some of these were taken to the parish church after the suppression of Sandwell Priory in 1525.⁹ This type of design has a relatively restricted distribution and all the known examples are probably the work of a single tile-maker.

1. *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral*, ed. R. R. Darlington, Pipe Roll Soc. N.s. xxxviii, no. 190, pp. 101-2.

2. M. Willett, *A History of West Bromwich* (1882), 44, 53 sqq.

3. *Ibid.*, 23-24.

4. *Ibid.*

5. E. S. Eames, *Catalogue of medieval lead-glazed earthenware tiles in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum* (1980), design no. 183.

6. N. Whitcomb, *The Medieval floor-tiles of Leicestershire* (1956), design no. 236.

7. S. J. Linnane, 'Excavations at St. James's Priory, Dudley' in *Dudley Castle Archaeological Project, An Introduction and Summary of Excavations 1983-85*, 35-38.

8. M. A. Hodder, 'Sandwell Valley Archaeological Project', *West Midlands Archaeol.* 29(1986), 75-81.

9. *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, iii. 218.

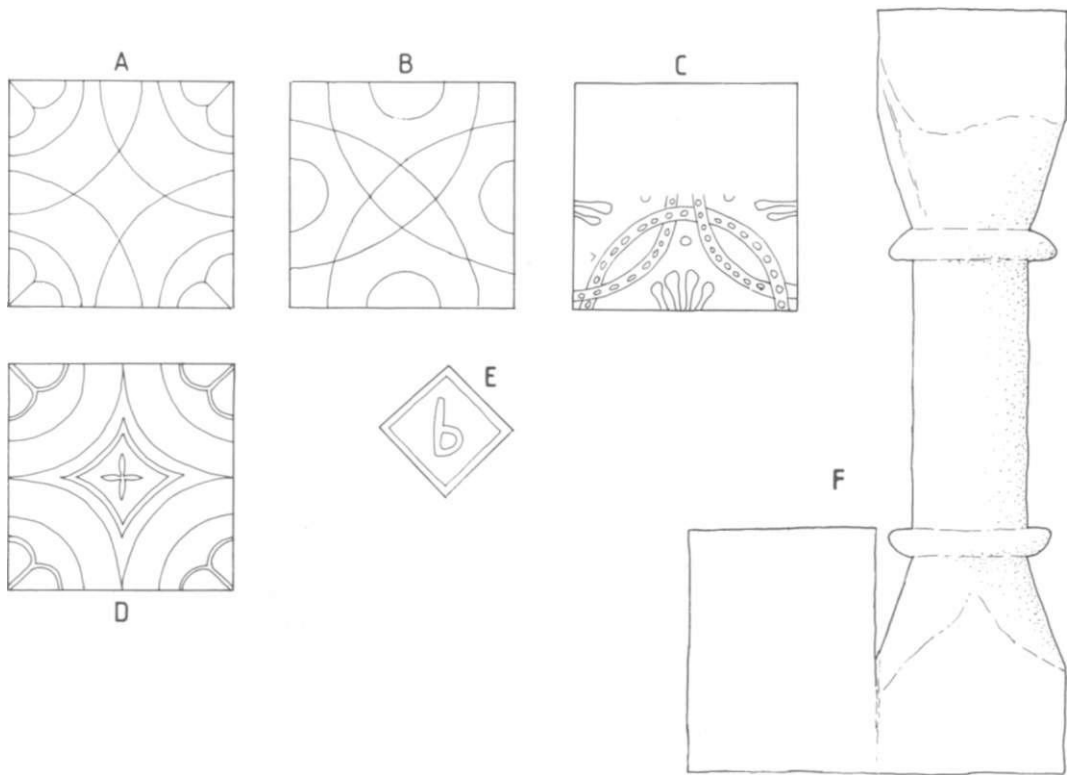


Fig. 1 All Saints' Church, West Bromwich: medieval floor tile designs — A to E (1/4 actual size), and architectural fragment — F (1/4 actual size).

Design B is represented by two or three complete tiles, and design C by three halved tiles. Both of these designs occur on complete tiles from West Bromwich Manor House,¹⁰ 1.5 km to the west of All Saints' Church, but nowhere else and appear therefore to have been locally manufactured, specifically for these two sites. Design D is represented by four complete tiles. This design also occurs at St. Bertelin's Church at Stafford¹¹ and in Leicestershire,¹² and is stylistically dateable to the 14th or 15th century.

Variants of this design, which resulted in a floor pattern of circles with quatrefoils in their centres interspersed with lozenges, are common in the Midlands and in Wales.¹³ There are several tiles with design E. On each, a letter of the alphabet is written diagonally across the tile, and the letter and the tile's border are picked out by an inlay of white clay. Tiles of this design have been found at Weoley Castle (Warws.)¹⁴ and also occur at Buildwas Abbey in Shropshire.¹⁵

10. This volume, pp. 42-3.

11. A. Oswald, *The Church of St. Bertelin at Stafford and its cross* (n.d., but 1955).

12. Whitcomb, *Floor-tiles of Leics.*, design no. 235.

13. Eames, *Catalogue*, design nos. 198-202.

14. P. B. Chatwin, 'The medieval patterned tiles of Warwickshire', *Trans. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.* 60 (1940), fig. 32, p.33.

15. Information from Jill Loach.

THE ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT

Portions of a belfry window were found during the rebuilding work of 1871-2. They consisted of a shaft and two capitals, one of which was double. The shaft had been built into the south-west buttress of the tower, and the capitals were found nearby, also built into the tower.¹⁶ Only one fragment is now in the wall of the tower, with the floor tiles. It consists of a small cylindrical column shaft c. 30cm long and 12cm in diameter, with a capital at each end, one of them attached to a rectangular block (fig. 1.F). The piece is in local sandstone.

THE EXCAVATION

Following a decision to re-inter human remains excavated from the chapter house of Sandwell Priory in front of the altar in All Saints' Church, the proposed burial place was excavated in June 1986.¹⁷ The excavation consisted of a rectangular pit measuring c. 1.25m long and 0.90m wide, to the west of the altar. This revealed a deposit of make-up material c. 40cm thick, which had been laid to raise the floor level (which is c. 37cm higher than in the nave to the west), overlying a further 20cm of loose builders' rubble. These deposits contained moulded plaster, 19th-century pottery, and some fragments of human bone, and can probably be related to the rebuilding of 1871-2. The rubble overlay what appeared to be a previous ground surface, suggesting that, as the chancel was extended in the 1871-2 rebuilding,¹⁸ previous buildings did not extend so far east. Excavation was concluded on this surface because sufficient depth had been reached for the re-interments.

16. Willett, *Hist. of West Bromwich*, 23-4.

17. Excavation by Lesley Collett for Sandwell Valley Archaeological Project; records held by Technical Services Department, Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council.

18. Willett, *Hist. of West Bromwich*, 53.

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MEDIEVAL FLOOR TILES FROM WEST BROMWICH MANOR HOUSE

M. A. HODDER

INTRODUCTION

During restoration work at the group of timber-framed buildings known as West Bromwich Manor House (Nat. Grid Ref. SP 005943) in the 1950s,¹ many objects of medieval and post-medieval date were found, most of them in the fill of the moat around the buildings. The objects consisted of pottery, leather, clay pipes, metalwork, animal bones, roof tiles, and floor tiles. All of these objects are now stored at Wednesbury Art Gallery. Only the clay pipes and shoe leather have hitherto been published;² the other objects are now being studied with a view to eventual publication. This note reports on fragments of decorated medieval floor tile.

THE TILES

There is one complete tile and seven fragments. Two different designs are represented. The complete tile (fig. 1, A) measures 127mm long, 123mm wide and 21mm thick. There is a small crack in the tile due to misfiring. The edges of the tile are slightly bevelled into the base, and there are some hollows in the base for keying into the mortar bed. The design is not symmetrical. It is of 'line-impressed' type. There are traces of green glaze on the tile surface and in the grooves of the design. The Manor House chapel is now floored with tiles of this design; they are modern copies of the tiles said to have been found here during the restoration work.³

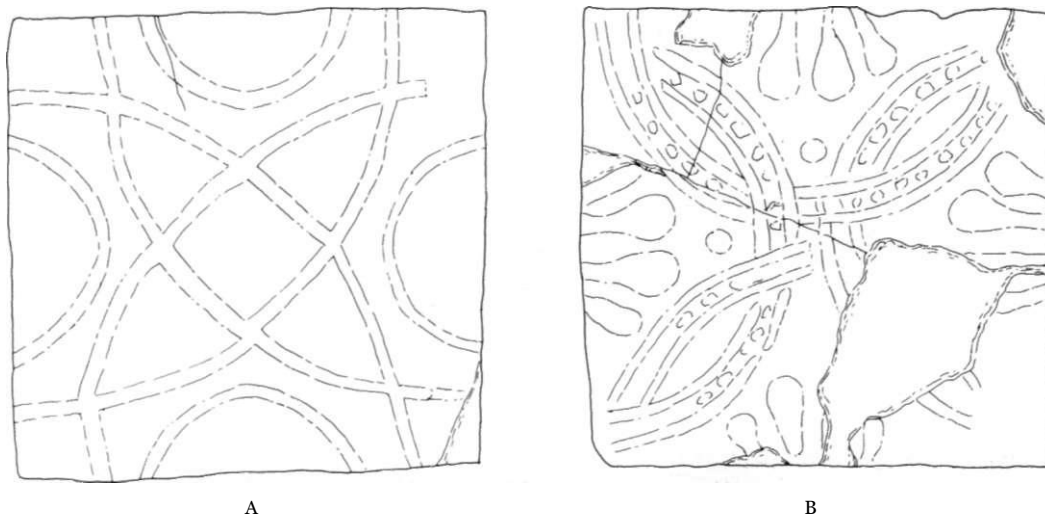


Fig. 1 Medieval floor tiles from West Bromwich Manor House (*V?* actual size).

1. S. R. Jones, 'West Bromwich Manor House', *Trans. South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, xvii. (1977), 1-63.
2. J. W. Whiston *et al.*, 'Artifacts found in the moat of West Bromwich Manor House: Part 1', *TSSAHS*, xx (1980), 29-40.
3. Jones, 'West Bromwich Manor House', 20.

The second design is represented by four joining fragments which have been glued together to make an almost complete tile, and three other fragments which do not appear to join. The near-complete tile (fig. 1, B) measures 125mm long, 122mm wide, and 23mm thick. The edges of the tile are slightly bevelled into the base. The design is counter-relief. It is covered by a white slip, over which a clear lead glaze has been applied, resulting in a yellow finish.

DISCUSSION

The designs represented on the Manor House tiles also occur on tiles now set into the wall of All Saints' Church, 1.5 km to the south-east,⁴ but the designs do not occur on floor tiles at Sandwell Priory⁵ and have not been recorded elsewhere. The designs are not included in Eames's *Catalogue*,⁶ nor have they been noted in the comprehensive survey of decorated medieval floor tiles in Staffordshire and Shropshire undertaken by Jill Loach.⁷ That the designs do not occur elsewhere suggests that the tiles were manufactured locally, specifically for the Manor House and the nearby parish church.

Both tiles can be assigned a 14th- or 15th-century date on stylistic grounds. In view of the alleged association of one of the designs with the floor of the Manor House chapel, it may be noted that Jones⁸ assigns a late 15th- or early 16th-century date to this part of the building.

4. This volume, pp. 39-40.

5. From excavations between 1982 and 1988; report in preparation.

6. E. S. Eames, *Catalogue of medieval lead-glazed earthenware tiles in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum* (1980).

7. I am grateful to Mrs. Loach for her assistance in attempting to trace parallels for the designs.

8. Jones, 'West Bromwich Manor House', 17.

The cost of publishing this article has been met by Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council, to whom the Society acknowledges its gratitude.

THE DOVECOTE FROM HASELOUR HALL, HARLASTON, STAFFORDSHIRE

SIMON A. C. PENN

In September 1981 Avoncroft Museum of Buildings was alerted to the plight of a dovecote which stood in the grounds of Haselour Hall, Harlaston, Staffordshire (SK 206108). Although a Grade II Listed Building, the dovecote was gradually being uprooted by an immediately adjoining copper beech tree which was itself protected by a Tree Preservation Order.¹ The Hall's owner had at the time embarked upon a scheme for its refurbishment but unfortunately his financial resources did not extend to the dovecote itself. Lichfield District Council felt that unless action was taken the building would be in danger of collapse.

On first inspection the dovecote did not appear to be particularly unusual. Its roughly square shape, brick facade, and pyramidal roof suggested that the building was a standard example from the latter period of dovecote construction in the 18th century.² Internal examination of the building, however, revealed that a considerable section of the structure was of timber-framing — suggesting a much earlier date of construction, probably *c.* 1600. This date would tie in with the structural evidence of Haselour Hall itself. The Hall has an impressive black and white facade of five gables exhibiting the distinctive features of a late 16th- or early 17th-century house, although much of the building underwent restoration during the late 19th century.³ The close-timbered framing of the dovecote, together with some evidence of a double tie beam on the gable, both coincide with similar features to be seen on the Hall. It is certainly plausible, therefore, to assume that Hall and dovecote were built at about the same time. It is almost certain that the dovecote would have been in existence by 1635, by which time William Brooke had depopulated Haselour, converting the land to pasture for cattle and turning the nearby chapel into a barn.⁴ It is perhaps not without coincidence that dovecotes are often the sole survivors of deserted villages of this type.⁵ Taken together, the evidence suggested that an original, roughly square, timber-framed dovecote had been encased in brick and heightened, probably at some stage in the 18th century in order to fit in with architectural tastes of the period. The building was therefore of much greater interest than its relatively unexceptional exterior would lead one to believe.

Given that the brickwork at least had already been severely affected by the listed beech tree it was agreed (pending planning permission) to dismantle the dovecote and re-erect it at Avoncroft.⁶ Before it was dismantled it was recorded and a detailed photographic survey initiated. The dovecote is a roughly square building with a flemish bond brick exterior and a brick plinth. Rectangular wooden slatted windows placed centrally in each wall immediately

1. Staffordshire County Council and Historic Buildings Survey, Ref. ELR/D/18/11.
2. On the evolution of the English dovecote see, A. O. Cooke, *A Book of Dovecotes* (T. N. Foulis, 1920), 37-8; R. W. Brunskill, *Traditional Farm Buildings of Britain* (London, 1987), 82-8.
3. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Staffordshire* (Penguin 1974), 142.
4. *Victoria History of Staffordshire*, iii. 57; vi. 54.
5. M. W. Beresford, 'The Deserted Medieval Villages of England', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, N.s. i (1953), 102. For the listing of Haselour as a deserted medieval village, see *Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, viii (1968), 49.
6. The Haselour Hall dovecote is not the first such building to have attracted the unwanted attention of a nearby tree. The same fate beset the 14th-century dovecote at Church Farm, Garway (Herefordshire). Fortunately in that particular case the offending oak tree was removed and the dovecote saved: Cooke, *A Book of Dovecotes*, 47-8.



Fig. 1 The dovecote on its original site in the grounds of Haselour Hall.

beneath the eaves allowed access for both light and ventilation — important considerations in all dovecotes,⁷ whilst a rather elaborate dentil course provided an interesting additional feature. The dovecote is entered by a single arched door, some 5 ft. 7 ins. high in the centre of the north wall (fig. 2). What may be the original oak door still remains. This wall originally faced the Hall, thus enabling the owners to keep a watchful eye on any comings and goings. The clay-tiled roof represents the re-roofing of the dovecote at the time of its encasement in brick. The birds entered the roof space via a square glazed lantern with lead rolls and hips to match the main roof. The lantern is surmounted by an oak finial. The relatively good condition of the lantern at the time of dismantling suggests that it may have been a fairly recent oak rebuild.

Detailed examination of the interior of the building revealed the arrangement of timber-framing which constituted the structure of the original dovecote. The timbers comprise closely spaced thick studs with one central post and a horizontal rail. The angles are strengthened by four large braces halved into the first two studs on each wall (fig. 2). The original oak ground cill had been entirely encased within the existing brick plinth of the dovecote but could still be seen from the inside of the building. Although the original roof trusses, of course, do not exist, it should be assumed that they were supported by the north and south walls. The two present trusses carrying the lantern are thus in their original position, between wallframes, but they are now four feet higher, resting on the wallplate of the brick walls. There is no evidence for any original mortices on the two horizontal tie beams. This suggests that either the tops had been cut back or that the original tie-beams extended to some 10 inches further out.

Lining the walls of the dovecote were a total of 750 wooden nesting boxes. These are arranged in horizontal rows, each containing fifteen or sixteen circular nesting holes of 4½ inches diameter, with a depth of between 11 and 12 inches. The rows or divisions are built up from the plinth thus allowing space at floor level for the accumulation of manure. Each wall contains fourteen such divisions, each with a continuous alighting ledge which projects 2¼ inches. Together, these divisions reach a height of some 11 ⅓ feet from ground level on each wall. As in other timber-framed dovecotes the nesting boxes are part of a separate structure, there being insufficient thickness in the walls themselves to accommodate the holes.⁸ Several of the shelves and the fronts of the boxes were badly damaged and rotted. In addition a substantial proportion of the boxes were missing from the right hand side of the north entry wall. Given that the nesting boxes have no structural implications for the building itself it was decided to dismantle them at an early stage to avoid further damage.

The circular openings of the nesting boxes were one unusual feature of the Haselour Hall dovecote — square or arched openings being the norm. Just as unusual in a square dovecote was the presence of a potence, consisting of a pivoting vertical pole fixed in the centre of the building with a horizontal strut top and bottom to support a ladder. This enabled easy access to the nesting holes on the regular occasions when eggs and young birds were collected for food. A potence was clearly of most use in a circular dovecote but had a limited utility in a rectangular or square building such as at Haselour where the egg collector was obliged to

7. Jean Hansell, 'Dovecotes', part I, *Period Homes*, vol. 7, January 1986, p. 51.

8. *Dovecotes and Pigeon Lofts in Herefordshire: A Survey of Dovecotes in the old County of Herefordshire* (Hereford and Worcester County Council, 1979), 6.

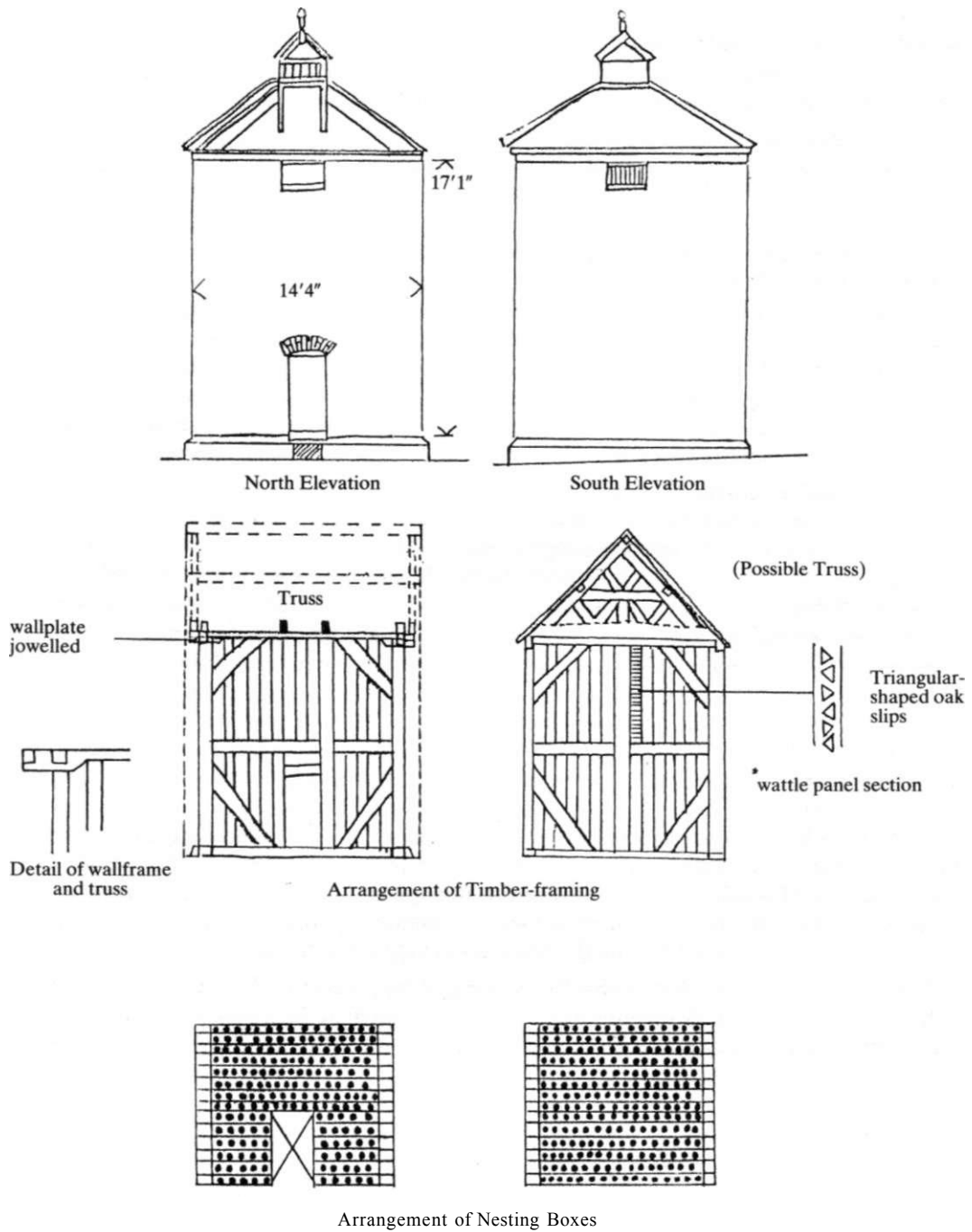


Fig. 2 Haselour Hall Dovecote: north and south elevations (based on working drawings by Michael Peach, RIB A).

stretch into the corners.⁹ Potences, however, are occasionally found in other square buildings, having possibly been introduced, as Cooke argued, 'without due consideration'.¹⁰ The potence discovered in the Haselour Hall dovecote was probably a later addition but has been reinstated in the reconstructed building and a new ladder provided.

In November 1983 formal Listed Building Consent for the dismantling of the dovecote was issued by Lichfield District Council. The previous month, planning permission had been granted by Bromsgrove District Council for the re-erection of the building at Avoncroft Museum. The dovecote was then dismantled during November and December by the Museum's team headed by a foreman carpenter and under the supervision of a specialist architect, Michael Peach. Prominent structural features such as the timber-frame and dentil-course brickwork were numbered prior to dismantling. The surviving nesting boxes were also recorded and numbered in orientation. Other features of the building were kept intact, such as the lantern which was lifted off the tie-beams without dismantling. In order to enable the dismantled materials to be loaded easily, and without causing damage to the surrounding lawn, a temporary bridge was constructed over an adjacent ha-ha. Rather than stockpile the materials at Haselour each load was transported back to Avoncroft for storage.

In the meantime, foundations were being dug for the re-building of the dovecote on its new site at Avoncroft. Detailed examination of the timbers suggested that the majority could be re-used as they were, although some replacements were necessary, most notably in the case of the ground cill beams. Re-erection of the timber-framework began in March 1985, the new cill beams being laid upon a concrete bed foundation surmounted by a seven course brick plinth. The reconstruction of the timber-frame and its infill with thermolite blocks was followed by its encasement in brick for the second time in the dovecote's history. A short-fall in re-usable original bricks for this part of the restoration was made up for by the use of similar bricks from a wall in the centre of Lichfield owned by Old Burlington Developments (Crawley) Ltd. By August 1985 the construction of the brick walls was complete and the re-assembled timber roof and lantern were raised back into position prior to re-tiling. The whole process of dismantling and re-erection had cost in the region of £30,000. Generous grants from both Lichfield District Council and Staffordshire County Council helped in covering these expenses, and donations were also received from a number of other institutions, companies and charitable trusts, including the Victoria and Albert Museum Purchase Grant Fund. Even then, the financial input fell short of actual expenditure and a variety of fund-raising activities were organised by the Museum to help cover the full costs of the project.

Following the reinstatement within the building of the potence and nesting boxes (together with replacements), the dovecote was opened to the public in May 1986 by the broadcaster and author Lucinda Lambton and can now be viewed at the Museum (fig. 3). It thus joins the

9. Cooke, *Book of Dovecotes*, 21-2; *Dovecotes and Pigeon Cotes in Herefordshire*, 10.

10. Cooke, *Book of Dovecotes*, 88-9. There are two existing ladders to be found within the rectangular dovecote at Severn End, Worcester: *Dovecotes and Pigeoncotes in Worcestershire* (Worcester County Council, 1974), 15. Indeed, many potences which survive today are to be found in square dovecotes. See, for example, the dovecotes at Leigh, Campden, and Droitwich.



Fig. 3 The dovecote re-erected at Avoncroft Museum of Buildings, Bromsgrove, Worcestershire.

growing number of dovecotes in Britain that are now being preserved and restored.¹¹ Unfortunately, the dovecotes of Staffordshire have hitherto been somewhat neglected in comparison with those of Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire. This is surprising considering the one time proliferation of such buildings in Staffordshire. J. E. C. Peters discovered no less than 77 dovecotes on 73 farms in the western region of the county. The notable feature of his findings, however, is that the majority of them were rather late in date, usually taking the form of a small boarded loft above another room. Indeed, the oldest dovecote listed by Peters, at Teddesley, was built no earlier than 1754.¹² A cursory investigation of surviving dovecotes in the county certainly suggests that the majority were built after 1700.¹³ The Haselour Hall dovecote is of interest in the way it reveals how such buildings were sometimes re-modelled to take account of current architectural tastes. As far as the local historian is concerned its interest is enhanced by the possibility of its being amongst the earliest of surviving Staffordshire dovecotes.

11. In addition to the valuable survey work that has been carried out by local authorities such as Hereford and Worcester, bodies such as the National Trust are also playing a vital role in the preservation of dovecotes; see *Dovecotes* (National Trust Severn Region and Avoncroft Museum of Buildings, 1980).
12. J. E. C. Peters, *The Development of Farm Buildings in Western Lowland Staffordshire up to 1880* (Manchester, 1969), 202, 204-6, 232.
13. A schedule of surviving listed dovecotes in Staffordshire suggests that apart from the Haselour Hall dovecote only one other standing building can be dated with any certainty as pre-1700, namely the 17th-century red brick dovecote at Brewood; in addition, a 14th-century timber-framed gatehouse at Mavesyn Ridware contains what appears to be a post-medieval dovehouse: list in possession of Staffordshire County Planning and Development office. (I am grateful to the Chief Planning Officer, John Shryane, for permission to consult this list.)

EXCAVATIONS AT MOAT FARM, PELSALL, 1982 AND 1984: A POST-MEDIEVAL FARMSTEAD

J. MILLN AND M. A. HODDER

INTRODUCTION

Moat Farm (Nat. Grid Ref. SK 024023) lay at the junction of Norton Road and Lichfield Road, Pelsall (fig. 1). The name of the site and its surface features led to its identification as a possible moated homestead of medieval origin.¹ Development of the site for residential purposes was therefore preceded by surface surveys and excavations, in 1982 and 1984.

SURFACE FEATURES AND LOCATION OF EXCAVATIONS

The site is a roughly rectangular plateau, measuring c. 110m by 70m (fig. 2). It is bounded on its western and southern sides by a shallow, partially waterfilled ditch, with a pool in the south-western corner, and on its northern and eastern sides by field boundaries. The features on the plateau consisted of the foundations of a brick-built dwelling-house, near the centre, with a concrete building base, to its east, and a number of regularly-spaced concrete post bases, presumably the remains of a recent barn, to its north. In the south part of the plateau there was a collapsed brick cellar, and a stone and brick retaining wall along the edge of the ditch forming the site's southern boundary. In the south-east corner there were three linear mounds of modern rubble and denuded traces of ridge and furrow cultivation survived in the field to the east.

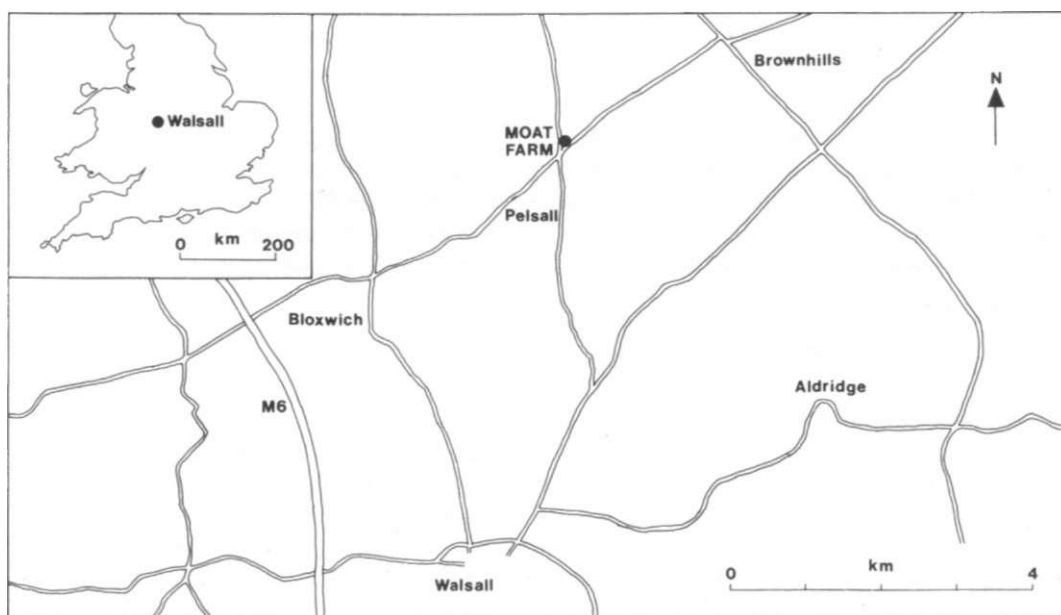


Fig. 1 Moat Farm, Pelsall: location

1. *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, i. 365; West Midlands Sites and Monuments Record WM 02688; J. Hammond, *A short history of Pelsall* (Walsall Library and Museum Services, 1981), p. 2.

A small trial trench was excavated on the southern part of the site by M. A. Hodder in March 1982, and this was followed by more extensive excavation by J. Milln in May 1984. The latter excavation consisted of four trenches on the plateau, sites A, B, C and D, to examine the nature of activity on the site, and a further four trenches, sites E, F, G and H across each of the sides of the plateau to define the nature and extent of the enclosing boundary. At all sites except D, the topsoil was removed with the aid of a mechanical excavator.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Details of excavated features, contexts, and finds are contained in the site archive;² a summary only is presented here. In *Site A*, the original topsoil had been scraped off before a spread of ash and bloomery waste was laid, probably to provide a firm, dry, relatively weed-free farmyard surface. In *Site B*, the principal feature was an amorphous pit, possibly originally dug as a marl pit, whose backfill contained large quantities of late 17th- and 18th-century coarsewares. In *Site C*, the earliest features were irregular hollows and pits, possible drainage gullies and postholes. These were cut by linear depressions filled with roughly laid bricks and stones, probably robbed wall foundations. The bricks are handmade, 2" thick, and probably of early 18th-century date. These features were overlain by a yard surface like that found in *Site A*. In *Site D*, the dwelling house was shown to be of single-phase construction, built of well-fired 2" thick handmade bricks of late 17th- or early 18th-century date.

In *Site E*, the apparent ditch on the western side of the site was found to have been created by slight scarping in recent times. On the south, in *Site F*, the site boundary was found to be a ditch more than a metre deep. It is uncertain whether this was originally intended to serve as a boundary or whether it was dug as a quarry for clay and bricks or for agricultural marl, and later adapted by the construction of a revetment wall on its northern edge to serve as a boundary. The wall consisted of mortared stone and brick, and overlaid part of the fill of the ditch. The site of the ditch was levelled up, probably soon after the construction of the wall, with brick and tile rubble. During the 19th and early 20th centuries this area seems to have been used as a garden, for it is here that the topsoil was at its thickest. In *Site G*, no evidence was found for an earthwork boundary on the eastern side of the site, but in *Site H*, the ditch and bank serving as a field boundary were found to be post medieval; brick and tile were found under the bank, implying that it was contemporary with the construction of the house.

THE FINDS

Pottery was recovered in significant amounts only from the pit in *Site B*, but sufficient quantities were present in other contexts to demonstrate that these too are post-medieval in date. The great majority of the sherds are from coarsewares of the 17th and 18th centuries. These include storage jars, milk pans, and pancheons. The coarseware characteristically has, on its internal surface, clear lead glaze over a brown slip giving a deep brownish purple colour. There are a few sherds of 'Midlands Yellow' ware, a creamy-yellow fabric with a clear lead glaze, some sherds of 'butter pots' in Midlands Purple ware, some sherds in Blackware and Cistercian-type wares, and a single sherd of trailed slip-decorated ware. All of these could be assigned a 17th- or 18th-century date, and it is likely that all except the slipware, which is probably of North Staffordshire manufacture, were made in Wednesbury, about

2. Held by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit.

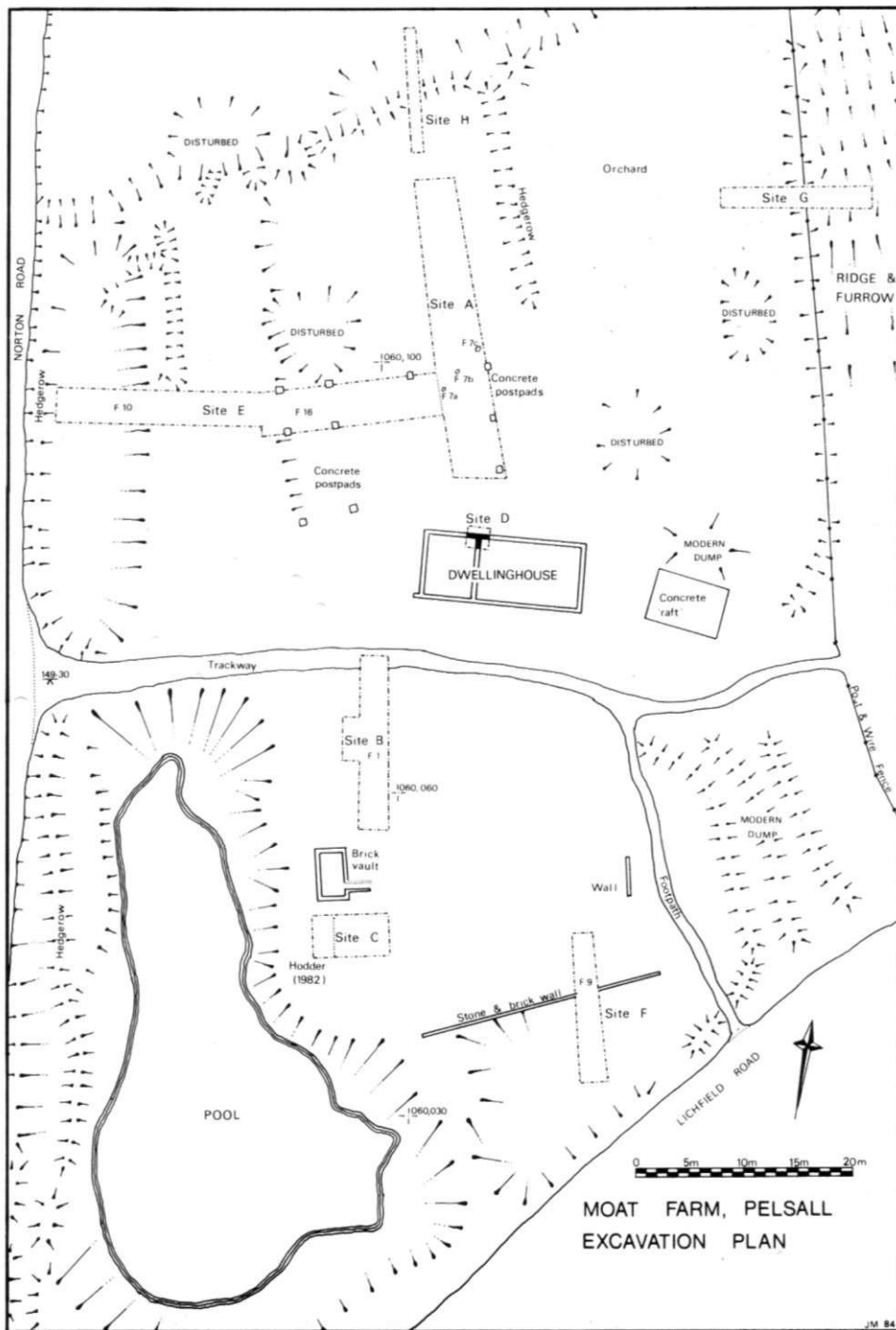


Fig. 2 Moat Farm, Pelsall: surface features, excavated areas, and principal excavated features.

10km away, since wasters of all these types have been found there.³ The other finds consisted of small quantities of animal bone, bottle glass and heavily-corroded ironwork.

DISCUSSION

Topographically the site of Moat Farm is analogous to that of the many other small moated farmsteads in the region, most of which are of medieval origin. The excavations at Moat Farm, however, produced no evidence for occupation on the site before the 17th century or for the existence of a moat.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Work in both 1982 and 1984 was financed by West Midlands County Council, for whom administration, in both years, was by Sue Whitehouse. Mark Newman and Jenny Hall assisted with the 1982 excavation; Tim Crump, David Hughes, Stuart Mulby, Paul Shirley, and Beverley Westwood with the excavation in 1984. The latter was managed by Andrew Brooker-Carey of the Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit. David Barker of Stoke-on-Trent Museum commented on the pottery.

M. A. Hodder and J. M. Glazebrook, 'Excavations at Oakeswell Hall, Wednesbury, 1983', *Trans. South Staffs. Archaeol. Hist. Soc.* xxvii. (1987), 64-77; M. A. Hodder, Excavations at Ridding Lane, Wednesbury, 1988: report in preparation.

AN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DESCRIPTION OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL

NIGEL J. TRINGHAM

The text edited here is the earliest detailed description of Lichfield cathedral, albeit only a partial survey.¹ It is attributed to the antiquary Dr. William Stukeley and is given a date 'around the year 1715'. Stukeley is known to have visited Lichfield in 1713, but from internal evidence text must date from after 1717.² Parts of it were published by Stebbing Shaw in volume one of his *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* (1798), but it is here printed in full for the first time. The account is almost contemporary with a ground-plan of the cathedral drawn, on a single day (21 April 1720), by the antiquary Samuel Gale.³ It was produced for Browne Willis's publication, *A Survey of Cathedrals* (1727).⁴ A revised version of that plan is reproduced here as figure 1. The text itself has been divided into numbered sections, within which editorial and historical notes are provided.

MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED SOURCES

[A. The original has not been traced.]

B. William Salt Library, Stafford, S. MS. 302, pp. 243-47.

The MS. is entitled 'Commonplace Book of Collections for Staffordshire History by the Revd. Samuel Pegge LL.D.' It may be dated to 1757 (see p. 93 of the MS.), the year that Pegge became a prebendary of *Lichfield* cathedral. He died in 1796. For his life see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

C. Lichfield Cathedral Library, MS. 22, pp. 60-5.

The MS. is a collection of notes on Lichfield topics made by Richard Greene, a surgeon and apothecary who established a museum in Lichfield. He died in 1793. For his life see *DNB*.

D. S. Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* i (1798), 244, 246, 252-4.

Shaw printed parts of the text, probably from the original. Items 8, 9, 16, and 17, however, were omitted.

The following text is based on B and is published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the William Salt Library. Slight modifications have been made in the use of punctuation and of capital letters; ampersands have been reproduced as 'and' and 'ye' as 'the'.

1. Sir William Dugdale made drawings of monuments in the cathedral before the Civil War, but gave no general description; the drawings are in British Library, London, Loan MS. 38. Another early visitor was Thomas Dingley who, in the 1680s, made notes of certain inscriptions and monuments: *History from Marble*, ii, Camden Society xcvi (1868), 326-7.
2. W. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), i, 57-8; see below, commentary on item 8.
3. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. misc. e. 147, f. 163v.
4. Plate before p. 371 (reproduced (unamended) in *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, iii, pi. facing p. 149).

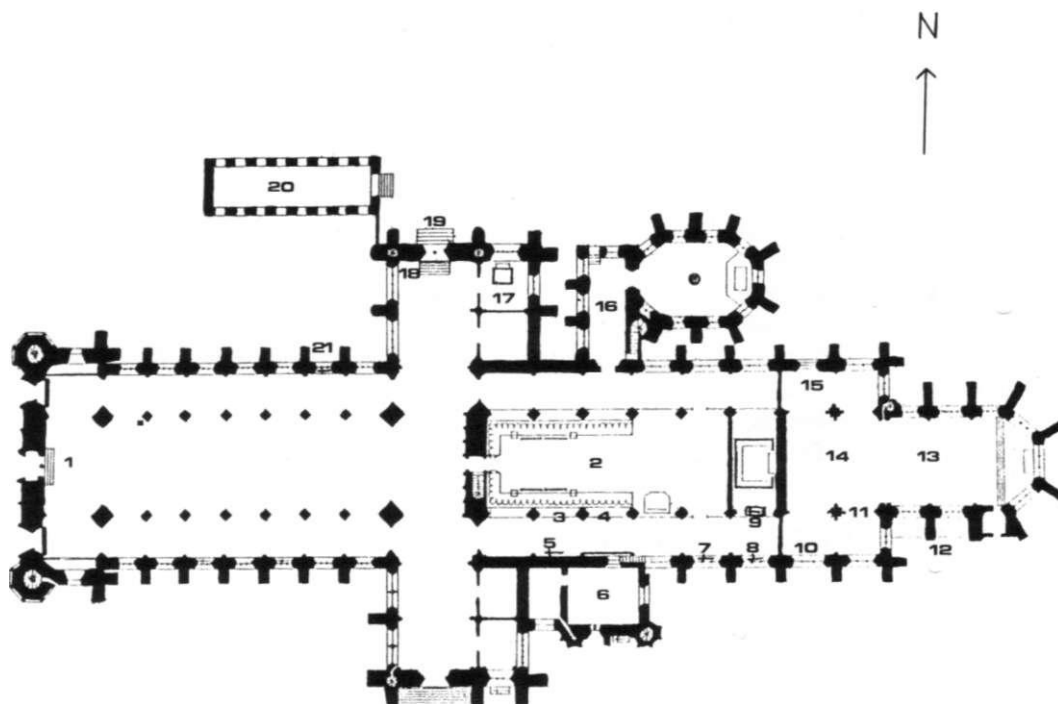


Fig. 1 Lichfield Cathedral in 1720

(The figure is a revised version of the plan drawn by Gale in 1720 and published by Willis in 1727—see text on notes 3 and 4. Willis's notes have been deleted and replaced by numbers which relate to entries in the edited text.)

Key, with references to numbers in the edited text:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. West end 1-2. | 11. Probable site of Basset tomb 9. |
| 2. Choir 19. | 12. Three Chapels 14. |
| 3. Present site of Bishop Hacket's tomb 6. | 13. Lady Chapel 11-12. |
| 4. Effigy of medieval bishop 6. | 14. Probable site of Paget monument 8. |
| 5. Stanley tomb 4. | 15. Probable burial place of Mercian kings 10. |
| 6. Prebendaries' vestry in 1720; former medieval chapel of St. Peter 14. | 16. Vestibule to chapter house with probable chapel over 18. |
| 7. Site (in 1720) of Dean Heywood's tomb 5. | 17. St. Stephen's chapel (so called by Willis) 6, 16. |
| 8. Site (in 1720) of effigies of two medieval bishops; from late 18th century site of Bishop Hacket's tomb; from 1979 site of effigy of medieval bishop 6. | 18. Present site of lower part of effigy of Dean Heywood 5. |
| 9. Original site of Bishop Hacket's tomb 6. | 19. North Door 16. |
| 10. Remains of Strangeways effigy 7. | 20. Former library 17. |
| | 21. Site of Dean Yotton's chapel 3. |

THE TEXT

A Traditional Account of some things remarkable in the Cathedral Church of Lichfield from a Manuscript supposed to be written by Dr. Stukeley about the year 1715.

- 1 It was founded by one Oswyus supposed to be King of Northumbers, in the time of the Heptarchy, and several kings have been benefactors as appears by the writing on the wall on the inside over the great west door. There is also the time when it was first founded, viz. in the year 657.

The text at the west end of the nave over the door was first recorded (with mistakes) in the later 17th century.¹ A better text is provided by Shaw.²

[Right-hand side]

Oswyus est Lichfield fundator sed reparator
Offa fuit, regum fama perennis erit
Rex Stephanus, Rex Henricus Primusque Richardus
Rex et Johannes plurima dona dabant

[Left-hand side]

Pene haec millenos ecclesia floruit annos
Duret ad extremum nobilis usque diem
Dacque Deus longum ut floreat haec sacra aedes
Et celebret nomen plebs ibi sancta tuum

Shaw alone adds the text of the date:

Fundata est ecclesia Merciensis
Quae nunc Lichfeldia dicitur
Facta cathedralis
anno Domini
DCLVII

The supposed foundation date of the cathedral (A.D. 657) was first recorded by William Whitlock, prebendary of the cathedral (d. in or before 1584), in his *Chronicon Lichfeldensis Ecclesie*.³

A complementary text describing the early bishops of Lichfield was written over the cathedral's south door.⁴

1. Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 1521, p. 144 (second numbers). Although the MS. is Ashmole's, the text at this point is not in his hand.
 2. S. Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* i (1798), 246.
 3. Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 770, f. 43. For Whitlock see *Staffordshire Historical Collections* (Staffs. Record Society), 4th ser. xi. 8.
 4. *History from Marble*, ii. 327.
- 2 This stately fabrick at the west end front is adorn'd with figures and is the history of the Bible; on top of the roof point betwixt the two spires stan'ds the figure of K. Charles II, set up by Sir William Willson after the Restoration, at the charge of Bishop Hacket or other benefactors. In this place was supposed to stand Adam or Christ, and on both sides the steeples or towers were all old patriarchs. The next two rows of figures appear to be prophets, prophetesses and judges; below them sit a range of kings of Israel and Judah in various postures, and amongst them King David playing on his harp, except one figure which is amongst them exactly over the beautifull porch, which is a bishop and supposed to be St. Chad, to whom the said church is dedicated together with the Virgin Mary. The lowermost range of figures are the 42 Apostles. Within the porch on the four corner pillars are the four evangelists with the gospels or Bibles on their hands. On the two sides of the porch stood Moses and Aaron, and on the middle betwixt the two doors stands the Virgin Mary with the babe in her arms; these were formerly richly painted and gilded.

And upon the top of the said middle pillar there is the figure (some say of God the Father) but it's rather the figure of Christ between two cherubs with his arms open inviting all to come unto him that are heavy laden and he would give them rest &c as 'tis said in the gospel of St. Mat. XI. 28.

The medieval sculpture on the west front was probably completed by 1300, all the orders being designed as an artistic whole.¹ The statues are shown in position in an engraving published in 1656.² The double order of prophets, prophetesses, and judges was removed in 1749.³ The dean at that time, John Addenbrooke, was alleged to have been responsible for the destruction, believing that the statues would at some point 'tumble on his head' as he went in and out of the cathedral.⁴ Another report puts the blame on Thomas Smalbroke, archdeacon of Coventry and a residentiary canon.⁵ By the 1790s most of the patriarchs on the two towers and most of the apostles in the lowest order were missing, but the first order of kings of Judah and Israel and the statues within the central porch survived.⁶ What survived was defaced in the early 1820s during a 'restoration' of the west front.⁷ The artist responsible for re-working the 'old kings' was a Mr. Harris, possibly John Harris or Joseph Harris.⁸ Harris, according to a resident in the Close who dined with him one evening, was a 'pleasant man and apparently had great faith in Lavaton's Science, having attempted to make the countenances of the kings answer to their character'.⁹ ('Lavaton' is evidently John Caspar Lavater, the Zurich-born physiognomist.¹⁰) The kings were remodelled as those of England.

1. For a detailed study see an article by Veronica Sekules in *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology in the Diocese of Lichfield*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1987, forthcoming.
2. Reproduced in *VCH Staffs*, iii, pi. facing p. 148.
3. T. Harwood, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (Gloucester, 1806), 73.
4. *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxii(2), 616; lxxx(2), 403.
5. Shaw, *Staffs*, i. 244.
6. William Salt Library, Stafford, Staffordshire Views, VI. 54.
7. *VCH Staffs*, iii. 189.
8. *Dictionary of National Biography; Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851*, compiled R. Gunnis (2nd edn., n.d. but 1964).
9. WSL, transcript diary of Anne Bagot, p. 11.
10. I owe this suggestion to Miss Catherine Boden of the William Salt Library.

- 3 As you walk down the north isle by a little door was formerly a chapel¹ where lay several figures now demolished; yet one remains who was Bishop Coyton,² his coat of arms at his head and []³ with a tun which shews his name.

- a. *Preceded by little in C.*
- b. Dean Yotton D.
- c. O T E > .

The chapel stood against the outer wall of the nave opposite the second bay from the central crossing. Its putative outline is shown on a plan of the cathedral published in *The Builder* for 7 February 1891. A decorated panel, which survives *in situ* on the outside wall, contains holes into which was set an iron grill separating the chapel from the nave and evidently incorporating a door. The decoration comprises on the left-hand side vine leaves with bunches of grapes, and on the right-hand side leaves with a horse superimposed. The chapel was evidently established as a chantry for Dean John Yotton (d. 1512), mistakenly identified here as 'Bishop Coyton'. On its north side the chapel would have faced the cathedral library, built beside the north transept in the late 15th century partly at Yotton's expense.¹ Originally Yotton's tomb probably lay inside the chapel; by 1720, however, it was set in the nave wall (see fig. 1). It may have been set in the wall by the earlier 17th century, when a tomb there drawn by Dugdale may have been Yotton's.²

1. See note to item 17 below.
2. British Library, Loan MS. 38, f. 15 (reproduced in Shaw, *Staffs*, i, pi. XXVII, facing p. 249, top left-hand drawing).

- 4 As you walk down the south isle the first figure in the walk at¹ the wall of the choir lieth one Capt. Stanley, said to be of the house of Derby, he was a stout and valiant man and is said to have challenged any may to fight with him, not excepting the king, for which insolency the king commanded him to be stripp'd naked from the waist upwards, and to go so till he should repent of that rash challenge; but tho' the king took pity on him to see him go naked and order'd him to wear cloaths again, yet he refused and went so as long as he lived, and so is he figured on the tomb naked from the waist upwards.

a. in *C, D*.

The tomb has been identified as that of George Stanley (d. 1509), younger son of Thomas Stanley of Elford and a landowner in Hammerwich, west of Lichfield city, and not John Stanley of Pipe (d. 1515) as given in the modern brass plaque over the tomb.² It was drawn by Dugdale.³

1. P. Montague-Smith, 'The mystery of the Stanley Memorial, Lichfield Cathedral, and its heraldic solution', *The Coat of Arms*, Heraldry Society, N.s. v, no. 128 (Winter 1983/4).
2. British Library, Loan MS. 38, f. 7v. The sketch of Stanley's body in Shaw, *Staffs*, i, pi. XXIV, after p. 246, bottom left-hand corner, does not match Dugdale's drawing.

- 5 Next we come to the tomb of Dean Heywood³ which is figur'd double, the uppermost resembled him when in prosperity, and the lower when he was as poor as death or a perfect skeleton.

a. Heywood *D*.

Dean Thomas Heywood died aged 82 or 83 in 1492.¹ He had been dean for 35 years and was a considerable benefactor of the cathedral and its clergy.² His tomb was set in the wall of the south choir aisle opposite the fifth bay from the central crossing. It was drawn by Dugdale.³ The lower part only survives. In 1877 it was placed in the north-west corner of the north transept.⁴

1. He was in his 65th year in 1474: Lichfield Cathedral Library MS. 4, f. 27.
2. J. C. Cox, 'Benefactions of Thomas Heywood', *Archaeologia*, lxi(2), 627-9.
3. British Library, Loan MS. 38, f. 7 (reproduced in Shaw, *Staffs*, i, pi. XXV, after p. 248).
4. Inscription *in situ*.

- 6 Next we come to two figures cut out in grey marble, the uppermost is Bishop Langton, who was Lord Treasurer of England, he built that part of the Lady Choir which is added to the old church, also the bridges between the close and the town, the old palace, and Eccleshall Castle; his corps lie under the high altar, but his aforementioned effigies was removed to this place to make room for Bishop Hacket's tomb. The lower figure is Bishop Bead, lately removed and put here for the more convenient placing the seats in the choir. This bishop's sepulchre (with many others) in the time of the civil wars was robbed, in which a light appeared which upon a nearer inspection was no more than a bead of a large size; in this tomb was found a chalice of silver gilt which was afterwards sold at Burton upon Trent; also the head of a crosier staff of silver which 'tis said was bought by Elias Ashmole Esqr formerly a choirister in this cathedral. But the spot on which these figures lie was once the situation of Bishop Scroop whose effigies was destroy'd by the rebels as were many more in this church.

The figures are those now lying separately in the wall of the south choir aisle opposite the sixth bay (no. 8 on fig. 1) and under the arch of the third bay in the same aisle (no. 4 on fig. 1). At present they are identified respectively as the effigies of Bishop Walter Langton (d. 1321) and Bishop Hugh Pattishall (d. 1241). The identifications, however, are very uncertain. Langton's tomb was drawn by Dugdale¹ and the effigy portrayed there bears little resemblance to either of the surviving effigies.² Bishop John Hacket died in 1670 and his tomb was originally placed near the high altar under the arch of the sixth bay on the south side of the choir. In the

late 18th century it was moved to the position here given for the two effigies; the move was required because the choir arches were blocked up as part of restoration work.¹ The effigies were evidently re-sited in the south choir aisle, one (the so-called 'Bishop Pattishall') under the arch of the third bay (where it remains) and the other ('Bishop Langton') under the arch of the second bay. In 1979 the traces of a wall painting were discovered behind Hacket's tomb. To facilitate cleaning, and to expose the painting to view, Hacket's large tomb and the small effigy of 'Bishop Langton' exchanged positions.⁴

The statement that the site had formerly been occupied by an effigy of Richard le Scrope, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1368-98) and later archbishop of York (d. 1405), is unlikely as Scrope was buried in York Minster.⁵

1. British Library, Loan MS. 38, f. 6 (reproduced in Shaw, *Staffs*, i, pi. XXVI, after p. 248).
2. I hope to pursue the matter elsewhere.
3. *VCH Staffs*, iii. 188; cathedral plan in *The Builder*, 7 Feb. 1891.
4. Friends of Lichfield Cathedral, *42nd Annual Report* (1979), 9.
5. *DNB*.

- 7 In the chapel on the south side the Lady Choir, just as you enter, and on the right hand appears the feet only (in the wall) of Sr George Strangeways the word STRANGWAYS only being now legible.

Master George Strangeways became a canon of Lichfield in 1486 and was archdeacon of Coventry some time before 1509. He died in 1512 and was buried at Oxford, not Lichfield.¹ The effigy noted here, therefore, possibly belonged to his contemporary, Canon Edward Strangeways, who was dead by March 1504.² Otherwise there may have been a lay member of the family called George, but he has not been identified. The effigy was drawn in 1780 by the Lichfield antiquary Charles Stringer.

1. A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, iii. 1795-6.
2. *Ibid.* 2217-8.
3. Bodleian Library, G. A. Staffs. 4° 6, facing p. 99.

- 8 In this chapel formerly was two famous monuments belonging to the Paget's family, and late there was buried Mr. John Hutchinson a canon residentiary, which I need not say more of because his monumental tombstone can give a sufficient account. Mrs. Roads wife of the late Reverend Mr. George Roads minister of Blithfield and daughter of the said Mr. Hutchinson was lately buried there.

The Paget monument was that raised in 1577 to the memory of William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert (d. 1563), his eldest son and heir Henry (d. 1568), and their respective wives. It appears that it stood behind the high altar in the middle of the cross aisle, formerly the site of St. Chad's shrine. It was destroyed during the Civil War sieges.¹ The reference here to 'two famous monuments' is presumably an allusion to the commemoration of the two men and their wives.

The tombstone of Canon John Hutchinson (d. 1705) stood to the south in the south choir aisle against its east wall.² His daughter, Elizabeth Roads (or Rhodes), was buried on 2 May 1717.³

1. For a full description and history see Christopher Harrison, 'The Paget Tomb', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 29 (1985), 124-36. An engraving of the tomb illustrated there is taken from Shaw, *Staffs*, i, pi. XVI, facing p. 215, itself based on Dugdale's original in British Library, Loan MS. 38, f. 4.
2. Shaw, *Staffs*, i. 250.
3. *Ibid.*; *Lichfield Cathedral Registers* (Staffs. Parish Register Society, volume for 1973-4), 155.

- 9 In this chapel also between two pillars was a famous figure said to be one of the Lord Bassets of Drayton Basset, a giant like man, who was said to have slain a wild boar on Basset Heath, his effigies lay at full length with a boar at his feet.

Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton (d. 1390), established a chantry at the altar of St. Nicholas.¹ His tomb, which presumably stood near the altar, was situated to the south of the Paget monument, probably in the seventh or eighth bay of the south choir aisle.² It was drawn by Dugdale.³ Basset's head, as well as his feet, rested on a boar, which was probably a family emblem rather than the representation of a particular animal.

1. *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, v. 136.
2. Harwood, *Lichfield*, 54, 94.
3. British Library, Loan MS. 38, f. 4v (reproduced in Shaw, *Staffs*, ii, pi. facing p. 6).

- 10 In the chapel on the north side [of] the Lady Choir was the burial place of two Mercian kings, who were slain in the 10th persecution by order of Dioclesian the emperor, but this place is now chosen for the burial place of^a Dr. Chandler the present Bishop of Lichfield who has there buried one child.

a. by C.

The chapel evidently stood in, or beyond, the north choir aisle rather than in the Lady Chapel. The exact site has not been determined. Possibly it lay in the north-west corner of the cross aisle (in the seventh bay from the central crossing): the plan published by Willis (see fig. 1) shows a doorway in the wall there, which may have provided access to an external chapel. As the alleged burial place of two Mercian kings, the chapel may have occupied a site within the Anglo-Saxon cathedral. One of the kings was certainly Coelred (d. 716),¹ and a late (16th century) Lichfield chronicle records the other as Wulfhere (d. 674).² The reference to the persecution by the Roman Emperor Diocletian relates to a local legend of a massacre of Christians in the Lichfield area.³

The burial of Bishop Chandler's daughter, Barbara, took place in January 1707.⁴

1. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock with D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (1962), 26.

2. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. e Mus. 204, f. 7.

3. The legend is discussed in an article elsewhere in this volume, pp. 1-13.

4. *Lichfield Cathedral Registers* (Staffs. Par. Reg. Soc. volume for 1973-4), 150 (entry under year 1706, i.e. for 1706/7).

- 11 On the ten pillars within the Lady Choir were formerly ten figures which were supposed to be images of the ten virgins mention'd in the 25th chapter of St. Matthew. Five of them were wise and five were foolish with their lamps waiting for the coming of the bridegroom.

The statues were probably destroyed during the Civil War, and the writer is merely reporting information given him at Lichfield. The niches are now occupied by statues of female saints.

- 12 Overcross the middle of the said choir was formerly a rood loft finely carved and gilded, and St. Chad's shrine, but destroy'd in time of war.

The rood evidently divided the Lady Chapel from the two-bayed cross aisle behind the high altar. Access may have been by a stair inside the corner pier on the north side of the chapel (see fig. 1). St. Chad's shrine stood before the screen, on a site later occupied by the Paget monument.¹ The remains of a relief panel, possibly from the shrine, was drawn by Stukeley on a later visit to Lichfield in 1736.²

1. For a note on St. Chad's shrine in the light of recent research by Douglas Johnson see *Friends of Lichfield Cathedral*, 51st Annual Report (1988).

2. Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Eccles. d. 6, f. 10v. It was again drawn 'very correctly' with measurements by John Carter in 1782; British Library Add. MS. 29,925, f. 204.

- 13 The partition there between the two choirs is a fine piece of architecture but greatly damaged during the civil war particularly the heads of the cherubs, which are every one broken. The niches where formerly stood images are of most elegant workmanship for the whole is uniform yet the capitals and basses are quite different throughout.

The screen stood immediately behind the high altar on the west side of St. Chad's shrine.

- 14 Within the wall on the south side of this choir are 3 little chapels, through one of them is a door and passage out of the church. Under these three little chapels are 3 little vaults but nothing in them but rubbish. Under the prebendaries vestry is a large vault which serves for a charnel house.

a. *Omitted in C.*

The chapels are built between the buttresses on the south side of the Lady Chapel. There is a doorway into the easternmost chapel, from which there is access to the middle chapel; the westernmost chapel has its own doorway from the Lady Chapel. The vaults were formerly entered from steps at the west end of the westernmost chapel. It has been suggested that the so-called 'chapels' were in fact designed not for the celebration of the Eucharist (being too small for that purpose) but as sacristies or vestries for chantry chaplains who served the altar in the Lady Chapel.¹ By the time of Stukeley's account the entrance to the easternmost chapel faced another doorway in the chapel's south wall giving egress out of the cathedral. Possibly that doorway was a later insertion, as each 'chapel' apparently had external tomb recesses in the Middle Ages.

The 'prebendaries' vestry' refers to an external building on the side of the south choir aisle, the upper part of which now accommodates St. Chad's Head chapel. The ground-floor chamber is shown as the prebendaries' vestry on Willis's plan (see fig. 1). In the Middle Ages it was known as St. Peter's chapel and contained an altar at which a chantry for Dean William de Mancetter (d. 1254) was celebrated. The two-storied building was evidently constructed at Mancetter's direction, and he was buried in its outer wall on the south side.¹ A vault, contemporary with the rest of the building, was entered from the chapel by a stair in a south-east turret. Both the vestry and the vault were inhabited by squatters during the Commonwealth period.² In 1797 the vault was reserved as the burial place of members of the Paget family.³

For an entry relating to what was another 'St. Peter's chapel' see item 18.

1. J. C. Cox, 'The Mortuary Chapels of Lichfield Cathedral', *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, i (January, 1879), 116-26.
2. *VCH Staffs*, iii. 150.
3. *TSSAHS* xxv. 49.
4. LJRO, D. 30/hebdomadary act bk. x (1785-1802), entry for 28 April 1797.

- 15 On the buttresses on the outside [of] this choir are places for 24 figures supposed to have been the 12 patriarchs and the 12 apostles.

The writer is evidently reporting information given him at Lichfield. None of the statues has survived.

- 16 Over the north door of the cross isle of the body of this cathedral church is the root of Jesse or the descent of kings from David to the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations; and from thence to Christ are fourteen generations. Also the descent of priests &c and the figure of Christ on the middle pillar.

Work on the north transept was probably completed, or was near completion, by 1241 when Bishop Hugh Pattishall was buried there before the altar of St. Stephen.¹

1. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 439; see fig. 1. There is a reference in 1523 to Pattishall's chantry at St. Stephen's altar; URO, D. 30/C.A. iii, f. 138v.

- 17 Near unto this door is the library.

The library was a detached building beside the north transept and parallel to the nave. Dean Heywood gave £40 towards its construction in 1490, and it was finished at the expense of Dean John Yotton (d. 1512).¹ It was made of brick.² It was adjoined, possibly on the north, by a house for the chapter clerk.³ That house was evidently timber-framed and its demolition was ordered by the chapter in 1757 because it was considered a fire-risk to the cathedral. The same order was extended to the library in order to improve the aspect of that part of the Close; its removal took place in 1758.⁴

1. *VCH Staffs*, iii. 166.
2. British Library, Add. MS. 5829, f. 2v.
3. *TSSAHS*, xxv. 46 (items 38-9).
4. LJRO, D. 30/C.A. viii, f. 35v.; *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxix(1), 4.

- 18 In St. Peter's chapel (which is now a place to lay ladders and scaffolding) was painted upon the wall St. Peter crucified with his head downwards, and two other apostles. And in this place is the noted St. Chad's tomb tho' defaced, removed from the Lady Choir to be put here since the Restoration.

As noted above (item 14) the medieval chapel of St. Peter, in a building adjoining the south choir aisle, was occupied in the 18th century as a vestry. It is difficult, therefore, to reconcile this entry which has the chapel used as a store room. Moreover, the previous two entries refer to sites on the north side of the cathedral, suggesting that the chapel mentioned here was also in that area. Most probably St. Peter's was the name given in the 18th century to a chapel which lay over the vestibule to the chapter house, now an annexe to the cathedral library.¹ At any rate the annexe was known as St. Peter's chapel in 1896.² In the Middle Ages it presumably bore a different name, St. Peter's certainly referring in that period to the south choir aisle building.³

The survival of part of St. Chad's shrine from the cross aisle behind the high altar is a matter of interest. It is not known what later happened to the remains.

1. Wrongly suggested as the site of Dean Heywood's chapel of Jesus and St. Anne in *VCH Staffs*, iii. 165 note 77. Heywood's chapel was situated in a solar at the north end of the pulpitum, apparently across the north choir aisle: Lichfield Cathedral Library, MS. 5, ff. 22v.-3.
2. LJRO, D. 30/C.A. xv, p. 365.
3. *SHC*, 1924, p. 19.

- 19 In the middle choir upon six of the pillars are six figures, 3 on each side; the first is St. Peter and at his feet is a little cross which shews him crucified with his head downwards. The 2nd is the Virgin Mary. The 3rd is Mary Magdalen figured with her leg and part of her thigh bare as an emblem of her wantoness. On the other side is 1st St. James [*written after Philip struck through*], 2nd St. Philip, 3rd St. Christopher with Christ on his back.

The figures were noted in 1634 as being 'fair-gilt'.¹ They may be identifiable as the defaced statues drawn in 1782 by John Carter, the antiquary.²

1. *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties, 1634*, ed. L. G. Wickham Legg (1904), 58.
2. British Library, Add MS. 29,925, f. 203.

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- 3 Oct. (L) Annual General Meeting
The Black Country Museum Trust — Ian Walden
- 17 Oct. (L) Life and Times of Erasmus Darwin — Dr. D. G. King-Hele
- 7 Nov (L) Archaeology of Lichfield Cathedral — Dr. Warwick Rodwell
- 21 Nov (T) Leicestershire Archaeology — Robert Rutland
- 5 Dec. (L) New Discoveries at Stafford Castle — Charles Hill
- 19 Dec. (T) The Riches of British Archaeology — Andrew Selkirk

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- 16 Jan. (T) Archaeology of the Peak District — Ken Smith
- 6 Feb. (L) Kuhan Project, Egypt — Dr. Rosalie David
- 20 Feb. (T) Development of Roman Wall Paintings — Dr. John Cole
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- 20 Mar (T) The Stanley Family — Dr. D. T. Williams
- (L) St. Mary's Heritage Centre, Lichfield
- (T) Rawlett School, Comberford Road, Tamworth