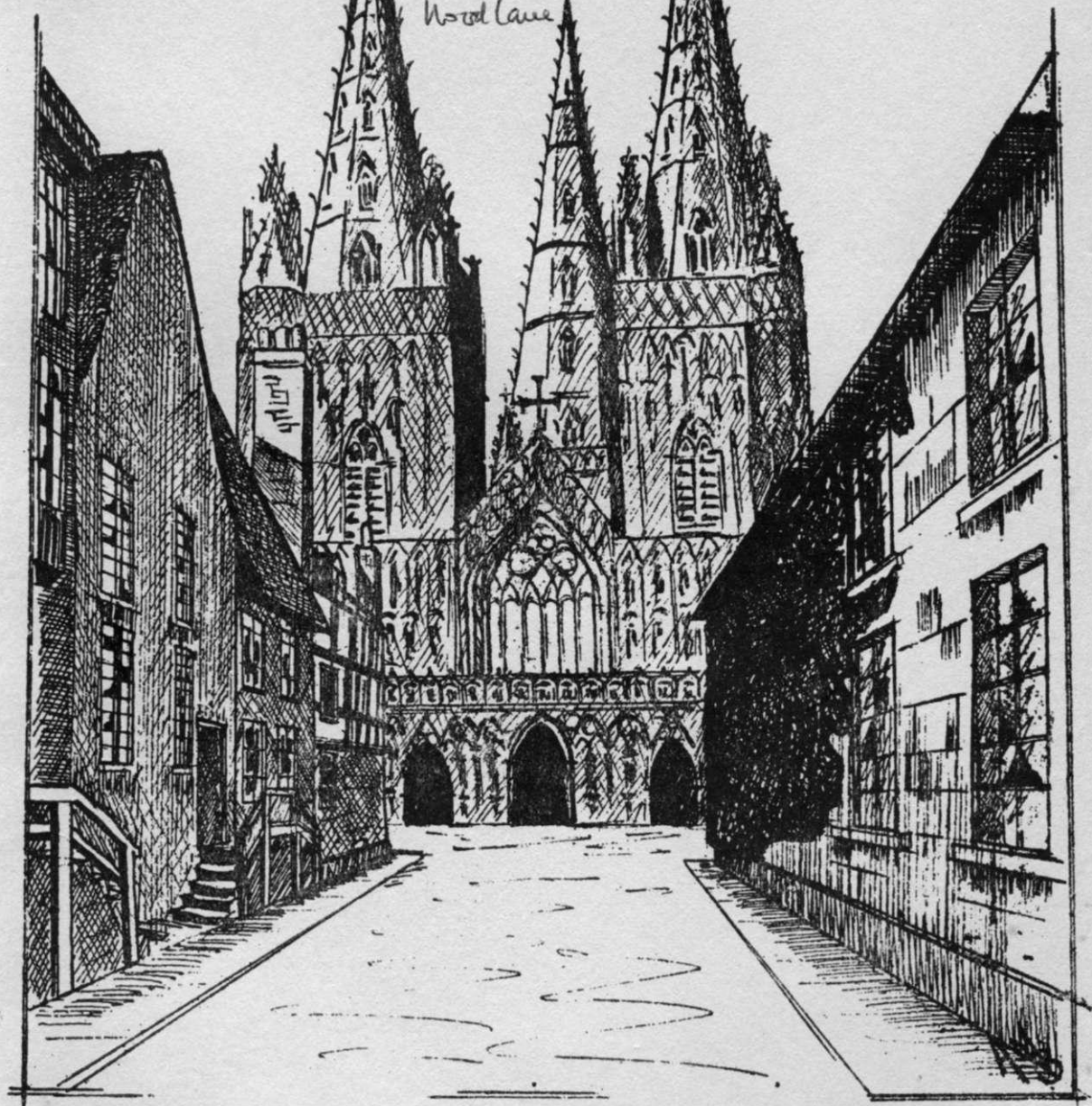


Excavation of
Vicars' Close
Cruck-framed
houses. Unfold
diagram.

includes
Wood Lane

Midland Goldsmiths of
the Elizabethan period
Shenstone area development
pre enclosures.



LICHFIELD AND SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRANSACTIONS 1961-62 VOLUME III

LICHFIELD AND SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE
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MIDLAND GOLDSMITHS OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

S. A. JEAVONS, F.S.A.

THE ENGLISH GOLDSMITHS have for many centuries played an important part in the economic life of the country and this was particularly true in the sixteenth century. It was an age yet to discover the use of china and hardly aware of the possibilities of glass for tableware; the people ate and drank from vessels of gold, silver, pewter and wood according to their status in life. From the earliest times the kings and nobles had used cups, plates and other domestic articles made from gold and silver. With the rising standard of wealth in the country a new class of society had arisen by the sixteenth century, the great merchant-princes, who demanded the right to acquire the luxuries hitherto enjoyed only by the upper ranks of the laity and clergy. This meant increased business for the goldsmiths, who turned out increasing quantities of dishes, jugs, plates, salts, wine-cups and basins and ewers of precious metal; the latter were used for the washing of hands at the table, since forks had not as yet become fashionable.

London was the great centre for the goldsmiths. In 1569 there were sixty-eight goldsmiths living in the Chepe and another twenty in Lombard Street.¹ Goldsmiths also practised outside the capital and in medieval times Assay Offices were opened in such places as Barnstaple, Exeter, Plymouth, Hull, Lincoln, Norwich and York. In 1571 there were two freemen of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths living in Lichfield and a significant reminder that goldsmiths worked in this city is reflected in the nomenclature; there is still a Lombard Street near the centre of the ancient part of the city. The fact that in 1620 some 767 persons were ordered to pay quarterage gives us some indication of the number of goldsmiths working in that year.² The list of the London makers' marks given by Jackson from 1600 to 1639 come to just under 350, so it is obvious that a large number of goldsmiths were scattered up and down the country.

In addition to the provision of plate for the laity the goldsmiths had another important source of income. This was provided by the Church and its attached institutions rising out of the monastic system. They were great benefactors of the arts and the goldsmiths responded to the call for magnificent chalices, candlesticks, crucifixes, crosses, pyxes and other altar furnishings, all these and the embellishing of the shrines of saints gave the goldsmiths every opportunity to display the potentialities of gold and silver. With the Reformation this source of wealth dried up and in a few years practically the entire contribution of the medieval goldsmiths' work for the Church was confiscated. Only a few vessels have survived to give us some idea of the treasures that belonged to the Church during the Gothic period.

On the 4th of April 1536 an Act was passed dissolving all monastic houses with an income of less than £200 per annum, but this measure only took about one-eighth of the properties

¹ J. E. Nightingale, *Church Plate of Dorset* (1889), p.13.

² G. Taylor, *Silver* (Penguin 1956), p. 68.

belonging to the monasteries. It was the first step towards the final dissolution and confiscation of all the entire monastic property in England. In 1539 an Act of Parliament legalized the confiscation of the plate belonging to the larger monasteries and the defacement of all shrines. Some of the heads of the religious houses attempted to dispose of their plate before the Commissioners could get to it. At one of the Ludlow Friaries the brethren hid two chalices, a paten and two cruets in an old hose and put it in a ditch at the back of the house. The Pillaton chalice and paten was discovered when the hall was pulled down and Charles Oman argues most convincingly that these originally belonged to the Priory of St. Thomas at Stafford.³ More recently I discovered a cup at Maxstoke in Warwickshire, this had probably belonged originally to the Priory there and had been given by the Prior to his tenant on the farm for safe keeping before the arrival of the Commissioners. It had stayed in the hands of this family for over four hundred years, serving at one time as a sugar bowl! Unfortunately piety played little part in the saving of plate from the Commissioners; private greed was the main motive, with the result that little church plate has come down to us from the pre-Reformation period.

Inevitably these measures did not satisfy the king and his advisors and in 1545 Parliament passed the Act of Dissolution of Colleges, Free Chapels, Chantries, Hospitals, Guilds and Stipendiary Priests. In 1547 and again in 1549 inventories of church plate were ordered; these measures were ominous and many churchwardens forestalled the Commissioners by selling surplus plate, using the money for repairs to the church. The records also show that there had been an unprecedented number of thefts from churches at this period. The foresight of the churchwardens who sold their plate was justified, as on the 16th of January, 1553, a commission was issued to confiscate such church goods as could be turned into money, when it was ordered that "all ready money, plate, and Jewells are to be confiscated to the King's use, all copes, rich vestments, and bells to be sold, and the profits to be given to the King". This resulted in the Commissioners seizing all the plate except for a single chalice and paten for the smaller churches and two chalices for the larger churches and cathedrals.

The Inventory of Church Goods and Ornaments taken in Staffordshire in 6 E. VI (1552) contains a number of interesting items.⁴ Although it does not reveal the total amount of plate and goods in the churches before the Reformation, it shows that Eccleshall possessed four chalices, of which the Commissioners seized two; Gnosall still had three chalices, but had sold another to raise money for church repairs. Seventeen parishes had two chalices, of these only Handsworth had the foresight to convert the two chalices into a single vessel before the arrival of the Commissioners, the sixteen other parishes were only allowed to retain one of the chalices. The parishes of Penkridge, Sandon, Stretton, Tamworth and Walsall disposed of some of their bells and used the money for various purposes; other parishes which sold items belonging to the church include Clifton Campville, the three Lichfield churches, Pattingham, Rowley, Tettenhall and Weston-under-Lizard.

The memorandum attached to the entry for Tettenhall records "That ther was solde by the consent of the parish often goodes and plate before the makynge of the fyrste inventorey that came to the somme of vi/i iiis iiid and all was bestoed of the reparacons of the churche save xxs *Hid* whiche remenyth in the hands of Humfrey Wyghtwycke and Richard Wyghtwycke then churchwardens". The parishes of Castle Church, Church Eaton and Longdon all

³ C. C. Oman, *English Church Plate*, (O.U.P. 1957), p. 119.

⁴ F. J. Wrottesley, *Inventory of Church Goods, 1553. Historical Collections of Staffordshire*, vi (i) New series, pp. 167-90.

S. W. Hutchinson, *The Archdeaconry of Stoke-on-Trent*, pp. 168-90. (Bemrose 1893).

report a chalice being stolen. The memorandum at Kingswinford reads "That the churchwardens and other say that ii challeges were stolen out of the church aboute bartholmowe tyde which was in the seconde yere of the Raygne of our Soveraygne Lord Kinge Edward the syxt".

Some idea of the amount of plate and furnishings owned by the parish churches in Staffordshire may be gained from the following extract from the Commissioners Report on Uttoxeter, a small market town. Here several of the parishioners had acted independently before the arrival of the Commissioners as the memorandum shows.—

"MD. on crosse of silver parcell gilte weing xlii ounces was solde by Thomas Harte, Thomas More, Richard Starten, Robte Russell, William Harte, John Taylor, Thomas Chamberlen, William Midleton, Raffe Bagnold and Robert Taylor, parishonars there for iiiis viiicf an ounce, to William Mastergent and Richard Fliar without thassent of other the parishonars, which comes to ix/i xvis whiche some of ixfl x\ls was delyvered to Thomas Harte and others above named.

"MD. ii sensors of silver sold by John Tayllor and Lewes Walker, for ix/j xvis which was delyvered to Thomas Chamberlen and Thomas Dudley, then churchwardens.

"MD. on challes of silver parcell gilte sold by Thomas Harte and Richard Starten, of the Church still for *Is*.

"Itm. ii brason candlestikes sold by Thomas Harte and Thomas Dudley, for howe muche they cannot tell.

"MD. on shippe supposed to be silver, stolne, as they say, but bi home they know nott."

On the 22nd of March 1559 Queen Elizabeth restored the cup to the laity by proclamation, this had important repercussions on the liturgy and to the trade of the goldsmiths. About 1560, the alteration of chalices into communion cups became compulsory; prior to this, both chalices and cups were being used. One of the reasons for the decision to abolish chalices may have been to remove the possibility of the priest using the chalice for the Reformed service in the morning and later using the same vessel for mass at the manor. Also the cups could be made to hold more wine (and doubtless their shape was influenced by the Swiss and other Continental Reformers). Basically the Elizabethan communion cup is a beaker raised upon a stem and foot. Examples of the Continental type of beaker can be seen at Milverton and Wolford in Warwickshire.⁵

It was impossible to convert all the chalices at the same time and some attempt had to be made to stagger the process; this is dealt with at length by Charles Oman.⁶ It would seem that Matthew Parker verbally gave the order to convert the chalices about 1560 and the year 1562 saw a large number of communion cups in the Dioceses of Canterbury and London. No general order was ever made for conversion, although a number exist at diocesan level. The Diocese of Rochester issued the earliest in 1565, the main year for Norwich was 1567, Chichester 1568, Lincoln and Winchester 1568-9, Ely and Peterborough 1569-70 and Worcester 1571. When the instructions were given to Oxford in 1575 and to Gloucester a year later, it would appear to be a formality, as by then most of the parishes had already converted their chalices. No documentary evidence regarding the Lichfield Diocese has yet been found; Bishop Bentham's injunctions for Coventry and Lichfield in 1565 contain nothing regarding the converting of chalices into cups. Mr. Oman suggested that when the plate in the counties

⁵ Illustrated in S. A. Jeavons, *Church Plate of Warwickshire, Diocese of Coventry*, (O.U.P. 1962), plates 3 (b) and 25 (a).

⁶ C. C. Oman, *English Church Plate*, (O.U.P. 1957), pp. 129-140.

of Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire had been catalogued a clearer picture of the position in the old Diocese of Lichfield might emerge. This the writer has now done and as a result the following facts regarding the Elizabethan plate emerge.⁷

What instructions remain regarding the conversion of chalices imply that the churchwardens did not need to involve themselves in raising any money for this purpose. This would account for the smallness of the cups at Taddington, Derbyshire, which only weighs 3 oz. 17 dwt. and that at Coppenhall, Staffordshire, weighs 5 oz. This was also the case at Pipe Ridware, Staffordshire with a cup that weighs 5 oz. and the entry by the Commissioners in the Inventory of 1552 explains the smallness of this vessel "Fyrste one challyce the cuppe of hit sylver and the fote tynne".

A large chalice could be made into a cup holding double the quantity and it seems that some churchwardens had the foresight to send two chalices to the silversmith in order to get a large cup. This of course had to be done before the arrival of the Commissioners, otherwise it was too late and the unfortunate parish was compelled to hand over all its plate and were only allowed to retain one chalice and paten, unless the church was a large one, when it was possible that the Commissioners might leave them two chalices. A memorandum by the Commissioners in 1552 at Handsworth, Staffordshire reads "That there tooe chalyses in the olde inventorye which ii challeges be now made into one challes". This may have been the case at Badsey, Worcestershire, a daughter church from the rich abbey at Evesham, for the entry in the churchwardens' accounts record a repayment from the silversmith "and when the chalys was changed for a cup Received of ouer plusse *xs vid*". In some cases the parishes provided extra money in order to obtain a larger cup from the conversion, as happened at Southam, Warwickshire. This is recorded by an entry in the churchwardens' accounts of 1584 "Itm we payed for the change of our cuppe viij *lid*".

It is interesting to compare the sources and distribution of the Elizabethan communion cups in certain of the Midland counties, and below is a classified list.

	Provincial maker					London maker
Derbyshire	..	..	..	..	17 cups	5 cups
Dorset	..	..	..	..	32 cups	71 cups
Gloucestershire	..	..	..	..	13 cups	69 cups
Leicestershire	..	..	..	..	51 cups	39 cups
Northamptonshire	..	..	..	..	17 cups	89 cups
Oxfordshire	..	..	..	..	19 cups	65 cups
Staffordshire	..	..	..	..	14 cups	5 cups
Wiltshire	..	..	..	..	27 cups	53 cups
Warwickshire	..	..	..	..	45 cups and	5 cups
					3 patens without cups	

It will be seen from this that Warwickshire has retained fifty cups and three patens without cups, Derbyshire twenty-two cups and Staffordshire nineteen cups. In spite of the smallness of the number of cups left in the last two counties, the overall picture is that the local goldsmiths were responsible for converting over three-quarters of the chalices in the Lichfield Diocese.

⁷ S. A. Jeavons, *Church Plate in the Archdeaconry of Stafford and Church Plate in the Archdeaconry of Stoke. Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, vol. 73, pp. 1-62; vol. 77, pp. 59-89.
Church Plate of Warwickshire, The Diocese of Coventry. (O.U.P. 1962).
Church Plate of Derbyshire. The Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, vol. 81.



A survey of the dates of the cups in the Diocese, although limited by the fact that most of the cups by local makers are without dates, does throw some light on the problem of conversion.

Derbyshire

Findern, 1564 H.M.
Norton, 1568 H.M.
Taddington, 1568 H.M.
Wilne, 1568 H.M.
Ashover, paten, 1581
Fairfield, 1595 H.M.

Staffordshire

Blymhill, 1562 H.M.
Shareshill, 1562 H.M.
Yoxall, 1571 H.M.
Biddulph, 1588 H.M.
Codsall, 1592 H.M.

Warwickshire

Milverton, 1570
Bishopton, 1571 H.M.
Kinwarton, 1571 H.M.
Morton Bagot, 1571
Norton Lindsey, 1571
Ilmington, 1571
Preston Bagot, 1571
Upper Shuckburgh, 1571
Wasperton, 1571
Styvechale, 1572
Lower Shuckburgh, 1574
Lillington, 1575
Farnborough, 1576

Warwickshire—cont.

Harbury, 1576
Offchurch, 1576
Coventry, St. Paul, 1577 H.M.
Hill Morton, 1577
Wormleighton, 1582 H.M.
Claverdon, 1583
Southam, 1584
Long Itchington, 1587
Long Compton, 1591 H.M.

H.M. = Hall-mark

Nine groups of cups by local makers emerge from this survey and they appear to have been based in three centres, at Coventry, Lichfield and Nottingham. The most outstanding group of goldsmiths are three craftsmen apparently working at Coventry (see Maps 1 and 2). Dated cups by these men indicate a working span of 1570-1608. By far the most prolific of these goldsmiths was the maker whose mark was *a rose*, he was responsible for over sixty vessels still to be found in the Midlands (see Map 1). His work falls into two groups. The first type has a beaker-shaped bowl with a flat base upon a spool-shaped stem and domed foot. This is found mainly in Leicestershire extending in an arc east of Leicester and curving along the borders of Derbyshire and Warwickshire, penetrating into the latter. The second type of cup has a somewhat narrower beaker-shaped bowl, with a curved base on a narrow neck, resting upon a frilled flange above a short spool-shaped stem and domed foot. The distribution of this type of cup is more widespread and extends over six counties. It has been suggested that these two groups are the work of separate goldsmiths; this is not the case as the first type of cup is to be found in seven parishes in Warwickshire in an area where the second type predominates. Furthermore at Welford in Warwickshire, near the borders of Oxfordshire, is a cup where the bowl of type two has been placed upon the stem and foot of type one; a combination that is not successful and must have taught the craftsman to keep his two styles separate. The origin of the first type is probably the Edwardian cup at Great Houghton, Northamptonshire. With the exception of a late cup at Higham-on-the-Hill, none of the Leicestershire cups are dated. They are most probably a little earlier than type two; a date of 1569-70 would be in keeping.

Charles Oman in his *English Church Plate* has suggested that the communion cups of 1570 at Cirencester by Robert Taylboyes were the model from which the *rose* maker designed his second type. This may well be, but there is another example within the Lichfield Diocese at Blymhill in Staffordshire which has a cup of 1562 by a London maker with a mark *IF within a shaped shield* (see Plate 6c). The general style of this cup has a great deal in common with the work of the maker with the *rose* mark and also with the second Coventry maker, whose work bears the mark */F within a dotted circle*. This also raises the question as to whether the London goldsmith with the */F* mark was any relation to the Warwickshire craftsman with the same initials.

MAP 2 — LOCATION OF COMMUNION CUPS
ATTRIBUTED TO COVENTRY GOLDSMITHS



Although the output of this second Coventry goldsmith does not appear to have been as large as that by the *rose* maker, he was more versatile and cups bearing the /F mark are found in five counties (see Map 2). His work falls into four types, the first two are similar to those of type one and two of the *rose* maker. The third type has a beaker-shaped bowl with a flat base on a short, spool-shaped stem, incorporating the frilled flange at the neck. In the fourth type he uses the bowl of type two with the rounded base and places it upon a baluster stem that is embellished with the typical frilled flange. This stem seems a combination of that on the cup at St. Mary, Aldermary of 1549 and the stem of St. Michael's, Southampton of 1551, the latter having a bowl very similar to that used by both of the Coventry craftsmen in their second type of cup. This familiarity with the London styles makes the suggested relationship seem probable.

The third goldsmith, whose mark *a cross within a circle with a pellet at the intersection of each arm* is found upon cups in Leicestershire and Warwickshire. These are grouped in such a manner as to suggest that Coventry was the source (see Map 2). This craftsman uses two styles, one being similar to the first type of both the *rose* and /F makers; the second style resembles the type used by the /F maker. The marked similarity of the styles of these three goldsmiths and the way in which their work is grouped together raises a problem. Were they local business rivals who each copied the others' designs or were they partners in a very successful business? This is a question that must remain unanswered until documentary evidence is found.

There appears to have been another local goldsmith working in Warwickshire. His mark was a *fleur-de-lys* and he was not the craftsman responsible for the cups in Northamptonshire. Again his work is found in Warwickshire and Leicestershire, grouped in such a manner as to suggest that his workshop was situated in Coventry. He appears to have commenced business later than the other Coventry craftsmen, the earliest dated cup at Lillington in Warwickshire is inscribed 1575 and he was still in business in 1618 as a cup at Shilton in the same county shows. His work falls into three types, the bowls differ in each group and he favours a wide truncated foot, sometimes using a flat flange on these. His latest cup at Shilton is a debased copy of the style used by the *rose* maker in his second type.

The work of two other Midland goldsmiths are found in the counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire (see Map 3). The vessels are grouped in such a manner as to suggest that both these craftsmen had their workshops in Nottingham. The maker with the largest number of cups had a mark of *a leopard's head in a shaped shield*. This was so like the London mark that it caused a certain amount of trouble to the Goldsmith's Company, who complained to the Archbishop of York about this practice.* His cups have a deep beaker-shaped bowl with a curved base on a spool-shaped stem and domed foot, as can be seen at Barlborough (Plate 7b).

The second maker used a mark *NG*, *a maiden head couped between*, the letters appear reversed on the vessel, as at Weston-on-Trent (Plate 4b). His style is sturdy rather than graceful, with a beaker-shaped bowl on a spool-shaped stem with a large round central knot and domed foot, probably dating to 1569-70. This maker has since been identified by Mrs. How as Nicholas Goston of Nottingham.

Three distinct groups of cups are found in Staffordshire and just over the county boundaries in Derbyshire and Shropshire (see Map 4). Their geographical position suggests that the goldsmiths were based in Lichfield. This city had goldsmiths in the thirteenth and fourteenth

* C. C. Oman, *English Church Plate*, (O.U.P. 1957) p. 140.

centuries as will be seen from the *Magnum Registrum Album*, edited by Dean Savage, *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 1924. No. 741, folio 287, dated 1267 concerns Godfrey de Stafford, Goldsmith and No. 432, folio 198 records the grants of William Young (Juvenis) Goldsmith, Lichfield, no date is given but the Album was compiled between 1317 and 1328 though some documents copied are earlier. In 1571 there were two freemen of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths living in Lichfield.

Only one of these groups bear a maker's mark, this although very indistinct on most of the six cups appears to *ht IV, a brooch between pellets above*. This craftsman's work is spread over the three counties (see Map 4) and only three cups are dated, Mickleover 1606, Sheriffhales 1618 and Doveridge 1619. The dated cups rather indicate that his work is late Elizabethan and early seventeenth century. This does not preclude the possibility that he was in business *circa* 1570, the base of the bowls of his cups are rounded in the manner of the Edwardian type, although this may be a case of the earlier style lingering on in the provinces.

The cups of the "Barton" type are also found in the three counties and none are marked. The five cups have deep beaker-shaped bowls with a curved base on a short truncated foot and that at Barton-under-Needwood is a typical example (Plate 8c).

The eight cups that form the "Coppenhall" group are all found in Staffordshire (see Map 4) and in these the base of the beaker-shaped bowl is flat and rests upon a short, wide truncated stem. A distinctive feature on six of the cups is the band of decoration which encircles the bowl and contains lozenge ornament. None of the "Barton" or "Coppenhall" cups are marked or dated, but I would suggest a date somewhere between 1565-70, and for the following reasons. In the first place we see at Blymhill and Shareshill that a start had been made to convert the chalices into cups as early as 1562 in Staffordshire. Secondly, the Coventry goldsmiths failed to penetrate into Staffordshire, this surely suggests that the majority of the parishes had already converted their chalices into cups before 1571. Thirdly, the cups of the maker / *V* and the "Barton" types both have rounded bases, a feature of the Edwardian cups. Finally, the remaining patens to the "Coppenhall" cups are all of the saucer type. It should not be overlooked that the lozenge *motif* dominating the strapwork on the "Coppenhall" cups is also found amongst the scrollwork on the Barton-under-Needwood cup; this indicates the possibility of the two types coming from the same workshop.

It would seem that the following conclusions can be drawn from this survey:—

- (a) The remaining cups with hall-marks or those that are dated indicate that the conversion in the Diocese was gradual, but began earlier in Staffordshire and Derbyshire; the former in 1562 and the latter in 1564.
- (b) The process of the conversion in the three counties was uneven. It would appear that the majority of the parishes in Staffordshire had converted their chalices by 1570. This is indicated by the failure of the business-like Coventry goldsmiths to penetrate into the county, the only exception being Thorpe Constantine, a parish right on the border of Leicestershire. Again the style of the Staffordshire cups seem to be modelled on the Edwardian pattern, with round bases to the bowls and the patens are all of the single depression type.
- (c) It would appear that the conversion began early in Derbyshire as the cup of 1564 at Findern indicates. Again the failure of the Coventry goldsmiths to obtain commissions in the county suggest that the bulk of the parishes had converted by 1571. This was due to several factors, in the first place, the Lichfield and Nottingham goldsmiths had got in before 1570. Secondly, it is quite possible that after an early start to conversion, the

process ceased and that a large number of parishes never had an Elizabethan communion cup. This is indicated by the large number of seventeenth century secular cups still being used in the churches of Derbyshire. For example there is a lovely covered cup of 1584 at Frecheville, another covered cup of 1594 at Brailsford and a cup at Scarcliffe of 1599. At Kedleston, there is a fine cup of 1601 and another of the same year at Dronfield, also a cup of 1609 at South Wingfield, doubtless a gift from the manor-house. It is hardly likely that the churches would have acquired these early cups had they possessed an Elizabethan communion cup. This practice of giving domestic cups to the churches in Derbyshire seems to have been very fashionable, as there are another fifteen seventeenth century cups still being used in the county. Another factor that supports this suggestion is the fine collection of chalices from the reign of James I that are to be found in a line along the south-west border of the county, those at Marston Montgomery, Melbourne and Mickleover are from the year 1606, Hartshorne 1611, Doveridge 1619 and Marston-on-Dove. Apart from Melbourne it seems most improbable that such small parishes would need an extra cup so early in the seventeenth century, had they possessed an Elizabethan communion cup.

- (d) The conversion in Warwickshire seems to have taken place later. This is probably due to two reasons; first, part of the county was in the Diocese of Worcester, where the conversion took place in 1571. Secondly, it would appear that the opinion of Charles Oman, when he stated that it was possible that no formal date was given for conversion in the Lichfield Diocese, was correct. All the indications are of a gradual conversion, doubtless due to a verbal appeal by the Bishop. This would account for the fact that the majority of the remaining cups in Staffordshire cluster around the area most likely to see most of him, namely the Cathedral and his residence at Eccleshall. With this in mind it is easy to visualize the conversion starting early from this area of the Diocese and gradually spreading to the outer parts of the Diocese at a later date.
- (e) The local goldsmiths seized the opportunity created by the conversion of chalices into communion cups and did a thriving business to the detriment of the more famous London craftsmen; this lasted until well into the reign of James I. Afterwards the trade went back to their London competitors and few examples of church plate made by a local goldsmith remain in the Diocese after 1625. These exceptions are the chalice at Wingerworth, Derbyshire of *circa* 1640, made by a silversmith with the mark *A B crowned*; there is a tankard with this mark of about the same date, belonging to Captain Drury-Lowe at Locko Park, near Derby. At Breadsall, in the same county is a chalice from the reign of Charles I that is the work of a local goldsmith, unfortunately the maker's mark is badly rubbed. Later in the seventeenth century the Midland goldsmith with the mark *R D* (possibly Richard Dixon of Deritend, Birmingham) made a paten for Drayton Bassett and a chalice for Aldridge, both in Staffordshire, and a maker with the mark *E R*, a chalice for Longnor in the same county.

So far only one goldsmith has been identified, Nicholas Goston of Nottingham, with the mark *N G a maiden head couped between* by Mrs. How. In view of the large number of parishes concerned, the writer hopes that in the not too distant future, some local scholar will find the necessary documents that will enable us to name more of these enterprising Midland goldsmiths.

The following extracts from the Court Books of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths throws some light on the Elizabethan period.

- (i) In 1573 the Wardens made a tour of the Midlands and Northern Counties. They inspected the work of John and Robert Longe at Northampton, John Sparrie at Coventry and Thomas Brett at Nantwich.
- (ii) In 1571 and again in 1575 the Clerk compiled a list of freemen living out of London, with the following results:

Staffordshire: John Gladwyn, Lichfield.
 Nicholas Collyns, Lichfield.
 Warwickshire: John Saunders, Coventry.
 Leicestershire: Robert Raynes, Stanford-on-Soare.
 Worcestershire: Henry Sherley, Worcester.

The names mentioned in (i) are normally those of working goldsmiths. With regard to (ii) there is always a doubt, as by this period a freeman of the Worshipful Company might have no real connection with the trade. He might also be a goldsmith who had made his fortune in London and retired to end his days as a country gentleman. With regard to the two Lichfield freemen, this survey shows that it is extremely likely that they were practising goldsmiths in the city during the latter part of the sixteenth century.

INVENTORY

Maker with a *rose mark* (*fl.* 1571-1608). Map I.

A goldsmith who appears to have had the largest output in the Midlands during the Elizabethan period. Forty-four churches still retain cups made by him and two other parishes have a paten-cover bearing his mark. In addition seventeen churches still have their Elizabethan communion cups and although these are unmarked, their style is so similar to those bearing the *rose mark*, that they must have come from his workshop. His cups are in two styles.

TYPE I

A beaker-shaped bowl with a flat, moulded base on a spool-shaped stem, with a central, narrow pressed knot and a domed, stepped foot. The base of the stem is embellished with a band of vertical reed moulding, a feature that is repeated round the edge of the foot. The bowl is decorated with a band of hit-and-miss or floral scroll, divided into several sections by inverted hour-glass curves. This type of cup is only found in Leicestershire and Warwickshire. In Leicestershire the following churches still retain their cup and paten-cover by this maker, Church Langton, Heather, Higham-on-the-Hill (dated 1608 (Plate 2b), Lubenham, Nailstone and Welham; whilst cups without their paten-covers are at Belton, Billesdon, Carlton, Gaddesby, Market Bosworth (Plate 2a), Rearsby, Sheepy, Syston, Thurmaston and Witherley. In the same county are a number of Elizabethan communion cups, which although without marks are obviously from the workshop of this silversmith and are to be found at Blackfordby, Hugglescote, Stoney Stanton and Thurnby. Warwickshire churches retaining vessels with this maker's mark are — Lower Shuckburgh, a cup and paten-cover (dated 1574), Harbury a cup and paten-cover (dated 1576) and a cup at Little Packington. Similar vessels without marks are found at Long Itchington, a cup and paten-cover (dated 1587) and Haseley another cup and paten-cover; cups are found at Barston, Bubbenhall and Radford Semele.

TYPE II

A somewhat narrower beaker-shaped bowl, rounded at the base on a short neck ornamented with vertical reed moulding. Below is a fluted flange resting upon a spool-shaped stem with

a round central knot, a band of reed moulding separates the base of the stem from the domed foot, the edge of which is embellished with a further band of reed moulding. The bowl is decorated with a band of hit-and-miss ornament (with the exception of Badsey, where floral ornament is used) divided into several sections by inverted hour-glass curves. This type of cup is more widespread and is found in Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire. Two churches in Gloucestershire both have a cup and paten-cover bearing the *rose* mark, at Gloucester, St. Mark and Great Washbourne (dated 1575). At Ratcliffe-on-Wreak in Leicestershire there is a cup without marks that is obviously the work of this craftsman. In Oxfordshire the following churches have cups and paten-covers bearing this mark, Alkerton, Little Rollright, Swalcliffe (dated 1575) and Upper Heyford; whilst cups are found at Barford and Shutford. The cups at Cornwell and Idbury and the cup and paten-cover at Tackley, although without marks are so similar that they point to this source. An unmarked cup at Thorpe Constantine in Staffordshire (Plate 3b) is obviously made by this craftsman, the church is on the Leicestershire boundary, very close to several parishes with cups made by this man. In Warwickshire a number of churches still retain their Elizabethan cups and paten-covers bearing this maker's mark and can be found at Aston Cantlow, Barcheston, Cherrington (Plate 1), Henley-in-Arden, Hill Morton (dated 1577), Ilmington (date 1571), King's Norton, Morton Bagot (dated 1571), Sutton-under-Brailes (Plate 1), Wasperton (dated 1571) and Wolverton; whilst there is a cup at Moreton Morrell. Paten-covers bearing the *rose* mark are found at Monks Kirby (dated 1584) and Weston-under-Wetherley. The unmarked cup and paten-cover at Priors Hardwick and Styvechale (dated 1572) are so similar as to suggest that they were made by this craftsman. In Worcestershire the churches at Churchill and Throckmorton (Plate 3a) both have a cup and paten-cover with this mark and the church at Badsey still retains its cup. At Wyre Piddle the chalice has been remodelled, but the foot is obviously from this workshop.

I have dealt earlier with the possible derivation of the two styles used by this goldsmith, and pointed out the cup combining both types at Wolford in Warwickshire. Here the bowl of type II is placed upon the stem of type I and the combination is not a success, as doubtless the craftsman realized. It does support the claim that the same craftsman was responsible for all the vessels listed above. The location of his work as seen on Map I strongly suggests that the workshop of the goldsmith with the *rose* mark was situated in Coventry.

Maker with the mark *a cross within a circle with a pellet at
the intersection of each arm of the cross* (c. 1570-1609).

Another Midland goldsmith, whose work appears to be limited to the counties of Leicestershire and Warwickshire. Again in such a manner as to indicate that he worked from Coventry (see Map 2). Like the previous craftsman, his work falls into two types.

TYPE I

This is identical to type I of the maker with the *rose* mark and is only found in Leicestershire, where at Swepston a cup and paten-cover (dated 1577) and a cup at Sutton Cheney (Plate 4a) bear his mark; a similar cup without marks is found at Snibston.

TYPE II

A beaker-shaped bowl with a flat base on a short neck ornamented with a band of vertical reed moulding. Below is a frilled flange resting upon a spool-shaped stem with a round moulded knot and domed foot; round the base of the stem and edge of the foot is a band of vertical

reed moulding. Running round the bowl is a band of hit-and-miss decoration divided into several sections by inverted hour-glass curves. This type of cup is found in Leicestershire and Warwickshire; the latter county has the earliest examples. Marked cups and paten-covers are found at Norton Lindsey, Preston Bagot and Upper Shuckburgh (all dated 1571); similar vessels without marks are at Milverton (dated 1570) and Walsgrave-on-Sowe. In Leicestershire, the cup at Dadlington (dated 1573) (Plate 3c) bears his mark and two late unmarked cups at Fenny Drayton (dated 1598) (Plate 5a) and Sharnford (dated 1609) (Plate 5b) appear to be from his workshop.

Maker with the mark *IF within a dotted circle* (*fl.* 1584?).

Cups by this goldsmith are spread over the counties of Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire in a similar manner to those of the *rose* maker, again suggesting that he was a Coventry craftsman (see Map 2). He appears to have been the most versatile of the Coventry goldsmiths; not only did he utilize the designs of the other two craftsmen, he also evolved a cup of a somewhat different design.

TYPE I

This is similar to the first type of the *rose* maker. Only one cup remains with the */F* mark, this is found at Wolston in Warwickshire and the bowl is decorated with a double band of hit-and-miss ornament.

TYPE II

Again this follows the design of the second type of the *rose* maker, but the decoration on the bowl shows a slight difference, the band of hit-and-miss ornament being somewhat wider. On the cups at Binton and Hampton (Plate 6b) the sections containing the hit-and-miss ornament are divided by a sloping bar, and at South Littleton the ornament is in a double band. In Warwickshire the following churches have a cup and paten-cover by this craftsman — Binton, Great Alne and Preston-on-Stour. Also at Withybrook there is a cup without a paten-cover and at Southam a cup which appears to have come from his workshop. In Worcestershire both Hampton, near Evesham, and South Littleton (Plate 5c) have a cup and paten-cover bearing his mark.

TYPE III

The style of this cup is similar to the second type of the maker with the mark of the *cross between pellets*. Only one example of this type bearing the */F* mark remains, at Didbrook (Plate 6a) in Gloucestershire.

TYPE IV

A beaker-shaped bowl, decorated with a band of hit-and-miss ornament divided into several sections by inverted hour-glass curves; the rounded base of the bowl rests upon a short baluster stem, embellished with a frill at the top and a domed foot. Such a cup bearing his mark is found at Hanwell in Oxfordshire and a similar cup without marks is found at Isley Walton, Leicestershire; whilst another unmarked cup in this style is found at Churchover in Warwickshire.

As the only dated example of this goldsmith's work is a paten-cover of 1584 at Fenny Compton in Warwickshire, it is difficult to suggest the length of time this craftsman was in business. The slight variation on the stem of the cups at Preston-on-Stour and Southam indicate that it is possible that he began his career at a somewhat later date than the other two Coventry goldsmiths.

Maker with a *Fleur-de-lys* mark (fl. 1575-1618).

A goldsmith whose work is found in Leicestershire and Warwickshire, the distribution of the vessels suggests that his workshop was situated in Coventry. His work differs in style to the other Coventry goldsmiths and falls into three groups.

TYPE I

A beaker-shaped bowl with a flat base on a truncated foot, a narrow band of hit-and-miss decoration runs round the bowl just below the spreading lip. Examples of this type in Warwickshire churches can be seen at Lillington, where a cup and paten-cover (dated 1575) bears his mark and at the nearby parish of Offchurch is an identical cup and paten-cover (dated 1576) without marks. At Shilton is a late cup and paten-cover (dated 1618) bearing his mark, although the style of this cup is a debased version of the second type used by the Coventry goldsmith with the mark *a cross within a circle with a pellet at the intersection of each arm of the cross*. At Cottesbache in Leicestershire (Plate 7c) is an unmarked cup and paten-cover (dated 1582) that is similar in style and could well have been made by this craftsman.

TYPE II

A wide, shallow, conical beaker, the base fits into a short moulded neck above a frilled flange which rests upon a wide truncated foot. Only one example of this type remains and is found at Solihull in Warwickshire.

TYPE III

A beaker-shaped bowl with a bulging lip below which is a continuous narrow band of hit-and-miss decoration with pendant trefoils; the curved base rests upon a short neck above a frilled flange with a truncated foot below. Two vessels of this type are found in Warwickshire, the earliest is a cup and paten-cover of 1583 at Claverdon and a cup at Nuneaton (Plate 7a). It would appear that there was originally another of these cups at Thornton in Leicestershire;⁹ unfortunately this vessel has been stolen. Although none of these cups are marked, the style of the foot and the decoration on the bowl are typical of the work of this craftsman.

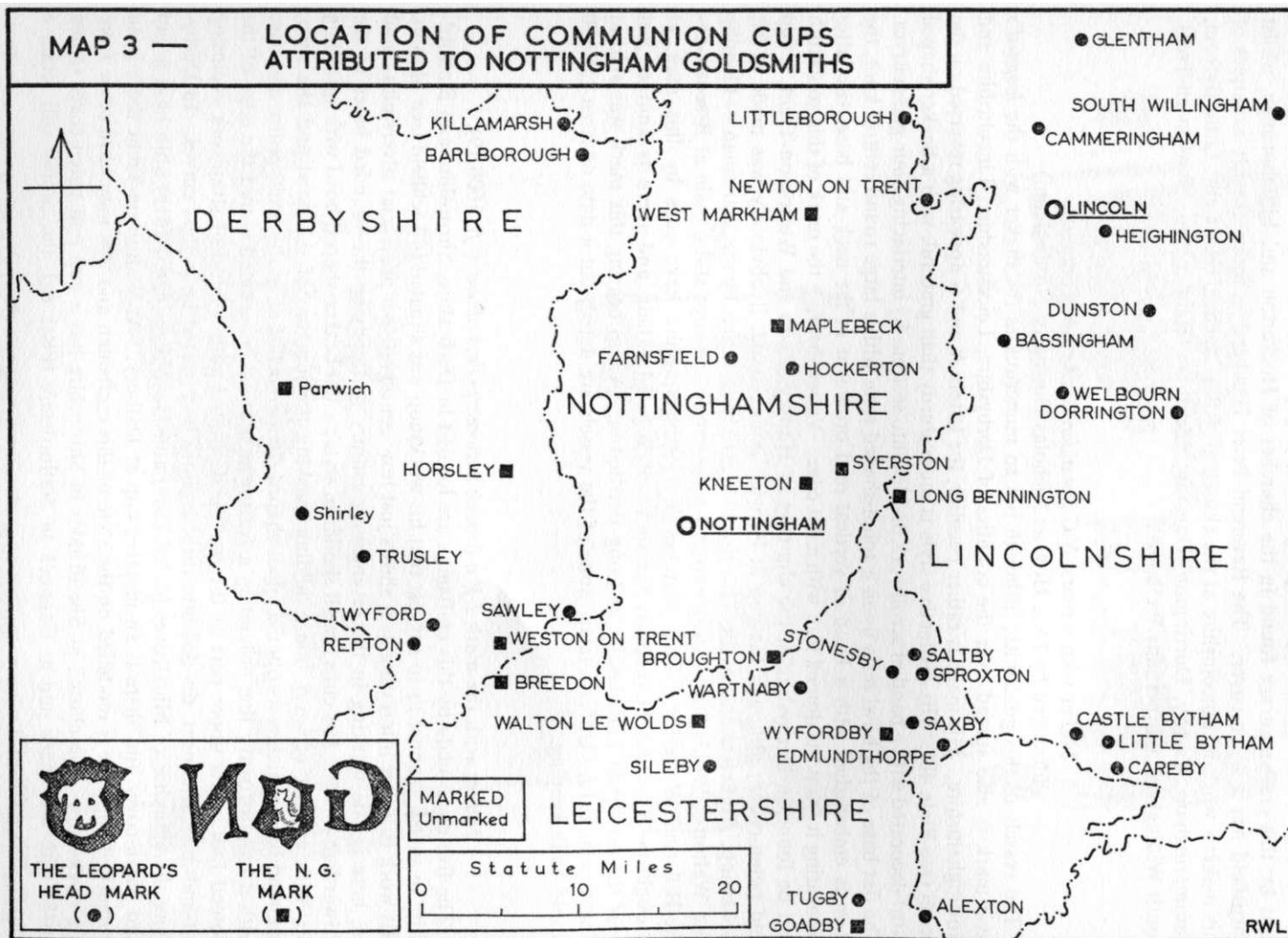
Maker with a *leopard's head* mark.

A goldsmith who built up a considerable trade in Elizabethan times in the counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. Although as yet we do not know his identity, the concentration of his work around Nottingham indicates that his workshop was most probably in this important medieval town (see Map 3). His cups in Derbyshire and Leicestershire have a deep, narrow beaker-shaped bowl with spreading mouth; the slightly curved base rests upon a plain spool-shaped stem, moulded at the neck and base with a domed, moulded foot, embellished round the edge with a band of egg and dart ornament. In Derbyshire, vessels bearing this maker's mark are found in the churches of Repton and Sawley, which each have a cup and paten-cover, whilst cups are found at Barlborough (Plate 7b), Killamarsh and Trusley. Although the cups at Shirley and Twyford are without marks, it is obvious that they must have been made by this craftsman. He was responsible for a number of vessels in Leicestershire and cups and paten-covers bearing his mark are found at Edmundthorpe, Saxby and Stonesby; whilst the following churches still

⁹ A. Trollope, *Church Plate of Leicestershire* (1890), Plate XXXI.

MAP 3 —

LOCATION OF COMMUNION CUPS
ATTRIBUTED TO NOTTINGHAM GOLDSMITHS



retain cups — Alexton, Saltby, Sileby, Sproxton, Tugby and Wartnaby. In Nottinghamshire cups by this craftsman are found in the churches of Hockerton and Littleborough, whilst Farnsfield has a paten-cover. The Reverend Peter Hawker has found further examples of this maker's work in Lincolnshire at the churches of Bassingham, Castle and Little Bytham, Cammeringham, Careby, Dorrington, Dunston, Glenham, Heighington, Newton-on-Trent, South Willingham and perhaps Welbourn.

Maker with a mark *N G a maiden head couped between.*

(Identified by Mrs. How as Nicholas Goston of Nottingham.)

The vessels of this goldsmith, although not so numerous as the maker with the *leopard's head* mark is also spread over the counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. His mark is rather peculiar, the letters *N* and *G* appearing reversed on the vessel (see Plate 4b). His distinctive style is more sturdy than graceful, with a beaker-shaped bowl decorated with a band of scrollwork divided into sections by interlacing hour-glass curves. The flat base of the bowl rests upon a spool-shaped stem with a large round central knot, the stem is embellished with a band of vertical reed ornament at the neck and base, the latter separating it from the domed foot with a flat edge. Vessels bearing the mark of this goldsmith can be found in Derbyshire at the churches of Horsley, a cup and Weston-on-Trent, a cup and paten-cover; although the cup at Parwich is unmarked, it obviously was made at his workshop. In Leicestershire the following churches have vessels by this craftsman — Goadby and Walton-le-Wolds both have a cup and paten-cover and cups still remain at Breedon-on-the-Hill and Wyfordby. Five churches in Nottinghamshire have cups by this man, at Broughton, Kneeton, Maplebeck, Syerston and West Markham and there is another just over the border in Lincolnshire at Long Berrington. A cup bearing this mark was sold at Christies in 1919. Unfortunately none of the vessels are dated, but a date of *circa* 1569-70 would be in keeping.

Maker with the mark *IV a brooch between pellets above* (*fl.* 1606-19).

The five cups made by this craftsman are located in Derbyshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire in such a manner as to suggest that his workshop was situated in Lichfield (see Map 4). His work is rather interesting as it shows just how conservative a provincial silversmith could be, here is one working in the seventeenth century still copying the rounded bases of the Edwardian bowls. His cups are all similar in style; a tall beaker-shaped bowl with spreading lip, with a band of wavy line moulding masking the juncture of the bowl and the deep, rounded base, which rests upon a spool-shaped stem embellished at the neck, centre and base with a band of wavy line moulding, a feature that is again repeated round the edge of the domed foot. The upper part of the bowl is decorated with a band of strapwork enclosing hit-and-miss ornament, divided into three sections by inverted hour-glass curves. In Derbyshire the churches of Mickleover (dated 1606) and Doveridge (dated 1619) both have a cup and paten-cover and there is an undated cup at Dalbury. At Walton-on-Trent there is an unmarked cup that is modelled on the style of this craftsman and this may have come from his workshop. The church at Sheriff hales in Shropshire has a cup and paten-cover (dated 1618) with this mark and at Cannock in Staffordshire (Plate 8a), the church still retain a cup by this goldsmith.

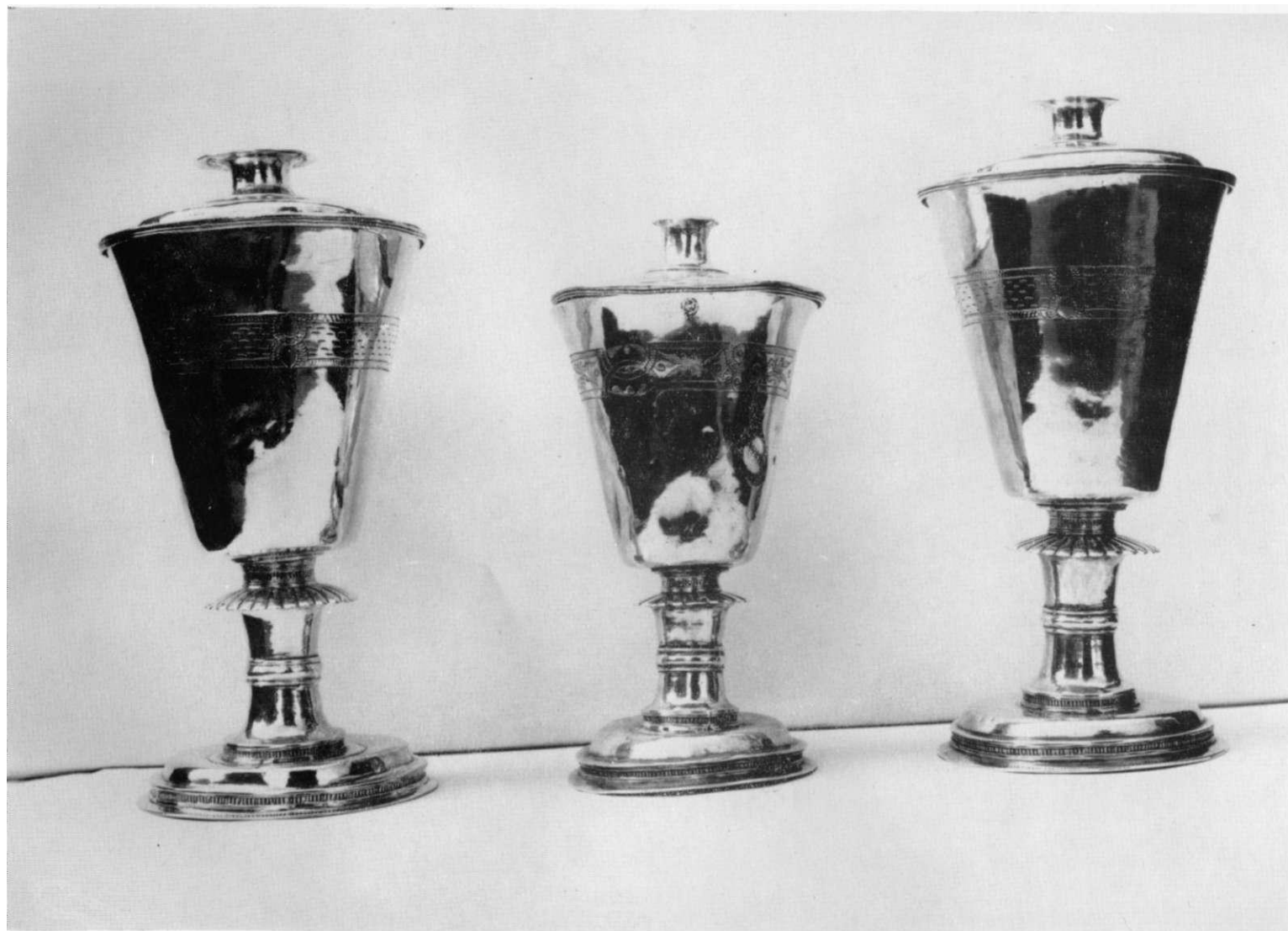


PLATE 1

The cups at Barcheston, Cherrington and Sutton-under-Brailes



(a) The cup at Market Bosworth



(b) The cup at Higham-on-the-Hill



(a) The cup at Throckmorton



(b) The cup at Thorpe Constantine



(c) The cup at Dadlington



(a) The cup at Sutton Cheyney



(b) The cup at Weston-on-Trent



(a) The cup at Fenny Drayton



(b) The cup at Sharnford



(c) The cup at South Littleton



(a) The cup at Didbrook



(b) The cup at Hampton



(c) The cup at Blymhill



at Nuneaton



(b) The cup at Barlborough



(c) The cup at Cottesbache



(a) The cup at Cannock

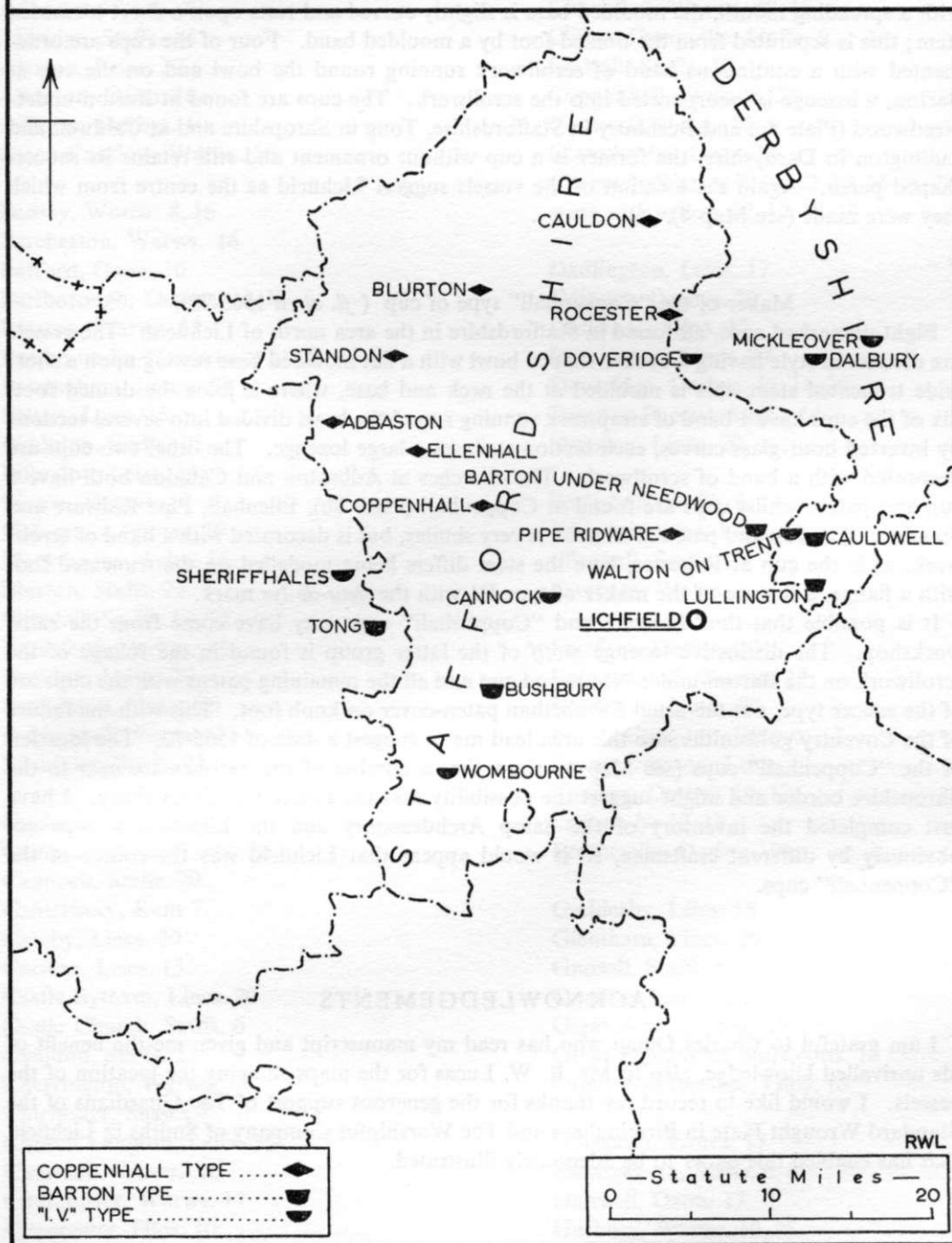


(b) The cup at Coppenhall



(c) The cup at Barton-under-Needwood

MAP 4 — LOCATION OF COMMUNION CUPS
ATTRIBUTED TO STAFFORDSHIRE GOLDSMITHS



Maker of the "Barton" type of cup (*fl. circa* 1565-70).

Five Elizabethan cups without marks bear such a similarity in style that it is reasonable to suggest that they were made by the same craftsman. They have a deep beaker-shaped bowl with a spreading mouth, the moulded base is slightly curved and rests upon a short truncated stem; this is separated from the domed foot by a moulded band. Four of the cups are ornamented with a continuous band of scrollwork running round the bowl and on the cup at Barton, a lozenge is incorporated into the scrollwork. The cups are found at Barton-under-Needwood (Plate 8c) and Bushbury in Staffordshire, Tong in Shropshire and at Caldwell and Lullington in Derbyshire, the former is a cup without ornament and still retains its saucer-shaped paten. Again the location of the vessels suggest Lichfield as the centre from which they were made (see Map 4).

Maker of the "Coppenhall" type of cup (*fl. circa* 1565-70).

Eight unmarked cups, all found in Staffordshire in the area north of Lichfield. The vessels are distinct in style having a beaker-shaped bowl with a flat moulded base resting upon a short wide truncated stem, this is moulded at the neck and base, where it joins the domed foot. Six of the cups have a band of strapwork running round the bowl divided into several sections by inverted hour-glass curves, each section encloses a large lozenge. The other two cups are decorated with a band of scrollwork. The churches at Adbaston and Cauldon both have a cup and paten, whilst cups are found at Coppenhall (Plate 8b), Ellenhall, Pipe Ridware and Standon. The cup and paten at Blurton is very similar, but is decorated with a band of scrollwork, as is the cup at Rocester, here the stem differs being modelled on the truncated foot with a flange, a feature of the maker of type III with the *fleur-de-lys* mark.

It is possible that the "Barton" and "Coppenhall" cups may have come from the same workshop. The distinctive lozenge *motif* of the latter group is found in the foliage of the scrollwork on the Barton-under-Needwood cup and all the remaining patens with the cups are of the saucer type, not the usual Elizabethan paten-cover on knob foot. This with the failure of the Coventry goldsmiths into this area lead me to suggest a date of 1565-70. The location of the "Coppenhall" cups (see Map 4), show that a number of the parishes are near to the Shropshire border and might suggest the possibility that the source was Shrewsbury. I have just completed the inventory of the Salop Archdeaconry and the Elizabethan cups are obviously by different craftsmen, so it would appear that Lichfield was the source of the "Coppenhall" cups.

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 Sileby, Leics. 20
 Snibston, Leics. 16
 Solihull, Warws. 18
 Southam, Warws. 8,10,17
 Southampton, Hants. 12
 South Littleton, Wores. 17
 South Willingham, Lines. 20
 South Wingfield, Derbys. 14
 Sproxton, Leics. 20
 Stafford 6
 Standon, Staffs. 22
 Stonesby, Leics. 18
 Stoney Stanton, Leics. 15
 Stretton, near Stafford. 6
 Styvechale, Warws. 10,16
 Sutton Cheyney, Leics. 16
 Sutton-under-Brailes, Warws. 16
 Swalcliffe, Oxon. 16
 Swebston, Leics. 16
 Syerston, Notts. 20
 Syston, Leics. 15

 Tackley, Oxon. 16
 Taddington, Derbys. 8,10
 Tamworth, Staffs. 6
 Tettenhall, Staffs. 6
 Thornton, Leics. 18
 Thorpe Constantine, Staffs. 13, 16

Throckmorton, Wores. 16
 Thurmaston, Leics. 15
 Thurnby, Leics. 15
 Tong, Salop. 22
 Trusley, Derbys. 18
 Tugby, Leics. 20
 Twyford, Derbys. 18

 Upper Heyford, Oxon. 16
 Uttoxeter, Staffs. 7

 Walsall, Staffs. 6
 Walsgrave, Warws. 17
 Walton-le-Wolds, Leics. 20
 Walton-on-Trent, Staffs. 20
 Wartnaby, Leics. 20
 Wasperton, Warws. 10,16
 Welbourn, Lines. 20
 Welham, Leics. 15
 West Markham, Notts. 20
 Weston-on-Trent, Derbys. 12,20
 Weston-under-Wetherley, Warws. 16
 Wilne, Derbys. 10
 Winchester, Hants. 7
 Wingerworth, Derbys. 14
 Witherley, Leics. 15
 Withybrook, Warws. 17
 Wolford, Warws. 7,10,16
 Wolston, Warws. 17
 Wolverton, Warws. 16
 Worcester 7,14,15
 Wormleighton, Warws. 10
 Wyfordby, Leics. 20
 Wyre Piddle, Wores. 16

 Yoxall, Staffs. 10

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND FARMING IN THE SHENSTONE AREA,

PRIOR TO THE GENERAL ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT

BY R. E. HEBDEN, B.A.

INTRODUCTION

The earliest known enclosures in England date from the thirteenth century when the Lord of the Manor was allowed to take land from the waste on condition that sufficient land was left for the commoners. This early movement to enclose land was certainly present in Staffordshire, e.g. Gt. Barr, and enclosing was continuous into the nineteenth century in the county. However, the main period of enclosing was during the eighteenth century, as judged by Acts of Enclosure, though the arable open-fields were being enclosed voluntarily from the seventeenth century into the eighteenth century. For the purpose of this paper, prior to the general enclosure movement has been taken to mean before the eighteenth century.

Shenstone parish before the eighteenth century was certainly much larger than it is today. If the present civil parish boundaries are used, however, the difference is not very great and these have been taken as its boundary lines. Roughly the area under consideration is bounded on the north by the Watling Street, on the west by the Lichfield-Walsall road and the Chester Road and on the south and east by the old Sutton Coldfield. Within it today will be found the suburban sprawl of Streetly and Little Aston, the villages of Shenstone, Shenstone Woodend, Little Hay, Fotherley, Chesterfield, Hilton, Lynn and Upper Stonnall. The village of Lower Stonnall is but a few farms now, and the village of Thickbroom, once to the east of Shenstone, across the Black Brook, is no more. Streetly is a creation of the railway era and a modern feature of the settlement pattern.

RELIEF AND GEOLOGY

The village of Shenstone is surrounded by higher ground on all sides. To the north there is a gentle rise which hides Lichfield from the village, but to east, south and west, the rise is fairly well marked. Barr Beacon, with its clump of silver birches, stands out clearly five miles to the south-west of Shenstone and its ridge continues northwards at about 600 feet. To the east the Hints ridge is much closer though not so high. It is through this ridge that the Black Brook drains by means of a gorge. The Barr Beacon and Hints ridges join to complete the basin-like appearance of this area.

The word basin is used deliberately, for the land immediately around Shenstone village is fiat and contrasts with the ridges that tend to surround it. It is so flat that in some places drainage is very difficult. Along the Fotherley Brook this poor drainage has resulted in areas of peat and just north of Little Aston the Old Peat Moor, also known as Radley Moor, can still be traced. Two and a half centuries ago, this Brook must have been an obstacle to travel, and even today only three roads cross it. Here probably lies the age-old division of

Shenstone parish into two parts — Shenstone to the east and Stonnall to the west. Stories of a separate church at Stonnall date back to the sixteenth century and at one time special provision was made in Shenstone church for the inhabitants "across the brook" in Stonnall.

The picture of a basin can be taken a step further. The ridges forming the rim of the basin are of Bunter Pebble Beds. The basin floor is mainly of Bunter Sandstone and Keuper Sandstone, with some local glacial material and some exposures of Coal Measure rocks. Being mainly sandstones, these rocks tend to be porous and water seeps through them to give many local wells, but also a dry soil at the surface which is lacking in plant foods. Farmers today would describe them as "hungry" soils which require a great deal of fertiliser. Our ancestors with little knowledge of soil chemistry would find this area difficult to farm as a result. Fortunately, the Keuper Sandstone has marl bands in it, and this limits the through movement of water and results in richer soils in parts. This area of more fertile land is found around Shenstone itself, to the north and south from Chesterfield, fringing the Fotherley Brook to Fotherley, then eastwards to Little Hay and northwards across the Black Brook. (See Map 5.)

This division of soils is of fundamental importance and provides a very useful clue to the development of both farming and settlement. Shenstone is the only settlement in the area recorded in the Domesday Book. It is on a hill rising out of the flat basin floor above any possible flooding, supplied by local wells with water and surrounded by the more fertile soils of the Keuper Sandstone. Beyond it to the west and south-west lies the remainder of the basin, flat and badly drained in part, and mainly consisting of infertile soils developed on the Bunter Sandstone and the Bunter Pebble Beds. Any outward growth from Shenstone would be likely to keep to the Keuper sandstones at first, e.g. Fotherley and Woodend, and only after that to cross into the more difficult lands of Stonnall on the western side of the basin.

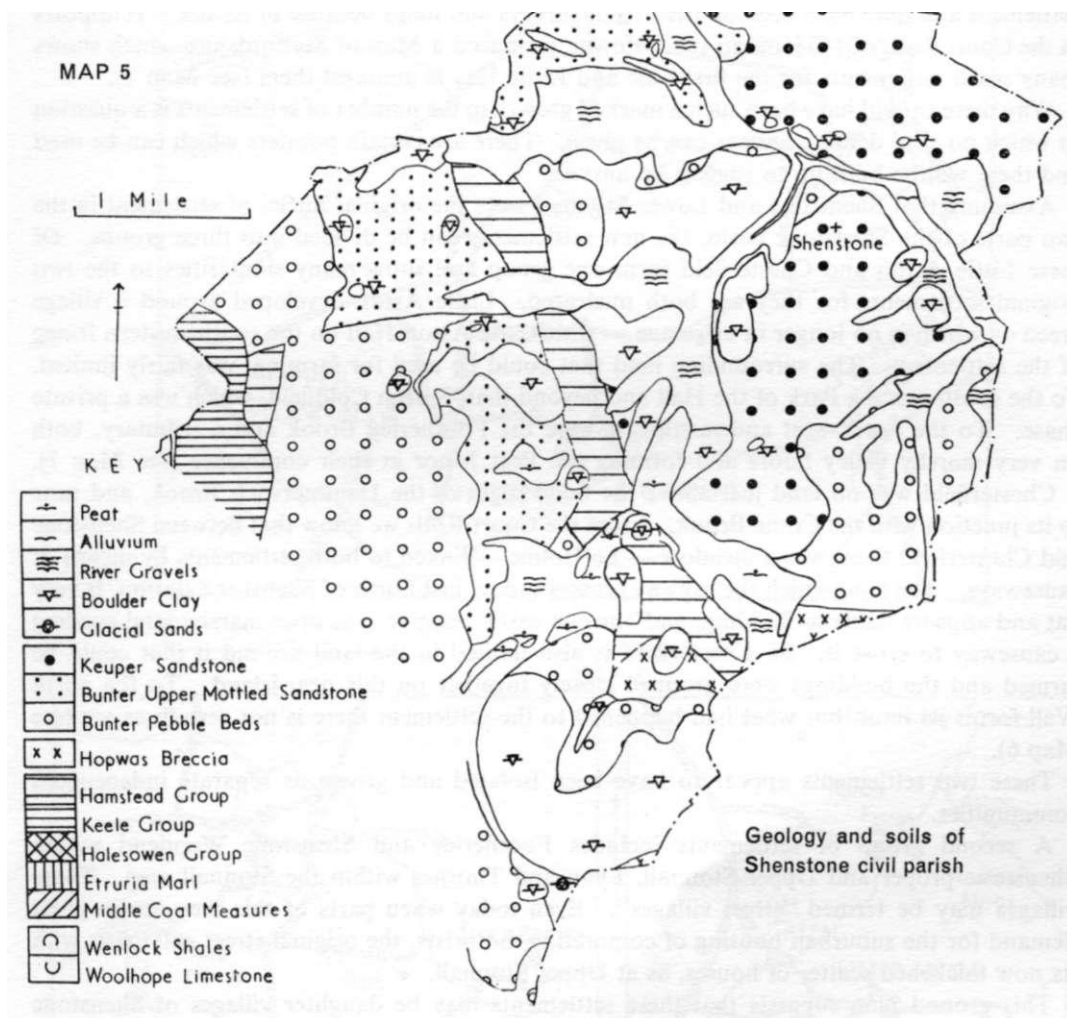
Historically this division into Shenstone and Stonnall is shown by the boundary of Cannock Forest. In this area it seems to have followed the Fotherley Brook so that Stonnall was within the forest and Shenstone without.

SETTLEMENT

The Domesday Book establishes the existence of Shenstone, certainly before the Norman Conquest. No more can be said with certainty, but two facts must be borne in mind. There was a Roman settlement nearby at Wall and a Roman farmstead has been found across the Black Brook, just north of Shenstone. Also the boundary of the Danelaw passed through this area. Hence any pre-Danish settlement might well have been obliterated in this zone of conflict, and we may never know the true origin of the settlement.

In 1129 a grant was made to the Abbot of Osney, in Oxfordshire, of land in Shenstone. A charter of 1192 suggests this grant was a manor called "Stonehale" and now known as Stonnall. A manor-house existed with probably a chantry and mills which belonged to the Abbot. The Abbot and his men were granted freedom of the woodland, common pasture and heath. Fines and other records point to a fair number of people at Stonehale, but the exact location of this settlement is not certain. All that can be said with certainty is that the Shenstone area soon after Domesday was divided into two parts, Shenstone proper and Stonnall, with the Fotherley Brook separating them and each having its own settlement.

There is one piece of evidence which can be used as a guide to the original site of Stonnall. The original settlement is likely to have been nucleated, i.e. buildings clustered together, as Shenstone was and still is. Only one settlement in the Stonnall area shows any signs of having been nucleated and that is Lower Stonnall. This point will be returned to later.



When the Perambulation of the Forests was made in 1300, the Stonnall area had a group of settlements which are listed as Overe Stonehale, Nethere Stonehale, La Lynde, Thornes and Chestrefeud. This omits Hilton which certainly existed then, but may have been small or even just a house so that it was not listed as a settlement. Roberto de Hilton appears in Shenstone charters about 1250 and there seems little reason to doubt that the Hilton refers to the settlement known by that name today in this area (see Map 6).

Shenstone proper also shows signs of settlement growth. In 1278 the lands of Ralph de Grendon, Lord of the Manor of Shenstone were surveyed and settlements listed around Shenstone are Ffulfordlaigh (Fotherley), The Woodhouses (Woodend) and Aston. Omitted from this list are Thickbroom and Little Hay. Both of these are shrouded in the mists of time as far as their origin is concerned. On Saxton's Map of Staffordshire, the village of

Thickbroom is marked and this map is dated 1577. Little Hay, like Hilton, was a small settlement and may have been omitted from surveys and maps because of its size. It appears in the Court Rolls of 1633 and in 1682 Browne produced a Map of Staffordshire which shows many small settlements for the first time and Little Hay is amongst them (see Map 7).

Why there should have been such a marked growth in the number of settlements is a question to which no very definite answer can be given. There are certain pointers which can be used and these will be built up to suggest an answer.

Assuming that Shenstone and Lower Stonnall were the original nuclei of settlement in the two parts of the Shenstone basin, the new settlements can be divided into three groups. Of these Little Aston and Chesterfield form one group and show many similarities to the two original settlements for they are both nucleated. Little Aston developed around a village green — which is no longer in existence — with Little Aston Hall on the south-western fringe of the settlement. The surrounding land that could be used for farming, was fairly limited. To the south was the Park of the Hall and beyond that, Sutton Coldfield, which was a private chase. To the north-west and north-east were the Fotherley Brook and a tributary, both on very marshy valley floors and forming the Peat Moor at their confluence (see Map 7).

Chesterfield was on land just above the flood plain of the Hammerwich Brook, and near to its junction with the Crane Brook. From the Court Rolls we know that between Shenstone and Chesterfield there was a meadow — Le Holme — linked to both settlements by means of causeways. The land which the railway crosses today, just north of Shenstone station, is very flat and appears liable to flooding, and one can easily imagine it as once marshy land needing a causeway to cross it. So Chesterfield is also limited in the land around it that could be farmed and the buildings were grouped closely together on this near-island. To the north Wall forms its limit, but what had happened to the settlement there is not certain as yet (see Map 6).

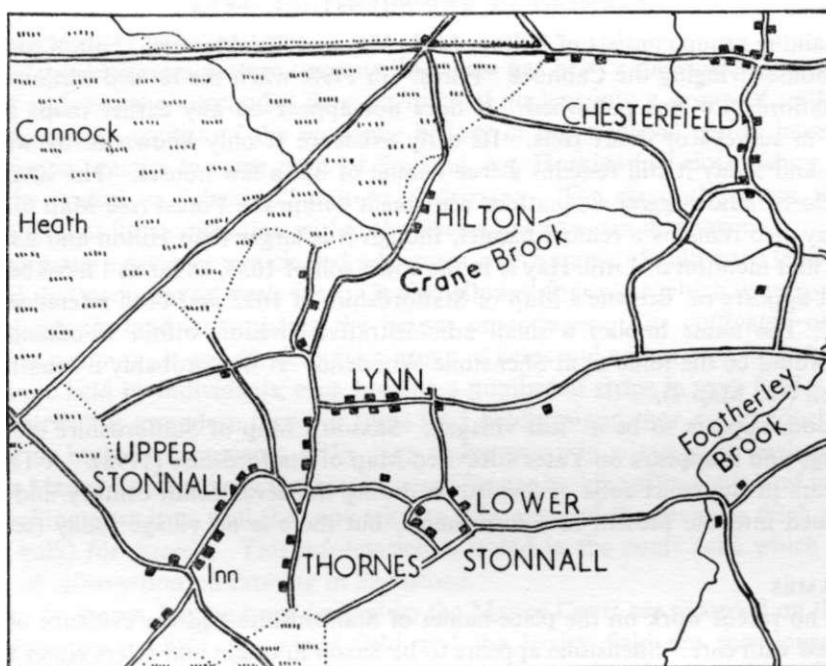
These two settlements appear to have been isolated and grown as separate independent communities.

A second group of settlements includes Fotherley and Shenstone Woodend within Shenstone proper and Upper Stonnall, Lynn and Thornes within the Stonnall area. These villages may be termed "street villages". Even today when parts of this area are in great demand for the suburban housing of commuting motorists, the original street still exists with its now thickened scatter of houses, as at Upper Stonnall.

This ground plan suggests that these settlements may be daughter villages of Shenstone and Lower Stonnall. Certainly in the Stonnall area these newer settlements were established in the Royal Forest of Cannock and originated with enclosures from the Forest. In 1271 fines were imposed for enclosures in the forest at Lynn and Stonnall. In 1271 and 1286 enclosures were also resulting in fines or fences being thrown down in Shenstone. Whether Shenstone in this context means the parish or near the village of that name is not certain, though the implication is near to the village. Settlements based upon clearings in a forest tend to be street villages, as shown in Germany. The way in which Lower Stonnall has Thornes, Upper Stonnall and Lynn grouped in an arc around it supports this contention.

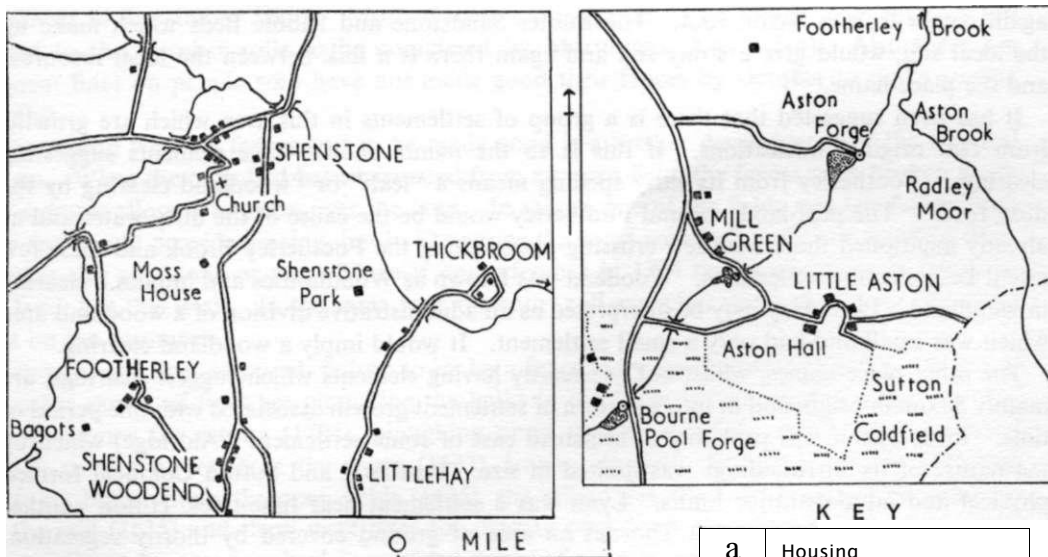
Fotherley and Shenstone Woodend were not within the Royal Forest of Cannock, but the name Woodend implies woodland nearby. This woodland was probably Sutton Coldfield. Fotherley is against the peat-lands of the Fotherley Brook which would not attract settlement initially, so it may be argued that both these villages started as daughter settlements to Shenstone on the fringe of the area.

MAP 6



9 MILE-ONE I

MAP 7



KEY

a	Housing
—	Road
—	Wafer
—	Forae or Mill
—	River Crossing
----	Common Land
—	River
—	County Boundary

Map 6. Settlement pattern c. 1760 west of Footherley Brook.

Map 7. Settlement pattern c. 1760 east of Footherley Brook.

The remaining group consists of Hilton, Little Hay and Thickbroom. Hilton certainly was but a few houses fringing the Cannock "Forest" in 1798, when the revised edition of Yates's Map of Staffordshire was published. It does not appear on any earlier maps and is not mentioned in surveys or court rolls. Its early existence is only known of by witnesses to documents and today it still remains a true hamlet of but a few houses. The small size and lack of enclosed land suggest a squatters' settlement within the Forest (see Map 6).

Little Hay also remains a remote hamlet, though it is larger than Hilton and has a chapel now. The first mention of Little Hay is in the court roll of 1633, as far as I have been able to trace it. It appears on Browne's Map of Staffordshire of 1682 and both references show its small size. The name implies a small administrative division within woodland and this woodland would be the same as at Shenstone Woodend. It was probably a squatters' settlement as well (see Map 7).

Thickbroom appears to be a "lost village". Saxton's Map of Staffordshire (1577) marks it as a village and it appears on Yates's Revised Map of Staffordshire (1798). A Thickbroom Field appears in the court rolls of Shenstone during the seventeenth century and the name has continued into the present in a farm name, but there is no village today (see Map 7).

PLACE-NAMES

There is no recent work on the place-names of Staffordshire and the evidence of this kind must be used with care. Shenstone appears to be Saxon in origin and refers either to "Scenes stone" or simply "beautiful stone". The Keuper Sandstone was used for building locally and the old church was certainly built of local sandstone. The other main settlement, Stonnall, also has reference to stone in its origin. It appears to mean "stoney ground" or "nook" and again comes from a Saxon root. The Bunter Sandstone and Pebble Beds which make up the local soil, would give a stony soil and again there is a link between the local resources and the place-name.

It has been suggested that there is a group of settlements in this area which are growths from two original nucleations. If this is so the names should have elements suggesting clearings. Fotherley from its early spelling means a "leah" or "woodland clearing by the dirty ford". The peat-lands around Fotherley would be the cause of the dirty water and as already mentioned there were few crossing-places along the Fotherley Brook and these few might be points for settlements. Woodend was known as Woodhouses and implies a clearing in woodland. Little Hay may be interpreted as an administrative division of a woodland area which was small and had only a small settlement. It would imply a woodland clearing.

The other place-names, whilst not necessarily having elements which suggest clearings, are mainly Saxon in origin and fit into a pattern of settlement growth associated with one period of time. Little Aston was probably a farmstead east of some settlement (?Aldridge) which by the nature of its surroundings was limited in size. Peat-land and Sutton Coldfield formed physical and administrative limits. Lynn was a settlement near lime-trees, Hilton another farmstead, on a slight rise, and Thornes an area of ground covered by thorny vegetation. Chesterfield was the "feld" by the Roman station. The Saxons did not occupy earlier settlements usually and to the south of Wall (*Letocetum*) was an expanse of sandstone surrounded by peat-land or marshy valley floors on three sides. The element "feld" suggests "land on a river" and Chesterfield is on a kind of peninsula of dry land surrounded by damp land.

These names do agree with the idea of two original settlements with growth from them though they add nothing to the detail or reasons for this development.

TYPICAL MEDIEVAL FARMING

The study of the settlement pattern suggests that there has been a division of the area into two parts and each has then expanded from an original nucleus into a group of settlements. Whilst various modern studies of the economic history of the medieval period have shown this to be common practice in some parts of England, e.g. Hoskins in Leicestershire, it does not fit into the typical or "classical" pattern of farming. The classical pattern is worth outlining here so that its modification within the Shenstone area can be shown.

The classical pattern assumes a nucleated settlement with an area of cultivated land around it, and beyond that common or waste land. It also allowed for crofts which were sometimes small plots of private land surrounding the houses or cottages. The cultivated or arable land was held in common; it was divided into a group of fields and within each field there were strips which were held by individuals, each holding a number of strips in each field.

The word "strips" is a modern term for these land holdings and they are variously called selions, ridges or butts in documents. The crop to be grown in common in each field was decided by the Manor Court as were the fines imposed for not looking after one's land properly, or perhaps looking after it so well that one tried to take some of the dividing ditch or bank (known as a balk) for oneself. This information is noted in the court rolls which are the major source of information on farming in Shenstone.

The crops to be grown, having been decided by the Manor Court are recorded on the rolls, as in 1647 when the rye field, the wheat field and the barley field are mentioned. Unfortunately, in the Shenstone Court Rolls this develops into a bad habit and the fields are frequently referred to by their crops, but never by name, and this has added to the difficulty of locating and naming open or common fields. Besides the three above crops there are references to flax and/or hemp. Most of these crops appear to be winter sown for they are named in the October rolls to be completed by Martinmas (Nov. 11th). Also there are frequent fines on people who have not made good their fences by October to make sowing possible.

The reason why the fences had to be made good is a further development of the classical system. When the crop had been harvested from an open field, the fences were broken down and animals allowed to graze over the land. In theory one of the fields was left fallow each year and would provide grazing, but in Shenstone the court rolls lack sufficient detail to show whether this was done or not. There is one reference in 1704 to the wintering of sheep on the land, but this is all. In the same year the court roll explicitly states that sheep are to be kept on the commons.

Amongst the fines imposed, failure to make a fence is by far the most frequent. Some of the other causes of fines are ploughing the balks in the fields (1633), putting hemp and flax in the streams for retting (1704), ploughing upon the waste (1631), removing hedgewood (1632), cutting turves from the waste (1633), leaving dung in the streets (1630), pasturing cattle on balks within the open fields (1636), the miller was fined for flooding the roadway by the mill (1635) and there were fines for digging peat from the waste (1650). Hence the Manor Court became involved in a wide variety of matters as a result of its control of the open-field system.

MATERIAL SOURCES

Before suggesting ways in which the above system was modified around Shenstone, a brief look at the sources of information may be useful. As already mentioned, the court rolls are of great value. Unfortunately they are fragmentary, and as already stated, are vague on

certain matters. They give a large number of field-names but frequently fail to give any indications of the type of field or whereabouts the field was. However certain names are established as open-field names from this source.

About 1760, the open-field system was in a state of advanced change around Shenstone. The then vicar, the Reverend H. Sanders, collected information about his parish under the heading of each settlement and made frequent references to field-names in these settlements. After his death, his son arranged the publication of this manuscript as a book entitled "The History and Antiquities of Shenstone" and this often provides the location of a settlement for a field-name.

In 1841 enclosure was virtually complete and a tithe map for that date shows a close network of fairly small fields, by modern standards. The tithe returns give the field-names and some of the old open-field names appear on those returns and the exact position of parts of the open fields can be located. Even where names have changed the map provides some clues to the open-field boundaries. A chequer-board pattern of rectangular fields ends against a patchwork field pattern and the boundary forms a curved line; such a situation strongly suggests a recently enclosed area bordering a much earlier enclosure. Radley Moor was a late enclosure and has a regular pattern of fields while just to the north an irregular pattern includes certain fields with names which can be traced back to the open-field system. The curved hedge line is probably the boundary of the original open field.

Roads and footpaths often follow routes round or into open fields. A track from a settlement, which becomes a footpath after a distance, may often be the road into an open field with the footpath crossing the field.

Finally there are some documents in the William Salt Library at Stafford, under the Parker-Jervis collection and the S. D. Pearson collection. These give open field names with settlements and in some cases name enclosures made within an open field. When all these sources are combined, certain problems become obvious so far as accepting the classical system of medieval farming is concerned.

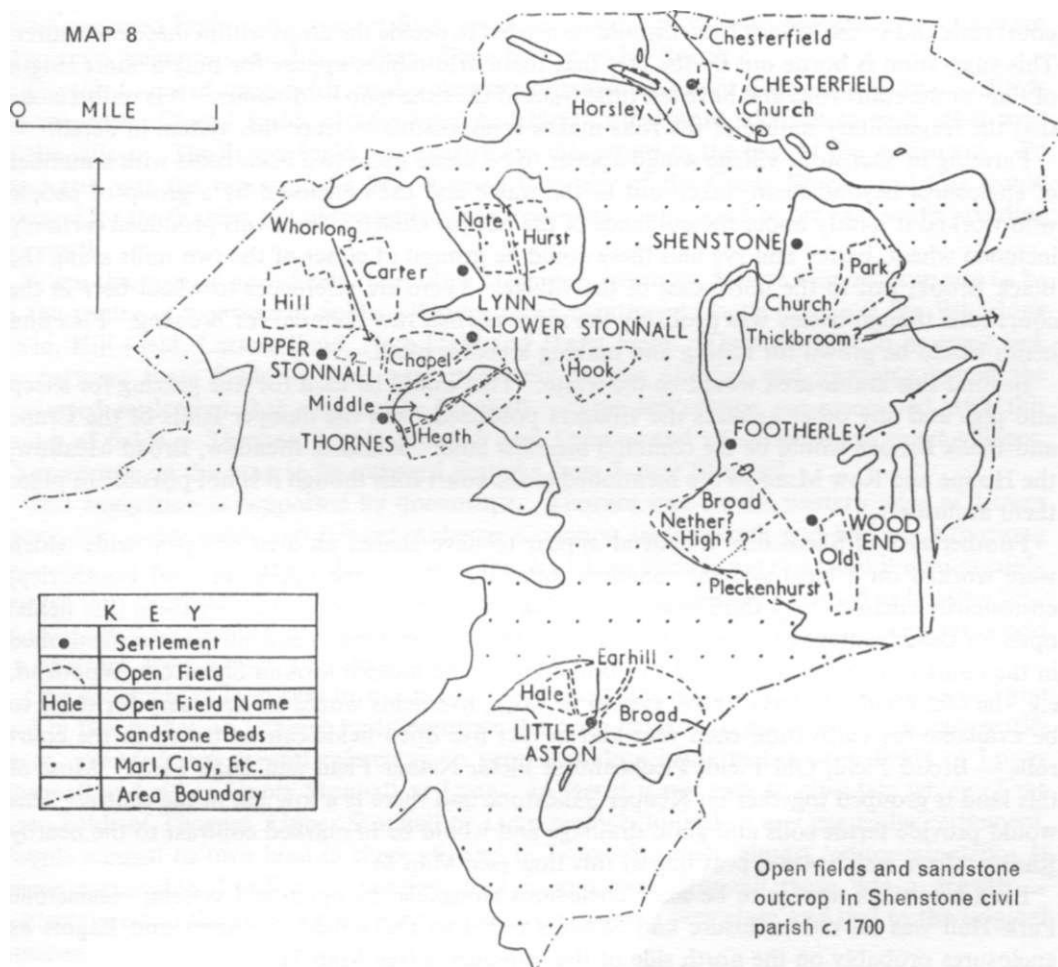
SHENSTONE PRE-ENCLOSURE FARMING

In 1628 Elizabeth Cooke of Shenstone died and her heir, Alexander Ward, claimed her land in the Manorial Court. Fortunately the land is listed and it consisted of:

"selion in Church field next Cope Lane End; selion in Parkfield abutting on White Moor, selion in Row Meadow hiron(?) next Lovalts Wells, abutting on Weate Leasow; long acre in Long Acre field next to Quarry Pit, abutting on the Streetway; one selion in Pingle field abutting on Heath Leasow".

Here we have evidence of four fields held in common and what appears to be a common meadow attached to Shenstone village. If the court rolls from 1628 to 1640 are studied, the list of fields farmed in strips becomes seven, i.e. Church Field, Park Field, Long Acre Field, Pingle Field, Shutt Field, Woodhouse Field and Bullmoor Field. This number may be even higher for several other fields are mentioned but it is not possible to tell whether they were divided into strips or were enclosures on the waste owned by several individual persons. The classical pattern assumed three or four open fields; there is evidence here for seven open fields at least. This is more than would be needed for the small range of crops grown and suggests in itself a modification of the pattern.

The court rolls show clearly that the Church Field and Park Field were held in common and were worked on an open-field system. Further the Park Field can be reconstructed accurately from the tithe map. The position of the Church Field is known but the exact



extent is rather uncertain. The Park Field was about fifty acres in area, and from what information there is about the Church Field this was about the same size. The fields of Little Aston can be outlined fairly well and their acreage worked out. There were three fields, one of about eighty acres and two of about forty acres each. Little Aston was certainly a smaller settlement than Shenstone and the soils were less fertile, and yet this village had about 160 acres of arable land whereas the two known open fields of Shenstone would only amount to 100 acres in total. The group of other fields would be needed to supplement these two open fields very considerably — at least another 100 acres would seem to be a low estimate, for Aldridge had about 400 acres of arable land (see Map 8).

What happened on these other fields may be related to statements in R. Plot and H. Sanders. Both mention a system whereby enclosures were made in the waste to be cultivated for a few years and then thrown open again. Plot refers to this system being found on the sandy soils of Staffordshire as a whole whereas Sanders refers specifically to the parish of

Shenstone. In Shenstone these enclosures were divided into selions or strips as shown by the court rolls and so the Manor Court would be needed to decide the crops within these enclosures. This suggestion is borne out by the fact that these field-names appear for only a short length of time in the court rolls and have left little trace in the tithe map field-names. It is unfortunate that the fragmentary nature of the rolls makes it impossible to trace this system in detail.

Farming in Shenstone village would appear to be based upon two open fields with a number of enclosures beyond them, taken out of the waste and each enclosed by a group of people who worked it jointly under the guidance of the Manor Court. The crops produced certainly included wheat, barley and rye and these could be ground at either of the two mills along the Black Brook, just to the north-east of the village. There are references to wheat-beer in the court rolls though barley was probably the more normal raw material for brewing. Flax and hemp would be grown for retting and making a coarse cloth.

Beyond this arable area would be the waste. This would be used for free grazing for sheep and pigs and any other animals the villagers possessed. On the damper lands of the Crane and Black Brooks would be the common meadow land. Munckes Meadow, Broad Meadow, the Holme and Row Meadow are mentioned in the court rolls though it is not possible to place them accurately.

Footherley and Shenstone Woodend appear to have shared an area of open fields which were worked on a local system. Sanders states that "... the inhabitants (of Footherley) customarily enclose every third year and cultivate for three seasons, then lay them (the fields) open for the advantage of turning sheep upon them". Shenstone Woodend is never mentioned in the court rolls but fields related to Footherley can be located around Shenstone Woodend, e.g. the Old Field. For the above system to work, five fields would be necessary for three to be available for cultivation each year and in fact five open fields can be traced in the court rolls — Broad Field, Old Field, Pleckenhurst Field, Nether Field and High Field. Most of this land is grouped together on Keuper Sandstone and there is a low hill in the centre. This would provide fertile soils and good drainage and would be in marked contrast to the nearby Radley Moor which was a peat bog at this time (see Map 8).

Even here there appear to be some enclosures alongside the open-field system. Shenstone Park Hall was an old enclosure and Sanders refers to Dukesfield, Bothams and Bagots as enclosures probably on the north side of the settlements (see Map 7).

Having shown two variations on the classical theme, it might be appropriate here to mention the three settlements where there appears initially to have been no variation. The lack of variation may simply be a result of lack of information about these three settlements, but there is reason to believe that what follows is basically correct.

In the seventeenth century, Little Aston had three open fields known as the Broad Field, Earhill Field and Hale Field. The Broad Field was about eighty acres, whereas the other two were about forty acres each. A road passed through the Broad Field and divided it into two fairly equal parts. It would appear then that there is the basis for a four-field system here. The court rolls make little reference to Little Aston, only confirming the existence of a common meadow. Documents and the tithe map are the basis of reconstructing the situation at Little Aston (see Map 8).

Chesterfield also is hardly mentioned in the court rolls. Sanders states explicitly that there were three open fields here and that they were called Church Field, Horsley Field and Chester Field. They can be traced fairly easily on the tithe map and today's hedge boundaries and little-used lanes make the outline of these once open fields easy to follow. Perhaps this lack

of specific mention in the court rolls is due to a simple system being worked at both villages which required little in the way of fines being recorded. Both were physically remote from Shenstone, being separated from that village by wet valley floors.

The third area of open fields on the classical system is at Lower Stonnall. Here four fields are recorded. Chapel Field, Middle Field and Heath Field were adjacent to each other west of the village. The Hook Field was apart from this group to the east of the settlement. To the north was the valley of the Pen, a small tributary of the Crane Brook, and this would account for the fanning out of the settled area from west by the south to the east, while avoiding the north.

When the map of open fields (Map 8) is examined, however, Lower Stonnall appears to be in the centre of a group of fields. Besides those mentioned above there are the Whorlong Field, Hill Field, Carters Field, Nate Field and Hurst Field. There appears to be some link up between these fields by their very proximity to one another and grouping round the nucleated settlement that was Lower Stonnall. Three settlements are associated with this group of fields — Thornes, Upper Stonnall and Lynn — and all of these are street villages. They appear on the map to be outward growths from Lower Stonnall.

This suggestion is supported by documents. Thornes was on the western edge of Lower Stonnall's arable fields and fringed Aldridge Common to the south and had the Whorlong open-field to the north-west. The extent of the Whorlong Field is not clear, but it was certainly part of the open fields of Upper Stonnall. The people of Thornes are recorded as holding land in the Lower Stonnall open fields and presumably also held lands in the Whorlong open-field on to which their houses with their crofts abutted.

One document of land held by one man in 1642 lists fields of both Upper Stonnall and Lynn and in fact makes no attempt to differentiate the open fields in terms of one particular settlement. Sanders has several references to people holding lands in the open fields of Lower Stonnall and either Upper Stonnall or Lynn. In fact it is not easy to elucidate which of the open fields of Thornes, Upper Stonnall or Lynn really belonged to any particular settlement. People seemed to own land in them all, and in Lower Stonnall, almost indiscriminately. It seems reasonable therefore to suppose that from Lower Stonnall there was a growth of settlement on to the surrounding valley area but remaining very close and tied to the original nucleus.

As shown at Shenstone and Fotherley, enclosures were associated with this pattern. There are no records of enclosures at Lower Stonnall but between Upper Stonnall and Lynn were the Whitacres and the Sandhills, which were enclosures and were under manorial control being mentioned in the court rolls. They appear in every way to be similar to the jointly held enclosures around Shenstone (see Map 6).

Hilton and Little Hay remain to be dealt with, along with Thickbroom. The former are hardly mentioned in the court rolls and were certainly fringing the woodlands of Cannock Forest and Sutton Coldfield respectively, even in the eighteenth century. What little evidence there is points to squatter settlements in woodland clearings without any open fields. Both settlements were and still are very small in size and are street villages. This would be expected of squatter settlements. In 1633 the court rolls refer to corn being sown on the waste of Shenstone around Little Hay. Also there were fines for cutting turves on the waste around Little Hay. Little Hay appears on Browne's Map of Staffordshire of 1682 but Hilton is not marked. The inference is two small settlements fringing the waste with enclosures from the waste and no open fields.

Saxton's Map of Staffordshire (1577) marks Thickbroom as a village and in the court rolls from 1630 to 1632 a Thickbroom Field appears. It is mentioned as being adjacent to Shenstone Field and near to Munckes Meadow. Thickbroom is marked on Speed's (1610) and Browne's (1682) Map of Staffordshire and appears in the court rolls from 1710 to 1712 as Thickbroom ground. In 1798 the revised Yates's Map of Staffordshire still showed Thickbroom as a village, though a small one. Today the name appears on the Ordnance Survey maps as a name for some farm buildings. As a village it no longer exists.

Thickbroom was across the Black Brook from Shenstone on what is known today as the Manley estate. It appears to have had at least two open fields and been within the jurisdiction of the Manor Court of Shenstone. The change of name from field to ground on the court rolls between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggests that enclosure had taken place. The question remains as to why this settlement has virtually disappeared from the landscape. It is not the purpose of this paper to account for this, but two lines of thought might prove useful. Competition from Weeford or enclosure leading to the formation of a private estate would account for the decline of the village.

CONCLUSIONS

Evidence of the pattern of settlements, from place-names, from documents such as the court rolls and from maps, has been used to reconstruct the settlement pattern and farming in the Shenstone area before enclosure became effective. Each in turn provides some support for the ideas expressed in this paper. No one source is sufficient in itself, but when they are all combined the weight of evidence does suggest two original settlements with an outward expansion into street villages, or as they would be then, woodland clearings. The system of farming was based upon a group of open fields with joint enclosures alongside. The open fields remained permanent features of the landscape but the joint enclosures varied in their position within the landscape.

It is possible to find a reason which would account for both these features. At the beginning of this paper, it was pointed out that with the exception of the land around Shenstone proper, most of the local soils are based on sandstones which give hungry soils. If the open fields are plotted on a geological map, it shows that they all tend to keep to the sandstones. Where clay, river gravels or any other type of soil are found, both the settlement sites and the open fields tend to avoid them. The sandstones provide dry points for settlement and rock formations suitable for wells, and would have a natural vegetation cover which could be easily cleared. Remembering the tools our ancestors worked with, land which was easy to clear would be attractive for settlement (see Figure 4).

Once two parts of this area had been settled and developed, the poor quality of the soils would slowly make their effect felt. At nearby Aldridge, where the four open fields were also on poor sandstone soils, about 400 acres were brought within the open-field system and there was encroachment upon Sutton Coldfield as well. Shenstone has been a larger settlement than Aldridge certainly from Domesday until quite recently, so the amount of land needed for the Shenstone area can be visualized.

Two answers to this land problem appear to have been adopted. By use of joint enclosures, there was a rotation of crops to preserve fertility and by abandoning the enclosures for several years there was a long fallow period to help the soils to regain any lost fertility. The other method was simply for groups of villagers to go off into the waste to establish a new settlement. This increased the area of arable land available on the sandstones.

This system and its development would appear to suit the local geological conditions. At Bloxwich where there is a cover of boulder-clay, Homeshaw found five open fields. At Sheldon where the geology is more complex, Skipp has found a system which appears to be similar to that of Shenstone. At Aldridge, where there is a large exposure of sandstone, Gould found four open fields. It would appear therefore in this part of the West Midlands the pre-enclosure farming system varied with the geological conditions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There has been a trend recently to reconsider the medieval farming system. I must acknowledge the debt I owe to the County Archivist, Mr. F. Stitt, for background information on these developments as they apply to the county as a whole. Also to Mr. V. Skipp for similar information based on his work in the Birmingham area. Mr. F. Stitt has helped greatly with the reading of documents and suggesting possible sources of information, as has his recent assistant, Miss R. Kidson. Both Mr. J. Gould and Mr. M. Stedman have encouraged me in various ways in the course of my research and my wife's criticism has also saved me from many possible mistakes in interpretation of the material. However I must accept sole responsibility for the views expressed with their many imperfections and hope that someone will follow up my work and, with added material, correct and enlarge upon it.

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EXCAVATION IN VICARS' CLOSE, LICHFIELD

AN OPPORTUNITY OCCURRED in 1960 to do a small excavation in Vicars' Close, Lichfield before some out-buildings were removed and the surrounding gardens levelled. The excavation was carried out under the direction of Mr. F. H. Lyon with the help of some members of the Society from April 16th-30th.

A report on the excavation has been deposited in the Public Library, Lichfield, where it is available for reference.

CRUCK-TRUSSED HOUSES IN THE LICHFIELD DISTRICT

P. R. SHEPPARD

WHEN THE WRITER made a survey of a cruck-trussed house in Stowe Street, Lichfield, in 1959, a new field of investigation of vernacular domestic architecture was opened up in this part of Staffordshire. The subsequent report was published in the Society's *Transactions* vol. i, and included notes on the presence of cruck construction at two other sites in the city.

It was hoped that further examples would come to light, but no information of such has been received. It is possible that cruck timbers still remain hidden beneath wall-paper and plaster. Indeed, an opportunity to examine a second cruck-trussed building in Stowe Street was lost in 1960, when it was demolished. In this case, a single cruck-truss was photographed, providing sufficient material to help in the comparative study of styles of construction used in the houses so far surveyed by the writer. The sections of the timber frame seen on the site were of substantial dimensions, and it was learned that six trusses were found in the building, which was situated almost opposite the house already mentioned above.

The purpose of this paper is to present a report on the surveys carried out by the writer at a cottage known as The Thatch, at Hill Ridware, and at Hood Lane Farm, Armitage, where there is a building formerly used as a farm-house. Both are only a few miles from Lichfield, and can be observed with ease from the near by roadway.

A detailed examination of The Thatch was made possible by the kind co-operation of Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Taylor, whose help and interest in the work are gratefully acknowledged. The house, once derelict and due for demolition, was restored with understanding, and it is pleasing to see the internal timber framing left exposed. For this reason, investigation was facilitated, although it was not possible to study details of the methods of construction used in the roof space above the inserted ceiling. However, the owner was able to help in supplying the necessary information.

The rectangular plan of the house, (Fig. 1), shows the positions of the cruck-trusses A and B, and the framed truss C of the north gable. Measured externally, the building is 33' 6" long and 17' 6" wide, and consists of two bays, the hall and service room with the solar above. Except for the south gable, which has been rebuilt in brick below the tie-beam, the sill remains intact. Existing studs, the feet of the cruck-blades and the heavy corner posts of the north gable are tenoned into the sill at the points indicated in the drawing. The floor of the solar is supported by a heavy, roughly chamfered beam, 10"x10", one end of which rests on a chamfered bracket. This is pegged to a wall-post in the west wall of the house, and it stands on a stone base. It is assumed that the other end of the beam is tenoned into a wall-post. Its soffit is only 4' 8" above the level of the sill, and the low position of the beam presents a hazard to the unwary. There is no evidence to indicate the existence of a partition in the service room.

The inserted fire-place of the hall is built against the central cruck-truss B, and has an oak lintel. This carries a chamfered beam, 10" x 10", supporting the inserted floor of the upper room. On the west side of the fire-place there is a wattle and daub panelled wing which acted as a screen against draughts.

The half-hipped south gable (Fig. 2) has a maximum width of 17' 6", and is the position of cruck-truss A on the plan. The main features of the construction are similar to those found in the cruck-trusses of the Lichfield house (see *Transactions* vol. i). The tie-beam is halved to the blades, while the corner-posts rest on steps cut into the outer face of each blade to which they are pegged. They are also held in a vertical position by spur-ties tenoned into the posts and halved to the blades. The wall-plates are carried by the posts which measure 10" x 4". Above the tie-beam, the arrangement of the framing is pleasantly symmetrical, the parallel studs being conveniently spaced to accommodate a window. The cruck-blades are evenly curved, with little variation in width, being 15" wide at the middle and 11" wide at the top. The side purlins and wind-braces are notched into the outer face of each blade. It was not possible to investigate the method of construction used in the half-hipped roof. Below the tie-beam, the sill, studs and the feet of the blades have been removed and replaced with brick-work. All panels are brick infilled.

The central cruck-truss B (Fig. 3) has angular blades, 15" wide at the middle and a straight upper section of 11" in width. They are halved and pegged at the apex, which is notched to carry the ridge purlin on edge. The chamfered tie-beam, 10" x 10", is halved to the blades, and its soffit is 4' 10" above floor level. A collar-beam and one stud complete the framework of the truss, and panels are brick infilled.

The casual observer will be surprised to see the framing of the north gable (Fig. 4). It is entirely different from the cruck-trusses already described, both in character and building principles. It is known as a framed-truss, and the base of the triangular frame is the tie-beam, which rests on heavy corner-posts. The sides of the triangle, as principal rafters, are halved and pegged at the apex, to carry the ridge purlin and side purlins. It will be seen that the top of each corner-post is wider than the lower part. This extra width is required to carry the wall-plate at its proper level and to provide a tenon to secure the tie-beam. Between this member and the sill there are studs and a rail to complete the framing of the gable. Panels are brick infilled.

The framed truss is an intrusion in this cruck-trussed house, and is contemporary with the rest of the structure. Similar examples are to be found elsewhere, and the two methods of construction were used at a time when the cruck-truss was going out of fashion.

In the east elevation (Fig. 5), the studs of the framing are set at irregular intervals, and the rails are at varying levels. The brace in the angle between the corner-post of the north gable and the wall-plate serves no useful purpose, and the whole layout of the framework of this wall of the house suggests a rather lower standard of craftsmanship compared with that of Hood Lane Farm, Armitage.

The above comments can also be applied to the west elevation (Fig. 6). The height of the wall from sill to wall-plate is 10', which is slightly less than half of the estimated height of the house.

With its thatched roof and black and white walls, this cottage set in attractive surroundings, cannot fail to interest the passer-by who has some knowledge of this type of architecture. Its date is *circa* 1550.

The survey of the cruck-trussed house at Hood Lane Farm, Armitage, was undertaken by

kind permission of Mr. H. Bartlett, and his co-operation is gratefully acknowledged. Originally, the building was a farm-house and has been occupied during the lifetime of the present owner. It is now used for storage purposes.

The plan is rectangular, and consists of two bays, the external dimensions of the house being 41' by 21'. Of the three original cruck-trusses, two remain and enclose the hall (Fig. 7). The north-west gable has been rebuilt in brick in practically the same position as the cruck-truss it replaced. Two short sections of the sill survive, and stonework *in situ* suggests that there was a low plinth. The width of the hall is 22' between trusses, and there is an inserted brick fire-place, the back of which is 5' 9" from the gable wall. Immediately behind the fire-place stand two symmetrical posts 6' 6" apart, supporting the side purlins which are 15' above floor level. Further reference will be made to this unusual feature when the gable-truss is described. The sill of the central truss rests on a low sandstone plinth. There is a baking-oven in a lean-to structure at the south-west corner of the house.

In the south-east gable (Fig. 8), only the blades and collar-beam of the cruck-truss survive. The former, 6" thick, are joined at the apex by a saddle-piece supporting the ridge purlin. Their maximum width is 13" tapering to 8" at the top and 9" at the feet. The original position of the tie-beam can be ascertained from an exposed halved joint, and the absence of other evidence suggests that its ends were tenoned into wall-posts. There were no spur-ties in this type of construction. It was unusual to find the side purlins secured to distance pieces pegged to the outer faces of the blades. Notches for carrying the purlins had been cut in the correct positions, and it is assumed that their use would have thrown the purlins out of alignment. This weakness in the construction could account for the presence of the two long timbers already mentioned, and their distance from the gable suggests that their function was to support the purlins and provide a passage.

The central cruck-truss (Fig. 9) separates the bays, and contains features not found in other central trusses so far examined. The gently curved blades, which are 6" thick, vary in width from 11" above the tie-beam to 8" at the apex where they are joined by a saddle-piece. The feet are hidden by brickwork. The tie-beam is halved to the blades, and the ends were originally tenoned into wall-posts as in the gable truss already described. There were no spur-ties, and the truss formed a solid wall with panels of wattle and daub. There are two doorways at floor level, and it is probable that the original entrance to the service room was near the south-west side of the hall. Investigation of the truss above the inserted ceiling revealed a deposit of soot on the southern face, formed by the smoke from the fire on the central hearth of the hall. The whole truss, which is constructed of framing of substantial proportions, rests on a sandstone plinth.

The hall (Fig. 7) is the bay between the two surviving cruck-trusses, and before the insertion of the fire-place and the floor of the upper room, was open to the rafters.

An inserted beam, similar to that in the adjoining bay, rests on the lintel of the fire-place and on a bracket pegged to a stud of the central truss. The greater available floor space of this hall provided less cramped conditions for the occupants as compared with The Thatch and the Lichfield house.

The service room under the solar contains an interesting framed partition (Fig. 12), set at right angles to the central truss. It is of solid construction, and has a doorway with J" chamfered jambs and a Tudor door-head. The wattle and daub panels were removed a few years ago. The top rail of the partition is tenoned into the beam supporting the solar floor. This beam, 10" deep and 11" wide, has hollow chamfers 3" wide, with a chamfer stop of a type

found throughout the country. The accompanying joists have ∇ chamfers with similar stops. Access to the solar was probably at a corner of the service room by the central truss.

In the south-west side of the house about half of the framing remains (Fig. 10), but empty peg-holes make it possible to draw a reconstruction of the original timbers. Measured from the sill, the total height of the wall is 9' 3". The studs are fairly evenly spaced, except in the third panel from the north-east gable. No wattle stave-holes were found in the soffit of a rail, and there is little doubt that there was an entrance to the service room at this point. Also, the existence of a window in the same part of the house is suggested by the discovery of five holes in the soffit of another rail. These would have held bars of wood. The studs are 9" wide, and the slightly narrower rails are set in two rows, creating panels of equal height the full length of the house. No wattle and daub remains, and the wall has been rebuilt in brick.

Much of the framework of the north-east wall is still in position (Fig. 11). The 9" wide studs are more widely and evenly spaced. The arrangement of the two rows of rails is regular, and some panels retain wattle-work covered with modern plaster. One panel displays wattle-work only. All the studs have been cut off some distance above sill level, after the removal of decayed timbers. The framing of both sides of the house follows a similar plan of well-proportioned layout.

Farm buildings adjoining the house contain the remains of timber framing, and the farmhouse was probably the home of a prosperous farmer of the first half of the sixteenth century.

CRUCK-TRUSSED HOUSES IN LICHFIELD AND DISTRICT

SUMMARY

Type — Two bays.

	<i>Hood Lane Farm, Armitage</i>	<i>The Thatch, Hill Ridware</i>	<i>Stowe Street, Lichfield</i>
External Length	41'	33' 6"	33'
External Width	21'	17' 6"	18' 6"
Number of cruck-trusses	Two. One removed.	Two. Framed-truss in gable.	Three.
Height to wall-plate	9' 9"	10'	11' 9"
Height to ridge (estimated) ..	21' 9"	20' 6"	24'
Width of hall between trusses	22'	17' 5"	16' 6"
Width of solar between trusses	16' 9"	14' 9"	15'
Probable date	1500-1550	c. 1550	1450-1550
Notes ..	Used as farm store.	Occupied.	Derelict. Future uncertain.

P. R. Sheppard
April 1962

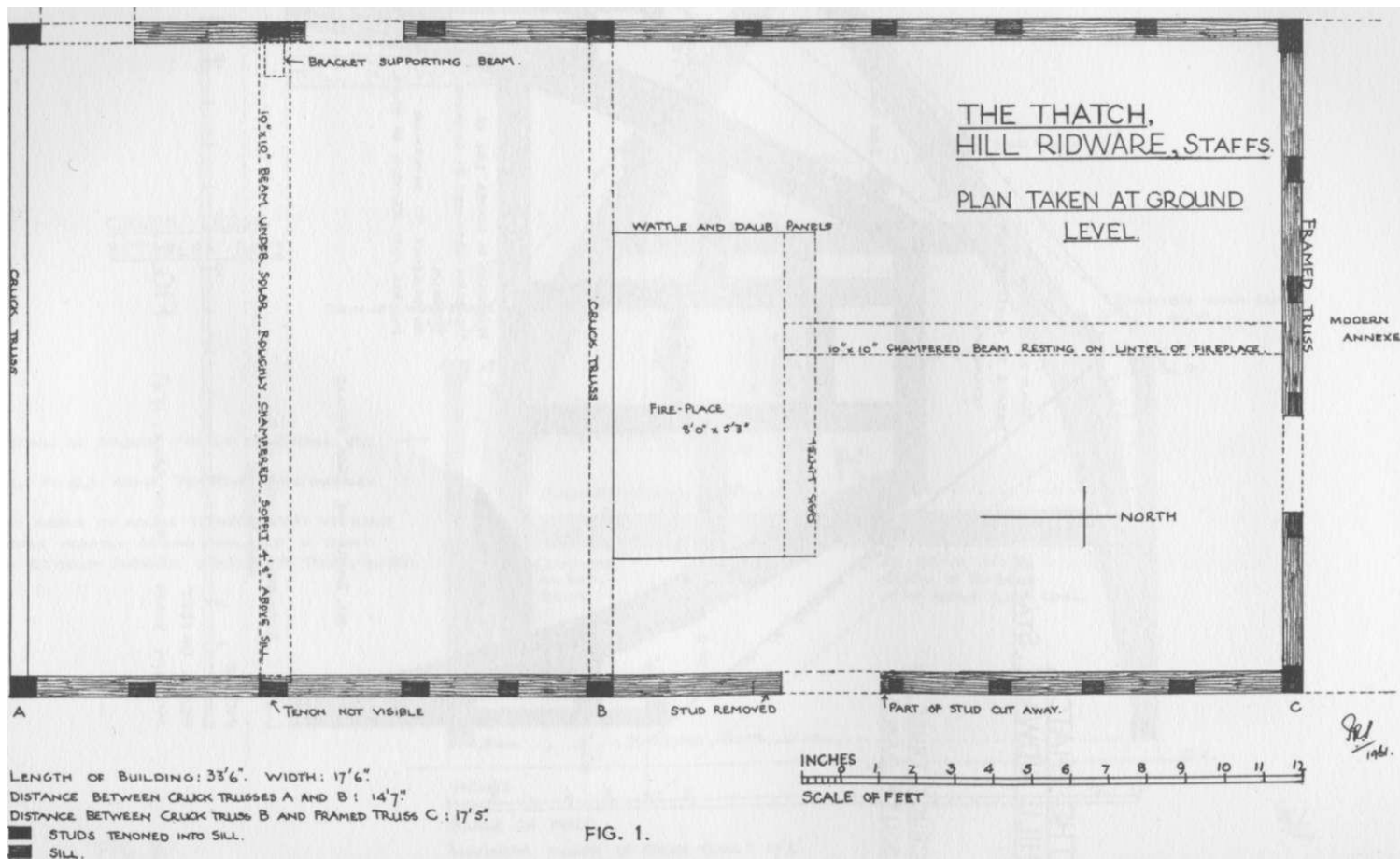
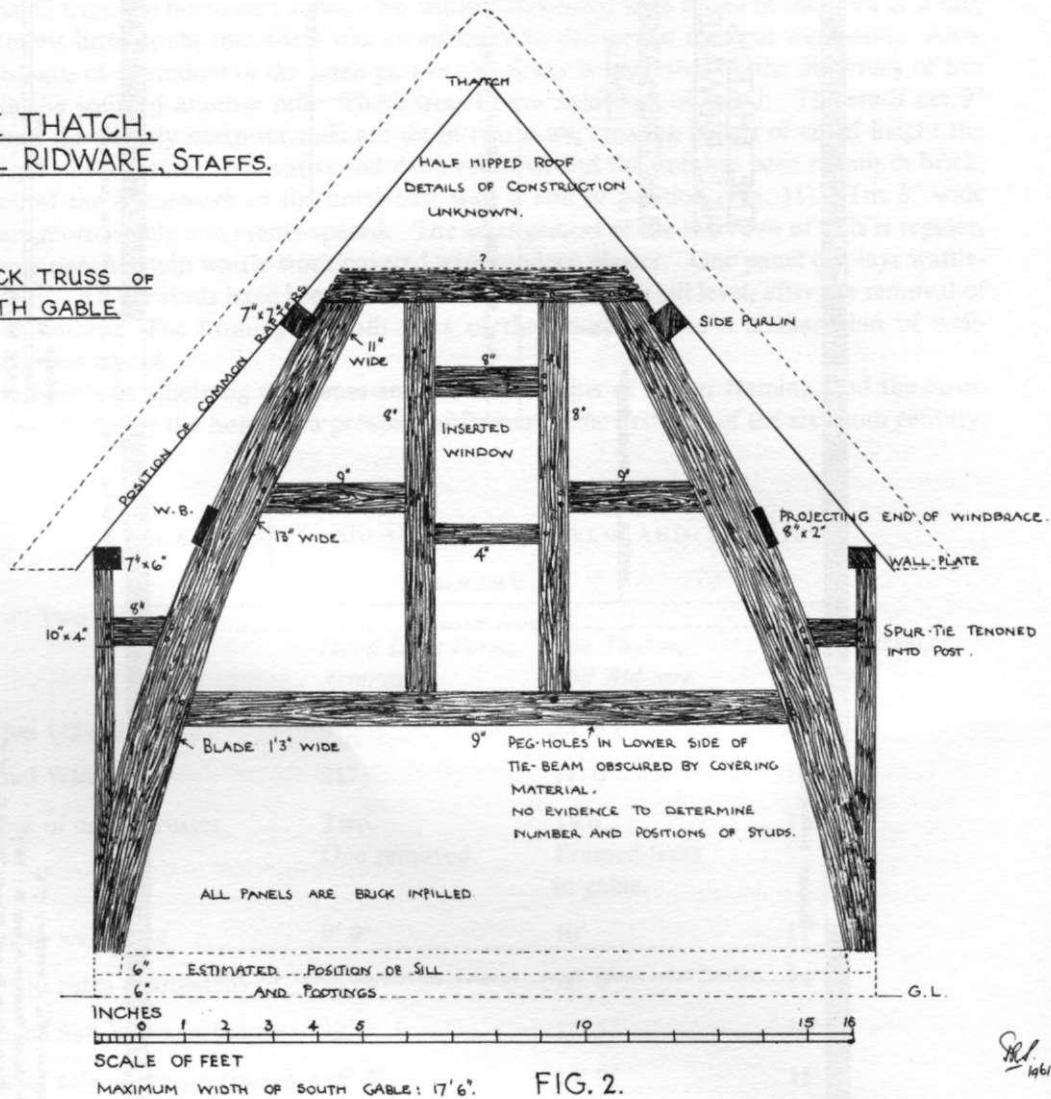


FIG. 1.

THE THATCH,
HILL RIDWARE, STAFFS.

CRUCK TRUSS OF
SOUTH GABLE



S.H.S.
1961.

THE THATCH, HILL RIDWARE, STAFFS

CRUCK TRUSS BETWEEN BAYS

DETAILS OF SPUR-TIE MASKED BY PLASTER ETC. →
ALL PANELS ABOVE TIE-BEAM BRICK INFILLED.
NO MEANS OF ACCESS TO UPPER PART OF HOUSE
ABOVE INSERTED CEILING AVAILABLE IN ORDER
TO ESTABLISH PRESENCE OF SOOT ON CRUCK BLADES.

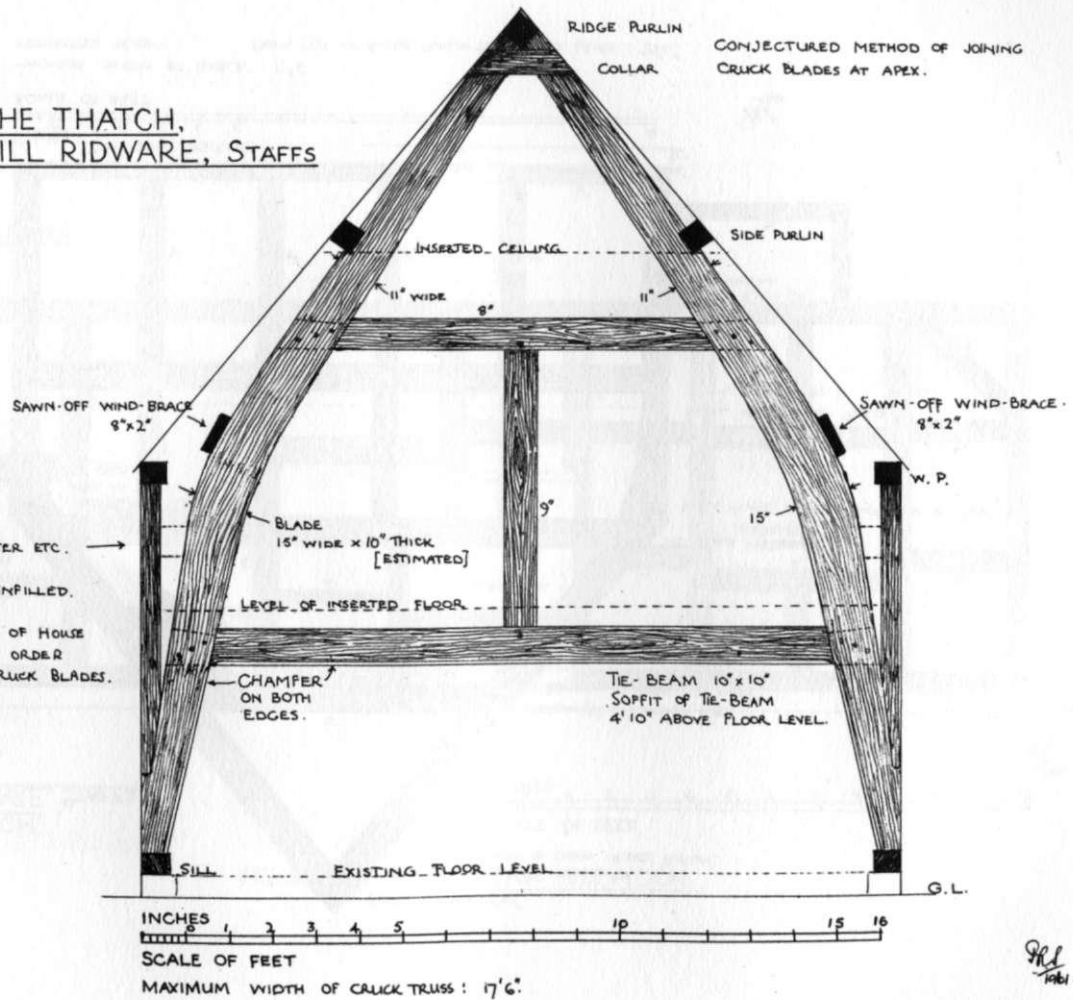


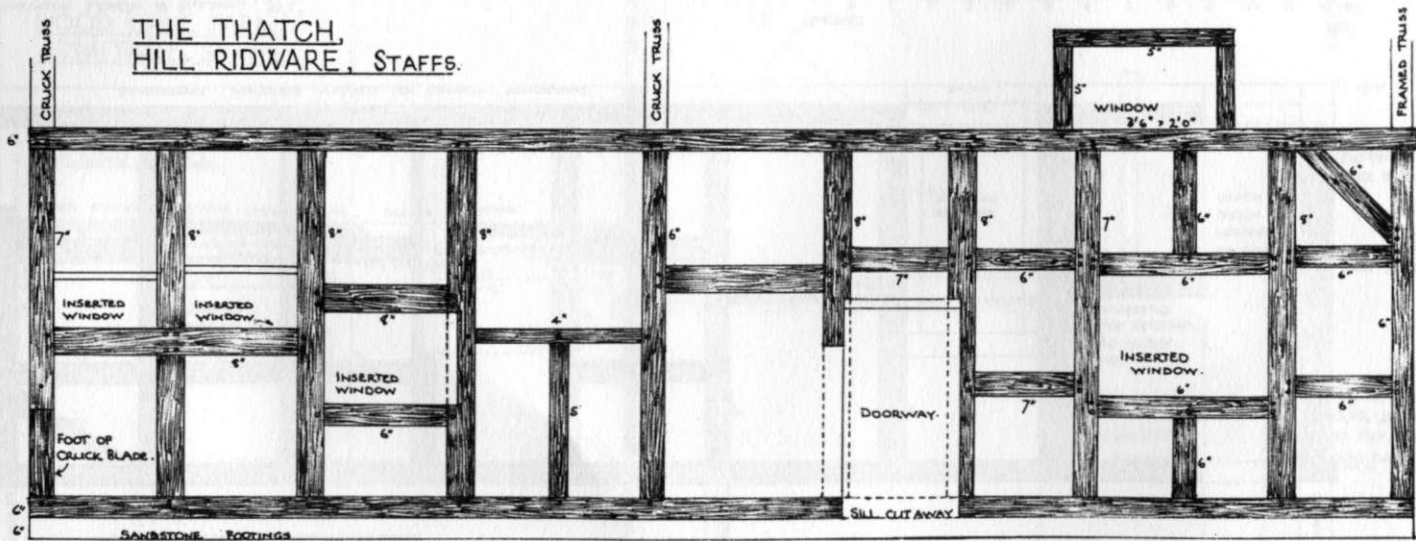
FIG. 3.

Handwritten signature
Tabl.

FRAMED TRUSS OF THE
NORTH GABLE



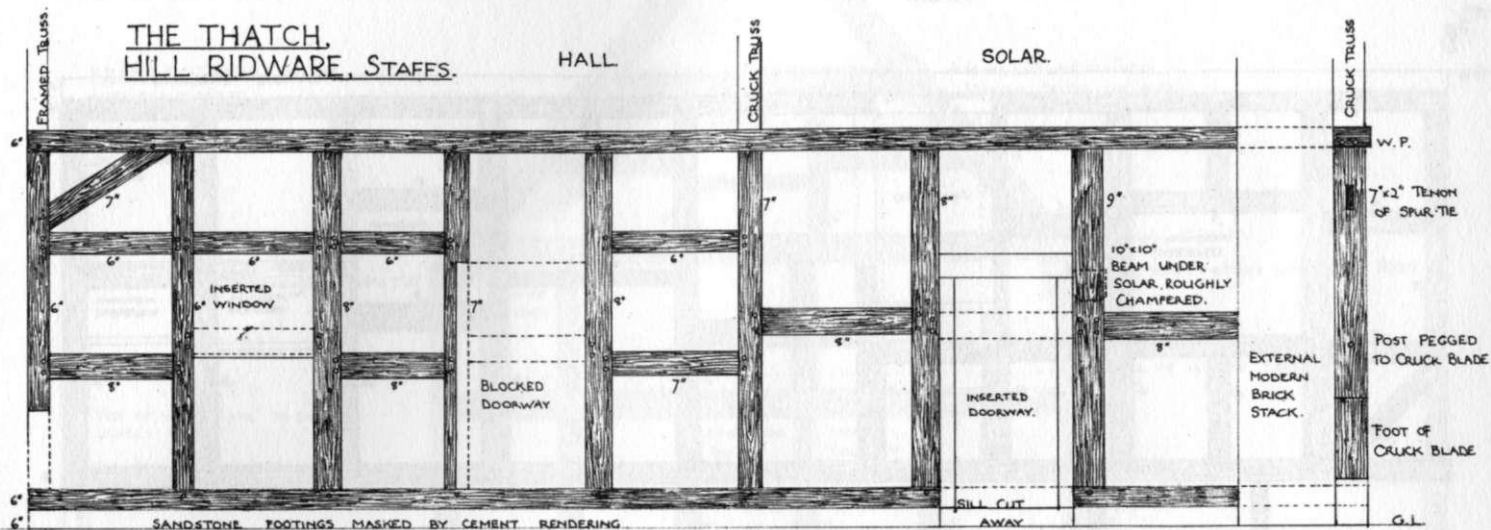
THE THATCH,
HILL RIDWARE, STAFFS.



LENGTH OF BUILDING: 33'6".
EXISTING TIMBER GRAINED.
ALL PANELS BRICK INFILLED.
FROM TOP OF WALL PLATE TO G.L.: 10'0"

FIG. 5.

EAST ELEVATION

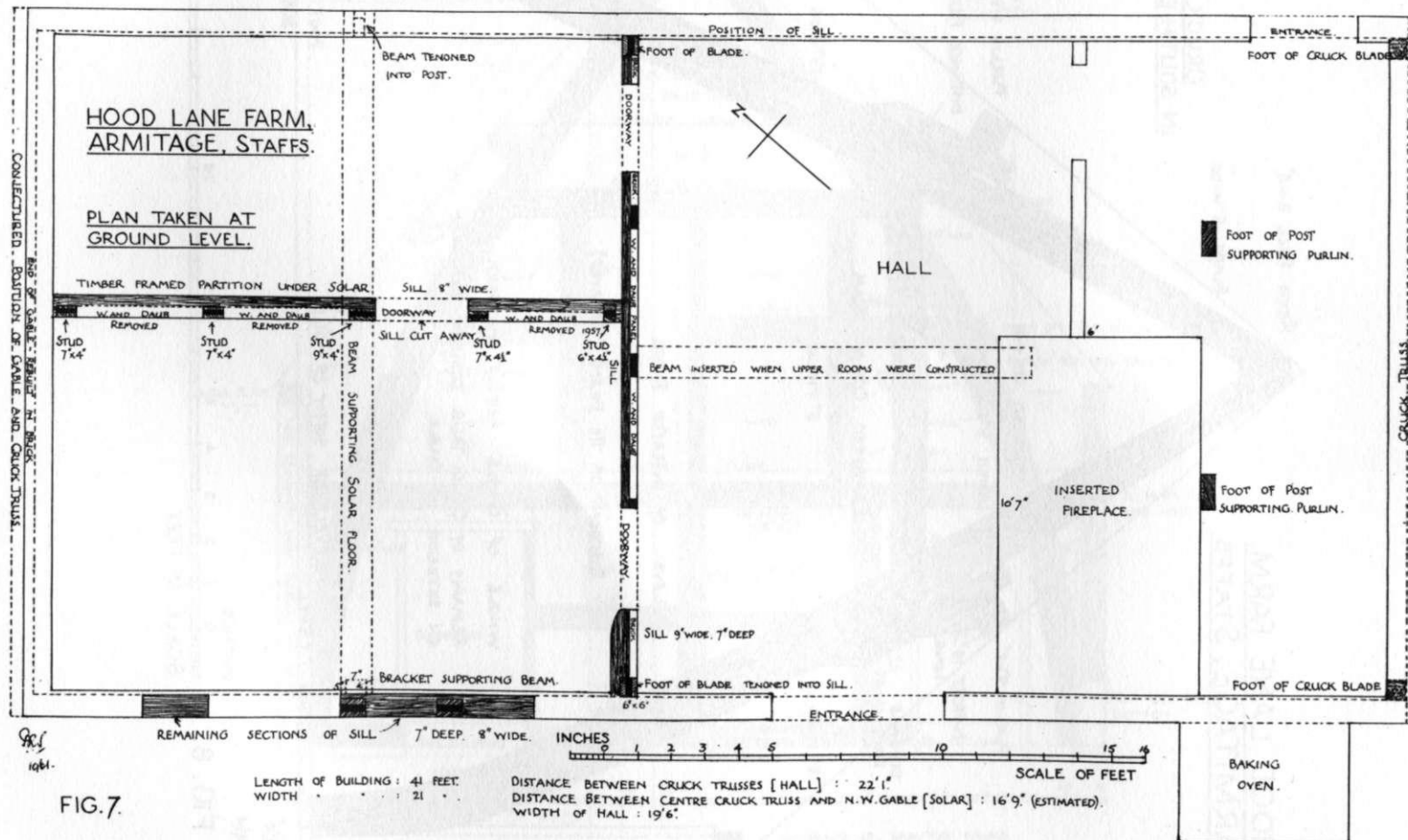


MAXIMUM LENGTH OF BUILDING: 33'6".
 TOP OF WALL-PLATE TO G.L.: 10'0".
 EXISTING FRAMEWORK GRAINED.
 UNGRAINED SECTIONS DEDUCED FROM EMPTY PEG-HOLES.
 ALL PANELS BRICK INFILLED.

FIG. 6.

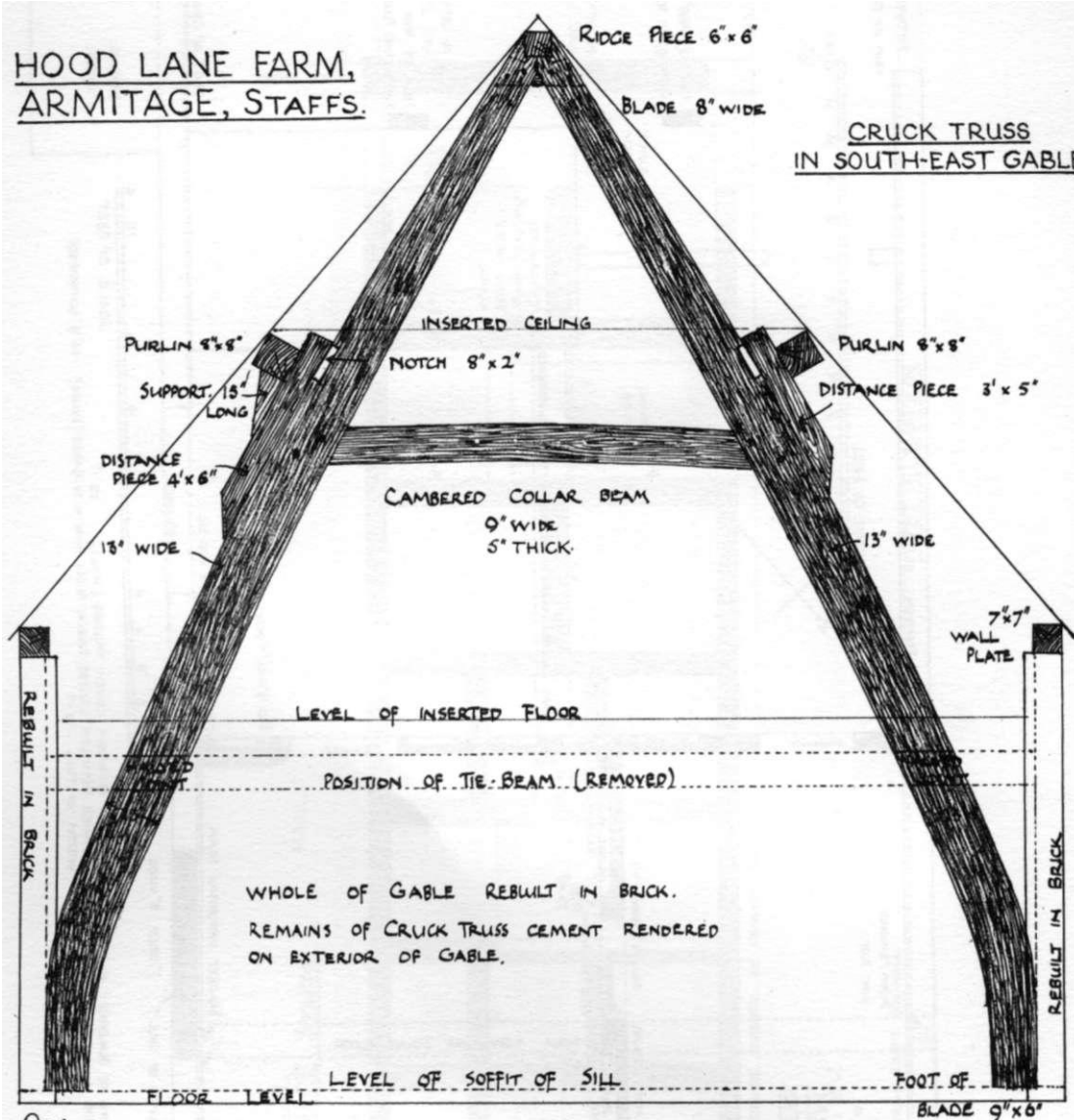
INCHES
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
 SCALE OF FEET

WEST ELEVATION.



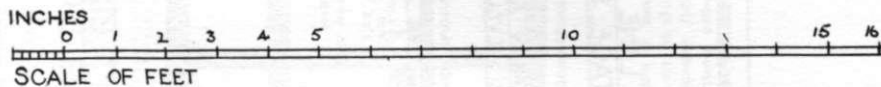
HOOD LANE FARM,
ARMITAGE, STAFFS.

CRUCK TRUSS
IN SOUTH-EAST GABLE.



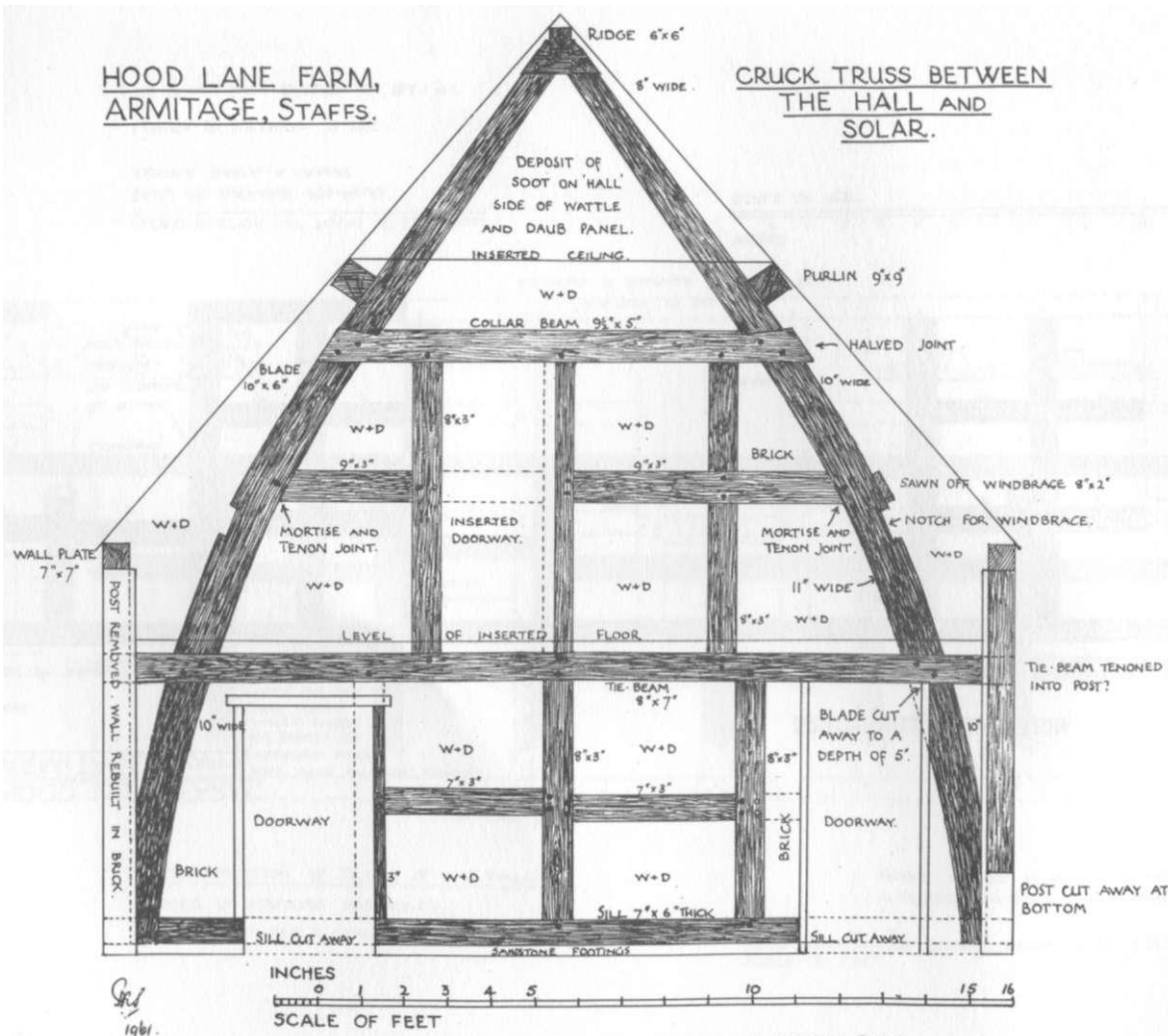
961
1961

FIG. 8.



HOOD LANE FARM,
ARMITAGE, STAFFS.

CRUCK TRUSS BETWEEN
THE HALL AND
SOLAR.



NO TRACE OF SPUR-TIES FOUND.
EXISTING TIMBER IS GRAINED.
W+D = WATTLE AND DAUB PANEL.
POSITION OF ORIGINAL DOORWAY UNCERTAIN.

FIG. 9.

ESTIMATED POSITION
OF CRUCK TRUSS IN N.W. GABLE

HOOD LANE FARM, ARMITAGE, STAFFS.

SOUTH-WEST ELEVATION

CRUCK TRUSS IN S.E. GABLE

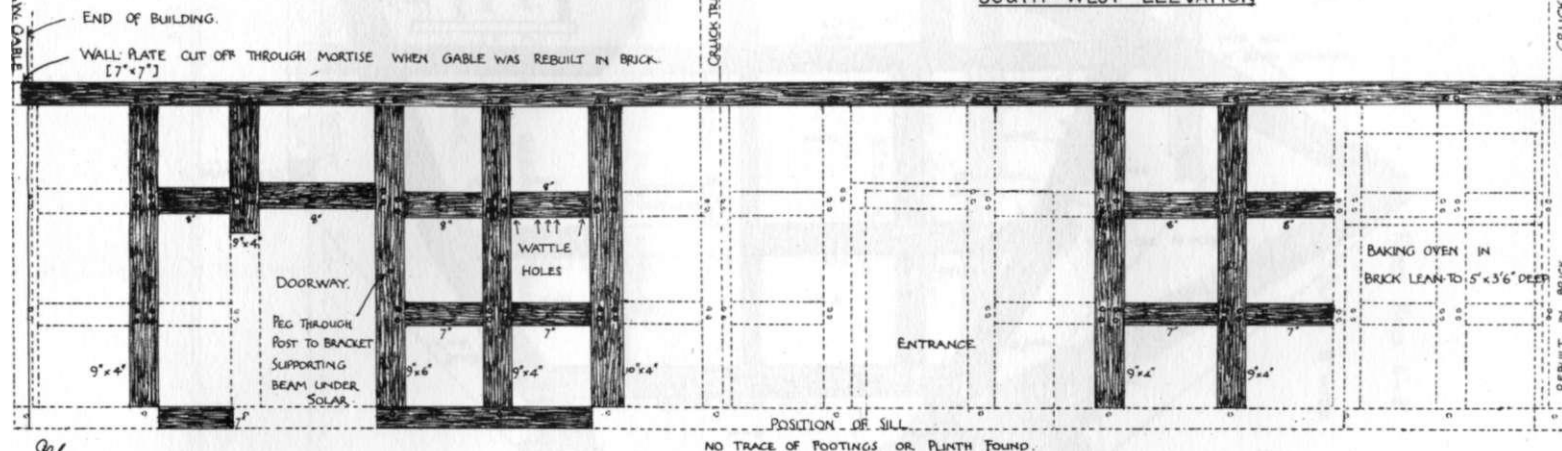
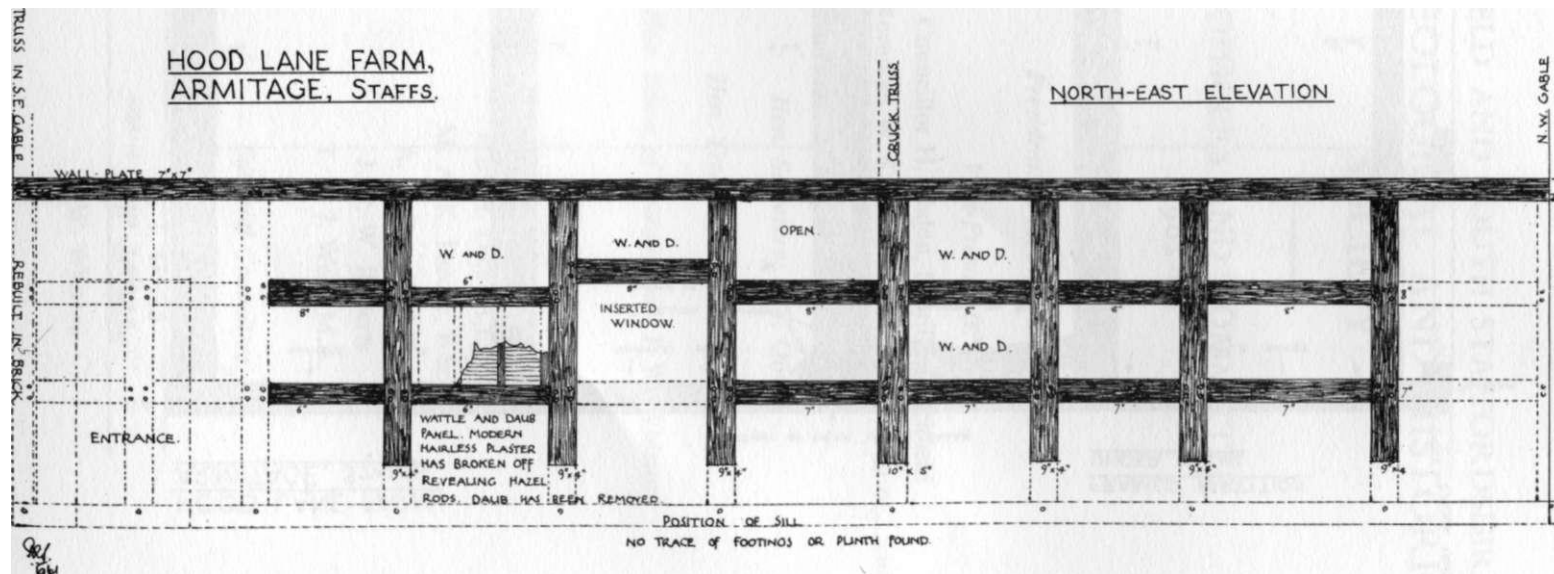


FIG. 10.



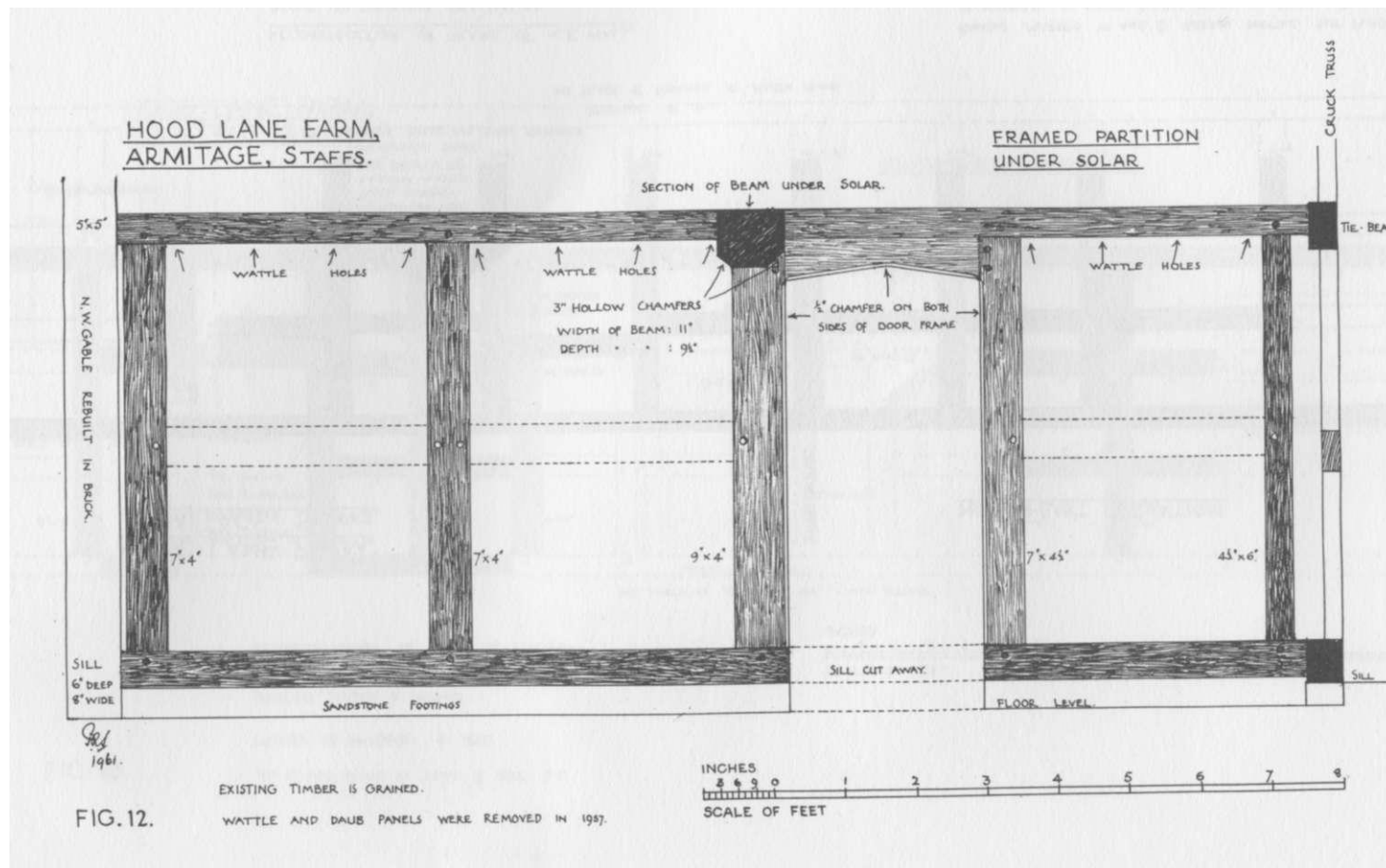
RECONSTRUCTION of TXAME. of N.E.WALU.

BASED ON SURVIVING PEG-HOLES.

EXISTING TIMBER IS GRAINED.

PANELS ~~PARVED~~ W. AND D. RETAIN WATTLE, BUT PLASTER
IS MODERN. [N OTHER PANELS THERE IS BRICN. INFILLING.

SCALE OF FEET



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