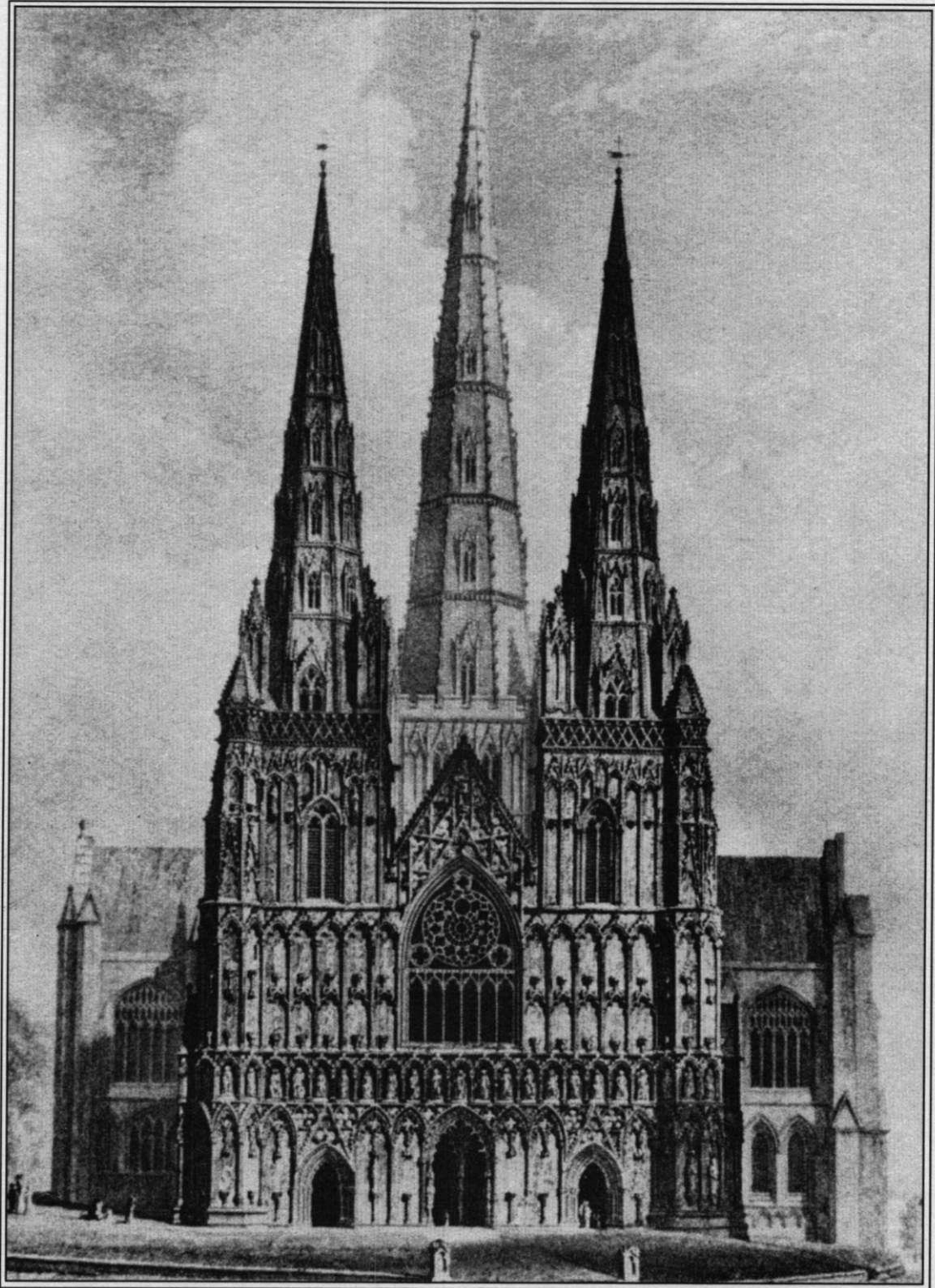




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A MIDDLE BRONZE AGE CREMATION AND OTHER PREHISTORIC FEATURES AT HINTS QUARRY, STAFFORDSHIRE

KRISHNA KRAWIEC, EMILY EDWARDS, and MEGAN BRICKLEY

SUMMARY

An archaeological watching brief and salvage recording was carried out by Birmingham Archaeology at Hints quarry, Staffordshire (NGR SK 1650 0400). Recording in response to quarry activity was undertaken in two parts, the first in November 2006 with a second phase in May 2008. The fieldwork was commissioned by Tarmac plc in fulfillment of a planning condition imposed by Staffordshire County Council. A previous watching brief was undertaken in 2005.

Location and geology

Hints quarry is located to the north of the village of Hints, which lies to the west of Tarnworth (Fig. 1). The solid geology of the area consists of Hopwas Breccia at Hints Hill, Mercia Mudstone to the east, and Kidderminster and Bromsgrove sandstones to the west. The drift geology is sands and gravels. The site lies on the crest of a hill which slopes gently to the south, with Bucks Head Farm to the south-west and Packington Farm to the north-east. Prior to extraction it was given over to arable cultivation.

Archaeological Background

The site has been subject to a desk-based assessment which recommended a watching brief on the area to be subjected to extraction. A previous watching brief carried out by Birmingham Archaeology in 2005 had revealed a small isolated pit containing heat shattered stone and fragments of pottery dated to the Romano-British period (Moscrop 2005).

Aims and Methodology

The areas of the watching brief covered approximately 5ha and 2.5ha respectively (Fig. 1). Archaeological observation was maintained during the mechanical removal of overburden. This was followed by selected salvage recording which involved hand-cleaning of a number of possible features, followed by testing by selective hand-excavation.

SALVAGE RECORDING *by Kristina Krawiec*

Several features of prehistoric date were identified during the initial watching brief of 2006, situated at the base of a hill and to the west of an excavated undated field boundary (1028) which may be the boundary seen on the 1st edition OS map of 1888. The most significant feature was an unurned cremation pit (1050) of middle Bronze Age date, 3220±35BP (SUERC-12529: 1540-1410 cal. BC), which directly cut the natural subsoil (Fig. 2). Also of middle-late Bronze Age date was a pit excavated a short distance to the north-east and other pits further to the north-east and also to the south-east (Fig. 2).

The largest pit (1.00m wide and 0.30m deep) was that a short distance to the north-east of the cremation (1040), which contained heat shattered stone and late Bronze Age pottery. Those further to the north-east included one with late Bronze Age to early Iron Age pottery (1030); the other pit was devoid of finds (1033) (Fig. 3).

The pits to the south-east of the cremation were small, 0.84m wide and sub-circular in plan. One (1015) contained a mixture of heat shattered stones and middle-late Bronze Age pottery, and the other (1012) was very shallow and contained the remains of a juvenile sheep/goat (1012). North of these pits was a short north-south aligned gully (1026) which contained late Bronze Age pottery and was the only datable linear feature.

During the second phase of salvage recording in 2008, a further group of pits was excavated in an area to the east of the cremation site, but with only two yielding datable finds. Only three of the pit features contained artefacts: a small piece of burnt bone in one small pit (2001) and also in a sub-circular pit (2015), whilst pottery dating to the early-middle Bronze Age and several other sherds of possible early Bronze Age pottery were recovered from pit (2003). To the south-east of (2003) was a cluster of other features most of which were irregular, shallow, and contained no datable finds. It is possible that these represent severely truncated remains of pits.

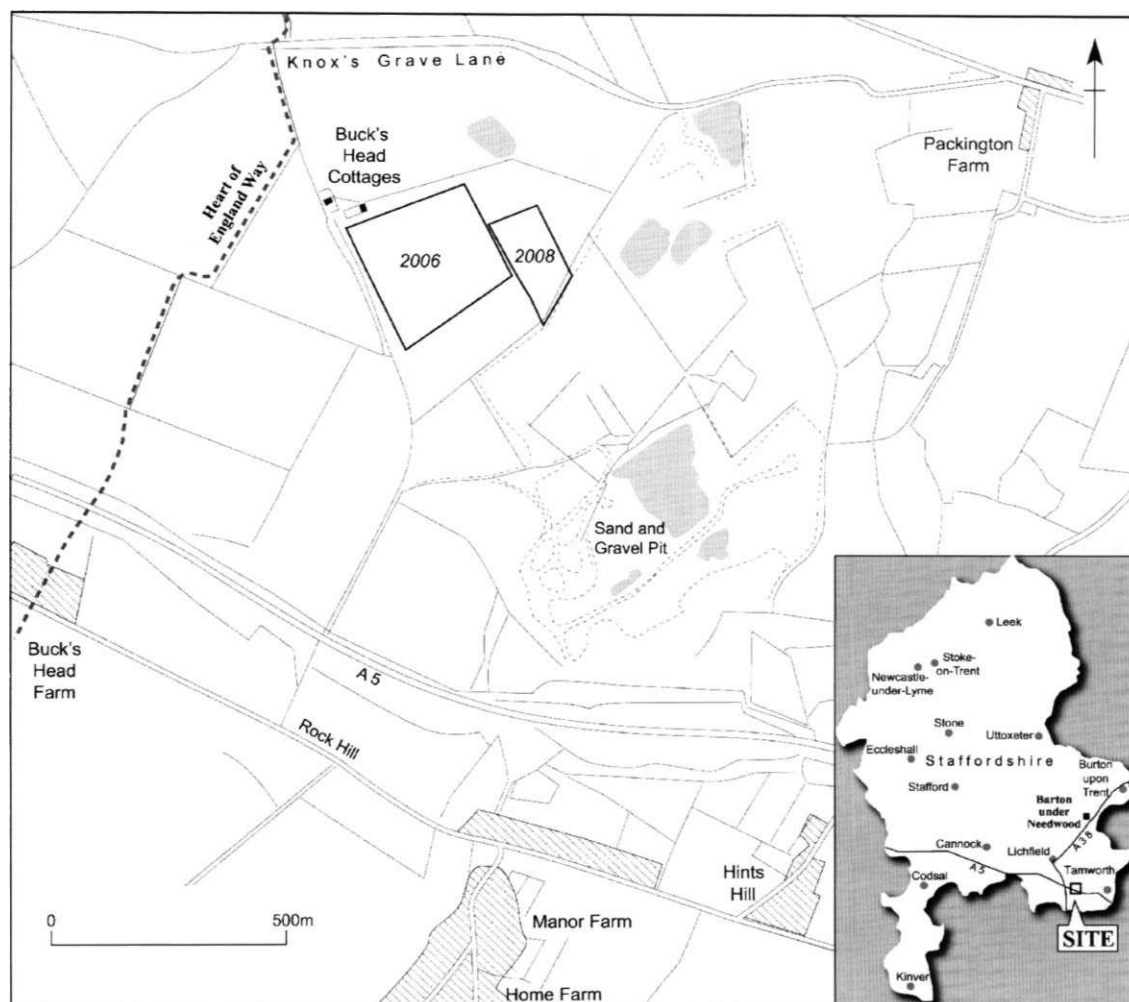


Fig 1 Location (inset) and extent of area investigated

THE POTTERY *by Emily Edwards*

A total of 16 sherds (164g) of later prehistoric pottery, including a finger impressed rim and sherds of one carinated jar, were recovered from three pits and one gully during the 2006 watching brief and a total of 4 sherds (61g) of later prehistoric pottery were also recovered from two small pits during the 2008 watching brief (see Tables 1 and 2 for assemblage breakdown).

The assemblage comprised some fresh breaks, including eight fragments of a carinated jar. The coarse flint and quartzite fabrics recorded in the assemblage, seen alongside its general character (e.g. vessels with a gritted base, carinated jars, and fragments of a finger-impressed rim), are largely consistent with a late Bronze Age date. The sherd from pit (1015) was manufactured from a denser fabric, which may indicate a middle or late Bronze Age date, whilst the black burnished, plain sherd

Table 1 Table showing breakdown of ceramic assemblage

Feature Type	Cut	Fill	Context	Count	Weight (G)	Fabric	Date	Vessel Type
Pit	1015	Primary	Full	1016	1	10	AFQ2	MBA or LB A
N-S gully	1026	Only	Fill	1027	2	26	QPfeA2	LB A
Pit	1030	Primary	Fill	1031	3	24	Q1	LB A or EIA
Pit	1040	Upper	Fill	1042	8	82	Q3	Carinated Jar
Pit	1040	Upper	Fill	1042	2	22	AQPfel	Pie Crust Rim
Pit	2003	Only	fill	2004	2	31	EBA	
Pit	2015	Only	fill	2016	2	30	EBA	Finger tip decoration

from pit (1030) was a finer fabric which may be either late Bronze Age or early Iron Age. The sherds from pit (1015) and from gully (1026) both retained traces of charred residue on the interior faces.

The four pottery sherds (61g) recovered from contexts (2004 feature 2003) and (2016 feature 2015) are difficult to date but can be placed either within the Neolithic or Bronze Age; manufactured from limestone and grog tempered fabrics, they comprise thick walls, lightly oxidised external surfaces. Three of the sherds are plain body sherds lacking in diagnostic features. Two sherds from feature (2016) conjoin and decoration is present on the face of the thicker of the two in the form of a pinched area of clay framed by a pair of finger tip impressions. These two sherds also appear to be manufactured from a grog and limestone fabric, which may suggest an early or middle Bronze Age urn. Unfortunately, the size of the fragments precludes confident identification.

Dating

It is widely recognised (Shennan 1981; Lambrick 1984; PCRG 1992) that between 25-30 sherds is the minimum number from which the dating of a defined episode of occupation can be determined with any confidence. This is also the minimum number of sherds required from a single prehistoric feature in order to allow some precision of dating, taking residuality into account. Although four of the Hints quarry sherds (1016, 1031) were recovered from primary fills of pits, the remaining twelve were recovered from a gully (1026) and from the top of a pit (1042); these factors may have a significant impact on the reliability of the suggested dates.

Fabric descriptions

AQF2 Fine sand (10 %) and angular, poorly sorted fragments of both flint and quartzite, 10%.

QPfeA2 1-2 mm sand, 10%, 5% quartzite, 15% ferruginous pellets.

Q1 Close, clean clay tempered with burnished surfaces and small (2%) amounts of rounded quartzite.

Q3 Close, clean clay containing 20% angular quartzite, up to 4 mm in length.

AQFfel 20% fine sand, 5% quartzite (2 mm).

Pottery discussion

The assemblage is very small but its potential is significant and should be considered. The provenance of some of the sherds indicate the presence on the site of stratified, secure, and undisturbed late Bronze Age features and of ceramic deposits in good condition. Further fieldwork may have the potential to recover settlement evidence and good material for radiocarbon dating in the form of charred residues. This assemblage should be considered alongside any pottery recovered from such future work.

CREMATION *by Megan Brickley*

Cremated human bone and pyre material dating to the middle Bronze Age (1610-1570 BC) was recovered. This appears to be a deposit of a token amount of material collected from a funerary pyre at another location.

In total 740g of cremated human bone was recovered. The bone was quite heavily fragmented with the largest piece of bone measuring just 4 cm x 2 cm. The bone was sieved as recommended by McKinley (2004), and the weight of bone in each sieve fraction is provided in Table 2.

The average weight of cremated bone from adults burned in modern crematoria is around 2865g (Bass and Jantz 2004) and so the recovered bone weighs far less than would be expected from a complete adult.

Table 2 The weight of bone from each of the sieve fractions used

Sieve fraction size	Weight of bone
9.5 mm	152g
4.75 mm	339g
2 mm	221g
Residue tray	28g
Unsorted residue	248g approximately 40% is bone fragments

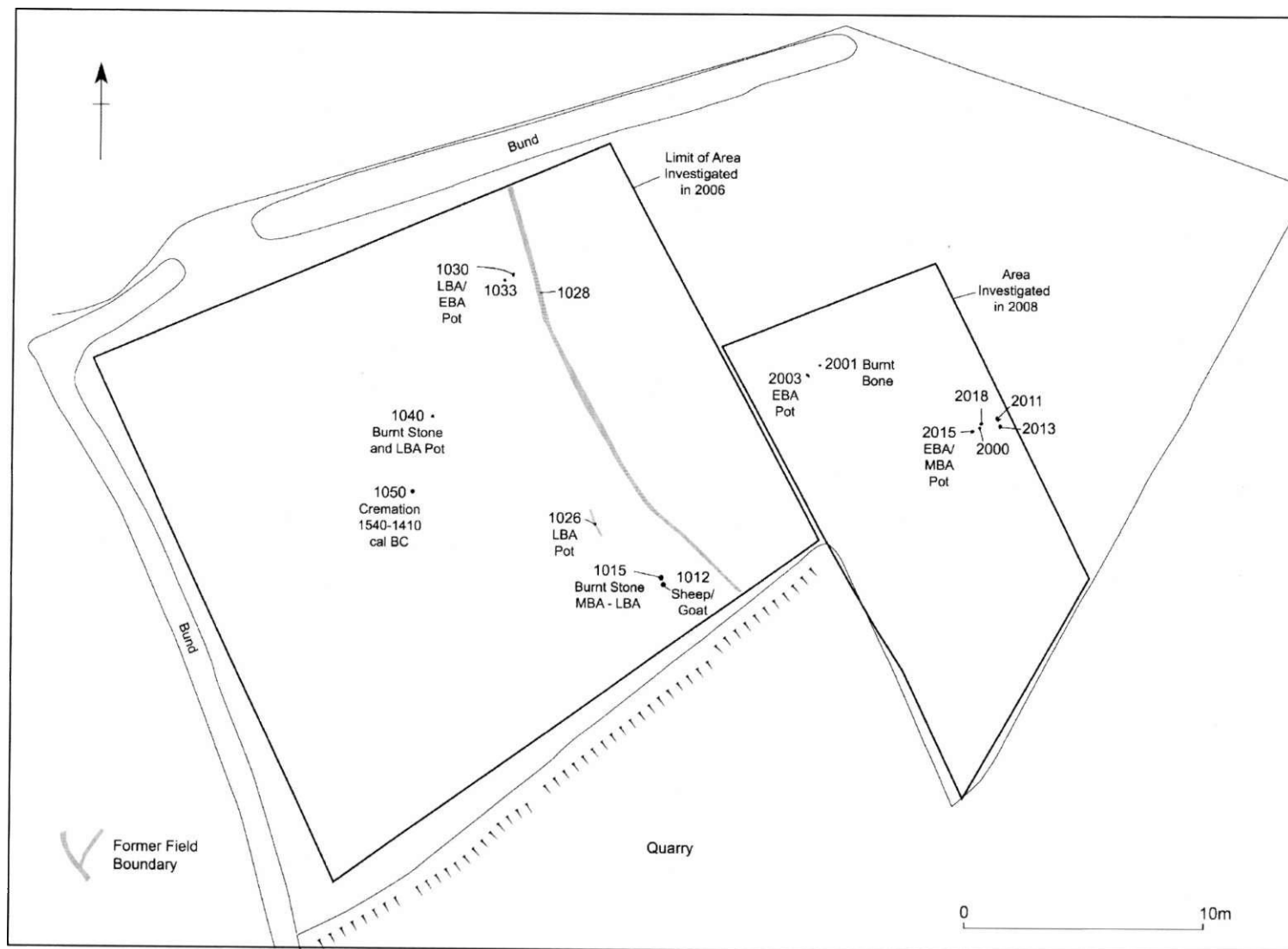


Fig 2 Simplified plan of features identified

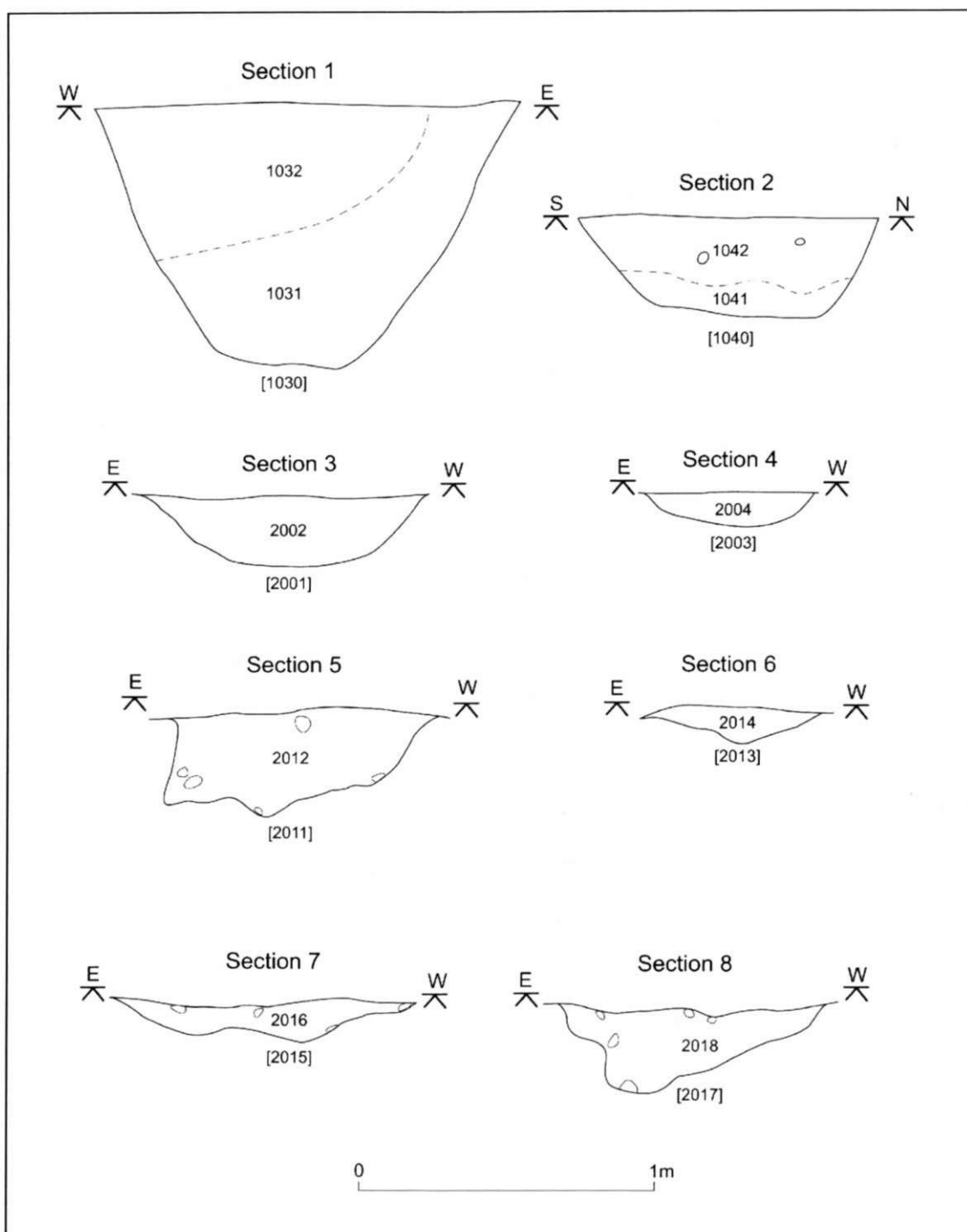


Fig 3 Selected sections

The cremated bone was a very uniform colour and was almost all a pale shade of fawn. The colour suggests that the bones present had been uniformly burned and were subject to a fairly high degree of oxidation (based on information provided in McKinley 2004). No artifacts or animal bone appeared to be present in the material examined.

Very little of the bone could be identified to a specific skeletal element; most appeared to be fragments of long bone. Due to the small size of the bone pieces, in many cases it was not even clear if the bone was from the upper or lower limb. However, there was evidence that bone from the extremities had been collected as more than a dozen pieces of bone identified came from the hands or feet, many from the phalanges. Only a couple of pieces of bone were identified as

coming from the axial skeleton (mainly fragments of rib) and few bone fragments from the skull. Skull fragments normally form a high percentage of the identified bone fragments from deposits of cremated bone, but in this case there were just 27g of skull and tooth fragments that were securely identified. From this material 23 tooth roots, or fragments of roots, were recovered. The roots and root fragments came from both the anterior and posterior teeth.

All the pieces of bone examined appeared to come from an adult individual (no areas appeared unfused) and no duplicate bone features were identified. Due to the small amount of bone present and the limited number of identified fragments, it is hard to be sure, but the bone examined appeared to come from a single adult individual. In cremated human bone information that may assist in suggesting the sex of an individual frequently comes from skull fragments. In this case, no areas of skull that could assist with the suggestion of sex were present. There were no skeletal elements present that assisted with the determination of the age of this individual, beyond indicating that the bone came from an adult.

All the bone fragments were examined carefully for evidence of pathology, but no pathological changes were recorded.

A number of cremation burials of this date have been excavated from the Midlands area (Brickley, Whitemoor Haye; Bateman 1976-77; Moore, 1971; Stanford, 1982; Allen *et al.*, 1987). Many of the sites have produced quite large numbers of cremated human remains, over 50 in the case of Pasture Lodge Farm in Lincolnshire (Allen *et al.*, 1987). There is strong possibility that there may have been more deposits of cremated human bone at the Hints site, but as only a small part of it has been investigated it is not possible to be certain.

DISCUSSION

The find of a single cremation and several pits at Hints quarry is a significant addition to the growing corpus of information of the middle-late Bronze Age within Staffordshire. The discovery of both domestic and mortuary features here may indicate the presence of a nearby and as yet undiscovered settlement. The majority of middle Bronze Age sites in the county are mainly ritual and funerary monuments distributed along the river valleys, with a dense concentration in the Trent Valley (Wardle 2002; Knight and Howard 2004).

Although the site had been subjected to intensive ploughing, the archaeological remains were in relatively good condition. The cremation was situated in a prominent position within the landscape, on the crest of a hill over-looking the surrounding lowland. It is not unusual for a single cremation such as this to have had a small earthen mound placed over it and that possibility cannot be discounted here. It is perfectly feasible that a mound may have existed but has since been destroyed by agricultural practices.

The clusters of pits may represent ritual activity that may have occurred with the interment of the cremation and subsequent acts of veneration. The nearby Bronze Age cemetery of Tucklesholme Farm, beside the River Trent at Barton-under-Needwood, and the extensive funerary monuments and prehistoric settlement at Whitemoor Haye on the River Tame, in Aire was, are evidence of an extremely diverse and active landscape within which Hints quarry lies (Martin and Allen 2001; Coates 2003). The single funerary deposit can also be seen as both an expression of individual identity as well as a complex genealogical system within a vivid prehistoric setting (Barratt 1990, 181, 189).

The pits and their deposits may represent the living venerating the dead and returning to the site of a funerary monument to reiterate territorial and ancestral relationships. The use of funerary monuments as territorial markers that are revisited and redefined is a well-recognized practice and these finds are no exception (Levy 1989, 156). It is also entirely possible that the pits relate to settlement activity, which may be revealed by further work.

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AN EARLY FOURTEENTH-CENTURY RESIDENTIAL BUILDING ADJACENT TO THE SOUTH GATEWAY OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL CLOSE

MALCOLM HISLOP

with a contribution by Paul Breeze

SUMMARY

Excavation in 1989-90 on the south side of Lichfield Cathedral Close, adjacent to the Visitors' Centre, revealed the remains of a major residential building integrated with the close wall. A well-preserved and closely dated stratigraphic sequence provided insights into the process of construction as well as associating the building with the raising of the close wall under the licence to crenellate granted to Bishop Langton in 1299. The sole surviving wall belonged to a substantial structure which is interpreted here as either the house of one of the senior officers of the cathedral or a guest house. The building had probably been demolished by the early 16th century, but the south wall survived as the property boundary of a later house.

INTRODUCTION

Between October 1989 and May 1990 Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (BUFAU) undertook an evaluation on the southern side of Lichfield Cathedral Close, with the aim of providing information on possible archaeological constraints to the construction of a proposed new Visitors' Centre. The project focused on a substantial section of apparent medieval walling, and comprised a detailed archaeological record of the standing structure as well as the excavation of a number of evaluation trenches. The archaeological purpose of the project was to investigate the constructional sequence of the wall, its relationship with the deposits on either side, and to assess the quantity and quality of archaeological deposits in the area of the proposed development.

THE SITE AND ITS SETTING

Location

The site lies on the southern edge of the close (Fig. 1), on land which formerly sloped gently southwards towards Minster Pool, owing to the shelving of the natural sandstone bedrock. The evaluation was carried out to the rear of No. 19 The Close, a property fronted by a house of c 1800, which faces the choir south aisle, and whose grounds lie on the west side of Dam Street, the main approach to the cathedral from the town. Ranged along the Dam Street boundary is the Lichfield Cathedral Visitors' Centre, converted in the 1980s from 17th- and 19th-century stables.

Prior to the evaluation, the garden of No. 19 was bounded to the south-east (for convenience here referred to as south, following the liturgical orientation of the cathedral) by a heavily overgrown, coursed ashlar wall, of which a 6m length was visible rising to a height of 0.5m above the existing ground level. It appeared to end abruptly to the west, but its line was continued by the south wall of the Visitors' Centre, as far as Dam Street. South of the wall, towards the Minster Pool, the ground level is 2m lower, and the south elevation of the wall was exposed to a height of approximately 2m. The south elevation was badly weathered, cracked, and bulged outwards; it was extensively shored before archaeological works commenced.

This wall, aligned approximately east-west, was initially interpreted as part of the defensive circuit enclosing the cathedral close erected under a licence to crenellate granted to Bishop Walter Langton in 1299 (*CPR 1292-1301*, 409).

Previous archaeological work

Archaeological excavations carried out in 1976-7 in the grounds of the former Theological College, to the west of No. 19, revealed an informative sequence of events (Carver 1982). Recorded activity commenced in the Neolithic and resumed with Saxon burials contemporary with the first ecclesiastical settlement, that is to say, some years before 669 (Gould 1993, 5-6). In the 11th-12th

centuries the Minster Pool bank was refurbished, and land was reclaimed in the early 12th century by the dumping of sand into the waterlogged area bounding the pool, which was also dammed at this time in order to drive a mill. In the later medieval period this area formed the backyards of canonical houses fronting onto the south of the (present) Cathedral Close. There was no clear evidence of a defensive wall here.

Towards the east, excavations by Staffordshire County Council in 1987-1988 and recording in the cellar of St Mary's House produced evidence for a medieval courtyard house situated within the south-east corner of the close, integral with the close wall (Simpson 1987a, 33). Excavation within the grounds of St Mary's House on the east side of Dam Street, opposite the grounds of No. 19, revealed the east side of the medieval south gateway into the close (Simpson 1987b, 33-35). The gateway was flanked by a polygonal turret in sympathy with the polygonal towers that projected from the close wall where it coincided with the bishop's palace in the north-east corner of the close (Maddison 1993, 67-8; Tringham 1993). The remainder of the gate lies beneath Dam Street, but it can be conjectured from the extent of the excavated remains that the east side would have come within close proximity of the east wall of the Visitors' Centre.

METHODOLOGY

In Stage 1 of the evaluation a 2m-wide section was cut across the line of the wall, separated into two trenches (Fig. 2); Trench I was dug for a length of 6m north of the wall, in the garden of No. 19 The Close, whereas Trench II was excavated for 3.7m south of the wall in a densely overgrown area bordering the Minster Pool.

Recognition of the standing structure as the south wall of a major medieval building prompted further archaeological evaluation (Stages 2-4) in order to establish the implications of the new discovery for the proposed development. These further stages of evaluation were targeted principally at the south wall, to examine its architectural features and condition, but there was also an intention to define the extent of the building to which it belonged and the full sequence of deposits within the area affected by the proposed development and associated landscaping works.

Trenching along both sides of the wall and removal of overburden from the top of the wall itself was carried out to expose the structure and any associated features to foundation level (Trenches III and IV); excavation in both these trenches was restricted to the removal of post-medieval deposits. In addition, Trench I was extended by machine to a total length of 12m north of the wall in an attempt to intercept the assumed north wall of the medieval building, and to provide a more detailed understanding of the sequence of activity represented in this area. Finally, a sondage (Trench V) was dug inside the eastern garden boundary of No. 20 The Close, across the projected line of the wall, to determine its eastern continuation.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

Phase 1: Pre-medieval activity

Natural sandstone bedrock was located at 2.4m below the modern surface (at 79.67m AOD) in a test pit at the north end of Trench I (Fig. 3), where it was sealed by a natural, soft, orange clay (1116). A borehole dug approximately 2m to the south of this point confirmed the suspected fall of natural sandstone to the south, away from the Cathedral Close.

The earliest indication of human activity was a mottled, dirty mid-brown clay silt (1119) overlying the natural clay, forming a shallow, gently sloping bank up to 0.4m deep, sealed by a charcoal-rich horizon (1116) containing a quantity of worked flint flakes. This evidence may parallel more extensive Neolithic activity recorded to the west (Carver 1982).

Phase 2: Preparation of the site

The earliest definable activity, the evidence for which was exposed at the northern end of Trench I, was the beginning of a two-stage episode of land reclamation represented by the dumping of sand, up to 0.7m deep, along the northern margin of the Minster Pool. The first stage comprised the deposition of a clean, buff-yellow, coarse sand (1115), 0.3m deep, over Phase 1 layer, 1116, recorded for a length of 5m; the upper horizon of this deposit (1114) had been disturbed.

Later, a gentle, south-sloping bank was formed by the deposition of further sand (1133, 1132, 1131). A clean sand above (1129, 1130) was banded with lenses of organic silt, formed by the

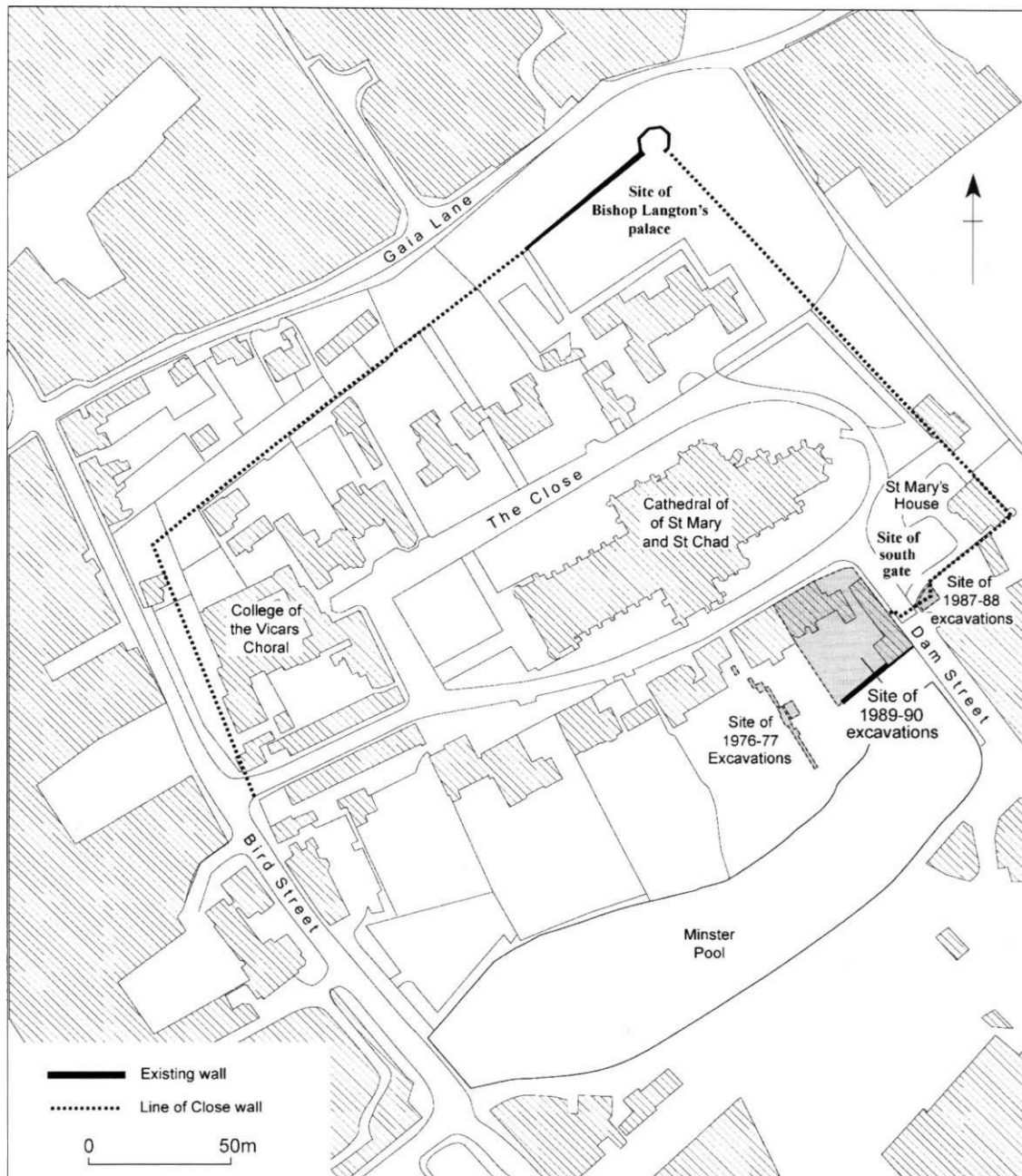


Fig 1 Site location

mixing of dumped material and slight alluvial intrusions at the edge of the Minster Pool. Deposits of the second stage contained pottery with a *terminus* in the 12th-14th century.

Phase 3: The construction of the building

This levelling up of the sloping ground on the edge of the Minster Pool appears to have been the preparatory stage in the construction of a building in this area of which the extant wall formed the south side. Subsequent archaeological deposits tell us something of the manner in which this building was constructed.

The south wall

Towards the south, in Trench II (Fig. 4), the natural orange-red silt clay was contacted *c* 2.7m below the modern surface (at 77.31m AOD) sealing the sandstone bedrock at an unknown depth below. Above this material a dark grey-black, fine, organic silt 1m deep, deposited at the edge of the Minster

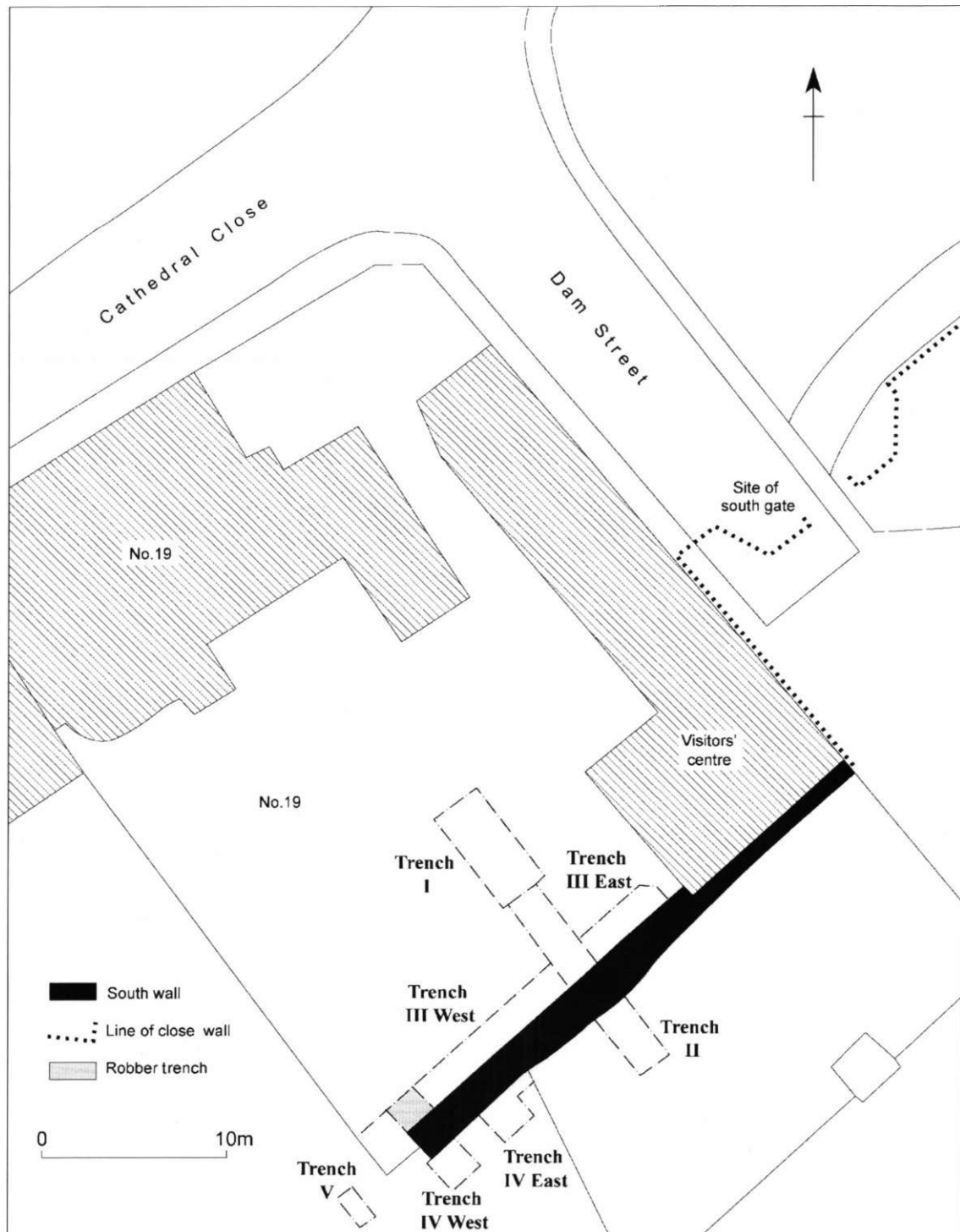


Fig 2 Trench locations

Pool and present in both Trench II (2011) and at the south end of Trench I, *c* 3m south of the Phase 2 bank, (1033). Below the water-table (at 77.61m AOD), fragments of brushwood and medieval shoe leather were preserved. Pottery from this layer has a *terminus* in the 13th–14th century.

This material was cut by the foundation trench for the south wall (F100) of the building. On the south side Trench II revealed that the foundation trench was cut through to the level of the natural clay and the sandstone rubble foundations were set right up against the edge of the trench. The north side of the trench was also vertical, but the wall foundations were stepped, with a 0.2m offset 0.65m below the top of the cut so that only the lower foundations were pressed right up against the side of the trench.

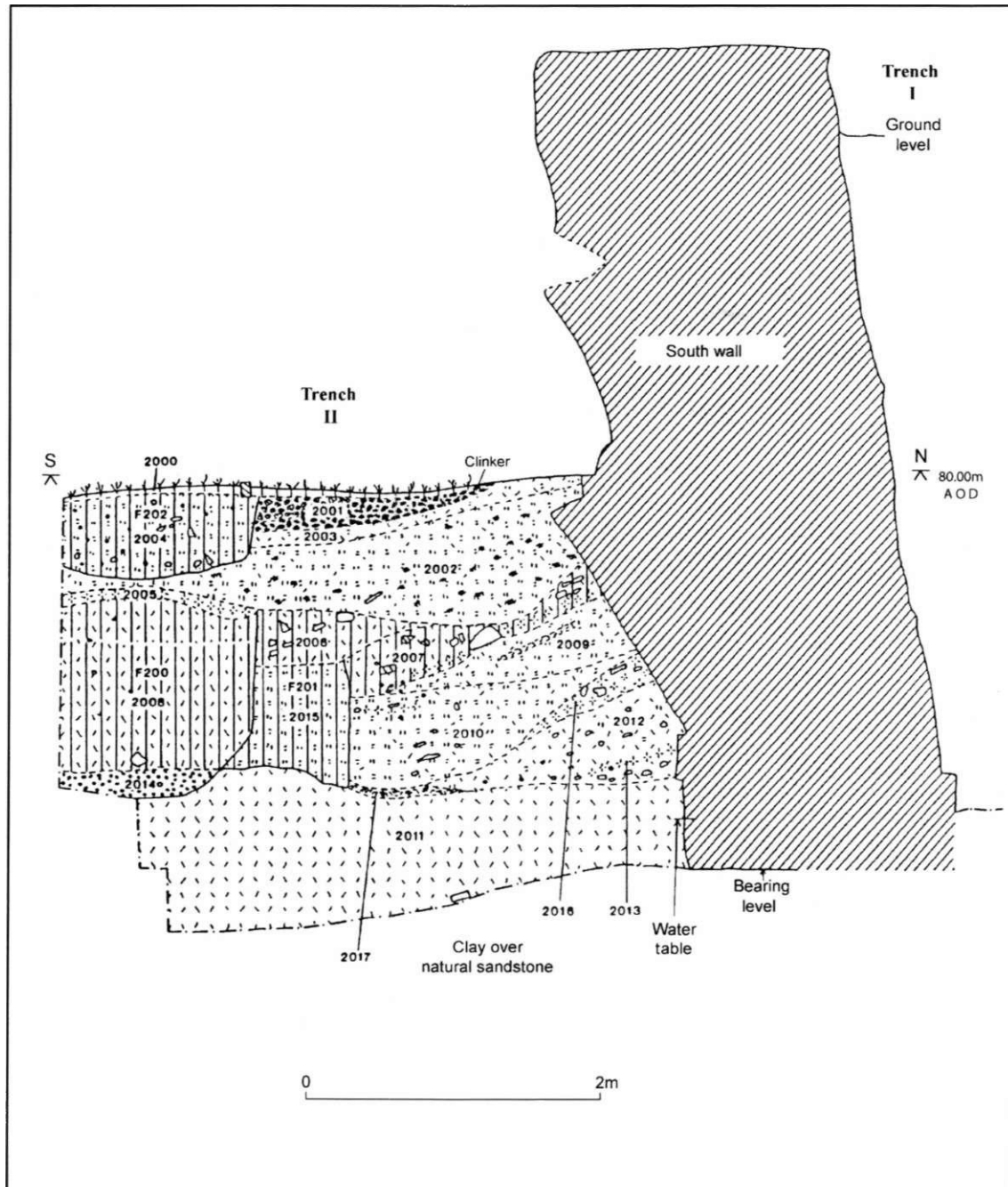


Fig 4 Trench II, east facing section

The character of the deposits at the south end of Trench I suggested that construction of the wall was carried out in more than one stage, with the foundations first being carried up to a height of at least 1.8m above the offset. During this initial phase of building, orange sands (1036/1128) and a trampled, dirty buff orange sand (1032) above, were deposited against the north face of the foundations up to a height of 1.13m above the offset, probably to raise the ground level so that the masons were able to carry on working effectively as the wall rose. A thin layer of crushed sandstone (1126) on top of this surface probably indicates a working surface. Part of a ridge tile of later 13th- to 14th-century date was recovered from this deposit (see Breeze below).

After this there was a hiatus in the construction work, during which the sand deposits were covered by a thick dark grey clay silt (1031), which lapped against the wall. This material was drained by an irregularly cut ditch (F105), aligned parallel to the wall, and which contained a dark grey-black organic silt (1030/1125).



Plate 1 The masons' working floor (1027) from the north

A resumption of activity is indicated by spreads of further construction debris (1124, 1121, 1029) over the ditch and silt, and then the deposition of a layer of brown silt clay flecked with charcoal (1028/1120), which thickened to a depth of 0.2m against the wall. Cut into this layer was a second east-west aligned drainage gully (F107), which was dug against the face of the wall.

Layer 1028/1120 and F107 were sealed by an extremely well-defined band of greenish-white, compact, crushed sandstone (1027), up to 0.19m thick, but steadily diminishing in thickness, and containing an increasing quantity of crushed sandstone fragments, as it neared the wall; it was artefact-free (Plate 1). This layer, which lapped up against the rubble plinth, and whose upper surface lay some 0.70m below the assumed floor level of the medieval building, was interpreted as a masons' working floor, where the ashlar was dressed before being placed in position. It is possible that some of this material was deliberately deposited to prepare the ground before work started, but the looser chippings may be the *in-situ* waste from the processes being carried out on the spot.

An end to construction here, and a possible levelling-up episode, were represented by a clean, soft, reddish-brown silt (1026), sealing 1027, overlain by a spread of charcoal-rich silt (1025) thickening towards the wall. This deposit, which seemed to be at too low a level to represent internal floor levels within the structure, and which may define the destruction of nearby temporary structures associated with construction, was sealed by further levelling (1024).

Cutting layers 1025, 1026 and 1027 towards the north end of Trench I, prior to its extension, a shallow, flat-bottomed feature (F104, not illustrated) was recorded. Aligned north-east to south-west, it was only apparent on the south-east side, and had been heavily truncated by later disturbances. The fill was a sticky, black, organic silt (1022) which contained pottery with a *terminus* in the 13th-14th century. This was demonstrably the latest surviving medieval deposit.

The initial medieval floor level was represented by the break between the foundations and coursed ashlar above. The upper levels of medieval stratigraphy including the medieval internal floor levels had been scoured-out by later disturbance.

The north wall

Although Trench 1 ultimately extended for 1 lm from the inside face of the south wall, no trace of a north wall was discovered, nor of any disturbance associated with a related robber trench. Either the wall lay beyond the extent of the excavation, or it had been removed and any indications of its former presence obliterated by the post-medieval scouring out that characterised the later stratigraphy.

The west wall

Although there was no trace of a north wall, some evidence for a west wall was discovered towards the west end of Trench III. Here, the heavily disturbed, slumped core of a possible north-south wall had been sealed by a post-medieval build-up (Fig. 2). A return wall to the west here is further indicated by the definition of a band of mortar-stained soil (not excavated), possibly representing the fill of a robber trench.

The east wall

The east wall of the building is probably represented by the current boundary wall that extends along the side of Dam Street.

Later phases

On the south side of the south wall, the organic material (2011) cut by the foundation trench was sealed by a localised lens of dark brown clay silt (2017) above which was a sequence of demolition debris tipped from the top of the wall (2012, 2013, 2016), sealed by a thick deposit of brown silt clay (2010), and overlain by further soils and demolition rubble (2009, 2007) containing a sherd of the 15th-16th century. Probably in the 17th century, the south elevation of the south wall collapsed outwards and was rebuilt above plinth level using the original materials, thereby closing off the window and any other openings there may have been on this side.

On the north side of the wall the upper levels of medieval stratigraphy, including floors and any basement that might have existed, were scoured out and replaced by up to 2m of imported soils, no later than the 18th century. Small, brick garden outhouses were constructed over and against the medieval wall, and the splayed window was utilised as a hearth. A formal garden was laid out, incorporating gravelled paths. A quantity of red sandstone architectural fragments (possibly derived from remodelling inside the Cathedral) was incorporated into contemporary structures.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDING REMAINS

South wall: external (south) elevation (Fig. 5)

The bearing level of the wall was found in Trench II at 2.8m below the modern ground level. The roughly-faced sandstone rubble foundations, which were 1.1m deep, were set in a buff-sandy mortar and rested on the natural clay. The foundations were probably always below the medieval water-level of the Minster Pool. Above these lower foundations, the face of the wall was set back 0.05m, as on the north side, the first 1.46m consisting of an ashlar plinth, which contrasted with the lower quality stonework in an equivalent position on the north side, and which no doubt reflects the fact that the north face would have been below ground whereas the south face would have been visible above the water of the Minster Pool. In Trench IV, at the eastern extremity of the elevation, this plinth was mostly vertical, but the beginning of a dramatic incline was detected in Trench IV (east), which reached a climax in Trench II where the plinth leant to the south at an angle of 50 degrees. The plinth was capped by a square course, recorded in Trenches II and IV, and by a chamfered coping, mostly above the modern ground level to the east, and composed of two courses,

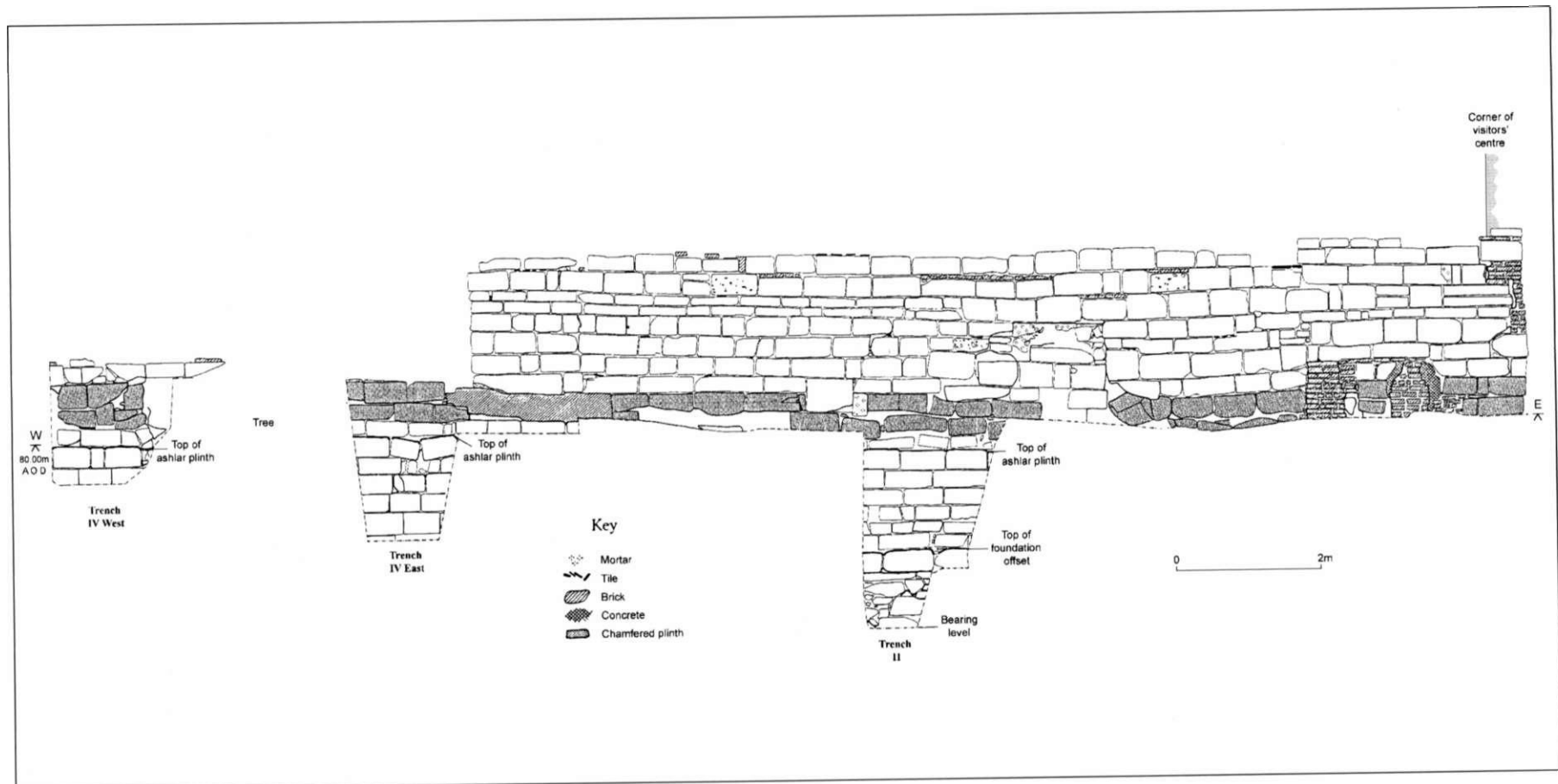


Fig 5 South wall, south elevation

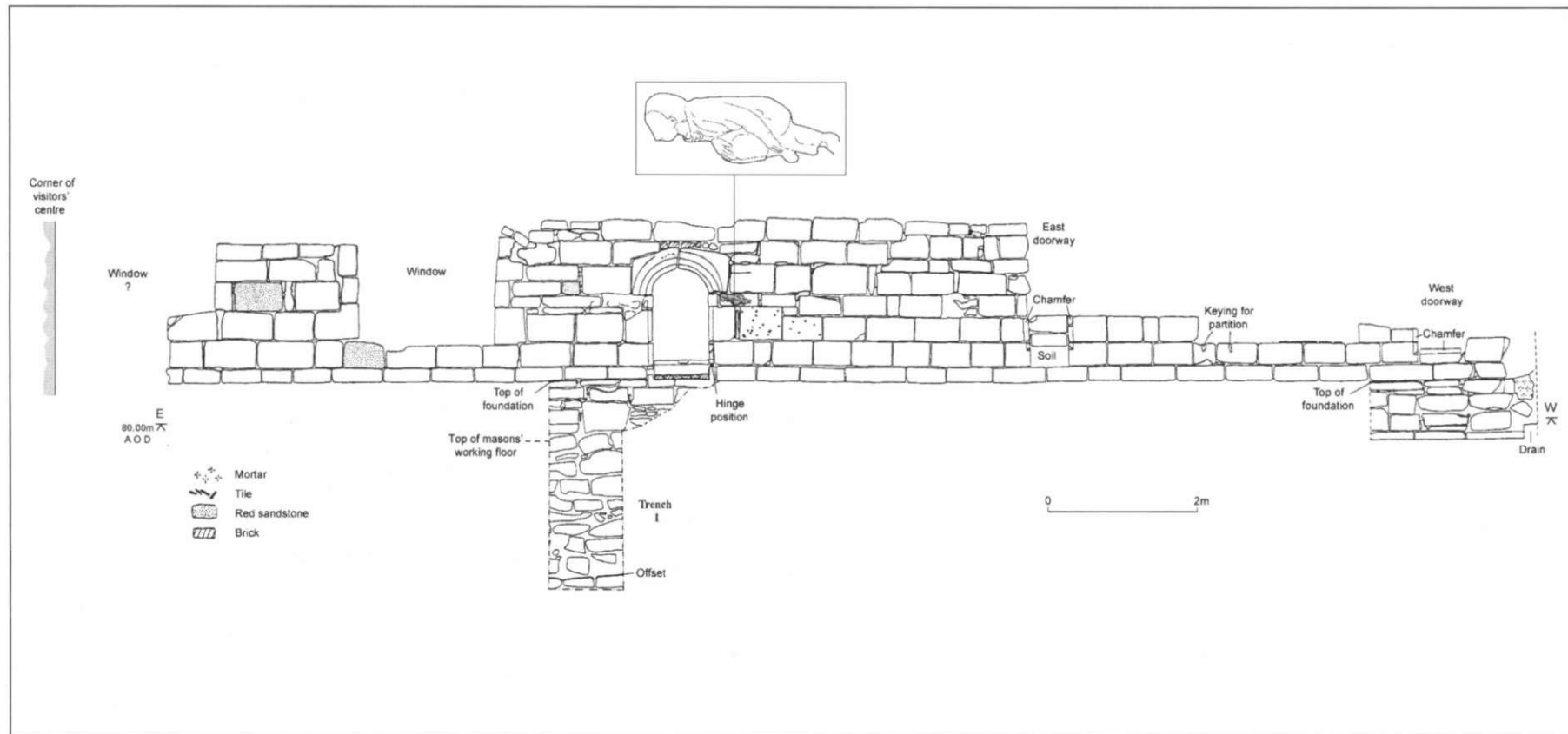


Fig 6 South wall, north elevation

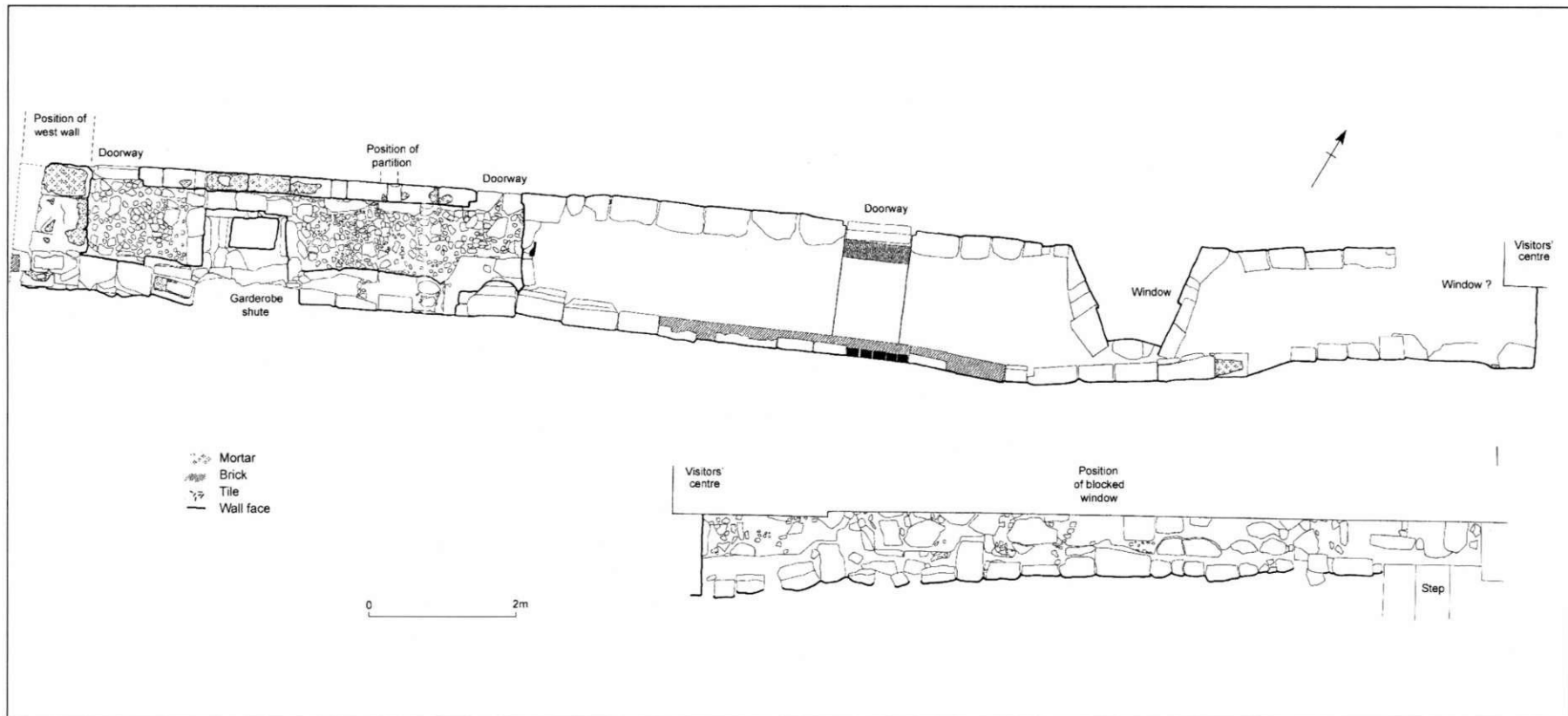


Fig 7 South wall, plan

seriously displaced in Trench II, and heavily weathered in Trench IV. This was the uppermost surviving level of the medieval build in this elevation.

South Wall: internal (north) elevation (Fig. 6)

The foundations were exposed in Trench I to a depth of 4.6m below the modern surface, but it was not possible to determine the bearing level of the wall, because further excavation was curtailed by safety considerations. The lowest element exposed (at 77.82m AOD) was a narrow plinth formed of a single course of rectangular sandstone blocks on top of which, offset by 0.05m and rising 2.6m in height, were the red and green sandstone rubble foundations. The top of these foundations marked the former floor level within the building.

Above the foundations the wall was constructed of sandstone ashlar, the entire surviving length of which was exposed in Trench III. The eastern 1 lm survived to a height of 2.2m above the foundations, whereas a further length of 6.5m to the west rose to a maximum height of 0.7m. Having been almost wholly below the modern ground level until excavation, the north face was relatively well preserved, although there was a certain amount of root damage being most severe close to the Visitors' Centre. The badly disturbed rubble core, which was exposed by the removal of vegetation from the upper levels, had slumped to the south, becoming detached from the facing stones of the north elevation.

Towards the east end of the wall a 1.8m wide splayed window embrasure survived to a height of 1.3m; it originally tapered to a narrow opening in the southern elevation, later blocked by the reconstruction of the north elevation, so that the embrasure is now 0.60m at its narrowest point. In 1987, after internal stripping of the south wall of the Visitors' Centre, an area of medieval masonry was recorded in the lower section which included the remains of a blocked opening of similar width to this embrasure (Simpson 1987, 32-3), the centres of the two being 6.80m apart. A break in the internal facing stones immediately west of the Visitors' Centre may indicate the position of a third window roughly equidistant between the two.

The main architectural element in the north elevation was a doorway (0.7m wide by 1.2m high) which shares this spacing pattern in being centred 3.4m west of the westernmost window. It has a rebated surround retaining part of a lower hinge-crook mounting on the east side, and a roughly rounded arch with a weathered hood-mould, terminated on the west by an unusually elaborate label-stop depicting a draped, horizontal, adult human (Plate 2; see below); the corresponding stop on the east side had been removed by later disturbance. This doorway led into a north-south passage within the fabric of the wall no wider than the entrance (Fig. 7).

Further to the west were the lower portions of two chamfered doorways, each 0.5m wide. The eastern doorway was rebated for an internally-opening door, and the rust scar of a hinge-crook was visible. The west doorway was similar in form to its eastern counterpart, but here the original chamfered step survived intact. These two doorways gave access to an intra-mural passage measuring 6m long by 1.1m wide in the floor of which, slightly off-centre to the west, was a double garderobe-shaft no doubt designed to serve the back-to-back lavatories implied by the two entrances to the passage. The surviving northern wall of the shaft extended above the floor of the passage, and would have formed the base for a partition between the two garderobes. The garderobe shaft was rectangular in section and tapered down to a 1m wide arched drain, perpendicular to the south wall, which must have discharged towards the Minster Pool. The drain was vertical-sided, edged by sandstone ashlar blocks but, although it was excavated to a depth of 1.5m, its base was not reached.

The provision of two garderobes served by separate entrances suggests that there would have been an internal partition somewhere between the two doorways. Its position may be marked by a pair of parallel cut marks, 0.3m wide apart, in the top of the second ashlar course above the former floor level. These cuts would have allowed the keying in of a timber-framed partition.

The western return wall tentatively located by excavation inside the western garden boundary (Fig 2) was keyed into the south wall by a single, projecting bonding-stone on the south elevation, below the west jamb of the westernmost doorway.

THE CHARACTER OF THE BUILDING

The external (south) elevation of the wall was 30.13m (approximately 102ft) in length from Dam Street to the point at which it seemed to return to the west. We can say from the character of the internal (north) elevation, including the blocked window recorded inside the Visitors' Centre, that

probably the whole length formed one of the long sides of a roofed building. Given that the great hall of the bishops' palace had an internal width of only 56ft (approximately 17m) (Tringham 1993), it is improbable that this building was any greater. As the present plot is 38m long from the wall in the south to the road in the north, it is plausible that, like Langton's palace, the building was approached via a forecourt, perhaps walled off from the close and entered via a gateway. Such was the arrangement of Salisbury Cathedral Close, for instance, where most of the canonical houses had forecourts probably containing ancillary buildings.

The ground storey seems to have been divided by a timber partition into at least two rooms. The greater of these, which lay towards the east, had a minimum length of 12m (nearly 40ft), but was potentially as long as 24m (nearly 80ft). It was lit from the south probably by three or more windows set at 3.4m intervals, perhaps reflecting the widths of the roof bays. Towards the western end was a chamfered doorway leading to a mural garderobe, but the purpose of the more elaborate round-headed doorway in the south wall is not so easy to explain. It was evidently picked out architecturally to signify something less mundane than a garderobe or passage, and it is possible that it led, via the trans mural passage, to a projecting oriel or balcony as, for example, at Conway Castle (Taylor 1957, 27; see below).

The western room had an east-west measurement of 3.3m (10ft 6ins), which evidently reflects a continuation of the spacing and was also served by a mural garderobe entered from a chamfered doorway in the south wall. This suggests a residential function, in which case, it must have been lit and heated from the west and/or the north.

In a discussion of the relationship between the two rooms it is worth considering the sill levels of the two garderobe doorways. These are at roughly the same level as the keying in grooves for the timber partition, but are 0.46m (1ft 6ins) above the sill of the other doorway. This suggests a raised west end, perhaps a dais with private chamber at the same level, in which case the larger room would have been a hall and the western room possibly a chamber; as such the proportions of the western room seem a little *juste*, but the width would fit well with the conjectured proportional system indicated by the spacing of the windows and may reflect the size of one of the roof bays.

THE LABEL STOP (Plate 2)

The most striking aspect of the principal doorway is the western label stop which is carved with the figure of a man wearing a robe with a wide round neck, and a cap with an upturned brim, his hair bushing out at the sides from under it. He is in a horizontal position, on his knees, with the right knee drawn up close to the body and the hands resting on their respective knees. The neck and head crane forward as if in the process of looking over the edge of a height. Despite the restricted compass and linear character of the piece, the figure embodies a good deal of movement, and would not be out of place in the height of the Decorated period of the early 14th century. Some of the best comparisons are perhaps with a group of early 14th-century churches in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, which are rich in figure sculpture (Sekules 1983). The Church of St Andrew, Heckington, for example, is adorned with gargoyles in a similar attitude with their knees drawn up like the Lichfield piece. Further horizontal figures of this type are to be found amongst the buttress gable stops, and also appear at a number of other churches in the region; the character of the Lichfield label stop was probably inspired by such material. At Heckington, suspended as they are many feet above the ground, the careful, crouching attitudes of the figures are explicable, but in translation from this context to that of the label stop at Lichfield the joke seems to have lost something of its punch, unless, as suggested above, the doorway did lead to an elevated viewing point suspended over the Minster Pool.

SUMMARY OF THE CERAMICS *by Paul Breeze*

Prior to any division of this material, the total assemblage consisted of 137 pottery sherds and tile fragments, which were recovered from 22 different contexts and have a combined weight of 3607 grams.

Methodology

Pottery sherds were quantified by sherd count, sherd weight (per minimum vessel), minimum vessel count, rim diameter (if present), and rim percentage. Due to detailed quantification having



Plate 2 The label stop

debatable value when applied to such small assemblages, only select further quantification was undertaken. Tile was quantified merely by minimum item count, by fragment count, and by weight, as only 20 fragments were present.

Initial fabric analysis was performed at x5 magnification, in order to identify the wares present within the assemblage. Since the majority of the assemblage was shown to be composed of Midlands white wares, further detailed analysis (at x20 magnification) was made of any sherds of non white-ware fabric. A 20% sample of the white wares was also examined at this level of detail, in order to ascertain fabric variability within the group. Fabric variations observed within ware groups were recorded as sub-divisions of these groups.

Details of identifiable forms were recorded using standard catalogues for form description, and comparisons with known local forms of the relevant wares were made to further aid identification (Ford, 1995; Ratkai 2004; Woodfield 1966). Form codes were assigned for distinct and identifiable forms, using ascending numeral codes starting at 4000 (so as to allow easy differentiation between form and context codes within the database). Distinctive decoration was also recorded, illustrated, and assigned a code within the catalogue.

Fabrics Summary

Where fabrics were observed to closely match the properties of those discovered in other local and regional excavations, the same fabric code has been used here, to facilitate easier cross-referencing and quantification. A detailed fabric analysis was not undertaken for tile, with the exception of distinctive pieces discussed below.

Midlands White wares

These wares are primarily white/cream in colour, the fabric being clean and paste-like in texture. The wares can be further sub-divided, primarily by the grain-size of the quartz components of the fabric. A total of 103 sherds of whiteware material were identified within the assemblage, from a minimum of 55 vessels, comprising the bulk of the recovered ceramics. Identifiable forms included cooking pots, various bowls, a bottle, jugs (particularly balusters), a pipkin and dripping tray. Decoration amongst the whiteware group varied widely, with copper-green glaze the most prevalent decoration. Red slip painting of stripes was seen on some balusters and incised decoration also used, consistent with decorations typical of midlands whitewares across Staffordshire (Ford 1995).

Iron-rich sandy wares

The materials which were composed of this fabric can be roughly divided (as per Ford 1995) into table wares (glazed jugs and a decorated cup: IRSW-I) and utilitarian wares (mostly cooking pots:

IRSW-U). Fabric was typically orange in colour, unless over-fired to reduction, with vessels decorated with incised straight lines, glazing, and application of leaf-shaped clay pads. Nine sherds of iron-rich sandy ware (six of IRSW-I, three of IRSW-U) were identified within the assemblage, from a minimum of seven vessels.

Late Medieval Orange Wares

Two sherds of late medieval orange ware (known also as Midlands Purple when in a hard-fired state) were present from the shallower contexts of Trench II, both jug rim sherds from separate vessels.

Yellow ware

A single yellow ware piece was present within the assemblage, identified by S. Ratkai, in the form of a rim sherd, probably from a fine ware cup. This piece came from Trench III, amongst the post-medieval deposits removed from the garderobe shaft.

Mottled Ware

Base sherds from a single post-medieval mottled ware bowl were also present, decorated with a chevron pattern of brown lead-manganese glaze.

General Description of Assemblage by period

Based upon the results of the fabric analysis, comparison with known local fabric and form types, and specialist advice received from S. Ratkai, it was possible to divide the assemblage by period.

The implication of the dating yielded by the ceramics upon the wider site and investigations will be discussed in the following section. Consequently, the groupings which follow are based purely upon period, and intrusive items are grouped with their period of production and use, rather than their position in the stratigraphy of the site.

13th-14th Century

The largest period grouping of material is that dating to the 13th–14th century.

Pottery

Vessels of whiteware fabric type comprised the majority of this period grouping. Apart from a few coil-made exceptions, most of the whiteware material was wheel-thrown, and much of the assemblage decorated with green copper glaze and incision, suggesting the material to be of moderate status, with aesthetic as well as utilitarian value. The remainder of the period group was composed of wheel-thrown iron-rich sandy wares, with a wide variety of vessel types present within these two fabric groupings.

Whiteware examples within the Lichfield Cathedral Close assemblage were consistent with a 13th–14th century timeframe. Whilst iron rich sandy wares in general may date from the 11th–14th centuries, relative dating provided by other items in the ceramic assemblage places examples from this site also firmly within the 13th-14th century window.

Whitewares appeared biased somewhat towards tablewares rather than utilitarian wares, with 15 table vessels (jars, bowls, and a bottle) and ten cooking vessels identified (including a pipkin and drip tray). It should be noted, however, that some tableware jug and bowl bases within the assemblage also show evidence of having been used to heat fluid, and hence the tableware/utilitarian distinction may not be as clear-cut as it appears. Amongst iron-rich sandy wares one piece was identifiable as tableware, perhaps from a jug, and two as utilitarian cooking pot.

Several vessels identified within the assemblage appear to correlate closely to examples detailed locally in previous studies, most notably:

- a cooking jar from context 1023 (form 4003), which may match example 79 from Drayton Basset (Ford 1995),
- an obtuse angled bowl from context 1024 (form 4004) similar to example 140 from Drayton Basset (Ford 1995),

- a red-painted baluster jug base (form 4006), similar to example 110 from Drayton Bassett (Ford 1995),
- a rim sherd resembling the form of globular jug example 20 from Sandford Street in Lichfield (Ratkai 2004)

Recovered tablewares displayed a range of forms and decoration. Amongst the white wares, glazed bowls and baluster style jugs were seen to be the most prevalent tableware forms. Vessel decoration was varied, ranging from the use of red slip on baluster jugs (1025 and 2008) and a variety of combing, incision, glazing and red slip upon jug handles (1131, 1130, and 2009) to incised decoration upon a small glazed bowl (1131). Amongst the IRSW-I material the only notable piece was a sherd with applied decoration in the form of clay leaf-shaped pads. These pads appeared to have been coated in iron-rich slip, which had led to alteration of the overlying glaze to a lustre-like state. This piece also showed decoration with a vertical incised line and may have come from a decorative jug or mug. It appears that a post-firing repair of the piece may have been attempted, and the sherd was dated to AD 1250-1300 by S. Ratkai during specialist examination.

Amongst the utilitarian materials several pieces displayed exterior sooting indicative of the sherds deriving from cooking vessels. Several sherds showed rough decoration, in the form of incised wavy or straight lines across the body or rim, and the presence of voids and scarring from burnt out organic residues displayed the lesser care taken in the production of some pieces. Notable amongst the utilitarian wares were a pipkin saucepan handle from context 1131, and the side of a glazed dripping tray (perhaps originally of oval shape). These pieces were redeposited and of unknown origin, and as such unfortunately cannot be considered conclusive of the associated cooking activities having taken place in proximity to the site. A few sherds, apparently from a cooking jar of undeterminable fabric (due to extreme reduction), were also present, one of which (from context 1028) was assigned a probable date of late 12th to early 13th century by S. Ratkai.

Tile

Tile was largely excluded from this analysis, due to a lack of diagnostic fragments. However, a single tile from this period proved an exception and warranted further examination in light of the information it might impart regarding on-site structural features. This piece was a lug-decorated green-glazed curved roof tile (Plate 3) recovered from context 1126, below cut F105.

This ridge tile was in the form of seven fragments which were reconstructed to leave two pieces, the central crest and the edge of the tile, the latter of which preserves the groove of the tongue-and-groove joint between adjacent tiles. The tile decoration takes the form of a large central twin-lobed lug, and green glaze applied to the exterior. The tile had a total weight of 389g, and specialist examination identified Chilvers Coton as the likely production site (pers comm S Ratkai, 2005) with a reasonable degree of confidence.

The Lichfield tile was strongly comparable to other decorated roof tiles recorded from Chilvers Coton site 13, in particular those recovered from Kiln 32a-b (Mayes and Scott 1984). Tile fabric appeared consistent with that described as Chilvers Coton 'fabric A' (Mayes and Scott 1984) with



Plate 3 The ridge tile

only kiln 32 a-b producing tiles of this type in this fabric. A detailed chronology of kiln use has been produced by Mayes and Scott, and consequently an interpretation of AD1250-1300 has been made of the period of production for this kiln. However, it should be noted that as other kilns at the site also produced tiles of this type, any link to a particular kiln is inferred based on fabric appearance, and as such may be tenuous (in the absence of further tiles providing a corroborating weight of evidence).

In general Chilvers Coton was active as a production site for this form of roof tile throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, a chronology which correlates with the stratigraphic and relative relationships in which this tile was recovered at Lichfield.

15th-16th Century

Two sherds were dated to the 15th-16th century, both of which were composed of late orange ware.

The first of these was a body sherd with a possible small portion of rim present (from context 2008), and a potential rim diameter of 13cm for the parent vessel. The sherd exterior displays an olive-brown glaze over the orange-brown plain surface, in a patchy fashion typical of late orange ware.

The second sherd comes from a jug with a rim diameter of 10cm, and was undecorated, and reduced towards the exterior.

17th-18th Century

Three sherds of material within the assemblage were identified as post-medieval material, originating from two vessels.

One sherd of yellow ware was present, from the body of a vessel and displaying a partial rim and fragment of a handle.

Yellow wares are predominantly known from the 17th century and are found regionally around Coventry, Stoke, Leicester, and Warwickshire, though they also occur wider afield (Woodfield 1966). The size and fine nature of this yellow ware sherd suggests it to be a higher status piece, perhaps a decorative cup or fine bowl. However, the sherd was too incomplete for a full form assessment to be made. The piece had an applied handle, and a decoration of parallel incised lines running perpendicular to the handle. The rim was decorated with three incisions, gouged from the exterior towards the interior. Due to its recovery from demolition material within the garderobe shaft it is unlikely that this piece was *in situ*.

Two sherds of mottled ware formed the remainder of the post-medieval portion of the assemblage, both from the base of a glazed bowl. The bowl was patterned on the exterior with rising chevrons of mottled brown glaze contrasting with the buff plain fabric, whilst the interior was fully glazed. The bowl was wheel-thrown and was dated to the late 17th to mid 18th century (pers comm S. Ratkai, 2005).

Little can be concluded based on only two vessels but both are of moderate to high status, perhaps indicative of wealth within the Cathedral Close area during the post-medieval period.

Discussion

The results from the ceramic assemblage have several implications when combined with the results detailed in the site narrative, particularly in providing relative dating for stratigraphy and features.

Apart from context 1119 (from which several waste flints were recovered), the stratigraphically earliest deposit was 1033 within Trench I, an homogenous silt at the border of the Minister Pool. This deposit contained the IRSW sherd with applied pad decoration discussed above, which was dated to the latter half of the 13th century.

This gives a *terminus post quern* both for this deposit and the equivalent layer in Trench II (2011). The recovery of a white ware sherd from 2011 provides confirmatory dating evidence.

Context 1131, which lies above 1033, was part of a sequence of land reclamation episodes associated with the Minister Pool. Due to the relative dating based on the ceramics recovered from 1033, and from layer 1126, which appears to seal them, this sequence may be assigned a relative date of between the late 13th century and late 14th century.

The decorated architectural roof tile was recovered from context 1126, a small deposit associated with a break in the early phases of the construction deposits. In terms of dating, this tile assigns this deposit a *terminus post quern* of the latter half of the 13th century.

All later Trench I deposits can be assigned a *terminus post quem* of the late 13th century, as further ceramic materials of general 13th–14th century date are found throughout the contexts between 1126 and 1022.

Whitewares within context 1010 can be seen to be redeposited material within the imported post-medieval soils of which this context is part.

The post-medieval mottled ware bowl was found in association with surface deposits removed from Trench I.

The late orange wares recovered from Trench II may also give a 15th–16th century date to the later layers of demolition rubble on the south side of the wall, which were originally interpreted as post-medieval.

Finally, context 2002, which can be determined to be post-medieval in date based upon the site stratigraphy, contained redeposited 13th–14th century midlands whitewares.

DISCUSSION

The dating evidence for the excavated wall, that is to say, the ceramics and the character of the label stop, point quite firmly to an early 14th-century construction date for the building. This would place it within the context of the building works instigated by Bishop Langton, who was granted a licence on 20 April 1299 to 'enclose the precinct of his and the canons' houses within the close of the church with a stone wall, and to crenellate the wall' (*CPR 1292-1301*, 409).

Hand-in-hand with this work was the construction of a new bishop's palace in the north-east corner of the close, integral with the wall (Tringham 1993). Although the surviving accounts show that work was being carried out over the period 1304–1314, the close wall itself in this area was probably completed within the first few years of the 14th century (Maddison 1993, 66). Notwithstanding that the defensive circuit was still incomplete in 1322, when the order was given to complete the west tower of the south gate (Tringham 1990, 60), the fortification of the close under the licence of 1299 is essentially a product of the first quarter of the 14th century.

We know from the work on St Mary's House that the bishop's palace was not the only dwelling within the Close to utilise the new defensive wall as part of its fabric, and it seems that the building to the west of Dam Street was yet another residence that was raised in concert with the defences. The building was a substantial one, twice the width of most of the canonical plots on this side of the Close (Tringham 1990, 57), and comparable in scale to the Old Deanery, Salisbury, of which the 13th-century hall range and crosswing complex has a similar overall length (RCHME 1993, 201–12). It is a possibility that the Lichfield building was the house of one of the principal officers of the cathedral.

One other possibility needs to be considered. The plot is an unusual one, being strategically situated immediately next to the south gateway, projecting boldly from the line of both the gatehouse and the close wall to the east, and lacking the substantial backplots with which the other canonical houses were endowed. Parallels amongst other non-monastic cathedrals are difficult to bring to mind, although in widening the scope of the search to monastic cathedrals, a type of domestic building generally maintained by convents was a guest house, which, in often occupying a peripheral position, in the outer court of a monastic precinct, close to the entrance, may be considered in this respect to be analogous to the Lichfield house. Gloucester is probably one such example (Welandar 1991, 312) and Ely another (Dixon, 2003).

One reason why it may have been felt appropriate to raise accommodation for visitors within the close was the central part played by St Chad's relics in determining the character of Bishop Langton's rebuilding of the eastern arm of the cathedral. Not only did this result in the creation of a new shrine at a cost of £2,000, but also in a new Lady Chapel to house it (Maddison 1993, 70–76). Pilgrimage was an important aspect of religious life in the 14th century and there would have been no doubt at the time that the attention lavished on the housing of St Chad's relics was likely to enhance the prestige of the cathedral as a devotional destination. While the better quality guests are likely to have been lodged in the bishop's palace, the building adjacent to the gatehouse might have provided comfortable accommodation for the less fortunate.

The house had probably been demolished by the time the archdeacon of Coventry came to build a house on the plot in the early 16th century (Tringham 1990, 65). Bishop Hackett, who resided here between 1662 and 1670 and who effected improvements to the property, incorporated the east end of the 14th-century south wall into a new stable building that now forms the south end of the

Visitors' Centre (*ibid*). The house that Hackett occupied was demolished in 1799 and the present No. 19 raised on the site.

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CPR Calendar of Patent Rolls

TSAHS Transactions of the Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society

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NEEDWOOD FOREST SURVEYS OF 1649-50 AND ATTEMPTED INCLOSURE

NIGEL J. TRINGHAM

As part of Parliament's dismemberment of the English monarchy an Act was passed in July 1649 to authorise the sale of Crown lands, including those held in the right of the duchy of Lancaster.¹ In Staffordshire the lands included Needwood forest, which formed part of the duchy's honor of Tutbury in the east of the county, and in the 1650s an attempt was made to inclose it. Because inclosure would extinguish common rights, the process met with strong local resistance and had still not been completed at the Restoration. Vested inalienably in the Crown under an Act of 1696, the forest survived until 1801 when it was at last disafforested and inclosed.² The purpose of this article is to provide editions of the parliamentary surveys made in 1649 and 1650 of the forest and its constituent parks (Appendix I and II),³ along with an account of the subsequent attempted inclosure in 1657-8. Discussion of a petition of 1655 against inclosure and the armed opposition which tried to disrupt the inclosure process itself is reserved for separate treatment elsewhere.

Covering some 9,400 a. (3,804 ha.) in the angle formed by the rivers Trent and Dove (themselves forming the county boundary with Derbyshire) and occupying a plateau of high ground in parts over 400 ft. high, Needwood forest and its parks had belonged to the Ferrers family as lords of Tutbury in the post-Conquest period and came to the earls (later dukes) of Lancaster after Earl Robert de Ferrers was deprived of his title and estate in 1266. By that date the forest core was divided into five wards (Barton, Marchington, Tutbury, Uttoxeter, and Yoxall), each of which had its own officer charged with preserving deer and timber. Around the forest were several parks, created by the Ferrers during the 13th century as specialised hunting areas. Most lay on the east side of the forest close to Tutbury, but others lay to the south and on the west (Fig. 1). Deer were probably also hunted in Rough Hay, straddling the Draycott-Hanbury boundary on the north-east side of the forest, although it was not consistently associated with the forest in the medieval period.⁴

Probably from the later 16th century at least, the parks were no longer principally used for hunting but were in practice private estates (with an emphasis on grazing rather than tillage) and so available for sale or lease. Rowley park was thus alienated by Henry VIII in the 1530s and two more parks, Barton and Rolleston, were sold by Charles I in 1628 when he was in need of money to pay for the war with Spain. Two years later in 1630 Stockley park was granted for a fee-farm rent, although it was still regarded as Crown land under the 1649 Act.⁵

Created to provide a secure habitat for deer, the forest was also a valuable resource for those who lived in the villages and hamlets that surrounded it, or at least had been originally. Access, however, was restricted by the Ferrers earls who from the early 13th century issued charters to lords of manors and to freeholders, stipulating what rights they could enjoy.⁶ Collection of timber and wood (a right called estovers) included 'housebote' (for house building) as well as 'haybote' and 'firebote' (for fencing and fuel), although in practice the felling of building timber would have been strictly regulated. Copyholders (once that category of tenant had emerged) could take only branches and twigs. The pasturing of animals was a 'right' only in so far as an individual or township paid a basic fee, and in order to prevent over-grazing the number of beasts was limited.

A large number of Ferrers charters were inspected in 1287 when the new lord, Earl Edmund of Lancaster, ordered a *quo warranto* ('by what warrant') inquiry.⁷ Some were again presented to the parliamentary commissioners at the forest survey in 1650, along with a few that were not recorded in 1287, and others were later brought out from family archives as opposition to inclosure began to mount.⁸

1 S. J. Madge, *Domesday of Crown Lands* (1938), 77-91. I am grateful to Heather Falvey for several helpful comments on this article.

2 For a general history of the forest see the article by Ann Kettle in *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, II (1967), 349-58. A revised and enlarged article by the present writer can be found in *VCH Staffs. X: Tutbury and Needwood Forest* (2007), 32-76.

3 Public Record Office (now The National Archives), E 317/9 (forest) and E 317/Staffs/44 (parks). Because the parks were surveyed first, the text of that survey is given as Appendix I. The editions are published here with the permission of The National Archives.

4 For the Hay see *VCH Staffs. X*, 132.

5 *Ibid.* 39-40, 54-6.

6 For a general account of these common rights see *ibid.* 38-9.

7 A near contemporary version survives in Staffordshire Record Office, D. 1124/1/1, and a 15th-century copy in British Library, Stowe MS. 879.

8 Although the texts of charters included in the survey are given here, they are not discussed in detail as a critical edition of medieval charters for the forest is planned.

SURVEYS

The implementation of the 1649 Act fell to the Surveyor-General, Col. William Webb, earlier responsible for the sale of episcopal lands in 1646,⁹ and his first task was to arrange for surveys. For Needwood this was undertaken in two main stages, beginning with the parks which were surveyed by Ayliffe Jones, together with John Cholmley, Edward Hooke, and Richard Hutchinson: Rough Hay and Highlands in November 1649, Hanbury and Stockley in December, Castlehay and Castle (or Little) in January 1650, and finally Agardsley, New, and Sherholt in February (for the text see Appendix I). As the parks' survey neared completion Jones and his colleagues issued on 9 February a printed circular requiring all those who claimed common rights in the forest proper to appear before them on 15 February at Tutbury castle.¹⁰ This was evidently intended to be a preliminary meeting, after which Cholmley, Hooke, and Hutchinson, together now with John Smith, proceeded to survey the forest itself (that is, the wards) in May (see Appendix II). Both lots of surveys were counter-signed by Webb.

The parks (Appendix I)

The parks were probably less difficult to treat than the forest, as most of them had in effect been farms since the 16th century and their lessees presumably had knowledge of their extent and value (Table 1). Nine were surveyed, totalling 2,999 a. The smallest, Castle (or Little) park, which lay underneath Tutbury castle, had the best-valued (cultivated) land at 20s. an acre, well over twice that of land in most of the other parks (although parts of Castlehay, the largest and most valuable park, were valued at 12s. or 10s. an acre). The reason for the high value was probably because both parks had meadow land, especially the former which lay by the river Dove. The high values in Castlehay park may also have been because it was already partly inclosed, there being 13 'severals' recorded in the survey. Some of this land may have been used for tillage, with grain being stored in one of the several barns noted in the survey, although they were presumably also used to keep hay. In addition, Castlehay had plaster pits where alabaster was dug, as did Rough Hay.¹¹

The lower acreage values were in part a consequence of some parks having extensive plantations: in particular, Highlands park was valued at only 35. an acre but had over 8,000 trees worth £1,254. Castlehay was also well-timbered, with nearly 7,000 trees and saplings, although evidently of poorer quality as valued at only £534. The removal of timber would allow further land to be prepared for cultivation, and for both parks the survey gave an improved rental value.

Both Castlehay and Hanbury had technically been disparked in 1549 and their herbage reserved for a royal horse stud (or 'race' as it was styled in the surveys), located at Tutbury since at least the 14th century.¹² Castle park was also reported to have been part of the race, as was Stockley park, although the latter's survey states that it had been taken back by the king some 10 years previously

Table 1 Acreage and value of parks as surveyed in 1649 and 1650 (Appendix I)

Park	Acreage	Value per acre	Total value	Improved value per acre	Improved total value	Timber value
Agardsley	390	6s <i>Sd</i>	£130	£20		
Castle/Little	71	20s	£71			
Castlehay	984	various	£345	various	£461 11s 10d	£534
Hanbury	373	6s <i>Sd</i>	£124	no difference	no difference	£137
Highlands	443	3s	£66	6s <i>Sd</i>	£147 13s 4d	£1,254
New	144	5s	£36	£46 10s		
Rough Hay	145	3s 6d	£25	8s	£52 8s	£401
Sherholt	93	4s	£18 10s			
Stockley	356	6s	£107			
Total	2,999		£922 10s.			£2,392 10s

NOTE: The figures have been rounded up and down.

⁹ Madge, *Domesday of Crown Lands*, 80.

¹⁰ British Library, Add. MS. 34668, f. 41: printed order dated 'ix Feb. 1649', addressed (in manuscript) to the inhabitants of Barton-under-Needwood.

¹¹ For the importance of the alabaster outcrops in the Tutbury area see *VCH Staffs.* X, 92ⁿ1, 132-3.

¹² For the stud see *VCH Staffs.* X, 44.

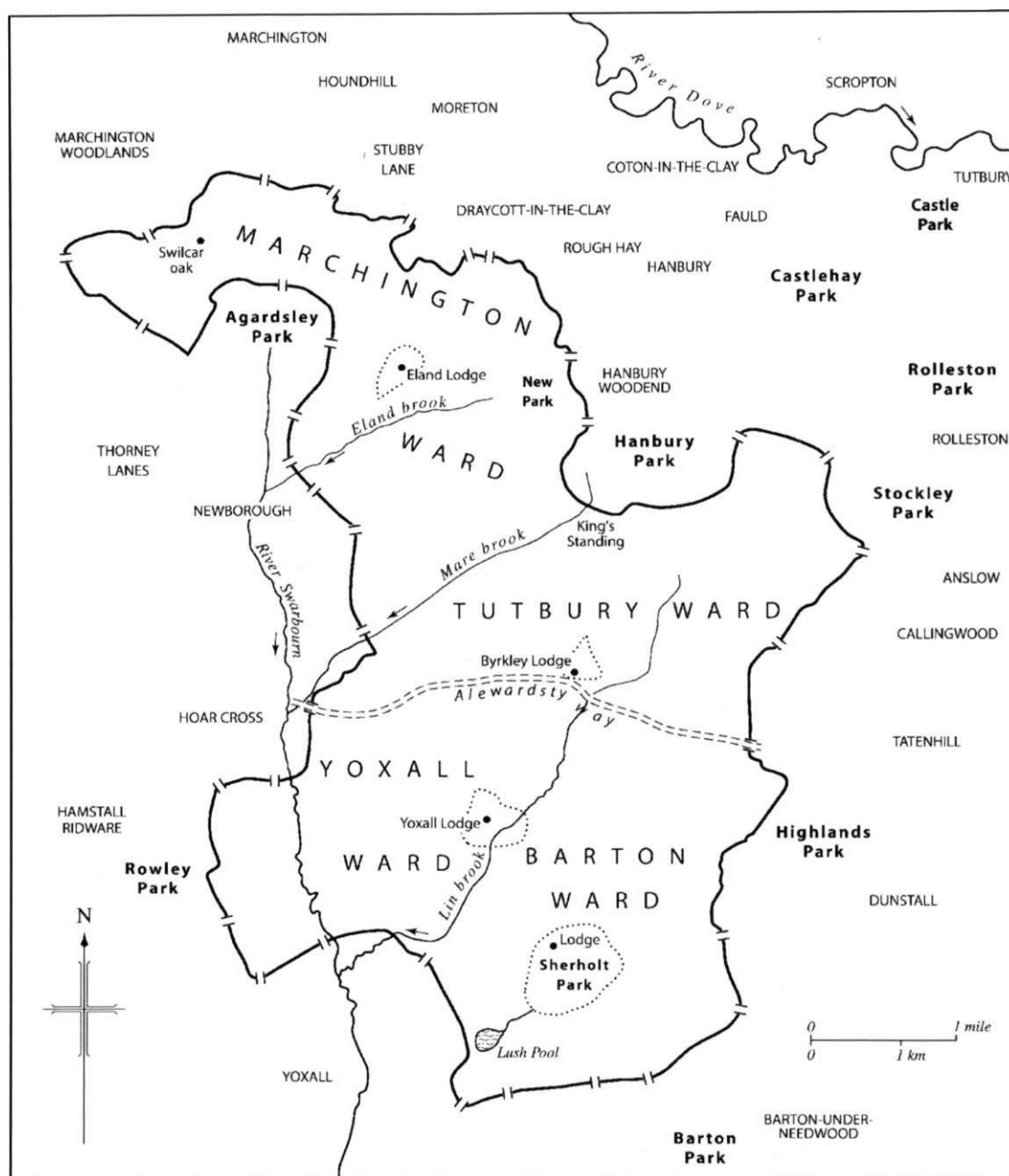


Fig 1 Needwood Forest showing wards, parks (in bold text), and surrounding villages and hamlets in which those claiming common rights in the forest held land.

(based on map in *VCH Staffordshire*, X, 35)

(in the late 1630s). Because of these changes in use, the parks were no longer principally preserves for deer, which are recorded in only three of them: Agardsley (25 in number), Highlands (60), and New (32). The last-named park was indeed very new, having been created by Charles I 'for his disport' as recently as 1637 not long after he had visited Tutbury castle and presumably in order to compensate for the recent sales of Barton and Rolleston parks.¹³ The king was probably also responsible for the construction of a standing (or viewing platform) in the forest, recorded for the first time in the opening section of the survey of Hanbury park (below, p. 43).

Most parks had a house, usually in the centre, and the survey provides a brief description. Those in Hanbury and Stockley parks were old and 'ruinated', and so were probably survivals of the late

¹³ Ibid. 18, 45.

medieval park keeper's lodges, as was the large house 'much out of repair' in Castlehay, identifiable as the present Lower Castle Hayes Farm. The lodge in Agardsley park, however, with its 'fair rooms' above stairs was evidently a recent re-build for the tenant farmers.¹⁴

The forest wards (Appendix II)

After surveying the parks Webb's officers turned their attention to the forest itself, which by this date comprised only four of its original five wards, Uttoxeter ward having been inclosed in the later 1630s and the inclosed land (325 a.) divided between the king and the inhabitants of Uttoxeter.¹⁵ The remaining wards were roughly of equal size, ranging from 1,400 a. to 1,800 a. and altogether totalling 6,400 a. The forest land per acre was noticeably less valuable than that in the most of the parks, the highest value being the 4s. an acre returned for Marchington ward, but the growing timber was an important resource (Table 2). After the timber had been felled, the land could be put to tillage and the survey according gives improved rental values. The most potential was in Marchington ward, where the difference between the current and improved value of each acre was 3s., compared with 2s. 6d. or 2s. in the other wards.

There were surprisingly few deer at large, the estimate being only 120. Like the parks, the wards each had house, moated and set in its own grounds, and occupied in 1650 by an underkeeper. The largest was Byrkley lodge (for Tutbury ward), traditionally the usual venue for forest courts.

The most difficult task in surveying the wards was not so much assessing their physical extent than in dealing with the claims for compensation made by the commoners (inhabitants of the surrounding parishes and their constituent townships who claimed traditional common rights). The survey, therefore, named parish-by-parish all those who laid a claim, giving the landholding (messuage, cottage, or burgage and associated acreage) on which the claim was based (Tables 3 and 4). Altogether over 430 claims were recorded, the greatest number being for Tatenhill parish which included the large village of Barton-under-Needwood. Some claimants were substantial landholders, but most held under 50 a. and a quarter under 5 a. As the State was naturally aiming for a significant share of the inclosed forest, the commoners faced only minimal compensation for the loss of common rights and not surprisingly many of them subscribed to a petition of 1655 against inclosure.

Table 2 Value of forest wards as surveyed in 1650 (Appendix II)

Ward	Acreage	Present value per acre	Present total value	Improved value per acre	Improved total value	Current value of timber
Barton	1,400	2s 6d	£175 0s	4s 6d	£315	£2,546 3s 4d
Marchington	1,800	4s Od	£360 0s	7s Od	£630	£4,110 3s 4d
Tutbury	1,550	3s Od	£232 10s	5s 6d	£426 5s	£2,316 14s 8d
Yoxall	1,650	2s 6d	£206 5s	4s 6d	£371 5s	£4,201 6s 8d
Total	6,400		£973 15s		£1742 10s	£13,174 8s Od

Table 3 Numbers of commoners recorded in 1650 forest survey, according to size of landholding

Acreages	Over 150	150-101	100-51	50-26	25-16	15-11	10-5	Under 5	Total
Hamstall Ridware	0	1	2	4	9	2	4	9	31
Hanbury	1	0	3	9	11	9	14	27	74
Marchington	0	4	9	18	21	6	10	11	79
Rolleston	0	0	1	20	21	4	15	14	75
Scropton	0	1	3	1	2	0	1	0	8
Tatenhill	2	1	6	12	15	12	18	28	94
Tutbury	1	0	3	0	6	1	2	7	20
Yoxall	1	1	3	4	7	7	12	18	53
Total	5	8	30	68	92	41	76	114	434

¹⁴ For architectural descriptions of the surviving park lodges see *ibid.* 67-9.

¹⁵ *VCH Staffs.* II, 352.

Table 4 Land held by commoners according to 1650 survey, and allotments assigned by 1658 division (see Table 5)

Parish/Township	Acreage of holdings in parish/township	Acreage of forest land to be allotted under 1658 division
Hamstall Ridware	699 a.	432 a.
Hanbury	1,181 a.	1,116 a.
Marchington and Marchington Woodlands	2 [^] 25 a.	411 a.
Rolleston	1,353 a.	587 a.
Scropton	379 a.	158 a.
Tatenhill	1,518 a.	839 a.
Tutbury	705 a.	243 a.
Yoxall	994 a.	728 a.
Total	9,054 a.	4, 514 a.

NOTE: The figures have been rounded up and down.

INCLOSURE

Although surveyed under the 1649 Act, Needwood forest was exempted from immediate sale, as were all the former royal forests in England (together with timber growing within 15 miles of a navigable river and suitable for use by the navy).¹⁶ When in due course, in November 1653, a subsequent Act was passed to authorise disafforestation and sale of forest lands, Needwood was again exempted (along with six other forests) in order to provide security for unpaid army wages, but an Ordinance of August 1654 added it to the general sale.¹⁷ This decision caused an immediate outcry in the locality and a petition against inclosure was submitted to Oliver Cromwell himself in February 1655.¹⁸

Commission for inclosure

The petition was to no avail and inclosure commissioners under the 1654 Ordinance were appointed on 14 March 1656, with instructions on how they were to proceed being issued in June. The commissioners, who included the experienced surveyor George Sergeant,¹⁹ were to inquire into the physical extent of the forest and its value, along with the claims made by the commoners; and they were empowered to employ a clerk at 5s. a day and a messenger at 3s. and to hire labourers to carry the chains needed to survey the land.²⁰ They may not have started work, however, until the spring of 1657, as in May that year, having encountered much opposition, they requested an armed escort to protect them.²¹ The instructions were re-issued in June 1657.²²

The fullest account of commissioners' work is a certificate of 3 May 1658 sent to the Committee of Appeal, following an objection to their first proposal regarding allotments (see below).²³ Noting that Needwood had a circuit of 23 miles and covered 9,395 a., they accounted the value per acre at between 10s. and 4s., giving a total value of '£310 15s. 6d'" [s/c],²⁴ together with £12,000 worth of wood and timber. The surrounding inhabitants (about 300 people, including cottagers who, it was alleged, had no right in law) laid claim to common rights in the forest, either by charter or prescription, but as they paid for such privileges, either by the township in which they lived paying an annual rent of 18s. or 20s. or by an individual paying *Id.* for pasturing a horse or a cow, then they could not argue (as they did) that they had unlimited rights.²⁵

The commissioners stated that they had received the claims within the time limit and had then assigned to three or four men in each parish or hamlet the task of assessing the quantity and value

16 Madge, *Domesday of Crown Lands*, 107-8. The condition relating to timber, of course, did not apply to Needwood as it was over the 15-mile limit, as was stated in the survey.

17 Ibid. 111-20; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1654*, 341-2.

18 It is intended to provide an edition of the petition with the names of the subscribers in the next volume of Transactions.

19 Madge, *Domesday of Crown Lands*, 344; S. Bendall (ed.), *Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Map-makers of Great Britain and Ireland, 1530-1850* (2nd edn, 1997), II, S044.

20 PRO, DL 42/176, f. 337; *Cal. SP Domestic, 1655-56*, 368.

21 PRO, SP 18/155, f. 36.

22 *Cal. SP Domestic, 1657-58*, 16. There are printed copies of these instructions in the British Library and WSL, M. 614/1.

23 The certificate's text survives in an 18th-century copy in SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, pp. 127-41 (odd-numbered pages only). The commissioners named there were Richard Franke (*sic*), John Kinsley, and George Sergeant.

24 This figure must be a transcription error, possibly for £3,100 15s. 6d. in the original.

25 A detailed discussion of the arguments put forward by the commoners is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

of land held there by each claimant (so as to be able to calculate how much forest land should be allocated). Having received back reports, the commissioners considered that the figure (presumably much the same as that given in the 1650 survey) was too great to be compensated for in forest land (as the State would as a consequence not derive any benefit). As the task of investigating all the claims in detail and disallowing those which were excessive was considered to be too time-consuming, they hoped to reach an agreement with the claimants. They duly spent several days in trying to do so, using as precedents the 'amicable' inclosure of Bernwood forest (Bucks.) in 1632 and, nearer to home, that of Uttoxeter ward in Needwood forest in 1637.²⁶ The Needwood 'gentlemen', however, would not yield their claims, and so the commissioners were forced to make an offer of 3,750 a., to be provided in land around the edges of the forest adjacent to the claimants' land, none of it the worst land but the 'read[i]est for improvement, having little wood or bushes upon it'. The allotments were to be assessed at 6 a. for every £20-worth of landholding.

Commoners' objections

The claimants took their time to consider the offer, being hampered by floods which made it difficult to consult with the 'most considerable persons', but in due course they made a response by letter, indicating that they were agreeable to the allocation of a moiety of the forest (which, on the commissioners' calculation of its extent, would be some 4,500 a.), together with some allowance for the poor and with liberty to buy the wood and timber growing on their allotments and to purchase (additional) land at a reasonable rate. At this point in the proceedings, however, a set of objections was entered by a dissenting group of claimants.²⁷ These men acknowledged that the commissioners had done a fair job in surveying the extent of the claimants' landholdings and of Needwood and its timber, but they went on to combine the forest's acreage (which they gave as 9,229 a.) with the claimants' own lands, so reaching a total of 18,730 a. valued at £11,780 13s. 3d. a year. (The intention here being, it seems, to try to link the valuation of their own land with that of the forest, in order to increase their claim for compensation.) The objectors confirmed that they had been offered 4,000 a. by the commissioners (presumably in fact meaning the 3,750 a. offer), leaving the State with 4,729 a. and all of the timber (worth £12,000), but having been made to the county that offer was rejected on various grounds as being prejudicial to the commoners.

These objections were evidently sent to the Committee of Appeal during the winter or early spring of 1658, eliciting a reply in May 1658.²⁸ Commenting that they detected 'a spirit of perverseness' in the objections, the commissioners nevertheless wished to reach an agreement by consent and so increased their offer of forest land by 250 a., making a total offer of 4,000 a. (which included the 30-a. Woodhouse Green in Yoxall, which some had argued was not in fact part of the forest). Moreover, it was proposed that although the commoners were to construct the fences which were to divide their part of the forest from the State's, the fences were to be subsequently maintained by the future owners and occupiers of the allotted land. These new proposals were 'cheerfully imbraced [*sic*] by the most sober and ingenious' of the claimants, but were opposed by 'some peevish discontented persons', many of them (allegedly) being the chief offenders of forest regulations in the past. The latter's opposition gave the county gentlemen justification to maintain their own 'high demands' and 'manifest an utter indisposition and unwillingness' to accept the commissioners' offer of a moiety.

In the commissioners' opinion, moreover, rights of common might have been acceptable in an earlier period when the forest was full of wood and its edges were thinly populated, but the same liberties should not be allowed now as the wood was so thin and the country round about so populous. So much wood had been cut down in the past 20 years, and what remained was so 'lopt and topt', that it was unreasonable to compensate the commoners in that regard. Indeed, as a result of their depredations it could be argued that they had exhausted their claims.

26 At Bernwood the claimants received allotments of 10 a. for every 100 a. of their own land, with each cottager getting 3 a. and 230 a. being assigned to the poor (totalling 577 a.); the king got the rest (1,394 a.), amounting to about two-thirds of the whole. At Uttoxeter the king got 196 a. and the commoners 129 a. Detailed calculations for the division of Needwood along the lines of Bernwood and Uttoxeter ward are given in SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, pp. 141-3 (odd-numbered pages only).

The Bernwood inclosure was, in fact, far from amicable: J. Broad and R. Hoyle (eds), *Bernwood: the Life and Afterlife of a Forest* (Harris Paper II, University of Central Lancashire, 1997). Dr Falvey is thanked for alerting me to this publication.

27 For a copy of the text (not giving the names of the objectors) see SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, pp. 145-9 (odd-numbered pages only).

28 Ibid. pp. 133-41 (odd-numbered pages only).

Furthermore, the allegation that the moiety of forest land being offered to the commoners would be insufficient to provide pasture for their beasts was untrue, as when in past years the forest was full of game there was sufficient summer pasture for only some 300 cattle at the most and so the value of a beast-gate was 5s., far below the value of each acre being offered. There would, therefore, be plentiful land for all the interested parties, together with some spare land for the poor, if the commoners chose to allow them to have a share. All told, the commissioners' offer was more than fair: the middling sort of claimants getting their full right, the meaner sort more than their right, and the greatest (being people who made little use of the forest for profit but only now and then for pleasure) more than they enjoyed.

In conclusion, the commissioners reminded the Committee of the trouble and expense which they would have been spared if the commoners had not been so unreasonable.

Sergeant's planned division of the forest

The Committee of Appeal then ordered the division and inclosure of Needwood, for which George Sergeant in October 1658 prepared a detailed account of how the land was to be allotted to the State and the commoners.²⁹ There was also a map, which no longer survives but which was used as a base when a later attempt was made to inclose the forest in the late 1770s.³⁰

Sergeant first noted how the commoners had failed through negligence to choose their own surveyor and that the commissioners had decided that he himself 'as an indifferent person' should act for both sides. He then proceeded to survey the land held by the commoners in their respective parishes (or constituent townships) and value it, the total coming to £1,224 19s. 2d. with the value per acre ranging between 3s. and 6s. 8d. The intention was to divide the forest (now given 9,224 a. in extent) and assign the State and the commoners moities (or half-shares) of equal value, but as the forest land was valued at 5s. per acre and so each moiety (of 4,612 a.) was worth £1,153, the commoners would have benefited by an additional £71 19s. 2d. worth of land. Accordingly, Sergeant reduced the value of the commoners' share by £36 (half the overplus) by reducing each township's allocation proportionately and so equalising the value of the State's and the commoners' shares; as a result, the State gained 114 a. from the commoners.

Having determined how much of the forest should be allotted to the commoners, Sergeant now needed to assign the available land first to each parish or township according to the value of the commoners' joint landholdings there. This was a complicated matter not only because the landholdings varied in extent but also because the values per acre differed, some places having more valuable land than others. Sergeant's answer was first to divide the townships into two groups: those with the best land (all the townships in Hanbury parish except Newborough; Anslow, in Rolleston parish; and all the townships in Tatenhill parish except Barton-under-Needwood) and those with land of lower value (Newborough in Hanbury parish; Hamstall Ridware; Rolleston township in Rolleston parish; Barton-under-Needwood in Tatenhill parish; Tutbury; and both Yoxall and Hoar Cross). Calculating the mean value per acre to be 5s. 4d., he concluded that the best townships would ordinarily have received land worth £113 16s. a year above the mean rate (being 337 a. valued at 6s. 8d. an acre); accordingly, the State was allotted the 337 a. and the remaining land assigned to each parish or constituent township (Table 5).

Finally, there remained the matter of actually assigning plots of forest land to individual claimants according to the value of their particular landholdings within a parish or township. For this task Sergeant drew up a scheme by which a claim based on a house only would receive 1 a. 10 p., one based on a rental income between 50s. and £5 p.a. would receive 2 a., and so on incrementally up to land worth £100 p.a. (i.e. £10 - 3 a.; £30 - 9 a.; £50 - 15 a.; £80 - 21 a.; £100 - 23 a.; over £100 - 25 a.). A further refinement was that claimants under £100 p.a. got an additional 4 a., whilst those claiming in regard of land over £200 p.a. received a further 20 a. in the 100.

Sergeant's work also involved re-surveying parts of the forest, and returns made in December 1658 survive for Brakenhurst, a wooded area of 184 a. straddling the boundary of Marchington, Tubury, and Yoxall wards,³¹ and two ward lodges: Barton and Byrkley.³²

29 Ibid. pp. 151-7 (odd-numbered pages only). The commission was directed to Robert Franck (*sic*), John Kinsley, and George Sergeant [acting for the State] and Zachariah Babington, Daniel Watson, and William Whitby [acting for the commoners].

Another 18th-century copy, made by William Rawlins, survives in WSL, S.MS. 460/1, ff. 92-5.

30 e.g. SRO, D. 100/1, p. 179a.

31 PRO, E 317/Staffs/14.

32 Ibid. E 317/Staffs/25-6 (for details see notes added to relevant entries in 1650 survey: below, pp. 51-2).

Table 5 George Sergeant's division of the forest in 1658, showing acreage of land held by the commoners in their respective parishes and townships and the allotments made to them in the forest (from SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, pp. 153 and 157).

Parish/Township	Commoners' landholdings	Forest allotments
Hamstall Ridware	281 a. 2 r.	432 a. 1 r. 10 p
Hanbury		
Coton	96 a. 1 r.	73 a. 3 r. 20 p
Draycott	322 a. 2 r.	250 a. 2 r. 10 p
Fauld	153 a. 1 r.	121 a. 1 r.
Hanbury	110 a. 3 r.	86 a. 0 r.
Hanbury Woodend	90 a. 1 r.	70 a. 0 r. 16 p
Houndhill	139 a. 1 r.	108 a. 3 r. 8 p
Marchington	298 a. 1 r.	260 a. 2 r. 10 p
Marchington Woodlands	287 a. 1 r.	151 a. 0 r.
Moreton	43 a. 1 r.	34 a. 2 r.
Newborough	315 a. 1 r.	325 a. 0 r. 10 p
Stubby Lane	57 a. 1 r.	44 a. 2 r. 10 p
Rolleston		
Anslow	136 a. 1 r.	119 a. 0 r.
Rolleston	386 a. 2 r.	468 a. 3 r.
Scropton	203 a. 2 r.	158 a. 0 r.
Tatenhill		
Barton-under-Needwood	459 a. 2 r.	515 a. 3 r.
Callingwood	109 a. 2 r.	95 a. 3 r. 20 p
Dunstall	161 a. 2 r.	147 a. 0 r.
Tatenhill	91 a. 1 r.	79 a. 3 r. 20 p
Tutbury	216 a. 2 r.	242 a. 3 r. 3 p
Yoxall		
Hoar Cross	137 a. 1 r.	158 a. 1 r.
Yoxall	508 a. 1 r.	570 a. 1 r. 20 p
Total	[4,574 a.]	[4,514 a. 0 r. 37 p <i>which is 2 a. 1 r. 24</i> <i>more than the moiety</i>

NOTE: The total of the forest allotments given in the original source is 4,614 a. 1 r. 24 p., but that is incorrect as the sum of the individual entries amounts to 4,514 a. 0 r. 37 p. The error may be a result of a wrong entry for Marchington Woodlands: an allotment of 251 a. is given for that township in a variant list of figures in WSL, S. MS. 460/1, f. 94v.

Subsequent events

The laying of stakes and fences to inclose the allotted land was underway in the spring of 1659 but met with determined opposition and may never have been fully completed.³³ The work probably ground to a halt during the summer as the authority of the Commonwealth government began to loosen, and with the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 the forest once more became duchy property. Charles II agreed to sell it in 1685, but the sale was stopped chiefly on financial grounds and by an Act of 1696 the forest was declared to be inalienable from the Crown: that status was preserved until inclosure eventually took place under an Act of 1801.

EDITORIAL METHOD

In the following editions of the surveys, the punctuation has been modernised and the spelling standardised, including that of most local place-names: 'Anedsley' as Anslow; 'Brickly' as Byrkely; 'Callengwood/Callengewood' as Callingwood; 'Darbie/Darby' as Derby; 'Hore Cross' as Hoar Cross; 'Needewood' as Needwood; 'Newborrough' as Newborough; and 'Yoxhall' as Yoxall. The spellings 'Chace' and 'Dutchie' are also given in the modern forms, Chase and Duchy. The spellings in the transcripts of medieval charters in Appendix II, however, are retained as given in the original.

³³ An account of the opposition will be given elsewhere.

APPENDIX I

SURVEY OF NEEDWOOD PARKS, 1649-50

(PRO, E 317/Staffs/44)

NOTE: The order of parks is Agardsley, New, Sherholt, Rough Hay, Castle (or Little), Stockley, Hanbury, Highlands, and Castlehay.

AGARDSLEY PARK (mm. 1-6)

A Survey of all that parcel of impaled ground commonly called or known by the name of Agardsley park in the parish of Hanbury in the County of Stafford being part of the Honor of Tutbury, late parcel of the possessions of Charles Stuart late king of England in the right of the duchy of Lancaster, made and taken by us whose names are hereunto subscribed in the month of February 1649 [i.e. 1649/50] by virtue of a Commission grounded upon an Act of the Commons assembled in Parliament for sale of the honors, manors, and lands etc heretofore belonging to the late king, queen, and prince under the hands and seals of five or more of the Trustees in the said Act named and appointed. *[This preamble is subsequently repeated in the entry for each park but is not given each time in this edition]*

All that parcel of impaled ground commonly called or known by the name of Agardsley park in the parish of Hanbury bounded upon the lands of Sir Charles Egerton knight on the west and on the north-east; and upon the south environed with part of Marchington ward, being part of the forest or chase of Needwood; containing in the whole by our admeasurement 389 a. 2 r. 36 p., and we value each acre to be worth 6s. 8d. per annum. In toto £129 18s. *Id.*

Lodge

All that messuage, dwelling house, or lodge with appurtenances in or about the midst of the park, consisting of a hall, parlour, and kitchen with many other necessary rooms below stairs and several fair rooms above stairs with stable and other necessary outhouses, all in good repair with a garden, orchard, and green etc [and] containing by estimation 2 a.; and we value the said house with common annual appurtenances 40s. *[m. 2]*

Deer

There are within the park at present 25 deer of several sorts, being all rascall deer and very few thereof male, which we value to be worth £13.

Trees

The trees now standing and growing within the park being in number 126, being all old dotards and no timber amongst them good for little save the fire; [they] are worth in gross upon the place (the time of converting the same into money and a plentiful place of wood also considered) £20.

Tithe

The park is tithe free, it being never charged.

Keeper's place

Memorandum, the keepership of the park of Agardsley by letters patent under the duchy seal of Lancaster dated 14 March 10 Charles [1634/35] was given and granted unto Henry Vernon esquire and Edward Tompson gentleman jointly and severally during their natural lives or the longest liver of them, they having the fees and profits and allowances in as ample manner as formerly other keepers have enjoyed.

Henry Vernon and Edward Tompson are both living, aged about 34 years each of them.

NOTE: By this grant Vernon and Tompson (or Thompson) also acquired the keepership of Marchington ward: Appendix II, p. 54. For Vernon, the son of a moderate royalist Sir Edward Vernon (d. 1657) of Sudbury (Derbs.) but himself a parliamentarian, although not consistently so, see I. Carr and I. Atherton (eds), *The Civil War in Staffordshire in the Spring of 1646* (Staffordshire Record Society, 4th series XXI, 2007), 95 note 4.

Herbage and pannage

Likewise the herbage and pannage of Agardsley park being now in lease, which by several men's conveyances is in the present possession of Sir Edward Vernon knight for the space of 14 years yet to come (reserving sufficient for the deer), which said lease is abstracted:

Indenture made between Queen Elizabeth and Thomas Hun'yngs witnessing that on 8 May 24 Elizabeth [1582] the queen granted to Hun'yngs the herbage and pannage of Agardsley park (reserving sufficient for the deer) for 31 years to commence and begin at the feast of the Annunciation of Our Blessed Lady St Mary the virgin [25 March] before the sealing of the indenture, with a reserved rent of £3 10s. per annum. Thomas Hun'ings then past away all his right, title, and interest of the park to one John Cave with all scripts and writings whatsoever; likewise also, the queen by her indenture bearing date 4 June 13 Elizabeth [1571] for certain considerations therein expressed did demise and let unto one Thomas Randolph and his assigns for the term of 50 years to commence and begin immediately after the expiration of the [m. 3] 31 years which Thomas Hun'ings had in form aforesaid with the aforesaid reserved rent of £3 10s. per annum; and whereas Randolph by his indenture of assignment did bargain and set over to Theodore Sadler gentleman all his right, title, and term of years of the herbage and pannage of the park (reserving sufficient for the deer); and whereas Sadler by his indenture of assignment did bargain and set over unto Clement Ludford gentleman all his rights, title, and interest whatsoever of the herbage and pannage of the park; and whereas Ludford by his indenture of assignment did bargain and set over to John Grey all his right, title, and interest which he had in the park; and whereas Grey died intestate by reason thereof Jane his wife was administratrix of all his goods and chattels and she being lawfully possessed thereof; and whereas Jane Grey by her indenture did bargain and set over to one Edward Harcourt gentleman all the right, title, interest, and reservation of years which she had in the park, and whereas Harcourt by his deed *par oil* dated the last day of June 34 Elizabeth [1592] did grant, assign, and set over to Sir Robert Brett knight all the right, title, and interest which he had in the park; and whereas Brett by his deed indented dated 19 May 4 James [1606] did grant, assign, and set over to William Powell and his wife Mary all his right, title, and interest and reservation of years which he had to come in the park; and whereas Powell and his wife by indenture dated 20 October 7 James [1609] did assign and set over to one Sir Thomas Temple all his right, title, and interest whatsoever; and whereas Temple and Richard, Lord Say, by their indentures dated 20 March 9 James [1611/12] did alien[ate], assign, and set over to Robert Chapman all their right, title, and interest of the herbage and pannage of the park which is yet to come and unexpired with all the said several recited indentures; and also Chapman for the consideration of £1,000 paid to him by Sir Edward Vernon knight has granted, alienated, assigned, and set over to Vernon the remainder of the reservation of years of the herbage and pannage in the park that are yet to come and unexpired, which in the recited indenture of lease so made unto Thomas Randolph (reserving sufficient for the deer) with all deeds, charters, evidences, leases, counterpains of leases, assignments of leases, letters patent, and writings whatsoever concerning the same of any part thereof, having the herbage and pannage and all and singular the premises with pertinences /no mm. 4 and 5 in MS; m. 6] and all the estate, right, title, and interest of Robert Chapman in and to the same and every part thereof to Sir Edward Vernon, his executors, administrators, and assignees for, by, and during all the time and term of years yet to come and unexpired in the said recited indentures of lease so made unto Thomas Randolph (as aforesaid); and Robert Chapman for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators doth covenant, promise, and grant to and with Sir Edward Vernon, his executors, administrators, and assignees by these presents that he, Sir Edward Vernon, his executors, administrators, and assignees shall and may peaceably and quietly have, hold, occupy, possess, and enjoy all and singular the said premises with pertinences etc
Dated 5 January 10 Charles [1634/35].

[Signed] Ayliffe Jones, Edward Hooke, Rich[ard] Hutchinson

NEW PARK (mm. 7-9)

Survey made February 1649 [i.e. 1649/50].

All that parcel of impaled ground commonly called or known by the name of New park in the parish of Hanbury and extraordinarily well fenced with new strong pale and very high, containing in the whole by our admeasurment 143 a. 2 r. 29 p.; and we value each acre to be worth 5s. per annum.

In toto £35 18s. 8d.

Chief keeper, Sir Edward Vernon

Memorandum, the park was lately inclosed and impaled out of part of the chase of Needwood called Marchington ward wherein Sir Edward Vernon knight is keeper and has the allowance of £6 13s. *Ad.* towards the keeping of the red deer, as appears by the late King Charles's warrant under his signet to the Lord Newburgh, then chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster:

Charles R: Right trusty and well beloved councellor etc whereas we have caused a proportion of ground to be lately inclosed and impaled out of part of our chase of Needwood called Marchington ward and stored with red deer for our disport there, which is within the charge of our keeper of that ward, who by reason thereof is at a greater yearly expense than formerly for the keeping of a servant to look to our red deer, and for the making and inning [i.e. gathering in] of hay for the winter provision for them, our will and pleasure is that the yearly allowance of £6 13s. *Ad.*, the first payment to begin at Michaelmas last for the whole year past, be made unto our keeper of Marchington ward for the [*m. 8*] time being (as a fee for the custody of our red deer park, and getting in of the provision of hay for them) to be continued unto him so long as our pleasure shall be that the said park shall so remain and continue stored with deer, or further as to the contrary shall be by us signified. And therefore these are to authorise and require you to give, order, and warrant as well to our particular receiver of our Honor of Tutbury for the constant payment thereof according as to our auditor for the allowance the same upon the passing of the receiver's accompt. And these our letters shall be as well unto you our chancellor as unto our auditor and receiver and to all other our officers whom it may concern a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster] 16 December 13 Charles [1637].

NOTE: Other copies of this warrant give the date as 6 December: PRO, DL 32/66; British Library, Add. MS. 34668, f. 39.

[*In margin*] Mr Henry Vernon and Edward Thompson claim the keepership (here mentioned to be in [possession of] Sir Edward Vernon to be granted unto them during their lives in the same grant which is returned in the park of Agardsley and by which they hold the office of keepership of the said park also.

Lodge

There is in the midst of the park an old thatched lodge with a little garden thereunto belonging.

Red deer

There are in the park at present 32 deer of several sorts which we value to be worth £70.

Likewise there is £10 more allowance for the support and maintenance of the red deer with hay for winter provision, as appears by the late King Charles's warrant to the Lord Newburgh, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster:

Charles R: Right trusty and well beloved councellor etc whereas we are informed by our right trusty and well beloved the Lord Ashton, our lieutenant of our chase of Needwood, that is it very necessary for the support and maintenance of our red deer in our new park or inclosure which we caused lately to be impaled out of Marchington ward within our said chase, that some proportion of hay should be provided for their relief in the winter season, the annual charges thereof will, as we are informed by an estimate thereof made, amount to the sum of £10, our will and pleasure is that out of our revenue of our honor of Tutbury there be allowed and paid to the

keeper of our park for the time being by our particular receiver there the sum of £10 yearly, the first payment to begin immediately for the present provision of hay for the next winter; and for the future to be paid every midsummer for the like provision as aforesaid for the winter following. And therefore these are to authorise and require you to give, order, and warrant as well as to our receiver for the constant payment thereof accordingly to be continued so long as our pleasure shall be that the park shall remain and continue stored with red deer or further order to the contrary shall be by us signified, as also to our auditor for the allowing of the same upon passing of the receiver's accompt. And these our letters shall be as well unto you our chancellor as unto our auditor and receiver and to all other our officers whom it may concern a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster 27 July 17 Charles [1641].

[*m. 9*]

Trees

The timber trees and other trees now standing and growing within the park, being above 15 miles distant from any navigable river, are in number 217, for the most part old decayed trees good for little (save the fire). [They] are worth in gross upon the place (the time of converting them into money and a plentiful place of wood and coal also considered) £46 10s.

Whereof 33 are timber which we value to be worth £21 10s.

In all as aforesaid £46 10s.

Tithe

New park is in present possession and tithe free, it being never charged.

[*Signed*] Ayliffe Jones, Edward Hooke, Rich[ard] Hutchinson

SHERHOLT PARK (*m. 14*)

Survey of a parcel of inclosed ground, half thereof impaled and half railed, made February 1649 [i.e. 1649/50].

All that parcel of inclosed ground commonly called or known by the name of Sherholt park in the parish of Barton under Needwood bounded on the north-west upon the lodge belonging unto Barton ward wherein William Key is keeper, and on the south-east upon Barton ward within the chase of Needwood, containing 92 a. 2r. 13p.; and we value each acre to be worth 4s. per acre.

In toto £18 10s. *Id.*

Memorandum, the park was once in fee farm, but the late King Charles took the same into his possession again towards the maintenance and feeding of his deer within the chase of Needwood.

Keeper, William Key

William Key is keeper of Barton ward and also of Sherholt park within the chase of Needwood, which he holds by letters patent from King Charles under the duchy seal of Lancaster, dated 2 March 8 Charles [1632/33], during his [i.e. Key's] natural life etc.

Tithe

The park is tithe free, it being never charged.

Memorandum, also the park is in present possession.

[*Signed*] Ayliffe Jones, Edward Hooke, Rich[ard] Hutchinson

ROUGH HAY (*mm. 15-20*)

Survey made in November 1649.

All that parcel of <pasture> ground <or park commonly> called Ruffhey alias Rushey in the parish of Hanbury bounded upon the south with a close called Follacres leading to Hanbury church; on the south-west it is bounded upon a parcel of land called the Pipehey, [and] so along the hedge to the north-west which butts upon a common lane called Backe lane alias Pipehey lane which leads from the chase of Needwood to the town of Sudbury in the County of Derby; and upon the north and north-east it is bounded with the grounds of Ralph Adderley esquire called the Cow pasture and the Whiteinges; containing in the whole by estimation 145 a. 1 r. more or less.

[*In margin, referring to the interlinations marked < > in the first line of the paragraph above*]
Amended 8 May 1650: William Webb, 1650.

The timber trees and other trees now standing and growing within Ruffhey alias Russhey, it being above 15 miles distance from any navigable river, are in number 2,950, for the most part old dotards and decayed trees, good for little save the fire; and a great quantity of them small saplings are worth in gross upon the place (the time of converting them into money and a plentiful place of coal and wood also considered) £401 8s. *Ad.*

[*m. 16*] Of the 145 a. 1 r. as aforesaid, we value each acre to be worth 3s. 6d. in present condition (as it now stands). In toto £25 3s. *Ad.*

Improvement

Likewise upon improvement (the wood being taken away) we value each acre to be worth 8s. In toto £58 25.

Division of the trees

Of the 2,950 trees valued as aforesaid at £401 8s. *Ad.*, whereof 184 are timber, viz. 80 at 5s. each tree, 58 at 6s. *Sd.* each tree, 30 at 10s. each tree, 14 at 13s. *Ad.* each tree, 2 at 20s. each tree. In toto £55 13s. *Ad.*

In all as aforesaid £401 8s. *Sd.*

Plaster pit (Plaister pitt)

There is in Ruffhey alias Russhey a certain pit wherein plaster (*plaister*) is digged [*sic*], which we value to be worth *communibus annis AOs.*

Tithe

Memorandum, Ruffhey alias Russhey is tithe free, it being never charged.

Immediate tenant

Ralph Adderley esquire is immediate tenant of Ruffhey alias Russhey, [and he] has three several leases: the one for three lives, two whereof are now in being; another for 41 years to commence and begin immediately after the expiration of the said three lives; and the other for the plaster pit (*plaister pitt*) that is within Ruffhey alias Russhey. The leases are as follows: [*calendars only*]

NOTE: Ralph Adderley (d. 1687) was the owner of the Coton Hall estate which adjoined Rough Hay; he had succeeded his father Richard in 1641: *VCH Staffs.* X, 131.

[m. 17] A Lease for 3 lives

Indenture between Queen Elizabeth and Richard Adderley gentleman witnessing that when the queen by another indenture under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster dated 13 July 13 Elizabeth [1571] gave, granted, and let at farm to Sir Robert Constable knight the herbage and pannage of the park or pasture of Ruffhey alias Russhey, for a term of 31 years beginning immediately as soon as the other term of years which one Ralph Adderley or his assigns then had in manner

aforesaid of and in the herbage and pannage, paying yearly 22s. at the time recited in the indenture; whereupon the queen, in consideration of the increase of the yearly rent of £3 4s. *Sd.* then newly increased, and in consideration of a fine of £45 paid to the receiver general of the duchy of Lancaster to the use of the queen by Richard Adderley, granted and let at farm to Adderley the herbage and pannage of the park or pasture of Ruffey alias Russhey (except woods, underwoods, mines, and quarries), for the term of the natural lives of his sons Ralph, Thomas, and Walter, paying £3 6s. *Sd.* yearly, namely 22s. of ancient farm and 45s. *Sd.* of new increasement, in equal terms at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary [25 March] and Michaelmas [29 September]. And the queen did covenant with Richard Adderley that it shall be lawful for him, to root up, cut, and extirpate all briars and thorns growing on the premises, as often as he pleased during the term, and convert them to his own profit and proper use. For his part Adderley covenants [*m.* 18] that he shall sufficiently repair, maintain, ditch, and fence the premises with quickset hedge and ditches at his own costs during the term. And further the queen covenants that Richard Adderley shall take sufficient hedge boot growing in the premises. If it happens that the rent is behind and unpaid in part or in all within 40 days at either term, or that this indenture should not be enrolled before the auditor within one year next following, then this demise and grant shall be void. The queen appoints George Abney gentleman and Edward Abney gentleman to be her attorneys in this matter.

Dated at the palace of Westm[inster] 12 February 45 Elizabeth [1602/3].

Memorandum, Ralph and Walter Adderley are both living, the one aged 48, the other 46.

[*In margin*] There is a mistake in the year of the queen or in the age of the lives.

A Lease for 41 years after 3 lives

Indenture made 28 October 17 Charles [1641] between Michael Andrewes of the parish of St Martyns in the fields in the county of Midd[lesex], surgeon (*chirurgion*) to the king, and Ralph Adderley, son and heir apparent of Richard Adderley of Coton in the county of Stafford, esquire. Whereas the queen by indenture under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster dated 12 February 45 Elizabeth [1602/3] did demise and let at farm to Richard Adderley and his assigns the herbage and pannage of the park or pasture called Ruffhey alias Russhey for the terms of the natural lives of [*m.* 19] Richard's sons Ralph, Thomas, and Walter, paying a rent of £3 6s. 8d., namely 22s. of ancient farm and 44s. 8d. then newly increased, in equal portions at the feast of Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Michaelmas. Whereas King Charles by indenture under seal of the duchy of Lancaster dated 20 April 6 Charles [1630] demised and let at farm unto Michael Andrewes (inter alia) the herbage and pannage of the park or pasture of Ruffhey alias Russhey (except all woods, underwoods, mines, and quarries), for a term of 41 years to begin from immediately after the ending or determination of the leased grant to Richard Adderley; paying to the king during the term of 41 years a yearly rent of £3 6s. *Sd.*, being the new increased rent, to be paid at the feast of St Michael the archangel and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary by even portions. This indenture witnesses that in consideration of £210 paid to Michael Andrewes by Ralph Adderley, Andrewes has granted, assigned, and set over to Adderley the herbage and pannage of Ruffhey alias Russhey and all the term of 41 years and all liberty to cut briars, thorns, and hedgewood. Adderley covenants and promises to Andrewes that when the term of 41 years begins he shall pay to the king the annual rent of £3 6s. 8d., and also shall keep [*m.* 20] Andrewes harmless from all losses and damages by reason of non-payment of the rent or breach of not performing any covenant or agreement.

Dated at the palace of Westminster] the day and year abovewritten.

[*In margin*] This original lease to be produced.

A Lease of Plaister Pitt in Ruffhey alias Russhey

Indenture made 3 December 17 Charles [1641] between the king and Ralph Adderley esquire witnessing that whereas King James by indenture sealed with the seal of the duchy of Lancaster dated 23 November 9 James [1611] did license and give Richard Adderley gentleman liberty and licence to dig and get plaster (*plaister*) within one parcel of ground called Ruffhey alias Russhey being parcel of the Honor of Tutbury, from the feast of St Michael the archangel last past for the

full term of 31 years, paying to the king the yearly rent of 13s. *Ad.* at the feasts recited in the indenture. The indenture was surrendered by Ralph Adderley into King Charles's hands, and now the king both in consideration of the surrender and for other good causes has by the advice of the chancellor and council of the duchy of Lancaster given [permission] and authorised Adderley to dig, get, take, and carry away and convert to his own use plaster (*plaister*) within the said ground from the feast of St Michael last past for a term of 31 years, paying to the king a yearly rent of 13s. *Ad.* at the above named feasts. If the rent is unpaid 40 days after any of the feasts, then Adderley shall each time forfeit 5s. Also, Adderley covenants that he shall not have above two pits open at one time, lest the making of more pits at one time should prejudice the king's wood or covert there, and that he shall from time to time fill, stop up, and level the ground or soil dug or to be dug during the term, for the preservation and safeguard of cattle depasturing there.

Dated at the palace of Westminster] under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster the day and year above written.

[*In margin:* Vacat]

[*Signed*] Ayliffe Jones, Edward Hooke, Jo: Cholmley

CASTLE PARK otherwise LITTLE PARK (*m.* 22)

Survey made in January 1649 [i.e. 1649/50].

All that parcel of inclosed ground commonly called and known by the name of Castle park alias Little park in the parish of Tutbury bounded on the south upon a common lane called Castle Park Lane; and from the south-westward it is bounded upon lands of Sir Edward Mosley (*Moysiley*) so along until it meets with the river Dove; on the north upon a stream of water that is lately cut from the river Dove; and on the north-east it is bounded upon the castle banks; it contains in the whole by our admeasurement 71a., and we value each acre to be worth 20s. per annum.

In toto £71

[*In margin*] Possession to the State.

Tithe

There is no tithe paid out of the park, it being never charged.

Barn

Likewise there is in the park a little old barn to put hay in, which we value the materials to be worth £5.

Memorandum, the park is part of the late king's race.

[*Signed*] Ayliffe Jones, Edward Hooke, Jo: Cholmley, Rich[ard] Hutchinson

STOCKLEY PARK (*mm.* 23-24)

Survey made in December 1649.

All that parcel of impaled ground called or known by the name of Stockley (*Stokeley*) park in the parish of Tutbury bounded on the east upon Anslow (*Annesley*) field, on the west upon Needwood, on the north upon Bushton field, and on the south upon a lane leading from Anslow to Needwood; it contains 356 a., which we value each acre to be worth 6s. per annum. In toto £106 16s.

Memorandum, there is 36 a. of boggy, quaggy land in the park of small or no value, and if it be deducted out of the total sum aforesaid, with other inconveniences also considered, we value the park in toto to be worth per annum but £96.

Tithe

There is no tithe belonging to the park, it being never charged.

Memorandum, there is not so much wood or timber in the park as will serve to keep the pale in reparations, [m. 24]

Lodge

There is an old, ruinated lodge in the park consisting of four rooms above stairs and four below stairs, with a barn and stable much out of repair, with a little orchard and garden, which now lies open for want of inhabitants.

Memorandum, also the park is part of the late king's race and was once in fee farm unto Mr Archybold Hayes esquire, but the late king about ten years past did take the park into his possession again and gave Hayes either a piece of land elsewhere in lieu of it or else a sum of money; likewise Hayes has been in the first and second war against the Parliament.

NOTE: Hayes (or Hay) was a Scot who had acquired the park in 1630; he died in 1651: *VCH Staffs.* X, 56.

[Signed] Ayliffe Jones, Edward Hooke, Jo: Cholmley, Rich[ard] Hutchinson

This was allowed in fee farm by Order of the Committee of Obstructions dated 20 June 1650, being returned in the auditor's abstract of the fee farm rents in the county of Stafford.
Will: Webb, 1650

[In margin] Entered 11 September 1650.

HANBURY PARK (mm. 25-26)

Survey made in December 1649.

All that parcel of ground called Hanbury Park in the parish of Hanbury bounded on the south upon that part of the chase of Needwood called the Posterne Rough, adjoining to a plane (*plaine*) called the Kinge Standinge Plaine; on the north upon a common land called Hasler Lane alias Woodend Lane; on the east bounded upon that part of Needwood called Tutbury ward; [and] on the west bounded upon Marchington ward belonging to the chase of Needwood; containing in the whole by estimation 373 a.

Trees

The timber trees and other trees now standing and growing within Hanbury park, it being above 15 miles distant from any navigable river, are in number 1,230, for the most part old dotards and decayed trees good for little save the fire, and very few of them are timber; [they] are worth in gross upon the place (the time of converting them into money) and a plentiful place of coal and wood also considered, £137. [m. 26]

Lodge

There is in the park an old ruinated lodge containing seven rooms above stairs and seven rooms below stairs, with a little garden and an old stable.

Of the 373 a. (as aforesaid) we value each acre to be worth 6s. *Sd.* £124 6s. *Sd.*

Improvement

Memorandum, there will be but little improvement made of the park more than we have now valued it at present.

Division of the trees

Of the 1,230 trees valued as aforesaid at £137, whereof 60 are timber which we value to be worth in toto £20.

In all as aforesaid £137.

Reprise

Memorandum, we make no reprise for the fencing or keeping up the pale of the park which is very ruinous.

Tithe

Hanbury Park is tithe free, it being never charged.

Memorandum, also the park is part of the race that belonged to the late king where Sir John Fenwicke was surveyor and Gregory July an gentleman yeoman of the race, but how they held their places as yet we know not.

NOTE: A noted horse breeder, Fenwick was master of the royal studs: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 19, 326.

[Signed] Ayliffe Jones, Edw: Hooke, Jo: Cholmley

HIGHLANDS PARK (mm. 28-32)

Survey made in November 1649.

All that parcel of impaled ground called Heighlyns park lying in the parish of Tatenhill bounded with a common called the Lea fields, the north-east gate leading into the common towards Tatenhill; another gate [at the] north-west leading into the chase of Needwood; another gate full south leading into a ploughed field called Tatenhill field; containing in the whole by estimation 443 a. 1 r. 3 p.

In toto £66 9s. 9d.

Lodge

All that messuage, dwelling house, or lodge with appurtenances lying in or about the midst of the park, consisting of five chambers and a cockloft above stairs and five small rooms below stairs, with a little stable and barn; no orchard or garden, only two little green plots containing by estimation 1 a.

Worth per annum 20s.

[m. 29] And all ways, passages, liberties, privileges, franchises, and immunities, jurisdictions, profits, commodities, advantages, and appurtenances whatsoever in and about the park, lodge, or tenement, or with them or part of them usually occupied and enjoyed as part, parcel, or member of them or any of them.

Deer

There are within the park at present 60 deer of several sorts which we value to be worth £20.

Trees

The timber trees and other trees now standing and growing within the park, it being above 15 miles distance from any navigable river, are in number 8,066, for the most part old decayed trees good for little save the fire. [They] are worth in gross upon the place, the time of converting them into money and a plentiful place of coal and wood also considered £1,254 Is. *Sd.*

Division of the park

The park may also be commodiously severed and divided for accommodation of the purchaser, which upon our admeasurement we have set forth as follows:

From the north-east gate which butts upon a common called the Lea fields to the south-west gate which leads to Dunstall in the parish of Tatenhill [and] divides the park in two equal parts as divisions

l[st] Division

All that part of the park which butts and bounds upon the chase of Needwood, the north-west gate leading into the chase; the lodge standing upon that part, which by admeasurement we find to

be 230 a. 1 r., be it more or less bounded with the lodge on the [m. 30] south and the chase on the north-west and each acre is worth per annum 3s. In all £34 10s. 9d.

2[nd] Division

And from the north-east gate leading close by the lodge, leaving the lodge on the north, and from the lodge to the south-west gate is the other part of the park, butted and bounded with a ploughed field called Tatenhill field, the gate full south leading into the field and the lodge on the north. [This parts] contains by admeasurment 213 a., each acre worth per annum 3s. In all £31 19s.

So that the whole value of the both divisions mounts to £66 9s. 9d.

Improvement

Memorandum, if the deer and wood with all fees and allowances being taken away and upon improvement, we value each acre to be worth 6s. *Sd.* per annum In toto £147 13s. *Ad.*

3[rd] Division, of the trees

Of the 8,066 trees valued at £1,254 *Is.Sd.*, 4,669 of them are standing, growing, and being within the first division of the park, whereof 361 are timber [trees] which we value at £159

In toto £676 5s.

And 3,567 trees being of the other division, whereof 399 are timber [trees] which we value at £181 16s. *Sd.* In toto £577 13s. *Sd.*

[m. 31] Memorandum, we have valued the timber trees in several numbers at several prices, in all amounting to the sum aforesaid.

In all as aforesaid £1,254 *Is. Sd.*

Tithe

There is paid out of the park in lieu of tithe one buck in season and one doe in season to the parson of Tatenhill.

Chief ranger

Basil, earl of Denbigh (*Denbeigh*), is chief ranger (*rainger*) and master of the late king's game in the park (as we are now informed), but how he holds the place we leave to further consideration, there being nothing as yet proved to us.

Keeper

Sir Charles Egerton of Newborough (*Newborrough*) in the county of Stafford knight by an order from the honorable Committee of Revenue is keeper, it being then under sequestration from Sir Edward Mosley (*Moaseley*) knight, who has been with us and claimed the place of keeper but did produce nothing unto us; which place of keepership to Sir Charles is during the pleasure of the Committee, by virtue whereof there is due to him the running of four geldings with the park and the disposing of the underkeeper's place.

Underkeeper

Martyn Marshall is underkeeper of Highlins park, which place was given to him by Sir Edward Mosley (*Moasley*) before his sequestration and since then continued (being well affected to the Parliament) by Sir Charles; his allowances were formerly as follows: 12 cows' gate winter and summer, one horse, 10 swine, with 2 little plots of inclosed ground within the park for hay containing by estimation 5 a. which we [m. 32] value with the cows', horses', and swines' gate

In toto £15

Sir Charles is now living at Newborough.

NOTE: In 1634, shortly after he became 2nd earl of Denbigh, Basil Feilding was the parliamentary commander-in-chief of the Associated Counties of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Shopshire: *Oxford DNB*, 19, 239. He was appointed master of the royal forests in Derbyshire and Staffordshire in 1646: Appendix II, p. 53.

Sir Charles Egerton, who inherited the Newborough Hall estate in 1624, was taken prisoner by royalist forces when they attacked Burton-upon-Trent in 1643 and he submitted to that cause, although claiming later that he had done so only under duress. Duly rehabilitated, he became keeper of Highlands parks after the sequestration of Sir Edward Mosley of Rolleston Hall (d. 1657): *VCH Staffs.* IX, 11; X, 186, 199; Carr and Atherton (eds), *Civil War in Staffordshire in the Spring of 1646*, 111.

Reprise

Memorandum, we make no reprise for the fencing or keeping up of the pale of the park, in regard [of which] we have valued the same as may be improved and not in relation to the present condition thereof.

Hen: Archbold Immediate Tenant

Henry Archbold of Lichfield (*Leechfield*) in the county of Stafford esquire claims (as immediate tenant) the herbage and pannage (*pawnage*) of Highlins park for five years yet to come (reserving sufficient for the deer), which we leave to further consideration there being nothing proved to us.

NOTE: In 1635 Henry Archbold was diocesan registrar: *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1635, 455.

[*In margin*] The copy of this original lease is now in the custody of the Surveyor General, attested under the hand of the Ch[ancellor] of the duchy. Vide the abstract thereof on the backside of the foregoing sheet [i.e. mm. 30d and 31d, below], by order of the Committee of Obstructions.

The rent reserved of the park (as Mr Archbold says) is £3 16s. *Sd.*

[*Signed*] Ayliffe Jones, Edw: Hooke, Jo: Cholmley, Rich[ard] Hutchinson

[*m. 30 d.*]

By order of the Committee of Obstructions dated 3 May 1650.

Indenture under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster dated 5 March 9 Charles [1633/34] made between the king and Thomas Cary esquire, one of the grooms of his chamber, reciting that whereas by indenture made between Queen Elizabeth and William Whalley of London gentleman under the seals of the county palatine of Lancaster and of the duchy of Lancaster dated 27 August 37 Elizabeth [1595] the queen granted and farmed to Richard [*sic*] Whalley the herbage and pannage of Highlins park (excepting sufficient pasture for the queen's wild beasts) for 40 years, beginning immediately after the expiry of a term of 31 years which one Richard Banks had by letters patent dated 29 April 25 Elizabeth [1583] commencing at the previous Michaelmas [i.e. 29 September 1582], that term now being expired; paying £3 16s. *Sd.* a year as specified in the indenture.

In consideration that Thomas Cary has surrendered to King Charles divers lands in the parish of 'Lanvelli Geffenny' within the demesne of the White Castle in the county of Monmouth, formerly demised by the king to Cary for 41 years in reversion, the term then not yet being expired, and for other considerations of his special grace, the king granted and farmed to Carey [*sic*] the herbage and pannage of Highlins park for 41 years, commencing from the expiry or sooner determination of the term of years granted to Richard Whalley; paying £3 16s. *Sd.*

[*In margin*] Entered 28 October 1650.

[*m. 31 d.*]

Letters patent dated 27 August 37 Elizabeth [1595] granting to Richard Whaley of London gentleman the herbage and pannage of Highlins park, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster (except sufficient pasture for the deer in the park) for 40 years, from the expiry of a term of 31 years granted on 29 April 25 Elizabeth [1583] to Richard Bankys of London gentleman [starting] from the previous Michaelmas; paying £3 16s. *Sd.*

By virtue of this grant and several mesne assignments, Gregory Walklate of London grocer has become immediate tenant and has four years yet to come in the premises from 27 August 1650.

[*In margin*] Entered 30 September 1650.

HIGHLANDS PARK ADDITIONAL (*m. 34*)

Whereas we have formerly returned a survey of the park commonly called Highlins as in possession, there having been no estate therein showed unto us at the time of the survey thereof; since which time we understand that there have been several estates produced and allowed therein, wherein sufficient pasturage for the deer is excepted. We therefore value the pasturage and herbage for the said deer and wild beasts which may be kept in the park and by the said grant excepted in present condition p.a. £49 16s. 9*d.*

The herbage and pannage right of the several estates allowed as aforesaid in present condition p.a. £16 8s. 4*d.*

In toto in present p.a. £56 10s.

The improvement of the pasturage and herbage for the deer and wild beasts p.a. 110s. 15*d.*

The improvement of the herbage and pannage of the estates allowed p.a. £36 18s. 4*d.*

In toto upon improvement p.a. £147 13s. 4*d.*

[*Signed*] Edw: Hooke, Jo: Cholmley, Richfard] Hutchinson

[*On dorse*] Received 13 November 1650; Transmitted to the Surveyor General the same day.

CASTLEHAY PARK (*mm. 40-45*)

Survey made in January 1649 [i.e. 1649/50].

All that parcel of inclosed ground commonly called or known by the name of Castlehay park in the parish of Tutbury, containing in the whole by our admeasurement 984 a. 29 p., being divided into 13 severals which are as follows:

Cockshutt Banck

Cockshutt Banck contains by admeasurement 38 a. 2 r. 1*A* p., and we value each acre to be worth in present condition 12s. per annum. In toto £23 2s. 1*d.*

Likewise upon improvement we value each acre at 13s. 4*d.* per annum. In toto £25 13s. 6*d.*

Stonepitt hills

Stonepitt hills contains by admeasurement 271 a. 2 r. 1*Vh* p., and we value each acre to be worth in present condition 3s. 4*d.* whereof 40 a. at 8s. [*m. 41*] per acre, which said 40 a. amounts unto the sum of £16, and the residue of acres being 231 a. 2 r. 1*Vh* p. amounts unto the sum of £38 1*lis.* 9*d.* In toto £54 1*lis.* 9*d.*

And upon improvement we value each acre at 6s. 8*d.* per annum, in toto £85 9s. 1*d.*

Fauld Meadow

Fauld Meadow contains by admeasurement 12 a. 1 r. 24*A* p., and we value each acre to be worth 10s. per annum. In toto £6 4s.

Hanbury Brookehead

Hanbury Brookehead contains by admeasurement 92 a. 34 p., and we value each acre to be worth 8s. per annum In toto £36 17s. 5*d.*

Mowing Coppy alias Upper Cop[p]y

Mowing Coppy alias Upper Coppy contains by admeasurement 33 a. 3 r. 17 p. [*corrected from* 92 a. 34 p.], and we value each acre to be worth 8s. per annum. In toto £11 5s. 11*d.*

There is also a small partition adjoining to the aforesaid mowing copy wherein an old barn stands containing by admeasurement $\text{\textit{Vi}}$ a., which we value to be worth *communibus annis* 15s.

Cow perticion

Cow perticion contains by admeasurement 152 a. 1 r. 2% p., and we value each acre in present condition at 5s. per annum. In toto £38 1s. *Ad.*

And upon improvement we value each acre at 10s. per annum. In toto £76 2s. *Sd.*

Withy Coppy alias Under Coppy

Withy Coppy alias Under Coppy contains by admeasurement 35 a. 1 r. 21% p., and we value each acre in present condition at 6s. *Sd.* per annum. In toto £11 15s. *lOtd.*

[*m. 42*] And upon improvement we value each acre at 9s. per annum. In toto £15 18s. 5/*id.*

Mare Close

Mare Close contains by admeasurement 154 a. 2 r. 6/*Vi* p., and we value each acre in present condition at 10s. per annum. In toto £77 5s. *Ad.*

And upon improvement we value each acre at 13s. *Ad.* per annum. In toto £103 5s. *lOvid.*

Grangers Perticion

Grangers Perticion contains by admeasurement 148 a. 3 r. 25/*A* p., and we value each acre in present condition at 8s. per annum. In toto £59 1s. 3*d.*

And upon improvement we value each acre at 10s. per annum. In toto £74 9s.

Poole Taile

Poole Taile contains by admeasurment 30 a. 1 r. and 14 p. [*altered from 12 p.*], and we value each acre to be worth 12s. per annum. In toto £18

New Close

New Close contains by admeasurement 8 a. 1 r. 12/¹ p., and we value each acre to be worth 12s. per annum. In toto £4 19s. *Sd.*

Calves Close and Orchard

Calves Close and Orchard contains by admeasurement 4 a. 1 r. 25/¹ p., and we value each acre to be worth 12s. per annum. In toto £2 12s. *Id.*

The total sum of all the aforesaid 13 several perticions are worth in present condition as we valued them per annum £345 6s. 3*d.*

Upon improvement per annum £461 1s. *lOd.*

Memorandum, the covert upon the premises with some small charge to it will pay for the improvement thereof, [*m. 43*]

All the wood and timber standing and growing upon each particular of the aforementioned premises being all small saplings and a plentiful place of wood are as follows:

Trees

In Stone Pitt hills there are standing and growing 4,560 small saplings, which we value to be worth £342 and 93 timber trees which we value to be worth £26. In toto £368

In Fauld Meadow there are 40 small saplings which we value to be worth £3.

In Hanbury Brookehead there are 100 small saplings which we value to be worth £7 10s.

In Mowinge Coppie alias Upper Coppy there are 180 small saplings which we value to be worth £13 10s.

In Cow perticion there are 1,487 saplings which we value to be worth £111 10s. 6*d.* and 13 timber trees which we value to be worth £3 5s. In toto £114 17s. 6*d.*

In Withie Coppie alias Under Coppie there are 160 saplings which we value to be worth £12.

In Grangers perticion there are 200 saplings which we value to be worth £15.

The full number of all the aforesaid trees standing and growing upon the forementioned several perticions are 6,833, which we value to be worth in gross upon the place £533 15s. 6*d.*

A house, barn, and stable

Memorandum, there are standing in the forenamed Grangers perticion a large dwelling house much out of repair with a fair barn and stable in good repair, [*m. 44*]

Stable and barn

Likewise there is upon the foresaid perticion called Poole Taile a very fair new and large stable and barn.

A barn

Also there is upon the forementioned last (*least*) perticion consisting of 1 a. and half a very fair large barn.

2 Cottages

And also upon that perticion called Stonepitt hills two small cottages.

[*In margin referring to last three entries*] These with the precedent dwelling house to be valued.

Plaister Pitts

There is also upon the Stonepitt hills perticion certain pits (*pitts*) wherein plaster (*plaister*) is digged, which we value to be worth *communibus annis* £16

Memorandum, Sir William Powell has a lease of the Plaister Pitts with a proviso therein to be made null in law when the land is alien[at]ed and sold, which lease is abstracted:

Indenture between late King Charles and Sir William Powell knight witnessing that the king by the advice and consent of the chancellor and council of the duchy of Lancaster demised and let at farm to Powell all those pits within the park of Castlehay called the Plaister Pitts and a certain cottage new built upon part thereof, being parcel of the Honor of Tutbury and parcel of the lands and possessions of the ancient duchy of Lancaster, with free ingress, egress, and regress for digging of plaster (*plaister*) and carrying the same away from time to time during the specified term, namely for 120 years from the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary [25 March] last past; paying 46s. *Sd.* each year, in equal portions at Michaelmas and [*m. 45*] the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. If the king or his heirs should at any time during the term sell, alien [ate], or otherwise dispose of the park either in fee simple, fee farm, or in fee tail, then immediately after such sale this present demise and grant shall be void.

Dated at the palace of Westminster under the duchy seal of Lancaster, 1 June 6 Charles [1630].

NOTE: Powell, who was in charge of the royal stud at Tutbury and was knighted by James I when he visited the town in 1619, lived at Rolleston park which he had purchased in 1628: *VCH Staffs.* X, 55.

[*Signed*] Ayliffe Jones, Edward Hooke, Jo: Cholmley, Rich[ard] Hutchinson

APPENDIX II

SURVEY OF NEEDWOOD FOREST, 1650

(PRO, E 317/9)

[m. 1]

NOTE: mm. 1-9 (pp. 50-5) deal with the forest wards with their lodges: Tutbury, Barton, Yoxall, and Marchington.

A Survey of the Chase of Needwood with the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof lying and being in the County of Stafford, late parcel of the possessions of Charles Steward late king of England in the right of the duchy of Lancaster, made and taken by us whose names are hereunto subscribed in the month of May 1650 by virtue of a commission granted upon an Act of the Commons assembled in Parliament for sale of the honor, manor, and lands heretofore belonging to the late king, queen, and prince under the hands and seals of five or more of the Trustees in the said Act named and appointed.

All that large parcel of ground commonly called the chase of Needwood in the parishes of Tutbury, Tatenhill, Yoxall, and Hanbury, being divided into four several wards: Tutbury, Tatenhill, Marchington, and Yoxall. The number of acres in each several ward and of the timber trees and other trees with their values and the abutments and boundaries are as follows.

TUTBURY WARD

Tutbury ward begins at Tatenhill Gate and is bounded with it on the south-east (which gate divides Tutbury and Barton wards). The ward abuts and bounds upon Barton and Callingwood on the north-west and the highway from Tatenhill Gate to Lint brook parts [i.e. divides] the ward, which highway leads from Barton to Bromley dividing the ward unto Hoar Cross on the west; and from Hoar Cross, Mare brook divides the wards unto Hanbury park on the north; and from thence it is butted and bounded upon Stockley park to Anslow Gate; and from Anslow Gate [it] is butted and bounded upon Callingwood on the east to Tatenhill Gate again; it contains in the whole by estimation 1,550 acres.

[m. 2]

Value of land

Of the 1,550 acres we value each acre to be worth 3s. in present condition. In toto - £232 10s.

Improvement

But upon improvement the wood and deer being taken away, we value each acre to be worth 5s. 6d. per annum. In toto - £426 5s.

Number of the trees in gross

The timber trees and other trees now standing and growing in the ward, being in number 10,451, are worth in gross upon the place (the time of converting them into money and a plentiful place of coal and wood being considered) £2,316 14s. 6d.

Division of trees

Whereof in timber trees 1,456, we value at the several rates following: 525 at 6s. 6d. a piece; 305 at 10s.; 235 at 13s. 6d.; 245 at 20s.; 90 at 30s.; 56 at 40s. In toto - £976 3s. 6d.

Dotards and fire trees

In dotards and fire trees 8,995, whereof we value 7,409 at 3s. 6d. a piece and 1,586 at 1s. 6d. In toto - £1,340 11s. 6d.

In all as aforesaid - £2,316 14s. 6d.

Memorandum, the chase of Needwood is above 15 miles from any navigable river.

Sir Henry Every, keeper

Sir Henry Every knight is keeper of the ward by letters patent (as we are informed) but he being in London they could not be produced to us, and therefore we leave it to further consideration.

Sir Henry Every is yet living and aged 22 or thereabouts.

NOTE: Sir Henry Every of Egginton (Derbs.), 2nd baronet, was a committed royalist: *Complete Baronetage*, II, 85-6.

*[m. 3]**Underkeeper, William Kirke*

William Kirke is underkeeper by deputation from Sir Henry Every (as we are informed) but [we] have not seen his deputation, it being at London with the letters patent, both which shall be produced to the Surveyor General.

William Kirke is yet living and aged 70 years or thereabouts.

Lodge

All the messuage, dwelling house, or lodge with the appurtenances wherein William Kirke dwells, lying and being in the ward, consisting of a small hall, parlour, and kitchen below stairs, three chambers above stairs with a loft over them, a small barn, stable, and garden plot with four little closes containing in the whole by estimation 28 acres more or less. All which we value per annum - £6 12s.

NOTE: Known as Byrkley lodge, it was probably the most substantial of the ward lodges and had been the usual venue for forest courts in the medieval period: *VCH Staffs. X*, 37, 67. When surveyed again in December 1658, the lodge was still occupied by William Kirke, then styled as a gentleman of Drayton (Warws.), who also claimed the keepership of Tutbury ward. The lodge was described as comprising 8 rooms, a 4-bay barn, stable, cowhouse, orchard, and garden, all worth 30s. p.a. The lodge stood in 35 a. of ground, valued at 5s. per acre and so worth £14 p.a. There were 40 trees in coppices worth £10. *Source*: PRO, E 317/Staffs/26.

BARTON WARD

Barton ward begins at Tatenhill Gate and is bounded on the north-east upon the township of Tatenhill unto the 'wasthouse', and from the house it abuts upon the township of Barton [and] from the township to a cross at Woodhouse Green, and from thence it abuts full south upon the township of Yoxall, and on the south-west on the manor of Agardsley, and from thence on the north-west Lint brook divides Barton and Yoxall wards near Byrkley lodge, and from the lodge Barton highway divides Barton and Tutbury wards unto Tatenhill Gate as the highway leads; it contains in whole by estimation 1,400 acres.

Value of land

Of the 1,400 acres aforesaid we value each acre to be worth 2s. 6d. in present condition.

In toto - £175.

Improvement

But upon improvement, the wood and deer being taken away, we value each acre to be worth 4s. 6d. per annum.

In toto - £315.

The timber trees and other trees now standing and growing in the ward being in number 7,143 are worth in gross upon *[m. 4]* the place (the time of converting them into money, the country being considered for a plentiful place of coal and wood).

In toto - £2,546 3s. Ad.

Division of trees

Whereof in timber trees [there are] 2,408, which we value at the several rates following: 816 at 6s. 8d. a piece; 370 at 10s.; 345 at 13s. 4d.; 500 at 20s.; 158 at 30s.; 209 at 40s.

In toto - £1,857.

Dotards

In dotards and fire trees 4,735, which we value at these rates: 1,000 at 1s. Ad. a piece; 3,735 at 3s. Ad.

In toto - £689 3s. Ad.

In all as aforesaid £2,546 3s. Ad.

William Key, keeper

William Key is keeper of Barton ward lying and being within the chase of Needwood, which he holds by letters patent from the late King Charles under the duchy seal of Lancaster, dated 2 March, 8 Charles [1632/2], during his natural life, with the fees, profits, and allowances in as ample manner as formerly other keepers have had, upon condition that he keep the lodge in good reparation, for which he is to have timber allowed him by the surveyor of the wood.

Memorandum, the keeper is yet living and aged 68 years or thereabouts.

Lodge

All that messuage, dwelling house, or lodge with appurtenances wherein William Key now dwells, consisting of a small hall, kitchen, and buttery below stairs, two chambers above stairs, a little barn and stable with an outhouse and a small garden plot, being moated about, and five little closes containing by estimation 30 acres. All which we value per annum £6.

Memorandum, there are in the closes 100 dotards which we value at 2s. 6d. a piece.

In toto - £12 10s.

NOTE: When surveyed again in December 1658, Barton lodge (comprising 9 small rooms) was described as standing within a moat, together with barn, stable, outhouses, orchard, and garden, all worth 20s. p.a. There were 23 a. 2 r. of grounds, worth £7 16s. *Sd.* p.a., and there were 106 trees worth £25. The keepership (presumably of both the lodge and of Barton ward) was then claimed by Robert Duckenfield of Duckenfield (Ches.), by assignment from the patentee William Wardle, but the lodge itself was occupied by an underkeeper Philip Fox. *Source:* PRO, E 317/Staffs/25.

[m. 5]

YOXALL WARD

Yoxall ward begins at Lint brook and abuts upon the township of Yoxall and the manor of Agardsley on the south to Rowley park, and from the park it abuts on the west to Hoar Cross Gate; from there it abuts on the north upon Byrkley lodge and so on the highway [that] parts Yoxall and Tutbury wards; it contains in the whole by estimation 1,650 acres.

Value of lands

Of the 1,650 acres, we value each acre to be worth 2s. 6d. in present condition.

In toto - £206 5s.

Improvement

But upon improvement, the woods and deer being taken away, we value each acre to be worth 4s. 6d. per annum.

In toto - £371 5s.

Number of trees in gross

The timber trees and other trees now standing and growing in the ward, being in number 8,026, are worth in gross upon the place (the time of converting them into money and a plentiful place of coal and wood considered).

In toto - £4,201 6s. 8d.

Division of trees

Whereof in timber trees 3,770, which we value at the several rates following: 845 at 6s. *Sd.* a piece; 510 at 10s.; 560 at 13s. *Ad.*; 785 at 20s.; 586 at 30s.; 484 at 40s.

In toto - £3,542.

Dotard and fire trees

In dotards and fire trees 4,256 at 1s. *Ad.* a piece and 3,756 at 3s. *Ad.*

In toto - £659 6s. *Sd.*

In all as aforesaid £4,201 6s. *Sd.*

Herbert Aston and Jo: Aston esquires are keepers by patent

Herbert Aston and John Aston esquires are keepers of Yoxall ward by patent from the late King Charles under the seal of the [m. 6] duchy of Lancaster dated 17 December 9 Charles [1641] to hold the office jointly and severally by themselves or by their sufficient deputy or deputies during their natural lives with all fees, profits, and allowances as other keepers formerly have had, on condition that they keep the lodge in good repair, for which they are to have timber allowed them by the surveyor of the woods. And also that they give an accompt to the auditor of all the deer and of all other casualties that shall happen during the said term.

Memorandum, Colonel Simon Rugeley will certify the Surveyor General of the lives and ages of Jo: and Herbert Aston.

NOTE: Herbert and John Aston, brothers to Walter Aston, Lord Aston, of Tixall (d. 1678), a committed royalist. Col. Simon Rugeley of Callingwood (d. 1666) was a member from June 1643 of the parliamentary committee for Staffordshire: D. H. Pennington and I. A. Roots (eds), *The Committee at Stafford* (*Staffordshire Historical Collections* [Staffordshire Record Society], 4th series I, 1956), 354; *VCH Staffs.* X, 223. He was appointed surveyor of woods in Needwood in 1648 (below, m. 7), and was involved in the presentation of the 1655 petition to Oliver Cromwell.

Jo: Goodman, deputy keeper

Be it known unto all men by these presents that we Herbert Aston and John Aston esquires, brothers to the Hon. Walter, Lord Aston, and William Wardle of Bowsley in the County of Stafford gentleman do hereby constitute, ordain, and appoint and in our stead and place put our trusty friend John Goodman of Knightthorpe in the County of Leicester yeoman our sufficient deputy to take care, order, and perform all and every thing and things whatsoever on our or any of our parts to be done and performed in about and concerning the office of the keepership of Yoxall ward, and to receive and take to his own use all and all manner of fees, benefits, commodities, and profits whatsoever belonging or in anywise appertaining to the office. In witness whereof we have hereunto put our hands and seals 8 January 1648 [i.e. 1648/9].

Memorandum, Jo: Goodman is living aged 28 years or thereabouts.

Lodge

All that messuage, tenement, or lodge with appurtenances in the ward, consisting of one hall, one parlour, one little inner parlour, one kitchen, five little chambers, one cockloft over them, one stable with a chamber over it, [m. 7] one cowhouse, and outhouse for hounds, a garden plot, five little closes containing by estimation 32 acres; all which we value per annum £8 16s.

Memorandum, there are in the close 50 old dotards which we value at 2s. a piece. In toto - £5

Simon Rugeley esquire, surveyor of the woods in Needwood

Whereas the right honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons for His Majesty's Revenue have by their grant dated 24 September 1646 nominated and appointed me amongst other officers to be Master Forester of all His Majesty's forest, parks, woods, and warrens within the County [sic] of Derby and Stafford and each of them (except as in the same grant is excepted), and to execute the same by myself or my sufficient deputy or deputies, know that I, Basil, earl of Denbigh, by virtue of the power given me by the grant have and by these presents do nominate and appoint Simon Rugeley of Callingwood in the County of Stafford esquire to be surveyor and overseer of the woods within the Counties of Derby and Stafford and which do belong to the Honor of Tutbury with the said counties. And I do give full power and authority to Simon Rugeley to do, act, and perform all and singular such things in or about the exercising of the place of surveyor or overseer of the woods as I by virtue of the grant am anywise enabled to do, act, and perform. And I do hereby give and grant unto Simon Rugeley all fees, perquisites, and profits whatsoever belonging or appertaining to the office, together with liberty to appoint and place such officers under him as shall be needful for the well performing of the office. And I do hereby further authorize him to cause all the destroyers of the woods and other offenders to be apprehended and brought to punishment as is ordained by the laws of this kingdom. To have and hold, occupy, enjoy, and exercise the office of overseer or surveyor of the woods during my pleasure. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal 14 June 1648 and in the 24th year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Charles.

[m. 8]

MARCHINGTON WARD

Marchington ward begins at Mare brook at some houses called the 'Brickehill' standing south-west and from thence is bounded on a lane going up unto Newborough on the south-eastside; it bounds all upon Mare brook towards Hanbury park and on Agardsley park on the west, upon Thorny Lane on the north-west, and upon Draycott, Coton, Fauld, and Hanbury Woodend on the north, and upon Hanbury park on the north-east; it contains in the whole by estimation 1,800 acres.

Value of land

Of the 1,800 acres, we value each acre to be worth 4s. in present condition. In toto - £360.

Improvement

But upon improvement, the wood and deer being taken away, we value each acre to be worth 1s. per annum. In toto - £630.

Number of trees

The timber trees and other trees now standing and growing in the ward being in number 12,838 are worth in gross upon the place (the time of converting them into money and a plentiful place of coal and wood being considered) £4,110 3s. 4d.

Division of trees

Whereof in timber trees 2,938 which we value at the several rates following: 814 at 6s. 5d. a piece, 345 at 10s., 455 at 13s. 4d., 635 at 20s., 340 at 30s., 349 at 40s.

In toto - £2,590 3s. 4d.

Dotards and fire trees

In dotards and fire trees 9,900, whereof we value 1,300 at 1s. 4d. a piece, and 8,600 at 3s. 4d. In toto - £1,520.

In all as aforesaid £4,110 3s. 4d.

Henry Vernon esquire and John Tompson gentleman are keepers

Henry Vernon esquire and John [sic] Tompson gentleman are keepers of the ward of Marchington by letters patent under the duchy seal of Lancaster dated 14 March 10 Charles [1634/5], to hold the office jointly and severally during their natural lives and to have the fees, profits, and allowances in as ample manner as other keepers have had them. [m. 9]

Memorandum, Henry Vernon and Edward [recte] Tompson are both living aged 34 years each of them or thereabouts.

NOTE: A 1638 recital of the 1635 grant (in Derbyshire Record Office, D. 410 M/2/271) gives Henry Vernon, the eldest son of Sir Edward Vernon of Sudbury (Derbs.), and Edward Tompson (or Thompson) of Aston, in Tixall. By this grant Vernon and Thompson also acquired the keepership of Agardsley park: Appendix I, p. 36. For a note on Henry Vernon's troubled career as a parliamentarian see I. Carr and I. Atherton (eds), *The Civil War in Staffordshire in the Spring of 1646* (Staffordshire Historical Collections [Staffordshire Record Society], 4th series XXI, 2007), 95 note 4.

Nicholas Wayte, underkeeper

Nicholas Wayte is underkeeper but he being in London we could not see his deputation and therefore refer it to further consideration.

NOTE: There is no entry for LODGE here because, as the summary at the end of the survey states (p. 70), it was returned with the survey of New park (see Appendix I, p. 38). There had, in fact, been a misunderstanding about the ward lodge (called Eland lodge) and the park, the former having been sold with 63 a. to Col. Robert Duckinfield. In July 1651 Henry Vernon and Edward Thompson, as keepers of Marchington ward and so also lessees of Eland lodge, petitioned the Committee for Removing Instructions for a recovery, although the final Order for reimbursing Duckinfield was not signed until 7 July 1655. Source: PRO, E 317/Staffs/44, mm. 10-12.

DEER

There are in the whole chase of Needwood (as we adjudge by another survey and also by information of the keepers) 120 deer of several sorts which we value at £60.

Memorandum, there are 2 small parcels of pasture ground near Hoar Cross Gate in Yoxall ward which were encroached of late years from the chase of Needwood and are now let by Humphrey Clarke of London esquire for 20s. per annum, but nothing being produced to us to clear his title we refer it unto further consideration. (*In margin*) This title to be made in good time.

[m. 10]

NOTE: mm. 10-15 (pp. 55-9) deal with medieval charters (given in English translation) presented by those claiming common rights in the forest.

CALLINGWOOD

The claims of the inhabitants of the parishes adjacent to Needwood by charter for houseboot (*howsboot*), heyboot, and fireboot in the chase are as follows:

Colonel Symon Rugeley his charters

Know all men by these presents that I, William earl of Ferrars son of William earl Ferrars have given, granted, and by this my charter confirmed to Walter son of Dreng 20 a. of assart in Callengwood for his homage and service to him and his heirs, to hold of me and my heirs freely and quietly with all commons and easements belonging to the town[ships] of Rolleston and Tatenhill, paying to me and my heirs yearly for all service and custom 5s. at two times in the year, namely at the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary [25 March] 2s. 6d. and at the feast of St Michael the archangel [29 September] 2s. 6d. And if he had [*sic*] hoggs in my forest he shall give me pannage, and if he had none he was quit of pannage. These being witnesses: Henry de Ferrars, William de Rid were then steward, Roger the hunter, Robert Siret, Robert Mascari, and others.

NOTE: Early 13th-century grant; cartulary copy in Staffordshire Record Office, D. 1124/1/1, m. 1; British Library, Stowe MS. 879, f. 8 (both lacking names of witnesses).

Colonel Rug[e]ley's charter

William of Callengewood, son and heir of William of Callengewood, in the name of his father does claim by virtue of the said charter to have common of pasture for his cattle in the forest of Needwood, as the catties of Rolleston and Tatenhill ought to common upon the wood and land lying and being in Tutbury ward.

NOTE: A similar entry appears in SRO, D. 1124/1/1, m. 1; BL, Stowe MS. 879, f. 7v.

Charter of the same man

William de Ferrars earl of Derby sends greetings to all men and his friends as well present as to come. Know all of you that I have given and granted and by this my present charter confirmed to Roger of Ridwar all the land which is called Callengewood for his service and homage. Besides, I have given to him of increase 60 a. of assart in my forest of Needwood, viz. out of both part of Holgriff upon Balke over against the way which leads to the spring [of] Maydenlegh. I also granted to Roger to be quit of pannage for 30 hoggs in my forest. All these premises before named I have given, granted, and confirmed to Roger and his heirs, to be held of me and my heirs in fee and hereditarily, freely and quietly; paying yearly to me and my heirs a pair of golden spurs at Easter for all suit and service. These being witnesses: Henry de Ferrars, Henry son of Walker [*sic*], Jordan de Touke, Robert son of Walker, Herbert de Merle, Geoffrey Hanselain, and many others etc.

NOTE: Early 13th-century grant; cartulary copy (with extended witness list) in BL, Egerton MS. 3041, f. 27 (printed in I. H. Jeayes (ed.), 'The Rydeware Cartulary', in *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, [1st series] XVI (1895), 276).

Memorandum, Simon Rugeley claims liberty to hawk and hunt in Needwood with heyboot etc and pannage etc and common for all beasts commonable in right of his manor of Knightly by virtue of a charter which is lost, but [he] affirms that he has received the same *de tempore in tempus*, and

that his claim for the same is entered in the customary for the honor of Tutbury; all which we refer to further consideration.

NOTE: Knightly adjoined Callingwood. For Rugeley see note in Yoxall ward entry (p. 53).

[*m. 11*]

Mr Ilsley's charter etc

Know all men etc that I, William Ferrars earl of Derby have given etc to Walter Wildgose and his heirs 20 a. of land for his homage and service with houseboot and heyboot by the appointment of the forester, with all liberties etc belonging to the town[ships] of Draycott and Hanbury, with pannage for his hogs in Needwood; paying to me and my heirs the 40th part of one knight's fee. These being witnesses: Geoffrey of Greslegs then steward and others.

NOTE: Early 13th-century grant; cartulary copy in SRO, D. 1124/1/1, m. 3; BL, Stowe MS. 879, ff. 24v.-25 (omitting witness name). The claimant can be identified as Thomas Ilsley of High-Hall-Hill, in Yoxall, probably the father of the man of the same name who died in 1698: SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, p. 111; *VCH Staffs.* X, 288. He subscribed the 1655 petition under Yoxall Woodhouses, along with another man of the same name.

Mr Jo: Port's charter etc

Know all men etc that I, William Ferrars earl of Derby have given etc to Robert son of Thomas of the Cross for his homage and service 24 a. of land in my forest of Needwood with all liberties etc with houseboot and heyboot etc at the appointment of the forester, and also to take marl through all my land and be freed from all services at my court, excepting my 2 great courts held at 2 feasts in the year etc; rendering etc. These being witnesses: Robert de Eseburne.

NOTE: Early 13th-century grant of land in Yoxall ward; cartulary copy (more detailed but omitting witness name) in SRO, D. 1124/1/1, m. 4d.; BL, Stowe MS. 879, f. 34.

Mr Tho: Bott's charters etc

Thomas earl of Lancaster and Leicester, high steward of England, to all whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that we have given etc to Richard Holland of Barton and his heirs houseboot, heyboot, and fireboot and common of pasture in our forest of Needwood for all his beasts, as well in places fenced as lying open, with 40 hogs quit of pannage in our forest of Needwood at all times in the year (except hogs only in the fence month). All which premises we will warrant and defend to Richard and his heirs against all people for ever. These being witnesses: Sir Ralph of Rolleston and others. Given at our manor of Rothley [Leics.], 29 December in the seventh year of the reign of Edward son of the most noble King Edward [1313].

Charter of the same man

Know all men etc that I, Margaret of Ferrars countess of Derby have given etc to Richard of the Wood, clerk convict, 9 a. of arable land with the appurtenances [and] with houseboot, heyboot, and fireboot in the forest of Needwood to so much land belonging; rendering etc. These being witnesses etc: Sir Herv[ey] of Harcourt, Sir Andrew Jerpomvile, and others.

NOTE: Mid 13th-century charter, of which a more detailed confirmation by the grantor's son Earl Robert was copied into SRO, D. 1124/1/1, m. 4; BL, Stowe MS. 879, ff. 31r.-v. (omitting witness names). The confirmation has Richard 'of Callingwood' and describes him merely as a clerk.

Memorandum, Tho[mas] Bott claims houseboot etc and free common etc and 14 hogs to be quit of pannage by virtue of a charter which was 'imbezell[e]d', but the contents thereof are attested by Henry Agard gentleman upon oath. He also claims estovers of timber and common in right of several messuages and cottages in Dunstall, Agardsley, and Barton, and 222 a. appurtenant thereunto according to custom.

NOTE: Thomas Bott of Dunstall died in 1652 (*VCH Staffs.* X, 265), leaving a widow Anne who subscribed the 1655 petition under Dunstall.

[m. 12]

Mr Bott's charter etc

Know all men etc that I, William Ferrars earl of Derby have granted to Michael Scoto son to Michael parson of Walton etc 20 a. of assart in my wood at Tunstall which were admeasured to Michael his father with common of pasture in Barton; rendering etc. These being witnesses: Reynold of Karleoll then steward and others.

NOTE: This early 13th-century charter does not survive in any other known source.

John Bromfeilde esquire] 's] charter

Know all men etc that I, Robert Ferrars son and heir of William Ferrars sometime earl of Derby have granted etc all that land that lies between the Witesich etc towards Barton under Needwood to Stephen Mynors and his heirs for their homage and service with houseboot and heyboot etc through the whole ward of Barton and 20 hoggs quit of pannage etc. These being witnesses: William Ferrars my brother and others.

NOTE: Early 1260s grant; cartulary copy (more detailed but omitting witness name) in SRO, D. 1124/1/1, m. 4; BL, Stowe MS. 879, ff. 30r.-v.

John Bromfield (d. c. 1666) was the son of Sir Edward Bromfield, a London alderman who acquired Barton-under-Needwood manor in 1633: *VCH Staffs.* X, 237.

Charter of the same man

Know all men etc that I, Robert Ferrars have granted etc to Stephen Mynors and his heirs all that land that lies between the 'Witheheath' etc and reasonable estovers for building etc and 20 hoggs quit of pannage through all my forest of Needwood. These being witnesses etc.

NOTE: This charter does not survive in any other known source.

William Webb's charter etc

Margaret Ferrars countess of Derby did grant to Richard of the Wood etc 20 a. of land with houseboot, heyboot, and fireboot within the forest of Needwood appurtenant to the same. These [being] witnesses etc.

NOTE: Mid 13th-century charter relating to land in Barton-under-Needwood, of which a more detailed confirmation by the grantor's son Earl Robert was copied into SRO, D. 1124/1/1, m. 4; BL, Stowe 879, f. 31 (naming the grantee as Richard of Callingwood clerk).

William Webb subscribed the 1655 petition under Barton-under-Needwood.

[m. 13]

The town of Rolleston's charter etc

Thomas earl of Lancaster and Leicester, high steward of England, to all other stewards, bailiffs, and officers and to all others to whom our charter shall come, greeting etc. Know ye that we by the assent of our free tenants of Rolleston have granted to Sir Robert Toke, and his heirs the Lount, parcel of Rolleston, severally for ever, we having regard to the humility of our tenants; and for the safety of our soul and the souls of our heirs we will and grant etc to all our free tenants and to all our bondmen of Rolleston and their heirs that they and their heirs shall have forever of me in my forest of Needwood common for all their beasts which they rear from year to year, as well in places fenced as not fenced, excepting in all our parks which are in our forest. The which common we the aforesaid Thomas and our heirs will warrant for ever to all our said free tenants and all our bondmen to hold of us and our heirs against all nations. In witness wherof we have to our charter put our seal. These being witnesses: Sir Robert Holland, Sir William Wither, and others etc.

NOTE: The copy of this charter in S. Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, I (1798), 31 (taken from a version of the 1650 survey in the Augmentation Office) is additionally dated 10 September 1304. A further grant by Earl Thomas, dated 1 July 1306, gave Toke permission to empark the Lount: BL, Campbell Charter, XI, 18.

Anslow charter etc.

William Earl Ferrars sends greeting etc. Know ye that I have granted and with this my charter confirmed to Jordan of Touke and his heirs 50 hoggs yearly in my forest of Needwood from the feast of St Michael [29 September] to the feast of St Martin [11 November] without pannage and

common of pasture within the forest by these bounds, viz. from Wimundswey to Hunteresti, and from Hunteresti to the little Hyatt through the midst of the thicket, as Ailwardesti leads to the head of Redbrok'; so that Jordan and his heirs and the men of all the town of Anedsley have it freely and quietly; paying yearly to me and my heirs one pound of cumin at the feast of St Martin for all custom and service belonging to the grant. For this confirmation and grant Jordan gave me five marks of silver. That this grant and confirmation may stand ratified and allowed I have confirmed it with my seal. These being witnesses: Sybill the countess, Simon son of Simon, Simon of Tuschiel, Luke of *[sic]* Dapifer and others etc.

NOTE: In the late 18th century Stebbing Shaw calendared this early 13th-century charter from a version (either an original or a copy) in the MSS. of the Yoxall-born antiquary Thomas Astle (d. 1803): Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffs.* I, 35. A 16th-century copy in Derby Local Studies Library, Derbyshire deed no. 694, has a full witness list.

This charter was presented by Edward 'Manwaireing' (SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, p. 115), presumably the moderate parliamentarian Edward Mainwaring of Whitmore in North Staffordshire, high sheriff of the county in 1645-6 and a JP from 1647: J. G. Cavenagh-Mainwaring, 'The Mainwarings of Whitmore and Biddulph in the County of Stafford', *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, 1933 (2), 67. His family had acquired Anslow manor in 1546: *VCH Staffs.* X, 214.

[m. 14]

Mr Webb's charters for Hoar Crosse etc

Know all men etc that I, William Ferrars earl of Derby have granted etc to Hugh Melburne for his homage and service all the town of Hore Cross with the appurtenances and all assart[s] and six score acres of wood for assart in the forest near the said land and 50 hoggs quit of pannage; to hold of me and my heirs in fee and hereditarily for the twentieth part of one knight's fee for all service. With these witnesses etc.

NOTE: The original early 13th-century charter is BL, Add. Ch. 73231, with cartulary copies in SRO, D. 1124/1/1, m. 4; BL, Stowe MS. 879, ff. 34r.-v.

This and the next three charters were in fact presented *not* by 'Mr Webb' but by Thomas Welles, the lord of Hoar Cross (SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, pp. 111 and 113) and himself a subscriber to the 1655 petition.

Know all men etc that I, William Ferrars etc have given and granted to Hugh Melburne for his homage and service 340 a. of assart in my forest of Needwood with other privileges mentioned in the said charter; to hold of me and my heirs in fee by the service whereby he holds the said town. These witnesses etc.

Know all men etc that I, William Ferrars etc have granted to Robert Melburne and his heirs for his homage and service 24 a. and 20 hoggs quit of pannage to hold in fee for the fortieth part of one knight's service. With these witnesses etc.

NOTE: These two charters do not survive in any other known source.

Know all men etc that I, William Ferrars etc have granted etc to Bartholomew Audwinckle 19 a. of land with houseboot, heyboot, and fireboot and other liberties belonging to the land in the manor of the Crosse; rendering etc. With these witnesses etc.

NOTE: The original early 13th-century charter is BL, Add. Ch. 73232, with a cartulary copy in SRO, D. 1124/1/1, m. 1d. It relates to what is now Ladysmith Farm in Hoar Cross: *VCH Staffs.* X, 307.

William Cavendish, earl of Devon

William earl of Devon by virtue of a charter made to the prior of Tutbury claims rights for certain loads of wood yearly out of Needwood, but the charter being not produced we leave it unto further consideration.

NOTE: William Cavendish (d. 1684), 3rd earl of Devonshire, was the owner of the former Tutbury priory estate: *VCH Staffs.* X, 89. Copies of the charters which granted privileges to the priory survive in its cartulary, but there were evidently no longer any originals in Cavendish's time.

Mr Francis AverilVs charter

Know all men etc that I, William Ferrars earl of Derby have granted etc to Nicholas of Overe and Agnes his wife and the heirs of their bodies begotten for his homage and service all that land

and meadow with the messuages and appurtenances which Clement of Yoxhall sometime held, with all liberties in the wood [and] with houseboot etc; rendering a fourth part of a knight's fee yearly for all services. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my seal. These being witnesses: Robert of Osburne etc.

NOTE: A fuller copy of this charter, which relates to land at Morrey in Yoxall, survives in SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, pp. 71-2 (where dated 2 October 1248). In the commoners' Answers to the commissioners' Objections, there is a discussion of another charter of William Ferrers to Nicholas de Over and Agnes presented by a John Averill of Morrey (SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, p. 113); that charter relates to common within the greater bounds of Needwood.

Francis Averill subscribed to the 1655 petition, heading the names for Morrey, in Yoxall.

[m. 15]

An ancient charter of Mr Harding's wherein Needwood is called a chase or forest

To all who shall hear or read these present William Ferrars earl of Derby greeting etc. Know ye that I have granted etc and by this my charter confirmed to Roger Yoxhall clerk one messuage and one yardland called etc lying in the fee and territory of Agardsley between our forest or chase of Needwood on the one part and two pastures called Long Croft on the other part; to hold etc in fee hereditarily, freely, and peaceably of me and my heirs to him and his heirs, with all liberties and free commons in our forest or chase for his own cattle (goats only excepted) with houseboot, heyboot, and fireboot to be gotten in Needwood; paying etc yearly two marks of silver for all services and demands. That this my charter and grant may be confirmed to you I have hereunto put my seal which is of full power. These being witnesses: Hugh de Mevill then steward, Richard Mortimer, and others etc.

NOTE: This charter seems to be a version of one dated 5 April 1252 (but specifically relating to land called Sale rather than Long Croft), which survived as an original in 1760 when it was copied by the antiquary Thomas Astle: BL, Stowe MS. 879, f. 37.

'Mr Harding' was most probably Henry Arden of Longcroft Hall in Yoxall (*VCH Staffs.* X, 288), who subscribed the 1655 petition under Yoxall.

Sir Charles Egerton's charter

Thomas earl of Lancaster by his charter dated 4 Edward II [1310-11] granted about five hundred acres of land with thirty tenements lying in the manor of Agardsley; to hold to him and the heirs of his body with houseboot, heyboot, and fireboot appertaining to the tenements by the sixth part of one knight's fee and the rent of one penny which lands are descended to Sir Charles Egerton of Newborough knight. Sir Charles offered to depose that he had another charter made by the duke of Lancaster in which there was liberty granted to him to hawk and hunt in Needwood, but the charter was lost with the rest of his evidences at Burton upon Trent when the queen's forces stormed it. All which we certify at his desire and refer it to further consideration.

NOTE: Earl Thomas's charter granting an estate at what is now Newborough to Robert de Whitefield was copied from the original by Stebbing Shaw in the late 18th century: Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffs.* I, 93.

Sir Charles Egerton of Newborough Hall was keeper of Highlands park: Appendix I, p. 45.

Know all men etc that I, William Ferrars earl of Derby have granted and by this my charter confirmed to Henry Owen and heirs 20 a. of land of assart in my forest of Needwood, with all liberties etc; paying 5s. per annum for all services etc. These being witnesses etc: Roger of Ridware, Roger Coates etc.

NOTE: A later confirmation, made to Henry's son Robert and dated 15 April 1248, survives as a copy in PRO, DL 42/2, ff. 7-7v. (giving rent as *vi* mark).

[m. 16]

NOTE: mm. 16-31 (pp. 59-69) deal with claims made by commoners in respect of their landholdings in parishes and townships; the second and third columns give the holding in each parish or township on account of which a commoner claimed compensatory land. Names preceded by + are those who also subscribed to the 1655 petition.

The order of places is Tutbury, Yoxall, Hanbury, Marchington, Tatenhill, Scropton, Hamstall Ridware, and Rolleston.

Staffordshire, Parochia de Tutbury

The claims of the inhabitants of Tutbury in the County of Stafford which have been produced to us for their rights and commons in Needwood etc.

Sir William Powell knight	4 burgages	288 a.
Gregory Julian gentleman	one messuage	17 a. 2 r.
Samuel Cotes gentleman	2 messuages and 5 cottages	20 a.
+Thomas Palfriman	one messuage	80 a.
Edward Manwaring esquire	one burgage	84 a.
+Henry Greaves	one messuage and 4 burgages	89 a.
+Joseph Wakefield	3 burgages	20 a.
John Smithwick	one burgage	13 a.
+Thomas Medlam	one messuage	25 a.
+Francis Chamberlyn	one burgage	2 a.
Thomas Bucknall	one burgage	20 a.
George Dakin	half burgage	0 a.
Jervas Harlowe	2 burgages	3 a. 2 r.
William Busbie gentleman	10 burgages	25 a.
Henry Bradshawe	one burgage	0 a. 2 r.
Thomas Heawood	2 burgages	4 a.
William Bradshawe	2 burgages	0 a.
John Emry	one burgage	6 a.
Amias Drayton	2 burgages	2 a.
William Barnes	one messuage or burgage	6 a.

Memorandum, the claims of common for burgages in the town of Tutbury, and also of Newborough being in the parish of Hanbury and a burgage town, are to be taken according to the general custom inserted in the second sheet of the claims of the parish of Yoxall etc.

[m. 17]

Staffordshire, Parochia de Yoxall

The claims of the inhabitants of the parish of Yoxall with the members thereof in the County of Stafford which have been produced unto us for their rights and common in the chase of Needwood according to the number of the acres in their possessions, whose right of title has been examined by their evidences and the number of acres attested by the same or credible testimony.

Henry Licett	one messuage and one cottage	25 a.
+Thomas Ilsley	one messuage	30 a.
Francis Wright	one messuage	6 a.
John Dawes	one messuage and a cottage	2 a.
+John Roe	one messuage	19 a.
William Terry	one messuage	7 a.
+John Hancocke the elder	one messuage	10 ¹ / ₂ a.
+Thomas Wheatley	one messuage	20 a.
Henry Towers	one messuage	9 a.
Humphrey Onnelie	one messuage	7 a.
John Godwin	one messuage	6 a.
Mary Lee widow	one messuage	7 a.
Thomas Quinton	one messuage	9 a.
Margaret Hutt widow	one messuage	11 a.
+John Ilsley	2 messuages and one cottage	80 a.
William Marshall	2 messuages	32 a.
+Richard Clarke	one tenement	4 a.
Elizabeth Ardin widow	one messuage	212 a.
Elenor Allin widow	one messuage	12 a.
+Walter Ferrers gentleman	one messuage	68 a.
John Harvie	one messuage	38 a.
+William Bell	one messuage	9 a.
William Batkin	one cottage	0 a.
+Richard Banister	2 messuages	0 a.
William Normansell	one messuage and one cottage	51 a.

+William Robotham	one messuage	0 a.
+George Hall	one messuage	20 a.
Henry Corbett	one messuage	0 a.
+John Aldritt	one messuage	0 a.
Ralph Taylor	one messuage	13 a.
+Richard Bruckes	one messuage	30 a.
Mary Bladon widow	one messuage	3 a.

[m. 18]

Parochia de Yoxall [continued]

Francis Coke clerk	his rectory [with] common with houseboot, hey boot, and fireboot	0 a.
Ellin Oneley widow claims right of	common appurtenant to one messuage	4 a.
John Adams	one cottage te	a.
Sisley Browne widow	one messuage	24 a.
+William Kendricke	one messuage	6 a.
+Nicholas Millington	one messuage	25 a.
Ann Smyth widow	one messuage and cottage	14 a.
+Roger Averill	one messuage	20 a.
+Thomas Blith	one messuage	0 a.
+John Leycester	one messuage and cottage	3 a.
Frances Aldret and William her son	one messuage	12 a.
Mary Averill widow	one messuage	0 a.
+John Walker	one messuage	0 a.
+Ralph Wright	two messuages and two cottages	102 a.
Nicholas Pot	one tenement	0 a.
Ann Onnelie	one messuage	0 a.
John Jackson	one messuage	13 a.
+Humphrey Taylor	one messuage	7 a.
+Henry Kyn[n]ersly	one messuage	4 a.
+Richard Tompson	one messuage and one cottage [followed by and half struck through]	13½ a.
+Thomas Sallaway	one messuage and one cottage	6 a.

Memorandum, the general custom is that every inhabitant and tenant under Needwood and [in] Duffield Frith shall have common in the king's forests or chases at all times in the year for all manner of beasts of their own rearing (except beasts not commonable, as goats, sheep etc) according to which custom the inhabitants of the several parishes hereafter mentioned in this survey are to enjoy common and for no more (although they claim more largely, as in right of all land in the said parishes as well arable as other), but the true meaning of the custom is that they shall have common in summer in the forest and chases only for so many beasts as they can winter upon their lands in the said parishes and not otherwise.

[m. 19]

Hanbury cum membris etc

The claims of the inhabitants of the parish of Hanbury with the members thereof in the County of Stafford which have been produced unto us for their rights and common in Needwood as afore-said.

John Leigh and +Sarah Leigh	one messuage	24 a.
+Robert Walker	one messuage	18 a.
+Egerton Allcocke	two messuages	15 a.
Thomas Ware	two messuages	19 a.
Thomas Seale	one messuage	15 a.
John Saunder	one messuage	9 a.

+John Clarke	two messuages	6 a.
+William Hill	one messuage	10 a.
Anthony Cope	one messuage	50 a.
+William Smyth	one cottage	2 a. 2 r.
+Thomas Creswell	one messuage	8 a.
+Richard Tuncks	one messuage	34 a.
+Thomas Paynter	one messuage	14 a.
Mr John Presbury	the rectory of Hanbury etc	0 a.
+John Hodgson	one messuage	60 a.
+John Hinton	one messuage	14 a.
+George Henly	one cottage	2 a.
Rolland Dayntry gentleman	two cottages	16 a.
+Richard Harding	one messuage	3 a.
Thomas Arnald	one messuage	52 a.
+Thomas Coton	one messuage	4 a.
+William Walker	one messuage	39 a.
+Christopher Walker	one messuage	20 a.
Willobie Manley gentleman	four messuages and one ancient cottage	150 a.
Likewise [Manley]	one messuage	15 a. 1r.
+Thomas Astle	two messuages	100 a.
Walter Dixon	one messuage	15 a.
William Watson	5 a.	

[m. 20]

Hanbury cum membris [continued]

Edward Morres	a messuage	6 a.
Elizabeth Alsoppe	a messuage in lease to her for her own life and her 3 nephews, the reversion expectant to Mr Walter Agard, being a free burgage	[0 a.]
+Joseph Moore	a free burgage, messuage and 1 a., and half of [a] free burgage land belonging thereunto, and for another free burgage messuage	1 a. 2 r.
+Thomas Taylor	a messuage and half of three burgages	9 a.
+Richard Dunne	a messuage	28 a.
+Elizabeth Wright widow	a free burgage messuage	1 a.
John Noble esquire	2 ancient cottages	10 a.
Henry Willett	a messuage held by copy of court roll after the custom of the manor (<i>manner</i>) of	[0 a.]
+Christopher Walker of Stubbilane	a messuage and a cottage	14 a. 3½ r.
+Margery Philip	one cottage	[0 a.]
+John Barker	a copyhold messuage and 2 cottages	14 a.
Robert Shorte	a burgage messuage and 3 a. and 22 a. appendant to 4 closes in lease to the said Richard [<i>sic</i>] Shorte, the reversion after 20 years expectant to Mr Thomas Smyth draper of London, and for a messuage in lease to him for 4 years, the reversion expectant to Mrs Elizabeth Poole	25 a.
Margery Hill	a messuage and a cottage	24 a.
Humphrey Bond	a cottage	1½ a.
Robert Barker	a messuage	6 a.
Ellin Bamford	3 messuages	8 a.
John Arnold and the rest of the assignees of William Arnold	a messuage held by lease from Sir Charles Egerton for the life of John Arnold	10 a.

James Batkin	a burgage	32 a.
Thomas Wetton, Edward Wetton, and +John Wetton	a free burgage messuage	4 a.
Ellen Wetton	a free burgage messuage in lease from Sir Charles Edgerton knight for 19 years to come	3 a.
+James Heminges	a messuage 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	a.
Anthony Mason	a free burgage held by lease from Sir Charles Edgerton, 7 a., and 12 a. leased formerly to John Bishopp	19 a.
Alice Oakes	a tenement	[0 a.]
Robert Westbrooke alias Davie	a messuage	[0 a.]
William Corton	a tenement leased for 2 lives from Sir Charles Edgerton	[0 a.]
+John Oakes	a messuage leased from Sir Charles Edgerton	27 a.
+Matthew Clarke	2 messuages held by lease from Sir Charles Edgerton for 21 years	19 a.

[m. 21]

Parochia de Hembury cum membris etc [continued]

George Hinckley	one messuage	31 a.
Alice Elton	one messuage	3 a.
Thomas Austen	one cottage	0 a.
+Rowland Lount	one messuage	9 a.
+John Carter	one cottage	0 a.
+Francis Sherwood	one messuage	9 a.
+William Walker	one messuage	32 a.
Robert Arnold	a cottage	2 a.
Ann Prince widow	one messuage	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ a.
John Alsop	one messuage	3 a.
+Thomas Westbrooke	one messuage	2 a.
+Robert Smyth	one messuage	25 a.
+Robert Robotham	one messuage	28 a.
+George Wetton	one messuage	2 a.
'Peeter' Pickeman	one messuage	4 a.
Francis Millington	one messuage	6 a.
+Edward Yate	one messuage	1 a.
Richard Hodkinson	one messuage	2 a.
Mathew Roe	one messuage	26 a.

[m. 227]

Marchington parcel [of] Hanbury

+Richard Rowbotham	one messuage	45 a.
William Boyer de Morton	one messuage	34 a.
Egerton Wedgewood gentleman	one messuage	86 a.
+William Porter	one messuage	50 a.
Dorothy Allcocke	two messuages	35 a.
Thomas Allcocke	one cottage	2 a.
+George Heayne and + Thomas Allen	two messuages	100 a.
+George Allcocke	one messuage	40 a.
+William Allen	one messuage	35 a.
+William Smyth	one messuage	1 a. 2 r.
+William Burden	one messuage	40 a.
+Thomas Hall	one messuage	16 a.
+Richard Bouthby	one messuage	18 a.

+Thomas More	one messuage	16 a.
+John Slany	one messuage	6 a. 1 r.
+Clement Power and +Zacharias Power	one messuage and one cottage	7 a. 2 r.
+William Rowe	one cottage	1 a.
John Biddolphe	one cottage and garden etc.	0 a.
+William Towers	two messuages, one cottage	75 a.
+Robert Lovat	one messuage	24 a.
+John Lovat	one messuage	20 a.
Francis Allen	six messuages and three cottages	60 a.
+James Whittall	one messuage	13 a.
+ 'Nickelas' Jackson	one cottage	22 a.
+William Jackson	one messuage	46 a.
Arthur Allcocke	one messuage	32 a.
Thomas Allcocke	three messuages	137 a.
Luke Wakefeild	one messuage and one cottage	11 a. 2 r.
John Ryder	one messuage	16 a.
John Smyth	two cottages	4 a.
Robert Baker	three burgages and one cottage	9 a. 2 r.
+Robert Hetherley	one cottage	0 a. 1 r.
+John Strickeland	one cottage etc.	0 a.
James Turner	one cottage etc.	0 a.
+William Hetherly	one cottage etc.	0 a.
+Robert Cliffe	one messuage etc.	0 a.

[m. 23]

Marchington parcel [of] Hanbury [continued]

+Mrs Anne Walton	one messuage	80 a.
+Thomas Barton	one messuage	40 a.
+Jane Littleton widow	one messuage	59 a.
John Alkin	one messuage, one cottage	146 a.
+John Gilberte	one messuage	60 a.
Robert Allen	one farm	70 a.
+Robert Rowbotham	one tenement	20 a.
William Page	one messuage	9 a. 2 r.
Richard Deville	one messuage, two cottages	34 a.
Robert Sutton gentleman	two messuages	120 a.
+William Woodruffe	two messuages	110 a.
+Alice Robinson	two messuages	60 a.
+John Wetton		14 a.
Mary Smyth	one messuage	12 a.
+Richard Cope	one messuage	30 a.
'Humffry' Meacocke	one messuage	22 a.
'Humffry' Cowdell	one messuage	6 a.
+John Allcocke		4 a.
+William Mallaber	one messuage	6 a. 2 r.
+Thomas	Bud worth	50 a.
William Bowyer	one messuage	6 a.
+Thomas Rowe	one messuage	15 a.
+Anthony Carter	one messuage	33 a.
William Gallimore	one messuage	20 a.
+Francis Gilbert	one messuage, two cottages	33 a.
+William Hollely	one messuage	8 a.
+John Hill	one messuage	13 a. 2 r.
Thomas Hincely	one messuage	6 a.
+William Hill	one messuage	36 a.

William Rowbotham	one message	36 a.
+John Smyth	two messages	36 a.
+John Lorte	one message	20 a.
Thomas Deane	one message	6 a.

[m. 24]

Parochia de Tatenhill etc

The claims of the inhabitants of the parish of Tatenhill with the members thereof in the County of Stafford which have been produced unto us for their rights and common in the Chase of Needwood etc

+Henry Burford clerk	his rectory [with] houseboot, fireboot, and heyboot	0 a.
Nicholas Healey	one cottage	0 a.
+James Whiting	one message	12 a.
+George Yate	two messages	42 a.
Richard Godwin	two messages	18 a.
John Gorton	one message	21 a.
+Rowland Hollis	one cottage	0 a. 3 r.
John Salt	one message	7 a.
+John Godwin	one message	0 a.
Robert Barbour	one message	29 a.
+Edward Hollis	one cottage	7 a.
Abraham Cross	one message	32 a.
+John Bust, Elin his wife, and +Thomas their son	one message	19 a.
+John Princopp	one message	18te a.
William Farmer	one message	10 a.
+William Marshall	two messages	50 a.
William Lind	one message	6 a.
James Mery	one cottage	1 a.
William Holt	four messages	160 a.
Tymothy Ryding	one message	10 a.
+Daniell Bladon	one message	2 a.
Walter Norwood	one cottage	1 a.
+William Lee	one message	20 a.
Susan Lee spinster	one tenement	10 a.
Humfrey Lee	one tenement	9 a.
+Henry Leeke	one message	19 a.
+Richard Fletcher	one message and cottage	3 a.
William Birde	one message	60 a.
+William Godwin	one message	24 $\frac{1}{2}$ a.
+Thomas Lee	one message	16 a.
Christopher Horton esquire	one message and 3 cottages	40 a.

[m. 25]

Tatenhill cum membris etc

The claims of the inhabitants of the parish of Tatenhill with the members thereof in the County of Stafford which have been produced unto us for their rights and common in Needwood as aforesaid.

Nathanill Alcott	one message	12 a.
Richard Boulton	one message	14 a.
Humphrey Everard of Barton	one message	11a. 1 r.
+Arthur Deabanke	one message, one cottage, and one yardland	24 a.
+Nathaniell Whitinge	one message	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ a.

William Hill	one messuage	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	a.
Walter Webster	one messuage		12 a.
+Richard Holland	one messuage and a half yardland		13 a.
+Thomas Fewsdale	one messuage		12 a.
+Michael Wilkes	two cottages		6 a.
+Thomas Grane	a cottage	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	a.
Humphrey Repton	two messuages		6 a. 2 r.
Francis Averill	a tenement		2 a.
+Thomas Cowper	a messuage		106 a.
+Christopher Royle	two cottages		1 a.
Thomas Pennifather	4 messuages		61 a.
James Mace	one cottage		4 a.
John Batkin	a messuage		2 a.
+William Cardie	4 cottages		4 a.
John Hanson	a cottage	te	a.
+Francis Foxe	a messuage and two cottages		12 a.
Robert Jackson	a cottage	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	a.
Henry Agard	a messuage		6 a.
Walter Riddinge	a messuage		32 a.
Thomas Bannister	a cottage		28 a.
+Thomas Owen	a tenement		4 a.
+Christopher Nevall	a messuage		12 a.
William Hollo wood	a cottage		[0 a.]
+John Pennifather	a cottage		15 a.

/m. 267

Tatenhill cum membris [continued]

+Thomas Repton of Barton	a messuage		53 a.
George Hanson	a cottage		2 $\frac{1}{2}$ a.
Richard Palmer	a cottage		2 a.
Elizabeth Passand	a messuage		28 a.
Richard Cherry	a messuage		24 a.
Thomas Moore	$\frac{1}{2}$ messuage		14 a.
+John Goodman	a cottage		[0 a.]
Thomas Saundelles	a cottage		8 $\frac{1}{2}$ a.
[<i>struck through</i> : Thomas Saundelles	a messuage in the tenure of his mother		8 $\frac{1}{2}$ a.]
Anthony Mason clerk	a messuage		24 a.
+Walter Grane	a messuage		33 a.
+William Grane	a cottage		10 a.
+Thomas and +William Webb	2 free messuages and 2 cottages, four score acres of land, and for William Webb $\frac{1}{2}$ a., and for copyhold 18 a., in all		99 $\frac{1}{2}$ a.
Walter Fewsdale	a tenement		4 a.
George Hanson	a close lying in Barton		3 a.
Thomas Alcocke	a messuage		10 a.
Francis Geery	a messuage, 27 a., and a customary messuage, one cottage, and $\frac{1}{2}$ cottage, 36 a., in all		63 a.
+Philip Foxe	a messuage		16 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. 1 r.
+Edward Foxe	a messuage		6 a.

[m. 27]

Tatenhill cum iuribus et membris etc

John Godwinsun	one cottage		0 a.
+Thomas Lee	one messuage		12 a.
William Key	two messuages		36 a.
Richard Smyth	3 messuages and 3 cottages		244 a.

Joseph Mott	one cottage and croft	0 a.
John Charles	one cottage	0 a.
Thomas Biddolphe	one messuage	50 a.
Thomas Taylor	three messuages and 2 cottages	58 a.
Thomas Illesly	one messuage and farm	0 a.
Richard Marshall	two messuages	20 a.
John Lakin	one messuage	23 a.
John Doody	one messuage	22 a.
Richard Averill	one messuage and a reeves thing	0 a.
Henry Arnald	4 'meese' tenements	10 a.
Walter Slany	one messuage	0 a.
William Farmer	one messuage	10 a.
<i>Darbie shfire], Scropton etc</i>		
+Thomas Rossington	two messuages and one cottage	100 a.
William Harding		5 a.
John Orme	one messuage	28 a.
Ralph Moore	one messuage	60 a.
+William Barlow	one messuage	16 a.
+Thomas Elde	two messuages	90 a.
+William Mongomrye	one messuage	60 a.
+Thomas Twigg	one messuage	20 a.

Memorandum, the town of Scropton in the County of Derby has right of common in the chase of Needwood (as appear by the customary) and no other town in the said county etc.

[m. 28]

Parochia de Hampstall Ridware cum membris

The claims of the inhabitants of the parish of Hamstall Ridware with the members thereof in the County of Stafford which have been produced unto us for their right.

+Sir Thomas Leigh knight	manor of Ridwar Hampstall with certain estovers to be had therein	0 a.
Thomas Smyth	six messuages	120 a.
+Francis Maskery	half a messuage	10 a.
+Hugh Bayly	one messuage	0 a.
+Nicholas Bottom	one messuage	11 a.
John Bancks and his wife	one messuage and cottage	8 a.
Henry Shipton	2 messuages and 2 cottages	52 a.
Susanna Isley widow	one messuage	0 a.
Mary Bancks, Martha and Alice	one cottage	0 a.
Edward Hall	one messuage	8 a.
John Browne	one messuage	10 a.
Edward Hall	one messuage	100 a.
+John Knowles	one messuage	40 a.
+Francis Scragg	one messuage	22 a.
Richard Pratt	one messuage	25 a.
+Thomas Salt	one messuage	48 a.
+William Sum[m]er	2 messuages	50 a.
+Michael Salt	one messuage	20 a.
Thomas Alsop	one messuage	20 a.
+Richard Alsop	one messuage	25 a.
Thomas Maskery	half messuage	12 a.
Elizabeth Slacke widow	2 messuages	36 a.
William Tooth	one messuage	20 a.
Thomas Whitehead	one messuage	20 a.
Thomas Stocken	one cottage	20 a.

Margery Batkin widow	one cottage	20 a.
Margery Hill widow	one messuage	0 a.
Christopher Ellaby	one messuage	0 a.
Humphrey Ford	one messuage	2 a.
Elizabeth Pott widow	one messuage	0 a.
Edward Frost	one messuage	0 a.

[m. 29]

Parochia de Rolleston etc

The claims of the inhabitants of the parish of Rolleston cum membris in the County of Stafford which have been produced unto us for their right and common in the chase of Needwood.

Sir Edward Mosely knight	common and estovers of houseboot, hey boot, and fireboot appurtenant to divers tenements in Rolleston aforesaid (as by his charter hereafter mentioned may appear)	[0 a.]
Walter Biddulph clerk	his rectory with houseboot, heyboot, and fireboot etc	0 a.
Jacob Bagshaw	one messuage	28 a.
+Samuell Taylor and George Taylor		26 a.
+Katherin Brograne widow		40 a.
William Allcock		30 a.
Allice Talbott		6 a.
George Godwin		6 a.
Thomas Gelly		2 a. 1 r.
+Thomas Bond		6 a.
William Hollaway		9 a.
Amy Salt		6te a.
Thomas Hartle		5 a.
Thomas Taylor		9 a.
William Warde	8 ¹ / ₂	a.
William Ray	4 ¹ / ₂	a.
Francis Rolleston	4 ¹ / ₂	a.
Arthure Carter		14 a.
Lawrance Bott		4 a.
William Darby		40 a.
+Otiwell Barlow and +Robert Moore		23 a.
+John Hindly		19 a. 3 r.
Richard Harlow		3 a.
+Richard Hallam		21 a. 3 r.
Thomas Oxford		28 a.
+Robert Moore	44 ¹ / ₂	a.
+Thomas Bond		20 a.
William Hanson		20 a.
+John Woodfeild		21 a. 3 r.

[m. 30]

Rolleston cum membris [continued]

+William Caldwell		21 a.
William Shiblyn	42 ¹ / ₂	a.
Thomas Gardner		20 a.
+Humfrey Carter		24 a.
+Abraham Shapton		18 a.
+William Gold		20 a.
+John Taylor		13 a. 1 r.
+Thomas Bucknall		31 a.

+Thomas Bond		33 a.
Thomas Hall		26 a.
Edward Bott		17 a.
+William Caldwell		22½ a.
+Thomas Hindley		23½ a.
Ellin Taylor and +Richard Hallam		26 a.
+Thomas Sutton		32 a.
Rumer Higgott		9½ a.
+Thomas Keeling		16½ a.
+John Hallam		22 a.
Richard Presbury		28 a.
Richard Godwin and Richard Newbold		29 a. 1 r.
+George Dame and Daniell Taylor		2½ a.
John Newbold	one messuage and cottage	16½ a.
John Lee the elder	one messuage	0 a.
Thomas Mason	one messuage	0 a.
John Greaves	one messuage	60 a.

[m. 31]

Rolleston cum membris etc [continued]

Edward Manwaring esq	common and estovers etc appurtenant to him and divers tenements in Anslow within the parish of Rolleston (as by his charter hereafter expressed may appear)	[0 a.]
+Henry Boylston	one messuage	50 a.
+John Thirman	one messuage	33 a.
+George Saunders	one messuage	23 a.
Thomas Mason	one messuage	10 a.
+Richard Smyth	one messuage	30 a.
+William Statham	one messuage	26 a.
James Meller	one messuage	20 a.
+John Saunders	one messuage	7 a.
William Hodson	one messuage	12 a.
John Boylston	one messuage	24 a.
+John Colechough	one messuage	10 a.
William Mason	one messuage	9 a.
+John Bust	one messuage	7 a.
John Whitmore	one messuage	2 a. 1 r.
John Orchard	one messuage	20 a.
Richard Mason	one cottage	2 a.
John Allen	one messuage	32 a.
Robert Godrige	one messuage	4 a.
Anthony Mather	one messuage	5 a.
John Lyndor	one messuage	3 a.

[m. 32]

An abstract of the valuation of all the particulars in the several wards within the chase of Needwood are [as follows]:

BARTON WARD

1,400 a. at 2s. 6d. per acre		In toto	£175	0s.	0d.
<i>Improvement</i>	Upon improvement at 45. 6d. per acre		£315	0s.	0d.
<i>Lodge</i>	The lodge with 30 a.	In toto	£7	0s.	0d.
<i>Dotards</i>	100 dotards at 2s. 6d.	In toto	£12	10s.	0d.
<i>Fire trees</i>	In fire trees 4,735	In toto	£689	3s.	4d.
<i>Timber trees</i>	In timber trees 2,408	In toto	£1,857	0s.	0d.
		In toto	£2,895	13s.	Ad.

[m. 33]

YOXALL WARD

1,650 a. at 2s. 6d. per acre		In toto	£206	5s.	0d.
<i>Improvement</i>	Upon improvement at 4s. 6d. per acre	In toto	£371	5s.	0d.
<i>Lodge</i>	The lodge with 32 a.		£8	16s.	0d.
<i>Dotards</i>	In dotards 50 appurtenant to the lodge at 2s. a piece	In toto	£5	0s.	0d.
<i>Fire trees</i>	In fire trees 4,256	In toto	£659	6s.	8d.
<i>Timber trees</i>	In timber trees 3,770	In toto	£3,542	0s.	0d.
		In toto	£4,600	7s.	8d.

MARCHINGTON WARD

1,800 a. at 4s. per acre		In toto	£360	0s.	0d.
<i>Improvement</i>	Upon improvement at 7s. per acre	In toto	£630		
<i>Lodge</i>	The lodge was returned when the survey of the New park was sent up				
<i>Fire trees</i>	In fire trees 9,900	In toto	£1,520	0s.	0d.
<i>Timber trees</i>	In timber trees 2,938	In toto	£2,590	3s.	4d.
		In toto	£4,760	3s.	4d.

[m. 34]

TOTAL ABSTRACT

<i>Total of acres</i> 6,400	The total values of the land and lodges	£996	3s.	0d.
<i>Improvement</i>	Upon improvement	£1,764	18s.	0d.
<i>Number of the wood</i> 38,608	The total value of the wood	£13,191	18s.	0d.
<i>Deer</i> 120	The whole number of the deer being 120	£60		

[Signed] Jo: Cholmley John Smith
 Rich[ard] Hutchinson Edw: Hooke

I conceive the premises contained in this Survey cannot be conveniently disposed of until such time as the truth of the claims aforesaid be made out and allowance made according to the several interests of the persons claiming either by composition or otherwise; that so it may appear what the Commonwealth may justly and clearly (*cleerely*) expose to sale, and what the purchaser may enjoy without disturbance.

[Signed] Ex' p' Will: Webb supervisor general, 1650

THE HISTORIC GARDENS AT TRENTHAM HALL

SUE GREGORY

There have been a number of gardens at Trentham Hall in Staffordshire made by members of the Leveson (later Leveson Gower) family to enhance their house, increase their status, and display their wealth.¹ The first garden was made by Sir Richard Leveson (the third of that name) when he decided to build a new residence at Trentham in the 1630s, the family having previously lived on their Shropshire estate at Lilleshall Lodge near Newport, although they used Trentham as a dower house. Standing on the west side of the river Trent, the new house replaced one which may have been converted from the former monastic buildings of the Augustinian priory acquired in 1540.² A map of 1599 (Figs 1 and 2) shows a cluster of buildings around a pool, with a small park to the south and an area of woodland beyond, all set in an estate of 538 acres.³

'Waterworks of pleasure and curious rarities' (1630-1708)

Sir Richard Leveson laid out an extensive garden as a series of walled compartments on the south side of his new house.⁴ The building accounts show that as well as a water feature with a fountain, there was a ladies' garden, a high mount (common at this time and used for viewing the planting patterns), two turrets with holes for pigeons, and arbours within hedges. The garden walls would have been covered with trained fruit trees, for which the accounts record the purchase of 3,750 'nayles to Bradwall the gardener'.⁵ There was also an orchard which was situated to the east of the garden across the river, in the area between the river and the Longton brook: labourers took six days 'making a bridge betwixt ye orchard and garden'.

Alterations to the hall and garden were made by Sir William Leveson Gower after he had inherited the estate from his uncle Sir Richard in 1661. Accounts show that during the period 1678-83 he built new walls about the garden with a number of doors and stepped entrances into individual compartments which contained a private garden for Lady Gower with a wooden arbour, a fountain garden, pool, bowling green, and a greenhouse.⁶ The accounts record payments for 'false flooring' the greenhouse which indicates that it would have been heated by a type of hypocaust system. In 1691 the diarist John Evelyn reported that according to his observations of many severe winters, this was a better method of heating than with iron stoves alone and one which was in use in the Apothecaries' Garden, Chelsea in 1685.⁷ The evergreen plants kept in such houses at this time were myrtles, jasmines, oleanders as well as orange trees. A Newcastle-under-Lyme physician Dr William Westmacott visiting the garden at Trentham in 1691 saw: 'English Figs at a good height of maturity ... the Tree of Life, six of them cut and pruned about the height of a man ... Nutmeg Myrtle the Ingenious Mr Fleming, the Gardener shew'd me not only this, but also several other curious Rarities'.⁸ The garden accounts show that substantial pots were purchased: for example 24s. was paid for five in 1680, which would enable large plants to be brought out of the greenhouse for the summer.

The hall and gardens are depicted in two illustrations (Figs 3 and 4) by Michael Burgers for Robert Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire*, published in 1686.⁹ Plot praised the 'curious garden south of Trentham Hall' and its 'waterworks of pleasure' that 'sends up a large Column of water falling into a bason [i.e. basin] of 10 yards diameter, which from the parlour (the folding doores

1 Royal Commission for Historic Manuscripts, *Principal Family and Estate Collections*, II (1999), 104-9.

2 J. C. Dickinson, 'Priory of Trentham', in M. W. Greenslade (ed.), *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, III (1970), 259. The priory had been dissolved as one of the lesser monasteries in 1537.

3 Staffordshire Record Office, D. 593/H/3/339, 'Parcell of the mannor of Trentham in the Countie of Stafford 1599'. The woodland is referred to in the papers as the Coppice, Coppy, and later as Kings Wood.

4 SRO, D. 593/R/1/2, New Building 1632-38. Unless otherwise stated, all other references to accounts are obtained from the series SRO, D. 593/F.

5 For illustrations of this style of garden see Roy Strong, *The Artist and the Garden* (2000), particularly p. 159.

6 At this time a 'greenhouse' (sometimes called an 'orangery') was a brick structure for over-wintering evergreen ornamental trees in pots.

7 Douglas Chambers in *Garden History*, 20:2 (1992), 201.

8 W. Westmacott, *Historia Vegetabilium Sacra; Or a Scripture Herbal* (1695), 63, 122, 205. (My thanks to Andrew Dobraszczyk for this reference.) Tree of Life, also called American Arbor-vitae is now *Thuja occidentalis*; Nutmeg Myrtle is *Myrtus communis*.

9 R. Plot, *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686), plates XXIII and XXIII (between pp. 266 and 267).

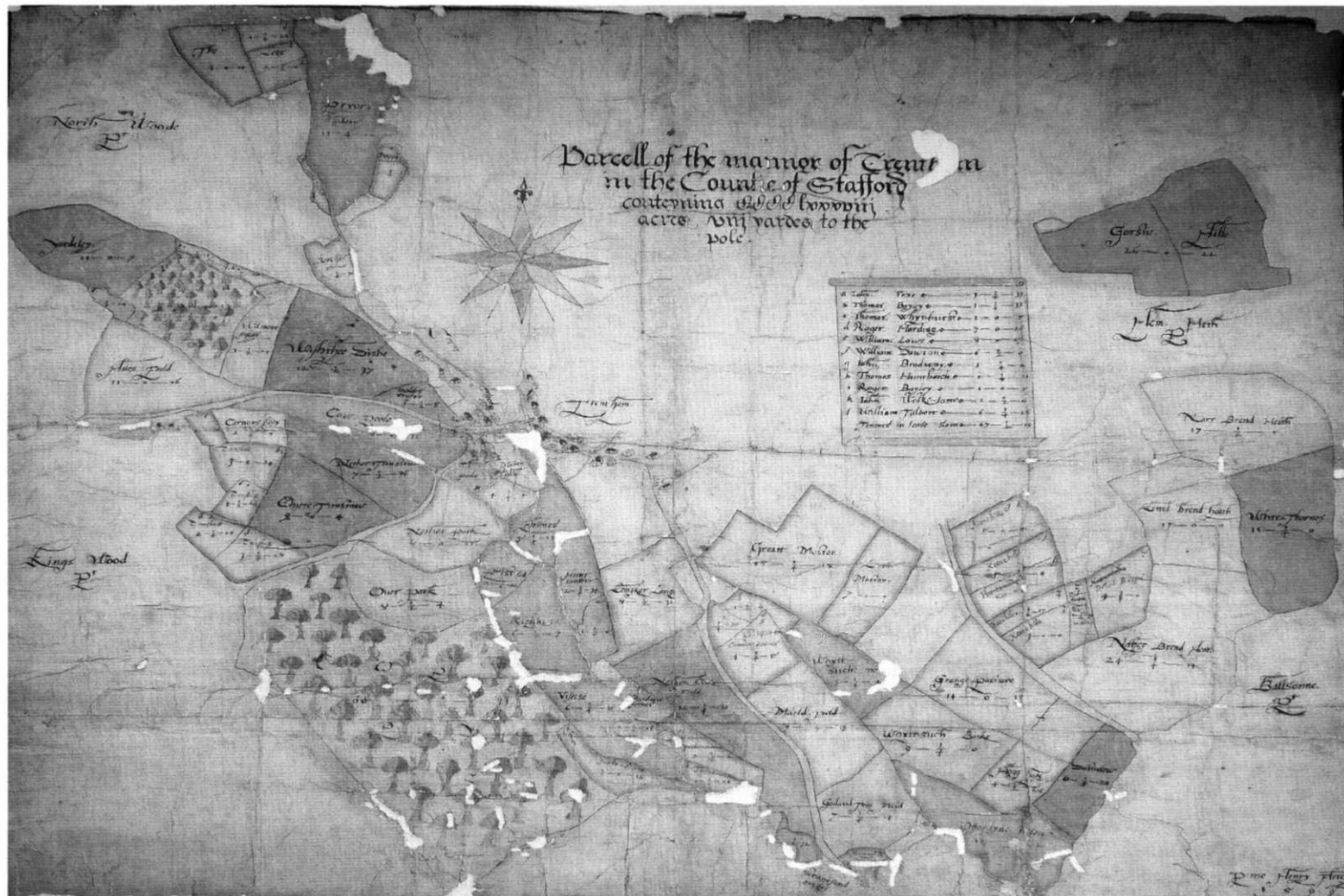


Fig. 1 Map of Trentham, 1599 (SRO, D. 593/H/3/339)

The village is strung out along the Newcastle-Stone road and along the road to the west (see Fig. 2 for detail); Nether park and Over park lie to the south of manor house with woodland called the 'Coppie' beyond.

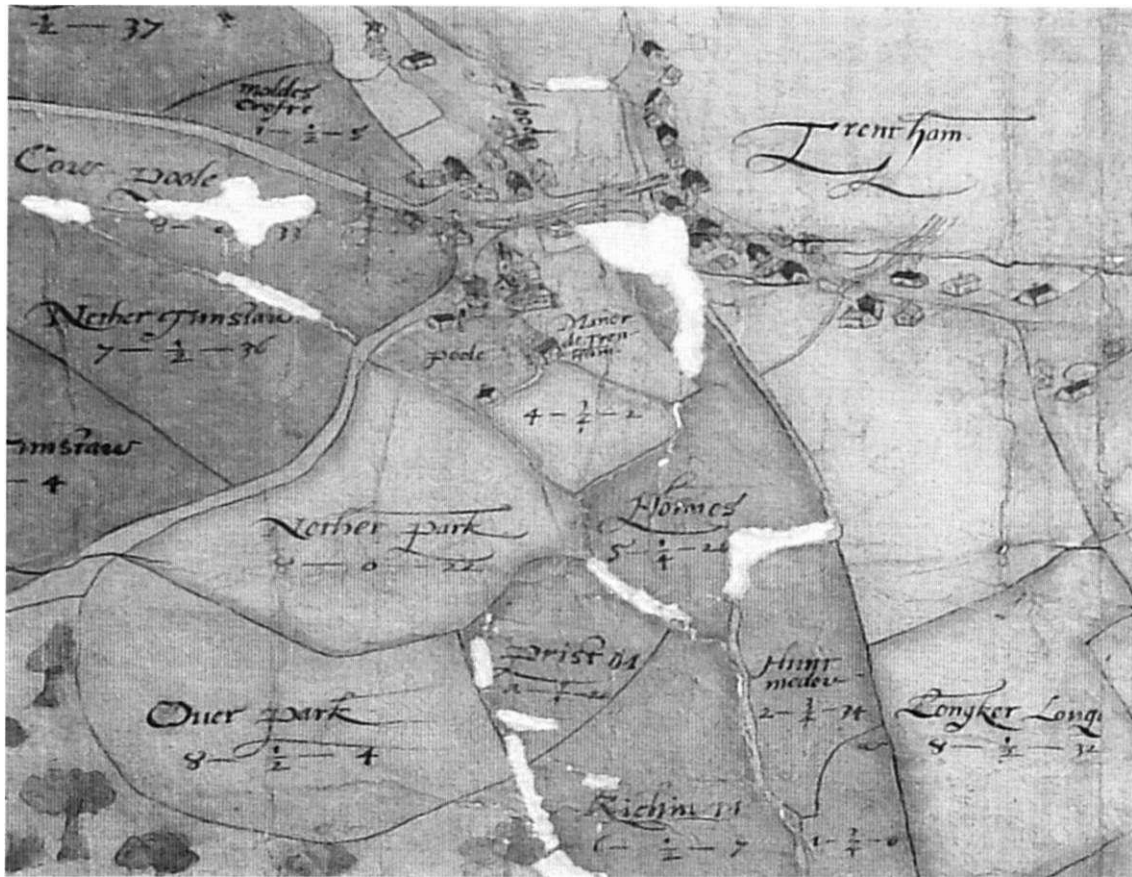


Fig. 2 Trentham village and manor house, 1599 (SRO, D. 593/H/3/339)

The church and manor house stand on the west side of the river Trent on the south side of the road leading west off the main Newcastle-Stone road. A pool fed by a stream from the west has a building, probably a mill, on its eastern edge, where the outflow leads to the river.

opening just against it) yields a pleasant prospect: but much better would it be, were it made to toss a golden ball (as easily it might)¹⁰ and the designed Vista were cut through the adjoining wood; which lying upon a rising ground, and taking up a mile in length must necessarily give it a great advantage'.¹¹ In addition to this ornamental pool, the pool mentioned in the accounts was a hedged area north of the house made by consolidating the flood plain of the Trent, and would have been for keeping both fish and domestic fowl as it contained an island. This area continued to be used for fish stews and for keeping fowl for nearly two hundred years.¹² Furthermore, Sir William added to the estate by purchasing Kings Wood on the south-west side of his woodland and made a ride through it.¹³

Sir William was succeeded in 1691 by his son John (from 1703 Baron Gower), whose chaplain and chief adviser George Plaxton¹⁴ designed a new garden feature which he described as a pool: 'here will be Fish and Fowle enough if preserved and a long Canall of 468 yards'. Constructed in two parts, which are referred to in the papers as the 'Great Canal' (8 acres), and to the east the 'Little Canal' (2 acres), the canal was intended to improve the meadows and save the cost of paling on the eastern boundary of the garden. In addition, the new feature would be used for sport as its central causeway would extend into the Coppy (the woodland to the south-west of the park) to become: 'the first paddock Course in all these parts' and a 'noble fence to a park all done for under

10 This refers to the prevailing fashion for various types of fountains, 'squirts', and other tricks as illustrated by John Evelyn (d.1706) in *Elysium Britannicum* (British Library, London, MS. 45). Transcription published by University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

11 Plot, *Natural History of Staffs.* 338. The walled garden compartments are shown in the view from the south-west, plate XXIII.

12 The hedged pool is shown on the Thomas Burton Survey of 1716: SRO, D. 593/H/3/341. The 1797 'menagerie', also referred to as the 'poultry yard', and Barry's 'poultry yard' were both constructed in this area.

13 SRO, D. 593/F/2/25 1681: 'Mr Plaxton to pay purchase money for the Kings Wood £154.'

14 S. Bendall, *Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Map-Makers of Great Britain and Ireland, 1530-1850* (2nd edn, 1997), II, 410.

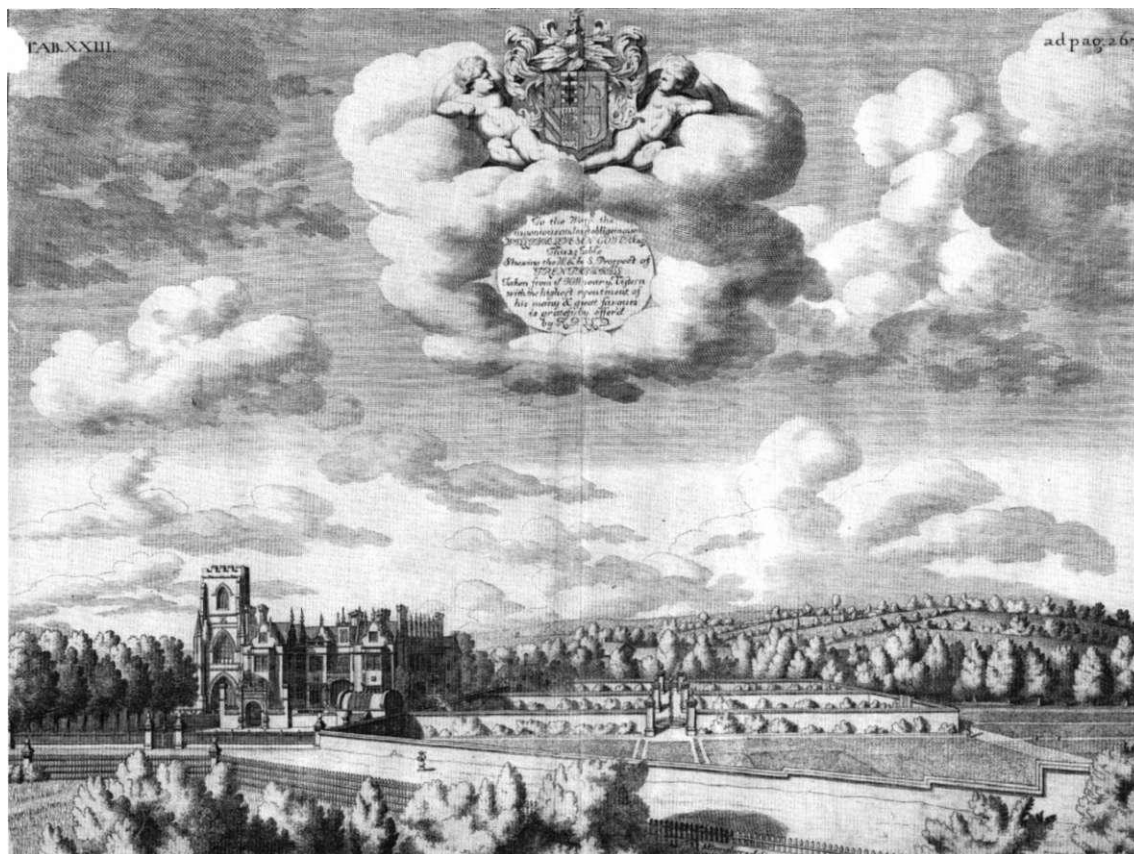


Fig. 4 Trentham Hall from the south-west in the 1680s (Plot, *Staffs*, pi. XXIII, from WSL, Staffs. Views, XI.35) Engraving by Michael Burghers showing walled garden in four compartments extending south from the hall (in area of former millpond), with stone fountain.

that the garden was radically altered. The alterations are shown on a map of 'Trentham West of the River' (Fig. 6) surveyed by Thomas Burton,²³ which (as correspondence shows) was nearly completed in April 1716.²⁴ The map shows that the garden was of a formal design, and although the two canals with their central causeway were retained, the dam on the west side of the former 'Great Canal' had been breached, resulting in a serpentine edge to the bank. Also, west of the hall, a *patte d'oie* (or goosefoot)²⁵ had been formed with four tree-lined avenues radiating from the entrance court, and to the south of this feature there was a triangular area of formal ground, two thirds of which was planted as a wilderness.²⁶ (Designs for this area survive in three unsigned and undated plans which are in the style of contemporary landscape designers such as Stephen Switzer or Charles Bridgeman).²⁷ The remaining section of this formal area shows no evidence of planting and must be the relocated bowling green. In August 1720 her chaplain, Jeffrey Williams, wrote to Lady Gower: 'Sir Richard Grosvenor and Mr Thomas Grosvenor with 3 or 4 other gentlemen stayed till Saturday and there has been mighty Bowling every day. Mr Sparrow and Mr Nichols were here every day and they gave an account of the finest Bowling that ever was seen'.²⁸

23 Ibid. D. 593/H/3/341. Burton was paid £22 13s. *Od.* 'for surveying land' in 1716 and further payments were made as he completed other parts of the Staffordshire and Shropshire estates up to 1725.

24 Ibid. D. 593/H/14/1/4, letter of George Plaxton to Sir John Leveson Gower, 16 April 1716: 'Mr Burton has almost finished the survey of Trentham Manor and demesne'

25 A feature common in French formal gardens.

26 A piece of ground in a large garden or park laid out in an ornamental or fantastical style often in the form of a maze or labyrinth (1644): *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933 edn).

27 SRO, D. 593/H/13/3. For brief details of major British garden designers see Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History* (1993), 136-40.

28 SRO, D. 593/P/14/8, letters of Lady Gower, 1720.

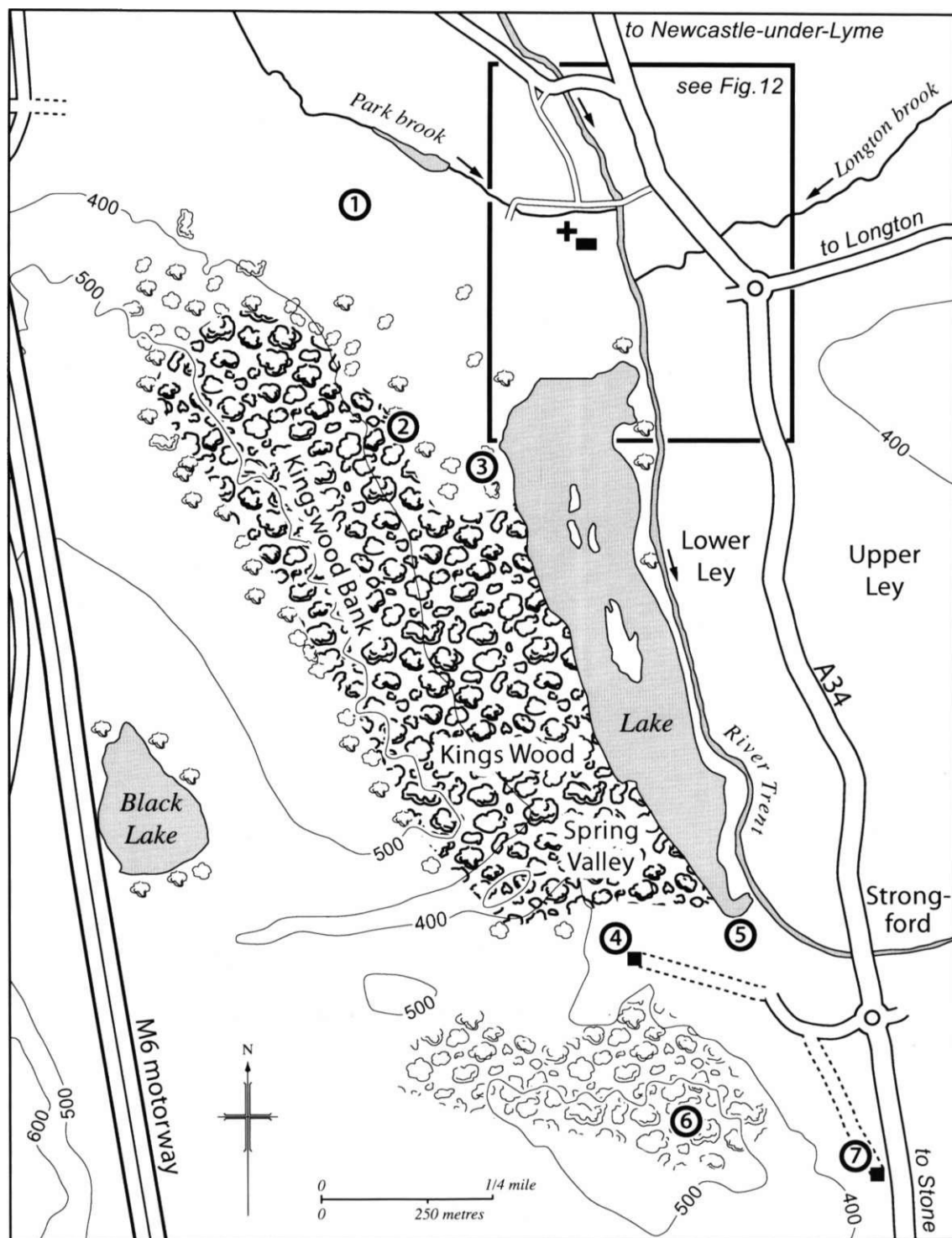


Fig. 5 Trentham Hall in its landscape setting (based on OS map 6", Staffs. XVIII. SW (1890 edn))

Key:

- 1 Area of 'goosefoot avenues' (by 1716)
- 2 Area of 'amphitheatre' (by 1733)
- 3 Site of icehouse (1729)
- 4 Tittensor lodges (1775)
- 5 Tags Meadow (1763)
- 6 Monument to 1st duke of Sutherland (1836)
- 7 Site of lodge built by Winks (1823)

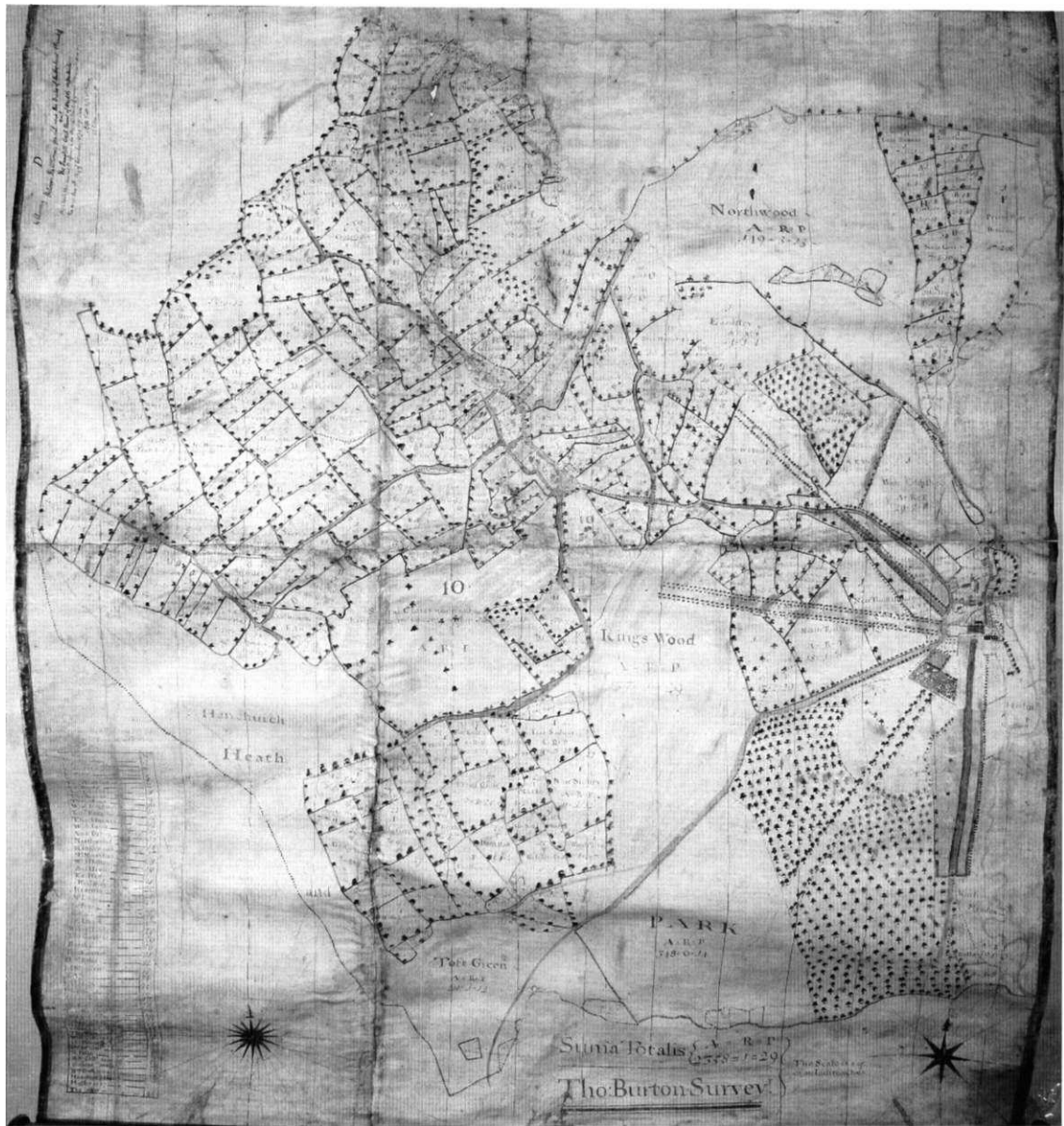


Fig. 6 Map of Trentham estate (on west side of river Trent) by Thomas Burton, 1716 (SRO, D. 593/H/3/341) South from the hall runs a causeway, with water on either side of its central stretch; the canal on the east side retains its 1697 proportions, but that on the west has a curved (or serpentine) edge at its north end. Four tree-lined avenues (a *patte d'oie*) radiate from the hall on its west side, and at the top of the southern avenue (near to the causeway) lies a 'wilderness' garden and bowling green.

Also on the Burton map is an unnamed, bowl-shaped area of land (which on the 1599 map was named 'Over Park') lying to the south-west of the wilderness garden and obtruding into the woodland (Copp). This is likely to be the area referred to in the 1733-34 accounts as the 'amphitheatre', a feature of French 17th-century gardens developed in the early 18th century in England (particularly by Bridgeman) at places where the land is concave and the trees surrounding it are planted at different heights, so giving a theatrical back-drop to a turfed area.²⁹ The area of the wood at Trentham rises naturally westwards so very little work would have been needed to make such a design feature.

An area shown on Burton's map (on the south-east side of the hall) designated 'gardens' is a remnant of Sir William's formal garden and may have been retained as the ladies' garden or as

²⁹ Despite efforts to level it in 1749 and subsequent alterations, there is still a bowl-shaped depression in the ground in this area today.

a conveniently placed area for the growth of salads and choice vegetables. The fruit, which had previously been trained against the walls within the ornamental garden before demolition, would have been growing in the 'new kitchen garden' which is shown on the map north-west of the hall. It was a little over two acres, and according to the accounts had a fruit wall and from 1732 a 'cross-wall', both of which would have been heated by flues to protect the trees from frost.

In 1718 the accounts record that labourers were 'filling up the old channel' and the 'channel in the Cow Pool Meadow' (shown on the 1599 map), both of which must have been obstructed by the newly created formal avenues. These channels had formed part of a system of water meadows which were in use throughout the estate to provide sheep with early grazing, advance the hay crop, and increase the rental value of the land.³⁰ The area which had been created on the west side of the garden was a landscape lawn of about 25 acres intended to create a sense of openness.³¹ Some time within the next ten years, the Park brook, which Burton shows as little more than a house drain, was diverted, canalised, and extended north-westwards forming ornamental fish stewes or pits with cascades, before entering a pool at Highgreaves Wood. In his cash book for 1727, Thomas Tibbetts records the placing of carp in the 'upper and lower pits in the Lawn',³² water features that are shown on a map of 1759.³³

By 1725 women labourers who weeded the gardens and helped with the harvest were also being paid 'for picking and clearing the Coppice Walks', as more walks, rides, and circular glades had been cut through the 'Coppie'. The views thus formed were named on a map of 1727 (Fig. 7) by the land agent Thomas Tibbetts.³⁴ The Coppie also contained a 'ha-haw',³⁵ running alongside the ride from the north-west to south-east, a fence on the south side of the amphitheatre, and a 'deer fence' (which was four feet under water on the curved edge of the Great Canal); on the western edge of the amphitheatre there was a deer-cote, indicating that the deer were restricted to the north west area of the Coppie and the space between it and the Great Canal. By 1729, however, the deer must have increased in number as carpenters then constructed 'Deer hovells in ye Parke'. Also in that year the masons built an 'Icehouse in ye Wilderness'.³⁶ First recorded in England around 1600, ice houses were then commonly brick-lined, domed structures, often ornamental, with most of their volume underground, built in a shady location near to a source of water. When the ice formed, it was the gardeners' task to harvest it and pack it into the icehouse.

Following alterations to the hall in 1737-38 by Francis Smith of Warwick,³⁷ changes must have been made to the garden. Although the gardeners' work is not specified in the accounts, the general labour costs increased by 58% during this period and doubled during the period 1742-49. It is reasonable to assume that the formal garden was removed, leaving only the bowling green (which was given a new screen of trees in 1753), the lawn (levelled in 1749), the fountain (which was repaired in 1743), and a shrubbery. The dam in the area south of the canals was causing a problem and work was needed to mend it and embank the river, and this work was carried out between 1736 and 1740.³⁸ In 1746-47 the causeway between the two canals was removed, creating a semi-formal lake, stated to have been of about 50 acres in extent³⁹ and set in 'a park of about three miles in circuit, the sides covered in wood'.⁴⁰ In 1743 a new kitchen garden of just over four acres was being constructed close by the hall, across the river in the area marked on Burton's map as 'Trent Croft'.⁴¹ The line of the road from Stone which passed through Trentham village dictated the arrangement of the garden walls as the five-sided shape shown in the amended planting plan of 1752, which must have been drawn by the head gardener John Brunton, who arrived in that year from York. The plan details the arrangement of flues and chimneys in the hot walls as well as the individual fruit trees

30 In 1820 James Loch inferred in a report on estate improvements made by the marquess (SRO, D. 593/V/6/78, p. 199) that water meadows were a recent innovation, whereas there are references to water meadows in the accounts from 1678.

31 Michael Symes, *Glossary of Garden History* (1993).

32 SRO, D. 593/N/2/1/1/1, September 1727.

33 Ibid. D. 593/H/13/1, Plan for the Intended Alterations 1759.

34 Ibid. D. 593/H/13/37, Trentham Coppie.

35 A fosse or Ha-Ha is a sunken fence and ditch to prevent passage of deer or other livestock.

36 SRO, D. 593/E/3/2/4.

37 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 886.

38 Repairs to the dam occur frequently in the accounts for more than 100 years.

39 This semi-formal lake, the open area in front of the hall, and screen of trees to the east are shown in a lithograph published by John Harris in 1751: William Salt Library, Stafford, *Staffordshire Views*, XI, 37.

40 *The Travel Journal of Philip York, 1744-63*, ed. Joyce Godber (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, XLVII, 1968), 136. (My thanks to Dianne Barre for this reference.)

41 SRO, D. 593/H/3/340, Trentham east of the river, c.1714.

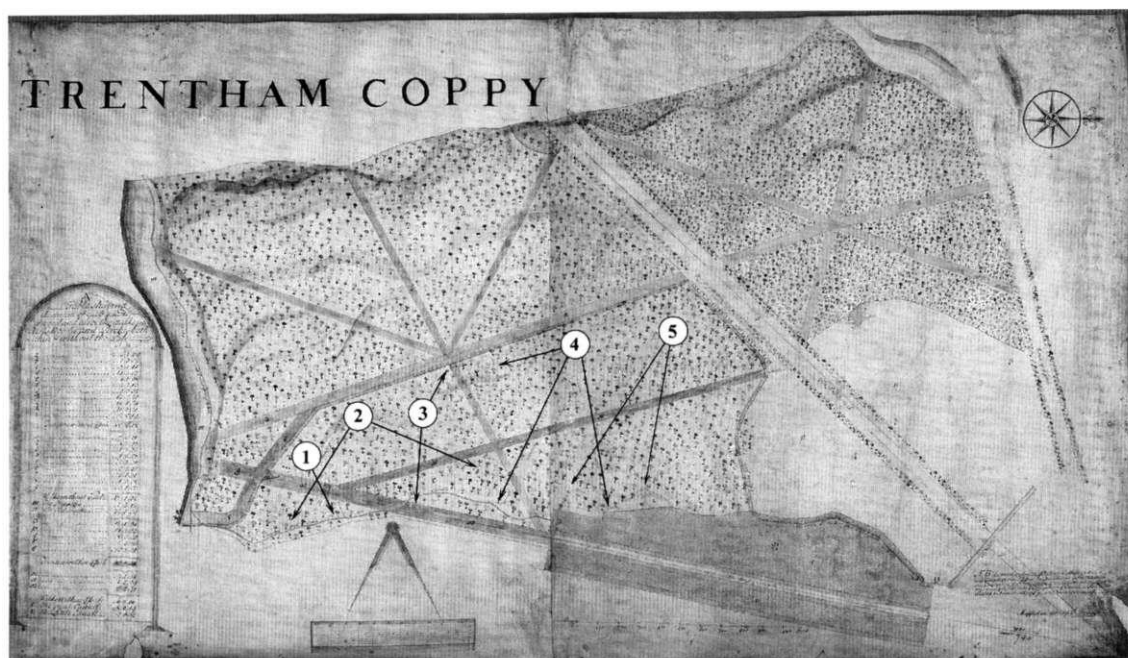


Fig. 7 Map of Trentham Coppy by Thomas Tibbetts, 1727 (SRO, D. 593/H/13/37) (north is on the right-hand side)

The map shows glades with view points, rides, and avenues. *Key to views:*

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 1 NNE | 'A view to the Maustone' |
| 2 NE | 'A fine view to the House up the Great Canall' |
| 2 SE | 'A view to Barlaston Church' |
| 3 NW | 'A view up ye Cutt' |
| 3 E | 'A view to Oliver Clarke's' |
| 4 NNE | 'A view to Maustone Bancks' |
| 4 SE | 'A view to Barlaston Church' |
| 4 SSE | 'A view to Oulton Heath' |
| 5 ESE | 'A view to Cocknage Banck' |
| 5 SE | 'A view to Barlaston Church' |

and other plants to be grown.⁴² In addition, a new orchard was made in 'Craddock's Ground' which lay outside the north wall of the kitchen garden and incorporated the 17th-century orchard. During the winter of 1752 Brunton purchased 365 fruit trees, 85 nut trees, 219 fruit bushes, and 14 vines, all from Telford's nursery in York, to carry out his new plan.⁴³

Three generations of Telfords, all called John, acted as land agent for Earl Gower's Yorkshire estates (located to the west of the town of Malton), during the 18th century and up to 1816. Freeman and aldermen of the city of York, they also ran a large and profitable nursery business from York (established there by 1666), supplying many of the great estates in Yorkshire, such as Studley Royal.⁴⁴ All successful nurserymen at that time acted as job-brokers for any land owner who required a head gardener (Brunton was probably recruited in this way), and in visiting their most valued customers to collect orders (as was the annual custom), they also advised on the laying out of gardens. It is likely therefore that the earl consulted John Telford during the period when he was making the alterations to his garden at Trentham. Nursery accounts show the purchase in 1758 of 24 different types of flowering and sweet scented shrubs for the new shrubbery,⁴⁵ 18 roses in three varieties in 1762, and a further 76 roses in 38 varieties in 1765.⁴⁶ This was an impressive number for a northern nursery to stock at that time as rose varieties were few and comprised mainly of selections from the

42 Ibid. D. 593/H/13/38, Plan of the New Kitchen Garden at Trentham with the alterations and improvements since the last plan, 1752.

43 Ibid. D. 593/F/3/11/1, accounts of John Telford, 1751-60.

44 John H. Harvey, 'The Family of Telford, Nurserymen of York', *Journal of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society*, XLII (1969), 352-57.

45 SRO, D. 593/F/3/11/1, accounts of John Telford, 1751-60.

46 Ibid. D. 593/F/3/11/2, accounts of John Telford, 1761-70.

wild species of Europe, Asia, and North America.⁴⁷ Such roses were tall and scrambling in habit, requiring the support and shelter afforded by other shrubs, and this made them very suitable for the preferred method of planting at this time when shrubs, herbaceous plants, and bulbs were arranged in tiers with the tallest at the back and twining plants such as honeysuckles and jasmines arranged amongst them.⁴⁸ It may have been a matter of some prestige that at such a distance from London, Earl Gower could purchase and his gardener cultivate a large collection of roses and other flowering plants and it would certainly have been so for the nurseryman who supplied them.

'My old friend L. Brown is to be traced at every turn' (1759-80)

John, Earl Gower, was succeeded in 1754 by his son Granville Leveson Gower, who in 1759 consolidated the improvements started by his father to bring informality to the garden at Trentham by consulting Lancelot (Capability) Brown, the leading landscape designer. Brown's contract was 'To make a good and sufficient Head for the intended Water in shape, Width and Breadth according to the Stakes put in for that purpose, making a proper Waste for the discharge of Floods as also a proper Plug for to draw down occasionally the Water'.⁴⁹ He was also to form its edges 'quite round, making them everywhere correspond naturally with the Ground on each side ... making all the new part of the Water four Feet deep wherever it is not so naturally' and 'plant all necessary plantations for hiding the Village, the Offices and the Edges of the Water and the Head'. A new garden area was to be made south of the kitchen garden enclosed by a 'Fosse (i.e. ha-ha) in depth six feet, width ten feet and slope twelve feet' from the river to the 'great Road'.⁵⁰ The river was diverted into the lake near the hall and then directed out of it at its southern end by means of a cascade. The area 'beyond the Trent from the House' (south-east of the house) was to be raised to 'a proper level above the Water that it may become firm and sound land'. This area, south of the 'new' kitchen garden, comprised what had been two meadows, referred to on earlier maps as the Holme and the Long Furlong, but which now became part of the pleasure grounds and were called the Lower Ley. Brown was also to make a stone bridge across the Trent leading to a gravel walk which was to run southwards through the Lower Ley to the end of the lake. In this way, the lake and surrounding area would be made more natural in appearance with winding walks. The lawn, the bowling green with its associated shelter for spectators, and the shrubbery which had been newly planted in 1752 would be retained as pleasure grounds, which was the new term for an informal ornamental area separated from grazing land by a sunken fence. Pleasure grounds were already in existence in a considerable number of Brown's commissions when he arrived on site and contrary to popular opinion he did not sweep them away but often merely made the layout of the walks less formal.⁵¹ Brown's plan of 1759 'for the intended alterations' at Trentham (Figs 8 and 9) shows the 'bowling green house' in the centre of the north side of the bowling green, with a small circular water feature (the existing fountain basin) between it and the hall, and a seat adjacent to a small oval enclosure within the shrubbery from which to enjoy the scent of the many flowering shrubs and plants such as lilacs, roses, jasmine, and honeysuckle.⁵² Both kitchen gardens are shown on the plan (thus the later garden was still being referred to as 'new') and also all of the fish stews. Brown also shows (in the plan) an open rotunda on the east bank of the lake at its southern end but there is no evidence that it was in fact built, as the ground from this area to the dam and beyond had already proved to be wet and unstable (having been farmed as water meadows) and would continue to be so despite many applications of gravel and soil.

Brown had been paid a total of £2,515 by 1762, but according to his notebook he then began 'a fresh account at Earl Gower's' the earl having agreed to 'allow the expense of repairing the water'.⁵³ By this time the earl had by purchase, exchange, and enclosure acquired various parcels of land at the southern end of the lake allowing it (and of necessity the park wall and the ha-ha) to be extended.⁵⁴ The accounts show substantial earth moving operations in which soil was carried into 'the Meadow

47 In 1778 Telfords listed 41 varieties in their catalogue (York City Archive, Acc.146). By comparison 43 roses were named by the London Society of Gardeners in their *Catalogus Plantarum* in 1730. Rose breeding did not start in earnest until the turn of the century.

48 Mark Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds 1720-1800* (1999), 247.

49 The National Archives, Kew, Granville Papers, 30/29/2 (9 September 1759).

50 The road is the present A34.

51 John Phibbs in *Garden History*, 21:1 (1993), 82.

52 SRO, D. 593/H/13/1, Plan of the Intended Alterations at Trentham.

53 Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown* (1975), 149-151.

54 SRO, D. 593/1/3/3, property schedules, 1721-1814.

below the Pool making up the Breach in the Dam and raising it a yard higher'. Then, in 1764, Brown made a new approach road into the park from the turnpike road by Strongford bridge, passing through the wood to the hall, and three years later (according to his notebook) he provided a plan for lodges.⁵⁵ His drawing for the lodges⁵⁶ is identical to the elevation he produced in 1765 for ones at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, although not executed there.⁵⁷ The mason Robert Newman was contracted to build the lodges using stone brought from Sandon, and the estate ledger records that he received his first payment in July 1775, 'as architect under Mr Brown in building the lodges at the entrance into the Park from Tittensor',⁵⁸ (Alternative elevations for lodges were also provided by Joseph Pickford of Derby, who in 1770-71 was working at Sandon Hall for Lord Archibald Hamilton.⁵⁹ He was paid 10 guineas for the elevations in February 1774.⁶⁰)

The year 1775 marked the beginning of the third period in which Lancelot Brown worked at Trentham, this time in partnership with his son-in-law, the architect Henry Holland, Earl Gower having decided to enlarge and improve the hall and further improve the park.⁶¹ Brown received £3,000 in 1778 and noted that he had paid it over to Holland: £2,800 in 1779 and smaller sums in the two following years.⁶² The estate accounts show that as well as repairing the cascade and securing the dam, the area formerly called the Dimble (or sometimes Drumble) and which contained the springs shown in Tibbetts' plan of 1727 was drained and renamed Spring Valley. In addition, the river was widened and the road which Brown had formed through the park was improved. Vast amounts of soil were moved both within the area directly south of the lake and at Tags Meadow (which had been farmed as a water meadow until 1774)⁶³ and also from there to the area north of the hall, in order to raise the level of the Birches, West Eddish, and Moor water meadows (the area north of the manor house marked on the 1599 map as 'Trent Flood') and to widen the river there. Brown may have given advice on a 'hermitage', also called the 'hermit's cave' in the accounts (a rustic building or cave, fashionable at this time, which might be supposed to be inhabited by a hermit), that had been constructed by 1779 when the accounts show that it was thatched. Situated at the junction of Brown's new approach with an elevated walk from Kings Wood Bank through the wood into Spring Valley, the hermitage would have provided a point of interest from which views would have been obtained to the lake, Lower Ley, and proposed rotunda. This walk was a favourite of Lord and Lady Stafford forty years later, although they were displeased to find on more than one occasion that it had become a popular meeting place for young people who were 'romping indecently' there.⁶⁴ The feature no longer appears in the accounts after it was repaired in 1825.

After 21 years Brown's work was finished in 1780, and when John Byng, Viscount Torrington, visited Trentham in 1791 he remarked that 'My old friend L. Brown is to be traced at every turn: he, certainly, was a great planner, and leveller of ground - and a judicious former of water; (the lake, here, is very fine, but above the house'), but he was too severe upon avenues: - now, narrow avenues are charming, shady walks; and if wide grand things'.⁶⁵ Only one payment for Brown's work is recorded in the estate accounts (£200 in 1779), and so he must have been paid by a private arrangement with Earl Gower whose bank accounts unfortunately do not indicate payments to individuals,⁶⁶ but the final cost must have been substantial as payments recorded by Brown in his notebooks totalled £10,380.⁶⁷

55 Dorothy Stroud, *Henry Holland his life & architecture* (1966), 40.

56 SRO, D. 593/H/12/2/102. Although badly damaged with no visible cartouche or signature the sketch is, from the writing, stylised trees and similarity with others, clearly Brown's.

57 P. de la Ruffiniere du Prey, *John Soane: The Making of an Architect* (1982). (I am indebted to Christopher Wakeling for this reference.) Soane worked as assistant to Brown and his partner Henry Holland.

58 SRO, D. 593/N/2/1/2/2, ledger. 1772-96.

59 Ibid. D. 593/H/13/58, gateway and lodges.

60 Ibid. D. 593/G/4/3/31, accounts of Thomas Gilbert.

61 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 503.

62 Stroud, *Henry Holland his life & architecture*, 40.

63 SRO, D. 593/N/2/16/6, 'Brooks Account of draining and floating Tags Meadow', 1774.

64 National Library of Scotland, Sutherland Papers, 313/757 (Lady Stafford to Earl Gower, 1823-25). (Some of this collection has been transferred to SRO, catalogue 6579). A new lodge was built on the turnpike road at Tittensor in 1823 by Charles Winks in order to control access to this part of the park.

65 John Byng, *The Torrington Diaries*, ed. C. Bruyn Andrewes, III (1936), 128.

66 SRO, D. 593/G/4/3/44, accounts of Thomas Gilbert, 28 April 1779. (I am indebted to Philip Winterbottom, archivist at the Royal Bank of Scotland, and Pamela Hunter, archivist at Hoare's Bank, for information concerning Earl Gower's bank accounts.)

67 Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown* (1975), 149-51; Stroud, *Henry Holland his life & architecture*, 40.

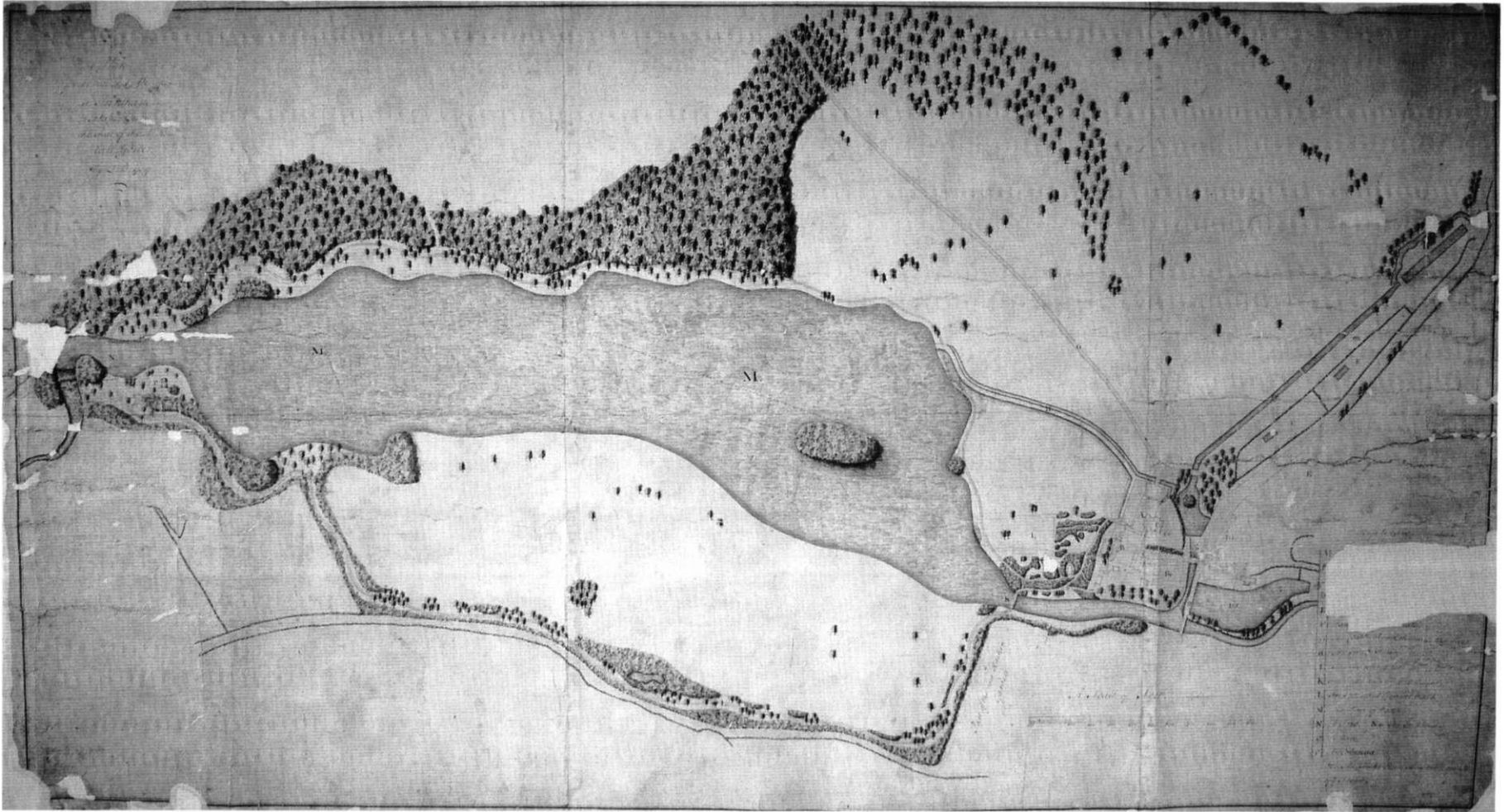


Fig. 8 Plan of the Intended Alterations at Trentham grounds by Lancelot Brown, 1759 (SRO, D. 593/H/13/1) (*north is on the right-hand side*)

The earlier canals had already been converted into a lake, which Brown enlarged and into which he brought the river Trent. The Lower Ley is on its east side (bounded by the road south to Stone), and the bowl-like area to the north-west of the lake is the former 'amphitheatre'. (For detail of the garden area around the hall see Fig. 9.)

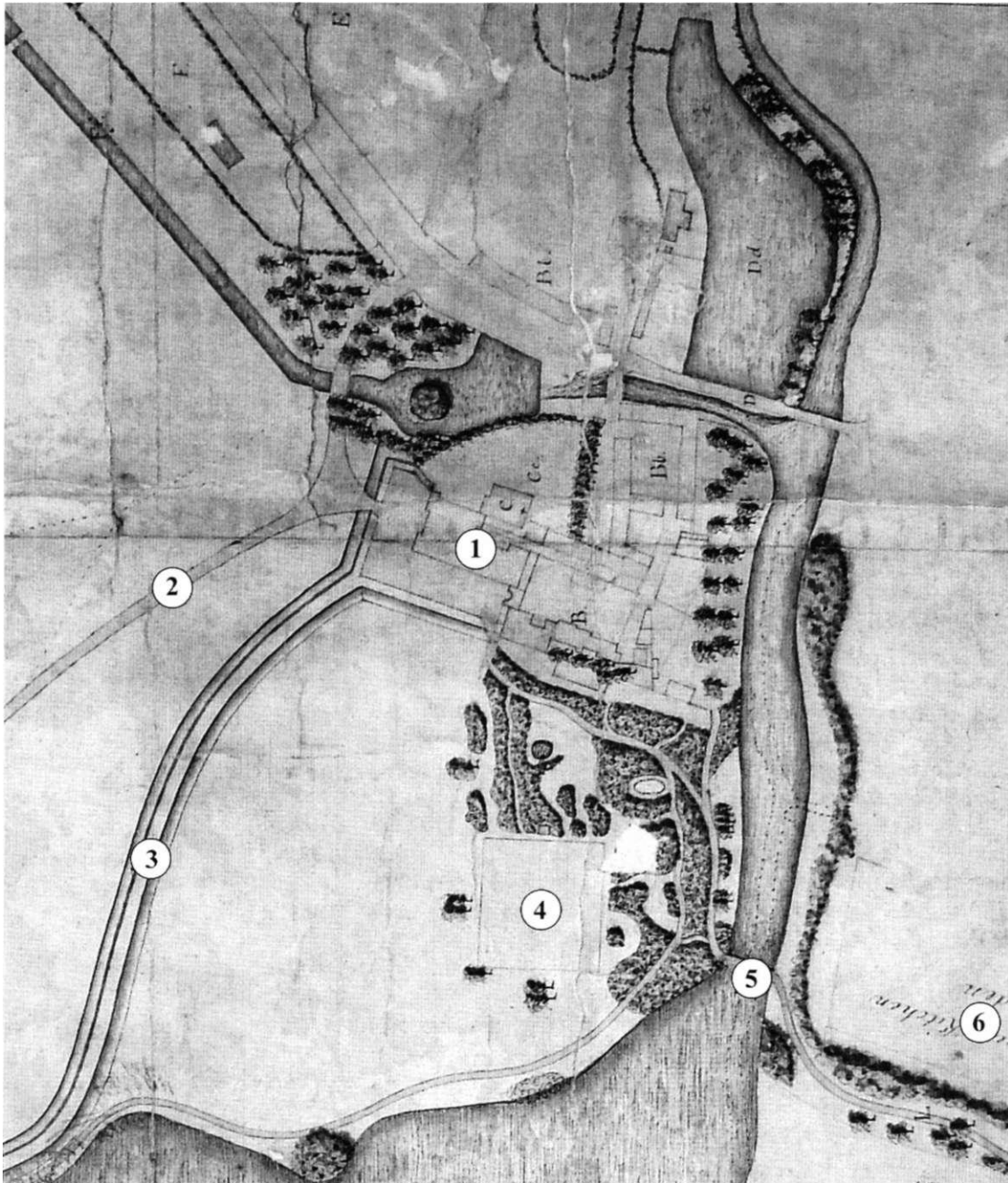


Fig. 9 Trentham Hall pleasure grounds shown on Lancelot Brown plan, 1759 (SRO, D. 593/H/13/1) (north at top)

Key:

1 House	4 Bowling Green
2 'The Coach Road through the Park'	5 Stone bridge
3 'The Sunk Fence'	6 'New' kitchen garden

A new entrance, orangery, and iron bridge (1781-1832)

Henceforth, the accounts are concerned with routine maintenance and repairs. In 1784 and 1788, the walls of the orchard were rebuilt and probably enlarged, and peach trees were trained upon the longest wall which faced south-east and had been constructed in 1773 as the boundary between the earl's garden and that of William Bill (land agent 1758-74).⁶⁸ At the same time some storage sheds were built against the north wall and the melon pit was moved (from the kitchen garden) to the orchard ground which opened directly on to the road, thereby improving access for deliveries of manure from the farm as well as saving much space in the kitchen garden.

⁶⁸ SRO, D. 593/K/1/1/12/8, Plan of the Orchards (filed amongst the letters of George Plaxton).

In 1793 the Coalbrookdale Company was commissioned to provide an ornamental iron bridge across the Trent in the garden.⁶⁹ This 90-foot single-span bridge which replaced Brown's stone bridge was erected in 1794 and may have been the third earliest iron bridge in the country.⁷⁰ Illustrated in an engraving of Trentham Hall and Park made in October 1794, it was demolished after 1931.⁷¹

Granville, Earl Gower, created Marquess of Stafford in 1786, having held various positions in government, died in October 1803 and was succeeded by his son, George Granville Leveson Gower, who had been MP for both Newcastle-under-Lyme and for Staffordshire and had served as Ambassador in Paris 1790-92. In 1785 the future second marquess had married Elizabeth Gordon, Countess of Sutherland and Baroness Strathnaver, the richest heiress of her generation, and in 1803 he also inherited the estates of his uncle the duke of Bridgwater thereby becoming very wealthy. Shortly after succeeding his father the marquess employed the architect Charles Heathcote Tatham, a pupil of Henry Holland,⁷² to make improvements to Trentham Hall, notably to build a conservatory on the south-west corner⁷³ and a mausoleum within a new parish cemetery, the churchyard at Trentham and the family vault being full by this time.⁷⁴ Tatham remodelled the western entrance drive to the house and built a stone bridge there and also a pair of lodges each surmounted by the bronze statue of a stag.⁷⁵ This area is shown in an aquatint of the hall by I. Saunders of 1825.⁷⁶ The vicarage house was removed from the area east of the hall to the north end of the new cemetery and a gated shrubbery, north of the kitchen garden and orchard, was put in its place. Remnants of the earlier shrubbery can be seen on a map of 1809 but there is no evidence in this or the accounts that the bowling green was retained.⁷⁷

During the period 1814-17 an extension to the east end of the hall was constructed by Charles Winks, who had worked at Trentham as Tatham's clerk of works.⁷⁸ The object was chiefly to accommodate Lord Stafford's library and provide a new dining room, bedrooms, and dressing rooms with new or improved domestic offices beyond and new drains beneath the house because of frequent flooding by the Trent.⁷⁹ The west end remained the entrance front and a small formal garden containing flower beds, marble vases, and a sun dial was made on the south front around the existing fountain.⁸⁰ The correspondence and accounts also indicate that a building was constructed in the pleasure grounds. This must have been a new orangery since it is included in a contemporary description of the hall which states that 'a new eastern wing has lately been completed' and that 'Near the eastern side of the house an orangery is seen like a mystic temple and the stranger on approaching it is gratified by the fragrant scent of the new white blossoms'. A few paces beyond the orangery nearer the house, the 1794 iron bridge provided 'a ready passage to the rambler over a fine piece of water',⁸¹ a description which clearly locates the orangery in the northern area of the Lower Ley, first brought into the pleasure grounds by Brown.⁸² The orangery was rebuilt again by Winks in 1830 but demolished in 1843. Another new feature was a 'Pompeii stone seat' erected in 1822 on the northern bank of the lake upon the recommendation of Lady Stafford's friend, the politician

69 Designs and letter in SRO, D. 593/H/3/39.

70 H. Torrens and B. Trinder, 'The Iron Bridge at Trentham', *Industrial Archaeology Review* (1981), 45-55. I have been advised by John Bonnett of East Staffordshire Heritage Trust that the Trentham bridge was the third recorded iron bridge to be built in this country, the first crossed the River Severn at Ironbridge, Shropshire, in 1781 and the second crossed the River Taff at Pont y Cafnau near Merthyr Tydfil in 1793. It is, however, considered that the Trentham bridge was the first semi-elliptical arched iron bridge to be built.

71 William Salt Library, *Staffordshire Views*, XI.49 (by Revd Stebbing Shaw, 1794).

72 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 955-7.

73 William Salt Library, *Staffordshire Views*, XI.59 (by J. P. Neale c. 1820).

74 SRO, D. 593/L/1/17, Mr Woodhouse's memorandum, 1805.

75 Ibid. D. 593/H/13/59. These lodges were removed in the mid 20th century to an entrance made off the A34; the stags are missing.

76 William Salt Library, *Staffordshire Views*, XI.52 ('The seat of the most Noble the Marquis of Stafford' by I. Saunders).

77 SRO, D. 593/H/3/444, Trentham Estate, 1809.

78 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 1070.

79 Full details of these alterations are contained in agent's correspondence SRO, D. 593/K/3/1/3-4. Winks' design plan has been lost but he made a detailed ground plan on completion in order to indicate the position of the drains beneath: D. 593/H/13/5 1817. Charles Barry later used this plan as a base for his ideas: his designs for the orangery arcade and a small front elevation are drawn over it.

80 This is shown in a plan of Trentham and Hanchurch, c.1820: SRO, D. 593/H/3/347. An entry in the New Building vouchers D. 593/N/2/10/5 records the taking down of marble vases and a dial in September 1834.

81 W. Pitt, *Topographical History of Staffordshire* (1817), 234.

82 William Salt Library, *Staffordshire Views*, XI.52 ('The seat of the most Noble the Marquis of Stafford' by I. Saunders).

Thomas Grenville (d. 1846) of Dropmore (Buckinghamshire) who wrote that it 'would have a very good effect upon the wooded bank at Trentham wherever there is a rising mound adapted to its shape' and he recommended the mason who had made the one at Dropmore.⁸³

By 1822 the lake was completely silted up to the extent that none of the pleasure boats could be floated on it from the boat house on its northern shore and so it had to be dredged. The land agent, William Lewis, calculated that the mud was a yard deep over 60 acres and half a yard deep over the other 20 acres and it would cost between six and ten thousand pounds to remove it. James Loch, appointed in 1812 as 'auditor' (financial manager) of Lord Stafford's estates, was so horrified at this estimate that he suggested to Lord Stafford that the lake should be returned to meadow land. This proposal was rejected, so in order to reduce the costs in transporting the mud, Loch ordered that some of it should be deposited on the east bank (Lower Ley) and a second island should be constructed with the remainder. The island was so created in shape and position so as to provide the best view from the house and it was then landscaped with hillocks, trees, and walks according to Loch's very precise instructions.⁸⁴ Despite the attempt to reduce it, the total cost of the work was £5,291 25. 9d.⁸⁵

By this time Lord Stafford was in bad health and found that the climate was too damp for him at Trentham and so he spent most of his time either in London or at Westhill, his house in Wandsworth (Surrey). In 1825 the establishment at Trentham was reduced, the brewer and baker being sent to Westhill and the kitchen garden at Trentham ordered 'not to be fully cropped',⁸⁶ although produce was still being sent to Scotland, London, and Wandsworth. Trentham was saved from further decline, however, by the death in 1833 of the marquess, only recently created Duke of Sutherland by William IV on account of his support of the Reform Bill. His son George Granville Leveson Gower succeeded to all his father's English estates with the exception of the Bridgwater properties, which had been bequeathed to his brother, Lord Francis. The duke did not inherit the Scottish estates until the death of his mother in 1839.

'The decided talk of the country' (1833-60)

In 1823 the future second duke had married Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana Howard, daughter of the earl of Carlisle; her abiding interest was architecture and gardens and the couple spent much of the period after their marriage in touring Europe. By December 1833 less than six months after his succession, plans for the complete refurbishment of Trentham Hall and the recasting of its gardens had been submitted to the duke and duchess by Charles Barry whose work for a Brighton solicitor Thomas Attree they had admired in January.⁸⁷ The future duchess described it to her mother-in-law as: 'The most beautiful bijou Italian villa ... the prettiest thing in Brighton ... with terraces, balustrades, parterres and a dolphin fountain, all built and arranged by Barry the architect of the Travellers Club'.⁸⁸ At Trentham therefore the architectural style was to be Italianate with what the family considered to be a French formal garden, blending into a natural, English landscape (Fig. 10).⁸⁹ Work began in April 1834 and hundreds of workmen were simultaneously demolishing walls, constructing new ones, and laying out the gardens. The formal garden, 11 acres in extent, comprised a terrace containing raised beds, vases, urns, and statuary; a Private Wing Garden with a small parterre and fountain, encompassing part of the 18th-century shrubbery and the Upper Flower Garden comprising a parterre about eighty yards square with side borders; and a central fountain and four pavilions in the Italian style containing classical statues. Bounded by balustrades and vases, the Upper Flower Garden had wide curved steps which lead to the Lower Flower Garden, itself an area containing a larger parterre with four fountains, elevated walks on the east and west sides, and a broad central walk lined with clipped laurel trees which appeared to be planted in tubs so as to represent

83 National Library of Scotland, 313/768, letters of Thomas Grenville to Lady Stafford. The use of Grenville's mason explains the absence of this feature in the accounts but it is shown on the maps.

84 Loch's letters on this subject are contained in his correspondence in SRO, D. 593/K, particularly D. 593/K/1/3/10 (Loch to Lord Stafford, 22 April 1822) and D. 593/K/1/5/14 (Loch to Lewis, 17 May 1822).

85 Ibid. D. 593/N/2/1/2/5, estate ledger, 1821-33.

86 For this and further references, see Loch's correspondence: SRO, D. 593, K series.

87 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 101-2, 104.

88 National Library of Scotland, 313/742, Marchioness of Stafford to Duchess of Sutherland, 23 January 1833.

89 Potteries Museum, Hanley, Trentham Estate Drawings (uncatalogued), 'Trentham Hall and Gardens as proposed to be altered', plan and description by Barry.

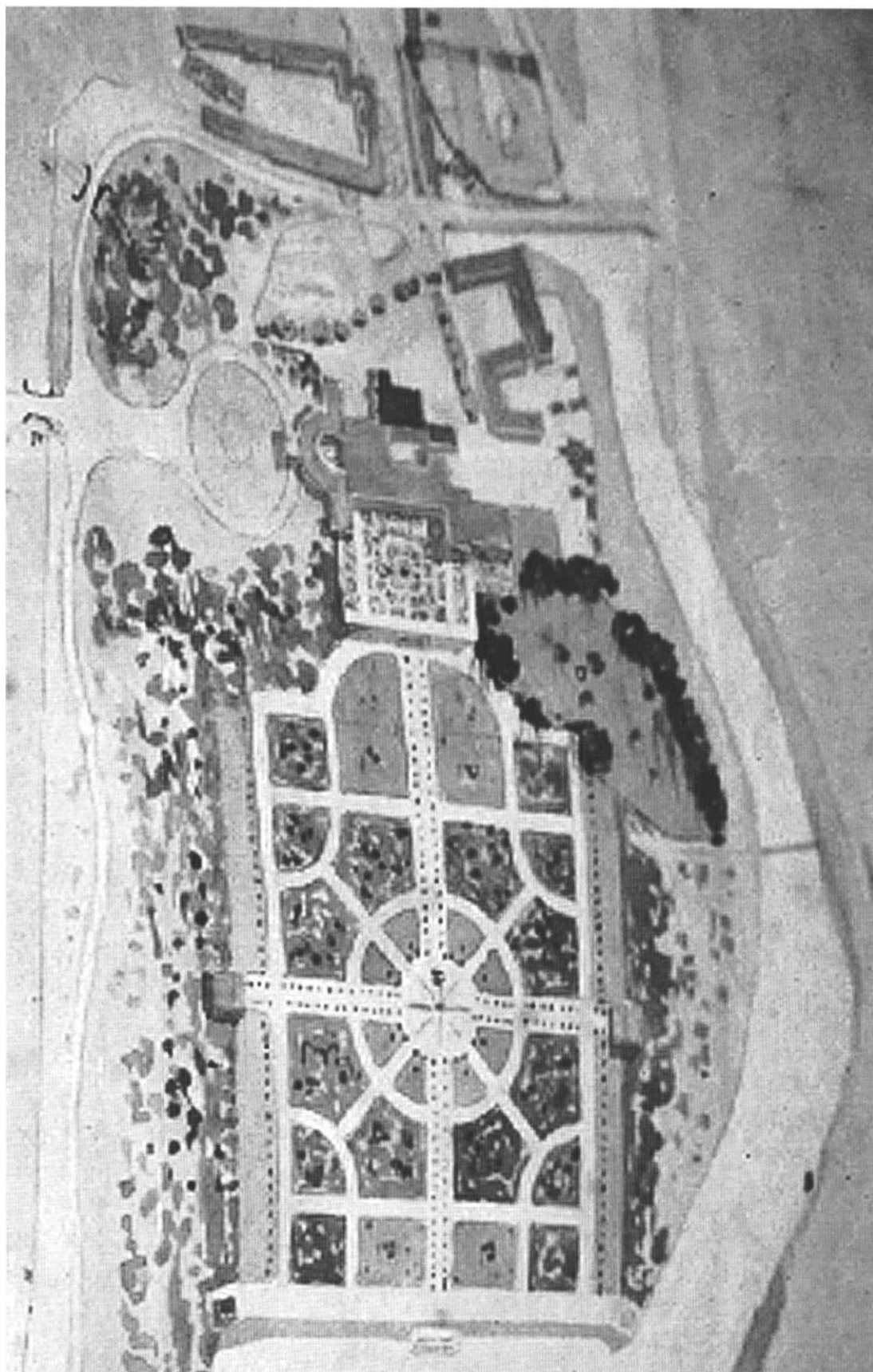


Fig. 10 Trentham Hall and Gardens as proposed to be altered by Charles Barry, December 1833 (Potteries Museum, Hanley, uncatalogued) (north is on the right-hand side)

the orange trees of Versailles, all terminating at the lakeside with balustrades and a cast from the statue of Perseus and Medusa by Benvenuto Cellini.⁹⁰

In a biography of Charles Barry, his son Alfred Barry stated that the aim was 'a scheme of architectural gardens graduated from regular formality in the immediate neighbourhood of the building itself through shrubberies and plantations less and less artificial until they seem to melt away in the unstudied simplicity of the park or wood without'; and that 'in this work I believe he was much assisted by suggestions from Mr Nesfield'.⁹¹ Records, however, show that William Andrews Nesfield did not visit Trentham until 1843, and that it was another landscape designer, William Sawrey Gilpin, who was consulted by the duke and duchess and who, from 1834 to 1843, advised them on the blending of Barry's formal garden with the park and planting the banks of the lake. Gilpin, who had been working for Ralph Sneyd at Keele Hall at the time, was also required to give the duchess his views as to which of Barry's plans to adopt, 'for he has given us more than ever', and whether to retain the second island in the lake, which Barry proposed to remove. Work had already started on the islands when the duchess wrote to Sneyd from London to ask him to report on progress at Trentham: I long to hear of my green islands floating and of the formation of Notre Jardin, not Le Notre though not unlike it either. Barry now thinks of two circles instead of one'.⁹² The duchess would have been gratified that after visiting Trentham in 1838 her mother-in-law referred to 'the garden, terraces etc in the most perfect old French taste'.⁹³

During this time Gilpin also gave advice on the approach at Lilleshall New House (Shropshire), where the family were living during the Trentham renovations, and moreover produced a design for landscaping Tittensor heath, including the former common and encompassing the stone statue of the duke's father by Sir Francis Chantrey.⁹⁴ This memorial was erected on Tittensor Hill in 1836 ostensibly by the tenants although there was a shortfall in subscriptions and the duke paid a third of the cost.⁹⁵ The statue replaced a cairn put in that position in 1828 by Lady Stafford to provide a view from the garden and to commemorate the acquisition of the land that year when the Royal Assent was given to the Tittensor Enclosure Act and, according to a memorandum of George Menzies (land agent from 1864), 'the duke bought out all the other owners' in the following decade.⁹⁶ Planting at Tittensor started in February 1839 after Gilpin's plan had been amended by James Loch who had objected to the design and suitability of some of the recommended trees so much that he produced his own 'Scheme for converting Tittensor Common into a picturesque forest or chase'.⁹⁷

Gilpin's plan and memorandum do not survive but Loch quotes from and criticizes them in two memoranda to the duke.⁹⁸ These are very similar in content and it appears that one is a fair copy of the other and that in the fair copy some of his harsher language has been tempered. Loch's main criticism was that the specified trees were not appropriate to an English forest or that they were unsuited to the soil at Tittensor.⁹⁹ He was particularly scathing about Gilpin's proposed use of alder, lime, sycamore, and Lombardy poplar (Tn which English forest was a Lombardy poplar ever seen?), and also his over-use of birch. Loch, moreover, condemned the ideas not only of Gilpin but also Brown and subsequent 'picturesque landscape designers' in their placing of many small clumps of trees. In a separate letter to the duke, Loch wrote: 'Without intending anything offensive to Mr Gilpin, the attentive perusal of his paper has confirmed my impression, which study, reading and experience have led me to form that his talent as a landscape gardener rather consists in ornamenting a small lawn, in disposing of colours as a painter does in a picture but does not grasp the feeling and effect of the larger and more extended subjects of his art. Repton had the

90 The method of training the fake orange trees was illustrated in the *Gardeners Chronicle*, 1 March 1851. Plans of the parterres are in the Trentham Estate Collection at the Potteries Museum (Hanley) and also in SRO: Lower Flower Garden (D. 4902/G/1/7) and Upper Flower Garden (D. 4902/G/1/6).

91 Revd Alfred Barry, *The Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry* (1867), 113.

92 Keele University Library, Special Collections, Sneyd Papers, SC13/117 (duchess to Ralph Sneyd).

93 National Library of Scotland, 313/766, Duchess Elizabeth to duke, 19 October 1838. The garden style was never described as Italian in family letters and it does not appear in estate letters until 1878 (used by the gardener) but seems to have been used in the press as a general term to describe all revivalist garden styles.

94 Gilpin's plan has been lost but a drawing was made by the estate surveyor: SRO, D. 593/H/13/44, 'Sketch of Tittensor Heath as laid out for planting, Sept. 1838'.

95 Ibid. D. 593/K/1/3/27, Lewis to Loch, 6 February 1839.

96 Ibid. D. 593/L/3/35, memoranda of George Menzies.

97 National Archives of Scotland, GD268/371, Loch Family Papers, Loch to duchess, August 1838.

98 SRO, D. 593/L/1/39/2 and D. 593/L/3/2/26

99 In this he was supported by the duke's head forester Richard Penson who had been trained at Chatsworth by Joseph Paxton.

same defect but he had more practical knowledge as a planter than Gilpin has, indeed he seems not to have studied deeply the habits and character of trees'.¹⁰⁰ The duchess conceded that Loch was right as to the trees but not as to the design, for she wrote to the agent at Trentham: 'No tree should be planted on soil that does not suit it, Mr Gilpin always having said he was not aware of the local circumstances, we are anxious that the outline of the plantations should be minutely conformed to'.¹⁰¹

By 1839 the delays and expense of Barry's work at Trentham were so great that James Loch informed him that it was: 'the decided talk of the country ... the joke of many in London'. Loch's remonstrations were in vain for in 1840 there were still 300 men working on the alterations. The house steward, housekeeper, and land agent William Lewis were increasingly concerned at the chaos and bad management which made the house still uninhabitable. The situation was created by a total lack of organisation on site and the constant changes made by both Barry and the duke; for example, the Lower Flower Garden was laid out three times. In 1838 Barry changed the design after it had been set out on the ground, and the duchess wrote about it to Loch, who had pointed out the cost involved: 'I have seen Mr Barry, I do not think he is aware that the alteration in the Garden is to entail additional labour and expense. He said that Scott (the flower gardener) had said the beds would be easier to keep in their altered shape'.¹⁰² When the horticultural writer John Claudius Loudon visited Trentham in May 1840 he commented that 'The upper flower garden is laid out in what the French call the English Style with beds of turf and dug beds edged with box or gravel. The Lower Garden has the leading walks formed and gravelled and the slopes turfed but, not yet being planted, it has rather a naked appearance'.¹⁰³ Barry was not satisfied with the second layout and in 1841 the duke's secretary Thomas Jackson reported to Loch that Scott had informed him that Barry wanted to 'lower the whole by six inches which could not be done as the box [edging] was all planted and there are several miles of it'.¹⁰⁴ This was a further attempt by Barry to improve the appearance of the planting patterns in the Lower Garden and disguise the flatness of the site. The Upper Garden had been raised by depositing mud from the lake on it but this was still not high enough to achieve the desired effect so Barry raised the level of the outer walks within the Lower Garden by means of the turfed slopes observed by Loudon. The gardener's protest was in vain, and the garden was altered again as shown in a plan by Barry, annotated with all his measurements and suggestions to include lowering the soil level within the individual beds.¹⁰⁵

Loch was seriously alarmed at the costs which had exceeded Barry's original estimate of £45,391 for the work to both house and gardens and which by February 1840 had reached £123,716.¹⁰⁶ The duke and duchess continued to spend much of their time abroad until the house was finally deemed habitable (although still unfinished) in 1841 and it was then that George Fleming was transferred from Lilleshall where he was head gardener to take over the garden management at Trentham. Work continued on the drives, domestic offices, and new garden buildings, such as the aquatic hot house, geranium house, camellia house, peach house, the rebuilding of the gardener's house, and a new lodge at the entrance to the garden from the turnpike road for the use of workers and tradesmen.

Fleming set about modernising the kitchen garden east of the river (which was nearly 100 years old), by partial rebuilding of the walls where the brickwork had been eroded by nailing and the effects of weather. There are numerous references since the accounts began to building garden walls which can only mean re-building as a consequence of weathering.¹⁰⁷ Fleming made the walls higher to accommodate the enlarged fruit houses which he then heated by an improved system, considerably reducing the number of chimneys and smoke produced. He also changed the heating of the pineapple and other frames to a hot water system (instead of by the fermentation of manure). The open ground within the kitchen garden was drained and fruit trees replaced and trained on iron frames to save space. On the outside surface of three of the walls Fleming built 400 linear yards of

100 National Archives of Scotland, GD268/369, Loch Papers.

101 SRO, D. 593/K/3/3/40, duchess to Lewis, 26 January 1839.

102 National Archives of Scotland, GD268/368, Loch Papers.

103 *The Gardeners Magazine*, 25 May 1840, 23.

104 SRO, D. 593/K/1/3/27, Jackson to Loch, 13 July 1839.

105 Potteries Museum, Hanley, Trentham Estate Drawings (uncatalogued), 'Plan of proposed pleasure ground, Flower Garden etc'. This lowered level within the flower beds could be seen in 2004 when the garden had been cleared for modernisation.

106 SRO, D. 593/K/1/3/22, Barry to Loch, 24 January 1834. The final cost is difficult to compute since the New Building account was closed in 1848 to avoid paying Barry any further commission, but payments totalling £161,466 are recorded.

107 Demolition is recorded only if not performed by estate labourers.

glass houses, six feet deep (in order to accommodate, protect, and force early crops from fruit trees), which were widely reported, praised, and copied as the 'Trentham Wall Cases'.¹⁰⁸ In the pleasure grounds, Fleming drained and remade the walks, renewed the turf, and replaced shrubs with new varieties. The old orchard ground was taken over for additional glass houses, frames, and sheds and the accommodation for the young gardeners was improved. Fleming's many improvements and his success in fruit growing were reported and praised in the horticultural press and he wrote about his methods in the *Gardeners Chronicle* and in the transactions of the Horticultural Society of London (later to become the Royal Horticultural Society) during the following 15 years. In 1854 *The Florist* stated that 'Beautiful fruit constantly being exhibited at the great London shows has obtained for Trentham a celebrity of which few other private gardens can boast'.¹⁰⁹

Following Gilpin's death in 1843, William Andrews Nesfield became landscape consultant to the duke and duchess, advising on changes to the west entrance drive and its approach road for which he proposed to make a deep cutting crossed by a viaduct 'to suit the Italian buildings'.¹¹⁰ The duke of Devonshire who was the uncle and frequent adviser of the duchess wrote: 'Your viaduct, I only like it if it is of some use then excessively. If none, it will be no better than a sham view'.¹¹¹ The duke of Sutherland considered the various options on the line and depth of this drive for a year and eventually decided against a viaduct. Apart from the depth, the approach and lodges at the west front were little changed from Tatham's time but the sweep of the drive was made wider to enhance the view of Barry's imposing entrance and the area in front of it, which contained a large gravelled circle with a central statue of the goddess Diana on a granite pedestal.¹¹² The accounts show that Barry ordered new iron gates for this entrance which were painted in ultramarine embellished with 'SVi books of gold'. These colours were matched in the Minton tiles which decorated the window boxes on the ground floor of the house and which Fleming filled with blue and gold plants.¹¹³ As well as the west front, Nesfield was consulted on landscaping Hanchurch Hills, west of the park (where thousands of trees had been planted between 1768 and 1778), and also on tree planting in the area east of the turnpike road, known as the Upper Ley, both operations being carried out in 1844.¹¹⁴ In addition, he introduced an area of rockwork (also referred to in the accounts as the 'grotto') to the promontory on the east bank of the lake. This area had been created by Gilpin on the recommendation of Barry who wanted to 'destroy the monotonous and flooded character of this side'.¹¹⁵ Nesfield reassured Loch that the work involved only 'scattering a few groups of stones along the tame edge of the lake so as to harmonise the tout ensemble - this will also be assisted by slightly planting, but rely on it no heavy or costly work is even desirable'.¹¹⁶ Gilpin's landscaping of the area had already involved moving vast quantities of soil from this part of the lake, depositing it around the various new works in the area of the domestic offices and at the west front.¹¹⁷ Nesfield also supported Barry, who was concerned about flooding, in his proposal to separate the river from the lake and the engineers William and Joseph Cubitt were consulted, although the work was not carried out at this time, probably due to cost which Nesfield estimated at £11,000.¹¹⁸

As well as the viaduct and river diversion, Barry's estimate for 1843 included £2,650 for a new orangery at the northern end of the Lower Ley to replace the one rebuilt by Winks in 1830. The duke complained that Barry had designed it 'with architecture on all four sides. I have told him that the hind front [the back wall] must be a plain wall on [the] outside like the rest of the Kitchen Garden wall, only higher and I doubt if I shall do any part of it this year, though they say the old house is dangerous'.¹¹⁹ The duke eventually decided to cancel this orangery as Barry had already

108 Charles Macintosh, *The Book of the Garden* (1853), 353, figures 482–492.

109 *The Florist*, April 1854, 99–102.

110 National Library of Scotland, 10225/56, duke to Loch, 9 March 1843; SRO, D. 593/H/13/55 (Trentham Approach Drive) and D. 593/H/13/47 (Trentham Park West Drive).

111 National Library of Scotland, 313/907, correspondence of 6th duke of Devonshire to Harriet, duchess of Sutherland, 1835–57.

112 SRO, D. 593/H/13/55 (Trentham Hall Approach Drive); also D. 593/H/13/47 (Trentham Park West Drive).

113 Potteries Museum, Hanley, Trentham Estate Drawings (uncatalogued), 'Sketch of encaustic tiles for flower boxes'.

114 SRO, D. 593/K/3/7, letters of William Steward, 'Mr Nesfield's Plan' and accounts.

115 Potteries Museum, Hanley, Trentham Estate Drawings (uncatalogued), 'Trentham Hall and Gardens as proposed to be altered', plan and description by Barry.

116 SRO, D. 593/K/1/10, New Building accounts; correspondence in Loch's letters in D. 593, K series.

117 Ibid. 6021/2/6, 1842 vouchers.

118 Ibid. D. 593/K/1/5/41, Loch to Barry, 27 May 1843; D. 593/K/1/10/1, March 1843, 'Payment to Messrs Cubitts for surveying £34'. There are several drawings of the lake and river: Potteries Museum, Hanley, Trentham Estate Drawings (uncatalogued).

119 National Library of Scotland, 10225/56, duke to Loch, 22 January 1843.

provided one as an architectural feature of the private wing of the house, although plant displays would have needed to be temporary due to the lack of light within. It was described by the *United Gardeners & Land Steward's Journal* as 'totally unfit for the culture of plants', so Fleming sacrificed part of the kitchen garden in its south-west corner in order to construct a glasshouse for use as an orangery.¹²⁰ Opposite this new orangery, Fleming created a 'large parallelogram' of white gravel on which was formed the names of the duke's four daughters and the words 'Viret Memoria' (Let their memory be ever green) in clipped box.¹²¹ He took advantage of the ground left vacant by the demolition of the old orangery to make an ornamental reserve garden, using the old materials to construct 12 arches and circular paths. In this area he kept the large quantity of hardy dwarf shrubs which, with crocus and snowdrops, provided winter interest in the parterres.

By 1846 Fleming had responsibility for all of the woodlands on the estate, including the completion of the Tittensor plantation and the planting of trees, shrubs, and flower beds around the newly completed estate buildings, such as the farm, brew house, girls' school, poultry yard, children's cottage, and dog kennels. Those frames and glasshouses in the area north of the kitchen garden which were not used for displaying choice plant collections (such as orchids, geraniums, azaleas, and South African heathers) accommodated the thousands of tender perennial plants needed for the formal gardens. The plants used for the parterres, such as geranium (zonal pelargonium), petunia, verbena, calceolaria, and lobelia were introduced to this country mainly in the 18th and early 19th centuries from South Africa and South America. Their use in formal flower beds was not new and at Dropmore in Buckinghamshire which the duke and duchess visited and admired in 1827, both summer and winter bedding plants were laid out but it was the vast scale and method of the planting at Trentham which was innovative.¹²² Stock plants had to be kept in frost-free conditions during winter, so that in spring many thousands of plants could be propagated from cuttings and grown in heated conditions to be ready for planting out in June. Fleming devised new planting schemes each summer and sent them to the duchess in September, and once approved preparations could begin for the following year. Each year the family usually arrived from London in the middle of July, when the garden needed to be perfect. The beds within the parterres were edged with box clipped to a height of 6-9 inches and separated by areas of fine, white Derbyshire gravel to contrast and accentuate the vibrancy of the plants, both in flowers and in foliage, although the gravel was considered too vibrant in 1857 and it was replaced with turf. Fleming arranged the west side of the formal gardens as a series of glades with vistas beyond to the mature woodland and, with the advice of Nesfield, he also landscaped the area on the east shore of the lake, originally set out as a new garden area by Brown.¹²³ There were formal features, such as the 'rosery', a rose garden comprising circular beds with climbing varieties trained over arches, on pillars, and across a large letter S formed of iron and laid across the turf; a pinetum and shrubbery comprising plants grouped according to country of origin; a bowling green; an American garden (by that time, a generic term for an area planted with ericaceous plants); and the Rainbow Walk which comprised twin flower borders 600 feet long by 12 feet wide planted in the style known as ribbon bedding in which the flowers appeared in distinct lines of colour.¹²⁴ These formal areas were interspersed with wild flowers in turf, giving occasional views towards the west bank of the lake which was planted with native marginal plants, flowers, and rushes with lilies on the surface of the water. It was reported that this area contained 'some of our rudest plants being placed in a highly dressed ground and surrounded by an endless variety of the choicest plants of all countries' and that 'mass shrub planting of one colour to good effect specially rhododendrons, white, purple, rose and scarlet where they come into contact judiciously intermixed so as to blend two colours together. It has converted a hitherto unmeaning extent of ground into a sort of middle distance, a transition ground'.¹²⁵

By 1847 the duke's income had suffered from a collapse in the value of his railway shares. He had also turned his attention to renovating his mother's ancestral home, Dunrobin Castle, in

120 *The United Gardeners & Land Steward's Journal*, 28 March 1846.

121 *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener* (1863), 393. Llewellyn Jewitt and S. C. Hall, *The Stately Homes of England* (1877), 53. Caution, however, needs to be exercised regarding accuracy as according to this description there would have been 73 letters to be individually planted and maintained.

122 Dropmore is described in the *Gardeners Magazine* (1828), 257-69.

123 SRO, D. 593/K/1/10/3, account for professional services 1843-5, including '5¹/₂ days at Trentham with Fleming on the new pleasure ground and east shore of the lake'.

124 The plants used are described in *The Gardeners Chronicle* (18 October 1856), 692; also *The Florist* (May 1857), 154-55.

125 A full description of the various parts of the garden and the plants used is given in many of the contemporary horticultural papers which are listed in Ray Desmond, *Bibliography of British & Irish Gardens* (1996).

Sutherland, using Charles Barry as his architect for the building and to design a new formal garden, and so the decision was taken to stop all building work at Trentham. The final part of Barry's garden design to be carried into effect was the Covered Walk which was on the east side of the Lower Flower Garden and running along its entire length, although it was not constructed to his design.¹²⁶ His intention was to have it made of treillage (highly elaborate trellis work found in the grander French gardens such as Versailles), with allegorical busts of the Four Seasons and flower-filled stone baskets, at an estimated cost of £2,430. In addition to the construction costs, it was thought that the expense of maintenance would have been excessive as all timber garden structures at Trentham required constant repair and painting due to the damp climate, so Fleming designed and built the feature using a cast iron frame 15 feet high which was then wired to support roses, clematis, and honeysuckle.¹²⁷ In this way, he reduced the initial cost to £337 with very little subsequent maintenance cost. The feature terminated by the landing stage for the pleasure boats at the eastern side of the balustrade on the lake and it effectively screened the Private Wing Garden. This garden was in front of the orangery arcade and contained a central fountain with raised flower beds, white marble vases, and bronze figures. Beyond this were some mature trees with the addition of recently introduced varieties and another ribbon border, described as 'a rivulet of forget-me-nots' because it was intended to represent a stream flowing towards the lake.

In 1850 the lake was again full of mud and said to be impassable by boat. Fleming recommended dredging, which was deferred due to cost, but in 1852 James Loch consented to the cleansing of the lake and the diversion of the river, an undertaking that was to be managed by Fleming, provided that his estimate of £2,000 was not exceeded. The separation of the river from the lake was necessary because of the effects of industrial pollution from the Potteries towns which had marred the lake soon after Brown had diverted the river into it.¹²⁸ By using only one firm of contractors and estate labour as much as possible Fleming easily achieved this target, but having separated the river another problem then arose as the lake became infested with 'the American Weed' (*Elodea canadensis*), said to have been introduced into the country in 1842. Fleming's solution was to remove it by draining the water out of the lake, leaving the weed to die and then refilling it from the springs at its southern end. This had to be done annually before the family arrived in July and the timing was critical, as once the work was completed, it took two weeks to fill from the springs and a further two weeks for the water to become clear. The strip of land between the lake and the new course of the river was planted by Fleming with shrubs, principally azaleas. According to *The Florist* magazine, the land between the lake and the river was 'cleverly managed by Mr Fleming: At a point higher up the grounds from which the whole is overlooked, the river and lake appear as parts of the same piece of water. The point of divergence being carefully planted up, the river appears as if winding round a kind of peninsula and apparently meeting the lake beyond it'.¹²⁹

Contributors to the various horticultural newspapers at this time were or had been head gardeners and therefore were well-qualified to describe accurately the gardens they visited, and due to the extensive railway network gardeners were more able than before to visit each other and share good practice. They were the only class of people who were allowed full access to all parts of the garden at Trentham. Friends, relations, landed gentry, and other persons considered by the duke to be respectable could also view the garden (but not the kitchen garden), on written application to himself, whilst some parts of the park, wood, and Spring Valley were open to the 'lower orders' on Sundays and holidays. These latter areas were patrolled by the park-keeper and his assistants to maintain order and ensure there was no trespassing but special constables had to be employed during the Stoke Wakes at the beginning of August when thousands of people came on 'Trentham Thursday'. The presence of large numbers of people in the park was always a cause for concern, so much so that the land agent William Steward was informed in 1847 that the duke's servants could be allowed to play cricket amongst themselves on the newly formed pitch but could not play against other clubs 'as it would lead to mobs in the park'.¹³⁰ On the following day, however, Steward wrote that 'there was a large party here from Alton Towers yesterday to see the House and Grounds, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, the Marquis and Marchioness of Westminster, the Grand Duke

126 Potteries Museum, Hanley, Trentham Estate Drawings (uncatalogued), Plan of the Lower Flower Garden (which includes an elevation of the Covered Walk drawn by Barry).

127 E. Adveno Brooke, *Gardens of England* (1857), plates 1-5.

128 The first mention of 'tar water' appears in SRO, D. 593/L/1/21, Thomas Horwood to Lord Stafford, 4 March 1788.

129 *The Florist* (1854), 100.

130 SRO, D. 593/K/3/7/6, Lord Stafford to William Steward, 3 July 1847.



Fig. 11 Trentham Hall and gardens in the late 1880s (OS map 6", Staffs. XVIII. SW (1890 edn))

Constantine etc in all 36'. By 1849 large parties were able to travel by railway to Trentham and the duke relaxed his rule to allow access to schoolchildren and members of literary institutes and temperance and other societies but only to the park, and by 1856 he had delegated the decision as to the respectability of such parties to William Steward. When someone had the temerity to challenge this rule on the basis that all parts of Chatsworth could be viewed by anyone, the duke informed the agent that: 'They should be told that Chatsworth is quite different, that Trentham never was considered a show house'.¹³² The gardener also had the discretion to permit respectable persons to the pleasure grounds but only 'between the balustrades', i.e. the Lower Flower Garden.

131 Ibid. D. 593/K/3/7/6, Steward to Loch, 4 July 1847.

132 Ibid. D. 593/K/3/8/3, 18 June 1857.

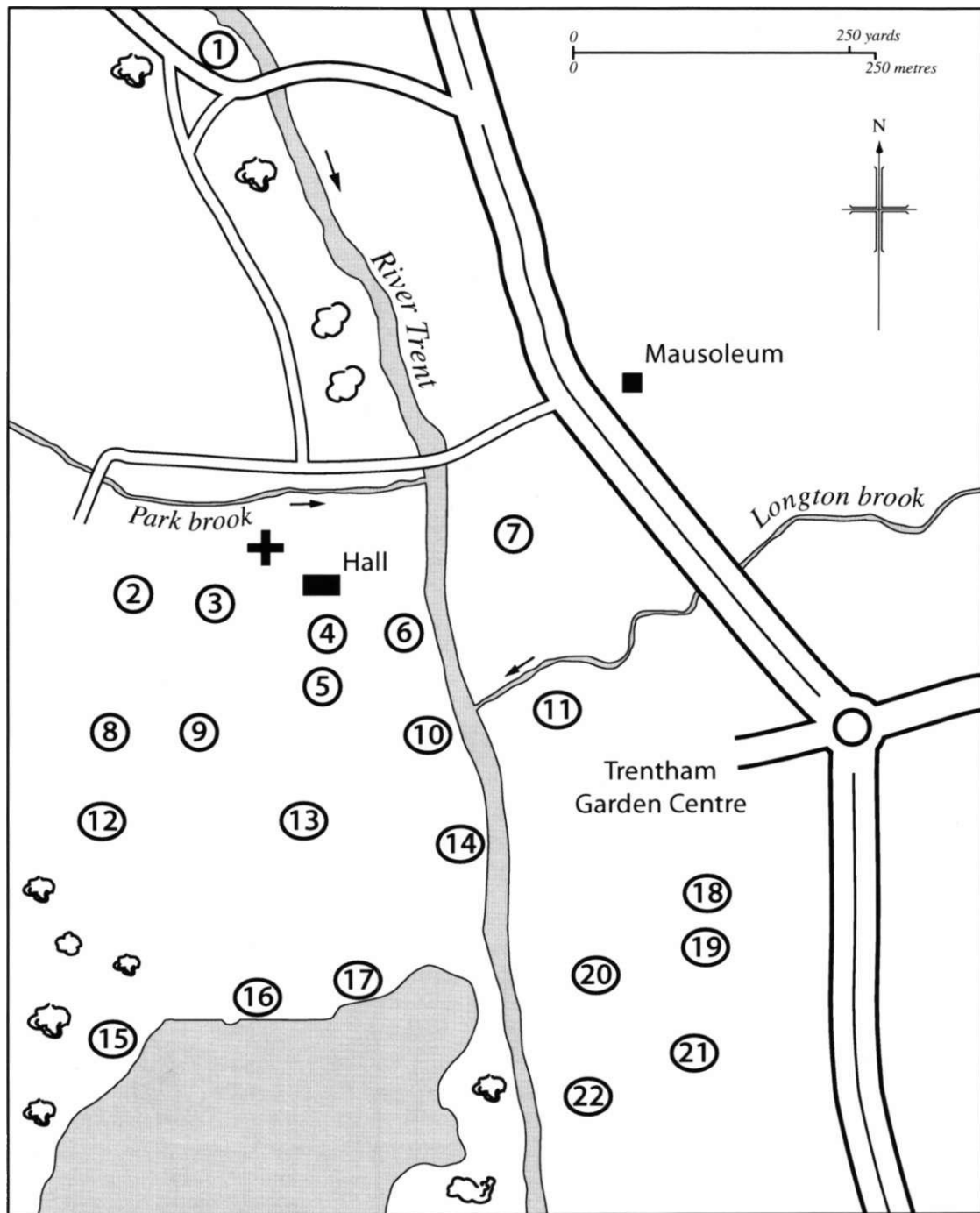


Fig. 12 Trentham Hall gardens showing features mentioned in text

Key:

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 1 | Kitchen garden (early 18th century) | 11 | Kitchen garden (1743) |
| 2 | Lodges (1809); removed after 1931 to present position on west side of A34 opposite mausoleum | 12 | Shrubbery (Barry) |
| 3 | Statue of Diana | 13 | Lower flower garden (Barry) |
| 4 | Fountain | 14 | Iron bridge |
| 5 | Upper flower garden (Barry) | 15 | Stone seat (c. 1822) |
| 6 | Private wing garden (Barry) | 16 | Statue of Perseus (still <i>in situ</i>) |
| 7 | Orchard ground | 17 | Covered walk (still <i>in situ</i>) |
| 8 | Lawn (Brown) | 18 | Rainbow walk |
| 9 | Bowling green (1630 x 1809) | 19 | Pinetum and American garden |
| 10 | Shrubbery (1752) | 20 | Orangery (1679 x 1843) |
| | | 21 | Ornamental reserve garden |
| | | 22 | Rosery |

A guide book published in 1857 was written by William Molyneux, one of two hall porters at Trentham who were required to record visitors to the house and gardens.¹³³ An amateur archaeologist and self-appointed local historian whose father had been park keeper at Nuneham Courtney, Oxfordshire,¹³⁴ Molyneux's description of the garden in the book was drawn from the horticultural press, particularly the *Gardeners Chronicle* (October 1848). Reviewing the book in August 1857, that paper stated that it was indispensable, but in September *The Florist* professed its disappointment, stating that the chapter on the gardens was full of inexcusable typographical errors which if it reached a second edition should be 'revised by someone conversant with botanical nomenclature'.¹³⁵ Apart from using contemporary sources, Molyneux quoted extensively from Plot's *History* and having stated that he found it difficult to say what the garden was like in Plot's time (1686) then declared it to have been in the Dutch style because a hundred years ago yew trees clipped into the shapes of birds were still visible.¹³⁶

Excursionists, decline, and regeneration (1861 to date)

The second duke died in 1861 and his son, George Granville William Leveson Gower, whose main interest in the estate lay in field sports, lost no time in demanding cuts in the amount of expenditure in the gardens department. By 1863 a large portion of the Lower Flower Garden had been permanently planted with dwarf evergreen shrubs and by 1878 the remaining beds and the Upper Flower Garden with hardy annual flowers. The only tender perennials (that is those requiring hot house conditions before planting) allowed by the duke were the geraniums in the vases on the balustrades. In addition, all of the formal beds and borders on the eastern shore of the lake were replaced with turf. In a report of a visit to Trentham in 1872, the author refers to the Lower Garden as 'the grass garden' and that the planting was in 'cooler colours' in striking contrast to the Upper Garden.¹³⁷

At first the new duke objected to the admittance of parties to the park but when his periods of residence declined permission was given again, although the admission of 'excursionists' was at the discretion of the land agent. The organisers of such excursions were known to mislead their customers by advertising that the visit would be to see the garden and the park.¹³⁸ The duke thought this was 'a great piece of impudence' and ordered that admittance must not be allowed, but such parties continued to arrive and in 1873 a party of 1500 people came by two special trains from Stockport expecting to see the garden. The organisers claimed to have the duke's permission but having failed to produce it they were directed to the park in accordance with the rule.¹³⁹ Eventually a solution to the problem was found in 1879 by copying a system in operation at Eaton Hall (Cheshire) of entry to the gardens by ticket, although at Trentham it was restricted to Monday, Wednesday, and Friday of each week provided that the family were not present. The cost was 1s. per adult and 6d. per child, tickets being sold at the hotel and the post office and at the gate.¹⁴⁰

One of the reasons for the duke's continued absence was the pollution in the river Trent and this remained a problem despite several attempts by Fleming to deepen it and encourage a faster flow through the garden; by 1872 the *Gardeners Chronicle* reported that that it was 'a foul, slimy sewer, brimful of the impurities of every dirty, crowded town that hugs its banks'.¹⁴¹ The duke took legal action in an attempt to prevent the river being used by surrounding towns as a sewer but this failed.¹⁴² The house moreover was said to be uninhabitable due to the stench, so that at the beginning of the 20th century the fourth duke offered it to Staffordshire County Council and the Borough of Stoke-on-Trent as an educational establishment. Both authorities declined and the contractors Young and Son of Longton were employed to demolish the hall and the materials were sold by auction, although the gates, vases, statues, and three of the four Italian pavilions were removed to other Sutherland estates.¹⁴³ In 1931 Trentham Gardens Limited was set up to manage the grounds as a public park;

133 Ibid. D. 593/N/2/8, porters' books.

134 William Molyneux, *Trentham and Its Garden* (1857); SRO, D. 593/K/1/3/47 Duchess to Loch, 7 July 1859.

135 *Gardeners Chronicle* (22 Aug 1857), 583; *The Florist* (September 1857), 267.

136 Molyneux, *Trentham and Its Garden*, 31.

137 *The Garden* (22 June 1872), 681.

138 Shropshire Archives, 665/3/1285, advertisement of the Shropshire Provident Society for an excursion on 28 July 1854.

139 SRO, D. 593/Q/2/1/1, Stevens to Wright, 16 July 1873.

140 Ibid. D. 593/Q/2/2/7, Wright to Menzies, 14 Mar. 1879.

141 *Gardeners Chronicle* (13 April 1872), 505.

142 SRO, D. 593/E/7/24, Tunstall Sewage Case, 1875.

143 *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 23 September 1911.

new facilities included tennis courts, a bowling green, bandstand, an outdoor swimming pool, miniature railway, caravan park, and a ballroom within the site of the kitchen garden.¹⁴⁴

At first a successful enterprise, such developments as gravel extraction, extensive felling of parkland trees, the activities of troops during the second world war, potential mining subsidence, the construction of the M6 motorway, and lack of resources had all conspired by the 1970s to a serious decline in the condition of the garden and remaining buildings. After several changes in ownership it was bought in 1996 by a consortium led by St Modwen Properties pic. The garden area on the east bank of the lake created by Brown and improved by Fleming had already been lost to cultivation but the lake, lakeside walks, some of the woodland, and much of Barry's formal garden layout remained. In regenerating the site as a tourist and leisure facility, the outline of the beds in the Upper Flower Garden, fountains, balustrades, pavilion, covered walk, and statue were restored. Contemporary schemes were commissioned from the leading landscape designers Tom Stuart-Smith and Piet Oudolf and planted on the footprint of Barry's Lower Flower Garden and the Private Wing Garden, and new attractions were installed.¹⁴⁵ After 130 years, the facility for anyone to see the garden at Trentham by ticket continues.

144 SRO, D. 593/H/13/69, mid 20th-century advertisement showing the attractions.

145 www.trenthamleisure.co.uk

BRITONS AT RUDYARD

ANDREW BREEZE

The most famous Staffordshire place-name is not that of Lichfield or Stoke or Wolverhampton, but of Rudyard, north of Leek in the Staffordshire Moorlands (SJ 9557). To this accidental celebrity may be added another surprise, that the form is a Celtic one, though nobody has suggested this before. The evidence is as follows.

Guidebooks mention Rudyard's mansions, guest-houses, and picturesque two-mile lake, created in 1799 to supply water for the Caldon canal.¹ In woods bordering it the young Stoke architect J. Lockwood Kipling and his sweetheart Alice MacDonald would walk, and it was there that he asked her to be his wife. Hence the name of their son, born in Bombay in 1865 and called (as a lesser writer remarked, somewhat disobligingly) after a reservoir.

On the meaning of the toponym, standard opinion was set out long ago by Ekwall. He gave the attestations *Rudegeard* of 1002, *Rudierd* in Domesday Book, and *Rudeyard* of 1330, and suggested an interpretation 'yard or garden where rue (Old English *rude*) was grown'. Yet he offered as an alternative 'pond where rudds were kept'.² Writing in Sweden, he did not know that Rudyard Lake was modern. Mills in part follows Ekwall, giving the probable explanation 'yard or enclosure where rue is grown'.³ Watts translates confidently 'the rue garden' though noting Horovitz's proposal 'red yard' from Old English *rudig* plus *geard*, and adding that there is red soil at Red Earth Farm, in Redshaw Wood, and by Rad Brook (which flows into Rudyard Lake).⁴

Horovitz was moving in the right direction. Rue, a perennial evergreen shrub with strong-scented leaves once used in medicine, is not found wild in England, and seems otherwise unknown in English place-names. So Horovitz's comment on red earth is pertinent. But there are phonological objections to a derivation from *rudig* 'ruddy', and 'red yard' makes poor sense.

However, if we look at the map, we find that Redshaw, Rudyard Hall, and Redearth lie east of Rudyard Lake, on the flank of Gun, a prominent ridge rising to over 1,250 feet and with the farms of Gunend and Gunsides at each extremity. This landform points not to an English etymology but a Celtic one. A hill of this kind would be called *garth* in Welsh, as at Penarth 'headland top' near Cardiff or Tregarth 'hamlet ridge' near Bangor. As for the first element, this surely corresponds to Welsh *rhudd* 'red' or Cornish *ruth* 'red', as at Rhuddlan 'red bank' in Denbighshire or Redruth 'red ford' in Cornwall.⁵ On grounds phonological, geological, and topographical, there is hence every reason to regard the early forms *Rudegeard*, *Rudierd*, and *Rudeyard* as having the equivalents of Welsh *rhudd* 'red' plus *garth* 'ridge'.

Other English toponyms strengthen the case: Lydeard in Somerset is attested as *Lidegeard* in 854 and Lydiard Millicent in Wiltshire as *Lidgeard* in 901. Both are explained from a Brittonic form meaning 'grey ridge' (= Welsh *llwyd* plus *garth*), and not from Old English *geard* 'yard'.⁶ Since Wiltshire and Somerset have villages with Celtic names meaning 'grey ridge', then Staffordshire can have the like, meaning 'red ridge' and referring to conspicuous Gun, with rough grazing near its summit (marked by a triangulation station) and its eastern slopes in the Peak National Park.

If *Rudyard* is a Celtic form, the implications for settlement in early Staffordshire are clear. It is evidence for British survival on the edge of the Peak in the later 7th century, when the English had begun a push towards the Cheshire and Lancashire plains.⁷ Archaeological remains of that period will not be Anglo-Saxon but of an older, Celtic culture. We can thus add another to the county's tally of Celtic place-names, like Hints (SK 1503) 'roads' (cf. Welsh *hynt* 'path, route') or High Onn (SJ 8216) 'kilns' (= Welsh *odynau* 'kilns').⁸ Rudyard will have nothing to do with the plant rue, or

1 N. J. Tringham, 'Rudyard Lake', in *A History of the County of Stafford*, VII: Leek and the Moorlands, ed. M. W. Greenslade (London, 1996), 68-9.

2 Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1936), 377.

3 A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1991), 278.

4 *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, ed. V. E. Watts (Cambridge, 2004), 512; David Horovitz, *The Place-Names of Staffordshire* (Stafford, 2005), 468.

5 Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* (Llandysul, 2007), 362, 417, 469.

6 Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edition (Oxford, 1960), 308.

7 D. J. Tyler, 'Early Mercia and the Britons', in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Nick Higham (Woodbridge, 2007), 91-101.

8 Richard Coates and Andrew Breeze, *Celtic Voices, English Places* (Stamford, 2000), 334, 336.

the fish rudd, or a red yard. The form will mean 'red ridge' (Welsh *rhudd* 'red' plus *garth* 'ridge'), applied to the lofty whaleback of Gun.

That Rudyard Kipling had a first name of Celtic origin may seem strange. Yet few writers have known more about ethnicity and English history than he did. He would therefore have been well placed to write a poem or short story on 7th-century Rudyard, and on the British men and women who lived there when the English came.

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