STAFFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



TRANSACTIONS VOLUME XLIX

STAFFORDSHIRE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL

SOCIETY

T R A N S A C T I O N S

VOLUME XLIX

Stafford
2017

© Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society 2017

ISBN 978 0 86061 066 3
ISSN 1479 6368

Typeset and printed in Great Britain by
4word Ltd, Bristol

CONTENTS

A BRONZE AGE FLAT GRAVE AT THE ROACHES, STAFFORDSHIRE 1
JOHN BARNATT

THE ROMANESQUE FONT AT ST MARY'S CHURCH, STAFFORD 28
RITA WOOD

LORDSHIP AND MONASTIC PATRONAGE IN TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY STAFFORDSHIRE: THE HONOR OF TUTBURY AND ITS NEIGHBOURS 48
JOHN HUNT

THE ABORTIVE INCLOSURE OF NEEDWOOD FOREST IN THE 1650s 68
NIGEL J. TRINGHAM

CHINESE TEA, TURKISH COFFEE, AND SCOTTISH TOBACCO: IMAGE AND MEANING IN UTTOXETER'S POOR LAW VOUCHERS 80
PETER COLLINGE

SHORT NOTICE

JIM GOULD – A BIBLIOGRAPHY 90
BETTY FOX

ARCHAEOLOGY SUMMARY REPORT

STOKE-ON-TRENT 92
JON GOODWIN

BOOK REVIEWS

Malcolm Hislop and others, *Tutbury: 'A Castle firmly Built'* (John Hunt) 94
John Hunt, *Warriors*, *Warlords and Saints* (Nigel Tringham) 97

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE 99

LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND PLATES

BRONZE AGE GRAVE

Fig. 1 Location of The Roaches and other associated features 3
Fig. 2 Plan and elevations of the sand pit 4
Fig. 3 Collared urn from grave 10
Fig. 4 Bronze awl and conjectural reconstruction of bone toggle 16

Plate 1 Location of grave pit with collared urn and cremation 2
Plate 2 Location of grave pit with collared urn and cremation 2
Plate 3 Sand pit as re-excavated 3
Plate 4 Remaining part of the prehistoric grave pit before archaeological excavation 5
Plate 5 Detail of the prehistoric grave pit before archaeological excavation 5
Plate 6 Prehistoric grave pit after excavation 5
Plate 7 Exocranial view of right temporal zone fragment 7
Plate 8 Urn thin section 14
Plate 9 Examples of thin sections 14
Plate 10 Point of awl 17
Plate 11 Surface of awl 17
Plate 12 Sample location for spectrum 3 from awl 18
Plate 13 Sample location for spectrum 4 from awl 18
Plate 14 Small area of the awl scraped to bare metal 18
Plate 15 Sample location for the spectrum at the small area of the awl 18
Plate 16 Calcined fragments of the bone toggle 19
Plate 17 Flat saddle where the flat grave was found 21
Plate 18 The Roaches and Hen Cloud 21
Plate 19 Part of rock landscape at the southern end of The Roaches 22
Plate 20 Naturally formed ‘dolmen’ of the Bawd Stone 22
Plate 21 Bawd Stone 22

Table 1 Results of the charcoal analysis 9

FONT AT ST MARY’S, STAFFORD

(*All photographs except figs 5 and 14 have been taken by the author*.)

Fig. 1 Font in St Mary’s, Stafford, from south-east 29
Fig. 2 Interior of the bowl from the north-west 29
Fig. 3 Font in the *Liber Floridus* 30
Fig. 4 Font in an *Exultet* roll 31
Fig. 5 Font in the Evangelische Stadtkirche, Freudenstadt (Germany) 32
Fig. 6 Standing man on the east face 34
Fig. 7 Upper part of the woman on the north face, seen from the right 34
Fig. 8 Animal on the west face, from the right 35
Fig. 9 Font at Castle Frome (Herefs.): the baptism of Christ 35
Fig. 10 Complete figure of the woman, from left 37
Fig. 11 Animal on the west face, from the west 37
Fig. 12 Animal on the south face, from the left 37
Fig. 13 Corbel on the apse at Mouchan, Gers (France) 37
Fig. 14 West entrance at Sant’ Ambrogio, Milan (Italy); animals climbing pillars 38
Fig. 15 Man on the north-east corner of the base (Stafford font) 38
Fig. 16 Support of the font at Castle Frome: a man praying 38
Fig. 17 Capital of nave arcade at Conisbrough (Yorks.): a man praying 38

Fig. 18 Man on the south-west angle of the base: hands inactive (Stafford font) 39
Fig. 19 Corbel at Birkin (Yorks.) 39
Fig. 20 Corbel at Kirkburn (Yorks.) 39
Fig. 21 Horned sheep on south-east corner (Stafford font) 43
Fig. 22 Funerary monument from Corbridge Roman Town 43

ABORTIVE INCLOSURE OF NEEDWOOD FOREST
Fig. 1 Needwood forest: wards, parks, and surrounding villages 69
Plate 1 Cattle brands used by villagers claiming common rights 71

UTTOXETER POOR LAW VOUCHERS
Fig. 1 John Shaw bill head, 1835 84
Fig. 2 Thomas Brindley bill head, 1837 84
Fig. 3 R. R. Bagshaw and Sons bill head, 1829 87

A BRONZE AGE FLAT GRAVE AT THE ROACHES, STAFFORDSHIRE

JOHN BARNATT

with contributions by
ALISTAIR BARCLAY, PAULINE BESWICK, DANA CHALLINOR, KEVIN COOTES, JACQUELINE McKINLEY, PETER NORTHOVER, PATRICK QUINN, and VALERIE STEELE

ABSTRACT

In May 2015 contractors were repairing the public footpath that passes close to the southern edge of The Roaches outcrop; they made an unexpected discovery. While digging a pit for sand, a mattock was put through a collared urn at a place where there had never been a barrow or other known Bronze Age monument.

A rescue excavation was mounted by staff of the Peak District National Park Authority and it was found that the small and somewhat squat urn, decorated with twisted cord and incised decoration, lay within a purposefully dug grave pit, most of which survived. The pot had been placed leaning against the pit side, resting on top of a heap of calcined bones which comprised human bones together with those of a pig. In the heap there was also a small bronze awl and broken pieces of a calcined bone toggle. Bone from the cremation produced a radiocarbon date of 1890–1680 cal BC (at 2σ).

This flat grave is important in that it is an example of burial practices in the uplands of northern England rarely glimpsed in landscapes which are not often ploughed or otherwise disturbed. The setting is also instructive, for the grave is placed in a saddle below spectacular rock outcrops. These may well have been seen as a special place in prehistory, rising through the tree-covered landscape of the nearby lowlands, an 'other world' perhaps 'created' by spirits and ancestors. There is recorded folk practice which indicates that one nearby 'dolmen-like' rock, the Bawd Stone, has long been venerated.

INTRODUCTION

In May 2015 contractors working for Staffordshire Wildlife Trust were repairing the public footpath that passes close to the southern edge of The Roaches outcrop, near Upper Hulme and 5km (3.5 miles) north of Leek, in the Staffordshire Moorlands part of the Peak District; they made an unexpected discovery.

The footpath comes from the road to the west of Rockhall, rising up-slope to the south-east and then running just north of a narrow strip of enclosed improved land, on the moorland side of the drystone wall at the field edge; it then turns more to the north-east to an intersection of paths. Ballast pits were dug adjacent to the path to provide sand for the repairs, and these were subsequently backfilled with peaty topsoil and then re-turfed. At one such pit, at SK 00663 62055, just as digging was being completed on 19 May, much to the surprise of Kieran Fogarty, one of the contractors, his mattock went through a Bronze Age collared urn.

Realising the potential importance of the discovery, Kieran collected up the recognisable pieces of pot, some with soil adhering that contained cremated bone and charcoal, and also photographed the pit side where the urn had been found. The sherds he recovered included three large pieces of collar with cord-impressed decoration and five further large sherds, including some with inscribed decoration and all with parts of the plain lower pot side and base.

Several weeks later the author directed a small rescue excavation, with colleagues assisting, to place the discovery in its context. This was done with the blessing of the Peak District National Park Authority who own the land, Staffordshire Wildlife Trust who hold The Roaches on a long-term lease, and Natural England who ensure no damaging works take place within the Leek SSSI which includes the area where the urn was found.

The buried urn lay just north of the footpath at the very southern end of the main rocky outcrop of The Roaches. This ridge extends for over 5km (3.5 miles) north–west, forming a distinctive and highly visible feature, in parts with scarp-edge cliffs facing south-west. At 1.9km (1.2 miles) along it, there is a Bronze Age round barrow on the crest (Barnatt and Collis 1996, 245, site 23:10). The southern end of The Roaches outcrop is boulder-strewn, with a multitude of large rounded rocks forming a strange and impressive 'other world'. The urn found in 2015, which the archaeological



Plate 1 The location of the grave pit with collared urn and cremation (red dot), close to the saddle between The Roaches (behind photographer) and Hen Cloud (beyond the saddle).

excavation showed to be within a grave pit with cremated bone and artefacts, was buried at the base of this outcrop, at one side of a flat 'saddle', beyond which the land rises again to the equally distinctive but shorter Hen Cloud outcrop. On the other side of the 'saddle' there is the 'Bawd Stone', a naturally-placed rock which is distinctly 'dolmen-like' and has associated folklore connected with healing.



Plate 2 The location of the grave pit that contained a cremation and collared urn (red dot), which was found behind the wall next to a footpath at the base of the rock outcrops at The Roaches.

THE EXCAVATION

The site was revisited on 30 July 2015 and the footpath ballast pit dug in May was re-opened and archaeologically excavated, with the soils of the cremation grave and parts of the 2015 backfill soils dry-sieved to recover artefacts, bone, and charcoal; it was not practicable to retain the soils which contained the small fraction of bone and charcoal that went through the sieve. The ballast pit was largely re-emptied, with only a small part of its western end left undug. It was found to have vertical sides and an irregular rounded bottom, up to 1.00m deep. The bottom half was dug into the subsoil sand that was used for path repair. At the floor of the 2015 pit one sherd of collar

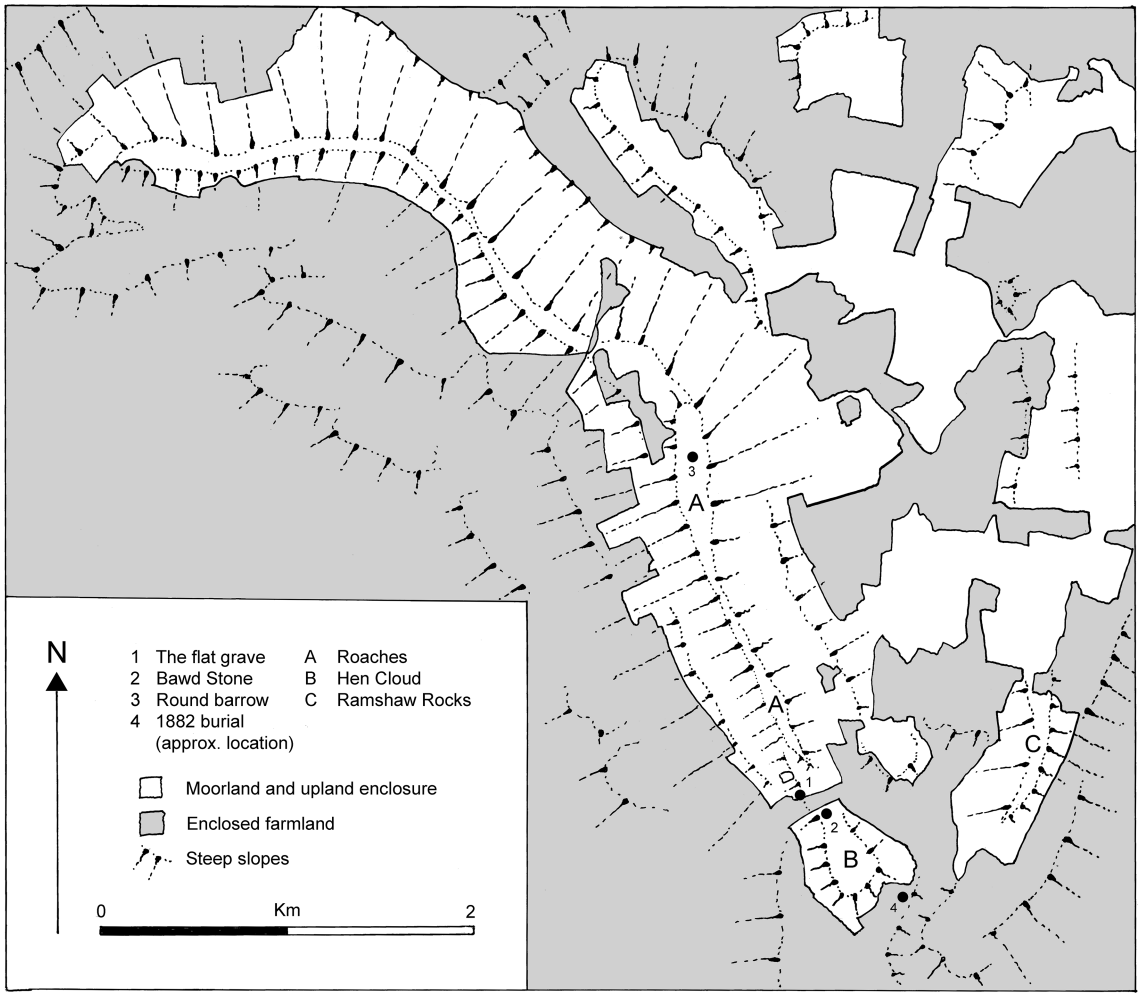


Fig. 1 The location of The Roaches and other associated features, shown in relation to moorland and open pasture.

from the urn, together with very small amounts of cremated bone and charcoal, were found a short distance east of the urn position; these had clearly fallen when the urn was damaged and the sherd had escaped notice, presumably buried in soil from the pit, when its visible pieces were collected up.



Plate 3 The sand pit, as re-excavated, with a small amount of material not removed to the left. The small red and white scale is below the remaining part of grave pit, photographed before it was archaeologically excavated.

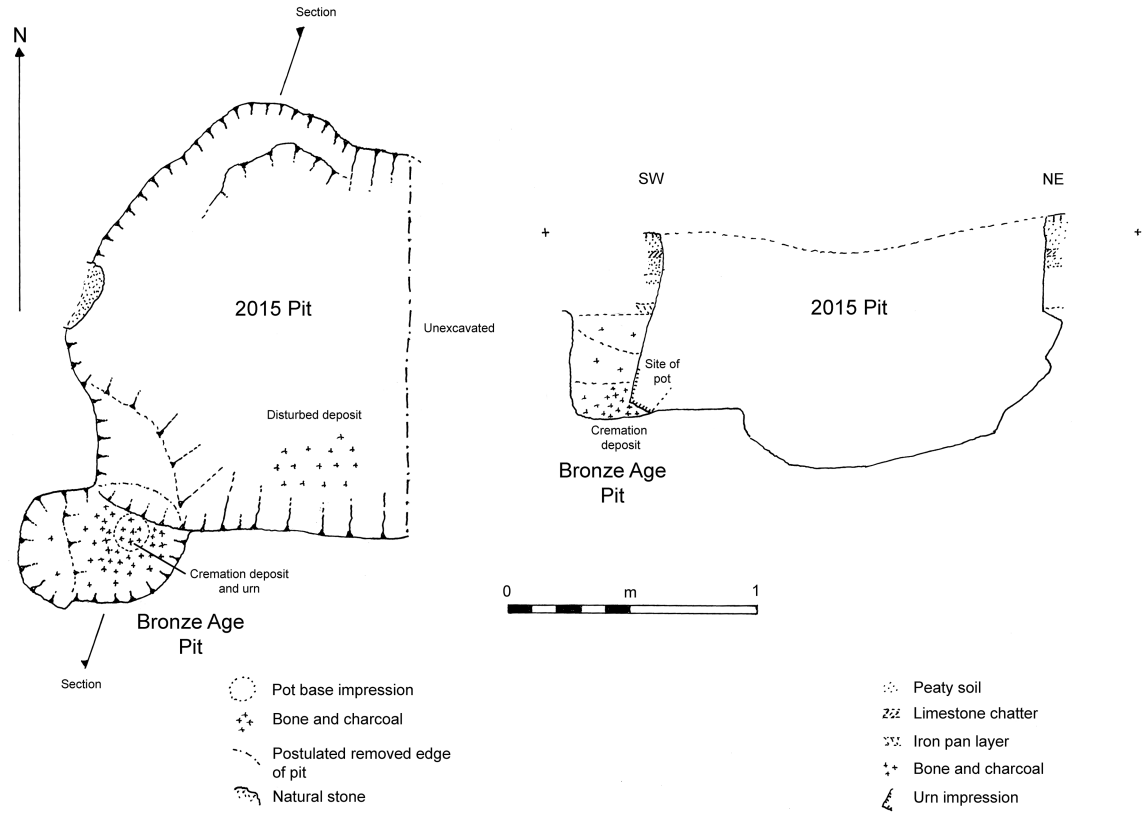


Fig. 2 Plan and elevations of the sand pit as re-excavated archaeologically in 2015, with the *in-situ* part of the pit of the Bronze Age flat grave to the south-west side

The site of the grave-pit which contained the urn was found in the south-western quadrant of the 2015 pit side. It was first recognised in July from small patches of cremated bone and flecks of charcoal in the pit side; with further careful cleaning of the soil containing bone and charcoal, the impression left by the pot base and part of its side was found. Further excavation showed that the pot had been placed in a pit dug into the subsoil in the Bronze Age. This was almost certainly a flat grave rather than being under a now-destroyed mound; if such a mound had ever existed, traces of this are very likely to have survived given the rocky moorland landscape.

The vertical-sided Bronze Age grave pit was oval, measured 0.60m by 0.45m in plan and was 0.50m deep. Immediately above its top there was a peaty post-prehistoric soil with lenses of hill-wash, while above these was a lens with limestone chippings, presumably from previous footpath repair. At the pit, excavation was confined to those parts cut into the subsoil under a thin mottled layer with iron pan which was left *in situ* so as not to disturb the footpath; there were no signs of pit sides in the soils above the iron pan. This excavation strategy precluded excavating the pit from above in quadrants, removing the fill and cremation deposit in carefully-controlled thin spits. Three layers of fill within the grave pit were excavated, with a total depth of 0.41m. These became more-loamy with depth and while small amounts of cremated bone and charcoal from the pyre were scattered throughout the fill, a deposit in the bottom of the pit stood out in contrast. Here there was a pile of cremated bones mixed with charcoal at the centre of the grave, placed in a heap on the pit bottom. The urn was placed on the bone heap, with its base downwards at a 40 degree angle from the horizontal; its top presumably leant against the side of the pit to the north-east that had been mattocked away in May.

Other small finds accompanied the human cremation and pot, all found in the bone heap in the pit bottom, including animal bones, a small bronze awl, and 12 fragments of a calcined bone toggle. There was also a flint flake and two quartzite pebbles that are uncertain purposeful inclusions; alternatively they may have been in the soil dug out when the burial pit was created.



Plate 4 The remaining part of the prehistoric grave pit before archaeological excavation, the lower part of which had a darker soil than the subsoil into which it had been cut. Flecks of cremated bone are visible



Plate 5 Detail of the prehistoric grave pit before archaeological excavation, with the original impression left by the pot base and side clearly visible; the pot had fallen out when the 2015 sand pit was dug, leaving the majority of the pit and its fill *in-situ* beyond the edge of the disturbance



Plate 6 The prehistoric grave pit after excavation; the post-prehistoric soils above were left in place because of the proximity of the footpath

CREMATED BONE AND ASPECTS OF THE MORTUARY RITE

Jacqueline I. McKinley

INTRODUCTION

The remains of an Early Bronze Age cremation burial were recovered from a 0.41m deep grave. The north-west edge of the grave had been cut through removing material from the two grave fills and the burial deposit itself, and had caused some damage to a Collared Urn grave good placed over/ to one side of the bone (Fig. 2). The burial remains lay in a heap in the lower 0.14m depth of the grave and incorporated small amounts of fuel ash, with an unburnt bronze awl being recovered from amongst the bone. Fragments of cremated bone and fuel ash were also observed spread throughout the remaining 0.27m depth of the fill, undoubtedly representing secondary deposits of pyre debris added to the back fill of the grave. A 0.40m-diameter spread of cremated bone and fuel ash was also recorded in the base of the 2015 workman's pit close to the grave, presumably re-deposited grave fill/ burial remains disturbed by the workmen. During the excavation the cremated remains were bagged separately for each context, but were combined post–excavation by the excavator as those in the grave fills above the burial remains and in the ballast pit comprised only small fragments of bone.

METHODS

Recording and analysis of the cremated bone followed the writer's standard procedures (McKinley 1994, 5–21; 2004a) with one exception. The small fraction residues, which would have been inclusive of some bone and fuel ash, were jettisoned by the excavator following dry sieving of the remains on site. Consequently, these fractions were not available for scanning by the writer following normal practice.

Age and sex was ascertained following standard methodologies (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Gejvall 1981; Scheuer and Black 2000; Wahl 1982).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Taphonomy The bone is in good visual condition with some slight surface erosion only. Trabecular bone (generally the first to suffer in a burial environment adverse to bone survival: McKinley 1997a, 245; Nielsen-Marsh *et al*. 2000), as well as the more robust compact bone, is well represented. It is unlikely that much, if any, bone has been lost from the deposit due to taphonomic factors related to the burial environment. The workman's 2015 pit had cut into the grave at one side by some 0.15m. Although the excavator observed that the bone was at its greatest depth at the centre of the burial deposit, falling away towards the edges, some of this material had clearly been removed by the workman to one side. Whilst it is known that a small quantity of the disturbed remains were re-deposited and recovered from the base of the 2015 pit, more of the bone could have inadvertently been removed and lost.

The individual The 645.7g of bone recovered represent the remains of a small, gracile, mature adult female (35–45 yrs). Degenerative disc disease, resulting from the breakdown of the intervertebral disc, was observed in most areas of the spine, being recorded in five of the six vertebral bodies recorded (two cervical, two thoracic, and the 1st sacral). The condition is generally reflective of age-related wear-and-tear (Rogers and Waldron 1995, 27). Lone osteophytes (new bone growth on joint surface margins) often appear to be a 'normal accompaniment of age' (Rogers and Waldron 1995, 25–6). Slight lesions were seen in the body surface margins of the only vertebra not affected by degenerative disc disease (thoracic/lumbar), and in the distal interphalangeal joint of a middle finger phalanx (only phalanx recovered; 1/14 extra spinal joints). Enthesophytes are new bone growths which develop at tendon insertions most frequently as a consequence of repeat trauma from muscle exertion (Rogers and Waldron 1995, 23–5). Slight lesions were observed on the iliac crest (associated with strain to abdominal or thigh muscles) and in the palmer lateral margin of the finger phalanx. Although this individual falls in the mature adult range and many of the recorded lesions are often associated with advancing age, the extent and location of the lesions suggest this small woman had a fairly physically stressful lifestyle (e.g. much bending and lifting under strain).

Aspects of the Mortuary Rite The cremated bone is almost universally white in colour, the high level of oxidation indicated (Holden *et al*. 1995a and b) demonstrates an effective cremation process

with sufficient time, temperature, and oxygen supply. Rapid dehydration of the bone in the area of the right temporal zone is suggested by extensive deformation of bone which has curled back round over the inner side of the skull (Plate 7). Conversely, a fragment of the left lateral supra-orbit and a fragment of skull vault (1/133) appear to be unburnt/slightly scorched only. This suggests the right side of the head was subject to intense heat whilst a relatively restricted area of the left side was insulated from the necessary oxygen supply and potentially from much of the heat as well. Such a situation may arise where part of the head was covered by or laid over some form of extraneous material (e.g. a pillow or leather covering; for further discussion see McKinley 1994, 76–8; 2004b, 293–5; 2008).

The recorded weight of bone is within the mid–lower range of those recovered from Early Bronze Age burials in the British Isle (McKinley 1997b) and represents approximately 40% by weight of the average expected weight of bone from an adult cremation (McKinley 1993). Although some bone may be missing as a result of disturbance, and it is not possible to estimate the amount that may have been present in the jettisoned small fractions, the quantities are not likely to have been substantial (no more than 50–100g; small fractions recorded elsewhere have been shown to represent an average 6–7% of the overall total weight of bone recorded (McKinley 2013a; 2016)).

The largest bone fragment recorded is 60mm and the majority of the bone (65% by weight) was recovered from the 10mm sieve fraction. Confident comment regarding the level of fragmentation is hampered by the absence of the small fraction residues (see above), but the recorded data would not support there having been deliberate fragmentation of the bone prior to burial.

A relatively high proportion of bone (51%; general range 30–40%) was identified to skeletal element. All four areas of the skeleton are present, with a marked over-representation of skull elements (52% of identifiable bone by weight; 'norm' would be 18%). Given the comparative ease of recognition of even small fragments of the skull it is commonly over-represented amongst the identifiable skeletal elements, often in favour of the taphonomically fragile axial elements (McKinley 1994, 5–6), though there is little evidence of taphonomic loss in the burial from The Roaches (see above). The latter are under-represented here (8% by weight, 'norm' of 20%), but no more so than the upper limb (10%, 'norm' 23%; lower limb 30%, norm 38%). This may suggest some degree of deliberation in favouring collection of skull elements from the pyre site for inclusion in the burial, but the rest of the skeleton is represented, with no omissions of discrete areas, and the apparent focus on the skull could be simply fortuitous.

The small bones of the hands and feet are routinely recovered from cremation burials, and the writer has discussed elsewhere how their frequency of occurrence may provide some indication of way in which bone was collected from the pyre site for burial (McKinley 2004b, 300–1). In the region of five to 20 such small elements are routinely recovered from, for example, Middle Bronze Age burials (*personal observation*), with substantially higher numbers from some of the larger (>1000g) Early Bronze Age burials (e.g. 24–143 at Barrow Clump and Amesbury Down, Wiltshire: McKinley 2016; forthcoming). The 11 small elements from the burial at The Roaches fall within the lower range, suggesting the method of collection involved hand recovery of individual bone fragments from the pyre site rather than raking-together and winnowing of the remains which would enhance the ease of recovery of such small bones.



Plate 7 Exocranial view of right temporal zone fragment showing extensive deformation (curled round over the endocranial surface) due to rapid dehydration

Pyre goods in the form of a relatively substantial quantity of cremated animal bone (32g, *c*. 5% of the total bone weight) were recovered amongst the human bone (location within the grave unknown as the burial deposit and pyre debris from the grave fill were all combined post-excavation as a single entity). A single species was identified – pig – including fragments of skull, scapula, metacarpals/tarsals and phalanges (identifications by Lorrain Higbee); other fragments are of a commensurate size but with no species identification. The inclusion of animal remains on the pyre seems to have comprised a common part of the mortuary rite, with an average 16% of Bronze Age burials being found to contain small quantities of animal bone, sheep/goat and pig being the most commonly recognised species (McKinley 1997b).

Three fragments of worked bone were found by the excavator, and a further nine fragments (2.2g) of the same item were recovered by the writer. These fragments join together to form a toggle (see Barclay below) which had also been on the pyre with the deceased. The bronze awl (see Northover below) found amongst the bone during excavation appears not to have been burnt. If this were to represent a grave good rather than a pyre good (i.e. added only at the time of burial) its location amongst the bone – rather than on top of or to one side of – is interesting since it suggests that it was deliberately mixed with the cremated remains before or, less likely, during burial. It is, however, possible for items to be placed on the pyre and suffer no apparent burning if they are located where they are insulated from the heat/flame and/or if they fall off the pyre at an early stage only to be recovered for burial.

The deliberate inclusion of pyre debris in the fill of Bronze Age cremation graves is frequently observed. Generally such deposits were made after the burial, around or above it (McKinley 1997b), and this is probably what occurred in this case from The Roaches. Whether the inclusion of this material in the grave represented a purely practical 'cleaning-up' process or was part of the 'closure' of burial is uncertain, but its presence does suggest the relative proximity of the pyre site to the grave. Cremated remains are intrinsically portable, whether urned or carried in some other form of container (bag/basket), but it is less likely that a separate container of pyre debris would also be carried any significant distance or be subject to 'curation'.

Particulars of the burial formation process may be ascertained from a combination of the detailed excavation and osteological data. In this case, the method of discovery and excavation (no spits and quadrants employed; bone from different contexts amalgamated) has limited some of this data recovery. Most unurned burials for which we have evidence appear to have been made in some form of organic container – indeed, some urned burials of Bronze Age date also appear to have first been placed in a bag of some form – though there are examples where the bone was apparently placed directly into the grave (McKinley 2006; 2013b; 2015; forthcoming). At The Roaches, the 'heaped' appearance of the burial deposit may suggest it was contained in a bag of some sort, the neck of which was positioned centrally, with secondary deposits of pyre debris being added to the backfill. Alternatively, as suggested by the excavator, it could have been 'poured' into position from the vessel subsequently set to the side of it, in which case the intriguing question is why decant it and leave the vessel there rather than make an urned burial?

THE CHARCOAL *Dana Challinor*

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Wood charcoal was recovered during the excavation of the flat grave with cremation deposit and collared urn. The nature of the context, with 54gm of charcoal mixed with cremated human and animal bone, indicates that the charcoal derived from pyre debris. A further 40gm of charcoal from the fill of the pit above the cremation deposit was presumably also pyre debris. The charcoal mixed with the cremated bone was examined primarily to find suitable material for radiocarbon dating, but also to characterise the assemblage with the aim of recording the fuel used for the cremation.

Standard identification procedures were followed using identification keys (Hather 2000; Schweingruber 1990) and modern reference material. The charcoal was fractured and examined at low magnification (up to X45), with representative fragments examined in longitudinal sections at high magnification (up to X400). Observations on maturity and other features were made where appropriate. Classification and nomenclature follow Stace 1997.

RESULTS

The charcoal was well preserved, though friable, with large fragments (up to 27mm). The assemblage was dominated by *Quercus* sp. (oak), with a single fragment of *Corylus avellana* (hazel). The latter was a roundwood stem of five years growth with pith but no bark preserved. Much of the oak exhibited tyloses consistent with the use of heartwood and no, or only slight, ring curvature was observed. Some slow growth was observed, where there were few or no latewood pores, but the larger pieces were of average growth, with twelve or more rings.

In addition to the wood charcoal, a number of tuber/rhizomes were recorded. These were not identified taxonomically, but it was clear from the anatomical structure, which showed discrete patterns of vascular bundles, that more than one taxon was present. There were also a few small twigs or rootlets which are unlikely to be identifiable.

TABLE 1 Results of the charcoal analysis

Taxa	Type	Number of fragments
Quercus sp. (oak)	Heartwood	21
	indeterminate maturity	8
Corylus avellana L. (hazel)	Roundwood	1
Total identified		**30**

DISCUSSION

The predominance of a single taxon in Bronze Age cremation assemblages is well attested at other sites in Britain (for example Thompson 1999; Campbell 2007). It indicates that a specific wood fuel was deliberately selected for use in cremation, rather than the more *ad hoc* approach to domestic fuel use seen in non-funerary contexts (Challinor 2010a). It has even been suggested that the use of mature oak represents the felling of a whole tree especially for the cremation. On a more prosaic level, oak, especially heartwood, provides the high calorific heat necessary to cremate a human body and it is a taxon that would have been widely available in the region. Charcoal from a collared urn burial at King's Low round barrow near Stafford was similarly all identified as oak, including mature wood (Challinor 2014). At King's Low, the evidence suggested that oak was used both for the pyre construction as well as the fuel.

The presence of tubers in the assemblage is of interest as these have been frequently found in Bronze Age cremation assemblages, especially the edible *Arrhenatherum elatius* (onion couch). The tubers from The Roaches urn were not morphologically typical of the striated bulbs of *Arrhenatherum,* but thinner, less bulbous examples have been recorded (for example see images in Challinor 2010b). There has been much debate on the significance of *Arrhenatherum* in archaeobotanical assemblages across Europe (Roehrs *et al*. 2013*)* but it seems likely that the presence of tubers relate to the pyre construction and reflect the (accidental or otherwise) burning of nearby vegetation or the use of turves (Campbell 2007). The associated presence of smaller rhizome-type remains and the lack of swollen bulb type tubers in The Roaches assemblage suggests that burnt debris from the pyre is represented rather than edible remains deliberately added.

RADIOCARBON DATING *John Barnatt*

Although charcoal and tubers were identified as suitable for radiocarbon dating, a sample of calcined bone from the cremation deposit was submitted for analysis as this avoided any possible dating error due to introduction of old material into the cremation deposit. One sample of calcined bone selected by J. McKinley was submitted to the Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre. This gave a conventional radiocarbon age (Stuiver and Polach 1977) of 3455±29BP (SUERC-67520), which calibrates to 1890–1680 cal BC (at 2σ) using the maximum intercept method (Stuiver and Reimer 1986), the program OxCal v4.2 (Bronk Ramsey 1995; 2009), and the IntCal13 data set for terrestrial samples from the northern hemisphere (Reimer *et al*. 2013). The result indicates that the burial was made during the Early Bronze Age and is entirely consistent with what is to be expected for a cremation burial accompanied by a collared urn.

THE COLLARED URN *Pauline Beswick*

DESCRIPTION

Approximately two-thirds of the urn survives and a number of large joining pieces enabled a full profile to be drawn (Fig. 3).

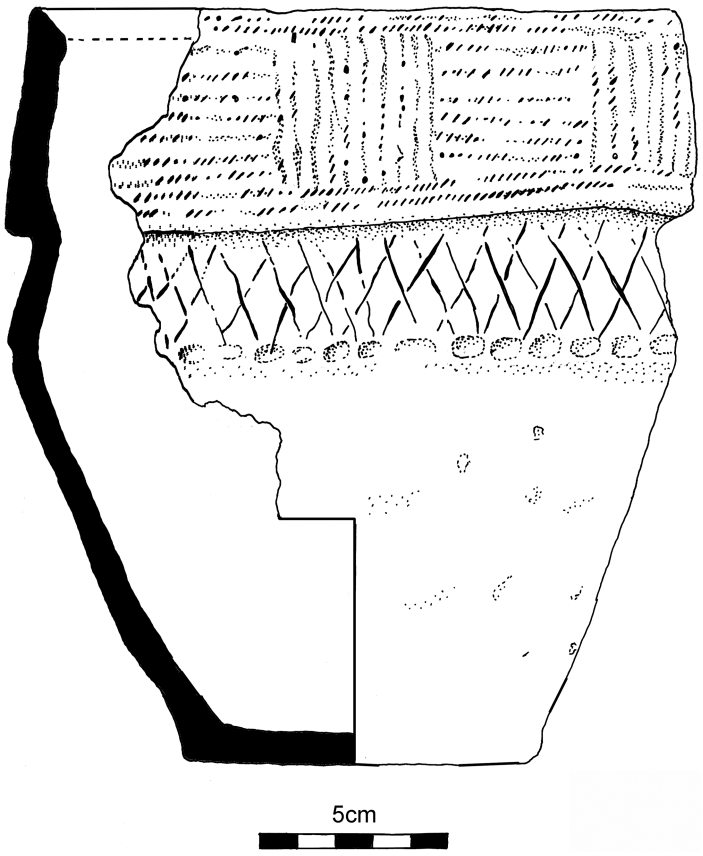


Fig. 3 The collared urn from The Roaches flat grave

Ten large sherds plus smaller fragments were retrieved, weighing 1149g in total. Mostly sherds are unabraded, although there is evidence of some water damage on the exterior of two, presumably as a result of recent exposure to the elements. The outer surface is orangey-brown in colour and in cross section the fabric is almost consistently orangey-red or brown, indicating oxidizing conditions throughout firing. Internally there are darker brown areas on the orangey-red surface, possibly residue from use or soil staining resulting from burial conditions. Inside the base, however, and for *c*. 55mm above there is some evidence of surface damage and pitting from contact with an acidic substance. This may provide evidence for the urn's use prior to burial and/or perhaps for its final contents at the time of burial. An alternative explanation might be the percolation of acidic water during burial but it would then be difficult to account for the absence of such damage elsewhere on the pot.

In form the pot is a Collared Urn, a type found usually with cremation burials, often under barrows, and dated by associations to the Early Bronze Age (Longworth 1984). It is tripartite in shape with a flat base and cone-shaped body rising to a shoulder which angles inwards slightly as a short, straight neck above which is an upright, broad overhanging collar with a simple bevelled rim. The shape is similar to Longworth's Form II (1984, 33), the collar to his Form D (ibid., 6) and the rim to his type 6 (ibid., 5), all so-called primary traits (ibid., 21). In size the urn measures 20cm in height with a base diameter of 9cm and a rim diameter of 17.5cm. The collar varies in depth from 6cm to 5.5cm; the neck is from 3.5cm to 3cm deep; the shoulder *c*. 17.5cm in diameter; and the body *c*. 10cm high. Body thickness ranges from 6mm to 8mm and the collar is around 10mm thick. It is around half the size of the most frequently found Collared Urns – *c*. 40cm high and 33cm broad – (ibid., 34) and rather broad and squat for its height.

The decoration comprises a hurdle pattern on the collar in deeply impressed twisted cord; an incised lattice pattern on the neck; and a horizontal row of oval impressions around the shoulder. The rim bevel is undecorated and the collar's hurdle pattern is bounded both top and bottom with two parallel lines of twisted cord. A fine cord *c*. 1mm thick was used with a degree of care and the blocks of vertical and horizontal lines in the pattern are *c*. 40mm long by *c*. 40mm high. There are more lines in the vertical blocks (average of 10) than in the horizontal (average 6 or 7) and the spacing between varies accordingly. A sharply edged tool less than 1mm wide was used to incise the latticing. Longworth, who saw lattice decoration as a defining characteristic of his Secondary Series North Western Style Urns, claimed that the incisions were usually produced using the sharp edge of a flint flake (Longworth 1984, 30). This may have been the case here, but there is no proof and bone, wood, or metal could have served as alternatives. Certainly execution was more free-hand than with the hurdle pattern, and line spacing varies widely between 5mm and 10mm. The oval impressions on the shoulder below, also a feature typical of the North Western Style, measure, on average, 8mm wide by 5mm high with 2mm spaces in between. A lack of fingernail evidence would suggest that another instrument was probably used. Below the shoulder the body was left plain.

The fabric is soft and slightly sandy to the touch (for terms used for fabric description see PCRG 2010). It is coarse and hackly (an uneven rough break surface along a fresh fracture) in cross section with some visible inclusions; quartz averaging 0.5mm–1.0mm in size, an angular clay-like material, possibly grog (see Petrographic Report below) up to 6mm wide and occasional chert chippings up to 5mm across. Petrographic analysis, on balance, implies a local source for the raw materials, except for the chert which perhaps could have been derived from waste resulting from tool making, breaking or refurbishment near to where the clay was being prepared. Handmade, the pot was coil-built from a flat base and surfaces were smoothed and shaped internally. The collar was added, slightly unevenly, as a separate outer strip of clay. Parts of the collar decoration were 'smudged' whilst the clay was still wet. This may have occurred as the potter held and turned the vessel in order to apply additional decoration to the neck and shoulder; or simply if the pot had been moved before the thicker clay rim had properly dried out. There is no visible surface evidence for use of the pot prior to burial, such as wear or damage.

DISCUSSION

The radiocarbon date in the first quarter of the second millennium BC is in keeping with AMS dates obtained recently for North Western Style Urns (Barrowclough, n.d.). Longworth described his North Western Style Urns as a part of a Secondary Series of regional urn styles emerging from a Primary Series focused more in southern and eastern England (1984, 24–7, 30). Radiocarbon dates, however, are indicating a more nuanced picture with regional styles of Collared Urn evident in all areas of Britain from an early stage, *c*. 1850 BC, and development in parallel for the following two centuries. The date for The Roaches urn implies that it was made at an early stage in North Western Style Urn development, a stage postulated by Longworth on typological grounds (ibid., 30). This is reinforced by the fact that in form the urn carries enough traits (see above) to be considered typical of Longworth's Primary Series (ibid., 21). Interestingly, the best preserved remains of one of ten Collared Urns excavated from King's Low, near Stafford, (KL10; Lock *et al*. 2013, 66) incorporates two decorative elements characteristic of the North Western Style, but in unusual positions: the lozenges are around the collar rather the neck and oval impressions occur over the neck as well as around the shoulder. The later radiocarbon date of 1750 – 1598 cal BC, reinforces the impression of a looser approach to stylistic coherence.

One of the dates cited by Barrowclough was on cremated human bone from Urn 2 Astley Hall Farm, Lancashire. This urn exhibits the same hurdle and lozenge motifs as were used on The Roaches urn, and the date of 1960–1740 cal BC is comparable. Other urns with decoration parallel to The Roaches urn feature in Longworth's Corpus (1984) and include another Lancashire urn from Chorley (ibid., no. 807), one from North Yorkshire (ibid., no. 1118) and one from Stanton Moor, Derbyshire (ibid., no. 288). In addition, there is an example from Fife, Scotland (ibid., no. 1831) and one from Co. Meath, Ireland (ibid., no. 2236). Urns, therefore, similar to The Roaches urn have been found from all over Britain, except for in the south. This widespread distribution also implies that if overt cultural signals were implied by particular combinations of motifs then they would have been understood over a wide geographical area.

Longworth (1984) demonstrated that Collared Urns were the most widespread of Early Bronze Age vessels in the British Isles and that the shape, finish, and decoration would have been dictated by the traditions of a society which achieved a remarkable degree of ceramic conformity. Origins for the form and much of the decoration of the Collared Urn lay much earlier in the Neolithic Peterborough tradition with Beakers later inspiring a zoned approach to decoration. Longworth was convinced that the urns were produced by a domestic based, conservative industry (ibid., p. 81); analysing the decoration, he defined a prescribed range of fifteen simple, basic, geometric motifs (ibid., p. 9). Tomalin subsequently (1995, 101) used these motifs to assess the cognitive levels demonstrated by such long-lived, cultural conformity and concluded that it may have been sustained by potters, probably women, '*whose behaviour was reinforced by a common motor-habit* [eye-to-hand muscular behavioural patterns acquired by learning and imitation] *and linguistic tradition*'.

The Roaches lie on the western edge of the Peak District, an area of one of the densest concentrations of North Western Style Collared Urns (Longworth 1984, 32), together with other types of urn and Early Bronze Age pottery such as Food Vessels. At nearby Upper Hulme, probably close to Hen Cloud at the eastern end of the Roaches (see the general Discussion and Conclusions below), a small North Western Style Collared Urn was found associated with a cremation (ibid., 1984, no. 1417; Longworth and Gunstone 1968, 70–2). Decoration on this 14.5cm-high urn comprises incised double chevrons on the collar, enclosed between single horizontal lines, and on the body's upper part a zone of vertical incised lines enclosed between single horizontal incised lines. Discovered in 1882 and restored to an atypical form, this urn is held in The Nicholson Institute in Leek, together with sherds from a larger cordoned urn, cord decorated and thought to have been recovered at the same time.

The fabric of The Roaches urn has been likened to that of an urn found at Gratton Hill, Wetton, *c*. 13km (8.5 miles) to the east (see Petrographic report). Sectioned by Kevin Cootes (2013), remains of this urn in the Bateman Collection, Museums Sheffield, are from a probable Collared Urn with the collar decorated with inverted triangles (described as horseshoes in Longworth 1984, no. 1422) below three horizontal lines, all in twisted cord. A reconstruction of this urn in L. Jewitt's watercolour illustration (centre of Plate B32 in MS vol. *Relics of Primeval life*; accompanying label, J.93.1302), depicts a shape unlike any type of Bronze Age urn. Several urns and burials were found in the 'diggings' at Gratton Hill on 28 June 1845 (Bateman 1848, 78–9) and inspection of the sherds (X1972.734) which survive from the dismantled reconstruction suggests that sherds from two different vessels had been used; the other vessel was cordoned and in a different fabric. Coote's research (2013) targeted mainly Peak District Late Bronze Age ceramics but a handful of Early and Middle Bronze Age urns were also sampled. The results suggest that probably most Collared Urn fabrics in the Peak District were mixed in a traditional way, by adding grog to local clays together with whatever other suitable local materials were to hand. Finds from the gritstone Eastern Moors and Stanton Moor, however, showed that a trend for selecting weathered basic igneous material for tempering was emerging in the Early to Middle Bronze Age, which would have meant obtaining supplies from non-local sources in the White Peak. By the Late Bronze Age, in the Peak District, this trend had become the norm as people discovered the advantages that igneous temper gave to a pot's resistance to thermal shock during both firing and cooking (Sheridan 1997). The absence of an igneous temper in both the Gratton and Roaches urns might imply that such knowledge was not available early in the Bronze Age to people on the gritstone moors of the western side of the Peak District; or perhaps even that there was some type of cultural barrier preventing access to sources of the material. There are, however, too few samples currently available from which to draw any firm conclusions and there is a clear need for more extensive sampling of Peak District Early and Middle Bronze Age ceramics.

Because the vast bulk of Collared Urns, as well as Food Vessels, have been discovered with cremation deposits they were thought by some (e.g. Burgess 1980, 84) to have been a specialised funerary pottery. However, in his 1984 corpus, Longworth referred to a number of instances of Collared Urn sherds from domestic contexts (1984, 76) and subsequently several excavated assemblages have demonstrated unequivocally that Collared Urns were widely used domestically in a range of sizes. These include West Row Fen, Suffolk (Tomalin 1995, p. 102), where Collared Urn sherds along with Food Vessel and Biconical Urn material occurred in association with a group of round houses; and Oversley Farm, Cheshire (Garner 2007), where Collared Urn sherds along with Food Vessel and accessory cup pottery were found amongst midden material re-deposited in a hollow way; residue analysis indicated that both urns had been used for cooking sheep/goat, supporting a predominantly

domestic usage. Two Collared Urns from barrows at Raunds, Northamptonshire, were also found to have contained animal fats and the contents of P90 from Barrow 5, found inverted over a triple cremation, were of either dairy or adipose origin and the urn had been raised to a high temperature during use (Harding and Healy 2011, SS3, 583, 596). The Roaches urn, as speculated above, may have been buried containing some such substance and/or may have been used domestically before being re-used to accompany the burial. The fact that it was buried upright on top of the cremation is unusual, as urns in burial contexts are found more usually either containing or covering the cremation; this may imply that, in this instance, it had been used to contain an offering of food or drink for the deceased rather than as a container to transport the cremation.

PETROGRAPHIC ANALYSIS *Patrick S. Quinn and Kevin V. E. Cootes*

BACKGROUND, SAMPLE MATERIALS, AND AIMS OF ANALYSIS

Thin section petrographic analysis was conducted on a fragment of the Early Bronze Age collared urn. The aim of this analysis was to characterise its likely raw materials and technology and assess its compositional relationships with contemporaneous, stylistically similar pottery from other sites across the Peak District National Park and further afield.

METHODOLOGY

A small piece of the urn sherd was impregnated with epoxy resin and prepared as a standard petrographic thin section at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. It was studied at magnifications of 25–400× under the polarising light microscope and characterised in terms of its constituent raw materials and manufacturing technology. The sample was compared to the results of a large study of prehistoric pottery from numerous sites within the Peak District National Park, which included several Early Bronze Age urns (Cootes 2013), in order to detect matches. Candidate samples were compared to The Roaches urn under the microscope using the original thin sections from that project.

PETROGRAPHIC COMPOSITION

The urn sample is characterised in thin section by a non-calcareous fabric containing many argillaceous inclusions of possible grog as well as abundant silt-sized quartz, feldspar, and mica, plus sparse, rounded sand inclusions in a non-calcareous clay matrix with many voids (Plate 8 A/B). The rounded sand-sized inclusions include mono- and polycrystalline-quartz, some of the latter exhibiting a foliated texture, untwinned feldspar, micaceous siltstone, and chert. These sparse inclusions appear to be naturally-occurring in a non-calcareous clay source that also contained more abundant, angular silt-sized inclusions of quartz, feldspar, biotite, and less commonly muscovite mica. The sherd has a relatively poorly sorted grain-size distribution with a large siltstone inclusion of 2.5 mm in the prepared thin section. Many argillaceous inclusions occur in the sherd, which have a similar colour and composition to the rest of the fabric, but are picked out by the presence of ring voids. These contain angular silt and in some cases rounded sand-sized inclusions as the rest of the fabric, and have positive optical density. Many of the argillaceous inclusions have an angular shape and sharp boundaries and therefore resemble grog. A couple of examples, however, have a finer composition that is more suggestive of mudstone or dried clay, and some have merging boundaries in places which is not characteristic of grog. They could represent grog temper of a similar fabric as the parent vessel, clay temper, or poorly hydrated remnants of powdered clay that was wetted to manufacture the vessel. In addition to the shrink voids associated with the argillaceous particles, the sample also contains many meso-elongate voids in places as well as some macro-elongate voids. The sherd was fired in a moderately oxidising atmosphere at a temperature of <850°C, due to its brown colour and optically active clay matrix.

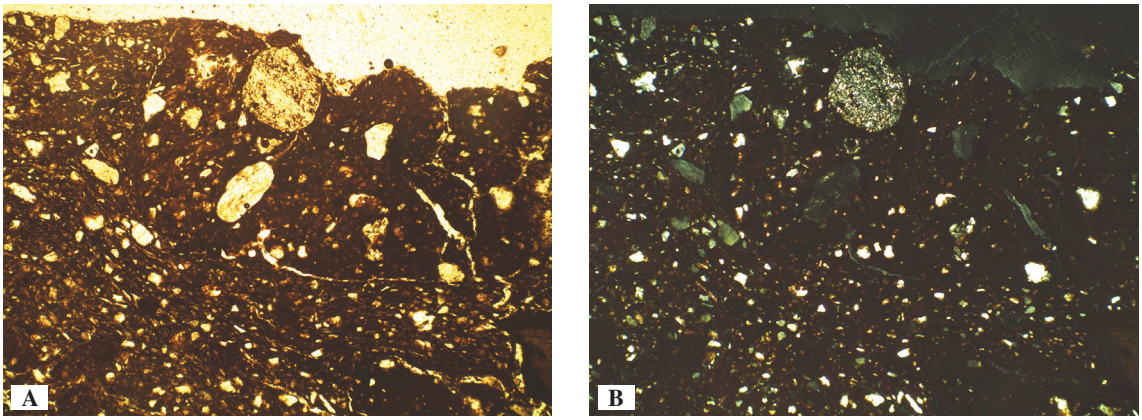


Plate 8 The Roaches urn thin section, showing inclusions in the fabric

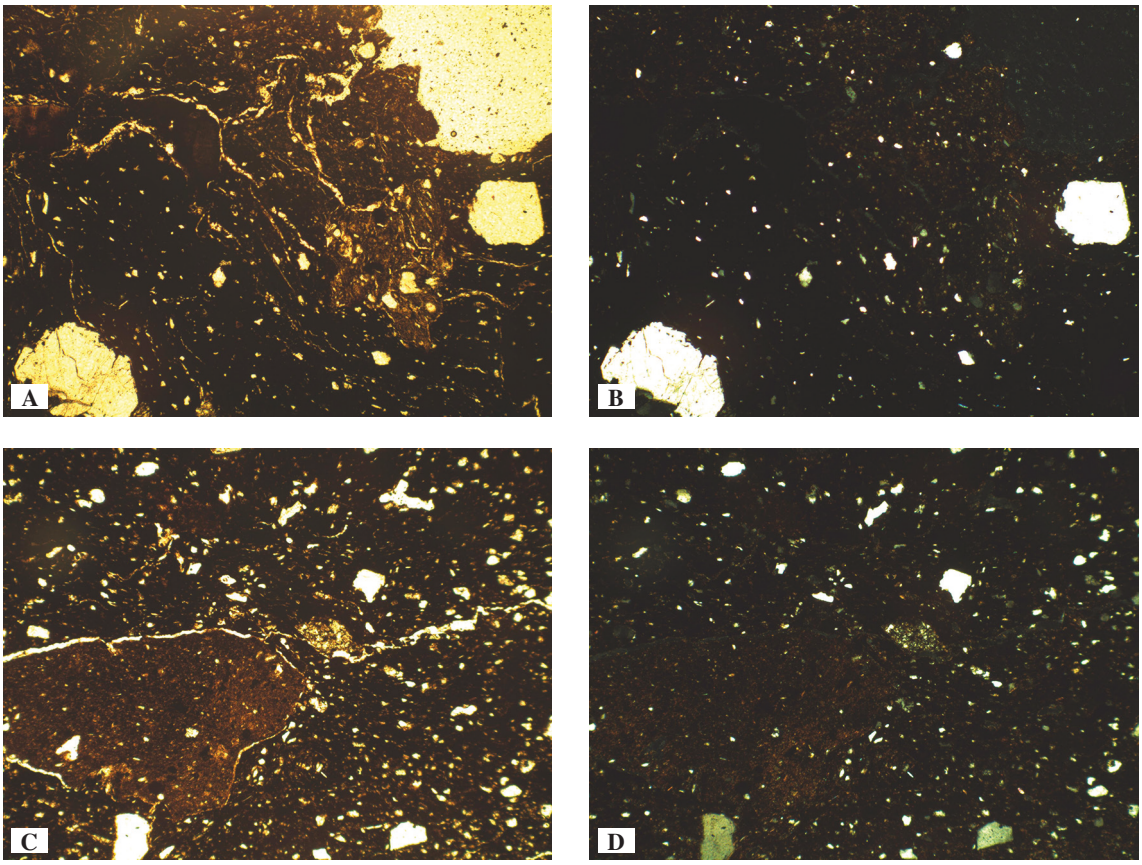


Plate 9 Examples of thin sections: A/B from a beaker at Dove Dale Thorpe Cloud, C/D from a collared urn at Gratton

RAW MATERIALS AND PROVENANCE

The main inclusion types in The Roaches urn are grog and quartz, both of which are not particularly indicative of ceramic raw material provenance (Quinn 2013, 124). With this in mind, determining the production location of the parent vessel from which it came is likely to be difficult. Two rare inclusions of micaceous siltstone and chert are perhaps more suggestive of origin. Siltstone beds occur within several Carboniferous sedimentary units that underlie the Staffordshire Moorlands and form the high ground of The Roaches, such as the Millstone Grit Formation (Aitkenhead *et al*. 2002). Though siltstone occurs in contemporaneous classic sedimentary rocks from other parts of the Dark Peak, the presence of an inclusion of this rock type might provide support for a local origin. On the other hand, the single inclusion of chert may indicate that the raw materials used to manufacture The Roaches urn may not have been local in origin. Chert does not appear to be present in

the non-marine and estuarine strata mentioned above, or the occasional marine incursions that they contain. This lithology is instead more characteristic of the limestone deposits of the White Peak to the north and east. A combination of the two inclusions could suggest an origin close to the border of the two areas, or the use of eroded alluvial material from both sources. Such an interpretation is perhaps pushing the limits of what is sensible based on two small inclusions, so should be treated with caution, especially as the clay used for the urn could have come from a glacial or periglacial deposit and it is known that chert is found in these well away from the limestone plateau (John Barnatt *pers. comm.*).

COMPARISION TO CONTEMPORANEOUS CERAMICS

Several fabrics within the extensive study of prehistoric ceramics from the Peak District National Park by Cootes (2013) were found to contain grog temper. These amount to nine sherds out of the total of 238 analysed and all but two originate from Early Bronze Age to Middle Bronze Age urns on the White Peak. The majority of these sherds, which fall into Fabrics 5, 11 and 18 of Cootes (2013) have a very fine inclusion-poor base clay to which grog temper has been added. This contrasts with the more inclusion-rich, silty base clay that has been interpreted for The Roaches urn in this report. Two exceptions are samples from a beaker from Dove Dale Thorpe Cloud (Plate 9 A/B) and another from a collared urn sherd from Gratton Hill (Plate 9 C/D), both of which contain more silt-sized quartz, polycrystalline quartz and mica. The sample from Thorp Cloud is still less silty than The Roaches urn sherd and contains a couple of possible granitic rock inclusions in the thin section prepared by Cootes (2013). The sample from Gratton Hill is texturally a better match for the sample analysed in this report in terms of its silt content and the presence of some sand-size rounded quartz and polycrystalline quartz inclusions (Plate 9 C/D). It contains several types of grog, one fragment of which is very fine and bears some similarities to the material that may be mudstone in The Roaches sherd.

The use of grog temper in non-calcareous clay is consistent with the results of Cootes' (2013) petrographic investigation of Early-Middle Bronze Age ceramics across the Peak District. The utilisation of a variety of materials available within the general locality was a defining signature of sites located on the White Peak, with differences between individual paste recipes indicating single vessel construction on an ad hoc basis. In contrast, the examination of comparable urns recovered from excavations on the higher land of the Eastern Gritstone Moors revealed a distinct preference by prehistoric potters for the utilisation of basic igneous rocks of basalt and dolerite as ceramic temper, and to a lesser extent chert. Examples of this phenomenon occur at Eaglestone Flat, Stanton Moor, and a single vessel from Totley Moor above Sheffield. Geological sampling traced the origin of the basalt and dolerite temper to a variety of exposures spread across the White Peak, indicating a close connection between the two landscape zones by distinct but related groups. The urn from The Roaches is different, as with urns from the White Peak it presumably reflects a separate local tradition in this part of the Peak.

LIPID ANALYSIS OF SHERDS FROM THE COLLARED URN *Val Steele*

Two sherds from the collared urn were analysed for organic residues using gas chromatography mass spectrometry. Sherd 1 was from the base of the urn and had a pitted surface; sherd 2 was a body sherd from above the area of the urn affected by the pitting.

The sherds yielded large amounts of fatty material but, unfortunately, both samples also contained large amounts of plasticizers and other plastic ingredients and degradation products, and compounds present in sunscreens, indicating that the sherds are heavily contaminated with modern materials. Caffeine was also identified, probably coming from the spillage of a modern, caffeine-rich drink over the sherd (a detailed report is included in the excavation archive).

In the light of the contamination issues it is not clear how much of the fatty material in the sherds is modern, and how much is archaeological and relates to the original use of the vessel. This means that no conclusions can be drawn about the original contents of the vessel or its use.

These results highlight the need for careful handling of ceramics during excavation, and during post-excavation cleaning and storage, in order to avoid potential sample contamination. In the case of The Roaches urn sherds, these were recovered prior to archaeological excavation by a workman who had no knowledge of handling procedures nor the types of analysis that were to be undertaken,

and it is assumed that the contamination inadvertently took place when they were first recovered. While aware of the risk of contamination, samples were submitted in the hope that this had not taken place because of the potential value of analysis if uncontaminated.

MICROSCOPY AND ANALYSIS OF AWL *Peter Northover*

The microscopic and metallurgical examination of the awl was designed to determine the material from which the awl was made, consider any chronological and other clues offered by the composition, look for traces of use, and determine the place of the awl in the funeral rite and whether it had been placed on the pyre. On inspection the awl proved to be too slender to take either a drilled or a cut sample without risk of noticeably altering its outline or otherwise damaging it; thus all examinations were made on the awl as received.

Firstly the awl was studied under a Leica M165Z stereo zoom microscope; some of the images taken can be seen in Plates 10 to 15. The awl is very slender with a tapered circular cross-section, with a point at one end and a chisel blade at the other. Both ends are damaged: the point is probably missing only a very small volume of metal (Plate 10), while the chisel blade is more damaged because of the fracturing of the surface corrosion and mineralisation. The present surface of the awl is smooth with fine, parallel, longitudinal striations (Plate 11). It would be reasonable to see these marks as abrasives used in polishing the awl but without a cross-section to aid interpretation we cannot say for certain whether the present surface markings accurately map the original surface of the metal, but it would appear that they do. The corrosion products on the surface are a dark

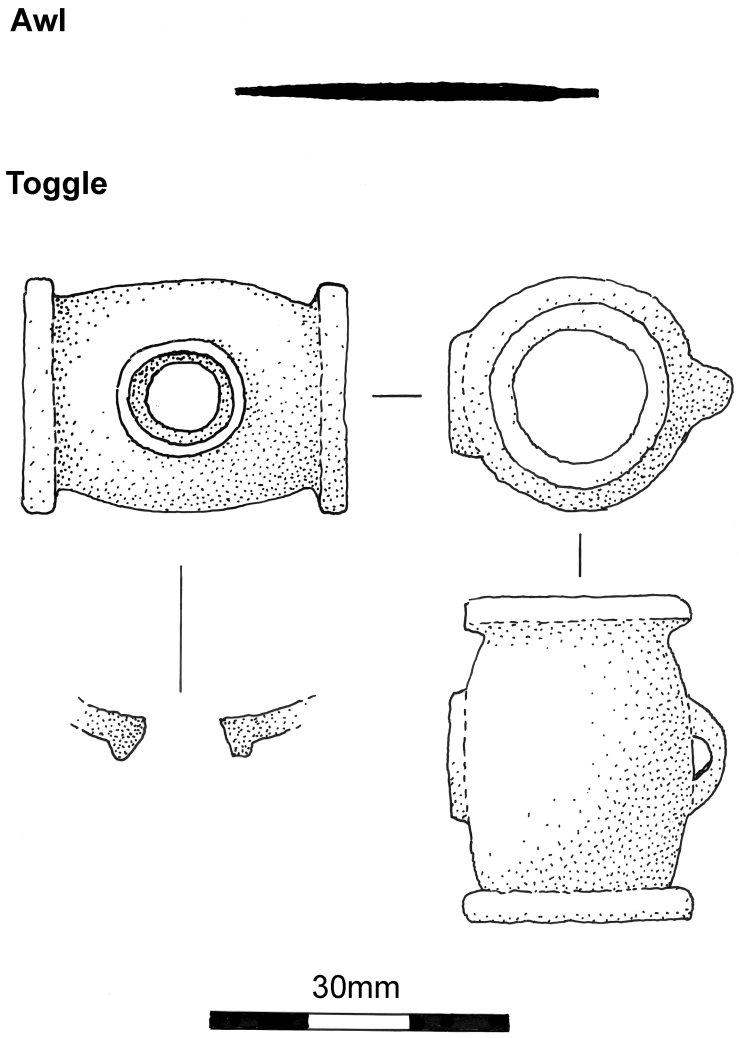


Fig. 4 The bronze awl from The Roaches flat grave, and a conjectural reconstruction of the original shape of the bone toggle found as fragments mixed with the cremated bone



Plate 10 The point of the awl from The Roaches



Plate 11 The surface of The Roaches awl, showing the longitudinal striations

blue-green and rather translucent and brittle with some small sections missing. Patches of earthy encrustation lie on this surface. No traces of use or of being inserted in a handle were observed.

Analysis was undertaken using a Zeiss Supra field emission gun scanning electron microscope with energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry at the Open University. Secondary electron images of the analysed areas of the surface and the associated spectra are summarised here (with the detailed specra retained in the excavation archive).

The first area analysed shows clearly the striated surface with a number of brittle cracks. The first spectrum is that of a corroded bronze surface where copper has been lost and the tin content relatively enhanced: the measured tin content of 49wt% is quite typical for such a surface; the corrosion products will mainly consist of tin oxides or hydrated tin oxides coloured by copper ions. Aluminium and silicon are present from clay or other minerals in the environment and there are also significant calcium and phosphorus peaks. Lead was also detected which will originally have been contained in the bronze. The second spectrum, from the same area, is similar but sulphur is also identified. The surface from the third spectrum is rather rougher but still shows the striations and cracks (Plate 12); this spectrum is similar to the first two but calcium and phosphorus are present in greater concentrations. The same is true for the fourth spectrum (Plate 13).

A small area of the shaft of the awl was scraped to bare metal with a scalpel and an analysis made (Plate 14). The scraping did indeed produce clean metal with no corrosion in the analysed area (Plate 15). The spectrum from this identified a medium tin bronze with 13.9% tin; the only impurity observed was 0.7% lead; other elements will be at concentrations below 0.2%.

Comparison with other Early Bronze Age metalwork shows few parallels for this composition as the majority have much lower lead contents. Lead contents above, say, 0.5% appear to concentrate in the later stages of the Early Bronze Age and can be found in one or two flat daggers but more frequently in Armorico-British and Camerton and Snowshill daggers. One interesting comparison is with an awl is that from a flat cemetery at Cae Mickney, Llanidan, Anglesey (Lynch 1991, 196–8). This is associated with a collared urn and was reported to contain just copper and lead, i.e. it may be related to the copper used in the Roaches awl but without the tin. The tin content of the awl may suggest that the craftsmen who made it wished to make use of the attractive mechanical properties and possibly the colour of the 13.9% tin bronze but there was no selection of copper from a specific source. There is a variety of copper compositions in the Early Bronze Age in Britain coming from small producers. The nearest copper deposit to Roaches is at Ecton (and the surrounding area in smaller quantities), which does have signs of early mining (Timberlake 2014) but there is no reason at all to make a direct connection: the bronze is just what the craftsman happened to have to hand.

The final question to consider is the place of the awl in the funerary ritual. The presence of calcium and phosphorus in the surface crust of the awl derives from its placement on the pile of calcined bone. Beyond that we can say that it had not been in the oxidising part of the pyre: with almost 14% tin the bronze will start to become liquid at 800ºC and be fully molten at about 940ºC, both temperatures being below that reached in an oxidising fire. Early Bronze Age funerary practice could include placing metal objects around the body and therefore in the oxidising flame as is

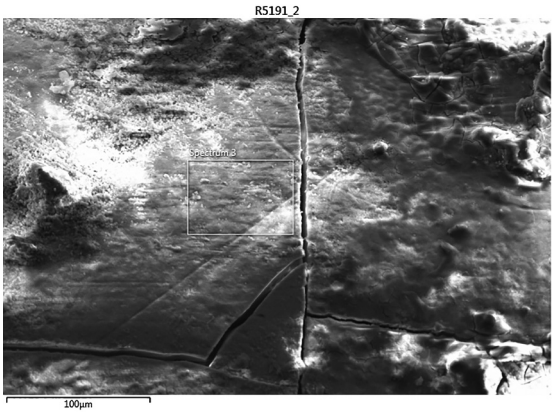


Plate 12 The sample location for spectrum 3 from The Roaches awl

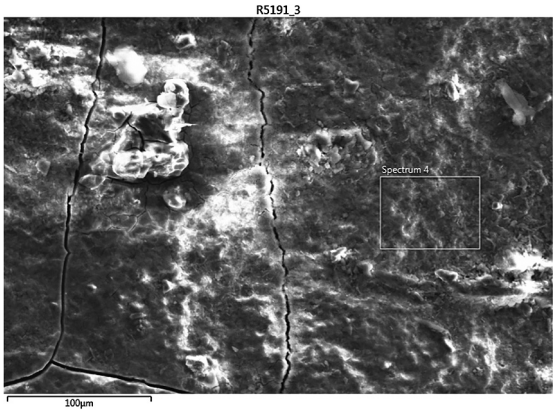


Plate 13 The sample location for spectrum 4 from The Roaches awl

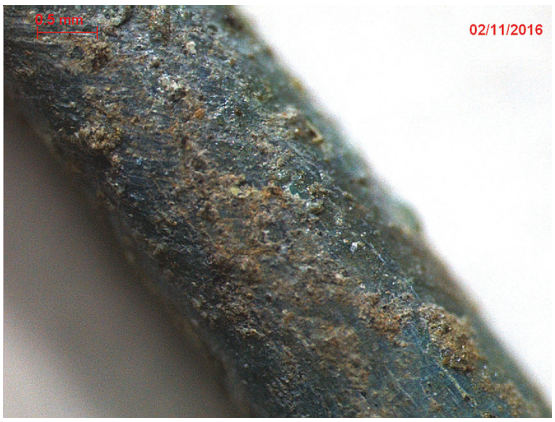


Plate 14 The small area of the awl scraped to bare metal (top left)

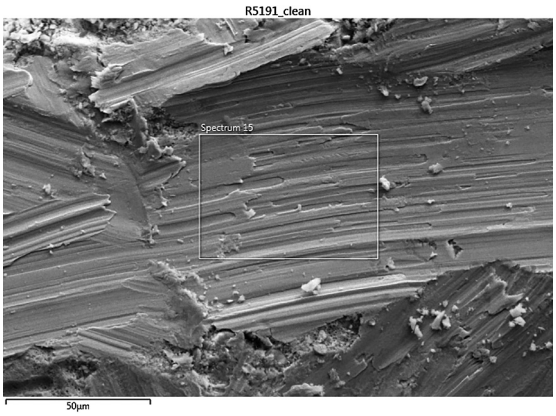


Plate 15 The sample location for the spectrum at the small area of the awl scraped to bare metal

evidenced by the distorted and burned metal found in association with cordoned urns at Llanddyfnan, Anglesey (Lynch 1991, 174–7).

If placed on the body, which will burn with a reducing flame, the metal could end up being fully annealed and very soft and with a large grain size with the surface of the awl subject to thermal grooving where the grain boundaries intersect the surface. There is no evidence for this and, in any case, the temperature reached by the body could well exceed 800ºC and some distortion of the metal could be expected. We may therefore conclude that the awl was placed cold in the pile of cremated bone when that was placed in the grave (also see McKinley above).

BONE TOGGLE *Alistair J. Barclay*

Recovered from the cremated remains were 12 fragments from a burnt bone toggle (or bead). The toggle, carved from bone, is very fragmentary, far from complete, and only a few pieces appear to join. Enough featured fragments survive, however, to indicate an object very similar to the toggle from Over Migvie near Kirriemuir, Tayside (Longworth 1984, plate 51c: catalogue number 1996). The toggle is barrel-shaped with two opposing collared, relatively wide, apertures. There is a third lateral aperture, which is lipped and narrows slightly in section from outside to inside. Part of a loop survives and although this was detached, comparison made with the Over Migvie toggle indicates that it may have been carved on the opposite side to the lipped aperture. The toggle's estimated length is 32mm and diameter 23mm. The bone toggle fragments are generally whitish-grey in colour, having been burnt on the pyre. Small spots of slight green staining could derive from contact with an object of copper.

As the toggle was carefully carved we can speculate that it was possibly polished when made or became so through use and so had a different appearance prior to burning. Identification of the

type of bone is difficult, although it is possible that the maker used either a sheep or pig femur or humerus (Lorrain Higbee *pers. observation*). Sheridan has suggested that such toggles could have acted as 'shroud' fasteners as they are often found burnt and fragmentary within the cremated human bone (Sheridan 2007, 175).

The association of the toggle with a Collared Urn can be exactly paralleled with Over Migvie, Kirriemuir (Longworth 1984). Childe (1935) noted that other similar toggles occur with an Encrusted Urn (Seggiecrook, Aberdeenshire) and with a Cordoned Urn (Alnes, Ross). Piggott (1958, 227 and figs 5–7) notes other similar toggles from Scotland and another from Carrowmore, Co. Sligo. Sheridan (2007) has discussed the range, variety, and chronology of Early Bronze Age bone toggles, albeit from Scotland, although much of her discussion would also be applicable to England.



Plate 16 The calcined fragments of the bone toggle found mixed with the cremated bones in the grave

FLINT AND PEBBLES *John Barnatt*

Three stone objects worthy of note were found in the cremation grave in association with the lower fill with burnt bone. The first is a small waste flake of pale-grey brown translucent flint, which is 25mm long and 13mm wide with a bulb of percussion at one end. The other two are oval pebbles, 38mm and 35mm long, one of cream-ochre coloured quartzite, the other an opaque, brown, fine-grained sandstone or quartzite. It is not known whether these were grave goods or coincidental inclusions; however, no similar pebbles were observed in the 2015 pit sides or fill.

THE ROACHES FLAT GRAVE: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

As with many prehistoric flat graves, the one found at The Roaches in 2015 was found by accident; there would have been no way to predict its presence in advance and thus put archaeological mitigation in place. It is highly unlikely that it was ever covered by a barrow, and there is no evidence for any other form of substantive permanent marker such as a standing stone.

The burial made in the grave comprised the cremated remains of a female of *c*. 35–45 years of age who was of small, slender stature. Mixed with the calcined human bones were those from a pig, presumably placed whole on the pyre as a ritual offering, or as bones after the animal was consumed at the funeral feast.

The urn could have been used to carry the cremated bones from the pyre site to the place of burial (cf. Barnatt 1994), but the presence of pyre debris in the upper fills of the pit suggest this may not be the case at The Roaches. After the cremation burial had been made, the pit was backfilled with soil mixed with a small amount of pyre debris. It is not known whether this infilling was simply a matter of tidying up the site, or a ritual act of closure.

The placing of the urn on top of the pile of bones perhaps suggests these were purposefully emptied from the urn before it was put in the pit. Whether any bones remained in the pot is uncertain, for while a few fragments were in the soil adhering to the insides of larger sherds recovered in May 2015, it is not now clear whether this was how this soil was originally positioned, as the soils may well have been out of their original context when the sherds were recovered from the base of

the 2015 pit. Alternatively, the cremation deposit was possibly taken to the site in a bag, while the urn contained only a small amount of pyre debris brought here especially for the closure ritual. The casual placement of the urn at an angle may suggest that it was seen as a vessel for transporting the bones or pyre debris rather than having intrinsic importance to the burial rite; this is not to say that the type of pot used, with its specific types of decoration, was not of vital symbolic significance for the rites carried out at the pyre site or grave.

Whether the pot had a prior use as a domestic vessel is unclear, as lipid samples were contaminated, presumably when they were first recovered. Its shape is consistent with that to be anticipated for collared urns, if somewhat squat and significantly smaller than normal. Its small size may match the burial of only partial remains. Similarly, its decoration is consistent with the repertoire found in the region, including inscribed and twisted cord lines and their placing on and below the collar, with a plain lower part. No two pots are ever decorated in exactly the same way and in this sense the urn from The Roaches and all others are unique.

The bone toggle came from the pyre site, its burnt fragments presumably accidentally scooped up with the bones. While the same may be the case with the bronze awl, it shows no sign of fire damage and this seems likely to be a purposeful insertion into the cremation/urn or burial deposit. Whether this also applies to the flint flake and the quartzite pebbles is unclear; they show no signs of heat damage and thus they may well have either been gathered from near rather than at the heart of the pyre site. Alternatively, they may have been purposefully placed with the bones as they were collected up or when they were placed in the grave, and thus had meaning for the people who carried out the burial. A third interpretation is that they were in the soil dug out when the cremation grave was created and were fortuitous inclusions.

Turning now to placing the grave pit in context, other flat graves are known from the Peak, including examples in cemeteries, although all three examples are from the eastern side of this upland region (Barnatt 1994, 368–70): those at Eaglestone Flat on the eastern moors above Baslow, New Park Quarry on Stanton Moor, and Stancliffe Park at Darley in the Derwent Valley below. Similarly, a single flat grave has been excavated at Horse Pastures, Beeley further north in the Derwent Valley (Barnatt and Robinson 1998).

The Roaches cremation burial with collared urn is not the first to be found near The Roaches: in the Nicholson Institute in Leek there is a small atypical restored example and pieces from a larger cordoned urn; both pots were found as broken sherds in 1882 '*from beneath one or two stones*', accompanied by a flint and fragments of bone, by a Mr Wilshaw while digging out stone at the '*roadside*' to repair the road near his house (Longworth and Gunstone 1968). In the past it has been assumed that these finds were from beneath a damaged or destroyed round barrow but on the evidence of the 2015 discovery it is equally or more likely that they came from another flat grave. The exact location of the 1882 discovery is not known, but the site was described in a talk given to an 1883 excursion party of the North Staffordshire Field Club: the approach was noted as from Upper Hulme '*past Hines Mill*' [probably Danes/Dains Mill] to a point '*at the outer rim of the Goldstick Valley*' [Goldsitch Valley]. The label on the urn in the Nicholson Institute gives '*End Cloud, Upper Hulme*'. Together, these place the find-spot somewhere near the south-east end of Hen Cloud at very approximately SK 012615. The barrow on the crest of The Roaches further north appears never to have been excavated.

The radiocarbon date of 1890–1680 cal BC from The Roaches flat grave adds to a small number of dates associated with collared urns in the Peak District (Barnatt 1995), given below in un-recalibrated form. At the Barbrook II stone circle at Ramsley Moor on the region's eastern gritstone moors, a collared urn in a pit under a small internal cairn produced a date of 2192–1430 cal BC (BM 179). Another similar but smaller circle nearby at Brown Edge on Totley Moor had two cremation pits under an internal cairn, one with a collared urn which produced a date of 1608–840 cal BC (BM 177). A large barrow on low-lying ground at Hognaston at the southern edge of the Peak had a cremation pit with collared urn and ogival bronze dagger, which produced a date of 1950–1530 cal BC (BM 2420). Of these three dates, all given here calibrated at two-sigma, two have a wide date range due to them being submitted before advanced dating techniques allowed greater precision. Two dates (Beta 84770; Beta 84771) from charcoal in a flat grave which contained a cremation in a collared urn at Horse Pastures, Beeley, had a weighted mean of 2012–1704 cal BC (Barnatt and Robinson 1998). Three other dates (OxA 3245, OxA 3550, OxA 5130) are associated with cremations in cordoned rather than collared urns from the flat-grave cemetery at Eaglestone Flat on the eastern moors above Baslow; when calibrated at two-sigma these are 2011–1520 cal BC, 1880–1510

cal BC, and 2020–1640 cal BC (Barnatt 1994). Taking all together, for the most part they span *c*. 2000–1500 cal BC and that from The Roaches fits comfortably at the centre of this range, but it is more tightly defined than the others, with the burial limited to a 210-year period.

It has long been recognised that Later Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age burials in ceremonial monuments such as round barrows represent only a small proportion of the people buried at the time. While it is often assumed that flat graves could make a significant contribution in accounting for some of the missing burials, this is impossible to demonstrate because they are difficult to find. This is especially true in upland landscapes such as the Peak District. Because of the paucity of current evidence, little can be said of specific relationships between flat graves and contemporary settlements.

There are generally fewer surviving prehistoric monuments, such as round barrows, settlements, and fields, in the western gritstone parts of the Peak compared with eastern gritstone upland and limestone plateau at the core (Barnatt 2000). In part this is because land at a suitable altitude for prehistoric settlement has largely been enclosed in post-medieval times and surface evidence thus presumably destroyed. This said, the upland shelves and ridge tops which in prehistory had well-drained sandy soils are more dissected and there are other extensive areas, such as The Roaches and land immediately east, which were too high or badly drained for sustained farming in prehistory. People who grazed stock on high ground near The Roaches are likely to have lived for much of the time in the lowland wooded valleys nearby to the west; The Roaches and nearby outcrops at Hen Cloud and Ramshaw Rocks, therefore, may have been seen as liminal place occupied by 'spirits of place', set high above the land of the living (Barnatt 1998; 2000; 2008).

The 'saddle' where the flat grave is situated is a distinctive place, easily recognised from its surroundings such as the lowland valleys to the west and south, and even with a relatively dense tree cover it could presumably be glimpsed between trees from a range of places. The exciting possibility that further flat graves exist in the immediate vicinity is currently untested; only two or three Bronze Age cemeteries are documented in the Peak, and in upland landscapes that are rarely or never ploughed unmarked graves are found only very occasionally, usually in exceptional circumstances as here in 2015.



Plate 17 The flat saddle, between The Roaches (left) and Hen Cloud (right), where the flat grave was found



Plate 18 The Roaches and Hen Cloud are visible for miles from the lower land to the west and south. The photograph is taken from the south, from next to the main road to Leek

The 2015 flat grave is at the base of The Roaches rock outcrop and perhaps the 'saddle' was seen as the most appropriate place for a burial, in a location where the rocks above were seen as a special and powerful landscape that was respected and perhaps venerated. The placing of flat graves in rocky landscapes can be paralleled on the eastern side of the Peak on the boulder-strewn crest of Gardom's Edge above Baslow. There a cremation of a mature adult, possibly female, placed in a pit, was found within an Early Iron Age house during excavations in 1995. The cremation deposit was probably in some form of bag, with a beam slot placed across the burial pit just below the turf, which had small postholes for timber uprights to either end. Two radiocarbon dates, of 2115–1770 cal BC at 2 sigma (Beta-207930, 3580±50BP) and 2290–2030 cal BC (Beta-206219, 3750±40BP) (both recalibrated at 2σ using the same procedures outlined above for The Roaches radiocarbon date), show that the burial pre-dated the building by roughly

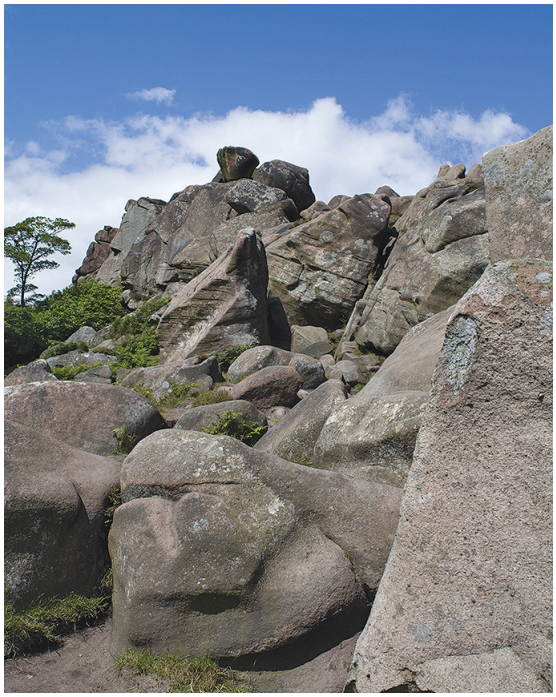


Plate 19 Part of the rock landscape at the southern end of The Roaches, illustrating its 'other-world' character

a thousand years and while in a 'flat grave' this had a wooden marker at surface (Barnatt, Bevan and Edmonds *in press*, 99, 115).

In a comparable location across the saddle to the south-east, but on its own slight rise below Hen Cloud, is the 'Bawd Stone'; this was considered by some in the 19th century to be a Neolithic 'dolmen' (Sainter 1878). This curious stone stands out in the landscape; it is a high, irregular but rounded boulder weighing several tons, resting on three smaller stones much as a portal-dolmen type chambered tomb would, but with a low space beneath where you must crawl flat-out rather than stand or stoop. All is natural, but this may have been viewed by people in the Bronze Age as a place where their ancestors still resided, as we know they did not distinguish between the natural and the structures made by people in the same clear-cut ways we do today (Bradley 2000). The stone has certainly been venerated by people into modern times and has traditionally been seen as a healing stone that people crawled under to be cured of their ills. A photograph taken in 1915 shows it painted white and thus standing out in the landscape; this painting has been interpreted in modern times as Christian purification of a site previously venerated by pagans, but instead perhaps the whitening is a tradition with pagan origins. Whichever applies, procession by local people to the Bawd Stone continued into the 1940s, showing the place remained of significance to the community into modern



Plate 20 The naturally formed 'dolmen' of the Bawd Stone between Hen Cloud and The Roaches



Plate 21 The Bawd Stone, looking towards the site of the flat grave and The Roaches beyond

times (*The Megalithic Portal: Bawd Stone,* accessed 31 July 2015; *Places of Interest around the Roaches*, accessed 31 July 2015). We will never know how people viewed the stone in prehistory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to Kieran Fogarty, the finder of the urn, for reporting it and delivering the urn sherds to archaeological staff at the Peak District National Park Authority. The excavations in July 2015 were carried out by John Barnatt, Ann Hall, Ken Smith, and Sarah Whiteley. All relevant permissions to carry out this excavation were kindly arranged by Sarah Whiteley, with permissions granted by Helen Dale, Reserves Manager for the Staffordshire Wildlife Trust; by Vikki Gillott for Natural England, with advice given by Elaine Willett; with a licence granted by Folashade Shodeinde for the Ministry of Justice for handling human remains. Thanks also to Deb Klemperer, Principal Curator, and Don Steward, Collections Officer, the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery at Stoke-on-Trent, for facilitating deposition of the finds there. Maria Killoran kindly allowed access to the urn and sherds from a second burial, both found near The Roaches in the 19th century and now in the Nicholson Institute in Leek.

Thanks for specialist appraisal and analyses go to Alistair Barclay of Wessex Archaeology, Pauline Beswick, Kevin Cootes, Dana Challinor, Lorrain Higbee of Wessex Archaeology, Jacqueline McKinley of Wessex Archaeology, Peter Northover, Patrick Quinn of University College London, Valerie Steele of the University of Bradford, and the SUERC Laboratory at Glasgow University. Advice on analyses was given by Alastair Barclay, Kath Buxton, David Knight, Peter Marshall, and Haley McParland. Jackie McKinley kindly commented on the text as a whole and corrected various vagaries of terminology and suggested the reordering of specialist reports. Pauline Beswick kindly commented on the final discussion. Ken Smith also proof read the report and again improved the text. Alistair Barclay provided a sketch of the bone toggle upon which the reconstruction in Fig. 4 is based and he thanks Alison Sheridan for her help with identifying parallels for the bone toggle. Peter Northover is indebted to Dr Gordon Imlach of the Department of Materials Engineering at the Open University for assistance with the analysis. Post-excavation funding was provided by Historic England Commissions, with many thanks to Kath Buxton, Ian George, Michael Russell, and Barney Sloane for facilitating this. Alex Bayliss organised, and Shahina Farid recalibrated, the radiocarbon dates from The Roaches and Gardom's Edge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aitkenhead, N., Barclay, W. J., Brandon, A., Chadwick, R. A., Chisholm, J. I., Cooper, A. H., and Johnson, E. W. 2002 *The Pennines and Adjacent Areas*. 4th edition (Nottingham: British Geological Survey 2002)

Barnatt, J. 1994 'Excavation of a Bronze Age unenclosed cemetery, cairns and field boundaries at Eaglestone Flat, Curbar, Derbyshire, 1984, 1989–90', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 60, 287–370

Barnatt, J. 1995 'Neolithic and Bronze Age radiocarbon dates from the Peak District: a review', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 115, 5–19

Barnatt, J. 1998 'Monuments in the landscape: thoughts from the Peak', 92–105, in A. Gibson (ed.), *Prehistoric Ritual and Religion: Essays in Honour of Aubrey Burl* (Stroud: Sutton)

Barnatt, J. 2000 'To each their own: later prehistoric farming communities and their monuments in the Peak', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 120, 1–86

Barnatt, J. 2008 'From clearance plots to sustained farming: Peak District fields in prehistory', in A. M. Chadwick (ed.), *Recent Approaches to the Archaeology of Land Allotment* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series, no. 1875)

Barnatt, J., Bevan, B. and Edmonds, M.	*in press*	*An Upland Biography: Landscape and Prehistory on Gardom's Edge, Derbyshire* (Oxford: Windgather Press)
Barnatt, J. and Collis J.	1996	*Barrows in the Peak District: Recent Research* (Sheffield: University of Sheffield)
Barnatt, J. and Robinson, F.	1998	'Excavations of a Bronze Age Cremation Burial and Multi-period Artefact Scatters at Horse Pastures, Beeley, Derbyshire: 1994', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 118, 24–68
Barrowclough, D.	n.d.	*Dating the Early Bronze Age in Northern England* (pdf file. Academia.edu).
Bateman, T.	1848	*Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire* (London: Smith)
Bradley, R.	2000	*An Archaeology of Natural Places* (London: Routledge)
Bronk Ramsey, C.	1995	'Radiocarbon calibration and analysis of stratigraphy', *Radiocarbon*, 36, 425–30
Bronk Ramsey, C,	2009	'Bayesian analysis of radiocarbon dates', *Radiocarbon*, 51, 337–60
Buikstra, J. E. and Ubelaker, D. H.	1994	*Standards for data collection from human skeletal remains* (Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series 44)
Burgess, C.	1980	*The Age of Stonehenge* (London: Dent)
Campbell, G.	2007	'Cremation deposits and the use of wood in cremation ritual', 30–3, in J. Harding and F. Healy, *The Raunds Area Project: A Neolithic and Bronze Age Landscape in Northamptonshire* (Swindon: English Heritage)
Challinor, D.	2010a	'Charcoal', at p. 94 in K. Powell, A. Smith, and G. Laws, *Evolution of a Farming Community in the Upper Thames Valley; Excavation of a Prehistoric, Roman and post-Roman landscape at Cotswold Community, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. Volume 1: Site Narrative and Overview* (Oxford: Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph 31, Oxford Archaeology)
Challinor, D.	2010b	'Charcoal and charred plant remains from the cremation burials', at pp. 437–43 in P. Booth, A. Symmonds, A. Boyle, S. Clough, H. E. M. Cool, and D. Poore, *The late Roman cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester : excavations 2000–2005* (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology Monograph 10)
Challinor, D.	2014	'The Wood Charcoal', in G. Lock, D. Spicer, D., W. Hollins, *Two Early Bronze Age barrows in Tixall, North Staffordshire* (Oxford: Archaeopress)
Childe, V. G.	1935	*The Prehistory of Scotland* (London: Routledge)
Cootes, K. V. E.	2013	'Ceramic Production, Distribution and Prehistoric Society in the Peak District National Park' (unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield)
Garner, D. J.	2007	*The Neolithic and Bronze Age Settlement at Oversley Farm, Styal, Cheshire* (Gifford Archaeological Monographs 1) (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports Series 435)
Gejvall, N. G.	1981	'Determination of burned bones from prehistoric graves: Observations on the cremated bones from the graves at Horn', *OSSA Letters* 2
Harding, J. and Healy, F.	2011	*The Raunds Area Project. Vol. 2 Supplementary Studies* (Swindon: English Heritage)
Hather, J. G.	2000	*The Identification of Northern European Woods: A Guide for Archaeologists and Conservators* (London: Archetype Publications)
Holden, J. L., Phakley, P. P. and Clement, J. G.	1995a	'Scanning electron microscope observations of incinerated human femoral bone: a case study', *Forensic Science International*, 74, 17–28
Holden, J. L., Phakley, P. P. and Clement, J. G.	1995b	'Scanning electron microscope observations of heat-treated human bone', *Forensic Science International*, 74, 29–45

Lock, G., Spicer, D., and Hollins, H. 2013 *Excavations at King's Low and Queen's Low, Two Early Bronze Age barrows in Tixall, North Staffordshire* (Oxford: Archaeopress)

Longworth, I. H. 1984 *Collared Urns of the Bronze Age in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Longworth, I. H. and Gunstone, A. J. H. 1968 'An Early Bronze Age vessel from Upper Hulme, near Leek', *Journal of North Staffordshire Field Studies*, 8, 70–2

Lynch, F. 1991 *Prehistoric Anglesey* (Llangefni: Anglesey Antiquarian Society)

McKinley, J. I. 1993 'Bone fragment size and weights of bone from modern British cremations and its implications for the interpretation of archaeological cremations', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 3, 283–87

McKinley, J. I. 1994 *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham Part VIII: The Cremations* (East Anglian Archaeology no. 69)

McKinley, J. I. 1997a 'The cremated human bone from burial and cremation-related contexts', at pp. 55–72 in A. P. Fitzpatrick, *Archaeological Excavations on the Route of the A27 Westhampnett Bypass, West Sussex, 1992 Volume 2* (Oxford and Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report no. 12)

McKinley, J. I. 1997b 'Bronze Age 'barrows' and funerary rites and rituals of cremation', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 63, 129–45

McKinley, J. I 2004a 'Compiling a skeletal inventory: cremated human bone', at pp. 9–12 in M. Brickley and J. I. McKinley (eds), *Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains* (British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology and Institute for Field Archaeology)

McKinley, J. I. 2004b 'The human remains and aspects of pyre technology and cremation rituals', at pp. 283–309 in H. E. M. Cool, *The Roman Cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria: Excavations 1966–67* (Britannia Monograph 21)

McKinley, J. I. 2006 'Cremation … the cheap option?', at pp. 81–88 in C. Knusel and R. Gowland (eds), *The Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains* (Oxford: Oxbow Books)

McKinley, J. I. 2008 'In the heat of the pyre: efficiency of oxidation in Romano-British cremations – did it really matter?', at pp. 63–84 in C. A. Schmidt and S. Sims (eds), *Beyond recognition: the analysis of burned human remains* (Oxford: Levier)

McKinley, J. I. 2013a *Tarnes, Cumbria: Cremated human bone and mortuary rite* (unpublished report for Wardell Armstrong LLP)

McKinley, J. I. 2013b 'Cremation: Excavation, analysis and interpretation of material from cremation-related contexts', at pp. 47–71 in L. Nilsson Stutz and S. Tarlow (eds), *Handbook on the Archaeology of Death and Burial* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

McKinley J. I. 2015 'Section II: Cremated Bone', at pp. 406–29 in J. I. McKinley and K. Egging Dinwiddy, 'Human Bone', at pp. 325–429 in P. Andrews, P. Booth, A. P. Fitzpatrick, and K. Welsh, *Digging at the Gateway, Archaeology landscapes of south Thanet: The Archaeology of East Kent Access Phase II. Volume 2: The Finds and Environmental Reports* (Oxford and Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Monograph no. 8)

McKinley, J. I. 2016 *Barrow Clump, Wiltshire (85370; 85373) Cremated and prehistoric unburnt human bone, and aspects of the mortuary rites* (Oxford and Salisbury: unpublished report for Wessex Archaeology)

McKinley, J. I. forthcoming 'Human Bone and Mortuary Deposits', in A. Powell and A. Barclay, *Between and beyond the monuments: prehistoric activity on the downlands south-east of Amesbury* (Oxford and Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Monograph)

Nielsen-Marsh, C., Gernaey, A., Turner-Walker, G., Hedges, R., Pike, A. and Collins, M.	2000	'The chemical degradation of bone', at pp. 439–54 in M. Cox and S. Mays (eds), *Human Osteology in Archaeology and Forensic Science* (GMM London)
Quinn, P. S.	2013	*Ceramic Petrography: The Interpretation of Archaeological Pottery & Related Artefacts in Thin Section* (Oxford: Archaeopress)
PCRG	2010	*The Study of Prehistoric Pottery: General Policies and Guidelines for Analysis and Publication* (Prehistoric Ceramic Research Group, Occasional Papers 1 and 2; 3rd edition revised)
Piggott, S.	1958	'Segmented bone beads and toggles in the British Early and Middle Bronze Age', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 24, 227–29.
Reimer, P. J., Bard, E., Bayliss, A., Beck, J. W., Blackwell, P., Bronk Ramsey, C., Buck, C. E., Cheng, H., Edwards, R. L., Friedrich, M., Grootes, P. M., Guilderson, T. P., Haflidason, H., Hajdas, I., Hatté, C., Heaton, T. J., Hoffmann, D. L., Hogg, A. G., Hughen, K .A., Kaiser, K. F., Kromer, B., Manning, S. W., Niu, M., Reimer, R. W., Richards, D. A., Scott, E. M., Southon, J. R., Staff, R. A., Turney, C. S. M. and van der Plicht, J.	2013	'IntCal13 and Marine13 radiocarbon age calibration curves 0–50,000 years cal BP', *Radiocarbon* 55, 1869–87
Roehrs, H., Klooss, S. and Kirleis, W.	2013	'Evaluating prehistoric finds of Arrhenatherum elatius var. bulbosum in north-western and central Europe with an emphasis on the first Neolithic finds in Northern Germany', *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, 5(1), 1–15
Rogers, J. and Waldron, T.	1995	*A field guide to Joint Disease in Archaeology* (Chichester: Wiley)
Sainter, J. D.	1878	*The Jottings of some Geological, Archaeological, Botanical, Ornithological and Zoological Rambles Round Macclesfield* (1999 reprint, Altrincham: The Silk Press)
Scheuer, L. and Black, S.	2000	*Developmental Juvenile Osteology* (London: Academic Press)
Schweingruber, F. H.	1990	*Anatomy of European Woods* (Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt, Bern)
Sheridan, A.	1997	'Pottery Production in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Ireland: A Petrological and Chemical Study', at pp. 305–36 in A. Middleton and I. Freestone, *Recent Developments in Ceramic Petrology* (British Museum Occasional Paper 81. London: British Museum Press).
Sheridan, A.	2007	'Dating the Scottish Bronze Age: There is clearly much that the material can still tell us', at pp. 162–85 in C. Burgess, P. Topping, and F. Lynch (eds), *Beyond Stonehenge. Essays on the Bronze Age in honour of Colin Burgess* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, Oxford)
Stace, C.	1997	*New Flora of the British Isles*. 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
Stuiver, M., and Polach, H. A.	1977	'Reporting of ^{14}C data', *Radiocarbon*, 19, 355–63
Stuiver, M, and Reimer, P, J,	1986	'A computer program for radiocarbon age calculation', *Radiocarbon*, 28, 1022–30

Thompson, G. B. 1999 'The analysis of wood charcoals from selected pits and funerary contexts', at pp. 247–53 in A. Barclay and C. Halpin, *Excavations at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire, volume 1: the Neolithic and Bronze Age monument complex* (Thames Valley Landscapes 11. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit)

Timberlake, S. 2014 'Prehistoric Copper Extraction in Britain: Ecton Hill, Staffordshire', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 79, 1–48

Tomalin, D. 1995 'Cognition, ethnicity and some implications for linguistics in the perception and perpetration of 'Collared Urn art'', at pp. 101–112 in I. Kinnes and G. Varndell (eds), *'Unbaked Urns of Rudely Shape' Essays on British and Irish Pottery for Ian Longworth* (Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 55)

Wahl, J. 1982 'Leichenbranduntersuchungen. Ein Überblick über die Bearbeitungs- und Aussagemöglichkeiten von Brandgräbern', *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 57(i), 1–125

INTERNET SOURCES

The Megalithic Portal: Bawd Stone at: www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=5924 (accessed 31 July 2015)

Places of Interest around the Roaches at: www.reaches.org.uk/places5.html (accessed 31 July 2015)

THE ROMANESQUE FONT AT ST MARY'S CHURCH, STAFFORD

RITA WOOD

INTRODUCTION

Stafford has two medieval churches, quite close together in the middle of the town: St Mary's and St Chad's. The former has the outline of a small Anglo-Saxon church, St Bertelin's, abutting its west end, but the earliest surviving work to be seen there is of 13th-century date. Restored in the 19th century by G. G. Scott, the church stands in a large former burial ground and served a parish which included most of the town and an extensive area outside it.[1] St Chad's parish was a small urban one, and its church is thought to have been founded by a bishop of Lichfield for his tenants in this part of the town.[2] It was also restored in the 19th century from a much-reduced state, but has a rich mid 12th-century interior which seems to have comprised an apsed chancel, central presbytery, and aisled four-bay nave; and perhaps also transepts.[3] The font under discussion here is at St Mary's, but all the other Romanesque sculpture in Stafford – at least all that we can see – is at St Chad's; this mismatch is a puzzle that has little chance of being resolved, and is not examined in this paper.[4]

Domesday Book records that the king had 13 prebendary canons in the town, evidently attached to St Mary's which (along with Penkridge church) was given by King Stephen in 1136 to the diocesan bishop;[5] but the churches were returned to the Crown after 1154 under Henry II.[6] The state of the Anglo-Saxon borough after the Conquest and the rebellion of 1069, as revealed by excavation, is described as 'bleak' by Martin Carver, but the town shows signs of awakening in the late 12th century as if stimulated by some central investment and controlling design, and it then entered a period of revival which has been recognised elsewhere in Britain in the 13th century.[7] Perhaps building work at the two churches was part of a mid-century attempt to revive the life of the borough: St Chad's is thought to have been begun in the 1140s,[8] and the font could date from the same period.[9] St Bertelin's had been burnt, probably in the late 11th-century rebellion, but by the late 12th century it had been rebuilt with stone foundations; St Mary's is first mentioned in 1203, but its prestigious site can hardly have been ignored in the mid 12th century while a new parochial church was being built nearby.[10]

It is the present author's opinion that the font in St Mary's owes its unique features to the chance presence of a skilled designer, most likely a visiting foreign cleric.[11] Either king or bishop could easily have been persuaded to employ such a visitor, all the more easily if church-building was in progress. To speculate further, the most obvious patron for the initiation of such activity would be Bishop Roger de Clinton, sometime after he acquired the collegiate church from King Stephen in 1136 and before his death in 1148.[12]

1 VCH VI, 238–9; Pevsner 2002, 240–42; Fisher 2009.
2 Calvert 1886, 44; VCH IV, 37; VCH VI, 245.
3 VCH VI, 245–7; Pevsner 2002, 245; Fisher and Baker 2009.
4 For both St Mary's and St Chad's churches, see website 1. The presence of inscriptions on the chancel arch impost at St Chad's and on the font at St Mary's might be more than a coincidence, but the form of the letters, for example 'M', is different, and they do not look as though they were carved by the same hand; nor is the leaf-pattern at the top of the font close to that on the label of the chancel arch at St Chad's. So far no comparable carving to that on the font has been identified. Beyond Stafford, interesting comparisons with St Chad's might be made between motifs of wyverns and an upright man on capitals of the chancel arch and similar on the arcades in St Peter's, Northampton; also jamb carvings at St Chad's might perhaps be compared to others at Iffley near Oxford, but the amount of new stone or recutting at the Stafford church would have to be taken into account.
5 VCH III, 7–10, 23; Carver 2010, 108.
6 VCH III, 303
7 Carver 2010, 107–8.
8 Baxter, website 1 (accessed 18 March 2016), or 'a little earlier' (pers. comm., December 2016); Carver 2010, 109 notes mortar-mixing pits perhaps to be linked with the building of St Chad's.
9 See below.
10 Carver 2010, 108.
11 Designers could themselves be important churchmen: for example, the individual sculptural programme in the chapel in Durham castle is likely to be the work of Bishop William of St Calais. See Wood 2010, 44–8; Wood 2012a, 21.
12 VCH III, 23.

THE FONT AND COMPARISONS FOR IT

The font has a four-lobed bowl and the lead-lined basin is a cusped quatrefoil (figs. 1 and 2). Between the plain lobes are four upright creatures, two are human and two animal. This bowl is supported on a columnar stem hidden by two layers each with four carved creatures; the upper layer has four prowling lions and the lower layer has four crouching creatures each of which has one head on the corner united with a body on either side. There are two separate inscriptions going all round the font, one at the rim and one just above the lions. The font's overall height and the dimensions of its basin are comparable to the largest 12th-century fonts in England, but the sculpture and the complexity of form are unusually sophisticated and imposing.

The font is made of stone from an unidentified quarry, with the bowl and the lions being carved from one large piece, and the lowest layer with the double-bodied creatures from a second smaller



Fig. 1 The font in St Mary's, Stafford, from south-east
(All photographs except figs 5 and 14 have been taken by the author.)



Fig. 2 The interior of the bowl from the north-west

one. The general opinion is that it would have been carved locally, probably at the church itself, because of the difficulty of transporting such an intricate and bulky item. There is no need to attribute the lower layer, with the double-bodied creatures, to a later period:[13] this layer uses 12th-century imagery for which comparisons will be offered and, moreover, other complex fonts of the period also have a layered construction. When the font at Castle Frome (Herefs.) was dismantled for restoration and exhibition in 1984, George Zarnecki described how its base was formed of three equally-spaced crouching figures in separate stones,[14] whilst Tournai marble fonts were exported from Flanders as kits in sections (bowl, four or five columns and base) to be put together on arrival by the customer.[15]

Although it is probably safe to assume that the font was made in Stafford, both its elaborate form and its three-dimensional sculpture are unlike those of any surviving font in England or on the continent. Any fonts that have been suggested for comparison by earlier writers share only one or two features with it, and two of the best comparisons have been found not in stone but in manuscripts. The first is in the *Liber Floridus*, a manuscript completed *c*. 1121 by a canon of Saint-Omer in Normandy: Ecclesia (the personification of the Church) is shown holding a chalice in her left hand and a banner with a cross-staff in her right; there is a massive green 'goblet' standing on the ground behind her, labelled '*baptisterium*' (fig. 3).[16] The goblet has much the same form as one lobe of the upper part of the font at Stafford, and it has a bulky supporting base with a thick ornamented neck.



Fig. 3 The font in the *Liber Floridus* (Ghent University, MS 92, folio 253r; website 4). The banner of the holy Cross is incomplete in the drawing

13 Drake 2002, 32.

14 Zarnecki *et al*., 1984, fig. 139; website 1.

15 Tournai fonts were transported fully-carved, but the sculpture on them was compact; carriage was largely by water: Dunning 1944, 66–8.

16 Website 4. '*Fons … omnium*', the text above the font, may be translated as 'The font, accessible in all churches, for the washing away of all sins'.

A second comparable font is shown in an Italian manuscript of the kind known as an *Exultet* roll, which illustrates the Easter baptism ceremonies. The font shown is columnar with a cusped quatrefoil bowl (fig. 4).[17] The artist has not indicated the water, perhaps because concerned only with the perfection of the fourfold shape at the moment of blessing, for there is a vision of the throne of God and the four living creatures above this scene; other pictures in the roll show realistic activities around the font, for example crowds of parents carrying young children forward. No surviving Italian fonts of this form are known to the author, but German or Scandinavian ones have been suggested for comparison with the Stafford font, and these regions were strongly influenced from Italy; fonts with a quatrefoil basin are found in Scandinavia, though they are only a small percentage of the total.[18] Michael Fisher notes that Bishop Roger de Clinton went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem at the time of the Second Crusade and he suggests the design, if not the font itself, could have originated in Palestine;[19] but this is unlikely, not least because the bishop died in 1148 without returning to England.[20] Nikolaus Pevsner commented that the font had been made 'under Italian influence',[21] an opinion perhaps derived from the presence of the four lions, of which there are so many competently carved ones in Italy. In his doctoral thesis, George Zarnecki considered the problem of the foreign sources evident in sculpture in Herefordshire: 'the supporters of the Castle Frome font [are said to be] derived from Italian sources. The existence of similar [motifs] applied to fonts in Germany suggests, however, that Germany could have been the intermediary in transmitting this Italian [motif] to Herefordshire … the Italian-derived elements were probably transmitted by way of Germany to Hereford…'.[22] An indirect connection to Italy is a possibility in the present case, but examples are few and scattered; once again, the trail runs dry. Even particular fonts are never very close comparisons: such fonts, for example, as those at Freudenstadt in Baden-Württemberg (Germany; fig. 5), at Castle Frome,[23] and at Lenton (Notts.) which, although having a quadrilobe basin, externally is a rectangular block.[24] The Italian influences on form and content in the Stafford font are recurrent and strong: they could well have been direct and personal. It would have been

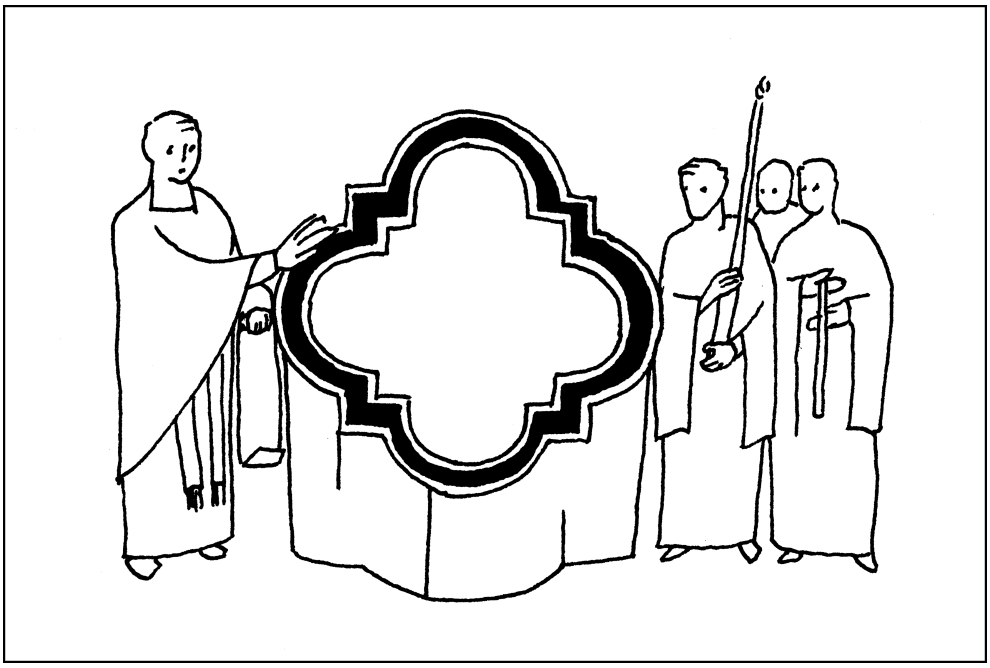


Fig. 4 The font in an *Exultet* roll (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 BI 13). The drawing shows the priest blessing the font, accompanied by a group of clergy

17 Contemporary baptism ceremonies in southern Italy are illustrated in Avery 1936, plates cx and cxvii (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 BI 13).
18 Drake 2002, 10–11, 32.
19 Fisher 2009, 8.
20 The bishop was probably buried at Antioch (Franklin 2009; VCH III, 7–10, 303).
21 Pevsner 1974, 242.
22 Zarnecki 1951, II, 372–3.
23 As above note 14.
24 Zarnecki 1998.



Fig. 5 The font in the Evangelische Stadtkirche, Freudenstadt (Germany). Photo: © Jörgens. Mi/Wikimedia Commons CC-BY-SA 3·0

easier to take advantage of an expert designer who was visiting the locality than to import carved stone of this quality from somewhere else.

LOOKING AT THE FONT

The Stafford basin is not just quatrefoil but cusped again internally (fig. 2), with the sides shaped towards the bottom very confidently. Patterns and forms on the Stafford font that are frequently seen in Romanesque sculpture elsewhere – such as the foliage border, the lions, and the double-bodied creatures – are unusually proficient, yet the sculptor has a weakness in what we might call 'figure-drawing', a weakness exposed in the non-standard items of the two human figures in the upper part. The sculptor's inadequacy must be at least partly due to the fact that the font was carved at a time of change, when stylised Romanesque conventions were giving way to a more realistic phase which became, in time, the full Gothic manner. It may be that two sculptors were at work on these figures, because the face of the man is more developed than those of the woman and the two upright animals, while the drapery around the woman is in a stiffer manner than that around the man; we might suppose that the better carver took on the most conspicuous subject, the upright man, and used the delicate new realistic style. A reasonable date for the Stafford font, if it shares that currently suggested for the one with supporters at Castle Frome, would be around 1140, whilst Zarnecki's date for the Lenton font, with a cusped basin, was 1140–1160.[25] Most sculptors in England would be much less 'advanced' towards the realistic Gothic style at this time than was the sculptor of the figure of the man on the font at St Mary's, Stafford.

There are three earlier descriptions of the font which must be outlined here. Nikolaus Pevsner dismissed the figures as 'primitive' and gave more space to the 'inscription' (*sic* singular) than to the form or the sculpture;[26] the two inscriptions will be discussed in the next section of this article. Colin Drake describes the four creatures at the top, starting with the man on the east face: 'one [figure] stands on the back of a crouching lion, his hand raised in blessing, another is a woman in a wimple, naked above the waist, the third is a man with arms raised, while curled round his legs is a snake with head raised to strike. The last is damaged below the waist but above depicts a wild man with arms raised'. At the bottom, Drake says, are a monkey, a ram, and two men.[27] Ron

25 Thurlby 2013, 183; Zarnecki 1998, 140.
26 Pevsner 1974, 242.
27 Drake 2002, 32.

Baxter gives the fullest published description so far; he sees the figure on the east face as 'apparently male and wearing a bonnet, a tunic with a round collar and a robe that forms a cape over his left shoulder and hangs from waist level in two layers of soft sinuous folds. His right arm is folded across his chest.' The figure on the north side he describes as 'possibly female. The head is oval and the features crudely gouged out. It is surrounded by a large wimple. The neck is grotesquely elongated and she is bare-breasted with a large amorphous bosom. Below the waist is a skirt with straight folds fanning out to the hem.' The less familiar creatures on the west and south faces are read as composite human and animal beings.[28]

THE INSCRIPTIONS

It is rare to find inscriptions of any kind in English Romanesque sculpture, even the name of a sculptor. The inscription on the chancel arch at St Chad's church in Stafford, 'ORM VOCATUR QUI ME CONDIDIT', gives us a bald fact about the builder or patron; merely that he was called Orm. On the font, however, there are two separate inscriptions: the upper one is allusive and poetic (though not in poetic meter), while the lower inscription appears to be a plain verbal warning.

The upper inscription runs at the top of the vertical face, immediately above the band of foliage and the heads of the four creatures. As usual, the beginning is marked by a cross, this is on the north-east angle to the right of the man. The inscription reads (with some losses made up within the square brackets): + TV DE IERUSALEM ROR[EM MIHI DAS GENI]ALEM ME FACIENS TALEM TAM PVLCRVM TAM SPECIALEM.[29] Of the several translations,[30] the one preferred is: 'You give me the dew of Jerusalem, at birth making me distinguished, so handsome, so special.'[31] The phrase 'dew of Jerusalem' occurs in Psalm 132 verse 3, where unity among brethren is a beautiful thing likened to 'the dew of Hermon on the mountains of Sion, where the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore.'[32] It is not the 'unity of brethren' that would be most relevant to the font,[33] but the potency of the 'dew'; this must refer to the baptismal water and the blessing which accompanies it and which has been given to the speaker. In the Old Testament, blessings that 'the Lord commanded' were earthly ones of fruitfulness and full barns for the Israelites,[34] imagery which would have been understood in a spiritual sense by Christian teachers and applied to the after-life. Baptism was a command of the risen Lord,[35] and at baptism the corresponding blessing conferred is 'life for evermore', that is, a new, heavenly, life is offered to those baptised.

New-born by baptism, therefore, the speaker of the inscription declares he has become 'distinguished, so handsome, so special.' This part of the inscription is not a biblical quotation but might have been derived from a short passage in Gregory the Great's late 6th-century text, *Moralia in Job*; it is one of the surprisingly few mentions of baptism in this wide-ranging work.[36] This passage, in Book XVIII, chapter 87, provides striking imagery for the change brought about in an individual by baptism. Gregory uses the metaphor of 'dyeing' [*tinctio*], with dull old clothes being dipped into dye and emerging with the purest colours as something new and special: those people who were unsightly and deformed by bad habits are, on receiving the faith, rendered beautiful [*pulchri*] by grace.

The lower inscription runs immediately above, and partly behind, the four lions. It begins on the south-east angle to the left of the man, and reads: + DISCRETVS NON ES SI NON FVGIS ECCE

28 Baxter, website 1 (accessed 18 March 2016).

29 The lost text was reconstructed by the Revd Richard Rawle, rector of Cheadle 1839–47; he supposed the sentence was 'put into the mouth of the recipient of baptism, and addressed to our Lord' (Calvert 1886, 38).

30 'From Jerusalem you [carry the divine fount?] endowing me with beauty and grace' (Baxter); 'Thou bearest from Jerusalem the divine fount, endowing me with beauty and grace' (Pevsner); 'You give me life-giving water from Jerusalem, making me such as I am, beautiful and distinctive' (Fisher).

31 Peter L. Wood. His translation uses 'handsome' as it is always assumed that a man is speaking; 'beautiful' is not used of men in current English. In the context, however, a spiritual beauty is acquired by the speaker.

32 'Sicut ros Hermon, qui descendit in montem Sion quoniam mandavit dominus benedictionem, et vitam usque in saeculum' (Vulgate). Anciently, Mount Sion was the part of Jerusalem with the fortress and palace of David: the effective centre.

33 Brethren are acquired in baptism, but this advantage is secondary to the nature of baptism itself. Compare note 77.

34 Leviticus 25:21; Deuteronomy 28:8.

35 'And Jesus came and said to them "All authority… has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them…" ' (Matthew 28:18–19).

36 The *Moralia* began as addresses to the monks of his entourage while Gregory was a diplomat in Constantinople from 579 to 585, which might account for this apparent lack of interest in baptism. Text available in Latin (Gregorivs Magnvs 2005) and English (Gregory the Great 1844–50).

LEONES. There is more agreement on how to translate this line,[37] but again a new translation is preferred here: 'You are not prudent if you don't run away. Look, lions!'[38] It would be a sensible decision to run away from lions; wisdom in the sense of book-learning is not involved, 'just think what will happen if you don't run away!' Discretion is the prudence of the wise virgins of the parable (Matthew 8:11–13), who thought ahead and filled their lamps with oil in case they had a long wait. The nature of the lions is discussed later.

THE SCULPTURE IN DETAIL

There is damage, for example, to the man's arms (fig. 6), the head-covering of the woman (fig. 7), and the coiled tail of the west animal (fig. 8). The upper rim (fig. 2) shows inserts over the heads of the four upright creatures, and the head of the southern animal was involved in this. It is uncertain how these inserts might affect authenticity, but there is a general consistency which suggests that the heads are credible. Various marks on the four smooth rounded lobes indicate accidents; some other marks could be later and deliberate, such as the marking of the nipples on the woman's breasts, and similarly a navel on the man, and also on the north animal.[39] This last mark was certainly an addition, for the animal shows us not its belly but its back – as can been seen from the positions of its four legs.

As was mentioned earlier, the ambition of the original sculptor or sculptors who carved the upright figures was no longer entirely schematic or formulaic, but it was to be realistic. However, following Romanesque conventions, the hands and feet are still small in relation to the (more spiritual) head, as are Christ's hands in his baptism on the Castle Frome font (fig. 9), yet realism demanded fine descriptive detail within these reduced forms; consequently the man's small feet have largely worn away and the woman's hands are a spray of fingers, perhaps recut. Only the man's left hand, whose gesture (it will be shown) is vital to the logic of the design, was carved successfully in the new realistic manner: his right hand on his chest has been broken off but seems to have been about the same size.



Fig. 6 The standing man on the east face

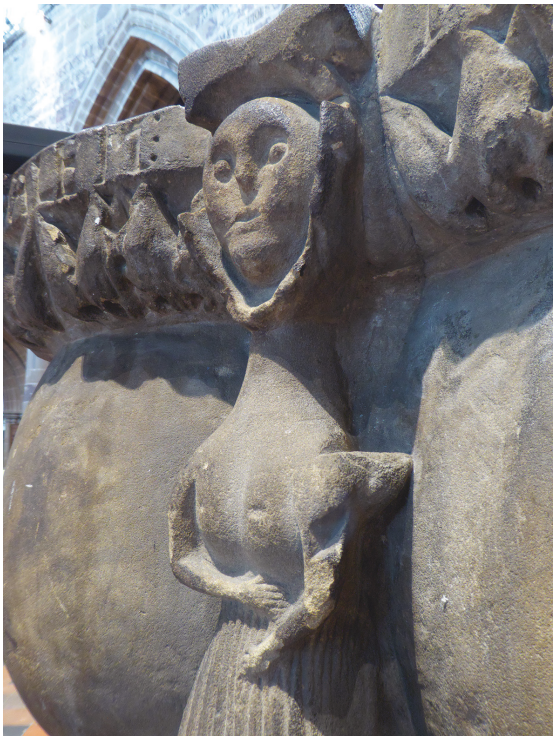


Fig. 7 The upper part of the woman on the north face, seen from the right

37 'You are not wise if you do not flee. Behold the lions!' (Baxter); 'You are not wise if you don't flee from the lions' (Pevsner); ' You are unwise if you do not run away; look, there are lions' (Fisher).
38 Peter L. Wood.
39 Such details might have been painted (Zarnecki 1998, 136, n. 7).



Fig. 8 The animal on the west face, from the right



Fig. 9 The font at Castle Frome (Herefordshire): the baptism of Christ

A description of the upper and then the lower imagery follows, with an interpretation in the succeeding section. The two human beings are subconsciously recognised as the principal images on the font, and of them the standing man has the prime place, with the inscriptions starting on his left and right; his importance is recognised at present by his being placed facing east, towards the

altar. There is not necessarily any significance in the directions faced by the other imagery and, of course, we do not know how or where the font was placed originally.

The man is standing on a lion (fig. 6); he probably has short wavy hair rather than a hat on his head, though perhaps there is a headband over his forehead keeping his hair out of his eyes. Round his neck is a flat circular collar or yoke, but there is no other certain indication of a tunic, such as puckering on the arms, the ends of sleeves, or a hem at his knees: indeed, for the most part the man is naked. It looks as though the flat collar is a yoke bearing the light cloak which covers the man's left shoulder and which he is pulling across himself with his right hand; the cloak floats in around him from the left in graceful folds to cover his private parts. This cloak without a fastening brooch recalls those of the youths riding horses on the frieze from the Parthenon, but it would be more persuasive to cite a carving at Lucca (Italy), said to be of Samson and the lion.[40] The man's left hand is carved in accurate detail; he is gesturing with two fingers pointing downwards and two folded up into his palm.

The woman (figs 7 and 10) could be kneeling, and floats above another lion. The hood or head-covering – it is hardly a wimple – was once complete around her face and, when united with the rectangular projection above her head, made almost a halo; certainly her face is clearly visible and this somehow gives her importance: although naturally slightly smaller than the man, she is nonetheless an individual. She too is mostly naked, except for the remains of a wrap around her shoulders and what seems to be a pleated skirt covering her legs and feet; it could be that these are all one large piece of cloth. Before damage or recutting, it may have been clearer that the wrap that covers her back and shoulders came forward over her upper arms to cover her abdomen and legs, and was held in place by her lower arms and hands.

The two animals on the west and south faces of the font are basically the same in that they are both climbing up the font with their tails at the level of the lions and their heads among the foliage at the rim (figs 11 and 12). Our confusion – or distaste – arises from the fact that their faces, which are quite human and resemble that of the woman, are turned 180 degrees from a natural position. This same pose is seen on corbels in south-west France (as at Mouchan; fig. 13), and also occurs on the lower level of the font at Freudenstadt (in Baden-Württemberg), where a man turns his head right round (fig. 5). At Mouchan, the creature is a lion, but there are the same activities of climbing and the turning of the head to look out and down; further similar lions on corbels at this church also have broad grins. Other parallels for the animals on the Stafford font are those climbing pillars at the entrance to the church of Sant' Ambrogio, Milan (fig. 14); there are lions climbing and turning their heads on a capital of the pulpit inside the church too.[41] The west animal has fore-legs only, perhaps with folded wings, and it has a serpentine tail, partly broken, which tapers to the end. There is no definite head on the tip of the tail as suggested by Drake,[42] but if there is one it is emitting foliage or, more likely, the tail ends in foliage (fig. 8). The south animal has four legs, of which the top two reach up to the rim of the font and the lower two are placed backward; its tail is plain and seems straight.

The remaining imagery in the bottom half of the font is clearly inter-related, although it is carved in two separate stones: the lions look down and those beneath them react to the presence of the lions. These four lions are more typical of lions as depicted in Italy than they are like any carved in England; in particular, their manes and heads are more developed and sophisticated. They are realistic and their aspect is threatening and, of course, there is the warning in the inscription — Look, there are lions, and here is their prey. The double-bodied creatures with a single head are another feature more common in Italy than in England; three of their heads are human and one is that of a horned sheep.

On the north-east corner of the base, hands survive with the finger-tips touching (fig. 15); the arms of a similar crouching figure on the north-west corner are broken but could have continued with hands together in a similar way; these two double-bodied creatures have human legs, though distorted to support the upper part of the font. The man's fingers on the surviving support at Castle Frome (fig. 16) are together in a position which can be read as prayerful; and there is another example of the fingertips-together detail at Conisbrough (Yorks.; fig. 17).[43] This position is distinct from the more

40 Date *c*. 1200: Decker 1958, pl. 52; then in Lucca Town Museum.

41 Decker 1958, pl. 4.

42 Drake 2002, 32. It looks like the sort of animal which would have had winged forelegs, a wyvern, but nothing definite remains if so.

43 Wood 2012a, 76; also website 1 (Conisbrough, St Peter).



Fig. 10 The complete figure of the woman, from left



Fig. 11 The animal on the west face, from the west

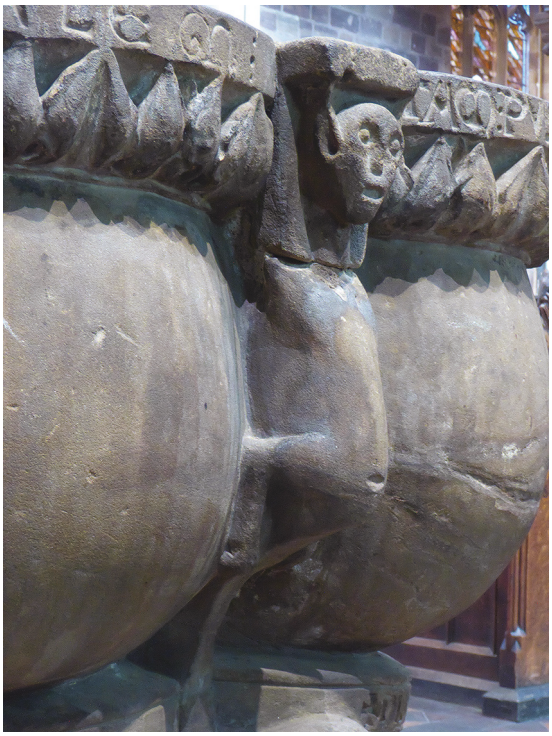


Fig. 12 The animal on the south face, from the left



Fig. 13 Corbel on the apse at Mouchan, Gers (France)

usual 'orant' posture for praise, in which the arms are held up and the hands open: in the examples (figs. 15, 16, and 17) the hands are making a request or petition. In contrast, on the south-western corner of the font (fig. 18), the creature's hands are not in any position of prayer but are idle; this creature has serpentine tails. All three human-like faces have a distorted mouth expressing strong



Fig. 14 Main west entrance at Sant' Ambrogio, Milan (Italy); animals climbing pillars. Photo: Giovanni Dall'Orto/Wikimedia Commons, licence CC-BY-SA-2·5-IT



Fig. 15 Man on the north-east corner of the base (Stafford font)



Fig. 16 Support of the font at Castle Frome: a man praying.



Fig. 17 Capital of nave arcade at Conisbrough (Yorkshire): a man praying

disgust or fear. A similar grimace occurs on corbels, for example in Yorkshire at Birkin (fig. 19) and at Kirkburn (fig. 20), where it is exaggerated to an extreme. Similar exaggerations occur on theatrical masks used in ancient drama, some of which are pictured in a manuscript of *c*. 1150, while models of actors, if not actual masks, have survived to the present.[44] Such survivals might perhaps have been the source for the grimace and for a range of exaggerated expressions seen on 12th-century corbels



Fig. 18 Man on the south-west angle of the base: hands inactive (Stafford font)



Fig. 19 Corbel at Birkin (Yorkshire)



Fig. 20 Corbel at Kirkburn (Yorkshire)

44 Swarzencki 1954, fig. 297: a 12th-century illustrated manuscript of a play by Terence, a Roman poet of the 2nd century BC; the actors wear masks. Actual masks rarely survive, but terracotta statuettes of actors do; some in the Metropolitan Museum in New York are from the late 5th to early 4th century BC (see the museum's website; also Csapo and Slater 1995, pl. 9). Like the actors' masks, corbels were seen from a distance and the faces had to be legible.

which the present author has suggested elsewhere could have pictured the range of reactions to the Second Coming of Christ, which signalled Judgment (Wood 2012a, 11–12).

Lastly, the double-bodied creature on the south-east corner (figs 1 and 21) has the head of a horned sheep. Its bodies lie in a natural resting position with no obvious deformation and, although it is in as much danger from the lions as the other three creatures around the base of the font, the sheep could be said to smile.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO WHAT IT ALL MEANT

Two zones

Nowadays, the four lions are the feature that seems to entertain visitors most about the Stafford font: they are fully-rounded, life-like beasts prowling – growling – over the unfortunates below them. Yet the lions are not at all individualised and were stock characters in mainland Europe; they were not the most important subject in the 12th century. The two people above them would have been of first interest; they have many unique features, but the damage to details and the carving's perceived inadequacy allows modern commentators to discount both the human beings and the unnatural animals with them, and turn most of their attention to the inscriptions, which would have meant nothing to most of those who saw the font in the 12th century. The inscriptions were for the interpreters, the priests, and are a bonus for us, as they give us clues to the sources and intentions of the learned design; the sculpture, on the other hand, had to speak to people directly, or at least remind them of what they had been told or had had read to them.

The Castle Frome and Freudenstadt fonts are divided into two zones separated by a bold pattern. The subjects in their upper zone can be seen as giving a message of hope and attainment, while the lower zone depicts the uncertainty of earthly life. For example, on the Castle Frome font,[45] the upper zone has the baptism of Christ, the symbols of the four evangelists, and a pair of birds – the latter are often said to be pecking or being pecked but they are, perhaps, just two birds (that is, souls) crammed into a small space.[46] The lower zone of the Castle Frome font comprised three crouching figures, of which the remaining complete one is a man making a petitionary prayer (fig. 16).

On the Freudenstadt font (fig. 5), an inscription just below the rim refers to a bestiary story that links the hart to the sacrament of baptism.[47] It may be translated as 'Like the Hart, Man spits out the poison of the Snake'. There were several bestiary anecdotes about harts and snakes which made analogies with Christian practices; the hart is understood as a Christian believer and the snake is seen as the devil, or at least as a tempter. In short, these anecdotes teach about the defeat of evil in this life and the promise of a new life in heaven: for centuries these had been seen as the two fruits of baptism. The inscription clearly applies to the carving of the hart with the snake in its mouth, and refers to baptism, but it is not the whole message of the carvings, even those at the same level. The motifs in the upper zone are standard images denoting believers in paradise: the hart is at last in heaven,[48] and there are also a simple lion and a man with symmetrical wyverns, creatures which the present writer has elsewhere interpreted as souls in heaven or spiritual messengers;[49] even the tails and food of the creatures in this upper zone are foliate in order to denote the life of paradise. The lower zone of the Freudenstadt font has several prowling lions derived from the three-dimensional Italian forms; and there is also a single human figure supporting the bowl but with its head turned round, as if crushed yet still climbing. Something of a similar characterisation into a heavenly and an earthly zone, as on the Castle Frome and Freudenstadt fonts, can be detected on the font in Stafford, but the latter's scheme is not so simple.

The sculpture on the Stafford font falls into two zones differentiated by their forms, one zone comprising the lobed bowl and the upright creatures, and the other the base with the horizontal lions and whatever is below them; the only band of pattern encircling the Stafford font is immediately below the upper inscription, at the rim. On many 12th-century fonts a pattern encircles the rim, honouring the contents of the basin (as in figs 4 and 5), but the pattern on the Stafford font will

45 As above note 14.

46 George Zarnecki wrote that the 'pair of doves, perhaps [symbolized] purity after baptism, while the figures on the base may signify sin.'

47 Drake 2002, 98; White 1984, 37–9.

48 'As a hart pants for flowing streams … so longs my soul for thee, O God … when shall I come and behold the face of God?' (Psalm 42:1–2).

49 Wood 2012a, 16–17; and see later in this article.

be shown to be significant for another reason as well. Without a pattern dividing them, there are links between motifs in the upper and lower zones, the two most obvious connections being that the upright man is standing on one of the lions, and he is pointing down at what is going on below him. The uncertainty that drives the man at Castle Frome to anxious prayer seems to be resolved above the band of pattern with a simple assurance of the power of baptism and the gospels' promise of heavenly life. On the font in Stafford, on the other hand, it will be shown that the good outcome is not inevitable. No man's future is certain for, as the Bible recounts, even king David and Peter the chief of the apostles could fall into sin; for this reason, says Gregory the Great, a preacher should always mix hope and fear in his teaching.[50] The Castle Frome and Freudenstadt fonts are scrapbooks of assorted imagery compared to the Stafford font, which was designed as a unity. Arguably it is an original presentation on baptism based on several passages in the *Moralia in Job* of St Gregory, the pope who was probably the medieval world's favourite author.

Upper zone (the four upright creatures)

It is likely that the font would have been set on a higher plinth than now so that the detailed carvings round the base could be seen easily; that would bring the human figures nearer our own eye level, though even now we naturally relate to them. As was first suggested by the Revd Richard Rawle,[51] it is possible that the two figures were meant as contemporary people taking part in the normal baptism ritual and that they have just been baptised, and that the man is the speaker of the upper inscription. That the man and woman have just been washed (by one of the several methods used for applying the baptismal water) would explain their nakedness and their unusual wrappings. It is known that the baptism ceremonies of the early church in the 4th century included baptism by complete immersion followed by the clothing of the newly-baptised in white robes, and that they wore white for at least a week thereafter.[52] We do not know how long the practice of re-clothing the newly-baptised continued, but white robes were being given as late as the 8th century, though by then they may have been worn only for the duration of the ceremony.[53] A Romanesque carving of the baptism of Jesus on a font at West Haddon (Northants.) shows angels bringing him a new robe, whereas usually an angel might bring him something that looks more like a towel.[54] The new robe on the West Haddon font, with its stiffly extended sleeves, is usually understood as symbolising the public ministry Jesus was about to begin and which would lead to his crucifixion, but even so it might also be making a parallel with special clothes given to the newly-baptised, who were also beginning a new life full of temptations. We do not know if the references in texts, or as here in sculpture, were symbolic or whether actual robes were still given at baptism, but neither excludes the other. A second item of actual clothing given after the baptism and anointing is mentioned by the 8th-century Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin and his contemporary Theodulf of Orleans; this is a 'mystic head covering' which signified 'the diadem of kingship and the dignity of priesthood',[55] and was given to the newly-baptised because they had become Christ-like, that is, they were the adopted children of God.[56] It is possible that the man and woman on the Stafford font wear ritual head-coverings of that kind.

Virtually nothing survives in documents to tell us how the baptism ceremony would have been conducted in the 12th century; documents are either too early or too late. Because there are pre-Conquest laws requiring children to be baptised soon after birth,[57] the frequent assumption is that no adults would have needed baptism; however, laws are made only because undesirable situations exist. Indeed, fonts are often over-large, or at least over-deep, for the baptism of infants, and in 12th-century sculpture there are indications, such as these features at Stafford, that adult baptism was far from unknown. Reading some sculpture at Conisbrough (Yorks.) requires a physical turning from west to east, a ritual turning from evil towards God;[58] physical turning is the conscious act of

50 *Moralia*, Bk XXXIII, 23–4.
51 See above note 29.
52 Whitaker 1960, 12, 210; Fisher 1965, 65.
53 Whitaker 1960, 152, 210.
54 Bond 1985, 158; Drake 2002, 29; website 1.
55 'You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood …' (1 Peter 2:9). This epistle may have been written for the newly-baptised.
56 Fisher 1965, 60–61, 67; Whitaker 1960, 210.
57 Fisher 1965, 86–7.
58 Wood 2012, 75–7; website 1.

an adult and a symbol of the conversion which is at the heart of baptism;[59] capitals on a doorway at Kilham (Yorks.) show adults in fonts.[60]

Obviously, an adult could not have climbed into the Stafford font for baptism, but it is possible that adults came almost naked to the font and had the holy water poured over them as they stood beside it, or as they knelt on the floor, which the Stafford woman might be considered as doing.[61] A beaten earth floor or even a paved floor was permeable: we know that one contemporary way to dispose of the ablutions from the mass vessels was to pour the liquid into a hollow in the floor; shaped flags indicating this practice survive near the site of a nave altar at Kirkstall abbey (Yorks.), and the practice must have been widespread before the introduction of the more orderly pillar piscina or, later again, the built-in drain in an alcove.

The man is making a gesture with his left hand (fig. 6). Deriving from classical tradition, this gesture would mean 'I am speaking', and usually the hand would be raised to distinguish that individual in a crowd; it is still the gesture used by a bishop or priest when giving a blessing. The gesture is made by both John the Baptist and the hand of God in the baptism scene on the Castle Frome font (fig. 9): one might imagine John saying his words of baptism and God the Father saying 'this is my beloved Son' (Matthew 3:17). On the font at Stafford, the man's left hand is pointing down towards the lower inscription; this could be seen as the standing, newly-baptised, man saying "Discretus non est…". He *has* been wise, he has chosen to flee from 'the lions' into the Church. That the man stands on one of the lions demonstrates his defeat of the danger it appears to represent; the woman would be included with him in this victory.[62] The nature of the lions in the lower zone will be discussed shortly.

Also in the upper zone of the font are two animals. As described by Cyril of Jerusalem in the late 4th century, baptism had two purposes: it gave the believer strength to wrestle against the adverse powers encountered in this present life, and it prepared the faithful, as sons of God by adoption,[63] for a future life in paradise and for the vision of God in heaven. The two human figures have the benefit of baptism to strengthen them in the earthly life, and the two animals with them in the upper zone of the font could provide an image of the future resurrected bodies of the baptised rising to paradise. The animal on the west side of the font is not a natural one but a combination of two or more parts that make up a new creature.[64] Not only was this a simple way of picturing a new kind of body, but Gregory the Great had provided the authority for it when he wrote in *Moralia* about the 'two garments' the blessed will have after the general resurrection: when spirits and bodies are reunited they will enjoy blessedness of soul together with the incorruption of the body.[65] The second animal, on the south face, is more like the lions usually carved in England. It has no mane or broad chest; in these features it is comparable to the lion in the upper zone of the Freudenstadt font, to the right of the hart (fig. 5). Both these lions could be seen as a younger brother of Christ the strong lion.[66] Both animals on the Stafford font climb, like those on the corbels and pillars (figs 13 and 14), a posture which would be appropriate for those who aspire to heaven, or who are ascending there. They turn and look out as if to say 'Look at me! Follow me!'; they challenge the onlooker also to believe and rise.

The heads of all four creatures, both the humans and the animals, interrupt the foliage pattern, which could perhaps be understood as showing that the humans have the garden of paradise in their minds, and that their ascending counterparts have just reached it. Gregory the Great repeatedly uses 'greenness' (*viriditas*) as an image of the spiritual life on earth, and especially of the supreme experience of that life, the everlasting life in heaven.[67] Perhaps as a consequence of his advocacy, foliage in medieval sculpture is always more than mere pattern. On this font, the zone of heaven is,

59 Whitaker 1960, 96, 101; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lecture*, 19, ch. 9 (for an English translation, see website 2).

60 Wood 2012a, 10–11, 131–2; website 1.

61 In the border of John Speed's map of the Heptarchy (1616), St Wilfrid is pictured baptising the king of the South Saxons in just this manner. Is it an invention, or a memory of pre-Reformation practice?

62 *Moralia,* Bk XXXV, 46 is one of several places where St Gregory is inclusive.

63 'You have received the spirit of sonship …' (Romans 8:15).

64 'If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation' (2 Corinthians 5:17). Specifically referring to the 'body' in the afterlife, see 1 Corinthians 15: 35–38 and 50–52.

65 St Gregory was expounding Isaiah 61:7 and Revelation 6:11. See *Moralia*, Preface ch.2 and Bk XXXV, 25. See also, *re* mermaids, Wood 2010, 321–37.

66 Jesus says 'my brethren … my Father and your Father …' (John 20:17); St Paul says 'we wait for the adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies (Romans 8:19–23).

67 For example, *Moralia*, Bk II, 73.

strictly-speaking, only reached in the band of leaves. The four creatures are in transition: the humans progress in this life, and the resurrected believers ascend into the next.

Lower zone (the lions and those below them)

The lions (figs 1, 18, and 21) are the clearest indication that the carvings were inspired by Italian models, but the ram also occurs in Roman sculpture. The horned head of a ram was sometimes used on the corner of a capital,[68] but there was also a Roman funerary motif that is found all over the Empire, it is of a lion standing over its dead prey, usually a ram (fig. 22).[69] This latter motif would



Fig. 21 Horned sheep on south-east corner (Stafford font)



Fig. 22 Funerary monument from Corbridge Roman Town (Northumberland), 2nd or 3rd century AD.

68 Zarnecki, 1992, 343–350.

69 Probably in the 2nd century, this carving of a lion and its prey capped the wall of a tomb; within a hundred years or so it was reused as part of a fountain, the lion's front teeth being cut away to take the spout. See Phillips 1977, 31–2; fig. 82.

seem to have been the model for the lion and sheep on the south-east corner of the Stafford font, and partly for the other corners too. Although the similarities between the Roman model and the carvings on the font are striking, there are important differences. Most obviously, the lions on the font are not standing on dead animals: they are distanced from the living prey, and the 'death' they embody is a threat, not yet a reality. Moreover, the effect that the lions have on the four individuals below them is subtly varied, as will be discussed later. In the millennium intervening between Roman and Romanesque sculpture, this powerful image was taken over by the Church and a new story was constructed around it. Similar developments occurred with other Roman motifs, for example, winged victories became angels and the military triumph became a metaphor for Christ's Ascension,[70] whilst the classical forms of centaur and mermaid were retained but their characters were completely altered in Christian use.[71]

The instruction to flee in the lower inscription sounds obvious, even unnecessary – of course, we would run away from lions – but this is a medieval font and the 'lions' must represent something else, something from which a believer should flee. The lions are a spiritual threat to weak humanity, perhaps something which might not be recognised as harmful without such a warning. Every feature in this lowest part of the font – the weight above, the ever-present hovering lions, the awkwardness of the poses, and the discomfort of having single heads on double bodies – all this combines to make us aware that this zone is a different state of existence from the upper zone, and far from heavenly. The clearest biblical match for the situation is the text in 1 Peter 5:8–9: 'Your adversary the devil prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour. Resist him, firm in your faith'; the text continues with a promise of eternal glory for those who remain faithful.

If we were to look beyond the Bible for clues towards the significance of the lower inscription, then the *Moralia in Job* of Gregory the Great could supply them. In several places, Gregory describes the need for discretion, that is, discernment or discrimination, by Christians in daily life. Discretion was one of the four ancient cardinal virtues, under the name of prudence. Gregory says a person with discretion takes heed of the realities of a situation, is watchful, bridles his tongue, and learns from his mistakes;[72] elsewhere, he recommends the 'watchfulness of reason' or spiritual discernment.[73] His most relevant mention of discretion is in his moral interpretation of Job 1:17, a verse which describes a messenger coming to Job with bad news: 'The Chaldeans made three bands, and fell upon the camels, and have taken them away, yea, and slain the servants with the edge of the sword; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.' Gregory drew a moral from this, that one person had escaped safely because discretion had steadied his mind, had seen that fighting the Chaldeans was hopeless, and realised that the best thing was to run away.[74] Further indications that the *Moralia* was in the mind of the designer of the Stafford font include Gregory's saying that the name 'Chaldeans' means 'fierce ones',[75] and his likening of lions to 'the devils which rage against us with the fury of the deadliest cruelty'.[76] While the *Moralia*, even more than the Bible, can supply a range of different meanings for almost any object, the passages cited here are mostly clustered around the interpretation of Job 1:17.[77] The passage draws together several of the distinctive features of the font: emphasis on the virtue of discretion, the presence of lions, and the need to flee from them. When using the font to teach lay people, it would not have been necessary to mention Job, only to use the gleanings of Gregory's insight into the human situation. We might suppose that someone used a bundle of florilegia from *Moralia* when composing the design.[78]

The four creatures below the lions have single heads with double bodies but it is not necessary to read any significance into this construction; it is common in Italy where a variety of animals

70 For example, 1 Colossians 2:15: '… he made a public spectacle of them (i.e., 'principalities and powers') and led them as captives in his triumphal procession' (NEB), or 2 Corinthians 2:14 'God … in Christ always leads us in triumph …'

71 Wood 2010, 31–7. For centaur, see Wood 2012a, 15, 33, 220; for mermaid, see Wood 2012a, 17, 204.

72 *Moralia*, Bk I, 35; Bk II, 73; Bk XV, 43; Bk XI, 65.

73 *Moralia*, Bk II, 73.

74 *Moralia*, Bk II, 75.

75 *Moralia*, Bk II, 52.

76 *Moralia*, Bk XVII, 52. The chapter number is missing in the 19th-century translation and its on-line version, but occurs at 'Thus it is hence said in the Song of Songs …'.

77 A similar moral is taught by an allegory of the boar-hunt which is used at a number of English churches. This teaches that the individual believer is not strong enough to fight the devil on his own but should act under the direction of his priest, or the Church, and with his fellows; see Wood 2012b, 145–8.

78 Leclercq 1961, 182–4. The author acknowledges that without the index in the English translation it would have been impossible to find the mentions of 'discretion' or 'baptism', etc., in *Moralia:* favourite extracts gathered into florilegia could have been organised in the same way, perhaps as a card index. Much was also memorised, no doubt.

are involved and it seems to be a largely ornamental mannerism. However, in England, symmetry of this kind, a head with two bodies, is rarely used for any creature other than a lion, and it is a motif which symbolises Christ the God-Man as heavenly King.[79] In English sculpture more widely, symmetry is an ingredient in the symbolism of heavenly things, but at the lowest level of the font, despite the symmetry, the impression given is one of pressure, discomfort, and danger. Here the Italian or Roman decorative influence has over-ruled local convention, which once again emphasises the singular nature of this font.

The context in which the lions and the double-bodied creatures exist could be earthly life, and the four individuals on the angles of the base could illustrate the encounter between good and evil, or faith and temptation, which is endured by the baptised. In Book IX, chapters 54–56, the *Moralia* describes the earthly life of believers, and Gregory advises that, even after their original sin has been washed away in baptism, they need to weep tears of humility or contrition (*lamenta humilitatis*), and to support this instruction he quotes Psalm 51:17;[80] he then observes that some who may appear pierced with anguish in their prayers are actually seeking transitory joys (*terrena desideria*). Three of the four double-bodied creatures have human heads, and two of the individuals can be understood as illustrating this passage. On the north-east angle is a worried man at prayer; the lions have left him but he is still praying, and perhaps he weeps tears of contrition. The man on the north-west angle appears even more intense, to judge by his puckered eyebrows, but the lions are still bearing down on him; perhaps his prayers are worldly ones. On the south-west angle, the face is human but the hands are not joined in prayer, and both bodies end in snake's tails; we might interpret this as meaning that the lions no longer need to bother with this man: they have won now that he has given up prayer of any kind.[81] This individual represents a reprobate, one who has deserted the faith, as described by Gregory the Great in a passage which also mentions the many subtle temptations that good men are subject to: prudent men tread down the temptations of worldly glory and peer pressure, as the upright man on the east face of the font treads down the lion.[82]

Last of the creatures at the bottom of the font is the horned sheep on the south-east angle; it is couched naturally and probably smiling even though two lions are watching him. In sculpture for a chancel, a horned sheep can symbolise a ram, the leader of the flock, that is, a priest,[83] but that would be awkward here as it might suggest that only a priest could attain such detachment, whereas the font is open to all.[84] A meaning for the name 'Ram' that is given in *Moralia* is *excelsus* or 'lofty', which Gregory identifies with the company of the faithful who despise the things of this life, those men who can say with St Paul, 'Our citizenship is in heaven, and from heaven we expect our deliverer'.[85] In some medieval flocks, adult sheep of both sexes had horns, so the creature could be any member of Christ's flock;[86] he or she is steadfast even in the midst of temptation, perhaps contemplating the eternal blessings that await the faithful as described by Cyril of Jerusalem, St Paul, and St Peter.[87] Thus the two positive double-bodied creatures of the four, those on the north-east and south-east corners, flank the standing man in the upper zone, the man who made the right choice and turned to Christ, the man who speaks both inscriptions; perhaps we might call him 'Discretus'.

References in the sculpture to details in the *Moralia* are common. At least four other sculptural schemes examined by the present writer have been found to use passages from this famous text of Gregory the Great; these schemes use his imagery not as some motif might be simply cut and pasted with a short message from a bestiary, but they show a familiarity in depth with the aims of his text. For example, the Jelling stone in Denmark,[88] made at the time of the conversion of the Danes, prominently illustrates the three Persons of God – Father, Son, and Holy Spirit – probably because Gregory the Great had pointed out that pagans have to assent to belief in the Trinity when they are baptised; the various forms on the Jelling stone are bursting with green shoots, Gregory's favourite symbol for the new life given by God here and hereafter. A third clue to the use of *Moralia* in the

79 For double-bodied lion symbolising Christ, see Wood 2000a, 22–3; Wood 2000b, 386–90.

80 'The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.'

81 This would be an example of a snake symbolising something evil: many snakes and wyverns are positive symbols. The font uses both conventions, for example, the west animal, as interpreted above, uses the tail of a snake as part of a 'good' animal.

82 *Moralia*, Bk V, 41–2.

83 *Moralia*, Bk II, 54; XXX, 9.

84 Compare Fig. 3 and note 16.

85 *Moralia,* Bk XXIII, 9 on Job 32:2; Philippians 3:20 (NEB).

86 '[Jesus] said to [Peter], "Tend my sheep."' (John 21:16).

87 'We have been born anew … to a living hope and an inheritance in heaven …' (1 Peter 1:3–9).

88 Wood 2014, 22, 25, 30–1. The date is *c*. 965.

Jelling design is the representation of the Holy Spirit by a large snake. Gregory does not name the snake as such, for the creature still had pagan connotations in his day, but the speed and scarcely-audible 'voice' of a snake is evoked in the language used by Gregory to describe the arrival of inspiration from the Holy Spirit.[89] Probably because of his advocacy, the snake became one of the most important positive symbols in early medieval art, though it is largely misunderstood in modern times. As well as symbolising the Holy Spirit, the snake came to have wider but related uses, for example as a spiritual messenger from God, or a spiritual being, or a human soul; the last of these uses would account for the tail of the western animal in the upper zone of the Stafford font. At Dinton (Gloucs.),[90] snakes bring messages to mankind about the future life in paradise, and at Kirkstall Abbey (Yorks.) snakes bring thoughts to improve the prayers of monks.[91] Other schemes examined by the author, at Durham castle[92] and Saint-Bénigne in Dijon (Burgundy),[93] use further images and apply them as in *Moralia*. None of these schemes employs Gregory's *Moralia* as persistently as does the Stafford font. The frequency of these references might again suggest Italian influence, and they are clearly due to the clerical designer, whereas the other Italian features noted above have been artistic and might have been the choice of designer or craftsman. There is a case for saying that Romanesque sculpture was promoted as one vehicle of the reforms of the Church which began in Italy and Rome in the 11th century, and the Stafford font seems good evidence for that.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Martin Elkes for his interest and help at St Chad's church, Stafford; to the church office at Freudendstadt; and to Peter L. Wood (neighbour but no relation) for numerous helps with the Latin. I am grateful for the encouragement of Professor Martin Carver regarding my speculations on the historical context of the font. The late Alan Owen arranged a group visit from York to Staffordshire, without which I might never have visited the two churches. I would also like to remember the Revd John Fisher, vicar of a parish in Sussex, who was researching his book on Christian initiation while my husband was his curate: little did I think I would ever need to read it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Websites

Website 1	www.crsbi.ac.uk
Website 2	www.newadvent.org/fathers
Website 3	www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoraliaIndex.html
Website 4	www.liberfloridus.be

Abbreviations

VCH	*Victoria History of the County of Stafford*

Printed sources

Avery, M.	1936	*The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton)
Calvert, C.	1886	*History of Stafford and Guide to the Neighbourhood* (Stafford)
Carver, M. O. H.	2010	*The Birth of a Borough: an archaeological study of Anglo-Saxon Stafford* (Woodbridge)
Csapo, E. and Slater, W. J.	1995	*The Context of Ancient Drama* (Ann Arbor)
Decker, H.	1958	*Romanesque Art in Italy* (London)
Drake, C. S.	2002	*The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia* (Woodbridge)
Dunning, G. C.	1944	'The distribution of black Tournai fonts', *Antiquaries Journal*, **24**, 66–8

89 *Moralia*, Bk V, 50–1; Bk XXVII, 41.
90 Wood 2011, 152–3.
91 Wood 2015, 94, 96.
92 Wood 2010, 29, 31, 33, 35–36.
93 Wood 2009, 227–8, 233.

Fisher, John D. C.	1965	*Christian Initiation: baptism in the medieval west: a study in the disintegration of the primitive rite of initiation* (London)
Fisher, Michael	2009	*St Mary's Stafford: history and guide*
Fisher, Michael and Baker, A.	2009	*Stafford's Hidden Gem, St. Chad's church, Greengate Street: history and guide*
Franklin, M. J.	2009	'Clinton, Roger of (d. 1148)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online version, 2009; accessed 10 May 2016)
Gregorivs Magnvs	2005	*Moralia in Iob*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, vols. 143, 143A, and 143B, in two volumes (Turnhout)
Gregory the Great	1844–50	*Morals in the Book of Job*, translated J. Bliss (Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the division of the East and West), vols. 18, 21, 23, and 31; full index in vol. 31 (Oxford). This translation (but without the index) is on-line on website 3
Leclercq, J.	1961	*The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: a study of monastic culture*, translated C. Misrahi (New York)
Pevsner, N.	1974	*The Buildings of England: Staffordshire* (New Haven; London; reprinted 2002)
Phillips, E. J.	1977	*Corbridge: Hadrian's Wall east of the North Tyne* (Corpus Signorum Imperii Romanum, vol. 1, fascicule I; Oxford)
Swarzencki, H.	1954	*Monuments of Romanesque Art* (London)
Thurlby, M.	2013	*The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture with a History of the Anarchy in Herefordshire by Bruce Coplestone-Crow* (Logaston)
Whitaker, E. C.	1960	*Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* (London)
White, T. H.	1984	*The Book of Beasts* (first published, 1954; reprinted, Stroud)
Wood, R.	2000a	'The Romanesque Doorway at Fishlake', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* **72**, 17–39
Wood, R.	2000b	'The Lions in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, **cxx**, 386–93
Wood, R.	2009	'The two major capitals in the crypt of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon', *Antiquaries' Journal*, **89**, 215–39
Wood, R.	2010	'The Norman Chapel in Durham Castle', *Northern History*, **xlvii** (1), 9–48
Wood, R.	2011	'The Romanesque doorways at Dinton and Leckhampstead', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, **51**, 139–68
Wood, R.	2012a	*Romanesque Yorkshire* (Leeds)
Wood, R.	2012b	'The Romanesque doorway at Little Langford', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine,* **105**, 145–56
Wood, R.	2014	'The pictures on the greater Jelling stone', *Danish Journal of Archaeology*, **3**, issue 1, 19–32
Wood, R.	2015	'Cistercian sculpture: Kirkstall Abbey and Elland Church in the twelfth century', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, **87**, 65–100
Zarnecki, G.	1992	'Animal protomes in medieval art', in *Further Studies in Romanesque Art* (London), 343–350
Zarnecki, [G.] Jerzy	1951	'Regional Schools of English Sculpture in the Twelfth Century: The Southern School and the Herefordshire School' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London)
Zarnecki, G.	1998	'The Romanesque Font at Lenton', in *Southwell and Nottinghamshire: Medieval Art, Architecture, and Industry*, ed. J. S. Alexander (being British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, **xxi)**, 136–42, pls. XLII–XLVII
Zarnecki, G., Holt, J., and Howard, T.	1984	*English Romanesque Art, 1066–1200* (London)

LORDSHIP AND MONASTIC PATRONAGE IN TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY STAFFORDSHIRE: THE HONOR OF TUTBURY AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

JOHN HUNT

The honor of Tutbury has long been regarded as a 'classic' example of the Anglo-Norman honors that underpinned the stabilisation of the Norman Conquest and laid the foundations of the infrastructure of lordship that characterised the 12th and 13th centuries. Peter Golob's study of the honor emphasised a number of these 'classic' traits (Golob 1984; Stenton 1932, 51–5, 194, 197). The personal bond between the baron (later, earl) and the honorial community was strong, built on an association that for many originated in Normandy before the Conquest. It was further supported by a generally cohesive honorial court and a strong profile of lordship that was physically expressed in the landscape of the *caput honoris*. Part of this landscape was Tutbury priory, established in the shadow of the castle, whose foundation was also an integral 'building block' in the shaping of the honor, intended to provide a focus where the baron and his men might come together in their support of a religious house, thereby reinforcing the bonds between them and promoting a sense of honorial solidarity and shared identity. It is with this theme of religious patronage within the honorial community that what follows is concerned.

Monastic foundations of the 11th and 12th centuries are often described by historians as either family or honorial foundations, although the distinctions between them are not always sharp. Given their potential role in stabilising honorial communities and promoting the family of the founder, it is unsurprising that such religious patronage has generally been viewed from the perspective of the network of loyalty that centred upon the baron, as expressed through shared religious endowment, rather than from the position and aspirations of individual tenant families, although the latter has not been neglected (Hunt 1997; Faulkner 1998). This article presents a consideration from both perspectives but is particularly concerned with examining the trends in religious patronage across the honor and the interests of the earls, based primarily upon the Ferrers *acta* as catalogued by Dr Golob, while also offering some comparisons with the experience of neighbouring Staffordshire honors in the 12th and 13th centuries.

THE HONOR OF TUTBURY AND ITS LORDSHIP

The honor of Tutbury took shape in the 1070s, in the wake of the Mercian rebellions and the fall of Earl Edwin, the last Anglo-Saxon earl of Mercia. Like its counterparts at Stafford and Dudley, it was a lordship deliberately constructed to help pacify the region and provide a framework for the aristocratic colonisation of the area. Although partly built upon the preceding Anglo-Saxon tenurial pattern, there was also a remodelling that gave shape to these honors; they began as statements of their lords' spheres of interest but became the patrimonies to be transferred to the next generation, thereby becoming the very fabric of the geo-political structure of the medieval west midlands (Hunt 1991–2; Hunt 1997, 14–20; Chibnall 1986, 22–7). As the early 12th-century chronicler Orderic Vitalis observed: King William 'divided up the chief provinces of England amongst his followers' and 'made a statesmanlike distribution of castellanies' and 'great fiefs', among which Henry, the son of Walchelin de Ferrieres, received the castle (*castrum*) of Tutbury that had previously been held by Hugh d'Avranches (Chibnall 1968, Book IV, chapter II, 219–22 at 260–65). Hugh d'Avranches became the earl of Chester about 1072.

By 1086 the new pattern of lordship and landholding taking shape was confirmed in the Domesday Book, although this did not mark the end of the process. The honor of Tutbury took its name from the place that was adopted as its *caput*, situated on the border between Staffordshire and Derbyshire, and it was here that the principal castle of the barony was located. Although the majority of the honor lay within Derbyshire, where Henry de Ferrers was the largest landowner in 1086, the castle and *caput* was situated on the Staffordshire side among a small group of neighbouring manors. This choice of site may well arise from a combination of factors. The location was of undoubted strategic and tactical importance, being well-placed in relationship to the major routeways of the Ryknield Street and the River Trent, whose situation permitted dominance of the lower Dove valley.

It is unlikely that these advantages were newly discovered, raising the possibility that the adoption of Tutbury continued an established pre-Conquest focal point and seat of lordship. Recent excavations on the castle site offer tentative evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity, with a 7th-century pottery sherd from phase 2 of area 5 in the inner bailey and the suggestion of a pre-Conquest inner ditch (Hislop, Kincey and Williams 2011, 31, 182, 200, 203, 208, 275) to which might be added the fact that Domesday Book records a borough in Tutbury by 1086. This is generally considered to be a post-Conquest foundation (cf. Hislop, Kincey and Williams 2011, 59), unlike the other Staffordshire boroughs Stafford and Tamworth, which were clearly of pre-Conquest origin and were subsequently established as *burhs* by the 10th century. The establishment of a borough within the relatively short period of *c*. 1070–1086 was clearly an achievement, and while not impossible, the success of such developments would have been greatly enhanced by pre-existing cognate activities. This is entirely speculative, but if so, when combined with associations of regional lordship, it may have been a further influence upon the siting of Tutbury castle, in line with the early siting of castles in urban places. Perhaps the proximity of Needwood forest offered a further inducement, making provision for private hunting.

Within a couple of generations of the Conquest there emerged a recognisable seigneurial (or 'lordly') landscape in Tutbury. In addition to the castle and a borough present by 1086, there was a priory church in the shadow of the castle before 1100, a deer park, forest (or chase), and manor, arrangements that invite comparison with such as Dudley, Wigmore (in Herefs.), and Castle Acre (in Norfolk). Henry de Ferrers was among the most prominent of William the Conqueror's tenants-in-chief, holding more than 200 manors in fourteen shires at the time of Domesday Book and by the time of his death, sometime between 1093 and 1100, Henry was the leading baron of Derbyshire. He was also among those barons who remained loyal to William Rufus when challenged by his brother Duke Robert of Normandy.

The problems over the Conqueror's inheritance also split the Ferrers family. Henry's son William allied himself with the duke and gained possession of the family's Norman lands. In England, his brother Robert had succeeded their father at Tutbury by 1101 and he supported King Henry I in the rebellions that met his accession to the throne. Effectively denied his Norman interests, Robert had little option other than to concentrate on securing the family's regional position in the English midlands. In this he was aided by an alliance with his neighbours, the Peverils of the Peak, an alliance that was consolidated by the marriage of his son Robert II to Margaret Peveril. He also married one of his daughters to Ralph Paganel, baron of Dudley, as he sought to develop his network of regional alliances. When King Stephen came to the throne in 1135, Robert I joined his party, and in 1138 he was one of the leaders of the English force that defeated the invading Scots at the Battle of the Standard, for which a grateful king made him an earl 'in Derbyshire'. The grants made to Tutbury priory suggest that neither Robert nor his successors necessarily styled themselves as anything other than 'earl' in their charters, but although Robert II did adopt the style 'earl of Nottingham' and the Ferrers earls were widely regarded as the earls of Derby, it was not until 1199 that William II received this territorial acknowledgement (Tringham 2007, 10; Golob 1984, 114–15, 178–79).

When Robert I died in 1139 he was succeeded by his son Robert II. Although the younger Robert was not as close to the king as his father had been, he continued to support Stephen, opposing the Empress Matilda and the Angevin party in the civil war, but the family was to suffer as a result. In 1153 Matilda's son Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, with the support of the earl of Leicester laid siege to Tutbury and forced Ferrers to submit. When the duke succeeded to the throne as Henry II, he extended no signs of royal patronage or favour towards the family. During his reign the Ferrers were deprived of royal grants and franchises, their comital standing was compromised, and they lost the Peveril inheritance that was theirs by right of marriage.

When Robert II died in the spring of 1159 his son William was still a minor. He was not one of the great earls or barons on whom Henry II chose to rely. Faring no better than his father had done with the king, it was hardly surprising to find him among the rebels of 1173/4 who took the side of Henry's eldest son. The rebellion in England had a focus in the north midlands and Tutbury was besieged, and then later in 1175 was slighted by Henry II, as was Dudley, for the part that their lords had played in the uprising. When Earl William died on Crusade in 1190 the honor of Tutbury was in a poor state.

Its fortunes were restored by his son William II, who was married to the sister of the earl of Chester, an intelligent alliance to have forged. Through this alliance and his loyalty to King John, William was able to rebuild the Ferrers domination of Derbyshire and by the time the new king

Henry III came to the throne in 1216, the Ferrers were again among the kingdom's most important magnates. Earl William II's fortunes reached their pinnacle during the king's minority, and it was also under William II that the religious patronage of the Ferrers appears to have peaked. In 1247 he was succeeded by his son William III, but the son lacked the prominence of his father, and even before he inherited he was infirm. However, although he died in 1254 he was nonetheless successful in further consolidating the position of the Ferrers among the first rank of the nobility, and the honor itself continued in its development. When he died the earldom was worth about £1,750. Dr Golob, utilising accounts from 1257, has shown that the basic annual income from the honor was about £1,500, to which was added the profits of Wirksworth soke (ie profits of jurisdiction), an 'aid' for the marriage of William's sons and the income from a share of the Northamptonshire manor of Bugbrook. That by 1264 its valuation had fallen to around £970 was, at least in part, a reflection of the character of Earl Robert III who succeeded him. It was his determination to pursue his dynastic ambitions in virtual isolation, disdainful of de Montfort and his party, but also in a bitter and deadly feud with the Lord Edward, the eldest son and heir of King Henry III, that cost him the earldom. The Ferrers were one of the few noble families to have been broken after the Barons' Revolt in the 1260s. They lost Tutbury, the honor, and the earldom, and it was only by good fortune that they were able to recover Chartley and avoid being expunged from the Staffordshire/Derbyshire region (Golob 1984 throughout, particularly 42–74, 103–142, 160–73, 319; Tringham 2007, 9–13).

LORDSHIP AND RELIGIOUS PATRONAGE

Patronage of the church was often an expression of lordship as well as a demonstration of piety. Writing between 1114 and 1141, the chronicler Orderic Vitalis set the scene when he observed: 'The barons of Normandy were inspired by the piety of their princes to do likewise, and encouraged each other to undertake similar enterprises for the salvation of their souls. They vied with each other in the good work, and competed in giving alms generously as befitted their rank. Each magnate would have thought himself beneath contempt if he had not supported clerks and monks on his estates for the service of God' (Chibnall 1968, Book III, chapter II, 11–12 at10–11).

Orderic made plain at least two of the motivations that might prompt patronage, namely piety and pride. Laymen, through their patronage, sought salvation by associating themselves with the spiritual dividends of the communities whose livelihood they were supporting. For those who supported a monastic house, through prayers offered on their behalf in return for endowments received, the monks acted as surrogates for their benefactor, performing satisfaction until the end of time.

The Benedictine house of Tutbury priory was founded by Henry de Ferrers and is generally dated to about 1080. This date is given as a later postscript to the copy of the foundation charter given in the Tutbury cartulary, on the basis of an inscription that was supposedly placed on the founder's tomb but apparently lost by the late 16th century. The surviving charter was framed at the time of William Rufus (1087–1100) who authorised the gift, but was quite probably a later document formalising earlier arrangements. It is difficult to be more precise than the late 11th century but a foundation date of *c*. 1080 is credible and arguably gains some support from the Domesday Book reference under Derbyshire to 'the monks' holding the manors of Doveridge and Marston-on-Dove from Henry de Ferrers, both forming part of Tutbury priory's original endowment; however, the matter cannot be put beyond doubt.[1] In the opening paragraph of the foundation charter, there is a sentence which states that Henry founded the community: '... in honour of the holy mother of God, Mary, near my castle at Tutbury, for the soul of King William and Queen Matilda, and for the salvation of the souls of my father and mother and my wife Bertha, and my sons Eugenulph, William and Robert, for my daughters, and all my predecessors and my kinsmen' (Saltman 1962, no. 51). Later benefactions to Tutbury showed the same preoccupations, even though the scale of gift might vary greatly. Sewal de Scyrle gave a furlong of land to 'Our Lady at Tutbury, and the monks who serve God there ... for the souls of me and my wife Matilda, and for the souls of my father and mother, and all my ancestors and descendants' (Dugdale, III, 394, no. XII).

These were commonplace sentiments but they are instructive. Alongside the crucial motivations of personal piety, it is clear that there was also a vital familial element which inevitably enhanced

1 The monks were those of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives (Normandy) from where Tutbury priory was established, although it cannot be necessarily deduced from this that Tutbury priory was in existence by 1086; foundations were often preceded by periods of preparation and endowment which in some instances could be quite lengthy and there is no direct mention of Tutbury priory in Domesday Book; Morgan 1987, 6, 24–5 and notes; Greenslade 1970, 331.

the social and political position of the family, associating it with a particular place and lordship. Patronage was a confirmation and expression of a lord's position within local society, revealing a vitally important social dimension to the institution of patronage.

Tutbury's near neighbour, Burton abbey at Burton-upon-Trent, was the most important of Staffordshire's religious houses with a pedigree that reached back to the 7th century. With such a prestigious neighbour, it might be wondered why the Ferrers did not simply seek to annex Burton to their needs rather than set about founding a new house? But such a strategy, even if contemplated, would not have been easy to carry through. The Ferrers could not present themselves as the successors to either the earls of Mercia or the family of Wulfric Spott, and the abbey was a substantial lordship in its own right that was recognised in Domesday Book. The 12th-century *Vita* of St Modwenna written by Abbot Geoffrey of Burton reflects a resurgent community by the late 11th and early 12th century, and one which may have been looked upon favourably by King William I. Such a situation would not have been easily usurped to the advantage of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, the Benedictine abbey in the Calvados region of Normandy that the Ferrers wished to endow with a dependant foundation in England. Furthermore, nor was it likely that such a course of action would be sufficiently free of distractions to facilitate a clear focus on the needs of the newly formed honor (Bartlett 2002; Bates 1998, no. 33).

By the 11th century there was longstanding tradition and bonds of kinship in the ties between secular lordship and the church, particularly the monastic church. After the Gregorian Reform, a programme of reform concerned with the moral integrity and independence of the clergy led by Pope Gregory VII in the second half of the 11th century, the Church heightened its resistance to secular abuse and interference but this was impossible to escape entirely at a local level. In his foundation charter Henry de Ferrers tellingly referred to 'my church of Tutbury and my monks serving God there'. Since the Anglo-Saxon period there had been the notion of a proprietary relationship between a lord and a particular church, in which the church was often regarded as the personal property of the lord and an asset of the estate on which it stood. This concept may still be glimpsed in Domesday Book, but it was replaced across Europe in the late 11th and 12th centuries by that of patronage. Nonetheless, these changes did not diminish the strong personal interest that many lords had in 'their' churches as they remained a resource that could still be utilised, if rather differently from earlier periods.

Among the most familiar of the endowments that might be made to monastic houses by the 12th century was that of local manorial or estate churches, that is, churches that had generally been established within estates by the lord and his tenants to meet the needs of the community as a local devotional centre. The building of such churches intensified from the 10th century onwards and with it the map of English parishes was gradually redrawn, a process that continued into the 13th century, transforming the arrangements for the spiritual lives of local communities. These transfers were often accompanied by grants of tithes and advowson and subsequently of appropriation whereby tithes and endowments intended for the maintenance of religious ordinances in a parish were transferred and appropriated directly to the monastic house. Henry de Ferrers' foundation endowment of Tutbury included the parish churches of Tutbury, Mayfield, and Norbury and several others followed (Saltman 1962, no. 51).[2] Although they became more difficult to treat as manorial assets, because of official church attitudes, such churches were often convenient resources that might be deployed to support patronage ambitions, as when in *c*. 1140 Guy d'Offini, lord of West Bromwich, with the consent of his wife Christine and his son Richard, gave the advowson rights of their church in West Bromwich to Worcester cathedral priory when another son Ralf took the cowl there (Hunt 1997, 152; Darlington 1968, no. 190). Around 1160 the same family gave their church at Wombourne to the priory of St James in Dudley, in this case most probably to express some degree of solidarity with their Paganel overlords, the barons of Dudley, who had founded this small Cluniac house (Hunt 1997, 147, 151). The granting of churches to religious houses was characteristic of 12th-century patronage across Europe, detailed in numerous endowment charters, but it would be misleading to imagine that such transfers signalled a loss of interest in these churches by their lords, and in the case of England at least, such transfers slowed down considerably in the 13th century. Indeed, the 13th century was much concerned with the recovery of secular interests in local churches.

2 Other churches included Doveridge, Church Broughton, Marston-on-Dove, and the chapel of Hilton (Derbs.); Wymondham, Stapleford, Edmondthorpe and the chapel of Coston (Leics.); and 'Wibalditone' (Berks.): Saltman 1962, 8–12.

In some cases the founders of monastic houses had socio-political objectives in their patronage as well as religious motivations. Many houses were 'family monasteries' intended to celebrate the founding family and their lordship, in which the majority of the endowments were made by members of the founding family. Others however were also intended to function as 'honorial monasteries', while inevitably a large number functioned as both (Hunt 1997, 145, 147; Ward 1981, 441; Hunt 1994, 116–17). An honorial monastery was intended to serve as a focus for honorial loyalty and community through association with the baron, as his honorial tenants joined with him in endowing the house, thereby expressing their solidarity with the baron. The measure of this role therefore is the composition of a foundation's benefactors and the character of their endowments.

Such an honorial role was certainly envisaged for Tutbury priory. The foundation was the first, and the earliest, to be made by the family in England, and was located at the honorial *caput*, beneath the walls of the castle. It was here that Henry de Ferrers was buried, as confirmed in the charter of his great-grandson made in *c*. 1165 on the day that Henry's body was transferred to the right-hand side of the great altar in the priory church, although it does not say from where in the church the body was being moved (Saltman 1962, no. 53). A day of the kind that this charter reflects, when the priory's possessions were confirmed, the benefactions of the Ferrers family and their tenants recited, and the body of the founder translated to a presumably more prestigious and prominent location, well illustrates how such emotive ceremonies of celebration and commemoration might be intended to bring the honorial community together and salute the baronial family.

Moreover, the ceremony on this day very probably marked another significant episode in the affairs of the honor, the completed reconstruction of the priory church. The character of the Anglo-Saxon church in Tutbury is unknown although the parish appears to have been carved out of the neighbouring estate of Hanbury, a probable royal and religious centre. However, it has been suggested that the apse foundations excavated in 1851 on the same site as the current 19th-century apse might have been a part of that pre-Conquest church, and it was this church with its parish that was given to the monks as part of the foundation. It is therefore probable that Henry de Ferrers was buried in this church, which was then rebuilt around him as the new priory church during the time of his son and grandson, to be completed under his great-grandson. It is probable that each generation supported the building programme and certainly the foundation charter granted timber from Needwood forest. Although nothing survives of the pre-19th-century east end, details in the nave suggest that the earliest work in this part of the church was no earlier than the 1120s or 1130s. The west end of the church, where a relatively elaborate sculptural programme survives, on stylistic grounds need be no later than the 1150s.

The western façade of Tutbury priory, whose iconographic scheme focused on the themes of evil, temptation, and the torments of hell, is the most ornate of the 12th century in the Tutbury region. The distinction of this doorway of multiple orders was enhanced by the incorporation into it of a single arch carved from alabaster, the earliest known decorative use of a stone that became particularly popular in the 14th and 15th centuries. However, it was perhaps not as singular as the survival suggests. Discoveries from excavations have shown that it was also used elsewhere in the church, although unfortunately the dating is problematic. Alabaster capitals were found on the north side of the church, possibly in the area of the chapter house, and in the rubble core of the church walls. Broken pieces of alabaster were also found in the 19th century on the site of the high altar and are thought to have come from an altar or tomb. The stone also appears to have been used, before the mid 15th century, in Tutbury castle itself. Tringham, noting the visual impact of this stone, particularly with regard to the siting of the castle on an alabaster outcrop, has suggested that it might have had a special significance for the Ferrers family, and was intended at the very least to impress visitors (Alexander and King 1999, 33, 35, 36; Tringham 2007, 22, 93 and *pers comm*). Certainly, the whole purpose of the main western doorway to the priory church, a doorway of ceremonial significance, was to arrest the attention of the viewer. Medieval sculptors and masons frequently made use of differently coloured stone to draw attention to aspects of a building and at Tutbury they had a ready supply of a very distinctive stone, one which is very pliant and whose crystalline structure allows the stone to hold paint. It may be that these circumstances prompted the masons and sculptors at Tutbury to experiment with this local stone as an alternative to the more usual prestigious stone, marble; it certainly seems more than coincidence that alabaster was used on the western façade of the priory to depict the figure of a human being devoured by a quadruped, thereby giving prominence to a reference to the dangers posed by Satan and sin (for instance, cf. 1 Peter 5:8). It is possible that the standing of the earls attracted and resourced the sculptors working on the west

front of the priory, who drew heavily upon sources from the west and south-west of England; the earls certainly had extensive lands in Berkshire, with others in Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, which may have made them aware of the work on buildings such as Sherborne castle, Old Sarum, and Hereford, but this is a matter of speculation and King has acknowledged the difficulty of identifying a specific source for the work at Tutbury, commenting that the building quite possibly drew upon several sources (Alexander and King 1999, 39–41). However, if such a role is attributed to the earls, it seems most likely that it was Earl Robert II (succeeded his father in 1139 and died in 1159) who was instrumental in regard to the work that produced the western façade, particularly given the heightened patronage activity of his time.

The work on the priory church therefore began under Earl Robert I, most probably at the east end, and possibly as late as *c*. 1125, while its final completion at the west end in the early 1160s at the time of Earl William I is consistent with the evidence and the confirmation charter (Alexander and King 1999).[3] Thus, the translation of Henry's body was a celebration of both the completed church and the Ferrers family, now commemorated through what was presumably a purpose-built tomb.

The main benefactors of Tutbury priory were the Ferrers family and their tenants, most of whose endowments were made between the date of foundation and around 1150. Sometime between 1150 and 1159 Earl Robert II de Ferrers issued a general confirmation charter in favour of the priory where, in addition to the grants that he and his family had made, an impressive list of no fewer than thirty-two donors made up of honorial tenants was celebrated (Saltman 1962, no. 52).[4] Representing support from around three-fifths of the honorial community, this strongly suggests that Tutbury conformed to the character of an honorial foundation, all the more so when it is recalled that Golob has laid emphasis on the coherence of the honorial court and the bond between the baron and his tenants, casting Tutbury as a 'classic' honor in the 'mould' of those characterised by Sir Frank Stenton's influential studies (cf. Stenton 1932). The relatively early date of this foundation also deserves emphasis. The endowment of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives that established Tutbury priory as its dependency was typical of the grants made in the early years of the Conquest, benefiting those monastic houses in Normandy with whom the patrons had an existing relationship and celebrating the new estates that the Conquest had brought to Norman families (Hunt 1997, 145; Ward 1981, 430). It was also a foundation that was undertaken in a period of relative instability, in that the new regime was not yet necessarily secure, with the Danish threat still extant and the Mercian rebellions and their aftermath still, no doubt, a vivid memory for many. These were precisely the circumstances that forced some coherence upon embryonic honorial communities, rooted in shared dangers and self-interest, in which a conscious attempt was made to weld and maintain a seigneurial community within the honor of Tutbury.

The experience of Tutbury in this regard may be contrasted with that of the neighbouring honors of Dudley and Stafford, both of which were also established in the 1070s as part of the aristocratic colonisation of the western midlands following the Mercian rebellions and the death of Earl Edwin (Hunt 1997, 14; Hunt 1991–2). Consideration of those who supported Gervase Paganel in his foundation of Dudley priory around 1160 undermines any notion that they represented the honorial community, or that Dudley priory provided any kind of focus for this community as a whole. Those who supported it were those closest to him, suggesting that it was the nature of the personal relationship between lord and vassal that was the key determinant. The omens had perhaps not been encouraging. Gervase's foundation was in fulfilment of his father's wishes but progress seems to have been slow and difficult and the priory was only modestly endowed by around some half-dozen benefactors in addition to the baron himself, far fewer than those who had witnessed the foundation charter. Not only was this a relatively small group, a significant proportion of whom appears not to have been tenants of the honor but rather were relations or associated with the Paganels through friendship or the household. From the honorial community, the Offini and Maunsel families were the principal supporters of the project, but notable omissions included the de Birminghams, Godwin the steward (*dapifer*), and Roger de Hagley (Hunt 1997, 147, fn.53).

3 cf. Tringham 2007, 11, where the association between the translation of Henry's body and the completion of the church is also effectively accepted. It might be suggested that Henry de Ferrers was first buried elsewhere and only later moved to the priory church, but there are no indications that this was so, and it seems improbable.

4 Among the more prominent tenant families named in this charter, in that they each held several knights' fees, may be found Nigel de Albiniaco and Amicia his wife, Ralph de Bakepuz, Roger de Livet, Henry de Fifidre and Richard his brother, Henry fitz Sawal and Jordan, his nephew.

If an honorial role had been intended in the 12th century, the foundation fell short of expectations, perhaps unsurprisingly as at the time of its foundation Newport (Paganel) in Buckinghamshire was the favoured Paganel residence and neighbouring Tickford priory was the chosen place of burial for members of the baronial family. This decision on the burial place of family members was an influential factor as the location of the family mausoleum was a key element in establishing a real family identity with a house, and thereby the possibility of attracting benefactions from others who wished to associate themselves with the family. Whatever the Paganels may have intended, Dudley priory was closer in nature to a family foundation, but a relatively half-hearted one. There is nothing to suggest that in the 12th century Dudley priory contributed anything of significance to honorial coherence or a sense of honorial identity. It was only in the 13th century, with the succession of the de Somerys to the barony, that Dudley priory acquired the attributes of an honorial foundation, with extensive rebuilding and de Somery burials; but by then, although the monastery promoted the baronial family, any opportunity for a wider role of bringing together the honorial community was long passed (Hunt 1997, 145–55).

Unlike Dudley and Tutbury, there was no baronial monastic foundation sitting in the shadow of Stafford castle, the *caput honoris* of the barons of Stafford, and the patronage interests of this baronial family were perhaps initially aligned to objectives that differed from those of their neighbours. The first Stafford baron, Robert, founded a priory at Wootton Wawen in Warwickshire as a cell of the family house in Normandy, Saint Pierre at Conches, giving to their abbey the church at Wootton Wawen, together with the tithe that pertained to it and two hides of land (Graham 2002, 118–19). He also made grants to Evesham abbey in Worcestershire, apparently as early as 1072 and certainly towards the end of his life. In the second of his two charters in favour of the abbey *c*. 1086–1088, he requested that his body, together with those of his wife and son, should be buried at the abbey, whose cloister he entered in ill-health and where he died in 1088 (Eyton 1881, Series I, nos 1–2).[5] Rather than consolidate associations with his *caput*, as Henry de Ferrers had done, Robert de Stafford seems to have adopted a wider, regional perspective, perhaps seeking to imitate or assume pre-Conquest patterns of comital patronage and influence (Youngs and Morgan 2001, 36–7).

The patronage of Robert's son Nicholas de Stafford (d. 1135) was similarly dispersed. The private chapel dedicated to St Nicholas within Stafford castle, established as a relatively short-lived secular college, perhaps brought some increased focus on the *caput,* particularly with the grants made to support it. It seems probable that the inspiration for establishing this collegiate chapel was drawn from Normandy where they were often closely linked with seigneurial residences; colleges of secular canons played an important part in the religious infrastructure of Normandy in the 10th and 11th centuries and in many cases they were the precursors of monastic houses (Youngs and Morgan 2001, 37–9; Bates 1982, 219 and map 11). But there is nothing that suggests through this foundation the deliberate promotion of either the *caput* or the barons, although the dedication may well have reflected a particular devotion within the baronial family. Nor are there indications of wider honorial support.

Nicholas de Stafford also made gifts to Worcester cathedral priory and to the Augustinian house of Arbury in Warwickshire (Youngs and Morgan 2001, 38; Darlington 1968, xxiii), but more significantly, *c*. 1125 in the same county, he supported Geoffrey de Clinton's Augustinian foundation of Kenilworth priory, to which he granted the manor of Idlicote which Geoffrey de Clinton held of him, together with lands in Tysoe which Geoffrey also held, evidently at de Clinton's request (Eyton 1881, 195 [series II, no. 1]; Watson 1966, 303, no. 36). These grants formed part of the foundation endowment of the new priory.

Not long afterwards around 1126–7 Geoffrey de Clinton conveyed further grants to his foundation, among them the church of Stone in Staffordshire which he had acquired for Kenilworth by the gift of Enisan de Walton in whose demesne it was situated, and for which Nicholas de Stafford gave his assent (Eyton 1881, 199 [series II, no. 22]; Watson 1966, 257–58, no. 3). By a second charter of 1130 Nicholas and his son again confirmed to Prior Bernard and the canons of Kenilworth, before its high altar, the church of Saint Wulflad in Stone (Eyton 1881, 204–6 [series II, no. 4]; Watson 1966,

5 Robert left his body to Evesham by his grant of Wrottesley and Loynton, the mesne-lordship of which was transferred to the abbey between 1086 and 1088, most probably in the latter year. If the copy of the charter no. 1 is accepted, Robert may have intended this gift, at least in part, as early as 1072, but which was either rescinded or again subsequently confirmed: cf. Sayers and Watkiss 2003, Book III, Part I, chapter 128 (at p.127); Cox, 2015, 113–14, where a grant as early as 1072 is accepted.

786–8, no. 9).[6] Despite the arrangements that his father had made, it was in the church of Stone priory, founded on the church of Saint Wulflad, that Nicholas was actually buried, placed, with his wife, in front of the chapter house door. What led to this change of burial place is not clear, but it may have contributed to a change of 'policy' by Robert II de Stafford.

By the 1130s and 1140s the baron of Stafford appears to have decided to try and build an honorial focus for religious patronage, Robert II deciding to promote a priory at Stone to fulfil this role. Perhaps encouraged by the popularity of Augustinian foundations among the region's patrons, including many of the honorial families, Robert effectively 'annexed' the church of Stone to his purpose, surpassing the standing of the original donor of the church to Kenilworth priory and bringing the canons to Stone to establish a new priory, but in doing so he effectively complicated if not compromised the relationship between Stone and its mother house of Kenilworth. In a charter of *c*. 1135–1147, generally looked upon as the foundation charter of Stone priory, Robert confirmed his endowments to 'the church of Stone and the canons serving God there' and described himself as 'brother and patron of the church of Stone', adding that wherever he should die within England, his body should be brought to Stone for burial alongside his father. In due course both Robert and his wife were duly buried in the cloister at Stone (Eyton 1881, 210–11; Watson 1966, 780–81, no. 6; Greenslade 1970, 240, especially fn. 14; Youngs and Morgan 2001, 38–9). Thus Robert had made himself the principal patron of a new Augustinian house, created a 'foundation' charter, and established Stone priory as the family mausoleum. He appears to have intended that Stone, with its enhanced dignity, should be independent of the mother house, a change which he sought to underscore by redirecting his own and others benefactions to Stone rather than Kenilworth, but whatever the baron might have hoped for, neither the king nor any bishops accepted this design. Robert's son Robert III (d. *c*. 1185) subsequently maintained the family's close interest in Stone, persuading the prior and canons of Kenilworth that he should hold the advowson of the church as his father and grandfather had, 'as lord and patron' (Watson 1966, 653–54, H, no. 502; with discussion at 178–81).

Notwithstanding Robert II's efforts, did Stone become a real honorial focus? In response to Henry II's enquiry of his tenants-in-chief across the kingdom as to how many knights were enfeoffed on their estates and who they were, Robert's *carta* of 1166 named no fewer than seventy-eight people of varying status holding land of his honor, and it is against this that the fourteen or so patrons of Stone, many from the same families, have to be measured. Although direct comparisons between these lists are difficult, certainly fewer than one-fifth of the honor's tenants supported the priory, a significantly smaller proportion than the more than half of Tutbury's fifty-two tenants who supported the priory at Tutbury (Hall 1896, 264–68).[7]

While the barons of Tutbury built into the infrastructure of their lordship the focus of an honorial monastic foundation, the lords of Dudley and Stafford failed to do the same, although arguably they achieved family foundations. This was largely because both came to the task late, in the mid 12th century rather than the late 11th century, by when the environment in which lordship operated had changed completely. In the first half of the 12th century the lords of Dudley had their principal focus elsewhere, with their Buckinghamshire foundation of Tickford priory closer to the heartland of their interests. It appears to have been mainly in the second half of the 12th century that the Paganel barons began to consciously develop and reorganise their west midlands *caput* and honor (Hunt 1997, 40, 79, 112, 120, 145).[8] The lords of Stafford seem to have been similarly distracted and nor do they seem to have been decisive in their intent or necessarily aware of a need to build the *caput* for some seventy years or so. The failure of the project at Stone has to be seen in the context of the barons of Stafford apparently failing to build a cohesive honorial community focused on the baronial family in the way that the Ferrers had in Tutbury. Even when they did move decisively Stone priory, while it had the distinction of past Mercian associations, hardly sat in the shadow of Stafford castle at the *caput* of the honor, although the relationship between such as Chepstow castle and Tintern abbey shows that such 'distant' relationships were not unique. It may well be that Stone's traditional links to the 7th-century Mercian royal family through Saint Wulflad, claimed to be a son of King Wulfhere (657–74) and a typical example of the cult of royal saints in Anglo-Saxon England,

6 This grant was again confirmed by Henry I in settlement of a dispute *c*. 1132: Watson 1966, 523–24, no. 215.

7 Less than a fifth of Stafford's tenants supported Stone. Perhaps this had all come too late in the development of the honor and therefore failed to build the bonds that might have been hoped for.

8 Although the barons of Dudley seem not to have invested much effort in their west midlands holdings before the second half of the 12th century, their position in Dudley was clearly strong enough to withstand a royal attack on their castle in 1138 and to permit the pursuit of family ambitions: Hunt 1997, 32.

was particularly persuasive for both Nicholas and Robert II. Such considerations strike a resonance with the suggestion that Robert I de Stafford had perhaps aspired to a patronage role that embraced ancient western Mercia and imitated pre-Conquest patterns of comital benefaction, claiming thereby to share in or reflect traditional regional dignity. Similar motivations may have prompted the interest of Earl Ranulph of Chester in the priory of Trentham at a time when the earl was contesting with the Beaumont family for a dominant role in the midlands, part of which he had been promised by the future Henry II as what amounted to an earldom of Staffordshire. Even if the Trentham foundation charter was issued on his deathbed in 1153, it was a potentially influential legacy to hand on to his heirs, given its alleged associations with St Werburh, daughter of the Mercian King Wulfhere, and its probable role as a pre-Conquest minster (Greenslade 1970, 240, 255–56; Tringham, *pers comm*).

In a more general sense, the foundation at Dudley and the 'refoundation' at Stone marked an increased interest on the part of their respective barons in their *caputs* and family profile, and to this extent were celebratory foundations. There were similar delays elsewhere which one suspects were probably the combined result of periods of debate, planning, negotiation and resource gathering. The Verdun foundation of Croxden abbey in the southern Moorlands came still later, in 1176, and although the family were relative latecomers to Staffordshire's aristocratic community, they were present by the end of Henry I's reign (Hagger 2001, 24–30). The family improved its standing and landed interests through royal service, receiving lands in Staffordshire and Leicestershire between 1086 and 1129 but it is uncertain whether it was William Rufus or Henry I who advanced the family in Staffordshire.[9] Drawing on familiar examples like those of Geoffrey de Clinton and Richard Basset, Mark Hagger has suggested that the Verduns may have been similarly promoted in Staffordshire by Henry I to counterpoise magnate interests in the area and thereby strengthen royal authority. By 1135 they held some twenty-two manors in Staffordshire, their late arrival perhaps necessitating some tenurial re-organisation. Their *caput* at Alton, in the Churnet valley, was perhaps selected for its relatively central location within the context of the fairly compact group of manors that they held in this part of the county, with their castle probably present by *c*. 1175.

Croxden was certainly a family foundation, the family burying its members here and the abbey's chronicle recounting the house's relationship with its patrons. This foundation was an ambitious project for the family, probably modelled on Mortemer, Noyon, or St-Germain-des-Prés, but there is nothing to suggest that the patronage of this house reached further than the family itself, and with the exception of two family friends, all the burials there were of Verdun family members. Croxden represents an excellent example of a monastic church mausoleum that served the needs of the founder's family into the 14th century (Hunt 1997, 152; Dugdale 1846, V, 661; Laurence 1950–51, B3–B8; Hall 2007, 84–7).[10] For rising families like the Bassets of Drayton to the south of Tamworth, there was yet another complexion. They too had their monastic focus, with the foundation of the small Benedictine priory of St Giles at nearby Canwell, established *c*. 1140, but its endowments were modest and the house remained small and of only local significance. Canwell was actually the foundation of Geva Ridel, a daughter of Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester, and the widow of Geoffrey I Ridel, a royal justice in the service of King Henry I. However, when Geva established the priory she did so with the consent of her two grandsons, the younger of whom was Ralph Basset, for whom the family planned a modest landed provision that included Drayton Basset. These intentions appear already to have been formulated before Canwell was founded, so

9 The relatively poor quality land that characterised much of their barony reflects that the Verduns were relative latecomers to Staffordshire, the beneficiaries of royal patronage. William Rufus made grants from the royal demesne in Staffordshire to the earl of Chester, and it is possible that the Verduns were a part of these arrangements. However, their lands in Leicestershire were granted by Henry I and this might also be the case in Staffordshire.

10 The chronicle entry for the year 1334 gave details of where members of the family had been buried, noting: 'In this year Lady Joanna de Furnivall, Lady of Alton, daughter and first heir of Lord Theobald de Verdun the younger, died prematurely in childbirth on 2 October. For, on the day on which she died she had lived only thirty years and almost two months. And on the following 7 January, namely the next Sunday after the feast of Epiphany, she was laid to rest with honour before the high altar of the church . . . among her forefathers, to wit, between Lord Nicholas de Verdun, son of the founder, her forebear and Lord John de Verdun her great-grandfather'.

'Furthermore, separately, on the south aisle, in front of those two altars, are buried Lord Theobald her grandfather, Lord Theobald her father, Lady Matilda her mother, and Theobald her infant son. However, Lord Bertram de Verdun, distinguished founder of this house, as our elders have related to us, died in the Holy Land while on crusade there with the most famous Lord Richard, King of England and was buried at Acre. However, Lord Norman his father was buried beside the altar of the Holy Trinity (namely his bones) on the north side. Furthermore, the Lords Robert and Thomas de Verdun, sons of the founder, died and were buried in Ireland. May he who not only created but also redeemed them have mercy on the souls of all these': Hall 2007, especially 83–93.

that Ralph's assent constituted more than a passive interest, and indeed Ralph I Basset of Drayton Basset assumed the patronage of Canwell following this settlement of *c*. 1150–53. The pattern of endowments and charter witness lists suggest the support of neighbours and celebration within the locality rather than reflecting a Basset affinity, and in this case there was no wider honorial infrastructure to relate to (Dugdale 1846, IV, 105–6, nos I, II, and V; Wrottesley 1882, 187, 188, 192; Greenslade 1970, 213–14; Hunt and Hodder 1992, 167–70; Hunt 2000, 93–4). Other instances may be found in Staffordshire. The Audleys, lords of Hulton by the 1170s, marked their ascendancy with the foundation of Hulton abbey in 1218–19, while families of more modest standing, such as the Offinis of West Bromwich and Wombourne, chose to celebrate their family through the establishment of Sandwell priory. But as the 12th century passed the numbers of lesser families emulating their social superiors increased and the theatre of activity ceased to be monopolised by the monastic church, although it still played a part (Greenslade 1970, 235–37; Klemperer and Boothroyd 2004; Hunt 1997, 152–3).[11] Tutbury priory differed markedly from these other examples in the date and context of its foundation, and in the attitude of Ferrers to how they articulated and projected their lordship in relationship to their Staffordshire *caput*.

However, the ceremony that marked the translation of Henry de Ferrers' body and the completion of building works on the church might also have marked the point at which the honorial role of the priory was starting to weaken; this can only be speculation, but if so, such a ceremony might have been intended to offset the trend. By this time the earls were struggling in their relationship with the king, which very probably had implications for their relationship with at least some of their men. Henry II's accession brought to an end the royal favour that the Ferrers had enjoyed under King Stephen, the discomfort of which was compounded by the new king's determination to recover royal rights, costing the earl both lands and franchises. The Peverel estates, on which the Ferrers had claims through marriage, fell forfeit to the crown, and the family received nothing. They also lost the Derbyshire fee farm of Wirksworth which they had first received under Henry I, while Henry II's drive to re-establish the ancient demesne in Derbyshire proved detrimental to the Ferrers family, as a result of which they also lost the lead mines in the north-west part of the county and the unity of their fee from north to south. Deprivation of the Wirksworth fee farm meant a loss of lordship over various tenures, and a loss of potential patronage. The final blow was the loss of the earl's 'third penny', a proportion of the profits of justice from the county that the king customarily shared with his earls, the loss of which cast doubts on the legitimacy of William I's title to the earldom of Derby. His status was thus compromised, and indeed there is no record of him being addressed as, or of styling himself as, 'earl of Derby' (Golob 1984, 165–70).

The undermining of the Ferrers position certainly impacted upon some of their tenants, as with the loss of Wirksworth, but the sense of aggrievance was perhaps felt more widely among his men as when Earl William rebelled against Henry II, particularly from the spring of 1174, a number of his leading tenants supported him and suffered the consequences; the lands of Sewall fitz Fulcher, Stephen fitz Curzon, and Nicholas de St Quentin were temporarily taken into the king's hands after 1174, while some others were fined, among them William and Emma de Louvetot, Robert de Somerville and John de Boscherville. Although the earl received the support of some of his tenants, particularly of those with significant tenancies, there is no reason to suppose that he received the active support of all of them, or even of the greater part of them. It may be that after twenty years of Ferrers 'marginalisation' and the impact of Angevin legal reforms upon the knightly class and honorial courts, some saw their fortunes less closely tied to the honor and the earl, while the earl's promotion in the late 12th century of a more tightly focussed household or *familia* for support may indicate a rethinking of his position informed by these events (Golob 1984, 173). The coherence of the honorial community was not yet completely exhausted, and there are indications that it survived into the 13th century, but it had certainly been weakened by the changed, and changing, world of the later 12th century.

Nor did the Ferrers earls necessarily make best use of Tutbury priory to arrest this decline, in that an important feature of honorial foundations was their use as family mausolea, an aspect that had already been compromised by 1165. Henry de Ferrers was buried at Tutbury, and it is possible that his son Robert I was too, but Robert II certainly was not, as he was buried, wrapped in an ox hide, in his own foundation of Merevale abbey in Warwickshire (Dugdale 1730, II, 1090; Cokayne IV,

11 By the early 14th century, although monastic churches still participated, parish churches played a more prominent role while those commemorated became more diverse than had been the case at the end of the 11th century in monastic houses.

192). William I died abroad in Acre, while his grandson William III, the next Ferrers burial place of which we know, was buried in the chapter house at Merevale; his son Robert III arranged that his own burial place should be in the priory of St Thomas at Stafford (Greenslade 1970, 262). This 'dispersal' of family burials naturally undermined any continuity of the honorial role that Tutbury priory might have exercised, but it was also a reflection of changing fashions across society in general and fashions which the barons clearly embraced.

PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE

These differing experiences raise the question of how widespread was religious patronage across an honorial community, a rather different question from asking how widespread was support for a particular baron's religious project. Historians now recognise the independence of action and ambition that many families of knightly or gentry status enjoyed, even in the 11th and 12th centuries, and this included their patronage choices. Was patronage practised by the aristocracy as a whole, or was it restricted to a handful of individuals, and to what extent was it defined by the honor of which they held? Certainly it has been argued by some historians that patronage in the 12th century was practised on a sufficiently large scale, across a sufficiently wide social spectrum, to create a shortage of landed resources for some knightly families by the 13th century, thereby undermining the viability of lordship for some. However, such questions have to be approached with caution as much depends upon the cumulative impression of honorial case studies.

In the honor of Dudley two observations stand out regarding endowments to the monastic church within the honor during the 12th and 13th centuries. Firstly, the level of endowment was generally modest, largely made up of tithes and churches, sources of revenue that secular lordship was finding it increasingly difficult to exploit, together with small parcels of land (a similar pattern may be detected in the benefactions made to Tutbury priory). In Dudley, there were very few instances of grants made from demesne lands, and so it would seem that there was no major transfer of lands and rights from secular to religious society. When Gervase Paganel made grants, he often did so not from his demesne, but rather he transferred land that formerly had been held by others; and when the gifts of his tenants were confirmed, he reserved for himself and his heirs the services due from them. Secondly, it is notable how few were the members of the honorial community involved in monastic benefaction, although this is obviously consistent with the narrow base of support that the barons were able to attract for their foundation. It was the barons themselves who were the principal patrons, although their interests were not confined to the honor alone, and only a handful of the honorial gentry, most notably the Offini family, took any interest. Thus, the patronage of the monastic church was not a general aristocratic activity, but was actually limited to relatively few people, and there is little to support the notion of a haemorrhaging of landed resources that is sometimes claimed (Hunt 1997, 147, 151–3).

Of course the patronage activity of both the barons and their tenants was not restricted solely to the honor of Dudley. Gervase Paganel's family affiliations drew him into making grants to Nuneaton, and perhaps to the Hospitallers. Nor were the de Somery barons confined to the honor of Dudley alone, their patronage reaching Tewkesbury, Worcester, Garendon and various hospitals. Nor were the honorial gentry necessarily confined by either the honor or the choices of the baron, seemingly being more swayed by their neighbours. The Buffares (Buffery) and Offinis supported Combe, and the latter Worcester, while the de Frankleys were drawn to Halesowen and St Wulstan's hospital in Worcester, but although the de Birminghams established the hospital of St Thomas in Birmingham, none of the tenants followed the example of the Offinis in establishing their own monastic foundation. However, the Offinis appear to have been among the more enthusiastic monastic patrons of the honor, having also supported the Paganel foundation at Dudley (Hunt 1997, 153).

Another perspective has been offered by Dr Kathryn Faulkner who adopted a shire-based rather than an honor-based survey, looking at the community of knights in Staffordshire around 1200 (Faulkner 1998). She also found that knightly families were often genuinely and deeply pious and that the majority of their grants of land to monasteries were small, but in her view they were numerous and cumulatively represented a considerable diversion of property from lay to religious hands (Faulkner 1998, 147–58, 206–8). The ambition of knights to found private chapels and chantries could put them to considerable expense, but it did not necessarily replace continued support of monastic houses. When Hervey de Stafford fell ill at Tysoe in 1226 he made an agreement for a temporary oratory where he and his wife, their sons and chamberlains could hear divine service, as part of

which arrangement he indemnified the church at Tysoe from loss (Watson 1966, 674, H, no. 715; 792–3, no. 14). For Faulkner, knightly piety around 1200 still found its most vigorous expression in monastic patronage, even peaking at this time. There are some inconsistencies between these two analyses, namely between the present writer's observations of the honor of Dudley and Faulkner's on the knightly community of Staffordshire, but they are possibly explained by the differing 'observation points', that is, the patterns that emerge from a broad-based county overview, as opposed to the detailed experience of specific lordships and honors. With the possible exception of the Offinis, Faulkner's findings do not find a strong resonance in the honor of Dudley, while in Tutbury most of the priory's benefactions had been made by around 1150. However, she is surely right to note that knights were rarely the founders of monasteries. Rather, they were important contributors to those houses founded by their lords and their social superiors.

Important as monastic benefaction was, there were however other dimensions to patronage activity that are often difficult to quantify, particularly before the later 13th century, not least the support that lay patrons extended to the secular church, particularly to local parish churches. The association between seigneurs, or lords, and the emergence of the local parish church is well known, intensifying from the 10th century onwards as Anglo-Saxon thegns increasingly built estate churches or *tunkirken* on their lands. With the progressive fragmentation of extensive Anglo-Saxon *parochiae*, particularly in the period between the Conquest and the early 13th century, the map of English parishes was gradually redrawn to create smaller territories, frequently in association with tenurial stabilisation, and this was a process that called for considerable levels of patronage across local society. Many seigneurial families followed their ancestors and sought burial within monastic churches and precincts, graphically illustrated for example in the series of burials excavated in the south transept of Sandwell priory where the Marnham family, lords of West Bromwich, continued to be buried; and when William of Adbaston endowed the Augustinian canons of Ranton priory, he also bequeathed them his body, as did Thomas Noel (Hunt 1997, 153; Hodder 1991).[12] But many of these same families were also active patrons of parish churches. West Bromwich, Adbaston, and the Noel manor of Ellenhall all had parish churches in the 12th century for instance, and parish churches must always have been the final resting place for most, particularly as the ranks of lordship diversified. Hugh de Ridware, who held a knight's fee of William fitz Alan in Mauveysin Ridware, founded the priory of Blithbury during the episcopate of Roger de Clinton (1129–49), to which his son and grandson subsequently made endowments, but at least some of the family were buried in the north aisle of St Nicholas's church in Mauveysin Ridware (Hall 1896, 272; Greenslade 1970, 220; Shaw 1798 and 1976, 190–4).[13] Similarly, William fitz Herbert, a tenant of the Ferrers by 1135, received the Derbyshire manor of Norbury in fee farm from Tutbury priory, the church of which manor was to become a family mausoleum (Hall 1896, 338; Wilson-Lee 2011, 226).[14]

Against a general background of building in the 12th and 13th centuries, in which the relationship between church building and the establishment of lordships is often emphasised, case studies undertaken across the west midlands region by the present writer have suggested particular peaks of activity in the period between *c*. 1170 and *c*. 1230, and again in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, the work ranging from extensive building schemes to commissioned features such as fonts, tympani, and other sculptures. These observations are based upon periods of parish church building activity in the towns of Coventry, Worcester and Shrewsbury, in the churches of the bishop of Worcester's demesne and of the Vale of Evesham, and in the churches of Coleshill hundred in north Warwickshire.[15] There is ample evidence to show that the patronage of parish churches was both broadly based and might be collaborative in nature, but there is no doubt of the important part played by manorial lords, whose role as donors served both family needs but also identified

12 For William of Adbaston, see Faulkner 1998, 206, 207. Ranton Priory was a knightly foundation, having been founded by Robert fitz Noel of Ellenhall whose father had been given the fee by Nicholas de Stafford, and Thomas Noel was his son; Greenslade 1970, 251–52.

13 It is not clear at what date this commenced. Although one of the surviving effigies is traditionally held to be Hugh, this cannot be verified and the monument itself dates to 13th century: cf. Tummers 1980, no. 81.

14 The earliest surviving effigy, of Henry fitz Herbert, dates to the early 14th century, but it was not necessarily the earliest of the family burials there.

15 John Hunt, *Parish Churches in the west midlands. Buildings and Community before the Reformation* (working title, in preparation). These studies develop further the observations made in the honor of Dudley, based on a sample of 48 churches, which highlighted the second half of the 12th century and the late 13th and early 14th centuries as particular phases of building activity: Hunt 1997, 168.

seigneurs as part of the community of the parish.[16] Records of church endowments by medieval English peasants are rare, but may be found, like that dated to September 1260 of Gilbert son of John, who was perhaps a freeman living in Upper Penn near Wolverhampton (Hunt 1997, 177), but more familiar are 13th-century wills like that of Nicholas, lord of Mitton (Worcs.), making grants to various churches (Willis-Bund 1902, 388–90). From the registers of Evesham abbey in the late 12th century may be found the example of Newnham chapel (Northants.) where the peasants of Newnham (described as *rustici*) gave one acre from each virgate to the amount of twenty acres, while the chapel also held 3½ acres of land which the cotmen (cottagers) had given, 'in so far as they may', a phrase that suggests some unease about their right to dispose of their land. In the case of the church of Norton (Worcs.) one half-hide that it held comprised one virgate in the demesne of the abbot of Evesham with the other virgates '*de collectione rusticorum*', from a collection of peasants (Lennard 1952, 230).

Among the charters of Bishop Simon of Worcester, two relating to the church of Exhall near Alcester dated 1125–50 record the detail of the endowments given to the church by a group of '*probi homines*' (good men) in the vill when the bishop dedicated the church there. Among them was the lord, Robert Corbuceun and his wife, whose grant together with those of Roger, Wido and Robert suggest tenements being juggled to create a modest glebe (Cheney *et al* 2007, no. 61). However, even at the level of the parish church, the patterns of patronage across an honorial community may be more nuanced than is often assumed. While such a patronage role was potentially open to a relatively wide section of knightly and gentry society, particularly at a time when this class was becoming increasingly self-confident and assertive, it was not necessarily pursued by all. In the honor of Dudley patronage of the secular church was dominated by the baronial family in terms of the sheer numbers of churches in which they had interests. It was more usual for a family to have an interest in only one church, but at the same time there were a number of gentry families, not all minor, that appear to have had no interest in church patronage, although it is possible that the activity of some was 'hidden' within collaborative projects (Hunt 1997, 165–6, Table 15).

RELIGIOUS PATRONAGE AND THE HONORIAL COMMUNITY OF TUTBURY

The principal entrée into the religious patronage of the barons of Tutbury and their tenants are the Ferrers' *acta*, and what follows is indebted to the catalogue of their charters that Peter Golob compiled in 1984 (Golob 1984, Appendix 1, 417–596). Their value is enhanced by the fact that the honor of Tutbury seems to have had a coherent and active honorial court with which the honorial community continued to engage into the 13th century. Not only was the court the place where the earl's grants might be heard, but it was also normal for grants made by tenants of the honor to religious houses to be brought before the court for ratification (Golob 1984, 37). Similar business was conducted in the honorial court of the barons of Stafford. When Ruald de Dilhorne gave the church of Dilhorne to Stone, he did so in the presence of his lord Robert II of Stafford, his charter being witnessed by several men who also attested those of the baron. Robert followed this by issuing his own charter of confirmation, essentially acting as guarantor. Similarly, the grant by Nicholas de Milwich of his church at Milwich and the gifts of Helias (Ellis) de Coppenhall to Stone were witnessed by Robert II de Stafford as their lord, while in January 1155 a charter of Robert noted his *own* presence when the archdeacons of Chester, Stafford, and London settled a dispute between the lord of Walton and the canons of Stone regarding lands claimed by the former (Wrottesley 1885, 12, folio 11; 19, folio 23; 23, folio 28; Watson 1966, 782–85, no. 7; Eyton 1881, 233–35 [series II]).

Thus, the nature of the matters addressed in the Ferrers' court was not unusual, but as Golob noted the honor of Tutbury is marked by a good survival of material that reveals the honorial court there to be particularly robust and seemingly effective. The survival of a coherent corpus of *acta*, even if not necessarily complete, is clearly a significant boon in seeking an overview of the honorial community and its religious benefactions.

The initial patronage of the Ferrers was focused on Tutbury priory, founded by Henry and subsequently confirmed by his son, Robert I. The foundation charter made clear the intention of making provision for the religious needs of the castle, in pursuance of which the priory was given the

16 Sir Frank Stenton long ago observed in Lincolnshire a tendency for a plurality of lords to possess an interest in a church whose history in the 12th century is only intelligible if their foundation is regarded as a co-operative work to which the lords and men of the several communities contributed, particularly as the building and equipping of a stone church was an expensive undertaking for men of limited resources: Stenton 1920, lxx–lxxi, lxxvii, no. 465.

parish (Saltman 1962, no. 51). Robert I's confirmation charter, issued around 1110, reveals another aspect, namely, the close relationship that might develop between a house and its patron, and their respective estates (Saltman 1962, no. 103). Robert recognised that although his mother Bertha had granted the Tutbury monks the Berkshire manor of Stanford in the Vale, with the consent of King Henry I, it was more suitable for both sides that the manor should be exchanged for ten librates of land (that is, land worth ten pounds a year) closer to the priory. Therefore Robert assigned to the monks Church Broughton for five librates, Norbury (held by his brother, William) for four librates, and 20s. to be given by Robert until he found an appropriate parcel of land. Patrons therefore had little difficulty in making such alterations to the possessions of their houses as suited their convenience. Further modifications would follow.

A charter of 1125 reveals some indications of the rights that the Ferrers, as patrons of the priory, might claim (Saltman 1962, no. 88). Prior William of Tutbury granted to William fitz Herbert and his heirs the manor of Norbury in fee, for an annual payment of one hundred shillings. There followed a statement of certain 'feudal' obligations, by which, 'if the lord of Tutbury shall redeem his body from capture or give his eldest daughter in marriage or redeem his honor (i.e. pay relief), and the prior shall give an aid for these occasions, then William [fitz Herbert] or his heirs shall tender a suitable aid to the prior, proportionate to his fee'. The priory was thus treated like any other feudal tenant of the honor, but this was not unusual. In a charter of *c*. 1150, Osbert de Wanci made a grant to the Cistercian monks of Biddlesden (Bucks.), of land at Astwell, in the area between Banbury and Towcester, on the edge of Whittlewood Forest (Northants.). The charter referred to the burial and commemoration of himself and his wife, and a provision that they might accept him into religion as a monk before his death, in order that he should enjoy the salvation that was deemed as guaranteed to those who took the cowl. In addition, they would take custody of his livestock if circumstances demanded it, and send one of their brethren to act as a mediator if he, his wife or son were taken captive, a reflection of the fact that this was drafted in a time of disorder and insecurity attending the civil war of Stephen's reign (Stenton 1932, 246–47). Such rights sat alongside the usual ones of certain payments, hospitality, and rights of counsel, assent, and vacancies, together with the various spiritual obligations that such foundations were expected to fulfil. However, it is clear that in the case of Tutbury, in theory at least, the patron initially had no rights in the appointment or deposition of the prior. A charter of *c*. 1180, formerly in the Calvados archives and inspected by Henry III in 1262, recorded an agreement between William I de Ferrers and the chapter of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, which indicated that this was initially a matter for the mother house only. Despite the possessive phrases adopted by Henry de Ferrers in his foundation charter, as Saltman commented, the prior and monks at Tutbury were regarded in practice as monks of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives. However, William I de Ferrers renegotiated the matter by this, his charter of *c*. 1180, securing for himself and his heirs a voice in the appointment and deposition of future priors, while at the same time effectively improving the security of tenure enjoyed by Tutbury's priors (Saltman 1962, 13–4; cf. Maxwell Lyte 1907, 52).

With the accession of Robert II de Ferrers in 1139 the religious activities of the family became more dispersed. His support for Tutbury priory continued that of his predecessors, confirming their possessions and adding some small benefactions. For instance, he granted to the priory the house of Fulk Rufus in the new borough of Tutbury, and by another grant the house that belonged to Albert (Golob 1984, *acta* no. 14; Saltman 1962, nos 76–7). But Ferrers activities were no longer confined to Tutbury. In addition he made grants in favour of at least five other houses, two of which he certainly founded, namely Merevale abbey in Warwickshire and Darley abbey in Derbyshire, and in Leicestershire Breedon priory, which either he or his father founded.[17] Irrespective of the attribution of Breedon priory, the scale of Robert II's activity is notable, and if this is set alongside his apparent commitment to undertake a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella, it may mark a particular piety on his part.[18]

The foundations made by Robert II, and his pattern of endowments, reflect the tendency of the period for patrons to support several religious orders, as if building numerous 'bridges to salvation'. The 12th century saw a particular enthusiasm for the reformed religious orders and Robert clearly

17 Golob 1984, *acta*: Tutbury, nos 7, 13–15, 19, 25; Savigny, nos 6, 16; Darley, nos 8, 28; Merevale, nos 9, 24; Nostell, no. 10; Breedon, no. 10; and for Garendon, see no. 46. Golob's catalogue (no. 10) considers Breedon priory to be a foundation of Robert II as a grant to Nostell priory of the priory which he had founded, dated to *c*. 1144. This follows Dugdale 1846, VI (1), 97–8, no. I. However, the *Victoria County History* associates the foundation with Robert I and dates it to between *c*. 1109 and 1122: Hoskins and McKinley1954, 8.

18 Mentioned in the context of a grant to Burton Abbey: Wrottesley 1884, 50.

embraced this contemporary trend; there is little to suggest that the motivations for his foundations were anything other than religious. Merevale, founded in 1148, was a Cistercian house, which he endowed with possessions in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Derbyshire, and which would provide not only his burial place, but also that of his great-grandson Earl William III in 1254. Merevale was colonised by monks from Bordesley abbey in Worcestershire, founded some ten years earlier by Waleran de Beaumont, count of Meulan and earl of Worcester, and which was in turn a daughter house of Garendon in Leicestershire. His other foundations were Augustinian, an order that was particularly popular with west midlands patrons. Darley abbey was founded around 1154 and was endowed with tithes, land and meadow, together with the churches of Uttoxeter and Crich, although around 1160 the community moved from the outskirts of Derby to a new site. Also Augustinian was Breedon priory, granted to the canons of Nostell priory in west Yorkshire by Earl Robert or his father. His other grants included two charters to the Norman abbey of Savigny, another reformed house that in 1147 merged with the Cistercians, and to the Cistercian house at Garendon, known only through a charter of his son, and which should perhaps be set alongside his establishment of Merevale. It may also be significant that it was in the context of a grant of four bovates of land in Bromley to Burton abbey that he mentioned his intended pilgrimage, perhaps reflecting a closer relationship with this Benedictine house than is otherwise reflected in the *acta* compiled by Dr Golob, or in the cartulary of Burton abbey. Earl Robert II also joined with several tenants of the honor in offering endowments to the Knights Templar, to whom he gave three shillings a year in Tutbury (Golob 1984, 118; for Merevale, Page 1908, 75; for Darley, Page 1907, 46).

The *acta* include a minimum of fourteen charters in favour of seven houses by Robert II, but with his son William I (d. 1190), this activity increased still further, to some twenty-five grants across thirteen recipients.[19] Tutbury priory continued to be the main focus of activity but Darley abbey was of increasing interest. In addition to those houses endowed by his father, Earl William ranged still more widely to embrace Bury St Edmunds, Reading abbey, and the Augustinian canons of Little Dunmow priory in Essex. Other beneficiaries included the Cistercians of Abbey Dore in Herefordshire and at Garendon; the alien house at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire; the Benedictine nuns of Langley priory in Leicestershire; and the Nottinghamshire Cluniac house of Lenton priory whose associations with the Peveril family perhaps best explain William's grant to them of the advowson of Woodham Ferrers (Essex), given for the souls of himself and those who were with him at the siege of Nottingham in 1174.[20] The range of his patronage is impressive and commensurate with the family's regional status, but most of the grants were relatively small scale.

Particularly noticeable from William I's time was the appearance of charters in favour of two additional institutions. Firstly, the hospital of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, founded before 1146, which was the principal Lazar house in England, established for a master and eight brothers of the order, together with a number of lepers. To this house he gave the church of Spondon in Derbyshire. It may also have been Earl William, or possibly his son, who was responsible for the establishment of the leper house outside Tutbury that was mentioned in 1246 when the king gave alms to the foundation, prominently situated on a hill in full view of Tutbury castle (Tringham 2007, 109–10; *pers comm*). Secondly, two grants were made to the Order of St John (the Hospitallers) which received two churches in Essex, although Earl William's *carta* of 1166 indicated that his father had set a precedent, having granted a knight's fee that was previously held by William de Boscherville 'to the hospital' (Hall 1896, 337). It is tempting to associate these grants with an interest in the affairs of the Holy Land, particularly as William I joined the crusade of King Richard and died at Acre in 1190. His son, William II, was also a devout crusader and joined the crusades in June 1218, writing in February 1219 to Peter, bishop of Winchester, on the victory of the crusaders at Damietta (Golob 1984, *acta* no. 123). However, interest in the Hospitallers and the Templars was very much a feature of patronage since the time of King Stephen: in the time of William I's father, two tenants Henry Huse and Geralmus de Curzon made grants to the Templars and William's aunt Lettice made a grant to the Hospitallers (Golob 1984, *acta* nos 12, 27, 66).

The peak of Ferrers' patronage seems to have been reached under Earl William II (1190–1247), who made a minimum of thirty-two grants to some thirteen institutions, although again they were

19 Golob 1984, *acta*: Tutbury, nos 31, 36–7, 42–3, 49, 58–9; Lenton, note 4; Darley, nos 29, 51–2, 56; Langley, no. 44; Bury St Edmunds, no. 45; Garendon, no. 46; Deerhurst, no. 84; Dore, no. 60; Breedon, no. 83; Little Dunmow, no. 69; Reading, nos 68, 81; the Hospitallers, nos 62, 77; and the Hospital of Burton Lazars, no. 72

20 William's mother was Margaret Peveril.

generally small-scale endowments.[21] Most recipients had figured before, although new beneficiaries included the Cistercians of Dieulacres, most probably reflecting the family's alliance with the earl of Chester; and the Augustinians of Dunstable priory. The confirmation charter of 1232–47 to Merevale abbey included a licence to mine within the enclosures of the monastery at Pilsbury and Cronkston Grange in Derbyshire.

The marked fall in the number of monastic grants under William III (1247–54) may be partly a result of the relatively short period of his lordship, as well as a reflection of changing tastes and fashions in religious patronage.[22] To the grants made to Cistercians, Augustinians, and the hospital of St Lazarus were added those in favour of another new order, that of the Premonstratensians of Croxton in Leicestershire. However, by the mid 13th century the fervour for monastic endowments was beginning to wane, although there was some recovery under the last of the Ferrers line to hold the honor of Tutbury.

Robert III (1254–79), the son of William III, made some twenty-two grants to nine houses. The main beneficiary was Tutbury priory itself but the Augustinians of Saint Thomas at Stafford also attracted much interest and it was to the latter that Robert promised his body. The motivations for Robert's interest in this house in the early 1260s are unclear as there does not appear to have been a family tradition relating to Saint Thomas's, although there were links with Darley abbey earlier in its history. The first canons at Saint Thomas's had been brought there from Darley by Gerard fitz Brian around 1174, who initiated the foundation although the project was completed by Bishop Roger Peche of Coventry and Lichfield (1161–82) whom later chroniclers regarded as the founder of the priory. Although Saint Thomas's received some royal gifts, its benefactors were primarily drawn from local society, and it was perhaps Robert's intention to try and strengthen his associations with the local gentry at a time when he found himself at odds with Simon de Montfort, and more bitterly with Prince Edward. However, always something of a 'wild card', this might have been a case of Robert setting a new religious focus for himself.[23]

Again there was a cocktail of grants in favour of Cistercian, Augustinian, and Premonstratensian houses, although Robert's treatment of Tutbury priory was somewhat erratic, as in 1260 when he destroyed the priory buildings. This act of petulance resulted in a charter of 1261 (Saltman 1962, no. 87) by which he made reparations, providing one of the most important grants to the priory since its foundation. All of their possessions, granted by his predecessors, their wives and tenants, were confirmed, and two charters dated 12 December 1261 added more (Saltman 1962, nos 86, 96). In 1262 he also abandoned all claims to the arbitrary taxation of the priory, which effectively meant that the priory was free to grant or alienate from its lands without the interference of its patron (Saltman 1962, no. 94) and by 1263 he had waived all his rights and claims in the property of the priory at the time of a vacancy or the election of a new prior (Saltman 1962, no. 95); these concessions by Robert reflect something of the extensive rights that his predecessors had established over the priory. After the battle of Chesterfield in 1266, like the honor of Tutbury itself, the patronage of the priory passed out of the hands of the Ferrers to the house of Lancaster.

If we return to those tenants of the honor whose grants passed through the honorial court between 1139 and 1279, we find that their endowments mirrored those of their Ferrers lords, although those of the tenants also included individual houses to which the barons appear not to have made any benefactions; but generally it seems probable that most tenants would have lacked the resources to endow more than one or two houses. The tenants supported the Templars and Hospitallers; Tutbury priory; the Augustinian houses of Calke, Kenilworth, Darley, Breedon, Dale, and Dunstable; the Cistercian houses at Merevale, Garendon, and Buildwas; and the Benedictine houses at Reading and Langley. The pattern of honorial patronage that can be reconstructed between the late 11th and late 13th centuries suggests that the peak in activity came between 1160 and 1250, after Tutbury priory's 'honorial heyday', although most of the grants were on a small scale and many involved the confirmation of earlier gifts. Among the tenants the greatest period of activity seems to occur

21 Golob 1984, a*cta*: Darley, nos 85, 118, 130–2, 138, 153–5; Tutbury, nos 92, 119, 126–8, 133–5, 137, 171; Lenton, note 8 and p. 197; Garendon, no. 97; Breedon, no. 113; the Holy See, no. 120; Burton, no. 150; Dunstable, no. 170; Burton Lazars, no. 177; Dale, no. 180; Merevale, nos 182–5; the Hospitallers, note 14; Derby, St Mary de Pres, no. 198; and Dieulacres, no. 198.

22 Golob 1984, *acta*: Breedon, no. 190; Hospital of St Lazarus, no. 197; Darley, nos 200, 213; Merevale, no. 203; Tiltey, no. 204; and Croxton, note 12.

23 Golob 1984, *acta*: Tutbury, nos 234, 236, 241–2, 257, 266–7; Breedon, no. 239; Welbeck, no. 245; St Thomas, Stafford, nos 246, 260, 329–30, 332; Dale, nos 265, 268; Darley, nos 271, 315–16; Croxden, no. 276; Merevale, no. 319; Croxton, note 22. For the priory of St Thomas at Stafford: Greenslade 1970, 262; Cokayne 1910–1959, IV, 202, fn. 'd'; V, 321.

at the time of William I (1159–90).[24] However, while Tutbury priory continued to receive endowments from barons and tenants alike, the apparent enthusiasm and solidarity of the early honorial community as a whole for the priory, if measured by the diversity of endowments offered elsewhere, seems to have dissipated by the first half of the 13th century.

Turning back to the Ferrers themselves, on the admittedly rudimentary and unsophisticated basis of simply counting the numbers of charters enacted by the family, or more particularly by the barons themselves, a total of one hundred grants have been considered. Of these, one third related to Tutbury priory, another third were granted in favour of Augustinian houses, and a seventh was issued in favour of Cistercian houses. This reflects the commitment of the family to its own foundations and to the reforming orders of the 12th century, those orders that might best ensure the salvation of one's soul. Combined, these accounted for just under four-fifths of all the Ferrers grants. Similarly, in terms of the numbers of houses benefiting from the grants of the tenants, it was again the Augustinians and Cistercians who dominated the field. However, it seems possible that the number of grants made to the military orders may here be under-represented as even on the part of the Ferrers barons they might have been expected to exceed the handful that is suggested by this analysis, and were perhaps at their peak under Robert II and William I.

It is perhaps surprising that there is little evidence for a strong patronage relationship between the Ferrers earls and Burton abbey. While not entirely absent, the prevalent sense of this relationship is one of neighbouring lordships that were competitive for rights and resources, although some members of the honorial aristocracy were certainly to be found among those witnessing charters of the abbot. Robert I held land in fee of the abbey, as at Ticknall, but while this was the prevailing context, Robert at least may have enjoyed a closer relationship. A grant of *c*. 1114 regarding Ticknall called upon Robert to be a 'friend and guardian' and when, sometime between 1114 and 1126, an agreement was reached between the abbot and the earl regarding a wood in Needwood, Robert was taken into confraternity with the monks and he took the abbey into his protection, an agreement that was subsequently confirmed by both Earls William II and William III. Between 1126 and 1133 there was a grant in fee farm of part of Leigh, made after consideration of Robert Ferrers' advice, and it was to Burton that Robert granted land when preparing to go on pilgrimage. So Robert's links with Burton abbey may have been closer than those of either his father or of his successors, but the practicalities of local land tenure required that some level of relationship be maintained (Bartlett 2002, xlvii, lii–lv; Golob 1984, *acta* nos 4, 150, 214; Wrottesley 1884, folios 19 and 34).

CONCLUSIONS

Tutbury was therefore an honorial foundation but one which arguably was relatively short-lived. By about the time that the Romanesque priory church was being completed and celebrated, this role was already evaporating, a transformation that reflected the changing context of Henry II's reign and the changed attitudes of the earls in their patronage objectives.

While the foundation of Tutbury priory may be seen from the perspective of socio-political as well as religious motivations, as the earls increasingly turned to multiple patronage projects and endowments, political considerations are less discernible. Rather, like their neighbours, the earls took up the reformed orders, the Cistercians and the Augustinians, as the most effective means of meeting the needs of their souls. In joining with their neighbours in such sentiments they shared in the values of local society, but beyond Tutbury there is little to suggest the use of associations through monastic patronage to assist in consolidating their leadership or engagement with the local elite in the way that might be suggested for the Marmion barons of Tamworth, whose patronage of Polesworth in Warwickshire very probably attracted further benefactors to the house and reinforced their links with local families such as the de Hartshills and the de Grendons (cf Maxwell Lyte 1909, 278–88, iii); or to associate themselves with major networks of influence and power of the kind that focused, for instance, on St Peter's abbey in Gloucester.

The tenants of the honor of Tutbury appear to have initially differed from their neighbours in the honorial communities of Stafford and Dudley in the broad base of their support of the baronial foundation, but this difference was actually more the outcome of time and context than of attitude. The Tutbury foundation and its community was the product of the first generation after the Conquest,

24 There is obvious reason for caution here. How far was this a reflection of the efficiency of the honorial court at this time, and how much was granted that is not so recorded? How complete are the *acta*? However, this is the impression that may be taken from the evidence here considered.

with all of the threats that this brought; the Norman land-taking was still a recent memory and there was no reason to assume that all opposition and challenges had been overcome, while the takeover and restructuring of local estates and their communities must have produced tensions in local society. Such circumstances forced the relatively small numbers of French newcomers, trying to build their patrimonies and secure their revenues, to place reliance in each other for their security and to welcome institutions that fostered cohesion and mutual support among the honorial community. By the mid 12th century and later, when the less robustly supported foundations at Stone and Dudley were made, local society had itself changed. Not only did Stone and Dudley priories fail to build an honorial following, it would seem that the honorial community of Tutbury too had moved towards a less coherent stance, reflected by changing perceptions for both the earls and their tenants of their relationship with Tutbury priory, and with the endowments of tenants becoming more widely dispersed and not led by baronial interests. The implications would seem to be, at least in a part of the west midlands region, that the role of monastic patronage as a 'building block' of honorial solidarity had been severely eroded by the mid 12th century. However, this of itself did not necessarily mark the end of honorial cohesion as other factors had a part to play, particularly the quality of the relationship between the lord and his men, the wealth and resources at his disposal, and the vibrancy of the honorial court. Nonetheless, it was an indicator of change. While individual honors followed their separate histories, cohesion, if it was ever truly present, was weakening. Yet, these traditional frameworks could not be ignored by regional magnates who therefore attempted to bolster them well into the thirteenth century as a formal basis for their authority. However, although monastic patronage remained a potential entrée to networks of influence and association for both patron and client, it would seem that the time for genuinely honorial monastic foundations had passed by the later 12th century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author would like to thank Dr Nigel Tringham for reading an earlier version of this paper and for the guidance that his meticulous comments provided which have greatly improved the final article. However, any errors or misunderstandings remain the responsibility of the author alone.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, J. S. and King, J. F.	1999	'The Architecture and Romanesque Sculpture of TutburyPriory', in P. Morgan and A. D. M. Phillips (eds), *Staffordshire Histories. Essays in Honour of Michael Greenslade* (Staffordshire Record Society, 4th series, XIX)
Bartlett, R. (ed. and trans.)	2002	*Geoffrey of Burton. Life and Miracles of St Modwenna* (Oxford)
Bates, D.	1982	*Normandy before 1066* (Harlow)
Bates, D.	1998	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum. The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford)
Cheney, M., Smith, D., Brooke, C., and Hoskin, P. (eds)	2007	*English Episcopal Acta, 33*: *Worcester 1062–1185* (British Academy)
Chibnall, M., (ed. and trans.),	1968	*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, volume II, Books III and IV (Oxford)
Chibnall, M.,	1986	*Anglo-Norman England 1066–1166* (Oxford)
Cokayne, G. E.	1910–59	revised V. Gibbs *et al*., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom extant, extinct or dormant* (London)
Cox, D.	2015	*The Church and Vale of Evesham 700–1215. Lordship, Landscape and Prayer* (Boydell)
Darlington, R. R. (ed.)	1968	*The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory* (Pipe Roll Society, new series 38; London)
Dugdale, W.	1730	*The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, revised W. Thomas (2 volumes) (London)

Dugdale, W.	1846	*Monasticon Anglicanum: a Historyof the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, revised J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Badinel, 6 volumes in 8 (London)
Eyton, R. W. (ed.)	1881	'The Staffordshire Chartulary', *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, II
Faulkner, K. H.	1998	'Knights and Knighthood in Early Thirteenth Century England' (unpublished PhD thesis, Kings College, University of London)
Golob, P. E.	1984	'The Ferrers Earls of Derby: A Study of the Honour of Tutbury (1066–1279)' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge)
Graham, D.	2002	'Foundation of an alien priory at Wootton Wawen in the 12th century', *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society*, 106, 117–41
Greenslade, M. W. (ed.)	1970	*A History of the County of Stafford*, volume III (Victoria County History, London)
Hagger, M. S.	2001	*The Fortunes of a Norman Family. The De Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066–1316* (Dublin)
Hall, H. (ed.)	1896	*The Red Book of the Exchequer* (London)
Hall, J.	2007	'Croxden Abbey Church: Architecture, Burial and Patronage', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 160, 39–128
Hislop, M., Kincey, M., and Williams, G.	2011	*Tutbury: 'A Castle Firmly Built' Archaeological and historical investigations at Tutbury Castle, Staffordshire* (BAR British Series 546; Oxford)
Hodder, M.	1991	*Excavations at Sandwell Priory and Hall, 1982–1988* (being *Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, XXXI)
Hoskins, W. G. and R. A. McKinley, (eds)	1954	*A History of the County of Leicestershire*, II (Victoria County History, London)
Hunt, J.,	1991–2	'Land Tenure and Lordship in Tenth and Eleventh Century Staffordshire', *Staffordshire Studies*, 4, 1–20
Hunt, J., and Hodder, M.	1992	'An Early Manorial Enclosure at Curdworth, Warwickshire, and its affinities', *Warwickshire History*, VIII, no 5 (Summer), 162–74
Hunt, J.	1994	'Piety, Prestige or Politics? The House of Leofric and the Foundation and Patronage of Coventry Priory', in G. Demidowicz (ed.), *Coventry's First Cathedral. The Cathedral and Priory of St Mary. Essays from the 1993 Anniversary Symposium* (Stamford)
Hunt, J.	1997	*Lordship and the Landscape. A documentary and archaeological study of the Honor of Dudley c. 1066–1322* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 264, Oxford)
Hunt, J.	2000	'Ralph VIII, Lord Basset of Drayton, and Coventry Whitefriars: a note on late medieval religious benefaction and patronage', *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society*, 104, 93–9
Hunt, J.	in preparation	*Parish Churches in the west midlands. Buildings and Community before the Reformation* (working title)
Klemperer, W. D. and Boothroyd, N.	2004	*Excavations at Hulton Abbey, Staffordshire 1987–1994* (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 21)
Laurence, M.	1950–1	'Notes on the Documents relating to St Mary's Abbey, Croxden, Staffordshire', *Transactions of the North Staffordshire Field Club*, LXXXV, B1–27
Lennard, R.	1952	'Two Peasant Contributions to Church Endowment', *English Historical Review*, 67, no. 263 (April), 230–3
Maxwell Lyte, H. C. (ed.)	1907	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry VI, volume III, AD 1436–1441* (London)
Maxwell Lyte, H. C.	1909	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office,*

(ed.) *Richard II, volume VI, AD 1396–1399* (London)
Morgan, P. (ed.) 1987 *Domesday Book: Derbyshire* (Phillimore, Chichester)
Page, W. (ed.) 1907 *A History of the County of Derby*, II (Victoria County History, London)
Page, W. (ed.) 1908 *A History of the County of Warwick*, II (Victoria County History, London)
Saltman, A. (ed.) 1962 *The Cartulary of Tutbury Priory* (Historical Manuscripts Commission and Staffordshire Record Society, London)
Sayers, J. and Watkiss, L. (eds) 2003 *Thomas of Marlborough, History of the Abbey of Evesham,* Book III, Part I (Oxford)
Shaw, S. 1798 *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, volume I (London); republished with introduction by M. W. Greenslade and G. C. Baugh in 1976
Stenton, F. M. (ed.) 1920 *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, volume V; London)
Stenton, F. M. 1932 *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066–1166* (Oxford)
Tringham, N. J. (ed.) 2007 *A History of the County of Stafford*, X: *Tutbury and Needwood Forest* (Victoria County History, London)
Tummers, H. A. 1980 *Early Secular Effigies in England. The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden)
Watson, C. 1966 'Edition of the Kenilworth Cartulary' (unpublished PhD thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London)
Wilson-Lee, K. 2011 'Representations of Piety and Dynasty: Late-Medieval Stained Glass and Sepulchral Monuments at Norbury, Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 131, 226–44
Ward, J. C. 1981 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment: the Foundations of the Clare Family 1066–1314', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32/4, 427–51
Willis-Bund, J. W. (ed.) 1902 *Episcopal Registers, Diocese of Worcester. Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard* (Worcestershire Historical Society; Oxford)
Wrottesley, G. (ed.) 1882 'The Staffordshire Cartulary, Series III of Ancient Deeds', *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, III (London)
Wrottesley, G. (ed.) 1884 'An Abstract of the Contents of the Burton Chartulary', *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, V (part 1) (London)
Wrottesley, G. (ed.) 1885 'The Stone Chartulary', *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, VI (part 1) (London)
Youngs, D. and Morgan, P. 2001 'Stafford Castle 1066 to 1563', in J. Darlington (ed.), *Stafford Castle. Survey, Excavation and Research 1978–1998. Volume I – The Surveys* (Stafford)

THE ABORTIVE INCLOSURE OF NEEDWOOD FOREST IN THE 1650s

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. Forests were at first excluded from general sales, and it was not until1654 that an order was made to inclose it and parcel the land out for sale: 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 present writer has already provided some of the background documentation — parliamentary surveys of the forest and its constituent parks made in 1649 and 1650,[3] and a petition against inclosure presented to Oliver Cromwell in 1655[4] — and the purpose of this article is to discuss the abortive inclosure, concentrating on the reasons behind the resistance and the strategies applied by the opponents.

Covering some 9,400 a. (3,804 ha.) in the angle formed by the rivers Trent and Dove and occupying a plateau of high ground in parts over 400 ft. high, Needwood forest 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 Needwood had been divided into five wards (Barton, Marchington, Tutbury, Uttoxeter, and Yoxall), each of which with its own officers charged with preserving deer and timber. Around the forest proper there were several parks, created by the Ferrers during the 13th century as confined hunting areas. Most lay on the east side of the forest close to Tutbury, but there were others to the south and on the west (fig. 1). Rowley park was 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, but it was still regarded as Crown land under the 1649 Act and so was included in the associated surveys. The whole of Uttoxeter ward, however, had been disafforested in 1637, causing local riots that presaged what happened when the rest of Needwood was being inclosed in the late 1650s.[5]

COMMON RIGHTS

Although the forest was created to provide a secure habitat for deer, it was also a valuable resource for those who lived in the villages and hamlets that surrounded it, especially for the purpose of grazing animals and collecting wood (the latter right called 'estovers'). Access, however, was restricted by the Ferrers earls who from the early 13th century as lords of Tutbury issued charters to lords of subordinate manors and to freeholders, stipulating what rights they could enjoy.[6] A large number of these charters were inspected in 1287 when the new lord, Earl Edmund of Lancaster, ordered a *quo warranto* ('by what warrant') inquiry, of which a near contemporary enrolled transcript survives,[7] as well as a 15th-century cartulary copy.[8] A few of charters were presented to the parliamentary commissioners when the forest wards were surveyed in 1650, and others were unearthed from family archives as opposition to inclosure began to mount. Indeed, the large number of such charters and the complication they presented for inclosure was one of the main objections made by opponents.

1 S. J. Madge, *Domesday of Crown Lands* (1938), 77–91; I. Gentles, 'The sales of Crown lands during the English Revolution', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 26/4 (1973), 614–35 (but not treating forest land because of its special status: comment at p. 617). Dr Heather Falvey and Dr Andrew Hopper are thanked for their helpful comments, especially in setting the Needwood evidence in a wider context.

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

3 'Needwood forest surveys of 1649–50 and attempted inclosure', in *Transactions of the Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, XLIV (2010), 28–70.

4 'The 1655 petition against Needwood forest inclosure' in ibid. XLVI (2013), 72–96.

5 *VCH Staffs*. II, 352.

6 For a general account of these common rights see *VCH Staffs*. X, 38–9.

7 Staffordshire Record Office [SRO], D. 1124/1/1.

8 British Library [BL], Stowe MS 879.

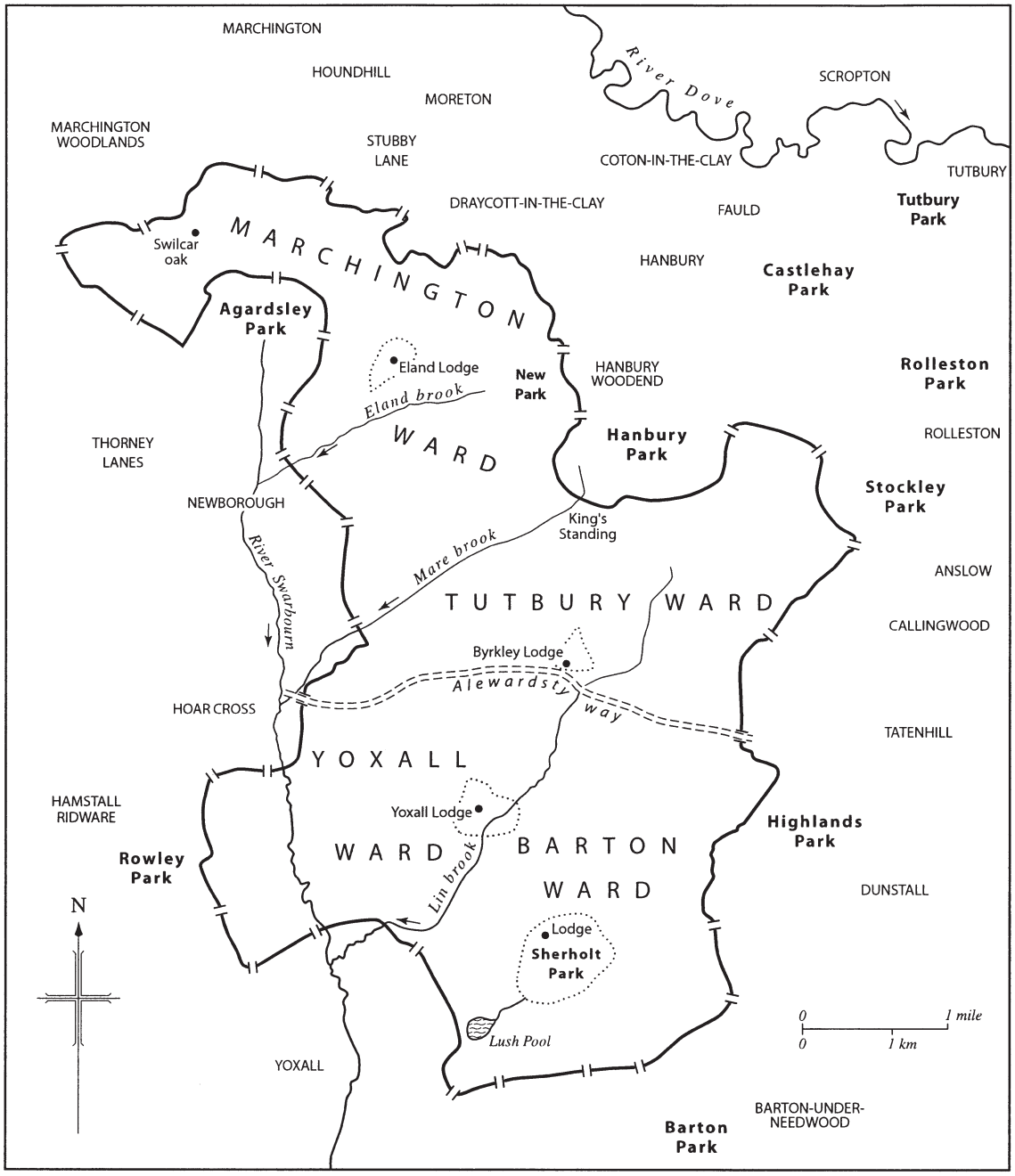


Fig. 1 Needwood Forest showing wards, parks (in bold text), and surrounding villages and hamlets in which those claiming common rights in the forest had land. (Based on map in *VCH Staffordshire*, X, 35)

Copyholders and tenants-at-will, who emerged as new categories of landholders in the later middle ages, also had rights in the forest in respect of their holdings, as did cottagers (or squatters) by mid 17th century, although their claim was not grounded in law but allowed only by custom.[9]

Orders of 1611

Some idea of the claims made on the forest by commoners and the concerns they raised can be gained from a series of orders promulgated by the duchy of Lancaster chancellor in February 1611,[10] following a report of 1609 that had stressed the importance of the castle at Tutbury because of its

9 J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: common rights, enclosure and social change in England, 1700–1820* (1993), 61–4.

10 Wrongly dated '1610' in *VCH Staffs*. X, 45, which made use of an abbreviated version in BL, Add. MS 34668, f. 47. A fuller version (used here) survives in an 18th-century copy in SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, pp. 209–20 [hereafter referred to as 'Orders'], giving date as '12 Feb. 8 James I', i.e. February 1610/11.

proximity to the king's chases and parks.[11] These orders sought to regulate the felling of timber in both Needwood forest and its parks and also access to pasture, chiefly in order to improve conditions for the king's deer. A complete ban on unlicensed felling extended even to crab, whitehorn, holly, and hazel, although an exception was made for 'stoolwood and hoarlint': the former being wood growing from a stump or lower part of a tree and the latter the inner bark of lime trees.[12] The main culprits seem to have been the keepers of the forest wards themselves, who had felled good timber trees without licence and sold them along with browse (twigs and shoots fed to the deer); they were to desist, and in particular not cut down for browse any wood or bough bigger than what a male deer 'is able to turn over with his head'. Moreover, any wood which they cut for their own household use was to be limited to what they could carry away on their own sledge or cart.[13]

A more pressing problem of recent years had been the number of sheep kept in the forest by both keepers and commoners. These were now banned, although the keepers were compensated for the loss of their traditional right to pasture 30 sheep each: namely, a payment of 30*s*. and permission to inclose 2 a. adjoining their lodges.[14] The commoners were still allowed to send pigs into the forest but only at 'pannage and tack time' from 1 October to 20 December, and the number was limited to those needed for the provision of their own household.[15]

It was, however, the regulation of the commoners' right to pasture cattle in the forest that required the most consideration. The duchy maintained that a commoner's right of pasture was restricted to the number of cattle he could feed on his own tenement during the winter.[16] Moreover, commoners had not limited themselves to summer pasture only, but had sent in their cattle during the winter, so depriving the deer of necessary fodder; henceforth, no cattle were to be pastured from 30 November to 31 March.[17] Nor were commoners to pasture other people's cattle in respect of their own tenements.[18] Similar restrictions were placed on cottagers, who were nonetheless allowed to pasture cattle in the summer, as long as those occupying established (or 'ancient') sites pastured only two beasts or the number they could over-winter on their own land; new cottagers (of whom there were many in recent years) were limited to one each.[19] In order to keep a record of the number and ownership of cattle (and horses) that were sent into the forest, each township — continuing a medieval practice[20] — was to have its own brand or mark (Plate 1) applied to the beasts by two officers (elected on 1 March), who were also to keep a book in which the details were to be written down. During the summer these officers were to inspect the cattle on at least three occasions to check that there were no illegal beasts in the forest.[21] Moreover, each year the officers were to assist the ward keepers in a general count of all the beasts at a 'driving' of the forest.[22]

It was acknowledged that the restrictions to be imposed on pasturing beasts would be unpopular, and the order which banned winter pasturing proposed that 'if the commoners in general shall dislike or be unwilling to perform [it]', then 300 a. should be inclosed in one or more places and be kept in severalty for 'the succour and better relief of the deer', thereby releasing the remainder of the forest for the commoners.[23] The proposed inclosure, however, was evidently intended only for winter use and the deer would have been let into the forest at large again during the summer, when the perceived problem of surcharging with beasts would have remained. Accordingly, the orders ended with the decision to appoint commissioners to determine a stint, not least to prevent some commoners 'through a covetous desire' wronging their fellows by sending in more beasts than they should.[24] Whether such a commission was established is uncertain, and the process may have got

11 H. M. Colvin, D. R. Ransome, and J. Summerson (eds), *History of the King's Works,* III (1) (1975), 405.
12 Orders, nos 1–5. For 'hoarlint' see R. Hardy, *A History of the Parish of Tatenhill in the County of Stafford*, II (1907), 160.
13 Orders, no. 21.
14 Orders, no. 6.
15 Orders, no. 18. Swine were also to be marked in the same way as were cattle (as is described below).
16 Orders, no. 13: 'No person ... shall at any time of the year put any more cattle to depasture in the forest than he or they shall get fother upon their tenements to which their common is belonging to keep the same cattle all the winter season'.
17 Orders, no. 12.
18 Orders, no. 15.
19 Orders, no. 16.
20 *VCH Staffs*. X, 39.
21 Orders, no. 17. The brands were drawn by the antiquary William Burton (d. 1645) in his manuscript history of Fauld, in Hanbury parish, written when he was living there in the earlier 17th century: BL, Add. MS 31917, at back of volume (copied in Hardy, *History of the Parish of Tatenhill*, I (1907), 161, but omitting those for Marchington Woodlands and Moreton); *VCH Staffs*. X, 129.
22 Orders, no. 29.
23 Orders, no. 12.
24 Orders, no. 30.

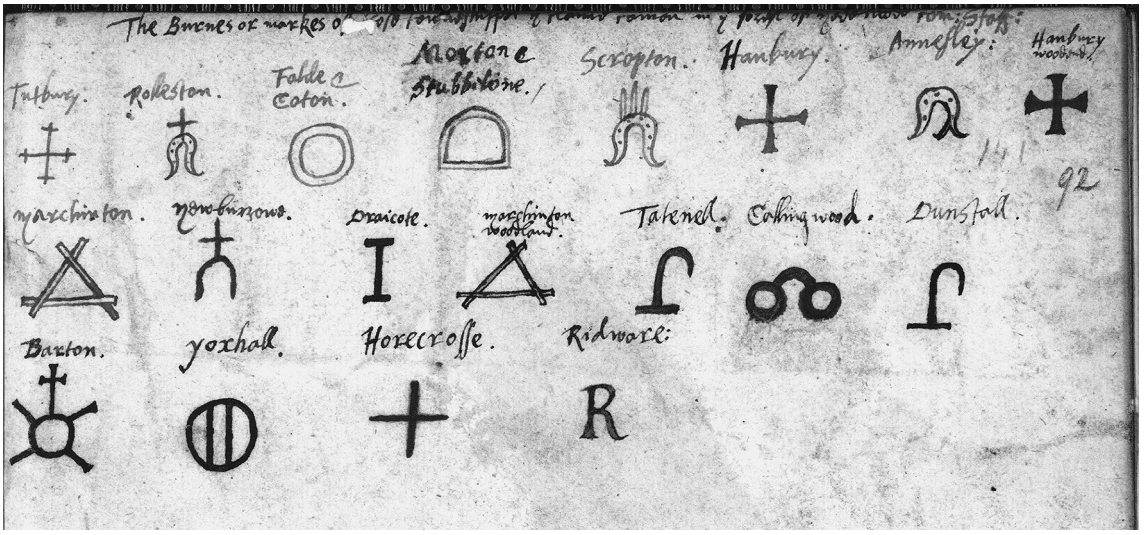


Plate 1 Brands used to mark cattle belonging to commoners in villages and hamlets surrounding Needwood Forest, as drawn in the earlier 17th century by the antiquary William Burton of Fauld (d. 1645).
(SOURCE: British Library, Add. MS 31917, at back of volume. Reproduced with kind permission: © British Library Board)

caught up in James I's large-scale policy of offering duchy copyhold tenants confirmation (at a price) of their customs and estates.[25] Indeed, the 18th-century transcript of the 1611 orders closes with a memorandum of 12 March 1610/11 instructing Thomas Fanshawe, Duchy auditor in the North, to make local inquiries about the intended composition.[26] He presented a £200 bill later in the year for doing just this, but was evidently as unsuccessful at Needwood as he was at Duffield Frith (Derbs.).[27]

In addition to what can be learnt from the 1611 orders, it should be noted that common rights also extended to social, rather than more purely economic, benefits: a mid 16th-century survey noted that tenants in adjoining manors claimed timber to make bonfires, notably at the wedding of an eldest son,[28] and trees were indeed still being felled (albeit illegally) in the 1690s for bonfires lit on Thanksgiving Day (5 November).[29]

MOVES TOWARDS INCLOSURE

The forest and its parks were surveyed not long after the 1649 Act was passed, and several of the latter were contracted for sale in 1650, the purchasers raising money by the acquisitions of debentures (promissory notes for arrears of army pay): some £17,500 was raised in this way, with a further £3,200 for Tutbury castle and then nearly £1,360 for Agardsley lodge in 1654.[30] The forest itself, however, was exempted from immediate sale, as were all the former royal forests (together with timber growing within 15 miles of a navigable river and suitable for use by the navy).[31] When in due course, in November 1653, a subsequent Act was passed to authorise disafforestation and sale of

25 R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, II (privately printed for the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1970), 16–17. For the enfranchisement of copyholders generally see R. W. Hoyle, '"Vain Projects": The Crown and its Copyholders in the Reign of James I', in John Chartres and David Hey (eds), *English Rural Society, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), 73–104; and R. W. Hoyle, '"Shearing the hog": the reform of the estates, *c*. 1598–1640', in R. W. Hoyle (ed.), *The Estates of the English Crown 1558–1640* (Cambridge, 1992), 204–62.

26 SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, p. 221.

27 The National Archives [TNA], DL 28/33/14A, p. [1] (ref. kindly supplied by Dr H. Falvey). Also see H. Falvey, 'Custom, resistance and politics: local experiences of improvement in early modern England' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2007), pp. 160–164.

28 TNA, DL 3/65, f. 85.

29 SRO, D. 1129/6/1/11, woodmoot court, 20 Sept. 1698.

30 TNA, E 121/4/6 (surviving certificates for Agardsley, Castlehay, Castle (or Little) park, Hanbury, Highlands, Ruff hay, and Tutbury castle).

31 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.

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 eventually added it to the general sale.[32]

Petition of 1655

The decision to proceed with inclosure caused an immediate outcry and a petition was drawn up and signed (or marked) by both local gentleman and several hundred people who claimed common rights in the forest. It was presented to Oliver Cromwell in person in February 1655.[33] As deputy clerk to the county justices of the peace, the man responsible for drawing up the petition was Zachary Babington of Curborough, part of whose autograph account of the proceedings survives in the William Salt Library in Stafford;[34] there is also a full, 18th-century copy in the Bagot family papers in the Staffordshire Record Office.[35] According to his account, Babington had entered into the business on 20 October 1654, and promptly set himself the task of researching the history of Needwood and how it came into the hands of the duchy of Lancaster, the purpose being to prove that Needwood was a chase (and not technically a forest because not owned by the Crown *per se*) and so could not be inclosed, on the analogy that a lord of the manor could not inclose manorial waste. Having consulted duchy records, including William Humberston's 1559 forest survey,[36] and also grants made by the Ferrers earls (evidently as manuscripts in local hands), he then consulted 'an incomparable man for learning in this case', a Mr Finch,[37] who advised him to pursue the chase argument: accordingly, he then set about further research in the Exchequer archives where he found evidence for a late 13th-century case brought against men for hunting deer in the 'chase of Needwood'. As a result, the wording of a petition that had already been partly drawn up (presumably at the Michaelmas quarter sessions) was altered so as to refer to Needwood as a chase and not a forest.

The main points advanced in the petition were the general poverty of the land even after improvement and the costs of compensating those who had common rights. The forest was said to extend to less than 5,600 a., each acre being worth no more than 5*s*. on the best improvement. The main worry was the loss of common rights by both the petitioners and by 'ancient' cottagers (those occupying long-established cottages), and it was requested that compensation be decided by Ordinance and not by the arbitrary decision of the commissioners. Cromwell was also reminded that Staffordshire (besides its regular contributions) had paid nearly £8,000 to the army when it was disbanded, money which the State still owed the county.

A more detailed case against inclosure was also sent by the Staffordshire JPs in support of the petition. Presumably drawn up by Babington, it presented the argument under thirteen heads:[38]

1 the large number of medieval charters granting common rights in the forest
2 the costs of the army ought not to be met only by a few poor townships, with many great and rich townships [elsewhere] not sustaining 'a farthingloss'
3 it would be more just if all the former royal common lands should be improved and sold and not just [Needwood] forest
4 Staffordshire was a poor county and, having lain under many garrisons, had been exhausted by taxes; moreover, considerable costs will result from settling the differences and animosities that will be caused [by inclosure]
5 the cottagers and poor in the forest need particularly to be provided for out of the land belonging to the State, and not diminish the claims of other landholders
6 the four keepers [of the wards], who have been careful to preserve the wood and game, also have rights which need to be taken into consideration

32 Madge, *Domesday of Crown Lands*, 111–20; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1654*, 341–2.
33 TNA, SP 18/94, ff. 126–37; calendared in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1655*, 31 (no. 56), but not otherwise printed. For an edition and discussion see Tringham, 'The 1655 petition against Needwood forest inclosure'.
34 William Salt Library, Stafford [WSL], S. MS 243/iii/4 (and another copy in S. MS 243/iii/6/ii).
35 SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, pp. 92–104 (even-numbered pages only). Babington begins his report by stating the hope that having received it each township would make a copy before passing it on to the next.
36 TNA, DL 42/109, ff. 1–23.
37 Possibly Heneage Finch (d. 1682), a post-Restoration lord chancellor, who had been called to the bar in 1645: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. The 18th-century copy of Babington's handwritten account gives a 'Mr Smith'.
38 WSL, S. MS 243/iii/4; SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, p. 104; *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1655*, 31–2 (no. 57).

7 Needwood is 'merely framed by nature' for pleasure, there being no comparable forest in England, and it now has a considerable herd of deer and could in a short time with good oversight become very well stocked
8 the [inclosure] commissioners are not to be arbitrary in deciding what proportion [of inclosed land] is to be allowed to each claimant, but shall ascertain the right due to a messuage and 100 a. and so allow acres in proportion, including an allowance for common of estovers
9 the rights of married women (*femme coverts*), infants, persons beyond the seas, and lunatics (if any) are not to suffer
10 many townships bordering the forest consist principally of arable land, and so if the forest is inclosed there will be a decay in tillage because many will be unable to support their ploughs without it [i.e. arable will have to be converted to pasture in order to provide grazing for plough beasts which now use forest pasture]
11 if common of estovers for building is taken away, the claimants will not be able to support their buildings, have fuel for their fires, or 'provision' their fences
12 Needwood forest is in the deep and clay part of the country [i.e. county] and there are no gravel or stones in it for mending the highways, so that in a very short time there will be 'no passing' those new ways to or from markets or other necessary occasions
13 there are nearly 80 extant charters [granting rights] of common of pasture, estovers, and other privileges by the leading (*primeir*, i.e. premier) owners of the chase, some [made] to particular persons and some to whole townships, which renders it [i.e. the forest] more unfit and incapable of sale than any other forest in England.

The petitioners' concerns

The extent to which the commoners were worried about the economic consequences of inclosure is difficult to gauge, although it was later claimed that the rights accounted for a third of the value of their holdings.[39] The threat of losing pasture was probably the most real, as townships such as Rolleston had indeed been active in converting pasture to arable in the 16th century. The inhabitants there had done this, precisely it seems, because they had access to Rolleston park, but when the park lessee raised the rent for herbage, the lack of pasture in the township became acute. In the 1570s they were permitted to inclose a fifth of their open-field land to convert to pasture, and yet there was still insufficient pasture in 1614.[40] Common rights of pasture would therefore have been especially valued, although not particularly for dairy cattle, as the grazing for milk cows would probably have been too far distant from homesteads. Right to estovers is also specifically mentioned in the JPs' detailed memorandum in support of the petition, but once again the economic consequences of inclosure might not in fact have been that serious as there is little evidence for commoners engaging in wood-based activities such as charcoal-making.[41] Even the need for wood as household fuel may have not been that acute, given coppices and hedgerows in the townships themselves, although a *perceived* shortage of wood was becoming a general worry at this time.[42]

Concern for cottagers and the poor is perhaps further shown by the petition's long lists of names of the *poor* of Marchington and Marchington Woodlands.[43] Besides those who occupied long-established or 'ancient' sites, these people evidently included 'new' cottagers, and perhaps even landless squatters, who were not strictly commoners but by custom had taken wood for fuel and had pastured their cows in the forest.[44] Although it has been argued that their presence amongst the petitioners indicates a strong sense of cohesion within the forest communities,[45] it is uncertain to what extent they came forward to add their names of their own volition or were coerced (or at least organised) into doing so. The manner in which the poor's names were written up on the membranes strongly

39 Below, p. 75, item 3.
40 *VCH Staffs*. X, 199–200.
41 Nor is there much evidence for the duchy selling timber for use by iron works in the Midlands, possibly because it was not of sufficiently good quality: inf. from Dr Peter King.
42 P. Warde, 'Fear of wood shortage and the reality of woodland in Europe, *c*. 1450–1850', *History Workshop Journal*, 62 (Autumn, 2006), 29–57.
43 Tringham, '1655 petition', 84–6. There may also have been lists, subsequently lost, for other townships.
44 Below, p. 75, item 4.
45 J. Thirsk, 'Horn and thorn in Staffordshire: the economy of a pastoral county', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 9 (1969), 4.

suggests the latter,[46] and so may reflect the leading commoners' concern to persuade Cromwell that all elements of society were united in opposition to inclosure.

Presentation of petition to Cromwell

The petition, together with some 100 pages of associated 'Reasons' (presumably Babington's notes from his researches in the archives, but no longer extant), were entrusted to one of the county's MPs, Sir Charles Wolseley, Bt, a Councillor of State, so that he could present it to Parliament whenever the Bill for the sale of the forests came up for debate. Parliament was dissolved, however, on 22 January 1655, and the army immediately set about implementing the August 1654 Ordinance and so forced Babington to make a direct appeal to Oliver Cromwell, which he did in February,[47] the delay perhaps being a result of having to collect the signatures/marks appended to the petition. Having received the petition, Cromwell (according to Babington) read it himself and promised that no man's right in the forest should be prejudiced or taken away by the Ordinance, whose exact substance was 'not now fresh in his memory' but which he believed was agreeable to honour and justice. The Council of State, however, then meeting in a room adjoining the council chamber, pronounced that it was unable to repeal or alter the Ordinance, but would ensure that the commissioners appointed to undertake the sale would be gentlemen of the country near to the forest, and that once the commissioners had adjudicated on all the claims made by the interested parties, they would then decide what part should remain with the State in order to meet the costs of the arrears of army pay (so leaving the rest to be assigned to the claimants), and if (after this division) no spare land was found to remain in the forest, then none would indeed be sold.

Babington, therefore, came away from the meeting in the hope that, subject to the need to raise money for the army, no part of the forest would be sold for general profit but that all of what remained would be allocated to those whose claims had been recorded in the 1650 survey. He was concerned, however, that some people had not yet made a claim, and he intended to put in order and 'methodize' those charters that he had received and any others that might be brought to him. More than that he could not do, and so he proposed to submit his financial account as soon as possible and discharge himself from further work in the matter. The final words in his surviving record of proceedings were reserved for the persons and townships who had refused to contribute to the costs of the defence of their claims, castigating them as the 'most unChristian, uncharitable, unneighbourly, covetous, and unworthy sort of self-ended people that deserve not the least drop of their neighbours water to quench their own houses when they are on fire'.[48]

INCLOSURE COMMISSION

Commissioners for the actual process of inclosing Needwood under the 1654 Ordinance were eventually appointed in March 1656 (over a year after the petition had been presented to Cromwell), and included an experienced surveyor, George Sergeant. Instructions on how to proceed were issued in June but the commissioners may not have started work until the spring of 1657: in May that year, having encountered so much opposition, the commissioners requested an armed escort to protect them, and the instructions were re-issued in June 1657.[49]

The fullest account of commissioners' work is a certificate of 3 May 1658 sent to the Committee of Appeal.[50] Having noted that Needwood covered 9,395 a. and given a valuation (£310 15*s*. 6*d*., together with £12,000 worth of wood and timber), they referred to the surrounding inhabitants (about 300 people, including cottagers who had no right in law) who laid claim to common rights in the forest, either by charter (with various terminology) or prescription. It was noted that as the latter paid for such privileges, either by a township paying an annual rent of 18*s*. or 20*s*. or by an individual paying 1*d*. for pasturing a horse or a cow, then they could not argue (as they did) that they had unlimited rights; indeed, only marked cattle were allowed into the forest, and if there had

46 For this conclusion see Tringham, '1655 petition', 72, 75–6, 80.

47 For Babington's actitivies at this point, see Tringham '1655 petition', 75.

48 Ibid. (from Babington's handwritten account: WSL, S. MS 243/iii/4).

49 Tringham, 'Needwood forest surveys', 32. For similar threats made to a surveyor at Duffield (Derbs.) in the 1630s see H. Falvey, 'Marking the boundaries: William Jordan's 1633 pre-enclosure survey of Duffield Frith (Derbyshire), *Agricultural History Review,* 61/1 (2013), 1–18 (at 9–13).

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

not been such a stint, then the forest would not have been able to maintain as many deer (given, with much exaggeration, as 8,000) as it had done.

The commissioners stated that they had received the claims within the time limit and had then assigned to three or four men in every parish or hamlet the task of assessing the quantity and value of land held by each claimant in his respective parish or township. The total amount of land thus assessed amounted to some 4,500 a.,[51] which was considered too great a figure to be compensated for in forest land (as the State would as a consequence not derive any benefit). The task of investigating all the claims and disallowing those which were excessive was considered to be too time-consuming, and the commissioners hoped, therefore, to reach an agreement with the claimants. They duly spent several days in trying to do this, using as precedents the (allegedly) amicable inclosure of Bernwood forest (Bucks.) in 1632,[52] and nearer to home that of Uttoxeter ward in Needwood forest in 1637.[53] The Needwood 'gentlemen', however, would not yield their claims, and so the commissioners were forced to make an offer of 3,750 a. (over half that available), 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'. Its value was considered to be 6 a. for every £20-worth of landholding.

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 half of the forest, 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.

RESPONSE TO PROPOSED INCLOSURE

The objectors acknowledged that the commissioners had done a fair job in surveying the extent of the claimants' landholdings and of Needwood and its timber, but by combining the forest's acreage (which the objectors gave as 9,229 a.) with the claimants' own lands they reached a total of 18,730 a. valued at £11,780 13*s*. 3*d*. a year. The objectors confirmed that they had been offered 4,000 a. by the commissioners, leaving the State with 4,729 a. and all of the timber worth £12,000. The offer had been presented to the county but the present objectors rejected it on the following grounds: [54]

1 there were still some 28 charters to be considered, most of them referring to rights of estovers for which the commissioners have made no allowance, nor are willing to make any allowance
2 the allotments offered are limited to 6 a. for every £20-worth of land held, and even in the best part of Needwood that will provide summer pasture for only 4 beasts (and in parts where there are fences and gorse not more than one beast), whereas for £20-worth of land [in their own parish or township] they can pasture at least 14 beasts
3 it has been generally estimated that commons and estovers in Needwood amount in value to about a third of their livings
4 no provision has been made for the newly-erected cottages in Needwood (which is full of poor), nor for the poor cottagers in the townships who sustain themselves by getting fuel for their fires and keeping cows in Needwood (even though they have no right there), and so as a consequence they will become a heavy charge on their respective parishes
5 much land will be wasted in making highways and ditches around the many small inclosures, for which much timber will be needed for fencing and gates
6 many of the inclosures will lack water and so be useless for keeping cows and cattle on, especially for the poorer sort

51 Tringham, 'Needwood forest surveys', 35 (Table 5).

52 For protracted resistance to the Bernwood inclosure see J. Broad and R. Hoyle (eds), *Bernwood: the Life and Afterlife of a Forest* (Harris Paper Two, University of Central Lancashire, 1997), 61–3, 70–2. 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.

53 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).

54 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).

7 some allotments will be full of gorse and furze and not be worth the cost of preparing it for stock, and so the poorer sort (if it falls to them) will not benefit
8 all the claimants undoubtedly have right of common in the new park inclosed by the late king [i.e. New park]; this was done with their consent so that they might be less oppressed by deer [feeding] in the common lands, and on the understanding that fewer deer would be kept in the chase; the State has recently sold the park but given no compensation to the commoners
9 when Uttoxeter ward was inclosed by the late king, [it was not done by agreement and] the commoners were forced, 'as many persons of quality now living can testify', to accept a moiety by 'terror of prerogative ... and threats of imprisonment'; moreover, there were not many people amongst whom the land was to be divided, and [indeed] it has not been quietly enjoyed to this day
10 many townships consist only of arable, and [if compensated so poorly in Needwood] they will be straitened in keeping their teams to till and plough their lands and may be forced to lay down their tillage [to pasture] and so be unable to pay taxes and support their families
11 it is believed that there is no forest or chase in England that has such ancient grants of commons and privileges, by which they have enjoyed not only their liberties but also their houses, lands, and inheritances under the laws of this nation for 400 years, and they doubt not that they would still enjoy them, except in the case of a just compensation agreeable to law and equity as provided for in the instructions to the commissioners. Woodhouse Green etc. Estovers to the 4th rector etc.[55]
12 a rent and service is paid and expected [for the common rights in the forest] to this day

In addition to these specific objections, there survives a separate account of 'Answers' to the commissioners' reasons for disallowing certain charters, either in whole or in part.[56] This response, which was presumably sent to the Committee of Appeal, along with the objections detailed above, during the winter or early spring of 1658, refers to some 30 charters which the commissioners had disallowed. Fewer than half of them had been viewed when the forest was surveyed in 1650, the new ones evidently being presented after the commission to disafforest Needwood had been set up. Indeed, claimants were still coming forward: a charter belonging to Charles Agard as heir to the recently-deceased Walter Agard was 'now in our [the objectors'] Hands and ready to be produced'.[57] A few of the disallowed charters related to Uttoxeter ward and the commoners agreed that they were not valid,[58] but strong arguments were made in favour of the others, often by citation of legal precedents.[59] Moreover, some charters had been confirmed by the court of the duchy of Lancaster and 'we dare not presume to be wiser than those grave and learned Judges of the Court that have allowed them in the strictest time of prerogative'.[60]

No associated correspondence concerning the objectors' appeal appears to have survived, and for an account of what happened next it is necessary to rely on the commissioners' response of May 1658 to the Committee of Appeal.[61] 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. (and to include 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 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 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 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

55 These final phrases indicate that the copy is not a full transcript of the original objections.
56 SRO, D. (W.) 1721/3/256, pp. 101–25 (odd-numbered pages only).
57 Ibid. p. 119.
58 Ibid. p. 109.
59 Ibid. pp. 107, 111, 119.
60 Ibid. p. 105.
61 Ibid. pp. 133–41 (odd-numbered pages only).

unreasonable to compensate the commoners in that regard. Indeed, by their depredations it could be argued that they had exhausted their claims, the amercements levied by forest courts being merely a fifth of the value of the wood that had been lost. It also seems likely that much poaching had been going on, as when the deer were surveyed in 1659 there were only 250 fallow, most of them hinds.[62] Moreover, 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 5*s*., 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 at present enjoyed.

The commissioners also commented that in denying that Needwood was a forest (rather than a chase) the commoners were being illogical, as when the sale of former royal lands was authorised for sale in 1649 Needwood was reserved precisely because it was considered to be a forest, and in conclusion they reminded the Committee of Appeal of the trouble and expense which they [the commissioners] would have been spared if the commoners had not been so unreasonable. The Committee duly 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.[63] His task 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, Tutbury, and Yoxall wards,[64] and two ward lodges: Barton and Byrkley.[65] The three commissioners also in April 1659 submitted a survey of 'rents and royalties' and of 'rent hens' that were customarily paid by the commoners.[66] The rents and royalties were small annual payments by a few men perhaps for particular parcels of land, but also of between 1*s*. and 2*s*. by the inhabitants of some of the townships surrounding the forest (Dunstall, Hampstall Ridware, Marchington, Stubby Lane, Tatenhill, and Yoxall), presumably for collective rights in the forest.[67] The hen rents were for 'woodhens' (female woodcocks), paid by 340 copyholders in several townships or hamlets: Barton-under-Needwood (59); Draycott (10), with Coton (6) and Stubby Lane (8); Dunstall (24); Fauld (5); Hanbury (27); Rolleston (32), with Anslow (26); Scropton (28); Tatenhill (22); and Yoxall (64), along with Morrey Woodhouses (10) and Yoxall Woodhouses (19).[68] Each copyholder owed one 'woodhen' (valued by the commissioners at 4*d*.) as an 'ancient custom' for interest in the forest, a kind of payment perhaps originating as a symbolic gesture.

OPPOSITION TO INCLOSURE PROCESS

As already noted, when the inclosure commissioners first came to Needwood early in 1657 they met with local opposition, and in May they requested the assistance of 'a dozen or fourteen horses [i.e. mounted soldiers], without the protection of whom they could not carry out their survey'.[69] George Sargeant had reported 'continual depredations', no doubt in the form of harassment and obstruction as had happened when Duffield Frith (Derbs.) was inclosed in the 1630s, many of the activists there being women.[70] This low-level resistance probably became more heightened once the laying of stakes and fences for actual inclosure was under way by the autumn of 1658,[71] and some detail regarding the form of resistance survives in the records of the Quarter Sessions: namely, depositions made before three JPs (Richard Floyer, Henry Stone, and Zachary Babington) sitting at

62 TNA, E 317/Staffs/34.
63 For details see Tringham, 'Needwood forest surveys'.
64 TNA, E 317/Staffs/14.
65 Ibid. E 317/Staffs/25–6.
66 This survives in an 18th-century copy: BL, Add. MS 34688, ff. 64–80.
67 The commissioners themselves did not know on what account the rents were paid, and the absence of other forest townships may be the result of lack of information.
68 Other places did not supply figures.
69 TNA, SP 18/155, no. 18 (cited in S. Bendall, 'Mapping the English forests: Needwood, 1598–1834', in E. Baigent and R. J. Mayhew (eds), *English geographies, 1600–1950: historical essays on English customs, cultures and communities in honour of Jack Langton* (2009), 23–38).
70 Falvey, 'Marking the boundaries', *Agricultural History Review*, 61/1 (2013), 10–15.
71 *Cal. SP Domestic 1658–69,* 152, 312.

Alrewas (a village a couple of miles south of Needwood towards Lichfield) on 17 and 18 March 1659[72] and again on 21 and 22 March,[73] and individual examinations of particular witnesses made shortly after Easter on 5 and 6 April, also at Alrewas.[74] These depositions, however, are those made by witnesses called by the JPs rather than the accused themselves, which if made no longer survive.

The March depositions refer to either 40 or 50 persons or as many as 100 or 200 having gathered in the forest,[75] many armed with cudgels, staffs, and pitchforks and the leaders with carbines, guns, and pistols, intent on destroying stakes which had been erected on the orders of a Captain Backhouse (or 'Bacchus').[76] The fencing was evidently underway at the time, as some workmen were physically beaten, including George Harding who was left for dead having been attacked with a pitchfork until the forks 'flew out': an example of personal violence that is somewhat unusual for inclosure riots of this period.[77] Two workmen were intimidated by gangs to reveal where they had been at work, and threats were made to pull down their houses if they did not co-operate. Of the named leaders, a few came from Barton-under-Needwood but most from Yoxall and Hoar Cross, notably Abraham Abberley and George Ilsley: the former was identified as having been a drummer in Queen Henrietta Maria's army when it attacked the parliamentary garrison at Burton-upon-Trent in July 1643,[78] whilst the latter may have been related to the owner of the small freehold High-Hall-Hill estate in Yoxall.[79] Both Abberley and Ilsley were part of a 30-strong gang which one deponent, Edward Burne of Wychnor, said had met at Widow Hill's at Hoar Cross: this was almost certainly an alehouse, and highlights how such places were used for meetings of this kind.[80] Burne had heard that the men had been into the forest 'to seek their rights' and that Abberley said that he would speak to 'some of the heads of the Country' in order to gather 'a purse of money' to pay for Ilsley to go to Sherwood forest to find out what had happened there;[81] Ilsley was willing to go and, if paid, would find a horse. After the encounter Burne spent the night in the forest (possibly at the alehouse) and next day he saw Abberley and another man walking there, each with a gun.[82]

The later examinations of individual witnesses after Easter produced more detailed information. A gentleman named Henry Byard reported that on Maundy Thursday a Barton-under-Needwood butcher, Samuel Chandler, had told him that 'Lichfield' would send 140 armed men to assist the Needwood commoners 'at 2 hours warning if they had need',[83] and a Barton gentlemen, William Holland the younger, disclosed that he had heard William Harding of Barton say that a company of Moorlanders (from the north of the county) would send help if 'the soldiers' opposed the commoners.[84] Another witness, Thomas Birde of Dunstall, stated that about a fortnight ago he had met George Ilsley at an alehouse in Dunstall hamlet and that Ilsley had told him that there had been a skirmish that very day. Birde's response was that Ilsley need not be so 'hot' [*whotte*; i.e. so agitated about inclosure] because he had 'not so much common in Needwood as will keep a goose'. Ilsley exploded: 'Thou art a Rogue in heart (*harte*), And if my Lord Protector seek my ruination (*ruinat[i]on*) I will seek his Ruination (*Ruynac[i]*on)'.[85] Another drinking establishment, the Falcon inn in Yoxall village, had been the venue of a discussion on 19 March between Walter Feris of Yoxall[86] and Thomas Foden (or Fooden) of Tipton. Feris had asked where 'the Captains' were, meaning Backhouse and his colleagues, and was told that they were at Lichfield and that the workmen had gone home.[87]

72 SRO, Q/SR/306/43.
73 Ibid. Q/SR/306/44 and 46.
74 Ibid. Q/SR/306/45, 47–8, 50–2.
75 One deponent (Q/SR/306/44) gave 400 or 500 persons.
76 Possibly Peter Backhouse of Doxey (near Stafford), who in the 1640s had been in charge of a small parliamentary garrison at Wrottesley in south-west Staffordshire: I. Carr and I. Atherton (eds), *The Civil War in Staffordshire in the Spring of 1646: Sir William Brereton's Letter Book, April–May 1646* (Staffordshire Record Society, 4th series, XXI, 2007), 189 note 1.
77 A.Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popoular Politics in Early Modern England* (2002), 91.
78 SRO, Q/SR/306/52; *VCH Staffs*. IX, 11. Abberley's name appears as third on the Hoar Cross list of petitioners in 1655.
79 *VCH Staffs*. X, 288.
80 For other examples of alehouse meetings see below, next paragraph.
81 Raising a 'common purse' was something that authorities had tried to prove in cases regarding riots heard in Star Chamber. (Dr Falvey is thanked for this comment.)
82 SRO, Q/SR/306/46.
83 Ibid. Q/SR/306/45.
84 Ibid. Q/SR/306/45 and 51. Some years earlier in 1643 a gang of Moorlanders – a 'great rabble' of clubmen – had descended on Stafford to confront the arch-Royalist Sir Francis Wortley: A. Hopper, 'The Wortley Park poachers and the outbreak of the Englich Civil War', *Northern History*, XLIV/2 (2007), 108, 100.
85 SRO, Q/SR/306/48.
86 Named as Walter Ferrers in the 1655 petition [p. 130].
87 The term 'captain' was also used, ironically, for riot leaders, as 'Captain Pouch': S. Hindle, 'Imagining Insurrection in Seventeenth-Century England: Representations of the Midland Rising of 1607', *History Workshop Journal*, 66 (2008), 21–61.

Finally, a husbandman named Thomas Biddull who was from Curborough near Lichfield and was Zachary Babington's servant,[88] reported that on Lady Day (25 March) he had met one of the ring-leaders, Abraham Abberley, at Burton-upon-Trent fair, once more in an alehouse. Abberley confirmed that he was amongst those who had recently thrown down inclosures in Needwood and that 'as long as he had life [he] would be there in defence of his commons' and would 'knock down the first man of his party that should run away'. He reminded Biddull that both Babington and another JP, Daniel Watson, a Burton lawyer, had been given a great deal of money by the Country and directed him (Biddull) to acquaint Babington of this fact; if he and Watson did not give an account of the money, then 'we will come to their houses and pull them out by their ears'.[89]

The activists named in the Quarter Sessions documents came mainly from Barton and Yoxall, but there may have been other depositions and witness statements (now lost) that would have indicated more widespread opposition. The named ring-leaders were the kind of small landholders who had much to loose, although perhaps less so the mass of cottagers, whose large number is indicated by the long list of Marchington and Marchington Woodlands in the 1655 petition. Their appeal to customary rights was a means of articulating a vision of the proper ordering of society, which in the case of Ilsley's retort regarding the Lord Protector strayed into an engagement with national politics.[90] It was the likes of Zachary Babington, however, and his fellow gentry who were the 'brains' behind the defence of local custom.

AFTERMATH

Quite how long resistance was maintained, and how far Captain Backhouse and his colleagues were able to continue their work is unknown. The whole enterprise may have ground to a halt during the summer of 1659 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. In 1685 Charles II agreed to sell it to Col. Edward Vernon, 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.

88 The Babington family had been settled at what is now Curborough Hall Farm since the early 17th century: *VCH Staffs*. XIV: *Lichfield* (1990), 233.

89 SRO, Q/SR/306/52.

90 The 'vocabulary of national politics' as used in local disputes (albeit by supporters of the republic) is the theme of I. Peck, 'Collaborators not Cavaliers: popular politics in the northern counties of England, 1647–59', *Northern History*, L/1 (2013), 39–53.

CHINESE TEA, TURKISH COFFEE, AND SCOTTISH TOBACCO: IMAGE AND MEANING IN UTTOXETER'S POOR LAW VOUCHERS

PETER COLLINGE

ABSTRACT

Bills and receipts have the capacity to reveal far more than simply what goods a person bought and the prices paid for them, particularly if they contain visual images about the location of premises and the origin of the products sold. When this happens they can bring to light information about the reputation and status of the business owner, the type of customer they were hoping to attract, and the networks and credit systems within which they operated.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1820s and '30s what did those in receipt of parish poor relief eat and drink? This seemingly straightforward question is coloured by Oliver Twist's servings of gruel, and by Mr Bumble's exchange with Mrs Sowerberry following Oliver's attack on Noah Claypole: 'It's not madness madam … It's meat … You've overfed him.'[1] The implication is clear: beyond gruel and bread, meat and more exotic items were unknown in the diets of the parish poor. This enduring image of the near-starving workhouse inmate, deployed by Charles Dickens as part of his opposition to the New Poor Law, tends to dominate our consciousness of workhouses, but it relates to the period after the introduction of the law in 1834 and the construction of larger-scale Union workhouses. It is important, therefore, to separate the *Oliver Twist* mythology and opprobrium attached to these later workhouses from their earlier incarnations about which far less is known, especially in terms of what inmates consumed on a regular basis.[2] Much of what is known about dietary habits in these institutions is based on totals in overseers' accounts rather than on itemised bills. Given that workhouses required relentless supplies, it is perhaps surprising that relatively little research has been conducted about the lives and businesses of those who catered to the needs of the Poor Law.[3] Doing so would offer an alternative route into retailing history as well as deepening our understanding of workhouse diets. To address these issues Keele University and Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service have initiated a joint project to integrate largely untouched, yet substantial and cumulatively rich collections of Poor Law vouchers held in county archives into established historical methodologies and historiographies. The vouchers are starting points for research into the personal histories of people involved in the poor relief system, but details of goods, services, and prices also reveal how local topographies, agriculture, industries, and communications integrated with the Old Poor Law before 1834. This article explores one aspect of this project. Analysing three vouchers from Uttoxeter workhouse, Staffordshire, and setting them within a wider framework relating to consumption and advertising history, it calls attention to the variety of consumables supplied by the town's grocers, and to the images the business proprietors wished to project to their customers about quality, reputation, and status.

THE STAFFORDSHIRE POOR LAW VOUCHERS PROJECT

Poor Law vouchers is a generic term for an extremely diverse range of sources consisting primarily of bills and receipts, but also including notes, letters, legal instructions, and accounts. Their

1 Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist* (London: 1836; Ware, Hertfordshire, 1992), 12, 13, 42.

2 There are some important studies on workhouses under the Old Poor Law but Tomkins notes that few attempt to analyse workhouse diets beyond the dietary and that these should be regarded as statements of intent rather than actual evidence of practice: Alannah Tomkins, *The Experience of Urban Poverty, 1723–1782: Parish Charity and Credit* (2006), especially Chapter 2, 'Life in Urban Workhouses', 36–78. Taylor deals with how pre-1834 workhouses were organised, but the subject of inmates' diets received little attention: J. S. Taylor, 'The unreformed workhouse 1776–1834', in E. W. Martin (ed.), *Comparative Developments in Social Welfare* (1972), 57–84. See also, Tim Hitchcock, 'The English Workhouse, a study in institutional poor relief in selected counties, 1695–1750', (DPhil, Oxford, 1985).

3 The accounts for St Martin's-in-the-Fields workhouse, London, for example, do not specify the type of groceries purchased: Jeremy Boulton and Romola Davenport, 'Food, Drink and Diet in the Georgian Workhouse: St Martin's-in-the-Fields, 1725–1830', paper given on 13 July 2013 at the 82nd Anglo-American Conference of Historians, Senate House, London.

survival offers a hitherto unexplored route to people who in other respects have left little in the way of personal or business papers. For the most part, the people named in the vouchers were not the recipients of poor relief (whose lives have been traced through overseers' accounts and correspondence), but tradesmen, service providers, and parish officials. These people were not in the main impoverished so by turning the focus onto them, not only are lives uncovered but so too are previously unknown networks and supply chains under the Old Poor Law. Like most historical sources, however, the Poor Law vouchers were not created with researchers in mind, and inevitably are not without their problems as a means of uncovering past lives, networks, and events. Their survival across the country, within regions, and at county level, is haphazard. Even where they do exist, there is no way of telling whether they form a complete body for any given period, or in the absence of parish accounts whether what does survive is fully representative of expenditure on the Poor Law in a particular parish. These factors are compounded by the huge variety of vouchers, the differing amount of detail that each contains, and their fragmentary nature. Despite these caveats, however, they offer researchers enormous potential.

The Staffordshire Poor Law Vouchers Project is drawing on the experience and willingness of a dedicated group of volunteers to catalogue and record systematically the details of over 3,000 vouchers that passed through the hands of Uttoxeter's overseers in the opening decades of the 19th century. Considering the variety and varying level of detail contained within the vouchers this is no mean feat, and both Keele University and Staffordshire Record Office are indebted to the volunteers in making such an enormous undertaking stimulating, enlightening, and manageable. The knowledge, research and genealogical skills of the volunteers are also being utilised to create online biographies (https://staffspoorlawbiographies.wordpress.com) of those shopkeepers, traders, service providers, and parish officials whose collective efforts enabled the Poor Law to function on a day-to-day basis.

What is already apparent is that given a sufficient number of vouchers over a number of years researchers will be able to address economic and administrative questions about family, business, local, and community history that have so far eluded systematic enquiry. In a by no means exhaustive list: To what extent did poor-law practice shape, or become shaped by, local economies and the availability of raw materials, or the geographic distribution of particular trades, occupations, or services? Did 'jobbery', that is the sharing out of roles, responsibilities and contracts amongst a tightly-knit group of known associates exist within the Poor Law system, and, if so, what was its extent and its impact? What was the geographic reach of those who supplied the Old Poor Law? Were goods and service providers dealing with just one workhouse or several? As many suppliers were not regular advertisers in newspapers and may appear only once or twice in trade directories, the vouchers also have the capacity to reveal the length of association such people had with the Poor Law and provide an indication of how much of their businesses were sustained by that link. Moreover, analysis of these vouchers offers the potential for researchers to determine the minimum duration of many businesses and challenge perceptions that most small businesses in this period were short-lived and contributed little to England's developing economy.[4]

UTTOXETER AND ITS WORKHOUSE *c*. 1830

Uttoxeter was a place typical of many moderately prosperous provincial towns in the first half of the 19th century. A number of streets leading from the Market Place were lined with well-stocked shops and substantial houses. Aside from the parish church, residents could worship at the Friends' Meeting House, Wesleyan and Independent Methodist chapels, or in the Catholic prayer room. Charitable trusts and subscriptions provided alms houses and a school.[5] Its population of 4,684 in 1831 could find employment in a diverse range of trades: malting and brewing, tanning, rope-making, timber, wool, nail-making, cheese production, and banking. This productive population was proverbially 'unmigratory' and long-lived.[6] Alongside nine other grocers and tea dealers in Uttoxeter,

4 Geoffrey Jones and Mary Rose, 'Family Capitalism', *Business History,* 35:4 (1993), 1, 6; Craig Young, 'The Economic Characteristics of Small Craft Businesses in Rural Lowland Perthshire, *c*. 1830–*c*. 1900', *Business History,* 36:4 (1994), 33; Maxine Berg, 'Small Producer Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century England', *Business History,* 35:1 (1993), 23; Stana Nenadic, 'The Small Family Firm in Victorian Britain', *Business History,* 35:4 (1993), 89–93; Julian Hoppitt, *Risk and Failure in English Business 1700–1800* (1987), 42–55, 122–39.

5 William White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Staffordshire and of the City of Lichfield* (1834), 761–4.

6 F. Redfern, *History of the Town of Uttoxeter* (1865), 241.

White's 1834 directory for Staffordshire lists the businesses of Ralph Bagshaw and Sons, Thomas Brindley, and John Shaw.[7] Their vouchers form the core of this article.

In 1776 England had around 2,000 workhouses. In comparison to the later Union workhouses they were small, each housing in the region of 20 to 50 inmates.[8] They are also commonly believed to have been inefficient and expensive to maintain. As a result of Gilbert's Act of 1782 parishes could join together to construct workhouses for those classed as infirm, aged, or impotent, and unable to support themselves through their own labour. All others in receipt of benefits were to be provided with outdoor relief and local employment.[9] The parish of Uttoxeter followed this practice. In 1789 a new workhouse was constructed containing a kitchen, pantry, dining room, workshop, lying-in room, 'Barnes' room' (possibly the master's room), brewhouse, and eleven dormitories. There was also a productive brickyard and a garden extending to one and a half acres in which parish paupers were employed.[10] In 1831 the workhouse provided accommodation for 44 inmates: 18 men, 13 women, 8 boys and 5 girls. Although it was not usual for workhouse populations at this time to be dominated by men, a closer look at the figures reveals that eight of them were classed as labourers and scavengers, six as infirm, and two, in the terminology of the time, as idiots.[11]

THREE GROCERS

John Shaw (*c*. 1791–1846) of Carter Street was primarily a grocer, tea dealer, and tobacconist with a subsidiary interest in the manufacture of sewing cotton and linen thread; the latter probably in association with linen and cotton manufacturer Robert Shaw of Sheep Market. His role as a supplier to the workhouse may have come through Job Shaw, governor of the Uttoxeter house of industry.[12] Although John Shaw is listed in the 1818 trade directory, there is no reference to him being paid for grocery goods supplied to the workhouse in the parish bills of the 1820s. Shaw shared his Carter Street premises with his wife Jane, their four children and two servants.[13] Ralph Bagshaw (*c*. 1772–1841), his wife Mary and their children all lived in High Street. Two sons Edward and Thomas had joined their father in business by 1827, as did an Elizabeth Bagshaw (possibly Edward's wife) who signed the overseers' receipts.[14] A third son Ralph became a solicitor. Bagshaw himself was supplying grocery goods to the parish overseers from at least 1821–2 when he received payments totalling just over £18, around one third of the parish's grocery expenditure. Within two years, however, his payments had declined to fractionally less than £6, or under ten per cent the overseers' annual spending on groceries.[15] In the period 1825–9 Bagshaw's payments from the overseers never exceeded £10 in any given year, but he continued to supply groceries to the workhouse until at least February 1834.[16] Thomas Brindley (born *c*. 1790) is not listed in Parson and Bradshaw's 1818 directory, but appears alongside Shaw and Bagshaw in White's 1834 directory as a grocer, tea dealer, and seedsman.[17] It is not clear at present why he began to supply the workhouse in the 1830s when there were grocery businesses of much longer standing that were not utilised. In 1851 Brindley was living in High Street with his wife Mary Ann and their five children.[18]

7 There were also 18 people listed as shopkeepers, most of whom were likely to have been petty grocers and provision dealers: White, *Directory of Staffordshire,* 768.

8 Taylor, 'Unreformed workhouse', 63.

9 Samantha Shave, 'The Welfare of the Vulnerable in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth Centuries: Gilbert's Act of 1782', *History in Focus, 14: Welfare* (Institute of Historical Research, October 2008), www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/welfare/articles/shaves.html accessed 07/07/2016.

10 William Salt Library, Stafford, 3/1–4/00, An Inventory of the Goods in Uttoxeter Workhouse, 9 August 1794; White, *Directory of Staffordshire,* 763.

11 Staffordshire Record Office [SRO], D3891/6/35/5/9, Uttoxeter Overseers' General Statement of Account from 26 March 1830 to 25 March 1831. From the late 18th century indoor relief was uncommon for the able bodied: Taylor, 'Unreformed workhouse', 64.

12 'House of industry' was a term often interchangeable with 'workhouse' or 'poorhouse'. Tomkins, *Experience of Urban Poverty,* 36–78; W. Parson and T. Bradshaw, *Staffordshire General and Commercial Directory presenting an Alphabetical Arrangement of the Names and Residences of the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants and Inhabitants in Genera*l (1818), 265.

13 The National Archives [TNA], Census 1841, HO 107/1007/14.

14 SRO, D3891/6/34/2/9, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, R. Bagshaw and Sons, 21 May 1829; D3891/6/34/7/3, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, R. Bagshaw and Sons, 27 October 1829; TNA, 1851 Census, HO 107/2010.

15 SRO, D3891/6/8 Uttoxeter volume of parish bills, 1821–4; A. E. Tomkins, 'Ralph Bagshaw (*c*. 1772–1841)', https://staffspoorlawbiographies.wordpress.com/2016/09/06.

16 SRO, D3891/6/9 Uttoxeter volume of parish bills, 1825–9; D3891/6/40/11/12, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, R. Bagshaw and Sons, 27 February 1834.

17 White, *Directory of Staffordshire,* 768.

18 TNA, 1851 Census, HO 107/2010.

Grocers in the 1820s and '30s were not primarily purveyors of fresh fruit and vegetables. Instead, they sold imported goods such as coffee, sugar, chocolate and spices, tobacco, seeds, and household items.[19] The three grocers considered here carried broadly similar but, nevertheless, extensive stocks. Shaw was by no means unusual in providing the workhouse with soap, candles, loaf sugar, moist (unrefined or partially refined) sugar, mixed and Congou teas, tobacco, coffee, starch, blue, ginger, pepper, black lead, soda, treacle, mustard, rice, saltpetre, black pepper, whiting, currents, raisins, clove pepper, and nutmeg.[20] Through advertising Shaw, Bagshaw, and Brindley all sought to entice those with deeper pockets: the respectable, the fashionable, and those who aspired to be fashionable, by offering a taste of the exotic, and the opportunity to purchase refined products.[21]

By the mid 18th century newspapers were widely accepted as legitimate sites for the promotion of businesses, but many food retailers seem to have been reluctant to adopt this method until the middle of the 19th century.[22] This may have been because in some cases the stock was so commonplace and perishable, and the market so local (particularly in the case of meat supplies) that to advertise in newspapers was of limited value, or because newspaper advertising was expensive and still regarded in some quarters as vulgar.[23] A Uttoxeter butcher named William Summerland supplied substantial amounts of beef to the workhouse between 1821 and 1834, but in 1831, for example, he advertised just once in the *Staffordshire Advertiser*.[24] With few exceptions such as Jane Smith, whose 1812 advert for her Italian Warehouse in Derby listed more than 28 new items sourced from London, grocers and tea dealers tended not to advertise the arrival of new stock, but focused on changes in personal circumstances or requests for apprentices.[25] Consequently, grocers and tea dealers were not at the forefront of newspaper advertising.[26] Instead, they were more frequent users of trade cards, handbills, and bills with illustrated headings. The deployment of elaborate illustrations communicated far more than just the location of the shop and the name of its proprietor. Indeed, research by Stobart on 18th- and 19th-century advertising methods suggests a complex relationship between image and text and the messages grocers sought to convey to their customers about the provenance and authenticity of the goods stocked. More enticing than the long lists of grocery goods printed in local newspapers, illustrated trade cards, handbills, and bills situated both the supplier and the consumer in an active network of global trade in which Britain's empire was increasingly significant.[27]

Shaw's, Brindley's, and Bagshaw's hand-written bills provide evidence of grocery goods supplied to Uttoxeter workhouse but the accompanying printed images served to alert customers to the range of products on offer over and above those just purchased.[28] Nancy Cox has recently articulated the view that labels (to which letter-heads and bill-heads might also be added) have their 'own baggage of meaning'.[29] The use of an image and any associated writing were designed to remind the consumer of the distinctiveness and quality of the goods offered by a particular supplier, of the nature of the premises from which they were purchased, and of the type of service customers could expect.[30] Combining image and elaborate script Shaw's bill-head (fig. 1), for instance, indicated that he supplied fine Hyson tea, Turkey coffee, cocoa, tobacco, pickling vinegars, foreign fruits, fish sauces, and 'every description of eating and other oils, butters, hops, seeds'.[31] Brindley's bill-head (fig. 2)

19 Jon Stobart, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1630–1830* (2013), 24–6, 97.

20 SRO, D3891/6/42/75, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, John Shaw, 30 November 1835.

21 SRO, D3891/6/34/2/9, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, R. Bagshaw and Sons, 21 May 1829; D3891/6/42/75, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, John Shaw, 30 November 1835; D3891/6/45/9/1c, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, Thomas Brindley, 1–22 April 1837.

22 C. Y. Ferdinand, 'Selling it to the provinces: news and commerce around eighteenth-century Salisbury', in John Brewer, John and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1994), 398.

23 In 1800 small adverts in the *Derby Mercury* cost 3s. 6d.: *Derby Mercury,* 7 January 1800. The duty on newspaper adverts was raised from 2s. in 1776 to 3s. 6d. by 1815, reduced in 1833 to 1s. 6d. and abolished in 1853: Jeremy Black, *The English Press 1621–1861* (2001), 62–3, 165–6; Nicola Phillips, *Women in Business 1700–1850* (2006), 204.

24 For example, in April 1821 Summerland supplied the workhouse with 569 lbs of beef: SRO, D3891/6/8 Uttoxeter volume of parish bills, 1821–4. *Staffordshire Advertiser,* 5 February 1831.

25 *Derby Mercury*, 3 September 1812.

26 Stobart, *Sugar and Spice,* 168.

27 Stobart, *Sugar and Spice,* 165–89. See also, Bob Harris, 'Praising the middling sort? Social identity in eighteenth-century British newspapers', in Alan Kidd and David Nichols (eds), *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Diversity since the Eighteenth Century* (1998), 6–7.

28 Stobart, *Sugar and Spice*, 166–9.

29 Nancy Cox, *Retailing and the Language of Goods 1550–1820* (2016), 17.

30 Neil McKendrick, 'The Commercialisation of Fashion', in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-century England* (1982), 84.

31 SRO, D3891/6/42/75, Uttoxeter Overseers voucher, John Shaw, 30 November 1835. Descriptors such as 'Turkey' tended to be generic rather than denoting a product's actual place of origin: Stobart, *Sugar and Spice*, 71.

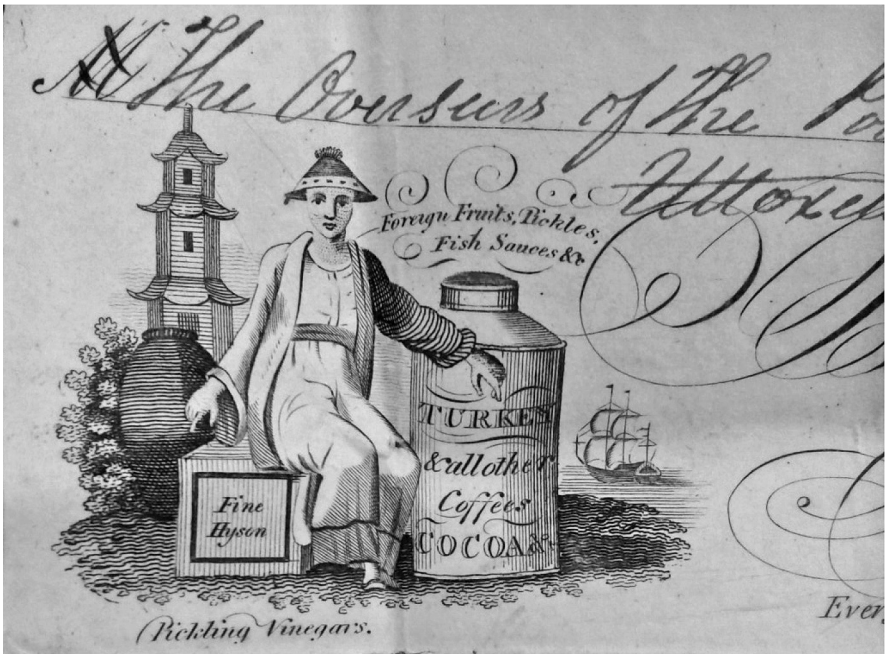


Fig. 1 Bill head of John Shaw, grocer and tea dealer, Uttoxeter, 1835 (SRO, D3891/6/42/75, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, John Shaw, 30 November 1835)



Fig. 2 Bill head of Thomas Brindley, grocer, tea dealer, and coffee roaster, Uttoxeter, 1837. (SRO, D3891/6/45/9/1c, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, Thomas Brindley, 1–22 April 1837)

announced a similarly diverse stock but also included 'teas, genuine as imported from China', raw and refined sugars, and 'Worcestershire, Kent and Sussex hops.[32] This itemisation of stock was a significant aspect of business promotion at a time of intensifying market competition and when the majority of purchases were consequent upon face-to-face contact. Indeed, as there was little to stop the unscrupulous supplier from making deliberately misleading claims, images and text helped the

32 D3891/6/45/9/1c, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, Thomas Brindley, 1–22 April 1837.

consumer to identify legitimate sources, trade routes, and the purity of the product by providing 'evidence' of their provenance.[33] It should come as no surprise, therefore, to see provincial shop owners such as Shaw, Brindley, and Bagshaw being adept at 'inundating their customers with specially printed trade cards, shop bills and individual advertisements of surprising ingenuity and imaginative quality'.[34] It may well have been through such devices that, despite a lack of variation in product range between individual suppliers, a multiplicity of grocery shops, provision dealers, and petty grocers co-existed even in small towns such as Uttoxeter.[35]

Shaw's and Brindley's bill-heads featured generic images of tea, coffee, cocoa, and tobacco, but as Mui and Mui point out, beyond the metropolis and the more substantial provincial towns, few grocers could rely solely on the provision of these goods to sustain their enterprises.[36] The prominence of such images in the bill-heads, however, is a reminder that these global, exotic products remained significant aspects of the grocery trade and were mechanisms through which individual grocers and tea dealers distinguished themselves from mere provision dealers.[37] Such was the significance of this association with the exotic that by the 19th century a distinguishing feature of the trade cards and handbills of grocers was their 'all but ubiquitous' illustrations of Chinese figures.[38] It was a device utilised by both Shaw and Brindley in the early 1830s and predates a significant shift in attitudes amongst Britain's population regarding China. Until the introduction of Indian tea in the later 1830s and subsequently tea from Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and Britain's clashes with China in the Opium Wars (1839–42 and 1856–60), such images drew on the familiar yet largely fictional nature of China's reputation amongst western traders and consumers. Knowledge of the country was largely limited to the coastal region around Canton from where tea was shipped; beyond this China was 'distant' and 'shadowy'.[39] Although both Thomas Short's *A Dissertation upon Tea* (1730) and John Lettsom's *Natural History of the Tea Tree* (1772) alleged that the Chinese were adulterating tea destined for European markets, Shaw's and Brindley's westernised 'Chinamen' carry none of the negative connotations that later came to be linked with the Chinese following the outbreak of the Opium Wars.[40] Instead, both figures are shown as benign and welcoming seated merchants with open, outstretched arms, with Shaw's having the additional distinction of smiling. With their flowing, exotic-looking 'eastern' sashed silk robes and bamboo dǒulì or rice hats, they represent an acceptable and familiar manifestation of otherness.

Fictional Chinese settings with ginger jars, tea chests, and in the Shaw example a pagoda (reminiscent of the one in Kew Gardens and therefore an outline familiar to many), coupled with the coastal location and ships, symbolised all things distant, whether or not China was the true origin of the goods. In this sense the printed bill-heads simultaneously inform and misinform.[41] Shaw's 'Chinaman', for instance, sits on a chest of Chinese Hyson tea, but his left hand is resting on a canister of Turkey coffee and cocoa, products not shipped from China. In an age of habitual food and drink adulteration, however, grocers frequently used such devices to reference the origin and provenance of products as indicators of their quality.[42] Turkish coffee was believed to be superior, whilst China tea came in a range of qualities from the cheapest and coarsest Bohea, through to the more refined and expensive Hyson, Congou, Souchon, Pekoe, and Gunpowder varieties.[43] This deliberate referencing of provenance and authenticity is also evident in Brindley's bill-head where the Chinese image is supplemented with the words 'teas direct from the East India Company'. The sealed packages, closed tea chests, and lidded canisters shown in both bill-heads combined with the text were designed to reassure Uttoxeter's residents further that the products were uncontaminated.

According to Stobart the trade card of Robert Kitton of Norwich showing a 'Chinese' tea dealer accompanied by a 'Scottish' tobacconist is a 'rare example of an imperial product being associated more directly with the place in which it was processed [Glasgow] rather than produced'.[44] A

33 Stobart, *Sugar and Spice*, 188–9.
34 McKendrick, 'Commercialisation of Fashion', 93.
35 Elizabeth Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh* (1996), 34.
36 Hoh Cheung Mui and Lorna Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England* (1989), 158.
37 Judith Flanders, *Consuming Passions: Leisure and Pleasure in Victorian Britain* (2006), 78.
38 Stobart, *Sugar and Spice,* 171.
39 Ros Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England 1662–1785* (2005), 206.
40 Judith L. Fisher, 'Tea and Food Adulteration, 1834–75' www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=judith-l-fisher-tea-and-food-adulteration-1834–75 accessed 26/07/2016.
41 Cox, *Retailing and the Language of Goods*, 104.
42 Ibid. 103–22.
43 Markham Ellis, *The Coffee House: a Cultural History* (2004), 126; Stobart, *Sugar and Spice,* 171, 178.
44 Stobart, *Sugar and Spice*, 174.

very similar combination, however, is shown in Brindley's bill-head with a Scot in Highland dress approximating tartan and feathered bonnet holding a snuff pouch surrounded by an extensive range of tobacco products including Havana and boxed cigars, fine returns tobacco, Scotch and fancy snuffs, and tobacco jars. The occurrence of similar east–west images in Norwich and Uttoxeter suggests that this was a more common advertising device with a readily understood message by consumers than has been acknowledged hitherto. At a time when the smuggling of tobacco was commonplace and Glasgow was a centre for the importation and processing of tobacco, the depiction of the snuff-taking, cigar-smoking Scot was a reminder to purchasers of the authenticity and legitimacy of the product. Drawing heavily on the romantic connotations of Scotland in the novels of Walter Scott, the tartan pageantry of George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, and David Wilkie's flattering portrait of the king in Highland dress exhibited in 1830, the unthreatening Scot is seated like his Chinese counterpart: a refined gentleman indulging in taking snuff rather than a Jacobite malcontent. The image may also have been about product displacement. Prior to the American War of Independence, common representations of tobacco included pipe-smoking Native Americans and black slaves on plantations.[45] With Britain's defeat, and the continuation of slavery in America after its abolition in the British Empire, the visual images deployed by Uttoxeter's suppliers to promote their goods entered a period of transition. Instead of reminding his customers where much of their tobacco came from and the circumstances under which it was produced, Brindley adopted a fanciful Scottish replacement representation. Other suppliers such as Lewis Hall and John Bennett used the Chinaman motif like Brindley and Shaw, but also continued to use images of pipe-smoking black men dressed in tobacco leaves.[46] With the Chinaman denoting the origin of many of the goods and the Scot the processing of tobacco, Brindley's figures sidestep potentially disconcerting or worrying portraits of the unfamiliar by conforming to a benign image of a well-regulated (and increasingly British) world.[47]

Ralph Bagshaw's bill-head (fig. 3) shows tea chests, barrels stamped prominently with his initials, a sugar loaf, and what look to be coffee and cocoa beans in open sacks, set in an oval frame surrounded by an elegant neo-classical swagged border of stylised cocoa beans and leaves.[48] Two men are actively engaged in trade. Before being loaded onto the ship docked in the harbour, a merchant (who may be Bagshaw or his representative) with an open ledger and quill is recording the goods brought for inspection by a sailor. In the background another ship has recently set sail. Similarly, Shaw's and Bagshaw's bill-heads have full-rigged sailing ships and/or junks, and dhows referencing the global networks of these provincial grocery shops. In contrast to Shaw's bill-head, however, Bagshaw's makes no reference in the text to teas imported via the East India Company, nor indeed as Brindley does to genuine China teas. Instead, the reference to an exotic, distant place is more subtle with a dhow out on the water bringing in further supplies. It has been suggested that in Shaw's and Bagshaw's images the presence of sealed packaged and canisters were there to give customers confidence in the uncontaminated nature of the goods, but the combination of the stamped barrels and the open sacks in Bagshaw's bill-head may be there to perform the same function through the deployment of different tactics. With open sacks the consumer can 'see' that the products are genuine. Furthermore, and although the reality was different, Bagshaw's initials on the barrels suggest that there was no middle-man between the place of origin of the products and the consumer other than Bagshaw himself, and that consequently the risk of adulteration and contamination was low.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In analysing the visual images of just three vouchers out of the thousands that are being catalogued the intention was to go further than to show what provincial grocers stocked. Whilst it is possible to speculate about the significance of images on bill-heads, their impact is more difficult to measure as it is not known how contemporaries regarded the images, or indeed whether such images were interpreted by all consumers in the same way.[49] At one level illustrated bill-heads performed

45 Ibid. 170, 174.

46 SRO, D3891/6/43/3/5, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, John Burdett, grocer, settled bill June 1835. Hall's bill carries a fictional composite image of a black slave/native American, but the accompanying text reads 'fancy and Scotch snuffs': D3891/6/43/9/1, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, Lewis Hall, grocer, settled bill 23 March 1836.

47 A. E. Tomkins, 'Advertising a global outlook', https://staffspoorlawbiographies.wordpress.com/2016/08/18

48 SRO, D3891/6/34/2/9, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, R. Bagshaw and Sons, grocer, settled bill, 21 May 1829.

49 Harris, 'Praising the middling sort', 12, 15–6; Black, *English Press*, 62.

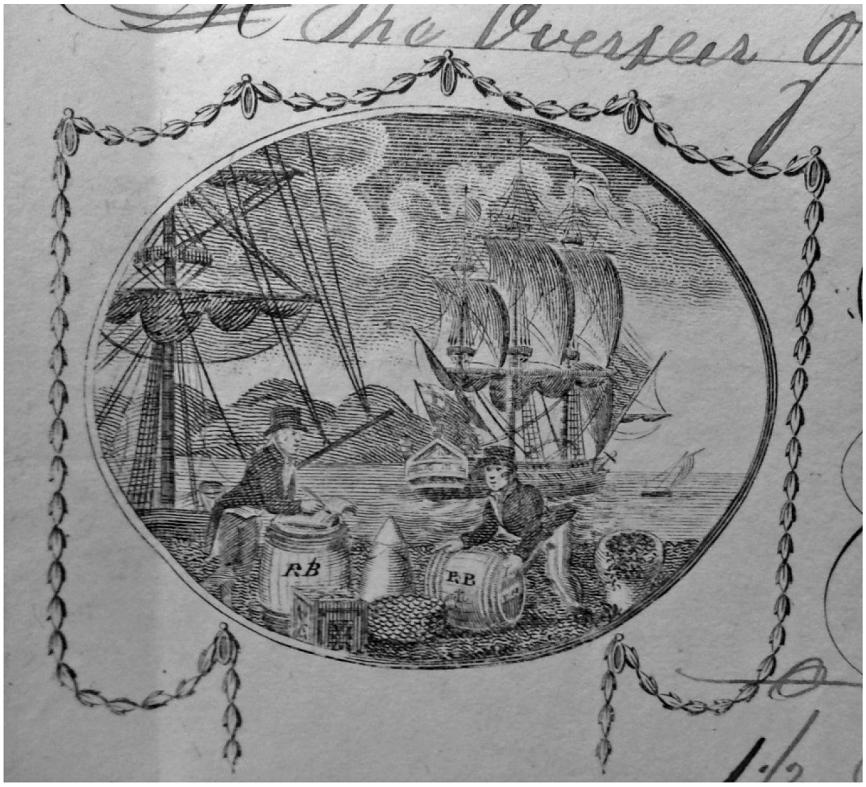


Fig. 3 Bill head of R. R. Bagshaw and Sons, grocer, Uttoxeter, 1829
SRO, D3891/6/34/2/9, Uttoxeter overseers' voucher, R. Bagshaw and Sons, grocer, settled bill, 21 May 1829

a prosaic function: they were there to increase sales of what, in many instances, amounted to little more than rolled, dried and/or powdered leaves, beans, and seeds. Arguably, like repeat newspaper adverts, bill-heads may have had a 'cumulative impact' on their recipients building up a sense of loyalty between local suppliers and their customers and helping the latter to identify with Britain's expanding imperial and global trading networks.[50] The illustrations and more particularly the itemised bills are also indicative of changing consumer habits. In the early 18th century exotic spices, such as pepper, cloves, nutmeg and cinnamon, were the preserve of the wealthy and their exoticism may have stimulated demand.[51] A century later the prices of these commodities had fallen to such an extent that what once were regarded as luxuries and novelties had permeated all sections of society.[52] Indeed, they had become such commonplace consumables that they were supplied to the inmates of Uttoxeter workhouse. Furthermore, the depictions of seas, ships, and faraway places utilised in all three bill-heads coupled with the purchases made by Uttoxeter's parish overseers provide an indication of the dependence of British consumers upon the importation of foreign foodstuffs in their everyday lives. In the case of tea, John Wills argues that 'exoticism never was very important' in stimulating demand. Rather, its popularity in Britain derived from its ready availability combined with an appreciation of its warming and nourishing values particularly when taken with milk and sugar.[53] Tea might well have become ubiquitous, but with the persistence of Chinese and later Indian images in the advertising of tea it is difficult to reconcile Wills' view that tea lacked exoticism, unless such images were an attempt to 're-exoticise' a commonplace product, or to demonstrate the provenance of goods when food and drink adulteration was widespread.[54]

The vouchers show what was available to the inhabitants of a small provincial town and clear evidence of grocers supplying goods to be consumed by the poorest section of the community, but

50 Harris, 'Praising the middling sort?', 10–11.
51 John E. Wills, 'European Consumption and Asian Production in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods,* 133.
52 On the democratisation of food, see Sidney Mintz, 'The changing roles of food in the study of consumption', in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods,* 263–7.
53 Wills, 'European Consumption and Asian Production', 133–4, 142.
54 Stobart, *Sugar and Spice*, 175.

how far illustrated bill-heads can be regarded as successful in attracting the upper ranks cannot be determined. Adverts placed by grocers in newspapers, however, frequently targeted the nobility, the gentry, the grocers' friends (meaning existing customers), as well as 'the public at large'.[55] A search of estate accounts may reveal some of these connections and help to determine the relative importance of the workhouse to the grocers' businesses. In particular it would provide an opportunity to compare the purchasing strategies of the overseers with more elite customers including the range and frequency of goods purchased and the time lag between orders being delivered and payments being received.

The majority of vouchers submitted to Uttoxeter's overseers are nothing more than scraps of paper, or pages torn from ledgers. Detailed listings of produce shed light on workhouse diets, but grocery bills can be analysed beyond goods and prices. Those with printed, illustrated headings are unusual. When they occur, however, they are useful in informing us about what grocers wanted to convey to their customers about their product range and the quality of goods on offer, and more elusively about their own status as respectable traders. At the same time the illustrations convey messages about trading networks and Britain's global reach in the early 19th century.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Dr Peter Collinge is currently engaged in post-doctoral research on the Staffordshire Poor Law Vouchers Project. Thanks are due to Professor Alannah Tomkins of Keele University for her comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ballaster, R. 2005 *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England 1662–1785* (Oxford)

Berg, M. 1993 'Small Producer Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century England', *Business History,* 35:1, pp. 17–39

Black, J. 2001 *The English Press 1621–1861* (Stroud)

Boulton, J. and Davenport, R. 2016 'Food, Drink and Diet in the Georgian Workhouse: St Martin's-in-the-Fields, 1725–1830', paper given on 13 July 2013 at the 82nd Anglo-American Conference of Historians, Senate House, London

Cox, N. 2016 *Retailing and the Language of Goods 1550–1820* (London)

Dickens, C. 1836 *Oliver Twist* (London)

Ellis, M. 2004 *The Coffee House, a Cultural History* (London)

Ferdinand, C. Y. 1994 'Selling it to the provinces: news and commerce around eighteenth-century Salisbury', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London), pp. 393–411

Fisher, J. L. 'Tea and Food Adulteration, 1834–75', www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=judith-l-fisher-tea-and-food-adulteration-1834–75

Flanders, J. 2006 *Consuming Passions: Leisure and Pleasure in Victorian Britain* (London)

Harris, R. 1998 'Praising the middling sort? Social identity in eighteenth-century British newspapers', in Alan Kidd and David Nichols (eds), *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Diversity since the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud), pp. 1–18

Hitchcock, T. 1985 'The English Workhouse, a study in institutional poor relief in selected counties, 1695–1750' (unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis)

Hoppitt, J. 1987 *Risk and Failure in English Business 1700–1800* (Cambridge)

Jones, G., and Rose, M. 1993 'Family Capitalism', *Business History,* 35:4, pp. 1–16

McKendrick, N. 1982 'The Commercialisation of Fashion', in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-century England* (London), pp. 34–99

55 See, for example, the adverts of Elizabeth Cowlishaw of Ashbourne, *Derby Mercury,* 20 May 1802, and of Jane Smith of Derby, *Derby Mercury,* 3 September 1812.

Mintz, S.	1994	'The changing roles of food in the study of consumption', in John Brewer, and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London), pp. 261–73
Mui, H. C. and Mui, L.	1989	*Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England* (London)
Nenadic, S.	1993	'The Small Family Firm in Victorian Britain', *Business History,* 35:4, pp. 86–114
Parson, W. and Bradshaw, T.	1818	*Staffordshire General and Commercial Directory presenting an Alphabetical Arrangement of the Names and Residences of the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants and Inhabitants in General* (Manchester)
Phillips, N.	2006	*Women in Business 1700–1850* (Woodbridge)
Sanderson, E.	1996	*Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh* (Basingstoke)
Redfern, F.	1865	*History of the Town of Uttoxeter* (London)
Shave, S.	2008	'The Welfare of the Vulnerable in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth Centuries: Gilbert's Act of 1782', *History in Focus 14: Welfare* (Institute of Historical Research), www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/welfare/articles/shaves.html
Stobart, J.	2013	*Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1630–1830* (Oxford)
Taylor, J. S.	1972	'The Unreformed Workhouse 1776–1834', in E. W. Martin (ed.), *Comparative Development in Social Welfare* (London), pp. 57–84
Tomkins, A.	2006	*The Experience of Urban Poverty, 1723–1782: Parish Charity and Credit* (Manchester)
White, W.	1834	*History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Staffordshire and of the City of Lichfield* (Sheffield)
Wills, J. E.	1994	'European Consumption and Asian Production in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London), pp. 133–47
Young, C.	1994	'The Economic Characteristics of Small Craft Businesses in Rural Lowland Perthshire, *c*. 1830–*c*. 1900', *Business History,* 36:4, pp. 33–52

JIM GOULD: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

compiled by BETTY FOX

James Tynan Gould (1918–2013) – or Jim Gould, as he preferred to be known – was a man with varied interests: local history, archaeology, and gardening. After leaving school he worked as a railway clerk, served in the navy during World War Two, and afterwards qualified as a history teacher. He taught in schools in Walsall and ended his career as deputy head of Perrycrofts School in Tamworth.

He lived in Aldridge all his life and his book, *Men of Aldridge,* published in 1957 with a second, enlarged edition in 1983 was of huge interest locally. He was very generous in his help and advice to other local historians. His passion for archaeology is shown by his direction of the dig at Wall from 1959 to 1966 and later work at Tamworth. While covering various periods of early history, his deepest interest was the Roman period, both at Rome and in Britain.

He was a founder member of the Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society, contributing many articles to the *Transactions*, and in 1966 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1981 Keele University recognised his importance as a local historian by bestowing an honorary Master of Arts degree.

Jim was also a very keen gardener, exhibiting at shows and often coming away with prizes. He was an early member of the Garden History Society and published articles in several gardening journals.

For reasons unknown, he was a supporter of Everton Football Club.

* * * * *

Aldridge, Rushall and Pelsall Yesterdays (with Richard D. Woodall and F. G. Lunt) [n.d. ? 1954]
Men of Aldridge (Bloxwich, 1957; revised and enlarge edition 1983)
'Flint implements from near Bourne Pool, Aldridge' (with P. W. Gathercole), *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, 74 (1958), 53–55
'Preliminary report on the excavation of the Roman Fort at Wall' (with F. H. Lyon), *Transactions of the Lichfield Archaeological & Historical Society*, II (1961), 31–37 + figs
'Loaches Banks, Bourne Pool, Aldridge', *TBAS*, 77 (1961), 40–42
'Section through the defences of the Roman Forts at Wall' (with H. Lyon), *TBAS*, 79 (1964), 11–23
'Excavations at Wall 1961–3 on the site of the early Roman Forts and the later Roman defences', *Transactions of the Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeological & Historical Society,* V (1964), 1– 49
'Letocetum: the name of the Roman settlement at Wall', *TLSSAHS,* V (1964), 51–54
'Excavations in advance of road construction between Shenstone and Wall', *TLSSAHS,* VI (1966), 1–19
'Little Aston Forge, 1574–1798' (with G. R. Morton), *Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute,* CVV (1967), 237–44
'Food, foresters, fines and felons: a history of Cannock Forest A.D. 1086–1300', *TLSSAHS,* VII (1968), 21–39
'Stone axe found at Shenstone', *TLSSAHS,* VII (1968), 40
'Excavations at Wall (1964–6) on the site of the Roman Forts', *TLSSAHS,* VIII (1968), 1–38
'First report of the excavations at Tamworth (1967): the Saxon defences', *TLSSAHS,* IX (1968), 17–29
'The "Golden Gospels" of the Royal Library of Stockholm, Sweden', *TLSSAHS,* IX (1968), 30
'Second report on the excavations at Tamworth (1968): Spital Chapel', *Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological & Historical Society,* X (1969), 23–31
'Third report on the excavations at Tamworth (1968): The western entrance to the Saxon Borough', *TSSAHS,* X (1969), 32–42
'Excavation of the 15th-century iron mill of Simon Montford at Bourne Pool, Aldridge', *TSSAHS,* XI (1971), 38–63
'Romano-British farming near Letocetum (Wall)', *TSSAHS,* XIII (1972), 1–8

'The medieval burgesses of Tamworth and their liberties, courts and markets', *TSSAHS,* XIII (1972), 17–42
'Letocetum, Christianity and Lichfield', *TSSAHS,* XIV (1973), 30–31
'Finds of medieval leather and pottery from near Minster Pool, Lichfield: the pottery', *TSSAHS,* XIV (1973), 51–53
'Charcoal burning at Canwell and Drayton Bassett', *TSSAHS,* XV (1974), 40–42
The early history of Tamworth and the lower Tame valley (Staffordshire County Council, Local History Source Book, L34; 1974)
'Excavation on the site of the old church at Shenstone and the identification of the Saxon stonework there' (with Dorothy Gould), *TSSAHS,* XV (1974), 43–49
'Lichfield Archaeology and Development', *West Midlands Rescue Archaeology Committee at Birmingham* (1976)
'St. Michael's churchyard, Lichfield: report of an excavation' (with Dorothy Gould), *TSSAHS*, XVI (1976), 58–61
'The Twelfth Century water supply to Lichfield Close', *The Antiquaries Journal,* LVI (1) (1976), 73–79
'St. Bartholomew's Church, Blore Ray', *TSSAHS,* XVII (1977), 89–90
'Observations at Aldridge Church (1974–5)', *TSSAHS,* XVIII (1977), 47–52
'Pre-Conquest finds made during the 19th century at Lichfield', *TSSAHS,* XVIII (1977), 53–58
'Saxon cathedra or 17th century niche in Lichfield cathedral?', *TSSAHS,* XVIII (1977), 69–72
'Sixteenth-century wills and inventories of the parish of Aldridge (Staffordshire)' [unpublished, n.d. but after 1977]
'Staffordshire history and archaeology in recent foreign publications – notes', *TSSAHS,* XIX (1979), 58
'Settlement and farming in the parish of Aldridge prior to 1650', *TSSAHS,* XX (1980), 41–56
'The Lichfield canal and the Wychnor ironworks', *TSSAHS,* XXIII (1983), 109–117
'Walsall in the beginning', *TSSAHS,* XXIV (1984), 1–7
'John Whiston: an appreciation', *TSSAHS,* XXIV (1984), 99–100
'Michael Hallett: an appreciation', *TSSAHS,* XXVI (1986), 83
'Saint Edith of Polesworth and Tamworth', *TSSAHS,* XXVII (1987), 35–38
'Old English *ād* and the Bounds of Barr', *Namn och Bygd,* LXXVII (1987), 82–89 (Årdång 75 Häfte 1–4)
'The Lichfield Florists', *Garden History,* 16 (1) (1988), 17–23
'Isaac Emerton, Thomas Hogg and their composts', *Garden History,* 17 (2) (1989), 181–187
'Queen Adelaide and the florists', *The Garden,* CXIV (1989), 225–227
'James Maddock and the Walworth Garden', *Garden History,* XIX (2) (1991), 155–162
'The Tuggys of Westminster', *Garden History,* XX (1) (1992), 83–85
'Lichfield before St. Chad', *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association Conference,* XIII (1993), 1–10
'Further thoughts on Letocetum', *TSSAHS,* XXXIII (1993), 1–3
'Caer Lwytgoed: its significance in early medieval documents', *TSSAHS,* XXXIII (1993), 7–10
'Lichfield ecclesiastical origins "In search of cult"', *Archaeological investigations in honour of Philip Rahtz,* ed. M. Carver (1993), 101–104
'Blue passion', *Penguin Book of Garden Writing,* ed. D. Wheeler (1996), 352–355
'Letocetum; a Vexillation Fortress?', *Britannica,* XXVIII (1997), 350–352
'Obituary notice for A. A. (Bert) Round, FSA', *Transactions of the Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society,* XXXVII (1998), 140
Letocetum – rise and decline of a Roman Posting Station (1998; 2nd edn, 2001)
'The Watling Street burgi', *Britannica,* XXX (1999), 185–197
'Lichfield and Richard II', *TSAHS,* XXXIX (2001), 16–21
'Boadicea – yet again', *The London Archaeologist,* X (2004), 300
'Marian heretics at Lichfield', *TSAHS,* XLI (2006), 62–64
'Letocetum: the defences', *TSAHS,* XLII (2008), 31–34

SUMMARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELDWORK IN STOKE-ON-TRENT IN 2016

JON GOODWIN

The year was characterised by a large number of small to medium projects, triggered by the redevelopment of brownfield sites or the conversion of historic buildings. A few larger developments necessitated archaeological mitigation, all of which involved former pottery production sites. A selection of projects chosen to illustrate the range of archaeological investigations undertaken in 2016 are presented below. Unless otherwise stated, all work was undertaken by Stoke-on-Trent Archaeology Service.

One of the most significant schemes of 2016 took place at the Spode pottery works in Stoke town centre. An evaluation programme was devised to investigate the relatively undeveloped eastern half of the site, with 19th- and 20th-century maps indicating various structures and features within this area, including two linked reservoirs that held waste water from the factory's steam engine. The southernmost of the two ponds appears to have been backfilled between the production of a factory plan of the 1854 and 1877 OS edition. This raised the prospect that waste sherds from the factory might have been used to fill the feature and, consequently, one of the evaluation trenches was positioned across its footprint to test this possibility. As hoped, the trench revealed an enormous deposit of waste sherds, which had seemingly been tipped into the pond and sealed with a layer of clay, not filling but certainly re-profiling the feature. Thousands of sherds were sampled from this horizon and could be tightly dated to the mid 1850s, having been produced on site during its ownership by William Taylor Copeland. This assemblage offered a fascinating and comprehensive cross-section of the factory's extensive repertoire during this period, which included all manner of plain and decorated earthenware and bone china tea, table, kitchen and toilet wares, alongside ornamental items such as Parian figures. The material also emphasised that the firm traded on a global scale, with examples of wares obviously destined for export. These included table wares printed with Arabic script destined for Indonesia and other Islamic markets. Although assessment of the finds has yet to be completed, it is likely that the assemblage will constitute an important resource for the study of this important local manufacturer and for 19th-century ceramics in general. In light of the evaluation results, it is likely that further investigations will take place on site in the near future.

A short distance from the Spode site, excavations also took place at the former earthenware factory of another notable local potter, Thomas Minton, who established the potworks in 1793. The project uncovered evidence of two of the factory's 19th-century brick-built kilns, both of which were traditional coal-fired, circular, up-draught-types. Further evidence for 19th- and 20th-century firing technology was identified at four other pottery sites within the city, including the former Wellington Works, just outside Burslem. Here, excavations revealed a circular up-draught kiln, constructed by 1880 as one of a pair of 'close-coupled' (i.e. each with a stack constructed directly on top of the firing chamber) examples enclosed within a rectangular building. The kiln contained seven ash pits, each denoting the position of one of the fire-mouths of the oven chamber. It had been repaired frequently during its active life and may even have been rebuilt entirely on at least one occasion. Sectioning revealed that the kiln had been built on a standard 'cork' foundation, which utilised sand, saggar fragments and pottery sherds as a barrier between the surrounding subsoil and the base of the oven. Similar kiln bases were also found during redevelopment works at the Highgate Works (Tunstall), the Victoria Pottery (Stoke), and the former Pearl Pottery (Hanley). This last site, which was recorded by Archaeological Research Services Ltd (ARS), also produced evidence of a possible post-Second World War, gas-fired rectangular 'muffle' or decorating kiln.

Away from the local pottery industry, the conversion of a handful of former chapels and churches was accompanied by historic building surveys. Trent Vale Methodist church, constructed in 1888 in Victorian Gothic Revival-style, served the local Wesleyan community until 2011. Despite later 20th-century additions, the building's internal layout remained largely unaltered during its time as a place of worship. The church featured a community hall on its western side that served as a temporary council school in the early 20th century. A second Methodist chapel, this time built by the Primitive Connexion in 1857, was recorded at Norton Green on the eastern edge of the city. Although Norton formed part of the Primitive Methodist's original Tunstall-centred circuit, it was almost 50 years before it was provided with a dedicated chapel in the form of a simple, single-roomed, double-height

hall. A larger, galleried hall was built on its eastern side in 1871, after which the original building served as a Sunday school. Worship subsequently took place within the new building and continued there until 2016. Although the interior underwent refurbishment in 1999, some fixtures and fittings, including commemorative plaques, survived, as did evidence of the building's historical development and simple spatial organisation.

A former Roman Catholic chapel, most recently used as a youth centre, was surveyed in Hanley. The building, originally known as St Mary and St Patrick's chapel, was built between 1857 and 1860, and constituted the first Catholic church to be established in Hanley after the Reformation. Its style was extremely simple, with sparse architectural embellishment rendered in Victorian Gothic Revival-style. The internal layout originally comprised an entrance porch, galleried hall and two small side rooms forming vestries or sacristies. It appears that the chapel was intended only to be a temporary focus for Catholic worship in the town, as even during its construction plans were already in motion to build a larger church elsewhere. Financial investment in St Mary and St Patrick's was, therefore, kept to a minimum, resulting a decidedly understated building. The new Church of the Sacred Heart was eventually opened on Jasper Street, Hanley, in 1891, after which St Mary and St Patrick's chapel saw only occasional use until its de-consecration and sale in 1940.

Historic building recording was also undertaken in advance of an Heritage Lottery Fund grant-funded refurbishment scheme at Hanley Park. All of the surveyed buildings were located within the main body of the park, which was opened in 1897, and included original elements such as the main pavilion and boat house.

In the Longton suburb of Dresden, ARS were appointed to undertake a watching brief during the redevelopment of a plot once occupied by a row of terraced properties, built around 1878 within the Longton Freehold Estate. This was one of several schemes within the Potteries that, in the wake of the 1832 Reform Act, sought to extend the franchise by allowing people to purchase 40-shilling freeholds. The Longton Freehold Society began in 1850 and developed the Dresden estate throughout the later 19th century with a combination of large villa-type properties and smaller terraced dwellings. The watching brief is not yet complete, but any information that it can provide about domestic life on the Freehold Estate will be of value and can be compared with evidence recovered from the excavation of more conventional dwellings elsewhere within Stoke-on-Trent.

Outside the development control sphere, Stoke-on-Trent City Council obtained grant funding from Historic England to refurbish the site of Hulton abbey, an early 13th-century Cistercian monastery located to the north-east of Hanley. The grant enabled the consolidation of exposed stonework and the provision of better signage and interpretation panels. The site works were accompanied by a project involving local school children, aimed at increasing the use of the abbey as an educational resource.

More detailed summaries of the sites mentioned here will be included in *West Midlands Archaeology*, published annually by the Council for British Archaeology, West Midlands, and full reports on some of them will be published in the Society's *Transactions* in due course.

REVIEWS

Tutbury: 'A Castle Firmly Built'. Archaeological and historical investigations at Tutbury Castle, Staffordshire. Birmingham Archaeology Monograph Series 11 by Malcolm Hislop, Mark Kincey, and Gareth Williams. pp xii + 293. BAR British Series 546, Archaeopress, 2011. £55.00. ISBN 978 1 4073 0855 5.

Tutbury castle will be familiar not only to those with an interest in the history of Staffordshire, but also for many whose interests embrace the wider region. Strikingly situated on a bluff overlooking the River Dove, Tutbury castle was established as the *caput* of a major Midland post-Conquest lordship in the 11th century, a function that it retained throughout the medieval period. In addition, the castle is celebrated for hosting a captive Mary, Queen of Scots, in the 1580s; it was used as a retreat for hunting by James I and Charles I and was held for the king during the Civil War, as a consequence of which it was besieged and subsequently slighted, to be followed by a house built in the mid 18th century.

This volume reports on the outcomes of a collaborative project involving Birmingham University, the British Museum and the Duchy of Lancaster carried out between 2004 and 2007, focused mainly on the castle itself but set within its wider archaeological context. The authors claim this as the 'most comprehensive account of the archaeology of Tutbury castle and its environs to date', the publication of which 'provides a baseline and direction for future research' (p. xi). This is a challenging statement that sets the tone for this review. The volume comprises sixteen chapters. Apart from the introduction, conclusion and a chapter which summarises the castle in its archaeological setting, two chapters deal with the history of the castle, two focus on the earthwork surveys and one on the architecture of the castle, while chapters 9 through to 15 discuss the results of geophysics and excavation, together with several specialist reports. There is also a chapter discussing the 'Tutbury Hoard', a collection of 1,489 silver pennies found in the River Dove in 1831 and thought to have been deposited around 1322.

The account given of the historical background owes much, inevitably, to three postgraduate theses that focused on the lordship of Tutbury, and has also benefited from a recently published volume of the *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*. Therefore the narrative history of the castle and honor is fairly well known and is outlined in this volume. The account traces the rise to prominence and the varied fortunes of the Ferrers lords, and the disaster brought to the family by Earl Robert III de Ferrers' headstrong actions at the time of the Barons' War, driven largely by his feud with the Prince Edward. Robert's downfall brought Tutbury into the possession of Prince Edmund and the house of Lancaster. The forfeiture of Tutbury to the crown followed the rebellion and execution of Earl Thomas by Edward II, but the family subsequently regained the castle and in 1351 Henry of Grosmont, lord of Tutbury, was created Duke of Lancaster. Tutbury, now a part of the duchy of Lancaster, was frequently visited by John of Gaunt, who initiated building works here and the minstrels' court. When Gaunt's son, Henry Bolingbroke, seized the throne as Henry IV, Tutbury remained in the duchy rather than being absorbed into crown property. Apart from its stud, dating back to the 14th century, the Tudors took less direct interest in the castle although it continued to serve as the administrative centre of a great lordship.

Despite this existing corpus of work, for the earlier history in particular, there are some points of concern and at times a lack of familiarity with the regional context into which Tutbury fits. The tenurial geography of the honor is a case in point. While uncritical reference is made to Charles Coulson's review of the 'territoriality' of castles (the missing bibliographic reference here is to C. Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society. Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages*. OUP, 2003), the theme is not convincingly taken up in relation to Tutbury. Yet, the tenurial history of the area is fundamental to an understanding of the formation of the honor and has been discussed elsewhere, contextualising Tutbury alongside neighbouring lordships. Partly built upon the preceding Anglo-Saxon tenurial pattern, there was also a remodelling that gave shape to these honors; from 'spheres of interest' they became the patrimonies that were transferred to the next generation of lordship, forming the very fabric of the geo-political, socio-political and socio-economic structures of the medieval west midlands. One consequence of this weakness in the account is that Tutbury is described as 'unusual' because of its concentrated group of estates (10): this is not so, being very much the west midland pattern; nor is there a discussion of the rationale

for such concentrations or an appreciation of *castellaria*. While the authors explain at the outset the constraints on their research, implicit in what is written is the fact that the honorial context cannot be disregarded; but this is not the strongest aspect of the Report, particularly with regard to both the pre-Conquest history of the area, and the lordship of Tutbury between the 11th and 13th centuries.

Within a few of generations of the Conquest, it is possible to see in Tutbury the emergence of a recognisable seigneurial landscape. In addition to the castle, these features included the borough present by 1086; a priory church established by the Ferrers in the shadow of the castle by 1100 (a foundation that was intended to fulfil family and honorial roles); a deer park; forest or chase; and the manor. These developments were important and deserve more consideration than they receive, particularly as they invite regional and wider comparisons with the likes of Dudley, Wigmore, and Castle Acre, among others. Comment is made, however, in discussion of a 'Little Park' (p. 60), of a landscape characterised as aesthetic and non-utilitarian, an interesting stance given the current review of notions around designed landscapes.

While the tactical advantages of the site are undeniable, some readers may feel that the authors are overly emphatic on 'strategic' explanations, perhaps in part arising from missing the wider context of regional developments in the wake of the rebellions and the creation of the midland lordships in 1070 and 1071. This strand of thought persists throughout the volume in the interpretation of the site.

The regional scene is again overlooked in discussion of the 13th century history of the castle. The description of Earl William II as excessively greedy (p. 15) fails to contextualise his actions alongside those of his neighbours in a period of changed economic conditions and a highly competitive society. The grant of free warren in 1251 by Henry III to Earl William III was clearly a sign of royal favour, but as a relatively commonplace privilege, of itself its significance should not be overstated (p. 92). William III certainly lacked the prominence that his father had enjoyed. The activities of Earl Robert III might also have been better illuminated if set into the wider regional context.

There are occasions where one wonders at the way in which primary sources are being interpreted. The notion that Earl Edwin was 'written out' of history (p. 10) has no realistic basis and the suggestion that the Domesday Book implies a 'planned town' at Tutbury (p. 88) is incautious and unsustainable; the establishment of Tutbury priory may post-date 1086, but the fact that it is not directly mentioned in Domesday Book is not diagnostic and cannot be treated as anything more than circumstantial evidence. Similarly, the assertion that the first stone castle was a status build by Robert following his creation as earl in 1138 (p. 89) is certainly plausible, but standing of itself it can remain no more than speculative assertion. To call on the *Gesta Stephani* to support the case is again an instance of over-interpretation. The fact that this source is silent on any damage to the castle arising from the siege of Tutbury should not be treated as direct evidence (p. 90). Similarly, while it is entirely possible that reference to the 'wondrous art' of the 'impregnably fortified' castle might suggest a stone castle, many will be familiar with the similar descriptions of sophisticated timber castles that might attract wondrous admiration from contemporaries. Indeed, there is some inconsistency in the Report on this point as it is later acknowledged that there is no reason to think that the Phase 2 castle (1070–1175) was anything other than timber (p. 276).

The historical account tends to be more sure-footed when discussing the 14th century and later, although there is perhaps a missed opportunity in that the discussion does not engage substantially with current revisionist debates on castles in the context of landscape and society. The discussion of Queen Mary's time at Tutbury and the condition of the castle is particularly detailed.

Almost as a 'cameo piece', the authors have rightly taken the opportunity to incorporate into the Report a useful discussion of the hoard of silver coins found by workmen in the River Dove in 1831, the largest coin hoard to be recorded on British soil. The majority of the hoard was quickly dispersed but the authors argue that it would be unsafe to necessarily discount claims of between 100,000 and 300,000 deposited coins, perhaps to be associated with three barrels of coin that were taken from the Castle and which subsequently vanished. The whereabouts of the surviving coins in public and private collections are traced and discussed, the authors concluding that these were indeed the coins lost in 1322.

The Report provides a comprehensive and well-illustrated review of the architecture of the standing buildings in the inner bailey, supported by details revealed through excavation on the site. The cylindrical donjon on the motte, dated to the late 12th or early 13th century, is discussed, together with the inner gatehouse, thought to represent the build of Thomas of Lancaster in 1313–14 although this cannot be certainly demonstrated. The reconstruction that commenced with John of Gaunt in

the 1390s represents the most visible phase in the castle, in the character of a great house seen as providing an architectural affirmation of the builder's status.

The curtain wall and the 15th-century north and south towers are described, both adding prestigious residential lodgings to those already present within the castle. Unfortunately the medieval hall of the south range is now known mainly from documentary sources, and the King's Lodging of 1634–36 was itself swept away later in the 17th century to be replaced by a new range on the same site, characterised as 'a provincial essay in the classical style' (p. 148). No traces now survive of the lodgings used by Queen Mary in the east range, or of the Receiver's Lodging.

The intriguing chapel was a freestanding building of collegiate proportions; the nave dates to the late 12th century but the chancel is structurally later. Chapels dedicated to St Mary and to St Peter are referred to at the castle, a point not further discussed although the reader is referred to Dr Tringham's explanation in the recent VCH account of Tutbury.

The real gem of this volume is the earthwork surveys, amply illustrated through relief drawings and lidar images. Indeed, the various plans and illustrations accompanying this and all other aspects of the Report are well selected and of good quality. The Project investigated the earthworks that survive including an interrupted series of banks and ditches, traditionally interpreted as the Park Pale of a medieval deer park. However, the arrangement of these earthworks and their relationship to the town has prompted a re-evaluation, leading to the conclusion that they represent a medieval town boundary with defensive characteristics, an interpretation consistent with some 15th-century documentary references. It is further argued that Tutbury was a planned town originating with the Norman Conquest and that therefore the boundary earthwork dates to the late 11th century, with the castle itself. However, surely this remains a matter for debate: the question of pre-Conquest origins cannot yet be entirely discounted, or alternatively the formalisation of an initial 11th-century foundation.

Our knowledge of the early castle is largely limited to the earthworks, with no other structural remains so far recorded. Earthwork surveys encompassed the motte and castle baileys, generating a complete record; although the relative phasing of the earthworks is still unclear, it is suggested that the motte and inner bailey were most probably the initial phase of construction, with a defensive rampart; there may be both an inner and outer ditch associated with the inner bailey rampart. The middle and outer baileys were either part of the original layout or added fairly soon afterwards to produce the three-bailey plan. It is unclear if the 'Park Pale' was part of the initial build in the 11th century or if it was added later. The main route into and through the castle also remains ambiguous, although the cleft between the outer and middle bailey may be part of it.

The results of the excavations are mixed. There are some useful summaries incorporated into the Report, including previous archaeological investigations on the site, running from 1913 up to 2004, and an account of work undertaken in town of Tutbury, including the discovery of a substantial feature thought to be part of former fishponds that may have provided a 'physical and psychological barrier between priory and town' (p. 36) and suggesting that the town was clearly demarcated from the castle and priory, not that this should really occasion surprise.

The earliest phases of human activity on the site are represented by mesolithic worked flints found in 2004 near the North Tower. During the 1980s Roman pottery sherds were found in the inner bailey and in 2007 a more substantial presence was revealed through the discovery of a multi-flued oven or kiln in the outer bailey. Thus the plateau of the outer bailey was in existence during the Roman period, although it was probably extended during the 11th to 12th centuries (p. 196). However, the frequent hypothesis of an Iron Age hill fort still cannot be directly substantiated.

Equally elusive are the Anglo-Saxon phases of the site. Suggestions that Tutbury was a *burh* are not yet demonstrated in the archaeology. There is an absence of stratified archaeological Anglo-Saxon material although sherds of 7th-century date might be associated with pre-Castle occupation, but the suggestion that there is sufficient in the archaeology to encourage the view that the site was one of regional importance in the Anglo-Saxon period is overstated (p. 275). This reviewer entirely shares with the authors a sense of Tutbury's pre-Conquest importance, but we still await a firm archaeological basis for this belief. There remains a need for a detailed evaluation of this area within the context of the heartlands of the Mercian kingdom, the probable minster infrastructure of the area, royal and comital centres and estate reorganisation in the 10th century and later. This is a significant aspect of the context out of which the honor of Tutbury grew and the tradition of the 'pays', but perhaps understandably this has not been addressed in this volume.

The results of the excavations within the inner bailey were relatively limited. Some evidence was revealed for the structure of the motte, while in the area of the North Tower, the Norman phases

were shown to have directly overlain the prehistoric levels. Soon after the construction of the North Tower (1442–*c*.1450) the whole area in front of the building was built up with a compact clay and pebble layer. Three sondages were cut near the South Tower, the most interesting detail being Feature 6512 that has been interpreted as a water-filled feature within the confines of the inner bailey. Situated behind the early castle's bailey bank, this feature either pre-dates the castle or belongs to its earliest phases; it was subsequently backfilled during the 12th century. The 13th-century phases, and particularly the early 13th-century phases of the castle, remain poorly-defined.

The pottery report however is an important aspect of this volume, particularly for the medieval period given the paucity of published assemblages from this part of Staffordshire. As noted above, a couple of sherds of early to middle Saxon date might be associated with pre-Castle occupation, but the Saxo-Norman Stamford ware is most likely associated with the early castle phases. This apart, the pottery fabrics from the excavation were predominantly locally-made Staffordshire wares. There is however a marked change from unglazed to glazed wares by the late medieval period. Given what we know about aristocratic material culture and associated patterns of consumption, together with the evidence accumulating from other castle excavations, the predominance of local wares and the absence of highly decorated jugs and specialised cooking vessels is striking and deserving of further evaluation.

The post-medieval pottery assemblage comprised two main groups: a 17th-century assemblage dating to about the time of the Civil War siege and 19th-century material, but with a marked absence of 18th-century pottery. The 17th-century pottery, mainly from the two major production centres of Ticknall and North Staffordshire, seems to follow its medieval precursors in lacking foreign imports or other indications of high-status usage, unlike similar period assemblages at Eccleshall castle. The 19th-century pottery is also entirely domestic in character, characterised as typical of households of comfortable but modest means.

Other specialist reports include useful evidence for the Staffordshire clay tobacco pipe industry, and reports on an assortment of small metal finds. The report on animal bone from the excavation warns against over-interpretation given the small sample size, but detects a change in procurement practice between the Norman and later phases of the castle occupation; in the Norman period cattle and sheep / goats were brought to the castle as prepared joints of meat whereas by the later medieval period the procurement consisted of whole carcasses or live animals that were butchered on site. The palaeo-environmental evaluation reflects a surrounding environment of open / cultivated land and woodland / scrubland.

This is a volume with both strengths and some weaknesses; some of the latter are arguably self-inflicted and some are simply an unavoidable outcome of the nature of the evidence available. Much has proven elusive before the later medieval period but this has helped identify where at least some future research needs to be directed. In reality, the shortcomings discussed above are relatively restricted and readily identified and should not be allowed to distract. This is a well produced and much-needed volume, even if it does not convincingly achieve all that the authors claim for it. For those with an interest in Staffordshire history and archaeology, in castle studies generally, and in the medieval lordships of the west midlands and their post-medieval transformations, this Report has much to offer.

University of Birmingham JOHN HUNT

Warriors, Warlords and Saints: The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Mercia by John Hunt. pp. 165. West Midlands History Limited; Alcester, Warwickshire, 2016. £24.99. ISBN 978 1 905036 30 1

Published by West Midlands History Ltd which has for several years supported the Centre for West Midlands History at the University of Birmingham, on whose popular MA programme the author teaches, this very attractively produced hard-back book is clearly aimed at a 'popular' market, but one that has shown much interest in the early history of this part of England following the discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard in 2009. But a designation 'popular' rests mainly on the lack of detailed footnotes (beyond some helpful endnotes with particular bibliographical references – along with a list of further reading) and not the text itself which, within the necessary limits of the book's modest length, addresses in a serious and considered manner a wide range of issues in respect of Mercia's gradual evolution into a major power in the pre-Viking period and to some extent beyond.

Although the emergence of a royal dynasty (albeit across family branches) and its eventual demise, all set in the wider context of political change in Anglo-Saxon England up to the Norman Conquest, is clearly a major theme, it by no means predominates, as there are substantial chapters on Mercia's economy and society – notably chapter 11 which reviews the emergence of villages. Its cultural aspects, moreover, are clearly of special interest to the author: chapter 8 considers whether there was a specifically Mercian style in artistic representation, and cautiously argues that there was; certainly it reached very high standards, a comparison being made at one point (p. 99) with sculpture of *c*. 800 at the Carolingian church complex at Müstair on the very eastern edge of modern Switzerland (and well worth a visit).

At several points the reader is cautioned to be circumspect: Britain being 'estranged' rather than 'divorced' from Rome in the early 5th century; incoming Angles and Saxons being 'integrated' into British culture (with the term Anglo-British being used); Offa not intending to create a kingdom of 'England'; and Tamworth being an important centre of power (rather than a 'capital'). Elsewhere the author stresses particular themes: the key role of the adoption of Christianity in the 'acculturation' of incomers with natives (or perhaps rather the latter's acceptance of a new political order); the cultural links evidenced in the artistic styles of items of the Staffordshire Hoard (p. 41, where the rare exclamation mark perhaps signifies the author's response to the worrying outcome of the June 2016 referendum); and the role of successive settlements at what is now London within Mercia.

Although not obligatory, reviewers usually find some aspect of a publication to comment on negatively, and not to disappoint one might quibble with the debate between Roman and 'Celtic' church leaders over the date when Easter was celebrated at the 664 synod of Whitby being described as 'arid' (p. 44), given its centrality to story of salvation. Also, perhaps, the significance in Mercia's early expansion of the British hinterland (in what is now Wales) could have been contrasted with comparable hinterlands for the West Saxons and Northumbrians as something vital for their development, and at the very end of the period under review perhaps a little more could have been said about the Mercian 'aftermath' – a sense of identity still being alive for some considerable time after the Conquest. Also, the significance of the 'westwork' at Brixworth church (Northants.) can now be supplemented by that argued for at Tamworth in an article in the last volume of this Society's transactions.

Not something that ordinarily needs to be commented on, it is nevertheless worth noting how fluent the writing is: sentences are sometimes quite long but never too difficult to follow. And the many colour illustrations are always appropriate and relevant to the text.

Keele University NIGEL TRINGHAM

STAFFORDSHIRE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL and HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS and COMMITTEE

President: Dr JOHN HUNT B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.Soc., P.G.C.E.

Vice-Presidents:
KEITH BILLINGTON A.C.I.B.
Mrs BETTY FOX
Mrs DIANA WILKES

Hon. Officers:
Dr TREVOR JAMES B.A., M.A., Ph.D., F.H.A. (general)
BRIAN BULL (meetings)
Ms SUSAN LUPTON B.Sc., P.G.C.E., F.R.G.S. (membership and publicity)
Mrs DIANA WILKES (refreshments)
VACANT POSTS (newsletter editor and website manager)

Hon. Treasurer: KEITH BILLINGTON A.C.I.B.

Hon. Editor of Transactions: Dr NIGEL TRINGHAM B.A., M.Litt, Ph.D., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Other Committee Members:
Mrs BETTY FOX
Dr MIKE HODDER B.A., Ph.D., M.C.I.f.A.
ROGER KNOWLES FSA(Scot.), A.M.A.R.A.
PAUL NORRIS
Dr RICHARD TOTTY B.Sc., Ph.D., M.R.S.C., C.Chem.
Ms JENNY WILSON (co-opted)

Hon. Auditor: MICHAEL HORTON A.C.I.B.

Website: www.sahs.uk.net
Email: sahs@sahs.uk.net

The Transactions' archive is available on the Society's website,
and also on disc on application to the Hon. Treasurer at:
kjboutthere@yahoo.co.uk

Institutional Membership enquiries should also be directed to the Hon. Treasurer