

STAFFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



TRANSACTIONS VOLUME L

STAFFORDSHIRE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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TRANSACTIONS: A CELEBRATION OF FIFTY VOLUMES OF STAFFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

RICHARD TOTTY

This note is appearing in the 50th volume of the *Transactions* of the Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society as a celebration of the Society's achievement in reaching this milestone. It is not meant to be a history of *Transactions* as such, and even less a history of the Society itself, although it inevitably contains elements of both. Rather, it is a tribute to those members of the Society whose foresight in founding the journal should be recognised, to those later members whose labours have ensured its survival, and finally to those individuals without whom it would have failed, namely the authors of the articles published in it.

The first volume of *Transactions*, for what was then the 'Lichfield Archaeological and Historical Society', is dated 1959–60 and was produced, in typescript, in the summer of 1960: it was set up by Jim Gould using his own typewriter and then duplicated. The volume contained only two articles: 'Cruck Houses in Lichfield' by P. R. Sheppard, the Society's Treasurer, and 'The Wyrley and Essington Canal' by C. J. Gilson. There was, however, a variety of other items including a letter from the President, a list of lectures given the previous winter and one of those to be given (it was hoped) in the following winter, and descriptions of two excursions, as well as a list of members including their addresses and a summary of the Society's accounts. Finally, there is mention of the Society's archaeological excavations at Wall and of two one-day schools arranged with the Extra-Mural Department of Birmingham University and a social evening. The contents were therefore more varied than at present and the volume functioned as the Society's newsletter as well as a means of publishing significant articles. The Society itself had been founded only a year or two earlier and it must have been the prime aims of the new Society not only to bring high-quality speakers to Lichfield but to record their talks for future archaeologists and historians to enjoy. The President, S. A. Jeavons, commented that the two printed articles were the two most important papers given to the Society (during the past year) and that it 'should be the object of this Society to see that this standard was maintained'.

Volume II (1960–61) contained two full articles and a note, along with other items similar to those in volume I. This second volume was professionally printed (although not without errors) and ran to 77 pages, at some cost to the Society. The cost of volume I had been quite modest at £32 11s. 4d. but volume II cost £147 12s. 0d., a significant amount for a small society with an annual subscription of 10s. 6d. (15s. 6d. for a joint membership of two people), and publication was possible only through a grant of £64 from the Carnegie Ltd Kingdom Trust (made in connection with the excavations at Wall reported in this issue) and a further £51 11s 6d. in numerous small donations from the Ordinary Membership. The cover was a drawing of the west front of Lichfield Cathedral made by a member, Miss A. Smith of Streetly; there seems to be no other information about her in the Society's records and she did not maintain her membership for long, but the illustration continued to be used in early volumes.

By volume III (1961–62) — volumes were dated by the Society's lecture year — the contents had become simplified and consisted almost entirely of learned papers, as the material on finances and names of members was no longer included, and generally this pattern has continued to the present day, along with the listing of the current officers and committee members. For many years *Transactions* also contained a list of lectures to take place during the coming winter season, but this ceased when *Transactions* stopped being an annual publication in the 1990s. There were also a variety of very short notes, often by individual members. In this respect, the Society was following the practice of many contemporary Learned Societies in publishing texts of papers which had been read by members, but in our Society's case this practice gradually ceased, although it is difficult to tell exactly when; most authors now are not Society members. Few papers that are now delivered to the Society in the course of its lecture programme are published in *Transactions*, and those that are tend to be published before a lecture has been given.

Originally published in quarto size, *Transactions* has appeared as A4 since volume XXIX (1987–88). In 1972 it was agreed to change the cover to the view of the west front of Lichfield cathedral as depicted in John Britton's *History and Antiquities of Lichfield Cathedral* (1820). Only a few issues have not used this print as the front cover, mostly in order to give an illustration representing an

aspect of the contents of the issue. Initially, *Transactions* was published annually but during the 1990s and early 2000s it appeared less regularly. Annual publication has now been restored.

The Society's name has changed three times. At first it was the 'Lichfield Archaeological & Historical Society', as formed on 19 September 1957, and then by 1962 the 'Lichfield & South Staffordshire Archaeological & Historical Society'; in 1968 it became the 'South Staffordshire Archaeological & Historical Society', before finally assuming its present name the 'Staffordshire Archaeological & Historical Society' in 1995. *Transactions* has therefore borne four different names, although essentially it is the same publication throughout. The name changes make it tricky to find references to particular papers, as besides needing the title of the paper it is often essential to know the name under which *Transactions* was issued at the time. It should also be noted that the nominal year on the title page is not necessarily the year of publication which may well be a year or two later. (For volumes up to 1999, when the covering year was dropped in to be replaced by the year of publication in order to avoid this confusion)

In the 58 years that have elapsed since *Transactions* was first issued, 50 volumes have appeared. That the Society has been able to publish an academic journal of high-quality articles on a regular basis is quite an achievement in an era in which other long-standing county societies have foundered: the North Staffordshire Field Club — a society which in the mid 1950s had a membership of almost 400 — was disbanded around 2007, with the last copy of its *Transactions* published in 2003, whilst the Burton-on-Trent Natural History and Archaeology Society was similarly wound up in 2010. Both of these societies had been active for well over a century.

There has also been a significant loss in recent years of journals publishing articles on Staffordshire history. Keele University's *Staffordshire Studies* has not appeared since volume 20 (the issue for 2009) was published 2012, whilst the Community Council of Staffordshire's *Staffordshire History* ceased publication in 2013. Both published full issues in the years before their demise, so this was not due to lack of contributions. The question arises: what have all the potential authors done with their papers? Has there been a sudden stop in historical research relating to the county or is it simply that authors now see no suitable place to publish their work? This Society's *Transactions* have not benefitted from this loss, given that the number of papers submitted to the editor has not increased.

CONTENT

An analysis of the 270 articles published in *Transactions* in the first 49 volumes gives an insight into the range of topics covered. There is a very broad coverage reflecting the Society's title as both archaeological *and* historical. Almost all the subjects relate to the historic county of Staffordshire, and so include articles relating to those parts of the Black Country moved into the new county of West Midlands in 1974. Understandably, given that the Society began as the Lichfield Archaeological and Historical Society, there has been a preponderance of papers about Lichfield and Tamworth, but in the early 1980s it was recognised that the geographical area covered by *Transactions* was limited and an effort was made to attract more papers from the north of the county: the first of these in volume XXVII (1985–86) was by David Wilson and Faith Cleverdon on the excavation of two round barrows at Fawfieldhead in the Moorlands. But one part of the county that is still not well-covered is the city of Stoke-on-Trent, and there are very few papers in which the authors venture outside the county to the Midlands as a whole, probably because other journals cover both of these areas. One of articles about the entire Midlands is the lengthy paper by Stanley Jeavons in Volume III (1961–62), a very detailed survey of goldsmiths active in the Midlands in the late 16th century and including details of the church plate which they produced and forms the main body of their surviving work. This paper is very well illustrated with both maps and photographs, something common to other volumes, reflecting the willingness of the editor to include a significant number of illustrations to the text which often bring the contents to life and are a real help to the reader in understanding the subject. (In the 1980s there was a proposal to limit the number of illustrations of pottery found in excavations but it is not clear if this policy was implemented.)

Four volumes are devoted to a single subject and are in effect monographs: volume XXIX (1987–88) being T. E. McNeill's report on excavations at Tamworth Castle; volume XXXI (1989–90) Mike Hodder's report on excavations at Sandwell Priory and Hall; volume XXXV (1993–94) A. S. Esmonde Cleary and I. M. Ferris on excavations at the new cemetery, Rocester; and volume XLVII (2014) Anne Dodd and others on excavations at Tipping Street, Stafford.

The largest group of articles (numbering 69) is those reporting archaeological excavations. There are two major series of reports of excavations, those at Wall and those at Tamworth, with the remainder covering the entire county from Longnor in the far north to the Smestow Valley in the south. A further 43 articles are devoted to landscape surveys, both urban and rural, and in this category there are some papers which report archaeological field work which did not involve excavations. A total of 34 articles are about individual small items, many of them what are now described as portable antiquities, whilst 32 articles are devoted to discussion of buildings, many of them timber-framed; and a further 20 articles are about churches or church furniture and other contents. The second largest group of articles (numbering 50) relates to aspects of social history, whilst eight are about industry in the county and the same number describe written or printed archive material; finally, six are about place-names.

In the early years there were some short articles in *Transactions* which reflected small research projects, research in progress, or just thoughts on a particular archaeological or historical topic. These are no longer there and perhaps people are more reluctant to put such things in print nowadays, or prefer to put them on a website? Volume XIX (1977–78) also includes an editorial, on the grounds that in other journals it was the editorial that was the first article to be read. But this policy did not last long and editorials stopped appearing after a few years. The editorial in volume XIX says that it was decided not to have any reviews but this policy has been reversed recently and book reviews are now published.

The emphasis therefore seems to have been on archaeological rather than historical topics, and one might think that in a county such as Staffordshire papers on aspects of industrial history are in short supply. Moreover, there are perhaps fewer papers on written and printed material than might be expected given the rich heritage contained in the county's archives and that Lichfield was the centre of a large and well-populated diocese for which many detailed records survive.

HONORARY EDITORS

The editor of the first two volumes is not named, but John Whiston appears as honorary editor in Volume III. Whiston lived in Wednesbury Road, Walsall and seems to have been an enthusiastic beekeeper: at least he wrote the *History of the Staffordshire Beekeepers Association*, as well as two papers on bee-boles in *Transactions*. An appreciation of his work as editor appears in volume XXIV (1982–3), before his death in 1991. When Whiston retired, he was replaced in 1982 by Nigel Tringham, recently (in 1979) arrived in the county as an assistant editor for the Staffordshire Victoria County History. Still editor after a remarkable 35 years, Tringham also became a lecturer at Keele University in 1993, running the celebrated Latin and Palaeography Summer School, and is also general editor for the Staffordshire Record Society. For three volumes around 2005 the county archaeologist Chris Welch was co-editor, but after he left the area he was not replaced. The success of *Transactions* in reaching 50 volumes is due in very large measure to the skills of Whiston and Tringham as editors.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

The first editorial committee was set up in 1959 and comprised three members: S. A. Jeavons, J. T. Gould, and P. R. Sheppard, and for volume III they were joined by J. W. Whiston. The meetings were held annually with between four and six members but became irregular in the 1980s with the last meeting in 1988, although the committee has recently been revived. Business covered four main headings. There was discussion of articles to be published and minutes reveal a strict refereeing policy with some papers being rejected and others referred back to the author for revision (some papers were not resubmitted). Many articles were promised but not received and some seem to disappear, being listed in the minutes as about to be published and yet not appearing. There is a list of articles promised for future volumes in the minutes of the 1982 meeting and several of these have not, as yet, appeared. In the same minutes there is a list of excavation reports outstanding some going back to the 1960s and again some of these have still not appeared. This is a constant issue for any journal editor: promises made and not kept, so that planning future issues is difficult. One of the items on the 1982 list was the excavations carried out south of Wall in 1962 and 1964 by E. Greenfield. A report eventually appeared in volume XXXVII (1995–96), over 30 years later, authored by Alex Jones and written as part of the English Heritage's Backlog Publication Programme.

The paper by I. M. Ferris, 'Excavations at Dove First School Rocester, 1985', is another with a long gestation period as it appeared in volume XLIII (2009), again as part of a programme to complete publications of excavation reports.

Costs were always an issue; estimates were sought for printing sometimes from as many as seven printers, and there were many applications for grants towards publication of individual papers, mostly but not always successful. The number and the cost and number of off-prints of each paper were also a matter for discussion in committee; up to 120 copies of some papers were produced as off-prints. Frequently there are comments that the printers failed to meet promised delivery dates and this seems to be an on-going issue. (Overall though the Society has been well served by printers with robust volumes and clearly reproduced illustrations. Two long serving companies are J Ray & Co Ltd of Walsall and 4word Ltd of Bristol.). At the last meeting of the editorial committee in 1988 members enthusiastically supported the proposal that the Society produce a separate series of monographs as well as *Transactions* but nothing seems to have come from this. (Although, as already noted, some volumes of *Transactions* have in effect been monographs.) It has been a balancing act for the editorial committee: to produce as good a volume of *Transactions* as possible, whilst not endangering the survival of the Society through imprudent expenditure on excessively large volumes, excessive illustrations, and over-long print runs. All of these issues remain important today and production of *Transactions* is the largest item of expenditure appearing in the Society's annual accounts: £3,374 in 2016/17, being over half the annual budget. The most expensive volume was XXXII (in 1992) costing as much as £6,400, in part met by a Department of the Environment grant. Since then more competition between printers and better methods of printing have helped keep costs down.

AUTHORS

A very large number of individuals have contributed to *Transactions* over the past 50 issues and it is of course their willingness to submit texts that has allowed the Society to continue to publish. It is not possible to give a complete list of contributors here (indices compiled by Betty Fox are available on line and elsewhere) but it should be noted that there are far more than simple perusal of the indices would suggest, as so many papers (especially the ones with an archaeological subject matter) have detailed sections written by specialists other than the named author(s). For example, M. A. Hodder's article on excavations at Sandwell which fills volume XXXI (1989–90) has no less than 19 other contributors. In some of the contributions, the sections — especially those on pottery — are short papers in their own right with tables, photographs, and drawings, although others are very short, the shortest being merely three lines. In some articles contributors are not referred to as authors of sections but are listed in a general acknowledgement. Authors are a mixture of enthusiastic and often skilled amateur historians and archaeologists alongside distinguished academics, all of whom are experts in their own fields. The following details are intended to give examples of these contributors, showing the range of expertise involved in producing a journal such as *Transactions*, but not intended as an exhaustive list.

The first honorary editor **John Whiston** was the author of nine articles. A respected amateur historian with very wide interests, his most influential paper is on the Rushall Psalter and is a brief description of this interesting manuscript which appears as an appendix to an account of a survey and excavation of the gatehouse at Rushall Hall by S. J. Baker in Volume XXIII (1981–82). Whiston's note is sufficiently authoritative to appear as a source for information about the psalter on the website of the University of Nottingham Special Collections, where the psalter is kept. Whiston's articles also include two on bee-keeping, and his wide range of interests is perhaps best illustrated by his three papers in volume VIII (1966–67): 'Gerald Mander and the Wolverhampton Antiquary', 'Croxall, an air photograph of a deserted medieval village', and 'Toll House, James Bridge Darlaston'. He was particularly interested in the history of Walsall. **Gerald Mander**, another respected amateur was the owner of Wightwick Manor and wrote one article for *Transactions*. This is an oddity in that it appeared in Volume VIII for 1966–67, although Mander had died in 1951. It was originally intended for publication in the *Wolverhampton Antiquary* which Mander edited (and mostly wrote) and the issue for which it was intended reached proof-stage but never appeared. The uncorrected proofs remained in the William Salt Library in Stafford, of which Mander was a Trustee. The paper deals with the genealogy of the Lane family who were associated with Charles II at Boscombe after the battle of Worcester. Otherwise, genealogy is a subject not well covered in *Transactions*. The present honorary editor **Nigel Tringham** was the author of nine articles, starting in volume XXV

(1983–84) with ‘Two seventeenth-century surveys of Lichfield cathedral close’. His contributions as author have been primarily based on archival documents either in the Staffordshire Record Office or in the Lichfield Record Office.

Other historians who wrote for *Transactions* included **Stanley Jeavons** who was the author of four papers, the last in volume XII (1970–71). These are all on ecclesiastical subjects with the most wide-ranging being a study of 16th-century chalices, ‘Midlands goldsmiths of the Elizabethan period’, a very substantial study of an unusual subject. He was President of the Society at the time of the first volume of *Transactions* and must have been involved in the decision to establish it as a record of papers read to the Society’s members. He lived in Hardwick Lodge, Streetly and published extensively on church furnishings in other journals. **Adrian Oswald**, an expert on clay pipes with numerous publications on this subject, was the author of four articles in *Transactions*, including ‘Clay pipes from the garden of the Bishop’s Palace Lichfield’ in volume XVI (1974–75). An historian of Willenhall, **Norman Tildesley** wrote just one article for *Transactions* on ‘Dr Richard Wilkes of Willenhall: an eighteenth-century country doctor’ in volume VII (1965–66). An engineer by profession, he was chairman of the Trustees of the William Salt Library in Stafford for 20 years and also served on the Joint Archives Committee in Lichfield. He died in 1993. **R. F. Wisker**, a Wolverhampton-based historian who died in 2017, contributed ‘The estates of James Leveson of Wolverhampton d. 1547’ to volume XXXVII (1995–96). This paper has been cited in many internet articles on the Leveson family and their 16th-century contacts in the wool trade. An expert on the Leveson family, Wisker has written entries on them (ancestors of the dukes of Sutherland) for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (Unfortunately he appears in the *Transactions* index as R. F. Walker.) Formerly an assistant editor of the Staffordshire Victoria County History before moving to the University of St Andrews, **Ann Kettle** has written a number of articles in national journals on the role of women in medieval society, but she has also retained connections with the county and authored an article on the Lichfield horse races for Volume VI (1965–66). She is best known in Staffordshire for her skilled transcription of the 1532 ‘List of Families in the Archdeaconry of Stafford’ published by the Staffordshire Record Society. **D. G. (Denis) Stuart** was Senior Lecturer in the Extra-Mural department at Keele University and the author of a number of books on local Midlands history, including the Phillimore text-book on *Manorial Records* and the much used *Latin for Local Historians*. He died in 2001 aged 82, just after completing his Leicester University Ph.D. on Staffordshire Quakers, and one of his four articles for *Transactions* was ‘Exact location of the Quaker burial ground at Alstonefield’ in Volume XIII (1971–72); another was on ‘The early history of the Liberal party in Burton-upon-Trent’ in Volume XXX (1988–89).

One of the most prolific authors has been **Jim Gould**, who taught in Tamworth, and was responsible for as many as 36 articles, far more than any other individual. He was the Society’s Secretary for many years and his eclectic interests are shown by the range of topics covered in his articles, not only those in *Transactions* but in other books and journals. His first paper in volume II (1960–61), co-authored with F. H. Lyon, was a ‘Preliminary report on the excavation of the Roman Fort at Wall’, and in his last in volume XLII (2008) he returned to the same topic, ‘Letocetum: the defences’. The latter is a short review of previous excavations rather than a report of new archaeological investigations, a type of paper that has not been often published in *Transactions*. A full bibliography is given in Betty Fox’s obituary note in volume XLIX (2016). Two papers which seem to have been cited extensively are ‘First report of excavations at Tamworth – the Saxon defences’ in volume IX (1967–68) and ‘Romano-British farming near Letocetum (Wall)’ in volume XIII (1971–72), representative of the series of papers that he produced on the excavations at these two sites. His other interests included ‘The medieval burgesses of Tamworth: their liberties, courts and markets’ in volume XIII (1971–72) and ‘St Bartholomew’s church at Blore Ray’ in volume XVII (1975–76), the latter taking him well out of the geographical range of most of his work which was between Aldridge, Lichfield, and Tamworth. Overall, this is a very substantial contribution to *Transactions* and it seems unlikely to be bettered. Jim was a member of the editorial committee and the minutes of this committee contain several requests for more papers from him — he seems to have been someone to turn to if there were insufficient papers to fill a volume, an occasional occurrence.

Amongst the archaeologists who wrote articles for *Transactions* **Mike Hodder** was the author of 12 papers, published in the decade 1981–91 and mostly concerning archaeological excavations in West Bromwich and Wednesbury, with a branch into landscape archaeology in his papers on ‘Medieval Parks in Drayton Bassett Shenstone and Weeford’ and ‘The medieval landscape of West Bromwich’ which appeared in volume XXX (1988–89). His paper ‘Excavations at Sandwell Priory

and Hall' fills volume XXXI (1989–90). Since then his career as Birmingham City Council's Planning Archaeologist has focused on that city rather than Staffordshire, but he is presently a member of both the Society's main committee and its editorial advisory committee. **Stephanie Rátkai** was the co-author, with Richard Cuttler and John Hunt, of 'Saxon Burh and Royal Castle; rethinking early urban space in Stafford' in volume XLIII (2009), but she has made several other contributions to papers on excavations reporting the pottery finds, for example in Mary Duncan's paper 'A medieval hospital graveyard? Excavations at Stoke City Hospital 2001' in volume XLII (2008). Originally a field archaeologist, she is an expert in the identification of pottery fragments. Eight articles have been written by **A. A. (Bert) Round**, all of them concerning the excavations at Wall, of which he was director for 13 years. The Society's Treasurer and later its President, he died in 1998, and there is an obituary in volume XXXVII (1995–96). **Philip Rahtz** was an eminent archaeologist, best known for excavations in Somerset. When a lecturer at the University of Birmingham, he was the co-author (with Ken Sheridan) of 'Fifth report of Excavations in Tamworth: a Saxon watermill in Bolebridge Street' in volume XIII (1971–72). He died in 2011. **Jonathan Goodwin** is Senior Planning Officer (Archaeology and Historic Environment Record) for Stoke City Council and is a current member of the Society's editorial committee. He was the co-author of papers in volumes XLVII and XLVIII (2014 and 2015) on 'Excavations at Tipping Street Stafford' and 'Excavations at Three Hanley Pottery Factories'. Both of these are full and interesting accounts of important excavations in city centre sites undertaken in advance of redevelopment work. **Bob Meeson**, a former County Archaeologist, was the author of 12 articles in *Transactions* over a period of 45 years, starting with 'Fourth report of excavations at Tamworth' in volume XII (1970–71) to 'The origins and early development of St Editha's church in Tamworth' in volume XLVIII (2015). An architectural historian and archaeologist, his papers are on those subjects, and are noted for the elegant drawings of timber frames and roofs that accompany several of the texts. He was the Society's Secretary a number of years in the 1980s. Early in her career a music teacher in Leek, **Faith Cleverdon** developed an interest and expertise in vernacular buildings, and one of her two papers 'Cruck Buildings in the Staffordshire Moorlands' was in volume XXXVIII (1996–97); the other (with David Wilson) in volume XXVII (1985–86) was on the excavation of two round barrows in the Moorlands.

A solicitor in Stourbridge, **P. W. King** was the author of 'The Development of the Iron Industry in South Staffordshire in the 17th century: history and myth' in Volume XXXVIII (1996–97). A historian of iron mining and manufacture, he was awarded a Ph.D. on this subject by Wolverhampton University and has published numerous papers on the subject. Once the head of History at Newman College, Birmingham, **Marie Rowlands** was the author of 'Industry and Social Change in Staffordshire 1660–1770' in Volume IX (1967–68), her particular interests being industry in the West Midlands and Roman Catholic history, on which she has published many papers.

One has only to read a few of the articles in *Transactions* to see that most authors acknowledge help support and advice from a number of individuals. There are, therefore, three categories of people who were engaged in the production of papers: those whose names appear on the title page; those who contributed whole sections of papers; and those who gave advice and support. In the last category one of the most frequently named is Bob Meeson, whose contribution to the success of *Transactions* therefore goes far beyond the 12 articles he has authored himself.

NOTABLE VOLUMES

Volume XXII (1980–81) is devoted to the archaeology and early history of the city of Lichfield with eight articles in all forming the first and so far only single theme volume. This was at the suggestion of Martin Carver, then of Worcester Archaeology and subsequently Professor of Archaeology at the University of York, the author of two of the articles. The volume was extensively promoted in Lichfield to the extent that an advertisement was placed in the *Lichfield Mercury* offering off-prints for sale; the response was poor and this type of promotion has not been repeated. The volume is very frequently accessed through the Society's website; this is not surprising as it reviews the history and archaeology of Lichfield from prehistoric times to the Civil War with articles by notable experts such as Martin Carver, Mike Hodder, Robin Studd, P. R. Wilson, S. R. Bassett, C. J. Harrison, and M. R. Hummler. Not only is there interesting text to read, but there are illustrations of excavations, maps, and of course full and comprehensive references. This was an excellent experiment by the Society but one it has not repeated. There have been a further 16 articles concerning the history and archaeology of Lichfield published in other issues of the *Transactions* since volume XXII, notably

that by T. R. Slater in Volume XXVI (1984–85), ‘The topography and planning of medieval Lichfield: a critique’, basically a critical assessment of Bassett’s paper in Volume XXII. There have also been several articles on Lichfield Cathedral close by Nigel Tringham, and most recently an important one by Andrew Sargent (of Keele University) in Volume XLVI (2013), ‘Early Medieval Lichfield a reassessment’ in which he reviews previous work in the light of excavations at the Cross Keys site. Still on a Lichfield theme, the only article, or indeed lecture, that has induced the *Lichfield Mercury* to report it on its front page — with banner headlines — was on the city, namely ‘The Origins of Lichfield’, in which Christopher Taylor, then of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments, put forward the suggestion, now generally accepted, that the town of Lichfield was not of ancient origin but a medieval ‘new town’ (Volume X, 1968–69).

Nigel Tringham’s article in Volume XLVI (2013) on ‘The 1655 petition against the enclosure of Needwood Forest’ represents a new departure in the writing of papers on social history. As well as a detailed discussion of the petition and its presentation to the Lord Protector (Oliver Cromwell), it contains images of the signatures of the inhabitants of the area who supported it together with transcriptions of their names, thus recording what was probably the bulk of those living in and around the forest. Such papers are of considerable value in genealogical research.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

As noted by the Editorial Committee many articles throughout the life of *Transactions* record grants made by various bodies to support their publication; particularly those reporting the results of archaeological excavations. The Society acknowledges this with much gratitude as this has allowed the high standards of *Transactions* to be maintained. The list of donor bodies is substantial and includes grants from local charities (including the Swinfen-Broun Trust and the Lichfield Conduit Lands Trust), local authorities, and national organisations. In recent years about two-thirds of volumes have received some support, which has always been for the publication of specific papers rather than a grant for the volume as a whole. The amount varies from year to year, mostly being well under the cost to the Society of printing the volume, although one volume was paid for in its entirety and for another about 80% of the cost was covered. But one third of the volumes have received no grant and the cost of publishing them has been born entirely by the Society. The number of articles attracting grants for publication has fallen in recent years. In particular, the number of articles supported by local organisations in and around Staffordshire has fallen significantly. The cost of publishing *Transactions* remains the largest item in the Society’s expenditure, but members receive a free copy and have free access to past copies on line.

CIRCULATION AND IMPACT

Every full Society member receives a printed copy of the volume of *Transactions* produced in the year of membership. Copies are deposited in local libraries and there are a number of institutional subscribers who receive a copy. All volumes are available on line through the Society’s website www.sahs.uk.net and for full members this access is free. Since 2010 individuals have been able to purchase associate membership which allows access to on line copies of *Transactions* but not other membership benefits. The Society has produced a compact disc (cd) containing volumes I to XLII which is available for purchase and back numbers are also still available in hard copy.

It is all very well for the Society to publish learned papers in this manner but it counts for little unless they are read, yet it is surprisingly difficult to determine just how many people do this, although some assessment is possible. The editorial in volume XIX (1977–78) notes the use of articles in *Transactions* by other authors. One paper singled out for mention was Jim Gould’s ‘First report of excavations at Tamworth – the Saxon Defences’ in volume IX (1967–68). The editorial states that “In a forthcoming book, *The Castle Story* by Sheila Sancha in the Puffin series (hardback by Collins), Tamworth was chosen to illustrate Saxon defences. The Saxon defences at Tamworth are also referred to in the standard work *Archaeology of Saxon England*, edited by D. M. Wilson, and illustrations of the excavations are included in David Brown’s *Anglo Saxon England*, published in the Bodley Head Archaeology Series. The drawings of the Saxon gateway at Tamworth have also been used by Longmans in a booklet on King Alfred in their School Council History project ‘Saxon England’”. It was also noted that D. M. Palliser’s book *The Making of the Staffordshire Landscape* (1976) contained many references to articles in *Transactions*: one of his plates is from *Transactions*

and two of his figures are based on illustrations from it. *Transactions* continues to be cited in other publications such as volumes of the *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, not least because its articles are fully referenced and such citations alone are of considerable value in giving a history of previous research on the topic. (Although given the current state of academic libraries, it might be difficult to trace copies of some of the papers cited).

One means of assessing the impact of *Transactions* is to find the number of times a particular article has been referenced in the published literature. This is not straightforward for a publication which is not a major international journal, but some assessment is possible bearing in mind that the sources for such an assessment are themselves not comprehensive and do not capture all references. However, these sources show that the most referenced article in *Transactions* is Mike Hodder's 'Excavations at Sandwell Priory and Hall 1982–88' (being volume XXXI, 1989–90) with over twice as many appearances as the next paper which is S. R. Bassett's 'Medieval Lichfield: a topographical review' (in volume XXII, 1980–81). Other well-referenced articles are G. Rosser's 'The Town and Guild of Lichfield in the Late Middle Ages' in volume XXVII (1985–86) and the paper by I. M. Ferris 'Horse and Rider Brooches in Britain, a new example from Rocester' in volume XXVI (1984–85). All of these are from the 1980s — a golden age for *Transactions*? The most referenced author is also Mike Hodder with more than three times the number of references as the next author, Jim Gould.

It is more difficult to determine how many times information from articles in *Transactions* has been used in databases or articles on the internet. One example is the on-line Clergy of the Church of England Database (CCID) which refers to four *Transactions* papers in its bibliography for Lichfield diocese. Wikipedia is another internet database which includes material taken from the *Transactions* but there is no straightforward way of determining how often they are referenced. The Society's own website is regularly searched for on-line copies of *Transactions* by both members and non-members, but there is no particular pattern to the hits although in the past two years many volumes have been downloaded: Volumes I (1959–60), XXII (1980–81), and XXXIX (2001) seem to be particularly popular but there is no way of knowing which articles in each volume were being sought.

Publication of articles in *Transactions* ensures that the research reported is available in detail to the public for evermore and so *Transactions* is very much a 'Journal of Record'. It is notable that the on-line copies of journals published in the 1960s are still regularly accessed fifty or so years later, showing that the work is still relevant. Recently the Society has made efforts to reduce the stock of off-prints it holds, and many have been eagerly snapped up.

From an archaeological point of view, the highlights, which make *Transactions* of more than just local significance are the series of reports on excavations at Wall and Tamworth but every reader will have their own favourite article amongst those published and there is no consensus on which one is the most significant or enjoyable. One person will enjoy reading an article about their own village or parish more than any other, another reader will find the most interesting to be one that provides new insights into a previously uncertain area, whilst others will appreciate most the quality of the research or the elegance of the writing. There is something in *Transactions* for everyone.

The Society has not seen *Transactions* as a forum in which to air controversies. Volume XXXIII (1991–92) contains a paper by Jim Gould on 'Further thoughts of Letocetum', essentially an attack on Bert Round's paper 'Excavations at the *mansio* site at Wall' published in volume XXXII (1990–91). Round's response also appears in volume XXXIII following Gould's paper. The editor commented that whilst it was hoped that this exchange was of interest to members, much still remained to be discovered through archaeological excavation at Wall and the Society would prefer not to encourage further interpretive articles in the near future, thus preventing further publication of what had all the promise of an entertaining and instructive academic dispute.

THE FUTURE

As long as the Society is financially viable the future of *Transactions* seems secure, but there does need to be an editor with the skill and dedication to find quality contributions and to help an author refine the text to ensure absolute clarity of meaning, whilst maintaining an elegant and free-flowing narrative. An active editorial committee is essential to help find financial support for individual articles especially the more lengthy ones which contain many photographs and figures. With all of this in place there is no reason that the 100th volume should not be celebrated in a further 50 years time. Just how that issue would be published is an entirely different matter, as demand for printed

copies held in libraries shrinks, as indeed does the number of libraries, and on line publication may well become the only option.

[The author wishes to thank those members of the Society who provided information used in this note, without which it would have been much shorter, and Scott McGowan of Keele University for searching the Humanities Citation Index.]

STAFFORDSHIRE'S PAST IN FIFTY VOLUMES: A MICROCOSM OF BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY

JOHN HUNT and MIKE HODDER

To complement the preceding article in this celebratory 50th issue of the *Transactions*, giving an account of the journal's origin, editors, contributors, and scope of contents, the present article concentrates on how in particular archaeology has been treated in the past fifty volumes.

The Society's *Transactions* has reflected and reported Staffordshire's rich vein of historical and archaeological work, and as might be expected of a vibrant journal, this has often provided a spring-board for further work. This latter aspect is a vital part of what the Staffordshire Historical and Archaeological Society seeks to promote. In 2011, following a prolonged period of discussion and debate, a regional statement was published of recommended research frameworks for the archaeology of the West Midlands.¹ The work that makes such strategic reviews possible is largely published in county journals like the *Transactions*. They are a vital part of the fabric of scholarship in Britain, in that not only do they disseminate our current and changing state of knowledge, but they also provide the catalyst to pushing further the boundaries of our thinking. They provide the platform for future scholarship and collaborative working. Our understanding of Staffordshire's past owes much to the contribution made by the Society's *Transactions*, and as the challenges of the research framework's process are gradually addressed, they will continue to play a fundamental role in Staffordshire, the region and further afield.

PREHISTORIC AND ROMAN STAFFORDSHIRE

There has been a considerable increase in our knowledge and understanding of prehistoric and Roman Staffordshire over the sixty years represented by *Transactions*. Papers include reports of excavations specifically intended to investigate prehistoric and Roman features; the discovery of features and objects during the excavation of sites thought to be principally of later dates; investigation through watching brief or salvage recording; and discoveries of individual objects, or more rarely groups of objects. Reports on large-scale archaeological projects including extensive excavation in advance of gravel quarrying in the Trent and Tame valleys and infrastructure schemes such as the M6 Toll motorway have tended to be published elsewhere, often in independent monographs, but they have nonetheless made extensive reference to *Transactions* papers. In a regional context, reports published in *Transactions* have made a significant contribution to the overall and period-specific volumes of the *West Midlands Regional Research Framework* which assess the current state of knowledge and identify priorities for future research.² The papers published in *Transactions*, therefore, reflect trends in archaeological research over half a century, demonstrate the sheer quantity of prehistoric and Roman remains throughout the county, while the cumulative information contained within them points to particular opportunities for future work.

Reports in the earlier volumes of *Transactions* tend to derive from work undertaken by local groups and individuals, and in particular they record the considerable achievements of the Society itself at Wall. In addition, university- and museum-based researchers contributed papers on studies of objects, and research projects took place under the aegis of universities and local authorities. Excavations in advance of development — gravel extraction, road construction, and new buildings in urban and rural locations — have taken place in the county since the 1960s, and the results of development-based work in particular have drawn attention to both the extent of prehistoric and Roman remains and the variation in their intensity across the county. In rural areas, excavations have located features that are not visible as crop marks or are on soil types which are not conducive to crop-mark formation, and the discovery of prehistoric features and objects in excavations in Lichfield and Stafford demonstrates the survival of such remains in what are now urban areas.

As mentioned below in relation to Wall, information derived from past research needs to be brought together and reassessed in the light of current knowledge. This is also the case for individual objects and groups of objects, whose broader significance might not have been recognised. As at Hales, new fieldwork may locate hitherto unrecognised features around and beyond known sites, and research on the Gainsborough hoard and Knave's Castle shows how antiquarian records and other

1 Watt 2011.

2 Watt 2011; Garwood 2007; Hurst 2017; White and Hodder 2018.

documentary sources can be used to interpret artefacts or features even if they no longer survive. There also needs to be greater recognition of the extent and survival of archaeological remains of prehistoric and Roman date which resulted from non-intensive activity and did not involve the creation of prominent features or monuments, but are nonetheless significant in understanding these periods of the county's past.

EARLY PREHISTORIC: Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (up to c. 1500 BC)

The only article in *Transactions* relating to the Palaeolithic period is a description of two hand axes, one made of flint, the other from a quartzite pebble, both found by chance on field surfaces.³ Caves in the Staffordshire part of the Peak District were occupied during glacial periods and interglacials,⁴ but there is currently much less evidence of human activity in the distant past in the southern part of the county. The apparent dearth of recorded finds probably reflects a lack of recognition rather than a lack of past human activity: deposits of this period survive along the River Trent, where they have been recorded in quarries.⁵

By contrast, the analyses of assemblages of Mesolithic flints from Bourne Pool⁶ and Sandwell Priory⁷ make a significant contribution to our understanding of this period in the region as a whole. The first site was located by field-walking, the second during excavation of a medieval monastery, and both sites included possible Mesolithic features, which are rare survivals.⁸ They are complemented by the flint assemblage found in a cave or rock shelter at Rugeley.⁹

Pits, hollows, and postholes containing Middle Neolithic impressed pottery and worked flint were found at Fisherwick in the excavation of a site that was otherwise of Roman date,¹⁰ and at Lichfield in an excavation that was primarily concerned with the investigation of later periods.¹¹ Several worked flints of later Neolithic or early Bronze Age type have been found in excavations on Roman sites at Wall,¹² and Neolithic pits, pottery, and charred grain were found to the south-east of Wall in the M6 Toll excavations.¹³ Other than in the Trent and Tame valleys and the Peak District, the county has been characterised as being devoid of those Neolithic and early Bronze Age 'monuments' visible as cropmarks or surviving as upstanding features, and as having generally sparse finds of objects of these periods.¹⁴ The discoveries at Wall and Lichfield nonetheless suggest extensive Neolithic activity beyond those areas with prominent monuments.¹⁵

The Neolithic causewayed enclosures at Mavesyn Ridware and Alrewas in the Trent valley, both identified by aerial survey in the 1970s, have been sampled by excavation recently but reports are not yet available. Reports on the investigation of Neolithic and early Bronze Age ceremonial sites at the Tame/Trent confluence have been published elsewhere.¹⁶

In the Staffordshire part of the Peak District, two cup- and ring-marked stones of late Neolithic or early Bronze Age date were found on the same farm,¹⁷ whilst another cup-marked stone may have been associated with a burial in an early Bronze Age barrow at Low Bent.¹⁸ This and the nearby barrow at Low Farm were both visible as mounds prior to excavation, but a burial with a collared urn at The Roaches, discovered by chance during path repairs, does not seem to have been covered by a mound.¹⁹ Barrows surviving in the Peak District are matched further south by ring ditches visible as crop marks, particularly in the Trent Valley, many of which would originally have surrounded mounds.²⁰

3 *Trans.* XIV, 1–5.

4 e.g. Myers 2007, particularly fig. 3.1

5 e.g. Buteux and Chapman 2009.

6 *Trans.* XIV, 6–28.

7 *Trans.* XXXI (whole volume).

8 Myers 2007, 28–35.

9 Cane and Cane 1986.

10 *Trans.* X, 1–22.

11 *Trans.* XX, 11–69.

12 *Trans.* VII 10, 35–6; XI, 25–6; XXIII, 38, 43–4.

13 Fitzpatrick 2008, 504.

14 Garwood 2007a, 202.

15 Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery and worked flint have also been found in excavation of a Roman villa at Acton Trussell (publication forthcoming in *Transactions*).

16 e.g. Buteux and Chapman 2009.

17 *Trans.* XXXVI, 16–20; XXXVII, 1–5.

18 *Trans.* XXVII, 1–26.

19 *Trans.* XLIX, 1–27.

20 e.g. Wardle 2017, 97.

LATER PREHISTORIC: Middle Bronze Age and Iron Age (c. 1500 BC to AD 43)

Middle Bronze Age cremation burials were found during a watching brief and salvage recording at Hints Quarry²¹ and in excavation at Tucklesholme,²² where they were located near ring-ditches which were visible as crop marks and may themselves originally have enclosed burials. Settlements of Middle Bronze Age date are difficult to locate in the county: that at Fisherwick was found in the investigation of crop marks which were shown to be natural ice wedge casts.²³ A pit found in small-scale archaeological work at Shugborough which contained Middle Bronze Age pottery and charred barley grain is likely to have been associated with a settlement.²⁴

Several burnt mounds have been found in Staffordshire, particularly in the centre and south of the county,²⁵ and radiocarbon dating of excavated burnt mounds at Millwich²⁶ and Sandwell Valley²⁷ has confirmed that they are broadly of Middle Bronze Age date like the other dated examples in the Birmingham area.²⁸ Although debate continues about their function, these enigmatic sites provide some indication of the density and general location of contemporary settlement even if they are located away from the settlements themselves.

Many individual metal items of Middle and Late Bronze Age have been found in the county, including palstaves and a spearhead,²⁹ but their provenance was often imprecisely recorded. However, the location at which a (now lost) late Bronze Age hoard was discovered in the 19th century can be identified as a natural mound on the present Gainsborough Farm in Stonnall.³⁰ The contents of the hoard, which included swords, spearheads, and socketed axes, were identified, described, and discussed from antiquarian drawings and descriptions; unusually for such hoards, these objects may have been associated with a burial.

A study of part of the Tame Valley provides a landscape context to excavations of Iron Age farmsteads, fields and droveways at Fisherwick and Whitemoor Haye,³¹ although the relevant reports were published elsewhere.³² Slighter but no less significant Iron Age features have been discovered beyond the Tame and Trent valleys. At Stafford curvilinear gullies of roundhouses and other probable Iron Age features were found in the town centre;³³ an Iron Age ring gully near Hints contained heat-shattered stone normally associated with Bronze Age burnt mounds;³⁴ and at Wall a gully and pits filled with heat-cracked stone were radiocarbon-dated to the middle or later Iron Age.³⁵ Together with the roundhouse and ditched compound found near Shenstone on the M6 Toll motorway,³⁶ these discoveries underline the relative dearth of information on this period outside of the river valleys other than the little-researched hill forts and the large number of metal objects,³⁷ including the late Iron Age Glascote torc.³⁸ The recent discovery of early Iron Age torcs at Leekfrith (see this volume) reinforces the prescient title of Wardle's overview.³⁹

ROMAN STAFFORDSHIRE

Most of the excavations carried out at Wall (*Letocetum*) and its environs since 1961, including those undertaken by the Society itself (directed by Jim Gould and Bert Round) and those of Ernest Greenfield, have been published in *Transactions*.⁴⁰ The exceptions are those relating to the M6 Toll

21 *Trans.* XLIV, 1–7.

22 *Trans.* XXXIX, 1–15.

23 *Trans.* XVI, 1–17.

24 *Trans.* XLV, 24–40.

25 Hodder and Welch 1990; Wardle 2017, 97.

26 *Trans.* XXXVI, 1–15.

27 *Trans.* XXVIII, 19–20.

28 Hodder 2004, 28–43.

29 e.g. *Trans.* XIII, 46–50; XV, 1–4; XXII, 13–23.

30 *Trans.* IX, 1–16.

31 *Trans.* XX, 1–14.

32 Smith 1977; Coates 2002; Hewson 2007.

33 *Trans.* XLVII (whole volume).

34 *Trans.* XLIV, 1–7.

35 *Trans.* XLV, 13–23.

36 Simmonds 2008b.

37 Wardle 2017, fig. 8.7.

38 *Trans.* XI, 1–6.

39 Wardle 2017.

40 *Trans.* II, 31–7; V, 1–50, 51–4; VI, 1–19; VIII, 1–38, 39–41; XI, 7–31, 67–8; XIII, 1–8; XIV, 30–1; XV, 13–28; XIX, 1–4; XXIII, 1–68; XXV, 1–30; XXVII, 27–34; XXXII, 1–78; XXXIII, 1–6; XXXIV, 1–4; XXXVII, 1–57; and XLII, 31–4.

motorway,⁴¹ small-scale watching briefs resulting in grey literature reports,⁴² and as yet unpublished excavations by the Society to the north of the *mansio*⁴³ and at Wall House paddock.⁴⁴

The excavations published in *Transactions* have taken place on various parts of the site, including the defences and interior of the forts, the baths, the *mansio*, the *burgus*, the civilian settlement, and outlying farmsteads. There are also reports on architectural details and other individual finds including the remarkable carved stones which were built into the foundation of the *mansio*; on the context of the site including the derivation of its Roman name; on Christianity at Wall; and on Wall's relationship to Lichfield.⁴⁵ The excavation reports have stimulated further debate in *Transactions* in respect of possible interpretations.

Cumulatively, the excavations have revealed a sequence that, following marching camps interpreted from crop marks, begins with a large fort of mid 1st-century date, which may have housed a *vexillation* of a legion and was accompanied by some extramural structures. It was followed by three successive smaller forts, and a small bathhouse and a building on the site of the later *mansio* were constructed in the later 1st century AD. Military withdrawal in the 2nd century was followed by the rebuilding of the baths and *mansio*, possibly as part of a small town along Watling Street. Later in the 2nd century the baths were extended and the *mansio* rebuilt in stone, and both buildings were modified during the 3rd century before going out of use. Stone from them may have been used in the construction of a fortification or *burgus*, defended by a stone wall, rampart, and three ditches, which was built across Watling Street to their east in the late 3rd or early 4th century.

Remains of Roman buildings and boundaries have been found to the south and east of Wall,⁴⁶ and excavations along the line of the M6 Toll motorway revealed a cemetery on Ryknield Street to the south-east of Wall,⁴⁷ complementing that found on Watling Street to its west in the 1920s.⁴⁸ Slightly further afield, a pottery kiln⁴⁹ and a farmstead or villa,⁵⁰ both near Shenstone, and a large aisled building at Hammerwich west of Wall (which may have been ancillary to a villa) probably lay within the *territorium* of *Letocetum*.⁵¹ The extent of agricultural activity in this area in the Roman period is demonstrated by ditched enclosures north of Watling Street in Weeford and Hints.⁵²

The information accruing from excavations in and around Wall prompts many further questions: why was a fort established here, and was there any pre-Roman activity?; was Wall a small town or a village or an administrative centre surrounded by farms?; what was happening there in the later Roman period, and what was the purpose of the *burgus*?; and when, how and why did the focus shift from Wall to Lichfield? Overviews of the archaeological information from Wall demonstrate that the site and its surroundings are crying out for a reassessment and synthesis,⁵³ which would be heavily dependent upon on the papers in *Transactions*, alongside research published elsewhere.

At Rocester in mid Staffordshire there were three successive Roman forts, the last of which was occupied until the end of the second century, when a civilian settlement developed.⁵⁴ The settlement was defended with an earth rampart and was occupied through the 3rd and 4th centuries, while horse and rider brooches⁵⁵ and vessel handles including representations of Bacchus⁵⁶ relate to religious activity here.⁵⁷ The Roman settlement at Greensforge in south-west Staffordshire was occupied from the 2nd to the 4th centuries and similarly developed outside earlier forts.⁵⁸

The Roman rural landscape at Fisherwick in the Tame valley⁵⁹ and at nearby Whitemoor Haye⁶⁰ consisted of circular timber buildings in ditched enclosures, accompanied by ditched boundaries.

41 Powell *et al.* 2008.

42 Available in the Archaeology Data Service.

43 e.g. Ball and Ball 1995.

44 Campbell-Kelly 1997.

45 *Trans.* V, 51–4; XIV, 30–1; XXI, 1–14; XXXIII, 7–9; and XXXVII, 27–35.

46 *Trans.* VI, 1–19; VIII, 39–41.

47 McKinley 2008.

48 Hodgkinson 1927.

49 Simmonds 2008c.

50 Hodgkinson and Chatwin 1944.

51 Simmonds 2008a.

52 *Trans.* XLII, 1–30.

53 Gould 1998; Meeson n.d.; McKinley 2008; Booth 2008; Blake *et al.* 2018.

54 *Trans.* XXXV (whole volume); XLIII, 1–38.

55 *Trans.* XXVI, 1–10.

56 *Trans.* XXXVIII, 6–11.

57 Ferris *et al.* 2000.

58 *Trans.* XXXVIII, 12–31.

59 *Trans.* X, 1–22; XX, 1–14.

60 Coates 2002; Hewson 2007.

Further north at Hales, near one of Staffordshire's few known Roman villas, a recent survey revealed earthworks near villa buildings which were excavated several years ago.⁶¹ The Hales villa was preceded by Iron Age roundhouses, and the site of the villa at Acton Trussell similarly seems to have been occupied during the Iron Age as well in earlier prehistoric periods.⁶²

The curious site near Watling Street known as Knaves Castle no longer survives but it has been suggested, from its location and its form as depicted on historic maps and described by antiquaries, that it may have been a Roman watchtower or signal station.⁶³ Although they are known elsewhere in Britain, very few of these sites have as yet been identified in the West Midlands region.⁶⁴

ANGLO-SAXON AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS

The sixty years of publication of the Society's *Transactions* celebrated in this issue more or less span the period in which medieval archaeology, as a discipline, has taken shape and developed.⁶⁵ Many of the articles and reports published by the Society deal with medieval sites and themes that shadow the developing discipline while sometimes presaging or reflecting significant trends, such as the large number of contributions concerned with landscape archaeology and with settlement and topographical studies, alongside numerous excavation reports, discussions of medieval buildings, sites and artefacts, and historical studies.

ANGLO-SAXON STAFFORDSHIRE

Modern urban redevelopment facilitated excavation opportunities in Staffordshire's main medieval towns of Lichfield, Stafford, and Tamworth, although Burton-upon-Trent and the developing towns of the later 'Black Country', like Wolverhampton and Walsall, also figure prominently in the pages of the *Transactions*. From a relatively early stage the archaeology of Tamworth was receiving attention for the insights that it offered on the nature of the Anglo-Saxon *burh*, a celebrated place in the Mercian kingdom and the site of a royal palace. The first report of what proved to be a long-running series on the Anglo-Saxon defences of Tamworth appeared in 1967, dealing with the Brewery Lane area of the town. Excavations in 1968 found post holes on the southern side of the western entrance to the *burh*, revealed a pre-rampart ditch, and offered the opportunity to suggest a reconstruction of the rampart and entrance by c. 913.⁶⁶ These, and subsequent excavations on the line of the defences,⁶⁷ confirmed the national importance of Tamworth's archaeology in our understanding of such early medieval fortifications and of Mercia's *burhs*. The archaeological distinction of Tamworth was further emphasised by the 1971 excavations in Bolebridge Street which uncovered the substantial timbers of an Anglo-Saxon horizontal watermill, of mid 9th-century date and possibly earlier, with wooden paddles, an iron bearing, and used millstones. The mill, which may have served the palace complex, is among the best examples of its type to have been excavated anywhere in Europe.⁶⁸ The site of the Anglo-Saxon mint in Tamworth, if it is really feasible to think in such terms, continues to elude us although its products, from the 10th century onwards, have received attention in the *Transactions*.⁶⁹

More recently the Society has had the opportunity to publish reports arising from excavations in Stafford since 2003 that have proposed some fundamental rethinking of the county town's role and development during the Anglo-Saxon period. A report on the 2003 excavation of early medieval ditches in the Broadeye area of the town has suggested the presence of a pre-Conquest thegnly enclosure or '*haga*' of the kind often associated with urban communities, but not well-represented in the archaeological record; this enclosure, adjacent to the *burh*, was subsequently re-used after the

61 *Trans.* XLVIII, 1–5.

62 Publication forthcoming in *Transactions*. Our understanding of this complex site derives from many years of excavation undertaken to a high standard by an 'amateur' group.

63 *Trans.* XLVI, 33–71.

64 White 2018, 17.

65 Notwithstanding the antiquarian roots of archaeology in general, many would argue that it was the foundation of the Society for Medieval Archaeology in 1956 that marked the recognition of medieval archaeology as a discipline in its own right, three years after the Wharham Percy project commenced. By 1958, in the second volume of that Society's journal, W. A. Pantin demonstrated that the contribution of archaeology to medieval studies was not restricted to excavation alone. However, only since the early 1970s has the subject been taught as an academic discipline within British universities.

66 *Trans.* IX, 17–29; X, 32–42.

67 *Trans.* XVI, 54–7. Ken Sheridan located a probable Anglo-Saxon ditch above which was a later pre-Conquest rampart.

68 *Trans.* XIII, 9–16. The mill was dated in this interim report to the 8th century, but a fuller report was subsequently published (Rahtz and Meeson 1992).

69 *Trans.* XI, 32–57.

Norman Conquest as a part of the site of a royal castle in the town, the ditch being re-cut several times until in the 14th century it was in-filled, perhaps because of urban encroachment.⁷⁰

Stafford is well-known for its Anglo-Saxon pottery industry, and in 2009 and 2010 three area excavations and a watching brief to the south of Tipping Street provided an opportunity to revisit this vital aspect of the *burh*'s development in its mid to late Saxon phases. Three and possibly four pottery kilns were examined, revealing a pottery industry that lasted around 150 years from the mid 9th to the late 10th century, introduced into a pre-existing settlement that may have originated in the late 8th or early 9th century. These excavations show Stafford to be developing by that date and to be home to a sophisticated pottery industry by the mid 9th century, earlier than was previously thought and raising the possibility that Stafford at this time was a part of the efforts at investment and commercial revival within the Mercian kingdom. Not only has this provided a revised perspective on the origins of Stafford, it has also offered further insights on Mercian kingship shortly before the kingdom's demise.⁷¹

The *Transactions* have also published reports dealing with earlier phases of the region's Anglo-Saxon history, such as the study of a zoomorphic decorated cruciform brooch from Wychnor dating to the late 6th or early 7th century, notable for the survival of some of its details, together with discussions of pre-Conquest artefacts recorded since the 19th century.⁷² The report in this current volume describing the excavation of *Grubenhäuser* at Tucklesholme Quarry in the Trent valley, which may be set alongside significant late 20th-century excavations at Catholme and the several Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the area, are important for the light that they shed on the dispersed settlement pattern along the Trent valley and the discovery of a settlement dating to within the 6th- to early 7th-century period. This might therefore overlap with the earliest phases of Catholme or even slightly pre-date them. The discovery of a large number of *in situ* loom weights, indicative of textile weaving activity, alongside crop-processing and food preparation, suggests this to have been a habitation site.

An important focus for work in the county has been Lichfield, the largest of Staffordshire's medieval towns, and where in addition to excavation the potential of topographical studies have also been explored. A significant volume published in 1982 comprised a collection of articles reviewing the then current knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement. The development of the diocese up to the 12th century was outlined, emphasising the importance of the cult of St Chad for the ultimate survival of Lichfield as the diocesan centre after the Norman Conquest, and excavations described the development of a site south of the Cathedral, beside Minster Pool, from the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period, activity in Wade Street in the 12th and 13th centuries, and investigations at St Michael's and St Mary's churches.⁷³ The last thirty years or so have, inevitably, substantially enhanced this picture, most significantly with the discovery in the recent Cross Keys excavations of a masonry structure of 5th- or 6th-century date, claimed as unique in Britain, although subsequent analogies with a Wroxeter building have been cautiously mooted. It continued in use into at least the 7th century (to be followed by a high-quality sunken featured building), leaving no doubt that there was settlement in Lichfield well before the mid 7th century although its nature is unclear.⁷⁴

TOPOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES

A topographical approach to exploring the origins of Lichfield was first raised in the Society's *Transactions* by Christopher Taylor in the late 1960s, in a publication that would later prompt a series of important studies, both for our understanding of Lichfield and for the methodologies that they employed. Taylor suggested that Lichfield was laid out as a medieval 'new town' of c.1150 by Bishop Roger de Clinton, challenging the then prevalent view of slow 'organic' growth in the shadow of the cathedral. He also argued that prior to the town there were at least three settlements in the area that may have already become known collectively as 'Lichfield' even before the town was established. Just over ten years later Steven Basset returned to the question of Lichfield's origins and growth, employing an innovative topographical analysis based on the prevailing 'grain' of the landscape as suggested by field boundaries and roads, the implication of which was that any features failing to conform must be secondary. Basset concluded that the cathedral and early churches of the town fitted well into this pattern, suggesting an Anglo-Saxon church that emerged within a Roman

70 *Trans.* XLIII, 39–85.

71 *Trans.* XLVII (whole volume).

72 *Trans.* XVIII, 53–8; XIX, 5–10.

73 *Trans.* XXII (whole volume).

74 *Trans.* XLVI, 1–32. The mid 7th century is associated with the establishment of the diocese here.

or sub-Roman site. The new borough similarly respected the prevailing landscape, Basset arguing for a particularly ambitious project based on a rectilinear grid that was more extensive and uniform than now appears. The analysis sought to account for various parts of the town's layout and the factors that influenced it. A few years later Terry Slater published a critique of Basset's model in the *Transactions*, urging the application of urban topographical techniques and comparative studies to explain the evolution of Lichfield's medieval town-plan, which, as he pointed out, avoided recourse to the frequent changes that Basset's model supposed. This led Slater to offer alternative proposals to those of either Taylor or Basset for the town's development. He suggested that four or five medieval suburbs with tofts and crofts preceded the planned development of the town centre, noting that Lichfield was not an urban place before the mid 12th century but was rather an estate centre on major routeways. Slater also argued that Stowe was the principal pre-urban settlement and that the borough was laid out as an extension of the existing settlement, designed to enhance market function and producing a subtle and sophisticated ground plan that minimised disruption to the pre-existing pattern and then developed through small-scale incremental changes.⁷⁵ These fundamental studies and explorations of methodology have provided essential tools for the interpretation of Lichfield, while successive excavations within the city test these models as they contextualise their findings. Thus, the Cross Keys site has cast doubt on aspects of Slater's model and questioned the antiquity of the Stowe Street plan-unit but demonstrated that the south-west end of its area marks the earliest settlement so far discovered in Lichfield.⁷⁶

TOWNS, INDUSTRY, and COMMERCE in MEDIEVAL STAFFORDSHIRE

Staffordshire has been fairly well served by the excavation of medieval sites over the past five decades, many of which have been published in the *Transactions*. Further urban sites that deserve mention include Sandford Street in Lichfield, the first excavation in the city to encounter the town ditch, and the site of a large stone-lined garderobe that was tentatively associated with an inn; also, an early 14th-century house next to the south gateway of the cathedral close and, in this present volume, a report on the Franciscan friary.⁷⁷ In Stafford the excavation of a watermill, close to the River Sow on the south side of the town, proved to be a remarkable site. Its earliest phase dated to the late 12th century, and the mill continued in use until at least the mid 16th century.⁷⁸ The Society has also published a report on excavations in Wolverhampton, detailing the first archaeological deposits to have been recorded in the town centre and the first contributions to Wolverhampton's medieval pottery sequence. Similarly, the medieval archaeology of Bilston has been explored, producing evidence for a building, residual pottery of the 12th and 13th centuries, and the impression that the settlement contracted in the post-medieval period. The excavation in 1975 of a house site in Lower Rushall Street in Walsall demonstrated medieval limestone quarrying with domestic occupation beginning in the 13th or 14th century, while in a subsequent volume Jim Gould discussed the origins of Walsall, suggesting that it was an appendage to a royal estate at Wednesbury, becoming a separate manor by 1159 with the first settlement in the Townend area; the borough was subsequently established on top of the hill at the beginning of the 13th century. Excavations in Wednesbury in 1988 and 1989 prompted the suggestion that the market place was laid out in the later medieval period, accompanying a shift of settlement from an earlier nucleus on Church Hill to the north. At Stone excavations in the High Street in 1993 revealed a medieval tenement in use by around the mid 13th century, and a timber building with associated pits, set back from the street frontage.⁷⁹

The archaeology of Burton-upon-Trent, one of the county's boroughs that was established before the end of the 12th century, is relatively unexplored in the pages of the *Transactions*. However, some insight into the medieval town houses of Burton was gained from investigations in Horninglow Street which revealed traces of timber-framed buildings, one of which was built from timbers felled in 1345. They shared a burgage plot established before 1214 and both buildings were jettied and had crown-post roofs.⁸⁰ Unsurprisingly, work encountering medieval Tamworth, one of the three places in Staffordshire that was a borough at the time of Domesday Book, is generally better represented in the *Transactions*. A 14th-century post-and-truss house was recorded in Market Street, while at the Peel Arms site a ditch, probably associated with the castle, was found to have been allowed to silt

⁷⁵ *Trans.* X, 43–52; XXII, 93–121; XXVI, 11–35.

⁷⁶ *Trans.* XLVI, 1–32.

⁷⁷ *Trans.* XL, 58–121; XLIV, 8–27; this volume.

⁷⁸ *Trans.* XLI, 1–44.

⁷⁹ *Trans.* XXIV, 1–7; XLI, 45–59; XXIII, 100–8; XXIV, 66–83; XXXII, 96–105; XXXVII, 58–104.

⁸⁰ *Trans.* XXXIV, 21–34.

up in the 14th century. Although sherds of Anglo-Saxon pottery were encountered there, the ceramic assemblages were primarily of either the 11th to late 12th century or of 13th- to 14th-century date.⁸¹

Research into Staffordshire's urban communities has also attracted a number of significant historical studies. The liberties, courts, and markets of the medieval burgesses of Tamworth have been described, while an interesting study of a royal clerk, Master Ralph of Tamworth, exemplified the rising class of clerks and *magistri* who in the 12th century were making careers in the service of the king.⁸² The liberties of burgesses also featured in two charters relating to Walsall, from c.1230–47, and 1309; although these are seigneurial charters, one might also detect in them the ambition and involvement of Walsall's community, creating an impression of a lord working with his tenants.⁸³ Lichfield, which by 1298 comprised of some 286 burgages, has attracted several important contributions. Two medieval account rolls for 1308–9 and 1312–13 have been examined, yielding interesting incidental details. For instance, Master Hugh the mason had the herbage of the bishop's garden for his cart-horse, and wine was purchased and brought to Lichfield from Worcester. Elsewhere, Lichfield's guild of St Mary and St John proffered a case study of an urban guild from the mid 14th century, revealing not only how it provided a focus for the loyalty of residents and regular visitors to the town, but might also function as an effective surrogate government, regulating urban life in both spiritual and secular spheres.⁸⁴

Among the more remarkable of Staffordshire's medieval excavations were those undertaken in Brewood in 1999 and 2000.⁸⁵ The focus of the site was a well-preserved, waterlogged, timber raft of probable late medieval date. This provided an extensive wooden platform with another, less substantial, to the north of a cobbled surface. A number of wooden barrels were set within clay-lined pits, the dendrochronological dating for which, together with the platforms, indicated their manufacture from trees felled in the late 12th to early 13th centuries. Two wooden structures were excavated which, with finds of leather fragments, wooden artefacts, and pottery, combined to reveal a site that was associated with industrial processes, such as hemp-retting and leather tanning. It is quite likely that the platform was situated near to the houses of some tanners who, together with other artisans from across the town in need of water for their trades or to dump noxious substances, carried on their livelihoods there. The preservation associated with the waterlogged site marks out Brewood, but several reports in *Transactions* have contributed to our information on medieval industry, such as the 15th-century iron-mill at Bourne Pool in Aldridge, and particularly on pottery production, as at Wednesbury.⁸⁶ More generally however, many of the excavations mentioned in this review of reported archaeological work have made significant contributions to the gradual recognition of ceramic sequences in Staffordshire and the west midlands, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s when these studies were still, relatively speaking, in their infancy. Although the excavation report was not published in the *Transactions*, the investigations in the early 1990s of the Wolseley glassworks on Cannock Chase and research into the medieval glass-makers working there, prompted an article that was published by the Society and presented Ralph Wolseley, on whose land this industry flourished, as a 15th-century capitalist.⁸⁷

CASTLES

Several of Staffordshire's medieval castle sites have been investigated at varying levels, although not all of the work has yet been published, and in some cases publication has been by means of a monograph, but Tamworth castle is among those published by the Society. Excavations in 1960 by Frederick Wainwright, shortly before his death in 1961, encountered the castle's motte-ditch and bailey, together with a section of the northern defences of the town and a part of the medieval town-ditch to the south-east of the town centre. In 1977, Bob Meeson's excavations, more fruitful than those of Tom McNeill five years earlier, revealed evidence for the earliest defences of the bailey, namely three lines of post-holes related to the timber defences. Meeson convincingly postulated a double vertical revetment on the inner face of the ditch with a fighting platform, supported by a jointed timber-frame, offering a valuable insight on Norman castle-building techniques. McNeill's report on his excavations of 1972 and 1974 appeared in a monograph issue of the *Transactions*,

81 *Trans.* XV, 5–12; XXXIV, 5–20.

82 *Trans.* XIII, 17–42; XV, 33–9.

83 *Trans.* XVII, 65–74.

84 *Trans.* XVIII, 59–98; XXVII, 39–47.

85 *Trans.* XL, 1–57.

86 *Trans.* XI, 58–63; XXVII, 64–77; XXXII, 96–115.

87 *Trans.* XXXIX, 22–7.

in which the structural sequence of the gatehouse was examined from the second-half of the 13th century to c.1725. The excavation produced the remains of a cobbler's workshop, and also provided some unexpected information on ceramic links. The anticipated domination of Nuneaton pottery was not forthcoming, preference being directed instead to more localised production until by the later 14th century Leicestershire wares had become more prominent.⁸⁸

Other castle sites to have received attention in the *Transactions* include the royal castle in the medieval borough of Stafford, as noted above; the design of the baronial castle at Stafford and its affinities and the work of its architect, John of Burcestre; and Tutbury castle, or more properly, the 'Park Pale' associated with it. An archaeological earthwork survey produced a radical reinterpretation of what previously had been thought to be the case, suggesting that the earthworks did not relate to the medieval deer park associated with the castle, but had a more complex multi-phase history of construction and use. It seems more probable that the earthwork was a defensive feature and boundary, possibly a town boundary constructed in the late 11th century as a part of the castle-borough.⁸⁹

LANDSCAPES and RURAL SETTLEMENT

Medieval landscapes and their settlement patterns have been a prominent feature in the Society's *Transactions* since their inception, examined through survey, mapping, and reconstruction as well as by excavation. One of the earlier papers to be published examined the development of the settlement pattern and farming in the Shenstone area, representing an early venture into landscape history and demonstrating how land use, including the siting of settlements, responded to geological conditions. Similar themes were again taken up by the same author, R. E. Hebden, in a discussion of the tithe maps of Aldridge, Great Barr, and Shenstone, used to reconstruct a simplified land-use map of the three parishes, sensitive to their geological differences.⁹⁰ The increasingly sophisticated application of such methodologies was later illustrated in a study of the historical development of the landscape in the parishes of Alrewas, Fisherwick, and Whittington through the use of retrogressive analysis and largely summarised in a series of maps. Settlement and farming in the parish of Aldridge before 1650 was addressed in the same volume, emphasising the differences in the settlement patterns between the townships of Aldridge and Great Barr.⁹¹

The 1950s saw an increased interest in listing and researching the phenomenon of abandoned and shrunken rural settlements across the English landscape, generally referred to as 'Deserted Medieval Villages' (DMV). This coincided with the post-war development of aerial photography for archaeological purposes, many photographs recording the earthworks of such rural landscapes. These interests were reflected in the pages of *Transactions*. Aerial photographs of the DMVs at Croxall and Amington in their respective landscapes were published and discussed, while in the same volume there appeared a list of such sites in Staffordshire and adjacent areas, compiled from the records of the 'Deserted Medieval Village Research Group'. This was followed a few years later with a more substantial survey listing some 101 suspected 'lost village sites' in Staffordshire.⁹² At much the same time, attention was also being given nationally to the place of moats in the medieval landscape, even though they had been specifically categorised as an earthwork type as early as the 19th century, and by 1972 the 'Moated Sites Research Group' (now merged within the 'Medieval Settlement Research Group') had been founded. In 1984 *Transactions* published a major survey of moated sites in south Staffordshire; ambitious in its intent, it provided a gazetteer and synthesis of the available information for each site in the survey area and discussed questions of their distribution, chronology, and purpose, along with their social, political, and economic contexts.⁹³ The excavation reports of several Staffordshire moated sites have also appeared over the years. The 'platform moat' at Walsall revealed evidence of pre-platform occupation and made a significant contribution to our understanding of both a local site and of the south Staffordshire and west midlands ceramic traditions as represented in the pottery assemblage associated with it. A former arable site was abandoned by the 13th century to be followed by three timber buildings on stone sills; and then a moat was dug around these buildings by the late 14th century, the up-cast forming a platform that supported a second group of foundations; the manorial site was abandoned by the early 15th century.⁹⁴

88 *Trans.* XIV, 38–44; XX, 15–28; XXIX (whole volume).

89 *Trans.* XLIII, 39–85; XLII, 50–63. Stafford castle is discussed alongside Maxstoke: XXXIII, 14–20.

90 *Trans.* III, 27–38; V, 65–8.

91 *Trans.* XX, 1–14.

92 *Trans.* VIII, 46–50; XII, 31–6.

93 *Trans.* XXIV, 8–65.

94 *Trans.* XVI, 19–53; XVIII, 29–46.

To this last example may be added Sinai Park, near Burton-upon-Trent, moated no later than c.1334 but originally only on its north and west sides, forming an L-shaped moat. In the same volume the pottery from the moated site of West Bromwich Manor House was discussed, where the medieval pottery assemblage included imported wares of the late 13th- or early 14th-century from south-western France or Italy. This reinforced our appreciation of the patterns of consumption and material culture enjoyed by the 'gentry' of the west midlands region at this date and added context for the major structural survey and discussion of this impressive building's development published previously. The manor site at Harlaston, which revealed fragments of structures dating from the 13th or 14th centuries, also appears to have been only partially moated, lacking an arm to the south and like Sinai giving the impression that the purpose of the moat here was status-related.⁹⁵

Work reported on manorial sites has not been confined to moats. The Bagot family's manorial site at Bagot's Bromley, enclosed by hedge and ditch and where the medieval hall had been demolished in 1811, was the subject of a contour survey, and at Rushall Hall the gatehouse was surveyed and found to be a 16th-century addition to curtain walls of c.1300. A survey of Hamstall Hall left the medieval phases of the manorial centre unclear but at Beaudesert Hall, a residence of the bishops of Lichfield and Coventry, some fabric of the late medieval building survived, albeit in a much altered state: a late 15th-century hall with an open hearth was suggested, perhaps as part of a courtyard house.⁹⁶

Broader studies of the medieval landscape have also figured prominently, in keeping with the trend set by some of the earlier contributions already noted. Reconstructed landscapes, topographies, and their development have been postulated for Wednesbury, the Sandwell valley, West Bromwich and Sutton Coldfield, sometimes with debateable conclusions, as might be expected of good academic writing. The discussion of West Bromwich, which sought to place Sandwell Priory in its wider manorial context, argued for a planned rural landscape as an expression of increasing manorialisation, while in the case of the Coldfield a case was put for its early character as uncultivated marginal land, as a result of which it was included in Cannock Forest and then Sutton Chase.⁹⁷ The medieval parks of Drayton Bassett, Shenstone, and Weeford have been shown to challenge the frequently made assumption that early parks were established on unimproved land, unsuitable for cultivation, and indeed might have accommodated pasture land and arable farming within their bounds.⁹⁸ The recent discovery of the 'Staffordshire Hoard' has also left its mark within the pages of the *Transactions*, in the form of two papers examining the landscape context of its location.⁹⁹

THE CHURCH in ANGLO-SAXON and MEDIEVAL STAFFORDSHIRE

An integral and fundamental aspect of medieval society, culture, and landscape was the church, and here too the Society's *Transactions* has made some significant contributions with a relevance beyond Staffordshire alone. Historical studies, accompanied by edited texts, have illustrated the role of church courts at Baswich in 1288 and at Lichfield in 1326; a survey of the medieval rectory house at Clifton Campville made in 1453, showing it to be an open hall-house of considerable size; and a late 16th-century inventory describing a former common residence for Lichfield cathedral's chantry priests.¹⁰⁰ An important aspect of the character of medieval devotion was revealed by Nigel Tringham's discussion of Ralph of Newborough, who died in 1294 and left a will, one of the earliest of those to have survived from medieval Staffordshire. A skilled administrator and bailiff of the bishop, his 'testament' is impressive for the list of bequests that it made to several churches, while also making provision for his own funeral and for commemorative masses for two years. He was buried in the monastic church of St Thomas juxta Stafford, before the altar of St Augustine, next to the tomb of his wife Felice.¹⁰¹

Excavation reports have included a monograph volume devoted to work at Sandwell Priory (a Benedictine foundation) and hall between 1982 and 1988, which described and placed in their context the investigations of the priory church and east range, together with other structures and elements. The site benefitted from good organic survival, revealing some remarkable details for instance from the associated burials, and whose interest was all the more marked by the fact that

95 *Trans.* XXX, 26–9, 35–8; XVII, 1–64; XX, 29–40; XXVIII, 42–3; XXXVI, 21–8.

96 *Trans.* XXIII, 69–78, 79–88; XXVI, 44–82; XLV, 41–61.

97 *Trans.* XXVII, 64–77; XXVIII, 14–38; XXX, 30–4; XXXII, 87–95.

98 *Trans.* XXX, 39–52.

99 *Trans.* XLV, 1–12; XLVIII, 41–54.

100 *Trans.* XXX, 21–2; XXXII, 83–4; XXVI, 36–43.

101 *Trans.* XXXIII, 11–13.

the excavation dealt with a minor religious house in its landscape and regional context.¹⁰² The Cistercian monastery of Croxden, although substantively published elsewhere, also features in the *Transactions*, with reports on excavations undertaken in the 1950s and 1970s at locations beyond the cloister. The 13th-century infirmary and 14th-century abbot's new chamber appear to have been identified, revealing the increasing importance to the monastic community of areas away from the original cloistral range; and such observations on the changing dynamic and use of space within monastic precincts now warrant comparison with other sites investigated more recently, such as Bordesley Abbey in Worcestershire.¹⁰³

The important and ancient Benedictine house at Burton-upon-Trent has not afforded many opportunities for excavation, although in 2006 the site of the infirmary, a building which is thought to have stood until the 17th century, was investigated. Among the significant features relating to it was part of a vaulted structure, part of the 'great hall' attached to the abbey. The deposits reflected the changing character of the site as it was transformed from a Benedictine infirmary into a post-Dissolution residence for the Paget family and their guests, for which a 1580 inventory is edited in this present volume. The 2006 study built on earlier excavations on the infirmary site that revealed buildings of the 14th century and, of particular significance, produced the first stratified groups of medieval and post-medieval finds from Burton, among which the largest pottery group belonged to the period from the mid/late 13th century to the mid/late 14th century. A rather different tack was followed in a reconsideration of Burton abbey church based on the discovery of two plans drawn in c.1700, before its demolition, and confirming that the church did not have a western transept as earlier believed.¹⁰⁴ Burton's near neighbour, the alien Benedictine house at Tutbury, has also been the focus of a study examining the monastic patronage of the lords of Tutbury and of the wider honorial community in the 12th and 13th centuries, comparing their experience with that of the honors of Dudley and Stafford.¹⁰⁵

The graveyard of a medieval hospital of 13th- and 14th-century date, together with the footings of an associated building, have been revealed within the grounds of what is now the Stoke City General Hospital, while at Onneley it has been suggested that an earthwork platform might preserve the site of a 13th-century Templar church. In Tamworth, excavations in 1968 identified a Norman building with 13th-century alterations that served for part of its time as a hospital, but was used primarily from 1283 as a chantry chapel.¹⁰⁶

From its earliest volumes a significant strand of articles and reports in the *Transactions* has been work on the secular church. One of these early contributions was a study by S. A. Jeavons of the pattern of ecclesiastical building in Staffordshire during the Norman period. Although, as for many earlier papers, now in need of revision, this important article listed Norman ecclesiastical building in the county by updating 19th-century studies. The distribution of the work was examined and attempts were made to categorise it into three groups, based upon the probable origins of the masons and craftsmen involved and their associated patronage; Jeavons also proposed five groups of Norman churches in Staffordshire based upon their ground plans.¹⁰⁷ Excavations on the site of the Old Church at Shenstone, which was pulled down in the mid 19th century, led to the suggestion that it was of pre-Conquest origin, while two capitals in Holy Trinity church in Baswich have been dated, stylistically, to c.1050–1100. This significant observation suggests that the building was present at about the time of the Norman Conquest, and therefore should be considered in the context of the so-called 'Saxo-Norman Overlap'.¹⁰⁸

Anglo-Saxon phases also feature in Bob Meeson's important article of 2015 in which he reviewed the origins and early development of St Editha's church in Tamworth, based on work conducted at various points since 1977. Meeson examined features in the fabric of the building that might echo the plan-form and structure of the pre-Norman church and produced a series of 'working hypotheses'.

102 *Trans.* XXXI (whole volume). Also see XXX, 30–4. The report includes many interesting details relating to the plan and construction of the house, its internal arrangements and decoration, a notable series of burials with their accompanying features, and the creation of a chantry chapel for the manorial lords in the south chapel / transept.

103 *Trans.* XXXVI, 29–51. Work at Bordesley Abbey (Worcs.), for instance, has related the abandonment of the refectory as reflecting a trend for monastic communities to fragment into households and smaller units; by c.1400 industrial processes had intruded into the cloister and there were increased numbers of lay burials, giving an impression that parts of the precinct, including the cloister, were being 'secularised' as the laity moved in.

104 *Trans.* XLIII, 86–100; XIX, 11–32; XXXVII, 29–51.

105 *Trans.* XLIX, 48–67.

106 *Trans.* XLII, 64–7; X, 23–31.

107 *Trans.* IV, 5–22.

108 *Trans.* XV, 43–9; XXX, 21–2.

This church was, of course, intimately associated with the Anglo-Saxon palace complex and may well have been refurbished as a part of the restoration of the *burh* by Æthelflæd in 913. Meeson suggests a possible 'westwork' that might have comprised a porch and tower, a forebuilding or a gallery. St Edith of Polesworth had previously been the subject of discussion in the *Transactions*, and here Meeson suggests that a relic of the saint may have been brought into the *burh* in the 10th century, and that the church's crypt might have been subsequently remodelled to house a reliquary.¹⁰⁹

Other articles have argued a 12th-century date for St Bartholomew's church at Blore Ray; discussed late medieval floor tiles from All Saint's church in West Bromwich; and made observations on Aldridge church.¹¹⁰ With regard to church furnishings, a valuable recent contribution has tackled the interesting Romanesque font in St Mary's church, Stafford. Dating to the 1140s, it has been presented as the product of a skilled designer, perhaps a visiting foreign cleric, and displaying possible Italian influence, with an iconography related to Pope Gregory the Great's 'Moralia in Job' as well as the Bible.¹¹¹

FROM MEDIEVAL TO POST-MEDIEVAL: the archaeology of buildings

The importance of recording and interpreting standing vernacular buildings, in some cases before their alteration or even demolition, was recognised from the inception of the *Transactions*, with articles on cruck-framed houses in the Lichfield district.¹¹² Cruck-framed buildings were also described from Bloxwich, Seisdon, Armitage and Aldridge.¹¹³ Faith Cleverdon examined the distribution and date of surviving and recently-demolished cruck buildings in the medieval parish of Leek in the Staffordshire Moorlands, where she found there to be a dating range of 1499 – 1600 for the surviving buildings.¹¹⁴ At Dosthill in Tamworth, a four-bay cruck-barn with outshot was recorded by Bob Meeson, among his many contributions on Staffordshire's vernacular buildings.¹¹⁵

Reeve End Cottage in Yoxall, recorded by Malcolm Hislop, proved to be a building of particular interest. This medieval timber-framed house was aisled, a building technique generally associated with buildings of great width and high status, but it was here utilised in a small building, probably because of lack of access to suitable timber, as well as presumably a desire to convey a sense of prestige.¹¹⁶ Medieval halls of base cruck form were recorded at Pear Tree Farmhouse in Yoxall¹¹⁷ and at West Bromwich Manor House, where the hall, later medieval cross-wings, and post-medieval additions were recorded in advance of James Roberts's repairs and restoration¹¹⁸. The architect Freddie Charles's study of the Church House in Abbot's Bromley was also undertaken as part of its renovation.¹¹⁹

A 15th-century hall was recorded at Wales End Farmhouse in Barton-under-Needwood,¹²⁰ and the T-shaped plan of Shelfield Lodge Farm in Aldridge, demolished in 1961, resulted from the early 18th-century addition of a brick-built cross-wing to a medieval hall-house.¹²¹ In a discussion of two early roofs from Blithfield Hall, Bob Meeson suggests that a fully-enclosed courtyard plan may have developed on a moated site here as early as the 14th century, whose subsequent development left traces of a 15th-century first floor open chamber, and a 16th-century roof on the site of a medieval open hall.¹²²

109 *Trans.* XLVIII, 15–40; XXVII, 35–8.

110 *Trans.* XVII, 89–90; XXVIII, 39–41; XVIII, 47–52.

111 *Trans.* XLIX, 28–47.

112 *Trans.* I, 14–19; III, 41–4.

113 *Trans.* V, 69–74; XVII, 75–84; XVIII, 1–28.

114 *Trans.* XXXVIII, 49–58.

115 *Trans.* XIV, 45–50.

116 *Trans.* XXVII, 48–52.

117 *Trans.* XXXVIII, 32–48.

118 *Trans.* XVII, 1–64.

119 *Trans.* VIII, 51–4.

120 *Trans.* XXXVIII, 32–48.

121 *Trans.* X, 63–9.

122 *Trans.* XXX, 53–63.

POST-MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY (from c. 1550 onwards)

Many papers in *Transactions* which are about aspects of the county's history over the past few centuries are understandably largely or exclusively based on documentary sources, but this section of our review confines itself to those papers principally concerned with archaeology: the investigation and interpretation of physical remains. These include the recording of entire historic buildings or details of them, surveys of earthworks, excavations, and artefact studies. Much archaeological research specifically on, or including, post-medieval Staffordshire has been published in a wide range of sources other than *Transactions*, including national journals, but *Transactions* papers have nonetheless contributed to discussions of some aspects of the post-medieval archaeology of Staffordshire and beyond.¹²³ Papers in *Transactions* over the years reflect a growing appreciation of the contribution of archaeology to the understanding of a relatively recent and apparently well-documented period of the past.

TOWNS and TOWN HOUSES; COUNTRY HOUSES; and the WORKING COUNTRYSIDE

Excavations in Lichfield and Stafford have shown that there was a decline in the intensity of activity in these towns in the late medieval and early post-medieval periods.¹²⁴ At Sandford Street in Lichfield medieval occupation was followed by tanning from the 16th century onwards,¹²⁵ while at Tipping Street in Stafford late medieval and early post-medieval occupation was less intensive than it had previously been and in the 17th and 18th centuries the frontage was occupied but there were gardens behind it.¹²⁶ Brick was becoming the main building material in towns from the late 17th century but earlier traditions continued: a building in Market Street in Tamworth, whose construction was tree-ring dated to 1695, was timber-framed with a brick façade.¹²⁷ The 12th-century timber-framed watermill in Stafford, discussed above, was modified in the 16th and 17th centuries, then demolished and replaced by a brick-built mill in 1834.¹²⁸ In the countryside the timber-framed dovecote of c. 1600 at Haselour Hall was encased in brick in the 18th century, reflecting the change in preferred building materials.¹²⁹

In contrast to the apparent decline in urban development, existing houses in the countryside were modified and enlarged. At Beaudesert the enlargement of a 15th-century stone hall in the 16th century involved demolition of its north wall but retention of its south wall,¹³⁰ whilst a gatehouse was added c. 1620 to buildings of late 15th- and 16th-century date at Hamstall Hall.¹³¹ At West Bromwich Manor House a timber-framed gatehouse was added to the 13th- to 15th-century ranges in the late 16th century; the majority of the pottery, glassware, clay pipes, and shoes that were found in the moat around the buildings dates from the late 16th to the mid 17th centuries, when the site was owned successively by the Stanley and Shelton families.¹³² In the 18th century the owner, Sir Samuel Clarke, constructed a garden for fruit trees; it was surrounded by a brick wall which included bee boles, niches to contain straw or wicker beehives for the trees' pollinators.¹³³ Bee boles have also been noted at Pipe Ridware Hall Farm.¹³⁴

Excavations at Sandwell Priory in West Bromwich showed how some of the medieval claustral buildings were modified to create a dwelling in the 16th and 17th centuries, itself subsequently largely replaced by a new, brick-built Sandwell Hall in the 18th century.¹³⁵ The extensive surviving remains of the former park around the hall include its boundary wall, entrance lodge, ha-has, pools, icehouse, menagerie, and orangery. The hall was approached along an avenue lined with sweet chestnut trees and its grounds contained exotic tree species, including a Swamp Cypress, resulting from the North American connections of one of its 18th-century owners, the second earl of Dartmouth. In addition a 'model' farm near the hall was accompanied by a walled garden with

123 Welch 2003; Belford 2011.

124 Welch 2003.

125 *Trans.* XL, 58–121.

126 *Trans.* XLVII (whole volume).

127 *Trans.* XXXIII, 42–8.

128 *Trans.* XLI, 1–44.

129 *Trans.* XXVIII, 44–50.

130 *Trans.* XLV, 41–61.

131 *Trans.* XXVI, 44–82.

132 *Trans.* XX, 29–40; XXX, 35–8; XXXIII, 21–41.

133 *Trans.* IV, 47–50.

134 *Trans.* XIII, 43–4.

135 *Trans.* XXXI (whole volume).

a heated greenhouse.¹³⁶ Elsewhere in the county, the identification of water meadows along every river catchment emphasises the importance of stock-keeping in the post-medieval rural economy.¹³⁷

INDUSTRY

Staffordshire's post-medieval industries included ironworking and the manufacture of metal objects, pottery manufacture, glassmaking, and the extraction of limestone and coal. Much of the archaeological investigation of these industries has been published elsewhere.¹³⁸ A study of the 16th-century Paget ironworks on Cannock Chase draws mainly upon documentary sources but includes brief descriptions of visible remains at the site of Cannock blast furnace and Slitting Mill and Teddesley furnaces.¹³⁹ Similarly a documentary study of Perry Barr watermills includes brief reference to visible remains including pools, dams, and the site of a wheelhouse.¹⁴⁰

The well-known post-medieval pottery industry of Stoke-on-Trent continues into the present day and structures survive at works which are no longer in operation. The industry has been the subject of several archaeological investigations and the recent excavation of kilns and working areas of a 19th-century works also resulted in the discovery of 18th-century wasters.¹⁴¹ Pottery was made in Wednesbury from the 15th to 18th centuries, excavations at Oakeswell Hall, Ridding Lane, and Market Place showing that the products included Midlands Purple, glazed red earthenware, Cistercian and blackwares, and midlands yellow wares.¹⁴² Much of the post-medieval pottery found at West Bromwich Manor House was probably made in Wednesbury but kiln debris here and at nearby sites hints at a more local source for some of the wares.¹⁴³

Many of the clay pipes used in Staffordshire are likely to have been made outside the county, in well-known production centres such as Broseley in Shropshire, but they were also made locally, albeit on a small scale. Clay pipes from the bishop's palace in Lichfield cathedral close include some in a distinctive fabric and were probably made at a kiln documented there in the mid 17th century,¹⁴⁴ and some of the clay pipes found in the moat of West Bromwich manor house may have been local products.¹⁴⁵

Limestone quarrying and coal mining have been the subject of many studies (published elsewhere) based mainly on documentary evidence, but excavations have shown that limestone quarries in Church Hill, Walsall, were backfilled in the 17th century,¹⁴⁶ and in Sandwell Valley a coal mine's spoil heap, single building, and tramway can still be seen.¹⁴⁷

RELIGION and BURIAL

The architecture of medieval churches in Staffordshire has rightly been the subject of much study, some of which has been published in *Transactions*, but post-medieval churches have not fared so well, which makes the recording of St Mary's church, Ingestre, and its attribution to Sir Christopher Wren all the more important.¹⁴⁸

Outline plans have probably been made of burial plots in many churches but there seem to have been few detailed surveys of inscriptions and images on gravestones. The potential of this source for understanding changing attitudes to death is illustrated by a study of 18th- and 19th-century gravestones at Shenstone.¹⁴⁹

136 *Trans.* XXVII, 72–82; XXVIII, 14–38.

137 *Trans.* XLV, 85–106.

138 e.g. Belford 2010; Welch 1997.

139 *Trans.* VI, 21–38.

140 *Trans.* XLI, 65–78.

141 *Trans.* XLVIII, 55–86.

142 *Trans.* XXVII, 64–72; XXXII, 96–115.

143 *Trans.* XXXIII, 21–4.

144 *Trans.* XVI, 65–6.

145 *Trans.* XX, 29–40.

146 *Trans.* XLV, 62–84.

147 *Trans.* XXVIII, 14–38.

148 *Trans.* XLIII, 101–26.

149 *Trans.* XIX, 47–55.

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ANGLO-SAXON SETTLEMENT AND TEXTILE PRODUCTION AT TUCKLESHOLME QUARRY, NORTH OF THE TRENT–TAME CONFLUENCE

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with contributions by
PAUL BLINKHORN, JOHN SUMMERS, and JENNIFER WOOD

ABSTRACT

Between 2012 and 2014 archaeological excavations were carried out at Aggregate Industries (UK) Ltd's Tucklesholme Quarry, Barton-under-Needwood, Staffordshire, by Phoenix Consulting Archaeology Ltd (PCAL) in respect of quarry phases 3–8, phases 1 and 2 having been reported on previously (Coates and Richmond 2009).

Investigations in phase 4 found evidence for Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon settlement, including three possible 'Grubenhäuser', otherwise known as sunken-featured buildings ('SFBs'). Associated occupation deposits revealed evidence of day-to-day crop processing, food preparation, and textile weaving; the latter activity, represented by 46 apparently in-situ fired-clay loomweights, is best dated to the early part of the Middle Saxon period. These discoveries appear to slightly pre-date the nationally significant 7th- to 9th-century Anglo-Saxon settlement of Catholme, located c. 3km (1.8 miles) to the south.

The Tucklesholme Anglo-Saxon settlement forms part of the site's extended human presence, which excavations have shown to have ranged from the Upper Palaeolithic to the post-Medieval period. With an emphasis on the presence of loomweights found in one of the site's Anglo-Saxon Grubenhäuser, this report considers the evidence to date from Tucklesholme and other recent excavations, for Anglo-Saxon settlement and craft activity located along the western bank of the River Trent, north of its confluence with the rivers Tame and Mease.

Tucklesholme Quarry is a working sand and gravel quarry, located just south of Burton-upon-Trent and east of Barton-under-Needwood, in Staffordshire. Phase 4 of the site (centred at NGR SK 212 190) occupies a flat river terrace on the west bank of the River Trent, approximately 4km (2.5 miles) north of the river's confluence with the Tame and Mease; it lies at 45m to 50m above Ordnance Datum (aOD). The present A38 lies to the west of the quarry and follows the line of the former Roman Ryknield Street.

Since 2005 PCAL have been commissioned by Aggregate Industries (UK) Ltd to undertake staged archaeological mitigation works across the site in accordance with an approved scheme of works that had been prepared in consultation with the Archaeological Adviser to the Mineral Planning Authority (Richmond 2005; Coates and Richmond 2009; Francis and Richmond 2015a).

PREHISTORIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

Tucklesholme Quarry is situated within a landscape exceptionally rich in archaeology. Information regarding the past settlement and land-use has been obtained mainly from aerial photographs and historic mapping (Cox 1998 and 1999; Cox and Palmer 2000), although several important excavations have provided an increasingly detailed settlement sequence for the area (Miles 1969; Losco-Bradley 1984; Hughes 1991; Jones 1992; Martin 1998; Coates 2002; Coates and Richmond 2002; Hewson 2006; Coates and Richmond 2009 and 2013; and Francis and Richmond 2016). A number of these archaeological investigations are on-going, with excavations presently taking place at three quarry sites within the wider landscape.

Significant remains include Neolithic 'hengiform' monuments at Fatholme and Borough Holme (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002; Buteux and Chapman 2009), both now subsumed by Barton Quarry, whilst just over a kilometre south of Tucklesholme Quarry is the Scheduled 'Catholme Ceremonial Complex,' an impressive cluster of monuments of predominantly Neolithic and Early Bronze Age date (Buteux and Chapman 2009, 7). This group includes a 'woodhenge-type' monument,

a probable *cursus*, a multi-phase ‘sunburst’ circle with a central Beaker burial and radiating lines of pits, a substantial ring ditch, and several later pit alignments (Bain *et al.* 2006). The complex continues south of the river’s confluence, with further henge monuments, barrows, and a *cursus* recorded at the National Arboretum and at Whitemoor Haye (Coates 2002; Hewson 2006).

Further prehistoric monuments and settlement features have been identified during earlier investigations at Tucklesholme (Hughes 1991; Martin and Allen 2001; Coates and Richmond 2009), at Barton Business Park (Coates and Richmond 2002), and at Newbold and Fisherwick quarries (Francis and Richmond 2015b; Miles 1969; Smith 1976 and 1979). These are indicated in Fig. 1.

The Bronze Age exploitation of this landscape is rather better understood, being largely represented by the cropmarks of ring ditches (ploughed-out round barrows) which are presumed to be of that period. They are distributed across the general study area and are particularly frequent in the Tame Valley, with their highest concentration around the confluence of the Tame and Trent (Vine 1982; Buteux and Chapman 2009). In the mid 1980s a significant Late Neolithic / Early Bronze Age multiple ring ditch was excavated at the adjacent Barton Quarry (Losco-Bradley 1984; Coates and Richmond 2008 and 2013). This is likely to have been used for repeated funerary activities. Numerous Bronze Age cremations, some associated with ring ditches, have been excavated at Whitemoor Haye (Buteux and Chapman 2009, 85–6), and a barrow cemetery has been investigated under a part of the Greycar Business Park, located to the immediate west of Tucklesholme, beyond the railway line (Martin and Allen 2001). The barrow cemetery is scheduled as an Ancient Monument (SM ST222), even though the majority of the site has since been built over.

Iron Age settlement in this area is generally assumed to be represented by extensive cropmark complexes that have been revealed through aerial photographic surveys as existing all along the river terraces of the region. At Tucklesholme Quarry itself, two extensive pit alignments containing substantial upright timber posts have been identified; preserved timbers from these were dated by C14 to the Early Iron Age (6th century BC), and within 30 years of each other. The sheer size of the posts and the fact they remain, for the most part, in the round sets this assemblage apart from those previously documented (Francis and Richmond *forthcoming*). Based on a growing body of evidence, such alignments appear to represent monumental markers or territorial boundaries – possibly even preserving the extent and spiritual significance of earlier monuments, such as the adjacent Bronze Age cremation cemetery.

A semi-regular field-system composed of ditches was established at Tucklesholme in the later Iron Age and subsequent Roman period. This activity heralded the beginning of the division and enclosure of the site’s landscape and marked a paradigm shift from ceremony and ritual to agriculture and domestication. During the Roman period the Tucklesholme landscape lay to the east of Ryknield Street. The nearest Roman military centre was *Letocetum* (Wall), an important staging post on Watling Street, where a possible Neronian vexillation fortress was succeeded by two Flavian forts (Round 1983; Jones 1998).

Romano-British farming communities have been investigated at Fisherwick (Miles 1969), Whitemoor Haye (Coates 2002; Hewson 2006), and Barton Quarry (Francis and Richmond 2016). The excavations at Tucklesholme Quarry identified mid 2nd- to 3rd-century AD ditched field-systems and livestock enclosures with a noticeable progression of multi-ditched enclosures across an area of elevated ground most likely used for livestock (Coates and Richmond 2009; Francis and Richmond 2015a).

ANGLO-SAXON ACTIVITY

BURIAL SITES

There are references to the 19th-century discovery of a number of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries near Tucklesholme. The first was made in 1851 to the south of Barton and Walton railway station, during the digging of a ballast pit adjacent to Roman Ryknield Street, when many cremation urns containing human bone, knives, and weapons were found (Page 1908, 204), and in 1868 another possible Anglo-Saxon burial ground was found in gravel pits on the west side of the Trent, adjoining the Lichfield road and close to the railway line (*ibid*; Molyneux 1869, 189 in footnote).

The Wychnor Anglo-Saxon cemetery (now within the boundary of Barton Quarry) was discovered in 1899 by labourers digging a quarry pit adjacent to the railway line, c. 500m south-west of Catholme. The initial discovery (at SK 1935 1565) included two urns, two shield bosses, and

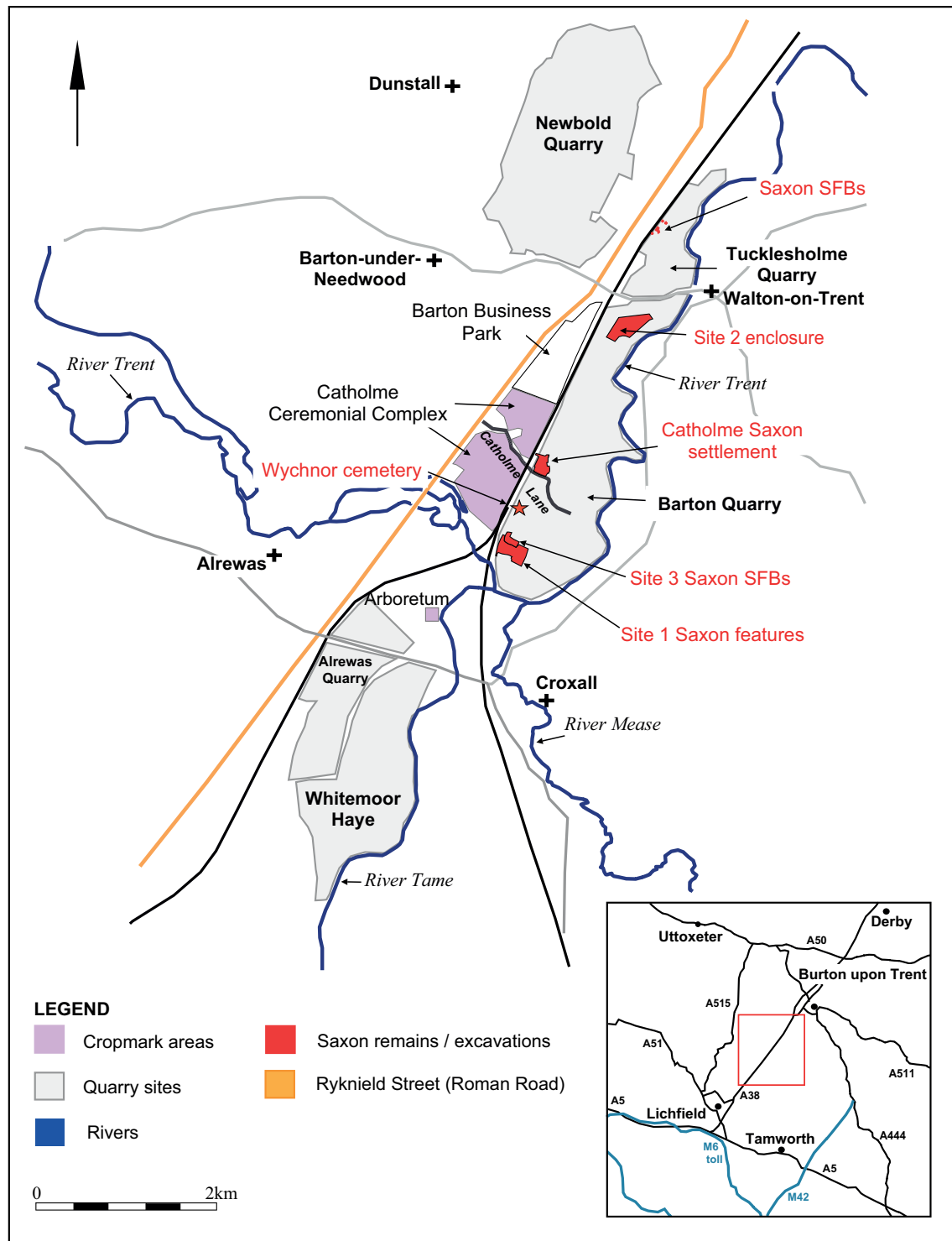


Fig. 1 Location map of sites along the Trent-Tame Confluence

a bronze trefoil-headed brooch (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002, 3). Further finds included urns, spearheads, and bucket staves (Page 1908). Finally, in 1926 an impressive, late 6th- or early 7th-century gilded cruciform brooch was found by labourers digging gravel at Bass and Co.'s gravel pit to the north; a fragment of human jaw bone was found in association with the brooch (Kinsley 2002, 23; Leahy 1979, 5).

Further away (c. 5km to the ENE of Tucklesholme, on the east side of the River Trent opposite Burton-upon-Trent), another cemetery containing five cremations and over 30 inhumations was

discovered in 1881 at Stapenhill. One female grave contained a decorated pottery vessel, two gilded bronze trefoil brooches, a glass- and bronze-bead necklace, elements of a 'chatelaine' (a decorative belt-hook), and a Kimmeridge shale spindle whorl (Page 1908, 200–2).

BARTON QUARRY

Less than half a kilometre south of Wychnor cemetery, close to the Trent–Tame confluence, evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement was identified at Barton Quarry sites 1 and 2, excavated between 2007 and 2012 (Coates and Richmond 2013). Site 1 (centred at SK 1938 1518) contained two small, rectangular stock enclosures and a wall-post structure containing a single Middle Saxon pottery sherd. Two isolated pits contained a larger assemblage of pottery, represented by handmade Mercian mudstone-tempered vessels. Microscopic examination of the sherds suggested that they fell within the range of the type found at Catholme, where similar pottery was dated to the 7th to late 9th centuries AD (Losco-Bradley 2002, 120–3; Young 2013).

Excavations in Site 2, at the northern end of Barton Quarry (centred at SK 206 178), recorded early Prehistoric enclosures overlain by a substantial Bronze Age ring ditch. A square enclosure subsequently created to encompass the ring ditch was dated to the 11th and 12th centuries AD, suggesting the purposeful Saxo-Norman re-use of a former ceremonial area. Environmental evidence suggested low-level crop processing in the vicinity; and metal-smithing activity was indicated by the presence of hammerscale residues (Coates and Richmond 2013). No evidence for textile production was found on either of these sites at Barton Quarry.

Barton Quarry Site 3 (centred at SK 1927 1536), excavated to the immediate north of Site 1, recorded part of an extensive square or rectangular enclosure (G1453) that had originally continued to the north and west, beyond the limit of excavation. An AMS radiocarbon date (Laboratory no.: GU40522), obtained from the primary fill of the ditch provided a calibrated date of 422–572 cal AD with 95.4% probability, placing it securely within the Early Saxon Period (Francis and Richmond 2016).

The remains of three *Grubenhäuser* (or SFBs) were identified outside the enclosure to the south. One feature (context 906) was undated and rather slight, but the other two (G421 and G474) were typical SFBs of Early Saxon date, being located 20m apart on the edge of the river terrace. SFB G421 was orientated *c.* NW/SE and measured 3.7m long (including postholes) and 2.8m wide; part of a handmade Early Saxon 'baggy' jar or bowl in micaceous ware was recovered from the building's NE quadrant. Building G474, also orientated *c.* NW/SE, consisted of a sub-rectangular cut with gable end-posts; it measured 4m long (including postholes) and 2.6m wide.

SFB G474 contained the largest assemblage of Anglo-Saxon pottery recovered from Site 3, albeit in a moderately fragmented and slightly abraded condition. The majority of sherds were indistinguishable Saxon material but included fragments of an Early Saxon burnished jar or bowl. Interestingly, the assemblage also included an ovoid jar that was almost certainly of Iron Age origin (Peachey 2016): there is much evidence from Anglo-Saxon sites, including Catholme, to suggest that earlier pot sherds were deliberately collected, possibly for medicinal or ritual uses – although red-coloured oxidised sherds such as Roman samian were generally preferred (Leary 2002, 100). A single fragment (98g) of annular loomweight was recovered from this SFB, in association with a locally manufactured Mercian Mudstone-tempered vessel (*ibid.* 94). The loomweight fragment is comparable with other examples found in SFBs at Catholme (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002, 52, 54, and 82–4; Carr and Losco-Bradley 2002, 110: Fig.3.94.1).

Animal bone and burnt grain were also recovered from the two Barton Quarry SFBs. A fragment of birch-wood charcoal obtained from the fill of G474 provided a crucial AMS radiocarbon date (GU40521) of 527–609 cal AD with highest (65.7%) probability, placing it towards the end of the Early Saxon Period. The date provides some potential chronological overlap with the enclosure, suggesting that the two terrace-edge SFBs were outlying structures used for crop-processing and possibly weaving.

CATHOLME

Previous Anglo-Saxon discoveries in the Tucklesholme area include the extensive 7th- to 9th-century AD settlement at Catholme (now also subsumed by Barton Quarry). The site, excavated between 1973 and 1980, approximately 3.1km to the south of Tucklesholme (and centred at SK 1970 1626), was established around AD 600 and occupied until the late 800s (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002). The settlement was situated on the western bank of the former course of the River Trent, which

flowed c. 500m further west than its present course. Excavations revealed 65 buildings, primarily composed of wall-post structures with 14 ancillary *Grubenhäuser*, together with ditched enclosures and trackways (ibid.; Losco-Bradley and Wheeler 1984). The settlement probably extended to the area west of the modern railway line, as evidenced by cropmarks seen on air photographs which indicated further *Grubenhäuser* and enclosures (Richmond 1999).

A large number of loomweights and loomweight fragments were found within the remains of some of the site's *Grubenhäuser*. The published information (Carr 2002, 110) is rather limited in terms of numbers and weights – sadly due to Stuart Losco-Bradley's illness at the time of publication (2002, 6), and the existing information has been supplemented here by a recent examination of the original site archive, held at Stoke-on-Trent Museum, which includes an undated and unpublished report on the Catholme loomweights by Pat Losco-Bradley. The report (and an accompanying database) records that the loomweights were all of clay, tempered with quartz, charcoal, and/or organic material and the occasional large (<24mm) pebble. Of the total recovered 46% of the weights were fired, 36% were unfired and 18% partially fired or sun-dried (Losco-Bradley n.d., 1). A total of 24 complete (fired and unfired) loomweights could be weighed and had weights ranging from 280g–700g, with no obvious median and with an average weight of 441g. Heights ranged between 30–52mm; whole diameters, 40 of which could be measured, ranged between 91–142mm; and perforation diameters, 45 of which could be measured at the middle of their hole, ranged between 23–50mm (ibid. 2). Of the identified weights, only three were typologically assigned: two as 'bun-shaped' weights and one intermediate / 'bun-shaped' type, although many of the perforation to diameter ratios are recorded in the site archive.

Ten of the 14 excavated SFBs at Catholme contained loomweights or loomweight fragments, with the 24 complete loomweights being recovered from just four SFBs (AS13, AS20, A62a, and AS63), although those from AS13 were interpreted as post-occupation rubbish (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002, 89). In addition to the many fragments recovered from the ten SFBs, a further 45 incomplete or semi-complete weights were recovered from AS13, AS20, and AS63, giving a potential total of 69 loomweights plus fragments.

Two of the Catholme SFBs (AS20 and AS63) deserve particular mention. Both of these huts contained lumps and extensive spreads of raw, unfired clay in association with complete loomweights and loomweight fragments; these were interpreted as the likely remains of further degraded weights (Losco-Bradley n.d., 1). AS20, a two-post *Grubenhäuser* with a rectangular hollow aligned c. NE/SW, contained a minimum of 16 loomweights, all of which were located on the western side of the hut's centre line (i.e. from post to post), many in close proximity (cf. Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002, 54, and fig 3.33). Two valid radiocarbon dates were obtained from AS20 using available charcoal deposits: one (HAR-2456) from post-occupation layer 3615 containing the weights was dated to 630–900 cal AD; another date (HAR-2449) from higher within fill 3615 was dated to 770–1190 cal AD (both with 95.4% confidence).

SFB AS63, another typical two-post structure with a rounded-rectangular hollow, was similarly aligned c. NE/SW. This structure contained the highest number of weights of any SFB, with a total of 11 complete weights and 32 semi-complete, plus a large number of fragments. As in AS20, all of the loomweights and fragments were confined to the west of the feature's centre line. A large number of additional unfired weights were possibly represented by numerous patches of raw and part-fired clay that were intermixed with the loomweights. Of possible significance was a band of dark silt associated with the weights in the SFB's north-western corner, which was suggested as the remains of the base of wooden steps (ibid. 83); one wonders whether this could in fact be the remains of a loom structure.

Examination of the site's interpretive plan (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002, Fig. 3.97), reveals two geographical clusters of SFBs containing loomweights and loomweight fragments. In the north-western part of the site, within Zone IV (delineated by two trackways and a late enclosure ditch), are SFBs AS13, AS16, and AS20. At the southern end of the Site, within Zone X, were a further five SFBs: AS50b, AS51, AS62a, AS63, and AS64c. SFBs AS32 and AS48, which contained only a handful of fragments, were more outlying, in zones VI and VII/IX respectively. This, combined with the total absence of loomweights and fragments from any of the non-SFB structures, suggests a real focus (in two localities), of Middle Saxon textile production in association with the site's *Grubenhäuser*.

TUCKLESHOLME QUARRY

All of the Anglo-Saxon features identified at Tucklesholme were located in the Phase 4 quarry area. They included the well-preserved remains of a typical *Grubenhaus* (cf. Tipper 2004, 1) or sunken featured building (SFB1), located on the western edge of the excavated area. Two other potential SFBs, partially truncated by later features, were also identified. The main component of SFB1 (G4284) was a sub-square hollow measuring 3.2m *c.* east–west and 3m *c.* north–south. This was investigated by means of four excavated quadrants, revealing a shallow primary floor layer (4260) of dark silt and charcoal within the western half. Two sherds of Early / Middle Saxon pottery were recovered from this deposit. Above it was silty fill (4259), which although devoid of pottery sherds contained an assemblage of 46 fired-clay loomweights (36 of which were complete), which lay scattered where they had fallen, possibly on the site of a collapsed or burnt loom (Plate 1). The weights were confined largely to the south-western part of the feature, and with the exception of one ‘annular’ loomweight, all were ‘bun-shaped’ loomweights which are typically of Middle Saxon date (Leahy 2010, 71) (*see* Blinkhorn, below).

The fill which contained the loomweights (4259) was a grey-brown silt that was excavated in four quadrants: 4258 (SW); 4262 (NE); 4269 (SE); and 4270 (NW) (Fig. 2). It variously contained a cow’s tooth and a fragment of rib bone from a large mammal (*see* Wood, below), as well as part of an iron structural fitting, possibly an ‘L’-shaped hook (Vere-Stevens 2015). A total of 19 Early / Middle Saxon pottery sherds were also found. Quadrant fill 4258, from where the loomweights were found, contained ten pot sherds, including a 6th- to earlier 7th-century stamped sherd, but an incised sherd could not be dated other than to within the broad Early Anglo-Saxon (5th–7th century) period (*see* Blinkhorn, below).

SFB1 had two substantial, opposing postholes on its north-western and south-eastern edges, both located outside the main hollow. The north-western one was 0.4m wide and 0.45m deep, with steep, almost vertical sides. It contained a dark brown silt fill, very similar to those of the fill of the main hollow; the other posthole was 0.3m wide and 0.5m deep, with almost vertical sides and a similar fill of silt and charcoal. The remains of a shallow pathway, represented by a *c.* 0.5m wide linear depression, were identified on the south-western side of the SFB, giving an indication of where the structure had been accessed, avoiding the two large end posts.

The fills of SFB1 and both posthole fills were bulk sampled for environmental remains. All were found to contain significant charcoal residues representative of a mixed assemblage of wood taxa and consistent with domestic fuel debris (*see* Summers below), and a few common cereal grains and hazelnut shell fragments were also recovered. An AMS radiocarbon date (GU35277) obtained from a piece of oak-wood charcoal in SW quadrant fill 4258 provided a date of 379–475 AD (highest probability), although this date is negated by the additional presence of 5th- to 7th-century pottery sherds in the same fill, and the recovery of two body sherds of the same date from the hollow’s primary fill.

Approximately 85m south-west of SFB1 was a second possible structure 4164 (SFB2) of similar surface dimensions. The western third of this feature had been truncated by a post-medieval furrow, but enough remained to suggest that it had been in the region of 3m in diameter and had incorporated at least one end-post. The principal cut was sub-square in plan with a large adjoining posthole at its north-eastern end. In section, SFB2 had a stepped profile, 0.65m deep, which could potentially have supported a suspended floor. The primary fill was dark silt containing patches of dark red sand and gravel containing a single, residual Roman pottery sherd. Above this fill was a very dark silt deposit (4162) containing copious charcoal inclusions and five sherds of Early / Middle Saxon pottery (*see* Blinkhorn, below). Environmental sample <407> obtained from this fill produced a variety of cereal grains and charcoal residues (*see* Summers below). Upper fill 4161 contained 21 sherds of pottery dated to the 6th to earlier 7th century AD. Animal bones recovered from this SFB were highly calcined, suggesting that they had been burnt at high temperatures (<300° centigrade) or for a prolonged time (*see* Wood, below). A sub-oval posthole was located on the north-eastern side of the SFB, whilst an opposing posthole may have been subsumed by the later furrow.

A third possible SFB (4333) was located *c.* 75 metres north-east of SFB1. Although the feature had been heavily truncated by a medieval drainage ditch, it was possible to discern a shallow, sub-rectangular cut, 3.2m in length. Its single fill contained three sherds of Early / Middle Saxon pottery.

Many pits and postholes were identified in the locality of the three Anglo-Saxon SFBs, although only a small percentage contained Saxon pottery, and hence could be confidently associated with

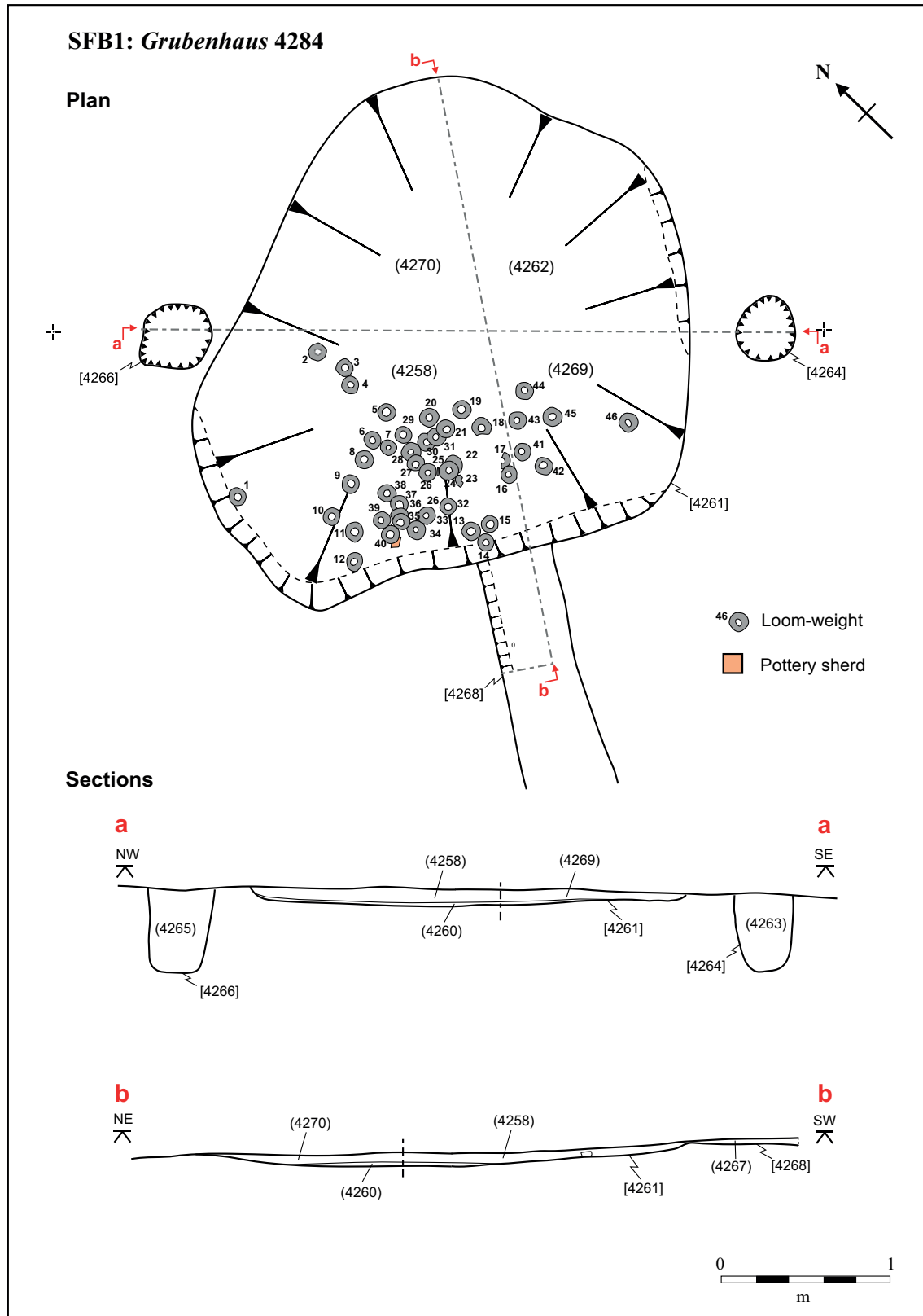


Fig. 2 Tucklesholme SFB1: plan and sections

them. For example, of 25 pits and postholes identified close to SFB1, none were dateable. The only five features containing (Early / Middle) Saxon pottery had distinctive burnt fills from which hazel- and oak-wood charcoal, quern-stone fragments, and heavily burnt animal bone were recovered, and in one case (5071) part of a single pottery jar in association with oak (*Quercus* sp.) and diffuse porous wood (see Summers, below).

All of the Tucklesholme SFBs were located west of the river, below the main gravel terrace. This activity contributes to the linear 'zone' of Saxon activity recorded since the mid-19th century between Roman Ryknield Street and the River Trent.

THE ANGLO-SAXON POTTERY *Paul Blinkhorn*

The Anglo-Saxon pottery assemblage from Tucklesholme comprised 107 sherds with a total weight of 1,996g. The estimated vessel equivalent (EVE), by summation of surviving rim-sherd circumference was 0.72. The following fabric types were noted:

F1: Sandstone. Sparse to moderate calcareous-cemented sandstone up to 1mm, many 'free' quartz grains, sparse flakes of gold mica up to 1mm, rare angular flint up to 1mm. 64 sherds, 1339g, EVE = 0.44.

F2: Granite. Sparse to moderate sub-angular granite up to 1mm, 'free' mica flakes of the same size. 9 sherds, 178g, EVE = 0.

F3: Organic. Sparse to moderate organic voids up to 5mm, rare to sparse sub-rounded Mercian Mudstone up to 2mm, mica flakes up to 1mm, sparse sub-angular quartz up to 0.5mm. 12 sherds, 315g, EVE = 0.19.

F4: Mudstone. Moderate to dense sub-rounded Mercian mudstone up to 2mm, rare organic material. 5 sherds, 46g, EVE = 0.

F5: Quartz. Moderate to dense sub-angular quartz up to 0.5mm. 17 sherds, 118g, EVE = 0.09.

The majority of the sherds of Early/Middle Saxon material were undecorated body sherds from small jars and bowls. Six rim-sherds were present, four were from jars, the other two from bowls. Most of the pottery from the upper fill 5069 of pit 5071 is from the flat base and lower body area of a single jar.

The dating of Early Saxon hand-built pottery is almost entirely reliant on the presence of decorated sherds. It seems that the Anglo-Saxons generally stopped decorating hand-built pottery in the 7th century AD (Myres 1977, 1), but it cannot be said that an assemblage which produced only plain sherds is of 7th-century or later date. Usually, decorated hand-built pottery only comprises around 3–4% of domestic assemblages, as was the case at sites such as West Stow, Suffolk (West 1985) and Mucking, Essex (Hamerow 1993). Thus, the fairly small assemblages of plain pottery have to be given a broad period date of the 5th–9th centuries AD.

Sherds from three decorated vessels were noted. The first, from SFB2 context 4161, is represented by two large non-joining sherds from the rim and base of a stamped jar (Fig. 3.3). It is decorated with three rows of impressions, each made with a different die, with each row separated by incised cordons. Such a decorative arrangement is one of the more common schemes on pottery of the period, and vessels with it are generally of 6th- to earlier 7th-century date (Myres 1977, 19–22). However, SFB2 also produced a sherd from the shoulder of a vessel with a very sharply-angled carination (Fig. 3.4). These are generally of 5th-century date, although 6th-century examples are known (Myres 1977, 3–4). It seems likely, given the presence of the stamped vessel, that this is a late example.

The second stamped sherd, from SFB1 quadrant fill 4258 (Fig. 3.1), is from a different vessel and is much smaller than the first. It has at least two rows of stamps, again separated by incised cordons. It is almost certainly from a vessel with a similar decorative scheme and thus of a similar date. The last of the decorated sherds, from the same context, has fragments of parallel cordons (Fig. 3.2), and cannot be dated other than to within the broad Early Anglo-Saxon (5th–7th century) period.

An assemblage of over 3,000 sherds of hand-built Early/Middle Anglo-Saxon pottery was recovered from the site of Catholme, c. 3km to the south (Vince 2002). Despite being considerably larger than the assemblage from Tucklesholme, just a single stamped sherd was noted. The radiocarbon dates from Catholme would suggest that occupation at that site started in the 7th century (Garton and Kinsley 2002, 123), which suggests that the Tucklesholme assemblage is slightly earlier, or at the very latest represents short-lived occupation at around the time Anglo-Saxon Catholme was first settled.

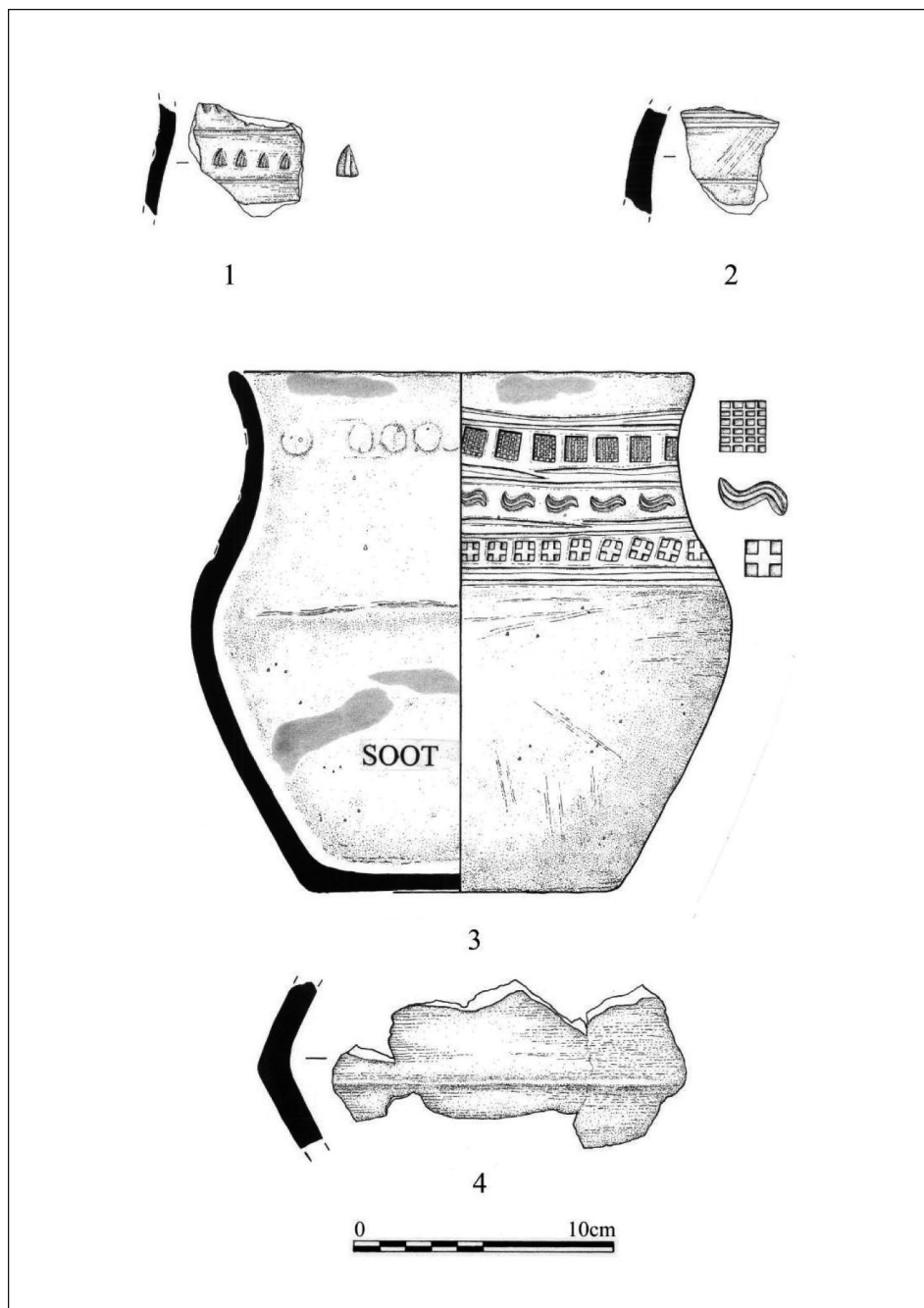


Fig. 3 Anglo-Saxon Pottery from Tucklesholme

The range of fabric types at Catholme is very similar to that from Tucklesholme Quarry, comprising granitic-, sandstone-, chaff- and quartz-tempered wares (Vince 2002, 108).

THE LOOMWEIGHTS *Paul Blinkhorn*

A large and significant assemblage of 46 fired-clay loomweights occurred, apparently *in situ*, in fill (4259) of SFB1 at Tucklesholme, of which 36 were complete. They were all in the same fabric, with moderate to dense organic material and rare to sparse Mercian mudstone fragments up to 10mm. Apart from a single annular example, all were 'bun-shaped' and all had finger-tip decoration on the upper surface. The 'annular' example had just a single finger-tip impression, but of the rest, where the upper surface was complete, 5 had four impressions and 36 had three (Fig. 4). The

loomweights had a mean weight of 310.6g, and, including the incomplete examples, a mean diameter of 106.4mm. There was quite a large variation in the weight of the complete loomweights, with the lightest being 255g and the heaviest, the single annular example, being 385g. There appears to be no general correlation between decoration and size. The data suggests that there were two main peaks in the weight distribution.

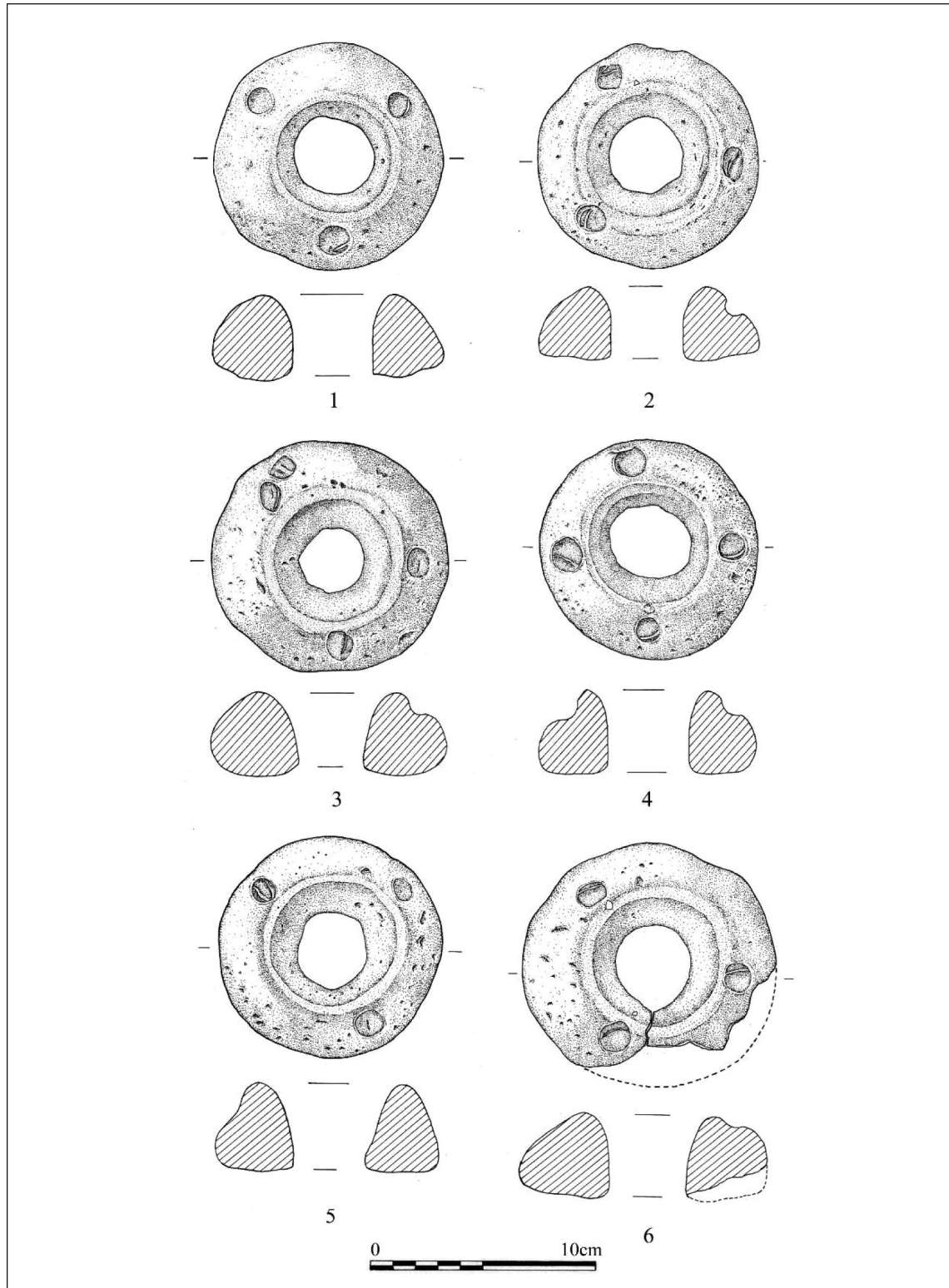


Fig. 4 Anglo-Saxon loomweights from Tucklesholme SFB1: nos 1–6

As noted earlier, a total of 24 complete loomweights were recovered from nearby Catholme (Carr and Losco-Bradley 2002). One of the illustrated weights from there had its upper surface covered with multiple square stick-impressions (*ibid.* Fig. 3.94 no. 1), and another may have had three fingertip-impression similar to most of the examples from Tucklesholme (*ibid.* no. 3). A single loomweight from Catholme was thin-sectioned and the fabric found to be basically sandy, with no organic content (Vince 2002, 108).

The fact that nearly all the loomweights from Tucklesholme are ‘bun-shaped’ suggests very strongly that they are of Middle Saxon date (Leahy 2011, 447), and given the date of the pottery from the site they would appear to date to very late in the period of occupation.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL SAMPLES *John Summers*

A total of eight bulk soil samples taken during the Tucklesholme excavations were from deposits dateable to the Anglo-Saxon period, five of which were from SFB1. The fills of this SFB and its two associated postholes, 4264 and 4266, contained a small number of cereal grains in the form of hulled barley, glume wheat, and oat. Barley and oat are common Anglo-Saxon crop taxa and there is growing evidence across Britain for the continued cultivation of glume wheats beyond the Roman period (e.g. Pelling and Robinson 2000; Murphy 1985, 2005; Carruthers 2008; Summers 2012). Unfortunately, the concentration of remains was insufficient for any detailed comment about the relative significance of the different crop taxa to the Anglo-Saxon economy.

The only non-cereal taxa were single specimens of goosefoot (*Chenopodium* sp.) and knotweed (*Persicaria* sp.), which most likely represent arable weeds and may reflect elevated soil fertility as a result of manuring. The samples from SFB1 also contained abundant charcoal, which is the subject of the following section (*see* Summers, *below*). Together, the material from SFB1 appears to represent debris from domestic hearths, incorporating both spent fuel, and the remains of day-to-day crop processing and food preparation.

Aside from the SFB material, a small number of hulled barley grains, including an asymmetric grain characteristic of a six-row variety, were present in 4162, the middle fill of potential SFB2, along with a single wheat grain. In addition, a charcoal rich deposit was recovered from pit 5071, which contained oak (*Quercus* sp.) and diffuse porous wood.

The plant remains from the environmental samples incorporated only small quantities of cereals and associated weed taxa, suggesting that most of the excavated features were not associated with intensive cereal use and processing. This was consistent between the sampled Iron Age, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon deposits across the wider quarry. Even the fills of SFB 1 produced few cereal remains, indicating only limited use of these within the structure.

The proximity of the Tucklesholme site to the River Trent is likely to have meant that large areas were within the river floodplain and unlikely to have been suitable for permanent settlement. Some of the evidence from waterlogged plant remains and the carbonised non-cereal taxa indicate rough, wet grassland, scrub, and heathland type vegetation. It seems quite logical that much of the area close to the river was utilised as pasture, perhaps on a seasonal basis, outside the main periods of potential inundation.

THE CHARCOAL *John Summers*

Following the assessment of the bulk sample light fractions, the charcoal remains from SFB1 were analysed in more detail. The aim of the investigation was to determine the range of fuel woods utilised, in order to gain an insight into fuel selection and the local availability of woodland resources. The following presents the results from the identification of charcoal from the fills of the feature in three quadrants (4258, 4262, and 4269). The results are discussed in relation to the habitat requirements and properties of the identified taxa.

Methods

Charcoal was collected from the bulk sample light fractions, which were processed by water flotation. No charcoal remains were present in the heavy fractions. Pieces were fractured on three planes (transverse, tangential, and radial) for microscopic analysis. Transverse sections were characterised using a low-power stereomicroscope (x10–x30 magnification) and the microscopic features in the tangential and radial planes were examined using a metallurgical microscope with magnification up

to x400. Identifications were made using reference literature (Schweingruber 1978; Schoch *et al.* 2004). Identifiable charcoal fragments over 2mm were recorded by fragment count and by weight (to the nearest 0.001g).

Results

A wide range of taxa were present across the three samples from the SFB. Oak charcoal (*Quercus* sp.) was dominant by weight and fragment count in all three samples, with weak ring curvature and tyloses demonstrating the presence of heartwood. A small number of oak twigs in SW quadrant fill 4258, along with a small number of fragments with a moderate ring curvature in all three samples, indicate the presence of branch wood. The next most abundant by weight was ash (*Fraxinus* sp.), which was also present predominantly as fragments of heartwood, along with fragments of small diameter roundwood. Next was hazel (*Corylus* sp.), mostly recorded as fragments with a moderate ring curvature, although some more mature pieces were present, such as a fragment displaying 44 growth rings in NE quadrant 4262. Fragments of Maloideae charcoal (*Crataegus*/ *Malus*/ *Pyrus*/ *Sorbus* type) were common throughout, predominantly with moderate ring curvatures, which may indicate small trunks or branch wood. The same was true of *Prunus* sp. (plum / cherry type), which was a little less common than Maloideae. Small amounts of willow/ poplar (*Salix*/ *Populus* sp.) were recorded, along with single fragments of alder (*Alnus* sp.), in SFB1 fill 4258 and maple (*Acer* sp.) in 4262.

Discussion

The charcoal remains from the fills of SFB1 contained a mixed assemblage of wood taxa and are consistent with domestic fuel debris. It is unclear, however, whether the material was generated within a hearth in the building during its use or entered the feature post-abandonment. The charcoal assemblage indicates that oak (*Quercus* sp.) was the most significant fuel wood and may imply that there was little significant pressure on local woodland resources. Oak is an excellent, slow-burning fuel wood and one would expect it to be reserved for important industrial processes if woodland resources were scarce or under pressure. If oak was preferentially sought as fuel, a number of the other taxa may have been more opportunistically sought and provide some insights into woodland, scrub, and hedgerow habitats in the vicinity of the site.

Hazel (probably *Corylus avellana*) and ash (probably *Fraxinus excelsior*) are frequently found along with oak in woodland habitats, with hazel forming part of an understorey below the main canopy. Like the oak charcoal, many of the fragments of ash showed weak ring curvature and tyloses in the vessels, indicating heartwood from mature trees. Both make good fuel and are likely to have been cut during woodland exploitation.

Blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*) and hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*, in the Maloideae group) are common hedgerow species. Their thorns make them well suited for use as boundaries for stock control. It would seem most likely that an area so close to the River Trent would have been exploited for seasonal grazing, and boundaries would have been required to control stock movement. Although the charcoal identifications could not be so precise, it is possible that the Maloideae and *Prunus* sp. wood in the assemblage came from such sources, perhaps as part of maintenance activities. However, it is also possible for such taxa to grow as understorey in mature woodland, indicating that they could also have been gathered along with other taxa from nearby woodland habitats.

Although willow (*Salix* sp.) and poplar (*Populus* sp.) cannot be accurately distinguished from their microscopic wood anatomy, willows and a number of poplar species grow in damp areas, including along rivers (Stace 1997). The proximity of the site to the River Trent suggests that the small amount of *Salix* / *Populus* sp. wood was gathered from the fringes of the river. Its low representation may either reflect its lower quality as a fuel or its fragility as charcoal, which results from the softness of the wood. Similarly, the small amount of alder (probably *Alnus glutinosa*) in 4258 (SFB1), may also have been gathered from wet areas along the edge of the river. This may have been as part of management activities to keep parts of the river bank clear for access by people and their animals.

The results of the charcoal analysis have shown that the material from SFB1 is likely to have originated as domestic fuel debris derived from a number of nearby habitats. The predominance of oak, hazel, and ash indicates that woodland habitats were the main source of fuel wood, at least in this deposit. There was no clear evidence of management strategies, such as coppicing or pollarding, but this does not prove that they were not undertaken. Other taxa from alternative sources are

likely to have been of less significance, being gathered more opportunistically as part of landscape management activities.

Radiocarbon Date

Suitable roundwood material was present for radiocarbon dating within all three samples of the SFB. The most promising remains were oak twigs displaying only a single year's growth in quadrant fill 4258. Such pieces are expected to have a young age at death, and to have been gathered close to the time of carbonisation and deposition within the feature. The resulting AMS radiocarbon date (GU35277) obtained from a piece of oak-wood charcoal in this fill (4258), provided a date of 379–475AD (highest probability).

THE ANIMAL BONE *Jennifer Wood*

A total of 20 (23g) refitted fragments of animal bone were recovered from dated Anglo-Saxon contexts during the phase 4 excavations. The remains were generally of a poor overall condition, averaging between grades 4 and 5 on the Lyman criteria (1996). The unburnt remains were heavily leached and the entire assemblage was highly fragmentary. No evidence of gnawing, butchery or pathology was noted on any of the remains.

A number of remains recovered from SFB2 secondary and tertiary deposits 4162 and 4161 respectively, and from Early to Middle Saxon pit 4364 appeared to be highly calcined, which suggests that the remains had been burnt at high temperatures (<300°) or for a prolonged time.

Only cattle remains and the partial remains of a single wood mouse (*Apodemus sylvaticus*) from Early to Middle Saxon pit [5071] were identified to species. The generally poor condition of the assemblage suggests that only robust bones and teeth, such as those from cattle, or burnt bone which is more resistant to decay, has survived the depositional process. The wood mouse remains appear relatively well preserved comparably to the remainder of the assemblage, which may suggest a more recent origin.

Previous phases of work at Tucklesholme Quarry have yielded a small assemblage of calcined bone (Wood, 2013), which would generally suggest that poor assemblage preservation for the site is relatively uniform.

Due to the size and nature of the assemblage, little further information could be gained.

ANGLO-SAXON LOOMWEIGHT TYPOLOGY

Anglo-Saxon loomweights were first classified by Hurst (1959, 23–5) into three morphological types: annular, intermediate, and bun-shaped, the intermediate type being added to two types described by Wheeler for London examples (Wheeler 1935, 154–5). In an 'annular' weight, the thickness of the ring is less than one third of the diameter of the weight, whereas in the 'intermediate' form, the thickness of the ring is equal to, or larger than, the diameter of the hole (Walton Rogers 2007, 30); 'bun-shaped' weights have the smallest hole diameter and are characterised as having a biconical profile and a central aperture smaller in diameter to the width of the loomweight's body (Jarrett 2005, 62).

The three different types of loomweights have an established chronological sequence, with the annular type clearly associated with the Early Anglo-Saxon period. Annular weights were succeeded by intermediate weights, which eventually in turn were replaced with the typical Middle Saxon bun-shaped loomweights (Jarrett 2005, 63; Leahy 2010, 70–1). This sequence holds true for the early annular weights, but there is evidence from a number of sites including *Lundenwic* and Flixborough (Lincs.), of considerable chronological overlap, with the two latter types found in all phases, and different types appearing together (ibid.; Goffin 2003, 220; Riddler 2004, 19–23). The same is true for Tucklesholme, where one annular weight was found with the assemblage of bun-shaped weights; and at Catholme, where both bun-shaped and intermediate types were recorded (*see above*).

Twenty, partly charred, bun-shaped clay loomweights, possibly derived from collapsed looms, were excavated from various sites in the City of London between 1976 and 1979 and were mostly recovered in groups of between two and four. Those found in groups were extremely similar in terms of size and weight, showing that they were made in sets carefully balanced to provide equal tension when tied to the warp thread. Group variation was limited to 11g in weight and 5mm in size between individual weights (Pritchard 1984, 65).

Three different weight categories (as proposed by Zimmerman in 1982) were observed across different English sites: Heavy: above 800g; Medium: 400-800g; and Light: below 400g. Heavy weights probably affected the type of cloth being woven – in particular, the spacing between the warp ends. The 46 loomweights from Tucklesholme all fall within the ‘Light’ category, with the lightest complete example (no. 29) weighing 255g and the heaviest (no. 37 – incidentally, the only annular loomweight amongst the assemblage of bun-shaped weights), weighing 385g. The heaviest of the Tucklesholme bun-shaped weights (no. 45) weighed 377g. The weight variation of 130g is therefore perhaps considerable, although the data suggests that there are two main peaks in the weight distribution of the 46 weights (*see* Blinkhorn, above).

Loomweight decoration recorded in England often includes ‘finger tipping’ and ‘incised’ brand marks (Pritchard 1984, 65). All of the Tucklesholme examples had finger-tip decoration on their upper surfaces. The annular example had just a single finger-tip impression, but of the rest, where the upper surface was complete, 5 had four impressions and 36 had three (*see* Blinkhorn above).

ANGLO-SAXON WEAVING TECHNOLOGY

Anglo-Saxon textile production, more specifically weaving, is evidenced both by textile remnants and artefactual evidence of manufacture, primarily in the form of spindlewhorls, loomweights, and pin-beaters. Loomweights, in particular, are linked to the use of the warp-weighted loom and are common on both rural and urban Anglo-Saxon sites in England (Pritchard 1984, 63). The function of loomweights was to stretch and space the warp threads on a vertical loom, whilst pin-beaters (also known as fork-beaters, thread-pickers and weaving combs: Hodges 1995, 136) were used to beat in the weft on a loom (Hoffman 1974, 135–6). Double-ended pin-beaters and loomweights, both synonymous with the warp-weighted loom, are rare in post-10th-century contexts, probably due to the introduction of the two-beam vertical loom in the late 9th century and the horizontal treadle loom in the late 10th century (Pritchard 1984, 66; Henry 1998, 144).

During weaving on a warp-weighted loom, cloth is made by the interlacing of two sets of thread (the horizontal weft and the vertical warp), in a specific order. The warp is tied to the upper beam of the loom and kept under tension during weaving by means of weights (the loomweights) tied



Plate 1 Tucklesholme loomweights *in situ* in SFB1

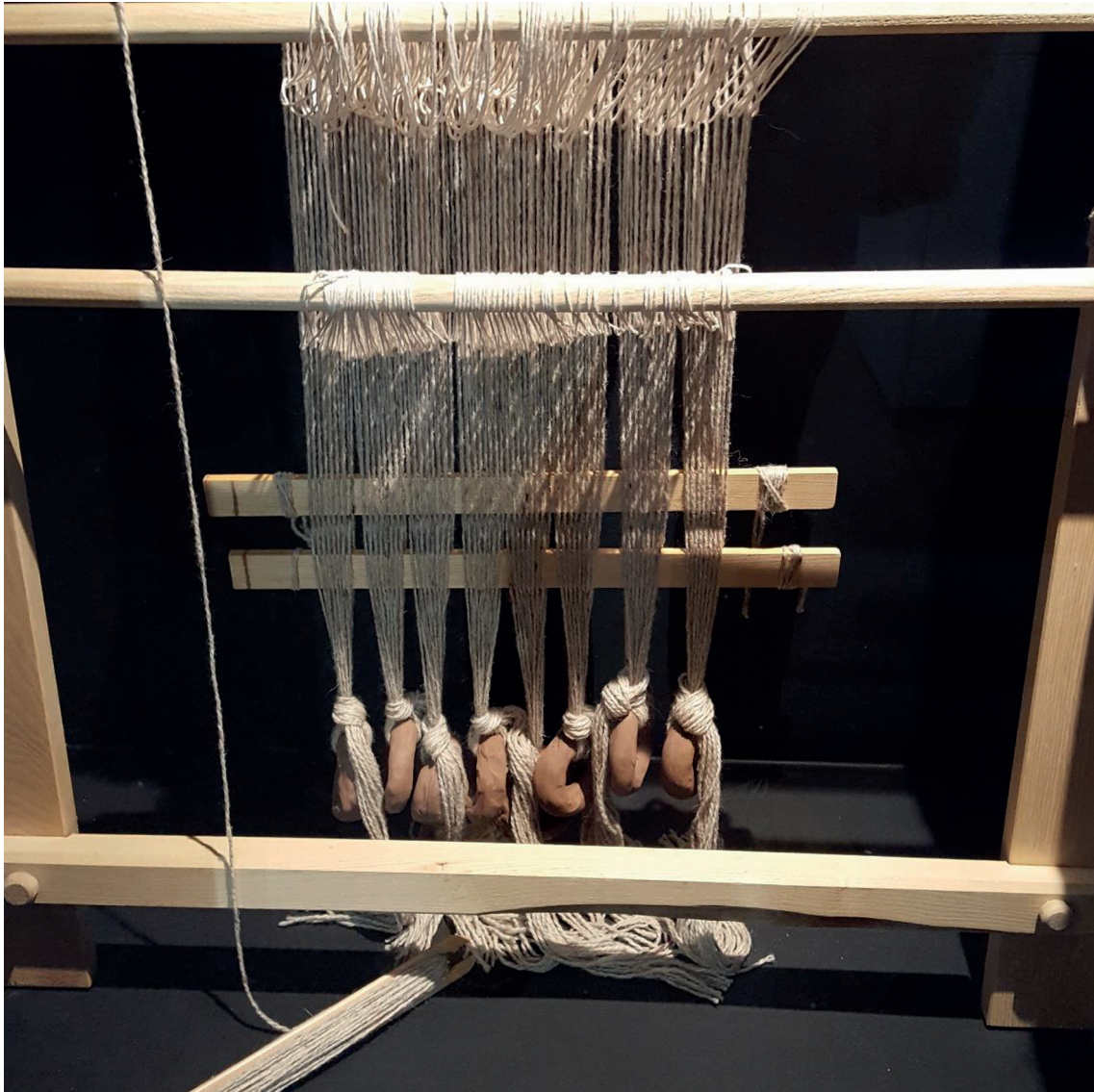


Plate 2 Warp-weighted loom reconstruction (A. Richmond; courtesy of Stoke-on-Trent Museum and Art Gallery)

individually to the distal end of each warp thread (Plate 2); the weft is then passed transversely under and over the warp. This system of interlacing is known as the *weave*, with the *tabby* or *plain weave* being the simplest (Pritchard 1984, 50–2; Hodges 1995, 137). The thread count is the number of threads per unit of length, such as those perpendicular to a 1cm rule (Hodges 1995, 137; Cameron 2018). Weights on an Anglo-Saxon loom were always arranged in pairs, with between 11 and 14 pairs of weights suggested per 1m of weft (Riddler 2004, 22; Leahy 2010, 68).

Z-spun (so-called from the spindle being rotated clockwise) plain tabby weaves of either wool or flax are frequently found in Anglo-Saxon contexts, the majority in Kent where they occur in graves dating from the late 5th to mid 7th centuries (Cameron 2018). Evidence of linen tabby weaves increases in late 6th and 7th century contexts, not only in Kent but also in south-west and south-eastern England (ibid.).

It has been argued that warp-weighted looms were utilised not just to produce woollen cloth, but that the use of such looms in damp SFBs may have been conducive to the weaving of vegetable fibres such as cultivated flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) or nettle (*Urtica dioica*) used to make linen. No evidence of flax production was obtained from the Tucklesholme environmental samples.

COLLAPSED LOOMS OR ‘PLACED DEPOSITS’?

After pottery, loomweights, both fired and unfired, form the most numerous artefact type found in Anglo-Saxon *Grubenhäuser* (Hamerow 2014, 62). Concentrations and rows of loomweights found lying on the base of *Grubenhäuser* hollows, like those in SFB1 at Tucklesholme, have generally been interpreted as the *in situ* remains of collapsed warp-weighted looms, following the abandonment or burning down of a building, with examples recorded at the Royal Opera House in London (Jarrett 2005, 63) and at St Cross, Winchester (Collis 1978). There is also the suggestion that neat, overlapping rows of loomweights are the result of them having been threaded on sticks for storage (Tipper 2004, tab. 55).

Recent detailed studies by Hamerow (2006; 2014) have investigated the possibility of ‘special’ or ‘placed’ deposits (primarily of humans and animals) within Anglo-Saxon settlements. These deposits, identified ‘*where deliberate and careful placement appears likely*’, include two cited examples from Catholme (Hamerow 2006, tab. 1), one of them in association with abandoned SFB AS13 where articulated human remains were dug into the infilled hollow. In fact, 21% of the ‘special’ deposits from Hamerow’s study were found in SFBs – most located on, or just above, the base of the feature in which they were placed (ibid. 13). The possibility of other forms of special deposit, including loomweights and pottery vessels, was also examined. In two examples (*Grubenhäuser* GH93 and GH105 at Mucking, Essex), unfired loomweights were found on the base of the two hollows, in association with pottery sherds and semi-complete vessels. These deposits, all of likely 7th-century date, have been interpreted by Hamerow as the remnants of building termination rites or ‘closure’ deposits (ibid. 18).

Similar evidence of a possible ‘ritual component’ to the backfilling of SFBs with deposits containing spindlewhorls and loomweights has also been documented at Godmanchester (Hunts.), although these deposits also contained articulated animal bones (Gibson and Murray 2003, 210–11). Gibson rightly queries why such utilitarian objects would not be retrieved for re-use, although this could perhaps be explained by traumatic events, such as forced relocation following fire, attack, or inundation by water. More difficult to explain is the apparent destruction of a loom and entire building by fire at Upton (Northants.); many weights remained unfired, and this event is seen as likely evidence of a termination ritual after the event (ibid.).

What is clear, however, is that concentrations of loomweights are found only in association with *Grubenhäuser*, and there are no known examples from ordinary Anglo-Saxon dwellings, such as earth-fast timber buildings (Hamerow 2014, 140). This can of course be explained by their predominant use as textile-production (and grain-storage) huts (ibid. 61), and the localised and concentrated nature of the Tucklesholme loomweights argues for their *in-situ* preservation from a collapsed loom, rather than the result of ‘ritual’ deposition. The presence of both fired and unfired weights in Catholme SFBs AS20 and AS63, in association with lumps and extensive spreads of raw, unfired clay, might suggest that loomweights were being produced in those two huts.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNTHESIS OF THE ANGLO-SAXON EVIDENCE

Earliest evidence

An examination of the chronological evidence from the study area has highlighted a number of possible trends in the Saxon settlement pattern of the Trent–Tame confluence. The earliest (late 4th to late 5th century) AMS radiocarbon date of 379–475AD (GU35277), obtained from a piece of oak-wood charcoal in quadrant fill (4258) of SFB1 at Tucklesholme, is rather negated by the presence of 5th- to 7th-century sherds from the same deposit and from the hollow’s floor layer beneath. Nevertheless, the C14 date does suggest a very early post-Roman presence in the vicinity. Continuity of farming activity in the ‘post-Roman’ period is widely recognised, and Romano-British field spreads of pottery sherds might be associated with such activity in this area.

Another rare 5th-century date was recorded less than 300m south of the Tucklesholme SFBs, on what is now the western edge of Tucklesholme Quarry (SK 210188). There, in 1991, the remains of a flat cremation burial were recorded within a large sub-rectangular pit (F53) discovered *c.* 1m from the outer edge of a large Bronze Age ring ditch (Hughes 1991, 3–4; and *cf.* fig 26 in Coates and Richmond 2009). The pit had heat-stained sides and was covered with a layer of burnt cobbles. The fill contained burnt timbers and charcoal that appeared to represent the remains of a wooden or wicker pit lining or box, together with small fragments of burnt bone. The burnt timbers were radiocarbon dated to the 5th century AD (Buteux and Hewson 2004; Buteux and Chapman 2009,

161: no details), suggesting that the prehistoric monument continued to be a significant focus for burial and ritual in the Early Saxon period (ibid. 85). As discussed earlier, the deliberate-Saxon (in this case Saxo-Norman), re-use of a former ceremonial area was also recorded at nearby Barton Quarry Site 2 (Coates and Richmond 2013, 56; Semple 2013).

The only other possible 5th-century evidence from this locality comes from the primary fill of the extensive Anglo-Saxon enclosure (G1453) excavated at Barton Quarry Site 3 (c. 4km to the SSW of Tucklesholme), which was AMS radiocarbon dated to 422–572 cal AD with 95.4% probability (Francis and Richmond 2016, 65).

Based on the typology of the finds, in particular the gilded cruciform brooch found in 1926, the Wychnor cemetery is dated to the 6th (possibly into the early 7th) century AD (Leahy 1979; Buteux and Chapman 2009, 150, 152). This suggests that the cemetery is contemporary with the Anglo-Saxon remains excavated less than 300m to the south at Barton Quarry Site 3. SFB G474 at Barton, which contained an assemblage of Early Saxon pottery, was radiocarbon dated to the early 6th to early 7th century; the enclosure on the same site, in use sometime between the early 5th and late 6th centuries, may therefore be partly contemporary.

Middle Saxon developments

The Middle Saxon loomweight typology and associated late Early/Middle Saxon pottery from the collapsed loom deposit in SFB1 at Tucklesholme would appear, at best, to place the building somewhere within the 6th- to early 7th-century period, which would suggest that it may be very slightly earlier than, or contemporary with, the earliest settlement activity at Catholme. The radiocarbon dates and pottery assemblage from Catholme show that occupation there most likely commenced in the 7th century and continued until at least the late 9th century (Garton and Kinsley 2002, 123).

Of the 14 excavated SFBs at Catholme, only one was able to be radiocarbon dated: two dates spanning the mid 6th to early 10th century and the late 8th to late 12th century were obtained from the post-occupation deposits of SFB AS20. These dates (and the others from the site) do suggest that *Grubenhäuser* activity at Catholme post-dates similar activity at both Tucklesholme and Barton Site 3 (located to the north and south respectively). The absence of any Middle or Later Saxon pottery or other significant settlement evidence from Site 3 at Barton (until the post-Medieval period) suggests short-lived occupation, something which in turn may indicate that settlement was transferred the short distance c. 1km north to Catholme during the Middle Saxon Period. The dating would allow us to envisage this as part of a more widely dispersed early settlement pattern that perhaps became more focused later.

The occupied terraces of both sites were situated at between c. 50–53m aOD, suggesting that rising river levels were not a contributory factor in any relocation. It is interesting to note, however, the lower-lying ground at the earlier Tucklesholme settlement, which lay at only c. 45–47m aOD. The proximity of the latter site to the River Trent is likely to have meant that large parts of it lay within the river's floodplain and were therefore unsuitable for permanent settlement, as indicated by the waterlogged plant remains (*see* Summers, above). Another possibility, and perhaps more likely, is that the Early Saxon SFB settlement at Barton Site 3 transferred immediately south to Site 1, where the remains of two enclosures, a post-built structure and a number of isolated pits were tentatively dated to the 7th–9th centuries AD.

Late Saxon period

Occupation at Catholme is believed to have commenced in the 7th century AD and continued until sometime around the late 9th century (Garton and Kinsley 2002, 123). The settlement's demise therefore came at the very end of the Middle Saxon period, by which date the Tucklesholme landscape to the north had been abandoned. Indeed, the only evidence of Late Saxon date in the vicinity is from Barton Quarry Site 2, where a substantial Bronze Age ring ditch was seen to be respected by an 11th- to 12th-century AD square enclosure. The Saxo-Norman enclosure appears to have been positioned in order to encompass the earlier ring ditch, possibly suggesting the veneration of a former ceremonial area.

CONCLUSION

It has been postulated that the principal settlement at Catholme was a substantially or wholly native one that developed from an adjacent, 3rd- to 4th-century Romano-British settlement identified from pottery scatters (Buteux and Chapman 2009, 161). Parts of the earlier settlement have since been confirmed by excavations at Barton Quarry, which have shown that the site's predominant archaeological activity ranges from the second half of the 1st century AD to the 4th century AD (Francis and Richmond 2016). Apart from the minimal evidence outlined above, the intervening 5th century has not been identified in the archaeological record in terms of settlement.

The first real post-Roman settlement evidence – or at least, large-scale landscape organisation – relates to the enclosure on Site 3 at Barton, which radiocarbon dating shows was in use sometime between the early 5th and late 6th centuries. The earliest dated *Grubenhäuser* recorded in this area is the 6th- to early 7th-century SFB, G474 at Barton, which appears contemporary with the adjacent Wychnor cemetery. The loomweight typology and associated Early/Middle Saxon pottery in SFB1 at Tucklesholme would appear to suggest settlement activity here of early Middle Saxon date. This places it very slightly earlier than, or contemporary with, the earliest settlement activity at Catholme.

The current evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement along the Trent–Tame confluence reveals tantalising glimpses of preferred settlement location and possible relocation along the edge of the gravel river terrace between the Roman Ryknield Street and the River Trent. It is hoped that future quarry investigations within this important linear settlement zone will reveal more information regarding the nature of Anglo-Saxon settlement organisation and continuity at the Trent–Tame confluence.

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A MEDIEVAL BOUNDARY OF THE FORMER FRANCISCAN FRIARY, LICHFIELD, STAFFORDSHIRE

ASHLEY TUCK

with contributions by

QUITA MOULD, STEPHANIE RÁTKAI, LORRAINE MEPHAM, and SARAH F. WYLES

Illustrations by S. E. JAMES

ABSTRACT

In 2016 Wessex Archaeology undertook a series of investigations at nos 1 and 3 The Friary, Lichfield, ahead of a proposed development centred on NGR SK 11530 09220. A large ditch with a complex sequence of fills produced 13th- or 14th-century material from lower contexts and 15th- or 16th-century material from upper contexts; two leather shoes recovered from the lower fills of the ditch were the most significant finds from the site. The large ditch was subsequently identified in two further locations, although the presence of services made investigation problematic. A rough tile surface was sealed by buried soils containing 13th- to 14th-century pottery. Post-medieval remains including garden features were also recorded.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The site is located within the former area of a Franciscan friary established c. 1237 by Bishop Alexander Stavensby (Greenslade 1970; Laithwaite 1934; Tomkinson 2000), with the building completed c. 1286 (Greenslade 1970). The friary included an unusually large church with a five-bay nave and chancel, and previous excavations (Laithwaite 1934; Welch 1991) discovered a massive foundation, suggesting the presence of a crossing tower of considerable proportions. Not long after building work was complete, the friary suffered a catastrophic fire c. 1291, although it was promptly rebuilt (Laithwaite 1934).

Previous excavations (Fig.1) have identified the probable north precinct wall of the friary at 15 Sandford Street and three tanning pits which were sealed by the wall (Nichol and Rátkai 2004). Part of the friary cemetery east of the church has been excavated at the rear of 1 Bird Street (Langton 1995), whilst Friar's Alley contained a sandstone wall contemporary with the friary (Wainwright 2006). The medieval St John's hospital lies nearby, along with several other surviving medieval buildings. Further north three large pools delineated the southern boundary of Lichfield Cathedral Close. Small-scale medieval industry is attested by archaeological evidence for iron and leather manufacture on the site of the modern Arts Centre and at Sandford Street. Occupation activity including pits, cess pits, an oven, and a cistern have been recorded at the Civic Hall, The Swan Hotel, Sandford Street, and Vicars' Close sites (Nichol and Rátkai 2004; Langton 1995; Wainwright 2006), with medieval artefacts discovered nearby including a copper alloy and gold buckle, copper alloy objects, and pottery. In the early 17th century remnants of the friary were still clearly visible and the site was shown on John Speed's *Map of Staffordshire* within a landscape of open fields (see Fig. 3). Following the dissolution of the friary in 1538, many of the buildings appear to have been quickly demolished, although elements were retained for re-use in a new house, which in the late 18th century was associated with a formal garden.

At the time of excavation, the site contained a public library and records office, and the archaeological investigation was confined to a car park located to the south of the main building (Fig. 1). Bounded to the north by a modern road known as The Friary, to the east by South Staffordshire College and Lichfield Library, to the south by an additional car park, and to the west by an access road, the 0.5 ha site is relatively flat at approximately 80–85m above Ordnance Datum, with some slightly raised areas. The solid geology comprises pebbly sandstone of the Bromsgrove Formation with either no superficial deposits or only a thin drift deposit recorded (British Geological Survey 2017). Ground penetrating radar (GPR) of the site identified a series of anomalies of possible archaeological origin (Stratascan 2015), and in order to assess their nature an evaluation trench was commissioned.

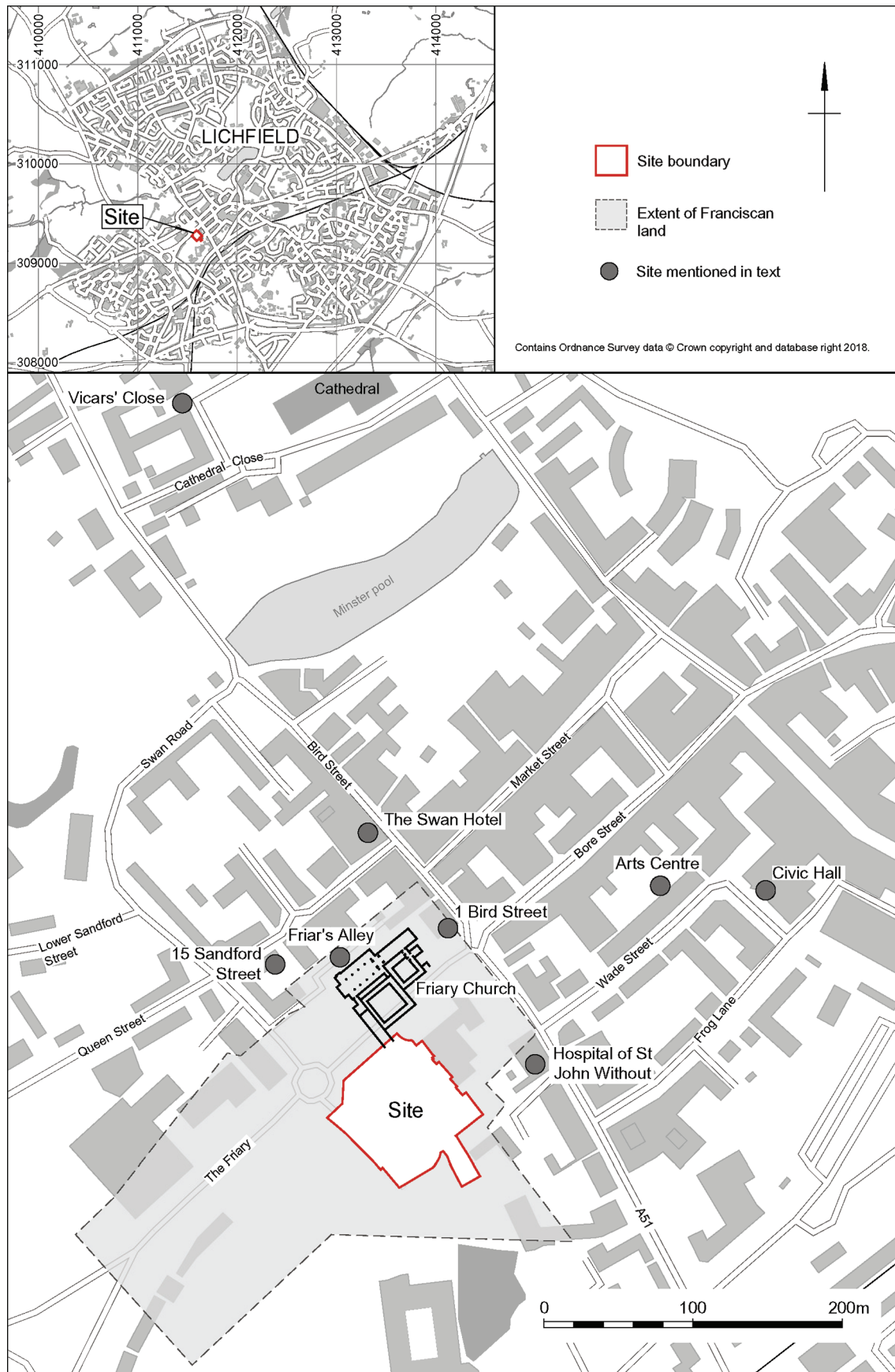


Fig. 1 Site location showing sites mentioned in the text and outline of the Franciscan friary site

Based on the initial results a programme of archaeological strip and map within the footprint of the development was carried out (Wessex Archaeology 2016), the constraints imposed by below-ground services requiring the excavation of two separate strip and map areas. Two additional trenches were subsequently excavated to locate the continuation of a large boundary ditch further to the south-west and to the north-east. Development works were later monitored but were not deep enough to encounter the ditch.

RESULTS

Excavations revealed an 8.2m length of a south-west to north-east aligned boundary ditch measuring 5.25m wide by over 1.3m deep (117B; Figs 2 and 4). The position of the excavated ditch correlates with a projection of the boundary of the friary precinct as depicted on Speed's 1608 map of Staffordshire (Fig. 3), with the south-western portion of the excavated ditch seemingly representing an extension of the precinct boundary. This extension does not appear on the 1608 map, but is depicted on Snape's more detailed 1781 map of the City and Close of Lichfield, which also shows boundaries correlating with the precinct of the by-then remodelled friary (Fig. 3).

Three slots were dug through ditch 117B, with slot 124B containing the full sequence of deposits (Fig. 4; plate 1). Several layers of sterile sandy primary material were derived from initial erosion of the edges and filled the base of the ditch (125B, 161B, and 162B), whilst clay deposited in standing water overlaid the primary fills (126B, 127B), with the upper clay deposit (127B) having a dark olive-green colour, possibly indicative of cess deposition. Peat deposits subsequently developed (128B), and the final fills of the ditch comprised deliberate backfilling (131B, 132B, 159B, 133B, 134B, and 160B) culminating in the disposal of sandy material and blocks of sandstone (134B and 160B). These blocks may have derived from the friary buildings. The possibly cessy clay (127B), peat (128B), and lowest level of backfill (131B) contained 13th- to 14th-century pottery (the earlier sherds in this range possibly residual). Upper backfill layers (e.g. 133B, 134B) contained wares from the 15th- to 16th-centuries. The pottery chronology supports the possibility that the rubbly final fills of the ditch represented demolition of the friary following the Dissolution. Two fragmentary leather shoes (not a pair) were recovered, the smaller, fragmentary shoe came from a sandy primary fill (125B) of slot 124B, and a larger, more complete shoe (Fig. 5; plate 2) from 123B, a clay fill. After completion of the strip and map excavations, a further two trenches located the continuation of ditch 117B to the north-east and south-west, as 5001 and 5027 respectively. Complete profiles of the ditch were not revealed due to constraints imposed by below-ground services, but both trenches confirmed the continuation of the boundary ditch on the same alignment as previously identified (Fig. 2).

The south-western terminal of a shallow, undated ditch (118B) was also uncovered on the north side of ditch 1170. Although the stratigraphic sequence is not clear, it is possible that ditch terminal 118B represents an initial cutting of the boundary, later marked by ditch 117B, and perhaps associated with an early stage of the construction and layout of the friary.

Further to the north, two areas of buried soil (203 and 204) probably represented parts of the same layer; both contained pottery dating to the 13th to 14th centuries, with no material later than this date. A rough surface composed of roof tiles (206) was sealed by buried soil 203 and levelling layer 211 (211 contained no pottery) and, therefore, may be of 14th-century date or earlier. Surface 206 may represent either a narrow path or, alternatively, a footing for an ephemeral, probably timber structure within the precinct of the friary. Buried soil 203 was in turn overlain by post-medieval wall 209.

Sandstone walls aligned north-west to south-east were also uncovered (209 and a small fragment 210 not illustrated). These correspond well with a series of rectangular garden beds shown on Snape's 1781 map; Speed's 1608 map was not drawn in enough detail to show these features, if they existed at that time. Sandstone walls recorded in the initial evaluation trench (104, 106, and 108) were initially interpreted as medieval, but appear to fall into this same category and represent later garden features. A north-east to south-west aligned brick drain (115B) was also recorded across two areas.

THE SHOES *Quita Mould*

The remains of a turnshoe for the left foot, of adult male size, estimated adult size 6 (European size 39), were found in layer 123B, a possibly cessy lower fill of ditch 117B (Figs 4 and 5), and

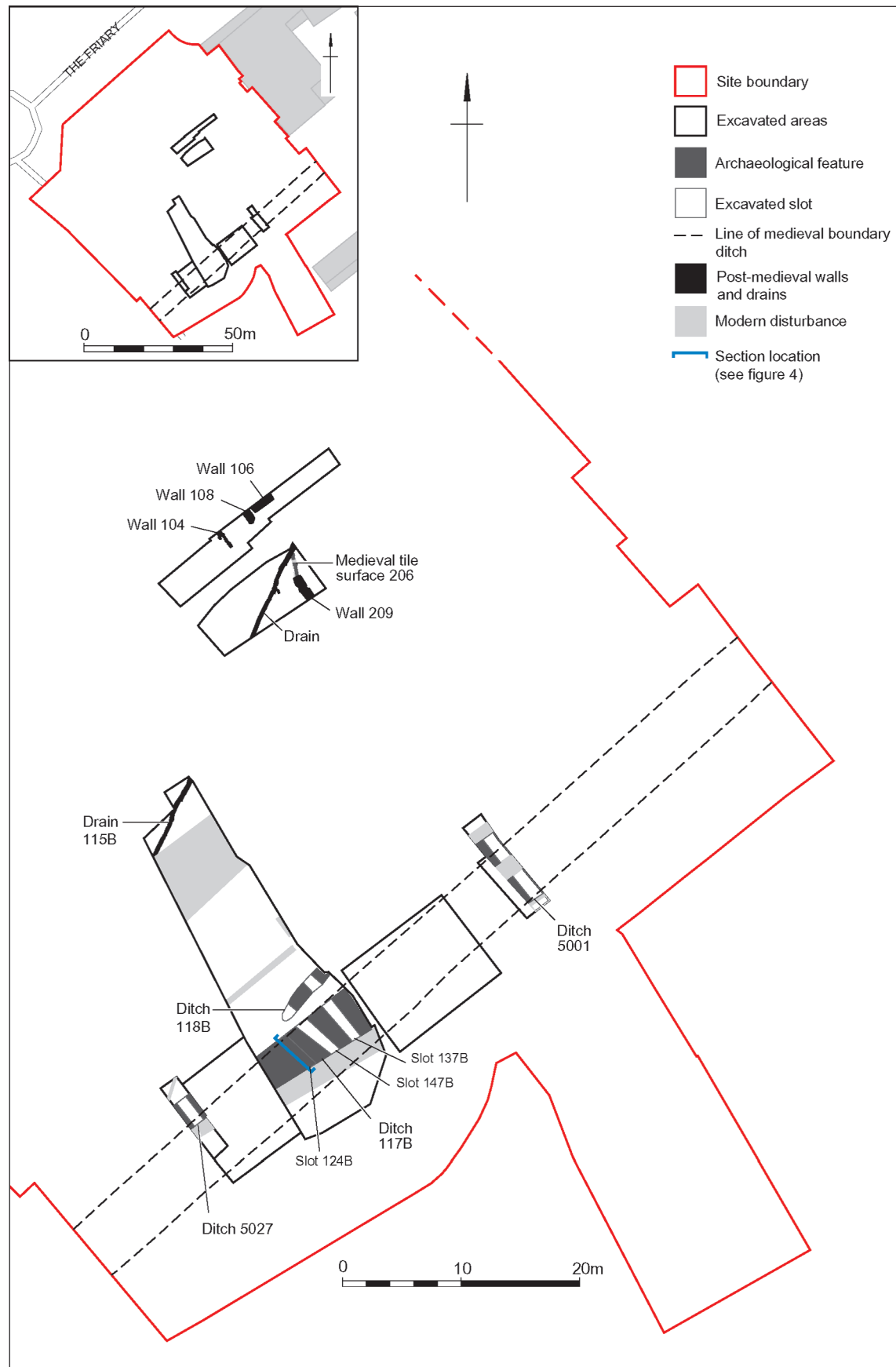


Fig. 2 Site plan



Fig. 3 Upper: detail from *Map of Staffordshire* by John Speed, draft version of 1608 (WSL 288/2010, f. 6). Lower: detail from *A Plan of the City and Close of Lichfield from an Actual Survey* by John Snape, 1781 (WSL bs 1840/4). Both reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the William Salt Library

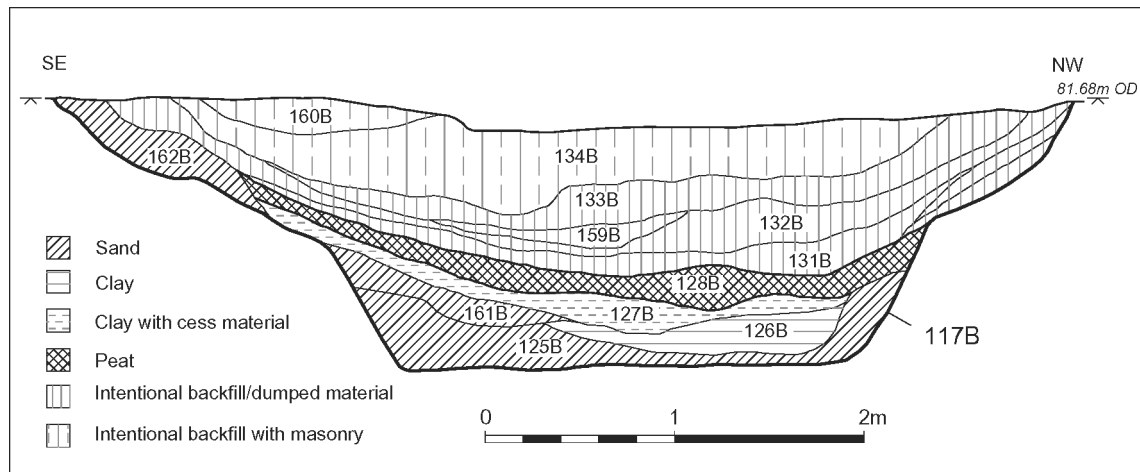


Fig. 4 Section of Ditch 117B, slot 124B



Plate 1 Ditch 117B, slot 124B, from the north-east

a turnshoe sole for the left foot of a smaller adult, estimated adult size 3 (European size 35), was recovered from a sandy primary fill of the same ditch (deposit 125B).

The more complete turnshoe had a repair patch (known as a clump) added to the tread, tunnel stitched to the rand; the clump had worn through, yet the sole beneath was not excessively worn. The shoe had a separate vamp and quarters (DD primary cutting pattern: Volken 2014, 67), although the quarters are now missing. The vamp, identified as bovine leather from the follicle pattern, is incomplete, torn, and in poor condition, but sufficient remains to confirm that it fastened across the instep with a narrow strap and buckle and had a second fastening lower down across the toe joint. The deep concave throat is mirrored by a second, large concave cut-out area located above the toes that fastened across the toe joints. A single hole on the small projection (fastening tab) on the right side is all that remains of the second fastening, possibly another buckle and strap, but potentially a different method, such as a tie.

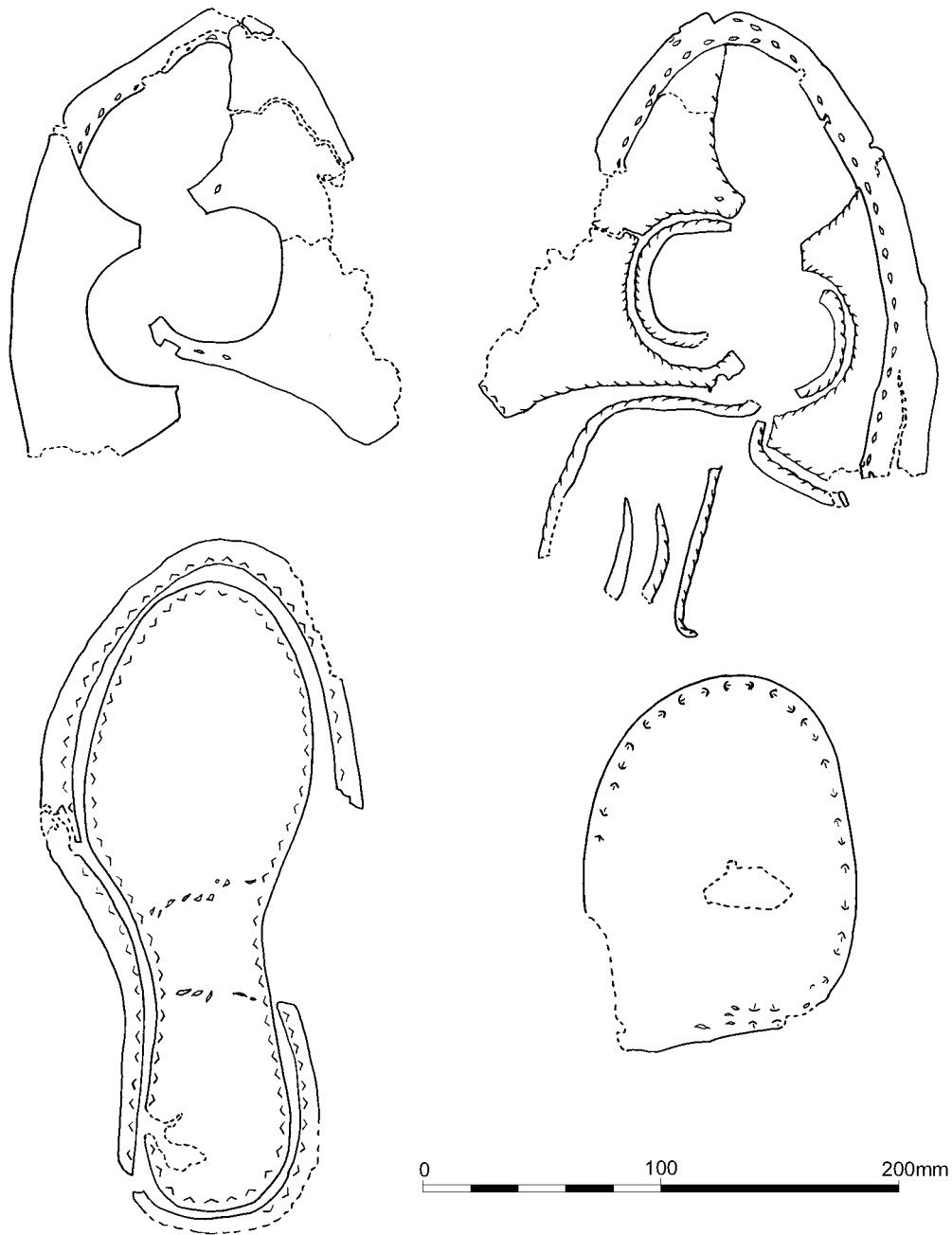


Fig. 5 Turnshoe from fill 123B (ditch 117B) *upper left*: vamp grain view; *upper right*: vamp flesh view; *lower left*: sole and rand; *lower right*: clump

This is an unusual style, a variant of the commonly found strap and buckle fastening shoe, popular in the later medieval period. At present the only other comparable example is a vamp from Coventry, less than 23 miles (37km) away (Thomas 1980, 78/46/31, 33 and Fig. 2). The shoe style appears in contemporary paintings: Pilate is wearing a black pair of shoes of this style in the panel *Christ before Pilate* from the Strache Altar, by the Master L. Cz. and dated to around 1500, now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (viewable online, e.g. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:16th-century_unknown_painters_-_Christ_before_Pilate_-_WGA23785.jpg; accessed 2/2/2017). Having pointed toes, Pilate's shoes and the Coventry vamp differ from the Lichfield shoe which has a rounded-oval toe, but what the Lichfield shoe lacks in fashionable pointed toe, it makes up for in the extreme depth of the front opening: this extends to little more than 20mm above the lasting margin, ensuring that the coloured hose with which it was worn, no doubt, were displayed to the full. The shoe must have been a high fashion item when new but appears to have had a long life



Plate 2 Turnshoe from fill 123B (ditch 117B)

before it was eventually thrown away. The fashion for low shoe styles with deep throats and open fronts, fastening with a narrow strap or ties across the ankle and with pointed toes, was popular in the later medieval period (Grew and de Neergaard 1988, 32, figs 42–44; Coventry-DD style, and Volken 2014, 290, 12.12) and continued, with blunt, wide-toed versions, into the early 16th century (Volken 2014, 170, Fig. 239).

POTTERY *Stephanie Rátkai*

A modest pottery assemblage of 85 sherds (2325g; table 1) contains material consistent with recent excavations in Lichfield (see for example, Nichol and Rátkai 2004; Nash 2003; Tavener and Stone 2001 etc.). This was analysed following the type series devised for Lichfield (Nichol and Rátkai 2004, 40, 72–6); a full report is held in the project archive and only a brief summary is given here. Medieval pottery was recovered from a range of fills from ditch 117B, from apparently securely dated medieval layers, and also residually in later deposits. The pottery has been relied upon to date the majority of contexts.

The greater part of the medieval pottery assemblage consists of whitewares, which may originate from either Chilvers Coton in north Warwickshire, or from an unknown site possibly situated in the region of the south Staffordshire/Warwickshire border (Rátkai 2008, 493–5). These whitewares are commonly found on medieval sites in Lichfield, and an absence of other cooking pot fabrics perhaps suggests that full scale occupation of the site did not occur until after *c.* 1250. Jugs are the most common vessel form but bowls are also present: in the region the latter were often used as cooking vessels. A green-glazed lid of possible 15th-century date or later may also have been produced at Chilvers Coton. Such lids are often associated with storage jars or bunghole jars, but this example was found with an almost complete small, green-glazed, whiteware jug, probably a drinking jug, which should pre-date 1400, although the form is more consistent with a 15th-century date. Two glazed sherds appear to be from a Deritend ware jug from Birmingham (see Rátkai 2009). Pottery from the later medieval–post-medieval transition (15th to 16th century) includes probable products of the Wednesbury pottery industry and other locally produced wares.

OTHER FINDS *Lorraine Mephram*

A total of 172 pieces of ceramic building material weighing 25,722g was retrieved, from buried soil layers 203, 204 and associated deposits, from roof tile surface 206, and from the secondary and

TABLE 1 Pottery by context by sherd count

FABRIC CODE	Ph 1	103	103B	106	107	127B	128B	131B	133B	134B	143B	150B	154B	203	204	607	5002	5031	5033	u/s	Total
Medieval																					
CPJ4																		1			1
DERIT											2										2
GRITIP												1									1
IRP1									1												1
WW1	4					3				1	9	1	3	1							22
WW1-RP																1					1
WW2		2						1		1	1	3	1		4				1	1	15
WW2-RP					1							4			1						6
WW4	1					3	6		2		1										13
WW4-RP											1										1
LMT2					1													1			2
LMT2?													1								1
LMT2a				1																	1
RW3												2									2
Post-medieval/modern																					
CW(IR)																			1		1
MOT																		1			1
SLIPCO																		2			2
CRW																	9				9
BLTRANS			1																		1
BSG				1																	1
PORC			1																		1
Total	5	2	2	2	2	6	6	1	3	2	14	11	5	1	5	1	9	5	1	2	85

Ware codes follow established type series (Nichol and Rátkai 2004, Nash 2003, Tavener and Stone 2001)

tertiary fills of the boundary ditches (117B, 118B etc.), as well as residually in a post-medieval drain (115B) and from the topsoil and subsoil. The majority of the roof tiles are in orange/red-firing sandy fabrics, some more regular and harder fired. Associated pottery suggests that most, if not all, are of medieval or early post-medieval date. Five fragments from roof tile surface 206 form an almost complete peg tile (approximately 370 x 210mm) with two small square peg holes and two random impressions (either fingerprints or paw prints). A few other tiles demonstrate a single central nib on the upper edge, and one other tile has fingerprints or paw prints (upper fills of 117B). Four glazed roof tile fragments in white-firing sandy fabrics, including one from a crested ridge tile, appear to belong to the Chilvers Coton tradition (upper fills of 117B and its continuation 5027).

Floor tile from fill 154B of ditch 117B includes both border tiles (in two different sizes) and square tiles. These are glazed with either dark olive-green to black glazes, pale green-yellow glaze over a white slip, or, in one case, a yellow glaze over a white slip. A border tile with lettering (possibly an 'M') has an upper surface partially obscured by mortar. Another decorated fragment joins with a fragment recovered during the subsequent watching brief (context 608) to form part of a line impressed tile, very hard fired (possibly over-fired) with a dark olive-green glaze. No parallel for this design has been found. One other fragment of floor tile was also green-yellow glazed over a white slip and came from ditch 5027.

Stone roofing material was recovered from fill 154B of ditch 117B, comprising red sandstone and slates. Three small pieces of probable iron smithing slag were recovered, two of which came from later fills (134B and 150B) of ditch 117B, indicating smithing activity somewhere in the general area, possibly around the time of the Dissolution, or earlier if the slag is residual. The animal bone assemblage (133 fragments, 2434g) was mainly derived from ditch 117B, as well as from buried soils 203 and 204 and post-medieval layers. It chiefly represents livestock species: cattle, sheep/goat,

and pig, with two bones from juveniles. Other identified species include dog (two individuals; buried soils 203 and 204), roe deer (shed antler only), domestic fowl, goose, and cod (all from ditch 117B).

ENVIRONMENTAL EVIDENCE *Sarah F. Wyles*

Twelve environmental samples were taken from medieval contexts, of which ten came from ditch 117B (fills 123B, 126B, 128B, 132B, 133B, 149B, and 151B; some contexts were sampled multiple times). The samples were processed and analysed using standard methods, details of which are available in the site archive.

The small charred assemblages recovered from ditch 117B includes a few fragments of free-threshing wheat (*Triticum turgidum/aestivum* type), barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) grains, and seeds of oat/brome grass (*Avena/Bromus* sp.). Moderate quantities of wood charcoal including mature wood fragments were recovered. Waterlogged material was dominated by wood/twig/stem fragments; there were also leaf fragments and buds in some of the deposits. Other remains included hazelnut (*Corylus avellana*) and seeds from a variety of damp-loving weeds. Also recovered was a single shell of snail *Bithynia tentaculata* which favours well-oxygenated, well-vegetated, slow-moving aquatic environments.

Medieval buried soil layer 204 produced charred indeterminate grain fragments, seeds of oat/brome grass and vetch/wild pea (*Vicia/Lathyrus* sp.) alongside uncharred seeds of elder (*Sambucus nigra*). A sample from medieval buried soil 203 contained only a few weed seeds, including dock (*Rumex* sp.).

These assemblages appear to reflect an area of long damp grass/waste ground and scrub/hedgerow, with occasional trees, in the vicinity of the ditch, which is likely to have been permanently wet. The weed seeds are species typically found in grassland, wasteland/scrub, field margins, and arable environments. Settlement activity in the wider vicinity is indicated by the presence of small amounts of grain. No evidence for specific activities associated with life in the medieval friary was identified.

DISCUSSION

The development area was heavily truncated in the 20th century by construction of a swimming pool, services, and the car park, but the undamaged areas contained well-preserved medieval and post-medieval structures and features. Similar remains may be preserved elsewhere in the vicinity, and the 2016 investigations have demonstrated the archaeological potential of this area of the friary precinct.

The major medieval feature on site was north-east to south-west aligned ditch 117B, which appears to relate to a southern boundary to the friary precinct. The boundary does not appear on Speed's map of 1608, and archaeological evidence suggests that the ditch had been backfilled by then; even if something had survived, it may not have been illustrated because it did not appear to be significant to the map maker. Ditch 117B, however, does appear to correlate with a boundary shown on Snape's later map of 1781, suggesting that the boundary did survive in some form throughout the early post-medieval period. If the identification of the ditch as part of the friary precinct boundary is correct, then it adds to our understanding of the layout of the friary site.

A rough surface formed of medieval roof tiles was located within the friary precinct, 40m south of the known friary buildings. The north-south alignment of the tile surface is problematic in that it does not correspond with that of the mapped friary buildings, which are on a south-east to north-west alignment. The tile surface may represent a narrow path or less likely, the foundations for an insubstantial timber building towards the fringes of the friary complex. A post-medieval date for the surface, re-using old tiles is unlikely as it was sealed by a 13th- to 14th-century buried soil. Other features almost certainly relate to the later use of the area as a formal garden.

The most significant artefact recovered was a leather turnshoe of an unusual style, a variant of the commonly found strap and buckle fastening turnshoe dating to the second half of the 14th and into the beginning of the 15th century. The high status of the shoe, when new, indicates a level of prosperity as might be expected in medieval Lichfield. The pottery is of interest but unremarkable, while the animal bone assemblage suggests domestic fowl and geese may have been kept or consumed nearby.

The areas investigated, though peripheral within the friary precinct, provide our first glimpse of this southern area. The intensity of activity across the precinct is likely to have varied, with some

parts of the enclosed area relatively sparsely used. This is consistent with the established picture of an institution which in part relied on an agricultural livelihood with associated gardens, orchards and pastures within its generous precinct (Greenslade 1970).

Overall, the value of the archaeological investigations, particularly of the medieval boundary ditch, lies in charting the development of the site from agricultural land associated with the early development of the friary and its precinct, to its later abandonment and post-medieval use as a garden.

ARCHIVE

The archive has been deposited with The Potteries Museum and Art Gallery under the accession code 2014.LH.30. A copy of the post-excavation assessment report has been uploaded to the OASIS (Online Access to the Index of Archaeological Investigations) website, under OASIS no. wes-sexar1-268362. At present the OASIS entry is awaiting sign-off by the local HER.

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THREE EARLY GRANTS OF ARMS WITH STAFFORDSHIRE CONNECTIONS: JOHN MACKWORTH (1404), JOHN BRUGGEFORD (1415), AND ROBERT WHITGREAVE (1442)

JOHN E. TITTERTON

When in 1614 Thomas Whitgreave of Bridgeford and Burton (Staffs.) responded to the summons of Richard St George, Norroy King of Arms, to attend the Staffordshire heraldic visitation, he did something that few members of the gentry and aristocracy could do — he took with him the formal grant of arms made to his ancestor Robert Whitgreave in 1442.¹ Indeed, he presented *two* medieval grants of arms, the other one being that made to a John Bruggeford in 1415 during the siege of Harfleur. Likewise, when Sir Thomas Mackworth of Normanton, Bt., attended the visitation of Rutland taken by Gregory King, Rouge Dragon, in 1681, he presented the grant made in 1404 to his ancestor, John Mackworth. These three grants are significant as they are the only recorded grants of new arms by a greater lord to one of his entourage in the period 1400–1450,² and they all have strong Staffordshire connections. The Mackworth grant of 1404 was made by John Tuchet, styled Lord Audley, the heir to the Audley estates mostly in North Staffordshire and Cheshire, whilst the other two were made to Staffordshire men who had been in the service of two of the great baronial families of early 15th-century England, being participants in significant events of the Hundred Years War and rewarded for their service by being made armigerous: the 1415 grant was made by Edward, duke of York, to John Bruggeford, and that of 1442 by Humphrey, earl of Stafford (later duke of Buckingham) to Robert Whitgreave. Moreover, the Bruggeford grant is only one where the original document is known to have survived to the present day.³

In a format that was the forerunner of that used by the College of Arms from the 15th century to the present day, these post-1400 grants have not been discussed together in detail before. The text of two of them, Mackworth and Whitgreave, were given in a 1904 article by W. Paley Baildon,⁴ and they were also considered by Adrian Ailes in his unpublished MA thesis written in 1997, along with a passing mention to the Bruggeford grant,⁵ but this present article takes the opportunity to treat them as a group to see how a lord used heraldry to reward his staff who were not of knightly class, how such a reward marked the grantee as part of the lord's retinue, and how these documents fit into the development of the formal grant of arms by the College of Arms.

THE GRANTS

Bruggeford grant

Surviving in the William Salt Library in Stafford,⁶ the original grant of arms by Edward, duke of York, to his esquire John Bruggeford in 1415 was made during the siege at Harfleur just weeks before the duke was killed at the battle of Agincourt. An early example of a grant of new arms by a greater lord to one of his entourage,⁷ it is written in French and can be translated as follows (Fig. 1):⁸

1 H. S. Grazebrook, 'The heraldic visitations of Staffordshire made by Sir Richard St George, Norroy, in 1614, and by Sir William Dugdale, Norroy, in the years 1663 and 1664', *William Salt Archaeological Society*, V (2) (1885), 307–9. Transcriptions of documents presented at the 1614 visitation include a receipt of 1440 given to Robert Whitgreave by Richard, duke of York, as governor general of the kingdom of France and duchy of Normandy. In addition, Thomas presented documents concerning the tenure of land in Stafford (1446) and an undated settlement of family estate property between two Whitgreave brothers.

2 Altogether texts survive for only seven examples of private grants in England between 1300 and 1460, the other four all being earlier; three of them are grants of only a crest, whilst the fourth is the grant of both arms and crest to Edmund de Mortayn by Ralph, Lord Stafford, in 1347. See A. Ailes, 'Medieval Grants of Arms 1300–1461' (unpublished MA thesis, University College London, 1997), 30–1. Dr Ailes refers to the Mortayn grant as being still extant at Eton College, but the archivist in 2012 was unable to locate the document; the Bruggeford grant was discovered by the present writer at the William Salt Library in Stafford after the thesis had been written.

3 William Salt Library, Stafford [WSL], S. MS 31.

4 W. Paley Baildon, 'Herald's College and Prescription IV', *The Ancestor*, 9 (April, 1904), 214 seq.

5 Ailes, 'Medieval Grants of Arms', 31–5.

6 WSL, S. MS 31.

7 It is a grant of new arms to an individual. There are many other examples of existing arms being transferred to other parties by grant and other means: Baildon, 'Herald's College'.

8 The grant reads: [E]dward Duc de york Conte de Cantebrigg, de Rutland, et de Cork, Seigneur de Wight, A touz ceux qui cestes noz l[ett]res verront ou orront salut. Savoir faisons q[ue] pour le bon et agreable service que n[ost]re chier et b[o]n ame Escuier Johan Bruggeford a nous ad fait et pour lonneur et vaillance que en luy avons trouve, luy avons donne et

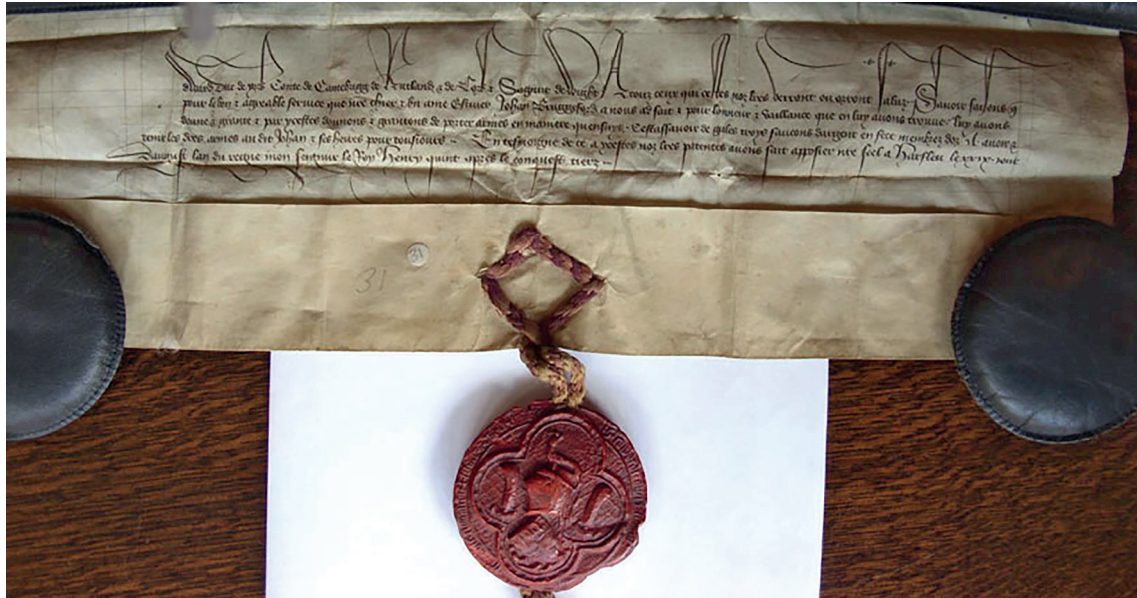


Fig. 1 Grant of arms to John Bruggefurd, 1415

Edward, duke of York, earl of Cambridge, of Rutland, and (Lord) of Cork, lord of [the Isle of] Wight, to all those by whom these our letters are seen or are heard, Greetings. We make it known that because of the good and faithful service which our dear and well-loved esquire John Bruggefurd has given us, and for the honour and courage which we have found in him, we have given and granted to him and by this gift and grant to bear arms in the manner which follows, that is to say, gules three falcons in fess argent membered or to have and to hold the said arms to the said John and his heirs forever. In witness to this matter we have had our seal attached to these letters at Harfleur 29th day August in the 3rd year of the reign of my sovereign King Henry the fifth after the conquest.

It is sealed with the duke's seal (Fig. 2).⁹

The Bruggefurd grant was made whilst the duke of York was taking part in the siege at Harfleur, a major event in the lead-up to the battle of Agincourt, the port falling to the English just over three weeks later on 22 September. No doubt the grant was one of a number of acts of personal 'housekeeping' undertaken by the duke while on campaign: a week earlier on 22 August, just one week into the siege, the duke had made his will. This was a routine but wise move because he was killed some eight weeks later at Agincourt.¹⁰

The initial letter of the grant, the 'E' of Edward, is missing (Fig. 3). The parchment had been prepared with horizontal lines to guide the scribe across the page and vertical lines at the top left corner of the text, with the words at the start of the second and third lines being indented to the right to allow space for a more elaborated initial 'E' of Edward to be added later: a very small letter 'e' is written in this space presumably for the guidance of the illuminator. This suggests that such documents were produced in a two stage process — the text first written down by a scribe and then the document is passed to a more skilled scribe or illuminator to complete the initial letter.

The fact that the Bruggefurd grant was drawn up at a military camp during a siege may explain the failure to add the 'E', but there could be other reasons. If John Bruggefurd was expected to pay for the work himself, perhaps he did not have the necessary money at the time, or perhaps the document was returned to England but he did not survive the campaign: if he lacked male heirs

grante et par ycestes donnons et grantons de porter armes en maniere qu ensuyt. Cestassavoir de gules troys faucons d'argent en fesse membrez dor et avoir et tenir les dites armes au dit Johan et ses heires pour tousiours. En tesmoigne de ce a ycestes nos l[et]res patentes avons fait apposer n[ost]re seel a Harfleur le xxix iour d'august lan du regne mon seigneur le Roy Henry quint apres le conquest tierz.

⁹ J. H. and R. V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (1974), 104.

¹⁰ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online version). For the will see E. F. Jacob. (ed.), *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–1443*, II (Canterbury and York Society, 1938), 63–6.



Fig. 2 The seal of Edward, duke of York, from the Bruggeford grant

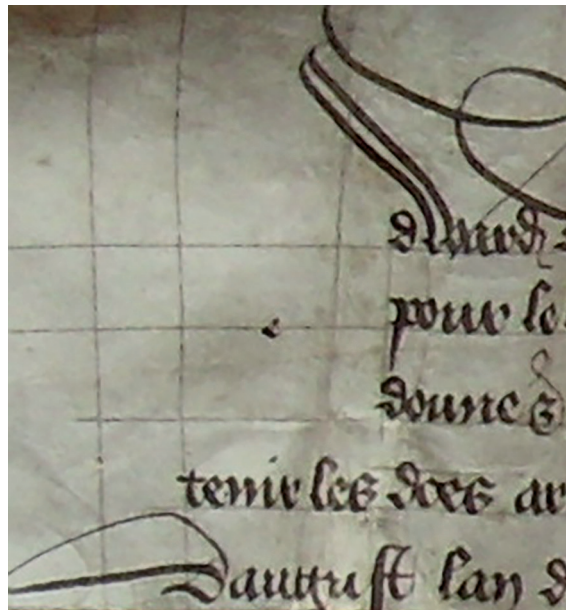


Fig. 3 The space for the capital 'E' of Edward

then there would be no later generation to complete the work. One can imagine many events which may have prevented the document from being completed.¹¹

The arms granted to Bruggeford have a red background (*gules*) with three silver falcons side by side (*in fess*) across the centre of the shield with golden legs. The grant of *three falcons in fess* (Fig. 4) was designed to show his link with the duke of York, the falcon being a device much used by the duke. In his will the duke specified bequests of cloth which included 'to my dear wife, Philippa,

¹¹ This is not the only example of the initial letter being missing and they need not be drawn up in a military campaign. For one example see Keele University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Legh of Booths Charters L 35 (dated 1333).



Fig. 4 The arms granted to John Bruggeford

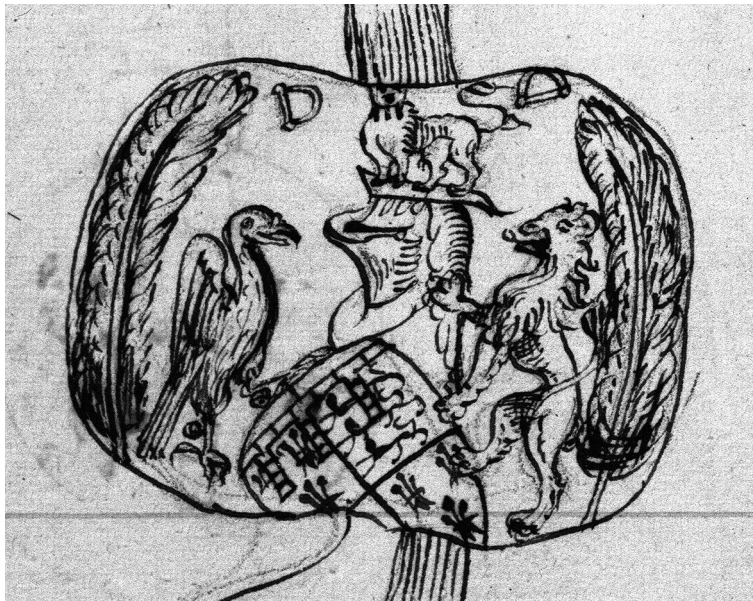


Fig. 5 Elias Ashmole's drawing of the seal of Richard, duke of York, from the Whitgreave family document of 1440
SOURCE: Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 858, p. 94.

... my white and red tapestry of garters, fetterlocks and falcons, ... the covered basins which she now has with the fetterlocks and falcons in the middle on a blue ground'.¹² A falcon supporter and fetterlocks are also on the 1440 seal of Edward's nephew Richard, duke of York (Fig. 5).

Little can be established about the identity of John Bruggeford or his fate during or after the Agincourt campaign. The grant states he was an esquire, and he was recorded in the duke's muster roll for 1415 as John 'Briggeford', man at arms, responsible for three horses.¹³ The name so spelled

¹² Jacob, *Reg. of Henry Chichele*, 65.

¹³ The National Archives (TNA), E 101/45/2, m. 3; E 101/45/19, m. 2.

does not feature in contemporary patent and close rolls, but there is a reference in 1417 to a John 'Brugford', man-at-arms, in the service of Richard Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny,¹⁴ and possibly he entered Beauchamp's service after the duke's death. Members of Beauchamp family are indeed mentioned in the duke's will.¹⁵ A John Bruggefurd had been escheator of Nottinghamshire in the late 14th century, and it is likely that his family came from Bridgeford to the south of Nottingham.¹⁶ There were, however, other places called Bridgeford, including what is now called Great Bridgeford, a few miles north-west of Stafford, and circumstantial evidence (explained below) suggests that the duke's esquire came from there rather than somewhere else in the country. Moreover, Great Bridgeford is only a mile from the village of Whitgreave from which the Whitgreave family no doubt took their name.

It is possible that John Bruggefurd was dead without issue by 1426, as in March that year Robert Whitgreave leased the manor of Great Bridgeford from Sir Richard Vernon and eventually bought it.¹⁷ When Whitgreave acquired the Bridgeford property, he presumably also got its associated deeds, evidently including the grant of arms. The estate was still owned by the Whitgreave family in 1614 when Thomas Whitgreave was described as of 'Bridgeford and Burton' in the visitation,¹⁸ and the Whitgreave family's possession of both the land at Bridgeford and the Bruggefurd grant of arms strongly suggests that John Bruggefurd came from this Staffordshire location.

Quite why Thomas Whitgreave took the Bruggefurd grant to the Staffordshire visitation is unclear, as he made no claim of descent from John Bruggefurd nor to the right to quarter the Bruggefurd arms. Perhaps he thought that Norroy, King of Arms, might think that document was of interest, especially as it had the armorial seal of the duke of York appended (Fig. 2). Otherwise, from Thomas's point of view, the important grant of arms he presented to the heralds in 1614 was the grant made in 1442 to his ancestor and the purchaser of the Bruggefurd land, Robert Whitgreave.¹⁹

Whitgreave grant

The Whitgreave family served the Stafford family for over 150 years, a John Whitgreave having been the earl of Stafford's receiver of Caux in 1390²⁰ and a Humphrey Whitgreave being in the service of Lord Stafford in the 1560s.²¹ The grantee of arms, Robert Whitgreave, was lawyer and a MP on multiple occasions between 1411 and 1449, first for Stafford borough and later for the county, and served Humphrey, Earl Stafford, from at least 1427.²² Highly trusted, he was repeatedly responsible for delivering large sums of money for the war effort to France. In the spring of 1422, for instance, he delivered £9,393 to Henry V at Meaux, followed by a further £8,836,²³ and acting on behalf of the treasurer of England in 1440 he delivered a sum of over £6,000 to Richard, duke of York, as governor general of the kingdom of France and duchy of Normandy; it was Robert's receipt for this duty from the duke which Thomas Whitgreave took along to the visitation all those years later.²⁴ It was in August 1442 that Humphrey, Earl Stafford, made a personal grant of arms to Robert Whitgreave, namely *Azure (blue) a cross quarterly pierced or (gold) each limb charged with a chevron gules (red)*.

A great-grandson of Edward III, Humphrey Stafford was one of the leading barons at this date, just two years before being created duke of Buckingham,²⁵ and the grant is the only one known to have been made by him to a retainer. There is the clear inclusion of the earl's own arms, a red chevron with a gold background (Fig. 7), within the blazon of the Whitgreave arms; four times in this case. A crest, *Out of a tower gules a demi-antelope or*, based on the Stafford supporters (two antelopes) was also granted (Fig. 8). The grant describes Whitgreave as *noble home*, rather than a

14 The 'Soldier in Later Medieval England' database funded by Arts and Humanities Research Council, online at http://www.icmacentre.ac.uk/soldier/database/search_musterdb.php [accessed 12 January 2018]

15 Jacob, *Reg. of Henry Chichele*, 65.

16 *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1385–89, *passim*.

17 See biography of Robert Whitgreave on History of Parliament website, and also *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, V(1959), 82–100, where the Whitgreave family is described as having an estate at Great Bridgeford.

18 Burton (juxta castrum) is 2 miles south of Stafford and should not be confused with the better known Staffordshire town of Burton-upon-Trent.

19 Its text is also recorded in Grazebrook, 'Heraldic visitations', 309.

20 C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394–1521* (London 1978), 207. Caux (or Caus) is a marcher castle on the Welsh border which the Stafford family inherited from the Corbets.

21 Staffordshire Record Office [SRO], Stafford family cartulary, D. (W.) 1721/1/1, f. 391d. (entry 20 April 1562);

22 See biography of Robert Whitgreave on History of Parliament website.

23 See entry for Robert Whitgreave on History of Parliament website.

24 Grazebrook, 'Heraldic visitations', 309.

25 G. E. C[okayne] and others, *The Complete Peerage*, II, 388.

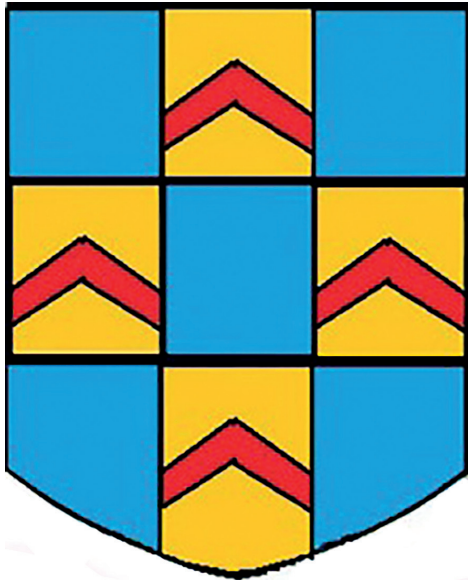


Fig. 6 The arms granted to Robert Whitgreave

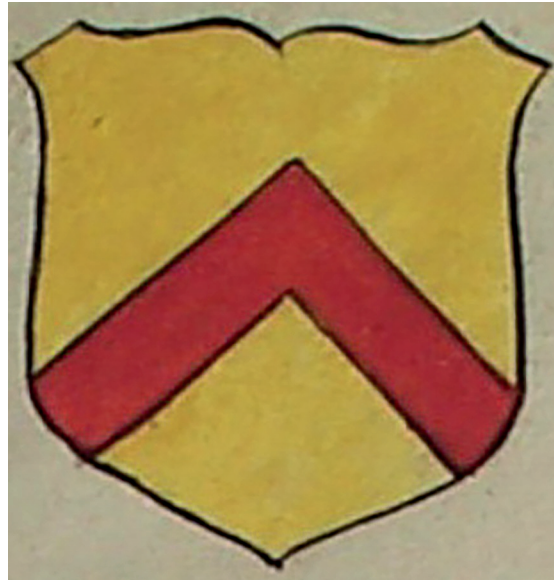


Fig. 7 The Stafford arms

SOURCE: Chetham's Library, Manchester, Mun. E.8.22, f. 28.



Fig. 8 Elias Ashmole's drawing of the Whitgreave grant made from the 1614 visitation record
SOURCE: Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 858, p. 93.

knight or esquire, and perhaps he had no military service in combat, even though he must have had some sort of military escort when transporting such large sums of money.

The Whitgreave family was still in the service of the Stafford family in 1562, when in April that year a Humphrey Whitgreave, steward of Lord Stafford, had both the Whitgreave and Bruggeford grants copied into a Stafford family cartulary.²⁶ The Whitgreave grant of arms was given in full with a description of the attached seal; the Bruggeford grant was summarized, but also had a description of its seal. A further enrolment of the arms was made in a Stafford family account book dating from 1568.²⁷ Other copies of both grants were made privately by Elias Ashmole, Windsor Herald (d. 1692).²⁸

Mackworth grant

The third grant under consideration here is that made in 1404 by a Staffordshire and Cheshire baron John Tuchet, Lord Audley, to John Mackworth and his brother Thomas, both of Mackworth (Derbys.).²⁹ The wording of the grant survives because it too was recorded at a herald's visitation, Sir Thomas Mackworth of Normanton, Bt., presenting it as evidence to Gregory King, Rouge Dragon, during his visitation of Rutland in 1681.³⁰ John and Thomas must have been young men at the time of the grant: becoming dean of Lincoln cathedral in 1412, John is thought to have been born around 1375 and died probably in 1451.³¹ One assumes that the father was dead at the time of the grant to his sons in 1404.

The text, again written in French, states that John Tuchet, Lord Audley, made the grant to John Mackworth and his brother Thomas, described as with the grant to Bruggeford as 'well-loved' and as the lord's esquires. It was specifically made in 'consideration that John and Thomas Mackworth were valiant men, and of the good services done by them and their ancestors to the said Lord Audley's family; and for their further honour, they are granted part of Audley and Tuchet arms to be borne by them and their heirs, with due difference'. The Audley arms were *Gules fretty or* and those of Tuchet *Ermine a chevron gules*, and on inheriting the Audley estates John Tuchet had combined the two coats to form his own quarterly coat (Fig. 9).

Elements from these two coats were duly combined to form the Mackworth arms of *Party per pale indented sable and ermine a chevron gules fretty or*, the Mackworth grant specifically stating that the arms were to have a chevron 'de Goules frettez dor de les Armes Daudeley', i.e. the chevron is red with a gold fretty design on it taken from the Audley arms. It also stated that the crest is taken from the Audley crest.

THE GRANTS TOGETHER

The choice of charges in all three grants is significant, as all three grants heraldically identify the baronial families which the grantees served: the falcons in the Bruggeford grant demonstrated a connection to the House of York; the high status of the Staffords as earls and later dukes of Buckingham meant that most in all parts of the country would know that the limbs of the cross voided on the Whitgreave grant were charged with the Stafford arms, *Or a chevron gules*; whilst *A chevron gules*

26 SRO, D. (W.) 1721/1/1, at f. 391d.

27 SRO, D. (W.) 1721/1/11, f. 123.

28 Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 858, pp. 93, 94.

29 For the Audley family see *Victoria County History of Staffordshire, XI: Audley, Keele, and Trentham* (2013), 28–33.

30 The wording of the grant is given in *The Visitation of the County of Rutland, 1681* (Harleian Society, 1922), 12. (Details are also in Baidon, 'Herald's College', 219.) The grant reads: A tous ceulx qui ces lettres verront ou orront Johan Tochet Sire Daudeley Salus. Savoir vous faisons que nous per consideracion que nos treschiers et bienames John Macworth et Thomas Macworth son frere sont estraits de bons et vaillants gens, et aussi pour le bon service que leurs Ancestres ont fait a nos Ancestres, nous voudrions leement fere que purroit honurer et avancer leurs estats si avons en avancement et honnour des estats des ditz John et Thomas, lour donne parcelle de nos Armes Daudeley et de Tochet, a avoir et porter avec certaines differences comes peert [?] per un escochun dessoubs paintes les colours Sable et ermeyn partes et endentes avec un cheveron de Goules frettes dor de les Armes Daudeley; et une creste, cestassavoir une eele gest per celle de nostre Creste Daudeley, de quele ele les plumes ferront des Sable et dermeyn. A avoir et porter les dices armes avec autielx differences come lour semble mieux affaire hors de mesmes les Armes a eux et a leurs heirs de nous et de nos heirs piw [?] tousjours sans empeschement de nous ou de nos heirs quiconques per le temps avenir. En tesmoignance de quele chose a icestes nos presentes tres avons fait mettre nostre seal Donne soubs nostre Seal a nostre Manoir de Marketon le premier jour Daugst Lan du grace Mile quatre Cents quart.

31 ODNB; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541, Lincoln Diocese* (Institute of Historical Research, London; 1962), 4. ODNB has him dying probably at Tredington (Worcs.) in the summer of 1450, but he was evidently still alive in 1451: TNA, C 270/32/31.

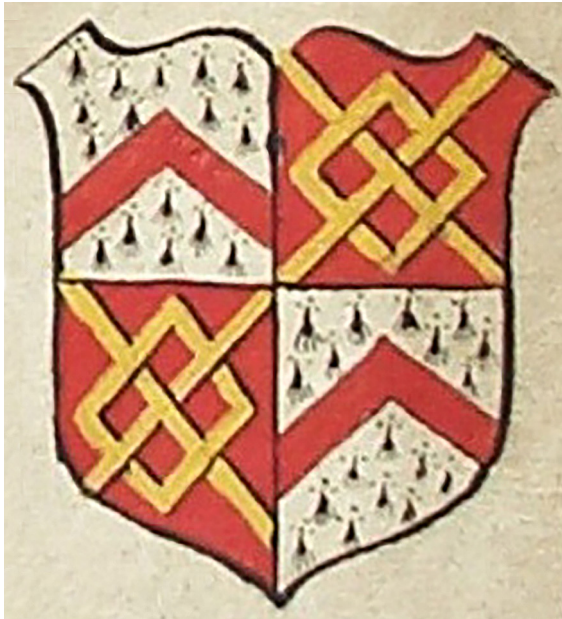


Fig. 9 The coats of Tuchet and Audley quartered together by John Tuchet and his successors
SOURCE: Chetham's Library, Manchester, Mun. E.8.22, f. 25.



Fig. 10 The Mackworth arms

fretty or would be recognized by those in the Midlands as a chevron charged with the arms of Audley. Moreover, the latter two grants included crests based from the grantors' own crests or supporters.

Containing essays on hawking, hunting, and heraldry, the *Book of Saint Albans* (or '*Boke of Seynt Albans*') was the first book to be printed (in 1486) with material about heraldry but is thought to be a compilation of earlier manuscripts. It classified arms into four categories depending on the manner through which the arms were acquired, the third being of those who have arms '*wich we beere by the grauntyng by a prynce or of sum other lordys*'.³² Clearly, these three grants, Mackworth (1404), Bruggeford (1415), and Whitgreave (1442) fall into this category, but how widespread was this practice? It was sufficiently common for the *Book of St Albans* to mention it, but if it was indeed fairly common practice, then one might have expected the survival of more instances: yet, these three examples are so far the only cases known in the period 1400–50.

Certainly, the duke of York and Earl Stafford were of high status and wealth. The duke, as a grandson in direct male descent of Edward III, could be considered a prince, and whilst in 1443, a year after the Whitgreave grant, Earl Stafford was styled '*The Right Mighty Prince Earl of Buckingham, Hereford, Stafford, Northampton*' etc. and had the wealth to go with that status.³³ Lord Audley could not be described in the same way, and as far as *The Book of St Albans* is concerned he must have come under the category of '*sum other lordys*'. Sir James Tuchet was one of the co-heirs of his great-uncle, Nicholas, Lord Audley (d.1391), being summoned to Parliament in October 1403 and again in August 1404 as Lord Tuchet, although always styled Lord Audley:³⁴ in the Mackworth grant he styled himself as '*Johan Tuchet Sire Daudeley*'. Made on 1 August 1404, just before his second summons to Parliament, the text of the grant strongly suggests that Tuchet considered it to be retrospective: it was for '*the good services done by them [the Mackworth brothers] and their ancestors, to the said Lord Audley's family*'. Can one conclude that Sir James Tuchet felt that it was only after he had been summoned to Parliament in 1403 that he had authority to grant arms to the Mackworths, and to bestow an honour on them which was long overdue to an earlier generation? There are potentially two pieces of evidence which together may support the suggestion that this grant was retrospective and that the Mackworth family were actually using these arms before date of the formal grant of 1404. Both pieces of evidence come from heraldic glass.

³² Baildon, '*Herald's College*', 214.

³³ *Complete Peerage*, II, 388, note c.

³⁴ *Complete Peerage*, under Tuchet; also, under Audley.

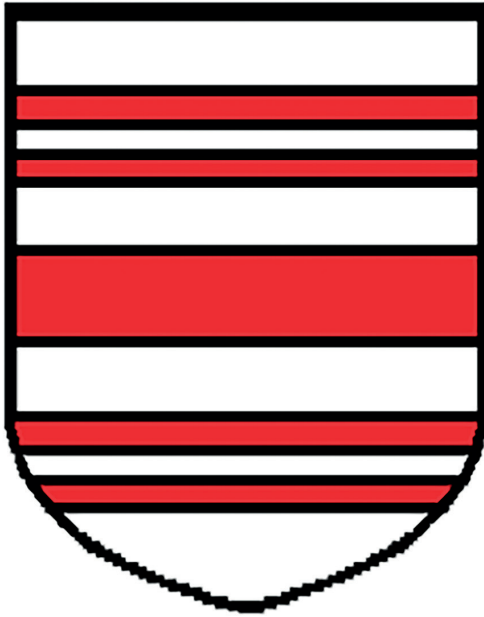


Fig. 11 Arms above tomb of John Mackworth at Lincoln cathedral

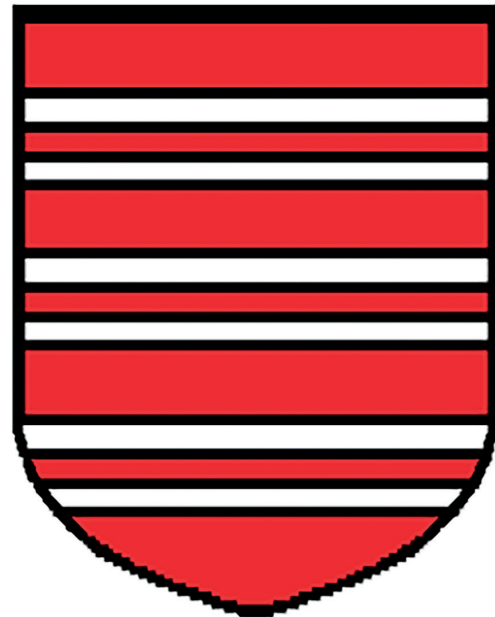


Fig. 12 Arms impaled with Mackworth in a window at St Oswald's church, Ashbourne

Heraldry started to be used as a means of decoration in various mediums about 1250. Henry III ordered heraldic glass for the castles at Rochester (1247) and Havering (1251 and 1253).³⁵ The reason for the choice of which individuals had their arms displayed side by side in some glazing schemes is hard to discern. In many cases the surviving evidence is only a small part of what was originally installed; for example, at Dorchester abbey church (Oxforshire), some twenty-six shields survive out of more than double that number recorded in the 17th century. The shields, which date from about 1300, seem to relate to people with Oxfordshire land holdings.³⁶ Also dated to c. 1300 are the shields at the head of each light in the chancel of Norbury church (Derbys.), but here the survival is complete and the shields are thought to represent knights and commanders in the military service of the manorial lord, Sir Henry FitzHerbert. In a chapel in Shottesbrooke church (Berks.) only six shields now survive, whereas Elias Ashmole had recorded around 40 shields in his *Visitation of Berkshire* in 1665/6. The majority are dated about the 1340s, most of them apparently recording members of the royal family and other contemporaries of the founder of a chantry chapel, Sir William Trussell (d. 1363), and it has been suggested that many may have contributed to the chapel's construction costs in return for obit prayers.³⁷ Finally, the heraldic glazing in the chancel at Etchingam church (Sussex) seems to be an armorial of the peerage of c.1370, whilst a second display in the nave 'belonged not only to relatives but to friends and neighbours of Sir William Etchingam, the builder of the church'.³⁸

The Mackworth arms are to be seen or have been recorded in glass at two locations, Lincoln cathedral and St Oswald's church in Ashbourne (Derbys.). At each place they are associated with another coat of arms which, while not being heraldically the same, is very similar in actual appearance. Both are based on alternate red and white horizontal stripes (Figs 11 and 12), and it is more likely that these two coats represent the same family rather than a Mackworth family association with two completely different families with remarkably similar arms.

The arms at Lincoln (Fig. 11) were recorded above the tomb of John Mackworth, the cathedral dean, in 1641 by William Sedgwick working for William Dugdale.³⁹ They are shown to the right of

35 Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1993), 93.

36 E. A. Greening Lamborn, *The Armorial Glass of the Oxford Diocese, 1250–1850* (London 1949), 120–25.

37 P. Begent, 'The Armorial Glass at Shottesbrooke church', *Proceedings of the Chiltern Heraldry Group* (1979).

38 N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life, Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280–1400* (Oxford 1986), 149.

39 British Library [BL], Add. MS 71474, f. 109v. (William Dugdale's 'Book of Monuments', otherwise 'Book of Draughts'), available on line at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_71474_fs001r). Possibly the record made at Lincoln in 1641 had the two colours transposed.

the arms of Mackworth, which also differ slightly from the arms specified in the 1404 grant.⁴⁰ John, the presumed younger of the two grantees, embarked on a clerical career, and was dean of Lincoln from 1412 until his death probably in 1451, and for a few months in 1431 was bishop elect.⁴¹ He would not have been married, so who do these arms represent?

The Mackworth arms, impaling a red shield with three pairs of white horizontal stripes (Fig. 12), also appear as one of the 19 medieval shields in the east window of Ashbourne church, the survivors of over 50 shields recorded in the church in 1624 by the antiquary Robert Palmer, vicar of Shepshed (Leics.).⁴² The Ashbourne shields have been dated to 1380–95, on the grounds that they represent knights in the service of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who held the nearby honor of Tutbury castle: his arms are one of those that still survive and, as he died in 1396, the series is presumed to pre-date his death. Other shields include the arms of the Annesley, Blount, Ferrers, Longford, Montgomery, Okeover, and Pole families, all of whom served John of Gaunt.⁴³ A date in the 1380s or 1390s is ten years or more before the grant of arms to Thomas and John Mackworth, and if the dating is correct then the family was using the arms before they were formally granted by John, Lord Tuchet/Audley.⁴⁴ Thomas Mackworth is known to have married Alice, the sister and heiress of John Basing, whose family arms are not those in the Ashbourne glass. The arms, therefore, do not represent himself and his wife. If one accepts that the arms in Lincoln cathedral and at Ashbourne represent the same family, and represent a family to which Dean John Mackworth felt a close tie and one into which the Mackworth family had married prior to 1396, a reasonable conclusion which explains the use of the arms at both locations is that they are the arms of the family of Thomas and John's mother. Thus, the shield at Ashbourne demonstrates that Thomas and John's father was using before 1396 the arms formally granted to his sons in 1404.

CONCLUSION

The three grants discussed in this article show how the bearing of arms was no longer considered the sole prerogative of the knightly class. John Bruggeford and the Mackworth brothers were described as esquires; this was in the first and second decade of the 1400s and, whilst not knights, they were evidently considered worthy of the honour of bearing arms. In the 1440s Robert Whitgreave was neither knight nor even an esquire but a highly trusted administrator and MP who transported large sums of cash to the war zones, and yet he too was regarded as worthy of being honoured with a grant of arms. The strict association of the right to bear arms with the status of a knight had significantly declined and was regarded now as an honour. Moreover, these grants are the only ones that these three lords are definitely known to have made, although heraldic evidence can be interpreted to suggest that the Audley and/or Tuchet families may have made grants to (or, at least, allowed their arms to be incorporated into the arms of) members of their knightly affinity in some way. As well as the Mackworth family a number of knightly families from Cheshire had ordinaries (solid broad bands of colour crossing over a shield) charged with the Audley arms of *gules fretty or*. They include

- Delves: *Argent a chevron gules fretty or between three delves sable*
- Hawkstone: *Ermine a fess gules fretty or*
- Leicester: *Azure a fess gules fretty or between three fleur-de-lis argent*
- Dutton: *Quarterly argent and gules the 2nd and 3rd quarters charged with a fret or*
- Foulshurst: *Gules a fret or a chief ermine*

In the absence of other evidence, it would be a matter of surmise as to whether these families bore their arms by grant from either a Lord Audley or a Lord Tuchet, or simply by family assumption to show their close association with the Audley/Tuchet family when there was little or no control over the process. Although there is the account given by Elias Ashmole that the Delves, Hawkstone, Dutton, and Foulshurst families were granted their arms in 1356 by the then Lord Audley after the battle of Poitiers, there is no evidence that any knight of these families was actually present at

40 The fretty chevron is correct but the colours either side of the jagged vertical division of the shield are wrong: in the grant of arms they are black to the left and ermine (white with black flecks) to the right; in the Lincoln Cathedral illustration they are white with no ermine spots to the left and black to the right.

41 *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 2, 4.

42 BL, Egerton MS 3510, f. 88.

43 S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361–1399* (Oxford, 1990), Appendix 1, 262 seq.

44 The arms in the Ashbourne window include those of Audley which might give the glazing an earlier date still. The last male Baron Audley died in 1391.

Poitiers.⁴⁵ Certainly, the suggestion does not stand scrutiny for the Dutton and Hawkstone families, as the Hawkstone arms were used on a family seal as early as 1328/9,⁴⁶ and the Dutton arms appear in the Lord Marshall's Roll, dated either 1295 or 1310, where the fret may represent a connection to the De Spencer family and not the Audley family.⁴⁷

Although by the 14th century men had become armigerous in different ways, during the first quarter of the 15th century the authorities must have come to feel that the general practice of assuming arms was getting out of control, and in 1417 an attempt was made by Henry V to regulate it. The king ruled that 'No one ... shall assume ... coats of arms unless he has or ought to have the same by right of his ancestors or by the gift of some person having sufficient power for this purpose.'⁴⁸ The implication is that the 'person having sufficient power for this purpose' was the same person as the 'prynce or sum other lordys' referred to in the Book of St Albans. It is not until twenty years after Henry's ruling that the heralds are first recorded as taking part of this process, when in 1439 William Bruges, Garter King of Arms, granted arms to the Drapers' Company,⁴⁹ and further grants by Kings of Arms followed for most years in the period up to 1460.⁵⁰ Clearly, in 1442 Humphrey Stafford believed he still had the right to grant arms and that it was not the prerogative of heralds alone.

The grants by the duke of York, Earl Stafford, and Lord Tuchet demonstrate some form of official control over the granting of arms based on the status of the grantors. Although spanning a period of nearly forty years, the Bruggeford, Whitgreave, and Mackworth grants show consistent practice and have many similarities.

- The grantors are all noble. The duke of York and Earl Stafford were respectively grandson and great-grandson of Edward III.
- Each grant is a personal reward for good service. This is clearly explained in the text. Moreover, Bruggeford and the Mackworths are 'well-loved esquires', and Whitgreave a '*noble home*'.
- The arms use charges which clearly identify the grantor. The Mackworth grant clearly states that the granted arms are based on the Audley and Tuchet arms, whilst the other two grants include crests with elements taken from crests or supporters of the grantors.
- The Mackworth and Whitgreave grants cover the use of 'difference' marks between branches of the family.⁵¹

The wording of the grants shows clear steps in the development of the document which became the formal grant of arms produced by the heralds up to the present day. As has been suggested above in respect of the grant by Lord Tuchet, perhaps it was being summoned to Parliament that was deemed to give a baron sufficient power to grant arms, but with only three examples to draw from it is unwise to make firm conclusions. The fact that all three grants had Staffordshire connections must simply be coincidence, and not a case of a group of Staffordshire barons deciding to act unilaterally on their own account; moreover, all three grantors had extensive estates and were not just centered on Staffordshire.

Each of the three grants was presented and recorded at a herald's visitation, and the Bruggeford grant is the only one whose original is now known to have survived to the present day. Its piece number in the William Salt Library at Stafford shows that it was part of William Salt's personal collection, which was used to form the original collection in the William Salt Library. A member of the Stafford banking family, William Salt (1808–63) may have been socially acquainted with Francis Whitgreave, a leading townsman living at Burton Manor in a new manor house designed by Edward Welby Pugin. A junior branch of the main Whitgreave family, which had died out, Francis's family had purchased back the Burton estate in 1851, and possibly William Salt persuaded a member to part company with the Bruggeford document because it was not a Whitgreave family document.⁵² The

45 H. J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355–1357* (Barnsley, 2004), 192–3.

46 T. Woodcock and S. Flower, *Dictionary of British Arms – Medieval Ordinary*, III (London; Society of Antiquaries, 2009), 310.

47 Gerard J. Brault (ed.), *Rolls of Arms of Edward I (1272–1307)*, *Aspilogia III* (2 volumes, The Boydell Press, 1997), I, 324. Brault assigns the use of the fret in the Dutton arms to the fact that the family married into the De Spencer family: *ibid.* II, 147).

48 Ailes, 'Medieval Grants of Arms', 17.

49 H. Stanford London, *The Life of William Bruges* (Harleian Society, CXI and CXII, 1970), 19.

50 See Ailes, 'Medieval Grants of Arms', 73, for a list of the grants of arms by Kings of Arms in this period.

51 A 'difference' mark is a small charge added to the paternal arms by the sons of an armigerous man; each son used a mark different to his brothers.

52 This branch of the Whitgreave family continued to live at Burton Manor, near Stafford, until the end of the 19th century.

present whereabouts of the Whitgreave and Mackworth grants (if indeed they survive) are unknown, and it is good fortune that we still have the Bruggeford grant, as it is significant for a number of reasons. A grant made by a royal prince and grandson of King Edward III, it is an example of domestic activity occurring during a military campaign, in this case the siege of Harfleur leading up to the battle of Agincourt, in which there is every probability that John Bruggeford participated, and the absence of the initial letter 'E' gives an indication of how such documents were drawn up and how war may interfere with such processes. Of greatest significance, however, is the fact that this grant to a Staffordshire esquire is currently the earliest known surviving example of a formal grant of new arms to an individual.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is very grateful for the advice and comments he has received from Dr A. Ailes, who made available a copy of his MA dissertation, 'Medieval Grants of Arms 1300–1461' (unpublished dissertation, University College London, 1997). The photograph of the grant to John Bruggeford and its seal is reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the William Salt Library, Stafford. The illustrations of the Lord Stafford's arms and Lord Audley's arms from the Adlington manuscript are made by permission of Chetham's Library, Manchester, and those from the Ashmole MS 858, pp. 93 and 94 are made with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

AN INVENTORY OF BURTON MANOR, 1580

PAMELA WALKER

When Burton abbey was dissolved in 1539, the church and monastic buildings were assigned to a newly-founded collegiate church but that too was dissolved in 1545 and its estate and buildings were granted in 1546 to Henry VIII's secretary of state, Sir William Paget.¹ Created Baron Paget of Beaudesert in 1549, William planned to build a grand house around the monastic cloisters but nothing had been done by his death in 1563, and nor by his son Henry, Lord Paget (d. 1568).² Although Henry had a daughter Elizabeth (d. 1570), the family estates and title passed to his younger brother Thomas, who lived mainly in Staffordshire and was frequently resident at Burton, along with his extensive household whilst his principal house, Beaudesert on Cannock Chase, was being re-built. The Burton house consisted of converted parts of the former monastic buildings, and its size is revealed in an inventory of household goods made in 1580, surviving in the Paget family archive in the Staffordshire Record Office. The purpose of this note is to provide a transcript of the inventory, along with a glossary of terms.³

Not long after he acquired the family estates, Thomas Paget married Nazareth Newton, then the widow of Norfolk gentleman Thomas Southwell (d. 1568), and their only son William was born in 1572; they were later estranged and were no longer living together by 1578. In August 1580 Thomas was summoned to London by the Privy Council to answer charges of recusancy and was imprisoned in the custody of the dean of Windsor to receive instruction in religion; he was released in November but ordered to stay out of Staffordshire. The Privy Council was right to be suspicious of his religious loyalties and in November 1583 Thomas was implicated in the Throckmorton Plot and fled to Paris; he died in exile in Brussels in 1590.

The inventory of the family home at Burton, therefore, was made when Paget was still a figure of authority in the county and was probably made so that he could move some items to his houses at West Drayton, near Uxbridge (Middlesex), and in London. Made by Thomas Davys and John Mallinge, the inventory is dated 4 September 1580 but was checked by someone else on the 13th, when some items were noted as being in a nearby farmhouse at Shobnall ('Shopnall') or having already been sent to the Drayton or London houses. It was signed off by Mathew Smith, who may have made the amendments.

Starting in the Great Chamber, the inventory goes through the main parts of the house, including chambers named after Paget's younger brother Charles (f. 5) and son William (f. 7v.), along with chambers assigned to his sister Lady 'Lea' (f. 1v.), the wife of Sir Henry Lee; his secretary and receiver-general Mr Ward and Mr Mulcaster (f. 4); Mr Hughes and Christopher Tompkys (f. 4v.); 'Mr Steward', probably Richard Ensore (f. 5v.); and 'Sir Peter', Peter Bottrell, the household steward but also a priest who almost certainly officiated at Mass in the chapel at Burton (f. 6v.) In all some 78 rooms or buildings are listed including public rooms such as the Hall and the Great Chamber, and many private chambers for members of the family and household, all supplied with a lock and key, and outbuildings such as brewhouse, dairy, stables, barn, and a forge for the farrier. There is one significant omission: no reference to a chapel, which we know existed and was large enough to house a choir, presumably because reference to it and its furnishings would have been politically unwise. The other anomaly is Lady Paget's chamber which is noted but the contents not listed (f. 2), evidently because the room was empty following her estrangement from her husband.

It was a substantial house by any standards, and in so far as it comprised converted monastic buildings, an indication of the considerable luxury that the original Benedictine monks had enjoyed. There were two beds of down, 37 bedsteads and 64 featherbeds, most with supporting bed-covers, an indication of how many people could be accommodated. Each principal member of the household had his or her own chamber, each including additional furniture and soft furnishings, often richly

1 Paragraph based on the entry for Thomas, Lord Paget, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [on-line version]; *Victoria County History of Staffordshire, IX: Burton-upon-Trent* (2003), 9–10, 50; and G. E. C[ockayne] and others, *Complete Peerage*, X, 276–83.

2 Plans survive for the project: N. Cooper, 'A building project for William Lord Paget, at Burton-on-Trent', *Antiquaries Journal*, 93 (2013), 249–86.

3 First worked on as an assignment at Keele University's Latin and Palaeography Summer School, the transcript is published here with permission of Staffordshire Record Office. Christopher Harrison and Richard Totty are thanked for checking the transcription and providing helpful comments.

decorated with embroidery, all indications of considerable wealth and luxury. Some pieces of fabric bore the family arms of Lady Paget's previous husband Thomas Southwell (ff. 7v., 9), whilst some new plates in the larder were stamped with Thomas Paget's initials (f. 12). Paget also had, in a 'sealed chamber' next to his closet, a cushion of cloth of gold and blue velvet embroidered in yellow velvet with the initials 'P' and 'M', presumably the Catholic monarchs Philip and Mary (f. 3).

Of special interest is the presence of the church-papist composer William Byrd, who occupied (or had recently occupied) a chamber over the gatehouse with its virginals (f. 8). There was also a piped organ and two virginals in the main part of the house (Great Chamber, f. 1), reflecting Thomas Paget's known interest and expertise in music making.⁴ Other items include bird cages in the Great Chamber (f. 1) and in the porter's lodge (f. 7v.); 'playing tables' for chess in the Great Chamber (f. 1) and for 'shovegrote', shove-halfpenny, in the Middle Hall (f. 10); maps in the Gallery (f. 2); and in the steward's chamber Hollinshed's Chronicle and a chronicle of Scotland, both noted as 'lacking – in the Auditor's chest' (f. 6).

The working parts of the house included the kitchen, along with the chambers for the kitchen 'clerk' and 'boys' (ff. 6v., 7); buttery and pantry with its supply of old and new linen (f. 10v.); wine cellar with seven hogsheads of Gascon wine and a half-full butt of sack (f. 11); larder and scullery (f. 11), whence an unopened keg of sturgeon had been sent to Drayton; dairy with 136 cheeses 'of this summer' and varying-sized pots of butter (f. 12); bakehouse (f. 12v.); brewhouse (f. 13.); slaughter house with an axe (f. 13); laundry (f. 13v.); coal house (f. 13v), with 30 loads of charcoal but also some freestone for use by a mason engaged in making repairs to Burton church. Also mentioned are chambers for the porter (f. 7v.), along with his lodge, the 'ferne' (f. 8v.), the farrier (f. 8v.) with the implements at his forge separately listed (f. 14), and fishermen (f. 8v., with their nets). The falconer had a chamber over the porter's lodge (f. 7) — Paget is known to have spent a lot of time hawking around the country. The inventory ends with various outbuildings: barns, peas and cheese chambers, stable (f. 14v.), and a chamber near the church (f. 15); also, a note of bedding in the brewhouse and at Shobnall (f. 15v.), and items in a wool house (f. 16). By any standards Paget's house at Burton was very well provided for, and this inventory gives one of the most complete accounts of what was to be found in the house of a rich Elizabethan baron.

EDITORIAL METHOD

The original spelling has been retained in the following transcript, with missing letters marked by a sign of abbreviation supplied in round brackets; the plural 'es' is given, as that is found when words are written out in full. Line breaks are marked by a forward slash, and marginal headings are given in bold. Sometimes the scribe has corrected an entry by scoring out a numeral or word and then writing the correct one, although some erasures may have been made by the person who checked the inventory later in September 1580. When clearly indicated by the difference in hand-writing, comments added by that person are given in italics after the original entry.

THE INVENTORY

Staffordshire Record Office, D. (W.) 1734/2/7/8

[*front cover*]

An Inventarie taken the fourthe of September 1580 by Thomas Davys and John Mallinge of all the household stuffe and Implement(es) w(i)thin my Lo(rd) his house of Burton Manner

[*f. 1*]

The greate Chamber

Imp(ri)mis vij peeces of hanging(es) of Tapissarie of parcke woorcke

Item iij waynescotte Tables wth their frames

⁴ For more on Byrd's links with the family see C. Harrison, 'William Byrd and the Pagets of Beaudesert: a musical connection', *Staffordshire Studies*, III (1990–1), 51–63.

Item one Cupbourd of waynescotte
 Item one greate standinge Instrumente wth Organ pypes bellows / and virgynall(es) wth locke and
 keye to it
 Item one longe Carpett of grene clothe
 Item one shorte Carpett of grene clothe
 Item one cupbourde Carpett of grene clothe
 Item one paire of virgynall(es) white
 Item one Chayer wth backe and seate of Redclothe frenged / wth grene silke
 Item ten square stooles cov(er)ed wth Redclothe frenged wth / grene silke
 Item iij square stooles cov(er)ed wth cruell chequered
 Item one Joyned stoole of waynescotte iij cornered
 Item one Chayer of waynescott bare and playne
 Item one litle lowe stoole of waynescotte playne
 Item iij cages of Byrdes
 Item one payer of playinge Tables of Brasell sett wth white / bone and xxx table men white and brasell
 Item one Chestbourd of wood paynted wth the men
 Item one litle square Table wth A frame for it and A Joyned / shelf to sett plate upon
 Item one drawynge Curten of darnex large
 Item one greate payre of Awndyrans playne
 Item locke and keyes to ~~bothe~~ <one> doore [*final 's' crossed out*]
 Item one pece of [*? letter*]ovinge

The litle Chamber next the greate Chamber

Item one Lyvereye bedstede wth A waynscott heade
 Item one woolequilt
 Item twoe featherbed(es) one newe thother old
 Item iij fetherbolsters ij newe and j old
 Item one chequered Rugge blacke and yellowe
 Item iij white blanckett(es)
 Item ij pillows
 Item ij Cov(er)ing(es) of verders one newe thother old
 Item one Canepie of grene Taffita
 Item v peec(es) of hanging(es) of Tapissarie
 Item iij peec(es) of darnex
 Item one Chayer of grene clothe ymbrodered
 Item one Joyned stoole cov(er)ed wth Crewell checquered
 Item one lyv(er)eye Cupbourd
 Item one Cupbourd Carpett of grene clothe
 Item one close stole of grene clothe
 Item one Chamberpote

[*f. Iv.*]

My Ladye Leas chamber

Item one bedd of downe
 Item one mattresse
 Item one woolequilt
 Item one bolster of downe
 Item ij pyllowes
 Item one Redd Rugge
 Item one Blanckett
 Item one quilte of yellowe silke lyned wth yellowe Canvas
 Item one lowe Bedstede
 Item one Tester for A bedd wth his heade and vallaunce of yellowe / Taffita ymbrodered wth blacke
 velvett and frenged abowte / wth blacke and yellowe silke
 Item v large Curtens of yellowe taffita
 Item v peec(es) of hanging(es) of Tapissarie

Item ij peec(es) of Tapissarie for wyndowe clothes
 Item one peece of Tapissarie over the Chymneye
 Item one playne Cupbourd of waynescotte
 Item one Cupbourd Carpett of nedelwoorcke
 Item one longe Cushion of yellowe Satten bothe sides like
 Item one wyndowe Curten of Chamlet stryped
 Item one windowe Curten of foure panes of blacke and / yellowe Satten of Bridges
 Item one highe Chayer of clothe of silver ymbrodered wth / popynioye grene velvett
 frenged aboue wth grene / silke and silver
 Item one lowe Chayer of the same stuffe and woорcke / and suteable to it, savinge the backe
 is not covered
 Item one Chamberpotte
 Item one payre of Bellowes
 Item one payre of Aundirons topped wth Brasse
 Item locke and keye to the doore

Thynner Chamber to that

Item one playne burden bedstede
 Item ~~one~~ <ij> fetherbedd(es) one newe thother old
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item one newe Coverlett of verders
 Item ij blanckett(es)
 Item ij Joyned stooles
 Item iij peec(es) of darnex
 Item one close stoole of blewe clothe

[f. 2]

The passage from y^e greate chamber to the Gallerie

Item one longe Skryne of Waynescotte
 Item one greate Joyned Stoole

The litle corner chamber at the gallerie end where Mr Brinckleye did lye

Item ij old featherbed(es)
 Item one old fetherbolster
 Item one blanckett
 Item one shorte pillowe of fethers
 Item one brushinge bourde
 Item one newe presse of iij shelf(es)
 Item v peeces of darnex
 Item one stoole cov(er)ed wth Red and frenged wth grene
 Item Locke and Keye to the dore
 Item one newe Coveringe of verders
Item one olde Redd Rugge

The Gallerie

Item hanging(es) of course grene clothe to hange the gallerie round / aboute and at bothe end(es)
 Item viij Mappes
 Item to the one doore locke and keye thother A bolte

The Chamb(er) next my Ladys Closset

Item one playne Cupbourd
 Item one litle brushinge bourd playne
 Item ij litle peec(es) of darnex
~~Item one mortar of Allabaster~~
 Item to the dore locke and keye

My Ladies Closett*[No items listed]**[f. 2v.]***My Lordes Clossett <wardrobe>**

Item ij fetherbedd(es)

Item ij bolsters

Item one mattresse

Item one blanckett

Item ij cupboud carpett(es) of grene clothe

Item one playne boud for A presse

Item one lowe broken stoole cov(er)ed wth cruell wovenItem ij males of leather *one of them sent to London [v]iz September 1578*Item one bowe and a quyver wth Arrowes *sent to London*Item iij paire of my lord('s) bowles *sent to London*

Item to the doore plate locke and keye

Thentrie and passage to the pryvye

Item one greate mortar of Allabaster

Item one standinge bedstede of waynescotte

Item other boud(es)

Item one shorte Ladder

The Nurserie

Item one standinge bedstede of waynescotte kerved

Item one mattresse

Item one fetherbed

Item one neue fetherbolster

Item one neue Coveringe of verders

Item one ioyned Cupboard p(ar)te walnuttree

Item one Joyned stoole iij cornered

Item one frame for A skryne

Item one fireshovell

Item one portall of waynescott wth lache ~~catcheratche~~ & bolte

Item one mortar of Allabaster

Item to the utter doore locke and key

*Item one whit blanket in the same Cham(ber)***The sieled chamber nexte my Lo(rd's) Clossett**

Item one field bedsteede

Item one mattresse

Item one fetherbed

Item one fetherbolster

Item one blanckett

Item one White Rugge

[f. 3]

Item ij pyllowes

Item one Counterpointe of Redd stam(m)ell wroughte aboute wth / nedell worcke of blacke silkeItem a Tester for A field bedd of Redd Stam[m]ell layed / aboute wth silver lace and frenged wth Red
silke and / sylver wth heade and vallaunce of the same

Item five curtens of the same clothe and woorke

Item one pallett fetherbed

Item one mattresse

Item one neue fetherbolster

Item one newe Coverlett of verders
 Item one standinge cupbourd of Waynscot turned
 Item one Cupbourd Carpett of grene clothe
 Item one lowe stoole wth seate of nedelwoorcke of grene / yellowe and Murreye collo(ur)s
 Item one Close stoole of grene clothe
 Item one longe Cushion of clothe of goulde and blewe velvette / wth the Letters P and M of yellowe
 velvett at the toppe / and bottome therof and lyned wth grene braunched damaske
 Item to the dore lache and keatche
Item in this Chamb(e)r one yryshe Rugge of Morre Cullir

The Corner Chamber where my Lo(rd) laye at his Dep(ar)ture

Item one mattresse
 Item one bedde of downe
 Item one woolequilt
 Item one ~~fetherbedd~~ fetherbolster
 Item ij pyllowes
 Item one white Rugge
 Item one white blanckett
 Item one Quilte of Crymson ~~damaske~~ <Taffita> for the Coveringe
 Item one Canepie of Crymson Taffita
 Item one playne bedsteede
 Item one longe Cushion of Redd Satten ymbrodered wth blacke / sylke
 Item one Chaire wth Backe and seate of Redd Satten / ymbrodered wth blacke sylke
 Item one lowe Chayre of the same stuffe and worcke
 Item five peec(es) of hanging(es) of Tapissarie

[f. 3v.]

Item one playne Cupbourde
 Item one Cupbourd clothe of Nedlewoorcke lyned wth / Canvas
 Item one payer of Aundyrans topped wth Brasse
 Item one fyreshovell
 Item one paire of Bellowes
 Item one Chamberpotte
 Item to the doore locke and keye

The Inner Chamber to that

Item one fetherbedd
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item one olde Coverlett of Tapissarie overworne
 Item ij whiteblanckett(es)
 Item one lowe bedstede
 Item one brushing table
 Item one peece of darnex
 Item one Close stoole cov(er)ed wth blewe clothe

The Parlo(ur)

Item one lowe Bedsteede
 Item ij fetherbeddes olde
 Item one newe fetherbed
 Item iij fetherbolsters
 Item iij blanckett(es)
 Item one Rugge of dyv(er)s collo(urs)
 Item ij cov(er)lett(es) one of Branceiche thother of Verders
 Item one Canepie of grene Saye wth gilte belles
 Item iij peec(es) of hanginge of Banceiche
 Item ij peec(es) of old Arrais hanging(es)

Item one square bourd standinge on turned Tressell(es)
 Item one playne Chayer of waynescotte
 Item one Joyned stoole iij cornered
 Item one Chamberpotte
 Item to the doore locke and keye

[f. 4]

Mr Wardes Chamber

Item one lyv(er)ye Bedsteede
 Item one Mattres
 Item one old fetherbed
 Item one white blanckett
 Item one Redd Rugge
 Item one old Cov(er)inge of Tapissarie
 Item twoe old fetherbolsters
 Item one pyllowe
 Item one old Chymneye clothe of Tapissarie Lyled
 Item one Joyned Cupboure of waynescotte
 Item one writinge Table of waynescotte Joyned
 Item ij peec(es) of darnex
 Item one Lyverey Chaire of waynescotte
 Item one square Cushion of Arrys or nedleworke
 Item one Chamberpotte
 Item one litle Aundyron *that is Mr Ward('s) owne* } *he boght them*
 Item one fire shovell *Mr Warde in lyke mann(er)* } *hym seelfe*
 Item one payre of Tong(es) *the(y) are Mr Ward('s)*

Thynner Chamber to that

Item one olde fetherbed
 Item one newe fetherbolster
 Item iij white blanckett(es)
 Item one olde Cov(er)lett of verders
 Item one ~~Halberd~~ bill
 Item one greate Cheste Ironbound

Mr Mulcasters Chamber

Item one standinge bedsteede of Waynescotte wth turned pyлло(ur)s
 Item one fetherbed old
 Item ij newe featherbed(es)
 Item one newe fetherbolster
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item iij blanckett(es)
 Item ij Cov(er)lett(es) of verders
 Item one Mattresse
 Item one Chamberpotte
 Item one pyllowe

[f. 4v.]

Item one highe ioyned stoole
 Item one square table of waynescotte wth his frame
 Item one Lyverie Chayer of waynescotte
 Item ij peec(es) of darnex
 Item to the doore Locke and keye

The Chamber ov(er) Againste that wher(e) Thom(a)s Phyllips & Gregory Walkelut Laye

Item one bourden bedsteede
 Item one fetherbedd
 Item one fetherbolster old
 Item one newe bolster
 Item one Cov(er)inge of verders
 Item ij white Blanckett(es)
 Item one Cupbourde
 Item to the dore Locke and keye

Mr Hughes Chamber & Xpi'fer [i.e. Christopher] Tompskys

Item one Lyverey bedstede wth A head of waynescotte
 Item one fetherbed *in Mr Bostons Chamber*
 Item one fetherbolster *in Mr Bostons Chamber*
 Item one Redd Rugge
 Item ij white Blanckett(es) *one of the(m) in Mr Bostons Chamber*
 Item one Cov(er)lett of [word crossed out] *Lynseye Wolseye*
 Item one Cov(er)lett of verders *in Mr Bostons Chamber*
 Item one litle waynescotte chaier
 Item one peece of stayned Canvas
 Item one litle Cushion of grene clothe
 Item one longe Cushion of purple Satten ymbrodered wth Redd / velvett and lyned wth Canvas
 Item to the doore Locke and Keye

The styллеhous

one halffe shyte
one Rught bowl standyng on [? ij corrected to j] tressell
one Joyned Bowle
Tow stilles
one pere of bellows
ij Lyttell shelves

Thentrie at the Stylhouse doore

Item one Standerd Iron bound
 Item one greate Cheste Ironbound
 Item one greate flatte Cheste cov(er)ed wth blacke leather

[f. 5]

The Chamber nexte the Stylhouse on the Backside wher(e) Thomas Branwod Liy & Richard Sawle

Item one bourden bedstede
 Item one mattresse
 Item one fetherbedd
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item ij blanckett(es)
 Item one Cov(er)inge of verders *lyned wth canvas*
 Item one Presse
 Item one Joyned stoole
 Item one halberde *blacke bill*
 Item to the dore locke and keye

The Chamber next the stilhouse in the Corner under y^e gallerie wher(e) George Woldry & the Cotcheman liy

Item one bourden bedsteede
 Item one fetherbed

Item one ij [*sic*] fetherbolsters
 Item iij blanckett(es)
 Item one Cov(er)lett of verders
 Item one litle Shelf
 Item Locke and Keye to the doore

The maydes Chamber

Item one bourden bedsteede
 Item ij fetherbedd(es)
 Item iij fetherbolsters
 Item iij blanckett(es)
 Item one ~~blanck~~ mattresse
 Item ij Cov(er)lett(es) of verders *very olde & torne*
 Item one great spynnyngewhele
 Item one litle double wheale
 Item one pecke

Mr Charles Pagett('s) chamber

Item one playne ~~bed~~ lowe bedsteede
 Item ij mattresses
 Item ij featherbed(es)
 Item one quilte
 Item iij blanckett(es)
 Item ij Red Rugg(es)
 Item ij fetherbolsters
 Item ij pyllowes
 Item one Counterpointe of Arrais
 Item one Canepie of grene saye striped wth white and gilte / knoppes

[f. 5v.]

Item one newe Cov(er)lett of verders
 Item xj peec(es) of darnex to hange the Chamber
 Item one Cupbourd of waynescotte
 Item one Cupbourd clothe of darnex
 Item one Chayre wth backe and seate of blacke velvet / wroughte frenged wth blacke silke
 Item one Joyned stoole of waynescotte
 Item one litle Cushion of grene clothe
 Item one Chamberpotte
 Item to the dore locke and keye

Thynner chamber to that

Item one borden bedstede
 Item one fetherbed
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item ij Blanckett(es)
 Item one newe Cov(er)inge of verders
 Item one litle ioyned stoole of waynescotte iij square
 Item iij shorte shelfes
 Item one playne Cupbourd of waynescotte
 Item one ~~halberd~~ *browne bill*
 Item one newe paire of Bellowes
 Item one lanterne
 Item one grene chaire ymbrodered for A close stoole

M^r Charles Pagett('s) Studie

Item one Joyned stoole of waynescotte

Item one square table of Waynescote wth his frame
 Item waynescotte
 Item to the dore plate locke and keye

Mr Steward('s) Chamber

Item ij Liv(er)eye Bedsteed(es)
 Item ij fetherbedd(es) old
 Item ij newe fetherbedd(es)
 Item iiij newe fetherbolsters
 Item ij old fetherbolsters
 Item ij pyllowes
 Item v blanchett(es)
 Item one Redd Rugge
 Item one Counterpointe of Banceiche lyned
 Item one Coverlett of [*word deleted*] lynsey wolsye
 Item one tourned Chaier

[f. 6]

Item iiij Joyned stooles
 Item one square table
 Item ij peeces of darnex
 Item one Chamberpotte
 Item one longe grate of Iron for the kieh chymney of iij Rybbes / to stand before the fyer
 Item one fyer shovell
 Item one payre of Tonges
 Item ij Cushions of greneclothe
 Item ij shorte fourmes
 Item one old warminge panne
 Item one depe Bason of pewter *lacking*
 Item one Close stole cov(er)ed wth blewe *lacking*
 Item one greate Cheste of Lynnen of blacke leather
 Item one other greate Cheste of walnutt tree
 Item one newe paire of Bellowes
 Item one handbaskett
 Item Holinshedd('s) Chronicle of England } *lacking—in the Auditor's chest*
 Item A Chronicle of Scotland written }
 Item five halberd(es) blacke bill(es)
 Item to bothe dores lock(es) keyes and bolt(es)

The next chamber to Mr Steward('s) the Garden wher(e) Mr Watkins & younge S(er)gant lay

Item one Livereye bedsteede
 Item one fetherbed
 Item one fetherbolster old
 Item one newe fetherbolster
 Item one newe Coverlett of verders
 Item one Blanchett
 Item one litle writinge table
 Item ij stooles of waynescott ioyned
 Item one halberd *browne bill*
 Item to the doore Locke Keye and Bolte
 Item one olde cov(er)lett of [*? Imyger*]

[f. 6v.]

The Clerke of the Kichins Chamber

Item one Livereye Bedsteede

Item ij featherbed(es) one newe thother old
 Item ij fetherbolsters
 Item ij blanchett(es)
 Item one Cov(er)inge of verders
 Item one Roughe brusheinge table
 Item one standerd Ironbounde
 Item one cupbourd carpett of grene clothe
 Item one liverie Chaier of waynescotte
 Item one Joyned Stoole of waynescotte
 Item locke and keye to the dore

S(i)r Peters Chamber

Item one liv(er)eye bedstede
 Item one mattresse
 Item one fetherbed
 Item ij fetherbolsters
 Item one pyllowe
 Item ij blanchett(es)
 Item one Redd Rugge
 Item one Cov(er)lett of verders
 Item one Liv(er)eye Cupbourd
 Item ij peec(es) of darnex
 Item iij peec(es) of stayned Canvas
 Item one ioyned stoole
 Item ij paire of Bellowes
 Item one payre of aundryrons thicke

The nexte Chamber to that *wher(e) J(ohn) Mawlyng leyeth*

Item one bourden bedsteede
 Item one fetherbed old
 Item one newe fetherbed
 Item one newe bolster
 Item one old bolster
 Item ij blanchett(es)
 Item one Cov(er)lett of Verders *very olde*
 Item one Shelf
 Item the dore locke and keye

[f. 7]

The Bakers Chamber next y^t

Item one bourden bedsteede
 Item one fetherbed
 Item ij fetherbolsters
 Item one mattresse
 Item one Cov(er)lett of [word erased] *Lynseye Wolseye*
 Item the doore locke and keye
 Item one old Counterpointe of Arrays lyned

The kichinboyes Chamber

Item one bourden bedsteede
 Item one fetherbed
 Item ij fetherbolsters
 Item one old mattresse
 Item one Cov(er)lett of [word erased] *Lynseye Wolseye*
 Item one playne fourme
 Item one blanket

The Fawken(er)'s Chamber at the porters lodge

Item one Lyvereye Bedstede
 Item one fetherbedd old
 Item one fetherbolster old
 Item one newe fetherbed
 Item one newe fetherbolster
 Item one old Cov(er)inge of Arrays
 Item to the doore locke and keye
I(te)m ij whyt blanckett(es)

The Chamber ov(er) that

Item one Livereye bedsted
 Item one fetherbed
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item ij blanckett(es)
 Item one Coveringe of verders
 Item one pyllowe
 Item one old fourme
 Item one litle brushinge bourd
 Item one Tressell
 Item to the dore locke and keye

[f. 7v.]

The Porters Chamber

Item one bourden bedstede
 Item one fetherbed
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item one pyllowe
 Item one Cov(er)lett Ragged
 Item one Sumpter clothe wth Southwell('s) Armes
 Item ij blanckett(es)
 Item one Roughe stoole
 Item one Roughe bourde

The Porters Lodge

Item one lyv(er)ye Table standinge on feete
 Item one newe barrell
 Item fyve newe Costerell(es)
 Item one stoole
 Item one fourme
 Item ij thicke tressell(es)
 Item five Cages for bird(es)
 Item one fourme at the doore
 Item one paire of stock(es)
 Item to the doore locke and keye

Mr Wyllyam Pagett('s) chamber ov(er) the Gate

Item one Livereye bedstede
 Item ij fetherbedd(es)
 Item ij bolsters of fethers
 Item one newe fetherbed
~~Item ij bolsters of fethers~~ *twyse wrytten*
 Item foure Blanckett(es)
 Item one Red Rugge
 Item one Yellowe Rugge
 Item one Counterpointe of old Banceiche lyned

Item one old quilte of yellowe taffita paned
 Item one Canepye the topp yellowe satten y^e curtens yellow tafita
 Item iij hanging(es) of Arrays ~~Lyned~~ wherof one lyned
 Item one peece of Banceiche for a Hanginge

[f. 8]

Item one Livereye Cupbourd of Waynescotte
 Item one Cupbourd clothe of darnex
 Item one Chamberpotte
 Item one paire of Bellowes
 Item [*no entry*]

The Myddle Chamber over the gate

Item one bourden bedstede
 Item one fetherbed
 Item ij fetherbolsters
 Item ij Blanckett(es)
 Item one litle wicker Chaier
 Item iij planckes *none suche the xiiij September 1580*
 Item ij Roughe Tressell(es)
 Item one neue studie made of Roughe bourde
 Item one Roughe table
 Item ij other Tressell(es)
 Item one old Truncke

Mr Byrdes Chamber nexte to that

Item one Livereye Bedstede
 Item ij neue featherbed(es)
 Item one old fetherbed
 Item ij fetherbolsters one neue thother old
 Item one pyllowe
 Item ij Blanckett(es)
 Item one white Rugge
 Item one Counterpointe of Arrais
 Item one Coverlett of verders
 Item one old Canepie of grenesaye stryped wth yellowe
 Item seven peec(es) of darnex
 Item one litle square table of waynescott wth turned tressell(es)
 Item one payre of virgynall(es) cov(er)ed wth blacke leather
 Item one ioyned stoole of waynescott iij cornered
 Item one Chaier of waynescotte
 Item one old Cushion of Satten of Brydges Redd lyned / wth Redd fustyan *in the Closset*

[f. 8v.]

The Chamber in the stable

Item one bourden bedstede
 Item one fetherbed
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item iij blanckett(es)
 Item one Cov(er)inge of verders

Ferne('s) Lodginge ov(er) the Stable

Item one bourden bedstede
 Item one old fetherbed
 Item one neue fetherbed

Item newe fetherbolster
 Item one olde fetherbolster
 Item ij Blanckett(es)
 Item one Cov(er)lett of [~~Englishe woorke~~] *Lynsey Wolseye*

The Ferriers Chamber next y^t

Item one bourden bedsteede
 Item one newe fetherbed
 Item one newe fetherbolster
 Item ij Blanckett(es)
 Item one Cov(er)lett of verders
 Item one Joyned stoole

The Fishers Chamber

Item one livereye bedsteede
 Item one fetherbed
 Item one blanckett
 Item ij bolsters j newe thother old
 Item one cov(er)lett of darnex
 Item one matte for a bed
 Item one Roughe table
 Item one ioyned stoole of waynescotte
 Item one Roughe fourme
 Item one newe tram[m]ell wth his App(er)ten(au)nce
 Item ten newe weare nett(es)
 Item one old flewe
 Item one old Codd nette
 Item one litle shovenett
 Item half a dossen of newe threede for nett(es)
 Item to the doore Locke and Keye

[f. 9]

The greate Warderobe

Item one bourden bedstede
 Item five newe featherbed(es)
 Item one olde fetherbed
 Item iij newe fetherbolsters
 Item ij old bolsters
 Item one white Rugge
 Item one Coverlett of verders lyned wth Canvas
 Item one footecarpett of Turkye woorke
 Item seven greate peec(es) of hanginge of Arrais *Sundry Sortts*
 Item eleven newe Cov(er)lette of verders
 Item ij old Chymney clothes of Arrays one lyned
 Item one old Chymney clothe of braunceiche
 Item ij old Cov(er)lette of verders
 Item sixe newe longe Carpett(es) of cruellwoven latelie boughte / and never occupied
 Item ij wyndowe Curtens of yellowe Satten of Bridges / lyned wth yellowe Canvas
 Item one longe table Carpett of Redd clothe frenged about wth grene silke
 Item one grene Rugge
 Item iij [*altered from iijj*] old Cov(er)let(es) paste all service
 Item one Cupbourde carpett of Redd clothe suteable to the / Table Carpett fringed wth grene silke
 Item five curtens of blewe and yellowe Saie paned / wth vallaunce for A bedd of the same stuffe suteable
 Item Tester for A bedd of clothe of silver wth his heade / and vallaunce of the same and ymbrodered wth clothe of / gould and Crymson velvett havinge in it Southwell('s) / Armes

Item iij Curtens of yellowe Caffa braunched
 Item one Counterpointe of verders
 Item one longe Cushion of clothe of Tynsell ymbrodered / wth grene velvett frenged aboute wth grene silke and / silver
 Item one longe Cushion paned of blacke and yellowe / braunched damaske lyned wth blacke Satten of Bridg(es)
 Item one longe Carpett of grene clothe

[f. 9v.]

Item ij peece of darnex
 Item one Chayer wth backe and seate of blewe clothe / frenged wth blewe silke
 Item one lowe Chayer wth seate of cruell woven
 Item iij stooles cov(er)ed wth Cruell woven
 Item one old lowe stoole of blacke wroughte velvett
 Item iij frames for lowe stooles
 Item one old lowe stoole cov(er)ed wth clothe of Bawdkyn and / ymbrodered wth Red Velvet
 Item one highe chaier wth Backe and seate of grene / clothe ymbrodered wth grene silke
 Item iij Joyned stooles
 Item one close stoole playne
 Item A Remanent of ij yard(es) j q(uar)ter of blewe Lyv(er)ie clothe

[in margin] *ij yarde di qr out of this for a Clothe baige for Mr W^m Paget one yarde dim' more d[elivere]d to Wildey*

Item one other Remanente of iij yard(es) di of blewe clothe
 Item one Table wth feete
 Item one other roughe bourde standinge on ij Tressell(es)
 Item one other longe table standinge on ij Tressel(es)
 Item one oxe hide Tanned
 Item one greates case of leather to carrie beddinge in
 Item iij longe fourmes
 Item all the peec(es) of A frame to weave carpett(es) in
 Item iij postes turned for A bedsteede
 Item one playne turned Chayer
 Item seven peec(es) of Roughe bourde
 Item one old Lute wth his case
 Item one litle Skryne
 Item one pype full of Yarne and Cruell
 Item to the dore locke and keye
 Item the Cruell of sundrie collo(ur)s in the saide / pype waieth CC waighte
 Item Bottoms of Flexen yarne in the same / pype wayinge v li
 Item one bowe and one quiver of my lord('s)

[in margin] *Sent to London to my / Lorde xiiij September 1580*

[f. 10]

The higher Halle

Item the Steward('s) table
 Item one payre of Tressell(es) and ij fourmes to it
 Item one longe table for the Wayters wth one payre of / Tressell(es) and ij longe fourmes to it
 Item one other <longe> Table wth ij tressell(es) and ij longe fourmes
 Item one square table of Waynescotte on A frame for ye Clerke of the kichin
 Item sixe shorte fourmes
 Item one standinge Cupbourd of Waynescotte
 Item one Almes Tubbe wth his Cover
 Item one Cowle to serve the poore wth beere
 Item one olde portall of waynescotte kerved

Item one Candellplate of Tynne

The myddell Halle

Item one longe Table wth A boxe at the ende for Shovegrote / standinge on A frame

Item one longe fourme

Item one Candell plate of Tynne on the Walle

Item one Lanterne of glasse hanginge at the Stayers

The Lower Halle

Item one longe table on A frame

Item twoe fourmes

Item ij Candellplates on the walle

Item [*blank*]

[*f. 10v.*]

The Buttrie and Panetrie

Item one Bynne of iij particons

Item one Cupboud of Waynescott

Item one breadebasket

Item ij standerd(es) Ironbourde

Item ij fourmes

Item ij Joyned stooles of Waynescott

Item one roughe cupboud

Item one greate Cesterne of ~~Leade~~ *woode*

Item vj strike of whitesalte in the same Cesterne

Item one flaskett

Item ij Cesternes of Copper

Item v Tubbes to receive broken Beere

Item one Pulleye

Item v stone Jugg(es) wherof ij wth covers of pewter

Item ~~vij~~ *<x>* blacke Jack(es) for Beere

Item one Racke to sett *<hange>* stone pott(es) on

Item x pewter pottes of all sort(es)

Item xvij old pewter Candelstick(es)

Item xx newe pewter Candelstick(es)

Item vj latten Candelstick(es)

Item ij Chippinge Knyves

Item *<foure>* Basons of pewter wth their Ewers

Item one litle silver Tanckerd wth his Cover *d[elivere]d to Mr Will(ia)m when he went to Drayton*

Plate [*written in margin*]

Item one sylver salte wthout his Cover

It(e)m iij pewter Salt[es]

Naperie newe

Marked and Styched [*written in margin*]

Item ij longe Table clothes for the greate Chamber

Item ij square clothes

Item ~~iiij~~^{or} Cupboud clothes *one at my La(dy) Manners*

Item ~~ij~~^o longe Towell(es)

Item ~~iiij~~^{or} shorte Towelle(es)

Item vj Table clothes for the halle

Item iij dossen and ij napkins *one d[elivered]d to Mr W^m Paget [? word] remain*

Olde lynnyn [*written in margin*]

Item ~~iiij~~^{or} Table clothes longe for the greate chamber

Item ⁱⁱⁱ^{or} longe table clothes for the same of an other sorte
 Item j arminge Towell
 Item ~~four~~ <vj> longe Towell(es)
 Item seven playne napkyns
 Item tenne table clothes for the halle *all olde & nought*
 Item fyve newe Towell(es)

[f. 11]

The Wyne Celler

Item one Waynescotte Cupbourd
 Item iij emptie hoggeshed(es) *all unto the bruehouse*
 Item seven hoggeshed(es) full of Gascoyne Wyne
 Item one Butte <not> [half] full of Sacke
 Item one Tubbe for water *in the buttry*
 Item one shelf
 Item one Iron pewter wth A handell of bone
 Item one littell Tonnell of Tynne
 Item ~~one~~ <ij> old Cupbourd clothes

Plate [written in margin]

Item one gilte bowle wth his Cover
 Item one greate glasse bottell
~~Item ij Wicker earthen bottells~~
 Item to the dore Locke and Keye

The kichin pasterye Larder and Squillerye

Item one boyler of Leade
 Item iij Treys
 Item one ... Tubbes greate [*struck through*] <iiij Bryne> <one gret Bryne Tubb> *ij kynnelles & a barrel*
 Item one pouderinge Tubbe & *the cover*
 Item one Mustarde Querne
 Item one Safe wth heare
 Item one Barrell full of Saltyeles
 Item one hoggeshed wth ~~iiij stick(es) of yeles~~
~~Item one kynnell~~
 Item one flasket *of* [?letter]yken
 Item one hoggeshed that had verges
 Item one kegge of Sturgion never opened *sent to Dreat(on)*
 Item viij gallons of Sallett oile never opened
 Item ~~one~~ <ij> shelf(es) in the larder
 Item iij choppinge bourd(es) in the kichin
 Item iij bourd(es) in the pasterie
 Item one strayner of heare in the larder for verges
 Item one Scutle
 Item one wiskett
 Item one Colebaskett in y^e kichin

[f. 11v.]

Item iij paier of Iron Rack(es)
 Item xxvj spytt(es) of all sort(es) Wherof one broken
 Item one longe Bayard or Trevete of Iron
 Item iij greadirons wherof one greate one [? unfinished entry]
 Item one payre of handpotthookes
 Item one fyreshovell

Item one Beefe forcke
 Item <iiij^{or}> ~~four~~ dryppynge pannes *one used wth pyche*
 Item one large mynsynge knife
 Item ij choppinge knyves
 Item j Clever
 Large Clever or Correcter
 Item ij olde Fryinge pannes
 Item ij spaynishe ovens wth their Covers
 Item one Iron ~~pyte~~ *peelee*
 Item ij Breadegrates *one broken*
 Item ij smalle Iron Candelstick(es) to sticke in A bourd
 Item j old Candelplate
 Item one Stockfishe ham(m)er
 Item iiij Roughe newe fiershovell(es) for chambers not / fynished but as they came from the forge
 Item one parynge shovell

Brasse

Item one Brasen mortar wth A pestell of Irone
 Item one greate potte of Brasse for Beefe
 Item vij lesser Brasse pott(es)
 Item ij Chaffernes of Brasse
 Item iiij possenett(es)
 Item one Brassen ladell
 Item one Brasen scom(m)er broken
 Item one old Chaffingdishe *wanting*
 Item one fyllinge Ladell of Brasse
 Item iiij Brasse pannes
 Item one kettell of Brasse
~~Item four dresser clothes in the Chest of lynens~~

[f. 12]

Pewter vessell

Newe vessell

Item xvij newe chargers stamped wth TP
 Item xiiij newe platters stamped wth TP
 Item lesser newe platters sixe stamped wth TP
 Item xj newe dishes stamped wth the same
 Item xij newe porringers so stamped
 Item one newe sawser wth the like

Olde

Item xiiij olde Chargers
 Item ij dossen and ix olde platters
 Item Bigge dishes xij
 Item ij dossen and v lesser dishes wherof ij their sides molten
 Item ~~xviiij~~ <xix^{en}> sallett dishes
 Item ~~one~~ <ij> old porringers
 Item ix^[en] greate sawsers
 Item xj pyeplates
 Item xiiij^[en] smalle sawsers
It[em] ij^o old litle dishes wth the syd(es) out
It[em] one of skoles & waighte
 Item in the Squillerie one penne for pulterie

The Deyrie

Item Cheses of this som[m]er cxxxvj

Item x erthen pott(es) full of Butter viz ij cont' / xij li apece, j cont' xiiij li, vij cont' xiiij li apece
 and / j cont' xx li
 Item erthen pott(es) emptie iiij
 Item one Rynnyng Tubbe
 Item one Trevett of Iron
 Item one brasse panne wth eares
 Item iiij kymnell(es) of woodd
 Item j Chesepresse
 Item one strayinge bowle
 Item shelve bourd(es) vj
 Item iiij erthen ~~panches~~ *pannes*
 Item ij Chesebourd(es)
 Item one Beame and Scales of woodde for butter / Weight(es)

[f. 12v.]

Item iiij chesefat(es)
 Item one Chyrne wth A staffe
 Item ij payles
 Item one gallon
 Item ij depe Basons of pewter thone wth A / hole melted in the side thother A hole melted / in the
 border
 Item to the dore locke and keye

The Bakehouse

Item iiij greate Trowes
 Item ij ~~pyles~~ payles
 Item one brasse panne
 Item one litle kettell
 Item iiij Bowlters ~~nawe~~
 Item one greate Canne
 Item ij cornesack(es)
 Item one breadebaskett
 Item one bourdknife
 Item ij peck(es) to measure wth all *one of them lacke(n)g a bottom*
 Item j mouldinge bourde
 Item one boultinge ~~whiche~~ <? chowch> greate
 Item one grater
 Item one Trewell
 Item one beame of ~~Iron~~ <Wodde> wth Scales
 Item one leaden weighte of di(midia) C [i.e. half hundred]
 Item ij weighte of j q(uar)tern of C
 Item one weighte of xiiij li
 Item one weighte of vij li wth [*? vynsent*] *in the grenery*

[f. 13]

~~Pewter Vessell~~

The Brewhouse

Item one Mashefatte
 Item one greate Cooler cov(er)ed wth Leade
 Item one yeldinge fatte
 Item one Furnesse of leade
 Item one longe Trowghe
 Item one Tondishe
 Item v spurginge Tubbes
 Item xv pypes

Item xxxix hoggeshed(es)
 Item vj barrel(es) *Sent wythe salte oylles an other at shopnall*
 Item iiij Cowles
 Item ij woorte tubbes
 Item one payer of spokes [*altered from 'hookes'*] of Iron
 Item ij scowpes
 Item one bourden bedstede
 Item one fetherbed
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item one Blanckett
~~Item one paire of Slings of Iron~~ *twyse charged*
 one fetherbed olde & 1 bolster
 one Clengyn seyve
 one wort troughe of Leade

The Slaughter house

Item one axe
 Item one Rope for the slaughterhouse

[*f. 13v.*]

The Laundrye

Item ij hoggeshed(es) to kepe water in
 Item iiij Cowles wth eares ij greate *one lesser*
 Item one washinge bowle
 Item one half Tubbe
 Item ij flasket(es) *one wth the bottom out*
 Item one longe table wth Tressell(es)
 Item one beatinge stoole
 Item one greate brasse panne
 Item ij kettell(es)
 Item one Iron Trevett
 Item one skillett to seethe stanche
 Item one potte of Tynne for A close stoole
 Item one fourme
 Item one payle
 Item one olde ioyned stoole of waynescotte

The Coalehouse betwixte the Laundrie and the Bakehouse

Item xxx loade of Charcoale w^{ch} filleth the house
 Item x loade of freestone under the staier
 Item one wyndles wth all thing(es) belonginge that was lente / to Griffin the mason to wynde up
 stones to the ~~to the~~ toppe / of Burton Church
 Item at <w'hout> the doore one greate newe trowe of tymber to / stampe Crabbes in
 Item vj v pestell(es) of woode to stampe them wthall
 It [? three words] / Certynn [?fflaxe]

The Lofte over that Coalehouse

Item newe matte to serve all the longe gallerie
 Item xvj Bottome staves for A greate fatte
 Item five score staves for the side of a greate ffatte
 Item one Bottome of A newe greate fatte of vj staves
 Item the sides of the same fatte of xl staves
 Item xiiij hoggeshed head(es) sett together
 Item sixe score staves not sett together for hoggeshed head(es)
 Item sixtene score hoggeshed staves
 Item locke and keye to the doore

[f. 14]

The fishe lofte

Item xxxiiij olding(es) *one spent*
 Item ij haberdens *spent*
 Item twoe fyrkyns full of sope ~~and a halfe firbyn~~
 Item one hoggeshed
 Item in the hoggeshed ij strike of whitesalte

The kylhowse

Item one [*unfinished entry*]
 Item one kylhoist kylhere
 Item shorte Ladder
 Item one Cartebodie

The malte lofte

Item one fanne
 Item one malte shovell
 Item one forccke threegrained
 Item sixe sieves
 Item at the stayer foote one longe fourme
 Item to the dore locke and keye

The neather floore

Item one greate stiepe fatte wth troughes to convaie water to it
 Item one greate standinge penne for pultrie *at Shopnall*
 Item to the dore locke and keye

The woodyarde

Item viij^{xx} loade of woodde and faggett(es)
 Item to the gate locke and keye

The ferryers forge

Item one paire of Bellowes	Item one greate Iron stedye	
Item one Bycorne of Iron	Item one forehammer	
Item one naylinge ham(m)er	Item one sledge	
Item iiij paire of tong(es)	Item one hearthe staffe	
Item one fireslice	Item one nayle toole	
Item one gryndston w th Iron	Item one Ryvettinge ham(m)er	
handle and trowe	Item one Prychell	Item iiij Rounde punches
Item one vyse	Item one Buttresse	
Item one stampe.	Item one lampas Iron	
Item one paire of pynsers	Item one paire of manacles	
Item one showinge ham(m)er	Item one flatte Bolster	
Item one lampas brydell	Item one treen spade	
Item one bolster of Iron		
Item ij steppes		
Item to the dore locke and keye		

[f. 14v.]

The Barnes

Item sixe score loade of newe heye

The Pease Chamber

Item one shorte ladder *none suche*
 Item [*space*] staves for hoggeshed[es] *none suche*

Item one shovell
 Item to the dore locke and keye

The Cheese Chamber

Item one Chese Racke
 Item xv Cornesack(es)
 Item one Iron wedge
 Item one Beame wth scales of Brasse for Sopeweight(es)
 Item to the dore locke and keye
Item one [? word]

The Stable

Item my lord('s) Scott' saddle of Scarlett ymbrodered wth / white velvett wth brydle to it
 Item my ladies saddle and saddleclothe of black velvett wth / Bytte and all other furniture ymbossed therunto belonginge
It[em] my Lady Pyllion clothe of black velvet
 Item iij Sadleset for gentlewomen wth ~~their~~ <ij> sadleclothes of / ~~velvett~~ <valmes> and ~~and~~ ij brydles for them
 [These four entries bracketed, with marginal note] *into the wardrobe*
 Item one Pyllion and the clothe for gentlewomen
 Item ~~one~~ ij old Sadles of my Lord('s) } *gone up to L[ondon]*
 Item one Sumpter ~~clothe~~ saddle wth girths }
 Item iij p(ro)vender Tubbes wth Covers
 Item vj old Sadles
 Item one Brydle for the greate horse
 Item one other Bridle
 Item one newe bytte never occupied *Jo urlewyn ys to be charged wth yt and he* [two words] *xvjs*
 Item iiij Bytt(es) for stoned horse
 Item one other newe Brydell
 Item ix horseclothes
 Item ij Chasehalters
 Item one cushion of velvett for the pillion
 Item to the dore locke and keye

[f. 15]

The newe corne chamber nexte the Churche

Item xvij Torches
 Item xvij Linck(es)
 Item one Shovell
 Item one measure wth ~~Iron~~ <wodden> eares like A strike
 Item xl bottoms of hurden yarne. And there is in / the hande of Harvie A weaver of horecrosse A / greate deale of the same stuffe
 Item one Joyned Stoole
 Item one litle writinge table

The lowe vaulte under that

Item xlv barres of Iron wherof one shorte *lacketh v barres*
 Item one Beere hide of Leather
 Item ij hoggeshed(es)
 Item to the dore locke and keye

Thold longe Vaulte or Storehouse

Item x newe hoggeshed(es) never occupied *one with* [? letter]les
 Item iij longe tables for the halle
 Item vj fourmes

Item iiij Tressell(es)
 Item lvj hoopes for the greate fatte
 Item [? v] newe longe bourd(es) wherof ij to make tables of
 Item twoe hundred Shyngles
 Item iiij bourdes for A boate
 Item ij hearinge Barrell(es)
 Item v newe Matt(es)
 Item one piece of Coche draughte
 Item one Carte Ladder
 Item one ladder of ij yard(es) longe
 Item one shorte end of A bourd
Item a payer of newe wheles
 Item one hamper
 Item xliij dossen of hoggeshed hoopes newe
 Item iiij dossen of newe barcke hoopes
 Item to the dore locke and keye

[f. 15v.]

Item iij longe Ladders aboute the house
 Item on the Trente iij boates wth their chaynes
 Item in Trente ij ~~Trente~~ Trunck(es) to kepe fishe wth / their lock(es) and keyes

Bedding in the Brewhouse

Item one bourden Bedsteede
 Item ij old fetherbedd(es)
 Item ij old bolsters of fethers *Chardged before*
 Item ij Blanckett(es)
 Item ij coverlet(es) of Lynseye Wolseye
 [These five lines have been lightly crossed through.]

Beddinge at Shopnall

Item one Mattresse
 Item one paire of Sheet(es)
 Item one fetherbolster
 Item ij Blanckett(es)
 Item one old Coverlett
Item ther [entry not completed]

One Lytell Chamber in the Gallery next to my Ladys Closset and enterd before one Cubbart

iiij tressell(es) wth ij bordes leying on them
one lyttell Boxe
ij lyttell pyces of Darnyx
one locke and keye to the Dore
 [These five lines have been lightly crossed through.]

[f. 16]

The Woole [ho]use

Item [*space for word*] stone of woole and lock(es)
 Item bourd(es) and tressell(es) to sett this woole on
 Item one potte of Tynne for A close stoole
 Item to the dore locke and keye

In the litle house beside the stable

Item then A hacknys old, A pack saddle ij pannyers d[elivered] th' Oate[?]

p(er) me Mathew Smythe

SELECT GLOSSARY

WORD	MEANING
almes tubbe	wooden cupboard containing provisions
arraais/arrays	rich woollen tapestry
aundryrons/awndyrons	andirons (pair of horizontal bars on short feet placed on each side of a hearth to support a spit)
a(u)mbry	cupboard or press (with pierced doors to allow ventilation when used for storing food)
baige ('clothe baige')	Bag
branceiche	<i>see</i> branceiche
bawdkyn	rich brocade
bayard (<i>or</i> trevete)	three-legged stand on which to rest a cooking vessel adjacent to the fire
beere hide	leather holder for beer
bill	weapon with blade on a long handle
blacke Jacke (for beere)	leather flask, tarred on the outside
bolster	a long pillow
boultinge	tub or sieve for sifting flour or meal
bourden/berden bedsteede	bedstead with boarded or panelled sides
bowlter	fine cloth used to sieve
branceiche/braunceiche	textile with raised patterns, often of foliage
brasell	dark-coloured ('brazil') wood
bredegrate	wooden slatted crate suspended from the ceiling for bread storage
broken beere	poor quality beer (waste made in drawing of the beer)
brushinge bourd/table	board/table on which to lay clothes for brushing
brydell	bridle
buttresse	butteris (tool used for paring horse's hooves)
bycorne	'beak-iron' (anvil with two tapered ends)
caffa	rich silk, wool or linen textile, similar to damask
canepie	decorated cloth suspended over a bed
cesterne	cistern (vessel for holding water)
chafferne/chafer	'chaffer' (metal or pottery dish containing burning charcoal)
chaffingdishe	dish on a 'chaffer' in which food is kept warm
chamlet	fine cloth made from the long hair of the angora goat (mohair)
chargers	large flat dishes for serving meats or liquid food such as stews
chesefat	cheese-vat (or mould) of sufficient weight to act as a press
chestbourd	chess board
chippinge	cutting (meat into strips)
clever	broad-bladed chopping knife for use in the kitchen
clevy	spit rack
close stole/stoole	chamber pot concealed within a piece of furniture resembling a stool
coche draughte	shaft for a coach
codd nette	fishing net
cooler	oval tub used in brewing to cool the infusion of malt/grain which, after fermentation, becomes beer
costerell	large bottle (of wood or leather) with ears by which it could be suspended from the waist (and so carried about)
cotcheman	coachman
counterpointe	textile coverlet for a bed
coverlett	bed cover
cowl	large vat (with two upstanding ears through which a staff was passed for carriage by two men)
crabbes	crab apples (used for making cider or verjuice)
crewel/cruell	crewel (thin worsted yarn, used for tapestry and embroidery)

darnex	dornick (coarse linen cloth or damask, originally made in Doornijk, the Flemish name for Tournai, and used for curtains, carpets, and hangings)
downe	goose down (soft feathers)
eles	eels
ewer	jug with lid
fatte	vat or large tub/barrel
field bedsteede	field bed (could be dismantled and so used on a journey)
fireslice	fire shovel
flasket	oval washing tub or small barrel or a long, shallow basket with a handle at each end
flatte cheste	chest for storing
flewe	fishing net
footecarpet	small rug
forehammer	sledge hammer
freestone	stone that can be sawn or worked freely without breaking (generally limestone or sandstone)
fustyan	fustian (coarse cloth of cotton or flax or thick coarse woollen cloth, usually dyed a dark colour)
fyrkyn	firkin (small cask, usually holding 8 gallons of ale, 9 gallons of beer, or 56lb solid measure)
gallon	measure of capacity based on volume of 8lb wheat or 8lb wine
greadirons/ gridirons	iron grid with short legs and a long handle, used for broiling food over an open fire
grenesaye	fine green cloth, like serge, made of twilled worsted
halberde	weapon (5 to 7 feet long), combination of a spear and battle axe
ha(m)mer (for stockfishe)	hammer to tenderise stockfish by beating
handpotthokes	pair of hooks for suspending a pot over the fire
hanging	wall hanging (or perhaps wardrobe or cupboard attached to wall to allow clothes to hang at full length)
heare (strayner of)	fine sieve made of hair
hearinge	herring
hoggeshed/hoggeshed	hogshead (large cask usually for 54 gallons of beer or cider)
hurden (yarne)	coarse linen cloth made from 'hurds' (hard fibres of flax or hemp)
ioyned/joyned	made by a joiner using mortice and tenon joints, often secured by wooden pegs
keatche	catch
kegge of sturgeon	keg (small barrel) of sturgeon
kerved	carved
knoppe	knob
kylhere	cloth of hair or fine thread, laid on floor of malt-kiln and on which the sprouted barley was spread and dried by hot air
kylhowse	kiln house or malt kiln, in which barley was dried by heat after steeping and sprouting
kymnell	wooden tub
lampas	iron-work used to correct defect in horse's mouth
linck	torch of pitch or tow (for lighting the way in dark streets)
lynseye wolseye	linsey-woolsey (coarse woollen fabric woven on a cotton or flaxen warp)
lyverey(e)	livery (distinctive clothing bestowed by an employer on his household retinue)
male	metal ring used in chain mail (probably here items of mail-armour based on a leather support)
mashefatte	wooden tub in which malt is mashed (i.e. mixed with hot water to form the wort in the first stages of brewing)
matte	woven mat of rushes or sedge laid on cords of bed
morter	mortar (bowl-shaped vessel in which to pound ingredients)
murreye	mulberry or morello colour
olding	<i>meaning uncertain</i>

p(ro)vender	animal fodder
pallett fetherbed	make-shift bed (often of straw)
paned	fabric made from cloth strips joined together
parcke woorcke	tapestry in which the dominant decorative theme is a green wooded landscape or an all-over pattern of green leaves, branches, or woodland
pasterye	pastery (store for food and utensils)
peck/pecke	a quarter bushel (2 gallon) measure
pestell	heavy club-like instrument used to crush ingredients in a mortar
popynioye	fabric originating from Poperinghe in the Spanish Netherlands
porringer	small bowl with one or two flat-shaped ear handles for eating soft and liquid foods
portall	small ante-room or interior porch built in a larger room
possenett	small metal cooking pot with a tall handle and three feet
presse	large cupboard with doors and, usually, shelves for keeping clothes, linen, books etc
prychell	iron tool for forcing nails out of wood
pyllyon	light saddle
quartern	quarter measure
querne	small hand mill of stone for grinding corn etc
quyver	portable case for holding arrows
ragged	old and torn
rennet	a preparation from animal intestines used for curdling milk and in the preparation of cheese
rynnynge tubbe	tub for rennet
sallett oile	salad oil
salte	salt cellar or container
saltyeles	eels preserved in salt
sammel	rough wool cloth often dyed red
satten of	satin (mixture of silk and linen) originally from Bruges (modern Belgium)
Bridges/Brydges	and used mainly as a furnishing fabric
sawser	saucer (small circular shallow dish or deep plate in which salt & sauces were placed on the table)
saye	cloth of fine texture, originally of linen but by 16th century of wool or wool mixture
scom(m)er	skimmer
scowpe (scoop)	(probably) a scoop-shaped implement
seethe	to steep or soak or pickle
shovegrote	game in which coins ('groats') are struck so that they slide across a marked board on a table
shovenett	shovel net for landing fish
shyte	sheet
skoles	scales
sopeweichte	scales for weighing soap
spaynishe ovens	ovens made of Spanish iron
spurginge tubbes	tubs used in brewing process: to 'sparge' (i.e. 'spray', in second and subsequent mashes, the wort resulting from the first mash, in order to wash out further sugars [maltose])
squillerie/squillerye	scullery
staffe	long stick with a steel point
stamell	woollen worsted textile, often red, used for hangings
standerd	chest with domed or gabled lid used for travelling
stick of yeles	25 eels
stille	apparatus for distilling liquid or making distillations from herbs or flowers
stockfishe	cod, ling, or similar fish split open and air-dried without salt for preservation
stoned horse	castrated colt, male horse or stallion

strike	cylindrical wooden measure for dry items, usually = 1/2 bushel but varies locally
studie	study or desk
sumpter	trunk used for carrying luggage, furniture etc by horse
taffita	light thin silk cloth of particular brightness or hue
tapissarie	tapestry
tester	canopy over a bed, made with wood or cloth
threede	thread
threegrayned	a fork with 3 tines
tonnell	funnel
tram(m)ell	fishing drag-net consisting of three layers of netting
treen	wooden
trevett	three-legged stand for supporting a cooking pot or kettle over a fire
trewell	trowel-shaped instrument used in cooking
trowe	trough for salting meat or feeding animals
Turkye woорcke	heavy, hard-wearing English-made woollen-pile textile woven in the same way as a Turkey carpet
turned	furniture etc with components turned on a lathe by a turner
tynsell	satin cloth, interwoven with gold or silver thread
utter	outer
valmes	velvet
verders	fabric decorated with trees and other vegetation of that colour
verges	acid juice of crab apples or other sour fruit used in cooking and for [dosing] animals
virginalles/virgynalles	virginals (musical instrument with keyboard)
vyse	vice
waynescotte	wainscot (high-quality wood, often oak, used for panelling and furniture)
wayter	small tray or salver
weare nette	net held by stakes set in a stream as a trap for fish
whit blanche	white blanket
wiskett	straw basket in which provender was taken to cattle
woorte tubbe/trough	tub for infusion of malt or other grain which after fermentation becomes beer
wroughte	decorated with needlework
yeldinge fatte	vat used for fermenting ('yielding')
yeles	eels
yrshe rugge	Irish rug

NOTE: This selective glossary is intended to provide explanations, as far as can be reasonably certain, of the more unusual words for items as used in the inventory. It is based on a range of secondary sources, especially:

- Joy Bristow, *The Local Historians Glossary and Vade Mecum* (University of Nottingham, 1994)
Victor Chinnery, *Names for Things: A Description of Household Stuff, Furniture and Interiors 1500–1700* (Oblong, 2016)
Christopher Corredon (with Ann Williams), *A Dictionary of Medieval Terms and Phrases* (Brewer, 2004)
Rosemary Milward, *A Glossary of Household, Farming and Trade terms from Probate Inventories* (Derbyshire Record Society, 1993)
Stuart A. Raymond, *Words from Wills and Other Probate Records 1500–1800: A Glossary* (Federation of Family History Societies, 2004)
Walter W. Skeat, *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Clarendon Press, 1911)
Malcolm Wanklyn (ed.), *Inventories of Worcestershire Landed Gentry 1537–1786* (Worcestershire Historical Society, new series 16)

David Yaxley, *A Researcher's Glossary of Words Found in Historical Documents of East Anglia* (Larks Press, 2003)

The author would like to thank her colleagues Margaret Fisher, Diana Maywhort, Anthony Prentice, and Wendy Smedley for their willing help, especially with definitions of obscure terms associated with the fishing industry.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST IN SMETHWICK

DAVID HALLAM

In 2018 we commemorate the centenary of the passing of the 1918 Representation of the People Act which gave most women over thirty the right to vote in parliamentary elections. Less well remembered is the battle to secure the right of women to stand as parliamentary candidates. This was resolved in November 1918, just days before Parliament was dissolved for the General Election in December. In this article the author, who as part of a University of Birmingham M. A. in West Midlands History looked at the three contests in the West Midlands where women offered themselves as candidates, concentrates on the contest at Smethwick, where Christabel Pankhurst stood.

Within days of the Armistice that ended the Great War in November 1918, the Liberal Prime Minister David Lloyd George called a General Election, to be fought in a Coalition with the Conservative and Unionist leader Arthur Balfour, the two men having agreed a list of suitable candidates from each party: each candidate received a letter of support, known as the 'Coupon', after which the election itself was popularly named. This was also the first opportunity for women to stand for Parliament, and seventeen did so: two women contested seats in Ireland for Sinn Féin, one of whom won, though she chose to sit in the *Dail Eirann* rather than the House of Commons; of the fifteen others who contested seats in Great Britain, Christabel Pankhurst came closest to winning as the candidate for the Staffordshire Borough constituency of Smethwick. Although Pankhurst had the support of the Coalition, this fell short of her being offered a 'Coupon', but it is impossible to tell if this was an oversight or deliberate: indeed, no other woman received support from the Coalition. This paper describes how Pankhurst dealt with the local patriarchy in Smethwick.

The Representation of the People Act of 1918 had extended the franchise to include most women over 30 years of age but had not resolved one major issue: were women able to offer themselves as candidates for parliament and take their seats if elected? In May 1918 Miss Nina Boyle, a member of the Women's Freedom League, had presented herself as a candidate for a bye-election at Keighley (Yorks. WR), but the returning officer declared her nomination papers out of order on technical grounds, although not on grounds of gender. He would have accepted her nomination but the question of her qualification would be 'determinable elsewhere'.¹

Within weeks the Independent Labour Party added Margaret Bondfield and Ethel Snowden to their list of parliamentary candidates, and in August Mary Macarthur was selected as Labour candidate for the county constituency of Stourbridge (Worcs.), bordering Smethwick on the west.² Questions were soon being asked in the House of Commons, and after legal consultation Andrew Bonar Law, then Leader of the House of Commons, announced that 'in the unanimous opinion of the Law Officers of England, Scotland and Ireland, a woman is not entitled to be a candidate for Parliament'. This began a round of lobbying by women's organisations who found that press and public were sympathetic, and in late October 1918 a motion supporting women's representation was put to a Commons vote and carried by 274 to 25. A Bill introduced soon afterwards made a 'triumphal progress' through its parliamentary stages and received the Royal Assent on 21 November 1918, just four days before the dissolution.³

Despite the end of armed hostilities, November and December 1918 was a miserable period for families throughout the country. Servicemen had not been demobilised and were still away from home, and each edition of local newspapers carried reports of soldiers who had been killed on active service in the last weeks of the war, or had died of wounds. Moreover, thousands of women workers had been made redundant within hours or days of the Armistice; schools were closed and health services over-stretched as the influenza pandemic spread; and there were still widespread shortages in the shops. Of Smethwick's total population of some 65,000, as many as a fifth of the male adult population had seen active service, with 700 families having been bereaved (200 within the last twelve months of the war), and several hundred men had returned wounded and disabled.

1 'Miss Boyle's Nomination Papers Invalid', *The Times*, 20 Apr. 1918, p. 3.

2 P. Brookes, *Women at Westminster* (1967), 4.

3 E. How-Martyn (on behalf of Women's Election Committee), *The Need for Women Members of Parliament* (n.d. but with a handwritten note 'c. 1922' in copy held in the Museum of London).

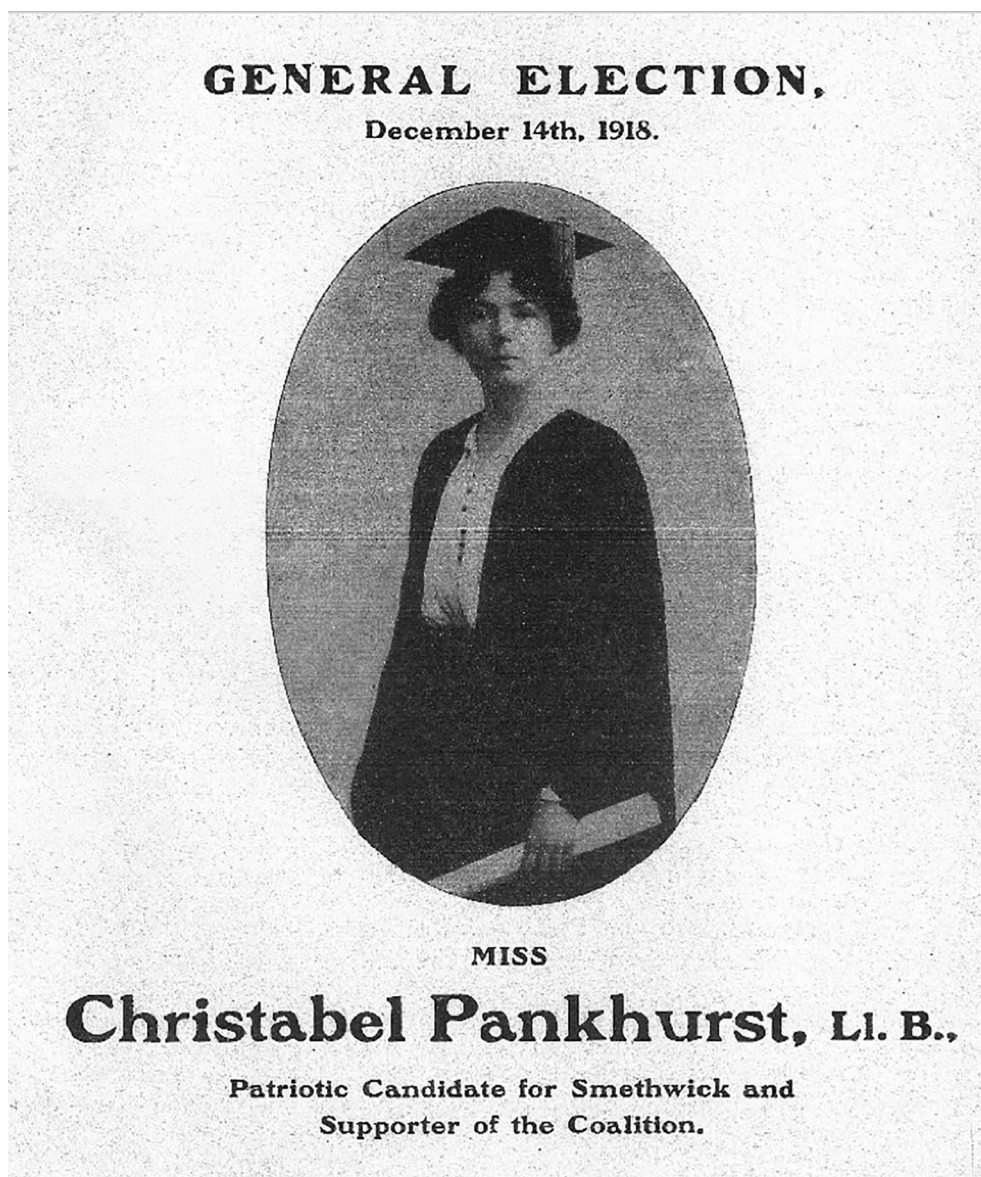


Fig. 1 Christabel Pankhurst as portrayed on her election address SOURCE: David Mitchell Collection, Museum of London

There was considerable criticism at the time that this was not the moment for an election but Lloyd George's position as the leader of a government without the support of the bulk of his party meant that a snap election suited his calculations for political survival. It was against this background that three women chose to contest adjacent parliamentary seats in the West Midlands, one of them was Christabel Pankhurst, the daughter of the Emmeline Pankhurst, the well-known suffragette leader.

Christabel Pankhurst arrived to open her campaign in Smethwick on Wednesday 27 November 1918. She was taking on the local patriarchy from both sides of industry and politics, especially the Unionist candidate, a local 'worthy'.⁴ It was her first visit to Smethwick, and she left as soon as the result was declared on Saturday 28 December, never to return. In her biography, published posthumously in 1959, in a passage referring to the entitlement of women to stand for Parliament in 1918, she simply says 'Some [women] had made an eleventh-hour attempt, including myself'.⁵ But she was not the Coalition's first choice for Smethwick, and neither was Smethwick Pankhurst's first choice of constituency. By the time she arrived both Labour and Unionists had well-established local candidates in place, but she was able to displace the Unionist candidate, a local 'worthy' but

4 'Worthy' was a term much in use during the 19th and early 20th centuries to describe notable people in a particular locality: OED.

5 C. Pankhurst, *Unshackled, the story of how we won the vote*, ed. Lord Pethick-Lawrence (1959), 294.



Fig. 2 John Davison, the successful Labour candidate SOURCE: *Smethwick Telephone*, 30 November 1918

probably not well-known and without any political connections beyond Smethwick. Although she received the Coalition's endorsement, she was never actually provided with the 'Coupon' letter formally signed by both Lloyd George and Bonar Law which identified other approved Coalition candidates.⁶

Smethwick was a rapidly growing industrial town. It had been created a municipal borough in 1899, a county borough in 1906, and a Parliamentary constituency in its own right for the 1918 General Election.⁷ Many commentators made the mistake of thinking that it was part of Birmingham, but the town had made the decision on successive occasions not to be absorbed by its larger neighbour or, for that matter, into the Chamberlains' political machine which controlled the city. Until 1918 Parliamentary representation had been shared with the Staffordshire county division of Handsworth, a Unionist stronghold: in the January 1910 election, the Liberals put up a candidate for Handsworth but the Unionists swept in with 14,594 votes against 9,488, and were returned unopposed in the December 1910 election.⁸ When the new Smethwick constituency voters list was published in October 1918 it showed a total of 32,964 voters, of which 20,182 were men and 12,726 women; over a quarter of the male voters (5,393) were registered as absent voters.⁹

In February 1918, an editorial in the *Smethwick Telephone* pointed out that the Representation of the People Act, which had received Royal Assent the previous Friday, 'marked a new chapter in the political history of Smethwick'. The local Labour Party had already selected their candidate, John E. Davison, a trades union official, who had been born in the borough and worked there as an iron-moulder. There was also the expectation that the Unionists would put forward Major Samuel Nock Thompson.¹⁰ These men presented formidable opponents for Pankhurst, as in what was a rapidly growing and changing town both had families which had lived in the area for several generations.

6 F. W. S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results 1918-1949* (Glasgow, 1969), entry 230 on p. 241, footnote.

7 K. W. Inslip, *Smethwick from hamlet to County Borough, a brief history* (Smethwick, 1966), 10, 14.

8 *The Times Guide to the House of Commons 1911*, 86.

9 'The List of Electors', *Smethwick Telephone*, 12 Oct. 1918.

10 'Parliamentary Representation of Smethwick', *Smethwick Telephone*, 16 Feb. 1918.

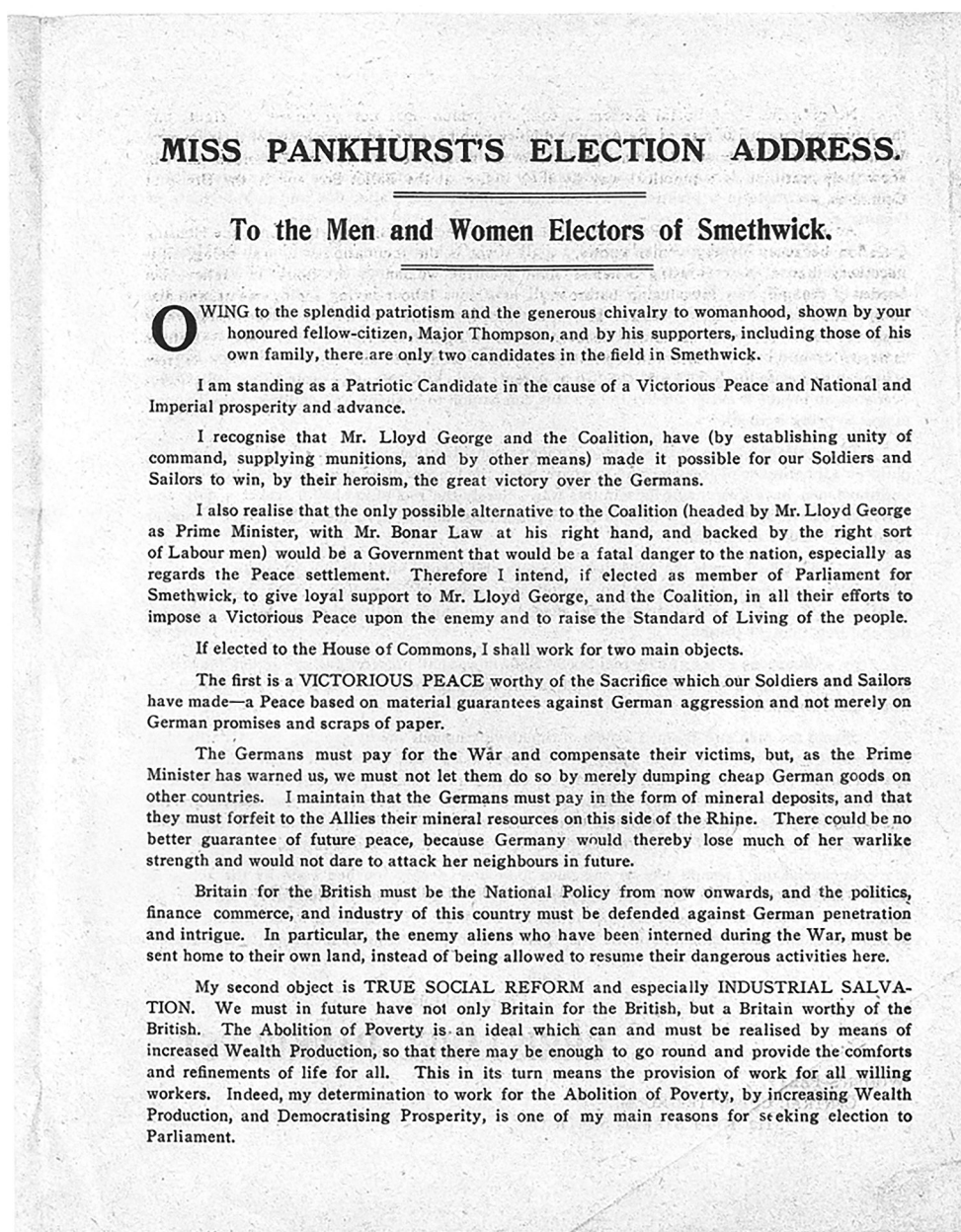


Fig. 3 Christabel Pankhurst's election address SOURCE: David Mitchell Collection, Museum of London

Immediately the election was announced a pen sketch was offered of the 'Coalition candidate' Samuel Thompson, contributed to the local paper by 'a native'. Pankhurst was not mentioned as at same weekend she had announced her candidacy for Westbury (Wilts.), and the pen sketch started with a quotation from Addison: 'Tis not in mortals to command success, But, we'll do more, Sempronious; we'll deserve it'. The writer then went on to describe how he knew of Thompson's contribution to the civic and commercial life of town over many years. Born in 1851 and so aged 67 in 1918, his father had been a maltster and miller in Smethwick who had wanted his son to go into the law. His early education had been at 'F. W. Astle's Academy, a fine old seminary, from which quite a number of Smethwick's worthies sprang' but the unexpected death of an uncle meant that Thompson had to change course and join the family business. He thereafter devoted his life to the family brewing business which had its headquarters in Rolfe Street, and owned the Blue Gates public house in Smethwick High Street and maltings in London, Bristol, Peterborough, Taunton, and elsewhere; he was also involved with a metal and bell foundry based in the town. His commitment to the civic, sporting, and philanthropic life of the town was phenomenal, as was his involvement in

No programme of Social Reform is complete which does not guarantee the rights and the future welfare of the men of the Army and Navy who have risked everything for their country. Women, above all, understand and are grateful for the sacrifice of the Nation's Defenders and will show their gratitude in a practical way by their action at the Ballot Box and in the House of Commons.

As a Woman Member of Parliament, I shall, if elected, give special attention to the Housing Question, because, as every woman knows, a good home is the foundation of all well being. It is necessary that all New Housing Schemes shall help the woman in the home and relieve her burden of drudgery, by introducing bathrooms and various labour-saving arrangements, and also co-operation in the form of central hot water supply, central kitchens and laundries where these are desired by the householders concerned. Knowing that the right kind of Housing Reform is needed to ensure the health and comfort of parents and children and to protect the mother from overwork and make it easier for her to be a true companion to husband and children, I shall do my utmost to bring it about.

The welfare of the children is a foremost consideration with me. It is to defend the children's inheritance of freedom and to spare them the horrors of a future war that thousands of our brave men have given their lives in this war. Surely the rest of us should feel it a duty and privilege to save the children from bad social conditions, and to give them the chance of proper mental and bodily development.

A Good Education is the birthright of every child, and I shall do my utmost to give equal educational opportunities to all, and to improve the system of Education. This means, among other things, improving the position of the teachers, and thus enabling them to do even more for the children than at present.

By a Victorious Peace and by real Social Reform we shall preserve and strengthen the British Empire, which is the finest human organisation and the mightiest Champion of Freedom that the world has ever known.

Should the Men and Women Voters of Smethwick honour me by sending me to Parliament to represent them, I shall keep in close and constant touch with Smethwick. An Office will be opened in the Town, with a Local Secretary in charge, and I shall frequently visit and speak in the Constituency. When any difficulty arises which might prevent me from carrying into effect the principles and programme which you, as my constituents, and I, as your representative, believe in, I shall come to Smethwick to lay the facts of the case before you.

In conclusion, I should like to say once more how deeply touched I am by the action of Major Thompson and his Coalition Supporters, and to add that, if elected as Member for Smethwick, I shall do my best, by my action in the House of Commons, to be worthy of the sacrifice that has been made and of the trust that has been given to me by the people of Smethwick.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

WOMEN'S PARTY,
CENTRAL COMMITTEE ROOM,
112, HIGH STREET, SMETHWICK.

Fig. 3 continued

the voluntary battalion of the Worcestershire Regiment from which he derived his title of 'Major'. The article ends with a simple prophecy: 'There is this about the election in this new constituency – and it is in keeping with the endeavour in this article to steer clear of partisanship: it is bound to be represented by a native.'¹¹

The Labour Candidate was John E. Davison, aged 49 and according to his biographer, 'C. J.' in the following week's *Smethwick Telephone*, 'in the prime of his life'; he had links with Smethwick and the iron industries which went back at least two generations, both his father and grandfather having worked in local foundries. His grandfather joined the Friendly Society of Iron Founders in 1847 and his father in 1868, and he himself joined in 1890 and within two years was holding local office. He then went on to become a full-time national officer and was widely respected for the work he did on behalf of its members. During the war Davison was very active in supporting voluntary recruitment, even speaking at recruitment meetings, and as a member of the Trades Union Advisory

¹¹ 'Pen Sketch of the Coalition Candidate', *Smethwick Telephone*, 23 Nov. 1918.

Committee he had been responsible for easing many difficult situations. 'C. J.' praised Davison's oratorical skills and speculated that 'it is still possible that in the Parliament to meet in January next, Smethwick will speak through the lips of a Smethwick man.'¹²

What Christabel Pankhurst lacked in local connections she made up with by her surname and her national connections, mainly through her mother Emmeline. For many years, the Pankhursts had been leading figures in the suffragette movement, and shortly after war was declared in 1914 Christabel returned from exile in Paris and the whole energies of the Women's Social and Political Union were directed to supporting the war effort. When challenged that the WSPU should continue to press for votes for women, Christabel would impatiently reply: 'Cannot discuss that now'. The former suffragettes then 'travelled the country castigating slackers, sneering at conscientious objectors, demanding Asquith's resignation and the internment of all enemy aliens, denouncing industrial strikes and talk of a negotiated peace, and advocating universal conscription and a 'knockout blow'.¹³

As the war progressed Lloyd George took over from Asquith as Liberal Prime Minister, leading a Coalition government. Taking a more flexible view of women's suffrage than Asquith, it was Lloyd George who had included a clause in the new Representation of the People Bill, enabling some women to vote. The Pankhursts then began to think of new opportunities for Christabel, and during a business breakfast with Lloyd George in 1917 Emmeline impressed on him that she and Christabel intended to 'work harder than ever to keep women out of the clutches of R. MacDonald & Co' with a programme that would 'carry the best elements of the working class with us'.¹⁴ Early in November 1917 the WSPU's weekly newspaper *Britannia* announced that 'THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION will henceforward be known as THE WOMEN'S PARTY', and the inside contained 'the women's programme for the war and after' spread over two pages, much of which focused on Britain's place in the world and the prosecution of the war, with an examination of social issues such as divorce, equality, housing, and education appearing in the second half.¹⁵

The Women's Party launched its campaign at the Queen's Hall in London on Tuesday 19 November 1918, with Emmeline Pankhurst saying that 'We have decided to fight a constituency, and we have chosen our candidate. The candidate we feel to be best fitted to be our spokes-woman is my eldest daughter, Christabel Pankhurst.'¹⁶ The following day *The Times* reported that 'Miss Pankhurst's constituency had not yet been chosen but would be announced shortly'.¹⁷ Her speech was carried in the following Friday's edition of *Britannia* together with a photograph of Christabel, describing her as the 'Women's Party [candidate] for the Westbury Division of Wiltshire'.¹⁸

Even as the *Britannia* presses were rolling on the Thursday, there were contrary developments: Lloyd George wrote to Bonar Law asking him to see Christabel Pankhurst with a view to her fighting Westbury:

'Northcliffe [the press baron] is especially keen and promises to run a special edition of the *Evening News* in that area to promote Miss Pankhurst's candidature ... I am not sure we have any women candidates and think it highly desirable that we should ... The Women's Party, of which Miss Pankhurst is the leader, has been extraordinarily useful, as you know, to the Government – especially in the industrial areas where there has been trouble in the last two very trying years. They have fought the Bolshevik and Pacifist element with great skill, tenacity, and courage, and I know especially in Glasgow and S. Wales their intervention produced remarkable results'.

On the same day Christabel Pankhurst wrote to Lloyd George saying she had changed her mind and that 'something very much better than Westbury is now available, but for a little difficulty you can clear up'. The 'something better' was Smethwick and the 'little difficulty' was Thompson. The following Saturday Bonar Law wrote to Christabel expressing appreciation for her support during the War and 'For that reason I should personally be glad to see you returned to the House, and hope you will be able to find a suitable constituency.'¹⁹ Whether Bonar Law knew at that stage she was intending to switch her candidacy to Smethwick is unclear, but what is clear is that neither the voters of Westbury, nor of Smethwick, nor Thompson himself, were aware of what was unfolding in London.

12 'The John E Davison (the Labour Candidate)', *Smethwick Telephone*, 30 Nov. 1918.

13 D. Mitchell, *Queen Christabel, A biography of Christabel Pankhurst* (1977), 249–50.

14 Ibid. 268.

15 *Britannia*, 2 Nov. 1917.

16 'To win the peace', *Britannia*, 22 Nov. 1918.

17 'A Tragic Farce', *The Times*, 20 Nov. 1918, p. 10.

18 'Miss Christabel Pankhurst', *Britannia*, 22 Nov. 1918.

19 Mitchell, *Queen Christabel*, 272.



Fig. 4 Some cartoonists showed traditional sex roles turned on their head. Mrs. Smethwick: 'Go brush your hair, Eustace. I'm going to take you to hear Christabel'. SOURCE: *Birmingham Evening Despatch*, 11 December 1918

The following Monday, representatives of the Women's Party arrived in Smethwick accompanied by reporters from, among other newspapers Northcliffe's *Daily Mail*, which reported that Pankhurst applied herself in a 'business-like manner to the preliminary work, engaging committee rooms, interviewing workers and arranging meetings'.²⁰ The following Friday the local paper was apparently quite bemused by the opening of the campaign: 'A lady holding a large Chinese lantern mounted a table outside of the Blue Gates Hotel, and began to speak to a blind news vendor, a policeman, and a reporter for her audience. Thus began the campaign on behalf of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, on Monday night. The audience was a hundred before the introductory words were finished, and then for an hour the first phase of the educational work which the Women's Party have undertaken was continuing at white heat. It was a unique – if not historic – gathering.'²¹

Pankhurst herself did not speak at that meeting, as the principal speaker was her long-time ally, Phyllis Ayrton. Elsewhere in the same edition, it was reported 'Miss Christabel Pankhurst paid her first visit to Smethwick on Wednesday: she had never been in the constituency before, and this debut was for the benefit of the press photographers, who were able to 'improve the shining hour'. The candidate and Mrs Drummond formed the centre of the pictures, while Miss Pankhurst was a charming 'subject' as she stood on the step of her motor-car, and 'She was able to furnish a splendid story to the interviewers.' A photograph of Pankhurst was supplied to the *Telephone*, the same rather severe one that had appeared in *Britannia* (with Pankhurst wearing mortar board and academic gown) on the Friday before announcing her candidature for Westbury.²² This photograph,

²⁰ 'Miss Pankhurst. Birmingham Campaign Today', *Daily Mail*, 26 Nov. 1918.

²¹ 'An Election Surprise Packet, Miss Christabel Pankhurst comes to Smethwick', *Smethwick Telephone*, 30 Nov. 1918.

²² 'Miss Christabel Pankhurst's Candidature', *Smethwick Telephone*, 30 Nov. 1918. Having been a press officer for over 50 years, the author can see very clearly that the local newspaper staff was not happy with their treatment by the Pankhurst team.



Fig. 5 Pankhurst supporters on election campaign COPYRIGHT: Alamy

very much in the suffragette tradition of emphasising the intellectual ability of women, was used to illustrate her Smethwick election address.

Early on in the campaign it was clear that both Davison and Thompson were equally considered opponents who could not compete with Pankhurst's celebrity: in her speech outside the Blue Gates on the Monday evening, Phyllis Ayrtton had asked 'Would Smethwick not like to be represented by a woman who is known all over the world rather than those who have but a local reputation?', and the *Daily Mail* reported that Smethwick had been shrouded in a mist in which 'The Coalitionist and the Labour man are both invisible'.²³ The Women's Party justified their decision to contest Smethwick on the basis that it was a new constituency and 'therefore there can be no suggestion that any party or person has a better claim than Miss Christabel Pankhurst to represent the voters of Smethwick'.²⁴ They told a Birmingham newspaper that they had gone through all 700 constituencies, studied the conditions and candidates, and came to the conclusion that Smethwick was the constituency for them.²⁵ Initially, the assumption was that there would be a three-way fight for the Smethwick seat, as Thompson made it clear that he expected to remain a candidate.²⁶ But behind the scenes it seems that there was frantic activity with a view to getting Thompson to stand down, and indeed he did so and supported the nomination of Pankhurst, the gesture presented as patriotic,²⁷ magnanimous,²⁸ and generous.²⁹

It was widely understood at the time that Pankhurst and Thompson had met privately to discuss his continuing candidature and that Thompson's decision had followed the receipt of a letter from Bonar Law asking him to stand down.³⁰ It was not until many years later that a fuller account became available, in a biography written by Sebastian Hosgood, a Birmingham solicitor, or his wife Phyllis, still unpublished and now possibly lost, which revealed his involvement in the episode. Initially, the Pankhursts had asked him to be their election agent; he refused, but he did arrange the meeting

23 'Miss Pankhurst, Mother's Appeal to Women', *Daily Mail*, 27 Nov. 1918.

24 'A new constituency', *Britannia*, 29 Nov. 1918.

25 'From the *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Mrs Pankhurst at Smethwick' reprinted in *Britannia*, 22 Nov. 1918.

26 'The Election.' *The Times*, 28 Nov. 1918, p. 7ff.

27 'Major S. N. Thompson Withdraws. Decision to Stand Aside for Miss Pankhurst', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 4 Dec. 1918.

Thompson was honoured for this move by being made a Freeman of the Borough on 9 July 1920.

28 'Major Thompson nominates Miss Pankhurst', *Britannia*, 6 Dec. 1918.

29 'The Major', *Smethwick Telephone*, 7 Dec. 1918.

30 'Coalition Support of Miss Pankhurst', *The Times*, 4 Dec. 1918, p. 12.

between Pankhurst and Thompson. Just when this meeting took place is not known, but it was certainly after Pankhurst had announced her candidacy, and when they met Pankhurst got straight to the point and asked Thompson to stand down. He said this was impossible on the basis that he had been nursing the constituency for some time and suggested that it was she who should do so. Hosgood recorded 'It was arranged that the Major should consult his committee ... A very frank discussion took place and it was decided that the Leaders should be asked to decide ... I realised that the matter was of national importance in that the women's vote throughout the country meant much to the party and I agreed to go to London.'

Hosgood duly went to London and met with Bonar Law, who abandoned a meeting of 'French generals and statesmen' to see him. Lloyd George did not join them but Bonar Law drafted a letter to Thompson 'with the necessary guidance', which he then discussed with Lloyd George: 'I was told of the contents, a recommendation that Major Thompson should retire.'³¹ The *Daily Mail* had speculated that Thompson might step down in a report dated Monday 2 December,³² and although it is not clear whether Hosgood returned from London with the letter, its arrival on Tuesday 3 December led to Thompson's immediate withdrawal. Whilst Thompson himself went to considerable lengths to appear to support Pankhurst by signing her nomination paper and chairing campaign meetings, the *Smethwick Telephone* reported that the news was 'received on Tuesday afternoon with great surprise, not to say indignation.' There were animated discussions at the Unionist committee rooms and the decision to abandon their campaign was taken with considerable reluctance.³³ Whether the Unionist machinery swung behind Pankhurst is not clear. Her biographer reports that 'she had not endeared herself to the local Conservatives', had 'flu, and was missing key workers, all suggestive that she would have entered the last ten days or so of the campaign somewhat depressed.'³⁴

Pankhurst attracted considerable national press interest. Northcliffe gave her extensive coverage in the *Daily Mail* with articles appearing on at least nine occasions over the two-week campaign with the later ones being by-lined 'from our woman reporter'. Other national newspapers ran supportive articles including *The Times*, *The Globe*, and the *Daily Express*.³⁵ The Women's Party weekly newspaper was pressed into service as a campaigning tool with exhortations to vote for Pankhurst on the front, and reprints of sympathetic articles from other newspapers.³⁶ Pankhurst's main campaign was against the threat of Bolshevism and a demand for a punitive peace with Germany. The keynote of her home policy was industrial harmony, and 'Britain for the British'.³⁷ Her slogans were 'Union Jack v. Red Flag'³⁸ and 'make Germany pay'.³⁹ In this she was not alone; it was the theme of every Coalition candidate throughout Great Britain. However, from the evidence available from the local newspapers of the time, *Britannia*, and other reports of the campaign, there was very little effort to raise specifically women's issues. Pankhurst said that electricity would make women's lives easier, but with no indication of how her election would help achieve this.⁴⁰ Pankhurst explained this omission by saying '... whatever might be the case in other constituencies, the women electors of Smethwick were showing no apathy now. Although they realised the importance of social questions, especially housing, they were primarily concerned with the German question.'⁴¹ Pankhurst upset local discharged soldiers by claiming that they were supporting her but they retorted: 'we strongly resent this misrepresentation of the true facts'.⁴²

31 Mitchell, *Queen Christabel*, 273. Mitchell refers to a 'P. G.' (rather than Sebastian) Hosgood: there is no such person listed as a solicitor in Birmingham, but Sebastian Hosgood is listed in the 1916 edition of *Kelly's Directory for Birmingham*, at p. 1037, as a partner in Docker, Hosgood and Co. at 10 Newhall Street, Birmingham. He was married to a Phyllis Gertrude and it may be that for some reason Mitchell got the name and initials mixed up: inf. kindly supplied by G. Hartley, 20 April 2018. No Hosgood has been recorded as a member of the Birmingham City Council or the Smethwick Borough Council, nor is there any other record available suggesting political activity. Sebastian Hosgood represented a number of large Birmingham companies in various litigation throughout the 1910s and 1920s and it may well be that the connection had been through the Chamberlains.

32 'Woman v Woman, Miss Pankhurst's Labour Opponent', *Daily Mail*, 3 Dec. 1918.

33 'Notes in Brief', *Smethwick Telephone*, 7 Dec. 1918.

34 Mitchell, *Queen Christabel*, 275.

35 'The First Woman MP? Victory Song for Miss Pankhurst', *Daily Express*, 6 Dec. 1918.

36 Other writers, including Mitchell, have relied on these reprints as a source material, but the coverage in the local newspapers was much more balanced.

37 'Miss Pankhurst, Birmingham Campaign Today', *Daily Mail*, 26 Nov. 1918.

38 'Union Jack v. Red Flag, Miss Pankhurst's Battle Cry', *Daily Mail*, 9 Dec. 1918.

39 'Make Germany Pay, Miss Pankhurst's solution', *Daily Mail*, 11 Dec. 1918.

40 'Electric Homes, Miss Pankhurst's Vision of the Future', *Daily Mail*, 13 Dec. 1918.

41 'Make Germany Pay, Miss Pankhurst's Solution', *Daily Mail*, 11 Dec. 1918.

42 'Miss Pankhurst's Claim, discharged soldiers resent a misrepresentation', *Evening Despatch* (Birmingham), 6 Dec. 1918.

Davison took care in his reaction to Pankhurst, but he particularly resented being described as a Bolshevik:

'He had been told he was a Bolshevik. He wanted to say that he was one of their own folk – born in the Spon Lane district, reared amongst them, partly schooled with them, and would probably have continued his association throughout his life in the district had it not been for the fact, that, through economic circumstances, his family were compelled to seek their living elsewhere, in Sheffield. I am no Bolshevik. I am a sane, practical, trade union leader – one who believes in law and order, and constitutional government.'⁴³

He further pointed out that Labour had worked for constitutional reform but, in contrast to Pankhurst, 'without breaking a single window, firing a single pillar box, or burning down a single church'.⁴⁴ Reacting to the news that Thompson had withdrawn, Davison said 'This is the most diabolical political conspiracy that has ever been perpetrated on the electors of any division', and referring to the doubt about the funding of the Women's Party he displayed a cheque from his union, saying 'There is no dubiety, no equivocation about the source from which my election expenses come. They come from the hard-earned pence of the men in whose midst I have lived and worked during the whole course of my existence.' He left the other candidates to tell the audience the source from which their campaign expenses came.⁴⁵ Davison's other weapon was his fellow Labour candidate from the neighbouring Stourbridge constituency, Mary Macarthur, who spoke at a meeting on his behalf at the Smethwick Empire.⁴⁶

The national press and some Birmingham papers believed that Pankhurst was going to win. The *Daily Mail* gave glowing reports from meetings and on one occasion even claimed that schoolchildren had composed a song with the words: 'Vote, vote, vote for Christabel, Christie's sure to win the day, When the soldier's come home with a double-barrelled gun, They'll blow old Davison away.'⁴⁷ This creativity was not referred to in the local press. The *Birmingham Daily Post* predicted 'there is little doubt that she [Pankhurst] will be, if not the first, at any rate among the first, women to sit in the House of Commons'.⁴⁸ But other local papers were not so certain and their articles were, unsurprisingly, not reprinted in *Britannia*. The *Birmingham Evening Despatch* accused her of a 'raging, tearing' campaign. It acknowledged that she was drawing 'crowded houses' but cautioned 'whether all the people she amuses nightly will vote for her, remains to be seen.' The paper was critical of the anti-Bolshevism which dominated her campaign: she saw 'pro-Germans on every street corner' and refused to answer an awkward question when she was told the questioner was 'pro-German'. The paper asserted that there was 'nothing constructive in the programme of Miss Pankhurst, but of self-confidence there is an astonishing surplus ... 'When I am member for Smethwick' is a sentence she repeats with nauseating repetition.'⁴⁹

On polling day, *The Times* reported that 'Local opinion regards the result of tomorrow's poll as a foregone conclusion. It is believed her majority will be large. She can rely on a fair share of support from absent voters'. *The Times* argued that some Labour supporters had expressed their support for her, but this claim rested on the sole case of a Labour councillor who had written to Pankhurst saying that he, his wife, and soldier son would support her.⁵⁰ Neither the *Smethwick Telephone* nor the Smethwick edition of *The Weekly News* offered predictions of the result, but in its polling day edition the *Smethwick Telephone* gave extraordinarily good coverage to Pankhurst and made no mention of Mary Macarthur's intervention on Davison's behalf the previous Sunday.

When the votes were counted, a fortnight after polling on Saturday 28 December to give servicemen time to return their papers, Davison was declared the winner a majority of 775, representing a margin of 4.4%.

43 'Mr. Davison's Candidature', *Smethwick Telephone*, 14 Dec. 1918.

44 'Miss C. Pankhurst's Campaign', *The Times*, 14 Dec. 1918, p. 10.

45 'Mr. Davison on Major Thompson's Withdrawal', *Smethwick Telephone*, 7 Dec. 1918.

46 Advertisement: 'General Election 1918, The Labour Campaign', *Smethwick Telephone*, 7 Dec. 1918.

47 'Miss Pankhurst, Success Against Apathy', *Daily Mail*, 7 Dec. 1918.

48 'The Campaign in the Midlands', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 10 Dec. 1918 (reprinted in *Britannia*, 13 Dec. 1918).

49 'Election Notes and Points, Miss Christabel Pankhurst's "Raging, Tearing" Campaign at Smethwick', *Evening Despatch* (Birmingham), 10 Dec. 1918.

50 'Miss C. Pankhurst's Campaign', *The Times*, 14 Dec. 1918, p. 10.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Davison	Labour	9389	52.2
Pankhurst	Coalition	8614	47.8
Majority		775	4.4

Total electorate: 32,964 (of which women voters 12,726).

With 8,614 votes Pankhurst scored the highest vote of any woman candidate in the country, and Davison expressed his delight at beating the Coalition: 'I am more proud of the fact that Labour in Smethwick has risen to a sense of its responsibilities and defeated the Coalition than I am of having beaten the woman candidate.' The result was 'an emphatic and effective protest against the arrogant presumption of any person, be they ever so eminent, who dared to come down to a constituency and tell people what political opinions they were to hold. It was a protest against the foisting upon a constituency of a candidate not of the people's own choice.'⁵¹ The local Unionists made their views known to the *Smethwick Telephone* which reported 'that if the Major had persisted in his candidature he would have been the chosen representative'.⁵² Pankhurst blamed her late arrival in the campaign and the short time that she had after officially being declared the Coalition candidate, and took comfort from what had been achieved in a fortnight. She predicted that it would not be long before she would be in the House of Commons.⁵³

Writing in 2014, Nicoletta Gullance of the University of New Hampshire, attempted to explain Pankhurst's defeat. Drawing heavily on the biased collection of press cuttings from *Britannia*, she concluded that had the franchise been widened to include women over 21 years rather than over 30, she would have won, but this is speculation, with Gullance accepting, and sometimes enhancing, the carefully curated myths that Pankhurst created at the time.⁵⁴ Pankhurst was right in saying that she did not have time to mount an effective challenge, but that was exaggerated by her last-minute dithering over Westbury: she had known the new electoral geography since February. She had no base in Smethwick, which lacked a local branch either of her party or of its forerunner, the WSPU. Her campaign team were, like her, visitors and inexperienced. She upset the local Unionists by getting the local 'worthy' ditched, and she outraged discharged soldiers by assuming their support. Nor did she appreciate the scale of the Labour surge that went through towns with a similar industrial base such as West Bromwich and Wednesbury. She was not given the Coupon, had no support from Coalition speakers, and was not invited to intervene on behalf of the Coalition outside of Smethwick. Successful in displacing Thompson, she underestimated Davison.

51 'Mr John E. Davison, M.P., and His Supporters', *Smethwick Telephone*, 4 Jan. 1919.

52 'The Candidates and the Result', *Smethwick Telephone*, 4 Jan. 1919.

53 'Miss Pankhurst's View of the Result', *Smethwick Telephone*, 4 Jan. 1919.

54 Nicoletta E. Gullance, 'Christabel Pankhurst and the Smethwick Election: right-wing feminism, the Great War and the ideology of consumption', *Women's History Review*, 23/3 (2014), 330–46. This paper contains numerous inaccuracies which Gullance has accepted in good faith from Pankhurst's material, but sometimes adapting to make her case. For example, on p. 339 she has 'Testimonies told of families with their soldier sons, issuing forth together to vote for Christobel....' This is based on the singular recorded case of one father, a councillor, saying that he, his wife, and his soldier son (again singular), would be supporting Pankhurst. On p. 340 Gullance asserts that 'Christabel was wildly popular among a set of patriotic, independent munitions girls', but during the election period these munition 'girls' were in the process of facing an abrupt redundancy by hard faced employers who had exploited them whilst their husbands and brothers had been conscripted. Apart from supportive articles written for the Northcliffe press, which were little more than propaganda, there is no evidence to show that this was the case, certainly not from the local reporters on the ground. No academic study of Pankhurst in Smethwick should rely on *Britannia* as anything other than a highly selective publicity vehicle.

THE LEEKFRITH TORCS

JULIA FARLEY

with TERESA GILMORE, ZOE SUTHERLAND, and ALISON NICHOLLS

DISCOVERY AND EXCAVATION

On Sunday 11 December 2016 a hoard of Iron Age gold jewellery was unearthed by two metal-detectorists, Mark Hambleton and Joe Kania, who made the find while metal-detecting on top of a rise in a hilly field which was under pasture in Leekfrith in the Staffordshire Moorlands. During the first session of detecting they uncovered two complete torcs (nos 1 and 2), a bracelet (no. 3), and part of a third torc (no. 4). The discoveries were made separately, each around 1m apart and about 15cm below the ground surface.

The finds were reported the following day to the local Portable Antiquities Scheme Finds Liaison Officer, Teresa Gilmore, during a Finds Day at the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery. Subsequently, in January 2017, a small-scale excavation trench was opened at the site, covering all the find spots and a buffer zone of around 1m on all sides. The excavation was carried out by Zoe Sutherland (Stoke-on-Trent Archaeology Service) and Alison Nicholls (Assistant Curator of Local History, Potteries Museum and Art Gallery). Whilst the holes dug by the detectorists to retrieve the torcs could easily be located, it was not possible to identify any original context for the finds, but plough marks were visible extending roughly north-east to south-west down the hillside. The latter marks were made during the last (and potentially only) episode of ploughing in recent times, which occurred in 1987, and it is likely that this ploughing event disturbed the finds from their original context, depositing them at intervals down the slope, with the smallest pieces travelling the furthest.

The two finders returned to the field on Sunday 26 February, and uncovered the second half of torc no. 4, which they handed into the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery the following day. The whole group was declared Treasure by Ian Smith (Senior Coroner for North Staffordshire) on Tuesday 28 February, and the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery have now acquired the hoard. This is an interim note on this important find; a full publication will be submitted to a national journal in due course.

THE FINDS

1 *GOLD TORC with THISTLE-SHAPED TERMINALS*

Thistle-terminal type torc with a plain, circular-sectioned neck-ring which expands towards the terminals. Each terminal consists of a circular 'bead', narrowing towards a slimmer waist and then flaring out to a trumpet-shaped head with slightly concave circular face. Each terminal is decorated with concentric lines around either side of the 'bead' and the wide external edge of the 'trumpet'. It also has stamped decoration in the form of small triple-circle motifs where each end of the neck-ring meets its terminal: three sets on one side, and four on the other. The torc has been bent out of shape but is otherwise in very good condition.

Measurements:

Maximum external diameter (side to side): 146mm

Internal circumference: approx. 410mm, plus gap between terminals

Thickness of neck-ring in cross-section: 5.7–5.8mm

Maximum terminal diameter: 21.0mm

Weight: 230.6g

2 *GOLD TORC made from a PAIR of TWISTED WIRES*

This torc consists of a pair of gold wires twisted around one another. At either end, the two wires are hammered and soldered together to form a single rod, which is bent back on itself in a hair-pin bend. The two ends are hooked together to form a simple clasp. Each clasp terminates in a small trumpet-shaped knob with concave circular face. The torc has been bent into an irregular shape as if it has been 'folded'; this was probably caused by plough damage.

Measurements:

Maximum external diameter (diagonal): 144mm

Internal circumference: approx. 420mm

Thickness of individual wires in cross-section: 1.9–2.1mm

Weight: 42.1g

3 GOLD BRACELET

The bracelet is the most ornate and perhaps the most important find of the group. The flared trumpet-shaped terminals are a variant of the thistle-type, with smaller and simpler circular buffer ends, though with the same concave circular face. The outside of each terminal is decorated with three pelta-shaped loops of gold wire (each taking the form of two adjoining circles with an arc over the top), overlaying chased or engraved decoration. The peltas nearest each end meet back-to-back, and the other pelta runs perpendicularly across the top. These wires enclose, within or between them, positive and negative shapes: six circles, three on either side, run down the sides, and in the central space between them are created four fans and a concave-sided kite shape. Within each of these shapes, the surface of the bracelet is decorated with chased or engraved lines which fan out from the centre of the motif towards the sides. The lines in the central kite and fan shapes are perpendicular to those in the circles. The overall effect creates an unusual design which may be connected to Early Style traditions of Celtic art, referencing Mediterranean motifs such as the Greek palmette.

The body of the bracelet is made from four 'wires' twisted around one another. Two are thick strips extending from the terminals, each flattened into a U-shape. The other pair, which spiral around the central join between the larger two, are thin lengths of square-sectioned wire which have been tightly twisted on themselves to give a rope-like effect. This construction is most visible at a point about a third of the way around the circumference, where the bracelet is bent back and has untwisted slightly.

Measurements:

Maximum external diameter (side to side): 105mm

External width (from terminals to back): 63mm

Maximum terminal diameter: 14.9mm

Thick 'wire' diameter: 2.5–4mm

Thin wire diameter: approx. 0.8mm

Weight: 35.1g

4 GOLD TORC with SMALL THISTLE-SHAPED TERMINALS

A gold torc with solid circular-section ring, expanding towards thistle-shaped terminals. Similar to no. 1, but slimmer and less ornate in form. The circular inner face of each 'trumpet' head has an irregular polygonal indentation, but the surface is otherwise undecorated. The torc is broken into two pieces, probably along an existing stress line in the metal, and its shape is distorted.

Measurements:

Internal circumference, approx. 380mm, plus gap between terminals

Thickness of neck-ring in cross-section: 2.5–3.5mm

Maximum terminal diameter: 10.9mm

Weight of larger fragment: 41.0g

Weight of smaller fragment: 22.2g

USE, WEAR, AND DEPOSITION

All the objects exhibit damage in the form of bending and twisting, almost certainly caused by ploughing in the 1980s. It is possible to arrange the three torcs in a nested set, with no. 4 at the bottom, no. 1 in the middle, and no. 2 at the top, showing how the distortion of each piece might have been caused by the entire group being struck and dragged by the plough, crushing and folding them against one another. The bracelet (no. 3) would fit into the middle of this hypothetical nested arrangement, and also shows evidence of having one of its terminals struck and pulled backwards.

Each torc has scratches over its surface. This seems to be a mixture of small-scale cracking and striation which probably occurred during manufacture, and more recent abrasions. In each case, the heavier abrasions are concentrated on one face of the torc, probably the underside as deposited, and these were most likely caused by being dragged by the plough.

All three torcs also show evidence of wear. On nos 1 and 4, the terminals are noticeably worn on one side, showing where they rubbed against the neck of the wearer. The same is true of the clasp on no. 2. In each case, the worn face of each object also appears to have been the underside

as deposited (showing heavier scratching and abrasion caused by dragging). This suggests that the objects were carefully placed into the ground the ‘right’ way up.

PARALLELS AND DATE RANGE

The closest parallels for the group, certainly for the two thistle-terminal torcs (1 and 4) and the bracelet (3), come from continental Europe. Although two other thistle-terminal torcs are known from Britain (a bronze example from Medway in Kent: Jope 2000, Pl. 32a–b; and a fragmentary gold piece from Caistor in Lincolnshire: NLM-605352; 2013 T130; Joy 2015, 151), the predominant distribution of these finds is across central and eastern France and into western Germany (Hautenauve 2005). Most torcs of this type are made of bronze (see examples from the Morel collection at the British Museum, and Jacobsthal 1944 nos 206–21). Gold examples are usually more highly decorated, such as the torc from the Waldalgesheim grave (Jacobsthal 1944 no. 43; Joachim 1995, 61–3), and finds from Filottrano, the Czech Republic, Austria, and Clonmacnoise (Jacobsthal 1944 nos 44, 47–9). However, in addition to the Caistor example, there are two similarly plain gold thistle-terminal torcs. One (BM GR1867, 0508.477) is believed to be from France, possibly in the department of Loiret (Echt *et al.* 2011, 45). The second is from Heerlen in the Netherlands (Echt *et al.* 2011). The dating of thistle-terminal torcs varies between authors from the 5th to early 3rd century BC (Stead and Rigby 1999, 67–8; Eluère, 1987, 28; Hautenauve 2005, 67–70; Echt *et al.* 2011, 44). Echt *et al.* (2011) favour a La Tène B1 date (around 400–320 BC) for the Heerlen and Loiret examples, which are the closest parallels to the Leekfrith thistle-terminal torcs.

The form of the bracelet (no. 3) resembles aspects of the three bracelets from the rich female chariot burial at Waldalgesheim in Germany, dated to around 300–340 BC (Joachim 1995), although the decoration and methods of construction are different. The site at Waldalgesheim gave its name to the sinuous, often three-dimensional ‘vegetal’ style of decoration which adorns many of the finds from the grave. In contrast, the design on the Leekfrith bracelet is two-dimensional and much stricter, indeed almost geometric in form. Each design is made from three adjoining pelta motifs that individually seem to derive from a palmette or lyre pattern (compare Fox 1958, Fig. 82.B: ‘palmette derivatives’), and as a whole also give a sense of referencing Greek-inspired palmette designs. The use of this strict style of Celtic art, referencing the Greek palmette and known as ‘Early Style’, dates to the 5th to early 4th century BC and is relatively rare on objects found in Britain. Examples include the Wisbech scabbard, the Cerrig-y-Drudion crown, and a bucket fitting from Minster in Kent (Jope 2000, Pls10c, 28, 29, and 30).

These parallels suggest a date range for the manufacture of the Leekfrith hoard around the 4th century BC. That would make these objects some of the earliest Iron Age gold (as well as some of the earliest Celtic art) from Britain.

REGIONAL CONTEXT

There are two main distributions of precious metal torcs in Britain: an eastern group centred around East Anglia, and a smaller western group centred on eastern Staffordshire. The latter include a type with a distinctive form of ring-terminals, known as ‘cushion terminals’, of which two complete examples have been found in the county: one from Glascote (BMAG, Painter 1971), and one from Needwood Forest (Royal Collection, Hawkes 1936). A group of entangled, twisted torc fragments from Alrewas (declared Treasure Trove in 1996 and subsequently acquired by the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery) are closer in style to the East Anglian group, with simple ring terminals. These torcs are conventionally dated to the 2nd or 1st century BC (c. 150–50 BC), significantly later than the likely production date of this most recent find.

METAL COMPOSITION

The torcs were tested using non-destructive X-ray Fluorescence at Birmingham Museums Conservation Laboratory by Pieta Greaves (Drakon Heritage and Conservation), assisted by Teresa Gilmore (Birmingham Museums). The results showed a relatively consistent surface composition across all four objects of 74–78% gold, 18–22% silver, 2–3% copper, with small amounts of iron (0.3–1.5%), which may be from the soil. These are preliminary results which reflect only the surface composition of the objects. The surface composition of ancient gold is not necessarily representative

of the original alloy used, as it may be heavily influenced by surface-enrichment due to manufacturing processes or corrosion.

This degree of purity is similar to the composition of other Iron Age gold objects, in particular from Britain, and some natural European golds (Northover 1992, 241). However, most La Tène B (c. 400–260 BC) gold objects from the continent show a higher gold purity, above 90% and in many cases even approaching 100% (Echt and Thiele 1994). This holds even for finds outside the core distribution area of France and Germany, such as the Heerlen torc (found in the Netherlands). Continental La Tène A gold objects (c. 460–400 BC) trend slightly lower in purity (*ibid.*), but not generally quite as low as the Leekfrith finds.

The Leekfrith torcs do nevertheless have a similar metallurgical compositions to the few other proposed early gold imports to Iron Age Britain: the Caistor torc terminal and a small number of gold V-shaped finger-rings, all of which have surface compositions of 70–80% gold and around 20% silver (La Niece *et al.*, 2018). The difference to continental gold compositions is intriguing, and leaves open the possibility of local manufacture of these objects in Britain, or at least association with different workshops or gold-working traditions to those which produced the majority of continental finds.

DISCUSSION

Whilst the torcs and bracelet were not recovered *in situ*, it seems likely that they were carefully buried as a single nested deposit, near the top of a low hill. They could have been buried any time after their production around the 4th century BC. Despite the moderate wear on some of the pieces, there is no reason to think that they were particularly ancient when they were buried, and so a Middle to Late Iron Age date for deposition is likely. The group was disturbed and damaged by ploughing in or around 1987, before finally being rediscovered in 2016.

The torcs have internal diameters of 38–42cm (approx. 15.5–16.5 inches), which would fit a woman or a slender man, but based on attributions from grave finds (see e.g. Stead and Rigby 1999), these objects were probably female ornaments. From the wear patterns it seems that all three torcs were worn predominantly one favoured way up. Since they are almost entirely symmetrical and could in theory have been worn either way up, it is tempting to wonder if each torc was worn by a particular individual who either did not often remove it, or had a preferred way of wearing it. Alternatively, each torc could have been worn by several individuals who had largely been inducted as to the ‘correct’ orientation. In either case, this suggests limited or controlled circulation: each torc having one wearer (whether or not the same person for all three torcs), or perhaps being shared or passed down within a family or community. It is interesting to note that (assuming inferences based on plough damage are correct) all three torcs seem to have been laid in the ground the ‘right’ way up, which may suggest that they were carefully buried by someone who knew these objects, rather than as a hasty deposit.

The two thistle-terminal torcs and the bracelet have their closest parallels on the continent. Continental imports from the 4th to 3rd centuries BC are rare in Britain (Joy 2015), and gold objects even more so. If it is indeed imported, the jewellery in the hoard could have arrived as a gift, as trade goods, or even been carried to the region around the necks and wrists of their owners, perhaps continental women. However, the lower gold purity of the torcs compared to continental pieces leaves open the possibility that these objects could have been made in Britain, even if undoubtedly based on continental types.

The discovery of this early group of continental torcs in Staffordshire has the potential to transform our understanding of this region in the Iron Age. The survival of these objects reminds us what a fractional picture we have of Iron Age societies in most areas of Britain, and this tantalising hint of early continental connections re-casts the West Midlands as a dynamic centre with its own links to Europe. Perhaps the later development of a local style of ‘cushion terminal’ torcs represents a long tradition of gold ornaments in this area, rather than being merely a reflection of developments in East Anglia.

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND HERITAGE IN STOKE-ON-TRENT IN 2017

JON GOODWIN

Comparatively little intrusive archaeological investigation was undertaken in Stoke-on-Trent in 2017, although the number of historic building surveys triggered by redevelopment or refurbishment proposals held steady. A range of structures were recorded, including agricultural outbuildings, chapels, civic buildings, public houses, and pottery factories. Of note was a survey of Fenton Library, the last public library to be constructed in the city, built in 1906 on land donated by local earthenware manufacturer William Meath Baker, with funds provided by philanthropist Andrew Carnegie. The survey, which was undertaken by Stoke-on-Trent Archaeology Service, indicated that the building had undergone relatively few changes and spatial alterations during its active life, and retains a wealth of original, highly ornate fixtures and fittings.

Stoke-on-Trent Archaeology Service also recorded a washroom located within a basement at Middleport Pottery, Burslem. The washroom was established within the works in the closing years of the 19th century and was primarily for the use of employees who worked with toxic glazes. It was probably created in response to changes to the Factory and Workshops Act of 1898, which increased requirements for sanitary provision. A total of eight wash-hand basins, each with hot and cold water taps, were noted within the washroom during the survey, along with a separate room containing a bathtub. Evidence of sanitary provision for workers rarely survives within extant 19th- and early 20th-century pottery factories and this is a particularly fine, well-appointed example. Until the recent survey, the room had been inaccessible since at least the early 1980s, but has now been refurbished and opened as a visitor attraction.

A second phase of works at the former Minton factory in Stoke was the most significant excavation project of 2017. A single trench was excavated by Stoke-on-Trent Archaeology Service in the north-eastern quarter of the former earthenware works and identified the remains of a circular, brick-built oven. It was probable that the oven was originally constructed in the mid 19th century and appears on the 1878 edition of the Ordnance Survey. The oven was a close-coupled, up-draught model and featured an interesting variation on the traditional ‘cork’ foundation design — a ‘cork’ typically comprises a deposit of sand, saggar, pottery waste, and other desiccated material placed beneath the kiln to prevent subsidence caused by moisture being drawn from the surrounding ground during firing. The Minton kiln employed a somewhat different foundation, which comprised several courses of common brick, held in a matrix of crushed saggar or refractory brick. Presumably, this design would have provided a moisture barrier comparable to that of the standard ‘cork’, but would have been far more expensive to construct.

In terms of the city’s wider heritage, the council’s conservation team spent much of 2017 preparing a bid to Historic England for a Heritage Action Zone (HAZ). The application was successful and will result in a five-year programme of events and activities (commencing in 2018) that will investigate Stoke-on-Trent’s 48 extant bottle ovens, many of which are in a perilous state of preservation. With the assistance of staff from Staffordshire and Keele Universities, new survey data will be collected for these structures, supported by a programme of historical and archaeological research. This will culminate in the publication of a book on the history and archaeology of the bottle oven in Stoke-on-Trent and a reassessment of the heritage needs and status of these iconic structures. The HAZ will also seek to regenerate historic buildings within Longton, with an emphasis on improving retail and housing in the town. Social conditions in Longton during the heyday of the pottery industry will be investigated via a community archaeology project centred on the former site of a row of early 19th-century workers’ cottages. An update on the progress of the HAZ will be provided in future summaries.

STOKE-ON-TRENT MUSEUM ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY’S EXCAVATION AT MUCKLESTONE IN 2017

An area of ploughed agricultural land between Loggerheads and Mucklestone was brought to the Society’s attention for its concentration of 17th-century slipware, and a campaign of magnetometry, resistivity and trial trenches pinpointed an area for excavation. Many of the finds from the plough-soil were broken chunks of fired clay perforated with finger-sized holes; most of these brick-like chunks had a smooth side, and some of the holes contained broken sections of carbonised wooden rods.

A picture began to emerge of the rods forming a structure which formed the core of a daubed clay wall. The smoothed clay had been baked during the use of the structure, suggesting that it had been an oven rather than a kiln. The plough-soil also contained large amounts of ceramic kitchen wares, predominantly North Staffordshire but with odd shards from Tixall, Nottingham, and Westerwald.

Once below plough level, this same variety of wares continued *in situ* and can precisely date the era of occupation to 1630–1730, as all activity seems to cease before the advent of North Staffordshire salt glazed pottery. A collection of pipe bowls, dateable by their makers' stamps, confirms these dates.

The footprint of the oven could be clearly seen below plough level, a 3-m charred oak beam having survived, held in place with large stones; this had formed the foundation for a vertical front wall, against which a half-dome had been built using the bent rods and clay. Presumably there had been a door into the oven in the front wall. The semi-circular internal floor area of the oven would have been 2m wide and over 1m from front to back. Although there was plenty of evidence for burning, temperatures achieved do not seem to have been very high, and bread-baking seems to be the most likely activity, although hemp processing may have given the oven a subsidiary use, as indicated by nearby lane and field names.

A larger excavation followed in the expectation of discovering further buildings that would put the oven in context. Although no buildings were found, their existence was hinted at by fine shards of window glass, their lead comes, nails, and small patches of compressed clay that may once have been floors. Moreover, a network of pottery-rich ditches may have enclosed a garden: a gate pivot-stone marked a gap between ditch ends, forming an entrance. Another ditch terminated in a deep ash-filled feature that may have been a corn dryer.

The form of oven we found is strikingly similar to European and North American settler examples rather than British contemporaries.

A photographic narrative of the dig can be found on the SOTMAS website.

WOLVERHAMPTON AND WALSALL IN 2017

ELEANOR RAMSEY

Wolverhampton and Walsall lack the large-scale housing and infrastructure projects going on elsewhere in Staffordshire and beyond, and in Wolverhampton particularly many of the areas where development is indeed occurring is on land disturbed and truncated by previous activity. But a small number of investigations that have been undertaken have already yielded archaeological results, and future development offers the opportunity to find more.

Archaeological monitoring during residential development near Aldridge recovered unstratified Mesolithic flint, adding to the body of evidence for pre-historic activity in this area that includes flint scatters, a burnt mound, and a triple-ditched Iron Age enclosure. A walk-over survey undertaken at the conjunction of Ford brook and Rough brook to the west of Rushall looked for burnt mounds; although none was located during this phase of the work, further activity is a possibility at this site. A community dig, funded in part by the Mick Aston Archaeology Fund, in the summer of 2017 at King George V playing field in Wednesfield recovered a Neolithic worked flint, although again this was unstratified.

Monitoring of ground-works at Little London in Willenhall followed on from an evaluation that identified Saxon activity (in the form of a few pottery sherds) through to the post-medieval and modern periods. This phase of work was related to the conversion of the former school building and no additional archaeological deposits were found. Development of former schools to the north of Wolverhampton (for instance near Bushbury) have also provided the opportunity to look for medieval and pre-medieval archaeology in these areas – although nothing so far has been identified.

More successfully, despite the site being mostly covered by a significant quantity of colliery spoil, evaluation prior to residential development to the south-east of the city centre at Bilston identified the remains of post-medieval settlement fronting the road and industrial buildings associated with some of the multitude of ironworks that grew up in this area around the canal.

Evaluation in Walsall town centre as part of a large commercial re-development identified walls and property boundaries seen on 19th-century Ordnance Survey historic mapping, and in Wolverhampton future monitoring of part of the new Metro route and any investigations conducted as part of the West Side Development will have the potential to enhance our understanding of the development of the city centre.

BOOK REVIEWS

Teresa Gilmore, *50 Finds from Staffordshire: Objects from the Portable Antiquities Scheme* (Amberley, 2018); 96pp, £14.99. ISBN 978-1-4456-7548-0

Teresa Gilmore's book is valuable at three levels. Her *50 Finds from Staffordshire* provides a very helpful insight into archaeological discoveries within Staffordshire, largely over the last ten years, all reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme. At one end of the spectrum, of course, the internationally significant 7th-century Staffordshire Hoard (displayed in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery and the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery) and the more recently discovered 4th-century BC Leekfrith Torcs (at the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery) are included. However, the immense range which extends from a quartzite hand axe (800,000–25,000 BC) from Alrewas (found in 2010) to cigar-shaped ingots (800–1000 AD) from Lichfield (2013) and a Mary I groat from Swinfen (2013), along with the cross-reference to Mesolithic lithic scrapers found in St Michael's churchyard, Lichfield (approximately 6,500 years old). These finds reveal the extent of what is still being unearthed, all the time enriching our perspective and awareness of exactly what was being achieved by previous generations. Each entry is very carefully described in a very accessible manner.

This publication is also a testament to the general integrity of metal detectorists who have been faithfully reporting their finds to the Portable Antiquities Scheme and, thereby, adding to the national database of exactly what has been found, examined, and recorded, even if the majority of the items ultimately remain in private ownership. The book's third merit is that its preface contains a very informative and lucid introduction to how the Portable Antiquities Scheme emerged and how it functions, and therefore how it has evolved as a crucial contributor to our endlessly expanding awareness of the human achievements that had taken place in our landscape.

TREVOR JAMES

Karen Hunt, *Staffordshire's War: Voices of the First World War* (Amberley, 2017); 160pp, £14.99. ISBN 978-1-4456-5785-1

In this book Karen Hunt has explored a vast range of ways in which Staffordshire was affected by the international conflict, without being drawn into the details of the conflict itself, just as the 'Aspects of War' series has tried to do. However, the extra dimension to this research, sub-titled *Voices of the First World War*, is our introduction to the papers of the Mid-Staffordshire Military Service Appeal Tribunal. Properly-speaking this archive, stored in the Staffordshire Record Office, should not exist. After the Great War, very clear guidance was issued nationally that the papers of military appeals tribunals, with two exceptions [of which Staffordshire was not one] should be destroyed. The reasoning was that public scrutiny of the sensitive decisions made by the tribunal could have potentially explosive effects immediately after such a devastating conflict, with a great deal of private commercial information relating to individuals who had sought exemption. The instruction to destroy these materials was disregarded by Eustace Joy, who was the Clerk to the Staffordshire County Council from 1907 until 1933 and who served as one of the advisers to these military tribunals. He retained all the bureaucratic material – completed forms and supporting correspondence – for every case heard by Staffordshire's Appeal Tribunals, with these materials being deposited along with his personal papers in the Staffordshire Record Office after his death in 1940. In 2014 Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service was awarded a Heritage Lottery Fund grant to open up the Tribunal's papers for public scrutiny, and a team of volunteers were recruited to catalogue and process what was available. The fruits of this activity are well reflected in Karen Hunt's book.

One feature of the work of the Tribunal was in its dealings with conscientious objectors. These comprised different groups: some just did not wish to fight but accepted that they would have to play their part in the war effort; some had much stronger feelings; and for some there were religious dimensions to how they responded. Chapter 7 has some interesting insights into what happened. For example, the Christadelphians had a particular religious perspective which caused some difficulty:

there was a blend of suspicion of a Christian group which had its origins abroad intermixed with extra factors, such their refusal on religious grounds to undress for medical examinations at Whittington Barracks. There is some evidence that some Christadelphian businessmen faced much higher fines when found to have broken food regulations, without this having been overtly stated. The more one explores, more complex the situation: one man appealed for exemption from enlisting on religious grounds and his exemption was allowed, but he then continued his work at a factory in Birmingham where he was working on an assembly-line, manufacturing hand grenades, the inherent conceptual contradiction of this situation being emphasised by the author.

There are resonances of the controversies of our own time to be noted in the text. The proposal that two women police officers were to be appointed in Walsall was set aside because there was uncertainty as to whether men would accept the authority of women! In Stoke-on-Trent women were recruited into the work force in the Potteries but were not allowed to carry out heavy work, whereas nearby women were involved in blacksmithing work and were being complimented for their strength in this potentially very strenuous occupation.

This is an extraordinarily interesting book. It is not appropriate to try fully to summarise its contents but rather just to recommend it for its potential to explore the wider reaches of what was happening at a local level on the 'Home Front'. It has strong value both as a local commentary as well as providing background to the wider national situation, especially given the unexpected source material that has become available within Staffordshire.

TREVOR JAMES

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