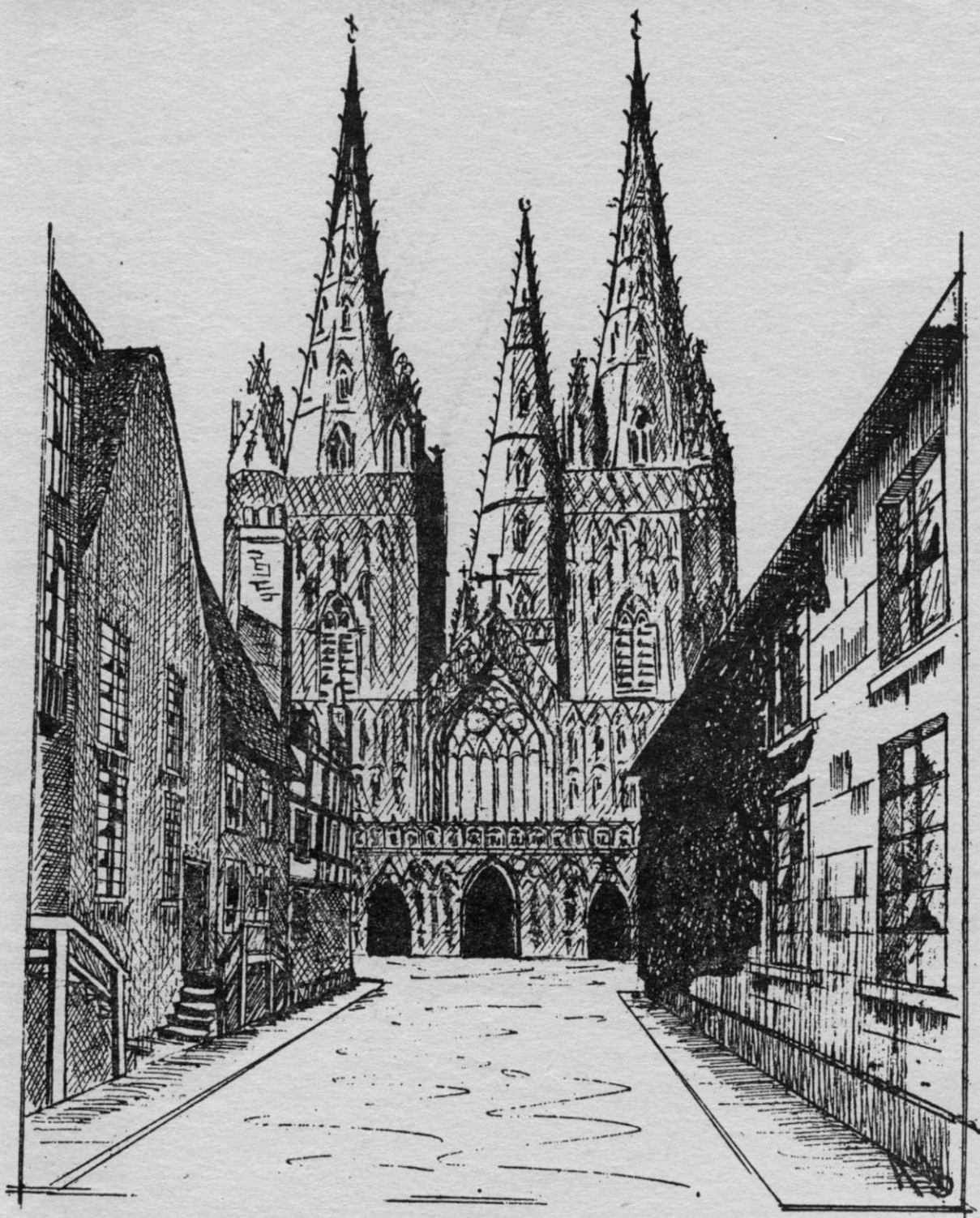




**LICHFIELD AND SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

TRANSACTIONS 1967-8 VOLUME IX

LICHFIELD AND SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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REFERENCES

For brevity, the abbreviations in the following list have been used.

In papers with few repeated references, the reference is given in full when it is used for the first time, with the abbreviation used later in the paper shown in parentheses.

<i>A.B.I.</i>	<i>Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain</i> , J. Evans, 1881
<i>Ant. J.</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquity</i>
<i>Arch. Ael.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i>
<i>Arch. Camb.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i>
<i>B.B.C.S.</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
<i>B.M.</i>	British Museum
<i>C.R.O.</i>	County Record Office
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>J.B.A.A.</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
<i>O.S.</i>	Ordnance Survey
<i>N.S.J.F.S.</i>	<i>North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies</i>
<i>N.S.F.C.</i>	<i>North Staffordshire Field Club, Transactions of</i>
<i>P.P.S.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society</i>
<i>P.S.A.L.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London</i>
<i>P.S.A.S.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
<i>Prob. Rec.</i>	Probate Records of the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry at Lichfield Public Library and Joint Record Office. They are calendared by name and date of the probate.
<i>Shaw's Staffs.</i>	Stebbing Shaw, <i>The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire</i> , i, 1798; ii, 1801
<i>S.H.C.</i>	<i>Staffordshire Historical Collections</i> (Staffordshire Record Society)
<i>TBA</i>	Tamworth Borough Archives
<i>T.C. & W.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society</i>
<i>TPL Townsh.</i>	Tamworth Public Library, Townshend papers
<i>W.S.L.</i>	William Salt Library, Stafford
<i>U.J.A.</i>	<i>Ulster Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>V.C.H.</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>

BRONZE HOARD AND BURIAL FOUND AT GREENSBOROUGH FARM, SHENSTONE, STAFFORDSHIRE, IN 1824.

DAVID COOMBS

with introduction by LILY F. CHITTY, O.B.E., F.S.A.

1. THE RECORD

On 12 February 1824, labourers removing sand from the side of a hill to enlarge the rick-yard of Greensborough Farm, Shenstone, in South Staffordshire found, about 6 ft. below the surface, a grave of the usual churchyard form cut north-south in the sandstone rock, containing fragments of human bones and a piece of decayed wood. Within a few inches of the west side of the grave, lying in loose sand, was a hoard of twenty-one bronze implements, weapons and objects, together with a lump of lead contained in one of the specimens.

The site was examined by William Hamper, F.S.A.¹, who on 25 March reported the discovery to Dr. Samuel Rush Meyrick², together with drawings of the twenty-two relics. Meyrick laid this communication before the Society of Antiquaries of London at their meeting on 1 April 1824, and a report was published in the Appendix to *Archaeologia*, xxi, 1827, pp. 548-9, but without any illustrations, and no drawings or further records can be traced in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House³. Sir John Evans gave this as his sole reference in his *Ancient Bronze Implements*, 1881, Hoard No. 40, pp. 285, 465⁴.

Subsequently, Hamper's letter to Dr. Meyrick was published in an anonymous⁵ *History of the Forest and Chase of Sutton Coldfield*, 1860, pp. 3-4, together with some further relevant

¹ William Hamper (1776-1831), of Deritend House, Birmingham, F.S.A., 1821; author of *Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, 1827, and other works: he submitted numerous communications to the Society of Antiquaries. See also: *D.N.B.*

Barbara Ronchetti, 'William Hamper', *Trans. Birmingham Archaeological Society*, lxxviii, 1952, pp. 111-120.

² Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick (1783-1848), antiquary and collector, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A., 1810, knighted 1832; author (*inter alia*) of *History of Cardiganshire*, 1810 and *Ancient Armour*, 1824. He was a subscriber to Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*, 1825, list, p. 545; see footnote 6. For further particulars, see *D.N.B.*

³ Information from the late Dr. Philip Corder (Assistant Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries) who sought in vain for further records of the Greensborough, Shenstone, hoard; letter, 27 February 1959.

⁴ *A.B.I.*, p. 285, 'Two swords, some spear-heads, celts, and other relics were discovered at Shenstone, Staffordshire, in 1824. Near them are said to have been some fragments of human bones.' —p. 465, Hoard No. 40, 'Greensborough Farm, Shenstone, Staffs. Swords apparently perfect.' Obviously, Evans had not seen the actual objects or any drawings of them.

⁵ The authoress is known to have been Miss Agnes Anne Bracken (1800-1877), a much-respected resident of Sutton Coldfield, as demonstrated in the Memorial Notice of her published in the *Sutton Coldfield Parish Magazine* for April 1877: this refers to her local *History*, but states that it first appeared in 1866. We are indebted to the Librarian of Sutton Coldfield Public Library for a copy of this record, and to Mr J. W. Whiston for his researches into the history of local personalities named in our paper. An earlier identification of the author was given by Mr. J. Sidney Home of Stafford, 23 January 1959, who reported that on the fly-leaf of the copy of Miss Bracken's *History* in the William Salt Library, Stafford, has been written in pencil 'by L. Bracken.' He points out that *V.C.H., Warwickshire*, iv, 1965, p. 230 *n* says that this book was written by L. Bracken.

details, followed by an abbreviated version of a letter from Dr. Meyrick to Henry Ellis, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, dated 30 March 1824, which accompanied Hamper's communication. The original of this letter is missing from the Society of Antiquaries and it now seems clear that it was borrowed from the Library and never returned.

On 3 January 1934, the late Miss H. M. Auden sent me an old letter that had come to light among manuscripts of the Rev. John Brickdale Blakeway acquired by her father, the late Prebendary Thomas Auden, F.S.A. This letter, given in full below, is superscribed to 'Henry Ellis, Esq.' signed 'Saml. Rush Meyrick' and dated from 30 Cadogan Place, 30 March 1824. Mr. A. R. Dufty, V-P.S.A., Master of the Armouries in H.M. Tower of London and a member of the Meyrick Society, identifies the writing as certainly that of the famous antiquary and he accepts it as being the lost original.

The letter is of outstanding importance because it ends with miniature sketches of the twenty-two objects comprising the Greensborough Farm hoard and these are the only illustrations of them known to survive (fig. 1). In default of further information, they may be regarded as Meyrick's rough copies of the (now missing) drawings forwarded to the Society of Antiquaries by Hamper with a numbered list of the objects.

Meyrick's letter has been through the post, endorsed to 'The Revd. J. B. Blakeway⁶, Shrewsbury': the segment of dark red-brown postmark is illegible; it is also marked 'Too Late.' Below is written in pencil, 'With C. Curtis's⁷ best regards to B.L.A.' and in the same hand a note has been added in pencil between the third and fourth lines of the letter, 'from the Estate of W. Tennant, Esq.', according with Hamper's letter as given in the *History of Sutton Coldfield* above mentioned.

Blakeway, joint author, with Archdeacon Hugh Owen, of a well-known *History of Shrewsbury*, 1825, died on 10 March 1826, so it would appear that this letter remained among his papers at his death and was never returned to the Society of Antiquaries, to which I restored it in February 1968, when the Society agreed to present in exchange the block showing Meyrick's signature and the sketches at the end of the letter (fig. 1).

As the basic sources of information may not be easily accessible for reference, it seems wise to quote them at length.

- (a) *The letter from Wm. Hamper, F.S.A.*, of which the original has not been traced: published in 1860 by the author of *The History of Sutton Coldfield* (Miss A. A. Bracken), end of p. 2, mainly p. 3.

The following particulars of the discovery of a warrior's grave in this vicinity, on land now possessed by the Hon. E. Swinfen Jervis, are extracted from a correspondence obligingly communicated by Major Tennant:

From MR. HAMPER to DR. MEYRICK.

'Deritend House, March 25, 1824.'

'On the 12th of last month, as some labourers were removing earth from the side of a hill at Greensborough Farm, at Lower Stonall, they discovered, about six feet below the surface,

⁶ John Brickdale Blakeway (1765-1826), M.A., was Vicar of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, 1794-1826; his memorial is in the north transept of the church. The main collection of Blakeway MSS. is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

See *D.N.B.*

⁷ Presumably the Rev. Charles Curtis, Solihull, Warwickshire, who was a foundation subscriber to Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*, 1825, p. 544, and back of cover of unbound Part I, issued in 1822. Mr. Whiston has ascertained that he was brother-in-law of William Tennant and Rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham, of which living Tennant was patron. (J. Finch Smith, *Notes and Collections . . . of Aldridge in the County of Stafford*, part I, 1884, pp. 36-7.)

a grave, cut north and south, in the sand rock, and shaped like one in a churchyard. Fragments of human bones, or [? and] a piece of decayed wood, about the size of two hands, were all that the excavation contained; but within a few inches of the west side were found lying, in the loose sand, two swords, some spear heads, celts, and several other relics, all of bronze, which by permission of William Tennant, Esq., the owner of the estate, I submit to your examination.

The large sword and spear head, and a celt, appear to have been broken by main force, probably when the remains of the warrior were committed to the peaceful sepulchre. By the desire of Mr. Tennant, my friend, Shirley F. S. Perkins, Esq., accompanied me to the spot on the 1st inst., when the grave was again opened by the same workmen . . . '

Greensborough Hill is a pleasant knoll, commanding an extensive prospect. The course of the Icknield Street was within a mile to the south-east, and the Roman station, Etocetum, about two and a half miles distant, S.S.W. It is also midway, in a direct line, between Wall and Barr Beacon . . . We could not perceive any traces of circumvallation; but its site would offer great natural advantages for military defence; the valley on the south of the hill having been a morass, and the surrounding district having been covered with wood, as the name of *Bosses* implies.

Near the surface of the ground, immediately over the grave, the skeleton of some animal was dug up, apparently of the porcine class, though, if a boar, no tusks were visible: but in our judgment, and in that of the labourers, it was a modern deposit. . . '

There were drawings made of the twenty-two relics, and forwarded with this letter to the Society of Antiquaries.

1.	Sword, in two pieces.	10,11.	Cylinders.
2.	Sharp sword, or dagger.	12, 13, 14.	Rings.
3.	Spearhead.	15,16.	Pommels of sword handles.
4.	Ditto, fragment.	17, 18, 19.	Celts.
5,6,7.	Ferrules.	[20.	Omitted.]
8.	Ferrule, in two pieces, broken since it was dug up.	21.	A lump of lead found in No. 10 or 11.
9.	Spear head, fragment.	22.	A lump of copper.

These are in the possession of Captain Tennant, R.N.

Here follows an abridged version of Dr. Meyrick's letter to Henry Ellis. It may be assumed that this accompanied the drawings when they were returned to William Tennant in 1824.

(b) *Letter from Dr. (Sir) S. R. Meyrick: The original found among Blakeway papers at Alderdene, Church Stretton, Shropshire, 1934.*

Dr. Meyrick to Henry Ellis Esq., Secy to Socy of Antiquaries

My dear Sir, Our friend Mr Hamper has done me the honor of selecting me as the means of laying before the Society of Antiquaries the result of an exhumation in Staffordshire, consisting of various arms and utensils, and has requested me to accompany the communication with some remarks of my own. He has, however, so amply described the discovery & its attendant circumstances that I fear I can add little of interest.

The materials of which the weapons are composed; viz. Copper alloyed with Tin, prove that they must be ascribed to the Britons. The Romans, though they retained this component metal for their armour, had long prior to their invasion of Britain fabricated their arms of steel; & the quantity of Iron with which the mountains of the Baltic are so fully impregnated had suggested its use to the Anglo-Saxons before their arrival.

No. 1. The sword called by the Britons *Cleddyv*, and also the Dagger exhibit in their hilts the rivet holes for fastening on what formed the handle. This in some instances was of the same materials, but seems to have been generally of horn, as the antient adage of that people was 'he who hath the horn (meaning the Handle) hath the blade', a maxim full of judicious reflection.

Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, commonly called Celts, are the *Bwyllr-aryan* or Battle axe of that people, the two first made to receive their handles, the others to be let into them. *Bwyllr* being a word evidently not derived from the Roman language, is indigenous, and therefore shews that axes were known to the Britons before the Roman invasion. Did this require corroboration, the immense quantity of these axe-heads dug up in Ireland were [*sic*] the Romans never set foot, would amply confirm the fact. When the original inhabitants of this isle adopted any Roman art, thing or custom, they at the same time retained its name; thus they called their own flat circular sword [*sic*, error for shield] by an appellation which has no etymon in Latin, *Tarian*, whence Targe & Target, but the long shaped shield of that people they designated *Y-sgyd*,

i.e. the Scutum. So the Romans found the only aperture in their houses by which light was admitted the *Drws* or Door, answering to their *Ostium*, and therefore introduced the *fenestrum*, *fenest* being at this day retained by the Welsh to imply a Window.

But if I am right in my conjecture, those cylindrical boxes Nos. 10 & 11, which Mr. Hamper terms Non-descripts, are the greatest curiosities in this collection. I presume they were each furnished with flat pieces on their tops as the edges of them are so bent over as to have held something or other. If such a flat piece were perforated the butt end of a lance might have passed through and fitted into the socket below, and then we should have that sounding cylinder which Xiphilin from Dion Nicaeus mentions!'] as being attached to the lances of some tribes of Britons with an intention of terrifying cavalry. He says that these balls were filled with little bits of metal that made a tinkling noise; and if these curiosities were for this purpose we can then account for the holes in their sides, as being requisite for the emission of sound. Nor do I think the accidental circumstance of one of these being found with a lump of lead in it, as at all militating against my conjecture.

Probably the Society may think one of these, one of the Sword pommels, Nos. 15 & 16 and the hollow rod of office broken in two, Nos. 5 & 6 worthy of being engraved, as nothing of the kind has been previously exhibited, and I am sure Mr. Hamper and his friend would have no objection.

On the proportionate quantities of copper and tin of which these and similar weapons are made, a very long paper may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions for 1796, by Dr. Pearson.

I have the honour to be Sir,

Yrs' Most respectfully

30 Upper Cadogan Place.
30th March 1824.

SAML. RUSH MEYRICK.

Under the address are appended twenty-two miniature sketches of the objects found in the Greensborough Farm hoard (fig. 1): the site is nowhere named in this letter. The drawing of the largest object, spear-head No. 3, is only 44 mm. in length, that of the sword, No. 1, is 42 mm. The accompanying list tallies fairly closely with that given in Hamper's letter.

1.	Sword, in 2 pieces.	10,11.	Non-descripts.
2.	Short Sword or Dagger.	12, 13, 14.	Rings.
3.	Spear Head.	15,16.	Pommels of Sword Handles.
4.	Do.	17, 18,19,20.	Celts.
5,6,7.	Ferrules.	21.	A Lump of Lead found in 10 or 11.
8.	Ferrule, in 2 pieces, broken since it was dug up.	22.	A Lump of Copper.
9.	Spearhead.		

(c) *The Published Record: Archaeologia*, xxi, 1827, pp. 548-9, Appendix.

April 1, 1824. Wm. Hamper, Esq., communicated to the Society, by the hands of Dr. S. R. Meyrick, an Account of a Grave cut north and south in the sand-rock, discovered on the 12th of February preceding, by some labourers who were employed in removing sand from the side of a hill, for the purpose of enlarging the rick yard of Greensborough farm, in the township of Lower Stonnall in the parish of Shenstone in Staffordshire.

Fragments of human bones, and a piece of decayed wood about the size of two hands, were all that the excavation contained; but within a few inches, on the west side, were found, lying in the loose sand, two swords, some spear-heads, celts, and several other reliques, all of bronze.

Greensborough-hill is a pleasant knoll, commanding an extensive prospect. The farm buildings stand on its southern slope. The course of the Icknield-street runs within a mile to the south-east, and the Roman station Etocetum, or Wall, where the Icknield crosses the Watling-street, is little more than 2¹/₂ miles distant S.S.W.* It is also midway in a direct line, between Wall and the well-known Barr-beacon, as laid down in the last map of Staffordshire.

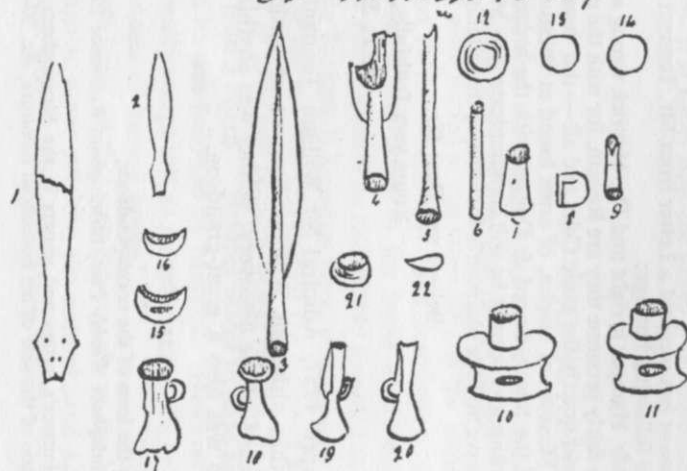
* We owe the identification of Dr. Meyrick's reference to Mr. Dennis Britton, who suggests that it may refer to the following passage from Dio Cassius;

... and a short spear, with a bronze apple attached to the end of the spear-shaft, so that when it is shaken it may clash and terrify the enemy. (Loeb edn., ix, pp. 262-5.)

* N.N.E. is obviously the direction intended; Greensborough (now Gainsborough) Farm is 2J miles S.S.W. of Wall church. The O.S. map of 1834 marks it as Greensbury Hill; Sanders in his *History of Shenstone* (1794 but written before 1774) calls it Greensberry Hill. The name is not included in W. H. Duignan's *Notes on Staffordshire Place Names*, 1908.

30 Wyndecroft Place.
30th March 1824.

Yrs most respectfully
Sam^l. M^r. Meyrick.



12. 13. 14. Rings.
15. 16. Pommels of sword handles
17. 18. 19. 20. Belts.
21. A lump of Lead, found in 1824
22. A Lump of Copper. —

1. Sword, in 2 pieces
2. Short sword or dagger
3. Spear Head
4. Do
5. } Ferules
6. Ferule, in 2 pieces, broken since it was dug up
7. Spearhead
8. } non-descript

Fig. 1 Drawings of bronze objects in Dr. Meyrick's letter of 30 March 1824

The fate both of the objects found and of the original drawings is unknown and enquiries made by Mr. J. T. Gould, F.S.A. (in preparation for his *Men of Aldridge*, 1957) have so far proved fruitless¹⁰. 'Father Frank' addressed an enquiry on the whereabouts of the hoard to the *Birmingham Weekly Post*, 9 August 1879, but no reply is recorded¹¹. Even in 1824 no owner of the hoard itself was specifically named, neither is it clear whether the actual bronzes were submitted to the Society of Antiquaries or only drawings of them; there is no record that either were exhibited at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 1 April 1824. In 1860, Miss Bracken quotes from correspondence communicated by Major Tennant, but at the end of the list of drawings she states that 'These are in the possession of Captain Tennant, R.N.' From William Hamper's letter it could be inferred that the implements found were the property of William Tennant (of Little Aston, Aldridge, Staffs.) as owner of the estate and that they had been sent by his permission for Dr. Meyrick's examination. Indeed, from Meyrick's description of the two 'cylindrical boxes' Nos. 10 and 11, one might assume that he was handling the objects themselves, while in referring to the sword No. 1, he mentions rivet-holes in the hilt of the dagger which are not noted by Hamper; likewise the long ferrules Nos. 5 and 6, 'the hollow rod of office broken in two.' His suggestion that specimens should be engraved for the Society of Antiquaries was apparently not followed up.

That the Greensborough bronze hoard was almost certainly in the possession of William Tennant, is implied by the words 'as ours' in one of the letters in the Birmingham collection addressed to William Hamper¹².

Sutton, Dec. 21st, 1824.

My dear Sir,

Within these few days Mrs. Tennant has received a Letter from Mr. Tennant (who has been visiting Naples) which contains the following Passage:

'There can be no doubt that Mr. Hamper is right and Dr. Meyrick wrong about the Arms being British, at least one may fairly presume they are Roman, for with the exception of the Non-descript Cylinders, I found exactly the same Celts and all — tho' none in such good preservations as ours, in the Museum at Naples, of arms found at Paestum — the Metal and even the very Pattern of the Spear, Sword & Dagger with the indenture round the edges. Do tell this to Mr. Perkins and request he will communicate it to Mr. Hamper'.

I can assure you, my good Sir, I have no little pleasure in forwarding this intelligence to you ...

Believe me, Dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

S. F. S. PERKINS.¹³

In replying to Mr. Gould on 1 April 1957, Admiral Sir William Tennant of The Eades, Upton-on-Severn, Worcs., wrote, that although William Tennant of Little Aston was his great-grandfather, he had never heard of the discovery; neither was anything known to his cousin, Sir Charles Buchanan, who was also a great-grandson.

¹⁰ We are grateful to Mr. J. T. Gould for the loan of the correspondence.

¹¹ Local Notes and Queries, No. 404, *Birmingham Weekly Post*, Birmingham Reference Library No. 144953, p. 226.

¹² There are eight volumes of William Hamper's letters and papers in the Birmingham Reference Library (Nos. 125542 and 117630) and a catalogue of the sale of his household furniture, etc. 20-24 June 1831 (No. 214510), including:

'Lot 216 A very rare collection of articles of very great antiquity, in suitable lots.'

¹³ The writer was the friend who accompanied William Hamper to the site of the Greensborough Farm burial and bronze hoard. His wife and infant son, who died in March 1801, are commemorated on the memorial tablet to her father, Joseph Duncomb, in Sutton Coldfield parish church.

On 18 December 1952, Mr. Harold F. Foden wrote, from 'Gainsboro' Hill Farm, Stonnall, near Walsall,' to say that nothing of similar character had been found during the sixty years occupation of Gainsborough (*vice* Greensborough) Hill Farm by the Foden family and he could throw no light on the discovery of the burial and hoard.

L. F. CHITTY

2. THE SITE

Greensborough Farm (the name of the site as given by Hamper in his letter of 25 March 1824, reproduced in *Archaeologia*, xxi, 1827, pp. 548-9 and followed by J. Evans in *Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*, 1881, pp. 285, 465) is to be identified with Gainsborough Hill Farm, as it is known locally and is so mapped on the 1-inch O.S. map (National Grid Reference SK 079025). It was described as in the township of Lower Stonnall and is in the parish of Shenstone, Staffs., though the farm-house is 2½ miles south-west of Shenstone Church.

Although the southern slope of the natural sand-mound is gradually being quarried away most of the original mound still remains and at present is covered with a small copse. The hill commands a good view, especially to the south and it is on this side that the farm is situated. The rick-yard buildings have been set into the side of the hill and it seems that the shaded building on the plan (fig. 2) was the one built in 1824 and during whose construction the finds were made. The foundations of this building are deeper than 6 ft. below the surface of the mound and it is likely that the grave was completely removed during its construction.

3. THE BURIAL

It is unfortunate that the original account of the finds from Greensborough Farm is not more precise as to the exact relationship of the bronzes to the grave. Though it is possible that the bronzes were buried at the same time as the bones, and formed an associated grave-group, it is by no means a certainty. The description 'within a few inches of the west side [of the grave] were found lying, in the loose sand,' could indicate that they were found outside the grave and so cannot be undeniably accepted as grave-goods. Without the definite association of the bronzes it becomes impossible to date the grave. However, examination of the drawings of the bronzes reveals that the socketed axes, palstaves, spear-heads, ferrules and chapes occur in pairs and perhaps would suggest the personal possessions of one or even two men rather than a hoard. Hamper seems to have accepted the association of the bones and bronzes and he was followed by Meyrick. However, Evans in *A.B.I.*, p. 285, indicated that he did not really accept this as an association: 'Near them [the bronzes] are said to have been some fragments of human bones.'

From Hamper's letter all that one can say about the burial is that it was 6 ft. below the surface, a rectangular grave cut into the natural sand and containing fragments of human bones and decayed wood. The description suggests an extended inhumation in a wooden coffin¹⁴.

¹⁴ For Early Bronze Age burials in wooden coffins see:— H. W. and F. Elgee, *An Early Bronze Age Burial in a Boat Shaped Wooden Coffin from North-east Yorks*, *P.P.S.*, xv, 1949, pp. 87-106; List (Appendix to Loose Howe Report), pp. 105-6.

The burial of the pig presents the same problem of association. If associated with the burial then it may be regarded as a ritual deposit. A number of ritual practices can be interpreted in the finding of animal bones associated with graves; bones that were the result of a funerary feast held at the side of the grave which are known from Neolithic burials, and whole animal carcasses deposited in graves, which we might have at Greensborough. A similar deposit occurred at Konigsbruck, Alsace, France¹⁵ where a Middle Bronze Age inhumation was found, with the head resting on the body of a young boar.

Any record of a burial dating from the Late Bronze Age, whether certain or suspect, is important because there is so little known about this aspect of the period. The British Late Bronze Age is marked by a great increase in the production of bronze implements, and the deposition of large hoards of bronze objects which are found mainly in the east and south-east of England. Due to the lack of well-dated cemeteries it is not really clear what the dominant burial rite was during the British Late Bronze Age but in Europe during this time the popular burial rite was cremation in urns associated with grave-goods.

A few associations of Late Bronze Age bronze objects with inhumations are known from this country but the majority of them were found during the last century and are rather doubtful.

However, there are a few that seem more credible than the others. In 1898 at Buxton, Derbyshire¹⁶ two socketed axes and a broken leaf-shaped spear-head were found with human bones and a pot. In the same county at Fenny Bentley¹⁷, a spear-head and two pins were found with human bones. From the North of England and Scotland there are three well-documented burials with bronzes. At Butts Beck Quarry, Dalton-in-Furness, Lanes.¹⁸ a cist was found, 6 ft. long, 4 ft. deep and nearly 4 ft. wide which contained human and animal bones with a bent sword and a socketed spear-head. At Woundale Raise, Troutbeck, Westmorland¹⁹ burnt bones were found in a cist with a broken leaf-shaped spear-head, and from Fort George, Ardersier Point, Inverness-shire²⁰ there is a record of a spear-head with lunate openings in the blade, found with a human skeleton.

It is noticeable that these burials occur in counties that are some distance from the main Late Bronze Age centres in Britain and so are more likely to have remained more isolated in their traditions, and the burials might represent a continuation of the practice of well-furnished inhumations of the Early Bronze Age. Alternatively they might be of a late date within the British Late Bronze Age and have been influenced by the Continental Hallstatt Early Iron Age people. Only one Hallstatt grave is known in England, from Ebberston, Yorkshire²¹ which was an inhumation accompanied by a sword and chape.

The condition of the bronzes in the graves at Buxton, Butts Beck Quarry and Woundale Raise deserves comment. It seems that the bronzes accompanying these burials had been deliberately broken or bent before burial.

¹⁶ N. K. Sandars, *Bronze Age Cultures in France*, Cambridge, 1957, p. 80.

¹⁷ W. H. Salt, *Discovery of Bronze Axes etc., at Buxton*, *The Reliquary*, vi, N.S., 1900, pp. 125-6.

¹⁸ *P.S.A.L.* 2nd Series, xvi, 1895-7, p. 211.

¹⁹ C. Fell and J. M. Coles, *Reconsideration of the Ambleside hoard and the burial at Butts Beck Quarry, Dalton-in-Furness*, *T.C. & W.*, lxx, N.S., 1965, pp. 47-52.

²⁰ C. Fell, *A Bronze Spearhead from Woundale Raise, Troutbeck*, *T.C. & W.*, xlix, N.S., 1949, pp. 10-14.

²¹ *In the Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, vi, 24 January 1750, p. 73. Quoted in Fell and Coles, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

²² E. Howarth, *Catalogue of the Bateman Collection of Antiquities in the Sheffield Public Museum*, 1899, pp. 65 and 77.

The idea of an actual Hallstatt invasion of Britain has now been questioned. See: F. R. Hodson, *Cultural Groupings within the British Pre-Roman Iron Age*, *P.P.S.*, xxx, 1964, p. 99.

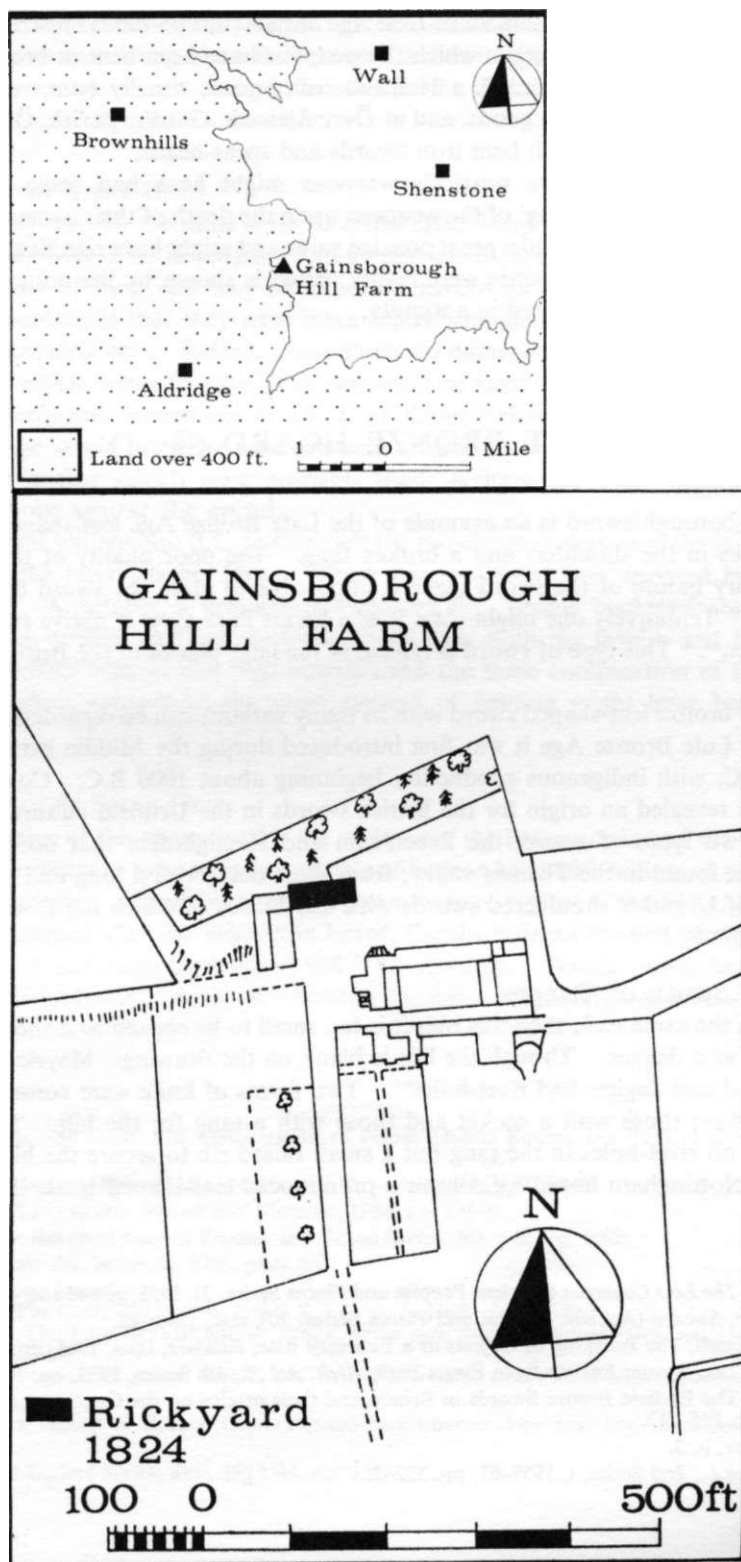


Fig. 2 Plan of Gainsborough Hill (*alias* Greensborough) Farm, Shenstone, Staffs.

On the Continent there are a number of Iron Age burials (this period is in part contemporary with the British Late Bronze Age) in which the weapons have been bent or broken. At Oss, North Brabant in the Netherlands²², a Hallstatt iron sword, ritually bent, was found with cremated bones and other grave goods, and at Ovre Aleback, Gardby parish, Oland, Sweden²³ cremated bones were found with bent iron swords and spear-heads.

Perhaps the breaking of the warrior's weapons might have had some kind of ritual significance: the symbolic 'killing' of the weapons upon the death of their owner²¹. Weapons, especially swords, would have had a great prestige value and might have signified one's standing in society. That individual swords were highly prized is shown by the numerous examples that have been repeatedly repaired in antiquity.

4. THE BRONZE HOARD (fig. 1)

No. 1 THE SWORD

The Greensborough sword is an example of the Late Bronze Age leaf-shaped variety, with four rivet-holes in the shoulders and a broken tang. The poor quality of the drawing and the fragmentary nature of the sword make it impossible to place the sword definitely in one specific class. Tentatively one might class it as a Ewart Park type of native sword as defined by J. D. Cowen²⁴. This type of sword is typical of the later phases of the British Late Bronze Age.

Though the bronze leaf-shaped sword with its many variants can be regarded as a type-fossil of the British Late Bronze Age it was first introduced during the Middle Bronze Age about 1200-1100 B.C. with indigenous production beginning about 1000 B.C. Cowen's intensive studies²⁵ have revealed an origin for the British swords in the Urnfield culture of south-west Germany. Two types of sword, the Erbenheim and Hemigkofen, that occur in that area have also been found in the Thames valley; from these developed a long and varied series of native types of U and V shouldered swords with leaf blades of which the Ewart Park type is one.

No. 2 SHORT SWORD OR DAGGER

If drawn on the same scale then this object is too small to be classed as a short sword and is best regarded as a dagger. Though the hilt is blank on the drawings, Meyrick specified that both the sword and dagger had rivet-holes²⁷. Two forms of knife were common during the Late Bronze Age; those with a socket and those with a tang for the hilt. The tanged one generally had no rivet-holes in the tang but a small raised rib to secure the hilt-plates. One found in the Nottingham hoard²⁸ did have a pronounced leaf-shaped blade like the Greensborough one.

²² S. J. De Laet, *The Low Countries* (Ancient Peoples and Places Series, 5), 1958, p. 140 and plate 45.

²³ M. Stenberger, *Sweden* (Ancient Peoples and Places Series, 30), n.d., plate 42.

²⁴ See, L. V. Grinsell, *The Breaking of Objects as a Funerary Rite*, *Folklore*, lxxii, 1961, pp. 475-91.

²⁵ J. D. Cowen, *Two Bronze Swords from Ewart Park*, *Arch. Ael*, x, 4th Series, 1933, pp. 189-98.

²⁶ J. D. Cowen, *The Earliest Bronze Swords in Britain and their origins on the Continent of Europe*, *P.P.S.*, xvii, 1951, pp. 195-213.

²⁷ Meyrick's letter, p. 3.

²⁸ T. Close, *P.S.A.L.*, 2nd Series, i, 1859-61, pp. 332-3.

The general form of this object and the fact that it had rivet-holes in the tang suggests that it might have been something like a Ballintober/Chelsea²⁹ type of sword. These were a result of Middle Bronze Age rapiers being influenced by the first swords; the result was a weapon with a leaf-shaped blade and a rapier hilt.

No. 3 THE LONG SPEAR-HEAD

If the drawings are on the same scale then this spear-head would have been as long as the sword, probably over 2 ft. in length. Long spear-heads first appear in the Middle Bronze Age and because of their size they have been regarded as ceremonial. However, a more plausible explanation is that they were lance-heads, intended for use as a thrusting weapon instead of a throwing one. Indeed, some show no damage to the point but the sides have been chipped, which seems to have been the result of their use as a thrusting and parrying weapon. Experiments carried out by Dr. J. M. Coles³⁰ show how the bronze shields of the Late Bronze Age would not have been protection against a sword blow as the metal was too thin, and that leather shields were probably used; perhaps the lance would have been an additional defence against the sword.

During the first millennium B.C. in Greece³¹ the popular weapons were the javelin or throwing spear and the heavy, larger lance. These weapons were later adopted by the Romans and Iberians³². A number of seventh-sixth century B.C. bronze buckets from North Italy³³ depict scenes of cavalry and foot soldiers armed with both the javelin and the lance. As a number of British Late Bronze Age hoards show the same combination of the long lance-head and the short spear-head the same method of fighting might have been popular in Britain.

No. 4 THE BROKEN SPEAR-HEAD

All that remains of this spear-head is the socket and the lower portion of the wings. From the drawing it appears to have been an example of a spear-head with hollow or partially hollow blade and offset wings. Spear-heads with offset wings are typical of the Wilburton industry³⁴. This industry, named after the Wilburton hoard, Cambs.³⁵ forms the first phase of the British Late Bronze Age and dates from about 900 B.C. onwards. Similar spear-heads have been found in the Wilburton and Andover³⁶ hoards, the latter containing one with a hollow blade.

²⁹ B. A. V. Trump, *The Origin and Development of British Middle Bronze Age Rapiers*, *P.P.S.*, xxviii, 1962, p. 93.

³⁰ J. M. Coles, *European Bronze Age Shields*, *P.P.S.*, xxviii, 1962, pp. 156-90.

³¹ A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, 1964, pp. 136-9.

³² A. Arribas, *The Iberians* (Ancient Peoples and Places Series, 36), n.d., pp. 80-2.

³³ J. Kastelic, *Situla Art*, Belgrade, 1965, plate 69.

³⁴ For the Wilburton industry see:

H. N. Savory, *The Guilsfield Hoard*, *B.B.C.S.*, xxi, pt. 2, 1965, pp. 179-96;

H. N. Savory, *The Late Bronze Age in Wales, some new discoveries and interpretations*. *Arch. Camb.*, cvii, 1958, pp. 28-34.

For the French equivalent see: J. Briard, *Les Depôts Bretons et L'Age du Bronze At/antique*, Rennes, 1965, pp. 175-98.

³⁵ J. Evans, *On a Hoard of Bronze Objects found in Wilburton Fen near Ely*, *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 1884, pp. 106-14.

³⁶ W. Dale, *P.S.A.L.*, 2nd Series, xxvi, 1913-14, pp. 32-5.

Nos. 5 AND 6 FERRULES

These objects are examples of tubular ferrules or sheathings for the end of spear-shafts.

No. 6 is an example of the common tubular type with a rounded tip. It probably had two rivet-holes but these are not shown.

No. 5 is the rarer tubular type with an expanded tip; a single rivet-hole is shown on the left-hand side. Similar ferrules occur in the Marden hoard, Kent³⁷ and the Congleton hoard, Cheshire³⁸.

Ferrules are mentioned by Homer³⁹ who says that they enabled the spear to be stuck into the ground so that it was always at the ready. In Britain they are characteristic of the Wilburton Industry, especially the round-tipped variety. Pointed ferrules are known in Germany⁴⁰ in the twelfth-tenth centuries B.C. (Early and Late Hallstatt A), and a similar pointed ferrule occurs in the Ffynhonnau hoard, Brecknockshire⁴¹ with a Hallstatt A knife. It is probably from this pointed type that the British series was derived.

No. 7 SOCKETED OBJECT

This object was originally described as a ferrule and it might have been another example of the expanded-foot type, though the large socket would suggest that this original classification is incorrect. It might have been the socket from a spear-head but here again it seems too wide and does not appear to have been broken. The only object that is remotely like this one comes from the Isleham hoard, Cambs.⁴² but this too is of unknown use.

No. 8 BROKEN OBJECT

This piece was originally described as a ferrule, broken in two pieces when found. From the drawing it looks like a flattened fragment of a tubular ferrule.

No. 9 SOCKETED GOUGE

Though this piece was described as a spear-head, it may have been a socketed gouge⁴³ (as was recognized by Mr. A. J. H. Gunstone in 1964)⁴⁴. Socketed gouges were quite common in the Late Bronze Age and are typical of the later phases, appearing first, in Britain, during the ninth-eighth centuries B.C. The Late Bronze Age sees a great increase in the number of gouges, chisels and axes which would indicate a flourishing woodworking industry.

Nos. 10 AND 11 'NON DESCRIPTS'

Meyrick described them as the 'greatest curiosities in this collection'; this still remains true today. He wrote: 'I presume that they were each furnished with flat pieces on their tops as the edges of them are so bent over as to have held something or other. If such a flat piece were perforated the butt end of a lance might have passed through and fitted into the socket

³⁷ Rev. Beale Post, *Romano-British Antiquities in Bronze found in the Parish of Marden, Kent, J.B.A.A.*, xiv, 1858, pp. 257-62.

³⁸ J. W. Jackson, *Ant. J.*, vii, 1927, pp. 62-1

³⁹ Homer, *Iliad*, x, p. 153.

⁴⁰ J. J. Butler, *Bronze Age Connections Across the North Sea, Palaeohistoria*, ix, Groningen, 1963, p. 133.

⁴¹ H. N. Savory, 1958, *op. cit.*, fig. 3.

⁴² D. Britton, *The Isleham Hoard, Cambs., Ant.*, xxiv, 1960, pp. 193-233.

⁴³ G. Eogan, *Some Notes on the Origin and Diffusion of the Bronze Socketed Gouge, U.J.A.*, xxix, 1966, pp. 97-102.

⁴⁴ A. J. H. Gunstone, *An Archaeological Gazetteer of Staffordshire, N.S.J.F.S.*, iv, 1964, p. 34.

below' From this account, which is not at all clear, it is impossible to say exactly what they were used for. A piece of lead found in one of them does not really prove that they were the 'sounding cylinders' of Dio Cassius⁴⁵. It seems that Dio Cassius was describing the type used by the Caledonians in the time of Severus (third century A.D.). These were globular and more likely to have been described as apples like the one from Inverury, Aberdeenshire⁴⁶.

In a recent letter to the authors Prof. Christopher Hawkes indicated that he felt sure that the objects Nos. 10 and 11 must have been cast bronze hub-caps and kindly supplied the following information.

The basic Continental type of hub-cap consisted of a short cylinder, cast with the outer end closed, the body pierced with two oblong holes to take the linch-pin, and inner end opening through a broad flat rim, to fit against the wooden hub itself. (For a good illustration of the type; Hermann Muller-Karpe, *Das urnenfelderzeitliche Wagengrab von Hart, Oberbayern, Sonderdruck aus den Bayerischen Vorgeschichtsbldttern*, xxi, 1955, *Abb.* 6, No. 3.) Though such hub-caps begin c. 1100 B.C. in Europe, they do last until c. 500 B.C. Wagonry must have come into the British Isles during the eleventh century B.C. (evidence from the Wilburton hoard) and then developed along insular lines, the Greensborough pieces being examples of such rare objects.

No. 12. RING WITH TWO LOOPS

The artist appears to have drawn the underside of a ring of semi-circular cross section, indicating the two loops for attachment by very faint lines. Rings with loops or slots to take straps are well known from the Late Bronze Age and were probably used as part of a horse's or warrior's accoutrement. Similar rings to the Greensborough one have been found in the Edinburgh⁴⁷, Wilburton and Isleham hoards.

Nos. 13 AND 14 PLAIN RINGS

Plain rings of varying diameter have been found in a number of Late Bronze Age hoards in the British Isles; notable are the ones from the Horsehope hoard, Peebleshire⁴⁸ and the Parc-y-Meirch hoard, Denbighshire⁴⁹. They are often associated with other objects of horse-gear and probably formed part of the trappings.

Nos. 15 AND 16 BAG-SHAPED CHAPES

Hamper described these objects as sword pommels. If he was correct they would have been similar to the pommel found in the Tarves hoard, Aberdeenshire⁵⁰. However they are more likely to have been examples of bag - or purse-shaped chapes which encased the tip of a leather or wooden scabbard. There are a number of such chapes from hoards characteristic of the later phases of the Late Bronze Age. Though the basic form is the same they do differ in detail and those most comparable with the Greensborough ones come from the Eaton hoard, Norfolk⁵¹ and the Grays Thurrock hoard, Essex⁵². They are characteristic of the Carps

⁴⁵ See note 8.

⁴⁶ British Museum, *Iron Age Guide*, 1925, fig. 190.

⁴⁷ Evans, *A.B.I.*, fig. 500.

⁴⁸ S. Piggott, A Late Bronze Age Hoard from Peebleshire, *P.S.A.S.*, lxxxvii, 1952-3, pp. 175-86.

⁴⁹ T. Sheppard, The Parc-y-Meirch Hoard, Saint George Parish, Denbighshire, *Arch. Camb.*, xcvi, 1941, pp. 1-10.

⁵⁰ British Museum, *Bronze Age Guide*, 1920, fig. 105.

⁵¹ City of Norwich Museums, *Bronze Age Metalwork in Norwich Castle Museum*, Norwich, 1966, fig. 79.

⁵² In the Colchester Museum.

Tongue sword⁵³ industry. This industry, named after its distinctive sword-type, originated in north-west France and arrived in England during the eighth-seventh centuries B.C.

No. 17 SOCKETED AXE DECORATED WITH THREE RIBS

The socketed axe appears to have been perfect except for slight damage to the edge of the blade. Slight vertical lines on the drawing indicate that it was decorated with three raised ribs. Though the socketed axe is the commonest of all Late Bronze Age objects as yet no exhaustive study has been made of them. However an Irish⁵⁴, Scottish⁵⁵, Yorkshire⁵⁸ and Welsh⁵⁷ type of three-ribbed socketed axe has been defined but it is impossible to relate the Greensborough axe to any of these classes.

No. 18 PLAIN SOCKETED AXE

Owing to the lack of detail this socketed axe cannot be placed in any one class. But a number of classes of plain socketed axes have been recognized including an Irish⁵⁸, south-eastern⁵⁹, and faceted type⁶⁰.

Nos. 19 AND 20 PALSTAVES, LOOPED⁶¹

Palstaves were the characteristic tool of the Middle Bronze Age (the earliest forms having no side-loops), but they did persist into the Late Bronze Age. Again the poor quality of the drawings prevents a detailed classification although it is clear that the two objects are not of the same class.

No. 21 LEAD FRAGMENT

Metal analysis⁶² of Middle Bronze Age objects shows that they hardly ever contain more than 1 % lead and very commonly much less, whereas Late Bronze Age objects, at least in southern and eastern England, contain more than 1 % lead. The lead was probably added intentionally, either to make casting easier or to economize on copper. One would expect the large 'founders' hoards of the period to contain ingots of lead as well as of tin and copper, but lead has been found in only one other hoard, that from Mildenhall, Suffolk⁶³ though the Auchtertyre hoard, Morayshire⁶⁴ contained a fragment of a ring with the composition 78.66%

⁶¹ For the Carps Tongue sword industry see: E. Evans, *The Sword Bearers*, *Ant.*, iv, 1930, pp. 157-72.

H. N. Savory, *The Sword Bearers*, a re-interpretation, *P.P.S.*, xiv, 1948, pp. 155-76.

J. Briard, *Les Depôts Bretons et l'Age du Bronze Atlantique*, Rennes, 1965, pp. 199-239.

⁵³ H. W. M. Hodges, *Studies in the Late Bronze Age in Ireland*, *U.J.A.*, xix, 1956, p. 31. In particular see fig. 6 which shows a distribution of Irish, Scottish and Yorkshire three-ribbed axes.

⁵⁴ W. Henderson, *Scottish Late Bronze Age Axes and Swords*, *P.S.A.S.*, lxxii, 1937-8, pp. 150-77.

⁵⁵ C. Fox, *The Personality of Britain*, 4th edn., Cardiff, 1943, pp. 71, 93, fig. 40, No. 7.

⁵⁸ C. Fox, *A Second Cauldron and an Iron Sword from the Llyn Fawr Hoard*, *Ant. J.*, xix, 1939, p. 390 and plate lxxx, 2.

⁵⁷ Hodges, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

⁵⁸ J. J. Butler, *Bronze Age Connexions across the North Sea*, *Palaeohistoria*, ix, Groningen, 1963, pp. 82-6.

⁵⁹ Hodges, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶⁰ The best account of palstaves is still *A.B.I.*, pp. 78-106.

⁶² M. A. Smith and A. E. Blin-Stoyle, *A Sample Analysis of British Middle and Late Bronze Age materials using Optical Spectrometry*, *P.P.S.*, xxv, 1959, pp. 188-208. For lead, see especially pp. 193, 200. Colin Burgess's work on the Late Bronze Age in Northern Britain (given in a lecture to the Prehistoric Society, December, 1966) shows that lead was not intentionally added to the bronze objects until the final phase of the Late Bronze Age in that region, whereas it was added right from the start in southern England.

⁶³ Council for British Archaeology Bronze Age card catalogue, in the British Museum.

⁶⁴ J. M. Coles, *Scottish Late Bronze Age Metalwork*, *P.S.A.S.*, xciii, 1959-60, p. 121.

tin and 21.34% lead. Ingots of tin are also very rare in Late Bronze Age hoards. The question of why the hoards do not contain any fragments of lead or tin is an unsolved problem.

No. 22 COPPER INGOT

Lumps of copper are characteristic of the hoards of the later phases of the Late Bronze Age and analysis of these pieces has shown them to be of pure copper⁶⁵.

CONCLUSION

The finds made at Greensborough Farm in 1824 are the most important Late Bronze Age discovery known from Staffordshire. It is impossible to say with certainty whether or not there was a grave accompanied by the bronze objects, but if this were so, it would be of great importance because of the scarcity of such finds in Britain.

If not a burial accompanied by grave goods, the hoard itself is noteworthy owing to the rarity of Late Bronze Age finds from that area of Britain. Though the drawings lack detail a full description has been attempted. The recognizable objects in the hoard can be assigned to a number of British Late Bronze Age traditions; the ferrules and the spear-head with offset wings belong to the Wilburton industry whose main area of distribution lies in south-east England, the bag-shaped chapes belong to the Carps Tongue complex, while the sword, palstaves, socketed axes and socketed gouge belong to a native industry. Objects, Nos. 10 and 11 seem to be quite unique in Britain, no exact parallels having been found as yet. One has to date the objects by their most recent components; these are the Carps Tongue bag-shaped chapes, which would give a date within the seventh-sixth centuries B.C. for this interesting collection of objects.

The only other definite Late Bronze Age hoard known from Staffordshire was found at Armitage (*alias* Hermitage) on the Trent in April 1782. It consisted of two bronze spear-heads and two socketed axes, described as 'Roman weapons of brass' by Richard Greene, whose letter, dated Lichfield 15 May 1782, was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, lii, 1782, pp. 281, 559, with an illustration facing p. 368, which shows a broken spear-head (length 6J in. but with the point and end of the socket missing) and a three-ribbed socketed axe (length 4 in.), comparable with Greensborough Farm Nos. 3 and 17. Greene's letter and the illustration are reproduced in Shaw's *Staffs.*, i, 1798, pi. A, Nos. 11, 12, and p. *208. The implements, which were then in Greene's Museum at Lichfield are now missing. They are included in Gunstone's gazetteer, *N.S.J.F.S.*, iv, 1964, p. 14, but no reference is made to the illustrations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My grateful thanks are due to Dr. J. M. Coles and Mr. Dennis Britton for their many helpful suggestions regarding the text of this paper, to Prof. Christopher Hawkes for his help with objects Nos. 10 and 11 and to Miss L. F. Chitty for allowing me to write this paper with her.

August, 1967.

D. COOMBS

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⁶⁵ R. F. Tylecote, *Metallurgy in Archaeology*, 1962, Table 8.

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- 1964 A. J. H. Gunstone, *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, iv, p. 34, in 'An Archaeological Gazetteer of Staffordshire, Part I, Chance Finds & Sites.' This was published before the Blakeway letter had been recognized as in the actual handwriting of (Sir) Samuel Rush Meyrick: see above, p. 2. Mr. C. B. Burgess points out that the leaf-shaped sword from the hoard must have been of the Ewart Park type and *not* of the Ballintober category, as identified in Mr. Gunstone's list.



Plate I—Aerial view of Tamworth, 1967, showing excavations

FIRST REPORT OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT TAMWORTH, STAFFS., 1967—THE SAXON DEFENCES

J. GOULD, F.S.A.

FOLLOWING DEMOLITIONS, the Brewery Lane area of Tamworth (Nat. Grid SK 205040) was to be redeveloped with blocks of flats and garages. The site lay across the probable line of the western defences of the medieval town and possibly of the Saxon burh. Consequently in July 1967 a three-week excavation was launched by the Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society with the backing of the Ministry of Public Building and Works. The contractors were due to move on to the site on 1st August.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Tamworth Borough Council who readily made the site available; Council officials, the contractors (Messrs. W. Kendrick & Sons Ltd., Walsall) and the architect (Mr. A. J. Homer of Messrs. Mason, Richards and Partners) were very helpful throughout. The United Kingdom Carnegie Fund made a generous grant through the Council for British Archaeology to assist in the purchase of a shed and other necessary equipment. Some tools were given by Messrs. Edward Elwell Ltd. of Wednesbury and a similar gift was made by Messrs. Brades, Skelton and Tyzack of Oldbury, Birmingham. Messrs. W. Kendrick & Sons Ltd. gave the use of a mechanical digger. The Ministry of Public Building and Works contributed to the cost of excavation and the publication of this report. The Tamworth Arts Council also assisted by a grant towards the cost of publication.

Many people helped on the site including the senior girls of Perrycroft School, Tamworth and girls from the School of St. Mary and St. Anne, Abbots Bromley. Other volunteers included Mrs. Bascomb, Mrs. D. Gould, Miss H. Jones, Miss J. Lawrence, Mrs. J. Meeson, Miss C. J. Tarjan, Messrs. A. Bratt, J. Brangan, W. J. Fowler, F. H. Lyon, A. A. Round and R. Meeson. The latter proved a valuable deputy. Mr. J. G. Hurst visited the site and made helpful comments, Dr. Graham Webster gave his usual advice and encouragement and special mention must be made of Dr. Raleigh Radford who was very helpful indeed, not only when visiting the site but also in offering suggestions and comments from his wide experience of Saxon archaeology. Mr. I. Crowhurst was helpful in various ways including photography; Dr. J. G. L. Cole examined and commented on the bones whilst Mr. R. Thomson assisted with the pottery.

THE SITE (fig. 1)

The subsoil is of Keuper marl with some sandstone and patches of sand and gravel. A succession of comparatively modern buildings had occupied the site, though with two exceptions, these had been demolished and the surface covered with red ash to allow the site to be used as a temporary car-park. Below the red ash were many brick foundations, several concrete floors including one over 6 in. thick, and some modern sewers. It was known that there were some cellars, but fortunately the excavations were able to miss these.

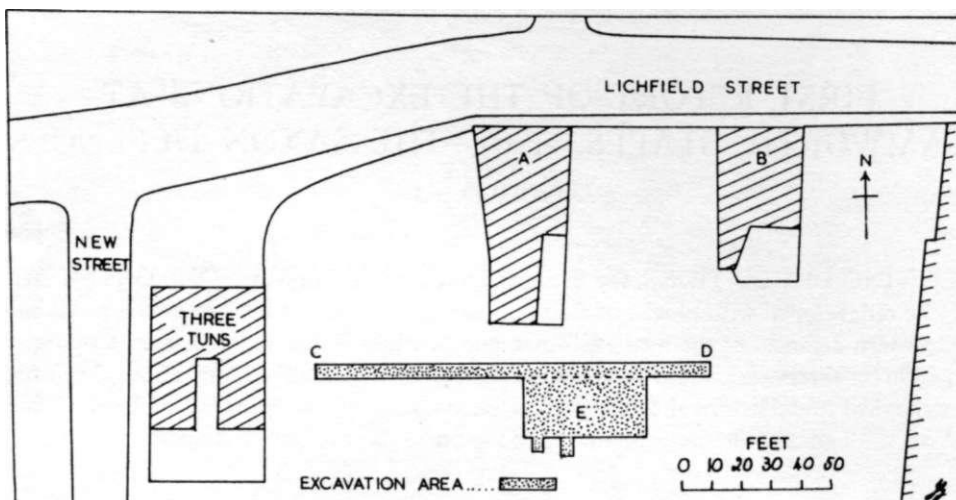


Fig. 1 Plan of the excavation site

In these conditions and with the limited time available, there was no alternative but to open the site mechanically. A trench 5 ft. wide, 4 ft. deep and 132 ft. long was cut across the site from west to east. This located the Saxon and medieval ditches, which were later emptied by hand, and enabled the position of the rampart to be established. An area 20 ft. by 41 ft. adjacent to the trench was then opened to examine this. It was intended to clear only the top two feet mechanically but modern foundations were such that this could not be adhered to, and four feet had to be taken off in the south-west corner.

PRE-RAMPART FEATURES

Below the base of the rampart and sealed by it, was a small ditch (fig. 2, X). The line of this ditch appeared to coincide with the line of the rampart above. The ditch was 4 ft. deep and 6 ft. wide. In the bottom was a little, clean, loose, wet sand in which appeared to be the impression of upright posts, but the soft wet nature of the sand made it difficult to define these. Below the sand were a few ox bones. The ditch was possibly an early palisade trench though in that case the presence of ox bones is hard to understand. Also under the rampart was a wide slot and post-hole (fig. 2, Y). The course of these pre-rampart features could not be traced in the time available, but they are most interesting, especially as Tamworth was from an early period one of the chief residences of the Mercian Royal House.

THE SAXON DEFENCES (figs. 2 and 3)

The Saxon ditch had been refilled before the medieval one was cut. It had been 6 ft. deep and about 12 ft. wide at the top. A berm some 20 ft. wide separated the inner lip from the timbered front of the associated rampart. The filling of the ditch yielded no small finds but contained a quantity of sandstone. The rampart had been of turf and only the bottom foot

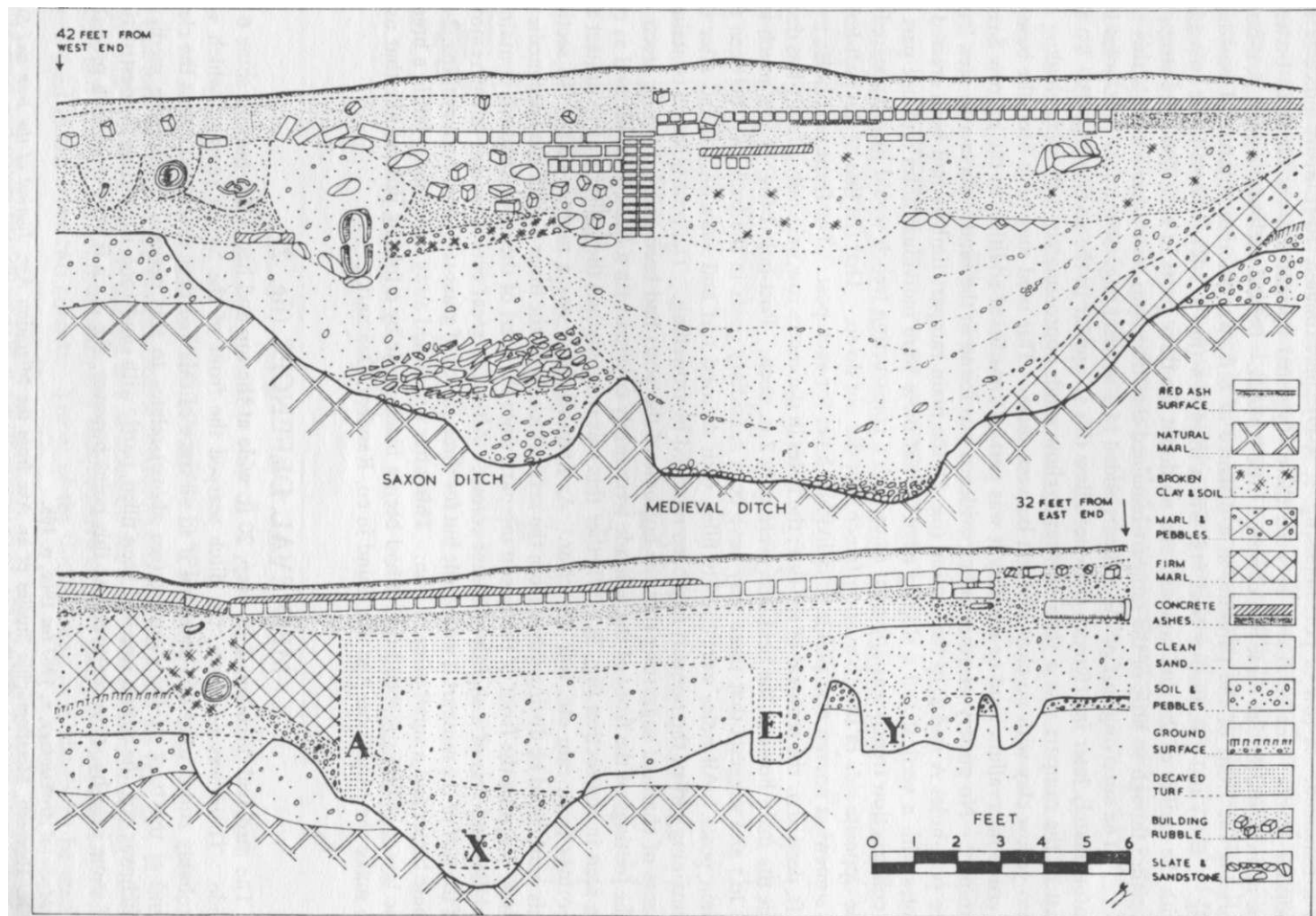


Fig. 2 Part of section C-D

of it remained. A row of post-holes (fig. 3, A-D) approximately 10 ft. apart indicated the palisade front. Uneven marks between these suggested upright timbers filling in between the main posts, though these marks were a little tenuous. Behind each of the main post-holes forming the front of the palisade, at a distance of 8 ft. was another substantial post-hole (fig. 3, E-H) and 8 ft. further back still was a third row (fig. 3, I-K). These latter coincided with the ending of the turf rampart, and no doubt the three posts in each line were strapped together though so little of the rampart remained that there was no evidence of how this was done. The surviving turf of the rampart ended in a vertical edge at the rear post-holes but unfortunately later interference does not allow this to appear in the section (fig. 2). To the east of the rampart was a strip of clean, yellow sand, approximately 3 ft. wide shading off into yellow clay with no clear division between them. This sand may have been the base of a crude intervallum road or possibly it was part of a medieval addition to the narrow Saxon rampart. No pottery or other dating evidence was found in the sand. As can be seen from the post-holes A and E in the section (fig. 2), the main rampart timbers had been erected in holes with a vertical and a sloping edge. That these were individual holes and not part of a construction trench was apparent since such a construction trench would have appeared in the opposite side of the excavation trench, but did not do so. That the line of the post-holes is somewhat uneven also points to individual holes for each post. The front post-holes were 3 ft. deep after the removal of the turf; the holes in the centre row were only slightly less deep, but the main holes in the back row were only 2 ft. deep. Post-hole I (fig. 3) was much less (9 in.) and suggests that there may have been subsidiary posts in the back row between the main posts. All holes were loosely filled with decayed turf and were only found after the remaining turf of the rampart had been removed by trowelling. The post-holes all contained traces of charcoal suggesting that the bottoms of the posts had been charred before erection. The footings of the front of the palisade were firmly covered with a thick layer of marl as can be seen in the section (fig. 2). Whether this was to strengthen the palisade or to protect the footings from rain etc. was not clear. At Lydford there was a mortar slick¹. In section this marl could be distinguished from the marl which faced the inner side of the later medieval ditch, scarping the front of the Saxon rampart, since the marl of the medieval ditch contained pebbles and was of a slightly different colour. Although great care was used in the removal of the turf of the rampart it was sterile but for three sherds of grass-tempered pottery (Nos. 2-4), some bones and a small piece of iron. This latter was rusted away completely, but in a break, the layers of rust suggested that it had been a blade made by a folding process like that used to make the Migration Age axe found in co. Randers, Denmark².

MEDIEVAL DEFENCES (fig. 2)

The medieval ditch was 8 ft. deep, 20 ft. wide at the top and had a flat bottom some 6 ft. wide. There was no berm, the ditch scarped the front of the Saxon rampart which was probably added to at this time, but if so all trace of this had been destroyed unless the clean sand at the back of the rampart (see above) relates to this period. Before the medieval ditch was cut, the Saxon one had been filled, partly with sandstone, suggesting the destruction of some near-by stone feature. At this point however, the ditch is very close to a probable

¹ *Medieval Archaeology*, x, 1967 for 1966, p. 168.

² R. Thomsen, *Metallographic Studies of an Axe from the Migration Age*, *Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute*, cciv, 1966, pp. 905 ff.

gateway to the town, with a road leading from Hopwas, which is about one mile distant and where there were sandstone quarries in the Middle Ages. The many small sherds of medieval pottery in the filling of the medieval ditch, range from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, but those at the bottom of the ditch belong to the former rather than the latter date. It is suggested that the ditch was cut in the twelfth century and had silted up by the end of the fourteenth century.

Elsewhere medieval walls were sometimes added to the earth defences and these often sat on top of the earlier bank¹. If this was so at Tamworth, all traces were removed when the top of the rampart was destroyed.

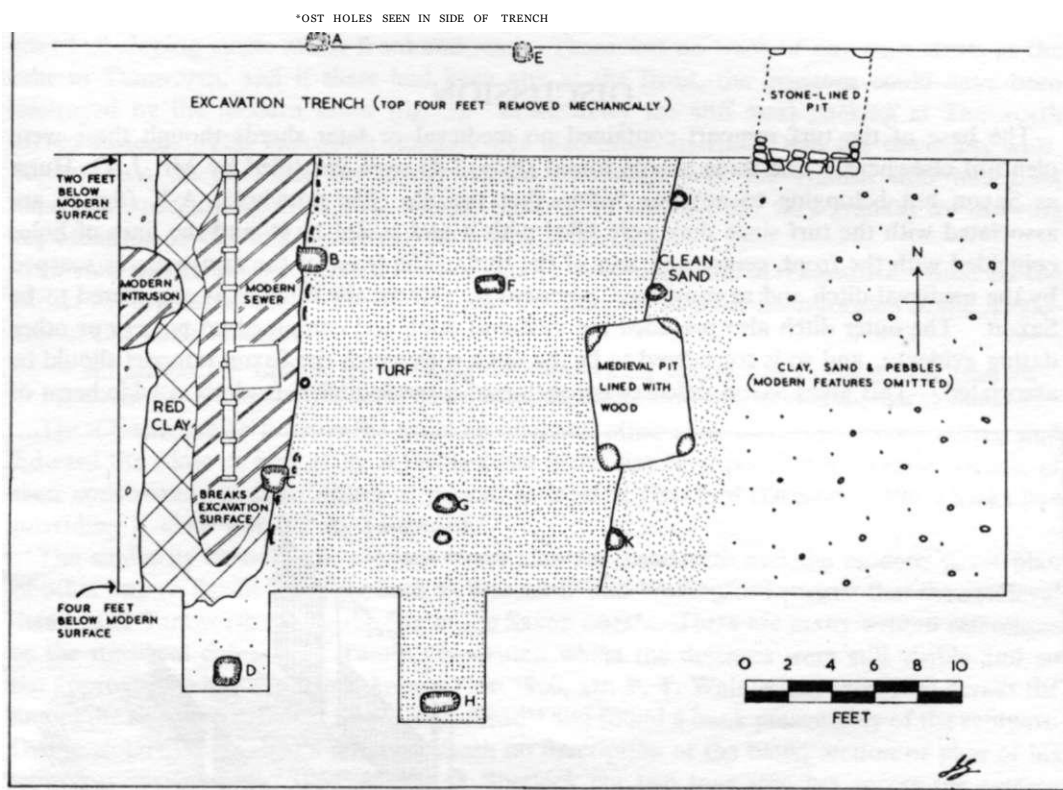


Fig. 3 Plan of Area E

THE TIMBER-LINED PIT (fig. 3)

Cut into the rear of the rampart was a sub-rectangular timber-lined pit (fig. 3). This was 4 ft. wide, 6 ft. long and the bottom was 26 in. below the bottom of the turf rampart. Round posts had stood in the south-western and south-eastern corners but split posts had apparently been used in the other two corners. Traces of the timber-lining were clearly to be seen in

¹ *Medieval Archaeology*, iii, 1960 for 1959, p. 126 (Wareham) and x, 1967 for 1966, p. 169 (Lydford).

the subsequent filling on the south, west and north sides but not on the east. There were also traces of a timber bottom. The original purpose of the pit is not clear, but when found it contained rubbish, medieval sherds (Nos. 30-5), bones, charcoal, organic black smudges, much loose leached sand and some clay.

THE STONE-LINED PIT (fig. 3)

The excavation trench cut through a stone-lined rubbish pit east of the rampart, one wall of it appears on the plan (fig. 3). It appears to have been used in the fifteenth century since a handle of that date in Midland purple ware (No. 36) was in the bottom. Higher up were a number of body sherds in the same ware.

DISCUSSION

The base of the turf rampart contained no medieval or later sherds though these were plentiful elsewhere. The three sherds found (Nos. 2-4) were identified by Mr. J. G. Hurst as Saxon but belonging to anytime within that period. The post-holes A-K (fig. 3) are associated with the turf since they were filled with it and sealed by it, and the lines of holes coincided with the front, centre and rear of the turf. The front of the rampart was scarped by the medieval ditch and so must have preceded it. Hence the rampart is considered to be Saxon. The outer ditch also preceded the medieval ditch and contained no pottery or other dating evidence, and so is considered to be the ditch with which the Saxon rampart should be associated. This gives Saxon defences consisting of a small ditch 6 ft. deep, a wide berm of

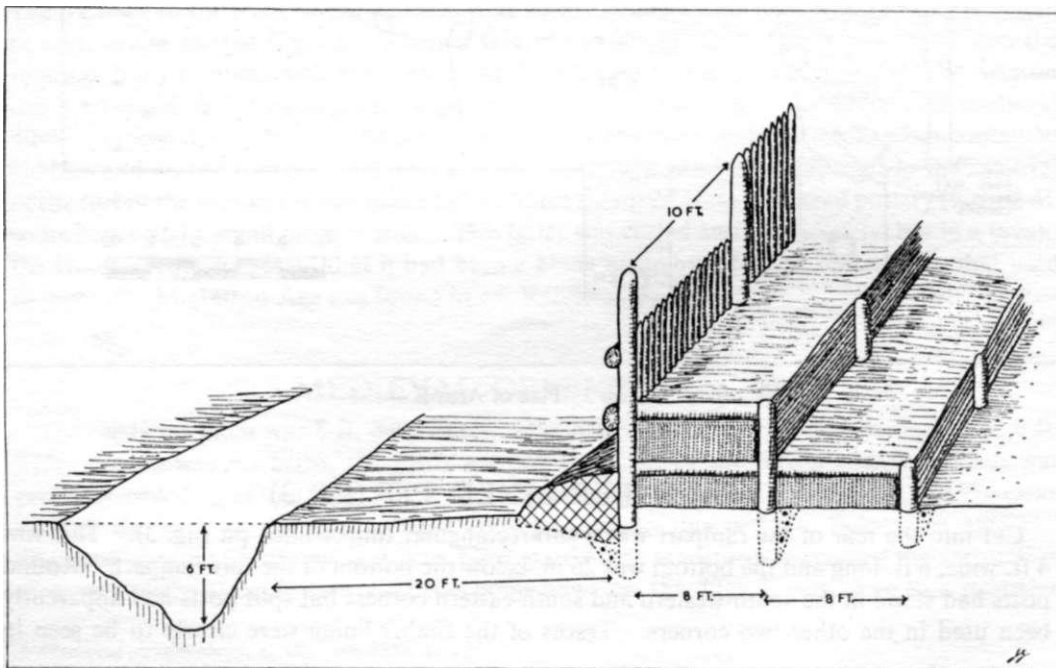


Fig. 4 Imaginative reconstruction of Saxon defences

20 ft. to the front of the palisaded rampart which was made of turf with timber strapping and was some 16 ft. wide. One possible arrangement of this appears in fig. 4 but other arrangements slightly different are possible. The wide berm is puzzling though it occurs elsewhere at this period. The literature of the time shows a predilection for the spear for both stabbing and throwing, with the sword for close work⁴. Because of the spear, it may have been desirable to keep the enemy at a distance, and hence the wide berm.

The defences are similar in construction with those of the Viking sites in Denmark at Trelleborg, Aggersborg, Nonnebaken and especially Fyrkat which were excavated by the late C. G. Schultz and dated by typology to the late tenth or early eleventh century⁵. The ramparts all have internal wooden strapping though that at Trelleborg was stone faced. At Aggersborg, the timbers facing the rampart were horizontal but at Fyrkat they were vertical as is suggested for Tamworth. The main post at the front of the ramparts of these two sites had sloping struts at the front and rear. There was no trace of any such struts at the rear in Tamworth, and if there had been any at the front, the evidence could have been destroyed by the modern sewer (fig. 3). More likely the stiff marl packing at Tamworth served instead. The Tamworth rampart was also much narrower and the ditch less wide. Nevertheless the defences are clearly related. Parallels with the Danish sites had been expected especially by Dr. C. A. Raleigh Radford to whom I am very grateful for drawing my attention to this and discussing the problem with me.

In view of the dates suggested for the Danish defences, those at Tamworth would be the earlier for it is under the year A.D. 913 that the Mercian Register incorporated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records:

yEthelflaed, the 'Lady of the Mercians' went with all the Mercians to Tamworth and built the borough there in the early summer and afterwards, before Lammass [1st August] that at Stafford⁶

The *Chronicle* also records the building of many other such defences by both Alfred and Edward the Elder as well as by jEthelflaid but it has not been possible to examine details of their construction in full. Work at present in hand at Hereford (December 1967) looks like providing a close parallel to Tamworth⁷.

The similarity between the modern street plan for Tamworth and the modern street plan of other known Saxon boroughs such as Wareham⁸ and Wallingford suggest that the medieval defences at Tamworth follow the line of the Saxon ones⁹. There are many written references to the medieval defences of Tamworth written whilst the defences were still visible and so the approximate line of them is known. In 1960, Dr. F. T. Wainwright excavated across the line of the northern defences near Albert Road¹⁰ and found a bank presumably of the rampart. Owing to Dr. Wainwright's untimely death no description of the bank, section or plan of his work has survived. In 1964, Mr. R. J. Sherlock cut two long trenches across the eastern defences near Marmion Street and found a truncated bank 20 ft. broad but with no dating

⁴ Saga of Egil Skalla-Grimson, *English Historical Documents (E.H.D.)*, i, 1955, ed. D. Whitelock, pp. 302 ff: Battle of Morden, *ibid.*, pp. 293, etc.

⁵ The most easily available account of Fyrkat is the booklet published in English by the National Museum of Denmark *Fyrkat, the Viking Camp near Hobro* by Olaf Olsen, 1959. This contains a reconstruction of the Aggersborg rampart. The National Museum have also published in English *Trelleborg* by Poul Norland, 1956.

• *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock, 1961, p. 62.

⁷ I am grateful to the excavators, Messrs. F. Noble and P. Shoesmith for this verbal information.

⁸ *Medieval Archaeology*, iii, 1960 for 1959, p. 121.

• F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn., 1947, p. 331.

¹⁰ *West Midlands Archaeological News Sheet*, No. 3, 1960, p. 8.

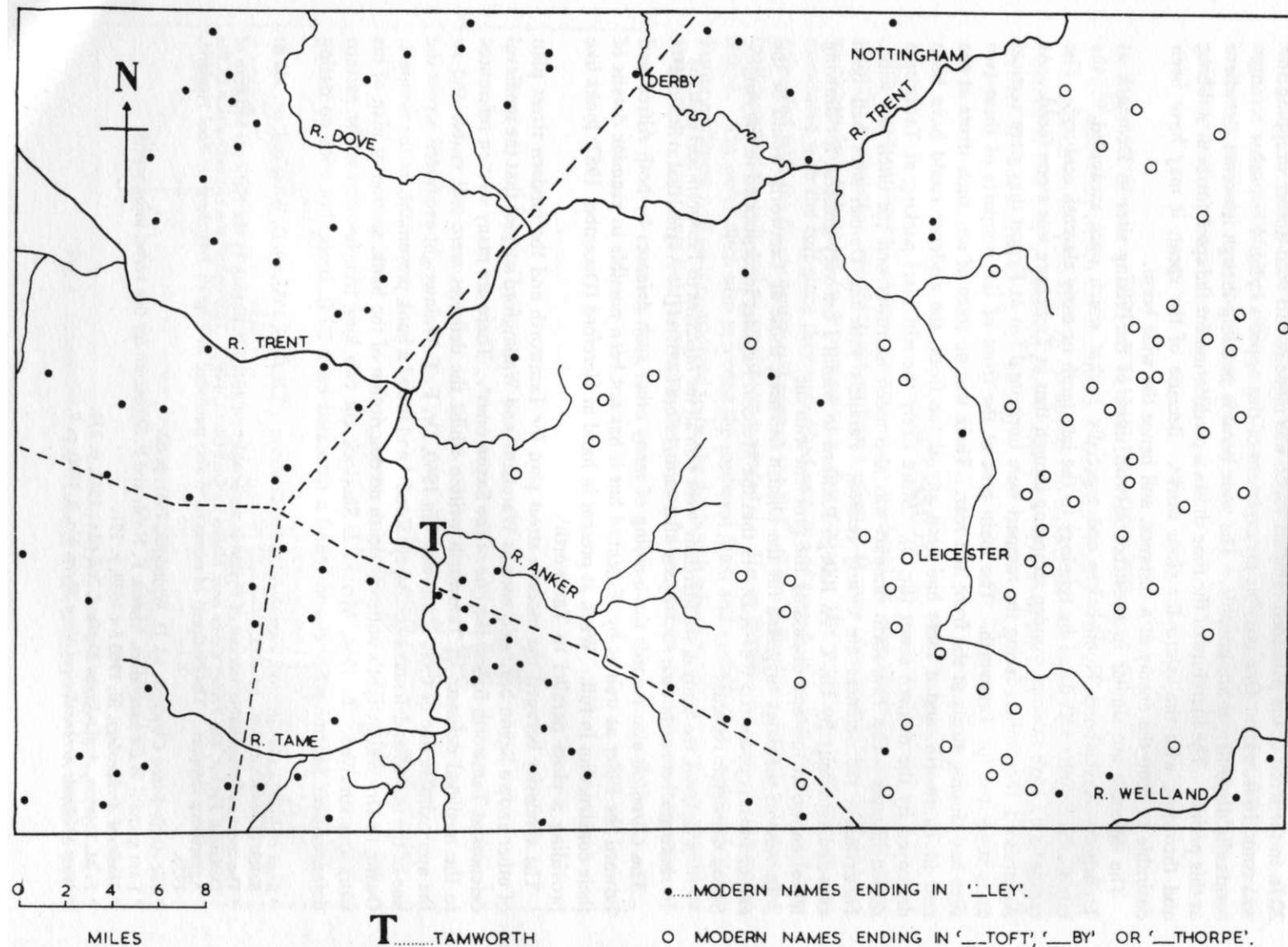


Fig. 5 Position of Tamworth in relation to the Danish settlements

evidence¹¹. Neither excavation appears to have located either of the defensive ditches which in each case may well have been below the modern road. Nevertheless the banks found do appear to confirm the traditional line of the defences. This means that the total length of the defences on the east, north and west sides totalled approximately 1,600 yards. Following parallels elsewhere, the southern side would have relied on the river for protection. The huge quantity of wood needed to build this length of such a rampart as that depicted in fig. 4 would come from the surrounding countryside for what later became known as the Forest of Arden stretched southwards from Tamworth to the Feldon district of Warwickshire whilst 230 square miles of land immediately west of Tamworth became in Norman times the Royal Forest of Cannock. The cutting of this necessary timber would ensure clear land in front of the defences. To build such defences in a few weeks as jEthelfred apparently did was no mean feat, and it is no wonder she brought outside help with her. If the figures given in the Burghal Hidage (Wessex) applied equally in Mercia, then at four men to every perch, 1,164 men were needed to man and keep Tamworth defences in repair. This makes Tamworth roughly the same size as Worcester where 1,200 men were needed and half the size of Warwick which needed double that number of men¹². The men were drawn from the surrounding countryside, each village supplying one man for every hide of land. Under the laws of Athelstan¹³, the defences of the burh had to be refurbished annually during the fortnight following the days of Rogation. The laws of Cnut laid down the fine for failure to do this¹⁴. The burh served the district as a rallying point and refuge¹⁵ and the district had to man and maintain it.

Modern place-names show the importance of the site of the burh at Tamworth in relation to the Danish settlements. This is brought out in fig. 5 where it can be seen that the Danish settlements come right up to Tamworth and stop there. It must also be noticed however that modern names ending in '-ley', which indicate forest clearances also limit the Danish settlements and it was probably the forest rather than the burh which halted these settlements¹⁶. That the burh was not invincible is apparent from the *Chronicle* which records that in A.D. 943, Olaf Sihtricsson:

. . . took Tamworth by storm, and the losses were heavy on both sides, and the Danes were victorious and took away much booty with them. Wulfrun was taken captive in that raid¹⁷.

No trace of this destruction was found during the present excavations.

¹¹ *West Midlands Archaeological News Sheet*, No. 7, 1964, p. 10.

¹² *Cartularium Saxonicum*, W. de G. Birch, iii, 1885, p. 671. The most accessible account in modern English is in *Domesday Book and Beyond* by F. W. Maitland, Fontana Library edn., 1960, p. 557, but the best edn. is by A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 1939, Appendix II, No. 1.

¹³ II Athelstan, 13, *E.H.D.*, i, 1955, p. 384. See also, V Ethelred, 26. I, *E.H.D.*, i, 1955, p. 408.

¹⁴ II Cnut 65, *E.H.D.*, i, 1955, p. 428.

¹⁵ See grant by Cenwulf and Cuthred to the Abbess of Lyminge of a small piece of land in the city of Canterbury as a refuge, *E.H.D.*, i, 1955, pp. 474 f.

¹⁶ See, A. Mawer (ed.), *Chief Elements used in English place-names*, English Place-Name Society, i, pt. ii, 1924, under 'leah', p. 45.

¹⁷ This event more likely took place in A.D. 940 though Simeon of Durham puts it in A.D. 939. See *E.H.D.*, i, 1955, p. 202, note 4 and p. 253, note 2.

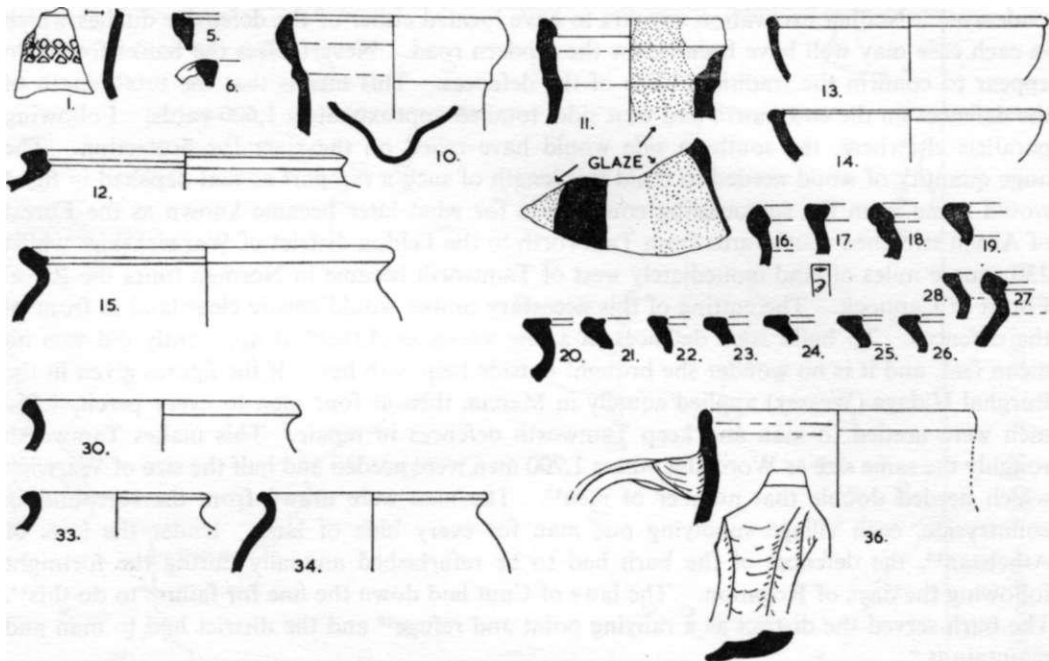


Fig. 6 The Pottery

THE POTTERY (fig. 6)

Unstratified

1. A body sherd from a late Saxon jar with an uneven stamped lattice decoration. It is similar to Saxon sherds from Chester. The outer surface is a matt black, the inner is brownish-orange. The fabric, save for the outer surface, is oxidized and contains many tiny grains of white quartz. Fragments of this ware have also been found this year (1967) below the rampart of the town defences at Hereford, and I am indebted to Mr. Noble for drawing my attention to this and allowing me to compare the sherds.

From the base of the Saxon rampart

2. A coarse body sherd of hard, hand-made, grass-tempered Saxon pottery 0.37 in. thick. The fabric and inner surface is black but the outer is oxidized to a pinkish-brown with spots of deep red which are only visible under a magnifying glass.
3. Similar to No. 2 but outer surface is black and it is only 0.3 in. thick.
4. Similar to No. 3 but only 0.13 in. thick.

From the main filling of the medieval ditch

Here were many small fragments from the body and bottom of cooking-pots with sagging bases. They, like many of the following sherds contained much grit in the form of small rounded particles of quartz. To save repetition such sherds below are marked *G*.

5. Small fragment of a wheel-turned rim in Stamford ware. The fragment is too small to determine the diameter of the vessel.

6. Small fragment from the rim of a spouted pitcher in Stamford ware. The fabric has a pinkish tinge and a small part of the handle comes direct from the top of the rim. There are two splashes of yellow glaze.
7. Body sherd of Stamford ware, pink fabric, cream inner surface, exterior is yellow glazed.
8. Body sherd of burnt Stamford ware, pinkish fabric, black exterior.
9. *G.* Small fragment, pink fabric, black exterior, inner surface partly covered with a good quality yellow glaze. Not Stamford ware.
10. *G.* Pinched-out jug with wide top. Fabric has a black core but lighter surfaces. Exterior is apricot-coloured with some good quality green glaze.
11. *G.* Part of the rim and a fragment (not joining) of the body of a jug in white fabric with broad vertical stripes of orange-brown and wider vertical stripes of good quality green glaze partly over the brown stripes.
12. *G.* Flat rim with black matt surface and fabric.
13. *G.* Bowl in black fabric with black exterior but brown within.
14. *G.* Flat-rimmed bowl in black fabric and with black surfaces.
15. *G.* Rim in hard white paste; the texture at the break shows that the rim was formed by folding the top of the rim inside before everting it.
16. *G.* Rim in black fabric but with pinkish-brown oxidized surface.
17. *G.* Flat-topped rim lightly decorated on top with thumb impressions; black fabric and surfaces.
18. *G.* Rim in black fabric with black surfaces. A magnifying glass reveals many tiny white speckles in the fabric as well as the grit.
19. *G.* Flat-topped rim with black fabric and surfaces.
20. *G.* Rim with black core and pinkish-brown surfaces.
21. *G.* Rim in similar fabric to No. 20.
22. *G.* Similar to No. 20 but with black surfaces.
23. & 24. *G.* Black fabric with pinkish-brown oxidized surfaces.

From the bottom of the medieval ditch

25. *G.* Flat-topped rim in black fabric with black inner surface but exterior and top of rim oxidized light-brown.
26. *G.* Similar rim and fabric to No. 25.
27. *G.* Similar rim with black fabric but dull-grey inner surface and pink outer surface.
28. *G.* Similar fabric to No. 27 but both surfaces pink.
29. Body sherd in Stamford ware, dull cream fabric with yellow glaze on exterior.

From the timber-lined pit

30. *G.* Hard rim in buff fabric with apricot-coloured surfaces. Patch of yellowish-green glaze on rim and one spot of purple glaze.
31. *G.* Part of a sagging base, fabric and surfaces off-white, very hard almost stoneware.
32. Part of a coarse sagging base in shelly ware, black fabric and exterior but red inner surface.
33. *G.* Rim with light greenish-yellow glaze, cream fabric, slightly reduced on outside, hard.
34. *G.* Light-grey rim with dark-grey outer surface, very hard.

35. *G.* Part of the side and bottom of a large cooking-pot with a sagging base, black fabric, outer surface once oxidized but blackened with use when found. Inside surface furred as if through boiling water, hard.

From stone-lined rubbish pit

36. Part of the rim and handle of a fifteenth-century jug in Midland purple ware, spot of dark glaze on handle, very hard.

THE BONES

J. G. L. COLE, M.B., CH.B.

On the whole the bones were fragmentary but in good condition. Many showed sharp breaks and knife marks. Some were split presumably to extract marrow. The size of the fragments and their origin mainly from ox or sheep indicated kitchen refuse.

None of the bones showed disease. All the teeth in satisfactory condition showed their initial sharpness; the degree of wear being slight, suggested that none of the animals was very old. There were very few poultry fragments and one of dog.

From Saxon rampart

Ox: 1st mandibular molar, 6th maxillary molar, fragment of tibia.

From palisade trench below the Saxon rampart

Ox: Portion of astragalus, glenoid portion of left scapula (fossa 5.5 x 4.2 cm.), portion of the lower end of radius with at least two chopper marks, 2 odd fragments of long bones, on size allotted to ox.

From the timber-lined pit

Ox: Fragments of 3 mandibular molars, molar, vertebra, middle phalanx, 3 of rib.

Sheep: Olecranon (immature), fragment of dorsal vertebra, metatarsal.

Dog: Rib (?)

Poultry: Three long bones with epiphyses, 1 separate epiphysis.

This collection contains by far the largest proportion of immature bones, i.e. those showing epiphysis. In addition there were eight calcined fragments of sheep and poultry being identified by vertebra and pelvis respectively.

From the medieval ditch

Ox: Two horn cores, frontal, 6th right molar, 2 right mandibles, incisor, maxilla, left mandible showing condyloid and coronoid processes, molar tooth, right scapula, carpal, 2 of lower end of radius, proximal phalanx, terminal phalanx, 2 of cannon bone, 6 of rib (one end being the vertebral one) fragments of vertebra, femur split longitudinally, tibia, *os calcis*, 3 of pelvis, lower end of femur.

Sheep: Two premolars, 2 incisors, 2 fragments of mandible with molars, right mandible including coronoid and condyloid processes, molar tooth, fragments of atlas, head and neck of left scapula, metacarpal, thoracic vertebra, left front proximal phalanx.

Dog: Humerus, tibia.

Bird: Fragment of femur.

Small Ox: Left mandible with molars, humerus mid-shaft 2.6 x 3.3 cm. at narrowest but both ends were either destroyed or immature and decayed more rapidly.

MEASUREMENTS (ALL SHOWN IN MILLIMETRES)

Some measurements are listed below. The cannon bones were X-rayed and the variation in cortical thickness was an interesting measurement. It is suggested that this measurement may become useful when there has been a survey of a large series to help in matching skeletons, assessing age, sex and nutrition. It may also be useful to show disease.

Horn cores

Length	87-5	87 0
Base	33-5 x 24-5	35-0 x 26-5
Base circumference	100 0	103-0

Mandible, length of crowns from front to back

Sheep	63-3	60-2
Small Ox (?)	128 0	

Sheep, Metacarpal

Proximal width	—	21-7
Length	—	—
Circumference, mid-shaft	48-0	46-0
Mid-shaft	12-5 x 10-5	13-9 x 10-3
Cortex	3-5	4-7
Distal width	24-8	—

Sheep, Metatarsal

Proximal width	20 0	18-7
Proximal depth	18-5	18-7
Length	138-0	—
Circumference, mid-shaft	43-0	—
Mid-shaft	12-4 x 10-1	—
Cortex	3-8	4-4
Distal width	23-5	—
Distal depth	16-0	—

THE 'GOLDEN GOSPELS' OF THE ROYAL LIBRARY, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

J. GOULD, F.S.A.

In 1948, the Mediaeval Academy of America published in their journal, *Speculum*, (vol. xxiii, no. 4) a paper by S. M. Kuhn under the title 'From Canterbury to Lichfield'. Kuhn argues that five manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries attributed by some to a single school of illumination sometimes called the Canterbury School, must have had their origins in Mercia, most probably in proximity to the royal palace (Tamworth) and the seat of the bishopric at Lichfield. The argument is an involved and specialized one which cannot be summarized here. The manuscripts are:-

1. the Golden Gospels in the Royal Library, Stockholm,
2. the Vespasian Psalter in the British Museum (Cotton Vespasian A.1),
3. a manuscript of the gospels now in the British Museum and usually referred to as Royal I.E.6,
4. an early copy of Bede's Ecclesiastical History in the British Museum (Cotton Tiberius C.11), and
5. Prayer Book of Æthelwald the Bishop (Book of Cerne) in the Cambridge University Library, MS.L1,1.10.

Some of the findings in the paper have been disputed by Dr. Sisam and his case together with Dr. Kuhn's reply appear in the *Review of English Studies*, vii, New Series, 1956, pp. 1-10, 113-131, and viii, 1957, pp. 355-374. Dr. Sisam would not attribute the manuscripts to any place more closely defined than 'England, south of the Humber'.

The original paper and the replies are obviously of great interest to members of this Society. All manuscripts are available in Britain except the Golden Gospels, which is the most sumptuously produced of the five and bears an important ninth-century endorsement (see *English Historical Documents*, i, 1955, ed. D. Whitelock, p. 497) made when Ealdorman Alfred bought the Gospels, presumably from the Vikings, and presented them to Christ Church, Canterbury. It was proposed to publish a coloured facsimile of the whole volume in Stockholm, but the project has had to be abandoned as too expensive. However plates of some pages were prepared and the Keeper of Manuscripts in the Royal Library (Harry Jarv) very kindly sent printer's pulls of these pages to the Hon. Secretary of this Society. The reproductions are very fine and include the ninth-century presentation endorsement. The committee of the Society have considered the matter and as these are the only coloured facsimiles known to be in Britain, it was decided to deposit them with the university library at Keele so that they will be available to anyone undertaking research.

A recent letter (July 1968) from Dr. Kuhn states that he hopes to publish an introduction to the Vespasian Psalter 'before too many years have passed' in which he will develop further his argument in favour of Lichfield 'using a considerable body of historical evidence'. His book is awaited with interest.

W. H. DUIGNAN'S
NOTES ON STAFFORDSHIRE PLACE NAMES, 1902
A REASSESSMENT

JAMES P. OAKDEN

W. H. DUIGNAN, the Walsall solicitor and antiquarian, was the first scholar to write specifically on Staffordshire place-names, publishing the above volume at the Oxford University Press in 1902¹. He published similar slim volumes on Worcestershire place-names in 1905, and on Warwickshire place-names in 1912. These two volumes are now seldom referred to, because they were replaced by the English Place-Name Society's volumes on these two counties in 1927 and 1936 respectively. But Duignan's earlier studies as a whole formed no small contribution to our knowledge and understanding of West Midland place-names as a whole, for works of this kind before 1902 were very sketchy indeed. While he, presumably in his leisure hours, was collecting and sifting his material, Walter Skeat the great scholar and etymologist was from 1904 to 1913 publishing his volumes on certain south-eastern Midland counties, works rather more profound in scholarship than Duignan's but equally pioneering in character. Duignan had the benefit of frequent consultations with Skeat whose vast store of etymological knowledge was made available to him. The influence is clearly seen to be very pervasive throughout, and he seems to have accepted suggestions from him rather more readily than he did from W. H. Stevenson, a notable scholar, who had with A. S. Napier edited *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters* in 1895. It seems probable that Duignan had submitted his manuscript to Stevenson rather late in the day, for his replies are generally appended to the main article which it thus frequently queries or even contradicts. See under such names as Cannock, Drayton Bassett, Fulford, Loxley, Pillaton or Whitmore, where the corrective is most valuable and should have led to the rewriting of the entry in question.

Duignan with a scholarly and antiquarian cast of mind had been greatly stimulated by the many learned contributions made to our county history by the Hon. George Wrottesley in the early volumes of the William Salt Society (now *Staffordshire Historical Collections*), and it was from these that he culled many of the early forms he adduces in support of his etymological solutions, though he also made intensive researches elsewhere. It is of course a pity that he did not give detailed sources for his forms as one would today, for it is by no means easy to trace the references back to either printed or unprinted sources. Many of the latter were in private collections. Both he and his printer, however, seem to have been very accurate in their recordings so far as I have been able to judge, in fact more accurate than some of the early *SHC* volumes which are by no means free from error. Nowadays, all forms quoted must be ascribed to their textual source, so that the reader can trace them back where necessary. This one cannot do with Duignan's survey.

Again, his information is not full enough. One only ceases the collection of forms for a particular name when the total is about fifty, though even after that it is necessary to record

¹ A list of Duignan's publications is given in *Notes and Queries*, 11th Series, xi, 1915, pp. 373, 461, xii, 1915, pp. 6, 39.

unusual new variants. Even so, only about a fifth of the total collection made can or need see the light of day in print.

Duignan's deficiencies of actual forms can be illustrated from Warslow for which he has only two forms - *Wereslie* 1086 DB² and *Werselowe* 1300. *Wereslie* is an error for *Wereski*, and with such a difficult name far more forms were needed before any attempt at interpretation could be made. He renders 'War's low or burial mound', but Ekwall in *DEPN** is dissatisfied with this and tentatively suggests 'hill with a watch-tower' from Old English (OE) *weardsetl-hldw*. This is by no means certain and further research is needed. The difficulty is that there is practically no deviation from the form *Werselowe* right throughout the Middle English period (1100-1500). Wherever Duignan raises one's doubts in his solutions, it is often that his forms are not full enough, though in many cases it is of course etymological weakness, as in Pillaton which in thirteenth century documents is *Pilatehale*, *Pylatenhale*, *Pilitenhale*, *Pilletehale*, *PHetehale*, etc. The place had been known in the eleventh century as *Bedintun*, i.e. *Beda's tun*, to be replaced by these thirteenth century forms. Duignan can only suggest 'Pilate's hall', a solution ridiculed by Stevenson (on account of the medial «), who however could not solve the knotty problem. It is in fact the fourth of the above forms that supplies the clue suggesting 'pilled oats'; the Pleas of the Forest for 1300 contain the form *Pilotenhale* which clinches the solution; this in OE would be *pildtan* 'pilled oats' with *hale* as 'corner' and not 'hall'. I am happy to say that among the field-names of Staffordshire, I have found more than one such name as this, and other counties provide similar examples. It is essentially a field-name which by confusion of the second elements *hale* and *hall* (OE *halh*, *heall*) attached itself to Pillaton Hall, the ancient seat of the Littletons.

The student of Duignan's volume will soon recognize and be somewhat amused by 'romantic' errors of this kind. He lets himself go rather pleasantly on Aqualate, Blore, Bonehill, Bustleholme Mill, Cannock, Coven, Lichfield (five pages), Nechells, Pouke Hill, Showells, Watling Street (six pages). These delightful observations, usually very wide of the mark, were typical of the period, but we must remember that even misplaced enthusiasm and romanticizing played an important part in developing place-name study generally.

Incomplete collection of forms inevitably led Duignan astray. For Alstonfield he quotes only the DB form *Aenestanfeld* which he regards as decisive, explaining it as '*AEne's* stone - field', suggesting that there may have been a remarkable stone in the parish named after *AEne*, or possibly a boundary-stone belonging to *AEne*. Duignan must have been acquainted with many later forms but he does not see the necessity of giving them, not realizing that DB forms are by no means always reliable. In the Pipe Roll of 1179 this is *Alfstanefeld* which leaves us in no doubt that this is *^AElfstan's* field'. Examples could be multiplied easily.

Again, from the scholarly point of view, the presentation of more actual forms would have enabled Duignan to make more skilful use of his undoubted phonological knowledge. Thus confronted by two places called Butterton, the one in the Totmonslow Hundred and the other in the Pirehill Hundred, he comes to the conclusion that these two can be treated as one; he lists the forms together but, if he had separated them, he would have reached the right conclusion that the Totmonslow name is 'the hill (v. *dun*)* with good pastures giving plenty of butter', whereas the Pirehill name is simply 'the farm where butter is made', v. *tun*. Similarly there are two places named Longnor, the first in Totmonslow and the second in Cuttlestone.

² *Domesday Book*.

* E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed., 1960.

⁴ Reference, here and later, to A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vol., 1956.

His method here is to separate the two, but he merely adduces one single form for the Totmonslow name. If he had collected more material and sifted it carefully, he would have realised that the Totmonslow Longnor is 'the long bank', v. *ofer*, whereas the Cuttlestone name is 'the tall alder tree', v. *alor*. He sensed the implications in his forms for the Cuttlestone name, but through dearth of material failed to differentiate this from the Totmonslow name. The reader must therefore be on his guard where he is given a paucity of forms.

As a result of deficiencies of forms, Duignan frequently has to resort to intelligent guesses which are not seldom right in themselves but which need more impressive support. He is right about High and Little Onn being Welsh though his meaning is wrong, but he is incorrect in thinking that Onneley is a derivative of this. Nevertheless, Duignan was undoubtedly a very busy man and, if he had combed all the available sources, his three works would never have seen the light of day. A glance at any of the recent volumes of the English Place-Name Society will reveal what today we mean by sources. Unless one has scholarly and inevitably unpaid helpers, the task is bound to be very prolonged. All printed volumes dealing with the county must be combed for relevant material, all the many volumes based on the Public Record Office files and published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, numerous learned periodicals and journals, maps, unpublished material in public and private hands, Tithe Awards and Enclosure Awards, and much besides which has any relevance. Such a task can never be complete, and one has to draw the line somewhere. In most cases this is not difficult to decide, for mere duplication of material for its own sake is useless. The work involved and the mere housing and cataloguing of all the slips of paper that result, one for each form, is a very lengthy and gigantic task, often disappointing because the expected vital form still eludes the researcher. Gnosall for example looks like proving a very difficult name to interpret unless we achieve a stroke of real good luck. Duignan could clearly not have anticipated how place-name study would have developed to the present day. The more I study his book, however, the more I am impressed with the amount of material that he managed to collect at that date and the use he made of it. He would of course have saved us much time if he had given accurate chapter and verse for his forms; apart from DB, very few other sources are quoted.

Judged by modern standards he does not treat of sufficient actual place-names. He examines 704 names, consisting of all towns, a reasonable selection of parishes and hamlets, some rivers and hills, a very few farms, and some odd features of historical interest - a rather random selection. All place-name books of that period treat the names in alphabetical order, but since Ekwall published his *Place-Names of Lancashire* in 1922, the alphabetical list is properly given as a mere index, the main body of the text being treated by Hundreds and parishes. The gain is enormous, for the names in a given parish, however small, all belong together and emerged in a given historical setting over the centuries; they must be treated as a group, often throwing light on each other and illuminating local features and meanings. This creates some difficulties in areas such as the Potteries, where I have found it desirable to treat Stoke-on-Trent as consisting of the old townships of *Botteslow*, *Fenton Culvert* and *Fenton Vivian*, *Hanley* and *Shelton*, *Longton* and *Lane End*, *Penkhull* and *Boothen*, and *Ubberley*; with *Wolstanton* quite separate. Otherwise the historic sense is lost. Fortunately Staffordshire has retained in large measure many of its older parish boundaries especially in the more rural areas, and as these coincide with those of the early nineteenth century when the Tithe Awards were made, it is better to retain them in order to preserve the historical outlook. It is for this reason that Handsworth and Harborne should still be treated as part of Staffordshire.

A parish by parish treatment enables us to plot such things as Danish influence, the occurrence of certain key second-elements, and to view the names in a true historical perspective. Duignan's arrangement may in some ways be easier but it remains unsatisfactory.

Duignan's 704 names could easily be expanded to some ten thousand exclusive of field-names which in their thousands are to be listed separately after each parish entry and, which owing to duplication in the case of many common forms, do not lend themselves to indexing. Such a representative selection of names is a defect, but then his space available was much more restricted than is ours. For example from North Totmonslow he treats of twenty-three parochial names and omits eight: Bradnop, Calton, Fawfieldhead, Heathylee, Heaton, Hollinsclough, Horton and Stanley. To rectify his omissions we may note that the forms involved indicate that Bradnop is 'the broad enclosed valley', v. *brddan* (weak oblique case of *brad*), *hop*; that Calton is 'the enclosure where calves were reared', v. *calf*, *tun*; Fawfieldhead, often known since 1679 as *Fairfieldhead* but which has now reverted to its oldest known form in *Faw*- which is probably OE *fðh* meaning 'variegated'; Heathylee which is self-explanatory and fairly modern; Heaton, the common name, which is 'the high enclosure'; Hollinsclough, a modern corruption implying a connexion with OE *holegn* 'holly' and only occurring since 1799, older sixteenth century forms being *Howellescloughe* or *Hol(l)escoughe* which suggest the plural of *hoi* 'hollow' - cf. Hulse, Ches. (older forms *Holes* etc.); that Horton is no other than 'the dirty enclosure', v. *horu*, *tun* - cf. Mixon 'the dung-hill', v. *mix(e)n*; and that Stanley (in Endon and Stanley) is 'the stony cleared open-land', v. *stdn*, *leah*. These deficiencies could be repeated for each one of the other remaining Hundreds.

Of the twenty-three parochial names that he does give, he is quite correct for Caudon, Grindon, Okeover, Onecote, Quarnford, Rushton, Swinscoe and Waterfall, all relatively easy when due attention is paid to older forms. He errs in not correctly isolating the personal name in Alstonfield (v. *supra*), Bagnall (*Badeca*), Elkstones (*Ealdc*), and Tittesworth (? *Tdztel*), and he asserts a personal name where there is none in Cheddleton, Consall, Endon, Rudyard and probably also in Warslow; these respectively contain ordinary words as their first elements - *cietel* (narrow valley); *kuning* (Danish, king); *ean* (lamb); *rude* (rue); *Iweard sell* (look-out). There is certainly a personal name in Ipstones (*Ippa* and not *yype* as Duignan suggests).

Both Ham and Leek are stream-names which have been transferred from the streams to the inhabited places that grew up near them; the former is British and the latter either Scandinavian or an unrecorded OE form (see *DEPN* under these names); inevitably Duignan is baffled by such names, as he also is by Blore and Sheen; both are evidently unrecorded Old English words, *blor* and *sceo*, meaning 'bare hill' and 'shelter' respectively, words that can be inferred from Scandinavian parallels.

This sort of result is fairly typical of any other of the Staffordshire Hundreds in which one might test out Duignan's work. It certainly does not mean that his work is of mere antiquarian interest, provided that the interested reader will have handy Ekwall's monumental *DEPN*, and also the two volumes of the EPNS¹ - *English Place-Name Elements* 1956 by A. H. Smith, supplemented if possible by Kenneth Cameron's *English Place-Names*, 1961, and P. H. Reaney's *The Origin of English Place-Names*, 1960. These works will act as a valuable corrective, especially with regard to second elements. Duignan has separate articles of sixteen of these, *-borough*, *-bury*, *-field*, *-ford*, *-hale* (of double origin), *-ham*, *-hay*, *-hill*, *-lay* or *-leigh*, *-low*, *-moor*, *-ton*, *-wich*, *-worth* with a few more in the actual body of the text. In

¹ E.P.N.S.—English Place-Name Society.

these he is always sensible and as accurate as could be expected for the time at which he is writing, and generally in the course of his text his observations are to the point. Enormous advances have been made in this field, both phonologically and semantically. But Staffordshire presents us with few problems in the matter of second elements, largely because they are almost exclusively English and not Scandinavian. Of special interest are: Yarlet with a second element *hlid* meaning 'slope', a rare element, the first part being either *earn* 'eagle' or *ear* meaning 'gravel'; Aqualate which despite Duignan's association with the personal name *Aquila* is simply *de-geldd* 'the oak-stream', an explanation which accounts for all the known forms; Enville where the second element is *feld* 'field' in disguise; Ingestre whose older forms *In Gestreon*, *Ingestraund*, etc. are admittedly rather difficult both phonologically and semantically; and lastly names ending in *wall* where we might expect *well*, such as Coldwall, Caverswall, etc. but which are simply the West Midland dialectal form of the word *well* meaning 'spring'. On the whole therefore few problems may be expected to present themselves for Staffordshire place-names under this heading; they are much more likely to occur in the first elements, difficult personal names and rare first elements; one has in mind such names as Blymhill, Caverswall, Gnosall, Saredon, Uttoxeter and Yoxall which call for still further elucidation and study.

One of the difficulties which besets every place-name worker is the realization that the inhabitants of any place, however small, are anxious for a clear-cut answer to the meaning of the name in question, however much one may insist that definitive solutions are not always possible. Staffordshire is going to be fairly lucky on this score, and even its river-names do not now present any formidable difficulties since the monumental work done by Ekwall and others. Duignan is aware that most of these are British or even earlier still, but he has not the philological knowledge to elucidate the problems. He is right about the R. Blythe being OE *blide* 'gentle or merry', but he is wrong about the R. Dove which is British *dubo-* 'dark, black'. The interested reader should always consult Ekwall's *DEPN* and *ERN*^{*}, and merely allow himself to be pleasantly diverted by Duignan's entries for such names as Anker, Dane, Dove, Penk, Tame, Tean and Trent. We need scarcely add that stream-names and hill-names may be just as exciting and just as elusive as these.

But apart from these names, we must be prepared for alternative solutions in some later names too. It is going to be very difficult to discover whether the second element of Bagnall is *-holt* or *-halh*, since *Bagenholt* and *Bagenhall* forms are equally common from the twelfth century; as the name is not in DB we are inevitably handicapped, and difficulties of this kind are bound to occur fairly frequently. We shall have very great difficulty in determining the nature of the first element of Bilston and possibly of Gnosall.

Duignan had archaeological and historical interests, but not primarily linguistic ones. He regards place-names as part of the past, part of our county heritage. But he misses something out, a realization that men and women today are using these names as mere labels (as did their forefathers too) divorced from the modes of speech and intentions of those who gave them these same names. All place-names arose spontaneously and without conscious intention, and so they throw great light on past human activity and thought. But these names soon became mere fossils, meaningless to those who had not created them. When once this has happened, the dangers of grave distortion and corruption arise, and these can only be detected by linguistic techniques. Some of these distortions may be quite modern as in Ramshorn, still locally known as *Ramsor* despite the insistence of the signposts, a corruption which may

^{*} E. Ekwall, *English River-Names*, 1928.

apparently be attributed to the Ordnance Survey whose agents thought they knew better than the local inhabitants; the mediaeval forms are always *-overe*, *-oure*, *-ore*, etc. which point to OE *dfer* 'a bank'. The first element is debatable, but is very probably the 'ram'.

Duignan is sensitive to all social and economic evidence that may be preserved in place-names, and his entries are well worth studying from this point of view. He observes the heathen evidence in Shugborough, Wednesbury and Wednesfield, though he misses that in Weeford which means 'the ford by the heathen temple', v. *weoh*, *ford*. He is equally aware of the vast economic evidence preserved in fossilized form.

He would of course have found even more such evidence if he had paid attention to the field-names, but at that period everyone regarded these names as of very secondary importance. Even at the time of the official Worcestershire place-name volume in 1927 mere selections were included. Now the policy is to record them all, and this is a vast undertaking. In Staffordshire the Tithe Awards of the mid-nineteenth century are generally available, but North Totmonslow fares badly, for nineteen out of thirty-one parishes had no Awards. Enclosure Awards for these parishes are also very restricted and insufficient, so that other lines of enquiry have to be followed. Fortunately through the almost miraculous preservation of many Harpur Crewe late-nineteenth century rentals I have been able to rescue hundreds of field-names from oblivion, as these records were about to be destroyed. Other gaps have been partially filled but occasionally one has to rely on oral collections which are not so satisfactory as they are without documentation. The field-names of Staffordshire are proving most rewarding, and while many such as *Crivens* in Marston, *Ectol Croft* in Ranton, *Sambull* in Whitgreave or *Bassals* in Bentley I can make little of, others add very considerably to our knowledge of our forefathers' vocabulary. Some simple examples would be *Banky Riche* in Consall (v. *tic* 'strip of land'); *Hend Pit Coppice* in Ingestre (v. *gehende* 'near'); *Neaswood Piece* in Calwich (v. *ties* 'projecting piece of land formed in the bend of a river'); *Ouse Eye* in Leek (v. *wdse*, *eg* 'island of land surrounded by marshy land'); *Shukers Pit Meadow* in Featherstone (v. *scucca* 'goblin or demon').

Thus we can truthfully say that Duignan did a very reasonable job for the time he was writing. Such vast strides in all the relevant branches of human knowledge that are involved have been made that much is inevitably inaccurate and out-of-date. But it still serves a useful purpose when supplemented by the ever increasing amount of work done on Staffordshire history and, when the English Place-Name Society does publish its volumes on the place-names of our county, any delay is not to be regretted but is a guarantee that the ever increasing knowledge of place-names in general is available as a corrective to hasty judgments in those cases where uncertainty now prevails.

INDUSTRY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN STAFFORDSHIRE 1660-1760. A STUDY OF PROBATE AND OTHER RECORDS OF TRADESMEN

MARIE B. ROWLANDS

BY THE END OF the seventeenth century about half the 120 or so parishes in Staffordshire could show some industrial activity, which went beyond that of the local craftsman supplying a local need. There were at least three blast furnaces, sixteen iron-forges, and five slitting-mills; there was stone-quarrying and coal-mining; there was glassmaking and sieve-making. In considering the social effects of industry upon the communities in which these works were located, it is necessary to make a distinction between those parishes which were profoundly affected throughout the community such as Bilston, Stoke-on-Trent, Wednesbury, and those which, while containing works of great importance, were not in any social sense industrialized. This is especially true of parishes containing iron-forges. At Abbots Bromley, Chartley, Hints and Wombourne for example the iron-forges employed only a few men in the parish, and the capital, raw materials, and some of the personnel came from outside the parish. The same was true of Rugeley, which although containing the most important of the slitting-mills, and the most important centre for the distribution of rod-iron, remained essentially a country market-town.

This paper is concerned with those parishes where industry was having a significant effect on the whole life and structure of the community, parishes which in Staffordshire were all to be found on either the northern or the southern coalfields. Similar processes were also at work in neighbouring parishes in north Worcestershire, in Warwickshire and in parts of Derbyshire.

South Staffordshire

The way in which industry was affecting the pattern of society in the hardware districts as early as 1603 can be seen from the petition presented to the Staffordshire Justices at Trinity sessions in that year.

It was a complaint against 'divers and sondry persons in the Counties of Stafford Warwick Woorester and Salop wch were brought up in the misteries or manuall occupacions of nailers bucklemaking Spurriers Locksmithes Lorymers Sturropmakers and such like sciences... being all nowe grown into wealth and having geven over their said trades . . . have used of late to buye the said wares of others that do make them and sell the same in other Cuntreys'.' It was further complained against these persons that they controlled the supply of iron to the craftsmen 'som in barr and som slytt' and forced up its price. Furthermore it was said that these traders refused to purchase manufactured goods for ready money but would only buy 'by waie of exchange' for iron, coal, foodstuffs and drapery. The petitioners put forward the

¹ Staffordshire Quarter Session Rolls, 1603-1606, *S.H.C.*, 1940, p. 19. See also E. J. Homeshaw, *The Corporation of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall*, 1960, pp. 30-31. Homeshaw adduces evidence indicating that the merchants may have been in a position to bring pressure to bear on those who petitioned against them. The complaint in June 1604 against John Hall that he exercised the trade of woollen-draper not being apprenticed may also be connected with this dispute, *S.H.C.*, 1940, p. 319.

traditional remedies against ingrossing and monopoly, that the buying and selling of iron should be confined solely to those who manufactured or made-up the material, and that the number of workmen employed by the craftsmen should be strictly limited.

However the petition was answered by a counter-petition from the chapmen of WALSALL (twenty-one of them signed the petition) who pointed out the advantages to trade of the merchants' activities². They stressed the importance of carriage 'to London and elswher' as an outlet for goods, and of the value of warehousing goods in the slack time of winter for sale in summer thus producing more steady employment. The principal merchants complained against were Henry Stone of Walsall, John Hall of Caldmore, and John Turton of West Bromwich.

The justices of the peace accepted the offer made by these three that they would suspend operations for three months on condition that other merchants would do the same. They added that they found the merchants' assurances 'very reasonable' and that at the end of three months they 'shall be at lybertye as nowe' to continue trade. This decision ran counter to the legislation then in force against monopoly and ingrossing. The three merchants named continued to prosper in the iron trade. Henry Stone was mayor of Walsall by the end of the year and a magistrate by 1627.

The prominence of Walsall men and opinions in this dispute is not surprising for Walsall was perhaps the community most completely dominated by industry in seventeenth-century Staffordshire. Its earliest charter dated from 1198, its mayors from 1377 and its merchant guild from the Middle Ages. There was thus a long tradition of autonomy.

Already by the middle of the seventeenth century the population was closely concentrated. The town, 'consisting mainly of mechanicks,' contained 'noe lands but only houses back-sides and gardens so that all lands lay in the Foreign'³. The Hearth Tax of 1665/6 shows 343 houses in the 95 acres of the Borough - the most densely packed population in the whole county. There were three large houses, 82 middling-sized houses and about 250 small houses in the three streets of the town. The three largest houses were occupied by an attorney, a mercer, and by the sergeant-at-mace who leased the old town hall and gaol. The middling-sized houses were occupied by various tradesmen - a spurrier, a merchant lorimer, a brazier, a skinner, a pewterer and an ironmonger, as well as yeomen and gentlemen⁴.

Many of these tradesmen played a leading part in town government. Mayors between 1656 and 1710 included two braziers, a bridle-cutter, two tallow-chandlers, two spurriers, two tanners, four ironmongers, two pewterers and a coppersmith. Apothecaries, attorneys, and a barber-surgeon all took their turn of office but, except for a brief period when the gentlemen of the Foreign obtained political supremacy, most of the capital burgesses were tradesmen. They maintained roads and bridges, established a piped water-supply, built a new town hall and conducted a series of legal battles about the charities and investments of the town⁵.

Some of these men were entirely 'wholesale chapmen'. Henry Hodgkinson, lorimer, had a separate iron-house containing at his death iron worth £4, and 7 cwt. of stubs. He had scales and beam but no workshop⁶. He had issued a token in 1667 bearing the sign of a hart,

² *S.H.C.*, 1940, pp. 21-2.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 67, 60.

⁴ *Hearth Tax for Seisdon and Offlow Hundreds, Walsall Borough, S.H.C.*, 1924 for 1923, pp. 140-6.

⁵ Homeshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-85, and Appendix A, with additional material from the Probate Records.

⁶ Henry Hodgkinson, Walsall, 31 December 1680; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

the symbol for 'Henry'. The majority of the tradesmen, even those with trade connexions in London and Bristol, still had their own workshops and many still took an active part in the actual manufacture.

The basic equipment was simple. The workshop with anvil, stiddy, bellows and an array of swages, jacks, planes, gouges and clamps demanded little outlay and, apart from repairs to the bellows, little maintenance. The value of the work lay in the skill of the workmen who turned out large quantities of goods at great speed, and a high degree of standardization. There was much specialization. Plot described how the making of spurs, bits and stirrups each required 'the joint concurrence of several workmen'. The seventeenth-century probate records mention spur-makers, snaffle-makers, girdle-harness makers, terrett-makers, lorimers, inlayers and buckle-makers. This process went even further in the early years of the eighteenth century with chapemakers, chape-filers, chape-forgers as well as buckle-makers. With a very few exceptions all records of saddlers' ironmongers in the probate records come from Walsall.

Those of the artisans who prospered invested in cottage property and in workshops, which they leased out to their neighbours. Stephen Curtis, snaffle-maker, had three houses in Walsall in addition to the one in which he lived, various closes of land and a little piece of coppice. Roger Clewly, spurrier, had a burgage house in Walsall with hall, parlour, kitchen and chambers above an adjoining shop and a garden where he kept bees. He had three acres of lands in Windmill Field under corn. But he also had five other cottages in various parts of Walsall each in the hands of a different tenant. Thomas Ball, stirrup-maker, had his own house, another house in Ablewell Street occupied by four tenants and two other cottages rented out.⁸

In the leet-fields outside the town the process of piecemeal enclosure was going on steadily and was probably complete by 1700. Enclosures were made for coal-pits, lime-pits, and buildings as well as for agricultural purposes. The process is perceptible in the will of Humphrey Smith, spurrier, who in 1660 left among other properties two houses, each with a shop and garden and in the occupation of tenants. Humphrey Smith also owned the bellows in these shops and the stiddy in one of them. The combined rent of houses, shops, bellows and stiddy was £20".

It is clear that the changes taking place in Walsall were not simply the work of an enterprising minority, but were the response to increasing opportunities made by people of every social and economic level. A similar process was at work in neighbouring WEDNESBURY, though here the gradual separation of employers and employed was more marked.

In 1666 this parish of only 2,000 acres contained about 200 houses¹⁰. Wednesbury lay on the Ten Yard coal-seam and coal-mining had been part of life in Wednesbury since at least the fourteenth century. There had been struggles in the Middle Ages between the lords of the manor and the tenants concerning rights to mine, but these had been inconclusive¹¹. The ease with which coal could be got, and the ready sale at Birmingham made it difficult for the lords of the manor in the parishes where the Ten Yard seam outcropped to establish any

⁷ E. A. Watkin, *Staffordshire Tokens, N.S.J.F.S.*, i, 1961, pp. 1-25. All references to Staffordshire tokens in this paper are taken from this source.

⁸ Stephen Curtis, Walsall, 9 June 1701, Roger Clewley, Walsall, 3 October 1671; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

⁹ Humphrey Smith, 26 September 1660; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

¹⁰ Hearth Tax for Seisdon and Offlow, Wednesbury, pp. 133-8.

¹¹ J. F. Ede, *History of Wednesbury*, 1962, pp. 26, 48, 114, 115.

monopoly. The Birmingham coal-carriers came daily to Wednesbury bridge for supplies. In 1631 separate stacks had been set aside for the inhabitants of Birmingham 'who stricken with the plague yet having to come to Wednesbury' might pass the sickness on¹². As a result of the traffic to Birmingham, the roads 'were incessantly worn with the carriage of coal'¹³.

Judging from the parish registers¹⁴ about one third of the men in the parish were colliers, their numbers only exceeded by those of the nailers. The register confirms the tradition that they were a rough lot. One is set down as 'a most rude swearing collier' and their nicknames, Bugg, Todbabb, Lilliboo and Bewitched Whitehead, are not very appealing. The families who appear most frequently bear the names of Clarke, Wallis, Bull and, most frequently of all, Spittle.

Some of the colliers however were men of respectable status. A notable example was Thomas Hyndes who had a large three-storey house with seven rooms on the ground floor, a warehouse and three cows. In a well-written will in his own hand he left 'all my mapps and books' to his son¹⁵.

The steady demand for coal meant that the colliers were required to work at increasing depths. Several of the Wednesbury pits were on fire for years and in places the coal face was red-hot. Water became a problem in the early eighteenth century. An attempt was made to drain the Broadwaters mine with a Savery engine in 1706¹⁶. In 1727 a local coalmaster, John Fidoe, had a Newcomen engine built at a cost of over £400 to draw from a depth of thirty yards¹⁷. By 1750 there were at least three Newcomen engines at work in Wednesbury.

Greater capital costs meant that increasingly the mines in Wednesbury were leased by coalmasters from outside the parish. By 1750 the principal coalmasters were Lord Dudley and Ward, Burslem Sparrow, Thomas Tomkys, John Hoo, and John Wood¹⁸. The diverse backgrounds of these men are interesting. Lord Dudley and Ward combined large scale capital enterprise with the special opportunities as lord of a neighbouring manor. Burslem Sparrow had received the gloss of a classical education and lived for a time at Sedgley Park but he was the son of a buccaneering yeoman coalmaster, and took after his father in being remarkable more for enterprise and initiative than for integrity and solid business sense. Thomas Tomkys, his partner, came of a local family of small gentry who had accumulated much coal-bearing land. John Hoo was also of a local family of small gentry who acquired three small local manors by purchase at this time. John Wood was one of the sons of the famous ironmaster William Wood who was 'of Wolverhampton' and whose numerous family had many connexions in the neighbourhood. The coalmasters, and more particularly their agents, exercised direct control over the pits, and appeared at fairly frequent intervals to give directions concerning the work, to make contracts and to deal with crises. But since they all had many and varied enterprises in many different parishes and even counties, the real day-to-day responsibility for running the work and dealing with the employees rested with the banksman or manager, who paid the men, and, under conditions, hired them and sold the coal. The colliers themselves show a considerable degree of independence in bargaining with these

" From Quarter Sessions order book, Michaelmas 1631. Wednesbury Public Library, photocopy 622/33.

¹² R. Plot, *The Natural History of Staffordshire*, 1686, p. 110.

¹⁴ Transcripts of registers at W.S.L.

¹⁵ Thomas Hyndes, Wednesbury, 27 November 1677; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

¹⁷ Ede, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

¹⁷ J. S. Allen, John Fidoe's engine at Wednesbury, *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, xxxvi, 1963-4, p. 149.

¹⁸ Hand Morgan papers, uncatalogued, box 36, W.S.L.

men concerning their work. John Fidoie paid his colliers by the week at a rate of 8-10 shillings, others were paid on the amount of coal they got, Spittle and a partner worked 'parts' with Lord Dudley, that is, the two colliers took a half share of the profits of the coal got by them, Lord Dudley providing the capital expenditure.

The very variety of terms and conditions of employment helped to preserve the independence of the individual worker to some extent, especially as it was still possible for the copyholder with coal on his land to work and sell it himself.

The other major industry in Wednesbury was iron manufacture. The ironmasters of Wednesbury were all drawn from local families in the seventeenth century. Among the most important were the Fidoie family. John Fidoie, who died in 1674, possessed his own workshop in Wednesbury but also had another workshop in West Bromwich and £300 in outstanding debts¹⁹. Henry Fidoie bought large quantities of rod-iron from Maer Heath from the Staffordshire Partnership from about 1680, and also bought rod at Rugeley, Haywood and Consall. Samuel Fidoie his son also bought large quantities of rod in Staffordshire and at Renishaw in Derbyshire. In some years the Fidoies owed as much as £6,000 for rod, but they never remained long in debt, paying usually in cash direct to the agent and at monthly intervals²⁰.

The Staffordshire Partnership in ironworks consisted of an amalgamation of three earlier partnerships holding ironworks in Cheshire and Staffordshire. One of the principal shareholders was Philip Foley of Prestwood, Kinver who was also one of the principal shareholders in the Forest ironworks partnership which held ironworks in Staffordshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire. The accounts of this vast network of iron-furnaces, forges and slitting-mills are at the Hereford Record Office among the Foley family papers and are in process of being calendared. The years chiefly covered by the accounts are 1669-1674 and 1690-1710.

John Ratley of Wednesbury issued a token in 1668 of a hand holding a hammer above a crown. He bought rod regularly in quantities varying from 13 tons to 29 tons a year until 1693. Another important purchaser of rod-iron was Henry Parkes. His family had played an important role in the iron industry since the reign of Elizabeth. By the end of the seventeenth century they had bought Oakswell Hall. Henry Parkes was succeeded in the iron business by Richard Parkes who in 1708 also leased a moiety of the mineral rights of the manor²¹.

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The Wednesbury ironmasters had much in common. They had little or no gentility behind them, but built up considerable wealth derived almost entirely from iron. They were closely linked by marriage and neighbourhood, and the Parkes and Fidoes were further linked by religion and marriage to the Lloyds and Pembertons in Birmingham. From 1713 onwards most of the Wednesbury ironmasters or their heirs moved to Birmingham. The move to this growing centre of business and credit marked not only a great increase in scope and status but also an increased separation from the working nailers on whom they depended.

¹⁹ John Fidoie, Wednesbury, 8 June 1686; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

²⁰ Foley Papers, F VI GaF 1-33, C.R.O., Hereford. See also, B. C. L. Johnson, *The Iron Industry of Cheshire and North Staffordshire, 1688-1712*, N.S.F.C., lxxxviii, 1954 for 1953[^]*, p. 37. B. C. L. Johnson, *The Stour Valley Iron Industry in the late 17th century*, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, xxvii, 1951 for 1950. B. C. L. Johnson, *The Foley Partnership: The Iron Industry at the end of the Charcoal Era*, *Economic History Review*, iv, 1952, p. 322. B. C. L. Johnson, *The Charcoal Industry in the early eighteenth century*, *Geographical Journal*, cxvii, 1951, p. 167. H. E. Palfrey, *Foleys of Stourbridge*, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, xxi, 1945 for 1944.

²¹ Ede, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-3.

The nailers were the largest occupation group in the Wednesbury parish registers and account for well over half of the references to trade between 1678 and 1699. The Wednesbury nailers, like those of other places, included men of every degree of prosperity. On the one hand was Richard Hawkes, nailer, sufficiently wealthy to lend money by bills, bonds and a mortgage of £100. On the other hand was Stephen Dunton, nailer, who had only £2 35. 6d. on which to maintain his mother and little sister when his father died, and £1 of this was already owing for the funeral²².

The coal and ironstone mines of Wednesbury adjoined those of Darlaston, and by the 1730s were also in the same hands.

DARLASTON in 1666 was a town of about 150 families. An unusually high proportion, more than half, are given as non-chargeable and there were only three houses of more than three hearths, those of William Keeling, Walter Wilkes the churchwarden, and William Baile²³.

Nailers abounded in the parish. Edward Horton, nailer, had £23 in the house when he died in 1681, money upon bonds £35, a day-work of land and winter corn sowed, two cows, one mare and twenty sheep. William Hough, nailer, had, in addition to his workshop and house of six rooms, a horse, two cows, seventy sheep, twenty-one lambs, a pig and some bees. He had corn, barley, oats and 'fitches' (vetch) growing on his land. Edward Blakemore, nailer, had a milking cow, barley and winter corn and land, both in the open field and enclosed. He was owed £30 by the lady of the manor Mrs. Mary Offley 'for my coals' and anticipated his executors going to law to recover it. Another Darlaston nailer, William Perry, wrote his will in a mixture of English and dog-Latin '*Stultitum est omnibus hominibus semel mori*' he said, and 'we must say *mox est certissima penultimo*'.

The manager of the coal-mines for Mrs. Mary Offley was Timothy Woodhouse who was required to enter into bonds of £500 as security for the performance of his responsibilities. He was required to look after the pits for two years at a salary of £20 a year and to maintain the buildings and look after the horses. During the first year of his management about 3,000 stacks of coal were got and sold. He was to collect arrears of money due for coals sold in the country, hire the colliers, organize the stacking of coal and sales, and finish the work in progress on the soughs²⁵. Later Woodhouse went into partnership on his own account in coalmines in Darlaston²⁶.

South of Wednesbury and Darlaston lay the parishes of TIPTON and WEST BROMWICH. Both contained industrial concerns of the first importance yet both retained a largely agricultural character till well into the nineteenth century. At West Bromwich there were two forges producing bar-iron, a slitting-mill, and several nail-warehouses. There were five or six ironmasters sending nails to London and Bristol and buying and distributing large quantities of rod. Yet the iron-mills were not nuclei of settlement. Tenants in the parish might pay their rents in a curious miscellany of money, carrying services (whether of cheese, wood, muck or of nails), and even in goods. The presence in the parish of one aristocratic

²² Richard Hawkes, Wednesbury, 15 December 1671, Stephen Dunton, Wednesbury, 27 November 1691; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

²³ Hearth Tax for Seisdon and Offlow, Darlaston, pp. 173-6.

²⁴ Edward Horton, Darlaston, 20 December 1681, William Hough, Darlaston, 19 August 1689, Edward Blakemore, Darlaston, 6 July 1698, William Perry, Darlaston, 20 January 1692-3; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

²⁵ Hatherton Papers, D 260/M.E./425/14, C.R.O., Stafford.

²⁶ Dudley Reference Library, Archives, 2/16.

and several gentlemen's seats also tended to overshadow the importance of the industrialists. Tipton, despite the Coneygre coal and limestone works and a blade mill, remained agricultural in character.

Further south still in the large parishes of HANDSWORTH and HARBORNE there were numbers of nailers and some edge-tool makers forming industrial communities surrounded by agricultural and heath land. SMETHWICK in particular was growing rapidly. ROWLEY REGIS contained many nailers and stone-getters, and several of the ironmasters originated there.

KINGSWINFORD was a large and sprawling parish in the south of the county which contained about 500 households in 1666. Of these 61 were in Amblecote and the rest grouped in a number of hamlets, Brettell, Brierley Hill, Kingswinford, Prestwood, Shut End, Wordesley and Brockmore²⁷.

The sizes of the houses were very varied and there were a number of large houses and estates belonging to the gentry, the ironmasters, and the owners of glass-houses, who lived in the parish side by side with the yeomen-miners, glassworkers, labourers, nailers and scythesmiths. The lord of the manor was Lord Dudley with extensive interests in coal and iron. Henry Grey, esquire, of Enville had a house of nine hearths in the parish and received sixpence on every ton of furnace-clay dug from his mines in the parish. Philip Foley the ironmaster lived at Prestwood Hall in the parish and from thence directed the affairs of ironworks in five counties²⁸.

There were by the beginning of the eighteenth century at least seven glass-houses in the parish, and the original immigrant families had by this time been joined by local yeomen families, namely the Nocks, Bradleys, Holloways and Bachelors. It is not clear how many workers they employed, but in addition to those directly employed there were a number of coal-carriers, glass-carriers, and glass-chapmen. The masters claimed in a petition against the duty on glass in 1698 that 'they employ many hundreds of families' but this is mere rhetoric²⁹.

By this time clay-mines covered much of Pensnett Chase. Each pit had two 'getters' and three or four 'meters' or drawers who carried the clay to the pit eye. The getters were paid a penny each by the ton got, the drawers three shillings a week. The manager settled accounts with the workmen each Saturday evening and gave the workmen a shilling for ale. There was little supervision; the owner's agent came over and measured the work from time to time. It was clearly in the interests of the getters to extend their operations as much as possible³⁰.

Iron manufacture employed a considerable number in Kingswinford parish. There was an iron-forge at Greensforge, formerly belonging to Dud Dudley, but later part of the Foley organization. With Swin and Heath forges in neighbouring Wombourne parish, Greensforge was in the charge of Richard Grey. It produced over a hundred tons of bar-iron a year which was sent to Hyde mill in Kinver for slitting into rod³¹. There were several blade-mills in the parish where the scythesmiths had their blades ground (or 'yearned') at the rate of a shilling a dozen. There were at least eight families of scythesmiths producing huge quantities

²⁷ *Hearth Tax for Seisdon and Offlow, Kingswinford*, pp. 246-252.

²⁸ *V.C.H., Staffs.*, ii, 1967, pp. 224-8.

²⁹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 27 January 1695/6, xi, p. 415.

³⁰ *Dudley Reference Library, Archives*, 2/15.

³¹ *Foley Papers*, F VI GAF 1-33, C.R.O., Hereford.

of scythes which they sent to the grinders by the gross. They were subsequently distributed from South Staffordshire and the northern part of Worcestershire all over the Midlands and the south of England³². There were also at least thirty families of nailers and several locksmiths.

Coal-mining was carried on to supply the local industries. Although the principal exploiter of the coal on Pensnett Chase was the lord of the manor Lord Dudley, the yeoman-collier could still achieve modest wealth from independent mining. Ralph Cartwright for example had a coal-work in Oldswinford, three houses in Stourbridge, two cottages in Cradeley and two in Brettell. Another collier, James Seager, had £160 out on bond when he died³³.

Kingswinford was a parish where every gradation of social status and wealth continued to exist side by side. Unlike Wednesbury for example, those who were making fortunes from a nationwide trade in glass, furnace-clay, coal and iron continued to live in the parish from which their wealth was drawn. They continued, too, to participate in local affairs side by side with the glass-makers, scythesmiths and locksmiths. The large houses continued to be occupied and rebuilt, and the growing class of 'agents' or managers also built imposing houses and gardens, as did for example the Keelings at Summerhill.

Closely linked with Kingswinford was its northern neighbour SEDGLEY. This too was a parish of hamlets - nine in all. There were about 500 families in 1666, three large houses of ten hearths, four of between six and ten, and a large number of small cottages³⁴. The majority of the small houses were to be found in Gornal and the Straits where much cottage building had been permitted on the waste.

The dominant role in large scale industry was inevitably played by the lord of the manor, Lord Dudley and Ward, who was involved in coal and ironstone mining and limestone quarrying³⁵. There were also a few ironmasters though none of the importance of the Wednesbury or Dudley ironmasters. There were too a number of individuals who were considerably improving their social status and wealth by a combination of private enterprise and of working for the major capitalists. Such a one was John Bate of Gornal and his sons and grandsons after him. The first John Bate of interest appears in 1646 as a collier leasing coal-bearing land in Pensnett Chase, in Gornal, and in Sedgley in partnership with Thomas Foley of Stourbridge the ironmaster. In 1658 the lands the partnership had accumulated were made over to John Bate for £285. John's son Edward married the daughter of a Rowley Regis ironmaster and the lands on which the marriage settlement was based included property in Sedgley, Tipton, Little Wyrley, and Himley³⁶. John Bate the father was also in the regular employ of the Foley organization by 1670 receiving a salary of £20. He supplied over 1,000 blooms of ironstone a year for the furnaces at Grange and Coven, and also some coal and charcoal. He collected moneys for the Foleys from country customers - over £1,000 passed through his hands in 1671. His son was also employed by the Foleys³⁷. His grandson was, between 1690 and 1710, to lease the Coneygre mines in association with a servant of Lord

³² J. S. Roper, *Early North Worcestershire Scythesmiths*, 1967.

³³ Ralph Cartwright, Kingswinford, 16 May 1699. James Seager, Kingswinford, 24 October 1689; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

³⁴ *Hearth Tax for Seisdon and Offlow, Sedgley*, pp. 86-92.

³⁵ *Rent Rolls of Lord Dudley and Ward 1701*, ed. C. H. Bailey, 1882. (Privately printed. Copy at Birmingham Reference Library.)

³⁶ Dudley Reference Library, Archives, 18/1.

³⁷ Foley papers, K.Bf 15-20, C.R.O., Hereford.

Dudley and Ward, and before his death this John Bate styled himself 'gentleman'³⁸.

However, the overwhelming majority of people in Sedgley parish were small masters, and their employees. Between 1685 and 1740, when trades are consistently entered in the parish registers, there are over 5,000 entries referring to nailers, 1,267 entries of colliers, 750 of lock-makers and 229 lime-men. There are 170 references to scythesmiths all from the south-east of the parish where it adjoined the scythemaking district of South Staffordshire and the north of Worcestershire. Until about 1700 the numbers of lock-makers exceeded those of the colliers but in the next decade the colliers overtook them in numbers, and there was a corresponding increase in the numbers of men making ropes, tow dressing and engaged in the trade of 'horse-following'. This is especially noticeable on the Ettingshall side of the parish adjoining Bilston³⁹.

The concentration of families generation after generation in one trade is most marked, and even when a new name intrudes, it often turns out to be that of a son-in-law or cousin. Many of these men were copyholders and most of the nailers had some arable land, a cow or two and a few sheep. The lock-makers and scythesmiths, especially the more wealthy of them, also engaged in husbandry⁴⁰. On the other hand references to yeomen or farmers become very few and scattered in the registers after 1660, although some of the 523 entries of labourers may refer to persons engaged in husbandry. The distinction on this manor between free copyholders who could mine without licence and the base copyholders who had to obtain permission from the lord of the manor or pay a fine was maintained, and encouraged the multiplication of small pits. The court rolls of the eighteenth century abound with references to licences to copyholders to mine on small parcels of land, and the leet-fields of the various townships soon came to present a patchwork of open arable, closes, lime-pits, coal-pits, pools and flooded workings, cottage gardens and workshops⁴¹.

Yet with all this activity there was little change in social pattern. The lord of the manor and the other old families remained in their several relations with one another and the population, though growing rapidly, did not include many new elements.

A great contrast appears in Sedgley's northern neighbour BILSTON. Here in the course of the hundred years before 1760 new trades, new men, new wealth and a new way of life were established. In 1666 Bilston was a village where the lesser gentry families of Pipe, Hoo, Robins and Perry, who had been resident since the Middle Ages, lived in the biggest houses and took the lead in local affairs. In 1666 there were only 46 householders paying tax and 61 certified as exempt⁴². Thirty years later in 1695 a list of the population for taxation purposes names 1006 men and women and children, including a high proportion of young single men. In 1683 the overseers had listed twenty-three men who 'skulking within the constablewick have surreptitiously gained a settlement' but there is no evidence of much later opposition to settlement⁴³. By 1767 a return estimated the population of the chapelry of

³⁸ Dudley Reference Library, Archives, 8/1, 2/10.

³⁹ Transcripts made and kindly lent by F. A. Barnett of Coseley.

⁴⁰ J. S. Roper, *Sedgley Probate Inventories 1614-1687*, 1960.

⁴¹ Dudley Reference Library, Archives, 5/9. Manor-court rolls of Sedgley.

⁴² Hearth Tax returns for Seisdon and Offlow, Bilston, p. 62. Also, *The Wolverhampton Antiquary*, i, No. 5, 1919, p. 154 for the return of 1673.

⁴³ Bilston Parish Register, Staffordshire Parish Register Society, pp. 178-211, 219.

Bilston as 'about 5,000', that is, about ten times that indicated in the hearth-tax return of a hundred years before⁴⁴.

The chapelry was exceedingly rich in mineral resources, and at the end of the seventeenth century these were still being exploited by the local gentry. Mr. Hoo of Bradely had a quarry of building stone,⁴⁵ and William Robins of the Mansion house had a coal-work at the Croft,⁴⁶ where in 1692 he employed Benjamin Wood of London to build him an engine to draw water there, which required four men to keep it going. Samuel Pipe, esquire, was having borings made for coal in Bilston in 1698⁴⁷ and John Perry, gentleman, had an agreement with William Clarke, coalmaster, of Wednesbury to get coal and iron⁴⁸.

By 1760 the picture had changed. The Hoo family much increased their interests becoming lords of the manors of Bradely, Barr and Wednesbury, but ceased to reside in Bilston after 1720. The Perrys, too, in their many branches, scattered. The Pipe family died out. William Robins lived fifteen miles away and 'only came over to collect his rents or more often sent for them'. Later he moved to London⁴⁹.

New men with new fortunes made from new trades came to the fore. In the short period between 1716 and 1730 when trades are given in the register there are 240 references to buckle-makers, 61 to toy-makers and 44 to chape-makers. These trades adapted readily to the introduction of japanning and enamelling about 1720.

Among the new men was Samuel Stone, who was one of the earliest, and for a time the largest, purchaser of black plate from the Knight partnership⁵⁰. By 1741 Dr. Wilkes of Willenhall was writing that 'he has lately built thirteen new houses and is now said to be worth 8 or 10 thousand pounds which he has in twenty years acquired from little or nothing'⁵¹. The building land for his houses, Stone had bought from William Robins at 12d. a yard, but when a few years later a Stafford attorney leased the Mansion House estate it was found that Stone had continued his operations on a neighbouring close to which he had no such claim⁵².

The Knight Partnership in ironworks was that originally built up by Richard Knight of Shrawbury in the late seventeenth century and continued by his sons. Accounts of the Partnership are extant from 1725-1820 and are held at the Kidderminster Public Library. The works included a number of ironworks in the Stour valley formerly held by the Foley family and also ironworks in Shropshire and Warwickshire.

Another new man was Dovey Hawksford. By 1748 there was in Bilston a shop with a mill for grinding enamels which is thought to have been his. Another early enameller was John Bickley⁵³. From about 1730 it was these men who took the lead in local affairs. They continued the fight for independence from the mother church of Wolverhampton, secured a new independent burial-ground, restored the chapel several times, provided it with new bells,

⁴⁴ *Staffordshire Catholic History Journal*, vii, 1965, p. 43.

⁴⁵ R. Plot, *The Natural History of Staffordshire*, 1686, p. 168.

⁴⁶ Hand Morgan papers, uncatalogued, Robins, W.S.L.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 3/5.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, Bilston 3.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, box 34.

⁵⁰ Knight Papers, account books 141, 244, Kidderminster Public Library.

⁵¹ N. W. Tildesley, *Dr. Richard Wilkes*, 1960, p. 6.

⁵² Hand Morgan papers, box 34, W.S.L. See also, W. A. Lewis, 'The Knight family of Wolverley in the West Midlands Iron Industry', unpublished thesis, 1949, Birmingham University.

⁵³ E. and T. Hughes, *English Painted Enamels*, 1951, p. 88.

and new fittings including a fire-extinguisher, and improved the surrounding paths and grounds. They built a new house for the curate, to which at a later date they added 'a necessary house'. In order to 'augment the curacy' they leased church lands to Burslem Sparrow the coal-master. They built a crib, and a new workhouse, appointed a crier and a schoolmaster. They used their business contacts in the service of the chapelry, and themselves subscribed generously to the new undertakings⁵⁴.

Dr. Wilkes was not impressed. He recorded that two of Samuel Stone's sons had attacked the exciseman and robbed him of £56, and complained that 'this village of Bilston for want of some liberal person to govern it is very irregular, and many robberies and some murders I fear have been committed by persons belonging to it; tho' great sums of money have been brought thither by toys'⁵⁵.

Dr. Wilkes' own town of WILLENHALL closely resembled Bilston in its development. He himself was deeply concerned in establishing the independence of the chapelry of Willenhall from the mother church of Wolverhampton placing the advantages of his liberal education at the service of the lockmasters of the town. Among the principal manufacturers was Richard Molineux who came to the village before 1669⁵⁶ and became a regular supplier to the Foleys of the locks they required to fulfill their naval contracts⁵⁷. Other leaders were Samuel Hawksford, fellow chapelwarden with Dr. Wilkes, and Simon Pedley, both of whom obtained iron and plate in quantity from the Knight Partnership. Dr. Wilkes noted that 'since the reign of Elizabeth this place has become very populous and here locks of all kinds are made more than in any town of the same size in England, and the better sort of which tradesmen have erected many good houses'⁵⁸. About the same time the local gentry family died out, leaving the leadership of the community to the locksmiths and Dr. Wilkes. Even so development in Willenhall was slower than in Bilston especially in respect of population and even in 1800 the greater part of the 2,000 acres of the chapelry was still occupied by fields and farms.

The growth of the manufacturing element in the population of many of these urbanised villages was not balanced by a professional or leisured class. The gentry tended on the whole to die out or move away. Not infrequently the manufacturers and masters also moved when they reached a certain level of importance, establishing themselves in Birmingham, Bristol, London or other centres of distribution and credit. In this situation WOLVERHAMPTON as the largest of the South Staffordshire towns tended to provide doctors, attorneys, private schools, luxury shops, and more cultivated forms of entertainment for the whole area. Walsall and Dudley also fulfilled this function though to a much less marked extent.

In 1666 Wolverhampton returned 305 chargeable houses and there were probably a further 200 non-chargeable. These were concentrated in an area of about 206 acres. The central market-square, High Green, was surrounded by fifty-three houses most of which were of four hearths and more, and seventeen of which were occupied by persons described as Mr. or Mrs.⁵⁹. Here were the Town Hall, the Shambles and the Roundabout pump. The shops in High

⁵⁴ Churchwardens' Accounts, Bilston Public Library, Lq.262.3B 41.

⁵⁵ N. W. Tildesley, *Dr. Richard Wilkes*, 1960, p. 6.

⁵⁶ N. W. Tildesley, *History of Willenhall*, 1952, p. 166.

⁵⁷ Foley papers, F VI Ta 40, 43, 91, C.R.O., Hereford.

⁵⁸ Shaw's *Staffordshire*, ii, 1801, p. 148.

⁵⁹ Hearth Tax for Seisdon and Offlow, Wolverhampton, pp. 47-56: *The Wolverhampton Antiquary*, i, No. 4, 1916, p. 115; Isaac Taylor, Map of Wolverhampton, 1750.

Green were on the very largest scale some with stocks valued for probate at over £500⁶⁰.

The four streets which led off from High Green also contained large and impressive houses and were the homes of numerous clergy - Dissenting and even Roman Catholic as well as of the Establishment - a considerable number of gentry, and a number of professional men. There many large inns, 'The Angel', 'The Swan', 'The Cock', and 'The Hand' being the most important. There were barber-surgeons, a bookseller, a silk merchant, a skinner specializing in doeskin, and other luxury trades.

In the smaller streets at one remove from the town centre were numerous houses of one and two hearths. Here lived growing numbers of locksmiths, nailers, pin-makers, thread-makers, leatherworkers, braziers and buckle-makers. Diversity was already a characteristic of the town's manufactures. Some of the manufacturers were fairly wealthy. Thomas Haughton thread-maker was said to be worth £300 a year⁶¹. Thomas Archer, pin-maker, had a grand well-furnished house of three storeys and a summer house in his garden. He had a retail shop where pins and lace were sold and his workshop consisted of three rooms, one of which was called the heading shop, and here the heading-treadle stood⁶².

Wolverhampton was a recognized centre for the distribution of raw materials especially rod-iron, both from the north and from the Stour valley. The Staffordshire Partnership regularly delivered rod in Wolverhampton to their agent there Thomas Loxdale of 'The Hand Inn'⁶³. In 1703 Loxdale was also arranging to sub-let 'The Cock Inn' and this too was used as a warehouse⁶⁴. Mrs. Anne Normansell of High Green also stored rod for the Foleys - but this was a family arrangement for Mrs. Normansell was born Ann Foley. Thomas Loxdale took regular deliveries of rod-iron in small consignments of about a ton at a time, and the ironmasters of Dudley, Tipton and Sedgley came to him for supplies. Carriage from Rugeley Mill to Wolverhampton was 10s. a ton for rod-iron, and bar-iron from Chartley Forge cost 9s. a ton for carriage. One of the regular carriers from Rugeley was John Biddle, another was named Bullock⁶⁵.

The amount of rod-iron delivered in Wolverhampton from Rugeley varied a great deal from year to year. In 1695 the total delivered reached 147 tons. Rod-iron was also being sent regularly to Wolverhampton from the Hyde, Kinver. In the 1730s the Knight Partnership regularly sent about 150 tons of rod from the Hyde to Wolverhampton, the carriage then being 9s. a ton⁶⁶.

The Crowley organization had a warehouse in Wolverhampton in the 1730s for the storage of rod and the collection of nails before they were sent away⁶⁷.

New trades such as screw-making and hinge-making began to appear. Toy-making is increasingly frequently mentioned after 1700. Japanning was introduced about 1720. The Knight Partnership supplied tinned and black plate to the town from 1741 onwards. In 1743,

*" As for example, the shops of John Hanbury, mercer and Jonathon Hickman, mercer. John Hanbury, Wolverhampton, 23 December 1678, Jonathon Hickman, Wolverhampton, 10 July 1701; Prob. Rec. (Peculiar).

Return of Papists 1706, Lichfield Joint Record Office, B A 12/1.

*¹ Thomas Archer, Wolverhampton, 24 February 1707/8; Prob. Rec. (Peculiar).

" Foley papers, GAF 1-34, C.R.O., Hereford.

" Sutherland papers, D 593/P 16/ 2/4/3/, C.R.O., Stafford.

• Foley papers, GAF 1-34, C.R.O., Hereford.

** Knight papers 141 and 142, 244 and 245, Kidderminster Public Library.

• M. Flynn, *Men of Iron*, 1962, p. 142-3.

110 boxes were sent to Wolverhampton - more than to Birmingham. Among those buying and distributing large quantities of plate were Benjamin and John Molineux,⁶⁸ sons of Richard of Willenhall. Like other prosperous ironmasters they built large houses in the town with good gardens⁶⁹.

By the 1740s there was a great deal of speculative building going on in the town. Houses were advertised in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* as 'newly erected,' two, three or four rooms to a floor, with pumps of soft water at the door and sometimes ready built warehouses and shops. New houses to let in Cock Street 'can be altered to suit tenant', another commodious dwelling 'fit for a gentleman or a tradesman'; these and 130 other similar advertisements in fifteen years show a new attitude to urban growth⁷⁰. By 1750 there were 1,440 houses in the town and a population given as 7,450⁷¹. A large population was now regarded not as a threat to the town's prosperity but as an opportunity for trade. Advertising 'The Three Tuns Inn', the seller boasts that this is a newly-erected inn, stands in the market-place of 'a large populous trading town with as good a market as most in England'⁷². Another advertiser with two good houses to let, with shops to the street and brew-houses and pumps in the back yard, pointed out that Dudley Street in which the property lay was the 'best thoroughfare and trading street in the town'⁷³.

The professional and business men played little part in the town government of Wolverhampton. What few elements of borough organization the town had once possessed had fallen into abeyance and the town was governed by two constables appointed by the town meeting. The first constable of whom there is record was the ubiquitous Thomas Loxdale, and others who succeeded him in that office included a barber, a skinner, a butcher and baker, a mercer and chandler. William Tomkys, gentleman, took a turn in 1709 but this is unusual. Similarly the names of those signing the constables' accounts at the town meeting occasionally include a signature of a gentleman or attorney but on the whole the names are those of the middling sort of tradesmen. On the whole neither the most prominent men in industry nor those who took a lead in the professional life of the town took much sustained interest in the government of the town⁷⁴.

The town of DUDLEY though technically in Worcestershire played an important part in Staffordshire industry. From the early seventeenth century it had been a town of nailers and ironmasters, comparable with Walsall in size. The Hearth Tax return of 1664 showed 299 households paying tax and 236 non-chargeable⁷⁵.

Dudley was a meeting-place for men and ideas in industry. It was the home of some of the most important ironmasters. Richard Foley had been its mayor in 1616. At the end of the seventeenth century the Finch family were among the largest purchasers of Foley rod, and in the next generation of rod and plate from the Knight partnership. One member of the family went to Cambridge and established a connexion there but continued active in the

⁶⁸ Knight papers 141 and 142, 244 and 245, Kidderminster Public Library.

⁶⁹ Isaac Taylor, Map of Wolverhampton 1750.

Aris's Birmingham Gazette, 1743-60.

⁷⁰ Isaac Taylor, Map of Wolverhampton 1750.

⁷¹ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 28 December 1746.

⁷² *ibid.*, 30 March 1760.

⁷³ J. S. Roper, *Wolverhampton's Constables Accounts*, 1960.

⁷⁴ J. S. Roper, *Dudley: the Seventeenth Century Town - its History to 1660*, Dudley Public Library Transcript Series No. 5, 1965, p. 5.

Midlands. Later the family went into banking in Dudley". The Finches were Quakers and the Dudley Quaker meeting brought together many men prominent in the iron industry".

Dudley was involved in all the principal trades of the south of Staffordshire, surrounded by the glass, clay and coal-mining parishes to the south and the iron and coal parishes to the north. The main route from Coventry to the Severn at Bridgnorth passed through Dudley, and the horse-sale records show that dealers from Coventry, Nuneaton and Balsall Common made use of Dudley Fairs, as well as people from South Staffordshire and Shropshire⁷⁶.

It is clear that throughout South Staffordshire in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there was an eager response to the demand for increased production of domestic manufactured goods. This response came from every level of society - from the working nailers no less than the great ironmasters. Difficulties of transport of materials and goods were not sufficient to prevent a great expansion in production, and more and more families were involved in industry. Except among the great owners like the Dudleys and the Foleys, capital for financing the developments came almost entirely from the profits of trade itself, and from the complex network of credit backed by the personal integrity of the borrower which already existed among mechanics, labourers and husbandmen in the seventeenth century as well as among business men and landowners. Processes of 'vertical or horizontal integration' of capitalism, and competition, carried on by the great partnerships are mirrored in miniature among the snaffle-makers of Walsall and their neighbours. Every possible kind of relation between employer and employed already existed, and the gradations between the man who owned nothing but his labour and the man who controlled the whole process of his trade were infinite and indistinguishable. One man might be in the relation of both employer and employed, for many still sought their income from a variety of sources. But despite all the variety one can perceive a steady movement towards a society which is industrial and urban, divided by class rather than by locality or trade, and in which the traditional assumptions based on land ownership have become a thing of the past.

77ie Potteries and Newcastle

Such processes were not of course confined to South Staffordshire. They were going on in Worcestershire, in Lancashire, in the Sheffield district and many other places. In North Staffordshire the same trend is very clear.

Wolstanton, Norton-on-the-Moors and Audley parishes had increasing numbers of coal-pits and increasing numbers of families engaged in agriculture but development on the northern coalfield was more gradual than in the south and industry here had not yet decisively 'taken over' as the principal way of life. However, in the parishes of Stoke-on-Trent and the market-town of Newcastle-under-Lyme, there was change in this direction, well before 1760, on a scale comparable with that in the south.

STOKE-ON-TRENT parish was a large rectory with six chapelries. The parish was seven miles across and contained twenty-five townships, spread over the 'banks' and heath lands. Even without Wolstanton, Newcastle and Whitmore, which were technically chapels

⁷⁶ G. Chandler and I. C. Hannah, *Dudley As it was and as it is today*, 1949, p. 84.

⁷⁷ Society of Friends meeting-house registers, Dudley—A. Rollason, *Old non-Parochial Registers of Dudley*, 1899, pp. 3-12.

⁷⁸ Dudley Public Library, Archives, 24/5.

of this rectory, the area involved was well over 15,500 acres⁷⁹. In 1666 there were only about 500 houses and none of the townships contained more than 70 houses. There was a parish church standing almost alone at 'Stoake-super-Trent' and a chapel at Burslem. There were only three really large houses in the whole parish including the rectory. The remainder of the houses were almost all of two hearths or less or listed as non-chargeable⁸⁰.

Many of the houses in Shelton, Burslem and Hanley were inhabited already by potters and flanked by working sheds, pot-ovens, 'smoke houses' and piles of clay, coal and packing.

Eight of the 36 householders paying hearth tax at Shelton can be identified as potters and similarly 14 of the 41 taxpayers at Burslem, and these figures are obviously far from complete. By 1700 the population of the pottery hamlets was growing rapidly. A list of the inhabitants of Shelton made in 1701 showed 100 families made up of 282 adults and 219 children⁸¹. There were said to be thirty-five families of potters established at Burslem by 1710.

Even before 1700 the principal potters were men of substance. At Shelton, Samuel Simpson had a house and workhouse with a pot-oven and several pieces of land. Richard Meir of Shelton had a house with three well-furnished rooms on each floor. His parlour-chamber contained 'two London jugs and two London plates' valued at *1s. 6d.* At Burslem, Thomas and Aaron Wedgwood lived in a style far above the average tradesman of the period with carpets, pictures, mirrors and maps decorating their well-furnished houses, and books, musical instruments, and china in their parlours⁸².

In 1720 a pottery partnership was dissolved between John Fenton of Newcastle, gentleman, and Thomas Hill of Hanley, potter. The provisions made give an indication of the running of a pottery in Shelton at this period. The clay was brought to Shelton by way of both Bridgnorth and Liverpool and delivered to the pottery by carriers, John Newell and Moses Sturgeason. The workhouse consisted of the workshop, and a wain-house with a chamber over it, and the garret and passage of an adjoining house were also used in the trade. The workhouse was furnished with lathes, stampers, mortars and stoves and there were models, moulds, boards and stools. In addition to the clay there was panned flint, shragger-clay, and 'green' ware. The whole stock was valued at £100 at the commencement of the partnership. There were ten men employed as servants and labourers and it was agreed that Fenton should keep them at work for three months after the dissolution of the partnership though this was presumably more in his interests than theirs. The pottery continued in operation coming later into the hands of John Asbury as working partner and manager, and later still into the management of Thomas Taylor. When he took over in 1745 the schedule of stock included two lathes 'and appurtenances', a vice, a throwing-wheel, a clagger-wheel and a separate workshop called the 'slip house'⁸³.

The second and third decades of the eighteenth century was a period of much experiment as the potters competed with each other to produce new colours, better imitations of china, new patterns and types of ware. Some innovations were major contributions to the develop-

⁷⁹ For the whole of the economic history of the parish of Stoke-on-Trent see *V.C.H., Staffs.*, viii, 1963. For articles on pottery industry to 1750 and coal-mining, see *V.C.H., Staffs.*, ii, 1967.

⁸⁰ *Hearth Tax for Pirehill Hundred, Stoke-on-Trent, S.H.C.*, 1921, pp. 153-168.

⁸¹ D 1742/55, C.R.O., Stafford.

⁸² Samuel Simpson, Shelton, 13 April 1704, Richard Meir, Shelton, 15 April 1708, Thomas Wedgwood, Burslem, 4 April 1679, Aaron Wedgwood, Burslem, 16 April 1701; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

⁸³ Aqualate Papers, D(W) 1788/67/22, D(W) 1788/45/4, D(W) 1788/44/9, C.R.O., Stafford.

ment of the industry like Ralph Daniel's introduction of plaster-of-paris moulds⁴⁴. Others were merely bids for a monopoly like Ralph Shaw's 'chocolate and white striped ware with white inside'⁴⁵ but all showed a recognition that, in the sphere of domestic goods, the eye-catching novelty will sell and that fashion is at least as important as usefulness.

At the same time the potters showed a real awareness of the widest markets. Increasing quantities of crate ware were being shipped up the Weaver Navigation from 1730 onwards, principally by agents and carriers, though some of the potters employed their own agents. By 1743 John Mitchell employed four travellers or agents, one each at Bridgwater, Exeter, Plymouth and Falmouth⁴⁶. John Baddeley's firm had an agent in Amsterdam, Alexander Parker, and cargoes of a hundred crates and more were regularly shipped abroad at two-monthly intervals.⁴⁷

The home market was not neglected. Not only did the butter-pot manufacturers and earth-potters continue to produce undistinguished but necessary articles, but the potteries, with their unique appearance began to attract the attention of curious visitors and tourists. One such traveller Bishop Pococke noted among other things, the awareness of the potters of the economic value of such visits - for they welcomed visitors 'with so much civility and obliging behaviour as they look on all that come amongst them as their customers'⁴⁸.

The potters were developing a strong sense of community. In 1720 they went up to London to petition for the prohibition of the import of china-ware. It was thought in London that they should be encouraged, 'the advantage, arising from stone and earthenware being very considerable having a vast number of families engaged in that work'⁴⁹. In 1754 at Lane Delph the potters discussed the disadvantages to the parish of the practice of hiring servants in potting and husbandry for twelve months 'by reason of which many settlements are gained thereby'. They agreed to hire only for eleven months or pay a fine of £ 10 to the Poor Law overseers⁵⁰.

The standard of living of individual potters contrasted sharply with the lack of amenities in the villages. There was still no market, no good shops, no good roads, no water-supply and only one chapel.

Coal-mining was also of great importance. There had been outcrop mining and some underground working from the Middle Ages. By the early eighteenth century there were pits from north to south across the parish from Burslem, Sneyd Green and Birches Head to Hanley and Shelton. The whole area of Fenton Park, Berry Hill and Lane End was pitted with coal-mines and further south again, on the borders of Stone and Caverswall parishes, there were numerous pits near Maer Heath furnace.

The owners included a considerable number of local families, some potters and a few outsiders such as William James of Ashbourne. The ironmasters of Maer Heath and their associates had an increasing share.

⁴⁴ *V.C.H., Staffs.*, viii, 1963.

⁴⁵ Patent number 541, 24 April 1733

⁴⁶ *V.C.H., Staffs.*, viii, 1963. Weaver Navigation papers, Acc. 45, Tonnage books 1733-57, C.R.O., Chester. T. S. Willan, *The Navigation of the River Weaver in the eighteenth century*, Chetham Society, Manchester, 1951, especially pp. 38-40.

⁴⁷ J. Mallett, The Baddeleys of Shelton, *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, vi, part 2, 1966, and part 3, 1967.

⁴⁸ Bp. Pococke, *Travels through England*, Camden Society i, 1888/9, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁹ Burney Fernyhough transcripts of newspapers, ii, p. 608, 5 March 1720/1, W.S.L.

⁵⁰ Notebook of Richard Parrott, MS., Newcastle Museum, p. 65.

The mines were numerous rather than large and fragments of accounts for the Fenton Park mines show profits of the order of £4 to £5 a week⁹¹. The Yew Tree mine at Goldenhill was leased for a time by George Sparrow, the coalmaster, with a partner for a rent of £3 a year. Only three pikemen were employed, and the total number of workers was never more than six. The coal for which there was a great 'daily demand' was fetched away by the potters in horse loads of 2½ cwt. and sold at ½d. a cwt. The workmen worked under the supervision of Thomas Coleclough the banksman, a local man. The drainage consisted of a sough built at a cost of £100. When George Sparrow took over, the work had been abandoned at a depth of 14 yards and a length of 150 yards⁹².

Terms of employment varied. In some pits colliers were employed for a weekly wage, others by the amount of coal got, others again in agreement for a share of the coal. Thomas Emery of Stoke-on-Trent employed John Jones from Dilhorne for 1s. 6d. a week to draw coal and provided him with food, drink, lodging and washing⁹³. Colliers usually had their tools provided, though they might own a pick or a mandrell or two. They were on the whole poor men living in cottages but they usually possessed a cow.

Ironstone was also mined at Maer Heath, the ironstone going to the furnace there and the furnace at Vale Royal in Cheshire. The mines were leased out by Lord Gower to a succession of ironmasters including Richard Foley, Obadiah Lane, Thomas Cotton and Jonathan Kendall. The ironstone getters worked in groups - Richard Taberner and partners, Thomas Lockett and partners - being paid by the dozen got. The weighing was done at Maer Heath furnace by Joseph and Thomas Hemmings and Moses Atkins. Ironstone miners and coal miners were separate groups though often working in the same pits. Some of them lived in cottages erected for the purpose on intakes near the furnace⁹⁴.

The furnace employed about a dozen men directly but probably only the stock-taker and the labourers were local men. The stock-taker George Bagguley was paid five shillings a week,⁹⁵ his brother Thomas had been a 'collier to the furnace'⁹⁶.

The chief opportunity for people of Stoke-on-Trent lay in the constant demand for carrying services for the furnace. Wood and charcoal were brought in from estates all over North Staffordshire and the south of Cheshire. Normacote Grange in Obadiah Lane's time was the principal warehouse for rod-iron and the centre of its distribution to the ironmasters. The iron-pigs from the furnace had to be carried south to the forges and the castings to the customers.

Throughout this vast parish, industry whether in coal, iron or pottery was increasingly the major force of development. In pottery the gradations between master and man were still very gradual but the gap between men like the Wedgwoods and the working butter-pot maker was very great indeed and becoming greater all the time. In coal-mining in the north, the collier and his master were almost entirely separated, the collier working under the banks-

⁹¹ Aqualate papers, D(W) 1788/F/Fenton, C.R.O., Stafford.

⁹² Exchequer E 134/9/7, Public Record Office.

⁹³ Dilhorne P.A., D 5a P.O., 39, C.R.O., Stafford.

⁹⁴ B. C. L. Johnson, *The Iron Industry of Cheshire and North Staffordshire: 1688-1712*, N.S.F.C., lxxxviii, 1954 for 1953/4, p. 37. Deeds with references concerning the North Staffordshire ironmines are very numerous. They include in C.R.O., Stafford, the Sutherland papers D 593/M/1/1, D 593/1/3/13, Aqualate papers D(W) 1788/67/33, and the Heathcote papers D 788/32/10; Notebook of Richard Parrott, MS., Newcastle Museum, pp. 106, 193, 260.

⁹⁵ Foley Papers, GAF 1-34, C.R.O., Hereford.

⁹⁶ Thomas Bagguley, Stone, 15 October 1660; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

man in pits owned by capitalists whom the working collier scarcely ever saw, and who had many other interests besides coal-mining. This was much more marked than in the south where the working copyholder-collier was still an important element, and indeed could be a bar to the great capitalist.

In spite of the rapid growth of population and wealth there was little improvement in amenities. Not until after 1760 were turnpike roads, markets, chapels and schools established in the parish. For all these the population still depended on Newcastle-under-Lyme the adjacent market-town and route centre.

The Hearth Tax return for NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME (1665-6) gives 279 householders of whom 104 were non-chargeable. A rough map of the town made in 1691 shows these to have been concentrated in two main parallel streets and various small cross-streets. The area of the old borough was 554 acres. The houses were on the whole small, over 100 are of only one or two hearths⁹⁷. This seems to confirm the report in 1673 that the town 'was large, the streets broad and paved but the buildings are low and for the most part thatched'⁹⁸.

Newcastle was an important station on the post-road from London to Chester, and the only considerable market for the north-west of the county. There was 'a great market on Mondays for cattle, some horses and sheep with plenty of provisions'. The London cheese-factors had an agent here as at Uttoxeter and a weekly carrier set out from London for the town every Monday.

The principal trade of the town was hat-making, the hats being of the cheaper coarser kind of wool felt, produced for general use. The felt-makers of the borough petitioned Parliament in 1698 setting forth that 'there are a great number of hat-makers of the town who formerly employed nine or ten journeymen each and many other persons in ordering materials for the making of hats but now the said trade is so decayed by reason that servants and others have left off wearing felt hats, that many are become objects of charity for want of employment'⁹⁹. In spite of these troubles the hat-makers and felt-makers continued to prosper. In 1734 twenty-seven were listed in the poll-book and eleven journeymen-hatters out of a total of nearly 450 voters listed¹⁰⁰.

The equipment of the workshop of the Newcastle hatter consisted of various boilers and vats, moulding-blocks, and planks; Richard Colley had nearly 500 pounds of wool in his shop when he died - 'fine washt 28 lb worth £14, 51 lb unwashed fine, ordinary wight, unsorted, ordinary unwasht, and rough wool.' He kept the chemicals required in the old parlour in his house - logwood, redwood, galls, cheen wood and copas, and also some camel's hair. Hats in stock were valued at £14 but these might have been cheap children's hats at a shilling or so each or expensive men's hats at 16 shillings apiece, so little idea of the quantity of his stock can be gained¹⁰¹.

The hat-making trade was one in which men worked long hours especially in winter and which had a highly organized system of tramping in the summer¹⁰². This may possibly be

⁹⁷ For the economic history of Newcastle in general see *V.C.H., Staffs.*, viii, 1963, pp. 1-35, T. Pape, *Newcastle-under-Lyme in the eighteenth century*, microfilm (undated) in Newcastle Borough Library.

⁹⁸ R. Blome, *Britannia*, 1673, p. 204. There is a copy of the Staffordshire portion in W.S.L.

⁹⁹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, xii, 6 March 1698, p. 551.

¹⁰⁰ Poll-book, Newcastle-under-Lyme 1734. (At Newcastle Public Library).

¹⁰¹ Ralph Colley, Newcastle, 12 December 1698, Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

¹⁰² P. M. Giles, *The Felt-Hatting Industry*, *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, lxi, 1960 for 1959, p. 104.

reflected in the occasional notes in the parish register concerning hatters, also described as 'strangers'¹⁰³.

In 1692 Thomas Blaine of Newcastle, mercer, died. His principal creditor was John Crosby of Knutsford, Cheshire¹⁰⁴. A generation later a John Crosby appears as the principal agent, shipping hats up the Weaver Navigation. In 1755 he shipped to the north fifty-five crates and cases of hats. He was also an agent for shipping stocking-frames, pottery and ironstone. Other agents shipping cases, terces or hogsheads of hats were Thomas Fletcher, Foster Cunliffe, Captain Roberts, William Davenport and company, but it has not proved possible to connect these men with Newcastle¹⁰⁵. However by 1795 it was said that 'a considerable quantity of the hats made here are for the use of the surrounding country which is very populous, but by far the greater share of them is sent by orders to all parts of the Kingdom'¹⁰⁶.

Shoemaking was also an important trade in Newcastle. The town's officers had included lookers and sealers of leather since 1631, and there were thirty-seven shoemakers listed among the voters in the 1734 poll book. There is no other marked occupation group, the rest of the voters being retailers, victuallers, and people providing a service such as apothecaries, barbers, tailors. A number of occupations appear only once in the list, a nailer, a staymaker, a stocking-weaver, a jersey-comber, a gunsmith and a plumber, for example, and several of the more important tradesmen have a double style - mercer and grocer, maltster and chandler, joiner and victualler.

Newcastle was a centre of distribution for the whole of the north-west of the county, including the growing Potteries. In Newcastle there were mercers, ironmongers and grocers whose stock in trade was valued over £500 and whose total inventories of domestic goods, trade and private credits, and stock amounted at their deaths to over £2,000. Samuel Rock, apothecary, had shop goods worth £679, outstanding debts of £867, and £90 worth of clothes, plate and cash. John Proctor, mercer, had cloth worth over £300 in his shop. William Beard, chandler, had tallow-candles in his shop worth £221 and also sold grocery, haberdashery and strong waters. William Beard was a Dissenter who registered his house as a place of Non-conformist worship in 1689 a year before his death. There were a pair of virginals in his parlour, an item which with eleven shillings worth of books marks him out as an exceptionally cultured man in seventeenth century Staffordshire¹⁰⁷.

Newcastle was the home of a number of attorneys. Thomas Fenton, Thomas Fernyhough, John Bourne and their associates played a considerable part in assisting the potters, coal-masters and ironmasters of the north of the county in building up their businesses in the early part of the eighteenth century. They appear at every turn, drawing up agreements, working out formulae of partnership, conducting the endless and multifarious lawsuits at every level from that of the manorial court to the Courts of Chancery. When Richard Parrot was articled in 1752 his notebook of examples and cases included a large proportion dealing with industrial cases and problems¹⁰⁸.

Thomas Fenton, attorney, was mayor in 1732 but, on the whole, the government of the

103 Newcastle Parish Register, ii, Staffordshire Parish Register Society, pp. 67, 96, 112, 199.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Blaine, Newcastle 24 March 1691/2; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

¹⁰⁵ Weaver Navigation papers, Acc. 45, Tonnage books 1733-57, C.R.O., Chester.

J. Aikin, *Fifty miles round Manchester*, 1795, p. 515.

¹⁰⁶ Samuel Rock, Newcastle, 9 October 1691, John Proctor, Newcastle, 18 April 1701, William Beard, Newcastle, 25 September 1690; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

¹⁰⁷ Notebook of Richard Parrot, MS., Newcastle Museum.

borough was in the hands of the middling tradesmen. The mayors between 1733 and 1749 included grocers, bakers, apothecaries, a bookseller, a hatter, the keeper of 'The Old Roebuck,' a Chandler and a shoemaker. They were concerned with the usual matters of town government, scavenging, water-supply and the administration of the Poor Law. Water-pumps were built in 1727, and a new workhouse in 1731. The poor were badged and increasingly controlled. Cotton spinning was introduced into the workhouse in 1732. The market gave rise to traffic problems, and the potato-sellers and other salesmen had to be moved to another part of the town. A new town hall had been built in 1713. But the main preoccupation of the burgesses appear to have been the main roads which gave Newcastle its importance, and they secured a good representation among the Turnpike Commissioners in the statutes of 1714, 1735, and 1752¹⁰⁹.

Other parts of Staffordshire

Industrial development in other parts of Staffordshire was slower. BURTON-ON-TRENT was important as a commercial centre and, after 1698, as an inland port. In the early seventeenth century it had been known as a centre of the clothing trade and a number of weavers and hatters are to be found there. The special properties of the water for brewing were recognized but, as the historian of the brewing trade has emphasized, real development on a large scale did not begin till after 1740¹¹⁰. The first wholesale brewer is thought to have been Benjamin Printon and a contemporary of his was Henry Abrahams, brewer, who lived in Church Street. His house was flanked by malting rooms and other buildings and he had a brother in London a looking-glass maker. He had another house in High Street and land in Rolleston, so appears to have been a substantial man though his inventory is missing¹¹¹. After 1740 the pace began to quicken and Mr. Samuel Sketchley of 'The Three Queens' was not the only Burton-on-Trent brewer who decided to 'leave off the public employ and enter into the common brewery'¹¹². John Hickin an attorney of Stafford, who had a partnership in a new glass-house at Bilston, made a list in 1757 of the brewers in Lichfield and Burton, presumably with the hope of selling them bottles. The list names six in Burton including Mr. Wilson who subsequently established a large export trade and Mr. Sketchley. The others named are Mr. Ford, Mr. Evans, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Leason¹¹³.

The silk industry was certainly established at LEEK by 1686. There are occasional references in the parish registers to silk-weavers and John Wood who died in 1673 left looms and wheels worth £4, and silk dyed and undyed, worth nearly £300, more silk at London worth £18 and buttons worth £100¹¹⁴. Between 1700 and 1755 there are seven button-men mentioned in the parish registers and two mohair-men¹¹⁵. William Johnson silk-weaver of Leek went bankrupt in 1729 and silk-buttons and thread were in the pack of a Leek packman robbed at West Bromwich in 1758¹¹⁶. However even by 1750 the town appeared to Bishop

¹⁰⁹ Town Order Book, ii, Newcastle Museum.

¹¹⁰ P. Mathias, *History of the Brewing Industry*, 1959, pp. 174-5.

¹¹¹ Henry Abrahams, Burton-on-Trent, 14 July 1726; Prob. Rec. (Peculiar).

¹¹² *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 12 October 1747.

¹¹³ Hand Morgan papers, uncatalogued, Bilston box 3, W.S.L.

¹¹⁴ John Wood, Leek, 15 April 1673; Prob. Rec. (Consistory).

¹¹⁵ J. Sleight, *History of Leek*, 1862; first edition with annotations, in W.S.L.

¹¹⁶ Burney-Fernyhough transcripts of newspapers, 31 May 1729, p. 370, W.S.L., *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 9 December 1754.

Pococke as possessed of a 'large Square for a market but little trade except making thread, buttons and some ribbons'¹¹⁷. There were a few fairly large-scale retailers, but industrial and commercial development did not really accelerate until after the Stockport-Leek road had been turnpiked.

In both Burton and Leek great potential development was retarded by poor communications. In the hardware districts these problems though serious were not insurmountable.

Neither the county town of STAFFORD nor the cathedral city of LICHFIELD showed any marked development of industry in this period. Stafford was principally an administrative centre, the home of many gentry and a centre of the retail trade. Lichfield was a not inconsiderable centre of provincial culture with literary, scientific and artistic preoccupations, the home of many gentry and clergy and with a corresponding growth of luxury retail trade. It was also an important centre of communications.

It cannot be said that in these places industry was changing the lives of the population to a marked extent as it certainly was in the Potteries and in the Black Country.

DISCUSSION

What general conclusions emerge from this mass of detail? In the first place it is evident that the change over to a predominantly industrial way of life was a gradual process, a swing of emphasis. The industrial leaders came on the whole from among the yeomen and craftsmen who made the most of the opportunities presented to them by growing markets abroad and increasing domestic consumption of manufactured goods. Their resources were drawn from their families, from land, from marriages, from the network of credit among men who had close ties. By the 1750s these families whether in coal, iron, potting or glass had moved far beyond the parish and manorial pattern from which they had sprung, and the gap between employer and employed was getting wider all the time.

Secondly, this was a period when there was an extraordinary diversity of terms of employment. A man might be employed for weekly wages, on piece-work terms, he might go 'parts' with his employer, be his hired servant or follow the old pattern of apprenticeship and journeyman. He might work in his own workshop buying his own raw materials in small quantities and selling his products himself, either locally or to the merchants, or he might be employed in his master's workshop along with twenty or more other workers.

Thirdly, the domestic worker was by no means condemned to a life of unending and unrewarded toil. At the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth many could and did make a substantial living. It is interesting to notice some of the small men hiring out bellows and workshops, and renting out cottages. The inevitable 'debts by bond or speciality' in the inventories suggest a certain surplus. Not all of them could have been 'very desparate'. It was from among such men after all that the Crowleys, Molineux, and Warburtons emerged.

By 1750 agriculture in the parishes discussed was largely subordinate to industry. The leet-fields were a patchwork of pits, closes, workshops or pot-ovens, and open arable. The opportunities for carrying services became the farmers' stand-by. Farms were advertised as 'suitable for a team carrying nails' and their nearness to ironworks or coal-mines became a seller's recommendation. In 1754 a correspondent to *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* commented 'the chief quantities of coal, iron and other goods of this country are carried by men who rent small farms into which these parts are very much divided. These men raise little or no corn

¹¹⁷ Bp. Pococke, *Travels through England*, Camden Society, i, 1888 p. 213.

except for their own use, expecting to pay their rents and subsist themselves principally by carriage and generally keep five or six extraordinary horses for that purpose . . . '. The same writer also mentioned that the corn which was consumed in the area came from 'remote parts . . . as far as 20 or 30 miles'¹¹⁸.

Both around the Potteries and around the Black Country by 1760 there was much market-gardening and dairy-farming to supply the industrial population. It was noted that agricultural rents were much higher in the vicinity of manufacturing districts, since the availability of manure, the ready sale of products, and the chances of speculative building all improved the value of the land¹¹⁹.

A new class of industrial 'white-collar workers' was slowly coming into existence. Even before 1760 the numbers of travellers, agents, clerks, nail-factors, warehouse-keepers, stock-takers, weighers and tellers were already growing, and there were more and more opportunities for boys who could read and write a little and had a mind to 'improve' themselves.

New kinds of communities were coming into existence at Bilston and Burslem, at Hanley and Wednesbury, dominated by successful small masters who were unconcerned about grandeur or landed property and kept close to their work, even when wealthy. They owed little or nothing to the gentry, the Established Church, or to the lords of the manor. They had contacts and agents in London, Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool and abroad. They were quick to experiment and to seize new markets and to try new types of organization. Against this background men like Josiah Wedgwood and John Wilkinson appear not less remarkable but as less isolated figures, products of their environment, outstanding examples of a type already familiar in Staffordshire before 1760.

¹¹⁸ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 9 December 1754.

¹¹⁹ W. Pitt, *A General View of the Agriculture of Staffordshire*, 1794, pp. 237-8.

'CASTLE' AND 'MANOR': PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE IN THE BOROUGH OF TAMWORTH IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

D. G. STUART

THE TOWNSHEND MANUSCRIPTS deposited in Tamworth Public Library¹ throw a good deal of light on the methods by which George 4th Viscount Townshend established his political influence in the borough of Tamworth in the 1760s. They are particularly useful for a study of the election campaign of 1765, and provide an opportunity to examine in detail how borough patrons influenced voters in elections to the unreformed House of Commons.

Tamworth first returned two members to Parliament in 1563, and continued to return two M.P.s until 1885 when it lost its separate representation. Palmer² suggests that the Corporation returned the members in 1563, while Wedgwood³ believes that popular election began after the granting of the 1588 charter, but there is no evidence to confirm or disprove these views. In a petition to the House of Commons in 1640 the inhabitants claimed that they had possessed the right to vote 'tyme out of minde'⁴. All the inhabitants voted in the election of 1669, but the result was disputed, and a House of Commons committee resolved that the right to vote lay only in the bailiffs and capital burgesses⁵. However following the election of 1698 the Commons held that the right of election lay in the inhabitants paying scot and lot and in the freeholders whether resident or not⁶. The final determination of the franchise - which restricted the vote to the borough inhabitants paying scot and lot and not receiving alms - came in 1723'. There were still some subsequent difficulties of definition, for 'scot and lot' was a term that lacked precision in Tamworth, as elsewhere, and disputes occurred over the compilation of the poor-rate book, in effect the electoral register. In number of electors Tamworth was amongst those boroughs of middle size: the poll-books shows the total number of persons voting in 1741 to have been 263", while on the eve of the Reform Act of 1832 the number of electors was stated to be 470".

From the outset Tamworth's parliamentary representation was much influenced by the local aristocracy and gentry. Chief amongst these influences was that of the family owning near-by Drayton Manor. After Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester had acquired the manor

¹ Hereafter referred to as 'TPL Townsh.' with number. This is a collection of 227 documents, mostly letters to and from George 4th Viscount Townshend. All concern Tamworth save a few on Norfolk estate and election affairs. They were acquired by the Corporation of Tamworth from the Marquess of Townshend in 1912.

² C. F. Palmer, *History of the Town and Castle of Tamworth*, 1845, p. 109.

³ J. C. Wedgwood, *Staffordshire Parliamentary History, S.H.C.*, 1917, p. 357.

⁴ Quoted in Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii.

⁵ *Journals of House of Commons*, 26 March 1670.

• *ibid.*, 17 March 1698/9.

⁷ *ibid.*, 23 January 1722/3.

" Poll-book for 1741 election, deposited in Tamworth Borough Archives, together with a number of other documents from the Townshend manuscripts, including the agreements between Townshend, Weymouth and Luttrell.

⁹ *Report of the Commissioners of the Parliamentary Boundary of Tamworth*, 1832.

he passed it to his wife, Lettice, widow of the 1st Earl of Essex. Her son, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, in the process of building up his power and reputation in the country, used his mother's influence at Tamworth to nominate most of the borough's M.P.s from 1588 until his execution in 1601. The Manor eventually came, by marriage, in 1673, into the possession of Thomas Thynne, later 1st Viscount Weymouth. The Thynne family enjoyed a near monopoly of the nomination of one of Tamworth's M.P.s for over a hundred years. In 1790 Thomas 3rd Viscount Weymouth and 1st Marquess of Bath sold his property within the borough itself to the elder Robert Peel¹⁰. The Peels continued to nominate on the Manor interest, and the family represented Tamworth in Parliament until 1880.

There were numerous other local gentry with an influence on Tamworth's voters. The Swynfens of Swynfen Hall were the champions of Dissent and Whiggism until the 1720s, and Thomas Guy also represented the Nonconformist cause in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. There were other local personalities of Anglican sympathies, and denominational rivalry was an element in the contested elections in the borough in the later Stuart and early Hanoverian periods. But next to that of the Manor the chief influence in Tamworth was exercised by the 'Castle'. The Ferrers family, who had been in possession of the Castle since the early fifteenth century, had exercised some influence on elections in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign and up to the 1620s. Thereafter their influence had temporarily declined, and for the remainder of the century the Castle was only one amongst a number of smaller local 'interests', all overshadowed by the Manor. The local gentry usually agreed amongst themselves on one nominee for the borough representation, leaving the Manor to nominate for the other vacancy without challenge. The situation began to change when in 1716 the Ferrers heiress, Elizabeth Shirley, married James Compton, 5th Earl of Northampton. The political influence of the Castle enjoyed a revival, and Compton nominees sat for Tamworth from 1727 to 1747. Such a simple division of the borough between Castle and Manor was however resented by the other gentry, and after 1751, when George, afterwards 4th Viscount Townshend, married Charlotte Compton, heiress to the Ferrers title and estates, he encountered considerable opposition in his attempt to establish his political interest.

Townshend's first attempt to get a nominee elected, in the by-election of 1756, failed. Then a new contender for political influence entered the local scene for the 1761 election in the person of Simon Luttrell of Four Oaks, Sutton Coldfield.¹¹ Luttrell had acquired some local influence by his marriage to a niece of Sir Robert Lawley of Canwell, and he also possessed a little property in the borough.¹² This, plus his ability to attract some support from Dissenters, gave him a foothold in the borough, but his chief means of influence was the money he employed liberally at election time in the more immediate forms of persuasion. Townshend was impressed by Luttrell's prospects of success and did not seek to nominate for this election and on 6 March, 1761, three weeks before the election, he came to an agreement with Luttrell to join forces for the election subsequent to 1761.¹³ They decided to try to return two members but also agreed that, if there was a compromise with the Manor whereby the representation should be shared, their right to nominate should alternate according to the

¹⁰ Thynne MSS., Longleat, papers relating to the sale of the Staffordshire and Warwickshire estates. Peel paid £15,500 for the Manor property in the borough, and acquired the mansion itself at Drayton in 1796.

¹¹ Simon Luttrell, 1713-1787, was created 1st Baron Irnham in 1768 and 1st Earl of Carhampton in 1785. His son Henry was John Wilkes' opponent, and his daughter Ann (Horton, a widow) married Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, brother of George III, a marriage which helped to occasion the Royal Marriages Act of 1772.

¹² Tamworth Borough Archives (TBA) 8/3(a), TPL Townsh. 185, and B.M. Additional MSS. 41152.

¹³ TBA 7/55(b).

result of the 1761 election; if Luttrell was successful, then Townshend would nominate. However, Luttrell was unsuccessful and, therefore, he had the right to nominate in the joint interest at the next election.

The result of the election in 1761 was:

George Villiers	152
Sir Robert Burdett	131
Simon Luttrell	122
William Abney	7 ¹⁴

George Villiers was the Manor candidate, Sir Robert Burdett was the nominee of the local gentry. The fourth candidate, Abney, had stood for election only at the last moment, and his name had to be written into the printed poll-books. He was the owner of Moat House, which he had bought a few years earlier; whether he was brought in by Luttrell as a running mate, or stood on his own or some other interest, is not known.

In 1765 there was a by-election for the borough. Townshend first endeavoured to come to terms with Weymouth. His brother Charles opened negotiations with Earl Gower, acting for Weymouth, but the negotiations broke down because Weymouth insisted on nominating for the immediate vacancy whatever agreement might be reached for the future. Both sides began an expensive campaign. During the preceding year Townshend had bought much property in the borough, as a result of which the Castle voting strength had almost doubled. He now came to a fresh agreement with Luttrell¹⁵. Luttrell's son, Henry, was to be jointly nominated and the expenses shared. If Luttrell was returned Townshend was to name both candidates at the next general election, with Simon Luttrell sharing the expenses, otherwise they would name one candidate each. In the event of Henry Luttrell's failure in 1765 and a compromise being reached with the Manor, Townshend and Luttrell would decide by lot which of them should nominate for their seat at the next election.

Yet another agreement between Townshend and Luttrell followed the withdrawal of Henry Luttrell from Tamworth in 1765 to stand for the borough of Bossinney in Cornwall. They now decided¹⁶ that Townshend should nominate for 1765, and to put up two candidates for the next general election unless they compromised with the Manor, when Luttrell was to have the nomination. The Manor candidate for the 1765 by-election was Edward Thurlow (later to become Lord Chancellor) while Townshend's candidate was George Shirley, son of the 1st Earl Ferrers. But even with a local man and an expenditure of £5,000 up to the beginning of October, (with the election still three months away), Castle prospects were none too rosy and Townshend decided to call off the contest. With Townshend making the major concession over the 1765 election Weymouth was ready to compromise for the future. He and Townshend signed an agreement on 29 October whereby the latter, with Luttrell, was to have a safe seat, provided by Weymouth, at Weobley or elsewhere, on payment of £1,000, and subsequently to share Tamworth's representation with the Manor¹⁷. Townshend now required a new agreement with Luttrell and they arranged¹⁸ that Luttrell should have their joint seat at Tamworth at the next election, after which Townshend would be free to name his own candidate.

¹⁴ TBA, poll-book 1761 election.

¹⁵ TPL Townsh., 73.

¹⁶ B.M. Add. MSS. 41152.

¹⁷ TBA 7/55 (a).

» *ibid.*

The result of the 1765 election was the uncontested return of Thurlow. Meanwhile Luttrell had become highly unpopular in some quarters in the borough, and perhaps aware of this sought a guarantee from Townshend whereby he was to receive £5,000 if he should not be returned for the seat. Townshend was violently angry, complaining that Luttrell had only himself to blame for the situation by not paying his share of the 1765 election bills¹⁹. A public quarrel occurred when the two men met at the opera and friends had to intervene to prevent a duel²⁰. The struggle to get Luttrell to pay his share of the 1765 election expenses went on for two years before the matter was settled by arbitration. Townshend was relieved when, in 1768, a final agreement was made with Luttrell²¹. The latter obtained the nomination at Weobley which Weymouth owed to Townshend, under a penalty of £6,000 should he fail to be returned! In the event, however, there was no slip-up, and Luttrell was duly returned for Weobley. With Luttrell out of the way, and Weymouth forced to compromise Townshend was now firmly established at Tamworth. Castle and Manor subsequently monopolized the representation of the borough for the next fifty years.

So far only the relations between the various patrons in the borough of Tamworth have been examined. The relation between patron and voter was no less complex. The direct forms of influence on the Tamworth electors can be classified and are to some extent measured in the analysis which follows. Less tangible but no less important an element in this relationship was the traditional loyalty, to Castle or to Manor, felt by the elector. Such loyalty, was sustained by charitable benefactions by the patrons, and by other forms of service to the community. The absence of significant political difference between the patrons and between the candidates was a further factor in the mid-eighteenth century political scene. But the examination of the ways of influencing Tamworth's voters which follows is not intended to suggest that they were merely bullied or bribed into submission.

Townshend's most important means of influencing electors in Tamworth lay in his possession of property in the borough. The marriage to Charlotte Baroness Ferrers had brought him the ownership of 44 tenements in the borough, consisting of houses, barns, land, and a water supply²². An annotated poll-book of the 1761 election shows there were 25 Castle tenants who were also electors, and that Townshend's 'interest' made 36 votes altogether. As stated above Townshend now began to spend money lavishly on acquiring further property in the borough²³. The canvass lists for the 1765 election²⁴ show the results of this expenditure. The number of Castle tenants with votes rose to 43, of whom 9 are marked as 'opposed' and 2 as 'uncertain'. The influence of tenants and friends on other voters accounted for another 22 certain and 5 uncertain votes. Thus in 1765 Townshend's property in Tamworth, in its direct and indirect aspects, could be said to be worth 60 or 65 votes to his nominee for the seat.

The electoral influence of property was exerted in a number of ways. Tenants were expected to vote for their landlord's candidate and usually did so as a normal return for their occupation of his property. For those whose sense of obligation was not so strong the threat of eviction was always in the background, even if actual eviction was relatively rare. It was naturally

¹⁹ Townshend MSS. (Rainham), Letter Book, 15 March 1767.

²⁰ *The Letters and Journal of Lady Mary Coke*, ed. J. H. Home, i, 1889, p. 189.

²¹ TPL Townsh. 77, a letter dated 15 January 1768 to Henry Luttrell referring to the agreement.

²² B.M. Add. MSS. 6673, f. 231, Townshend Rentals.

as XPL Townsh. 182, Account of Property purchased by Willington, shows an expenditure of £16,668.

²⁴ TPL Townsh. 137.

not a popular proceeding, and had to be used with care. When Weymouth turned out some of his tenants, Townshend's agent reported it was popularly attributed to a Manor-Castle link-up:

Affairs at Tamworth would be very still and quiet if Lord Weymouth did not turn out his tenants. That thing causes great speculation. The people say if this be comperomising Dam Comperomisation ..²⁵

Tenants were occasionally excused from their payment of rent, and those who were in arrears were obviously vulnerable to pressure, like Benjamin Eades, against whose name in the 1765 canvass list Townshend's agent had noted '£17 in arrears'. But this form of influence does not seem to have been much used by Townshend in the 1760s, and never on the scale practised by Lord Gower at Newcastle in the earlier nineteenth century²⁶. The 1765 canvass shows at times an intimate knowledge of the private affairs of Tamworth voters, and no trouble was too much for Townshend's agents to try to gain a vote. For example Edward Marris was a Castle tenant who also occupied Weymouth property jointly with another man, Dyott, who had won him over to the Weymouth cause. Marris remaining impervious to the persuasion of Castle agents, they turned their attention to his wife. In return for their paying off a debt of £4 which she had incurred she promised to 'plague' her husband until he voted correctly²⁷. It was to no avail, however. The last canvass shows Marris still opposed, though at the cost of what domestic discord can only be imagined.

In the political influence of property ownership in the borough Townshend was at a disadvantage *vis-d-vis* Weymouth who had 72 voting tenants²⁸ to his 43, plus whatever influence Weymouth's tenants and friends could wield over others. Thus Townshend had recourse to other means of persuading the electors. A few votes, at least eight and probably more, came from Townshend's ability to offer employment or custom to tradesmen in the town; for example Thomas Brittan did all the masonry repairs on Townshend property. Special services to individuals brought in another handful of votes: Townshend's high rank in the army - he was a Major-General in 1761 - and his contacts with important officials gave him the means of satisfying some of the stream of requests that came to him from Tamworth inhabitants. His assistance was solicited in obtaining pensions, commissions, transfers, discharges, excise posts and a wide variety of jobs. Samuel Freeman's modest plea for 'a tide-waiter's place or something in the Ordnance that will be bread for him'²⁹ is a typical example of the sort of request that came to Townshend in abundance. Such services were necessarily performed only sporadically and often for individuals who were already assured supporters as part of the long-term cultivation of Townshend's 'interest'. It is thus difficult to assess their influence on particular elections, but for three or four voters in 1765 it is the only means of influence over them that can be found. Another important source of patronage lay in the clerical livings which Townshend had at his disposal, for the pulpit was used openly as a platform for political propaganda, as in 1761 when the Rev. James Oldershaw had supported Luttrell. In 1765 Townshend contemplated buying the advowson of the parish church from Charles Repington, the patron, so influential was the local incumbent.

²⁵ TPL Townsh. 107.

²⁶ *Report of Commissioners for Municipal Corporations, 1837*, states that Gower tenants lived 20 years in their houses without paying rent.

²⁷ TPL Townsh. 119.

²⁸ TPL Townsh. 137 and B.M. Add. MSS. 41152.

²⁹ TBA 7/55 (d).

Friendly gestures as well as recommendations for jobs were part of the task of 'nursing' the constituency. A memorandum amongst the 1765 election papers for Townshend to send 'some Turnep seed to Mr. Roby and a man to hoe Turneps in the summer'³⁰ is a reminder of the services of the Townshend family to agriculture generally. But for election campaign purposes they were of small significance. More immediate forms of influence were needed if victory was to be a possibility. All the means of persuasion so far analysed had brought Townshend, in 1765, the prospect of only about 70 votes, barely half the number required to ensure victory if the contest were to be continued to the point of a written poll. It was necessary to use direct financial inducements to win voters over whom Townshend had no other means of influence. Open bribery was illegal, so in 1765 'loans' of money were made to 42 people, the amount lent totalling £813 19s. Only 5 seem to have been genuine, and marked 'to be repaid'³¹; the others were outright gifts. Of the 42 recipients, 4 were not voters, while another 4 can be shown to be under some other form of influence. Of the remainder 2 who had been previously opposed are shown by the canvass to have changed their minds; another 4 were Weymouth tenants and their promise to vote for Townshend's nominee may be assumed to have been the result of the loan; 10 voters previously noted as uncertain or doubtful became assured supporters, and 6 former probables became certainties. Thus at least 16 new votes were secured by loans, and probably the figure for persons decisively influenced by this means was over 20.

In the last canvass of 1765, before Townshend came to his agreement with Weymouth, 145 electors are noted as supporters of Shirley the Castle candidate. For about 90 to 100 of these it has been possible, in the above analysis, to suggest a material reason for their promise of support. The others cannot be accounted for individually. Some may have been influenced by the pre-election treating, which was on a lavish scale: Townshend agents provided food and drink for 80 persons to the value of 5s. each per day for 110 days up to 5 November. The bill for this £2,200³². Such treating was the sole means of influence over 40 or 50 of the total number of voters Townshend required for victory at a contest, and they were obviously susceptible to counter-influence by Weymouth of a similar character. With his total election bill already little short of £5,000³³ Townshend may have been more willing to compromise with Weymouth, whose purse anyway was as long as his.

The last important area of influence lay in the Corporation. Its 26 members, consisting of 2 bailiffs and 24 capital burgesses were largely in the Weymouth interest in 1765, only 4 being Townshend supporters³⁴. The two bailiffs were *ex-officio* returning officers, and a partisan conduct of the election was always a possibility. The Corporation owned a little property in the borough, and it was no coincidence that on 7 October 1765 the Corporation leased two houses and thirteen stalls in Market Street to Lord Weymouth;³⁵ amongst the sub-tenants were five Castle supporters, who may have felt their tenure was somewhat precarious. The Corporation also appointed the Town Clerk, the master of the Free Grammar School, and such borough officials as the *Serjeant* and town crier. Thus control of the Corporation was of considerable political importance, and was one of the issues at

³⁰ *ibid.*

³¹ TPL Townsh. 96.

³² TPL Townsh. 82.

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ TBA 8/3(b).

³⁵ TBA 10/28.

stake between Townshend and Weymouth. When they arrived at a compromise in October 1765 the equitable division of the Corporation was one of the clauses in the agreement. The new amity of the two interests was marked by the appointment of Townshend's agent, John Willington, to the office of bailiff, in 1766.

With Castle and Manor allied there was thenceforward little probability that a third, independent, interest could break through to share the representation. Between them Townshend and Weymouth controlled perhaps two-thirds of the electorate. A sizeable minority remained outside their joint control, as was demonstrated in 1774 when an independent candidate, Isaac Hawkins Browne¹⁶ secured 118 votes¹⁷. But the practical effect of the Castle-Manor link-up was to squeeze out the independent interest. Though the two patrons had to continue to nurse the constituency by such measures as benefactions to the poor, paving the streets, repairing the Town Hall, and though the cultivation of individual support was a constant requirement of continued control, their combination of interests ensured a monopoly of the borough's representation until after the Reform Act of 1832. Only when Townshend and Peel quarrelled in 1818 did another contest occur.

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* Isaac Hawkins Browne 1745-1818, of Badger, Salop, son of the poet of the same name.

¹⁷ TBA, poll-book 1774 election.

RICHARD JUGGINS AND BLACK COUNTRY UNIONISM IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

J. A. C. BAKER

THE WEBBS COMMENTED long ago on the backwardness of trade unionism in the West Midlands. The statistics they collected on trade union membership in 1892 gave to Staffordshire a membership of 4.49% of the population of the county. By comparison in Northumberland and Durham there was a membership of over 11 % of the population while in Yorkshire and South Wales it exceeded 6%. On this basis Staffordshire was far behind other industrial areas in England.

The reasons behind this apparent paucity of union membership were discussed by Fox in his study of industrial relations in nineteenth-century Birmingham¹. He based his arguments on the types of industry, the lack of mechanization and the size of the unit and on the influence of Nonconformity. These reasons probably apply as much to South Staffordshire as they do to Birmingham, even though in the Black Country there was more heavy industry. It was predominantly an area of small firms. But the reason, which may well be the decisive one, is that the Webbs collected their evidence almost entirely from the larger unions, a list of which they give in their book. The Webbs admit that they omitted many unions. The omission of them does not seem to have been regarded by the Webbs as of crucial importance.²

This view may well be true of the history of unionism in the country as a whole. But the more one reads local contemporary literature, the more clear does it become that the omission of any discussion of the role of the smaller unions, results in giving a very distorted picture of the amount of union activity in the Black Country in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. The newspapers of the region contain very frequent references to the activities of a number of local unions. Trade journals likewise contain very frequent references to the activities of a number of local unions. But the national unions which figure so prominently in the trade union history books are never mentioned. From a study of the local weekly newspapers of the Black Country in the later nineteenth century one would probably never realize that there was such an organization as the Amalgamated Engineering Union, but on the other hand one could not fail to know of the Chain-makers Association of Cradley Heath, the Anvil and Vice-Makers Association of Dudley and district, the Awl-blade Makers Association of Bloxwich, or the Fireiron Makers Association of Wolverhampton, to name but a few.³

One of the main reasons for the failure of historians of unionism to reflect the contemporary emphasis on local unions is undoubtedly because many of them not only had a short life, but also because all their records have disappeared with them. Each craft had its own union. As the craft was superseded by machines so the union often disappeared.

Very frequently the secretary was shared amongst two or three unions and the front room of his house was the offices of the union concerned. Union meetings were usually held in a public house. Thus in the Directory of unions published in 1917, Mr. A. Taylor of Hellier

¹ A. Fox, *Industrial Relations in Nineteenth-Century Birmingham*, *Oxford Economic Papers*, vii, 1955, p. 231.

² S. & B. Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, 2nd edn., 1920, Appendix 4.

³ Much of this article is the result of material collected for an M.Com. thesis: J. A. C. Baker, 'History of the Nut and Bolt Industry in the West Midlands', 1965, now in the Library of Birmingham University.

Street, Dudley is listed as Secretary of the Nut and Bolt Makers Association, the Anvil and Vice-Makers Association, the Fireiron Makers Association and the Midland Counties Trades Federation¹. In the eighties, Richard Juggins of Darlaston combined the secretaryships of the Nut and Bolt Makers Association, and the Gunlock Filers Association and their offices were in his own house in New Street, Darlaston. The records of such unions were probably not kept very efficiently and when the secretary retired or died (an event which in this century often led to the amalgamation or the winding up of the union) such records as existed were often destroyed.

The unions of the Black Country joined together in the Midland Counties Trades Federation, which was formed in 1873 on the initiative of Richard Juggins, the secretary of the Nut and Bolt Makers Association². This Federation developed into an organization of significant size. At the Annual General Meeting of 1894, held in Darlaston Town Hall, forty-seven delegates represented some 4,000 unionists and there was a general lament at the fall in numbers from a peak figure of 10,000 and the Secretary was instructed to launch a recruiting drive. A year later membership was reported to be 5,000, so that on size alone, the unions of the small trades of the Black Country are worth attention in a study of trade union history.

What is of most significance is the pattern of industrial relations that was evolved. Here, the Nut and Bolt Makers Association was the pioneer body and its secretary, Richard Juggins, the leading figure. Juggins, who was born in Darlaston in 1843 and apprenticed to a nut and bolt maker assisted in the formation of the union in 1870, and was its secretary till his death in March 1895³. He formed and was secretary of the Midland Counties Trades Federation. He was the representative of that body at several Trades Union Congresses⁴ and gave evidence before two Royal Commissions and a Select Committee of the House of Lords⁵. The pattern of industrial relations that he established in the nut and bolt industry was copied by other unions and industries in the Black Country, often with his active assistance.

The first step in industrial negotiations was the establishment of an agreed list of prices between craftsmen and employers. This list would contain all the various grades, sizes and qualities of the finished article and the price at which it was to be retailed by the employer and the amount he was to pay the craftsman. There were deductions for the supply of fuel, if the employer supplied it, for bad workmanship, for the hire of tools, including any machine tools, such as the oliver, if they were not the craftsman's own property. In the nut and bolt industry an agreed list was drawn up in 1872 after a strike of nearly six months' duration and was adopted by nearly all the major employers of the Black Country⁶.

Once the list was established changes in the rate of payments, and therefore of wages, were carried out by the simple process of adding or deducting a percentage. Thus in 1877, when prices and costs of raw materials were lower than in 1872 and when trade was much poorer, the nut and bolt trade employers decided on a 11 % reduction on the list⁷. This decision led to a strike and to the next phase in industrial negotiations, the appointment of an independent arbitrator. This appointment was originally resisted by Juggins because the appointment

* M.Com. thesis, op. cit.

¹ *Wednesbury Herald*, 23 June 1894.

* *Wednesbury Herald*, 9 March 1895; Obituary of Juggins.

• W. J. Davis, *The British T.U.C. History and Recollections*, 1910.

"The Royal Commission on Trade Unions 1875; The Royal Commission on Labour 1892; The Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweated System in Industry 1889.

* *The Ironmonger*, Sept. 1872.

¹⁰ *The Engineer*, May 1877.

itself was an admission that the employers had a case. But arbitration was spreading widely at the time and Juggins had to acquiesce in the situation. The function of the arbitrator was to agree to any changes in the list, to interpret and revise it as necessary, and, above all, to retain the confidence of both sides of the industry. In August 1877 Joseph Chamberlain was appointed arbitrator to the nut and bolt trade¹¹. He was a good choice. His knowledge of the technicalities of nuts and bolts was considerable and gained through his own experience as commercial manager of the screw-making business of Chamberlain and Nettlefold, while the reputation he had gained as Mayor of Birmingham made him widely acceptable. But he was in close contact with Arthur Keen, the head of the Patent Nut and Bolt Company, with whom he shared many contracts. Undoubtedly he must have had the outlook of the employers. The settlement he imposed involved a reduction of 5% for the men. Both sides were persuaded to accept this agreement. Chamberlain held office until 1880. In April of that year he was appointed President of the Board of Trade and in May he resigned as arbitrator. He was succeeded by his brother, Richard Chamberlain, who held the post for several years. Richard Chamberlain produced a new list in 1881 and this remained in force until after the first World War. W. T. Avery was the next arbitrator and he held the post for just over a year when the system of independent arbitration was superseded by the next stage in the evolution of industrial negotiations.

The list obtained by the Nut and Bolt Makers Association was copied by several other industries in the Black Country. The hand-made nail trade adopted a list in 1878. This list was revised in 1889, 1892 and 1895. The chain-makers gained their list as the result of a long and bitter strike in 1888. It was revised in 1900. The vermin-trap makers of Willenhall secured their list in 1890, the anchormiths and anvil-makers in 1897¹². In all cases there was an independent arbitrator. This position was often held, *ex officio*, by the Mayor of Birmingham.

The system of a single arbitrator had, however, considerable defects. It was an unenviable position for anyone to hold and when Richard Chamberlain resigned from arbitration in the nut and bolt industry in 1877, it took both sides of industry a long time to persuade anyone else to take on the task. The lists were complicated and required considerable technical knowledge. The arbitrator was always chosen from the employer's side and a great deal depended on his personality. It was probably because Joseph Chamberlain, who was associated with so much social improvement in Birmingham, had pioneered the system that it survived for the best part of two decades. As the defects in arbitration by a single person became apparent, Juggins and the Nut and Bolt Makers Association began to search for an alternative scheme.

Juggins realized that the list system broke down if a number of the employers paid less than the list price and if a sufficient number of craftsmen could be persuaded to accept a lower rate of payment as the alternative to having no work at all. This state of affairs could only be prevented by unity throughout both sides of the industry. In January 1885, when trade was poor and there was much undercutting, Juggins met the Association of Employers in the nut and bolt industry. The employers agreed to employ only members of the union while Juggins agreed that union members should only work for firms represented on the employers' association, and which did not undercut. This scheme was an attempt by both sides to

¹¹ *The Ironmonger*, Sept. 1877.

¹² Details of these lists can be found in the 'Report on Collective Agreements', 1910. (Birmingham University Library.)

protect their interests in a period of deteriorating trading conditions and it took no account of the interests of the consumer. Both sides contributed to a fighting fund of £1,000 which was to be used to support strikes in the firms which undercut. There thus emerged the extraordinary situation whereby one employer supported financially the workmen who went on strike at the works of a rival firm in the same industry.

This agreement was accompanied by a recruiting drive among both sides of the industry. Mass meetings were held in Darlaston and Smethwick and at them Juggins joined with Arthur Keen, Chairman of the Patent Nut and Bolt Company of Smethwick, on the platform. Despite all efforts, the obstinacy of one Darlaston employer, Mr. James Wiley at the Eagle Works, where a mere twenty-five men were employed, prevented the success of the scheme. Mr. Wiley refused to join the employers' association and cut his rates by 5 %. All the other employers gradually followed Mr. Wiley's lead and the scheme collapsed.

But the lessons of this abortive episode were absorbed by Juggins and in 1886 he suggested the formation of a Wages Board for the industry. The suggestion was renewed in 1888 at another time of depression in the industry. A meeting was held in the Queen's Hotel in Birmingham in February 1889¹³. Here the South Staffordshire Nut and Bolt Wages Board was set up.

This Wages Board was not the first in the Black Country. The miners had had one since 1881, but in a declining industry, such as coal-mining in South Staffordshire, where the mines were overwhelmed by drainage problems, the Wages Board could do little. The Nut and Bolt Wages Board was to become the model for others in the Black Country. The Board consisted of six representatives from each side of the industry, together with a chairman appointed from the employers' side. It was given power to deal with and decide on all changes in and additions to the list. If it failed to agree, the question at issue could be referred to a single arbitrator appointed by the Board or by the Mayor of Birmingham. The Board was backed by a guarantee fund which could be used to support either side of industry at the discretion of the Board.

The Nut and Bolt Wages Board of 1889 was probably the pattern for the celebrated bedstead alliance of 1891. E. J. Smith claimed to be the pioneer, but in fact he was probably developing in Birmingham ideas which had already been put into practice in the Black Country¹⁴.

Wages Boards came into existence in the nineties for many of the Black Country industries. The Chain-makers of Cradley Heath, the Awl-blade Makers of Bloxwich, the Anchorsmiths of Cradley Heath and Dudley and the Harness and Saddlery Trades Association of Walsall all had Wage Boards. Some of these Boards survived for forty years and were still operating in the thirties. It was the extinction of the particular craft for which they catered that ended their existence, rather than any defect in the system.

Juggins was also prominent in leading the Black Country unions into appreciating their need for unity, not only among each other, but also in the national field. The first stage was to ensure that every craft had its own union. Thus in 1886 he organized a meeting at an inn at Bloxwich and there persuaded the local craftsmen in the bit forging and filing industry to form their own union¹⁵. Earlier he had helped to form a union among the gun-lock filers of Darlaston. In 1895 he addressed the edge-tool makers of Wednesbury and persuaded them

¹³ *Wednesbury Herald*, 23 Feb. 1889.

¹⁴ E. J. Smith, *The New Trades Combination Movement*, 1895.

¹⁵ *Labour Tribune*, 30 October 1886.

working for the welfare of the members of the craft. At the Annual General Meeting of the Nut and Bolt Makers Association in 1884, it was pointed out that the union had paid out £600 in funeral fees alone in the fourteen years of its existence. This was apart from all the other welfare benefits for sickness, unemployment or family needs which were also distributed. Welfare payments were probably more important than strike funds.

The most fundamental weakness of these unions was their failure to move with the times. They were institutions to resist change. A few days before his death in 1895, Juggins was lamenting the introduction of machinery into local industry on the grounds that machine-made articles were not so well made as those manufactured by hand. He made no attempt to negotiate scales of wages for the new machines. This outlook shows that these unions in some ways shared the outlook of the medieval craft-guild. Resistance to change meant that these unions eventually became superfluous. As the hand processes became obsolete and as the workers on the machines joined the new national unions, so the local unions of the Black Country have gradually faded away in the present century.

The career of Juggins is significant in that it represents a phase of union history in this country. The activity of the many small unions in the Black Country in the later nineteenth century may not have seemed of great significance to the writers of general histories of unionism, but when one remembers that each union met quarterly, that it had sub-committees and was partly dependent on voluntary labour it may well be that the ordinary member of the union was in the nineteenth century a much more active, interested and responsible individual than the vast majority of unionists in the giant unions of today. There may have been fewer unionists then but there was more unionism.

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PROGRAMME 1967-8

1967

- April 29 Day excursion to Handsacre Hall, Stowe-by-Chartley Church, Chartley Castle, Croxden Abbey, Caverswall Castle. Leader: J. Gould.
- June 17 Day excursion to Farewell Church and Hall: Thorpe Constantine Hall: Catton Hall: Weston upon Trent Church and Barr Hall. Leader: M. M. Hallett.
- Oct. 7 Annual General Meeting.
A Black Country Parish Register (Rowley Regis) - Rev. S. B. Coley.
A South Staffordshire Deer Park (Great Barr) - J. W. Whiston.
Corsican Menhirs - A. A. Round.
- Oct. 27 Winchester: the Archaeology of a City - Martin Biddle.
(At Town Hall, Tamworth)
- Nov. 3 Elizabethan Priest-holes - Michael Hodgetts.
- Nov. 17 Medieval Pottery and Kilns - R. Thomson.
(At Town Hall, Tamworth)
- Dec. 1 Medieval Landscape of Staffordshire - L. M. Cantor.
- Dec. 8 Making of the Landscape of Warwickshire - Prof. H. Thorpe
(At Town Hall, Tamworth)

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- Jan. 5 The Education of the Working Class in Walsall - P. Liddle.
- Jan. 12 Civic Evening at Tamworth Castle
That Famous Town that some call Tamworth - J. Gould
Ephesus - J. G. L. Cole
- Jan. 19 Travel Evening at St. Chad's Hall, Lichfield
Peru and South America - A. A. Round
Ireland - Miss G. K. Mills
- Feb. 2 Staffordshire Trades and Tradesmen 1660/1760 - Miss Marie B. Rowlands
- Feb. 16 Letocetum - A. A. Round
(At Town Hall, Tamworth)
- Feb. 23 Travel Evening at St. Chad's Hall, Lichfield
India - M. M. Hallett
Portugal - Miss Heather Moore
- Mar. 8 Prehistoric Agriculture - P. Fowler.
- Mar. 15 Anglo-Saxon Architecture and Sculpture - Dr. H. M. Taylor, C.B.E.
(At Tamworth Castle)

Meetings were held at the Public Library, Lichfield except where stated otherwise

EXCAVATIONS

Excavations of the defences of Tamworth were carried out under the direction of Mr. J. Gould in July/August, 1967.

Excavations continued at Wall under the direction of Mr. A. A. Round.