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TUTBURY 'PARK PALE'

TEMPLAR CHURCH

TAMWORTH, 1572–1760

EXCAVATIONS ON THE A5 WEEFORD TO FAZELEY ROAD IMPROVEMENT SCHEME, STAFFORDSHIRE

KATE CRAMP AND RICHARD BROWN

with contributions by Paul Booth and Emma-Jayne Evans

SUMMARY

The A5 Weeford to Fazeley trunk road in South Staffordshire forms part of a strategic route from London to Holyhead and runs approximately parallel to Watling Street, the principal Roman road from London to the west Midlands and north Wales. The road improvement scheme comprised the upgrading of the A5 to a dual two-lane carriageway between its junction with the A38 at Weeford Island (SK 134049) and Bonehill Junction at Mile Oak (SK 171030), some 5 km to the east. This required the construction of a 5 km off-line section to the north of the existing road.

Following archaeological evaluation by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (BUFAU), Oxford Archaeology (OA) was commissioned to carry out further archaeological investigation at eight sites along the route and a scheme-wide watching brief during the earthworks programme (fig. 1). The results of the archaeological work revealed prehistoric, Roman, medieval, and post-medieval remains. While scant evidence has survived of the earlier prehistoric periods, an Iron Age ring gully and associated features were identified at the eastern end of the route (Site 27). Roman enclosures were examined at the western end of the route at Site 8. The remains of field systems dating to the Roman, medieval, and post-medieval periods were also revealed during excavation, along with pits, postholes, tree-throw holes, and other related features that contribute to an emerging picture of rural landscape use from the prehistoric through to the post-medieval period.

INTRODUCTION

Location and geology

The route passes through a gently undulating landscape with the exception of an area of relatively steep, south-easterly sloping land between Hints Hill and south of Hints Quarry. There are two distinct solid geologies, which are divided by a sandstone promontory at Hints Hill: the western half lies on Kidderminster and Bromsgrove sandstone, while the eastern is principally on Mercia Mudstone. Superficial alluvium and glacial deposits overlie much of the area (Highways Agency 2002b, 5; Interserve JV 2004, 16).

Previous work

The impact of the A5 Weeford to Fazeley road improvement scheme on known and potential archaeological remains was evaluated by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (BUFAU) as part of a staged cultural heritage assessment (Highways Agency 2002a, 2002b). The assessment included a preliminary walk-over survey and a desk-based assessment drawing on information from the Staffordshire Sites and Monuments Record, now the Historic Environment Record (Highways Agency 2002a, Volume 2, Part 2, Appendix 2.A).

An aerial photographic survey identified nine areas of archaeological interest, of which seven appeared to be directly affected by the proposed development (ibid., Appendix 2.13). A programme of fieldwalking was undertaken in 2001–2, although the artefacts recovered were few in number and no significant concentrations were recorded (Williams and Hancocks 2002; Highways Agency 2002b, Part 2.1 and Appendix A).

Approximately 65% of the preferred route was examined using geophysical techniques (Highways Agency 2002a, Volume 2, Part 2, Appendix 2.C). Three sites were identified as potentially containing features of archaeological significance; two of these had already been identified during the aerial photographic assessment.

A programme of trial trench evaluation was implemented by BUFAU in 2002, comprising 24 trenches (Trenches 1–24) and eight sample transects (Trenches 25–32) (Highways Agency 2002b, Part 2.2 and Appendix B). No archaeological remains or deposits were revealed in Trenches 25, 28–9, and 31–2.

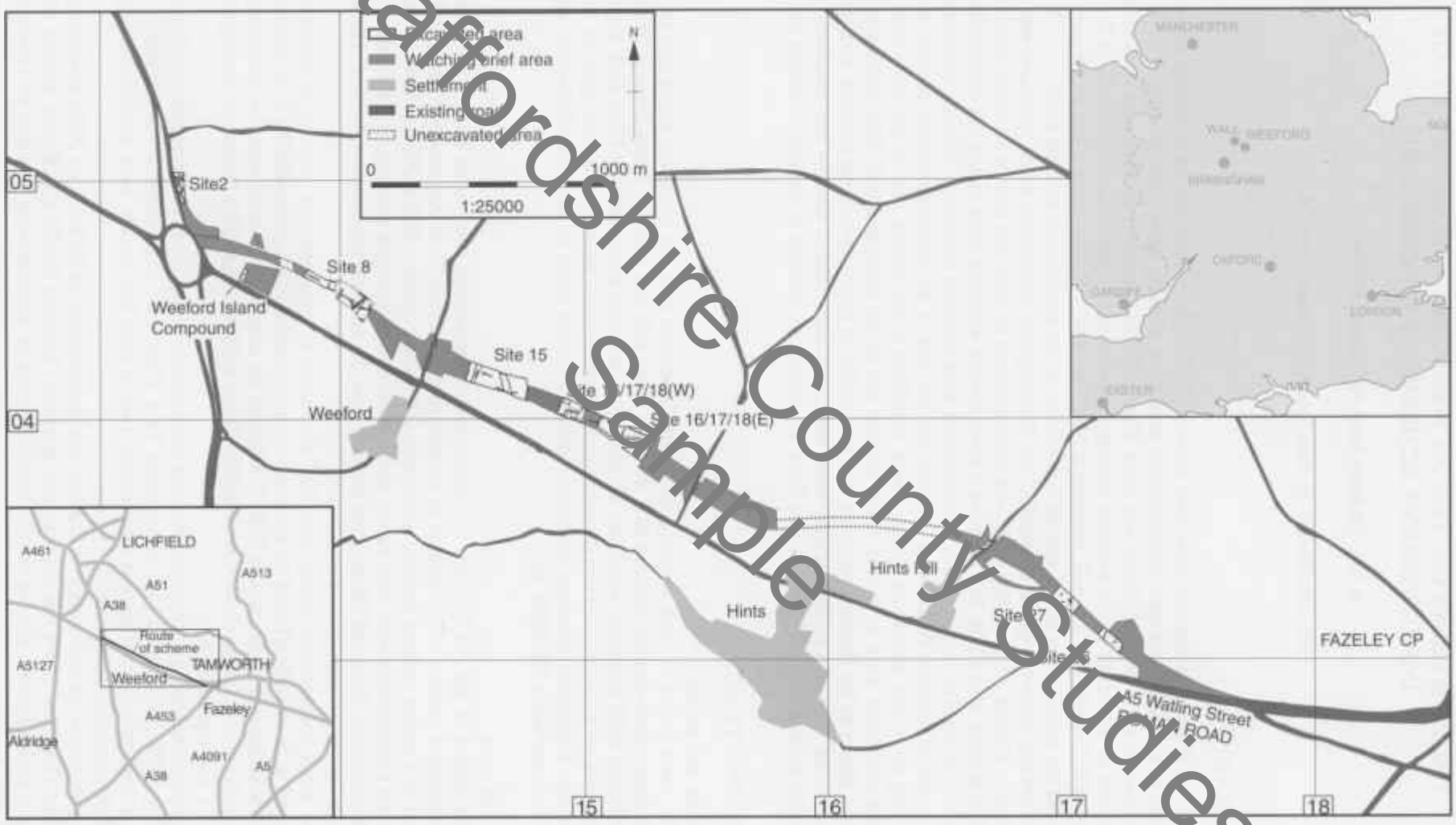

Fig. 1 Scheme-wide plan showing location of sites

Bronze Age

This near total absence of evidence continues into the Bronze Age period. Well-defined cropmark features in aerial photographs are scarce and potentially misleading. A feature at Shenstone to the west of the A5, for example, identified on the basis of aerial photographs as a ring ditch, proved on excavation to be an Iron Age settlement enclosure (M6 Toll Site 16, OWA 2003, 17). Similar features to the north of the A5 may also be prone to misinterpretation (Highways Agency, Volume 2, Part 2, Appendix 2B).

Evidence from the A5 itself is limited to a single thumbnail scraper from one of the geotechnical test pits (5/154). A sherd (4 g) of pottery from a ditch in evaluation Trench 12 (Site 15) is now thought more likely to date to the Iron Age than earlier. Three additional sherds (8 g) of pottery from Trench 20 (Site 16/17/18), broadly attributed to the later prehistoric, are not closely datable but again seem more likely to belong to the Iron Age given the similarity of their fabric to that of sherds from pit 1037 in Site 8.

The deposits of burnt flint and stone on Site 27, perhaps the scattered remnants of a burnt mound, may also belong to the Bronze Age. Burnt mound features are widely known in the region (e.g. Barfield and Hodder 1987) and, while their function is uncertain, probably relate to nearby settlement. No other concentrations of burnt stone were identified on the route, however, and the A5 does not pass through the type of streamside location usually favoured for these deposits. Furthermore, it has been shown that such features are not confined to the Bronze Age, with similar deposits reported from a range of contexts in sites of various date in the region (e.g. the M6 Toll). The A5 example may, therefore, be more convincingly associated with the Iron Age activity on Site 27.

Iron Age

The evidence from the route indicates an expansion of settlement and related activity in the Iron Age. Settlement was usually in small units, occupying both enclosed and (less commonly) open sites. The pattern of Iron Age settlement locally is best understood from work in the Tame Valley at Fisherwick, only 5 km north of the eastern end of the A5 Weeford to Fazeley route (OA 2004a, 5; Smith 1979). The region also contains a thin scatter of hillforts.

Evidence from aerial photography is slight, but includes a small rectilinear feature to the north of the route (part of AP 06) and a further possible example in site AP 07 (Highways Agency, Volume 2, Part 2, Appendix 2B). Both of these enclosures incorporate pit alignments, which have long been recognised as a distinctive feature of the archaeology of the area east of Wall (e.g. Whitehouse 1964; Gould 1972). There remains little precision in their dating in the region (cf. Hingley 1996, 12), although a recently-excavated example from Wishaw Hall Farm, some 8 km to the south, is dated to the middle Iron Age but its alignment was perpetuated in the late Iron Age and Roman period by ditches (OWA 2003, 20). While it seems unlikely that the construction of these features persisted beyond the Iron Age, the continuity of landscape patterning is clear.

The most coherent and confidently dated Iron Age features were identified at Site 27, at the eastern end of the A5 Weeford to Fazeley route. The circular ditched feature (group 5010), first revealed in Trench 27 of the BUFAU evaluation, probably relates to domestic settlement and is associated with a small number of pits and postholes. The principal penannular ditch has an approximately east-facing opening, consistent with a common orientation for roundhouses, and could have enclosed and provided drainage for a structure at least 10 m in diameter. In character and dimensions it is closely comparable to gullies excavated within an enclosed Iron Age settlement at Langley Mill, Sutton Coldfield (OWA 2003, 24). The absence of structural features has been noted above, but any building within the gully could have been of mass wall construction that left no surface traces. Finds include several sherds of pottery and two pieces of fired clay that may derive from a wattle-and-daub superstructure. A single spelt grain from the evaluation provides the only economic species indicator from the period, while the fragments of animal bone from the penannular ditch, which include cattle, sheep/goat, and pig, may represent the remains of a fairly typical Iron Age diet.

Further west along the route, the evidence is more disparate and consists of linear ditches and discrete pits and postholes with little apparent patterning. It is likely that these scattered features are at some distance from the main areas of settlement. Some, such as Ditch 6026 on Site 2, may represent the remains of prehistoric field systems. Several undated features may also have had Iron Age origins but cannot be dated confidently either stratigraphically or through their material associations.

Roman

The most visible feature in the Roman landscape is Watling Street, which was in origin a strategic military road and the principal route from London to the west Midlands and north Wales. The line of Roman Watling Street is followed by the present route of the A5 and lies between *c* 100 m and *c* 400 m to the south of the proposed route, where it traversed a rural landscape organised into fields and smallholdings by means of ditched enclosures, such as those revealed on Site 2.

The pottery evidence suggests a date in the 2nd century AD for the use of these enclosure ditches, although some may have superseded late Iron Age precursors (e.g. ditch 6026). At Site 2 the pottery indicates infilling of at least some features by the late 2nd century. The absence of any obviously late finds suggests a contraction in settlement from this time, with no clear indication of activity through the later Roman period.

The features examined seem to have been some distance from the foci of settlement, the proximity of which is implied by occasional large deposits of pottery such as that from feature 6021 in Site 2. Only here, at the western end of the A5, is it likely that the excavated enclosures lay close to such a focus, which may have lain just to the north or north-east of the excavated area. Well-defined ditched enclosures lay to the north and south of the western half of the project area (e.g. Gould 1972, Sites E, F, and G) but in the absence of excavation their chronology is unknown. Site E, however, is aligned directly upon Watling Street and must be Roman (or later) in date. Sites F and G are both over 0.5 km north of the new road line and therefore the significance of their alignments is unclear, although Site F is perpendicular to the alignment of Watling Street. The relationship of Site G to a possible pit alignment might indicate an Iron Age date for this site. The function of these sites is equally unclear, but all could have been farmstead enclosures.

The occurrence of ditch alignments approximately perpendicular to the line of Watling Street has been noted at several sites (Sites 2, 8, and 15), although the fact that some later boundaries also followed this alignment means that each instance must be assessed carefully. These alignments may suggest that a programme of land division post-dated the establishment of the road and superseded hitherto prevailing Iron Age boundaries, but the evidence is insufficient to allow this suggestion to be demonstrated with confidence. Even if this were the case, the new layout was not necessarily imposed as a single operation, nor did it involve rigid planning, as slight variations in the alignments on these three sites indicate. At Shenstone, *c* 2 km west of Site 2, a system of major boundaries and enclosures (M6 Toll Site 15, OWA 2003, 18) was laid out with no relation either to the line of Watling Street or to an adjacent double-ditched enclosure perhaps containing a modest villa, which on current evidence was the highest status of Roman rural settlement in the immediate area (Hodgkinson and Chatwin 1944; Gould 1972, Site A).

The principal nucleated centre during the period was *Letocetum* (modern Wall), some 5 km to the west of the western end of the A5 Weeford to Fazeley section. Here, at least, occupation extended through much of the Roman period. The development of Wall initially as a military base and then as a local centre may have encouraged an expansion of agricultural production in its hinterland, as can be seen quite clearly in the construction of a large timber aisled building some 3 km west of the town and only some 300 m from the line of Watling Street, probably in the early 2nd century (M6 Toll Site 34, OWA 2003, 26–7). The limited chronological evidence suggests that this site had a date range comparable to that of A5 Weeford to Fazeley Site 2, with little if any evidence for activity beyond the early 3rd century. Both sites also demonstrate the fact that although Watling Street probably provided an important route for the movement of pottery to and from Wall and beyond, and the over-representation of BB1 at Site 2 at the western end of the A5 may reflect this, the economic impact of the development of Wall on the occupants of the excavated smallholdings may have been less than would be expected.

In general, the artefactual traces of Roman activity on the A5 route are slight, a characteristic of even the more substantial settlement sites in the area. The multiple enclosure site on the M6 Toll Site 29 at Langley Mill Farm, for example, produced only 530 sherds of Roman pottery compared with the 314 sherds from Site 8 (OWA 2003, 31). Environmental evidence is similarly limited, with the slightly acidic soils of the area inhibiting the preservation of animal bone. Few non-intrusive charred plant remains were recovered, resulting in a shortage of evidence on which to base economic and environmental reconstructions. If taken at face value, however, the evidence from M6 Toll Site 34 might imply an increased emphasis on arable production, though whether or not this was at the expense of pasture is unknown.

Several tree-throw holes dated to the Roman period suggest a once-wooded environment, which may have been cleared for agricultural purposes or (less likely) in advance of road building. There is evidence to suggest that the tree boles were burnt *in situ*, although it is uncertain whether this occurred by anthropogenic or natural means.

Medieval and post-medieval

A total absence of evidence characterises the Anglo-Saxon period, after which the medieval and post-medieval periods see a continuation of the agricultural use of the landscape encountered in the Roman period. Features include ditches, pits, and trackways, several of which produced small quantities of pottery that may have been dispersed through processes such as manuring. The ditches are characteristically aligned with reference to the position of Watling Street, indicating the ongoing influence of this Roman feature over the organisation of the landscape.

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LETOCETUM: THE DEFENCES

JIM GOULD

Two problems confront anyone investigating the Roman settlement at Wall (*Letocetum*; SK 0906). Firstly, the town defences to the south, as published after excavation (Webster 1959, 24, fig. 1), do not agree with the northern defences as published also after excavation (Gould 1964, 3). Secondly, although there is evidence for an early vexillation fort at Wall (Gould 1997, 350–52), no trace of its defences has yet been discovered. This brief note is an attempt to solve both problems, which are intertwined, and to refute the suggestion that the first problem is due to the town defences being built by different gangs, working at different times; such an explanation is unconvincing, as surely there would have been but one overall authority.

On 27 June 1948 Dr J. K. St Joseph took several photographs (Plate 1) of crop-marks made by three apparently curving ditches which indicated the south-east corner of an enclosure at Wall (SK 101064), and repeated photographs of the same crop-marks were taken on a number of occasions during the following years. In 1955 Dr Graham Webster, believing that the crop-marks might indicate a Roman fort, cut a trench across them at right angles, and the resulting section was published in the *Journal for Roman Studies* (Webster 1956, 129, fig. 31). Unfortunately, collapsing trench sides meant that the outline of the lower part of the outer ditch, which was 26ft. × 8ft., had to be drawn from memory and its relationship to the other two ditches, each 13ft. × 7ft., is not indicated on the drawn section. Webster claimed that these were not military ditches, but were part of the town defences. In the following year (1956) Webster extended his trench into the adjoining field to the north, hoping to locate a rampart and possibly a wall. In this, he was successful and he published the two trenches as one long section showing a very wide berm of 18ft. between the wall and the innermost ditch (Webster 1959, 25, fig. 2).

In 1961 the present writer identified and sectioned the town defences to the north (Gould 1964, 3, fig. 2), but the defences there were very different from those in Webster's section. The three northern ditches were separated from a wall by a berm of only 6ft., similar to the berm later found to the west (Ibid. 4, fig. 3), and the three northern ditches (each 14ft. wide) were all similar in size and shape to Webster's two innermost ditches. When one compares the two sections, if the southern defences had been similar to the northern ones, then the innermost ditch would have been under the hedge that divided Webster's two trenches (Webster 1959, 25, fig. 2), but Webster's long section does not show this and surely he did not did up the hedge. The town defences were similar on all sides.

This leaves Webster's large outer ditch as not being part of the town defences at all, and necessitates a close re-examination of the crop-marks on the many photographs that have been taken. On all the photographs that the present writer has been able to examine, the two inner ditches do indeed turn north as indicated on Webster's 'trial trench' number 2 on his plan (Webster 1959, 24, fig.1), which unfortunately he did not describe or discuss. On no photograph does the crop-mark of the large outer ditch clearly turn north, and on most the eastern end is just a dark blur. Moreover, had it turned north the ditch would have been revealed in the area that Greenfield excavated in 1962 and 1964 (Jones 1988, 1–57). On some photographs the blur is partly explained by a crop-mark of an apparently small ditch running diagonally across the field into the blur (Plate 2), and this may have been connected with the Roman camp known to have been in this field (Welfare and Swan 1995, 177, fig. 145). If the large ditch did not turn, then it must have carried on to the east, and so must have been cut by the north–south road (Ashcroft Lane) that runs there. It should have been found when that road was widened during the construction of the Wall Bypass, and in a watching brief Mr Adrian Oswald did indeed record a ditch (6ft. × 4ft.), filled with stones and containing 2nd-century pottery (Oswald 1968, 40, item F). Oswald recorded its position only vaguely and did not line it up with Webster's ditch, but he may be excused, given the difficulty of maintaining a watching brief when several machines are working simultaneously in different places and he not holding authority over the workmen.

What then was Webster's large outer ditch? It was not part of the town defences and was much too big to be associated with a Roman camp. Perhaps it was part of the defences of the proposed early vexillation fortress, for it is hard to think of any other possibility. Should the land there ever again become available, a modern excavation is highly desirable.

Plate 1 Wall facing north-west, 17 July 1948 (Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs, Unit for Landscape Modelling)

A MEDIEVAL HOSPITAL GRAVEYARD? EXCAVATIONS AT STOKE CITY GENERAL HOSPITAL, 2001

MARY DUNCAN

with contributions from Megan Brickley, Rob Ixer, Kirsty Nichol, and Stephanie Rátkai

SUMMARY

A programme of archaeological investigations was undertaken by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (now Birmingham Archaeology) at the City General Hospital in Stoke-on-Trent between June and December 2001. The work was commissioned by the North Staffordshire Hospital NHS Trust with advice from Wardell Armstrong. Excavations revealed the footings of a building, possibly associated with a medieval hospital previously documented in the area. Other features included a series of ditches, partly defining the limits of a graveyard containing a total of 22 human burials. Although little dating evidence was retrieved, it is believed that these features belong to the 13th and 14th centuries AD.

INTRODUCTION

An archaeological evaluation, subsequent excavations and watching brief were undertaken in 2001 at Stoke-on-Trent City General Hospital (centred on NGR: SJ 857 459, Figs 1 and 2). Undertaken in advance of the construction of a new undergraduate medical school for North Staffordshire Hospital NHS Trust, the archaeological work was commissioned by the Trust with advice from Wardell Armstrong, and was undertaken by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (now Birmingham Archaeology). The site proposed for development covered an area measuring approximately 34m × 32m (Fig. 2, Plate 1), bordered to the north east and south-east by existing hospital buildings, and to the south-west by the A34 London Road. The site was situated in an area which had been previously made-up and landscaped during development of the hospital in the 1980s.

The solid geology of the development area is defined by the Geological Survey of Great Britain (Sheet 123) as Newcastle Formation, which includes coals, mudstones and sandstone, overlain by glacial drift comprising till or glacial outflow deposits of clay, sand or gravels (Marsden and Courtney 1998, 2).

The proposed development was situated within the supposed area of a documented medieval hospital and associated burial ground. In accordance with Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) Note 16, an archaeological evaluation and appropriate programme of mitigation fieldwork was required in advance of development. Overburden clearance and archaeological evaluation were undertaken in June 2001 and the excavation in July and August, followed by a watching brief in December 2001.

The objective of the evaluation was to identify, characterize, and record any archaeological deposits present within the proposed development area, in accordance with a specification prepared by Wardell Armstrong (2001). In particular, it was intended to locate a possible medieval structure and associated burials, first exposed during salvage recording in 1984 (Marsden and Courtney 1998, 2). Having successfully located the structure within evaluation trenches 4 and 5 (Fig. 2), the subsequent area excavation was designed to further investigate this building, and to record details of its layout, dating, and use.

This report integrates the results from all three stages of work. The archive has been deposited with the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Although isolated finds of prehistoric and Roman date are recorded within the area, the first firm documentary evidence for activity on the development site is from the medieval period. A hospital dedicated to St. John the Baptist, lying outside the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme, is first recorded in 1266 (VCH 1970, 289). Its later history is somewhat uncertain, but a hospital with a dedication to St. John was again recorded in 1409. During the later 15th and early 16th centuries, several alternative dedications are recorded, to St. Eloy, St. Louis and St. Leo. The hospital was

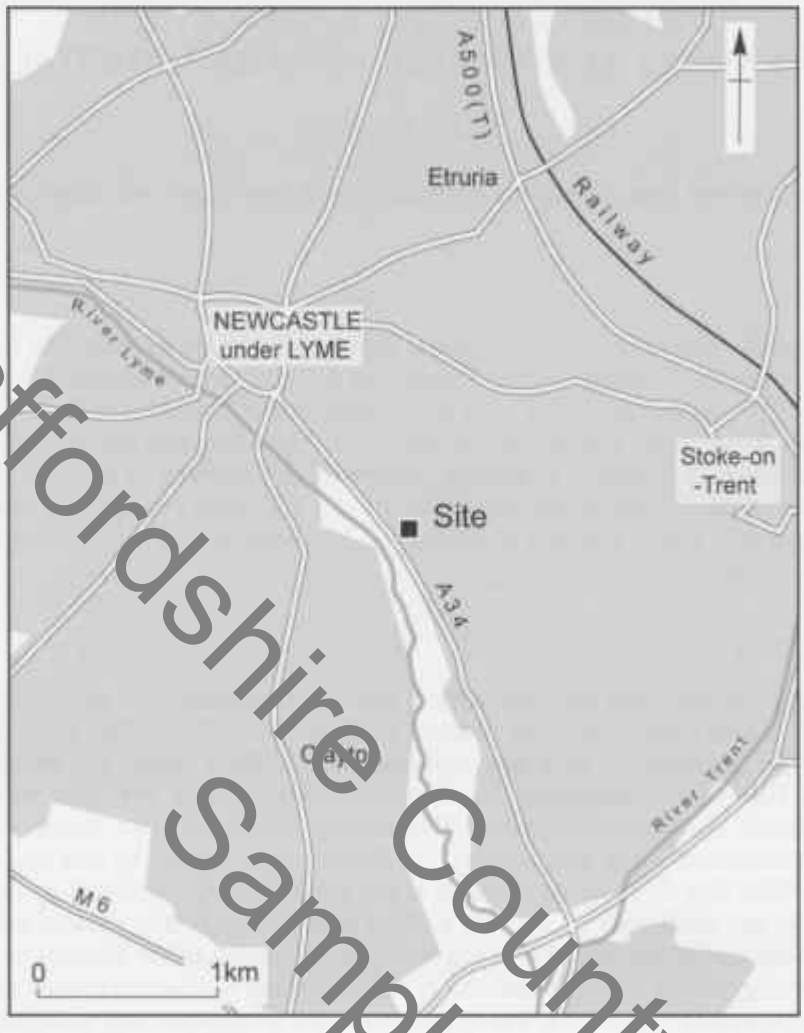

Fig. 1 Location of excavation

suppressed as an institution in the later 16th century, though its former presence was reflected down to the 19th century in a concentration of field names in the area containing the element 'Spittles' (VCH 1963, 188).

During the construction of a car park for an extension to Stoke City General Hospital in 1984, the remains of a sandstone structure and two related burials of medieval date were recorded under rescue conditions (Marsden and Courtney, 1998, 2). These remains were interpreted at the time as forming part of a medieval hospital.

METHODOLOGY

Initial evaluation work comprised the excavation of total of six trenches (Fig. 2), each measuring 10m × 1.8m. Trenches were excavated by machine, working under archaeological supervision, after which features were cleaned and excavated by hand.

During area excavation, modern overburden was again removed by machine, under archaeological supervision, to expose the archaeological horizon. Archaeological features and deposits were hand-cleaned and selectively hand-excavated. Written documentation used *pro-forma* context sheets, supplemented by scaled plans and section drawings and a full photographic record.

Following the excavation, all development groundwork was monitored as an archaeological watching brief (Fig. 2). This phase of fieldwork was intended to identify and record any archaeological features beyond the original excavation area, particularly where the depth of surrounding overburden had prevented earlier archaeological investigation. In the event, only disarticulated human bone fragments were identified.

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VCH	1970	*The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Stafford.* Vol. III (Oxford University Press).
Wardell Armstrong	2001	'North Staffordshire Hospital NHS Trust City General Hospital, Stoke-on-Trent: Project Specification for Archaeological Evaluation by Trial Trenching.'
Wright, G.	1992	*Turnpike Roads.*

Plate 1 General view of excavation

Plate 2 Structure 1: north wall F714, before excavation (from east)

Plate 3 Structure 1: north wall F714, after emptying of foundation trench (from east)

Plate 4 Grave F705 (from south)

Plate 5 Grave F715 (from north)

BEYOND THE PALE? A REINTERPRETATION OF TUTBURY 'PARK PALE' BASED ON A NON-INVASIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EARTHWORK SURVEY

MARK KINCEY

ABSTRACT

This article relates to recent archaeological fieldwork carried out at Tutbury, Staffordshire, as part of an ongoing collaborative research project between Birmingham Archaeology, the Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity at the University of Birmingham, and the British Museum. As part of the project a non-invasive topographic survey was carried out, focussing on a series of linear earthworks known traditionally as the 'Park Pale'. The results of the survey, combined with cartographic and documentary research, strongly suggest that the earthworks do not actually relate to the medieval deer park associated with Tutbury Castle, but may instead have a far more complex, multi-phase history of construction, use, and adaptation.

INTRODUCTION

The town of Tutbury is located in east Staffordshire, approximately seven kilometres north–west of Burton-upon-Trent (Fig. 1). The town is situated on the south bank of the River Dove, which here also forms the boundary between the counties of Staffordshire and Derbyshire. The history of Tutbury prior to the Norman Conquest and the construction of the castle is largely unclear, despite several suggestions of earlier activity. Tentative claims for both Iron Age (Wardle 2000, 4; Waller 1986, 14) and Anglo-Saxon (Palliser 1976, 146) occupation of the area have been made but without conclusive supporting evidence. The construction of the castle at Tutbury is thought to have taken place in 1069–1070, following the Norman pacification of this area of the country (Tringham 2007, 10). By the time of the Domesday Book in 1086, there was already a borough around the castle with 42 traders in the market place (Hawkins and Rumble 1976, 10,1). The castle was held by

Fig. 1 Location map of Tutbury parish. Base map: © Crown Copyright/database right 2007. An Ordnance Survey supplied service.

the Ferrers family from 1071 until the 1260s, when control passed to the earldom, and later duchy, of Lancaster following the Barons' Revolt. Charles I garrisoned the castle in 1642 before it was successfully besieged by the Parliamentarians in 1646 and slighted in 1647–48, in order to prevent its reoccupation as a defensive position. The castle has remained in the hands of the Duchy of Lancaster since that date, although with several periods of further demolition and renewed construction (Tringham 2007, 29–31).

The 'Park Pale' earthworks at Tutbury survive as an interrupted series of banks and ditches forming an incomplete circuit, stretching from the foot of Castle Hill at its northwestern end, nearly to the line of Burton Street on the east (Fig. 2). The traditional interpretation of the earthworks is as the remains of a boundary for a medieval deer park and it is as this that the monument has been both designated a Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM nos. 22, 238a, and 238b) and listed by the Staffordshire Historic Environment Record office (PRN no. 00219) and the National Monuments Record office (NMR no. 649581). This paper employs the results of a non-invasive archaeological survey of the earthworks, carried out by the author, as a basis to question and reinterpret the traditional understanding of the 'Park Pale' monument (Kincey 2005).

THE 'PARK PALE' SURVEY

METHODOLOGY

Fieldwork was carried out over two seasons, in June 2004 and June 2005. For the western section of the 'Park Pale', a Differential Global Positioning System (DGPS) was set to record in kinematic mode, automatically logging readings every two seconds as the earthworks were traversed. Ranging rods were used to direct the surveyor and separate the earthworks into transects approximately 5 metres apart, with the spacing being reduced where the topography became more varied and a higher resolution was required (Barratt *et al* 2000). The results of this survey were used to create a Digital Terrain Model (DTM), providing a realistic and representative three-dimensional computer model of this section of the earthworks (Fig. 4). The central and eastern sections of the monument extended through the town of Tutbury itself and access problems here meant that the GPS could be used only to record strings of points along the main topographic changes present on the earthworks, notably the top of banks, base of ditches, and any other clear breaks of slope. An optical survey using a Total Station was conducted in areas where the GPS system proved unsuitable due to loss of satellite lock. During the survey both written and photographic records of the preservation condition of the earthworks were taken and any surface artefacts positioned using GPS and collected for examination (Fig. 3).

Fieldwork data was incorporated into a project Geographical Information System (GIS) for display and further analysis. The GIS also allowed the integration of other spatial data which were employed to provide alternative forms of evidence regarding the history of the area. Digital scans of all the Ordnance Survey (OS) County Series maps (1843–1939) and National Grid maps (1945–present) were analysed, along with four early 19th-century estate and tithe maps obtained from the Staffordshire Record Office. In addition, five sorties of aerial photographs from the last six decades were collated and georeferenced to the modern OS mapping. All this data, combined with documentary research, provided considerable background information about the origins and development of the 'Park Pale', and supports and informs the results of the survey.

EARTHWORK DESCRIPTION

The field-based survey recorded the 'Park Pale' as an interrupted circuit comprising an internal earthwork bank and external ditch. The most substantial extant section of the monument is situated to the west of the town, stretching southwest from the base of Castle Hill for approximately 300 metres before taking a significant turn to the east. At this location the earthworks consist of an internal bank with an average width of approximately 16 metres, rising over 2 metres above the base of an outer ditch which itself measures over 8 metres in width. The exact route of the earthworks as they extend from this point through the town is, however, less apparent. A modern, sunken northwest–southeast alleyway between Park Lane and Wakefield Avenue possibly marks the continuation of the monument as far as the well-preserved east–west aligned bank and ditch between Ferrers Avenue and Ludgate Street (SAM no. 238b). At this location the earthworks can be clearly seen stretching for a distance of over 185 metres, with the internal bank measuring over 10 metres in

both the 'Park Pale' and the earthwork along Cornmill Baulk are contemporary but formed two separate boundaries. In support of this hypothesis is the name 'Cornmill Baulk' itself. 'Baulk' was the term used to describe a grassed-over boundary between furlongs in open fields, which was often created to provide either access tracks through agricultural land or extended grazing areas (Muir 2004, 8,13). Cornmill Baulk, therefore, could be a reference to an earthwork bank used to provide access across the ploughlands between the southern entrance to the medieval settlement and the corn mill located around a kilometre to the east.

A third possibility is that the two enclosures actually represent different phases of the same town boundary, a suggestion supported somewhat by the documentary evidence for the town which records several periods of fluctuating economic and political success (Mosley 1832, 126). From the 14th century onwards the settlement at Tutbury is believed to have gradually decreased in importance and size until by 1798 it was 'only worthy of the name of a pleasant village' (Palliser 1976, 154). This could also help to explain why there is such a large amount of open space within the interior of the 'Park Pale' earthworks on all of the maps and aerial photographs until as late as the 1970s. Although town defences could often include extensive open areas within their boundary, in order to maximise the natural topographic qualities of the land (Jones and Bond 1987, 107), it should not be assumed that the settlement has not shifted location or contracted since the boundary was initially set. Equally, the area laid out for the settlement at the time of the foundation of the castle may have been simply an overestimation of the size to which the town would develop. The line of town defences, or even administrative boundaries, did not always remain static throughout the history of a settlement, and the two sets of earthworks may therefore be a reflection of the changing fortunes of Tutbury since its foundation.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the most important questions when attempting to record and interpret a monument such as the Tutbury 'Park Pale' has to be whether the various stretches of earthwork all relate to a single phase or function. Extant earthworks may appear homogenous in form and layout today, but could plausibly reflect a long history of use and re-use (Bowden 2003, 2). Although superficially the 'Park Pale' earthworks form a single continuous circuit there is compelling evidence to suggest that they also represent a series of distinct phases of construction and adaptation. The westernmost section of earthwork, which extends south from Castle Hill before turning east into the town, is appreciably more massive than the other stretches throughout the town. This difference in scale could of course simply reflect the differential preservation of the earthworks in a location outside of the main development area. However, this section of earthwork is not directly aligned with the next extant stretch in the circuit. The 1st edition OS mapping of the area shows that, although the earthwork was continuous in the mid 19th century, there was a pronounced change of direction between Park Lane and Ferrers Avenue. There is no obvious topographic variation present on the ground to account for such a shift in alignment and one plausible explanation may therefore be that this represents the location where two earthworks of differing phases joined together. The more massive area to the west follows the clearest contour line in the area and could represent the partial outline of the possible Iron Age defences described above. The area to the east appears to be the remains of an earthwork constructed to mark the boundary of the medieval settlement associated with the foundation of the castle. It would have been a relatively simple task to have adapted the pre-existing Iron Age earthworks to form the western edge of the settlement boundary and this modification of use may help to explain the complexity of the 'Park Pale' monument and the misinterpretations over its origins.

Although the fieldwork and research based on the 'Park Pale' earthworks at Tutbury has not proved able to assign a definite date or function to the monument, the undertaking has provided the rather unexpected result of largely dismissing the traditional hypothesis that it reflects the remains of a medieval park boundary. The form of the earthworks is far more suited to a defensive function and the location of the boundary, apparently extending around the heart of the medieval town, does not appear to be at all appropriate for a castle park. The fields located to the west of the castle and town, as marked on the Tutbury Park estate map of 1808, instead provide a far more suitable setting for the original park.

The 'Park Pale' monument, therefore, appears to represent a more complex, multiphase earthwork boundary. The more massive section to the west of the town may well mark the location of

A TEMPLAR CHAPEL AT ONNELEY

MICHAEL FRADLEY

A chapel at Onneley, in Madeley parish in north-west Staffordshire, for which documentary references occur between the late 14th century and the early 17th century, belonged to the medieval military orders of the Knights Templar and subsequently the Knights Hospitaller. It fell into decay following the Reformation in the 16th century, but a well-preserved earthwork platform has been identified at SJ 7507 4410 as the probable site, and an argument will be put forward in this paper that it may have originated in the 13th century when the Knights Templar were resident at their preceptory in Keele.

ONNELEY CHAPEL

The Staffordshire manor of Onneley was probably included in the late Saxon royal grant of an estate at Madeley to the bishop of Worcester in AD975, although it was not mentioned explicitly (Hooke 1983, 106–9). Hooke suggests that the boundaries described in this charter include a meeting place of 'councillors' at the junction of the county borders of Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire (SJ 747 445), near to the site discussed below which implies that this location may have been of some importance in the pre-Conquest landscape. In the Domesday survey of 1086 the manor was recorded as part of Shropshire among a block of manors held by the Malbank family, although by the time it was next mentioned in the 12th century it had been transferred to Staffordshire (*Domesday Book* 1986, 257c).

The involvement of the Knights Templar in Onneley probably began prior to 1185, by which date they had been granted land worth 2s in the manor by Henry II (VCH 1970, 267). Land in Onneley was also granted by William Dodde to the Templars when they were established at Keele; a Thomas son of William Dodd is named in a local document in 1310, so the grant to Keele may date to the later 13th century (Wrottesley 1888, 20; Studd 1986, 7). It is unclear what use the Templars would have made of this property until the early 13th century, as Keele itself was leased out for a decade from 1206 and the preceptory itself not organised until 1216 at the earliest; it would seem most likely, therefore, that the Templars also leased their outlying lands at this early date (ibid.). After the suppression of the Knights Templar in 1308, the Keele estate passed through royal hands to Thomas, earl of Lancaster and lord of Newcastle-under-Lyme, until finally reaching the Hospitallers in 1324. They held it as a remote estate from their commandery at Halston in Shropshire (VCH 1970, 268).

Documentary reference to a chapel in Onneley does not occur until the Keele estate, with its appurtenances in Onneley and elsewhere, had come into the hands of the Hospitallers. In the late 14th century the Keele estate was run by a manorial reeve and staffed by a group of chaplains numbering up to three or four at any one time, and one of whose roles was the maintenance of the Chapel of the Virgin at Onneley (Studd 1986, 13). Specific documentation for this chapel is otherwise limited; although an inventory of the chapel holdings was recorded in the mid-16th century referring to a silver chalice and bells (TNA, E 177/8/24, f. 3).

It would seem that this was the same church as that shown at Onneley on the maps of Saxton and Speed in the 16th century and early 17th century respectively. However, after its appearance in those maps Onneley chapel appears to have become redundant, finally having lost its purpose in the post-Reformation landscape. The reappearance of the title 'Onneley Chapel' on the Old Series 1" edition of the Ordnance Survey in the 1830s may be the last vestiges of the surviving place-name, when it appears to identify Yewtree Farm (SJ 7514 4392) as Onneley Chapel, as it is otherwise absent from the post-17th century historical record. The 1838 Madeley tithe award map, however, depicts a number of fields in Onneley listed as 'Chapel Field' and 'Chapel Meadow', while a small enclosure opposite these fields is listed as 'Garden Piece' and today survives as a raised earthwork which is the suggested site of the chapel (SRO, D. 3412/1/81).

Located in the south-east corner of a pasture field off School Lane opposite Cherry Tree Cottage, the earthwork consists of a sub-rectangular platform measuring c.20m by c.25m and raised c.0.5m above the surrounding field. The slope on the south side of the mound is barely perceptible, and was probably levelled out when the field boundary on the south side was established in the early

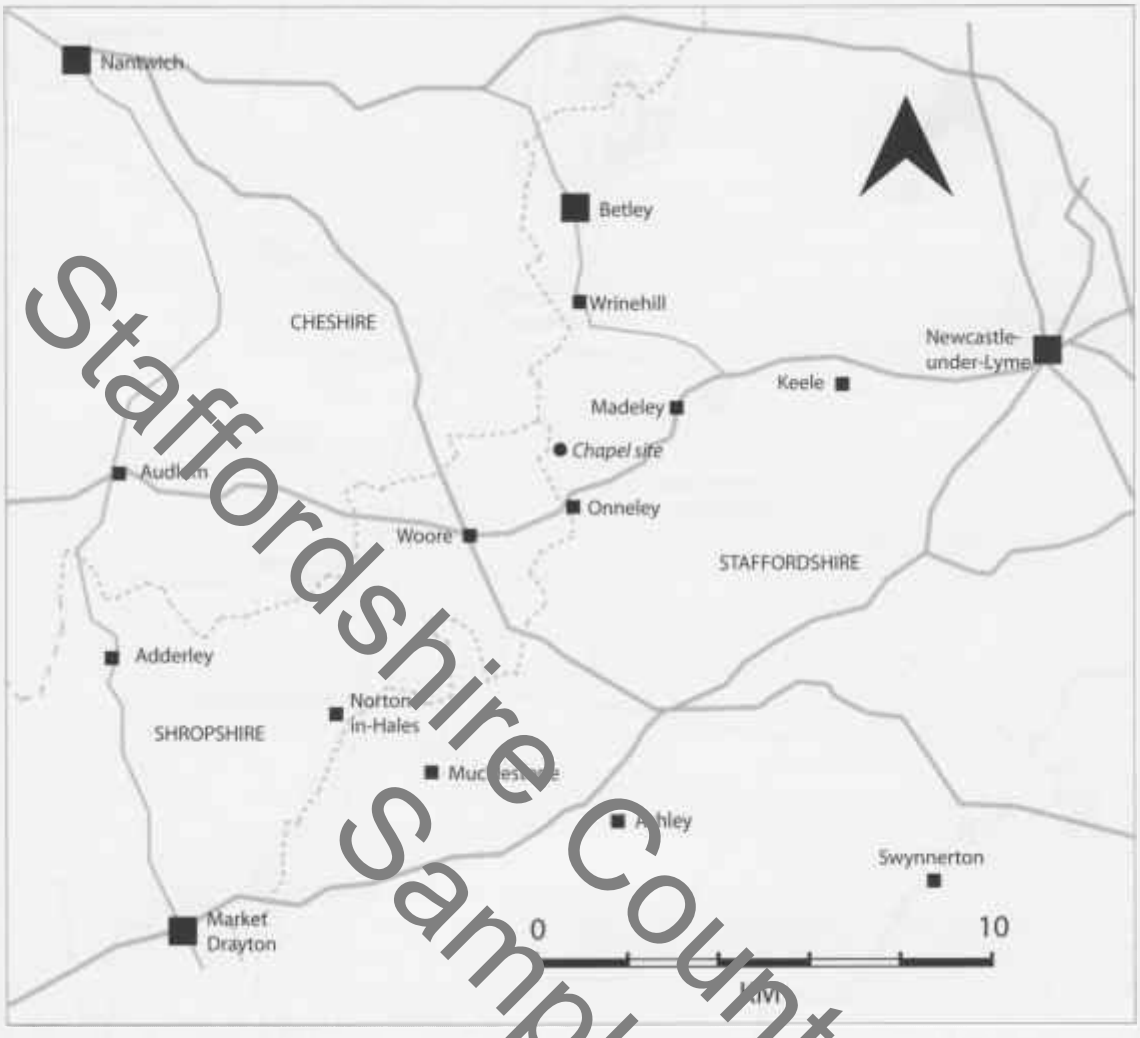

Fig. 1 Location map

20th century. The platform is aligned east–west and is the only notable feature in a field otherwise covered by post-medieval ridge and furrow which skirts the northern side of the platform and could have potentially eroded the original shape of the earthwork. Whether there were still upstanding remains when the field was cultivated, or whether the earthwork was enclosed or simply too inconvenient to plough, this situation has meant that the chapel site itself has survived remarkably well with only minor erosion caused by livestock and agricultural land management. The chapel itself may have been built in stone or timber-framed; the latter would be interesting as the surviving chapel at the Hospitaller's preceptory at Halston which has been dated to 1437–8 is also a timber-framed structure (Newman and Pevsner 2006, 280).

On the eastern side of the chapel are the remnants of a former water channel running from south to north. The slight meander of this dry water course defines the eastern side of the earthwork, and it seems likely that any erosion that it has caused may post-date the abandonment of the chapel. The slight cut–away of the north-western corner of the earthwork may have been an original feature extenuated by the ridge and furrow ploughing which pulls in across this face. The earthwork's location immediately adjacent to School Lane suggests that the road may itself be of medieval date, joining Onneley with the small medieval market settlement at Betley. The road to Betley has been relegated in importance within the local infrastructure since the latter settlement lost its role as a market settlement in the early post-medieval period.

A TEMPLAR CHAPEL?

It is the contention of this paper that the chapel is likely to date back originally to the 13th century when land at Onneley was still under the tenure of the Knights Templar. There are several reasons

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT AND USE OF BRICK: A CASE STUDY OF TAMWORTH, 1572–1760

MIKE KINGMAN

In many towns and cities in England urban redevelopment after 1660 is closely linked to the replacement of timber and thatch by brick and tile. Traditional explanations for the adoption of brick are essentially pragmatic: for Jones and Falkus the substitution of brick for timber was a sensible reaction to the dangers inherent in closely packed timber-framed houses with thatched roofs standing along narrow twisting streets with clusters of outhouses, barns, and workshops behind them, and the same authors have suggested that the numerous urban fires in the 17th and 18th centuries provided positive opportunities for rebuilding in a material which they regarded as both cheaper than timber and also considerably more fireproof.[1] For some historians, however, the apparent coincidence, after 1660, of the increased use of brick and reduced building in timber has suggested a direct relationship. They have claimed that the change to brick was inspired by a 'timber famine' and a consequent rise in the price of building timber and at the same time a fall in the price of bricks.[2] It is certainly likely that in many areas small brick houses were cheaper than the equivalent timber-framed buildings,[3] but in Staffordshire there is little evidence of a shortage of building timber and timber buildings continued to be erected well after 1660. At Edingale, for example, Church Farm House is dated 1664 and is built in the common timber vernacular.[4] In Seighford the Holly Bush Inn is convincingly dated 1675, and Weston Grange in Gnosall bears the date 1695. Institute Farm, Church Eaton, has been described as 'a good surviving example of a low status domestic building of the later 17th or 18th century'[5] whilst at Rolleston on Dove there is a row of three cottages which were built as such in the early 18th century and which are timber-framed. Doxey Wood Cottage at Dunston is an early 18th-century timber-framed cottage and 25A Newport Street, Brewood, is also late 17th- or early 18th-century date.[6] A carpenter's contract at Sandon in 1709 describes the rebuilding of a detached kitchen with new chuck blades: 'one pair of blades 12½ foot long 11 inches broad at the foot 8 inches at the head'.[7] Even later, the Cross Keys Inn at Hednesford is dated to 1746.[8]

The essentially pragmatic explanations for the adoption of brick noted above have been supplemented by the concept of an 'urban renaissance' in provincial towns. In 1989 Peter Borsay published his influential study, *The English Urban Renaissance*, in which he attempted to identify the special characteristics of late 17th- and 18th-century urban communities.[9] He investigated the pursuit of status, improvements to townscapes, and the increasing provision of cultural facilities, 'specifically designed, in their organisation and ethos, to promote sociability.'[10] He defined the 'urban renaissance' in terms of a 'leisure revolution' in which agricultural surpluses, commercial and industrial profits, inherited legacies, and marriage settlements supported an increasing desire for sophisticated facilities, luxury consumer products, and improved town amenities.

There is some disagreement about the quality and intensity of the provision of leisure. Angus McInnes, for example, has criticised Borsay's concept of an 'urban renaissance', arguing that it implies a wider diffusion of the 'leisure revolution' within the urban system than was in practice

1 E. L. Jones and M. E. Falkus, 'Urban Impovement and the English Economy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in P. Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century Town, A Reader in English Urban History* (London, 1990), 120–121.

2 For example, A. Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building* (London, 1962), 215; R. J. Brown, *English Farmhouses* (London, 1985), 231. A recently composed price index for Staffordshire bricks contains no evidence for a decline in brick prices between 1660 and 1760: M. J. Kingman, 'Brickmaking and brick building in Staffordshire,1500–1760' (unpublished University of Keele Ph.D. thesis, 2006), 130.

3 R. Lucas, 'When did Norfolk cross the brick threshold?', *Vernacular Architecture*, 28 (1997), 75; P. M. Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-century Hertfordshire* (Oxford, 2004), 14; P. Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London* (New Haven and London, 2004), 70.

4 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Staffordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1974, reprinted 1996), 127. At Windle Hill, Thurvaston, Derbyshire, a large timber-framed manor house was built in the 1660s: M. Craven and M. Stanley, *The Lost Houses of Derbyshire* (Ashbourne, 2002), 93.

5 J. Shryane, *Buildings of Staffordshire, Timber-Framed Buildings of Stafford District* (Staffordshire County Planning and Development Department, n.d. but ?1985), 46.

6 South Staffordshire District Council, List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest (1986–992), 32.

7 Staffordshire Record Office [SRO], D. 1798/664/231.

8 Pevsner, *Staffordshire*, 145.

9 P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town* (Oxford, 1989).

10 Ibid. 268.

the case. Based on his study of Shrewsbury, McInnes has argued that the impact of the growth in leisure was concentrated on a particular type of town, and that the sweeping theory of an urban renaissance 'spreads the jam too thinly'. For him 'this cannot hide the fact that the majority of towns seem to have been largely unaffected by the leisure revolution.' His tentative conclusion is that 'the century from 1660 to 1760 saw not the urban renaissance but rather the emergence of the leisure town':[11] 'An early eighteenth century assembly room here and a scatter of classical houses there do not necessarily constitute an urban renaissance.'[12]

Despite their argument both Borsay and McInnes are agreed that the crucial visual introduction, whether to an 'urban renaissance' or to a 'leisure revolution' was that of brick. For Borsay, 'to contemporary observers brick became a powerful symbol of a community's status and economic prosperity and that where stone was easily available brick could acquire a social kudos of its own.'[13] For McInnes in his analysis of Shrewsbury, 'in many ways the critical feature of this building transformation was the change in constructional materials. There was a decisive move away from timber and thatch and an increasingly heavy deployment of brick and tile.' He continues, 'the brick revolution was inseparably linked with the leisure revolution' and that 'where tenants of new houses can be identified they are gentry, professional people or wealthy traders [and] brick houses ... signal the arrival of the leisure town.'[14] Both writers emphasise the significance of brick as an indication of status, social prestige, the cultural outlook of the builder, and his/her financial standing. Social identity, however, was created not only through material culture and consumer behaviour but also by the builder's withdrawal from a body of traditional shared values and cultural forms. In withdrawing from popular culture patrons of brick embraced a second force, that of cultural centralisation, through the adoption of national, "polite" architecture as opposed to regional, "traditional" or "vernacular" forms of culture. This is reflected in the shift from common building materials and the craft tradition to building materials and architectural styles shared only by members of the upper and middling social groups. The choice of brick was not necessarily a pragmatic decision based on availability, price, and local geology but often reflected a personal or socio-economic collective view about the message implicit in such a choice.

In 1660 there were approximately sixty brick-built buildings in Staffordshire.[15] They ranged from churches, institutional buildings, and farmhouses to major aristocratic houses such as Beaudesert and Ingestre Halls. The majority were substantial, expensive, and reflected the cultural aspirations of a privileged minority of the county population. With the exception of about eight early brick buildings inspired by Lichfield Cathedral clergy,[16] the Great Hall in Wolverhampton, and the 'Brick House' at Burton-upon-Trent, brick buildings were located almost exclusively in the rural areas of the county. Brick was therefore a relatively late arrival in urban Staffordshire and it is doubtful whether there was even one brick building in the county town of Stafford before 1667.[17] Other than the Great Hall the first brick house recorded in Wolverhampton was in 1675,[18] and in Dudley the earliest surviving brick house is one of 1703, built for Hugo and Joyce Diron in Priory Street.[19]

Tamworth in the mid 17th century possessed few of those qualities which would suggest that it had the potential to develop into an attractive and prosperous market town. Its position straddling the county boundaries of Staffordshire and Warwickshire, denied it any regional administrative functions, and there is little evidence of any substantial industry: the northern end of the adjacent East Warwickshire Coalfield was exploited on only a small scale and the town stood remote from any navigable river. Its population was small at below 1,000 and its major building, the Castle, which might have served as a centre of consumption, was ignored and neglected by its two successive owners between 1688 and 1754. Yet by 1760 this unprepossessing little community, so typical of

11 A. McInnes, 'The emergence of a leisure town: Shrewsbury, 1660–1760', *Past & Present*, 120 (1988), 84.

12 A. McInnes , 'Reply' in P. Borsay and A. McInnes, 'The emergence of a leisure town: or an urban renaissance? [Debate] *Past & Present*, 126 (1990), 197.

13 Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance*, 55.

14 McInnes, 'The emergence of a leisure town', 74–5.

15 Kingman, 'Brickmaking and brick building in Staffordshire', 25–40.

16 St John's almshouses and Dr Milley's almshouses were in the city. The other buildings including the Cathedral library were situated in the Close itself.

17 F. W. B. Charles, *The Swan Hotel, Greengate St. Stafford* (1966; copy in William Salt Library, Stafford). The 230 Stafford wills proved between 1660 and 1709 included only one bricklayer (1674) and two masons (1698) and (1700): M. Rowlands, 'Houses and People in Stafford at the end of the Seventeenth Century', *The Stafford Historical and Civic Society* (1965–67), 46–67.

18 G. P. Mander, *A History of Wolverhampton*, ed. N. W. Tildesley (Wolverhampton, 1960), 117.

19 J. S. Roper, *Dudley: The Town in the Eighteenth Century* (Dudley, 1968), 6.

richer the area, the higher the attrition rate should be' and that partial alteration to meet the demands of fashion 'is more likely to predominate in poor areas than rich ones'.[102] In terms of Currie's analysis the survival of a mixture of timber and brick houses would suggest that Tamworth was a 'poor area'. There was, however, an obvious degree of prejudice against timber-framed buildings in the centre of the town.

Is there a distinction to be made between an 'old house' and a 'decayed house'? The evidence is not conclusive but there is a possibility that some houses were demolished precisely because they were old and representative of another era and that the Corporation was actively promoting the fashionable policy of 'improvement'. In her *Journeys* Celia Fiennes hints at the contemporary viewpoint that buildings which were timber-framed reflected a community which was staid, lacking imagination, uninspiring, and not moving with the times. She is generally, although not consistently, condemnatory of timber-framed towns and complimentary about brick-built towns: thus, Sandwich is 'a sad old town, all timber building', whilst Newcastle-upon-Tyne is 'a noble town ... its buildings ... of brick mostly'.[103] Similarly, Defoe found in Coventry that 'the buildings are very old and in some places much decayed;' whilst Warwick was 'rebuilt in so noble and beautiful a manner'.[104] William Hutton, the 18th-century historian of Birmingham, was perhaps aware of this contemporary opinion when he defended old houses: 'It may be objected that "the buildings are ancient". But there is no more disgrace in an old house, than in an old man; they may both be dressed in character, and look well.'[105]

The Common Hall minutes are a valuable source of information on the rebuilding of Tamworth but unfortunately they contain little information on the prices of houses, the source of bricks, or on wage rates. There are scattered references such as that of 1683 to John Vernam, a member of one of the town's leading families, whose inventory includes 'bricks and other things, 0–10– 0'.[106] But no sources exist which would reveal the overall pattern of expenditure and investment. The impact of brick building on the structure of employment is equally difficult to describe as the sources are of limited value: for example the parish registers for the period 1635–1690 include eight masons but contain no specific references to specialisation in brick.[107] The Poll Book of 1761 does, however, list five brickmakers who were presumably responding to the new opportunities afforded by large-scale redevelopment.[108]

There is little evidence in Tamworth for the presence of all those elements which Borsay has listed as typical of a 'renaissance'. There are no references to the provision of formal parades, theatres, walks, or to a purpose-built assembly room although there was a race- course where meetings began in 1738.[109] The Town Hall, the result of a partnership between a speculator and the Corporation, did however represent a significant investment. For Borsay 'Public buildings, because they were understood to represent the civic community in toto were the final step in a broad process aimed at enhancing the physical coherence and image of the town.'[110] Among the most important elements in the 'urban renaissance' were town improvements, which peripherally included the provision of paving, scavenging, street-lighting, and piped-water supplies. But more importantly for the resident gentry and (in Alan Everitt's phrase) 'the pseudo-gentry' was the building and rebuilding of urban housing in a classical style which sought its inspiration abroad and in London. Colin Platt has argued for a second 'Great Rebuilding' after the Civil War influenced by the opening up of Europe to travellers: 'what was new was the uniformity of the English street façade ... lacking in individuality ... but meeting the demand for exclusive private spaces ... designed for family needs ... suited to genteel entertainment'.[111]

Borsay has suggested within the context of the 'urban renaissance' that 'decisions about the civic use of brick were not decided by individual patrons but reflected the common will of the

102 Ibid. 2.
103 Fiennes, *Journeys,* 129, 209.
104 Defoe, *Tour Through England and Wales*, Vol. II, 83–4.
105 W. Hutton, *An History of Birmingham* (2nd edn, Birmingham, 1783), 298.
106 LRO, B/C/11, John Vernam (1683).
107 Meeson, and Kirkham, 'A Timber -Framed Building of 1695', 46. In a house lease of 1688 between Nathaniel Rice the elder and Nathaniel Rice the younger both are described as 'masons': SRO, D. 948/2/1/14.
108 TBR, 7/ 37. They were William Brittan, Thos. Bates (senior), John Patrick (senior), Joseph Patrick, and David Patrick. The field name 'Patrick's Brickkiln Close' was recorded at Wilnecote in 1805: Coventry Record Office, PA/101/10/19.
109 Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance,* 364. The Town Hall had an upper room which could be used for public meetings.
110 Ibid. 112.
111 C. Platt, *The Great Rebuilding of Tudor and Stuart England. A Revolution in Architectural Taste* (London, 1994), 70.

community as expressed in the Corporation or Town Hall. The culture of brick ... thus became not an individual decision based on wealth or an understanding of London style but a community decision to impose wherever possible its own understanding of fashion'.[112] In Tamworth, based on the recognition of the commercial and financial benefits arising from such investments, there was a deliberate policy of physical improvement which aimed to create a new and fashionable townscape. The use of brick was an important feature in that policy and its success is reflected in Defoe's view that by 1724 Tamworth was 'a fine pleasant trading town, eminent for good ale and good company of the middling sort.'[113]

112 Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance*, 55–7.
113 Defoe, *Tour Through England and Wales*, Vol. II, 82.

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