SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL

SOCIETY

TRANSACTIONS

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Walsall

1985

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LIST OF FIGURES

'RESCUE' EXCAVATION AT WALL (STAFFORDSHIRE), 1980/81 (WALL EXCAVATION REPORT No. 13)

FRANK BALL AND NANCY BALL

LOCATION OF SITE Grid reference SK096065 (fig.1)

The area concerned was approximately 0.3034 ha. (¾ of an acre), roughly triangular in shape, situated at the west end of the village on the south side of the modern Watling Street at its junction with the A5. In 1776 Stukeley commented on the position of a brook and the cottages he saw on its eastern side, with marshes to the west. Today the brook runs approximately north-south and through a culvert at the west end of the village. In view of the evidence for continued occupation of this area during the Roman period and later, it seems unlikely that the part of the village to the east of the brook was water-logged during the Roman period. This would appear to be confirmed by the report on the pollen spectrum by Dr. J. Grieg (below).

REASON FOR EXCAVATION

The site was to be developed by Lichfield District Council which planned to build seven bungalows.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Initially 3 areas were opened by machine — WT/1, WT/2 and WT/3. WT/2 was then incorporated into WT/1, the area ultimately measuring 150 square metres. Area WT/3 measuing 108 square metres was located approximately 18 metres to the east of WT/1.

The earliest occupation observed on the site was of the Roman period, represented by a number of different building phases extending from the 1st century A.D. to at least the early 5th century and possibly beyond. In the 18th/19th centuries cottages and outbuildings were erected fronting the modern Watling Street, and a large septic tank to serve the village was constructed slightly to the south and west of the cottages. During the 20th century ploughing was carried out over the whole area, and in 1965 it was used as a vehicles park during the construction of the by-pass, now the A5. In 1970 a pumping station was built at the north-west corner. In 1980 the eastern side of the site was used as a tip for building debris derived from the demolition of the old cottages.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The excavation was commissioned by the Department of the Environment which provided a small grant to enable an assessment of the archaeological potential of the site to be carried out. Our thanks go to Mr. A. J. Fleming of the Department of the Environment for his visit to the excavation to inspect the findings and discuss priorities.

The work was carried out each weekend by volunteers. So many people helped, including members of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society, that it is impossible to name them all, but our thanks and appreciation are extended to everyone who participated. Special thanks go to Mrs. D. Wilkes of the Saturday group, and Mr. R. Jerromes of the Sunday group for their unfailing support throughout.

Our thanks and appreciation are also extended to the specialists who have generously provided reports as follows:—Dr. L. Barfield (flints), Dr. T. F. C. Blagg (column capital), Dr. J. L. Cole (animal bones), Dr. Elisabeth Corbett (human jawbone with teeth), Dr. J. Greig (pollen spectrum), Mr. B. R. Hartley (Samian pottery), Mrs. K. Hartley (mortaria), Mr. M. W. C. Hassell (inscribed stone), Dr. J. Kent (coins), Mr. D. Mackreth (brooches), and Dr. G. Webster, O.B.E. (military bronze, coin and Hofheim jar). The inset in fig. 1 is based on the Ordnance Survey with the permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationary Office, Crown Copyright Reserved.

We also wish to thank Lichfield District Council for allowing the work to take place and for the interest taken. Mr. Palphreyman of the architects Butler, Wones and Partners, for supplying plans of the proposed development; the Gas Board and the Central Electricity Generating Board for plans of their installations; Sheldon Contracting Co. Ltd., whose site supervisor, Mr. B. Gregory, kindly permitted recording and examination to be carried out during building operations, and also drew our attention to features and artefacts uncovered.

Special mention must be made of the kindly interst and comments from Mr. J. Gould and Mr. A. A. Round, and our thanks go to Mr. B. Meeson who kept a "watching brief" on the site during the summer of 1981 prior to the builders moving in.

Above all, special thanks must go to Dr. Graham Webster for his encouragement at all times, his willingness to visit the site when requested, and for agreeing to act as referee for this report. However, we take full responsibility for the opinions expressed and for any errors.

INTRODUCTION

Although excavations have been carried out over a number of years at WALL, this was the first time there had been the opportunity of assessing the full archaeological potential south of Watling Street at the west end of the village. Reporting on excavations at Wall from 1961-1963, J. Gould recorded that no surface indications of Roman occupation were to be seen on land on the south side of Watling Street at this point (Gould, p.14, fig. 2). In a report on his observations kept when the by-pass was being constructed in 1965, A. Oswald commented on seeing two rough walls with associated clay floors (Oswald), but the recorded position was not very precise. When A. A. Round examined the trench and pit cut for the installation of the pumping station in 1970 he found only disturbed material and no evidence of occupation (Round). In view of the foregoing, it was decided to investigate the area broadly indicated by Oswald in order to trace the walls and clay floors mentioned by him (Area WT/1 on Area Plan, fig. 1). At the same time a small north-south trench (B on Area Plan) was cut by machine just to the east of the pipe trench examined by Round, to check for any trace of ditches associated with Roman Watling Street, but disturbance caused by 18th/19th century cellars and other foundations had removed any evidence at this point.

There was also the possibility of finding the military defences which should exist between the Bath site and the brook (Frere and St. Joseph, p.7 and fig. 3). The corner of a built-up garden hedge to the south and east suggested a possible site, and a trench was cut by machine through an existing gap (Area WT/3 on Area Plan, fig. 1).

Several factors imposed constraints upon the extent of the areas which were examined. These were the presence of underground electricity cables, the large pits dug by machine into

CONTEXT TABLE — AREA WT/1

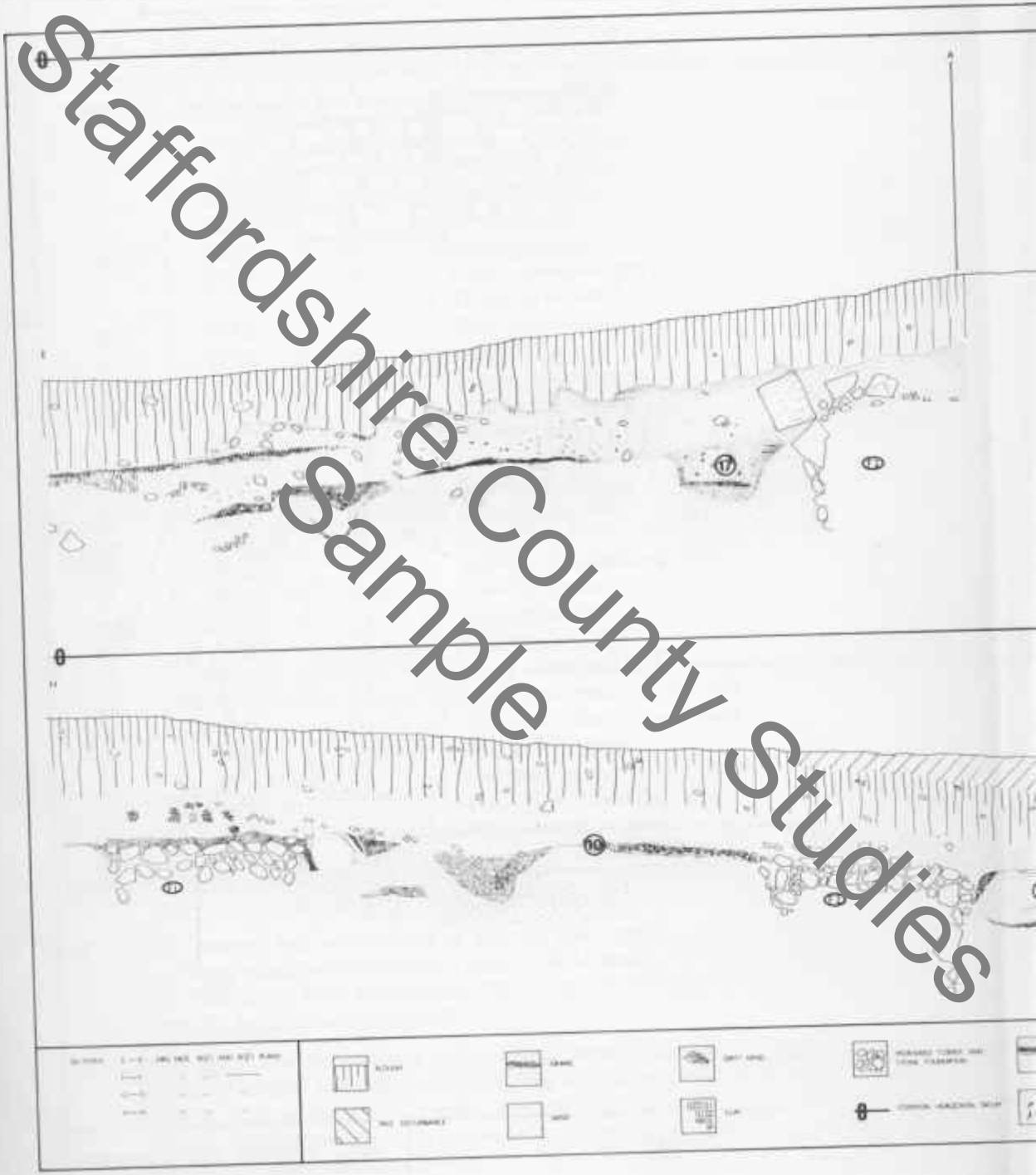
TABLE 3

Layer No.	Context	Interpretation	Pottery Coarse	Pottery Fine	Pottery Samian	Coins	Small Finds No.
1.	Sandstone spread	Destruction debris	x	x	x		3: 23
2.	Dark loam	Occupation	x	x	x		19
3.	Pitched sandstone	Wall foundation	x	x			22
4.	Sandstone pad	Post pad?	x	x	x		24
5.	Sandstone spread	Destruction debris					
6.	Dirty sand						
7.	Light sand						
8.	Dark sandy loam	Occupation	x			x	5
9.	Grey-black sand	Modern pit					
10.	Podsol	Natural development	x		x		
11.	Gravel	Road surface	x	x	x		2: 12: 13: 20
12.	Pitched sandstone	Wall foundation					
13.	Sand and peat	Make-up for road	x	x	x		6
14.	Peat		x				
15.	Red clay	Floor surface					
16.	Sandy gravel	Road surface	x		x		8
17.	Sand and peat	Make-up for road	x		x		
18.	Pebbles and cobble	Road surface	x				21
19.	Gravel	Road surface	x	x	x		
20.	Timber	Post					
21.	Timber	Post					
22.	Timber	Posts					
AREA WT/3							
1.	Light sand		x		x	x	1: 4: 16
2.	Burning and sand	Patch	x		x		
3.	Cobbles	Wall foundation	x				
4.	Cobble & sandstone	Wall foundation	x				
5.	Sandy clay		x				
6.	Dirty sand	Occupation trample					10
7.	Sandstone & pebble	Occupation	x		x		
8.	Dirty sand	Disturbance					
9.	Sandy loam	Occupation	x		x	x	7: 9: 11: 17: 25
10.	Cobbles	Surface	x				
11.	Cobble & sandstone	Wall foundation	x				
12.	Pebbles & sandstone	Wall foundation					
13.	Dirty sand	Gully	x		x		18
14.	Dirty sand	Gully	x				
15.	Grey sand	Gully					
16.	Dirty sand	Gully					
17.	Dirty sand	Eavesdrip	x		x		
18.	Dirty sand	Timber slot					

WALL TRIANGLE AREA WT/3

GRID REF SK 090065

5



UNSTRATIFIED COLUMN CAPITAL (fig. 7)

T. F. C. BLAGG, F.S.A.

A rather unusual piece, it is unconventional by Romano-British standards in having projecting half-round mouldings in place of the usual inclined profile of cyma recta, cyma reversa and cavetto. The closest parallel for the way the half-round moulds are set out in profile is on capitals from the fortress granaries at Chester (unpublished information from T. J. Strickland). By analogy with them, an early second century date may be proposed.

The form of the torus with its rebated quarter-round corner is probably unique, but the square panels on the side recall the projections on either side of the abacus of a Corinthian capital. Military stone-masons in Britain produced some very idiosyncratic versions of Roman architectural decoration.

INSCRIBED STONE (fig. 8)

M. W. C. HASSELL, F.S.A.

Block of sandstone, 0.39m. x 0.21m. and 0.3m. thick, found in 1981 re-used in the foundation of the wall of a Roman building at the western end of the village, on the south side of Watling Street. On one face is a crudely cut inscription: IIQIIS (...), Eq(u)es..... For the omission of - u - in eques, see RIB. 108 and 109, and in equitis RIB. 1064 and *Britannia,* lx (1978), 479, no. 49, where it is perhaps used as a personal name, possibly as here.

MILITARY BRONZE (fig. 9)

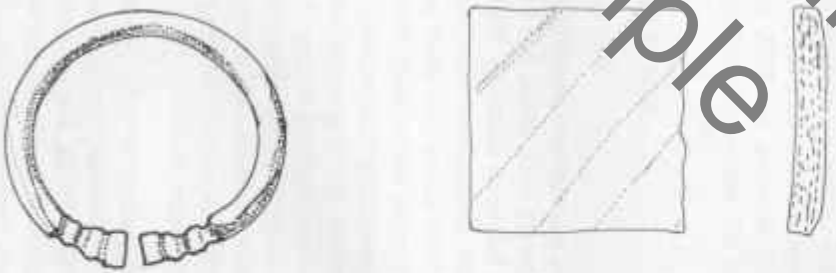
Dr. G. WEBSTER, O.B.E.

This is part of a composite pendant of a lunate pattern with a central stylised leaf terminal. The surface appears to be plain, but a neat central hole 4.5 mm. in diameter indicates where a circular boss has been attached. Such pendants are normally fastened to other decorative mounts and they themselves often had smaller attachments. The interest of this particular piece is at the back where two short tangs, their ends bent and broken, show how the piece was fixed to a leather belt or strap the width of the pendant. At the top, however, are a pair of small loops projecting horizontally, which function as a hinge. This means that there was a junction between the two straps; an arrangement which is somewhat unusual, although common in calvary harness traces. It affords the possibility of the junction having been between two straps at right angles to each other, and that this piece was fastened to horizontal, whilst a vertical one was attached by the hinge at the top. The tangs exclude the possibility that it was a freely hanging pendant, and this strongly suggests horse equipment rather than an infantry baldric.

The general pattern is well illustrated in the series of pendants from the 1893-98 excavations at Vindonissa, the legionary fortress in Switzerland *(Gesellschaft pro Vindonissa,* Jashresbricht 1971, 1972). The broken ends of this lunate could have extended and ended in round terminals (ibid. as nos. 43 and 44, or *Hod Hill* I, A. 42 and 43), but it is more likely that they were merely rounded off as in a Hod Hill example (A. 38); the leaf type terminal being well exemplified from Vindonissa (nos. 49-51).

TRUMPET BROOCH

WHETSTONE



PENANNULAR BROOCH

CUT SHERD COUNTER

SCALE 1—1

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

10

BROOCHES (fig. 10)

D. F. MACKRETH

TRUMPET

1. The spring, now missing, was housed partly in the hollowed head of the bow and mounted on an axis bar whose ends were held in pierced plates. On the head is a cast loop, largely missing, rising over a semi-circular projection and offset from the rest of the brooch by a groove. The upper bow has a marked central arris and is straight-sided except for a minor sweep out to meet the oval plate hiding the pin-fixing arrangement. The knop of the bow consists of a cross-moulding top and bottom separated by flutes from a central triple set of mouldings, the middle one being beaded. The lower bow also has a marked arris and terminates in a repeat of the knop, save for the lower cross-moulding, and has a small boss under. The bulk of the brooches belonging to the Trumpet type have a single lug behind the head on which the spring, with an internal chord, was mounted by means of a rolled sheet metal tube through the coils and the lug. The whole arrangement was kept in position by the wire loop whose ends were seated in the tube. It is this type of spring fixing arrangement which is found on the two earliest dated Trumpets published so far (Hobley 1969, 110, fig. 19, 9; Hobley 1973, 66, fig. 19, 8). However, a brooch from South Ferriby has the stump of the spring joined to the brooch itself and the system would be the same as that on a Colchester, except that there is no sign of a hook (Dudley, 165, fig. 52, 5; Scunthorpe Museum, Rom. 23). The remaining two ways of mounting the pin have cast-on loops, sometimes with a collar, on the head of the brooch. The more common of these two is that to which the present brooch belongs; the other method uses a hinged pin.

As for distributions, enamelled Trumpets with a single loop behind the head are found mainly south of the Humber; the classic Trumpet (cf. Stead, 95, fig. 59, 6) occurs essentially north of a line drawn approximately from Gloucester to Norwich; the remaining, hinged, specimens lie markedly in the Midlands and the south-west. Those Trumpets with the same spring-holding system as here can be divided into two main groups; those with ornamental plates instead of a knop are widespread running from the Hebrides and the Scillies into Germany; the rest, with knops, have a much more limited distribution covering England south of the Humber. The hinged Trumpet is the least common and, at present, it is more characteristic of south-west England than elsewhere, and is not really to be expected in the lands of the north-west.

Close parallels for the Wall brooch are not to hand. The profile and the character of the upper bow are reminiscent of a mixed group of Trumpets and what appear to be derivative types which are to be found, apparently, mainly in the southern Pennines and the immediate territories. As the present brooch is clearly not particularly close to those with the single loop, the dated specimens chosen here have the same style of spring-fixing arrangement: Wroxeter, *c.* 110-130 (Busche-Fox, 26, fig. 9, 8); Shakenoak Farm, Wilcote, Oxon., first half of the second century (Brodribb *et al.* 110, 117-8, fig. 47, 66); Silchester, *c.* 120-160/70 (Cotton, 145, fig. 8, 2); Caerleon, 130-60 (Wheeler and Wheeler, 164, fig. 13, 16). Allowing for survival-in-use after the end of manufacture, it may be suggested that the period of manufacture lay in the first half of the second century and had probably finished before *c.* 140, but the date range of the objects as they enter the ground is from *c.* 110-170 A.D. and, on present information, there is little sign that the Wall brooch had been made in the first century, unlike the main Trumpet type.

PENNANULAR

2. The ring has a circular section and thickens towards the terminals. Each of these has a strong moulding at the end with two smaller ones connected by a waist between that and the ring, each divided from each by a groove. On one side of the ring next to the terminals are paired grooves laid out to form an elongated vesica running along the ring. There are traces of punched dots in the bottom of each groove. The brooch belongs to Fowler's type A3 and is dated by him from the first century A.D. to early Saxon times (Fowler, 152, 174). The date range is over-extended and those which occur in Saxon graves may safely be regarded as having been casual finds. Similarly, the definition of the type is too wide in itself to be useful and the examples given here are confined to those which have closely similar mouldings, although no parallel to the longitudinal grooves is known to the writer: two come from Newstead and therefore have a maximum date range on that site from *c.* 80-180, possibly also into the early third century (Curle, 326, pl. LXXXVIII, 3, 17; Hartley, 54). On balance, it seems more than likely that the brooch design should be thought of as being second century rather than later, and it is possible that it had come into being in the first.

HUMAN MANDIBLE AND TEETH (fig. 11)

Dr. ELISABETH CORBETT, J.P.

The specimen consists of two fragments of human mandible. The body of the mandible is fractured obliquely through $\underline{3}$ sockets and this indicates post-mortem damage. Part of the right ascending ramus is present but right condylar and right coronoid processes are missing. The left ascending ramus is missing completely.

Teeth

All mandibular teeth are present except the right central and lateral incisors. Empty sockets for these two teeth indicate that they have been lost post-mortem. Other single rooted teeth $\overline{543/12345}$ are loose but can be repositioned in their sockets. Teeth present are therefore:

$$\overline{876543/12345678}$$

There is considerable attrition (wear) on the first molars. There is no evidence of dental caries in any tooth. Post-mortem fracture and loss of enamel for the lingual surfaces of $\underline{6}5/8$ and for the distal surface of $\overline{8}/$ is not significant.

Loss of calcified tooth tissue in the apical areas of the loose single rooted teeth is most likely to be post-mortem change as a result of soil action. The state of the bones and teeth suggests that the soil in which the remains were found is of an acid nature.

Age

The jaw is that of an adult as all permanent teeth have erupted. As there are no immature dentitions for this population from which to assess ages by degrees of attrition, it is not possible to give the age of this individual. The process of attrition is usually rapid in pre-mediaeval British teeth so a tentative guess would put the age of this individual at 25 to 35 years.

AREA WT/4 — *Fill of drain F.8*

48. Layer 2 Bowl in dark grey oxydised fabric. Burning on outside.

Unstratified

49. Carinated bowl in grey fabric with black slip inside and outside but not on carination.
50. Campanulate cup in orange fabric with buff colour coating. Copy of Dr. 27.
51. Ring neck flagon with 4 rings, in medium hard buff fabric.
52. Flagon neck with part of handle in medium hard buff fabric.
53. Bowl in grey fabric, black outside, burnished inside. Hand-made.
54. Jar in buff fabric with black colour coating.
55. Jar in coarse grey fabric, oxydised. Grooved rim.
56. Dish in B.B.1. No decoration visible.
57. Beaker in grey fabric; black outside.
58. Carinated bowl in medium hard fabric, light grey inside and darker grey outside. Grooved above carination; reeded rim.
59. Jar in coarse hard grey fabric. Reeded rim.
60. Bowl in soft orange fabric with reeded rim.

MORTARIA (fig. 14)

KATHARINE F. HARTLEY, F.S.A.

Much of the mortaria appeared to be from the Mancetter-Hartshill kilns. The fabric is usually distinctively fine-textured and creamy-white, often fired to a very hard texture in the 3rd and 4th centuries. It is sometimes described as pipeclay but often has a little fine quartz and occasional red-brown temper. The mortaria are normally self coloured but the surface is sometimes fired to a pale buff and may occasionally appear to have a pale buff slip. The trituration grit before *c.* A.D. 135 usually contains a lot of quartz and may sometimes be entirely quartz, but after *c.* A.D. 135-140 it consists of abundant blackish to dark brown and/or red-brown grog. Produced in workshops adjacent to Manduessedum at Hartshill and probably in the intevening and surrounding area on the borders of Warwickshire and Leicestershire.

AREA WT/1

Phase 2 — *Make-up and gravel road surface*

1. Layer 13 Body sherd - worn. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 150-360+.
2. ,, 11 Mancetter-Hartshill. *c.* A.D. 140-200.
3. ,, 11 Incomplete rim section from a mortarium made in the Midlands. *c.* A.D. 100-150.
4. ,, 11 Surface eroded. Fragment with rivet-hole from a Young form C.97. *c.* A.D. 240-400+. (Christopher J. Young, BAR. Oxford 1977). Made at a workshop in the vicinity of Oxford (e.g. Dorchester, etc.); Oxfordshire mortaria are unlikely to have been used in Wall before the 4th century. Illustrated (fig. 14).
5. ,, 11 Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 140-360+.
6. ,, 11 Worn body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 130-360+.

7. ,, 11 Worn body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 130-360+.
8. ,, 10 Burnt and worn body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 140-360+.
9. ,, 10 Worn and burnt body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 140-360+.
10. ,, 10 Incomplete rim section from a reeded hammerhead mortarium, made at the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries later than A.D. 240.

Phase 5 — *Destruction of Phase 4 structures*

11. Layer 2 Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. Apparently unused A.D. 150-360+.
12. ,, 1 Somewhat discoloured, flange fragment. Probably Mancetter-Hartshill. *c.* A.D. 130-170.

AREA WT/3

General Layer

13. Layer 9 4 rim fragments (3 joining). Made in the Verulamium region, perhaps at Brockley Hill. *c.* A.D. 70-110.

Phase 2 — *cobble surface*

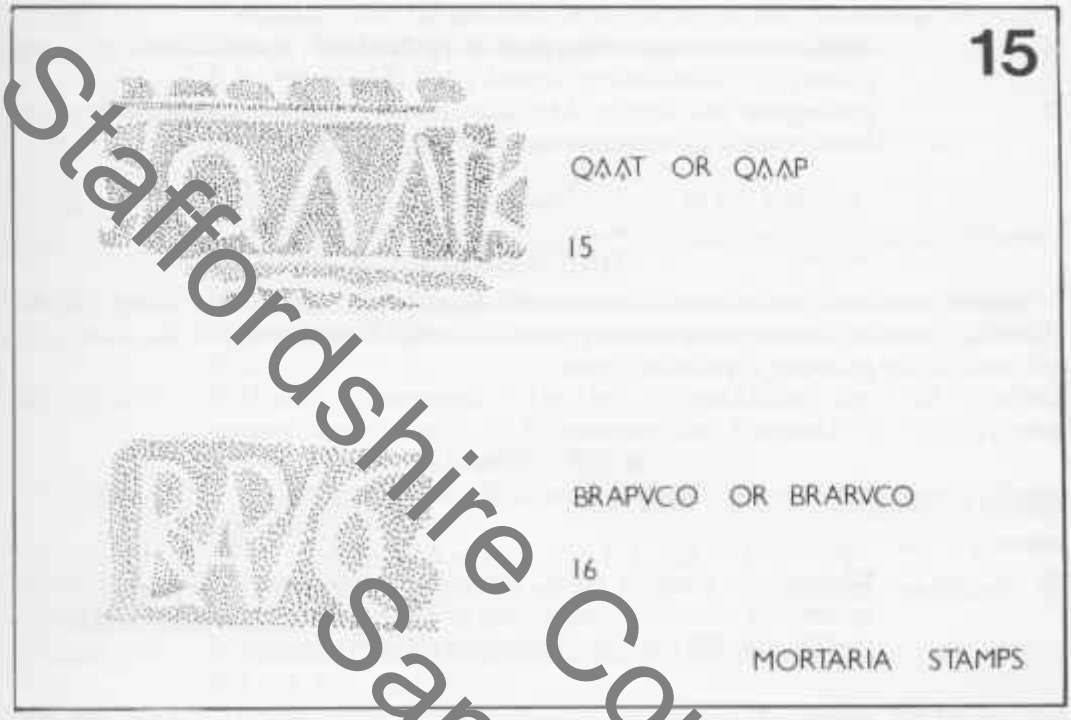
14. Layer 10 Two joining, worn and burnt fragments from a mortarium made in the Midlands, perhaps at the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries. In the style of Coertutius and Erucauus. *c.* A.D. 100-130, but a date in the late 1st century is not entirely impossible. Illustrated (fig. 14).

UNSTRATIFIED and STAMPED (fig. 15)

AREA WT/1

15. A heavily discoloured flange-fragment with small patches indicating that the original colour was cream. It is probably a Midland product, and the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries so close to Wall or possibly Little Chester, are the likeliest possible sources. The battered and incomplete potter's stamp is from the same die as others from Binchester and Newstead ('3), which read Q t or Q P. Various interpretations are possible and the *tria nomina* could be involved. Only one of these mortaria is in a buff fabric; the rest are in pinkish-orange fabric with grey core and buff slip. This suggests that he moved during his production period, no doubt to a site in the north. The stamps at Newstead point to Antonine activity and the rim-profiles support a date within the period A.D. 110-160.

16. A fragment with incomplete rim section, in fine-textured cream fabric with some quartz and red-brown inclusions. The incomplete stamp is from the single die of a potter whose name was either BRARUCO or BRAPUCO, the letters being too ingeniously ligatured for the reading to be certain. The name is presumably Celtic, and the Holder (Altceltischer Sprachschatz) does cite names in both BRAP and BRAR.
Other stamps of his have been recorded from High Cross; Leicester; Northwich; Ribchester; Rocester; Whilton Lodge, Northants. (Bannaventa); and Wroxeter. Fabric and distribution point to a Midland potter, and the rim-profiles would fit with activity within the period A.D. 110-160.



UNSTRATIFIED and UNSTAMPED

AREA WT/1+

17. Two joining pieces, worn. Mancetter-Hartshill. *c.* A.D. 130-200.
18. Similar type of mortarium. Mancetter-Hartshill. *c.* A.D. 180-230.
19. Chemically weathered by deposit. Midland. A.D. 110-150.
20. Probably Mancetter-Hartshill. *c.* A.D. 140-190.
21. Extremely hard, fine-textured, pinkish-brown fabric with thick dark grey core and perhaps a cream slip; quartz trituration. Possibly from south-west England. Second century - perhaps first half.
22. Mancetter-Hartshill. Reeded hammerhead. *c.* A.D. 210-270.
23. Very hard-fired fragment. Mancetter-Hartshill, probably. A smooth hammerhead. A.D. 260-360.
24. Mancetter-Hartshill. Probably 3rd century.
25. Worn body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 130-180+.
26. Worn and discoloured body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 130-360+.
27. Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. *c.* A.D. 140-360+.
28. Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. *c.* A.D. 140-360+.
29. Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. Midlands. A.D. 100-360+.

AREA WT/2+

30. Body sherd. Mancetter-Hartshill. A.D. 140-360+. (Could well be 3rd or 4th century.)

31 Incomplete rim section. Midlands, perhaps Mancetter-Hartshill, though discoloured if so. Probably first half of the second century.

FINE WARES

Apart from one body sherd from a Nene Valley 'Hunt Cup' (illustrated no. 28, fig. 14), the Fine Wares were represented by a few very small and badly abraded sherds. It was, therefore, felt unnecessary to obtain a specialist report.

GLASS (fig. 14)

AREA WT/1

Phase 5

41. Layer 1 Bluish-green prismatic bottle, part of body, hexagonal in shape. Horizontal section. (B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne* 1961-1969, Vol. II Finds, fig. 144; pls. 364 and 365; Illustration no. 104.)

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used for references to authorities:

Blay	W. F. Blay, *Letocetum* (Walsall, 1925)
Brodribb *et al*	A. C. C. Brodribb, A. R. Hands, D. R. Walker, *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, near Wilcote, Oxfordshire, part II: Sites B & H,* (priv. print, 1971)
Bushe-Fox	J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations on the site of the Roman town at Wroxeter, Shropshire, in 1912.* Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, no. 1 (1913)
Cotton	M. A. Cotton, 'Excavations at Silchester 1938-9', *Archaeologia,* 92 (1947)
Curle	J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People: The Fort of Newstead* (1911)
Dudley	H. E. Dudley, *Early days in north-west Lincolnshire, a Regional Archaeology* (1949)
Ettlinger and Simonett	E. Ettlinger and C. Simonett, 'Romischen Keramik aus dem Schutthugel von Vindonissa', *Gesellschaft pro Vindonissa,* Band III (1952)
Filtzinger	P. Filtzinger, *Novaesium V, Die Romische Keramik aus dem militarbereich von Novaesium,* Limesoforschungen 11 (1972)

Fowler	E. Fowler, 'The Origins and Development of the Pennanular Brooch in Europe', *Proceedings of the Pre-historic Society,* xxvi (1960)
Frere and St. Joseph	S. S. Frere and J. K. St. Joseph, in *Britannia,* v (1974)
Godwin and Dickson	H. Godwin and J. H. Dickson, report in *T.S.S.A.H.S.* vi (1964-5)
Gould	J. Gould, 'Excavations at Wall', *T.S.S.A.H.S.* v (1963-4)
Hartley	B. R. Hartley, 'The Roman Occupation of Scotland: the evidence of Samian Ware', *Britannia,* iii (1972)
Hobley 1969	B. Hobley, 'A Neronian-Vespasianic Military site at 'The Lunt', Baginton, Warwickshire', *Procs. of Birmingham Archaeological Society,* 83 (1969 for 1966-67)
Hobley 1973	B. Hobley, 'Excavations at 'The Lunt' Roman Military site, 1968-71: second interim report', *Procs. of Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society,* 85 (1973 for 1971-73)
Hod Hill I	J. W. Brailsford, *Hod Hill, Vol. I, Antiquities from Hod Hill in the Durden Collection* (1962)
Hodgkinson	'H. R. Hodgkinson's papers', *T.S.S.A.H.S.* xi (1969-70)
Howe, Perrin, and Mackreth	M. D. Howe, J. R. Perrin, and D. F. Mackreth, *Roman Pottery from the Nene Valley* (1980).
Oswald	A. Oswald, 'Observation on the construction of the by-pass road at Wall', *T.S.S.A.H.S.* viii (1966-7)
Rogers	O. Rogers, *Die Terra Sigillata von Augsburg,* Zeitschrift des Historichen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg (Augsburg, 1913-15)
Round	A. A. Round, 'Excavations at Wall', *T.S.S.A.H.S.* xi (1969-70)
Schonberger	H. Schonberger, *Kastell Oberstimm,* Limesforschungen 18 (1978)
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Todd	M. Todd in *Britannia,* i (1970)
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The Archive is deposited with the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, with the exception of the column capital (S.F. 15) and the inscribed stone (S.F. 22) which are displayed in the site Museum at Wall.

A copy of the report is in the City of Birmingham Polytechnic Art and Design Centre Library, at Gosta Green.

The Society acknowledges a grant made by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England towards the cost of publishing this article.

'JOHNSON IS BEATEN!': A CASE OF 'ROUGH MUSIC' AT WEST BROMWICH IN 1611

D. A. JOHNSON, F.S.A.

Versions of the custom known variously in England as 'rough music', 'the skimmington ride', or 'riding the stang', and in France as 'le charivari' have been found throughout Europe from Antiquity to the present century. Sometimes the mood of the participants was good humoured. Most frequently, however, 'rough music' was organised as a collective and public ritual humiliation of those who had offended popular notions of correct behaviour — adulterers, wife- or child-beaters, henpecked husbands, shrewish or domineering wives, strikebreakers. The ceremony was simple: offenders were serenaded by cacophonous music, ribald or angry shouting, and the beating of pots and pans. Effigies of the offenders, persons got up to resemble them, or even the offenders themselves could be paraded through the streets in ridiculous or humiliating postures (seated on a donkey facing the tail, astride a pole or ladder carried on men's shoulders) to the accompaniment of the music, the shouting,and the general noise. Perhaps the best known English example is fictional — the 'skimmington' aimed at Michael Henchard and Lucetta Farfrae which Thomas Hardy introduces into *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. The earliest recorded occurrence in Staffordshire found so far comes from West Bromwich and dates from 1611. It provides an interesting comparison with a case at Burton upon Trent in 1618 which has recently been discussed in detail.[1]

In the late afternoon of Saturday 18 May 1611, the Revd. Thomas Johnson, minister of West Bromwich, then a sparsely populated South Staffordshire parish, was buying meat in a butcher's shop in Lyndon, the main settlement of the parish, about half a mile south of the parish church. Johnson himself lived in a house at Hall End, just west of the church;[2] one of his neighbours was a Simon Preston. While Johnson was buying his Sunday joint a small group of men appeared from Preston's house and yard and made for Johnson's front door. One, Robert Shepherd, got up to represent Johnson, was carried on a ladder; another, Thomas Gibbins, dressed as a sluttish woman ('mawkin fashion'), took the part of Johnson's wife; others lending support and making a noise included Robert, Walter, and Thomas Stanley, sons of Richard Stanley and nephews of the lord of the manor, Walter Stanley of West Bromwich Hall.[3] Having demonstrated outside Johnson's house, the 'disordered crew' went on, shouting, to the churchyard gate and thence along the main road into Lyndon, attracting one or two other people, including Richard Stanley, on the way. When they reached the butcher's shop they came to a halt and yelled 'Johnson is beaten!' — presumably the gist of their previous shouts., There was then apparently general confusion for a time until 'the chief men of the parish' calmed things down. About a month later Johnson appeared at

1. Joan R. Kent, ' "Folk Justice" and Royal Justice in Early Seventeenth-Century England: A "Charivari" in the Midlands', *Midland History*, ix. 70-85. This gives a list of the principal recent works dealing with the custom; to it should be added *Le Charivari*, edd. J. Le Goff and J-C. Schmitt (Paris, 1981), which includes an article by Martin Ingram, 'Le charivari dans l'Angleterre du XVI[e] et du XVII[e] siècle'. What follows is based, unless otherwise stated, on the West Bromwich petition which is printed below by kind permission of the Staffordshire County Archivist.
2. *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, xvii. 2-3, 52.
3. Ibid. 16; Mary Willett, *History of West Bromwich* (West Bromwich, 1882), pedigree 1.

TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SURVEYS OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL CLOSE

NIGEL J. TRINGHAM

During the Civil War the cathedral close at Lichfield was occupied by both royalist and parliamentarian forces, resulting in extensive damage to the cathedral and the houses around it. The purpose of this article is to publish the text of two contemporary surveys of houses in the Close in order to show which parts suffered most and to illustrate the effect of that destruction and of the later abolition of the cathedral establishment. The first survey was made in 1649 and the other almost certainly in 1660.[1] For ease of reference entries in both texts have been numbered: **1** to **45** refer to that 1649 survey, **46** to **60** to that of 1660.

Cathedral establishments were abolished by Parliament in April 1649 by an Act which provided for the confiscation of cathedral property, to be vested in Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers.[2] A survey of the property of the dean and chapter of Lichfield, together with the college of vicars choral, was made in July 1649; it is the first of the texts produced below. For the most part the survey deals with the houses of the canons (including the deanery) and those of the vicars choral. There was, however, other capitular property: the house formerly occupied by the choristers (**25**), houses for the chapter clerk (**38**) and the verger (**40**), the south gatehouse (**36**), the library (**39**), and a building once a house 'but now a barn' (**33**). Garden plots were also mentioned (**23, 32**). Reference was made to the damaged cathedral (**42**) but no details were given. Nor does the survey concern itself with the bishop's palace which stood in the north-east corner of the Close. The appropriation of episcopal property had taken place earlier under an Act of 1646, and a separate survey of the palace at Lichfield was made in 1652.[3] Another omission was the house of the former chantry chaplains of the cathedral on the south side of the Close; after the dissolution of the chantries in 1548, the house had eventually become the property of Lichfield corporation,[4] and so was no longer part of the chapter's estate in 1649. The survey does, however, refer to it when describing an adjoining property (**33**). The survey ends with a summary of the legal position of the Close, which enjoyed a jurisdiction distinct from that of the city of Lichfield (**43**).

The task of surveying the Close in 1649 was entrusted to three men (**1**). Their brief was to establish whether the occupier of each house had possession by right of his place or office in the cathedral establishment, or by lease; if by lease, what rent was paid and whether an increased rent could be charged by making improvements to the property; and, if a house was thought to be beyond repair, an assessment of the sale value of its materials was to be made.

1. Lichfield Joint Record Office, D. 30/LIV, ff. 92-9; ibid. list of squatters. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield for permission to publish the texts. Thanks also to Mary Edwards for drawing the plan on p.36.
2. W. A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth, 1640-1660,* ii. 214-5.
3. Staffordshire Record Office, 547/1, ff. 107-10 (printed in D. A. Johnson and D. G. Vaisey, *Staffordshire and the Great Rebellion* (1st edn., 1964), 34-5).
4. *Victoria County History of Staffordshire,* iii. 167.

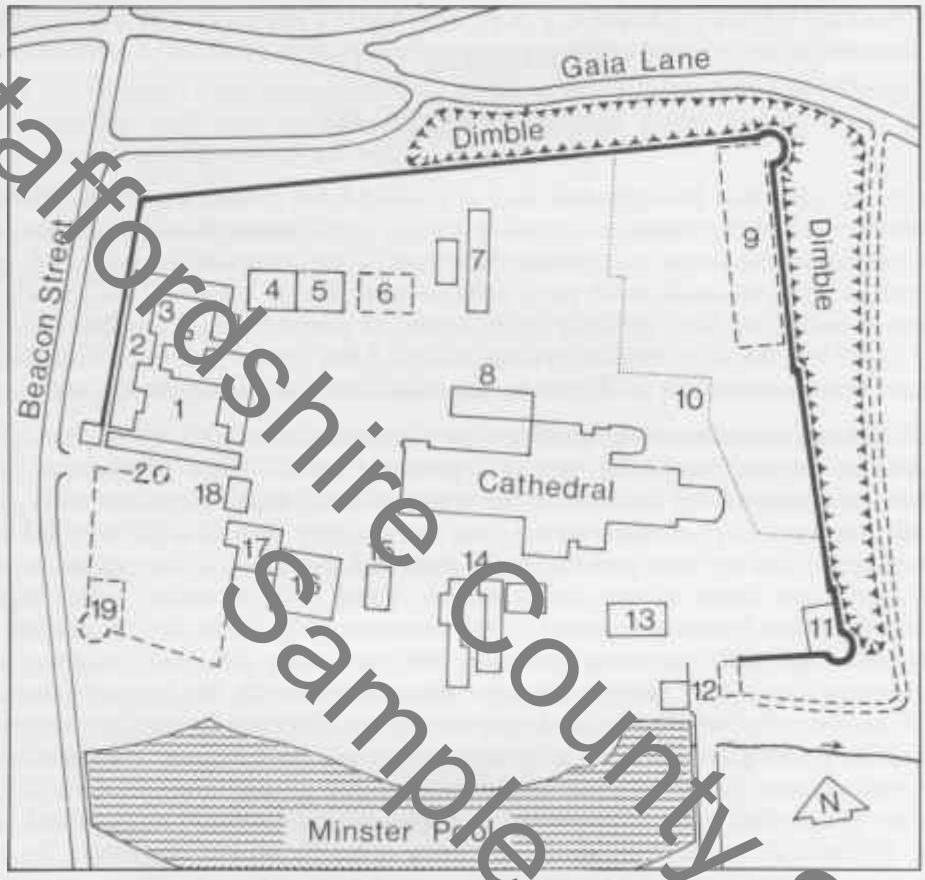

Fig. 1 Probable lay-out of Lichfield Close in the mid 17th century

(The figure, which is intended to give only a rough guide to the position of houses mentioned in the surveys, is based on John Snape, *Plan of Lichfield* (1781); the site of the medieval palace is taken from a 17th century plan: see footnote 10. The line of the Close wall, where known for certain, is shown by the thick black line and its probable extension at the south-west corner by the dotted line; the wall on the southern side appears to have been incorporated in the front of houses there and ran up to the south-east gate. Minster Pool probably stretched further northwards in the 17th century; the outline given here is that shown on Snape's *Plan*.)

Key, with references to numbers in the edited texts:

1. Lower courtyard of Vicars' Close **2-11, 54.**
2. Vicars' common hall **15.**
3. Upper courtyard of Vicars' Close **12-22.**
4. Precentor's house, the present St. Chad's Cathedral School, **24, 52.**
5. Former choristers' house, the present nos. 13 and 14, **25, 26.**
6. Canonical house, on the site now occupied by no. 15, **27, 51.**
7. Deanery **28, 50.**
8. Library and chapter clerk's house **38, 39.**
9. Palace **48;** the dotted line marks the extent of its grounds.
10. Site of verger's house **40, 49.**
11. Canonical house, the present St. Mary's House, **29.**
12. South gate **30, 47.**
13. Canonical house, the present no. 19, **31.**
14. New College, on the site now occupied by St. John's Hospital in the Close, **33, 57.**
15. Three houses, respectively the present
16. Bishop's House, no. 23, and no. 24, of
17. which only two are mentioned in the 1649 survey **34, 35;** and see **56.**
18. Canonical house **37.**
19. Canonical house **36, 55.**
20. West gate **37.**

56 In the house of Dr. James Fleetwood canon res[identiary] and provost of King's College
one Langley, a towdresser, wife and children
Hewson, a labourer, wife and daughter
Nicklin, a labourer, wife and children
Mansfield, a soldier, wife and children

Note: For Fleetwood see **34.**

57 In Dr. Hewett precinct, part of the bishop's manor (taken now to be the city's by ancient purchase)
2 Brownes, maidens
one Wright, wife and children
Widow Ballard

Note: In 1657 and 1659 Hewett paid the bailiffs of Lichfield corporation a rent for New College (LJRO, D. 35/ bailiffs' accts. 1657-1707).

Dorse

58 In the revestery part of God's House
Daniel Morgil, labourer, wife and children

59 In the lower vault of the same and under the church
2 women with children both bastards and one there lately brought to bed of a bastard and affirmed to be still there

60 The number of persons one hundred and eleven or twelve.
We say nothing of gentle or honest families in other canonical houses not ruined [*struck through* Foul] dunghills are made everywhere up and down the Close
Swine that were never permitted formerly in the Close daily root in the graves of the dead; the keepers

Davis	2	great sows
Cope	1	
Joan Browne	1	
Nicklin	1	
The Lady Wolsley	2	
Mr. John Smith	2	
Richard Hill	2	
Mary Smith	1	
Mrs. Robbinson	1	
Mrs. Williams	1	
Bi..destly	5	These five are sold upon the first reprehension

In all 19 swine.

Alehouses: six within the Close walls where formerly no one was suffered.

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THE WALSALL RIOTS, THE ROOKER FAMILY, AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DISSENT

ALAN P. F. SELL, F.S.A.

That eighteenth-century Walsall was the scene of riots and acts of vandalism that were politically and religiously inspired is universally agreed. As we move from the universal affirmation to the particular disturbances, however, agreement as between the several authorities becomes more elusive. This is partly because at crucial points documentary evidence is weak, and partly owing to the predilection of some writers for oral tradition which may contain a significant proportion of myth. We are principally concerned with the 1751 riot at Hill Top, Walsall, and with the Rooker family, some of whose members were at the 'sharp end' of it. We shall take the religious temperature of the times, set the Rookers against their theological background, and trace the influence of this Walsall family in other parts of the country. However, both because the 1751 Brief for the Crown[1] twice incorrectly gives the date of the Hill Top riot as 1715, and because we shall not understand the Rookers' motives unless we know something of the Presbyterian congregation from which they seceded, we shall do well to take our bearings from as untangled a view as the evidence permits of the riots of 1715 and 1743. We shall examine the available primary and secondary sources, and shall find that at certain points the clinching evidence is doctrinal in character.

I[2]

An older historian was neither fanciful nor partisan when he wrote, 'In Staffordshire, one of the least civilised and most tory counties . . . scarcely a Whig or Dissenter there could escape insult or more serious injury.'[3] None was more implacably opposed to the Whigs and the Dissenters than Henry Sacheverell (1674?–1724).[4] On Sunday 20 October 1714 — the day of George I's coronation — Sacheverell preached a virulent sermon to a congregation in Sutton Coldfield parish church, which was swollen by about two hundred Jacobites from Birmingham.[5] Political feeling was running high. There was widespread Tory anger at the taxes imposed by the Whigs with a view to sustaining the war which William III had joined with France, and trade was in the doldrums. Something of the alarm felt by those who sympathised with the government emerges from the columns of the Whig newspaper, *The Flying Post*. In July 1715 a correspondent wrote, 'I find a great many people alarm'd on the apprehensions of an invasion by the Pretender;' and by 6 August another could write from Coventry: 'I was last week at Birmingham, where things were in the utmost confusion,

1. Birmingham Central Library Archives, 328830.
2. In this section I rework and expand the opening paragraphs of my article, 'The social and literary contributions of three Unitarian ministers in nineteenth-century Walsall', *UHST* xv. no. 3 (Oct. 1973), 77-97.
3. Quoted by Frederic W. Willmore, *A History of Walsall* (Walsall 1887), 352. Recent studies of early eighteenth-century turbulence include N. Rogers, 'Popular protest in early Hanoverian London', *Past & Present* lxxix (1978), 70-100; G. V. Bennett, 'English Jacobitism, 1710-15: myth and reality', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.* 5th ser. xxxii (1982), 137-51.
4. For him see *DNB*; G. S. Holmes, *The Trial of Dr. Sacheverell* (1973).
5. See C. H. Beale, *History of the Old Meeting House, Birmingham* (1882), 13-14; M. Wright, *The Best of Cannock Chase* (Wolverhampton 1933), 142-46; E. J. Homeshaw, *The Corporation of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall* (Walsall, 1960), 92.

because the Dissenters' meeting houses in all that county are pulled down, and in most places they have no conveniency of meeting together'.[6] In Staffordshire dissenting meeting houses were destroyed at Newcastle, Pensnett, Stafford, Stone, Walsall, West Bromwich, and Wolverhampton, and damaged at Leek and Coseley. According to the records of the Clerks of Assize, Walsall's meeting house fell on 8 July 1715.[7]

In his account of the 1715 riot (which he dates as 1714) E. L. Glew asserts that the demolished meeting house 'had been for sixty years the only dissenting place of worship in the town,' and Willmore declares that it was 'built in 1662'.[8] This is misleading. There was a dissenting interest in Walsall in the 1660's, but no 'place of worship' in the sense of a meeting house as such. The Episcopal Returns state that in 1669 Richard Hilton, who was ejected from his perpetual curacy of West Bromwich in 1662, preached to more than three hundred persons 'at the *houses* of Mrs. Pearson, Mr. Fowler and Mr. Eves'.[9] Hilton was born in Oxfordshire *c.*1625, matriculated at Christ Church in 1641, and died at Walsall in 1706. Under the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672, the Presbyterian Richard Bell (ejected from Polesworth, Warws.) was licensed to teach; and in the same year the houses of Edward Eves, George Fowler, and Elizabeth Deale (or Deakin) — all Presbyterians — were licensed for worship.[10] In 1690 Hilton was maintaining a lecture in Walsall despite receiving 'little assistance' from the 'many able men in the town'.[11] in 1693 his own house was licensed for worship.[12]

In 1707 George Fowler's father, Simon Fowler of Cheadle, leased to his son 'a great room', otherwise 'the chapel', which adjoined George's house in Walsall.[13] This would seem to be the meeting house (possibly recently completed) which was situated in Bank Court (later known as Fox's and Cox's Court) on the north side of the High Street, near its top. No

6. William Salt Library, Stafford, Burney's Coll. ... 491
7. PRO, ASSI/2/15. With this documentary evidence one source of confusion is removed. Thus, F. W. Willmore, E. J. Homeshaw, and E. L. Glew *(History of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall and the County of Stafford,* (1856), 58) opt for 1714 as the year of the riot; G. E. Evans *(Midland Churches: A History of the Congregations* on the Roll of the Midland Christian Union (1889)) has the destruction of the meeting house 'about' 1710; while Hugh Warnock ('Short sketch of the origin and progress of nonconformity in Walsall', *UHST* iv (1927-30), 109) and R. D. Woodall *(Midland Unitarianism and its Story, 1662-1962)* are firmly for 1710. Alfred Willis *(A History of Bridge Street Chapel, Walsall* (1893), 3) plays for safety in declaring that the destruction occurred 'in or about the year 1710'. Those who correctly give 1715 include: J. C. Wedgwood, Staffordshire Parliamentary History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, SHC, 1922, 221; *VCH Staffs.* xvii. 248; and J. H. S. Briggs, 'The burning of the Meeting House, July 1715; Dissent and faction in late Stuart Newcastle', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies,* xiv (1974), 71. The 1715 option is borne out by John Evans in his, 'An account of the damages done in the riots, 1715, according to the several estimates returned by the Commissioners appointed by the King to inquire into them'. Mr. J. Creasey, Librarian of Dr. Williams's Library, where Evans' list is to be found, points out that it is wrongly atttributed to Thompson by A. G. Matthews in his *The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire* [1924], 128. Evans's list was begun in 1715 and added to until 1729.
8. Glew, *Hist. of Borough and Foreign of Walsall,* 58; Willmore, *Hist. of Walsall,* 351.
9. *FAE,* 284 (my italics); G. Lyon Turner (ed.), *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (1911), i. 60ff; *VCH Staffs.* xvii. 247. For Hilton see *Calamy Rev.*; *FAE*; Hugh Warnock, 'Unitarian ministers of Walsall and their predecessors', *UHST* iv (1927-30), 270; Matthews, *Cong. Churches of Staffs.* 90. In addition to Hilton the following were described as 'Heads' of the Walsall congregation: Messrs. Fincher, Osland, Steele (probably Richard Steele, ejected from Hammer, Flints.), Bladon, Coape (ejected from Sandbach, Ches.), and Myles, and others.
10. G. Lyon Turner, *Orig. Records,* iii. 17. For Bell see *Calamy Rev.*
11. *FAE,* 96, 284.
12. *LJRO,* B/A/12(ii).
13. William Salt Library, 337/34 and 349/34.

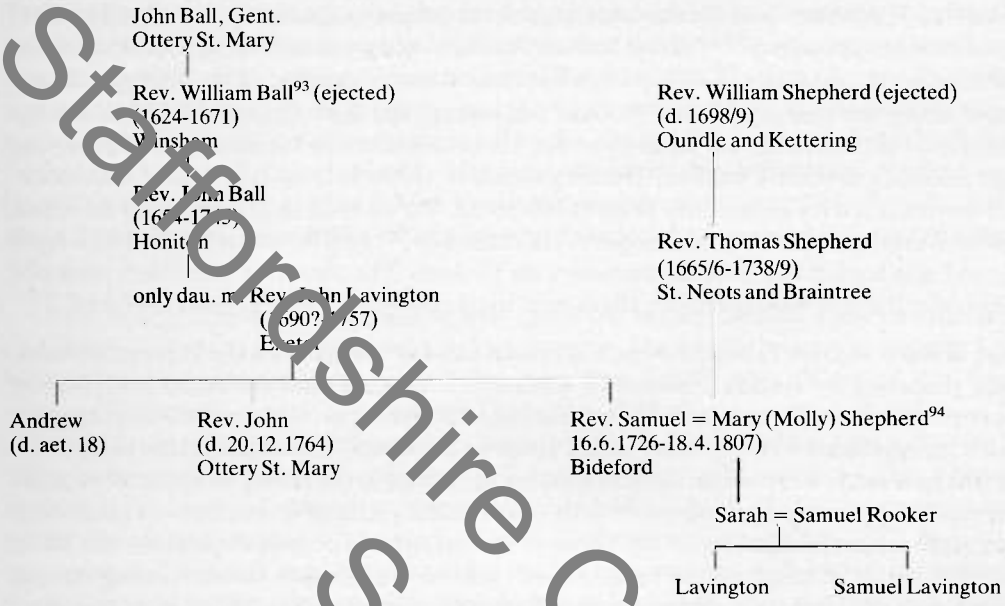
Buncombe (1734-1794) succeeded to the pastorate at Ottery in 1760, James Rooker preaching at his ordination on 'The Nature and Importance of walking worthy of the Christian vocation'.[83] His text was Ephesians iv. 1. Buncombe assisted as classical tutor at Rooker's academy until it removed to Taunton after Rooker's death in 1780. Buncombe remained at Ottery until his death. The sermon at his grave was delivered by the Rev. James Small (1759-1824), whose first wife, Martha, was James Rooker's daughter.[84]

James Rooker's tutorial duties commenced in 1765, and by 1768-9 he was able to build a fine set of premises by Bridport's East Bridge.[85] Densham and Ogle opine that 'Mr. Rooker made no money out of his students, on the contrary, he was probably a poorer man for the work'.[86] E. B. Short comments, 'If this is true he must have been very prosperous beforehand, for he built Bridge House, a property at the far end of East Street, paying a church rate of 2*s.* 6*d.*, compared with 1*s.* for an ordinary house. This is not explained solely by his need for a large house for his academy. His widow continued to live there; while his daughter's property carried a church rate of 5*s.*, an amount exceeded by only five other properties, two of them large inns and two mills'.[87] James Rooker may well have been prosperous. We know that his father was a cooper and a chapel builder, and that by his will dated 16 October 1765 he left James property in Saint George's Street and Hill Top, Walsall. Although it was not until 29 September 1775 that James sold these properties to Mrs. Elizabeth Haseldine for £140 and £60 respectively, he could have been drawing rents prior to that date.[88] Further income would come from those of the academy's twenty students[89] who were supported by the Congregational Fund Board. The Board subscribed £14 *p.a.* to every student on its books.[90] After Rooker's death the academy was continued by Thomas Reader at Taunton. Reader assumed tutorial duties in 1780, and continued until his death in 1794. Reader was born in Bedworth and, as we have seen, he was educated there under Kirkpatrick.[91] James Small, Rooker's son-in-law conducted the academy after Reader's death, at Axminster, from 1796-1828.

Of Rooker's daughter Martha we have already spoken. His ministerial sons, by Sarah Evans of Ottery St. Mary, whom he married there on 3 April 1766, were Samuel and

83. Published in 1761. For Buncombe (1734-94) see Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset,* 84; Bogue and Bennett, *Hist. of Dissenters,* iv. 274; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts,* 12; *PDM* (1794), 336; *CM* (1818), 192; (1825), 389; *EM* (1794), 309-17, 337 ff.; *CHST* v. 214; vii. 99.
84. See 'Memoir of the late Rev. James Small, formerly Tutor of the Western or Independent Academy at Axminster', *EM* (1834), 265-9. He published *Three Hundred Hymns on Select Texts of Scripture* (1792). The Bridport Church Book states that Martha was admitted to communion in 1773 and dismissed to Axminster in 1787. Her sister Mary was admitted in 1779. A Sarah Rooker was admitted in 1798. For further reference to Small see Short, *A Respectable Society,* 37; *EM* (1794), 315; *CM* (1834), 128; *DH* 1624; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts,* 12.
85. Short, *A Respectable Society,* plate 9.
86. Ibid. p.53.
87. Ibid. 36-7.
88. Walsall CL Archives, 115/4/6-7.
89. McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts,* 12.
90. Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset,* 53; cf. the Board's Minutes at DWL.
91. For Reader (1725-94) see Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset,* 373; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts,* 6, 12; *PDM* (1794), 333; *EM* (1794), 311, 441-8, 485-94; *CHST* i. 390; iv. 36; v. 69; vii. 100 f., 131. On Reader's death Samuel Rooker published his sermon on *The dignity and felicity of the conquering saint* (1794).

William.[92] With the marriage of Samuel to Sarah Lavington the Rookers became linked with a significant line of dissenting ministers, as the following pedigree will show:



From the above we see that the sons of Samuel and Sarah Rooker stood in a succession going back to the ejected ministers William Ball and William Shepherd. A third ejected minister, William Yeo (1618-1699) of Wolborough, Devonshire, was also a great-great-great-grandfather of Lavington Rooker and his brother.[95]

Samuel Rooker was ordained, together with his younger brother William, at Tavistock on 19 June 1799. The sermon was delivered by Samuel Lavington, Samuel's father-in-law. Since

92. For Samuel Rooker see *CM* (1818), 113; (1825), 275; *EM* (1832), 404; *PDM* (1799), 31[illegible]; *CHST* vii. 100. For William Rooker see *PDM* (1799), 318; *EM* (1834), 112; (1852), 271, 449; *CHST* iv. 58; v[illegible] 100; *DH* 882; *CYB* (1853), 226-8.
93. There is some confusion among the authorities as to whether William Ball of Winsham, or Nathanael Ball (1623-81) ejected from Barley (Herts.), should appear here. Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (1775), ii. 45-9 and 387 correctly distinguished between William and Nathanael, but J. Toulmin, *An historical view of the state of the Protestant Dissenters in England,* 254, does not. He makes Nathanael John's father. We might have supposed that Toulmin, being of Taunton in relatively close geographical proximity to Rooker country, would be correct, especially in view of his dealings with William Rooker, to which we shall shortly refer in the text. But two considerations weight against Toulmin. Firstly, Dr. John Pye Smith's sermon on the occasion of Lavington Rooker's funeral is clear that the ejected William Ball was among Lavington's forebears. Secondly — and this clinches the matter — Urwick names the first five of Nathanael Ball's thirteen children, born between 1652 and 1658 and registered at Barley (Herts.), and there is no John among them, yet our John was born in 1654. See J. Pye Smith, *The Presence of God in Death. A sermon preached at the Old Gravel Pit Meeting-House in Hackney, April 11th 1824, on the occasion of the much lamented death of Mr. Lavington Rooker* [1824], 25; William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts.* (1884), 738 n.
94. For letters of Whitefield concerning this marriage see L. Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield,* ii. 402-403.
95. William Ball, William Shepherd and William Yeo are in *Calamy Rev.* and *FAE.* John Ball is in *DNB,* where his father is wrongly said to be Nathanael — see note 93. John Lavington, father and son, are in *DNB.* Calamy gives Shepherd as an after-conformist, who eventally resigned his living in 1689, and became the nonconformist minister first at Oundle, then at Kettering.

1795 Samuel Rooker had assisted Lavington at Bideford; he succeeded him as pastor in 1807, and remained there until his death.[96] He was succeeded at Bideford by the Rev. John Edwards of Blackburn and Exeter Academies, at whose ordination on 2 October 1833 William Rooker preached.[97] William had earlier delivered a sermon on the occasion of the death of Samuel Lavington.[98] William Rooker had become a member of the Bridport church (by now under the charge of James Rooker's successor, the Rev. Peter Fabian[99]) at the age of fourteen. He trained for the ministry under Thomas Reader at Taunton, and after serving village churches around Chalfont, Buckinghamshire (1792-96), he removed to Tavistock, where he remained for nearly fifty years (1796-1848). On 1st June 1810 he married Elizabeth Angas of Bridport at St. Mary's, Bridport. He retired to Plymouth, where he died on 9 April 1852, and was buried in Plymouth cemetery on 14 April. His friend Eliezer Jones preached the funeral sermon at Morley chapel, Plymouth, his theme being, 'Voices from the Dead'.[100]

That William Rooker followed in the Calvinistic steps of his fathers is clear from a 'counter' sermon preached by Joshua Toulmin of Taunton. It appears that a sermon published by Rooker on Jude verse 3 prompted Toulmin to take the same text. His sermon was published, and to it he appended a twenty-nine-paged letter to Rooker.[101] He explains that he took the same text as Rooker because the latter's sermon 'appeared to me rather an application of the words to some preconceived notions of faith and of zeal for it, than an attempt to explain their design, and ascertain what were the ideas of the apostle'. Toulmin objects to 'the *air of infallibility* visible through all the composition', and to the fact that Rooker's congregation were not invited to test their minister's remarks by the scriptures. Rooker wrongly lays down as essentials the very doctrines over which Christendom is divided: particular election, the Trinity, original sin, justification by the righteousness of Christ alone — a righteousness which is imputed to us. Toulmin finds the gospels — and Philip Doddridge — silent on these doctrines *considered as essentials*. He is saddened by the way in which Rooker treats those who differ from him: 'How can you, or I venture to judge another, or set at nought a brother?' and concludes by addressing Rooker's congregation. 'Did they judge their minister's sermon by the scriptures before requesting its publication?' They must view matters from all sides: 'Why have you reason, unless you exercise it about the study of God's will?' He concludes: 'May you, Sir, and I, and the respective people to whom we minister, be lead into all truth, and find acceptance and mercy with our common Lord and judge at his coming!' There speaks temperate Arian-Presbyterianism.

96. *EM* (1832), 404. For Lavington's ordination charge see Cheshunt College Collection, B2/11. For Samuel Lavington see *EM* (1807), 323; (1834), 113; *CM* (1818), 57f, 113f; (1825), 275; *CHST* v. 214.
97. *EM* (1834), 112.
98. *EM* (1807), 323.
99. For Fabian (d. 1786) see Densham and Ogle, *Story of Cong. Churches of Dorset*, 54; *CHST* v. 214; xii. 191; G. F. Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge*, nos. 1246, 1332, 1351. For a letter of Fabian to Mercy Doddridge (25 Apr. 1756) see New College MSS, DWL, L1/5/138.
100. For Jones (1809-1883) see *EM* (Dec. 1858) portrait; *CHST*, x. 286; xvi. 110; J. Rees and J. Thomas, *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru* (1871-1875), i. 323; ii. 59; E. Pan Jones, *Oriel Coleg Presbyteraidd Caerfyrrddin* (1909), 43; John Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk* (1877), 385; T. J. Hosken, *Congregationalism in Suffolk* (1920), 108; *CYB* (1884), 301-3.
101. See J. Toulmin, *The manner of contending for the Faith considered in a Sermon Preached at Taunton . . . To which is subjoined A letter to the Reverend Mr. Rooker, occasioned by his Sermon on the same Subject, lately published* (1771). For Toulmin see *DNB*.

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PROGRAMME 1983-4

1983

7 Oct.	(L)	Annual General Meeting Stowe House, Lichfield — John Wilson
21 Oct.	(T)	Repton: excavations at the Anglo-Saxon monastery and Viking fortress — Professor Martin Biddle, F.S.A.
4 Nov.	(L)	Some Parliamentary Origins — R. W. Perceval
18 Nov.	(T)	Housing in Sheffield and other cities in the nineteenth century — Dr. Tim Caulton
2 Dec.	(L)	Medieval Moated Sites — David Wilson

1984

3 Feb.	(L)	The Park and gardens at Enville — Douglas Johnson, F.S.A.
17 Feb.	(T)	Excavations at Nottingham — Graham Black
2 Mar.	(L)	Lichfield and its diocese — Ann Dornier
20 April	(T)	The finds and the raising of the Mary Rose — Andrew Fielding
	(L)	St. Mary's Heritage Centre, Lichfield
	(T)	Tamworth Arts Centre; College of Further Education (21 Oct. meeting)