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HORSE-AND-RIDER BROOCHES IN BRITAIN: A NEW EXAMPLE FROM ROCESTER, STAFFORDSHIRE

I. M. FERRIS

A copper-alloy plate brooch, in the form of a horse and rider, was discovered in 1985 during archaeological excavations at the New Cemetery, Church Lane, Rocester (SK 111395). The brooch, along with a considerable quantity of Roman pottery, was residual in a cultivation soil of the twelfth or thirteenth century (Esmonde Cleary and Ferris 1985).

The brooch is almost complete (figure 1); the horse's tail is missing and there is some damage to its front and back legs and to the foot of the rider. Nonetheless, it is one of the best examples of this distinctive Roman type. Some 35 millimetres in length, the brooch has inset panels, in the *champlevé* manner (Bateson 1981; Butcher 1976), of red and blue enamel which serve to delineate the outline of the rider's body from that of the horse. It is sprung between two lugs at the back. The horse rides towards the viewer's right and is caught posed at a canter while the rider, shown in profile, sits upright and looks straight ahead. There is a noticeable imbalance in the scales at which the horse and the rider are portrayed but such a tendency to depict giant figures or deities with large heads is typically Celtic (Green 1976, 15). A considerable amount of meticulous detailing gives the Rocester brooch a rare individuality; the rider, evidently not a military figure or a belligerent for he wears no armour nor a helmet, appears well groomed with a neatly-trimmed beard and elaborate Romano-Celtic 'capped hair' (Green 1976, 30), and holds in his right hand a stick or short staff, not held as if it were a goad or prod but rather as if a baton or a mace, a symbol of authority. The horse is modelled in a lively and spirited manner with nicks and incisions indicating its mane, and with a tapering head that resembles the portrayal of horses on pre-Roman, Celtic coinage (e.g. Allen 1970, 7).

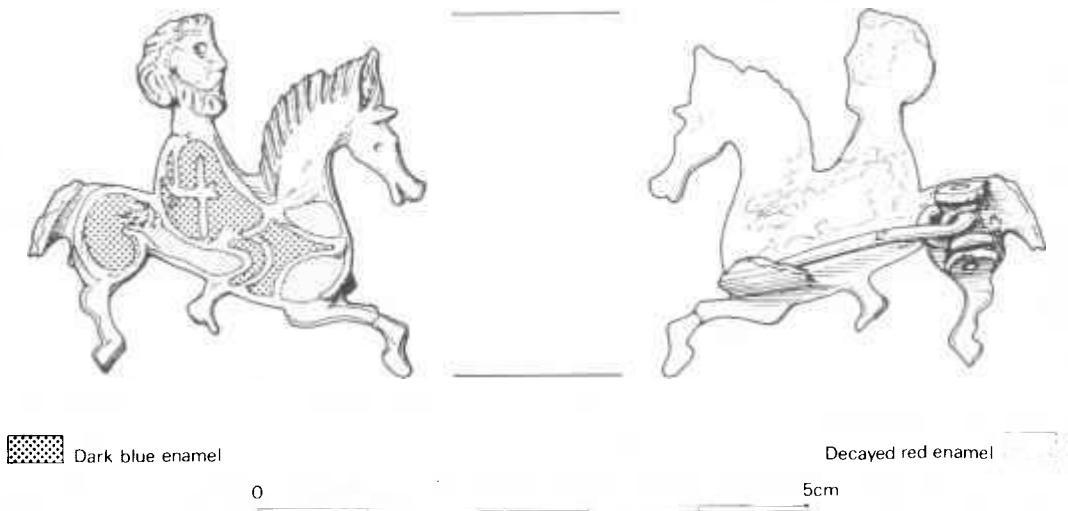


Fig. 1 The horse-and-rider brooch from Rocester.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used for references to authorities:

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THE TOPOGRAPHY AND PLANNING OF MEDIEVAL LICHFIELD: A CRITIQUE

T. R. SLATER

The topographical analysis of medieval towns in Britain is a neglected topic which is usually placed at the fringe of most urban historical and archaeological studies in Britain. Appropriate techniques of investigation have been developed by M. R. G. Conzen, an historical geographer, and an extensive conceptual framework has emerged.¹ One of these concepts, 'the fringe belt', has been subsequently refined by other geographers, notably J. W. R. Whitehand, in his work on urban development in the 19th and 20th centuries,² but the remainder have been as much neglected by geographers as by historians and archaeologists.

In his recent study of Lichfield's topography, Steven Bassett has added to the limited corpus of British town-plan studies³ and has provided an additional investigative technique in terms of his analysis of field patterns and road alignments, though this technique needs careful assessment elsewhere before its reliability can be accepted. Lichfield is unusual perhaps for the number and variety of such historical topographical studies⁴ and it might be thought that there is little left to say about the physical development of a town which, superficially at least, has a relatively simple plan. However, while the techniques used by Bassett beyond the central city are innovative, within the urban area much of the basic groundwork of both English, and its preceding German, topographical scholarship has been unnecessarily abandoned, so producing a model of Lichfield's medieval topographical development which is subject to frequent and substantive changes. Such rapid change of a town plan has few parallels elsewhere and, since comparative study is one of the bases of town-plan analysis, it is the purpose of this paper to provide an alternative model, grounded in that tradition of comparative studies, in order to explain the evolution of the medieval town plan of Lichfield without recourse to the periods of frequent change supposed by Bassett's model.

Since basic premises are important in such studies, they must be briefly stated. In the first instance, though Lichfield is a planned medieval town, its history did not begin in c. 1140.⁵ St. Chad's cathedral, and the veneration of his tomb, which continued in the 10th and 11th centuries despite the removal of the Mercian see to Chester in 1075, ensured that the place

1. M. R. G. Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town-plan analysis', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 27 (1960); idem. 'The plan analysis of an English city centre', in K. Norborg (ed.), *Proceedings of the I. G. U. symposium in urban geography, Lund 1960* (Lund, 1962), 383-414.
2. For a summary of subsequent work see J. W. R. Whitehand, 'Conzenian ideas: extension and development', in J. W. R. Whitehand (ed.), *The urban landscape: historical development and management* [Inst. of British Geographers, Special Publication no. 13] (London, 1981), 127-52.
3. S. R. Bassett, 'Medieval Lichfield: a topographical review', *Trans. South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxii (1982), 93-121.
4. H. Thorpe, 'Lichfield: a study of its growth and function', *Staffordshire Historical Collections* (Staffs. Record Society), 1950-51, 139-211; C. C. Taylor 'The origins of Lichfield', *TSSAHS* x (1969), 43-52; J. Gould, *Lichfield: archaeology and development* (Birmingham, 1976).
5. R. Studd, 'Pre-Conquest Lichfield', *TSSAHS* xxii. 24-34.

had been much visited for more than four centuries previous to the mid 12th century.⁶ The pre-urban roads, churches and settlement in the vicinity therefore exercised a frame which both influenced and was influenced by the new town. Secondly, the historic town plan is not the simple, unitary layout of streets and burgages sometimes found in grid-plan medieval new towns. It is a complex plan in which a significant number of *plan-units*⁷ are recognisable and it is important in any investigation that the development and interaction of all these plan-units are taken into consideration. Thirdly, it must be recognised that, once they have been established, alterations in urban street alignments and property divisions are possible on a large scale only when a powerful ground landlord, extensive land clearance, and a changed functional requirement, coincide in time. This happens rarely in medieval towns. Indeed, it is the longevity of urban boundaries once established that provides the main basis for town-plan analysis and this premise has been strengthened and confirmed by recent independent archaeological and historical investigations.⁸ Fourthly, it is important to distinguish between the conceptualized regularity with which the medieval town-planner began the new town and the piecemeal development of that plan on the ground. Any plan, medieval or modern, is adapted to meet the needs of users as development progresses so that deviations from an 'ideal' regularity will be present from the beginning. It is therefore unnecessary to posit an evolutionary sequence for many of these observed deviations in the plan. Finally, in analysing any unit of a town plan it is necessary to consider the whole evidence of the plan together. Streets, plots and buildings provide separate strands of evidence, but it is the integration of these strands which is important. In particular, use of the street plan alone normally provides a simplistic explanation of plan evolution.

Plan-units are areas of a town whose combination of streets, plots and buildings have a measure of morphological unity which make them separate and distinct from neighbouring plan-units. The methodology for distinguishing their bounds has been developed by M. R. G. Conzen⁹ on the basis of earlier work by, primarily, German historians and geographers. In terms of the present paper they form a convenient structure with which to analyse the chronology and development of Lichfield's town plan. These major plan-units are shown in figure 1. Each plan-unit can be sub-divided into a greater number of smaller units as subsequent analysis will demonstrate but it is at the scale shown that broad patterns of development are most apparent.

PRE-URBAN DEVELOPMENT

In his analysis of Lichfield as a medieval new town, Christopher Taylor recognised the strong possibility of some pre-urban settlement within the later bounds of the town and suggested, without any detailed investigation, that this might include three of the five suburban areas that developed in the Middle Ages: namely, Gaia Lane to the north of the

6. Ibid.

7. The terminology used is that of M. R. G. Conzen. A convenient set of definitions are appended to the second printing of 'Alnwick, Northumberland . . .' (see note 1) (1969).

8. See L. E. Webster and J. Cherry (eds.), 'Medieval Britain in 1976', *Medieval Archaeology*, 21 (1977), 248-9 for an archaeological example from York; D. Lloyd, *Broad Street, its houses and residents through eight centuries* (Ludlow Research Paper no. 3; Birmingham, 1979) provides a local historical example.

9. M. R. G. Conzen, 'Historical townscapes in Britain: a problem in applied geography' in J. W. House (ed.), *Northern geographical essays in honour of G. H. J. Daysh* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1966), 56-78.

THE CHANTRY PRIESTS' HOUSE IN LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL CLOSE

NIGEL J. TRINGHAM

Land on the south side of Lichfield cathedral close, now occupied by the Refectory and a part of St. John's Hospital within the Close, was formerly the site of the 15th-century common residence of the cathedral's chantry priests. A description of the building survives in a late 16th-century inventory, made when the house was leased to lay tenants some forty years after the dissolution of the chantry priests' college. The text of the inventory, preserved in the archive department of Birmingham Central Library, is edited below.¹

The land on which the house was built was assigned by Bishop John de Burghill in 1411; it measured sixty feet in breadth between two canonical houses and stretched back towards Minster Pool. There were then thirteen chantry priests who did not have houses provided as part of the endowment of the chantries they served and who, presumably, had to find lodgings where they could, unless they held another cathedral office which provided accommodation. A house was built for them by the executors of the bishop, who died in 1414.² Improvements and additions were made in 1468 by the dean, Thomas Heywood. A bakery and brewhouse of two bays with a tiled roof was built adjoining the main house, with two rooms above for corn and malt; a stove (*caminum*) was provided for use in winter (presumably in the common hall); and there was the gift of a twill table-cloth worth 6s. 8d. Heywood also gave 40s. for refurbishing the place where the cup-board (*ciphorium*) was kept and for glazing the window there.³

Very little is known about the internal organisation of the college. The priests evidently acquired some common property and elected officers from amongst themselves to administer it. In the earlier 16th century the lease of property in Elmhurst on the northern outskirts of the city was made by Thomas Beale, provost of what was then called the New College, Richard Osylcokk, senior officer, and Edward Baxter, junior officer. In 1546 the college had common property worth a little over £17.⁴

At the time of the dissolution of the chantries in 1548 there were apparently fifteen priests living in the house: a commission in 1546 reported that number, each with a chamber worth between 12d. and 20d. No reference was made to a chamber for the priest serving a chantry

1. Birmingham Reference Library, Archive Department, 401143. Acknowledgement is made to the archivist, Mr. J. D. Warner-Davies, for permission to publish the text. I am grateful to Dr. John Harvey for commenting on the inventory and helping with suggestions for the probable layout of the college house. Thanks are also extended to Mr. D. A. Johnson for drawing the manuscript to my attention.
2. *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, iii. 165; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, viii (3), 1254.
3. Lichfield Cathedral Library, MS. 3, f. 28; 4, f. 22. It has been suggested that a small 'garden house', recently excavated, was used by the chantry priests: *Trans. South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxii. 38-9, 63. The structure, however, lies to the east of the plot of land on which the college was built and any connection with the priests is unproven.
4. *Staffordshire Historical Collections* (Staffs. Record Society), 1915, 153-4; Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Staffs. C. 1, f. 3.

at St. George's altar, whilst the priest who served the chantry for Dean Yotton had his own dwelling house worth 6s. 8d., presumably not part of the college buildings. The college had no plate or ornaments, but a later commission in 1548 noted some utensils worth 16s. 3d.⁵ The college was sold to London speculators. By 1564 it was in the possession of the dean, Richard Walker (d. 1567), whose executors conveyed it to Lichfield corporation, evidently as part of Walker's endowment of the city's grammar school.⁶ The house was assessed on 16 hearths in the hearth tax of 1666.⁷ At least part of the building was demolished in 1817 because it was ruinous, and the rest was probably pulled down soon after William Mott, the deputy diocesan registrar, acquired a long lease of the site in 1819.⁸ In 1872 the land was acquired by the Lichfield Theological College and a college chapel and library were built. The college was closed in 1972 and the site was later developed as the present Refectory, opened in 1980, and as part of St. John's Hospital in the Close, opened in 1981.⁹

The late 16th-century inventory mentioned above was presumably made by the corporation when they leased the property to Edward Noble and his wife Isabel. Edward, the second son of John Noble of Farewell, was under 21 years of age in 1568, as was his elder brother, and he may not have married until the late 1570s or later. His son Michael was old enough to be town clerk of Lichfield in 1623.¹⁰ Noble may already have been living in the house when the inventory was made, as one of the rooms was referred to as Mr. Noble's hall. Nothing is known about the R. Holder who occupied a set of rooms at the time when the inventory was made. The handwriting of the manuscript suggests a date in the 1580s or 1590s.

It seems almost certain that the person who compiled the inventory proceeded through the college building in a systematic way and it is possible, therefore, to offer a tentative reconstruction of how the rooms were arranged. Further information is provided by the outline plan of the college made by John Snape as part of his *Plan of Lichfield* (1781), and there is a view of the college's inner courtyard drawn in 1816. Both plan and view are reproduced as figs. 1 and 2. It must be stressed, however, that the following architectural reconstruction cannot be regarded as certain and it is only offered as a probable interpretation of the available evidence.

The inventory starts with what was clearly the former common hall of the chantry priests, which probably stood at the far end of the eastern range of building shown on Snape's plan, facing out towards Minster Pool. The 1816 view shows the courtyard as seen from the street near the cathedral, looking in towards the south. The passage at the far end, leading out of the courtyard towards the pool, was evidently the screens passage at the west end of the hall; a coping shown up the high roof slightly to the right of the passage indicates that it was included in the hall structure. The buttery, with which the inventory ends, would have been on the other side of the screens passage. That being so, the parlour which follows the entry

5. SHC 1915, 153-9.

6. VCH Staffs. iii. 167; vi. 159; Staffordshire Record Office, D. 546/11.

7. SHC 1923, 239; William Salt Library, Stafford, S.D. Beck 150.

8. Lichfield Joint Record Office, D. 77/5/3, ff. 94v., 120v.; D. 77/9/51.

9. E. C. Inman, *History of Lichfield Theological College, 1857-1927*, 28; inf. from Mr. R. D. Birch, former steward of the hospital.

10. WSL, D. 1929/1, no. 22; T. Harwood, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (Gloucester, 1806), 345.

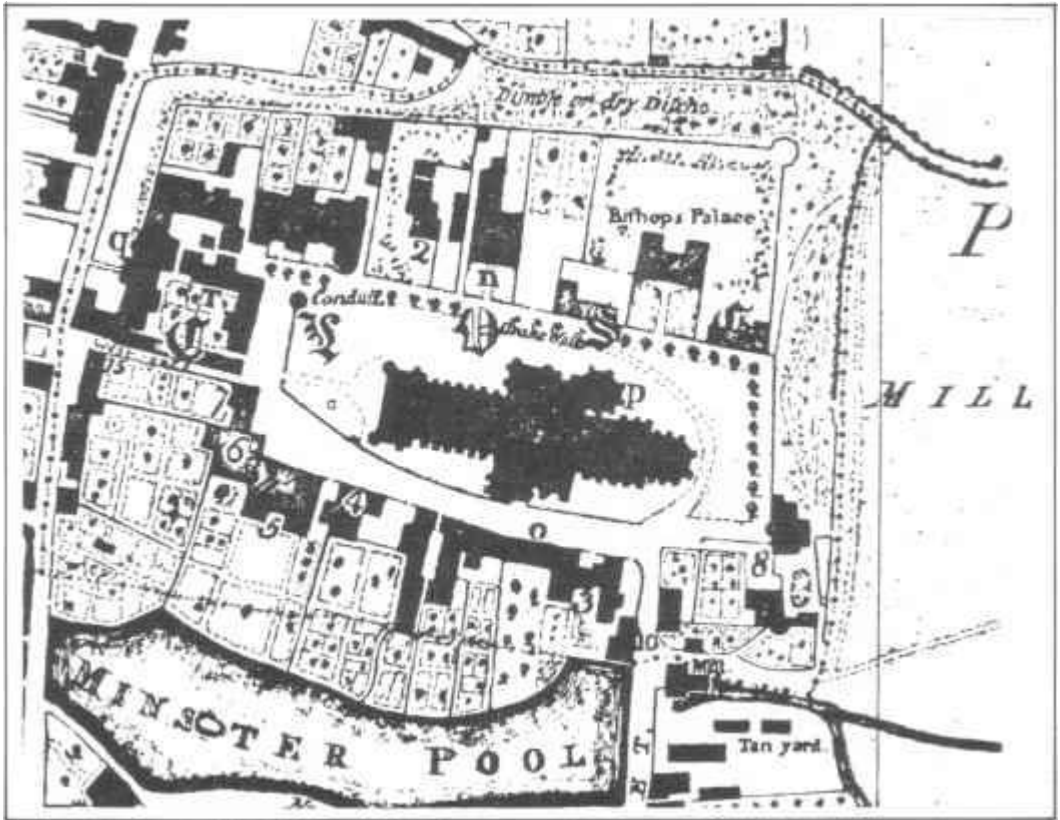


Fig. 1 Lichfield cathedral close in the late 18th century, part of J. Snape, *Plan of Lichfield*, (1781). The former chantry priests' house is shown to the east of the house numbered 4.

for the hall must have lain on the hall's north side, showing that the inventory proceeds that way towards the street. There follows a series of chambers as far as R. Holder's lodging, which included two upper chambers which faced the street, possibly crossing over the entrance into the courtyard. Turning southwards there was another series of chambers as the inventory proceeds back towards the hall. Somewhere along that side of the college stood a ground-floor chapel. The kitchen must be on the west side of the screens passage, together with the buttery. Between those two offices, however, the inventory inserts Mr. Noble's hall, studies, and chambers. Presumably they are shown on Snape's plan as the projection southwards beyond the main courtyard.

The inventory itemises movables and fixtures liable to wear-and-tear in the house: panelling (*sylyng*), floor tiles, a fire place, glass, window shutters, doors, stair-posts (*steys*), benches, tables, a lead cistern (in the kitchen), and a meat-safe (*save*) and a water conduit (in the buttery). In the hall there was panelling which measured 111 square yards, or 999 square feet; it evidently lined the walls of the hall together with its 'hed', presumably a dais at the upper end, which would have been on the east side opposite the screens passage. If the panelling was, say, 8 foot high that would give a run of over 100 foot for the main part of the hall, leaving some for the dais. Possibly the hall was roughly square-shaped, if its

A SURVEY OF HAMSTALL HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE

I. M. FERRIS

Hamstall Hall (Grid Reference SK 105913) is situated at the north-west end of the village of Hamstall Ridware in an eponymous parish (figure 1). The present hall occupies part of the former western range of a large courtyard-house. A splendid gabled bay with a porch, which though joined to the hall has no communication with it, is a survival of the southern range of the same house; an isolated tower to the east was also at one time incorporated within that house plan. Two gatehouses or lodges to the north once provided access across an open area to the house. A second range of buildings to the west of the hall represents the largely 19th-century farmyard, although reflecting an older layout; a number of these buildings have been recently converted for use as part of Ridware Arts Centre.

Because of concern over the future of three of the listed structures at Hamstall—the tower, the gatehouses, and the gabled end with the porch—the Community Programme Agency in Stafford in consultation with the Staffordshire County Council Planning Department in 1983-1984 appointed the writer to undertake a detailed survey. The brief was to record the three structures in plan and elevation and to examine the documentary records relating to the hall.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

‘What historian has not had daydreams of being able, like Ulysees, to body forth the shades for questioning? But it is no longer the season of the miracles of the Nekuia, and we have no other device for returning through time except that which operates in our minds with the materials provided by past generations.’¹

In the case of the manor house of Hamstall Ridware these ‘materials provided by past generations’ from which a history may be written are of two types. Firstly, there are the surviving buildings themselves; these will be considered below. Secondly, there are numerous documents relating to the manor and a small number concerned specifically with the manor house. Of historians only Stebbing Shaw in his *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* has offered any detailed analysis of documentary material in an account choked by biographical details.² This paper is an attempt to present a history of Hamstall manor house based mainly on information gleaned from primary sources, both documentary and structural. It is hoped that speculation is discernible from fact and that the framework of interpretation is elastic enough to accommodate any subsequent findings.

In his account of the history of Hamstall Ridware Stebbing Shaw briefly discusses the site known as ‘The Moats’, where ‘... are the traces of a square moat ... which was, no doubt, the site of the original house of the Ridware family, whose descendants in better, and more peaceful times changed the situation for that of the one above described’ [i.e. the site of Hamstall Hall]³. The Victoria County History describes the ‘Moats’ site as being 210 feet by 230 feet in size.⁴ A considerable amount of pottery has been found around the site and this

1. M. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, trans. P. Putnam (1954), 57.

2. Volume i (1797), 150-60.

3. *Ibid.* 157.

4. *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, i. 364.

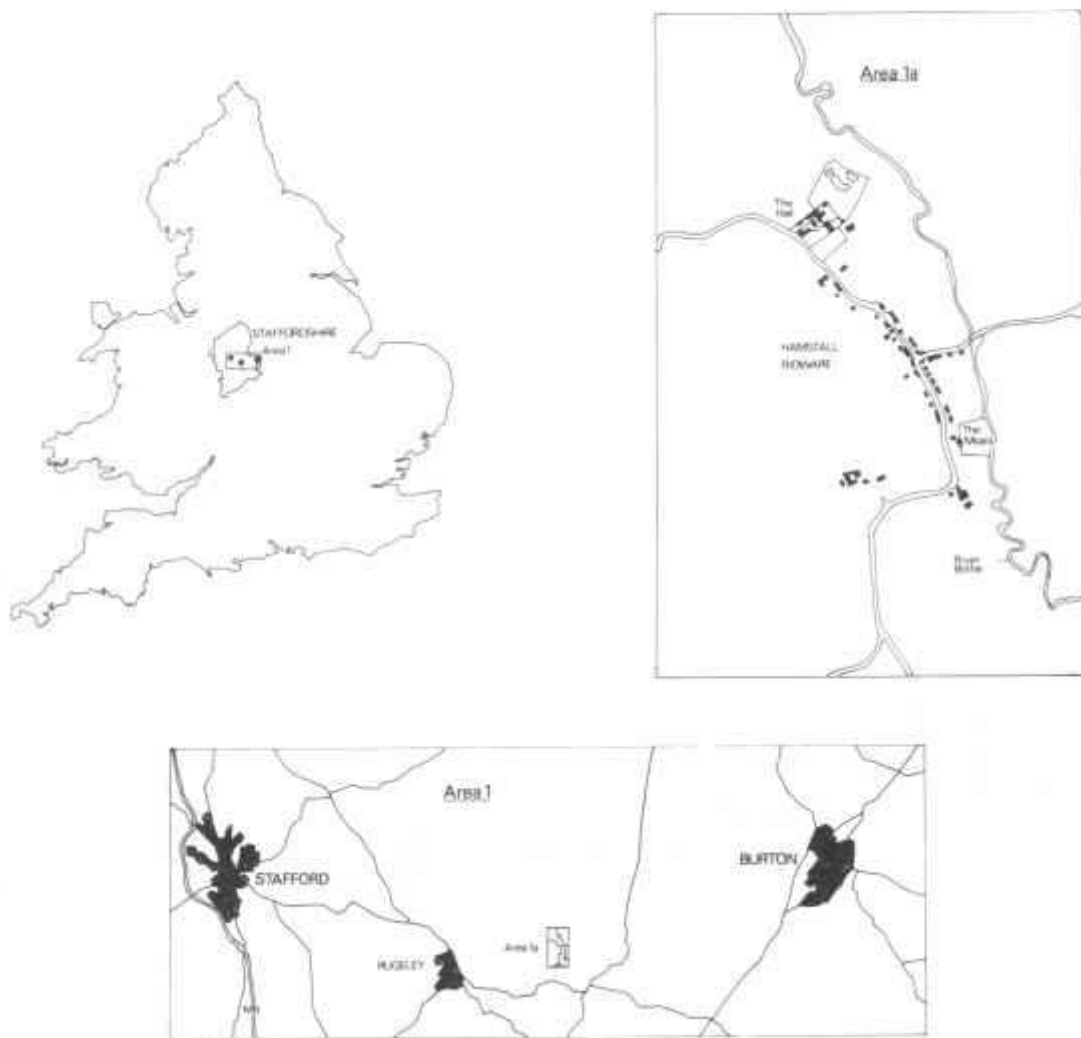


Fig. 1 The location of Hamstall Hall.

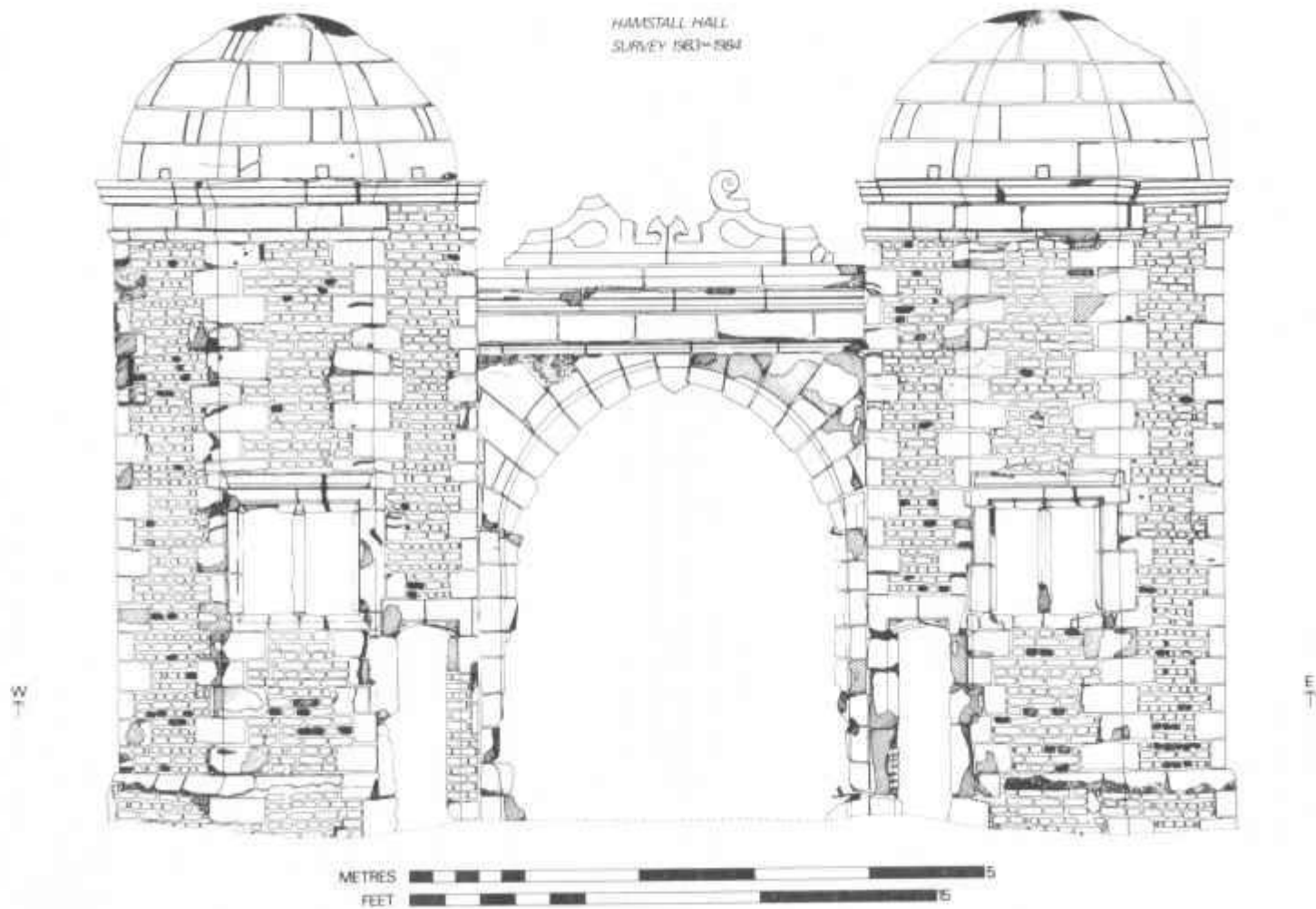


Fig. 14 South elevation of the gatehouses.

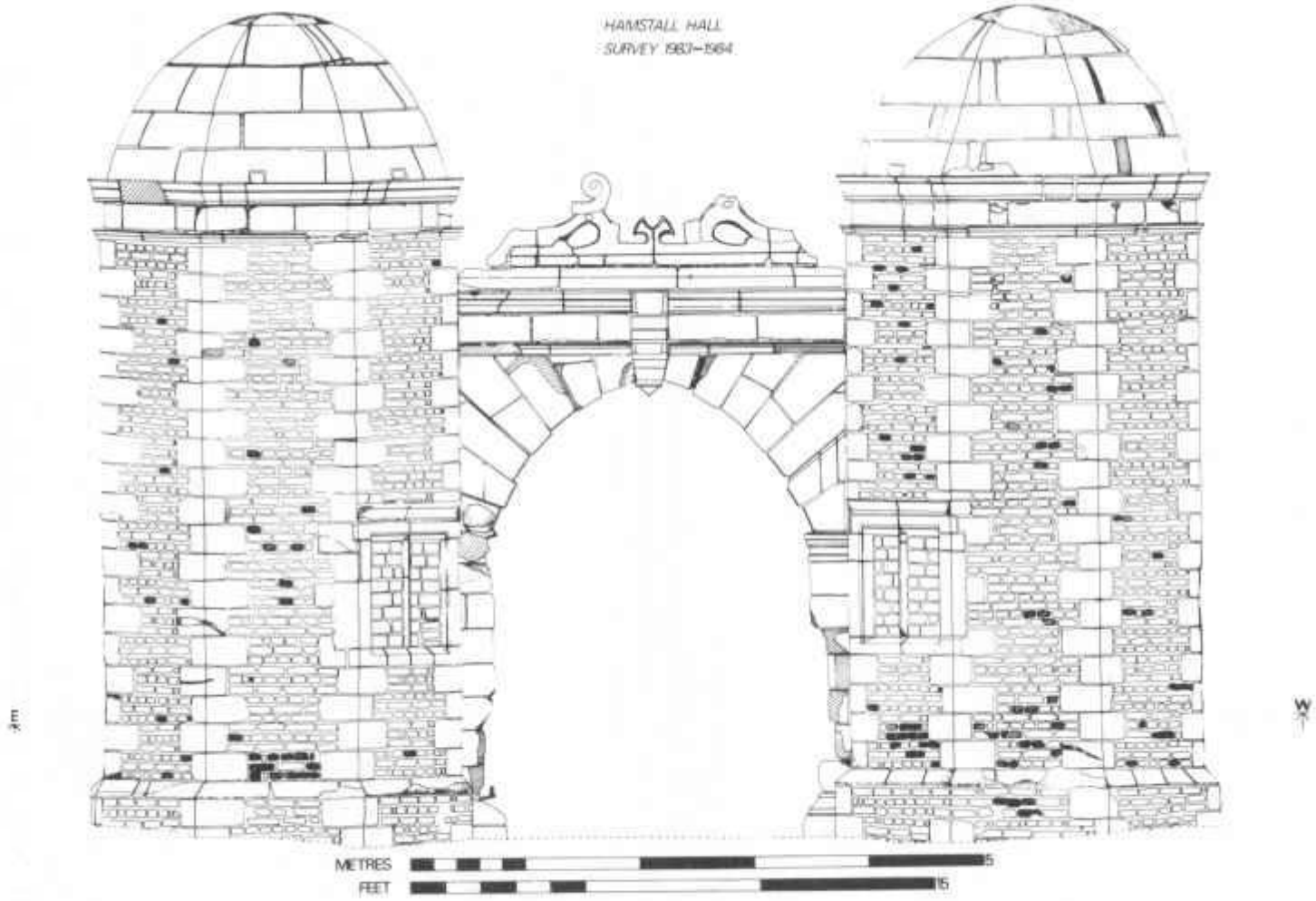


Fig. 15 North elevation of the gatehouses.

Large scale demolition and renovation again took place in 1821, not only at the hall itself but also in the yard to the west, rebuilding here having also been noted in the 1786-87 builders' accounts. Although alterations were made throughout the complex in the 19th and 20th centuries, the property did not undergo any major rebuilding until the Ridware Arts Centre was established and a long term programme of building work began. History written from primary sources is shaped by the nature of those sources, the survival of the sources being more often than not dependent on chance. In the case of Hamstall Ridware the surviving documents are of a diverse and varying nature, the majority concerned with landlord-tenant dealings, and thus chronologically biased to the period after 1666. The surviving structures are also primary documents and a study of three of the structures at Hamstall has demonstrated the value of an integrated architectural-documentary approach, and yet there are great problems in interpreting information derived from standing structures. Only by observing carefully the systematic demolition of a building can a full understanding of its construction be obtained.

The brief of the work at Hamstall in 1983-84 did not allow for the recording of the present hall, or the buildings in the old farmyard, but these are so much the product of robust 19th century remodelling that although much useful information might emerge from such an extended survey it would probably not greatly alter the basic chronological framework outlined above. The most useful test of such a framework would be if the multi-disciplinary approach were extended to involve archaeology, in order to recover the groundplan of the earlier structures by geophysical surveying or by excavation and to further refine the dating of the phases of building by excavation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the help given by the Community Programme Agency staff, especially Martin Harrison and Jim Allen, by Ken Sheridan of the Staffordshire County Council Planning Department, and by Rueben Potts and Brian Scholte of the CPA Building Team. The documentary research was undertaken in the William Salt Library, the Staffordshire County Record Office, the Joint Record Office in Lichfield and the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office in Stratford-upon-Avon; the staff of all these bodies were an unfailing source of aid and enthusiasm. Annette Roe of Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit read and commented on the draft and suggested a number of improvements that I have gratefully incorporated into the final version. Finally, I would like to thank Chris and Jenny Hobbs, owners of the Hall and Arts Centre, for their unflagging interest and support during the survey and for their generous hospitality since.

APPENDIX I

INVENTORY OF SIR THOMAS LEIGH'S GOODS, 1662

(Lichfield Joint Record Office, B/C/11, Thos. Leigh, 1662: reproduced by permission of the Staffordshire County Archivist)

A true and perfect inventory indented of all and singular the goods cattell and chattells of Sir Thomas Leigh knight — deceased taken and appraised the thirtyeth day of Aprill in the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord Kinge Charles the Second.

	£	s.	d.
In primis Sir Thomas Leigh apparrell his purse two watches and two rings at	34	5	0
Item in the dyneinge parlor two joined tables lincked together at		8	0
Item one little joined table there at		2	0
Item one couch chaire of Turkey worke there at		15	0
Item twelve back stooles of Turkey worke there at	2	0	0
Item one carpett for a table of Turkey worke there at		10	0
Item two little greene cloathe carpetts there at		5	0
Item five greene window curtans there at	1	0	0
Item five severall pictures hanging in frames about the dyneing parlor at	2	0	0
Item six Turkey worke cushians there at		9	0
Item one paire of tonges one fire shovell and one paire of bellowes there at		5	0
Item in the space leading to the dyneing parlor three painted cloaths hanging in frames at		3	0
Item one brasse wall candle sticke there at		1	0
Item in the hall one clocke at	1	0	0
Item one picture there hanging in a frame at		2	0
Item one iron grate one fire shovell and one paire of tonges there at		10	0
Item one brasse wall candle sticke there at		1	0
Item one suite of hangings in the hall chamber curtans and vallons for a bedd two window curtans two stoole covers two chaire covers and a table carpett of old kidderminster stuffe at	1	2	0
Item one blankett for a bedd there at		3	0
Item in the gallery eightene wood chaires at		18	0
Item in the greate dyneinge room at the upper end of the hall three folding tables at		12	0
Item two pictures here hangeing in frames at		6	8
Item two brasse andirons one paire of tonges one fire shovell one paire of snuffers and one paire of bellowes there at	1	10	0
Item in the drawinge room next the dyneing room eight chairs with redd covers at	1	6	8
Item one old carpett of Turkey worke there at		10	0
Item six pictures there hanging in frames at		12	0
Item two andirons of brasse one brasse paire of tonges one brasse fire shovell one iron grate and one paire of belows there at	1	13	4

NOTICES

MICHAEL HALLETT

Unfortunately Michael Hallett has recently moved to Surrey where his advice and experience can no longer be made available to the committee of this society. Michael joined the society soon after it was formed and was a member of the executive committee from 1962. He served as President from 1966 to 1973 and was an active Vice-President thereafter. Whilst President he did much to steady the society during an awkward period of expansion coupled with financial difficulty. The way he held the committee together and drew out the best from its members was a major factor in securing our success. He did this despite heavy commitments elsewhere as managing director of an ironworks, as President of the International Committee of Foundry Technical Associations and as Chairman of the Council of the British Cast Iron Research Association. These latter positions often took him abroad, but even then he did not neglect our society. We were delighted when in 1972 he was appointed Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (C.B.E.) in the Queen's Birthday Honours list.

Michael was interested in all activities of the society. If metal-working was encountered during excavations he was pleased to make his expertise available. He spent much time arranging in detail some of our summer excursions. Whilst he did not often lecture to the society, his affable good humour and tact when chairing meetings was much appreciated. His wise counsel and friendliness will now be badly missed.

Jim Gould

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PROGRAMME 1984-5

1984

- 28 Sept. (L) Annual General Meeting
Restoration of Dr. Milley's Hospital — Peter Brownhill
- 19 Oct. (T) The 2,000 year old port of London — Brian Hobley
- 2 Nov. (L) Steam preservation on rail and road — Revd. E. R. Boston
- 7 Dec. (L) The Desert and the Sown — D. Mattingley

1985

- 1 Feb. (L) Civic Evening
Victoria County History of Staffordshire and Lichfield — staff of the
Victoria History
- 15 Feb. (T) Hardwick Hall and Bolsover Castle — Dianne Barr
- 1 Mar. (L) English parish churches in their settings — Peter Hodson
- 15 Mar. (T) Early Stafford and its county — Martin Carver
- (L) St. Mary's Heritage Centre, Lichfield
- (T) Rawlett School, Comberford Road, Tamworth