STAFFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRANSACTIONS 1995-96 VOLUME XXXVII

STAFFORDSHIRE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL

SOCIETY

TRANSACTIONS

FOR 1995–96

VOLUME XXXVII

Stafford
1998

CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES, FIGURES, AND TABLES

EXCAVATIONS AT STONE – *continued*

BURTON ABBEY CHURCH

ESTATES OF JAMES LEVESON

EXCAVATIONS AT WALL (STAFFORDSHIRE) BY E. GREENFIELD IN 1962 AND 1964 (WALL EXCAVATION REPORT no. 15)

ALEX JONES

with contributions by Lynne Bevan, R. A. G. Carson, Sally Cottam, Brenda Dickinson, Jeremy Evans, Ruth Leary, Donald Mackreth, and Jennifer Price, and illustrations by Mark Breedon and Nigel Dodds

INTRODUCTION

This report describes the results of excavations at Wall directed by Ernest Greenfield on behalf of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works in 1962 and 1964. It was commissioned by English Heritage as part of its Backlog Publication Programme.

The excavations were undertaken in advance of the construction of a bypass to the south-east of Wall village, and the proposed widening of Ashcroft Lane (fig. 1A). The fieldwork was intended to examine the potential of the area of the bypass and of the proposed road widening for evidence of Roman military or civilian activity, and the results of a watching-brief undertaken during road construction were published in 1968 (Oswald 1968).

Greenfield's excavations of 1962 and 1964 were located in fields to the south-east of the modern village of Wall (figs. 1A–B), that is, south-east of the main focus of the Roman military and civilian complex at Wall, itself located on Watling Street midway between Mancetter to the east and Penkridge to the west (Welfare and Swan 1995, fig. 145; Margary 1973, 289). A second Roman road, Ryknild Street (Margary 1973, 206), leading from Metchley fort in Birmingham (Jones forthcoming) to the military complex at Derby, crosses Watling Street to the west of Greenfield's Site C (fig. 1B).

Roman military activity at Wall is attested by air photographic and excavation evidence. A possible Neronian vexillation fortress (Lyon and Gould 1964; Round 1983) was succeeded by an early Flavian enclosure, in turn followed by a Flavian triple-ditched enclosure (Round 1983), which may have continued in use into the 2nd century. Gould (1964, 7) has also suggested the existence of a fourth fort, based on the identification of a granary of possible military type. Two further crop-marked features, recently identified (Welfare and Swan 1995, fig. 145, camps 1 (not illustrated) and 2; fig. 1B), could also be military enclosures of 1st-century date.

Although a civilian settlement was mainly concentrated along Watling Street (e.g. Gould 1964), it extended over 1 km to the east of the centre of the present settlement (Oswald 1968). Traces of a vestigial street pattern have been recorded both to the north and south of Watling Street, following different alignments. The main feature of later Roman Wall is the triple-ditched enclosure straddling Watling Street (Gould 1964), interpreted as one of the pattern of *burgi* possibly established by Constantius Chlorus in AD 296. Also notable is the relative absence of other evidence of 4th-century activity (Esmonde Cleary 1987, 171).

In 1993 Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit was commissioned by English Heritage to undertake an assessment of the surviving records of Greenfield's 1962 and 1964 excavations at Wall and to prepare a proposal to bring the results to publication (Ferris and Evans 1993).

The purpose of Greenfield's investigations was to provide information concerning the extent, layout, chronology, and sequence of Roman civilian settlement adjoining Watling Street and Ryknild Street (figs. 1A–B), and also to investigate the potential of the area for evidence of early military activity.

Initial fieldwork in all of the four Areas investigated (1–4) comprised the excavation of test-pits, each measuring approximately 0.6m square, arranged in a regular grid-pattern at 6m intervals (except in the case of Area 3, where the interval was approximately 14m). Each test-pit was hand-excavated through the topsoil to expose the upper horizon of the natural subsoil. The test-pitting in Area 1 during 1962 was followed in the same year by the excavation of three trenches, dug to test the sequence of deposits previously recorded. Area 1 was further investigated selectively in 1964 by means of two area excavations (Sites B and D). Test-pitting in Area 4 (Site C) in 1964 was followed by the excavation of Trenches A–K, dug to achieve a more detailed understanding of the structures and deposits identified in the test-pits. No records of excavation at Area K survive. No archaeology

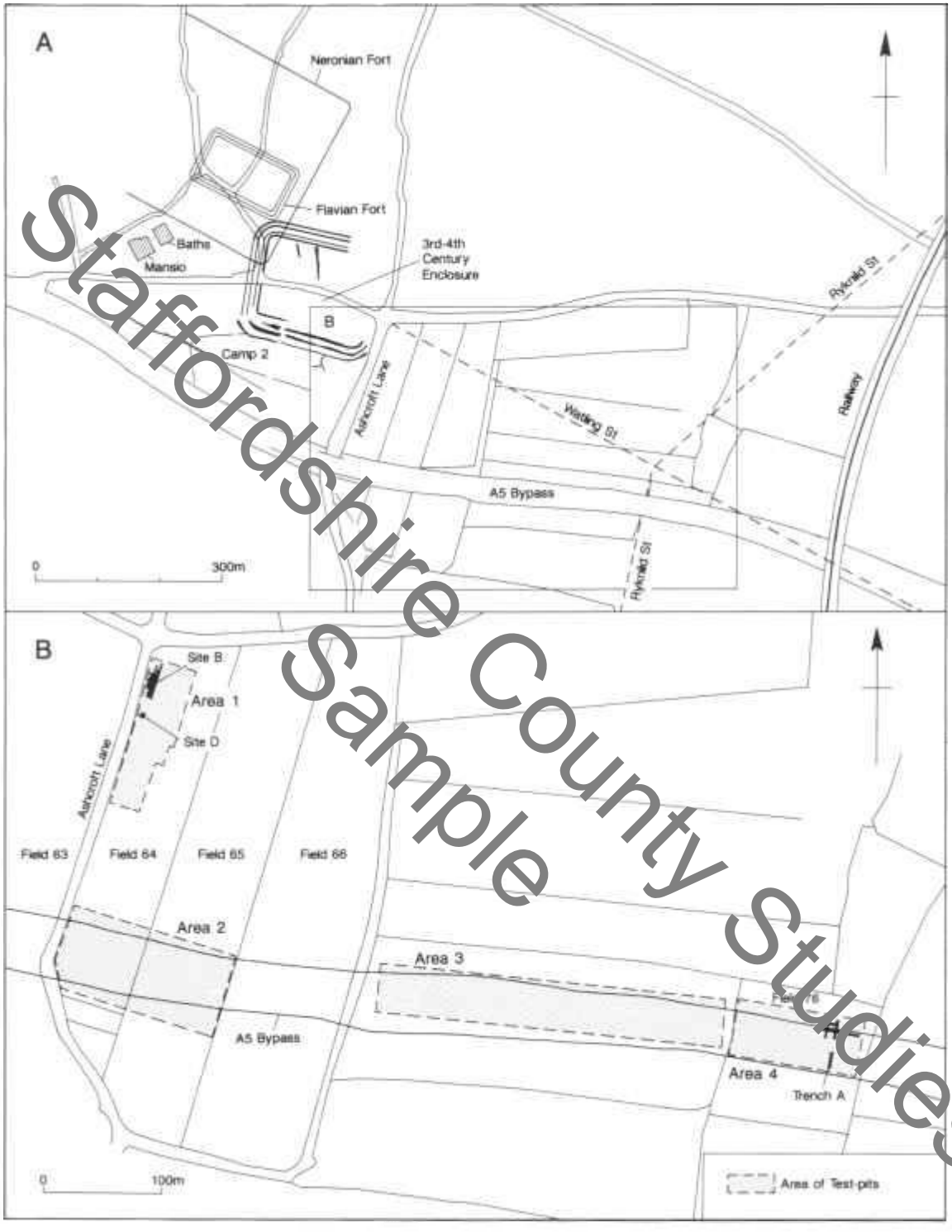


Fig. 1: Location of site
A: the main Roman sties (after Welfare and Swan 1995)
B: areas investigated in 1962 and 1964

was encountered in Area 2 (211 test-pits) or Area 3 (76 test-pits), and those areas were not further investigated.

Inked plans and sections were prepared for the 1962 excavations, and Greenfield had written three short interim reports (Greenfield 1962, 1964, and 1964a). Limited post-excavation analysis of some artifact classes was undertaken soon after completion of the excavations, and some finds illustrations were prepared for publication. No further analysis or reporting, however, has been undertaken prior to the present study.

44 GRA5 with red/brown core, beaker with upright rounded rim, shoulder groove and smudged barbotine dot. Burnished, *cf.* Marsh and Tyers 1978, 568, IIIb1, dated Flavian, Frere 1972, fig. 103. Neronian-early Flavian. 743, 1103/4 (fig. 13.44).

45 GRA1 cordoned bowl with outcurving rim. As nos. 36 and 40. 769, 1103/2 (fig. 13.45).

46 OAA3 cup-mouthed bowl, *cf.* pre-Flavian type at Usk (Greene 1973, 34, no. 9) and in Neronian rubbish layer at Wall (Gould 1968, no. 33). 126, 1103/6 (fig. 14.46).

Phase 3 (Sherds 47-52)

47 GRA1 square rim of bowl, *cf.* Ball and Ball 1985, no. 3, carinated bowl, Flavian-Trajanic. 401, F173–4 (fig. 14.47).

48 OW1 flanged bowl, *cf.* Dool *et al.* 1985, 95 no. 36. Hadrianic-Antonine and also Round 1992, no. 53. 403, F173–4 (fig. 14.48).

49 OBA1 plain-rim, cordoned cup, as no. 36. 584, F173–4. (fig. 14.49).

50 BB1 jar *cf.* Gillam 1976, no. 4, late 2nd century. 540, F173–4 (fig. 14.50).

51 GRA4 necked jar with squared everted rim, *cf.* 2nd-century jars at Verulamium, Frere 1972, fig. 124. 538, F173–4 (fig. 14.51).

52 GRA1 necked, wide-mouthed jar with everted lip, and multiple cordons on shoulder, *cf.* Hawkes and Hull 1947, no. 220, pre and early Flavian forms at Verulamium, Frere 1972, fig. 105 and later jars, Brassington 1971, nos. 28-30, 527, F173–4 (fig. 14.52).

Phase 4 (Sherds 53–68)

53 BB1 jar with cavetto rim and obtuse lattice, burnished decoration, *cf.* Gillam 1976, no. 8, mid 3rd century. Area 4, Site C, 27, F6 (fig. 14.53).

54 OBA1 reeded rim bowl, as no. 22. Flavian. 790, F112 (fig. 14.54).

55 BB1 grooved-rim dish or bowl, *cf.* Gillam 1976, no. 68, early to mid 2nd century. 815, F122 (fig. 14.55).

56 GRA1 narrow-necked vessel with multiple cordons outside neck or rim, *cf.* Brassington 1971, no. 146. 817, F122 (fig. 14.56).

57 GRA1 necked, bead-rim jar, *cf.* Round 1971, no. 16 in Flavian-Trajanic level, and in Flavian-Trajanic levels at Rocester (Leary 1996, no. 2), but continued in use into the Antonine period. 856, F137 (fig. 14.57).

58 GRB1 tall everted rim possibly of poppyhead beaker, *cf.* no. 29 and Marsh and Tyers 1978, 569 type IIIF5–6, dated to the 2nd century. 858, F137 (fig. 14.58).

59 BSB1 everted-rim sherd, burnished all over, probably from 'Belgic' bowl. 857, F137 (fig. 14.59).

60 GRA2 with reddish brown core, wide-mouthed jar with outcurving rim, thickened and rounded at the tip, *cf.* Round 1992, no. 206 in Antonine deposit. 1003, F204 (fig. 14.60).

61 GRB1 body sherd with zones of rouletting demarcated with horizontal grooves. An unusual sherd, since the curvature suggests a wide girthed vessel and a carination at the bottom and possibly also at the top. The coarse, harsh fabric and the zoned decoration is like that of narrow-necked jars in the 3rd and 4th century, or, possibly a copy of a Castor box, *cf.* Cameron and Lucas 1969, no. 44. 947, F171 (fig. 14.61).

62 SW3 footring base with pronounced throwlines outside the base. Probably Severn Valley ware. 988, 2002 (fig. 14.62).

63 OBB1 rebated-rim jar, *cf.* Dool *et al.* 1985, 94 no. 6 in Flavian-early Antonine levels and Round 1983, nos. 118, 131–2, 135 from Hadrianic levels. 467, 1184 (fig. 14.63).

64 CTA1 squared-rim storage jar. Such jars derive from Iron Age types and are current from the 1st century AD, but can be long-lived, *cf.* Round 1992, fig. 19, no. 210 dated to the 2nd century. 640, 1184 (fig. 14.64).

65 GRA1 everted-rim beaker. Neronian or Flavian. 639, 1184, (fig. 14.65).

66 GRA1 plain-rim bowl with grooves and burnished zigzag decoration, *cf.* no.41. and Brassington 1980, nos. 373 and 523 and Dool *et al.* 1985, 197 no. 160 for form and decoration. Probably Flavian-Trajanic. 862, F139 (fig. 14.66).

67 BB1 jar, *cf.* Gillam 1976, no. 30. Mid 2nd century. 556, 1102E/5E (fig. 14.67).

68 OBB2 beaker base, *cf.* painted wares from Northamptonshire of Flavian to Antonine date (Woods 1970, 37 fabric A). 557, 1102E/5E (fig. 14.68).

Trade and stylistic associations

Study of the published Neronian assemblages from Wall (Gould 1964, nos. 116–123, 137–144, 151–161; Gould 1968, nos. 32-69; Round 1983, nos. 1–27; Round 1971, nos. 1–5) suggests the common forms were platters, jars with rebated and chunky, short, everted rims in black coarse or shell-tempered fabrics, jars with short, near upright rims and pronounced, nodular rustication, white ware necked jars, jars with inbent rims, collared and early ring-necked flagons, Lyons ware and various oxidised fine wares such as cupped-rim bowls, white ware rouletted beakers, and grey painted sherds. The coarse wares seem to be a mixture of 'native' type fabrics and wares described as buff, brown, or orange, with the everted-rim jars in fine, grey ware not present until the destruction layer of Round's phase 1 (Round 1983, no. 20–1). The vessel range can be extended to include a variety of carinated and cordoned vessels found in later levels but possibly only those in the early 'native' wares are pre-Flavian, and the fine, grey ware examples are Flavian and later (Round 1983, nos. 54, 191; Gould 1964, nos. 138 are early types; Round 1983, nos. 82, 161 are later types). This collection extends the range to include channelled-rim jars and North Gaulish butt beakers.

TABLE 2: Percentages of vessel forms using EVES by fabric

Fabric	*Estimated vessel equivalent*	*Relative percentage*
Amphora	1	1
BB1	9	10
BSB1	1	1
CTA1	1	1
CTA2	1	1
GRA1	30	33
GRA2	3	3
GRA3	1	1
GRA4	1	1
GRA5	2	2
GRB1	11	12
GTA1	1	1
GTA2	2	2
GTA3	1	1
OAA1	1	1
OAA2	1	1
OAB1	1	1
OBA1	4	4
OBB1	1	1
OBB2	1	1
OW1	1	1
OW2	1	1
OW3	1	1
SW1	1	1
SW2	1	
SW3	1	1
WS1	1	1
WW1	5	5
WW2	1	1
WW3	1	1
Total	90	100

TABLE 3: Relative percentages of vessel forms using EVES

Form	*Fabric*	*EVES*	*REL %*	*Fig. nos.*
Platter	GRA1/GRB1	2	2.22	39,6
Grooved-rim bowl/ dish	GRB1/BB1	3	3.33	35
Flat rim bowl/dish	BB1	4	4.44	33
Cupped rim bowl	OAA2	1	1.11	46
Cordoned and carinated	GTA2/BSB1/ GRA1/OBA1/SW2	9	10.00	16,36-7,49 51,40,41 3,45,66
Carinated bowl with grooved rim	GRA1/GRB1	2	2.22	43
Reeded-rim bowl	GRA1/OBA1	2	2.20	22,42
Flanged bowl	OBA1/OW1/GRA1	3	3.33	38,48
Wide-mouthed jar	GRA1/GRB1	2	2.22	60
Everted-rim beaker	GRA1/GRA5 GRB1/OAA1 OAB1/OBB2 WW1	10	11.11	65
Poppyhead beaker	GRA1	1	1.11	29
Butt beaker	GRA1	1	1.11	26
BB1 jar	BB1	3	3.33	31
Everted-rim jar	GRA1/GRA5 GRB1/OBA1	11	12.22	17
Rebated-rim jar	CTA1/GRA1 GRB1/GTA1	7	7.78 12.40	1,21
Necked jar	GRA1	1	1.11	57
Outcurved-rim jar	GRA1/GRA4 GRB1	5	5.56	7
Channel-rim jar	GTA3	1	1.11	9
Rusticated jar	GRA1	4	4.44	*
Narrow-necked jar	GRA1/GRA2 GRB1/SW1	5	5.56	34
Storage jar	CTA	1	1.11	63
Flagon	GRA1/WW1	3	3.33	*
Other	AMP/WW1/OW2 WW2/CTA2/OW3 WS1/GRA1/SW3	9	10.00	*
TOTAL		90.00	99.7	

Gillam, J. P.	1976	'Coarse Fumed Ware in Northern Britain and Beyond', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal,* 4, 57–89.
Gould, J. T.	1964	'Excavations at Wall (Staffs.), 1961–3', *TLSSAHS,* 5, 1–50.
	1966	'Excavations in Advance of Road Construction at Shenstone and Wall, Staffordshire', *TLSSAHS,* 6, 1–19.
	1968	'Excavations at Wall, Staffordshire, 1964–6, on the Site of the Roman Forts', *TLSSAHS,* 8, 1–38.
	1993	'Further Thoughts on Letocetum', *TSSAHS,* 33, 1–6.
Greene, K.	1973	The pottery from Usk', in Detsicas, A. (ed.), *Current Research in Romano-British Pottery,* 25–37.
Greenfield, E.	1962	*Wall, Staffordshire, 1962. Interim Report* (unpublished report for Ministry of Public Buildings and Works).
	1964	*Wall, Staffordshire, 1964. Interim Report* (unpublished report for Ministry of Public Buildings and Works).
	1964	'Wall, Staffordshire', *West Midlands Annual Archaeological News Sheet,* 7, 9.
Grimes, W. F.	1930	'Holt, Denbighshire', *Y Cymmrodor,* 41.
Guido, M.	1978	*The Glass Beads of the Prehistoric and Roman Periods in Britain and Ireland* (Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 35).
Harden, D.B.	1967	'The Glass Jug', in Biddle, M., 'Two Flavian Burials from Winchester', *Antiquaries Journal,* 47, 238–40.
	1974	'Window Glass from the Romano-British Bath-House at Garden Hill, Hartfield, Sussex', *Antiquaries Journal,* 54, 280–1.
Harden, D. B., Hellenkemper, H., Painter, K., and Whitehouse, D.	1987	*Glass of the Caesars* (Milan).
Hartley, K. F. (forthcoming) and Dickinson, B. M.		'The Samian', in P. Rush *Excavations of Roman Castleford 1974–1985. The Pottery III* (Yorkshire Archaeology. Wakefield).
Hartley, K. F. (forthcoming) and Evans, J.		'The CAS Mortaria', in Wilson, P. R. and Wacher, J. S., *Excavations at Catterick 1956–88* (English Heritage Monograph).
Hawkes, C. F. C. and Hull M. R.	1947	*Camulodunum* (Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London).
Hermet, F.	1934	*La Graufesenque* (Condatomago) (Paris).
Hobley, B.	1975	'The Lunt Roman Fort and Training School for Roman Cavalry, Baginton, Warwickshire', *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society,* 87, 1–56.
Holbrook, N. and Bidwell, P. T.	1991	*Roman Finds from Exeter* (Exeter Archaeological Reports, 4).
Hurst, H. R.	1985	*Kingsholm* (Gloucester Archaeological Reports, 1).
Isings, C.	1957	*Roman Glass from Dated Finds* (Groningen).
Jackson, D. and Dix, B.	1988	'Late Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement at Weekley, Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Archaeology,* 21, 1–90.
Jacobs, J.	1913	'Sigillatafunde aus einem römischen Keller zu Bregenz', *Jahrbuch für Altertünskunde*, 6te Band, 1912 (Vienna).
Johnson, A.	1983	*Roman Forts.*
Jones, A. E. (forthcoming)		'Metchley Roman Forts, Birmingham: Excavations 1963–1997', *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society.*
Kenyon, K.	1948	*The Jewry Wall Site, Leicester* (Report of the Research Commitee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15).
Knorr, R.	1905	*Die Verzierten Terra sigillata. Gefässe von Cannstatt und Köngen-Grinario* (Stuttgart).
	1919	*Töpfer und Fabriken Verzierter Terra-Sigillata des Ersten*

Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart).

1952 *Terra-Sigillata-Gefässe des Ersten Jahrhunderts mit Töpfernamen* (Stuttgart).

Leary, R. 1996 'Roman Coarse Pottery', in Esmonde Cleary, A. S. and Ferris, I. M. 1996.

Lowther, A. W. G. 1949 *A Study of the Patterns on Roman Flue Tiles and their Distribution* (Research Papers of the Surrey Archaeological Society, 1).

Lyon, F. H. and Gould, J. T. 1964 'A Section Through the Defences of the Roman Forts at Wall, Staffordshire', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Society,* 79, 11–23.

Mackreth, D. M. (forthcoming) 'The Brooches', in *Cotswold Small Towns* (Cotswold Archaeological Trust).

Manning, W. H. 1985 *Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron Tools, Fittings and Weapons in the British Museum* (British Museum Publications).

Manning, W. H. and Painter, K. S. 1967 'A Roman Window Grille from Hinton St. Mary, Dorset', *British Museum Quarterly,* 31, 122–130.

Margary, I. D. 1973 *Roman Roads in Britain.*

Marsh, G. 1978 'Early Second-Century Fine Wares in the London area', in Arthur, P. and Marsh, G. (eds.), *Early Fine Wares in Roman Britain* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 57), 119–223.

Marsh, G. and Tyers, P. 1978 'The Roman Pottery from Southwark', in Sheldon, H. *et al. Excavations at Southwark 1972–4* (Occasional Papers of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society).

Mees, A. W. 1995 *Modelsignierte Dekorationen auf Sudgallischer Terra Sigillata* (Stuttgart).

Oswald, F. 1936–7 *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata (Samian Ware)* (Liverpool).

Orton, C. R. 1980 'Introduction to the Pottery Reports', in Jones, D. M., *Excavation at Billingsgate Buildings 'Triangle', Lower Thames Street, 1974* (Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper 4), 37–8.

Oswald, A. 1968 'Observations on the Construction of a Road to Bypass Wall, Staffordshire', *TSSAHS,* 8, 39–41.

Peacock D. P. S. 1977 *Pottery and Early Commerce.*

Price, J. 1974 'Some Roman Glass from Spain', *Annales du 6e Congres de l'Association Internationale pour l' Histoire du Verre* (Cologne), 65–84.

1979 'The Glass', in Gracie, H. S. and Price, E. G., 'Frocester Court Roman Villa, 2nd Report, 1968–77: the Courtyard', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society,* 97, 27–46.

1985 'Glass from Felmongers, Harlow in Essex: a Dated Deposit of Vessel Glass found in an Antonine Pit', *Annales du 10e Congres de l'Association Internationale pour l' Histoire du Verre,* 185–208.

1989 'The Glass', in O' Leary, T. J., *et al., Pentre Farm, Flint 1976–81* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 207), 77–86.

1995 'Glass Vessels', in Manning, W.H., *et al., Report on the Excavations at Usk, 1965–76. The Roman Small Finds* (University of Wales, Cardiff), 139–191.

1995a 'Glass Beads', in Manning, W. H. *et al.*

Price, J. and Cool, H.E.M. 1985 'The Glass', in Hurst, H. R. 1985.

1991 'The Evidence for Production of Glass in Roman Britain', in Foy, D. and Sennequier, G. (eds.), *Ateliers de Verriers de l'Antiquite à la Periode Pre-Industrielle* (Rouen), 23–30.

Reece, R. 1985 'The Coins', in Hurst, H. R. 1985.

Rogers = motif in Rogers, G. B. 1974 *Potéries Sigillées de la Gaule Centrale* (Gallia Suppl., XXVIII).

Round A. A. 1971 'Excavations at Wall (Staffordshire), 1966–7 on the Site of the Roman Forts (Wall Excavation Report no. 9)', *TSSAHS,* 11, 7–31.

EXCAVATIONS WITHIN A MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL TENEMENT AT STONE, 1993

GWILYM HUGHES

with contributions from Lynne Bevan, Peter Davey, James Greig, Lisa Moffett, Stephanie Pinter-Bellows, Stephanie Ratkai, and David Smith, and illustrations by Mark Breedon and Nigel Dodds

INTRODUCTION

This report describes the results of an archaeological excavation undertaken at 9 High Street, Stone, a tenement on the former Falcon Inn. The work was undertaken prior to the construction of the Stone Town Centre Bypass. Although the proposed road will be higher than the existing ground level, associated works, including the construction of a sewer and a culvert to carry the Scotch Brook, threatened deposits of archaeological interest. The work was carried out by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit during August 1993 on behalf of Staffordshire County Council and Severn Trent Water plc.

The site is located at the eastern end of the High Street on its northern side (fig. 1b). It is bounded to the west by the former Falcon Inn (now Changes Restaurant) and to the east by the Scotch Brook. An evaluation undertaken by Gifford and Partners suggested that further excavation would provide the first significant sample of the medieval and post-medieval archaeology of a tenement plot in this small market town (Gifford and Partners 1992).

THE EXCAVATION

METHOD

The excavation was confined to the eastern portion of the tenement alongside the Scotch Brook (fig. 1b). It was not possible to undertake work in the western half of the tenement in view of the structural sensitivity of the adjoining building, no. 11 High Street, to prolonged open excavation.

The excavated area varied between 4 m and 5 m wide and was 50 m long (fig. 2). The compacted hardcore surface (1000), underlying brick rubble, (1001, 1105), and other modern overburden (1045, 1133) were removed mechanically under archaeological supervision. All underlying deposits and structures of archaeological interest were excavated by hand. A record, which included drawn scale plans and sections and monochrome photographic prints and colour slides, was maintained throughout the excavation. Sampling was undertaken of those deposits which suggested a high potential for providing palaeo-environmental information.

As there was a limited amount of space for the temporary storage of spoil, the excavation had to be carried out in two stages. The southern half of the area was investigated first. This had to be fully backfilled before excavation could commence on the northern part of the site.

RESULTS

Phase 1 – Pre-structural deposits (figs. 3 and 4)

The top of the natural waterlain gravels (1078) was encountered at a depth of between 1.6 m and 1.8 m below the current ground surface. In the central area of the trench the gravels appeared to be overlain by a deposit of waterlogged, dark grey/brown silt (1147). This was in turn overlain by a thin lens of gravel 0.1 m thick (1146). A small sondage, 0.25 m deep, was excavated through the deposit with the intention of obtaining environmental samples for beetle, plant macrofossil, and pollen remains. It was not possible to excavate a deeper sample because of waterlogging. No artefacts were recovered from these deposits and it seems likely that they pre-date any archaeological structures. The results of the environmental sampling suggest a natural waterlain deposit (see below page 00)

Phase 2 – Medieval (figs. 3 and 4)

The silt and gravel in the central area of the site (1146 and 1147) was overlain by thin deposits of dark brown/black waterlogged silt (1041 and 1141), each up to 0.05 m thick and containing charcoal,

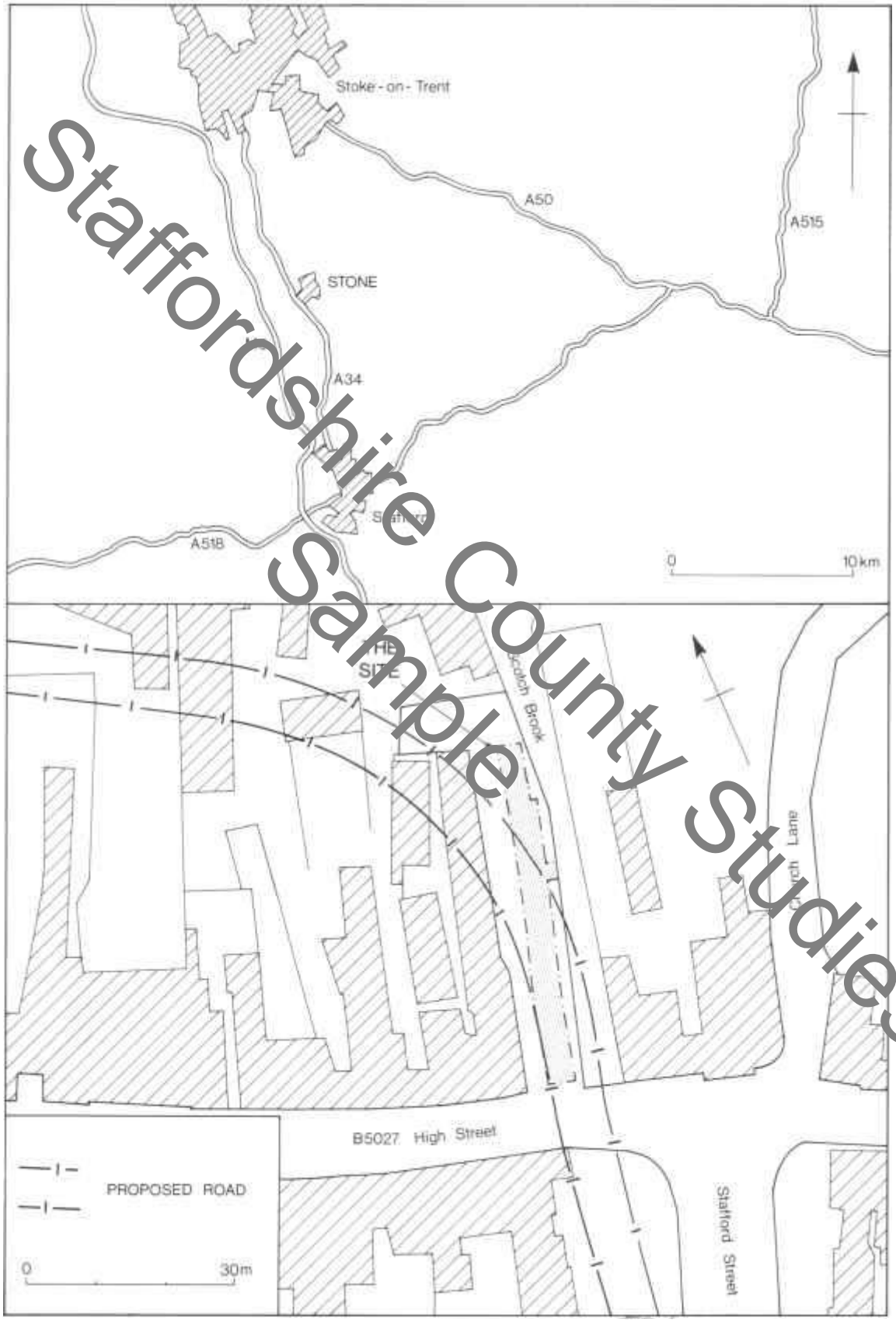


Fig. 1: Location of site

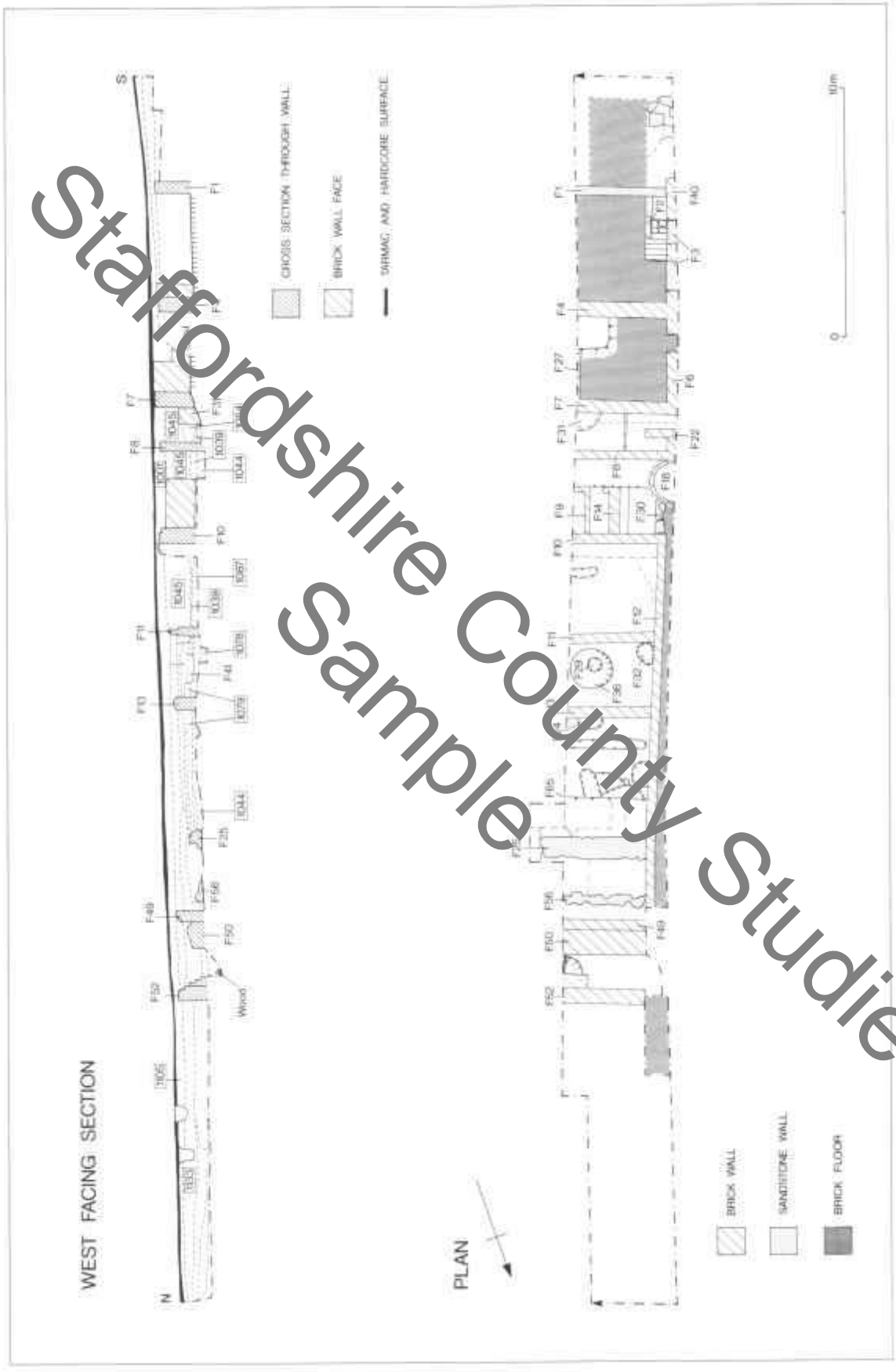


Fig. 2: Plan and section of excavated area

sandstone wall (F25) and it seems likely that it was derived from the same source. There was little evidence for cross-joining sherds from the site, although two contexts (1044 and 1063) appeared to contain sherds from the same cistern (fig. 5: 4)

TABLE 3 Medieval pottery fabric types

	D11	B21	E11	E12	B11	D31	H06	H07	E15	E16	B04	E02	H03	H05	B41	H02	E17	P02	H01	B13	CW
1008	1																				
F29/1049		1																			
F36/1068		2																			
1076			1	1																	
F8/1018					1																
1041			1	1		1	1	1	5	1											
1060							1				1	1									
F37/1070								1													
F38/1071										1											
1145														2	1						
1044		2	1		1	3			5	1				1		2	1	4			
F35/1057																	1	1			
1087			1															3	1		
1161														1		1				1	2

The next period of activity on the site seems to be contemporary with the use of Mottled Wares. The most interesting group of this post-medieval material was from a dump (1139) between the two earlier sandstone walls (F25 and F56). This dump presented an homogenous appearance, the ceramics being more or less contemporary (Table 5). The group, therefore, was considered suitable for study in more detail than the remaining post-medieval ceramics, especially as independent dating was provided by a small group of clay pipes, with which the ceramics were apparently closely associated. The information from this dump of pottery and clay pipes seems to suggest evidence for an earlier *floruit* for Mottled Wares than has hitherto been supposed, there being no closely dated comparable groups in Stoke-on-Trent and the only dating evidence being that provided by Dr. Plot in his *Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686), where he mentions the production of Mottled Wares (pers. comm. D. Barker).

The post-medieval Dump (1139)

Midlands Purple Ware

A hard fired ware, with a smooth fracture and few visible inclusions. Surface and fracture colours vary from weak red to dull brown and purple. There were three vessels present: a jar with a thumbed cordon around the neck (fig. 5: 5), a jar or cistern with a collared rim (fig. 5: 6), and a jar with a horizontal handle (fig. 5: 7). Midlands Purple wares begin to appear in the 15th century. They are recorded on Table 5 as MP to distinguish them from the Medieval pottery and Medieval types of Midlands Purple Ware, the 'H' fabrics (see above).

TABLE 4 Post-medieval fabric key

CW	coarseware
MANG	(manganese) mottled ware
MBLW	(modern ie 18th C) blackware
MOCH	mocha ware
CRW	cream ware
MGW	modern glazed wares ie post-1750 factory produced wares
WSG	white salt glaze
STW	stoneware
YW	yellow ware
TGE	tin glazed earthenware
MP	midlands purple
SLIP	slipware

TABLE 5 Post-medieval fabric types

	MED	P02	MANG	BLW	YW	TGE	STW	SLIP	CW	MP	MBLW	WSG	MOCH	CRW	MGW
F33/1063	8		1	4											
1059		1	1												
1077			1												
1139			17	23	4	1	1	27	26	3					
F28/1048	1		1												
F32/10[illegible]5			1												
F15/10[illegible]4									1						
103[illegible]									1						
1040											1				
1045	1		33						1		2	2			
1054									3						
1138			1	2			1		11		3	1	2		
F24/1033			4						1		1		2		
1036														1	
1037			11	4					4						10
F31/1052															1
1067	1													1	

Slipware

Light on dark slipware with a fine buff/light orange fabric

There were two vessels in this fabric both dishes. One had a trellis decoration, the other a floral motif (fig. 5: 8 and 9)

Light on dark slipware with a fine, sandy orange fabric

This was represented by a single vessel, a dish with a curvilinear design (fig. 5: 10).

Feathered slipware with a fine buff fabric

There were 12 sherds of feathered slipware, representing two cups and five flatwares. One cup is not fully oxidised giving a dull green and black appearance to the glaze. The base of a small cup is illustrated (fig. 5: 11).

Feathered slipware with a fine orange sandy fabric

There is a single base sherd from a dish. The exterior of the vessel is covered with a red slip. The internal surface is covered with a mix of red and white slip, which has been dragged around, producing a marbled effect rather than the more normal feathered pattern.

Slipware with a buff fabric (miscellaneous)

This group comprises three cups. The first has an internal red slip over which is a white slip design (fig. 5: 12). The exterior of the vessel is unslipped and shows yellow under the lead glaze. The second cup or ?mug has vertical red slip bands in the interior. The remainder of the vessel is unslipped and shows yellow beneath the rather poor, 'bubbly' lead glaze (fig. 5: 13). The third vessel is similar to the preceding but decorated with external blobs of red slip under the glaze.

Multi-slipware with a pale orange fabric

There was one cup with an unusual design on the exterior. This was made up of a vertical ladder pattern in white and red slip alternating with two vertical intertwined wavy lines. This produced the effect of a yellow and dark brown design on a rich tan background (fig. 5: 14).

Multi-slipware with a fine orange fabric

Three vessels, all dishes, belong in this category. The dishes were covered internally with a white slip. Over this was applied the design using iron rich slips which appeared tan and dark brown beneath the glaze. The external surface of the vessels was covered by an orange-red slip (fig. 5: 15).

Multi-slipware with a fine buff fabric

There was a single small sherd from a hollow ware, although it was not possible to be more certain about the form. The external surface was decorated with a ?heart-shaped design in iron rich slips which appeared tan and dark brown under the glaze (fig. 6: 16)

Blackware

Seventeen blackware sherds were present, which seemed to represent 10 vessels at least. There were three straight-sided tankards. One had shallow external rilling and a pale patchy internal deposit. The second was tall, narrow and cylindrical (fig. 6: 17) with an applied blob of white clay

which had traces of a stamp impression. All that survived of the third vessel was the base and part of the handle (fig. 6: 18). All three vessels had a thick internal and external black glaze. There were two body sherds from either a drinking vessel or small jug with a thick external glaze and a partial, patchy, thin internal glaze. Two body sherds from a mug or cup had a dark brown silvery metallic glaze and a handle scar. Three other vessels were represented by base-body sherds. They were black glazed internal and external, the glaze on the external having run down the surface in dribbles. It was not possible to ascertain the form of these vessels: they could be drinking vessels or chamber/stool pots. Vessels very similar to these were found in Civil War levels at Dudley Castle (Ratkai 1985). Two rim sherds of two separate vessels come from chamber/stool pots. One was glazed internal and external brown, the other black. In addition to the above there were five body sherds glazed internal and external.

Yellow Ware with a pinkish-buff fabric

There were three sherds from two flatwares. The internal surfaces were covered by a white slip, while there seemed to be a thin wash over the external surfaces, slightly darker than the clay body.

Yellow Ware with a yellowish cream fabric

There was a single flatware sherd with an internal glaze.

Tin Glazed Earthenware

This was not well represented, there being a single sherd, decorated with a festoon, most of which had broken away.

Manganese Glazed "Mottled" Wares

Eight vessels occurred in this ware. There were three tankard bases with sharp rilling at the base (fig. 6: 19), a rim-body sherd from a cup or tankard and the handle from a cup/mug. In addition there were two bases from ?bowls, with an identical form but differing sizes, and the base sherd from a hollow ware, glazed internally, either a bowl or a ?chamber pot.

Coarsewares

Coarseware A

With a sandy, bricky orange fabric. There were four or five vessels, and three rim sherds (fig. 6: 20, 21, and 22), which were probably from bowls/pancheons. Two of the rim sherds (fig. 6: 20 and 21) had a thin internal and external slip slightly darker than the body of the pot and were glazed dark brown internally. The third showed evidence of external knife trimming and was sooted at the very tip of the rim. This, too, was slipped and glazed internally. In addition there were two bases, but not enough of the vessels remained for it to be certain whether they were from bowls/pancheons or from jars. One base was glazed internally but the glaze contained uneven yellowish patches (a sulphurous compound caused by the firing?). The base also had some external soot spots. The second base was slipped externally and was glazed internally. There was marked abrasion at the junction of base and body. It is not uncommon to see such wear marks on the bases of pancheons, the result of friction against a work surface while the contents of the vessel were being mixed. It was not possible to say whether this base was part of the same vessel as one of the rims.

Coarseware B

With a paler orange fabric than Coarseware A and with noticeable rounded red ferruginous and off-white inclusions. There was a pancheon and a thick walled body sherd most probably from a pancheon. Both were glazed and slipped as the Coarseware A vessels. The pancheon was also abraded at the base body junction.

Coarseware C

As Coarseware B but with much more frequent red and off-white inclusions. Only the base of a pancheon occurred in this fabric and it was similar in every respect to the pancheons in the other coarseware fabrics. This vessel was heavily abraded on the exterior.

Coarseware D

With a buff fabric. Two vessels were represented. There was a base with an internal red slip and dark brown glaze. The exterior of the pot had smears of red slip. The vessel was most probably a pancheon. The second vessel was also a pancheon (fig. 6: 23). It was slipped internally and externally but unlike the other coarseware vessels the glazing was more controlled and instead of degenerating

in small amounts, though this does not necessarily reflect their relative importance as crops. It is not possible to distinguish rivet from macaroni wheat on the basis of a few rachises, but it is generally assumed that such rachis material represents rivet wheat, as this wheat is more suited to the British climate and there is historical evidence for its cultivation. Rivet wheat has been grown in southern Britain at least since the 11th century (Moffett 1991), though it is no longer a commercial crop.

Other crops included hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) and flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), both probably cultivated for their fibres, and beet (*Beta vulgaris*), an apparently popular vegetable at least since the Roman period (Moffett 1988), though it is not yet clear at what stage the plant began to be cultivated for its 'roots' as well as its 'greens'. A single charred bean or vetch seed (*Vicia faba/sativa*) was the only evidence for legume crops, though legumes often do not survive particularly well in waterlogged deposits.

Grape (*Vitis vinifera*) and fig (*Ficus carica*) are more likely to have been imported. Dried figs and raisins were imported in large quantities in the later Middle Ages (Gras 1918). Wine, an essential item on the table of the rich, was also imported in very large amounts. Vines were sometimes cultivated in England, occasionally in vineyards for wine, but probably more often on a small scale for verjuice, the medieval equivalent of vinegar. Verjuice was made from unripe grapes and was thus considerably easier to produce than wine.

Plants of arable and disturbed ground

The largest group of plants from this period were those which grow in disturbed open habitats, generally with well-drained soils, such as crop fields, waysides, active stream banks, waste ground, and gardens. The great majority of plants in this group are annuals, but some perennials are also well adapted to a disturbed environment. Sheep's sorrel (*Rumex acetosella*) and perennial sow thistle (*Sonchus arvensis*) can reproduce from adventitious buds on thickened horizontal or oblique roots and thus can survive, and even flourish more strongly, if their root systems are broken by ploughing (Håkansson 1982).

Many weed ecologists in theory make a distinction between weeds of crops (segetals) and weeds of waste and disturbed ground (ruderals). In practice this distinction depends on specific ecological circumstances, including farming methods (Holzner 1982). Some plants are likely to have been more closely associated with arable habitats, but all of the plants in this group could have grown in crop fields and many of them also wherever human disturbance afforded suitable habitats. Association with cereal crop-processing waste may have been one means by which weed seeds became included in the deposit. Others could include dumping of garden waste or clearing of disturbed areas for another use.

Plants characteristic of arable habitats include corncockle (*Agrostemma githago*), field pennycress (*Thlaspi arvense*), sun spurge (*Euphorbia helioscopia*), shepherd's needle (*Scandix pecten-veneris*), cornsalad (*Valerianella dentata*), cornflower (*Centaurea cyanus*), nipplewort (*Lapsana communis*), stinking mayweed (*Anthemis cotula*), corn marigold (*Chrysanthemum segetum*), and brome (*Bromus hordeaceus/secalinus*). A number of these plants would not be seen in a modern British cornfield as a result of modern seed cleaning techniques and the use of herbicides. Corncockle, shepherd's needle, cornflower, and stinking mayweed are all very rare plants in Britain today. Others, such as nipplewort, are still common but more likely to be seen today along waysides and on waste ground. The bladder campion (tentatively identified as *Silene* cf. *vulgaris*) was said to have been common as a weed of barley on light soils in the late 18th century (Pitt 1794, 95).

Grassland plants

Some of the grassland plants may also have grown in crop fields. Buttercups (*Ranunculus acris/repens/bulbosus*), wild carrot (*Daucus carota*), and yellow-rattle (*Rhinanthus minor*) can grow in arable habitats. Red bartsia (*Odontites vernus*), although not regarded as an arable weed today, seems to appear not infrequently in archaeobotanical assemblages in association with cereal remains. It is also mentioned by Dickenson (1798, 104) as appearing in cornfields in Staffordshire. All of these plants, however, are also characteristic grassland plants, and the presence of other grassland plants in the assemblage which are unlikely to have invaded the crop fields, suggests that there is a genuine presence of grassland material.

Meadowsweet (*Filipendula ulmaria*) is a common plant of wet grassland. Yellow rattle (*Rhinanthus minor*) and self heal (*Prunella vulgaris*) grow in both wet and damp grassland, while cow parsley (*Anthriscus sylvestris*) is an important species of damp grassland. Other plants from a similar habitat include meadowgrass (*Poa annua*) and tormentil (*Potentilla erecta*), the latter generally occuring on acid soils. Wild carrot and salad burnet (*Sanguisorba minor*) are found in damp grassland but also commonly in chalk grassland, which tends to be dry. Hawkbit (*Leontondon* sp.) and dandelion (*Taraxacum* sp.) can be found in almost any type of grassland.

Salad burnet is mainly found in limestone areas in modern Staffordshire (Edees 1972, 86), and this was apparently where it was also recorded in the late 18th century (Dickenson 1798, 111). Stone is some distance from the nearest limestone in the north-eastern part of the county, but it need not follow that the plant was growing far afield. Liming to improve soil fertility was a common practice in the medieval period and could well have created favourable conditions for salad burnet, and perhaps also for wild carrot, another plant often found on calcareous soils.

Wet ground/aquatic species

Plants in this group mostly inhabit places such as wet ditches, marshes, and the edges of streams, lakes, and rivers. Except for the sedges (*Carex* spp.), wet ground plants were generally represented by small numbers of seeds.

Willow (*Salix* sp.) buds could conceivably be derived from the use or working of withies near the area of the deposit.

Floor coverings often consisted of plant material strewn loose on the floor, and sedges were well suited for this purpose, as well as for thatch. Other plants that might have been collected, perhaps inadvertently, with the sedges are lesser or creeping spearwort (*Ranunculus flammula/reptans*), tubular water-dropwort (*Oenanthe fistulosa*), marsh lousewort (*Pedicularis palustris*), marsh sow-thistle (*Sonchus palustris*), and marsh ragwort (*Senecio aquaticus*).

Spikerush (*Eleocharis palustris/uniglumis*) is thought to have sometimes invaded poorly drained areas of crop fields in the past, possibly from wet boundary ditches. Although not today regarded as a crop weed, it has frequently been found in archaeobotanical assemblages in association with cereal remains (Jones 1988). It needs at least seasonal flooding but appears able to survive periods when the soil is not completely waterlogged (Walters 1948).

Hedgerow/woodland edge plants

Hazel (*Corylus avellana*), ?bramble (*Rubus* cf. *fruticosus*), a fragment of fruitstone similar to sloe or a primitive plum (*Prunus spinosa/domestica*), and possibly elder (*Sambucus nigra*) could all represent plants collected for food from hedgerows and woodland edges. Evidence of hedges is slight in terms of amount of material, but suggestive. Thorns of rose (*Rosa* sp.), sloe, or hawthorn (*Prunus spinosa/Crataegus* sp.) and the spiny tips of holly leaves (*Ilex aquifolium*) could all have come from hedgerow trimmings.

Heathland plants

Fragments of bracken frond (*Pteridium aquilinum*) were very abundant, mainly in 1141. As noted above, the bracken could have been collected from heaths, rough grassland, and woodland. It was possibly brought into the town for a number of purposes. Bracken could have served as bedding both for animals and people, and there is evidence that it was sometimes incorporated in thatch (Letts 1993). There is also a possibility that bracken was fed to domestic animals.

A few leaf and stem fragments of gorse (*Ulex* sp.) suggest that gorse, too, was brought into the town, perhaps also for roofing or for fuel.

Phase 3 – Post-medieval (1059)

The most striking feature of the post-medieval sample was the predominance of cereal straw. Manually pulling apart unprocessed lumps of material showed fragments of cereal culms compressed together in an organic matrix. There were also some fragments of unidentified wood and a few lumps of coal.

The cereal straw itself is not identifiable to species but large numbers of rachis nodes of rye were present, suggesting that some or most of the cereal straw could also be rye. Rivet/macaroni wheat

and bread wheat rachis fragments were identified but in much smaller amounts. A couple of six-row barley and oat chaff fragments were also present. Many rachis nodes were too poorly preserved to identify to species and could have been either rye or barley, but are far more likely to be the former.

Rye and rivet wheat are tall cereals, and old varieties of bread wheat were much taller than modern varieties. The long straw of these cereals makes them very suitable for use in thatching. Letts (1993), in a study of thatch preserved in medieval and post-medieval buildings in southern England, found that rye, rivet wheat, and bread wheat were the three most common cereals used for thatching. The presence of these three cereals with a large amount of cereal straw does seem suggestive of thatch, although the evidence is highly circumstantial. Straw could also have had a number of other uses including flooring and bedding. Other potential thatching materials such as bracken, heather, and gorse are also present, though these too could have had other uses. The possibility that the remains could represent thatch also receives some tentative support from the beetle remains (see below page 93).

The assemblage of arable/disturbed ground plants is very similar to that from the late medieval layers, but the evidence for grassland species is scanty. Sedges and water-pepper (*Persicaria hydropiper*) were the most common seeds of wet ground plants. Hedgerow/woodland edge species were also still present, including a couple of thorns of sloe or hawthorn, although there was no sign of holly. Moss fragments were very abundant but have not yet been identified. The mosses could be of interest as it might be possible to determine whether they were collected from outside the town, and if so from what type of environment, or whether they were growing on the post medieval structure itself.

THE COLEOPTERA by David Smith

INTRODUCTION AND SAMPLE PREPARATION

Several of the waterlogged deposits (1041, 1059, 1141, and 1147) were sampled for beetle remains. The samples were prepared using a standard method of paraffin flotation as first outlined by Coope and Osborne (1968) and subsequently improved upon in Kenward *et al.* (1980). The resultant 'flots' were sorted under a low-power binocular microscope. The insect fragments were identified using a number of entomological keys and by direct comparison to the Gorham Collection of British Coleoptera housed in the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Birmingham.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The coleopterous species recovered from this material are presented in Table 10. The taxonomy follows Lucht (1987).

The species recovered have been assigned to ecological groups following the scheme outlined in Kenward (1978), Hall *et al.* (1983), and Hall and Kenward (1990). Those groups presented in the right hand column of Table 10 are described at the end of that table.

The percentage of these ecological groups within each sample is given in Table 11 and a graphical plot of the percentage of the main groups is given in figure 10. A further breakdown of the percentages of the various compost groups and the wood and grain species is given graphically in figure 11.

A list of the species occupying the first ten ranks of abundance in each of the four samples is given in Table 12.

INTERPRETATION

Phase 1 – pre-structural phase (1147)

The majority of the species present came from aquatic or waterside environments. There was a wide range of water beetles which favour slow moving or stagnant eutrophic (fresh) water. Often these species are also found in the still waters around the base of aquatic plants. Typical of this environment are *Hygrotus inaequalis* (Balfour Browne 1940), *Ochthebius minimus*, the *Helophorus* species (Hansen 1987), and the *Bagous* weevils. The presence of other species of water beetle, such as *Agabus bipustulatus, Colymbetes fuscus,* and the *Dytiscus* species, suggest that less heavily vegetated areas of still, open water were also present.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

PHASE 1 PRE-STRUCTURAL DEPOSITS

The environmental evidence from the waterlogged silts (1147), pre-dating the structural deposits, suggests that the subsequent buildings were built on the silted-up remains of a riverside swamp, possibly a predecessor of the present Scotch Brook. The clearest evidence for this supposition comes from the species of plant remains present and the suggested ecology of the various species of beetle found in the deposit. In addition, both the plant and insect remains suggest that there was little human activity in the area at this time. The plant remains, beetles remains, and pollen all suggest that the wider environment had both arable and pastoral aspects, as well as some woodland.

PHASE 2 (12TH TO 15TH CENTURIES)

The earliest structural evidence, in the central area of the site, suggests the presence of a timber building of late medieval date. It seems possible that the waterlogged deposits (1041, 1141, and 1145) represent the fragmentary remains of a floor surface and that the linear gully (F33) may have formed part of an associated structural element.

The presence of storage vessels and jugs and the scarcity of cooking pots and sooted sherds suggests that the possible building may have been a store room or buttery (see above page 65). Unfortunately, in the absence of any clear stratigraphic relationships, it is uncertain whether the various pits cutting the natural gravels were earlier or later than the structure. The animal bones recovered from this phase include representatives of a number of domestic species including sheep/goat, cow, pig, chicken, and domestic goose.

The identified remains of cultivated plants from the waterlogged deposits (1041 and 1141) included various cereals such as rye, rivet or macaroni wheat, bread wheat, and barley. Also present were hemp and flax which were probably cultivated for their fibres, and beet. Grape and fig may have been imports. Some species, such as hazel and bramble, may have been collected for food. Sedges or bracken may have been used as a floor covering, bedding, or thatch.

Both the plant and the insect remains from this level contain few of the aquatic and waterside species which were seen in the underlying layer (1147). A high proportion of the beetles present, moreover, are species commonly associated with human occupation. These include species which are thought to breed in mouldering plant and animal matter associated with damp timber and wattle structures. Alternatively, they may also be inhabitants of plant debris scattered on the surface of a floor. In general these biological remains suggest that the deposit (1041) represents a mix of waste material from urban occupation, in differing stages of decay. The plant and insect remains from these waterlogged silts suggest that similar environmental and living conditions developed in this small rural market town as in other early and later medieval communities.

During the medieval period, this area of Stone was dominated by an Augustinian Priory which had succeeded a church and a small priory and/or nunnery possibly dating from the 7th century (Hopgood *et al.* 1992, 2). The earliest pottery from the excavations at 9 High Street dates from the 12th to 13th centuries. This is perhaps the period at which the first real growth of the secular settlement at Stone occured, before and after the granting of a market charter to the prior by Henry III in 1251 (Cope 1972, 17) and Edward I in 1292. The extent of the monastic precinct and the High Street at this time is uncertain. It has been suggested that the western edge of the precinct corresponds to Mill Street and Crown Street (Cope 1972, 18–19) and that the High Street did not continue to the south-east of Mill Street. If this was the case, then the suggested timber structure identified during the excavation would have lain well within the precinct and may have corresponded to one of the many buildings associated with the priory. However, the planned nature of the High Street and the market charter of 1251 suggest that the western boundary of the precinct may have been the Scotch Brook (Hopgood *et al.* 1992, 2). In that case, the site of the excavation would have lain within a burgage plot alongside the High Street and just outside the monastic area. The excavation provides little support for either hypothesis. However, it could be argued that the orientation of the possible timber structural element (F33), parallel to the High Street, is consistent with the second alternative.

The recovery of leather fragments (see above page 72), including the sole of a shoe, echoes the development of Stone as a centre for small-scale crafts and industry, in particular tanning and leather

BURTON ABBEY CHURCH: A RECONSIDERATION OF ITS BUILT FORM

IAN ATHERTON

A forgery, a case of mistaken identity, and a notable example of poor draughtsmanship have, for a century and a half, hampered attempts to understand the built form and ground plan of Burton abbey. Yet, for all this time two plans of Burton parish church, the abbey's descendant, have lain unnoticed by scholars in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. These plans allow a reconstruction of the ground plan of the transepts and western arm of the abbey church, and provide an opportunity to re-examine other evidence for the form of its eastern arm.

Dissolved in 1538, the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary and St. Modwen, Burton-upon-Trent, was reconstituted two years later as the collegiate church of Christ and St. Mary, itself dissolved in 1545.[1] The site of the college and all its buildings, except for the church, were transferred immediately to Sir William Paget.[2] The church itself was used as the parish church of Burton until it was demolished in 1718 to make way for a new church.[3] Little of the abbey precinct and nothing of the abbey church remain to guide the historian.[4] Writing in the 1790s Stebbing Shaw remarked that traces of the old church were still to be found to the east of the new one, and that different coloured stones marked the westward extent of the abbey church.[5] All those vestiges had disappeared a century later, when archaeological investigation was necessary to locate the foundations. Two excavations, in 1881–82 and in 1902, uncovered some remains, but the results satisfied few people except the excavators themselves. Moreover, the finds were poorly recorded and the investigations are therefore of limited use.[6]

In the absence of physical remains, scholars have turned to the historical record, and in particular three pieces of evidence: a drawing allegedly by the 17th-century engraver Wenceslaus Hollar, a plan published by the Staffordshire antiquarian Stebbing Shaw, and a genuine etching by Hollar published in William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. All three have often led the unwitting astray.

An ink drawing in the William Salt Library, Stafford, signed 'WH 1643' and entitled 'A Picture of the Abbey Church of Burton on Trent' has seduced many. It purports to show the nave of the abbey church in ruins in 1643: the west end demolished, much of the vault gone.[7] It is, in fact, not by Hollar at all but is a forgery by Peter Thompson (*c.* 1800–74), a London builder and architect. Rather than showing Burton abbey, it is an almost direct copy of an engraving of Hereford cathedral after the collapse of its west tower in 1786. Thompson produced a number of drawings and topographical manuscripts in the 1850s, claiming that they were hitherto undiscovered originals by Wenceslaus

1 U. C. Hannam and M. W. Greenslade, 'The Abbey of Burton', and U. C. Hannam, 'The College of Christ and St. Mary, Burton-upon-Trent', in *Victoria County History of Staffordshire* [hereafter *V.C.H. Staffs.*], iii (1970), ed. M. W. Greenslade, 210, 296.

2 Staffordshire Record Office [hereafter S.R.O.], D. 603/A/ADD/775–77.

3 Lichfield Record Office [hereafter L.R.O.], B/C/5/1718/Burton-upon-Trent, St. Modwen (faculty), [1] vicar general's mandate, 28 Nov. 1718, and [3a] William Browne's deposition, 23 Feb. 1718/19; S.R.O., D. 4219/3/1, pp. 101, 109, 120, 122, 153.

4 The most substantial standing remain is the Abbey Inn, comprising apparently a part of the monastic infirmary. The low wall between Lichfield Street and the war memorial marks the precinct boundary, while traces of the cloisters and chapter house survive behind the Market Hall and in the grounds of the Abbey Inn. The Manor House in the precinct retains a part of its medieval roof and may have been the abbot's private lodging: *Burton Mail,* 15 Jan. 1990; R. A. Meeson, 'Time and Place: Medieval Carpentry in Staffordshire', *Vernacular Architecture,* xxvii (1996), 16–17. The gate house was demolished in 1927: *Transactions of the Burton-on-Trent Natural History and Archaeological Society* [hereafter *T.B.N.H.A.S.*], viii (1927), frontispiece. Of the fabric of the pre-1718 church only the font, a few gravestones, some isolated fragments of carved masonry, and the arms of Charles I are known to have survived the rebuilding, and the royal arms which remained in 1869 had disappeared by 1962: W. Molyneux, *Burton-on-Trent: Its History, Its Waters* (1869), 74–75; S. A. Jeavons, 'Royal Arms in Staffordshire Churches', *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, lxxviii (1962), 89–91; Burton Library, lantern slides nos. 86, 188.

5 S. Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* (2 vols., 1798, 1801), i. 9.

6 Burton-on-Trent Natural History and Archaeological Society, *Statement of Accounts . . . for Season 1882* (Birmingham, 1882), 5; *Seventh Annual Report of the Burton-on-Trent Natural History and Archaeological Society for Year Ending March 31, 1883* (Birmingham, 1883), 6–7, 10–11; H. A. Rye, 'The Ground-Plan of Burton Abbey', *T.B.N.H.A.S.* iii(3) (1897), 242–58; H. A. Rye, 'Some Further Notes on Burton Abbey Plan', *T.B.N.H.A.S.* v(1) (1903), 35–44. The Burton-upon-Trent Natural History and Archaeological Society retains no unpublished papers relating to the excavations; I am grateful to Mr. K. L. Neal of the society for this information.

7 William Salt Library, Stafford, Eyre Forgeries, no. 4.

Hollar, Sutton Nicholls, or one Captain John Eyre. He was quickly exposed as a forger, but not before several gullible collectors, including William Salt, had parted with their money.[8] Despite being soon exposed, this alleged drawing of Burton has several times been accepted as genuine: Henry Rye used it in his attempt to reconstruct the abbey's ground plan; an artist's impression of the interior of the abbey published in 1929 was based upon it; and it illustrates a history of St. Modwen's church published in the 1950s.[9]

More misleading has been the acceptance of the plan published by Stebbing Shaw in 1798. At Beaudesert, among the papers of the Paget family, inheritors of the possessions and papers of Burton abbey, Shaw found a drawing of an abbey, 'but rudely sketched', and he published a copy of it as the 'Ancient Ground Plan of Burton Abbey'.[10] The original drawing has since been lost. Shaw's plan has been widely accepted and has formed the basis of all subsequent study of Burton abbey.[11] The acceptance of Shaw has been important, for his plan shows a west transept, a rare feature in British churches.[12] A redrawn version of the plan by Henry Rye, a Burton local historian, with information from the excavations and an early 13th-century conventual seal (which Rye interpreted as showing a galilee, or large western narthex), superimposed upon a map of Burton, has become the standard presentation of the abbey church and precinct.[13]

Philip McAleer has, however, recently suggested that Shaw's plan is not of Burton abbey.[14] It cannot be made to correspond to two surveys of the abbey precinct, one of 1545x46 and the other of 1562. The dimensions of the church given on Shaw's plan are quite different from those of the 1562 survey, while the lay-out and size of the claustral buildings on Shaw's plan differ greatly from what is suggested by both surveys.[15] What the plan found by Shaw at Beaudesert actually represented is not clear, but it was not Burton.

The third standard source for Burton abbey is an etching by Wenceslaus Hollar of the abbey from the south (fig. 1), executed in 1661 for William Dugdale's *Monasticon*.[16] Unlike the forged Hollar, it is not its authenticity that is in doubt but its veracity. The etching is poorly drawn and shows three elements to the church – south transept, nave, and west front – with no clear visual association between any of them. The connection between the nave and south transept is very problematic. Where one might reasonably expect to find the crossing, Hollar leaves a large void. Furthermore, a single-storey structure, like a slype or covered passageway, runs across the south front of the south transept to meet, on the same axis, an eastward projection of the nave. This is a physical impossibility, the depiction here being akin to one of M. C. Escher's trick fantasy drawings. The perspective of the west front is no clearer.

Hollar's confused depiction is puzzling for usually his work was detailed and accurate, and for these reasons he was employed by Dugdale and other antiquaries for a variety of topographical publications. Moreover, the circumstances surrounding the commission of the view of Burton abbey

8 I. Darlington, 'Thompson Fecit', *Architectural Review,* cxxiv, 740 (September 1958), 187–88; *Athenaeum,* 2461 (26 Dec. 1874), 881; *Notes & Queries,* vii (January–June 1853), 545; William Salt Library, Eyre Forgeries, James Bowler to Thomas Mazzinghi, 25 Jan. 1875.

9 Rye, 'Further Notes on Burton Abbey Plan', 40–42; *Burton Observer,* 10 Jan. 1929, 28 July 1938; Burton Library, 'Ancient Burton' scrapbook, pressmark SB 110, ff. [14, 22–23]; E. Aldington-Hunt, *A Brief History of St. Modwen's the Parish Church of Burton-upon-Trent* (Gloucester, [*c.* 1955]), cover and 19.

10 Shaw, *Staffordshire,* i. 8 and plate 3.

11 It is accepted in *V.C.H. Staffs.* iii. 210–11 and plate facing p. 212, and C. Owen, *Burton upon Trent: The Illustrated History* (Derby, 1994), 21, and is used for a reconstruction of the abbey published in *Burton Observer,* 10 Jan. 1929. I am grateful to the marquis of Anglesey for confirming that the original of Shaw's plan does not remain with those Paget papers at Plas Newydd (pers. comm. 14 Feb. 1997).

12 J. P. McAleer, 'The Former Benedictine Abbey Church of St. Mary and St. Modwen (Modwenna), at Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, and the Problem of a West Transept there', *Staffordshire Studies,* v (1993), 35, 60, 64 n. 4.

13 Rye, 'Ground-Plan of Burton Abbey', 245 and plate facing p. 258; C. H. Underhill and H. H. Pitchford, *The Parish Church of Burton upon Trent (St. Modwen): A Short History of 250 Years* (Burton, [1976]), 4–5; D. Stuart, *An Illustrated History of Burton upon Trent to the 18th Century* ([Burton, 1993]), 11; C. O'Brien, 'Excavations at the Abbey, Burton upon Trent', *Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society,* xix (1977–78), 12 (these excavations concerned the infirmary site only); D. Jackson, *The Burton Story* (Burton, 1995); Burton Civic Society plaque outside Octagon Shopping Centre, High Street, Burton. The early 13th-century seal is too stylised to be used as evidence for the abbey's appearance.

14 McAleer, 'Former Benedictine Abbey Church', 35–70.

15 S.R.O., D. (W.) 1734/2/3/9, ff. 15–16, and D. (W.) 1734/2/3/29 (printed, with several slips of transcription, in McAleer, 'Former Benedictine Abbey Church', 61–62).

16 W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* ii (1661), facing p. 870. All subsequent references to the *Monasticon* are to the edition by J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel (8 vols., 1846).

THE ESTATES OF JAMES LEVESON OF WOLVERHAMPTON (d. 1547)

R. F. WISKER

The Dissolution of the Monasteries permanently changed the pattern of landownership in England and Wales. A new class of landowners emerged to benefit from this great opportunity, whose families then had a vested interest in the Tudor Revolution in government. The life of James Leveson demonstrates how one man could become a great landowner. No better example could be given of the opportunities available to the successful merchant in the reign of Henry VIII, and no better case study exists of the great prospects opened to the discerning investor by the plundering of the church.

The Levesons were a family of minor gentry settled in Willenhall near Wolverhampton. When Richard Leveson married Margery, heiress of Henry son of Clement de Wolverhampton, before 1300, he acquired a considerable increase in his landed property. Richard and Margery had three sons upon each of whom they were able to settle small estates: John in Willenhall, Richard in Wolverhampton, and Geoffrey also in Willenhall.[1] Details of the grant to Richard in 1311 survive. His inheritance consisted of one messuage and at least 70 acres of land.[2] All three sons established their families and their descendants flourished into the 15th century. The heads of all three families were named in the grant under the Great Seal for the rebuilding of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton, dated 1 July 1439.[3] James Leveson, Geoffrey's great-grandson, was elected M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1432. His election by the borough is not easily explained for his lands were in Willenhall and he had no known connection with Newcastle. After a colourful life in which he engaged in litigation (he was accused of breaking and entering, of cattle theft, and finally of murder), and in which he went on pilgrimage to Rome, he finally retired with his wife to the hospital and convent of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire.[4]

Meanwhile the descendants of John, the eldest son, had acquired the estate of Prestwood in Willenhall, the home of Richard Leveson (d. 1503) and the birthplace of Richard's two sons, Nicholas and James.[5] Richard had married Jane Bradbury, of the London family best known for Sir Thomas Bradbury, Lord Mayor of London, who died in office in 1510, and it was possibly as a result of that connexion that Nicholas established himself in London where he became a wool merchant and a merchant of the Staple; he married Denise Bodley, stepdaughter of Sir Thomas Bradbury.[6]

Upon his father's death Nicholas lost no time in leasing out Prestwood Hall, with all the gardens in the moat, the Lady croft, and 12 other properties for 7 years to Richard Heyle, also a merchant of the Staple. Although as the elder son Nicholas had inherited the family estate, he did not live in Wolverhampton. None the less he continued to add to the property there. When Prestwood was surveyed in 1661, the 'ould house' was a memory, but the Lady croft still existed and the area surveyed amounted to 265 acres[7] Nicholas, a benefactor of St. Peter's, continued to visit Wolverhampton, where his journey to the wedding of his niece Joan, James's daughter, in 1539 was long remembered.[8]

James remained in Wolverhampton. It is not known what provision had been made for him. He may have been named after the earlier James Leveson, still living in 1474, the last descendant of Geoffrey. The younger James certainly took the trouble to acquire some of the elder James's property in later years. Otherwise, he may merely have been born on St. James's day (25 July).[9]

James Leveson was apprenticed to the wool trade and became in turn a master and a merchant of

1 Staffordshire Record Office [hereafter S.R.O.], D. 593/B/1/26/6/9/6.

2 *Staffordshire Historical Collections* (Staffs. Record Society) [hereafter *S.H.C.*], 1911, 76–7.

3 *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436–41, p. 321. For family trees, see Shrewsbury Public Library, Local Studies Collection, pedigrees compiled by J. J. Peele, and William Salt Library, Stafford, pedigrees compiled by R. F. Wisker.

4 S.R.O., D. 593/A/1/32/1 and 14 (1470 and 1474 letters of confraternity granted by Burton Lazars hospital) and 20 (1448 visit to Rome); *S.H.C.* n.s. iii.130, 136, 49, 157; n.s. xi. 55; *S.H.C.* 1917–18, 217..

5 Family tree (see above note 3); S.R.O., D. 593/E/3/10/2 (1610 deposition of Agnes Harrell, then aged 88).

6 Library of the Society of Genealogists, London, Boyd's collection of London families. *Medieval London Widows,* ed. C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton (1994) has a chapter on Lady Joan Bradbury, Sir Thomas's wife.

7 S.R.O., D. 593/B/1/26/6/35/17; D. 593/H/3/405.

8 Ibid. D. 593/E/3/10/2. For Nicholas's grants to St. Peter's see S. Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire,* ii. 161.

9 S.R.O., D. 593/B/1/26/6/39/10 (James the elder's former property).

the Staple. Based in Wolverhampton, he traded in London and Calais, as did his brother Nicholas. Both men had chambers in Lord Lisle's house in Calais.[10] By 1515 James was already known as a man of substance, and was making purchases of property. Throughout his career he was to be an excellent manager of his profits from trade and a shrewd investor in property; once he had acquired property he made his assets work for him and reinvested the surplus income.

His first purchases were in Wolverhampton but he soon extended his activities to Walsall, Bushbury, and Tettenhall. In 1516 he and his father-in-law Richard Wrottesley took a lease of the manor of the Deanery of Wolverhampton for 10 years at £38 p.a. This lease was to be renewed many times at the same rent, remaining with James's family until 1602–05.[11]

James bought a larger property, the manor of Seawell in Bushbury (860 acres) in 1519. A yet larger property was the manor of Perton, bought from Sir William Crompton in 1523. The Levesons held Perton manor until 1632, when by family agreement it went to the earl of Dorset, who sold it to Sir Walter Wrottesley in 1664. The manor then covered 1,895 acres.[12] In Wolverhampton, James acquired houses with their offices and gardens in Lichfield Street, Dudley Street, Berry Street, and Johns Lane. He bought smaller properties at Buckfoot or Buckford Meadow along the Graiseley brook by Merridale, at Chapel Ash, and at Gorsty Hill (near Blackheath, in Rowley Regis). He also bought holdings in the open fields of Wolverhampton parish: Horseley field, Ablow field, Wind field, Windmill field, and Broadmeadow field, the last-named field covering the area of the present West Park.[13] A transaction of 1532 gives a picture of the rural Wolverhampton of that time. James bought from Nicholas Heylyn, merchant of the Staple, son of the Richard Heylyn who had leased Prestwood Hall from Nicholas, his house and property in Dudley Street for 100 marks £66 13*s* 4*d*.). It lay between the house, garden, and orchard of Nicholas Leveson occupied by Thomas Eyresmouth, and the house and garden of James Leveson. At the rear it was bounded by the orchard, garden, and back court of William Calicraft, approached through a back gate.[14]

James continued to add to his Wolverhampton holdings for the rest of his life. His most important purchase came in 1532, when he acquired the manor of Wolverhampton or Stowheath from Thomas, 3rd duke of Norfolk at a cost of 800 marks (£533 6*s*. 4*d*.). Next year, however, he sold half the manor to Sir John and Thomas Giffard, receiving £9 8*s*. 10*d*. for all the expenses he had been put to.[15] James occupied a substantial house on High green, near the present statue of Prince Albert in Queen's Square. It boasted 8 hearths in 1666 and survived to be illustrated by the Wolverhampton artist Henry James Noyes before it was pulled down in 1841.[16] When the high altar of St. Peter's was rebuilt at a cost of £95 in 1533, James contributed £3 6*s*. 8*d*. while his London brother Nicholas provided £42. James also bought St. George's chapel inside St. Peter's and, as will be seen, must have been responsible for the purchase in 1540 of 3 bells from Wenlock abbey and for the removal in 1544 of the choir stalls from Lilleshall abbey to Wolverhampton in 1544.[17]

In the first thirteen years of his purchases, James acquired only two major estates, Perton and Seawell. Then in 1528 he bought his first major estate outside the Wolverhampton area, the Shropshire manor of Leegomery, which included Wappenshall and Ketley. The vendor was Sir John Audley.[18] Following the Wolverhampton manor purchase in 1532, James made another large addition to his estate when he bought the manors of Lower Penn, Upper Penn, Oxley, and Rowley Somery from Lord Dudley in 1533. The 40 messuages, 600 acres of land, 300 acres of meadow, 600 acres of pasture, 200 acres of woods, 100 acres of furze – 1,800 acres in all, with an annual rent of £12 – cost him £698 l*s*. 4*d*.[19] James, therefore, became a substantial landowner with four considerable

10 *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII,* 1540, p. 425.

11 Shaw, *Staffs.* ii. 154. For the gift of the lease by Sir Richard Leveson to Sir Walter Leveson see S.R.O., D. 593/E/6/12 (undated depositions by Michael Nicholls and John Terrick: Sir Richard held the estate 1602–05).

12 S.R.O., D. 593/A/2/17/12; *S.H.C.* 1928, 90; *V.C.H. Staffs.* xx. 25.

13 S.R.O., D. 593/B/1/26. For details of the 1614 sale by Sir John Leveson to settle the estate debts, see ibid. D. 593/H/14/1/15 A–C.

14 Ibid. D. 593/B/1/26/6/32/20.

15 Ibid. D. 593/B/1/26/1/3; D. 593/H/14/1/4 (survey by Rev. George Plaxton *c.* 1709), p. 3.

16 G.P. Mander, *Wolverhampton Antiquary*, i (4), p. 118; *S.H.C.* 1942–3, 251 (no. 3064); J. Roper, *Wolverhampton as it was,* i (1974), 6 (upper plate).

17 Shaw, *Staffs.* ii. 161.

18 S.R.O., D. 593/B/2/5/2.

19 Ibid. D. 593/B/1/17/15—27 (recording the total payment in 1533/34); B/1/17/20 (giving the acreage). Further payments may have been made, as Leveson took over a purchase started by Alan Perry (ibid. D. 593/B/1/17/2/6). See also ibid. D. 593/H/14/1/4, p. 37.

purchases on the Wildmores and had enclosed large parts of that area, and had acquired lands in Waters Upton and half of the manor of Newport.[46] His purchases were more than sufficient to counterbalance his sales.

How James Leveson had financed his massive programme of acquisition remains to some extent mysterious. He raised part of the capital by minor sales of his earliest purchases and by some resale of monastic estates. He evidently also paid some attention to the advantage of purchasing reversions. In 1517 he bought from John Walys the reversion of all the lands in Wolverhampton that ought to come to Walys on the death of his father James Walys. Similarly the transaction of 1518/1519 when Agnes Hull, the widow of Nicholas, released to James her interest in a shop in High Street, Wolverhampton, between the shops of Richard Bilston, chaplain, and Clement Sadler, was probably of a comparable nature. The more important reversions bought from Lord Clinton and Juliana Norris created the Warwickshire estate settled upon Elizabeth Leveson. The Great Wyrley estate was also acquired through a reversion.[47]

While he was relatively inactive in the purchase of estates in the period from 1533 to 1537, James appears to have become financially overstretched only at one time. This was in 1541 after the purchase of Trentham, when Sir Thomas Pope sold his ground rent of £105 on the estate for £2,100 – 20 years' purchase. James would surely have bought the rent if he had been able to do so. In contrast, in 1544, James had a surplus of funds which enabled him to lend £500 to the king. He could have bought an estate worth £25 a year at the least with that money. He remained a wool trader to the end of his life, which meant there were always profits to reinvest. He must have husbanded his resources with great care: there is no evidence of borrowing on his part. All three of his sons had capital to invest in property after his death, and the eldest, Richard, sold only one of his many estates. It was not until the time of James's grandson, Sir Walter, forty years and more after James's death, that there was recourse to the various methods of borrowing money available in the Elizabethan period.[48]

The estate built up by James Leveson in the period 1515 to 1547 was in the range of 35,000 to 38,000 acres as far as can be ascertained. It comprised much of the lands of twelve dissolved religious houses, in all about 24,000 to 27,000 acres. Despite the additions and the sales of Sir Walter Leveson, the estate retained its essential character into the 17th century.

The problems of succession in 1605 forced Sir John Leveson to sell extensive properties in Wolverhampton and reluctantly to cede the manor of Hounds Chedhill (in Cheddleton) to the earl of Shrewsbury. For family and personal reasons his son, Sir Richard Leveson, transferred Perton to the earl of Dorset, Oxley and Sutton in Chelmarsh to John Langley and Bushbury to Robert Leveson. But he also made new purchases to set against the sales he had made.[49] The great estate which the Fowlers inherited on his death in 1661, and which the Gowers in their turn inherited in 1668 was recognisably that of James Leveson. In the period 1670 to 1720 when the Reverend George Plaxton worked for the estate, ultimately as chief agent, only relatively minor adjustments were made. After Plaxton's time there were major sales of South Staffordshire and outlying Shropshire estates counterbalanced by new purchases in North Staffordshire. When in 1812 James Loch undertook the management of the combined Staffordshire and Shropshire estate it remained, basically, the estate put together by James Leveson. There were some further additions in Loch's time and later, but the estate finally broken up in the sales of 1912 to 1919 derived its character and the greater part of its lands from the acquisitions made nearly four hundred years previously.[50]

James Leveson acquired his great estate in the first period of monastic sales. From the beginning

46 S.R.O., D. 593/A/2/21/4 and 6 (Walsall); D. 593/A/2/27/17 (Stafford); *S.H.C.* xv. 146, 154, 177; Shropshire Record Office, Barnard Estate, Raby deeds, 1/6/2; 1/6/5 a and b; 1/6/2/28 (Shirlowe Grange); Hardwick Estate box 1, bundle 1, no. 102; *V.C.H. Shropshire* xi. 80 (Little Wenlock); W.S.L. 356/40, pp. 15–16, 22, 26, 29.

47 S.R.O., D. 593/B/1/26/6/28/11; D. 593/B/1/26/6/29/17; D. 593/B/1/26/6/30/14; D. 593/J/5/8/2 (for Wolverhampton); D. 593/B/1/27/2; *S.H.C.* xi. 286 (Great Wyrley).

48 S.R.O., D. 593/E/3/6/1–2 and 5 (Sir Walter Leveson's debts).

49 Ibid. D. 593/C/14/4 (Perton). For the other transactions see Appendix I, note X.

50 W.S.L. 356/40; S.R.O., D. 593/H/14/1/4. For the main estate changes before 1800 see J. R. Wordie, 'A Great Landed Estate in the Eighteenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Reading University, 1967), pp. 40–50; for the main estate changes after 1800 see R. F. Wisker, 'The Dukes of Sutherland and Staffordshire' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Birmingham University, 1974), 126–30, 230. For James Loch see S.R.O., D. 593/K/1/5/1, Jas. Loch to Geo. Bishton, 16 Nov. 1812. For the sales at Lilleshall in 1912, 1914, and 1917 see W.S.L., Sale Catalogues, and for those at Wolverhampton and Penn in 1917 see S.R.O., D. 593/D/2/5/6.

the Commissioners for the Court of Augmentations adopted the 20-year formula for the sale of estates: the purchaser paid for 20 years of income. By 1543, the year of the great Lilleshall purchase, the Commissioners, concerned at the discount the buyers were getting, began to take greater care over sales. Even so, in only a few cases was more than 20 years' purchase charged. One adjustment made by the Commmissioners was that urban property, originally sold at 15 years' purchase, was later sold at 10 years' purchase.[51] As has been shown James made one purchase of urban property in London in 1543, which was promptly resold.

Another complication was that many existing leases on monastic property had a long time to run, which meant that the purchaser had to wait before he could exact the full value from his newly acquired property. This does not seem to have been significant with the Leveson estate. Apart from the leases which James himself took out, the only important one was that of Lilleshall held in 1539 by William Cavendish, which James took over with his 1543 purchase of Lilleshall. The rapid rise in prices in the 1540s benefited all investors in monastic property: by the reign of Mary I monastic lands were selling at 24 years' purchase and in the 1560s at 30 years' purchase. The benefit to those who had bought early and retained their holdings is evident.[52]

With such a great flood of land on the market there was considerable speculation. James resold some purchases, for example, Rushton Grange in Staffordshire, Sutton manor and farm in Shropshire, and the London property. This would appear to be for the purpose of financing the very large deals he was engaged in. Otherwise he cannot, properly, be described as a speculator in monastic property.

Both Sir Richard Rich, who acquired forty-two manors, and Sir Thomas Pope, who gained thirty manors from the spoils of the monasteries, were courtiers who received gifts direct from the Crown and used their positions in the Court of Augmentations to feather their own nests.[53] James Leveson was not a courtier and he received no gifts, although because of the size of the transactions he may well have wrung concessions from those he knew in the Court, as the letter to Scudamore implies.

To have acquired an estate of 35,000 to 38,000 acres, of which 24,000 to 27,000 represented the spoils of the monasteries, was a remarkable achievement for a merchant of the Staple who had neither an hereditary estate nor the bonus of gifts from the Crown. James Leveson died in 1547 when the benefits of his purchases were beginning to show themselves. It was to be his successors who reaped the real benefit in the centuries to come.

APPENDIX I

The extent of James Leveson's estate

The reader is warned that all figures relating to the acquisitions of James Leveson must remain uncertain. His inquisition post mortem admitted to 3,298 acres in Staffordshire and to only 786 acres (Little Wenlock) in Shropshire. His grandson, Sir Walter Leveson, had a much more impressive total of 5,714 acres in Staffordshire and 32,427 acres in Shropshire, or 38,141 acres in all. The acreages given in post mortem inquisitions, however, are notoriousLy unreliable. James's figures are far too low. In contrast, Walter's figures, though more realistic, are hardly more reliable. For example, his inquisition gives the huge total of 20,530 acres for Lilleshall, Muxton, Donnington, Cherrington, Longdon-upon-Tern, Little Wenlock, Petton, Lyzard Grange in Tong, and part of Sheriffhales, while Wolverhampton, Upper and Lower Penn, Wyrley, Rowley Somery, and the rest of Sheriffhales is given the ludicrously low figure of 524 acres. Again in Walter's inquisition, Darlaston, Wednesbury, Codsall, Wergs, and Tettenhall were listed as 10 acres only, while Darlaston alone (48 acres in James's inquisition) was recorded as 42 acres in 1750 and 47 acres in 1812. In fact, the actual holding would appear to have remained unchanged from the 16th century.[54]

51 H. J. Habbakuk, 'The market for monastic property, 1539–1603', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. x (3) [1958], 364–78, *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII*, 1544 (2), p. 321.

52 Habbakuk, 'Market for monastic property', 366.

53 Hoskins, *Age of Plunder*, 132–3.

54 S.R.O., D. 593/C/4/2 (Jas. Leveson's inquisition post mortem, 1547); D. 593/C/8/2 (Sir Walter Leveson's inquisition post mortem, 1603); D. 593/T/2/8 (valuation by W. Tibbetts, 1750). See also an 1834 atlas: ibid. D. 4092/C/2/1.

To obtain accurate figures for the whole estate it is necessary to go forward to the early 19th century, when regular surveys were made. The 1812 survey records 19,409 acres for Shropshire, 7,574 acres for Trentham and North Staffordshire, and 1,614 acres for Wolverhampton and South Staffordshire – an overall total of 28,597 acres. (The Newcastle property, purchased mostly since 1803, is ignored as the original holding was quite small, 21 acres in 1797.)[55]

The 1812 survey is two and a half centuries after James's time, but much nearer to him was the agreement in 1652 betwen Sir Richard Leveson and Richard, earl of Dorset. Then, Sir Richard's Staffordshire properties were listed as 10,000 acres precisely and his Shropshire estate at 16,120 acres.[56] The direct line of James had ended in 1605 with the death of his great-grandson Sir Richard, the Admiral, whose heir was his third cousin, Richard Leveson, a descendant of James's elder brother Nicholas. The succession, however, was disputed by Sir Richard's aunt, Mary, Lady Curzon.[57] Eventually an agreement was reached between her grandson, the earl of Dorset, and the heir (by then Sir Richard) by which it was agreed that Perton manor, valued at £10,000, was to be ceded to the earl of Dorset on Sir Richard's death. Adding back Perton at 1,895 acres, therefore, gives a total for the estate of 28,015 acres.[58]

In spite of the closeness of that figure to that of 1812, much had happened to the estate in the meantime. Already in 1652 it had suffered considerable losses since James's day. At the time of his death the sale of the site of Wombridge priory was proceeding, and it was completed by his son Richard. Later, in 1556, Sir Richard Leveson sold the Derbyshire estate of 1,300 acres.[59] Sir Walter Leveson, his son and successor, in turn sold lands in Stafford (200 acres), Walsall (260 acres), Shirlowe Grange in High Ercall (590 acres), and Little Wenlock (706 acres). He also disposed of the manor of Petton.[60] Yet this loss of at least 1,756 acres was more than outweighed by his acquisitions of the manor of Hardwick in Shropshire with 2,300 acres, of Lord Shrewsbury's estate on the Wildmores (1,040 a.), and of smaller purchases in Newport and elsewhere. On his death in 1602 Sir Walter was positive that what he passed on to his son was comparable with what his father, Sir Richard the elder, had bequeathed to him in 1560.[61] Sir Richard, the Admiral (d. 1605), gave the lease of the Deanery manor in Wolverhampton to his very distant cousin Sir Walter Leveson of the Wolverhampton family.

On the Admiral's death in 1605, his executor, Sir John Leveson, had to put the estate's affairs in order for the benefit of John's second son Richard and settle all Sir Walter's and Sir Richard's deabts. He was unable to regain the manor of Hounds Chedull, pledged by Sir Walter to the earl of Shrewsbury, and that meant that 1,160 acres were lost. Obliged to sell extensive lands in Wolverhampton, he defined the loss as follows: '[Of] my antient inheritance in Staffordshire sold to Sir Walter Leveson £250 p.a., there remains only one house and one cottage worth £40 p.a.'[62]

In fact, the situation was not as bad as he thought. Not only was the original Leveson estate of Prestwood farm (265 acres) retained, which was also his 'antient inheritance', but there was in addition a holding in Wolverhampton which in reduced form still amounted to 249 acres in 1750.[63] The losses, however, were serious. First came the lease of the Deanery Manor in which James had purchased 19 properties in Wolverhampton, Wednesfield, and Codsall. One of the Wolverhampton messuages was 'Le Cocke', acquired from James Byng and situated in Tunwall Street, with a cottage attached.[64] Secondly, there were the sales in 1614 of some 218¼ acres in and around Wolverhampton. Also in 1614 there was the sale of properties near Wolverhampton amounting to

55 Ibid. D. 593/G/1/10; D. 593/H/14/3/32 (survey of Newcastle, 1797).

56 Ibid. D. 593/C/14/4.

57 For details of the claims made against the estate on behalf of Mary, Lady Curzon, and her daughter Mary Sackville, see ibid. D. 593/E/3/6/1–3; D. 593/E/3/10/1.

58 Ibid. D. 593/C/14/4; *V.C.H. Staffs.* xx. 25.

59 S.R.O., D. 593/B/2/12/25 (demise of house and site of Wombridge priory to Richard Leveson and Willam Charlton, 1547); *V.C.H. Shropshire*, xi. 290. For Sir Richard Leveson's sale of Alsop en le Dale in 1556, see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1555–57, p. 134.

60 S.R.O., D. 593/A/2/21/4 and 6 (Walsall); D. 593/A/2/27/17 (Stafford); D. 593/B/2/12/18 (Petton); *S.H.C.* xv. 146, 154, 177; Shropshire Record Office, Barnard Estate, Raby deeds, 1/6/2; 1/6/5 a and b (Shirlowe Grange); *V.C.H. Shropshire*, xi. 80 (Little Wenlock).

61 Shropshire Record Office, Hardwick Estate box 1, bundle 1, no. 102; W.S.L. 356/40, pp. 16, 21. For an account of Sir Walter's last statement see S.R.O., D. 593/E/3/10/3.

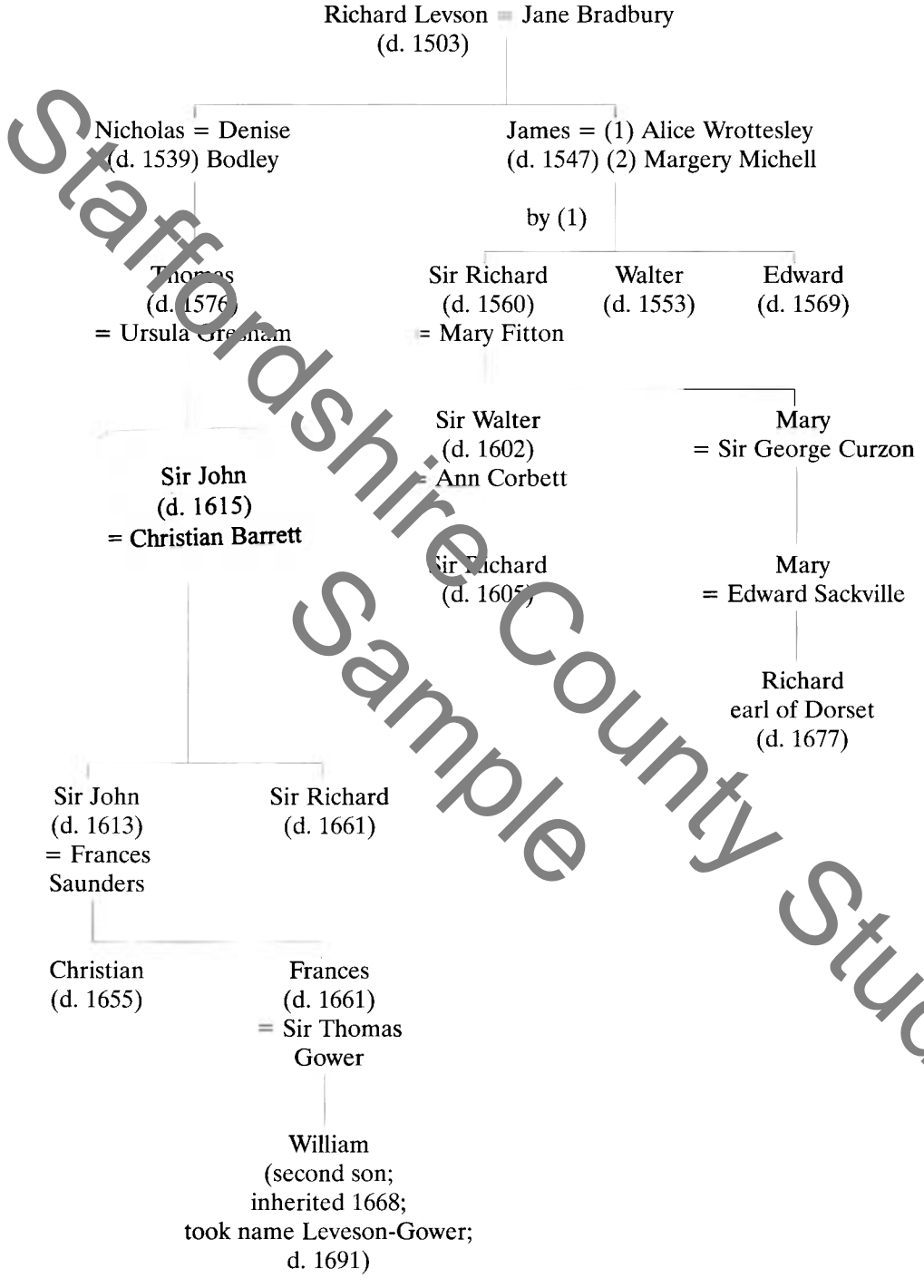
62 For the gift of the lease of the Deanery manor see S.R.O., D. 593/E/6/12. For the loss of the Hounds Chedull estate to the earl of Shrewsbury see ibid. D. 593/E/3/6/2 and 3. For an account of lands sold see ibid. D. 868/1/67.

63 Ibid. D. 593/H/3/405 (survey by W. Fowler, 1661). Most of Prestwood farm had been sold by 1764: ibid. D. 593/H/3/92.

64 Ibid. D. 593/B/1/26/6/8/1–9 ('Le Cocke'); D. 593/J/5/8/2 (James Leveson's copyholds).

APPENDIX III

Skeleton genealogy



In order to simplify the table, no mention is made of the 2nd Sir Richard's wife, Lady Margaret Howard, or of the 3rd Sir Richard's wife, Lady Katherine Dudley, as both marriages were childless. Christian, the elder sister of Frances, married Sir Peter Temple and became ancestress of the dukes of Buckingham and viscounts Cobham. When Sir Richard Leveson died in 1661, his first heir was Francis Fowler, the grandson of his sister Rachel (not given in the table) by her fourth daughter and so Sir Richard's great-nephew. When Francis's male line died out in 1668, William Gower, another of Sir Richard's great-nephews succeeded under the terms of Sir Richard's will. William's descendants became barons Gower (1703), earls Gower (1746), marquesses of Stafford (1786), and

dukes of Sutherland (1833). It was the 4th and 5th dukes of Sutherland who between 1912 and 1919 sold the estates discussed in Appendix I.

NOTES ON THE PLATES

Plate 1 (from S.R.O., D. 593/H/2/7): the South Staffordshire estate in 1808.

The scattered holdings around Wolverhampton are fragments of James Leveson's estate. He owned much more land in Wolverhampton, and his holdings in Bushbury and Perton were comparable to those shown in Penn. Note that the Lichfield estate is a later puchase.

Plate 2 (from S.R.O., D. 593/H/2/7): the Trentham estate in 1808

The Trentham estate, with detached properties near Newcastle and Leek, is James Leveson's original estate, except for Normacot and Stallington; some parts of the Newcastle and Tittensor lands were purchased at a later date.

Plate 3 (from S.R.O., D. 593/H/2/5): the Lilleshall estate in 1808

The great Lilleshall estate built up by James Leveson is clearly shown. The detached portion at Cold Hatton is a later purchase, and some additions to the main holding were counterbalanced by sales of lands originally acquired by Leveson.

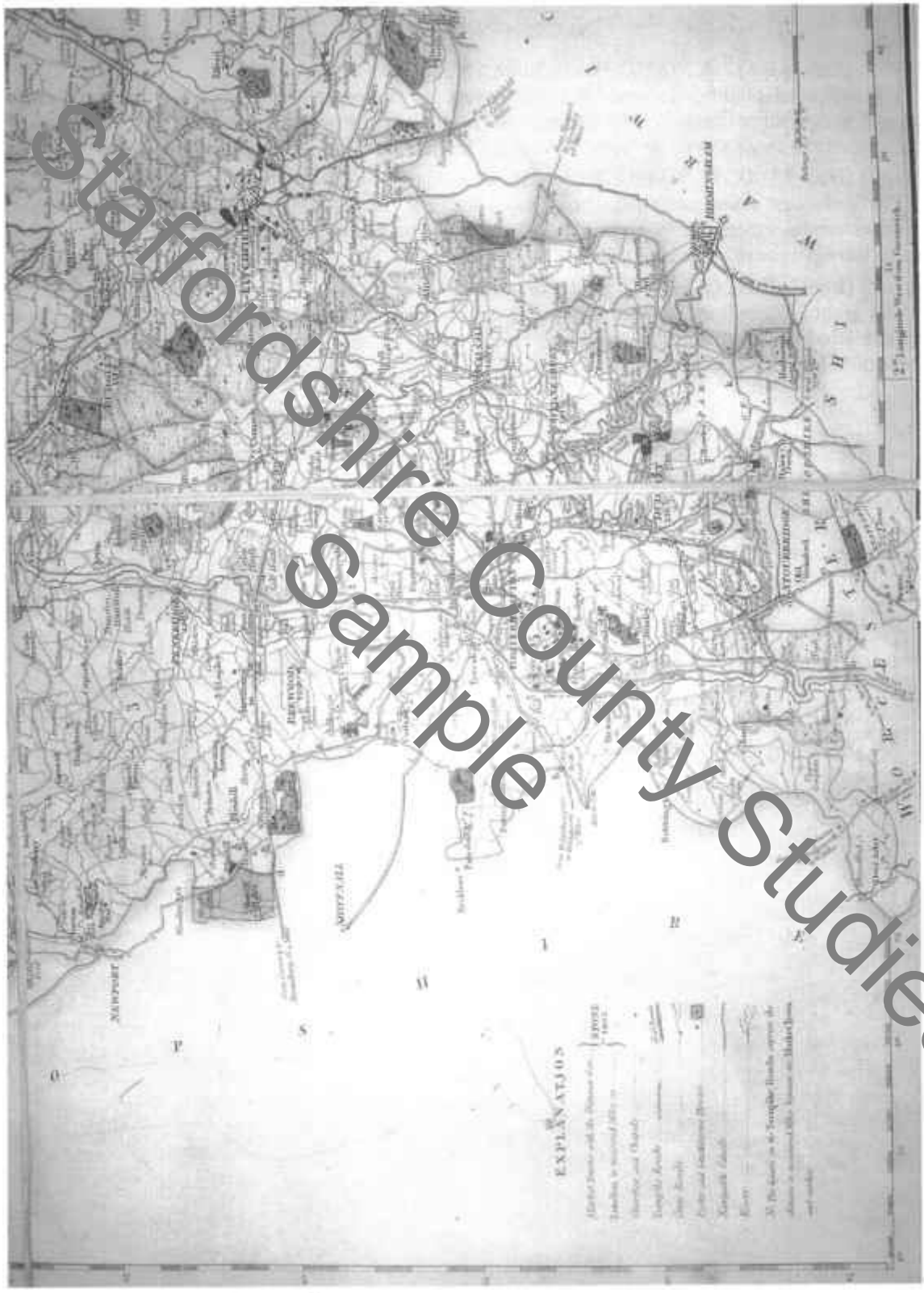


Plate 1: the South Staffordshire estate in 1808.

THE PLACE-NAME *ONN* AT HIGH ONN AND LITTLE ONN

ANDREW BREEZE

High Onn and Little Onn are neighbouring and somewhat isolated hamlets in the west of Staffordshire, 7 miles WSW of Stafford (grid references respectively SJ 827162 and 840161). They lie on a featureless plain of many canals, including the Shropshire Union canal, which formerly had a wharf at High Onn.

The name *Onn* has long been considered a Celtic one. Eilert Ekwall thought that it perhaps derived from a form represented by Welsh *odyn* (kiln), and what follows confirms this derivation, with a slight modification.

The name is recorded as *Otne* and *Anne* in Domesday Book; as *Onna* and *Othna* in *c.* 1130 (in the work of the Shropshire-born Norman monk, Orderic Vitalis); and as *Onne* in 1221 and *Onna* in 1230.[1] What may not have been previously pointed out is that these forms represent not a singular word (like Welsh *odyn*) but a plural one (like Middle Welsh *odyneu,* Modern Welsh *odynau*).[2] The word would probably have been borrowed as Primitive Welsh **Odenou,* after the loss of British final endings, subsequently undergoing loss of internal *e* through syncope and weakening of final *–ou* to Old English *–a* or *–e*.[3]

Once this formation is recognized, there would seem to be no problem in seeing *Onn* as the Celtic name it is. Welsh *odyn* is a well-attested form, especially in the early Welsh laws, which refer to rights and duties concerning kilns and distinguish between those with flues and those without.[4] Like the Irish *áith* (kiln), a word sharing the same root as *odyn,* the Welsh kiln had a vital role in drying corn, as well as in the production of lime.[5] The importance of the kiln in Celtic society is confirmed by the Devon place-name *Odencolc* (from Old Cornish for 'lime kiln'), recorded in 846 in a grant of land close to Thurlestone, near Salcombe.[6]

The Staffordshire place-name *Onn* must have been borrowed from Brittonic in the late 6th century, when the English occupied the region.[7] The plural form would explain why the name appears twice, at High Onn and at Little Onn. It seems likely that there were only two kilns, one at each place, and not a group at both sites.

One wonders if archaeological research might find traces of the kilns, or of the fuel used to fire them, or of the lime, dried corn, or (perhaps the most likely) brick which they produced. In short, interpretation of the place-name *Onn* as 'kilns' provides some suggestive evidence for the economy of Celtic society in post-Roman Staffordshire. It means we can also reject the explanation 'ash trees' (cf. Welsh *Onn*) offered by Mills.[8]

1 E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th edn, 1960), 350.

2 Cf. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (Caerdydd, 1950–), 2618.

3 Cf. J. Morris-Jones, *A Welsh Grammar* (Oxford, 1913), 198; K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), 694–6.

4 *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda*, ed. S. J. Williams and Enoch Powell (Caerdydd, 1942), 50; *The Laws of Hywel Dda*, tr. Melville Richards (Liverpool, 1954), 59.

5 Joseph Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien: Lettre A* (Paris, 1959), 54; Donncha Ó Corrain, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin, 1972), 51.

6 *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock (2nd edn, 1979), 523.

7 Jackson, *Language and History*, 209.

8 A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1991), 248.

NOTICES

Earlier this year (1998) the society published an Index to all its transactions upto and including volume xxxiv, the last to be published (in 1995) by Society before its most recent change of name. The index was compiled to the highest standard by the society's membership secretary, Mrs. Betty Fox, and the committee wishes to record its thanks to her for undertaking such an arduous task.

* * *

It is with the deepest regret that the Society records the death in March 1998 of Bert Round, president from 1973 to 1978 and subsequently a vice-president. The following appreciation is by Jim Gould.

ALBERT ARTHUR ROUND, B.Sc., F.S.A.

One Saturday in 1961, a smartly dressed, middle-aged gentleman presented himself at the excavations then taking place at Wall. He asked permission to join in. He did not look like an archaeologist and was certainly not dressed like one, and we expected that he would soon tire of the work; we could not have been more wrong. Bert Round stayed the course, got as dirty as ourselves, and eventually directed excavations himself as well as serving the Society as treasurer and president. He often laughed at our first assessment of him.

He was almost immediately welcomed on to the committee, and when two years later our then treasurer, Mr. P. R. Sheppard, retired to the Isle of Man, Bert took over. Our finances were then in a rather perilous state, but Bert was able to steer us to financial safety, and he continued as treasurer until he was elected President in 1973. He held that post until 1978, when he moved to Lyme Regis. His interest in the Society continued, however, and he was elected vice-president. Eventually he returned to Lichfield.

For some years Bert attended winter lectures given by Graham Webster, and he joined training courses at Wroxeter. His first excavation as director was in 1965 when (having by then retired from the Adhesives Division of Dunlops) he worked on a cropmark site at Hilton; he worked without assistance, for no other member of the excavation team was free during the day. The following year he became director of the Society's excavations at Wall, and he continued as such for the next thirteen years. He issued a series of excavation reports, especially on the *mansio* site, where he worked at the request of the Department of the Environment.

Meanwhile he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and he served on the committee of the Council for British Archaeology Group 8, to which he was eventually accorded honorary membership.

All Bert's excavations were conscientiously written up and published, and his lectures on his work were interesting and well-delivered. As director he was popular with his assistants for he was invariably cheerful and sociable. Whilst he and I differed on some archaeological interpretations, that was only to be expected: archaeology is like that and the voicing of different opinions adds spice to the activities.

Bert died on 11 March 1998 and is mourned by the many who worked with him.

STAFFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICER AND COMMITTEES
1995–1996

President: J. G. COLE, M.B., F.R.C.R.

Vice-President:
C. W. BRIDGEMAN
A. A. ROUND, BSc., F.S.A.
COUNCILLOR A. G. WARD, C.B.E., J.P.

Hon. Secretaries:
STEVEN CAMPBEL-KELLY (general and minutes)
Mrs. BETTY FOX (membership)
Mrs. PAT INGLE (newsletter)

Hon. Meetings Secretary:
C. WARDLE, B.A.

Hon. Treasurer: KEITH BILLINGTON, 32 Birchwood Road, Parkside, Lichfield WS14 9UW

Hon. Editor of Transactions: N. J. TRINGHAM, B.A., N.Litt., Ph.D.,
V.C.H. Staffordshire, William Salt Library, Eastgate Street, Stafford ST16 2LZ

Committee
Mrs. DIANA WILKES
Mrs. NANCY BALL
F. BALL
R. A. MEESON, M.A., F.S.A.
N. R. NICOLL
MRS. J. WILSON

Editorial Committee:
KEITH BILLINGTON
J. G. L. COLE
R. A. MEESON
N. J. TRINGHAM
Mrs. DIANA WILKES

Hon. Auditor:
M. S. HORTON

PROGRAMME

1995

13 Oct.	Annual General Meeting Lockington Gold barrow: burial mounds in the Midlands – Gwilym Hughes
20 Oct.	Archaeology in Birmingham – Mike Hodder
10 Nov.	The Tomb of Christ: recent research in Jerusalem – Prof. Martin Biddle (special lecture in Lichfield cathedral)
24 Nov.	Excavations at Wortley villa – David Wilson
8 Dec.	Rome's North-West frontier: how was Britain defended in the late Roman period? – Andrew Fear

1996

26 Jan.	Drayton Basset re-considered – Bob Meeson
9 Feb.	Three faces of Peak District history and archaeology – Faith Cleverdon
23 Feb.	Midlands Railways – Frank Farr
8 Mar.	Early history of Burton-upon-Trent — Denis Stuart
22 Mar.	Presenting Roman Germany – Colin Haddeley
5 Apr.	Calke Abbey, Derbyshire, and the Harpur-Crewe family – Philip Heath