The 1822 and 1840 fowler maps of Kingswinford; a topographical and statistical analysis

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Abstract

This paper presents a largely statistical analysis of the large scale 1822 and 1840 Fowler Maps of Kingswinford parish and their Books of Reference. After a brief introduction to the maps themselves, a historical and geographical overview of the period between 1820 and 1840 is presented, to give some context to the analysis that follows. The changes in the area between 1822 and 1840 are then considered and it is shown how coal and ironstone mining and the iron and brick industries expanded from the south and east of the parish to the north and the west. This expansion was driven by a small number of major landowners (and in particular the Dudley Estate) but was quickly followed by a large number of smaller landholders and industrialists. There was also a considerable expansion in civic society over this period, with a significant increase in the number of schools and places of worship. The proprietors and occupiers of the land are then considered, and again the dominant role of the Dudley Estate in terms of the provision for renting of crofts, houses and shops is demonstrated. The interaction between renters and owners, particularly for industrial concerns was complex, with some industrialists renting land, mines and works from a range of proprietors. Both in farming and in industry, partnerships between different individuals can be discerned. In general, the maps reveal a thriving and developing society – although the lack of visibility of those at the bottom end of the social scale must be borne in mind.

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1. Introduction

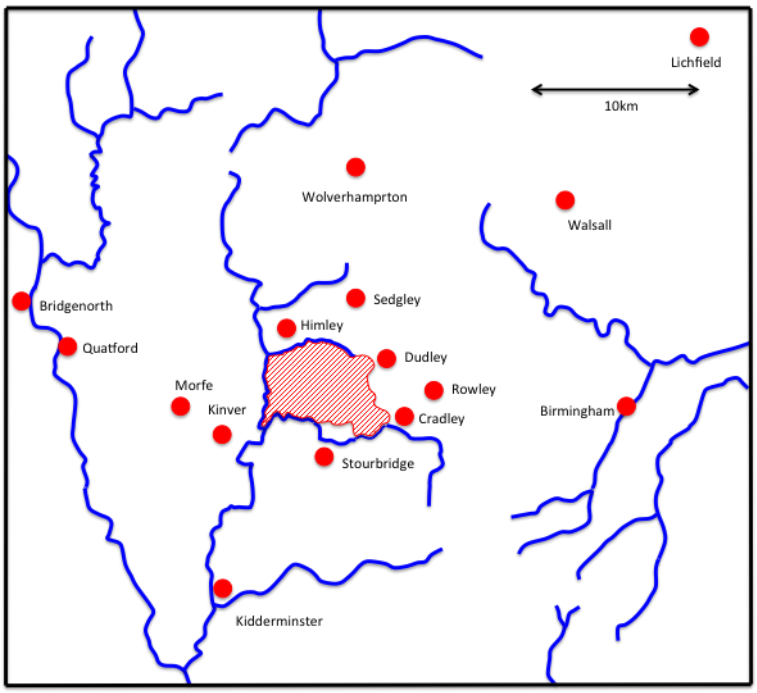


Figure 1. The location of Kingswinford parish

In the nineteenth century, the parish of Kingswinford occupied 7,300 acres (2960 hectares) on the west of the Black Country, on the Staffordshire / Worcestershire border (see Figure 1). The 1822 Fowler Map of the parish[2] was produced for the "*Proprietors of Estates within the said parish*" in 1824, based on an 1822 survey by the firm of William Fowler from Birmingham. The map details the land holdings across the parish at a scale of 10 chains to the inch (1:7920), with each plot numbered. These numbered plots are tabulated in the Book of Reference, with details of Occupiers, Proprietors, name of the plot and acreage[3]. In total over 2000 separate holdings are listed. The map thus gives a very detailed snapshot of the nature of Kingswinford parish in the early 19th century, a time when there was significant industrialization in the south-east of the parish, although much of the parish was still rural in character. It thus, of itself, provides a rich resource for study into the nature of the community at that time, land holdings and tenancy arrangements, and the coal and iron industries in the area.

A revision of this map at the same scale was produced in 1841 from a survey made in 1839 and 1840, again by the firm of William Fowler, together with another Book of Reference[4] [5].This map was also produced for the proprietors of the parish, but another version served as the Tithe map together with the Tithe Apportionment document - and indeed that may well have been its primary rationale[6] [7]. A comparison of the 1822 and 1840 maps shows significant changes, with the industrialisation of the area proceeding rapidly. Taken together the two maps present a picture of the progress of

[2] Dudley Archives DE/16/6/23 "1822 Fowler map of Kingswinford"
[3] Dudley Archives DE/16/6/46 "1840 Fowler map of Kingswinford"
[4] Dudley Archives DE/4/4/4/1 "Reference for the 1822 Fowler map of Kingswinford"
[5] Dudley Archives DE/4/4/4/3 "Reference for the 1840 Fowler map of Kingswinford"
[6] Staffordshire Archives ""Kingswinford, Staffordshire Tithe Map", B/A/15/178
[7] Staffordshire Archives "Kingswinford, Staffordshire Tithe Award", B/A/15/548

industrialisation across the area, and illustrate the consequential changes in land usage, population and commercial and social activity.

For this study, to facilitate the searching and analysis of the information in the Books of Reference and Tithe Apportionment document and to be able to sort by category, their contents were transcribed into EXCEL spreadsheets. This was a somewhat laborious although ultimately very useful process. These spreadsheets are given on the author's website[8] and can be downloaded by interested readers.

This firm of William Fowler which produced the map was based in Birmingham, but, in his earlier study of the Fowler map, Richardson[9] was unable to say anything further about the man himself. However, a William Fowler does appear in the sources – a surveyor and engineer who was a major player in the promotion of the Stourbridge Extension Canal that will be discussed in what follows[10] and surveyed lines for other canals around the Midlands. Indeed, for a brief while in 1837/8 he was the Engineer for that Canal. Census records show that he was born in Aston in 1795, and give his profession as Land Surveyor, and it seems very likely that he is the owner of the firm with the same name. In 1822 he would have been only twenty-seven.

The maps themselves were oriented such that northwest was at the top of the map, rather than in the conventional manner with north at the top. One suspects that this was the most economical in terms of paper usage. Extracts from the two maps are shown in Figure 2a and 2b, for the area around Kingswinford village and Shut End. It can be seen that the 1822 map is rather clearer and easier to read than the 1840 map, with the latter containing less detail. The 1840 map also has considerable later annotations from later periods. This particular extract also shows the Kingswinford Railway, which opened in 1829, to the right of the church, and the Stourbridge Extension canal about which more will be said later. Shut End Hall and the long avenue of trees leading to it, perhaps one of the most striking features of the 1822 map has been replaced by the Shut End Iron Works and a railway incline by 1840.

Figures 2c and 2d show extracts from the two books of reference – the first page of each. The 1822 book contains plot number / plot occupier / plot proprietor / plot name and plot area. The 1840 book presents the information in a different order - plot number / plot proprietor / plot occupier/ plot name and plot area, and the occupier column is much less detailed, with very frequent use of the word "various" which encompasses a number of occupiers. The 1840 book is also somewhat less well produced than the 1822 book, with inconsistent formats and numbering in places. In general, the later book is much more focused on the proprietors rather than the occupiers. The work of several hands can be seen in both Books of Reference, and often specific proprietors or occupiers are given slightly different designations in different parts of the Book.

In the next section we give a brief geographical and historical overview of Kingswinford parish in the first half of the 19th century, to set the context for further consideration of the maps, largely based on the 1822 map and Book of Reference. In sections 3 to 6 we then consider in turn what the Fowler maps reveal about the changes between 1822 and 1840 in the transport network, the spread of industry and the development of commerce and community across the parish, the proprietors, and the occupiers of the land, before a final concluding discussion in section 7.

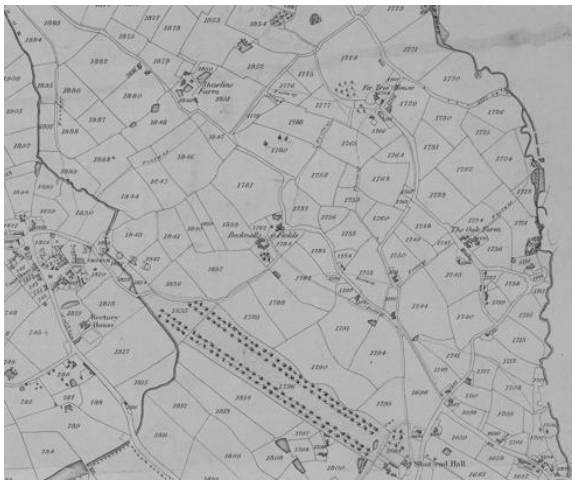
At this point it should be noted that we do not consider in this paper what the Fowler maps can tell us about the lives of the thousands of individuals mentioned in the Books of Reference, or, to any

[8] Research and other writings. The website of Chris Baker. https://profchrisbaker.com/kingswinford-manor-and-parish-new/kingswinford-manor-and-parish/

[9]Richardson, W. (1999) "William Fowler's Kingswinford: The Man, His Maps and the People and Places of 1822 and 1840", Black Country Society, ISBN- 10: 0904015521

[10]Hadfield, C. (1966) "The Canals of the West Midlands. Volume 5 of The Canals of the British Isles, editor Charles Hadfield", David and Charles. ISBN: 9780715386446

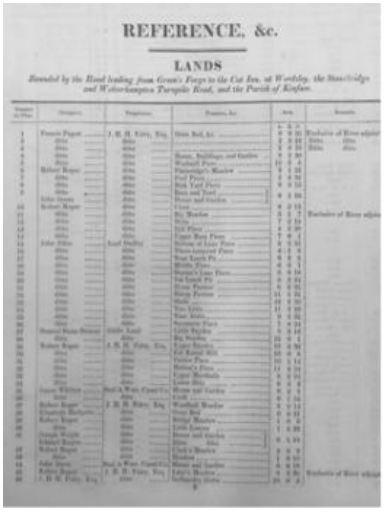
extent about the conditions in which they lived and the communities to which they belonged, although there is much that could be said, as such considerations require a different type of presentation that the author hopes to produce in the near future. Where individuals are mentioned, brief biographical information is included in footnotes where it is available.



a) 1822 map



b) 1840 map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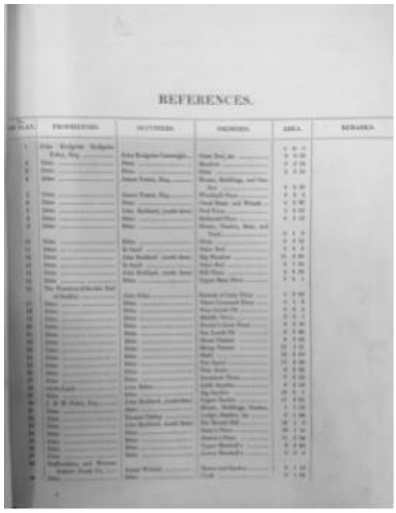
c) 1822 directory


REFERENCES.

d) 1840 directory

Figure 2. Fowler Map extracts

2. A geographical and historical overview

In this paper, to show the major features of the Fowler maps, we use small-scale, traced maps, of the whole parish that simply concentrate on a few aspects, conventionally oriented with north at the top. In these maps we will also show, as points of reference, the major settlements of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill.

2.1 Topography and natural features

We first consider the general geographical nature of the parish of Kingswinford in the early nineteenth century. Figure 3 shows the natural features of the parish (taken from the 1822 map). The parish boundary is almost completely defined by watercourses - going clockwise from the east, the Black Brook, a tributary to the Stour, forms the eastern boundary. The Stour itself forms the southern boundary, except for the area taken up by the hamlet of Amblecote (shown as a dotted line). The river and the border with Amblecote form the Staffordshire / Worcestershire boundary. From the junction of the Stour and the Smestow, the boundary follows the latter, and in the north follows the Holbeach Brook (also known as Daffy Dingle) to the region of the Fens. The boundary then crosses the Fens (a black dotted line again) to the upper reaches of the Black Brook. Remnants of the former extensive woodland (which were coppiced regularly in the preceding centuries) can be seen across the parish. The area around the Fens, as the name implies, was very wet and waterlogged. In terms of topography, there were considerable variations in height across the parish with a long slope downwards from east to west. The high point is at Brierley Hill at 155m above sea level, falling to around 65m to 70m at the Stour and the Smestow on the parish boundaries. Kingswinford itself is at 83m above sea level.

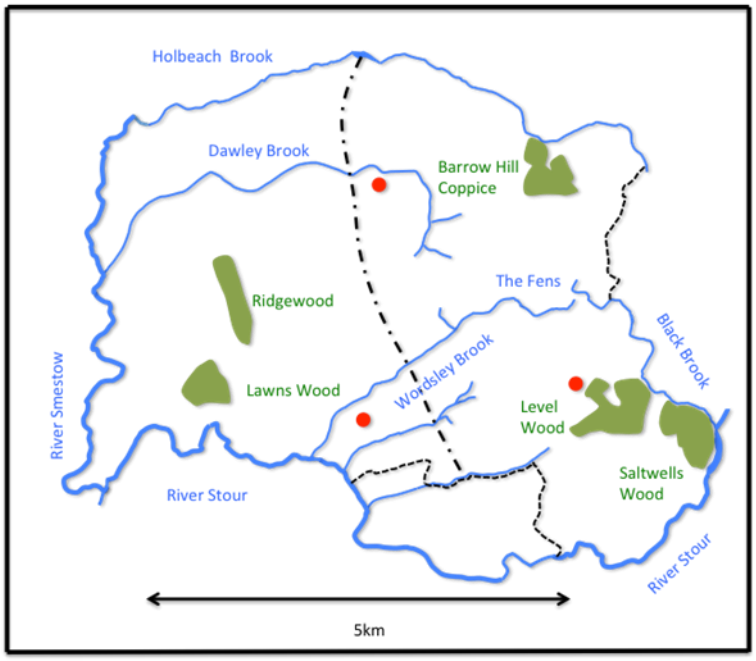


Figure 3. Watercourses and Woods

Dotted lines show the parish boundary where it does not follow watercourses and chain dotted line is the boundary of South Staffordshire coalfield. Red circles show the townships of Kingswinford (in the north), Wordsley (in the south) and Brierley Hill (in the southeast).

Perhaps the major natural factor that has driven the development of the parish is its geology. The South Staffordshire coalfield extended into the east of the parish and the approximate boundary is

also shown in Figure 3[11]. In the southeast of the parish around Brierley Hill, coal, together with ironstone, was near the surface and easily mined. In the northeast the coal was deeper, with a significant layer of clay covering it. In the west of the parish, the predominant geological formation was sandstone. A section of the coalfield from the writings of William Matthews of Corbyn's Hall in 1860 is given in Figure 4[12] running slightly north of west through Kingswinford. This shows the significant depth of the coal seam to the east of Kingswinford. The basalt outcrop shown in the figure is at Barrow Hill, the remains of an ancient volcano.

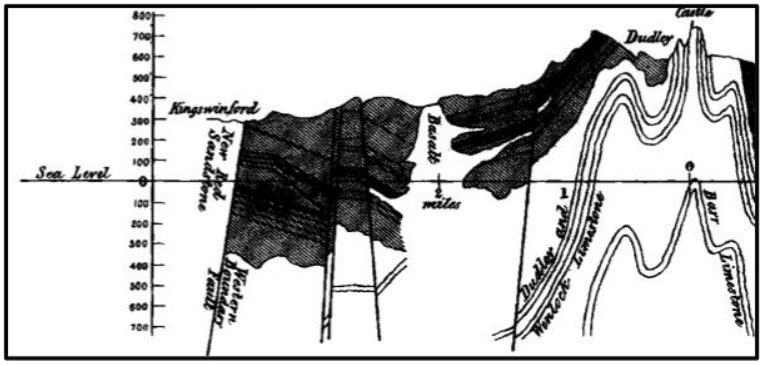


Figure 4. Section through coalfield in 1860, from west to east, through Kingswinford

Coal measures shown in black; vertical scale is in feet.

2.2 Roads and settlements

In the early nineteenth century the parish consisted of a number of small settlements, as well as the village of Kingswinford itself, and was crossed by four turnpike roads (Figure 5). The first road runs from Stourbridge to Wolverhampton from south to north through the settlements of Audenham, Wordsley and Town's End. The second road runs from Stourbridge to Dudley from a junction with the first at Audenham up Brettell Lane to Brierley Hill (with a short stretch being the parish boundary with Amblecote) and then to Dudley. The third turnpike runs from Town's End through Kingswinford and Shut End to join that from Stourbridge to Dudley. Finally, the fourth is part of the Kidderminster to Wolverhampton turnpike that runs through Prestwood and joins the Stourbridge to Wolverhampton Road near Wall Heath. In addition, Figure 5 also shows a number of other roads that connect settlements. In the central section of the parish the Wordsley to Brockmoor and Brierley Hill Road, the road from the Stourbridge to Wolverhampton turnpike through Bromley, and the road from Shut End to Brierley Hill are shown. In the west of the parish, it can be seen that a number of roads meet at Greensforge. By the nineteenth century, this was only the site of a forge and bridge over the Smestow, but in early Roman times, this was an important centre with several marching camps in the vicinity, and the roads that meet there, and extend beyond its boundaries, perhaps reflect this.

[11] British Geological Survey "Warwickshire / West Midlands Mineral Resources map", https://www.bgs.ac.uk/mineralsuk/planning/resource.html , Accessed July 2019

[12] Matthews, W. (1860) "On the ten-yard coal of South Staffordshire and the mode of working" Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, 91-119, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1243/PIME_PROC_1860_011_014_02

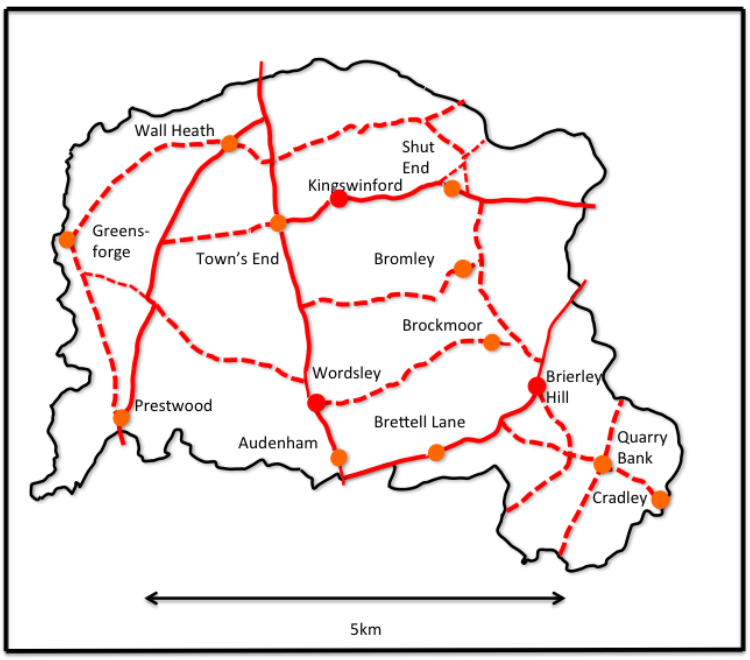


Figure 5. Roads and principal settlements

Solid red lines show turnpikes and dotted red lines indicate other significant roads. Red circles show the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill, and brown circles show other townships.

2.3 Enclosure and land ownership

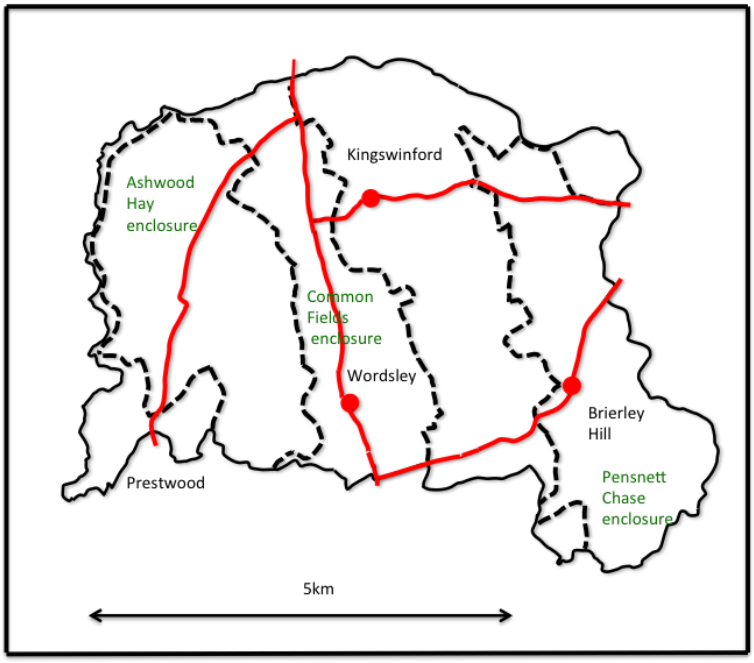


Figure 6. Enclosure boundaries

Red circles show the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill

The 1822 distribution of fields and estate boundaries is heavily influenced by the enclosure history of the parish. Essentially this divides the parish into five areas (figure 6) as follows.

- The Prestwood Hall estate in the southwest of the parish (once a manor in its own right).
- The area enclosed by the Ashwood Hay enclosure act of 1776 in the west of the parish, but informally enclosed in 1685 under an agreement with Lord Dudley for "four score and eleven years"[13].
- An area that was once the common fields, again informally enclosed by agreement at the same time as Ashwood Hay, and these were formalised in the 1776 act that contains extensive details of land exchanges between a wide range of individuals.
- An area to the east of the parish that was enclosed in the Pensnett Chase enclosure of 1784.
- An area in the centre of the parish between the enclosed areas, where there were a small number of large estates – Shut End to the north of the Turnpike Road east of Kingswinford, and the Corbyn's Hall, Tiled House and Bromley Hall estates to the south of the road.

The major landowner in the parish was Lord Dudley with large areas of land in the enclosed areas of Ashwood Hay and Pensnett Chase and elsewhere. The Dudleys, and the Suttons before them, had been Lords of the Manor from the fourteenth century and began exploiting the area for coal in the seventeenth [14]. John Hodgetts Hodgetts-Foley of Prestwood also held large areas of land around Prestwood itself and in the Shut End area[15].

A plan of the central estates is given in figure 7, as they stood in 1822, although the estate boundaries were substantially the same a century earlier. The Shut End estate, and the impressive Shut End Hall, once the seat of the long-established Bendy family [16], was owned by J. H. H. Foley in 1822 but leased to the ironmaster Thomas Dudley. Shortly after that date it was to pass into the ownership of James Foster [17] and by 1840 the hall had been demolished and replaced by his Shut End Iron works. Corbyn's Hall, as its name suggests was one of the seats of the Corbyn family of Hall End and Kingswinford up to the end of the seventeenth century [18], and then passed through several owners, including J. H. H. Hodgetts. In 1822 it was in the hands of the Gibbons brothers, owners of several iron and coal

[13] R Peacock (2011) "The seventeenth century Foleys – Iron, Wealth and Vision 15801-1716", The Black Country Society, ISBN 978 0 904015 83 6

[14] In 1822 the title of Lord Dudley was held by John William Ward, who was to become the first Earl of Dudley in 1827. He died childless, and by the time of the second survey in 1840, the Estate was administered by Trustees for a distant cousin, another William Ward. The trustees were John Benbow, a solicitor who sat as MP for Dudley from 1844 to 1855; Francis Downing, Lord Dudley's Agent and mayor of Dudley from 1818 to 1819, Edward Littleton, Baron Hatherton and Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire; and Henry Phillpotts the Bishop of Exeter, one of the more flamboyant 19th century bishops. William Ward was to be made the first Earl of Dudley (second creation) in 1870.

[15] The Hodgetts were prominent in Kingswinford society from the 15th century onwards, and through advantageous marriages, came to be owners of much of the area of the central estates. The most advantageous marriage of all was into the family of the Foleys – the Stourbridge ironmasters. Through complex inheritances, Prestwood Hall came into their possession, and the rather convoluted naming of John Hodgetts Hodgetts-Foley arose from multiple attempts to combine the Foley and the Hodgetts appellations.

[16] The Bendy family lived in the Shut End area from at least the 16th century and where originally referred to as yeoman farmers. The family were active on the parliamentary side during the Civil War. The Bendy estates passed to the Hodgetts through marriage in the early 18th century.

[17] For more information on James Foster the Ironmaster see Graces Guide. James Foster https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/James_Foster, accessed January 2023

[18] The Corbyn family of Kingswinford and Hall End have a pedigree stretching back to at least the 14th century and were holders of one of the central estates in the parish. In the late 17th century, the estates passed to the Lygons of Madresfield through marriage, Corbyn's Hall the house was sold to the Hodgetts and the family split into a number of branches, including one that emigrated to Virginia – see "The Corbin Family", The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 28, 3, 281-283, Virginia Historical Society http://www.jstor.org/stable/4243780 , which gives a detailed family tree.

concerns in the area [19]. The adjacent Tiled House and Bromley House estates were owned by Richard Mee and Richard Homer respectively. All the central estates consisted, in the main of meadow and pasture. The boundary between these estates and the common fields area roughly corresponds with the boundary of the coalfield – on the surface this would have been represented by the boundary between easily drained sandy soils, and heavier clay soils.

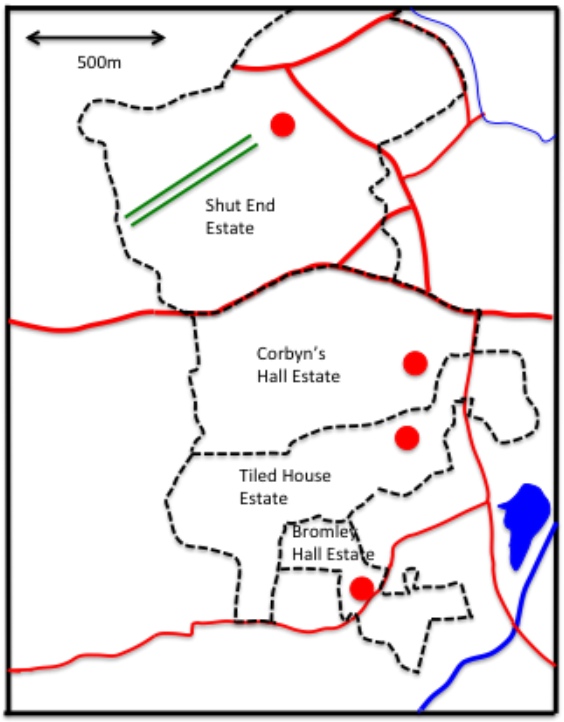
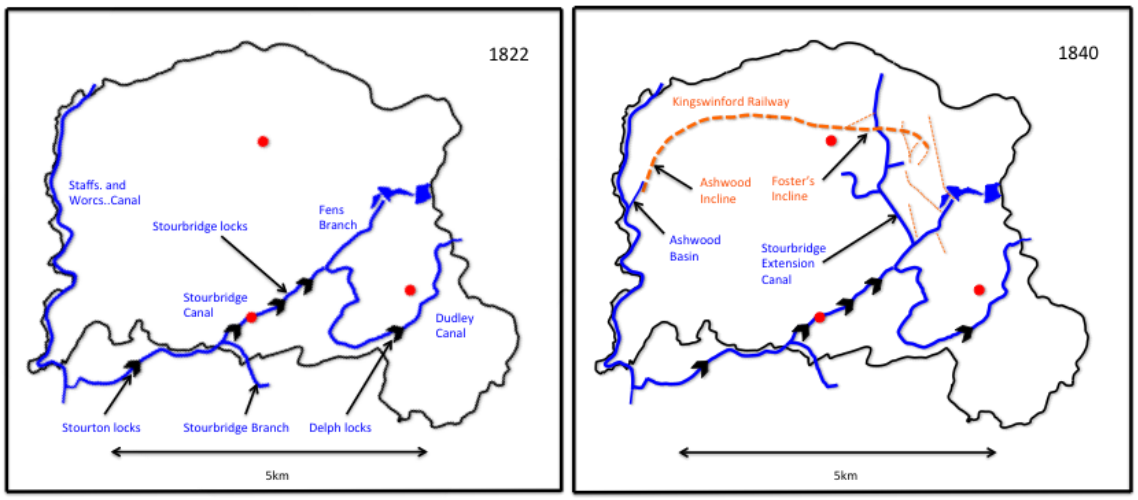


Figure 7. The central estates in 1822

By 1822 the area to the southeast of the parish around Brierly Hill was already a centre of coal and ironstone mines, with a number of ironworks along the bank of the Stourbridge Canal (see below). The glass industry was also well established in the Wordsley area where there were the required sand deposits. The rest of the parish was largely rural and agricultural with a number of scattered settlements. There were already indications that industry was beginning to spread north and west across the parish, and there was a scatter of mines in the Corbyn's Hall and Shut End area. At the time these were ill served by transport links. The spread of coal and ironstone mining, with the associated transport links will be seen to be the major feature of the period between the making of the two maps.

[19] The Gibbons family were originally from the Sedgley area and became important financiers and industrialists in the 18th century, with activity in Bristol and the Black Country. Further details can be found in Grace's Guide Thomas Gibbons (1730-1813) https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Thomas_Gibbons_(1730-1813) and Benjamin Gibbons (1735-1832) http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Benjamin_Gibbons_(1735-1832) Accessed January 2023

3. Transport 1822 to 1840



a **b**

Figure 8 Railways, canals and tramways in 1822 and 1840

Figure 8a shows the canals in the area in 1822; the Staffordshire and Worcestershire to the west (opened in 1772), and the Stourbridge canal (opened in 1779) from a junction with the Staffordshire and Worcestershire at Stourton through the southern, more industrialised area of the parish, to an end on junction with the Dudley Canal (also opened in 1779) at the bottom of Delph locks. The Stourbridge canal also had branches to Stourbridge itself, and to feeder pools on the Fens (which came to be called the Grove, Middle and Fens pools)[20].

Figure 8b shows the canals, railways and tramways from the 1840 map. There can be seen to have been significant developments. The Kingswinford Railway[21] [22] was opened in 1829 and extended from a basin on the Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal at Ashwood, to iron works and coal mines in the Shut End and Corbyn's Hall area. The Stourbridge Extension Canal was built in 1839 from the Fens branch towards the centre of the parish, terminating in a basin at Oak Farm with branches to Corbyn's Hall and the Standhills area[23]. The 1840 map also indicates that there was a significant tramway network that connected mines and works to wharfs on the canal.

As most of these developments were around Bromley, Corbyn's Hall and Shut End, we will consider developments in this area in some detail. Figure 9 shows three larger scale maps, of this region, that show the transport links on the 1822 Fowler map, the 1832 Ordnance survey map (the original of which was at 1 inch to the mile) and the 1840 Fowler map. As noted above, in 1822 this area was ill-served by transport links (Figure 8), and industry was clustered around the Stourbridge Canal main line and its Fens Branch, and it was for this reason that the Dudley Estate and James Foster opened the Kingswinford Railway in 1829 (Figure 9a). This ran from the basin at Ashwood, up a 1:28 incline to a level section from the top of the incline to just north of Kingswinford village (Figure 9b). From there it ran up another inclined plane with a gradient of 1:29, known as Foster's incline (A) to a final level

[20] Hadfield, ibid
[21] Gale, W. (1974) "History of the Pensnett Railway", Goose & Son Publishers Ltd; 1st edition, ISBN 10: 0900404280
[22] Williams N. (2014) "The Earl of Dudley's Railway", The History Press, ISBN 10: 0752493086
[23] Hadield ibid

stretch in the Corbyn's Hall area (B). The railway carried coal traffic from a number of mines along its route, and pig iron and iron products from the works of John Bradley and Co.[24] (owned by James Foster) at Shut End (C). It also probably carried limestone from outside the area to the works. It is perhaps best known for its main means of motive power – the locomotive Agenoria which was built by Foster Rastrick [25]. There can also be seen to be an extensive series of tramways in the area, almost certainly worked by horsepower, man-power and, where possible, gravity. The major tramway ran from north of the Kingswinford Railway (D), which it seems to have predated as the latter crossed it via a bridge, through Corbyn's Hall Iron Works (E), where there were a number of loops and branches, and then on through Bromley to a wharf on the Fens Branch of the Stourbridge Canal (F). This tramway was owned by the Gibbons of Corbyn's Hall and was used to take coal and iron from their mines and works on the Corbyn's Hall estates. This involved some sizeable cuttings to keep its gradient constant and a tunnel beneath what is now Bromley High Street. The second tramway ran from the top of Foster's incline (G) into the Shut End works (C) (see below), whilst a third ran from Lord Dudley's mines in Shut End (H) to another wharf on the Fens branch (I). Finally, there was a shorter tramway from south of Bromley (J) to a third wharf on the Fens branch, some way to the west of the others (K).

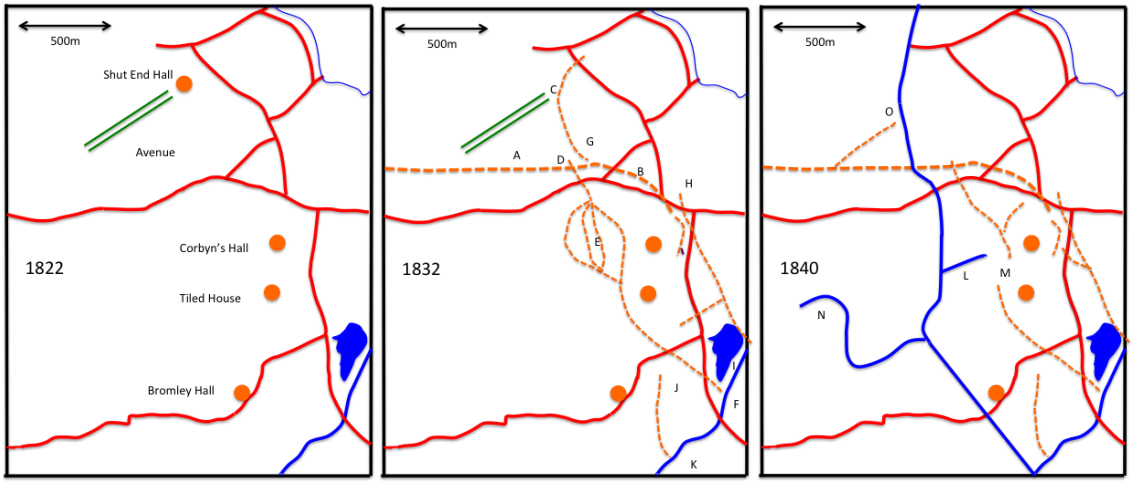


Figure 9. Development of Canals, Railways and Tramways in the Shut End and Bromley areas between 1822 and 1840

(blue lines show canals, solid red lines show major roads; long dash brown lines indicate standard gauge railways, and shot dashed brown lines indicate tramways)

By 1840 (Figure 9c) the Stourbridge Extension Canal had been built in close association with the Stourbridge Canal Company – indeed half of the members of the Extension Canal Committee were also on the corresponding committee of the Stourbridge Canal. The major shareholders were Sir Stephen Glynne, resident in north Wales and the owner of Oak Farm Iron and Brick works, James Foster and Francis Rufford, a clay merchant[26]. The canal ran from a junction on the Fens branch to Oak Farm, just off the top of the map of Figure 9c where it served the Oak Farm works and the Shut End works. There was a short branch into Corbyn's Hall (L) that removed the need for the tramway system. Indeed, the main tramway, from Corbyn's Hall to Bromley, was purchased by the Extension Canal

[24] Graces Guide, John Bradley and Co https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/John_Bradley_and_Co Accessed January 2023

[25] Grace's Guide. Foster, Rastrick and Co: Agenoria https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Foster,_Rastrick_and_Co:_Agenoria

[26] Grace's Guide Oak Farm Ironworks. https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Oak_Farm_Ironworks

Company under the terms of the Extension Canal Act. As far as can be ascertained from the 1840 map, this tramway was by then in a fragmentary state (M), although the long stretch through Bromley to the Fens branch still existed. The other tramways outlined above were also still in existence, with some extra branches and quite possibly some route changes. It can thus be seen that, even within the two decades between the Fowler maps a complex tramway system was developed and discarded in the Corbyn's Hall estate. Without the use of the interim 1832 OS map, this would not have been picked out.

Another Extension canal branch left the main line and ran to the Standhills House area (N). In the 1840 Reference this is referred to as the new branch and there is no evidence for industry in this region in 1840. It seems likely that this branch was built as a precursor to the opening of mines in the area.

There were a number of other proposals for canals that were put forward around this time that were not built. The original scheme for the Stourbridge Extension canal of 1836 was for the "Stourbridge, Wolverhampton and Birmingham Junction Canal" that would continue northwards from its eventual terminus through to Sedgley and then through a mile long tunnel to join the Birmingham Canal main line at Bloomfield [27]. It was, unsurprisingly, opposed by the Birmingham and Dudley Canal Companies. The Staffordshire and Worcestershire also opposed it and made a counter proposal of a canal from Hinksford to Gornal Wood, just north of Oak Farm, with thirteen locks [28]. Because of this opposition, there were insufficient subscribers for the original scheme, and it was cut back to the one finally built. During its construction however, the Staffordshire and Worcestershire proposal seems to have been resurrected in some form, as a canal from Hinksford to Lord Dudley's mines at Barrow Hill [29]. This would have passed close to the northern terminus of the Extension Canal at Oak Farm and would have required a significant number of locks in addition to the thirteen necessary to gain height from Hinksford to the Oak Farm area. How it was to be supplied with water is not clear – perhaps from further reservoirs in the Fens area? There was a suspicion on the part of the Extension Canal Company that this was an attempt to connect with the Lord Dudley's Pensnett Canal, a short canal from the Dudley Canal to the Round Oak area, perhaps to form an alternative route to the Stourbridge Canal [30]. This proposal never seems to have advance beyond the concept stage.

[27] Dudley Archive, Plan of Stourbridge, Wolverhampton & Birmingham Junction Canal", DE/6/12/3/26, 1836

[28] Staffordshire Records Office. Plan, book or reference and section of an intended navigable cut or canal called the Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal at or near Hinksford in the Parish of Kingswinford, County of Stafford", Q/RUm/86, 1836

[29] Staffordshire Records Office. Plan, book of reference and section of intended cut or canal called the Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Navigation at or near Hinksford, in the Parish of Kingswinford, County of Stafford, to a certain close of arable land called the Plain Piece near Hunts Mill, Q/RUm/121, 1839

[30] Dudley Archives. Plan of Railways, Canals and Roads between the Black Country and Birmingham, DE/6/12/3/44, 1841

4. Industry and Society 1822 to 1840

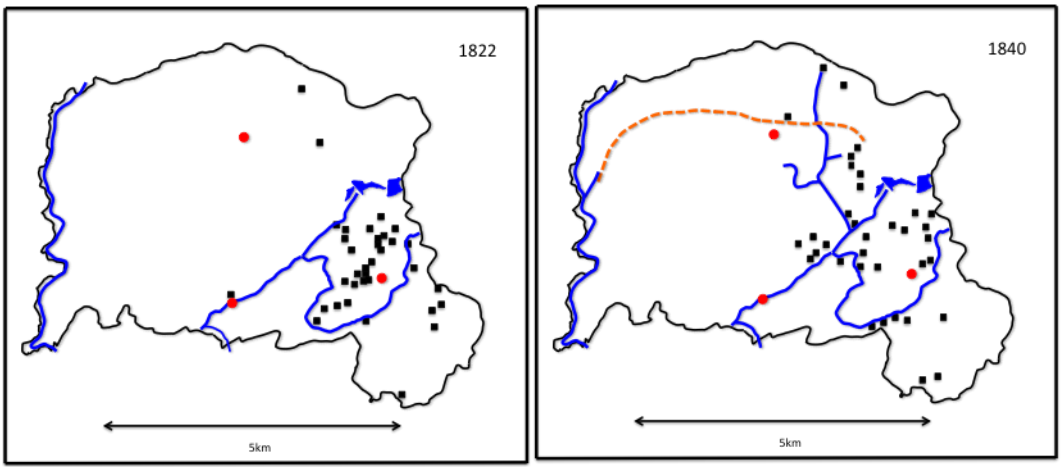
4.1 Coal Mining

The distributions of the coalmines in 1822 and 1840 are shown in Figures 10a and 10b, together with the Stourbridge canal, and Dudley canal and, for 1840, the Stourbridge Extension Canal and the Kingswinford Railway. The figures show pits, usually referred to as "pairs" of coal pits, as normal practice was to dig two six-foot shafts to raise the coal on an endless chain system [31]. In general, in 1822 the coal pits are within the area bounded by the canals, so coal not needed locally could be transported a relatively short distance overland, and then onward by barge. An exception to this is the two pairs of coal pits to the north of the fens – one owned by Benjamin Gibbons at Corbyn's Hall, and one by James Foster at J.H.H. Foley's land at Shut End. At that time John Bradley and Co were also leasing land from Foley in that area for a Brick Kiln. We can see here the beginnings of industrial activity in this area that would result within a very few years in the development of the Kingswinford Railway and the coal mines and iron works of Shut End and Corbyn's Hall, owned by Foster, Bradley and Gibbons. This picture is confirmed in the 1840 map where coalmining activity has spread along the Stoubridge Extension Canal. There is also a "hollowing out" of activity in the Brierley Hill area, presumably as the reserves there were depleted.

Figures 11a and 11b shows the locations of "Old Colliery Land" and "spoil" in 1822 and 1840. The picture here is quite revealing, with Old Colliery Land and Spoil becoming very common in the Brierley Hill area as the mines there closed. The newer pits to the north were also producing significant spoil at this stage.

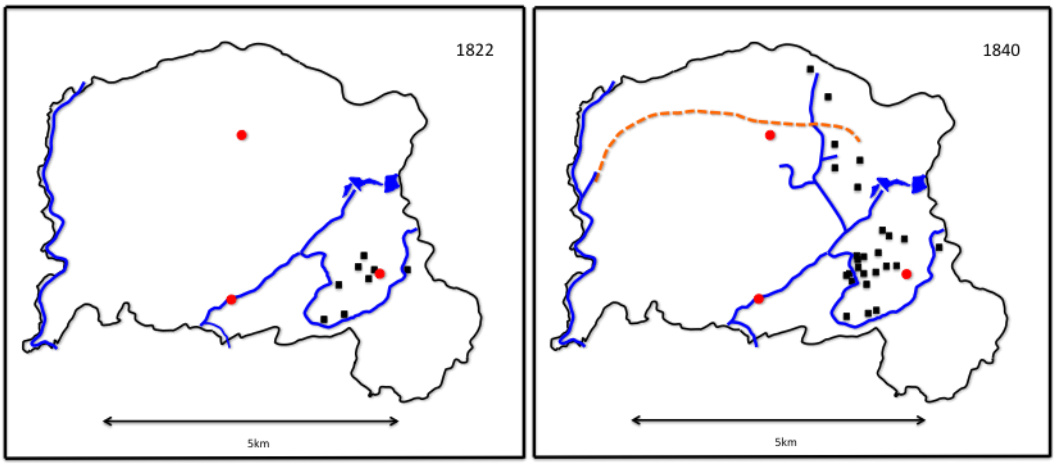
Figures 12a and 12b shows the locations of "Engines" on the two maps, which were used to pump water from below ground to drain the mines. The engines are in the main around Brierley Hill and might possibly have been used to both drain the lower levels of the mine and to replenish water in the canal system lost by traffic moving through the locks.

[31] Chapman, N. (2005) "The South Staffordshire Coalfield", Tempus, ISBN 10: 0752431021



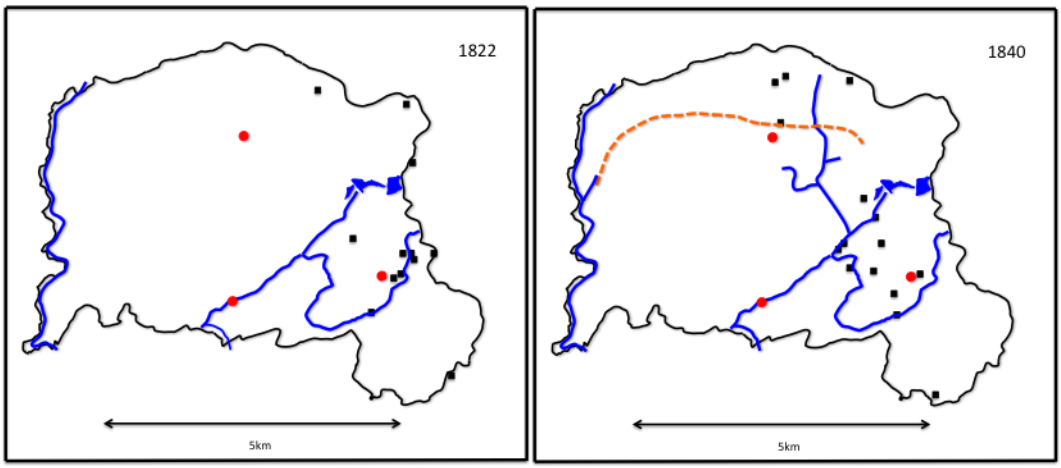
a b

Figure 10 Distribution of coal pits



a b

Figure 11 Distribution of Old Colliery Land and Spoil



a b

Figure 12 Distribution of Engines

4.2 Ironstone mining

Although ironstone mining is mentioned in the 1822 Reference on one occasion, it was clearly not regarded at the time as an activity in its own right - perhaps ironstone was simply taken to be a by-product of coal mining. In 1840 by contrast ironstone mining merits specific mentions in the Book of Reference. The locations of such mines in 1840 are shown in Figure 13. Interestingly these are mainly in the inner area of the canals, where coal mining had ceased, which leads to the conjecture that the ironstone mining had become a profitable activity in and around old coal pits. There is also a string of ironstone mines within the Shut End area that would have been used to supply the iron works at Corbyn's Hall, Shut End and Oak Farm.

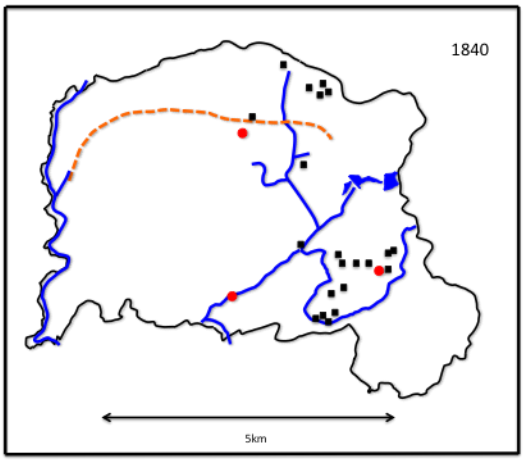
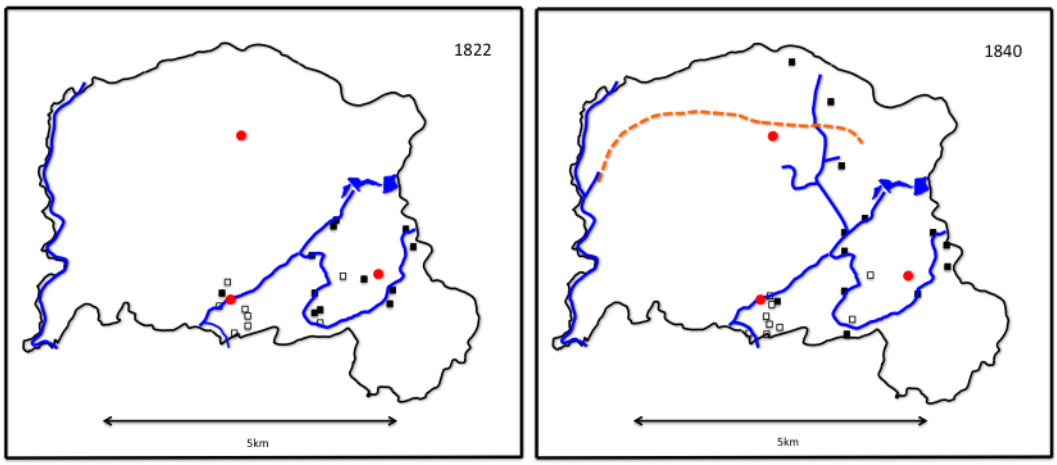


Figure 13 Ironstone Pits

4.3 Iron and Glass works

Figures 14a and 14b shows the geographical distribution of the iron and glass manufacturing industry. The former is concentrated in the Brierley Hill area and the latter in Wordsley. The maps show, without differentiation, all types of iron works – furnaces, foundries, forges etc. A breakdown on these, for the Dudley Estate in 1822, is given in the MA thesis of Raybould [32]. All the works are in close proximity to the canal system, which was the primary means by which their products were transported to the market. Some of these works were ultimately to have long histories – the Brockmoor Iron Works was to last under several guises into the 1970's [33] and the New and Old Level Works, together with the Earl of Dudley's stockyard on the opposite side of the canal was to become the Round Oak Iron (then Steel) works, which did not close until the 1980s [34]. The major Glass Works owners, largely around Wordsley were include the Dial Glass House, Audenham Bank Glass House, Moor Lane Glass House and Brettell Lane Glass House. A full description of the Glass industry at the time is given in the extensive survey of Ellis [35].



a **b**

Figure 14. Distribution of Iron Works and Glass works

Filled squares indicate Iron Works. Open squares indicate Glass Works.

[32] Raybould, T. (1966) "The Kingswinford Estate of Lord Dudley: its Development and Organization between 1774 and 1833", M.A. thesis, Birmingham University

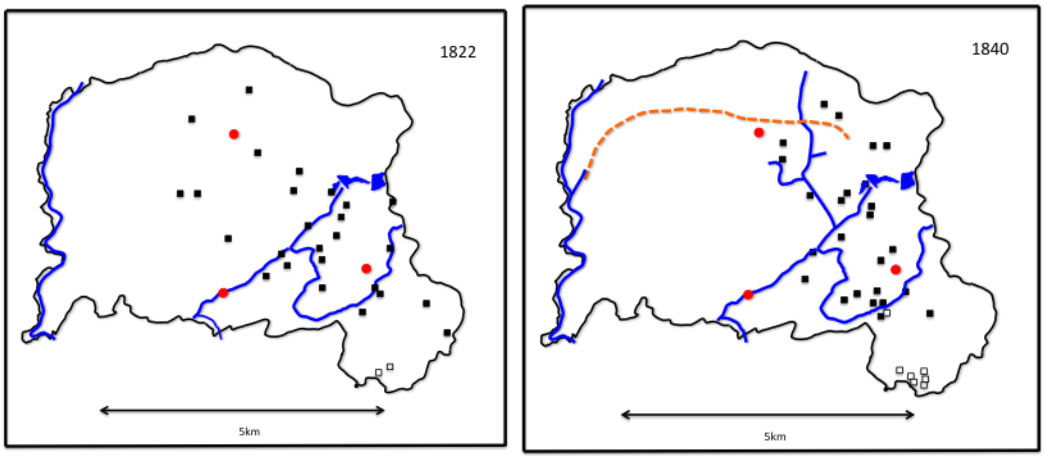
[33] Grace's Guide Richard Thomas and Baldwins" https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Richard_Thomas_and_Baldwins Accessed January 2023

[34] Grace's Guide "Round Oak Steel Works" https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Round_Oak_Steel_Works Accessed January 2023

[35] Ellis, J. (2002) "Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002", Xlibris, ISBN-10: 1401067999

4.4 Bricks and Clay

Another major industry in the area was brick making – both for domestic use and for use in furnaces. The required clay could be found close to the surface over much of the coal mining area of the parish. Figure 15a shows that in 1822 Brick Kilns were scattered widely across the parish, suggesting a small-scale localized industry. Indeed, there are a number of fields in the more rural northern and western part of the parish that are named Brick-kiln Leasowe, Brick-kiln Piece or something similar, suggesting that they had been the locations of brick making at an earlier date. The 1840 distribution shown in Figure 15b shows a concentration of activity to the region close to the canals, which suggest that brick making was taking place at a larger, more commercial scale. In the south of the Parish in Quarry Bank, on the boundary with Amblecote, there is was, in both 1822 and 1840, a cluster of clay pits, where refractory clay was mined, that could be made into heat resistant bricks for use in iron furnaces.



a **b**

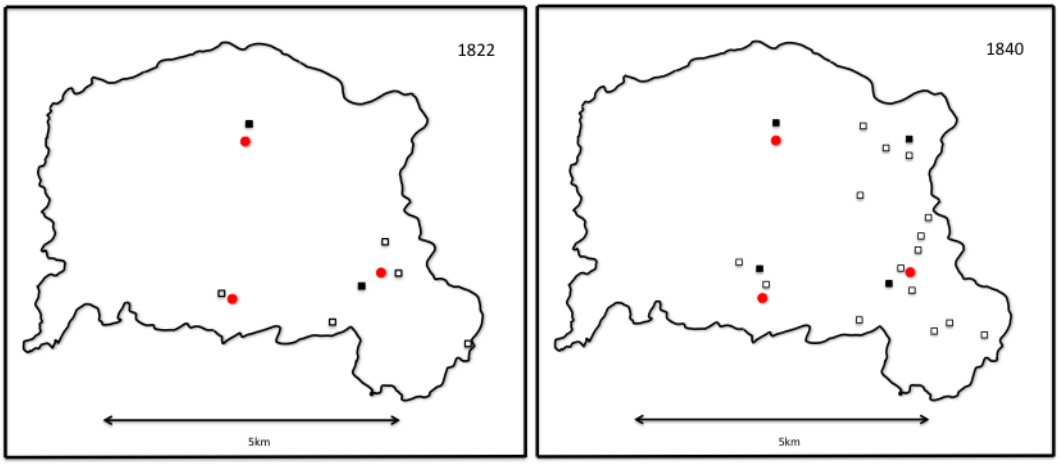
Figure 15. Brick and Clay

Filled squares indicate Brick Kilns. Open squares indicate Clay Pits or Fire Clay Brick Works. The red circles how the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill.

4.5 Churches and Chapels

The development of industry across the parish also resulting in the founding of schools and worship centres. The oldest place of worship in the parish was the Norman church of St Mary, in Kingswinford Village itself, and this served the entire parish through to the late 18th century. After the reformation, Scott [36] suggests that Bradley Hall in Kingswinford village was used at various times for both Catholic and Dissenter worship, with Stawlins farm also being used for the latter. As industry developed in south and east of the parish, and the population grew, a chapel, dedicated to St Michael, was opened at Brierley Hill in 1765 [37], and went through several stage of rebuilding and extension. In 1822 (Figure 16a), these were the only places of Anglican worship in the parish. They were however joined by what the Book of Reference refers to as Meeting Houses, or non-conformist chapels. There were five of these – a Baptist Meeting House just off Brettell Lane, and Methodist chapels in Wordsley, Brierley Hill and Quarry Bank. The latter was the earliest dissenting chapel in the area built in 1707 and was known as the Pensnett Meeting House – an indication that the area was primarily identified with Pensnett Chase at the time. It appears as Cradley chapel on the 1784 Pensnett Chase Enclosure Map. The congregation had moved to Nether End in 1796 and sold the chapel to a Methodist congregation.

By 1840 (Figure 16b), there were four Anglican places of worship in the Parish. The parish church in Kingswinford had been relegated to the status of Chapel of Ease in 1831 because of fears of subsidence due to nearby mines (which were ultimately to prove unfounded), and a new Parish church and Rectory opened in Wordsley. There was also a chapel in the newly emerging district of Pensnett. Pensnett church was not built till 1849 but services were held in what was ultimately to become the National School. The number of non-conformist churches had also increased significantly by 1840 with 15 in Wordsley, Brettell Lane, Brierley Hill and Pensnett.



a b

Figure 16 Churches and Chapels

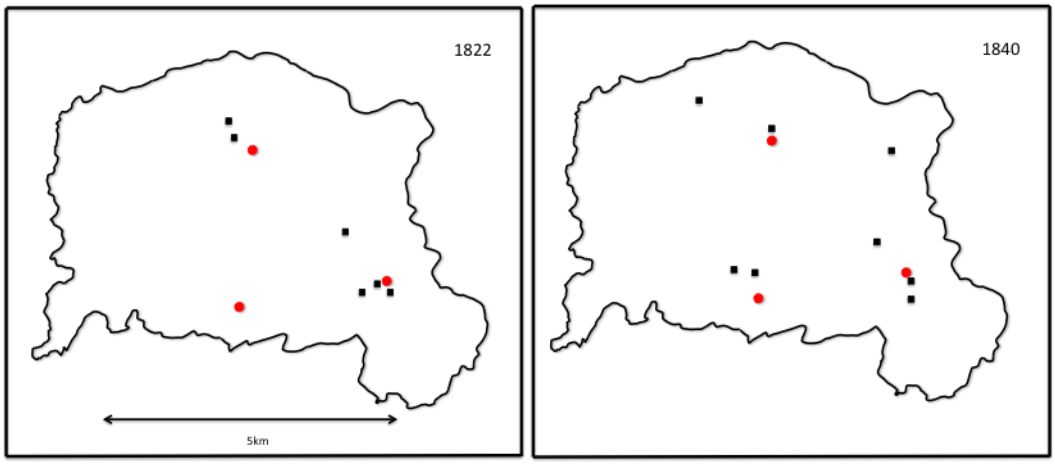
Filled squares are Anglican churches or chapels and open squares are non-conformist meeting houses.

[36] Scott, W. (1832) "Stourbridge and its vicinity containing a topographical description of the parish of old Swinford including the township of Stourbridge" https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Gr8HAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

[37] Guttery D. (1974) "Notes on Kingswinford history", Copy in Dudley Archives

4.6 Community buildings

As an agriculturally based parish, the number of "community" facilities that were required were few – the manor courthouse in Kingswinford village and public houses in some of the townships. As industrialization took place, more and more such facilities were developed - the Stourbridge Union Workhouse in Wordsley [38] (opened in 1836), which used the older Kingswinford Workhouse and a number of schools.



a b

Figure 17 Schools

[38] The Workhouse. Stourbridge, Worcestershire https://www.workhouses.org.uk/Stourbridge/

4.7 Public Houses and Shops

In 1882 there were a large number of public houses in the parish, which served both as meeting places and also as the centres for Friendly Societies, which provided pensions for their members. These are shown in Figure 18. Unfortunately, it is not possible to produce a similar figure for 1840, and the Book of Reference does not fully identify them. It is perhaps pertinent at this point to note the distribution of pubs, which flourished in abundance in the industrialised areas of the parish. The cluster in Wordsley is distinctly impressive. A comparison with the map of churches and chapels in Figure 16 perhaps indicates where the priorities of the inhabitants lay in 1822.

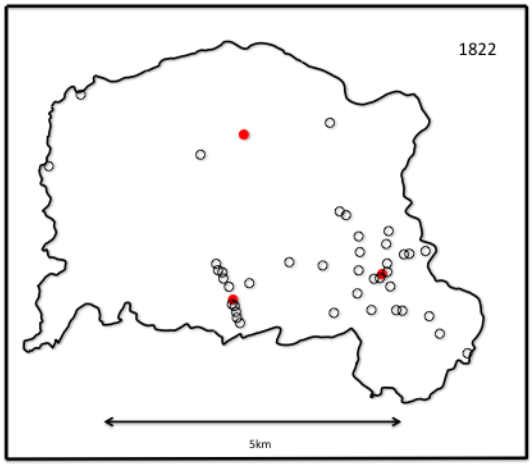


Figure 18 Public Houses in 1822

Open circles are public houses. The red circles are the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill

5. Land Ownership 1822-1840

5.1 The proprietors

In 1822 there were around 450 proprietors in total in Kingswinford parish, and by 1840 this number had increased to around 800. While precise figures are difficult to obtain from the Books of Reference, because there are occasions where the same person is referred several times with slightly different names, and the spelling of names is not wholly consistent, nevertheless the spread of ownership is surprisingly wide. Figure 19 shows the number of proprietor holdings in 1822 and 1840 plotted against the area of the holdings. Whilst most landholdings were small (either individual houses and gardens, or groups of houses and gardens that were let to others), in 1822 50% of the total area of the parish was held by just three proprietors, and a further 25% by another thirteen. In 1840 50% of the total area was held by four proprietors and 25% was held by another fifteen.

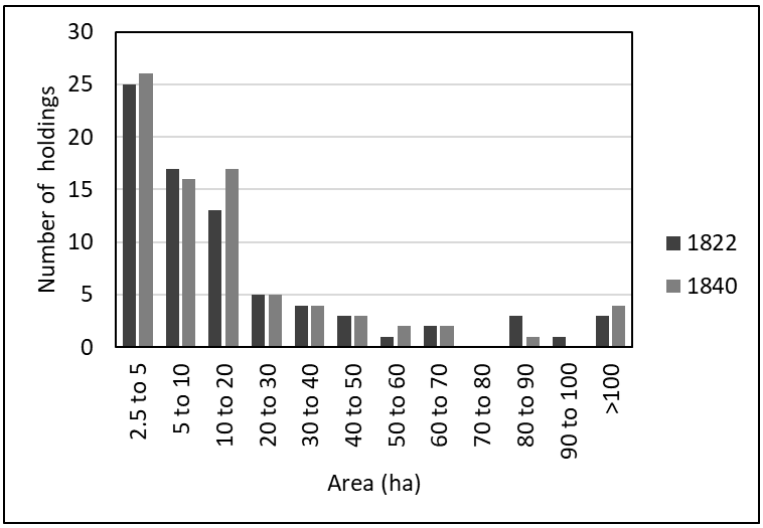


Figure 19. Proprietor holding areas in 1822 and 1840.

The twenty largest landholders in 1822 and 1840 are shown in Tables 1 and 2 below. The tables show the total area of their holding (in hectares) and the areas given over to farms of various sizes, crofts, industrial activity (mines, factories, industrial transport links etc) and residential or commercial provision (shops and houses with or without gardens). Again, these figures are not terribly precise, because of the different ways of recording the use of the individual plots in the Directories, but they give a reasonably robust indication of how the land was used.

It is clear from both tables, that the major Landowner was the Dudley Estate. The Dudley estate had lands throughout the parish, but the main area was in the areas enclosed several decades before. In the enclosure acts, the Dudley's retained the right to all minerals beneath the newly enfranchised land, which proved to be an astute move. The Dudley estate holdings increased somewhat between 1822 and 1840.

The next largest holding in both 1822 and 1844 was that of J. H. H. Foley who resided at Prestwood Hall in the west of the parish and occupied a large block of land in that area, which was considerably enlarged by the Ashwood Hay enclosure of 1776. In 1822 he also held land around Shut End Hall, but at the time occupied by the ironmaster Thomas Dudley, He sold this land shortly afterward to James Foster, and it was to become the Shut End Iron works. In the 1840 list Foster appears as the third largest landowner.

The third largest landowner in 1822 were the Trustees of the late John Keeling, who died in 1783 without direct legitimate heirs[39]. He was a Steward of the Dudley Estate and held lands in his own right throughout the parish. The affairs of his estate were complex and were not settled until the early 1820s. Much of the land seems to have gone to Richard Homer and Diana Briscoe, already major landowners in their own right, and into the partnership of Homer, Dudley and Briscoe[40].

Other large proprietors include Jonathan Stokes[41], who in 1822 held considerable scattered parcels of land in the Wordsley and Brettell Lane areas. By 1840 these had passed to his son John Allen Stokes[42]. The Gibbons family (Benjamin Senior and his sons, Benjamin and John) held or leased land in Brierley Hill (the New Level Iron Works in particular) and in Corbyn's Hall, where considerable industrial activity took place between 1822 and 1840. Continuity can also be seen in several other individuals and families. The major corporate landowners were the canal companies – the Stourbridge Company figures prominently in both Tables 1 and 2, and the Dudley (in 1822 and 1840) and Stourbridge Extension (in 1840) Companies also had significant holdings but were not in top twenty of proprietors.

We will discuss the various uses of the land below, but from Tables 1 and 2 it is clear that the Dudley Estate is dominant in all these areas. Between 1822 and 1840 there is a significant fall in the area of farmed land, a slight increase in crofting, a significant increase in housing provision, and a major expansion of the area allocated to industrial use, which more than doubled between 1822 and 1840.

[39]John Keeling Anne Hodgetts in 1744, but there were no children of the marriage. He did however father three children by his housekeeper, Mary Dovey, whom he married after Anne's death. The Keeling estate was split between the Homers, the Dudleys and the Briscoes and his natural children by Mary (Joseph, Eleanor and Nancy Freeman). Emmetta Freeman, the wife of Joseph, features in Tables 1 and 2

[40] All these families, and others in the list, were related by a complex series of intermarriages, no doubt with the usual shifting family rivalries and alliances.

[41] Jonathan Stokes was a member of the Lunar Society who once practiced as a doctor in Stourbridge. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2013) "Jonathan Stokes", https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/54048

[42] John Allen Stokes was the surveyor of the Worcestershire turnpikes.

Proprietor	Total (ha)	Farms (ha)	Crofts (ha)	Industrial (ha)	Residential (ha)
Lord Dudley	862.4	606	54.8	28.4	61.0
J.H.H. Foley	380.6	303.7	3.5	5.8	4.4
Keeling's Trustees	243.4	210.4	3.9	12.7	16.4
Jonathan Stokes	84.6	80.8		3.0	0.8
Benjamin Gibbons	84.2	79.5		1.5	3.2
Thomas Brettell	82.3	76.2			6.1
Rev. Nathaniel Hinde	68.9	68.9			
Stourbridge Canal Co.	66.1	33.9	1.4	30.1	0.7
Thomas Honeyborne	65.2	54.5		7.2	3.5
John Addenbrooke	51.4	49		0.8	1.6
Diana Briscoe	49.4	47.3	0.4		1.7
Richard Mee	46.9	46.7			0.2
Emmetta Freeman	36.4	35.4			1.0
Lady Glynne	36.1	36.1			
Late John Foster	34.7	34.6			0.1
Joseph Robinson	33.6	27.8	1.9	3.1	0.8
Thomas Westwood	29.2	26		2.8	0.4
Glebe	28.4	22.9		4.4	1.1
Joseph Cox	26.2	24.2			2.0
Benjamin Brettell	22.9	15.8	1.3	2.7	3.1
Totals	2960	2370.6	87.6	146.4	180

Table 1. Major proprietors in 1822

Proprietor	Total (ha)	Farms (ha)	Crofts (ha)	Industrial (ha)	Residential (ha)
Trustees of Earl of Dudley	1069.7	723.3	62.1	84.1	74.3
J.H.H. Foley	266.4	214.9		7.5	1.8
James Foster	117.5	88	5.0	22.9	1.6
John Allen Stokes	80.6	79.6			1.0
Glebe	70.4	64.7		5.7	
Homer, Dudley and Briscoe	69.6	56.1	3.3	7.3	2.9
Joseph Atkinson	62.7	46.8	1.4	10.1	4.4
John and Benjamin Gibbons	58.6	37.8		16.7	4.1
Rev Henry Hill	56.6	52.6			4.0
Edward Addenbrooke	51.8	50.3			1.5
Stourbridge Canal Co	48.7	12.9	0.6	28.9	6.3
Late Richard Mee	46.5	41.4		5.1	
Diana Briscoe	42.7	41.1			1.6
Emmetta Freeman	36.4	36.4			
Oak Farm Colliery Ltd.	35.6	23.6	0.2	11.1	0.7
Joseph Pargiter	33.2	22.5	10.5		0.2
Penelope Brettell	27.3	22.4		4.1	0.8
William Cox	27.0	25			2.0
Richard Homer	26.0	16.1	1.7	3.3	4.9
Late John Foster	24.4	22.2		2.2	
Totals	2960	2183.6	98.6	299.7	210

Table 2. Major proprietors in 1840

5.2 Farms

The proprietors holding the largest ten areas of farming land are shown in table 3. As farming land predominates in the land holding, this largely mirrors the lists of Tables 1 and 2, with the Dudley Estate and J.H.H. Foley having the largest areas. It will be seen in section 6 however that both of these have rural holdings that are not farm land, although of rather different types. The major changes between 1822 and 1840 are again due to the splitting of the Keeling lands, and the passing of the Shut End Estate from J.H.H. Foley to James Foster.

1822		1840	
Proprietor	**Total area (ha)**	**Proprietor**	**Total area (ha)**
Lord Dudley	606	Trustees of Earl of Dudley	723.3
J.H.H. Foley	303.7	J.H.H. Foley	214.9
Keeling's Trustees	210.4	James Foster	88
Jonathan Stokes	80.8	John Allen Stokes	79.6
Benjamin Gibbons	79.5	Glebe	64.7
Thomas Brettell	76.2	Homer, Dudley and Briscoe	56.1
Rev. Nathaniel Hinde	68.9	Joseph Atkinson	46.8
Thomas Honeyborne	54.5	John and Benjamin Gibbons	37.8
John Addenbrooke	49	Rev Henry Hill	52.6
Richard Mee	46.7	Edward Addenbrooke	50.3
Total	2370.6	Total	2183.6

Table 3. Proprietors of farms

5.3 Crofts

1822		1840	
Proprietor	**Total area (ha)**	**Proprietor**	**Total area (ha)**
Lord Dudley	54.8	Trustees of Earl of Dudley	62.2
Joseph Cox	4.4	Joseph Pargiter	10.5
Keeling's Trustees	3.5	James Foster	5.0
J.H.H. Foley	2.6	Homer, Dudley and Briscoe	3.3
Hughes and Eades	2.0	Richard Homer	1.7
William Wheeley	1.9	Late Samuel Cartwright	1.6
Joseph Robinson	1.9	John White	1.5
Keeling's Trust	1.8	Joseph Atkinson	1.4
Thomas Wright	1.5	Nicholas Wood	1.1
Richard Jabet	1.5	Ann Slater	1.0
Total	87.6	Total	98.9

Table 4. Proprietors of land used for crofts.

Table 4 shows the ten proprietors with the largest areas of land allocated to crofts in 1822 and 1840. Crofts are effectively small holdings where the crofter would have engaged in small scale arable and pastoral farming. These areas are identified as such in the Books of Reference, but it can be seen that there is an overlap in size between crofts and the larger house with garden plots and the smaller farms, and it is not clear how rigorously the descriptions were applied, so again the figures must be treated with some caution. That being said, the major owner of land used for crofting was the Dudley Estate, with the land allocated increasing somewhat between 1822 and 1840. These crofts were almost all located in the Quarry Bank area to the east of the parish on the land enclosed in the Pensnett Chase Act of 1784, and the formation of crofts seems to have been part of deliberate policy by the Estate to improve the quality of the land for agricultural purposes.

5.4 Industrial land

1822		1840	
Proprietor	**Area (ha)**	**Proprietor**	**Area (ha)**
Stourbridge Canal Co.	30.4	Trustees of Earl of Dudley	82.3
Lord Dudley	28.4	Stourbridge Canal Co.	31.0
Keeling's Trustees	12.7	James Foster	18.5
Staffs & Worcs Canal Co.	10.7	John and Benjamin Gibbons	16.7
Thomas Honeyborne	7.2	Oak Farm Colliery Co.	11.1
J. H. H. Foley	5.8	Staffs & Worcs Canal Co.	10.7
Dudley Canal Co.	5.1	Joseph Atkinson	10.1
Glebe Land	4.4	William Wheeley	8.7
Thomas Collins	4.1	J. H. H. Foley	7.5
Late John Onions	3.7	W. Foster, W. Orme and Co.	7.3
Total	146.4	Total	291.4

Table 5. Proprietors of land used for industrial purposes.

Table 5 shows the ten proprietors with the largest areas of land used for industrial purposes in 1822 and 1840. The expansion of industry between the two surveys is obvious and very significant. This mainly occurred in the area of the old estates – Corbyn's Hall with the Gibbons, Shut End with James Foster and Oak Farm with Stephen Glynne. The area allocated to industrial use by the Dudley Estate also increased very significantly with an intensification of activity in the early industrial areas and the spread of activity across the areas enclosed in 1784 in the east of the parish. The canal companies can all be seen to have significant holdings. But while this explosion of activity seems to have been driven by several large players, it was enthusiastically pursued by others – in 1822 there were in total 34 proprietors with industrial activity on their land, but in 1840 there were 45. These included mines, iron works, glass works, brick works and various manufacturing and fabricating organisations.

5.5 Residential

1822		1840	
Proprietor	**Total area (ha)**	**Proprietor**	**Total area (ha)**
Lord Dudley	61.0	Trustees of the Late Earl of Dudley	74.3
Keeling's Trustees	16.4	Stourbridge Canal Company	6.3
Thomas Brettell	6.1	Richard Homer	4.9
J.H.H. Foley, Esq.	4.4	Joseph Atkinson	4.4
Homer and Others	4.1	Rev. Henry Hill	4.0
James Cox	3.5	Maria Onions	3.8
Thomas Honeyborne	3.5	Homer, Dudley and Briscoe	2.9
William Wheeley	3.1	Robert Dudley	2.6
Benjamin Brettell	3.1	Henry, Edward and John Badley	2.3
William Hughes	2.8	Messrs Gibbons	2.1
Total	180.0	Total	210.0

Table 6. Proprietors of land used for residential purposes.

Table 6 lists the ten proprietors with the largest area of land used for residential purposes in both surveys. The dominance of the Dudley Estate in the sector is again very clear, and it provided the very large majority of housing for those working in the area. Between 1822 and 1840 the Estate effectively founded what was to become the village of Pensnett in the 1784 enfranchised land to the east of the parish, as it opened up mining operations in the area. That being said, there were many individuals who provided housing - 255 in 1822 and 390 in 1840 – mainly renting out just a small number of plots.

5.6 The tithe agreement

The Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 replaced the old tithe system in which a tenth of the produce of the land was given to the church either in kind, or through a cash allocation, with a rental system where a tithe rental charge was allocated for each portion of land [43]. In preparation for the Act, in 1832 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners wrote to the incumbent of every parish in the country asking for details of their income from tithes and other sources. The returns for Kingswinford parish are shown in Table 7.

	Gross income	Tithes	Glebe	Other
Brierley Hill (Perpetual Curate)	£78			£78
Kingswinford Holy Trinity (Rector)	£1130.15	£740	£325.15	£65
Kingswinford St Mary (Perpetual Curate)	£400			£400

Table 7. Church income 1832

The chapel of St Michael at Brierley Hill had been opened in the 1760s and was staffed by a Perpetual Curate. The new parish church was Holy Trinity at Wordsley, which was built in 1831, when the old parish church of St Mary in Kingswinford village was felt to be too small for the growing population and was also suffering damage to its fabric due to mining subsidence. The Rector was based at the former whilst the latter was staffed by a Perpetual Curate. It can be seen that the income has three components - tithes and easter offerings, rental from Glebe land (land set aside for the use of the clergy) and other sources. The Perpetual Curates relied on the latter, with the tithe and glebe income going to the Rector. The overall figure for the Rector of £1130 would have made the parish one of the most lucrative in the county [44] , and was much sought after by clergy in the eighteenth and nineteenth who often did not take up residence and left all their duties to paid curates but took most of the income for themselves.

Before the passing of the Act, the collection of tithes would have been an arduous affair, and would usually have been carried out by a paid tithe collector, who would travel around the parish at harvest time to take their due from the landowner, and would also assess and collect a tenth of the other produce of the land - in terms of cattle, sheep, wool etc.. In Kingswinford there were more than a hundred tithe payers, and over two thousand distinct plots of land and tithe collection was obviously a complex affair. In addition, there were a range of extra customary dues that had to be collected, known as moduses. For example, for Kingswinford parish these included a modus of two pence / per acre on all meadow and pasture land; one penny and a halfpenny for a cow and a calf; one penny for a garden; and four pence for a colt. Not all land was treated in the same way - for example the lands enclosed by the Ashwood Hey Enclosure in 1776 were only liable for the tithes of “wool and lamb”. When the difficulties of collecting all that was due are considered, it can be seen that the move to a tithe rental was a major simplification.

The Rector and landowners of the parish were keen to move to a new system, and soon after the Act became law they moved quickly to reach a voluntary agreement on tithe rental by June 1838. In many other parishes in the county and elsewhere agreement on tithe rentals could not be reached voluntarily and tithe commissioners imposed a valuation. The results of the agreement are contained

[43] Tithe Act 1836 https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/information-management/legislation/other-archival-legislation/tithe-records/#:~:text=The%20Tithe%20Commutation%20Act%2C%201836,apportionment%20and%20the%20tithe%20maps .

[44] Evans, E. (1970) “A History of the tithe system in England 1690-1859 with special reference to Staffordshire”, PhD thesis, Warwick University, http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/4083/

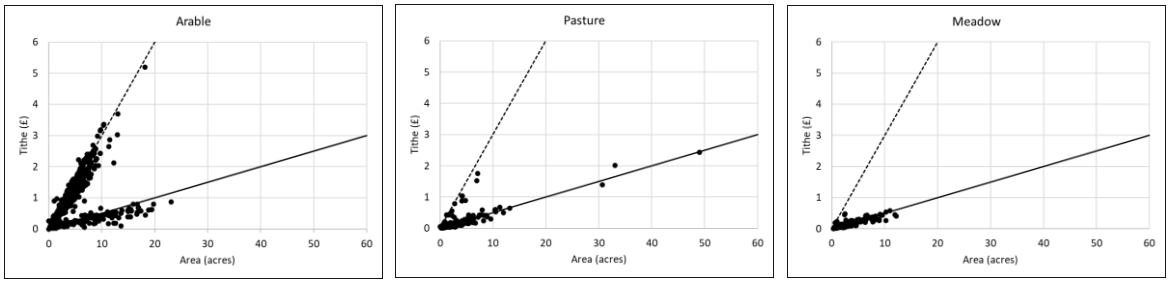
within the Tithe Allocation agreement and the associated map, the latter being a version of the 1840 Fowler map being considered here.

The total area of the parish of Kingswinford was 2964 hectares. Of this, 2442 hectares (82.5%) was allocated a tithe rental. The only recipient of tithe rentals was the Rector of the parish, George Saxby Penfold, which was one reason why reaching agreement was straightforward. The total rental allocation was £813. Of those lands that were assessed for no payment, 70.5 hectares was Glebe (i.e. allocated to the Rector, who was not expected to pay the tithe rental to himself, and usually rented to others for farming) and 72 hectares was the Corbyn's Hall estate which was tithe free (see below). The rest of the untithed land was composed of many very small plots of land which presumably had their allocation rolled into nearby tithed land, so as to simplify the allocation and collection procedure. (Note that these figures are taken from summing those that have been transcribed from the Fowler Reference and the Tithe Agreement, and do not quite match the equivalent figures in the tithe agreement, due to differences in the allocation of plots to different categories. The differences are however small and of no real consequence.)

The fact that Corbyn's Hall was specified as tithe free is of interest. It is not clear why this is the case but was presumably the result of how the estate was originally established. At the time of the tithe allocation map, the extent of the area designated as the Corbyn's Hall estate included the region around Corbyn's Hall and Shut End, some land in the Tansey Green region and a block of land around Standhills.

The way in which tithe rentals were allocated to individual portions of land is not wholly clear from the tithe agreement. The land in the parish was allocated to a small number of land use categories - arable, meadow and pasture; woodland; and a further miscellaneous category combining mines, road and houses etc. A rental / charge per acre was applied to each category other than the miscellaneous for which no charge was allocated. For the arable land this was based on a weighted average of the cost of wheat, barley and oats over the previous few years.

If the tithe rentals for plots of land greater than one acre in size are plotted against the allocated rental (Figure 20) for each of the arable, pasture and meadow categories it is clear that there were two basic rental allocations - one at around 1s per acre (the solid lines) and one at 7s 6d per acre (the dotted line). Arable land seems to be assessed at either level (presumably on the quality of the land); and pasture mainly around the 1s per acre line, but with some more nearly conforming to the 7s 6d per acre line; and meadow at 1s / acre. There is considerable scatter about these lines however, which no doubt reflects the specific circumstances of each plot of land and lengthy debates between the landowner and the Rector.



a **b** **c**

Figure 20. Tithe payment against plot area

Black solid line is 1s / acre. Back dotted line is 7s 6d / acre.

In total there were one hundred and twenty-six tithe payers, although this involved some duplication due to some individuals being involved in partnerships that were assessed for tithes. Of these one

hundred paid less than £5 and sixty-six paid less than £1. The fourteen who paid the largest amounts are shown in Table 7. The cumulative tithe column in the table shows that three quarters of the tithe rental was paid by just thirteen individuals or organisations. The percentage of the tithe that each paid is also given, as is the percentage of the land that they owned (from Table 2). As is to be expected, the figures in these columns correlate quite well, with the percentage of tithe rental being in general greater than the percentage of land, due to the significant proportion of untithed land.

The other major landowners given Table 2 are the Glebe lands, the lands of John and Benjamin Gibbons, and the Stourbridge Canal Company. As noted above, the Glebe lands were tithe free and provided the Rector with an income as they were rented out for farming. The Gibbons main holdings were on the tithe-free Corbyn's Hall estate. It would also seem that when the Stourbridge Canal Company was formed it purchased land without the tithe obligations, and the land it gained in the Fens area from the enclosure of Pensnett Chase was also tithe free.

Landowner	Tithe (£)	% of total tithe	% of total land
Trustees of the late Earl of Dudley	323	39.5	36.1
J. H. H. Foley Esq.	54	6.6	9.0
James Foster, Esq.	52	6.4	4.0
John Allen Stokes	30	3.7	2.7
Edward Addenbrooke	25	3.1	1.8
Homer, Dudley and Briscoe	25	3.1	2.4
Joseph Pargiter	19	2.3	1.1
Late Richard Mee	19	2.3	1.6
Joseph Atkinson	18	2.2	2.1
Emmetta Freeman	15	1.8	1.2

Table 8. The tithe payers

6. Land occupation and use 1822-1840

A study of the occupation patterns in 1822 and 1840 reveals quite a complex mix of arrangements of those who rented and occupied and utilised land in the parish. There were two broad divisions of occupation for all types of property – owner occupation and tenancies, although the distinction between them is not always clear cut. In what follows we consider these as applied to the following categories of land use.

- Large rural estates
- Farming
- Crofting
- Industrial
- Residential

6.1 Large rural estate management

There are only two large estate areas which were in the occupation of the owner - part of the Dudley Estate and the personal lands of John Hodgetts Foley both are shown in Table 9. The land that the Estate occupied as well as owned was in general coppice, woodland and pools, such as, Barrow Hill Coppice in Pensnett or the Level Coppice in Brierley Hill. In 1822, the Foley estates were the landscaped grounds around Prestwood Hall and the similar lands around Shut End Hall. By 1840, the latter had become the Shut End Iron Works owned and operated by James Foster.

	Area occupied (ha)	
	1822	**1840**
Lord Dudley	112.2	125.9
J. H. H. Foley	63.2	42.2

Table 9. Large estates in occupation of owner

6.2 Farming

Tables 10 and 11 shows the occupiers of the ten largest farms in 1822 and 1840, together with an indication of who owned the lands. Some of these are identifiable farms, whilst others are rather scattered blocks of land. The locations of the specific farms are shown in Figure 22.

Most of the larger farms can be identified in both tables, sometimes with different owners and occupiers. There are two main exceptions to this. Firstly the farms around the Tiled House and Slater's Hall that existed in 1822 had, by 1840, been completely taken over by mining activities. Secondly the farms in the Kingswinford area have undergone a major rearrangement with what can be described as the farming enterprise of John Parrish and Co., farming the Glebe land and the lands of Elizabeth Pargiter, Thomas Davies, Emetta Freeman, Homer, Briscoe and Dudley and the Rev. Henry Hall.

All but one of the farms in these tables are occupied by tenants. The exception is the farm occupied by Diana Briscoe based on Summer Hill House, which was largely, but not exclusively also owned by her. In 1822 she owned 83% of the 50.9 hectares and in 1840, 70% of the 54.2 hectares that she farmed.

Figure 23 shows the area of occupation of farmlands in frequency bands down to 2.5 hectares in size. As might be expected, the frequency increases as the area farmed decreases. The smaller worked areas on the figure overlap with the areas of the crofts discussed in the next section.



Figure 21. Farm locations

Black circles indicate the farms and red circles indicate the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill.

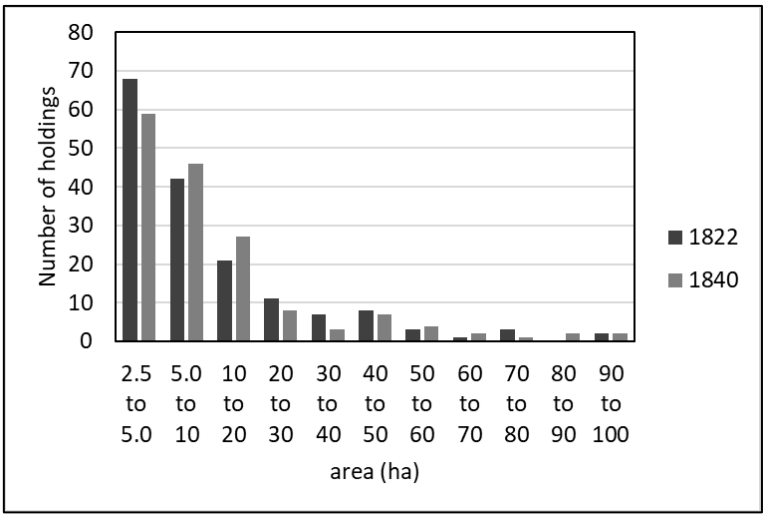


Figure 23. Farm area distribution

Farm / area	Occupier	Proprietor	Area (ha)
Ashwood Lodge	John Giles	Lord Dudley	97.4
Prestwood North Farm	Robert Roper	J.H.H. Foley	96.0
Ashwood Field House	Samuel Stone Biscoe	Glebe, Rev. N Hinde, Lord Dudley	94.0
Prestwood South Farm	John Beddard	J.H.H. Foley	73.5
Hollies Farm	Fanny Amis	Keeling Trustees	78.8
Cot Farm / Stawlins	Joseph Cox	Joseph Cox, Lord Dudley	73.6
Slater's Hall	Henry Cox	Keeling's Trustees	59.4
Tiled House	Thomas Brettell	Richard Mee	51.2
Summer Hill House	Diana Briscoe	Diana Briscoe, John Baddeley, Keeling's Trustees	50.9
Wordsley / Audnum	*William Webb*	*Jonathan Stokes*	*49.9*

Table 10. Farms and farmer 1822

Farm names are given in ordinary type. Areas that are not noticeably associated with a specific farm are given in italics.

Farm / area	Occupier	Proprietor	Area (ha)
Ashwood Lodge	John Giles	Earl of Dudley Trustees	98.6
Kingswinford	*John Parrish and Co.*	*Elizabeth Pargiter, Thomas Davies, Glebe, Emetta Freeman, Homer, Briscoe and Dudley, Rev. Henry Hall*	*90.2*
Ashwood Field House	John Salter	Glebe, Rev H. Hill, Earl of Dudley Trustees	86.5
Prestwood North Farm	John Beddard	J.H.H. Foley	72.7
Prestwood South Farm	John Beddard	J.H.H. Foley	72.7
Becknall Fields	George Salter	James Foster Esq.	60.1
Hollies Farm	John Wilson	Earl of Dudley Trustees	59.4
Holbatch Farm	Hannah Bannister	Earl of Dudley Trustees	55.2
Summer Hill House	Diana Briscoe	Diana Briscoe, Horace St Paul	54.1
Cot Farm / Stawlins	William Cox	John Gibbons, Earl of Dudley Trustees	48.6

Table 11. Farms and farmers 1840

Farm names are given in ordinary type. Areas that are not noticeably associated with a specific farm are given in italics.

6.3 Crofts

Table 12 shows the occupiers and proprietors largest 10 croft areas 1822 and 1840. Most of the occupiers are individuals although there are two corporate occupiers in 1822. The most common proprietor is, as would be expected, the Dudley Estate, although there is perhaps a tendency for the largest crofts to be owned by a private individual. The area frequency of the crofts is shown in figure 24, from where it can be seen that most are quite small (less than 0.5 hectares) and there is little difference between the 1822 and 1840 distributions.

1822			1840		
Occupier	**Proprietor**	**Area (ha)**	**Occupier**	**Proprietor**	**Area (ha)**
John Williams	Joseph Cox	2.6	Joseph Pargiter	Joseph Pargiter	4.1
Sarah Stevens	Lord Dudley	2.4	Joseph Corbett	Ann Slater	2.7
Jane Davis	Lord Dudley	2.1	William Brookes	Joseph Pargiter	2.7
Francis Smith and Sons	Lord Dudley, William Wheeley	2.1	William Bradley	Earl of Dudley Trustees	2.7
William Gill	Lord Dudley	2.0	John Aston	Joseph Pargiter	2.0
Hughes and Eades	Hughes and Eades	2.0	George Salter	James Foster	1.8
Joseph Price	Lord Dudley	1.9	Hannah Holt	Earl of Dudley Trustees	1.7
Joseph Timings	J.H.H.Foley	1.8	Dudley Stevens	Earl of Dudley Trustees	1.7
Stephen Bird	Lord Dudley	1.6	Joseph Pearson	Earl of Dudley Trustees	1.6
John Holloway	Lord Dudley	1.6	Emanuel Fereday	Earl of Dudley Trustees	1.6

Table 12 Crofts 1822 and 1840

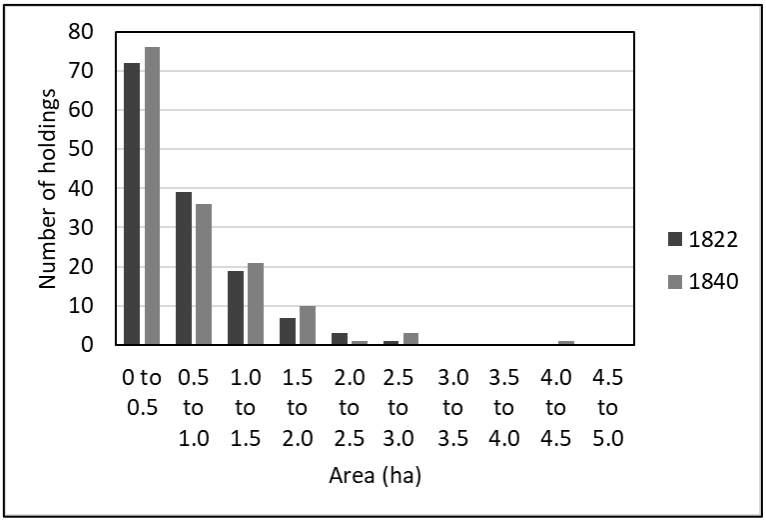


Figure 24 Croft area distribution

6.4 Industrial

Tables 13 and 14 show the occupiers, areas, proprietors and content ten largest industrial area in 1822 and 1840. Perhaps the most striking thing is the complexity of the occupation and owning situation, with individual occupiers leasing land from a number of proprietors. It is also clear that some of the occupiers have multi-faceted business, owning coal and ironstone mines, iron works, brickkilns etc. The rapid expansion of industrial activity between 1822 and 1840 is also obvious from the increased size of the areas of the holdings. Although an area frequency analysis is not appropriate in this case, the number of occupiers is also indicative of this increased industrial activity – from 44 in 1822 to 75 in 1840.

In Table 13 there are two entries that also appear in the list of farmers – Fanny Amis and Samuel Stone Briscoe. They are included here because there is evidence of some industrial analysis on part of the land they own, with either marl pits, or some field designated as "Brickkiln" piece for example. This may indicate current activity or may indicate activity in the past that was not taking place at the time of the survey.

Occupier	Area (ha)	Proprietors	Content
Stourbridge Canal Co.	30.5	Stourbridge Canal Co.	Canal paths, basins, locks, reservoirs
Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Co.	10.7	Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Co., Jonathan Stokes	Canal paths, Brickkiln
Fanny Amis	9.7	Keeling's Trustees, Lord Dudley	Marl pits, Engine, Brickkilns
Benjamin Gibbons	7.2	Lord Dudley, Stourbridge Canal Co., Elizabeth Thomyngs	New Level Iron Works, Foundry, Blast Furnaces, etc., 6 pairs of coal pits, 2 engines, Wharfs, Machinery
Dudley Canal Company	5.2	Dudley Canal Company, Lord Dudley	Canal paths, Brickkiln
Samuel Stone Briscoe	4.4	Lord Dudley, William Wheeley	Pottery, Brickkiln
Robert Roper	4.0	J H H Foley, Richard Williams,	Brickkilns
Bradley, John and Co.	3.8	Bradley, Ensell and Holt, John Pidcock, Miss Holt	Brierly Hill Iron works, 3 Glass Houses, Steelhouse
William Hornblower	3.3	William Wheeley, Mrs Bacon, Lord Dudley	1 pair of coal pits, red lead manufactory, Iron Foundry
Westwood and Moor	3.2	Thomas Brettell, Rev N Hindes, Lord Dudley, J Pidcock, Sarah Seager, William Hornblower, William Wheeley, Thonmas Honeybourne	3 pairs of coal pits, wharfs, furnace, Nine locks Iron Works, Brierley Hill Iron Works

Table 13 Industrial occupiers 1822

Occupier	Area (ha)	Proprietors	Content
Stourbridge Canal Co	28.9	Stourbridge Canal Co	Canal paths, wharfs and reservoirs, railway
James Foster Esq.	27.8	James Foster, John Hodgetts	Shut End Foundry, Coal and ironstone mines, Engine, Railroad, Canal basin, Wharf
Mathews, Dudley and Co.	20.1	John and Benjamin Gibbons, Late Richard Mee, Francis Rufford, George Hickman Bond	Corbyn's Hall, Furnaces. 7 pairs of coal pits, 3 Ironstone pits, Engine, Basin and Wharf
Oak Farm Colliery Co.	11.1	Oak Farm Colliery Ltd, John Allen Stokes	Oak Farm Iron Works, 1 pairs of coal pits, 3 Ironstone pits, 1 engines
William Izon	10.4	Earl of Dudley's Trustees	8 pairs of coal pits, 1 engine, wharf
Samuel Allchurch	8.3	Earl of Dudley Trustees, Foster, Orme and Co.	3 pairs of coal pits, 8 Ironstone pits, 5 engines, Brick yard
Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Co.	7.7	Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Co.	Canal paths
Trustees of the late Earl of Dudley	7.5	Earl of Dudley's Trustees	Brockmoor wharf, I pair of coal pits, pools and spoil land
William and John Wheeley	7.0	Anne Marie Brettell, Penelope Brettell, Richard Homer	4 pairs of coal pits, 7 Ironstone pits, 2 Engines
John and Benjamin Gibbons	6.8	Earl of Dudley's Trustees	Iron Works

Table 14 Industrial occupiers 1840

6.4 Residential

Neither of the books of Reference allow the area distribution of the size of housing plots to be determined in a way similar to the crofts above, as in both the areas of individual houses are grouped together. However, the total area for residential use in Table 1 is 180 hectares and there are 2215 plots in the house and house and garden categories in the Book of Reference. This gives an average plot size of 0.086 hectares (860m^2), which seems larger than would be expected. It may well be that the areas given in the Reference relate to larger areas around the houses and gardens themselves. The 1840 reference does not even allow this sort of calculation to be performed, and all that can be said is that the total area of residential use had risen to 210 hectares by that time.

The largest plots in the category are clearly very large and represent the houses of the reasonably well off, such as the 3.7 hectares of Fanny Amis mentioned above, or the 2.8 hectares of Edward Brettel in 1822. At the bottom end of the scale, however, property sizes were very small. There are those such as Samuel Beddall of Brockmoor who owned and occupied very small plots (in his case 0.005 ha or 50m^2), or those such as Edward Parry of Audenham who leased very small plots with houses, in this case 0.003 ha or 30m^2.

The Books of Reference however do enable the proportion of owner occupiers to be determined. In 1822 197 properties with a total area of 23.6 hectares of land were occupied by their owners. In 1840, the total area of owner occupation was somewhat less at 20.1 hectares. Comparing these with the total residential areas, it can be seen that owner occupiers accounted for around 10% of the total area – the residential provision in the parish was overwhelmingly through tenancies, and, as noted above, the large majority of these were with the Dudley Estate.

7. Discussion

The period between the 1822 and 1840 surveys was a period of political reform. The Reform Act of 1832 finally swept away the "rotten boroughs" and significantly enlarged the franchise. This can be seen very clearly in Kingswinford parish where the number of electors (based on land ownership) in 1747 was 18 (when the last election before 1832 was held), but in 1833 the number was 334 and by 1841 the number had grown to 743[45] (although in all cases many of these lived outside the parish, being entitled to vote by the land they held within it). This wide-ranging political form took tangible form in the parish with the Tithe Apportionment Act of 1836. This political reform was matched by major developments in the parish as industry spread from the south and east to the north and west. This was largely driven by the major industrialists – the Dudley Estate in particular, but also James Foster at Shut End, the Gibbons at Corbyn's Hall and Stephen Glynne and his partners at Oak Farm. The relatively small scale industrial activity in the central estates in 1822 was enabled to grow by the development of railway and canal links to the wider network and thus to national markets. In the first instance these were tramways to the Stourbridge Canal that were developed and discarded in short periods as mines were developed and worked out, and then through the construction of the Kingswinford Railway and the Stourbridge Extension Canal, which although truncated at Oak Farm and thus not giving the planned route to the north, still enabled the produce of the area to be transported to market via the Stourbridge and Dudley Canals. There is evidence of long term planning, with the Standhills branch being developed in advance of mining activity in the area. The Dudley Estate was also a major housebuilder for those who came to the area for work, and effectively founded a new village at Pensnett on the common land of Pensnett Chase that was enclosed in 1784. In addition, the Estate seems to have deliberately planned crofts in the eastern area of the parish to make the newly enclosed areas more efficient in agricultural terms. These developments were to continue beyond the period considered here, with the construction of the major lines of the Pensnett Railway in the 1840s and 1850s, and the coming of the main line railway, in the form of the Oxford. Worcester and Wolverhampton Railway in the 1850s and the Great Western in the 1860s.

This activity on the part of the major industrialists also spurred many others, and there is a remarkable growth in industrial activity of smaller landowners. There was also the development of a vibrant community in the area, with many small shops, public houses and chapels. Even the slow moving Leviathan that was the Church of England took part in this, with a new Parish Church at Pensnett, and around 1840 plans were being developed for the splitting of the parish into six smaller parishes, which was eventually to occur in the next decade.

These developments naturally resulted in a large growth in population – from the 11022 recorded in the 1821 census to 22221 recorded in the 1841 census. Many of these were from outside the parish and there were parts of the parish that were effectively migrant areas. For example, see the age breakdown from the 1851 census for the (then) newly created Pensnett parish in Figure 25. The age profile and the birth locations are shown. It can be seen that the majority of those in the 20 to 70 age group had been born outside Kingswinford parish. One may conjecture that this resulted in a degree of social tension.

[45] Poll books for Staffordshire

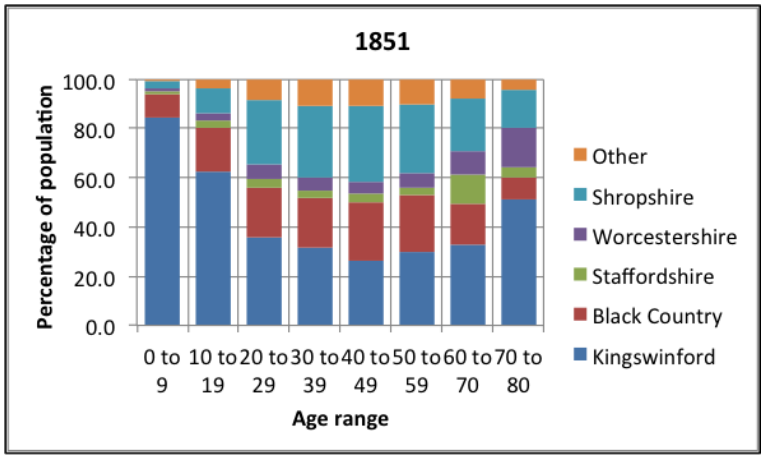


Figure 25. Birth location by age cohort in Pensnett in 1851

There is of course much more that could be said about the Fowler maps. They contain much information on the specific townships and on their inhabitants for example, that needs to be presented in a very different form to the one adopted here. Also what has been presented is essentially an internal study of the maps, but there are also external sources that could be correlated with what the maps show – for example the voter lists, the 1841 census and the rent books of the Dudley Estate. To enable this to be done thoroughly a major transcription exercise would be required, which may perhaps be attempted by the author at some stage in the future.