

Kingswinford Manor and Parish; New chapters from the history of Kingswinford, Staffordshire; Part 2 The 1822 and 1840 Fowler Maps

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## The author

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#### **Preface**

Those readers who are well versed in Black Country history will be very aware that the subtitle of this series of books is not original. The phrase "Chapters in Kingswinford History" was first used for a number of short studies of aspects of the history of Kingswinford Manor and Parish, by David Guttery in the late nineteen forties and early nineteen fifties. David Reginald Guttery (1890-1958) was born and brought up in Brierlev Hill. and lived in Amblecote, where he was a local councilor on the Urban District Council and a IP. He spent his entire career as a Schoolmaster and was Headmaster of Bromley County Primary School from 1932 to 1950 - and taught my mother there during the early 1930s. It was he who wakened her interest in local history, an interest she ultimately passed on to me. When I was in my early teens she gave me two of the Chapters in Kingswinford History, and these short booklets have remained with me ever since, well-thumbed and read over and over again. His work is not however without its faults. It would be regarded as far too romanticized by current historians, and Guttery (infuriatingly) simply does not give references to source material. Nonetheless, my choice of subtitle for this book is meant as a tribute to David Guttery, for the pleasure that his work and his books, with all their flaws, have given me over the years.

As the astute reader will quickly gather, this study was for me, in many ways, a personal journey. The Kingswinford area, and in particular the parish of Pensnett, were the confines of my childhood, and this study was conducted with the aim of trying to understand better the history and geography of the area that, to some extent, has made me who I am. The process has been full of unexpected surprises. Firstly there were some surprising, if rather general, insights - I have come

to realize that the area was, in its early days, very much a borderland between different tribes and possibly ethnic groups, which is to some extent mirrored by the realization that in the early 19th century, Kingswinford and Pensnett was home to a migrant society, with an influx of families from both the surrounding counties and bevond. Then there surprises about were relationships between individuals and families - in particular how closely connected by marriage the leading families of Kingswinford have been in recent centuries, and how these relationships have deeply influenced the industrial and commercial developments of the area. Then there is the joy of realizing that some of the names and events that occur, almost in passing, in the history of Kingswinford are of historical significance – the Rector of Kingswinford at the Reformation, who rescued the bones of St Chad from Lichfield Cathedral and arranged for their safe keeping in the Kingswinford area; a Kingswinford landowner who was a member of the Lunar Society, and another who was a Count of the Holy Roman Empire; the intervention of the first Bishop of New Zealand in an ecclesiastical scandal in Pensnett: and how the area was the location of a financial crisis that brought much trouble to a future prime minister. Then there are the simple pleasures of meeting my forbears in the story migrant miners from Shropshire, who founded and worshipped at the forerunner of the Methodist church where I was baptized in the 1950s. But through all of this, most of all I have come to admire those who called themselves Coalmasters and Ironmasters, fallible men in may ways, but with immense energy and ambition, and not a little intellect, who shaped the Black Country. This shaping has left deep physical scars, but it has made the area what it is, and its inhabitants what they are, for both good and ill.

There are four parts to this study of which this is the second. Part 1 deals with the development of the parish of Kingswinford from the Roman period, through Domesday and up to and including the Enclosure at the end of the eighteenth century and introduces the most prominent families of the parish.

This part is an extended study of the Fowler Maps of the parish that were produced in 1822 and 1840 and give a great deal of information about the nature of the parish at that time. After a brief introduction to the maps in Chapter 1, the geography of the parish as revealed by the maps is described in Chapter 2, and the spread of industry across the parish in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 then considers what the maps can tell us about the nature of Kingswinford society at the time. The proprietors and occupiers of the land are then set out in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 7 then describes the various townships of the parish in some detail, before some closing comments are made in Chapter 8.

Part 3 of this book looks in detail at just one part of the parish from 1840 to 1900 - the industrial village of Pensnett. Part 4 is of a somewhat different nature and looks at the careers of two individuals who spent their formative years in Pensnett but who then moved elsewhere - a clergyman and a constable. It also describes the life of one particular Pensnett community - the congregation of the Shut End Primitive Methodist church.

Finally, I perhaps need to justify my choice of material for this book. This essentially represents my own interests and concerns, and my basic method has been to simply include the material that I found appealing in one way or another, perhaps at the expense of overall clarity. My exemplar in this would be Nennius, author of the *Historia Brittonum* in the early 9th century who wrote

"...I have made a heap of all that I could find as well from the annals....".

I leave it to the reader to decide whether or not this was the correct approach. But it is to be hoped that some at least will find some of the heap's contents to be of interest.

Chris Baker Lichfield February 2023

# Chapter 1. A tale of two maps

The 1822 Fowler Map of Kingswinford Parish (DA, 1822a) 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. This firm was based in Birmingham, but, in his earlier study of the Fowler map, Richardson (1999) 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 Stourbridge Extension Canal (see below) 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 27. 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 (DA, 1822b). 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 (DA 1840a, b). This map was also produced for the proprietors of the parish, but another version served as the Tithe Agreement map - and indeed that may well have been its primary rationale (SA, 1839a, b). A comparison of the 1822 and 1840 maps shows significant changes, with the industrialisation of the area proceeding rapidly. In what follows we will discuss these maps in detail, looking at ownership and occupation patterns, the development of commerce and industry and, where appropriate, the nature of Kingswinford society in the early / mid nineteenth century.

There are a number of versions of the 1822 and 1840 maps available in the Dudley Archives, each with varying levels of colouring and annotation, the latter clearly reflecting later periods in some cases, through the addition of datable railway lines etc. We use the versions of DA (1822a, 1840a) and their associated Books of Reference (DA 1822b, 1840b). We also use additional information on land use and tithe rental values from the Tithe Map and Tithe Agreement of 1839 held by Stafford Archives (SA 1839a, b) to supplement the information in the 1840 Book of Reference. To make the searching of the information rather easier, and to be able to sort by category, the contents of both the 1822 and 1840 Books of Reference were transcribed into EXCEL, together with supplementary information from the Tithe Agreement. This was a somewhat laborious although ultimately very useful process. These spreadsheets are given in Baker (2020c, d) and described in more detail in the Appendix.

The Fowler maps 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. In presenting the details of the map, we have thus chosen to use two formats. To show the major features of the map, we use small-scale, traced maps, of the whole parish that

simply concentrate on a few aspects, conventionally oriented with north at the top. For the more detailed discussion of the centres of population in Chapter 7 we use photographic extracts from the Fowler maps themselves, using the original map orientation with north suitably labeled. In many of the small-scale maps we will also show, as points of reference, the major settlements of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill.

Extracts from the two maps are shown in Figure 1.1, for the area around Kingswinford village itself. 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 – the curved line and the letter "B" to the left of the figure for example. This particular extract also shows the Kingswinford Railway, opened in 1829 to the right of the church, about which again more will be said later.

Figure 1.1 also shows 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.



Figure 1.1 Fowler Map extracts





(c) 1822 Reference

(d) 1840 Reference

Figure 1.1 Fowler Map extracts (cont)

As noted above, the plots on the maps and in the Books of Reference are identified by numbers. However, in what follows, where there is a need to identify the location of specific plots, this will be done by referring to the geographical areas shown on Figure 1.2. The major areas A to E are the ones used in the 1822 Book of Reference, while the sub-divisions (A1, A2 etc.) have been provided for convenience, to give a more precise indication of location. The relationships between plot number and geographical area for both 1822 and 1840 Books of Reference are given in the Appendix.

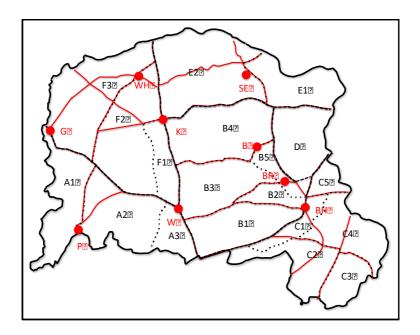


Figure 1.2 Map areas

Areas are given in the Books of Reference in acres, roods (4 to the acre) and perches (40 to the rood). In what follows we will usually express areas in hectares, although in some places it is appropriate to retain the use of acres, mainly for ease of use in data analysis. One acre is close to 0.4 hectares, and conversely one hectare is approximately 2.5 acres.

We begin our consideration of the Fowler maps and the Books of Reference in the next chapter, where we present the basic geography of the parish as revealed by the maps – its topography, major roads and settlements, and its field names. In Chapter 3 we consider the development of industry across the parish, and then in Chapter 4 we set out what the maps tell us about the society and community of the parish over the period of the maps. We then move on in Chapters 5 and 6 to think about the ownership of the land in the parish, and in particular the

major owners and large estates, building on the introduction to the major families in the area given in Part 1. In Chapter 7, we look at the occupiers of the land, and in particular consider the major farms, and the widespread distribution of crofts in parts of the parish. Chapter 8 then considers the various townships in the parish in some detail, before some closing comments are made in Chapter 9.

# Chapter 2. The geography of the parish

### **Topgraphy**

Let us first consider the general geographical nature of the parish of Kingswinford in 1822 and 1840 as revealed by the Fowler map. Figure 2.1 shows the natural features of the parish. 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). 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 a.s.l. (above sea level), falling to around 65m to 70m a.s.l. at the Stour and the Smestow on the parish boundaries. Kingswinford itself is at 83m a.s.l..

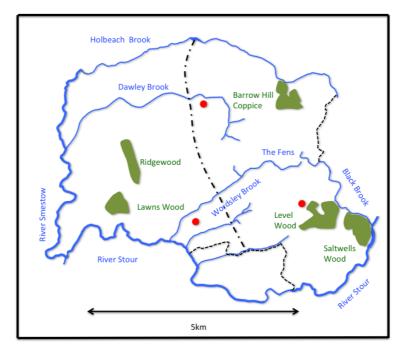
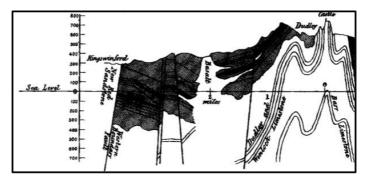


Figure 2.1 Watercourses and Woods

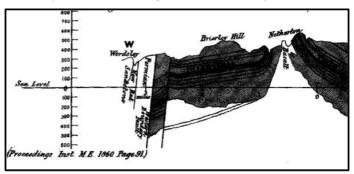
Dotted lines show the parish boundary where it does not follow watercourses and chain dotted line is the boundary of South Staffordshire coalfield. Red circles show the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill.

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 shown in Figure 2.1 (British Geological Survey, 2019). Sections of the coalfield from the writings of William Matthews of Corbyn's Hall in 1860 are given in Figure 2.2 (Matthews, 1860). In the south east of the parish around Brierley Hill, coal, together with ironstone, was near the surface and easily mined. In the north east the coal was deeper, with a significant layer of clay covering it. In the west of the parish, the predominant geological formation was sandstone. Note that the extent of the common fields

shown in Part 1 Figures 2.6 and 4.1 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. Finally note that the basalt outcrop shown in Figure 2.2a is at Barrow Hill, the remains of an ancient volcano.



a) Section from Kingswinford to Dudley Castle



b) Section from Wordsley to Netherton

Figure 2.2 Section through coalfield in 1860, from west to east

Coal measures shown in black. Vertical scale is in feet; from Matthews (1860).

#### Roads and settlements

In 1822 and 1840, 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 part of the Stourbridge first is Wolverhampton Road from south to north through Audenham, Wordsley and Town's End. The second is the Stourbridge to Dudley Road in the south and east, which runs 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 the Stourbridge to Dudley Road. Finally, the fourth is part of the Kidderminster to Wolverhampton turnpike that runs through Prestwood and joins the Stourbridge Wolverhampton Road near Wall Heath. In addition, Figure 2.3 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. The latter represents the western boundary of the 1784 Pensnett chase enclosure and is called, for obvious reasons, Commonside. In the west of the parish, it can be seen that a number of roads meet at Greensforge. In 1822, this was only the site of a forge and bridge over the Smestow, but in early Roman times, this was an important centre with a number of marching camps in the vicinity, and the roads that meet there, and extend beyond its boundaries, perhaps reflect this. It is also likely that the road from Shut End and Town's End in the direction of Greensforge, truncated by 1822, was also a through road, and its likely direction can be traced on field boundaries on the 1822 map.

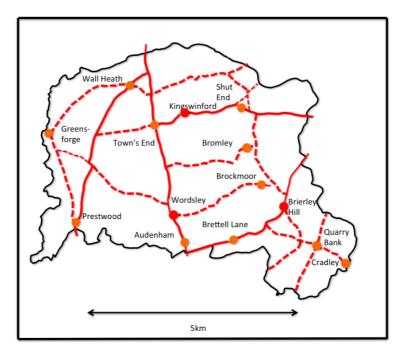


Figure 2.3 Roads and principal settlements

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.

At his point it is worth saying a little more about the road layout in Kingswinford village itself. The village is situated some way away from the modern centre in Town's End on the Stourbridge to Wolverhampton road, which reflects the fact that, in the fourteenth century the road was the boundary of Kinver Forest and the church and village were more centrally situated in the common field system east of the road. The map extract of Figure 1.1 shows that the road through the village has a couple of sharp changes in direction. This layout suggests two things. Firstly, it may reflect that the church and village were at a significant road junction, with one of the roads going towards Dudley, and the other, running north of the church, heading towards Sedgley. At the time if the

1822 map, the latter had become quite a minor track with a rather meandering course and had possibly been diverted from its original route towards Gornal Wood by the formation of the Shut End Estate. The second point to note is the sharp bend in the road at Bradlev Hall. There are two possible reasons for this. Firstly, it is possible that in medieval times this road continued in the direction of the road through Town's End and joined the Dudley Road rather further up the current Pensnett High Street. As with the more northerly road, this diversion could possibly have occurred when the Corbyn's Hall estate was founded. A number of field boundaries in the Corbyn's Hall area, could plausibly mark out such an earlier road. On the other hand, the reason for the road's winding course might be much more practical. On its current course it maintains a fairly constant one in twenty uphill gradient between Kingswinford village and the eastern edge of the parish. On the more direct, conjectured course through Corbyn's Hall, the gradients can in places reach one in five. Such slopes are reflected in the name Shut End, which simply means steep place. The shallower route may well have commended itself to its users from an early period.

#### Field names

It is well accepted that the study of field names can cast light on the development of an area and field name analysis have become a major discipline in local history studies. Much of this work is contained in the recently published volume "A new dictionary of English fieldnames" by Cavill (2018), on which will be drawn heavily in what follows.

In Part 1 Figure 4.6 the orientation of fields on the 1822 Fowler map were considered, and it was argued there that they reveal, at least in outline, the earlier medieval

field system within the parish. In this section we approach the material on the 1822 Fowler map rather differently, looking to see what field names can tell us about the physical nature of the parish and its inhabitants in the recent as well as the distant past. We use the 1822 map, as it is clear from a comparison of the two Books of Reference for the 1822 and 1840 maps that, by 1840, a significant number of fields and their names had been lost due to the creep of industry across the parish.

In the discussion that follows field location is specified by its plot number from the 1822 map and Book of Reference (DA, 1822c, d) and the region in which it located, shown in Figure 1.2.

In considering field names then, it must be acknowledged at the start that many of the names reveal little of interest with names reflecting the fact that it is simply a field (such as Fore Leasow- where Leasow simply means meadow); names referring to the size or geographical location (such as Ten Acres, Pool Piece, River Meadow); or names referring to shape. Some of the latter are interesting in their own right in the vocabulary that is use, such as Sling which refers to a thin strip of land (eg 326, B1); Stomacher describes a field having the shape of piece of cloth used in complicated undergarments (eg 1989, F2); and Shoulder of Mutton occurs a number of times as a name for a triangular shaped piece of land (eg 422, B2). One such non-descript name, already referred to in Part 1, is Broad Field - a number of small fields on the Wolverhampton to Stourbridge road bearing the name of one of the old common fields (1948, 1951, 1952, F1).

The essentially rural nature of the parish in the centuries before the 1822 map was produced can be judged by the large number of field names named after natural

features. Those named after plants are widespread across the parish and include Ashen Close (830, B4), Birchill Field (49, A1), Broomy Leasow (1880, E2), Cherry Tree Piece (556, B3), Clover Piece (1997, F2), Crab Tree Piece (435, B2), Daisy Piece (398, B1), Elm Tree Piece (2033, F2), Gorse Close (122, A2), Hawthorn Tree Piece (2032, F2), Holly Hill (50, A1), Honey Suckle (1845, E2), Nut Hook Piece (580, B3), Pear Tree Field (2085, F2), Rye Grass Close (2150, F3), Sycamore Piece (2164, F3), Stars Piece (1868, E2, perhaps referring to sedge), Thistly Piece (701, B4), Wormwood Bank (1036, C2) and Yew Tree Piece (1758, E2). It might be conjectured that such names would be quite ephemeral and would disappear when the named plant was no longer present. There are significantly fewer fields with animal or bird names -Frog Meadow (810, B4), Ravensich (1084, C2), and Rookery Meadow (1896, E2). Woodcocks are referred to in a variety of names such as Cockshut (347, B1) and perhaps also a group of names such as Cooknall (646, B3), Cooknall Wood (648, B3), Cooknall Hill (649, B3 Little Cooknall (650, B3), which all possibly (but not certainly) indicate places where woodcocks were trapped. The nature of much of the ground can also be judged from a number of fields that refer to heathland or moor - Heath Brook Piece (2061, F2) and Large Moor Meadow (666, B3) for example.

As might also be expected, each region of the parish has a considerable number of field names that refer to manmade features. In terms of buildings these include Alms House Piece (1976, E2, possibly the income from which was at one time directed towards the support of Alms Houses), Barn Close (2067, F2), Bradley Hall Meadow (723, B4), Chapel Barn Leasow (29, A1), Corbyn's Hall Bank (844, B4), Court House Leasow (749, B4), Noah's Ark (2040, F2, possibly referring to a field with isolated buildings, such as might protrude from a flood) and

Windmill Piece (2166, F3). Infrastructure names can also be found - Bridge Meadow (39, A1), Finger Post Piece (112, A2), Foot Road Piece (551, B3), Road Piece (589, B3) and Turnpike Piece (2108, F3). The daily life of an agricultural society is reflected in names such as Dove House Close (876, B5), Fish Pit Piece (753, B4), Fold Yard Piece (1973, F1), Forge Meadow (2126, F2), Rick Yard Piece (8, A1) and Well Leasow (1505, C5). However in 1822 it is clear that the parish was in the transition between agriculture and heavy industry, and the latter is also reflected in field names such as Foundry Meadow (283, A3), Furnace Piece (1613, E1), thought to be the field in which Dud Dudley constructed his early iron smelting furnace (see Part 1), Gin Pit Leasow (1701, E2), Gravel Pit Piece (2021, F2), Limekiln Piece (335, B!) and Quarry Leasow (560, B3). Field names including the words Brick Kiln were quite widely spread across all parts of the parish - the Brick industry will be considered further in the next chapter. There were also a cluster of field names including coal, particularly between Bromley Lane and Brockmoor, suggesting an old established mining presence in that area. Finally, there were a number of fields named after settlements - Dawley Meadow (1884, E2), Inksford Piece (2224, F3), Townsend Piece (1913. F1), Wall Heath Green (2087, F2) and Wordsley Green Piece (172, A3).

There are a number of other names that reflect man made features that are of particular interest for their content. Cut Throat (703, B4), between Standhills and the Wolverhampton to Stourbridge Road, may refer to a place where a murder or violence has taken place. Gibbet field (415, B2), between Moor Lane and Brettell Lane has other, obvious, connotations. Furberows (304, B1) near Audenham might be a corruption of Far Berows, where Berows refers to a place where there is a cairn or grave. The name of Standhills (757, B4), between Bromley Lane

and the Turnpike Road from Kingswinford to Dudley, is of particular interest for reasons connected to the field analysis of Part 1. The name is likely to be a shortening of Stone Delph Hill, a hill containing a stone quarry. The Fowler 1822 map shows that Standhills seemed to act as a focus for field boundaries from all directions. Although this might reflect to some degree the topography of the hill itself, it does suggest that this feature might be a boundary between different field systems – perhaps systems B, C, D and E in Part 1 Figure 2.6.

A number of fields have names reflecting land quality such as Barnett Leasow (1710, E2, Burnt Land), Clampack (2107, F3, poor or infertile land), Gravelly Piece (2118, F3), Horton (719, B4, muddy land), Great Negro Field (339, B1, probably black earth), Rough Leasow (722, B4), Sandy Lands (2093, F2), Stakens (310, B1, land cleared of tree stumps), Upper Stony Butts (393, B1) or Wharrs / Whergs (807, B4) which means land which grew or grows willow – and which can be expected to be somewhat damp. In more derogatory terms we find Little Gain (78, A2), Quagmire (1571, D) and Spiteful Piece (699, B4).

As might be expected a number of fields seem to be named after people – presumably former owners. Very few such names actually occur amongst the owners and occupiers of land in 1822 and thus reflect the names of owners from previous decades and centuries.

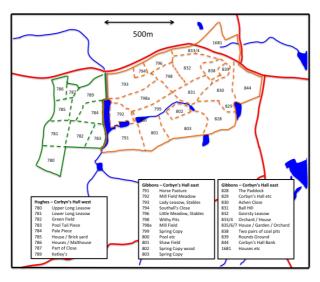
Finally, there are two names that may have spiritual or magical connotations. The first of these is Bug Hole Piece (678, B3) on Bromley Lane. Cavill suggests this could be related to a name such as Boggard Piece - a place haunted by Goblins, or a secluded or dangerous place. This hardly seems to fit the location, and it is possible the name results from much less mysterious reasons. Secondly there is Blaze Hill (2141, F3). It was suggested in Part 1

that this could be the location of Belstowe, which appears in a 10<sup>th</sup> century charter on the bounds of the estate of Eswich (i.e. Ashwood). The name means funeral pyre / holy place. The location does not quite correspond with that set out in the charter, but the coincidence of name and the nature of the topography strongly suggests that this is a likely identification.

Finally, there are a number of names that the author cannot interpret, and any help from readers would be appreciated. These include Becknall Fields (1783, E2), Bedlit Rough (595, B3), Corporals (535, B3), Bumble Hole (495, B2), Far Dullestry (2144, F3), Jack Ellis (395, B1), Little Snyden (27, A1), Stid Field (1741, E2), Such (605, B3) or Trustins (389, B1). Wartall (1904, F1) and Mosgrove (2047, F2), which clearly reflect the names of the old common fields, are also in this category.

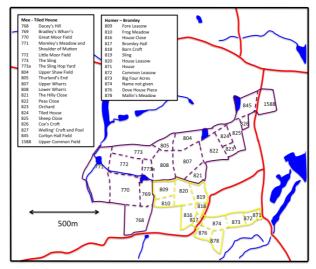
The field names from the 1822 map for the Corbyn's Hall, Tiled House and Bromley House estates are shown in Figure 2.4. It was conjectured in Part 1 that these estates, in the centre of the parish between the common fields and the Pensnett Chase Enclosure, were of some antiquity and dated back to the Middle Ages. One might thus expect the field names in this area to date back, in some form, for several centuries. A close examination of the field names on these figures reveals many of the features noted above. The boundaries of the Corbyn's Hall estate in 1703 and 1754 have already been shown in Part 1 Figure 5.4. The maps on which this figure is based also give details of field names in the estate and are in the main very similar to those shown in Figure 2.4 from However small changes also occur. corruptions / changes creeping in as the names were passed from generation to generation - for example Mansell's Meadow in 1704 and 1754 (then in the Corbyn's Hall Estate) has become two fields in the Tiled House Estate in 1822 - Moreley's Meadow and Shoulder of Mutton, the latter name being descriptive of the shape of the field.

So what can be concluded from the field names of the parish? Broadly they show what the maps show more generally, that in Kingswinford parish in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century we have an essentially rural area reflected in many of the names, with some names reflecting the beginnings of industrial activity. The number of field names falls significantly between the 1822 map and the 1840 map as growing industrialization renders field boundaries irrelevant and memory of the names is lost.



## a) Corbyn's Hall Estates

The Corbyn's Hall estate is split between the area around the Hall shown by brown lines, and the area to the west of the Dawley Brook, and indicated by green lines.



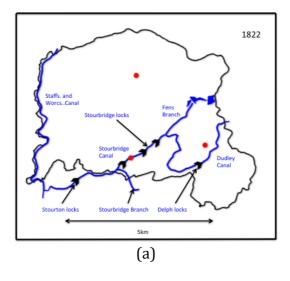
b) Tiled House and Bromley House Estates
Tiled House estate is indicated by purple lines, and the Bromley Hall
estate by yellow lines.

Figure 2.4 Field names from the 1822 map

## Chapter 3. The quest for coal

#### Introduction

In the period between 1822 and 1840, the old established coal and ironstone reserves of the Brierley Hill and Brockmoor areas began to be less productive and the remaining coal more difficult to extract. Whilst some of the pits in this area continued to be mined, many were abandoned as unprofitable and new coal and ironstone reserves were developed in the centre and north of the parish, particularly in the Corbyn's Hall and Shut End areas. In this chapter we continue our interrogation of the Fowler maps by firstly considering how the transportation links developed across the parish, and then looking at the spread of the coal, iron and brick industries between 1822 and 1840.



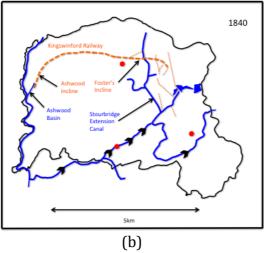


Figure 3.1 Canals, railways and tramways

The red circles how the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill. Canals are shown in blue. The Kingswinford railway is indicated by the thick brown dashed line, and tramways by thin brown dashed lines.

#### **Transport**

The most noticeable change between the 1822 and 1840 maps was the development of canals, railways and tramways. Figure 3.1a 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 indutrialized area of the parish, to an end on junction with the Dudley Canal (also opened in 1779) at the bottom of Delph locks (Hadfield, 1966). 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). Figure 3.1b shows the canals, railways and tramways from the 1840 map. There can be seen to have been significant developments. The Kingswinford Railway (Gale, 1975) 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, with inclined planes at either end. 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 (Hadfield, 1966). 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 3.2 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. In 1822 this area was ill-served by transport links (Figure 3.2a), and industry was clustered around the Stourbridge Canal

main line and its Fens Branch and thus to improve the accessibility of this area. Lord Dudley and James Foster of Foster Rastrick and Co. opened the Kingswinford Railway in 1829 (Figure 3.3a). This ran from a new basin at Ashwood on the Staffordshire and Worcestershire canal. up a 1:28 incline to a level section from the top of the incline to just north of Kingswinford village (Figure 3.2b). From there it ran up another inclined plane with a gradient of 1:29, known as Foster's incline (A) to a final level 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. (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 (Figure 3.3b), which was built by Foster Rastrick (Wikipedea, 2019p). 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).

By 1840 (Figure 3.2c) the Stourbridge Extension Canal had been built in close association with the Stourbridge Canal Company - indeed half of the members of the Canal Committee were also 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, owner of the Shut End works and Francis Rufford, a clay merchant. The canal ran from a junction on the Fens branch to Oak Farm, just off the top of the map of Figure 3.2c 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 Company under the terms of the Extension Canal Act (Hadfield, 1966). 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.

The access from the Shut End Works to the Kingswinford Railway is of particular interest. In both Gale (1975) and Williams (2014) it is implied that an incline was constructed at the time of the opening of the railway from the bottom of Foster's incline into the Shut End works along the line of the avenue of trees in front of Shut End Hall on the 1822 map (Bradley's incline). The 1832 map shows no sign of this at all, and the avenue of trees is still visible. The works seem rather to be connected to the railway via a long tramway siding to the top of Foster's incline (G to C in Figure 5.2b). It thus seems that this incline was built after 1832, sometime after the works was opened in 1831. On the 1840 map (Figure 5.2c) the incline can be seen only to the west of the Stourbridge Extension Canal (0). By the time of Ordnance Survey map of 1882 (see Part 3 of this book). the incline is disused, and the works are connected to the railway system by a line taking a similar trajectory to that Figure 3.2b but connecting instead with Kingswinford Branch of the GWR, built in 1862.

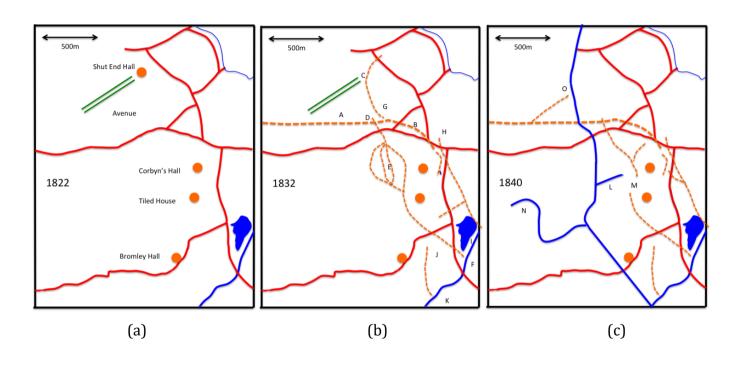


Figure 3.2 Development of Canals, Railways and Tramways in the Shut End and Bromley areas

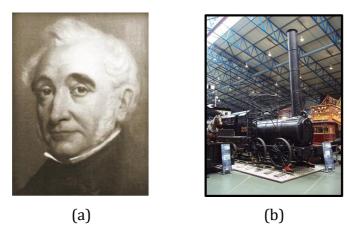


Figure 3.3 James Foster and the Agenoria

History Website (2019b) and Wikipedia (2019p)

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 Junction Canal" that would Birmingham 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. 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. 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 Worcestershire proposal seems to have been resurrected in some form, as a canal from Hinksford to Lord Dudley's mines at Barrow Hill. 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 Lord Dudley's Pensnett Canal, a short canal from the Dudley Canal to the Round Oak area, to form an alternative route to the Stourbridge Canal. (The first short stretch of the Pensnett Canal can be seen on the 1840 map in the Wallows area – a construction site captured in time.)

However, it was soon to be shown that the worries of the Stourbridge Extension companies were quite justified. In 1840 a proposal was put forward by the Dudley Estate for a canal that joined with the Extension Canal at Shut End at the Stourbridge level of 353 feet, then rose through 19 locks to the Wolverhampton level on the Old Park area, where it was joined by an extended Pensnett Canal (DA, 1840c), (DA, 1841). It then passed through a tunnel before joining the Birmingham Canal at Tipton near the northern portal of the Dudley Tunnel. This would have served the Dudley Estates developments in the Wallows and Old Park area and would also have served the Estate mines in the Barrow Hill area. Moreover, a direct connection with the proposed Staffordshire and Worcestershire branch would have been straightforward near the junction with the Stourbridge Extension Canal as they were on the same level. But, as Hadfield remarks, the time was past, and the newer more efficient railways were already beginning to make inroads into the area, and the scheme was never progressed. Had it done so, the canal map of the south western black country would have been very difficult.

## **Coal Mining**

The distributions of the coalmines in 1822 and 1840 are shown in Figures 3.4a and 3.4b, 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 sixfoot shafts to raise the coal on an endless chain system (Chapman, 2005). 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 Stoubridge Extension Canal. There is also a "hollowing out" of activity in the Brierley Hill area, presumably as the reserves there were depleted.

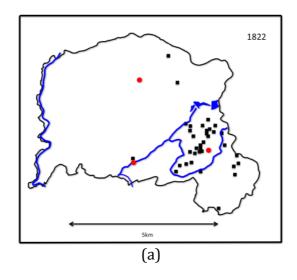
Figures 3.5a and 3.5b shows the locations of "Old Colliery Land" and "spoil" in 1822 and 1840. The picture here is quite revealing, with Old Colliery Land and Spoil becoming very common in the Brierley Hill area as the mines there closed. The newer pits to the north were also producing significant spoil at this stage.

Figures 3.6a and 3.6b 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 general on the south of 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.

In 1822, the major mine operators in the parish were Lord Dudley himself (5), and the firms of Izon and Whitehurst (7), Hughes and Eades (4), and Pidcock and Brettell (2), with Benjamin Gibbons also operating 4 mines. In 1840 the major mine owner was again the Dudley Estate with 14 plots of land with mines. George and William Firmstone; George Wassell; Homer, Dudley and Briscoe; Oak Farm Colliery Co.; Samuel Hodson and Josh King; and William Foster and William Orme all owned two coal mining plots of land.

# **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 3.7. Interestingly these are mainly in the inner area of he 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 are 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.



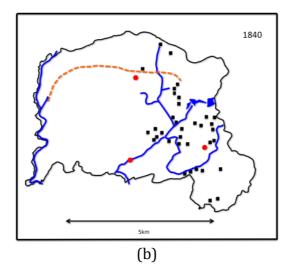


Figure 3.4 Distribution of coal pits

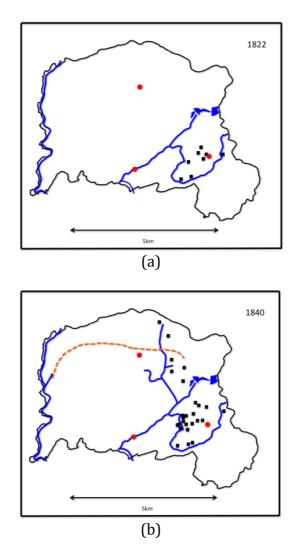


Figure 3.5 Distribution of Old Colliery Land and Spoil

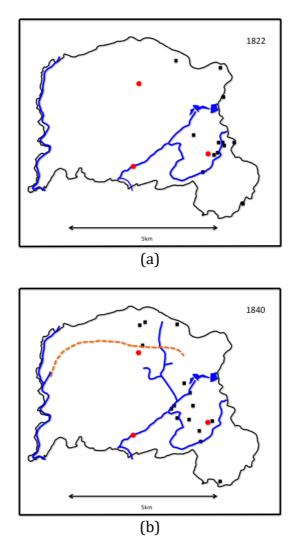
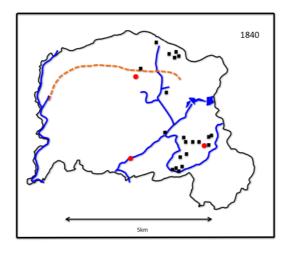


Figure 3.6 Distribution of Engines



**Figure 3.7 Ironstone Pits** 

#### Iron and Glass works

3.8a 3.8b shows the and geographical distribution of the iron and glass manufacturing industry. The former is concentrated in the Brierlev 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 (1966). 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 (GG, 2019l) 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 (GG, 2019k). The major Glass Works owners,

largely around Wordsley were Michael Grazebrook, William Wheeley, John Honeyborne, Pidcock Cope and Co., and Bradley, Ensall and Holt and Co. A full description is given in the extensive survey of Ellis (2002).

## **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 3.9a 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 3.9b 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.

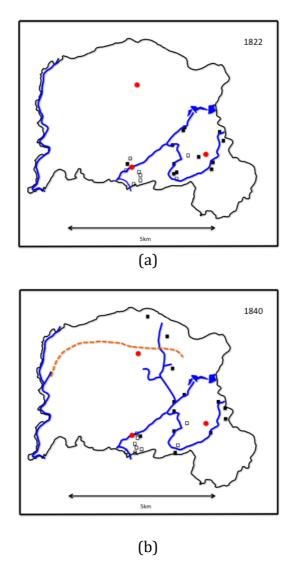


Figure 3.8 Distribution of Iron Works and Glass works

Filled squares indicate Iron Works. Open squares indicate Glass Works. The red circles how the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill.

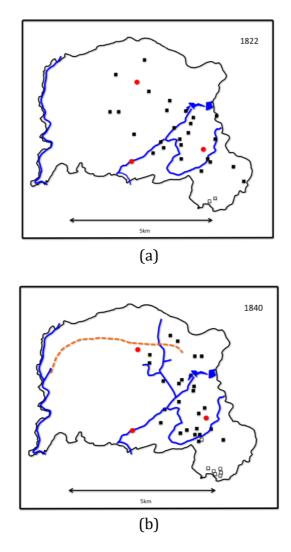


Figure 3.9 Brick and Clay

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

# **Chapter 4. Society and community**

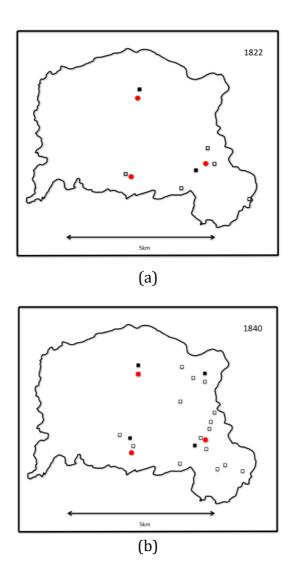


Figure 4.1 Churches and Chapels

Filled squares are Anglican churches or chapels and open squares are non-conformist meeting houses. The red circles are the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill

# **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 (1832) 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 (Guttery, 1974), and went through several stage of rebuilding and extension. In 1822 (Figure 4.1a), 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. Jeremiah Bague (see Part 1 of this book) was one of the trustees. It appears as Cradley chapel on the 1784 Pensnett Chase Enclosure Map. The congregation moved to Nether End in 1796 and sold the chapel to a Methodist congregation (Cradley Links, 2019a).

By 1840 (Figure 4.1b), 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. These will be discussed further later in this chapter when the individual townships are discussed.

# **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 (opened in 1836), which used the older Kingswinford Workhouse: a number of schools; and a very wide range of public houses. The latter served both as meeting places and also as the centres for Friendly Societies, which provided pensions for their members. Figures 4.2a and 4.2b show the distribution of schools in 1822 and 1840 - these include private schools, church-based schools and (by 1840) National Schools. Figure 4.3 shows the public houses in 1822. Unfortunately, it is not possible to produce a similar figure for 1840, and the Book of Reference does not fully identify them. Both schools and pubs will be discussed further when we consider the individual townships below. 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 4.2 perhaps indicates where the priorities of the inhabitants lav in 1822.

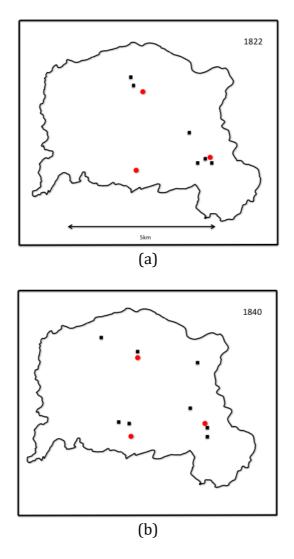


Figure 4.2 Schools

Filled squares are schools of various types. The red circles are the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill

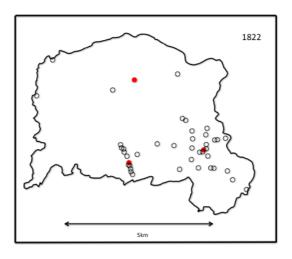


Figure 4.3 Public Houses in 1822

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

# Chapter 5. Ownership of the land 1822-1840

#### **Overview**

In this chapter we will consider the ownership of the land, in terms of statistics of areas and usage, and how it changed between 1822 and 1840. In the next chapter we will consider the proprietors themselves in rather more detail, building on the family genealogies of Part 1.

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 5.1 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.

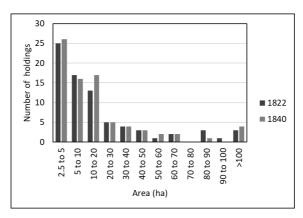


Figure 5.1. Distribution of proprietor holding areas in 1822 and 1840.

The twenty largest landholders in 1822 and 1840 are shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 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. 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.

Other large proprietors include Jonathan Stokes, 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. 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 5.1 and 5.2, 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 5.1 and 5.2 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.

Proprietor	Total (ha)	Farms (ha)	Crofts (ha)	Indust - rial (ha)	Resid- ential (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 5.1. Major proprietors in 1822

Proprietor	Total (ha)	Farms (ha)	Crofts (ha)	Indust - rial (ha)	Resid- ential (ha)
Trustees of Earl of Dudley	1069.7	723.3	62.1	84.1	74.3
	266.4	2140		7.5	1.8
J.H.H. Foley		214.9	F 0		
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	2.2
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 5.2. Major proprietors in 1840

#### **Farms**

The proprietors holding the largest ten areas of farming land are shown in table 5.3. As farming land predominates in the land holding, this largely mirrors the lists of Tables 5.1 and 5.2, 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.

#### **Crofts**

Table 5.4 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 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 Ouarry 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.

1822		1840		
Proprietor	Area (ha)	Proprietor	Area (ha)	
Lord Dudley	606	Earl of Dudley Trustees	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	J. and B. Gibbons	37.8	
John Addenbrooke	49	Rev Henry Hill	52.6	
Richard Mee	46.7	Edward Addenbrooke	50.3	
Total	2371	Total	2184	

**Table 5. 3. Proprietors of farms** 

1822		1840		
Proprietor	Area (ha)	Proprietor		
Lord Dudley	54.8	Earl of Dudley Trustees	54.8	
Joseph Cox	4.4	Joseph Cox	4.4	
Keeling's Trustees	3.5	Keeling's Trustees	3.5	
J.H.H. Foley	2.6	J.H.H. Foley	2.6	
Hughes and Eades	2.0	Hughes and Eades	2.0	
William Wheeley	1.9	William Wheeley	1.9	
Joseph Robinson	1.9	Joseph Robinson	1.9	
Keeling's Trust	1.8	Keeling's Trust	1.8	
Thomas Wright	1.5	Thomas Wright	1.5	
Richard Jabet	1.5	Richard Jabet	1.5	

Table~5.4.~Proprietors~of~land~used~for~crofts.

#### Industrial land

Table 5.5 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.

#### Residential

Table 5.6 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.

1822		1840		
Proprietor	Area (ha)	Proprietor	Area (ha)	
Stourbridge Canal Co.	30.4	Earl of Dudley Trustees	82.3	
Lord Dudley	28.4	Stourbridge Canal Co.	31.0	
Keeling's Trustees	12.7	James Foster	18.5	
S. &W. Canal Co.	10.7	J. and B. Gibbons	16.7	
Thomas Honeyborne	7.2	Oak Farm Colliery Co.	11.1	
J. H. H. Foley	5.8	S. &W. 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	Foster and Orme	7.3	
Total	146.4	Total	291.4	

Table~5.5.~Proprietors~of~industrial~land

1822		1840		
Proprietor	Area (ha)	Proprietor A		
Lord Dudley	61.0	Lord Dudley	61.0	
Keeling's Trustees	16.4	Keeling's Trustees	16.4	
Thomas Brettell	6.1	Thomas Brettell	6.1	
J.H.H. Foley, Esq.	4.4	J.H.H. Foley, Esq.	4.4	
Homer and Others	4.1	Homer and Others	4.1	
James Cox	3.5	James Cox	3.5	
Thomas Honeyborne	3.5	Thomas Honeyborne	3.5	
William Wheeley	3.1	William Wheeley	3.1	
Benjamin Brettell	3.1	Benjamin Brettell	3.1	
William Hughes	2.8	William Hughes	2.8	

Table 5.6. Proprietors of residential land

### 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. 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 5.7.

	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 5.7. 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, 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 Hev 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 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 whv reaching agreement 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 5.2) 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.

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 5.7. 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 5.2). 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.

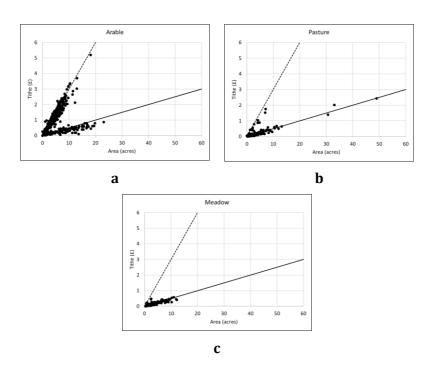


Figure 5.2. Tithe payment against plot area

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

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 5.8. The tithe payers

# Chapter 6. The proprietors 1822-1840

In this chapter we will give brief biographies of the Proprietors that appear in the 1822 and 1840 Books of Reference. The various "houses" and "halls" where they resided are shown in Figure 6.1 below and will be referred to in what follows.

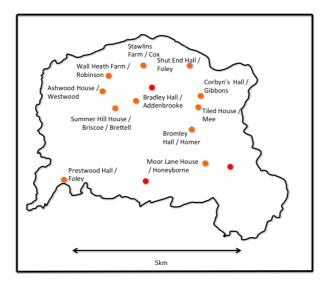


Figure 6.1 Houses and Halls

Both Briscoe and Brettell own and occupy premises called Summer Hill House that seem to be adjacent to each other. Red circles show townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill.

# The Dudley Estate

In both 1822 and 1840 the major landholder was the estate of the Lord of the Manor, Lord Dudley. In 1822 the holder of this title, or more properly the title Viscount

Dudley and Ward, was William Ward, Tory MP for Worcester from 1780 to 1788 before taking up his place in the House of Lords (Wikipedia, 2019e). His residence was at Himley Hall, outside the parish, from where the whole Dudley estate, in Kingswinford parish and elsewhere, was administered. He was succeeded in 1823 by his son, John. John was again a prominent number parliamentarian and represented ofconstituencies before taking up his seat in the Lords following the death of his father (Figure 6.2) He served as Foreign Secretary from 1827 to 1828 and was created Earl of Dudley and Viscount Ednam in 1827 (Wikipedia, 2019g). He died, childless in 1833 when the titles of Earl and Viscount became extinct. His title of Baron Ward passed to his second cousin, Rev. William Humble Ward (Wikipedia, 2019h). William's son, another William, born in 1817, inherited the Dudley estate as a minor. The younger William succeeded to his father's title of Baron Ward when the latter died in 1835. In 1840 the estate was managed by a number of trustees.



Figure 6.2 John Ward, Viscount Dudley and Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley

National Portrait Gallery (2019a)

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 19thcentury bishops. It was these trustees who made a claim for compensation for the three estates of Whitney (284 slaves); Rymesbury (320 slaves) and New Yarmouth (70 slaves), and whose names thus appear in the records, although they were never slave owners themselves. They were allocated £12,728 in total (LBS, 2023).

The large Dudley land ownership in Kingswinford arises of course from the fact that they were the hereditary Lords of the Manor and thus the de facto "owners" of much of the land, and the estate also received much of the land from the 1776 and 1784 enclosures - 257 ha from the Ashwood Enclosure and 275 ha from the Pensnett Chase Enclosure, a total of 533 ha. In addition, he was the proprietor of land in the Barrow Hill area, large areas of farmland in the north of the parish, and numerous scattered plots of housing and commercial land in the south of the parish in the Wordsley, Brettell and Brierley Hill areas. The extent of these holdings was increased in 1840 by the addition of some of the holdings of the Keeling Trustees (see below) in the Pensnett area, and by the acquisition of sizeable land holdings from others especially Benjamin Gibbons. **Thomas** Westwood, Joseph Robinson and Thomas Briggs. This land acquisition was common enough to suggest it might have been a deliberate policy of the estate trustees. Importantly the terms of the enclosure acts ensured that the Dudley estate owned the mining rights under all the enclosed areas.

# Foley - Prestwood and Shut End

The next largest block of lands was held by J. H. H. Foley, Esq, of Prestwood Hall, or more fully John Hodgetts Hodgetts-Foley (1797-1861) (Wikipedia, 2019i), the Whig MP for Droitwich from 1822 to 1835, and for East Worcestershire from 1847 to 1861. He was descended, as the name implies, from the Hodgetts and Foley families see Part 1 Figure 5.7- and was married to Charlotte Margaret Gage, granddaughter of General Thomas Gage, who commanded the British armies in the early stages of the US War of Independence. His properties were built around the old Hodgetts estates in Shut End, the former lands of the Bendy family in Shut End and Holbeach, and the Foley inheritance at Prestwood. He had also gained significant land from the Enclosure Acts in the Ashwood enclosure, largely extending his Prestwood holdings, and also some land in the Pensnett area following the enclosure of the Chase. In 1822, Foley himself lived at Prestwood, while Shut End Hall was leased to Thomas Dudley (1749-1829), part of the Dudley family with extensive inter-generational marriage links with the Hodgetts, Keelings and others – see Part 1 Figure 5.10.

By 1840 Foley's total ownership in the parish had decreased somewhat, through the sale of the Shut End Estate to James Foster (GG, 2019e). Foster was a prominent local Ironmaster from Stourbridge, who owned the firm John Bradley and Co., and was also partner in Foster, Rastrick and Co. He radically changed the nature of the Shut End Estate, with the demolition of the Hall, and the building of the Shut End Blast Furnaces in the grounds, together with associated coal and iron stone mines. He was also instrumental in the building of the Kingswinford Railway (Gale, 1974) and the Stourbridge Extension canal (Hadfield, 1966) to serve these works (see below).

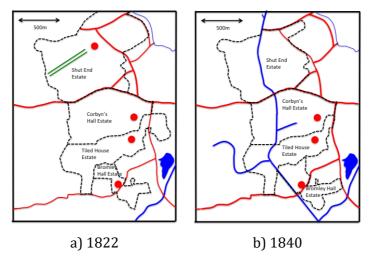


Figure 6.3 The central estates on the 1822 and 1840 maps

The green lines show the "avenue" at Shut End Hall in 1822. The red circles show the locations of the halls after which the estates are named.

The extent of the Shut End Estate in 1822 and 1840 is shown in Figures 6.3a and b and can be seen to lie north of the Turnpike Road between Kingswinford and Dudley. These also show the other nearby estates of Corbyn's Hall, Tiled House and Bromley Hall, and will be referred to below. However, it is clear they form a coherent block of land in the centre of the parish between the area of the common fields to the west and the Pensnett Chase enclosure to the east.

# The Keeling Trustees

John Keeling (1713-1783), a former Agent and Steward of the Dudley Estate, owned a considerable amount of land across the parish, one suspects through a series of

judicious marriages over the preceding three or four Much of this arose from the Ashwood generations. enclosure but he also owned a number of small plots throughout the parish and particularly industrialised regions. He had no legitimate children through his marriage with Ann Hodgetts, daughter of the Rector Thomas Hodgetts (Part 1 Figure 5.7) and there were clearly complications concerning his inheritance, as his estate was in the hands of Trustees from his death until 1825. Some of his estate however seems to have been given directly to the successors of his illegitimate children by his housekeeper Mary Dovey. These holdings are represented on the 1822 map by the lands belonging to Emmetta Freeman, his daughter-in-law.

At the time of the production of the 1822 map the Keeling Trustees administered considerable amount of property scattered across the parish. To the property at the time of John's death was added a considerable amount of land from the Pensnett Chase Enclosure (in 1784, after John died) that allocated the Trustees much land in the Fens and Shut End, such that the total holding was 243 ha.

In 1825 the Trustees disposed of their holdings, some to the Dudley Estate, but also to the partnership of Homer, Dudley and Briscoe – the three families who were his primary heirs, mainly through marriage with John's sisters. The Briscoe family seems to have held other lands as well, presumably through the paternal lines. In view of the large amount of land that passed to the Dudley Estate in proportion to that passed to relatives, one can conjecture that the reason for the 40 year long Trusteeship was some sort of dispute as to whether the land was held by Keeling personally or as a one-time Steward / Agent of the Dudley Estate.

### **Stokes**

In 1822, Jonathan Stokes held a number of scattered properties across the parish, including properties in the recently enclosed areas. In 1840, these were in the hands of a John Allen Stokes. Now it is known that in 1788, a Rebecca Stokes, widow of Ionathan Stokes, Gentleman of Worcester, was involved in the sale of a plot of land on which the Red House Glassworks in Wordsley was built (Ellis, 2002). Rebecca and Jonathan were the parents of Jonathan Stokes (1755-1831) (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2013), born in Chesterfield, who was an Edinburgh trained doctor, and, from 1782 to 1788 was a member of the Lunar Society (Figure 6.4). He is remembered for his work, in collaboration with others, on the uses of digitalis. He had a practice in Stourbridge for a number of years from 1782 to 1785. From there he moved first to Shrewsbury, then Kidderminster, and finally back to Chesterfield in 1795. His membership of the Lunar Society ended following fierce arguments with his colleague William Withering over authorship of a book. He married Ann Rogers, a "minor poet" at Dronfield in 1784. The marriage was four months after the birth of Jonathan and Ann's first child John Rogers Stokes (1784 – 1818), and Jonathan does not appear on the baptismal record. Their second son John Allen Stokes was born in Shrewsbury in 1786, being baptized in a Presbyterian Meeting House. They had other children. Of particular note are Anna Honora Seward Stokes (1791-1792) and Honora Anna Seward Stokes (b1794) both named after Anna Seward, 'The Swan of Lichfield" with whom they were close friends. His son and successor John Allen Stokes was the Surveyor of Roads for Worcestershire. How the Stokes came into the ownership of extensive lands in Kingswinford is not clear. One possible route comes from a recorded marriage in 1781 between Nancy Freeman, one of the illegitimate children of John Keeling (see Part 1, Figure 5.8) and one William Stokes. Links with either Jonathan however cannot be demonstrated, so this is conjectural. As noted above, Nancy's sister-in-law, Emmetta Freeman was in possession of a significant block of land in both 1822 and 1840, and perhaps we have here again an indication of how John Keeling secured the future of his illegitimate offspring.



Figure 6.4 Soho House venue of the Lunar Society
Wikipedia (2019s)

# Gibbons - Corbyn's Hall

As outlined in Part 1 the Gibbons family were originally from the Sedgley area and developed a significant banking and industrial concern in Bristol, Kingswinford and Wolverhampton by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, headed by the three brothers – Thomas (1730-1813), William (1732-1807) and Benjamin (1735-1832). In 1779, the family purchased the Corbyn's Hall estate, which included Shut End House (GG, 2019d). In 1814 Benjamin made over the Level furnaces and other industrial plant to his nephews - John (1777-1851), Benjamin (1783-1873) and Thomas (1787-1829) in return for an annuity and ownership of the Corbyn's Hall Estate. The three younger Gibbons brothers were declared bankrupt as bankers in 1816, in the slump following the Napoleonic

Wars, pulling the iron business down with them. Fortunately, the elder Benjamin, as a preferential creditor, was able to take control of some of the iron and coal interests and save the family firm from total ruin. The younger Gibbons brothers continued to develop the Corbyn's Hall Collieries and Blast Furnaces, which were built by them about 1824. The Gibbons brothers were major innovators in terms of iron production, and the hydraulic lift at Corbyn's Hall furnaces could raise around 500 tonnes of raw material a day to the top of the furnaces (Raybould, 2014). The extent of the estate at this time can be seen in Figure 6.3. The Book of Reference for the 1822 map lists Benjamin as proprietor, but many of the fields were rented to others. There is a reference to two pairs of coal pits, machine office, engine, tool house etc., in a field to the south of Shut End House. Corbyn's Hall was occupied by Michael Grazebrook, who also leased a number of the surrounding fields. Benjamin senior (1735-1832) occupied a house on Commonside. whilst the younger Benjamin (1783-1873) occupied Shut End House.

The elder Benjamin died in 1832. In the 1830s the Electoral Registers indicate that the younger Benjamin and brother John were living at Corbyn's Hall. In 1833 Shut End House was occupied by Henry Bradley, the business partner of James Foster of Shut End. In 1838 much of the estate was leased to William Mathews and John Dudley, ironmasters, for a period of 63 years to 1901 (DA, 1838). Benjamin however continued to live in Corbyn's Hall and is recorded as being there in the Book of Reference for the 1840 Fowlers Map and the 1841 census. By 1840 Figure 6.3 shows considerable changes to the estate, with the Stourbridge Extension Canal dividing it in two, with a branch from the canal serving the Corbyn's Hall furnaces. That Book of Reference indicates that by then, whist the estate was still owned by

the Gibbons, it was almost fully leased to Matthews, Dudley and Co. The Corbyn's Hall furnaces are listed, as are three coal plus three (iron) stone pits etc., and the mines to the south of Shut End House are also referred to. A William Gibbons (presumably Benjamin and John's cousin – see Part 1 Figure 5.9) is recorded as living at Shut End House. A portrait of Benjamin from the 1860s is shown in Figure 6.5.



Figure 6.5 Benjamin Gibbons (1783-1873) in the 1860s

National Portrait Gallery (2019b)

### **Brettell - Summer Hill House**

The Brettell family had been established in the area for many centuries (as can be judged from the fact that they shared a name with a major road through the area). They were important players in the local glass industry. The family linkages of the Brettells are very difficult to track with certainty. In 1822, the holdings of Thomas Brettell are mainly centred on Summer Hill house (Figure 6.1), where he lived, but with scattered lands in the Brettell lane area. Another Thomas Brettell resided in the Tiled House as a tenant of Richard Mee (see below). The

relationship between the two Thomas' is not clear – or indeed whether they are the same or different people. In 1840 the lands of the first Thomas were split between Anna Maria Brettell (mainly in the Brettell Lane area) and Penelope Brettell (in the Kingswinford / Wordsley area) and Revd. Henry Hill in the region around Summer Hill House. Anna Maria and Penelope were presumably Thomas' daughters.

### Hinde

As well as holding the Glebe land as Rector of the parish, Rev. Nathaniel Hinde was also a major landowner in his own right with agricultural land holdings in the Ashwood area, and some industrial / housing land in the Brierley Hill area. By 1840, much of this land was in the hands of the Dudley Trustees.

# **Stourbridge Canal Company**

The lands owned by the Stourbridge Canal Company are very much as would be expected – the canals themselves, reservoirs, basin, towing paths, toll houses and small lock keeper's cottages. Some of the land seems to have been sold off between 1822 and 1840, mainly around the wharfs in the Brockmoor area. Of course, the Stourbridge Company wasn't the only canal landholder and the Staffordshire and Worcestershire, Dudley and Stourbridge Extension Companies all had similar, but less extensive, holdings, and thus do not feature in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

# Honeyborne / Atkinson

Robert Honeyborne (1729-1769) built the Moor Lane Glass Works in around 1740. He married twice, the

second time in 1745 to Jane Hodgetts, and they had three children Robert (1746-1802), John (1747-) and Thomas (1751-1831). It is likely that this Jane Hodgetts was the daughter of John Hodgetts (1676-1723) and Mary Bennet (Part 1 Figure 5.7), who was born in 1711 and baptized in Kingswinford. If this is indeed the case, and it must be regarded as not proven, then it is yet another illustration of the links between the major families in Kingswinford area. After the elder Robert's death, the younger Robert took over the Glass Works and passed these on to Thomas on his death in 1802 (Ellis, 2002). In 1822 Thomas held a range of domestic, commercial and industrial premises in the Moor Lane area, and arable land in the Wordsley area. John lived at Moor Lane House and operated the adjacent Moor Lane Glass House. On John's bankruptcy in 1824, Thomas leased the works to Joseph Stevens and Joseph Silvers, who had probably worked for the Honeybornes. By 1840, these lands had passed to Joseph Atkinson, a nephew of Thomas, who lived in Fairy Hall, Rathowen, Ireland (DA, 1844b; Irish National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, 2019). Stevens and Silvers remained as operators of the works, with Joseph Silvers and his family living at Moor Lane House.

# Addenbrooke - Bradley Hall

In 1822 John Addenbrooke owned various agricultural lands in the Kingswinford village area but was also the proprietor of Brockmoor Iron Works. He owned and lived in Bradley Hall in Kingswinford village (Figure 6.1). He was the son of another John who was Dean of Lichfield, and the fourth cousin of the John Addenbrooke of St Catharine's College, Cambridge whose legacy founded the famous hospital in that city (Rook et al, 1991). In 1840, these lands had passed to his eldest son Edward,

although Brockmoor Iron works was now in the hands of William and John Wheeley.

#### Briscoe - Summer Hill House

In 1822, Diana Briscoe had a significant landholding in the Kingswinford area, and she resided at Summer Hill House. How this related to the property of the same name owned by Thomas Brettell is not clear. She was descended from the Keeling and Stone families (see Part 1 Figure 5.8) although it is likely that the lands she held were from the Stone / Briscoe connection. Some plots for the Misses Stone are shown on the 1783 Ashwood Enclosure map. In 1840, the holdings were substantially the same, but in addition the Briscoes (Diana and presumably her brother Samuel Stone Briscoe who also lived in the area), had inherited some property from the winding up of the Keeling estate, which was administered by the partnership of Homer, Dudley and Briscoe.

### Mee - The Tiled House

The Tiled House seems to have been a place of industry since its early days when John Heydon made steel there in 1688. At some point in the 18th century it was occupied by Waldron Hill, father of John Hill who built the Wordsley Flint Glass House (Ellis, 2002). During the latter part of the 18th century, it was owned by the Mee family, and in 1760 Patience Mee, the widow of John Mee, leased it to Thomas Brettell (DA, 1799). He was still in occupation in 1800. At this point the affairs of the estate become very complex, and one can do no better than quote the words of an exasperated cataloguer at Dudley Archives who writes the following in one of the most eloquent archivist entries that the author has had the privilege to read (DA, 1766).

A full description of the legal and equitable nightmare surrounding this estate between the 1790s and the 1840s is impossible. Many of the deeds are wanting. Suffice to say that a mother buys in the life interest of her bankrupt son and, in effect transfers it to his children, but leaves other actual and potential interests to be inherited by those grandchildren and her other children; the actual estates taken are the subject of litigation, particularly in respect of her eldest grandchild, Richard Mee like his father, who predeceases his father and leaves an infant daughter as his heir, whose husband eventually buys out most (all?) of the other interests and settles the outstanding charges on the estate. Other bankruptcies, insolvencies and imprisonments for debt just muddy the waters.

A court case of 1830 explains a little more (Cases in Chancery, 1830). Patience Mee left the estate in the hands of trustees, with instructions to give her son Richard up to £50 a year from the proceeds (and no more!). The rest of the estate was to be used to provide for the education and upbringing of Richard's three children, Richard, Sarah and John, during the life of Richard the elder. In 1830, Richard the elder was still alive, but John was the only one of the grandchildren still living, and although he was over 21, was arguing that because his father was still alive he was still entitled to support from the estate. He Much detailed work is required to won his case. elucidate the complexities of the situation. The Fowler maps do however enable the outlines of the estate to be drawn, and these are shown with the other estates in Figure 6.3. There can be seen to be little difference between 1822 and 1840. Indeed, the plan produced for the unsuccessful sales of the estate in 1817 and 1825 show very similar boundaries (BNA, 1825). In 1833 and 1838, the elector's lists indicate that it was occupied by John Dudley, who was a partner of the Iron Works on the Corbyn's Hall estate. In 1840 the estate was in the hands of Trustees, Richard Mee having died some years previously.

## Other proprietors

**Freeman**. As has already been discussed, Emmetta Freeman was the wife of one of John Keeling's illegitimate children, and it is likely that the block of land that she held in the Brockmoor area in both 1822 and 1840 was a legacy from Keeling.

Glynne. In 1822 the Glynne lands in the Oak Farm area were owned by Lady Glynne. In 1840, the same area is occupied by the Oak Farm Brick and Iron Works founded by her brother Stephen Glynne (Figure 6.6). He was a major Welsh landowner, conservative politician and a noted antiquary (Glynne, 1903). The Oak Farm works suffered from major financial issues, and were later rescued from financial disaster by William Gladstone, a relative by marriage (GG, 2019j; Davies, 1992; Gale, 1996).



Figure 6.6 Stephen Glynne

From Glynne (1903)

Foster. The estate of the Late John Foster held lands in the Audenham area that, apart from some minor land

transactions, were the same in 1822 and 1840. John Foster was from Leicester Grange in Warwickshire, and it would appear he held this land due to his marriage of Mary Millward from Oldswinford in 1765 (DA, 1821). He died in 1800 and left the land in trust for his two infant daughters. Why this trust should still be in place as late as 1840 is not clear.

**Robinson.** In 1822 Joseph Robinson held arable land, houses, forge and a brick kiln in the Wall Heath area, and also a block of land next to the Amblecote boundary. By 1840, the farmland in Wall Heath belonged to Charles Fleetwod Hewitt, whilst the other land was part of the Dudley Estate, which effectively surrounded it in 1822.

*Westwood.* In 1822 Thomas Westwood held arable land with housing in the Bromley Lane area, together with arable land between Brockmoor and Brierley Hill. By 1840 the former had passed to Susannah Westwood, whilst the latter were part of the Dudley Estate.

Glebe land. The Anglican church gained considerable land from the Ashwood enclosure, partly as Glebe land, and partly to compensate for the loss of tithes. In 1822 much of this considerable holding, together with land owned personally by the then Rector, Rev. Nathaniel Hinde, was rented out as to farm to Samuel Stone Briscoe or John Parrish. The rent from the Glebe lands would have been part of the living and would have supported the rector and his various curates. These lands included fields around the Rectory in Kingswinford. In 1840, there were considerable changes from 1822, primarily as a result of the opening of the new parish church in Wordsley, and the downgrading of Kingswinford church, and it would appear that new Glebe lands had been purchased, primarily in the Wordsley area, and some relinquished, primarily around Kingswinford church, to the Dudley Trustees.

Cox (Stawlins). Joseph Cox of Stawlins owned Stawlins farm, but the situation is confused in that, in 1822, it appears that he leased it out to another Joseph Cox, with the latter also farming lands at Cot Farm, that are owned by Joseph Cox (Cot). Joseph Cox (Stawlins) also appears to rent land in Ashwood from Joseph Cox junior. Presumably there are duplicates here, but the Reference does not really allow for anything other than a somewhat dubious interpretation. By 1840, Stawlins Farm is in the hand of the Earl of Dudley's Trustees and leased to one William Cox. William Cox also owned his own lands in the area, and farmed Cot Farm. Joseph Cox (Cot) still features in a small way, together with another small landholder in Joseph Cox (Stream). Further consideration of the relationships of all these Coxes seems pointless without further information indicating how the various players are related to each other, if at all.

Homer. Richard Homer (1769-1847) owned lands around Bromley Hall. He was the son of John Homer (1744 to 1788), noted in a marriage settlement of 1787 as being of Bromley Hall, and Townsend House, Sedgley (Jackson and Crisp, 1919). John was the recipient of a significant allocation of lands in the Pensnett Chase enclosure. Richard Homer (Figure 6.7) was an Attorney at Law, having been a clerk to Thomas Bourne from 1788 to 1791, and Thomas Blavney of Evesham from 1791 to 1793 (Kim Simmonds Family Genealogy, 2019). In 1837 he is listed as an Elector at Kingswinford, with property in Bromley. In 1841 he is recorded as living in Pedmore Hall, where he died in 1847. His son, Charles Kemp Homer was also an attorney. Bromley Hall is the least well documented of the large houses in Pensnett, and indeed there is some confusion as to both its location and its name. On the 1822 Fowler Map, Bromley Hall is located close to what would become Bromley Bridge, with another unnamed hall someway down Bromley

Lane. By the 1840 map the situation was reversed. The 1880 Ordnance Survey map shows a Slater's Hall on Bromley Lane, with no indication of any major residence Bromley Bridge. Chandler, in his study Kingswinford Manor unambiguously calls the house on Bromley Lane Slater's Hall and presents information on the Slater family - who seem to have been quite well to do yeoman farmers and nailers (Chandler, 1998a). The later censuses suggest that the house on the bridge was by then known less grandiosely as Bromley House. To add to the confusion, in the 1838 Electoral Register the Rev Richard Foley is described as living at Bromley Lodge which seems to have been located rather further down Bromley Lane in the direction Kingswinford. Here the name Bromley Hall will be used for the house near the bridge. The extent of the estate associated with Bromley Hall in 1822 and 1840 can be seen in Figure 5.3. It can be seen as quite extensive, adjoining the Tiled House Estate to the east. In the Tiled House Estate map of 1817 there is an indication that the Bromley Hall estate was owned by the late Patience Mee. who also owned the Tiled House Estate, and was thus presumably in the hands of Trustees. The shape of the estate changed somewhat due to the building of the Stourbridge Extension Canal, and clearly some land was been exchanged between proprietors on either side of the canal. In 1822 this land is recorded as being owned by "Homer and other" but occupied by one Roger Thomas in the main. It is possible the land may have been sold by the Mees because of the ongoing financial issues of the Tiled House Estate at that time. In 1839 the owner is specified more precisely as Richard Homer, with the land being mainly occupied by William and John Wheeley. A coal pit and steam engine is recorded to the south of the main road through the estate, and there is the track of a railroad - presumably a tramway linking the mines in the

region to the canal at the junction of the Stourbridge and Stourbridge Extension canals.



Figure 6.7 Richard Homer

Kim Simmonds' Family Genealogy (2019)

**Benjamin Brettell.** Again, the relationship of Benjamin Brettell to the other Brettell family members is not clear. The 1822 map shows that Benjamin owned and rented a significant number of small houses in the Brettell Lane and Brierley Hill areas.

*Biggs.* In 1822 Thomas Biggs owned land in the Cradley area. By 1840, this area had been incorporated into the Dudley Estate.

St Paul. Although he does not feature in the major landowner lists of Tables 5.1 and 5.2, mention must be made of one of the smaller absentee landowners in the parish - Sir Horace St Paul, who was married to the natural daughter of John, 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Dudley, and MP for Bridport. His father was "a Northumbrian gentleman driven into exile after killing a man in a duel, and was a soldier of fortune in the Seven Years' War, who returned to England with an Austrian title and a royal pardon,

subsequently distinguishing himself in diplomacy, before retiring to his ancestral home." The Austrian title was as a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, which his son inherited, the most impressive of all the titles of Kingswinford landowners. No doubt the lands he owned in Kingswinford came about as a result of his marriage (Wikipedia, 2019f).

# Chapter 7. 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

### 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 7.1. 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 7.1. Large estates in occupation of owner

## **Farming**

Tables 7.2 and 7.3 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 7.1.

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 7.2 shows the area of occupation of farm lands 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.

Farm / area	Occupier	Proprietor	Area (ha)
Ashwood Lodge	John Giles	John Giles Lord Dudley	
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 7.2. 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 7.3. 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.

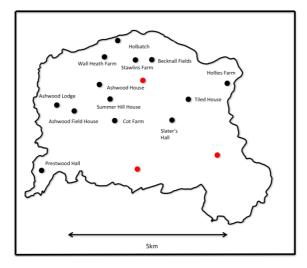


Figure 7.1. Farm locations

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

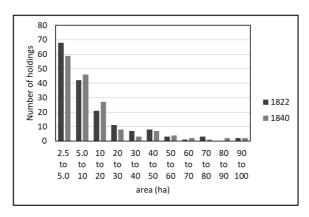


Figure 7.2. Farm area distribution

### **Crofts**

Table 7.4 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 7.3, 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 7.4. Crofts in 1822 and 1840** 

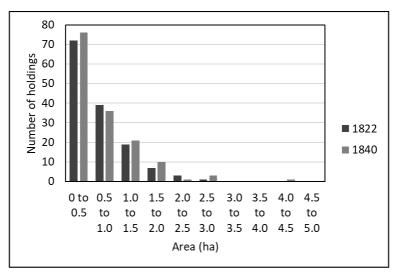


Figure 7.3 Croft area distribution

### **Industrial**

Tables 7.5 and 7.6 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 7.5 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	Canal paths, basins,
Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Co.	10.7	Co. Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Co., Jonathan Stokes	locks, reservoirs  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 7.5 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 7.6 Industrial occupiers 1840

### 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 (860m²), 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 50m2), or those such as Edward Parry of Audenham who leased very small plots with houses, in this case 0.003 ha or 30m<sup>2</sup>.

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 majority of these were with the Dudley Estate.

# **Chapter 8. The Townships**

Having discussed the general trends in the life of the parish in the preceding sections, we now move on to consider the individual urban "townships" in a little more detail. For each of the areas shown in figure 8.1, we will present extracts from the 1822 and 1840 Fowler maps, discussing them both individually and comparatively. As we are using extracts, we will keep the same orientation as the original map, which is rotated 60 degrees ant-clockwise from north, so the top of the map is in the west-north-west direction. Each of the map extracts will be at the same scale and will show an area of 1.3 km by 1.3 km, as far as can be achieved with the effects of map and photograph distortion.

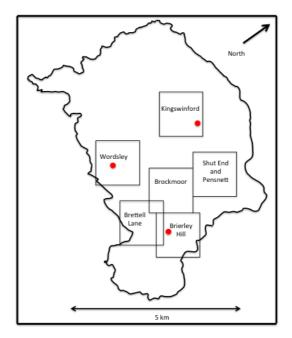


Figure 8.1 Key to Township maps

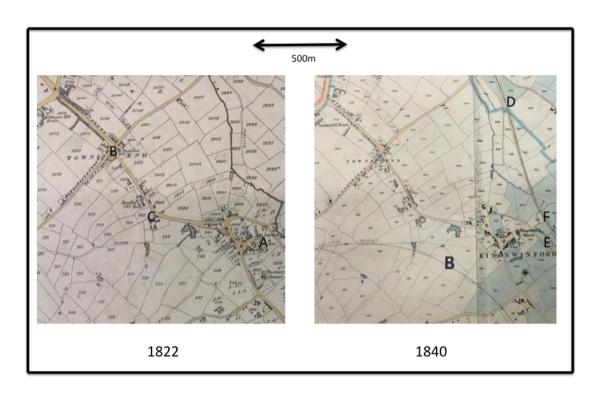


Figure 8.2 Kingswinford Township

# Kingswinford

The 1822 map in Figure 8.2 gives the impression that Kingswinford is a thriving, but essentially rural village. It is clustered around the Norman church of St Mary's (A), although there is a growing settlement at Towns End the junction between the Dudley Road and the Stourbridge / Wolverhampton Road, which is now regarded as the centre of modern day Kingswinford (B). The village itself contained numerous houses and shops: the Court House, where the Manorial courts were still held, primarily concerned with copyhold property transactions; a Schoolhouse, the large Rectory House, occupied by the Rector, Rev. Nathaniel Hinds; and a Sunday School building. The major landowners in the area were Edward Bradley, the Keeling Trustees, Thomas Honeyborne and John Addenbrooke. The latter was the owner of Bradley Hall on the road to Towns End, which was occupied by one Richard Taylor in 1822 (C). Another clergyman, J. Bradley, also lived in the village and owned both agricultural land and some houses that were rented to others. The vicar of Sedglev at that time was one John Bradley, who might have been the same person. The village was surrounded by fields, which were the enclosed remains of the old medieval common fields. Figure 1.1 shows the avenue of trees leading to Shut End Hall (just of the right of the map in Figure 7.2a).

In many ways the 1840 map shows little change, but major developments are underway. In particular the Kingswinford Railway now passes just to the north of the church, on its way from Ashwood Basin in the west to the new mines and works of Shut End and Corbyn's Hall (D to E). There is also a mine, owned by the Trustees of the Earl of Dudley, just to the north of the church (F). It was this mine, and others close by on the Corbyn's Hall estate that led to the downgrading of St Mary's to a Chapel of Ease in 1831 due to fear of subsidence, and the opening

of a new parish church at Wordsley. St Mary's did not however subside and collapse and once again became a parish church in 1846 following a parochial reorganisation. In 1840, the Old Rectory House was in the ownership of the Dudley Trustees, and the Rev. Richard Foley was in residence. Note that on the 1840 map the large letter "B" and the circular arc line are later additions.



Figure 8.3 Wordsley Township

# Wordsley

In contrast to Kingswinford, Wordsley was, in 1822, very much an industrial village, although surrounded in the same way by the enclosed common fields (Figure 8.3). It lay along the Wolverhampton to Stourbridge Turnpike Road, stretching from Wordsley Green (A), southwards over the Wordsley Brook (B) and the Stourbridge Canal (C), and then through to Audenham Bank (D). Public Houses were spaced at regular intervals along this road. From north to south these were the New Inn, the Cat, the Wheatsheaf, the Cottage of Content, the Rose and Crown, the Duke of Wellington, the Kings Head, the Marquis of Granby and the Turk's Head. In contrast there was just one "Meeting House" - a non-conformist chapel (E), close to the Rose and Crown. There were significant deposits of sand around Wordsley (and indeed some plots of land in the village were referred to in 1822 as Sand Hole Piece), which led to the growth of the glass industry. The major glass houses were those of Bradley, Ensall and Holt (F); Michael Grazebrook (G); and Pidcock, Cope and Co (H) (the Dial Glass House). These relied on the canal for the transportation of the finished products to customers. The Kingswinford Workhouse was just to the north of the village (off the top right of the map).

The 1840 map shows the same basic lay out of the village, with some increase in the number and density of housing. The major development is the new church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity (I); the Rectory (J) (and its associated "pleasure grounds"), occupied by the rector George Saxby Penfold; and the School House and its playground (K). Other places of worship had appeared to somewhat balance out the pub to chapel ratio – a Primitive Methodist Chapel near Wordsley Green (L) and "Wordsley Chapel" close to the church (M) – possibly the same as the Meeting House at (E) in 1822. As with all such chapels they were owned and administered by a

Board of Trustees. Unfortunately, the information provided by the 1840 Book of Reference on the public houses is much sparser than in 1822, an whilst some of those listed above continued in business, it is not possible to list them as before. The industry in the area was still predominantly glass making and the three major concerns listed above continued in business. On both maps the long line of the Stourbridge locks can be seen quite clearly (0).

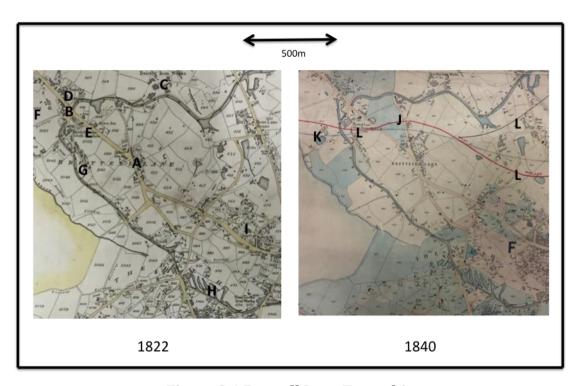


Figure 8.4 Brettell Lane Township

### **Brettell Lane**

In 1822 the settlement of Brettell Lane (Figure 8.4) was a cluster of houses, coal mines and factories around the junctions of the current Brettell Lane with Bull Street and Delph Road (A), with another cluster of activity around the canal crossing further towards Audenham to the west (B). In the east it merged with the much larger settlement of Brierley Hill. Again, there were string of Public Houses through the township - the Bush Inn, Crown Inn, the Talbot New Inn. Horseshoe Inn and Britannia Inn. Various industrial concerns stretched along the long loop of the canal that skirted the west of Brierley Hill - the Brierley Iron Works of John Bradley and Co. (C), Francis Smith and Son's Pottery (D), William Wheeley's Brettell Lane Glass House (E) and the Red Lead Manufactory of Wheeley, Smith and Morris (F). There was a Baptist Meeting House close to the canal, in the street that is still called Meeting Lane (G). The bottom of the Delph locks (H) marks the junction between the Stourbridge and Dudley canals. Brierley Hill Anglican Chapel (I) can be seen on the right of the map (where the map overlaps with that of Brierley Hill Township.

The situation in 1840 was in general similar, although with the general trends in coal mining outlined above, resulting in areas of "old colliery land" and spoil heaps being quite numerous in this area. There was some new industry – the Iron Foundry of Bailey, Pegg and Co. (J), and the Brettell Lane Furnaces operated by John Wheeley and Co (K). The most obvious feature of the 1840 map however are the red, black and grey lines that cross it – these are later additions and mark the proposed and the actual routes of railways that were constructed in later decades (L). Note that the letter F in the bottom right hand corner was added later than 1840 and indicates which ecclesiastical area that region was in, after Kingswinford parish was divided in the 1850s.

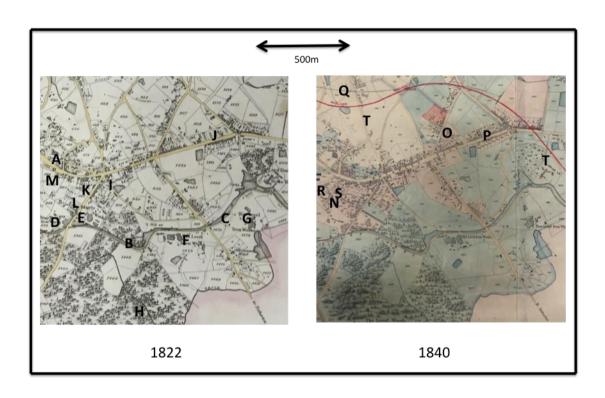


Figure 8.5 Brierley Hill Township

### **Brierley Hill**

The settlement of Brierley Hill had grown up on Pensnett Chase in the 17th and 18th centuries as the coal and ironstone reserves that were close to the surface began to be exploited. Extracts from the 1822 and 1840 maps are shown in Figure 8.5. There was significant ad hoc enclosure in the area that was formalized by the 1784 Pensnett chase Enclosure Act. At around that time the Anglican Brierley Hill chapel (A) was opened to the north of the Stourbridge / Dudley Turnpike Road. By 1822, Brierley Hill was dense collection of houses, mines and other industry along this road from Brettell Lane to Harts Hill. Perhaps the most significant impression one gains from a study of the Reference is how factories, mines, houses and shops are thoroughly mixed up with each other. The Dudley canal (B) ran to the south and west of the town, from the nine locks at the Delph (see Figure 5.17) in the south through to the area known as the Level (C) in the northwest. Heavy industry developed along the canal bank - the Nine Locks Iron Works (D) at the top of the locks; the Brierley Hill Iron Works (E), both run by William Hornblower, the Old Level Iron Works of Izen and Whitehurst to the south of what is now Level Street (F); and the New Level Iron works and associated foundries, fences and coal mines of Benjamin Gibbons junior to the north of the road (G). The large, wooded area at the bottom of the map is part of Lord Dudley's Level Wood (H), which was still very extensive at the Again, there was the usual plethora of Public Houses, some with names more outlandish than others such as the Mouth of the Nile, or the Fortunes of War, reflecting no doubt recent events in the Napoleonic Wars. One of those with a more conventional name - the Queens Head in Level St - was the only public house included on the 1784 Pensnett Enclosure Map. There

were also two "meeting rooms" (I, J), and three schoolrooms (K, L, M).

By 1840, as noted elsewhere, many of the active coal mines had closed, leaving areas of waste and spoil heaps. and were to some extent replaced by iron stone mines. There were other also industrial developments. The British Iron Company (one of the first major nationwide industrial conglomerates) had taken over the Nine Locks and Brierley Hill Iron Works. John and Benjamin Gibbons now operated the Old Level works and Benjamin Gibbons and Dudley Bowlinson operated the New Level works. There had been an increase in the number of nonconformist chapels in the area - an Independent Chapel (N), a Wesleyan Methodist (O), with graveyard, another Methodist chapel of unknown affiliation (P) and a Primitive Methodist Chapel in Moor Lane (0). There were two schools in the area (R), (S), the former being the National School, using the Bell pupil teacher monitorial system of teaching and largely funded by the Anglican church. The red curve on the map is again a later addition, showing the line of the Midland Railway (T).

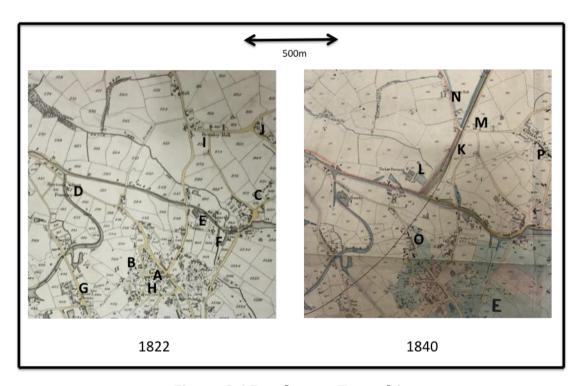


Figure 8.6 Brockmoor Township

#### **Brockmoor**

Unlike the quite well-defined townships of Wordsley, Brettell Lane and Brierley Hill, which are strung out along major roads, the village of Brockmoor in 1822 was at the same time both better defined as a separate village, but internally quite amorphous (A). It seems to have begun as essentially a squatter settlement to the north east of Brierley Hill to exploit the coal reserves in the area. The area contained many "old enclosures" on the 1784 Pensnett Chase enclosure map. The roads, such as they were, other than the main thoroughfares, seem to have developed between existing houses, and there is no evidence of planning of any sort. Interestingly the area known today as Brockmoor is labeled as "Holland" (B) on the map, with the name Brockmoor given to the region to the north of the Fens branch (C), in what today would be referred to as Bromley. The main line of the Stourbridge Canal was to the west and the Fens branch to the north with the Daniel Horton Iron Foundry near the branch junction (D) and the Brockmoor Iron works of Emus, Saunders and Haywood on the Fens branch itself (E). Near the latter, where the branch crosses Commonside, the Earl of Dudley seems to have operated a Wharf and Weighing machine, presumably to assess tolls on the coal production from the area (F). To the southeast, near the main line of the canal, there was Moor Lane House, and Glass works (G), owned by Thomas Moor Lane Honevborne. There were the usual cluster of public houses in the settlement, and one school room (H), but no meeting houses or chapels at this stage. Despite the heavily industrialised nature of the area, the map shows that Brockmoor was still set in farmland and at the top of the map, Bromley Hall is indicated (I), the centre of a significant farming estate owned by Richard Homer. The small hamlet of Bromley, arguably one of the oldest settlements in the area (J), can also be seen, at this stage quite undeveloped and still rural in nature.

The major change in the Brockmoor area shown on the 1840 map is the construction of the Stourbridge Extension Canal from the Leys branch to Shut End (K). The Leys Iron works had developed at the junction of the new canal with the old (L). Brockmoor itself seems a little more ordered in terms of the layout of its houses and roads than in 1822 and considerable development in the Bromley area can also be seen. Bromley Hall is not marked at the same position on the 1840 map as on the 1822 map, but buildings clearly exist at that site, next to what is now Bromley Bridge (M). These are owned by the firm of Homer, Dudley and Briscoe, with William Attwood as the tenant. On the 1840 map, the name of Bromley Hall is given to another building owned by Homer, Dudley and Briscoe further down what is now Bromley Lane, and named on later maps as Slater's Hall (N). Wesleyan Methodist chapels can now be found in Brockmoor (0) and in Bromley (P).

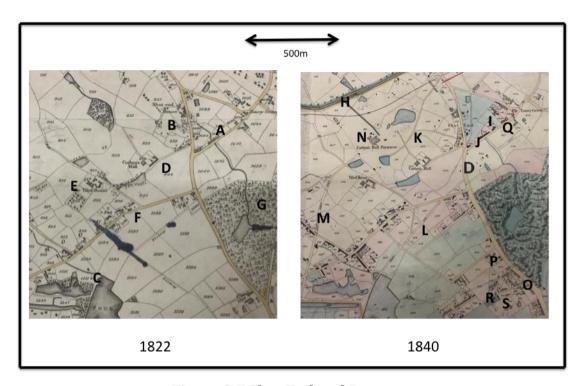


Figure 8.7 Shut End and Pensnett

#### Shut End and Pensnett

The region shown on the maps above are quite unlike those discussed in previous sections, as in 1822 it was still essentially rural (Figure 8.7). However, it was this region that, of the whole parish, was most changed by the industrial developments between 1822 and 1840 and thus the discussion will concentrate on these changes. In 1822, the focus of this area was at Shut End, centred on the Tansey Green area (A). Shut End House on the Turnpike Road (B) was owned and occupied by Benjamin Gibbons, and Shut End Hall (just off the top of the map) owned by John Hodgetts and occupied by Thomas Dudley. The Hall had impressive grounds, with the avenue of trees stretching almost as far as Kingswinford church being particularly impressive and one of the most notable features of the Fowler map (Figure 4.1). To the south the feeder pools of the Stourbridge Canal (C) can be seen in the newly enclosed area east of Commonside. The nature of the land in that area can be judged by the names given to the newly enclosed fields: in particular the one entitled "Quagmire". To the west of Commonside there are the large Corbyn's Hall estate of Benjamin Gibbons (D), and the Tiled House estate (E) of the impoverished Richard Mee. The agricultural lands of both of the latter was leased to others to farm, with Corbyn's Hall occupied by Michael Grazebrook Junior, and the Tiled House by Thomas Brettell. There is very little residential housing - small clusters around Commonside close to the Tiled House (F), and around Tansey Green. To the east of Shut End, the large Barrow Hill Coppice of the Earl of Dudley can be seen (G). Despite the essentially rural character of the area, the beginnings of industrial developments can be seen, with two pairs of Coal pits close to Corbyn's Hall, and a further pair of pits in the Tansey Green area

The drivers of the changes that took place between 1822 and 1840 were the Stourbridge Extension Canal (H) which terminated in a basin at Oak Farm, and the Kingswinford Railway which ran from Ashwood Basin via an inclined plane and a long level section to just behind Kingswinford church. There was a further incline that took the railway to a terminus near Corbyn's Hall (I). From there tramways (]) connected the railway with the Corbyn's Hall area (K), and with the top of the Fens branch of the Stourbridge Canal (L). The lower part of the tramway from Corbyn's Hall through Bromley (M) to the Fens branch can be seen, although the upper part, into Corbyn's Hall itself had been rendered redundant by the building of the canal. These tramways are not easy to distinguish on the 1840 map, as they are drawn as if they were roads. However, they can usually be identified by their straightness and regularity.

These transport links were of course built to serve the new industrial developments at Shut End and at Corbyn's Hall. The former were the Iron Works and coal pits of John Bradley and Co., in the area where Shut End Hall had stood in 1822 (off the top of the map). There were also Iron Works and an ever-increasing number of mines at Corbyn's Hall, operated by Matthews, Dudley and Co. and leased from Benjamin and John Gibbons (N). Gibbons himself seems to have retained a presence and is also listed as the owner and occupier of Shut End House on the Turnpike Road. Close to Corbyn's Hall, there were also mining developments on the Tiled House Estate, now owned by the Trustees of the Late Richard Mee, whose various financial entanglements were still the subject of litigation.

Naturally these new industries required manpower, and these were provided by significant immigration from the surrounding towns and counties, particularly from Shropshire. To house these workers, there was a great

deal of new housing in the Tansey Green and Commonside areas and, in particular, in what was effectively a new village on the enclosed land close to Hollies Farm on the Turnpike Road to Dudley (0). This was the original Pensnett, which was to grow over the coming decades to encompass all the area in the angle between the Turnpike Road and Commonside. Already in 1840, we can see the beginnings of a community forming in terms of Public Houses, the Methodist New Connexion chapel of St James at its current location (P) on the Turnpike Road at the junction of Chapel Street, two Primitive Methodist chapels, one in Tansey Green (0) and the new Pensnett estate (R), and what is referred to as the "Pensnett Chapel" in that estate - an Anglican chapel that was provided before the new church was built in the Barrow Hill area some sixteen years later (S).

## **Chapter 9. Closing comments**

The discussion of the Fowler maps has revealed much detail of the nature of Kingswinford parish in 1822 and 1840, and of the spread of industry across the parish. In broader terms however, it illustrates both a period of continuity with the past, and also of significant change. In terms of the major landowners, the descendants of many of those who were awarded land at the enclosures still held that land in both 1822 and 1840. However, with the exception of the Lords Dudley, the large landowners of the 17th and 18th century were no longer represented. The Corbyns had sold their estates in the 1780s and their descendants lived in Worcestershire or the USA in the early 19th century. The Bendy estates had passed to other families by marriage and lack of male heirs, and the Hodgetts have become the Hodegtts-Foleys and whilst still considerable landowners in the Prestwood area in the early 19th century, their main interests were elsewhere. The Dudley estates themselves becoming more a corporate business than an individual endeavor, and indeed the upturn in the fortunes of the estate in the 1830s was due to the stewardship of some very able trustees of the young Lord. With the decline of leadership by the gentry, a new class of local leaders emerged, in the Glassmakers, the Ironmasters and the Coalmasters. in particular the Honeybornes. Addenbrookes, Fosters and Gibbons. With the passing of the 1833 Reform Act, the number of electors increased massively. In 1747 there were only 18 electors with properties of sufficient value in Kingswinford, with only 9 being resident. In 1833 there were around 350 electors.

The parish also displayed the same features of continuity and change in geographical terms during the early 19th century. The large agricultural areas to the west of the

parish continued to be farmed as before, and even in the more industrialised areas, there were large packets of farmland, and a large number of smallholding crofts. The industries of the 18th century persisted in their original locations - glassmaking in Wordslev and coal mining and iron production in Brierley Hill. But between the making of the two maps, there were major developments - in transport, with the construction of the Stourbridge Extension Canal and the Kingswinford Railway; in industry with the spread of mining from its core areas to the north east of the parish; with new ironworks appearing in the same area; and with the consolidation of brickmaking from an essentially cottage industry into major industrial concerns, These developments drove a major increase in population from 6,500 in 1801 to 16,200 in 1831, with much inward migration from the surrounding areas, particularly Shropshire and the Marches. This in turn led to a much greater density of houses in the more established townships of Brierley Hill and Brockmoor, and completely new residential areas in Pensnett. This movement of people further led to the development of the social structures that such a community would require in terms of churches and chapels, schools and public houses. We will see in the Part 3 how both continuity and change persisted in the rapid development of one small part of Kingswinford parish in the last half of the 19th century - the area that was to become known as the parish of Pensnett.

## References

Deciding on a format for references for a work of this type is not wholly straightforward, as the source material is of many different types. The approach that has been taken is as follows.

- Books and journals are referenced in something approaching the normal "Harvard" style – author name, date, title, and publication details. DOI or web links are given where they are available.
- Web sites are referenced in a similar way as far as possible, but the date for all websites is given as either 2019 or 2020 i.e. the date on which they were last accessed.
- Items from Grace's Guide to British Industrial History (GG), and from Wikipedia, are treated in the same way as web sites, with a 2019 date. Within that, these entries are ordered in chronological order of their subject, be that either an individual or an organisation. Wikipedia is used sparingly because of long term concerns over its accuracy, but those items that are included are convenient summaries of a range of sources, and as far as can be judged are accurate.
- Items from Dudley Archives, Staffordshire Archives and the British Newspaper Archive are indicated by DA, SA, or BNA. This is followed by the date of the archived item. The details of the item itself then follow. All newspaper references are included within the BNA category.
- Government or Parliamentary papers and reports are indicated by GP, followed by the year in which they were produced.

The overall system thus allows a convenient alphabetic and chronological ordering of all items into one list, which aims to consistent for all four Parts of this book. Baker, C. J. (2220c) Transcription of the 1822 Fowler Map Book of Reference, EXCEL spreadsheet

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# Appendix. Map Reference Transcriptions

This transcription of the 1822 Book of Reference can be found at Baker (2220c) and is based on DA (1822b). This lists the following information.

- The plot number on the map.
- The occupiers of the plot.
- The proprietors of the plot.
- Name or description of the plot.
- The plot area in acres, roods and perches
- Remarks made the Book of Reference.
- Headings given at the start of sections.
- Errata given after the main text but included next to the plot concerned for ease of reference.

An additional "Notes" column is provided (not in the Book of Reference), that gives the content of any hand-written alterations to the text, and other textual issues. It is, as far as possible, a direct transcription without alterations. However, some minor changes have been made, mainly to facilitate easy searching.

The overall area of the parish is given in the Book of Reference as 7315a 1r 34p. Adding up the numbers in the main text gives a value of 7317a 1r 22p. With the corrections given in the errata this becomes 7318a 0r 33p. There is thus a difference of almost 3a between the corrected values and the addition given in the text. This may be due to an incorrect addition or mistakes in transcription.

Table A1 shows the relationship between the plot numbers and the areas shown on Figure 1.2. The main sub-divisions (A, B etc.) are those given in the Book of Reference. The sub-divisions are given for ease of use and convenience.

Map Area	Plot	Map Area	Plot
	numbers		numbers
A1	1-73	C3	1260-1370
A2	74-153	C4	1371-1474
A3	154-294	C5	1475-1509
B1	295-402	D	1510-1598
B2	403-531	E1	1599-1678
В3	532-692	E2	1679-1915
B4	693-862	F1	1916-1979
B5	863-935	F2	1980-2098
C1	936-1027	F3	2099-2243
C2	1028-1259		

Table A.1 Fowler 1822 areas

This transcription of the 1840 Book of Reference is taken from DA (1840b) with additional information on land use and tithe rentals from SA (1839b). This lists the following information.

- The plot number on the map.
- The proprietors of the plot.
- The occupiers of the plot.
- Name or description of the plot.
- The plot area in acres, roods and perches.
- Remarks made in the Book of Reference.
- The allocated land use category.
- The tithe rental values for the plot in £ s d.
- Extra information on the tithe award concerning mainly trustees, ownership, executors etc.

Note that the first two columns are in the opposite order to the Fowler 1822 transcription. The "Occupiers" list also has significantly less detail, with many occupiers grouped under the heading "Various". An additional

"Notes" column is provided (not in the Book of Reference), that gives the content of any hand-written alterations to the text, and other textual issues. The transcription is, as far as possible, a direct transcription without alterations. However, some minor changes have been made, mainly to facilitate easy searching.

The overall area of the parish is given in the Book of Reference as 7315a 1r 27p, 7p smaller than the equivalent area in the 1822 Book of Reference. Adding up the numbers in the spreadsheet gives a value of 7319a 0r 33p. There is thus a difference of almost 4 acres between the corrected values and the addition given in the text, but only a difference of 1 acre with the equivalent 1822 addition.

The areas associated with the various plots are shown on Table A.2. The Book of Reference is not divided into areas in the same way as the 1822 Book, but for ease of reference the areas are kept the same.

Map Area	Plot	Map Area	Plot
	numbers		numbers
A1	1-72	C3	1595-1727
A2	73-141	C4	1727 -1878
A3	142-310	C5	1879-1928
B1	311-569	D	1929-2062
B2	570-683	E1	2063-2144
В3	684-863	E2	2145-2415
B4	864-1050	F1	2416-2485
B5	1051-1169	F2	2486-2602
C1	1170-1301	F3	2603-2750
C2	1302-1594	_	_

Table A.2 Fowler 1840 areas

When using Baker (2220c) and Baker (2220d), it should be noted that often names are given in different forms, and indeed the Books of Reference shows the work of a number of different compilers each with their own styles. Care is thus needed in, for example, trying to find all the properties associated with one individual.