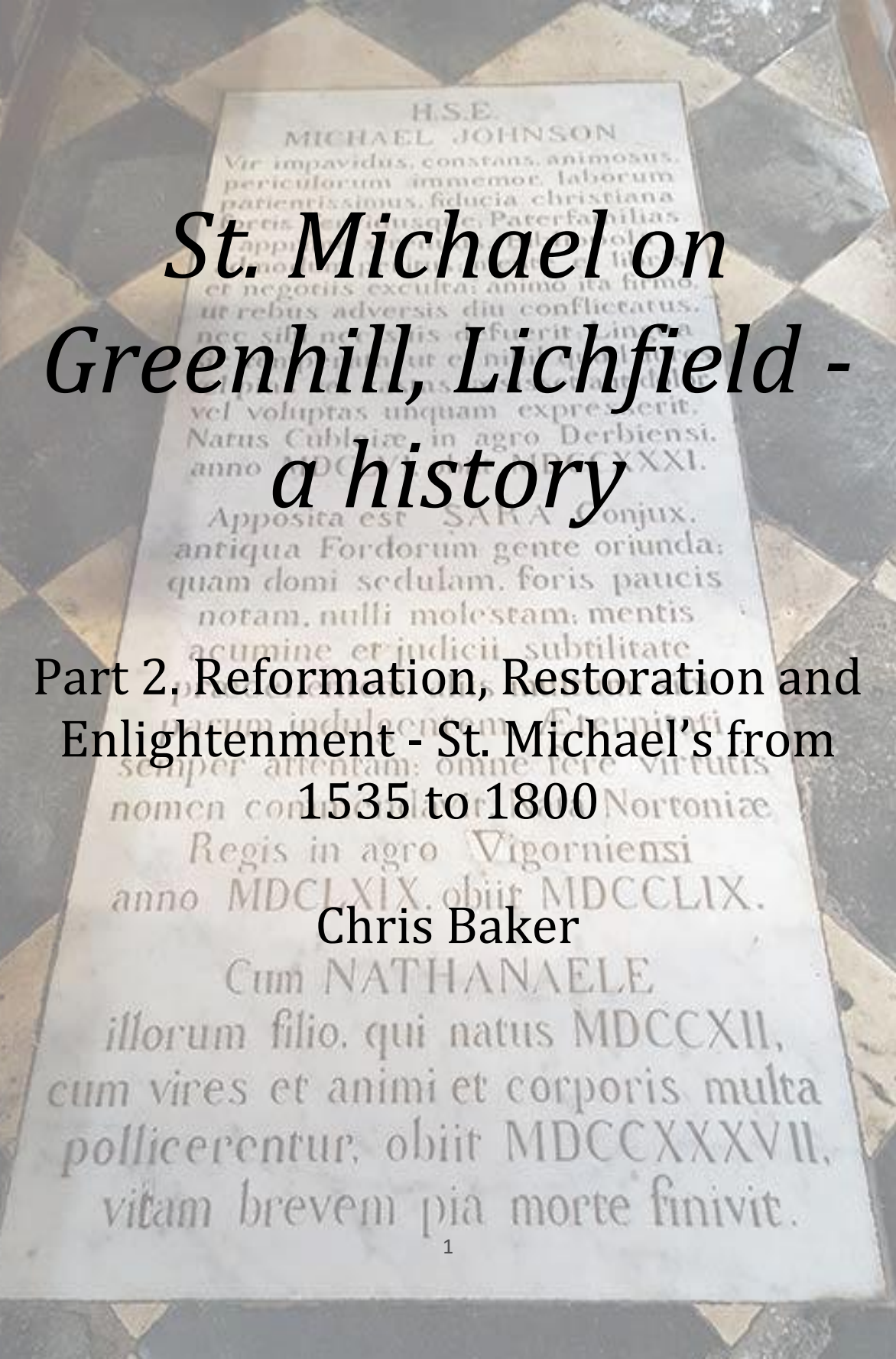

St. Michael on Greenhill, Lichfield - a history

Part 2. Reformation, Restoration and Enlightenment - St. Michael's from 1535 to 1800

Chris Baker

St. Michael on Greenhill - a history; Part 2. Reformation, Restoration and Enlightenment - St. Michael's from 1535 to 1800

The author

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Contents

Preface to Parts 1 to 4

The word "church" of course primarily refers to a gathered body of Christian believers. Nonetheless in popular usage it has come to refer to the building in which such a body of believers meet. And some such places have very long histories of their own. One such is the church of St. Michael on Greenhill in Lichfield. This is a very ancient worship site and has probably been the focus of some type of ritual activity for the last 1500 years. The church itself is less ancient, first appearing in the historical record in the twelfth century but it has an interesting story to tell. Here we tell that story in four parts – the first from the Romans to the Reformation; the second from the Reformation to the end of the eighteenth century; the third for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to 1945; and the fourth tells the stories of some of those buried in the church's large graveyard.

Obviously, a history of this type uses material from a wide range of sources. The approach taken here is to try to make the text as readable as possible, by not including detailed references, but using web links to specific sources and details of the more general sources that have been used have been put in the bibliography that is given at the end of each part.

Chapter 1. Turmoil and stability

The Reformation is usually taken to have begun when the monk Martin Luther pinned his 95 theses to the door of a church in Wittenburg in 1517 and began the process of schism between the protestant reformers and the catholic church. The movement spread across Europe, and not least to England. Here the Reformation was complicated by Henry VIII's marital issues and the formal split between the Rome and the English Church occurred in 1535 following the passing of the Act of Supremacy. The pace of reformation in England was variable in Henry VIII's reign but gathered strength under the leadership of Thomas Cramner in the reign of Edward VII from 1547 to 1553, with the introduction of a series of ever more protestant prayer books. The situation was abruptly reversed when Edward's sister Mary came to the throne, and Catholicism was restored, with much bloodshed. The accession of Elizabeth in 1558 ushered in a time of greater stability, with the enforcement of a relatively moderate form of the reformed faith on the Church of England.

Theological, social and political disagreements rumbled on through the reigns of James 1 and Charles 1 in the first half of the seventeenth century, culminating in the turmoil of the Civil War, the execution of Charles 1 in 1649, and the rule of Oliver Cromwell in the Commonwealth / Protectorate from then till the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

These events were felt across England, and Lichfield was far from immune. The early Reformation resulted in the dissolution of the Franciscan Friary and the main guild of St. Mary and St. John was suppressed. The power of the church over local affairs was significantly weakened, and a civic administration developed. There seems to have been little resistance to the imposition of protestant ideology and worship. During the Civil War a century later

in 1643, there were major battles in Lichfield, with the Close and the Cathedral suffering significant damage and desecration. It would not be at all surprising if St. Michael's had also suffered in this way, but there are no records of the church in this period.

Lichfield seems to have recovered from this traumatic period within a decade or so of the Restoration in 1660. In 1697, Celia Fiennes thought that the town had good houses and that its streets were neat and handsome. Rather later, Daniel Defoe in the 1720s described it as *'a fine, neat, well-built, and indifferent large city'*. The location on the road to Chester made it a natural stopping point for travelers, and over the course of the century it developed a reputation as an intellectual and literary centre, through the likes of Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), Erasmus Dawrin (1731-1802) and Anna Seward (1742-1809).

In 1781 John Snape produced the first detailed map of the city, and it is shown in Figure 1 below. There is much that could be said about the map, but for this book the area around St. Michael's church is of particular interest. Basically, it can be seen that the church is very much outside the city. There is a cluster of houses in Greenhill around the junction of Rotten Row and Church Street but otherwise the area is essentially rural, with fields and market gardens in the area around the church. The avenue from the north gate to the church can be clearly seen, and later records tell us that this was planted with elm trees in 1750. It can thus be appreciated that most of the population at this time would have lived in the city itself, or on the road to Stowe, and thus mainly in the parishes of St. Mary and St. Chad.

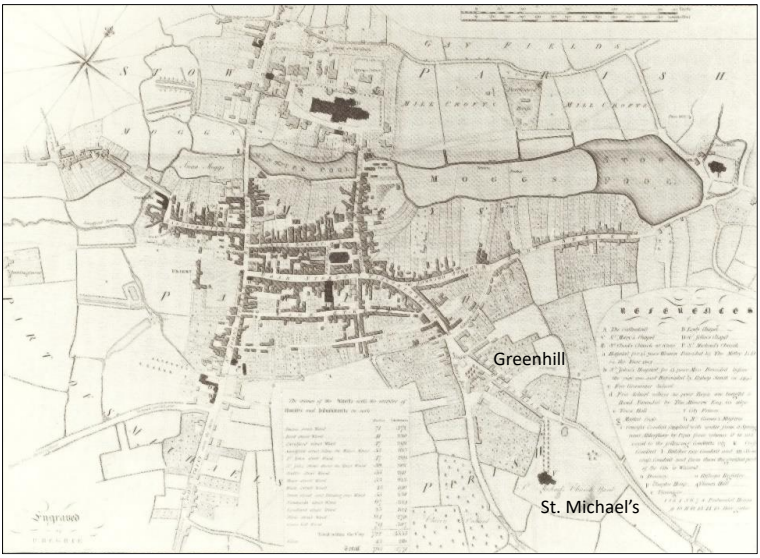

Figure 1. [The 1781 Snape map of Lichfield]

Chapter 2. Township Tensions

As the parish of St. Michael became more defined, it contained a number of outlying township - Hammerwch to the west, and Fisherwick, Statfold and Haselour to the east.

The history of Hammerwich chapel goes back to the 12th century and at the Reformation it was described as a chantry chapel with its own graveyard. Baptisms and marriages were carried out there from the early eighteenth century, especially for inhabitants of the areas around Burntwood, Edial, and Woodhouses. St. Michael's was recognized as the mother church after the Reformation and in 1726, when a new graveyard was consecrated at Hammerwich, the churchwardens of St. Michael's entered a caveat to preserve the rights of their church. Church levies were being paid to St. Michael's by a Hammerwich sidesman by 1733. Similar levies were being demanded of the other townships from the late 17th century and at least sporadically throughout the eighteenth. By the end of the century, these payments had clearly ceased and in 1787 the Vestry of St. Michael's at least considered legal action against the inhabitants of Statfold and Haselour and against the sidesman of Fisherwick (who had responsibility for collecting the levy). This was perhaps partly to finance the building of a new Vestry room at St. Michael's for which a faculty had been obtained. It will be seen in Part 3 that these tensions were to continue. The reluctance of the inhabitants of Haselour to pay the levy may be, in part, because their chapel was in a ruinous state. A drawing in the William Salt library from 1769 shows it with a holed roof and indicates that it was being used as a cow shed.

Chapter 3. Disasters and rebuilding

During and after the Reformation, gifts to the church with the specific intention of forming chantries were of course no longer possible, as prayers for the dead were simply not allowed. Gifts to the church thus tended to be less specific in their nature - by 1530 the churchwardens received £4 5s 8d rent from eleven tenants in Fulfen and Lichfield for properties that had been given to the church, but by £1585 there were only five tenants and this sum had reduced to £2 19s. In 1548 John Atkin gave a gift of land; in 1549 William Allen and his wife Joan gave rent from land worth 12s p.a. to support the priest's service (but presumably not for a chantry). This income was presumably used to support the fabric and the work of the church in a general sense. In this period there was little major building work with the addition of a peal of three bells in 1552 being the only work of note. Routine maintenance continued - with new glass in the windows in 1589 and new lead for the roof in 1610. There were however two major building disasters in this period. On 21st March 1593, the spire was blown down, together with spire at St. Mary's, by a "*great tempest of wind*". And towards the end of the Commonwealth period in 1658 we read that on the night of January 13th, the roof over the main aisle fell in, which presumably resulted from lack of maintenance in those troubled times.

The large churchyard seems at this time to have become more intensively used. It was well planted with trees, and by 1530 there are records of it being let for pasture. In 1553 the churchwardens were given formal authority by the Corporation to do so, and for crops of grass to be taken. From the 1568 Churchwardens accounts, we read that 14s 5d were received for the first grass cut in the churchyard (presumably for hay) and 16s 8d for the later cut. 4d was received for letting Mr Dyott's sheep graze. In 1586, it

seems to have been surrounded by a wall and a hedge. Expenditure was also required for maintenance - for example in 1640 new Litchgates and style cost 13s 9d and two years later it cost 1s to remove four hedgehogs from the churchyard.

Lichfield was in some disarray immediately aft the Restoration, with the Cathedral badly damaged, and the roof of St. Michael's having collapsed in 1658. Gradually things stabilized, and the Cathedral was gradually repaired and rebuilt under the direction of Bishop Hacket. Little is known of the state of St. Michael's, but by 1677 at least there was an acknowledgement that the responsibility for repairs lay jointly with the churchwardens and the Cathedral Prebends, and through the next century we read of a steady stream of fabric improvements being made - the large Coat of Arms of Queen Anne hanging above the chancel arch was donated by a churchwarden in 1711 (Figure 2), a new peal of six bells (the current ones) in 1722 and a gallery for singers at the west end of the church in 1780 (Figure 3). In 1765 John Deakin left a legacy in rent income for "beautifying" St. Michael's, and in 1798 this was used to install a three-tier pulpit and reading desk in the south east of the church. At that time the door in the centre of the south aisle was blocked and a new one built opposite the north door, and all the single light chancel windows were replaced by two light decorated windows. Drawings of the church at that time are available from the William Salt library and are shown in Figures 4 and 5. Figure 4 shows a view from the north sometime between 1760 and 1799, with the high chancel of the same height as the nave. This is also shown in Figure 5, a view from the south in 1798, which also shows the external door in the centre of the south aisle.

Figure 2. The 1711 Coat of Arms of Queen Anne

(Photograph by Maureen Brand)

Figure 3. The Musicians' Gallery

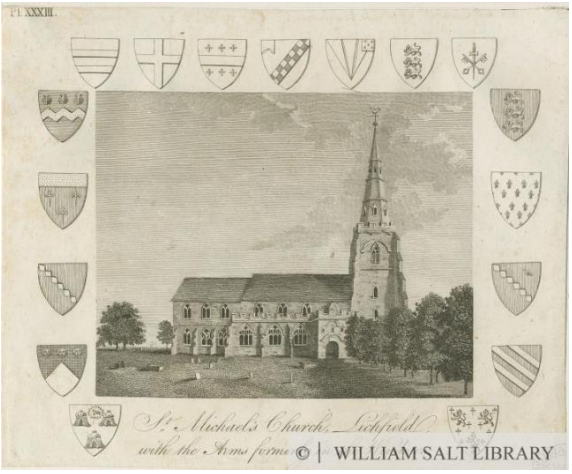

Figure 4. The church from the north (1760 to 1798)

(William Salt library, used with permission)

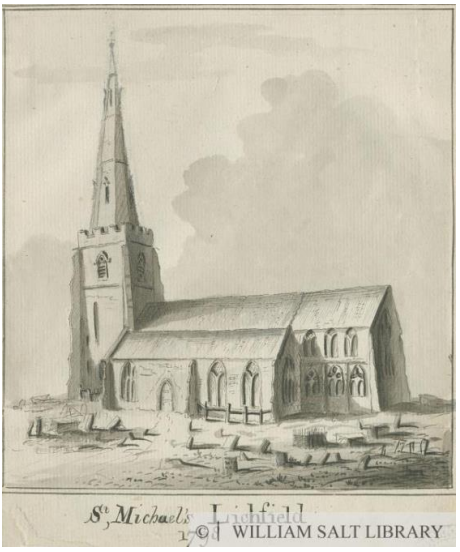

Figure 5. The church from the south in 1798

(William Salt library, used with permission)

In 1784 a Faculty was obtained for building a vestry in the south eastern corner between the south aisle and the chancel. This does not seem to have been acted upon and there is no sign of it in the picture of 1798 shown above. However, in 1790 the Donegal family of Fisherwick Hall (in the parish) built a family mausoleum in the same place. This is shown in Figure 6 from 1841, again from the William Salt library, which also shows the south door in its new position. The roof line of the older, thirteenth century, chancel is also visible.

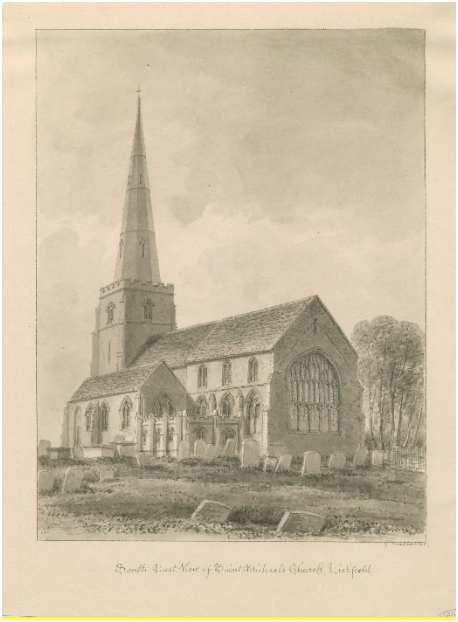

Figure 6. Donegal mausoleum in south east corner

(William Salt library, used with permission)

With regard to the churchyard, a lychgate at the north, and a south gate and stile were constructed in 1710 and sheep and cows continued to be grazed there. In 1774 a gate was constructed at some location for cows and wagons only - an early attempt at traffic control. In 1801 the

churchwardens ruled that only sheep were to be allowed in the churchyard, but nonetheless we read of a child being killed by a cow in 1809.

Chapter 4. Revolutions in worship

The nature of worship in St. Michael's changed radically during the Reformation, with worship becoming centred upon Morning and Evening Prayer in English as set out in the various versions of the Prayer Book produced by Cramner during the reign of Edward VI. After the counter-Reformation of Mary, the 1552 version of the prayer book was adopted in the Elizabethan settlement, with services that were very similar to those that were eventually found in the 1660 Book of Common Prayer. Holy Communion, stripped of its pre-Reformation ceremony would have been offered irregularly, perhaps once a month, or just a few times a year.

In 1560, the church wardens paid for a bible, a communion book, a number of psalters, and also for homilies and instructions, presumably delivered by visiting preachers. The following year tressle tables were purchased for communion. These would have been set up lengthways in the chancel with the priest on the north side and the communicants on the south. The altar at the east end had probably been removed by this time. A paten and chalice. were still used to hold the bread and wine. In 1616 an hour glass was purchased, which implies that sermons were being preached, even if there was a desire to control their length. In the same year an inventory reveals the following items for use in worship and instruction - a silver cup and cover; a white cloth and "carpet" for the table; a new surplus; a new bible (presumably the Authorised Version); two homily books; two old homily books; two registers; a statute book for November 5th (when a service was authorized in thanksgiving for the safety of the king following the gunpowder plot); a pulpit cloth and cushion; the paraphrase of Erasmus and the "Apology of Jewell against Harding". The last two books were hugely

influential in the course of the English Reformation and remained so for many years afterwards.

During the Civil War, the presbyterian party came to dominate the religious life of England, and episcopacy was abolished in 1646. In 1650 the Act of Uniformity that specified that all should follow the rites of the national church, was also abolished, and, although Presbyterianism continued to dominate, this led to the rise of a plethora of groups and sects - including congregationalists and Baptists. On the more extreme wing of such groups we find included the Ranters, the Fifth Monarchists, the Seekers, the Muggletonians, and - most prominently and most lastingly - the Quakers. The founder of the latter was of course George Fox, and in 1650 he approached Lichfield from Leicestershire in the east (and thus I would surmise somewhere around the Boley Park region). when, in his own words

Then was I commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes. I stood still, for it was winter; and the Word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes, and left them with the shepherds; and the poor shepherds trembled, and were astonished. Then I walked on about a mile, and as soon as I was got within the city, the Word of the Lord came to me again, saying, "Cry, 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!'" So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it, and made stands, crying as before, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" And no one laid hands on me. As I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood.

As well as this being one of the more interesting events that was ever to begin in Boley Park, it does illustrate something of the religious fervor and turmoil of the time.

Unfortunately, there is almost no record of the nature of the worship within St. Michael's in that period, other than to the mention of a payment of 1s for a sermon to a Mr. Staresmore for a sermon in 1653, and another inventory in the churchwarden's accounts of 1657 giving a very similar list to that of 1616.

It is unclear how quickly regular worship resumed at St. Michael's after the Restoration. Certainly, in 1662 the churchwardens paid a Mr. Unitt £1 19s for cloth to make a surplice, and baptisms were taking place by 1667, but there is no indication of the form of regular worship in the early years, although presumably it would have followed the 1660 Prayer Book when it occurred. The current font dates from sometime after 1669 - shown in an 1824 sketch from the William Salt library and a modern photograph in Figure 7. In 1683, a flagon, three plates and a basin were purchased for communion, and a further set, dated 1684 were purchased sometime afterwards. This set was later sold in 1852 and found its way ultimately to St. Clement's in Oxford where it was photographed in the 1920s - see Figure 8. It can be seen it clearly depicts Michael standing over the serpent. By 1892 the church had repented of the sale and tried to buy it back but were rebuffed.

Figure 7. St. Michael's font from 1669

(Photo by Maureen Brand)

Figure 8. The 1684 Chalice

In the 1680s, Dean Addison, on realizing there were no sermons being preached at St. Michael's preached there himself. In 1693, the prebendaries were instructed to preach at St. Michael's in the afternoon if they had

preached at the cathedral in the morning. Note again that the curates attached to St. Michael's were clearly not required to preach at the time. Relations between the Cathedral prebendaries and St. Michael's were not always harmonious. In 1720 they requested permission to drive a carriage to the door of the church in wet weather. This was refused by the churchwardens. In retaliation, the prebendaries then resorted to sending one of their vicars with a book of homilies to read from. Eventually the matter was settled by the bishop and the carriage was allowed.

As noted above, a singer's gallery was installed at the west end of the church in 1780, and in 1785 a Singing Master was appointed, with a salary of £1 1s. At this point the robing room was in the north west corner of the north aisle.

In 1790 there was only one sermon a month at St. Michaels, on Sacrament Sunday, the monthly celebration of Holy Communion - thus indicating that the ministers at St. Michael's were still not required to preach often, if at all. One presumes that with the building of a rather splendid three decker pulpit and reading desk in 1798, more sermons would have been forthcoming.

Chapter 5. The great and the good

The accounts of the churchwardens have already been used in discussing the fabric and worship of the church. In addition, they give an indication of the charitable work of the church wardens - in 1598 a donation to buy prayer books for the navy; in 1616 and 1621 donations to pay for the release of captive soldiers held by the "barbarians" or by the "Turks"; and at many places small gifts to "poor men" or to "poor soldiers".

The church registers, which begin in 1574, also give insights into the life of the parish and the city at the time. Apart from recording the burials of parishioners at all levels in society including a number of entries for such prominent Lichfield families as the Floyers, the Ashmoles and the Dyotts, we also find records to the burial of itinerants (such as Robert Green, a carrier who died at the Inn owned by James Martin in 1587); or of executed prisoners "*condemned by the law at the sessions holden in Lichfield*"; long standing servants of the church (such as William Clarke, buried in 1592, clerk to the church for 52 tumultuous years); or suicides ("*Margaret, who killed herself with a knife was buried 15th June 1603*"). Between 1642 and 1645, during the civil war, the burials of 25 soldiers are recorded. Following that there are very few entries until we read that in 1655 when Richard Riley was elected by the parish to keep the register. A few more follow before the Restoration in 1660, but entries become much more common after that.

A number of graves from the early 16th century, in the period leading up to the Reformation, were actually in the body of the church. In the chancel there was a gravestone for Richard Detby (d 1516), Isabella his wife and Isabella their child. Near the entrance to the chancel was the alabaster gravestone of John Streethay (d 1523) and his wife Ann (d 1534) with figures of John and Ann and their

twelve children. Near this was a similar monument to Thomas Streethay (d 1521) and his wife Elizabeth (d 1500) and their nine children. In the body of the church was a gravestone for Richard Aylson (d 1528) and an alabaster monument in the north aisle to Thomas Kirkham (d 1538)and his three wives.

There were also number of monuments in the church from the period between the Reformation and the Commonwealth that have not survived. For example

On the north side of the chancel was an alabaster stone, upon which was the figure of a man between his two wives. Under the feet of the wife on the right hand were the figures of fifteen sons and six daughters, and under that on the left were three sons and three daughters.

The husband and his wives were identified as William Swynfende of Swynfende, who died in 1549 and his wives Elizabeth and Dorothy. More could be said here, but it is hard to know where to start. In the south aisle there was a raised monument to "*Freeford*" that, according to William Clarke in 1652, who had been clerk of the parish of for 65 years and succeeded his father mentioned above, it was broken up by soldiers in the Civil War.

There was also an interesting set of monuments concerned with the Skeffington family of Fisherwick Hall - with monuments on the north wall to John Skeffington (d 1604) and Alice his wife (d 1617); James Skeffington (d 1808) with monuments with "antique pyramids" either side of the altar to Sir John and Sir James Skeffington. Various baptismal and marriage entries for this family can also be found in the registers. More details of the complexity of the Skeffington family and their various titles and honours can be found elsewhere.

Perhaps shockingly, none of these monuments exists any longer, partly because of the destruction during the Civil

War, and partly because of a major retiling in the late 18th century, and the restorations of the mid-nineteenth. Suffice it to say that these monuments, would have given an altogether different feel to St. Michael's church in the early / mid-seventeenth century than the one we are used to.

However, many of the memorials from the eighteenth century can still be found in St. Michael's, the exceptions being some of those which were in the Chancel and were swept away in the rebuilding of the 1840s. On the west wall there are, amongst others, monuments to John Newton (d 1724) one of whose son's went on to be Dean of St. Paul's, whilst the other founded Newton's College in the Close for widows and unmarried daughters of clergy; and to Richard and Felicia Hammond and their daughter Mary Cobb, all friends of Dr Johnson (Figure 9a); on the south wall monuments to Joseph Rochford (d 1743), Vicar of Kingsbury, Curate of St. Mary's and Pelsall (Figure 9b) and John Peck (d 1760), Captain in the Huntingdonshire Militia; on the north wall, monuments to Richard Ball (d 1727) and his family, three times bailiff of Lichfield.

In the Chancel, we find the memorial of Richard Greene, Surgeon and Antiquary (d 1793) who is buried in the Cathedral, and his family, most of whom are interred in a later tomb in the centre of the Chancel (see Figure 10). It will be seen in part 3, that the rebuilding of the chancel was largely driven by another Richard Greene, the grandson of the first, who seems to have taken the opportunity to install both the memorial and a family vault.

There is also a small brass plaque erected in 1728 commemorating Michael Lowe of Tymore, founder of the Lowe's Charity "*to provide yearly 12 caps and coats for the benefit of 12 poor men, inhabitants within the City of Lichfield*" (Figure 11).

(a) **(b)**

Figure 9. The 18th century monuments

(Photographs by Maureen Brand)

Figure 10. The Greene monument and the slab in chancel floor above the Greene vault

(Photos by Maureen Brand)

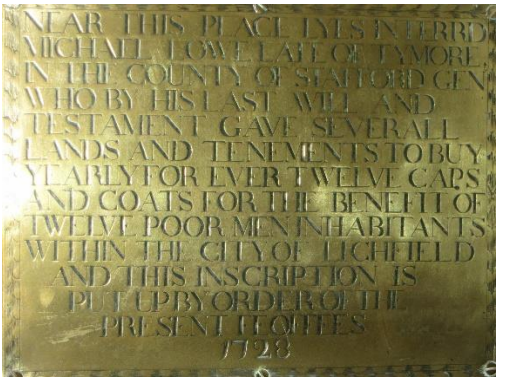

Figure 11. Michael Lowe memorial

(Photo by Maureen Brand)

In the floor of the centre aisle we have two large inscriptions (Figure 12). The first is to Joseph Adey (d 1731) and his wife Mary.

Here lies the bodies of Joseph Adey Cent. And Mary his wife. Their piety to God was sincere and exemplary. Their mutual conjugal affection and parental care rendered them the delight of their owns family. Their charity made them dear to the poore and their universal goodness and humanity gained the respect and esteem of all who knew them. He died 19th September 1731 aged 59. She died 1st of August 1735 aged 58.

The second is perhaps the most famous of the inscriptions within the church - a latin memorial on the grave of Michael Johnson, Samuel Johnson's father (Figure 12). This was composed by Johnson himself who wrote "Rasselas or the Prince of Abysinnia" and sold it to publishers for £100 in order to pay the cost of the memorial. The current version is a copy of the original that was removed when the church was retiled in 1790.

The translation is as follows.

Here lies MICHAEL JOHNSON a man of fearless and steadfast courage unmindful of danger and patient of toil, whose trust as a Christian was strong and fervent. A father who worked devotedly for his family. A bookseller of no mean skill for his mind was trained both by books and by business. His spirit was so staunch though constantly oppressed by misfortune he never failed himself or his family. His language was so guarded that no word was ever wrung from him under pain or passion that could offend the ears of pious or chaste. Born at Cubley in Derbyshire in the year 1656 he died in 1731. Beside him is laid his wife SARAH a descendant of the ancient FORD family. Industrious in her home though known to few outside it, the enemy of none, she was distinguished by a keen intellect and a shrewd judgement always sparing others but never herself, with her thoughts ever fixed on eternity, she was graced by every description of virtue. Born at Kings Norton in Worcestershire in the year 1669 she died in 1759. Also their son NATHANIEL born in 1712 who, when his powers both of mind and body were full of promise, died in 1737 closing a short life with a pious death.

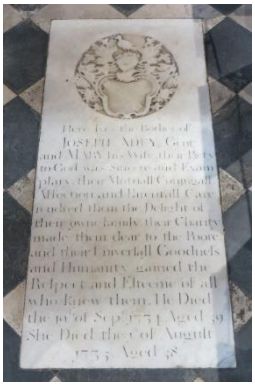

Figure 12. The centre aisle memorials

(Photos by Maureen Brand)

The churchyard contains a number of graves and monuments from the 17th and 18th centuries, which will be fully described in Part 4.

Chapter 6. Ministers and curates

In the period between the Reformation and the Commonwealth, we can identify the names of some of the clergy ministering at St. Michael's - see Table 1. Before the Civil War we have Francis Sabey from 1590 to 1591 (who was buried in the churchyard); James Taylor from 1591-1596; William Maxfield from 1596 to 1634; and Thomas Hubbocke from 1634.Thomas Hubbocke attended Oriel College, Oxford and was ordained deacon in 1624. He was in post in 1645, when a note in the parish register gives an account of money that he held at the installation of a new vicar of St. Mary's. During the civil war St. Michael's was presumably served by one of the two licensed city ministers, but there is no explicit record of this. Hubbocke was again recorded as a Curate at St. Mary's in 1662 and was also a licensed Schoolmaster.

The authority of the Vicar of St. Mary's viz a viz the authority of the Curates is well illustrated in a letter that was sent from the churchwardens of St. Michael's and William Baker, vicar of St Mary's from 1681 to 1732, to the Dean and Chapter asking that St. Michael's, with little by way of income from tithes or surplice fees, should be considered favourably at the distribution of Queen Anne's Bounty for the Augmentation of Poor Livings. The curate at the time, probably Philip Hacket, is not even a minor signatory of the letter. Curates continued to be appointed up to 1740. After that the ministers at St. Michael's were Perpetual Curates who were incumbents in their own right, although appointed by the vicar of St. Mary's.

Dates	Curate / Perpetual Curate
1523- ?	Richard Tatton
1590-1591	Francis Sabey
1591-1596	James Taylor
1596-1634	William Maxfield
1634 - ?	Thomas Hubbocke
1682-1700	George Holder
1701-1728	Philip Hacket
1728-1728	Thomas Morgan
1728-1740	Henry Long
1740-1745	Thomas White
1745-1757	Benjamin Bond
1757-1772	Daniel Remington
1773-1773	Edward Holbrooke
1773-1781	John Pearson
1782-1805	William Remington

Table 1 St. Michael's clergy

The first Perpetual Curate was Thomas White in 1740. His living was worth £30p.a., small even by the standards of the time. This was periodically supplemented from various sources (including Queen Anne's Bounty) and by 1803 the living was valued at £45 p.a. There is a certain similarity to the careers of all the Perpetual Curates that followed the 18th century with most of them spending some part of their career at either St. Mary's or St. Chad's and combining their parish roles with the role of either a Cathedral Prebendary or as a Priest Vicar at the cathedral (which would have supplemented their income). Many of them were also pluralists, holding posts at various

parishes at the same time. For example, consider the record of Daniel William Remington, Perpetual Curate at St. Michael's from 1757 to 1772. He was educated at Lichfield School, and from there went to St. John's College in Cambridge. He was a Vicar Choral at the Cathedral from 1740 to 1776, and then Sub Chanter from 1776 to his death in 1789. He was also the Vicar of Harborne from 1766 to 1772, the Vicar of Alrewas from 1767 to 1789, and, after he left St. Michael's, the Vicar of St. Mary's from 1772 to 1789. He was the grandson of the earlier Vicar of St. Mary's, William Baker, mentioned above, and also the father of two later Perpetual Curates at St. Michael's, William Remington (1782-1805) and Edward Remington (1805 - 1831). William is said to have been the first to institute a Sunday School in Lichfield, and there is a monument to him and to his father in the Cathedral (Figure 13).

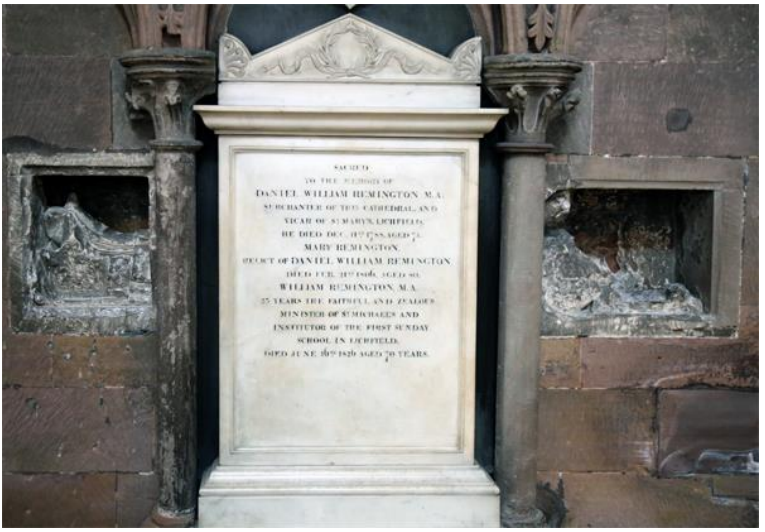

Figure 13. [The Remington Monument in Lichfield Cathedral]

(the effigy behind is not related to the monument)

Bibliography for Parts 1 to 4

Much of the basic information found on this site has been taken from three sources - two volumes of the Victoria County History and the early nineteenth century work of Thomas Harwood. All are available on line.

- A History of the County of Stafford: Volume 3 By G C Baugh, W L Cowie, J C Dickinson, Duggan A P, A K B Evans, R H Evans, Una C Hannam, P Heath, D A Johnson, Hilda Johnstone, Ann J Kettle, J L Kirby, R Mansfield and A Saltman/ Edited by M W Greenslade and R B Pugh. Victoria County History - Staffordshire.
- A History of the County of Stafford: Volume 14, Lichfield Edited by M W Greenslade. A detailed thematic account of the city of Lichfield and outlying townships, including Burntwood. Victoria County History - Staffordshire.
- Thomas Harwood (1806) "The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield:: Containing Its Ancient and Present State, Civil and Ecclesiastical; Collected from Various Public Records, and Other Authentic Evidences"

In addition, much use has been made of the UK census collection and material relating to St. Michael's at Staffordshire Records Office

- UK Census collection
- Records of St. Michael's Church, Staffordshire Records Office

The short church history of Carpenter has also been used.

- Carpenter Rev. (1947) "St. Michael's Church, Lichfield. A short history", revised by J. Baker (1982)

Place name evidence was taken from the work of Horovitz.

- Horowitz D (2005) "The Place Names of Staffordshire", published by D Horovitz, Berwood

Extensive information on the burials in the churchyard (from the registers and monumental inscription surveys, can be found on the author's web site at https://profchrisbaker.com/lichfield-st-michael-church-and-parish-new/the-churchyard-at-st-michaels-lichfield-registers-and-records/

A number of sources were used that are not available on the web. These include the following.

- Basset S (1981) "Medieval Lichfield: A topographical Review", Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society, XXII, 93-121
- Basset S (1992) "Church and diocese in the West Midlands; the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control", Pastoral Care Before the Parish p. 13-40
- James T (1998) "The development of the parish of St. Michael-on-Greenhll over 1500 years", St. Michael's Papers; number 1, St. Michael's PCC
- James T (1999) "St. Michael's dedication, associations and imagery", St. Michael's Papers; number 2, St. Michael's PCC

Finally, for those interested in the celebrations of the ritual year, the following book by Ronald Hutton is a good read.

- Hutton R (1996) "The Stations of the Sun – a History of the Ritual Year in Britain", Oxford University Press