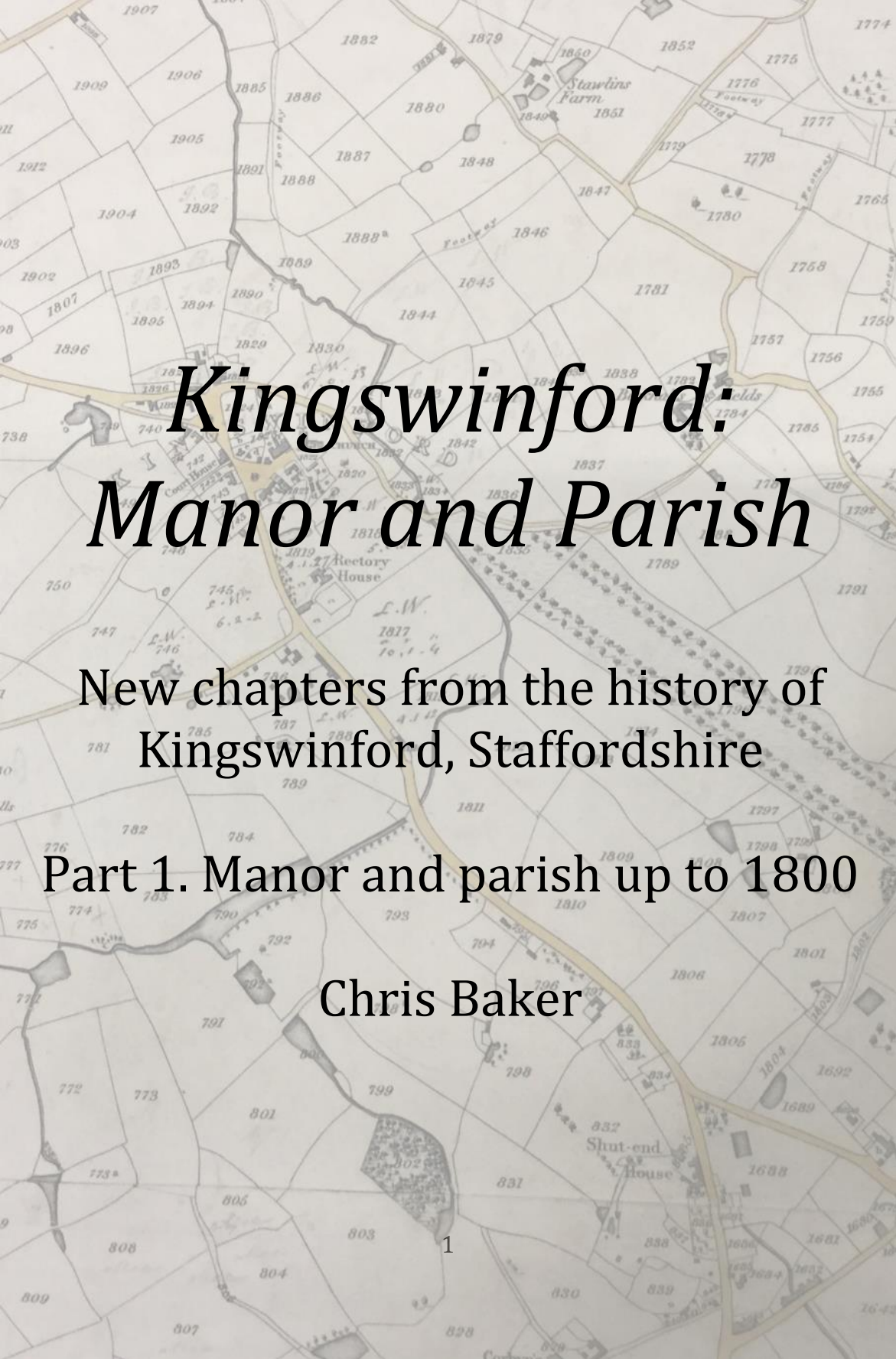

Kingswinford: Manor and Parish

New chapters from the history of Kingswinford, Staffordshire

Part 1. Manor and parish up to 1800

Chris Baker

Kingswinford Manor and Parish; New chapters from the history of Kingswinford, Staffordshire; Part 1. Manor and Parish up to 1800

The author

Chris Baker was born and brought up in the parish of Pensnett, part of the ancient manor and parish of Kingswinford, and attended Bromley County Primary School and Brierley Hill Grammar School. He then studied Engineering at St Catharine's College, Cambridge, from where he gained his MA and PhD. After spending some time working for British Rail in Derby, he moved back into academia – firstly to the University of Nottingham, and then to the University of Birmingham, where he taught fluid mechanics to several generations of Civil Engineering students. His research interests are in the fields of wind engineering, environmental fluid mechanics and railway aerodynamics. He is a Fellow of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Institution of Highways and Transport, the Higher Education Academy and the Royal Meteorological Society. He retired in December 2017 but continues to work on various aspects of railway aerodynamics as Emeritus Professor of Environmental Fluid Mechanics at the University of Birmingham. He is also an Anglican clergyman attached to a parish in Lichfield.

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Acknowledgements

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Preface

Those readers who are well versed in Black Country history will be very aware that the subtitle of this book is not original. The phrase "*Chapters in Kingswinford History"* was first used for several 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 Brierley Hill, and lived in Amblecote, where he was a local councilor on the Urban District Council and a JP. 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 beyond. Then there were surprises about the 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 many 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 book of which this is the first. It deals with the development of the parish of Kingswinford up to and including the Enclosure at the end of the eighteenth century. After Chapter 1 sets the scene, Chapter 2 looks at the development of the area from Roman times to Domesday using a variety of sources, mainly based on landscape considerations. Chapter 3 then considers the relationship between the Manor and Pensnett Chase, and Chapter 4 moves on to describe the Enclosure process in the late eighteenth century that saw the final demise of the Chase. Chapter 5 then looks at the major families in the area and in particular shows the inter-relationships between them. Finally, Chapter 6 outlines what is known of the Rectors and the Curates of the parish from the Reformation onwards.

Part 2 of the book 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. Part 3 then 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

January 2023

Chapter 1. Kingswinford Manor and Parish

Guttery's "Chapters in Kingswinford History" (Guttery 1947, 1950a, 1950b, 1950c) were almost certainly part of a larger project on Kingswinford history that he never actually finished. Indeed, this is implied in his introduction to a (posthumously published) set of notes on Kingswinford History that can be found in transcript form in Dudley Archives (Guttery, 1974). Although his Chapters overlap, they are essentially self-contained studies. The four parts of the current work have something of the same nature and although they are arranged in a chronological sequence, they are not intended as a comprehensive history of the manor and the parish of Kingswinford. They are intended to complement the work of Guttery and others, and, although they are fully referenced in an academic style, are hopefully accessible to general readers. Many maps are included to illustrate the text, at a variety of scales – regional scales showing Kingswinford in the context of the nearby towns and rivers; parish scales showing the entirety of the manor and parish; and a number of local scales showing particular parts of the parish.

The first of these maps is shown in Figure 1.1 and gives the location and the shape of the parish of Kingswinford in the early 1800s. It is given in relation to both the surrounding towns and the major watercourses in the region, since the latter largely determine the size and shape of the then parish - it fits in the angle between the Rivers Stour and Smestow, and is bounded on its northern side by the Holbeach Brook. Figure 1.2 shows the parish itself, with the modern road system superimposed. It can be seen to extend from Greensforge

in the west to Brierley Hill in the east, and from Wordsley in the south to Wall Heath in the north – in other words it is much larger than the modern urban village known as Kingswinford. The current boundary between Dudley Metropolitan Borough and the County of Staffordshire is shown, which effectively defines the extent of the urban area and, as we shall see, reflects a much older boundary dating back more than a thousand years.

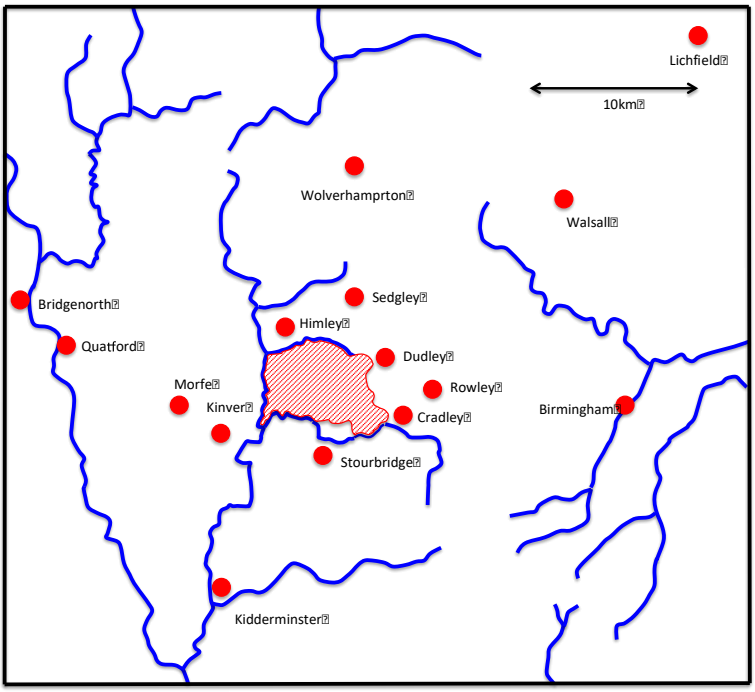


Figure 1.1 Kingswinford and its region
The 1822 parish is indicated by the hatched area.

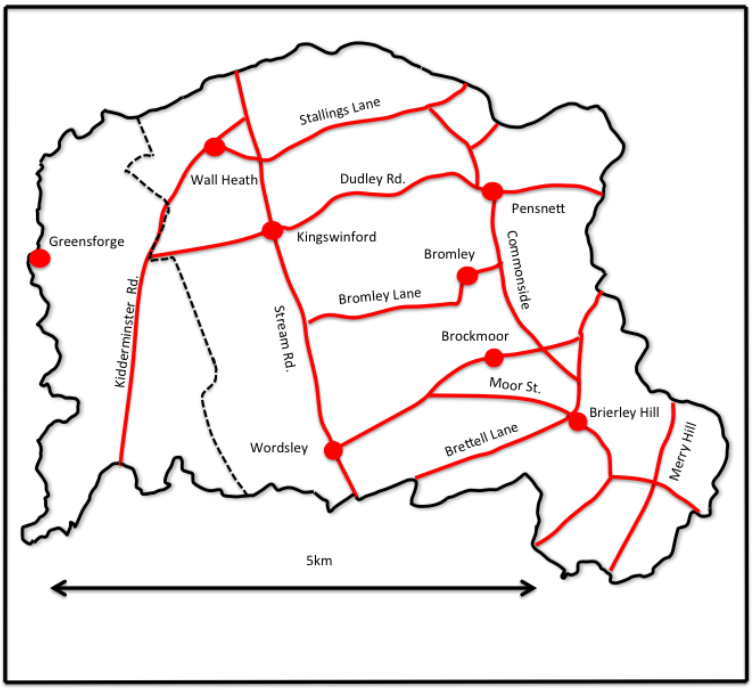


Figure 1.2 The parish of Kingswinford
Dotted line shows the current border between Dudley and Staffordshire.

In what follows we will firstly consider the early development of the Manor of Kingswinford up to and including Domesday (Chapter 2). We will then look at the relationship between the Manor and the area that became known as Pensnett Chase (Chapter 3), before thinking about the Enclosure of parts of the parish in the late eighteenth century (Chapter 4). We will consider the major families in the area from when they become visible in the middle ages to the time of the enclosure (Chapter 5) , and finally in Chapter 6 we will describe the Rectors and Curates who served the Manor and parish over the centuries.

Chapter 2. The making of the Manor

Introduction

This Chapter considers the development of the manor of Kingswinford over a period of a thousand years – from the Roman invasion of 55 AD, through the period when Kingswinford first became visible in written sources at Domesday in 1086. At first sight it might be thought that little could be said about this period, as the early centuries cover what have come to be known, somewhat inappropriately, as the Dark Ages and there is little written material available for the later centuries. However, it will be seen that by using a number of different sources, a somewhat speculative picture of the development of the area can be drawn, even if only in outline. The Chapter begins by looking at the Roman road network in the area before moving on to investigate what place names can reveal about its characteristics. It then considers the boundaries of early dioceses, tribal areas and kingdoms before looking at charter estate boundaries and the Domesday descriptions of the manors of *Swinford Regis* (Kingswinford) and *Haswic* (Ashwood).

Romans roads

The first truly historical fact about the area that can be relied on is that there were a number of Roman army marching camps in the Greensforge area – see Figure 2.1 (Historic England, 2019a). In total there seem to have been two auxiliary forts and five marching camps, which can be dated to the early years of the Roman invasion (45AD to 80AD). They were probably used as the Roman

army pushed north and west into England, but also seem to have an intensive period of occupation around the Bouddican revolt of 60AD. These camps were short lived, and there is no evidence of occupation after about 80AD. However, what did remain was quite an intensive network of roads. The importance of Greensforge seems to have been as a ford over the River Smestow. The roads that can be identified with some confidence are as follows (Shropshire History, 2019).

1. A road to the south, to the salt producing areas at Salinae, modern day Droitwich.
2. A road to the north to Pennocrucium, modern day Water Eaton, on Watling Street.
3. A road to the northwest to the major city of Viroconium (Wroxeter), with a branch to Uxacona (Redhill), again on Watling Street.
4. A road to the west to Bravonium near Leominster – presumably with a crossing of the Severn near Quatford, south of Bridgnorth.

All of these roads can be traced, at least in part, on modern maps and on the ground. Note that the roads from Salinae, through to Viroconium, and onwards to Chester, formed a major "saltway" for the transport of that precious commodity. In addition, the existence of two more roads can also be indirectly inferred.

5. A link to the marching camp at Metchley (now in the grounds of the University of Birmingham). This can be traced to some degree at its eastern end (Bassett, 2001), heading through the Portway (a name indicative of Roman Roads) and Old Hill to the Dudley Ridge. From there it is likely to have followed the line of the current Dudley – Kingswinford Road to Summerhill, and then to Greensforge (Baker, 2014),
6. A road from Letocetum (Wall) on Watling Street, south of Lichfield, possibly via Wednesbury before

passing through The Straits in Sedgley (another name often linked with Roman Roads) and then heading for Greensforge (Horovitz, 2003).

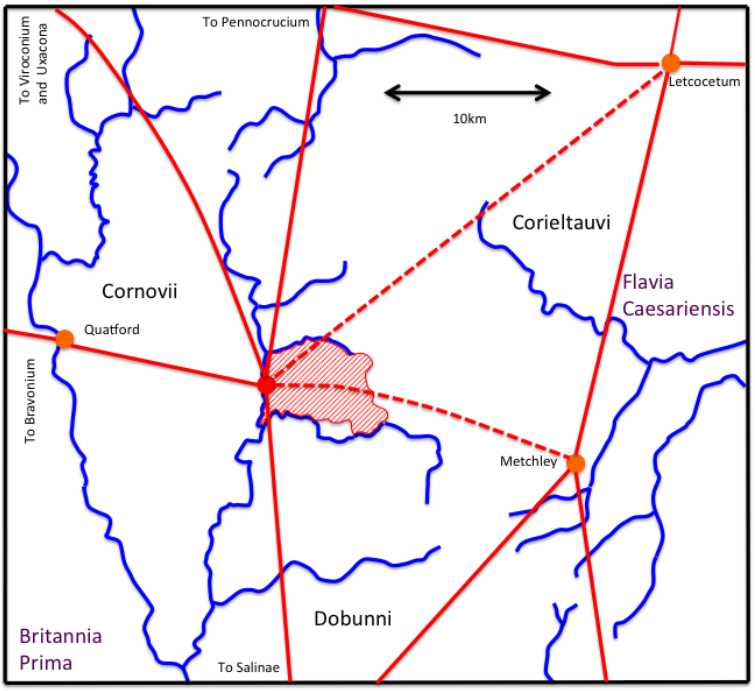


Figure 2.1 Roman Roads, Civitates and Provinces

Solid lines are those roads whose route can be traced at least partially, and dotted lines are conjectured links. Civitas names in black and Provincial names in purple. Hatching indicates Kingswinford manor.

Such a road network would form an important focus for both military and civilian business, and although no trace has been found, it is more than likely that there was some sort of small-scale occupation at Greensforge throughout the Roman period. One change however that did occur at some stage, probably after the end of the Roman period and the decline of Viroconium in the 5th or 6th century,

was that the Saltway seems to have taken a different route, along what is now the Stourbridge – Wolverhampton Road, and headed to Stafford and Chester, although there is a possibility that this road was of a pre-Roman date.

In terms of Roman political structures, the area of Kingswinford sat close to the boundaries of three civitas or tribal territories – those of the Cornovii in the upper Severn Basin, the Dobunni in the lower Severn basin, and the Corieltauvi, largely in the Trent basin. Although it is not possible to be sure of the boundaries, the territory of the latter was probably to the east of the main English watershed that passes through Sedgley and Dudley. In addition, it is likely that this ridge was also the boundary of two of the late Roman provinces – that of Britannia Prima to the west and Flavia Caesariensis to the east. Many modern historians of that period would see continuity between these civitates and late Iron Age tribal groupings, which would place our area on the boundary between three different tribal groups (Higham, 1995). Thus in general terms, the Kingswinford area in the Roman period would seem to have been a border zone between different tribal groupings, but nonetheless well traversed by both the invading Roman armies and the traders that would have followed in their wake.

Place names

The names of many of the settlements in the Kingswinford area are clearly Germanic in form, and conventional wisdom would be that these names date from the 7th to 9th centuries. One particular series of names – those ending in "*ley*" give a clue to the nature of the area at that time, as "*ley*" usually refers to a clearing in woodland, either natural or cleared (Horovitz, 2003), although it could refer to a wood with a particular tree

type. In the area around Kingswinford, we have Dudley, Sedgley, Himley and Cradley (see Figure 1.1). In Kingswinford itself, we can think of small settlements of Wordsley, and Dawley (between Kingswinford and Wall Heath) as being settlements in small woodland clearings along the Saltway, with other similar clearings at Brierley (Hill) and Bromley (Figure 1.2). Kingswinford itself seems to have been part of a much larger land unit that included the current areas of Oldswinford, Stourbridge and Amblecote, and centred on a ford on the Saltway over the Stour in Amblecote. The name suggests that this ford was used by herds of pigs to cross into the woodland to forage. To the west of Kingswinford, there are some names which derive from British, rather than Anglo-Saxon forms – Kinver, Morfe, Quatt - indicating a lasting British cultural influence in these areas (although there is some controversy over whether the name Quatt is British or English in origin). The name of the Severn, whilst somewhat obscure, is also British / Latin in form. This emphasises again the borderland nature of the area (Horovitz, 2003).

Kingdoms, tribes, dioceses and counties

The possibility that three Roman civitates met in the area of Kingswinford has been mentioned above, and as we move into the Anglo-Saxon period of the sixth to eighth centuries, political and tribal boundaries become a little clearer. In the 670s, Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury created a number of ecclesiastical dioceses in England, which very broadly mapped on tribal boundaries. In our region, the diocese of Lichfield served the dominant kingdom of Mercia, that of Worcester served the kingdom of the Hwicce, which after a short independent existence, seems to have been merged into the Mercian kingdom in the 7th or 8th century; and the diocese of Hereford seems

have been created for the rather obscure tribal grouping known as the Magonsaete (Figure 2.2).

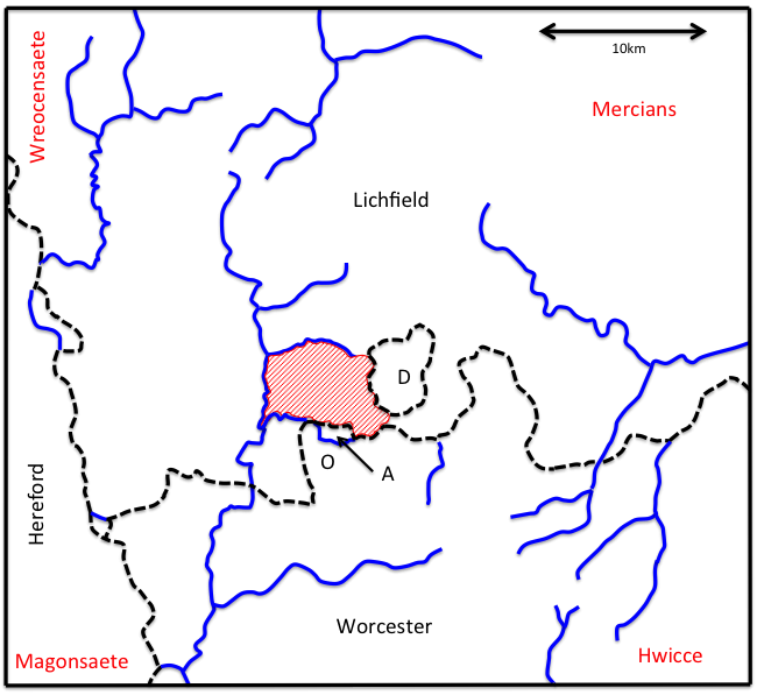


Figure 2.2 Diocesan boundaries

Names of Dioceses in black and tribal names in red. Hatching indicates Kingswinford. A indicates Amblecote, O indicates Oldswinford and D indicates Dudley. Black dotted line is diocesan boundary.

The Lichfield diocese seems to have covered a number of tribal groupings, all dominated by Mercia – the Mercians themselves in modern day Staffordshire and south Derbyshire, the Wreocensaete in Shropshire, the Pecsaete in north Derbyshire and a range of Middle Anglian kingdoms in Leicestershire and the east midlands. The Wreocensaete are probably directly derived from the civitas of the Cornovii, and the Hwicce can almost certainly be identified with the civitas of the

Dobunni (Higham, 1995). These diocesan boundaries remained stable for many centuries up to modern times (Ordnance Survey, 1950). In the Kingswinford area, the boundary between Lichfield and Worcester diocese ran mainly along the Stour, with Oldswinford being in Worcester and Kingswinford in Lichfield. The position of what was to become the manor of Amblecote was anomalous, with the diocese of Worcester extending north of the Stour to encompass it. The manor of Dudley was also a detached portion of Worcester diocese.

At first sight this boundary seems a little odd – kingdom boundaries in that period seem to have general followed watersheds and kingdom territories to have been based on river basins. Whilst nearly all the original Mercian lands seem to have been in the Trent Basin, they clearly also included the area that came to be known as Seisdon hundred, in the Smestow basin in the Severn catchment, including the area around Kingswinford. The reason for this may have been because this area, through the Roman road network passing through Greensforge, offered a direct link to the Severn at Quatford (see Figure 2.1). This route would have been as important for the Mercian kingdom in military and trading terms as it would have been in the Roman period. Intriguingly it is quite possible that the Viking army of 896 passed through the area in their epic march from the Lea valley to Quatbridge (probably Quatford) near Bridgnorth.

Traditionally the various kingdoms and sub-kingdoms in this period have been thought of as being formed when the invading Anglians from the north and east, and Saxons from the south, drove the original British inhabitants westwards. However most modern historians of that period would see significant continuities in population and culture (Higham, 1995; Oosthuizen, 2018), so it is perhaps best to think of the Kingswinford area as being a wooded and perhaps rather sparsely

populated region on the boundary of a number of tribal territories, which, like the rest of England, adopted a Germanic culture and language over the centuries following the Roman withdrawal, but with no very great movement of population.

In a charter of 854 relating to the boundary of lands near Cofton Hacket in Worcestershire, preserved in Hemming's Cartulary, a particular point is described, on the boundaries of the Worcester and Lichfield dioceses, that is a boundary between the Tomsaete, and the Pencersaete (Finburg, 1961) and possible with the Arosaete (Hart, 1977). It is generally accepted that the Tomsaete were a Mercian people associated with the River Tame, and indeed this point is at the southern edge of the Tame catchment. Similarly, the Arosaete, who are mentioned in the Tribal Hidage, are regarded as the inhabitants of the valley of the River Arrow, in the territory of the Hwicce (Hart, 1971). Again, this point is at the northern end of the Arrow catchment (Figure 2.3). Cyril Hart has argued that this implies that the Pencersaeten were a people to the north and west of this point, and he suggest they were a Mercian tribe, centred on Penkridge, to the north of Wolverhampton (Hart, 1977). This seems to have become the accepted identification and can be found in a number of texts. Clearly the name suggests that there might be some association with the Penn / Pensnett area, and if the tribe were centred in Penkridge, then this area would certainly be included. However, the author remains unconvinced by this identification. If it were true this would imply that the Pencersaete extended across two catchments – that of the Stour / Smestow which flow into the Severn, and that of the Penk in the upper reaches of the Trent catchment. This seems to the author unlikely, and not consistent with the other tribal boundaries in the area, with the probability being that the bounds of the

Pencersaeten extended only over the Stour / Smestow region i.e. just one catchment, and probably centred on the Penn region.

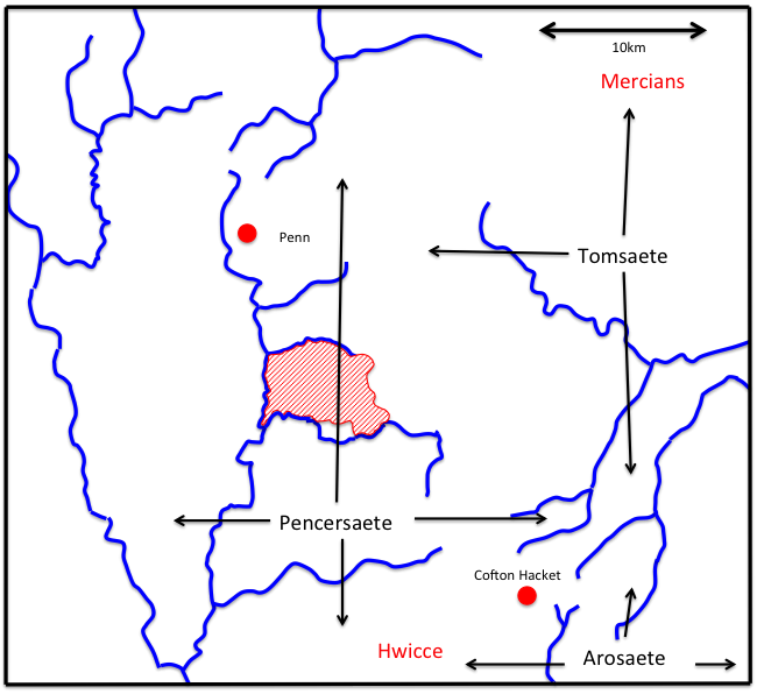


Figure 2.3 The Pencersaetan and other Anglo Saxon tribes

Tribal names are shown in black. Kingdom names are shown in red.

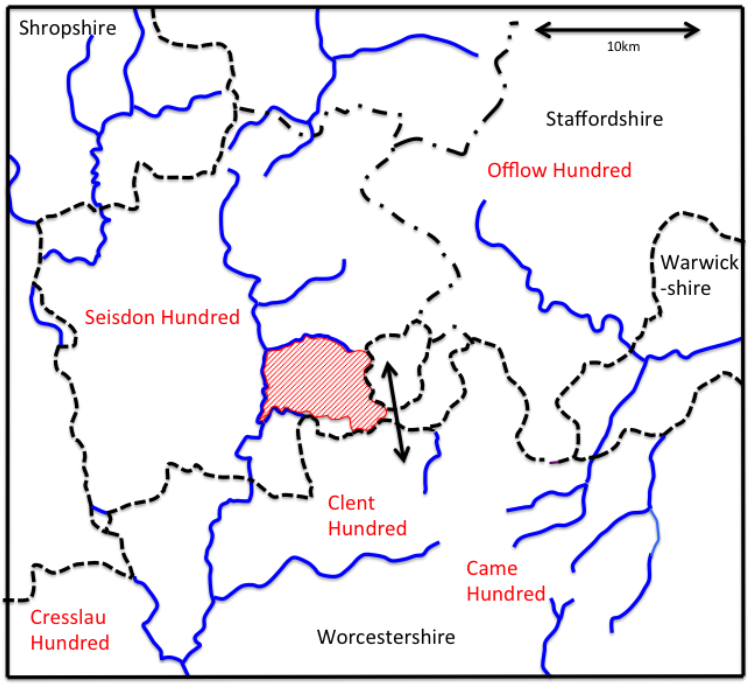


Figure 2.4 The Domesday county and hundred boundaries

County boundaries shown as short dotted lines. Hundred boundaries where they are not coincident with county boundaries are show as chain dotted lines. County names are in black. Hundred names are in red. Worcestershire Domesday Hundreds are not well defined, and no boundaries are shown.

At Domesday this catchment was split between the Hundred of Seisdon in Staffordshire, and the Hundreds of Clent and Came in Worcestershire (Figure 2.4). However, there were clearly strong links between the two regions with the Domesday dues of Clent and Tardebigge in Worcestershire (the latter probably including Cofton Hacket) being paid in Kingswinford in Staffordshire (Thorn and Thorn, 1982). A document from the Diocese of Worcester, part of the set known as Worcester G in Hemming's Cartulary, indicates that the Manor of Kingswinford was once owned by the Church of

Worcester. Seisdon Hundred is named after the village of Seisdon itself, the name meaning "Hill of the Saxons" (Horovitz, 2003), which suggests links between this area and Hwiccan territory to the south, which may have been regarded as influenced by the presence of Saxons from the south rather than by Angles from the north - although the identification of the Hwicce as Saxons is far from universal, and such ethnic identifications are becoming less tenable as the evidence for population and cultural continuity from the Roman period increases. This would imply that the boundary between the Hwicce and the Mercians ran along the Severn / Trent watershed passing through Dudley (although note that this is countered by the fact that the Hundred of Seisdon was incorporated into the Lichfield, Mercian, diocese – see above). It is probably best to conclude that the boundaries between kingdoms, tribes, diocese and counties arose out of a complex set of interactions over the post Roman centuries that at this distance it is not really possible to untangle. This again points to the marginal, borderland nature of the Kingswinford area.

The Eswich estate

The first time the area seems to have entered recorded history was in 994 when Lady Wulfrun gave the monks of Wolverhampton a number of Estates, whose bounds have been recorded (Bridgeman, 1916). One of these was Eswich, which because of some of the descriptions in the charter bounds, can almost certainly be identified as the Ashwood area to the west of Kingswinford (Figure 2.5). The charter contains a number of waypoints (numbered here 1 to 8) and it is instructive to consider their possible location. Note that much of what follows is taken from James (2013, 2019).

1. ***ebles beca*** is likely to refer to Holbeach - "steep sided valley with a stream". It could be anywhere along the Holbeach brook, and two possible locations are shown, the first at the junction of the Holbeach brook and the Smestow, and the second at Holbeach itself, on the Saltway, the Wolverhampton to Stourbridge Road, at the parish boundary. The author would consider the latter (the red numbering) the most likely.
2. ***In ða dic*** – to the dyke. Again, various locations for the dyke are possible from as far west as the ridge on which stands the Ridgewood, to as far east as the Saltway. In the description of Kinver Forest from 1300, the eastern boundary is placed along the Saltway, and it is probably that this also represents the dyke of the Eswich charter (the red numbering), but certainty is not possible.
3. ***ða dice on Sture*** – from the dyke to the Stour. Clearly the location of this point will depend upon where one places the second way mark. Two possible variants are shown that follow from the variants of waymarks 1 and 2.
4. ***dun efter into Tresel*** – down along it to the Tresel. The Tresel was an early name, of British origin, for the Smestow. So this point is clear and unambiguous – the confluence of the Smestow and the Stour.
5. ***up efter Tresel in Scakeresford*** – up along the Tresel to Scakeresford. The location of Scakeresford, which may have the meaning "Robbers Ford" but its location is uncertain. Three possibilities are shown, each at the junction of a brook (see below) – the junction with the Spittle Brook (black number); the junction with the Dawley Brook at Greensforge (red number); or the junction with the Holbeach Brook at Hinksford (green number).

6. ***Of ða ford onð at sic*** – from the ford to the watercourse. Again, three different locations are shown.
7. ***on lang sices upward….in Belstowe*** – along the watercourse, upward to Belstowe. Belstowe is an intriguing name with a possible meaning of "Assembly place at the Funeral Pyre" (Horovitz, 2003) that may have some cultic significance. Three possibilities are shown, the first to the west of the Smestow in Kinver parish (black), the second some way to the east of the Smestow (red) and the third at a point along the Holbeach Brook close to waymark 1 (green). We will return to this below.
8. ***of Belstowa in Tresel*** – and from Belstowe to the Tresel. Two possible locations are shown for this, corresponding to the black and the red locations.

Presumably, the rest of the boundary is defined as between waypoint 8 and waypoint 1. The major question that arises is the location of Belstowe. The black and the green options have the benefit of allowing a return of the boundary to the Smestow / Tresel at point 8, but either add a piece of land to Eswich outside the parish boundary or remove a section of land from within the parish boundary. There is no evidence that the boundary of Ashwood or the current parish was ever anywhere than along the Smestow. The third position is at the location of a fairly prominent hill named "Blaze Hill", first attested on the 1822 map of the parish (DA 1822a, 1822b). Obviously both the name and the nature of the topography is significant, as is the fact that it lies close to the parish boundary and to a possible Roman Road. This location does not however allow an easy return to the Tresel for waypoint 8. Wherever Belstow is located, it is clear that Eswich compromised the western half of the historic manor and parish of Kingswinford, and, as we

will see below, is almost certainly to be identical to the Domesday manor of Haswic or Ashwood.

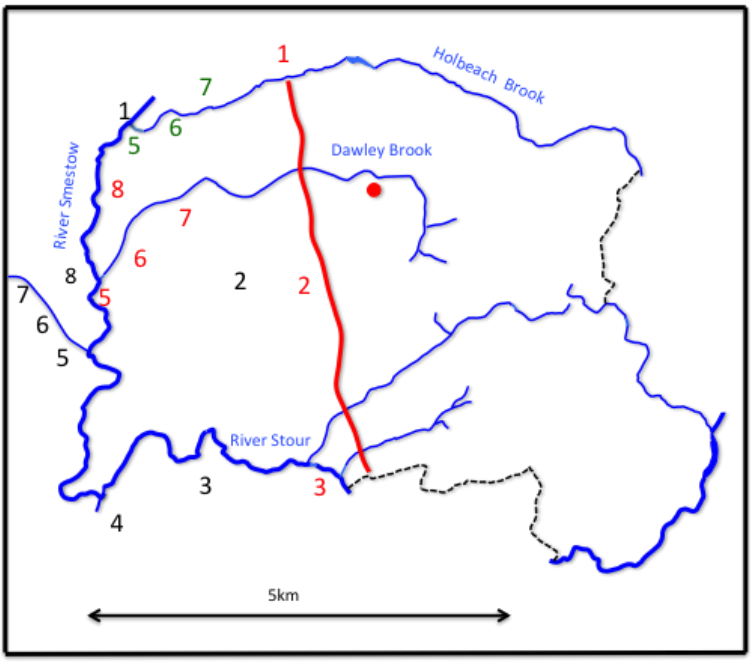


Figure 2.5. The Eswich estate

Numbers refer to waymarks on Eswich boundaries as discussed in the text. Short dotted lines are the boundaries of Kingswinford manor where they are not defined by watercourses. Solid red line is the Stourbridge – Wolverhampton road and probable boundary of Kinver Forest. Red circle is Kingswinford village.

Domesday

The Domesday Book, compiled in 1086, is of course when the manors of Ashwood and Kingswinford first become truly visible to history. The Ashwood (Haswic) entry is quite brief (Morris, 1976).

The Canons have 5 hides in Haswic. Land for 8 ploughs; now waste because of the King's Forest. Half of the woodland in the Forest belonged here.

The Canons are the Canons of the Church of Wolverhampton, who clearly still owned the estate. A further indication of this is the name Prestwood – Priest's Wood – which came to refer to the farmstead at the southern end of Ashwood, and was later in the middle ages at times referred to as a manor in its own right. However, the King's Forest had encroached upon it, and at Domesday it was waste and not used for cultivation – indeed it is a very substantial proportion of the entire forest. As such it would have been subject to Forest Law, which restricted the activities that landowners and commoners could undertake. Nominally a hide was the land that could be worked by one man and is conventionally taken as 120 acres. However, this figure can vary widely. On this basis approximately 600 acres was potentially in cultivation. Now the area of Kingswinford parish to the west of the Wolverhampton to Stourbridge Road was 2750 acres. This implies that only around a quarter of the land was under cultivation before it became part of Kinver Forest, although the proportion would have been higher if the boundary had been further west.

The Kingswinford entry is somewhat more expansive than that for Ashwood, and reads as follows (Morris, 1976).

The King holds Swinford. King Edward held it. 5 hides. Land for 6 ploughs. In lordship 1; 1 slave; 14 villagers and 4 smallholders with 6 ploughs. A mill at 2s; meadow 4 acres; woodland ½ league long and 3 furlongs wide. Value 70s. To this belongs ½ hide, waste, in 'Crockington".

Kingswinford thus has six hides in cultivation (five for the villagers and one "in lordship" i.e. to be worked by

the villagers as part of their feudal duties to the Lord of the manor). In conventional terms this represents 720 acres. As the total area of Kingswinford manor (assumed to be the area east of the Stourbridge to Wolverhampton road was 4560 acres, the proportion of the land under cultivation was somewhat less than in Ashwood. One would expect that the arable lands would have been of the standard three open-field type that was being developed across the Midlands in that period.

The nature of these arable fields can be discerned to some extent from a much later source - the 1822 Fowler map of the parish of Kingswinford, which will be discussed at length in Part 2 (DA 1822a, 1822b). Here we consider just one aspect of the map – the nature of the large number of fields that it shows. In some way these fields are a window into the parish's past – the overall field pattern can reveal something of the geographical history of the parish.

Historically we know that the parish of Kingswinford as it was in 1822 had three distinct parts – those areas to the west that were enclosed by the Ashwood Hay Enclosure Act of 1776, areas in the east that were enclosed by the Pensnett Chase Enclosure Act of 1784 (DA 1776, 1784), and a large central region that contained the remains of the old three field system and a number of ancient enclosures dating from the centuries before. As noted above, there is evidence that in the 14th century the boundary of Kinver Forest (and thus Ashwood Hay) extended further to the east than the area enclosed by the 1776 act and was bounded by the Stourbridge to Wolverhampton Road (Staffordshire Historical Collection, 1884). This suggests that any field patterns which existed around the time of Domesday, would also have been bounded by this road.

The Fowler map of 1822 shows the field boundaries as they were at that point, and thus represents the fossilized remains of centuries of boundary changes. It seems at first sight unlikely that they could give much information on earlier systems. However, many historical studies have shown that such boundaries can have a surprising longevity, so a study of them might be worthwhile. The approach taken here in looking at field patterns was to consider mainly the central region between the two enclosed areas, as the fields in the latter were relatively new and recently enclosed at the time the map was produced. In that central area we look at field orientation. Figure 2.6 shows the orientation of all the fields in the central region where the ratio of the long to the short side was greater than two. It can be conjectured to represent the directions of the long strips that might be expected in a common field system.

Looked at in this way we can perhaps distinguish five areas, shown approximately by the ovals on the map.

A A rather chaotic field system in the Wall Heath area, with two mixed orientations – roughly north / south and east / west.

B A system with a north / south orientation centred on Kingswinford village itself and extending either side of the Turnpike Road between Kingswinford and Dudley.

C A system with an east / west orientation along the Wolverhampton to Stourbridge road between Kingswinford and Wordsley.

D A system with an east / west orientation in the Pensnett / Shut End area either side of the Turnpike Road. The extent of this system may be underestimated by the sketched oval and may extend rather further south.

E A north / south aligned system in the valley of the Wordsley Brook, along the Wordsley to Brierley Hill Road.

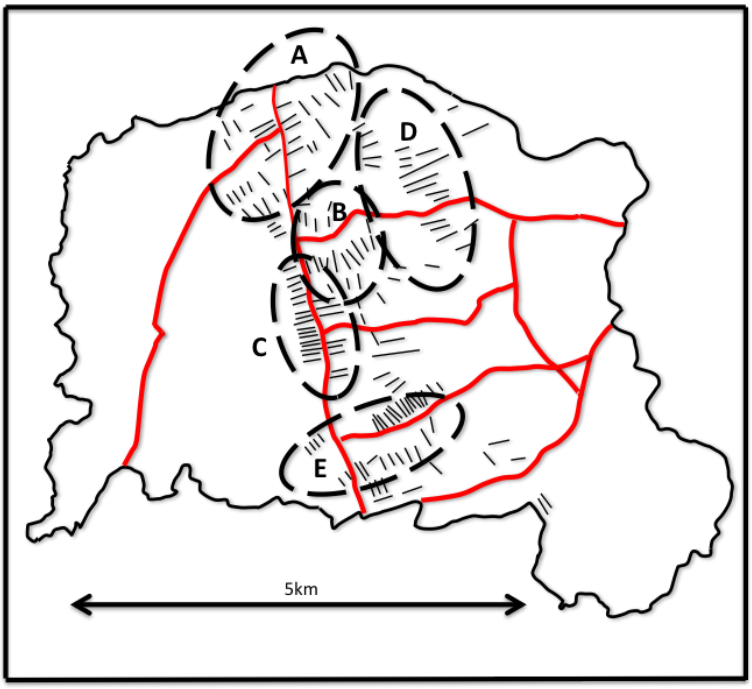


Figure 2.6 Analysis of field patterns from 1822 Fowler map

Red lines are major roads. The short lines represent the primary orientation of individual fields. The long dotted ellipses are the postulated field system areas.

There is inevitably some subjectivity in the definitions of these areas, but Figure 2.6 does seem to show them quite clearly. However, one must be very cautious in the interpretation of these field patterns, as they represent the outcome of many centuries of change and development. Indeed, it is known that the field pattern C between Kingswinford and Wordsley, at least to the west

of the road, was set up during the informal enclosure of the late 17th century that will be discussed below. Chandler (1988a) also indicates that there were many open fields that served the different settlements. That being said, the large areas A, B and D are perhaps indicative of the early field systems in the vicinity of Kingswinford village. It would be unwise to say more.

Area D is of particular interest and was to emerge into history as a number of large estates – from north to south, the estates of Shut End, Corbyn's Hall, the Tiled House and Bromley Hall. In Chapter 3 it will be argued that this area might have been enclosed in the fourteenth century, when Thomas Corbyn married Joan de Sutton, daughter of John Sutton II of Dudley Castle, possibly as part of the dowry, but this must remain a conjecture. The 1840 tithe allocation indicates that the Corbyn's Hall estate area of that period was tithe free (one of the very few such areas in the Parish) which suggests a deliberate choice at some point.

Returning to the Domesday entry for Kingswinford, the nineteen individuals identified probably represent heads of family – thus assuming a family size of eight, the total population would have been around one hundred and fifty, which by modern standards represents an extraordinarily low population density. The Mill was probably Hordesbroc Mill (HET, 2019) on the upper reaches of the Dawley Brook, where 18th and 19th century maps show pools that could have originated as mill pools, and a field named Mill Field Meadow. The meadow referred to in the Domesday entry is not easily identifiable but could be anywhere in the vicinity of the village of Kingswinford itself.

Another feature of the manor around the time of Domesday was the existence of what came to be known at Pensnett Chase – a chase being an area of common

ground, subject to its own specific laws and customs. Maps from the 16th century show that the Chase once had a considerable extent, stretching from Kinver to Dudley (see below). When its remains were eventually enclosed in 1784 by the Pensnett Chase Enclosure Act, it was limited to the area to the east of the road now known as Commonside, and the area around Brierley Hill and Cradley. At the time of Domesday, it can be envisaged that it extended over most of the Parish, with the exception of the village, the cultivated fields and the meadow, and that it was gradually enclosed over the next few centuries, either by the will of the Lord of the Manor, or simply by the gradual creep of arable farming. It is to a consideration of the nature of the Chase that turn in the next chapter.

Chapter 3. Manor and Chase

The parish of Pensnett is, in its present form, an ecclesiastical creation of the mid-nineteenth century, and represents the northeastern corner of the manor of Kingswinford. Its development in the late 19th century will be discussed in Part 3. However, even though the parish of Pensnett is a Victorian creation, the name itself has a much longer history. In his thorough survey of Staffordshire place names, Horovitz describes Pensnett as an "intriguing name" (Horovitz, 2003), and suggests its origins might be rather complex. The intriguing nature of the name comes primarily from the fact that he sees it as an amalgam of two quite distinct forms that appear most often in the context of Pensnett Chase.

Firstly however, it is instructive to briefly consider the nature of Pensnett Chase itself. It would seem, as would be expected from its name, to have been in the main a hunting ground. The chase came into the possession of the then Baron of Dudley, Ralph de Somery, in 1205, as part of an exchange of land with King John, for land in Wolverhampton (Guttery, 1947). It remained in the de Somery family, and their successors as Baron of Dudley, the de Suttons and the Wards, for many centuries. Much of the land was common, with the customary rights of commoners. However, the value of the chase for hunting soon palled into insignificance in the face of its mineral wealth – outcrops of surface coal, and rich seams of submerged coal. These resources were to determine the ultimate history of the chase, with growing industrialisation based on coal mining and iron making and a massive growth in population, and its eventual enclosure. The story of the transformation of the Chase from a Baronial hunting ground and common land to the Pensnett of the industrial revolution is entertainingly, if

somewhat anecdotally, narrated in one of Guttery's Chapters in Kingswinford History (Guttery, 1950a).

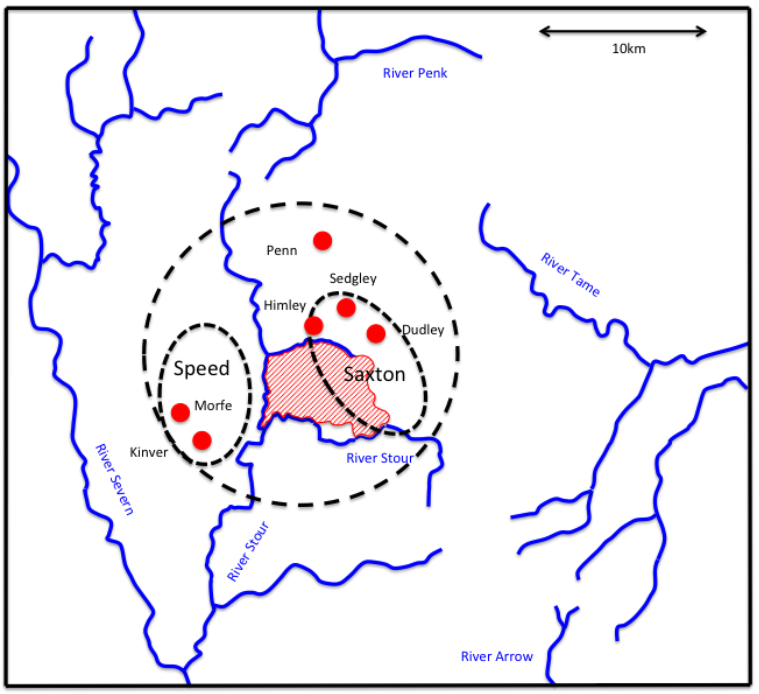


Figure 3.1 Approximate extent of Pensnett Chase

Short dotted lines show the extent indicated approximately in the atlases of Speed and Saxton. Long dotted lines show the likely overall extent. Hatched area is Kingswinford manor.

Now turning to the name of Pensnett itself, Horovitz lists its occurrences in early sources. These are essentially of two forms. The first set of names consists of variants of the name *Pensnaed*, whilst the second are variants of *Peninak*. The first would appear to derive from the British *penno-*, the Old Welsh *penn* with the meaning of head or headland, and the Old English *snaed*, a detached piece of land or a piece of woodland, with the most likely meaning being "Wood on Penn Hill". In his 1960

Dictionary of English Place names, Ekwall (1960) argued that the variation *Penninak* was due to a sound shift in the Norman period, with the sequence of name changes being *Pensnaed* to *Peninet* to *Peninec* to *Peninak*. Horovitz however makes the point that the greater number of sources now available than were available to Ekwall makes this very unlikely. According to Horovitz, *Peninak* is probably derived from the Old English *penig* or penny, and *ac* or oak, i.e. Penny Oak Tree.

In a detailed study of the sources of the name from 1200 to 1700, the author showed that *Pensnaed* and its variants usually occur from the 13th Century onwards, and almost always in relation to the Chase, the only exception being a reference to the wood of *Penysned* in 1348 (Baker, 2014). In addition, the name occurs on the Saxton map of 1579 (Saxton, 1579) and the Speed Map of 1612 (Speed, 1612) (Figure 3.1). *Peninak* and its variations occur only in the thirteenth Century and are in the main associated with a piece of woodland, with only two references to this in relation to a chase in 1230 and 1292. It is clear from these sources that the Chase was seen as covering a wide area and to extend to the borders of Morfe and Kinver Forests in the west beyond the Smestow Brook and the boundaries of the manor, perhaps extending across the Shropshire boundary (Guttery, 1950a), to Himley and Sedgley in the north and perhaps as far as Upper and Lower Penn, into the manor of Dudley in the east, and to the River Stour in the south (Figure 3.1). Further information on the extent of Pensnett Chase can be found from a consideration of the lands that were finally enclosed in 1784, which included large parts of the east of Kingswinford manor extending south to the Stour. In the Dudley Wood Enclosure Act of the same year (concerned with the south western part of Dudley parish), there is a reference to "*...several common and waste lands called Dudley Wood, part and parcel of*

Pensnett Chase". Finally, Whitworth's map of 1774 map (Whitworth, 1774) showing the route of the Stourbridge Canal refers to the area around the feeder pools at the eastern edge of the parish as Pensnett Chase. Thus Pensnett Chase seems originally to have been very extensive, reducing over the years to a much smaller area in the current parishes of Pensnett and Brierley Hill.

Peninak however seems always to have been much more localised, although within the broader area of Pensnett Chase (Figure 3.2). This seems to have been in the area of the boundary of Dudley manor with those of Kingswinford and Sedgley (Baker, 2014). The size of the wood is translated differently in different sources – being one mile in length and half a mile wide in one, and one league in length and half a league wide in the other. This reflects the long-standing uncertainty of the size of the "league", which seems to be used as a synonym for a length between a mile (eight furlongs) to a length of between twelve and fifteen furlongs. In this case something towards the longer definition seems more likely as it appears to have been in the region of the three manors. A location stretching from the region of Himley in the north across the boundary between Sedgley and Dudley, through the region of the Fens to Woodside and Dudley Wood in the south seems a reasonable reconstruction (Figure 3.2). Further indications of the extent of *Peninak* can be inferred from the Domesday entries for Kingswinford, Sedgley and Dudley (Morris, 1976; Thorn and Thorn, 1982). In the Kingswinford entry, there is woodland a half a league long and three furlongs wide. In Sedgley there is woodland two leagues long and one wide, and in Dudley there is woodland of two leagues in extent. As might be expected, this woodland is of a greater area than that described a couple of centuries later for *Peninak*, indicating that considerable clearance has taken place in the interim.

The geography of the area is such however that it is difficult to conceive of woodland of the Domesday extent anywhere other than on a roughly north – south axis along the boundaries between the manors, which is consistent with the later inferred position of *Peninak*.

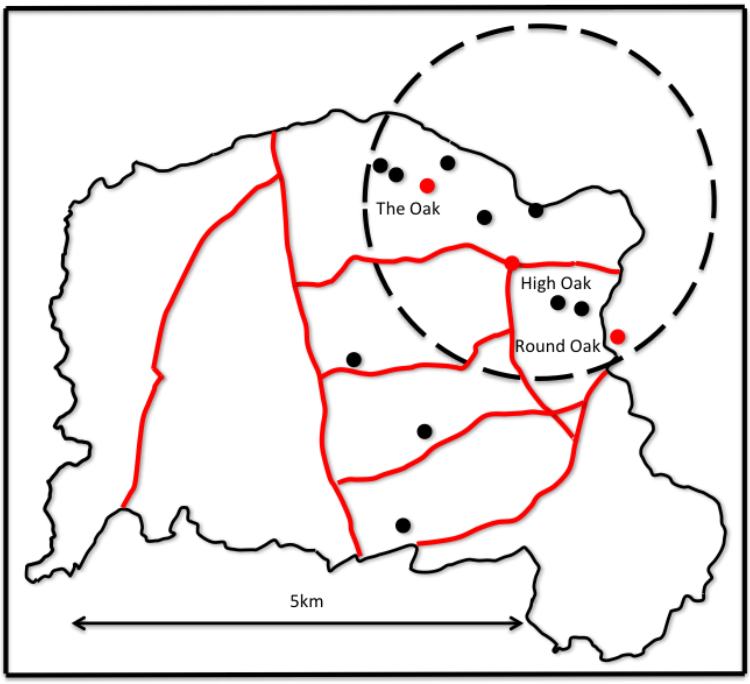


Figure 3.2 Possible extent of *Peninak*

Black circles are those field names which contain reference to "oak", and the red circles are place names with a reference to Oak. The dotted circle represents the possible extent of *Peninak*.

These observations lend weight to Horovitz's theory that we have here two separate names, which became confused. Pensnett was the name of the Chase, which in its original extent covered a wide area. Over the centuries the extent of the chase shrank due to enclosure until its final extinction in the enclosure acts of 1784. *Peninak*

seems to have referred to a much more localised area around the current parish of Pensnett. It can be conjectured that the two names became confused as Pensnett Chase shrank more and more to the area of *Peninak*.

The question still remains however as to what the names Pensnaed (Wood on Penn Hill) and Peninak (Penny Oak) refer. The extent of Pensnett Chase perhaps gives a clue to the origin of the first name. It is clear that the Chase occupied a large area to the west of the main watershed between the River Severn and the River Trent catchments, or in more local terms, between the Smestow / Stour and Tame catchments (Figure 2.7). Horovitz speculates on an association with the manors of Upper and Lower Penn about four miles to the north of the existing parish, and perhaps with *Penyval*, possibly near Gospel End between Penn and Sedgley, where there was a mill. Both Upper and Lower Penn appear in Domesday, with the names deriving from British Penn, suggesting a substantial group of British speakers in the area until well into the Anglo-Saxon period. It may also be that it contains an oblique reference to the tribal area of the Pencersaete (Figure 2.3). As noted above, during the period when English names were assigned to this area, the number of "...*ley*" names in the area indicate that it was heavily wooded. Thus it seems that the "Wood on Penn Hill" and the associated Chase, could refer to this large wooded area on the side and summit of the western side of the watershed, an area which even at the time of naming, was already beginning to be cleared.

With regard to *Peninak*, it is not clear to what the derivation Penny Oak might refer. However in the region where it seems to be located we have a number of other oak names - Penny Oak in Himley recorded in 1587; Oak Farm in the north of Kingswinford parish; High Oak, a stretch of road at the end of Commonside in the centre of

the modern Pensnett, and Round Oak on the Dudley / Kingswinford boundary, thus perhaps signifying a major oak wood in the area. There are also a number of field names in the central area of the parish that make reference to Oak in some way (Figure 2.8). In more general terms it is known that pigs (the swine of Swinford for example) were allowed to eat acorns and graze generally in oak woods (Jorgenson, 2013). So perhaps the name refers to an extensive oak wood in the area, where pigs were allowed to forage.

The recent work of Oosthuizen (2017) on the long-term durability of commoner's rights from the Roman to the early modern periods suggests a further possibility concerning the nature of the Chase. It has been noted above that the area around Kingswinford, and thus the area of the Chase, was very much a borderland area between tribes, kingdoms and dioceses. Could it be that Pensnett Chase represents some sort of common area of woodland / scrub where the various tribes and communities in the area had rights of forage, grazing? Such a concept could go some way to explaining the rather complex boundary geography in the area. These communal rights persisted through the centuries until finally extinguished by Act of Parliament in the late eighteenth century. The next chapter briefly considers the nature and the outcome of this enclosure process.

Finally it is of interest to note that in the 1841 census, in the main the names of the settlements that existed before the creation of the current parish are used, with the name Pensnett referring to the "new" settlement around the main Dudley to Kingswinford Road to the east of the parish. At this stage this settlement consisted of rented housing provided by the Dudley Estate for miners and factory workers. The implication does seem to be that this area, identified above as the location of both the possible region of *Peninak*, and of the last vestiges of

Pensnett Chase, might be the area that retained the original name.

Chapter 4. Enclosure

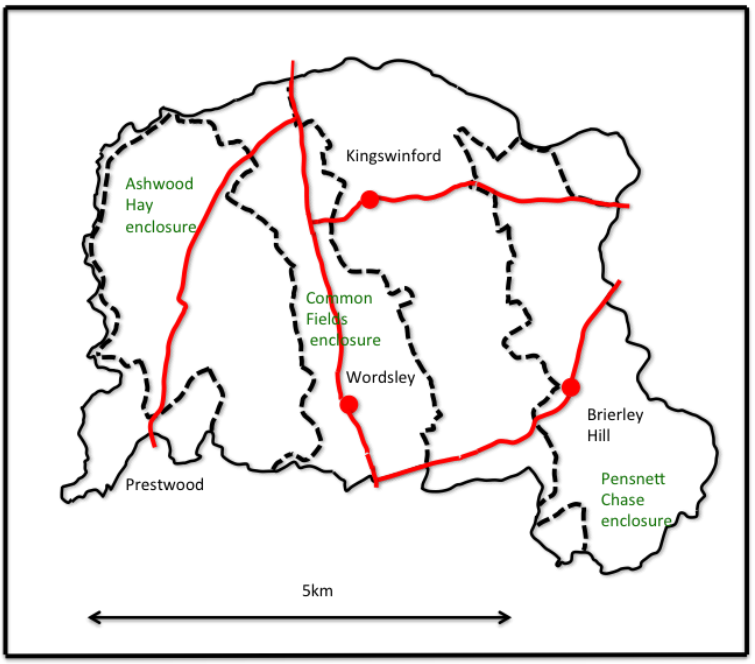


Figure 4.1 Enclosure boundaries

Dashed lines show enclosure limits within Kingswinford parish. Red circles show the townships of Kingswinford, Wordsley and Brierley Hill.

In this chapter we will consider the enclosures of Kingswinford parish in the late 18th century. Apart from the discussion about the extent of Pensnett Chase in the last chapter, we will not consider the history of the parish from Domesday up to that point except in passing. This period is well covered in the works of Guttery and in the three part article by Chandler (1888a, b, c), both of whom made extensive use of manorial court documents.

As elsewhere in the country, there were pressures in the 17th and 18th century to enclose the open fields and the

common areas. In 1684 the commoners reached agreement to enclose the Ashwood Hay area of the parish to the west of the Stourbridge to Wolverhampton Road, and a series of 91-year leases were agreed (Chandler, 1988c, Peacock, 2011). This involved a rather curious and archaic division of the area next to the road into open fields divided into narrow strips When these leases ran out in the 1770s, a parliamentary enclosure act was sought to formalize these arrangements, the Ashwood Hay Enclosure of 1776 mentioned above. This formally enclosed large areas of common land around Ashwood and Prestwood (DA, 1776) came about 600 hectares in total. Also in 1784 the Pensnett Chase Enclosure Act was passed, enclosing the last remaining areas of Pensnett Chase in the east of the parish (around 550 hectares), and included areas around Brierley Hill, where some earlier enclosures, partly established by force, had already taken place (DA, 1784, 1844; Chandler 1988b). These enclosed areas are shown on the map of the entire parish of Figure 4.1. It can be seen they cover much of the parish, other than the central region, which was probably enclosed as large estates several centuries earlier. The area around Prestwood in the south west of the parish was also exempt, having been a separate estate for many years previously – and indeed at times was referred to as a manor in its own right.

The Enclosure process as operated in Kingswinford, effectively eliminated the rights of commoners in the Ashwood Hay and Pensnett Chase areas, and compensated those holding rights of common (the copyholders and freeholders in the parish) with enclosed land, in proportion to the value of their holdings. This inevitably meant that the major landholders benefited significantly more than those with smaller holdings (Raybould, 1984). Those recipients of land under the two acts, who were awarded more than 25 hectares, are

shown in Table 4.1. The data in this table was obtained from the transcript of the schedules of the Acts described in the Appendix and given in Baker (2220a, 2220b). We will meet many of these individuals in the following chapter. The Ashwood Hay enclosure was of common land with no significant mineral deposits and became, in the main, agricultural land and Lord Dudley, the Lord of the manor, taking a major share of the land around Wall Heath (including 99 hectares "*for his coney warren*"); John Keeling, a former Dudley Estate Steward, taking significant land to the west of Kingswinford; and John Hodgetts adding land around his Prestwood estate. A significant proportion was allocated to the Rector of the parish either as Glebe land, or in replacement of tithes. Other holdings were much smaller, from less than an acre up to around 20 acres. The area of the Pensnett Chase Enclosure was by contrast mineral rich (in particular, with easily exploitable coal and ironstone) and these mineral rights were reserved in the act for Lord Dudley and his descendants. The surface plots were divided amongst a much larger number of commoners (over a 100), but again the major allocations were to Lord Dudley, the Trustees of the estate John Keeling (Keeling having died in 1783) and John Hodgetts. The split between mineral and surface rights was to cause considerable difficulty, and numerous legal cases, over the coming years. Table 4.1 includes the areas of "old enclosures", those plots, mainly around Brierley Hill and Brockmoor, which had been enclosed more than 20 years before the act. These account for about 8% of the total. A somewhat fuller account of the enclosure allocations can be found in Raybould (1966).

Ashwood Hay Enclosure		Pensnett Chase Enclosure	
Total area of enclosure 597 hectares		Total area of new enclosure 566 hectares *Old enclosures 46 hectares*	
Landowner	**Area (hectares)**	**Landowner**	**Area (hectares)**
Lord Dudley	257	Lord Dudley	275
John Hodgetts	96	*Lord Dudley old enclosures*	*13*
The Rector	68	Keeling's Trustees	38
John Keeling	46	John Hodgetts	29

Table 4.1. Major land allocations in Ashwood Hay and Pensnett Chase enclosures

As noted above the Ashwood Enclosure Act also legitimised a large number of land exchanges in the area of the common fields from the previous century. In what follows we consider two examples of this process. Now, it is, in the main, possible to locate the various packets of land that were exchanged from the corresponding names on the Fowler 1822 map of the parish, but that is not always the case, and the location of some of the exchanged plots that we consider below is very conjectural.

The first exchange is shown in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2 for lands relinquished and received by Mary Homfrey, a relatively minor landowner in the parish. The lands that she relinquished were somewhat scattered in Wall Heath and Wordsley area, mainly to the west of the Stourbridge to Wolverhampton turnpike road, but with at least one on the east in Wordsley . The lands that she received were in the Kingswinford area and it is clear that they all bordered land she already owned. She received about

half an acre more than she relinquished, and it is stated that this will be allowed for in the division of the common lands in the Ashwood Hay enclosure.

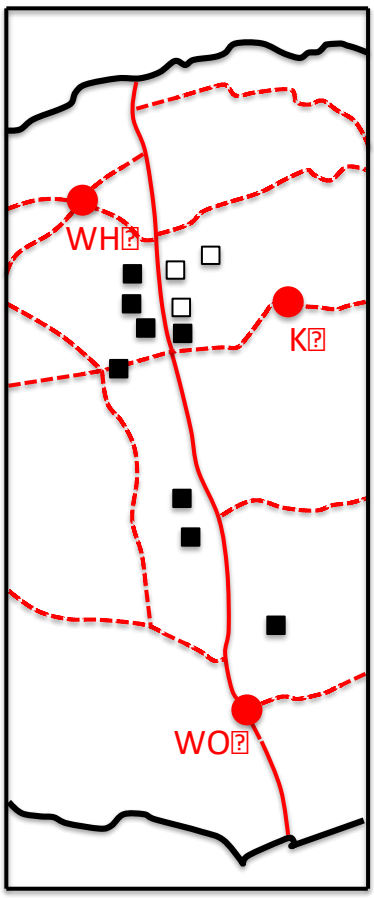


Figure 4.2 Mary Homfrey's exchanges

Solid red line is turnpike road; dotted red lines are other roads; red circles are Wall Heath (WH), Kingswinford (K) and Wordsley (WO); filled black squares are lands that were relinquished; open squares are lands that were received.

No 25	The said Mary Homfrey for herself and her heirs doth covenant and again agree to give up the lands under mentioned and described in lieu of and in exchange for the lands mentioned and described on the opposite side under no 25 in manner following		No 25	And the said Mary Homfrey for herself and for her heirs doth covenant and agree to accept and take the under mentioned described lands in lieu of and in exchange for the lands and hereditaments mentioned and by her agreed to be given up on the opposite side under 25 in manner following	
	To Mary Stone, Diana Stone and Patience Stone a lot on Broadfields, Miss Stones north and south, Barnett Lane West and Wolverhampton turnpike east containing in measure	0-3-9	*32*	From Mary Stone, Diana Stone and Patience Stone the potato piece in Wartell, Glebe land north, Homfrey east and south, the Wolverhampton turnpike road west, containing	3-3-24
	Another lot on the same field , John Bradley north, Miss Stones south, containing	0-1-28	*31*	From William Pigott a lot in Wartell, Homfray north, Miss Stones east and south, Wolverhampton turnpike road west containing	0-3-38
26	Little Mosgrove, Miss Stones north and south and Hodgetts Park West containing	1-1-21	*35*	From John Bradley, Townsend Innage, Thomas Beddard West, Homfrey north east and south containing	1-2-3
24	Edward Beddards at Summerhill, Miss Stones north, Bradley south containing	0-3-34			6-1-25
20	Square corner at the bottom of Mosgrove containing	0-0-7			
33	Part of Townsend Close, Miss Stone's north and south, Homfrey east and Wolverhampton turnpike road west containing	0-1-1			
30	To John Hodgetts part of a lot in Mosgrove, Hodgetts west and north, Miss Stones north and east, trustees of Hesketh South containing	0-3-8			
34	To John Bradley, Stream Meadow in the north, west of John Bradley's Darby's Leasow containing	1-1-6			
	Part of the proportion which she is entitled to in the said Common and waste lands				
		5-3-34			

Table 4.2 Mary Homfrey's exchanges

The numbers in columns 1 and 4 refer to the exchange number. The top figure in normal type is that described below. The lower figures in italic type were handwritten and refer to the other exchange in which they were referred. The figures in columns 3 and 6 are the plot areas in acres – roods – perches.

The second transcription is of lands relinquished and received by William Bendy, who will be discussed further in the next chapter (Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3). He relinquished 22 acres of land in 5 lots. Four of these, amounting to around 4 acres, can be confidently placed in the area to the east and north of Wall Heath itself (Figure 4.3). The major area, referred to as the Murclays, which was relinquished to John Hodgetts, cannot be precisely located with confidence, and was almost certainly subdivided by 1822. It is possible that it corresponds to an area close to Kingswinford village, that was owned by his son, John Hodgetts Hodgetts Foley in 1822, which has an area of around 20 acres. In return Bendy received six parcels of land amounting to 24 acres, with no indication that the areas would be equalized in the Enclosure allocation. These areas cannot all be precisely located but were clearly contiguous in the main with land he already owned, so again there seems to have been a consolidation of land. Those that can be located were to the east of Wall Heath bounded by the turnpike road. We will see that William Bendy lived in the New House, somewhere on the Wolverhampton to Stourbridge Road in that area, so these lands were presumably around that house. A possible location is the triangle of land between Wall Heath and the turnpike road shown on Figure 4.3, where the 1822 map shows a significant dwelling. On the 1882 OS map, this is named as Dawley House.

It can thus be seen from the above that the land exchanges containing the Ashwood Hay Enclosure Act contain a potential wealth of information concerning the life in Kingswinford at the time. They deserve fuller consideration than give here.

No 5	The said William Bendy for himself and her heirs doth covenant and again agree to give up the lands under mentioned and described in lieu of and in exchange for the lands mentioned and described on the opposite side under no 5 in manner following		No 5	And the said William Bendy for herself and his heirs doth covenant and agree to accept and take the under mentioned and described lands in lieu of and in exchange for the lands and hereditaments mentioned and by him agreed to be given up on the opposite side under 5 in manner following	
286	To John Hodgetts, the Murclays containing	18-3-20	*10*	From John Hodgetts Bendy's Crosses, the piece on the east side Wall Heath Green containing	6-0-0
8	The ?? piece bounded on the north and east by Maiden's Bridge belonging to the said John Hodgetts, on the south by land belonging to Lord Dudley, and on the west by a piece of Land belonging to the said Richard Bradley, called King's field containing	1-0-26	*11*	The north east piece adjoining the lane and the turnpike road leading from Stourbridge to Wolverhampton	4-0-31
5	To Lord Dudley a south lot in Dullestree containing	0-0-26	*12*	The piece south of the last and adjoining to the said William Bendy's land containing…	4-0-6
6	A north lot in Dullestree containing	0-0-39	13	Bradley's piece bounded on the west and north by land of the said William Bendy, on the east by the said Wolverhampton turnpike road and on the south by lands of Samuel Penn containing	3—3-35
1	To John Amphlett, Spencer's meadow on the north east side of Wall Heath containing.	1-2-11	*7*	Piece behind Walfords containing	1-0-10
		22-0-2	*14*	Haycock's Hays bounded on the west and north by land of Richard Bradley, on the east by a lane, and on the south by lands belonging to William Bendy, Mr Keelinge and Robert Honeyborne respectively containing	4-3-24
					24-0-26

Table 4.3 William Bendy's exchanges

The numbers in columns 1 and 4 refer to the exchange number. The top figure in normal type is that described below. The lower figures in italic type were handwritten and refer to the other exchange in which they were referred. The figures in columns 3 and 6 are the plot areas in acres – roods – perches.

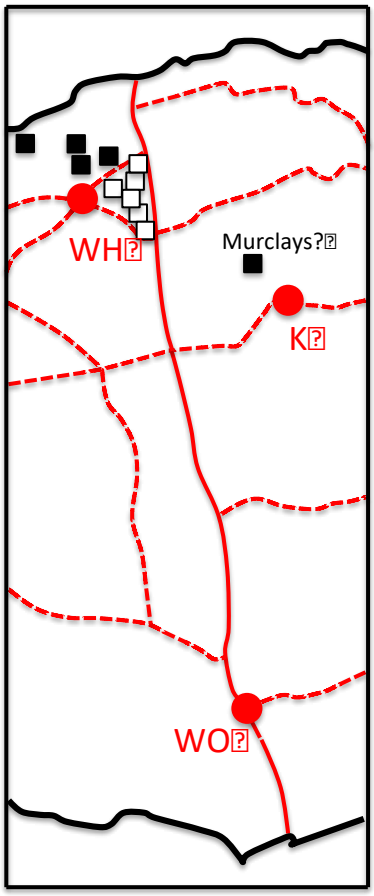


Figure 4.3 William Bendy's exchanges

Solid red line is turnpike road; dotted red lines are other roads; red circles are Wall Heath (WH), Kingswinford (K) and Wordsley (WO); filled black squares are lands that were relinquished; open squares are lands that were received.

From what is written in this and previous chapters, it can be seen that it is possible to describe something of the early history of the Kingswinford area. It began in Roman times as a sparsely populated border region, but nonetheless crossed by a number of roads and tracks. It developed in Anglo-Saxon times as a series of small townships in clearings in the woodland, and eventually appeared in recorded history as the manors of Eswich / Haswic and Swinford Regis. These were small agricultural settlements, still surrounded by woodland and chase, with a tiny population in modern terms. But in what is revealed in Domesday we can see the bare bones of what was later to become the extensive medieval manor and parish of Kingswinford. The evidence also suggests that the manor of Kingswinford sat close to a number of boundaries – of Roman civitates and provinces, Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and tribal territories, ecclesiastical dioceses and civil counties, with the history of these boundaries being both complex and obscure. There seems to be a further possibility that Pensnett Chase, which clearly at some point included the whole area of Kingswinford manor, might represent the communal foraging ground for all the tribes in the area around. These common rights lasted, albeit in truncated form, until the Enclosure Acts of the late eighteenth century.

Chapter 5. Lords and gentlemen

Introduction

In this study a number of family names reappear time after time, often spanning many centuries. This chapter looks at the history of some of these families, to give some context to the contents of the chapters that follow in Part 2, but also to illustrate the many family and personal interactions amongst those who were to shape the history of Kingswinford manor and parish. It begins by describing perhaps the most influential family of them all, that of the Lord of the manor, the ancient feudal lords, even though this family, as part of the English aristocracy, was somewhat remote from the day-to-day activities of Kingswinford. Their feudal vassals were actually much more involved with the life of the manor – the Corbyns of Corbyn's Hall and the Careys of Mousehall. Two other old established Kingswinford families are then described – the Bendys and the Hodgetts, who were to rise up the social scale from yeoman to landed gentry. The chapter then looks at a number of families that also grew to be important in the 18th and 19th centuries as Dudley Estate Stewards - the Keeling and Mee families - or as Ironmasters and Coalmasters – the Homer, Gibbons and Dudley families. In the next chapter, the Rectors of Kingswinford are discussed. We will see that they too have many close ties with the Kingswinford families, and they also will appear frequently in Part 2.

Much of the information will be presented in outline family trees and a text commentary. These trees are far from "complete" in a traditional sense and are only intended to show the direct lines of succession, and the marriage links between the different families. In most cases we take the trees only as far as the early / mid

nineteenth century, the period that will be discussed in detail in Part 2.

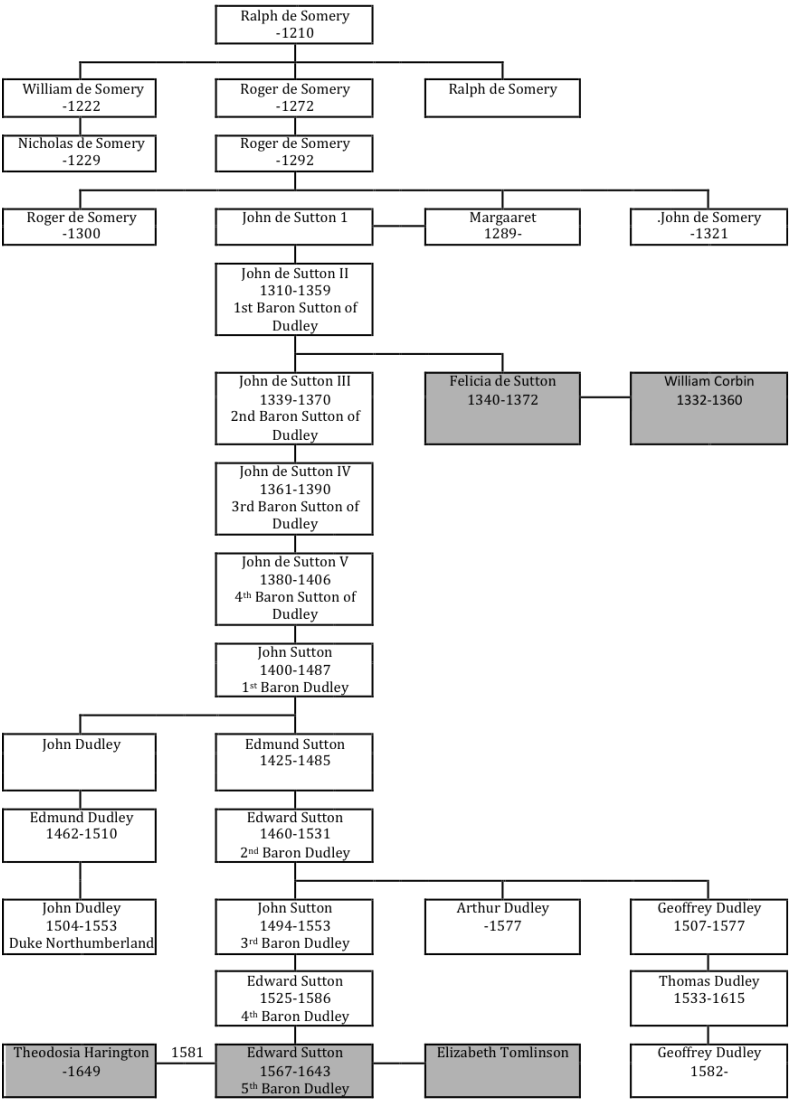


Figure 5.1 The de Somery / de Sutton tree
Shaded cells indicate the same names occur in other trees.

Lords of the Manor

Foremost amongst the families that were to influence the development of the manor is that of the Lords of the manor in their various guises as Barons, Viscounts or Earls of Dudley. Figure 5.1 shows the early holders of the manor. This tree, and the one that follows in Figure 5.2, are somewhat different to those that will come after, and is concerned mainly with setting out the complex succession of the range of different titles held by the Dudley's over the years, and includes very little marriage information. At Domesday, Kingswinford was a royal manor (Morris, 1976). The manor came into the hands of the de Somery family around 1205, when Ralph de Somery of Dudley Castle swapped some of his lands in Wolverhampton with various manors of King John, including that of Kingswinford. The line of succession is not wholly clear from the sources, with a number of variations possible (Twamley, 1857; Wikipedia, 2019a). Suffice it to say that around a century after they had obtained the manor, the de Somery possessions passed to the de Sutton family by marriage. The story of the next 300 years is well told by Guttery (1947) and will not be discussed in detail here. However, there are a few points worthy of note. Firstly, there is the marriage of Felicia de Sutton to William Corbin sometime in the 1350s. It will be argued later in this chapter that this probably coincided with the setting up of the Corbyn's Hall estate in Kingswinford manor. Secondly, John Sutton, first Baron Dudley (1400-1487), was a notable soldier and diplomat who fought in the Hundred Years War, the War of the Roses and acted as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. John (1494-1553), third Baron Dudley, became known as Lord Quondam, and lost his estates, because of complicated financial issues, to his cousin John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Both were grandsons of the first Baron. The estates were eventually restored to the former's son,

Edward (1525-1586), the fourth Baron, after the Duke of Northumberland was executed in the reign of Mary. Guttery (1947) notes that both cousins died in the same year – Lord Quondam from natural causes, and the Duke of Northumberland on the scaffold.

Figure 5.1 also shows two brothers of Lord Quondam – Arthur and Geoffrey Dudley. They will reappear in Chapter 6 – the former both as a Rector of Kingswinford and as the one for removing the bones of St. Chad from the cathedral at Lichfield and the latter as living at Russell's Hall where the bones found refuge.

One of the most striking points about the Dudley succession, although not shown on the tree, is that all the marriages of the principle characters were with those from the higher levels of the Anglo-Norman / English aristocracy. With the exception of the marriage of Felicia to William Corbin, there seems to have been little or no marriage interaction with those in the locality of Dudley or Kingswinford. Edward Sutton, the 5th Baron (1567-1643), followed this tradition, marrying Theodosia Harrington at the age of 14, by whom he had five children. However, he broke the tradition to pieces by taking as a concubine one Elizabeth Tomlinson, a miner's daughter, by whom he had around ten or eleven illegitimate children. Figure 5.2 shows his legitimate succession. Elizabeth's children will be discussed when the Dudley family of Tipton is considered later in the chapter.

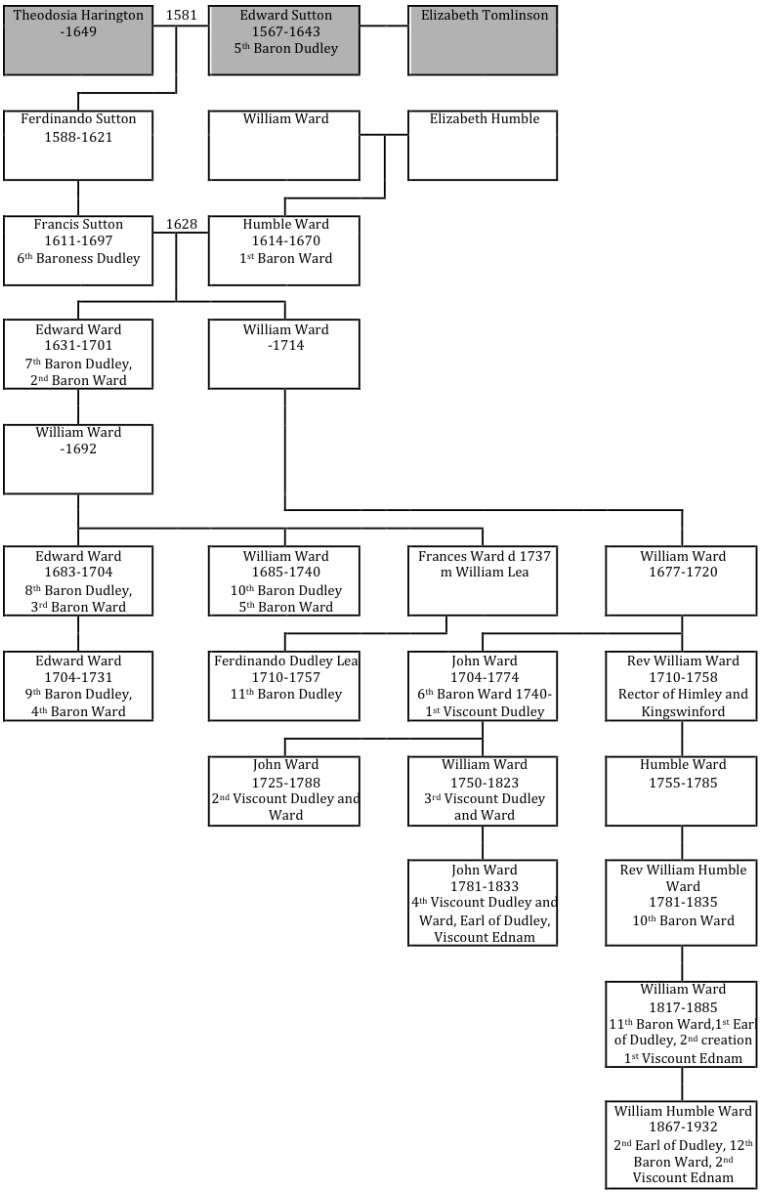


Figure 5.2 The Sutton / Ward tree

Shaded cells indicate the same names occur in other trees.

Like his forebears, Edward also suffered major financial problems. He was, however, the first to seriously develop some of the mineral reserves on his estates, through the construction of blast furnaces. He also fought a long running feud, involving considerable violence, with the Lyttleton family, owners of the farm at Prestwood on the edge of Kingswinford manor (Guttery, 1947). On his death in 1643, his granddaughter Francis inherited the estates, her father having died in 1621. She had married Humble Ward, son of William Ward, a goldsmith from London, and his wife Elizabeth Humble. The name Humble reoccurs in future generations not reflecting their humility, but more likely their pride in their ancestry. Humble Ward was himself ennobled as Baron Ward of Birmingham and paid off the Dudley family debts. A somewhat scurrilous, but nonetheless entertaining, 19th century view of the Ward family is given in the Spectator of 17/8/1867.

The Wards were really clever men in their way and have continued so to the present day. Turncoats were common in the time of the great Revolution, but the grace and ease with which Humble Ward, husband of Frances Sutton, of Dudley Castle, executed his political pirouettes rose into veritable high art. As long as King Charles had anything to give, he clung to his Majesty with the faithfulness of a courtier, and having been made successively a knight and a baron, and played his part among the peers in "the mongrel Parliament," he wheeled round with surprising elegance to the other side. When Charles had fallen, in order to fortify himself with the new party in power, he effected a double alliance between his own family and that of Sir William Brewton, the Parliamentary General, by marrying his eldest son to a daughter of Sir William, and giving a daughter of his own to the son and heir of the General. Still more to please the Puritans, 'he dropped the "lord" for the time being, and in the year 1656 we find him

petitioning the Lord Protector as simple Humble Ward. The Privy Council to whom the petition was referred by Cromwell, reported that they conceived the said Humble Ward to be a worthy object of his Highness's grace and favour, as held forth in his Highness's declaration, and strongly recommended to give him all he wanted. Of course, the return of the Stuarts made Humble Ward again a lord and most transcendent of courtiers, and till his death, in 1670, he stood forth as a zealous defender of regal absolutism.

It was at this time, following the enforced destruction of Dudley castle in the Civil War, that the family home moved to Himley Hall. Their descendants held both the titles of Baron Dudley and Baron Ward. William Ward (1685-1740), the tenth Baron Dudley and 5th Baron Ward, was the last of these to hold both titles After his death, because of the differences in the inheritance procedure for the two titles, these were split, with the Ward Barony and the Dudley estates remaining in the hands of the Ward family. The title of Baron of Dudley passed to Ferdinando Dudley Lea, nephew of the 10th Baron. When he died in 1757 it was contested by his four sisters and went into abeyance. However, his eldest sister Ann (1714-1762) apparently referred to herself as the Baroness of Dudley. In the Ashwood Hay enclosure plots of land are allocated to a "Lady Dudley" who may perhaps have been the second sister Frances (1717-1800).

John Ward (1704-1774) (Wikipedia, 2019c), the sixth Baron Ward, became the first Viscount Dudley and Ward in 1763. As with many of his family, he sat in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. He was succeeded in turn by his two sons, John Ward (1725-1788) (Wikipedia, 2019d) and William Ward (1750-1823) (Wikipedia, 2019e). John (1704-1774) married Mary Carver (-1782), who had inherited three slave plantations in Jamaica from her father John. She left

these to her son William Ward and then in trust for his son John Ward who was created the first Earl of Dudley and Viscount Ednam in 1827. He was also a politician of some note, and was for a time Foreign Secretary (Wikipedia, 2019g). He spoke against slavery, although advocating reformation rather than abolition of the system. Nonetheless at his death he was still in possession of the three Jamaican estates. He died unmarried in 1833, having been placed under restraint at Norwood in Surrey the year before because of his mental state, and his titles of Earl and Viscount became extinct. The title of Baron Ward passed to a second cousin, Revd. William Humble Ward (Wikipedia, 2019h), who was also considered to be mentally unstable. The Dudley Estate however were passed directly to William's son, another William (1817-1885), who was Lord Ward in his own right from 1835 to 1870, when he was made Viscount Ednam and Earl of Dudley (second creation) (Wikipedia, 2019n). From 1833 to 1845, during the younger William's minority, the estate was administered by four trustees - John Benbow, a solicitor who sat as MP for Dudley from 1844 to 1855; Francis Downing, Lord Dudley's Agent and mayor of Dudley from 1818 to 1819, Edward Littleton, Baron Hatherton and Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire; and Henry Phillpotts the Bishop of Exeter, one of the more flamboyant 19th century bishops. It was these trustees who made a claim for compensation for the three Jamaican estates of Whitney (284 slaves); Rymesbury (320 slaves) and New Yarmouth (70 slaves), and whose names thus appear in the records (UCL, 2020), although they were never slave owners themselves. They were allocated £12,728 in total, which was however quite a small sum in relation to the overall income from the estate of around £120,000 / year. Overall, the estate flourished under the trustee's expert guidance (DA, 2019a). During this period the mineral estates of the Dudley's underwent considerable

development, both in terms of physical infrastructure and organisation, well described in the work of Raybould (1966, 1968). It is with these latter members of the Ward family that the discussion of 18th and 19th century Kingswinford in Part 2 is primarily concerned.

Minor Aristocracy

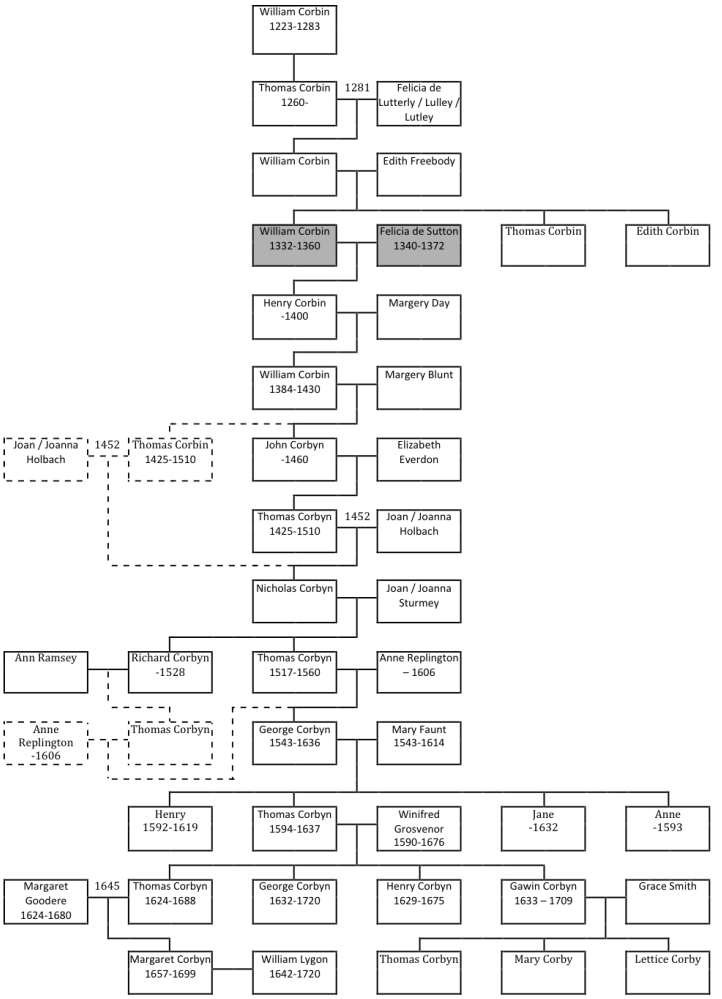
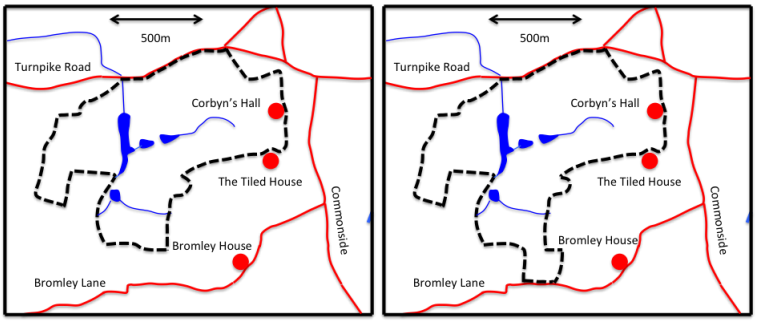


Figure 5.3 The Corbyn tree

Dotted lines indicate variations in source material; shaded cells indicate the same names occur in other trees.

The Corbyn family tree shown in Figure 5.3 is a long one, and the direct succession can be traced back, with some confidence to the 12th century (Erdeswicke, 1820; White, 1851). The name of Corbyn is French and in the earliest days was written as Corbin or de Corbin. The earliest family members in Figure 5.3 seem, from various deeds and other documents, to have been based around Kingswinford and Sedgley. Their marriages were somewhat more restricted in scope than those of the de Suttons, and, and they married within the local community of gentry / minor aristocracy – for example Thomas (1260 -) married Felicia de Lulley – the daughter of John Lulley from the manor of the same name near Halesowen. Perhaps the most significant marriage in the early period was the marriage of William (1332-1360) to Felicia de Sutton – the kinswomen (and probably daughter) of John de Sutton II, the first Baron Sutton of Dudley and the Lord of a number of manors in the area, including Kingswinford, and possibly William's feudal Lord. It seems possible that at that stage the Corbyns settled in what was to become the Corbyn's Hall estate in Kingswinford, perhaps given as Felicia's dowry to cement John de Sutton's position in the newly acquired manor. Certainly there is a record that John de Sutton granted to William a moor at Kingswinford known as the "Byrchen" and a parcel of land between the New Park in Pensnett and the road leading to Kingswinford (Hancock, 1912). The early extent of the estate is not known, and the first estate maps do not appear until after the estate has been sold in the early 1700s – see Figure 5.4. At that time however it encompassed a large swathe of land bounded by the Dudley-Kingswinford turnpike road in the north and Tiled House Lane and Bromley in the south, stretching as far west as the Standhills area and to the edge of the common land (which before the enclosure was a few hundred yards to the west of the road now known as Commonside. Indeed Corbyn's Hall itself was

very close to the boundary of the common land. The maps show that it is very closely associated with the neighbouring Tiled House and Bromley Hall estates, and it is quite possible that the original estate extended as far to the south as the current Bromley Lane (SA 1704, 1753). The evolution of these estates will be considered in Parts 2 and 3. In the thirteenth and fourteenth century however the land under cultivation in Kingswinford manor was only a small proportion of the whole, lying in the vicinity of Kingswinford village and the Wolverhampton to Stourbridge Road, with the rest being part of Pensnett chase. The Corbyn's Hall estate seems to have been effectively an early enclosure of part of the Chase.



a) 1703 boundaries b) 1754 boundaries

Figure 5.4 The Corbyn's Hall estate from maps of 1703 and 1754

Black dotted lines show boundaries of estate.

For a hundred years after William's marriage, the family are referred to as being from Kingswinford or Corbyn's Hall, with further marriages between the Corbyn male heirs and the daughters of local gentry. For example, Thomas Corbyn (1425-1510) married Joan, the heir of Holbach – the Holbeach House estate at the northern side of the manor. In the time of Nicholas (around 1500) the

situation changed somewhat. By his marriage to Joan Sturmey he inherited the estate of Hall End in Polesworth in Warwickshire, although this became a matter of a lawsuit with one Robert Carlile, the cousin of Joan, which was finally settled in favour of the Corbyns in 1506 (Unknown 1920a, 1920b). After that, the Corbyn family is usually referred to as being from Hall End, although burials continue in Kingswinford (for example, Jane in 1632) and there are monuments in the church to George (1543 - 1636) and Thomas (1594-1637). The Hall was perhaps let out to others. In 1597 there is a record of one Walter James, Gent., of Corbyn's Hall (DA, 1597), and later Lieutenant H. Baggeley of the Royalist forces in the Civil War, who fought at the battle of Naseby in 1645, is referred to as being from Corbyn's Hall (Guttery, 1947). George Corbyn (1543-1636) seems to have been the first to use the coat of arms with the three ravens of the Corbyns on his memorial in Kingswinford church (Figure 5.5).

During the Civil War, it is likely that the Corbyn family were Royalists. The mid-17th century must thus have been difficult for them and they seem to have moved into a number of trades and professions. Records show that, in 1650, George Corbyn (1632- 1720) was a salter in London and was later to become a merchant in the East Indies. His brother Henry (1629-1675) was also in London, working as a draper, and, in 1655, he emigrated to Virginia and became owner of a number of slave plantations. The oldest member of that generation, Thomas (1624-1688), continued to live at Hall End in Polesworth, although he is still recorded as being active at Corbyn's Hall. In 1650 he was involved in a legal dispute concerning the building of a wall at Corbyn's Hall that was said to encroach on the land of others (Guttery, 1950a). He and his wife Margaret had a number of children, but only one, a daughter Margaret, survived.

She married well, to William Lygon of Madresfield in Worcestershire, and the Corbyn estates eventually passed to the Lygons. Both Thomas and his wife died at Madresfield rather than at Hall End. Margaret was to be the great grandmother of William 1st Earl of Beauchamp. Around that time Corbyn's Hall was sold to John Hodgetts. We will hear a great deal more about the Hodgetts family in what follows (Erdeswicke, 1844). We also hear about the next-door Tiled House estate for the first time at this point. In 1688 John Hayden was in residence there and gaining some notoriety for his unusual and apparently controversial methods for small-scale steel manufacture, using imported rather than local iron (Guttery, 1947). Plot (1686) also gives some details of the steel making process that Hayden used.

Figure 5.5 George Corbyn monument in Kingswinford Church showing three raven motif

Rangers of the Chase

In the mid-seventeenth century, John Cary (Carey) from Devon was a Ranger of the Chase, based at Mousehall Farm in the east of the parish. The farm was leased to him in 1640, for a period of 21 years, by Humble Ward (together with Humble's father William who was the de facto owner, having met the debts of the Dudley estate). The "*mines and liberty of fowling, hawking and hunting*" were reserved for Ward (DA, 1640). This was renewed in 1653 to John Cary (who may or may not have been the same John) as the "*mansion House called Moushall and lands in Kingswinford, for a term of 99 years or the lives of John, Charles and Thomas, sons of John*" (DA, 1653). Guttery (1950a) gives details of the wills of Thomas, and a grandson Edward and his children, John, Thomas and another Edward, which indicate that the family was far from prosperous. A number of entries for Cary or Carey can be found throughout the 18th century in the Kingswinford registers. Some are referred to at their burial as "*gent*" or even "*decayed gent*"! The relationship between the various individuals recorded is however not clear. Neither do we know how long they continued to live at Mousehall. Certainly, by the time of the Pensnett Chase enclosure in1784, the house was owned by the Keeling Trustees. Mousehall farm was not enclosed at the time, so presumably was an early example of a de facto enclosure in the centuries before. So although we know little about the Carey family, we can see that at least the first of them was an employee of the manor of Dudley and generally they were regarded as gentlemen – something perhaps between the early feudal relationships of the Corbyns with the Suttons, and the yeomen whom we will consider in the next section.

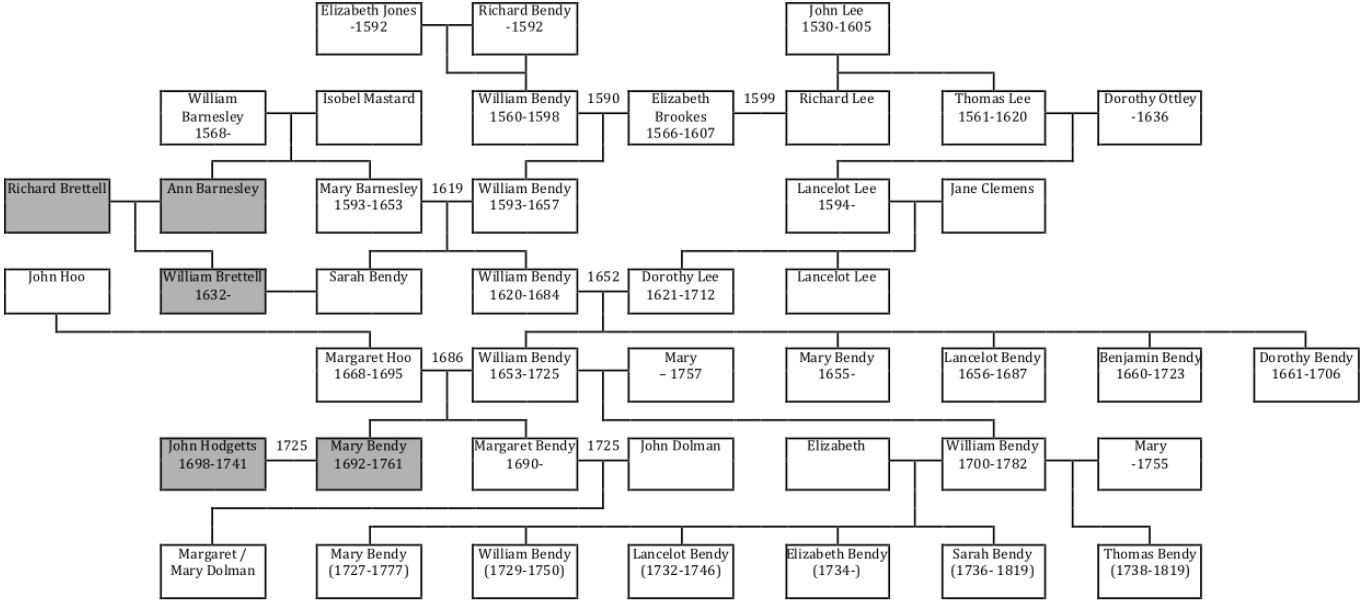


Figure 5.6 The Bendy tree

Shaded cells indicate links with other trees.

Yeoman Farmers to Landed Gentry

Over the period from the 16th to the 18th centuries, three families seem to have dominated the life of the manor and parish of Kingswinford. The first of these, the Corbyns, has been discussed above. In this section we will consider the other two; the Bendys and the Hodgetts.

A simplified Bendy family tree is shown in Figure 5.6. This is still quite complex and shows marriage links with a number of local families. Much of this information is taken from the excellent Morgan web site (Morgan 2019a, b), which includes information from a range of wills and other sources. The early members of the tree were associated with the general Kingswinford area, with Richard Bendy (-1592) and Elizabeth Jones being married in Dudley, and Elizabeth being buried in Kingswinford. Their son William (1560-1598) was married to Elizabeth Brookes in Worfield, over the county border in Shropshire. They had just one child, another William (1593-1657). After the death of the elder William in 1598, Elizabeth probably married again to Richard Lee in Alveley, again in Shropshire, and thus, with her son, would have lived on the Lee estate at Coton Hall. The younger William married Mary Barnesley from Trysull on the Staffordshire / Shropshire border, and their eldest son (inevitably another William) was born there in 1620.

William Bendy (1593-1657), although referred to as a yeoman (farmer) in his will, was clearly well connected, perhaps because he was bought up in Coton Hall. He seems to have been based in the Shut End area either at Shut End House or Shut End Hall, although after the thwarting of the Gunpowder plot, the family come into possession of Holbeach House, the home of one of the conspirators, Stephen Lyttleton. William Bendy (1593-1657) would have been a minor at the time of the

Gunpowder plot so could not have acquired Holbeach House directly. His elder son William (1620-1684) took his BA at New Hall Oxford in 1637, and at the very young age of 18 was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in London. Two other sons Nicholas and Edward (not shown in Figure 5.6) also worked in London, whilst another, Samuel, was a Fellow of St Johns College, Cambridge. The elder William's chief claim to fame was as a member of the Committee of Stafford from 1643 to 1645, whose task was to suitably dispose of the Royalist property in the county for the Parliamentary forces. As such he would have found himself, as happened very frequently in that period, at odds with other families in the locality – and in particular his neighbours at Corbyn's Hall (Pennington and Roots, 1957).

William Bendy (1620-1684) married Dorothy Lee, daughter of Lancelot Lee of Alveley, thus making further connections with that influential family. The executors of his will were named as his brother in law, Lancelot Lee, and his uncle Richard Brettell. More will be said of the Brettells in what follows. William and Dorothy had a number of children, the oldest of which was William (1653-1725). This William married twice, his first wife being Margaret Hoo, daughter of John Hoo of Bradley, by whom he had two girls, Margaret and Mary. His second wife was Mary, who bore him a number of children after Margaret's death in around 1695, including William (1700-1782).

The sisters Margaret and Mary are referred to in various documents as William's heirs, and it would seem they inherited most of the estate. Both married – Margaret to John Dolman, Vicar of Aldridge, and Mary to John Hodgetts of Shut End (1698-1741), the grandson of the John Hodgetts who purchased the Corbyn's Hall estate. In documents from 1752, Mary Hodgetts and her son John are both referred to as living at Shut End and Margaret

Dolman and her daughter are living at the Cathedral Close in Lichfield. Both seem to have some sort of interest in Holbeach House (DA, 1752). The physical relationship of the properties of the Hodgetts and the Bendys around 1700 to 1750 is not at all clear. Guttery (1974) firmly states that the Bendys owned Shut End Hall, and the Hodgetts were based at Shut End House; and that Margaret Bendy (1690-) and her husband inherited Shut End Hall, and Mary Bendy (1692-1761) and her husband John Hodgetts (1698-1741) inherited Holbeach. This seems to have been based on Shaw (1801), which refers to Shut End Hall as the seat of the Bendys and having been built in the Elizabethan era. In 1720 John Hodgetts (1698-1741) is referred to as being "*of Shut End House (Gent), son, heir and administrator of John Hodgetts, late of Shut End House*", and at his death in 1741, he is referred to as living at Shut End House. Other evidence is not so conclusive. Much later, White (1851) refers to "*the seat of the Bendys for many generations*" as being still in existence, which suggests it was Shut End House on the Turnpike Road rather than Shut End Hall, which had been demolished by then. This is in accordance with the somewhat confused explanation given in Scott (1832), which seems to distinguish between the seat of the Bendys and that occupied by Thomas Dudley, who was certainly in residence in Shut End Hall in 1822. For a further similarly confused description of the ownership situation of Holbeach and Shut End Halls also see Erdeswicke (1844). All of these later documents could of course be related to each other and sharing a common confusion. On balance it would seem best to assume that, in the first half of the eighteenth century, Shut End House was the ancestral home of the Hodgetts, and Shut End Hall and Holbeach House were both in the possession of the Bendys.

Holbeach House was eventually sold by Edward Foley and his wife Eliza Maria (formerly Hodgetts, the granddaughter of John Hodgetts (1698-1741)), to Sperry Peshall of Summerhill and Thomas Bourne of Himley in 1791 (with other parties apparently involved) and then was sold again to William, Viscount Dudley and Ward in 1803 (DA, 1791; DA, 1803). Also, by 1822, the Hodgetts (or rather the Hodgetts-Foleys at that stage - see below) owned Shut End Hall, although they did not live there, so that property clearly passed to them in some way.

William Bendy (1700-1782) lived in the "New House", situated on the Wolverhampton to Stourbridge road, which was presumably a minor portion of the Bendy estate, and in 1728, he is recorded as living there with Mary, his widowed mother (DA, 1728). Some of the land exchanges that took place as part of the Ashwood Enclosure that allowed him to consolidate some of his lands in that area are described in Chapter 4. He also married twice, and had several children, none of whom seem to have produced an heir for the next generation. The last two surviving Bendys – half sister and brother Sarah (1736-1818) and Thomas (1738-1818), died in close proximity, and their property and fortune passed to various cousins (DA, 1820), the Bendy line becoming extinct with their passing.

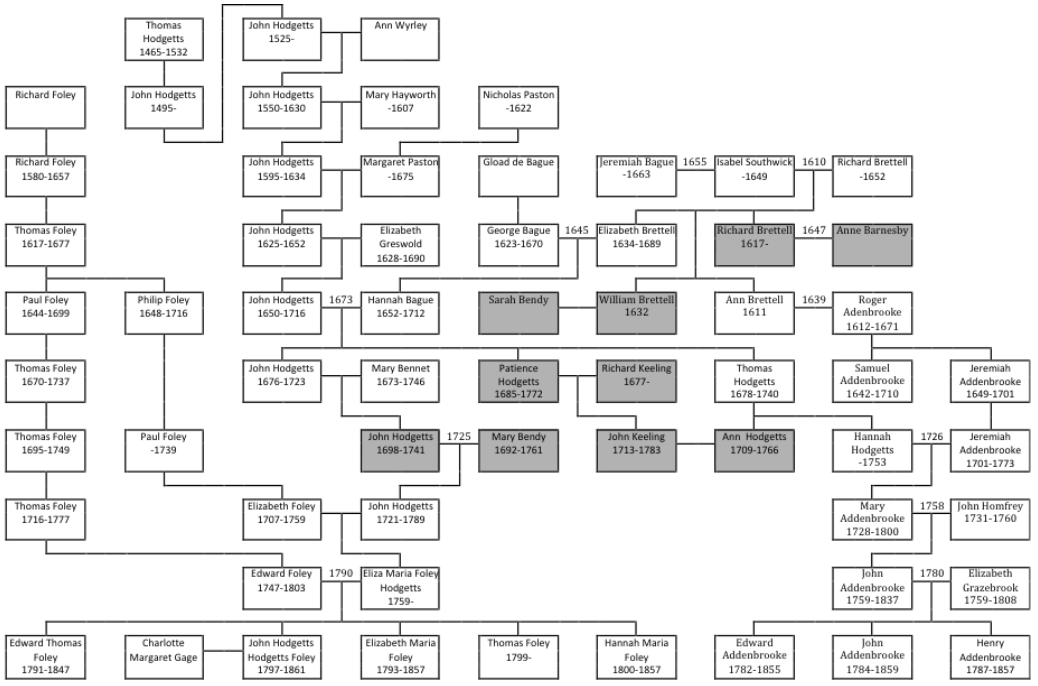


Figure 5.7 The Hodgetts / Foley / Addenbrooke tree

Shaded cells indicate links with other trees.

If success can be measured in terms of social enhancement, the Hodgetts family is perhaps the most successful family in Kingswinford history. The early Hodgetts shown in the tree of Figure 5.7 all came from the Kingswinford / Shut End area and John Hodgetts (1550-1630) and John Hodgetts (1595-1634) are both described as yeomen farmers in their wills (Kim Simmonds Family Genealogy, 2019, which also gives sources for these genealogies). Where their land was in relation to that of the Corbyns at Corbyn's Hall and the Bendys at Shut End is not clear, but by the 18th and 19th centuries the Hodgetts held large tracts of land in Kingswinford and elsewhere, had married into one of the new aristocratic industrialist families, served as MPs for various places in the locality and lived in Prestwood House – the largest of the gentry houses in the Kingswinford area (Staffordshire Records Society, 1885).

In the 15th and 16th centuries however the Hodgetts' horizons were more limited. The recurring generations of John Hodgetts tended to marry the daughters of local gentry – for example Margaret Paston (-1675), the daughter of the Rector Nicholas Paston; or to Hannah Bague (1652-1712), the daughter of George Bague and granddaughter of Gload de Bague, the glassmaker family from Lorraine, and major industrialists in the Wordsley / Brettell Lane area. John Hodgetts (1650-1716) was Agent of the Dudley Estate in the early years of the 18th century (DA, 2019b). His daughter, Patience Hodgetts (1685-1772), married Richard Keeling(e) (1677-), who was also the Agent of the Dudley Estate. Richard and Patience's niece Ann Hodgetts (1709-1766), daughter of Thomas Hodgetts (1678-1740), Rector of Kingswinford and vicar of Press in north Shropshire, married their son John (1713-1783) who was, once again, the Dudley Estate Agent.

It was John Hodgetts (1650-1716) who purchased the Corbyn's Hall estate on the death of the last male Corbyn in around 1688 and took up residence there until he sold it on early in the next century. His grandson, John Hodgetts (1698-1742) married Mary Bendy, the co-heiress of William Bendy (see above), and through her he inherited at least a significant proportion of the Bendys Shut End estate. This John became High Sherriff of Staffordshire in 1737 and was himself the Agent of the Dudley Estate (DA, 2019b).

Their son, John Hodgetts (1721-1789) took the major step in the families climb up the social ladder by marrying Elizabeth Foley (1707-1759). The Foleys were descended from Richard Foley, a Stourbridge nailer from the 16th century, who had become extremely wealthy as a result of a successful marketing of his products and were heavily involved in iron production around the Midlands. Richard's grandson, Thomas (1617-1677) built Witley Court in the Malverns and was High Sherriff of Worcestershire in 1656. He was the first of the family with political ambitions and served as an MP for Worcestershire and Bewdley (Wikipdia, 2019b). Elizabeth was Thomas's great-granddaughter through his son Philip (1648-1716), with this branch of the family being based at Prestwood at the western edge of Kingswinford parish. John Hodgetts (1721-1789) was, like his father, High Sherriff of Staffordshire in 1765, and seems to have taken up residence at Prestwood on his marriage. Shut End House at this time (approx. 1760 to 1780) seems to have been the residence of Commander John Becher, RN, but the actual ownership is not clear (Alexander, 2003).

In 1790, the daughter of John and Elizabeth, Eliza Maria Foley Hodgetts (1759-), married a cousin from another branch of the Foley family, Edward Foley (1747-1803). This was Edward's second marriage, with the first having

been annulled (presumably by Act of Parliament) but no reason for this can be found. He was the proprietor of the Stoke Edith estate in Herefordshire, and the marriage settlement specified that Eliza and Edward's oldest child, Edward Thomas Foley (1791-1847) should inherit Stoke Edith, and their second son, John Hodgetts Hodgetts Foley (1797-1861), should inherit the Prestwood estate. It was this John who, through his major land ownership in the Kingswinford area, was to play such a major role in its industrialization. He was the Whig MP for Droitwich from 1822 to 1834 and for East Worcestershire from 1847 to 1861. His rather odd name was the result of formalizing Hodgetts as part of the surname by royal license in 1821 (Wikipedia, 2019i).

The Hodgetts tree in Figure 5.7 shows the extensive connections made by marriage with other local families over the course of the centuries. The Bendy, Foley and Bague families have already been mentioned but we also see marriages to the Keeling, Addenbrooke and Brettell families. We will discuss the Keeling family further in what follows. The Addenbrooke family members were also major landowners in the Kingswinford area. Jeremiah Addenbrooke (1701-1773) married Hannah Hodgetts in 1726, one of the two daughters of Thomas Hodgetts (1678-1740), the vicar of Kingswinford mentioned above. The most famous of the Addenbrooke family, John Addenbrooke, the student and fellow of St Catharine's Hall in Cambridge who founded the Cambridge hospital was the son of Samuel Addenbrooke (1642-1710) shown in Figure 5.7, but, despite his fame, he is not a major character in Kingswinford history (Rook et al, 1991).

The other family that occurs in the Hodgetts tree is that of the Brettells, who were by marriage related to the Bague and Addenbrooke families. They are clearly an old established Kingswinford family, important enough to

have an important thoroughfare name after them in Brettell Lane but are quite hard to pin down. Whilst there are many occurrences of the name Brettell in the marriage and (particularly) death registers, there are very few baptismal entries that would enable their descent to be determined. This is presumably because they were non-conformists of some form (and their association with the Bague family supports this assumption), and the baptismal lists of whatever chapels they might have attended have not survived.

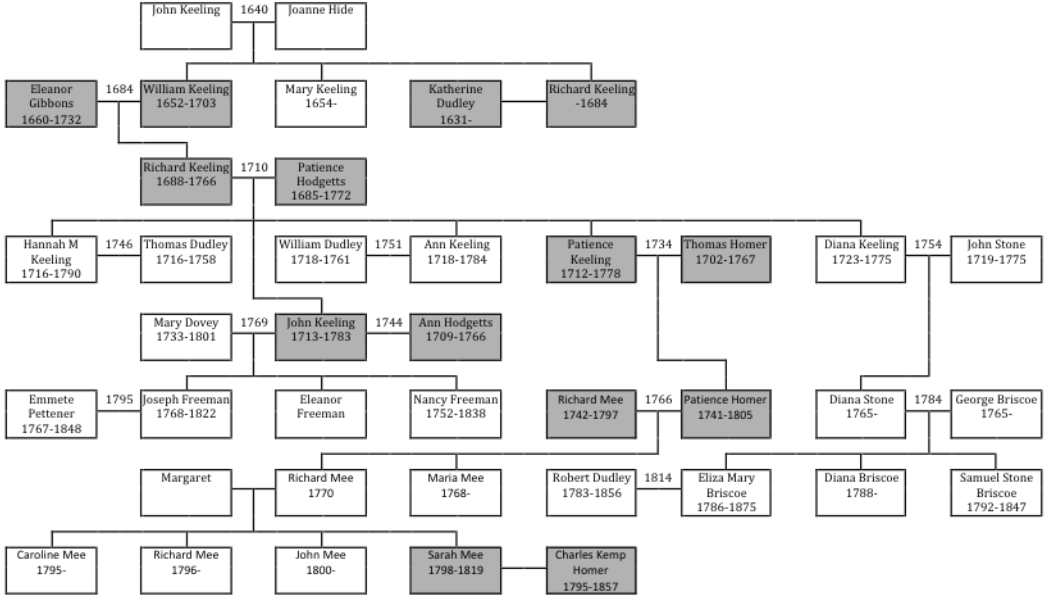


Figure 5.8 The Keeling and Mee tree

Shaded cells indicate links with other trees.

Agents and Stewards

The role of Agent and Steward of the Dudley estate has already been mentioned above. John Hodgetts (1698-1742), Richard Keeling (1688-1766) and John Keeling (1713-1783) all held this role, which involved day-to-day management of the Estate, and also presiding over the Manor Courts.

Figure 5.8 shows the tree for the Keeling(e) family. Although the name is sometimes spelt with a final "*e*", in what follows we will simply use the form "*Keeling*". As with the Hodgetts tree, the major point to emerge from this tree is the many relationships between the major families in the 17th and 18th centuries, with the Keelings marrying Brettells, Homers, Gibbons and Dudleys across a number of generations (Kim Simmonds website, 2019). This level of Kingswinford society was in many ways one large family (which is not of course to say that they all worked in each other's interests).

Richard Keeling (1688-1766) was baptized in Sedgley and resided until 1745 at Summerhill in Kingswinford. He then took out a lease on Pedmore Hall in Worcestershire. He married Patience Hodgetts, and their children married into other influential families in the area – Hannah and Ann to brothers from the Tipton Dudley family (a family with extensive iron and coal interests), Patience to Thomas Homer, and Diana to John Stone. The Homer family will be discussed further below, but it is worth noting here that Patience and Thomas's daughter, another Patience (1741-1805) married Richard Mee (1742-1797) from London, who was also an Agent and Steward of the Dudley Estate. Richard Mee and his heirs were owners of the Tiled House Estate, which endured complex financial and legal issues in the first half of the 19th century.

Richard Keeling's son John (1713-1783) was again an Estate Agent and Steward, and married Anne Hodgetts in 1744, but there were no children of the marriage. He did however father three children by his housekeeper, Mary Dovey, whom he married after Anne's death.

Diana and John Stone seem ultimately to have taken over the Summerhill residence from Richard. Their daughter, another Diana (1765 -), married George Briscoe (1765 -), and they were considerable landowners in Kingswinford parish in the 19th century, The Keeling estate was thus split between the Homers, the Dudleys and the Briscoes and the natural children of John (Joseph, Eleanor and Nancy Freeman).

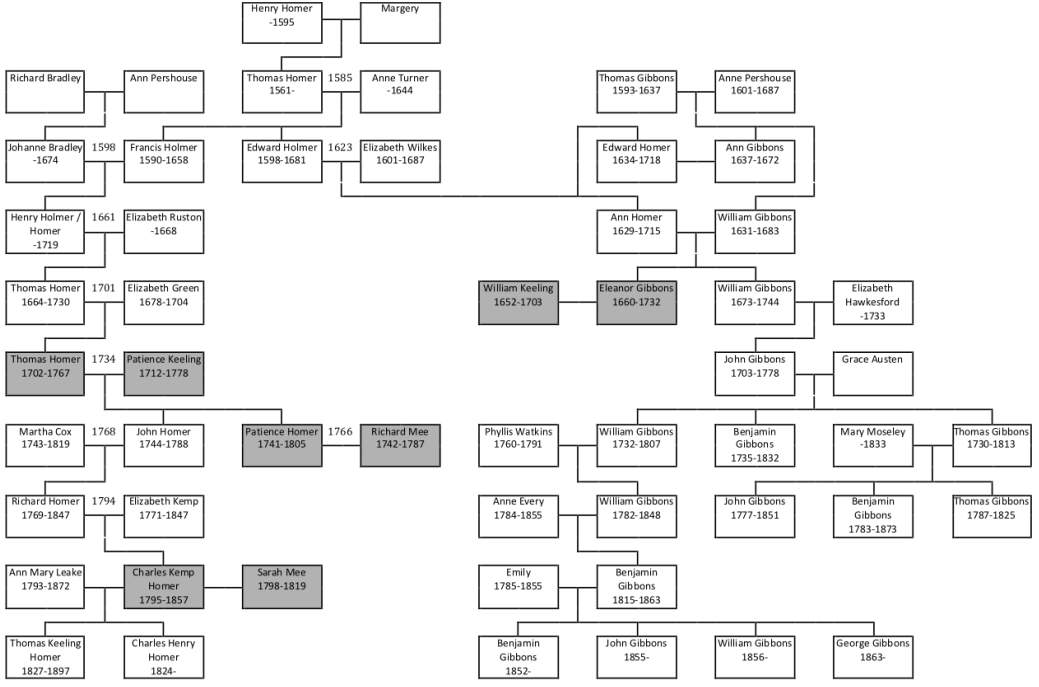


Figure 5.9 The Gibbons and Homer tree

Shaded cells indicate links with other trees.

Ironmasters and the Coalmasters

The family tree shown below for the Homer and the Gibbons families in Figure 5.9 is in essence two separate trees, with the families only being linked by the marriage of Ann Homer and William Gibbons around 1650. Nonetheless links with the other families of the area described above are also apparent.

The Homers were an ancient Sedgley family, often referred to as yeomen or farmers. They seem to have held considerable estates in the Ettingshall area of Sedgley, which were exploited for coal at an early stage, presumably to the Homer's significant profit. Thomas (1702-1767) married Patience Keeling and is recorded as living firstly in Sedgley and then in Summerhill in Kingswinford. Their son, John Homer (1744-1788) is recorded as living at Bromley Hall and Townsend House in Kingswinford parish, having moved from Sedgley because the mining operations were making their former dwelling uninhabitable. History repeated itself, as the Homers exploited the coal and iron reserves on the Bromley Hall estate in the same way, with the same results, and Richard Homer (1769-1847), an attorney at law, eventually moved to Pedmore in Worcestershire.

In a similar way to the Homers, the early Gibbons were yeomen from the Ettingshall area of Sedgley, who came to own the Sedgley Park estate. No doubt they exploited the mineral reserves of this estate in the same way as the Homers. It seems that by the time of John Gibbons (1703-1778) the family had built up a very considerable business in banking, merchandising and industrial activities. After John's death, responsibilities for the business were divided between his three sons. William (1732-1807) ran the family's merchant house at Bristol, overseeing exports of metal goods to the American market. Benjamin (1735-1832) was entrusted with

management of the iron business around Kingswinford. The eldest son, Thomas (1730-1813) took charge of the merchant house at Wolverhampton, which was subsequently developed as a bank (GG, 2019c). Thomas's sons, John (1777-1851), Benjamin (1783-1873) and Thomas (1787-1825) were involved in complex business arrangements centred on the Level Ironworks in Brierley Hill, and from 1820 owned the mines and the ironworks at Corbyn's Hall and at Ketley in Kingswinford (GG, 2019h). Benjamin survived his brothers and lived successively in Corbyn's Hall, Shut End House, Great Witley, and the Leasowes in Halesowen.

William Gibbons (1732-1807) appears in the UCL data on the legacy of slave ownership as a Bristol merchant and ironmonger, the partner of Benjamin Bickley (UCL, 2020). The partners in this firm were William Gibbons, Benjamin Bickley, John Latty Bickley (Benjamin's son) and Michael Willcox. Bickley counterclaimed on an award in Trinidad for Paradise & Cane Farm plantations in the name of the firm and were awarded £8304. 'Wm Gibbons' appears under a second award as an unsuccessful counterclaimant for the Lodge estate on Trinidad, but it is possible that this is the firm not the man. In both cases Bickley was acting as an Executor on behalf of a deceased person's estate. The relationship between the Gibbons and the Bickley families continued to the next generation. In 1838 John Latty Bickley was living at Ettingshall Lodge in Sedgley (the old home of the Gibbons) and was engaged in land transfer deals with the Gibbons brothers John (1777-1851) and Benjamin (1783-1873) and mortgages of land around the Corbyn's Hall estate.

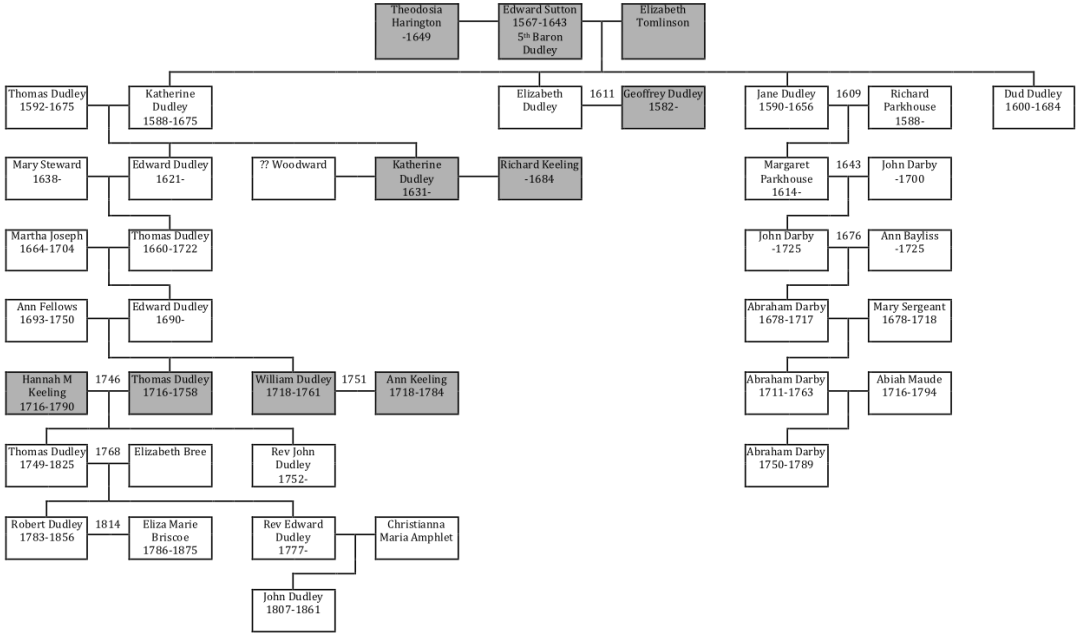


Figure 5.10 The Tipton Dudley tree and the descendants of Elizabeth Tomlinson

Shaded cells indicate links with other trees.

The Dudley family of Ironmasters was also active in Kingswinford in the nineteenth century – with Thomas Dudley (1749 to 1825) living in Shut End Hall, and his grandson, John Dudley (1807-1861) being in partnership with William Matthews of Corbyn's Hall. The origin of these Dudleys is however not in Kingswinford, but in the Tipton / Sedgley area, and they are descended from a long line of Dudleys whose routes can be traced back to the fourteenth century, and from the illegitimate line of Edward Sutton, 5th Baron Dudley (1567-1643) and his concubine Elizabeth Tomlinson (Unknown, 2019). Edward clearly broke with the tradition of keeping aloof from the locals, and Elizabeth produced 11 children, all of whom he acknowledged and provided for. This was no doubt part of the reason for his money troubles mentioned earlier in the chapter. Of these the Tipton Dudleys were descended from Katherine Dudley (1588-1675) who married Thomas Dudley of Tipton (1592-1675). Before considering these however, it is worth mentioning the family of some of Edward and Elizabeth's other children, also shown in Figure 5.10.

Firstly, their daughter Elizabeth married Geoffrey Dudley of Russell's Hall (1582-). He was the great nephew of Arthur Dudley who removed the bones of St Chad from Lichfield Cathedral (Figure 5.1). The next chapter describes how these bones were kept for safe keeping at Russell's Hall for some unspecified time, and Geoffrey and Elizabeth may have been among their guardians.

Secondly, Jane Dudley (1590-1656) married Richard Parkhouse (1588-), and they became the ancestors of the various Abraham Darby's of Coalbrookdale, whose iron making activities effectively started the industrial revolution in England. Figure 5.10 goes as far as Abraham Darby (1750-1789), who was responsible for the Iron Bridge over the Severn, that survives today as a World Heritage site (GG, 2019b). Whilst not of direct relevance

to life in Kingswinford in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the innovations of the Darbys had a major effect on the iron industry there as elsewhere.

Finally mention must be made of Dud Dudley, who claimed to be the first to produce iron from burning coal rather than from coke. His story is told elsewhere (GG, 2019a), but in terms of this book he is of interest as it is likely that some of his experiments were in the region of Pensnett Chase in Kingswinford Manor. Indeed, some would associate "Furnace Field" in the Barrow Hill area with the site of some of these experiments. All in all, an arguable case can be made that the illegitimate descendants of the Barons of Dudley had a rather greater long-term impact than did the legitimate descendants.

Returning to the Tipton Dudleys, the records show that they were originally referred to as both yeomen and Gentlemen. They seemed to have lived in Tipton Green House. Edward Dudley (1621-) was on the parliamentarian side in the Civil War and led an attack by a local militia on the loyalist occupied Dudley Castle. This was unsuccessful, and his band was pursued back to Tipton, where some sort of conflict took place at Tipton Green. Depending upon the perception of the sources, this was either referred to as the Battle of Tipton Green, or simply as a minor skirmish (History website, 2019a). By the mid-eighteenth century, the family was referred to as Ironmongers, and by the early nineteenth as Ironmasters, with extensive mining and iron making interests in the Tipton area. Figure 5.10 shows their extensive marriage links with the Keeling family – and indeed Thomas Dudley (1749-1825) and his brother Rev. John Dudley (1752-) were the last remaining Trustees of the estate of John Keeling who died in 1783 (DA, 1825). We will see in Part 2 that the Keeling Trustees were major landowners in Kingswinford in that period.

Closing comments

Perhaps two major points emerge from this chapter. Firstly, the nature of inter-marriage between the different families in the Kingswinford region was very different depending upon position on the social scale. The aristocratic de Suttons and the minor aristocrats of the Corbyns tended to marry within their own social circles – the Anglo-Norman aristocracy of England for the former, and the Midland gentry for the latter. There was little or no inter-marriage with local families. Around the Reformation and Civil War, these barriers were broken down, partly by financial pressures, and other families rose to prominence – most notably the Wards. Edward Sutton also played his part in breaking down the barriers with his concubine Elizabeth and her many bastards, although this was perhaps not the conventional route to social mobility. Interestingly however, it would seem that Edward and Elizabeth's children were quite acceptable marriage partners to the local gentry – clearly the balance of an aristocratic father and illegitimacy was somewhat in favour of the former. Amongst the local Kingswinford / Sedgley families however there was a great deal of inter-marriage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, accompanied by a gradual rise in these families up the social ladder.

The second point is that, as these families moved up through society, so they tended to move physically, firstly to larger houses in the area, and then out of the area to more desirable and rural locations. Thus the Hodgetts moved from Shut End to Corbyn's Hall and were eventually to become the Hodgetts-Foleys of Prestwood; the Gibbons moved from Sedgley to Corbyn's Hall and then to the Leasows in Halesowen; and the Keelings and the Homers eventually found their way to Pedmore Hall. Indeed, the large houses in the area saw a steady stream of tenants and owners moving from the smaller to the

larger. Such a trend continued throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

Chapter 6. Rectors and Curates

Rector and dates of Kingswinford incumbency	Appointments during Kingswinford appointment	Relationships
Arthur Dudley 1556-1577	Sutton Coldfield 1559 - 1563 Lichfield Cathedral - Prebend of Colwich 1521-1577 Worcester Cathedral – 9th Prebend 1553-1577	Brother of John Sutton, 3rd Baron Dudley (1494-1553) Brother of Geoffrey of Russell's Hall
Nicholas Paston 1577-1616	Hagley 1571 - 1595 Wombourn 1597 Lichfield Cathedral - Prebend of Ryton 1605 - 1620	Daughter Margaret Paston (-1675) married John Hodgetts (1595-1634)
George Paston 1622-1626	Lichfield Cathedral - Prebend of Curborough 1594 -1630	
Nicholas Paston 1626-1669		Nephew of Nicholas Paston above
Francis Ashenhurst 1669-1704	Master St John's Hospital, Lichfield 1673 - 1704 Archdeacon of Derby 1689 - 1704 Lichfield Cathedral - Prebend of Ufton Cantoris 1684 – 1689, Prebend of Wellington 1689 - 1704 Lincoln Cathedral - Prebend of Langford 1689 – 1704	

Table 6.1 Rectors of Kingswinford

Thomas Hodgetts 1704-1741	Prees 1706 - 1742	Son of John Hodgetts (1650-1715). Daughter Ann (1709-1766) married John Keeling (1713-1783). Daughter Hannah (-1753) married Jeremiah Addenbrooke (1701-1773)
William Ward 1741-1758	Sedgley 1730 - 1745 Himley 1745 - 1758	Brother of John Ward (1704-1774), Viscount Dudley
William Piggott 1758-1779	Edgmond 1740 - 1779	
John Carver 1779-1804	Hartlebury 1777 - 1801 Archdeacon of Stafford 1769 - 1782 Archdeacon of Surrey 1782 - 1814 Lichfield Cathedral - Prebend of Curborough 1773 - 1814 Worcester Cathedral - Canon of 7th Prebend 1777 - 1804	Nephew (through an illegitimate line) of Mary Carver, wife of John Ward (1704-1774), Viscount Dudley
William Smith 1804-1814		
Nathaniel Hinde 1815-1831	Poulton le Fylde 1810 - 1828 Royal Chaplain to William IV/William Duke of Clarence 1820	
George Saxby Penfold 1831-		

Table 6.1 Rectors of Kingswinford (continued)

The Rectors of Kingswinford are not of course a family in the sense we have considered above, although some were related to each other, and to some of the other families that have been discussed. The Rectors from the 16th century to the early 19th are shown in table 6.1 (Clergy of the Church of England database, 2019). For each Rector the table shows the dates of their incumbency, other positions they held during the period when they were Rector of Kingswinford, and any relationships with each other or with the major Kingswinford families. Overall, it can be seen that a number of them held senior ecclesiastical positions as Archdeacons, positions as Cathedral prebends or were incumbents of other parishes. These clergy would have relied on their curates to carry out most of the routine work for them and might well not have been seen in the parish very often. They would nonetheless have full access to the rent from Glebe lands to finance whatever lifestyle they cared to adopt. Francis Ashenhurst (1669-1704) and John Carver (1779-1804) were the most notable in this regard, both being Archdeacons with all the responsibilities such posts entail. Three were either members of the Dudley / Ward family or related by marriage – Arthur Dudley, William Ward and John Carver (Figure 5.2), and one from the Hodgetts family – Thomas Hodgetts (Figure 5.7). The three Pastons, whose combined incumbency spanned 92 years, were also related, although it is not clear precisely how. The daughter of the first Nicholas Paston also married into the Hodgetts family. The last of the three, Nicholas Paston (incumbency 1626-1669) seemed to have a somewhat elastic conscience and had no difficulty in keeping his position during the turmoil of the Civil War, the Commonwealth and the Restoration, no doubt bending in whatever way the theological wind was blowing at the time.

Of all the Rectors, perhaps the one who has most left his mark on history is the first in the table. Arthur Dudley was the brother of the 4th Baron John, who seems to have been cheated out of his possessions by his cousin, the rapacious Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and relied on the charity of families and friends to survive. More notably however, Arthur was responsible for removing some of the bones of St Chad from his shrine before it was desecrated in around 1538. He was a Prebend of Lichfield Cathedral from 1521 to 1577. He was probably born in the mid to late 1490s and was in his eighties at the time of his death. He would thus have been around 40 to 45 when he removed the bones. These were eventually passed to his nieces, Bridget and Katherine Dudley, of Russell's Hall, for safekeeping, presumably before his death in 1577. These were almost certainly daughters of his brother Geoffrey and sisters of Thomas, Geoffrey's son, who we know were based at Russell's Hall at the time (Figure 5.1). In 1577, when Geoffery died, Bridget would have been 31 and her sister 29. They in turn passed them, at some unspecified time before 1615 when Thomas died, on to two brothers, Henry and William Hodgetts, who lived at Woodsetton Farm in Sedgley (Roper, 1973). They divided the bones between them. When William died in 1649 his widow passed his share of the bones to Henry. Two years later in 1651, when Henry was on his deathbed he kept praying to St Chad as he was receiving the Last Rites from a Jesuit priest, Father Turner. When the priest heard his last confession he asked him why he called upon St Chad. Henry replied, "*because his bones are in the head of my bed*". He instructed his wife to give the relics to the priest. The bones were at first taken to France, but then returned and given to the Fitzherbert family of Swynnerton Hall, from where they eventually found their way to St Chad's catholic cathedral in Birmingham in the nineteenth century, where the story is told in a series of

stained glass windows, one of which is shown in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 Arthur Dudley and the bones of St Chad – window in St Chad's Catholic Cathedral in Birmingham

The question thus arises as to whether the Hodgetts of Woodsetton Farm were related to the Hodgetts of Kingswinford. The first point to notice is that the Russell's Hall estate, which seems to have been occupied by junior members of the Dudley / Sutton family, was adjacent to the boundary with Kingswinford Manor and easily accessible from there. In the 1490s, Edward Sutton (1460-1531) leased land there to "Thomas Hodgetts of Swinford", almost certainly the Thomas Hodgetts (1465-1532) at the top of the Hodgetts tree in Figure 5.7 (Roper, 1973). Similarly, in 1526, Edward leased the "*erbage, justment and pannage, etc. of the New Park at Pensnett Chase*", to Thomas' son John Hodgetts (1495-). The New Park was again on the boundary of Kingswinford and Sedgley manors and very close to Russell's Hall, (DA, 1526; HET, 2019). Thus, the Kingswinford Hodgetts seem to have been significant landowners in the area around

Russell's Hall at the time the bones were taken from the cathedral. In a letter dated 1970, sent by one Maisie Rowlands to John Roper, the author of Roper (1973), she gave the opinion that Henry and William Hodgetts were stewards of some kind to the Dudley sisters at Russell's Hall (SA, 1615). It has not been possible to link the two Hodgetts families formally, but it seems very likely to the author that they were related in some way, simply due to their similar social status and their geographical proximity. These relationships, together with the marriage of Margaret, the daughter of Nicholas Paston, Arthur's successor as Rector, to John Hodgetts (1595-1634) would give a web of relationships for ensuring the bones were in safe keeping down the generations.

Although not included in the table, in the late 1700s there were two curates worthy of note. The first was Thomas Moss, the perpetual curate of Brierley Hill Chapel from 1765 (when it opened) to 1808 (Guttery, 1974), who was a son of a chandler from Wolverhampton and was educated there, in Rugeley and in Cambridge. He was a renowned poet in his day (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2008). One of his poems in particular "The Beggar's petition", written in 1769, proved particularly popular and appeared in various anthologies. The general tenor of the poem can be illustrated by just the first three verses below.

Pity the sorrows of a poor old man!
Whose trembling limbs have borne him to your door,
Whose days are dwindled to the shortest span,
O, give relief, and Heaven will bless your store.

These tattered clothes my poverty bespeak,
These hoary locks proclaim my lengthened years;
And many a furrow in my grief-worn cheek
Has been the channel to a stream of tears.

Pity the sorrows of a poor old man
Whose trembling limbs have borne him to your door,
Whose days are dwindled to the shortest span.
Oh, give relief, and heaven will bless your store.

See Bartelby (2019) for the full text. It was popular enough to be mentioned by Austen in Northanger Abbey and parodied by Dickens in Nicholas Nickelby. It served as a basis for political parodies – of the Duke of Wellington (Grosvenor Prints, 2019) and King George IV (British Museum, 2019). It seems possible that the poverty depicted in the poem this reflects something of the situation he found in Brierley Hill at the time it was written.

The other curate of note was Moss's contemporary, Richard Willetts, who served in Kingswinford from 1765 to 1809, after graduating from St Catharine's Hall in Cambridge (which it will be remembered was John Addenbrooke's College). During the entirety of his curacy he was second master at Stourbridge School and thus combined his curacy with a career as a Schoolmaster. Self-supporting ministers are not new in the Anglican church. For most of that time, he served under the absentee John Carver, and would thus have carried a substantial parish load.

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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.

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Appendix. Enclosure Map Transcriptions

As part of the study into the Ashwood Hay and Pensnett Chase Enclosures, described in Chapter 4, transcriptions of the proprietor lists for both Acts were made and are given in Baker (2220a, b). This Appendix gives some brief explanatory notes on these transcriptions.

This transcription for the 1776 Ashwood Hay Enclosure Act is based on the maps and proprietor lists of DA (1776) and is contained an EXCEL file (Baker, 2220a). This lists the following information.

- The approximate location identified by a letter referring to a region on Figure A.1 below.
- The number on the map.
- The proprietor.
- (in some cases) Freehold or Copyhold.
- The plot area in acres, roods and perches.

It is, as far as possible, a direct transcription without alterations. The areas associated with the various plots are shown on Figure A.1 below. These areas are not shown on the original map but have been defined by the author purely for convenience of presentation, so that approximate plot locations can be determined. The road network shown is from the 1822 Fowler map (DA, 1822a), but is similar to the modern network.

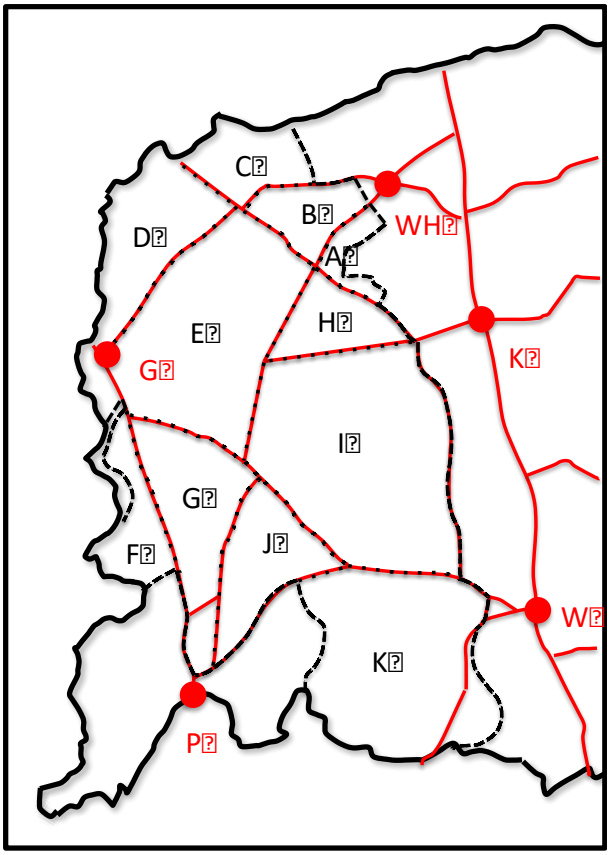

Figure A.1 Ashwood Hay Enclosure areas

(Red letters indicate settlements as follows: K-Kingswinford; WH – Wall Heath; G – Greensforge; P- Prestwood; W – Wordsley)

There were two possibilities for transcribing the information from the 1784 Pensnett Chase Enclosure Act. The first would be to use the figures listed on the Act itself in DA (1784). There were two difficulties with this. Firstly the document has slight water damage that makes it difficult to open all pages and to read some of the figures, and secondly, the geographical location of each of the enclosure holdings is described in words and finding a precise location is difficult. The second approach would be to take the information from the enclosure map. The difficulty here is that the map is not always totally clear on ownership and it is easy to miss the smaller plots. The advantage is that geographical location can be specified more easily and that the map identifies both the newly enclosed land and also the old enclosures that existed prior to the act. The second approach has been adopted here.

This transcription is contained within the EXCEL file of Baker (2220b). This lists the following information.

- The approximate location identified by a letter referring to a region on Figure A.2 below.
- The proprietor.
- (in some cases) Freehold or Copyhold.
- (in some cases) Other information.
- Whether or not the area is an old enclosure.
- The plot area in acres, roods and perches.
- Textual notes not included on the map.

The regions are not shown on the original map but have been defined by the author purely for convenience of presentation, so that approximate plot locations can be determined. The road network shown is from the 1822 Fowler map but is similar to the modern network.

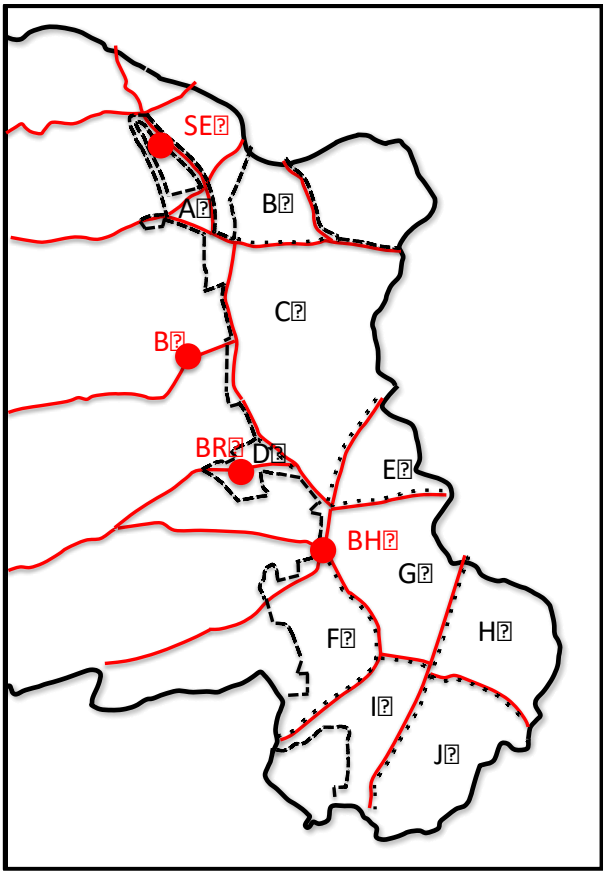

Figure A.2 Pensnett Chase Enclosure areas

(Red letters indicate settlements as follows: SE – Shut End; B – Bromley; BR – Brockmoor; BH – Brierley Hill)