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Author(s): Vanessa June Greatorex Roskilly

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## Vanessa Greatorex Roskilly <br> Landscape, Heritage and Society



## The landscape, heritage and society of St Michael's churchyard, Shotwick

Dissertation submitted by Vanessa June Greatorex Roskilly for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Liverpool in part fulfilment of the modular programme in Landscape, Heritage and Society

October 2005


#### Abstract

This dissertation examines the history and heritage of St Michael's Churchyard in the Wirral parish of Shotwick. It explores in particular the effect topographical features and historical events have had on the churchyard's development. Stylistic variations in memorials are analysed to identify chronological trends. The lifestyle of churchyard occupants is also discussed, with the spotlight focusing specifically on the Whaley, Roberts and Maddock families; parish curates; and RAF pilots killed in the final months of the Second World War.


Information has chiefly been derived from memorials recorded during numerous visits to the churchyard itself, and from primary and secondary sources held by Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies, in particular maps, parish registers and their transcripts, churchwarden's accounts, wills, reports of coroner's inquests, school logbooks, tithe apportionments, charters and church correspondence. Relevant information has been extracted from Cheshire County Council's Sites and Monuments Record, and material held by the War Graves Commission and the RAF Museum at Hendon has also contributed to the exposition.

Data from all these sources has been collated and analysed to extrapolate parochial trends, and much supporting material discussed in the body of the dissertation is included in the Appendices as verification.


One of Shotwick's earliest - and grandest - floral motifs (Memorial 155)

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## Abbreviations

c. circa
d. died

CCALS Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies
SMR Cheshire County Council Sites and Monuments Record



St Michael's Church from the south east, with table tombs, chest tombs and ledgers in front

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Irrefutable evidence of the urgent need for a survey of Shotwick's beleaguered churchyard.

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## Introduction

## Aims, Methodology and Limitations



Higgledy-piggledy, cheek-by-jowl, chest tombs, headstones, kerbs and cracks: this picture of Memorial 62 south of the church gives a good flavour of the churchyard as a whole, with memorials sloping north, south, east and west.


#### Abstract

Aims Tranquil, serene, picturesque - at first glance the churchyard of Shotwick St Michael is all of these. But it is also a place in peril. After centuries of successive burials, subsidence has reached crisis point. Swathed in ivy, the sides of its chest tombs are caving inwards. Ledger slabs are partially buried. Headstones lean backwards, forwards, left or right, some already smashed to pieces after succumbing to gravity. The British weather has taken its inevitable toll, and some of the earlier graves show signs of salt-water damage from the splashing high tides of spring. In short, at the beginning of 2005 there existed an urgent need to record the memorials before they were lost forever.




Images of decay: Memorial 129 (c. 1820) is partially submerged and beleaguered by ivy, while the complete collapse of 122 (c. 1805) provides an object lesson in the anatomy of a chest tomb.



The ivy on this chest tomb may look beguiling in the afternoon sunshine, but allowing it to remain picturesquely in situ will have disastrous consequences for the tomb's long-term stability.
Despite mid-nineteenth century claims that: 'There are no monuments of the least interest in the church, or the churchyard, ${ }^{1}$ the impulse to preserve for posterity is not unprecedented. Philip Sulley quotes a couple of Shotwick epitaphs in his history of Wirral Hundred, ${ }^{2}$ FC Beazley includes a selection, ${ }^{3}$ garnered in 1905, in his Notes on Shotwick, ${ }^{4}$ and in 1910 JHE Bennett ${ }^{5}$ and PH Lawson made a systematic effort to note down brief physical descriptions of the memorial types, and personal details from the inscriptions. The original collection of these now resides in the Bennett collection at Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies (CCALS), ${ }^{6}$ and a rather dark photocopy is kept in the church vestry. However, neither can be taken away for consultation and, while useful for demystifying now eroded inscriptions, in some respects the Bennett/Lawson record is far from satisfactory. Abbreviated cursive

[^0]handwriting nearly a hundred years old is not the most user-friendly of scripts to read - especially on microfilm - most inscriptions have been paraphrased rather than transcribed word for word, Biblical and poetic quotations are generally omitted, no measurements were taken, there is no indication of the state the memorials were in at the time of recording unless legibility was impaired, and, while the graves were mapped, ${ }^{7}$ there are no accompanying photographs or sketches. Additionally, of course, there is now almost a century's worth of unrecorded memorials erected since the Bennett/Lawson compilation.

Furthermore, nothing has been done beyond simply transferring details from stone to paper. Yet, enjoyable though it is to saunter around a country churchyard absorbing the ambience and deciphering the odd epitaph, ${ }^{8}$ systematically recording the memorials is only the starting point. The next - and more fascinating - step is to use the churchyard as a tool to discover more about individual occupants and parochial demographic trends. Analysing fashions in memorial design should also yield information about the parishioners' changing tastes and disposable income. The study should additionally facilitate an assessment of the churchyard's value as a historical resource compared with other extant evidence.

In short, the principal aims of this study can be distilled into three:

1) to record information in danger of being lost forever.
2) to find out about Shotwick's past inhabitants.
3) to assess the value of graveyards as a research tool.

## Methodology

Before plotting the position of individual graves it was necessary to draw a map of the churchyard. This was initially done using offset measurements from a grid created

[^1]with three other students during a survey of St Michael's Church in December 2004. ${ }^{9}$ In an attempt to increase accuracy, backsiting was carried out with the aid of a dumpy level, ranging poles, a levelling staff and a plumb-bob, but obstructions such as trees and compost heaps made it necessary to extrapolate some of the corners from adjacent measurements. The ground plan produced at a scale of $1: 100$ in this way was not entirely satisfactory, with the north-west corner in particular jutting out too far. During a lone follow-up visit an outline sketch was therefore drawn while walking around the inner perimeter of the churchyard. This was compared with the Tithe Map of $1848^{10}$ and found to be virtually identical in shape to plots 65 (Churchyard) and 64 (Churchyard Croft), the latter being acquired in the 1870s for a graveyard extension. A further comparison was made with CCALS' undated plan of the extension. ${ }^{11}$ The scale map was adjusted accordingly, then reduced on a photocopier to A3 to facilitate handling during subsequent fieldwork. Memorials were plotted from the south-east gate, working towards the north-west corner. This differs from the Bennett/Lawson sequence, which starts outside the church door.

Bearing in mind the stricture of Peter Swallow and his co-authors ('Single-handed surveying is often inefficient and tends to be inaccurate ${ }^{12}$ ), the unavailability of state-of-the-art Electronic Distance Meter (EDM) surveying equipment, ${ }^{13}$ and the time constraints inherent in a study of this type, it was decided not to measure the precise distance of each memorial from the church and/or the churchyard boundary. Instead memorials were plotted on the scale map in relation to each other and to fixed points such as the church, the boundary, the boiler house and trees. The plans produced ${ }^{14}$ should therefore be viewed as topographical navigators rather than accurate scale replicas of the churchyard's layout.

[^2]After examining examples recommended by Jones ${ }^{15}$ and Mytum, ${ }^{16}$ a specially adapted recording form was devised. ${ }^{17}$ For ease of comprehension without the aid of a key, descriptions were used rather than codings.

At the churchyard a separate form was filled in for each memorial. Descriptions of memorial types correspond to the terminology used by Mytum, ${ }^{18}$ making it easy for coding to be added at a later stage should this be desirable for typological comparisons with other churchyards. Measurements of width, height and length or depth were taken using a metal hand-tape. In the case of chest and table tombs the height at each corner was measured to gauge the severity of tilt. Steeply tilting headstones were similarly measured front and back or at each side. In many cases a sketch was made showing such features as shape and ornamentation. Inscriptions were copied down letter for letter unless indecipherable. Partially legible inscriptions were noted as fully as possible, with putative letters enclosed in square brackets. Use of italics was noted. It was not possible to take rubbings of partially eroded memorials because, being made of sandstone, all those affected were too friable.

A number was allocated to each memorial, starting at 001 for the war memorial in the south-east corner by the main gate and finishing at 370 . The principle memorials inside the church were also recorded. They were allocated letters (A-N) rather than numbers so that the interior survey could be carried out in parallel whenever rain halted the external survey.

Owing to the irregularity of rows, particularly in the south-west corner, the easiest way to plot the position of the graves on the plan was in sections rather than all in one go. Recording forms for each section were filled in before plotting the next section on the plan. This reduced the risk of accidentally missing out memorials since checks could be made on an on-going basis. It also made it easier to divide the churchyard into manageable portions which could be recorded on separate visits.

[^3]

Memorials on the south side of the church, with Wales visible on the horizon in the right.

At least one digital photograph was taken of each memorial. Close-up shots of ornamentation, inscriptions and damage were also taken in many instances. ${ }^{19}$ A magnetic number board showing the plan number was set up beside each memorial to avoid confusion when viewing the images later. The most efficient way to take the photographs was in batches, usually a row at a time. General photographs of the churchyard were also taken, along with pictures of specific grave groups. The average time taken to measure, record and photograph each memorial was twelve to fifteen minutes. To avoid compromising the condition of equipment and recording forms it was inadvisable to carry out external recording in rain. Optimum photographic conditions prevailed under a slightly overcast sky, but bright sunlight from a favourable angle made it easier to decipher partially eroded inscriptions.

Where memorials were partially buried, obscured by trees or covered in moss, lichen or grass clippings, an ethical dilemma had to be confronted head on: should the latest phase in the churchyard's history and heritage be acknowledged by recording each memorial's current state, even if that meant describing as 'obliterated' inscriptions

[^4]

Mostly submerged, Memorials 131 and 132 (c. 1809) could perhaps be viewed as belonging to a new typological classification: the iceberg headstone.
which were, in fact, merely obscured? Or was it permissible to remove moss, scrape off lichen and pull turf aside in order to reveal the required information? While historians and detectives may feel the latter approach is justified, botanists would doubtless disagree, in view of the fact that it 'may take a lichen more than half a century to attain the dimensions of a shirt button. ${ }^{, 20}$ As a compromise, each memorial was assessed individually, with a view to minimising disturbance while maximising data collection.

Some of the older headstones were still upright but buried between an estimated fifth and four-fifths of their height. On grounds of taste and decency the soil surrounding them was not dug up, making only a partial recording possible.

In several cases, with the aid of a garden trowel it was possible to peel back the turf from partly buried ledger slabs, record the memorial, then replace the turf. This was regarded as preferable to leaving the memorial exposed, since many inscriptions

[^5]

Memorial 160, dating from 1857, prepared for recording. Note how text on the darker area, which has been protected by turf, is far better preserved than that exposed to sun, rain and footsteps.
which had been protected by turf were in far more legible condition than those open to the elements.

Brushing dried grass clippings off memorials was a simple process, but moss and lichen were less clear-cut propositions. In most cases, inscriptions could be deciphered through a layer of lichen, particularly in good light, and moss could sometimes be dislodged with a quick scrape of the sole, revealing an almost mint inscription. In several instances, forty-fiveminute stints brushing off more established moss
simply led to the discovery of inscriptions that were no longer legible. It quickly became apparent that lichen and tenacious moss were better left in situ. In these cases the form was marked 'obliterated by moss' rather than 'eroded'.

The data collected at the churchyard was later computerised. ${ }^{21}$ A spreadsheet was also compiled to facilitate analysis of such factors as memorial types, names, occupations, locations, dates and ages (see Appendix Eight: Spreadsheet of data collected from memorials). Each person was allocated a separate line on the spreadsheet. Memorials

[^6]dedicated to more than one person were subdivided using a decimal point so that the first part of the number continued to correspond to the number on the plan. Thus on the spreadsheet the listings for the war memorial ( 001 on the plan) include William Evans as entry 001.1, John Mansley as 001.2 and Ralph Thomas as 001.3.

After completing the fieldwork, the Beazley transcripts of 1905 and the Bennett/Lawson compilation of 1910 were used to fill in as many erosion-induced gaps as possible.

Microfilms of the parish registers were consulted at CCALS, along with charters, churchwardens' accounts, wills, coroner's reports, bishop's visitations, early Victorian trade directories, a school log-book, parish-related correspondence, tithe apportionments, secondary sources and a multitude of maps. Through an acquaintance met in the churchyard, additional documentation relating to World War One airmen was also obtained.

## Chief limitations

In order to record 384 memorials single-handed, computerise and analyse the findings, compare them with a multiplicity of documentary sources and compile a report within the space of a few months, it seemed likely that some compromises would have to be made. However, despite inclement weather and reservations engendered by the accounts of Jeremy Jones, ${ }^{22}$ surveying the memorials using the above approach took less than three months' worth of weekends (this compares favourably with the six months taken by Bennett and Lawson to compile their less detailed and less extensive collection ninety-five years earlier).

There were too many documentary sources to examine and incorporate every Shotwick reference in depth within the available time-frame, so some sampling was

[^7]necessary. Decisions had to be made concerning which people to focus upon, so that research could be precisely targeted.

Clearly, if time, word limits and financial and human resources had allowed, it would have been more satisfactory to use the latest EDM equipment to produce an accurately measured plan of the churchyard, depicting each grave in its exact position; to compare the memorials with every single entry in the parish register and every extant will of every parishioner; to incorporate information from every relevant census return, tax report and tithe apportionment; to interview every long-term resident of the village and trace their ancestry back as far as possible; to synthesise every single scrap of secondary source information relating to the parish; to make more detailed local and national comparisons with other churchyards; and to re-measure the churchyard every year to monitor the degree of subsidence.

## Breakthroughs

Despite its limitations, this dissertation brings together a wide range of formerly dispersed information about St Michael's churchyard and its occupants, and analyses it in a way which has not previously been attempted. Furthermore, the graveyard survey which provides the springboard for the research is the first undertaken at Shotwick in ninety-five years, and the only one ever conducted in accordance with Council for British Archaeology guidelines.

## Map One

The western portion of Christopher Saxton's map of Cheshire, 1577.
Note that Shotwick stands on the shoreline of the River Dee, with Shotwick Castle to the south side. Opposite, across the Dee, lies Flintshire in Wales, while Chester is at the mouth of the river.

Source: CCALS, PM 12/10

## Chapter One

## Landscape

## The physical and historic context of St Michael's Churchyard

Shotwick's history is inextricably linked to its geology. Sea levels along the Wirral coastline fluctuated during post-glacial ice-melt cycles, leading to the formation of alluvial terraces along the Dee Valley. ${ }^{1}$ For centuries, Shotwick's estuarine location fashioned it into a curious melding point of land and water. Its shores lapped by coastal tides, it was one of the last settlements ships passed on their route up the River Dee to the port of Chester, as can be seen from Saxton's map of $1577 .{ }^{2}$ At low tide, however, it was possible to walk from Shotwick to Flintshire in Wales, though the shifting sands meant safety and dry feet ${ }^{3}$ were not guaranteed, as Celia Fiennes' description of around 1700 reveals: ${ }^{4}$

I forded over the Dee when the tide was out, all upon the sands at least a mile, which was as smooth as a die, being a few hours left of the flood. The sands here are so loose that the tides do move them from one place to another at every flood that the same place one used to afford a month or two before is not to be passed now, for as it brings the sands in heaps to one place so it leaves others in deep holes, which are covered with water and loose sand that would swallow up a horse or carriages; so I had two guides to conduct me over. The carriages, which are used to it, and pass continually at the ebb of water, observe the drift of the sands and so escape the danger... But many persons that have known the fords well, that have come year or half a year after, if

[^8]they venture on their former knowledge have been overwhelmed in the ditches made by the sands, which is deep enough to swallow up a coach or waggon...

Despite the dangers, Shotwick Ford became an important trade ${ }^{5}$ and military route, used not just by salters and ordinary travellers but also royalty. ${ }^{6}$ Henry II, Henry III and Edward I stayed at Shotwick Castle, a mile to the south, ${ }^{7}$ waiting on the tides while their troops gathered for campaigns in Ireland ${ }^{8}$ and Wales. ${ }^{9}$ Fishing rights were jealously guarded ${ }^{10}$ and even porpoises [thorlehede] populated the Dee. ${ }^{11}$

[^9]Both during the Welsh wars and in the late fifteenth century, when the Dee silted up too much to be navigable all the way to Chester, ${ }^{12}$ Shotwick enjoyed a period of importance, effectively serving as the port of Chester. Although unable to cope with bigger ships bringing wine from France and Spain or timber, pitch and fish from the Baltic, Shotwick did handle much coastal and Irish trade, ${ }^{13}$ and as early as 1357 it was the dock of choice when slates were unloaded from Ogwen in North Wales for the stable roof at Chester Castle. ${ }^{14}$ In 1545 it paid more tax than anywhere else in Wirral. ${ }^{15}$ But the 1735 canalisation of the Dee aimed at repairing Chester's fortunes ${ }^{16}$ had disastrous consequences for Shotwick. By 1772 the settlement had fallen victim not simply to silt, but also to massive manmade causeways which changed the direction of the river, as can be seen from Thomas Boydell's 1772 plan of the lands and premises belonging to the River Dee Company between Chester, Flint and Parkgate. ${ }^{17}$

[^10]
## Map Two

Thomas Boydell's Plan of the lands and premises belonging to the River Dee Company between Chester, Flint and Parkgate, 1772.

Two centuries after its compilation, Saxton's map is no longer an accurate representation of the landscape. Banks made in the 1750s and 1760s have completely changed the course of the River Dee, and a vast expanse of sand separates Shotwick from the shore.

Source: CCALS, PM 11/7

## Map Three

Ordnance Survey 'Landranger' 117 (1:50,000 scale/11/4 inches to 1 mile): Chester and Wrexham, 2001.

## Map Four

Ordnance Survey ‘Explorer’ 266 (1:25,000 scale/2½ inches to 1 mile): Wirral \& Chester, 2000, South Sheet.

Although ship-borne passengers decamped ever further along the Wirral coast, the ford remained an important crossing point for foot-travellers, riders and carters until $1796,{ }^{18}$ even though Coroners' reports dating from 1672 it $1753{ }^{19}$ testify that the treacherous sands continued to cost lives.

Despite the receding river, as late as the mid-nineteenth century the churchyard was still 'almost reached by the waters of the Dee at high tides'. ${ }^{20}$ The Tithe Map of $1848^{21}$ depicts an agricultural paradise, curtailed only by marshland butting the fields by the river, and even today much of the land is still used for dairy and sheep farming.

Today, it is a good three miles from the village of Shotwick (grid reference SJ 337718) to the Dee, ${ }^{22}$ with the westward view from the churchyard embracing acres of thistle-peppered pasture punctuated by a procession of pylons, and Shotton's steelworks and paper mill on the horizon. To the north lie the earthworks of a treebedecked motte ringed by a marshy ditch. This is thought to have been the site of the early medieval manor house, 'a defensive stronghold guarding the right flank of the ford. ${ }^{23}$ North east is the former vicarage, the sixteenth-century cellars of which were allegedly used for storing contraband brought by Manx smugglers. ${ }^{24}$ South stands a farm, separated from the churchyard by a cobbled track leading west towards Wales, and beyond that, across the A550, lie 250 reclaimed acres occupied by the Royal Air Force base at Sealand. ${ }^{25}$ East lie the six seventeenth-century ${ }^{26}$ buildings - some now empty, ${ }^{27}$ and one divided into three different homes - that constitute the remnants of

[^11]
## Coroner's report

Examination into the death of Alice, wife of Thomas Harrison, drowned while crossing Shotwich ford. Jan $9^{\text {th }} 1753$.

Source: CCALS, QC1/22/6

## Coroner's report

Examination into the death of Thomas Harrison, drowned while crossing Shotwich ford. Jan $12^{\text {th }} 1753$.

Source: CCALS, QC1/22/7
the shrunken nucleated village. ${ }^{28}$ Their walls of sandstone and orange English bond brick are pierced by estate-style fenestration. ${ }^{29}$ Many have steps raised above ground level, suggesting they were built when there was still a risk of Shotwick Lane becoming flooded at high tides. Greyhound Farm now occupies the site of the Greyhound Inn, allegedly closed in 1915 because of excessive inebriation on the Sabbath. ${ }^{30}$ Petering out into a foot-path to the north-westerly parish of Puddington is Hall Lane, so called because it leads past Shotwick Hall. This was built as the new E-shaped manor house in 1662 by the Hockenhulls, ${ }^{31}$ who had become the village's premier family ${ }^{32}$ in the thirteenth century, ${ }^{33}$ when Robert de Hokenhull married the de Shotwicke heiress. ${ }^{34}$ Branching off Hall Lane towards a pedestrian gate at the rear of the churchyard is a mud-slimed back lane running parallel to Shotwick Lane. Here, in January 2005, were displayed the tattered remnants of a planning application dated 18 August 2004, requesting consent to use traditional brick and slate listed buildings for residential purposes and for offices with car parks. The greater activity this signals could bring chaos to the sleepy backwater's infrastructure, for the only way any vehicle wider than a bicycle can leave and enter the village is via Shotwick Lane, leading off the main Queensferry-Birkenhead A550. This half of Shotwick Lane is signposted 'Shotwick Village only'. Across the A550, its other half runs through the affiliated township of Woodbank, emerging to form a junction with the A540. ${ }^{35}$

[^12]
## Shotwick



Shotwick, The Village c1955 S554001
From the church gates to the narrow cobbled pavement and the air of desertion, little has changed in Shotwick's main street in the last fifty years. Note the eastern gabled wall of Church Farm Cottage jutting out in front of the church; the cottage's opposite (western) wall forms part of the modern churchyard boundary.
Source: Clive Hardy, Francis Frith's Around Chester (Salisbury, Frith Book Company Ltd, 1999), p83.

The foundation date of the earliest settlement on the site of Shotwick is lost in the annals of time. However the place-name is composed of three Old English elements, sceot, hoh and wic, suggesting that Anglo-Saxons played a major role in the early days of the 'hamlet on a steep promontory'. ${ }^{36}$

The Domesday Book confirms the Anglo-Saxon presence in Shotwick, the relevant entry being translatable as follows:

The Church itself [St Werburgh's, Chester ${ }^{37}$ ] held and holds SOTOWICHE [SHOTWICK]. There is one hide paying tax. There is land for three ploughs. Four villeins and two bordars with one plough. Meadow, one acre. Value in the time of King Edward [the Confessor, ruled 1043 to January $1066^{38}$ ]: sixteen shillings. Now thirteen shillings and three pence. ${ }^{39}$

This suggests that there were at least six households and, with the land being in ecclesiastical control, possibly also a church. Philip Sulley ${ }^{40}$ and the normally authoritative Raymond Richards ${ }^{41}$ report that the Chester Abbey Chartulary indicates

[^13]the existence of a Saxon church at Shotwick. However, Sulley also erroneously states that the church was specifically mentioned in The Domesday Book, so is clearly not an infallible source. Indeed, Sulley and Richards' assumption regarding the Saxon existence of the church is by no means proven by the Chartulary. Shotwick is not mentioned at all in King Edgar's charter of 958, which grants various lands to the religious community of St Werburgh in Chester, ${ }^{42}$ and although a grant to the abbey of terciam partem de Salchale et Sotewica ('a third part of Saughall and Shotwick') is confirmed in a charter issued by Earl Hugh I and his barons some time between 1096 and $1101,{ }^{43}$ it does not specifically refer to a church. In fact, the Chartulary makes no reference to the church at Shotwick until the early thirteenth century. ${ }^{44}$

Nevertheless, Alan Brack ${ }^{45}$ thinks a church may have stood on the site a hundred years before the Domesday Survey, though he is unable to supply substantiating evidence and again is not the most reliable of sources. ${ }^{46}$ Joseph Mayer is likewise convinced that the church at Shotwick is one of 'a great many edifices... built by our Saxon forefathers long before the Norman invasion'. ${ }^{47}$ His view is based on the premise that the Norman monks of St Werburgh, 'whose revenues were then but very small', would have had little time or money to build a new church at Shotwick in the wake of the Conquest, so must have used one already there. Although his gut instincts may be right, his argument would hardly conform to the modern scholar's definition of

[^14]watertight. Alan Crosby ${ }^{48}$ and BE Harris ${ }^{49}$ - plausibly, but again without proof think the Saxon church was destroyed during William I's reprisals for Mercia's part in the northern rebellions. Norman Ellison ${ }^{50}$ more cautiously opines only that the first church 'may have been' Anglo-Saxon.

The absence of documentary support renders the Ellison approach the most prudent. However, if a Saxon church did exist, logic suggests it was probably on the same slightly elevated site as the current church, with burials taking place in adjacent consecrated land. So far no archaeological evidence confirms or contradicts this theory, and the church's dedication to St Michael and All Angels is of little help in the Saxon/Norman debate concerning the church's foundation.

As the patron saint of knights and also, in Normandy, of mariners, St Michael was an obvious choice for a post-Conquest coastal church lying barely a mile from a castle. His military aspect was regarded as a logical extension of his traditional function 'to rescue the souls of the faithful from the power of the enemy, especially at the hour of death, ${ }^{51}$ Both his maritime and Norman association began when he was chosen as the patron saint for the tenth-century Benedictine foundation of Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy after allegedly appearing to St Aubert, Bishop of Avranches on its tidally insular site in 708. ${ }^{52}$ All this suggests that the church's dedication was selected by the Norman who held Shotwick Castle ${ }^{53}$ rather than the Anglo-Saxons already living in the settlement.

[^15]However, it should be noted that altering the dedication of a church was by no means common in the environs of Norman castles along the Cheshire/Welsh border. For instance, dedications to saints of royal Anglo-Saxon lineage - which one might have expected the Normans to discard when rebuilding the churches in stone - were retained at St Oswald's in Malpas ${ }^{54}$ and St Edith's in Shocklach. ${ }^{55}$ Furthermore, St Michael - frequently coupled in dedications with 'All Angels' because his principal feast day, 29 September, was often known as the Feast of St Michael and All Angels ${ }^{56}$ - was a universally popular patron, ${ }^{57}$ invoked in Cheshire at no less than eleven other churches, ${ }^{58}$ including the medieval edifices at Marbury-cum-Quoisley ${ }^{59}$ and Middlewich. ${ }^{60}$

At Shotwick, therefore, it is possible that at the time of the Conquest the church was already dedicated to St Michael. Alternatively, the dedication may have been changed regardless of the custom elsewhere, or possibly the Saxon church, if it existed, was on another, as-yet-unidentified site.

[^16]There nevertheless remains the possibility that there has been a churchyard on the same spot for over nine hundred years. At the very least, it is eight hundred years old, for the Norman quatrefoil, chevron and billet ornamentation surrounding the nave's south door dates the oldest fabric of the current church to the twelfth century. ${ }^{61}$

## The Parish of Shotwick

Because of the presence of St Michael's, the village was from the fourteenth century occasionally known as Church Shotwick. ${ }^{62}$ However, the ancient parish of Shotwick extended far beyond the immediate vicinity of the village to include four other townships whose residents were automatically eligible for burial in St Michael's Churchyard. ${ }^{63}$

Great Saughall, first documented in 1278 (as Magna Salhale ${ }^{64}$ ), and Little Saughall, recorded in 1220 (as Parva Salechale ${ }^{65}$ ), were still being styled as Saughall Magna/Mikle and Saughall Parva in eighteenth-century parish registers. ${ }^{66}$ The names, meaning 'great/little willow nook', are derived from the nominative feminine singular of the Latin adjectives, magna, 'great, large' and parva, 'little, small, ${ }^{67}$ coupled with Old English salh, 'willow', and halh, 'nook'. ${ }^{68}$ The impression - borne out by the Tithe Maps and Apportionments of 1840 in which plot names including the elements

[^17]
'marsh' and 'sea field' occur frequently ${ }^{69}$ - is one of neighbouring settlements which developed on an abundance of the moist soil favoured by willow-trees. Difficult to plough, ${ }^{70}$ the clay soil ${ }^{71}$ is, according to the Royal Horticultural Society, fertile but 'slow to warm in spring, sticky, and slow-draining after rain, baking hard in dry weather, ${ }^{72}$ - in other words, perfect for pasture but more challenging for arable.

The presence of two entries relating to 'Salhare' (Saughall) in The Domesday Book indicates that Saughall has been split into two sections for over nine hundred years, and thus explains why the willow nook developed into two separate townships. The first entry, devoid of accompanying adjectives, immediately precedes Shotwick and is likewise held by the church of St Werburgh:

> The Church itself held and holds SALHARE [SAUGHALL]. There is one hide there paying tax. There is land for one plough. There is it [one plough] in lordship and two slaves and one villein and one bordar. In the time of King Edward it was worth sixteen shillings. Now as much. ${ }^{73}$

The specific mention of a fishery in the second entry underlines the importance of the River Dee to the local economy in Saxon and Norman times:

The same William [William Malbank, who had forty-four other
Cheshire holdings ${ }^{74}$ ] holds SALHALE [SAUGHALL]. Leuing [Lefing] held it and he was a free man. There are six hides paying tax. There is land for six ploughs. In demesne is one and a half [ploughs] and one slave. Seven villeins and one radman and four bordars with three and

[^18]a half ploughs. There is a fishery. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings and afterwards twenty-two shilllings. Now forty-five shillings. ${ }^{75}$

The extent of this holding (six rateable hides) leads to the logical conclusion that William Malbank's share of Saughall was the part which later became Great Saughall Magna, while the abbey's comparatively minuscule portion of one rateable hide formed Little Saughall.

For centuries the Saughalls' nearest church was Shotwick St Michael, whose churchyard was therefore the natural choice for the deceased of both townships. The situation began to change in Victorian times, with the establishment in Great Saughall of a Baptist chapel in 1849, a Calvinistic Welsh Methodist (Presbyterian) chapel in 1851, a Methodist church in 1864 and an Anglican chapel of ease in $1895 .{ }^{76}$ In 1921 the new parish of Great Saughall was established. ${ }^{77}$ In 1948 Little Saughall ceased to be part of the parish of Shotwick, and was combined with the parish of Great Saughall to form the new civil parish of Saughall. ${ }^{78}$

Woodbank, 'the wooded hillside, ${ }^{79}$ can boast neither a separate church nor inclusion in The Domesday Book. Referred to as le bonk, 'the bank', in a twelfth-century charter, ${ }^{80}$ it appears to have originally been part of an area known in 1180 as Rowheschetewyk 'the rough, uncultivated part of Shotwick'. ${ }^{81}$ Reading between the lines of ancient legal documents, ${ }^{82}$ the remainder of Rough Shotwick seems to have

[^19]been composed of Shotwick Park, the royal hunting ground surrounding Shotwick Castle. The castle was a demesne of the earldom of Chester until 1237, when it passed to the Crown on the death of the John le Scot, the last Norman Earl of Chester, who died without issue. ${ }^{83}$ The deer park was created on the orders of Edward III in $1327,{ }^{84}$ and in 1403 the salary of the park-keeper included eight acres of land 'called Woodbank ${ }^{\text {, }}{ }^{85}$ Although the name Rough Shotwick remained in circulation until the nineteenth century (Ormerod wrote of 'Rough Shotwick or Woodbank' in 1819), ${ }^{86}$ Shotwick Park was designated an extra-parochial liberty, ${ }^{87}$ and therefore excluded from the Tithe Maps of the 1840s. Woodbank, meanwhile, formed the smallest township in the parish of Shotwick (see Table 1: Size of townships in the Parish of Shotwick in Norman and Victorian times), though, according to the census figures of 1841, it equalled Great Saughall in terms of population density (see Table 3: Population Density in the 1840 s) and in 1871 became the location of the parish's National School. ${ }^{88}$

Two Mills was a distinct area of Shotwick sporadically mentioned on memorials from the late eighteenth century. ${ }^{89}$ Standing on a heath at the top of Woodbank Lane, ${ }^{90}$ it may have offered employment opportunities to parishioners, ${ }^{91}$ and should not be confused with the tidal medieval watermill mentioned in the Plea Rolls of $1302^{92}$ or the Gibbet Mill, where two Irish labourers were hanged from a nearby ash-tree in 1750 for robbery and murder. ${ }^{93}$ Two Mills Farm, home of Thomas Roberts in 1888, ${ }^{94}$

[^20]still stands nearby, ${ }^{95}$ and the name is now used for the junction of the A540 and the A550.

Until 1859 the parish also embraced Capenhurst, inscribed as Capeles in The Domesday Book:

The same William [FitzNigel, who had twenty-eight other holdings in Cheshire ${ }^{96}$ ] also holds CAPELES [CAPENHURST], and David [holds it] of him. There is half a hide paying tax. Erne [Arni] held it. There is land for one plough. There is [one plough] with one villein and two bordars. In the time of King Edward and later it was worth five shillings. Now eight shillings. ${ }^{97}$

The name may mean 'wooded hill at a lookout place', from Old English hyrst, 'wooded hill', and cape, a postulated noun derived from the Old English verb capian, 'to look upwards'. ${ }^{98}$ Since the land is not particularly elevated, the look-out post may have been a watchtower for keeping the peninsula under surveillance. Though small in the eleventh century, the settlement was large enough to merit its own church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, by the 1850s, and in 1859 it ceased to be part of the parish of Shotwick. ${ }^{99}$

## Parish statistics

At the time of The Domesday Book, Great Saughall (the part of Saughall held by William FitzNigel) was the largest township in the parish, with the highest population, followed by Church Shotwick, Little Saughall and Capenhurst. The relative size of the townships clearly underwent a change over the centuries, since by the 1840s, Capenhurst - previously the smallest settlement - had marginally overtaken Great Saughall in acreage, though its population remained less than a third of Great

[^21]
## Table 1

# Size of townships in the Parish of Shotwick in Norman and Victorian times 

| Township | Carucates $^{100}$ <br> 1086 | Rateable hides <br> 101 <br> 1086 | Number of people <br> listed in $1086^{102}$ | Acreage <br> $1846^{103}$ | Population <br> $1841^{104}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ch Shotwick | 3 | 1 | 6 | 391 | 112 |
| Gt Saughall | 6 | 6 | 13 | 1,122 | 480 |
| Ltl Saughall | 1 | 1 | 4 | 456 | 47 |
| Woodbank | Not listed | Not listed | Not listed | 175 | 75 |
| Capenhurst | 1 | 0.5 | 3 | 1,139 | 154 |

Saughall's. With less than half the acreage of Church Shotwick, Woodbank was the smallest township, but it had a relatively high population density. Although only thirty-eight per cent the geographical size of Little Saughall, it had twenty-eight more inhabitants, representing a population density more than four times as high, as can be seen from the Tables 2 and 3.

## Table 2

Average acres per person: 1840s
Township Acres per person
Church Shotwick 3.49
Great Saughall 2.34
Little Saughall $\quad 9.70$
Woodbank 2.33
Capenhurst $\quad 7.4$

Table 3
Population density in the 1840s
Township People per acre
Church Shotwick 0.29
Great Saughall 0.43
Little Saughall 0.10
Woodbank 0.43
Capenhurst 0.14

[^22]
## Tables 4-7: Census figures

Table 4: Ancient Parish of Shotwick and extra-parochial liberty of Shotwick Park

| Area | $\mathbf{1 8 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 1 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 2 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 3 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 4 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 6 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 7 1}$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Ancient Parish | 485 | 657 | 719 | 713 | 868 | 874 | 931 | 1003 |
| Capenhurst | 147 | 165 | 161 | 159 | 154 | 148 | 131 | 171 |
| Great Saughall | 147 | 304 | 343 | 367 | 480 | 493 | 545 | 571 |
| Little Saughall | 48 | 64 | 38 | 40 | 47 | 69 | 94 | 101 |
| Church Shotwick | 95 | 81 | 94 | 96 | 112 | 100 | 98 | 92 |
| Woodbank | 48 | 43 | 39 | 51 | 75 | 64 | 63 | 68 |
| Shotwick Park | 25 | 24 | 23 | 18 | 16 | 13 | 4 | 11 |
| Total | 510 | 681 | 698 | 731 | 884 | 887 | 935 | 1014 |


| Table 5: Civil Parishes of Shotwick and Shotwick Park |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Area | $\mathbf{1 8 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 1 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 2 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 3 1}$ |
| Shotwick | 77 | 77 | 82 | 77 | 76 | 73 |
| Woodbank | 59 | 84 | 72 | 85 | 74 | 88 |
| Great Saughall | 619 | 699 | 703 | 819 | 809 | 865 |
| Little Saughall | 92 | 101 | 137 | 148 | 219 | 304 |
| Shotwick Park | 14 | 8 | 8 | 29 | 19 | 26 |
| Total | 861 | 969 | 1002 | 1158 | 1197 | 1356 |


| Table 6: Civil Parish of Shotwick |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Area | $\mathbf{1 9 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 6 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ |
| Shotwick | 71 | 72 | 55 | 39 | 46 |
| Woodbank | 77 | 73 | 74 | 64 | 69 |
| Total | 148 | 145 | 129 | 103 | 115 |

Table 7: Civil Parishes of Saughall and Shotwick Park

| Area | $\mathbf{1 9 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 6 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Saughall Civil <br>  <br> Little Saughall) | 1518 | 2178 | 2426 | 3360 | 3242 |
| Shotwick Park | 78 | 64 | 69 | 80 | 60 |
| Total | 1596 | 2242 | 2495 | 3440 | 3302 |

[^23]Although many of Shotwick's memorials mention the township of the deceased, more do not. This makes it impossible to extrapolate accurate data to determine whether the monuments in the churchyard reflect the relative population sizes of the townships. However, the drop in recent burials reflects the census figures (see Tables 4-7 on previous page): Shotwick's population has plummeted. Alterations in administrative boundaries have reduced the extent of the parish, and with the construction of churches in Capenhurst and Great Saughall, St Michael's churchyard faces more competition. Today the only people automatically interred there are inhabitants of Church Shotwick and Woodbank.

## The landscape of the Churchyard

In 1847 St Michael's churchyard was described as 'extensive, and almost reached by the waters of the Dee at high tides. ${ }^{105}$ In fact, compared with the churchyard of St Nicholas in the neighbouring parish of Burton, it remains relatively small and crowded, particularly on the south side. ${ }^{106}$


Densely packed with crazily tilting headstones, collapsing chest tombs and a headless sundial the crowded south-west corner of Shotwick's churchyard.

[^24]

St Nicholas served only two townships - Burton and Puddington - yet its churchyard is far larger than that serving the five townships of Shotwick. The gaps between the memorials are much wider at Burton, and the tombs suffer far less from subsidence. Like St Michael's, Burton's churchyard is comprised of a mixture of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century headstones, chest and table tombs to the south and east (top), and twentieth-century crosses and low pedestalheadstones to the west and north (bottom), but there is a much greater sense of space.


The elegant simplicity of Shotwick's war memorial soars above the other memorials in the churchyard.

Its main entrance is in the south-east corner, beside the cobbled trackway which slopes down towards the marshes. The lych-gate one might expect to encounter in a rural church of such antiquity is absent. Instead, there is a metal double gate wide enough to afford funeral hearses access, and an adjacent single gate for pedestrians. To the south of the pathway, the first memorial - a pedestal cross ${ }^{107}$ - is dedicated to soldiers of the parish who were killed in the First and Second World Wars. Flanked by densely packed graves, many of them table and chest tombs, the path continues to the south porch. A short spur continues west but peters out before the end of the west tower.

Two chest tombs and two ledger memorials ${ }^{108}$ lie just outside the east wall of the church. A path separates them from the eastern churchyard boundary, which opposite the church is formed by the high brick wall of Church Farm Cottage. Today the path leads as far as the boiler house. Beyond the boiler house the east wall is broken in the north corner by a small gate for pedestrians. This leads to the back street which emerges on Hall Lane. ${ }^{109}$

[^25]


Under pressure: the south-west corner of the churchyard wall, viewed from the trackway.

Ninety-five years earlier, when Bennett and Lawson recorded the memorial inscriptions, the boiler house did not exist and the churchyard's gates were linked by an unbroken path, the other sections of which almost circumnavigated the church). ${ }^{110}$

Apart from the short section of brick, the churchyard wall is built of Triassic new red sandstone. The provenance of the original stone is not documented, but since stone for Flint Castle was allegedly quarried at Shotwick, ${ }^{111}$ the materials for St Michael's churchyard wall were presumably nearby. Churchwardens' Accounts indicate that part of the wall was built by William Davies at a cost of two shillings in 1837, and that repairs were carried out in 1842 and $1852,{ }^{112}$ possibly with stone from a quarry in the adjacent parish of Burton. ${ }^{113}$ Today the south wall bears an astonishing resemblance to a ha-ha. Unwary visitors could fall 1.4 metres before landing on the

[^26]cobbled track at its base. Concerned local residents have been requesting repairs, ${ }^{114}$ but none can be effected until the County Council's archaeological unit has assessed the site. ${ }^{115}$ The top of the wall is crumbling near memorials 109,122 and 128 , and a crack in the south-west corner betrays acute stress fatigue. This, coupled with the absence of a barrier at the top, suggests that the original wall was not a reinforced revetment deliberately built to shore up a one-and-a-half-metre naturally-occurring soil mound, but an ordinary ground-level boundary designed to separate the churchyard from the trackway. The height differential is less acute though still noticeable along the west wall.

The obvious conclusion is that the disparity in height between the churchyard and the adjacent trackway and fields has been occasioned by centuries of burials layered on top of each other. Although impossible to prove without extensive archaeological investigations, this theory is supported by two other factors. Firstly, the ground immediately beside the south wall of the church is so high it partially obscures the lower courses of the porch masonry, indicating that when the porch was built the ground level was much lower. Secondly, most of the memorials south of the church suffer from varying degrees of tilt. There is no uniformity of tilt direction; one memorial may lean south and west, while its immediate neighbour slopes north and east. Adjacent chest tombs - particularly those dedicated to several generations of the same family - frequently seem to lean towards to each other, suggesting long-term soil disturbance caused by successive layers of burials decomposing at varying rates. The church archaeologist Warwick Rodwell states: "At no time, even down to the present day, have grave-diggers respected interments of the past, and they normally hack through them without the slightest concern...as many as ten bodies might theoretically occupy the same plot of ground."116

[^27]

This way, that way, forwards backwards: tombstones in crisis in the south-west corner.


This ring on the west wall was allegedly used for mooring boats when the Dee lapped the church walls at high tide, but it bears far fewer signs of corrosion than one would expect to find in iron exposed to centuries of tidal water. An alternative theory is that some of the stones used for the churchyard wall were demolition salvage from Shotwick Castle, which once had its own quay. It may, less romantically, have been used for tethering livestock on the reclaimed pasture.

The graves south and west of the church are densely packed together, conveying particularly in the south-west corner the impression of a higgledy-piggledy muddle, although on closer inspection it is possible in places to discern perfunctory attempts at ordered rows.

North of the church, the ground is flatter and, with the exception of memorial 205 near the west tower, there are no chest tombs. Some of the earliest burials on this side of the church may have been covered or removed when the north aisle was built and altered in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. ${ }^{117}$ However, it is also possible that there were never many burials in this area of the churchyard. As a deliberate rejection of the pagan custom of orientating burials north-south, ${ }^{118}$ early churchmen demonised the north of the churchyard, declaring it unsuitable for burying anyone but suicides, criminals, and illegitimate infants. ${ }^{119}$ The prejudice seems to have influenced the rural population of Shotwick into the nineteenth century. Today there are only fifteen memorials (numbers 205-219, dated 1837-1876) ${ }^{120}$ between the north wall of the church and the row of trees and stone markers a few feet beyond it. Looking at plot 65 on the Tithe Map of $1848,{ }^{121}$ it is immediately obvious that these indicate the original demarcation line of the northern churchyard boundary.

The area beyond this point was a separate field called Churchyard Croft (plot 64 on the Tithe Apportionment). ${ }^{122}$ In 1848 it belonged to Shotwick's major landowner, John Nevitt Bennett, who leased it to Edward Jones as 'garden land', ${ }^{123}$ but in 1874 it

[^28]
was transferred to St Michael's for use as a graveyard extension. ${ }^{124}$ An undated plan of the churchyard held at CCALS indicates the intended layout of burial plots. ${ }^{125}$ The earliest memorial in this area ${ }^{126}$ bears the date March 1875. All the twenty-first century memorials and all but one of the twentieth-century memorials lie within the graveyard extension (the exception being number 187, dated 1904). Although the plots have not been occupied in the exact sequence suggested in the plan, the layout of memorials in this area of the churchyard is far more regular, with all of them situated in distinct rows. Along the north wall is a discreet row of memorials dedicated to cremations, the inference being that all other burials within the graveyard are inhumations.

## Plants

Tulips and shrubs predominate in the formally planted flower-beds near the porch, but many other plants grow wild in the cemetery. Stinging nettles and dock obscure some of the memorials near the compost heap in the north west corner. More attractive


Some may call them weeds, but this yallery-greenery enhances the churchyard in spring.

[^29]
vegetation includes snowdrops, daffodils, celandines, buttercups, speedwell, forget-me-nots and ivy.

Trees provide convenient reference points when mapping and identifying grave locations within the churchyard. Some of them obscure graves and may have set themselves without human intervention. For instance, the huge holly-tree opposite the west tower is not on the 1910 plan drawn by Bennett and Lawson, ${ }^{127}$ and nowadays particularly overshadows memorials 192 (above), 193, 196, 165 and 166. On the southern boundary, at least two trees have disappeared since Bennett and Lawson plotted their map. According to churchwarden Lavinia Whitfield, they fell victim to Dutch elm disease in the latter half of the twentieth century. ${ }^{128}$

## Original extent of the churchyard

Even ignoring the extension made in the 1870s, St Michael's Church is not in the centre of the churchyard. ${ }^{129}$ The eastern boundary in particular is very close to the church, and it seems extraordinary that the wall of a house has been requisitioned to provide part of the churchyard boundary. Since Church Farm Cottage is several

[^30]centuries younger than St Michael's, it is logical to conclude that the churchyard originally extended further east. However, we cannot be sure when it was curtailed, what shape it was, when it was first used for burials, or even whether its first occupants were pagan or Christian. ${ }^{130}$

The area does not seem to have been a focal point of prehistoric Cheshire, ${ }^{131}$ and although Romans are believed to have forded the Dee near Shotwick, ${ }^{132}$ signs of Roman settlement there have yet to be discovered. In any case, although Christianity probably first arrived in Cheshire some time during the second century, when the Romans occupied Deva, the only traces of Roman Christian worship in the county are at Heronbridge. ${ }^{133}$ St Michael's was therefore probably not deliberately built on a site of prehistoric or Roman worship.

Nor can a case be made for Celtic Christianity there. Although there is place-name evidence of Celtic occupation in north Wirral, ${ }^{134}$ none exists in the vicinity of Shotwick, despite its proximity to Flintshire. This, coupled with lack of archaeological evidence, means there are no particular grounds for supposing that Shotwick's earliest churchyard was curvilinear, in accordance with the Celtic custom prevailing in Wales and Cornwall. ${ }^{135}$

[^31]Indeed, even presupposing an early Anglo-Saxon presence in Shotwick, there is unlikely to have been a church there before the mid-seventh century, since Mercia, the Anglo-Saxon heptarch incorporating Wirral, did not embrace Christianity until 653. ${ }^{136}$

Early Anglo-Saxon churches were often located next to Roman roads, ${ }^{137}$ hinting that Shotwick's first church may have been built several centuries before the Norman Conquest. Such a church may not have been circumscribed by a physical boundary, since there is no evidence that cemeteries were enclosed in Britain before the eighth century, ${ }^{138}$ and some may have remained unenclosed until the eleventh.

Foundation date aside, the conglomeration of townships within the ancient parish may tempt some people to identify Shotwick as a minster site. ${ }^{139}$ Lack of corroborating evidence indicates this would be misguided. A church of such importance would surely have merited a mention in The Domesday Book, ${ }^{140}$ yet there is no reference to one at Shotwick, ${ }^{141}$ nor does the size of population fit the minster profile. ${ }^{142}$ Its subordinate relationship with St Werburgh's in nearby Chester also suggests it would have been unlikely to possess minster status in its own right. Furthermore, exminsters were 'often perpetuated as grand twelfth-century churches, either cruciform or in some other way imposing, ${ }^{143}$ This hardly applies to Shotwick, where it took around 350 years to complete the unambitious building phase of nave, chancel, chancel extension, north aisle, west tower and porch. ${ }^{144}$ In fact, it seems far more

[^32]likely that any early church at Shotwick was little bigger than a chapel, even if it held the parochial status and burial rights suggested by the existence of the graveyard.

After the Norman Conquest St Michael's churchyard may have formed part of a cigarshaped complex in which the church lay adjacent to the manor house. ${ }^{145}$ If so, the complex would have been unusually large, since the surviving motte is about a mile to the north. ${ }^{146}$ Alternatively, there could have been an earlier manor house closer to the church, though without geophysical and archaeological investigations any theories concerning a manor-church complex remain unproven at Shotwick.

How many people were buried east of the churchyard - or in the lower layers to the south and west - is likewise impossible to tell. What is immediately apparent on looking at the geography of the churchyard is the striking stylistic difference between memorials in the 'old' churchyard and those in the extension - a factor examined in more depth in the next chapter.

[^33]




2
2
2
2
2


## Plan Five

Distribution of memorials by type

Key

| - ledger | - pedestal |
| :--- | :--- |
| - low monument | headstone |
| - table tomb | headstone hybrid |
| - chest tomb | - pedestal-headstone |
| - kerbstone | maverick |

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> - pedestal
> - headstone
> - headstone hybrid
> - pedestal-headstone
> - maverick

## Chapter Two

## Heritage

Assuming Shotwick's cemetery does not predate the mid-seventh century, ${ }^{1}$ it seems possible that the lowest levels of St Michael's churchyard are lined with the remains of uncoffined corpses wrapped in shrouds. ${ }^{2}$ This was the mode of burial adopted by Anglo-Saxons in the seventh and eight centuries. ${ }^{3}$ Although lavish pagan rituals were abandoned, grave goods were not proscribed, ${ }^{4}$ though they were generally confined to jewellery or knives worn at the time of burial. ${ }^{5}$ Corpses were typically buried on their backs with their heads in the west and their feet east, ready to stand and face Christ on the Last Day of Judgement. ${ }^{6}$ Inhumation was favoured in case cremation impeded resurrection on the fateful Day. ${ }^{7}$

If Shotwick's church was not founded until later in the Anglo-Saxon period, the bottom layer of the churchyard may additionally feature traces of coffins and stone cists, which came into use in the ninth century. ${ }^{8}$ However, while wealthy patrons of religious establishments were increasingly interred inside chantries and chapels, after the Conquest and throughout the Middle Ages ordinary people like the villagers of Shotwick continued to be buried in shallow graves, wrapped in a shroud but often minus a coffin. ${ }^{9}$ Unmarked graves were the norm, commemoration of the dead being more likely to take the form of intercessionary masses to release the soul from Purgatory. ${ }^{10}$

[^34]At Shotwick evidence of an exception to this type of austere burial exists in the shape of St Michael's oldest surviving memorial, the Shotwick effigy. ${ }^{11}$ Discovered in 1975 when workmen were replacing the sill of a Tudor or seventeenth-century window, ${ }^{12}$ it consists of a man's head and hands holding a heart. It has been suggested ${ }^{13}$ that the effigy was carved in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and decorated the grave slab of Robert Hockenhull, husband of the de Shotwick heiress. As it seems unlikely that such a fine carving would be categorised as mere rubble, its use as infill may have been an act of deliberate vandalism by either Henry VIII's Dissolution squad or a congregation increasingly influenced by Puritanism. ${ }^{14}$

Throughout the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century, memorials were still generally located indoors and rare for any but the rich or famous, ${ }^{15}$ but by the eighteenth century coffins had become 'an essential element of the decent funeral' for all levels of society. ${ }^{16}$ This is therefore what archaeologists are likely to find in the upper levels of Shotwick's churchyard should partial excavation occur when the south wall is repaired.

The eighteenth century was also when outdoor memorials began to emerge, though their use did not become widespread among all strata of society until the latter half of the century. ${ }^{17}$ Shotwick churchyard mirrors the national picture: its earliest legible

[^35]memorial ${ }^{18}$ dates from 1709, but most are post-1750. It is at this point that an examination of Shotwick's visual funerary heritage can begin.

## Orientation

The majority of Shotwick's external memorials are aligned east-west. This means that in the case of headstones, the principal inscription is on the east side of the stone (a smaller inscription stating the mason's name sometimes appears on another face). In the case of ledgers, table and chest tombs, inscriptions on the upper surface would face east if the slab could be raised on a hinge from its present position to stand upright like a headstone.

A few footstones are inscribed on the west face, creating with the headstone the impression of a unified, inward-facing monument, enfolding the remains of the deceased.

Other exceptions to the orientation rule principally arise from the position of the memorials. The only legible external ledgers not facing east, for instance, are memorials 4 (dating from the 1880s) and 5 (dated 1821), whose long sides lie parallel to the eastern end of the church, resulting in south-facing inscriptions.

Two headstones face west. One of these - memorial 51, dated 1852 - is set so close to the western wall of the tower that it could not be read if it faced east. Its inscription is eroding badly, and it is apparent from the Bennett/Lawson map ${ }^{19}$ that it has been in the same spot since at least 1910. Memorial 164, dated 1792, is set slightly behind the nearest row, and one of its top corners is broken. ${ }^{20}$ It may originally have formed part of the row and faced east, but been re-erected after falling over, its current orientation probably being accidental.

Memorial 320, a headstone dated 1938, has its back close to the north wall and its inscription facing south. The reason why is not clear. Further east along the north

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Four of the north-facing memorial tablets on the south wall of the church. Three ${ }^{21}$ commemorate members of the Nevitt-Bennett family, who owned Shotwick Hall and most of the land in the village in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The modest wooden one ${ }^{22}$ is dedicated to Margaret, wife of the Reverend Joseph Williams, who ministered to the parish from 1936-1944. Clearly, a certain degree of local influence was necessary to secure a memorial inside the church.
wall, a row of small ledgers in the cremation zone of the churchyard also face south. Since the earliest of these ${ }^{23}$ is dated 1980 - more than forty years after 320 - there are no particular grounds for thinking 320 should be considered part of this group.

Inside the church, nine of the wall memorials ${ }^{24}$ are mounted on the interior (north side) of the south walls and therefore face north. ${ }^{25}$ Another, ${ }^{26}$ is mounted on the largest pillar separating the nave from the north aisle and also faces north. All these date from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Memorials I (c. 1753) and J (c. 1870) face south, being on the south side of pillars in the chancel. Memorial M, a badly worn, probably eighteenth-century ledger, faces east. Memorial N is extremely inaccessible, being under the cathedra-weighted carpet in the Sanctuary. Most of the

[^37]

Obliterated by moss: the all-too-frequent fate of Shotwick's ledgers, which comprise more than two-thirds of the churchyard's thirty-four completely illegible memorials. other internal inscriptions recorded by Beazley in $1905^{27}$ are no longer readily legible and are therefore disregarded in this study, since its main focus is the churchyard rather than the church.

## Memorial types

The monument styles in Shotwick's churchyard can be split into ten categories: ledgers, low monuments, chest tombs, table tombs, kerbstones, pedestals, headstones, pedestal-headstones, mavericks, and hybrids (combining two or more categories).

## Ledgers

Sixty-nine of Shotwick's memorials (18.65\%) are ledgers, ${ }^{28}$ designed to lie over the grave of the deceased and afford plenty of room for more than one inscription (memorial 24, for instance, records five people who died between 1764 and 1859 - a remarkable period of almost a hundred years). Many at St Michael's are step ledgers

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Left: Shotwick's ledgers are incised reading left to right along the shortest side, though the text may not always be positioned conventionally. In 1859 plenty of space was left on Memorial 47 to record other family members above the Biblical quotation at the bottom, but no other names were ever added.

Below: Soil erosion near Memorial 30, dated c1766, reveals the peculiar subterranean tapering that may be a construction element of other ledgers within the churchyard.



The only ledgers in the churchyard extension are seven modern cremation memorials dating from 1980 to 2003. The largest (297) also signposts the cremation zone. ${ }^{29}$ The others are easily missed small marble ground-plaques, typical dimensions being 370 mm wide by 300 mm long, ${ }^{30}$ compared with around 990 mm by $2000 \mathrm{~mm}^{31}$ for normal ledgers. Memorial 301 (above) is the Rolls Royce of Shotwick's cremation ledgers, atypically featuring four different typefaces, a vase and crosses.
around 120 mm deep. Others are sunken, making it impossible to tell without excavation whether they are step ledgers or thin plinths. Despite their vulnerability as they lie prone beneath the sky, prey to the predations of weather, plant growth and feet, their simplicity and contact with the ground sometimes lends unexpected longevity. Protected from the weather, buried inscriptions frequently look fresher, when temporarily exposed, than those permanently subjected to the onslaught of rain and feet. ${ }^{32}$ In fact, the oldest legible memorial in the churchyard is a partially buried ledger: Memorial 159 , commemorating 'Eliz' Wife of John Spark who departed this Life March $21^{\text {st }} 1709^{\prime}$. The most recent step ledger (Memorial 54) is dated 1864.
There are probably four reasons why sandstone step ledgers have fallen out of favour: their vulnerability; their weight; the amount of stone required; and the amount of land they occupy.

[^39]
## Low monuments

Shotwick's two sandstone low monuments ${ }^{33}$ constitute an evolution of the ledger, being of similar length, but narrower, and peaking in a hipped ridge. Memorial 168 is no longer legible, but according to Bennett and Lawson dates from 1863 . 34 The other, commemorating three members of the Charmley family between 1870 and 1879 , is positioned next to a quirky pedestal memorial also dedicated to Charmleys. ${ }^{35}$ Clearly the dynastic intention was to stand out from the crowd. Hipped low monuments occasionally form part of

A typical example of a hipped low monument encroached upon by grass and moss, Memorial 168, dated 1863, morbidly echoes the shape of a coffin. Note the finely carved ribbing.
 hybrid memorials. ${ }^{36}$

## Table tombs

Table tombs ${ }^{37}$ are basically ledgers on legs. The legs were probably an innovation designed to counteract the incursions of vegetation and stop people treading on the

[^40]

Memorial 23, dated 1773, is the only one of Shotwick's twenty-three table tombs supported in each corner by a cylindrical pillar. Like Memorial 26, dated 1817, the remainder are more robustly, if less elegantly, balanced on three transverse slabs (two in case of Memorial 139, dated 1835). Note the bevelled edge on 23 and the discreet but tasteful grooves on the legs of 26 features which would have been perceived as adding to the tomb's sophistication and status.


Memorial 205 (top), dating from the $\mathbf{1 8 3 0}$ s, is the northernmost table tomb in the churchyard. There are none at all in the extension, much of which can be seen in the background.
memorial. Several of Shotwick's twenty-three table tombs are reinforced by plinths beneath their legs. Memorials 31 (featuring inscriptions dated 1833-1863) and 37 (1855) may, in fact, be ledgers later upgraded to table tombs. Situated in a prime position beside the path leading from the main churchyard gate to the porch, they stand head to toe and both commemorate members of the Jones family. The inscriptions on the base ledgers are worn italicised versions of those on the top ledgers. A discreet inscription identifies the top slabs as the work of 'W Haswell, Mason, Chesterr. ${ }^{38}$ It therefore seems likely that he was commissioned to restyle both at the same time to maintain the family's status in a zone ${ }^{39}$ which contains more than a third of the churchyard's table tombs as well as a sixth of its chest tombs.

Although table tombs share the ledger's disadvantage of lying prone beneath the elements, only the earliest of Shotwick's (Memorial 67, dating from 1734 according

[^41]to Bennett/Lawson) ${ }^{40}$ is now illegible. The fashion for erecting new table tombs does not seem to have lasted beyond 1855 (Memorial 37), although inscriptions continued to be added to existing table tombs until 1899. While six commemorate only one person, the remainder were clearly regarded as a dynastic investment. Memorial 23, for instance, commemorates nine members of the Whaley family over a period of ninety-two years. Though more ostentatious and expensive than ledgers, and often sporting fancy typography, ${ }^{41}$ table tombs may therefore have been regarded as highly cost-effective. Nevertheless, prestige does seem to have played a part, with some erected primarily to honour the head of the family. The first person mentioned on Memorial 144, for instance, died in 1805. The second, his wife, predeceased him by ten years but apparently did not warrant a memorial of her own in the interim.

## Chest tombs

Shotwick's thirty-two chest tombs ${ }^{42}$ are among the most elaborate in the churchyard. Erected between 1723 and 1860, the joins between their base plinths, four sides and lid make them prey to ivy. ${ }^{43}$ The amount of stone required and the quantity of embellishment imply they were generally only erected by the parish's wealthier families, though plainer examples exist. ${ }^{44}$ Although Memorial 78 was used over a seventy-five-year period and commemorates seven people, most record only two (generally husband and wife), suggesting value for money through multiple occupancy was not a priority. More usual are family groups of chest tombs, particularly in the south-west corner of the churchyard and the prestige zone between the south wall and the path. ${ }^{45}$ Most are inscribed on the top, some on the sides as well or instead.

## Kerbstones

Most of Shotwick's kerbstones, with or without chippings, have been used to define plots and aggrandise other memorials - typically headstones or pedestal crosses.

[^42]

Although Memorial 149 (commemorating a father, mother and daughter who died between 1778 and 1789) lacks the finesse of later chest tombs, it takes the award for the clearest inscription in the original churchyard (see p92). By contrast, the floral carvings and decorative escutcheons on Memorial 155 (commemorating four adults and three infant children who died between 1812 and 1845) look attractive but the inscription on its damaged lid is badly eroded, and the delicate typography on its north face is best tackled in bright sunlight.


Top: Thanks to subsidence, Memorials 35 (commemorating four members of the Briscoe family who died between 1764 and 1827) and 36 (commemorating six between 1723 and 1760), convey a curious impression of family solidarity. Not only do they echo each other in design; even in death, family members appear to rely on each other for support. Bottom: Much simpler in design, Memorials 32 (1831-1870) and 33 (1784-1810) form part of the dynastic Jones enclave touched upon in the section on table tombs. Note that in both these pairs, the later 'copy' is larger, suggesting increasing concern with status and greater disposable wealth.


With its fluted corner pillars and attractive panels, Memorial 112 (1848-1851) is one of Shotwick's most elegant chest tombs and commemorates two people. Relatively unaffected by subsidence, it nevertheless bears numerous battle scars, possibly inflicted by vandals. Memorial 152, sporting pseudo-Gothic lancets, has fared slightly better, even though, with four occupants, it was subjected to twice as much burial-related disturbance. One of the last chest tombs to be erected (in 1856), it remained in active use until 1898.


The most recent 'solo' kerbstone (Memorial 317, dated 1958) is embellished with four corner posts. In the background, the pedestal cross/kerbstone hybrid, dedicated to a pilot who died in the First World War, stands out among the white RAF memorials of his colleagues.

Often overgrown and easily missed, it is not hard to understand why only four, ${ }^{46}$ variously dated 1820-1958, are used in their own right.


## Pedestals

Because of their rarity and height, pedestals ${ }^{47}$ are the most
conspicuous of
Shotwick's memorials.
Most consist of crosses
with ${ }^{48}$ or without ${ }^{49}$
additional elements
such as kerbs and
bodystones. Other
styles include pillar headstones (such as

Memorial 13, left) and
obelisks (see p71).

[^43]

This pillar-topped urn (Memorial 334) is the newest and grandest of four memorials commemorating the Hughes family between 1870 and 1929. Kerbed together, the group includes three of the churchyard's other pedestals, making it one of the highest status dynastic enclaves in the cemetery.

Shotwick's most innovative memorial is this mitred obelisk with gothicised panels, commemorating Thomas and Martha Charmley (d. 1864 and 1873) on the south and north faces and featuring Biblical quotations east and west. Flanking it are a table tomb and a hipped low monument also dedicated to members of the Charmley family.


With its pedestal cross, hipped body and massive kerb, Memorial 92 (in use 1865-1895) dominates the adjacent chest tombs, ledgers and headstones south-west of the church, endowing its occupants with consequence in death, whatever their status in life. It was originally erected to commemorate Archibald Maxwell Tomlinson, who died in New Orleans in January 1865 and was, according to the inscription, interred at Shotwick three months later. Despite this assertion, his details are mysteriously absent from the burial register, although the other five Tomlinsons later commemorated on it are listed in the register.

In the extension, comparatively modest Memorial 223 (1897-1905) is a more typical example of Shotwick's pedestal cross/kerbstone hybrids.


Memorial 90 is one of several wide headstones with elaborately curved tops.

## Headstones

The 111 basic headstones ${ }^{50}$ form the largest category in Shotwick's memorial typology. In addition, ten are combined with a footstone, ${ }^{51}$ thirty-nine with kerbstones, ${ }^{52}$ eleven with both, ${ }^{53}$ and five with a flat or hipped bodystone. ${ }^{54}$ In all, forty-seven per cent of Shotwick's memorials involve a headstone, but regimentation is avoided by the variety of sizes and shapes. ${ }^{55}$ The earliest, dating from the 1770 s, tend to be small and thick, which has enabled them to stand up better to subsidence and gravity than many larger, more recent examples. Whether this can be attributed to custom, less disposable income, engineering nous or a combination of all three is a matter for debate.

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The floral trefoil, barley-sugar mouldings, and slender pillars with floral capitals and dog-tooth feet raise the east face of this semi-circular headstone into the upper echelons of monument design. On the west face, erosion has wrought a different story.


Semi-circular headstones with sinuous shoulders. The style of Memorial $188(\mathbf{1 8 6 6})$ is fairly common at Shotwick, but Memorial 8 (1835) is St Michael's only tapered example.


Two styles of triangular tops. The plain variety (Memorial 206, 1865) is less common at Shotwick than the version embellished with quarter-circle extrusions (Memorial 136, 1855).


The originality of Shotwick's only fleur-de-lys headstone (1871) stands out from the more prevalent designs in the background. The unique trefoil headstone (1824) likewise possesses more cachet than the panelled chest tomb behind it.


By 1890, when Memorial 354 was inscribed, headstone design was becoming ever more innovative. The squat stability of Memorial 257 (1933), meanwhile, is reminiscent of the pedestal-headstones which have dominated the graveyard in recent decades.


The footstone of Memorial 167 (1864) ably demonstrates how a lower centre of gravity aids stability while its parent headstone crazily leans both north and east - but at least the mirrored design creates a unity which is totally lacking from Memorial 351 (1897). Reminscent of a crown, the regal appearance of 351 sits oddly with its barely visible semicircular footstone.


The strange case of the
 mismatched Taylor tombstones (Memorials 178 and 179, dated 1891 and 1865 and sharing a triangle-top footstone). Goodness knows what their home looked like if this hotch-potch of shapes reflects their notion of harmony.

By contrast, the classical elegance of the Hewitts' headstone/kerbstone hybrid (Memorial 286, dated 1923) belies the complexity of its design.

## Pedestal headstones (the 'ped-head')

Ped-heads ${ }^{56}$ are not listed as an official category by Mytum, ${ }^{57}$ but during my survey the spontaneously coined term became a convenient label for a distinctive monument style which rarely occurs before the twentieth century, but is now the most widely used. Generally made of marble with gold or silver inlaid typography, ped-heads consist of a small rectangularish pedestal topped by a short headstone. The wider base and truncated height make them much more stable than conventional headstones, especially when placed on a granite or concrete plinth or combined with a kerbstone. ${ }^{58}$ Many pediments curve out in a graceful bow at the front, affording space to incorporate a circular hole for a sunken metal vase.

## Mavericks

A handful of Shotwick's memorials ${ }^{59}$ defy categorisation. Memorial 366 stands in a row of headstones but, judging from its minute size and lack of inscription, could be a repositioned headstone. Memorial 343 is metal plaque commemorating a pilgrimage to its neighbouring headstone. ${ }^{60}$ The remainder ${ }^{61}$ may be awaiting more permanent memorials.

## Materials

Because of its friable nature, sandstone is an extremely poor choice of material for memorials exposed to the onslaughts of British weather. Nevertheless, it dominates the original churchyard and was widely used in the extension until the twentieth century, doubtless because of its availability ${ }^{62}$ and relative affordability. A couple of memorials in the extension are made of granite (perhaps reflecting improved transport

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Flanked by two leafy columns, Memorial 258 (1944) is an interesting variant of the ped-head. Note how its base is used as a shelf for vases.

An otherwise typical example of a modern marble ped-head, Memorial 255 is raised above the ordinary by the supplementary vase: Shotwick's most functional footstone. Note the combination of gothic and serif typefaces and the variation in point size to give personal names the greatest prominence - a phenomenon which occurs on the majority of Shotwick's tombstones.


Shotwick's most innovative pedestals are two adjacent books, both dedicated to members of the Adams family (father and daughter, judging from the dates; Norman Leslie Adams, commemorated on Memorial 290, died in 1990 at the age of 70, which would have made him 27 when Diane Adams was born). On both books, the right-hand page has been left blank, in Norman's case probably in anticipation of commemorating his widow. The back of Memorial 290 provides an excellent view of how such monuments are constructed.


One of Shotwick's most charming memorials in spring, 275 is entirely composed of a bodylength of daffodils. An inscription-bearing monument may added at some future date, but in the meantime, its lack of egotism is refreshing and inspiring.

Memorial 289, made of plastic, is probably an interim measure while a more elaborate memorial is fashioned, but its current lack of pretension is decidedly endearing.
systems and higher standards of living), but marble - generally black, but sometimes white and occasionally an orange-black mottle - has been in vogue for the last four decades, and so far appears to be vastly more durable.

Inside the church, three of the wall-mounted memorials ${ }^{63}$ are made purely of wood. Another ${ }^{64}$ is made of brass. The remainder ${ }^{65}$ consist of various combinations of black and white marble, and all but Memorial A (dedicated to an incumbent of the parish) name several family members. This suggests that families opting for an expensive memorial in a premium interior position expected to get value for money. Memorials set into the floor ${ }^{66}$ are incised in stone, their inscriptions badly worn.

## Masons' marks

Relatively few of Shotwick's memorials are inscribed with the name of the mason. Such credits are always discreetly positioned on the side, back or base of the monument, in a much smaller typeface than the rest of the inscription. The market seems to have been dominated by Chester stonemasons, ${ }^{67}$ though a few other local firms ${ }^{68}$ occasionally crop up.

## Motifs

With few exceptions, the motifs on Shotwick's memorials ${ }^{69}$ are remarkably bland, pointing to an ultra-conventional congregation heavily influenced by adjacent tombstones. Definite fashions emerge, though it is unclear to what extent these were led by off-the-peg undertakers' designs. Most early decoration is confined to scrolls around the inscription, ${ }^{70}$ though quatrefoils and roundels enjoyed increasing popularity in the nineteenth century. The majority - frequently inspired by plants occur in the extension, suggesting that as memorial typology became simpler, motifs took over as a means of raising the monument's status.

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Far and away the churchyard's most intriguing motif occurs on Memorial 30, which features a worn skull below three sets of crossed bones. It has acquired the sobriquet of the 'pirate's grave' but, despite local mythology and Shotwick's known connection with the Manx smuggling trade, it seems doubtful in the extreme that a pirate is interred beneath it. For one thing, he was permitted burial not just in hallowed land - a privilege not automatically granted known criminals but in a highly prestigious position right next to the south wall of the church. The first few lines of the inscription were illegible even in Bennett and Lawson's time, but it is clear from the visible remainder that they relate to the husband of Elizabeth Kelsall, who died 23 March 1766, aged 65. No Kelsalls are listed in Shotwick's burial register before 1766, but an Elizabeth Kelsall, daughter of Robert Kelsall of Shotwick, was baptised on 2 February 1730, when the Elizabeth who died in 1766 was 29 or 30 and could feasibly have been her mother (and thus the wife of Robert). The younger Elizabeth is not mentioned on the memorial, but a daughter named Margaret is. She died on 20 April 1790 at the age of 59, so must have been born some time between 21 April 1730 and 20 April 1731. She could not have been the Kelsall daughter who was baptised at Shotwick, but she may have been her sister or halfsister. Her baptism is not recorded in Shotwick's registers, but the memorial states that she was the wife of Silvester Warrington of Saughall. According to the Shotwick registers, a marriage between Silvester Warrington of Puddington and Margaret Jonson took place on 24 October 1753, when Elizabeth Kelsall's Margaret would have been twenty-three - a plausible age to marry. By this convoluted means it is possible to theorise that the unknown husband on Memorial 30 was Robert Kelsall, who died around 1730; that his widow shortly thereafter moved away - possibly to the village of Puddington in the neighbouring parish of Burton - where she gave birth to Margaret, who was probably either the posthumous daughter of Robert Kelsall or the legitimate offspring of a $\mathbf{M r}$ Jonson; that Margaret was brought up as the daughter of $\mathbf{M r}$ Jonson, married Puddington man Silvester Warrington at Shotwick, and some time thereafter moved to Saughall with him. Bearing in mind Margaret's respectable marriage, she is unlikely to have been illegitimate. Her mother was therefore probably married to Mr Jonson when Margaret was born but chose to revert to her first husband's surname when she was buried, possibly because he was her first and greatest love. The marriage to Mr Jonson so soon after Robert Kelsall's death would have been a prudent measure for a widow with at least one young baby (the second Elizabeth) to support. Detectives with time on their hands could try checking this theory by examining other parish registers to see when Margaret Jonson was baptised, whether a marriage took place between Mr Jonson and Elizabeth Kelsall, and whether the second Elizabeth survived to adulthood, married and opted to be interred beside her husband. Stylistically, given the apparent circumstances of utmost respectability and the possible early date of the ledger, the skull and crossbones are more likely to be a motif of death than the mark of a pirate. Nationally, the use of skull motifs declined during the eighteenth century, ${ }^{70}$ a trend which is certainly reflected in their general absence from Shotwick.

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Quatrefoils, trefoils and roundels begin to emerge on memorials beyond the west tower, but are most prevalent in the extension.




Serif typefaces dominate Shotwick's memorials, yet sans serif possesses greater durability, as the remarkable condition of this late eighteenth-century inscription demonstrates. Even more remarkably, the memorial (149) is a table tomb, laid bare beneath the sky.

## Typography

Despite being prone to erosion, incision was the usual inscription technique until the late nineteenth century, when black inlay began to be used on sandstone for greater prominence and durability. Only a few flakes of black remain on some memorials, but the typography is nevertheless more legible than inscriptions which never enjoyed similar protection. Late eighteenth-century
inscriptions are often the deepest and frequently incorporate scrolls (see example from Memorial 123 below) or complicated typographical mixes of different sizes. The name of the deceased, and sometimes of relatives, is generally in capitals or much larger lettering throughout the churchyard. Places, relationships and quotations are often italicised. Relief lettering, usually made from soft lead, occurs on a few late-nineteenth-century and twentieth century memorials. It fades over time, and the odd letter sometimes falls off, but such inscriptions are easier to read than incisions. Marble memorials generally feature gold - or, occasionally, silver - inlay. So far this method appears to have no disadvantages, but that may be because insufficient time has elapsed for problems to become noticeable.


## Phraseology

The simplest inscriptions consist solely of the initials of the deceased. Most have some sort of preamble, such as 'here lies' or 'underneath', then state the forename, surname, date of death and age. Only a few give the date of birth, possibly because it was not known. ${ }^{72}$ Around seventy per cent ${ }^{73}$ mention relatives, with women and children frequently being described as adjuncts of husbands and parents. Cynics may suspect this was because the relations were the ones paying for the memorial, but it is just as likely that the defining focus of an individual's life was perceived as being their place in the family. Fifty-eight per cent ${ }^{74}$ state the abode of the deceased, and six per cent ${ }^{75}$ the exact house or farm, indicating that the deceased was among the upper echelons of Shotwick society. The deceased's occupation is mentioned on only five per cent of memorials, three-quarters ${ }^{76}$ of these relating to airmen or parish incumbents.

In line with the national trend, ${ }^{77}$ few Shotwick memorials convey much information about the lives and motivations of the people they aim to save from oblivion. Those that do often eulogise, instances being Memorial 11, which states that Elizabeth Dunn 'lived beloved and died in truth'; Memorial 33, which says Joseph Jones died 'with the caricter [sic] of a truly honest Man and a sincere Christian', and Memorial I, which claims that Thomas Doe 'was a man of great truth and/Sincerity, greatly beloved by all/friends and Acquaintances'. How much reliance can be placed on the veracity of such glowing tributes is a matter for debate, bearing in mind the widespread dictate, 'Never speak ill .of the dead', as well as the possibility that instructions concerning the epitaph may have been dictated in the deceased's will.

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## Quotations and epigrams

Quotations or epigrams embellish the details of a quarter ${ }^{78}$ of the 858 people commemorated on Shotwick's legible memorials. ${ }^{79}$ They are particularly prevalent in the extension and, as with memorial types and motifs, copycat syndrome seems to prevail, with adjacent memorials such as 102, 103, 104 and 105 all featuring religious matter amid a sea of monuments devoid of epigrams. More than three-quarters of the additional material is Christian in tenor. The other phrases focus on peace, rest, enduring love, release from pain, or the need to put one's affairs in order in the face of potentially imminent mortality. The majority of Christian tags are straightforward Biblical quotations, but an unfortunate few drip with sentimentality presumably designed to comfort the bereaved:

> This lovely bud so young and fair,
> Called forth by early doom
> Just came to shew how sweet a flower
> In paradise would bloom.
> (memorial 204.1, 1874)

This type of nauseating doggerel - in such contrast to the more restrained yet infinitely more effective 'She came forth as a flower and was cut down' (Memorial 153.1, 1860) - occurs only on memorials from the late nineteenth century, and can be regarded as symptomatic of an era when ostentatious expression of sentimental piety met with public approval. ${ }^{80}$

Only one verse, relating to two Bithell children who died within a fortnight of each other, contains an element of anger unmitigated by Christian visions of eternity, ${ }^{81}$

[^49]suggesting that even in bereavement, most parishioners had faith in the baffling works of the Lord.

## Air Force Memorials

In the north-west corner of the churchyard stand ten memorials ${ }^{82}$ dedicated to American and Commonwealth airmen who died at RAF Sealand in the final six months of the First World War. In the front row there should be five graves, but now there are only four. The gap between Memorials 327 and 328 is where the remains of a US airman lay before repatriation in $1920 .{ }^{83}$ In the back row are six memorials. Two of them relate to the same man, ${ }^{84}$ Memorial 343 being a small metal plaque recording a wreathe-laying service held beside Memorial 344 in 1929. ${ }^{85}$ Memorial 345 is the most imposing of the group, consisting of a kerb and a cross on a three-step pedestal. This was paid for by the airman's relatives and mentions his place of birth and earlier military service in East Africa plus standard details such as name ${ }^{86}$ and date of death.

Made of a concrete-like substance similar to modern breeze blocks but denser and almost white, the other eight narrow Royal Air Force memorials possess a simultaneously utilitarian yet spiritual aura. Their narrowness lends an impression of height; their similarity evokes the disciplined ranks of a military organisation; their simplicity suggests humility. The sunlight seems to bounce off their pallor, creating an ethereality that seems entirely appropriate for men who died in the service of a nation for whom they had no obligation to fight. In many respects their graves constitute the most poignant group of memorials in the churchyard, and, despite being in the furthest corner from the main gate, are often the first port of call for visitors, suggesting deliberate pilgrimages based on prior knowledge. ${ }^{87}$

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Although not a hundred per cent satisfactory, this cut-and-paste montage of the RAF memorials from two slightly different angles offers the best view of all ten at once. The gap between memorials 327 and 328 (formerly occupied by the nowrepatriated remains of Frank J White) makes it easier to see the metal plaque commemorating an American pilgrimage to Leonard Morange's neighbouring grave.

Although at first glance the eight 'standard issue' memorials seem identical, they cannot have come out of a mass-production mould because there are slight variations in their height, width and depth. ${ }^{88}$ All bear the RAF insignia, and seven are also decorated with a cross. The exception is Memorial 329, which instead bears the maple-leaf motif of the Canadian flag.

Each inscription records the airman's rank, forename or initials, surname, the phrase 'Royal Air Force' and the date of his death. All but 326 and 341 also state his age. Three bear additional phrases below the motif, these probably being specially requested by the deceased's family. Those on 329 and 344 utter Christian sentiments. ${ }^{89}$ Memorial 328 tells us the most about the character of the man who died: 'A young Canadian soldier poet who followed the gleam.'

## Heritage conclusions

In addition to the mini RAF cemetery, there are numerous dynastic enclaves in Shotwick's churchyard. This hints not just at strong, cross-generation family bonds, but also points to the existence of a core of families who remained resident in the parish for centuries. Statements about family solidarity and the desire to be united in death, as in life, are enhanced by both choice of grave location and the deliberately repetitive use of typology and phraseology. ${ }^{90}$ Conversely, the prevalence of multipleuse memorials, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, may indicate that parishioners had limited financial resources and shared memorials for economic as well as emotional reasons. Nevertheless, a significant number of memorials seem designed to serve as status symbols as well as a means of commemoration.

There is a definite development in Shotwick's memorial fashions, with the early ledgers, table tombs and chest tombs being abandoned in the late nineteenth-century. This coincides with the emergence of pedestals, of which the most popular form is the

[^51]Roman cross. While changes in typology are in part due to ecclesiastical policy, ${ }^{91}$ there is also considerable evidence that decisions have been influenced by adjacent memorials and technological considerations: as well as being expensive, grand memorials requiring a lot of stone are more vulnerable to gravity and plant invasion.

Headstones have been in continuous use at Shotwick since the eighteenth century, largely, no doubt, because of their versatility. They can be simple, uncluttered and unpretentious; aggrandised by the addition of kerbstones, footstones or bodystones; or given an original twist by shaping the top in an unusual way. Headstone technology seems to have come full circle: the large, imposing, but unstable headstones favoured in the nineteenth century have given way to compact, practical ped-heads whose height echoes that of modest eighteenth-century headstones. The implication is that Victorians were more concerned with status than either their predecessors or successors.

Counterbalancing the simplification in typology is the increasing use of motifs and epigrams, both religious and secular. Phraseology and content of inscriptions is almost invariably conventional, though recent memorials are more likely to give an informal flavour of the deceased's personality without seeking to inflate the consequence of living relatives. ${ }^{92}$ In most cases, however, little importance seems to have been attached to the way someone lived their life, with obsessive attention instead being lavished on the date of their death. Yet for memorials to fulfil one of their primary functions - that of ensuring that the deceased is not forgotten by future generations - there needs to be something about the memorial which captures the imagination of the passer-by and conveys the essence of the deceased. Attention can briefly be attracted by visual extremes - tall pedestal memorials such as 147 automatically stand out amid the chest tombs and headstones - but lasting affection is

[^52]only engendered by revealing someone's soul. More homage will always be paid to HEK Bray, the 'young Canadian soldier poet who followed the gleam', ${ }^{93}$ than to characterless Mary Ann and John Hughes, with their elaborate urn-topped pillar. ${ }^{94}$

Although adherence to convention has reduced most of Shotwick's inscriptions to mere formulae, their genealogical content at least provides historians with an invaluable research tool. With the aid of documentary sources, it has been possible to use the memorials as a launch-pad for exploring the day-to-day lives of Shotwick's inhabitants over the centuries, as can be seen from the next chapter.

[^53]
## Chapter Three

## Society

Since there is no proof of a pre-Christian or Celtic Christian cemetery at Shotwick, ${ }^{1}$ it seems sensible to begin a discussion about the occupants of St Michael's Churchyard with the Anglo-Saxons who gave the settlement its name. ${ }^{2}$

## Probable early occupants and general parochial trends

We know from The Domesday Book ${ }^{3}$ that Shotwick was in existence during the reign of Edward the Confessor (1043-1066). Assuming a church had been established there by then, its graveyard would have been the resting place of the type of people mentioned in Domesday: villi (villeins) ${ }^{4}$ and bordars in possession of a plough - in all probability, therefore, subsistence farmers and their families. ${ }^{5}$ In Anglo-Saxon times they may have enjoyed free status ${ }^{6}$ and, when harvests were good, a comfortable life. From The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles it is plain, however, that suffering was widespread in years of famine and excessive or insufficient rain, such as 1078 and $1082,{ }^{7}$ and there is no reason to suppose that Shotwick was immune to such disasters. Whether inhabitants of Salhare (Saughall) and Capeles (Capenhurst) were also buried at Shotwick during this period we cannot say.

By 1086 both Shotwick's villeins and its slightly less well-off bordars ${ }^{8}$ are likely to have been performing agricultural and labour services for their lord - the abbot of St Werburgh's ${ }^{9}$ - in return for the land they occupied. ${ }^{10}$ When the stone church was

[^54]built under the probably aegis of the de Shotwicke family in the eleventh century, ${ }^{11}$ it seems likely that anyone who died at Shotwick Castle ${ }^{12}$ - was automatically buried in St Michael's Churchyard, along with the parish's agricultural labourers and fishermen. Although subject to a host of restrictions and fines on marriage and death, ${ }^{13}$ their lives may have become easier as the Conquest receded. Excavations at Cosmeston in Wales indicate that some medieval peasants enjoyed a reasonable standard of living, ${ }^{14}$ and Shotwick's villagers - then principally engaged in arable and mixed farming ${ }^{15}$ doubtless followed the national trend of improved health and prosperity during the favourable climatic conditions of the thirteenth century. ${ }^{16}$

The village itself probably expanded during this period - to be described as shrunken by the Sites and Monuments Record, ${ }^{17}$ it must once have been larger than at present, and the thirteenth century seems the likeliest period for its boom-time, not just because of national trends ${ }^{18}$ but also because of the extra wealth likely to have entered the parish when it was thronged by royal armies. ${ }^{19}$ The 1280 Extent of the Royal Manor of Shotwick ${ }^{20}$ lists four principal free tenants, ${ }^{21}$ twenty-two bondsmen ${ }^{22}$ and one bondswoman. ${ }^{23}$ The free tenants variously held their land - ranging from two to

[^55]four bovates - by ancient enfeoffment or tenure, by charter, or 'at the will of the lord'. One (the enfeoffed) ${ }^{24}$ paid no rent, the others between ten pence and twenty shillings a year. Bond holdings consisted of one or two bovates. Most bondsmen were obliged to pay three shillings per bovate three times a year and render the Lord of the Manor three boon days in autumn, one day's ploughing at Lent at the cost of the Lord and one day's ploughing in winter at their own cost using their own oxen and plough. A few paid four shillings per bovate twice a year and rendered just one boon-day in autumn and one day's ploughing in Lent. One performed the lesser labour services, but paid four shillings and three pence per bovate. ${ }^{25}$ The reason for the different rent and labour scales is not stated, but they were clearly not considered unduly onerous, since in 1382 - the year after the Peasants' Revolt, when thousands of villeins had been protesting against serfdom ${ }^{26}$ - John Hicson (son of Richard, son of Thomas, son of Nyk le Cook and an unfree woman of Castle Shotwick), went to court asserting that he was the King's nativus ${ }^{27}$ and therefore entitled to lease the King's demesne land. ${ }^{28}$ The advantage of being a Castle Shotwick bondsman was that from September 1353 its demesne lands (plus the money in lieu of labour services) were leased to the tenants of the manor jointly for twelve years. ${ }^{29}$ Only bondsmen could claim a share and it seems likely that local members of the jury were keen to protect their assets, since Hicson was judged to be free and therefore not entitled to benefit from post-Black-Death opportunities. ${ }^{30}$

The medieval residents' fortunes would have been further augmented by the opportunities spawned by the settlement's location on the tidal shores of the Dee: fishing, ${ }^{31}$ docking, ${ }^{32}$ maritime trade, guiding soldiers, salters and other traders and

[^56]travellers across the sands to Flintshire, and providing food and perhaps accommodation for them. The maritime connection meant Shotwick was full of travellers and incoming settlers - Nyk le Cook, great-grandfather of the unwilling freeman John Hicson, for instance, originally hailed from the Isle of Man. ${ }^{33}$ A few people on the outskirts may have engaged in salt production, ${ }^{34}$ and some men and youths may have opted to swell the ranks of the armies passing through Shotwick, perhaps never returning to be buried with their contemporaries in Shotwick's churchyard.

The royal connection continued throughout the fourteenth century, principally at Shotwick Park, which had passed to the Crown on the death of the last Norman Earl of Chester in $1237^{35}$ and formed part of the Black Prince's estates in his capacity as Earl of Chester. ${ }^{36}$ The link with royalty must have exerted a certain degree of influence over the parish's economy and employment opportunities. ${ }^{37}$ In 1325-6 building work was carried out at Shotwick by the mason Robert of Helpeston, who was also involved in improvements to Chester Castle. ${ }^{38}$ In 1353, 13,500 wooden pales were transported from Eulowe to repair the park's fences, ${ }^{39}$ a job which doubtless afforded labour for several locals. Around the same time, underwood from Shotwick Park was routinely sold to the highest bidder, ${ }^{40}$ six calves were sent to the

[^57]royal stock-keeper at Macclesfield by Shotwick's bailiff, ${ }^{41}$ and in 1358 eight of the Black Prince's foals spent six months being nurtured at Shotwick before being transferred to his chief keeper of 'great horses, ${ }^{42}$ implying that pasturage in the parish was of good quality, and agriculture a worthwhile enterprise for its inhabitants.

Nevertheless, judging from the Wirral Mize figures for 1453, Shotwick appears to have been less prosperous than neighbouring villages: it was liable for a taxation payment of just 10s 5d, compared with Burton's $£ 18 \mathrm{~s} 10 \mathrm{~d}$ and Puddington's $14 \mathrm{~s} 5 \mathrm{~d} .{ }^{43}$ One explanation for this may be that the village was unable to benefit from any revenue raised on the Shotwick Park estate because it belonged directly to the Crown. ${ }^{44}$

Maintaining the tradition of accompanying their monarch on military expeditions, thirteen archers and billmen from Shotwick joined Henry VIII's campaign against the Scots in $1544 .{ }^{45}$ From the Muster Rolls on which they are listed, twenty-one families are deduced to have lived in Church Shotwick at that time. ${ }^{46}$ It is impossible to correlate this estimate with figures from the Wirral Subsidy Roll of 1544, because Shotwick is omitted, implying either incomplete rolls or a population too poor to be taxed on their possessions. ${ }^{47}$ The latter seems decidedly feasible, given that in the 1625 Wirral Subsidy Roll only one Shotwick resident - Thomas Whitehead, paying thirteen shillings and fourpence - was liable for tax. ${ }^{48}$

According to Hearth Tax ${ }^{49}$ returns, there were still only twenty-one homes in the village in $1663^{50}$ but, despite occasional dips, the population of the parish as a whole was on a general upward trend, ${ }^{51}$ placing increasing pressure on the churchyard.

[^58]
## Churchyard occupants named in the parish registers

Wills and parish registers rather than extant memorials provide the earliest specific information about those buried in St Michael's churchyard. The oldest Shotwick parish registers ${ }^{52}$ are no longer easy to read, but were fortuitously transcribed by the far-sighted Estelle Dyke in 1932. ${ }^{53}$ Although the scale of the operation occasionally caused a lapse of concentration (she transcribed two pages twice), she appears to have been a largely careful copyist (her duplicate transcripts are identical) who erred on the side of thoroughness.

The first register starts in an erratic fashion, with entries for 1693 jumbled up with one for 1681 and several for 1690 . There are no more entries until 1697, when a systematic approach to record-keeping seems to have been adopted for the first time. Besides names, relationships and dates of baptisms, marriages and burials, many entries at the close of the seventeenth century include information about abodes and occupations. The picture emerges of an agricultural community chiefly populated by the families of husbandmen, yeomen and labourers, with several skilled craftsmen (smiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, button-mould-makers), mariners and fishermen, a scattering of paupers and strangers, and the occasional gentleman. Paupers seem to be most prevalent in the two Saughalls, though poverty occurs everywhere, and illegitimacy seems commonest in Capenhurst (perhaps the flock found it easier to stray without the curate on their doorstep).

[^59]By counting the number of baptisms and burials listed each year, ${ }^{54}$ it is apparent that the parish's population was steadily rising during the eighteenth century. Woodbank appears to have attracted a sudden influx of people, and other incomers may have arrived to cultivate the swathes of land reclaimed from the re-routed River Dee. However, definitive population figures cannot be gleaned, for not everyone born may have been baptised, Catholics and Dissidents ${ }^{55}$ were probably buried elsewhere, and temporary residents may have returned to their original parishes for burial.

Despite the population explosion, life-span could be pitifully short. Ignota de Woodbank, buried on 1 February $1701,{ }^{56}$ was almost certainly the child found abandoned in Woodbank and baptised on 1 January 1701. Her fanciful Latinate name - an anachronism amid all the Marys, Elizabeths and Hanahs - would appear to have been derived from the verb ignorare, 'not to know, to have no knowledge of, to be unacquainted with, ignorant of ${ }^{5} .{ }^{57}$ It was probably a reference to her unknown parentage and doubtless bestowed on her by the officiating clergyman, Robert Janny (who named his own short-lived daughter more prosaically Margret ${ }^{58}$ ).

Twins seem to have fared surprisingly well, ${ }^{59}$ but it is possible to discern that illegitimate children did not enjoy a good rate of survival. William, 'bastard son of Martha Cooper by Witton Beigh of Capenhurst' lived for over three months, ${ }^{60}$ but Mary, 'bastard daughter of Catherine Calvley by John Downward of Capenhurst' was buried six days after her baptism. ${ }^{61}$ This raises several questions: were illegitimate children deliberately neglected because of the shame factor? Or were their mothers living in such straitened circumstances that they couldn't produce enough milk to nourish their children? Or both? Only conjecture can supply the answers, though the

[^60]diary of Reverend James Woodforde - then curate of Babcary in Somerset highlights the difficulties facing both mother and child: ${ }^{62}$

> 28 September 1765
> ...Dr Clarke's cook maid, Mary was this morning found out in concealing a dead child in her box of which she had delivered herself yesterday morning, whether she murdered it or not is not yet know, but will be tried by the Coroner and Jury next Monday... ${ }^{63}$

Although some secrets remain locked in the past, careful reading of the registers over a number of years can yield sketches of whole families. Some are graphically stark. The Luck family's surname, for instance, was clearly not a reflection of its latter-day fortunes (unless the word 'bad' is inserted before it). PH Reaney in fact considers the name to have been derived from Luick (Liège). ${ }^{64}$ The Lucks may have been descendants of Flemish settlers who came to England with William the Conqueror and helped to guard Shotwick Castle. ${ }^{65}$ But however high the status of the first Luck in the parish, by the end of the seventeenth century the family was in an unstoppable decline:

- Thomas Luck, a pauper of Saughall Parva, was buried on 29 March 1697.
- On 21 March 1699 Margret, the bastard daughter of Margret Luck, widow of Saughall Parva, was baptised.
- On 23 March 1699, Margret, daughter of Margret Luck, pauper of Saughall Parva, was buried.

[^61]- On 25 March 1699 Margret Luck, pauper of Saughall Parva, was buried.
- On 29 July 1699 a Saughall Parva orphan surnamed Luck was buried.
- No more Lucks of Saughall Parva appear in the register after this date.

Why was Thomas Luck a pauper? Was he too ill or incapacitated to work? Whatever the reason, he was clearly in no position to leave his family well provided for after his death. He may have left behind him a merry widow, but it seems far more likely that his relict was forced to prostitute herself in order to survive. The illegitimate baby she bore a couple of years after her husband's death did not thrive - perhaps the mother was too malnourished to produce enough milk - and died within two days of her baptism. Margret Luck junior was swiftly followed to the grave by her mother, Margret Luck senior, who may never have recovered from the birth. The surviving orphaned Luck child - of so little account that no parishioners troubled to remember its name or gender - scratched out a miserable existence for four more months before succumbing to the Grim Reaper.

The family's resumé is a shocking indictment of life without the protection of the Welfare State, and paints an unattractive picture of an uncaring rural backwater which ignored people on the fringes of society. Where was the curate when his parishioners were starving to death? Was he himself too poor and beleaguered to help (his own infant daughter, also named Margret, died just seventeen days after her baptism in October 1698)? Was the family's fate callously viewed as a deserved punishment for laziness and lax morals?

Despite the unanswered questions, none of this story - nor, indeed, Ignota's - would have come to light from the churchyard alone. Paupers and foundlings are unlikely to have been accorded memorials at such an early date; in any event, no such memorials survive. Clear evidence is furnished of the limitations of the churchyard and the relative superiority of the parish registers as an archival resource.

## Memorials

Information concerning a number of the wealthier families buried in the parish - such as the Hockenhulls, ${ }^{66}$ the Does ${ }^{67}$ and the Nevitt-Bennetts ${ }^{68}$ - has already been collated by several antiquarians. Great Saughall's most famous midwife, Mary Davies, the 'celebrated horned woman', is similarly well documented. ${ }^{69}$ It therefore seems more rewarding to focus on some of the less well-known occupants of the churchyard, such as the Whaley, Roberts and Maddock families, and on airmen and incumbents.

## Whaley

Memorials 22 and $23^{70}$
According to Reaney, ${ }^{71}$ the name Whaley is derived from either Whalley in
Lancashire or Whaley in Derbyshire, suggesting that the family originated in one of

[^62]Will of Ralph Hockenhull

Cheshire's neighbouring counties. Nine members of a Capenhurst contingent of the family are recorded on Memorial 23, the dates of their deaths spanning eighty-three years. With three Samuels and two Lydias, a family tree makes it easier to keep track of the generations, particularly since the youngest Samuel predeceased his father and is therefore listed before him on the memorial.


Curiously, it is not only names which recur on the tombstone: March seems to have been a particularly bad month for the Whaleys, with twice as many (four - almost half) dying then as in May (at two, the next most disastrous month), and one each in August, October and December. ${ }^{72}$ Although only Martha died in childhood (not, note, early infancy), the entire third generation died relatively young, not one reaching the age of their parents or grandparents. In fact, their mother, Margaret, outlived all but her youngest child, and, curiously, he was five years younger when he died (forty) than she had been when she gave birth to him (forty-five). It seems unlikely that we shall ever now know whether the early deaths were mere coincidence, congenital weakness, or attributable to environmental changes.

A Chester branch of the Whaleys - father, mother and son - is recorded on the next memorial (number 22), and interestingly, the youngest of the three died in March as well. Descendants of Samuel Whaley still live in Saughall today. ${ }^{73}$

[^63]
## Roberts

Memorials 120 and 121
Although fifteen of Shotwick's memorials commemorate people surnamed Roberts, ${ }^{74}$ the prevalence of the surname makes it difficult to ascertain how many of them are related. No such confusion arises with memorials 120 and 121 , which are enclosed in a shared kerb and concern the family of Samuel Roberts. The pater familias, who outlived his wife, Elizabeth, by a year, ${ }^{75}$ was predeceased by three of his children, who share Memorial 120: 'James, third son of Samuel and Elizabeth Roberts of Shotwick' (died 1856, aged nineteen); 'Martha, beloved wife of Samuel Tilston...and youngest daughter of the above' (died 1869, aged twenty-two); and 'Mary, eldest daughter of the above' (died 1874, aged thirty-three). None of them is mentioned in the register of baptisms, suggesting the family may have moved to Shotwick some time after Martha, the youngest of the three, was born in 1847.

From the date of his death (5 March 1877) at the age of 69, Memorial 121 clearly commemorates the same Samuel Roberts, licensed victualler, whose will was proved in $1877 .{ }^{76}$ According to Bagshaw's and Kelly's earliest Cheshire directories, ${ }^{77}$ he was running The Greyhound Inn in the 1850s, and his name also crops up several times in the Churchwardens' Accounts, both as a supplier of sustenance at churchwardens' meetings and as a witness approving the figures. ${ }^{78}$

Another Samuel Roberts - probably his eldest son ${ }^{79}$ - makes a brief appearance in the Woodbank School Logbook: ${ }^{80}$

[^64]12 April 1880: Mr Samuel Roberts, father of John Owen Roberts, called at school and explained the cause of his son's absence from school.

Tantalisingly, the teacher does not state what this cause was, an omission which possibly suggests it was more complicated than straightforward illness.

Most intriguing of the Roberts offspring, however, is eldest daughter Mary, who died eighteen years after her brother James, and five years after her sister Martha, and is thus the last of the three to be listed on Memorial 120. Beneath her name is the most curious choice of text in the entire churchyard:

## A broken and a contrite heart <br> O God thou wilt not despise

It seems logical to assume that this plea for mercy and acceptance relates specifically to Mary, the unwed and apparently miserable eldest daughter, rather than the youthful James or their happily married sister, Martha. A historian may be constrained by caution, but a novelist would deduce that Mary had an unhappy liaison with someone of whom her parents disapproved - possibly a customer at her father's pub.

## Maddock

Memorials 158, 357
The existence of only two Maddock memorials ${ }^{81}$ in St Michael's Churchyard is astonishing in the face of documentary evidence which suggests that Shotwick was the home of several generations of the family. The first documented Thomas Maddock of Shotwick, who died in 1731, obviously prospered in his career as mariner, leaving his eldest son, also named Thomas, several estates and premises in Chester and Puddington. ${ }^{82} \mathrm{He}$ also made bequests totalling just under $£ 60$ to his other four children. The money was split very unequally, with 'my dear and loving daughter

[^65]Will of Thomas Maddock

## Table 8

Thomas Maddock's Tithe Map holdings, 1848

| Plot number | Name of premises | State of cultivation |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 5 | Bottom Lily Wood | Pasture |
| 6 | Top Lily Wood | Fallow |
| 7 | Great Meadow | Old pasture |
| 10 | Little Meadow | Grass |
| 12 | Slutch Croft | Hay |
| 13 | Rye Croft | Potatoes |
| 14 | Queens Hay | Pasture |
| 37 | Wood Croft | Pasture |
| 38 | Little Wood | Pasture |
| 39 | Fredish Hay | Pasture |
| 42 | Sparks Croft | Oats |
| 43 | Hughes's Field | Wheat |
| 44 | Hollands Croft | Wheat |
| 45 | Hollands Croft | Wheat |
| 46 | Anions Back | Wheat |
| 47 | Cinders | Oats Clovered |
| 48 | Middle Hay | Turnips |
| 49 | Cinders | Pasture |
| 50 | Coppice | Hay |
| 51 | Garden |  |
| 52 | Shotwick Hall | House, buildings, garden |

Elizabeth', the wife of a Shotwick fisherman, receiving the largest bequest of $£ 23$ and his 'well-loved daughter Hanah' (a widow residing in Eastham) a mere guinea. ${ }^{83}$ Even his granddaughter did better than the slighted Hanah, being left $£ 2$ a year from the profits of the Chester estates. It is difficult to know how much to read into the disparity. Hanah may have been a wealthy widow who needed the money less than her sister Elizabeth (whose fisherman husband may have been struggling to make a living as the Dee silted up); but it is also likely that Elizabeth, being listed first and described as 'dear and loving' rather than merely 'well-loved', was Maddock's favourite daughter, and possibly the one who ministered to him most in his old age.

The second Thomas Maddock, also a mariner, died sixteen years after his father, again leaving substantial property to his son Thomas. ${ }^{84}$

The next Thomas Maddock to make an appearance in the records obviously benefited from the financial prudence of his forebears, for in the Tithe Map apportionment of

[^66]1848 he is described as renting Shotwick Hall and twenty agricultural plots from Shotwick's major landowner, John Nevitt-Bennett. This was more than any other tenant apart from Samuel Garner (thirty-one) and Richard Davies (twenty-nine), and enabled him to grow a mixture of crops and support livestock. ${ }^{85}$ A few years later he was listed in Bagshaw's and Kelly's directories as 'Thomas Maddock, farmer, The Hall ${ }^{86}$. The fact that he served as a churchwarden ${ }^{87}$ makes it all the more remarkable that no trace of him can be found of him or the other Thomas Maddocks on the churchyard memorials.


#### Abstract

Airmen All the airmen buried in the north-west corner of the churchyard are foreign servicemen ${ }^{88}$ - three Americans, ${ }^{89}$ three Canadians, two South Africans and one New Zealander. ${ }^{90}$ They died in the final months of the First World War while training as pilots at nearby RAF Sealand. ${ }^{91}$ The remains of a fourth American, Frank Williams, who was twenty-one when he was buried on 26 September 1918, were disinterred and repatriated two years after the war. ${ }^{92}$ According to the Casualty Cards, many of which contain the judgements of the Court of Inquiry, ${ }^{93}$ all the pilots died because of errors of judgement, ${ }^{94}$ but the type of accidents they had would probably not have occurred in modern aircraft. The Sopwith Camel flown by Harry Hastie and Frank Samuelson was poorly balanced, with all its weight at the front, causing a lethal gyratory effect on mistimed turns. ${ }^{95}$ The Avro 504 was easier to handle but its all-round visibility was


[^67]| Table 9 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Airmen buried at Shotwick |  |  |  | Squadron | Date of death | Type of aircraft | Nature and cause of accident | Memorial number | Memorial features |
| Name | Age | Nationality | Rank |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| John Jewett Miller | 25 | American | Second <br> Lieutenan | 95th Sqdin | 25 April 1918 | Avro 504 | Stalled engine while turning aircraft towards aerodrome \& spun into ground |  | RAF insignia \& cross motif |
| Harry Nelson Hastie | 24 | Canadian | Second Lieutenan | 95th Sqdn | 12 June 1918 | Sopwith Camel | Misjudged height while flying low \& flew into ground. Died of injuries | 329 | RAF insignia \& maple leaf motif. "Safe in the arms of Jesus" |
| Hugh Robert Fuhr | 19 | South African | Second Lieutenan | 67th Training Sqdn | 16 June 1918 | Avro 504 | Stalled while turning aircraft into the wind on the glide and nose-dived to ground from about 200 ft | 345 | Pedestal cross, paid for by parents. |
| Horace Edgar Kingsmill Bray | 22 | Canadian | Second Lieutenant | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 64uth Training } \\ & \text { Sqdn } \end{aligned}$ | 9 July 1918 | Sopwith Scout | Collision in air | 328 | RAF insignia \& cross motif. " A young Canadian soldier poet who followed the gleam |
| Leonard Sowerby Morange | 22 | American | Lieutenant | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 55th Training } \\ & \text { Sqdn } \end{aligned}$ | 11 Aug 1918 | Avro 504 | Collision in air with Flight Cadet $R$ Outerbridge because unable to see each other's aircraft | 344 \& 343 | RAF insignia \& cross motif. "He is not here/for he is risen/even as he said/St Matt XXVIII $6^{\prime \prime}$ |
| Frank $J$ William | 21 | American | Unknown | Unknown | c. 26 Sept 1918 | Unknown 504 | Unknown | N/A | Disinterred and repatriated September 1920 |
| Herbert Westgarth Soulby | 22 | Canadian | Lieutenant | 51st Training Depot Station | 19 Oct 1918 | Avro 504 | Misjudged turn near the ground | 342 | RAF insignia \& cross motif |
| ank Albert Samuelson | 22 | American | Second Lieutenant | 51st Training Depot Station | 20 Oct 1918 | Sopwith Camel | Error of judgement | 327 | RAF insignia \& cross motif |
| Francis Athol Hinton | 29 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { New } \\ & \text { Zealander } \end{aligned}$ | Second Lieutenan | 51 st Training | 9 Nov 1918 | Avro 504 | Stalled engine during forced landing \& crashed into ground | 326 | RAF insignia \& cross motif |
| Vernon Francis Gibson | 20 | South | Flight Cadet | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 51st Training } \\ & \text { Depot Station } \end{aligned}$ | 9 Nov 1918 | Sopwith Camel | Probably fainted. Dived into ground at an angle of 40 degrees at very high speed. Aircraft too smashed up to discover cause from the wreckage | 341 | RAF insignia \& cross motif |



The man with three memorials: Leonard Morange has these two at Shotwick and another at his home town in Bronxville, USA.
poor, leading to the type of mid-air collisions ${ }^{96}$ which killed Horace Edgar Bray and Leonard Sowerby Morange.

Born in Bronxville, New York, 'Uncle Lennie' Morange won a scholarship to Yale but left to join the Army. Slightly built, he could only pass his medical by gaining five pounds in two days. ${ }^{97}$ After transferring to the Royal Flying Corps he became an instructor in formation flying and in acrobatics at Shotwick. On 11 August 1918 he received orders to fly to France for front-line action. On his very last flight as an instructor, he collided with his trainee, was knocked unconscious and died when his aircraft hit the ground. ${ }^{98}$ Awarded a posthumous degree by Yale, he was the first citizen of Bronxville to lose his life in the Great War. Besides erecting a memorial to him near Bronxville's railway station and renaming the area Leonard Morange Square, a contingent of the Bronxville branch of the American Legion and the Bronxville Boy Scouts to Shotwick held a memorial service at his graveside in 1929. The event is commemorated on a brass plaque beside Morange's RAF memorial. ${ }^{99}$

[^68]

Lieutenant Leonard S Morange (digital image supplied by his great-niece, Dane Hanson-Walker)

While none of the other young pilots achieved such public posthumous acclaim, they all radiate charisma decades after their death. Horace Bray, for instance, wrote poetry, Hugh Fuhr was fighting for King and Country in East Africa by the time he was eighteen, and Herbert Soulby was awarded the Croix de Guerre by France.

## Incumbents

Technically curates, since the parish is a perpetual curacy of St Werburgh's in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter of Chester Cathedral, ${ }^{100}$ Shotwick's incumbents were often styled Clerk, Minister or Vicar on memorials and in wills. ${ }^{101}$ Many of those recorded since $1333^{102}$ - such as Rev Samuel Clarke, the writer and puritanical divine ${ }^{103}$ - left the parish, but at least six are buried in the church or churchyard. Another, Thomas Ward ('clerk' 1812-1818), was buried at Chester Cathedral. ${ }^{104}$

## Table 10

Incumbents commemorated on extant Shotwick memorials

| Name | Dates served | Memorial |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| John Carter | $1562-1588$ | N |
| Thomas Aston | $1722-1739$ | 87.1 |
| Stephen Reay | $1763-1808$ | 97.5 |
| James Cottingham | $1831-1890$ | $269.2 \& \mathrm{~A}$ |
| Frederick Ray Wansbrough, | $1902-1936$ | 340.1 |
| Frank Henry Coveney | 1944 | $304.1 \& \mathrm{~K}$ |

Some were more colourful characters than others, though none attained the notoriety of Ralph Heath, curate and schoolmaster, who was presented in the Bishop's court in 1674 for marrying two people from other parishes without banns or licence in a Shotwick alehouse (subsequently identified as The Greyhound). ${ }^{105}$ His unknown

[^69]punishment was not sufficiently severe to stop his freelance activities, leading Shotwick to acquire a reputation as the Gretna Green of Wirral.
'John Carter Curat [sic]' asked in his will for his 'body to be buryed in the chancel of Shotwyk'. ${ }^{106}$ His slab was marked with a stylised 'ICC', which decades later was presumed to represent the stirrups of Squire Hockenhull, allegedly killed in a riding accident. ${ }^{107}$ The myth was only debunked when his will was rediscovered by the antiquarian William Ferguson Irvine. ${ }^{108}$

Thomas Aston intended to leave the bulk of his estate ${ }^{109}$ to Margaret Ainsworth, spinster of Shotwick, but because she predeceased him he was obliged to add a codicil in favour of his sister. ${ }^{110}$ The question is, why was his original heiress a local spinster? Was the legacy an instance of compassionate practicality, designed to help one of his poorest parishioners? Or was she his housekeeper... or something more? We can only speculate about both this and the inclusion of a mysterious Betsey Bremer on his memorial. Easier to understand is the presence of Joice, wife of Rev Stephen Reay. There was no room for Mrs Reay on his adjacent chest tomb because most of the space commemorates his four children, Joice, Betty, Stephen and John, all of whom predeceased him, his daughters in infancy, his sons in their twenties. It was Stephen Reay who completed the Bishop's Visitation Enquiries in 1778, 1779 and 111. ${ }^{111}$ The first revealed that there were 138 houses in the parish 'but only one family of any note', one family of Quakers, two families of 'Independents,' and five people 'professing Popery'. By 1811 there were twice as many families of note, headed by 'Richard Richardson and Knyvitt [Nevitt] Bennett esqs'. Catholicism had been stamped out, but 'many Dissenters' had emerged, presumably none of whom was buried in St Michael's churchyard.

[^70]

Rev James Cottingham was the incumbent when Woodbank National School was inaugurated on 9 January $1871 .{ }^{112}$ His flourishing - if not always tidy - script competently recorded almost six decades of births, marriages and deaths in the parish registers, ${ }^{113}$ and handwriting was clearly of great importance to him. Following an inspection of 1872, he commended the school's progress, but complained the 'writing is too small and wanting in character'.

Rev Frank Henry Coveney shares his outdoor memorial with his wife and son. He died at the age of 70 before completing a full year in office, but his family appear to have felt a lasting affection for St Michael's; according Memorial K, they restored the east window of the north aisle in memory of him.

## Rev Frederick Ray

 Wansbrough was the incumbent who officiatedat the airmen's funerals. He deplored the deterioration of the church-bells so much, he left money for four new ones in his will ${ }^{114}$ after experiencing scant success in his bid to persuade the diocese to replace them. ${ }^{115}$ Although he was the only one of Shotwick's incumbents to leave the church such a handsome legacy, he followed the custom of his predecessors in also leaving 'live and dead agricultural stock and implements', indicating that, in addition to his religious role, he was a farmer like

[^71]most of his flock. His spouse, Eva, who predeceased him by a year, appears to have been surprisingly fond of personal adornment for a vicar's wife, and extremely concerned about the fate of worldly possessions. ${ }^{116}$ Most of her will concerns jewellery temporarily given to various female relatives for their 'enjoyment and pleasure' until death, upon which it must be transferred to another beneficiary selected by her.

Whether any of Shotwick's incumbents were habitual diarists is not known.
However, some illumination of rural clergymen's attitudes towards poverty, morals and the diligence (or otherwise) of their parishioners can be gleaned from the laconic observations of William Holland. ${ }^{117}$

## Other occupations

Only five per cent of Shotwick's memorials make any reference to occupations, and three-quarters of those relate to the airmen and incumbents. However, the relatives of Lucy Anne Harvey ${ }^{118}$ seem bizarrely proud that her father was a taxman. ${ }^{119}$ Almost as odd, Benjamin Warren ${ }^{120}$ was a mariner from Liverpool. Once Shotwick would have been full of such men, but by the time he died in 1817, the parish's maritime days were over, making his isolated presence ${ }^{121}$ a mystery. Easier to comprehend amid an enclave of Woodfins is the presence of its scion, John, ${ }^{122}$ a London surgeon before moving to Chester. Sadly, his medical knowledge did not, apparently, help him take care of his own health - he died at the age of thirty-one.

It is possible that occupation was rarely mentioned on memorials because it was taken for granted that most people in the parish would have been engaged in agriculture.

[^72]Husbandmen, yeomen and farmers abound in the list of Shotwick's wills, ${ }^{123}$ though the village had its own tailor ${ }^{124}$ and weaver ${ }^{125}$ in the seventeenth century, several mariners ${ }^{126}$ in the eighteenth, and a bricklayer, ${ }^{127}$ a shoemaker ${ }^{128}$ and a grocer ${ }^{129}$ in the nineteenth. Nevertheless, ninety-three per cent of the land in Shotwick and Woodbank was still being used for arable or pasture in 1922, along with ninety-two per cent of Shotwick Park and eighty-six per cent of each of the Saughalls. ${ }^{130}$ It was common for parish incumbents to cultivate the land, and a number of homes named on memorials were farms. ${ }^{131}$ Even in an era of milk quotas and agricultural doldrums, cows and sheep still form part of the village landscape.

## Education

Episcopal Visitation Returns, which first mention a schoolmaster at Shotwick in 1674, show that there were thirty-five school pupils in the parish of Shotwick in 1778, compared with thirty each at Bidston and Wallasey and ninety-four at Eastham. ${ }^{132}$ The specific content of their lessons and the length of their school day is not known. A century on, the logbook of Woodbank National School, which covers the years 1871-1909, ${ }^{133}$ provides a more detailed picture. The catchment area was so large that school hours had to be adjusted in winter to allow pupils to get home before dark. ${ }^{134}$ Everyone learned the three Rs, but while boys were taught history, drawing and dictation, girls were expected to content themselves with sewing. ${ }^{135}$ Behaviour was generally good, ${ }^{136}$ though a punishment list of 1883-4 highlights Tom Shone ${ }^{137}$ as a particularly troublesome pupil.

[^73]
## Life expectancy

## Table 11

Age at death

| Century | Under 1 | $\mathbf{1 - 5}$ | $\mathbf{5 - 9}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 - 1 9}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 s}$ | $\mathbf{3 0 s}$ | $\mathbf{4 0 s}$ | $\mathbf{5 0} \mathbf{s}$ | $\mathbf{6 0 s}$ | $\mathbf{7 0 s}$ | $\mathbf{8 0 s}$ | $\mathbf{9 0 s}$ | TOTAL |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1 7 0 0 s}$ | 2 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 2 | 2 | $\mathbf{7 6}$ |
| 1800s | 29 | 33 | 17 | 36 | 40 | 46 | 28 | 52 | 62 | 81 | 48 | 6 | 478 |
| 1900s | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 12 | 11 | 21 | 30 | 58 | 48 | 7 | 209 |
| 2000s | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 10 |
| TOTAL | $\mathbf{3 3}$ | $\mathbf{4 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 3}$ | 40 | $\mathbf{6 2}$ | $\mathbf{6 4}$ | $\mathbf{4 9}$ | $\mathbf{8 7}$ | $\mathbf{9 2}$ | $\mathbf{1 5 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 3}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{7 7 3}$ |

Table 12
Percentage of people reaching:

| Century | $\mathbf{5 0 +}$ | $\mathbf{6 0 +}$ | $\mathbf{7 0 +}$ | $\mathbf{8 0 +}$ | $\mathbf{9 0 +}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{1 7 0 0 s}$ | $51 \%$ | $34 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $2.5 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{1 8 0 0 s}$ | $52 \%$ | $41 \%$ | $28 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $1.25 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{1 9 0 0 s}$ | $78 \%$ | $68 \%$ | $54 \%$ | $26 \%$ | $3.3 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{2 0 0 0 s}$ | $100 \%$ | $90 \%$ | $80 \%$ | $50 \%$ | $0 \%$ |

Table 13
Percentage of deaths at age:

| Century | $\mathbf{0 - 5}$ | $\mathbf{5 - 9}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 - 1 9}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{1 7 0 0 s}$ | $9 \%$ | $\mathbf{7 \%}$ | $3 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{1 8 0 0 s}$ | $13 \%$ | $4 \%$ | $8 \%$ |
| 1900s | $2 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $1 \%$ |
| 2000s | $0 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $0 \%$ |

Having been extrapolated from legible memorials, some of the figures in Tables 11-13 may be distorted. In particular, infant mortality may have been higher in the eighteenth century but simply not recorded on memorials, particularly in the first half of the century when churchyard monuments were still a rarity. Similarly, the sample available for the twenty-first century is so small, some people may regard it as meaningless. Nevertheless, it is possible to see that there has been a consistent rise in life expectancy at Shotwick over the centuries, and a sharp decrease in infant mortality since the 1800 s, pointing to the expected improvement in living standards since Shotwick's first settlers began filling its graveyard.

[^74]
## Chapter Four

## Conclusions

## The value of churchyards as a social history resource

The format of the average memorial delivers a handy package of crucial information about the individual commemorated: name and dates. Even approximate dates can set the researcher a long way down the path to finding out more about someone's identity and links to other people. If details concerning parentage, occupation and abode ('the Big Three') are also inscribed, the memorial almost becomes a one-stop pottedbiography shop.

Unfortunately, at Shotwick, this felicitous picture of helpful stoneware is literally undermined by erosion and subsidence. All the details in the world are fruitless if they are illegible. Furthermore, it is rare indeed for the Big Three to occur together, although a solo performance is also useful.

Sadly, while St Michael's monuments serve the historian quite well, the formulaic content of the majority of inscriptions generally results in a failure to convey any sense of what the deceased person was like in life. To rectify this aridity, it is necessary to examine as many other sources as possible. Wills, for instance, are a particularly good means of discovering both occupation and preoccupations. The former is stated more frequently in parishioners' wills than on their memorials, while the possessions bequeathed often make a statement about personal taste and the warmth of the testator's relationship with his or her heirs. School logbooks are in the premier division when it comes discovering individual quirks, and parish registers are an ideal starting point for tracing inter-generational relationships. Combined with property deeds, licences, apprenticeship indentures, census figures, tax returns, diaries, maps, plans and a vast gamut of other sources, these yield a formidable battery of personal and demographic information, but the churchyard should never be seen as more than one element of the vital mix.

## Further avenues of enquiry

## The Parish of Shotwick

As with all studies, the more you know, the more you realise there still is to find out. In this dissertation it has only been possible to skim the surface of the parish and home in on a very small selection of targets. Freed from the restrictions imposed by deadlines and word limits, it would be extremely rewarding to examine all parish register entries with the same attention to detail as that afforded the Lucks, and to correlate all the memorials with family muniments; extant wills; tithe apportionments; property deeds; apprentice indentures and legal records. Although there would still be many gaps which could only be filled by logical deduction, it would nevertheless be possible to create cradle-to-grave pegboards of otherwise obscure parishioners' lives, to map family relationships across the generations, and to create a convincing profile of Shotwick over the centuries.

## Memorials

A more thorough examination of memorial typology and the degree to which it is influenced by local and national trends could be obtained by comparing the churchyard at St Michael's with other cemeteries:
(a) in the Chester area;
(b) in the whole of Cheshire;
(c) across England;
(d) in Europe
(e) in the world.

Clearly, a study on the scale of any of the above would require exponentially commensurate human resources, though if enough local volunteers with internet access could be found, it need not be particularly expensive or take more than a couple of years to conduct new surveys and analyse the findings of both these and existing surveys. ${ }^{1}$ Such a study would also, of course, yield vast swathes of information on a

[^75]whole range of demographic trends concerning surnames, forenames, life expectancy, occupations, population density and a welter of other topics.

## Aims accomplished

In the meantime, the survey of Shotwick's churchyard has preserved information about the Ancient Parish which was in danger of being lost for ever. Every memorial has been recorded and photographed, and all details have been cross-checked against earlier, less complete surveys.

The creation of the spreadsheet has resulted in an invaluable analytical tool from which detailed demographic studies about the parish can easily be launched. Furthermore, such a tool has endless versatility; new columns could be added to facilitate investigations into, for example, dimensions, preambles, the condition of monuments and directions of tilt.

Although an exhaustive survey of every commemorated churchyard occupant was not feasible in the time available, correlating information from a multiplicity of sources has made it possible to reconstruct a flavour of some of Shotwick's former inhabitants and the type of lives they led.

## Deathbed guidelines

One by-product of conducting a graveyard survey is a thorough grounding in what to avoid when selecting a memorial. For longevity, small, stable monuments made of a durable material like granite or marble are best. Inscriptions should be either be relief or deeply incised and preferably inlaid. A bold, sans serif typeface may not look pretty, but will remain legible far longer than delicate italics. Memorials situated indoors will fare better than those open to the elements. A cache of diaries deposited at the local record office will prove a far better memorial than any mere grave-slab. At the end of the day, pen and paper are indubitably mightier than stone and chisel.

## Appendix One

## Equipment used during the churchyard survey

My churchyard survey kit was composed of the following items:

- churchyard plan
- recording forms
- clipboard
- pens
- pencils
- eraser
- pencil sharpener
- 5 m metal tape measure
- digital camera
- magnetic board
- magnetic numbers
- Copy of Harold Mytum's How to Record and Analyse Graveyards (York, 2000)
- Copy of Jeremy Jones' How to Record Graveyards (London, 1984)
- stiff-bristled brush
- garden trowel
- gardening gloves
- Wellington boots
- water


## Porpoises swim pp to Blue Bridge

Appendix Two
Newspaper cutting

Chester Mail,
23 March 2005

## Appendix Three

## The meaning of Shotwick

Listed as Sotowiche in The Domesday Book, ${ }^{1}$ Shotwick's name is believed by experienced etymologists such as Eilert Ekwall ${ }^{2}$ and the late John McNeal Dodgson ${ }^{3}$ to derive from three Old English elements: sceot, 'steep slope'; hoh, 'promontory, spur of land'; and wic, a word applied to trading settlements and production centres ranging from dairy farms (such as the Northumbrian settlement of Cheswick, 'cheese farm') to salt-works (such as Cheshire's 'north/middle/famous' salt-works at Northwich, Middlewich and Nantwich). ${ }^{4}$

Casting a hasty glance at Wirral's reputation as a Norse enclave, amateur linguists have also posited the theory that the wic element may be a corruption of the rare Old Scandinavian place-name element $v i k$, allegedly meaning 'creek' ${ }^{5}$ - a reference to the creek running south of St Michael's. Ekwall, ${ }^{6}$ however, translates it as 'bay' and Gordon ${ }^{7}$ as 'turn(ing)'. In the English Place-Name Society's comprehensive lists of place-name elements it is conspicuous by its absence not only in the relevant Cheshire volume, ${ }^{8}$ but also in editions devoted to former Danelaw territory in the East Midlands. ${ }^{9}$

The notion that Norse settlers influenced the naming of Shotwick is additionally inconsistent with historical facts, common sense and place-name evidence elsewhere in the Wirral.

[^76]Marauding Danes targeting the Wirral were given short shrift by Alfred the Great in the $890 \mathrm{~s},{ }^{10}$ and never got the chance to establish permanent settlements. By 902, when Aethelflaed, Countess of Mercia, granted permission for the Norwegian leader Ingimund and his followers to settle in Wirral following their expulsion from Ireland, ${ }^{11}$ Chester had attracted royal attention and shortly afterwards emerged as a thriving Anglo-Saxon port. ${ }^{12}$ Common sense alone suggests that Anglo-Saxons venturing westwards to settle in Wirral would have opted for prime agricultural sites with easy access via the Dee to trading facilities at Chester.

Nomenclature corroborates this theory. Beyond Shotwick, along the former Dee shoreline, lie, in sequence, Puddington, 'farm called after Putta', Burton, 'farm at a fortification', and Neston, 'farm on a headland', all of which derive their names from purely Old English elements. ${ }^{13}$ The next settlement, Parkgate can be discounted, since its name, taken from the park gates at Neston, was not coined until the early eighteenth century. ${ }^{14}$ It is not until Heswall, 'hazel spring', that we encounter linguistic evidence of long-term Scandinavian presence in a hybrid name which evolved from Old Norse hesli and Old English wella. ${ }^{15}$ Should this be regarded as the geographical point where boundaries between Englishmen and Norsemen began to blur on the Dee coast? Quite possibly. At any rate, the southernmost Wirral name composed entirely of Norse elements belongs to a place midway between the Mersey and the Dee: Raby, 'village at a boundary', from Old Norse $r a$ and byr. ${ }^{16}$ In fact, the majority of Norse place-names are closer to the Mersey than the Dee (at places like Meols, 'sand-banks', from Old Norse melr, ${ }^{17}$ and Tranmere, 'sandbank of cranes', from Old Norse trani and melr ${ }^{18}$ ). This comes as no surprise to anyone aware that the main Scandinavian route into Mercia was via the River Mersey, which borders the

[^77]northern side of the peninsula, not via the Dee, which borders the south. All attempts to encroach on Anglo-Saxon territory nearer Chester were firmly quashed and, after a combined force of Norse and Scots was trounced by the Anglo-Saxons at the Battle of Brunanburh (identified as Bromborough ${ }^{19}$ ) in 937, the Scandinavians made no further attempts to dominate south Wirral.

It therefore seems unlikely in the extreme that the name of Shotwick - the closest to Chester of all Wirral's Dee estuary settlements - would incorporate any Norse elements.

What of the suggestion that wic may refer to saltworks, ${ }^{20}$ as in the case of the three Cheshire towns of Northwich, Middlewich and Nantwich? This hypothesis is based on a few paragraphs in Leland's Itinerary:
'A myle lower [than Crabhall village] is Shottewik Castelle on the very shore longging to the King: and thereby ys a park.
'Shottewike townelet is a 3. quarters of a myle lower.
'And 2. mile lower is a rode in $\mathrm{D}[$ ee] callid Salthouse, where again it [on the] shore is a salt house cotage.
'Then is Burton hedde, wherby is a village almost a mile lower than Salt [House]., ${ }^{21}$

In other words, the salt-house is nearer Burton than the centre of Shotwick. Lack of widespread industrial activity in the vicinity is confirmed by the clear red sandstone of St Michael's Church, which compares favourably with the sooty walls of Chester Cathedral and the medieval churches of the three central Cheshire wiches. This implies that Shotwick was never subjected to pervasive fumes resulting from largescale salt production. There is therefore no reason to conclude that the Shotwick

[^78]locale ever boasted more than one salt-house, though it is apparent from the early parish registers that a family surnamed Salthouse lived in Shotwick in $1700 .{ }^{22}$

Bearing in mind the number of cheek-by-jowl Roman and medieval salthouses in the other three Cheshire wiches, ${ }^{23}$ would a single salt-house be sufficient to influence the naming of a settlement centred two miles away? Common sense inclines towards the negative.

Taking all these topographical factors into account, the trained etymologists win the day. Old English 'Wic [whether farm or trading post] on a steep promontory' comes across as the most convincing definition, particularly in view of the elevated position of St Michael's Church and the nucleated nature of the agriculturally-biased settlement around it.

[^79]
## Appendix Four

## Diocese of Chester churchyard regulations

## Resumé of regulations approved by the Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester ${ }^{l}$

1. Nothing shall be placed in a churchyard until the consent of the Parish Priest has been obtained in writing. A full description of the proposed work (measurements, inscription, materials etc) is required.
2. It is advised that no contract with a funeral director or stonemason should be made until written authorisation has been obtained from the Parish Priest.
3. It is not permitted to introduce kerbs, railing, posts or chains, to enclose a grave or to cover the surface of a grave with chippings or other extraneous materials.
4. Bulbs maybe planted, but NOT trees, shrubs or plants which impede mowing.
5. The surface of the grass shall be levelled and turfed or seeded to allow mowing.
6. Glass, ceramic and plastic containers are not permitted and no container should impede mowing.
7. Artificial flowers are not permitted except for Remembrance Day poppies.

July 2002

## Commentary on the Diocesan churchyard regulations

The preponderance of simple 'ped-heads' among recent memorials at Shotwick can doubtless be ascribed to the limitations on monument design imposed by Regulation 3. If these restrictions continue to apply, monument diversity will become a thing of the past, and bland rows of virtually identical memorials will engulf cemeteries across the county.

Note the astonishing ecclesiastical obsession with mowing (mentioned in three of the seven regulations). In Diocesan eyes, keeping grass neat clearly takes precedence over compassion or individual taste. Thankfully, for those of an anarchic disposition, Regulation 6, concerning flower receptacles, has frequently been ignored at Ince, but this may owe more to failure to read the notices than deliberate rebellion.

The list of regulations is not displayed at Shotwick or, indeed, at many churchyards in the vicinity of Chester, though whether this is because of priestly disapproval remains to be discovered.

[^80]
## Appendix Five

## Recording Forms

On the following pages are two photocopies of 'raw' Recording Forms - i.e. exactly as they were filled in at the churchyard - plus one example of a computerised form.

Although computerised versions are much neater, they lack the spontaneity of the in situ forms and in some respects are far less satisfactory. For an artist of indifferent ability, for instance, it is particularly difficult to recapture the essence of a memorial sketched swiftly and unselfconsciously as a private aide-memoire while standing with a clipboard ankle-deep in wet grass.

The lesson is clear: the most successful graveyard survey records will be comprised of both computerised forms for longevity and hand-written forms filled in on site.

## Grave memorial recording form

| Churchyard: | Shotwick |
| :--- | :--- |
| Grid reference: | SJ 337718 |
| Dedication: | St Michael |
| Denomination: | Church of England |
| Date of record: | 5 March 2005 |
| Name of recorder: | Vanessa Greatorex Roskilly |
| Memorial number: | 001 |
| Memorial type: | War memorial surmounted by Celtic cross |
| Material/geology: | Sandstone with ?bronze plates |
| Which way stone faces: | East |
| Which faces inscribed: | East and North |
| Number of people commemorated: | Six |
| Inscription technique: | Cast bronze (raised lettering) |
| Condition of monument: | Lichened, splintered on cross shaft |
| Condition of inscription: | Good |
| Current height above ground (mm): | 995 to top of step plus shaft/cross above |
| Width (mm): | 1544 |
| Length or thickness (mm) | 1406 |
| Digital photograph number: | $0418,0419,0420$ |

Inscription:
East face:
SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF WILLIAM EVANS • JOHN MANSLEY • RALPH THOMAS • JOHN WESTON •

HERBERT WILCOXSON
OF THIS PARISH
WHO FELL IN ACTION IN THE GREAT WAR
1914-1919


North face:
1939-1945
FREDERICK WALTER HOPWOOD
KILLED IN ACTION AT
ARNHEM
18 SEPTEMBER 1944


## Grave memorial recording form



Inscription:


Grave memorial recording form:


Remark:ograph number:
Inscription technique: $\quad$ lIne. 16 lade inland? Condition of inscription inlay flaked off ;erosion + Chubs $A P$ F 195 except for
Current height above ground (mm): 11480 Fl is
Width (mm):
Length or thickness (mm) Remarks:
livy dec r nose dee.
316237
res


WILYAM HEARING.


Appendix Six

## Spreadsheet of sample entries from Shotwick's parish registers, 1681-1702

This eight-page spreadsheet incorporates the key points from every entry made during the first twenty years of Shotwick's extant parish registers, based on Estelle Dyke's transcript. ${ }^{1}$

The dates have been adjusted by me to conform to the Gregorian calendar rather than the Julian calendar used in England until 1752. ${ }^{2}$ In other words, the years stated begin on the first of January and end on thirty-first of December rather than starting on the twenty-fifth of March and finishing on the following twenty-fourth of March.

By cross-referencing entries, it is sometimes possible to work out relationships between the people listed in the register. The final column of the spreadsheet contains my deductions concerning these. A question mark indicates relationships that are only probable or possible rather than definite. Comments and questions concerning cause of death and infection are also made and raised in this column.

Clearly, if time and space allowed, it would be worthwhile to tabulate and analyse all subsequent entries in Shotwick's parish registers in this depth.

[^81]| Shotwick Parish Registers: 1681-1702 |  | From | Event | Date | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Name | Status |  |  |  |  |
| Andrew Joseph |  |  | baptised | 23 May 1693 | Posthumous baptism? See burials of 1690 |
| John Joseph |  |  | baptised | 23 May 1693 | Posthumous baptism? See burials of 1690 |
| Cathrine | daughter of James Leylen | Saughall Magna | baptised | 24 May 1681 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| George | son of George Chamberlaine |  | baptised | 25 Sept 1690 |  |
| Thomas | son of Thomas Chamberlaine |  | baptised | 29 March 1690 |  |
| John Josephs |  | Shotwick | baptised | 29 March 1690 | Father of the Joseph boys? |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Andrew Joseph James Millner | born in 1693 'which may be remembered' |  |  |  | Born but not baptised? |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| John | son of John Joseph |  | buried | 25 March 1690 | baptised posthumously? |
| Edward Walsh | Gentleman, being a stranger | Stockton, Worcs | buried | 17 April 1690 |  |
| Thomas | son of Thomas Cawley was baptised in the year of our Lord God 1692 |  | buried | 27 March 1690 |  |
| Andrew | son of John Joseph was baptised in 1693 |  | buried | 23 May 1690 | baptised posthumously? |
| Elizabeth | daughter of Robert Mulleiner, husbandman and Elizabeth his wife | Shotwick | baptised | 8 Sept 1697 |  |
| Hanah | daughter of John Edwards, labourer, and Abigail his wife | Shotwick | baptised | 12 Oct 1697 |  |
| Mary | daughter of John Davies | Saughall Magna | baptised | 15 Oct 1697 |  |
| Humphrey | son of Edward Humphreys, labourer, and Hanah his wife | Shotwick | baptised | 28 Nov 1697 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Thomas Luck | pauper | Saughall Parva | buried | 29 March 1697 | wife and children |
| Thomas Evans | pauper | Capenhurst | buried | 25 Sept 1697 |  |
| William Chamberlain | labourer |  | buried | 28 Sept 1697 |  |
| Anne | wife of Thomas Chamberlain | Saughall Magna | buried | 31 Sept 1697 | mother of Thomas, baptised 1690? |
| Hanah | daughter of John Edwards |  | buried | 23 Oct 1697 | baptised 11 days earlier |

$\left.\begin{array}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|}\hline & & & & \\ \hline \text { Mary } & \text { daughter of John Hiccock, husbandman, } & \text { Shotwick } & \text { baptised } & 2 \text { Feb 1698 } \\ \text { and Margery his wife }\end{array}\right)$

| Jane Amon | widow | Shotwick | buried | 30 June 1698 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Elizabeth | wife of Richard Lake, smith | Capenhurst | buried | 18 Sept 1698 | husband outlived her only 6 months |
| Margret | daughter of Robert Janny, cleric |  | buried | 28 Oct 1698 | curate's daughter; bap 17 days earlier |
| John Haliwell | buried at Chester | Saughall Magna | buried | Oct 1698 | died in Chester? no grave in Shotwick |
| John Hale | yeoman, buried at Eastham | Saughall Parva | buried | 6 Nov 1698 | died in Eastham? no grave in Shotwick |
| William Milner | labourer | Shotwick | buried | 8 Nov 1698 |  |
| Peter Inglefield | pauper | Saughall Parva | buried | 11 Nov 1698 |  |
| Catherine | wife of Robert Muleneux, husbandman | Saughall Parva | buried | 23 Dec 1698 |  |
| child | John Basnet's 'dead born' |  | buried | 23 Dec 1698 | position in register confusing; wrong date? |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mary | daughter of John Roberts | Shotwick | baptised | 5 January 1699 |  |
| Robert | son of Thomas Peasant |  | baptised | 22 Jan 1699 |  |
| Thomas | son of Samuel Holland | Saughall Parva | baptised | 26 Feb 1699 |  |
| Richard | son of Daniel Hampton | Capenhurst | baptised | 2 March 1699 | buried 4 April 1699 |
| Mary | bastard daughter of Jane Jones, born in the parish of St John's in Chester |  | baptised | 14 March 1699 |  |
| Margret | bastard daughter of Margret Luck, widow | Saughall Parva | baptised | 21 March 1699 | buried two days later. Mother relict of Thomas Luck (buried 29/3/97)? Daughter result of prostitution to survive? |
| Mary | bastard daughter of Catherine Calvley by John Downward | Capenhurst | baptised | 30 March 1699 | Downward men don't seem to believe in marriage; buried six days later |
| William | bastard son of Martha Cooper by Witton Beigh | Capenhurst | baptised | 19 April 1699 | buried 30 July 1699 |
| Robert | son of Thomas Hesketh | Capenhurst | baptised | 1 May 1699 |  |
| Robert | son of Robert Tudore | Shotwick | baptised | 28 May 1699 |  |
| Mary | daughter of John Burges | Saughall Magna | baptised | 11 Nov 1699 | born less than 10 months after parents' wedding; buried 20 Nov 1699 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| John Burges/Jane Hoylin | at Trinity in Chester |  | married | 27 Jan 1699 | daughter conceived soon after; was bride related to Martha, married in Chester $5 / 10 / 98$ ? |
| Thomas Lloid/Mary Carter |  |  | married | 4 June 1699 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Francis Silito | spinster | Capenhurst | buried | 2 Jan 1699 |  |


| Edward | pauper | Saughall Magna | buried | 22 Jan 1699 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mary | wife of Thomas Lloyd, labourer | Burton parish | buried | 8 Feb 1699 |  |
| Mary | wife of Thomas Briscall, farmer | Eastham parish | buried | 20 Feb 1699 |  |
| Thomas Richards | schoolmaster | Shotwick | buried | 26 Feb 1699 |  |
| Richard Lake | smith | Capenhurst | buried | 19 March 1699 | husband of Elizabeth, buried 18 Sept 1698 |
| Margret | daughter of Margret Luck, pauper | Saughall Parva | buried | 23 March 1699 | baptised two days earlier |
| Margret Luck | pauper | Saughall Parva | buried | 25 March 1699 | buried two days after her newborn daughter; probably childbirth-related |
| Richard | son of Daniel Hampton, tailor | Capenhurst | buried | 4 April 1699 | baptised 2 March 1699 |
| Mary | bastard daughter of Cathrin Calvley |  | buried | 5 April 1699 | baptised 31 March 1699 |
| Alice Holland | spinster | Shotwick | buried | 17 April 1699 |  |
| Richard Spencer | blacksmith | Saughall Magna | buried | 18 April 1699 |  |
| William Shepard | tailor | Shotwick | buried | 21 April 1699 |  |
| Thomas Hesketh | farmer | Capenhurst | buried | 29 April 1699 |  |
| John Jones | bachelor | Shotwick | buried | 14 May 1699 |  |
| Briget Spencer | pauper | Shotwick | buried | 2 June 1699 |  |
| Thomas Dod | mariner | Saughall Parva | buried | 15 June 1699 |  |
| Joane Piner | virgin; pauper | Capenhurst | buried | 15 June 1699 |  |
| Joseph Turner | son of a stranger | Capenhurst | buried | 27 July 1699 |  |
| ? Luck | orphan | Saughall Parva | buried | 29 July 1699 | last of the ill-fated Luck family? |
| William | bastard of Martha Cooper | Capenhurst | buried | 30 July 1699 | baptised 17 April 1699 |
| Ferdinando Ratcliff | carpenter | Shotwick | buried | 6 Aug 1699 |  |
| Henry Hoylin | husbandman | Saughall Magna | buried | 18 Aug 1699 |  |
| Rachel | daughter of William Rowland of Leigh | Neston parish | buried | 6 Sept 1699 |  |
| Izabella Heylin | spinster | Saughall Magna | buried | 23 Sept 1699 |  |
| Valentine Short | gentleman |  | buried | 14 Oct 1699 | daughter Elizabeth buried 17 March 1698; posthumous daughter Mary baptised 17 June 1700 |
| Mary | daughter of John Burges | Saughall Magna | buried | 20 Nov 1699 | baptised nine days earlier |
| Alice Carter | pauper | Saughall Magna | buried | 28 Nov 1699 |  |
| Mary | wife of Robert Chamberlain, fisher | Saughall Magna | buried | 10 Dec 1699 |  |
| Grace | pore stranger' | Shotwick | buried | 25 Dec 1699 |  |


| Mary | bastard daughter of Mary Grice \& Thomas Downward | Capenhurst | baptised | 2 Feb 1700 | Downward men don't seem to believe in marriage, though they will acknowledge their children |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| William | son of Thomas Salthouse | Shotwick | baptised | 27 Feb 1700 | More evidence of salt-making? |
| George | son of George Grifith | Capenhurst | baptised | 5 March 1700 | buried 25 April 1700 |
| Hannah | daughter of Symion Edwards | Saughall Magna | baptised | 19 March 1700 |  |
| Richard | son of Thomas Chamberlain, yeoman | Saughall Magna | baptised | 2 April 1700 | brother of Thomas, baptised 29 March 1690? |
| Mary | daughter of Thomas Lloid, labourer | Woodbank | baptised | 2 April 1700 |  |
| Ralph | son of John Edge, labourer | Saughall Magna | baptised | 18 April 1700 | buried 4 Aug 1700 |
| Robert | son of Robert Kendrick, labourer | Saughall Magna | baptised | 30 April 1700 |  |
| Thomas | bastard son of Mary Bagaley \& William Bignall | Capenhurst | baptised | 9 June 1700 |  |
| Mary | posthumous daughter of Valentine Short, gentleman |  | baptised | 17 June 1700 | father buried 14 Oct 1699 |
| Joshua | son of Richard Dod, husbandman | Crabwall | baptised | 4 July 1700 |  |
| James | son of Thomas Holland, tailor | Shotwick | baptised | 20 July 1700 | buried 24 Aug 1700 |
| Martha | daughter of Samuel Jones, tailor | Shotwick | baptised | 26 July 1700 |  |
| Anne | daughter of John Danes, husbandman | Saughall Magna | baptised | 13 Aug 1700 |  |
| John | son of Daniel Done, husbandman | Saughall Magna | baptised | 27 Aug 1700 |  |
| Jane | daughter of Thomas Evans, labourer | Woodbank | baptised | 1 Sept 1700 |  |
| Thomas | son of Thomas Hughes | Saughall Magna | baptised | 19 Sept 1700 |  |
| Thomas Jones/Ann Spencer |  | Saughall Magna | married | 26 Jan 1700 |  |
| John Hughes/Helen Carter |  | Saughall Magna | married | 26 Jan 1700 |  |
| David Hill/Mary Jones |  | Shotwick | married | 4 Feb 1700 |  |
| Robert Mulleneux/Elizabeth Pemberton |  | Saughall Parva | married | 3 April 1700 |  |
| Daniel Barrow/Martha Gaxon |  | Nesse | married | 3 April 1700 |  |
| William Lloyd/Margret Alexander |  | Capenhurst | married | 5 June 1700 |  |
| Hugh Wirrall/Anne Lloid |  | Capenhurst | married | 4 Sept 1700 |  |
| Thomas Piers/Anne Salthouse |  |  | married | 29 Sept 1700 |  |
| John Hasler/Ann Carter |  | Neston/Little Saughall | married | 22 Oct 1700 |  |
| Charles Broster/Elizabeth Parry |  |  | married | 27 Dec 1700 |  |


|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jane Sparke |  | Shotwick | buried | 18 Feb 1700 | related to Thomas, father of John, baptised 14 June 1698? |
| Margret Farington |  | Ledsham, Neston parish | buried | 3 March 1700 |  |
| Joseph Hockenhull | esquire |  | buried | 9 March 1700 | local squire; wife died 7 months later |
| John Taylor | poor child | Capenhurst | buried | 29 March 1700 |  |
| Izabella Waite | daughter of Thomas Waite, gentleman | Chester | buried | 13 April 1700 |  |
| George | son of George Grifith, husbandman | Capenhurst | buried | 25 April 1700 | baptised 5 March 1700 |
| Ralph | son of John Edge, labourer | Saughall Magna | buried | 4 Aug 1700 | baptised 18 April 1700 |
| James | son of Thomas Holland, tailor | Shotwick | buried | 24 Aug 1700 | baptised 20 July 1700 |
| Mrs Elizabeth Hockenhull | widow |  | buried | 24 Oct 1700 | widow of Joseph, buried 9 March 1700 |
| George Gillam | weaver | Saughall Magna | buried | 22 Dec 1700 |  |
| child left in the street |  | Woodbank | baptised | 1 Jan 1701 | probably lgnota, buried 1 Feb 1701 |
| Elizabeth | daughter of Richard Smith, husbandman | Woodbank | baptised | 15 Jan 1701 |  |
| James | son of Thomas Maddock, mariner | Shotwick | baptised | 16 Jan 1701 |  |
| Thomas | son of Samuel Perry, blacksmith | Shotwick | baptised | 24 Jan 1701 |  |
| Hester | daughter of Robert Tudore, carpenter | Shotwick | baptised | 2 March 1701 | buried 9 September 1701; brother Robert baptised 28 May 1699 |
| Mary | daughter of Samuel Benit | Saughall Magna | baptised | 18 March 1701 |  |
| Thomas | son of John Heskyth, husbandman | Capenhurst | baptised | 19 March 1701 |  |
| Richard | son of John Hughes | Saughall Magna | baptised | 25 Feb 1701 |  |
| Edward | son of Robert Mulleneux | Shotwick | baptised | 14 March 1701 | parents married 13 April 1700, then moved from Saughall Parva to Shotwick?? |
| George | son of George Grifith, yeoman | Capenhurst | baptised | 30 March 1701 | named after father and dead brother; did his parents think they could replace their dead son, or were they just obsessed with the family name? |
| Edmund | son of Edmund Ash, labourer | Saughall Magna | baptised | 1 April 1701 | named after father; brother Thomas buried 26 March 1698 |
| John | bastard son of Martha Heylin | Saughall Magna | baptised | 2 Feb 1701 | related to William? |
| Dorothy | daughter of William Heylin, fisherman | Saughall Magna | baptised | 22 April 1701 | related to Martha? |
| Margret | daughter of John Roberts, 'milner' | Shotwick | baptised | 22 May 1701 |  |
| Susannah | daughter of John Sherwood | Saughall Magna | baptised | 12 May 1701 |  |


| Hannah | daughter of Thomas Hoskith, husbandman | Capenhurst | baptised | 25 May 1701 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Anne | bastard daughter of Elenor Tudore | Capenhurst | baptised | 23 June 1701 |  |
| Samuel | son of Robert Janny, cleric | Shotwick | baptised | 3 Aug 1701 | son of Shotwick's curate; sister Margret buried 28 Oct 1698 |
| John | son of John Perry, pauper | Capenhurst | baptised | 17 Aug 1701 |  |
| James | son of Thomas Holland, tailor | Shotwick | baptised | 5 Sept 1701 | infant brother died August 1700 |
| Thomas | son of George Cardin | Saughall Magna | baptised | 6 Sept 1701 |  |
| Richard | son of John Joseph, fisher | Shotwick | baptised | 20 Sept 1701 | buried 24 Sept 1701; another shortlived Joseph child |
| Helen | daughter of James Heskyth, husbandman | Capenhurst | baptised | 16 Nov 1701 |  |
| Abigail | daughter of Thomas Lloid, pauper | Woodbank | baptised | 18 Nov 1701 |  |
| Elizabeth | daughter of Robert Lloid | Saughall Parva | baptised | 2 Dec 1701 |  |
| Thomas | son of George Webster, labourer | Capenhurst | baptised | 11 Dec 1701 |  |
| Witton | son of Andrew Tomlin, pauper | in the park' | baptised | 14 Dec 1701 | presumably Shotwick Park (then extra parochial) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mary | daughter of John Joseph | Shotwick | buried | 29 Jan 1701 | another of the ill-fated Joseph brood? |
| Elizabeth Darwent | poor widow | Saughall Parva | buried | 31 Jan 1701 |  |
| Ignota de Woodbank | poor child | Woodbank | buried | 1 Feb 1701 | child left in the street, baptised 1 Jan 1701? |
| Peter Plumley | glasier | Woodbank | buried | 25 Feb 1701 |  |
| Elizabeth | daughter of Moses Foxley | Saughall Magna | buried | 2 March 1701 |  |
| Thomas Bradshaw | husbandman | Woodbank | buried | 4 June 1701 |  |
| Edward Street | husbandman | Mollington | buried | 7 June 1701 |  |
| Thomas | son of John Hesketh, husbandman | Capenhurst | buried | 15 Aug 1701 | seven children and a pauper died between now and 24 Sept; was an infectious disease raging throughout the parish during these five weeks? Only the most vulnerable seem to have died in this period |
| Thomas | son of Thomas Hoskyth, husbandman | Capenhurst | buried | 26 Aug 1701 |  |
| William Ball | pauper | Woodbank | buried | 5 Sept 1701 |  |
| Hester | daughter of Robert Tudore |  | buried | 9 Sept 1701 | baptised 17 March 1701 |


| Hannah | daughter of Thomas Heskyth | Capenhurst | buried | 7 Sept 1701 | baptised 25 May 1701; was her father, <br> Thomas Heskyth, the same Thomas <br> Hoskyth whose son Thomas was buried <br> 26 Aug 1701? <br> If so, did both children |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| dane of the same illness? |  |  |  |  |  |$|$

## Appendix Seven

## Baptisms and burials in Shotwick's parish registers, 1702-1775

Based on Estelle Dyke's transcript of the early parish register, ${ }^{1}$ the following list states the number of baptisms and burials between 1702 and 1775. Note that the figures have been recorded in accordance with the dating conventions prevailing in the register. This means that between 1702 and 1752 the year starts on the Feast of the Blessed Virgin (the twenty-fifth of March) and ends on the following twenty-fourth of March, in accordance with the Julian calendar then used in England. After 1752, when England finally adopted the Gregorian calendar, it runs from 1 January to 31 December. ${ }^{2}$

Although it cannot be assumed that every child born was baptised, or that every resident of the parish was buried in St Michael's churchyard, the figures provide a broad indication of parochial population trends. Births and deaths counterbalanced each other in only two years (1706-7 and 1754). Shotwick's population fell in twentyseven of the years listed, with the 1720s being a particularly disastrous decade. Nationally, the Prime Minister's policy of maintaining a permanent National Debt brought a period of general prosperity, ${ }^{3}$ during which living standards rose, although bad harvests and outbreaks of whooping cough, smallpox, suffocating coughs and putrid fever caused a blip between 1727 and $1730^{4}$ (when Shotwick's population fell by thirty-four - six less than in the years 1721-1724). Despite these set-backs, Shotwick's population increased in forty-five of the years, with the 1770s showing the biggest rises. This may have been due to a variety of factors - such as an influx of newcomers keen to occupy the reclaimed land - rather than the improved health, nutrition and housing standards one would automatically associate with such a trend.

[^82]Shotwick parish registers 1703-1775

| Year | Baptised | Buried | Population <br> change | Year | Baptised | Buried | Population <br> change |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1702-3$ | 18 | 6 | +12 | $1739-40$ | 21 | 16 | +5 |
| $1703-4$ | 23 | 19 | +4 | $1740-41$ | 20 | 29 | -9 |
| $1704-5$ | 19 | 14 | +5 | $1741-42$ | 16 | 15 | +1 |
| $1705-6$ | 22 | 8 | +14 | $1742-43$ | 17 | 19 | -2 |
| $1706-7$ | 14 | 14 | 0 | $1743-44$ | 23 | 17 | +6 |
| $1707-8$ | 20 | 15 | +5 | $1744-45$ | 20 | 12 | +8 |
| $1708-9$ | 15 | 18 | -3 | $1745-46$ | 21 | 13 | +9 |
| $1709-10$ | 18 | 11 | +7 | $1746-47$ | 15 | 21 | -6 |
| $1710-11$ | 11 | 14 | -3 | $1747-48$ | 27 | 15 | +12 |
| $1711-12$ | 16 | 7 | +9 | $1748-49$ | 12 | 20 | -8 |
| $1712-13$ | 13 | 16 | -3 | $1749-50$ | 19 | 17 | +2 |
| $1713-14$ | 24 | 8 | +16 | $1750-51$ | 24 | 13 | +11 |
| $1714-15$ | 13 | 23 | -10 | $1751-52$ | 15 | 17 | -2 |
| $1715-16$ | 18 | 7 | +11 | $1752-53$ | 9 | 11 | +2 |
| $1716-17$ | 22 | 21 | +1 | 1753 | 18 | 10 | +8 |
| $1717-18$ | 11 | 10 | +1 | 1754 | 18 | 18 | 0 |
| $1718-19$ | 24 | 18 | +6 | 1755 | 16 | 13 | +3 |
| $1719-20$ | 15 | 16 | -1 | 1756 | 16 | 15 | +1 |
| $1720-21$ | 16 | 25 | -9 | 1757 | 21 | 9 | +12 |
| $1721-22$ | 13 | 29 | -16 | 1758 | 19 | 7 | +12 |
| $1722-23$ | 13 | 20 | -7 | 1759 | 19 | 17 | +2 |
| $1723-24$ | 12 | 29 | -17 | 1760 | 17 | 23 | -6 |
| $1724-25$ | 15 | 23 | -8 | 1761 | 22 | 23 | -1 |
| $1725-26$ | 13 | 16 | -3 | 1762 | 14 | 13 | +1 |
| $1726-27$ | 21 | 28 | -7 | 1763 | 12 | 7 | +5 |
| $1727-28$ | 18 | 35 | -17 | 1764 | 25 | 27 | -2 |
| $1728-29$ | 15 | 16 | -1 | 1765 | 22 | 15 | +7 |
| $179-30$ | 20 | 36 | -16 | 1766 | 25 | 10 | +15 |
| $1730-31$ | 22 | 19 | +3 | 1767 | 26 | 11 | +15 |
| $1731-32$ | 22 | 13 | +9 | 1768 | 18 | 25 | -7 |
| $1732-33$ | 13 | 12 | +1 | 1769 | 26 | 13 | +13 |
| $1733-34$ | 25 | 16 | +9 | 1770 | 24 | 9 | +15 |
| $1734-35$ | 19 | 22 | -3 | 1771 | 19 | 22 | -3 |
| $1735-36$ | 17 | 15 | +2 | 1772 | 33 | 14 | +19 |
| $1736-37$ | 23 | 15 | +8 | 1773 | 28 | 11 | +17 |
| $1737-38$ | 23 | 26 | -3 | 1774 | 29 | 14 | +15 |
| $1738-39$ | 18 | 16 | +2 | 1775 | 28 | 21 | +7 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Appendix Eight

## Spreadsheet of data collected from memorials

The following 28-page spreadsheet contains data from all 370 memorials visible in St Michael's churchyard between March and May 2005, plus an update on Memorial 296. This was originally recorded as a flower and vase-decked mound, but the spreadsheet was revised when a more permanent memorial was erected in October 2005, a year after the demise of the deceased. A similar time-lapse may or may not have occurred between the death of other churchyard occupants and the erection of new monuments (or, indeed the addition of inscriptions to existing memorials). This means the churchyard's memorials may be slightly more recent than the first date inscribed on them would suggest.

Also listed is data from fourteen memorials inside the church (information from additional interior inscriptions was collected by FC Beazley ${ }^{1}$ in 1905, but has been omitted here if no longer readily visible, with the exception of Memorial $N$, which is hidden beneath several layers of carpet in the inaccessible Sanctuary, but has attracted too much controversy ${ }^{2}$ to omit).

Wherever possible, information from eroded inscriptions has been inserted after correlating my 2005 survey with the monumental inscriptions collected by JHE Bennett and PH Lawson in 1910 and FC Beazley in 1905. Such insertions are always noted in the 'Comments' column.

Each memorial has been allocated a number in accordance with Plan 3:
Shotwick Churchyard: plan of graves, 2005. Memorials relating to more than one person have been subdivided (1.1, 1.2 etc), with the memorial number appearing first.

[^83]Measurements (noted on original recording forms) have not been stated, though the size or proportion of monument buried has been indicated if relevant or noteworthy.

Inscriptions are incised and facing east unless otherwise stated. Italic text on the spreadsheet signifies italic text on the memorial.

## Listings

1-370 Inscriptions on memorials in St Michael's Churchyard, Shotwick.
A-N Principle inscriptions inside St Michael's Church, Shotwick

## Abbreviations used in Memorial listings

| E | East | centr <br> chipgs | centre <br> chippings <br> N |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| North | chyd | churchyard |  |
| S | South | dec | decoration |
| W | West | dr | dear |
|  |  | fr | from |
| foot | footstone | inc | incision |
| head | headstone | insc | inscription |
| kb | kerb | lv | love |
| ped | pedestal | oblit | obliterated |
|  |  | semi-circ | semi-circular |
| m | months | sin | sinuous |
| wk | weeks | shldrs | shoulders |
| yr | years | sq | square |
|  |  | transv | transverse |
| blvd | beloved | tri | triangular |
| dau | daughter | typog | typography |
| husb | husband |  | w |

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{St Michael's Churchyard, Shotwick} \& \& \& \& \& \& \& \\
\hline Memorial No. \& Memorial type \& Memorial features \& Surname \& Forenames \& Date \& Age/Date of birth \& Abode/ Occupation \& Relationship \& Notes; quotes; comments \\
\hline 001.1 \& War memorial: pedestal cross \& Sandstone. 3 step cuboid pedestal; Celtic cross \& Evans \& William \& 1914-1918 \& Not known \& Not stated \& None mentioned \& See also Memorial 320.2 \\
\hline 001.2 \& See 001.1 \& See 001.1 \& Mansley \& John \& See 001.1 \& Not known \& Not stated \& None mentioned \& \\
\hline 001.3 \& See 001.1 \& See 001.1 \& Thomas \& Ralph \& See 001.1 \& Not known \& Not stated \& None mentioned \& \\
\hline 001.4 \& See 001.1 \& See 001.1 \& Weston \& John \& See 001.1 \& Not known \& Not stated \& None mentioned \& \\
\hline 001.5 \& See 001.1 \& See 001.1 \& Wilcoxon \& Herbert \& See 001.1 \& Not known \& Not stated \& None mentioned \& \\
\hline 001.6 \& See 001.1 \& See 001.1. N face \& Hopwood \& Frederick Walter \& 18 Sept 1944 \& Not known \& Not stated \& None mentioned \& Killed in action at Arnhem. See also Memorial 305.3 \\
\hline 002 \& Ledger \& Sandstone \& Wilcoxon \& Elizabeth \& 16 Dec 1884 \& 42 \& Not stated \& None mentioned \& Moss removed \\
\hline 003 \& Table tomb \& Sandstone. On ledger, 3 transverse legs \& Dean \& Isaac \& 12 Oct 1847 \& 83 \& Ledsham \& None mentioned \& Moss removed \\
\hline 004.1 \& Step ledger \& Sandstone \& Inglefield \& Jane \& 6 Aug 1882 \& 61 \& Shotwick \& Wife \& \\
\hline 004.2 \& See 004.1 \& See 004.1 \& Inglefield \& Thomas \& 12 Jan 1889 \& 67 \& Shotwick \& Husband \& \\
\hline 004.3 \& See 004.1 \& See 004.1 \& Inglefield \& William \& 26 May 1857 \& 56 \& Shotwick \& Son \& \\
\hline 005 \& Step ledger \& Sandstone \& Taylor \& Bridget \& 28 May 1821 \& 76 \& Not stated \& None mentioned \& Inscription obliterated 2005. All details from Bennett/Lawson \\
\hline 006.1 \& \begin{tabular}{|l} 
Headstone \\
\hline See 006.1
\end{tabular} \& Sandstone. Mostly oblit \& Trueman
Trueman \& Hannah \& 6 Aug 1835 \& 60 \& Shotwick \& None mentioned \& Originally much larger. All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 8) \\
\hline 006.2 \& See 006.1 \& See 006.1 \& \begin{tabular}{|l|l|} 
Trueman \\
\hline Trueman \\
\hline
\end{tabular} \& Daniel \& 28 Dec 1885 \& 48 \& Shotwick \& Husband of above HT \& All details from Bennett/Lawson - \\
\hline 006.4 \& See 006.1 \& See 006.1 \& Trueman \& \begin{tabular}{l} 
George \\
\hline Sarah \\
\hline
\end{tabular} \& Not stated \& Infant \& Shotwick \& Son of H\&D T \& All details from Bennett/Lawson \\
\hline 006.5 \& See 006.1 \& See 006.1 \& Trueman \& Ellen \& 21 April 1809 \& 28 \& Not stated \& Daughter of H \& D T \& Surname and 'infancy' from Bennet/Lawso \\
\hline 007.1 \& Headstone \& Sandstone. Fleur de lys. \& Trueman \& James \& 23 May 1871 \& 50 \& Not stated \& Father \& \\
\hline 007.2 \& See 007.1 \& See 007.1 \& Trueman \& Louisa \& 26 Nov 1861 \& 6 months \& Not stated \& Daughter \& "Blessed are the dead/which die in the Lord/from henceforth; Yea, saith/the Spirit,/that they may/rest from their labours" \\
\hline 008.1 \& Headstone \& Sandstone.Tapered. Sin shidrs; semicircular top \& Trueman \& Hannah \& 6 Aug 1835 \& 60 \& Shotwick \& Wife \& Sloping west \\
\hline 008.2 \& See 008.1 \& See 008.1 \& Trueman \& Daniel \& 28 Dec 1835 \& 48 \& Shotwick \& Husband \& As 008.1 \\
\hline 008.3 \& See 008.1 \& See 008.1 \& Trueman \& George \& Not noted \& Infant \& Shotwick \& ?Son? \& As 008.1 \\
\hline 008.4 \& See 008.1 \& See 008.1 \& Trueman \& Sarah \& Not noted \& Infant \& See 008.1 \& ? Daughter? \& As 008.1 \\
\hline 008.5 \& See 008.1 \& See 008.1 \& Trueman \& Ellen \& 21 April 1869 \& 28 \& See 008.1 \& Daughter \& "In peace let me resign my breath/And thy salvation see. My sins deserve eternal death/But Jesus died for me" \\
\hline 009.1 \& Table tomb \& \begin{tabular}{l}
Sandstone. 3 transverse legs \\
See 009.1
\end{tabular} \& \begin{tabular}{|l} 
Washington \\
\hline Washington
\end{tabular} \& William \& 31 Dec 1820 \& Of(?2) \& Capenhurst \& Obliterated \& Inscription obliterated 2005. All details from Bennett/Lawson \\
\hline 009.3 \& See 009.1 \& See 009.1 \& Washing \& Elizabeth \& ?? 18?? \& Obliterated \& See 009.1 \& Wife \& As 009.1 Probably wife of Thomas \\
\hline 009.4 \& See 009.1 \& See 009.1 \& Washington \& Ann \& 17 April 182 ? \& 59 \& See 009.1 \& None mentioned \& As 009.1. Probably husband of Elizabeth \\
\hline 010
011.1 \& Headstone \& \begin{tabular}{l}
Sandstone. Concave \\
shoulders; flat top \\
Sandstone. Triangula
\end{tabular} \& \begin{tabular}{l} 
Washington \\
\hline Taylor \\
Dunn
\end{tabular} \& \begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline Ann \\
\hline Sarah \\
\hline Elizabeth \\
\hline
\end{tabular} \& 17 Dec 18[763]
19 Feb 1842

27 March 1855 \& $\begin{array}{r}88 \\ \hline 63 \\ \hline 73\end{array}$ \& See 009.1 \& None mentioned \& As 009.1 Probably daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Sloping south \& west. Slivers of sandstone about to disintegrate on west face <br>
\hline 011.1 \& Headstone \& Sandstone. Triangular centre flanked by curves; decorative scrolls \& Dunn \& Elizabeth \& 27 March 1855 \& 73 \& Capenhurst \& Wife of William Dunn \& "She lived beloved and died in truth". Sloping south. <br>
\hline 011.2 \& See 011.1
Headstone \& See 011.1 \& Roberts \& Mary \& 30 April 1860 \& 48 \& Not stated \& Daughter of W \& E D; wife of John Roberts \& See 011.1 <br>
\hline 012 \& Headstone \& Sandstone. Sinuous shoulders; semi-circ top \& Dunn \& John \& 30 Dec 1847 \& 39 \& Capenhurst \& Son of W \& E Dunn \& Religious four-liner <br>
\hline 013.1 \& Pedestal \& Sandstone. Pediment \& Thamton \& Edward \& $? \operatorname{Jan} 1868$ \& 74 \& Great Saughall \& Husband \& Biblical quotation; age from Bennett/Lawson <br>
\hline
\end{tabular}

| 013.2 | See 013.1 | See 013.1 | Thornton | Ann | 27 May 1870 | 175 | See 013.1 | Wife | See 012.1. Age/day/year from Bennett/Lawson |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 014.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Concave shoulders; semicircular top; floral dec | Thornton | Ann | 15 Feb 1865 | 14 | Chester | Daughter of Isaac \& Mary T | Sloping south and west. |
| 014.2 | See 014.1 | See 014.1 | Thornton | Samuel | 21 March 1865 | 1 yr 5 m | Chester | Son of Isaac \& Mary T | See 14.1 |
| 014.3 | See 014.1 | See 014.1 | Thornton | Edward | 28 May 1872 | 14 | Chester | Son of Isaac \& Mary T | See 14.1 |
| 014.4 | See 014.9 | See 014.1 | Thornton | Mary | 18 Jan 1874 | 49 | Chester | Mother | See 14.1 |
| 015.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transv legs | Hough | Joseph | 20 Feb 1848 | 7 | Not noted | Son of William \& Ann H | Sloping north \& west. |
| 015.2 | See 015.1 | See 015.1 | Hough | William | 2 Sept 1848 | 3[?6] | Sealand | Father of Joseph | See 15.1 |
| 015.3 | See 015.1 | See 015.1 | Hough | Ann | 15 Jan 1899 | 92 | Astbury Villa, Mollington | Wife of William Hough | "Thou shall come to thy grave in a full age/Like as a shock of corn cometh in its season. Job 5.26/The memory of the just is blessed. Prov 10.7/Her end was peace" |
| 016 | Ledger | Sandstone. Mossed | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated |  |
| 017 | Ledger | Sandstone. MMH inscribed | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Poss part of 018 |
| 018 | Headstone ??or footstone?? | Sandstone. Concave shoulders; double semicirc top; circular dec | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Poss part of 017. Slopes south. Much buried. Footstone? |
| 019 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transv legs | Wilcoxon | Mary | 14 July 1820 | 15 | Ledsham | Dau of Thomas \& Mary | East leg leaning East, no longer support top properly |
| 020.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. Scroll typog | Wilcoxon | Mary | 29 Nov 1827 | 59 | Ledsham | Wife of Thomas | Collapsing. Sloping south \& east |
| 020.2 | See 020.1 | See 020.1 | Wilcoxon | Thomas | 3 July 1856 | 78 | Ledsham | Husband of Mary | See 020.1 |
| 021 | Headstone | Sandstone. Mostly buried | Hesket | Thomas | 2 Feb 1786 | 49 | Not stated | None mentioned | Surname, date and year from Bennett/Lawson |
| 022.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transv legs | Whaley | Thomas Sadler | 20 Mar 1838 | 4 yrs 4 months | Chester | Son of Thomas and Penelope Whaley | Mother, date and year from Bennett/Lawson |
| 022.2 | See 022.1 | See 022.1 | Whaley | Penelope | 2 Sept 1849 | 55 | Chester | Wife of Thomas Whaley | Name, date and age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 022.3 | See 022.1 | See 022.1 | Whaley | Margaret | 1 July 1853 | 17 | Chester | Dau of T \& PW | Date and age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 023.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 4 round corner pillars | Whaley | Samuel | 21 Dec 1773 | 52 | Capenhurst | None mentioned, but pater familias | Samuel I. Date and age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 023.2 | See 023.1 | See 023.1 | Whaley | Lydia | 17 March 1800 | 85 | Capenhurst | Wife of above Samuel (I) Whaley | Lydia I |
| 023.3 | See 023.1 | See 023.1 | Whaley | Martha | 1 March 1801 | 7 | Not stated | Daughter of Samuel (II) \& Margaret Whaiey |  |
| 023.4 | See 023.1 | See 023.1 See 023.1 | Whaley | Samuel | 3 Aug 1816 | 24 | Not stated | Son of Samuel (II) \& Margaret Whaley | Samuel III |
| 023.6 | See 023.1 | See 023.1 | Whaley | Samuel | 3 May 1827 | 65 | Not stated | Father of Samuel (III) | Samuel II. Date and age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 023.7 | See 023.1 | See 023.1 | Whaley | Lydia | 18 Oct 1832 | 25 | Not stated | Daughter of the above | Lydia II |
| 023.8 | See 023.1 | See 023.1 | Whaley | Margaret | 6 Mar 1834 | $\frac{37}{75}$ | Not stated | Son of the above Wife of Samuel (II) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | mother dear etc.' by Bennett/Lawson |
| 023.9 | See 023.1 | See 023.1 | Whaley | Robert | 21 March 1865 | 40 | Not stated | Son of Samuel (II) \& Margaret Whaley | Date and age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 024.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Scalloped base delib? | Houghland | Elezebeth | 25 March 1764 | 68 | Capenhurst | Wife of Isaac Houghland | Name, date and age from Beazley \& Bennett/Lawson |
| 024.2 | See 024.1 | See 024.1 | Houghland | Isaac | 25 March 1764 | 40 | Capenhurst | Son of above Isaac \& Eliz | Name, date and age from Bennett/awson |
| 024.3 | See 024.1 | See 024.1 | Spencer | Isac | 18 June 1793 | 28 | Capenhurst | None mentioned | Name, date and age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 024.4 | See 024.1 | See 024.1 | Gasken [sic] | William | 9 July 1831 | 79 | Capenhurst | None mentioned | Surname, month and age from Bennett/Lawson \& Beazley |
| 024.5 | See 024.1 | See 024.1 | Garston | William | 14 April 1859 | 57 | Not stated | Son of abv Wm Garston | Surname from Bennet//Lawson \& Beazley. Not change in spelling of father's sumame; 1831 inscription wrong? |
| 025 | Ledger | Sandstone. Lichened and mossed | Warren | Benjamin | 16 April 1817 | 44 | Mariner. Liverpool | None mentioned | Sumame \& age from Bennett/Lawson |


| 026.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transverse legs | Jones | Mary | 1 Oct 1841 | 53 | Marlston cum Lache | Wife of Samuel Jones | "Bereft of her we loved so well/Oh where for comfort she/But to that God whose power can quell/The grief we feel for thee" |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 026.2 | See 026.1 | See 026.1 | Jones | Richard | 3 Aug 1817 | 8 weeks | Marlston CL | Son of above S \& M J |  |
| 026.3 | See 026.1 | See 026.1 | Jones | William Griffith | 4 Mar 1820 | 10 weeks | Mariston CL | Son of above S \& M J |  |
| 026.4 | See 026.1 | See 026.1 | Jones | John | 28 Mar 1825 | 15 weeks | Mariston CL | Son of above S \& M J |  |
| 026.5 | See 026.1 | See 026.1 | Jones | Emma | 30 April 1825 | 19 weeks | Mariston CL | Daughter of above S\&MJ; presumably John's twin | "Jesus saith Suffer Little Children to come unto me, and forbid them not for of such is the kindgom of God" |
| 026.6 | See 026.1 | See 026.1 | Jones | Samue! | 20 Sept 1860 | 75 | Marlston CL | Husband/father of above | "Blessed are the dead which die in the LORD" |
| 027 | Ledger | Sandstone. Mossed | Jones | Lydia | 14 Aug 1832 | 45 | Not stated | Daughter of the late John Jones of Capenhurst Hall | Inscription obliterated 2005. All details from Bennett/Lawson |
| 028 | Ledger | Sandstone. Insc oblit | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | "No inscription" according to Bennett/Lawson (their 16) |
| 029.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Lichened | Parsonage | children | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Children of Thomas P | Inscription obliterated 2005. All details from Bennett/Lawson |
| 029.2 | See 029.1 | See 029.1 | Parsonage | Thomas | 26 Feb 1800 | 70 | Not stated | Father, husband | Inscription obliterated 2005. All details from Bennett/Lawson |
| 029.3 | See 029.1 | See 029.1 | Parsonage | Catherine | 7 March 1811 | 75 | Not stated | Wife of Thomas | Inscription obliterated 2005. All details from Bennet//Lawson |
| 030.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Skull and crossbones | ?Kelsall | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Husband of Elizabeth Kelsall |  |
| 030.2 | See 030.1 | See 030.1 | Kelsall | Elizabeth | 23 March 1766 | 65 | Not stated | Wife of above |  |
| 030.3 | See 030.1 | See 030.1 | Warrington | Margaret | 20 April 1790 | 59 | Saughall | Wife of Silvester Warrington, daughter of 'above' Elizabeth Kelsall |  |
| 031.1 | Table tomb on inscribed base | Sandstone. 3 transv legs; base insc echoes top | Jones | Joseph | 22 January 1833 | 11 months | Marston cum Lache | Son of Robert \& Margaret Jones | Mason's mark: W Haswell/Mason/Chester |
| 031.2 | See 031.1 | See 031.1 | Jones | Margaret | 12 June 1833 | 33 | Marston CL | Wife of Robert Jones |  |
| 031.3 | See 031.1 | See 031.1 | Jones | Robert | 27 Dec 1863 | 65 | Marston CL | Husband/father of above |  |
| 032.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Bevelled top | Jones | Joseph | 8 Nov 1831 | 48 <br>  <br> 84 | Marlstoncom leach [sic] | Husband of Jane | "Of manners mild to all who knew him dear/The tender husband best of friends lies here/Whose darling wish was comfort to impart/To cheer the drooping sooth the aching heart./Ah!let nor folly one kind tear deny/But pensive pause where truth and honour lie. |
| 03.2 | See 032.2 | See 032.2 | Jones | Jane | 8 Feb 1870 | 84 | Not stated | Wife of above Joseph |  |
| 033.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Bevelled top. Scrolled typog | Jones | Catherine | 12 Dec 1784 | 47 | Capenhurst Hall | Wife of Joseph Jones |  |
| 033.2 | See 033.1 | See 033.1 | Jones | Joseph | 3 June 1780 | 71 | Capenhurst Hall | Husband of Catherine | "with the caricter of a truly honest Man and a sincere Christian" |
| 033.3 | See 033.1 <br> See 033.1 | See 033.1 | Jones | John | 29 Sept 1826 | 77 | Capenhurst Hall | Husband of Ann | "From grievous sikness and cruel pain/Kind Death hath set me free/And all my friends that loveth God/Will soon come after me." |
| 033.4 | See 033.1 | See 033.1 | Jones | Ann | 9 May 1810 | 81 | Capenhurst Hall | Wife of above John | "Here lies a Wife who was kind/And of tender loving Mind/She lived a Life of faithful Love/ln hope to live in Heaven above." |
| 034 | Ledger | $4 / 5$ blank; inscription near bottom | Briscoe | John | 5 Sept 1827 | Not stated | Not stated | None mentioned | Surname and year from Bennett/Lawson |
| 035.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone Bevelled top; decorated plinth | Briscoe | William | 23 May 1764 | 49 | Ledsham | Husband; father |  |
| 035.2 | See 035.1 | See 035.1 | Briscoe | Elizabeth | 21 Feb 1799 | 65 | Ledsham | Relict of William |  |
| 035.3 | See 035.1 | See 035.1 | Briscoe | Anne | 11 Mar 1827 | 69 | Not stated | Daughter of above |  |
| 035.4 | See 035.1 | See 035.1 | Briscoe | Hannah | 13 June 1827 | 64 | Not stated | Daughter of above |  |
| 035.5 | See 035.1 | See 035.1 | Briscoe | Rebecca | 26 July 1827 | 68 | Not stated | Daughter of above |  |


| 036.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Bevelled top; panelied design | Briscoe | William | 23 Oct 1723 | 79 | Ledsham | None mentioned |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 036.2 | See 036.1 | See 036.1 | Briscoe | Ann | 7 Nov 1709 | 58 | Ledsham | Wife of William B |  |
| 036.3 | See 036.1 | See 036.1 | Briscoe | John | 13 Aug 1757 | 77 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 036.4 | See 036.1 | See 036.1 | Briscoe | Ann | 22 Oct 1760 | 69 | Not stated | Wife of John B |  |
| 037 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transverse legs; inscribed base | Jones | Ann | 12 Sept 1855 | 27 | Marston-cumLache | Eldest daughter of Robert \& Margaret Jones | Base seems to be wom italicised version of top. Renewed? A mistake? Mason: W Haswell, Chester |
| 038.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Lichen; moss | Cartwright | Richard | 16 Oct 1798 | 65 | Mollington | Husband | Details from Bennett/Lawson |
| 038.2 | See 038.1 | See 038.1 | Cartwright | Martha | 8 Nov 1757 | 26 | Not stated | First wife of Richard; daughter of Charles Chamberlaine of Mollington | As 038.1 |
| 038.3 | See 038.1 | See 038.1 | Cartwright | Martha | 20 Sept 1792 | 72 | Not stated | Second wife of Richard: sister of Thomas Hesketh of the Lodge | As 038.1 |
| 038.4 | See 038.1 | See 038.1 | Cartwright | Mary | 5 Sept 1769 | 14 | Not stated | Daughter of Richard \& [first] Martha | As 038.1 |
| 038.5 | See 038.1 | See 038.1 | Cartwright | Richard | 6 Dec 1791 | 36 | Not stated | Son of Richard \& Martha | As 038.1 |
| 038.6 | See 038.1 | See 038.1 | Cartwright | Richard | 7 July 1817 | 29 | Not stated | Son of last-named Richard \& wife Sarah | As 038.1 |
| 038.7 | See 038.1 | See 038.1 | Ley | Sarah | 12 May 1835 | 76 | Not stated | Widow of above-named Richard | As 038.1 |
| 039.1 | Ledger | Sandstone | Davies | Samuel | 30 Oct 1828 | 8 | Willeston | Son of Samuel \& Mary Davies | Name, date \& age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 039.2 | See 039.1 | See 039.1 | Davies | William | 9 Nov 1841 | 19 | Not stated | Son of the above | Name, date \& age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 039.3 | See 039.1 | See 039.1 | Davies | Samuel | 8 Feb 1867 | 73 | Willeston | Father of Samuel \& William | Date \& age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 039.4 | See 039.1 | See 039.1 | Dean | Ann | 31 Aug 18[?61] | 87 | Two Mills |  | Place and date from Bennett/Lawson |
| 039.5 | See 039.1 | See 039.1 | Davies | Thomas | 28 Feb 1868 | 50 | Chester | Son of Samuel \& Mary | Place and parents from Bennett/Lawson |
| 039.6 | See 039.1 | See 039.1 | Davies | Mary | 5 May 1877 | 83 | Not stated | Wife of Samuel |  |
| 040.1 | Mini chest | Sandstone | Briscoe | Eleanor | 14 April 1805 | 41 | Woodbank | Wife of John Briscoe |  |
| 041.1 | Seedger 04 | See 040.1 | Briscoe | John | 10 March 1843 | 86 | Woodbank | Wife of Eleanor |  |
| 041.2 | See 041.1 | See 041.1 | Knowles | John | 3 Dec 1858 | 58 | Ledsham | Husband of Mary |  |
| 042.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Mostly oblit | Knowles | Margaret | 7 May 1817 | 53 | Ledsham | Wife of John |  |
| 042.2 | See 042.1 | See 042.1 | Denson | Elizabeth | 1 June 1825 | 5 | Capenhurst | Daughter of George \& Esther Denson | Details from Bennett/Lawson As 042.1 |
| 042.3 | See 042.1 | See 042.1 | Denson | Esther | 3 Aug 1825 | 28 | Upton | Mother of Elizabeth, wife of George | As 042.1 |
| 042.4 <br> 042.5 | See 042.1 | See 042.1 See 0425 | Briscoe | Elizabeth | 29 Jan 1828 | 23 | Parkside | Wife of John Briscoe, sister of Esther Denson | As 042.1 |
| 042.5 | See 042.5 | See 042.5 | Knowles | John | 9 Sept 1837 | 81 | Not stated | Father of 'above children' | As 042.1. Children probably Esther \& elder Elizabeth |
| 043 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 tranverse legs | Denson | Margaret | 29 Jan 1827 | 32 | Chester | Wife of William Denson |  |
| 044.1 | Chest tomb See 044.1 | Sandstone. Bevelled plinth. <br> See 044.1 | Draycott | Elizabeth Thomas | 1 Sept 1818 | 53 <br> 88 | Not stated | Wife of Thomas Draycott | "A loving Wife a Mother Dear/A faithful honest friend lies sleeping here./Great is the love that we sustain/We hope in Christ to meet again." |
| 045 | Headstone | Sandstone. Double curve | Draycott | Thomas | 7 Oct 1854 | 88 | Not stated | Husband of Elizabeth |  |
| 046 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shldrs; semicirc top | Dracott | Isaac | 22 Nov 1772 | 28 | Not stated Not stated | None mentioned | Age from Bennett/Lawson |


| 047 | Ledger | Sandstone. Partially buried turf liftable | Griffith | John | 28 Apr 1859 | 84 | Not stated | None mentioned | "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away. Sacred be the name [of the Lord]." |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 048 | Ledger | Sandstone. Partly buried; mossed | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | "No inscription" according to Bennett/Lawson (their 97) |
| 049 | Ledger | Sandstone. Insc oblit | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | "No inscription" according to Bennett/Lawson (their 96) |
| 050 | Ledger | Sandstone. | Gregory | Peter | 14 Dec 1822 | 37 | Two Mills | None mentioned |  |
| 051 | Headstone | Sandstone. Tri top; concave shldrs; facing W | Corbin | Margaret | 20 Apr 1852 | 59 | Great Saughall | Wife of Joseph Corbin | numbered 52 in photo; actually 51 |
| 052 | Ledger | Sandstone. Very worn | Vaughan | Three children | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Children of J[oh]n Vaughan | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 44) |
| 053 | Ledger | Sandstone. Insc illegible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Even illegible when Bennett/Lawson operating (their 43) |
| 054 | Ledger | Sandstone. Very worn | Vaughan | Anne | 21 Oct 1864 | 52 | Shotwick | Wife of Joseph Vaughan | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 42) |
| 055 | Headstone | Sandstone. "JH" only inscription | H? | J? | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 50); ?John Hough? |
| 056 | Headstone | Sandstone | Hough | John | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 49); could be JH |
| 057.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transverse legs | Hough | Elizabeth | 3 July 1842 | 72 | Sealand | Wife of Robert Hough | Details from BennetuLawson (therr 49), could be JH |
| 057.2 | See 057.1 | See 057.1 | Hough | Robert | 28 Nov 1845 | 77 | Sealand | Husband of Elizabeth |  |
| 057.3 | See 057.1 | See 057.1 | Hough | John | 23 Aug 1855 | 61 | Sealand | Son of Robert \& Elizabeth |  |
| 058 | Ledger | Sandstone. "DCH" only inscription | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 47); might be G not C |
| 059 | Ledger | Sandstone. Insc illegible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Even illegible when Bennett/Lawson operating (their 46) |
| 060.1 | Headstone | Sandstone | Fennis | Robert | 30 Sept 1777 | 53 | Not stated | Not stated | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 45) |
| 060.2 | See 060.1 | See 060.1 | Fennis | Fanny | 20 Dec 178 [?0] | 74 | Not stated | Not stated | As 060.1 |
| 061 | Head | Sandstone. Tri top; jutting quarter-circles | Garner | William | 27 Feb 1857 | 70 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 062.1 | Headstones \& kerb | Sandstone. Main head between 2 smaller | Garner | Jemima | 27 June 1833 | 16 | Two Mills | Daughter of Samuel and Ann Garner | Eroded quotation. Bennett/Lawson state age as 18 but this may be wrong |
| 062.2 | See 062.1 | See 062.1 | Garner | Samuel | 24 Sept 1859 | 68 | Two Mills | Father of Jemima | Eroded quotation |
| 063.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 2 transverse legs | Jones | Eroded | Eroded | Eroded | Not stated | Not stated | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 54) |
| 063.2 | See 063.1 | See 063.1 | Jones | Eroded | July 1826 | Eroded | Not stated | Son of Edward Jones | As 063.1 |
| 063.3 | See 063.1 | See 063.1 | Jones | Edward | 3 March 18[?49] | 68 | Not stated | Father of above Jones | As 063.1 |
|  | See 063.1 | See 063.1 | Jones | Mary | 19 June 1864 | 78 | Not stated | Not stated | As 063.1 |
| 064.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Mostly illegible. Only first two of five or six people partially legible | Illegible | Illegible | lilegible | Illegible | Shotwick Park | lliegible |  |
| 64.2 | See 64.1 | See 64.1 | Illegible | Mary | Illegible | Illegible | Shotwick Park | Wife of Jam-- |  |
| 065 | Headstone | Sandstone | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | lliegible | Illegible | Illegible |  |
| 066.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic top | Boswell | William | 30 Sept 1880 | 80 | Woodbank | Not stated |  |
| 066.2 | See 066.1 | See 066.1 | Boswell | Margaret | 8 Dec 1868 | 66 | Woodbank | Wife of William | "I know that my Redeemer liveth" |
| 066.3 | See 066.1 | See 066.1 | Boswell | Joseph | 23 Feb 18?? |  | Not stated | Son of the above |  |
| 066.4 | See 066.1 | See 066.1 | Boswell | Joseph | 22 Feb 1854 | 2 | Not stated | Son of the above | "They have gone and the grave hath received them/ Twas Jesus that called them away. They have gone, and the Lord hath redeem'd them/From night to the splendour of day.An the midst of life, we are in death. " |
| 067.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone | Gilbert | Catherine | 15 June 1734 | 72 | Shotwick Park | Relict of James Gilbert Senior | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 61) |
| 067.3 | See 0667.1 | See 067.1 | Gilbert | Martha | 13 June 1761 | 36 | Shotwick Park | Wife of JG Junior | As 067.1 |
|  |  | See 067.1 | Gilbert | James | 5 Dec 1775 | 66 | Shotwick Park |  | As 067.1 |


| 067.4 | See 067.1 | See 067.1 | Gilbert | Thomas | 15 Feb 1742 | 6 months | Shotwick Park | Son of above JG | As 067.1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 067.5 | See 067.1 | See 067.1 | Gilbert | James | 13 Dec 1748 | 6 mons | Shotwick Park | Son of above JG | As 067.1 |
| 067.6 | See 067.1 | See 067.1 | Gilbert | Mary | 20 Aug 1757 | 18 | Shotwick Park | Daughter of above | As 067.1 |
| 068.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Bevelled top, panels and fluting | Nevett Bennett | Sarah | 27 Jan 1787 | 89 | Great Saughall | Late wife of John NB | As 067.1 |
| 068.2 | See 068.1 | See 068.1 | Nevett Bennett Esq | John | 4 May 1830 | 78 | Great Saughall | Husband of Sarah | Date and age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 068.3 | See 068.1 | See 068.1 | Nevitt Bennett | Margaret | 12 Oct 1834 | 50 | Not stated | Daughter of John \& Sarah | Details from Bennett/Lawson. Note change in spelling of surname. |
| 069 | Ledger | Sandstone | Bennett Esq | Samuel | 25 Sept 1763 | 59 | Shotwick | None mentioned |  |
| 070 | Ledger | Sandstone. Illegible | lllegible | Illegible | illegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 56) |
| 071 | Ledger | Sandstone. Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | Hlegible | llegible | Illegible | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 55) |
| $\frac{072}{073}$ | Ledger | Sandstone. Illegible | Illegible | lilegible | Illegible | Illegible | Hlegible | Illegible | "No inscription" according to Bennett/Lawson (their 64) |
| 073 | Ledger | Sandstone. Partially buried | Kirkham | Elizabeth | $\begin{aligned} & \text { [?3 or } 95 \text { ] Nov } \\ & 1787 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 72 | Shotwick | Daughter of John \& Margraie Kirkham | Most details from Bennett/Lawson (their 73) |
| 074.1 | Headstone | Sandstone | Shephard | John | 12 April 1824 | Not legible | Not stated | None mentioned | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 72) |
| 074.2 | See 074.1 | See 074.1 | Shephard | Harriet | ? Nov 1841 | 8 | Not stated | [Daughter] of John | As 074.1 |
| 074.3 | See 074.1 | See 074.1 | Shephard | Danie! | 14 Dec 1856 | 4 | Not stated | None mentioned | As 074.1 |
| 075 | Headstone | Sandstone. Only insc: "IL" | L -? | 1--? | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 71) |
| 076.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Large crack | Lowe | Joseph | 27 Oct 1793 | 6 | Barnston | Son of John \& Mary L |  |
| 076.2 | See 076.1 | See 076.1 | Lowe | Mary | 14 Nov 1832 | 74 | Barnston | Wife of John Lowe |  |
| 076.3 | See 076.1 | See 076.1 | Lowe | John | 1 March 1844 | 81 | Barnston | Husband of Mary | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 69) |
| 076.4 077 | See 076.1 | See 076.1 | Lowe | Peter | 4 Nov 1846 | 49 | Not stated | Son of John \& Mary L | Date and age from Bennett/Lawson |
| 078.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Inscribed top | Pllegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | lllegible | Ilegible | "No inscription" according to Bennett/Lawson (their 69) |
| 078.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Inscribed top, E \& N. On top: | Powell | Thomas | 7 Sept 1812 | 77 | Alderman, Chester | None mentioned |  |
| 078.2 078.3 | See 078.1 | See 078.1. On top: | Powell | Ann | ?9? March 1819 | $? 79$ | Chester | Relict of Thomas | Poss daughter of John \& Ann Meredith |
| -078.3 | See 078.1 | See 078.1. North face: | Meredith | Ann | 20/26? Jan 1765 | 71 | Not stated | Wife of John Meredith |  |
| 078.4 | See 078.1 | See 078.1. North face: | Meredith | John | 11 Feb 1744 | 38 | Saughall | Not stated |  |
| 078.5 | See 078.1 | See 078.1. East face: | Meredith | Four children | Not stated | Not stated | Shotwick Lodge | Children of John \& Ann Meredith |  |
| 079 | Headstone | Sandstone. Flat top with central semi-circle | Webster | Mary | 19 June 1807 | 58 | Shotwick | Wife of George Webster |  |
| 080.1 | Headstone | Semi-circular top | Warrington | Ellen | 27 Feb 1873 | 80 | Woodbank | Wife of Thomas W |  |
| 080.2 | See 080.1 | See 080.1 | Warrington | Thomas | 5 March 1874 | 50 | Not stated | Son of Thomas \& Ellen |  |
| 080.3 | See 080.1 | See 080.1 | Warrington | Thomas | 6 Oct 1879 | 88 | Woodbank | Husband/father of above |  |
| 081 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shldrs; double semicirc top | Mores | Ann | 1 Jan 1756 | 56 | Great Saughall | Wife of Joseph Mores |  |
| 082 | Headstone | Sandstone | Heylin | Catherine | 16 January 1759 | 50 | Great Saughall | Wife of George Heylin | Details from Bennett/Lawson |
| 083.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Ivy between walls \& lid | Lewis | Sarah | 26 Aug 1790 | 38 | Capenhurst | Wife of Samuel Lewis | Detais rom BenetuLawson |
| 083.2 | See 083.1 | See 083.1 | Lewis | Samuel | 26 Sept 1820 | 81 | Not mentioned | "The said" |  |
| $\begin{array}{r}083.2 \\ \hline 083.4\end{array}$ | See 083.1 | See 083.1 | Lewis | Margaret | 7 Dec 1831 | 24 | Not mentioned | Granddaughter of above Samuel \& Sarah Lewis |  |
|  | See 083.1 | See 083.1 | Evans | Anne | 23 Jan 1859 | 18 | Not mentioned | Niece of above ML | "In life beloved, in death lamented." |
| 083.5 | See 083.1 | See 083.1 | Atkins | Ellen | 3 Nov 1860 | 77 | Not mentioned | Daughter of above S $L$ | "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. Rev XIV. 13" |
| 084.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Panels; base plinth | Smith | Elizabeth | 6 Aug [year not stated] | 51 | Not mentioned | Wife to Isaac Smith | "My days are past. My purposes/Are broken off/Have pity upon me O ye my friend/For the hand of God hath touched' |
| 084.2 | See 084.1 | See 084.1 | Smith | Isaac | 13 June 1845 | 82 | Not mentioned | Husband of Elizabeth |  |


| 084.3 | See 084.1 | See 084.1 | Smith | Isabella | 15 July 1868 | 69 | Not mentioned | Daughter of above I\&ES |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 085.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Partly buried | Mullineux | Edward | 12 Nov 1769 | 70 | Not mentioned | None mentioned |  |
| 085.2 | See 085.1 | See 085.1 | Mullineux | Martha | 24 March 1787 | 98 | Not mentioned | Wife of Edward M | As 085.1 |
| 086 | Ledger | Sandstone. lliegible | lilegible | Illegible | lilegible | Illegible | Illegible | llegible | As 08.1 |
| 087.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Broken halfway | Aston | Rev M Thomas | 22 Dec 1738 | 58 | "Minister of this parish" | None mentioned |  |
| 087.2 | See 087.1 | See 087.1 | Reay | Joice | 30 Oct 1823 | 89 yrs 7 months | "This parish" | Wife of Stephen Reay, Minister of "this parish" | Date and age from Bennett/Lawson (their 77) |
| 087.3 | See 087.1 | See 087.1 | Bremer | Betsey | $\begin{aligned} & 30 \text { March } 1835 \\ & \text { [?or 1855] } \end{aligned}$ | 78 | Not mentioned | None mentioned |  |
| 088 | Headstone | Sandstone. "DWM" | M--? | D-? W--? | Not mentioned | Not mentioned | Not mentioned | None mentioned |  |
| 089.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Older insc deeper \& more legible | Coulton | Samuel | 29 Sept 1770 | Infant | Saltney | Son of William \& Ann C | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 94) |
| 089.2 | See 089.1 | See 089.1 | Coulton | William | 19 Feb 1775 | 8 | Not mentioned | None mentioned | Probably another son of William and Ann Coulton |
| 089.3 | See 089.1 | See 089.1 | Coulton | Samuel | 11 Mar 1775 | Infant | Not mentioned | None mentioned | Probably another son of W \& A Coulton; died about three weeks after [?brother] William: same illness? |
| 089.4 089.5 | See 089.1 | See 089.1 | Coulton | Thomas Goist | 31 April 1775 | 5 [? or 3?] | Not mentioned | None mentioned | Probably another son of W \& A Coulton; died about seven \& a half weeks after [?brother] Samuel: same illness as S \& William? |
| 089.5 | See 089.1 | See 089.1 | Coulton |  | 1776 | 64 | Saughall Magna | None mentioned | Probably wife of William \& Mother of dead children |
| 090.1 | Headstone See 090.1 | Sandstone. Scroll-curved top. <br> See 090.1 | Lamb | Thomas | 22 March 1857 | ${ }^{11}$ | Capenhurst "in the parish of Shotwick" | Son of Robert \& Jane Lamb | "My parents dear no longer pine/l safely lodge in hands Divine./Short was my stay. Long is my rest./God takes them first whom he thinks best." |
| 091.1 | Ledger | Sandstone | Hughes | Thomas | 30 July 1859 | 79 | Not mentioned | None mentioned |  |
| 091.2 | See 091.1 | See 091.1 | Hughes | Jane | 20 Oct 1819 | $\frac{? 67}{75}$ | Shotwick | None mentioned | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 91) |
| 092.1 | Pedestal cross, hipped body on 2 steps, kerb | Sandstone. 4 step cuboid ped; ihs cross; cross on top of low monument; insc EWNS faces | Tomlinson | William D | 20 Nov 1895 | 46 | Shotwick | Wife of Daniel Hug | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 91) Top step of pedestal, east face |
| 092.2 | See 092.1 | See 092.1 | Tomlinson | George Boyd | 29 March 1891 | 32 | Not mentioned | None mentioned | Top of low monument, south face. |
| 092.3 | See 092.1 | See 092.1 | Tomlinson | Archibald Maxwell | died 14 Jan 1865; interred at Shotwick 8 Apr 1865 | 30 | New Orleans, US | None mentioned | On bevelling on top of low monument, S, E, N \& W faces |
| 092.4 | See 092.1 | See 092.1 | Tomlinson | Francis Robert Proctor | 22 July 1882 | 31 | Bromborough | None mentioned | On vertical side of low monument, $\mathrm{S}, \mathrm{E}, \mathrm{N}$ faces. Bennett/Lawson suggest age may be 51 |
| 092.5 | See 092.1 | See 092.1 | Tomlinson | John | 24 Dec 1871 | 75 | Not stated | None mentioned | North face. |
| 092.6 | See 092.1 | See 092.1 | Tomlinson | Sarah | 9 Jan 1880 | 81 | Not stated | Widow of John | North face |
| 093 | Headstone | Sandstone. Worn insc | Whitch | Thomas | 15 Dec 1775 | 61 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 094 | Ledger | Sandstone. Eroded | Illegible | lllegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible |  |
| 095.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Partially legible | Ch- | Jo | - April 17[?67] | 47 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 095.2 | See 095.1 | See 095.1 | Ch-- | Anne | 23 Apr 1779 | 73 | Not stated | Wife of JC |  |
| 096.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Partially legible | Ch-mber- | Thomas | 17 Apr 17- | -1 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 096.2 | See 096.1 | See 096.1 | lliegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible |  |
| 097.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Cracked lid See 097.1 | Reay | Joice | 18 June 1767 | 1 | Not stated | Daughter of the Rev Mr [Stephen] Reay |  |
| 097.3 | See 097.1 | See 097.1 | Reay | Stephen | 14 Feb 1789 | 25 | Not stated | Daughter ot Rev Reay Son of Rev Reay |  |


| 097.4 | See 097.1 See 097.1 | See 097.1 | Reay | John | 19 Dec 1799 |  | Not stated |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  097.5 <br> 098.1  | See 097.1 <br> Chest tomb | See 097.1 | Reay Woodin | Rev Stephen | 28 Apr 1808 | 75 | 45 yrs Minister of St Michael's, Shotwick | Father of above four children |  |
| ${ }^{098.1}$ | Chest tomb See 098.1 | Sandstone. South side collapsed. Scrolls around 'Sacred' <br> See 098.1 | Woodin | John | 8 Jan 1834 | 31 | MRCS of London, late of Chester | Son of William Pickering Woodfin and Mary Woodfin of Saltney |  |
| 098.2 | See 098.1 | See 098.1 | Woodfin | Elizabeth | 18 Dec 1835 | 33 | Saltney | Sister of John Woodfin |  |
| 099.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. SW comer broken; ivy. Scrolls | Coulton | William | 25 Sept 1788 | 54 | Saltney | None mentioned |  |
| 099.2 | See 099.1 | See 099.1 | Coulton | Anne | 26 March 1838 | 91 |  |  |  |
| 100.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Lichened; eroded | Warrington | Mary | 26 May 1872 | 75 | Saltney | Relict of William Coulton <br> Wife of Thomas Warrington |  |
| 100.2 | See 100.1 | See 100.1 | Warrington | George | 18 June 1850 | 19 | Not mentioned | Son of Thomas \& Mary |  |
| 100.3 | See 100.1 | See 100.1 | Warrington | Martha | 10 Feb 1867 | 31 | Not mentioned | Daughter of Thos \& Mary |  |
| $\frac{100.4}{101.1}$ | See 100.1 | See 100.1 | Warrington | Prudence | 18 July 1872 | 31 | Not mentioned | Daughter of Thos \& Mary |  |
| 101.1 101.2 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. W\&S sides collapsing; poor grammar | Phillips | James | 20 March 1780 | 53 | Woodbank | Son of Edward Phillip of Eccleston |  |
| 101.2 | See 101.1 | See 101.1 | Warrington | Kitty | 10 March 1831 | 74 | Saughall | Wife of George W |  |
| 102.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. S kerb falling | Bennett | Margaret | 2 June 1866 | 79 | Not mentioned | None mentioned | Daughter of George \& Kitty |
| 102.2 | See 102.1 | $\frac{\text { Sandstone. S kerb falling }}{\text { See 102.1 }}$ | Warrington | Mary | 3 Aug 1869 | 93 | Great Saughall | Wife of George W |  |
| ${ }^{103.1}$ | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. N kb broken | Warrington | George | 10 Feb 1871 10 Oct 1835 | 76 45 | Great Saughall | Husband if Mary W | "Blessed are the dead/which die in the Lord from/henceforth. Yea, saith the/Spirit, that they may rest/from their labours. Rev XIV. 13. "Son of Kitty \& George mentioned on mem 101? |
| 103.2 | See 103.1 | See 103.1 | Smith | Ann | 10 Oct 1835 | 45 | Great Saughall | None mentioned |  |
| 103.3 | See 103.1 | See 103.1 | Hallows | Ann | $\frac{28 \text { Apr } 1860}{22 \text { June } 1869}$ | 66 | Not stated | Wife of Joseph S |  |
| SUNDIAL | Ped sundial |  | Hallows |  | 22 June 1869 | 51 | Not stated | Daughter of Joseph \& Ann | "The toilsome way thou has travell'd o'er/And bourne the heavy Load,/But Christ hath taught thy languid feet/To reach his blest abode.//May each like thee depart in peace/2 B a glorious guest,/Where the wicked cease from troubling/And the weary $R$ at rest" |
|  | Headstone | circumference, base and around sundial |  |  |  |  |  |  | "1720: I:D:R:M:6..." Base: "J.D.R.M.C. wd 1720". On dial: George Healing, Isaac Newell churchwardens 1767. Lewis Thomas fecit" |
| 104 | Headstone Headstone | Sandstone. W badly eroded; floral dec | Jones | Thomas | 26 Jan 1874 | 50 | Shotwick | None mentioned | "Friends prepare make no delay/For I in haste was called away." |
| 105.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Bevelled E side. Roundel. | Jones | Joseph | 12 Jan 1890 | 73 | Shotwick | None mentioned | South side: J Astle/George St/Chester [mason] |
| 105.2 | See 105.1 | See 105.1 | Jones | Mary | 30 Dec 1872 | 58 | Not stated | Wife of Joseph Jones |  |
| 105.3 | See 105.1 | See 105.1 | Jones | Mary | 1 May 1868 | 28 |  | Daughter of $J$ \& M Jones |  |
| 105.4 106.1 | See 105.1 Table tomb | See 105.1 <br> Sandstone. Very low | Taylor | Margaret | 26 March 1873 | 31 72 | Not stated | Daughter of J \& M Jones | "Afflictions sore long time I bore/Physicians were in vain/Till death gave ease, and God was pleased,/To ease me of my pain." |
| 106.2 | See 106.1 | See 106.1 | Edwards | Samuel | 8 April 1 | 72 | Two Mills | None mentioned |  |
| 107.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transv legs | Edwards | Mary | 25 March 1820 | ?77?71 ?74 | Not stated | Wife of Samuel Edwards |  |
| 107.2 | See 107.1 | See 107.1 | Edwards | Ann | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | Not legible | All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 99) |
| 108.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Insc oblit | S[peakeman] | Thomas | 21 Jan 1844 | 59 | Not stated | Wife of above Samuel E | As 107.1 |
| 108.2 | See 108.1 | See 108.1 | Speakeman | Hannah | ? Dec 1834 | 16 | Not stated | Son of William \& Hannah | All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 98) |


| 109.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Ground falls away S | Hughes | Martha | 29 March 1859 | 58 | Woodbank | Wife of John H | "Our Sister beloved is gone to her rest,Where cares shall no more intrude on her breastFrom those happy regions of light and of love/Her purified spinit shall never remove. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 109.2 | See 109.1 | See 109.1 | Hughes | John | 22 April 1868 | 71 | Woodbank Farm | Husband of Martha | "Our Brother beloved is gone to his rest,Where cares shall no more intrude on his breast/From those happy regions of light and of love/Hius punified spinit shall never remove." |
| 110.1 | Head, ped, kerb | Sandstone | Hughes | John | 19 July 1876 | 42 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 110.2 | See 110.1 | See 110.1 | Hughes | Margaret A | 17 April 18?5 | 4 yrs 10 m | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 111.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Fluting, leaf moulding, scalloping | Johnson | Joseph | 18 Oct 1842 | 71 | Shotwick Lodge | None mentioned |  |
| 111.2 | See 111.1 | See 111.1 | Johnson | Hannah | 1 March 1856 | 83 | Not stated | Wife of Joseph Johnson |  |
| 112.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Lichened. Scrolls around 'Sacred' | Johnson | Joseph | 14 Oct 1848 | 49 | Shotwick Lodge | Not stated |  |
| 112.2 | See 112.1 | See 112.1 | Johnson | Sarah | 16 April 1851 | 58 | Not stated | Wife of above Joseph J |  |
| 113.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. All top corners broken | Jones | Benjamin | 30 June 1842 | 4 yrs 9 months | Shotwick | Son of Thomas \& Margaret Jones | Details from Bennet/Lawson (their 118) |
| 113.2 | See 113.1 | See 113.1 | Jones | Thomas | 3 Jan 1845 | 32 | Shotwick | Father of Benjamin |  |
| 113.3 | See 113.1 | See 113.1 | Jones | Samuel | 17 May 1858 | 27 | Not stated | Son of Thos \& Marg. J |  |
| 113.4 | See 113.1 | See 113.1 | Jones | Margaret | 9 Dec 1875 | 81 | Not stated | Wife of above Thos J |  |
| 114.1 | Ledger | Sandstone | Davies | Margaret | 9 June 1835 | 19 | Shotwick | Daughter of Richard \& Mary Davies |  |
| 114.2 | See 114.1 | See 114.1 | Davies | Richard | 9 June 1864 | 78 | Shotwick | Father of Margaret |  |
| 114.3 | See 114.1 | See 114.1 | Davies | Mary | 26 Apr 1875 | 86 | Shotwick | Wife of R, mother of M | "Our parents dear have gained the shore/Their trials are for ever o'er/The Heavenly Canaan's now their rest/Our parents are for ever blest. " |
| 115 | Head \& foot | Sandstone. Brick-sized chunk of sandstone placed west of headstone to minimise tilt | Davies | Maggie | Sunday 16 Sept 1866 | 11 | Puddington | Only daughter of Edward \& Mary Davies | Foot: "M.D./1866" |
| 116.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Moss aids legibility | Davies | Isaac | 12 Oct 1854 | 3 | Not stated | Son of Richard and Maria D |  |
| 116.2 | See 116.1 | See 116.1 | Davies | Maria Elizabeth | 13 Oct 1854 | 4 | Not stated | Sister of above ID | "Suffer little children to come unto you/For of such is the kingdom of heaven. " |
| 117.1 | Head | Sandstone. Forename split across two lines | Thomas | Thomas | 2 June 1849 | 80 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 117.2 | See 117.1 | See 117.1 | Thomas | Mary | 21 March 18?? | 36 | Not stated | Wife of above TT | Much younger than husband |
| 118.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Zigzag. Quatrefoit. Mason's mark clearer than principal insc | Thomas | Thomas | 29 Dec 1869 | 63 | Puddington | Not mentioned | Mason's mark: W A Doodd/Chester |
| 118.2 | See 118.1 | See 118.1 | Thomas | Jane | 21 Mar 1858 | 36 | Not stated | Wife of above TT |  |
| 119.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Cracked; supported by earth behind | Thomas | Thomas | 10 Apr 1822 | 21 | Ledsham | Not stated |  |
| 119.2 | See 119.2 | See 119.2 | Thomas | Elizabeth | 14 July 1822 | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible |  |
| 120.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Kerbed with 121 | Roberts | James | 9 Apr 1856 | 19 | Shotwick | Third son of Samuel \& Elizabeth Roberts |  |
| 120.2 | See 120.1 | See 120.1 | Tilston | Martha | 2 Mar 1869 | 22 | Great Saughall | Beloved wife of Samuel Tilston, daughter of above S \& E Robts |  |


| 120.3 | See 120.1 | See 120.1 | Roberts | Mary | 12 Mar 1874 | 33 | Not stated | Eldest daughter of S \& E Roberts | "A broken and contrite heart/O God thou wilt not despise." |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 121.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Kerbed with 120 | Roberts | Elizabeth | 13 June 1876 | 72 | Shotwick | Beloved wife of Samuel Roberts |  |
| 121.2 | See 121.1 | See 121.1 | Roberts | Samuel | 5 Mar 1877 | 69 | Shotwick | Husband of Elizabeth R |  |
| 122.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Oldest insc clearest | Woodfin | William Pickrine | 20 Feb 1805 | 32 | Saltney | None mentioned |  |
| 122.2 | See 122.1 | See 122.1 | Woodfin | Mary | 12 Feb 1820 | 60 | Not stated | Wife of WPW |  |
| 122.3 | See 122.1 | See 122.1 | Woodfin | Ann | 28 Apr 1832 | 30 | Not stated | Daughter of W \& M |  |
| 123.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Pressure fr 122: S\&W collapsing | Woodfin | Sarah | 23 Jan 1779 | 2 | Shotwick | Daughter of John \& Elizabeth Woodfin |  |
| 123.2 | See 123.1 | See 123.1 | Woodfin | Elizabeth | 2 Feb 1788 | 8 | Shotwick | Daughter of J \& E W |  |
| 123.3 | See 123.1 | See 123.1 | Woodfin | Richard | 5 March 1799 | 8 | Shotwick | Son of J \& E W |  |
| 123.4 | See 123.1 | See 123.1 | Woodfin | John | 27 May 1802 | 54 | Shotwick | Father of above children |  |
| 123.5 | See 123.1 | See 123.1 | Woodfin | Elizabeth | 18 Jan 1821 | 78 | Shotwick | Wife of above John W |  |
| 124.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Ivy | Woodfin | Samuel | 14 Sept 1810 | 35 | Great Saughall | None mentioned |  |
| 124.2 | See 124.1 | See 124.1 | Woodfin | Mary | 25 Oct 1819 | 71 | Not stated | Wife of the above S W |  |
| 125 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. S side falling | Woodfin | William Coulton | 19 June 1840 | 41 | Saltney | None mentioned |  |
| 126 | Headstone | Sandstone. Huge fissure | Price | Catharine | 18 Oct 1792 | 45 | Not stated | Wife of David Price | Hllegible inscription at end |
| 127.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Partially buried E\&S | Hopley | William | 20 Apr 1820 | 83 | Great Saughall | None mentioned | legible inschption al end |
| 127.2 | See 127.1 | See 127.1 | Hopley | Elizabeth | 11 Jan 1824 | 75 | Great Saughall | Wife of said W H |  |
| 128.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. W buried under roots | Gaulton | 6 children | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Children of Humphrey G | " 6 of H G's/Children in the dust/ln hopes to rise again among the just" |
| 128.2 128.3 | See 128.1 | See 128.1 | Gaulton | Mary | 9 June 1793 | 86 | Not stated | Mother of 6 children | "Gone before in hopes to/meet them in that heavenly/Store." |
| $\frac{128.3}{129.1}$ | See 128.1 | See 128.1 | Gaulton | Humphrey | 2 May 1807 | 87 | Not stated | Not stated |  |
| 129.1 <br> 129.2 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Ivy See 129.1 | Woodin | Samuel | 4 Dec 1820 | 84 | Great Saughall | Not stated | "...could preserve or frindship [sic] save/A faithful loving husband from the grave/He had nor died nor...him harm/Been here a loving mournful widow.." |
| 129.3 | See 129.1 | See 129.1 | Woodfin | Esther | 10 Dec 1837 | 82 | Not stated | Wife of Samuel W |  |
| 129.4 | See 129.1 | See 129.1 | Woodfin | Sarah | 17 Sept 1839 | ?? | Great Saughall | Wife of Thomas W |  |
| 130.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. All corners buried. Insc oblit | Greenwood | Dorothy | ?? July 17?? | ? ${ }^{\text {? }}$ ? 4 ? | Great Saughall | Husband of Sarah W Wife of Richard G | All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 157) |
| 130.2 | See 130.1 | See 130.1 | Greenwood | Richard | 10 ???? | Illegible | Little Saughall | Husband of Dorothy G |  |
| 131.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Mostly buried | Greenwood | William | 17 July 1809 | 38 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| $\frac{131.2}{132}$ | See 131.1 | See 131.1 | Greenwood | William | 16 Apri 1813 | 32 | Not stated | Son of above WG | Surname, date and age from Bennett/Lawson (their 156) |
| 132 | Headstone | Sandstone. Insc oblit | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | "No inscription" according to Bennett/Lawson (their 155) |
| 133.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Epigram oblit | Allen | Elizabeth | 5 July 1834 | 20 | Wash Hall | Daughter of Peter \& Frances Allen | Illegible epigram, not recorded Bennett/Lawson |
| 133.2 | See 133.1 | See 133.1 | Allen | Mary | 21 March 18[5]4 | 26 | Wash Hall | Sister of EA |  |
| 133.3 | See 133.1 | See 133.1 | Allen | Frances | 26 Jan 1855 | 77 | Not stated | None mentioned | Probably E \& M's mother |
| 134 | Headstone | Sandstone.Gothic top. Base splintered | Ellemes | John | 20 Apr 1867 | 30 | Woodbank | None mentioned |  |
| 135 | Headstone | Sandstone. Scalloped top | Ruscoe | Margaret | 22 March 1860 | 64 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 136 | Headstone | Sandstone. Tri top; quarter circle extrusions | Weaver | Mary | 7 March 1855 | 2 yrs 6 months | Chester | Daughter of Joseph and Anne W |  |
| 137.1 | Chest | Sandstone. W leg missing; inse mostly oblit | Bellis | James | 16 Feb 17-7 | 47 | Great Mollington | None mentioned | All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 178) |
| 137.2 | See 137.1 | See 137.1 | Bellis | Martha | 31 May 17-- | $? 51$ | Great Mollington | [?his wife?] | As 137.1 |


| 138 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transverse legs | Hancock | John | 16 June 1824 | 55 | Damage | None mentioned | \|"From Grievous Sickness and Cruel Pain/Kind Death hath set me free/and all my friends that loveth God/Will Soon Come After me." |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 139.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 2 transv legs | Davies | John | 22 Jan 1835 | 50 | Shotwick | None mentioned | Four line ?Biblical? quotation eroded |
| 139.2 | See 139.1 | See 139.1 | Davies | William | 15 Oct 184[5/3] | 29 | Not stated | Son of above JD | four line ? Biblical? quotation eroded |
| 139.3 | See 139.1 | See 139.1 | Davies | Mary | 30 Nov 1881 | 96 | Not stated | Wife of above JD |  |
| 140.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Insc oblit by moss | Davies | Margaret | 27 July 1817 | ? 58 ? | Shotwick | Wife of John D | All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 138) |
| 140.2 | See 140.1 | See 140.1 | Davies | John | 24 July 1834 | 77 | Shotwick | Husband of MD | As 140.1 |
| 140.3 | See 140.1 | See 140.1 | Davies | James | 14 Oct 1804 | 9 months | Shotwick | Not stated | As 140.1. Probabably M \& JD's son |
| 141.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Mossed, shards split off | Davies | Six Children | Not stated | All infants | Shotwick | Children of Edward \& Ann Davies | As 140.1. Probabably M \& JD's son |
| 141.2 | See 141.1 | See 141.1 | Davies | William | 24 June 1855 | 5 | Not stated | Son of E\&AD |  |
| 141.3 | See 141.1 | See 141.1 | Davies | Edward | 6 June 1860 | 63 | Died at the Hollins Farm, Hawarden | Father of above | Location, date \& age from Bennett/Lawson (their 137). May have only been visited the farm where died |
| $\frac{141.4}{142.1}$ | See 141.1 | See 141.1 | Davies | Ann | 24 May 1873 | 73 | Not stated | Wife of Edward D | Date from Bennett/Lawson. |
| 142.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Mostiy buried | Fennah | Martha | 10 Feb 1808 | 16 | Not stated | Daughter of Edward \& Ann Fennah | All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 153) |
| $\frac{142.2}{143.1}$ | See 142.1 | See 142.1 | Fennah | Ann | - Oct 1808 | 48 | Great Saughall | Wife of Edward F | As 142.1 |
| 143.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Mostly buried See 143.1 | Fennah | Ann | 13 Oct 17[6-] | 41 | Great Saughall | Not stated | All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 152) ??Mother of Edward??? |
| 144.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transv legs | Fennah | Edward | 23 Jan 1807 | 63 | Not stated | Not stated | As 143.1. Husband of Ann 142? Son of Ann 143? |
| 144.2 | See 144.1 | See 144.1 | Chalton | Martha | 14 Jan 1795 | 64 | Shot stated | Not stated |  |
| 144.3 | See 144.1 | See 144.1 | Chalton | Elizabeth | 22 June 1823 | 38 | Not stated | Not stated |  |
| 144.4 | See 144.1 | See 144.1 | Gittins | Elizabeth | 23 Sept 1831 | 31 | Not stated | Wife of Thomas G \& daughter of the above | Probably daughter-in-law of Thomas \& Martha C |
| 144.5 | See 144.1 | See 144.1 | Chalton | Thomas | 12 Mar 1844 | 70 | Not stated | Husband of above Elizabeth C | Must be son of Thomas \& Martha C |
| 145.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. N side collapsing | Hancock | Hannah | 10 July 1801 | 59 | Great Saughall | Wife of John H |  |
| 145.2 | See 145.1 | See 145.1 | Hancock | John | 15 Feb 1819 | 80 | Great Saughall | Husband of H |  |
| 146.1 | Low monument; hipped top | Sandstone. Inscribed S \& N | Charmley | William | 17 July 1879 | 55 | Chester | Not stated | On south side |
| 146.2 | See 146.1 | See 146.1 | Charmley | Elizabeth | 25 Aug 1884 | 60 | Not stated | Wife of William C | On south side |
| 146.3 | See 146.2 | See 146.1 | Charmley | Elizabeth | 16 Feb 1870 | 19 | Chester | Eldest daughter of William and Elizabeth | On north side |
| 147.1 | Pedestal obelisk, mitred top | Sandstone. Gothic typography: S\&N: people; E\&W: Biblical quotes, W much eroded | Charmley | Thomas | 30 March 1864 | 70 | Little Saughall | None mentioned | S. On E: "And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me Write Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea saith the S[rit that they may rest from their labours. Revelations XIX. $13^{\prime \prime}$ |
| 147.2 | See 147.1 | See 147.1 | Charmley | Martha | 20 Dec 1873 | 59 [ 283$]$ | Not stated | Widow of the late TC | N. On W: "...in...a....of...march the Lord....Righteous Judge shall give me of thatday and not..." |
| 148.1 | Ledger table tomb See 148.1 | Sandstone. 3 transv legs; ledger buried S <br> See 148.1 | Charmley | Mary | 16 Feb 1841 | 25 81 | Saughall | Daughter of Thomas \& Martha Charmley |  |
|  |  |  | Charmley | John Robert | 3 Jan 1848 | 81 | Not stated | Son of Robert \& Mary C | Above Mary's grandfather? |
| 149.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Chyd's preserved chest insc | Healing | Hannah | 28 Aug 1778 | 74 | Saughall Magna | Wife of William Healing |  |
| 149.2 | See 149.1 | See 149.1 | Healing | William | 30 Dec 1780 | 92 | Saughall Magna | Husband of Hannah |  |


| 149.3 | See 149.1 | See 149.1 | Cooke | Jane | 19 Aug 1789 | 49 | Not stated | Daughter of above W \& H |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 150 | Ledger | Sandstone.Oblit by moss | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Obliterated | Bennett/Lawson: "illegible" (their 175) |
| 151.1 | Head \& bodystone | Sandstone. Bevelled | Healing | Jane | 18 Aug 1793 | 28 | Parkgate House | Wife of John H | BennetuLawson: "ilegible" (their 175) |
| 151.2 | See 150.1 | See 150.1 | Healing | John | 5 Apr 1835 | 74 | Parkgate House | Husband of Jane H |  |
| 151.3 | See 150.1 | See 150.1 | Healing | John | 8 Nov 1847 | 56 | Stanlow House |  |  |
| 151.4 | See 150.1 | See 150.1 | Healing | John Alfred | 4 Oct 1882 | 62 | Plimyard Manor, | Second son of the last- |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | E.ham | named John Healing |  |
| 152.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Insc S \& N | Pugh | George | 25 Aug 1877 | 72 | Parkgate House | None mentioned | "His end was peace." South face. |
| 152.2 | See 152.1 | See 152.1 | Pugh | Sarah | 10 Jan 1898 | 69 | Parkgate Hse |  |  |
| 152.3 | See 152.1 | See 152.1 | Pugh | Anne | June 261856 | 19 (bn 8/5/37) | Parkgate Hse | Eldest daughter of G\&S | "Her children arise up, and call her blessed." S face. |
| 152.4 | See 152.1 | See 152.9 | Pugh | Eliza Emily | 27 Dec 1863 | 14 (bn 10/1/49) | Parkgate Hse | Youngest daughter G\&S | North face "Blessed are the dead/which die in the Lord" N face |
| 153.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Ivy around lid. insc E, S, N \& W. S face: | Harvey | Lucy Anne | 10 Nov 1860 | 19 | Not stated | Youngest daughter of the late Joseph Harvey [of HM Inland Revenue] \& Mary his wife and niece of $G$ Pugh of Pkgate Hse | "She came forth as a flower, and was cut down." |
| ${ }_{1}^{153.2}$ | See 153.1 | See 153.1. E face: | Harvey | George Henry | 1 Apr 1866 | 7wks (bn 9/2/66) | Not stated | Son of William Thomas \& Sarah Hannah H | "It is well with the child." |
| 153.4 | See 153.1 | See 153.1. N face: | Harvey | Nora Lucy | 21 Aug 1872 | 9 months | Not stated | Daughter of WT \& SH H |  |
| 153.5 | See 153.1 | See 153.1. W face: | Harvey | Alice Mary | 13 May 1876 | 8 yrs | Not stated | Daughter of WT \& SH H | "For of such is the kingdom of Heaven". |
| 154.1 | Head \& hipped | Sandstone. Relief | Gorst | Mary Ann | $\frac{24}{15}$ Sept 1877 | 2 months | Not stated | Not stated |  |
| 154.2 | bodystone See 154.1 | inscription <br> See 154.1 | Gorst | Mary | 15 June 1847 | 18 | Not stated | Daughter of the late Richard \& Elizabeth Gorst of Derby House Rock Ferry |  |
| 154.3 | See 154.1 | See 154.1 | Gorst | Ann | 19 May 1848 | 26 | Not stated | See 154.1 |  |
| 155.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Huge cracks in | Ellison | Martha | 31 Jan 1892 | 75 | Not stated | See 154.1 |  |
|  |  | lid; floral/escutcheon dec; insc S, N \& top. S: | Elison | Martha | 11 Oct 1812 | 49 | Shotwick Lodge | Wife of Robert E |  |
| 155.2 | See 155.1 | See 155.1. N face: | Elison | Robert | 37 Apr 1824 | 66 | Shotwick Lodge | Husband of ME |  |
| 155.3 | See 155.1 | See 155.1. Top: | Gorst | Richard | 15 March 1832 | 44 | Not stated | None mention |  |
| 155.4 | See 155.1 | See 155.1. Top: | Gorst | Ann | Not stated | Not stated |  | None mentio |  |
| 155.5 | See 155.1 | See 155.1. Top: | Gorst | Mary Ann | Not stated |  | Not stated | Daughter of Richard G |  |
| 155.6 | See 155.1 | See 155.1. Top: | Gorst | Thomas | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Daughter of Richard G |  |
| 155.7 | See 155.1 | See 155.1. Top: | Gorst | Elizabeth | 26 March 1845 | Not stated | Not stated | Son of Richard G |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 26 March 1845 | 71 | Not stated | Wife of Richard G \& |  |
| 156.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. N buried | Vickers | Mary | 26 Apr 1854 | 9 | Saughall | dughter of Rob |  |
| 156.2 | See 156.1 | See 156.1 | Vickers |  |  |  |  | Prudence Vickers |  |
| 157.1 | Ledger | Mostly buried | Vickers | Anne | 20 May 1859 | 9 | Saughall | Daughter of W\&P V |  |
| 157.2 | See 157.1 | See 157.1 | Grimes | John | 21 Aug 1821 | 67 | Great Saughall | None mentioned |  |
| 158 | Head |  | Maddock | Ann | 16 Mary 1883 | 87 | Great Saughall | Wife of above John G | "Loving wife tender Motherfaithful friend lies sleeping." |
|  |  | circle extrusions | Maddock | Richard | 16 Nov 1852 | 55 | Great Saughall | None mentioned |  |
| 159 | Ledger | Sandstone. Mostly buried | Spark | Elizabeth | 21 Mar 1709 | 39 | Not stated | Wife of John S |  |
| 160.1 | Ledger |  | Tumer |  |  |  |  |  | (their 194) |
|  | Ledger | peeled bk | Turner | Willam | ? Sept 1857 | 26 | Saughall | None mentioned |  |


| 160.2 | See 160.1 | See 160.1 | Tumer | Wililiam | 20 Apr 1858 | 7 m 21 dys | Saughall | Infant son of William \& Anna Maria Turner |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 160.3 | See 160.1 | See 160.1 | Turner Junior | William | 17 May 1858 | 27 | India | None mentioned |  |
| 161 | Headstone | Sandstone. Fissured | Henry | James | 9 July 1863 | 27 | Shotwick | Son of Thomas \& Jane H |  |
| 162.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Tri top; quarter circle extrusions | Roberts | Prudence | 10 March 1861 | 40 | Saughall | Wife of Henry Roberts |  |
| 162.2 | See 162.1 | See 162.1 | Roberts | Henry Joseph | 2 Feb 1862 | 34 | Saughall | Husband of Prudence R |  |
| 163 | Headstone | Sandstone. Insc only: "W.E." | E? | W? | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated |  |
| 164 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shldrs; double semicircular. Only W face inscribed: | Jones | Hugh | 27 Jan 1792 | 39 | Saughall Parva | Not stated | "Dear friends why should'you moum for me/l am but where/[you soon must be]". Last line buried. |
| 165 | Headstone | Sandstone. Tri top; quarter circle extrusions | Dodd | Charles | 8 Jan 1859 | 59 | Great Saughall | None mentioned |  |
| $\frac{166}{167.1}$ | Headstone | Sandstone. Badly eroded | W[harton]? | Joan | [11 Feb 180-] | [70] | Not stated | None mentioned | Most details from Bennett/Lawson (their 188) |
| 167.1 | Head \& foot | Sandstone. Foot: "R.W./1857" | Wilcoxon | Ralph | 13 Dec 1857 | 71 | Schoolmaster | None mentioned | Most delaiss from BemetULawson (neir 188) |
| 167.2 | See 167.1 | See 167.1 | Wilcoxon | Sarah | 9 Apr 1864 | 78 | Not stated | Wife of above RW |  |
| 168.1 | Hipped body | Sandstone. Illegible | Bradford | Mary | 11 June [?1863] | 58 | Great Saughall | None mentioned | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 213) |
| $\frac{168.2}{168.3}$ | See 168.1 | See 168.1 | Manning | Catherine | 27 Dec 1879 | 80 [?86] | Great Saughall | None mentioned | As 168.1 |
| 168.3 | See 168.1 | See 168.1 | Bradford | Elizabeth Ann | 19 Dec 1877 | 77 | Great Saughall | Relict of the late Rev Thomas Bradford, BA | As 168.1 |
| 169 | Headstone | Sandstone. Semicirc top | Davidson | Elizabeth | 10 Oct 1868 | 17 | Great Saughall | Daughter of Thomas \& Isabella D |  |
| 170.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shidrs; semicire top <br> See 170.1 | Rutter | George | 13 March 1845 | 13 weeks | Woodbank | Son of John \& Elizabeth Rutter |  |
| 170.3 | See 170.1 | See 170.1 | Rutter | Henry | 24 March 1869 | 36 | Not stated | Son of J\&E R |  |
| 170.4 | See 170.1 | See 170.1 | Rutter | Thomas | 16 Jan 1876 | 80 | Woodbank | Father of G\&H/husb of E |  |
| 170.5 | See 170.1 | See 170.1 | Rutter | Elizabeth | 18 Feb 1878 | 81 | Not stated | Son of J\&E R |  |
| 171.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Tri top | Langford | Thomas | 9 June 1847 | 60 | Mollington | None mentioned |  |
| 171.2 | See 171.2 | See 171.2 | Langford | Thomas | 16 March 1848 | 35 | Not stated | Son of above TL |  |
| 171.3 | See 171.2 | See 171.2 | Langford | Ann | 27 Jan 1862 | 78 | Mollington | Wife of first-named TL |  |
| 172.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone | Shone | James | 12 July 1844 | 59 | Saughall | None mentioned |  |
| 172.2 172.3 | See 172.1 | See 172.1 | Shone | Mary | 8 Dec 1848 | 61 | Not stated | Wife of James S | "For to -e to live is Christ/And to die is gain. Paul X.21." |
| 173.1 | See 172.1 | See 172.1 | Povey | George | Not stated | Not stated | Birkenhead | None mentioned | "Burial place of GP, B'head" - at foot of kerbstone |
| 173.2 | See 173.1 <br> Head or ledger | See 173.1 <br> Sandstone 3 semi-circs If | Shone | George | 6 March 1861 | 46 | Not stated | None mentioned Father of above GS | "Why do your tears in sorrow flowWhen God recall his own,/He bid me leave a world of woe/For an Immortal Crown. " |
| 174.1 | Head or ledger | Sandstone. 3 semi-circs. If head, laid flat | Rutter | John | 4 Oct 1850 | 14 days | Woodbank | Son of James and Ann R |  |
| 174.2 | See 174.1 | See 174.1 | Rutter | Samuel | 23 May $185-$ | 9 months | Woodbank | Son of J\&A R | Date \& age from Bennett/Lawson (their 211) |
| 174.3 | See 174.1 | See 174.1 | Rutter | James | 25 Apr 1853 | 27 | Woodbank | Father of J\&S | Year from Bennett/Lawson |
| 175.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shidrs; semicirc top | Tilston | William | 23 Oct 1868 | 28 | Queen's Ferry | None mentioned | "The Lord is my Shepherd, I/shall not want. Psalm XXIII.1" |
| 175.2 | See 174.1 | See 174.1 | Tiston | Sarah Elizabeth | 3 Feb 1878 | 12 | Queen's Ferry | Daughter of above WT | "We cannot Lord thy purpose see/But all is well that's done by thee." |
| 176 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transverse legs | Fairbrother | Martha | 24 Oct 1841 | 11 | Saughall | Daughter of William \& Mary F | "Weep not for me my Parents dear/Your only Child lies sleeping here/Vour loss is my etemal gain/We hope in Heaven to meet again." |


| 177 | Head \& foot | Sandstone. Foot: "MS/JS" | Stephen | Mary | ?? Jan ?? | iliegible | Dundee, Scotland | lilegible | Most details from Bennett/Lawson (their 230) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 178 | Headstone | Sandstone. Angled semicircles | Taylor | Robert | 21 Nov 1891 | 22 | Not stated | Son of Richard \& Elizabeth $T$ | Most details from Bennett/Lawson (their 206) |
| 179.1 | Head \& foot | Sandstone. Head: triple semi-circle. Foot: tri | Taylor | Jane | 17 July 1865 | 33 | Great Saughall | Daughter of Thomas \& Ann T |  |
| 179.2 | See 179.1 | See 179.1 | Taylor | Thomas | 18 May 1867 | 73 | Great Saughall | Father of above JT | "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. Rev XIV. 13. " |
| 179.3 | See 179.1 | See 179.1; ptly buried | Taylor | Ann | 9 Jan 1884 | 87 | Not stated | Wife of above TT | Most details from Bennett/Lawson (their 205) |
| 180 | Head; hipped body | Sandstone. Kerbed with 181, 182, 183 | Jones | Ellen | 22 June 1859 | 23 | Not stated | Beloved wife of Robert J \& second daughter of the late John Woolliscroft of Sealand | Most delais from BemetULawson (heir 20s) |
| 181 | Head \& body | Sandstone. Kerbed with 180, 182 \& 183 | Woolliscroft | Elizabeth Woodfin | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | For details, see 182.3 |
| 182.1 | Chest tomb | Sandstone. Kerbed with 180, 181, \& 183 | Woolliscroft | John | 7 Jan 1844 | 39 | Sealand | None mentioned |  |
| 182.2 | See 182.1 | See 182.1 | Woolliscroft | Richard | 26 March 1857 | 23 | Not stated | Son of above John W |  |
| 182.3 | See 182.1 | See 182.1 | Woolliscroft | Elizabeth Woodfin | 5 Dec 1858 | 18 | Not stated | Daughter of above John |  |
| 182.4 | See 182.1 | See 182.1 | Woolliscroft | Ann | 10 Nov 1865 | 58 | Not stated | Relict of above John W | For details, see 182.4 |
| 183 | Head \& body | Sandstone. Kerbed with 180, 181 \& 182 | Woolliscroft | Ann | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated |  |
| 184.1 | Headstone | Sandstone.Semicirc top | Dean | Mary Ann | 10 March 1841 | 33 | Not stated | Wife of Thomas Dean |  |
| 184.2 | See 184.1 | See 184.1 | Dean | William | 31 July 1862 | 31 | Not stated | Son of above T \& MA D |  |
| 184.3 | See 184.1 | See 184.1 | Dean | Thomas | 17 Aug 1870 | 69 | Not stated | Husband/father of above |  |
| 185 | Headstone | Sandstone. Mostly buried | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible | "No inscription" according to Bennett/Lawson (their 228) |
| 186 | Headstone | Sandstone. "CV/1753" only insc | V-? | C-? | 1753 | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible | Mostly buried; |
| 187.1 | Pedestal headstone; kerb See 187.1 | Black marble. White inlay. Floral/foliage dec <br> See 1871 | Bradford <br>  <br> Bradford | Anne Elizabeth | 17 Apr 1904 | 72 <br> 72 | Saughall | None mentioned | "O blest communion, fellowship divine,/We feebly struggle, they in glory shine/Yet all are one in Thee, for all are thine,/Alleluia." |
|  | Headstone | See 187.1 | Bradford | William Henry | 26 Apr 1915 | 72 | Saughall | Husband of above AEB | "I shall be satisfied when I awake/with Thy likeness." |
| 188.1 | Headstone | Headstone. Sin shldrs; semicirc top | White | Joseph | 29 July 1866 | 68 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 188.2 | See 188.1 | See 188.1 | White | William | 3 Feb 1928 | 70 | Eastham | Grandson of above JW \& son of John \& Fanny W | "At rest." |
| 189.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Insc oblit by moss | Illegible | John | 31 Dec 1782 | 50 | Capenhurst | None mentioned | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 181) |
| 189.2 | See 189.1 | See 189.1 | Illegible | Mary | 10 Aug 181- | 79 | Not stated | Wife of above J |  |
| 189.3 | See 189.1 | See 189.1 | lliegible | Martha | 9 July 1892 | 81 | Not stated | Daughter of above J \& M |  |
| 190.1 | Head \& foot | Sandstone. Nothing noteworthy | Snell | Martha | 29 June 1857 | 11 yrs | Great Saughall | Daughter of Thomas \& Ellen Snell | Footstone: "M.S.N.S." |
| 190.2 | See 190.1 | See 190.1 | Snell | William | 2 July 1857 | 11 months | Great Saughall | Brother of Martha | Probably died from same illness as sister |
| 191.1 | Head \& foot: "Н.В./С.В." | Sandstone. Semicirc top; quatrefoilffloral dec | Bithell | Hannah | 17 Feb 1866 | 3 | Saughall | Daughter of Charles \& Catherine Bithell |  |
| 191.2 | See 191.1 | See 191.1 | Bithell | Charles | 5 Feb 1905 | 81 | Saughall | Father/husband of above |  |
| 192.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. <br> Lichened/mossed <br> See 192.1 | Humphreys | Ann | 27 Feb 1816 | 7 months | Capenhurst | Daughter of Henery \& Martha Humphreys | Mostly hidden under holly tree. Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 135). |
| 192.3 | See 192.1 | See 192.1 | Humphreys | Elizabeth | 9 Aug 1816 | 12 | Capenhurst | Daughter of above H\&M | As 192.1 |
| 192.4 | See 192.1 | See 192.1 | Humphreys | Jane | 5 Sept1819 | 6 | Capenhurst | Daughter of above H\&M | As 192.1 |
| 192.5 | See 192.1 | See 192.1 | Humphreys | Henery | 26 Jan 1822 | 46 | Capenhurst | Father of above children Wife of above HH | As 192.1 |


| 192.6 | See 192.1 | See 192.1 | Humphreys | William | 18 Aug 1857 | 11 | Capenhurst | Son of William \& M H |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 193.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transv legs | Roberts | John | 11 Sept 1821 | 20 | Woodbank | Son of John \& Ann R | As 192.1 |
| 193.2 | See 193.1 | See 193.1 | Roberts | James | [?]2th Dec 1845 | 32 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 193.3 | See 193.1 | See 193.1 | Roberts | John | 18 Oct 1845 | 68 | Woodbank | Father of above |  |
| 193.4 | See 193.1 | See 193.1 | Roberts | Ann | 12 March 1859 | 82 | Not stated | Wife of above JR |  |
| 194 | Fallen headstone (resembles ledger) | Sandstone. Tri top flanked by semi-circles. Obliterated by moss | Roberts | Jemima | 7 Apr 1856 | 29 | Woodbank | Wife of John Roberts | "Afflictions sore long time I bore/Physicians were in vain/Till death gave ease, and God was pleased,/To ease me of my pain." Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 133) |
| 195.1 | Ledger | Sandstone | Darlington | Martha | 14 Oct 1813 | 15 | Saughall | Dau of Thomas \& Mary D |  |
| 195.2 | See 195.1 | See 195.1 | Darlington | Thomas | 14 Oct 1821 | 55 | Saughall | Father of Martha | Died exactly 8 yrs after daughter. |
| 195.3 | See 195.1 | See 195.1 | Darlington | Mary | 27 Sept 1883 | 57 | Not stated | Wife of above TD | Ded exactlo y |
| 195.4 | See 195.1 | See 195.1 | Darlington | Mary | 3 May 1851 | 62 | Not stated | ?[Daughter in la]w |  |
| 196.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone 3 transv legs | Sadier | William | 9 Apr 1836 | 24 | Saughall | Son of Ephraim \& Ann S | Scrolls around 'Underneath' |
| 196.2 | See 196.1 | See 196.1 | Sadler | Charles | 23 Dec 1836 | 20 | Saughall | Brother of above |  |
| 196.3 | See 196.1 | See 196.1 | Sadler | Ellin | 9 Apr 1837 | 32 | Saughall | Wife of Ephraim S |  |
| 196.4 | See 196.1 | See 196.1 | Sadler | Martha | 29 Apr 1837 | $1 \begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 74 \\ & 3\end{aligned}$ | Saughall | Daughter of above E\&ES |  |
| 196.6 | See 196.1 | See 196.1 | Sadler | Harriet | 9 Jan1864 | 74 | Not stated | Daughter of above E\&ES |  |
| 197 | Headstone | Sandstone. Double curve | Sadler | Ann | 8 Apr 1826 | 7 yrs 8 m 3 d | Saughall | Dau of Ephraim \& Ann S | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 163) |
| 198.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Top broken off \& lying directly behind | Brown | William | 12 Apr 1821 | 2 yrs 10 m | Saughall | Son of Timothy \& Sarah Brown | "This Infant dear who lately laughed/Into this world /Hath found in Christ the path of Life/A place of all Eternity." |
| 198.2 | See 198.1 | See 198.1 | Brown | Sarah | 8 Feb 1873 | 91 | Not stated | Wife of above TB |  |
| 199.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Tri top; extrusions | Tavernor | James | 9 Apr 1855 | 66 | Gentleman, Woodbank | Not stated | ""of Woodbank in the Parish of Shotwick in the County of Chester, late of Huddersfield in the County of York" |
| 199.2 | See 199.1 | See 199.1 | Rutter | Mary | 3 Aug 1897 | 58 | New Ferry | Widow of above JT \& late wife of Joseph R |  |
| 200.2 | See 200.1 |  | ? | John | 121 Aug 1821 | 67 | Great Saughall | None mentioned | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 168?) |
| 201.1 | Headstone | See 200.1 | Taylor | ${ }^{\text {Ann }}$ | 10 March 1833 | 87 | Not stated | Wife of above JG | "A loving Wife a Mother Dear/A faithfut honest friend lies sleeping here./Great is the love that we sustain/We hope in Christ to meet again." |
| 201.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Semicirc top; leans on mem 202 | Taylor | Joseph | 27 Nov 1868 | 61 | Little Saughall | None mentioned |  |
| 201.2 | See 201.1 | See 201.1 | Taylor | Mary | 23 Feb 1875 | 72 | Not stated | Wife of above Joseph T |  |
| 202.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transv legs | [?Thornton] | Martha | 7 Nov 1840 | 4 | Sealand | Dau of John \& Mary T | Surname eroded. Assumed from co-deceased. |
| 202.2 | See 202.1 | See 202.1 | Thomton | Charles | 15 Feb 1845 | 8 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
|  | See 202.1 | See 202.1 | Thornton | Richard | 15 Sept 1846 | 7 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 203 | Ledger | Sandstone. Buried; turf peeled bk | Carter | the Rev Richard | 7 Sept 1828 | 73 | Minister of this Parish | None mentioned |  |
| 204.1 | Head See 204.1 | Sandstone. Tri top; extrusions <br> See 204.1 | Dodd | Elizabeth John | 20 Oct 1874 | 18 19 | Saughall <br>  <br> Saughall | Dau of John \& Elizabeth | "This lovely bud so young and fair,/Called forth by early doom/Just came to shew how sweet a flower/In paradise would bloom." |
| 204.3 | See 204.1 | See 204.1 | Dodd | John | 30 Apr 1881 | 19 | Saughall | Brother of above E | "His end was peace." |
| 205.1 | Table tomb | Sandstone. 3 transverse | Roberts | Jane | 11 March 19 | 72 | Not stated | Wife/mother of above | "Gone but not forgotten." |
| 205.2 | See 205.1 | legs. Eroded \& lichened See 205.1 | Roberts | William | 25 dec 1839 |  | ?Great Saughall | None mentioned | Details from Bennett/Lawson (their 270); location may be Capenhurst not Gt Saughall |
| 205.3 | See 205.1 | See 205.1 | Roberts | Ann | 25 Dec 1839 | 37 | Not stated | None mentioned | As 205.1 |
| 205.4 | See 205.1 | See 205.1 | Roberts | Sarah | 9 Jan 1822 | 20 | Not stated | Dau of Wm \& Sarah R | As 205.1 |
| 206.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Tri top | Newns | William | 7 March 1865 | 60 | Not stated | Wife of above WR | As 205.1 |
| 206.2 | See 206.1 | See 206.1 | Newns | Rebekah | 4 Feb 1851 | 9 months | Shotwick | None mentioned | "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." |


| 206.3 | See 206.1 See 206.1 | See 206.1 See 206.1 | Newns | Rebecca | 16 Dec 1888 | 80 | Not stated | Wife of above WN | Thy will be done." |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | 5 Jan 1861 | 19 | Not stated | Son of above |  |
|  | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shldrs; | Smith |  | 4 Aug 1847 | 9 months | Sealand | Son of Samuel \& Mary S |  |
| 207.2 | See 207.1 | See 207.1 | Smith | Jane | 20 Aug 1850 | 4 yris 11 m | Sealand | Sister of above RS |  |
| 207.3 | See 207.1 | See 207.1 | Smith | isabella | 16 June 1865 | 13 |  |  |  |
| 207.4 | See 207.1 | See 207.1 | Smith | Jacob | 22 Apr 1867 | 14 |  |  |  |
| 208 | Head \& foot | Sandstone. Foot "A.M." | Mollineux | Alice | 29 Dec 1841 | 53 | Sealand | Brother of above RS |  |
| 209 | Head \& foot | Sandstone. Gothic arch Dogtooth \& quatrefoil lower dec. Foot (W) | Jones | John | 24 Apr 1876 | 59 | Great Saughall | None mentioned |  |
| 0.1 | Head \& foot | Sandstone. Sin shidrs, semicircular top | Jones | Ann | 17 June 1861 | 66 | Great Saughall | Wife of Robert Jones |  |
| 210.2 | See 210.1 | See 210.1 | Jones | Robert | 29 Feb 1864 | 69 | Great Saughall | Husband of above Ann J |  |
| 211.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Tri tip; sinuous shhldrs | Spruce | Elizabeth | 16 May 1849 | 10 | Shotwick | Dau of Richard \& Martha | "My parents dear no longer pine/l safely lodge in hands Divine./Short was my stay. Long is my rest./God takes them first whom he/thinks best." |
| ${ }_{211.2}^{2113}$ | See 211.1 | See 211.1 | Spruce | Ann | 15 March 1863 | 20 | Not staled | None mentioned |  |
| $\frac{211.3}{212}$ | See 211.1 | 211.1 | Spruce | Catherine | 26 Feb 1868 | 20 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
|  | Leager | Sandstone. Mosslichen | Woods | Jemimah | 17 May 1842 | 9 | Capenhurst | Dau of Peter \& Margaret | Yr, age, father \& forename from Bennettlcawson (300) |
|  | Headstone | Sandstone. Tri top. Semicircles. | Williams | Robert | 15 Oct 1851 | 2 | Capenhurst | Son of Edward \& Alice | ( |
| 213.2 | See 212.1 | See 212.1 | Williams | Elizabeth | 19 Aug 1861 | 6 | Saughal Mill | Dau of Thomas \& Eliza |  |
| 214 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shldrs; flat top | Jones | Samuel | 20 Nov 1848 | 2 | Great Saughall | Son of William \& Barbara |  |
| 215.1 | Headstone | Flanked semi-circle | Hallows | John | 23 March 1837 | 2 yrs 5 m | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| $\frac{215.2}{2153}$ | See 215.1 | Sandstone. See 215.1 | Hallows | Elizabeth | 22 Dec 1842 |  | Sealand | Mother of JH |  |
| 215.3 | See 215.1 | See 215.1 | Hallows | Elizabeth | 23 March 1844 | 14 months | Not stated | Dau of Richard \& Ann H |  |
| 215.4 216.1 | See 215.1 | See 215.1 | Hallows | Richard | 10 Dec 1847 | 25 | Not stated | Father of above EH |  |
| 216.1 | Ledger | Sandstone. Centr eroded | Appleton | Thomas | 22 July 1809 | 64 | Great Saughall | None mentioned | Date from Bennett/ Lawson (their 291) |
| $\frac{216.2}{216.3}$ | See 216.1 | See 216.1 | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | Shotwick | Daughter [illegibie] |  |
| $\stackrel{216.3}{216.4}$ | See 216.1 | See 216.1 | Bennion | Mary | 29 Jan 1834 | 74 | Saughall | Wife of John B | Details trom Bennett/Lawson |
| $\stackrel{216.4}{217}$ | See 216.1 | See 216.1 | Bennion | John | 17 Sept 1844 | 88 | Saughall | Husband of Mary B | Details from Bennettl Lawson |
| $\stackrel{217}{218}$ | Ledger | Sandstone. Mossed | Venables | Margaret | 13 March 1834 | 68 | Saughal | Wife of Thomas V |  |
|  | Head. Daffodil <br> body. | Sandstone. Tri top | Wicooxon | Arthur | 10 March 1843 | 63 | Ledsham | None mentioned | Age from Bennett/Lawson (their 289) |
| 219 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shldrs; semi-c top | Chalenor | Martha | 29 Dec 1843 | 11 weeks | Woodbank | Dau of Joseph \& Martha | "The great Jehovah from above/his messenger did send:/To call our little [kind]ness dove/To days that never |
| 220.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shldrs; semi-c top | Farell | Man | 5 Jan 1842 | 8 | Great Saughal | Dau of William \& Ann F |  |
| 220.2 | See 220.1 | See 220.1 | Farrell | Ephraim | 27 July 1846 | 2 | Great Saughail | Son of W \& AF |  |
| 220.3 | See 220.1 | See 220.1 | Farell | Ann | 17 Dec 1864 | 56 | Not stated | Mother of MaEF |  |
| ${ }_{221}^{220.4}$ | See 220.1 | See 220.1 | Farell | Elizabeth | 22 Sept 1865 | 30 | Not stated | Dau of W\&AF |  |
| 221 | Ledger | Sandstone. E buried, SW comer broken, moss | Hegeible | \|llegible | Illegible | Illegible | Illegible | lliegible |  |
| 222 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shldrs: semi-c top | Rowland | Hester | 27 May 1839 | 52 | Great Saughall | None mentioned | Last memorial in old churchyard |
| 223.1 | 3-step ped cross \& kerb | Sandstone. Mason: "JA Mosstom/Wrexham" | Tiliston | Samuel | 28 Nov | 62 | Northop | None mentioned | Memorials from this point all in churchyard extension |
| 223.2 | See 223.1 | See 223.1 | Triston | Margaret | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Wife of Samuel T |  |


| 224.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Gothic top. Kerb shared with 225 | Thomas | Mary | 6 Nov 1897 | 76 | Shotwick | Wife of William T | Quatrefoil 'of' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 224.2 | See 224.1 | See 224.1 | Thomas | William | 25 Aug 1907 | 86 | Shotwick | Husband of Mary $T$ |  |
| 225.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Semi-c top. Quatrefoil. Kerbed w 224 | Woodward | Martha | 3 Jan 1876 | 31 | Shotwick | Beloved wife of Roger W | Blessed are the dead which die trusting in their Lord." |
| 225.2 | See 225.1 | See 225.1 | Thomas | Esther | 23 Aug 1935 | 88 | Not stated |  |  |
| 226 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic top. Quatrefoil | White | William | 10 Sept 1876 | 6 | Sealand | Beloved son of Matthew \& Elizabeth W | "The Lord is my Shepherd, 1.. Psalm XXIIII.1" Quatrefoil |
| 227.1 | 3-step ped cross \& ledger | Sandstone. Roundel: ihs. Inscribed E \& S | Seals | Annie | 27 Oct 1876 | 33 | Saughall | Wife of John S | E face. "For ever with the Lord:/Amen. So let it be." |
| 227.2 | See 227.1 | See 227.1 | Roberts | Maria Eliza | 22 Dec 1876 | 31 | Sealand | Second dau of Thomas R | S. face |
| 228 | 3-step ped cross \& kerb | Sandstone. Roundel/ quartrefoil: ihs. S base buried | Edwards | George | 14 May 1877 | 54 | Not stated | None mentioned | On cross: "Thy will be done." On bottom step: "Light from our household gone/The cover is stilled/.....our home." |
| 229.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic top | Evans | Catherine | 1 Feb 1878 | 63 | Gateacre | Dau of the late Joshua E (Merchant of Liverpool) | "In the midst of life we are in death" |
| 229.2 | See 229.1 | See 229.1 | Evans | Emma | 14 Sept 1886 | 74 | Not stated | Dau of the late Joshua E (Merchant of Liverpool) |  |
| 230 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic top. Quatrefoil | Watt | William | 14 Feb 1878 | 30 | Marsh Farm | None mentioned |  |
| 231.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Black inlay. Tri top. | Thomas | Jemima | 19 March 1924 | 70 | Manor Farm Shotwick | Beloved wife of William Janes |  |
| ${ }^{231.2}$ | See 231.1 | See 231.1 | Thomas | William James | 6 Dec 1936 | 83 | Manor Farm Shotwick | Husband of above JT | "Re-united." |
| 231.3 | See 231.1 | See 231.1 | Thomas | Kezia | 23 Nov 1968 | 78 | Not stated | Dear dau of WJ \& J T |  |
| 232.1 | Head; shared | Sandstone. Gothic top. | Thomas | Martha | 24 June 1967 | 83 | Not stated | Dear dau of WJ \& J T | "Reunited." |
| 232.1 | foot \& kerb | Roundel/ quartrefoil: ins | Grifiths | Robert | 31 Jan 1880 | 74 | Two Mills Farm Puddington | None mentioned | "His end was peace." Footstone quatrefoil W side |
| 232.2 | Head; shared | See 232.1. Kerb shared with 233 | Griffiths | Sarah | 7 Feb 1883 | 72 | Not stated | Wife of the above RG | "Precious in the sight of the Lord is/The death of his saints." |
| 233.1 | Head; shared foot \& kerb See 233.1 | Sandstone. Gothic top. <br> Kerb shared with 232 | Griffiths | Joseph | 18 Oct 1888 | 43 | Two Mills Farm Puddington | None mentioned | "Shall not the Judge of all the earth/Do right." |
| ${ }^{233.2}$ | See 233.1 | See 233.1 | Griffiths | Elizabeth | J Jan 1909 | $\begin{aligned} & 59 \text { (born } 11 \text { Feb } \\ & 1849 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | Not stated | Wife of above JG | Farewell, dr children, my life is pastMy Iv 4 you did truly last,/Moum not for me, but courage take,/And love each other for my sake./Weep not for me, the God of Love/hath claimed me for his own./Fix all your thts and hope abv/And mt me at his throne. |
| 234.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Semi-c top. Quatrefoil ins. Leaf dec. Kerb huge | Trueman | Elizabeth | 5 March 1880 | 66 | Ledsham | Wife of George T |  |
| 234.2 | See 234.1 | See 234.1 | Trueman | George | 14 Oct 1881 | 69 | Ledsham | Husband of above ET | "The beloved of the Lord shall dwellin safety by him." |
| $\underline{234.3}$ | See 234.1 | See 234.1 | Trueman | Elizabeth | 22 Aug 1906 | 55 | Not stated | Dau of the above | "Safe in her Lord's keeping" |
| 235.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shldrs; semi-c top | Wilcoxon | James | 9 Jan 1881 | 67 | Chester | None mentioned |  |
| 235.2 | See 235.1 | See 235.1 | Wilcoxon | Raiph | 20 Jan 1887 | 63 | Not stated | Brother of above JW |  |
| 236.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Kerb overgrown; ihs | Gandeland | Elizabeth | 7 Feb 1881 | 27 | Not stated | Wife of Thomas G | Bennett/Lawson render surname as 'Candeland' |
| 236.2 | See 236.1 | See 236.1 | Gandeland | Robert | 8 Dec 1892 | 1 yr 8 months | Not stated | Son of Thomas \& Sarah | All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 279) |
| 236.3 | See 236.1 | See 236.1 | Gandeland | Thomas | 5 Apr 1908 | 59 | Not stated | "her' beloved husband | "Hush blessed are the dead in Jesus of - rest/And lean their weary head for ever on his breast." |


| 237.1 | Head \& shared foot, kerb \& chippings | Sandstone. Semi-c top. Quatrefoil \& leaf dec. Ft/kb shared with 238 | Colley | Ann | 18 Oct 1882 | 57 | Sealand | Beloved wife of Samuel C | "For ever with the Lord/Amen so let it be/Life from the dead is in that Word/Tis immortality." |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 237.2 | See 237.1 | See 237.1 | Colley | Samuel | 26 Apr 1898 | 69 | Sealand | Husb of Ann | "We cannot tell who may fallBeneath thy chastening rod,One must be first, so let us all/Prepare to meet our God." |
| 238.1 | Head \& shared foot, kerb \& chippings | Sandstone. Semi-c top; ihs; leaf dec. $\mathrm{Ft} / \mathrm{kb} /$ chppings shared with 237 | Colley | Harriet | 6 Aug 1891 | 40 | Sealand | Beloved wife of Thomas C | "Moum not for her whom God hath blest,/And taken to her heavenly rest,/Freed from all sorrow, grief and pain,/Our loss is her etemal gain." |
| 238.2 | See 238.1 | See 238.1 | Colley | Thomas | 13 Nov 1905 | 54 | Sealand | Husb of above HC | "Peace, perfect peace with loved ones far away.In Jesue keeping we are safe and they." |
| 239.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone/White quartz chippings. Semi-c top. Quatrefoil ins | Pate | Maria | 20 Jan 1946 | 86 | Chester | Beloved wife of the late George P | "Wait but a little while/In uncomplaining love./His own most gracious smile/Shall welcome you above." |
| 239.2 | See 239.1 | See 239.1 | [?Colley] | Mary | 29 jan 1945 | 76 | ?Sealand | Sister of MP \& daughter of the late Samuel \& Ann Colley | "Yea tho I walk through death and dark place/Vet will I fear no illFor thou art with me and/Thy rod and staff comfort me still." |
| 240.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic top; ivy dec; ins | Carter | John | 6 Nov 1893 | $\begin{aligned} & 57 \text { (Born } 28 \mathrm{Apr} \\ & 1836 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | Mollington | None mentioned | "In the midst of life we are in death" |
| 240.2 | See 240.1 | See 240.1 | Carter | Elizabeth | 25 Apr 1918 | 81 | Not stated | Wife of above JC | "Peace, perfect peace." |
| 240.3 | See 240.1 | See 240.1 | Tilston | John | 14 Feb 1931 | 64 | Not stated | Son of above EC | "At rest" |
| 241.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Semi-circ top. ins | Griffiths | Edward Denis | 14 Apr 1883 | 19 months | Woodbank | Son of Robert \& isabel G |  |
| 241.2 | See 241.1 | See 241.1 | Griffiths | Joseph | 24 Apr 1883 | 5m 2 wks | Woodbank | Brother of above EDG \& son of Robert \& Isabel G | "Not lost but gone before." (refers to both brothers) |
| 241.3 | See 241.1 | See 241.1 | Griffiths | Isabel | 27 Oct 1907 | 51 | Woodbank | Beloved wife of Robert G \& mother of above E \& J | "What pain she bore we cannot tellWe did not see her dieWe only know that she has gone/And could not say goodbye." |
| 241.4 | See 241.1 | See 241.1 | Griffiths | Robert | 4 Apr 1927 | 74 | Woodbank | Husband/father of above | "Peace perfect peace." |
| 242 | Headstone | Sandstone. Illegible | Burton | Margaret | 1 Feb 1897 | 85 | Not stated | None mentioned | All details from Bennett/Lawson (their 274) |
| 243.1 | Head \& kerb | quatrefoil ins | Colley | William | 21 March 1897 | 22 | Not stated | Beloved son of John \& Mary C | "And bid him leave this world of woe,/For an immortal crown." |
| 243.2 | See 243.1 | See 243.1 | Colley | Mary | 19 May 1909 | 55 | Not stated | Wife of J, mother of W | "/ looked to Jesus and / found/n Him my star, my sun;/And in that light of life l've walked/My travelling days are done" |
| 243.3 | See 243.1 | See 243.1 | Colley | John | 23 Oct 1932 | 78 | USA | Husb/father of M \& W | Interred in Woodlawn Cemetery USA |
| 243.4 | See 243.1 | See 243.1 | Colley | Joseph Crofts | 18 Jan 1934 | 53 | Not stated | None mentioned | "Rest in peace." |
| 244.1 | Headstone on plinth \& kerb | Sandstone. Gothic script. Plants escutcheon | Colley | Alice | 11 Jan 1931 | 74 | Not stated | Daughter of the late Samuel and Ann C | "They also serve who only stand and wait." |
| 244.2 | See 244.1 | See 244.1 | Colley | William | 27 Dec 1931 | 170 | Not stated | Brother of above Alice C | "He that is faithful in that/Which is least is faithful also in much. St Luke.Cn 6.v.10." |
| 245.1 | Headstone on plinth \& kerb | Sandstone. Lobed cross in roundel; flowers in sq | Colley | Charles | 11 June 1905 | 21 | Sealand | Third son of Thomas \& Harriet Colley | "We cannot Lord thy purpose see,/But all is well that's done by thee." |
| 245.2 | See 245.1 | See 245.1 | Colley | Martha | 6 Apr 1968 | 81 | Not stated | None mentioned | "Reunited." |
| 246 | Pediment headstone; granite plinth | Black marble. Integral vase | Gardner | Ralph Bennett | 25 Aug 1997 | 81. 5 May 1916 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 247 | Head \& kerb | Black marble. Vase \& green ?plastic? chippings | Nevitt-Bennett | Anne Colley | 1 Apr 1964 | 88 | Not stated | Daughter of Samuel \& Mary Lois N-B | Vase: "A.C.N.B." |
| 248.1 | Head \& kerb | Granite. White quartz chippings | Spruce | Norah Gladys | 1942 | $\begin{aligned} & 47 \text { or } 48 \text { (bom } \\ & 1894 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | Two Mills | Dearly blvd daughter of Emily \& the late Dennis | "At rest." |
| 248.2 | See 248.1 | See 248.1 | Spruce | Emily | 2 Oct 1949 | 92 | Two Mills | Mother of Norah Gladys |  |


| 249.1 | Head \& kerb | Granite. White marble chippings | Roberts | Mary | 15 Feb 1930 | 51 | Shotwick | Wife of John Richard R | "Safe into the haven guide, Oh receive my soul at last. " |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 249.2 | See 249.1 | See 249.1 | Roberts | John Richard | 24 Dec 1948 | 80 | Shotwick | Husband of Mary R | "At rest." |
| 250.1 | Head \& kerb | Granite. Ivy leaf incision | Tilston | Frederick Roberts | 29 Oct 1923 | 59 | Not stated | None mentioned ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | "Perfect Peace" |
| 250.2 | See 250.1 | See 250.1 | Tilston | George | 12 June 1927 | 73 | Not stated | None mentioned | "At rest" |
| 251.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Book \& ivy carving | Griffiths | William | 15 Sept 1921 | 41 | Two Mills Farm Puddington | Beloved husband of Maud Selina Grifiths |  |
| 251.2 | See 251.1 | See 251.1 | Griffiths | Maud Selina | 18 Feb 1952 | 65 | Not stated | Wife of William G | "Rest in peace." |
| 252.1 | Head | Sandstone. Zigzag dec | Trueman | Elizabeth | 30 Sept 1905 | 82 | Not stated | Beloved wife of James T | "Kept by a father" |
| 252.2 | See 252.1 | See 252.1 | Trueman | Sarah | 12 Sept 1908 | 57 | Not stated | Daughter of J \& E T | "At rest" |
| 253 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Floral carving; insc mostly eroded | Griffiths | Robert | ---1919 | Illegible | lliegible | Illegible |  |
| 254 | Headstone | Sandstone. Carved foliage | Jones | Laura | 7 Dec 1905 | 41 | Not stated | Beloved wife of William J | "Thy will be done" |
| 255.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic script | Roberts | Jane Cash | 9 Sept 1922 | 86 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 255.2 | See 255.1 | See 255.1 | Roberts | John | 19 Jan 1924 | 77 | Not stated | None mentioned | They rest in peace. |
| 255.3 | See 255.1 | See 255.1 | Roberts | Rosa Cash | 18 Sept 1944 | 66 | Not stated | Daughter of above J \& J |  |
| 256 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Flat top. Head widens at base | Griffith | Miriam Isabel | 17 Oct 1932 | 39 | Not stated | Daughter of the late Robert \& Isabel G of Woodbank Farm | "Thy will be done" |
| 257.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Flat-topped swirls <br> See 2571 | Simms | Eliza Jane | 10 Oct 1933 | 65 (born 7 June 1868) | Not stated | Wife of Frederick Malcolm S | "Faithful unto death" |
| 257.2 | See 257.1 | See 257.1 | Simms | Frederick Malcolm | 22 Jan 1841 | 69 - | Not stated | Husband of EJS |  |
| 258.1 | Ped head | Sandstone. Floral dec; vases | Cash | Elizabeth | 1 Jan 1944 | 76 | Not stated | Dear wife of Henry C C | "May she rest in peace" |
| 258.2 | See 258.1 | See 258.1 | Cash | Henry C | 9 Jan 1955 | 88 | Not stated | Husband of EC |  |
| 258.3 | See 258.1 | See 258.1 | Cash | Percy S | 10 Dec 1975 | 85 | Not stated | Son of E \& HC C |  |
| 259.1 | Head, foot, kerb | Sandstone. Decorative pillars on head | Pugh | George Henry | 15 Apr 1885 | 43 | Shotwick Lodge | Not stated | "We cannot Lord thy purpose see,But all is well that's done by thee." |
| 259.2 | See 259.1 | See 259.1 | Pugh | Eleanor | 23 June 1878 | 7 | Shotwick Lodge | Daughter of above GHP |  |
| 259.3 | See 259.1 | See 259.1 | Pugh | Eleanor | 7 Dec 1885 | 2 | Shotwick Lodge | Younger daughter of GHP |  |
| 259.4 | See 259.1 | See 259.1 | Pugh | Emma | 12 May 1934 | 83 | Not stated | Beloved wife of GHP | "Rest at eventide." Foot: "G.H.P.E.P." |
| $\frac{260.1}{260.2}$ | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Lozenge; ins | Wright | Martha | 27 Feb 1885 | 68 | Woodbank | Beloved wife of John W | "Calmly at rest." |
| 260.2 | See 260.1 | See 260.1 | Hesketh <br>  <br> Wright | Sarah | 6 Nov 1887 | 35 | Not stated | Beloved wife of John Hesketh \& daughter of above J \& M W | "She was dearly beloved by all who knew her." |
|  | See 260.1 | See 260.1 | Wright |  | 30 May 1895 | 83 | Woodbank | Husbandffather of above | "Thy will be done." Mason: "W.A. Dod" |
| 261.1 | Ped head; kerb with railings | White marble. Fussy pseudo-classicism; fleur-de lys railings | Roberts | Thomas | 4 July 1888 | 53 | Two Mills Farm, Shotwick | None mentioned | "Thy will be done." |
| 261.2 | See 261.1 | See 261.1 | Roberts | Jane | 13 Dec 1923 | 89 | Not stated | Widow of above TR |  |
| 261.3 | See 261.1 | See 261.1 | Roberts | Samuel Rogers | 30 Oct 1898 | 33 | Not stated | Son of above TR \& JR |  |
| 261.4 | See 261.1 | See 261.1 | Roberts | Mary | 22 March 1928 | 69 | Not stated | Daughter of TR \& JR |  |
| 262.1 | Head on plinth; kerb | Sandstone. Gothic | Taylor | Richard | 29 Nov 1893 | 59 | Shotwick | None mentioned |  |
| 262.2 | See 262.1 | See 262.1 | Tayior | Hannah | 1 Jan 1911 | 84 | Not stated | Wife of above RT | "Thy will be done." Plinth: "Hayes \& Sons/Town Lane." |
| 263.1 | Head on plinth; kerb | Yellow limestone. Slate chippings. Two vases:granite \& metal | Charmley | Richard | 14 Aug 1896 | 64 | Blacon Hall | None mentioned | , whlue done. Plinm. Hayes \& Sonshown Lane. |
| 263.2 | See 263.2 | See 263.2 | Charmley | Matilda | 7 Dec 1934 | 95 | Not stated | Wife of above RC | "At rest." |


| 263.3 | See 263.2 | See 263.2 | Swan | Stephen Walley | 13 May 1909 | 18 | Unclear | Son of Robert \& Amy Swan of Hawthornden, Greenock | Died at Blacon Hall |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 263.4 | See 263.2 | See 263.2 | Charmley | William W | 6 March 1911 | 30 | Not stated | Son of above | Not clear who 'above' is, but probably R \& M Charmley. "/n the midst of life we are in death." |
| 263.5 | See 263.2 | See 263.2 | Francis | Matilda | 5 oct 1953 | 78 | Willaston | Wife of the late John Claude Francis \& 'their' daughter | Presumably R \& M Charmley's daughter \& WWC's sister |
| 264.1 | Ped cross | Granite. Kerb at rear | Walley | Stephen | 1 Jan 1904 | 6 wks (born 15 Nov 1903) | Great Saughall | Beloved infant son of Stephen \& Annie W |  |
| 264.2 | See 264.1 | See 264.1 | Walley | Stephen | 3 March 1910 | 43 | Unclear | Father of above SW | Died at Great Sutton |
| $\frac{264.3}{265.1}$ | See 264.1 | See 264.1 | Walley | Annie | 11 Sept 1933 | 85 | Unclear | Mother/wife of above | Died at Hooton. "At rest." |
| 265.1 | Ped head \& kerb | Sandstone. Crown escutcheon \& floral scrolls. Tri top | Taylor | Hannah | 20 July 1915 | 42 | Little Sutton | Beloved wife of Thomas T | "Thy will be done." |
| 265.2 | See 265.1 | See 265.1 | Taylor | Thomas | 6 May 1954 | 85 | Little Sutton | Beloved husband of Polly (sister of above HT) | "Faithful unto death." |
| 265.3 | See 265.1 | See 265.1 | Taylor | Polly | 18 Feb 1966 | 80 | Not stated | Wife of above TT | "Reunited." |
| 266.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Lead relief. Flat top. Rose dec | Talbot | Edwin | 2 Dec 1918 | 27 | Not stated | Dearly beloved husband of Elizabeth Spruce \& eldest son of Denis \& Emily Spruce | "In the midst of life we are in death" |
| 266.2 | See 266.1 | See 266.1 | Spruce | Dennis | 4 Feb 1923 | 33 | Not stated | Dearly beloved husband of Emily Spruce | "So he giveth his beloved sleep" |
| 267.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Semi-circ | Wood | Annie | 1 Jan 1922 | 37 | Not stated | Beloved wife of Arthur W |  |
| $\frac{267.2}{268.1}$ | See 267.1 | See 267.1 | Wood | Arthur | 1 June 1922 | 38 | Not stated | Husband of above AW |  |
| 268.1 <br> 268.2 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. White quartz chippings. Rose dec See 268.1 | Griffiths | Dorothy | 17 June 1945 | 39 | Not stated | Beloved wife of Edward Massey G | "At rest" |
| $\frac{268.2}{269.1}$ | See 268.1 | See 268.1 | Griffiths | Edward Massey | 3 March 1967 | 71 | Not stated | Dear husband of DG |  |
| ${ }^{269.1}$ | Ped cross \& kerb | Sandstone. 3 steps. Quatrefoil. Insc E, S \& N | Roberts | Anne | 22 Jan 1888 | 68 | Not stated | Widow of the late David Roberts late of Kirkdale, Liverpool | East face: top, middle \& bottom steps |
| 269.2 <br> 269.3 <br> 29 | See 269.1 | See 269.1 See 269.1 | Cottingham | James <br> Anne | 11 Oct 1890 | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline 87 \text { (born } 3 \text { Oct } \\ 1803 \text { ) } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | 59 yrs vicar of this parish | None mentioned | North face: top \& middle step. "Death is the gateway to life everlasting." |
| 269.4 | See 269.1 | See 269.1 | Cottingham | Anne | 8 Feb 1909 | Not stated | Not stated | Widow of JC | North face : bottom step |
| 269.5 | See 269.1 | See 269.1 | Cottingham | Charles | 24 Dec 1881 | 85 | MD | None mentioned | South face: top \& middle steps |
| 270.1 | Head \& kerb | White quartz chippings; floral dec | Samuel | Gweneth Winifred | 18 Jan 1955 | 85 | Not stated | Brother of CC | South face: bottom step |
| 270.2 | See 270.1 | See 270.1 | Samuel | Lilian Wilkinson | 16 Feb 1957 | 88 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 271.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic top. Quatrefoil ins | Davies | Edward | 17 Sept 1898 | 76 | Puddington | None mentioned |  |
| 271.2 | See 271.1 | See 271.1 | Davies | Harriet Mary | 13 Feb 1905 | 76 | Not stated | Beloved wife of above ED |  |
| 272.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Gothic top. Partially eroded | Jones | Sarah | 29 Apr 1902 | 58 | Great Saughall | B. wife of George J | "And --- Lord of Hosts/When ---" |
| 272.2 | See 272.1 | See 272.1 | Jones | George | 8 Sept 1913 | 70 | Great Saughall | Husband of above SJ | "Thy will be done" |
| 273.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Comer posts. <br> Flat top. Floral square. Built <br> in stone vase | Wood | George | 8 Sept 1913 | 84 | Woodbank | None mentioned | divabe done |
| 273.2 | See 273.1 | See 273.1 | Wood | Emma | 20 Jan 1940 | 87 | Not stated | B. wife of above GW | "Thy will be done" |


| 274.1 | Head \& kerb | White marble. Relief. White chippings. Rose dec | Jones | William | 7 March 1955 | 78 | Not stated | "My beloved husband" | "Peace perfect peace" |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 274.2 | See 274.1 | See 274.1 | Jones | Ellen | 26 Apr 1958 | 76 | Not stated |  |  |
| 275 | Daffodil body | Daffodils | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | B. Wife of above WJ Not stated | Thy will be done" |
| 276.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Tudor rose | Farrall | William | 30 June 1880 | 77 | Great Saughall | None mentioned |  |
| 276.2 | See 276.1 | See 276.1 | Farrall | Mary | 24 Jan 1898 | 72 | Non stated | Wife of above WF | "Their end was peace" |
| 277.1 | Ped head \& kerb | Sandstone. Gothic. Quatrefoil ins | Snell | Thomas | 14 Jan 1893 | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline 76 \text { (born } 1 \text { Sept } \\ 1816 \text { ) } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | Saughall | None mentioned | "Thy will be done" |
| 277.2 | See 277.1 | See 277.1 | Snell | Ellen | 28 Apr 1902 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 81(born } 5 \text { Oct } \\ & 1820 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | Not stated | B wife of above TS | "Peace, perfect peace" |
| 278.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic top. Escutcheon | Fields | William | 11 Apr 1897 | 37 | Not stated | $B$ husband of Martha F |  |
| 278.2 | See 278.1 | See 278.1 | Fields | Martha | 7 May 1923 | 82 | Not stated | Wife of WF | "Thy will be done" |
| $\frac{279}{280}$ | Kerb | Sandstone. White chipgs | Cottingham | James T | 28 Jan 1910 | Not stated | Not stated | None mentioned | "R.I.P." |
| 280 | Kerb | Sandstone. Buried; turf peeled bk | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible | Not visible |  |
| 281 | Ped cross \& kerb | Black marble. 3 steps. Black chippings | Cureton | William | 19 July 1930 | 65 | Not stated | None mentioned | "Waiting in a holy stillness wrapt in sleep" |
| 282.1 | Head \& kerb | Black \& orange marble. Chippings \& vase. Silver band relief | Jones | Ellen | 11 Nov 1939 | 49 | Not stated | B wife of Joseph J |  |
| 282.2 | See 282.1 | See 282.1 | Jones | Reginald Donald | 11 Nov 1936 | 25 | Not stated | son of above J \& E J |  |
| 282.3 | See 282.1 | See 282.1 | Jones | Joseph | 9 July 1980 | 91 | Not stated | Husband/father of above |  |
| $\frac{282.4}{283.1}$ | See 282.1 | See 282.1 | Norton | Horace | 10 March 2003 | 78 | Not stated | None mentioned | "At rest" Possibly Ellen Jones' brother |
| 283.1 | Ped head. Floral body | White marble. Rosebud dec, Integral vase. Black relief. | Charmley (nee Lloyd) | Margaret | 19 Apr 1965 | 39 | Not stated | Oblique mention of a Mr Charmley |  |
| 283.2 | See 283.1 | See 283.1 | Charmley | William Robert | 14 Oct 2004 | 55 | Not stated | None mentioned | Probably Margaret Charmley's son |
| 284 | Ped head | Granite. Lead relief. Floral body | Charmley | Richard | 18 Apr 1975 | 65 | Not stated | None mentioned | "God bless". Grave echoes 283. Margaret Charmley's husband? |
| 285.1 | Ped head \& vase <br> See 285.1 | Black marble. Cuboid vase tilted like rhombus. Silver relief. <br> See 285.1 | Wilson | Hannah Gwendoline Mary | 7 Dec 1999 | 76 | Not stated | None mentioned | "I know that my Redeemer liveth." SE face of vase: "Dad/Our unsung/hero". NE face of vase: "To Gwen with love" |
| 285.2 | See 285.1 | See 285.1 | Wilson | Joseph Ernest | 22 Apr 2000 | 86 | Not stated | None mentioned | "Life a beautiful memory/Absence a silent grief." On top step: "They will be forever in our hearts." |
| 286.1 | Head, kerb, stone slab | Black marble. Ivy leaf. Stone vase. Gold inlay | Hewitt | William | 30 Oct 1923 | 57 | Shotwick Hall | None mentioned | Gothic script: "Thy will be done" |
| 286.2 | See 286.1 | See 286.1 | Hewitt | Mary | 8 June 1957 | 88 | Not stated | $B$ wife of above WH | Gothic script: "At rest" |
| 286.3 | See 286.1 | See 286.1 | Seddon | Olive | 11 Jan 1983 | 85 | Not stated | Daughter of W\&M H; dear wife of Ralph S | Comic script. Atres? |
| 287.1 | Ped head | Black marble Gold inlay | Seddon | Phyllis | 31 March 1993 | 72 | Not stated | Daughter of O\&R S |  |
| 287. | Pedhead | Church window etch; integral vase | Hewitt | Walcot Thomas | 12 July 1980 | 73 | Not stated | None mentioned | "Rest in peace." |
| 287.2 | See 287.1 | See 287.1 | Hewith | Frances Primrose | 25 Apr 1988 | 81 | Not stated | "A dear wife \& mother" | Presumably wife of Walcot Thomas Hewitt |
| 288.1 | Ped head; granite plinth | Black marble. Black relief. Integral vase | Morgan | Robert Basil | 1 Jan 1985 | 54 | Not stated | None mentioned | "Rest in peace." |
| 289 | Vase \& base | White plastic. Black text | Hewitt | Gordon | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | "A dear brother" | Presumably son of WT \& FP Hewitt (similar phraseology) |
| 290 | Open book on pedestal | Granite. Black inlay. Integral vase. | Adams | Norman Leslie | 28 Dec 1990 | $\begin{aligned} & 70 \text { (bn } 8 \text { March } \\ & 1920 \text { ) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | Not stated | None mentioned | "R.I.P." Space on right page for second inscription presumably wife, currently still alive |


| 291 | Open book on pedestal | Granite. Black inlay. Integral vase. | Adams | Diane Pauline | 15 March 1992 | 45 | Not stated | None mentioned | "At peace my angel". Probably Norman Leslie Adams' daughter. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 292.1 | Ped head. Floral body | Black marble. Gold inlay. | Mason | John Henry (Mick) | 11 May 1998 | $\begin{aligned} & 79 \text { (born } 2 \text { Sept } \\ & \text { 1919) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 292.2 | See 292.1 | See 292.1 | Mason | Norah Mary | 11 Dec 2003 | 76 (born 27 <br> March 1927) | Not stated | Wife of above JHM | "At peace" |
| 293 | Ped head \& granite plinth | Black marble. Gold inlay. Stone vase | Hewitt | John William | 12 Apr 1999 | 67 | Not stated | "A dear husband, father and grandfather | "We will always love you" |
| 294 | Ped head on granite plinth | Black marble. Gold inlay. Gothic, serif \& sans serif typography | Fryer | Gwendoline Elizabeth | 1 Sept 1999 | $\begin{aligned} & 83 \text { (born } 31 \text { Aug } \\ & 1916 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | Not stated | Wife of Harold \& beloved Mother and Granny | "Loved and Remembered Always" |
| 295.1 | Ped head on marble plinth <br> See 2951 | Black marble. Gold inlay. Integral vase | Walley | Albert Henry | 24 Aug 2001 | 85 | Not stated | Loving husband, father, grandfather and greatgrandfather | "And the best is love" |
| 295.2 | See 295.1 | See 295.1 | Walley | Olive Mary | 13 Oct 2003 | 88 | Not stated | Loving wife, mother, grandmother \& greatgrandmother | "A very special person". E ped: "Forever in our hearts." W ped: "Buckley Memorials/Monumental Services/Of Buckley" |
| 296 | Ped head on concrete plinth | White granite. Integral vase | Paul | Kenneth Alexander | 29 Oct 2004 | $\begin{aligned} & 65 \text { (bn } 16 \text { Feb } \\ & 1939 \text { ) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | Not stated | "A loving son, husband, father \& grandfather" | "Rest in peace". Memorial erected Autumn 2005 |
| 297.1 | Ledger. cremation marker | Sandstone. South-facing <br>  <br> See 297.1 | Bryce | John | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Grandfather of Albert Bryce-Smith | "St. Michael's Shotwick. This area of the church yard is reserved for the interment of cremated remains. This stone was given by Albert Bryce-Smith in memory of his grandparents John \& Betty Bryce who are buried in the church yard" |
| 298 |  |  | Bryce | Betty | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Grandmother of A B-S |  |
| 298 | Ledger | Black marble. Silver inlay. <br> South-facing | Robinson | Edith Mary | 10 Feb 1999 | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 81 \text { (born } 15 \text { Oct } \\ 1917 \text { ) } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | Not stated | None mentioned | "Rest in peace." |
| 299.1 | Cremation ledger | Black marble. Silver inlay. South-facing | Taylor | Pat | 1992 | 56/7. Bn 1935 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 299.2 | See 299.1 | See 299.1 | Taylor | John | 1993 | 59/60. Bn 1933 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 300 | Cremation ledger | Black marble. Silver inlay. South-facing | Mannion | Marjorie | 1980 | 54/55. Bn 1925 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 301 | Cremation lledger | Black marble. Gold inlay. Integral vase. Cross dec. South-facing | Grant | Barbara Anne | 5 Dec 1998 | 50 | Not stated | "A Beloved Wife, Mum \& Nan" (of whom??) | "Her Life A Beautiful Memory,/Her Absence A Silent Grief" |
| 302.1 | Cremation ledger | Black marble. Incision. South-facing | Rutter | Gordon Charieton | 1989 | 69/70. Bn 1919 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 302.2 | See 301.1 | See 301.1 | Rutter | Beatrice Eveline | 2002 | 83/84. Bn 1918 | Not stated | None mentioned | Presumably GCR's wife. "Together with the Lord" |
| 303 | Crem ledger | Black marble. Silver bands behind relief. South-facing | Goodhew | Mavis | 4 Oct 2003 | $\begin{aligned} & 88 \text { (born } 4 \text { Oct } \\ & 1914 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | Born in Kent. <br> Died: Cheshire | None mentioned | "And time remembered is grief forgotten." NB: Age stated as 88 , but actually died on 89th birthday |
| 304.1 | Pedestal cross, kerb \& tilted slab | Marble. 3-step ped. White chippings. Integral stone vase. Relief | Coveney | Frank Henry | 22 Dec 1944 | 70 (born 14 Sept 1874) | Priest. Vicar of this parish | None mentioned |  |
| 304.2 | See 304.1 | See 304.1 | Coveney | Kate Vaudrey | 11 Apr 1963 | Not stated | Not stated | Wife of FHC |  |
| 304.3 | See 304.1 | Inscription on slab: | Coveney | Peter Vaudrey | 1997 | 76/77. Bn 1920 | Not stated | None mentioned | 'We will always love you'. Son of FH \& KV C? |
| 305.1 | Head, kerb \& two vases | Marble: red \& black; white. Tulip dec. Cuboid vase. Pyramid vase | Hopwood | Emily | 12 Sept 1941 | 60 | Bank Farm, Woodbank | Dearly beloved wife of James Hopwood | - |
| 305.2 | See 305.1 | See 305.1 | Hopwood | James | 9 July 1974 | 91 | Not stated | Dear husband of EH | "Reunited in love/And the best is love". Inscription on cuboid vase: "In memory/of Mother" |


| 305.3 | See 305.1 | Insc on pyramid vase: | Hopwood | Fred | 18 Sept 1944 | 27 | Killed in action at Amhem | Son of J\&EH | "Duty nobly done" |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 306.1 | Head, kerb, stone vase | Granite. Gravel chippings. Classical futing. Lead relief | Palin | Anthony | 3 June 1943 | 2 yrs 10 m | Not stated | "Our dear son" | "An angel visited the green earth/And took a flower away." On vase: "Tony, my dear loved brother" |
| 306.2 | See 306.1 | See 306.1 | Palin | Joseph | 7 March 1985 | 67 | Not stated | None mentioned | Probably AP's father or much older brother |
| 307.1 | Head, kerb; granite plinth | Black marble. White chippings. Marble vase. Grape decoration. Relief | Palin | John Edwin | 27 Sept 1957 | 70 | Not stated | Beloved husband of Annie P |  |
| 307.2 | See 307.1 | See 307.1 | Palin | Annie | 10 May 1959 | 69 | Not stated | Blvd wife of JEP | "Re-united." |
| 307.3 | See 307.1 | See 307.1 | ?Palin | Edna | 16 Dec 1976 | 46 | Not stated | Blvd daughter (of above??) | "The Gift of God is Eternal Life" |
| 308.1 | Ped head on granite plinth | Black marble. Gold inlay. Integral vase | Perkins | Edwin | 2 Dec 1960 | 64 | Not stated | "A dear husband \& fathers |  |
| 308.2 | See 308.1 | See 308.1 | Perkins | Sarah Ann | 21 Jan 1973 | 79 | Not stated | "A dear wife \& mother" |  |
| 308.3 | See 308.1 | See 308.1 | Perkins | William Moseley | 5 June1987 | 62 | Not stated | Sonf E \& SA P | "Reunited" |
| 309 | Headstone | Granite. Black inlay. Rose decoration | Shone | Ralph Arthur | 7 Aug 1962 | 70 | Not stated | "My dear husband" | "At rest" |
| 310 | Ped head | Granite. Integral vase. Lead relief | Saunders | Ruth Mary | 8 Aug 1971 | 73 | Not stated | Daughter of Francis \& Gertrude Druge of 'Greenbank', Parkgate Rd, Mollington | Parental home seems to have been of great importance |
| 311.1 | Ped head; plinth | Black marble. Integral vase. Relief | Roberts | Glynne Ewart | 5 May 1974 | 62 | Not stated | Dearly loved husband of Phyllis R | "In heavenly love abiding" |
| 311.2 | See 311.1 | See 311.1 | Roberts | Phyllis | 22 Nov 1999 | 77 | Not stated | Dear wife of GEE | "Reunited" |
| 312.1 | Ped head; granite plinth | Black marble. Integral vase. Relief | Roberts | Clifford William | 26 Sept 1974 | 65 | Not stated | Beloved husband of Ora R | "In heavenly love abiding" |
| 312.2 | See 312.1 | See 312.1 | Roberts | Ora | 23 July 1981 | 62 | Not stated | Beloved wife of CWR | "Reunited" |
| 313 | Ped head; granite plinth | Black marble. Integral vase. Relief | Roberts | Patricia | 20 Jan 1976 | 34 | Not stated | Beloved daughter of CW \& O Roberts | "In heavenly love abiding" |
| 314 | Ped head | Black marble. Integral vase. Gold inlay | Pollard | Arthur | 28 Jan 1982 | 76: 28/11 1905 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 315.1 | Head \& kerb | Black marble. Marble vase; mixed coloured chippings. Gold inlay | Jones | Ronald | 18 Feb 1964 | 38 | Not stated | Only son of Florence \& Harry J | "Thy will be done" |
| 315.2 | See 315.1 | See 315.1. Silver inlay | Jones | Florence May | 11 Sept 1981 | 77 | Not stated | Mother of RJ | "The Lord is my Shepherd" |
| 315.3 | See 315.1 | See 315.1. Gold inlay | Jones | Harry | 29 Sept 1993 | 90 | Not stated | Father/husband of above | "Reunited" |
| 316 | Ped head; granite plinth | Black marble; gold inlay; integral vase | Reid | John William | 22 June 1962 | 54 | Not stated | Devoted husband and father [of whom?] | "The Lord's my Shepherd" |
| 317 | Hipped kerb | Cuboid stone vase | Wilkinson | Bertram | 8 May 1958 | 71 | Not stated | Blvd husband of Edith W | "Rest in peace" |
| 318.1 | Ped head; granite plinth | Black marble; silver inlay; integral vase | Lunt | William | 20 Oct 1977 | 70 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 318.2 | See 318.1 | See 318.1 | Robinson | Dennis | 30 Apr 1985 | 71 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 318.3 | See 318.1 | See 318.1 | Williams | Margaret | 27 Nov 1993 | 88 | Not stated | Sister of above WL | "For theirs is the kingdom of Heaven" |
| 319.1 | Ped head; granite plinth | Black marble; silver inlay | Lunt | William | 13 May 1937 | 65 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 319.2 | See 319.1 | See 319.1 | Lunt | Margaret | 1 Feb 1955 | 93 | Not stated | Blva wife of WL |  |
| 320.1 | Headstone | Granite. Classical pillars. Granite. South-facing | Evans | Samuel | 26 July 1938 | 75 | Shotwick | Beloved husband of Jane |  |
| 320.2 | See 320.1 | See 320.1 | Evans | William | 21 March 1918 | 22 | Not stated | Belovedson of S\&.J E | "Killed in action in France" |


| 321.1 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Ped head \& } \\ & \text { kerb } \end{aligned}$ | White marble. Pillars. Vase. Relief | Evans | George | 17 Apr 1930 | 56 | Woodbank, late of Little Sutton \& Bidston | Dearly loved husband of Ada E | "I thank my God upon every remembrance of you./To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die." |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 321.2 | See 321.1 | See 321.1 | Evans | Ada | 6 Oct 1956 | 78 | Not stated | Beloved wife of above GE | "Reunited" |
| 321.3 | See 321.1 | See 321.1 | Pilkington | Leonard | 29 Jan 1947 | 19 | Lost at sea | Grandson of above | "Always in our thoughts" |
| 322.1 | Head, foot, kerb | Sandstone. Incision. Ivy leaf decoration | Evans | George | 10 July 1907 | 71 | Woodbank | None mentioned | "Thy will be done" |
| 322.2 | See 322.1 | See 322.1 | Evans | Sarah | 15 March 1925 | 85 | Not stated | Wife of above GE | "At rest". Foot: "J.A. Mossford/Wrexham" |
| 323.1 | Head \& kerb | Sandstone. Incision. Trefoil. Leaf dec | Davies | Martha Elizabeth | 4 March 1913 | 41 | Birkenhead | Wife of Thomas D | "Rest in peace" |
| 323.2 | See 323.1 | See 323.1 | Davies | Lilian | 12 May 1938 | 64 | Birkenhead | Second wife of TD |  |
| 323.3 | See 323.1 | See 323.1 | Davies | Thomas | 21 June 1947 | 77 | Birkenhead | Not stated |  |
| 324 | Ledger \& kerb | No inscription. Collapsed. | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | On metal plate, E kerb: "Astbury's/46 Foregate St/Chester" |
| 325 | Stone vase | Geraniums | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Recent; probably awaiting full memorial |
| 326 | Headstone | Concrete. RAF. Cross | Hinton | FA | 9 Nov 1918 | Not mentioned | 2nd Lieutenant | None mentioned | From RAF Sealand. Aged 22 (War Graves Commission) |
| 327 | Headstone | Concrete. RAF. Cross | Samuelson | Frank Albert | 29 Oct 1918 | 22 | 2nd Lieutenant | None mentioned | From RAF Sealand |
| 328 | Headstone | Concrete. RAF. Cross | Bray | HEK | 9 July 1918 | 22 | 2nd Lieutenant | None mentioned | From RAF Sealand. "A young Canadian Soldier Poet who followed the Gleam." |
| 329 | Headstone | Concrete. RAF. Maple leaf | Hastie | HN | 12 June 1918 | 24 | Lieutenant | None mentioned | From RAF Sealand |
| 330.1 | Ped head; granite plinth | Black marble. Relief (bands behind text). Integral vase | Roberts | Catherine | 1 Nov 1961 | 87 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 330.2 | See 330.1 | See 330.1 | Roberts | Henry William | 5 Nov 1963 | 86 | Not stated | Blvd husband of above C | "Re-united" |
| 331.1 | Pedestal | Marble: red-brown, black pillars. Marble urn in front. Floral \& foliage dec. Kbed with 332, 333, 334 | Hughes | John | 19 July 1870 | 42 | Not stated | None mentioned | S face: "Griffiths/Claughton" |
| 331.2 | See 331.1 | See 331.1 | Hughes | Mary Ann | 31 July 1907 | 75 | Not stated | Widow of JH | "Peace, perfect peace" |
| 331.3 | See 331.1 | See 331.1 | Hughes | Margaret Alice | 17 Apr 1875 | 4 yrs 10 m | Not stated | Daughter of J \& M H | Date suggests she was a posthumous child |
| 331.4 | See 331.1 | See 331.1 | Hughes | Elizabeth Mary | 3 Feb 1880 | 12 | Not stated | Daughter of J \& M H | "Thy will be done" |
| 331.5 | See 331.1 | See 331.1 | Hughes | Annie | 25 May 1909 | 55 | Not stated | Eldest dau of J \& M H | "At rest". |
| 332.1 | Pedestal | Granite. Relief (black lead). Kerbed with 331, 333, 334 | Hughes | Arthur | 22 Feb 1892 | 25 | Not stated | Youngest son of the late John \& Mary Ann Hughes | "Blessed are they which die in the Lord." face: "Griffiths/Claughton" |
| 332.2 | See 332.1 | See 332.1 | Hughes | Edward | 15 March 1908 | 39 | Not stated | Fourth son of J \& MA H | "At rest" |
| 333 | Pedestal cross | 3 steps. Granite. Kerbed with 331, 332, 334 | Hughes | John Stanley | 18 Nov 1892 | 4 yrs 4 m | Not stated | Only and dearly loved child of John \& Annie H | "With Christ which is far better" |
| 334.1 | Pedestal | Urn top. Marble: black; mottled black \& white. Granite. Ivy \& swirly dec. Gold inlay. Kerbed with 331, 332, 333 | Hughes | Mary Ann | 15 Feb 1927 | 61 | "The Lache", Birkenhead | Dearly loved wife of John Hughes | "Abide with me". N face: "Griffiths/Claughton". Tallest memorial in churchyard (apart from war memorial 001) |
| 334.2 | See 334.1 | See 334.1 | Hughes | John | 18 May 1929 | 73 | "The Lache", Birkenhead | Dearly loved husband of Mary Ann Hughes |  |
| 335.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Black inlay. Gothic top. Quatrefoil ins | Miller | John | 27 Feb 1897 | 57 | Not stated | None mentioned | "Go .......ved sleep" [eroded] |
| $335.2$ | See 335.1 | See 335.1 | Miller | Alice | 28 Jan 1929 | 87 | Not stated | Widow of JM |  |
| 336 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic top. Floral dec. | Inscription eroded | Eroded | Eroded | Eroded | Eroded | Eroded |  |


| 337.1 | Ped head | White marble. Flaking black inlay. | Williams | John | 1927 | $\begin{aligned} & 71 / 72 \text { (born } \\ & 1855 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 337.2 | See 337.1 | See 337.1 | Williams | Mary | 1934 | 42/3 (bn 1891) | Not stated | Dear daughter of JW |  |
| 337.3 | See 337.1 | See 337.1 | Williams | Elizabeth | 1949 | 83/84 (bn1865) | Not stated | Loving wife of JW | "Always remembered/Everlasting love" |
| 338.1 | Ped head | White marble. Integral vase. Relief: roses, cross, Peace | Pritchard | Leslie | 1925 | 5 (bom 1920) | Not stated | A dearly loved son | Alway remembered/Everiasting love |
| 338.2 | See 338.1 | See 338.1 | Pritchard | Fred | 1955 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 60/61 (born } \\ & \text { 1894) } \end{aligned}$ | Not stated | Loving husband and father |  |
| 338.2 | See 338.1 | See 338.1 | Pritchard | Alice Julia | 1979 | $\begin{aligned} & 80 / 81 \text { (born } \\ & 1898 \text { ) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | Not stated | Beloved wife | "Remembrance is a golden chain/That links us till we meet again" |
| 339.1 | Ped head | Granite. Integral vase | Druce | Gertrude Mary Ella | 1 March 1955 | 82 | "Greenbank", Parkgate Rd, Mollington | None mentioned |  |
| 339.2 | See 339.1 | See 339.1 | Druce | Francis | 17 Jan 1962 | 88 | "Greenbank", Parkgate Rd, Mollingion | None mentioned |  |
| 340.1 | Ped head \& kerb | Sandstone. Black inlay. <br> Pillars | Wansbrough, BD | Rev Frederick Ray | 30 June 1936 | 80 | 34 years vicar of this parish | None mentioned |  |
| 340.2 | See 340.1 | See 340.1 | Wansbrough | Eva Frances Annette | 22 Apr 1935 | 78 | Not stated | Wife of Rev FR W | "R.I.P./Underneath are the everlasting arms" |
| 341 | Headstone | Concrete. RAF. Cross | Gibson | FV | 9 Nov 1918 | Not mentioned | Flight cadet | None mentioned | From RAF Sealand. Aged 22 (War Graves Commission) |
| $\frac{342}{343}$ | Headstone | Concrete. RAF. Cross | Souley | Herbert W | 19 Oct 1918 | 22 | Lieutenant | None mentioned | From RAF Sealand |
| 343 | Plaque on post | Brass | Morange | S | 8 Aug 1929 re 11 Aug 1918 | Not mentioned | Lieutenant | None mentioned | Commemorates service \& wreathe-laying by Bronxville (US) residents in 1929 |
| 344 | Headstone | Concrete. RAF. Cross | Morange | Leonard S | 11 Aug 1918 | 22 | Lieutenant | None mentioned | From RAF Sealand |
| 345 | Pedestal cross \& kerb | Granite. Incision. Three step pedestal | Fuhr | HR | 16 June 1918 | 20 | Lieutenant | None mentioned | From RAF Sealand. Born at King Williamstown, South Africa |
| 346 | Headstone | Concrete. RAF. Cross | Miller | John Jewett | 25 April 1918 | 25 | 2nd Lieutenant | None mentioned |  |
| 347.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Semi-circ. Dogtooth dec. Tudor rose. | Burgess | William | 7 Feb 1880 | 75 | Not stated | None mentioned | "I know that my Redeemer liveth" |
| 347.2 | See 347.1 | See 347.1 | Burgess | Sarah | 7 Sept 1887 | 76 | Not stated | Wife of above WB | "Thy will be done" |
| 348 | Headstone | Granite. Gothic. Ivy leaves | Steele | Peter | 20 Feb 1900 | 59 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 349.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Ogee. Black inlay. Eroding. | Shone | Mary | 5 July 1908 | 38 | Wood Bank | Beloved wife of George S | "We miss the friendship and the loving smile/Our hearts in but a little while/And lie shall pass within the golden gate/God ... help us while we wait" (partially eroded) |
| 349.2 | See 349.1 | See 349.1 | Shone | George | 4 Feb 1944 | 74 | Not stated | Son of above G\&M S | "His end was peace" |
| 349.3 | See 349.1 | See 349.1 | Shone | Martha | 6 June 1945 | 69 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 350.1 | Head, kerb, slab; granite plinth; vase | Black \& white marble. Relief (white strips behind) on head; black inlay on slab | Williams | Patience | 27 May 1956 | 67 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 350.2 | See 350.1 | See 350.1 | Williams | Joseph | 10 Jan 1979 | 89 | Not stated | A dear husband \& father | "Reunited" |
| 350.3 | See 350.1 | See 350.1 | Williams | Dorothy | 17 March 1916 | 7 months | Not stated | Daughter of J \& P W | "In God's keeping" |
| 350.4 | See 350.1 | On slab: | Jones | Grace E | 17 Feb 1997 | 73 (born 19 June 1923) | Not stated | Daughter of J \& P W | "Forever in our thoughts" |
| 351 | Headstone | Sandstone. Triple triangle. <br> Zigzag | Smith | Alice Ruth | 12 April 1897 | 32 | Not stated | None mentioned | "She passed through pain and sorrow/But it was Jesus that called her home/To rest upon his throne" |
| 352 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic. Zigzag. Quatrefoil ins | Spruce | Mary | 24 Feb 1886 | 54 | Not stated | Beloved wife of Dennis S | "Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as $/$ Ye think not, the son of man cometh" |


| 353.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Sin shidrs; semi-circ. | Jones | Edward | 25 June 1875 | 73 | Shotwick | None mentioned |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 353.2 | See 353.1 | See 353.1 | Jones | Mary | 8 Dec 1887 | Eroded | Not stated | Wife of above EJ |  |
| 354 | Headstone | Sandstone. Finial | Roberts | Richard | 30 July 1890 | 67 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 355.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Semi-circ. Quatrefoil ins | Vaughan | Benjamin | 28 Dec 1851 | 50 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 355.2 | See 355.1 | See 355.1 | Vaughan | Margaret | 6 June 1895 | 80 | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| 356.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Semi-circ Inscription eroding | Dodd | Catherine | 19 July 1880 | 5 | Saughall | Daughter of George \& Elizabeth D | "The Lord of life and glory died for me" (follows arc of semicircular top) |
| 356.2 | See 356.1 | See 356.1 | Dodd | Elizabeth | July 1882 | 77 | Saughall | Mother of CD | Exact date not stated |
| 356.3 | See 356.1 | See 356.1 | Dodd | George | 3 Oct 1883 | 80 | Saughall | Husband/father of above | "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, Yea, saith the spirit, for they rest from their labour" |
| 356.4 | See 356.1 | See 356.1 | Jones | Margaret | 28 Oct 1891 | 66 | Not stated | Wife of James Bingley Jones; daughter of above | "Her..../ts thinni...and...are o'er/Her......breast/ls heave by aff.." |
| 357 | Headstone | Sandstone. Black inlay. Quatrefoil ihs. Spandrels. | Maddock | Alice | 27 June 1882 | 88 | Great Saughall | None mentioned | "Prepare to meet thy God" |
| 358 | Head, foot, kerb | Sandstone. Incision on foot only: "WHB" | B-- | W-H- | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated |  |
| 359.1 | Head, foot, kerb | Sandstone. Gothic. Black inlay. Rose in lozenge | Healing | William | 23 June 1887 | 77 | Sealand | None mentioned | "Thy will be done" |
| 359.2 | See 359.1 | See 359.1 | Healing | Rebecca | 10 Feb 1896 | 74 | Not stated | "Our dear mother", wife of above WH | "She died as she lived, trusting in Jesus" |
| 360.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Swoops. Vineleaf ins. Grapes | Smith | Ann | 11 July 1887 | 62 | Great Saughall | Wife of Isaac Smith |  |
| 360.2 | See 360.1 | See 360.1 | Smith | Isaac | 2 Feb 1888 | 72 | Great Saughall | Husband of Ann |  |
| 361.1 | Head \& foot | Sandstone. Semi-circ. Black inlay. Quatrefoil ins | Cooper | Hannah | 14 Oct 1888 | 62 | Saughall | Beloved wife of George C | "The memory of the just is blessed" |
| 361.2 | See 361.1 | See 361.1 | Cooper | George | 21 Apr 1889 | 67 | Not stated | Husband of HC | "They also that sleep in Jesus will/God bring with him" |
| 362.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Gothic. Chunks fallen off $E$ face | Shone | Elizabeth | 14 Feb 1890 | 70 | Not stated | None mentioned | "Not lost but gone before" |
| 362.2 | See 362.1 | See 362.1 | Shone | John | 14 Jan ?year? | 79 | Not stated | Husband of above ES |  |
| 363.1 | Headstone | White marble. Lead relief. Semi-pillars. Spandrels | Cooper | Thomas | 1 May 1899 | 78 | Not stated | None mentioned | "Until the day break and the/Shadows flee away" |
| 363.2 | See 363.1 | See 363.1 | Cooper | Katherine | 27 Dec 1905 | 88 | Not stated | Blvd wife of above TC | "Peace, perfect peace" |
| 364 | Headstone | Sandstone. Semi-circ. Zigzag decoration | Healing | Joseph | 20 Jan 1876 | 72 | Great Saughall | None mentioned | Peace, perfectpeace |
| 365.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Wheel top. | Smith | Samuel | ?? March 1875 | 71 | Sealand | None mentioned |  |
| 365.2 | See 365.1 | See 365.1 | Smith | Mary | 15 Oct 1901 | 82 | Not stated | Widow of above SS |  |
| 366 | ?Foot | Sandstone. Roundel iths | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Not stated | Placed in row of headstones, but size of footstone |
| 367.1 <br> 3672 | Headstone. <br> Slab at base <br> See 367.1 | Sandstone. Wheel cross with decorative finials. | Challender | Samuel | 15 July 1879 | 4 | Sealand | Son of Thomas \& Rebecca C | "We cannot Lond thy purpose see,/But all is well that's done by thee" |
|  | See 367.1 | See 367.1 | Challender | Thomas | 31 Oct 1880 | 30 | Sealand | Father of above SC |  |
| 367.3 | See 367.1 | See 367.1 | Challender | Rebecca | 3 Nov 1898 | 48 | Green Lane <br> Farm, Sealand | Wife/mother of above | "We cannot Lord thy purpose see,But all is well that's done by thee" |
| 367.5 | See 367.1 | Black inlay on slab: | Challender | John | 20 June 1961 | 83 | Not stated | Son of T\&R C |  |
| 367.6 | See 367.1 | See 367.4 | Challender | Thomas Smith | 17 Jan 1967 | 89 | Not stated | Blvd wife of JC | "Reunited" |
| 368.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Semi-circ | Vaughan | Isaac | 11 March 1884 | 64 | Not stated | None mentioned | Age from Bennett/Lawson (their 248) |
| 368.2 | See 368.1 | See 368.1 | Vaughan | Ann | 18 Feb 1900 | 76 | Not stated | Wife of above IV | Age 368.1 |
| 369.1 | Headstone | Sandstone. Semi-circ. Quatrefoil his. Spandrels | Bithell | Emily | 4 Apr 1882 | 6 | Great Saughall | Daughter of Joseph \& Elizabeth B |  |


| 369.2 ${ }^{369.3}$ | See 369.1 See 369.1 | See 369.1 See 369.1 | Bithell | Ellen | 18 Apr 1882 | 10 | Great Saughall | Sister of above EB | "Rest here my little darings/Rest within your bed of clay,/Death stole you both from your mother's arms/And took your lives away" |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{369.3}$ | See 369.1 | See 369.1 | Bithell | William | 11 June 1888 | 24 | Not stated | Brother of above E \& EB | "He suffered long but murmured notWe watched him day by day/With aching hearts grow less and less/Until he passed away" |
| 369.4 | See 369.1 | See 369.1 | Bithell | Joseph | 7 Dec 1902 | 72 | Great Saughall | Father of above children |  |
| 369.5 | See 369.1 | See 369.1 | Bithell | Elizabeth | 23 Sept 1911 | 78 | Not stated | Wife/mother of above | "Peace, perfect peace" |
| 370 | Headstone | White marble. Black inlay. Scroll top | Estcourt | Caroline | 23 Jan 1879 | 80 | Shotwick Park | Widow of Harry Brereton Trelawny | Hidden in compost heap, behind conifers |
| A | Interior wall | Marble: white on black. Gold inlay | Cottingham | Rev James | 11 Oct 1890 | $\begin{aligned} & 87 \text { (born } 3 \text { Oct } \\ & 1803 \text { ) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 59 yrs Vicar of Shotwick | Father | Tablet erected by his children |
| B. 1 | Interior wall | Marble: white on black. Inlay | Nevitt-Bennett | John | 13 June 1910 | 71 | Not stated | Husband; father; youngest son of John \& Anne N-B of Abbey Sq, Chester | Buried in Chester Old Cemetery |
| B. 2 | See B. 1 | See B. 1 | Nevitt-Bennett | Emma | 21 Sept 1921 | 61 | Not stated | Wife and mother | Buried in Chester Old Cemetery |
| B. 3 | See B. 1 | See B. 1 | Nevith-Bennett | Ethel | 15 Nov 1894 | 7 | Not stated | Daughter | Buried in Chester Old Cemetery |
| B. 4 | See B. 1 | See B. 1 | Nevitt-Bennett | Mary Cecilia | 22 Dec 1921 | 33 | Not stated | Daughter | Buried in Chester Old Cemetery |
| B. 5 | See B. 1 | See B. 1 | Garoner | Elizabeth Emma | 17 Jan 1966 | 79 | Not stated | Daughter |  |
| B. 6 | See B. 1 | See B. 1 | Colley NevittBennet | Patty | 10 Dec 1971 | 86 | Not stated | Daughter |  |
| C | Interior wall | Wood; gilded inlay. "This tablet is placed here by friends in the parish" | Williams | Margaret | 1939 | ?48 | Shotwick: The Vicarage | Wife of Rev Joseph Williams |  |
| D. 1 | Interior wall | Marble: white on black. Black inlay | Nevitt Bennett | Anne | 20 Mar 1872 | 69 | Chester | Wife of John and mother | Buried in Chester Cemetery |
| D. 2 | See D. 1 | See D. 1 | Nevitt Bennett | Hugh Colley | 10 Nov 1880 | 76 | Not stated | Eldest son of John \& Anne | Double-check son's details; he'd have been 68 when his mother died - only a year younger than her |
| D. 3 | See D. 1 | See D. 1 | Nevitt Bennett | Elizabeth | Not noted | Infant | Not stated; likely to be Chester | Eldest daughter of John \& Anne |  |
| D. 4 | See D. 1 | See D. 1 | Nevitt Bennett | Caroline | Not noted | Infant | Not stated; likely to be Chester | Youngest daughter of John \& Anne | Mason: W Haswell |
| E. 1 | Interior wall <br>  <br> See E. 1 | Marble: white on black. <br> Black inlay <br> See E. 1 | Nevitt-Bennett | Samuel | 28 June 1910 | 74 <br> 31 | Matlock | Second son of John \& Ann Nevitt-Bennett of Chester | Mason: "W Haswell/Chester". Parents probably as D, with spelling error in mother's name. Buried in St Giles' Churchyard, Matlock |
| E. 3 | See E. 1 | See E. 1 | Nevit-Bennett | Mary Elizabeth Ann | 12 August 1880 | 31 | Not stated | Daughter of Samuel |  |
| E. 4 | See E. 1 | See E. 1 | Nevitt-Bennett | Anne Colley | 12 July 1931 | 84 | Not stated | Beloved wife |  |
| F. 1 | Interior wall | Marble: white on black. Black inlay | Nevitt-Bennett | Elizabeth Anne | 8 May 1903 | $\frac{88}{65}$ | Chester | Daughter of the late John \& Anne Nevitt-Bennett of Chester; Sister of Anne \& Patty | Buried in Chester Cemetery |
| F. 2 | See F. 1 | See F. 1 | Kennedy | Anne Jane | 1 March 1921 | 77 | Not stated | Sister of Elizabeth \& Patty |  |
| F. 3 | See F. 1 | See F. 1 | Nicholson | Patty | 11 April 1932 | 79 | Not stated | Sister of Elizabeth \& Anne |  |
| G | Interior wall | Wood. Gold inlay | Hopwood | Emily | 1941 | 760 (bom 1881) | Bank Farm, Shotwick | Wife of James Hopwood | Tablet erected by husband \& children |


| H. 1 | Interior wall | Marble: white on black. Black inlay | Nevitt-Bennett | Samuel | 27 Oct 1844 | 65 | Chester | Husband and father |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| H. 2 | See H. 1 | See H. 1 | Nevitt-Bennett | Patty | 2 Dec 1845 | 70 | Chester | Wife and mother |  |
| H. 3 | See H. 1 | See H. 1 | Nevitt-Bennett | Jane | Not noted | Infant | See H. 1 | Daughter |  |
| H. 4 | See H. 1 | See H. 1 | Nevitt-Bennett | Mary | Not noted | Infant | See H. 1 | Daughter |  |
| H. 5 | See H. 1 | See H. 1 | Nevith-Bennett | Margaret | Not noted | Infant | See H. 1 | Daughter |  |
| H. 6 | See H. 1 | See H. 1 | ? ${ }^{\text {Nevitt-Bennett }}$ | Elizabeth | 7 Sept 1841 | 27 | See H. 1 | Daughter |  |
| H. 7 | See H. 1 | See H. 1 | ?Nevitt-Bennett | Sarah | 14 Jan 1900 | 92 | See H. 1 | Daughter |  |
| 1.1 | Interior wall | Marble: white \& black. Gold inlay | Doe | Thomas | 12 Oct 1755 | 58 | Not stated | Husband and father | "He was a man of great truth and/ Sincerity, greatly beloved by all/friends and Acquaintances" |
| 1.2 | See 1.1 | See 1.1 _ . | Doe | Ann | 1 June 1778 | 88 | Not stated | Wife and mother |  |
| 1.3 | See 1.1 | See 1.1 | Doe | Thomas | 1 Aug 1785 | 65 | Not stated | Son |  |
| 1.4 | See 1.1 | See 1.1 | Doe | Frances | 13 Apr 1806 | 64 | Not stated | Wife and daughter-in-law |  |
| J. 1 | Interior wall | White marble on wood. Gold inlay | Thomas | Edward | 5 Jan 1866 | 74 | Not stated | Husband | Tablet erected by son-in-law Rudolph Steinmann Esq of Liverpool |
| J. 2 | See J. 1 | See J. 1 | Thomas | Ann | 27 May 1870 | 75 | Not stated | Beloved wife | See J. 1 |
| K | Interior wall | Wood | Coveney, Vicar | Frank Henry | 22 Dec 1944 | 70 | Shotwick (?Vicarage) |  | Vicar of Shotwick Parish. "The east window of the north aisle was restored by his wife and family" |
| L | Interior wall | Engraved brass. Church clock repaired Sept 1982 in thankfulness for life's work of: | Hewitt, churchwarden 1951-1973 | John Arthur | Not noted | Not noted | Not stated | None mentioned |  |
| M | Chancel | Ledger | Doe | Mary | 16 Dec ???? | Obliterated | Little Saughall | Wife of Thomas Doe | Partially obliterated |
| N | Sanctuary | Ledger. Insc: ICC | Carter | John | 1587 | Not noted | Curate of Shotwick | None mentioned | Details deduced from will: John Carter Curate, d 1587 \& asked to be buried in chancel |

## Appendix Nine

## List of Shotwick residents’ wills

Held at CCALS

| Name | Abode | Occupation/Title | Date |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| RALPH HOCKENHULL | Shotwick | Gentleman | 1556 |
| JOHN CARTER | Shotwick | Clerk | 1587 |
| RICHARD WILLIAMSON | Shotwick | Husbandman | 1589 |
| MARGARET DAVIES | Shotwick |  | 1599 |
| JOHN YOUNG | Shotwick |  | 1603 |
| WILLIAM PRIMROSE | Shotwick | Husbandman | 1604 |
| WILLIAM WARTON | Shotwick |  | 1604 |
| JAMES COTTINGHAM | Shotwick |  | 1604 |
| JOHN LANGDALE | Shotwick |  | 1606 |
| ROBERT COTTINGHAM | Shotwick |  | 1607 |
| GEORGE MANWARING | Shotwick | Gentleman | 1608 |
| THOMAS MASON | Shotwick |  | 1618 |
| JAMES SEPHTON | Shotwick |  | 1619 |
| MARGARET AP EDWARDS | Shotwick | Widow | 1637 |
| RICE AP EDWARDS | Shotwick |  | 1637 |
| EDWARD LLOYD | Shotwick | Gentleman | 1646 |
| WILLIAM SHEPPERD | Shotwick | Tailor | 1664 |
| JOHN YOUNG | Shotwick | Weaver | 1665 |
| JOHN WHITEHEAD | Shotwick |  | 1666 |
| RICHARD GRIFFITHS | Shotwick | Yeoman | 1677 |
| JAMES HOLLAND | Shotwick |  | 1679 |
| JOSEPH HOCKENHULL | Shotwick |  | 1680 |
| JOSEPH YOUNG | Shotwick | Yeoman | 1685 |
| JOHN HOCKENHULL | Shotwick | Esq | 1685 |
| ROBERT ACKSON | Shotwick |  | 1685 |
| RICHARD KEY | Shotwick |  | 1688 |
| JOHN TAYLOR | Shotwick |  | 1692 |
| WILLIAM HOCKENHULL | Shotwick | Gentleman | 1697 |
| THOMAS CROSS | Shotwick | Yeoman | 1697 |
| JOHN HICCOCK | Shotwick | Yeoman | 1698 |
| ELIZABETH HOCKENHULL | Shotwick | Widow | 1703 |
| JOHN MASSEY | Shotwick | Yeoman | 1707 |
| JOSEPH HOCKENHALL | Shotwick | Esq | 1709 |
| THOMAS RICHARDS | Shotwick | Yeoman | 1709 |

WILLIAM LLOYD
JONATHAN HILL
THOMAS PHEASANT
THOMAS WEBSTER
THOMAS MADDOCK
ANDREW LEECH
MARGARET AINSWORTH
THOMAS ASTON
JOHN MEREDITH
MARY LEECH
JOHN MASSEY
THOMAS MADDOCK
GEORGE EVANS
WILLIAM HUGHES
ELIZABETH BYROM
SAMUEL BENNETT
MATTHEW BROWN
THOMAS HESKETH
JOSEPH WAREING
JOSEPH WHITBY
WILLIAM BUSHELL
PETER WEBSTER
JOHN WOODFIN
THOMAS CHORLTON
ANN ROBINSON
JOHN GRIFFITHS
THOMAS WARD
ROBERT ELLISON
THOMAS BENNETT
THOMAS HUGHES
THOMAS INGLEFIELD
JOSEPH JOHNSON
THEODORE COTTINGHAM
SAMUEL GARNER
THOMAS JOHNSON
MARY JONES
SAMUEL ROBERTS
WILLIAM BURGESS
THOMAS BROWN
THOMAS ROBERTS

| Shotwick |  | 1724 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Shotwick Lodge | Yeoman | 1725 |
| Shotwick | Yeoman | 1728 |
| Shotwick | Husbandman | 1730 |
| Shotwick | Mariner | 1731 |
| Shotwick | Yeoman | 1733 |
| Shotwick |  | 1737 |
| Shotwick | Clerk | 1738 |
| Shotwick Lodge | Yeoman | 1744 |
| Shotwick | Widow | 1746 |
| Shotwick | Mariner | 1746 |
| Shotwick | Mariner | 1747 |
| Shotwick | Cordwainer | 1747 |
| Shotwick | Mariner | 1761 |
| Shotwick | Widow | 1762 |
| Shotwick | Esq | 1763 |
| Shotwick | Yeoman | 1768 |
| Shotwick Lodge | Gentleman | 1773 |
| Shotwick | Farmer | 1786 |
| Shotwick Park | Yeoman | 1794 |
| Shotwick | Gentleman | 1795 |
| Shotwick |  | 1798 |
| Shotwick | Yeoman | 1802 |
| Shotwick | Farmer | 1805 |
| Shotwick, Two Mills | Widow | 1806 |
| Shotwick | Bricklayer | 1818 |
| Shotwick | Clerk | 1818 |
| Shotwick | Yeoman | 1824 |
| Shotwick Park | Gentleman | 1825 |
| Shotwick | Labourer | 1836 |
| Shotwick | Shoemaker | 1839 |
| Shotwick Park | Farmer | 1842 |
| Shotwick | Grocer | 1850 |
| Shotwick, Two Mills | Farmer | 1859 |
| Shotwick \& Ince | Farmer | 1864 |
| Shotwick | Widow | 1864 |
| Shotwick | Licensed Victualler | 1877 |
| Shotwick | Labourer | 1880 |
| Shotwick | Labourer | 1889 |
| Shotwick | Farmer | 1889 |


| WILLIAM TILSTON | Shotwick | Farmer | 1891 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| MARGARET BURTON | Shotwick \& Rock Savage | Widow | 1897 |
| PETER WILKINSON | Shotwick \& Brimstage |  | 1897 |
| RICHARD HENSHAW | Shotwick | Labourer | 1898 |
| WILLIAM THOMAS | Shotwick |  | 1907 |
| WILLIAM HEWITT | Shotwick | Farmer | 1924 |
| JAMES CARTER | Shotwick \& Over Peover | Farmer | 1924 |
| FRANCES SAMUEL | Shotwick, Chester | Widow | 1926 |
| ROBERT GRIFFITH | Shotwick, Chester |  | 1927 |
| GEORGE JONES | Shotwick |  | 1936 |
| FREDERIC RAY WANSBROUGH | Shotwick | Clerk in Holy Orders | 1936 |
| EVA FRANCES WANSBROUGH | Shotwick |  | 1936 |
| WILLIAM JAMES THOMAS | Shotwick | Farmer | 1937 |

## Appendix Ten

## Shotwick Tithe Map Apportionment

The following spreadsheet is a computerised version of Church Shotwick's Tithe Map Apportionment, prepared in accordance with CCALS' guidelines as part of its ongoing Tithe Map website project. To fit the full width of the spreadsheet on a single page, it has been necessary to settle for tiny print which is an effort to read. Consequently, the Apportionments of the other townships in the parish - also computerised by me for CCALS - have been omitted from this Appendix. It should, however, be possible to access them on the CCALS website (www.cheshire.gov.co.uk/recoff) when the project is complete, if not before.

In the meantime, deciphering the small print is a worthwhile enterprise for anyone interested in a snapshot of the village in the 1840s. Besides stating the names of landowners and occupiers, the print-out provides information about land values, land usage, and field-names, the last often supplying clues as to the state and use of the terrain in earlier times.




## Appendix Eleven

## Documentation relating to the airmen buried at Shotwick

- Extracts from parish register
- Licence for removal of the remains of Frank J Williams
- Sample of Commonwealth War Graves Commission Certificate, Casualty Card FS 559 and outcome of Court of Inquiry concerning the death of Second Lieutenant Francis Athol Hinton


## Appendix Twelve

## Holland's diaries

William Holland was born in Wales but spent much of his life as a Somerset parson.
His extant diaries, which run from 1799 to 1818 , ${ }^{1}$ are excellent source of information about life in a rural parish during the early nineteenth century. Like Rev Stephen Reay, his Shotwick contemporary, Holland lost four of his children, and never seems to have fully got over their death. ${ }^{2}$ While we cannot know for sure that Holland's attitudes reflected those of Shotwick's incumbents, it seems likely that they shared his general outlook on life, and that the lifestyles of their parishioners were broadly similar.

## Religious orthodoxy

Holland abominated Dissenters, believing lack of moral fibre would be the automatic consequence of straying from the established church:

## Sunday 28 December 1806

...A good many at Church. Preached against Methodists and Enthusiasts... ${ }^{3}$

Reay, by contrast, is carefully neutral about them when completing the Bishop's
Visitation Enquiries in 1778, 1779 and 111. ${ }^{4}$

## Pastoral care

Possessing strong feelings of responsibility towards his flock, Holland was deeply worried about how the poor would cope with high prices after a bad harvest and made a point of offering hospitality to his parishioners at Christmas:

[^84]
## Wednesday 6 November 1799

...What will become of the poor I know not, even barley above six shillings per bushell... ${ }^{5}$

## Wednesday 25 December 1799

...The kitchen was tolerably lined with my poor neighbours, workmen \&c... ${ }^{6}$

## Thursday 6 March 1800

...Wheat is now 15 shillings per bushell, scarce any of the poor eat wheaten bread now. Hurley says that horses must not eat oats now, they want them for the poor... ${ }^{7}$

## Monday 14 September 1812

Dyer is in the barn threshing wheat for the poor for I have promised to sell to my own Parish at a very reduced price. I charge twelve shillings and old wheat is now at a guinea pr bushell. They come so fast that they are quite troublesome before I can thrash it out...

## Making ends meet

Gathering food for free from the countryside was clearly a valuable means of augmenting the family income, and doubtless also practised in the parish of Shotwick:

## Sunday 4 August 1816

Few in the Sunday School, all gone gathering Hurtleberries [bilberries]. All the children are now out every day gathering
Hurtleberries for families provide for their clothing in this way. ${ }^{8}$

[^85]
## Tithes

Despite his humanity, Holland exacted tithes rigorously:

> Monday 1 October 1810
> Sent off Dyer [his servant] early to Squire Cruckshanks. He returned without the money [for the second time] and he is to go off again on Wednesday. So - so Mr Squire I must look to my Tithe sharp. $^{9}$

Squire Cruckshanks finally paid his tithe on 20 October, after receiving 'a Laconic letter' from Holland. One can imagine similar indignation being expressed by Rev James Cottingham of the flamboyant handwriting, the beginning of whose Shotwick tenure coincided with the Holland's final decade as a parson.

## Analytical abilities

Holland was also not averse to making caustic comments when he felt they were deserved:

Wednesday January 291800
Met Mr Forbes the surgeon going to kill a few patients. ${ }^{10}$

## Tuesday 25 March 1800

...Sent Robert [his servant] to fetch the physick, the illness of the horse is a fortunate circumstance for him as it will teach him the use of his limbs. ${ }^{11}$

## Illness, death and burial

Many of his entries concerning burials are devoid of emotion, ${ }^{12}$ yet the suffering of the virtuous brings forth great praise:

[^86]
## Saturday 11 May 1805

My wife and I called on a young girl dying of a consumption, of the name Davis. She seemed wasted to the bone, of a most ingenuous and interesting countenance I ever saw. I asked her many questions about her notion of Religion and she answered with great meekness and often burst into tears. We were much affected by her, poor creature what little comfort she has in life, so young and yet so near her end. Her parents are very bad, full of knavery and thieving, yet she, tho' bred among them seems to be a very different kind of being. Innocent, Ingenuous and Resigned. ${ }^{13}$

Although infant mortality was much more prevalent two hundred years ago than today, Holland's diary suggests that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century parents were just as grief-stricken at the loss of a child as we would be today:

## Wednesday 31 December 1806

...Easter's two children were buried in the same grave, poor
things. Easter was in great agonies. ${ }^{14}$

Illness was to be feared because, even in better-off families, it could strike unexpectedly, with fatal consequences:

## Saturday 12 March 1814

A man rung at the gate this morning. It was a labourer of Mr Allen. ${ }^{15}$
He told us that Mrs Allen is dead, she was brought to bed on Tuesday
and it was thought she was doing well but she died this day about seven in the morning. It was like a thunder clap to all of us. She has

[^87]left poor Mr Allen with seven children, the eldest not above eight years old. ${ }^{16}$

Clearly childbirth and its aftermath were dangerous, even for those who had previously survived its rigours without problem (note also that large families were the norm in rural communities for those who could afford them; Holland himself had six children, though only two survived to adulthood). ${ }^{17}$

Even if sickness failed to kill, it could rob a servant or labourer of their livelihood as well as their health in an era when there was no Welfare State to provide a buffer:

## Thursday 5 August 1813

Our servant Charlotte is taken ill with a Rheumatick Fever I think. A strong healthy woman she used to be but now she can scarce walk. It will be a calamitous business if the poor girl should be unable to get her bread. It sinks her very low and she cries all day but we must try to do something for her. ${ }^{18}$

The following day, when Charlotte was 'very poorly indeed' the doctor did not deign to visit a mere servant, but simply 'sent her something to take'. Yet her illness was so bad she had to return home, leaving the compassionate Hollands in something of a pickle a month on, as the uncharacteristically hysterical note of this entry reveals:

## Sunday 5 September 1813

We were obliged to send the Clerk to Kilve in the afternoon to enquire about a servant for we are much distressed since Charlotte has been ill and gone home. We have an old servant who is married and supplies her place at present but she cannot stay much longer and Charlotte is unable to return and we have promised to take her back and no one

[^88]will come for a few weeks unless she is hired for the year so we are in a bad case. ${ }^{19}$

Charlotte was so desperate to hang on to her situation that she unsuccessfully tried to return to work before she had fully recovered:

## Tuesday 28 September 1813

To our great surprize our old servant Charlotte came here today in hopes of being able to keep her place but alas I fear not, she is too weak. From a healthy girl crippled and brought down low, I pity her. ${ }^{20}$

## Saturday 2 October 1813

Poor Charlotte went off early this day being unable to keep her place.
Poor Girl she went off reluctantly and it is a great distress to us for we might have hired one or two good servants yet still kept our place open for her, and now we are absolutely without a servant and expect friends in a day or two. Phoebe, a married woman, is with us but she has two children, a sad inconvenience. ${ }^{2 l}$

Three weeks later Charlotte was finally fit to resume her duties:

## Wednesday 27 October 1813

In the afternoon who should come in but our old servant Charlotte who looks tolerably and is able to go about and I think will take her place again. ${ }^{22}$

In all, Charlotte would appear to have been too infirm to work and presumably, therefore, without an income for three months (Holland made no mention of continuing to pay her wages while she was ill, and, despite his willingness to sell grain to the disadvantaged at reduced prices in times of hardship, his views on the idle poor

[^89]suggest he would have considered it foolish to do so in case it encouraged malingering). The burden of nursing and providing for the stricken woman must have fallen to her family, and she would have been hard pressed indeed if the Hollands had succumbed to practicalities, employed a new servant, and refused to take Charlotte back after her recovery.

This episode in Charlotte's life illustrates how difficult it must have been to survive in times of hardship without the safety-net of a family - and Holland's comments concerning Phoebe underline how having more mouths to feed in the shape of young children could ironically hamper a mother's efforts to earn money. ${ }^{23}$ No wonder the luckless Lucks of Saughall Parva died in such quick succession. No wonder the abandoned Ignota de Woodbank relinquished life at just one month old. No wonder her mother felt obliged to abandon her in order to increase her own chances of survival. The parish of Shotwick apparently had little to offer the indigent and unwell in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and life would appear to have been barely tenable for those on the margins of its society.

This impression is borne out by the general tenor of Holland's diary, from which emerges an everyday picture of rural life, in which ordinary people who worked hard in agricultural pursuits could end up with little to eat in years of bad harvests, and even those more comfortably off had no indoor sanitation (Holland writes how 'The path made through the snow to a Certain House in the Garden is as slippery as glass,,${ }^{24}$ clearly referring to a privy to which repeat visits had to made by all the family even in severe winter weather.) Scarlet fever was a dangerous illness which could kill off siblings in quick succession, along with the hopes of grieving parents, and rheumatic fever could rob servants of their livelihood, as well as their health. Mysterious illnesses could sweep through a community, ruining lives. The mythology that pre-twentieth-century parents were so accustomed to children dying that it hardly bothered them is emphatically not sustained.

[^90]
## Bibliography

## PRIMARY SOURCES

| Abbreviations used in following listings |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| CCALS | Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service |
| SMR | Cheshire County Council Sites and Monuments Record |

## Maps and Tithe Apportionments

CCALS, PM12/10 Christopher Saxton's map of Cheshire, 1577.
CCALS, PM 11/7 Thomas Boydell's Plan of the lands and premises belonging to the River Dee Company between Chester, Flint and Parkgate, 1772
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CCALS, EDT 356/2 Shotwick Tithe Map, 29 February 1848
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CCALS, EDT 177/2 Great Saughall Tithe Map
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CCALS, P49/3351/3 Specifications and estimates no.s $1 \& 2$ for the restoration of a ring of three bells, dated 12 November 1928
Report on condition of bells
Correspondence concerning bells, dated 31 August 1934

## Wills

CCALS, WS 1587 Will and inventory of John Carter, Clerk, of Shotwick, 1587
CCALS, WS 1731 Will of Thomas Maddock, Mariner, of Shotwick, 1731
CCALS, WS 1738 Will of Thomas Aston, Clerk of Shotwick, 1738
CCALS, WS 1747 Will of Thomas Maddock, Mariner, Shotwick 1747
CCALS, WS 1802 Will of John Woodfin, Yeoman, 1802
CCALS, WS 1818 Admonition of Thomas Ward, Clerk of Shotwick, 1818
CCALS, EDA 2/1, p341 Will and inventory of Ralph Hockenhull, Gentleman, Shotwick, 1556
CCALS, MF 91/24 WR18, p670: Will of Samuel Roberts, Licensed Victualler, Shotwick, 1877
CCALS, MF 91/40, WR30, p61 Will of Thomas Roberts, Farmer, Shotwick, 1889
CCALS, MF 91/75, WR77, p438: Will of Frederic Ray Wansbrough, Clerk in Holy Order, Shotwick, 1936
CCALS, MF 91/75 WR77, p280 Will of Eva Frances Wansbrough, Shotwick, 1936
Coroner's Inquest ReportsZ CCALS, QCI/12/47 Examination concerning death of Henry Young - several youngmen had gone sailing and stuck on a bank near Shotwich. Theyleft the boat, one, the examinee, got to another vessel, the otherthree tried to get to Shotwick. Henry Young's body found, theother two missing. Dec 10th 1672
Z CCALS, QCI/13/4 The same on John Ledsham, drowned near Shotwick. Oct 29th 1674
Z CCALS, QCI/14/22 Peter Edwards on an unknown man, drowned while attemptingto cross the ford at Shotwick. May 26th 1681
Z CCALS, QCI/14/26 The same on an unknown man, drowned while attempting to cross the ford at Shotwick. Aug 21st 1682
Z CCALS, QCI/15/7 The same on Edward Moorecroft, drowned while attempting to cross Shotwick ford. April 14th 1685
Z CCALS, QCI/16/43 The same on Arthur Carr, apprentice to John Lovett, merchantof Dublin, mistakenly forded the Dee near Shotwick whileriding to Parkgate to embark for Ireland and was drownedtrying to return. April 23rd 1698
Z CCALS, QCI/20/53 The same on Daniel Briscoe, late servant to Robert Melling of Willaston, yeoman, drowned while trying to cross the Shotwick ford on horseback with his master. May lst 1738
Z CCALS, QCI/21/11 Thomas Davies on Richard Cooper, yeoman drowned whiletrying to cross the Shotwick ford. June 27th 1743
Z CCALS, QCI/22/6 The same on Alice, wife of Thomas Harrison, drowned while crossing Shotwick ford. Jan 9th 1753
Z CCALS, QCI/22/7 The same on Thomas Harrison, drowned while crossingShotwick ford. Jan 12th 1753
Letters Patent
CCALS, Z CH/30$10^{\text {th }}$ April 1 Richard III (1484). Letters Patent by the Kinggranting remission for 10 years of the payment of the sum of$£ 7310 \mathrm{~s} 1 \frac{1}{2}$ d of the Fee Farms and other rents due to him inconsideration of the impoverishment of the City caused by thesilting up of the River Dee. Given at Chester.
CCALS, Z CH/31 $21^{\text {st }}$ March 1 Henry VII (1486). Letters Patent by the Kinggranting remission forever of $£ 80$ of the Fee Farm Rent of$\mathfrak{£ 1 0 0 \text { . The remission is made in consideration of the extreme } { } ^ { 2 } \text { . } { } ^ { 2 } \text { . }}$poverty of the City, the channel of the river being silted up, andalmost a fourth part of the City destroyed and desolate. Givenat Chester.
Manuscripts Collection
CCALS, DDX 43/13 Wirral Mize, 1453
CCALS, DFI 176 Irvine Collection/Wirral Subsidy Rolls 1544 \& 1625

## Bennett Collection

CCALS, DBE 35 \&
MF 92/9 MF92/12

MF 92/2 The Nevitt and Nevitt-Bennett family of Great Saughall, Shotwick and Chester, pp33-65
DBE 49.56 \& Newspaper cuttings relating to The Greyhound, Shotwick
Monumental Inscriptions: Shotwick - inscriptions in the churchyard, church and tower and inscriptions not now extant, transcribed and collated by JHE Bennett and PH Lawson, 1910.

Cheshire County Council Site and Monuments Record
SMR 2014 Two carved stone heads in Capenhurst
SMR 2016/1/0 Shotwick Park
SMR 2016/1/1 Shotwick Park Boundary, southern and eastern arms
SMR 2016/1/2 Shotwick Park Boundary, northern arm
SMR 2016/1/3 Linear Boundaries of Shotwick Park
SMR 2016/1/4 Fields to the south of Shotwick Lodge Farm
SMR 2016/2/0 Shotwick Park Lodge
SMR 2016/2/1 Granary 20m east of Shotwick Lodge Farmhouse
SMR 2016/2/2 Barn 70m north-east of Shotwick Lodge Farmhouse
SMR 2017 King's Wood
SMR 2025/1/1 Shotwick Castle motte and bailey
SMR 2025/1/2 Shotwick Castle Quay
SMR 2025/1/3 Earthwork south of Shotwick Castle
SMR 2026/1 Watermill in Shotwick Parish
SMR 2027/1 Church of St Michael
SMR 2027/2 Shotwick shrunken village
SMR 2027/2/1 Shotwick Hall moated site
SMR 2027/3/1 Shotwick Hall
SMR 2027/3/2 Front garden walls and gate-piers at Shotwick Hall
SMR 2027/3/3 Former kitchen and bakehouse attached to NE corner of Shotwick Hall
SMR 2027/3/4 Derelict stable 45m north of Shotwick Hall
SMR 2028/1 Saltworks at Shotwick
SMR 2030/1 King's Wood Lane/Saltersway
Commonwealth War Graves Commission
Casualty Details Horace Edgar Kingsmill Bray
Casualty Details Hugh Robert Fuhr
Casualty Details Harry Nelson Hastie
Casualty Details John Jewett Miller
Casualty Details Leonard Morange
Casualty Details Frank Albert Samuelson
Casualty Details Herbert Westgarth Soulby
RAF Museum, Hendon
Casualty Card: FS Form 557: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Horace Edgar Bray
Casualty Card: FS Form 558: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Horace Edgar Bray
Casualty Card: FS Form 559: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Horace Edgar Bray

Casualty Card: FS Form 557: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Hugh Robert Fuhr
Casualty Card: FS Form 558: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Hugh Robert Fuhr
Casualty Card: FS Form 559: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Hugh Robert Fuhr
Casualty Card: FS Form 559: Ft Cadet Vernon Francis Gibson
Casualty Card: FS Form 557: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Harry Nelson Hastie
Casualty Card: FS Form 558: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Harry Nelson Hastie
Casualty Card: FS Form 559: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Harry Nelson Hastie
Casualty Card: FS Form 559: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Francis Athol Hinton
Casualty Card: FS Form 557: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt John Jewett Miller
Casualty Card: FS Form 558: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt John Jewett Miller
Casualty Card: FS Form 559: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt John Jewett Miller
Casualty Card: FS Form 557: Lt Leonard Sowersby Morange
Casualty Card: FS Form 558: Lt Leonard Sowersby Morange Casualty Card
Casualty Card: FS Form 559: Lt Leonard Sowersby Morange Casualty Card
Casualty Card: FS Form 557: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Frank Albert Samuelson
Casualty Card: FS Form 558: $2^{\text {nd }} \mathrm{Lt}$ Frank Albert Samuelson
Casualty Card: FS Form 559: $2^{\text {nd }}$ Lt Frank Albert Samuelson
Casualty Card: FS Form 557: Lt Herbert Westgarth Soulby
Casualty Card: FS Form 558: Lt Herbert Westgarth Soulby
Casualty Card: FS Form 559: Lt Herbert Westgarth Soulby
Casualty Form - Officers: Army Form B.103c: Lt Herbert Westgarth Soulby

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ William Williams Mortimer, The History of the Hundred of Wirral, compiled from the earliest records (London: Whittaker \& Co; Birkenhead: Law \& Pinkney; Chester: George Pritchard \& Edward Parry, 1847), p251.
    ${ }^{2}$ Philip Sulley, The Hundred of Wirral (Birkenhead: B Haram \& Co, 1889), p114.
    ${ }^{3}$ Concentrating on 'persons of position' and 'those of older date or which are perishing'. FC Beazley, FC, Notes on Shotwick (Liverpool: Edward Howell Ltd, 1915), p122.
    ${ }^{4}$ Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp30-42 \& 122-133.
    ${ }^{5}$ Local antiquarian and co-editor of The Cheshire Sheaf ('being gleanings historical and antiquarian relating to Cheshire, Chester and North Wales from many scattered fields') 1913-1954.

[^1]:    ${ }^{6}$ CCALS, DBE 35 and MF 92/9: Monumental Inscriptions: Shotwick - inscriptions in the churchyard, church and tower and inscriptions not now extant, transcribed and collated by JHE Bennett and PH Lawson, 1910.
    ${ }^{7}$ See Plan Two: St Michael's Churchyard, Shotwick: plan drawn by JHE Bennett and PH Lawson, 1910, p52. It is no longer possible to obtain a good quality copy of this plan, unmarred by lines.
    ${ }^{8}$ Judging by the number of weekend and Bank Holiday visitors, from farmers to factory-workers and toddlers to nonagenarians, this is by no means a minority pastime, despite that fact that reaching Shotwick is now an act of deliberate intention rather than an occurrence of wayside serendipity.

[^2]:    ${ }^{9}$ Undertaken as part of the Landscape Archaeology module of the postgraduate Landscape, Heritage and Society course.
    ${ }^{10}$ CCALS/EDT 356/2: Shotwick Tithe Map, 29 February 1848. CCALS/EDT 356/1: Shotwick Tithe Apportionment, 29 February 1848. See Map Seven, p45.
    ${ }^{11}$ CCALS, P49/2974/7. Plan of Shotwick Churchyard. Undated, but probably drawn in the 1870s, since accounts relating to the conveyancing of land for addition to the churchyard (CCALS, P49/3351/1) are dated 1875. See Plan One, p51.
    ${ }^{12}$ Peter Swallow, Ross Dallas, Sophie Jackson \& David Watt, Measurement and Recording of Historic Buildings, Second Edition (Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing, 2004), p71.
    ${ }^{13}$ For a list of the equipment that was used during the graveyard survey, see Appendix One: Equipment used during the survey.
    ${ }^{14}$ See Plans Three, Four and Five, pp53-55.

[^3]:    ${ }^{15}$ Jeremy Jones, How to Record Graveyards (London: Council for British Archaeology and RESCUE, 1984), pp 17-18.
    ${ }^{16}$ Mytum, Harold, Recording and Analysing Graveyards (York: Council for British Archaeology/ English Heritage, 2000), p81 and insert.
    ${ }^{17}$ See Appendix Five: Recording Forms of graveyard survey for an example.

[^4]:    ${ }^{18}$ Mytum, Graveyards pp92-126.
    ${ }^{19}$ Examples of these can be seen in Chapter Two: Heritage.

[^5]:    ${ }^{20}$ Bill Bill Bryson, A Short History of Nearly Everything (London: Black Swan, 2004), p408.

[^6]:    ${ }^{21}$ Examples of both on-site forms and a computerised version can be seen in Appendix Five: Recording forms of graveyard survey.

[^7]:    ${ }^{22}$ Jones reckons that his definitive study of Deerhurst churchyard, begun as an undergraduate and refined since graduation, 'will take many years to complete.' He also noted that ten people working at Wroxeter on 200 stones for three days (the equivalent of one person working alone for thirty days) had to focus on the sketch plan and photography and put recording forms on the back burner in order to complete the project in time. Jones, Graveyards, pp37 \& 28.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ Harris, BE \& AT Thacker (eds), The Victoria History of the Counties of England: a History of the County of Chester, Vol I (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1987), pp25-26.
    ${ }^{2}$ See Map 1: CCALS, PM 12/10: The western portion of Christopher Saxton's map of Cheshire, 1577.
    ${ }^{3}$ On 26 June 1707 Nicholas Blundell, Squire of Ince Blundell in West Lancashire, wrote in his diary: "My wife, Mr Plumb and I came from Holywell over Shotwigg Ford. It was very deep." Cited by Alan Brack, Wirral (London: BT Batsford, 1980), p21.
    ${ }^{4}$ Quotation taken from The Journeys of Celia Fiennes (London: Cresset Library, 1947), p182, cited by Ronald Stewart-Brown, ‘The Royal Manor and Park of Shotwick', Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol 64/New Series Vol 28 (Liverpool: THSLC, 1912), p131; Norman Ellison, The Wirral Peninsula (London: Robert Hale \& Co, 1955), p141; and Emma Stuart, $A$ study of the changing course of the River Dee and its effects upon the villages of Shotwick, Puddington and Burton in Wirral, 18,000-word research dissertation for Master of Arts in Landscape Heritage and Society at Chester College, 1999, p21.

[^9]:    ${ }^{5}$ '...they convey their coals from Wales and many other things by waggon when the tide is out...' Celia Fiennes, c1700, cited by Ellison, Wirral, p141.
    ${ }^{6}$ King's Wood Lane 'led through the Royal Wood of Saughall to Shotwick' [Cheshire County Council Sites and Monuments Record No. 2030/1], along the ancient route known as Salterway or Saltersway. A legal enquiry held in 1339-40 mentions 'Saltesway which is the Kyng's Highway newr Chester to lede the hoost of our Sovregn lord the Kyng in tyme of Warre unto Shotwyk Ford.' J McN Dodgson, The Place-Names of Cheshire, Part One, English Place-Name Society Volume XLIV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p40. Ellison, Wirral, pp149-150. Lavinia Whitfield, The Church at the Ford (Chester, 1974), p1. Kenneth Burnley \& Guy Huntington, Images of Wirral (Heswall: The Silver Birch Press, 1991), pp62-5. Kenneth J Burnley, The Illustrated Portrait of Wirral (London: Robert Hale, 1987), p144.
    ${ }^{7}$ Built 'before 1093' according to Alan Crosby,[A History of Cheshire (Chichester: Phillimore, 1996), p36], who describes it as 'substantial'. In the twelve-volume History of Cheshire it has been termed both one of Cheshire's 'major' Norman castles [BMC Husain, Cheshire under the Norman Earls, $A$ History of Cheshire vol 4 (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1973), p101] and 'small' [HJ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edward: History of Cheshire vol 5 (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1967), p2]. JR Studd ['The Lord Edward's Lordship of Chester', Medieval Cheshire: Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol 128 (Liverpool: THSLC, 1979), p12], meanwhile, lists it among the 'principal castles of the county'. Possibly built on the site of a Mercian fortification close to the River Dee, it is believed to have consisted of a crescent-shaped bailey and a motte topped by a stone keep [Husain, Cheshire under the Norman Earls, p102]. By the mid-fourteenth century its military significance was over. It was no longer garrisoned, and operated primarily as a manor [JT Driver, Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages, A History of Cheshire, vol 6 (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1971), pp53-54]. In 1600 William Webb wrote of the 'ruins of a fair castle that stands upon the brink of Dee' [A Tour of Wirral, cited by Kenneth Burnley and Guy Huntingdon in Images of Wirral, (Heswall: Silver Birch Press, 1991), p154]. In 1789 Gough wrote: ‘Shotwick Castle, now in ruins... was a pentagon of fifty-one feet on each side, the watch tower five storey high' [Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, pl23]. See also: Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, p88; Ellison, Wirral, pp139 \& 143; Brack, Wirral, p160; Burnley, Wirral, p146; Sulley, Wirral, pp114-118; Map One: Saxton, 1577 (p13); Map Three: Ordnance Survey 'Landranger' 117: Chester and Wrexham, 2001 (p18); and Map Four: Ordnance Survey 'Explorer' 266: Wirral \& Chester, 2000, South Sheet (p19).
    ${ }^{8}$ In 1171 Henry II sailed from Shotwick to Ireland, where diplomatic negotiations secured him the title of King of Ireland. Four centuries later, Elizabeth I's troops (minus the Queen) took the same route to protect her assets. Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, p89. Neil Grant, Kings and Queens (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 1996), pp130-131. Elizabeth Hallam (ed), The Plantagenet Chronicles (London: Weidenfeld \& Nicolson, 1986), p121. Ellison, Wirral, p144. Brack, Wirral, p161. Ron Scholes, Towns and Villages of Britain: Cheshire (Wilmslow: Sigma Leisure, 2000), p140. Mike Griffiths, The History of the River Dee (Llanwrst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2000), plo6.
    ${ }^{9}$ Henry II probably crossed at Shotwick in 1156 after camping at Saltney en route to Wales, and in 1165 after retreating from the Berwyn Mountains. Henry III led his troops across the ford to Wales in 1245. Edward I forded the Dee at Shotwick in 1278 and 1284 during his relentless quest to subjugate the Welsh, and is also said to have been in Shotwick on 5, 15 and 17 September 1280 and in 1282 on

[^10]:    his way to and from Rhuddlan and Flint. Calendars of Patent, Close and Fine Rolls, cited by Stewart Brown, Royal Manor, pp89-92. Husain, Cheshire under the Norman Earls, p102. Grant, Kings and Queens, pp140-143. Brack, Wirral, p161. Ellison, Wirral, p140. Scholes, Towns p140. Elizabeth Hallam, Chronicles of the Age of Chivalry (London: Weidenfeld \& Nicolson, 1987), pp 120-122 \& 126. Whitfield, Church, p1. Harold Edgar Young, A Perambulation of the Hundred of Wirral in the County of Chester (Liverpool: Henry Young \& Sons, 1909), p91. Frank Latham (ed), Tilston, Shocklach and Threapwood (Whitchurch: The Local History Group, 2001), p21. Griffiths, River Dee, p106.
    ${ }^{10}$ In the fifteenth year of Henry VII's reign (22 August 1499 to 21 August 1500), Squire Hockenhull of Shotwick claimed 'right of fishery in those parts of the River Dee which ran past his manor, with the privilege of keeping all that comes to the net' except for 'the dainty bit, the whalle, sturgion, and thorlehede [porpoise]', which were to be reserved for the use of the Earl of Chester Castle [in other words, for representatives of the English Crown]. Joseph Mayer, 'Shotwick Church and its Saxon Foundation', Proceedings and Papers of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Session VI, 1853-54 (Liverpool: 1854), p77. Lionel Munby, Dates and Times: a handbook for local historians (Salisbury: British Association for Local Historians, 1997), p54.
    ${ }^{11}$ In fact, a pair of harbour porpoises were spotted in the Dee as recently as March 2005, though their presence in fresh water is rare. Chester Mail, 23 March 2005 (see photocopy forming Appendix Two). ${ }^{12}$ CCALS, $\mathrm{Z} \mathrm{CH} / 30$ : $10^{\text {th }}$ April 1 Richard III (1484): Letters Patent by the King granting remission for 10 years of the payment of Fee Farms and other rents due to him in consideration of the impoverishment of the City caused by the silting up of the River Dee. Given at Chester. CCALS, Z $\mathrm{CH} / 31: 21^{\text {st }}$ March 1 Henry VII (1486): Letters Patent by the King granting remission forever of $£ 80$ of the Fee Farm Rent of $£ 100$ in consideration of the extreme poverty of the City, the channel of the river being silted up, and almost a fourth part of the City destroyed and desolate. Given at Chester.
    ${ }^{13}$ Joan Beck, Tudor Cheshire (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1969), p8. Driver, Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages, p106.
    ${ }^{14}$ SMR 2025/1/2. Chamberlain's Accounts, cited by Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, p130. Paul Loughnane, Landscape Interpretation of the 'Three Shotwicks' in the Wirral Hundred, Cheshire (Diploma in Landscape Interpretation, Liverpool University, 1999), p6.
    ${ }^{15}$ Ann Mabrey, 'Two Taxations in Wirral', Cheshire History, Vol 6, September 1980, p33.
    ${ }^{16}$ Brack, Wirral, p161. Mayer, Shotwick Church, p78.
    ${ }^{17}$ See Map Two: CCALS, PM1 1/7: Thomas Boydell's Map of Chester, 1772 (p17). See also Mayer, Shotwick Church, p78; E Stuart, River Dee, p2; and Young, Perambulation, p95.

[^11]:    ${ }^{18}$ Ellison, Wirral p140. Whitfield, Church, p4.
    ${ }^{19}$ CCALS, Z QCI 12/47-22/7: Coroner's reports of deaths occurring during attempted crossings of Shotwick Ford. Abstracts supplied in Bibliography. Although their bodies were recovered, none of the victims appear in the Parish Registers, suggesting that they were buried elsewhere. Photocopies of the reports relating to a husband and wife can be seen on the following pages: Z CCALS, QCI/22/6:
    Examination into the death of Alice, wife of Thomas Harrison, drowned while crossing Shotwick ford. Jan 9th 1753; Z CCALS, QCI/22/7: The same on Thomas Harrison, Jan 12th 1753.
    ${ }^{20}$ Mortimer, Wirral, p251. See also Mayer, Shotwick Church, p78.
    ${ }^{21}$ See Map 7: CCALS, EDT 356/2: Shotwick Tithe Map, 29 February 1848 (p45) and CCALS/EDT 356/1: Shotwick Tithe Apportionment, 29 February 1848 (Appendix Ten).
    ${ }^{22}$ See Maps Three and Four, pp18-19.
    ${ }^{23}$ Ellison, Wirral, p139.
    ${ }^{24}$ Burnley, Wirral, p146. Also mentioned in historical notes displayed on the church porch noticeboard.
    ${ }^{25}$ Griffiths, River Dee, p152.
    ${ }^{26}$ Burnley, Wirral, p146.
    ${ }^{27}$ For instance, Rose Cottage, whose infested wood, dilapidation and 'scenes of neglect' following three years of vacancy were discussed at a meeting of Puddington and District Parish Council on 6 July 2005.

[^12]:    ${ }^{28}$ Shotwick is described as a 'Shrunken village' in Cheshire County Council's Sites and Monuments Record's Summary description of the settlement [SMR 2027/2]. Its diminished importance is reflected by its absence from the frontispiece map of the 'main towns and villages in West Cheshire' in Rosalind E Tigwell's Cheshire in the Twentieth Century, A History of Cheshire, vol 12 (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1985). In fact, the indices of the twelve-volume A History of Cheshire provide an excellent benchmark of the rise and fall in Shotwick's fortunes: the parish is omitted from vols 1-3 (preRoman to 1066), mentioned quite frequently in vols $4-6$ (spanning 1066-1540), and makes only brief appearances in subsequent volumes (Tudor onwards), meriting a mere three lines in Cheshire in the Twentieth Century, half of them consisting of a quotation from Kenneth Burnley's Illustrated Portrait of Wirral (see Bibliography): 'the silent village of Wirral's southernmost border' (p12).
    ${ }^{29}$ Loughnane, Landscape Interpretation, p.i.
    ${ }^{30}$ Brack, Wirral, p160. Regardless of the reasons why, the change of use is signalled by the Shotwick data listed in Kelly \& Co's 1928 Post Office Directory of Cheshire. See also Loughnane, Landscape Interpretation, p70.
    ${ }^{31}$ Beazley, Shotwick, p67.Brack, Wirral, 163. Cheshire Federation of Women's Institutes, The Cheshire Village Book (Newbury: Countryside Books, 1990), p201. Scholes, Towns, p162.
    ${ }^{32}$ Effectively, Lords of the Manor of Church Shotwick, though legally subordinate to the Abbots of St Werburgh. Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp68-69.
    ${ }^{33}$ Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, p68. Ellison, Wirral, p142.
    ${ }^{34}$ Forenamed either Alice or Cecily. Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, p68. Young, Wirral, p93. Ellison, p142. Young, Wirral, p9. Churchwardens' typewritten notice in St Michael's Church.
    ${ }^{35}$ See Map Four, p19.

[^13]:    ${ }^{36}$ The reasons why this should be considered the likeliest meaning of Shotwick were given in an Appendix to my Landscape Archaeology assignment on St Michael's Church [Vanessa Greatorex, $S t$ Michael's Church, Shotwick, Wirral: Report of landscape archaeology survey undertaken December 2004 (module paper, February 2005), pp11-13]. For convenience, the etymological analysis is reprinted as part of this dissertation. See Appendix Three: The meaning of Shotwick.
    ${ }^{37}$ In Civitate Cestre habet aecclesia S. Wareburg... Ipsa aecclesia tenuit et tenet Sotowiche. ('In the City of Chester the church of St Werburgh has... The church itself held and holds Shotwick.'). [Philip Morgan (Ed), Domesday Book: Cheshire, including Lancashire, Cumbria and North Wales (Chichester: Phillimore, 1978), folio 263a, b: A \& A12. Ann Williams \& GH Martin (eds), Domesday Book: A Complete Translation (London: Penguin Books, 2002), pp717-718.] St Werburgh's had originally been founded when the relics of a saint of royal Mercian and Kentish lineage were removed from Hanbury in Staffordshire to the comparative safety of Chester. The church in which they were enshrined was served by a warden and twelve secular canons (deliberately echoing Christ and his twelve disciples), who lived by ecclesiastical laws (or canons) in their own houses rather than as monks in a monastery. [F G Slater, A Cheshire Parish: Ince (Chester: GR Griffiths Ltd, 1919), p21.] In the mid-tenth century King Edgar granted them several country estates. Shotwick was not listed as one of them, so must have been added to the portfolio some time before 1066. The community was converted into a Benedictine abbey shortly after the Norman Conquest. By the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, St Werburgh's was the richest religious foundation in Cheshire, and Shotwick still formed part of its estates. [Driver, Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages, p156.]
    ${ }^{38}$ Grant, Kings and Queens, p111.
    ${ }^{39}$ Morgan, DB Cheshire, folio 263b, A12. Williams \& Martin, Domesday p718. The translation quoted is an amalgam of Morgan's and my own.
    ${ }^{40}$ Sulley, Wirral, p110.
    ${ }^{41}$ Raymond Richards, Old Cheshire Churches (Didsbury: EJ Morten, 1973), p297.

[^14]:    ${ }^{42}$ James Tait, 'The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St Werburgh, Chester', Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Vol 79 - New Series (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1920, Part One, Charter 1, pp8-13.
    ${ }^{43}$ Tait, Chartulary, Part One, Charter 3, p16.
    ${ }^{44}$ Tait, Chartulary, Part One, Charter 110, p133: Licence by William, Bishop of Coventry, to the abbey for the appropriation of the church of Shotwick, saving a fitting vicarage to be assigned in it (Willelmus Coventrensis episcopus contulit monachis cestrie appropriacionem ecclesie de Schotewic, salua competenti vicaria in ea assignanda. Sciendum quod est alia carta de eadem ecclesia que de vicaria non facit mentionem), 1214-1223. See also Charter 111, pl33: Inspeximus and confirmation by Geoffrey, prior, and the convent of Coventry of the appropriation of the church of Shotwick to the support of the hospitality of the abbey by William, Bishop of Conventry (omnes decimas et fructus quascumque de ecclesia sua de Sotewic tempore bone memorie G[alfridi]), 1216-1223.
    ${ }^{45}$ Brack, Wirral, p161.
    ${ }^{46}$ In an article about Charles II's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth ('Promoting the Duke', Cheshire Life, Vol 79, No. 10, October 2003, pp30-32), Brack repeatedly mistakes James II for Charles II's son, not his younger brother (and thus describes him as the older half-brother - rather than the uncle - of the Duke of Monmouth). He also anachronistically moots (Wirral, p162) that the grooves in St Michael's porch were made by royal archers waiting to depart on campaigns in Wales and Ireland, even though architectural evidence suggests that the porch had not been built when those campaigns took place. Vanessa Greatorex, St Michael's Church, p2.
    ${ }^{47}$ Mayer, Shotwick Church, p79.

[^15]:    ${ }^{48}$ Crosby, Cheshire, p38.
    ${ }^{49}$ BE Harris (ed), The Victoria History of the Counties of England: a History of the County of Chester, Vol III (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1980), p3.
    ${ }^{50}$ Ellison, Wirral, p135.
    ${ }^{51}$ www.newadvent.org/cathen: Frederick G Holweck, transcribed by Sean Hyland, online Catholic Encylopedia, vol X (Robert Appleton Company, 1911/K Knight, 2003.
    ${ }^{52}$ David Farmer, Oxford Dictionary of Saints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp348-9. Frederick G Holweck, transcribed by Sean Hyland, online Catholic Encylopedia, vol X (Robert Appleton Company, 1911/K Knight, 2003.
    ${ }^{53}$ The general assumption is that Shotwick Castle was built by the Norman Earls of Chester to guard the ford from the Welsh. Ellison says it 'may have been' the work of Hugh Lupus, nephew of William the Conqueror and first Norman (as opposed to Flemish) Earl of Chester, 'some time before 1093' (though, in fact, Lupus remained Earl until entering the Abbey of St Werburgh a few days before his death in 1101). Note that Lupus was also known as Hugh d'Avranches and, although they were not contemporaries, therefore shared a direct geographical - and possibly emotional - link with the Bishop whose vision led to the foundation of Mont-Saint-Michel. The church may have been built on his orders or on those of the man serving as castellan several decades later. Thomas de Shotwicke was the

[^16]:    first castellan whose name directly links him with the area. Ellison, Wirral, p143. Brian E Harris, Cheshire and its Rulers (Chester: Cheshire Libraries and Museums, 1984), pl.
    ${ }^{54} \mathrm{St}$ Oswald was the seventh-century Christian king of Northumbria. He was killed fighting against Penda, the pagan king of Mercia. Dedicating a church to him may have been regarded as an act of atonement by newly converted Mercians. Vanessa Greatorex, 'What's in a Name: Malpas', Cheshire Life, October 2004, p231. T M Rylands, An Illustrated History of St Oswald's Malpas, undated, p2.
    ${ }^{55}$ There are, in fact, two St Edith's, both connected with Mercia, the Anglo-Saxon heptarch incorporating modern Cheshire: Edith of Polesworth, daughter of King Edward the Elder, sister of King Aethelstan, granddaughter of King Alfred the Great and niece of Aethelflaed, Countess of Mercia (married 925, widowed 926 and died c.927); and Edith, abbess of Wilton (d. 984), illegitimate daughter of King Edgar, the former Earl of Mercia. Patron Saints Index: www.thanhsinhcong.org/saints. Vanessa Greatorex, 'Spirit-haunted Stream', Cheshire Life, July 2005, p293. Grant, pp97-99 \& 102. Latham (ed) Tilston, Shocklach, p47. www.shocklach.com.
    ${ }_{57}^{56}$ Farmer, Saints, pp348-9.
    ${ }^{57}$ 'All over Christendom chapels of St Michael were built on top of hills and mountains.' Donald Attwater, The Penguin Dictionary of Saints (London: Penguin, 1983), pp237-8. See also Farmer, Saints, p348, who concurs with Attwater and, regarding St Michael, adds: 'Often he was chosen as the patron saint of cemeteries... His cult became popular in Wales in the $10^{\text {th }}-11^{\text {th }}$ centuries, while in England by the end of the Middle Ages his church dedications numbered as many as 648 .'
    ${ }^{58}$ Those at Bramhall, Burleydam, Burtonwood, Chester, Ditton, Hulme Walford, Macclesfield, Marbury-cum-Quoisley, Middlewich, North Rode and Wincle. Vanessa Greatorex, 'The Peaceful Nook', Cheshire Life, August 2003, p95. Scholes, Towns, pp 38, 40, 63, 93, 105, 108, 121, 169.
    ${ }^{59}$ First recorded in 1292. Rev Mike Searle, St Michael and All Angels Parish Church of Marbury-cumQuoisley, Cheshire (Marbury: 2003), p1. Scholes, Towns, pl08. J McN Dodgson, The Place-Names of Cheshire, Part Five, Section 1:ii, English Place-Name Society Volume LIV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p38.
    ${ }^{60}$ The earliest parts of the existing structure date from the twelfth century. Scholes, Towns, p111.

[^17]:    ${ }^{61}$ TD Atkinson, English Architecture (London: Methuen \& Co Ltd, 1904, reprinted 1963), p7-18.
    Mark Child, Discovering Church Architecture: a glossary of terms (Aylesbury: Shire Publications Ltd, 1976), pp9 \& 40-41. Pamela Cunnington, How Old Is That Church? (Yeovil: Marston House, 1993), pp32-49. Lawrence E Jones, The Observer's Book of Old English Churches (London: Frederick Warne \& Co Ltd, 1965), pp50-53. Roland Morant, Cheshire Churches (Birkenhead: Countyvise Ltd, 1989), pp25-30. Husain, Cheshire under the Normans, p136.
    ${ }_{62}$ It is recorded as Chircheshotewyk in the Plea Rolls of 1316, and also as Chyrcheshotewyke in 1357, Churcheshotwich in 1398, Churchshotewyk in 1449 and Shotwyke Kyrke in 1454. Dodgson, The Place-Names of Cheshire, Part Four, English Place-Name Society Volume XLVII (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp206-7.
    ${ }^{63}$ Sulley, Wirral, p110. Ormerod, George, The History of the County Palatinate and City of Chester, $2^{\text {nd }}$ edition (Chester: Family History Society of Cheshire, CD-ROM), p562. See Map Five: Sketch map of the townships in the Ancient Parish of Shotwick (overleaf).
    ${ }^{64}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p202.
    ${ }_{65}^{65}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p205.
    ${ }^{66}$ CCALS, P49/1/1: Early Registers, transcribed by Estelle Dyke, 1932.
    ${ }^{67}$ Smith, William, \& John Lockwood, Chambers Murray Latin-English Dictionary, revised edition (Edinburgh and London: Chambers and John Murray, 1976), pp417 \& 510.
    ${ }^{68}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p203.

[^18]:    ${ }^{69}$ CCALS, EDT 177/1: Tithe Apportionment of Great Saughall, 1840. EDT, 177/2: Tithe Map of Great Saughall, 1840. EDT 243/1: Tithe Apportionment of Little Saughall, 1840. CCALS, EDT 243/2: Tithe Map of Little Saughall, 1840. See also Appendix Six: Spreadsheets of data from Tithe Apportionments of the Townships in the Parish of Shotwick.
    ${ }^{70}$ Loughnane, Landscape Interpretation, p 28.
    ${ }^{71}$ GE Lowe, A Brief History of Saughall and Shotwick Park (Saughall, 1995), pl.
    ${ }^{72}$ Lin Hawthorne \& Simon Maughan, RHS Plants for Places (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2001), p6.
    ${ }^{73}$ Translation based on Morgan, Domesday Cheshire, folio 263b, A11 and Williams \& Martin, Domesday, p718.
    ${ }^{74}$ Morgan, $D B$ Cheshire, folio 265b, 265c, 265d, 266a, 8:1-45; Williams \& Martin, Domesday, pp724727.

[^19]:    ${ }^{75}$ Morgan, DB Cheshire, folio 265b, 8:6; Williams \& Martin, Domesday, p724.
    ${ }^{77}$ Anne Stuart, Saughall: A Social History (Chester, 1996), pp21-24.
    ${ }^{77}$ CCALS, P49, paper catalogue notes about the parish of Shotwick.
    ${ }^{78}$ BE Harris, (ed), The Victoria History of the Counties of England: a History of the County of Chester, Vol II (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1979), p230.
    ${ }^{79}$ Wodebonc, 1260. Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p208.
    ${ }^{80}$ The charter, in John Rylands Library in Manchester (1792), concerns a grant of 'two selions upon le bonk in Rough Shotwick'. Additionally, 'the field of le Wodebong' occurs in an early fourteenthcentury charter now in the British Museum (66255), while 'the township of Wodebank' crops up in 1335 in the De Macclesfield Cartulary (Ms.Cott.Cleopatra D VI 15 in the British Museum). Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p209.
    ${ }^{81}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p208.
    ${ }^{82}$ A charter of 1399 in John Rylands Library (1309) refers to 'seven acres of land... upon our park of Shotwick, called Wodebank'. The Calendar of Chester Recognizance Rolls mentions 'two messuages and eighty acres of land in Rough Shotwick called the Woddebanke'. Taken together, they suggest that

[^20]:    Woodbank and Shotwick Park were once closely associated and formed the area collectively known as Rough Shotwick. Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p209.
    ${ }^{83}$ Brian E Harris, Cheshire and Its Rulers (Chester: Cheshire Libraries and Museums, 1984), pl. Husain, Cheshire Under the Norman Earls, p95.
    ${ }_{84}$ Calendar Close Rolls, 1327, cited by Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, p100.
    ${ }^{85}$ Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, p109.
    ${ }^{86}$ George Ormerod, The History of the County Palatinate and City of Chester (Family History Society of Cheshire and The Cheshire Local History Association, CD-ROM), p562.
    ${ }^{87}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p210.
    ${ }^{88}$ CCALS, P49/8: Woodbank National School Logbook.
    ${ }^{89}$ For instance, Memorial 50, commemorating Peter Gregory d. 1822; Memorial 62 (Jemima and Samuel Garner, d. 1833 \& 1859); and Memorial 106 (Samuel Edwards, d. 1770) [Appendix Eight: Spreadsheet of data collected from memorials, pp17 \& 19].
    ${ }^{90}$ Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, pl 32.
    ${ }^{91}$ E Stuart, River Dee, p41.
    ${ }^{92}$ Cited in SMR 2026/1.
    ${ }^{93}$ Burnley, Wirral, pl46.
    ${ }^{94}$ See Memorial 261. There was another Two Mills Farm in Puddington, occupied by the Griffiths family between 1880 and 1921, according to Memorials 232, 233 and 251 [Appendix Eight].

[^21]:    ${ }^{95}$ See Maps Three and Four, pp18-19.
    ${ }^{96}$ Morgan, $D B$ Cheshire, folios, 266a \& 266b, 9:1-29; Williams \& Martin, Domesday, p727-728.
    ${ }^{97}$ Morgan, DB Cheshire, folio 266a, 9:8; Williams \& Martin, Domesday, p727.
    ${ }^{98}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p201.
    ${ }^{99}$ CCALS, paper catalogue of archives concerning the parish of Shotwick.

[^22]:    100 'Carucate' is an alternative term for ploughland - literally land suitable for putting under the plough. John Richardson, The Local Historian's Encyclopedia, $3^{\text {rd }}$ Edition (Chichester: Historical Publications, 2003), pp9-10.
    ${ }^{101}$ In The Domesday Book the hide was used for calculating tax liability. Theoretically, a hide was the amount of land which could be ploughed in one year by eight oxen pulling a single plough, its precise measurement varying according to the quality of the soil. According to Richardson (Local Historian's Encyclopedia, p9), the terms hide, ploughland and carucate are interchangeable. However, as can be seen from the listings in this table, the carucates (terra est...car) and hides (hida geld) noted in The Domesday Book for any given holding do not necessarily coincide, presumably because of variations in terrain and land use. Morgan, $D B$ Cheshire, folios $263 \mathrm{~b}, \mathrm{~A}: 11, \mathrm{~A}: 12$; 265b, 8:6; 266a, 9:8.
    ${ }^{102}$ This is based solely on the number of people mentioned in The Domesday Book. Neither their families nor anyone who evaded the Domesday surveyors has been taken into account, therefore it should not be considered an accurate reflection of the actual population of each township.
    ${ }^{103}$ Data taken from Samuel Bagshaw's, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County Palatine of Chester (Sheffield, 1850) pp660-662. This is the earliest edition of the directory available on the searchroom shelves at CCALS, and predates CCALS' earliest edition of Kelly's directory [Post Office Directory of Cheshire (London: Kelly \& Co, 1857) by seven years.
    ${ }^{104}$ Census figures quoted in $V C H$ II, p230.

[^23]:    Sources: VCH 2, p230. Cheshire County Council Research \& Intelligence Section, Cheshire Statistics from 1981 (Chester: Cheshire County Council, 1983). Cheshire County Council, 1991 Census: Cheshire, Topic Pamphlet Part One, 'Population Counts: Parishes and Towns' (Chester: Cheshire County Council, DOCS/LC-199/CB, 1992)

[^24]:    ${ }^{105}$ Mortimer, Wirral, , p251.
    ${ }^{106}$ See photographs overleaf.

[^25]:    ${ }^{107}$ Memorial 1 on Plan Three: St Michael's Churchyard, Shotwick, 2005, p53.
    ${ }^{108}$ Memorials 2-5 on Plan Three.
    ${ }^{109}$ See Map Six: Sketch map of the village of Shotwick, overleaf.

[^26]:    ${ }^{110}$ See Plan Two: Shotwick Churchyard: plan drawn by JHE Bennett and PH Lawson, 1910, p52.
    ${ }^{111}$ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, p49.
    ${ }^{112}$ CCALS, MF 335/1 \& P49/7/1: Churchwardens' Accounts 1717-1835. CCALS, P49/7/2:
    Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry Minutes, 1837-1901. CCALS, P49/7/3: Churchwardens' Accounts, 1902-1923.
    ${ }^{113}$ Shotwick's nearest quarries were those at Burton, whose church, houses and boundary walls are almost entirely built of locally quarried red sandstone.

[^27]:    ${ }^{114}$ Casual conversation with passing farmer when surveying memorials in this area on 2 April 2005.
    ${ }^{115}$ A start date for the assessment has yet to be issued.
    ${ }^{116}$ Warwick Rodwell, The Archaeology of the English Church (London: BT Batsford Ltd, 1981), pl34. In his later book, Church Archaeology [(London: BT Batsford Ltd/English Heritage, 1989), p158], Rodwell similarly states that between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, 'The cutting of one grave through another raised no qualms and it is common during excavation to find that half a dozen or more interments have been made on the same spot in those parts of a church that were popular for burial.' Alison Taylor likewise highlights the Anglo-Saxon custom of intercutting burials when graveyards were full [Burial Practice in Early England (Stroud, Tempus, 2001), p178].

[^28]:    ${ }^{117}$ The construction date of the north aisle has been estimated from the style of the Decorated and Perpendicular windows and from the roofline marks in the masonry beside the west tower. Vanessa Greatorex, Landscape Archaeology module paper: St Michael's Church, Shotwick, Wirral: Report of landscape archaeology survey undertaken December 2004, pp4-5. See also Richards, Cheshire Churches, p297; Morant, Cheshire Churches, pp34-36; Nicolaus Pevsner \& Edward Hubbard, The Buildings of England: Cheshire (London: Penguin Books, 1971), p334; Atkinson, Architecture, pp3254; Child, Church Architecture, pp23 \& 42.
    ${ }^{118}$ David Petts, 'Cemeteries and Boundaries in Western Britain' in by Sam Lucy \& Andrew Reynolds (eds), Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales (London: The Society for Medieval Archaeology, 2002), p37. Professor Kenneth Cameron, Anglo-Saxon Background: Burial Customs, lecture delivered at Nottingham University, 1985.
    ${ }^{119}$ The north door was known as the 'Devil's door' because it was opened during baptisms as an exit route for evil spirits flying from newly christened children. See Whitfield, Church, p13.
    ${ }^{120}$ See Plan Three.
    ${ }^{121}$ See Map Seven, overleaf. CCALS, EDT 356/2: Shotwick Tithe Map, 29 February 1848.
    ${ }^{122}$ CCALS, EDT 356/1: Shotwick Tithe Apportionment, 29 February 1848.
    ${ }^{123}$ CCALS, EDT 356/1: Shotwick Tithe Apportionment, 29 February 1848.

[^29]:    ${ }^{124}$ CCALS/P49/3351/1: Accounts relating to conveyance of land for addition to churchyard, 1875.
    ${ }^{125}$ See Plan One: St Michael's Churchyard, Shotwick: Victorian plan of proposed graveyard extension, undated (CCALS/P49/2974/7), p51.
    ${ }^{126}$ Memorial 365.

[^30]:    ${ }^{127}$ See Plan Two, p52.
    ${ }^{128}$ Informal conversation with Lavinia Whitfield while surveying memorials on 3 April 2005.
    ${ }^{129}$ See Plans One to Five, pp51-55.

[^31]:    ${ }^{130}$ The situation is neatly summed up by Warwick Rodwell, [Archaeology of the English Church, p142]: 'In deciding exactly where to place a church, proprietary or otherwise, superstition and ancient custom will have played a part... Thus many churches were probably built on the site of pre-Christian religious activity, though archaeological evidence to support such a statement has rarely been obtained.' His view is shared by John Blair, 'Churches in the early English landscape: social and cultural contexts', Church Archaeology: Research Directions for the Future [ed. John Blair and Carol Pyrah, CBA Research Report 104, (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1996)], p6.
    ${ }^{131}$ WJ Varley Cheshire Before the Romans, A History of Cheshire, vol 1 (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1964.
    ${ }^{132}$ The Roman road between Hoole Heath and Shotwick 'was both a saltway and military road', according to J McN Dodgson, Place-Names of Cheshire, Part One, p40. ADM Phillips \& CB Phillips, A New Historical Atlas of Cheshire (Chester: Cheshire County Council \& Cheshire Community Council Publications Trust, 2002), pp18-19
    ${ }^{133}$ Roland W Morant, Monastic and Collegiate Cheshire (Braunton: Merlin Books Ltd, 1996), pp7-9.
    ${ }^{134}$ For instance, Liscard, 'hall at the rock', from Primitive Welsh *lys an garreg, and Wallasey, 'Welshman's or Britons' island', from Old English eg and Waley. Dodgson, Place-Names of Cheshire, Part Four, pp324 and 323.
    ${ }^{135}$ Nancy Edwards, 'Identifying the archaeology of the early church in Wales and Cornwall', Blair \& Pyrah, Church Archaeology, p52. Ann Preston-Jones and Diane Brook, cited by John Blair in 'The Early Church in Wales and the West', Early Medieval Europe, Vol 2, No 1 (Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd, 1993), p82.

[^32]:    ${ }^{136}$ Little is known about Anglo-Saxon Mercia, meaning 'boundary folk', before the early seventh century. Bede, A History of the English Church and People, revised edition (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1968), p176. Sir Frank Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, $3^{\text {rd }}$ ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp38, 40 \& 120. Mark Harrison, Anglo-Saxon Thegn (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1993), p4. ${ }^{137}$ Rodwell, Archaeology of the English Church, p139.
    ${ }^{138}$ Petts, ‘Cemeteries and Boundaries in Western Britain’, Lucy \& Reynolds, Burial, pp28-30.
    ${ }^{139}$ Typically 'large parishes served by teams of priests operating from important central churches (the 'old minsters').' John Blair (ed), Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 9501200 (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph No. 17, 1988), pl.
    ${ }^{140}$ A priest and church are, for instance, noted in one of the entries concerning the minster settlement of Sandbach. Morgan, $D B$ Cheshire, 14:10, folio 266 d .
    ${ }^{141}$ See translation on p31, above.
    ${ }^{142}$ According to Blair [Minsters, p2], Minsters tended to be in more substantial settlements, such as Sandbach, Leominster, Dover, Pershore and Reculver.
    ${ }^{143}$ Blair, Ministers, p14.
    ${ }^{144}$ Greatorex, St Michael's Church, pp1-5. Richards, Cheshire Churches, p297. Morant, Cheshire Churches, pp34-36. Nicolaus Pevsner \& Edward Hubbard, The Buildings of England: Cheshire (London: Penguin Books, 1971), p334.

[^33]:    ${ }^{145}$ Rodwell [Archaeology of the English Church, p142] writes: 'In general, a local lord who desired to found a chapel for the use of his family and retainers would do so on his own land and close to his residence...In these cases the churchyard is likely to be an enclosure created around the church and adopted as a place for burial'. In west Cheshire such an arrangement can still be seen at Malpas and Aldford, where the churches, surrounded by graves, are cheek-by-jowl with Norman castle mottes.
    ${ }^{146}$ See Maps Three and Four on pp 18-19.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Chapter One: Landscape, p49.
    ${ }^{2}$ Christopher Daniell and Victoria Thompson, 'Pagans and Christians: 400-1150', in Peter C Jupp \& Clare Gittings (eds), Death in England: An Illustrated History (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p85.
    ${ }^{3}$ Daniell \& Thompson, 'Pagans and Christians', pp75-76.
    ${ }^{4}$ Daniell \& Thompson, 'Pagans and Christians', p76.
    ${ }^{5}$ Alan Morton, 'Burial in Middle Saxon Southampton' in Steven Bassett (ed), Death in Towns: Urban Response to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600 (London \& New York: Leicester University Press, 1995), p71.
    ${ }^{6}$ Daniell \& Thompson, ‘Pagans and Christians', pp59-60 \& 85.
    ${ }^{7}$ Rodwell, Church Archaeology, p171. Peter Owen-Jones, The Battle for Britain's Soul, Part 3, BBC2, transmitted 17 October 2004, 7pm.
    ${ }^{8}$ Daniell \& Thompson, 'Pagans and Christians', 885.
    ${ }^{9}$ Rosemary Horrox, 'Purgatory, Prayer and Plague 1150-1380', in Jupp \& Gittings, Death in England, pp103-105.
    ${ }^{10}$ Petts, Cemeteries, pp44-45. D M Hadley, 'Burial Practices in Northern England', in Lucy \& Reynolds, Burial, p224.

[^35]:    ${ }^{11}$ Now housed in a glass case in the chancel. Unfortunately, the glass and the darkness of the church have made it impossible to get a good quality photograph of the effigy.
    ${ }^{12}$ Whitfield, Church at the Ford, p18. Greatorex, St Michael's Church, p3.
    ${ }^{13}$ By the Churchwardens in a typewritten notice displayed next to the effigy.
    ${ }^{14}$ Between 1624 and 1629 the Curate of Shotwick was the Rev Samuel Clarke (1599-1682), a prolific writer of religious tracts who had acquired Puritan leanings at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Huge crowds came to Shotwick to hear his sermons, and he wrote that his parishioners there were the most understanding Christians he had ever known, 'though the best of them went in russet coat and followed husbandry.' Despite his popularity with his parishioners, he was prosecuted in the Chancellor's Court for failing to conduct recognised church ceremonies, denied the chance to preach a farewell sermon at Shotwick, and later expelled from the Church of England for nonconformity, though he remained 'warmly attached' to its doctrine and died in 1682 'universally respected for his piety and moderation.' [Raymond Richards, Old Cheshire Churches (Didsbury: EJ Morten, 1973), p302. Young, Wirral, p94. Ellison, Wirral, pp138-139. Brack, p21. Sulley, Wirral, p111. Mortimer, Wirral, p251. Mayer, Shotwick Church, pp81-82. Ormerod, History, p565.] Clearly, such a man exerted huge influence over his parishioners and may have personally instructed workmen to use the effigy as infill. Ironically, such an act has indubitably aided its preservation.
    ${ }^{15}$ Clare Gittings, 'Sacred and Secular: 1558-1660' in Jupp \& Gittings, Death in England, p166.
    ${ }^{16}$ Ralph Houlbrooke, ‘The Age of Decency: 1660-1760' in Jupp \& Gittings, Death in England, p193.
    ${ }^{17}$ Houlbrooke, 'The Age of Decency: 1660-1760' in Jupp \& Gittings, Death in England, p197. William Ferguson Irvine, 'Introduction of gravestones', Cheshire Sheaf, Third Series, Vol 10, p36.

[^36]:    ${ }^{18}$ Memorial 159.
    ${ }^{19}$ See Plan Two, memorial 130 (p52).
    ${ }^{20}$ See Plan Three: St Michael's Churchyard, Shotwick, 2005 (p53).

[^37]:    ${ }^{21}$ Memorials B, D and E.
    ${ }^{22}$ Memorial C.
    ${ }^{23}$ Memorial 300 .
    ${ }^{24} \mathrm{~A}, \mathrm{~B}, \mathrm{C}, \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{E}, \mathrm{F}, \mathrm{G}, \mathrm{H}, \mathrm{K}$ and L .
    ${ }^{25}$ Memorial A is in the chancel, B to H are in the nave and L is in the tower.
    ${ }^{26}$ Memorial K.

[^38]:    ${ }^{27}$ Beazley, Shotwick, pp30-41.
    ${ }^{28}$ Memorials 2,4,5, 16, 17, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 38, 39, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 58, 59, $69,70,71,72,73,77,86,87,89,91,94,108,113,114,116,127,128,130,133,140,141,142,143$, $150,156,157,159,160,189,192,195,200,203,212,216,217,221,297,298,299,300,301,302$, and 303.

[^39]:    ${ }^{29}$ The inscription runs as follows: 'St. Michael's Shotwick. This area of the church yard is reserved for the interment of cremated remains. This stone was given by Albert Bryce-Smith in memory of his grandparents John \& Betty Bryce who are buried in the church yard'.
    ${ }^{30}$ These are the dimensions of Memorial 302.
    ${ }^{31}$ The dimensions of Memorial 89.

[^40]:    ${ }^{32}$ See photograph of Memorial 160 in the Introduction.
    ${ }^{33}$ Memorials 146 and 168.
    ${ }^{34}$ CCALS, MF 92/9: Monumental Inscriptions: Shotwick. See also Appendix Eight: Spreadsheet of date collected from memorials.
    ${ }^{35}$ See photograph of Memorial 147 in the section on pedestals.
    ${ }^{36}$ As in the case of Memorials 92 (see photograph on p72), and 154 and 180 (both head-and-hipped-body-stone hybrids).
    ${ }^{37}$ Memorials 3, 15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 31, 37, 43, 57, 63, 67, 106, 107, 138, 139, 144, 176, 193, 196, 202 and 205.

[^41]:    ${ }^{38}$ According to Williams's Commercial Directory of Chester [(Chester: T Thomas, 1846), pp13, 20 \& 23], William Haswell, stonemason, worked at Kaleyards alongside George Haswell, stonemason, and John Haswell, marble and stonemason. William maintained his own residence at 57 Nicholas Street, while John and George (father and younger son?) both lived in St Anne's Street. By 1850 George had moved to Egerton Street, but the family business continued to flourish in Kaleyards [Samuel Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County Palatine of Chester (Sheffield, 1850), p101].

[^42]:    ${ }^{39}$ Between the south wall of the church and the path to the porch.
    ${ }^{40}$ CCALS, MF 92/9: Monumental Inscriptions: Shotwick.
    ${ }^{41}$ See section on typography for examples.
    ${ }^{42}$ Memorials 32, 33, 35, 36, 40, 44, 64, 68, 78, 83, 84, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 109, 111, 112, 122, 123, $124,125,129,137,145,149,152,153,155$, and 182.
    ${ }^{43}$ See photograph of Memorial 109 on page 4.
    ${ }^{44}$ See photographs on p67.
    ${ }^{45}$ See photographs on $p 68$.

[^43]:    ${ }^{46}$ Memorials 9, 279 (chippings), 280 and 317 (hipped).
    ${ }^{47}$ Memorials 1, 13, 92, 147, 223, 227, 228, 264, 269, 281, 304, 331, 332, 333, 334 and 345.
    ${ }^{48}$ Memorials 92, 223, 227, 228, 269, 281, 304, 332, 333 and 345.
    ${ }^{49}$ Memorials 1 and 264.

[^44]:    ${ }^{50}$ Memorials $6,7,8,10,11,12,14,18,21,45,46,51,55,56,60,61,65,66,74,75,76,79,80,81,82$, $85,88,90,93,100,104,105,117,118,119,126,131,132,134,135,136,158,161,163,164,165$, $166,169,170,171,174,175,178,184,185,186,188,194,197,198,199,201,204,206.207,211$, $213,214,215,218,219,220,222,226,229,230,235,240,242,252,254,255,257,267,271,276$, $278,309,320,326,327,328,329,335,336,351,352,353,354,355,356,357,360,362,363,364$, 365, 367, 368, 369 and 370.
    ${ }_{51}^{51}$ Memorials 115, 167, 177, 179, 190, 191, 208, 209, 210 and 361.
    ${ }^{52}$ Memorials $62,102,103,110,120,121,224,225,231,239,241,243,244,245,247,248,249,250$, $251,253,256,260,261,262,263,266,268,270,272,273,274,282,286,305,306,307,315,323$ and 350.
    ${ }^{53}$ Memorials $172,173,232,233,234,236,237,238,259,322$ and 358.
    ${ }^{54}$ Memorials 151, 181, 183; 154 and 180.
    ${ }^{55}$ Examples are shown on the next few pages.

[^45]:    ${ }^{56}$ Memorials 246, 258, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 308, 310, 311, 312, $313,314,316,318,319,330,337,338,339,341,342,344,346,347,348$ and 349 . See photographs on p 82 .
    ${ }^{57}$ Whose book, Recording and Analysing Graveyards, presumably reflects official Council for British Archaeology policy, having been published by that organisation in association with English Heritage. ${ }^{58}$ There are five ped-head/kerbstone hybrids at Shotwick: Memorials 187, 265, 277, 321 and 340 dated 1893-1947.
    ${ }^{59}$ Memorials $275,289,325,343$ and 366.
    ${ }^{60}$ Memorial 344. See section about Airmen's Memorials on pp95-97.
    ${ }^{61}$ Almost certainly Memorial 325 (a vase containing fresh flowers) and possibly Memorials 275 and 289 (pictured on p84).
    ${ }^{62}$ Western Cheshire rests on Triassic new red sandstone, and there was allegedly a sandstone quarry in Shotwick in addition to the well-documented one in the neighbouring parish of Burton (see p41). Stone may also have been recycled from the ruins of Shotwick Castle. Griffiths, River Dee, pp103-106.

[^46]:    ${ }^{63}$ Memorials C, G, K, dated 1939, 1941 and 1944.
    ${ }^{64}$ Memorial L, dated 1973.
    ${ }^{65}$ Memorials A, B, D, E, F, H, I and J.
    ${ }^{66}$ Memorials M (date illegible, but probably seventeenth-century) and N , dating from 1586.
    ${ }^{67}$ W Haswell (see Footnote 38 on p65), J Astle, WA Dodd and Astbury's.
    ${ }^{68}$ Hayest Sons of Town Lane, Griffiths of Claughton and Buckley Memorials of Flintshire.
    ${ }^{69}$ Pictured on pp86-89.
    ${ }^{70}$ See Memorial 123 on p92.

[^47]:    ${ }^{70}$ Houlbrooke, 'The Age of Decency', Jupp \& Gittings, Death in England, p197.

[^48]:    ${ }^{72}$ According to Charlotte Roberts and Margaret Cox [Health and Disease in Britain From Prehistory to the Present Day (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2003), p303], many people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries 'would not have known their own age nor those of the deceased whose details they were reporting'. This assertion is, however, in conflict with contemporary evidence from Shotwick's own memorials as well as from diarists such as William Holland, whose friends and family habitually celebrated birthdays and even remembered those of deceased relatives. See, for instance, his entries for Tuesday 20 May 1800, Friday 20 August 1805 and hursday 20 May 1813 in Jack Ayres, Paupers and Pig Killers: The Diary of William Holland, A Somerset Parson, 1799-1818, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2003) pp34, 118 \& 245.
    ${ }^{73} 268$ memorials out of 384 .
    ${ }^{74} 224$ memorials out of 384 .
    ${ }^{75}$ The twenty-four memorials involved form a subsection of the 224 mentioned in footnote 57.
    ${ }^{76}$ Fifteen out of twenty.
    ${ }^{77}$ Houlbrooke, 'The Age of Decency: 1660-1760' in Jupp \& Gittings, Death in England, p196.

[^49]:    ${ }^{78}$ The exact number of quotations and epigrams is 215 .
    ${ }^{79}$ Note that multiple-use memorials may bear a separate quotation for each person commemorated.
    ${ }^{80}$ The concepts of 'dying well' and heavenly reunions were particularly embraced during this period [Pat Jalland, 'Victorian death and its decline: 1850-1918' in Jupp \& Gittings, Death in England, pp230237], and best-selling novels and serialisations of the era were lauded for death-bed scenes such as those of Dickensian creations Paul Dombey (Dombey and Son) and Richard Carstone (Bleak House, first published 1853): 'A smile irradiated his face...He...drew his arms closer round her neck, and with one parting sob began the world. Not this world, O not this! The world that sets this right.' [Charles Dickens, Bleak House (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1971), p927.]
    ${ }^{81}$ Rest here my little darlings,/Rest within your bed of clay./Death stole you both from your mother's arms/And took your lives away (Memorial 369.2, 1882).

[^50]:    ${ }^{82}$ Memorials 326, 327, 328, 329, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345 and 346.
    ${ }^{83}$ See Appendix Eleven: Air Force Memorials: photocopy of CCALS, P49/3351/2: Licence for the removal of the remains of USA airman Frank $J$ Williams.
    ${ }^{84}$ Lieutenant Leonard S Morange.
    ${ }^{85}$ See Airmen section in Chapter 3: Society.
    ${ }^{86}$ Hugh Robert Fuhr. See Airmen section in Chapter 3: Society.
    ${ }^{87}$ A number of families with children, several small groups of men and a gaggle of helmeted cyclists were among those making directly for the RAF memorials when I was surveying the churchyard.

[^51]:    ${ }^{88}$ Their height above ground varies from 812 mm to 850 mm , their width from 373 mm to 380 mm , and their depth from 72 mm to 81 mm .
    ${ }^{89}$ See Airmen section in Chapter 3: Society.
    ${ }^{90}$ For instance, memorials 311, 312 and 313, recording five members of the Roberts family, all consist of granite plinths surmounted by black marble pedestal-headstones with gold inlaid text, and bear the phrase 'In heavenly love abiding'.

[^52]:    ${ }^{91}$ See Appendix Four: Diocese of Chester churchyard regulations.
    ${ }^{92}$ Compare 'a beloved wife, mum and nan' (Memorial 301, 1998) and 'a loving son, husband, father and grandfather' (Memorial 296, 2004) with 'youngest daughter of the late Joseph Harvey (of HM Inland Revenue) and Mary his wife and niece of George Pugh of Parkgate House' (Memorial 153, 1860) or 'This tablet was erected in fond remembrance by their son-in-law Rudolph Steinmann Esq' of Liverpool' (Memorial J, 1860-1870). The later texts are all about the qualities and achievements of the deceased and make no reference to the names of the bereaved. The Victorian ones are about status and genealogy, and say more about the personality and preoccupations of relatives than of the deceased they purport to commemorate.

[^53]:    ${ }^{93}$ Memorial 328.
    ${ }^{94}$ Memorial 334.

[^54]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Chapter One: Landscape, p47.
    ${ }^{2}$ See Appendix Three: The meaning of Shotwick.
    ${ }^{3}$ Morgan, $D B$ Cheshire, folios 263b, Al. Williams \& Martin, Domesday, pp718. Quoted in Chapter One: The Landscape, pp25, 31-32 \& 34.
    ${ }^{4}$ Or villans, according to Williams \& Martin, Domesday.
    ${ }^{5}$ Robert Lacey \& Danny Danziger, The Year 1000 (Abacus, 2000), pp39-50.
    ${ }^{6}$ Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p277. AL Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1215, $2^{\text {nd }}$ ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), p39.
    ${ }^{7}$ Anne Savage \& Christopher Pick (translator/editor), The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (London: Papermac, 1984), pp209 \& 212.
    ${ }^{8}$ Williams \& Martin [inside back flyleaf of Domesday] define a villan as 'a peasant of higher economic status than a bordar and living in a village. Notionally unfree because subject to the manorial court'; and a bordar as 'a cottager: a peasant of lower economic status than a villan'.
    ${ }^{9}$ The Abbot of St Werburgh's was the lord of Shotwick and Little Saughall, William Malbank of Great Saughall, and William FitzNigel Capenhurst. See Chapter One: Landscape, pp25, 31-32 \& 34.
    ${ }^{10}$ Richardson, Historian's Encyclopedia, pp29 \& 32. Lacey \& Danziger, 1000, pp47-50.

[^55]:    ${ }^{12}$ Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp17-18.
    ${ }^{12}$ Then believed to have been part of Rough Shotwick. See Chapter One: The Landscape, pp32-33.
    ${ }^{13}$ Richardson, Historian's Encyclopedia, pp29 \& 22 .
    ${ }^{14}$ Terry Jones \& Alan Ereira, Terry Jones' Medieval Lives (London: BBC Books, 2004), p27.
    ${ }^{15}$ PHW Booth, 'A Far From Reluctant Bondsman? A Tenant of Castle Shotwick Attempts to Deny His Freedom, 1382, Cheshire History, No. 7, Spring 1981, p9.
    ${ }^{16}$ Christopher Dyer, Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520 (London: Penguin, 2002), p156. Vanessa Greatorex, How did the rural landscape change between 1086 and 1300? The national perspective, with a sidelong glance at Cheshire, Landscape Heritage and Society unpublished module paper (Settlement and Society in the Medieval Countryside), 2004.
    ${ }^{17}$ SMR 2027/2: Shotwick.
    ${ }^{18}$ Christopher Dyer, Standards of Living in the Middle Ages: Social Change in England 1250-1500, revised edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp109-150.
    ${ }^{19}$ See Chapter One: The Landscape, in particular footnotes 5, 7 and 8.
    ${ }^{20}$ Rentals and Surveys, Public Record Office, Portfolio 6, No. 33, a translation of which appears in Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, pp138-40. Note that this concerns Castle Shotwick (now known as Shotwick Park) rather than Church Shotwick.
    ${ }^{21}$ Thomas son of John; Thomas son of Richard de Lound; Richard de Dounvill; and Dobyn 'with his fellows' (how may 'fellows' is unspecified). Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, pp138-139.
    ${ }^{22}$ Roger son of Richard; Stephen son of Robert; Thomas son of John; Richard Jouwe and Richard son of Alan; William son of Richard son of Osbert; John son of Richard; Simon son of Richard; James son of Meiller; Daykin Owen; Ranulph son of Richard; Simon son of Adam; Roger Gille; John son of Yarford and William Hog; William le Wayte; William son of Roger; Richard de Londone; Roger Botet and Richard his brother; John son of Meiller; Robert Cook. Those coupled by 'and' shared a holding. Roger Gille, who served as Constable of Shotwick Castle in 1274, somehow managed to acquire two separate holdings, each of two bovates. Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, p139.
    ${ }^{23}$ Edusa the widow. Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, p139.

[^56]:    ${ }^{24}$ Thomas son of John. Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, p138.
    ${ }^{25}$ Stewart-Brown, Royal Manor, pl39.
    ${ }^{26}$ Elizabeth Hallam (ed), The Chronicles of the Wars of the Roses (London: Weidenfeld \& Nicolson, 1988), pp34-40.
    ${ }^{27}$ Or nief, a fourteenth-century Cheshire term for the unfree. Booth, Far From Reluctant Bondsman, p95.
    ${ }^{28}$ Booth, Far From Reluctant Bondsman, p95.
    ${ }^{29}$ PRO SC $6784 / 4 m .3$, cited by Booth, Far From Reluctant Bondsman, p94.
    ${ }^{30}$ Their decision may not, however, have been wholly motivated by economic considerations: Hicson's cousin William, whose great-grandmother was also unfree, was living in Woodbank as a freeman in 1382. Booth, Far From Reluctant Bondsman, pp95 \& 97.
    ${ }^{31}$ Fishing was recorded at both Shotwick and Saughall in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The 'valuable' fishery at Shotwick is thought to have incorporated wooden floodyards and wicker stallnets roped to stakes in the river-bed. Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, pp39-40. Excessive use

[^57]:    of fish weirs, fishyards and floodyards along the Dee may have contributed to its silting up. StewartBrown, Royal Manor, p96.
    ${ }^{32}$ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, p85.
    ${ }^{33}$ Booth, Far From Reluctant Bondsman, p95.
    ${ }^{34}$ SMR 2028/1: Saltworks at Shotwick. J Howard Hodson [Cheshire 1660-1780: Restoration to Industrial Revolution, A History of Cheshire, vol 9, (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1978), p140] notes that before 1670 seawater from the Dee estuary was evaporated to produce small quantities of salt at Shotwick. See Leland's references to salt-houses, quoted in Appendix Three: The meaning of Shotwick; and Driver, Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages, pl11. William, son of Thomas Salthouse (his surname the legacy of a forebear's occupation?), was baptised on 27 February 1700 (see Appendix Six: Spreadsheet of sample entries from Shotwick's parish registers, 1681-1702, p5).
    ${ }^{35}$ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, pl.
    ${ }^{36}$ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, p4.
    ${ }^{37}$ "The Earl's title did not imply a close, personal relationship with the city or county of Chester. When visits occurred, they were usually halts or incidents in the course of royal business. Yet the presence of the King or the Prince must have been a noteworthy event for the people of Cheshire. It necessitated preparations for accommodation, afforded an opportunity for local affairs to be brought to the Earl's notice and might be the occasion of a royal benefaction." Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, p4.
    ${ }^{38}$ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, p54.
    ${ }^{39}$ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, p49.
    ${ }^{40}$ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, p 49.

[^58]:    ${ }^{41}$ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, pp31-32.
    ${ }^{42}$ Hewitt, Cheshire under the Three Edwards, p36.
    ${ }^{43}$ CCALS, DDX 43/13: Mize, 1453. Eric Rideout, The Growth of Wirral (Liverpool, 1927), pp8 \& 96. E Stuart, River Dee, p28.
    ${ }^{44}$ E Stuart, River Dee, p29.
    ${ }^{45}$ Wirral Subsidy Rolls 1544, cited by Rideout, Wirral Growth, p96; E Stuart, River Dee, p31; and Driver, Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages, p21.
    ${ }^{46}$ Rideout, Wirral Growth, p96. E Stuart, River Dee, p32.
    ${ }^{47}$ CCALS, DFI 176, Wirral Subsidy Roll 1544. E Stuart, River Dee, p31.
    ${ }^{48}$ CCALS, DFI 176, Wirral Subsidy Roll 1625. E Stuart, River Dee, p31.
    ${ }^{49}$ Levied on each hearth or stove in all but the poorest homes (those worth less than twenty shillings and inhabited by anyone not paying parish rates or receiving poor relief) at the rate of two shillings per hearth, payable by the occupier in two instalments at Lady Day ( 25 March) and Michaelmas (29

[^59]:    September). Charitable institutions, such as schools and almshouses, and all industrial hearths apart from those of bakers or blacksmiths were also exempt. Richardson, Local Historian's Encyclopedia, p52. Lionel Munby, Dates and Times: A Handbook for Local Historians (Salisbury: British Association for Local History, 1997), p76.
    ${ }^{50}$ Beazley, Hearth Taxes, 'Hundred of Wirral, 1663', The Cheshire Sheaf, Third Series, Vol 9, pp25, 29, 87, 100, 115 \& 117; Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, p8; E Stuart, River Dee, p36.
    ${ }^{51}$ See listings from The Clerical Guide,quoted by Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, p8; Tables 1: Size of townships in the Parish of Shotwick in Norman and Victorian Times and 4-7 Census Figures on pp3536; and Appendix Seven: Baptisms and burials in Shotwick's parish registers, 1702-1775.
    ${ }^{52}$ CCALS/P49/1: Shotwick Parish: Early Registers, 1681-1812.
    ${ }^{53}$ CCALS/P49/1/1; CCALS/P49/1/2: Early Registers, transcribed by Estelle Dyke, 1932. Her diligence is a boon to anyone researching Shotwick's earliest records, not least because her transcripts are permanently accessible on CCALS's search-room shelves. The first few pages of the earliest registers have been summarised in the spreadsheet which forms Appendix Six.

[^60]:    ${ }^{54}$ See Appendix Seven: Number of baptisms and burials listed in Shotwick parish registers 1702-1775.
    ${ }_{56}$ Quakers, Methodists, and, later on, Baptists.
    ${ }_{5}^{56}$ See Appendix Six: Spreadsheet of sample entries from Shotwick's parish registers, 1681-1702.
    ${ }^{57}$ Smith \& Lockwood, Latin-English Dictionary, p322.
    ${ }^{58}$ Baptised 11 October 1698, buried 28 October 1698.
    ${ }^{59}$ John and Grace Jones, son and daughter of John Jones of Shotwick, baptised on 5 March 1698, both survived infancy.
    ${ }^{60}$ Baptised 19 April 1699; buried 30 July 1699.
    ${ }^{61}$ Baptised 30 March 1699; buried 5 April 1699.

[^61]:    ${ }^{62}$ James Woodforde, A Country Parson: Diary 1759-1802 (London: Tiger Books International, 1991), p24.
    ${ }^{63}$ Monday's entry reveals that Mary was acquitted of infanticide. Nothing is said about the trauma she must have experienced appearing in court so soon after giving birth to a dead or terminally ill child.
    ${ }^{64}$ Reaney, A Dictionary of British Surnames, $2^{\text {nd }}$ edition (London: Routledge \& Kegan Paul, 1977), p223.
    ${ }^{65}$ Though unprovable, this theory is not beyond the realms of possibility, since William had forged a powerful alliance with Flanders by marrying Matilda, daughter of its Count (Baldwin V), some sixteen years before the Conquest. One of his attacking sections at the Battle of Hastings was composed of Franco-Flemish soldiers, and Gherbod the Fleming briefly served as Earl of Chester after the Conquest before the earldom was transferred to the Conqueror's nephew, Hugh d'Avranches. Richard Wood, William I(Hove: Wayland), p8. Grant, Kings and Queens, p118. Richard Holmes, 'Where Harold Met William', Heritage Today, March 2005, p35. Harris, Cheshire Rulers, p1.

[^62]:    ${ }^{66}$ Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp76-83. Ellison, Wirral, pp142-3. Young, Wirral, p93. Mayer, Shotwick Church, pp77-79. Brack, Wirral, p163. Sulley, Wirral, p110. Ormerod, History, pp562-564. Joseph Hockenhull, esquire, and Mrs Elizabeth Hockenhull, widow, are listed on p6 of Appendix Six: Spreadsheet of sample data from Shotwick's parish registers, 1681-1702. CCALS holds the wills of Ralph Hockenhull, 1556 (CCALS, EDA 2/1, WS 1556 and MF 164/1 p341; see photocopy overleaf), Joseph Hockenhull, 1680; John Hockenhull, 1685; William Hockenhull, 1697; and Elizabeth Hockenhull, 1703.
    ${ }^{67}$ Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp98-107. Lowe, Saughall and Shotwick Park, p8. Ormerod, History, p564. See also Appendix Eight, p28, Memorials I and M.
    ${ }^{68}$ JHE Bennett, The Nevitt and Nevitt-Bennett family of Great Saughall, Shotwick and Chester, CCALS, DBE Bennett Collection, History of the Bennett Family, Book 8, MF 92/2, pp33-65. Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp87-97. Brack, Wirral, p163. Ormerod, History, pp563-564. CCALS, EDT 356/1: Tithe Apportionment. See also Appendix Eight, Memorials 68, 247, B, D, E and H.
    ${ }^{69}$ A pamphlet printed in London in 1676 , when she was seventy-six, promises its readers 'A brief narrative of a strange and wonderful old woman, that hath a pair of horns upon her head, giving a true account how they have several times after their being shed grown again. Declaring the place of her birth, her education and conversation; with the first occasion of their growth, the time of their continuance, and where she is now to be seen, viz at the sign of the Swan near Charing Cross.' Cited by Mayer, Shotwick Church, pp82-83, and Ellison, Wirrral, pp147-148. See also: A Stuart, Saughall, $\mathrm{pp2} 2$; and Scholes, Towns and Villages, p141. Mary Davies disappears from records after 1676, though two of her horns are preserved at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and the British Museum in London. She may have returned to Great Saughall after her London adventures, but is not mentioned in the early parish registers. A number of other women named Mary Davies lived in the parish in later years. Mary, daughter of John Davies of Saughall Magna, was baptised on 15 October 1697 [see Appendix Six, pl]. Mary, wife of Samuel Davies of Willeston, died on 5 May 1877 (Appendix Eight, p4, Memorial 39.6). Mary, wife of John Davies of Shotwick, died on 30 November 1881 (Appendix Eight, pl1, Memorial 139.3). The Shotwick Mary may have been the same Mary Davies listed on the 1848 Shotwick Tithe Apportionment (CCALS, EDT, 335/1] as a tenant of John Nevitt-Bennett's, renting a cottage and garden, arable fields at The Butts, pasture in Gorsty Field and Long Croft and hayfields in Lloyds Garden, Intake, Dale Croft and Croft Back of Wood (plots 66, 67, 69, 86, 96, 100, 108, 109, and 110; see Map 7 and Appendix Ten: Spreadsheet of Data from Shotwick Tithe Apportionment). Since Davies is a common surname and was only acquired by the adult Marys on marriage, none of them can be regarded as the horned woman's descendants. Young Mary Davies of Saughall Magna may, however, have been her grand-daughter or great-grand-daughter.
    ${ }^{70}$ See photograph on p64.
    ${ }^{71}$ Reaney, British Surnames, p377.

[^63]:    ${ }^{72}$ See Appendix Five: Spreadsheet of data collected from memorials, 23.1-23.9.
    ${ }^{73}$ A Stuart, Saughall: A Social History, p58.

[^64]:    ${ }^{74}$ Memorials 11.2 (Mary Roberts, wife of John Roberts, d.1860); 120 \& 121 (see main text above); 162 (Henry \& Prudence Roberts of Saughall, d. 1861 \& 1862); 193 (John jnr, James, John snr, Ann \& Jemima Roberts of Woodbank, d. 1821-1859); 205 (Jane, William, Ann \& Sarah Roberts, d. 18221879); 249 (Mary \& John Richard Roberts of Shotwick, d. 1930 \& 1948); 255 (Jane Cash, John \& Rosa Cash Roberts, d. 1922-1944); 261 (Thomas, Jane, Mary \& Samuel Rogers Roberts, of Two Mills Farm, Shotwick, d. 1888-1928); 269 (Anne Roberts, widow of David Roberts of Liverpool, d. 1888); 311 (Glynne Ewart \& Phyllis Roberts, d. 1974 \& 1999); 312 (Clifford William \& Ora Roberts, d. 1974 \& 1981); 313 (Patricia Roberts, d.1976); 330 (Catherine \& Henry William Roberts, d. 1961 \& 1963); 354 (Richard Roberts, d. 1890). See Appendix Eight.
    ${ }^{75}$ See Appendix Eight, Memorial 120, shared by Samuel and Elizabeth Roberts.
    ${ }^{76}$ CCALS, MF 91/24, WR18, p670.
    ${ }^{77}$ Samuel Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County Palatine of Chester Sheffield, 1850), p660. Post Office Directory of Cheshire (London: Kelly \& Co, 1857), pp209-210.
    ${ }_{78}{ }^{78}$ CCALS, P49/7/2:Churchwardens' Accounts, 1837-1896.
    ${ }^{79}$ The elder Samuel Roberts' principal heir was his eldest son, Samuel. CCALS, MF124, WR18, p670.
    ${ }^{80}$ CCALS, P49/8: Woodbank National School Logbook.

[^65]:    ${ }^{81}$ Memorials 158 (Richard Maddock of Great Saughall, d. 1852, aged 55); Memorial 357 (Alice ${ }_{82}$ Maddock of Great Saughall, d. 1882, aged 88). Neither is described as the adjunct of any family. ${ }^{82}$ CCALS, WS 1731 . See photocopy of will overleaf.

[^66]:    ${ }^{83}$ His younger son, James, a glazier in Chester, received $£ 15$ and his other daughter, Margaret, a widow of Shotwick, $£ 18$.
    ${ }^{84}$ CCALS, WS 1747: Will of Thomas Maddock, Mariner, Shotwick, 1747.

[^67]:    ${ }^{85}$ See Table 8: Thomas Maddock's Tithe Map holdings on p115, and Appendix Ten: Shotwick Tithe Map Apportionment.
    ${ }^{86}$ Bagshaw's Directory, 1850, p661. Kelly's Directory, 1857, p210.
    ${ }^{87}$ CCALS, P49/7/2: Churchwardens' Accounts, 1837-1896.
    ${ }^{88}$ UK servicemen killed on home soil were generally returned to their families for burial, but during the First World War the RAF did not consider this practical for overseas officers. Conversation with RAF expert Tony Pritchard, 29 September 2005.
    ${ }^{89}$ The United States declared war on Germany on 6 April 1917. Castleden, World History, p512.
    ${ }^{90}$ At the time, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand were all part of the British Commonwealth.
    ${ }^{91}$ Aldon P Ferguson, A History of Royal Air Force Sealand (Liverpool: Merseyside Aviation Society Ltd, 1978), pp10-12. The pilots account for ten of the thirteen burials at Shotwick between February and November 1918. CCALS. P49/4832/3 \& MF 335/1: Register of burials, 1904-1992. See Appendix Eleven: Documentation relating to the airmen buried at Shotwick.
    ${ }^{92}$ CCALS, P49/3351/2: Licence for removal of remains of USA airman Frank J Williams killed at aerodrome and buried in Shotwick in 1918, dated 1920.
    ${ }^{93}$ See list of Casualty Cards under the RAF Museum Hendon heading in the Bibliography, and sample photocopy in Appendix Eleven.
    ${ }^{94}$ See Table 9: Airmen buried at Shotwick on preceding page.
    ${ }^{95}$ David Ogilvy, The Shuttleworth Collection (Shrewsbury: Airlife Publishing Ltd, 1994), chapters 3 \& 6 (pages unnumbered).

[^68]:    ${ }^{96}$ Correspondence and conversations with Tony Pritchard, May-September 2005.
    ${ }^{97}$ E-mails and conversations with Dale Hanson-Walker, Leonard Morange's great-niece.
    ${ }^{98}$ Casualty Card: FS Form 558: Lt Leonard Sowersby Morange Casualty Card; Casualty Card: FS Form 559: Lt Leonard Sowersby Morange.
    ${ }^{99}$ Henry Nettleton (ed), Yale in the World War 1914-1918, vol one (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p292. Yale College, History of the Class of Nineteen Hundred and Eighteen Yale College, vol 1 (Yale, Class Secretaries Bureau, 1918), pp27-29. Yale College, A Memorial to the Men of the Yale College Class of 1918 Who Died in the Service of Their Country 1917-1918 (New Haven, 1918), pp248-249.

[^69]:    ${ }^{100}$ Mayer, Shotwick Church, p78. Morant, Monastic and Collegiate Cheshire, p17. Sulley, Wirral, pl11. Mortimer, Wirral, p25.
    ${ }^{101}$ See Appendix Nine: List of Parishioners' Wills.
    ${ }^{102}$ Richards, Old Cheshire Churches, pp302-303. Ormerod, History, p265.
    ${ }^{103}$ Discussed in Chapter Two: Heritage, p57, footnote 14.
    ${ }^{104}$ The admonition of his will is deposited with CCALS [CCALS, WS 1818]. It contains the usual exhortation to his executors - Elizabeth Ward of Neston, Frances Mary Ward of Neston and William Davenport of Chester - to make a true and exact inventory of his possessions. Unfortunately, neither the inventory nor the will itself is among CCALS's archives.
    ${ }^{105}$ Cheshire Federation of Women's Institutes, Cheshire Village Book, p201. Scholes, p141. Ellison, Wirral, p137. CCALS, DBE MF 92/12: Birkenhead and Chester Advertiser, Saturday November 29, 1952.

[^70]:    ${ }^{106}$ CCALS, WS 1587.
    ${ }^{107}$ Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp32-34. Richards, Old Cheshire Churches, p298.
    ${ }^{108}$ Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp32-34. Richards, Old Cheshire Churches, p298.
    ${ }^{109}$ Including land in Woodbank, messuages, tenements, lands and premises. CCALS, WS 1738.
    ${ }^{110}$ Hanah Yarley, wife of a Shropshire husbandman. CCALS, WS 1738.
    ${ }^{111}$ Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp159-161.

[^71]:    ${ }_{112}^{112}$ CCALS, P49/8: Woodbank National School Logbook.
    ${ }^{113}$ CCALS, MF 335/1: Shotwick Parish Registers.
    ${ }^{114}$ CCALS, MF 91/75, WR77 p438.

[^72]:    ${ }^{115}$ CCALS, P49/3351/3: Specifications and estimates no.s $1 \& 2$ for the restoration of a ring of three bells, dated 12 November 1928. Report on condition of bells. Correspondence concerning bells, dated 31 August 1934.
    ${ }_{116}^{116}$ MF 91/75, WR77, p280.
    ${ }^{117}$ See Appendix Twelve: Holland's diaries.
    ${ }_{118}^{11}$ Memorial 153.1, died 1860, aged nineteen.
    ${ }_{129}^{119}$ Presumably, working for Inland Revenue was regarded as a high-status career by rural parishioners.
    ${ }^{120}$ Memorial 25, died 1817, aged forty-four.
    ${ }^{121}$ No relatives are mentioned on his memorial, and his surname is shared by no other parishioners of his generation.
    ${ }^{122}$ Memorial 98.1, died 1834, aged thirty-one.

[^73]:    ${ }^{123}$ See Appendix Nine.
    ${ }^{124}$ William Shepperd, will proved 1664. CCALS, WS 1664.
    ${ }^{125}$ John Young, will proved 1665. CCALS, WS 1665.
    ${ }^{126}$ Thomas Maddock senior (d.1731), John Massey (d. 1746), Thomas Maddock junior (d. 1747), William Hughes (d. 1761
    ${ }^{127}$ John Griffiths, will proved 1818. CCALS, WS 1818.
    ${ }^{128}$ Thomas Inglefield, will proved 1839. CCALS, WS 1839.
    ${ }^{129}$ Theodore Cottingham, will proved 1850. CCALS, WS 1850.
    ${ }^{130}$ Eric Rideout, The Growth of Wirral (Liverpool: 1927), pl 03.
    ${ }^{131}$ For instance, Manor Farm (Memorial 231), Two Mills Farm, Shotwick (Memorial 261); Two Mills Farm, Puddington (Memorials 232, 233 \& 251); Bank Farm (Memorials 305 \& G); \& Green Lane Farm, Sealand (Memorial 367).
    ${ }^{132}$ Hodson, Cheshire 1660-1780, p65.
    ${ }^{133}$ CCALS, P49/8: Logbook of Woodbank National School, 1871-1909.
    ${ }_{134}^{134}$ CCALS, P49/8: Logbook, entry for 8 January 1906.
    ${ }^{135}$ See entries for 16 and 18 January 1871.
    ${ }^{136}$ According to Inspectors' reports throughout the log-book, as well as frequent comments by the teachers themselves.

[^74]:    ${ }^{137}$ Possibly related to the Shones commemorated on Memorials $172,173,349$ \& 362.

[^75]:    ${ }^{1}$ Surveying St Michael's churchyard single-handed, for instance, took me only three months' worth of weekends, despite work, family commitments and frequently inclement weather. At a similar pace it should easily be possible for one person to survey 1,000 memorials a year (roughly two moderately sized country churchyards) while holding down a full-time job, or 4,000 to 5,000 (approximately ten country churchyards) a year if surveying full-time.

[^76]:    ${ }^{1}$ Morgan, Domesday Book: Cheshire, folio 263b, A12.
    ${ }^{2}$ Eilert Ekwall, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names (Oxford: Oxford Unversity Press, fourth edition, 1960), p420.
    ${ }^{3}$ Dodgson, The Place-Names of Cheshire, Part Four, pp206-207.
    ${ }^{4}$ J McN Dodgson, The Place-Names of Cheshire, Part Five, Section 1 :ii, English Place-Name Society Volume LIV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp332, 229 and 386-387.
    ${ }^{5}$ See, for instance, Burnley, Wirral, p144; and Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, p117-120.
    ${ }^{6}$ Ekwall, English Place-Names, p489.
    ${ }_{8}^{7}$ EV Gordon, An Introduction to Old Norse (Oxford: Oxford University Press), $2{ }^{\text {nd }}$ edition, 1981, p396.
    ${ }^{8}$ Dodgson, Part Five Section 1:ii.
    ${ }^{9}$ Barrie Cox, The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Part Three, English Place-Name Society Volume LXXXI (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, 2004). JEB Gover, Allen Mawer \& FM Stenton, The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire, English Place-Name Society Volume XVII (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, 1940, reprinted 1999).

[^77]:    ${ }^{10}$ Anne Savage \& Christopher Pick (transl/ed), The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (London: Papermac, 1984), pl06.
    ${ }^{11}$ Stephen Harding, Ingimund's Saga: Norwegian Wirral, Birkenhead: Countyvise Ltd, 2000; Vanessa Greatorex, 'The Polyglot Peninsula', Cheshire Life, March 2004, p188.
    ${ }^{12}$ George Lee Fenwick, A History of the Ancient City of Chester from the Earliest Times (Chester: Phillipson \& Golder, 1896), p84.
    ${ }^{13}$ Putta, (ing)tun, burh and ness. Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, pp214, 211-212, 222223. Greatorex, p190.
    ${ }^{14}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p223. Greatorex, p192.
    ${ }^{15}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, pp276-277. Greatorex, p192.
    ${ }^{16}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, p228. Greatorex, p191.
    ${ }_{18}^{17}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, pp296-298. Greatorex, p191.
    ${ }^{18}$ Dodgson, Cheshire Place-Names, Part Four, pp257-258. Greatorex, p191.

[^78]:    ${ }^{19}$ Harding, Ingimund's Saga, p40. Vanessa Greatorex, 'The Polyglot Peninsula', Cheshire Life, March 2004, pl90.
    ${ }^{20}$ Burnley, Wirral, p144.
    ${ }^{21}$ Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed), Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales (London: Centaur Press Ltd, 1964), vol 3 (part VI, 1536-1539), p91.

[^79]:    ${ }^{22}$ CCALS, P49/1/1: Early Registers, transcribed by Estelle Dyke, 1932.
    ${ }^{23}$ Morgan, DB Cheshire, folios 268a: S3; 268b: S1 \& S2. Tim Strickland, Roman Middlewich (Middlewich: Roman Middlewich Project, 2001), pp34-37. Greatorex, 'What's in a Name: Nantwich', Cheshire Life, November 2003, pp224-227. Greatorex, 'Muddle in the Middle', Cheshire Life, January 2005, pp210-213.

[^80]:    ${ }^{1}$ Transcribed on Saturday 8 September 2005 from notices beside the gates of the Church of St James the Great, Ince, in the parish of Thornton-le-Moor with Ince and Elton, on the Mersey side of the Wirral peninsula.

[^81]:    ${ }^{1}$ CCALS, P49/1/1: Early Registers, transcribed by Estelle Dyke, 1932.
    ${ }^{2}$ Munby, Dates and Time, pp20 \& 22. John E Morby, The Wordsworth Handbook of Kings and Queens (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 1994), p71.

[^82]:    ${ }^{1}$ CCALS, P49/1/1: Early Registers, transcribed by Estelle Dyke, 1932.
    ${ }^{2}$ Munby, Dates and Time, pp20 \& 22. Morby, Handbook of Kings and Queens, p71.
    ${ }^{3}$ Rodney Castleden, British History: A Chronological Dictionary of Dates (London: Parragon Books Service Ltd, 1994), p159.
    ${ }^{4}$ Ralph Houlbrooke, 'The Age of Decency: 1660-1760' in Jupp \& Gittings, Death in England, p175.

[^83]:    ${ }^{1}$ Beazley, Shotwick, pp39-42.
    ${ }^{2}$ See details of John Carter Curate in the section on incumbents in Chapter Three: Society.

[^84]:    ${ }^{1}$ Jack Ayres, Paupers and Pig Killers: The Diary of William Holland, A Somerset Parson, 1799-1818 (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1984). All spellings and punctuation in this and the following quotations conform to Ayres' editing.
    ${ }^{2}$ In fact, Holland's blow was arguably more devastating that Reay's: the four Holland children died from scarlet fever within a fortnight of each other [Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p9], whereas Reay's two sons survived to their twenties, though both his daughters died at the age of one [Appendix Eight, Memorial 97.5).
    ${ }^{3}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p135.
    ${ }^{4}$ Beazley, Notes on Shotwick, pp159-161.

[^85]:    ${ }^{5}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p17.
    ${ }^{6}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p23.
    ${ }^{7}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p28.

[^86]:    ${ }^{8}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p 276.
    ${ }^{9}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p215.
    ${ }^{10}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p24.
    ${ }^{11}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p29.

[^87]:    ${ }^{12} 8$ December 1799: '...A burial this morning but the Coroner first to have a sight of the corpse...' It is only from the parish register that it becomes apparent that the deceased was an infant child, Harriet Palmer. Ayres, Diary of William Holland, pp21 \& 306.
    ${ }^{13}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p112.
    ${ }_{14}^{14}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p135.
    ${ }^{15}$ The Allens are mentioned many times in Holland's diary, and the frequency with which they entertain and are entertained by the Hollands indicates that they were regarded as social equals - in other words, a cut above the majority of Holland's parishioners. GIVE REFS

[^88]:    ${ }^{16}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p261.
    ${ }^{17}$ His daughter Margaret survived the outbreak of scarlet fever which carried off her siblings in 1795, and another son was born 1797, when Holland's wife was forty-seven. ${ }^{17}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p9.
    ${ }^{18}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p250.

[^89]:    ${ }^{19}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p251.
    ${ }^{20}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p253.
    ${ }^{21}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p253.
    ${ }^{22}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, p254.

[^90]:    ${ }^{23}$ In Phoebe Dyer's case this was not a calamity. Her husband was an industrious man whose manual skills and transportation services were in demand by several local employers, including the Hollands. Her temporary part-time return to the Hollands' household during Charlotte's illness was clearly motivated more by a desire to help her former employers than by a need to become the breadwinner. ${ }^{24}$ Ayres, Diary of William Holland, entry for Friday 21 January 1814, p259.

