

The Real Monarch's Way through Stourbridge

A reappraisal of Charles II's escape route

by

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Introduction

The Battle of Worcester, which took place on 3rd September 1651, marked the culmination of the English Civil War. It is not the intention of this article to discuss the conflict other than to say that Royalist forces were defeated and, to avoid capture, the future Charles II,¹ then aged just 21, was forced to flee via Worcester's St. Martin's Gate.² After a halt at Barbourne Bridge, about half a mile from the town, it was decided that the King's party should ride north to seek refuge in Scotland. This plan was to change as circumstances developed, but Charles and many of his defeated troops initially took the "high road that goes to Lancashire".³ This road is today marked by the A449 which passes near Ombersley and Hartlebury on its way to Kidderminster. It is almost certainly the same ancient highway that led to Chester, also later known as The Great Irish Road. It skirted Kidderminster, passed through Broadwaters, Cookley, Kinver and Enville — indeed the name 'Chester Road' is preserved today in both Kidderminster and Enville — then proceeded north towards Sutton Maddock near Telford.⁴

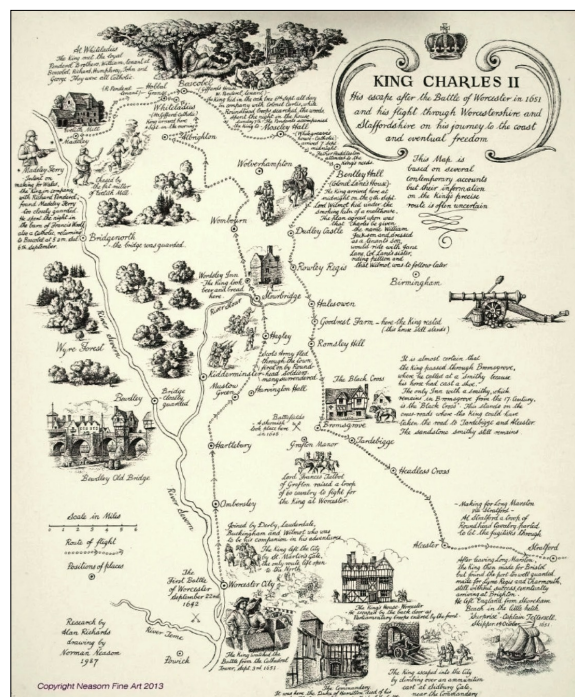
At some point, the King and about 60 of his most trusted men departed from this route (and from the main body of defeated Royalist troops who continued on northwards) and took a right turn which would eventually lead them through, or near to, Stourbridge and Wordsley. There is some disagreement amongst historians about where this turning was, and this will be addressed below. From Wordsley, however, it appears the King's party left the district northwards via what is now the A491 towards Wombourne, eventually to arrive at a residence of the Giffard family named White Ladies Priory near Boscobel House (about two miles north of Albrighton).

This was only the first chapter in the long story of the King's escape. Several books discuss the episode at length,⁵ but some details of his journey are not universally agreed. The King's route near Stourbridge is one such detail.

Unfortunately an influential, yet demonstrably incorrect, interpretation of Charles' route — suggesting that he went through Chaddesley Corbett and Hagley — has been published and even commemorated in the form of artistic maps on posters, tea towels and other "gift-shop wares" (see fig. 1 opposite).

More confusingly, perhaps, is the fact that there is now a national footpath, named the Monarch's Way. This footpath, established in 1994, is purported to follow, as far as practicable, the King's route. Its literature does make it clear that certain deviations from the route are inevitable, but the expectation is that the Monarch's Way closely follows the King's actual route. South of Stourbridge, however, there are some very significant discrepancies.

Fig. 1. An unsubstantiated route through Chaddesley Corbett, Mustow Green and Hagley depicted on an art-work map.⁶



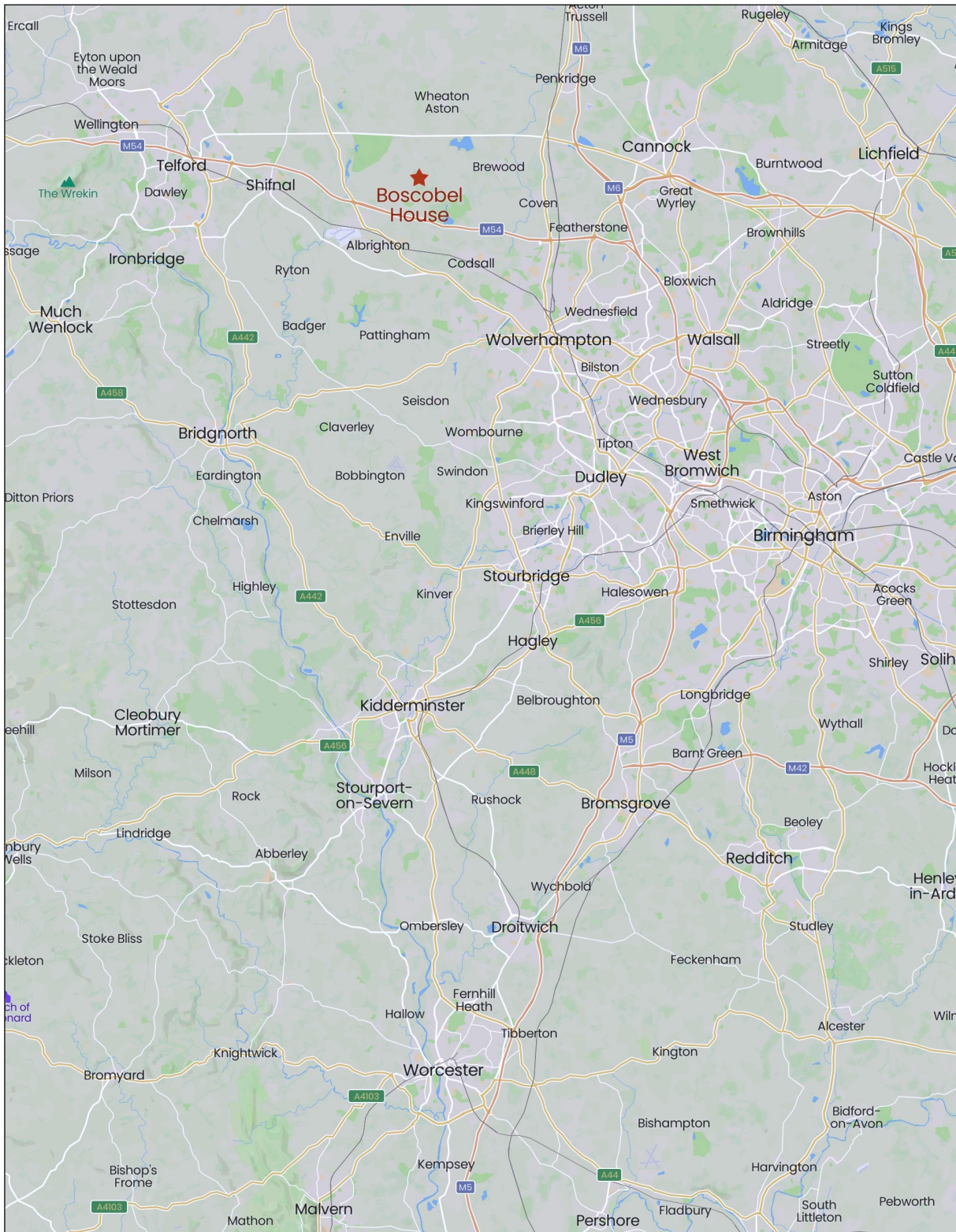


Fig 2. Modern digital map of the study area.⁷

An overview of the area's modern-day geography is given in fig. 2 (above). Although, the map extends from Worcester in the south (the start of the King's journey) to Boscobel House, which lay close to the King's first hiding place at White Ladies Priory, we are primarily concerned here with his route near Kidderminster, Kinver and Stourbridge in the centre of the map. Fig. 3 (overleaf) illustrates, in more detail, the various routeways under discussion.

Willis-Bund's account, 1905

Much of the confusion seems to have stemmed from the analysis of the King's route, published by the respected historian J. W. Willis-Bund.⁸ In 1905 he wrote:

At Barbourne Bridge Charles had to decide what he would do. He says he was anxious to go to London, but he was dissuaded by his friends from doing this. There were a large number of fugitives, including most of the Scotch horse, who had refused to fight when wanted, and when not wanted would not leave the King. Charles had difficulty in shaking them off. They all went on together through Ombersley to Hartlebury. There, where the Stourbridge road turns off the right from the Kidderminster road, Charles, with Wilmot, the Duke of Buckingham, and a few others, left the mass of fugitives to go on to Kidderminster, and turned down through Chaddesley Corbett parish, past Hagley and Pedmore, to Stourbridge... At Stourbridge there was a troop of Parliament horse, but they were not keeping any look out and Charles was able to get by without causing an alarm. From Stourbridge he went on to Kinver and there got into Staffordshire.

Willis-Bund goes on to say that it was fortunate that the King turned right off the main road as the men that went through Kidderminster “*woke up the townsmen as they went through*”. He then quotes the words of a Kidderminster resident named Richard Baxter:

“I was newly gone to bed when the noise of the flying horse acquainted me with the overthrow and a few of one of Cromwell's troops that guarded Bewdley Bridge, having tidings of it, came into our street and stood in the open market place, before my door, to surprise them that passed by. And so when many hundreds of the flying army came together, when the 30 troopers cried ‘stand’ and fired at them, they either hasted away or cried quarter, not knowing in the dark the number it was that charged. And so as many were taken there as so few men could lay hold on, and till midnight the bullets flying towards my door and windows, and the sorrowful fugitives hastening by for their lives, did tell me of the calamitousness of war.”

before ending his description with the comment:

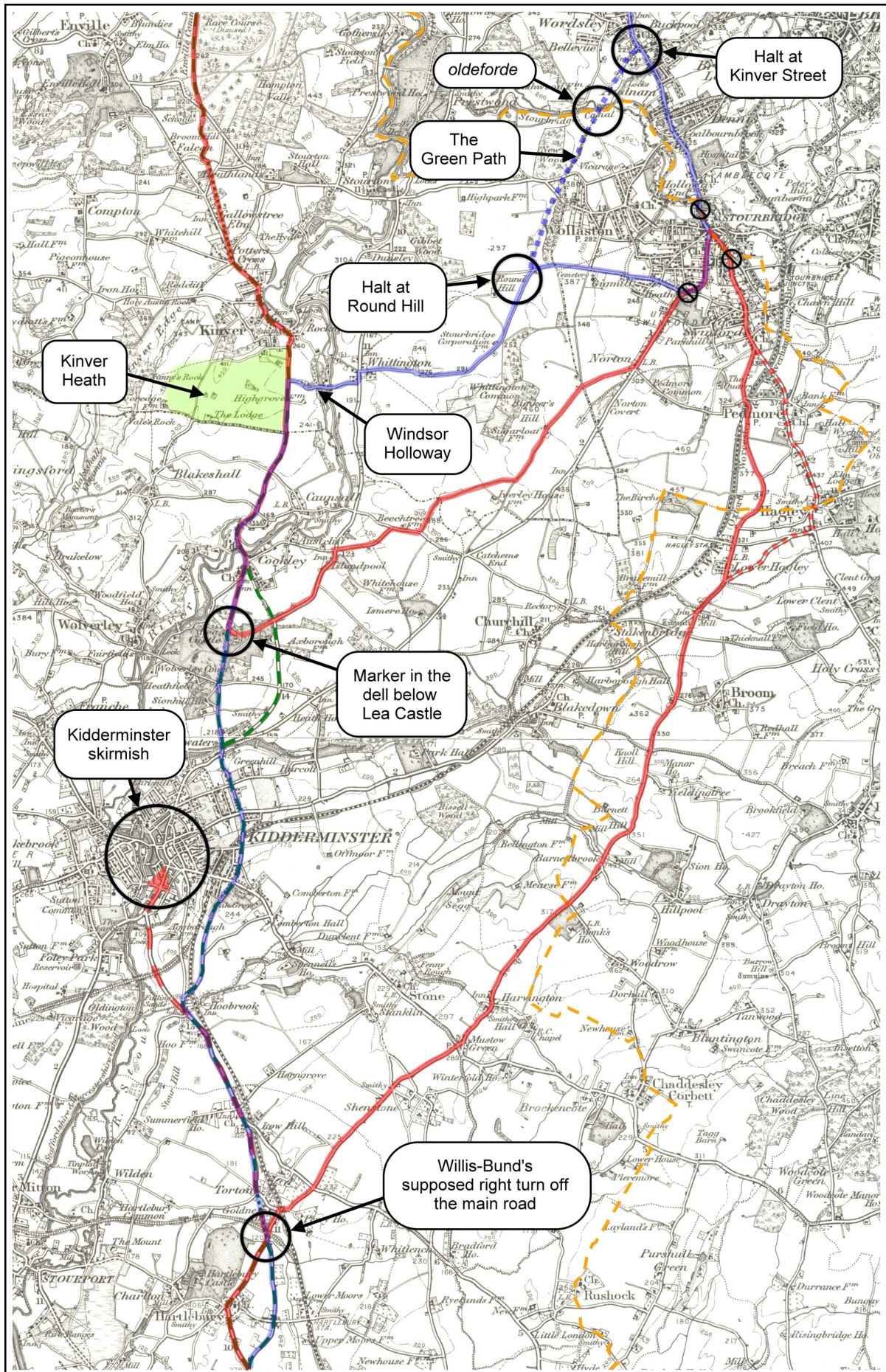
The usually accepted version, which agrees with Charles' own account, is that he passed through Stourbridge, but a place is shown at Wolverley, in the dell below the bank on which lea castle stands, as the precise spot over which Charles crossed [from Stourbridge] on his way to Kinver and Boscobel.

That final paragraph suggests that Willis-Bund recognises an inconsistency in this route as it would require the King's party to have doubled back from Stourbridge to Wolverley before turning north again along the Chester Road towards Boscobel. If the King had not doubled back, the supposed route would have him missing the documented (or likely) route markers at Lea Castle near Wolverley,⁹ Kinver Heath¹⁰ and Round Hill south-west of Wollaston¹¹ yet if he *had* doubled back (as depicted in fig. 3) the King could not have stopped at a house a mile beyond (north of) Stourbridge, as recorded in Thomas Blount's (almost) contemporary account of these events:

*At a house about a mile beyond Sturbridge, his majesty drank and ate a crust of bread, the house affording no better provision.*¹²

Although the precise location of the stop isn't recorded by Blount it appears to have been in Wordsley near the junction of the High Street and Kinver Street.¹³

The confusion stems essentially from Willis-Bund's assumption that the King had previously turned off to the right from the main road before reaching Kidderminster (i.e. at Hartlebury) taking him through Harvington (near Chaddesley Corbett), Broom, Hagley, Oldswinford and on to Stourbridge. All-in-all, there seems to be too many inconsistencies to accept Willis-Bund's interpretation in its entirety as to do so would have Charles making his escape along a very unlikely route, zig-zagging east then west, then south and finally north towards Boscobel.



A reassessment of Charles' route

To reconstruct Charles' escape route in the vicinity of Stourbridge, we have to go back to contemporary sources and treat later interpretations with caution. Unfortunately only two 17th-century records of the route near Stourbridge survive. The details they provide are meagre, but they can be supplemented by later sources which have drawn upon oral traditions as well as knowledge of the local landscape.

The first document we have is said to have been dictated by Charles II himself:

...But we had such a number of beaten men with us, of the horse, that I strove, as soon as ever it was dark, to get from them...

So we, that is, my Lord Duke of Buckingham, Lauderdale, Derby, Wilmot, Tom Blague, Duke Darcy, and several others of my servants, went along northwards towards Scotland; and at last we got about sixty that were gentlemen and officers, and slipt away out of the high roads that goes to Lancastershire, and kept on the right hand, letting all the beaten men go along the great road, and ourselves not knowing very well which way to go, for it was then too late for us to get to London on horseback, riding directly for it; nor could we do it, because there was yet many people of quality with us that I could not get rid of.

So we rode through a town short of Woolverhampton, betwixt that and Worcester, and went through, there lying a troop of the enemies there that night. We rode very quietly through the town, they having nobody to watch, nor they suspecting us no more than we did them, which I learned afterwards from a country fellow.

*We went that night about twenty miles, to a place called White Ladys, hard by Tong Castle, by the advice of Mr Giffard...*¹⁴

Presumably the town mentioned in the penultimate paragraph is Stourbridge (as implied by Blount; see below), but the King's own account is not clear on this point. The "*high road that goes to Lancastershire*" is probably the ancient Bristol-to-Chester road which skirted Kidderminster, and then ran, via Broadwaters, Sion Hill, Lea Castle and Cookley onto Kinver Heath before continuing north via Kinver village and Enville. This route can be traced today along Chester Road South and Chester Road North east of Kidderminster, the main south-north estate road of Lea Castle estate, the bridge at Cookley, Kinver Road in Cookley (in Wolverley parish), Cookley Road in Kinver, and then along Chester Road (*Chestreway* in 1300) which lies along the Kinver-Enville parish boundary.

That the party followed the Chester Road is supported by John Noake who, in 1856, wrote:

*At Wolverley, in the dell upon the brink of which lea Castle stands, is still shown the spot over which the King crossed on his way to Kinfare and Boscobel.*¹⁵

The Chester Road seems originally to have run through the Lea Castle estate and on to Cookley. It is not clear when it became diverted along the modern A449, but the portion running through the Lea Castle estate still survives today.

Fig. 3 (facing page). Map¹⁶ depicting routes and places discussed in the text. The red solid line represents the route suggested by Willis-Bund (1905), which would require the King to have doubled back at Stourbridge. The broken red line represents those Royalist troops that proceeded into Kidderminster town centre. The blue line is the more likely course of Charles' route (partly traced by Bede in 1856)¹⁷ via the ancient Chester Road (aka The Great Irish Road) through Kinver Heath. The small barred circles represent the approximate locations of Stourbridge's medieval town gates which seem to have existed into the late 17th century.¹⁸

Our second, and more detailed, 17th-century account is that published by Thomas Blount in 1660:

Before his majesty was come to Barbon's bridge, about half a mile out of Worcester, he made several stands, faced about, and desired the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Wilmot, and other of his commanders, that they might rally and try the fortune of war once more. But at the bridge a serious consultation was held; and then perceiving many of the troopers to throw off their arms and shift for themselves, they were all of the opinion the day was irrecoverably lost, and that their only remaining work was to save the king...

Immediately after this result, the duke asked the Lord Talbot (being of that country) if he could direct the way northwards. His lordship answered, that he had one Richard Walker in his troop (formerly a scout-master in those parts, and who since died in Jamaica) that knew the way well, who was accordingly called to be the guide, and performed that duty for some miles; but being come to Kinver-heath, not far from Kederminster, and daylight being gone, Walker was at a puzzle in the way.

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The Lord Talbot being made acquainted therewith, and finding Walker dubious of the way, called for Mr Charles Giffard (a faithful subject, and of the ancient family of Chillington) to be his majesty's conductor, which office Mr Giffard willingly undertook, having one Yates a servant with him, very expert in the ways of that country; and being come near Sturbridge, it was under consideration whether his majesty should march through that town or no, and resolved in the affirmative, and that all about his person should speak French, to prevent any discovery of his majesty's presence.

Meantime General Lesley, with the Scottish horse, had, taken the more direct way northward, by Newport, his majesty being left only attended by the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Derby, Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Talbot, Lord Wilmot, Colonel Thomas Blague, Colonel Edward Roscarrock, Mr Marmaduke Darcy, Mr Richard Lane, Mr William Armorer (since knighted), Mr Hugh May, Mr Charles Giffard, Mr Peter Street, and some others, in all about sixty horse.

At a house about a mile beyond Sturbridge, his majesty drank and ate a crust of bread, the house affording no better provision; and as his majesty rode on, he discoursed with Colonel Roscarrock touching Boscobel House...

However, Mr Giffard humbly proposed to carry his majesty first to White Ladies (another seat of the Giffards), lying but half a mile beyond Boscobel...

Clearly the King's party of sixty men arrived at Kinver Heath after dark and it was only at that point that they decided to make for Stourbridge, the rest of the "Scottish horse" apparently continuing northwards along the Chester Road.

In the 19th century, a researcher named Cuthbert Bede published the results of his own investigations which were based upon local oral traditions as well as written historical sources. In relation to Charles' route past Kidderminster and on to Kinver Heath, he wrote:

*...they would proceed by Chester Lane [now named Chester Road South and Chester Road North, just east of Kidderminster town], and Green Hill to Broadwaters. From thence up the Black Hill, past Sion Hill...and across Lea Castle Park, where the particular dell down which they rode is still pointed out. This would bring them straight to the Hay Bridge, by which they would cross the river Stour... There is no public road over the Hay Bridge and its existence is unknown even to many who live within a few miles of it... From the Hay Bridge and Gloucester Hill, the king's party would ride by Blakeshall to the heath on Kinver Edge...*¹⁹

In addition to the Hay Bridge which lies just west of Cookley village, a second bridge to the north-west has probably existed for several centuries; there is no way of knowing which of the two bridges Charles crossed. It is not clear, either, why his party would have travelled as far west as Blakeshall, since the main Chester Road (i.e., in the King's words, the "high road that goes to Lancastershire") lay along the eastern edge of Kinver Heath abutting old enclosures (fields) between Cookley Lane and the Stour (see fig. 4).²⁰

Despite these minor uncertainties, it is very likely indeed that the party ended up on Kinver Heath, probably near the present Cookley Lane, which lies along, or very close to, the old Chester Road. Moreover, contrary to Willis-Bund's interpretation, this is most probably the place at which the King turned right off the main road (i.e. at Kinver Heath rather than Hartlebury). His party must have ridden along either Horse Bridge Lane or Windsor Holloway (the section west of the Stour was almost

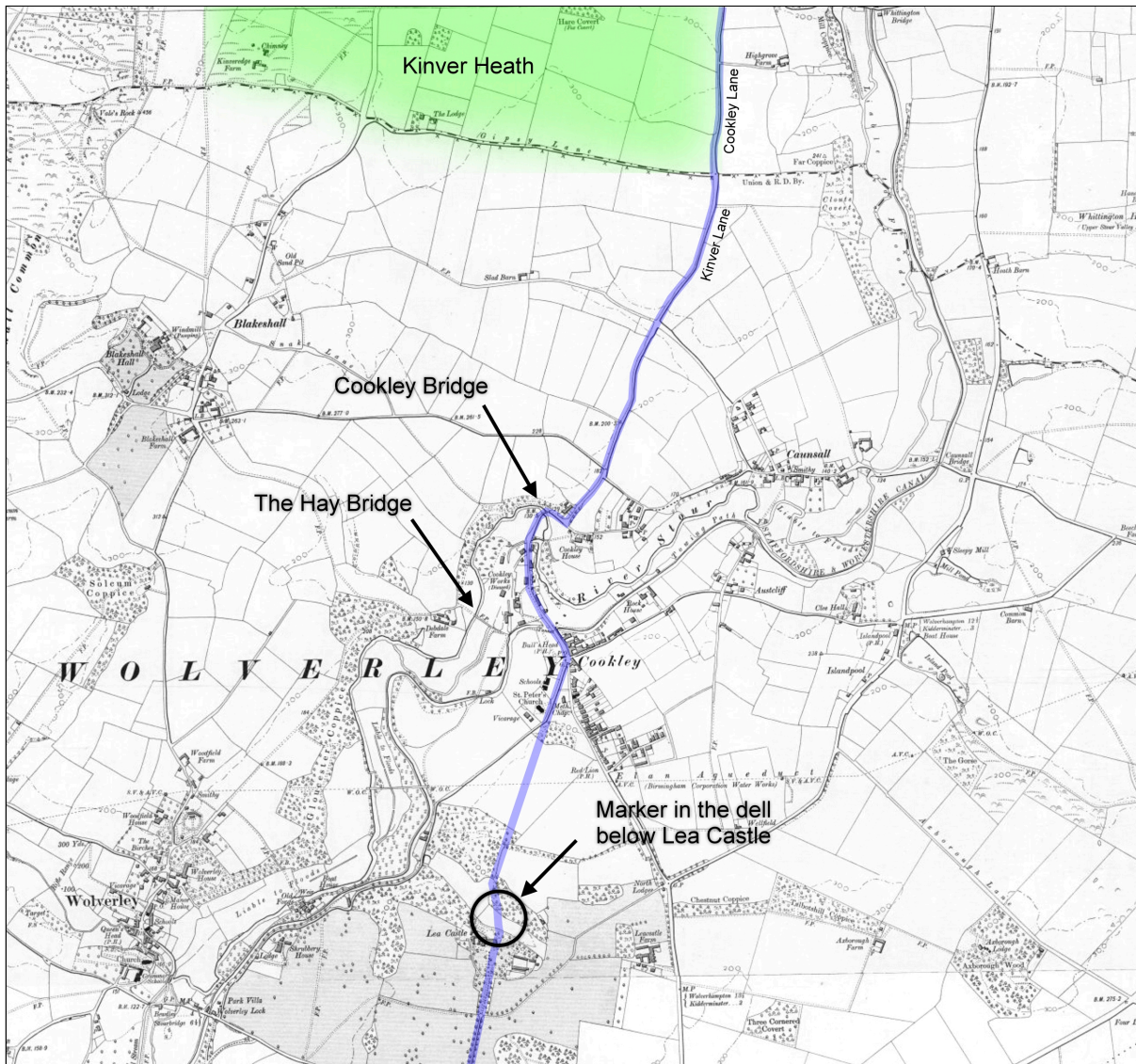


Fig. 4. The likely route through the Lea Castle estate and Cookley leading north to Kinver Heath.²¹

certainly in existence by 1621²²) and then across Whittington Common towards Stourbridge. This is consistent with a later interpretation of events; in 1832 William Scott noted that:

According to tradition, the round hill in the parish of Kinver, about two miles from Stourbridge, was the place where the king rested.

Round Hill lies at SO 876 837, near the junction of Gibbet Lane and Whittington Hall Lane — perhaps a natural place for the party to pause to discuss their route. Today, Whittington Hall Lane consists mainly of straight segments resulting from 18th or 19th century enclosures on the former Whittington Common, but an earlier track must have followed a similar route, in order to link the township of Whittington to Stourbridge via the ‘pass’ at the western end what is now Dunsley Road. In 1908, Allan Fea also recorded that:

*The round Hill in this parish is pointed out as the spot where the second halt took place, and here it was that Boscobel was suggested by the Earl of Derby...*²³

Thereafter it seems that the party must have ridden east towards Stourbridge and Wordsley. Initially travelling over Stourbridge Common (the area around Dunsley Road) to the Gig Mill, and crossing the Withibrook there, they would then have ascended along South Road (then called Kinver Road²⁴) to

The White Horse inn (now called *The Old White Horse*) near the present-day main entrance to Mary Stevens Park. From the inn, their route would have taken them along Worcester Street (formerly called *Heath Road*²⁵), Market Street (formerly *Rye Market*²⁶) and Lower High Street (formerly known just as *High Street*) to the bridge over the Stour at SO 900847.

The reason for the King's party choosing to speak French as they passed through the town (see Blount's account) isn't absolutely clear but it may have been thought a prudent deception because Stourbridge's population, at that time, included a significant number of Lorraine glassmakers who had established themselves in the area by c. 1610.²⁷

To get to the "*house about a mile beyond Sturbridge [where] his majesty drank and ate a crust of bread*", the party must then have made their way north along High Street Amblecote (the route of an ancient salt-way; now designated the A491) to Wordsley. The site of this house is reputed to have been "*at the bottom of the hill near the present Wordsley Church*" where, in 1908, there was "*still to be seen an ancient red-brick gabled house where [the] halt was made...*" (see fig. 5).²⁸ This would have been just over one mile from Stourbridge, at or near the junction of Kinver Street and Wordsley High Street.

If correct, this route would accord with the local tradition that *The White Horse* inn acquired its name in honour of the steed which carried Charles past the establishment. Although this may represent corroborating evidence for the route through Stourbridge, we should perhaps bear in mind the natural tendency for inn-keepers (and others) to regard an association with the King's escape as being good for business — at least after the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660! Indeed, another local inn, the Crab Mill at Oldswinford, has supposedly claimed that Charles stopped there during his flight to Boscobel, even though there is no evidence that the King passed through Oldswinford.

An alternative to the risky route through Stourbridge town

Despite the supposed route's consistency with contemporary accounts, one significant doubt remains: did the King's party actually travel through Stourbridge town centre?

The story of them passing quietly, in the dead of night, by a garrison of Parliamentary troops there certainly adds drama, but is it true? We know that the troops which had participated in the Kidderminster skirmish had been stationed at Bewdley that evening to guard the bridge over the Severn. Presumably any troops at Stourbridge would have been guarding the bridge here as well — an important duty, especially on the day of such a momentous battle. The road here (a prehistoric salt-way, now designated the A491) was an important arterial route, so why weren't the troops sufficiently alert to spot the King's party? Sixty horsemen surely could not have passed through the town unheard and would have aroused suspicion even if they *were* speaking French.

This aspect of the story seems a little unbelievable to me. Charles subsequently said that he learned of the troops' presence only "*afterwards from a country fellow*",²⁹ and one has to wonder whether this is nothing more than a later embellishment to emphasize the 'miraculous' nature of the King's escape. What better way to add legitimacy to the Royalist cause than to imply that God is on their side?

Moreover one has to ask why Charles would choose to travel through the town at all? Any populated place would have been a risk, but Stourbridge most likely still had its medieval town gates³⁰ which, for all the King's party knew, could have been manned by Cromwell's troops or by civilians sympathetic to the Parliamentarian cause. That the old town gates still existed in Stourbridge is suggested by the story of Prince Rupert's escape from Parliamentary troopers a few years earlier. In 1848, John Noake recounted:

During the civil war of Charles the First, Prince Rupert made Wollescote House in [the parish of Oldswinford] (the residence of Mr Thomas Millward, whose family had lived there from 1500 or earlier), his headquarters for a considerable time... The prince had a garrison at Wichbury, from Wollescote about a third of a mile; still to be seen by the entrenchments. The parliament party had a garrison at Stourton Castle, A.D. 1643. These meeting on Stourbridge Common, a sharp battle ensued, and Prince Rupert's party was worsted, and he himself nearly taken; for, riding hard to get



Fig. 5. The old house near Kinver Street, Wordsley (pictured in 1908) where Charles II is said to have “drank and ate a crust of bread” during his flight from the Battle of Worcester on the evening of 3rd September 1651.³¹

towards Wollescote, he was closely pursued by a parliament trooper; and when the prince came to the Heath Gate leading off the common to Oldswinford, the gate being shut, and the trooper very near him, and there being a boy near the gate, the prince cried “Open the gate!” which he did; when the prince was through, he said hastily “Shut the gate!” This the boy immediately did; and the trooper being thus stopped, the prince escaped.³²

It seems that Prince Rupert would have ridden along South Road, formerly *Kinfare Road*, to the top of The Short Heath near the present-day entrance to Mary Stevens Park. The Heath Gate there was also known as Studley Gate, formerly *stodellgate*, and its closure appears to have impeded the pursuing trooper sufficiently to allow Rupert to escape via Heath Lane and Chawn Hill to Wollescote House. Although this story is unverified and sometimes disputed, it seems unlikely that the presence of the Heath Gate / *stodellgate* in 1643 would have been a contemporary fiction.

King Charles’ supposed route, only a few years later, would have required his party of sixty horsemen to negotiate the very same gate (*stodellgate*) as well as another, *Le Stower Gate*, which lay in Lower High Street guarding the approach to the bridge.³³

In view of the significant risk of the King being stopped at these gates, or otherwise discovered, why would the King's party choose to ride through the town at all? That question seems all the more relevant when one realises that an alternative, and somewhat shorter, route was available to them (see fig. 3). From their stopping place at Round Hill in Kinver parish, a track led northwards under (i.e. just to the west of) Wollaston ridge, and continued along an old path (named The Green Path in 1733³⁴) towards the Stour. An ancient crossing point — probably Roman or prehistoric in origin, recorded as *oldeforde* in 1343 and *Old Ford* in 1733 — lay at this location.³⁵ Once across the Stour, the King's route northwards would have continued along a track parallel to Wordsley Brook, the northern end of which (in Wordsley) opened into none other than Kinver Street, the very location at which Charles is supposed to have stopped to drink and eat “a crust of bread”.³⁶

Notes and References

- ¹ At the time of the Battle of Worcester Charles had not yet been crowned king of England, but the term King will be used throughout this article in reference to his future status.
- ² Richard Ollard, *The Escape of Charles II After the Battle of Worcester*, Robinson, London (2002), 23.
- ³ S. Pepys, *An Account of His Majesty's Escape from Worcester: Dictated to Mr Pepys by the King Himself*, Newmarket, Sunday October 3rd, and Tuesday, October 5th, 1680, reproduced in J. Hughes (ed.) *The Boscobel Tracts Relating to the Escape of Charles the Second After the Battle of Worcester and His subsequent Adventures*, 2nd edn. William Blackwood and Sons, London (1857), 147.
- ⁴ P. W. King, 'Some roads out of North Worcestershire', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, Third Series, 20 (2006), 88–90.
- ⁵ For example, Ollard *op. cit.* in note 2; Allan Fea, *The Flight of the King: A full true and particular account of the miraculous escape of his most sacred majesty King Charles II after the battle of Worcester* (2nd edn.), London (1908); J. W. Willis-Bund *The Civil War in Worcestershire*. The Midland Educational Company Limited, Birmingham (1905).
- ⁶ Copyright Neasom Fine Art. <<http://www.thefugitiveking.uk/index.php/artwork-maps/>> [accessed 30/08/2022]. Copies can be purchased from Jeannie Brown, Neasom Fine Art, 19 Old Forge, Whitbourne, Worcester, WR6 5SB. Tel: 01886 822249 or 07821 653818. Email: jeannie@neasomfineart.co.uk for details.
- ⁷ Modern digital map from Mapcarta web site <<https://mapcarta.com/W129407748>> [accessed 30/08/2022], copyright © “OpenStreetMap contributors” <<https://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>> [accessed 30/08/2022].
- ⁸ Willis-Bund, *op. cit.* in note 5, 255–6.
- ⁹ John Noake, *Notes and Queries for Worcestershire*. Longman and Co. London (1856), 350; John Noake, *Noake's Guide to Worcestershire*. Longman and Co., London (1868), 357.
- ¹⁰ Thomas Blount, *Boscobel or, The Compleat History of the Most Miraculous Preservation of King Charles the Second After the Battle of Worcester, September the 3rd 1651*, Henry Seile, London (1660). Reproduced in J. Hughes (ed.) *The Boscobel Tracts Relating to the Escape of Charles the Second After the Battle of Worcester and His subsequent Adventures*, 2nd edn. William Blackwood and Sons, London (1857), 183; Cuthbert Bede, 'Charles II.'s Flight from Worcester' *Notes and Queries*, s4-I, Issue 24, 13th June 1868, 549–50 <<https://academic.oup.com/nq/article-abstract/s4-I/24/549/4510764?redirectedFrom=fulltext&login=false>> [accessed 30/08/2022], 549–50.
- ¹¹ William Scott, *Stourbridge and Its Vicinity: Containing a topographical description...* J. Heming, Stourbridge (1832), 382.
- ¹² Blount, *op. cit.* in note 10.
- ¹³ Fea, *op. cit.* in note 5, 12–3.

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- ¹⁴ Pepys, *op. cit.* in note 3.
- ¹⁵ Noake (1856), *op. cit.* in note 9, 665.
- ¹⁶ Base map: composite of Ordnance Survey *1-inch to the mile sheets* 167 (1899) and 182 (1898), Southampton. <<https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/-zoom=13&lat=52.41253&lon=-2.15908&layers=1&b=1>> [accessed 30/08/2022].
- ¹⁷ Bede *op. cit.* in note 10.
- ¹⁸ Nigel Perry, *A History of Stourbridge*, Phillimore, Chichester (2001), 27, suggests that Stourbridge's medieval town gates were removed towards the end of the 17th century.
- ¹⁹ Bede *op. cit.* in note 10.
- ²⁰ M.W. Greenslade (ed.) *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, **XX** (1984), 126–7; Kinver Enclosure Award (1774), SRO D891/1, D891/2: 6, notes that the enclosures to the east of Cookley Lane were, at the date of the award, considered to be old.
- ²¹ Map background: Ordnance Survey *6-inch Staffordshire sheet LXXIV.NE*, Southampton (1903) <<https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/-zoom=15&lat=52.42557&lon=-2.23164&layers=6&b=1>> [accessed 31st August 2022].
- ²² K. James, 'Windsor, windofer and Iverley: illustrating the place-name element *ofer in the Anglo-Saxon road network', *Journal of the English-Place-Name Society*, **51**, English Place-Name Society (2019) p44–7.
- ²³ Fea, *op. cit.* in note 5, 9–10.
- ²⁴ H. Court (Surveyor) and I. Blackden, *Plan of Oldswinford Parish*. Stourbridge Public Library. (Alternate source: *Oldswinford Inclosure Award* (1782) conj.pl. St. Helen's Record Office, Worcester. r899:70 (6161)).
- ²⁵ H. J. Haden, *Street Names of Stourbridge and its Vicinity*, **1**, Dulston Press (1988). Re published by The Black Country Society in 2003, 168.
- ²⁶ Haden, *op. cit.* in note 25, 220–22.
- ²⁷ H. J. Haden *Notes on the Stourbridge Glass Trade*, Dudley Public Libraries (1977) 10–11; Jason Ellis, *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612–2002*, Jason Ellis, Harrogate (2002), 58 *et seq.*
- ²⁸ Fea, *op. cit.* in note 5, 12–3.
- ²⁹ Pepys, *op. cit.* in note 3.
- ³⁰ Perry, *op. cit.* in note 18.
- ³¹ Illustration after Fea *op. cit.* in note 5, 12.
- ³² John Noake, *The Rambler in Worcestershire...* **1**, Worcester (1848), 359–60. <https://books.google.je/books?id=KTsQAAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=it&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0-v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 31/08/2022].
- ³³ Perry, *op. cit.* in note 18, 27–29.
- ³⁴ Oldswinford Parish Perambulation *Bounds of the parish of Oldswinford*. Oldswinford Parish Register **3** (1733). Dudley Archives, Microfiche #304. Reproduced in Chambers, R. L. *Oldswinford, Bedcote and Stourbridge manors and boundaries*. Dudley Teachers Centre (1978), 43–4, and Cochrane, D. T. *A brief history of Lye and Wollescote*. Published by M. J. Cochrane, Lye (2005) (ISBN 0 9541753 3 6), 9–10.
- ³⁵ K. James, *Stapenhill, Bells Mill and Oldeforde: Historical context of two potential development sites near Wollaston, Stourbridge*, (2021), 1–2. Accessible via <<http://www.local.kjwebs.co.uk/>> [accessed 31/07/2021].
- ³⁶ Blount *op. cit.* in note 10.