

Archaeological assessment of Ludlow, Shropshire (including Ludford)

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Summary

The historic town of Ludlow was surveyed during the Central Marches Historic Towns Survey, a desk-based study of 64 smaller historic towns in Shropshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire. Archaeological and documentary evidence relating to the historic core of Ludlow was carefully analysed, comprising topographic data, published and unpublished archaeological reports, museum collections, primary and secondary historical sources, historical maps, and field data recorded by the project team.

Detailed evidence is provided on the character and layout of the settlement in the medieval and post-medieval periods. For each period the available information is analysed and mapped in detail, and a model of the development of the town is proposed. In addition, the evidence for pre-urban occupation is considered, together with evidence of 19th century occupation. All archaeologically-relevant information has been recorded as part of the county Sites and Monuments Record. Specialist assessments of artefacts, ecofacts, standing buildings and documentary sources are included. A detailed archaeological research framework has been developed for Ludlow, which will inform future archaeological investigations as well as management decisions.

The historic core of Ludlow contains buried archaeological deposits, and these are judged to have high potential. In addition there is high potential for the recovery of artefact assemblages, and moderate potential for the recovery of ecofact assemblages. The historic buildings constitute a complementary body of evidence, and are judged to have high potential for detailed study and recording. The surviving documentary sources are very extensive and consequently the potential for further study is high.

1 Introduction

1.1 Location and landuse

The urban area of Ludlow is located at NGR SO 510745 in South Shropshire district. The modern settlement lies on a major route where it crosses the River Teme, although the modern main road (the A49) is now a bypass to the east of the town. The town comprises the historic settlement focus with 20th century housing to the north and east.

1.2 Topography, geology and soils

Ludlow lies at a height of between 80m and 105m OD. The underlying topography is a spur aligned approximately east-west, which terminates in cliffs at the east above the River Teme. The historic settlement is focused on the crest of the spur, spreading down slopes to the south and the north. The River Teme is joined by the River Corve a little to the north of the town.

North of the River Teme, the soils of the Bromyard association are predominantly typical argillic brown earths, while south of the river the soils are typical brown earths of the Munslow association (Soil Survey of England and Wales, Ragg *et al* 1984). The underlying geology consists of Downtonian Raglan Mudstone north of the River Teme, and Ludfordian Flaggy and massive siltstone south of the river (British Geological Survey 1:250,000, sheet 52°N-O.4°W).

1.3 Chronological outline

Prehistoric occupation. There is little evidence for early occupation on the site of Ludlow. The placename and medieval documentary evidence has suggested the existence of a bronze age barrow on the site of the church (Gelling 1990, 186), and there is an important Bronze Age cemetery at Bromfield, a few miles north of the town. A number of flint flakes and a neolithic stone axe have been recovered from the general area of the town. It has been suggested that two prehistoric routeways met at Corve Bridge, comprising the east-west "Clun-Clee ridgeway" and a north-south routeway reflected by the line of Corve Street and Old Street (Lloyd and Klein 1984, 13). This second routeway is believed to have been aligned on a ford over the River Teme, and may have been followed by a Roman road (Watson 1989).

Anglo-Saxon period. There is no direct evidence for settlement on the site of the town of Ludlow before the late 11th century and neither the placename nor the castle are recorded in Domesday Book. However the estate of Ludford is described in Domesday Book, when there was a mill (Thorn and Thorn 1983, 186d), and it is probable that there was an early settlement focus on the south side of the river near the church.

At the time of Domesday Book the site of the town formed part of the estate of Stanton Lacy, and was held by the de Lacy family (Faraday 1991, 3). It is probable that the de Lacys built the castle between 1086 and 1095 (Hope 1909a, 324), although it has been suggested that construction began before 1086 (Renn 1987, 57-8). Ludlow castle became the *caput* of the de Lacy estates in south Shropshire (Faraday 1991, 3, 103). The history of the lordship has been described by Eyton (1861, 233-301) and in more detail by Faraday (1991, 3-19).

The castle and early medieval settlement. Ludlow Castle was built as a major fortress in the defensive frontier with Wales, and was used as a base for assembling military campaigns in the 12th and 13th centuries (Faraday 1991, 17). The inner gate of the castle was aligned to the south and it is probable that a rural settlement (called Dinham) lay south of the castle, where an early chapel and a market green have been identified (Renn 1987, 58). The shape of plots in this area may be evidence for a rural settlement (Conzen 1988, 264). It is also possible that there was a small rural settlement at Galdeford in what was later the eastern suburb of the town (Faraday 1991, 1).

The foundation of the borough. The date of urban foundation is uncertain. Ludlow is described by Beresford as a new town founded between 1086 and 1094 (Beresford 1988, 481), although the earliest documentary references to burgages date to the late 12th century (Faraday 1991, 14). It is probable that there was a community of burgesses by the 12th century, which developed greater independence from the mid-13th century when the town was divided between different lordships (Faraday 1991, 20-23). The castle was besieged in 1139 (the earliest documentary record of the castle), and the town was probably damaged at that time (Faraday 1991, 17). A charter was granted in the 13th century, although its contents are unknown, and there is a documentary reference to the marketplace in 1255 (*ibid*, 28, 114). An annual fair was held by 1241 (*ibid*, 115).

It is probable that the original route from the settlement to the south was via Old Street and the ford to Ludford. The bridge over the Teme was built in *c* 1220 (Lloyd and Moran 1978, 10). The available evidence indicates that the town occupied an extensive area by

the end of the 12th century, as burgages are documented at the south end of Corve Street (in the area called Dinmore Fee) in 1186 (Faraday 1991, 14), and the extent of occupation by this period is confirmed by archaeological evidence (Klein and Roe 1987, 46-7). There is documentary evidence that the major north-south streets, such as Broad Street, were occupied by the early 13th century, and that minor streets such as Raven Lane were occupied by the end of the 13th century (Lloyd 1979, 10-11). However there has been considerable debate about the sequence of events in the development of the town between the 11th and the 13th century, and the various hypotheses are outlined below (section 7.1).

The Ludford bridgehead settlement. The settlement of Ludford was distinct from Ludlow, lying on the south side of the River Teme in Herefordshire, and in a separate lordship. From the late 14th century the Hospital of St John (in Ludlow) held extensive land in Ludford, including the mill (Faraday 1991, 64-5). However it is clear that topographic constraints would have prevented any major development at the bridgehead at Ludford, although to date the evidence for the status of Ludford in relation to Ludlow has not been researched. The medieval leper hospital of St Giles lay near the church.

The medieval economy. The economy of Ludlow was based on wool and cloth, and the town was one of 53 places in England licensed to export cloth in the 13th century (Conzen 1988, 268). The earliest documentary record of Ludlow merchants involved in the wool trade is in 1271, and by 1294 Lawrence de Ludelawe was one of the most important wool merchants in England (Faraday 1991, 117). Ludlow was a middle-ranking wool town in the 14th century, and the wool trade declined in importance in the 1370s (*ibid*, 117-9). Associated industries developed from the early 13th century and weavers were recorded from the mid-14th century (*ibid*, 119). Long-distance trade from and to Ludlow was via Bewdley and the River Severn in the later medieval period (*ibid*, 131).

The Palmer's Guild rentals of the 13th century show a concentration of occupational names associated with the cloth-making industry, including shearmen, fuller and dyer, on the western side of Lower Broad Street near the fulling mill (Lloyd 1979, 28). Occupational names such as potter and tanner are recorded in Broad Street but it is not known whether these crafts were carried out from the household. However tenter yards can be more confidently located (Lloyd 1979, 28-9). Other trades recorded are tailors, cap-makers and hosiers (Faraday 1991, 126). Tanners, skinners, saddlers, glovers and shoemakers are recorded in the 13th and 14th centuries (*ibid*). A number of craft guilds had developed by the mid-14th century (*ibid*, 127-9). A second fair was granted in 1328 (*ibid*, 115). The borough contained agricultural land adjacent to the occupied area, where hay and flax were grown. The town contained a number of farms and barns are recorded in Galdeford (*ibid*, 104-5).

The town defences. A licence to build town defences was granted in 1233, although it is not clear when the town wall was completed: documentary evidence suggests that some gates were built before 1284 but that the southern part of the circuit and Broad Gate were not completed before the 1290s (Lloyd 1979, 11). The town walls were clearly built with respect to the topography of the site, and a result excluded a large part of the occupied area of the town, which became extra-mural suburbs. The construction of the town walls undoubtedly required the demolition of houses and may have led to more general changes in the pattern of occupation in the town, with mercantile functions concentrated within the walls. Such general changes probably explains the changes of landuse shown by archaeological excavation (see below section 7.2).

The late medieval period. The military significance of the castle was reduced after the conquest of Wales in the late 13th century, but the castle remained important as the principle residence of the Mortimer lords from the early 14th century, and it accommodated a large household (Faraday 1991, 96). The battle of Ludford Bridge was fought between Yorkist and Lancastrian forces in 1459, and this was followed by the sack of the town (Faraday 1991, 19). The town was granted corporate borough status in 1461 and was subsequently governed by a corporation and represented in parliament as one of

four corporate boroughs in Shropshire (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 151; Faraday 1991, 28-9; Merewether and Stephens 1835, 258). The Council of the March of Wales was developed from 1473 and based at Ludlow castle. The castle was formally made a provincial court for Wales and the Marches in 1501, and William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, was appointed first Lord President of Wales. In the later 16th century new buildings were built in the castle for the use of the Council (Hope 1909a, 326). The Council of the Marches of Wales became a form of regional government in 1534. Although the Council did not interfere in the town corporation, there were social and economic effects as courtiers, officials and lawyers acquired property or occupied inns in the town, and the economy of the town was partially oriented on servicing the Council of the Marches (Faraday 1991, 96, 99-100).

The post-medieval period. A series of charters granted in the late 16th and early 17th century increased the responsibilities of the corporation and reorganised its structure, and established two fairs (Faraday 1991, 29-30). The friaries and hospital came into private hands at the Reformation, and following demolition the sites were reused for houses or agricultural land. The economy of Ludlow in the early post-medieval period was based on the cloth trade which had developed in the late medieval period. The trade showed a notable development in the 16th century, although it was only of minor importance in national terms; following 1582 the cloth trade was in decline (Faraday 1991, 124-6). In the 17th century leather working became a major trade (*ibid*, 127).

As well as the "service economy" based around the Council of the Marches, a number of industries are documented, many of which reflect the local market function established in the medieval period. A brickyard is documented in Galdeford in 1561 and bricks were probably used for special purposes, such as garden walls in the 16th century (Lloyd 1979, 45).

The Council of the Marches was an important contributor to the economy of the town in the early 17th century, but the Council was abolished in 1641 (Faraday 1991, 171-2). The castle and town had a Royalist garrison during the Civil War, and the walls and gates were repaired in 1643 (*ibid*, 172-3). Houses in the suburbs were demolished in 1645 and 1646 by the royalist garrison prior to being besieged by Colonel John Birch (*ibid*, 175-6). The widespread burning and demolition of the suburbs was followed by rebuilding (*ibid*, 178-80, fig 54).

The Council of the Marches was reconstituted after the Civil War but finally abolished in 1689, when the castle became private property (Hope 1909a, 326).

William Sandys began to make the River Teme navigable in 1636, in response to the development of new ironworking industries in north Herefordshire (Faraday 1991, 132). Broad Street was occupied by the wealthier parts of the population in the post-medieval period (Lloyd 1979, 7). The streets were lighted and paved in 1794 (Wright 1826, 198). The main roads from Ludlow were developed as turnpike roads in the 1750s with tollhouses and gates at the edge of the town. The town benefited from the coaching trade and was fashionable as resort during the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Lloyd and Klein 1984, 8).

The 19th century. Several craft organisation remained in the early 19th century, for cloth workers, leather workers and smiths (Wright 1826, 197). The most important industry was glove-making; other industries were paper-making, tanning, timber and furniture manufacture (*ibid*, 198; Lloyd and Klein 1984, 82-3). The glove-making industry was concentrated in Corve Street and there were 735 glovers in 1815 (Lloyd 1979, 29). Railway lines were built in the 1850s from Shrewsbury and Hereford.

1.4 Placename studies

The placename *Ludeford* (Ludford) is recorded in Domesday Book, and includes the placename element *hlude*, meaning "loud one", referring to the River Teme (Gelling 1990,

185-6). The earliest reference to Ludlow was in 1138, when it was recorded as *Leudelaue*, which contains the placename elements *hlude* and *hlaw*, meaning tumulus. The tumulus is inferred to be a prehistoric round barrow; a barrow was apparently demolished in 1199 when the parish church was enlarged (*ibid*; see below, section 2).

The estate of *Leode* is recorded in Herefordshire Domesday Book (Thorn and Thorn 1986, 182c), and some authorities have equated this placename with Ludlow and argued that the castle and attendant settlement were founded before 1086 (eg Eyton 1861; Renn 1987, 56). However this estate is generally equated with Lyde in Herefordshire, with the corollary that the castle was founded after the Domesday survey (Hope 1909a, 324; Gelling 1990, 186).

1.5 Syntheses of documentary and archaeological data

The documentary evidence relating to Ludlow for the medieval period has been described by Eyton (1861, 233-301) and Faraday (1991). Useful information relating to buildings based on pictorial sources has been assembled by Lloyd and Klein (1984). An archaeological assessment has been undertaken previously (Watson 1989) and the present assessment was carried out by the Central Marches Historic Towns Survey in 1994. The text was revised in March 1995 to incorporate the results of fieldwork undertaken by the survey (see section 1.7). No information published after December 1994 has been incorporated into this assessment.

1.6 Cartographic sources

Nineteenth century maps include a map of 1835 (Wood 1835; SRO 3433) and Ordnance Survey 1:2500 first edition maps (*Shropshire LXXVIII*, 7-8, 11-12, (1885-6)).

1.7 Archaeological excavations and surveys

A total of thirteen archaeological excavations and field investigations have been carried out in Ludlow. The first recorded excavation took place at the site of the Augustinian Friary in the 1860s (Botfield 1863; SA 6172). In the early 20th century the castle was surveyed and published with a study of the history of the monument which remains definitive (Hope 1909a; SA 6177). A number of areas were excavated, essentially to clarify elements of the medieval plan (*ibid*: SA 6174; SA 6175; SA 6176).

In recent years a number of small-scale excavations and more detailed building surveys have been carried out in the castle by the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit. The solar block was recorded in detail (Morriss 1991b; SA 6114), together with part of the curtain wall following its collapse (Morriss and Shoesmith 1990; City of Hereford Archaeology Unit 1990; SA 6115). Other areas investigated include the porter's lodge (Shoesmith and Appleton-Fox 1992; SA 6113) and the inner bailey (Morriss 1990; SA 6116). The town wall has not been investigated in detail, but it has been recorded east of the Bull Ring (Morriss and Shoesmith 1989; SA 6111). A part of Galdeford Gate was recorded during a watching brief (unpublished; SA 1765).

The major modern excavation in Ludlow was at the Carmelite Friary, where as well as the remains of the 14th century friary, remains of earlier medieval buildings were recorded (Klein and Roe 1987; SA 1772). Evaluation west of Mill Street recorded a medieval stone building (Hughes 1990; SA 6112) and a small excavation at St Thomas' chapel recorded structural evidence (unpublished; SA 517). A further small excavation in Broad Street produced evidence of medieval and post-medieval occupation (Morriss 1988; SA 6162). It is notable that a watching brief on a large area north of the High Street (Wise 1975; SA 6110).

Detailed building surveys include the medieval buildings of Barnaby House (Morriss 1991a; SA 11225) and 1 to 4 Broad Street (Lloyd and Moran 1978; Morriss 1988; SA

10979 and 10980). A less detailed survey of every building in Broad Street has been carried out (Lloyd 1979). Fieldwork was undertaken by CMHTS in November 1994. This identified remains, revised the extent of components and recorded 18th and 19th cellarage and modern development within the urban area.

1.8 Acknowledgments and personnel

Survey fieldwork was undertaken by Hal Dalwood and Dale Rouse. Analysis, report writing and editing were carried out by Hal Dalwood.

2 Pre-urban evidence

There is only slight evidence for prehistoric occupation in the study area. The evidence includes the possible site of a prehistoric round barrow beneath the church (Eyton 1861, 291-3; Gelling 1990, 186; SA 1263), a number of flints (SA 2964 and SA 3775) and a stone axe (SA 3511). The route of the prehistoric "Clun-Clee" ridgeway and another ancient north-south route pass close by or through the town.

There is no direct evidence for Anglo-Saxon or early Norman occupation in either Ludford or Ludlow, and no recorded archaeological evidence predates the establishment of the town. However the likeliest foci for earlier medieval occupation are at Ludford and in the Dinham area of Ludlow, south of the castle (see section 7.2).

3 Medieval archaeological evidence

3.1 Medieval remains and buildings

A total of twelve archaeological excavations or observations have identified medieval buried remains in Ludlow. The most important medieval excavation in Ludlow is that at the Carmelite Friary, and although it has not been fully published this site provides the most comprehensive archaeological information to date for the town (Klein and Roe 1987; SA 1772). The excavation recorded evidence of domestic buildings dating from the 12th to 13th century, and a 13th to 14th century townhouse. The construction of the friary (documented in 1350) was associated with demolition and construction deposits and bell-casting. One major friary building was recorded (the refectory), together with two other buildings and part of the lay cemetery.

An evaluation excavation in Mill Street recorded a medieval stone building and a medieval artefactual assemblage (Hughes 1990; SA 6112). The evaluation excavation at 25 Bull Ring observed medieval deposits (Morriss and Shoesmith 1989; SA 6111), and at 3-4 Broad Street medieval deposits and a late medieval artefact assemblage were recorded (Morriss 1988; SA 6162). Structural remains dated to the medieval period have been recorded St Thomas' chapel (SA 517), Galdeford Gate (SA 1765), and part of the town wall was recorded at 25 High Street (Morriss and Shoesmith 1989; SA 6111).

Limited excavation of three areas in the castle was undertaken in the 1900s (Hope 1909a: SA 6168, SA 6174 and SA 6175). The antiquarian excavation of the Augustinian friary recorded the plan of the church and its associated buildings, and recorded floor tiles and selected architectural fragments (Botfield 1863; SA 6172). Other significant archaeological discoveries include medieval pottery and other artefacts at Linney House (unpublished; SA 3764).

A total of 25 medieval buildings or other structures survive in the town, including the substantial ruins of the castle (SA 6177), much of the town wall (SA 1177), Broad Gate (SA 11006), a wall tower (SA 11262), and Ludford Bridge (SA 1178). There are three medieval churches or chapels: the parish church of St Lawrence (SA 11080), the remains

of the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr in Dinham (SA 517), and the even more fragmentary remains of the chapel of St John's Hospital (SA 11280). The Palmer's Guild contains medieval elements (SA 11237). Currently a total of 16 medieval houses have been identified in Ludlow, including fragmentary remains.

In Ludford there is a further medieval building, the church of St Giles (SA 10935).

3.2 Medieval urban components

Analysis of the evidence summarised above and of cartographic and documentary sources indicated the existence of 63 urban components. The characteristics of these urban components are summarised below.

Castle (SA 1176). The castle at Ludlow was built in the late 11th and originally consisted of a ringwork, which was extended with an outer bailey in the late 12th century. The study of the castle through architectural survey and excavation has been ongoing since the early 20th century, and a number of areas have been investigated at differing levels of detail. The entire structure has been surveyed in outline (Hope 1909a, SA 6177), and five distinct medieval structures have been studied in more detail, some with limited excavation in order to reveal structural features: the "Great Tower" (SA 6175), the late 13th century "Solar Block" (SA 6114), the "old pantry" (SA 6174), the early 12th century chapel of St Mary Magdelene (SA 6168) and the 14th century chapel of St Peter (SA 6169). A number of areas have been excavated within the inner and outer baileys, but medieval evidence is limited (cf SA 6116). The structure of the castle forms a substantial ruin, and the entire monument survives as an impressive feature in the modern townscape. The component is defined to include the ditch of the outer bailey (now a public garden) and the scarping of the natural slope on east and north.

Town defences (SA 1177). The town defences were built over some years in the later 13th century and were completed by *c* 1290. There were eight gates, with one on each of seven major and minor roads into the town: Broad Gate (SA); Mill Gate (SA 1769); Dinham Gate (SA 1763); Linney Gate (SA 1767); Corve Gate (SA 1766); Galdeford Gate (SA 1765); Old Gate (SA 1764). There was a further minor gate by the castle (SA 1768). As well as gates, there were small towers of which two survive (SA 1795 and SA 11262); another was recorded in the 19th century (SA 3752). Substantial parts of the town wall survive as a standing structure, but only a small area has been archaeologically investigated (SA 6111).

There was a further gate (Corve Gate; SA 2917) at the northern end of Corve Street by the friary, but this was not part of the defences and was simply a toll bar.

Churchyards and chapel yards (SA 6186; SA 6187; SA 6259; SA 6262). There are four documented churchyards and chapel graveyards in Ludlow and the adjacent settlement of Ludford. Ludlow parish churchyard is identified as a component (SA 6186). It contains the church of St Lawrence (SA 11080) and the find spot of an iron halberd (SA 1762). The discovery of human burials at 8 King Street (SA 3772) indicates that the churchyard originally extended as far south as King Street. The component is defined by revetment walls on the west, east and north sides, and by the King Street frontage on the south side.

Two medieval chapel graveyards can be identified within the town, in Dinham and Corve Street (there were also two other medieval chapels in the castle). The chapel of St Thomas a Becket (SA 517) seems to have had its own graveyard (Lloyd and Klein 1984, 65). A component is identified (SA 6187), and the extent is provisionally defined by modern property boundaries.

The chapel of St Leonard (SA 2917) lay in a part of Ludlow called Dinmore Fee,

corresponding to the north end of Corve Street, and also had its own graveyard (Faraday 1991, 14; Klein and Roe 1987, 28-9). The chapel was disused by the mid-16th century. A component is identified (SA 6262), the extent of which is based on documentary research and is defined by modern property boundaries.

The adjacent settlement of Ludford is treated as a suburb of Ludlow in this assessment. A separate churchyard component is identified (SA 6259), which contained the parish church of St Giles (SA 10935). The extent of the medieval churchyard is provisionally defined from 19th century cartographic sources, and varies slightly from the modern churchyard.

There were a further six churches and chapels in Ludlow, which are considered as parts of their respective components in this assessment: the two friary churches, the chapel of the Hospital of St John, the two private chapels in the castle, and the chapel of St Catherine on Ludford Bridge.

Friaries (SA 1770 and SA 6171). There were two friaries in Ludlow. The Augustinian friary (SA 1770) in Galdeford was founded in 1256, on what was presumably open land in the eastern suburb of the town. The church and claustral buildings were recorded in the 1860s (Botfield 1863; SA 6172); the friary fishponds (SA 4084) and a leet (SA 6170) are also located. There is documentary evidence for granaries, stables, a dovecot and other buildings. The extent of the friary component (SA 1770) has been defined to include the grounds to the west of the buildings (the "friar's garden"), and is bounded by roads and property boundaries. The friary was dissolved in 1538 and largely demolished.

The Carmelite friary (SA 6171) was founded in 1350 by Sir Lawrence of Ludlow. The friary was built in Corve Street on seven former burgage plots and required the demolition of at least one major town house, recorded during excavation (Klein and Roe 1987, 48-51; SA 1772). As well as the church, there is documentary evidence for a prior's chamber, kitchen, buttery, and other buildings (*ibid*, 21-4). One area of the friary was excavated, which recorded a large stone building identified as the refectory, parts of two other buildings and part of the lay cemetery (Klein and Roe 1987, 56-61). All the buildings were demolished between 1539 and 1542.

Chantry colleges (SA 1775 and SA 1771). Chantry chapels were founded by the Palmer's Guild in the parish church from the late 13th century, and in 1394 a chantry college was built for eight chaplains (Faraday 1991, 83-5). A part of the medieval structure survives. A component is identified (SA 1775), and provisionally defined by the extent of the property boundaries of the post-medieval hospital (cf SA 11086).

There was a second chantry college which developed from the Hospital of St John the Baptist (SA 1771: see below).

Hospitals (SA 1771, SA 1794 and SA 6167). Two medieval hospitals are documented in Ludlow and one in Ludford. Documentary evidence indicates that the Hospital of St John the Baptist was founded in the early 13th century. The extent of the precinct at the southern end of Broad Street has been defined by documentary research (Lloyd 1979, 10) and includes the remains of a medieval building, probably the hospital church (SA 11280). By the early 14th century the hospital became a chantry college for chaplains who served the chapels in the castle (Prescott 1992, 152).

The Hospital of St John the Evangelist was founded in 1462 by John Hosier, and was subsequently owned by the Palmer's Guild. The building consisted of 33 separate chambers (Prescott 1992, 152-3). A component is identified (SA 6167), and provisionally defined by the extent of the 18th century almshouse which replaced the medieval structure (cf SA 11083).

The Hospital of St Giles in Ludford was a leper hospital, founded in 1216 (Slater 1990, 78). A component is identified (SA 1794), and provisionally defined.

Guildhall (SA 11237). The religious fraternity of the Palmer's Guild was founded in the late 13th century and built a guildhall in Mill Street by 1283 (Faraday 1991, 78-82). The building was used by the town corporation from its establishment in 1461. Fragments of the medieval structure survive within the 18th century guildhall.

Market place (SA 6188). The earliest documentary reference to a market is in 1255. Morphological analysis has suggested that the 12th century market place was a large rectilinear space stretching 300m from the castle to the Bull Ring at the east end, including Castle Square, Church Street, Market Street, High Street, King Street, Bull Ring and the buildings between them (Conzen 1988, 256, 264). The market place contained a tollhouse (The Tolsey: SA 11052) at the east end, and a market cross and conduit house

(SA 3755). In Ludlow the process of encroachment of shops and buildings on the market place, known from many medieval towns, is clearly exemplified although poorly documented. The earliest buildings in these blocks of market encroachment are dated to the 15th century (ie south of King Street), it is likely that this process originated at an earlier date (see tenement plot components SA 6296 and SA 6297).

Public buildings (SA 11052 and SA 1777). A tollhouse (SA 11052) was built at the east end of the market place in the 15th century. A grammar school was built east of the churchyard in the 15th century (SA 1777).

Street system (SA 6267 and SA 6270). The medieval street system is identified from documentary and cartographic sources, notably the 1833 map (Wood 1835). Medieval street names are documented in 1439 and can be identified (Faraday 1991, 51): *Vicus Latus* (Broad Street), *Naroe Lane* (Raven Lane and Lower Raven Lane), *Barnde Lane* (Bell Lane and Brand Lane) and *Muryvale* (Silk Mill Lane). Other documented medieval lanes are Frog Lane (St John's Lane) and Teynter's Lane (located west of Lower Broad Street). In Dinham a former street has been identified from a piece of land documented as "Christ's Croft" (SA 3773). Outside the urban area, probable medieval routeways are marked by holloways in two locations (SA 6126 and 6128).

Bridges and fords (SA 1178, SA 1790, SA 6260, SA 6261, SA 6263). The Rivers Teme and Corve were crossed at four points. The earliest crossing point of the Teme was probably the ford (SA 6260) which gave the name to Ludford, located at the southern end of Old Street. The crossing point on the River Corve may also be of some antiquity, as it lies on the route of the "Clun-Clee ridgeway"; a stone bridge with five arches was recorded by Leland in the 1540s (SA 6261; Chandler 1993, 388). The most important bridge in Ludlow was "the bridge of Teme", which was built by the 1220s at the end of Broad Street and carried the major traffic through the town (SA 1178: Ludford Bridge). A chapel dedicated to St Catherine stood on the bridge and was inhabited by a hermit in the 15th century. The western route out of the town was less important and at Castle Mill there was a ford (SA 6263) and a narrow bridge (SA 1790).

Tenement plots (SA 6185, SA 6190, SA 6191, SA 6192, SA 6193, SA 6194, SA 6195, SA 6196, SA 6197, SA 6198, SA 6199, SA 6240, SA 6241, SA 6242, SA 6243, SA 6244, SA 6245, SA 6246, SA 6247, SA 6248, SA 6249, SA 6250, SA 6251, SA 6252, SA 6253, SA 6254, SA 6255, SA 6296, SA 6297). Three are three tenement plots in Ludford: SA 6256, SA 6257, SA 6258).

A total of 32 tenement plot components are identified using documentary sources and cartographic sources which show regular rows of tenement plots aligned on the principle streets.

An early settlement focus has been identified south of the castle in "Dinham", and it has been suggested that plots in this area reflect a rural origin (Conzen 1988, 256, 264: SA 6254 and SA 6255). The earliest documentary record of burgages is in the late 12th century, although it is probable that the first burgage plots were laid out in the late 11th or early 12th century. Although there has been some debate about the location of the original focus of the town, it is clear that the town occupied an extensive area by the end of the 12th century as a result of rapid development through separately planned areas of burgage plots (see section 7.2). The process culminated in the early 13th century, but it is clear that (for instance) the entire length of Corve Street was occupied by the late 12th century including the full length of Corve Street and Broad Street (Faraday 1991). The town defences were constructed in the 13th century and cut across occupied areas (see above, Town Defences component SA 1177). It has been suggested that as a result burgages in Lower Mill Street (outside the defences) were subsequently abandoned (D Lloyd quoted in Hughes 1990: SA 6241 and SA 6242).

Six tenement plot components have been archaeologically investigated. The evidence from tenement plot components within the defences is rather limited, although medieval deposits have been observed at two locations (SA 6162: Morriss 1988, and SA 6111: Morriss and Shoesmith 1990). An investigation in the tenement plot component north of Castle Square (SA 6243) produced negative evidence for medieval occupation (Wise 1975; SA 6110). The defended area includes seven identified medieval domestic buildings.

There is a greater quantity of archaeological evidence from the extra-mural areas of the town. Archaeological evidence from Corve Street (the site of the later Carmelite Friary: SA 6171) shows that this area was occupied by the 12th or 13th century (Klein and Roe 1987; SA 1772). There is also limited medieval archaeological evidence (unpublished: SA 3764) from the tenement plot component west of lower Corve Street (SA 6252). A possible medieval building (Hughes 1990; SA 6112) was recorded in the component east of Lower Mill Street (SA 6241). A further medieval building has been identified from the Corve Street area (SA 11123).

The evidence for the range of crafts and industries documented in Ludlow in the medieval period has been described above (section 1.3).

Mills (SA 2579, SA 3756, SA 6181, SA 6183, SA 6184, SA 6266). The River Teme and River Corve powered six separate mills in the medieval period, and are well documented (Faraday 1991, 108-111). The "Old Mill" (SA 3756) in Mill Street was probably the first mill in Ludlow, dating from the 12th century; it contained two mills by 1535. The fulling mill (SA 2579) at the end of Broad Street is documented in c 1231, and Corve Mill (SA 6183) was documented in 1241; it was a fulling mill in 1444. Later in the medieval period two further mills were built. The "New Mill" (SA 6181) at the bottom of Old Street was documented in 1331. Castle Mill (SA 6184) was built in the early 14th century and contained two mills; by 1368 was the most important mill in the town. Ludford Mill (SA 6266) was probably built at the same time as the "New Mill" and the building contained two fulling mills.

Open space (SA 6268 and SA 6269). Documentary evidence indicates that the land on either side of The Linney was laid out in burgage plots in the 13th century. Ridge and furrow cultivation has been recorded in the area which was enclosed by the end of the medieval period (Lloyd and Klein 1984, 120). Although there is no evidence that this area was occupied in the medieval period, it is possible that the medieval plots were used for various crafts and industrial activities as well as agriculture, and so this area is provisionally included within the urban area (Watson 1989).

3.3 Medieval urban form

Definition and classification. The medieval urban form (SA 6293) has been defined and mapped, based on the extent of the identified urban components. The limits of the urban form are well established. The available evidence indicates that the medieval urban form of Ludlow can be classified as a medium-sized market town (English Heritage 1992).

Survival. Archaeological excavations have taken place in Ludlow and have demonstrated the survival of buried deposits relating to the castle, town defences, tenement plot components and other areas. In Lower Mill Street medieval buried remains were *c* 0.50m thick and buried beneath *c* 1.25m of later deposits (Hughes 1990; SA 6112), and at 25 Bull Ring medieval buried remains were recorded beneath *c* 1.0m of later deposits (Morriss and Shoesmith 1990; SA 6111).

A total of 26 medieval buildings have been recorded in Ludlow and Ludford, and it is probable that other medieval structures survive behind later facades (see section 6.4).

The components of the medieval urban form comprising the castle, friaries, churchyard, tenement plots, market place and street system can be identified on the 1835 map (Wood 1835) and the modern town plan, and represent a remarkably complete survival of a complex and important medieval town plan - and one that has a special significance in terms of its historiography.

4 Post-medieval archaeological evidence

4.1 Post-medieval remains and buildings

Post-medieval deposits have been recorded at six excavations in the town. Excavations at the site of the Carmelite friary recorded part of a 16th century house (Klein and Roe 1987; SA 1771). Salvage recording in the inner bailey of the castle recorded limited quantities of post-medieval material (SA 6116; Morriss 1990), and work in the porter's lodge in the castle recorded 18th century deposits (SA 6113; Shoesmith and Appleton-Fox 1992). An evaluation at 3-4 Broad Street recorded post-medieval deposits, 17th to 18th century pottery and clay pipe (Morris 1988; SA 6162), and post-medieval deposits were also identified at 25 Bull Ring (Morriss and Shoesmith 1990; SA 6111) and in Lower Mill Street (Hughes 1990, SA 6112).

A total of 293 buildings dated between the 17th and late 18th centuries have been recorded in Ludlow. The town has an important collection of buildings of this date.

4.2 Post-medieval urban components

Analysis of the evidence summarised above and of cartographic and documentary sources indicated the existence of 72 urban components. The characteristics of these urban components are summarised below.

Law court and government office/ great house (SA 6178). The medieval castle (cf SA 1176) was made the seat of government and law court for Wales and the western counties of England in 1534. The medieval buildings were used and changed by the Council of the Welsh Marches, and new buildings were built in the outer and inner baileys. St Peter's Chapel (SA 6169) was converted into the court house, and a new porter's lodge and gaol were built in the outer bailey, together with a tennis court. A major new building (the "Fair House") was built in the inner bailey by Sir Henry Sidney in the late 16th century. The Council was suspended during the Civil War, and abolished in 1689, after which the castle became a private house. However the castle was abandoned and mostly in ruins by the mid-17th century.

The porter's lodge has been partially excavated, but only 18th century floors have been recorded (Shoosmith and Appleton-Fox 1992; SA 6113). A separate post-medieval component has been defined.

Churchyards and chapel yard (SA 6187, SA 6259 and SA 6301). The medieval parish churchyards of Ludlow and Ludford continued in use in the post-medieval period, and so did one of the minor chapel burial yards.

There was encroachment by domestic buildings on the south side of Ludlow churchyard in the medieval or post-medieval period (cf tenement plot component SA 6302). The extent of the post-medieval (SA 6301) is defined from the 1835 map (Wood 1835). The chapel yard in Dinham (SA 6187) seems to have remained in use in the earlier post-medieval period, although the chapel was in ruins by 1722 (Lloyd and Klein 1984, 65). The parish churchyard of St Giles in Ludford (SA 6259) also continued in use in the post-medieval period.

Almshouses (SA 10938, SA 11083 and SA 11102). There were two almshouses in Ludlow and one in Ludford. The medieval hospital of St John the Baptist continued in use in the post-medieval period. The buildings were demolished in 1758 and replaced by a substantial building, Hosier's Almshouses (SA 11083). Foxe's almshouses were built by in Corve Street in 1593, on part of the yard of St Leonard's chapel. A component is defined based on modern property boundaries (SA 11102). The medieval leper hospital of St Giles in Ludford was demolished and the site occupied by Ludford House. A row of new almshouses was built in the 17th century on a site west of the church (SA 10938).

Guildhall (SA 11237). The town corporation continued to use the medieval guildhall through the post-medieval period, although the building was substantially rebuilt in the 18th century.

Market places (SA 1793 and SA 6307). The encroachment on the large open medieval market place by permanent buildings is not a well-documented process, but it is clear that by the 17th century the extent of building was such that there were two distinct open market places: Castle Square to the west and Bull Ring to the east. Castle Square (SA 6307) formed a rectilinear market place and held a market hall from at least the 17th century (SA 6156). The Bull Ring (SA 1793) was a funnel-shaped space and contained the medieval tollhouse (SA 11052) and a conduit house (SA 6238).

Public buildings (SA 3760, SA 6156, SA 11052, SA 11140 and SA 11225). The medieval tollhouse (SA 11052) continued in use in the post-medieval period. A timber market hall is documented in Castle Square in the early 18th century; it was replaced by a new market hall in 1706 (SA 6156), which was open on the ground floor and had assembly rooms above. A new town hall was built at the top of Broad Street in the 1560s (SA 3760); it was replaced by the classical style Butter Cross in 1743 (SA 11140). The medieval grammar school (formerly in the churchyard; SA 1777) was established on a new site in Mill Street in the early 16th century (SA 11225). A workhouse was established in Old Street in the 17th century and was used until the 19th century (SA 11255; Lloyd and Klein 1984, 90).

Street system (SA 6270 and SA 6308). The medieval street system continued in use in the post-medieval period; there were a few minor changes and a distinct post-medieval component is identified in Ludlow (SA 6308).

Bridges and fords (SA 1178, SA 1790, SA 6260, SA 6261, SA 10951). The medieval bridges and fords continued in use in the post-medieval period. Dinham Bridge (SA 1790) was rebuilt a number of times in the post-medieval period but it remained a

narrow bridge until the 19th century, so the ford (SA 6263) continued to be used for wheeled traffic. The medieval Corve Bridge was replaced by a new stone bridge in c 1789 (SA 10951).

Tenement plots (SA 6185, SA 6190, SA 6191, SA 6192, SA 6193, SA 6194, SA 6195, SA 6196, SA 6197, SA 6198, SA 6199, SA 6240, SA 6241, SA 6242, SA 6243, SA 6244, SA 6245, SA 6246, SA 6247, SA 6248, SA 6249, SA 6250, SA 6251, SA 6252, SA 6253, SA 6254, SA 6255, SA 6296, SA 6297, SA 6299, SA 6302, SA 6303, SA 6304, SA 6305, SA 6306, SA 6309, SA 6310, SA 6312, SA 6314). There are three components in Ludford: SA 6256, SA 6257, SA 6258).

The identified medieval tenement plots continued to be occupied in the post-medieval period, and some areas of the medieval town saw a change in use. The medieval Carmelite Friary (cf SA 6171) was in private hands from 1539 as tenement plots, including a large house; the area is defined as a component (SA 6299). St John's Hospital (cf SA 1771) was dissolved in the 16th century and was also divided into tenement plots (SA 6312). Parts of the medieval town defences were leased for houses, and these areas can be identified (SA 6309 and SA 6310), and the area called "Christ's Croft" in Dinham was also built on by the post-medieval period (SA 6314).

Part of the medieval market square was occupied by rows shops by the 17th century, and many of these were rebuilt in the 18th century; three separate components are identified (SA 6303, SA 6304 and SA 6305); there also encroachment on the Bull Ring market place (SA 6306).

Five tenement plot components have been archaeologically investigated. The evidence from tenement plot components within the defences is rather limited, although post-medieval deposits have been recorded at two locations (SA 6162: Morriss 1988, and SA 6111: Morriss and Shoesmith 1990). An investigation in the tenement plot component north of Castle Square (SA 6243) produced limited evidence for 18th and 19th century occupation (Wise 1975; SA 6110). There is a greater quantity of archaeological evidence from the extra-mural areas of the town. Archaeological evidence the site of the former Carmelite Friary (cf SA 6171) recorded a 16th century building and other post-medieval deposits (Klein and Roe 1987; SA 1772). Post-medieval cultivation soils have been recorded in Lower Mill Street (Hughes 1990; SA 6112).

Great house (SA 6313). Ludford House was built in the late 16th century on the site of the former Hospital of St Giles (cf SA 1794).

Mills (SA 2579, SA 3756, SA 6181, SA 6184, SA 6266). Five of the six medieval mills identified on the River Teme and River Corve remained in use in the post-medieval period (Faraday 1991, 108-111). The "Old Mill" (SA 3756) in Mill Street and the fulling mill (SA 2579) in Broad Street remained in use until the 19th century. The "New Mill" (SA 6181) at the bottom of Old Street was rebuilt in 1610 and in the 18th century, which remains as a standing building (SA 11281). Castle Mill (SA 6184) and Ludford Mill (SA 6266) were also rebuilt in the post-medieval period (SA 15751 and SA 10942). The Corve Mill (SA 6183) does not appear to have continued in use in the post-medieval period.

Open space (SA 6179 and SA 6311). The outer ditch of the medieval castle was turned into a pleasance in the late 16th century when a summer house was built by Sir Henry Sidney. The area was turned into a public walk in 1772, and archways were cut into the curtain wall of the outer bailey to effect a circuit of the castle (Hope 1909a, 258-9, 321). The outer ditch of the castle and part of the inner bailey are defined as a post-medieval open space (SA 6179).

The town defences were leased for limepits, gardens and houses by the 16th century;

the more inaccessible areas remained as open spaces. A component is identified (SA 6311).

4.3 Post-medieval urban form

Definition and classification. The post-medieval urban form (SA 6315) has been defined and mapped, based on the extent of the identified urban components. The available evidence indicates that the post-medieval urban form of Ludlow can be classified as a post-medieval medium-sized market town (English Heritage 1992).

Survival. Archaeological investigations have taken place in Ludlow and the thickness and depth of post-medieval deposits below modern ground surface has been recorded. Within the defences post-medieval deposits *c* 0.30m thick have been recorded at two locations: at Broad Street (SA 6162) and Bull Ring (SA 6111). At other locations post-medieval deposits were up to 0.75m thick (SA 6112). In most locations it is probable that post-medieval deposits may be encountered a short distance below the modern ground surface.

A large number of buildings dating from the 16th to late 18th century survive in Ludlow, and the survival rate of buildings built before the end of the 18th century is remarkable, which is linked to the relative stagnation of the economy in the 19th century (see section 6.4). The post-medieval town preserved in its plots and streets the plan of the medieval town and its constituent parts, including the lineaments of those areas which showed the greatest change of use, such as the friaries.

5 Post-1800 archaeological evidence

The remit of the present study has not allowed for a detailed survey and assessment of the archaeological evidence relating to Ludlow in the period from 1800. Further work is required before such an assessment can be carried out. However major archaeological remains have been identified, including the railway station (SA 6117 and 6119) and railway embankments (SA 6118, SA 6264 and SA 6265), iron foundries and other factories (SA 6135, SA 6148, SA 6149, SA 6155), tanneries (SA 6127 and SA 6147), timber yards (SA 6130, SA 6131, SA 6136, SA 6137, SA 6145), sandpits (SA 6134), quarries (SA 6151, SA 6152, SA 6153, SA 6154), brickworks (SA 6120, SA 6122, SA 6123, SA 6124 and 6129), malthouses (SA 6140, SA 6141, SA 11116) and a ropewalk (SA 6158).

In the 19th century new public buildings were erected, including a new market hall (SA 6143), a theatre (SA 6161), workhouses (SA 6121 and SA 6159) and almshouses (SA 11116). A total of eight chapels and churches are recorded (SA 6125, SA 6132, SA 6138, SA 6139, SA 6142, SA 6144, SA 6146, SA 6160). There are 43 listed buildings dated to the 19th century within the study area.

6 Specialist assessments

6.1 Artefactual evidence J D Hurst

There is a limited amount of artefactual evidence available for Ludlow. The earliest artefacts from the study area are prehistoric lithics (SA 2964, SA 3511 and SA 3775). Excavation on the site of the Carmelite Friary (Klein and Roe 1987; SA 1772) has produced medieval pottery and a wide range of other artefacts, and there are also other finds of this period from the town (SA 3764, SA 3759, SA 6112, SA 6162). Decorated medieval floor tile, and an unusual 14th century ampulla (now in the British Museum) are known from the castle (SA 6116; SA 1176). Finds from the Augustinian Friary also include decorated floor tiles (Botfield 1863; SA 6172). Artefacts of post-medieval date

include a pike (SA 1762) and other finds (SA 6111, SA 6112, SA 6162); from the castle there a number of finds of this date (SA 6113, SA 6115, SA 6116).

6.2 Environmental evidence E A Pearson

Although several excavations have been undertaken, there has been no policy of wet-sieving samples for environmental remains. The only environmental evidence retrieved to date has been hand-collected human bone.

Documentary evidence and the Anglo-Saxon name of the town indicate that a tumulus or prehistoric barrow existed beneath the church, within which three burials were apparently discovered (Eyton 1861; Gelling 1990; SA 1263). During excavations at Carmelite Friary six inhumations, interpreted as lay burials, were recovered (Klein and Roe 1987; SA 1772). Information on age, sex and pathologies (such as severe tooth and gum decay and osteoporosis) was obtained. Although no other environmental remains were studied by specialists at the above site, deposits were recorded which indicated high potential for survival of environmental remains. Fire destruction deposits were rich in charcoal, burnt timbers and daub, while other deposits covering floors were rich in plant remains, small animal bone and also contained traces of eggshell.

6.3 Primary documentary evidence P A Stamper

Ludlow is one of the best documented English medieval towns. Especially notable are the *c* 1500 13th to 16th century deeds and other documents relating to over 200 properties in Ludlow acquired by the town's Palmers' Guild, which in 1551 passed to the Corporation (Faraday 1991, 77-95). Its medieval and early modern prosperity and trades are reflected in the records of the Hammerman's Society and the Stitchmen's Company. Also exceptional are the range and quality of church records and those deriving from the administration of the poor. Ludlow's heyday as a fashionable regional centre between the later 17th and early 19th centuries produced two classes of record which are again unusually numerous. Firstly there are the solicitors' and family accumulations of papers dealing with the ownership and administration of property. Secondly there are the drawings, paintings and later photographs of the town, many of which are reproduced (Lloyd and Klein 1984).

Ludlow is the best studied of Shropshire's towns, the most substantial and comprehensive study based on documentary sources being by Faraday (1991). Other modern studies of note include those deriving from the work undertaken since 1976 by the Ludlow Historical Research Group (eg Lloyd 1979), whose research into primary sources is doing much to unravel the history of individual properties.

6.4 Assessment of buildings analysis R K Morriss

General assessment. Ludlow is a large market town with a wealth of historic buildings. Indeed, the survival rate of buildings built before the end of the 18th century within the historic core is quite remarkable. The town essentially consists of a walled centre on the ridge between castle and church, and on the slope down to the Teme. In addition, there is a bridgehead settlement in Ludford, and a long suburban settlement along Corve Street - the road to the north.

The general impression of the town centre is that, apart from a few dozen timber-frames, its buildings are mainly Georgian and brick. This is quite misleading. Not only are there many medieval and post-medieval timber-framed buildings hidden behind render, brick, and even matchboard (eg 16-19a Raven Lane (SA 11276)), but rubblestone was an important building material up until the 19th century. Many of the grander Georgian buildings are built of rubblestone, with only their facades of brick.

The distribution of known medieval buildings within the walled area is widespread.

Timber-framed examples include: 3-4 Broad Street, an originally crown-post roofed late 14th century structure, possibly once with an arcaded ground floor (SA 10980); 1 Broad Street, a second crown-post roofed structure of *c* 1400 (SA 10978); and the 14th century Old Rectory in College Street (SA 11087). Stone-built houses are rarer, the known examples being the 15th century Palmers' Guildhall in Mill Street (SA 11237), the Governor's (or Castle) Lodge in Castle Square (SA 11053); and the curious range of *c* 1300 known as Barnaby House in Mill Street (SA 11225). Further away from the centre there are two similar late medieval timber-framed buildings at the lower end of Corve Street: The Great House (SA 11126) and 106-109 Corve Street (SA 11123). Their date could indicate that this suburb was being re-developed in the early to mid-16th century.

The medieval buildings are varied in design but many are associated with an open hall of some description. Those in the vicinity of the High Street/ King Street/ Bull Ring ridge and the portions of streets immediately adjacent tend to have been built to fairly rigid and limited plot boundaries and at right angles to the street. On the other hand, the Palmer's Guildhall in Mill Street was laid out parallel to the street, indicating either considerable wealth or less pressure on land.

The post-medieval buildings also have a wide distribution throughout the walled part of the town but there are more of them. They also survive in considerable numbers in the Corve Street suburb, Lower Broad Street, and Ludford. In general these are timber-framed, and the plots are still narrow, resulting in tall jettied buildings. The post-medieval timber-framed buildings in the small alleys of market infill at the eastern end of the former continuous market place are, not surprisingly, cramped and tall. They probably reflect medieval predecessors.

A distinct local style can be seen to have developed by the late 16th century, possibly even reflecting the existence of two separate teams of carpenters. One style consists of symmetry and proportion, with loose close-studding on two storey buildings with tall dormer-lit attics; examples include York House at the north end of Corve Street (SA 11104). The other style is more ornate and more common, three shallowly jettied stories with an hierarchy of framing pattern - close-studded on ground floor, herring-bone on the first floor, and ornate quatrefoils on the gabled second floors. Examples include 14-15 Raven Lane (SA 11275). The fact that such buildings can survive on what would have been quite minor back lanes (such as Raven Lane) clearly indicates that the town was very prosperous during the late 16th century. However, brick arrived late in the town, and the architectural evidence indicates that the town was in a decline from the early 17th to early 18th centuries.

In the 18th century, there was obviously a great revival in the town's fortunes, as witnessed by the very large number of Georgian buildings in the town. By no means all were new built. Many were simply the refacing in brick or stucco of earlier timber-frames. The architectural evidence also shows that this revival in the town's fortunes seemed to have petered out by the start of the 19th century.

The architectural evidence cannot really answer any questions as to the origins of the planned town. Over the Teme, Ludford is more loosely planned than the rest of the town, as is the Dinham area near the castle, but the buildings that survive in both areas are no earlier in date than the late 16th century. The town retains well-preserved rear plots, with a series of buildings of all periods from the late-medieval period onwards. There are few areas where these have been eroded.

Survey and analysis. Many of the town's historic buildings have been surveyed and aspects of its architecture analysed.

Assessment of the listing details. The old list was used in the study of Ludlow, as the new list that now supersedes it was not then available. The latter is a huge improvement but was only studied briefly. It appears to be comprehensive and well up to the standards now

expected. One building, however, has been studied archaeologically since the list was compiled and this has shown different features that would not have been previously exposed to even the most ardent inspector. 3-4 Broad Street is now confirmed as including a late-14th century structure subsequently and frequently altered, and a three bay late-medieval building later converted into a two-bay structure in the post-medieval period (Morriss 1988; SA 10980).

7 Archaeological research framework

7.1 Model of urban development

A model of the medieval and post-medieval town of Ludlow has been produced which is predictive and capable of testing through archaeological investigation. This model has both chronological and spatial (landuse) dimensions (see sections 2 to 6) and is based on an analysis of documentary, cartographic and archaeological sources. The model is derived from the current academic understanding of urban development in Britain, and forms one element of a developing regional research framework. The model is provisional and will be subject to confirmation or revision in the future as new information becomes available, or new studies lead to changing understandings of towns in the region.

7.2 Chronological framework

The archaeological and documentary evidence indicates that urban occupation commenced in the 12th century but probably developed from the nucleus of a medieval rural settlement associated with the castle originating in the late 11th century. In the late Saxon period the settlement focus was probably at Ludford.

Ludlow was described by Beresford as a new town, founded between 1086 and 1094 and laid out on a grid-plan orientated on the castle (Beresford 1988, 481), following ideas expressed by Hope (1909b). Butler described Ludlow as one of only five towns in England laid out on a grid before 1140, and suggested it was divided into eighteen quarters (Butler 1976, 38, fig 18c). However there are a number of contradictory interpretations of the cartographic and historic data. Conzen showed that the single-period "grid-plan" interpretation was untenable (Conzen 1968, 122), and in fact Ludlow does not exhibit the criteria for a true grid-plan defined by Butler (1976, 38). The term "grid-plan", in the sense of a single act of rectilinear planning (as at Flint or Conway), is probably inappropriate in the context of Ludlow. There have been more studies of the town plan of Ludlow than any other town in England, and a number of different hypotheses have been advanced for the development of the town.

Conzen proposed that Ludlow had a composite plan, and identified a sequence of "plan-units" within the town wall (Conzen 1968, 122-7, fig 2). The morphology of the town has been reconsidered recently by Conzen and a revised sequence of development proposed which included the entire occupied area (Conzen 1988, 262-271, fig 17.1B). Conzen suggested that the earliest settlement was Dinham, south of the castle. The "High Street unit" was laid out in the mid-12th century to the east of the castle after the construction of the outer bailey, and consisted of a large rectangular market place extending as far east as the Bull Ring (*ibid*, 264-5). Expansion followed in the later 12th century along Corve Street, Old Street and Upper and Lower Galdeford (*ibid*, 266). The last major episode of medieval planning was the Broad Street/ Mill Lane plan unit, dated to the mid-13th century (*ibid*, 266-7).

Conzen's interpretation was accepted and built on by Lloyd (1979) and Slater (1988, 98-100). However recently Slater has identified some problems with Conzen's proposed development sequence, and suggested that the High Street and Broad Street/ Mill Street plan units are in fact contemporary (Slater 1990, 71).

A completely different sequence of development has been offered by Hindle (1984, 1990), who suggested that the town developed as a linear settlement focussed on the Old Street/Corve Street axis in the mid-12th century (Hindle 1984, 5-6, fig 1). It is suggested that the High Street market place was laid out in the late 12th century, and Broad Street and Mill Street in the first half of the 13th century (*ibid*, 6-7, fig 2).

It is not possible to offer much comment on the various interpretations of the town plan proposed by historic geographers and others. The period under debate is the origins and early development of the town between the late 11th and mid-13th centuries and neither documentary evidence nor standing buildings provide plentiful material for this period. At the moment the various scenarios offered can only be tested against the internal logic of the analysis carried out. Archaeological evidence is therefore extremely important in elucidating the early sequence of occupation, and the various hypotheses advanced should be used as a framework for interpreting archaeological data.

Two further chronological themes which are of interest are the impact of the construction of the defences in the 13th century and the infilling of the market place. The construction of the town walls may have led to the abandonment of burgage plots in some areas and the reduced economic value of plots in other areas. This process may explain the apparent abandonment of a medieval building in Lower Mill Street (Hughes 1990; SA 6112) and the replacement of a major town house in Corve Street by the Carmelite Friary (Klein and Roe 1987; SA 1771).

The impact of the establishment of the Council of the Marches in the early 16th century certainly had a marked effect on the town's social life and economy, and resulted in the building of a number of "fair houses" for members of the court. This economic change has not yet been traced in any aspect of the archaeological record. Other social changes, such as the abolition of the Council in the late 17th century or the development of the town as a fashionable resort in the late 18th century, may be reflected more broadly in the archaeological remains. The destruction caused by royalist troops during the Civil War may be expected to be detectable through archaeological investigation, and may be useful marker for artefact studies.

7.3 Urban landuse

The medieval and post-medieval components identified here (sections 4.2 and 5.2) have been mapped and constitute a model of urban landuse for each period. These landuse models are partial and provisional and capable of testing through archaeological investigation. The urban components of Ludlow have been archaeologically investigated in the case of the castle, the defences, the two friaries, and a few tenement plot components.

Castle. The castle component is understood from the excellent work of Hope (1909a) and further detailed surveys and minor excavations by the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit, which has shown how much further information can be obtained from the standing structure. Ludlow Castle is unusual in having such an important function in the 16th and 17th century. The castle component may contain waterlogged deposits in its outer ditch, and must certainly contain important assemblages of artefacts or ecofacts. The outer bailey of the castle probably overlies part of the original medieval settlement of "Dinham".

Town defences. The construction and demolition of the town wall and gates is broadly known from documentary evidence. The line of the town walls is known and much of the structure survives, together with a few minor towers and some gates; however there has been no systematic study of this important monument.

Friaries. Ludlow's two friaries are well documented, and the sequence of construction is known in broad outline. The modern excavations of the Carmelite friary were quite small in extent, and much of the site has not been investigated. The Augustinian friary was

excavated in the mid-19th century, but the recorded remains have not been reconsidered in recent years, and no modern work has taken place at the site. Both friary sites have high potential for further investigation.

The Carmelite friary site is the most significant excavation in Ludlow, and the well-dated structural sequence (pre-friary domestic occupation in 12th to 14th century, friary from 1350 until dissolution in 1538, and subsequent domestic occupation) appears to have high potential for further study (eg ceramics) and full publication.

Tenement plots. There has been little archaeological investigation of tenement plots in Ludlow, and the most important evidence of domestic occupation is from the Carmelite friary where medieval houses were recorded beneath the friary buildings. To date the only archaeological evidence for industries is from the same Carmelite friary (bell founding and weaving). However documentary evidence suggests a number of areas where the evidence for domestic occupation is of particular interest.

The process of market place infill through the gradual replacement of temporary stalls by permanent shops, and the encroachment on open spaces (such as churchyards) is documented in many towns, and can be traced in Ludlow through the survival of 15th century buildings in infill blocks. Architectural and archaeological evidence is of importance in clarifying this aspect of the development of the town plan of Ludlow.

Lower Broad Street and the northern end of Corve Street have particular associations with the clothing industries in the medieval and post-medieval periods, and are close to water supplies and fulling mills. Documentary evidence suggests that the eastern suburb of Galdeford was the focus for farms and agricultural activity associated with the town fields from the medieval period (Faraday 1991, 104-5). The town barn stood here in the post-medieval period (SA 3753). It is possible that the archaeology of this area has a distinctive character relating to aspects of the economy of the town which might not be recoverable elsewhere.

7.4 Potential for survival of buried deposits

Stratified deposits have been demonstrated to exist within the urban area and some information is available on the depth of archaeological deposits. Buried remains in Ludlow have considerable potential for illuminating the development of documented industries in the town from the late 11th to late 18th centuries. The reduced economic importance of the town in the 19th century may have implications for the preservation of deposits throughout the urban area.

Fieldwork was undertaken by the Central Marches Historic Towns Survey in November 1994. The extent of 18th and 19th century cellarage was mapped, together with the extent of 20th century development (new buildings and major landscaping work). This showed that there was extensive cellarage along the main streets. The extent of modern re-development is variable: there is little such modern development within the defended core and moderate development in the extra-mural areas (ie Old Street, Upper and Lower Galdeford, and in Corve Street).

7.5 Potential for artefactual studies J D Hurst

General. Only a limited amount of archaeological excavation and evaluation has been undertaken in Ludlow, and so the extent of surviving artefactual evidence in buried deposits cannot yet be assessed in any detail. However there is the possibility that waterlogging occurs in the vicinity of the river, the castle ditches or the fishponds of the Augustinian Friary, and so artefactual evidence may be exceptionally well preserved in parts of the town. The discovery of a medieval turned wooden bowl (SA 3759) suggests that waterlogging conditions are present in Ludlow, though the precise circumstances of this discovery are unknown.

Well-stratified deposits (eg at the Carmelite Friary), and deposits of considerable thickness (Morriss and Shoesmith 1989) have been recorded in parts of the town. Substantial deposits features associated with the castle are likely to contain large artefactual assemblages, with a lower incidence of residuality than elsewhere in the town where occupation has been more intensive.

Period discussion. The artefactual evidence for both the medieval and post-medieval periods is relatively poor, except in the case of the Carmelite Friary. Most significant is the virtual absence of artefactual evidence for the castle, which, as Barker (1970) pointed out, must contain a rich continuous pottery sequence. The extent and character of artefactual evidence from the medieval town is also largely unknown.

The only objects that have been published in detail is an ampulla (SA 1176), and medieval floor tiles from the Augustinian Friary (Botfield 1863). There has been some selective publication of objects from the Carmelite Friary (Klein and Roe 1987). Other than pottery, there has been a wide range of artefacts from the Carmelite Friary, including several indicative of cloth working (weaving and spinning), and other industrial activities such as bell founding. A series of lead weights from here was rather unusual. Overall the medieval pottery assemblage from this site is probably of medium size (about 1000 sherds). No profiles of vessels have been illustrated except for reconstructions from the Carmelite Friary. No identification of fabrics has taken place except by Vince on pottery from Linney House (SA 3764), and some provisional fabric identifications included in a general description of pottery from the Carmelite Friary (Maxwell 1986). The latter included a small amount of imported German stoneware.

No post-medieval artefacts have been published, though there is a provisional listing of post-medieval fabrics in a short description of the ceramics from the Carmelite Friary (Maxwell 1986).

Comparison with documentary evidence. Documentary sources indicate a variety of crafts and industries were carried out in Ludlow in the 13th century, covering aspects of cloth manufacture, as well as potting and tanning. Leather working also seems to have been a feature of medieval Ludlow, which continued into the post-medieval period when gloving became a prominent activity. Brick making is recorded from the 16th century, and there is also the possibility of limited clay pipe making in the 18th century (Higgins 1987). The only one of these documented activities that has been paralleled in the archaeological record is cloth making (ie the worked bone weaving implements from the Carmelite Friary).

7.6 Potential for environmental remains E A Pearson

Despite a number of excavations having taken place in the town, there has been no wet-sieving for environmental remains. The full potential for research is largely unknown. As the soils in this area are likely to be at the most seasonally waterlogged, conditions for the preservation of organic remains by waterlogging can be expected to be limited. Nonetheless, occasional finds of wooden artefacts suggests that waterlogged or anaerobic deposits may exist in parts (cf section 7.5).

Waterlogging may also occur in deep features such as the remains of the ditch of the outer castle bailey and fishponds associated with the Augustinian friary (SA 4084). This material may provide information relating to the surrounding environment and to dumped occupational rubbish. As the soils are likely to be acidic, good survival of faunal remains such as animal bone and molluscs is likely to be limited. Environmental remains providing information on the occupation of the town may be recovered from tenement plots and land associated with the friaries.

Human remains may survive in graveyards associated with four documented churches

and chapels of medieval date. These remains have the potential to provide demographic information on the local population, and specific knowledge of the health of individuals. If buried soils are sealed beneath the earthworks of the castle, it may be possible to investigate the previous use of the land (eg whether the land was cultivated or pasture) using soil micromorphology and pollen analysis. In some cases there may be little other archaeological evidence for the previous use of the land.

Although no specialist sampling has been undertaken to retrieve environmental information to date, excavations undertaken at the Carmelite Friary have demonstrated that deposits exist which may be rich in biological remains (Klein and Roe 1987). These remains are likely to consist of waste from various activities carried out within or in the vicinity of buildings at this location.

It may be possible to gain information on the main industries of the town from environmental remains. It would be interesting to know whether crops used in the textile industry (such as fuller's teasel used in the fulling mills and various dye plants) were grown locally. It is known from documentary records that flax was grown within the borough, which may have been used for making linen. Should waterlogged deposits associated with such industries survive in the town, sampling for such remains should be a high priority. Features on sites associated with the tanning industry, may contain animal bone waste providing information on the animals used in this process.

As few environmental remains have been recovered in Ludlow, any environmental material would be of interest. This would provide information on the past environment, diet, living conditions, and agricultural and industrial economy. Future excavation should include a policy of sampling and wet-sieving deposits in order to recover plant, insect, molluscs and small animal remains in conjunction with hand-collection of larger items. Where appropriate, specialist sampling for soil and pollen analysis may be required.

7.6 Potential for study of standing buildings R K Morriss

Although there have been several books written about the architecture of Ludlow (eg Morriss 1993), and countless articles on individual buildings, there is as yet no synthetic academic study available. The town has a sufficiently high survival rate of buildings of all periods from the medieval to the early 19th century to warrant such a study.

7.7 Summary of research potential

The historic core of Ludlow contains buried archaeological deposits, and these are judged to have high potential. In addition there is high potential for the recovery of artefact assemblages, and moderate potential for the recovery of ecofact assemblages. The historic buildings constitute a complementary body of evidence, and are judged to have high potential for detailed study and recording. The surviving documentary sources are very extensive and consequently the potential for further study is high.

8 Management framework

8.1 Urban archaeological area

The mapped extent of the medieval and post-medieval urban forms defined above indicated the extent of the urban area (Ludlow Urban Archaeological Area).

8.2 Existing protection measures

The different parts of the urban area are afforded different measures of protection through legislation and the planning process. Directly relevant measures are outlined below.

Scheduled ancient monuments. There are four Scheduled Ancient Monuments in Ludlow, comprising the castle (Shrop 7), the town walls (Shrop 147) and Ludford Bridge (Shrop 73). It is possible that following the current Monuments Protection Programme, English Heritage may add other monuments in Ludlow to the schedule.

Listed buildings. There are over 360 buildings listed as of historical or architectural importance within the urban area. Buildings of special architectural or historic interest should receive very special attention. Such buildings are limited in their number and there is a need to protect and preserve them. The presumption when considering applications to demolish or alter is in favour of preservation. This presumption is also likely to preserve archaeological remains beneath and immediately around such buildings from development. It is important that the architectural and archaeological interests are considered together. The alteration of listed buildings requires the greatest skill and care to avoid damage to historic structures. Specialist architectural advice is given by the County Conservation Architect or through the District's own conservation officer where that District Council has their own specialist staff.

Conservation Area. A Conservation Area has been defined which partially encompasses the archaeological area (South Shropshire Local Plan: deposit draft (1992)).

8.3 Management approach

The archaeological urban area of Ludlow probably contains buried remains relating to medieval and post-medieval occupation, associated with contemporary buildings. The buried remains may vary in complexity and depth, but probably contain significant archaeological information. It is desirable that any proposed development within the urban area that has a potential impact on earthworks or buried remains should be assessed by the appropriate archaeological body.

The course of action recommended will depend upon the nature of the development and current planning legislation and frameworks. The archaeological response will be based on both the archaeological information summarised in this document and any subsequent archaeological information recorded on the County Sites and Monuments Record.

9 Principal groups of documentary sources compiled by P A Stamper

(SRO: Shropshire Record Office; SPL: Shrewsbury Local Studies Library)

SRO 356 and	Muniments of the Ludlow Palmers' guild. A full calendar to
SRO 1196	the main collection (SRO 356) is available (SRO 4385/1-2)
SRO 352	Records of the Hammermen's Society
SRO 353	Records of the Stitchmen's Company
SRO 356 and	Church records. Include churchwardens' accounts
SRO 2881	for 1469-71 and from 1608 onwards; registers from 1558;
	and large numbers of other papers from 1540
SRO 4208 and	Monumental inscriptions (internal) 1574-1988
SRO 191	
SRO 356	Poor rate assessments 1566-1804; overseers' accounts from
	1636; apprenticeship indentures 1652-1766; settlement and
	bastardy papers (etc) 1664-1799
SRO 1141	Tithe map and apportionment, 1846
SPL MS 24	Collections for a history of Ludlow
SPL Deeds	Deeds and other documents, accessible via computerised
	catalogue; not a major collection

Shropshire Record Office. The main solicitors' accumulations are SRO 1141 and

SRO 5411. Many other collections (eg SRO 20 and SRO 4032) contain smaller collections of deeds and other papers relating to Ludlow property.

Other collections. Lord Boyne's muniments at Burwarton House (Shropshire) include the solicitor's accumulations of Benjamin Baugh, one of the town's 18th century attorneys. The John Rylands Library, Manchester, possesses a court book of Ludlow manor 1661-4.

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11 Mapping

The illustrations for this report comprise CAD plots of the urban components for each period and a location plot of archaeological remains combined with OS digital map data (1995) at 1:5000. These plots are current at the date of the completion of this report (March 1995). After this date new information will be held by the Shropshire/Hereford and Worcester County Council Sites and Monuments Record.

- * Historic buildings (listed and other recorded buildings) and urban area
- * Archaeological remains and urban area
- * Medieval urban form and components
- * Post-medieval urban form and components
- * Urban area and scheduled ancient monuments