

ESSEX

ISSN 0308 3462

ARCHAEOLOGY & HISTORY



VOLUME 12

1980

THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Essex Archaeological Society was founded in 1852

Its objects are:

- (1) To promote the study of the archaeology and history of the County of Essex.
- (2) To collect and publish the results of such studies in annual issues of *Transactions* and other publications.
- (3) To make researches, undertake excavations and field surveys, and assist in the preservation and recording of ancient monuments, earthworks, historic buildings, documents, and objects of archaeological interest and importance.
- (4) To provide library facilities for members and approved students.

Publications

The articles in its *Transactions* range over the whole field of local history. Back numbers and offprints are available; list and prices on application to the Librarian. Libraries requiring complete runs can often be assisted.

Excavations

The Society is closely involved with excavations in the County. Details of current projects, on which help is usually welcome, are given in the Newsletter.

The Library

The library is housed at the Hollytrees, High Street, Colchester, and is extensive. It aims to include all books on local history, and has many runs of publications by kindred Societies. Full details of hours, etc., can be obtained from the Hon. Librarian.

Membership

Application should be made to the Hon. Membership Secretary for current rates

Articles for Publication are welcome and should be set out to conform with the Notes for Contributors, of which offprints are available. They should be sent to the Hon. Editor.

A list of officers, with addresses, will be found on the inside back cover.

Cover by Barbara Wells, L.S.I.A.

Member Societies in Essex

A.W.R.E. (Foulness) Archaeological Society; Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society; Clavering Local History Group; Essex Society for Family History; The Friends of Historic Essex; Great Bardfield Historical Society; Great Chesterford Archaeology Group; Ingatestone and Fryerning Historical and Archaeological Group; Maldon Archaeological Group; Saffron Walden Historical and Archaeological Society; Saffron Walden Museum Society; Southend-on-Sea and District Antiquarian and Historical Society; Waltham Abbey Historical Society; West Essex Archaeological Group; Woodford and District Historical Society.

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THE TRANSACTIONS OF
THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Dedicated to the memory of
JOHN HORACE ROUND
1854–1928

VOLUME 12 (Third Series)
1980

Published by the Society at the Museum in the Castle 1981

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Editorial

When the first volume of this journal appeared in 1868 printing was cheap, and even tooled leather bindings were no great problem. Archaeological discoveries were described with much speculation, and frequent reference to classical writers. Though we may occasionally regret their lack of attention to immediate detail, there can be no doubt that their authors had a good prose style, often at its best when pouring scorn on contemporaries with contrary opinions. Nevertheless, these early volumes are still significant contributions to the study of our county's history and were doubtless avidly read and discussed around the tea table.

Nowadays, with every area in which we are interested developing more and more resources on which conclusions must be based, it is not surprising that ordinary members (and we are all ordinary members when reading for our general interest) feel that this journal is tending to become the province solely of the specialist. The feeling, reflected in the commercial success of lavishly illustrated periodicals, has also been responsibly communicated to your Publication Committee, where it has been, and is being, considered, with sympathy. Your Committee are aware that it is no answer, however true it may be, to point out that, in such alternative publications, fact and fiction are often uncritically related, and that brief reference to the County Archaeological Section or the Essex Record Office will show that Boadicea or Queen Elizabeth did not set foot in the chosen parish or inn.

For our part we may remind our readers that the recent volumes which they have received have in many cases cost far more than their *total* individual subscription for the year. That we have been able to do this is thanks to generous grants made by the Department of the Environment towards the publication of the many excavations they have supported over the last 20 years. Inevitably, therefore, volumes have had a substantial archaeological content, for there are, alas, no comparable grants available to the historian.

To some degree the absence of historical articles has also been due to the lack of suitable copy, but there are good signs that this is ending, as the present volume demonstrates. While, therefore, your Committee are resolved not to abandon proper standards of reference and criticism, they are equally resolved to maintain a proper balance between the various aspects of material and documentary history.

It is ironical that our current problems, arising from an influx of technical resources, are not, as might reasonably be expected, offset by technical advances in the process of reproducing the written word. True, photolithography has been a great help, but this and related techniques have failed to bridge the all too familiar gap between income and expenditure. New and radical methods are, of course, available, but the adoption of any of them, be they microfiches, 'floppy discs' or videotapes, imply a change of attitude so fundamental that we can only contemplate it with extreme caution at the present time. We note, for example, that the sound recording industry has been stimulated, rather than exterminated by the advent of radio and television, while libraries have never been so popular.

So, while making every effort to control costs, we shall continue our self-appointed task of acting as the principal medium for the propagation of the history of Essex. We appeal especially for authors capable and willing to master and distil the varied elements of our county's story without sacrifice of proportion or truth, while we shall continue to provide a place where individual studies can be properly presented.

Our previous volumes contained surveys, for example, of brasses or wall paintings. New research in both these areas suggests that they could be subject to revision, while we could list stained glass (ancient and 19th century), church monuments, church structures, and vernacular buildings of all kinds as possible areas of research on the material side, and social and political history of every kind on the documentary side as alternative fields of study.

Interest in local history, both above and below ground, has never been so great, and shows no sign of abating. We are determined to ensure that, as in the last century, so in that to come, *Essex Archaeology and History* shall remain an essential reference in every county bibliography.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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John Horace Round

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The Early Career of J. H. Round: The Shaping of a Historian

by DAVID STEPHENSON

The books for which J. H. Round is most widely known were the products of his middle age. *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, the first of them, was published in 1892, when Round was thirty-eight; *Feudal England* came in 1895 and *The Commune of London* in 1899; his two collections of essays on peerage and family history¹ appeared in 1901 and 1910, and his last book, *The King's Serjeants and Officers of State*, was published in 1911, some seventeen years before his death. I exclude from this list the posthumously published collection of earlier essays, *Family Origins*.²

As is fairly well known, Round's output in his last years was curtailed by ever more frequent and severe attacks of the illnesses which had plagued him from his youth. In 1926, some two years before his death, he wrote to Falconer Madan,³ 'I am and have long been "on the shelf" and so bad an invalid that I have two permanent trained nurses in charge of me day and night. So even a letter is now a *grievous* effort to me. It is a long time since I was able to get downstairs to my library. . . .' In contrast, the work of his early years was extensive and of considerable significance. In the first place, an examination of his early career is essential to an understanding of Round's characteristic approach to the writing of history.

Round's studies typically took the form of short, highly specific articles on narrowly delimited topics, often topographical or genealogical. Time after time, a portentous title in the bibliography of his works is found to conceal a paper of but a few lines, often dealing only with some relatively trivial point of detail. All too frequently, these short contributions were dominated by venomous correction of other writers' errors. That his output was so scattered, and so often reminiscent of the vendetta, makes his achievement as a constructive historian difficult to evaluate. Now, before we can appreciate what Round actually did, we perhaps need to understand what he was trying to do. Most particularly, in an age when scholars of his stature normally painted on a broad canvas, his fragmentary approach invites explanation.

In his article on Round in the *Dictionary of National Biography*,⁴ Sir Frank Stenton commented that he was naturally unfitted for the task of large-scale writing, as a result of the frequent bouts of illness which afflicted him. Yet doubt may be cast on the validity of this judgement by the vast output which Round achieved. The published bibliography of his works lists over six hundred articles and reviews in scholarly journals, eight major books, and as many shorter books and pamphlets, twenty-one contributions to volumes of the *Victoria County Histories*, fourteen to the volumes of the Pipe Roll Society, seventy-nine articles in the *D.N.B.*, twenty-five in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, as well as four volumes of reports on claims to peerages and baronetcies. And, as will be seen, that bibliography by no means encompasses the whole range of Round's published works.

His obituary notice in *The Times* called attention to his prodigious will-power, energy and memory,⁵ and there seems no doubt that history on the grand scale was within his capabilities. This was certainly the view of Round taken by Sir Charles Oman, who considered that he had little excuse for not having produced a continuous history of Norman England. This failure was explained by Oman in the following damning terms:⁶

Apparently the hindering cause, so I was informed by one of his friends, was not ill-health—but a determination not to risk a reputation for infallibility by committing himself on points of detail where some of the many authors whom he had scarified in controversy might find a crack in his harness.

'I have written too many slashing reviews.'

Seen in this light, Round's concentration on highly technical subjects looks like a deliberate retreat into obscurity, into territory so arid that others might not follow him through it; his local studies likewise appear to give him the opportunity to harry his adversaries from an impregnable position of local knowledge, for Round's local history was principally concerned with areas with which he had close personal connections: Sussex, and, pre-eminently, Essex.

There may be more than a little truth in so jaundiced a verdict, but it is, one feels, rather too simple to represent a complete explanation of the nature of Round's work. In passing, it may be recalled that Oman had suffered several maulings at Round's hands, and was thus probably a little too ready to believe the worst of him.

In fact, the study of Round's early career reveals a number of other explanations of the course which his scholarship was to take. Most fundamental is his relationship with the great William Stubbs. Round went up to Balliol in 1874 to read Classics; after moderations, however, he switched to Modern History. At that time Balliol lacked a Modern History tutor, and so undergraduates received tuition elsewhere. In particular, the college negotiated a special arrangement with the Regius Professor, William Stubbs, who in 1876 was appointed chaplain to the college, and agreed to tutor a small group of Balliol's most promising undergraduates: these were C. H. Firth, R. L. Poole, T. F. Tout and Round.⁷ Stubbs's influence on each of them was profound, and through examining this, we can see that though Round is not normally associated with any distinct school of history, he is nevertheless not as lonely a figure as is generally supposed.

Stubbs is the one authority to be accorded consistent respect by Round: 'Stubbs, my old master', runs like a refrain through his work. The preface to *Geoffrey de Mandeville*⁸ contains fulsome praise:

If in the light of new evidence I have found myself compelled to differ from the conclusions even of Dr. Stubbs, it in no way impeaches the accuracy of that unrivalled scholar, the profundity of whose learning and the soundness of whose judgement can only be appreciated by those who have followed him in the same field.

Later in the same decade, the verdict was unchanged, for in *The Commune of London* Round refers⁹ to Stubbs's 'almost infallible judgement'. Elsewhere he is 'the acknowledged master, our supreme authority'.¹⁰ Indeed, time did little to diminish Round's regard for Stubbs: his warmest tribute is reserved for his last book, *The King's Serjeants*, where he comments¹¹ that:

It is no doubt owing to the fact that he wrote as a scholar for scholars, whether in his *Constitutional History* or in his great Prefaces to the series of *Chronicles and Memorials* that the true greatness of Stubbs is not more widely known. It may be that this is not the place for insisting on the vastness of his learning, the soundness of his judgement or the supreme merit of the work he did for English history; but those who have realised this for themselves, and who have even been privileged to receive instruction at his hands, cannot readily forego any opportunity of expressing their sense of the debt due to him, and of its somewhat imperfect appreciation.

And in a paper on Navestock (Stubbs's old living), published in the E.A.S. *Transactions* in 1924,¹² Round again proclaimed his admiration:

Of his wisdom, of his patience, of his untiring industry, it is not for me to speak, but I shall always be proud of having had him, when at Oxford (1876–8), as my master, and in later years as a friend.

In the same paper, Stubbs is noted, most significantly, as 'one who has become the recognised historian of the English constitution'.

Indeed, each of the four illustrious pupils of the 1870s seems to have believed that Stubbs had

written the definitive history of English medieval constitutional development. The careers of the medievalists, Round, Tout and Poole, were shaped by that conviction, for each took to lines of inquiry which might add to, amend, but not replace, Stubbs's own analysis. All three devoted themselves to highly technical subjects. Tout became primarily an administrative historian, eventually producing his monumental but modestly titled *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*. Tout's object here was to supplement Stubbs's work 'by setting forth in detail the history of the great administrative departments'.¹³ Poole, who was to remain a close friend of Round, also made notable contributions to administrative history, and worked fruitfully on medieval political thought, on chronology and diplomatic.¹⁴ Much of his work can be read as a supplement to that of Stubbs.

It is into this pattern that Round fits. Such constitutional history as he produced was written to illustrate or carry forward Stubbs's work. Thus, the preface to *Geoffrey de Mandeville* contains¹⁵ the following declaration of intent:

'The reign of Stephen', in the words of our greatest living historian, 'is one of the most important in our whole history, as exemplifying the working of causes and principles which had no other opportunity of exhibiting their real tendencies.' To illustrate in detail the working of those principles to which the Bishop of Oxford thus refers, is the chief object I have set before myself in these pages.

Feudal England, in which his Domesday and related studies loom large, contains in its preface¹⁶ an acknowledgement of 'the encouragement my researches have received from the approval of our supreme authority . . . I mean the Bishop of Oxford'. Again, Round's work on the mayoralty and on the commune of London was almost certainly a response to Stubbs's comment that 'medieval London still waits for its constitutional historian'.¹⁷

We may suspect, however, that William Page rather misconstrued that situation when he wrote¹⁸ that 'it was only for the years over which the influence of Stubbs lasted that Round worked, and worked brilliantly, on constitutional history'. This implies that Stubbs's influence was of limited duration and accounts only for Round's constitutional studies. But that was surely not the case.

In his address as President of the E.A.S. in 1918 Round referred to 'my own special province, that of genealogy and local history'.¹⁹ Now, whilst it would be quite incorrect to suggest that Stubbs had awakened Round's interest in these two departments of study, there can be little doubt that the bishop both encouraged him to explore them, and helped to define Round's view of the role of such studies. Thus in 1896 Stubbs wrote to his protégé: 'I take great interest in the Essex work. I was, with Landon and Cutts, one of the patriarchs of the Essex Society.'²⁰

Stubbs had included genealogy and local history among those pursuits which were ancillary to the main stream of history, those which 'here and there . . . add a really precious contribution, but chiefly are valuable as drawing in students to the higher and nobler study'.²¹ This view did much to shape Round's attitude. Of genealogy he was thus to write that 'the service which this branch of study can render to the general historian can easily be overrated',²² and again he was to refer with mild self-deprecation to 'the unexpected aid that even a genealogist may be sometimes able to give the workers in quite another department of our common studies'.²³ The pursuit of local history, too, was for Round a lesser activity than the construction of national history. He drew a firm line between the two. He told the E.A.S. in 1916 that archaeological societies were obviously of primary importance for local history; but he brought them the news that archaeology might also render valuable services even to national history: 'For the dignity, for the worthiness of our study, I wish to impress upon you that it can.'²⁴

In yet another, and more positive, way Stubbs helped to direct the careers of Round and his fellows. Many volumes in his monumental series of editions of medieval chronicles, which formed the basis for much of his later work, had already appeared in 1876. Now in his statutory lectures of the late 1870s, he called for more work on medieval record sources; Round, Tout and Poole

undoubtedly heard these lectures, and certainly they answered willingly and fruitfully Stubbs's call.²⁵ Round's contribution was a distinguished one: his editions of exchequer records, charters and portions of Domesday are first rate, and many of his articles are short and pungent object lessons in the correct use of such sources. But here, again, Round envisaged no more than a subordinate role for his efforts. He told the E.A.S. in 1916:

The material used by the historians is, after all, more limited for the Middle Ages than is generally realised. On that material the historian has now been long at work; the chronicles he has practically exhausted, and he is reduced at last to records. He is, in fact, gleaning in a field the crops on which have long been reaped.²⁶

The master-pupil relationship with Stubbs, therefore, goes far to explain Round's failure to produce long works of connected history; his role, to a large extent quite consciously adopted, was to gloss Stubbs's work, and to develop the use of sources supplementary to those so successfully worked by the bishop. In 1876 Stubbs had praised the work of the rising generation of German scholars who were producing dissertations 'on minute points of English law, chronology, even geography and personal history'. He was sure, he said, that they were not working without plan, but had a great object: 'to increase human knowledge in minuteness of accuracy as well as in breadth and firmness of grasp; to perfect the instruments of historic study'.²⁷ The words almost serve as a prospectus for the career of Round.

But important as the relationship with Stubbs was, there are other aspects of Round's early career which provide us with insights into the nature of his work—and here it is necessary to look at writings which lie beyond the scope of the published bibliography. We shall concentrate here on two collections of writings by Round, both of particular interest to students of Essex history, and both very little known.

In the first place are articles and letters written by him to the *Essex Standard*—forerunner of the present *Essex County Standard*. Round published material in this newspaper throughout his career, but the flow of contributions was greatest in the 1880s. He did not begin to contribute until the end of 1881, and there are some years, such as 1887–9, when little or nothing appears over his name. Even so, the list of his letters and articles in the 1880s runs to sixty-six items, many of them substantial.²⁸

The second collection of material consists of a series of letters written to Alderman J. B. Harvey of Colchester in the early and middle 1880s. They deal nominally with the sorting and cataloguing of the books of the Harsnett Library in Colchester—but they contain many fascinating digressions. Most of the letters are amongst the Harvey papers in Colchester Public Library,²⁹ but a few are to be found in the borough archives, left there when Harvey sorted through the muniments in the late 1880s.³⁰ These letters may be usefully supplemented by Round's contributions to a correspondence with J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, also in the 1880s.³¹

Together these writings tell us a lot about the young Round. He was a staunch Tory, and was active in helping his cousin James Round to fight and win the Harwich division in the elections of that period. Many—nearly half—of his contributions to the *Essex Standard* are of a political nature.³² This is consistent with his writing elsewhere: his many articles in the *St. James's Gazette* in these years dealt largely with politics, and the first of his booklets, *The Coming Terror*, published in 1881, was a warning against the rise of socialism. Indeed, if Round had any career marked out for himself at this early stage, it was almost certainly as a political journalist. His historical learning and talents were pressed into the service of politics—hence he drew elegant comparisons in some of his *Essex Standard* articles between what he regarded as the tyranny of Oliver Cromwell and what he took to be the tyranny of W. E. Gladstone. Even in his history of Colchester castle, published in 1882, he could not resist introducing a somewhat irrelevant equation of the Liberal general election victory of 1880, with the Jacobin Terror.³³

Writing on political topics occupied a greater proportion of his output in the early 1880s than at any subsequent time, but Round was never able, or willing, to keep politics out of his history.

Whether in terms of content or of authorship history for him almost always had a political dimension.

Early in 1884 Round agreed to give a lecture at Colchester, in aid of the hospital. It was originally to have been on the case of Lucas and Lisle, but on 14 March he wrote to J. B. Harvey to say that he wished to change the topic to 'The Battle of Colchester, 13th June, 1648'. This, he said, 'had the advantage of being less political in character, and therefore more agreeable to an assemblage of both parties'.³⁴

It was at about this time that Round began to attack the works of E. A. Freeman. The assault was to range widely over the whole of Freeman's writings, but was concentrated most murderously on his history of the Norman Conquest. So much is well known. What is not generally appreciated is the fact that Round had initially been a great admirer of that work: in 1882 he had called it 'perhaps the noblest monument of modern historical literature'.³⁵ His indignation against Freeman had been aroused only by the latter's pamphlet of 1884 on the origins of the House of Lords, which was suffused with Freeman's political radicalism. Round angrily suggested that it had 'the deliberate object of inflaming the passions of the populace'. The attack on Freeman's *Norman Conquest* now became a political as well as a scholarly duty: it extended over a dozen years, a score of articles, and half of *Feudal England*, which includes, under the name Freeman, perhaps the most extraordinary series of index-entries in any serious work of history.

Freeman was of course only one of Round's victims, who were all attacked with great violence. As contributions to historical debate, his critical papers seem, and seemed, unreasonably savage and abusive. But seen as extensions of the habits of controversy which he had already developed in the political arena, they become more intelligible. It should be added that there can be no doubt that Round enjoyed the controversies in which he engaged. It is hard to discern where scholarly duty ended and sport began. In his later years, he assumed an attitude of irritation, that his time should be wasted by the need to correct errors;³⁶ but in his earlier days he was more open about the pleasure which he derived from such exercises. Even as an undergraduate, he indulged in a laborious, rather malevolent jest at the expense of his lecturer, Franck Bright. He wrote to his father: 'Bright's third volume has just come out. Twice as large as the two first ones and probably twice as dear. I am compiling, as a little souvenir for him, a copious list of errata in his first Volume.'³⁷

And in a letter of January 1886 to J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps,³⁸ Round explained: 'I *am* a bowlin' of 'em out!—a pursuit all too congenial to "the official nightmare" as Selby now happily terms me.'

In May of the same year, he wrote gloatingly of 'the bottled thunder and lightning that I dispatched to the Athenaeum this morning'.³⁹

A further point revealed by the material from the 1880s is a somewhat paradoxical one. Round was undoubtedly a solitary character in many ways; he never married, and lived for much of his life an isolated existence at his house, 15 Brunswick Terrace, Brighton. The Brighton house indeed had some of the characteristics of a mausoleum, where 'every glass shade and every antimacassar occupied exactly the same place that it had occupied when his father was alive'.⁴⁰ In a sense this merely perpetuated the existence which Round had shared with his father, whom he had tended through years of illness before his death in 1887. His mother had died in 1864, when he was only ten years old, and his father, stunned by the loss, had retreated into the life of a recluse.

Horace Round was not able to break out of this existence into the company of schoolfellows, for he was not sent to school, but instructed at home by private tutors. William Page drew large conclusions from this, attributing his bitterness in controversy in large part to his 'missing the formation of character which a public school gives and for which a university career was no substitute. Being of a studious and intellectual nature, he thus became somewhat self-centred.'⁴¹

The paradox lies in the fact that this solitary, self-centred individual could be exceedingly generous of his time and energy in causes in which he had no immediate 'interest'. Such was the case of his co-operation with the Colchester Liberal Alderman, J. B. Harvey, in the matter of the Harsnett Library. This library, bequeathed to the town in 1631 by Archbishop Samuel Harsnett,

had been housed in several premises, until it was lodged in the castle, owned since the late 18th century by the Round family. There the books became, in some instances, confused with those of the Castle Book Society.

The initial impetus for the proper preservation and cataloguing of the Harsnett books came, within Colchester, from J. B. Harvey, but Round acted virtually as Harvey's agent in negotiations with the British Museum and London bibliographers, which eventually resulted in the preparation and printing of a catalogue. He also conducted detailed research at Colchester in order to ascertain which books should form part of the Harsnett, and which of the Castle, collections. Round receives only an incidental mention in the introduction to the printed catalogue,⁴² but his side of a lengthy correspondence with Harvey, extending over four years, has survived, and reveals the great effort which he expended in the matter. The help was not given altogether ungrudgingly: in one of his letters he complains that 'the business has already made heavy demands upon my time, and my literary work presses'.⁴³

Here we have an early example of the many voluntary efforts by Round which were to absorb, if not waste, his energies. Most notable was his tendering of advice to the Treasury Solicitor on peerage matters, which began early in the 20th century and was regularised in the post of Honorary Adviser to the Crown on Peerage Cases, which he held from 1914 to 1921. Round poured his time and energy into these labours, but in one of his last letters, to Gurney Benham, he wrote: 'As I had nothing to gain from them, and far more important work to do—as an historian—this was probably a great mistake. But it cannot now be rectified.'⁴⁴

It looks very much as though Round never managed to maintain a firm order of priorities as between his many different activities—as political journalist and worker, essayist, editor of texts, genealogist and historian. That is not to say, however, that he did not recognise priorities. The letter to Benham already mentioned refers intriguingly to Round's more important work as an historian. Now, the close study of his output in his early years suggests what this work was—or at least a highly significant part of it.

If we look at the list of articles and letters which appeared in the *Essex Standard*, we cannot but be struck by the number of contributions—nearly thirty—relating to Colchester history. No less impressive is the range of these notes—many span the 17th century, but there are several dealing with the Middle Ages, with excursions into the Roman period and into the 18th century.

Now, we should bear in mind that the 1880s saw several other notable works by Round on Colchester history: 1882 was marked by his publication, anonymously, of a history of Colchester castle, and it was also the year of his four articles in *The Antiquary* on Colchester in Domesday Book. Several other contributions to the same journal dealt largely or exclusively with the town, and in 1887 Round issued, privately, a history of St. Helen's Chapel, which had been recently acquired and restored by his cousin, Douglass Round.

If we turn to the correspondence with Harvey, the picture is the same. On 10 September 1883 we get a hint of what Round is working at:

Among some hundreds of old sermons which I have lately hunted through for information, I have only made one 'find'—the triumphal sermon of Mr Owen [the well-known minister] on the surrender of Colchester. But it is fearfully lengthy, and almost devoid of information.⁴⁵

Later in the same month he writes:

I should be glad to have another look at the Records of the time of the siege, on my return to Colchester, so as to complete my information on the politics of the Aldermen and leading councillors at the time.⁴⁶

A period of illness followed, but on 17 December Round again writes:

Now that I am strong enough to set to work again, I am devoting myself strenuously to Lucas and Lisle.⁴⁷



15 Brunswick Terrace, Brighton, home of J. H. Round.

Courtesy Brighton Museum

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By 15 August, fresh discoveries had been made:

I feel sure you will like to know that I have recently come across copious information on Oliver Cromwell's charter to Colchester, on which Morant was unable to give any information. The whole story is of great interest and importance, and admirably illustrates the Protector's high-handed method of government. With my knowledge of the politics of almost every Alderman of the time, I shall hope to make a valuable article on it some day, for the *Essex Archaeological Journal*.⁴⁸

We can recognise in the last three extracts the genesis of his later paper of 1890 on 'The case of Lucas and Lisle', read to the Royal Historical Society, and his article of 1900 in the *English Historical Review* on 'Colchester during the Commonwealth'. But the letter of 15 August also reveals that Round was concurrently looking beyond the 17th century:

I have also been working as far as other subjects permitted, at a matter of the greatest importance, historically speaking, viz. the traces of the Village community of Historic and Prehistoric times at Colchester. Any land-maps in the possession of the corporation would be of great use to me for this.⁴⁹

It was evidently this work which ultimately lay behind the detailed discussion of the Boroughfields which he included in his presidential address to the E.A.S. in 1916.⁵⁰

Further references in the letters to Harvey are more tantalising: 'I was working at MS. records relating to Colchester, in London last week' (2 September 1885). 'I am engaged upon an article relating to Colchester for the *Essex Archaeological Transactions*' (15 February 1886).⁵¹ The early months of 1886 also saw Round writing to J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps about the early Chamberlains' Accounts of the borough and thanking him for sending an engraving of a Colchester borough seal.⁵² Round seems to have wanted to see the engraving in connection with his work on the legend of St. Helena, which he incorporated in his booklet on St. Helen's Chapel.

It is an inescapable conclusion, from the quantity and scope of his work on Colchester in the 1880s, that Round was projecting a history of the town. This is, indeed, no mere surmise. We have already encountered extracts from the letter of December 1927 to Gurney Benham. In it he confessed that as a young man his chief ambition had been 'to write on modern lines a complete history of Colchester'.

'Unhappily I put off till too late so vast an undertaking. Now unfortunately this work is no longer possible for me, as I have gradually broken down from overwork and exhaustion.' Two years earlier, Round's last letter to James Tait, written from bed, with Round describing himself as 'absurdly weak', had also revealed that Colchester was much on his mind. The letter dealt with Tait's article on 'Liber burgus' for the collection of essays to be presented to T. F. Tout. Round referred Tait to an entry on Pipe Roll 2 Richard I regarding the liberties of Colchester. And he mentioned William Farrer's unfinished work, 'a warning to those of us who are getting old'.⁵³

It now becomes clear that the articles on Colchester which appeared in the *Essex Standard*, and those pre-figured in his correspondence with Harvey, are far more than aberrational departures from the medieval institutional history and genealogy for which Round is chiefly remembered. Again, the histories of the castle and of St. Helen's Chapel are more than exercises in family piety. All are fragments of a major lost work.

The genesis of that work is not far to seek: once again, William Stubbs is clearly responsible. In the course of his professorial lectures in 1876, which stressed the need for more intensive and thorough research, Stubbs bemoaned the state of English municipal history. 'The devotion with which the local and municipal institutions of Germany have been studied sets us a fine example', he declared. 'In England we do not possess one single complete and detailed monograph on town life.'⁵⁴ It was surely this gap in English historical scholarship that Round proposed, and ultimately failed, to fill.

This is a slightly modified version of the original paper.

NOTES

1. *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, London, 1901; *Peerage and Pedigree: Studies in Peerage Law and Family History*, London, 1910, 2 vols.
2. *Family Origins and other Studies*, ed. William Page, London, 1930. This most valuable volume contains Page's important memoir of Round (ix–xlvi) and his extensive, if not exhaustive, bibliography (xlix–lxxiv).
3. Bodleian MS. Eng. hist. G.158.
4. *D.N.B.*, 1922–1930, 727–31.
5. *The Times*, 26 June 1928.
6. C. Oman, *On the Writing of History*, London, 1939, 215–16.
7. F. M. Powicke, *Three lectures*, Oxford, 1947, 12–13.
8. *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, vii.
9. *The Commune of London*, 225.
10. *Ibid.*, 207; *Feudal England*, xiv.
11. *The King's Serjeants*, 52.
12. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, n.s., **xvii** (1924), 194.
13. T. F. Tout, *Chapters*, I, iv.
14. See for examples *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (1912), and *Studies in Chronology and History* (1934).
15. *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, i.
16. *Feudal England*, xiv.
17. See *The Commune of London*, 220, where Round quotes this phrase, which is to be found, in the text of a lecture of May 1876, in W. Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the study of Medieval and Modern History*, Oxford, 1887, 72.
18. *Family Origins*, 'Memoir', xlviii.
19. 'Architecture and Local History', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, **xv** (1919), 127.
20. Essex Record Office, D/DRh, f. 15, letter of Stubbs to Round, 21 June 1896.
21. Stubbs, *Lectures*, 58.
22. *Family Origins*, i.
23. The Sphere of an Archaeological Society, *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, **xiv** (1916), 208.
24. *Ibid.*, 194–5.
25. At the close of his paper on 'The Marshalship of England', in *The Commune of London*, 302–20, in which he prints several previously unpublished documents, Round comments that 'their discovery rewards, at rare intervals, the toil of original research. . . . To this research, as Dr. Stubbs has urged, historians have now to look.' He cites Stubbs, *Lectures*, 41–2: a slip, such as he would have punished in others, for 71–2.
26. 'The Sphere of an Archaeological Society', 193. This theme was a recurrent one in Round's work; he had even used the same phraseology in earlier writing: see the opening paragraph of his paper on Richard I's change of seal, *Feudal England*, 539.
27. Stubbs, *Lectures*, 71.
28. See Appendix.
29. Colchester Public Library, J. B. Harvey scrap-books. These books are unnumbered and, for the most part, unindexed.
30. Colchester borough archives; bundle of papers relating to the Harsnett Library in a metal box containing miscellaneous material.
31. Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections.
32. Appendix, especially *sub* 1882.
33. *The History and Antiquities of Colchester Castle*, Colchester, 1882, 63.
34. Colchester Public Library, Harvey scrap-books.
35. W. Page, 'Memoir', in *Family Origins*, xxii.
36. See in particular his attack on Walter Rye in 'The Legend of Eudo Dapifer', *Eng. Hist. Review*, **xxxvii** (1922), 1–34.
37. Essex Record Office D/DRh, f. 13. This is an important collection of letters written by Round when an undergraduate. The letters are not dated or numbered, so that their sequence is not easy to establish. They deal in detail with family matters and with Round's life in Oxford while he was studying Classics; there is little information on his work for the Modern History School.

38. Edinburgh University Library, Special Collection, LOA, 289, f. 24.
39. *Ibid.*, 286, f. 51v.
40. Gurney Benham, in the *Essex County Standard*, 30 June 1928.
41. Memoir, in *Family Origins*, xlvii–xlviii.
42. Gordon Goodwin, *A Catalogue of the Harsnett Library at Colchester*, London, 1888 (not published), xxxii–xxxiii.
43. Colchester Public Library, Harvey scrap-books.
44. Extracts are quoted by Benham in his notice of Round in the *Essex County Standard*, *ut supra*.
45. Colchester Public Library, Harvey scrap-books.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. 'The Sphere of an Archaeological Society', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, **xiv** (1916).
51. Colchester Public Library, Harvey scrap-books.
52. Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, LOA, 286, f. 43; 289 f. 24v.
53. F. M. Powicke, *Modern Historians and the Study of History*, London, 1955, 58–9.
54. Stubbs, *Lectures*, 72.

APPENDIX

Letters and articles by J. H. Round in the *Essex Standard*, to 1890

E.N. & Q. = Essex Notes and Queries

1881

- 17 Dec. The Farmer's Friend.
31 Dec. Land Reform.

1882

- 7 Jan. Landlordism.
4 Feb. Government by Garotte.
18 Feb. The Farmers' Alliance Bill.
18 Mar. The Cloture.
8 April In and out of office.
22 April In and out of office.
6 May The Balkan Gate.
13 May Ireland's Answer.
27 May A Liberal's Protest.
26 Aug. Colchester Castle.
2 Sept. The reign of Anarchy.
30 Sept. Lessons in Massacre.

1883

- 6 Oct. An Episode in the Colchester History.

1884

- 10 May The Battle of Colchester—report of a lecture by J.H.R.
24 May The Battle of Colchester.
7 June The Battle of Colchester.
21 June The Battle of Colchester.
23 Aug. The Devil in Danbury Church.
30 Aug. Middlesex a fragment of Essex, E.N. & Q.
6 Sept. Field Names, E.N. & Q.
20 Sept. Could Henry Beauclerc speak English Familiarly?
27 Sept. Tenures in Essex, E.N. & Q.
The Abbots of St. John's, E.N. & Q.

- 4 Oct. The List of Colchester Mayors deceased during office.
 11 Oct. Lucas and Lisle, E.N. & Q.
 Destruction at the Castle, E.N. & Q.
 22 Nov. The Plague at Colchester, E.N. & Q.
 6 Dec. Archbishop Harsnet.
 13 Dec. Essex Wicks, E.N. & Q.
 Essex Field Names, E.N. & Q.
 20 Dec. Archbishop Harsnet.
- 1885**
 24 Jan. The French at Harwich, E.N. & Q.
 28 Feb. A whale at Harwich in 1617-18, E.N. & Q.
 7 Mar. The Privileges of the Sokens, E.N. & Q.
 Rent.
 The Lords and the People.
 14 Mar. Rent.
 21 Mar. Colchester in the Civil Wars, E.N. & Q.
 2 May Letter in appreciation of C. Gunner, late sub-curator of the museum.
 Wolspittle, E.N. & Q.
 16 May The Chiveling Martyrdom, E.N. & Q.
 30 May St. Leonard's (Colchester) Registers.
 18 July Colchester Market Cross, E.N. & Q.
 1 Aug. Arc Tithes National Property.
 8 Aug. National Property.
 Roman Coin at Colchester, E.N. & Q.
 31 Oct. The Tithe Question (two letters).
 21 Nov. Church Endowments.
 5 Dec. Municipal Offices in Colchester.
 12 Dec. Discovery of a Rebow Monument, E.N. & Q.
- 1886**
 2 Jan. Municipal Offices II.
 16 Jan. Disendowment.
 30 Jan. Disendowment.
 12 June A Baptist on the Decalogue.
 1 July A Baptist on the Decalogue.
 24 July Batchelor's Gift, Colchester.
 21 Aug. The Harsnet Library.
 2 Oct. The Coastguard Vote.
 9 Oct. The Demolition of the Burghold.
 30 Oct. The Demolition of the Norman Building at Colchester.
- 1887**
 8 Jan. The Jubilee.
 12 Feb. St. Botolph's Priory.
- 1888**
- 1889**
 3 Aug. Royal visits to Colchester.
 Nov. Colchester's First Charter.

J. H. Round and the Beginnings of the Modern Study of Domesday Book: Essex and Beyond

by PETER B. BOYDEN

Unlike Gaul and model sermons I believe that it is possible to divide the study of Domesday Book into only two parts. On the one hand there is the use of the statistics and information contained in the Survey in the writing of social, economic, political and administrative history during the third quarter of the 11th century; and on the other the more modern study of the processes by which the final text of Domesday Book as we know it today came into being, and the aims and rationale behind the whole undertaking.

It was the late Professor Sir Frank Stenton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*¹ who claimed that Round 'had founded the modern study of Domesday Book', and, as we shall see, by the time of his death Round had made a profound impact on ideas about Domesday in both of the main areas of the study of the record that I have just mentioned. Round's theories on the making of Domesday Book remained largely unchallenged until 1942, and although now discredited by subsequent research, deserve considering in some detail, as do the attacks that have been made upon them. On the other hand his work on the nature of England in the Domesday period—and above all the introductions to translations of some twelve counties' Domesday entries in the *Victoria County History* series—have stood the test of time remarkably well, and formed the basis of subsequent research.

In the first portion of this paper I propose to consider Round's views on the making of Domesday Book, whilst in the second I shall consider his topographical contribution to Domesday studies, with especial reference to the introduction to and translation of the Essex Domesday text, published in Volume I of the *Essex Victoria County History*, which appeared in 1903.

In 1886 'The Domesday Commemoration' was held, and Round represented our Society at its meetings, as well as delivering two papers—the only two of those delivered which are still worth the attention of modern students. In 'Danegeld and the Finance of Domesday' Round began by referring to the 'discovery' of a document in the British Library which is known by the 19th-century name of the 'Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis' (I.C.C.). This manuscript was first brought to the attention of the academic world in 1756 by a Mr. Webb, who claimed that there was an 'inseparable connection . . . between the Domesday Survey and Danegeld', a view held by Freeman, for once quoted with approval, and subscribed to by Round himself.² In fact Round only introduced Webb and the I.C.C. as a peg upon which to hang a brilliant account of gelds, and various matters related to this sophisticated taxation system. It was not until nine years later, with the publication of *Feudal England*, that the world was treated to a full-blown exposition of Round's views on the I.C.C. and its key place (as he saw it) in the making of Domesday Book.³

In view of the importance placed by Round on the I.C.C. in his theories it is as well to describe this rather remarkable document before turning to the interpretations of its place in the compilation of the Survey. The only known copy of it is British Library Cotton Manuscript Tiberius A.VI.5, which also includes the 'A' text of the 'Inquisitio Eliensis' (of which more anon)

and other documents relating to the Abbey of Ely. The surviving copy is an incomplete 12th-century transcript, a number of pages having been lost from the end of it. That it is in some way closely related to the collection of data which ultimately resulted in Domesday Book as it exists today is beyond doubt. It gives details of the tenants of manors in both 1066 and 1086, and all the other classes of data on holdings common to Domesday Book Volume I, together with details of demesne livestock. The big difference between the I.C.C. and Domesday is that whereas the latter is arranged feudally, the I.C.C. is arranged geographically, hundred by hundred, and within hundreds vill by vill.

The description of each hundred opens with a list of the jurors of the hundred court who swore to the accuracy of the returns. In the case of a manor which included the whole of a vill the description of it usually continues after the name of the place and its 1086 tenant with its hidage, the number of its ploughlands and plough-teams, details of its population, meadows and pasture, livestock and value and finally the identity of its 1066 occupier. For vills which were divided between several manors the total hidage of the settlement is stated before the accounts of the individual holdings begin. Since it contains material which is not to be found in Domesday Book the I.C.C. cannot be derived from it, but neither is the converse true since Domesday gives details of Royal Manors which are either ignored altogether by the I.C.C. or have only their hidage recorded. That the I.C.C. belongs to some early stage in the evolution of Domesday is not open to argument. The disagreements amongst scholars arise from their varying interpretations of the importance and place of the I.C.C. in that evolutionary process.

Round had no doubt that the I.C.C. was the magic spell which solved all the mysteries of the compilation of Domesday Book. *Feudal England* began with the sentence: 'The true key to the Domesday Survey, and to the system of land assessment it records, is found in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*.' The next three pages are occupied by an account of the neglect and attention paid by scholars to the document down to Round's own day, which includes the inevitable, if veiled, dig at Freeman, 'most ardent of Domesday scholars', who 'knew nothing of this precious evidence'. The text of the I.C.C. was only published in 1876 by Hamilton, and he described it as 'the Original Return made by the *Juratores* of the County of Cambridge in obedience to the Conqueror's mandate, from which the Exchequer Text for that county was afterwards compiled by the King's secretaries'. Round showed that the I.C.C. was not itself the original return, but was derived from a document produced before the final return of the commissioners which was sent to the Treasury at Winchester.⁴ These returns (so Round believed) were in the form of rolls, wherein the details of the estates described were arranged by hundreds as in the I.C.C. In the Treasury this information was rearranged on a feudal basis, and what is now referred to as Domesday Book Volume II was the first attempt at this codification. Its 'unsatisfactory character', to quote Round himself, 'must have demonstrated the need for a better system, which, indeed, its unwieldly proportions must have rendered imperative', and so after what he described as a 'reform' the scribe managed by jettisoning much of the information included in the original returns to compress the description of England minus the three Eastern Counties into what is now known as Domesday Book Volume I.⁵

Whilst admitting that his 140 pages of argument in *Feudal England* was 'all hypothesis'—even if 'an hypothesis suggested by the facts'—Round never saw fit to modify his views on the making of Domesday Book after 1895. He had, however, laid himself open to attack by totally ignoring the 'Liber Exoniensis', or 'Exon Domesday', and it was through the study of this document, thought (amongst others by Morant) to be a rough version of the return for the five south-western shires, that has led to the rejection by the majority of Domesday scholars of Round's I.C.C.-based theory during the post-war years.

It is right to give the lion's share of the credit for provoking a rethink on the making of Domesday to the late Professor Vivian Hunter Galbraith. I cannot, however, let slip the opportunity to pay tribute to the work of a less-known though equally brilliant scholar who lived not twenty miles from here for over thirty years, the late Rex Welldon Finn. In his magisterial book on the 'Liber Exoniensis' Finn provided the world with the definitive account of this fascinating

document, and in his other works showed himself to be a Domesday scholar to be ranked alongside Maitland, Ballard and Round himself. In 1942 Galbraith published an article in the *English Historical Review* entitled 'The Making of Domesday Book'. A book with the same title followed in 1961, and in 1974 came his last thoughts on the subject in *Domesday Book and its place in administrative history*.

What we may refer to as the Galbraith theory of the production of Domesday Book can be summarised thus. There were no returns in the form in which Round conceived them, but rather Domesday Book Volume II is itself the original return from the Eastern Counties Circuit which for some reason was never abbreviated like those for the rest of the country included in Volume I. The information was gathered feudally from the start, and, as I have already said, the Exon Domesday was the rough draft from which the final return from the south-west, similar in style to the present Domesday Book Volume II, was produced. Whilst this theory manages to account for the Exon Domesday which Round had ignored, the I.C.C., being a geographically rather than feudally arranged document, did not fit comfortably into Galbraith's scheme. It may well be said that to Galbraith and his successors the I.C.C. has assumed a similar role to that occupied by the Exon Domesday in Round's hypothesis.

Galbraith claimed that the I.C.C. was either a 'fortuitous survival of what must have been at the time a huge mass of similar documents'—which Round's theory required—or 'a jealously preserved copy of a document recognised as extraordinary when it was first made'.⁷ Of the two options he chose the latter—which fitted well with his theory, but sadly did not explain *why* the I.C.C. should have been compiled in the first place. The fact that ancient demesne manors of the Crown were not described in the I.C.C., but referred to as being detailed in the 'breve regis', suggested to Galbraith that the I.C.C. 'was no more than a preliminary draft of what was to be, through addition and revision, the local return to Winchester, but already it envisaged the information as arranged under owners, and had made a beginning with the first *titulus* of the return—the *terra regis*'.⁸ This may be so, but since Galbraith managed to show that the I.C.C. was compiled from a series of lists of manors arranged by tenants in chief, his reasoning suggests that a series of feudally arranged lists were rearranged on a hundredal basis, only for the purpose of producing a feudally based return on the lines of Domesday Book Volume II!

From what I have already said it should be clear that the problems of the I.C.C. and its relationship to the production of Domesday Book as we know it are complex, and too involved to be adequately discussed in this paper. Indeed, the whole subject of the I.C.C. needs a thorough re-examination—something which it has not received since the publication of *Feudal England*. Even if we go along with the view of the majority of contemporary Domesday scholars that the I.C.C. is a transcript, or a copy of a transcript, of the proceedings before the Domesday Commissioners in Cambridgeshire, it is difficult to escape from the conclusion that the document was put together in its present form for some purpose, and it is hard to deny that the chances are that the purpose was none other than as a basis for the preparation of the return to the Treasury at Winchester of the description of Cambridgeshire.

In order to elaborate upon and justify the last statement it is necessary to introduce into the analysis a further manuscript which I have already mentioned in passing—the survey of the estates of the Abbey of Ely, known by the modern name of the 'Inquisitio Eliensis'—or the I.E. Three versions of this document survive, which details the Abbey estates in hundredal order for Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk and Huntingdonshire. The details of stock, plough-teams and population are the same as those in both Domesday and, for Cambridgeshire, the I.C.C., and there must be some connection between the I.E. and Domesday, although precisely what this is is open to question. Since the description is prefaced by the terms of reference of an inquisition which could well be those for the Domesday Survey itself, it seems simplest to assume that the I.E. is derived from a copy of the returns made to the Commissioners by the Abbey, which was kept for their own future reference. Round, however, held that the I.E. was compiled in return to a writ issued by William I between September 1086 and September 1087, to

enquire into the extent of the Ely estates,⁹ whilst Galbraith held that it was compiled in 1093 on the death of the Abbot Symeon.¹⁰ Without a thorough study of the estates of Ely and their vicissitudes after the Conquest, which is at present lacking, we cannot here enter into a discussion of the occasion for the compilation of the I.E. However, it cannot be denied that the information preserved in it is derived from data collected during the earliest stages of the Domesday Inquest.

The descriptions of the estates in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire in the I.E. are prefaced by a list of the hundredal jurors who swore to the truth of the information supplied to the Commissioners. The lists for Cambridgeshire clearly list the same men as those mentioned in the I.C.C., although that cannot have been derived directly from the I.E. nor vice versa. However, the I.E. also gives the names of the jurors of the three hundreds in Hertfordshire in which the Abbey held land. It is to be noted that they are not given for the Eastern Counties and Huntingdonshire. The explanation of this is probably to be found in the fact that whilst Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire were in the same Domesday 'Circuit', the other four counties were in different ones.¹¹ If we dare assume that the *scriptorium* for the Circuit which comprised Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire was provided by the Abbey of Ely itself—as Exeter did for the five south-western shires—this would suggest that details of hundredal court proceedings were readily available to the scribes who compiled the I.E.¹²

What I wish to propose is that there was once a document arranged in similar fashion to the I.C.C. for Hertfordshire, and possibly the other shires in the same Circuit, which was compiled by the Domesday Commissioners for that Circuit under the mistaken belief that they were to produce a geographically arranged return. Having subsequently ascertained that a feudal document was required, they recast the data, and the exemplar of the I.C.C. was kept in the library at Ely. At least one later copy was made of it, and the whole of Hertfordshire and such other counties as may have been included, together with the end of the description of Cambridgeshire, was subsequently lost.

I do not pretend to have completely proved my case, but I believe that despite other objections to which the argument may be open, it does satisfactorily account for the I.C.C. in the new theoretical framework begun by Galbraith, which seeks to explain why and how Domesday Book was compiled. The relationship between the I.C.C., I.E. and Domesday is only likely to be further elucidated by detailed research on the documents themselves, and the history of the Abbey of Ely in the second half of the 11th century. Such a study is long overdue, but the foundations of it were laid by Round in 1895.¹³

Before leaving the subject of the making of Domesday Book it is necessary to say a little about Round's views on the reasons behind the compilation of the Survey. This is not an easy subject to discuss since he does not seem to have expressed any definite views on this, particularly in his early writings, although there are strong hints that Round believed there was a close connection between Domesday and the geld. In his paper to the Domesday Commemoration on 'Danegeld and the Finance of Domesday',¹⁴ Round drew to a great extent on information contained in the text of the Survey in his discussion of many facets of the geld. He agreed with Freeman that there was an 'inseparable connection between the Danegeld and the Survey', and that 'it is perhaps not too much to say that the formal immediate cause of making the Survey was to secure its full and fair assessment'.¹⁵ In the first sentence of *Feudal England* which I have already quoted he described Domesday as recording a system of land assessment—a strange phrase, but presumably meaning that he believed a motive behind the Domesday Inquest was to make a record of the geld liability of the various manors in the realm. Round's ideas on the geld and its relationship to Domesday seem to have been influenced by the writings of Webb, the 'discoverer' of the I.C.C., whose paper of 1756 in which he introduced the document to the academic world was entitled *A Short Account of Danegeld, with some further particulars relating to William the Conqueror's Survey*.

The logical outcome of a train of thought which tied Domesday to the geld was to imagine that the Survey was undertaken in order to provide the basis of a reassessment of geld liability—a process imagined anachronistically to be similar to a reassessment of modern rateable values. This view was first clearly stated by Maitland in *Domesday Book and Beyond*, the famous 'sequel' to *Feudal*

England, which appeared in 1897.¹⁶ Round accepted Maitland's statement as correct in the introduction to the *V.C.H.* edition of the Essex Domesday in 1903, adding 'that the recording of assessments on which the land tax of the period was levied' was 'the chief intention with which the Survey was compiled'.¹⁷

What Galbraith has described as 'The Geld Fallacy'¹⁸ is now universally discredited. Not only is there no contemporary evidence to support the notion of a reassessment of the geld in the mid-1080s, but it would be an extremely laborious undertaking to attempt one using Domesday Book. Domesday is a feudal document, and geld was collected by hundreds, so that in order to begin a reassessment it would be necessary to rearrange the Domesday entries into a series of hundredal lists like the I.C.C. Modern scholars tend to shy away from simple answers to complex questions, and would now tend to produce a number of reasons which could have contributed to William's decision to have the Survey undertaken, and shaped the fashion in which it was carried out.¹⁹ Certainly financial considerations were important, the wealth of the nation is recorded in some detail. Another important element seems to have been an attempt to settle disputed title to land—there were a number of major pleas and enquiries into difficult problems of title in the years between the Conquest and Domesday—which was perhaps partly designed to settle the outstanding differences once and for all. Finally the King's own curiosity in his new realm could have been an important factor in the whole undertaking.

The last word on the subject must lie with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicler, who was perhaps at the Royal Court at Gloucester in 1085, when 'the king had much thought and very deep discussion with his Council about the country—how it was occupied or with what sort of people. Then he sent his men over all England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in a shire, or what land and cattle the King himself had in the county, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he had a record made of how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops and his abbots and his earls—and though I relate it at too great length—what or how much every body had who was occupying land in England in land or cattle, and how much money it was worth. So very narrowly did he have it investigated, that there was no single hide nor virgate of land, nor indeed (it is a shame to relate but it seemed no shame to him to do) one ox nor one cow nor one pig which was left out, and not put down in his record; and all these records were brought to him afterwards.'²⁰

It is this detailed information which has of course made Domesday Book such a happy hunting ground for the county and parish historian. For the remainder of this paper I intend to discuss Round's work as a historian of the political, social and economic history of the counties of Domesday England, although before that it is necessary to say a few words about a remarkable series of four articles entitled 'Domesday Colchester' which he published in *The Antiquary* in 1882.²¹ In some respects this account may be seen as a prelude to the introductions to the county Domesday texts which were published in the *Victoria County Histories* during the first decade of this century. 'Domesday Colchester' has stronger claims to fame than that though, since (so far as I can ascertain) it is the first topographical 'Domesday' study that Round wrote, and ninety-seven years later the only substantial work on the subject. Illustrated with a map, the articles cover the inhabitants, King's lands, churches and other topics relating to 'the origin of our most ancient town'. Whilst already exhibiting some of the defects which his later county descriptions were to suffer from, 'Domesday Colchester' was a fine beginning to this important area of Round's work.

Mr. Powell has already explained to us Round's involvement with the *Victoria County History* project, and emphasised the immense amount of work that Round did in the early years during the launching of this ambitious scheme. Between 1900 and 1908 appeared introductions to translations of the Domesday descriptions of thirteen counties which were written entirely, or (in one case) partly, by Round; together with five county translations which he himself prepared—in the case of Herefordshire with the aid of others. In all 532 pages of introductions and 362 pages of translations, close on a quarter of which are the 244 pages of introduction and text of the Essex section of Domesday Book, published in 1903—Round's sixth introduction and fourth translation.

Before moving on to consider in detail the introduction to and later the edition of the Essex entries in *Domesday Book*,²² it is as well to point out the scale of this major contribution to our understanding of the history of Essex. The introduction is ninety-three pages long; the shortest county introduction Round wrote was the nineteen pages for Surrey. His second longest, that for Somerset, only ran to fifty pages, which is amazingly little for a county the size of Somerset, with the additional information from the *Exon Domesday* to consider in addition to the county text from *Domesday Book* itself. The length of the translation was of necessity largely dictated by the original Essex text, which is one of the fullest in *Domesday Book*. Round's edition runs to 151 pages; the next longest which he translated himself was Hampshire at seventy-eight pages, whilst Bates's edition of the Somerset entries runs to ninety-two pages. The length of the text notwithstanding it is difficult to escape from the conclusion that his work on Essex *Domesday* for the *V.C.H.* was very much a labour of love, and one which he treated more thoroughly than for any of the other counties which he tackled.

In the preparation of his work on *Domesday Essex* there were few secondary sources of value at Round's disposal apart from Morant's *History of Essex* and Ellis's *Introduction to Domesday Book*. In writing a ninety-three-page history of the county between 1066 and 1086 he had no previous exemplar, and no one amongst his successors has yet attempted to write a new account of the shire as a whole during this period. The introduction is a judicious and readable blend of genealogy and political, social and economic history, which begins with a consideration of the assessment of the county for the geld before moving on to Royal manors—where Round makes the interesting point that according to *Domesday* Edward the Confessor held no land in Essex in January 1066. His discussion of church lands draws attention to the general decline in the value of estates belonging to the Bishop of London, whilst those of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's tended to maintain their worth or to slightly increase. As we would expect from a 'feudal' historian of Round's calibre the lordships and honours created by the Norman invaders receive full treatment, especial mention being given to Odo of Bayeux, Geoffrey of Magnaville, Eustace of Boulogne and others. His discussion of their English predecessors is briefer, but does include important points of methodology to be employed when re-creating the land-tenure pattern of late Anglo-Saxon days. In addition to the revolution in land ownership Round also drew attention to the other marks of the Conquest on the county—the longer-term ones such as the Norman place names which still exist on the map of Essex, and the more immediate ones such as the depression in status of the peasantry, and the accelerated decline in slavery. The increases—sometimes exorbitant—in rents and manorial values also receive careful attention, as does that vexed question of the meaning of the values assigned to manors in *Domesday*.

Although the basic pattern of the agricultural economy of Essex remained little changed between the Conquest and the Inquest—the plough-team remained the basis of the arable system—Round does draw attention to two significant developments. The first of these was the increase in sheep farming on the Essex marshes where some 18,000 could be accommodated in 1086. Away from the coast in the north and west of the shire there was an apparent decline in pig farming as the woodland in which they lived was cleared to make way for more arable fields. A new facet of agriculture in Essex since the Conquest was the vineyards planted by some of the Norman barons at their chief residences. Clergy and towns receive short mentions—the rural nature of Essex was dominant in the later 11th century, and the great towns of Essex were London at one end of it and Colchester at the other. This view might, however, be a slight oversimplification, as it is not difficult to imagine that Maldon may have been a more important town than *Domesday* would have us believe.

When he comes to explain how he identified the manors recorded in *Domesday* we find that, like Morant, Round worked primarily backwards from the honours of the later medieval period. Inevitably some places mentioned remained (and in some cases remain) unidentified, and of course Round has no Reaney to help him out with these problem cases. The subject of identifying manors leads on to the related ones of the corruption of place names, the relationships between

manors and parishes, and the disappearance of place names over the centuries. The mysterious hundred of Thunreslau leads him on to consider the hundreds of Essex and their boundaries, making special reference to the hundredal order of the Domesday text. Short descriptions of duplicate entries and the legal proceedings of the Domesday Inquest end Round's comments on the county as a whole, apart from some now superseded ideas on Volume II of Domesday Book, and an appendix on coastal fisheries.

The entry for Colchester, which Domesday scribes treated as a separate entry, is similarly made into an independent chapter by Round. In many respects a recapitulation of his 1882 study, he compares Colchester with other towns in the Eastern Counties before proceeding to consider the houses and their plots and the King's land in the borough. Colchester was always farmed separately from the rest of the shire in the Middle Ages, and Round succeeded in identifying the farmer of the borough in 1086 as Waleran the Bishop of Winchester. Not only was he trying to extort more money from the town, but the payment for the mint had risen from £4 to £20, whilst the encroachments of the Royal manor of Stanway on to the borough land at Lexden had reduced the resources of the burgesses to meet these increased demands.

Having read through Round's essay on 'The Domesday Survey' the reader is ready to embark upon either working through the translation of the Latin text, or more likely to study the entries describing certain places which particularly interest him. It is difficult for the uninitiated to derive much from the entries unless he has first read the introduction, whilst the relative expert would also miss much of value. There is much cross-referencing between entries and the introduction whilst the Latin of difficult words and phrases is always printed in brackets after Round's English renderings of them. In many respects the Essex translation, like his others, is a model of the translator's and editor's arts. It is difficult to know the extent to which Round used Morant in his work; he was never slow in pointing out Morant's errors, but rather less hasty in drawing attention to his correct identifications and surmises.

To attempt a criticism of one of the greatest contributions to Essex historical writings is a daunting prospect, and one is glad that Round is no longer with us to administer the sharp retorts which were inevitably directed against those who presumed to suggest that he had been mistaken. It is certainly difficult to find errors of fact in his account of Domesday Essex if his remarks on the reasons for and the means of the compilation of the Survey are disregarded. There are, however, a number of occasions when one wishes that he had developed either a line of argument further or expanded his views on a particular area of the early Norman history of the county. Clearly it is anachronistic to condemn an early 20th-century historian for failing to discuss facets of the past which have only become fashionable (if not feasible to study) in recent years. Nevertheless there are both general and specific weaknesses in Round's analysis.

Probably the main general complaint against Round's Domesday writings, which was exhibited in his 1882 articles on Domesday Colchester, was his failure to make extensive use of the pre-1086 data contained in the Survey. This practice has sadly not died with Round, and, to far too many students of the period, Domesday essays are restricted to surveys of 1086, with at best occasional glances back at the conditions in 1066 and the score of years that followed the Battle of Hastings. This failure to fully utilise the information on the county on the eve of the Conquest is only slightly less unfortunate than the fact that Round wrote even less on events and developments in the years between 1066 and 1086. All of this is partly explicable in that Round was a feudal historian and genealogist, and in consequence his acquaintance with pre-1066 material was rather scanty. If Freeman was an unacceptable exemplar for Round, Maitland had begun the process of using Domesday evidence with Anglo-Saxon documents to try and unravel the economic and social structure of early 11th-century England in *Domesday Book and Beyond*. Round, however, was not another Maitland, and although he was successful to a point as an economic and social historian, it was men like Clapham rather than scholars of Round's generation who were to make the big advances in this field.

Before looking in detail at some of the weaknesses in Round's account of Domesday Essex it is

perhaps desirable to see how his work was received by his contemporaries, and how it influenced subsequent research. As has already been said, Round's introduction to the Essex Domesday text was the first attempt at an account of the early Norman history of the county. It marked a watershed in historical writings on Essex, and was immediately accepted as the standard work on the subject. In addition the vast number of 'spin-off' articles published in the Society's *Transactions* may have created the impression in the minds of many of Round's contemporaries that there was little more to be said on the subject. Certainly there was a marked dearth of what one may call 'Domesday' articles published in the *Transactions* in the years immediately after the appearance of Volume I of the *V.C.H.* in 1903.

It was not until 1910 that the first attempt to take up again the subject of Domesday studies was made with George Rickword's article 'The Kingdom of the East Saxons and the Tribal Hidage'.²³ In this paper Rickword attempted to relate the hidage of Essex as recorded in the Tribal Hidage to the Domesday assessment of the county. In the process he took up Round's remark that there were few traces in Essex of the five-hide unit found elsewhere in the Saxon shires, and found that it was possible to create groups of fifteen, twenty and twenty-five hides by amalgamating adjoining Domesday estates. Working on the basis that the number of Essex hundreds had been reduced from seventy to twenty between the compilation of the Tribal Hidage and the Domesday Survey, whilst the hidage had fallen from 7000 to 2800 in the same period, he attempted to create seventy hundreds of forty Domesday hides each out of the twenty Domesday hundreds. Unfortunately only five of these hypothetical hundreds contained exactly forty hides, although most of them came close to the desired total. Rickword, however, was convinced by his studies that 'Domesday Book [had] unwittingly preserved, unnoticed since it was first transcribed, that organisation of the East Saxon Kingdom which existed more than four centuries before its own compilation'. At the end of his article he noted that his work 'was perhaps liable to be overthrown by wider knowledge', adding that 'whatever its value, it could never have been undertaken but for the work already done by Mr. Round, whose inexhaustible knowledge of the subject illumines every volume of the great *Victoria County History* and whose erudition and keenness of critical insight have done so much to codify the labours and to expose the blunders of earlier workmen in the field of research'. Four years later appeared Round's reply to Rickword's implied criticism that he had not looked hard enough for his five-hide units in Essex, in which he took Rickword to task by explaining that the genuine five-hide units he referred to added up to exact multiples of five hides, and not approximations, as Rickword's did.²⁴

In the meantime Rickword had elaborated further on his theory,²⁵ whilst Mrs. Christy had attempted to augment and improve upon some of Round's identifications of the 'Ings' and 'Gings' of Domesday.²⁶ Francis had been excavating at Rayleigh Mount,²⁷ and it seemed as if the years 1912-28 saw something of a revival of interest in Domesday Essex. Round continued to contribute Domesday-based studies to the *Transactions*, but his death marked the beginning of a lapse of serious interest in this period of Essex history until 1964, when two articles which heralded a decade of important published contributions to our understanding of this period appeared in the *Transactions*.²⁸ 'The Essex Fees of the Honour of Richmond' by Mr. Powell, and Mr. Welldon Finn's paper on 'The Essex Entries in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*' were followed the next year by Malcolm Carter's valuable study on the 'Manors of Tolleshunta'.²⁹

The key figure in this revival of interest in Domesday Essex was Rex Welldon Finn. Primarily a Domesday rather than local historian, he wrote many important papers on the mid-11th-century history of most of the counties of England, including Essex. It is to him that we owe many advances in our understanding of the social and economic effects of the Norman Conquest, and he was the first scholar to attempt on a large scale to use Domesday evidence to write the history of the 1066-86 period. An important beginning to this line of research came in 1967 with the publication of his book on *The Eastern Counties*, the second in his series of Domesday Studies. Concerned with Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex only this stimulating study covers the Conquest and settlement of the area, with particular reference to the transference of estates from Anglo-Saxons to Normans, before

moving on to discuss in five chapters 'Administration, Society and the Economy'.

The Essex sections of this book are without doubt the most important single contribution to our understanding of Essex in the early Norman period since Round's introduction to the Essex Domesday text, although it needs to be stressed that in general terms Finn does not replace or correct Round, but rather adds on discussions of topics which were unthought of sixty years earlier. In 1971 he broke more virgin territory with the publication of the last of his Domesday Studies, *The Norman Conquest and its effects on the economy 1066-1086*. By utilising the statistical information on changes in population, manorial values and plough-teams he showed on a county-by-county basis how the Norman Conquest affected the agricultural economy of the country. In addition he also managed to show the routes taken by the invading Norman armies as they approached London in 1066, and, perhaps of more interest to us at the moment, discovered a remarkable decline between 1066 and 1086 in values, teams and population in the coastal areas of Essex, particularly the Tendring Hundred. He suggested that this might represent a scorched-earth policy by William in response to the threatened invasion by Swegn, King of Denmark, in 1085.^{30a}

There is clearly much more work to be done along the lines which Finn began to explore. In particular the suggested devastation of the coast in 1085 opens up avenues of research into the military history of early Norman Essex, with particular reference to Colchester and the other castles in the shire. In addition there are important subjects which neither Round nor Finn began to research in any depth, such as the evolution of the Essex hundreds, and local government in the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods. Although Finn did much to make good the defects of Round's analysis of the two decades after the Conquest, there is still little known of the state of the county in 1066, and it is two facets of this period which I want to begin to examine now.³⁰

One of the more serious defects of Round's *V.C.H.* essay on Domesday Essex was his failure to provide an overall impression of the power-structure in early Norman Essex. True his map of the county in 1086 goes some way towards this, as do some of his comments on the barons' fiefs. We do not, though, get a very clear impression of the revolution in land tenure which followed the Norman Conquest, partly because Round did not explore in any depth the complex subject of land tenure in 1066. The conditions prevailing in 1086 are clear enough: all land belonged to the King, and was held of him (in Essex) by eighty-seven tenants-in-chief in return for the provision of a fixed quota of knights for the feudal army. Many of these estates were sub-let to lesser men and other tenants-in-chief, but the real power lay in the hands of the sheriff, as bailiff of the Royal estates, the half dozen of the ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief with the most land, and the ten largest lay barons. The picture is clear to us, and was presumably equally clear to contemporaries, and no doubt can have existed as to who held the sinews of power in Essex in 1086.

How did things stand in 1066 though? In the first place there were many different ways by which men held their land—some owned it outright, others leased it, some held it by gift of the King, whilst others were tillers of sokeland and folkland. It is not necessary to read many folios of Domesday Book to learn how complicated was the land-tenure pattern of the late Anglo-Saxon period. Inevitably the conditions under which a man occupied a manor or a piece of land would affect his prestige in society; but what was the social framework of the county as a whole at this period, and where did the landed power lie? Round attempted to answer this question when he discussed the English predecessors of the Norman barons. He provided descriptions of the lands held by such prominent Anglo-Saxons as Leofwine Cilt, Ingwar, Sexi the Housecarl, Bricmar the Thegn and a few others, and explained that the inconsistent way with which the Domesday scribes described 1066 occupiers made it impossible to reach a 'general conclusion' on 'the proportion or local distribution of large and small estates in Essex before the Conquest'. The difficulties arising from beneficial hidation caused further problems, but he felt confident enough to say that 'the larger holders were steadily acquiring, even before the Conquest, rights over the smaller ones, even if "only such as commendation gave"'. This seems true to a point, although it may be that Round had an exaggerated idea of what the rights of commendation were, as had some of the Norman barons.

In order to discern the distribution of landed power in 1066 Essex it is necessary to rearrange the entries of Domesday Book so that they are listed under their 1066 occupiers. This is not an easy task since for 37.5% of the holdings (disregarding those recorded in the entry for the borough of Colchester) we are not given the names of their pre-Conquest occupiers, it merely being recorded that the land in question was held by *x* or *y* freemen or sokemen. Of the other 765 estates for which we have the names of their pre-Conquest owners it is possible to allocate with a reasonable degree of certainty some 386 of them amongst 221 named individuals. That means that it is only possible to identify the owners of about 30% of the estates of 1066 Essex. Whilst this is admittedly a small statistical sample, the results of analysing the data which is available are so striking as to suggest that the results obtained are not too far from the truth, and since it is very unlikely that further information will ever be forthcoming it seems right to examine that which is available in some detail.

A good overall impression of the land-tenure pattern in Essex on the day when King Edward was alive and dead can be obtained from Table I. It shows the distribution of estates in terms of numbers held by identified individuals. It can clearly be seen that over 80% of these had no more than two estates each. It is to be noted, however, that although they constitute 8% of the occupiers, they only have approximately 44% of the estates concerned. In Table II, to which we will return

TABLE I. Land Tenure in Essex, 1066

Numbers of individuals holding estates			
Holding 1 estate	136 (c. 62%)	Holding 8 estates	1
2	42	9	2
3	16	10	3
4	10	11-15	2
5	2	16-20	0
6	1	21+	2
7	4		
TOTAL			221 (100%)

shortly, it would seem that the dividing line between the 'big' and 'little' landlords lies between four and five estates, rather than the 2/3 cut-off point suggested by Table I. On this basis 63% of the estates belonged to 96% of the individuals identified, which of course means that 4% have 37% of the holdings. Clearly the figures can be juggled in this fashion *ad nauseam*, but allowing for such problems as the relationship between numbers of estates, actual amount of land held and wealth, these statistics do suggest a dichotomy amongst 1066 Essex land occupiers between the 'small' men and the 'big' men, with few bridging the gap between the two, unless it be the thegns.

It is clearly beyond the scope of this seminar to engage in a detailed discussion of the power structure of late Anglo-Saxon Essex, and particularly the relationships between the occupiers of large and small groups of estates. Rather than leave the subject in the air, though, a few words on the spheres of influence of the larger lay landowners are in order. The man with the most land in 1066 Essex was Asgeirr the Staller, who held twenty-six estates in the county, as well as 105 elsewhere, forty-three of which were in Hertfordshire. He was an important royal official under both Edward and Harold, and played a key part in the Battle of Hastings. His Essex estates are centred on the Dunmow Hundred, with extensions to east and west, and two outliers in Dengie. To the east of Asgeirr's area lay the heartlands of a thegn named Beorthmear, who was also an important Suffolk landowner. His estates fell mainly within the Hundred of Lexden, with three on their own away on the western borders of the county. The thirteen manors of Sigeward of Maldon were more scattered, and formed two loose groups, one in north-west, and the other in south-east

Essex. He would seem to have been a dominant figure in the Maldon area in late Anglo-Saxon days, as was another thegn named Gudmund, who also had a number of estates in Suffolk. We do not yet know how the power of these Saxon magnates influenced the processes of local government, or what other hold they had over their spheres of influence. Nevertheless it seems highly likely that there is a lot of truth behind Round's remark on the expansion of their power in the days before the Conquest, but he left it to others to examine these processes in more detail.

Round had some valuable things to say about that subject which has vexed Domesday scholars through the ages—the relationship between freemen and sokemen. As he rightly commented, 'The more one studies the Survey, the more one shrinks from attaching to its terms a denotation so precise as that of modern times'.³¹ Notwithstanding this, Round did attempt to differentiate between them, and so have most of the people who have written about the social structure of late Anglo-Saxon England. On the face of it the difference between the two classes is not hard to seek—the sokeman owed socage payments to the person whose soke he was in, and this person also had the profits arising from any successful proceedings against him. The freeman, however, was free of socage payments, and any proceeds arising from his misdemeanours would have gone to the King. Unfortunately these distinctions of personal liberty are not usually reflected so clearly in the differences in their economic standing as revealed in the folios of Domesday Book. A possible line of approach here is to consider the conditions under which these groups of men held their estates. These are not always easy to ascertain because Domesday only tends to note conditions of tenure when they deviate from an unspecified norm. Even so, some trends do emerge from such a study.

There are only thirty-three entries in the Essex text which contain specific information on how the 900 freemen in the county held their land in 1066. The largest group of entries record those who could 'betake themselves whither they would', presumably without the prior permission of the lord of the manor that they were attached to for the purposes of paying geld. Twice we are told that they could not leave a manor without the permission of the lord, although on another two occasions we hear of freemen who could sell their land. Several entries mention men who were in the soke of someone other than the King, whilst others refer to freemen making payments, probably customary ones, to the men they were commended to.

Details on the land tenure by sokemen is both absolutely and proportionally more plentiful than that for freemen—some forty-seven entries being relevant. Only one sokeman in the whole shire—on the Royal manor of Writtle—is said to have been able to 'betake himself with his land whither he would'. He was one of the few of his class who held their land freely—free of all dues but the geld presumably. Five of them could sell their land without their lord's permission, although the soke over it remained with the lord of the manor. Sokemen on two estates held in 1086 by Aubrey de Ver had held their land on condition 'that they could not withdraw themselves without the permission of Aubrey's predecessor'. In a dozen other instances, though sokemen could not leave their holdings at all, while another two could not leave their soke.

All in all the picture painted by Domesday is that in Essex, at least, sokemen were of a lower social standing than freemen, and tied much more firmly to the land. In his book on *The Eastern Counties* Welldon Finn defined the differences between freemen, sokemen and their immediate social superiors the thegns, as follows:

- '(i) the thegn had a higher social and economic standing than the *liber homo*, and the freeman than the sokeman.
- '(ii) generally speaking, the freeman could sell his land and transfer his allegiance and services, the sokeman could not.
- '(iii) both had duties, beyond those all men of their status owed to the Crown or the Royal representative, to their superior to discharge, but those incumbent upon the freeman were lighter than those of the sokeman.'³²

These definitions certainly appear to be borne out by the evidence of the Essex folios of Domesday, and are supported by the figures of Table II. The fact that only five sokemen were named in the

TABLE II. Distribution of Number of Estates held by Social and Occupational Class

	Sokemen	Freemen	Thegns	Clergy	Stallers	Housecarls	Royalty	Women
1 estate	5	39	4	4			1	6
2		12		3		1	1	2
3		7				1		1
4		5		1			1	2
5			1		1			
6								
7		1	2				1	
8								
9		1						
10			1					
11-15		1	1				1	
16-20								
21+					1		1	

Middle class society:

likely

Thegns

Freemen

Sokemen

unlikely

Thegns

Freemen

Sokemen

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whole of the Essex text, against sixty-five freemen, certainly suggests that the former were of lower standing than the latter. Before leaving this subject it is as well to point out that the divisions between these three classes are seen as sloping rather than horizontal ones, as I have tried to show diagrammatically. It seems more likely that a high-ranking freeman was nearer the level of a middle-ranking rather than low-ranking thegn, and so on. Whilst this does not explain why the Domesday scribes were imprecise (or ignorant?) of a man's status, it does show that the rank of a man may not always have been immediately obvious, and depended upon his ancestors as much if not more than the extent of his lands or personal prowess as free agent in society.

It might appear that in discussing the relative status of freemen and sokemen that we have wandered some distance away from the title of this contribution to today's proceedings. What I set out to do in this paper was to consider Stenton's statement that Round's work had laid the foundations of the modern study of Domesday Book. Earlier on I demonstrated that his theories on

the making of Domesday Book have now been largely superseded, although it might be possible to salvage something from his work on the I.C.C. In that area of Domesday studies Round's foundations were not very durable, chiefly because he did not cast his net wide enough and build in all the available material. When we turned to his work on the topographical and feudal aspects of the England described in Domesday Book it was clear that because of the breadth of his approach his work in this area has by and large stood the test of time and served as a sure foundation upon which Finn and others have been able to build, and develop the study and analysis of Domesday England from the point at which Round left off. The cynic might well wonder whether the reason Round's work on the making of Domesday has been largely discredited, whereas his topographical studies are still largely accepted as reliable, is a result of the extensive modern research into the origins of Domesday Book, compared with less penetrating studies of the topographical aspects of Domesday England. Close study of his introduction to the Essex Domesday text has, however, convinced me at least that this is not a fair conclusion to reach. As the previous speakers have said, Round was at his best when dealing with genealogy and local history, and it is that which has stood the tests of time and succeeding generations of scholars. I think that excepting the area which I have mentioned we may agree with Stenton that Round did lay the foundations of the modern study of Domesday Book. How that study will develop I cannot tell—I am a historian not a prophet—but I have already suggested some aspects of Essex in the late Saxon and early Norman periods which require further investigation, and doubtless there are those amongst you who could list others.

Maitland spent many pages in *Domesday Book and Beyond* wrestling with the economic and social history of pre-Conquest England, whilst in hundreds more spread through many books and journals Round was unravelling the history of England in the centuries immediately after the Conquest. Of the two Round got closer to his goal than Maitland, who attempted, in 1897, to look forward to the future of the study of early medieval social and economic history in these now famous words: 'A century hence the student's materials will not be in the shape in which he finds them now. In the first place, the substance of Domesday Book will have been rearranged. Those villages and hundreds which the Norman clerks tore to shreds will have been reconstituted and pictured in maps, for many men from all over England will have come under King William's spell, will have bowed themselves to him and become that man's men. Then there will be a critical edition of the Anglo-Saxon charters in which the philologist and the palaeographer, the analyst and the formulist will have winnowed the grain of truth from the chaff of imposture. Instead of a few photographed village maps, there will be many; the history of land-measures and of field systems will have been elaborated. Above all, by slow degrees the thoughts of our forefathers, their common thoughts about common things, will have become thinkable once more. There are discoveries to be made; but here are habits to be formed.'³³

We have eighteen years left in which to fulfil Maitland's prophecy, and much to do and to complete. We may safely continue our modern study of Domesday Book whether in Essex or beyond, working from the foundations laid by John Horace Round.

NOTES

1. 1922–30, ed. J. R. H. Weaver, Oxford, 1937, 731.
2. *Domesday Studies*, ed. P. E. Dove, London, 1888, 77–9.
3. London, 1895, 3–146.
4. *Feudal England*, 7–16.
5. *Ibid.*, 141.
6. *Ibid.*, 146, fn. 265.
7. *The Making of Domesday Book*, Oxford, 1961, 125.
8. *Ibid.*, 132.
9. *Feudal England*, 122.

10. *The Making of Domesday Book*, 133 ff.
11. H. R. Loyn, *The Norman Conquest*, London, 1965, 143.
12. Cf. Galbraith's idea on the subject, *The Making of Domesday Book*, 138.
13. For a beginning see E. Miller, 'The Ely Land Pleas in the reign of William I', *English Historical Review*, **lxii** (1947), 438-56.
14. Dove, *op. cit.*, 77-142.
15. *Ibid.*, 78-9.
16. Cambridge, 23-5 of the 1960 reprint.
17. *V.C.H. Essex*, **i**, 334.
18. *Domesday Book and its place in Administrative History*, Chapter XI.
19. Loyn, *op. cit.*, 145-6.
20. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock *et al.*, London, 1961, 161-2.
21. Vol. V, 244 ff.; Vol. VI, 5 ff., 95 ff., 251 ff.
22. *V.C.H. Essex*, **i**, 333-425 (introduction), 427-578 (text).
23. *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, **xi**, n.s., 246-65.
24. 'The Domesday Hidation of Essex', *English Historical Review*, **xxix**, 477 f.
25. 'The East Saxon Kingdom', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, **xii**, n.s., 38-50.
26. *Ibid.*, 94-100.
27. *Ibid.*, 147-85.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol. I (Third Series).
29. *Ibid.*, 239-46.
30. pp. 14-17.
- 30a. The statistics, etc., which follow are derived from the results of research by the writer on the land-tenure and local government patterns of late-Anglo-Saxon Essex.
31. *V.C.H. Essex*, **i**, 357.
32. p. 122.
33. *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1960 edition), 596.

J. Horace Round, the County Historian:

the *Victoria County Histories* and the Essex Archaeological Society

by W. R. POWELL

On 29 September 1899 Horace Round wrote a characteristic letter to the General Editor of the *Victoria County Histories*.¹

Dear Mr. Doubleday,

My strong tonic has helped. I have been working again 'up to the safety line' and hope to bring you my harvest tomorrow . . . it will make the local men 'sit up'. I have felt strongly that you want for your first part a *pièce de résistance*, a substantial bit of original research, thoroughly 'up to date', that will form the best answer to those who hint that your work must be more or less of a *réchauffé*.

He was referring to his introduction to the Hampshire Domesday Survey, written for the first volume in the whole *V.C.H.* series. At that time, at the age of forty-five, he was already a leading expert on the 11th- and 12th-century history of England, who also spoke with authority on the 16th and 17th centuries. He was a brilliant genealogist, and a local historian with special knowledge of Sussex, London and Essex. He was a formidable, and indeed a notorious, controversialist. Since his father's death in 1887 he had been living in London, where he was to remain until he returned to Brighton in 1903. The years in London were the most active of his life. He was a member of the Carlton Club, and was well known in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and the London Library. In Essex he was a prominent Conservative, a Deputy-Lieutenant, and member of the council of the Archaeological Society; and he took very seriously his responsibilities as lord of the manor of West Bergholt.

Round was a small plump man, with a fine head, protuberant eyes and a ferocious black moustache. He had bounding energy. In youth he had been a good gymnast, and even at the age of fifty was capable of surprising visitors by sliding down the baluster rail of his house.² All his life, however, he suffered from nauseating headaches, or 'brain sickness', as he called it, and sometimes from asthma, bronchitis and throat ailments. The headaches, which often lasted for several days, caused him great distress. He seems from his handwriting to have had defective control over his pen. A neurologist, having seen a specimen of it, has suggested that the cause may have been something like rheumatoid arthritis or gout.³ Round is not known to have suffered from either disease, though severe gout was hereditary in his mother's family.⁴ With private means he never had to work for a living, but he defied ill-health by driving himself furiously, and though he became a permanent invalid at the age of sixty, he went on writing until a day or two before his death at seventy-four. The printed bibliography of his learned work contains sixteen separate books and pamphlets, and 812 articles and notes in journals. Even that record is incomplete: for example it

does not include any of his contributions to the *Athenaeum*, the *Complete Peerage*, the *Essex Review* or *St. James's Gazette*, to say nothing of those in newspapers.

During his years in London Round published the three books for which he is best known: *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (1892), *Feudal England* (1895) and the *Commune of London* (1899). All were distinguished pioneer works. In *Geoffrey de Mandeville* he showed how charter evidence could be used in writing political history. Professor R. H. C. Davis has recently pointed out the errors of dating which invalidate the conclusions which he drew from Geoffrey de Mandeville's charters.⁵ Yet the book is still valuable for its many appendices, on subjects ranging from the 'Forest of Essex' to the 'Great Seal of the Empress Maud'; and the fact that a modern authority should single it out for analysis seventy years after it was published underlines its significance. *Feudal England* was important mainly for its Domesday studies, though there, too, some of Round's work is now outdated. *The Commune of London*, like *Feudal England*, was a collection of essays, including several of Essex interest, e.g. 'The settlement of the South Saxons and the East Saxons' and 'Ingelric the Priest'. Its valuable contributions to the 12th-century history of London contain, however, an extraordinary error in dating, and his description of the organisation of the commune was superseded by later research in Round's own lifetime.⁶ The book contains attacks on Hubert Hall and other opponents, and ends with the complaint that there is 'neither inducement nor reward for original research in England at the present time'. The book was reviewed in the *Essex Review* by an anonymous writer who found its tone depressing, and commented: 'Some articles seem . . . laboured and academic. Mr. Round would say, no doubt, that he writes for scholars, but the intelligent reader surely deserves recognition.'⁷

Round had just finished *The Commune of London* when he was invited to help in launching the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, then being planned by H. Arthur Doubleday, a partner in the firm of Archibald Constable & Co.⁸ Round's initial enthusiasm for the *V.C.H.* may have owed something to his need to find a publisher for *The Commune*. Constable duly brought out that book in 1899, and his next one, *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, in 1901.⁹

No detailed study has previously been made of Round's work for the *V.C.H.*, to which he devoted much of his time for nearly ten years, when he was at the height of his mental powers. It is not for lack of evidence. The records of the *V.C.H.* contain no fewer than 779 letters (including a few postcards) from Round to the General Editor (Arthur Doubleday up to 1904, then William Page), covering the years 1899 to 1919. For most of that period, except the first few months, copies of the General Editor's letters to Round are on file. There have also been preserved twenty-eight letters to Round from Duncan Warrand, editor of the *Hertfordshire Families* volume of the *V.C.H.*, written in 1906-7. Round must have written at least as many to Warrand, but none survives. With that exception the correspondence seems to be fairly complete for the twenty-year period, and it shows that Round worked for the *History* more or less continuously from March 1899 to April 1908, and then intermittently up to 1914. It can be said without exaggeration that he worked full-time for the *V.C.H.* from 1899 to 1901, and from 1905 to 1908. He was never a member of staff, but worked from home as a consultant, writer and editor, receiving some modest fees, but undertaking many duties without payment. His *V.C.H.* letters are remarkable in character as well as in number. Besides chronicling his *V.C.H.* work in enormous detail they contain much about his other activities, his friends, his adversaries and his health, livened with flashes of his cynical, schoolboyish wit.

Round was well qualified to help the *V.C.H.* He had many acquaintances among scholars, writers, publishers and the landed gentry. He was an experienced and active supporter of publishing enterprises like the *D.N.B.*, and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and publishing societies like the Archaeological Congress, the Selden Society and the Canterbury and York Society, as well as the archaeological societies of Essex and Sussex.¹⁰ He was one of the few front-rank scholars to work for the *V.C.H.* in its early days, and his very name was one of its main assets. His connection with the *History* began not later than March 1899. The scheme, for a history of each of the English counties, in 150 volumes, seems to have caught his imagination, and he took it up with evangelical fervour. He helped to draw up the original prospectus, commenting that a relative had once

remarked 'cruelly' that he would have made an admirable advertising agent.¹¹ He spoke on the *History* at the Essex Archaeological Society's annual meeting in April 1899,¹² and in June went to Oxford, 'where I pushed your great enterprise with much energy'.¹³ He wrote to the editors of the *English Historical Review*, the *American Historical Review* and the French *Revue Historique*, and to many individuals. He badgered the secretary of the Carlton Club into displaying the prospectus of the *History* there, and pressed copies, like tracts, upon his fellow clubmen.¹⁴ He kept this up for years. In August 1901, for example, he lunched and dined with the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir, and 'took the opportunity of plastering [him] with one of those *V.C.H.* prospectuses which seem to emerge spontaneously from my person'.¹⁵ Not all were receptive to Round's message. He reported to Doubleday that he had shown the prospectus to the great Andrew Lang, whose 'perfidious patriotism would only allow him to express regret that you were not doing the counties of Scotland instead'.¹⁶

The promoters of the *V.C.H.* set up an impressive 'Advisory Council' of noblemen and scholars, under which were a Records committee and an Architectural committee. Round sat on all three bodies, and was apparently the only man, apart from the General Editors, to do so.¹⁷ He was also a member of the Pedigree Volumes committee which existed in 1906.¹⁸ When work was planned for a particular county a local committee was formed, mainly of gentry, under the chairmanship of the Lord-Lieutenant. Round sat on the county committees for both Essex and Sussex.¹⁹ He himself had a hand in appointments to the Council and to the committees, especially the Essex committee, for the selection of which he was largely responsible.²⁰

From the first, one of the main problems of the *V.C.H.* was the recruitment of authors and editors. In October 1899 Round reported the views of his friend Charles Gross of Harvard: 'Like the Oxford men he rather "cold waters" the scheme . . . it is true that, as they say, competent workers are painfully few.'²¹ Doubleday appointed subject editors to write or organise the writing of particular topics, and, in some counties at least, local editors.²² At an early stage Round was appointed the Domesday editor. By 1903 he was also a joint editor for Political History, and for the History of the Feudal Baronage.²³ He could fairly have been described as editor for Family History, for the two pedigree volumes (Northamptonshire and Hertfordshire) both passed under his severe scrutiny. He acted as local editor for Essex, though reluctant to be named as such.²⁴

Round took a keen interest in the recruitment of authors for the *History*, bombarding Doubleday with recommendations, and occasionally with warnings. H. E. Malden was a possible worker on Surrey.²⁵ Maitland might help with the Cambridgeshire Domesday.²⁶ John Nisbet was an authority on Forestry, and E. D. Cumming on Sport.²⁷ James Tait had written a good review of *Hampshire I*: could he be secured for Lancashire?²⁸ Francis Baring was 'a good man on Domesday and ready to co-operate with me, but modest'.²⁹ On Christmas Eve 1899 Round had another inspiration: 'Happy thought! To get Rider Haggard to write on Agriculture for the Norfolk *History*: see his *Farmer's Year*.' But three days later: 'A friend tells me that Rider Haggard's *Farmer's Year* is untrustworthy in facts and figures.' The author of *King Solomon's Mines* never did join the *V.C.H.*, but it is possible that Round may have helped to secure its greatest recruit. On 22 April 1899 William Page, then a record agent, came up to him at a meeting, having seen Round's name on the committee. 'Page says', wrote Round to Doubleday, 'that Lord Clarendon would accept chairmanship of the Hertfordshire committee, and he could suggest it to him. P. is the best man to work Herts., but he is, of course, a professional man, who has to consider his time. Whether it would be worth your while to secure him as secretary to the committee, or to get at subscribers through him . . . I must leave to you.'³⁰

Round was not backward in expressing his views on matters of *V.C.H.* policy. He urged the inclusion of maps, in which the older county histories were often deficient.³¹ He considered a proposal for articles dealing with American connections, pointing out that there was insufficient material, except for a few counties like Essex and Suffolk.³² While insisting that the history of each county should be written as part of national history, he was alert to castigate authors who padded their articles with general history, but furnished little local material.³³ In a long letter on 2

September 1900 he tried to 'define and limit our sphere' in the topographical volumes. He doubted whether 'we should be able to go much into original record research'. He favoured 'a description, however brief, of present residents and residences', but 'we shall have to economise chiefly on manorial history and pedigrees', and 'as with the *D.N.B.* we must impress our workers to make their stuff as compact as possible'. He urged the preparation of a model parish history, and that had been done by 5 December 1900, when he commented on Wheathampstead (Herts.), drafted by William Page, apparently helped by Oswald Barron.

When Round spoke of 'original records' and deprecated their use, to save time and space, he meant manuscript records. He did not doubt the value, for the *V.C.H.*, of printed records like the Pipe Roll volumes, or calendars, like those of the Patent, Close and Charter rolls. On 12 December 1900 he noted that the *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* had the county names in its margins, and suggested that the pages should be cut up and sorted accordingly. It was done, and he himself went through many of the entries, adding place-name identifications where required. It looks like the beginning of the parish envelope system upon which the topographical volumes have always been based.

Horace Round's leadership in launching the *V.C.H.* and his continuing services as a publicist and consultant are notable; but they are dwarfed by his achievements as author and editor. It seems originally to have been intended that he would write all the Domesday sections. That involved, in each case, translating the text, drawing the map on which he insisted, and writing the introduction. By the beginning of April 1899 he was already working on the Hampshire Domesday, which, as has been mentioned, he finished at the end of September. He had started on the Northamptonshire Domesday by 3 October, when he wrote: 'I get very despondent sometimes at the thought of mountains of original research ahead of me, with painfully little time for it all.' By 27 October he had finished translating the Northamptonshire text and was working on the introduction; and the whole section, including the map, was finished by 22 February 1900. He visited Doubleday on 23 February, and wrote on the 25th: 'After seeing you I collapsed and had to go to bed. I have at once gone into the question of the Winchester Survey, and have now begun an article on it.' That article, which was to form a pendant to the Hampshire Domesday, was finished about 5 March. Round then took a few days off to finish *Peerage and Family History*. On 24 March, after another visit to Doubleday, he collapsed again, but by 28 March had plunged into the Worcestershire Domesday, which he completed by 25 June 1900.

It soon became obvious that there was no time for Round to write all the Domesday sections himself. Several counties were therefore farmed out, notably to Stenton, James Tait and Charles Johnson. In most other cases Round continued to write the introductions, with assistants to translate the texts and draw the maps. That arrangement was not very satisfactory, since Round had to spend much time revising his assistants' work. His best assistant was the Rev. F. W. Ragg, whose first efforts pleased Round: 'I feel inclined to label him "Fed solely on *Feudal England*"'.³⁴ In 1905, however, even 'the good old Ragg-bag' had to be informed of his 'deletion'.³⁵ Round continued his Domesday work for the *V.C.H.* until 1908, when he completed Hereford. He had written the introductions for twelve counties, in four of which, including Essex, he had also done the text and the map unaided. During the same period he had supervised the Domesday articles on twelve other counties,³⁶ and in one case, Sussex, his revision was so heavy that he was eventually listed as joint author. He had also begun a translation of the Lincolnshire Domesday, but it was not then completed.

Round's Domesday introductions range in length from about 9000 words (Surrey) to 47,000 words (Essex), but Essex is exceptional, and if that is excluded the average length is about 18,000. His formula is roughly the same throughout. He discusses the county assessment, Crown manors, Church lands, the Barons' fiefs, their English predecessors, Agriculture, Industry, the Towns, problems of Place-Name identification and of Boundaries, Legal Antiquities and Customs. His genealogical knowledge, used with great skill, does not overburden the introductions, and he is often most illuminating on topics not usually associated with him, for example the marshland sheep pastures of Essex, and the Droitwich salt industry, which occurs in both Hereford and

Worcester. In editing the Domesday text he is at his most scholarly, always putting a question-mark or leaving blank space where he is uncertain of an identification. In Essex he had the advantage of previous work of high standard both by Morant and Chisenhale Marsh, as well as his own knowledge of the county. Elsewhere, for example in Bedfordshire, Berkshire and Hampshire, there was no complete county history to rely on, and sometimes, as in Somerset and Hereford, he was dealing with a distant and unfamiliar part of the country. The English Place-Name Society had not been founded, and Round had none of its fine county volumes to help him. His main tools in identifying places were the 1 inch O.S. maps and county directories.

Round compiled or revised the Domesday maps most carefully. 'I mistrust *all* the Domesday maps that I have not made myself,' he wrote, 'as I am never sure if the dots have been placed on the site of the church or hall, or that of the modern village.'³⁷ Some idea of his efforts to revise Domesday texts translated by others can be seen in his signed footnotes, e.g. about forty in Berkshire, seventy in Buckinghamshire, and ninety in Hertfordshire. The *V.C.H.* Domesday sections were furnished with their own indexes, independent of the general indexes originally planned as the final volumes in each county set. Round made some of the indexes himself, and he revised the others.

Round's Domesday introductions, especially Essex, are very well written. That is worth emphasising, because much of his independent writing is tediously discursive and didactic. His *V.C.H.* articles are firmly constructed and controlled, and he struggled to make them acceptable to ordinary readers. Their value to the *History* was all the greater because they appeared in the first volume of each county set, to which they gave immediate distinction. That meant, however, that Round was in the front line, year after year; for the *V.C.H.* was trying to start up as many counties as possible, to arouse interest and gain subscribers. It was gruelling work. 'These Hertfordshire sokemen have to be wrestled with, and I have a horror of going wrong in a work of this permanent nature.'³⁸ Of his Hereford introduction he wrote some years later: 'Apart from its learning, you will find it *readable* and interesting. But it is precisely the effort involved in giving it these qualities that has overstrained my brain and led to so many breakdowns.'³⁹ His professional pride was, of course, sharpened by fear of suffering blows like those he had often inflicted on other scholars. He revealed this, for example, on finishing the Somerset introduction: 'This is the one county that Maxwell Lyte is keen on, and he has long been "on the pounce" ready to jump on us if we scamp it.'⁴⁰

The effort that Round had to put into his Domesday sections can be appreciated by anyone who has worked in the same field. He refers to the enormous time and toil entailed by identifying the Essex manors; and yet 'if county history means anything it is work that *ought not* to be shirked'.⁴¹ And in another letter, mentioning a recent attack of his 'brain sickness': 'I don't think any of the *V.C.H.* work but these Domesday Introductions had this disastrous effect on me. It is not in me to "scamp" work.'⁴² Experience of drawing up lists of corrigenda for the Essex *V.C.H.* suggests that, in spite of the speed with which his work had to be completed, Round was remarkably accurate. The research of the past seventy-seven years has filled in many of the blanks left for identification in his Essex Domesday, but has revealed few errors. We have noted in his introduction two miscalculations of woodland swine-pasture densities and two misprinted place names; in the text three misreadings and one misinterpretation; and in the index a few tiny errors.

In the early years of the *V.C.H.* Round's hunger for work, and, it seems, the desire of a lonely man to be needed, led him to undertake many editorial tasks in addition to Domesday. 'Your work requires that a man should devote himself wholly to it, as I do now', he wrote on 10 February 1900. In the following August he cancelled a holiday in Switzerland because of the pressure of *V.C.H.* work and went no further than Boulogne, where he received and corrected proofs. He had a passion for proofs, which stimulated him when weak, and which he would read even when writhing with pain.⁴³ On subjects or areas where he had special knowledge he did much more than look for printing errors. He scrutinised, *inter alia*, the Political History of Surrey, Sussex and Lincolnshire, the Feudal Baronage of Devon and Lancashire, the Forestry of Hampshire, and parish histories in various volumes of Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, Hampshire and Hertfordshire. But his

heaviest tasks of editing, apart from Domesday, were the pedigree volumes of Northamptonshire and Hertfordshire, and the first two Essex volumes.

Until c. 1906 the *V.C.H.*'s official editor for Family History was Oswald Barron, an erratic genealogical journalist and an old crony of Round, and he is credited with the editorship of *Northamptonshire Families*. But Round remorselessly reviewed the volume at every stage, and did his best to bully Barron into accepting his amendments, while complaining that he himself had 'practically drifted into editing the volume'.⁴⁴ For *Hertfordshire Families* Round wrote several sections as well as revising the whole volume in proof. Those two volumes took up a good deal of his time during 1905 and 1906.

Plans for the Essex volumes were in hand by the autumn of 1899, when Round was trying to persuade R. C. Fowler and C. F. D. Sperling to undertake the joint editorship. By the end of 1900 the Essex county committee was being formed, and contributors for the first two volumes were being recruited. Round's Domesday, with its indexes, comprises nearly half of *Essex I* (1903), but he also found time to help in the revision of other sections. *Essex II* proved a daunting task because of its great length. Round edited all sections, practically rewrote the articles on Political History and Ecclesiastical History, and had a running fight over the revision of Maritime History with its author, Michael Oppenheim, or 'Obstineheim' as Round secretly called him. Page complimented Round on the diplomacy with which he had handled Oppenheim.⁴⁵

Essex II appeared in 1907. By then Round's remarkable resilience was breaking down under years of overwork. Younger and fitter men had felt the strain of those early years of the *V.C.H.*; Doubleday, the first editor, had left the *V.C.H.* after a nervous breakdown in 1904, and even the equable Page was not unaffected. For Round the worst pressure came between September 1905 and March 1906. In August 1905 he was feeling well, and wrote cheerfully: 'I could get through any amount of work if I could always be like this, for I begin at 7.30 a.m.'⁴⁶ In September he fell seriously ill, and for the next three months had to spend much of the time in bed. Eye trouble is mentioned, in addition to his usual 'brain sickness', asthma and bronchitis. He was ill again for short periods in January and February. Yet between September and March he wrote both the Berkshire and the Somerset Domesday introductions, edited and partly rewrote the enormous *Essex II*, and edited *Northamptonshire Families*, the Norfolk and Devon Domesdays, and the Feudal Baronage of Lancashire. He also kept an eye on Essex contributors with work still in progress, including Miller Christy, who was writing the Essex Industries at great length. 'You may be alarmed to hear that according to my Essex paper Miller Christy has obtained leave to search the records of Colchester for his *V.C.H.* papers, . . . which he must think too short. Won't he be cut up if he is cut down?'⁴⁷

Incredible as it seems Round was prepared to undertake even more work at that time. He wrote to Page: 'I am appalled at the work before you. Don't hesitate to send me topography for revision in proof. I should like to teach your 22 girls some topography, were it not that, I reckon, as we say in Essex, "they're wonnerful plain"'.⁴⁸ In spite of such jaunty remarks he was a very sick man, sometimes needing morphia injections and professional nursing as well as the 'strong tonic' already mentioned: a mixture of quinine and strychnine. In the course of that winter he became increasingly resentful of the *V.C.H.*'s demands upon him, and of Page's supposed failure to appreciate his efforts. That led eventually to a confrontation over the Essex *V.C.H.*

While working on his last Domesday section, Hereford, and revising Hampshire and Hertfordshire topography, Round had encouraged Page to start *Essex III*, which was to contain the remaining general articles and the first batch of parish histories. 'If you wish I could, perhaps, practically edit this volume myself', he wrote in March 1907.⁴⁹ When he received the drafts of the first parish histories Round exploded. 'These are really achievements of ineptitude . . . I cannot possibly associate myself with topography of this character . . . this stuff might have been written in Berlin with the aid of a map, and it practically ignores all modern times and existing things.'⁵⁰ He lobbied friends in Essex and threatened to denounce the *V.C.H.* publicly.⁵¹ To appease him Page drew up a new plan for *Essex III*, including in it the areas in which Round and his friends were

interested, and could best help.⁵² A little later he agreed to employ Round's cousin, Francis Round of Witham, as a topographical field worker.⁵³ Having won that battle Round gave way to a pathetic outburst: '*I am today* ⁵⁴ and have hopelessly and permanently injured my career in the cause of the *V.C.H.* when it was all important for me to write books of my own. I *must* write one this year, and it is only my Essex patriotism, and the knowledge that my co-operation will make all the difference in the world to Essex topography that has made me . . . undertake this additional work.'⁵⁴ Page calmed him down, and remained his lifelong friend, though in May 1908 Round caused him great embarrassment by publishing in the *English Historical Review* a criticism of statements made by James Tait in the proofs of his introduction to the *V.C.H.* Shropshire Domesday, which had been sent to Round for revision. In fact Tait had corrected those points in final proof, so Round looked foolish as well as unscrupulous, but he refused to apologise, and the editor of *E.H.R.* had to do it for him.⁵⁵

By the end of 1908, when the *V.C.H.* had published fifty-two volumes, it fell into financial difficulties, and almost collapsed. It revived, but on a restricted basis, and the plans for *Essex* III were abandoned. No *V.C.H.* volumes were published in 1909 and only one in 1910. Between 1911 and 1914 a further twenty-one volumes appeared, bringing the total to seventy-four. As author, editor or learned reader Round had helped to produce no fewer than forty-two of those volumes, relating to twenty-seven counties. His main contribution had been in the early years: he had been partly responsible for twenty-five out of the twenty-eight volumes published up to 1906, and thirty-six out of fifty-two up to 1908.⁵⁶ Even these remarkable figures are not quite the sum of his services to the *V.C.H.*, for in 1908 he was working on at least five other volumes, relating to Cornwall, Essex, Hampshire, Lincolnshire and Oxfordshire, none of which was published before 1914.

Round's work for the *V.C.H.* after 1908 was limited to the revision of topographical volumes, mainly for Hampshire and Hertfordshire. He was now devoting much of his time to the history and law of the peerage, baronetage and the officers of state. He published *Peerage and Pedigree* (1910), and *The King's Serjeants* (1911), contributed to the *Complete Peerage*, and acted as honorary adviser to the Crown in Peerage cases. But he did not waver in his devotion to Essex and its history, which became his main concern in the last ten years preceding his death in 1928.

He had joined the Essex Archaeological Society in 1884, became a member of Council in 1885, and was president 1916–21. The number of his papers on Essex history exceeds by far those of any other writer. The *Essex Bibliography* lists 193 items under his name: H. W. King has 135, G. M. Benton 125, Frederick Chancellor 121 and Sir Gurney Benham 115. Round contributed to the *Transactions* of the Essex Archaeological Society for nearly fifty years. Many of his papers deal with genealogy, especially of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, supplementing Morant, but the range is wide. In the 'Origin of St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester', he proved St. Botolph's to have been one of the earliest houses of Augustinian canons in England, c. 1093–1100.⁵⁷ 'Harwich and the Siege of Colchester' dealt with the brief occupation of Harwich by Royalists in 1648.⁵⁸ 'The Sphere of an Archaeological Society', a presidential address, emphasised the value of family history in illuminating other topics.⁵⁹ Round made the same point in 'Killigrews *alias* Shenfields',⁶⁰ and hammered it home in 'Architecture and Local History',⁶¹ which corrects Frederick Chancellor's errors. 'The Making of Brentwood' is an important paper on the foundation of that town in the 12th century.⁶² 'Norse Place Names in Essex' mentions, e.g. 'holm' names, now lost, in the Maldon area.⁶³ Round was keenly interested in place names, and supported the formation, after the First World War, of the English Place Name Society. Dr. Reaney dedicated *The Place-Names of Essex* to him and to R. C. Fowler.

At his death Round left many Essex papers in unpublished MSS. They were given to the Essex Archaeological Society, and a few of them were published in the *Transactions*. Some years ago the present writer undertook to edit the remainder, as a separate volume. A few of the papers proved to have been published already, or to have been superseded, and others are too fragmentary to be worth publishing. There remain about twenty-five which are complete or substantial enough to be valuable. They include a review article on *The Church Plate of Essex*, which is a good example of Round's

wide interests, and of his precision. He points out errors in the Hutton and Kelvedon Hatch entries in the book, and in the case of Kelvedon Hatch adds useful information on the Luther family. He reveals the origin of the attempt to rename the parish of Ugley as Oakley, by an 18th-century vicar who concocted the euphemism and presented a chalice engraved with it. In 'Witham and its *Burh*' Round discusses Edward the Elder's (899–925) fort there. 'Notes on the History of Maldon' deals with the early borough privileges. A long, though incomplete, article on 'The Borough of Colchester' deals with the relationship between the town and the liberties. A paper on 'Sandon' follows up Round's identification of the place as the 'Bedenesteda' of Domesday Book by tracing its descent up to the 14th century. 'The Essex possessions of St. Martin le Grand' is an important though unfinished paper. It includes a characteristic attack on a former archivist of Westminster Abbey, already dead, who had refused access to the muniments there.

Most of these unpublished Essex papers seem to have been written in the last ten years of Round's life, when he was housebound and often bedridden. By then he had to rely on others to look at documents and check references. His handwriting, never good, became very shaky in old age. He was an untidy worker, and must have hated wasting paper, for he often wrote on the back of old share certificates. At his death his papers were in confusion, and it has not been easy to sort, assemble and transcribe them.

There is no full biography of Horace Round. A long obituary was written by James Tait for the *English Historical Review*,⁶⁴ a shorter one by Robert Fowler for the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*⁶⁵ and another, unsigned, in *The Times*.⁶⁶ Tait, in a penetrating but very fair review, suggests that Round's mind was 'more critical than constructive'. While pointing out some of Round's errors he emphasises his high standard of accuracy: he quotes Round's claim that he never printed a statement that he had not verified three times. He says that Round 'first unlocked the secrets of Domesday Book', and that he was 'one of the chief pioneers and inspiring forces of the study of medieval history on scientific lines'. But of his *V.C.H.* work he says only that he supervised the Domesday sections and wrote 'several' himself.

Fowler's obituary describes Round as 'the most distinguished member the Essex Archaeological Society has ever had', and singles out his introduction to the Essex Domesday as 'the best instance of [Round's] topographical power'. *The Times* obituary, under the headline 'A Great Critical Historian', is on similar lines to that of Tait, but completely ignores Round's work for the *V.C.H.* and the Essex Archaeological Society. It concludes: 'Had Providence endowed Horace Round with normal health he would have been a great man. He was a great scholar.'

In 1930 William Page published a long memoir in *Family Origins and other studies*, a collection of a few of Round's unpublished papers. This remains the fullest account of Round's life, and it includes the bibliography of his work. In summing-up Page acknowledges that during the twenty-five years and more in which he had been associated with him in the *V.C.H.* he had found Round 'an inspiring help and an unfailing support, never weary of giving sound advice in historical questions or on matters of business'.⁶⁷ But he concludes that Round's most notable work was done in the earlier years of his life, while Stubbs's influence lasted, and implies that he returned to genealogy and topography at the beginning of the century as a result of ill-health.⁶⁸ Earlier in the memoir Page devotes a paragraph to Round's *V.C.H.* work:

Round took a leading part in launching the enterprise. . . . He gave the work his sane guidance and help from its beginning in the early part of 1899 to the time of his death. In drawing up the prospectus he gave considerable assistance. . . . He attracted what sympathy he could to the *History* from Oxford and other centres of learning, and gave a standard of work for the articles on the Domesday Survey throughout the series. For the next two years he did little else but work for the *Victoria County History*. With others he found it irksome to complete his articles to a given date, but unlike them he always admitted the necessity of keeping to time in a work of the kind.⁶⁹

These bland tributes, while rightly stressing Round's part in launching the *V.C.H.*, and his continuing moral support for it, do much less than justice to his long, hard and painful slog as

writer and editor. Who would guess from reading them that he had worked on over forty volumes, for twenty-seven counties?

A few years later Sir Frank Stenton wrote Round's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is more sympathetic and sensitive than Tait's or Page's memoirs. He nominates Round as 'the founder of the modern study of Domesday Book', notes that he was the first modern historian to base a narrative on charters, and the first to show the aristocratic character of the Anglo-Norman constitution. He also comments that 'few scholars have supported a greater number of co-operative enterprises', and a little later: 'He could be very generous to the work of young scholars. His criticism might be severe, but it was never simply magisterial, and it was always written from the worker's standpoint.' About forty years earlier, at the outset of his career, Stenton had worked under Round on Domesday sections for the *V.C.H.*, so he was speaking from personal knowledge. But apart from noting the number of Round's Domesday introductions he does not discuss his *V.C.H.* work.

In 1970 Professor Ralph Pugh published an essay on '*The Victoria History: its Origin and Progress*'.⁷⁰ He mentions Round as a member of the Advisory Council and its committees, and as the Domesday editor, but that is all.

In 1974, forty-six years after Round's death, the late Professor V. H. Galbraith, in his *Domesday Book: its Place in Administrative History*, went even further than Tait and Stenton in his tribute to Round's Domesday scholarship, calling him 'the most remarkable, as he was also the greatest of Domesday experts', and referring to the 'amazing learning' of his *V.C.H.* Domesday sections.⁷¹ Galbraith was, of course, the leading critic of Round's theory concerning the object of Domesday Book, but when he attacked Round, for ignoring the evidence of the Exon Domesday in his introduction to the *V.C.H.* Somerset Domesday, he made two errors himself.⁷² First, he said that the publishers 'worked from' the Exon Domesday text: they did not, though they quoted variants from it. Secondly, he stated that the date of that introduction was 1913, and implied that Round had overlooked two important articles, published in 1907 and 1912: actually the Somerset introduction was written in 1905 and published in 1906.

As recently as 1977 Professor H. C. Darby published his *Domesday England*, which summarises the great *Domesday Geography* series. In the index to that book are nearly forty entries under Round's name, and nearly all of them represent a debt to his scholarship; in only one or two cases does Darby controvert Round. One entry mentions an article by Round that does not appear in Page's bibliography.⁷³

The definitive biography of Horace Round, when it comes to be written, may need to reconsider several aspects of his career which have previously been neglected. In assessing his work for the *Victoria County Histories* and the Essex Archaeological Society the biographer must try to decide, first, how important that work was to Round, and, secondly, how valuable it has been to others. There is no doubt on the first question. Round devoted considerable parts of his life to the *V.C.H.* and the E.A.S. Each gave him status and a ready vehicle for his learned papers. In the *V.C.H.* he found the excitement of a great enterprise, and a schedule that satisfied his appetite for hard work. The E.A.S. appealed to his local patriotism, and he felt at home there. The second question is more difficult. In launching the *V.C.H.* and sustaining it during its first decade Round played an important, perhaps a vital, part. The Domesday articles which he wrote or edited for the *History* were welcomed by contemporaries⁷⁴ and are still of great value. Some of the time he devoted to the scrutiny of articles or subjects other than Domesday might have been better spent on original work, but it must be remembered that the *V.C.H.* was painfully short of senior staff (as late as 1907 there were only two sub-editors)⁷⁵ and it is clear from their correspondence that Page tended to exploit Round's willingness to undertake editorial chores. Round's contributions to the *Transactions* of the E.A.S. include some distinguished papers, much genealogy and many short notes on minor points. In his own day they were influential not only because they set new standards of scholarship, sustained for half a century, but because Round read so widely, and was eager to share his knowledge and to expose the errors of others. Fellow members of the E.A.S. had his example always

before them, and those who ventured into print could expect his instant appraisal, often painful, but always salutary. His papers in the *Transactions* are still widely used. Their tortuous and arrogant style is often tedious, but the reader will sometimes find himself stimulated by a brilliant deduction, a display of wide-ranging scholarship, the clever use of an unlikely source, or a descriptive passage inspired by his feeling for the Essex countryside. One such passage, in the unpublished article on the borough of Colchester, mentioned above, has a lyrical ring that might almost come from Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill*.⁷⁶ Round is describing the landscape then visible when driving from 'my own manor of West Bergholt' into Lexden, and using the picture to emphasise the contrast between the town and the rural liberties within the borough:

At the bottom of a valley a tiny bridge crosses a trickling brook, the course of which was followed by the governing body of Colchester as it perambulated, centuries ago, the boundaries of . . . the borough. . . . In front . . . a steep ascent rises to the brow of the hill. To the left, fields, meadows, and the golf links. To the right a small gorse-clad common, and a whitewashed cottage with a high-pitched gable. We seem to be entering a parish . . . at least as rural as that from which we have emerged. Of town there is no sign. What then in this 'borough of Colchester' which has so strange a portal?

The answer to the question in that last sentence has not survived: perhaps Horace Round left the paper unfinished, intending to return to it later. Some years before his death he wrote sadly: 'My health seems to get worse . . . even letter writing brings on the pains in my head so that I can hardly do any work at all. This is the more maddening as I have some splendid things in my head on the subject of important papers, when I can write them.'⁷⁷

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise stated this paper is based on: Institute of Historical Research, *V.C.H. Records*, J. H. Round Files. Dates in footnotes are those of J.H.R.'s letters to the General Editor. I am grateful to the present General Editor, Mr. C. R. Elrington, for reading this typescript and for several comments and corrections.
2. *Family Origins and other Studies*, ed. W. Page, xxxiii.
3. Dr. Macdonald Critchley, in a letter to the writer, 1966.
4. Inf. from Mr. D. S. Magnus, who is descended from a sister of Round's grandfather, Horace Smith. To the layman some of Round's symptoms suggest migraine.
5. *E.H.R.*, **lxxix**, 298.
6. See James Tait in *E.H.R.*, **xliii**, 577.
7. *E.R.*, **ix**, 123-5.
8. *V.C.H. General Introduction* (1970), ed. R. B. Pugh, 1.
9. *Geoffrey de Mandeville* had been published by Longmans and *Feudal England* by Swan Sonnenschein. Round's later books, *Peerage and Pedigree* and *The King's Serjeants and Officers of State*, were published by James Nisbet & Co. jointly with the St. Catherine Press.
10. *Family Origins*, xx; *E.H.R.*, **xliii**, 574.
11. 27 Aug. 1899.
12. 20 Apr. 1899.
13. 26 June 1899.
14. 20 Mar.-19 Dec. 1899, *passim*.
15. 16 Aug. 1901.
16. 1 June 1899.
17. *V.C.H. General Introduction*, 3; *V.C.H. Essex*, **i** (1903), vii-x.
18. 23 May 1906.
19. Prospectuses in *V.C.H. Essex*, **i**, and *V.C.H. Sussex*, **i**.
20. For Essex: 2 Apr. 1901.
21. 6 Oct. 1899.
22. *V.C.H. General Introduction*, 4.
23. *V.C.H. Essex*, **i**, ix.
24. 7, 11 Nov. 1906.

25. 28 June 1899.
26. 8 Nov. 1899.
27. 24, 27 Dec. 1899.
28. 30 Dec. 1900.
29. 30 Oct. 1899.
30. 23 Apr. 1899.
31. 10 May 1899.
32. 15 June 1899.
33. 5 Oct. 1902.
34. 13 Jan. 1901.
35. 28 Dec. 1905.
36. Including Cornwall and Oxfordshire, which were not published until much later. See Table II.
37. 8 Jan. 1904.
38. 13 Feb. 1901.
39. 29 Jan. 1908.
40. 25 Mar. 1906.
41. 20 Apr. 1902.
42. 9 Jan. 1906.
43. E.g. 12 Dec. 1903, 12 Feb. 1904.
44. 19 Aug., 29 Sept. 1905.
45. 22 Sept. 1906.
46. 19 Aug. 1905.
47. 8 Oct. 1905.
48. 11 Nov. 1905.
49. 6 Mar. 1907.
50. 16, 21, 24 Jan. 1908.
51. 3 Feb. 1908.
52. 4 Feb. 1908.
53. 10 Mar. 1908.
54. 22 Feb. 1908.
55. 28 May 1908, cf. *E.H.R.* **xxiii**, 283, 624.
56. See Tables I–III. Round's editorial help is acknowledged in the prefaces to twenty-six volumes. In fifteen other volumes where his letters show that he gave that help there is no such acknowledgement, but in seven of those he was listed as an author of Domesday introductions, and his editorial help is acknowledged in footnotes.
57. *E.A.T.*, n.s., **iii**, 267.
58. *Ibid.*, **v**, 191.
59. *Ibid.*, **xiv**, 193.
60. *Ibid.*, **xiv**, 291.
61. *Ibid.*, **xv**, 126.
62. *Ibid.*, **xvii**, 68.
63. *Ibid.*, **xvi**, 169.
64. *E.H.R.*, **xliiii**, 572.
65. *E.A.T.*, n.s., **xix**, 136.
66. *The Times*, 26 June 1928. I am grateful to Dr. David Stephenson for a photocopy of this obituary.
67. *Op. cit.*, xlvii.
68. *Ibid.*, xlvii–xlvi.
69. *Ibid.*, xxxix.
70. *V.C.H. General Introduction*, 3, 4.
71. *Op. cit.*, 4, 6, 8.
72. *Ibid.*, 171.
73. *Op. cit.*, 86 n., quoting 'The Burton Abbey Surveys', *Collections for a Hist. of Staffordshire*, n.s., **ix** (1906), 271–89.
74. E.g. C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, **i**, 17.
75. *V.C.H. General Introduction*, 6.
76. Round and Kipling, who were close contemporaries, were in some ways similar in background, in character, and in the course of their lives.
77. 20 Jan. 1917.

TABLE I. THE VICTORIA HISTORY 1900–14, SHOWING J.H.R.'s WORK AS AUTHOR AND EDITOR

VOLUMES PUBLISHED	
1900 HAMPSHIRE I, a	1908 Bedfordshire II, a, e (Buckinghamshire II) (Dorset II) (Durham II) Hampshire III, a, e HEREFORDSHIRE I, e Hertfordshire II, e (Kent I) (Lancashire II) Rutland I, a, e Shropshire I, a, e (Staffordshire I) (Warwickshire II)
1901 Cumberland I, a, e (Norfolk I) WORCESTERSHIRE I, a	1909 None
1902 HERTFORDSHIRE I, a, e NORTHAMPTONSHIRE I SURREY I, e	1910 (Nottinghamshire II)
1903 ESSEX I, a, e Hampshire II, a, e	1911 Hampshire IV, a, e (Lancashire IV) (Lancashire V) (Lancashire VI) Middlesex II, e (Somerset II) (Suffolk I) (Surrey III)
1904 BEDFORDSHIRE I, e WARWICKSHIRE I, e	1912 Bedfordshire III, a, e Hampshire V, a, e Hertfordshire III, e (Lancashire VII) (Surrey IV) (Worcestershire II)
1905 BUCKINGHAMSHIRE I, e (Cumberland II) Derbyshire I, e Durham I, e Surrey II, e SUSSEX I, a, e	1913 (Worcestershire III)
1906 BERKSHIRE I, e (Cornwall I) Devonshire I, a, e Lancashire I, e Lincolnshire II, a, e Norfolk II, a, e Northamptonshire II, a, e Nottinghamshire I, a, e SOMERSET I, e Worcestershire II, e Northamptonshire F, a, e	1914 (Bedfordshire Ind.) (Hampshire Ind.) Hertfordshire IV, a, e (Lancashire VIII) (Surrey Ind.) (York N.R.I)
1907 Berkshire II, a, e (Derbyshire II) ESSEX II, a, e (Gloucestershire II) (Lancashire III) Leicestershire I, a, e (Oxfordshire II) (Suffolk II) Sussex II, a, e (York G.I) HERTFORDSHIRE F, a, e	

NOTES

1. Volumes in which J.H.R. was an author are in capitals (total 15).
2. Volumes in which J.H.R.'s help is acknowledged in the preface are marked 'a' (total 26).
3. Volumes in which J.H.R. gave editorial help, as shown in his letters, are marked 'e' (total 39).
4. Volumes in which J.H.R. played no part are in brackets.
5. Between 1900 and 1914 a total of 74 volumes were published, of which J.H.R. took part in 42.
6. J.H.R. also did editorial work, in 1906–8, on *Cornwall* II (published 1924), *Oxfordshire* I (1939), and on Essex topography, the Lincolnshire Domesday, and Hampshire Families, which were never published in the *V.C.H.*

TABLE II. J. H. ROUND'S WORK ON *V.C.H.* DOMESDAY SECTIONS¹

Volume	Introduction	Text	Date Published
AS AUTHOR AND EDITOR			
HAMPSHIRE I	J.H.R.	J.H.R.	1900
WORCESTERSHIRE I	J.H.R.	J.H.R.	1901
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE I	J.H.R.	J.H.R.	1902
SURREY I	J.H.R.	H. E. Malden	1902
HERTFORDSHIRE I	J.H.R.	F. W. Ragg	1902
ESSEX I	J.H.R.	J.H.R.	1903
BEDFORDSHIRE I	J.H.R.	F. W. Ragg	1904
WARWICKSHIRE I	J.H.R.	W. F. Carter	1904
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE I	J.H.R.	F. W. Ragg	1905
SUSSEX I	L. F. Salzmann & J.H.R. ²	L. F. Salzmann	1905
BERKSHIRE I	J.H.R.	F. W. Ragg	1906
SOMERSET I	J.H.R.	E. H. Bates	1906
HEREFORDSHIRE I	J.H.R.	(J. G. Wood) ³	1908
AS EDITOR			
Cumberland I	J. Wilson	J. Wilson	1901
Derbyshire I	F. M. Stenton	F. M. Stenton	1905
Devonshire I	O. J. Reichel	O. J. Reichel	1906
Nottinghamshire I	F. M. Stenton	F. M. Stenton	1906
Lancashire I	W. Farrer	W. Farrer	1906
Norfolk II	C. Johnson	C. Johnson & E. Salisbury	1906
Leicestershire I	F. M. Stenton	F. M. Stenton	1907 ⁴
Shropshire I	J. Tait	C. H. Drinkwater	1908
Rutland I	F. M. Stenton	F. M. Stenton	1908
Cornwall II	L. F. Salzmann & others	T. Taylor	1924 ⁵
Oxfordshire I	F. M. Stenton	F. M. Stenton	1939 ⁵

NOTES

1. J.H.R. was *V.C.H.* Domesday editor.
2. The *Sussex* Domesday introduction was originally written by L. F. Salzmann, but J.H.R., having heavily amended it, was listed as joint author.
3. J. G. Wood is not listed in the contents of *Herefordshire I* as editor of the text. His work was heavily revised by J.H.R.
4. J.H.R.'s work on *Leicestershire I* was done in 1906. In that year he also did some preliminary work on the *Lincs.* Domesday but it was not published.
5. J.H.R.'s work done in 1908.

TABLE III. J. H. ROUND'S EDITORIAL WORK ON *V.C.H.* SECTIONS OTHER THAN DOMESDAY

Volume	Date	Subjects	Authors
Surrey I	1902	Political History ¹	H. E. Malden
Essex I	1903	Ancient Earthworks	I. Chalkley Gould
Bedfordshire I	1903	Ecclesiastical H., Religious Hos.	Sister Elspeth
Hampshire II	1903	Ecclesiastical H.; Forestry; Topog.	J. C. Cox, J. Nisbet &c.
Durham I	1905	Boldon Book	G. T. Lapsley
Surrey II	1905	Religious Houses	J. C. Cox
Sussex I	1905	Political H. &c. ¹	L. F. Salzmänn &c.
Devonshire I	1906	Feudal Baronage ²	O. J. Reichel
Lancashire I	1906	Feudal Baronage ²	W. Farrer
Northants. Families	1906	Family History ³	(O. Barron)
Lincolnshire II	1906	Political H.	C. H. Vellacott
Northamptonshire II	1906	Topography	Various
Worcestershire II	1906	Topography	Various
Berkshire II	1907	Various (General volume)	Various
Essex II	1907	All subjects (General volume) ⁴	J. C. Cox, R. C. Fowler, M. Oppenheim &c.
Herts. Families	1907	Family History ³	E. E. Dorling &c.
Leicestershire I	1907	Leicestershire Survey	F. M. Stenton
Sussex II	1907	Various (General volume)	Various
Bedfordshire II	1908	Topography	Various
Hampshire III	1908	Topography	Various
Hertfordshire II	1908	Topography	Various
Hampshire IV	1911	Topography	Various
Middlesex II	1911	Topography	Various
Bedfordshire III	1912	Topography	Various
Hampshire V	1912	Topography	Various
Hertfordshire III	1912	Topography	Various
Hertfordshire IV	1914	Ecclesiastical; Topography	Various

NOTES

1. J.H.R. was a series editor for Political History.
2. J.H.R. was a series editor for Feudal Baronage.
3. J.H.R. was an unofficial series editor for Family History.
4. J.H.R. was joint editor.

Excavations in Essex, 1979

Edited by M. R. EDDY

This is the fourth annual round-up of excavations in Essex to be compiled by Essex County Council's Archaeology Section for the Advisory Committee for Archaeological Excavation in Essex. In 1979, forty-one excavations were undertaken in Essex and adjacent Greater London (Fig. 1). As in previous years the majority were rescue operations.

Sites are listed alphabetically; the directors of excavations and the societies and institutions involved are named at the beginning of each report. The present or intended locations of finds and the place of final publication, where known, are stated at the end of each note.

Contributors are thanked for supplying information. Original reports have been added to the Essex Sites and Monuments Record at County Hall, Chelmsford.

1. Ardleigh TL 055 292

J. Hinchcliffe, Central Excavation Unit, Department of the Environment

A number of areas were excavated to answer questions raised by previous research and to assess the effects of cultivation on archaeological levels. An apparently isolated ring ditch (Area 5) was shown to be a ploughed-down barrow with a centrally placed unaccompanied cremation resting on a bed of charcoal. The barrow ditches had been virtually filled by the 1st century A.D., and a low mound probably survived. Six 4th-century inhumations, accompanied by beads, brooches, bracelets, iron work and Hadham and Oxfordshire pottery were interred in the ring ditch area. In Area 7 several ring ditches, presumably ploughed-out barrows, were excavated but only two burials were found. This absence of burial evidence is seen as attributable to cultivation effects. Excavation in the apparent centre of the L.P.R.I.A./Early Roman settlement has revealed mainly boundary ditches. Structural evidence has apparently been removed by ploughing. The trackway central to the site has been shown to be pre-Roman in origin.

Finds: to Col. M.

Final publication: *E.A.A. (Essex)*.

2. Aveley, Belhus Park TQ 575 815

T. J. Carney, T.M.

Excavation confirmed that a structure in the grounds of Belhus Park was an ice-house. The nature of the brickwork and historical documents suggest its incorporation into a mid-18th-century improvement scheme.

Finds: T.M.

Final publication: *Panorama*, **23**, 1980.

3. Canvey, May Avenue TQ 827 806

P. J. Johnson, Castle Point Archaeological Group

Limited excavation in advance of redevelopment revealed use of the area in the L.P.R.I.A. for salt-making. Early Roman pottery was recovered during development.

Finds: with excavator.

4. Chignal St. James TL 662 108

C. P. Clarke, E.C.C.

A further 0.75 ha. south of the 'villa' was examined (Clarke, 1979 and 1980, 101; 3). Additional evidence of late neolithic or early Bronze Age occupation, and a trackway with an attached strip field system, originating in the L.P.R.I.A. and backfilled in the early to mid-2nd century A.D. was recorded. A further post-hole structure, built in the early 2nd century, was aligned similarly to the three structures found in 1978. Before demolition *c.* 270–80 it was altered by the replacement of two posts and the addition of an internal partition. Bricks, reused in the post-bases of this building, suggest the existence of a substantial earlier building. A series of sub-rectangular enclosures, west of this building, of the late 3rd or early 4th century, were associated with the sub-rectangular enclosure excavated in 1978. Linked by a fenced driveway, they are interpreted as paddock ditches backfilled in the late 4th century.

There was some evidence of later activity.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *E.A.A. (Essex)*.

5. Chigwell, Little London TQ 456 963

F. R. Clarke, W.E.A.G.

A side road of the Roman road from London to Dunmow led via a courtyard to a flint and tile built structure containing a hypocaust system. This hypocaust was later diverted towards a substantial circular flint structure which contained late 4th century A.D. pottery. Quantities of *tesserae* and window glass were also found.

Finds: P.E.M.

6. Colchester, Butt Road TL 992 248

C. E. Crossan, C.A.T.

Excavations within the two-phase Roman cemetery were completed (Crossan, 1979 and 1980, 102; 4). The earlier phase, of 3rd-century date, was represented by sixty-five graves orientated north to south. Overlying this was a 4th-century cemetery, of which 620 inhumations, with their feet to the east, were examined. To the west, the burials were found to extend to within a metre of a building with an apsidal east end. Recent disturbance left few internal features of the building, though the east end had timber aisles. Internal partitions are inferred from the absence of post-pits at the west end. Between two posts of the south aisle lay a timber-lined feature, its north end coinciding with the ends of two rectangular pits to the west. It seems likely that two of these were graves. Built no later than *c.* A.D. 320–340, the building was maintained into the 5th century. The evidence suggests it was a church associated with the later cemetery.

Finds: Col. M.

Final publication: *C.A.T. Monograph*.

7. Colchester, Long Wyre Street TL 998 251

N. A. Smith, C.A.T.

The site lay at the intersection of the Roman streets between *Insulae* 29, 30, 37 and 38A (Smith, 1979 and 1980, forthcoming). Provisionally six Roman periods have been identified, the earliest of which was represented by the ditch and clay-revetted rampart of the fortress annexe. The rampart was partly demolished, perhaps about A.D. 49, and a timber drain and water main were laid across the site, presumably to serve the area of the Temple of Claudius. An east-west street and a street running north from it were probably laid out then. After A.D. 60–61 a street running south was built and clay-walled buildings on stone and mortar plinths were constructed on either side of it. The house in the south-east angle of the crossroads was replaced and later houses with stone footings and tessellated floors were erected in the southern corners of the crossroads. At least one period of reconstruction may have resulted from the realignment of the street leading east to permit the enlargement of the public building in *Insula* 30. A late timber-framed building was erected after the demolition of the house in the south-west angle of the crossroads.

The earliest medieval activity on the site was represented by 12th-century pits. Victorian terracing had removed medieval occupation on the Wyre Street frontage, leaving only the floors and foundations of wings or outhouses at the rear. The earlier additions were of wattle and the later timber-framed on stone and mortar footings. Domestic features were associated with these additions.

Finds: Col. M.

Final publication: *C.A.T. Monograph*.

8. Copford TL 923 216

Mrs. K. de Brisay, C.A.G.

A trial trench to establish the position of a Roman road failed to locate any evidence of road surfaces.

9. Cressing, All Saints' Church TL 794 205

J. H. Hope, B.A.F.U. and E.C.C.

Four limited trenches inside the church confirmed the existence of a Saxo-Norman apsidal chapel with internal buttresses in the apse and a chancel arch overlying timber slots and post-holes of an earlier structure. The laying of the Victorian floor had destroyed earlier floor-levels, except beneath the supporting plate of the bell truss. Traces of scorching below the Victorian concrete may have been caused by the collapse of a thatched roof destroyed by fire.

Finds: E.C.C., to go to Col. M.

Final publication: *E.A.A. (Essex)*.

10. Cressing, All Saints' Churchyard TL 794 205

J. H. Hope, B.A.F.U. and E.C.C.

Excavations in advance of churchyard extension confirmed the continuation to the east of the hurdle fence recorded in 1975 (Hope, 1976). A L.P.R.I.A. penannular gully was found pre-dating two circular post-hole structures of early Roman date with associated clay-lined fire pits. The medieval churchyard boundary was also identified.

Finds: with excavator, to go to Col. M.

11. Cressing Temple TL 799 186

J. H. Hope, B.A.F.U.

Excavation on the site of the Tudor house confirmed the existence of a two-phase brick cellar (Hope, 1979 and 1980, 103; 4). Two phases of drains were found, the earlier associated with a garde-robe in an annexe to the main wing. East of the cellar lay the gravel foundations of a unicellular chapel, the floors of which were destroyed by Tudor landscaping. The finds in the associated grave pits indicated contemporaneity with the Templars and Hospitallers. To the south-west a substantial oven surrounded by circular gravel-packed settings and a buttressed wall was dated to the early 12th century A.D. Evidence of Bronze Age occupation was also found.

Finds: with excavator, to go to Col. M.

12. Eastwood TQ 852 893

D. H. MacLeod, S.M.

An undated aisled building with gravel-filled trench footings was recorded during extension of the Western Approaches Road.

Finds: S.M.

13. Eastwood, Marshall's Farm TQ 877 889

K. L. Crowe, South-East Essex Archaeological Society

Further excavation north of the corn-dryer (Crowe, 1979 and 1980, 103; 5) revealed a 2nd to 3rd century A.D. channel which apparently linked the granaries to the Prittle Brook. This channel was filled with carbonised grain and other organic material in the late 3rd century after a major fire. Wood, including a stake, plank and branches was found, whilst flotation and wet-sieving produced seeds, cone-scales and leather. A clay floor, with a possible hearth, its edge defined by a double row of stakes, overlay the backfilled ditch. To the south a gravelled area may be contemporary with the clay floor. Several stake holes were recovered in the clay base of the gravel surface.

Finds: S.M.

Final publication: *Trans. South-East Essex Archaeological Society*.

14. Foulness, Ridge Marsh Farm TQ 018 943

R. W. Crump, A.W.R.E. (Foulness) Archaeological Society.

Survey of the farm-house, built on Arundel Marsh which was reclaimed between 1424 and 1486, suggests that the house was originally a timber-framed construction of A.D. 1660.

Many of the internal features appear original but with extensive alterations, including the insertion of an 18th-century bread oven. These alterations may be related to changes in agricultural practice.

Finds: A.W.R.E., Foulness.

15. Great Chesterford TL 504 433

A. E. Collins, Great Chesterford Archaeology Group

An auger survey and trenching demonstrated that the early Roman fort did not extend as far eastwards as Rodwell (1972, fig. 1) suggested. The east side of the fort was located and the defences shown to comprise a main ditch (4.5 m. wide and 1.3 m. deep) with counter-scarp bank and shallow outer ditch. The rampart had a gravel base, 6 m. wide, and was timber revetted. The fort's

size is reassessed at c. 24½ acres (9.89 ha.). Later Roman activity was represented by metal working evidence, a cobbled floor of a possible building and 3rd- and 4th-century plough marks. Trenching of a cropmark near the fort's north-east corner indicated the existence of a possible annexe of 2½ acres (1 ha.).

Finds: Great Chesterford Archaeology Group.

Final publication: *Britannia*.

16. Great Clacton, Palace Hotel Site TM 172 142

J. J. Wymer, E.C.C.

Two boreholes confirmed the estuarine and marine beds (Pike and Godwin, 1953) overlying the Freshwater Beds from which Warren (1955) recorded Clactonian artefacts. The boreholes were cut in the eastern edge of the Clacton Channel and showed a minimum depth of 8.6 m. of overburden above the Freshwater beds.

Finds: School of Botany, Cambridge University and School of Environmental Sciences, University of East Anglia.

17. Harlow, Stafford House

J. Chapman, Harlow Museum

3rd and 4th century A.D. levels were examined on the edge of the Roman settlement. The principal features comprised ditches and pits with stone scatters and possible post-holes. 2nd-century levels were partly investigated.

Finds: Harlow Museum.

18. Harwich, George Street TM 259 326

B. Milton, E.C.C.

A cellar wall of the former White Hart Hotel was removed and the section recorded. An earlier cellar had destroyed much of the stratigraphy though 13th-century occupation was recorded at the base of the section.

Finds: E.C.C., to go to Col. M.

Final publication: *E.A.A. (Essex)*.

19. Heybridge/Great Totham, Lofts Farm TL 866 090

P. N. Brown, Maldon Archaeological Group

Excavation and observation in advance of and during gravel working continued (Brown, 1979 and 1980, 104; 6). Neolithic and Bronze Age pits and an Iron Age hut-circle were recorded and partially excavated during and after topsoil stripping of an area with a brickearth subsoil. The hut-circle was penannular with an east entrance. Only two post-holes were recovered from its interior. A group of flints near the circle's centre, just above the brickearth, may have been a central post support. A pit, containing charcoal and bone, and a possible trackway, both undated, with two and, in places, three parallel ditches, were also recorded.

A cropmark ring-ditch, producing Bronze Age pottery, has been partially excavated and ditch silts suggest an internal bank or mound. There were post-holes in the butt ends of the penannular ditch. A smaller ring-ditch was recorded inside this cropmark circle. Roman pottery and tile came from elements of an adjacent rectilinear field system.

Finds: with excavator.

Final publication: *E.A.H.*

20. Kelvedon, The Chase TL 852 186

M. R. Eddy, E.C.C.

Trenching in the garden of Blanford House revealed two late Iron Age field systems on different alignments, one associated with a possible hedge-line.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *E.A.A. (Essex)*.

21. Little Chesterford, Bordeaux Farm TL 507 418

A. E. Collins, Great Chesterford Archaeology Group

Observation of a cable trench revealed a flint cairn. The adjacent area was excavated and a small pit, cutting a layer of charcoal, was found to contain an inverted urn. The urn was decorated with four applied horseshoe handles and an incised curvilinear design. Associated with the urn were cremated bone, a stone ring, a bone bead and perforated animal teeth. Below the charcoal layer was the butt end of a gully.

Finds: Cambridge University Museum

Final publication: *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*.

22. Little Shelford, Roman site TQ 976 907

H. R. James, A.W.R.E. (Foulness) Archaeological Society

Excavations were continued to define a possible 3rd-century structure (James and James, 1979 and 1980, 105; 7). No evidence for the expected structure was found but part of an earlier stakehole structure with a trampled clay floor was examined.

Finds: A.W.R.E., Foulness.

23. Loughton, Broadshood Lodge TQ 429 987

E. Dorrington, W.E.A.G.

A recently recognised rectangular and ditched mound, some 1 m. high, was surveyed and excavated. Its use as a rabbit warren (pillow mound) was indicated.

Finds: with excavator.

24. Orsett Cock TQ 654 813

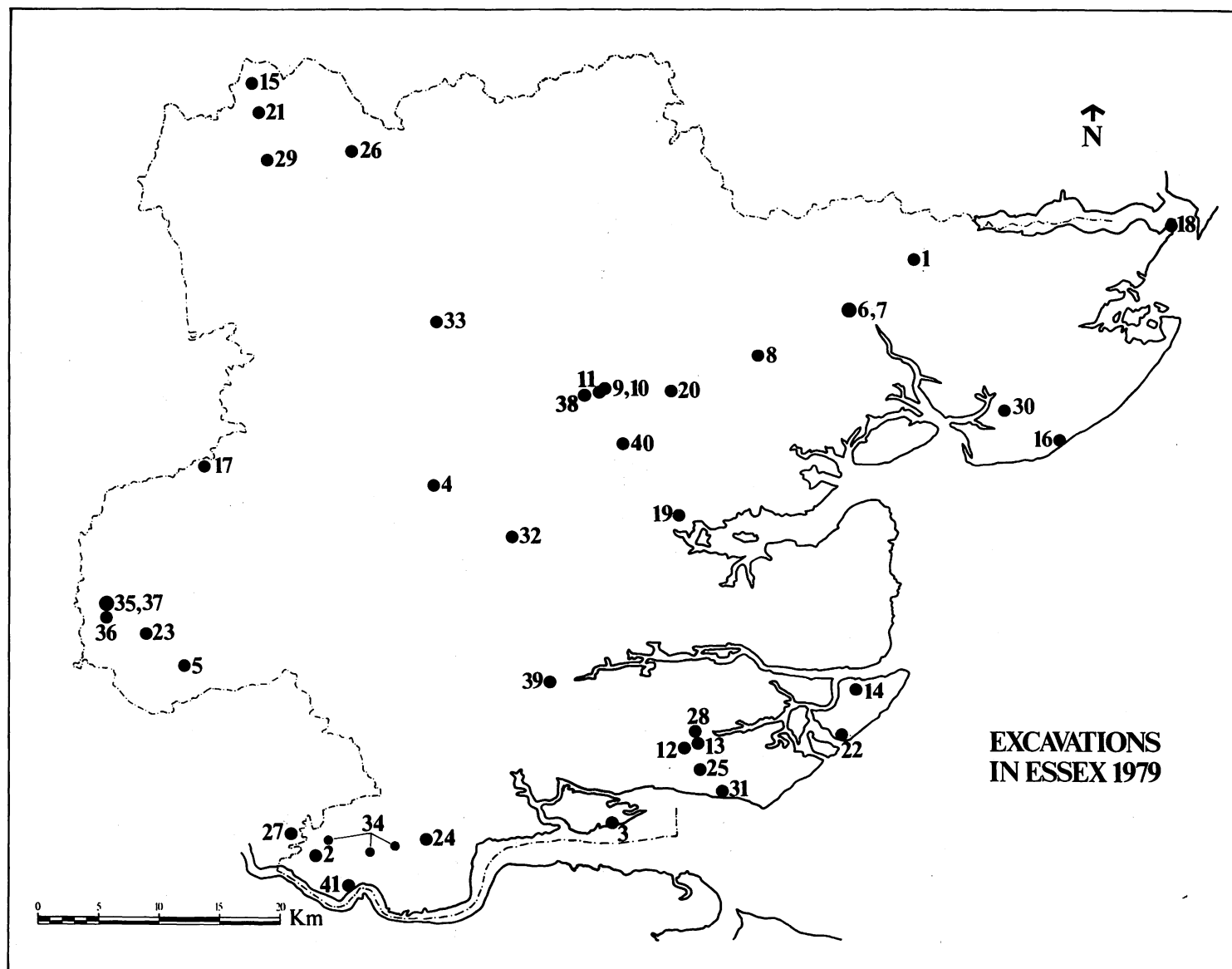
S. King and M. U. Jones

A fourth Saxon sunken-hut dug into the fill of the south-west corner of the Phase II enclosure (Toller, 1978, 246) was excavated. The gable post-holes were 3 m. apart. Rusticated, stamped and grass-tempered sherds were found.

Late ditch fills of the Phase II enclosure produced much pottery, including an Argonne-type roller-stamp on a grey ware sherd.

Finds: T.M.

Final report: with H. Toller in *E.A.H.* and *Medieval Archaeology*.



25. Prittlewell Priory TQ 876 873

D. G. MacLeod, S.M.

Excavations within the cloister revealed limited evidence of earlier monastic buildings. Details of the post-monastic buildings, including the 19th-century wing and a culvert running from it, were recorded. Survey revealed an aperture, filled by reused stonework, in the west wall of the outer cellar which overlay disturbed soil containing stoneware and a Nuremberg token of orb and cross type.

Finds: S.M.

26. Radwinter, Martins Farm TL 596 385

P. J. Drury

A double-flued tile-built kiln was shown to have produced peg-tiles, floor-tiles and bricks in the late 14th to early 15th centuries. The firing tunnels had been enlarged once and the structure repaired several times, whilst the debris from a clay dome filled the oven. There was slight evidence for a roof over the kiln, principally supported on four timber posts.

Finds: with excavator.

27. Rainham, Moor Hall Farm TQ 545 820

P. M. Wilkinson, P.E.M.

Excavations in advance of gravel working (Wilkinson, 1978, 246) revealed late Roman enclosures apparently formed by fencing placed in discontinuous construction trenches. Two parallel trenches, at least 40 m. long, contained burnt material and flints and seemed to be structural. Carbonised grain was recovered from a circular pit and quern fragments and evidence for ploughing indicate the site's arable nature. Two hearths are also associated with this area and finds suggest a 4th century A.D. date.

Finds: P.E.M.

Final publication: *P.E.M. Monograph*.

28. Rochford, East Street TQ 878 905

M. R. Eddy, E.C.C.

A two-phase Roman gravel pathway was revealed beside a pre-existing stream channel which continued in use until the 17th century, though maintained by ditch digging from the 13th century onwards.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *E.A.A. (Essex)*.

29. Saffron Walden, Audley End TL 524 382

P. J. Drury, Department of Environment

The decayed floors of two rooms at the east end of the south wing were excavated before reconstruction. The north wall of the range at ground level was shown to be Jacobean work of c. 1603–16, resting on the south cloister wall of Walden Abbey. The west wall of the west range, demolished in 1752, was located and proved to be based on an earlier wall. This work confirms that the Walden Abbey cloister and the inner court of the Jacobean house were co-extensive.

The library was created to span the end of the south wing following demolition of the east range in 1752–3. Excavation showed that the library was a workshop after the floor's frame was in

place but before the boards were laid. The plaster and mould debris lay above narrow brick (1752–3) or stone (1763–4) vaults built to carry the floor-framing. Despite a redesign of plan in 1826–31, the *in situ* floor boards were largely of 1763–4. Architectural details were also recorded.

Finds: DoE collection, Audley End.

Final publication: ?*Post-Medieval Archaeology*.

30. St. Osyth, Wellwick Farm, TM 120 168

M. Corbishley, Tendring Rescue Archaeology Group

Fieldwork and excavation in advance of gravel extraction revealed a large square or rectangular enclosure which continued into St. Osyth Priory Park. A ditched trackway from the north-west has two stone buildings at its end. From the entrance of the enclosure another ditched trackway ran north-east to the Roman road leading from Colchester towards Clacton. A rectilinear series of field ditches, backfilled *c.* A.D. 150–200, were set at right-angles to the south side of the second trackway. A subterranean Roman tomb had walls of Kentish Rag and tile, a floor of *tegulae* and floor-tiles, and a vaulted roof of *tegulae*. It appeared to have been robbed in antiquity though the skeleton of an adult male was found.

Finds: with excavator, to go to Col. M.

Final publication: *E.A.H.*

31. Southchurch Hall TQ 894 855

J. R. Jackson, Southend Historical Society and S.M.

Trial trenching west of the line of the causeway (Jackson, 1979 and 1980, forthcoming) recorded habitation layers forming a mound north of and parallel to the present Manor House. Finds included a bone knight chess-piece of 12th- or 13th-century date. Further work on the moat east of the causeway and north of the garderobe revealed more details of the garderobe. Metal tools, a spur, Cheam-type jug and 17th-century powder-flask spout were recovered. Building operations east of the Manor House were also observed.

Finds: S.M.; boat strakes below medieval timber bridge sole-plate now with National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

32. Springfield Cursus TL 725 067

J. D. Hedges and D. G. Buckley, E.C.C.

The east end of a recently identified neolithic cursus, threatened by development, was excavated and shown to be square-ended with an uninterrupted ditch. An interior bank was indicated and internal features, including pits with evidence of burning and a semi-circular arrangement of post-holes, were examined. The semi-circle of posts is believed to have originally been a full circle, truncated by a modern sewer. Finds included pottery in the later neolithic Mortlake style.

Finds: E.C.C.

33. Stebbing TL 640 260

C. J. Going

Further excavation (Going, 1978, 247) of the Romano-British cemetery identified the V-shaped ditch of the northern side of the cemetery enclosure. The western boundary was not located. A cremation burial in a nailed box was associated with a pre- or early-Flavian ring-necked flagon.

The plough soil contained much flint waste and artefacts, including a *petit tranchet* arrowhead, and a pestle, perhaps of diorite.

Finds: with excavator.

34. Thurrock A13/M25 Road Schemes

T. J. Wilkinson, E.C.C., with T. J. Carney, T.M.

To date the construction of the Grays Northern and Eastern By-passes and the M25 in Thurrock have revealed two previously unknown sites and threaten a number of cropmark sites.

Orsett, Baket Street TQ 631 811

Several pits, post-holes, ditches and a cremation representing a mid- to late Bronze Age open settlement were revealed by topsoil stripping.

Stifford Clays TQ 609 804

A group of L.P.R.I.A. and Romano-British pits and ditches were recorded.

Aveley, Belhus Park TQ 575 812

An Iron Age sub-rectangular enclosure adjacent to a larger L.P.R.I.A. enclosure, examined initially by T. J. Carney, produced residual late Bronze Age pottery. Several phases of Romano-British ditches may form part of a rectilinear field system.

Finds: E.C.C. and T.M.

Final publication: *E.A.A. (Essex)*.

35. Waltham Abbey, Grange Yard TL 383 008

P. J. Huggins, W.A.H.S.

Excavations on the site of a proposed information centre revealed a post-medieval farm track overlying a medieval track orientated towards the Stoney Bridge. The earliest occupation comprised ditches and pits, one wood-lined, dating to the 12th century (see Wilkinson, 1979 and 1980, 108).

Finds: W.A.H.S.

Final publication: *E.A.H.*

36. Waltham Abbey, Cobbins Brook TQ 383 999

P. J. Huggins, W.A.H.S.

A suspected Roman road from Sewardstone to Nazeingbury was shown to be 17th century in date.

Finds: W.A.H.S.

Final publication: *E.A.H.*

37. Waltham Abbey, Lawns Hotel TL 381 005

C. P. Clarke, E.C.C.

A trial trench to assess the postulated Roman and Saxon occupation revealed the earliest activity on the site to have been a 12th-century dump of alluvium. Through this build-up a semi-waterlogged rectangular pit had been cut in the late 12th century. The earliest building on the site, probably of 15th-century date, fronted on to the street. This had been altered in the 16th century by the addition of an undercroft. It was constructed of stone robbed from the Abbey and backfilled in the 17th century. The original structure of the Lawns Hotel was erected in the 17th century but extensively altered in early modern times.

Finds: E.C.C.

38. White Notley Hall TL 784 183

J. H. Hope, B.A.F.U.

A small trench was excavated to examine earlier buildings on the site. To date only a metallised surface has been revealed below build-up layers containing late medieval pottery.

Finds: with excavator, to go to Col. M.

39. Wickford, Beauchamps Farm TQ 757 941

P. Nield, Billericay Archaeological & Historical Society

Three oven-like structures, built of reused hypocaust tiles, were partially excavated. A follis of Constantine was found within the wall of one. A series of three field ovens was shown to be stratigraphically earlier than a gravel floor associated with a coin of Faustina. The gravel floor had partially subsided into an earlier ditch.

See note in Eddy (ed.) below.

Finds: E.C.C. and excavator.

40. Witham, Ivy Chimneys TL 811 136

B. R. G. Turner, E.C.C.

Continued excavations (Turner, 1979 and 1980, forthcoming) revealed more of the layout of the Roman temple and pond complex. Additional areas of Iron Age occupation suggest a substantial enclosed village with its centre west of the excavated area. A 3rd century A.D. kiln was examined. In the 4th century A.D. the site underwent a fundamental change with the construction of a baptistry, an L-shaped post-hole structure and a rectangular timber building. Another multi-phase timber building associated with painted plaster, window glass, roof and hypocaust tiles may have been a bath-house. This was then replaced by a two-phase masonry structure which may be a Christian religious building.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *E.A.A. (Essex)*.

41. West Thurrock, St. Clement's Church TQ 593 772

B. Milton, E.C.C.

Conversion of the church to a community workshop allowed recording of the standing structure and limited excavation. The circular structure recorded by Clapham (1915) was shown to be late Saxon or early Norman in date and probably the nave of a key-hole plan church. The circular base of a possible font was relocated but the stratigraphy had been removed by earlier excavations. The south chapel was shortened in the 19th century. Arcading replaced the wall between north chapel and chancel, shortly after the former was built, and part of the chancel was rebuilt at that time.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *E.A.A. (Essex)*.

Abbreviations

B.A.F.U.	Bramston Archaeological Field Unit
C.A.T.	Colchester Archaeological Trust
Col. M.	Colchester and Essex Museum
<i>E.A.A. (Essex)</i>	<i>East Anglian Archaeology (Essex)</i>

E.A.H.	<i>Essex Archaeology and History</i>
E.C.C.	Essex County Council, Archaeology Section
P.E.M.	Passmore Edwards Museum
S.M.	Southend Museum
T.M.	Thurrock Museum
W.A.H.S.	Waltham Abbey Historical Society
W.E.A.G.	West Essex Archaeological Group

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Work of the Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1979

Edited by M. R. EDDY

This is the fourth annual report by the Archaeology Section of E.C.C.'s Planning Department (Couchman (ed.), 1976, 144–83; 1977b, 60–94; 1979a). In 1979 some thirty-four discoveries worthy of report were made. The larger excavations undertaken by the Section are summarised above (pp. 39–50).

Items are arranged in chronological order, multi-period sites being listed under the principal period represented. Unlike the previous reports the items are further subdivided by parish or site name rather than by the Essex Sites and Monuments Record (E.S.M.R.) number, which is given in brackets after the site's grid reference. Members of the Section who have contributed include: J. D. Hedges (Archaeology Officer), D. G. Buckley (Assistant Archaeology Officer), M. R. Eddy (Urban Archaeology Officer), Mrs. D. Priddy, Miss C. Couchman (who has now left the Section), Miss H. E. Martingell, Mrs. C. Turner and Miss H. J. Major (referred to by initials below). The Section is grateful to those who undertook site observations on its behalf and to those who contributed specialist reports. Descriptions of unillustrated finds have been added to the E.S.M.R.

1. High Easter TL 6425 1485 (TL 61/132) (H.E.M.)

A pointed ovate Acheulean hand-axe was reported by Mr. Nicholson of Witham, who found the piece at a depth of 0.6 m. in clay. Of grey flint with light blue patination all-over, the axe is generally thin in section with shallow flake beds remaining where trimming flakes had been removed. The tip is missing (Fig. 1).

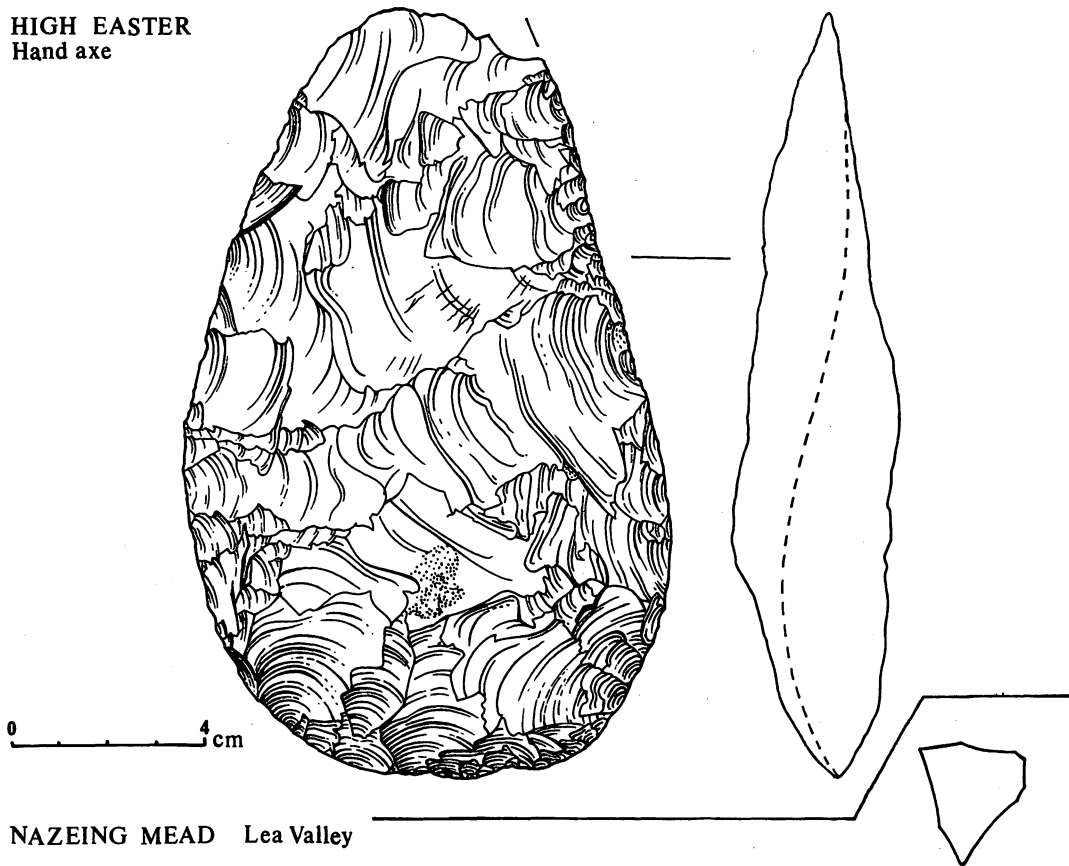
Private possession.

2. Burnham-on-Crouch, Cliff Reach TQ 925 965 (TQ 99/81) (H.E.M.)

Over the last four years Mr. Hammond of Burnham-on-Crouch has collected flint tools, flakes and blades from the north bank of the Crouch and adjacent fields (Figs. 2 and 3). Mr. Hammond's catalogue numbers are used here. No cores were found but there is a core trimming flake (Fig. 2, 47) and 113 small trimming flakes and other fragments averaging *c.* 20 mm. square. Most of the 151 artefacts are of good quality gravel flint, nine being honey-coloured and 114 being grey/black with varying amounts of brown staining. Twenty-eight pieces, including three of the neolithic arrowheads and some of the best blades, are pigmented lustrous matt black similar to material from Walton-on-the-Naze, Essex (Warren, Piggott *et al.*, 1936), and Farlington Marshes, Hampshire (Bradley and Hooper, 1973). This coloration may be due to an organic deposit in which they lay.

Among the tools there is a possible Upper Palaeolithic point (Fig. 2, 38), a number of mesolithic blades, including four microliths, two of which (Fig. 2, 25 and 93) are obliquely blunted points and two (Fig. 2, 174 and 175) are singlebacked rods, and a truncated blade (Fig. 2, 51).

HIGH EASTER
Hand axe



NAZEING MEAD Lea Valley

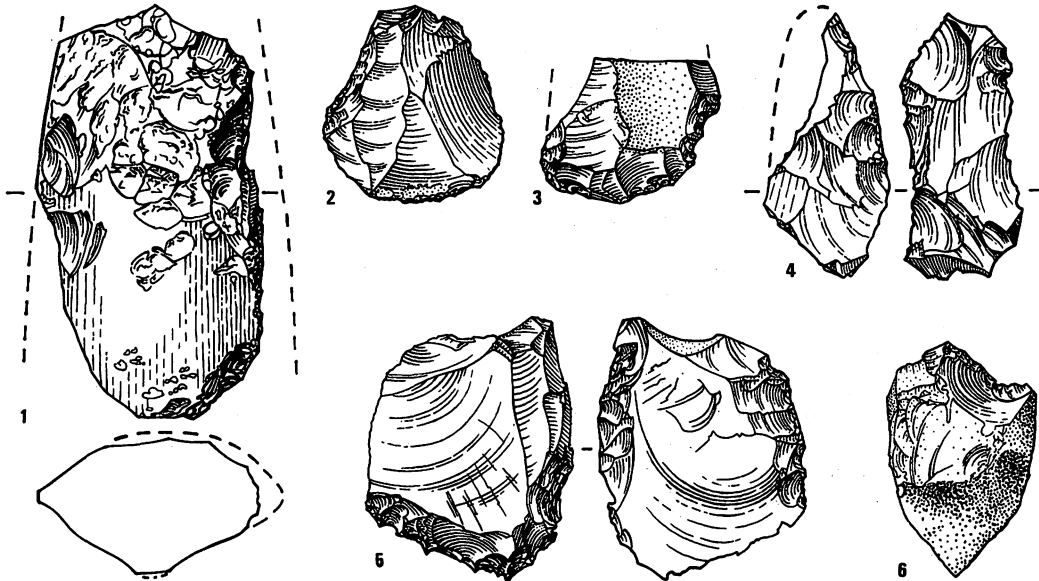


Fig. 1

SPRINGFIELD, Chelmsford.

CLIFF REACH, Burnham-on-Crouch

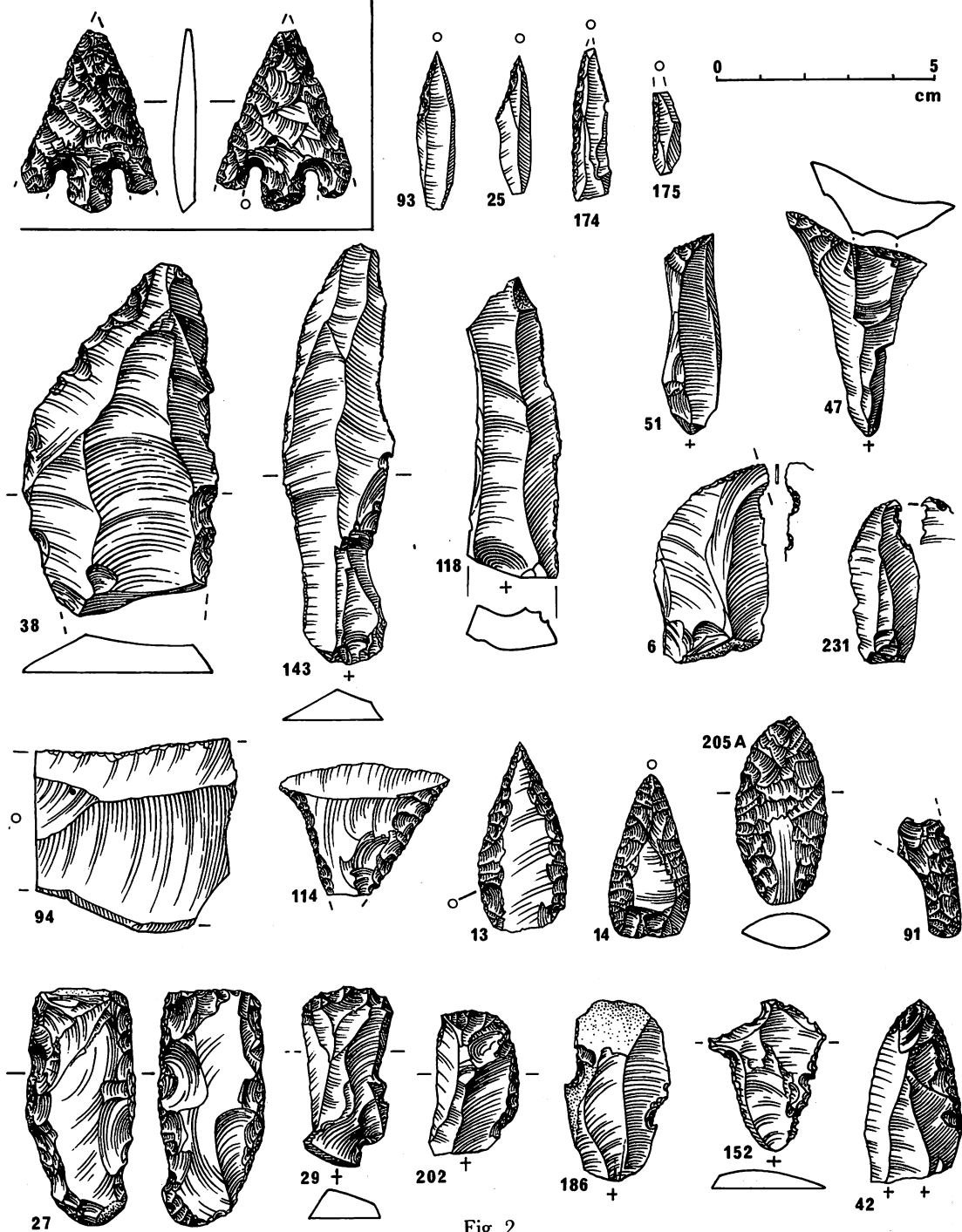


Fig. 2

Neolithic activity is represented by two scrapers (Fig. 2, 29 and 202) and three leaf-shaped arrowheads, two of which (Fig. 2, 13 and 14) have only bifacial marginal retouch, whilst the third (Fig. 2, 205A) has almost all-over bifacial pressure flaking (Clark, *et al.*, 1960). The nearly complete *petit tranchet* derivative arrowhead (Fig. 2, 114) is one of the lustrous black pieces and was found near a snapped thin blade (Fig. 2, 94) which may be a blank for another arrowhead of the same type. The single long barb fragment of an arrowhead (Fig. 2, 91) could be either part of a neolithic single barb piece or an early Bronze Age double barb specimen. Equally some of the irregularly retouched material could be Bronze Age rather than neolithic.

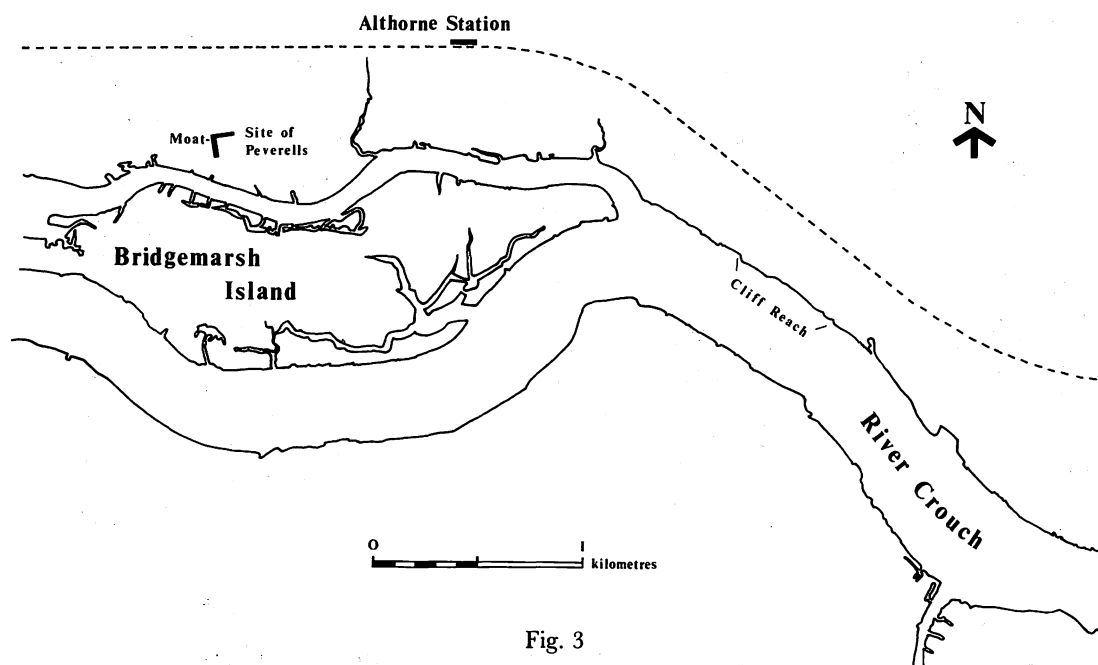


Fig. 3

The three other distinct elements of the tool kit are parallel-sided long blades including a heavily worn 'backed knife' (Fig. 2, 27), some apparently unused, others utilised and/or finely retouched (Hammond's 35) to produce, in the case of Fig. 2, 118 and 143, a serrated or fine saw edge; six hooked pieces with left or right curving points formed by a wide shallow notch on one side with diagonal retouch on the other (Fig. 2, 6 and 231); irregularly retouched pieces including possible scrapers, steep edge retouched flakes and blades (some single and double notched (Fig. 2, 186), and nine piercer/borers (Fig. 2, 42 and 152).

The Cliff Reach material is comparable to some of that from Hullbridge (Warren, 1911), farther upstream. The Hullbridge material is derived from the base, or beneath the lower of two buried land surfaces, now approximately 1.5 m. below the present valley floor. A prehistoric land surface has not yet been identified at Cliff Reach but this may be revealed by more systematic field work, both here and perhaps at others of the thirty prehistoric find-spots between Burnham and Hullbridge.

Private possession.

3. Stock TQ 705 978 (TQ 79/105) (D.G.B.)

A flint axe-head, found after ploughing by Mr. C. Johnson of Stock, was lent for study. H.E.M. comments:

'A fine bifacially flaked axe-head (Fig. 4, 2) of grey flint with inclusions and slight brown staining, complete except for a broken area at the cutting edge. Typologically it is probably neolithic and is closest to, though not precisely paralleled by, axeheads Nos. 212 and 260 in Adkins and Jackson (1978).'

A distribution of neolithic flint axeheads from Essex, mainly chance finds, is now published (Hedges, 1980, 26-39). This find is the only example from the vicinity of Stock.

Private possession.

4. Nazeing Mead TL 393 077 (TL 30/26) (H.E.M.)

Fifty-one neolithic flint tools and waste were found by Dr. R. Jacobi near the nursery glasshouses off Dobbs Weir Road.

Of the four cores, two are blade and one a disc core, whilst the last is a thermally fractured lump with some flakes removed. There were no primary flakes though thirty-seven secondary flakes or lumps, including cores and tools, were recovered. Eleven of the fourteen tertiary flakes were small, fine trimming flakes, and the remaining three were tools.

Fig. 1, 1 Fine neolithic polished flint axe, heavily burnt and cracked.

Fig. 1, 2 Scraper with minimal retouch at the distal end.

Fig. 1, 3 Thick sectioned scraper with steep retouch.

Fig. 1, 4 Part of rod or fabricator, heavily burnt and cracked.

Fig. 1, 5 Core scraper with alternative retouch. White/grey flint. Possibly mesolithic.

Fig. 1, 6 Notch on thermal lump.

Unillustrated: Two end scrapers on lumps with minimal retouch; five flakes with irregular retouch.

Irregular frost-shattered nodules had apparently been used as raw material, resulting in a preponderance of thick-sectioned pieces rather than thinner flakes or blades.

The Nazeing Mead site lies 1600 m. to the east of Broxbourne (Warren *et al.*, 1934) and though the material is later in date, this site may form part of a large multi-period flint-working area dependent on the Lea Valley gravels.

Private possession, to go to Harlow Museum.

5. Springfield TL 718 068 (TL 70/150) (D.G.B.)

A flint arrowhead, found by Mr. R. MacGregor in the garden of 129 Springfield Park Avenue, Chelmsford, was lent for study (Fig. 2). H.E.M. comments:

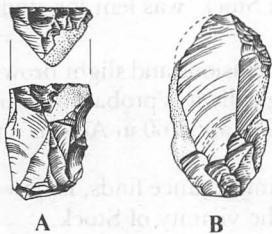
'A bifacially pressure flaked barbed and tanged arrowhead with a broken tip, made on a flake of grey gravel flint. This is a large, straight-sided form. The barbs are slightly damaged but may have been square originally. It is a typical Bronze Age form (Green, 1980, i, 49 and 117).'

A distribution of barbed and tanged arrowheads in Essex has been published although the author points out that isolated examples may have been hunting losses (Couchman, 1980, 40, and fig. 15). She records no other examples in the Chelmsford area, omitting 'a fine flint arrowhead with two barbs . . . picked up near Chelmsford' and exhibited by Mothersole at the Ordinary meeting of the Essex Field Club on Saturday, 2 November 1919 (*Essex Natur.*, 1918-21, 177).

There are, however, numerous finds of worked flint in the area, described as mesolithic or neolithic in date. These are being studied by Healey (Drury and Healey, forthcoming) and the fuller context of the isolated Bronze Age material should become more apparent.

Private possession.

1 Brightlingsea



2 Stock

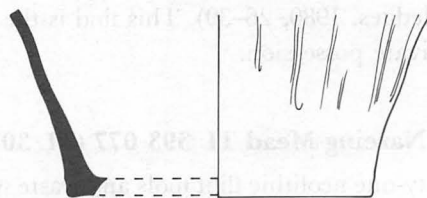


0 5 cm

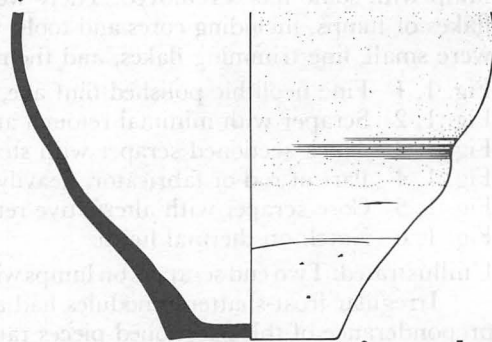
3 Alresford



4 Stock



5 Danbury



0 5 cm

6 Canewdon

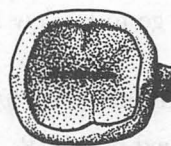


Fig. 4

6. Canewdon, East Lambourne Hall Pit TQ 919 941 (TQ 99/101) (C.C.)

A bronze axe, found during gravel working at Lavender's Pit, East Lambourne Hall, Canewdon, during the 1940s or 1950s, was loaned for study by the late quarry manager's grandson, Mr. D. Hillyer of Tollesbury.

The axehead is looped and socketed (Fig. 4, 6). The angles of the socket are accentuated, almost 'beaded', with a distinct triangular indentation at the bottom of the narrow sides, where the angles meet at the two ends of the blade. The blade is slightly asymmetrical, probably through use, with the greatest wear furthest from the loop. Internally there are two raised ribs, one to each broad side, running down from the collar; one rib runs *c.* one third of the way down the socket, the other *c.* one quarter the way.

The axe is of south-eastern type, mid-8th to mid-7th century B.C. (Butler, 1963, 94). Apparently no other late Bronze Age bronzes came from Lavender's Pit, so it is unlikely to be part of a hoard such as those of scrap bronze from the Southend Area (Davies, 1979; Couchman, 1980, 40-6). This find does, however, provide another piece of evidence for the importance of the Southend area in the late Bronze Age.

Private possession.

7. Alresford, Marsh Farm Pit TM 052 214 (TM 02/212) (D.B., D.P.)

Routine inspection after stripping topsoil to a depth of 0.3 to 0.6 m. revealed a gravel subsoil much obscured by machine disturbance. No certain features were located but five sherds of L.P.R.I.A./early Romano-British pottery and four struck flint flakes were recovered.

Fig. 4, 3. Base, grog and fine sand tempered, black core, smooth grey internal and grey and brown external surfaces. Horizontal multiple burnished lines externally. Probably 1st century A.D. A form not previously published in Essex.

Finds: Colchester Museum.

8. Brightlingsea, Moverons Pit TM 070 184 (TM 01/21) (D.B., D.P.)

Routine inspection after stripping topsoil to a depth of 0.3 m. revealed the sand subsoil. Although three struck flint flakes were collected, one a scraper, no features were observed.

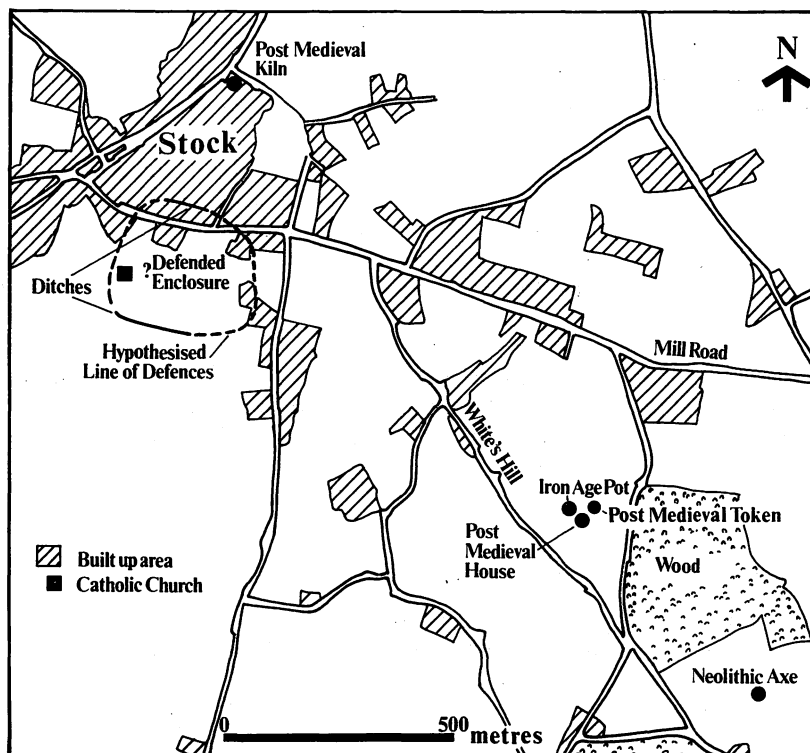
The stripped area lies west of a compact group of ring-ditches (TM 073 183) which are within the permitted gravel working area. Fieldwalking produced one struck flake and sherds of pottery tempered with grog and a freshly broken sherd tempered with abundant coarse quartz.

The plough soil over a much larger ring-ditch farther west (TM 070 184) produced a scraper on a secondary flake (Fig. 4, 1B) and a straight-ended scraper on a pyramidal thick flake (Fig. 4, 1A). Finds: Colchester Museum.

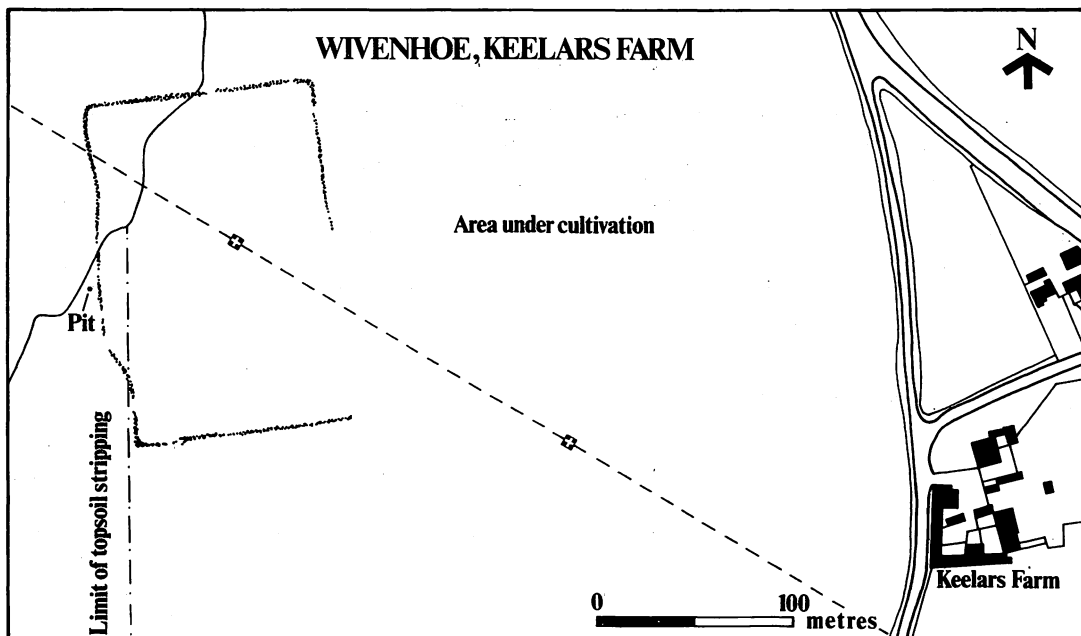
9. Stock TQ 692 987 (TQ 69/19) (M.R.E.)

Two parallel east-west linear features were reported by Mr. Jarvis of Stock who recalls that the northern line, now in back gardens of houses on the north side of Mill Lane, was formerly better preserved. The southern line now comprises a hedge bank and shallow residual ditch cut across a spur to give wide command to the south. Mr. Jarvis considers that two north-south, slightly sunken footpaths mark the east and west ditches that link the east-west lines to form a defended enclosure (Fig. 5, 1). The earthworks as they survive are comparable to those at Danbury (Morris and Buckley, 1978), though the northern was until recently better preserved. Romano-British pottery, apparently from a cremation cemetery, has been recovered (*V.C.H. III*, 184; after Gibson, 1914, 11) from within the postulated enclosure.

The site lies 12 km. north-east of South Weald Camp and 10.9 km. south-west of Danbury



1



2

Fig. 5

Camp. Scant reference to a fort at Downham, some 4.8 km. to the south-east, has been made (Drury, 1980, 47–50, and fig. 18) but no details have been published. Three kilometres due south lies Norsey Wood, which, though now discounted as an *oppidum* (Rodwell, 1976, 326), must have been a focus of late Iron Age settlement. In the immediate vicinity of Stock a group of middle Iron Age pots, apparently votive deposits, has recently been recorded (Hedges, 1977a, 75–7), whilst a 'British Camp' is suggested (*Essex Natur.*, 1909–11, 110) at Great Bishops Wood, 1.25 km. to the south-east.

10. Wivenhoe, Keelars Farm TM 050 232 (TM 02/107) (D.P.)

Routine inspection of topsoil stripping near a rectangular cropmark enclosure (170 m. by 115 m.), first recorded by St. Joseph in 1959, revealed an undated pit and a modern field ditch (Fig. 5, 2). The western ditch of the enclosure was obscured by redeposited topsoil.

The roughly rectangular pit, 2.5 m. by 1 m., lay 1 m. west of the planned line of the enclosure ditch and was orientated north-west to south-east. The excavation of opposed quadrants showed the pit to have been filled with burnt flint and organic material. No datable finds were recovered. The pit may have been a cooking pit cut into the sandy clay natural subsoil, perhaps comparable to the Irish *fulacht fiadha* (O'Riordain, 1953, 44), though an industrial function is also possible.

A ditch 0.5 m. to 0.8 m., running east-west, was shown to be modern.

Surface finds included an L.P.R.I.A./early Roman sherd, an early Iron Age sherd, a flint blade, burnt flint and brick and slag fragments.

Finds: Colchester Museum.

11. Asheldham TL 971 011 (TL 90/1) (M.R.E.)

Excavations for a sewer pipe-line immediately west and north of the scheduled camp revealed a number of features and the opportunity was taken to examine the west face of the former gravel pit east of the camp (Fig. 6).

TL 97100150: A partly trimmed flake of gravel flint. From spoil at edge of gravel pit north of the camp.

TL 97120127: Two ditches were sectioned by a sewer trench in the garden of Sandlings. The northernmost of these (D1) was at least 2 m. deep and over 2 m. wide with a fill of grey-brown loam. Immediately south of D1 was a smaller ditch (D2), c. 0.9 m. wide and 0.7 m. deep, filled with grey silt. This second ditch, containing a Roman tile fragment, aligned with the north side of the east-west road into the village and may be a Roman road-side ditch. A single body sherd of Roman pottery and an iron nail or brooch fragment was found in D2. Sections within the roadway revealed the earliest road surface comprising Tudor tile and glazed brick at a depth of 1.2 m. to 1.5 m. below the present surface.

TL 97330121: Inspection of the abandoned gravel pit east of the camp revealed three substantial ditches at distances of 33 m. (D5), 41 m. (D4) and 55 m. (D3) from the roadway along the quarry face. All produced Romano-British pottery though a single sherd of possible L.P.R.I.A. or early Roman date came from D4, which also contained a piece of burnt mudstone or very homogeneous clay.

Drury and Rodwell (1978) have reaffirmed the existence of the rectilinear road and field system described by Laver (1895) and by Christy (1926) in relation to the Roman road-line identified in their excavations at Asheldham Church. The presence of a possible road-side ditch west of the camp supports Drury and Rodwell's (1978) contention that the Dengie road and field system is Roman in origin, but its relation to the camp remains unclear.

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

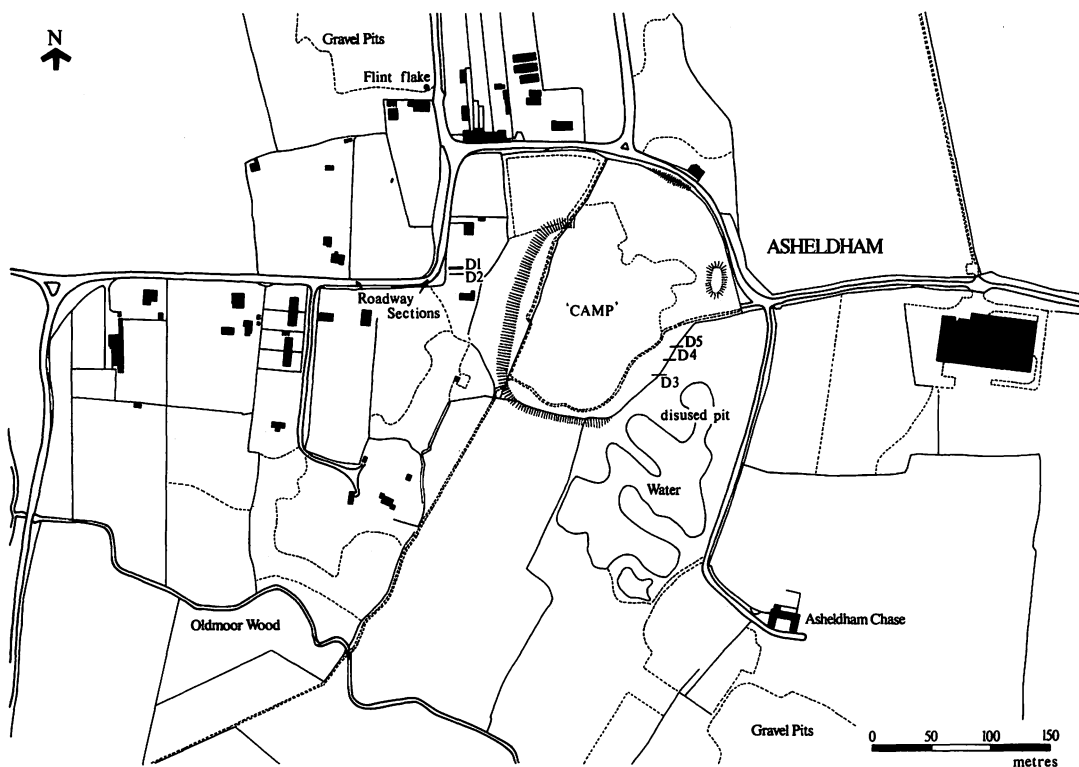


Fig. 6

12. Bradwell-on-Sea, Othona TM 031 082 (TM 00/1) (M.R.E., C.T.)

Fieldwalking of the Saxon Shore fort site by the late H. Young of Chelmsford produced a small collection of late Roman pottery and tile.

The collection is summarised by C.T. below:

Fine wares:

Oxford oxidised wares.

- (i) mortarium base with cream slip (*cf.* Young, 1977, fig. 38, forms WC4–7).
- (ii) flange rim, possibly of the same vessel. This form was produced from *c.* A.D. 240 to 400+.
- (iii) bead rim of bowl, red colour-coat (*cf.* Young, 1977, fig. 61, form C68, 4th century A.D.).
- (iv) two sherds of red colour-coated ware, both rouletted.

Three oxidised Hadham ware sherds and a sherd in white fabric with a brown colour-coat were also recovered.

Coarse wares:

- (i) base sherd, calcite-tempered.
- (ii) rim and base of Rettendon ware, 4th century A.D.
- (iii) sherds of Hadham-type reduced ware.
- (iv) rim of plain bowl, apparently BB1 (mid-1st to mid-4th century A.D.). Other uncategorised black burnished wares were also present.
- (v) grey ware sherds including flanged-rim bowls (*cf.* Cam. f. 305 (Hawkes and Hull, 1947) *c.* A.D. 250 onwards) and straight-sided bowls.
- (vi) perforated base of large jar.

There is nothing in this collection of pottery which is necessarily earlier than the start of the coin series marked by Saloninus (A.D. 259), (Johnson, 1976, 44).

A single plain rim of a hand-made vegetable tempered fabric represents Saxon activity on the site. The intensity of Saxon activity is unclear but it is interesting to note the presence of a pagan Saxon sherd from the bottom of the fort's ditch (Johnson, 1976, 43).

Finds: The executors of Howard Young's estate.

12a. Canvey Island, TQ 823 832 (TQ 88/60) (P. Johnson, M.R.E.)

During winter storms of 1977-8 erosion of alluvial silt revealed a two-chambered structure built of fired clay (Fig. 7, 2). The oval chambers were cleared to a depth of *c.* 30 cm. where a possible floor of burnt clay blocks was encountered. The chambers, *c.* 52 cm. by *c.* 1 m. internally, were served by individual flues, *c.* 18 cm. wide, on the short northern sides and by a common flue apparently running east-west through both chambers. The chamber walls, *c.* 15 cm. thick, rested on a yellow clay base *c.* 20 cm. thick, which was apparent on the outside of the structure. There was no visible stoke-pit. The structure was set in red hill debris overlain by *c.* 60 cm. of alluvial silt.

Briquetage fragments were the only finds from within the structure though Roman tile fragments were recovered nearby. The structure appears to be unparalleled though it may have functional affinities with the larger red-clay 'butterflies' at Bovill's Marsh, Southminster (Couchman, 1977b, 84).

Finds: with Canvey Archaeological Society.

13. Chelmsford, North Melbourne TL 695 088 (TL 60/82) (M.R.E., C.T.)

A group of mixed, well-worn and fragmentary Roman sherds had been collected by Mr. Cuddeford of Chelmsford from an area 100 m. in diameter, centred on a pond north of the North Melbourne Stadium. A cropmark of an apparent linear ditch with a curving corner lay north of the pottery spread.

A pipeline trench and estate road were observed during construction and the only feature revealed was a periglacial orange clay feature on the approximate line of the cropmark feature. No finds, other than modern material, were recovered in the cropmark area.

The restricted distribution of finds suggests that excavation of the pond had disturbed one or more Roman features but that Roman occupation was not intensive.

The finds are described in detail on the E.S.M.R. and range in date from L.P.R.I.A. until the 4th century A.D. A single handle fragment of 12th or 13th century date was also recovered. The two illustrated sherds are included here as they are unusual on Essex sites.

Fig. 7, 1, 1 Sandy grey ware. Late 1st century A.D. onwards.

Fig. 7, 1, 2 Mortarium. Buff with common large grog inclusions possibly a Colchester product (*cf.* Hull, 1958, form 501) or a nearby local source.

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

14. Danbury TL 774 051 (TL 70/41) (M.R.E., C.T.)

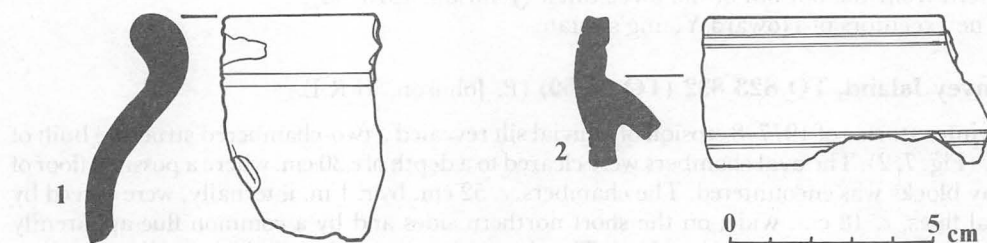
A collection of Romano-British pottery was recovered during earth-moving operations by Mr. Driver of Hatfield Peverel. The finds came from a ditch running parallel to the contours of Danbury Hill.

Fig. 4, 5. Base of Romano-British jar. Micaceous, tempered with sand and grog. Unevenly thrown and fired. Light brown and dark grey external surface, thin red margins, grey core. Comparable to vessel containing a cremation at Kelvedon (Eddy, in prep.).

Sherds of Romano-British grey ware, of a grog-tempered and stab decorated storage jar, and of a thin walled, sand-tempered jar or bowl were also found.

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

1 North Melbourne



2 CANVEY ISLAND Canvey Point Twin 'Oven'

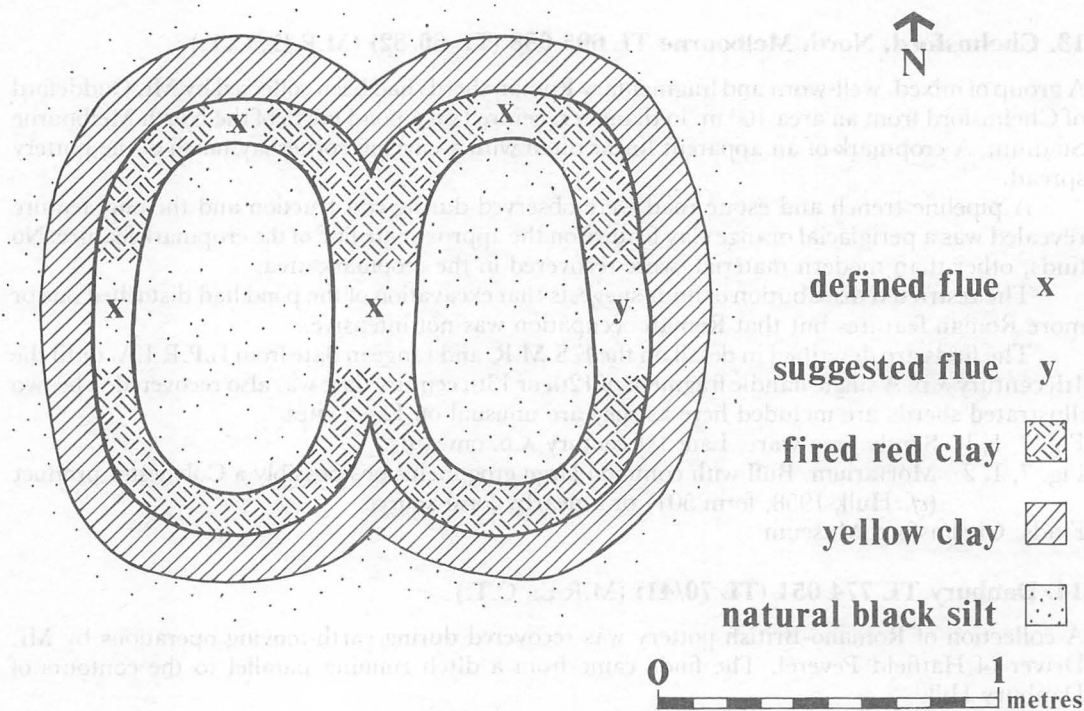


Fig. 7

15. Great Canfield TL 582 194 (TL 51/133) (D.G.B.)

A collection of artefacts made by Mr. C. W. Nunn of Great Canfield included a piece of Roman tile and a rim from a large Roman storage jar of Cam. f. 273 (Hawkes and Hull, 1947). No previous Roman finds have been recorded from this location although Mr. Nunn reports seeing an air photograph showing an elaborate building under the ploughsoil.

Also from the field was a sherd of post-medieval glazed orange ware jar and two pieces from glass cullets, one black, the other clear. Lumps of raw, part-processed glass were transported in this form from the 18th to early 20th century for final processing at the site.

Private possession.

16. Stock TL 701 982 (TL 79/106) (M.R.E.)

Mr. C. Sparrow of Stock, reported a base of an early Romano-British jar (Fig. 4, 4 and Fig. 5, 1) found after ploughing. Possibly hand-made, the fabric is sand-tempered with a dark grey core and inner surface with a smoothed oxidised external surface.

A concentration of late 18th or early 19th century domestic and industrial finds was also noted and may represent a rural artisan's workshop in an area shown by Chapman and André (1777, pl. 17) as woodland.

Private possession.

17. Wickford, Beauchamps Farm TQ 761 938 (TQ 79/17) (P. Neild)

This report follows on from that published in the 1978 Annual Report (Couchman, ed., 1979, 41–50). The considerable quantity of finds and features observed and reported by the author during 1979 has precluded a further catalogue at this stage and work has concentrated on the study of specific units of the site. In particular a group of ovens in Area IV (see Couchman, ed., 1979, fig. 13; Fig 8) has been examined in some detail and, though the soil analyses are not yet available, the group is reported below. Thanks are due to the developers, Carter Ward Ltd., for access, to members of the Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society for their assistance, and to specialists for their reports.

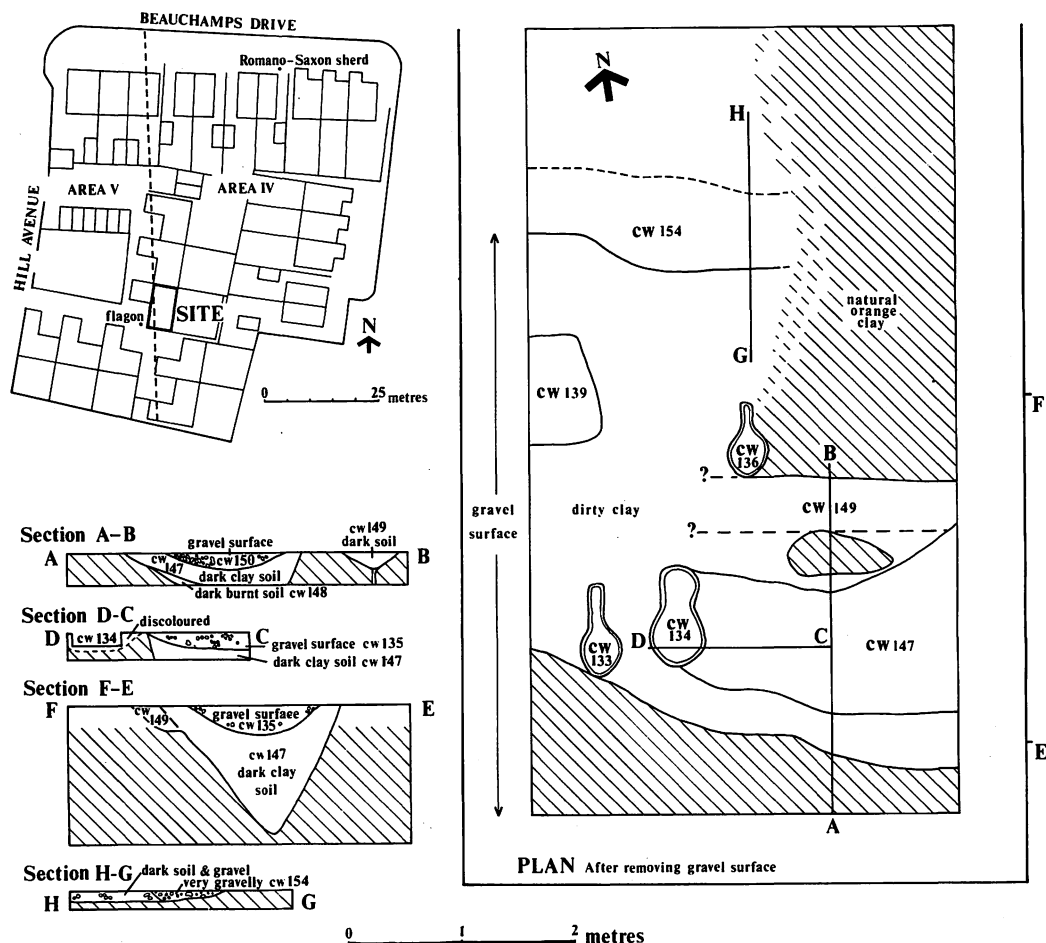
Circumstances of Discovery: An area (see Fig. 8) was levelled by the contractors prior to development, the depth of overburden varying from 0.6 m. at the south end to 0.3 m. at the north. A surface of loose gravel was revealed containing Roman artefacts.

Excavation Procedures: These were predetermined by the contractors earth-moving operations and the area examined intensively was confined to the area within the contractors' footings. These foundation trenches provided useful sections. The gravel surface had been partly disturbed and elements of the ovens were observed during surface cleaning. The area around the ovens was cleaned and selected strips running northwards were also cleaned to ascertain the extent of the gravel.

Site Geology: The natural subsoil of the site was a stiff yellow clay which was dried, often to concrete hardness, by the prevailing hot weather. A number of artefacts came from an apparent thin top layer of disturbed clay though whether this disturbance was of natural or human origin remains unclear. A former drought crack in the clay below the gully CW149 had filled with down-washed loam.

The Gravel Surface (CW135; 137; 138; 144–6 and 150): This covered almost the whole area shown in Fig. 8, dipping and becoming less distinctive to the north, where it was overlain by dirty orange clay. Above ditch CW147/148 the gravel (CW135) had sunk into the underlying fills.

The Ovens (CW133, 134 and 136): A group of three keyhole plan ovens were revealed below the gravel surface. The largest of these (CW134) had straight sides of burnt clay, some 3 cm. thick, and was flat-bottomed. The chamber and flue contained an homogeneous fill of black clayey loam.



Wickford

Fig. 8

with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay fragments. The oven walls survived to a height of 15 cm. above the floor. Beyond the oven's flue, on the north-east side, was a thin spread of dark clayey loam and charcoal. A similar, but larger, area of spread loam (CW139) was recorded to the north-west and a similar feature was noted in the south foundation trench.

The two smaller ovens (CW133 and 136) were shallow bowls, 10 cm. and 15 cm. deep respectively, with burnt clay walls and bases. Both were filled with dark clayey loam with charcoal but no burnt clay fragments. Two other ovens were recently recorded only 2 m. west of the area of Fig. 8 and these will be dealt with in a future publication. Another possible oven (CW110) was also observed south-east of this area. Spreads of possible oven debris, black loam and burnt clay fragments, were noted within (CW139) and beyond (CW117) the area.

The Ditches: The upper fill of the butt end of a substantial east-west, V-profile ditch (1.08 m. deep by 1.75 m. wide) (CW147), mainly a dark loamy clay, was spread up to the oven CW134 but no stratigraphic relationship survived in Section D-C. Section A-B shows a tip of dark loamy clay with charcoal and burnt clay fragments (CW148). This may have been another oven within the partly filled ditch or more likely a dump of debris similar to that filling the known ovens.

A slight gully (CW149) ran east-west, north of and roughly parallel to CW147, and was apparently cut by the larger ditch CW147. Filled with similar material to CW147 it was difficult to be certain of the gully's stratigraphic relationship to CW147.

Dating: The principal dating evidence from the site was pottery, though a coin of Faustina I was recovered, apparently from the gravel surface, by a metal detector user. The pottery from the gravel has many later Roman aspects, the collection containing sherds which may have been current until *c.* 400. However, a date some time in the later 3rd century is suggested as, despite the prevalence of residual 1st- and 2nd-century sherds, CW135 contained pottery which post-dates *c.* 250. The Faustina coin is therefore seen as residual assuming that it is correctly associated with the gravel surface.

The pottery from the ditch (CW147 and 148) is datable to the late 1st or early 2nd century, but the gully (CW149) is undated though apparently earlier than the ditch.

The small quantities of pottery from the ovens suggest a late-1st-century date for the two smaller ovens (CW133 and 136), whilst the largest oven (CW134) is dated slightly later to the early 2nd century. The areas of apparent oven debris are mainly undatable though the pottery from CW139 is earlier rather than later Roman. The possible oven (CW110), however, has produced sherds which may be as late as the 3rd century.

The Pottery (C.T.)

Detailed descriptions of all pottery sherds recovered are recorded in a Level III archive kept in the Essex Sites and Monument Record. The suggested dating for individual contexts (above) is dependent both on the Level III material and on the sherds published here. (All wheelthrown unless otherwise indicated.)

- Fig. 9,1 Hard cream fabric, moderate inclusions of fine-medium sand and reddish-brown particles, smooth surfaces. Cam. f. 154 (Hawkes and Hull, 1947), pre-Claudian in origin, typically pre-Flavian at Camulodunum. CW150.
- Fig. 9,2 Fine red micaceous fabric, abundant medium-coarse darker red inclusions; traces of cream slip on external surface. Probably 2nd century A.D. CW135.
- Fig. 9,3 Hard dark grey/black fabric, abundant coarse sand, rough surfaces. Commonly found in early Romano-British levels and continued into early 2nd century. CW135.
- Fig. 9,4 Grey core, red-brown margins, light brown worn surfaces, moderate inclusions of medium sand and a smaller quantity of fine red particles. This form appeared *c.* 150, lasted into the 4th century and is considered to have been most common in the 3rd century. CW110.
- Fig. 9,5 Red-brown core, dark grey smoothed surfaces, abundant fine sand. Possibly 2nd or 3rd century. CW150.
- Fig. 9,6 Uneven pink colour, apparently due to burning, abundant fine sand. Cam. f. 195 (Hawkes and Hull, 1947), Neronian, lasting into the 2nd century at Camulodunum. CW145.
- Fig. 9,7 Light grey, slightly micaceous with a moderate quantity of dark grey flecks in the core, worn surfaces. Probably 4th century, could be earlier or later (range: 2nd-early 5th century). This reconstruction has been based upon the 'DISETE' pot from Chelmsford (not Kelvedon as published) with decorative elements of almost identical proportions, though the fabric is different (Rodwell, 1970, 262-5). Unstratified within Area IV (see Fig. 8).
- Fig. 9,8 Red-brown fabric, darker reduced external surface, abundant fine sand; surfaces originally smooth, now worn. Late 1st or early 2nd century. CW135.
- Fig. 9,9 Red-brown core, black unevenly smoothed surfaces, abundant fine sand. A long-lived form, this example with triangular, rather than rounded, beading is probably early, 1st or 2nd century. CW134.

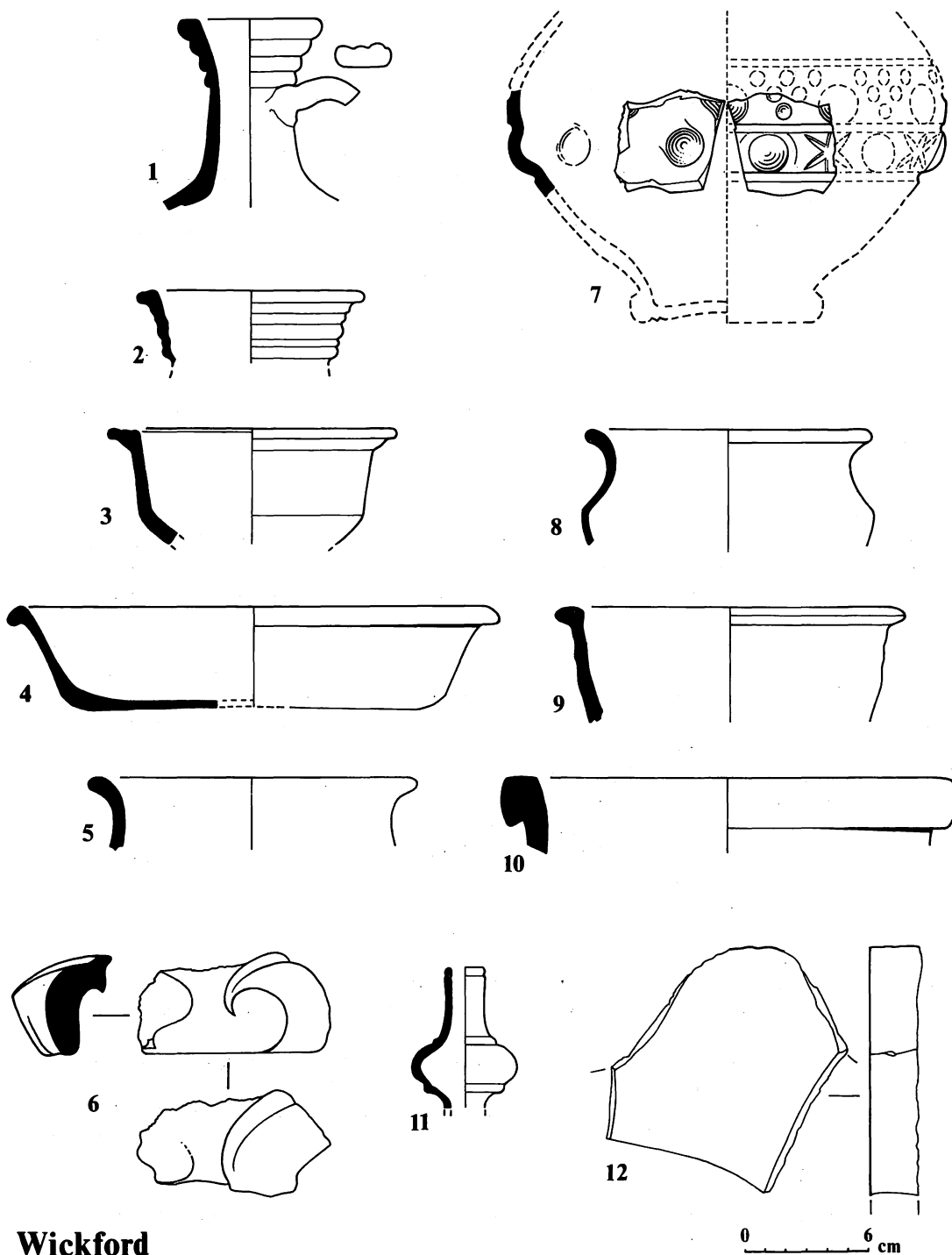


Fig. 9

- Fig. 9,10 Grey core, smooth light brown surfaces, sparse tempering of medium sand and fine-medium dull red inclusions. Not closely datable. CW150.
- Fig. 9,11 Grey core, polished red surfaces, now worn, abundant fine-medium red inclusions. Probably 4th century, from a flagon. Unstratified. See Fig. 8.

Building Materials (M.R.E.)

Roman tile and brick fragments were recovered from the gravel surface (CW135 and CW150), from the ditch (CW147), and from the possible oven (CW110).

- Fig. 9,12 Antefix tile, trimmed to shape not moulded. Wine-red core, orange surfaces. Fine sandy fabric with small red inclusions and occasional large gravel.

Iron (H.J.M.)

Roughly triangular object, oval section. 90 mm. long, 38 mm. at widest point. X-ray photograph shows a possible broken socket, possibly a projectile point. It may equally well be a knife tang and part of the blade, slightly bent. Within clay wall of oven CW136.

Nail. Bent. 60 mm. long CW137

Nail. 45 mm. long CW135

Nail. Incomplete. 60 mm. long CW135

Iron pyrites nodules were recovered from CW147.

The Coin (S. Weller)

A worn commemorative issue of Faustina the Elder (*d. A.D. 141* (Reece, 1970, 96)).

18. Aveley, Kenningtons TQ 563 817 (TQ 58/9) (M.R.E.)

The manor-house sits within the angle of the surviving north and west arms of the moat, the west wall of the house being *c.* 1 m. from the moat's inner edge (Fig. 10).

Redevelopment of the house and grounds as a restaurant allowed the timber frame to be examined (C. Hewett and A. Morrison, E.C.C. Historic Buildings Section). Hewett describes it as an aisled hall of much style, as first built, adorned with accurately planed scroll-mouldings which were used for the abaci of the crown-posts and for the ashlar-plates of the two-bay open hall. A date range of *c.* 1280 to *c.* 1320 is suggested. The whole was extended one bay to the east, *c.* 1380, when the new edge-halved and bridle-butt scarf was employed for the top-plates, the aisles having been apparently removed at some earlier date. The west, or solar end, retains a first floor, framed, with its joist tenons nearer to the soffits than to the centres of the joists, suggesting a date in the last quarter of the 13th century. The existing corner-posts at the east and west ends are jowled in a manner which suits the *c.* 1380 restyling. The original main-posts are up-stands. The original date probably lies between *c.* 1275 and *c.* 1310.

Limited excavation and probing below the surviving wooden floor at the solar end revealed an undercroft some 1.1 m. deep backfilled by sand. This feature was reflected by details of the timber frame.

Observation of a builder's trench located a backfilled moat some 17 m. east of the house. The moat ran northwards for 5 m., terminating against a wall of unfrosted well-fired bricks.

South of the house lay a depression in the ground surface which produced several sherds of post-medieval orange ware, some with white-slip decoration (Fig. 12, 6).

Finds: Thurrock Museum.

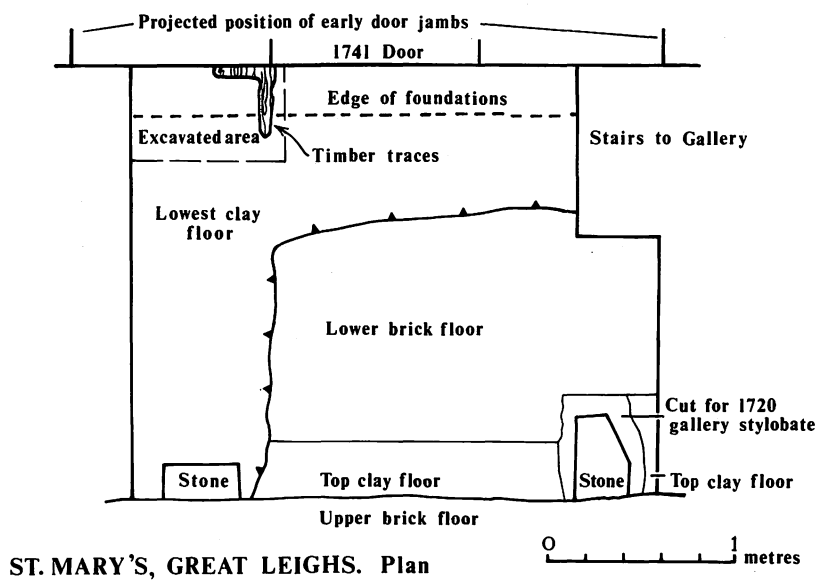
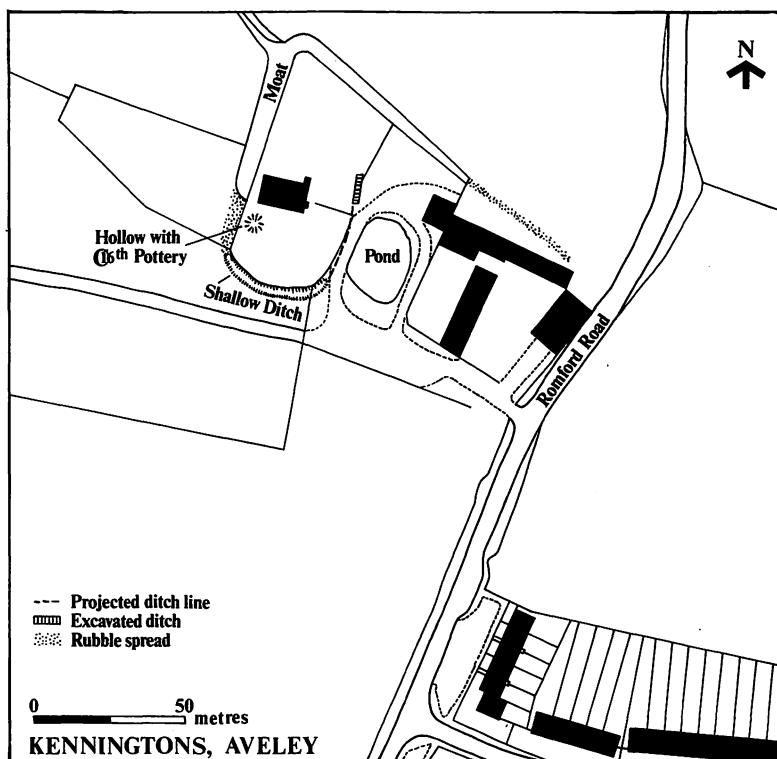


Fig. 10

19. Great Baddow TL 725 045 (TL 70/18) (M.R.E., K. Bohannon)

A bronze or brass medieval pack-horse bell (Fig. 13, 3) was found by K. Bohannon whilst clearing out the stream at rear of 71 Galleywood Road, Great Baddow. The clapper was apparently a small iron ball. The upper hemisphere was slightly faceted whilst the lower had incised petals, comparable to but better formed than those on the Aveley (Doyle, 1967, 19–20) or the Great Canfield (Couchman and Petchey, 1976, 165) examples, both of which are inscribed W.G.

The dating of such bells is difficult as they have a wide date-range. An excavated example is dated to the mid- to late-14th century at Northolt Manor, Middlesex (Hurst, 1961, 290, fig. 76, No. 27), whilst a 17th-century date was suggested for the Aveley bell (Doyle, *op. cit.*).

Private possession.

20. Great Leighs, St. Mary's Church TL 739 156 (TL 71/9) (M.R.E.)

During the replacement of the original brick floor below the gallery at the nave's west end an earlier brick floor was revealed beneath (Fig. 10). Brick and tile sizes are tabulated below.

The 1741 brick rebuild of the wall between the circular west tower and the nave (Franklin, 1947) was observed to continue down to a foundation of flints. The foundations were not bottomed but comprised at least two layers of flint cobbles, the upper being set in a brown silty clay and the lower in a black fine gravel.

Two thin floor levels cut by and underlying the lower brick floor were seen to lie on a hard-packed brickearth through which the foundations had been cut. The brickearth appeared to be a deliberate rammed base rather than a natural subsoil. Two-stone blocks had been cut through the lower brick floor and lay below the columns of the 1720 gallery (date from Franklin, 1947). These are almost certainly the original gallery stylobates concealed when the upper brick floor was laid late in George III's reign (date from Franklin, 1947).

A trace of wood at the base of the 1741 blocking, and at right-angles to it, may have supported a step from nave to tower, the floor level of the former being *c.* 0.9 m. below the floor of the latter.

The opportunity was taken to examine the interior of the tower, and the jambs of an earlier doorway with a 3.14 m. span were noted. The doorway's arch, of which only three voussoirs on the north side survive, began at 3.05 m. above the tower's floor. The impost was concealed by 1741 work and later plaster. The jambs and voussoirs were of grey limestone, unlike the yellowish limestone of the tower's Norman west door.

The unusual pilaster-buttresses of the tower were seen to contain courses of indurated gravel which are integral to courses within the body of the tower. Couchman (1977, 87) has suggested that the pilaster-buttress truncated by the Norman door arch predates that doorway. It would seem that these pilaster buttresses are indeed early though Taylor (1978) does not recognise them as Anglo-Saxon, nor does he consider Great Leighs to have an unequivocally pre-Conquest round tower. Franklin (1947), a former incumbent, however, quotes a date of 970 for the lower storey of the tower although he gives no evidence to support his assertion.

The tower and its pilaster buttresses (0.75 m. wide and 0.23 m. deep) must predate *c.* 1100 on stratigraphic grounds and may be a manifestation of the Saxo-Norman overlap.

Brick and tile sizes in centimetres.

	<i>Pre-1720</i>	<i>1740</i>	<i>George III</i>
Bricks	22.2 × 11.5 × 5 21.3 × 10.1 × 5	24 × 10.7 × ?	21.5 × ? × 9 22.3 × 11.5 × 6
Floor-tiles	24 × 24 × 4.8	31 × 31 × 4.8 23 × 23.5 × 4.3	

21. Great Sampford, Monks Cottage TL 645 355 (TL 63/107) (M.R.E.)

Mr. Cross, the owner, reported finding a quantity of pottery and a possible stone floor during construction of a new garage and driveway. A site inspection was undertaken and features recorded. A sketch plan showing the features is included in the E.S.M.R.

Monks Cottage is set well back north of the road and an area south and west of the house had been topsoil stripped. The driveway, *c.* 3 m. wide, had been topsoil stripped and towards the road cut up to 0.5 m. through a stone floor (features F3 and F5) resting directly on boulder-clay. Garage footings south-west of the house revealed a broad, shallow ditch (1.5 m. wide; 0.4 m. deep in the northern section and 0.6 m. in the southern section) running north-south immediately east of the present boundary. This ditch (F1) was cut in three places by garage footings and pottery was recovered from these sections (a representative section is included in the E.S.M.R.). The ditch contained three fills, the earliest being a grey streaked silty clay overlain by a charcoal rich clay. The uppermost layer, a clayey loam, contained 19th-century material with a quantity of post-medieval coarse wares of the 17th century onwards. The middle layer contained two bases in a dark grey slightly sandy fabric, sherds of orange sand gritted ware and tile fragments. The earliest layer contained sherds of dark grey, slightly sandy pottery, a rod handle in an orange fabric with a grey core, and spalls of orange ware with a thick green glaze and apparent yellow decoration.

Fig. 11C, 1 Upright rim, corrugated. Pale brown, slightly sandy with sparse quartz grits. F1, layer 1.

Fig. 11C, 2 Rim of cooking pot. Dark grey exterior with paler margin; orange core; pale grey interior. Slightly sandy with sparse quartz grits. F1, layer 1.

Fig. 11C, 3 Rim of bowl. Black surfaces, brown core. Slightly sandy with sparse quartz grits. F1. A stone floor (F3) lay some 0.3 m. east of the ditch. A quantity of pottery was recovered from the floor area, principally centring on the 13th and 17th centuries. The precise locations of individual sherds were rarely clear but none of the later group could be attributed to below the stones.

Fig. 11C, 4 Brown, coarse sand tempered rim. F3.

Fig. 11C, 5 Grey, coarse sand tempered rim. F3.

Fig. 11C, 6 Grey, coarse sand tempered rim. F3.

The floor, slightly sloping, ran north-south, stopping at the edge of apparent east-west ditch north of the present pavement. This ditch (F6) was associated with 16th- to 18th-century pottery. An area of burnt clay lay in the northern half of the floor and is seen as a hearth (F4).

A small pit, *c.* 0.4 m. wide by 0.5 m. deep (F2), lay west of F1 in the northernmost section and contained two small sandy sherds with orange exterior and grey interior surfaces. Of the substantial quantity of unstratified material, only three rim sherds (Fig. 11C, 7-9) were worthy of comment.

Fig. 11C, 7 Cooking-pot rim. Sand, shell and quartzite gritted dark grey fabric with orange external and brown internal surfaces. Rough double and treble incised wavy lines on top of rim. Wavy line decoration occurs on Phase I vessels at Mile End and is dated there to the late-12th or early-13th centuries (Drury and Petchey, 1975, 57-8).

Fig. 11C, 8 Cooking-pot rim. Sand tempered, slightly micaceous with a sparse coarse quartzite grit. Dark grey core with dark brown surfaces. Probably late-12th to 13th centuries.

Fig. 11C, 9 Jug rim and twisted handle. Very fine sand temper. Grey core and orange surfaces. External splashes of mottled green glaze. Probably a Hedingham product, though the fabric is not a typical Hedingham ware.

Metal Finds (H.J.M.)

Full details of the iron and copper alloy are included on the E.S.M.R. Most of the objects are unstratified except for iron nails in the ditch (F1, layers 1 and 2) and among the cobbles (F3). A copper alloy plate was recovered from F1, layer 1.

Fig. 11C, 10 A socketed iron object of unknown use, possibly a handle, F1, layer 1.

Stone (D.G.B.)

Three unstratified lava quern fragments were recovered. All these had grooved grinding surfaces which Crawford (1955) takes to be a Roman dressing technique. However, Mayen lava was imported through the Saxon and medieval centuries (Platt and Coleman-Smith, 1975, 84).

Limestone, including a possible Purbeck marble fragment, and greensand were present as floor cobbles (F3).

Roman Pottery (C.T.)

Two sherds of Romano-British grey ware, including a worn base. Not closely datable (F1, layer 1). The cobbled area (F3), probably datable as of 13th-century construction, almost certainly represents the floor of a house which was demolished in the early post-medieval period. Mr. Cross considers that Monks Cottage is built in a 17th-century style using timber from an earlier hall-house. The coincidence of dates certainly suggests that it was the timber from the excavated house-site that is employed in the standing cottage. The boundaries of the Monks Cottage plot are essentially similar to those extant in the post-medieval centuries though the plot has been enlarged slightly to the south and the west.

The presence of Romano-British pottery and of possible Roman quern fragments on the site suggest a Roman settlement in the immediate vicinity.

Private possession.

22. Horndon-on-the-Hill TQ 671 833 (TQ 68/10) (H.J.M., M.R.E.)

Inspection of the allotments north and east of the modern village recovered a medieval sand-tempered rim (Fig. 12, 1) with grey core and orange surfaces and a post-medieval lid-seated rim (Fig. 12, 2) in a smooth orange fabric. The latter sherd is comparable to form 2.41 at Lower Parrock, Sussex (Freke, 1979) though the Horndon vessel is more upright. A quantity of post-medieval sherds was collected from the field immediately south of the footpath running east from South Hill towards Hassenbrook Hall, Stanford-le-Hope.

The allotments are demarcated by substantial lynchets: on the north by Arden Hall Road; on the south by Hassenbrook Hall Lane; and on the east a north-south lynchet dividing the allotments from the arable fields (Fig. 12). Taken together, these lynchets suggest three sides of a square or rectangular earthwork enclosure at the eastern end of a low ridge dominating the low land to the north and east. The only period during which a defended enclosure might be suspected on present evidence is in the late Saxon period when Horndon was a temporary mint.

Finds: Thurrock Museum.

23. Ingatestone, Mill Green (M.R.E.)

Fieldwalking by the late Mr. H. Young revealed two concentrations of medieval pottery, which are recorded here to go some way to counteracting the almost total lack of detailed published reports on medieval kilns and their products in Essex.

TL 643 021 Described as coming from a 'field opposite White Gates, close to hedge' (TL 60/64).

Two principal fabrics were recovered: a coarse sandy fabric with abundant quartzite grits, fired orange brown or, rarely, grey brown (Fabric A); and a softer smooth orange fabric decorated with cream slip (Fabric B).

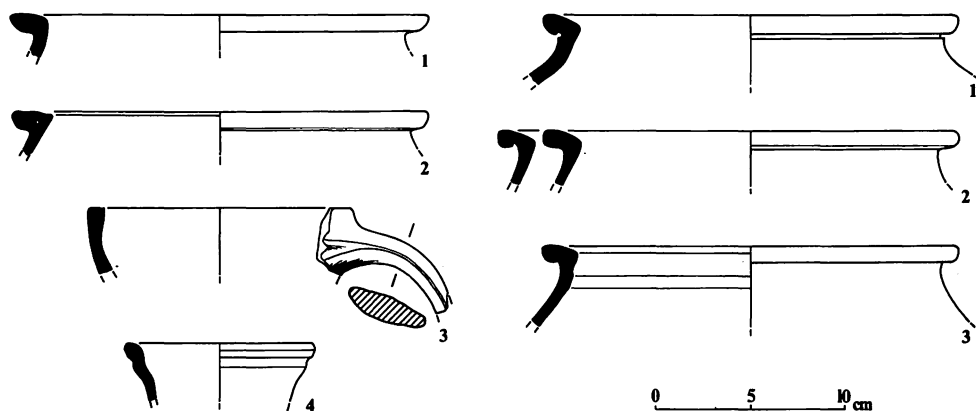
Fig. 11A, 1 Rim of bowl. Dark orange. Fabric A.

Fig. 11A, 2 Rim of bowl. Pale orange. Fabric A.

A small rolled bead rim (unillustrated) was also recovered. Fabric A.

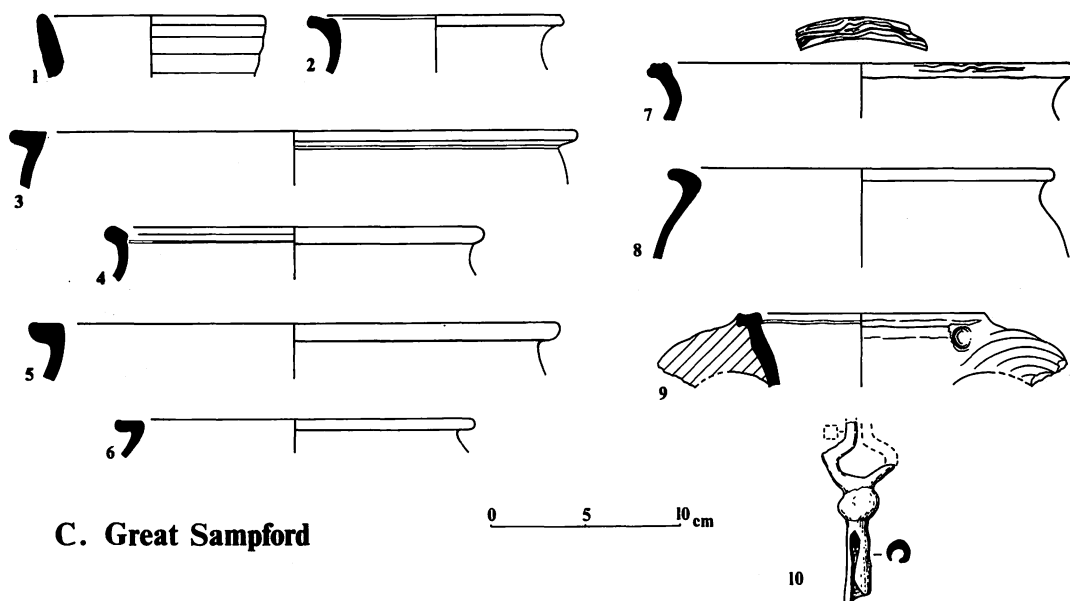
Fig. 11A, 3 Jug rim and handle, very worn. Traces of cream slip. Fabric B.

Fig. 11A, 4 Jug rim, worn. Fabric B.



A. Mill Green

B. Mill Green



C. Great Sampford

Fig. 11

Some of the Fabric B sherds were cracked and spalled, suggesting that they were wasters. A block of wine-red fired clay and a vitrified clay slab are almost certainly kiln debris.

A Roman *tegula* and two small Roman sherds form part of the collection and Christy and Reader (1918) mention the reuse of *tegulae* as kiln furniture.

TL 643 016 Described as coming from a 'bank between Box Wood and Potter Row Farm' (TL 60/56).

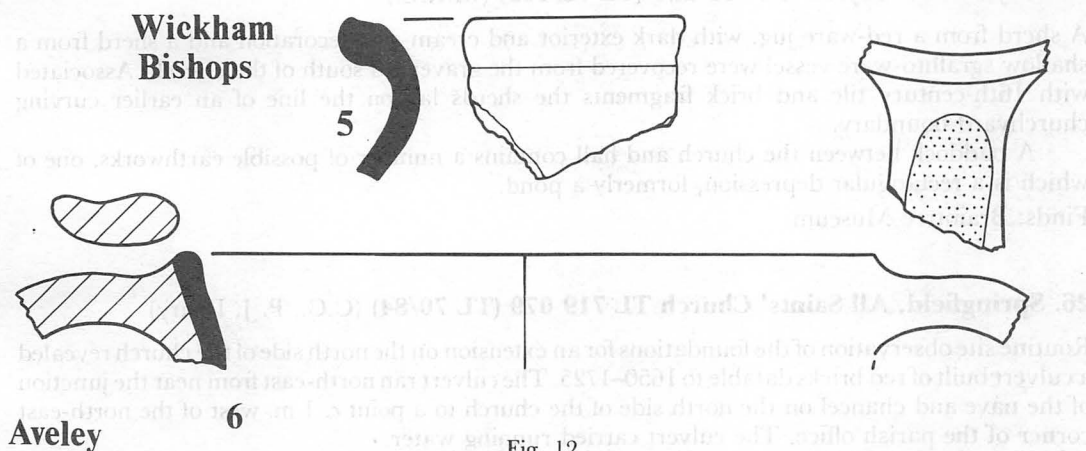
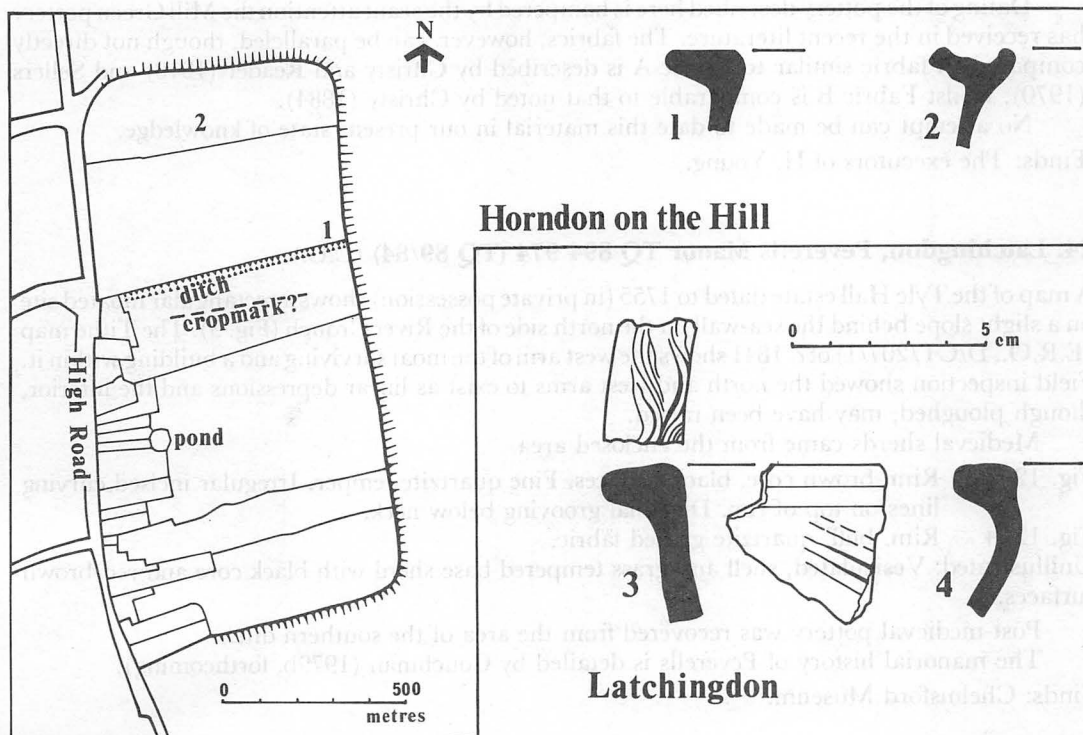


Fig. 12

Two fabrics are represented—one as Fabric A above and the other, a smooth fabric with grey surfaces and an orange core (Fabric C).

Fig. 11B, 1 to 3 Bowl rims (No. 3 is grey-brown, the others orange). No. 2 may be a waster as the rim has two distinct, different profiles only 7 cm. apart. All Fabric A.

Fabric C is represented by a continuously thumbled base, a base fragment with a single thumb-mark (*cf.* Christy and Reader, 1918, fig. 6), an oval-sectioned handle with stab holes (*cf.* Reader, 1880, fig. 2), and two body sherds including one decorated with cream slip.

Dating of the pottery described here is hampered by the scant attention the Mill Green pottery has received in the recent literature. The fabrics, however, can be paralleled, though not directly compared. A fabric similar to Fabric A is described by Christy and Reader (1918) and Sellers (1970), whilst Fabric B is comparable to that noted by Christy (1884).

No attempt can be made to date this material in our present state of knowledge.

Finds: The executors of H. Young.

24. Latchingdon, Peverells Manor TQ 894 974 (TQ 89/84) (C.C.)

A map of the Tyle Hall estate dated to 1755 (in private possession) shows a rectangular moated site on a slight slope behind the sea-wall on the north side of the River Crouch (Fig. 3). The Tithe map (E.R.O., D/CT/207/1) of c. 1841 shows the west arm of the moat surviving and a building within it. Field inspection showed the north and west arms to exist as linear depressions and the interior, though ploughed, may have been raised.

Medieval sherds came from the enclosed area.

Fig. 12, 3 Rim, brown core, black surfaces. Fine quartzite temper. Irregular incised curving lines on top of rim. Diagonal grooving below neck.

Fig. 12, 4 Rim, buff, quartzite gritted fabric.

Unillustrated: Vesiculated, shell and grass tempered base sherd with black core and red-brown surfaces.

Post-medieval pottery was recovered from the area of the southern ditch.

The manorial history of Peverells is detailed by Couchman (1979b, forthcoming).

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

25. Rayne Churchyard TL 733 228 (TL 72/105) (M.R.E.)

A sherd from a red-ware jug, with dark exterior and cream-slip decoration and a sherd from a shallow sgraffito-ware vessel were recovered from the graveyard south of the church. Associated with 16th-century tile and brick fragments the sherds lay on the line of an earlier curving churchyard boundary.

A paddock between the church and hall contains a number of possible earthworks, one of which is a rectangular depression, formerly a pond.

Finds: Braintree Museum.

26. Springfield, All Saints' Church TL 719 079 (TL 70/84) (C.C., P. J. Drury)

Routine site observation of the foundations for an extension on the north side of the church revealed a culvert built of red bricks datable to 1650–1725. The culvert ran north-east from near the junction of the nave and chancel on the north side of the church to a point c. 1 m. west of the north-east corner of the parish office. The culvert carried running water.

Five metres north of the original north door a layer of loose cobbles, 0.2 m. thick at the north edge and 0.6 m. at the south, was observed. Approximately 0.5 m. wide the stones may represent a soakaway or stonedump.

A single fragment of a shallowly inlaid floor-tile, probably an early product of the Stebbing kilns (Harley, 1951), was found. It is decorated with a pattern of tracery which suggests a date c. 1300, and will be fully published in the forthcoming corpus of medieval floor-tiles from Essex, Cambridgeshire and Suffolk (information from P. J. Drury).

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

27. Stock TQ 701 982 (TQ 79/106) (M.R.E.)

A post-medieval lead token (Fig. 13, 2) was reported by Mr. C. Sparrow, of Stock, after ploughing. A more precise date for this example cannot be suggested in our present state of knowledge as the Essex material has not been studied adequately.

Private possession.

28. Thaxted, Weaverhead Street TL 611 311 (TL 63/1) (M.R.E.)

Excavation of six architect's trial pits revealed a concentration of late medieval and early post-medieval pottery and tile related to a rectangular platform half-way down the slope. West of the platform a large pit backfilled with 19th-century rubbish, including a stoneware bottle inscribed (J)ohn Hu---, had been cut into the underlying alluvial and glacial clays.

East of the house site a layer of crushed stone partially overlay a ditch c. 50 cm. deep. Sherds of Hedingham-type ware were recovered from the lowest fills. The edge of the crushed stone layer aligns with the possible Roman road running south from Radwinter. The stone layer may be a medieval repair of that road-line and the evidence suggests that Weaverhead Street was not established on its present line until the 15th or 16th centuries at the earliest.

A single worn, sagging base sherd of a brown, soft, slightly sandy cooking pot was recovered from topsoil disturbed by other building works on the east side of Weaverhead Street. This fabric compares most closely to fabric E2 at Waltham Abbey and is dated to c. 1150 to c. 1250 (Huggins and Huggins, 1973, 156).

Finds: Saffron Walden Museum.

29. Thaxted, Millend TL 611 317 (TL 63/61) (M.R.E.)

Excavation of a gas-pipe trench in the verge of the B184 opposite the Rose and Crown revealed a flint-lined dry well shaft some 10 m. deep and 2 m. in diameter.

30. Wickham Bishops, St. Peter's Church TL 825 112 (TL 81/49) (M.R.E.)

Two boxes of pottery, window glass and worked stone, labelled 'found at Wickham Bishops old church', formed part of Essex Record Office Accession 4835 (D/DGd). They were collected by Rev. Thomas T. Gibbons, incumbent of Wickham Bishops, 1899-1907.

The pottery is of two types, the earlier being a shell and quartzite gritted grey fabric with red surfaces, probably of post-Conquest date (Fig. 12, 5). A few sherds of orange, green-glazed pottery of post-medieval date were also present. The window glass was decorated but the circumstances of its preservation have rendered the decoration indecipherable. A fragment of lead window came and a small bronze key (Fig. 13, 1) were also included in the collection. A bronze wire twisted through the bow probably formed part of a 'key-ring'. There is no precise parallel within the London Museum Medieval catalogue (1940, 133-45), though the general form of the bow and openwork tentatively suggests a late-14th- or 15th-century date.

Finds: Colchester Museum.

31. Coggeshall, Bridge Street TL 849 225 (TL 82/63) (M.R.E.)

A water-pipe of tapered elm logs was recorded at a depth of c. 2.5 m. below the eastern edge of Bridge Street near the junction with The Gravel. The pipe trench, which ran north-south, contained Tudor brick, one fragment of which rested directly on the pipe. A base and body sherd of a Stock ware mug or bowl were recovered from the spoil-heap.

Lead and pottery water-pipes are known from religious and noble houses of the mid-12th and late-13th centuries respectively (Brisco and Dunning, 1967, 86–8). Piped fresh water did not reach the major towns of England until the 14th and 15th centuries (Platt, 1976, 69–70), and later in the smaller towns. An elm trunk mains system was installed at Hull shortly after 1616 (Bartlett, 1971, 11), and a late-16th- to mid-17th-century date is suggested for the Coggeshall pipe.

Pipe Sizes	Minimum external diameter	0.16 m.
	Maximum external diameter	0.30 m.
	Internal diameter	0.07 m.
	Estimated average length	3.6 m.

Finds: Colchester Museum.

32. Ingrave, St. Nicholas Grove TL 623 924 (TL 69/90) (M.R.E.)

The erection of a wooden fence in a paddock at the north-eastern end of St. Nicholas Grove revealed 0.7 m. of walling built of Tudor brick. A moulded chamfered brick course was observed on the south side cutting orange clay. Grey clay was present on the north side.

The structure lies immediately north-east of a possible house platform 20 m. × 8 m. and may represent a cess-pit. Other possible earthworks were present in the adjoining paddock to the east.

A rim sherd from a plate in soft, orange ware with dark orange glaze was recovered from topsoil and may well date the destruction of the structure to between the early-17th and mid-18th century. As the parish church of St. Nicholas was rebuilt in 1734 on a new site about 200 m. to the south-west (Couchman, 1977, 50), it may well be that the settlement pattern within the parish was reorganised in the 1730s more thoroughly than previously thought.

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

33. South Woodham Ferrers, Edwins Hall TQ 812 994 (TL 89/4) (M.R.E.)

Post-holes for a new fence along the south side of the trapezoidal moated enclosure revealed a gravel spread, 9 m. wide, containing Tudor brick fragments. This gravel seemed to be the remains of a driveway leading directly up to the existing house. A new foot-bridge on the south side of the rectangular moat revealed the continuation of this driveway.

34. Stock, Bowling Club TL 693 991 (TL 69/91) (M.R.E.)

The footings of the pavilion extension were visited following a report by Mr. Jarvis of Stock that a kiln (Fig. 5, 1) had been revealed.

Two parallel, slightly curving walls, c. 15 cm. wide, ran diagonally across the southern foundation trench, apparently meeting beyond the trench, a single wall at right-angles. Around the structure and spreading north from it was an area of burning containing tile and brick fragments and a bowl rim in an orange fabric with green-brown glaze internally. Two other spreads of debris lay farther north.

The structure was almost certainly a post-medieval kiln producing brick and tile, datable typologically to c. 1680–1820 (Wadhams, pers. comm.). The rim is comparable to rims 17 and 18 at Aldersbrook Manor (Wilkinson, in Camp, 1976), where the date of deposition is post-1723–8.

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE SITES AND MONUMENTS RECORD (D.P.)

1979 has seen the addition of many new cropmark sites, and further details of previous known sites, to the E.S.M.R. in order to update the air photograph collection which now comprises around 5000

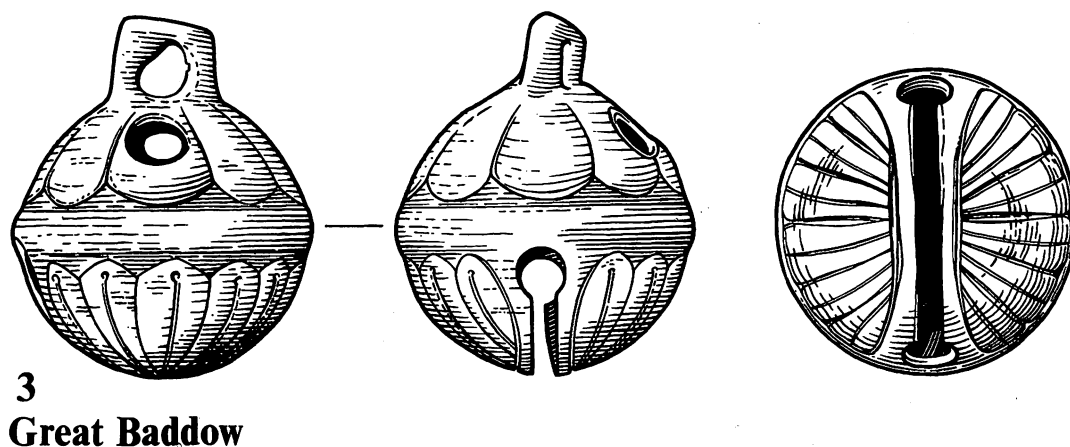
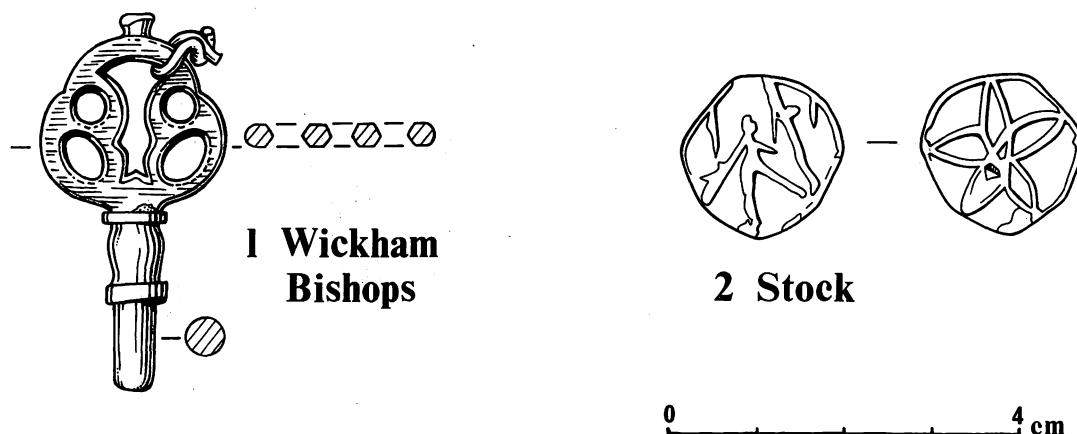


Fig. 13

photographs. These continue, in the main, to be supplied by Prof. St. Joseph, University of Cambridge, and the National Monument Record (R.C.H.M. England), London. However, there has also been a considerable contribution by local air photographers and archaeologists who have kindly deposited copies of their photographs in the record. A small selection of sites described here illustrates the wide variety of cropmark sites in the county, and the scope for further work.

Great Dunmow TL 628 229 (TL 62.63)

In a field to the west of the parish church a linear group of three square ditched features and a ring-ditch were photographed by the NMR in 1976 (Fig. 14). They appear to be approximately 10 m. square, the ring-ditch having a similar diameter. Such cropmarks in Yorkshire might be interpreted as remains of the square-ditched barrows of the late Iron Age Arras Culture (Stead, 1965). In the absence of fieldwork, alternative interpretations (including non-archaeological) cannot be ruled out, but such features, if confirmed in Essex, would be of great importance to Iron Age studies.

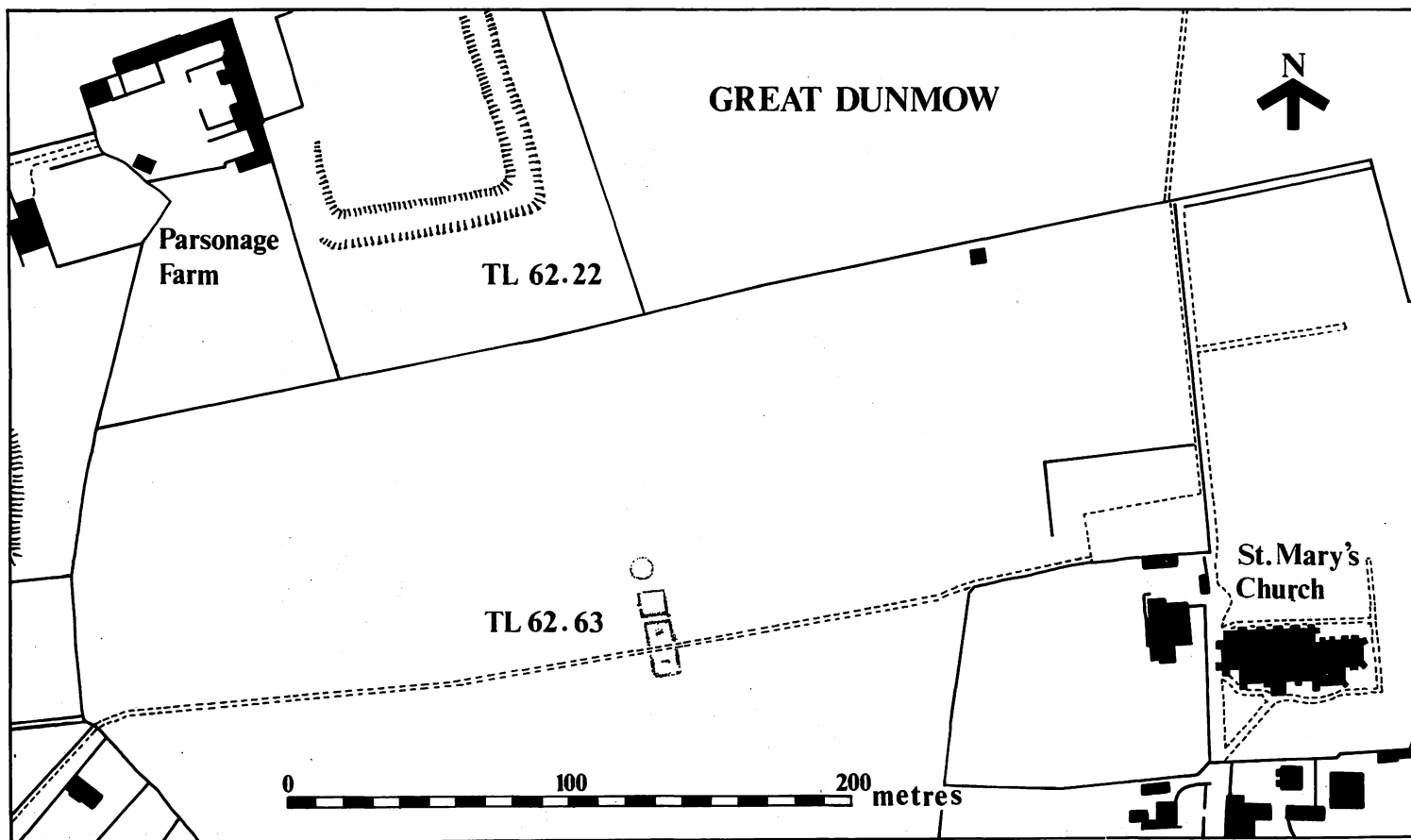


Fig. 14

In 1935–6 two urned burials were discovered in the same field, as was Romano-British pottery and a samian bowl, buried *c.* 0.6 m. below the surface (*V.C.H.* III, 125). A number of other square features (most slightly larger in size) have been noted in the county.

It is interesting to note that the moat at Parsonage Farm (TL 62.22), surviving to a depth of *c.* 0.5 m. in 1975, was barely visible as either an earthwork or a cropmark.

Photographs

NMR (2) 6223/1/93–94 1976

The most numerous cropmark feature in Essex is the ring-ditch. Whilst other interpretations, notably house gullies, are recorded amongst the many functions, over 1500 appear to be the ploughed-out remains of round barrows. Although there are few extant barrows in the county, aerial photography shows that this burial tradition was as common as in adjoining areas. A barrow survey of Essex is being prepared and will be published jointly with similar surveys of Norfolk and Suffolk (Lawson, Martin and Priddy, forthcoming).

Dedham TM 040 310 (TM 03.23)

The large number of photographs in the record have now made it possible to plot more clearly the form of an enclosure at Lamb Corner, Dedham (Fig. 15). This consists of a large sub-circular enclosure, *c.* 105 m. in diameter, joined to a small pear-shaped enclosure by a short ditched trackway. From the east side of the small enclosure a short funnel-like trackway swings round to

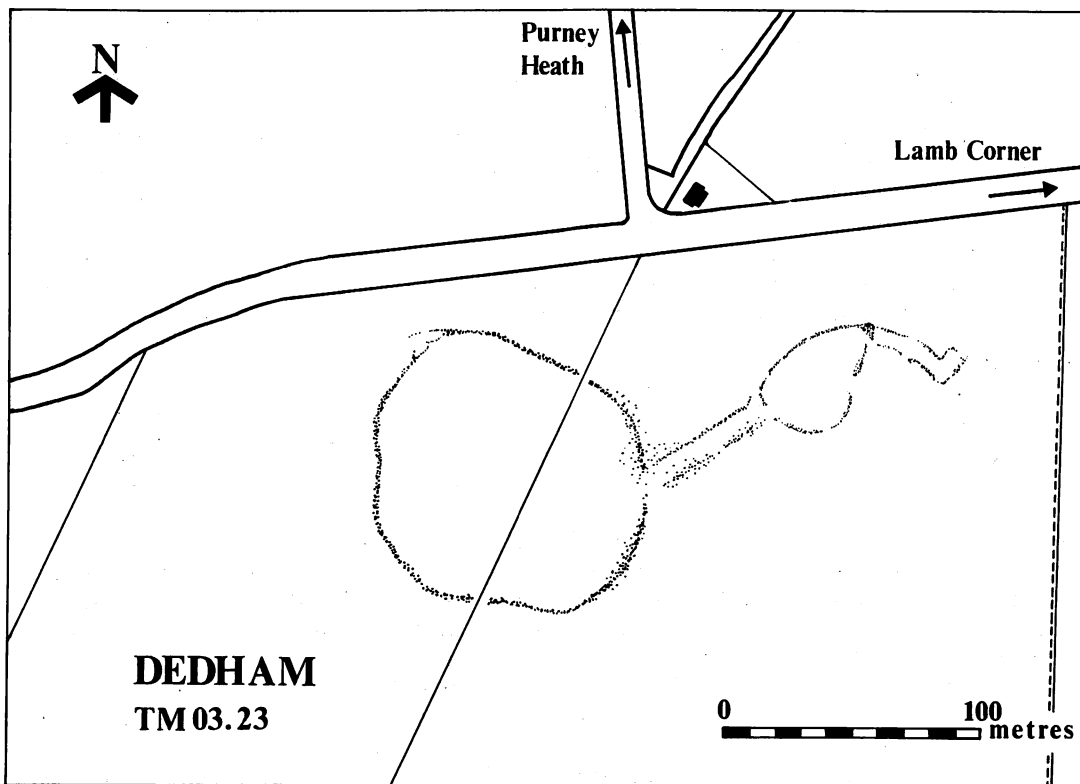


Fig. 15

the south-east. It is comparable to the so-called 'banjo' enclosures of Wessex (Perry, 1972, 41-77), which are interpreted as stock corrals. Some excavated examples date to the 2nd-1st century B.C. (Perry, *ibid.*).

Although the Dedham enclosure has no parallels in Essex it is clear from the large size of many of the cropmark enclosures now known from the county that, although differing considerably in shape and detail, many must have been constructed as farm or stock yards.

Photographs

CUC (1) BCT 6, 8, 10	1970	NMR TM	0931/1/73	1974
BER 72	1971		0530/2/77	1974
BFM 7	1971		0431/1/81, 83	1974
BTU 23	1972		0331/1/91	1974
BJJ 5-7	1972		0431/2/94	1974
			0431/3/96	1974
			0431/4/98	1974

Langford TL 832 093 (TL 80.47)

Recent photographs, notably those of Prof. St. Joseph, show remarkable detail of a cropmark complex by the River Blackwater (Fig. 16). Several phases of a large farmstead complex are evident, and appear to focus on a large double-ditched enclosure *c.* 185 × 100 m., which may have utilised the river for its north side. To the south and west small paddocks/enclosures have been laid out at right-angles to the outer ditch. A smaller enclosure, *c.* 25 m. square, in the south-east corner of the main enclosure is partially contiguous with a post-hole structure of similar size and shape.

Farther to the east is a regular double-ditched enclosure, *c.* 40 m. square, with a centrally placed entrance in the east side. To the south of this is a sub-rectangular enclosure with 'antennae ditches' and a central entrance in its south side.

The rectilinear layout of the enclosures is characteristic of late Iron Age/Roman farmsteads, such as that at Lechlade (R.C.H.M. Glos., 1976, 73; Jones, 1978, 171). The post-hole structure in the south-east corner may represent a substantial domestic building; alternatively these may be situated elsewhere within the large enclosure (not visible as cropmarks), or were possibly situated to the north and subsequently destroyed by the meandering of the River Blackwater. The size, shape and regularity of the square double-ditched enclosure, occurring close to this evidently substantial settlement, may indicate the presence of a late Iron Age or Roman temple.

Photographs

CUC BUA 10-11	1975	NMR TL 8309/1/47	1972
BXR 36, 37, 39	1976	TL 8309/4/214	1972
BZS 19-21	1976	TL 8209/5/377, 379	1972
		TL 8209/6/381-382	1972

The above cropmarks represent only a few of the elements in the prehistoric landscape which is continually being revealed by aerial photography. Field systems and trackways spanning large areas in the north-east and south of the county link enclosures and settlements, and occasionally continuity and survival to the present can be demonstrated (Rodwell, 1978, 93; Couchman, forthcoming), and other such systems may prove to be earlier than the Iron Age to which they are usually attributed. A programme of selective excavation and comparative studies of cropmark types is the only way in which it may be possible to suggest parallels for the 99% of cropmarks which it will never be possible to excavate. This would be particularly important for features such as the small oval and square ditched enclosures which may represent two virtually unrecognised burial traditions in the county.

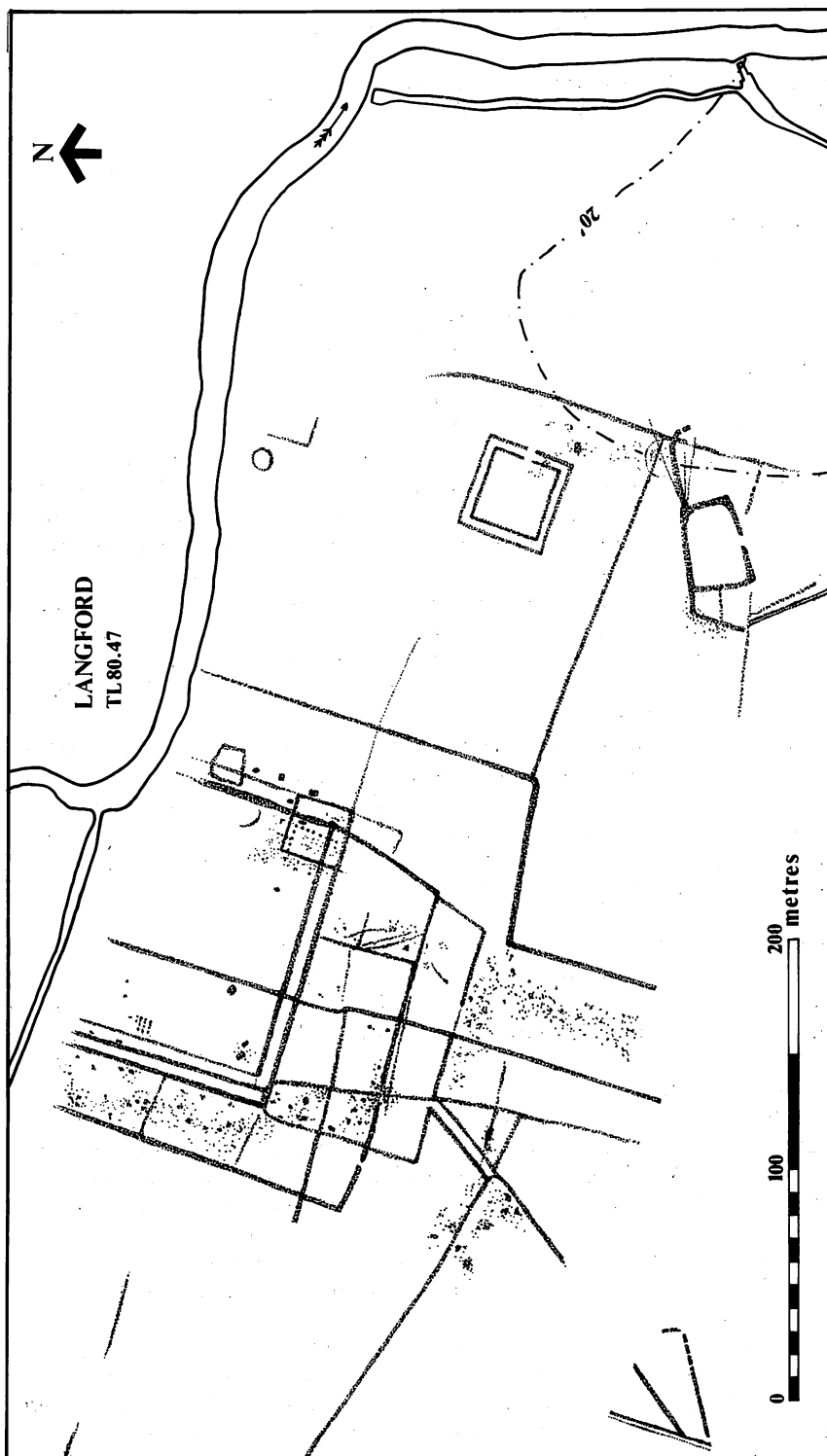


Fig. 16

- (1) Cambridge University Collection: Prof. J. K. St. Joseph, Director of Aerial Photography, The Mond Building, Cambridge.
- (2) National Monument Record: Mr. J. N. Hampton, Air Photographic Unit, N.M.R., Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London W1X 1AB.

Summary

The compilation of the fourth report on the Section's work coincided with the final stages in the publication of the first summary of modern archaeological research in Essex (Buckley, ed., 1980). The contributors to this important summary presented a number of rescue/research themes or objectives to which the type of work described above (and in Couchman, ed., 1976; 1977a; and 1979) can make some contribution. The Annual Reports are referenced below under the year of publication only.

Within the earlier prehistoric period the limitations of current knowledge necessitate an eclectic approach, a point repeatedly stressed by Wymer (1980, 8–11), Jacobi (1980a and b, 12–25), Hedges (1980, 26–39) and Couchman (1980, 40–6). The publication of individual chance finds or collections will confirm or deny the existing distribution patterns of specific artefact types which are often the only keys to the interpretation of the earlier prehistoric period. Equally, publication at this stage will prevent the increase of unpublished museum collections, in which much valuable information can be expected, especially for the Bronze Age (Couchman, 1980, 45). In terms of adding to distribution maps the publication of flint and bronze implements in the annual reports has been valuable. However, the work of the Section has created, by means of watching briefs, an incipient distribution of middle Bronze Age domestic sites, adding Barling (1977, 60–9), Braintree (1977, 71–4) and Great Dunmow (above 77–79) to Mucking and Wivenhoe (Couchman, 1980, 42).

The problem of an inadequate data base is shared with the later prehistoric period, and Drury (1980, 53) does stress the need to increase our knowledge of all aspects of the early and middle Iron Age. He also points to occupation of the clay areas in this period, and indeed earlier, and the group of ritual pots from Stock (1977, 75–7) is an example. The importance of hillforts as readily recognisable elements of Iron Age settlement in Essex is considered high by Drury (1980, 54), and some, admittedly incidental and rather speculative, work has been published by the Section (e.g. Stock and Asheldham, 57–59).

Although the late pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman period have both been the subjects of much research and rescue work in the past, our present knowledge is still patchy. Drury (Drury and Rodwell, 1980, 74) isolates the problems of the Roman military occupation, the urban defence systems and the relationship between Romanised Celt and Saxon settler as of particular relevance to present research objectives. Considering excavation priorities Drury (*ibid.*) stresses that excavation is only worth while on well-preserved sites and that small-scale work on large sites is rarely justifiable. Though this is undoubtedly true in terms of excavation priorities, watching briefs are essential in countering the effects of what Drury (*ibid.*) calls 'the threat of destruction by . . . insidious actions'. Watching briefs and small-scale excavations have been effective in establishing the limits of occupation or the extent of preservation in some of the Roman towns, whilst some sites (e.g. Border Wood, Broomfield (1979, 39–41)) have provided comparanda, which would otherwise have been lost, for excavated sites. The work at Wickford (1979, 41–50, and above (63–67) has been particularly important not only to an understanding of Roman small towns and their layout but also to Roman military studies.

The frequency of cropmark evidence in the archaeological heritage of Essex is well known (Hedges, 1977b, 37–8), and the Section's annual reports have examined several of these (e.g. Chignall St. James (1977, 77–84); Clacton and St. Osyth (1976, 147–51)). This has added to an understanding of classes of cropmarks, and, linked to other fieldwork, will aid in an assessment of the antiquity of the Essex landscape. The question of the origin of present land boundaries is one of

interest to all periods but evidence is accruing to show that some landscape elements, at least, are pre-Roman.

Despite the fact that Essex became a Saxon kingdom in its own right the material evidence for the *Adventus Saxonum* is still slight, apart from the extensive site at Mucking (Jones, 1980, fig. 35). Watching briefs and the reports of the public have added the grubenhaus at Barling (1977, 60–9), a possible cemetery at Little Braxted (1977, 84) and pagan pottery at Bradwell-on-Sea (above, 61). The evidence for the middle and later Saxon periods is even more exiguous though pottery has been recovered in Wicken Bonhunt village (1976, 166–7, and Fig. 14A), not far from the excavated settlement (Wade, 1980).

Collections of medieval ceramics have been made throughout the County and some of the most useful of these have been related to pottery kiln sites (e.g. Gosfield (1976, 177–8, and Fig. 14B); South Woodham Ferrers (1979, 67) and Ingatestone (above, 71–74). Tile and brick kilns are also well represented, e.g. Stock (above, 76) and Blackmore (1977, 24). Medieval artefacts have also been useful in studies of settlement continuity/mobility, e.g. at Elmdon (1977, 85–8); Great Sampford (above, 70–71) and Widford (1979, 59–61). Equally useful to the problem of settlement evolution has been the recognition of a number of earthwork sites such as at Takeley (1979, 70) and Ingrave (above, 76).

Limited contributions have been made to the study of moats by observation alone, e.g. Hatfield Peverel (1977, 87–9) and Aveley (1976, 167, and above, 67), though observation can rarely be matched by adequate documentary research (however, see 1979, 61–4) given present resources. Some work on churches has also been reported in the annual reports (e.g. Writtle (1976, 169–73) and Great Leighs (1977, 87, and above, 69) though, like the town sites, most have been subject to substantial excavation programmes prior to redevelopment.

With the fourth annual report on the Archaeology Section's work a pattern of rescue/research objectives is becoming increasingly clearly defined within what may at first sight be an apparently random collection of notes. Particularly important is data collection in the prehistoric and Saxon period; the establishment of limits and functional zones within late Iron Age and Roman occupation sites; the dating of specific cropmark complex elements; the publication of medieval pottery fabrics from kiln sites, and the dating of landscape elements.

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Historic Building Surveys

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This is the second series of notes on historic buildings surveyed on behalf of the County Council's Planning Department. The nineteen buildings recorded here do not represent the full range of work in this field, but only those structures of interest which are not subject to continuing research or are subject to confidentiality until such time as new statutory lists of Historic Buildings are issued by the Department of the Environment. They also include detail extra to that given in statutory lists already published.

Bocking Hall (see *R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1916, 34–5)

Timber-framed and plastered, red plain tile roof.

Large house of at least four builds, the earliest of which is *c.* 1530, and consists of a central, wide, gabled and jettied range, and part of the building adjoining on the north-east. This central range is jettied at each end, and the roof is arch-braced side purlin. An original doorhead remains *in situ* at first-floor level (now blocked by attic stair), and there is a cut-down 16th-century door reused to the attic stair. The first floor itself is an unusual example of a 16th-century double floor, with soffit-tenoned diminished haunches on the floor joists, and top tenons on the ceiling joists. The main range to the north-east also has floor joists with soffit-tenons and diminished haunches, and the front chimney stack has a 16th-century base. The small projecting gable at this side appears to have been a combined porch and staircase tower, and has stop chamfered posts, girths and studs.

The main front range to the south-west is mainly of late-16th-century date, with a wide, solid tread staircase at the end, which originally went up to the attic floor. However, there are indications that this part of the building had been extensively reconstructed in the late-16th century, incorporating some studwork and a doorhead in the end wall from an earlier build. The rear chimney stacks are certainly of earlier date. Further, the roof of the previously described 'cross-wing' shows no sign of having been clad where it abuts the main range. The lower structure at this point is entirely independent of the 'cross-wing'.

To the rear is a wing of three bays, with jowled storeyposts, and part stop chamfered and part moulded main frame. This is unlikely to be later than the early years of the 17th century, and may be just before 1600.

A further extension, to the west of the latter wing, contains some 17th-century panelling on the ground floor.

Bocking Hall is a complex structure, the short time-span indicated by the major builds making it rather difficult to interpret. It is also possible that it was somewhat larger than at present. The angles of the south-western and north-western walls are either the result of truncation or of site restrictions which no longer apply.

Clough's Cottage, London Road, Boreham

Timber-framed and plastered with some weatherboarding and red plain tile roof.

It is now three bays along the street frontage. Originally it must have been a 15th-century open hall, with end bays. The original entrance doorhead remains, as does the shutter groove and mullion mortices for the hall window. Most of the partition between the hall and the eastern end bay is still *in situ*. The roof has been raised, a chimney stack and first floor inserted and the western bay almost totally rebuilt. The inserted first floor would date to *c.* 1530, which would also be a suitable date for the first roof raise and chimney insertion. However, the chimney was largely remodelled in *c.* 1650, about which time the western bay was apparently rebuilt. The main roof is of three builds. Over the western bay is a framed side purlin roof of *c.* 1650. The central bay has a lodged side purlin roof of *c.* 1700, and the rear wing is earlier, probably contemporary with the inserted floor of *c.* 1530. There is some late-16th-century boarding and panelling reused to even-up a first-floor wall surface.

The east end of the front range has some early-16th-century brickwork, and there are *c.* 1700 fireplaces.

The smaller rear wing is a 16th-century staircase tower, now lacking its stair.

The lean-to is of *c.* 1820.

Lambourne Hall, Canewdon (R.C.H.M. (Essex), 1923, 23)

The wing to the west was a two-bay hall of late-13th-century date, the westernmost bay of which has a later double roof; the bay to the east retains its original roof with a crown post with moulded base and capital and thick braces to a collar purlin supported on an end crown post adjoining the cross-wing. The whole roof is heavily sooted and the base of a smoke louvre opening survives. An intruded brick chimney stack of *c.* 1480 probably preceded the intrusion of the first floor. The wing to the east was originally a four-bay cross-wing with an off-centre narrow bay possibly leading to an external kitchen to the east. The frame of this wing is still in place up to the original roof plate level. From that level upwards attics were added under a gambrel roof probably during the 17th century, when a contemporary staircase running from an arched opening with imposts and keystone moulded in plaster was incorporated. That the hall and cross-wing were built within a short time-span is supported by the fact that although the frames are separate neither exhibit an external wall or weathering. There is the possibility that the wing is a replacement of an earlier wing, but the remaining frame has sufficient archaic detailing to suggest that is not the case.

The collar purlin scarf is a simple splay with under-squinted abutments.

Lough Hill House, The Tye, East Hanningfield

The oldest surviving parts seem to indicate an L-shaped house of *c.* 1780, with some reused soot-blackened timber, which one assumes came from a previous building on the site (shown on the Walker map), suggesting a mid- to late-15th-century date. A top plate scarf remains from the *c.* 1780 build, and is halved and bladed.

Most of the structure is now rendered and painted brick, with a large late-19th-century extension at the rear. There is, however, a long, two-storey, weatherboarded wing, which is a relatively modern alteration, incorporating part of the *c.* 1780 plan, and with a fine early-18th-century pedimented doorcase.

There are some good 18th-century fire surrounds and very fine *c.* 1820 surround from elsewhere.

Petches, Finchingfield (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1916, 92)

Two storeys, timber-framed and plastered, red plain tile roofs. Two gables to north-east and south-west elevations.

Four main builds are apparent.

The north-west wing is large, four bays long, with an integral first floor. The main posts have no jowls, and the bridging joists have chamfered fillets on the underside. It would appear that the southern bay at ground-floor level was partitioned off from the remainder, and the northern bridging joist was supported on recessed hanging knees. Indications are that stud spacing was wide. Above the central storey post is what appears to be a simple splayed scarf. A large chimney stack of c. 1620 has been inserted. This is rebuilt at the top, but retains its original form of four spirally fluted shafts. The roof was extensively rebuilt at this time and the central tie beam removed. Original end gables remain with stop-chamfered crown struts and large single curved bracing down to tie beam. Two original tie beams remain, both are well cambered, stop chamfered on the top edges, and have raised seating for crown post.

The south crown post, still *in situ*, is four braced, two to centre purlin and two to tie beam. All braces are at a steep angle and of thick-sectioned timber. There are suggestions of a partition above this tie beam, and the spandrels below the crown post braces are filled with wattle and daub. Directly above the crown post is a purlin scarf, splayed with under-squinted square abutments.

Considering the overall size and quality of this building, it is difficult to reconcile it with being a cross-wing, and a first-floor hall is a distinct possibility. A date of between c. 1280 and c. 1320 would be most fitting.

Immediately adjacent to the east is a narrow strip of structure with a 17th-century roof which has side purlin and intermittent collars with some reused sooted rafters. As no other dating evidence is apparent this could be infill.

To the east is a conventional three-bay gabled cross-wing with wide-spaced studs, no jowls, and a slightly cambered tie beam and simple two-braced crown posts. The first floor has large section joists with bare-faced soffit-tenons. A window was discernible at first-floor level on the south flank. Apparently c. 1400 to 1450.

Finally, adjoining the latter are the remains of a two-bay open hall of about the same date. Originally with arch-braced central tie beam, and arch-braced side purlin roof. A first floor was inserted c. 1550.

Parsonage Farm, Great Sampford (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1916, 136)

The Barn: Six bay and aisled, c. 1460. Two midstreys. Reversed assembly at eaves. Main posts are jowled, with substantial bracing, but no passing braces. Top plate scarfs are halved and bridled. Roof is of simple crown post and collar purlin type, with half-hipped ends.

The house: A two-storey early-19th-century house of two bays with wide central passage, to the rear of which is a timber frame wing at a right-angle. This is heavily joisted, and has soffit-tenons with diminished haunches in the first floor. The roof is lodged side purlin with intermittent framed collars. A date is suggested of c. 1540.

There is also early-18th-century work in the house, including doors and a very fine corner cupboard.

Old Manor House, Great Sampford (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1916, 137, No. 15)

A large timber-framed and plastered house, with red plain tile roof. Two main periods of work are apparent, firstly the late-16th century, and secondly extensive alterations of c. 1690. Whilst the origin of the painted date on the front of the building is unknown, and appears modern, it is tempting to suggest there may be, or have been, some evidence elsewhere that would pin the late-16th-century work to 1595.

Internally some of the framing visible at first-floor level would fit this date, with arched wall bracing and jowled storey posts. The chimney stacks, of red brick, with grouped diagonal shafts, are also late-16th century. The roof is of side purlin type, rebuilt *c.* 1690. An extremely fine panelled room and numerous doors survive from this time. Also a number of 'barley sugar' turned balusters, in the main staircase.

There are also indications of work of *c.* 1740, including further balusters and a doorcase.

The White House, Great Sampford (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1916, 138)

All the evidence for dating the main structure suggests *c.* 1660. However, the plan form makes very little sense and, in fact, it must be of more than one build. Insufficient of the frame is visible to be able to be more accurate. The main 17th-century features are: an extremely fine 'dog leg' stair, with moulded strings, handrails, turned balusters and ball-topped newels, with pendants below, and two fireplaces, with curved backs, one with its three centred brick arch, a moulded shelf and plaster frieze of wyverns, hawks, snails and heads.

Other detailing includes an early-19th-century staircase with wreathed handrail and stick balusters.

Fitzjohn's Farmhouse, Great Waltham (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1921, 108–9)

Late-13th-century house, with mid- and late-16th-century alterations. Timber-framed and plastered, with red plain tile roof.

A large two-bay hall, of raised, aisled configuration, similar to Gatehouse Farm, Felsted, and Church Farm, Fressingfield, Suffolk.

The roof is of reversed assembly at eaves and normal assembly at top plate level. There is a large tie beam approximately 7 ft. (2.15 m.) above present ground-floor level. The main posts are mounted above this tie, braced from an 'aisle tie'. Arch-braced to main tie beam, and originally arcaded. The tie beam has a simple four-armed short crown post over, with square section braces. Otherwise the roof is simple collar, supported on collar purlin. The remains of one gable end have secondary rafters, now truncated and all heavily sooted.

The south cross-wing is an addition of *c.* 1530, with soffit-tenoned diminished haunches on the floor joists, and original door heads. The large chimney stack in hall is apparently contemporary with the south cross-wing. There were extensive alterations and repairs to hall at this time, including raising the east aisle, the insertion of windows and the replacement sections of plates. The halved and bridled scarf in the west aisle is of this period. Roof now modern.

The north cross-wing is an addition of *c.* 1600, with an arch-braced side purlin roof.

There are fine 16th-century bargeboards to east front.

At present, as with all examples of this type, it has been impossible so far to prove whether the first floor is integral.

Heybridge Hall, Heybridge, Maldon (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1922, 138)

Timber-framed and plastered with some rendered brickwork and red plain tile roofs.

A complex structure in which four major periods can be identified prior to 1700, and numerous alterations and extensions thereafter.

Period One. The remains of an open hall roof date from second half of 13th century and with a tall octagonal crown post with moulded base and capital and four thick, steeply curved braces. The king stud in the original end gable also has half-moulding to match. All roof timber heavily sooted.

Documentary evidence suggests that this is part of the building work of Hugh (or Harvey?) de Boreham, which is known to have been carried out in 1265.

Period Two. Whether the original hall had attached cross-wings is now conjectural, but there is a large cross-wing at the western end of the hall, which appears to have been built sometime between 1400 and 1450. A two-bay structure with a simple crown post roof, halved and bridled top plate scarfs and centre tenons with soffit shoulders on the floor joists. The frame of this wing has been built in such a manner as to underpin the end wall of the hall, and there are indications that possibly the building had stood derelict for some time prior to this work.

Period Three. The early 16th century saw extensive alterations and rebuilding of the lower part of the hall structure, and the insertion of a new main tie beam. This is probably the date for the first floor insertion in the hall, and certainly the date of the imposing chimney stack added to the cross-wing.

Period Four. A large rear staircase tower, with a dog-leg stair, turned balusters, moulded handrail and classical archway was added *c.* 1670. The storey posts have rounded jowls.

The remainder of the building indicates 18th-, 19th- and 20th-century alterations, with some 16th- and 17th-century repositioned doors and an early-15th-century repositioned doorhead.

Shuttleworth, Wheelers Hill, Little Waltham (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1921, 164, No. 9)

Timber-framed and plastered, with some exposed framing and red plain tile roof.

Apparently a hall and cross-wing, with an extension to the latter, and extensive modern alterations.

The rear of the cross-wing is a two-bay structure, originally jettied at the front. It is of good quality work, with main frame stop-chamfered and soffit-tenoned floor joists, and is presumably late-14th century. This original wing was extended forward a further two bays and jettied *c.* 1540, when the principal chimney stack was inserted in the hall.

Little remains of the hall. There are indications of an inserted first floor of *c.* 1540, but the floor joists have been replaced. The centre post between the service door remains, and the rear storey post is grooved for spandrel boarding. The roof has been rebuilt.

The externally exposed framing at the end is the remnant of a cross-wing side wall, and would logically relate to the aforementioned service doors. However, at first-floor level the top plate runs through and the storey post jowl is facing in the wrong direction. Therefore, either we have an in-line hall which has been altered to give a cross-wing, or the end wall is a remnant.

The replacement of the hall and later cross-wing floor joists is difficult to explain, as there are no indications of fire or dilapidation at any time. A possibility is that they were originally removed for a specific use. The information that a blacksmith at one time occupied the property may be coincidental, but it would not be the first example found in the county of a smith using part of his house as a forge.

South Shobury Hall Farmhouse

The centre range dates from the early 16th century and is of three bays with a rectangular staircase tower and brick chimney stack to the rear (north) of the central bay. The framing is heavy and consistent with jowled storey posts and curved braces to one of the first-floor internal partitions, which exhibits a number of burn marks from rush tapers. The front range is *c.* 1740 and unaltered, with original stairs, windows and doors and, in one room, a fire surround. To the north is a single-storey timber-framed outbuilding range, probably late-16th century, with a brick floor.

Priors Hall, Stebbing (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1916, 283)

An impressive timber-framed house with red plain tile roof. There were at least three important stages of development before the relatively modern alterations and extensions. The earliest of these comprises the basic frame of the cross-wing. This is heavily timbered and of high quality.

Originally the service wing, it has jowled storey posts, cambered tie beam and thick arch bracing. The floor joist joint is a centre tenon with soffit shoulder, and the top plate scarf is halved and bridled. A date of *c.* 1400 would be indicated. One original doorhead remains.

There is little left of the open hall which would have adjoined the cross-wing, it being the subject of a major rebuild. However, it can be said that it was of high quality, from the evidence of the cross-wing and that hall timber which remains. The front wall lined up with the ground floor front wall of the cross-wing and the back hall was in line with the front of the large rear chimney stack. It was probably two poles (10.06 m.) long.

The second stage was *c.* 1490, when a red brick chimney stack was added to the front bay of the cross-wing. At this time the original ladder stair was removed, and replaced by a staircase tower at the rear. This tower was necessitated by the raising of the cross-wing roof. A brick-lined cellar was incorporated. In *c.* 1600 the hall was largely rebuilt, introducing a first floor, with a front long wall jetty and incorporating part of the original rear wall. A large red brick chimney was added, with the mantel beam 'dropped-in' between two original posts. Also at this time the staircase wing was rebuilt. The new range was one and a half storeys high above the jetty. It had jowled storey posts, and the floor joist joint is a soffit-tenon with diminished haunch. The roof is side purlin with cambered tie beams, cut by original framed doorways. From its length it would appear to have replaced the whole of the earlier hall and the upper end cross-wing. Of this latter the only evidence now remaining is the jowled storey post at the rear of the side wall.

Both the end chimney stack and the cellar below suggest a date of *c.* 1700, with much reused earlier material.

There is some very fine 16th and 17th-century panelling, and a 16th-century door in one of the rear extensions.

To the rear is a building that was once entirely separate, but is now joined by modern work. This building is a three-bay timber frame, with its entrance directly in line with the screen passage of the earlier hall. Dating to *c.* 1500 or possibly a few years earlier, it was originally of two bays, open to the roof, having a narrow end bay with an integral floor. A first floor was inserted in the open section, and subsequently removed. There is a late inserted chimney stack on the rear wall. The roof has a simple, but massive, crown post, and is heavily sooted.

The proportion of floored bay to hall makes it unlikely that it was a dwelling. However, its position and overall proportion strongly suggest a kitchen with some attached accommodation. If this is so it is unusual in Essex. Kitchens are rare in themselves, and this would be the only one of this type so far recognised in the county.

Malt House, Bran End, Stebbing

Red brick, two-storey house. Three-window range to front with double-hung vertical sliding sashes. Grey slate, double range roof.

The earlier build, *c.* 1780, appears to have been a narrow-plan two-bay house, with centre passage and rear wall chimney stacks. This phase was two-storey, but there are indications that it may have had an attic floor. The roof is now low pitched, of a type typical of the early-19th century, and is probably a replacement. Normally one would expect a gambrel roof, with attic rooms, clad in plain tiles with this narrow-plan form, and the staircase may well have been truncated at first-floor level.

To the rear there is a parallel two-storey range and a wing at right-angles. The detailing suggests *c.* 1820, and presumably it represents a general improvement in accommodation, with servants' quarters in the wing. There are also some modern alterations, notably at the rear of the wing, where a single-storey lean-to has been raised to full height.

Cob Cottage, West Hanningfield

Timber-framed and weatherboarded with red plain tile roof. Very little datable evidence remains except for a late-17th-century staircase, and a late-17th-century bridging joist and common joists.

However, part of the top plate is visible and it is apparent that the roof has been raised. Whilst there is no proof it is tempting to surmise that the raise is contemporary with the 17th-century first floor.

Externally the proportions and the brick underbuildings suggest the possibility of a former jettied cross-wing at one end.

It is impossible to date the earlier frame, but it should not be later than the third quarter of the 16th century.

Nos. 51, 53 and 55 Chipping Hill, Witham (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1916, 267)

Timber-framed and plastered. Red plain tile roof.

An open hall house, with two cross-wings of *c.* 1400. The west wing was open to hall at ground-floor level, with moulded side girth and separate door to rear, which obviously connected with the stair to the chamber above. This stair was replaced by an external stair tower in the 16th century, the doorway to which remains at first-floor level. The central tie beam has been removed, and the roof partly rebuilt, on this wing. In the late-15th century a chimney stack was added to the original end wall. A large mid-16th-century chimney stack and first floor, probably of similar date, was inserted into the open hall. The original hall tie beam has been removed, but a collar purlin and end posts remain from a crown post roof. The tie beam must have had a considerable camber. The main hall posts heavily rebated and stop chamfered. The east wing was the original service wing, and is three bays long with a central narrow bay for a cross-passage. It is built of cambered tie beams and rebated storey posts.

No. 55 is a two-storey extension of *c.* 1710, timber-framed, with some brick. The 18th-century alterations to the front of the original house were probably done at the same time.

The plan of the original building seems to indicate a shop (or similar commercial use) and dwelling combined.

Highway Cottage, Newland Street, Witham (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1916, 268)

Timber-framed and plastered with red plain tile roof.

Small late-14th-century hall house with one cross-wing. The second cross-wing is now incorporated into the adjoining property.

The northern cross-wing is the service wing, and was originally gabled to the street. The first floor is heavily joisted, with unrefined centre tenon joints. A ladder stair was positioned against the north-east wall of the rear bay. The roof was rebuilt *c.* 1630, when the hall roof was raised and a first floor inserted. This insertion incorporates a bridging joist with spiral roll mouldings, which may be reused.

The cross-wing roof was originally a crown post, and the top plate scarfs are halved and bridled. A large chimney of *c.* 1700 is now on the line of the original back wall, and serves the lean-to at the rear as well as the lower part of the hall.

From the exposed framing of the south-western party wall, it would appear that the other cross-wing was of one storey only.

Quilters Farm, Woodham Ferrers (*R.C.H.M. (Essex)*, 1923, 175)

Timber-framed and plastered, with red plain tile roof.

Two bays of timber frame, with a large early-16th-century red brick chimney stack at one end. This stack has a fine arched fireplace at first floor.

The bay adjacent to the 16th-century stack is well studded, and has a ground and first-floor window, with original mullions in the rear wall, where there are also indications of a former

staircase and halved and bridled scarf in the top plates. An early date in the 15th century is suggested.

The adjoining bay has a continuation of this main frame, but the infill studding and bracing all appears to be 17th century, as is the existing staircase and the smaller chimney stack. The dividing wall between the bays is of the 15th-century build, and the ground floor has been lowered.

The roof is probably 17th century, but could be as early as the 16th-century chimney stack.

Interpretation of the building can go no further at the present time. It cannot be ascertained if either of the first floors are inserted or original.

The Mersea Charter of Edward the Confessor

by CYRIL HART

In 1768 Philip Morant published the text of a very unusual charter he had found at Colchester.¹ Carrying the date 1046, it purported to record the gift by King Edward the Confessor to the abbey of St. Ouen at Rouen in Normandy of an estate at Mersea in Essex, just as he had held it for two days after he had inherited the English crown.

Morant's printed version contained a boundary clause that was obviously corrupt, and the charter's witness list was missing. Moreover, the source of his text was not made accessible to scholars, and Kemble failed to include the charter in his *Codex Diplomaticus*, published in the middle of the following century. It is not surprising, therefore, that for two hundred years after its *editio princeps* this alleged charter of the Confessor remained largely neglected by historians.

Recently, however, by an extraordinary coincidence two quite independent medieval copies have been uncovered. First, in 1955 Dr. Donald Matthew found a good 15th-century version in the public archives at Rouen, then in 1968 Mr. J. B. Bennett rediscovered at Colchester the earlier but more corrupt text which had formed the basis of Morant's edition. Dr. Matthew's own edition of the Rouen text was published with helpful notes in 1970, and a collation of this with the Colchester version appears below as an appendix to this paper.

Both copies utilised the same exemplar, and by collating them the complete text can be established of what appears to have been a contemporary diploma of Edward the Confessor. Moreover, if authentic, this instrument is undoubtedly one of the most important charters of the reign. Before considering its wider historical significance, however, the question of authenticity requires the most careful examination.

This discussion hinges largely on the history of the estate that the charter claims to convey, and it so happens that very considerable and reliable material survives for reconstructing the devolution of the property during the century before the Norman Conquest.

We must start with the description of the estate in the Confessor's charter, which says that it had been in the royal fisc of his predecessors—interpreted strictly, this takes us back at least as far as the reign of Cnut. The text describes it as 'a certain part of the island called *Mersege*, with all the land (and property) adjacent to it, with meadows, woods and fisheries'. The difficult boundary clause runs: 'First from *pantan streame* until it reaches the dyke between East and West Mersea, then from the dyke to the *fleote*, then to the street until it reaches *dære petan*. Then to the stone at Fingringhoe; from the stone to *bricsfleotes orde*; again from the stone to *Winnanbricse*, thence to *peltandunes meowte*.'

Some of these names are easy to interpret. Thus devotees of OE poetry will immediately recognise *pantan streame* as the name given to the River Blackwater in the *Battle of Maldon*.² *fleote* is evidently the channel named *Pyefleet* in Chapman and Andrés map of Essex, dated 1777. This cuts off Mersea from the mainland, and the street in the bounds is clearly the causeway called *the Strood* on the map, which runs from Mersea to Colchester. *dære petan* in the bounds appears as *Peete Tye Bridge* on the map, which shows the street crossing a small unnamed tributary of Pyefleet at this

point, about one mile east of Peldon, and immediately to the east of *Peete Hall* on the map. OE *pete*, a unique word, must be a cognate of OE* *pide*, meaning a marsh or fen, which fits the topography. Dr. Matthew offers the attractive parallel *piele* in modern Dutch dialect, used to describe small bridges and covered watercourses in the marshes of Brabant and Flanders.³ *Peete Tye* reappears on our map a mile farther north along the road, where it describes a strip of common land lying beside the street, between Langenhoe and Abberton. The second element of this name appears to derive from OE *tig*, 'meeting place', MHG *tig*, 'a public meeting-place in a village', MLG *tig*, 'a meadow', ON *teigr*, 'a close, a strip of meadow land', all of which apply very well here.

The significance of the stone at Fingringhoe cannot now be retrieved. Since the village itself is not on the direct road, a Roman milestone seems unlikely, yet the description does not seem to fit a boundary stone very well, for in our charter the stone is a centre point from which one proceeds and to which one returns, rather than a peripheral landmark. *Bricsfleote* must, I think, refer to the Roman River, a tributary of the River Colne, which would be bridged by the street from Mersea to Colchester, to which we shall return presently. OE *ord* means 'a spit or corner of land', and this describes aptly the salt marsh named North Geeton, lying between *bricsfleote* and Geeton Creek. Incidentally, the name Fingringhoe itself derives from the finger of high land lying behind this *ord*.⁴

Returning once more to the stone at Fingringhoe, the description next takes us to a place name whose first element is indecipherable, but with a second element, *bricse*, which must be related, I think, to *bricsfleote*. The transcriber has mistaken OE 'g' for long 's', and we are dealing here with the word *bricge*, for 'bridge' or 'causeway'. The street from Mersea to Colchester crosses Roman River (*bricsfleote*) at Manwood bridge on the map of 1777, and Man Wood itself is shown beside the road at this point. I suggest we have here the OE patronym *Mann(a)*, and that the name of the bridge was originally *Mannanbricge*. This would account for the 'nine strokes' described by Dr. Matthew before 'an' in the first element of the name as it appears in the Rouen transcript, and I would therefore offer the reading *mannanbricse* rather than *winnanbricse*, because it makes the topography of the charter more comprehensible.

We are left with *peltandunes meowte* as the last point in the charter's boundary clause. *Peltandune* must be Peldon, and I think *meowte* can hardly represent any other element than OE (ge)mot, 'meeting-place', from OE *mētan*, 'to meet'. Already we have encountered the element *tig* with a similar meaning, and I would put forward the suggestion that *Peltandunes meowte* was at Peet Tye Common, and was the original hundred meeting-place. If so, the site shifted in later centuries to the *motslove* on high ground near Duke's Farm in Layer-de-la-Haye.⁵

To summarise, the boundary clause of our charter does not perambulate a number of landmarks as was usually the case, but describes in general terms the separate territories of West Mersea and Fingringhoe, between which ran a 'Roman' road. The charter appears to delimit Fingringhoe as an area bounded to the north by the Roman River, to the west by the road from Manwood bridge to Peet Tye Common, to the south by Geeton Creek, and to the east by the River Colne. According to this interpretation, the charter's boundary clause excludes the territory of the later parishes of Peldon, Langenhoe and Abberton, all of which are shown by Domesday Book to have been in lay lands before the Norman Conquest.⁶ Domesday does not mention Fingringhoe by name, because it was included within the description of West Mersea.⁷ The Ouen estate was assessed at twenty hides in Domesday, and as AElflaed's will (below) gives the assessment of West Mersea as six hides, presumably Fingringhoe was assessed at fourteen hides. We may speculate further that in addition to the land endowment, the Confessor's charter to St. Ouen conveyed seigneurial rights over Winstree hundred,⁸ since the hundred moot appears originally to have been sited at Peet Tye Common at the south-western corner of Fingringhoe.

We may now move on to examine the earlier evidence for the devolution of this property. In his will dated 946 x 951 Ealdorman AElfgar of Essex granted the reversion of Peldon and Mersea to the minister at Stoke-by-Nayland, over the Suffolk border, six miles north of Colchester, where his ancestors were buried.⁹ AElfgar had two daughters, AElthelflaed of Damerham who became the

second wife of King Edmund and after his death married Æthelstan 'Rota' of South East Mercia, and Ælfflaed, who became the second wife of Ealdorman Byrhtnoth of Essex, and survived him after his death in 991 on the battlefield of Maldon. Neither daughter had any issue of her marriage, as far as one can tell.¹⁰

Ælfgar's grant to Stoke reserved the usufruct of Peldon and Mersea to Æthelflaed during her lifetime. Her will cannot be dated closely but was drawn up some time between 975 and 991.¹¹ She granted an estate at Fingringhoe to Ealdorman Byrhtnoth and his wife (who was her sister Ælfflaed), with reversion after Ælfflaed's death to St. Peter's Church at Mersea. From its dedication, we know this to have been West Mersea.

Like its neighbour and namesake at Bradwell on the opposite shore of the Blackwater estuary, West Mersea Church was built on a Roman site.¹² The dedication to St. Peter is consonant with a foundation of the 7th or 8th century,¹³ so probably it was a contemporary of Bradwell. Possibly it suffered at the hands of the Danes when they encamped on Mersea Island in 894;¹⁴ if so the church was restored by Ælfgar's family, for the nature of Æthelflaed's gift implies that it was then a collegiate minster. Part of the western tower might date to this period.¹⁵ The Vikings passed by this site as they made their way past the island up the Blackwater in 991, before the Battle of Maldon, when unlike their predecessors a century previously, they chose Northey Island further upstream, rather than Mersea, for their landing-place.¹⁶

By Æthelflaed's will the whole estate of Peldon and West Mersea was to descend, together with Fingringhoe, first to her sister Ælfflaed, and then after her death and that of Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, to the family minster at Stoke-by-Nayland in accordance with the will of her father. Ælfflaed's will, dated c. 1002, confirmed the bequest of Peldon and Mersea to Stoke, and noted that her father had presented a wood at Totham to the minster at Mersea, which possessed also the whole of the six hides of land forming the western half of the island.¹⁷ Two hides belonging to the adjacent estate of Bocking Hall in East Mersea had by this time descended to Christ Church, Canterbury.¹⁸

So far we have confined our attention solely to the Mersea estate, but in order to understand the next stage in the history of its devolution, we must now take a glance at other properties mentioned in these three wills. There is no doubt that Ealdorman Ælfgar had intended to endow Stoke-by-Nayland with sufficient landed property to transform it from a small collegiate minster into a major monastic foundation. He regarded it as a family possession, and buried his wife and son there, but the family interest could not have been an ancient one, for the territory had been in Danish hands un 921. Besides the large Mersea estate (rated at twenty hides a century later), Ælfgar bequeathed to Stoke the reversion of Lavenham and a wood at Ashfield in Suffolk, together with Colne, Tey and Greenstead in Essex. To these his daughter Æthelflaed added the reversion of four more Suffolk properties: Polstead, Withermarsh, Stratford and Balsdon Hall. Ælfflaed increased the endowment with Freston and Wiston in Suffolk and Hatfield in Hertfordshire. Altogether therefore the family endowment amounted to seven properties in Essex, six in Suffolk, and one in Hertfordshire.

When one recalls that Ælfgar's will antedated the Benedictine monastic revival by two whole decades, this was an extraordinary policy, and the endowment was continued and indeed developed by his two daughters. Yet because only the reversion of the family interest was bequeathed, fifty years passed before Ælfgar's intentions could mature. Within that interval five great fenland monasteries had been founded and endowed, and by 1002, when Ælfflaed wrote her will, the situation was vastly different. Since their success at Maldon in 991 the Danes had never lifted their pressure, and it might perhaps have been questioned by Ælfflaed's contemporaries whether times were still propitious for the foundation of yet another major religious house in eastern England. Yet elsewhere the impetus for reform was not yet fully spent. Just at this period Wulfric Spott was planning his handsome endowment of Burton-on-Trent, and Æthelmaer the Fat was similarly engaged at Eynsham in Oxfordshire. Was there any real obstacle to Ælfflaed's consummation of a similar venture at Stoke-by-Nayland?

Certainly it appears to me that AElfflaed's anxiety for the future of her family's foundation is reflected throughout the text of her will. She commenced by granting to the King eight estates which appear to have descended to her from her husband Byrhtnoth, and could well have formed part of the perquisites of the Essex ealdordom. With her bequest was a plea that King Aethelred should protect the endowment of Stoke, which she proceeded to list in detail. Then after a series of bequests to other religious houses, she left a valuable estate at Lawling in Essex to Aethelmaer the Fat, on condition that he too should act as friend and protector of Stoke. Finally she gave Liston in Essex to another Aethelmaer, apparently a kinsman, on the same terms.

It is significant that Aethelmaer the Fat, whose ealdordom lay in the Western Shires, should have been vested with this responsibility. Leofsige, the local ealdorman, appears to have been no friend of monasticism, and was banished by the King at about this time. Aethelmaer the Fat, however, was a strong supporter of the monastic party, and the patron of Aelfric the Homilist. A few years before AElfflaed drew up her will, Aethelmaer was called upon by Leofwinna, the widow of a renegade East Saxon thegn, to mediate with King Aethelred on her behalf, to persuade him to confirm her gift of Bocking Hall in East Mersea to the newly reformed community at Christ Church, Canterbury. Aethelmaer, who was a kinsman of King Aethelred, was successful in this mission. In 1005 he gave AElfflaed's bequest of Lawling to his son-in-law Aethelweard in part exchange for Eynsham,¹⁹ and by the eve of the Norman Conquest Lawling too had descended to Christ Church.

In spite of AElfflaed's best efforts, her endowment of Stoke-by-Nayland became alienated, and within half a century Stoke was reduced to a small minster supported by only half a carucate of land, most of the estates left to it by Aelfgar's family having fallen into lay hands. If the Confessor's charter to Rouen is to be believed, the alienation occurred before the end of Cnut's reign. It is a misfortune that the exact date and circumstances of this important event cannot now be determined. The best suggestion one can offer is that the interest of Stoke were taken over by the foundation at Bury St. Edmunds, which was heavily endowed by Cnut through the agency of his earl Thorkell the Tall. There is good reason to believe that the surviving text of AElfflaed's will comes from a copy that was prepared for deposition at Stoke, yet the manuscript appears to have reached Bury within a decade.²¹

Having pursued the fate of Stoke as far as lies within our power, we may now return to consideration of the ownership by St. Ouen of Rouen of the Mersea estate. This monastery had already a long history of relations with England. Relics of St. Ouen were sent to Christ Church in the time of Archbishop Oda in 942 x 958,²² and at the same period the abbey was exporting wine to London.²³ After the sacking of St. Ouen by the Vikings, its abbot sought King Edgar's help, no doubt successfully.²⁴ The Benedictine reformation forged close links between houses in England and the Continent, and by this time Continental abbeys were becoming interested in acquiring lands in England, particularly along the coast. In 1016 Edward the Aetheling, King Aethelred's son and eventual successor, paid a visit to the monastery of Ghent and promised to restore to the monks there a property at Lewisham which they had been given a century previously but had since lost.²⁵ A year or two before this, King Aethelred himself during his exile in Normandy visited the abbey of Fécamp and promised it land; his promise was redeemed by Cnut at the beginning of his reign, when he gave Fécamp land at the Channel ports of Winchelsea and Rye.²⁶ Later he increased his endowment, and his son Hardacnut confirmed these gifts. King Edward endowed Fécamp still further with Steyning in Sussex before the end of 1048,²⁷ and again with Eastbourne in 1054.²⁸ In 1052 he gave Taynton in Oxfordshire by charter to the abbey of St. Denis at Paris.²⁹ There may be some truth behind the tradition that while in exile in Normandy in 1035, Edward promised to endow the monastery of St. Michael with land in Cornwall.³⁰

It is against this background that we approach the final stage in our exegesis of Edward's charter to St. Ouen, for although the instrument is dated 1047 when he was firmly established on the English throne, Edward's gift is said to have been made just two days after he inherited the succession. Now there is considerable controversy as to Edward's whereabouts at this time; the

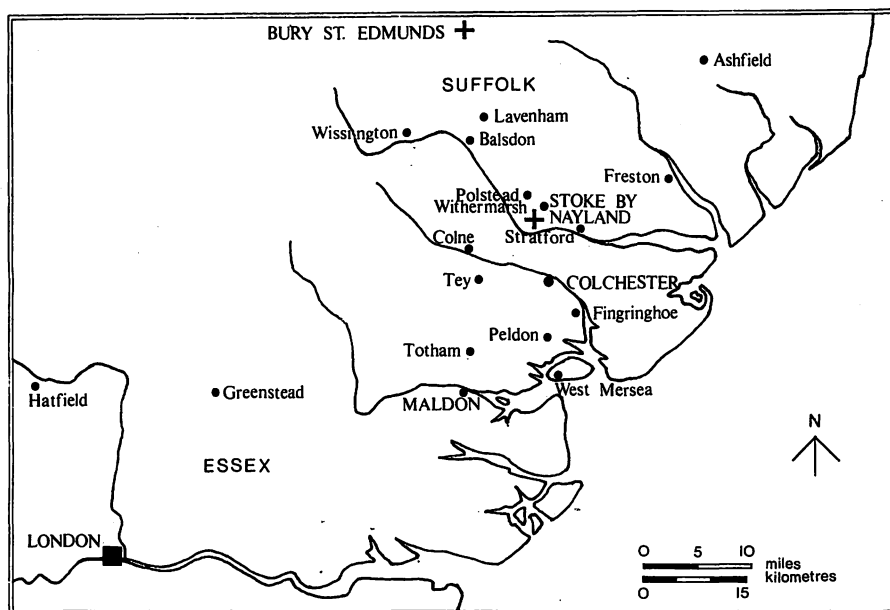


Fig. 1 The Endowment of Stoke-by-Nayland, A.D. 946-1002

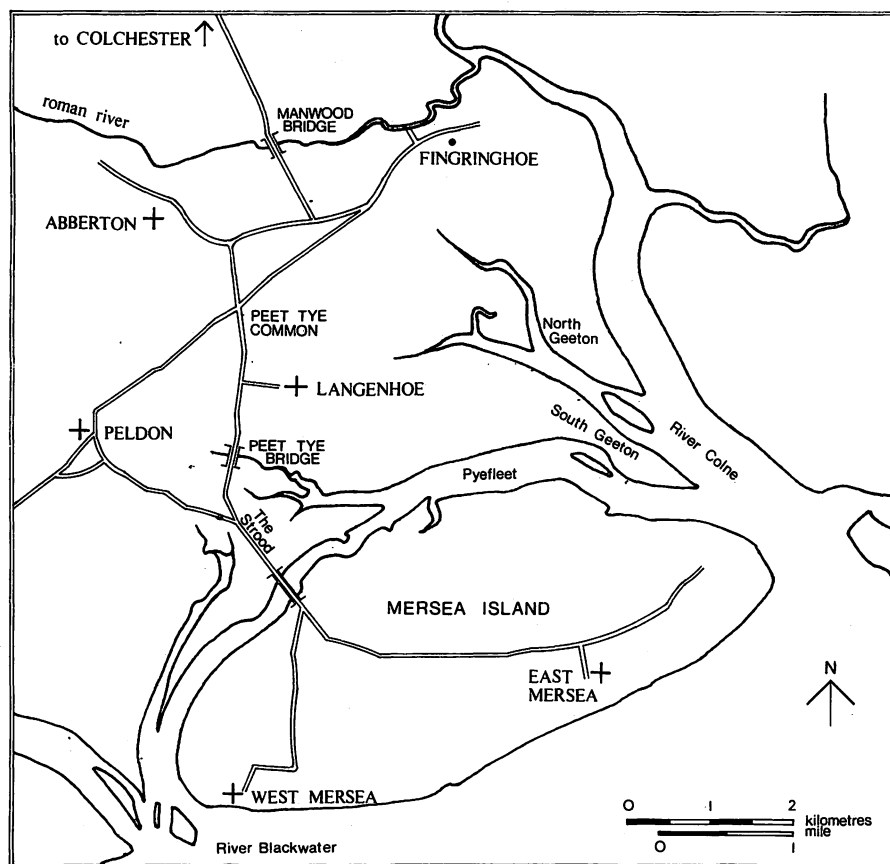


Fig. 2 The Topography of the Mersea Charter A.D. 1046. Maps by Tony Young after C.R.H.

chronicle says one thing and his *Vita* another, and later authorities took both sides.³¹ His accession was not anticipated, for Hardacnut died unexpectedly of a stroke while still quite young, during the wedding feast at Lambeth of Tofig the Proud. If Edward had been present on this occasion, it is indeed odd that he should have found time and opportunity just two days later to concern himself with the endowment of a Norman abbey, which had to wait a further four years for its charter.

I would suggest, however, that there is a simple and obvious explanation for the Confessor's St. Ouen charter, and that is that he made a gift to the abbey in gratitude when he heard of his accession while staying there. It would take two days for news of Hardacnut's death to reach him from England. One is reminded of the Conqueror's grant to the abbey of St. Valéry, in thanks for the favourable breeze that blew him to England before the Battle of Hastings.³²

NOTES

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3. Mathew, Donald, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, 1962, 146–7.
4. Reaney, P. H. *The Place-Names of Essex*, 1935. English Place-Name Society, 315.
5. *Ibid.*, 314.
6. Domesday Book II, ff. 27b, 946.
7. D.B. II, f. 22.
8. We find this also in D.B. II, f. 22. The rights were confirmed by King Stephen; cf. Matthew, 150.
9. Whitelock, Dorothy, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, 1930, No. ii.
10. For the family pedigree, see my paper on the East Saxon Ealdordom, forthcoming.
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20. Domesday Book II, f. 401.
21. *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, 137, 145.
22. Levison, 211; Harmer, F., *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, Manchester, 1952, 195.
23. Harden, D. B., *Dark-Age Britain*, London, 1956, 219.
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25. Matthew, 18.
26. Haskins, C. H., An Early Charter of Canute for Fécamp, *English Historical Review*, xxxiii (1918), 342–4.
27. Kemble, No. 890; *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 16, n. 1.
28. Matthew, 20.
29. *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 538–9.
30. Matthew, 22–4.
31. Barlow, F., *Edward the Confessor*, 1970, 53.
32. *The Early Charters of Essex*, No. 85.

APPENDIX

In nomine summi tonantis dei scilicet omnipotentis qui cuncta ex nichilo formavit. quique protoplastum hominem Adam videlicet cuncivem¹ esse celestis Jerusalem condidit illumque serpentina seductione precipitatum immensa pietate atque predestinatione ad culmen angelice beatudinis proprio cruore provexit.

Nunc ut omnibus necesse² est christianis quamdiu hic in mortali vita persistunt de perituris celestia de caducis eterna mercari. Ego rex Eaduuardus hoc fretus sum consilio, quia eadem veritas dicit. date et dabitur vobis³ et item scriptura intonat. Divicie viri redempcio anime eius.⁴ Et Salomon Fili elemosina animam a morte liberat et non patitur ire in tenebris.⁵ Quapropter istorum preceptorum necon aliorum auxiliatus adminiculo Ego rex⁶ Eaduuardus superius prenotatus Anglorum atque northunhymbrorum⁷ do regi omnium regum domino sanctoque petro. necnon (almo antistiti Audoeno sibi) servientibus qui proprius fiscus attenuus⁸ meorum antecessorum fuit quandam partem insule quae⁹ vocatur mersege¹⁰ cum (omnibus terrisque sibi adjacentibus) et cum pratis. silvisque piscatoriis sicuti integram hanc et possessivam¹¹ habui curriculo duorum dierum postquam dei gratia (ad apicem regiminis) perveni. Si quis vero homo¹² hanc meam donationem infringere temptaverit sciat se coram christo et angelis eius¹³ ac sanctis suprascriptis in tremendo examine redditurum et funditus dampnaturum nisi hic prius emendare satagerit. þis is þ landgemere æt mersege þ is aerest on pantan streame oð hit cymð to ðam dicā betwux east meresege (and west meresege)¹⁴ ðonne of ðam dicā into ðam fleote. ðonne of ðam fleote into ðære stræte þhit cymð to ðære petan. þonne on fingringaho æ(t) ðam stane fram ðam stane to bricsfleotes orde aeft fram ðam stane to Winnanbrice fram Winnanbrice¹⁵ to peltandunes meowte.¹⁶

Acta est hec prefata donatio anno dominice incarnationis millesimo quadagesimo sexto. ✠ Ego Eaduuardus rex Anglorum hanc donationem libere¹⁷ concedo et manu propria hoc signo confirmo.

- ✠ Ego Eadsig¹⁸ Cantuariorum archiepiscopus cum signo sancte crucis roboravi.
- ✠ Ego Ælfric¹⁹ archiepiscopus cum virtute sancte crucis consignavi
- ✠ Ego Rotbertus²⁰ episcopus confirmavi
- ✠ Ego Stigandus²¹ episcopus corroboravi
- ✠ Ego Ælfwinus²² episcopus conclusi
- ✠ Ego Wulfsig²³ episcopus confortavi
- ✠ Ego Hearmanus²⁴ episcopus confortavi
- ✠ Ego Wulnoð abbas²⁵
- ✠ Ego Lyfnoð abbas²⁶
- ✠ Ego Ælfwine abbas²⁷
- ✠ Ego Godwine dux²⁸
- ✠ Ego Harolt dux²⁹
- ✠ Ego Lyfrac dux³⁰
- ✠ Ego Sweyn dux³¹
- ✠ Ego Siwer ð dux³²
- ✠ Ego Birn dux³³
- ✠ Ego Befkytel minister³⁴
- ✠ Ego Utfer minister³⁵
- ✠ Ego Manni minister³⁶

Dorso: hec est copia carta S. Edwardi regis Anglorum que pertinet abbatiq̃ue conventui monasterii SS. Petri et Pauli S. Audoeni Rothomagnus. Henricus Chichele archiepiscopus Cantuariensis habet originalem. Et est registratus sive signatus in cartaria S. Audoeni. Et est sine sigillo.

Notes to the text (variant readings from C)

1. *conciuem.*
2. *necesse.*
3. Luke vi, 38.
4. Proverbs xiii, 8.
5. Tobias iv, 11 (paraphrase).
6. *rex* omitted.
7. *Northanhymbrorum.*
8. *actenus.*
9. *que.*
10. *Meresege.*
11. *poscessinam.*
12. *hominum.*
13. *eius* omitted.

14. Words within brackets reconstructed from C.
15. *Winnanbricse fram Winnanbricse* omitted; suggested reading in A: *mannanbricge from mannanbricge*.
16. Bounds in C: *Hee sunt terre eorum date apud Mersege. Ibi est Rivus super Pone Streme et extendit usque ad quoddam fossatum vocatam Deramys-Diche inter Est-Mersey et West Mersey et à Deramys-Diche usque ad Deramy's Flete et à Deramys-Flete usque ad quoddam Stratam vocatam Deramys-Strete et ibi extendit usque ad le Peete vocat' Deramys-Pete villa de Fyngerynghe ad Deramys-Stone et à Deramys Stone usque ad Brigflete ex parte orientali et à Deramys-Stone usque ad Weldene-Downes Meowte.*
17. *libens*.
18. *Edwinus*: Eadsige archbishop of Canterbury 1038 x 1050.
19. *Alfricus*: Ælfric archbishop of York 1023 x 1051.
20. *Robertus*: Robert bishop of London 1044 x 1051.
21. *Stigandus*: Stigand bishop of Elmham 1044 x 1047.
22. *Alfpinus*: Ælfwine bishop of Winchester 1032 x 1047.
23. *Pulfsinus*: Wulfsige bishop of Lichfield 1039 x 1053.
24. *Hearmannus*: Hereman bishop of Ramsbury 1045 x 1055.
25. *Pulnodus abbod'*: Wulfnod abbot of Westminster c. 1020 x 1049.
26. *Leifnodus abbod'*: unidentified (possibly an error in A for Leofweard, who was abbot of Muchelney).
27. *Alfpine abbod'*: Ælfwine abbot of New Minster, Winchester, c. 1031 x 1057.
28. *Godpine*: Godwine earl of Wessex c. 1018 x 1053.
29. *Harolt*: Harold earl of East Anglia c. 1044 x 1051.
30. *Leifric*: Leofric earl of Mercia 1023/32 x 1057.
31. *Spegn*: Swegn earl of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Somerset and Berkshire 1043 x 1049.
32. *Siperdus*: Siward earl of Northumbria 1033 x 1055.
33. *Beirn*: Beorn earl of the Middle Angles c. 1045 x 1049.
34. *Ulfkitel*: Ulfcytel, thegn, witnesses in 1044.
35. *Atser*: Ætsere (*al*, Azur), thegn, witnesses in 1044.
36. *Manni*: Manni, thegn, witnesses in 1044.

Translation

In the name of almighty God, thundering on high, who made all things out of nothing, and who created the first man, to wit, Adam, to be a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem, and when he fell through the enticement of the Serpent, carried him, redeemed by his own blood, with great mercy and predestination to the summit of heavenly blessedness; now since it behoves all Christians, so long as they continue in this mortal life, to purchase with things temporal that which is heavenly, and with things which will perish that which is eternal, I King Edward, relying upon this counsel, because Truth itself says: 'Give, and it shall be given unto you', and likewise scripture states emphatically: 'The riches of man are the redemption of his soul', and Solomon says: 'My son, alms deliver the soul from death, and suffer it not to go into the darkness': Wherefore, resting on these and other precepts, I the aforesaid Edward, king of the English and the Northumbrians, give to the King of all kings, and to the blessed lord Peter, and also his beloved priest Ouen, and those who serve him [i.e. the monks of the monastery of Ouen, dedicated originally to St. Peter] that which was formerly the private revenue of my predecessors, a certain part of the island called *Mersege* [Mersea], with all the land and property adjacent to it, and with meadows, woods, and fisheries, just as I held it intact for two days after (by the grace of God) I became the head of the kingdom. If any man should be tempted to interfere with this my gift, let him know that he shall answer for it in the great judgement in the presence of Christ and the angels and the above mentioned saints, and unless he makes full amends he will be condemned to the depths of Hell.

Texts

A

Original charter in the possession of the abbey of St. Ouen, Rouen, Normandy, until 1421, when it was given to Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, and subsequently lost.

B

Copy of A made just before its acquisition by Chichele. The text is entered on a separate membrane 34 cm. x 40 cm., and is complete, though in some places now illegible even by ultra-violet light. Some forms of

personal names and place names are inferior to those of the C text (below). Now in the archives of the Seine Maritime (late Inférieure) at Rouen, Normandy. Listed 14 H 145 in the published catalogue. This text was discovered in 1955 by D. J. A. Matthew, who published it as III below.

C

Enrolment of A made c. 1325, when the Abbot of St. Ouen produced his charters in support of his claim for free warren in his manor of Fingringhoe, before a *Placita Foresta*, held perhaps at Colchester. The surviving membrane has some tears, and owing to the application of a chemical the boundary clause can now be read only by ultra-violet light. It is evident, however, that the transcriber attempted to translate the OE boundary into medieval Latin. In so doing, he misread OE *ð* as abbreviated medieval Latin *ð*, which he extended as *der*. Thus both OE *ð am* and OE *ð aere* in the original were considered to represent a personal name, rendered by the transcriber as *Deramy(s)*.

The Plea Roll, which had also some other (later) St. Ouen charters entered upon it, was found in the 1760s 'among the archives of Colchester' by the Essex historian Philip Morant, and from it he published the Confessor's charter in 1768 (No. I below). At some stage the membrane was annotated by Thomas Astle (1735 x 1803), son-in-law of Morant and Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, and mounted in an album, which together with other Morant MSS. was presented to the Corporation of Colchester on 14 July 1871 by Robert Hills, Esq., of Colne Park, Essex. In 1968 the album was examined by Mr. J. B. Bennett, Hon. Librarian to the Essex Archaeological Society, among MSS. in the Muniment Room in the Hollytrees, and is now deposited at the Essex Record Office, catalogued D/D Cm. 218/1. It is listed in a Calendar of the Morant MSS., published by K. C. Newton, County Archivist, in *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, 3rd series, vol. II, 1970, pp. 289-91.

Editions

- I. Philip Morant, *History of Essex*, 1, 1768, p. 426, from C, omitting the witness list.
- II. Cyril Hart, *The Early Charters of Essex: the Norman Period*, 1957. Leicester University Press, Dept. of English Local History Occasional Papers, First Series, No. 11, pp. 23-5. From I, with translation and comment.
- III. Donald Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, 1962. Oxford University Press, pp. 143-9. From B, with comment.
- IV. This edition is from III, with illegible portions of B placed between brackets, and supplied from C, and with variant readings from C as footnotes.

Authenticity

Insufficient charters survive from the early years of King Edward to enable one to pronounce with confidence on the authenticity of secondary material of this kind. In particular, there appears to be nothing within our text to point specifically to a Canterbury or Winchester origin. One would have felt happier if the copyists had reproduced either the *chrism* or the endorsement of their exemplar. However, there is likewise nothing to condemn the charter, and the existence of two independent transcripts gives good cause for confidence that the original text can be accurately restored.

The diplomatic is not incompatible with that of other charters issued early in King Edward's reign, when there was a tendency to utilise formulas from the diplomas of his predecessors. Thus down to *date et dabitur vobis*, the formula of our text repeats *Cartularium Saxonicum* No. 1196, a charter of King Edgar dated 967. The quotation from Tobias is paralleled in *Anglo-Saxon Charters* No. CXX, a charter of King Edward dated 1061, which is copied in a spurious charter of King Æthelberht of Wessex (*AS Charter* No. XI). Both these are from the Sherborne Cartulary. The anathema expands that of Kemble No. 687, dated 944. Similar dating clauses appear in K 793 and K 796, dated 1050 and 1052 respectively. In the clauses of attestation, the uncommon *libens* and *confortavi* appear in K 767, dated 1043. On the other hand, identifying the archbishop as *Cantuariorum* is unique in pre-Conquest texts, though it is found in the late Peterborough forgery K 806.

Between them the transcribers have preserved evidence that their exemplar contained OE letters *ð* and *p* and the insular of 'r'. *Befskytel* among the witnesses in text B arises from confusion of *p* with B, and insular 'r' with 'f'.

The witness list of 2 archbishops, 5 bishops, 3 abbots, 6 earls and 3 *ministri* is reasonable for the period, and the known dates of all the witnesses are compatible with a charter issued in 1046.

Finally, the history of the estates mentioned in the charter both before 1046 and subsequently, ties in well with the information preserved within the charter itself. Such evidence as there is, then, all points one way, and it seems sensible to assume that our text is authentic until proved otherwise.

Archaeological and Historical Notes

A Shafthole Implement from Henham, Essex

by PATRICIA M. L. CHRISTIE

Introduction

The perforated implement described below was found in the fields of Lovecotes (or Lovecott) Farm, Henham (TL 563298), by the farmer while ploughing some years ago. The boulder clay here is at about 400 ft., making this some of the highest land in the region. Small streams rising in the fields around the village of Henham feed the Cam, the Stort and the Chelmer (Fig. 1).

Little prehistoric occupation has been recorded from the uplands (Fox, 1923, maps I–III), but sites are known from the valleys, and a polished stone celt, reported to be from Henham, is in the Saffron Walden Museum.

Description

The implement is made of a fine-grade sandstone, dark grey-brown in colour (Appendix) and is classed as a shafthole adze by Fiona Roe (1979, 36). It had been broken, probably by the ploughshare, almost down the midline, so enabling its dimensions to be calculated (Fig. 2): L. c. 165 mm., br. 90 mm., depth of perforation 40 mm. Both upper and lower faces are rounded, giving an oval section, but the edge is straight and the implement would have had parallel sides. One face is slightly flattened. The surface was originally ground smooth, but has weathered except on the edge. One end is narrower than the other; the narrow end had been broken and was subsequently further reduced by thin sectioning.

The hourglass perforation, which was drilled partly from both sides, is smooth and polished. The outside edge shows signs of wear on one face only. Polish round the waisted part of the shafthole could be taken to indicate wear from a haft.

Signs of battering and damage are confined to the parts of the faces adjacent to the broken edges and are no doubt connected with the breaking of the implement. There is little obvious sign of wear on the intact end, though some slight battering is seen on the rounded corner.

The implement was submitted to Norwich Castle Museum for inclusion in the East Anglian implement petrology list. Publication of this list has shown that implements of sandstone are rare in East Anglia (Clough & Green, 1972, 131). The survey lists 11 in all, 6 from Norfolk, 1 from Suffolk, 1 from Cambridgeshire and 3 from Essex, including the present example, E 43, which is described as a *mace*.

A shafthole adze and three further shafthole implements, an axe, an axe hammer and a battle-axe, are also in the Saffron Walden Museum but are not included in the survey, nor is the shafthole adze from Epping, mentioned below.

Discussion

The object belongs to a large group of perforated stone implements which until recently had been poorly defined and included various kinds of maces and hammerstones as well as shafthole adzes.

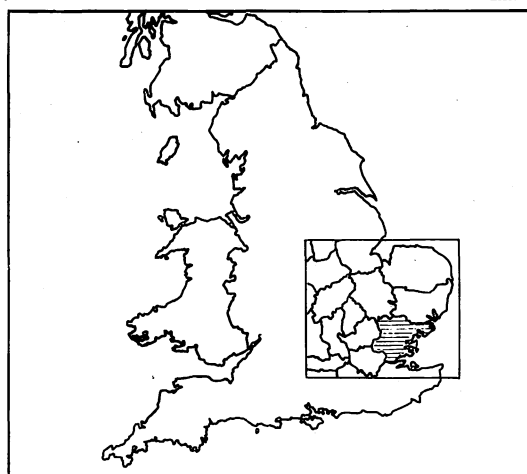
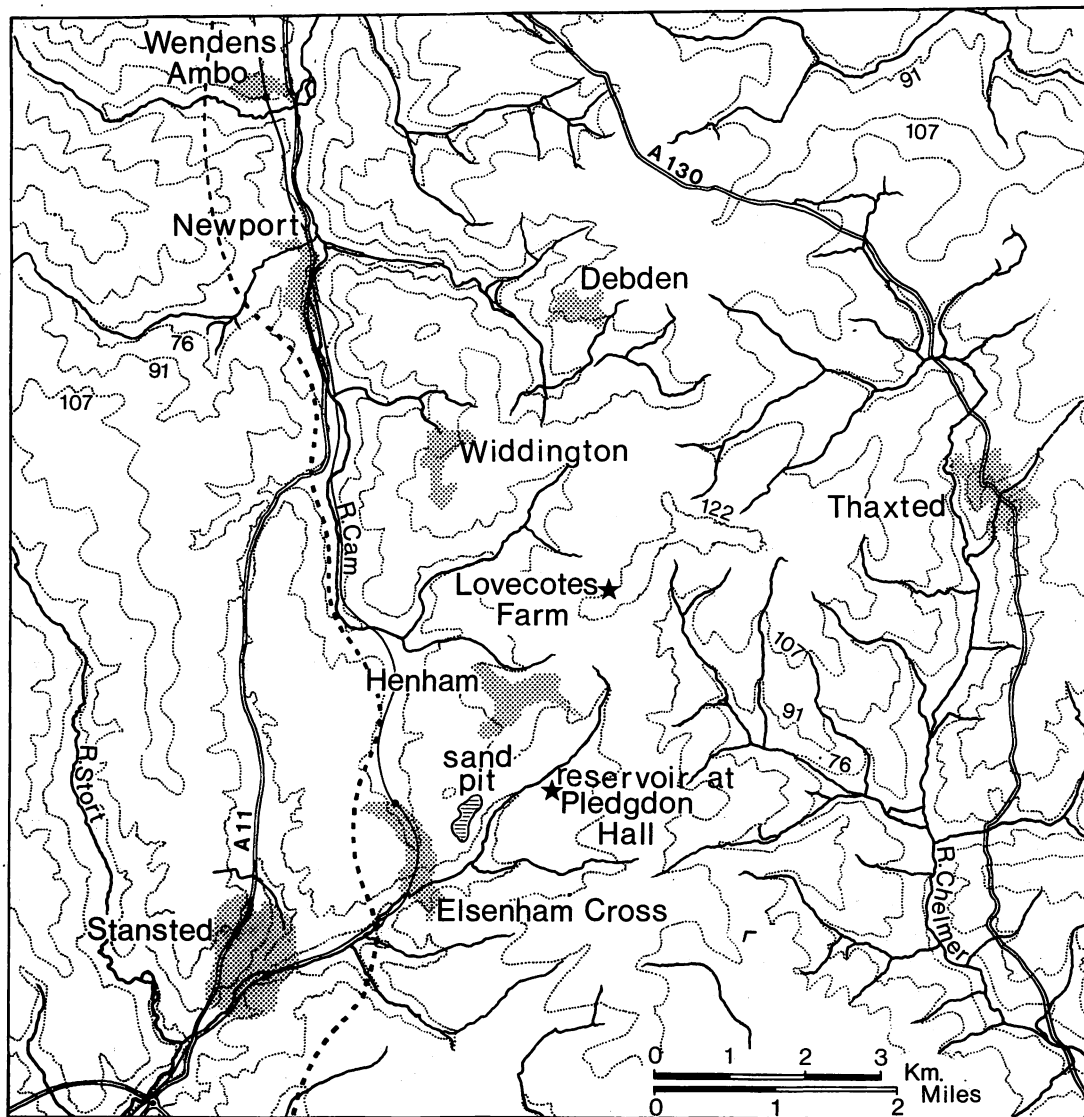


Fig. 1 Location of Lovecotes Farm.

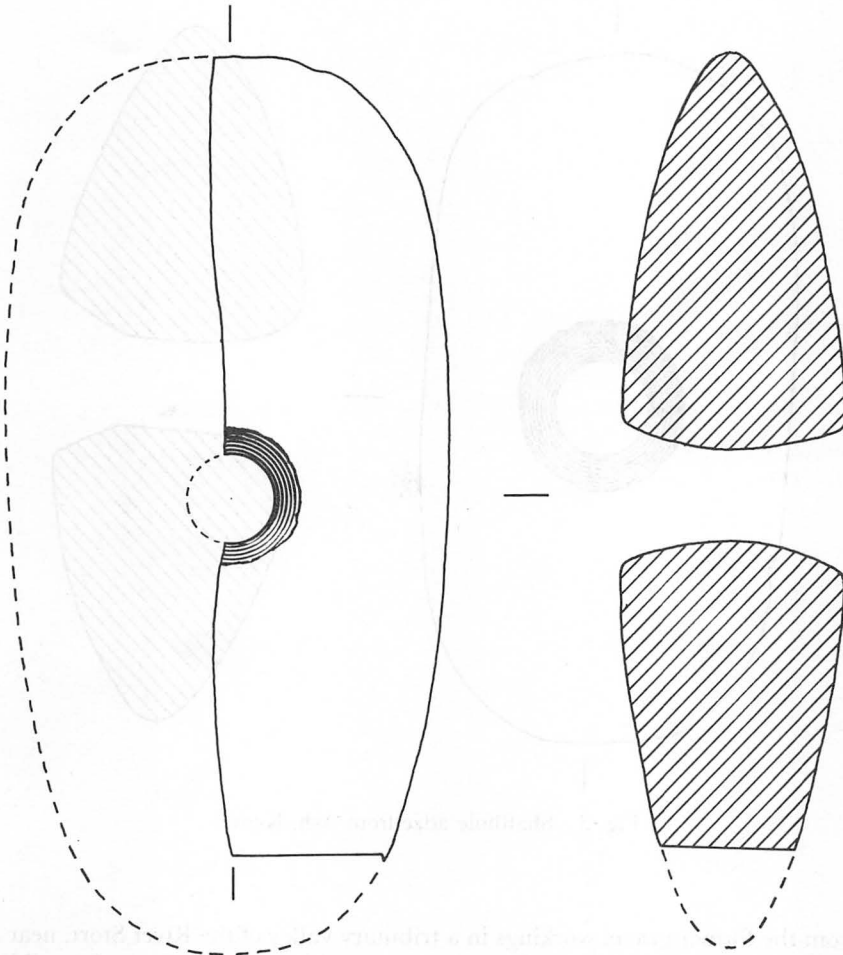


Fig. 2 Shafthole adze from Henham.

Little publication exists, although the implements are numerous and widely distributed throughout of Britain. Curwen (1928) described two maceheads with parallel sides and squarish ends from Sussex and discussed the difference between the rectangular and the rounded forms of so-called 'maceheads'. Further clarification has now been provided by Fiona Roe (1979), and the Sussex implements, together with others like them, all fall into the category of shafthole adze. An implement rather similar to the Henham example, though thicker, is illustrated in the *Essex Field Club Museum Handbook* (Reader, 1901), where it is described as a 'bored hammerstone found at Epping Upland'. In Saffron Walden Museum there is a shafthole adze, smaller and thicker than the Henham one (Fig. 3), which is from Ash in Kent (British Museum loan).

Precise dating for these objects is difficult. A shafthole adze occurred in the outer ditch at Windmill Hill (Smith, 1965), and another in a Nottinghamshire gravel pit in a probable Late Neolithic context, suggesting a general date for the group as a whole. Moreover, the petrology suggests that they should belong in the same broad chronological horizon as battle-axes. Sites yielding Neolithic flint work in the Cam Valley (Morris, 1923) and stray finds from the uplands, indicate that the area saw some activity during Neolithic times. Neolithic occupation was also

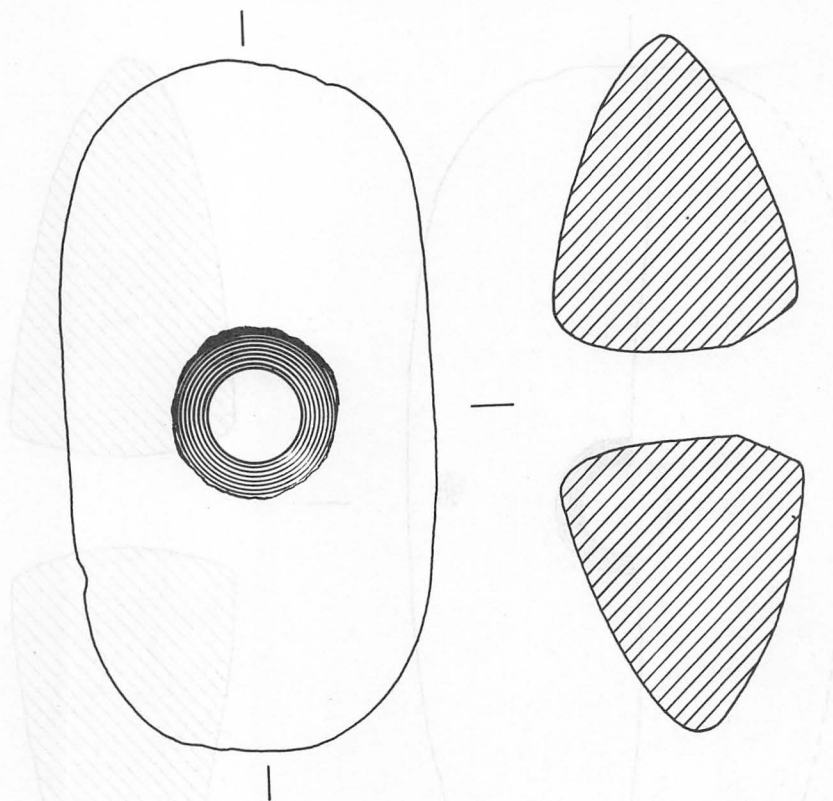


Fig. 3 Shafthole adze from Ash, Kent.

reported from the former gravel workings in a tributary valley of the River Stort, near Elsenham Cross (Hazzeldine Warren, 1945), and even more recently a wooden object of possible Neolithic date has come from farther north in this same valley (Christie, forthcoming). That this activity carried through into the later Neolithic is shown by the grooved ware found by Hazzeldine Warren (1936) in a pit at Newport and also by the shafthole adze from Lovecotes Farm.

Appendix

The implement, petrology No. E 43, was submitted to Dr. F. S. Wallis, who reported as follows: 'A rather fine grained uniformly graded sandstone. The quartz grains are angular to subangular and unstrained, and are cemented by films of limonite. There are also many flakes of white mica and some almost opaque to deep red grains of haematite.'

Acknowledgements

The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Cooper of Lovecotes Farm, Henham, for bringing the object to her attention and for so generously donating it to Saffron Walden Museum. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Fiona Roe, for her help and information on dating, to M. Barton at the Institute of Archaeology, London, for the original petrological identification, to B. Green and T. H. McK. Clough at Norwich for their help and interest and to Judith Dobie for the illustrations.

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Red Hills of the Dengie Peninsula

by DAVID GURNEY

In 1977, fieldwork was carried out in the Dengie Peninsula for a Durham University undergraduate dissertation (Gurney, 1978a) to determine whether or not 'Red Hills' were to be found in a relatively blank area on the distribution map. An interim report has already appeared (Gurney, 1978b).

The area was limited to O.S. sheets TM 00 SW. and TM 00 NW. (Fig. 1, A). Extensive fieldwalking over this area led to the discovery of nine Red Hills (Essex Sites and Monuments Record number in parentheses):

- TM 0040 0540 Red earth clearly visible in topsoil (TM 00/31).
- TM 0047 0166 Area of red earth, diameter *c.* 10 m., with briquetage scatter (TM 00/6).
- TM 0053 0145 Area of red earth, diameter *c.* 20 m., with samian, Romano-British coarse pottery and briquetage scatter (TM 00/6).
- TM 0075 0497 Area of red earth, diameter *c.* 8 m. (TM 00/38).
- TM 0088 0451 Red earth visible in ditch sections (TM 00/39).
- TM 0110 0620 Area of red earth, diameter *c.* 45 m., with briquetage scatter. Recently levelled (TM 00/35).
- TM 0130 0635 Area of red earth, minimum diameter *c.* 6 m., with briquetage scatter (TM 00/36).
- TM 0150 0280 Red earth clearly visible in cultivated topsoil (TM 00/24).
- TM 0230 0650 'Red Hill Field.' Recently levelled, but a slight mound is still visible, diameter *c.* 30 m., with briquetage scatter (TM 00/5).

Eleven sites were found which are almost certainly Red Hills, but which await confirmation. These are TM 0070 0470 (TM 00/10), TM 0070 0545 (TM 00/46), TM 0080 0830 (TM 00/32), TM 0095 0875 (TM 00/33), TM 0100 0430, TM 0100 0600 (TM 00/34), TM 0120 0280

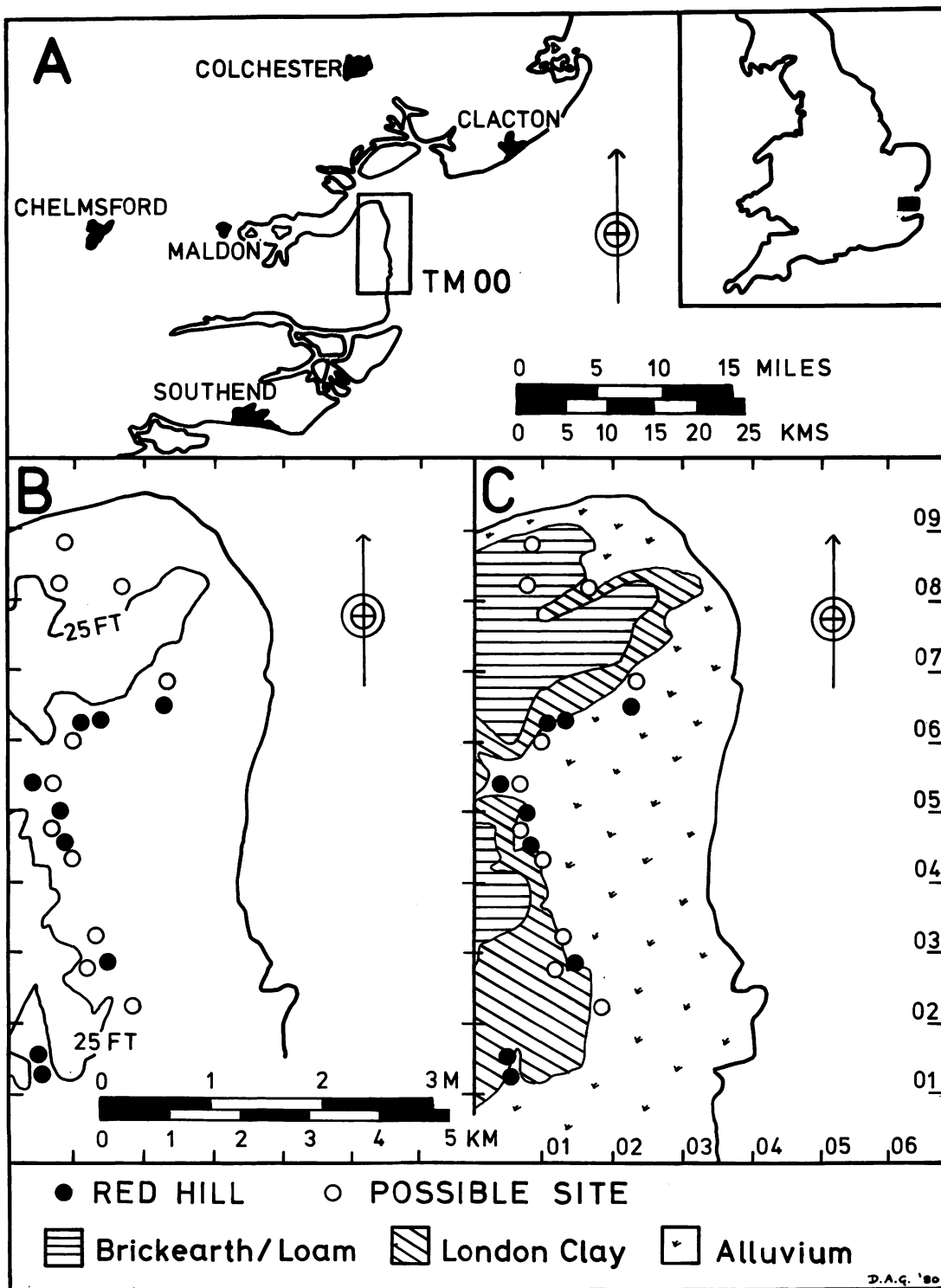


Fig. 1 The Dengie Peninsula: A, TM 00 Location Map; B, Contour Map; C, Geological Map.

(TM 00/12), TM 0133 0323 (TM 00/40), TM 0160 0810 (TM 00/8), TM 0185 0227 (TM 00/41), and TM 0240 0680 (TM 00/37).

Two sites listed in the Sites and Monuments Record at TM 0010 0440 (TM 00/11) and TM 0290 0250 (TM 00/42) were discounted, as fieldwalking produced no evidence, and the sites are in locations which would argue against them. A mound of red earth at TM 0240 0637 proved to be the result of recent levelling of the site at TM 0230 0650 (TM 00/5). Relevant aerial photographs (Hunting Surveys Ltd., 1970, run 101, 2101-2) held by Essex County Council, Planning Dept., revealed sites at TM 0160 0810, TM 0230 0650, and TM 0240 0680.

Discussion

The east coast north of the Thames has suffered considerably from erosion by the sea, and many sites are known to have been destroyed. Land reclamation and the construction of sea-walls have preserved perhaps the majority of sites in Essex, and this seems to be particularly true in the Dengie Peninsula, where some sites are now two miles (3.2 km.) from the present coastline. Sea defences had been erected here by at least the 12th century, and commissions 'de Walliis et Fossatis' were instructed to maintain the sea-walls in 1331, 1355 and 1377 (Gramolt, 1960, 10).

The solid geology of the area is chalk, overlain by Eocene London Clays. Drift deposits of gravels and boulder clays also occur (Fig. 1, C). The Red Hills are, for the most part, situated on the junction of the London Clay with the marine alluvium, known as 'saltings'.

In the Roman period, the Dengie Peninsula appears to have been a clearly defined geographical area, connected to the mainland by an isthmus of higher ground between Mundon and Latchingdon. The Roman road and field system suggested by Rodwell (1978, fig. 11.2) enters the peninsula at this point, and extends across the area to the highest encroachments of the salt-marsh. The Red Hills in the study area are located just below the 25 ft. (7.6 m.) contour (Fig. 1, B). The position of these sites suggests an approximate indication of the coastline during the period to which they belong, presumably being located by the sides of tidal inlets, allowing easy access to salt water during the average high tide.

The significance of the location of saltern sites has recently been demonstrated for Lincolnshire by Simmons (1977). Iron Age salterns are situated along the 15 ft. (4.6 m.) contour, while Romano-British salterns are some two miles to the east, along the 10 ft. (3 m.) contour. This shift of location may be related to the Roman drainage of the Fens.

Excavation will be necessary to establish dates since only one site (TM 0053 0145) produced evidence of date by fieldwalking alone.

The full details of the writer's fieldwork, including general discussions on the history, uses and economic significance of salt-production, are deposited with the County Archaeological Section.

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Current Research on Essex History and Historical Geography, 1980

by NANCY BRIGGS

This list is based partly on *Historical Research for University Degrees in the United Kingdom, List No. 41, Part II, Theses in Progress 1980* (Institute of Historical Research, May 1980). Other information, mainly relating to research for Canadian degrees, has been taken from research cards filed at the Essex Record Office. Information on completed research has been taken from *List No. 41, Part I, Theses completed 1979*.

Medieval

Medieval urban administration in East Anglia (including Colchester). S. P. Alsford (Leicester M.Phil.).

Early Modern

Effects of the Dissolutions of Monasteries and Chantries on Schools and Schooling in Essex. R. S. Herbert (London M.A.Ed.).

The River Lea: the development of a river navigation, 1571–1767. K. R. Fairclough (London M.Phil.).

William Gilbert's natural philosophy. S. Pumfrey (London M.Phil.).

Local Government in Essex in the 1620s. R. P. Cust (London Ph.D.).

Agricultural Change in Essex and Gloucestershire, 1650–1750. Ruth Goodwin (Oxford D.Phil.).

Modern

Eighteenth Century Attorneys. M. Miles (Birmingham Ph.D.).

Financial history of the Du Cane family in the late 18th century. Lesley Davey (London M.Phil.).

Aspects of the response of Great Britain to the Napoleonic Wars, 1807–15. S. C. Smith (Oxford D.Phil.).

Church rates in the 19th century, with particular reference to Braintree. 1837–1853. J. P. Ellens (Toronto Ph.D.).

Poor law provision for the elderly in the 19th and 20th centuries. D. W. Thomson (Cambridge Ph.D.).

The brewing industry, 1880–1914. D. Gutzke (Toronto Ph.D.).

Reading and the use of libraries, 1880–1939. B. Wiltshire (London M.Phil.).

Leisure time for adolescent girls, 1890–1914. Denise Martin (Essex M.A.).

Inter-War planning with particular reference to London's Green Belt. Elizabeth Grahame Sharp (London M.Phil.).

Miscellaneous

Landscape archaeology in North Essex. T. Williamson (Cambridge Ph.D.).

Settlement morphology of selected areas of Essex in relation to the influences of land use, tenure and ownership, 1660–1914. K. Schurer (London M.Phil.).

Factors in the evolution of settlements, including Chelmsford and Clacton. J. M. Page (Leicester M.Phil.).

Completed Research

Elizabeth Puritanism and Patronage. F. M. Butler (London Ph.D.).

Mobility and marriage in pre-industrial England. Vivien Brodsky (Cambridge Ph.D.).

Root cropping in the Agrarian Revolution, 1650–1875. Raine Morgan (Reading Ph.D.).

Philanthropy and the poor law: a study of the relief of poverty in the Romford Union, 1795–1914. J. E. Burditt (London M.Phil.).

Periodical Literature on Essex Archaeology and History, 1980

by J. M. SKUDDER

This bibliography lists articles and reports on historical and archaeological research relating to the geographical county of Essex published in national and local periodicals (but not the Society's) which were available in the Society's Library up to September 1980. It includes material in issues

dated for 1979, but which actually appeared in 1980, but excludes monographs which are not part of a regular series; details of these are available from the library catalogue. General and area studies are followed by places. Biographical articles are listed under the subject's place of birth or residence.

All publications are 1980 unless otherwise stated.

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Genealogy

by JO-ANN BUCK

1980 has been another busy year for family historians. The first Day Conference arranged by the Essex Society for Family History in April attracted a hundred participants and was most successful and enjoyable; talks included 'Research in London', given by Lord Teviot, and 'Manor Court Records', by past-president Dr. F. G. Emmison. The County Archivist, Mr. V. W. Gray, spoke on the work of the Essex and Suffolk Record Offices, and there was a panel to answer queries from the floor.

The Baxter Marriage Index has now completed 100 Essex parishes; the Chairman of the Essex Society, Mr. J. L. Rayment, has been much in demand to talk to various in-county and out-county societies, both family and local history (and, in one case, vegetarian!), either on family history generally or on the plotting and recording of monumental inscriptions. For this latter purpose, volunteer recorders would be welcome all over the county (contact Jack Baxter, 16 Chandos Parade, Benfleet). Plotting of the Nonconformist cemetery in London Road, Moulsham, is completed, and recording is hoped to be finished by the end of 1980. A charming oasis amidst

a now busy area, the cemetery is of especial interest as it contains the resting-places of several of the families concerned in the development of the London Road area in the early 19th century, following the break-up of the Moulsham manor lands.

At the Essex Record Office in Chelmsford, the Computer File Index for Essex is in constant use and the Index for the rest of the United Kingdom has now arrived, sponsored by members of the Essex Society, membership of which is now more than 500. This Index, for the whole country, is also being well used in the Local History Section at the new Colchester Public Library, where there is also a section of shelving especially for genealogical and allied works.

A working group continues to transcribe parish registers so as to protect the originals from over-use, meeting from time to time at the Essex Record Office and working in pairs, with the results being carefully checked. Further volunteers would not be turned away; contact the County Archivist on Chelmsford 67222 for the next date.

The Federation of Family History Societies held a Conference at Bedford in March, during which the first award of the Elizabeth Simpson Annual Award (a book) was made to the North Cheshire Society, for 1979-80, its journal being considered to represent the best contribution to family history.

Federation projects are now in the hands of Mrs. Pauline Saul (31 Seven Star Road, Solihull, West Midlands B91 2BZ), and local societies of all sorts (not only genealogical) are asked to notify her if they are undertaking, have done or are considering any work which could be of interest to family historians, such as transcripts, indexes, etc.

The Federation was represented at both the World Council on Records at Salt Lake City in August and the International Genealogical Congress in Copenhagen in the same month.

The Surviving Façade of Crompton's Original Works, Anchor Street, Chelmsford

by FREDERICK ROBERTS

Rookes Evelyn Bell Crompton first came to Chelmsford in 1871 when he bought a partnership in T. H. P. Dennis & Co., who made steam and water valves here. In 1878, after a visit to see Gramm's ring-wound dynamos in Paris, Crompton decided to manufacture electric lighting plant. He experimented with various forms of arc lights, and manufactured lighting sets. In co-operation with Emil Bürgen of Basle he perfected a new type of generator for manufacture at Chelmsford, of which an example, in service till 1926, is preserved in the Science Museum.

Lighting installations were made for Whiteleys of London, the Law Courts, the Mansion House, Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, Holyrood Palace, with the largest at Berechurch Hall, Colchester.

Crompton lived in London, but acquired Savernake House to lodge in Chelmsford. He began the manufacture of public electricity supply with the Kensington Court Co. in 1886.

In 1895 there was a serious fire at Anchor Street, but the power generating station was structurally undamaged, though a new site for the factory was established in Writtle Road.

The Chelmsford Electric Supply Co. took over the generating station, and in 1901 Chelmsford had the first public street lights in Britain installed by Crompton. The Corporation subsequently reverted to gas, and the station was taken over by the London Electrical Supply Co. The original generators and steam engine remained till 1931. After nationalisation in 1946 the premises were used by the Eastern Electricity Board till 1963.

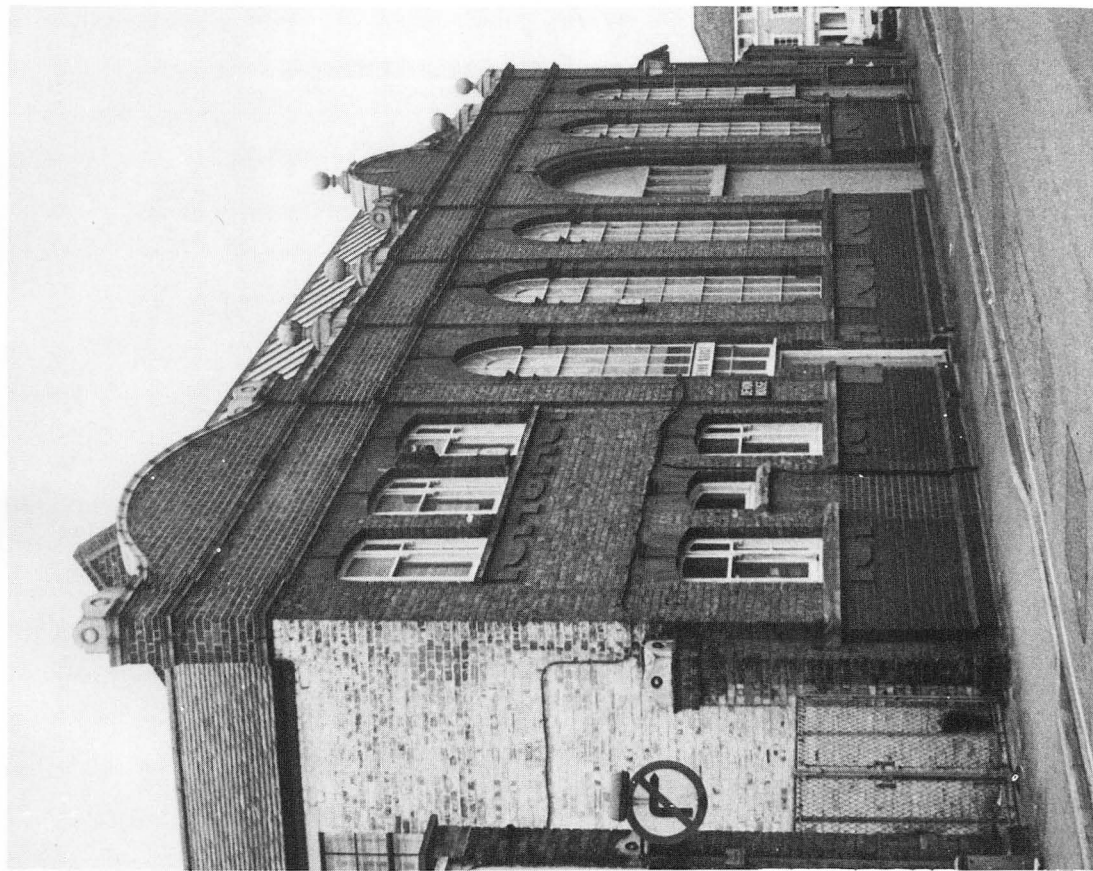
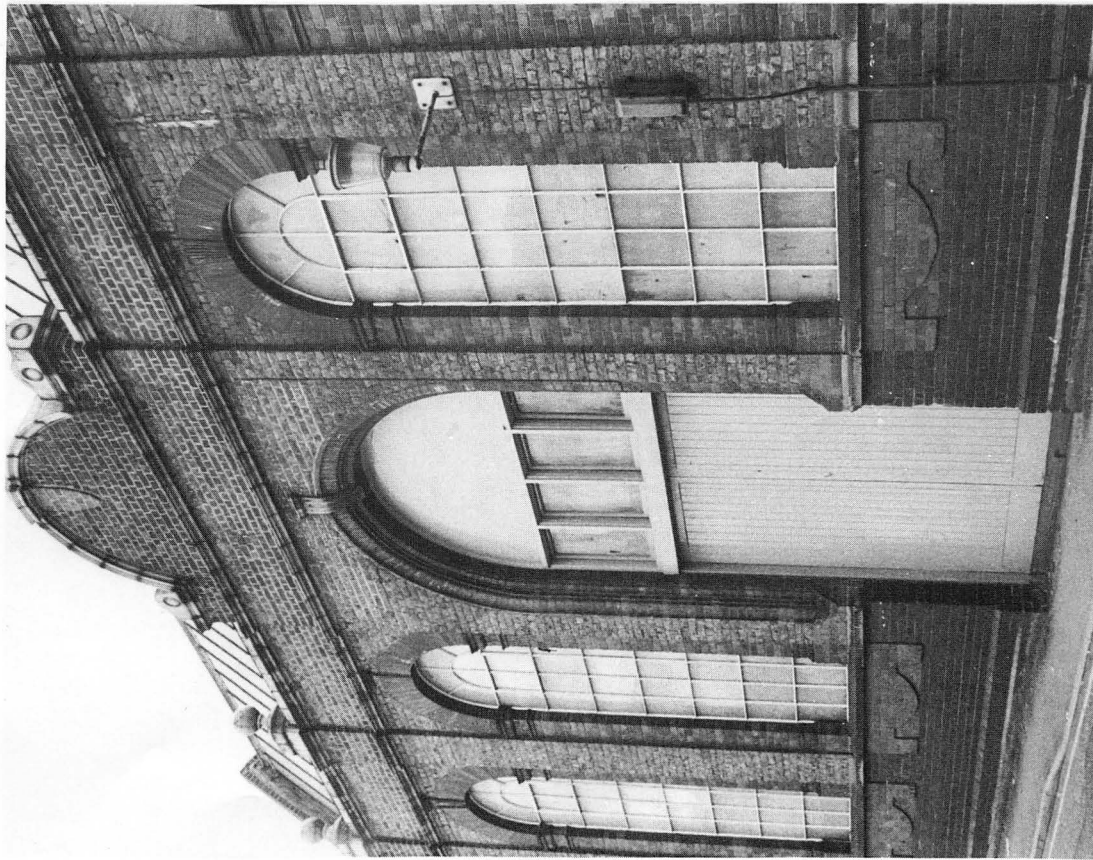


PLATE I Crompton's Original Works, Anchor Street, Chelmsford.

Photo: Frederick Roberts
Facing page 116]

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David Stephenson, M.A., D.Phil., has contributed to previous volumes of *Essex Archaeology and History*, and is the author of *The Book of Colchester*. He was the 1979–80 Bowra Research Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, and now teaches for the Open University.

W. R. Powell, M.A., M.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., has edited and contributed to the *Essex V.C.H.* since 1951. His other publications include *Local History from Blue Books*, *Interdict Documents* (Pipe Roll Society), articles and reviews in the *English Historical Review*, *Bulletin of I.H.R.*, *Archives*, *History* and the *Transactions* of the E.A.S. He is a past-President of the Essex Archaeological and Historical Congress.

Industrial Archaeology

The Batsford Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of the British Isles, Vol. 3, *East Anglia—Cambridgeshire, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk*, by David Alderton and John Booker, is now available, price £12.95.

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(Hawkes and Hull, 1947, fig. 44 and p. 201).
(Hewett, 1962, 241).

Where it is inappropriate to identify a work by an author (e.g. Victoria County History) an abbreviated title and volume number should be given, e.g.:

(*Essex*, **iii**, 171).

The expanded bibliography should appear at the end of the text, arranged in alphabetical order:

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Names of books and journals should be underlined (and will appear in italics); titles of articles in journals should be in inverted commas. Abbreviations of works cited should be in accordance with the annual *Archaeological Bibliography*, published by the C.B.A.

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