

TRANSACTIONS
of the
ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SOCIETY

VOL. I. PART I. (THIRD SERIES).

COLCHESTER

Published by the Society at the Museum in the Castle.

1961

Price to Non-Members £1 5s.

TRANSACTIONS

of the

ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Vol. 1, Part 1 (Third Series)

1961

Contents

FOREWORD by the President of the Society, Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.	3
EXCAVATIONS IN LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER, 1955 and 1958. By Miss K. M. Richardson, M.A., F.S.A.	7
BLUNT'S HALL, WITHAM. By D. H. Trump, M.A., Ph.D.	37
MEDIEVAL AND LATER POTTERY FROM STOCKWELL STREET, COLCHESTER. By Bryan P. Blake, J. G. Hurst and L. H. Gant	41

The Society is not responsible for the opinions expressed by contributors, and any letters arising therefrom should be addressed to the authors.

List of Illustrations

PLATES

	LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER:				
Plate I	View of S.E. corner of the Colonia	...	...	...	33
Plate II	Views of Excavations in 1955 and 1958	...	...	...	34
Plate III	Wall Painting showing Corinthian column design	...	...	...	35
	BLUNT'S HALL, WITHAM:				
Plate IV	Norman cooking pot	...	...	...	36

FIGURES, PLANS AND SECTIONS:

	LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER:				
Fig. 1	Plan of Site	...	...	...	6
2	Plan of House I and House II	...	...	...	8
3	Plan of House III	...	...	...	10
4	Plan of House IV and House V	...	...	...	14
5	Sections of Houses I to V	...	...	...	16
6	The Roman pottery	...	...	...	20
7	Decorations and Inscriptions on Roman Pottery	...	...	...	25
8	The small finds	...	...	...	26
9-10	Romano-Saxon and Saxo-Norman pottery	...	...	...	31
11	Clay tobacco pipes	...	...	...	32
	BLUNT'S HALL, WITHAM:				
Fig. 1	Plan and section of the earthwork	...	...	...	38
2	Rim sections of pottery	...	...	...	39
	STOCKWELL STREET, COLCHESTER:				
Figs. 1-18	Hispano-Moresque sherd, and Fifteenth century local wares	...	...	...	42
Figs. 19-31	Sixteenth and Seventeenth century vessels	...	...	...	44
32-36	Stoneware Jugs, Netherlands Maiolica bowls and Tyg	...	...	...	47
Fig. 37	Clay tobacco pipes	...	...	...	50



Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.
President 1960 — 64

Photograph by David L. Lipson, Dunmow.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 1961

By Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.

THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS

The centenary of the foundation of the Essex Archaeological Society took place nine years ago: we are thus well into the second century of our existence, and at this time it has seemed desirable to me, as your twentieth President, to look back across the years through which we have come, to take stock and to review our present position in the light of the past, with an eye to the future. *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.*

The Society came into being in a more spacious and a more leisured age; its originally declared objectives were "to furnish facilities for antiquaries and afford opportunities of meeting." For the first fifty years, membership tended to be restricted to the squire, to the gentry in general, and to those memorable figures in 18th and 19th century archaeological studies, the parson-antiquaries: the pursuits of archaeology and local history rested in the hands of a few. For the greater part of the latter half of the 19th century the total subscribing membership of the Society did not rise far above 200, although in the last decade of that century it increased to 300 and then to 350.

In the first half of the 20th century, virtually coincident with the second fifty years of the Society, there came a gradual change. This half-century saw the advent and rise of the professional archaeologist, to whom the initiative in research has now largely, though not entirely, passed. In the same period, together with the quiet and imperceptible tide of social revolution in this country, the full extent of which is apparent only in retrospect, there came the general spread of education. These influences jointly brought about a larger potential membership of Societies such as ours, and it is interesting to study our membership figures during this period, for by these the health and fortunes of the Society may be judged.

From the turn of the century up to and including the period of the first world war, membership ranged between 350 and 390. A period of expansion ensued in the immediate post-war years; in 1919 membership rose for the first time above 400 to a new height of 436. In the next two years the figure increased to 524 and there followed a steady rise, year by year, until in 1930 the peak figure of membership was achieved at 849. Hereafter a gradual decline set in until at the outbreak of the second world war in 1939 membership had fallen to 704. The war years saw further depletion and at their end there were 546 members remaining. In the immediate post-war years, as after the first world war, there was again an expansion, and membership rose to 605 in 1947. This time there was no continuing increase, however; instead, a further decline began, and by 1954 membership had fallen to 529. This was the last year in respect of which figures were published in the *Transactions*. In 1959 it was commonly held that the Society had probably 500 members, but detailed research carried out at that time proved that this was a paper figure only, and made no allowance for members who had died, removed, or withdrawn from the Society or had ceased for some time to pay their annual subscriptions. The unpalatable truth was that the figure of membership was found to be more truly in the region of 300—and this at a time when general public interest in archaeology had never been so great. Clearly, there was something amiss; there were those among us who saw that the Society had indeed fallen upon evil times.

The years of decline had been marked by a diminution in the activities of the Society, particularly in the publication of the *Transactions*. In the quarter of a century between 1933 and 1958 only nine parts, comprising four and two-thirds volumes, had appeared; publication became suspended entirely in a six year hiatus between Vol. XXIII and Vol. XXIV. It is true that in post-war years the costs of printing and publication had risen sharply and continuously, and this made the regular issue of *Transactions* financially difficult. Many members felt, consequently, that they were obtaining little in return for their annual subscriptions, and in growing numbers ceased to pay them. This action, in its turn, made it even more difficult to publish with the consequently reduced income: so a vicious circle of misfortune ensued.

In a succession of Council meetings many hours were spent in discussion of this and kindred problems adversely affecting the future of the Society; much argument developed, whilst the spectre

of dissolution loomed ever larger at the conference table. A ways and means sub-committee was appointed to study the position and to make recommendations; it became obvious that nothing short of a renaissance in the life and activities of the Society would suffice to reverse the prevailing trend towards extinction.

To this end—to the achievement of such a renaissance—your Officers and Council have consequently devoted themselves. An active policy in the implementation of the Society's activities in all fields has been pursued. The decision has been taken to publish a part of the *Transactions* annually, and this decision is being adhered to. The last part of the centenary volume appeared in 1960, and taking this as an appropriate juncture at which to begin the third series of *Transactions*, this present first part of Vol. I (3rd Series) appears in a new quarto format, better suited than the former octavo production to the requirements of archaeological publication. The chief reason for this is that the larger size of page, now adopted by many archaeological societies, permits a more adequate reproduction of plans and drawings. It may also be conceded that the page layout and general presentation of material are also enhanced.

A publication policy for other papers, such as the recently issued *Pleshey Castle*, has been decided upon. Our Hon. Secretary has devised a most useful way in which to keep members in touch with our activities in the form of the *News Letter*, which is regularly issued.

Our programme of meetings and lectures has been planned to cover a wider area of the county than heretofore, in order to facilitate the attendance of members resident in the central and western districts. In this connection it is a matter of note that the attendances at lectures held at Chelmsford have far surpassed those at the lectures held at Colchester, where during the last year only 2% to 3% of members have been present on any one occasion.

The excursions of the Society during the summer months continue to constitute possibly the most popular activity among the majority of members and have been well attended: so large has the attendance been at some of these pleasant outings that it has been found necessary to divide into two parties in order not to embarrass our hosts at the great houses which we have visited.

A new departure has taken place in the implementation of practical archaeology in the field, and the two seasons of excavations at Pleshey Castle in 1959 and 1960 have been well attended by members of the Society and students wishing either to participate or to be trained in this method of research. In this connection the Society has received grants from the Carnegie Trust and from the Essex County Council, which have been most helpful in financing this important activity.

The Council is alive to the value of publicity, and various measures have been undertaken, not least of which is our participation in the annual Essex Show held at Great Leighs. In 1960 the Society staged an exhibit in conjunction with the Colchester and Essex Museum which attracted a great deal of attention and resulted in the recruitment of a number of new members to the Society. A similar exhibit was mounted this year.

As a result of the general resurgence of activities it is fair to say that members have regained confidence in the future of the Society, and are more readily disposed to introduce new members for election. Despite publicity measures, the best method of recruitment is still undoubtedly that of personal recommendation.

By dint of all these methods the membership of the Society has been more than doubled since 1959, and has regained a peak of some 750. Unfortunately, among these is a hard core of some 14% who cannot bring themselves to contribute their annual subscriptions, thus lending some substance to the politicians' complaint that apathy is the curse of our age. In order to avoid a recrudescence of former illusions concerning the active size of the Society a realistic policy of removing members whose subscriptions are more than a year in arrear has been adopted. Thus, the peak figure of 750 which we had so arduously achieved is now reduced to 636.

The transition from decline to expansion has been attended by difficulties, the greatest of which was that expansion meant expenditure from a depleted exchequer. It was very necessary to make the expenditure in order to bring about the desired effect, and it is betraying no secret to say that we have been balanced upon a razor's edge financially in this process. Although the corner has been turned, there is still a need for further effort in which all members may play their part. The exercise of the full range of the Society's activities will continue to be hampered, and expenditure will tend to outrun

income—as it has done in this last year—until our membership is of a size which will enable us to function without loss. We are reluctant to solve the problem of adequate income by raising the rate of the annual subscription; it would be much more preferable to solve it by increasing the subscribing membership to 1,000 and maintaining it at that level. This is not a large figure for a county of the size of Essex; other counties of much the same size have archaeological societies with four-figure memberships. We are potentially helped in our desired expansion by the wide public interest in archaeology which exists today, evidenced by the large television audiences for this subject and by the spate of books continually produced by publishers who regard this interest as a very profitable market. As the parent body of archaeological affairs in the county we have not in the past availed ourselves of this public interest as much as we might. The time has come when we should endeavour to widen our sphere of interest over the whole of the county. In the vacuum left in certain parts of the county by our lack of activity in those areas, other organisations have sprung up to fulfil the need which we have left unsatisfied. We are, after all, the Essex Archaeological Society, and it is within our terms of reference to cater for the whole population of the county. With this in mind the Council is engaged in studying ways and means of extending our influence, and one of these ways will, it is hoped, be the holding of more frequent meetings over a wider territory than at present.

The best way in which each individual member of the Society can give active and valuable help in achieving the renaissance to which I have referred is by each finding just one extra member during the current year, so that by 1962, at the end of our eleventh decade, we may celebrate the attainment and passing of our millenary membership. In such circumstances our prospects would be immensely enhanced, and the welfare and progress of the Society during the second hundred years would be assured. In stressing the need for new members and indicating the simple manner in which the target figure may be achieved, I have in mind not only the monetary benefit and the increased activities thereby permitted, although these are of the first importance to our adequate functioning. I have also in mind the increased status of the Society which would accrue from a great numerical strength. The power of organised public opinion is a great asset in the protection of ancient monuments and sites which are today often threatened by development of various kinds in a changing world. The Society acts as a focus of informed public opinion in this connection, and increased membership would constitute a valuable addition to this body of informed opinion and would strengthen our hand in negotiations.

At the conclusion of this brief survey of the past and present, with its hope for the future, I will not prophesy unto the wind except to say that if we maintain the course upon which we are set, all should be well. As always, the Society is in the hands of its members, and I am content that this should be so; for it is, I feel, in good hands.

*Houseground,
Barnston,
Dunmow.*

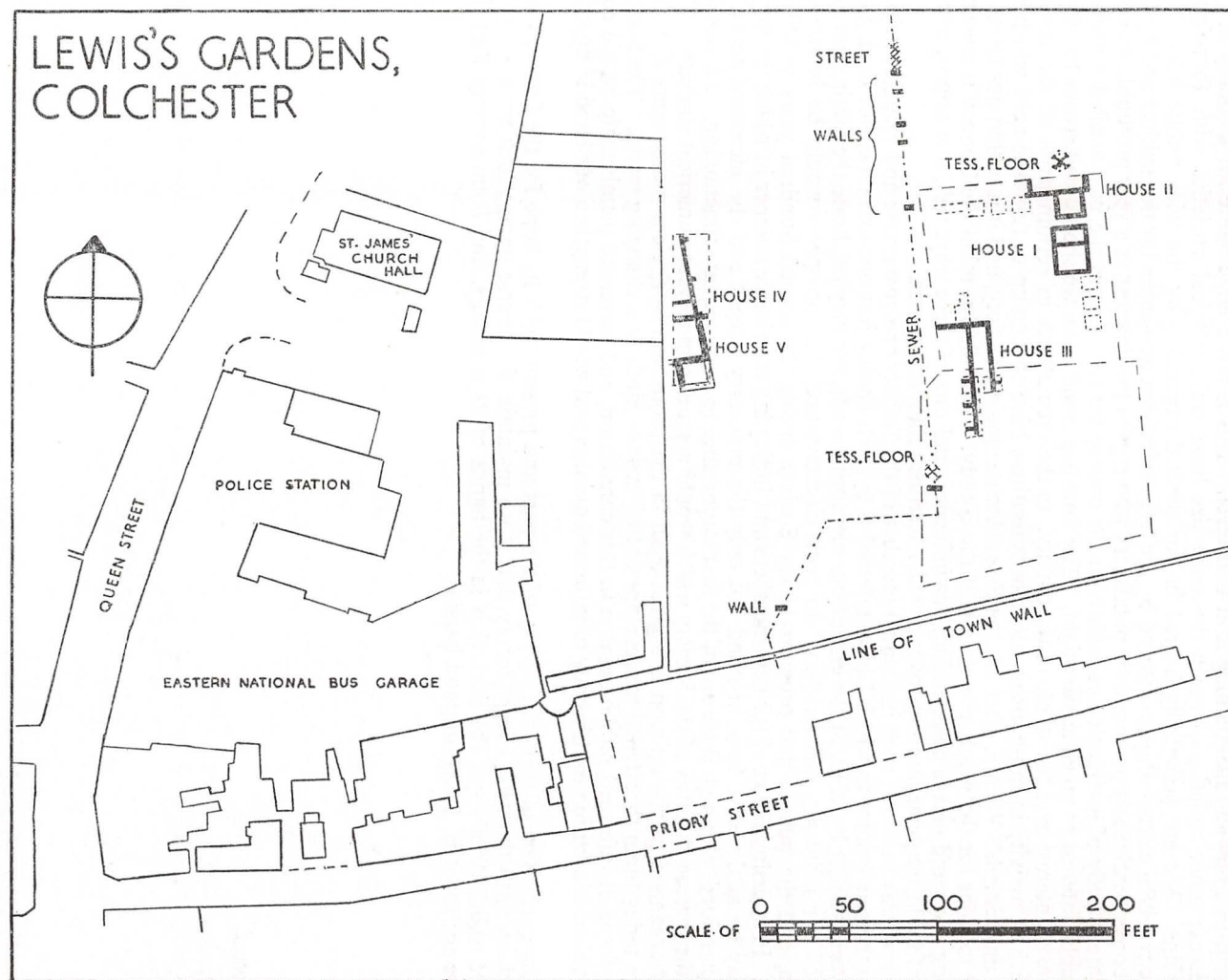


FIG. 1.

EXCAVATIONS IN LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER, 1955 and 1958

By K. M. Richardson, M.A., F.S.A.

Lewis's Gardens, now become a bus park, formed part of the grounds once known as the Bury-fields, lying within the south-east corner of Roman Colchester, "inter muros", and comprising Insulae 31, 32, 39 and 40,¹ (see Pl. 1 and Fig. 1).

Apart from the houses bordering Queen Street on the west and East Hill on the north, the ground seems to have been free of buildings in the later medieval period, when, apparently, it was recognised to be Common Land.² In 1955 this area still offered a unique opportunity of finding Roman structures undisturbed at least by late medieval and more modern activities.

The presence hereabouts of Roman buildings of some substance was already known from the uncovering of some five or more mosaic pavements, two in Insula 32 and three in Insula 40.³ The position of one of these, No. 103, is not quite clear, and this may have been confused with yet a sixth pavement located nearby in Insula 39. The area threatened by the bus park covered Insula 39 and comprised a market-garden cultivated by the Royal Eastern Counties Institution, as well as two tennis-courts. The latter, already disused, were examined in 1955, while excavations were carried out in 1958 on a strip 20-ft. wide by 100-ft. long, running parallel with the wall bounding the Nursery Gardens on the west, the site of a future administrative block.⁴

THE 1955 SEASON

Excavations began that year in the north-east corner of the more northerly of the two tennis-courts (Pl. I, A) as, in the opinion of the head gardener, Mr. A. H. Bloomfield, pavement 103, found in 1923, was situated some 10-ft. north of this point, although the Borough Engineer of that day located it more to the east, as is shown in Pl. XLI of *Roman Colchester*. In any event, the first four squares opened were found to enclose the remains of a hypocaust, and part of a building, House II, which apparently lay outside the tennis-courts to the north. A second building, House I, was later identified lying immediately south of the hypocaust, while part of yet a third, House III, was traced in the south-west angle of the same tennis-court, continuing also across the north-west corner of the more southerly court. Indications of earlier occupation underlay House I.

THE EARLIEST OCCUPATION

Signs of activity in this area in the early years of the Colonia may be equated with a deposit of ashy soil, cooking refuse and pottery overlying the natural sand and filling various pits and hollows (see pits 4 and 5 under House II and hollow under south room of House I on plan, Fig. 2). Though there was no evidence of any related structure in the area excavated, it is possible that an early building may have stood further to the east, since small pieces of coloured wall plaster were found in the rubbish underlying the floor of House I, of remarkably good quality, red in colour and with a highly polished surface. On the other hand the domestic refuse may have been brought and dumped from some other part of the town.

From this household debris came the spiral stem of a green glass stirring rod, commonly found in 1st century levels, and a bronze brooch transitional between the Colchester and Dolphin types, of mid-

1. See M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester*, Report Research Comm. Soc. Ant. Lond, XX, 1958, pl. XLI.
2. Court Roll for year 1424-5 states that Thomas Mersch was fined 20s. for having "habitually enclosed the Bury-field" for his own use to the detriment of the whole community.
3. See *Roman Colchester*, pp. 207 and 218, Nos. 42-44, 172 and 103, the latter is illustrated in pl. XXXIV.
4. The work was carried out on behalf of the Roman Colchester Excavation Committee with grants for costs made by the Ministry of Works and Colchester Corporation. I am grateful to Mrs. H. O'Neil who undertook the first season's work with me and to Col. R. J. Appleby and Mr. Bryan P. Blake of the Museum Staff for their help. Work continued from September 5th to 30th in 1955 and began October 6th, ending November 1st, 1958. An average of four workmen was employed both years.

I am also much indebted to Dr. M. H. Callender, Mr. R. A. G. Carson, Mr. G. C. Dunning, Dr. D. B. Harden, Mr. and Mrs. B. R. Hartley, Mr. M. R. Hull, Dr. J. N. L. Myers and Mrs. H. N. O'Neil for their respective reports.

LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER

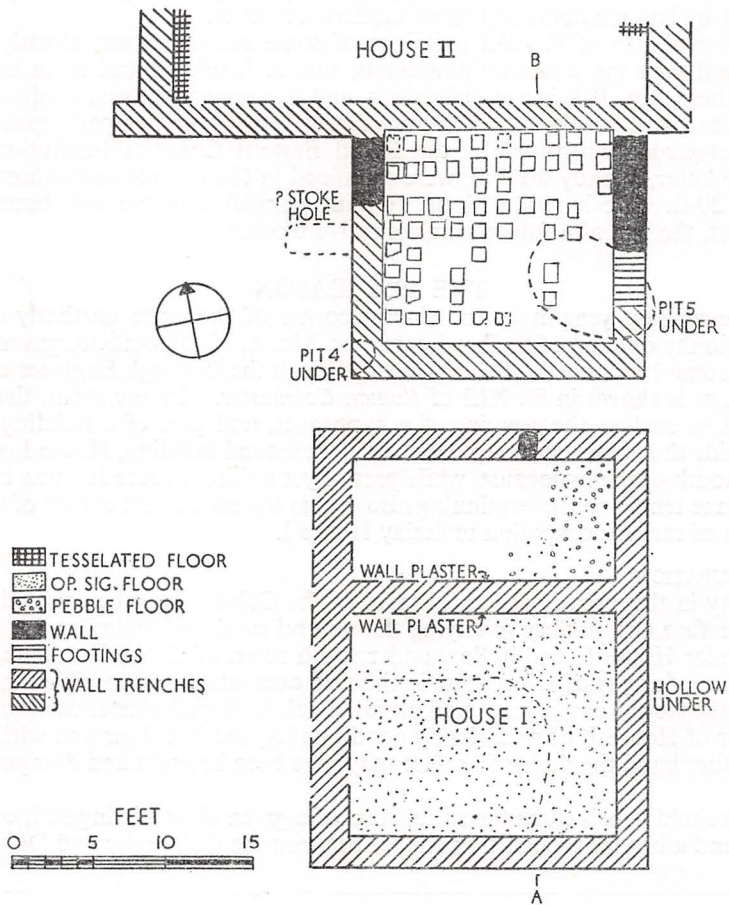


FIG. 2.

1st century date (Fig. 8, 1). Much of the pottery was still in the native tradition as recovered from the original Camulodunum,⁵ but there were also wares current in A.D. 100 and into the 2nd century (Fig. 6, Nos. 1-7). The related Samian wares were mainly Flavian with one fragment of a typically Flavian-Trajanic f.33.⁶ Nowhere in this area were any signs observed of the Boudiccan layers of burning said to have been found in Insula 38.⁷

HOUSE I

Some time after the close of the 1st century A.D. the hollow and the pits were levelled up and House I was erected (Fig. 2). This was a simple two-roomed building, the smaller room on the north, 7-ft. 6-in. by 16-ft. 6-in., the larger on the south, 14-ft. by 16-ft. 6-in. No outer walls survived but there were slight indications of footings for the western wall, and a septaria boulder remained in situ in the north wall-trench. The later building of House II might account for the absence of wall stones but it is likely that what walls there were may have simply been foundations for a timber superstructure. The partition between the rooms must certainly have been of wood, probably wattle and daub between uprights, for the floors on both sides ran up to remnants of wall plaster barely $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. thick which remained standing 9-in. high on either edge of the 2-ft. wide wall-trench. Elsewhere, when a building has been destroyed by fire, the baked daub and charred beams have survived, but here the timbers had either decayed or had been removed when House II was built. The room on the north side had originally a floor, about 2 to 3-in. thick of pebbles set in whitish mortar. Sufficient of the wall plaster remained to show that this had been white with splashed on blue and yellow spots of varying size. The room on the south had an *opus signinum* floor some 4-in. thick. Here the wall plaster had been white with red and blue spots. The floor of this room sagged very noticeably from east to west over a rubbish filled hollow. This building, as already noted, cannot be earlier than the Flavian-Trajanic pottery sealed under the floors. It is note-worthy that at Verulamium floors of *opus signinum* are rarely found in buildings ante-dating the early 2nd century, apart from three small structures,⁸ one of five rooms, the other of two, the third not fully excavated, all three erected towards the end of the 1st century A.D. The base at least of the outer walls was of flint or stone, but the partitions were timber frames caulked with wattle and daub.

HOUSE II

At some point in the 2nd century, House I was dismantled, the wall timbers removed and a levelling of clay spread overall. A disturbed layer of pebbles suggests that a gravelled path was laid out, leading to House II, a new building erected to the north (Fig. 2).

One room only of this structure lay within the area available for excavation and this had suffered at the hands of the Anglo-Norman stone robbers. Only two short lengths of wall remained built of flints set in cream coloured mortar. Originally a heated room, nothing of this survived save the floor and some of the *pilae* of the hypocaust which was filled with broken mortar, flue tiles, wall plaster and fragments of a wrecked mosaic pavement (Pl. II, b).

There was a marked irregularity, both in the lay-out of the *pilae* and in their structure, few having been built truly vertical. The base tile, either $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 9-in. or $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 11-in. had been cut down from a larger tile $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 1-ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ -in., the eight other tiles making up the pillar were roughly 8-in. square. Two only remained standing to their full height of 1-ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ -in. Near the south-west corner a deep robber pit filled with greasy black soil indicated where the stoke-hole of the furnace had been. The floor on the south-east dipped sharply over a pit of the earliest phase of occupation (Pit 5) the bottom of which lay more than 7-ft. below floor level, and which the builders of House II had plugged with gravel, seemingly to no great purpose.

The mosaic pavement was too fragmentary for the design to be reconstructed, though partly composed of wide alternate bands of black and white tesserae within a border of two-strand guilloche,

5. C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum*, Report Res. Comm. Soc. Ant. Lond. XIV, 1947.

6. See below p. 18 for report on T.S. and suggestion that production of South Gaulish wares continued even into the second decade of 2nd century.

7. *Roman Colchester*, p. 214.

8. R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium*, Report Res. Comm. Soc. Ant. Lond. XI, 1936, pp. 94, 120 and 122, Buildings, III, 2b, VIII, 2 and IX, 1, the floors of which sealed Flavian pottery.

LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER

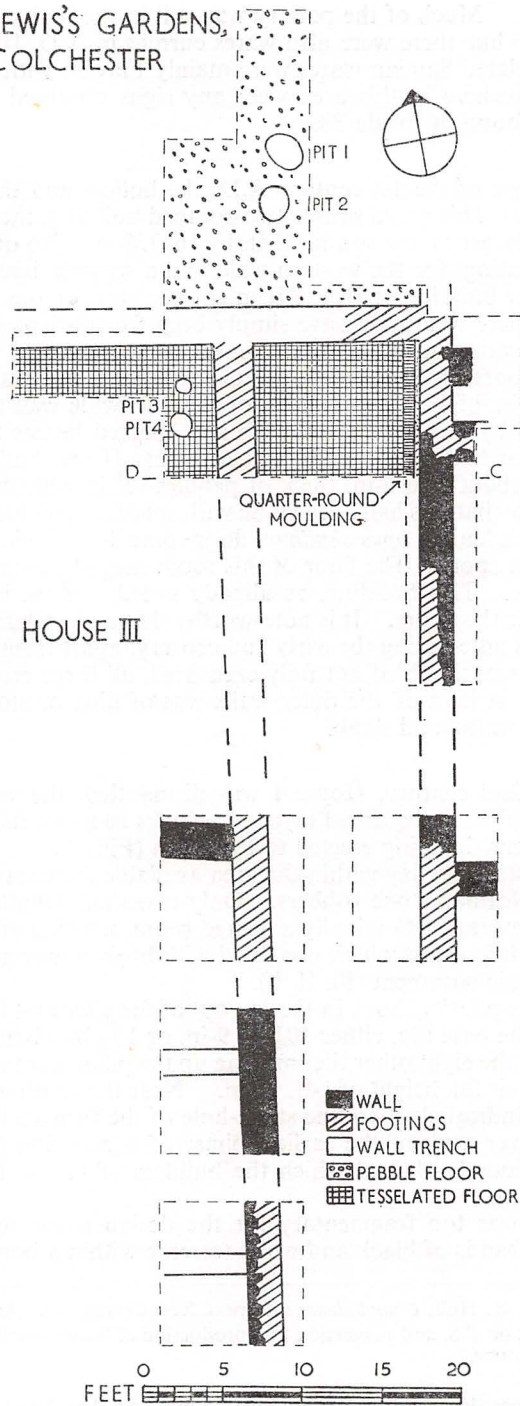


FIG. 3.

the strands made up of black, white, red and yellow tesserae.⁹ This last pattern began to be used freely in the Antonine period.¹⁰

The painted wall plaster found scattered in the "robber levels" over the site is of the usual kind with stripes of various colours or marbled effects in red and white. In the wreckage of the hypocaust, however, were found fragments which indicate that some sort of outdoor scene had been depicted on the walls of the room above, comprising columns with corinthian capitals, linked by swags or ribbons and possibly pediments of buildings (see Pl. III). The scene had been painted in bright colours, but, save for the capital and isolated whorls and roundels, most of the pieces were too fragmentary for certain identification. Some bits were layered, revealing earlier painted plaster beneath, which showed that the room had been re-decorated at least once in its life-time.

Mosaic and wall plaster together point to this having been a house of some pretensions, inhabited by one of the more wealthy citizens of the Colonia, whether a prosperous merchant of native origins or some foreign army veteran can only be surmised.

The north wall of the hypocaust continued westwards for 11 feet before turning north again. On the east of the hypocaust it projected for two feet then turned north. There were indications that this second room had a red tessellated floor, which lay at a slightly higher level than the destroyed mosaic pavement. More of this floor came to light at a later date.¹¹

Much of the pottery from the make up under the hypocaust floor was derived from the early occupation of the site; the Samian wares from the upper levels do not come down later than the early 2nd century, but this horizon yielded pie-dishes of Antonine type (Fig. 6, 11-13) and the hypocaust of House II can hardly ante-date the latter part of the 2nd century. The end date of the building is not known. The pottery from the wreckage in the hypocaust, for what it is worth, is mainly of 3rd to mid-4th century date, comparable to material from levels in the "Mithraeum", which had been shot in with other rubbish after that building was wrecked c. A.D. 350.¹² It includes Samian f.45 (A.D. 170-250), part of a Castor ware hunt cup, and Castor ware with white core and black slip. Two coins, a radiate imitation of Tetricus I, c. 270-4 and an Urbs Roma issue of Constantine I, A.D. 330, were also recovered.

The black soil filling the robbed wall trenches and overlying the wrecked hypocaust, House I, and adjoining squares opened to the west along the north side of the tennis-courts, also produced mainly late-2nd to mid-4th century wares but in addition a late-4th century copy of Samian f.45 in orange-red ware. The coins run from Tetricus I, to Valentinian II, A.D. 388-92.

Small finds were few in number; apart from the usual bone pins, needles and pottery counters, mention may be made of a fragment of a shale bangle decorated with a twisted rope pattern, a socketed pruning knife and a piece of marble carved with egg and dart decoration (Fig. 8, Nos. 4, 6, 9).

Noteworthy also is a sherd of Saxo-Norman ware recovered from the destruction layers, part of a spouted pitcher in Thetford ware and of 11th century date (see Fig. 10).

The remains of Houses I and II at the north end of the tennis-court lay barely more than two feet below modern ground level, and in this area sherds of late medieval date were found mixed with Roman pottery in the subhumus.

HOUSE III

The foundations of this building lay some 4½-ft. below present day ground surface and ran across the south-west end of the upper and through into the lower tennis-court (Figs. 1 and 3). In the area examined two parallel walls running north and south were traced, the one for 62 the other for 40-ft., apparently flanking a corridor into which rooms of varying sizes opened on east and west. The extent of this building could not be ascertained in the short time left of the 1955 season, but the area on the north, with pebbled surface set in yellow mortar, may have lain outside the house, forming perhaps a court-yard. On the other hand, the east wall of the corridor appeared to be continuing northwards bounding the pebbled area.

9. Black or blue, probably a *Paludina* limestone, Purbeck or Sussex marble; white, a creamy compact limestone of Purbeck type; red and yellow, tile.

10. E. Krüger, "Römische Mosaiken in Deutschland", *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1933, Heft 3/4, p. 678.

11. See below p. 18 red tessellated floor recorded by Mr. Bryan Blake.

12. *Roman Colchester* pp. 107-110 and 132-144.

In this case a little more of the walls had survived. They were 2-ft. wide, built of faced septaria blocks up to a foot in length, the space between the two faces packed with smaller stones. The bottom of the wall-trench had been filled with a compact mass of broken flue-tiles, lumps of *opus signinum* and yellow mortar all set in pink mortar forming a layer at least 6-in. deep, the material from some wrecked building. The flue-tiles used in these footings were noticeably thin and well made, quite unlike those found in the destruction of House II or House V, barely 3-in. across at one end and $\frac{1}{4}$ -in. thick.

The corridor and one of the rooms on the west had floors surviving of plain red tesserae set on a bed of mortar 3-in. thick; part of the quarter-round moulding remained *in situ* along the edge of the wall-trench. Fragments of red and pale green wall plaster came from the wreckage in the wall-trenches. At some later date two small pits had been cut through one of the tessellated floors and two others through the pebble floor.

The floors lay over the natural sandy clay through which the wall-trenches had been cut and the black "robber" loam came right down over floors and walls. Thus there were no stratified levels apart from the mortared footings. From these came the only piece of dating evidence, a mortarium rim of late Antonine date (Fig. 6, 17). The "robber" levels in the wall-trenches and immediately overlying floors and walls produced chiefly late 2nd and 3rd century pottery together with late Antonine Samian wares. None of the four coins recovered was strictly stratified. One of Gallienus, of A.D. 259, is from the destruction of a floor level, another, found on the quarter-round moulding, is a radiate imitation of c. A.D. 260-80, as is a third from over the wall remains. A fourth was from the black "robber" loam some 8-in. above the floor, and is probably of late 4th century date. The implication is that House III was built in the late 2nd century but hardly later, and was occupied into the late 4th century.

The only small find is the base of a glass bowl trimmed perhaps to serve as a gaming piece. This may be dated to the 1st half of the 3rd century and was found in the "robber" tile and mortar in the wall trench. The coin of Gallienus, mentioned above, is worthy of note. Mr. Carson, whose report will be found on page 28 remarks that "this coin is potentially of some historical importance. It is obviously of Gallienus alone, but the style is that of Cologne. The only reconciliation of these two facts is that it was issued in the very brief interval between the capture of Valerian by the Persians, and the capture of Cologne by Postumus."

The 4-ft. or so of black "robber" soil in its lowest levels contained Roman sherds alone, higher up appeared a mixture of medieval pottery: Siegburg and Cologne stone wares of 16th century date, 18th century combed sherds and other Stafford fabrics, together with Westerwald wares, blue and grey with applied, incised and moulded decoration, and Nottingham stone wares. There were also fragments of clay pipes of types dating from the first half of the 17th century down to the early 19th (Fig. 11). Some 10-in. below modern ground level came a 3-in. thick layer of cobbling below which was found a fragment of a Bellarmine stone ware jug; this may have been the old ground surface before the land was levelled for tennis-courts.

THE 1958 SEASON

With the knowledge gained by the 1955 excavations of a 4-ft. depth of soil overlying the walls and floors of House III, a mechanical scraper was hired for one day to remove the overburden covering the new area to be examined some 43 yards to the west of House III. The blade was set to scrape off about 6-in. of earth at a time, which was dumped at the south end. The excavation so formed had more or less vertical sides but sloped up at either end; it was carried down to about 3-ft. 9-in. below modern ground level. At this depth the rich black loam which hitherto had produced, as in 1955, late medieval and more recent wares, as well as clay pipes, contained a few Roman sherds. The loam changed to the usual mortar rubble, septaria, flue and roofing tiles, equating with the destruction levels of Roman Colchester.

In this area, 88-ft. by 18-ft., the remains of two buildings were identified. Of the earlier, House IV, little remained. To the south of this lay House V, a later building, of which the hypocaust only was exposed, thoroughly wrecked as had been that of House II. There were some signs of earlier structures.

THE EARLIEST OCCUPATION

Natural sand was reached at a depth of about 7 to 8 feet below modern ground surface. Over this came a more or less uniform level of dirty sand mixed with occupation rubbish. In one place a shallow pit had been packed with septaria before the wall of House V had been built over it. This horizon equates more or less with that underlying Houses I and II. From it was derived coarse pottery of the second half of the 1st century (Fig. 6, 21, 28, 30) (much of which can be matched with a group from Pit 1, Insula 7 dated to c. A.D. 100)¹³ and Samian wares entirely Flavian in date. Here again there were no signs of any related structures.

The earliest walling was represented by a short length of foundation trench which lay under an *opus signinum* floor of House V (see plan, Fig. 4 "Early Walls"). It was round bottomed, mortar lined and filled with loose septaria and earth, evidently not the original wall footings. The wall-trench was truncated at its north end by both a north-south and east-west wall of the later building. Its extent southwards was not explored. The date of this feature is not certain. It is later than the early occupation and antedates House V. Part of a Colchester Form 40 dish was found in the loose septaria infilling, probably equating with the time of its destruction.

HOUSE IV

This too was probably levelled when House V was built (Fig. 4). Very little remained save small areas of floor and slight indications of wall-trenches running east and west. The floor, surfaced with yellow mortar over a 3-in. layer of pebbles, had a solid base of septaria 7-in. deep, set on a 5-in. thick bed of rubble from some wrecked building. This house is not likely to have been built before the mid 2nd century A.D. or slightly later. Dating material from under the floor included several pie-dishes of early Col. Form 37 (Fig. 6, 22-24), a type not found in Pit 1, Insula 7, dated A.D. 100, but which is a feature of Antonine deposits, and two small scraps of rough-cast, colour-coated beakers. Mr. Hull is of the opinion that the latter sherds, which might easily come from the Colchester kilns of A.D. 190-200, could in this context fit in with a slightly earlier date. The Samian wares are Flavian to early 2nd century.

Wall-trenches and floors were partly sealed by a clay layer containing much plain wall-plaster and coarse pottery, including Samian, later in character than that found under the floor. It is presumed that this clay deposit represents the destruction level of House IV when House V was erected immediately to the south.

HOUSE V

A surprising feature of this building was an *opus signinum* "raft" 3-ft. 3-in. wide and 5-in. thick based on septaria over which the main north and east walls had been built (Fig. 4). This mortar mixed with brick dust, which is impermeable, was normally used by the Romans for floors and to line tanks, baths and water conduits or when a waterproof layer was needed to carry a structure over marshy ground. On first thoughts the "raft" might have been the floor of a drain or fresh water conduit, but such are usually lined with tiles set in mortar much sought after by Norman building "robbers". The latter had indeed been in action here, but neither the imprint of tiles nor fast set fragments of torn away tiles remained, whereas the edges of the "raft" showed slight hollows, the impressions of rounded septaria lumps which had been pressed down into the wet mortar. The filling of the "robber" wall-trench was powdered yellow mortar, presumably from the destruction of the wall by the Normans. The natural soil hereabouts is sandy and drains well, and a wide raft of plain yellow mortar would have served perfectly well to carry heavy foundations over an unstable "natural".

Within the north-east angle of House V, 3-ft. 6-in. or so higher than the level of the *opus signinum* wall base, were the remains of a similar floor, 3-in. thick, set on a 4-in. layer of septaria overlying a levelling of clean clay. The floor, 4-ft. wide, was bounded on the south by a narrow trench, 1-ft. 6-in. wide and 2-ft. deep, filled with a curious green sand and must have once taken the wooden supports of a partition wall. The floor immediately south of the partition had not survived. Some 24-ft. south of the main north wall and only just within the area available for excavation, the lower floor of a hypocaust was uncovered (see Pl. II, d). The wall-trench on its north side ran on to

13. Roman Colchester, Figs. 53-56.

LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER

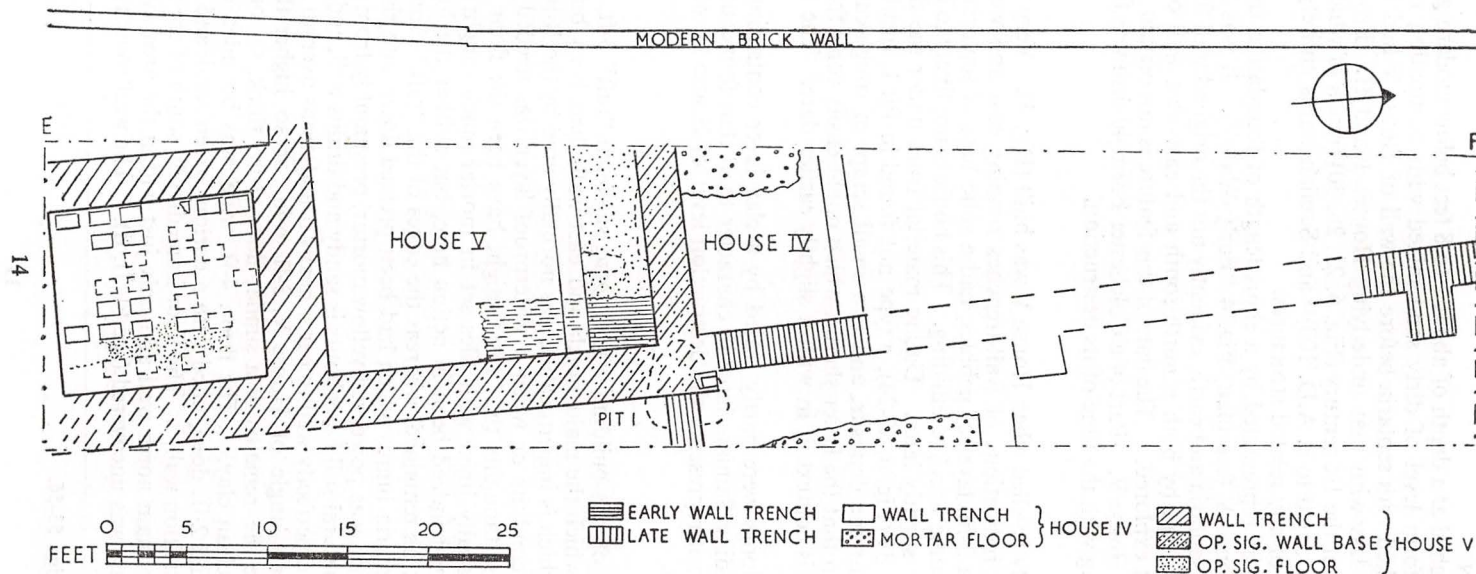


FIG. 4.

the west, that on the south lay outside the excavation trench. Both north and west wall-trenches, though completely robbed, showed traces of yellow mortar-spread over the natural sand on which the footings had been laid. Of the original 42 *pilae*, 28 survived more or less complete, two standing to a height of 5 tiles. The pillars of this hypocaust had been carefully laid out as compared with those of House II, they were well spaced, stood plumb and were of even sized tiles, 1-ft. 3-in. by 10-in. As will be seen on plan there was wider spacing between the two rows along a north-south and east-west line to allow the hot air to circulate more freely. A greasy, sooty deposit covered the floor along the north-south gap but at its south end the floor was baked white by the intense heat from the stoke-hole which must lie immediately beyond the south-east corner. A layer of comminuted tile and sand, black in places, lay over the floor. Along the west edge of the floor a small section of curving plaster in the nature of a quarter-round moulding still stood to a height of 9-in.

The majority of flue tiles from the debris were decorated to key the mortar in the usual way with roughly combed bands of wavy and straight lines or with scored trellis. Examples of relief patterned tiles were also recovered. Of two types, some have a diamond lattice pattern already noted on tiles from a Chelmsford bath-building, others show a "florid" design recorded on tiles from Chelmsford, Alresford, and, more recently, from Gosbeck's Farm, near Colchester, as well as from London and Kenchester in Herefordshire.¹⁴

So complete was the wreckage in this area that only one or two fragments of mosaic were recovered from the ruins of the hypocaust, and a few scraps of painted wall-plaster, some with marbled effects, some striped.

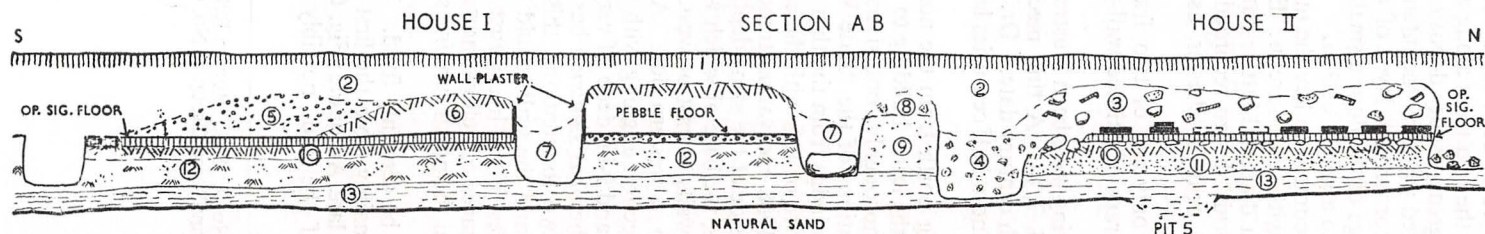
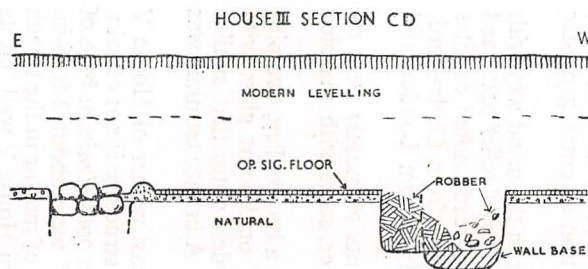
Of the few small finds from these levels the following have been illustrated: a bronze key, two pins with faceted heads, and an iron blade (Fig. 8. 2, 5, 7, 8). A tiny piece of opalescent glass with green looped trail decoration is probably of late 4th century date. Dr. Harden notes that similar looped trailing is found in Anglo-Saxon glasses, two-and-a-half centuries later. A bronze terminal was found under the *opus signinum* floor.

Some account must be given of the wall running north from the north-east corner of House V (see plan, Fig. 4 "Late Walls"). The relationship of the latter building to this structure is not certain, the masonry at their point of junction having been thoroughly robbed and the *opus signinum* base of the House V main east wall destroyed. The foundations of the "Late Wall" were about 2-ft. 6-in. wide and had been of septaria set in yellow mortar, to judge from the thin skin of mortar in the trench bottom and the septaria rubble filling. It aligned more or less with the eastern House V wall but its northern end did not come within the limits of the 1958 excavation trench. The footings of a projection or buttress, appeared at this point on the east side at the same depth as those of the main wall; 21-ft. 6-in. further south was a second smaller buttress, the base of which was set at a higher level. No floors were associated, nor were there any returning walls to east or west. The function of this wall may have been that of a boundary limiting an area on its western side. A second wall (also given the symbol for a "Late Wall") ran off in an easterly direction aligning with the north face of House V. Only the very solid foundations remained, 2-ft. wide and 9-in. deep of very hard yellow mortar based on large septaria set in mortar. These abutted on the *opus signinum* base of the House V east wall. Although there is thus a straight joint between these two foundations, this does not signify that one is later than the other, they were of different material and the walls could have been of contemporary build. Those running round the north and east sides of the hypocaust were likewise not based on *opus signinum* and the robbed foundations showed traces of yellow mortar. On the other hand this "Late Wall" may have been a later addition related to the north running section with which it formed a right-angle.

The date of the erection of House V could not be certainly fixed. The little pottery recovered from levels antedating the *opus signinum* floor was mainly from the first phase of occupation of the site, but included pie-dishes of which two could be late Antonine (Fig. 6, 41-43). House V cannot therefore have been built before the latter part of the 2nd, possibly in the early years of the 3rd century and after House IV had been levelled.

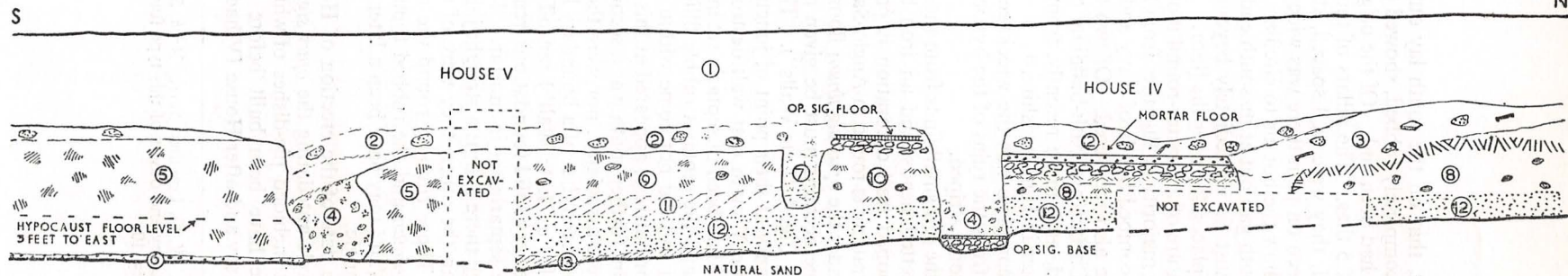
14. A. W. G. Lowther, *Surrey Arch. Soc. Research Paper No. 9*, 1948, "Roman Relief-Patterned Flue-Tiles found in Surrey and others of this type found in Southern England", see Group 5, No. 46, Fig. 12, and Group 3, No. 8, Fig. 10.

LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER



- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 2 BLACK LOAM | 5 DISTURBED GRAVEL | 8 YELLOW RUBBLE | 11 ASHY |
| 3 MORTAR RUBBLE | 6 YELLOW CLAY | 9 STAINED SAND | 12 PALE CLAY |
| 4 SOFT MORTAR | 7 LOAM | 10 CLAY MAKE-UP | 13 GREY SAND |

SECTION EF



- | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 BLACK LOAM | 5 CLAY SIDES OF WALL TRENCH | 9 DARK SAND & OYSTER SHELLS |
| 2 LOAM & MORTAR RUBBLE | 6 MORTAR & GRAVEL FOOTINGS | 10 DIRTY CLAY & OYSTER SHELLS |
| 3 MORTAR & TILE | 7 GREEN SAND | 11 DIRTY SAND |
| 4 POWDERED MORTAR | 8 CLAY & OYSTER SHELLS | 12 PALE CLAYEY SAND |
| | | 13 GREY SAND |

0 5 10 15
FEET

FIG. 5.

The end of its occupation cannot be determined. The pottery in the deposit over the hypocaust floor shows forms which range from the 3rd well into the 4th century, but this deposit was, of course, disturbed by the medieval robbers. The destruction layers above produced wares of the second half of the 4th century.

As to the coin evidence, of the 212 coins recovered, none was found in sealed levels. Eight coins were from the surface of the *opus signinum* floor, 25 from the sooty deposit over the hypocaust floor. These range from late-3rd century radiates to the mid-4th century. Of the latter group, 14 were found within a square foot, perhaps a small hoard, all radiate imitations, save a Constantinian coin of c. A.D. 335-41. From the destruction layer overall came 16 coins, 6 late-3rd century radiate imitations, the rest of the 4th century down to Valens, A.D. 375. In the highest "robber" level of tile, chunks of *opus signinum* and stones into which the black loamy soil had percolated, were found 156 coins and 11 fragments of others. These were concentrated within a very small area, some 2-ft. square, with a few outliers, which suggests that they were part of a hoard, originally held in some sort of receptacle, bag or box, which had disintegrated, or burst when thrown up by the Norman "robbers". Of these, 153 were radiate imitations of the last quarter of the 3rd century, the other three, which may not belong to the hoard, were Constantinian imitations, dating to shortly after A.D. 330.

The base of the black "robber" loam from over all the area produced sherds of late date, such as copies of Samian form 45, late 4th century painted wares, coarse Castor wares, and 7 coins again of the late-3rd century to c. A.D. 375.

Abraded Roman sherds were first found at about 3-ft. 9-in. from modern ground level, at which depth they were mixed with medieval pottery. Of particular interest is a small sherd of a late-4th century Romano-Saxon pot (see Fig. 9). The later medieval pottery corresponds to that found above House III, various stone wares, Stafford wares, Maiolica, etc., together with clay pipes, and, nearer to modern ground level, many fragments of willow pattern plates. One piece of white china, possibly the lid of a soup tureen, is of local interest, for it bears the coat of arms of the Round family quartering Creffield.¹⁵ The Rounds formerly owned East Hill House, now the Royal Eastern Counties Special School, and their hatchments hang in St. James's Church, hard by the site of the East Gate. A memorial font to George Round bearing the same quarterings, gives his dates as born March 22nd, 1803 and died July 7th, 1857.

STRUCTURES LOCATED AFTER THE 1958 SEASON

Not long after the close of the excavations, work was begun on the bus-park project. Some-time before Easter, 1959, a sewer trench was dug running north to south and to the west of the 1955 excavations (see Plan, Fig 1), which revealed an east to west street, several walls and tessellated pavements. These were duly recorded by Mr. Bryan Blake whose notes are appended.

All the features appeared to run parallel, almost at right-angles to the line of the trench but inclined a little to the south-west, the line of the street running almost parallel to that of the main east to west Roman street (High Street) and a few feet to the north of the estimated course as drawn in *Roman Colchester*, Pl. XLI, to form the boundary between Insula 31 and 39. There were at least three or four distinct road levels.

The walls to the south of the street appear to be part of one building, and, as will be seen on plan, should belong to House II. The most northerly was 1-ft. 7-in. wide, of septaria set in yellow mortar and flanked what appeared to be the street ditch. This wall may have supported a "lean-to" roof for a verandah. The original floor of beaten earth had been twice made up, first with a mortared and secondly with a pebbled surface. A "robber" trench 8-ft. to the south indicated the line of the main wall, about 1-ft. 6-in. thick. The sewer trench had cut through the doorway, and the dressed stone, faced with mortar, showed in the west section of the trench. The room between the two last walls had been floored with a coarse tessellated pavement, as was the next room on the south. A "robber" trench filled with daub, indicating a wall of light construction, about 1-ft. 6-in. thick and mainly of wattle and daub, lay 11-ft. south of the previous wall. Between it and the most southerly wall were the remains of an *opus signinum* floor set on a base of septaria and stone chips. The southernmost wall

15. I am indebted to Mr. L. H. Gant for this information.

was well preserved, 2-ft. 9-in. thick and very solidly constructed of tile and septaria. A drain about 11-in. wide and 4 to 6-in. deep, ran through the tile course. About 140-ft. further south again was part of a tessellated floor, from its position possibly connected with House III. Apart from a wall some 25-ft. north of the town wall, the sewer trench showed no other features of interest.

While work was in progress to the north of the upper tennis-court Mr. Blake also recorded seeing in a narrow trench 13-ft. of a red tessellated floor running northwards, which, as seen on Plan (Fig. 1) was undoubtedly part of the tessellated pavement of House II; Mr. Bloomfield's mosaic was alleged to lie east of Mr. Blake's floor.

CONCLUSIONS

The 1955 and 1958 excavations of Lewis's Gardens may not have uncovered structures and other finds of great interest or notable for their good state of preservation, largely owing to the depredations of the later stone "robbers", nevertheless certain facts have emerged which add a little to the story of Roman Colchester.

Although mid to late 1st century occupation rubbish was found scattered over the natural sand on both sites, there were no signs of burnt levels which might equate with the Boudiccan destruction of the town, or of any structures antedating the early-2nd century A.D. This quarter was apparently unoccupied during the first five decades of the Colonia.

In those parts of the buildings which were examined there were no indications of reconstruction, and those which on plan appear to be contiguous are in fact successive, the earlier having been pulled down and the area levelled before the next was erected. At neither stage was there overcrowding.

Houses I and IV, the earliest on the site, were insignificant structures, and serious building did not begin till well into the late Antonine period with Houses II, III and V. The south-east corner of the Colonia appears to have been residential, and at this later stage occupied by the houses of the more opulent citizens, the heated rooms decorated with fine painted wall plaster and mosaic floors. These were inhabited well into the 4th century A.D.

SAMIAN POTTERY

Report by Brian R. Hartley, F.S.A.

(i) *Earliest Occupation pre House I*

1. f.29, S.G.* a large part of a late example of f.29 with figure-types Oswald 1965, 2390, 2244, 2286. The nearest approach to the style that I have noted is a bowl with a finisher's stamp of COSIVS RVFINVS (Knorr, *Töpfer u. Fabriken*, Textbild 44) c. A.D. 70-80.
2. Inkwell, v. fine glaze, not closely datable, but this is S.G. and so 1st century.
3. f.33, S.G., This is the typical Flavian-Trajanic variety of the form used by BIRAGILLVS and his contemporaries.
- 4-6. f.27, S.G., c. A.D. 65-80. Two others, S.G. and Flavian.
- 7-12. f.18, all S.G. and Flavian.
- 13-15. f.18, (R?) Flavian or Trajanic. Two others S.G. and Flavian.
16. f.36, S.G. and Flavian.

My general impression of this "Earliest Occupation" material (1955 and 1958) is that it is basically Flavian, but that it comes down into (probably) the second decade of the 2nd century. It is becoming increasingly clear that S. Gaulish importation went on up to c. A.D. 110 and it is naturally difficult to decide whether plain forms are one side or the other of A.D. 100. The lack of certain Central Gaulish wares (three decorated sherds only so far) in the Flavian-Trajanic forts in Scotland strongly suggests that importation had scarcely got going by A.D. 105.

(ii) *Pre House II*

17. f.37, C.G. The ovolo and motifs were all used by the Martres de Veyre potter RANTVS and his associates (cf. C.G.P., pl. 29, ff) c. A.D. 100-120.
- 18-19. f.18/31, C.G., probably Trajanic and early-2nd century.

*S.G.=South Gaulish. C.G.=Central Gaulish. C.G.P.=Stansfield and Simpson, Central Gaulish Potters.
E.G.=East Gaulish.

20. Formally a slight variant of Ritterling 12, but this is in C.G. fabric and likely to be a Trajanic sport.

21. f.33, C.G., probably Trajanic.

22. f.18, S.G., Flavian-Trajanic.

The remainder of the pieces are Flavian survivals.

(iii) *Destruction of House III*

23. f.31R, C.G. Late Antonine.

24-25. f.37, E.G., Venus O.309, Late Antonine; C.G., general style reminiscent of PAVLLVS, who used the bird (D.1037) and the blurred rosettes at the bottom of the borders, c. A.D. 150-180.

26. Samian mortar, late Antonine.

(iv) *Earliest Occupation pre Houses IV and V*

27. f.27, S.G. Stamp, probably of AVCIVS of Montans, c. A.D. 60-75.

28. f.27, S.G. Stamp of PAT)RIC, the well attested Flavian potter.

29. f.27, S.G. Stamp of an illiterate potter, Flavian.

30-36. f.27 S.G. A.D. 60-80; and six others all Flavian.

37-42. f.18, all S.G. and Flavian.

43. f.37 S.G. with zonal decoration typical of the period, c. A.D. 70-85.

44. f.37, S.G. with zonal decoration of c. A.D. 75-95.

45-47. f.35/36, S.G. and Flavian.

48. f.36, S.G. and Flavian.

49-50. f.33, probably c. A.D. 55-75, and one other, Flavian.

(v) *Pre House IV*

51. f.18, C.G., early 2nd century.

52-54. f.18/31, C.G., early 2nd century.

55-56. f.33, C.G., early 2nd century.

(vi) *Post Floor of House IV*

57. f.18/31, C.G. Hadrianic.

45. f.33, C.G., Hadrian-Antonine.

59. f.31R, C.G., Antonine.

(vii) *Pre House V*

The bulk of the material from these levels was Flavian with a few pieces of Flavian-Trajan date, survival sherds, as was most of the coarse pottery.

From Disturbed Levels

60. f.33, C.G. Stamp of the uncommon potter DRIPPINVS. There is no site dating evidence for him, but this piece is probably Antonine judging by the fabric.

61. f.33, C.G. Stamp ARNCI MA. ARNCVS was active in the Antonine period, as two stamps from Pudding Pan Rock show. These are from the same die as the Colchester one, so a date c. A.D. 160-90 seems certain for it.

COARSE POTTERY

References and Abbreviations:

Cam C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum*, Report XIV, Research Comm. Soc. Ant. Lond. 1947.

Col M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester*, Report XX, Research Comm. Soc. Ant. Lond. XX, 1958.

Gillam "Types of Roman coarse pottery vessels" *Arch. Ael.* 4th series, vol. XXXV (1957) 180.

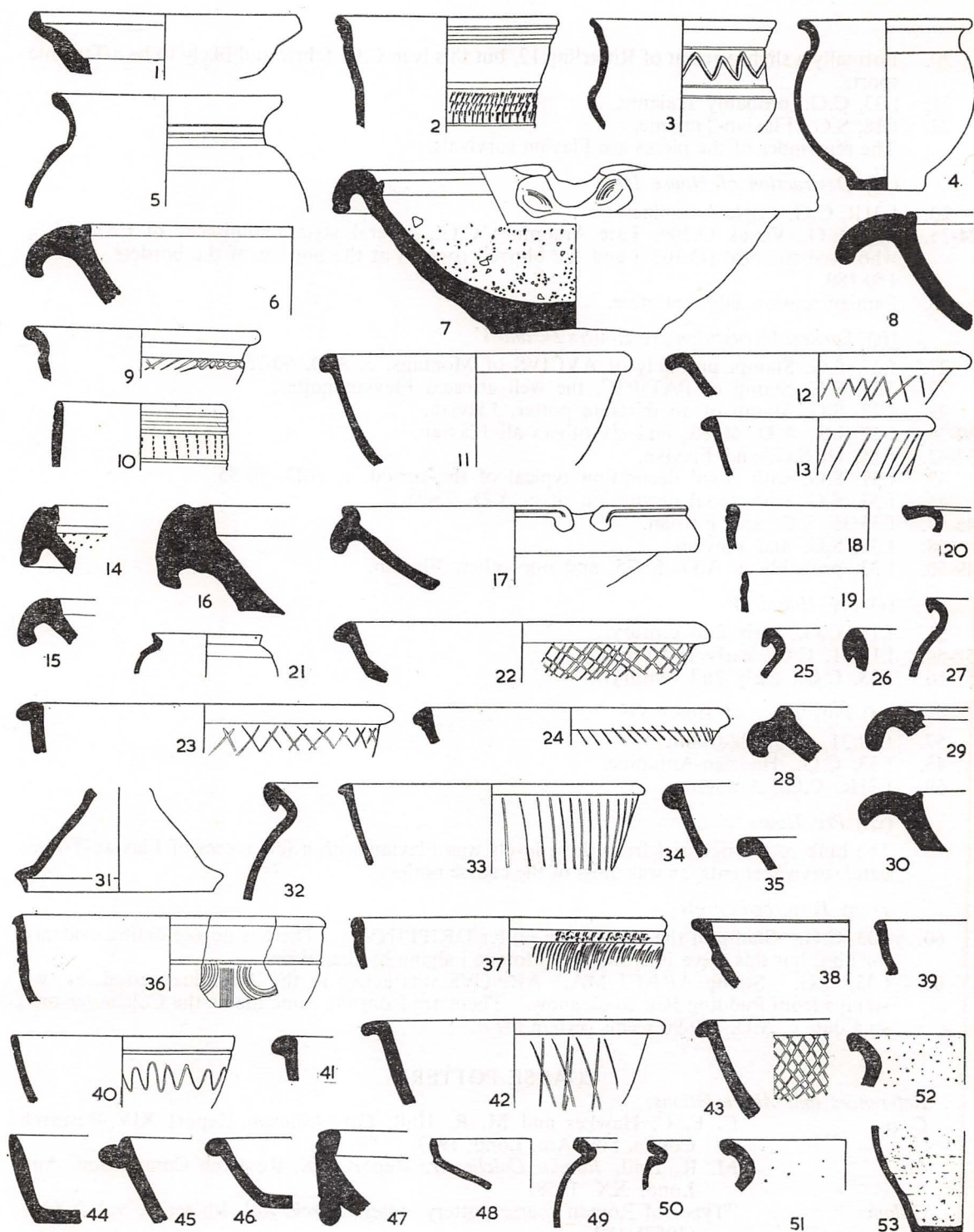


FIG. 6.—Pottery from Lewis's Gardens (†).

<i>Godmanchester</i>	<i>Proc. Cambridge Ant. Soc.</i> LIII (1960) 8.
<i>Leicester</i>	K. M. Kenyon, <i>Jewry Wall, Leicester</i> , Report XV, Research Comm. Soc. Ants. Lon. 1948.
<i>Margidunum</i>	"The Mortaria of Margidunum", <i>Ants. Journ.</i> XXIX (1944) 45.
<i>Needham</i>	"The Romano-British village of Needham". <i>Norfolk Arch.</i> 28 (1942-5) 187.
<i>Park Street</i>	"The Roman Villa at Park Street" <i>Arch. Journ.</i> CII (1945) 93.
<i>Tilbury</i>	"London in Roman Times". <i>London Museum Cat.</i> No. 3, 1930.
<i>West Stow Heath</i>	<i>Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.</i> XXVI (1955) 35.
<i>Whittington Court</i>	<i>Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.</i> 71 (1952) 56.

FIG. 6.

A. Earliest Occupation pre House I

1. Sub Belgic plate of type Cam. f.24, Ca/Cb, incidence on the native site, A.D. 43-65.
2. Part of a bowl in hard grey ware with smooth black surface decorated on the body with rouletting, a copy of a T.S. form 30. Cf. wares from the *West Stow Heath* kilns, fig.11, 1j and 2d. For dating see below No. 36 and cf., also Col. fig. 55, 28, A.D. 100.
3. Vessel in medium hard native ware, rim and lower part polished, the zone with deeply incised wavy line left matt. Possibly a copy of a Gallo-Belgic beaker, cf. Cam. fig. 50, 2 or f.85b.
4. Small vessel with pronounced footstand, fine hard grey ware, smooth but unpolished, Cam f.266, mid-1st century onwards. Very common, 4 others.
5. Bowl, fine hard grey ware, polished, variant of Cam. f.218, and cf. Col. fig. 54, 16. A.D. 100.
6. 8. Mortarium rims, 6, in pale orange and 8 in pale buff ware, both well gritted over the flange. Outer wall of No. 8 shows faint rilling. The type is normally of 1st century date, but cf. *Leicester* fig. 18, 10, Trajanic. Col. f.195A, Vespasianic.
7. Mortarium in pale buff ware, very heavily gritted, with stamp (see Fig. 7, 5). Mrs. Hartley notes: "The beginning of this stamp was not impressed and at least one letter was badly smudged. A stamp found at Verulamium is, however, from the same die and is probably complete. The first letter is slightly blurred, but is clearly either T or P, giving T or PMH. These letters may well be the initials of the *tria nomina*. Perhaps to draw attention to the stamp, the potter impressed the border of his die diagonally on each side of the stamp.

The fabric of the mortarium from Verulamium leaves no reasonable doubt that he worked for some period in the potteries immediately south-east of Verulamium. This example, however, is in different fabric, and it seems probable that it was made in a different area, possibly Colchester itself. There is growing evidence that mortarium potters, at least, tended to move from one kiln-site to another, sometimes going a considerable distance. One of the stamps of this potter was found in a Trajanic-Hadrianic deposit at Verulamium.¹⁶ The rim profiles he used fit well with a primarily Trajanic activity and the associations of the Colchester mortarium bear this out."

Not illustrated

Fragment of a bowl, grey core, polished red surface like "Pompeian" red. Cf. Cam f.17.

Rim of bowl in soft grey ware, Cam f.242.

Variant of Cam f.266 with hooked rim, not found on native site. See Col fig. 56, 61, A.D. 100.

Beaker with stabbed decoration, Cam f.108, Claudius-Hadrian. Very common.

Beaker with everted rim in fine grey ware, decorated with barbotine dots, a Flavian type, Cam f.108 but cf. also *Leicester*, fig. 38, 24, Trajanic. 3 other rims.

Flagon with four-ringed mouth and four ribbed handle in white clay with globular body, Cf. Col f.155, A.D. 70-130.

Two rims of large storage jars in Romanizing ware, Col f.273. These begin in the Colonia A.D. 60 and run on well into the 2nd century.

16. I am indebted to Mr. S. S. Frere for this information.

Fragment in buff ware with grey surface, burnished and mica dusted, decorated with two raised bosses. Mr. Hull notes: "This belongs to a class of beaker, Cam f.95, as a rule a fine, thin and fairly small, mica coated Gallo-Belgic product. This piece is from a larger, coarser vessel of same style. Not much later than Claudius-Nero. Cf. Wroxeter II (1913) Fig. 19, 59".

The material from these pre House I levels includes sherds covering the period from the earliest days of the Colonia into the early years of the 2nd century A.D.

B. Pre House II

9. Vessel of unusual type, buff to black ware, polished on neck and with band of irregular tooled lattice decoration on shoulder, a native survival.
10. Bowl with stab decoration as on Cam f.108. Cf. Cam f.69B, Fig. 50, 9 and p. 274. Claudius-Flavian, survival material.
- 11-13. Pie dishes, 13 with triangular rim in light grey ware and with tooled diagonal lines, Col f.37, late 1st-mid 2nd century; 11 with rounded rim in black polished ware is closer to Col f.38, of mid 2nd century date or slightly later; 12, Col f.303 with flat rim, in black ware, Antonine or later but see *Leicester*, Fig. 19, 5, A.D. 125-30.

Most of the material from these levels is 1st century survival rubbish, including also examples of Cam f.108, 267B, 266 and need hardly be later than A.D. 100 with the exception of Nos. 11-13 which give a *terminus post quem* in the Antonine period.

C. Wreckage in Hypocaust, House II

14. Mortarium rim in cream ware with stamp (see Fig. 7, 4). Mrs. Hartley notes: "The incompletely impressed stamp reads CVNOPEC FEC for CVNOPECTVS FECIT. The first two letters on this stamp are only just discernible. This potter worked at Colchester (see *Roman Colchester*, p. 30 and Fig. 9, 1) where he made colour-coated and Samian ware as well as mortaria. The distribution of his mortaria appears to have been restricted to Essex, Kent and neighbouring counties. There is no published dating evidence for CVNOPECTVS but the rim-profiles he used support the late-2nd century dating given to his work by Mr. M. R. Hull".
15. Mortarium rim, cf. *Gillam*, Type 265, A.D. 180-200.
16. Mortarium rim, cf. *Gillam*, Type 271, A.D. 100-250 and Col. fig. 5A, 31; from local kilns, c. A.D. 190.
- 16A. Stamp on amphora handle (see Fig. 7, 3). Dr. M. H. Callender notes: "The stamp, on the handle from a globular South Spanish vessel, is largely illegible but might possibly be SILVANVS, for which there is no known parallel, or a contracted and worn example of SAENIAN(ENS)IS; cf. SAENIANS, SAENIANES, London (C.I.L. VII, 102), Richborough (2 examples), unpublished A.D. c. 80-140, and many other examples". Dr. Callender cannot offer any date for the stamp.

Not Illustrated

Pie dishes, Col f.38 and variants of f.304, Antonine onwards; dish, Col. f.40; flanged dish, f.305, A.D. 250-300; bowl, f.315; jar, Cam f.271; hooked-rim jars, f.268B, see Col. Figs. 69, 123 and 70, 127; lid, see Col. fig. 66, 81, imitation Rhenish ware, Col. f.408, 3rd to 4th century.

Much of the pottery from these levels can be matched in the series from the "Mithreum" illustrating wares still current c. A.D. 350, see Col. Figs. 60-71.

D. From Wall Foundations, House III

17. Mortarium, buff ware, sparsely gritted, small neat rim with high square bead. Cf. *Margidunum*, Fig. 6, 53, late 2nd to early 3rd-century.

E. Destruction of House III

Not Illustrated

These levels in the wall trenches and immediately overlying floors and walls, produced late 2nd-3rd century sherds, e.g. mortaria Col. f.501, late 2nd century; Col. f.499, 3rd century;

pie-dishes, Col. f.38, Samian f.45, late Antonine-250, together with a very few sherds of much later date.

F. Earliest Occupation pre House IV

- 18, 19. Bowl rims, copies of T.S. forms, No. 18 is in grey ware with pattern of stabbed lines and No. 19 has a black polished surface. Cf. Col. Fig. 55, 35.
20. Reed rimmed bowl, Cam. f.246, found in early levels in the Colonia and up to A.D. 100, see Col. fig. 54, 9.
20A. Part of base of a Gallo-Belgic T.N. platter in pale grey ware with central stamp (see Fig. 7, 2). Mr. Hull notes: "The only 'herring-bone' Gallo-Belgic stamp I have seen; the potter seems to have propped the base on a round support while he pressed his stamp down. The piece must be Claudius-Nero". Cf. *Needham* Fig. 2, 7a.

Not Illustrated

Fragment of a thin walled vessel in very fine, cream coloured paste decorated with red painted concentric circles; a similar fragment from an early level near House II was in buff paste. A small beaker in comparable ware decorated with red painted spirals was found in a pit at *Needham*, Fig. 2, 20, dated A.D. 80-120. From its present context, the ware would appear to be of 1st century date.

Hooked or beaded rims, Cam. f.266, mid-1st century-Trajan, cf. Col. Figs. 23A, and 56, A.D. 100.

Rim of Cam. f.218, see Col. Fig. 54, 15-18. A.D. 100.

Ribbed fragment in red gritty ware, part of wall and handle from a carrot amphora, Cam. f.189, mid-1st century.

The sherds from these early horizons cover the period from the beginning of the Colonia to c. A.D. 100 or a little later.

G. Immediately pre House IV

21. Rim of a small beaker in fine yellow ware, apparently of 1st century date, but Mr. Hull notes that the same outline is found on colour coated wares from the Colchester kilns at the end of the 2nd century.
22, 23. Pie dishes, Nos. 22 and 24 with triangular rim of the early type Col. f.37, in typical pale grey to pink ware, with tooled trellis ornament, probably early Antonine; No. 23 with heavier, rounded rim in dark grey ware, between Col. f.37 and 38, will be somewhat later though still with lattice decoration which seems to disappear in post Antonine versions.
25, 26. Rounded and hooked rim pots found with several variants of Col. f.268 in gritty ware, grey to black. The type does not occur in the Insula 7 Pit I group (A.D. 100) but is in general use from A.D. 120 onwards, the rim tending to grow heavier in its later development. At Colchester this takes the place of the usual grey to black fumed ware cooking pot.
27. Mortarium rim in pinky buff ware, not heavily gritted. This has a more pronounced bead than Cam. fig. 53, 32, f.195B, frequent in Flavian levels, cf. also *Margidunum* fig. 3, 24. Vespasianic.
29. Mortarium rim, Cam. f.195, Flavian-Trajanic. cf. Col. Fig 55, 24.
30. Mortarium rim in cream ware with large grits low down in the bowl, Cam. f.195B and cf. Col. Fig. 55, 22, Pit 1, A.D. 100.

Not Illustrated

Reed-rimmed bowls, Cam. f.246, common up to A.D. 100.

Variants of Cam. f.266, found in Pit 1, A.D. 100 but which continue up to A.D. 120.

Beakers Cam. f.108, Claudius-Hadrian.

Most of the wares from this group are common in the late 1st century, but the pie-dish forms give an Antonine *terminus post quem* to the end deposition of these levels.

H. Post Floors of House IV (wall-plaster level)

31. Lid in hard buff ware.
32. Heavy hooked rim of cooking pot in harsh grey and brown ware. Cam. f.268 A/B, cf. Col. fig. 59, 4.
33. Small, finely made pie-dish with decoration of parallel vertical strokes, Col. f.37 (six others).

- 34, 35. Pie-dishes, with heavily rounded rims, Col. f.38, No. 35 still in pale grey ware, No. 34 in black ware, both undecorated. These plain examples should be later in date than No. 23.

Not Illustrated

Base of beaker in Castor ware, decorated with oval blobs en barbotine, brown on black. Col. f.391 or 392, 2nd half of 2nd century or even early 3rd.

The latest pieces in this group are hardly earlier than A.D. 170 and continue in type well into the 3rd century.

J. Pre House V

36. Part of a bowl in dark buff ware, medium hard, with polished surface, decorated with incised concentric semi-circles and bands of vertical lines, a copy apparently of a T.S. form 37. This is similar in ware, form and decoration to bowls from the *West Stow* Heath kilns (see Fig. 10, type 1a) to which the writer of the report gave a date of c. A.D. 100-120, but this dating is uncertain. See also a bowl from *Needham* (Fig. 5, 62) from Pit H, dated by the associated Samian to the first half of the 2nd century, though other wares still very much in the native tradition, e.g. a sub Gallo-Belgic dish. More recently, material recovered from a hut floor below the Roman baths at *Godmanchester* produced parts of 9 bowls of this type (Fig. 3, 7) the ware is, however, not described. These were associated with Samian mainly of the Flavian period, but including a form 37 dated by Mr. Hartley to c. A.D. 100-120. Another comparable bowl was found in the Romano-British hut at *Tilbury*, of late 1st century date (Fig. 56, 10, p. 149) with pottery of Belgic character. Taking into account other T.S. copies, a Flavian-Trajanic date for the type seems reasonable.
37. Rim in hard grey ware with rouletted decoration, unpolished, an indirect copy of a T.S. form 29 or 37.
38. In ware similar to No. 36, possibly a lid of the type found among the *West Stow* Heath kiln wares, but which were too fragmentary for reconstruction.
39. Rim in dark grey ware, unpolished, possibly a copy of a T.S. form 29.
40. Dish with thin walls in fine black polished ware.
- 41-43. Pie-dishes; for 41, cf. Col. f.37, still with upright sides, but the rim rounded and large; for 42, see Col. f.303; for 43, cf. Col. f.38, mid to late 2nd or early 3rd century.

The bulk of the material from these levels is survival material of late 1st century date apart from Nos. 40-43, which bring the date down to the late 2nd or early 3rd century.

K. Wreckage in Hypocaust, House V

44. Dish in black polished ware. Col. f.39, cf. Col. Fig. 67, 101.
45. Flanged dish, pale grey ware. Col. f.305A, A.D. 250-400.
46. Pie-dish, black polished ware, lacking bevel at base. Col. f.38 and cf. fig. 67, 91.
47. Mortarium rim, cream ware, Col. f.501B, produced in local kilns, c. A.D. 190 onwards.
48. Bowl in grey-buff ware, unpolished, cf. Col. Fig. 58, 20 from "Mithraeum" drain.
49. Everted rim, recessed internally, in brown ware with gritty surface, cf. Col. f.307, Fig. 65, but this has polished bands.
50. Bead rim jar, fine hard polished ware. Cf. *Leicester*, Fig. 26, 29, first quarter of 4th century.

Not Illustrated

Hooked rim cooking pots in gritty brown ware and with groove on shoulder, Col. f.268.

Jars with cavetto rims, Col. f.278.

Flagon handle in typical red polished ware with grey core, common in *Mithraeum*, Col. Fig. 62.

Castor ware, coarse, white paste with dark wash, Col. f.391, 2nd-3rd century.

As with the pottery from the wreckage of the hypocaust of House II, most of this pottery can be paralleled in the "Mithraeum" group, deposited c. A.D. 350, see Col. Fig. 60-71.

L. From "Robber" levels over Houses II and V

- 51-53. Two rims and a base from jars in shell gritted ware, the form is Col. f.277. The ware occurs sporadically over the site in the destruction layers. On analogy it can be dated to the second half of the 4th century, cf. *Whittington Court* villa, fig. 4, found with a coin of Theodosius, A.D. 388-95, and *Park Street* villa, fig. 20, 8-10, second half of 4th century.

53A. Part of a face urn in grey ware (see Fig. 7, 1). Cf. Colchester Museum, Joslin Collection, 919, also in grey ware. 3rd/4th century.

Not Illustrated

Pseudo Samian—Copies of T.S. f.45, mid-late 4th century and f.38, Col. f.316A, 2nd half of 4th century; bowls with white painted scroll decoration, Col. f.317A, 4th century.

Mortaria—Col. f.505, red ware, yellow wash, coralline grits, 4th century; f.501B, A.D. 190 onwards; f.504, late 2nd-3rd century; f.499, 3rd century; f.498, 3rd-4th century; f.500, 3rd-mid 4th century; also form found in 4th century pit, see Col. Fig. 43, 4, and type for which see *Gillam* type 276, A.D. 250-330 on Wall.

Dishes—Col. f.40 in great quantity, up to A.D. 350 and later.

Pie-dishes—Col. f.38, very large and very numerous, up to A.D. 350 and later.

Flanged dishes—Col. f.305A and B in large numbers. A.D. 250-400.

Flagons—Col. f.365 in ordinary ware and fragments in "polished red ware", from A.D. 240-350; f.156, A.D. 190-350.

Jars—With cavetto rims. Col. f.278, 279, but the type with rim projecting well beyond the body was not found. A.D. 200-350.

Cooking pots—Many large vessels with heavy hooked rims, Col. f.268, up to A.D. 350 and probably later.

Vessels with frilled rims—Col. f.297, end of 3rd and 4th century.

Colour coated wares:

Beakers—Straight sided rims, buff ware, metallic black slip, diagonal barbotine strips in orange.

With indented rim—Buff ware, black slip, Col. f.407B, 3rd and 4th century.

Corniced rim—Col. f.391, very common, running on into 4th century.

Flanged dish—Orange ware with brown slip or off white ware with black slip, cf. *Leicester*, Fig. 32, 7, 4th century.

Bowl, lidded—Col. f.308, with angular shoulder. Cf. *Leicester*, Fig. 53, 8, 1st quarter 4th century, but none was found in the "Mithraeum" in Colchester.

Flagon—Off white ware, brown metallic slip. Cf. *Leicester*, Fig. 32, 31.

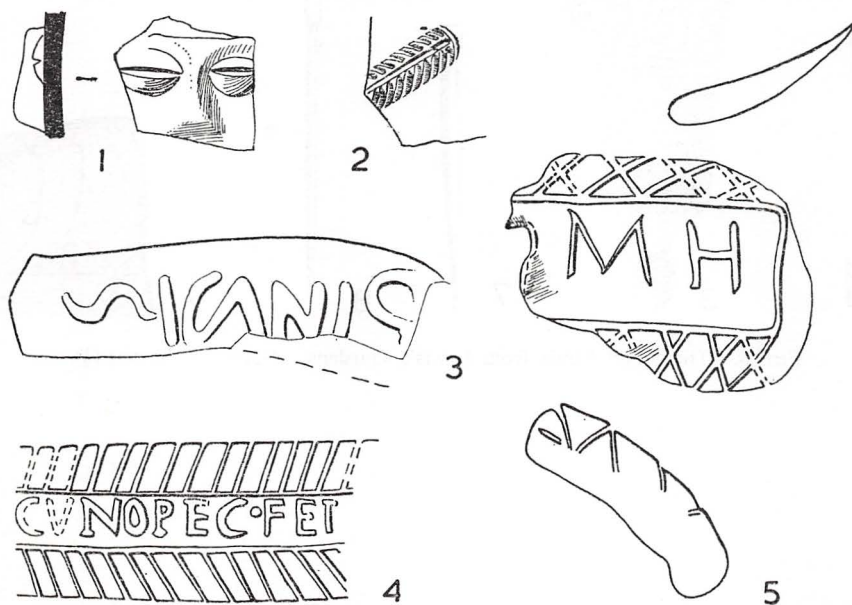


FIG. 7. See Fig. 6, 1=53A, 2=20A, 3=16A, 4=14, 5=7. No. 1 ($\frac{1}{2}$), Nos. 2-5 ($\frac{1}{4}$).

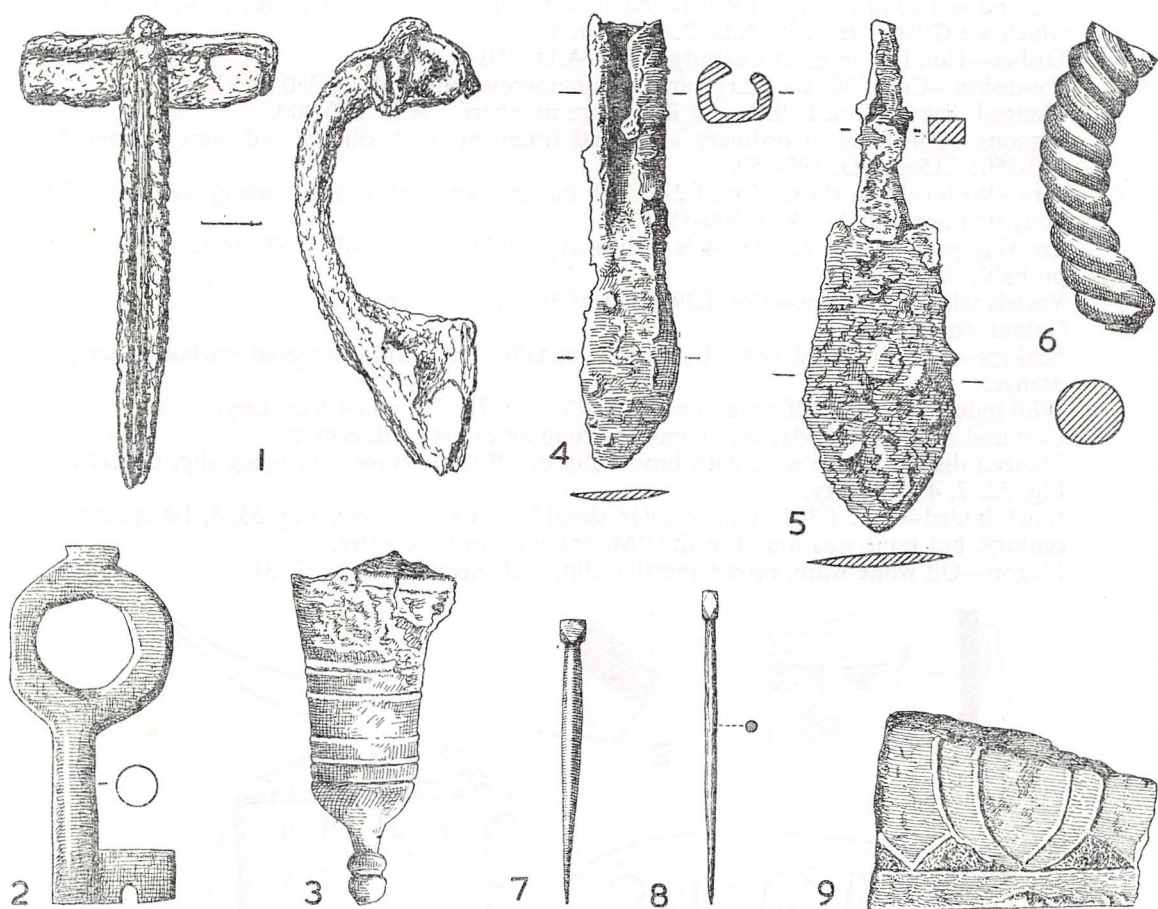


FIG. 8.—The Small Finds from Lewis's Gardens. 1-3, 6 ($\frac{1}{4}$), the rest ($\frac{1}{2}$).

THE SMALL FINDS

FIG. 8.

1. Bronze brooch (report by M. R. Hull, F.S.A.)

Though terribly corroded this has the general characteristics of a "Dolphin" brooch. It is not however, by my classification, a true Dolphin brooch, in that the hook should point backward, over the spring, whereas in this brooch it points forward, as in the "Colchester" type. The bow, also, is rather thin and flat for the usual Dolphin.

It is, accordingly, one of the few brooches which should be segregated as "transitional" between the Colchester and Dolphin types. It has a long spring of 12 turns, covered by ornamented arms, both are characteristic of the Dolphin type; the detail of the bow is lost by corrosion.

All this means little as to date, for it obviously must be contemporary with both types mentioned, which puts it to mid-first century.

Parallels scarcely exist. Two other transitional brooches of this same design are from Riseholme, Lincs. and Icklingham, Suffolk (my Nos. 3428 and 3427), but both of these are a little later typologically for they use the construction of the *two-piece* Colchester brooch, (Cam. Type IV). A third, using the same construction of these two, is in Cambridge University Museum (22.685d) and is of the *shape* of Cam. Type IV, but the arms are decorated in Dolphin style (my No. 3426). Another, a small one, is an exaggerated Dolphin shape, the arms together being longer than the bow; this is also two-piece construction (my No. 1573) and finally, one quite like it, but more decorative, from Colchester, is known from a drawing in an Album here, but one cannot tell from the drawing what the construction is, so this may be a true Dolphin.

The present brooch may therefore be the only one of its kind so far recorded and most of its connections are in the eastern counties. Despite the corrosion, I am satisfied that this is of one piece construction, the first coil of the spring at the back settles this. It should be noted that a true Dolphin is always of two-piece construction. From the "Earliest Occupation", 1955.

2. Bronze lever-key with hollow shank. From debris over hypocaust floor, House V.
3. Bronze terminal, perhaps from some article of furniture. From the surface of the *opus signinum* floor, House V.
4. Iron socketed pruning knife, from "robber" level, House II.
5. Iron tanged blade. From wreckage of hypocaust, House V.
6. Part of a shale bangle carved with spiral rope ornament. From same level as No. 4.
7. Jet pin with facettted head. From same level as No. 2.
8. Bone pin with facettted head. From same level as No. 2.
9. Marble slab with egg-and-dart ornament. From disturbed level, post House I.

Not Illustrated

1 bronze needle, 6-in. long; 1 bone ring; 5 complete and 2 broken bone pins with round head; 1 bone needle; 1 bone and 3 pottery counters.

GLASS

Report by Dr. D. B. Harden, F.S.A.

1. Fragment of stem of stirring-rod, green, quite common in the 1st century. The full shape may either be ring-handled with broadened disc foot, or a bird's body may be substituted for the ring. From the early occupation under House I.

2. Base of bowl in greenish colourless glass; the bottom blown into a mould to produce two concentric base-rings, the solid centre of the inner one being due to the wad of glass applied afterwards on the end of the pontil and not part of the vessel as mould-blown. The chipping round the edge is too regular to be accidental and has been done (as often with fragmentary bases of vessels) so that it could be re-used, perhaps as a gaming piece. The original was a cylindrical bowl, cf. Thorpe, *English Glass*, pl. vi, b, from Airlie, Angus; the shape is typical of the 1st half of the 3rd century. From "robber" in wall trench, House III.
3. Fragment of body of a beaker or bowl, colourless, with opalescent, jade green looped trailing, fused in, but not marvered flush. The piece is too small to give a definite shape, but colours and looped trailing indicate perhaps a late rather than early date in the 4th century A.D. A similar fragment has turned up at Silchester (report forthcoming in *Medieval Archaeology* Vol. III), cf. also J. Barrelet, *La Verrerie en France*, pl. VII, a, for a beaker from Avignon (he dates it 3rd century, too early in my view). Similar looped trailing occurred in Saxon glasses of 2½ centuries later, cf. *Dark Age Britain*, pl. 18, j: indeed the shape of the Colchester piece may well have been very little different from that of these little Saxon jars. From the destruction level over the hypocaust, House V and in same horizon as coin hoard.

COINS

Report by R. A. G. Carson, F.S.A.

Abbreviations:

- R.I.C. H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham et al. *Roman Imperial Coinage*.
 K. J. P. C. Kent, "Pattern of Bronze Coinage under Constantine". *Num. Chron.* (1957) 16, ff.
 L.R.B.C. *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* (1960).
 I. P. V. Hill and J. P. C. Kent, "The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine".
 II. R. A. G. Carson and J. P. C. Kent, "Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the Late Empire".
 C. H. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*.

1955 EXCAVATIONS

The condition of the 20 coins permitted little more than the identification of the emperor.¹⁷

1. Gallienus issue A.D. 259. Unpublished coin. *Obv.* Bust, radiate, cuirassed r., IMP GALLIENVS·P·AVG; *rev* Providentia standing l., holding baton and sceptre PROVIDENTIA AVG. Mint ? Cologne.
2. Victorinus, A.D. 268-270. Uncertain *rev*.
3. Tetricus I, A.D. 270-274. Uncertain *rev*.
4. Uncertain radiate Emperor, c. A.D. 260-275. Uncertain *rev*.
 5-14 Radiate Imitations, c. A.D. 260-280.
5. Claudius II. *rev. Consecratio*—eagle.
- 6-7. Tetricus I. *rev. Pietas Augg*—priestly instruments.
 Spes Augg
- 8-10. Tetricus II, *rev. Pietas Augg*—priestly instruments
 Spes Augg, uncertain (1).
- 11-14. Uncertain *obv.*, *rev. Pax* type, uncertain (3).
15. Constantine I, issue c. A.D. 317-337. Uncertain *rev*.
16. Urbs Roma issue, c. A.D. 330. C.19 $\frac{1}{?}$
17. Constantine II, issue c. A.D. 325. C.116 $\frac{1}{\text{TRP}}$

17. Note. None of these coins are from strictly stratified levels. No. 1 is from the destroyed floor of House III, Nos. 9 and 16 are from the destruction level in the hypocaust of House II, Nos. 2 and 8 are from the clay levelling, post dating House I and much disturbed. The rest are from the black "Robber Loam" overlying all three buildings.

18. Constantius II, issue c. A.D. 340. C293 $\frac{S}{T}$
 19. Valentinian II, issue A.D. 388-392. Cf. R.I.C. p. 262, No. 45(a).
 20. Uncertain, late 4th century A.D. SLG

1958 EXCAVATIONS

The 212 coins and eleven fragments which were recovered in this season's excavations cover almost exactly the century from c. A.D. 265 to c. A.D. 365. The regular coins, all small bronze pieces of roughly the same size, fall into three main groups: (1) debased radiate antoniniani from about 265 up to the coinage reform of Aurelian in 274; (2) æ 3 and æ 4 coins of the Constantinian period between about 315 and 341; and (3) a small group of three æ 3 coins of Valens issued c. 305. The bulk of the coins, however, are local imitations, almost exclusively of the third century radiate coins though some five imitations of Constantinian coins were also identified.

Of the sum total of the coin finds no less than 156 coins and 11 fragments were found in a very close scatter of about two square feet though some of them were found just outside this area. Since the composition of the group suggests that this was a hoard, though no container was found, it has been listed separately below. The hoard was almost entirely of radiate imitations of which about two-thirds were on smaller flans and usually termed minims. The scattering of the hoard and the general disturbance of the area was such that the three Constantinian imitations which were recovered in the area need not necessarily be regarded as forming part of the hoard. The date of the radiate hoard is sometime in the last quarter of the third century, but even if the Constantinian imitations are taken as an integral part of the hoard, its date falls shortly after 330, the date of the originals of these Constantinian imitations.

The details of the coins are as follows:

(a) *Regular*

Victorinus. R.I.C. 67	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Claudius II. Uncertain rev. (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Allectus. R.I.C. 28	$\frac{S|A}{ML}$	...	...	...	...	...	1
Uncertain radiates (6)	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Constantius I. K.550 RT	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Constantine I. K.91 PLON ^a ; K.172	$\frac{T|F}{ATR}$	...	...	...	...	...	3
Theodora. L.R.B.C. I, 120	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Helena. L.R.B.C. I, 128	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Constantine II K.87	$\frac{P|A}{PLON}$	87 PLON	...	...	...	...	2
Constantius II. L.R.B.C. I, 89	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Constans. L.R.B.C. I, 133, 148, 158, 270	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Uncertain Constantinian. rev. Gloria Exercitus 2 standards, uncertain	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1 standard (2) Constantinopolis (1), uncertain rev. (3)	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
Valens L.R.B.C. II, 502	$\frac{|}{SCON}$	516, cf. 82 (mint uncertain)	...	...	...	...	3
							33

(b) *Imitations*

Claudius II <i>rev.</i> Eagle (3) ...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Tetricus I <i>rev.</i> Fortuna (2), Victory (1) .	...	...	...	...	...	3
Tetricus II <i>rev.</i> Pietas (1) ...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Uncertain radiate emperor. <i>rev.</i> Pax (1), Salus (1), Victory (2), uncertain	...	...	...	...	...	13
<i>rev.</i> (9) ...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Uncertain Constantinian <i>rev.</i> Gloria Exercitus, 2 standards (1), Constantino-	...	...	...	...	...	1
polis (1) ...	...	...	...	...	...	23
Magnentius cf. L.R.B.C. II, 56	...	...	...	...	...
						<hr/>

(c) *Hoard*

(i) Larger:

Uncertain <i>obv.</i> prototype, <i>rev.</i> prototype Fortuna (1), Pax (6), Pietas (6),	...	...	...	...	...	61
Salus (2), Victory (2), altar (1), eagle (1), male figure (2), female figure (6),	...	...	...	...	...
uncertain <i>rev.</i> (34) ...	...	...	...	...	...

(ii) Minims:

Uncertain <i>obv.</i> prototype, <i>rev.</i> prototype Fortuna (2), Pax (2), Victory (2), altar	...	...	...	...	...	92
(2), animal (1), male figure (12), female figure (5), uncertain <i>rev.</i> (65) ...	...	...	...	...	...

(iii) Constantinian:

Constantinopolis (2), Gloria Exercitus 2 standards (1) ...	...	...	...	...	...	3
						<hr/>
						156

THE WALL PLASTER

Note by H. E. O'Neil, F.S.A.

A great many fragments of painted wall-plaster were found in the wreckage of the House II hypocaust. The plaster, half an inch thick, was found in some cases superimposed on an earlier painted plaster, also half an inch thick, thus indicating a re-decoration of the room.

A wide range of colours had been used, some of which were very bright and gaudy. A large amount of plain crimson, as well as yellow with maroon stripes indicate that a dado was part of the decoration of the room over the hypocaust. A substantial piece depicting a column with Corinthian capital and smaller fragments suggesting pediments of houses, imply that some outdoor scene with buildings was represented on the walls of the room. Other very fragmentary pieces appeared to delineate human limbs (e.g., part of the calf of a leg, almost life size), folds of clothing, whorled patterns suggesting embroidered edging to garments and festoons of ribbon.

The painting was done by a competent hand, the lighting and shading being carried out in bold strokes. In some cases guiding lines as to the drawing and setting out are visible.

As far as could be seen the patterns on the earlier painted plaster were more simple, consisting of plain white backgrounds dotted with leaves in green and small bunches of flowers.

PL. III

Wall plaster fragments depicting a column with Corinthian capital. The column is painted in tones of yellow and brown with high lights, and shaded. Behind the column on the left, a white wall crossed by a blue ribbon. A roof in perspective against a grey-blue sky. The sky rises to a frieze in bright salmon pink against which the topmost fronds of the capital stand.

ROMANO-SAXON POTTERY

Note by Dr. J. N. L. Myres, F.S.A.

Sherd in brown ware with dark, smooth surface. This seems to be part of a pot decorated with circular bosses and (probably triangular) groups of dimples, similar to my Romano-Saxon pottery, Type C, (*Dark Age Britain*, 1956, p. 26, Fig. 4, 1-3). There is the lowest of a group of dimples pre-

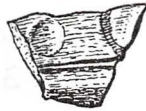


FIG. 9.—Romano-Saxon Pottery from site of House IV. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

served, also the beginning of a boss on the corner and a bit of the usual demarcating line is present. It would thus seem to be perfectly in context with the late-4th century Roman sherds with which it was associated.

From the black "Robber" level overlying the floor of House IV and found with mid to late-4th century Roman pottery.

SAXO-NORMAN POTTERY

Note by G. C. Dunning, F.S.A.

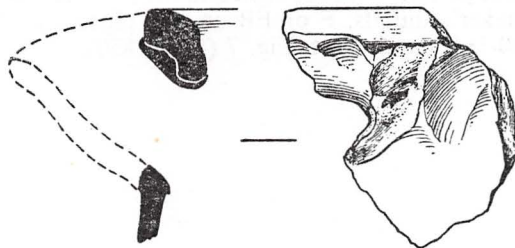


FIG. 10. Rim Sherd of Saxo-Norman Spouted Pitcher from site of House II. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Rim sherd of grey sandy ware. Below the rim the side is pierced by a hole round which is the place of attachment of a bridge spout. The sherd is therefore identified as from a large spouted pitcher of sandy "Thetford" ware, dating to about the 11th century. It may be compared with a complete spouted pitcher found in Colchester, illustrated in *Proc. Cambs, Ant. Soc. L.* (1957) 46, Fig. 6, 1. From the destruction layers over the hypocaust of House II.

MEDIEVAL POTTERY

In the rich black loam well above the Roman levels were found many sherds of 16th to 18th century date, all intermixed. These include a few green glazed sherds of Tudor date, and fragments of 16th century Siegburg and Rhenish stone wares of slightly later date. There were also pieces of maiolica of the mid to second half of the 17th century; Hessian pottery of about the same date; late 17th to early 18th century Westerwald stone wares, together with Nottingham stone wares and Stafford pottery of the 18th century.

CLAY TOBACCO PIPES

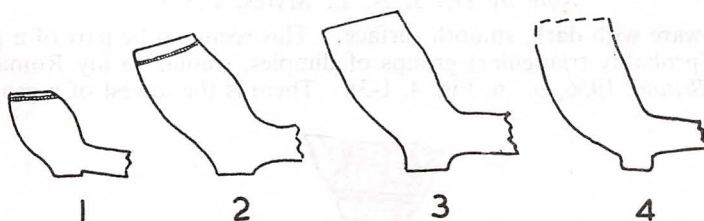


FIG. 11.—Clay Tobacco Pipes from Lewis's Gardens. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

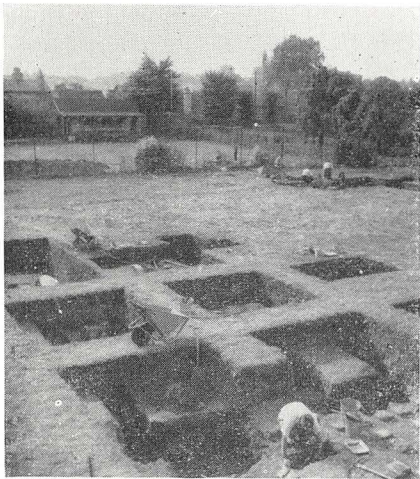
1. Two examples of the small 17th century pipe were found. The footstand is almost level with the stem, the bowl, still relatively small, has a fairly prominent bulge on the inner side near the mouth, the latter, slightly constricted, has a rouletted groove below the lip. See Oswald¹⁸ Type 4c and Gant¹⁹ Fig. 3, (1620-50).
2. By far the most common on the site was a pipe which was in use during the second half of the 17th century, and of which 12 were recovered. They are larger than the first two, with a less pronounced curve to the bowl, which is only slightly constricted at the mouth. A very poorly executed band of rouletting appears a little way below the lip. The footstand is well defined. See Oswald Type 5b and Gant Fig. 4 (1640-1720).
3. One example, like an enlarged version of the previous group is probably of late 17th to early 18th century type and falls somewhere between Oswald's Type 7 (1670-1710) and his Type 8 (1680-1720).
4. Three pipes of a late 18th to mid 19th century type were recovered. In this the bowl expands towards the mouth, which is parallel with the stem and the footstand is replaced by a spur stamped on each side with the maker's initials, F or EB on two pipes, the third is not decipherable. Cf. Oswald Type 9c (1780-1840) and Gant, Fig. 7 (1780-1850).

The Society gratefully acknowledges a generous grant towards the cost of publication of this paper by the Council for British Archaeology.

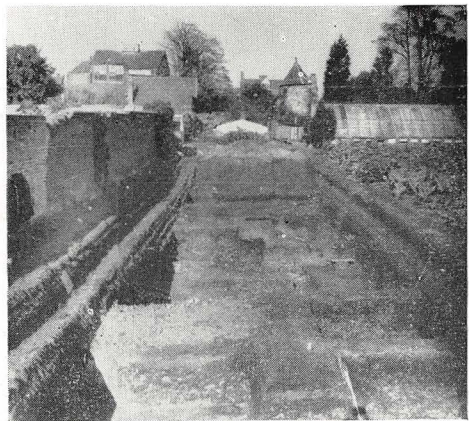
18. A. Oswald, "English Clay Tobacco Pipes", *The Archaeological News Letter*, Vol. 3, No. 10, April, 1951, p. 153.
19. L. H. Gant, "Clay Pipes found at Colchester", *Colchester Arch. Group Quarterly Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Sept., 1958, p. 31.



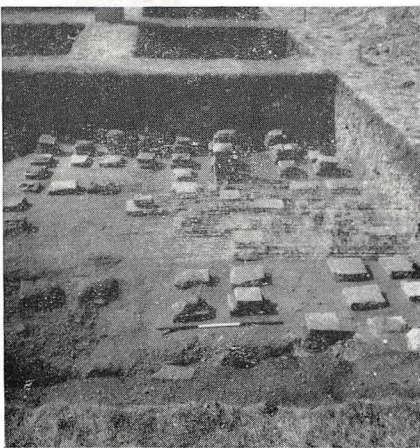
PLATE I.—Air View of S.E. Corner of the Colonia, showing line of Town Wall, Lewis's Gardens, and areas excavated, A in 1955 and B in 1958. *Photo by courtesy of Essex County Standard.*



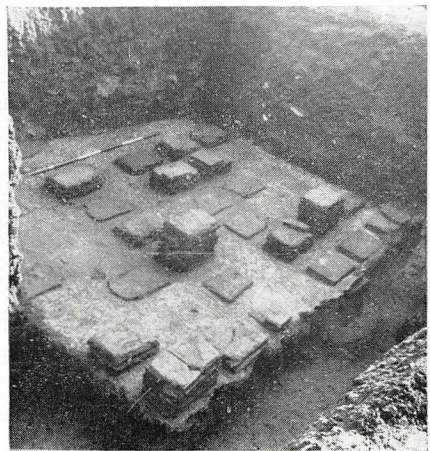
(a). Excavations in 1955 looking South.



(c). Area excavated in 1958, looking North.



(b). Hypocaust, House II.



(d). Hypocaust, House V.

PLATE II.

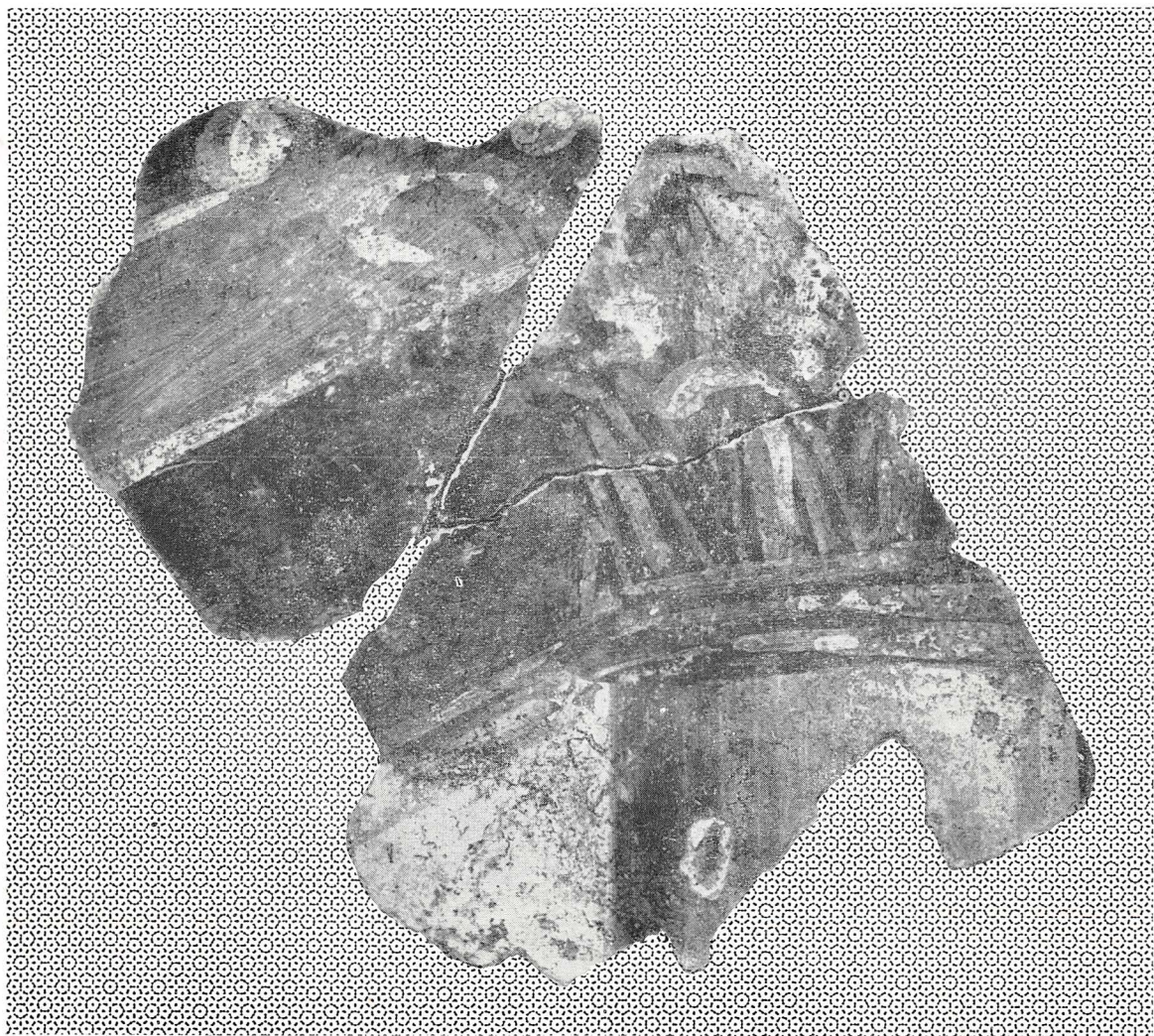


PLATE III.—Wall Plaster from site of House II, showing Painted Corinthian Capital. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

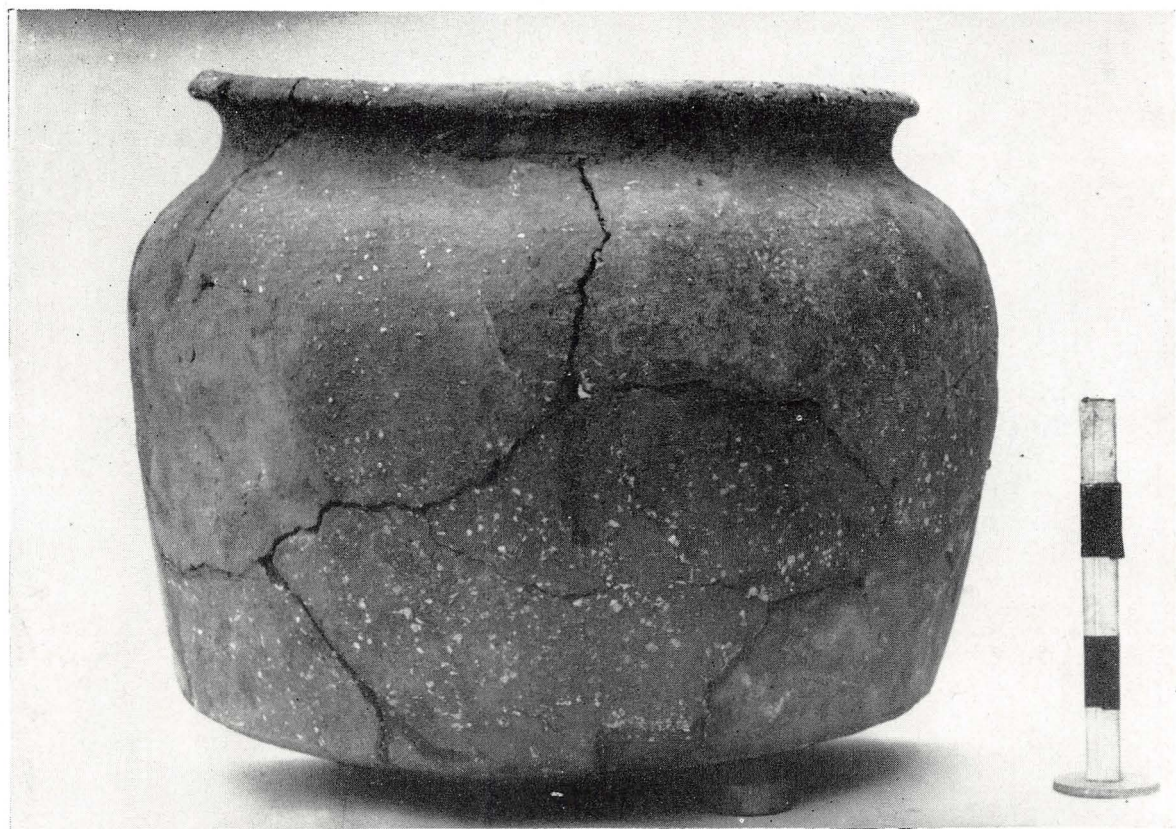


PLATE IV.—The Cooking Jar from the Kiln.

BLUNT'S HALL, WITHAM

By D. H. Trump, M.A., Ph.D.

In June, 1958, three trial trenches were cut in the earthwork at Blunt's Hall, just north of the railway line one mile west of Witham (grid reference 806144),¹ to see if this could be identified with the "burh" built at Witham by Edward in 913.²

It is a square moated site distinguished from the many other Essex homestead moats by a prominent internal bank. It measures roughly 50 yards a side, with a 20-ft. interval between bank top and ditch bottom. Actually the section is nowhere complete, since the bank has been slighted inwards on two sides and the moat has silted up on the other two. At the south-east corner the bank rises into a circular tump with a level top some 12 feet across a little higher than the bank, and there is an entrance in the middle of the eastern side which in its present form does not look original. An investigation of these two features was beyond the means at our disposal.

The trenches are marked on the accompanying plan and section (Fig. 1). The first breached the bank at its highest and was carried down to disclose the structure and the old ground surface for half its breadth. On this were found a number of sherds and an open hearth and in it, at the lip of the ditch, a 9 inch marking out trench. The subsoil is a very chalky boulder clay, the old turf line being represented by reddish loam without chalk. Streaks of these two ran through the whole bank showing how it was built up and inwards from the lip of the ditch, starting with almost pure loam.

The second trench had to be abandoned in the face of waterlogged clay impregnated with dumped oil waste.

Trench III sought evidence of internal structures. Over its whole area sherds, daub, bones and seashells were common immediately below ploughsoil, but the clay showed no postholes or sleeper trenches. In the south-east corner an irregular pit contained many oysters. In the south-west was a trench two feet wide with a round bottom one foot below natural clay. Its sides were deeply fire-reddened and it was choked with charcoal containing some sherds, parts of a rotary quern of lava and a pumice hone. It was followed for 9 feet without reaching its end. Too large for an ordinary domestic hearth, it may be a clamp kiln.

The northern half of the enclosure is now cultivated for allotments and more sherds were picked up on its surface.

Dating must depend primarily on the pottery, which is of three wares, none of them glazed.³ The finest, ware C, was a thin, hard, grey ware of which there were seven sherds from trench III, too few to base conclusions on. The two rims are illustrated. The other two, in roughly equal numbers, amounted to several hundred sherds. Ware B is also hard, turned on a fast wheel, with a black, sandy temper and a grey or rosy pink colour. Ware A is much softer, poorly turned, its temper of large grits of flint, shell or, most commonly, chalk. It is red-brown varying to nearly black. A single vessel type only was present, uniform and identical in the two wares, well illustrated by the jar of which about a third was recovered from the "kiln" (see the photograph (Plate IV) and section in the top left corner of Fig. 2). It is a cooking jar with a slightly thickened rim, often with a slight hollow internally, having an S-neck and a markedly sagging base. The diameter is 10-in. Small variations in size and rim profile are the only differences. Of 15 base sherds, only one was flat.

This material cannot be pre-Conquest. The St. Neots ware of that period reached Witham but there is no sign of it here. The characteristic bowl is entirely missing and the cooking pot is far too

1. Thanks are particularly due to the owner, the Hon. Charles Strutt, to the volunteer labourers and to the Essex Record Office for their help. The finds and more detailed plans and sections have been deposited in the Colchester Castle Museum.
2. The earthwork around the railway station generally held to be of this date has been shown by excavation, unfortunately after its publication in *Ant. J.* XIV (1934), p. 190, to be pre-Roman, not Saxon. Some secondary occupation of the later date, St. Neots ware sherds for example, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* XLIX (1955), p. 65, suggests that Edward may merely have refortified the older work for his purpose. I know of no other alternative sites in the neighbourhood.
3. The only exception was a single sporadic sherd of quite different ware from the allotments.

BLUNT'S HALL

DT def.

← TERLING

WITHAM
1 MILE →

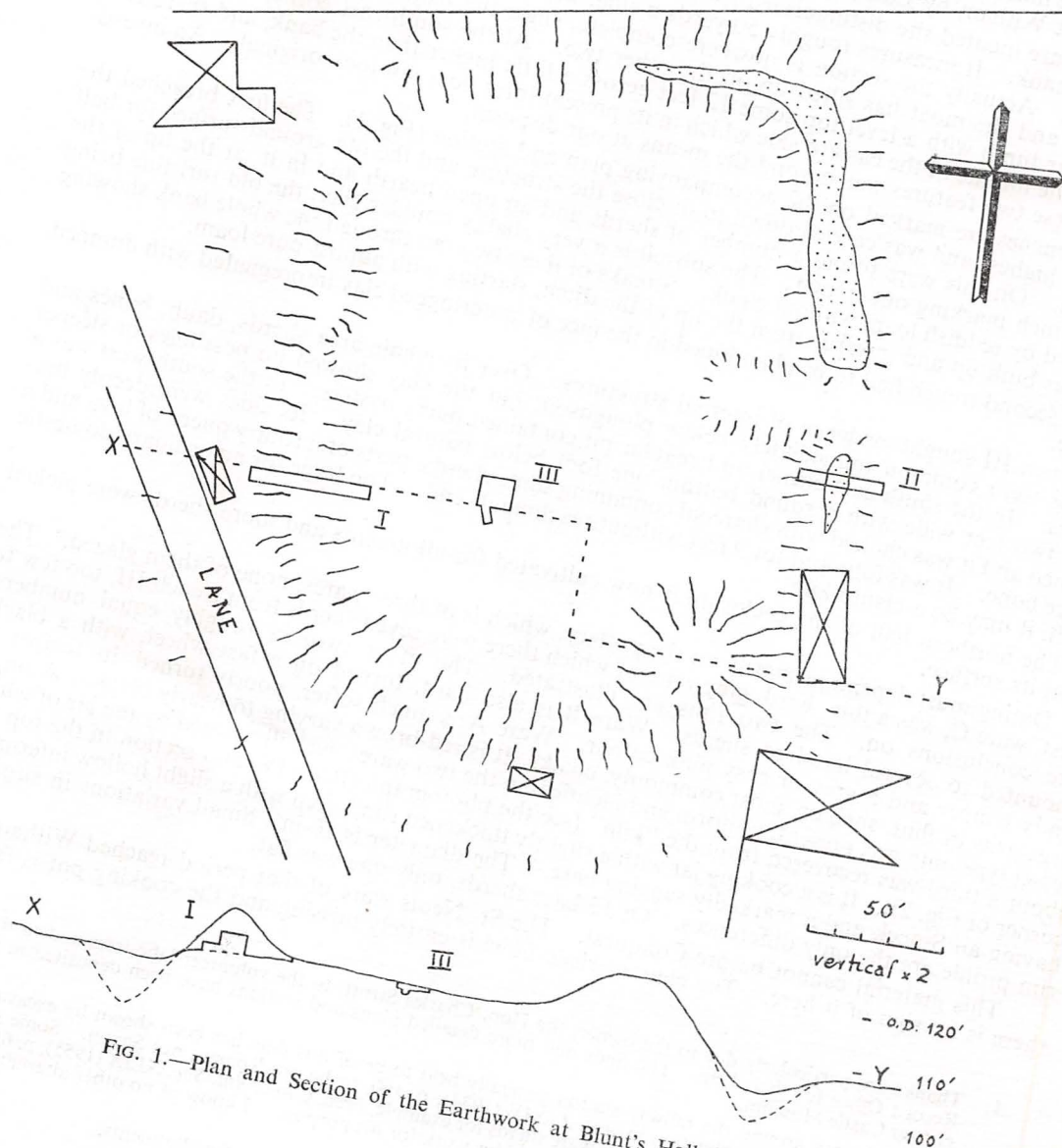


FIG. 1.—Plan and Section of the Earthwork at Blunt's Hall, Witham.

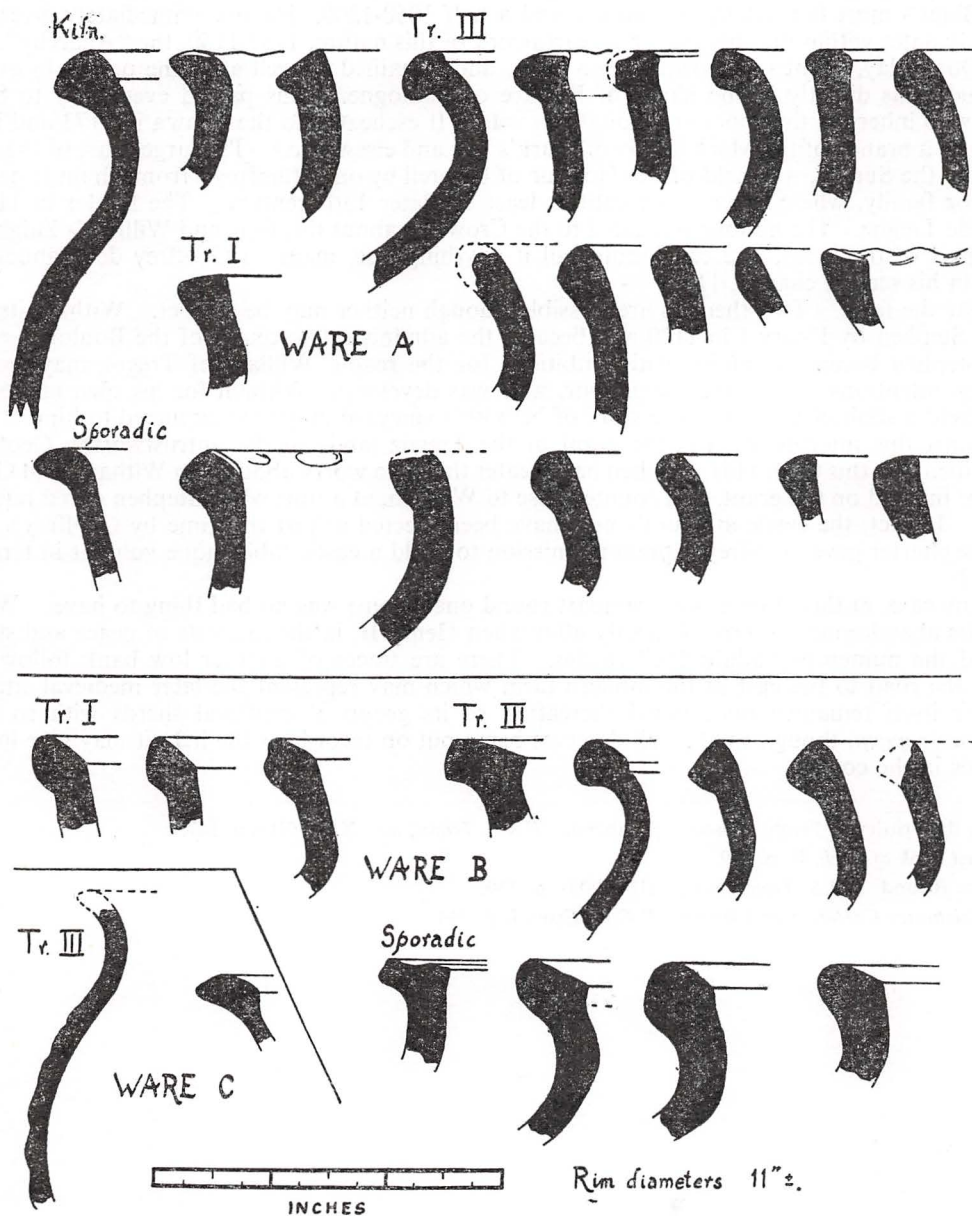


FIG. 2.—Rim sections of Pottery from Blunt's Hall.

large. At the other end, the complete absence of glazed wares gives a terminal date of, in round figures, 1200. The most valuable comparison is with the Rayleigh Castle finds,⁴ which cover the period 1070-1270. Early deposits there similarly had no glaze, whereas by 1270 it was common. So the occupation of Blunt's must fall within the century and a half 1050-1200. History immediately gives us the most likely dates within that period for an earthwork of this nature, 1135-1150, the "Anarchy".

In Domesday, Blunt's is shown in two parts, and remained so well after the period in question. Half a hide was directly in the hands of Eustace of Boulogne. This passed eventually to Stephen himself, who inherited that honour through his wife. It escheated to the Crown in 1173 and in 1211 was held by a branch of the Mark family of Mark's Tey and elsewhere.⁵ The larger part of the manor, 2½ hides in the Survey, was held of the Honour of Peverell by one Humfrey,⁶ from whom it passed to the Tregoz family, where it remained until at least the later 13th century. The holder in 1135 was William de Tregoz. The honour escheated to the Crown at about this time and William's knights' fees formed part of the bribe, one can hardly call it anything else, made to Geoffrey de Mandeville by Stephen in his second charter, 1141.

So far the facts. Two theories are possible, though neither may be correct. Witham itself was given to Stephen by Henry I in 1120 and became the administrative centre of the Boulogne estates.⁷ Before Stephen became occupied with ambitions for the realm, William of Tregoz may well have feared the intentions of his great neighbour, who was developing Witham for his own interests and already held a sixth of Blunt's. The story of Naboth's vineyard may have occurred to him.

Against this interpretation is the grant of the Tregoz lands to the untrustworthy Geoffrey de Mandeville. By this time, 1141, Stephen had greater things to worry about than Witham, and Geoffrey may have insisted on the grant, as a counterpoise to Witham, at a time when Stephen dared refuse him nothing. In fact, the castle at Blunt's may have been erected at just this time by Geoffrey's orders. The same charter gave Geoffrey express permission to build a castle 'ubicunque voluerit in terra sua'. Is this it?

In any case, at that time a stout rampart round one's home was no bad thing to have. Whoever built it, its abandonment followed shortly after when Henry II, in the interests of peace and stability, destroyed the numerous "adulterine" castles. There are traces of another low bank following the curve of the road to the east of the modern farm which may represent the later medieval site. The earthwork itself remained unoccupied thereafter, so its group of medieval sherds with so early a *terminus ante quem*, though small, well deserves being put on record for the help it may give in dating other sites in the county.

4. In the Prittlewell Priory Museum, Southend. *E.A.S. Trans.*, n.s., XII (1910), p. 147.

5. *Red Book of Exch.* II, p. 579.

6. See Round, *E.A.S. Trans.*, n.s., VIII (1903), p. 330.

7. *Colchester Cartulary* and Round, *V.C.H. Essex* I, p. 344.

MEDIEVAL AND LATER POTTERY FROM STOCKWELL STREET, COLCHESTER

By Bryan P. Blake, J. G. Hurst and L. H. Gant.¹

The excavation was undertaken to explore an area of Colchester inside the north wall of the Roman Colonia where the modern street plan was thought to denote the presence of the Roman amphitheatre.²

A North-South trench 5-ft. wide and 80-ft. long was dug inside the area in a disused garden to the west of Stockwell Street School.³

The only find of Roman date, apart from residual Roman pottery at most levels, was a street of ferruginous bound gravel, in places well over 2-ft. thick. Above the street was a layer of Roman debris under the ubiquitous black soil with no stratification which ran from the top of the Roman level up to the surface.

Subsequent to abandonment of this portion of the Roman town, prior to the building of a house, probably of the "Dutch Quarter" in the 17th century, the land appears to have been waste ground. The area was a waste tip shown as spreads of refuse cut at all levels by a complex of rubbish pits. It was from two of these pits that the groups of pottery described below were excavated.

PIT IV

(a) *The Hispano-Moresque sherd.*

1. The most important find from Pit IV was a small sherd of this ware imported from Spain. Unfortunately the sherd is very small, little more than an inch square, so that it is hardly possible to reconstruct the decoration, which only covers one corner, or the vessel it came from. It is, however, in a typical roughish pink paste with a honey coloured tin glaze and has painted decoration in blue. The glaze has decayed over the paint giving a brown appearance which is present on other Hispano-Moresque pieces found in excavations. The sherd is part of an almost flat plate and comes from the junction of the base with the side. It is very difficult to date such a small sherd but in the opinion of Mr. E. A. Lane it is likely to be from the Manises kilns in Valencia and dates to the middle of the 15th century. The fabric and the deterioration of the glaze is exactly comparable with typical mid 15th century sherds found in Southampton.

Hispano-Moresque pottery was first imported into this country in the late 13th century (cf. Lesnes Abbey, *Ant. J.* XLI (1961) 1-12). Other 15th century examples are known from London (several examples in the Guildhall Museum) Bristol, Melrose Abbey, Dunstanborough Castle and Weoley Castle as well as Southampton. Hispano-Moresque pottery was also traded over the rest of Western Europe at this date and may be found in Holland, Germany and Denmark. It is hoped to make a more detailed study of these vessels at a later date.

There is only one up-to-date book in English on Hispano-Moresque pottery, Alice Wilson Frothingham, *Lustre Ware of Spain* (New York, 1951). The standard Spanish reference works are J. Ainaud de Lasarte, *Ars Hispaniae* (Madrid, 1952) and M. Gonzalez Marti, *Ceramica del Levante Espanol* (Barcelona, 1944).

(b) *15th Century Local Wares.*

2. Jug in orange-red fabric, having an irregular grey core. White slip except for lower portion. Glaze mottled yellow and green. Typical 15th century shape copying metal vessels. (cf. *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, Fig. 75, No. 2).

All the other sherds in the pit, described below, are typical of the second half of the 15th century in East Anglia. They may be compared with material from King John's Palace, Writtle (*Med. Arch.* forthcoming) where there is a good sequence of these red wares with their associated sgraffito and white painted decoration as 18. There were no sgraffito sherds from this pit though

-
1. B. Blake was responsible for the excavation, for sorting, drawing and describing the pottery; J. G. Hurst provided the parallels for the pottery and L. H. Gant the report on the clay tobacco pipes.
 2. The shape is that of a 'D' with the upright running as Northgate Street on the line of the Roman Town Wall and the remainder of the shape formed by the North end of West Stockwell Street, Stockwell and Ball Alley.
 3. On the 1876 O.S. Map, Essex, Colchester sheet XXVII.12.3 at 1/500 scale, a house is shown on this plot. The trench was dug where the house had stood in the hope that the lower strata would be less disturbed.

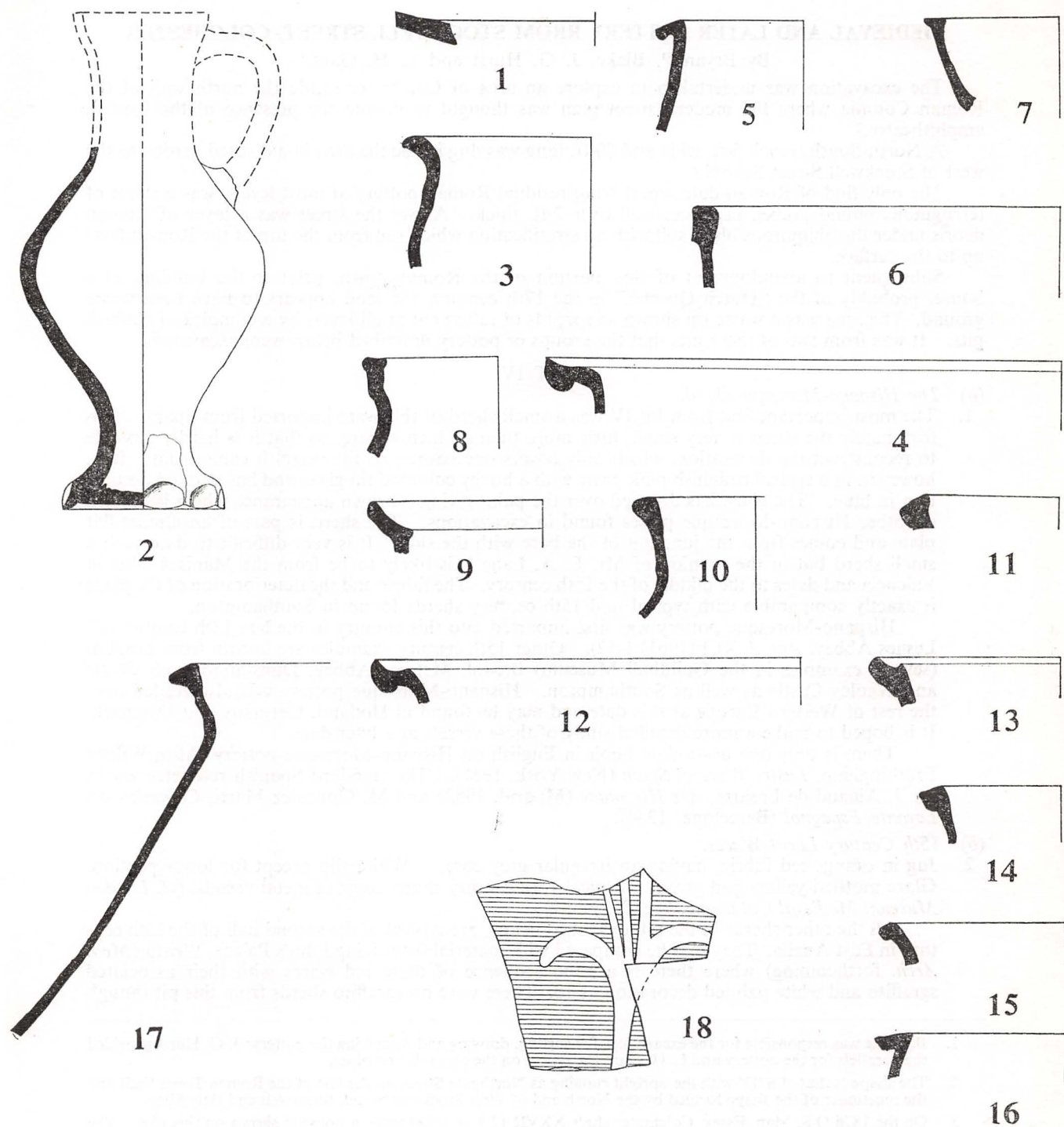


FIG. 1.—Hispano-Moresque sherd, Figs. 2-18, 15th Century local wares from PIT IV. Scale 1/3.

there were others on the site. When the Writtle pottery has been analysed it may be possible to date this group more precisely, but it is closer in fabric and in form to the 1470 group than that of 1420.

3. Coarse brown-red fabric. Diameter = 7-in. Another almost identical, but its D. = 6½-in.
4. D. = 19-in. red fabric.
5. Very coarse ware, red external, grey internal, rough in finish and feel. D. = 5½-in.
6. D. = 13½-in., coarse red ware. A band of white paint 5/16-in. wide runs around vessel below rim. On top and side of rim are dashes of white paint.
7. Coarse red ware. Internal glaze of rich brown with black streaks. Glaze has lapped over rim and in one place run down outside. D. = 5-in.
8. D. = 5-in. Coarse red ware with dark grey exterior with a trace of white paint.
9. D. = 6½-in. Finer red ware glazed internally below lid rebate.
10. D. = 4½-in. Coarse red ware with dark grey surface internally and externally. Trace of white paint.
11. Part of rim is coarse red ware, outside and top white painted. This rim appears to have been made separate from rest of pot and has broken from it along line of junction. D. = 6-in.
12. D. = 15¾-in. Fabric similar to 2.
13. Fairly coarse red ware with red-brown glaze apart from lid rebate. D. = 7-in.
14. Fairly coarse red ware, grey-brown externally with traces of white paint below rim. D. = 5¼-in.
15. Very abraded rim of coarse flaky red ware. Externally white painted (top of rim included). D. = 7-in. approx.
16. Fairly fine red ware. D. = 7-in.
17. D. = 6-7-in. Red fabric, outside has white speckled, rich brown glaze over a portion of the vessel where it has run from the lower half of the vessel whilst it was inverted. There is trace of a lip in the small portion of rim. It is not possible to obtain the exact diameter of the rim.
18. Red fabric with grey exterior surface. Decoration painted in white glaze in corner. Fabric is generally similar to 17.

This pit contained many other fragments of red and grey coarse pottery as described above. There were a few small chips of glazed pottery. The purpose of the pit appeared to have been for the disposal of animal remains consisting almost entirely of the metapodial bones and phalanges of young sheep. The pit was cut deep into the Roman street to the underlying natural clay. It had cut through other pits and was sealed below a building which stood on the site to within a hundred years ago.

THE SIEGBURG JUG (Fig. 32)

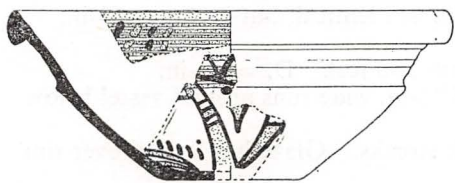
Typical grey stoneware, reddened on the inside, outside thin grey to purple brown glaze; frilled base, body heavily grooved.

Pit IV was cut through a layer containing the Siegburg jug and the neck of the vessel was then broken off. The jug must therefore date to the first half of the 15th century, though it appears that the pit was cut shortly after the deposition of this layer.

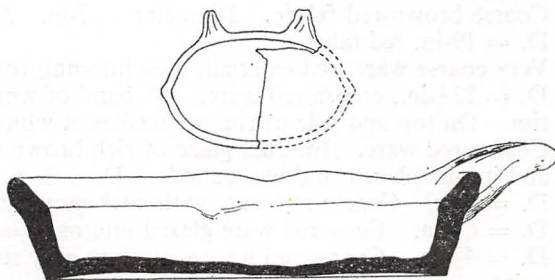
There are many more examples of 15th century Siegburg stoneware in this country than are generally realised, but most of them come from unstratified deposits and it is difficult to say if they are early or late 15th century (cf. examples in the Guildhall Museum, London, Lincoln Museum and the Ashmolean Museum Oxford). There are pre-dissolution examples from Finchale Priory, County Durham (*Arch. Ael.* forthcoming) and from Kirkstall Abbey and Pontefract Priory in Yorkshire but this dating, and that from other abbeys does not help us in determining to what date in the 15th century examples belong.

All the textbooks on Stoneware deal mainly with decorated 16th century and later vessels giving scant reference to the plain early jugs. On the continent, however, archaeologists are beginning to pay more attention to these jugs and similar work is badly needed in this country and especially the finding of examples from dated stratified deposits.

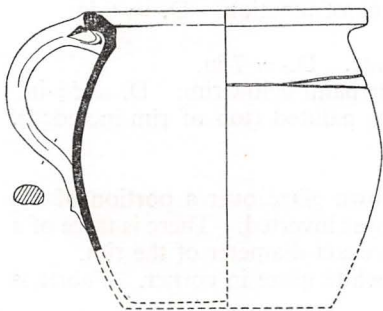
In Denmark, Mr. T. E. Christiansen, of the National Museum in Copenhagen, has made a collection of the many Siegburg jugs found in Denmark with dated coin hoards. In Germany more 14th



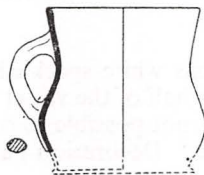
19



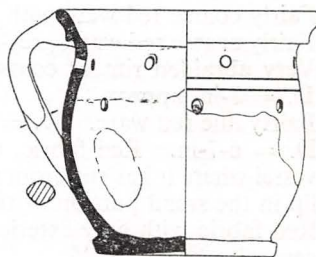
22



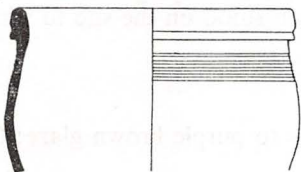
21



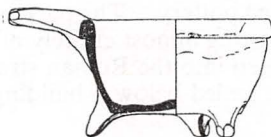
20



23



24



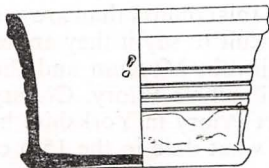
25



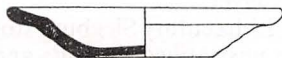
28



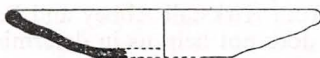
29



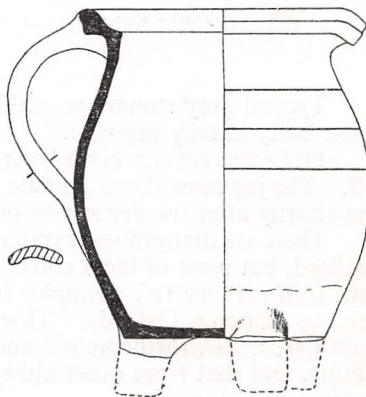
27



30



31



26

FIGS. 19-31.—16th and 17th Century Vessels from Pit XVII and Netherlands Maiolica Bowls. Scale 1/4.

and 15th century examples are now being published (cf. material from Cologne in *Kölner Jahrbuch* 4 (1959), pl. 14 where Nos. 1 and 2 may be closely compared with the Colchester jug.) It is however in Holland that most work has been done, due to the efforts of Mr. J. G. N. Renaud of the State Archaeological Service. Many examples are to be found in the volumes of the Service which contain reports on Medieval excavations (*Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*). See also Mr. Renaud's valuable paper in the *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* for 1953, especially Fig. 6, No. 10 on which the restoration of the neck of the Colchester jug is based.

Therefore, taking the date of Pit IV as the second half of the 15th century, we have here in Colchester a jug closely dated to the first half of the 15th century. Most jugs of this date are unglazed but the 13th and 14th century examples have a rough reddish-brown glaze and this jug is a survival from this tradition before the thick lustrous grey glazes of the end of the 15th century. Most English finds of early Siegburg are unglazed but there are sherds of another early jug with this early reddish-brown thin glaze from Hangleton in Sussex (H.M.S.O. Report forthcoming). This was found in association with a lobed cup (Rackham—*Medieval English Pottery* (1948) Pl. 44). Lobed cups are usually put at the end of the 15th century (*Oxon. VI* (1941) 89) but this association at Hangleton suggests an early 15th century date, and there is similar evidence from Northolt (*Med. Arch. V* (1961) forthcoming) and the Toynton Kiln in Lincolnshire, excavated by Mrs. E. H. Rudkin. It is hard to put this much later than the middle of the 15th century.

PIT XVII

This pit was dug through black garden soil at the top, but in its lower portions went through the Roman street to the natural clay below.

19. Wanfried ware dish, early 17th century. Fine, pink-buff fabric. Yellow slip as a field for a pattern in orange (dotted in drawing) and green (black in drawing). The inside is glazed.

This dish provides most important dating for this pit. Many of these bowls and dishes, which were made at Wanfried-an-der-Werra, near Kassel, are dated and range from 1604-1632. There are in the Rathaus at Wanfried 12 dated dishes (1610, 1612, 1614, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1620, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627) (*K. Strauss-Alte Deutsche Kunsttöpfereien*. (Berlin, 1923), P. 56).

In the Boymans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, there are another twelve dated dishes (1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1612, 1613, 1618, 1621, 1629, 1632). It will be seen that most of the dishes fall within the twenty years 1605-1625, so they are a most useful dating criterion.

They are fairly common in England, especially in London where they are a large number in the Guildhall Museum (*Connoisseur*, 121 (1948) 56) but the dated examples in continental museums suggests a wider range in date than Mr. A. Oswald gives. Other Wanfried dishes were found at Norwich (*Norf. Arch. XXXI* (1955) 68, Fig. 16, No. 8), in the north at Hartlepool and Newcastle, and in the West in Cornwall.

If all the examples were collected their distribution would prove to be very widespread.

There has been no recent study of this pottery, the best source still being J. Boehlau, *Eine Niederhessische Töpferei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg, 1903) which contains a series of illustrations giving the different patterns and types.

20. Handled cup of light brown-orange fine flaky paste, well made. Orange glaze. Handle has single thumbing at bottom.
21. Handled pot with simple everted rim. Hard red fabric with a patchy internal glaze. Externally unglazed. Handle has single thumbing at bottom and on either side at top.
22. Large fish dish with two lug handles on one side and pouring spout at one end, perhaps both ends. Very thick and heavy. Fabric fine hard clay reduced in firing to light grey except for the outside of the bottom and sides which have oxidised red. Most of the interior has been unevenly glazed green-brown. (Extensive knife tooling especially on the base). Plan $\frac{1}{4}$ size of section. Two handled fish dishes are known from the end of the 16th century, e.g. an example in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1941, 1181) from a late 16th century group from the Bodleian quadrangle (*Oxon. XXIV* (1959) 34, Fig. 16, No. 1). This has two very similar handles though the ends of the dish are more squared. Mr. D. Sturdy very sensibly calls his a dish for joints. They

have been called fish dishes in the literature, and although the narrow long late Medieval ones were undoubtedly used for this purpose, many are larger and they must have been used for other foods as well.

23. Handled pot with moulded collared rim. Coarse red fabric, glazed internally and externally over the top portion, where it is also perforated by 5/16-in. diameter holes. This could hardly have been a collander or strainer and may have been a pomander.
24. Upper half of pot with moulded collared rim. Hard ware predominantly grey, but has a thin red oxidised outer fabric in places. Glaze green-brown, internally and externally.
25. Small skillet with tripod feet and a lug handle. Fabric fairly fine, light buff in colour. Even yellow glaze inside.
26. Almost complete handled pot with lip opposite handle. Fabric coarse, red, glaze is a light orange-brown with dark brown specks. Heating subsequent to initial firing had discoloured much of the outside to a brown-black. Glazed internally and externally, the latter heat-crackled. Strap handle. Tripod feet broken off.
27. Three conjoining fragments of a bowl ornamented with four deep cut grooves. Fabric completely red glazed internally, but only partially externally—trace of a handle or lug applied on top of the grooves.
28. Fragment of a delft dish, yellow-white fabric. Plain glazed underside. Deep blue ornament inside.
29. Fragment of a delft dish, fabric slightly pinker than 28 above. Plain glazed underside having traces of brown paint in it. Ornament on inside of dish of deep blue concentric circles and chain-like links (black in drawing). The former is on a white field, latter on orange-yellow. Overlapping the outside blue circle is a band of brown. These sherds are too small to date closely but they are presumably from similar dishes as are the two nearly complete early 17th century examples (Figs. 33 and 34).
30. Flanged platter. Coarse red fabric glazed deep green-brown inside.
31. Similar platter. Fabric as 17, with orange-brown glaze. Underside blackened over fire.

In addition to these drawn pieces there were rim sherds of two more platters similar to Nos. 30 and 31 and more than six other forms of brown-glazed vessels, mainly large jars with diameters ranging from 6-24-ins.

UNSTRATIFIED POTTERY.

There were numerous sherds from unstratified levels ranging in date from the 15th to the 18th centuries. Most of these are fragmentary and not worth reporting on out of their context but there are two important pieces: one a Netherlands Maiolica dish, and the other a copy of Rhenish Stoneware.

THE NETHERLANDS MAIOLICA.

Delft ware bowl, roughish buff paste with white tin glaze and decoration in light and dark tones of blue (Fig. 33). Another bowl, very similar but shallower, was found some years ago on the site of Benham Newspapers Ltd., High Street, Colchester. The footring has a hole 5 mm. in diameter, made while the bowl was still plastic, for suspension. The position is marked with an arrow, (Fig. 34).

Both these bowls are typical of early 17th century Netherlands Maiolica. They have the typical panelled border motifs and medallions which are copied from Chinese Kraak Porcelain named after the Portuguese ships, carques, which imported these Chinese wares. It was made in China during a late reign of the Ming Dynasty (Wan Li, 1573-1619). Chinese porcelain was known in the Netherlands before 1600 through its import via Spain and Portugal but in 1602 there was Chinese porcelain in a Portuguese ship captured by the Dutch off St. Helena, and brought as a prize to Middelburg,⁴ and following this the wish to imitate Eastern decorated motives increased enormously. The border decoration is typical, being divided into zones which are filled with flowers, emblems and lucky tokens. The medallions on the early plates are usually decorated with Dutch landscapes or cupids and other features of Italian Maiolica. After about 1625, however, the fashion of a mixture of Chinese and Dutch (the latter being much influenced by Italian motifs) was given up and it became the fashion to

4. T. Volker, "Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company" (Leiden, 1954), p. 22.

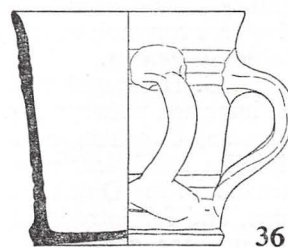
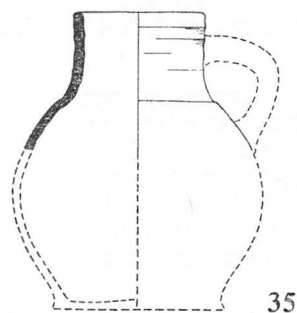
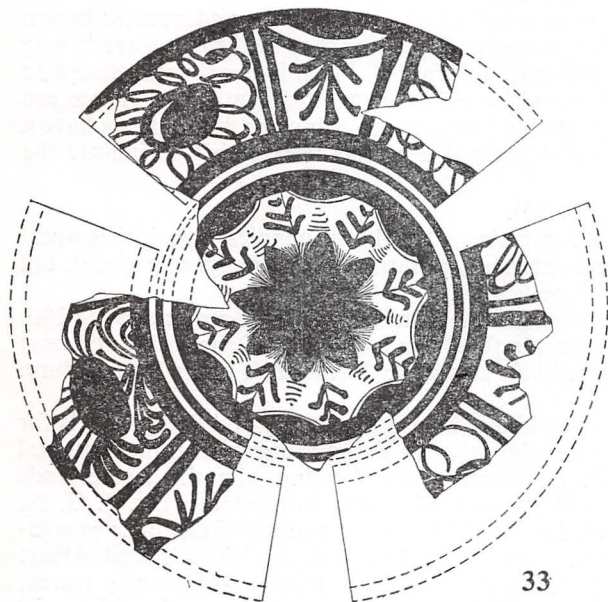
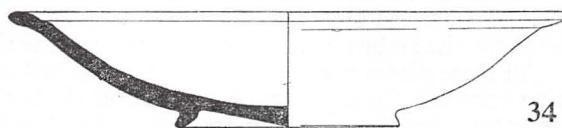
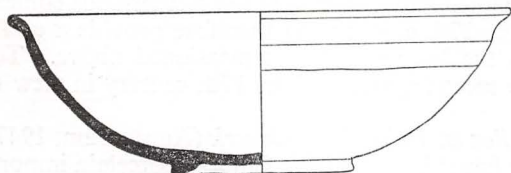
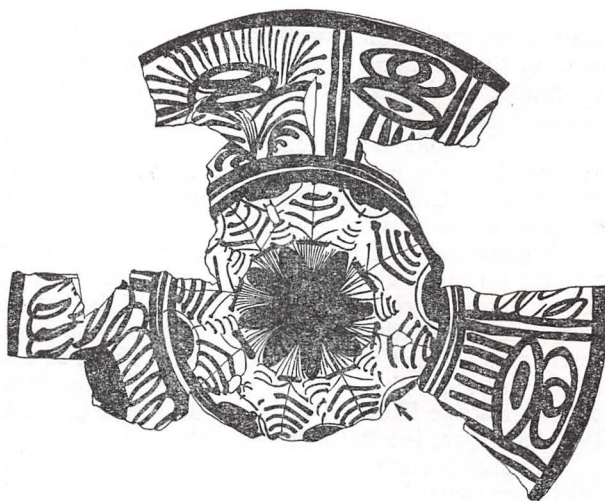
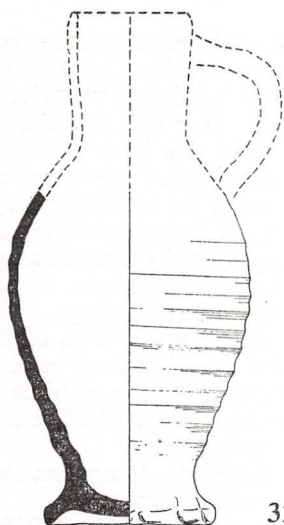


FIG. 32.—The Siegburg Jug. FIGS. 33 and 34.—Netherlands Maiolica. FIG. 35.—Pseudo Stoneware Jug. FIG. 36.—Two-Handled Tyg. Scale 1/4.

decorate the medallion as well as the border in Chinese style. The emblem of the plate painters on the shield of the St. Lucas Guild which was drawn in 1633 has a typical plate with this Chinese border decoration. A similar plate is also seen in the painting by Nicolaes Maes in his painting "Interior of a Kitchen" painted soon after 1650, showing that this type of plate was in use up to this time although of course it could have been made a quarter of a century before. Plates of this kind would have presumably, quite a long life. The usual shape of these vessels was a fairly shallow plate, but deep bowls like the Colchester examples are known and both this and the pattern of the medallion may be paralleled at the Amsterdam factory rather than Rotterdam which is the normal source for these plates.

A great many of these bowls and plates were imported into this country and examples may be expected on most sites containing pottery of this period. Typical panel sherds have been found at Norwich (*Norf. Arch.* XXXI (1955), Fig. 15, Nos. 5 and 20) and Exeter (report forthcoming). There are numerous sherds in the Guildhall Museum, London and three complete plates. Two of these closely parallel the Colchester example. From 32-5 Jewry Street, (1935-26) there is a deep bowl very similar to the Stockwell Street example with the same type of panels and a medallion of birds in a rocky landscape like that on the 1633 shield of St. Lucas mentioned above. From 82 Fleet Street (1937-385) there is a flat panelled dish with very similar decoration in its medallion.

Fragments comprising nearly half of a dish with similar panel and medallion decoration to the Colchester example were found in the Buttermarket Ipswich in 1956 (Ipswich Museum).

One of these Chinese export dishes is figured by W. B. Honey (*Ceramic Art of China* (1945) Pl. 97B). This has the birds on rocks decoration of these copies. Examination of the Chinese material shows how the emblems in the panels have become simplified and distorted in the Netherlands copies.

All these plates may be dated to the first half of the 17th century and therefore provide a useful dating criterion for deposits of this period similar to the Wanfried dishes mentioned above. The Colchester examples may be more closely dated to the second quarter of the 17th century in view of their Chinese type medallions.

See Dr. C. H. De Jonge, *Oud-Nederlandsche Majolica en Delftsch Aardewerk* (Amsterdam, 1947), Chapter II in which the various types of decoration are figured. For later Chinese porcelain imports see *Norf. Arch.* XXXI (1953) 85-7.

THE PSEUDO STONEWARE JUG (Fig. 35).

Another interesting find appeared at first sight to be a typical late-16th century undecorated brown glazed Rhenish stoneware jug. On closer inspection, however, it is clear that the brown glaze is very poor and that the fabric is not stoneware but a hard pale buff fabric. This is clearly an attempt to copy stoneware, presumably in England, as there would be no need to do this abroad. There are other similar sherds found in Wyre Street, Colchester and in London and it is clear that here we have a group of late-16th and early-17th century jugs in which English potters were trying to imitate the German stoneware imports.

TYG (Fig. 36).

This two-handled vessel was recovered almost complete. It had two handles, two inches apart at the base. The fabric is red, glazed internally and externally a purple black (manganese glaze), but faintly mottled and browner in tone than many of these vessels.

Tygs are notoriously difficult to date, for they range in date from the mid 15th century to the 18th century. This example, however, lacks the early purple fabric and the parallel marks on the base which are common on early examples. It is therefore likely to-date to the first half of the 17th century.

Acknowledgments.

J. G. Hurst wishes to thank all those who have so kindly helped to identify and find parallels for the imported pottery; Mr. T. E. Christiansen, for showing him the dated Stoneware in the National Museum, Copenhagen; Miss. De Neevre and Mr. A. Westers, for showing him the Netherlands Maiolica and Wanfried ware in the Boymans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam; Mr. J. G. N. Renaud, of the Dutch State Archaeological Service, for showing him the material from their excavations, and for introducing him to Dutch literature. Mr. E. A. Lane, of the Victoria and Albert Museum for continual encouragement and help, especially with the Hispano-Moresque wares; Mr. Norman Cook and Mr. R. Merrifield, of the Guildhall Museum who are always ready with useful advice and parallels.

THE CLAY PIPES (Fig. 37).

The total number of tobacco pipe bowls and fragments of bowls found in the Stockwell excavation in 1958 totalled 115, in addition to which 517 fragments of stems were found.

As is shown on the accompanying Table, 37 of the bowls can be dated by typology to the period 1620-1690; 74 to 1680-1720; 3 to 1720-1740, and 1 to 1780-1820.

It will be noted, therefore, that the greatest concentration was of the period 1680-1720, which appears to confirm Fairholt's assertion that in the time of King William III "pipes grew larger then, and, ruled by a Dutchman, all England smoked in peace".¹

The system of dating is that adopted by Mr. Adrian Oswald, F.S.A.² to whom certain specimens and sketches were submitted for verification and comment.

Of the many pipes examined, three call for special mention; the most interesting being a decorated pipe (type 3 (A)) which suggests a strong Dutch influence and dates from 1650-1680.

The Institute of Gouda, the centre of clay pipe manufacture in Holland, preserves a register of all designs of Dutch pipe makers, but the Colchester design cannot be found in the records. Mr. Adrian Oswald comments, "it would be exciting to find a Dutchman making pipes in Colchester at this time". A pipe bearing similar decoration was found in the vaults of the old Marshalsea Prison, London, and is now in the Guildhall Museum.

The second pipe (Type 3a (A)) is also of Dutch design and, may fulfill Mr. Oswald's hope, for this bears an incused stamp on a round foot showing the initials "vJK" within a border of bead ornament.

A wide dating is given to this type group, covering the years 1650-90. This specimen has a narrow polished bowl, ornamented with square rouletted band just below the rim, the whole displaying careful moulding and hand finishing. This pipe was contemporary with the first specimen described and a search of the records of the Dutch Congregation in Colchester³ has revealed a very numerous family named Keersgieter, one of whom, Jan, is mentioned many times in the registers of the Dutch Church in Colchester from 1657 onwards. Although, as Mr. Oswald points out, the initials on Dutch pipes very often have no relation whatever to the actual name of the maker.

Of the great number of pipe stems examined, one was found with roulette band decoration (Pit E, 11) and one had a small heart carefully chipped out and filled with a dark pigment (Pit E, 7). A wig curler with unstamped end was found in Pit E, 11 which produced the greatest number of pipes dating from 1680-1720.

The majority of stem fragments were from 17th and early 18th century types; a few oval and finely tapered stems of late 18th and early 19th century were found, but only four chamfered mouthpiece ends were found amongst over 600 fragments. Two tapering stems, of small bore, had a second hole bored above the mouthpiece to improve drawing.

The third pipe bowl calling for special study was found in Pit E, 11 (Type 5). This can be accurately dated to 1720-40 and bears the initials "E.B." on the side of the foot. This type has been found in High Street, Colchester, and in St. Helen's Lane, near Stockwell, and is the work of Edward Bland, who had his kiln and workshop in George Lane (now called George Street and numbered 21 and 22) where he was succeeded by John Randall, who sold the business in 1759.⁴ Tobacco pipe making was carried out on these same premises for over two and a half centuries.⁵

Trench D produced an unusual bowl of Type 4, decorated with horizontal bars of rouletting round the lower part of the bowl. The four chamfered mouthpieces were also found in this trench.

Parallels for most other types examined are to be found in the Guildhall and London Museums; also in the Bragg Collection in the British Museum. The Layard Collection in Ipswich Museum gives a closer dating for Types 2 and 2a to 1650-70 and further dates a specimen similar to Type 2 (D),

1. *Tobacco, its History and Associations*, F. W. Fairholt (1859).

2. *Archaeological News Letter*, Vol. III (1951), also Vol. V, No. 12 (1955) and *J.B.A.A.* XXIII (1960) 40-102.

3. *Publications of the Huguenot Society of London*, Vol. XII—*Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester*—ed. W. J. C. Moens (1905).

4. *Ipswich Journal*, 17th March, 1759—advertisement of Sale.

5. *Essex County Standard*, Oct. 20, 1906—article by C. E. Benham on "Pipe making industry in Colchester".

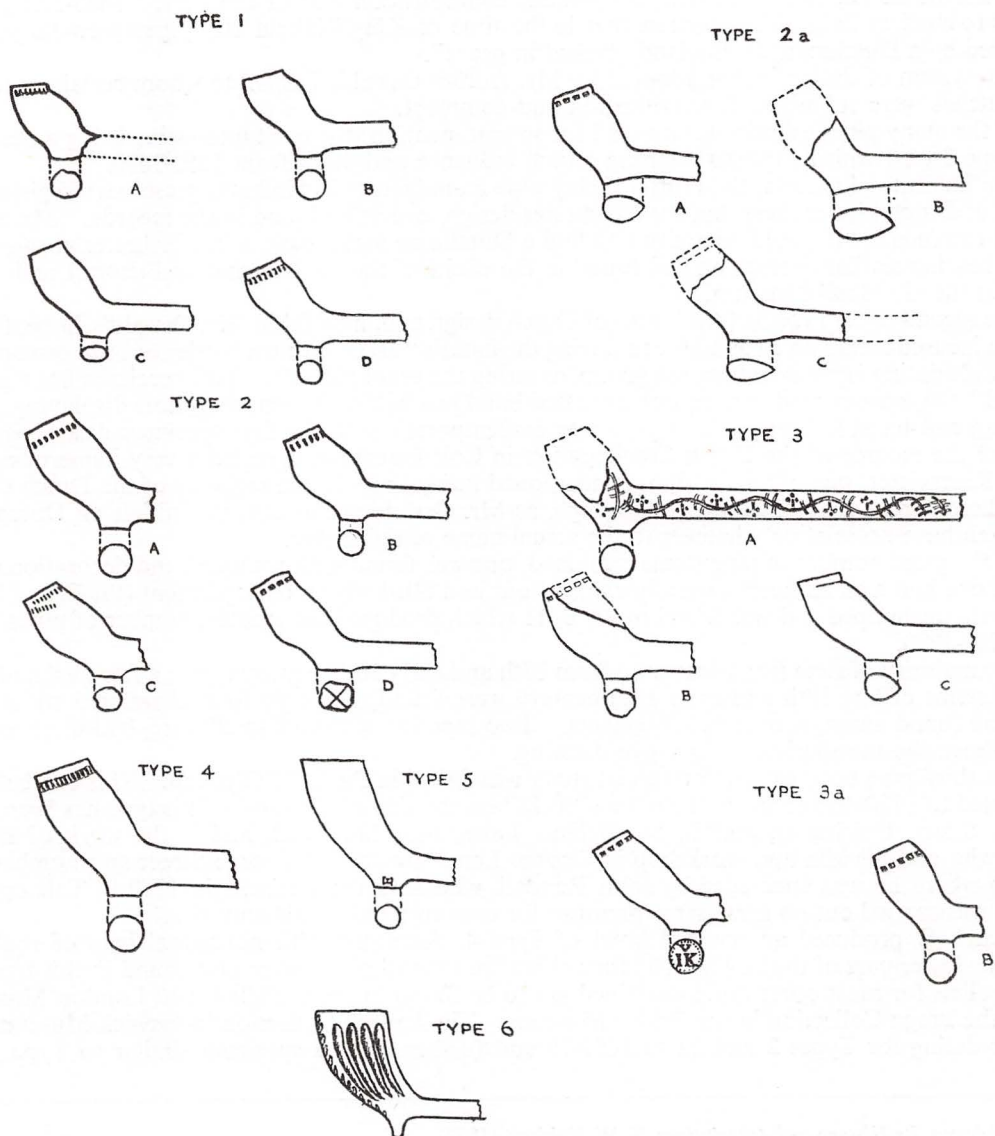


FIG. 37.—The Clay Tobacco Pipes found in Stockwell Street, Colchester. Scale 1/3.

having square rouletted decoration, to 1640-60. The excavations at St. Benedict's Gates, Norwich in 1951 and 1953 produced many comparable pipes, particularly of Types 4 and 5.⁶

Absence of makers' initials or symbols makes it difficult to claim local production before 1650, and it appears likely that the earliest types found in Colchester were imported from London.

CLAY TOBACCO PIPES FOUND AT STOCKWELL, COLCHESTER, 1958.

Type	...	1	2	2a	3	3a	4	5	6	Stems
Date	...	1620-40	1640-70		1650-80	1650-90	1680-1720	1720-40	1780-1820	
<hr/>										
<i>Find Reference:</i>										
A 3	...						1			16
C 5	...							1		12
C 8	...	1	3							1
Trench D	...			2		1	28			128
E 5	...									1
E 7	...									11
E 9	...	1					10	1		75
E 11	...	1	3	2	1	1	33	1		56
E 13	...								1	
E 15	...						1			4
G	...	1	2		1	6	1			181
G 3	...									2
G 17	...	1				1				1
G Extension	...		2	1	6					29
<hr/>										
		5	10	5	8	9	74	3	1	517

6. *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. XXXI, Part I (1955), 92-7, *Excavations at St. Benedict's Gates, Norwich*.

SOCIETIES IN UNION FOR EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS

- Society of Antiquaries of London—*Antiquaries Journal*.
 Royal Archaeological Institute—*Journal*.
 Essex Field Club—*Essex Naturalist*.
 Birmingham Archaeological Society—*Transactions*.
 Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society—*Transactions*.
 Cambridge Antiquarian Society—*Proceedings*.
 Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society—*Transactions*.
 Chester and North Wales Archaeological Society—*Journal* (N.S.)
 Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society—*Transactions* (N.S.)
 Derbyshire Archaeological Society—*Journal*
 Dorset Archaeological Society—*Proceedings*.
 East Herts. Archaeological Society—*Transactions*.
 East Riding Antiquarian Society—*Transactions*.
 Hereford: Woolhope Field Club—*Transactions*.
 Kent Archaeological Society—*Archaeologia Cantiana*.
 Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society—*Transactions*.
 Leicestershire Archaeological Society—*Transactions*.
 London and Middlesex Archaeological Society—*Transactions*.
 London University Institute of Historical Research—*Bulletin and other publications*.
 Montgomeryshire—*Collections*.
 Newcastle-on-Tyne, Society of Antiquaries of—*Proceedings; Archaeologia Aeliana*.
 Norfolk Archaeological Society—*Norfolk Archaeology*.
 Somerset Archaeological Society—*Proceedings*.
 Staffordshire: William Salt Archaeological Society—*Collections*.
 North Staffordshire Field Club—*Transactions*.
 Suffolk Institute of Archaeology—*Proceedings*.
 Surrey Archaeological Society—*Collections*.
 Sussex Archaeological Society—*Collections*.
 Thoresby Society, Leeds—*Publications*.
 Wiltshire Archaeological Society—*Magazine*.
 Worcestershire Archaeological Society—*Transactions*.
 Yorkshire Archaeological Society—*Journal*.
 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—*Proceedings*.
 Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland—*Journal*.
 Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France—*Bulletin*. —*Mémoires*.
 Rheinschen Provinzial Museum in Bonn—*Bonner Jahrbücher*.
 Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm—*Fornvännen*.

The following publications and manuscripts have been received and added to the Library and the Archives:—

H. Forrester—*Timber-framed Houses of Essex*.

Hilda Grieve—*The Great Tide*.

J. Chapman and P. Andre—*Map of Essex* (1950 edition).

Francis W. Steer—*Samuel Tufnell of Langleys*.

Philip Rahtz—*Pleshey Castle Report*, 1960.

Colchester Archaeological Group—*Bulletin* (quarterly, by subscription).

City of Bradford Archaeological Group—*Bulletin* (monthly, the gift of Mr. Leonard H. Gant).

P. H. Reaney—*The Origin of English Place Names*.

K. C. Newton—*Thaxted in the 14th Century*.

A. Mauer—*Problems of Place-name Study*.

A. Mauer—*Chief Elements used in English Place-names*.

A. Mauer and F. M. Stenton—*Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names*.

The last three volumes are an anonymous gift through Dr. P. H. Reaney.

K. Cameron—*Place Names of Derbyshire*, 3 volumes, the gift of Dr. P. H. Reaney.

A. Gimson—*Great Braxted*.

A manuscript "*The Diary of John Lee—1748*"—the gift of Mrs. M. Baker.

Mrs. V. Benton—a large collection of Manuscripts and Books from the collections of the late Rev. G. Montagu Benton.

A collection of Documents relating to Thorpe-le-Soken, including Wills, Churchwardens' presentments, etc.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

as at 31st December, 1960.

PATRON:

COL. SIR JOHN RUGGLES-BRISE, BART., C.B., O.B.E., T.D., J.P.
Her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant of Essex.

PRESIDENT:

MAJOR J. G. S. BRINSON, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

The Rt. Revd. The Lord Bishop of Chelmsford, S. Falkner Allison, D.D.
The Revd. T. D. S. Bayley, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.G.
The Rt. Hon. Lord Braybrooke.
D. A. J. Buxton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
The Rt. Revd. The Lord Bishop of Colchester, F. D. V. Narborough, M.A., B.D.
J. J. Tufnell, Esq.
Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., T.D., M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), F.B.A., P.P.S.A.

COUNCIL:

The President.	L. H. Gant, Esq., A.I.A.C.
The Hon. Secretary.	Lt. Cdr. R. H. Farrands, R.N.R.
The Hon. Treasurer.	F. A. Girling, Esq., F.S.A.
Wm. Addison, Esq., J.P.	J. S. Gardner, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby, M.B.E., F.S.A.	M. R. Hull, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
Miss F. M. Blomfield, M.A., F.S.A.	K. R. Mabbitt, Esq., F.S.A.
D. A. J. Buxton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	The Revd. J. R. McCallum, M.A.
L. E. Dansie, Esq., J.P., F.S.A.	J. G. O'Leary, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.A.
A. B. Doncaster, Esq.	P. H. Reaney, Esq., Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A.
F. G. Emmison, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.	J. Williams, Esq., B.Litt., M.A., M.Ed.
F. H. Erith, Esq.	S. J. Woodward, Esq., B.A.

HON. SECRETARY:

JOHN S. APPLEBY, Esq., F.R.Met.S., A.R.Hist.S.,
Cranford House, Elmstead, Colchester.
'Phone: Wivenhoe 472.

HON. TREASURER:

J. B. BENNETT, Esq.,
Fairways, Dormy Houses, East Mersea, Colchester.
'Phone: East Mersea 247.

HON. LIBRARIAN:

The Revd. J. R. MCCALLUM, M.A.,
Alresford Rectory, Colchester.
'Phone: Wivenhoe 288.

HON. EDITOR:

LEONARD H. GANT, Esq., A.I.A.C.,
45 Castle Road, Colchester.

CURATOR:

M. R. HULL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.,
The Castle Museum, Colchester.

Representatives of the Society on the Museum and Muniments Committee of the Colchester Corporation:

Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby, M.B.E., F.S.A.	Miss F. M. Blomfield, M.A., F.S.A.
Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.	F. H. Erith, Esq.

Representative of the Society on the Chelmsford Library Committee:

Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.

TRANSACTIONS
of the
ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SOCIETY

VOL. I. PART 2. (THIRD SERIES).

COLCHESTER

Published by the Society at the Museum in the Castle.

1962

Price to Non-Members £1 5s.

TRANSACTIONS

of the

ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Vol. I, Part 2 (Third Series)

1962

Contents

SETTLEMENTS OF THE IRON AGE AND PAGAN SAXON PERIODS AT LINFORD, ESSEX. By K. J. Barton	... ..	57
STONE COFFIN FOUND AT WIX ABBEY. By Bryan P. Blake	... ..	105
LITTLE WALTHAM CHURCH GOODS, c. 1400. By Brian C. Smith, M.A.	... ..	111
AN ACCOUNT OF WALLWOOD, LEYTONSTONE. By Frederick Temple	... ..	114
EXCAVATION OF AN IRON AGE AND ROMAN SITE AT CHADWELL ST. MARY, ESSEX. By W. H. Manning	... ..	127
EXCAVATION OF THE BATTLE DITCHES, SAFFRON WALDEN, 1959. By Alison Ravetz, M.A. and Gillian Spencer, M.A.	... ..	141
ROBERT, SECOND EARL OF WARWICK AND THE PAYMENT OF SHIP- MONEY IN ESSEX. By VIOLET A. ROWE	... ..	160
ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES:		
John Hunton, Quaker. By F. Temple	... ..	164
Richard Hutchinson Chocolate Pot. By L. E. Dansie, J.P., F.S.A.	... ..	165
Notes on Romano-British Archaeology of Chelmsford and District. By E. E. Barritt and B. M. Kettle	... ..	165
Roman Find at Rainham. By J. G. O'Leary, F.S.A., F.L.A.	... ..	166
Fanshawe Manuscripts. By J. G. O'Leary, F.S.A., F.L.A.	... ..	166
Opening of Museums at Gt. Bardfield, Canvey Island and Braintree. By L. H. Gant	... ..	167
English Merchants' Marks. Review by J. B-B.	... ..	167

The Society is not responsible for the opinions expressed by contributors, and any letters arising therefrom should be addressed to the authors.

List of Illustrations

SETTLEMENTS OF THE IRON AGE AND PAGAN SAXON PERIODS AT LINFORD, ESSEX:

Fig. 1	Map showing site of Linford excavations	...	...	58
Fig. 2	Plan of Iron Age and Pagan Saxon settlements	...	...	63
Fig. 3	Iron Age pits	...	...	59
Fig. 4	Hearths and Cooking Pits	...	...	65
Fig. 5	Sections and plan of junctions of Ditches	...	...	66
Fig. 6	Plan of Site 'B' and detail of Trench 3	...	...	69
Fig. 7	Profiles of Ditch 'A'	...	...	70
Fig. 8	Section of Trench 2	...	...	71
Fig. 9	Site of the Rectangular House	...	...	72
Fig. 10	Plan and section of Oval Hut, and extension to Trench 10	...	...	72
Fig. 11	Plan and section of Open Hearth	...	...	71
Fig. 12	Plan of Pit Hut 1 and Weaving Hut	...	...	74
Fig. 13	Plan and section of Pit Hut 1	...	...	75
Fig. 14	Plan and section of Pit Hut 2	...	...	75
Fig. 15	Plans of Saxon and medieval pits	...	...	76
Fig. 16	Medieval pot	...	...	98
Fig. 17	Saxon lead loom weights	...	...	76
Fig. 18	Saxon whetstone	...	...	98
Figs. I-III	The Iron Age Pottery	...	...	79-80, 82
Fig. IV	The Romano British-Pottery	...	...	88
Figs. V-VIII	The Saxon Pottery	...	...	91-94
Plate I	Pit Hut 2	...	...	103
Plate II	Rectangular House	...	...	103

STONE COFFIN FOUND AT WIX ABBEY:

Fig. 1	Plan of Church of St. Mary and find spot of stone coffin	...	108
Fig. 2	Plan and sections of stone coffin	...	109
Fig. 3	The stone coffin <i>in situ</i>	...	107

EXCAVATIONS OF AN IRON AGE AND ROMAN SITE AT CHADWELL ST. MARY:

Fig. 1	Situation of site	...	...	128
Fig. 2	Plan of Iron Age and Roman Settlements	...	...	130
Fig. 3	Sections of boundary ditches	...	...	132
Fig. 4	Iron Age Pottery from site	...	...	134
Fig. 5	Romano-British pottery from site	...	...	137
Fig. 6	Iron objects found on site	...	...	128
Fig. 7	Find spots of Iron Age pottery	...	...	138

EXCAVATION OF THE BATTLE DITCHES, SAFFRON WALDEN, 1959:

Fig. 1	Sketch map of town centre	...	...	142
Fig. 2	Plan and profile of Battle Ditches	...	...	145
Fig. 3	Section of Battle Ditches	...	...	146
Fig. 4	Pottery finds—Early medieval and 13th century wares	...	...	148
Fig. 5	Pottery finds—Early medieval wares of the 12th and 13th centuries	...	...	149
Fig. 6	Pottery finds—St. Neot's ware	...	...	151
Fig. 7	Pottery finds—Thetford ware	...	...	152
Fig. 8	Reconstruction of the Battle Ditches area in early 14th century	...	...	152
Fig. 9	Plan showing results of resitivity test at Junior House School	...	...	154
Fig. 10	Pottery spindlewhorl	...	...	154

BATTLE DITCHES:

Plate I	View showing ditch and bank	...	...	157
Plate II	Section of the ditch, west side	...	...	158
Plate III	Section of the bank, east side	...	...	159

SETTLEMENTS OF THE IRON AGE AND PAGAN SAXON PERIODS AT LINFORD, ESSEX

By K. J. Barton

with contributions by Dr. Albert Genrich, Professor C. F. C. Hawkes and Dr. Graham Webster.

SUMMARY

The Iron Age settlement can be attributed to the Hallstatt period and is represented here by the fragmentary remains of a small settlement, many pits and two hearths. The Pagan Saxon period is represented by the remains of a small village surrounded by a ditch, and containing houses, upon which is superimposed a similar village of a later period, with a Rectangular House and other features. This settlement is attributed to the Fifth century A.D.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to acknowledge the following:—

H.M. Ministry of Works, Thurrock Historical Society (Archaeological Group members), Miss G. Goodyear, Mr. A. Saunders, Dr. A. E. Ward, Messrs. Hall & Co. (Mr. I. Powell and members of staff and works of the Company), Mr. P. Ashbee, F.S.A., Mr. L. Biek, B.Sc., A.R.C.S., Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, F.B.A., Dr. A. Genrich, Neidersachsches Landesmuseum, Hanover, Germany, Dr. G. Webster, M.A., F.S.A.

POSITION OF SITE AND RELATIVE NOTES (Figure 1)

The site is in the Parish of Mucking (Thurrock Urban District) on the Hoford Wood Road, one quarter mile from Linford village, and one and a half miles from the London/Southend Road (National Grid Reference T.Q./180567). The principal site was in O.S. Field No. 2180, extending roughly parallel with the hedge line at the 100 ft. contour, to a depth of 150 ft. It was also traced in O.S. Fields No. 2135, 2177 and 2133. The site was in a gravel pit and has subsequently been destroyed.

The settlements were situated on the southern side of a plateau at the 100 ft. contour, facing the Tilbury marshes, giving a view down the River Thames on the one hand as far as Sheppey, and on the other as far as Northfleet. (Fig. 1). This position is also the covering slope for the point at which the river first narrows, and it commands a view of the old West Tilbury Ferry.

The sheltered nature of the site is reflected more in the production of earlier crops than in the surrounding fields.

A small part of the north-eastern portion of the site was worked out for gravel by Messrs. Evelyn Ltd. in 1938. Mr. Evelyn has informed the writer that a "great number of pots were found here", and that he kept many in a sack until they were thrown away in 1942. That pottery was found here is without question and it would appear from his description that it was mostly of Iron Age 'A' types.

Over the other side of the Pit, west and north of the site 'B' (Fig. 1) and about 1,000 ft. west of site 'A', workers in the pit have told of the presence of a group of six structures, known locally as "Roman Ovens". These were surrounded by a ditch, and were reputed to be about six feet square, bottle-necked structures, cut into the gravel, and lined with baked clay. It was also said that they were "full of pots". The stories of these structures are many and varied, but there is no doubt about their having existed. It is suggested that they may have been corn drying kilns.

Excavation was carried out in three parts of the gravel pit; the main site previously described, plus site 'A' to the north west of the main site and site 'B' to the west of the main site (Fig. 1).

The finds are deposited in the London Museum.

This excavation was promoted by the Ancient Monuments Section of the Ministry of Works who provided labour and equipment for six weeks during October and December, 1955. The voluntary labour force was supplied by the Thurrock Historical Society. Throughout the period of excavation the normal production of gravel from this site was maintained.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE (Fig. 2)

(Note on Fig. 2.—All boxes opened, productive and otherwise are shown. Box limits shown with dotted line, indicate features disturbed during the removal of gravel, but excavated. Features not in boxes and prefixed 'G' indicate features rescued during the removal of gravel).

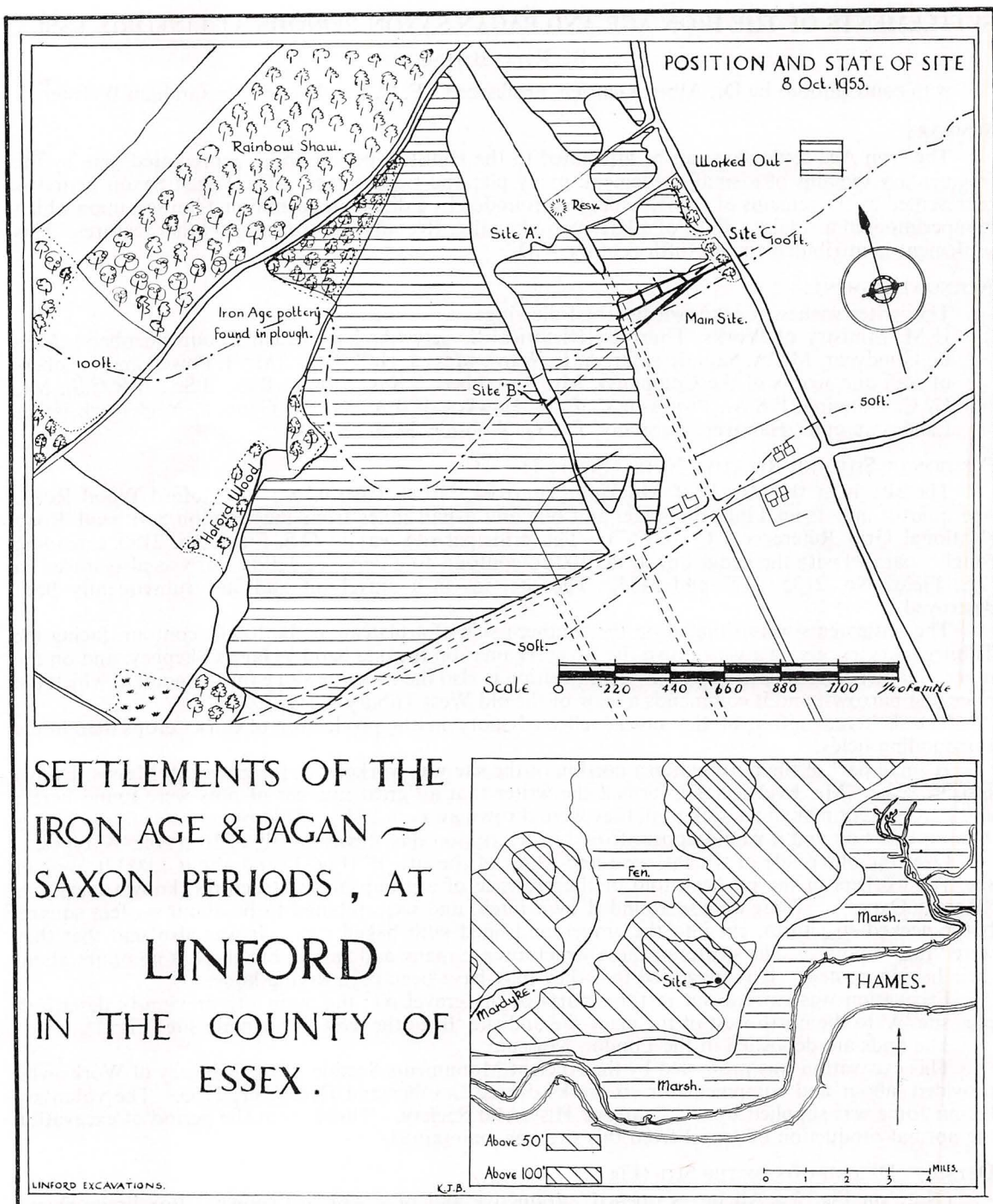


FIG 1.—Map showing site of Linford excavations.

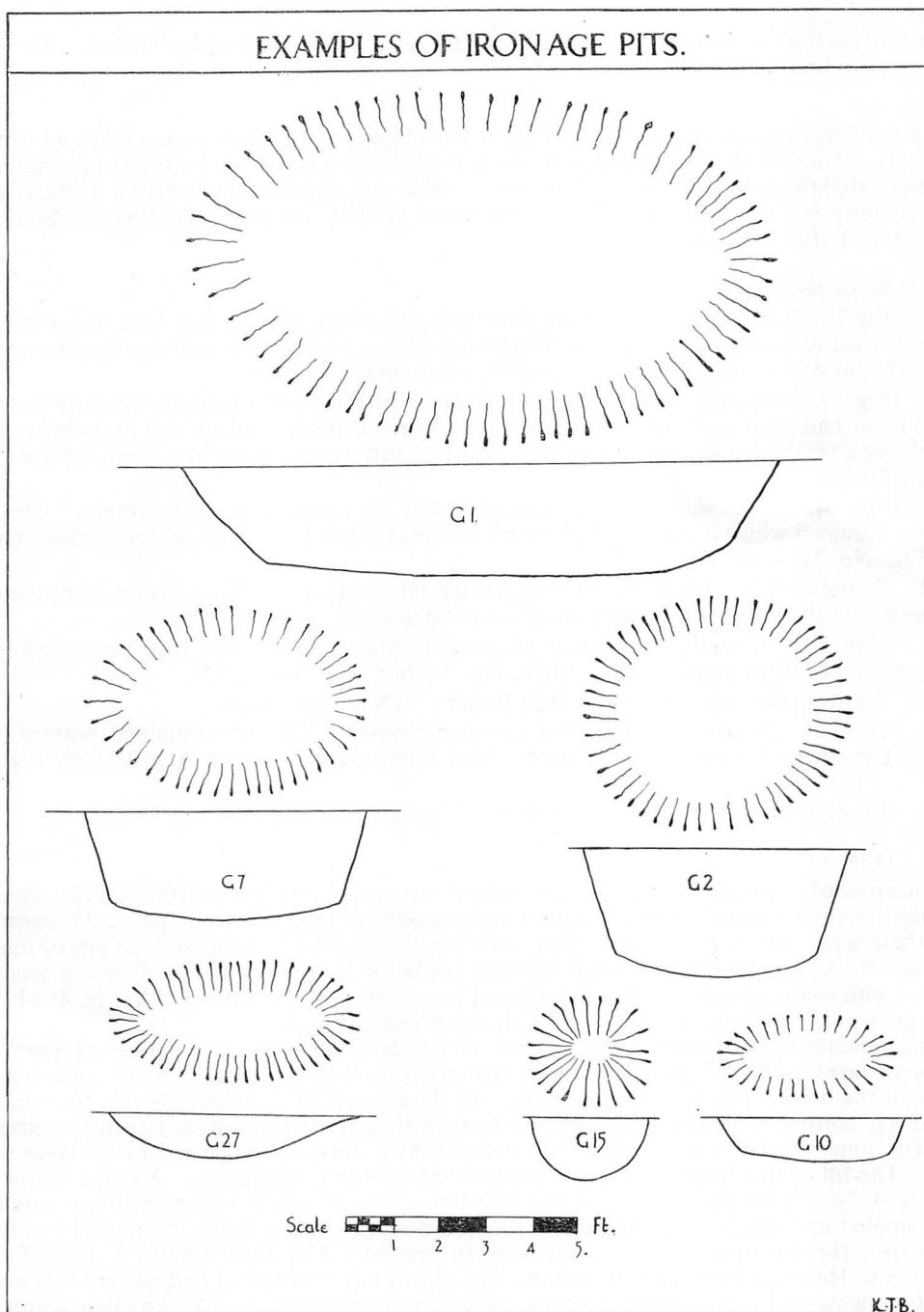


FIG. 3.—Iron Age pits at Linford, Essex.

IRON AGE 'A'

MAIN SITE

The principal finds of this period are represented by pits, hearths and a possible hut. The majority of the finds were found adjacent to Trench 8.

PITS. (Fig. 3)

The pits of this period found here had particular characteristics that were not found in those of other periods. They were boat-shaped with inward sloping sides and flat bottoms, in some cases the bottoms were slightly dished. The regular form of these pits indicates deliberation in their construction. Their purposes is not known as some contained rubbish and others had merely been filled in with dirty gravel after exposure.

Notes on some of the Pits.

G.1. (Fig. 3). The largest of the Iron Age type pits, being thirteen feet long and seven feet six inches wide, oval in plan, with steeply shelving sides twelve inches deep and in this case an uneven bottom. The fill was a dirty gravel. No pottery was found in this pit.

G.2. (Fig. 3.) Although rounder than the previously discussed feature the construction was the same. This pit had been used for rubbish, having a heavy deposit of black soil in its lower portions over which lay a large accumulation of pottery, which in turn was covered by a clean deposit of gravel showing tip lines.

G.7. (Fig. 3). Pit of similar characteristics to G.1 but containing much pottery. This pottery was all very abraded which suggested that the pit remained open for a considerable period. (Iron Age Pottery, Fig. No. II, 7-10).

G.10. Shape as G.1. Upper layers a very black fill, tending towards a lighter fill at the bottom. This suggests that the pit was open for some time and had silted, being filled up later.

G.15. (Fig. 3). A small, steep-sided pit, oval in plan. Filled with dirty sand and the fragmentary remains of three large vessels. (Iron Age Pottery, Fig. No. I, 1-5).

G.21. An oval pit containing Iron Age Pottery. (Not illustrated).

G.27. (Fig. 3). Shape as in G.1, but round bottomed. This pit contained pottery that was abraded. This suggests similar conditions to those found in G.7. (Iron Age Pottery, Fig. No. II, 1-6).

G.32. Pit of oval plan but conical section. Clean fill.

HEARTHES. (Fig. 4)

The hearths of this period can be divided into two types: (1) surface hearths and (2) cooking pits. The surface hearths are merely ordinary open fireplaces without any evidence of particular construction. Three of these types were found in G.23, G.9 and T.7 x.1. There were four cooking pits of this period, three of which had special constructional features while the fourth G.24 (Fig. 4) was a scoop in the gravel filled with charcoal and showing the effect of great heat. In the case of G.8 (Fig. 4) which was a similar type, this scoop had the sides lined with earth and charcoal.

In the remaining two hearths the method of construction showed a deliberate purpose. The hearths were lined with clay probably to prevent the gravel in which they were constructed from fracturing in the heat of the fire and flying out. In the case of T8x2, Hearth No. 1, this was an oval pit with a flat bottom, which had been thickly lined with clay that had been finished to give a bowl shape. The upper surfaces of this clay had been burnt a dark red while the lower layer remained unburnt. The fill of this hearth contained charcoal and pottery fragments. Another feature of this hearth (Fig. 4, No. 7) was the location of five post holes, four of which were placed four square about it, with a smaller one nearer to the hearth. This would suggest that a frame, supported by four stakes was built over the fire upon which vessels were suspended. The T8x2 Hearth 2, was of a similar construction to Hearth 1 but round in section. The fill contained charcoal and pottery fragments; one of these fragments had a pierced rim to take some form of suspension. A particular feature of this hearth was a post hole situated to one side of it, this post hole was inclined inwards towards the hearth at an angle of 30 degrees, and indicated a post driven in to suspend a vessel over the fire.

Iron Age features in the vicinity of Trench 8

The area to the north of Trench 8 was rapidly worked away by a mechanical bucket, revealing many pits and post holes (some of them containing pottery of the Iron Age 'A' period) and a high proportion of burnt stone. Rescue operations were hampered by inclement weather, and only by the co-operation of the bucket driver was it possible to record any information. To the east of this area a number of post holes were revealed, which when plotted were found to form a large circle. During these operations no hearth was noted nor was any burnt area noted in association with this feature. The post holes themselves produced no pottery, therefore it is impossible to give a date to this feature which may have been a hut site, possibly of the Iron Age 'A' period, and that the lack of a hearth is due to fire being made outside the hut. Subsequent to these discoveries it was possible to extend the excavations to the north of Trench 8 (Fig. 2) which provided an extremely complex and diverse number of features. The principal among these being the two hearths discussed above. The other features were six pits of varying shapes, one of which contained horizontal layers of charcoal and burnt sand. Another feature was a large post hole some eighteen inches in diameter and two feet deep surrounded by four post holes, the purpose of this feature is not known. Three groups of small post holes appear in this area but none conform to any pattern. The largest group was twenty-four in number.

The concentration of features and pottery of this period in this area would suggest a permanent settlement here.

SITE 'A'

This is defined by the area from the end of the strip site 'B' (Fig. 1) in an easterly direction to the Hoford Wood Road and includes the portion dug for gravel in 1938. Inspection of this area showed the remains of several ditch and pit sections in the face of the workings, the ground over these sections being covered with overburden to a depth of twelve feet. Several trenches were cut to determine these features. These trenches revealed the remains of three shallow ditches approximately three feet wide by eighteen inches deep. The fill of these ditches indicated that they had not been open long before being allowed to fill up. Several fragments of Iron Age 'A' pottery were found in them. Two post holes and two pits were investigated but provided no evidence of date. It is suggested that these features plus the find of pottery from the worked out areas indicate that the settlement of this period was situated within the bounds of this area.

No Iron Age 'A' features were found at site 'B'

ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD (SECOND CENTURY A.D.)

A scatter of pottery of this date, which includes a fragment of Samian from T8x2 was found over all the area excavated. The fragments were all small and very abraded and suggest some agricultural activity here during this period.

ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD (FOURTH CENTURY A.D.)

For information on pottery of this period see below.

PAGAN SAXON PERIOD

The area excavated was part of an extensive settlement enclosed by a boundary ditch system of two periods, and included both Pit Huts and Rectangular Buildings.

MAIN SITE (Fig. 2)

PERIOD 1. It was not possible to determine the actual relationship of the Pit Huts to any given period therefore only the Ditch system and site B will be discussed under this heading.

Ditches D, E and F. (Fig. 2)

Trench 3 revealed a ditch (D) which was quite small in comparison to the Main Ditch (A) and in which the fill was homogeneous. It had been dug obliquely to the rest of the site. It was found to have passed through a large pit containing pure clay deposited in large lumps, slightly ingrained with dirt, which gave the impression that they had been dug out of the clay belt between Trenches 6 and 8. This pit contained an Iron Age 'A' loom-weight, and the ditch contained Pagan Saxon Pottery.

This Ditch was followed for a further sixty-four feet until it came in contact with Ditch A, and appeared to run straight into it. A section dug across Ditch A and up the length of Ditch D (Fig. 5)

showed that A was deeper than D and that D having a downhill slope along its length had some fine sand silting at this point (see also junction of ditches C and B, (Fig. 8). This primary silting of Ditch D, although very thin, was sufficient to show the disturbance and cutting line of Ditch A. The homogeneous fill of Ditch A spread back and sealed the fill of Ditch D. At this point Ditch D turned west and traces of it were found in Trenches 6 and 7, but as this lay in a clay belt (hard grey clay with seams of flints) the impression was considerably shallower. The ditch was then traced for some 250 ft. in a westerly direction until it was lost at the edge of the gravel pit.

At 75 ft. to the west of Ditch D's junction with Ditch A another ditch (Ditch E) joined D. The point of junction was very confused, a shallow island of land being left between the two ditches before they finally came together. Ditch E ran from this junction to the east for 225 ft. terminating in Ditch A (Fig. 2). Excavation showed that this ditch did not continue beyond these limits. (See conclusion).

Work on Trench 12 extensions (Fig. 2 and 12) also revealed a ditch (F) of similar proportions and running along a similar parallel to the system D-E. It was traced for 90 ft. to the west where it terminated in an extension to Trench 10 (Fig. 2). The construction of these ditches was slightly different. The system D was a narrow round bottomed feature, whereas the system E and F was a narrow sharply angled feature. In every case the fill was homogeneous, dark and greasy with much bone and pottery scattered throughout the length of the systems, suggesting that the ditches had been filled soon after being cut. In every case the pottery found was attributable to the Pagan Saxon Period.

Conclusion

It would appear from the foregoing evidence that the ditch system D, E and F, is earlier than the system A, B and C (see below).

The layout of the enclosure D appears to be the primary one, this being suggested by the form of the section, to which was added later the ditches E and F forming an entrance to the enclosures. The interesting feature of these systems is their narrowness and irregular construction in comparison to the system A, B, C. It is suggested therefore that in this primary system lies the evidence of the first demarcation of boundary limits in the earliest settlement of this period. These limits were abandoned at some later date, when a new layout was required.

SITE B (Fig. 6)

This site was on a narrow strip of land running north and south from Northumberland Avenue to Site A. This strip divides the gravel pit into two parts, and was left to facilitate the movement of lorries. The strip was thirty-two feet wide and contained a fifteen feet wide road, the rest of the surface being covered with overburden. It was therefore only possible to investigate a small portion of this site. The eastern face of this strip showed several marks of occupation, excavation on these features revealed a ditch, two pits and a post hole, all of which are attributable to the Pagan Saxon period.

The Ditch

A section of ditch was investigated at this strip. This ditch ran in a line exactly of the same direction as the system D, E and F and is therefore suggested to have been a part of that system at some time, although the construction was entirely different to that set within the other system. The ditch was four feet wide by seven feet deep and the section showed evidence of silting, suggesting that the filling was a natural sequence, as against the evidence of being filled with refuse as previously met with. Several fragments of pottery of this period were found in the fill.

The Pit

To the south of this ditch at a distance of five feet was a large oval pit with a sharply indented bottom. The bottom layers showed evidence of silting but the upper layers were filled with gravel that came from a bank that lay between this pit and the ditch, this gravel also being found in the ditch silting suggesting that these features were contemporary. A post hole pierced this bank, the section indicated that this too was contemporary with the other structures. Another pit was also found on this site but bore no particular features. The association of pits outside the enclosure ditch in this instance is worthy of note as it does not occur on the main site.

Conclusion

As has been stated, this particular length of ditch lines up with the complex D, E, F, however the construction is obviously different. There is also the fact that this ditch is a good way removed from the main site (463 ft. from T.3 Site B to X6 Main Site). It is suggested however that in view of the alignment, that this ditch is of the period 1 complex but that it had been recut at some time. It would also appear that this ditch was well removed from habitation sites as it was never used as a tip.

PERIOD 2—MAIN SITE

This period is defined by a regular system of large ditches forming two enclosures, the larger being completely palisaded with a double row of stakes, and the smaller being unpalisaded but containing a Rectangular House. It is also possible to designate a surface weaving hut to this period. (See below T.12 extension).

DITCH SYSTEM A, B AND C. (Fig. 2)

Ditch A (Fig. 7) was first found on the northern face of the gravel pit and was followed for fifty feet to the south where it turned to the east and continued in that direction for a further 250 feet until it was lost in a coppice by the Hoford Wood Road (Fig. 1) although it was traced beyond that point.

The section and profiles of this system are interesting as they provide evidence of occupation and method of construction. The first four trenches cut showed the ditch to have a sharp profile and the section of these trenches also showed that subsequent to some silting they had been used as a tip, the greatest concentration of tipped material being found in Trenches 1, 2 and 4 (Fig. 8) which lay opposite to the entrance of the Rectangular House. In the next two trenches (Trenches 6 and 7), the ditch was found to have been cut into a belt of clay-with-flints that crossed the site at this place and it was found to be much wider and shallower than when it was cut in the gravel. This suggests that the ditch diggers were not equipped with picks or iron shod spades suitable for cutting into this heavy material. In the remaining trenches (Trenches Nos. 8 to 13) the natural formation returned to ballast, and then to a fine sand. The deposit of tipped material thinned out as the ditch continued to the east and the sections cut in the sand showed signs of early collapse and rapid filling.

Ditches B and C

During the excavation of T.4 another ditch was found to join the system A, this ditch (Ditch B) was found to run in a westerly direction for 110 ft. until it was lost in the gravel pit. At 73 ft. from its junction with A this ditch was found to be joined by another ditch (Ditch C) running north and south and parallel with the Northern leg of Ditch A. The fill of these ditches was comparable to that found in the eastern section of Ditch A. Several fragments of Pagan Saxon pottery were found in these ditches, which enclosed the Rectangular House.

Palisading

The system A was palisaded along its length on both sides, traces of stakeholes occurring in most of the trenches. These stakeholes averaged 8 in. in diameter, and all the stakes appear to have been sharpened before being driven upright into the ground.

Conclusions to Ditch system A, B and C

It would appear that these features were a part of a well laid out scheme and that Ditch A was the primary enclosure, while Ditches B and C were demarcations of additions to it.

The palisading of Ditch A suggests that this area was enclosed for the herding of beasts, and not for defence, as the proximity of dwellings to this fence would make them open to attack by missiles. Also the failure to enclose the ditches about the principal building suggests that these ditches were merely the definition of a given area, this theory is enhanced by the evidence of their being used as tips so soon after their construction.

THE RECTANGULAR HOUSE (Fig. 9 and Plate II)

This feature was indicated by two double rows of vertical post holes in parallel lines fifteen feet apart and running in a line east and west for twenty-four feet. At the eastern end these post holes turned inwards and terminated in a pair of double post holes, leaving a gap of six feet. At the western end the post holes were lost during the removal of gravel. In the space left between the gap at the eastern end there was an area of gravel that contained a lot of dirt and soil for a depth of three inches below the surface of the natural, while in the middle of the area defined by the posts was a

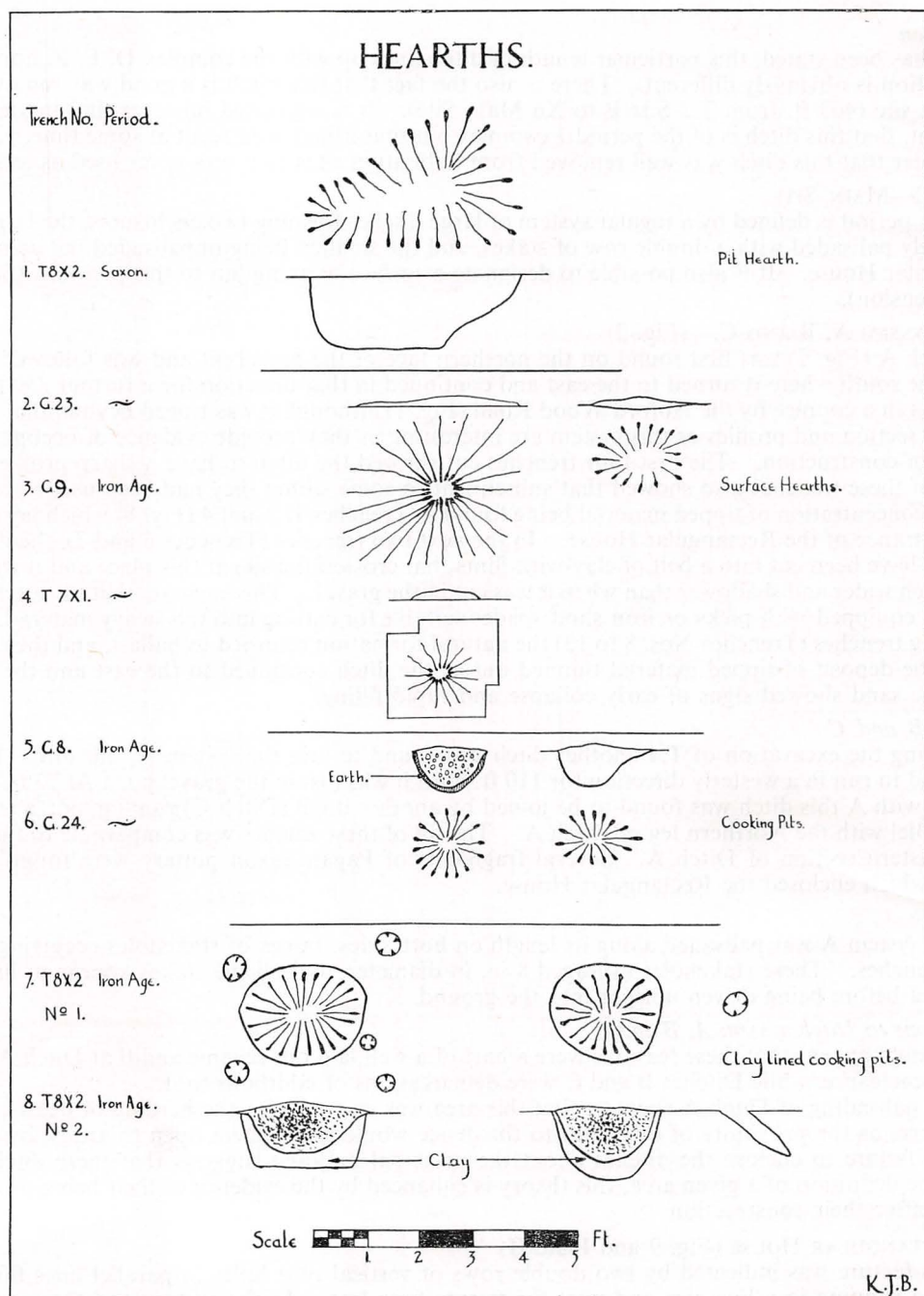
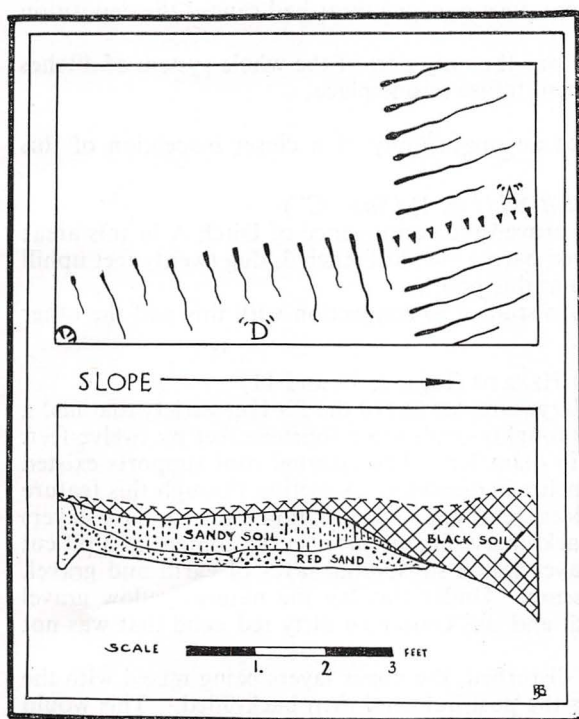
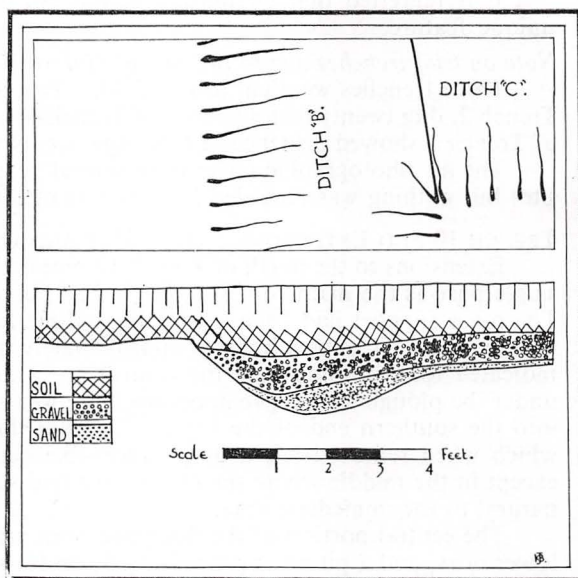


FIG. 4.—Hearths and Cooking Pits, Linford, Essex.



JUNCTION OF DITCHES A & D.



JUNCTION OF DITCHES B & C.

FIG. 5. Sections and plan of junctions of ditches, Linford, Essex.

large patch of heavily burnt and reddened gravel. Immediately to the north of this burnt area there was a gap, some six feet wide in the rows of post holes, but no other evidence to suggest that this was an entrance. The only pottery associated with this structure was found in the post holes, and this consisted of fragments of both Iron Age A and Pagan Saxon date.

Owing to a breakdown in the mechanical bucket, a dragline was brought into use. This machine was used to strip the top soil from the area between ditches A, B and C. This operation completely removed all the top soil and greatly disturbed the underlying gravel, which resulted in the loss of much information on this feature.

Conclusions on Rectangular House

The evidence for it being a dwelling is suggested from the following points:—

1. The fact that it is situated squarely within its own ditch system;
2. the double post holes including an obvious entrance in which wear had caused the deposition of dirt into the underlying gravel;
3. the fact that the ditch opposite the entrance was the only part of the whole system of ditches to contain such a great accumulation of human refuse at one place;
4. the evidence of an internal fireplace.

It is regretted that circumstances did not afford an opportunity of a closer inspection of this unique feature.

Note on trial trenches dug to the east of Hoford Wood Road (Fig. 1) (Site "C")

Three trenches were cut in this field. Trench 1 proved the continuance of Ditch A in this area; Trench 2, dug twenty feet downhill of Trench 1, proved barren; while Trench 3, dug twenty feet uphill of Trench 1 showed evidence of Iron Age occupation at this point.

The air photographic cover over several years was studied in connection with this and the other sites but nothing was recorded here by this medium.

TRENCH 10 AND EXTENSIONS. OVAL HUT AND OPEN HEARTH (Figs. 2, 10 and 11)

Extensions to the north of Trench 10 revealed a large circular hut of the Pit Hut variety that had a single post as the main roof support. This hut was roughly oval, some fourteen feet by twelve feet. The main support had been a tree trunk three feet in diameter. The external roof supports existed on the perimeter as post holes of approximately six inches in diameter. A section through this feature indicated that at some time the central post had been removed. The section showed three layers under the plough-soil. The uppermost one was a black greasy fill, as was also the content of a pit cut into the southern end of the feature. Under this layer was a substantial layer of earth and gravel, which when removed left a deep saucer-like depression. Under this lay the natural yellow gravel except in the middle where the centre post had stood, and this contained dirty red sand that was not natural to the immediate area.

The central portion of the floor had been much disturbed, the upper layers being mixed with the lower ones, and a pit having been dug down towards the post hole and then back-filled. This would suggest the removal of the central post at some time. A lead loom weight similar to those found in T.12 extensions was found in one of the post holes of this hut. A noticeable feature of the structure was the lack of massive charcoal (See Pit Hut 2 below). Pottery of the Pagan Saxon period was found in all the levels of the hut.

Open Hearth (Fig. 11)

While excavation was in hand on the circular hut, a large hearth was found by the mechanical bucket ten feet to the west of this feature. This large hearth was thirteen feet long by four feet wide; boat-shaped in plan, consisting of two parts, an oblong, round ended, and steep sided, flat bottomed pit, with a shallow pointed rakeback at its eastern end. The fill of this hearth beneath the plough-soil consisted of a dark, stony fill overlying a thick charcoal layer. The sand and gravel around it was burnt a bright red, much of the gravel being fractured by the heat. A large number of bones and some Pagan Saxon pottery was found in the charcoal layer.

TRENCH 12 EXTENSIONS (Figs. 2 and 12) WEAVING HUT AND PIT HUT 1 (Figs. 12 and 13)

Extensions to the north of Trench 12 revealed a number of lead loom weights situated in a line slightly diagonal to a line running east and west. The area of excavation was extended to reveal a

surface hut of the Pagan Saxon Period 2. During these operations the mechanical bucket working to the north of this area revealed a rectangular hut, Pit Hut 1. As a result of this an area thirty feet by fifty feet was stripped revealing a complex of different features.

Weaving Hut (Fig. 12)

This feature was situated on the north side of the palisade, the southernmost holes being integrated with those of the palisade, for a distance of ten feet. At the eastern side of the structure a single line of large (twelve inch diameter) post holes ran northwards for fourteen feet, terminating in a pair of large post holes, for which a pit had been dug. At the western side post holes extended in a continuous line for ten feet to the north, then there was a gap of four feet before another post hole was found. At the northern end of the structure a single post hole was situated approximately in the middle of the width, some two feet north of the ends of the sides. The western row of post holes had been altered at some time, for several post holes were found to have been damaged by replacement. These replacements had been of multiple groups of posts, one group of four posts, one of three posts, and four groups of two posts, suggesting that this side of the hut had required strengthening at some time. Three depressions were found in the area of the hut. The first was parallel with the southern end and appears to have been cut during the replacement of the posts. A large and shallow depression along the edge of the western wall bore evidence of the removal of two large posts at some time, which was probably connected with the reconstruction of the west wall. The largest depression extended over the whole of the northern end of the Hut, and outside the hut in the neighbourhood of the 'entrances'. It was in this depression that most of the pottery associated with this structure was found.

Loom Weights

Twenty lead loom weights were found in this Hut. They are round, approximately two inches in diameter, half an inch thick, with a half-an-inch hole in the centre. They were found in six groups, two of two, two of three, one of four, and a line of six which was situated in the northern portion of the hut and extended across its width, commencing with the group of four just north of the double post hole in the eastern side and terminating in the 'entrance' of the western side. The other groups were scattered throughout the northern half of the hut, within the area of the large depression. There was no evidence to support the construction of a loom of known type in this hut. One noticeable point is that no charcoal was found in this structure nor was there any evidence of a fire-place. From this hut also came several scraps of lead waste, a large broken whetstone, fragments of Niedermendig lava hand-mills of Romano-British type, and traces of several pieces of bronze completely corroded away. The pottery found in the depression comprised mainly of Pagan Saxon types although several pieces of Romano-British ware attributable to the Fourth century were found.

Conclusions

This rectangular structure gives evidence of a relatively long period of occupation; this is borne out by the alterations and deposition of pottery. The distribution of this pottery, concentrated around the northern end of the Hut combined with the distribution of loom weights in this area and the lack of fire here more than suggests that this structure was reserved as a workshop for the weaving of cloth.

Trench 12 Extensions Pit-Hut 1 (Figs. 12 and 13)

This feature was damaged before excavation, during the removal of a large elm growing over the north east corner of it. This damage and the resultant root disturbance hampered the investigations. The hut was rectangular, twelve feet wide by three feet deep, the sides having a batter of 30 deg. Around the outside of this pit was a row of single post holes set close to the edge. In the middle of the southern edge of the pit were two posts of a larger size than the others (eighteen inches diameter) set two feet apart. Inside the pit at the bottom of the batter was another row of small post holes. In the middle of the east and west sides of the inside of the pit two large (two feet diameter) posts had been driven through the batter and below the floor. In the middle of the floor was another small post hole which was covered by a hearth. This hearth was not contained in any way and was spread about the centre of the floor, the gravel under being reddened and crazed with the heat. The hearth was comprised of a thick charcoal layer which contained much pottery of the Pagan Saxon period and some fragments of Romano-British pottery. A large amount of burnt bone was also found in the hearth. Surrounding and partially spread over this hearth was a layer of grey silt which was clean except for minute

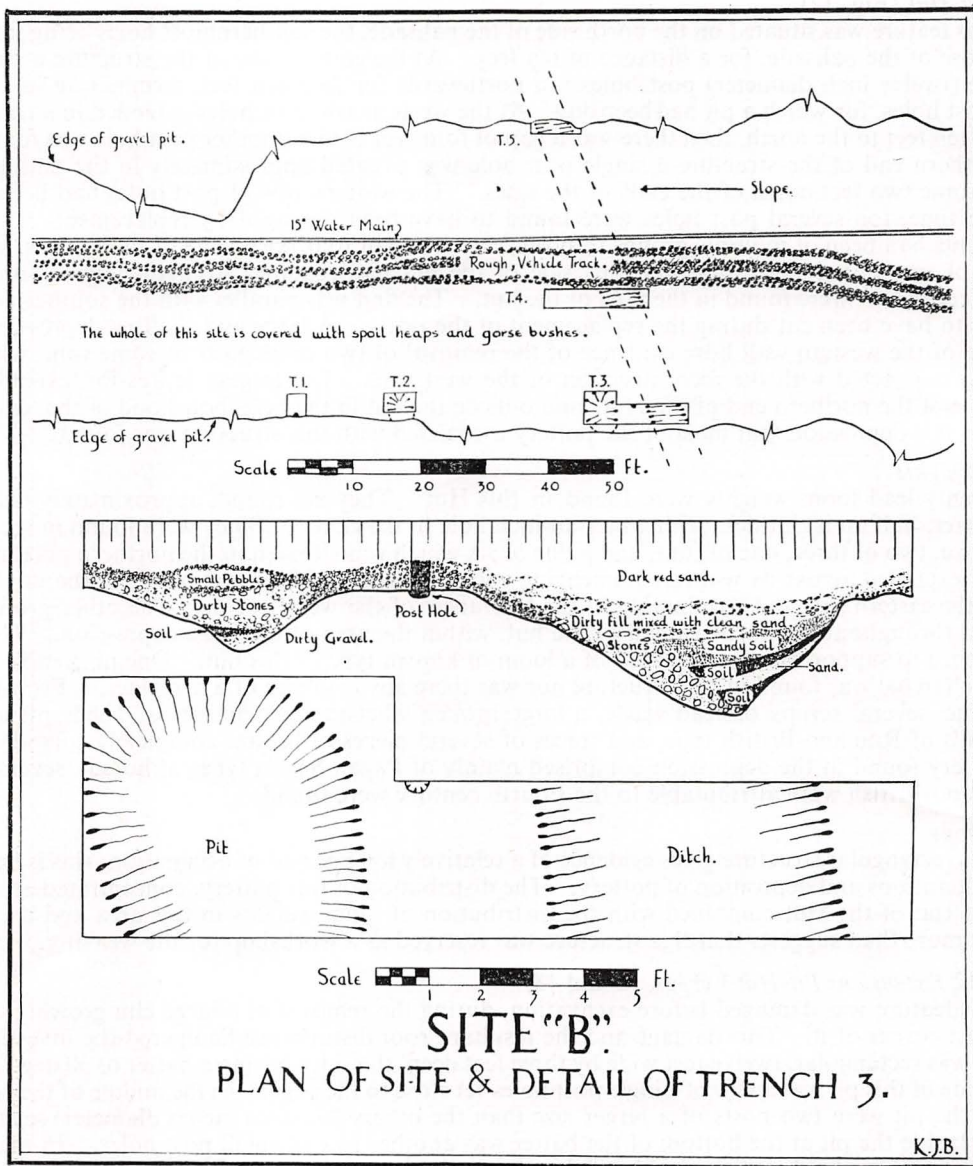


FIG. 6.—Plan of Site 'B' and detail of Trench 3, Linford, Essex.

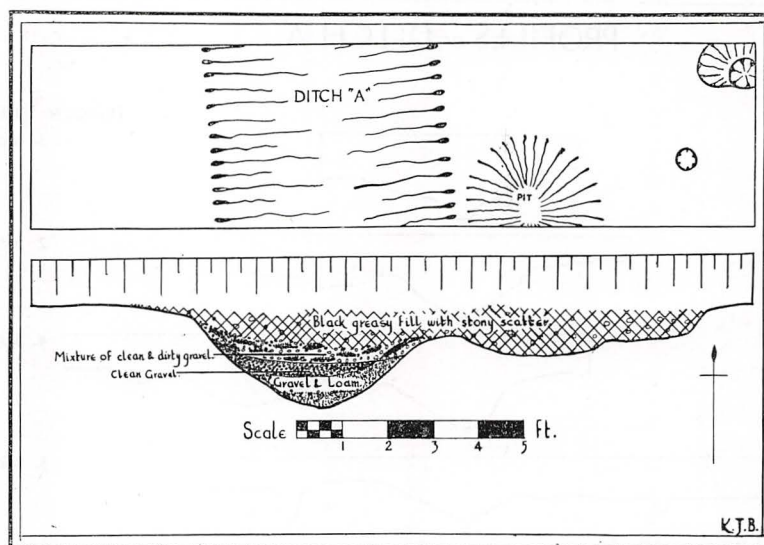


FIG. 8.—Section of Trench 2, Linford.

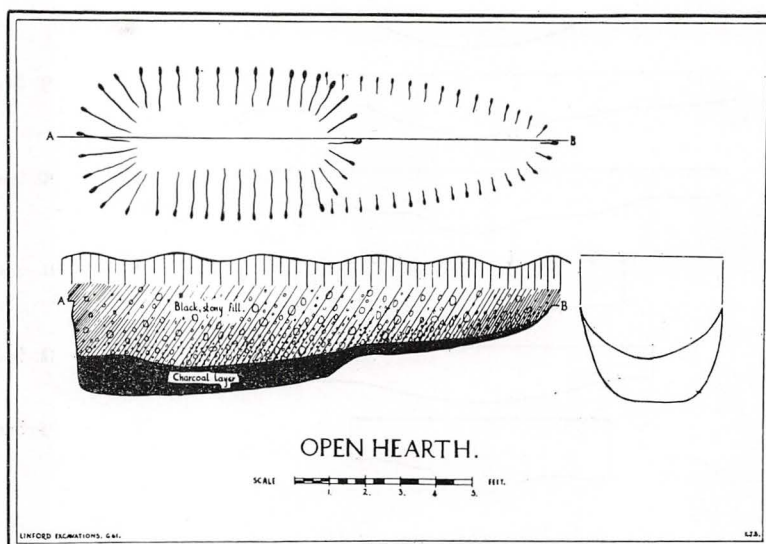


FIG. 11.—Plan and section of Open Hearth, Linford.

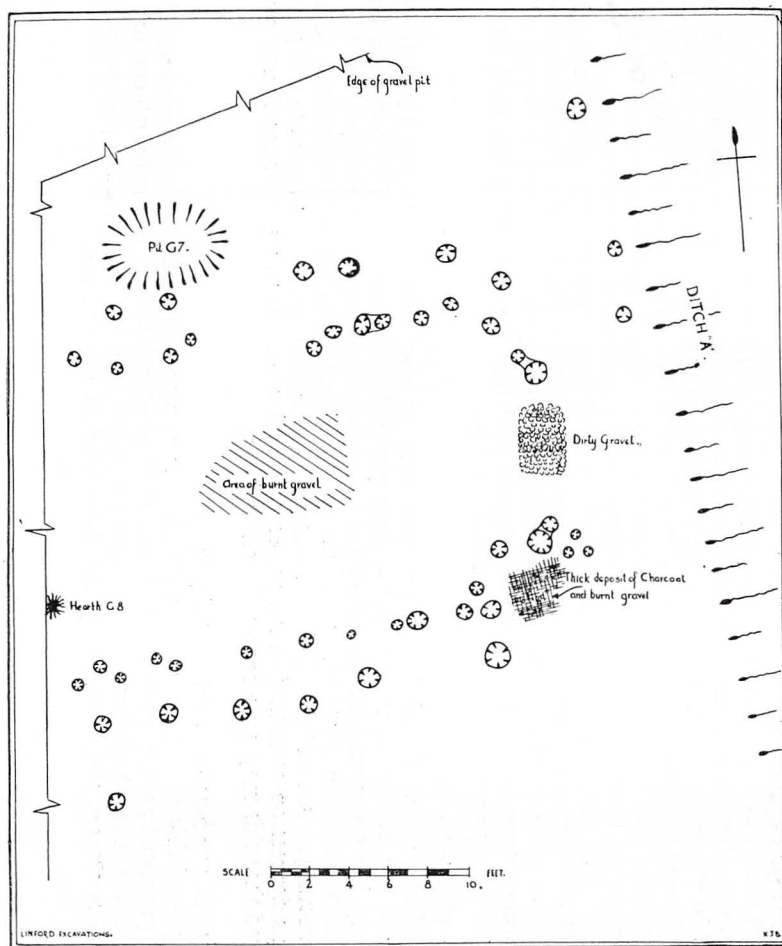


FIG. 9.—The site of the Rectangular House, Linford.

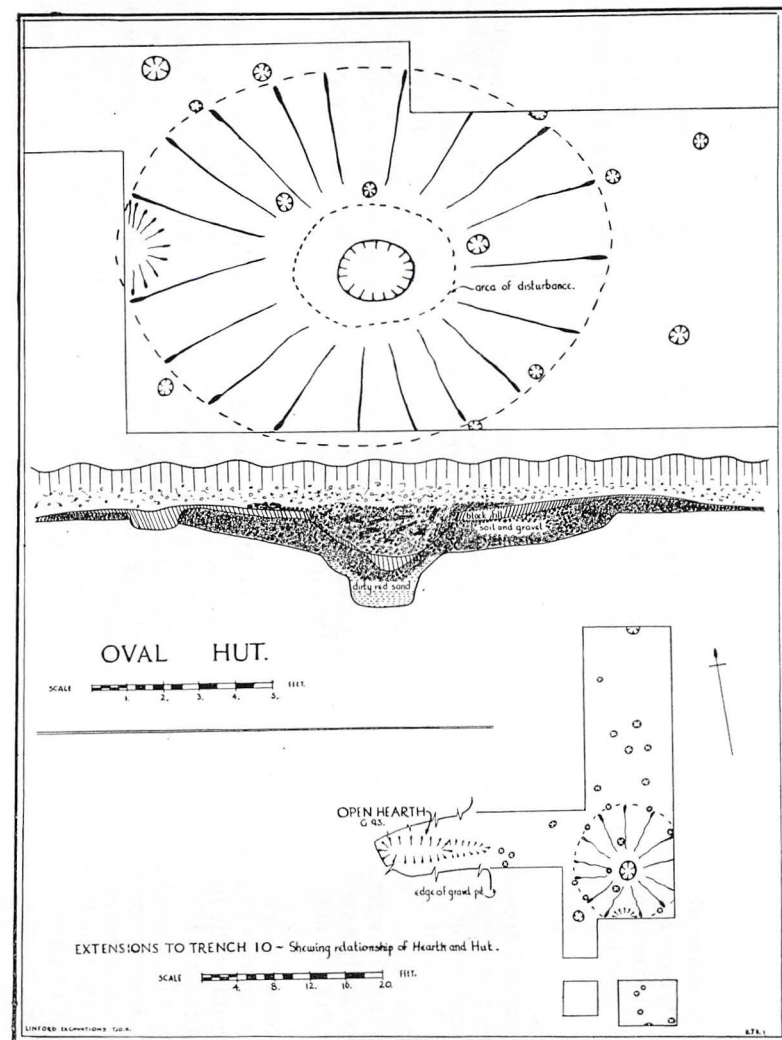


FIG. 10.—Plan and section of Oval Hut and extension to Trench 10, Linford.

particles of charcoal. This silt had filled up the large eastern post hole. Above the grey silt was a series of deposits of charcoal, human refuse, food bones and pottery, interspersed with layers of clean sand. This continued until it thinned out into the top soil. It was noted that the top soil had been reduced by one foot after the abandonment of the hut, probably due to medieval and later agricultural activity.

Conclusion

This would appear to be a hut of the type found at Sutton Courtney, having in this case, gables at the east and western ends, and a raised entrance to the south. Inside, the hut was probably lined with a bench which ran along the south and west walls, there do not appear to have been any other fittings. The evidence suggests that it was abandoned at some time, and that silting took place after this abandonment. After the structure became derelict the eastern gable post must have remained sound enough to warrant its removal, and the hole left by the hut was then used by later settlers as a tip, and possibly a cooking place. It is suggested from the evidence of abandonment over a period of time that this hut may have been one of the Period 1 occupation.

Other features in this extension (Fig. 12)

It was in this extension that the north leg of Ditch F was found (see above). This ditch passed through a pit of the Iron Age A Period, which bore similar characteristics to those found in Pit G.1.

To the south of the ditch and near the northern end of the Weaving Hut, lay a complex of pits and post holes which produced pottery of the Pagan Saxon period, the purpose of these post holes is not known. Another complex of pits and post holes lay to the north of the ditch, while other indeterminable post holes were scattered throughout the area. The distribution of pottery in this area (except for Pit Hut 1) shows a concentration in the area of the weaving hut, the rest being found mainly in the fill of Ditch F. A lead loom-weight of similar design to those found in the weaving-hut was found in the upper layers of this ditch.

PIT-HUT 2 (Fig. 14, and Plate I).

This feature was found during trenching operations to the south of Trench 9 (T.9 B.x.2). It was a depression ten feet long by eight feet wide and three feet deep, set in a line east and west. The floor was flat throughout its length, and two large post holes of two feet diameter were set into the internal batter in the middle of the eastern and western end of the hut. Two small groups of post holes were found to exist at each end of the eastern corners of the hut. The fill was homogeneous from beneath the plough-soil to the floor. There was no evidence of fire in this hut; indeed no trace of charcoal was found here. The fill contained a large amount of food bones and pottery of the Pagan Saxon and Romano-British periods. When the feature was cleaned out a fine pottery spindle-whorl was found resting on the natural soil and two annular pottery loom-weights were found in the fill of the large central eastern post-hole. The evidence suggests that this was a working hut used for the manufacture of cloth or yarn, and was not used as a dwelling.

Threshing Floor (Fig. 2)

This feature was found during the trenching of the south of Trench 10 (T.10 B.x.7). It comprised a bed of clay some nine inches deep and eight feet diameter. This had been laid on the natural sand, but was placed on natural clay at its extreme western end. No pottery was found underneath this feature. The upper surfaces of the clay had been disturbed, a post hole was situated at its eastern extremity. Around the edges of this feature the natural soil was depressed to a depth of several inches, this depression contained much pottery of the Romano-British and Pagan Saxon periods. It is suggested that this may have been a threshing floor.

Other features attributable to this period (Fig. 15)

The pits of this period are in the main circular in plan and semi-circular in section. Several of these pits produced pottery of this period, and G.10 produced pottery of the fourth century A.D. Pit G.99 was a large boat shaped round bottomed structure which had several small post holes set around its external perimeter, this feature may have been used as a food store.

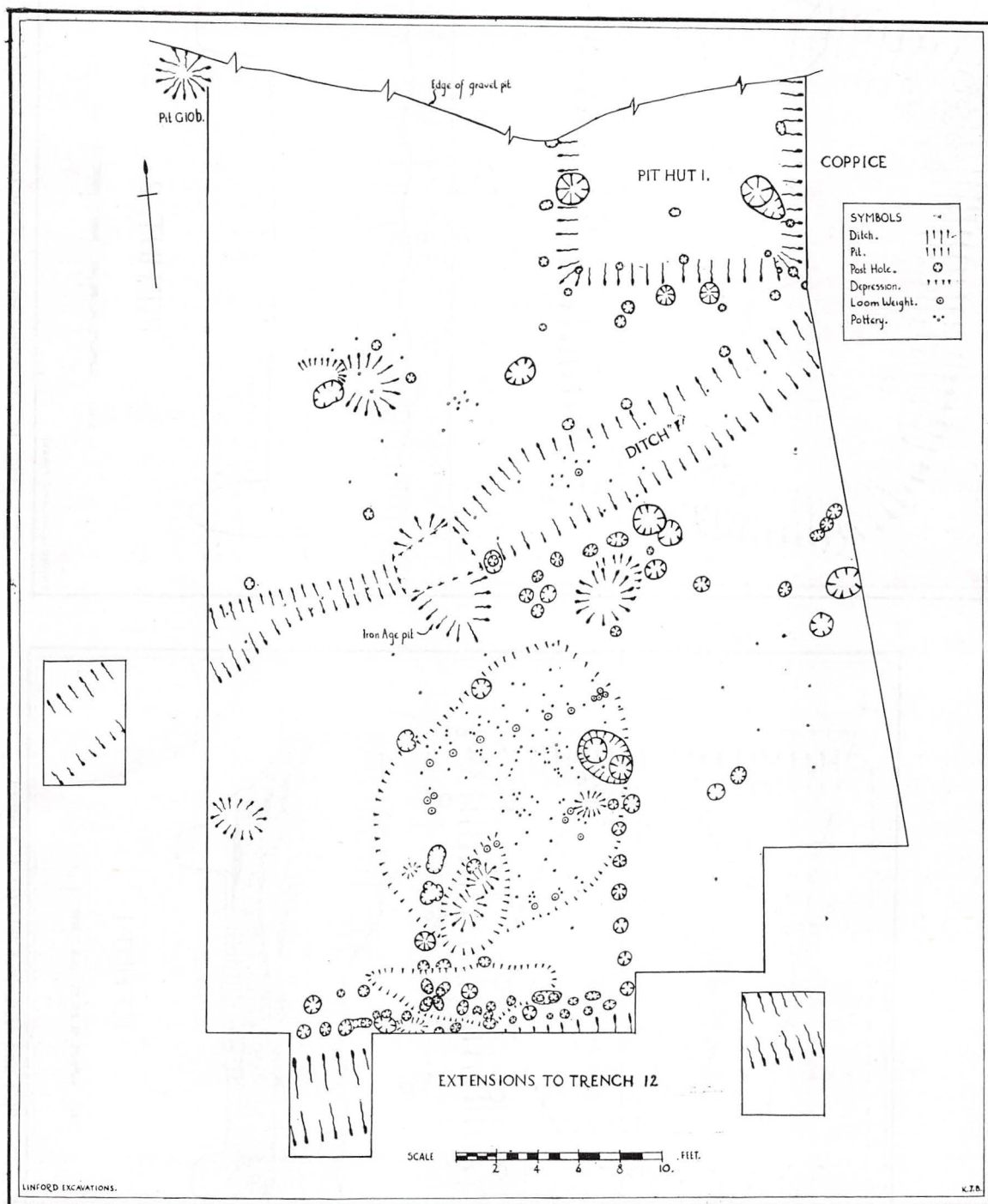


FIG. 12.—Plan of Pit Hut 1 and Weaving Hut, Linford.

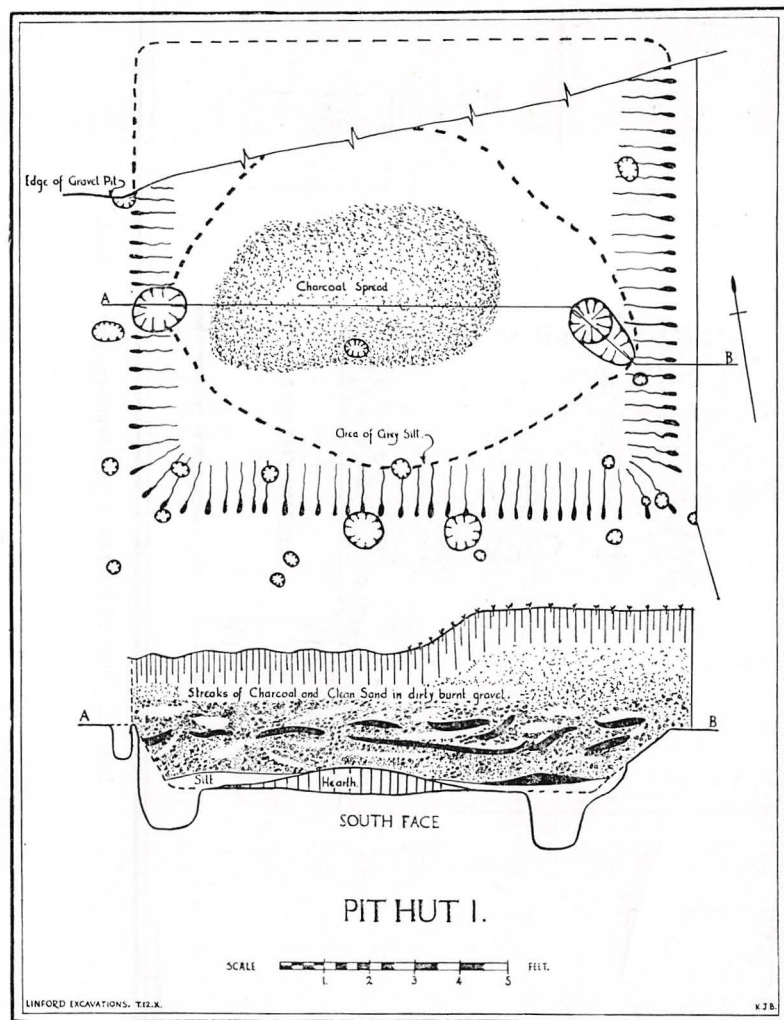


FIG. 13.—Plan and section of Pit Hut 1, Linford.

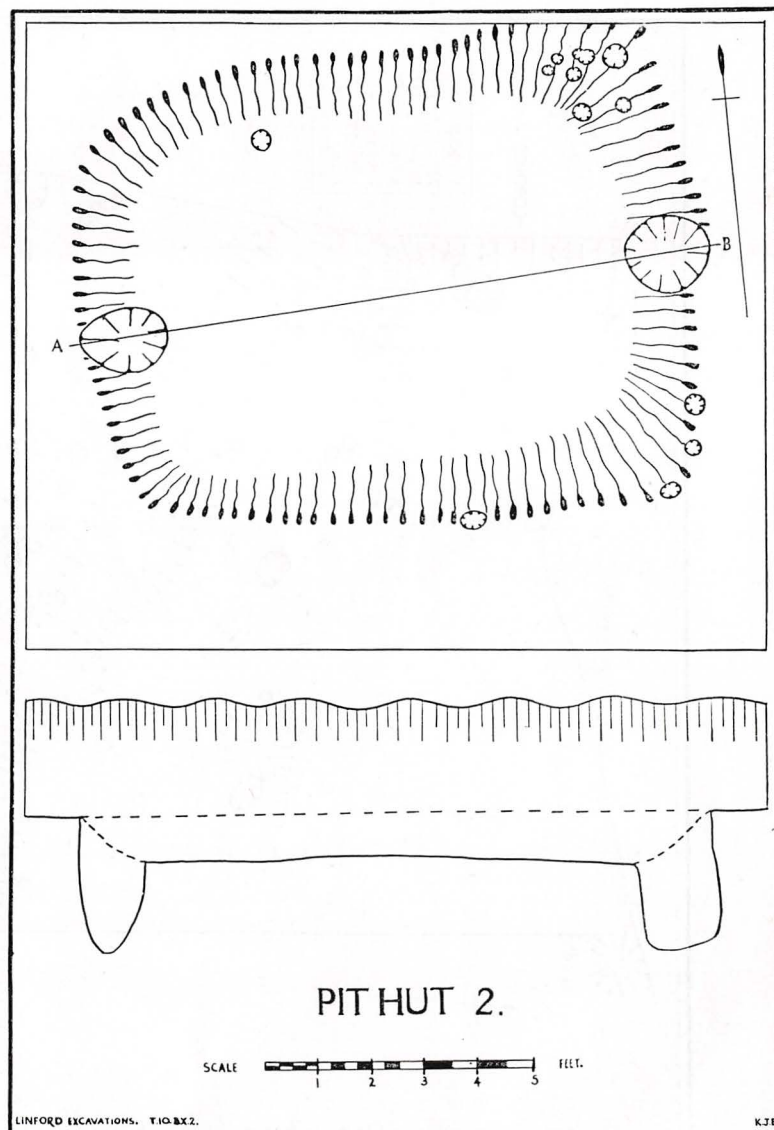


FIG. 14.—Plan and section of Pit Hut 2, Linford.

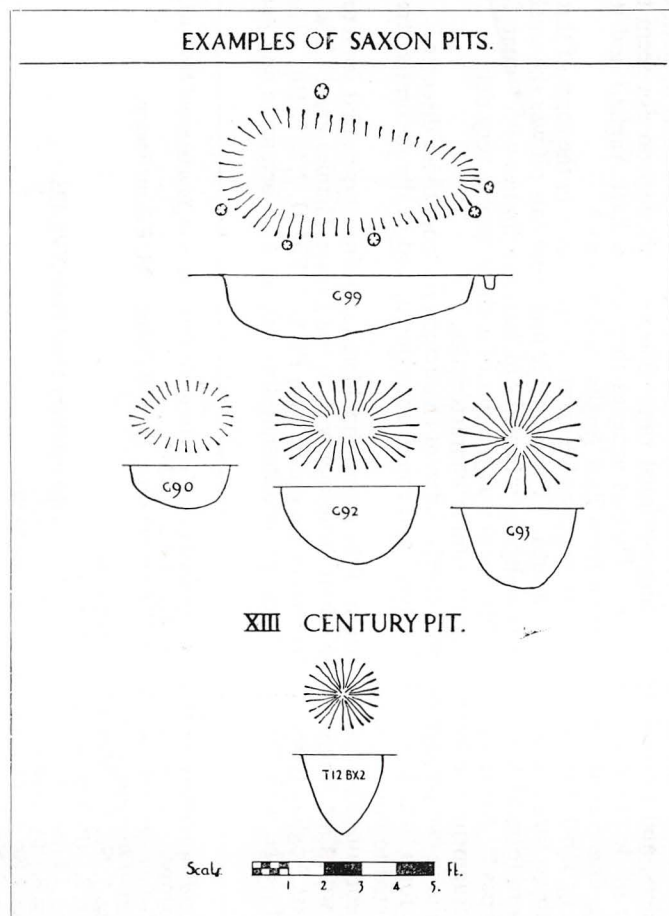
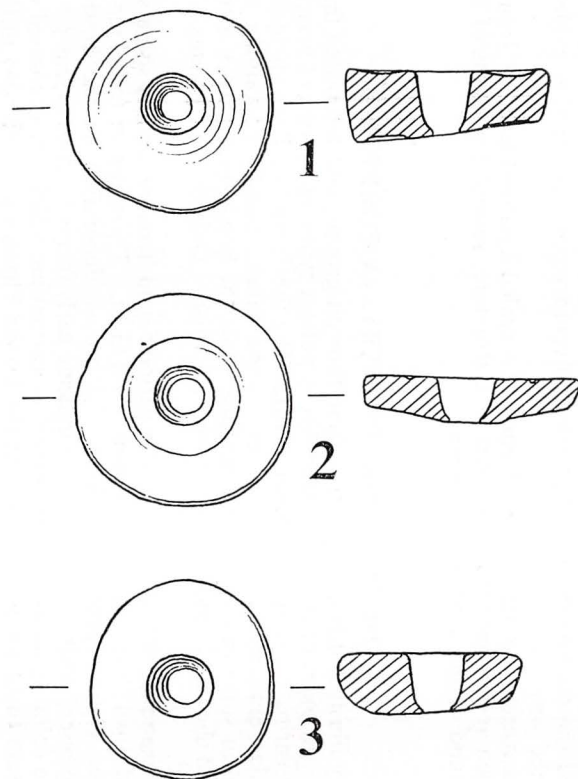


FIG. 15.—Plans of Saxon and 13th century pits, Linford.

FIG. 17.—Saxon lead loom weights from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES A.D.

During trenching to the south of Trench 12 (T.12 B.x.2) a small conical pit was found (Fig. 15) which contained the remains of an early thirteenth century pot. No further evidence of occupation during this period was found.

Further excavations to the south of Trench 12 revealed a natural layer of Ironstone (common in gravel pits) which at first appeared to be part of a structure; several fragments of fourteenth century pottery were found in and around this feature.

THE IRON AGE POTTERY.—A FOREWORD

The pottery illustrated from this site is from four pit groups, odd associated finds, and a number of casual finds. In common with most Iron Age A pottery types, two forms of vessel predominate, the situla and the carinated, omphalos based bowl. The fabric was similarly divided between the two forms, the situlae always occurring in a very coarse fabric, usually containing a high proportion of flint grit and in some cases vegetable binding, while the bowls were always made in a fine paste, firing an oxidised chocolate colour, with a burnished finish. Only three fragments of haematite-coated ware were noted.

The prime examples of the pottery of this period found here are the fine situla and accompanying omphalos-based bowl (Fig. 1, 2 and 5), found in Pit G.15. These appear to belong to Miss Kathleen Kenyon's Lower Thames group.¹ However the groove decoration on the bowl appears to have affinities with Wessex² where it is thought to indicate early forms.³ Also in this pit was a small situla (Fig. 1, 3) with a collar that swept upright from the carination, which was decorated with fingertipping. This form appears to be known not only in the Lower Thames area but also in the South Downs,⁴ Upper Thames,⁵ and Wessex areas.⁶ The remaining two vessels associated with these 'early' forms, bear characteristics that are suggested to be indicative of devolution from these forms. They are in the case of the first (Fig. II) an outward flaring rim that reaches outside the carination, and in the second case a rounded shoulder on a round body. The decoration on these vessels in both cases is slashed shoulders, and in the former a finger-printed rim. Slashed shoulders do not seem to be a common form of decoration in the Lower Thames area, as they are in East Anglia,⁷ and its combination with a finger-printed rim is known from East Anglia, and Wessex.⁸

Pit G.2 (Fig. 1, 6-11) was the only pit to produce haematite-coated wares in the form of three body fragments, with no form, or decorative features. The principle find from this pit was the small situla (No. 6) similar in form to No. 3 but with a slightly inturned rim, having affinities with Upper Thames⁹ and Wessex types.¹⁰ Associated with this vessel was the rim of a situla with a very definite outward flare, and the fragment of another rim with similar characteristics.

The remaining two pit groups have entirely different characteristics from those discussed. This is evident in the form, which is very 'devolved' and round shouldered, and in the decorative treatment which is restricted to finger-printing.

Pit G.27, contained a high proportion of the round shouldered sub-situla types, that seem to have a closer affinity with East Anglian forms than those met with in the Lower Thames area. The further influence of East Anglian types is to be seen in the group from Pit G.7 (Fig. II, 7, 8, 9, 10). The large, heavy collared situla, with the rough finger-printed design does not seem to belong to any particular

1. 'A Survey of the evidence concerning the chronology and origins of the Iron Age A in Southern and Midland Britain', K. M. Kenyon. *Inst. Arch. 8th Ann. Rep.*, 1952. p. 29 ff.

2. *The Early Iron Age prehistoric Site at All Cannings Cross Farm, Wiltshire.* M. E. Cunnington.

3. *Chronology of Iron Age A.* p. 35.

4. *Ibid.* Fig. 7, No. 3. (Mount Farm Fig. 6. 8).

5. *Ibid.* Fig. 3. (Park Brow. Arch. 76 Fig. 4).

6. *Ibid.* Fig. 2.1 (All Cannings Cross Plate 29.5) 8. (Hengistbury Head Plate XVI, 12).

7. *Ibid.* Fig. 8. (All types).

8. *Ibid.* Fig. 2 No. 1. (All Cannings Cross Plate 29.5).

9. *Ibid.* Fig. 7 No. 3.

10. *Ibid.* Fig. 7 No. 1.

group, but the two better formed globular vessels belong to forms known from East Anglia¹¹ and associated with these are fragments of form and decoration that fit the stereo-type situlate pattern.

A further indication of contacts with East Anglian types is to be seen in the fragment from Hearth 2. (Fig. II, 11) which has applied plastic strip decoration, with finger-tipping. This is suggested as being a distinct form of East Anglian decoration, due to Late Bronze Age influence.¹² This decoration is known from another site in this area.¹³

The group on Fig. III gives the same pattern of 'pure' types, 'devolved' types and 'globular' types, and again the Lower Thames types occur but with a strong influence towards East Anglian and some indications of contacts with Wessex.

There is however a distinctive quality between the two groups that suggests a difference either in date or influence, although the method of pit construction was the same in pits G.2., G.7 and G.27, which suggests a relationship of time or tradition. It is, however, possible to say that the large situla and omphalos bowl from Pit G.15 probably belong to the second half of the fourth century B.C. and that date probably holds good to the contents of G.2. The 'devolved' types in association with material of pure form, are probably due entirely to the ability of the individual potter, whereas the consistency in the forms found in Pits G.27 and G.7 would suggest a reasonable amount of standardization. It is not possible at this juncture to suggest any date for these types but the pit construction suggests that they may be contemporary with the other two pits, and therefore of an early date.

The admixture of forms with a strong East Anglian influence, but with a constant suggestion of Wessex in many of the vessels would suggest that arbitrary geographical grouping may not be the whole answer to the problem of the origins of the Iron Age A in south east Essex.

IRON AGE POTTERY

Description of illustrated types.

IRON AGE, Fig. I.

PIT G.15.

- No. 1. Large situlate form jar in a smooth brown, corky paste, with a sharply carinated shoulder vertical collar, and returned rim. c.f. Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon, Surrey. A. W. G. Lowther, *Arch. Journ.* C11. 1937. Fig. 4.
- No. 2. Small situlate jar in coarse fabric, with a hammer edge to a slightly flared rim. Decorated with a small finger printing on the exterior of the rim with slashing on the carinated shoulder. This form of decoration is also known from All Cannings Cross. *The Early Iron Age Prehistoric Site at All Cannings Cross Farm, Wiltshire.* C. Cunington.
- No. 3. Small situlate jar with features akin to those seen in No. 1, but decorated with depressed dimples around the carination. This form of decoration is known from most south east Iron Age sites.
- No. 4. Body of a jar with nearly vertical sides, showing slashing on the shoulder, as noted on No. 2.
- No. 5. Fine omphalos based bowl with a flared rim decorated with three grooves. In a smooth red paste burnished on the outside to a fine polish. This profile is paralleled at Esher. The Occupation of Sandown Park, Esher. J. P. T. Burchell and S. Frere. *Ant. Journ.*, XXVII.

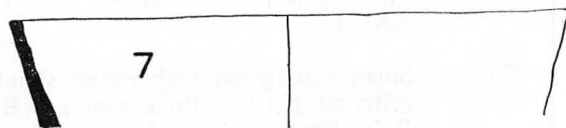
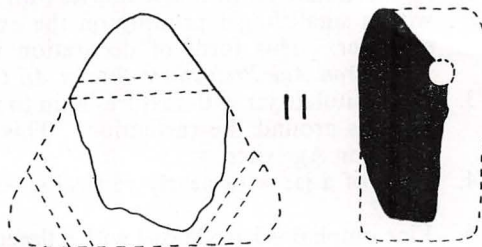
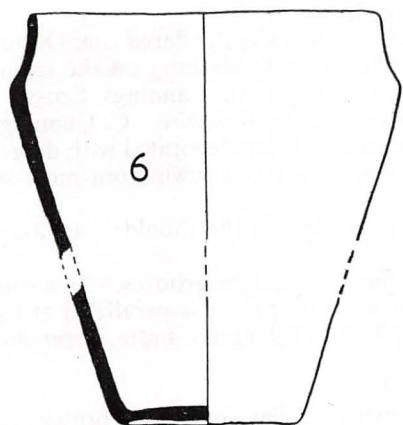
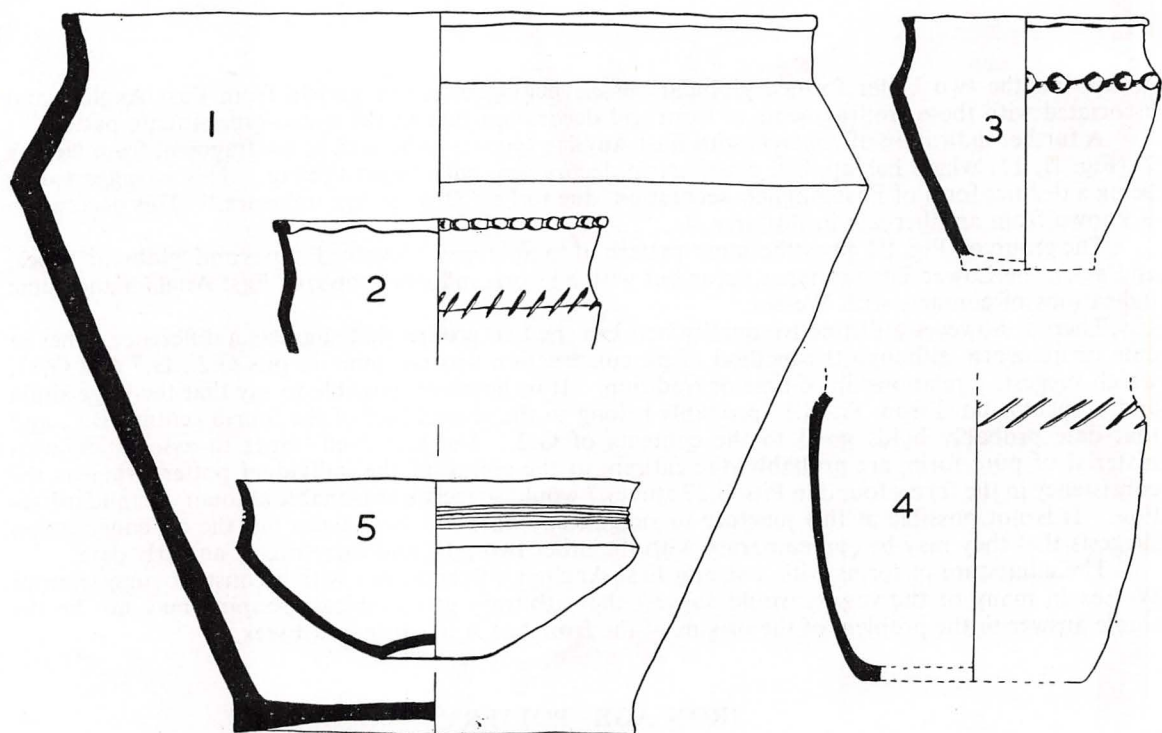
PIT G.2.

- No. 6. Small situlate jar with round shoulders and vertical collar, in a thin brown, corky gritty paste, c.f. Prehistoric and Roman Settlements on Park Brow. G. R. Wolsey, R. A. Smith and W. Hawley. *Arch. Journ.* 76.
- No. 7. Rim fragment of a coarse ware vessel.
- No. 8. Rim fragment of a coarse ware vessel.

11. *Ibid.* Page 49.

12. *Ibid.* Page 44.

13. From Aveley, Thurrock, Essex. Thurrock Hist. Soc. *Monograph I*, 1959



LINFORD EXCAVATIONS.

FIG. I.—Iron Age pottery from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

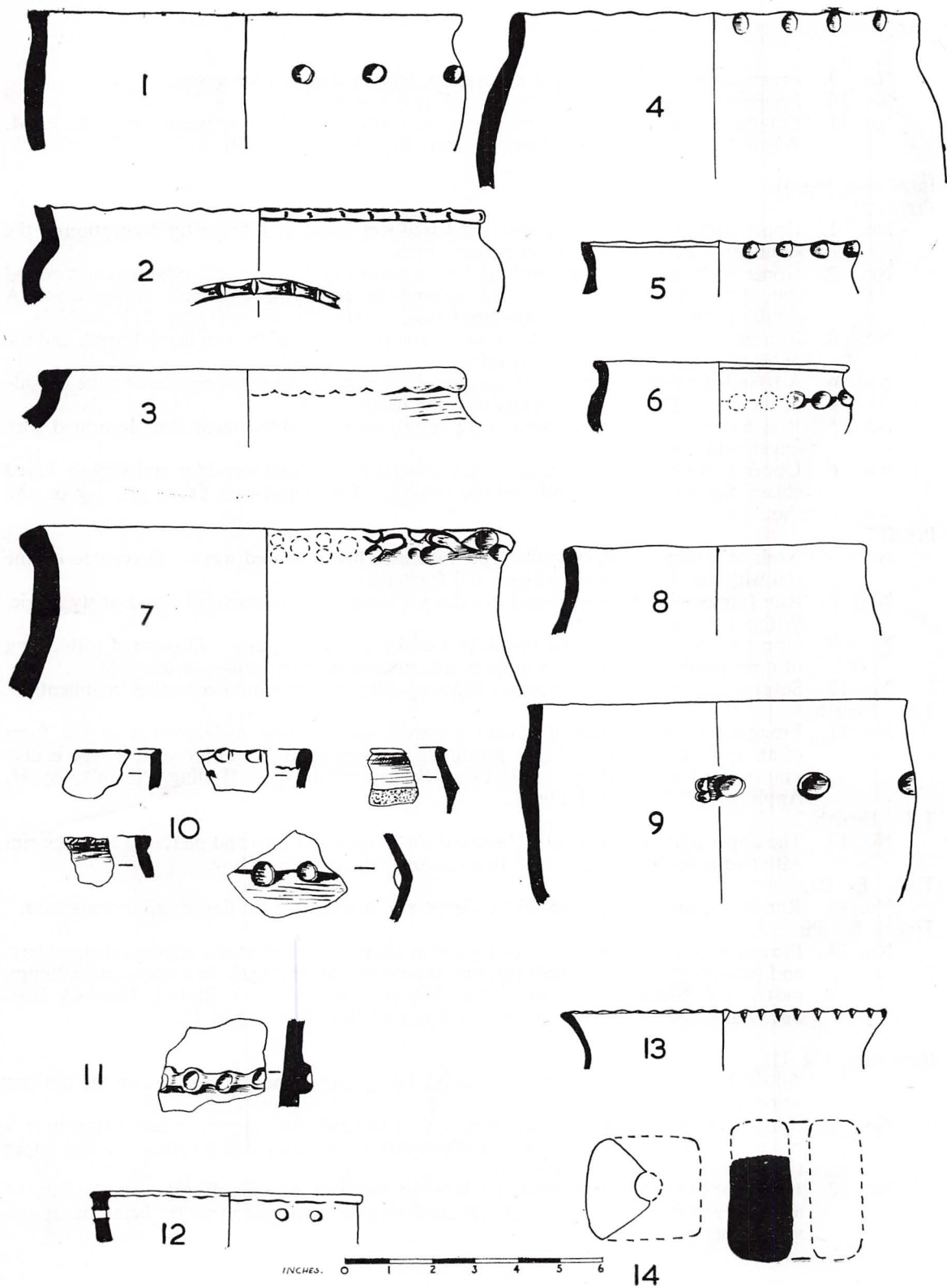


FIG. II.—Iron Age pottery from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

- No. 9. Fragment with finger printed decoration, from a coarse ware vessel.
- No. 10. Fragment of the flared rim of a coarse ware vessel.
- No. 11. Fragment of a triangular loom weight, in a soft reduced sandy paste. c.f. R. E. M. Wheeler. Maiden Castle, Dorset. *Res. Rep. Soc. Ant.* XII.

IRON AGE, Fig. II.

PIT G.27.

- No. 1. Upper portion of a round-shouldered, flared-rim vessel, with finger tip decoration on the shoulder. Very thick body in coarse ware.
- No. 2. Upper portion of a coarse ware vessel, with a short slightly everted collar and very round shoulders. The rim is decorated around its top with fingernail impressions. A similar profile is seen at All Cannings Cross. (*Op. Cit.* Plate (1) No. 2) Plate 29.5).
- No. 3. Rim of a short-necked, rolled-rim, jar. The inner edge of the rim being lipped, and the outer edge roughly depressed at intervals.
- No. 4. A round-shouldered vertical-collared jar, with finger printed impressions on the outside of the rim. Thick body in a coarse gritty paste.
- No. 5. Rim fragment of a small coarse ware vessel, with a slightly flared rim, decorated with finger printing.
- No. 6. Upper portion of a small coarse ware vessel with a round shoulder and slightly flared collar, the rim lipped slightly on the outside. Decorated with finger printing on the shoulder.

PIT G.7.

- No. 7. Neck of a large vessel of situla type, in coarse heavy gritted ware. Decorated on the rim with the thumb, middle finger and forefinger.
- No. 8. Rim fragment of a small round shouldered vessel, in a coarse corky and gritty fabric. Without decoration.
- No. 9. Upper portion of a globular vessel, in a corky, gritty red paste. Decorated with a ring of occasional and very heavy fingerprints, pushed to form a ridge at one side.
- No. 10. Several fragments of coarse wares showing different rims and decorative treatments.

T.8. Hearth 1.

- No. 11. Fragment from the side of a coarse ware vessel, bearing a decoration in the form of an applied strip, with thumb printing. Applied strip decoration of this type is also known at West Harling. A Hallstatt Settlement at West Harling, Norfolk, by H. Appling, *P.P.S.E.A.* VII Fig. 1.

T.8. Hearth 2.

- No. 12. The upper portion of a small cylindrical rim, with a flat top, and pierced below the rim with two holes for suspension. In a coarse gritty, reduced fabric.

T.12. Ex Pit.

- No. 13. Rim in a coarse grey brown fabric, flared and decorated with finger nail indentations.

Trench 8. Pit.

- No. 14. Fragment of a loom weight, rectangular in shape, rounded at the edges and shoulders, and pierced with a single hole through the middle of its length, in a very coarse, lumpy paste. c.f. Notes on sites of archaeological interest. K. J. Barton, *Thurrock Hist. Soc. Journ.* Vol. 2, p. 26. *Purfleet Botany* and *Ibid* Plate 3, Fig. 12.

IRON AGE, Fig. III

All the finds in this figure are unstratified, being casual finds by workers on the site just prior to the excavation.

- No. 1. Portion of the rim of a situlate urn, with a vertical, flat-topped, collared rim, over a pronounced carinated shoulder, the upper surface of which had a lightly touched finger tip decoration on its upper surface.
- No. 2. Fragment of the upper portion of a large situlate urn, with a collar that sweeps inward and upward from a pronounced carinated shoulder. This carination being decorated with finger printing.

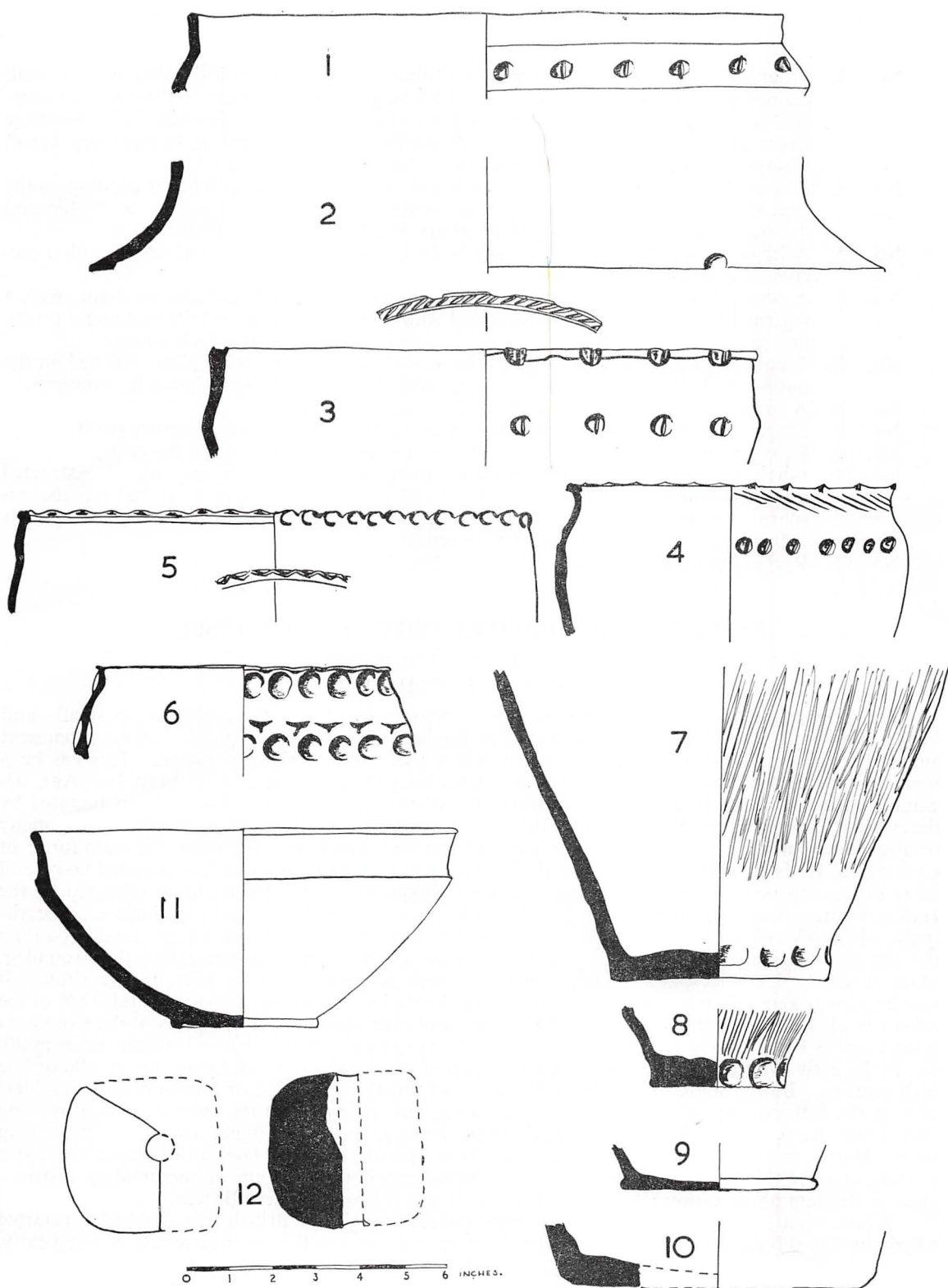


FIG. III.—Iron Age pottery from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

- No. 3. Fragment of the upper portion of a situlate urn, with a vertical collar over a weak carinated bulge forming a shoulder. This bulge and the outside of the rim are decorated with finger printing, while the upper surface of the rim is decorated with intensive finger nail impressions. c.f. J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Hengistbury Head, Hampshire, in 1911-12. Res. Rep. Soc. Ant. Vol. II, Plate XVI.10.*
- No. 4. A coarse ware shouldered urn, with a flared rim. Decorated with finger printing on the shoulder, and finger nail impressions on the outside of the rim, this 'S' profile and decoration are also known at Hengistbury Head c.f. *Ibid.* this Plate No. 3.
- No. 5. A fragment from the rim of a black bodied, coarse ware cylindrical vessel, with a piecrust decoration on the rim.
- No. 6. A portion of the upper part of a black coarse ware vessel, globular in shape, with a flattened rim. This vessel is decorated with two rows of heavily indented finger prints, one row situated just below the rim, the other row situated two inches lower.
- No. 7. A portion of the lower half of a situlate vessel, in a soft red gritty paste, finished on the outside with grass wiping marks. Base thick and flat with slight thumb indentations.
- No. 8. A smaller version of No. 7 with similar characteristics.
- No. 9. Fragment of base, with a foot collar, in an oxidised, coarse and very gritty paste.
- No. 10. Heavy base with large grits and evidence of vegetable tempering in the paste.
- No. 11. Fine ware bowl in a smooth red-brown paste, burnished inside and out. Constructed on a foot ring base, the side flaring out and up to meet a concave vertical rim above a sharp carination. This profile, without the footring, is paralleled at St. Catherine's Hill, Guildford. c.f. Caesar's Camp report.
- No. 12. Rectangular loom weight c.f. Plate (2) No. 4.

EARLY IRON AGE POTTERY FROM LINFORD, ESSEX

Notes on the forms and ornament

By Prof. C. F. C. Hawkes

*The forms of vessel represented may be divided broadly into jars—large, medium, or small—and bowls. For both, there has long been a belief in England that where the profile has no prominent angularity, the vessel should be later than any where the profile is sharply angled. This has been because some of the bronze situlas (or shouldered buckets) of the Italian and Hallstatt Iron Age, beginning earlier than the British, have a sharply angled shoulder; the more closely this is imitated by the pottery forms, the earlier they should therefore be. But the truth is not so simple. First, many bronze situlas (including all the earliest) in fact had rounded shoulders. Secondly, the main forms of Continental Hallstatt pottery did not imitate situlas at all; they had a more or less rounded body, and more or less tall neck or rim, upstanding or everted, because that was the tradition inherited by the Hallstatt potters from the bronze-using Late Urnfield phase of culture that had gone before. Accordingly, when any Hallstatt jars were, as they sometimes were, made taller and higher-shouldered than the rest in imitation of the situla, they seldom had especially sharp shoulders rather than rounded, blunt or merely slight ones, and though their rim or neck may sometimes be short, like the situla's, it was frequently kept tall and more or less everted, in the tradition precisely not of the situla, but of the main run of Hallstatt pottery as such. These rims and high shoulders, in the parts of the Continent lying towards Britain, were first combined in a really sharp-angled profile not in Hallstatt times at all, but in the early 'Marnian' culture of the La Tène period which followed, not before the middle or late fifth century. Bowls, similarly, in Hallstatt times had mostly a rounded or blunt-profiled shoulder; only in the fifth century when the change to La Tène was setting in did the custom grow of making them quite sharp. All such sharply-profiled forms, the *vases carénés* of French archaeologists, belong on the Marne, in north-eastern France, to the La Tène I period, from the later fifth through the fourth century into the third; this is the main factor in dating anything like them in surrounding districts, such as Belgium or the Lower Rhine, and the same is true for south-eastern Britain.*

When, twenty to twenty-five years ago, most people thought the British Iron Age had not started till about 400, this dating could still leave the sharp-angled forms in Britain their repute of being early.

Some fancied that we had nothing much earlier—that is, of true Hallstatt age—at all; I myself did not take that view, but like most people at that time, I did think our Hallstatt material was of greatly retarded age; and as that seemed to mean after about 400, I wondered if our sharp-angled forms, being La Tène, might not be retarded likewise, in fact to 300 or 250. I suggested this in 1939-40 for those from Park Brow I in Sussex¹⁴ and also from Worth in eastern Kent;¹⁵ and the notion that *no* such forms in Britain *could* be earlier than the mid-third century, when invading 'Marnians' would have introduced them, gained more adherents thereafter than it deserved.¹⁶ Thus Mr. Sheppard Frere proposed that date for the Sandown Park site at Esher, Surrey, on the strength of two sharp-angled forms there;¹⁷ and Dr. Kathleen Kenyon, in discussing this and other such cases in Surrey,¹⁸ at least did not tell me I had made the forms as a whole too late. But she did point out the right way for reconsidering that matter: La Tène incomings and influences should be seen as a long-continued process, and not assigned all to one 'invasion'.¹⁹ Now that it is clear that our Iron Age indeed began well before 400, and in times still truly Hallstatt and not yet La Tène, we can see what place in its pottery series was really taken by the sharply angled forms. At the start, they were not yet present at all; the Continent itself had not yet got them. But after the middle or late fifth century, when they became standardized on the Marne, and spread thence to Belgium and beyond,²⁰ we may expect any newcomers from that direction in south-eastern Britain to have introduced them, as at least a component feature of their potting repertory, at any date within a quite long period. The repertory displayed on any one site, of course, must be considered in all its features and not in this one only; but its presence no more betokens a date exclusively towards 250, than one in the earliest days of our Iron Age altogether. With this made clear, we can proceed with the range of forms from Linford.

JARS.

Of the authentic Hallstatt form, round-bodied and with more or less tall and everted rim, there is not much to be seen. Fig. II, 13 suggests a version of it with slashed rim, and 10e one varied by a finger-printed neck-ridge; otherwise, all the profiles represented show, or at least suggest, influence (in whatever degree) from that of the situla. Thus Fig. I, 1 is an admirable reproduction of a sharp-shouldered situla, with lipped rim and offset foot; 3 is quite like it, though much smaller and with finger-printed shoulder; 6 is a simplified version, with shoulder and rim left blunt. The profile of 7 was probably intermediate between those of 1 and 2; at any rate, it shares with 2 the eversion of the rim which comes from the older Hallstatt jar tradition, so that these two are not pure situla imitations. The best such imitations remaining are Fig. III, 1-2, both with quite sharp shoulder; the fragment, Fig. II, 10c, with its well-formed rim, may have been another on a smaller scale.

There is thus enough to be seen of the sharp-shouldered situla profile to suggest a date within the period of influence on south-eastern Britain, directly or indirectly, from the La Tène I Marne culture of north-eastern France.

The impression given by the rest of the jar forms represented is a good deal vaguer. The shoulders seem always placed high, in the situla manner, but vary in profile from the blunt (as Fig. III, 3) through the rounded (Fig. III, 4, 6; Fig. II, 1-2, 4, 6; Fig. I, 4) to the barely perceptible (as Fig. II, 9). Where they are not preserved, but only guessable from a rim or neck, one can suppose the same wide variety (Fig. I, 8, 10; Fig. II, 3-5, 8, 10 a-b, d); Fig. II, 12 and Fig. III, 5 suggest a simple barrel- or bag-shape without even as much suggestion of a shoulder as Fig. II, 9. These varieties do not have to be placed in an imaginary typological succession. Round-shouldered forms, and barrel- or bag-like ones as

14. *Sussex Arch. Colls.* LXXX, 230-43.

15. *Ant. Journ.* XX, 115-21.

16. Beginning, in 1940, with Gordon Childe; *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*, 190, 213, 224.

17. *Ant. Journ.* XXVII (1947), 37-8, 45, on Fig. 16, 1, 6.

18. *Univ. Lond. Inst. Arch. 8th Annual Report* (1952), 59-63; cited below as 'Kenyon (1952)'.

19. *Ib.* 56-7.

20. Hallstatt material (to about middle fifth century) and La Tène-influenced material (thence onwards) may be seen conveniently distinguished in Belgium in the cemeteries at Lommel-Kattenbosch, prov. Antwerp (south and north parts of the site respectively) and Nierpelt, prov. Limburg (De Roosen: ring-ditched and penannular-ditched graves respectively): S. J. De Laet and M. E. Marien, 'La Nécropole de Lommel-Kattenbosch', *L'Antiquité Classique* XIX, 2 (1950), 309-66; H. Roosens and G. Beex, 'Onderzoek van het urnenveld op de Roosen te Nierpelt in 1959', *Archaeologia Belgica*, 48 (from *Limburg*, XXXIX, 1960), 59-142; both with full further references.

well, were being made in south-eastern Britain already in the Late Bronze Age, and alongside sharp-shouldered ones as well as after them; and where they do appear alongside these, as here, the varieties of profile stand for nothing more than the range one must expect, in the hand-made coarse pottery of a settlement, where care was taken to make the 'best' pots' shoulders sharp, but almost anything otherwise would do. The same will hold for the bases, Fig. III, 7-10; 7 and 8 both indicate a situla profile; the heavy 10 suggests a large coarse jar with a dumpy body, like the smaller-scale Fig. I, 4; only 9 has a further interest in its projecting foot, which may quite well be seen as a La Tène feature.

BOWLS.

There are only two to consider: Fig. I, 5 and Fig. III, 11. Fig. I, 5 is a fairly sharp-shouldered or 'carinated', but it has a 'dished' or broad omphalos base. Both these features imitate the like on bronze bowls. But, while the carination is a feature becoming more pronounced as one goes from Hallstatt bowls into La Tène, the omphalos base is a Hallstatt feature which survived into La Tène, but was then superseded by a flat base, or more distinctively by a foot-stand. Fig. III, 11 has got this foot-stand; and its shoulder, though less prominent than that of Fig. I, 5, is actually sharper. Fig. III, 11 is thus a bowl of fully La Tène form; Fig. I, 5 retains a traditionally Hallstatt form of base. Its ornament, moreover, of three parallel sharp neck-grooves, is a neater version of the parallel broad furrows seen regularly in this position on the relatively early bowls of Hengistbury Head and inland Wessex, which are of Hallstatt tradition, omphalos-based, and earlier again than bowls with foot-stand. The sharp grooving is found instead of the furrowing, as here, in the east of southern Britain, as at Fengate (Peterborough), where it likewise appears together with the omphalos base, on more or less sharply carinated bowls.²¹ With or without such ornament, in fact, bowls with omphalos base are everywhere in general earlier than bowls or any vessels with a foot-stand—or with the rarer pedestal base, which is just an exaggerated form of foot-stand. There may be a little overlap, on any given site, between late examples of the one and early examples of the other, as with our two bowls at Linford. But the two are more typically kept distinct from one another. Thus, to take the best-known of East Anglian sites, Mickle-moor Hill at West Harling (Norfolk) had omphalos and flat but no foot-stand bases, though its pottery as a whole shows a Hallstatt tradition well penetrated by early La Tène influence as declared in sharp-angled profiles;²² up the valley of the Thames, and thus equally relevant to Linford, the same was true at Sandown Park, Esher,²³ while not far off, on the lower Wey at Wisley, there were flat and foot-stand and pedestal bases, but no omphalos.²⁴ Farther up still, the same is found around the upper Thames: Long Wittenham produced omphalos-based bowl forms and flat-based jars, both with sharp profiles of specifically early La Tène derivation, but no foot-stands,²⁵ while at Chinnor Common the bowls had foot-stand bases but no omphalos.²⁶ The inference must plainly be that omphalos bowls, primarily Hallstatt, when they occur associated with angular La Tène profiles, belong to an early phase of La Tène influence or immigration; foot-stand bowls, conversely, to a later phase of that same process, when pedestal bases also may occur; and that the two phases overlapped no more than slightly. A 'central' date for the earlier phase will be 400, and for the later will be 300. A site with both forms of bowl, therefore, should have been in occupation around 350, however much earlier and later its occupation began and ended. Of the angular La Tène profiles by themselves, one can say (as far as I can see) distinctly less: all they show is relation of some kind with Continental La Tène I, whether early or relatively late in it, or intermediate. Thus I do not think it appears that the Linford site was occupied beyond the fourth century B.C., and I see less case given by this pottery for supposing the occupation lasted much after the middle of it, than for supposing that it began already early in it. But two more matters remain to be considered: the finger-printed and slashed decoration, and the clay loom weights.

21. *Arch. Journ.* C (1943), 205-6, Fig. 5, J 1, etc.; Kenyon (1952), 49, Fig. 12.

22. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* XIX (1953), 1 ff., 14-32 (pottery report by Miss Clare Fell, F.S.A.); regrettably placed a good 100 years too early on my chart, *Antiquity* XXXIII (1959), 176, Fig. 2.

23. See Note 4; Kenyon (1952), 59-61, Fig. 16.

24-25. H. N. Savory, *Oxoniensia* II (1937), 1-11, Fig. 2, 6 ff.; Kenyon (1952), 38-40, Fig. 6; cf. 23-4 from France.

26. K. M. Richardson and A. Young, *Ant. Journ.* XXXI (1951), 132-48, Fig. 5, 31-3; Fig. 8, 51-2, 69; cf. Fig. 9 from France.

The *finger-printed and slashed decoration* is very frequent, occurring on all but a dozen of the vessels or fragments illustrated. Wherever this is the case in an Iron Age pottery series, it has long been the English custom to declare that the habit has been handed on from the local Late Bronze Age. The Bronze Age pottery thus referred to has been, for the most part, that of the so-called Deverel-Rimbury culture, or its representative in any given region. The bronzes with which this is first known to be associated, however, are today recognised not as Late but actually as Middle Bronze Age; and although its tradition certainly lasted on into the Late Bronze Age centuries, the fact is broadly that the nearer one gets to the Iron Age, the less easily datable does finger-printed pottery become. On the Continent, however, though Late Bronze Age or Urnfield coarse pottery of course occurs so decorated, yet in the nearest region to Britain with much pottery from settlement-sites, datable from the seventh to sixth centuries onwards through the Early Iron Age, it is the Early Iron Age that has most finger-printed decoration. The region is that covered by the Hunsrück-Eifel culture, from both sides of the Middle Rhine westwards towards the Mosel and Ardennes.²⁷ In the Low Countries between it and the coast facing Britain, the period is known chiefly from cremation-cemeteries, and much less well from settlements; but there seems certainly no reason for taking our British finger-printed decoration as of native Bronze Age origin, to any more than quite a slight extent, rather than allowing it a genuine place among the conventions of our Iron Age immigrants from the Continent.

To specify each example from Linford seems unnecessary. Every form of jar may be embellished with finger-printing or slashing of some kind, on body, shoulder, neck or lip. On the rim's flat top, however, it is rare (Fig. II, 2 and the cabled III, 3 only); and this serves to differentiate our pottery from the Harpstedt ware of the Lower Rhine and north-west Germany towards the Weser and Elbe, on which the rim-top is its normal and almost exclusive position. The general similarity of our decoration to that on the Hunsrück-Eifel coarse ware, on the other hand, is very evident and deserves full emphasis.

The scratched striation on the body of Fig. III, 7 and 8, is probably not done with the finger-nails, but with a broom-like or comb-like instrument. Its presence on the body of such situla-like vessels in the Marne culture, from the shoulder downwards, is quite fairly common, and was illustrated among my Marne comparisons for the pottery from Worth.²⁸ It also occurs on a vessel of like shape at Fengate;²⁹ and at Linford also should be ascribed to the Marne or La Tène element in the culture of the site, even though combined in both examples with finger-printing of the Hunsrück-Eifel or other antecedent sort.

If any of our finger-printed pieces do deserve considering as of local Bronze Age derivation, these are in the first place, Fig. II, 10e, where the decoration is applied to a concavity of profile, and Fig. II, 11 and perhaps Fig. I, 9, where it appears on an apparently quite straight pot-wall, in the former case on a horizontal applied clay band. Is it conceivable that these two pieces at least, or Fig. II, 11 anyhow, could be of really Bronze Age date? Of the site's three pieces of *clay weights*, Fig. II, 14 and Fig. III, 12 are both of the cylindrical, axially perforated type, which has well-attested Bronze Age associations. On the other hand it has occurred in addition on at least one relevant Iron Age site, namely Fengate (Peterborough), though the four others recovered there were of the normally Iron Age triangular type, with perforations across the corners, represented at Linford by Fig. I, 11³⁰. It is not certainly known whether both types had the same use, nor whether both or either were loom-weights or weights for holding down roof-thatch. In the circumstances, all our three weights must be assigned to the Iron Age occupation, whatever they were for.

Conclusion. Apart from the few doubtful finger-printed sherds, of which Fig. II, 11 is the only one really looking foreign to the period and more like a Bronze Age piece, the Linford material here reviewed may be taken all together as of the Early Iron Age. The bulk of the pottery, especially in its finger-printed decoration, points to an origin for the inhabitants on the Continent in the Low Countries or the Hunsrück-Eifel region of West Germany. With this, however, are sharply-angled jar and bowl

27. E. Neuffer, 'Siedlungskeramik der Hunsrück-Eifel Kultur', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 143/4 (1938-9), 1-45.

28. *Ant. Journ.* XX, 117-18, Fig. 10 (Marne) and 5 (Worth).

29. *Arch. Journ.* C, 211-13, Fig. 8, U 7; Kenyon (Note 5), 48 Fig. 11, 2.

30. *Arch. Journ.* C, 193, with refs. for both periods: Plate II bottom left, cylindrical, other two triangular; fragment possibly again cylindrical, not triangular, Micklemoor Hill, W. Harling (Note 9), 33.

forms which point to influence, or to further incoming, from the Marne region of north-eastern France or else some area already influenced or invaded from it, e.g. in Belgium, within the La Tène I period. This began while bowls with omphalos base were still current, as shown by Fig. I, 5, but had not ceased when bowls with foot-stand had started to be made, as Fig. III, 11. These bowls, and the sharp-angled, situla-like profiles among the jars, must be dated roughly within the fourth century B.C. For the close of the occupation represented, nothing suggests a date much later, if at all, than c. 300. For the beginning, nothing suggests one much earlier, if at all, than 400, unless any of the coarse ware be supposed already current here before the arrival of the La Tène I element; and this supposition is not necessary. It seems easiest to take the pottery as a single group, and to assign it all to an occupation in the fourth century, by a community in which pre-La Tène traditions, related whether more or less distantly to those of the Hunsrück-Eifel culture, had already been supplemented and somewhat modified, before its arrival on the site, by a Marnian La Tène I element. If the two bowls be supposed contemporary, the whole occupation may be dated around the fourth century's middle years. If the foot-stand bowl is later than the omphalos one, it will show continued contact with progress in La Tène potting while the occupation lasted. These two ways of regarding the matter come to much the same thing; in any case, the occupation may be dated within the fourth century with fairly ample safety.

ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY* FIG. IV.

Illustrated Pottery

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| No. 1. Ditch F
(T.12 ex) | Flange of hemispherical bowl in imitation Samian fabric. (Lydney Park, Fig. 26-24) fourth century. For general type see Plate Balmuildy XLVI. |
| No. 2. Circular Hut | Rim of jar with lid seating in coarse red ware. Date uncertain but probably not earlier than the late second century. |
| No. 3. Circular Hut | Rim of a bowl in coarse red ware. Date uncertain. |
| No. 4. (T.11 Box 1) | Fragment of flanged bowl with predominant bead in black burnished ware. This type of vessel does not appear in the north before the fourth century (A.A.4 XXV (1957) Type 228.) |
| No. 5. Weaving Hut
(T.12 ex) | Squarish rim of a bowl in coarse red ware. This is probably the reeded flanged bowl in its final state of devolution. |
| No. 6. u/s | Part of base of an imitation Samian bowl. Rather poor quality. Fourth century. |
| No. 7. Pit Hut 1 | Thick, coarse fragment of the base of a jar in cream ware. Undatable. |
| No. 8. Pit Hut 1 | Part of a wheel made base in grey ware—date uncertain. |
| No. 9. Weaving Hut
(T.12 ex) | Part of the top of a ring necked flagon in black colour coated ware. This vessel does not make its appearance until the fourth century. (A.A.4, XXV (1957), Fig 3, No. 19; Lydney Park, Fig. 27, No. 47; Jewry Wall, Leicester, Fig. 53, No. 5). |
| No. 10. Pit Hut 2 | Flagon top in thin red ware with cream slip. This particular form with its inner concavity and groove decoration appears to have been introduced in the late second century. (Balmuildy, Plate No. 7. Mumrills <i>Proc. Soc. Ants. Scot.</i> 1928-9, Vol. LXIII, Fig. 100, No. 5, Jewry Wall, Leicester, Fig. 28, No. 12; Wroxeter 1936-7, <i>Arch.</i> 88 Fig. 11, No. 10). |
| No. 11. Ditch E | Part of the body of a large storage jar in grey ware, burnished on the outer surface and with bands of decoration formed by a six-pronged tool (such tools were used for comb decoration). This form of decoration was fairly widespread and appears throughout the occupation. The vessel is probably third or fourth century. |
| No. 12. Ditch F
(T.12 ex) | Part of a bowl in brown ware, burnished inside and out. The 'V' pattern decoration appears to have been done by means of a roller. This type of decoration, which is fairly rare in this country, probably originated in Central Gaul. (Chenet, <i>La Ceramique gallo-romaine d'Argonne du VI siecle et la terre sigillee decoree a la molette</i> , 1941). |

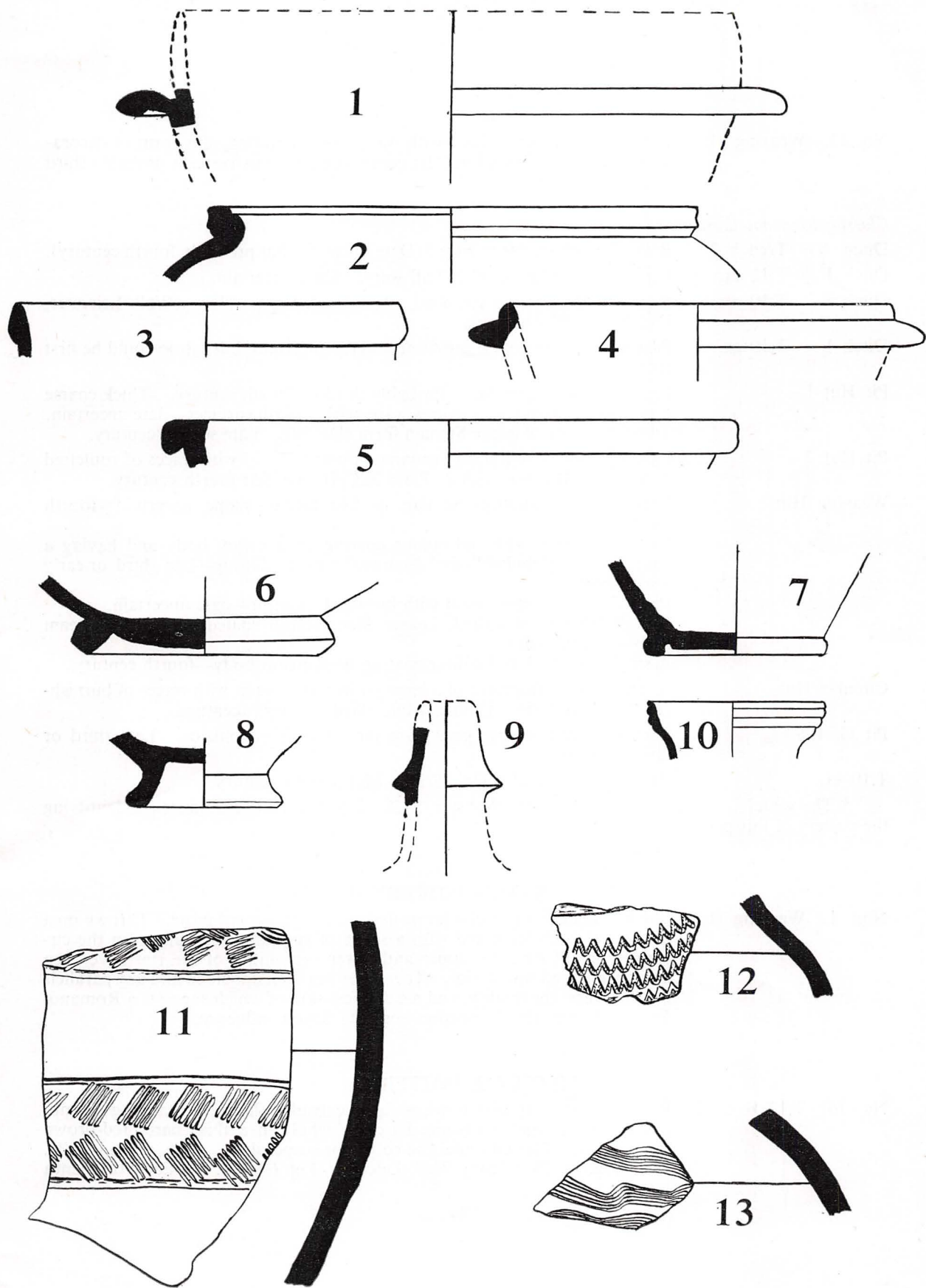


FIG. IV.—Romano-British pottery from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

- No. 13. Weaving Hut This is a coarse grey sherd with wavy line decoration, this form of decoration is common throughout the occupation, but this vessel is probably third or fourth century.

Classified but not illustrated:

- Ditch A Trench 2 Rim of vessel similar to Fig. 5 (Date uncertain but probably fourth century).
 Ditch F T.12 ex. Part of a globular vessel in buff ware. Date uncertain.
 Ditch F T.10 ex. Rim of a black burnished bowl with a beaded rim. (Jewry Wall, Leicester, Fig. 20, No. 9) Antonine.
 Ditch F T.10 ex. Part of a base in coarse grey ware—date uncertain, but fabric could be first century.
 Pit Hut 1 Part of a coarse grey jar. Probably third or fourth century. Thick coarse fragment of a large bowl in grey ware, with pinkish surfaces—date uncertain. Two fragments of a late Samian form (Dr. 38). Late second century.
 Pit Hut 2 Part of a base of imitation Samian fabric and Dr. 37 with traces of rouletted decoration (Richborough 1, Plate XXVII, No. 95) fourth century.
 Weaving Hut Fragment of imitation Samian in fine fabric—shape uncertain—fourth century.
 Part of a vessel with red colour coating on a cream body and having a conical neck globular body, decorated with rouletting—late third or early fourth century.
 Part of a coarse grey vessel with brownish exterior—date uncertain.
 Part of the base of a thick, coarse, black colour coated ware with a cream body—fourth century.
 A small base with red colour coating on a cream body—fourth century.
 Circular Hut A thick, coarse fragment of a large jar in a grey ware, with traces of burnishing on the outside. Probably late third or fourth century.
 Pit G. 106 Part of a large coarse grey ware jar. Burnished outside. Late third or fourth century.
 T.10 ex. Part of the base of a Dr. 18/31. Mid second century.

* The writer is indebted to Dr. Graham Webster, M.A., F.S.A. for his assistance in identifying the pottery of this period.

ROMANO-SAXON POTTERY (FIG. V).

- No. 1. Weaving Hut The fragment of a rim of a jar or flagon, in a greasy red paste. Thrown on a fast wheel, and decorated with a series of ring and dot stamps on the circumference of rim, the upper and lower extremities of the rim have been crudely notched with a tool. The writer has been unable to find any parallels for this ware, the quality, and mechanical skill of which suggests a Romano-British source, the decoration suggests Saxon influence.

MEDIEVAL POTTERY

- No 16. T.12 B. x. 2 Part of a large circular bowl, with an extruded flange, upstanding thumb-printed collar, and a sagging base the whole in a thin, hard, red-brown sandy paste. Pierced under the collar for suspension. *Arch. Cant.* LXVII, 1954, Fig. 18, 28. Jewry Wall, Leicester, Fig. 60, No. 6. Early thirteenth century.

THE SAXON POTTERY

By Dr. A. Genrich, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hanover.

Translated by Dr. J. N. L. Myres.

Some of the pottery of which I have seen the drawings can be compared with similar examples from the continent. Naturally an inspection of the originals would make any judgment more secure, since the fabric and colour of the sherds form a powerful argument for date and origin. It must also be remembered that starting from a given stylistic direction the development of shape in the new homes of the settlers may not have taken exactly the same course as in the country of their origin: thus, for example, the typological development may have taken longer in England. If we make due allowance for these necessary considerations, the following possibilities of dating emerge.

Fragment (Fig. V, No. 2) belongs to a pot with sharp carination and constricted lower part which may have ended with a foot or a small footstand. The upper part is narrow and divided up with horizontal grooves: the carination is marked with sharp nicks. The form is that of a narrow biconical bowl or cup with sharp carination. Vessels of this kind are not uncommon with or without feet on both sides of the mouth of the Elbe in the fourth century. The closest parallel is a vessel from Rebenstorf (Körner, *Rebenstorf* Abb. 49, Lbrg. 2343), but the lower part is not so constricted, and the nicks on the carination are not present. Plettke (*Angeln und Sachsen* T.40) illustrates a number of similar biconical vessels from the region of the Elbe mouth which certainly show a definite relationship. A vessel from Hammor, Kr. Stormarn (Genrich, *Formenkreise* T.14 B) which already has shoulder knobs, and is thus probably later than (Fig. V, No. 2) is dated by a brooch to the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth. Since the range of brooches from the Rebenstorf cemetery shows that it went out of use before the end of the fourth century, our sherd must similarly be placed in this period, if we are to judge from the course of development on the continent.

The same dating is reached by considering the fragments of flat bowls with wide mouths and rounded contour (Fig. V, Nos. 5 and 6). Parallels to those from Schleswig-Holstein belong similarly to the fourth century, for example a bowl from Berlin (Genrich, *Formenkreise* T.1 C), Hammor (aa.o. T.13 C) or Lassahn (T.21 C).

For the biconical bowls (Fig. V, Nos. 3 and 4) similar examples can be quoted of the same period (Genrich, *ibid* T.1 B, 4 E) though it can be argued that they should be dated later, at the beginning of the fifth century (Genrich T.15). But these later vessels have a more sharply constricted upper part and a narrower mouth than our two pots. Schuldt too dates in the fourth century parallels from Pritzier in western Mecklenburg (Pp. 26.7, his group B).

Jars with prominent shoulder and high, narrow, conical neck (Fig. VIII, No. 9), Fig. VII, No.1 are dated in Holstein to the fourth century on associated finds (Genrich T.3 C, 6D). Similar pots come also from Niedersachsen (e.g. Plettke T. 29.2) while the form is rarer in western Mecklenburg (ep Schuldt Abb.122) and had a different development. Earlier still, parallels could be adduced from the Rebenstorf cemetery (Körner, *Rebenstorf* Abb. 50, 59). The dating reached above by associated grave goods is confirmed by the fact that this cemetery went out of use before the end of the fourth century.

It is more difficult to date the undecorated round-bellied pots. To suggest parallels with forms (shown in Fig. V, Nos. 13 and 14) from those in the mounds on the west coast of Schleswig-Holstein (Bantelmann, T.17) would take us back into the second century. Thickened profiles like Fig. VI, No. 9 could point the same way (Bantelmann, T.17, 2, 9) while others (like Fig. VI, Nos. 6 and 10, 3-4) could, following parallels at the lower Empire from the same site, be attributed at latest to the fourth century (Bantelmann T.19). But in comparing these simple undecorated forms, the fabric and surface of the pottery is so significant that to form a judgment from the drawings only is too difficult to be safe. Evidence derived from a stratigraphical sequence is very much to be hoped for.

In view of the considerations mentioned at the beginning of these notes about the doubts inherent in applying purely typological methods of the dating of this material, it is very much to be hoped for that some closely datable ornaments could be found with them. In any case the material from this

THE SAXON POTTERY

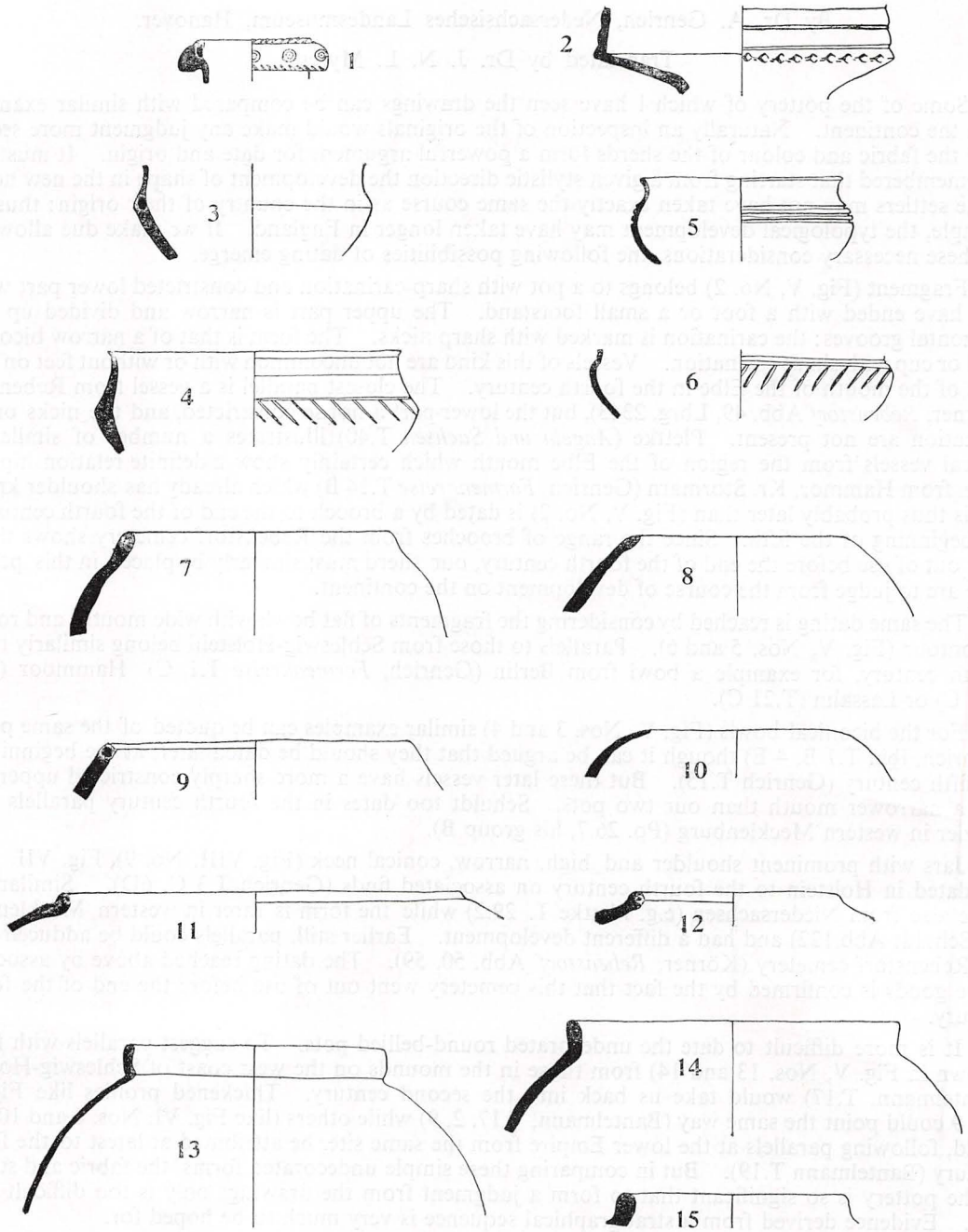


FIG. V.—Saxon pottery from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

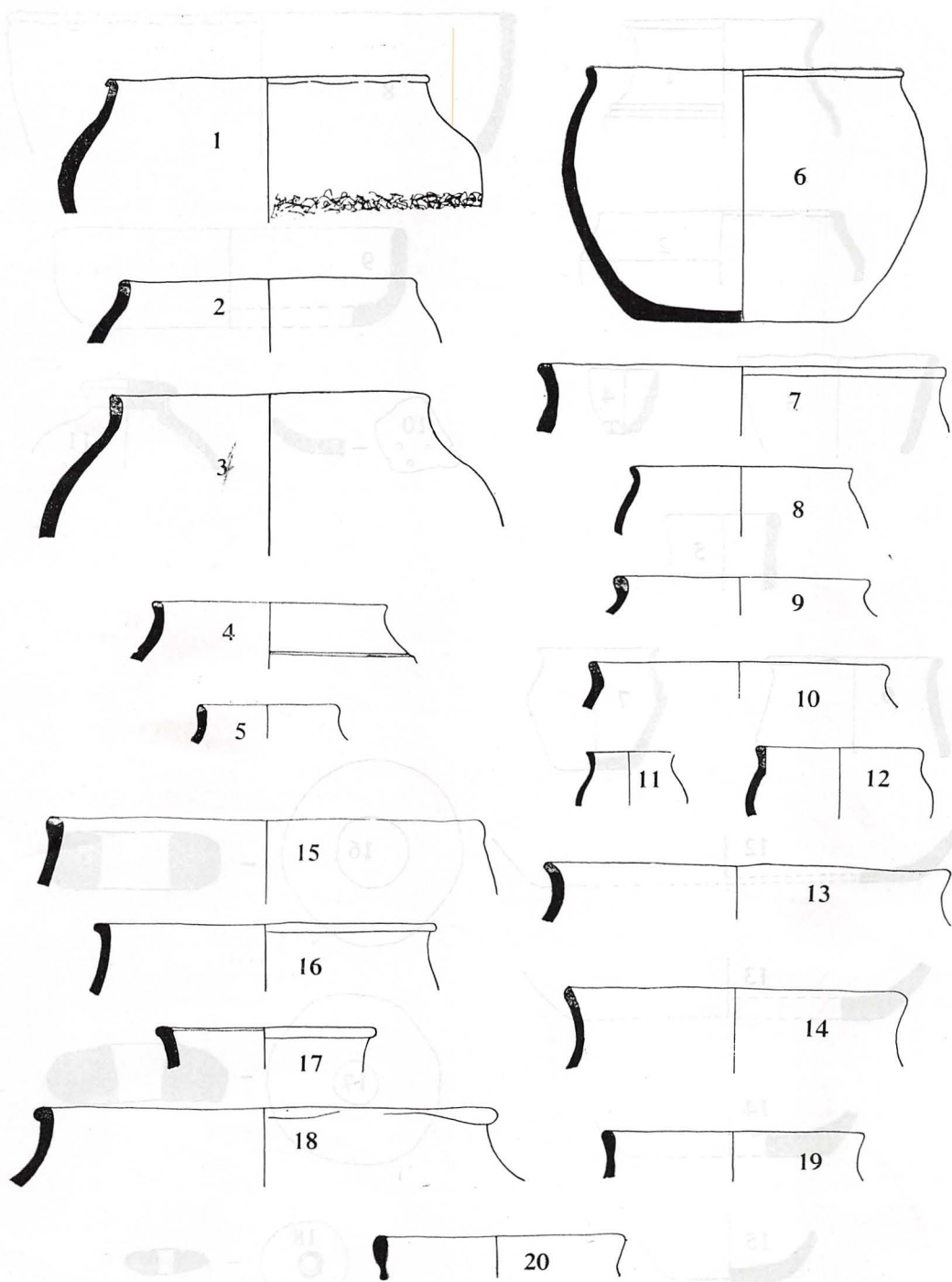


FIG. VI.—Saxon pottery from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

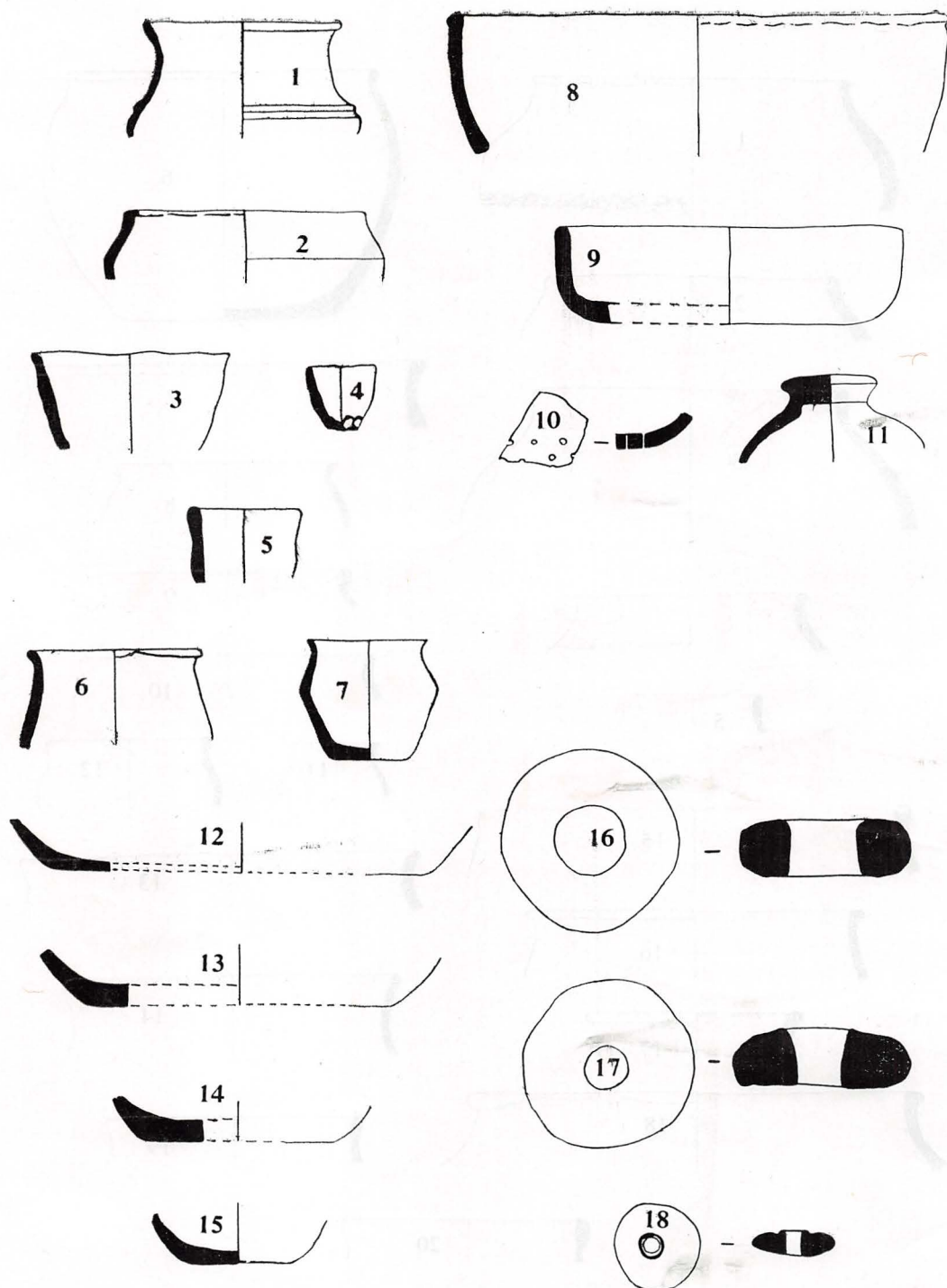


FIG. VII.—Saxon pottery from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

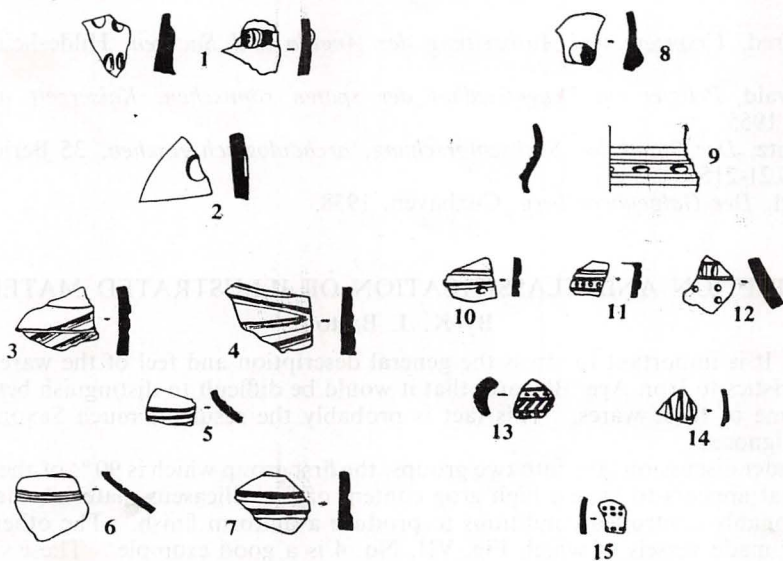


FIG. VIII.—Saxon pottery from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

site should be treated as a good reason for examining more closely the possibility of close connections between Britain and the mouth of the Elbe well before the fifth century.

As to the source of this pottery, one can at any rate go so far as to say that the closest parallels come from the region around the mouth of the Elbe, that is to say from the cemeteries of Perlberg to the left and Hammoor to the right of the river, as well as from other related sites in this region. The undecorated domestic pottery is not sufficiently distinctive to determine closer relationships.

References:

- Bantelmann, Albert, *Tofting eine vorgeschichtliche Warft an der Eidermündung*, Neumünster, 1955.
Genrich, Albert, *Formenkreise und Stammesgruppen in Schleswig-Holstein*, Neumünster, 1954.
Kersten, Karl, *Vorgeschichte des Kreises Herzogtum Lauenburg*, Neumünster, 1951.
Korner, Gerhard, *Die südelbischen Langobarden zur Völkerwanderungszeit*, Hildesheim und Leipzig, 1938.
Körner, Gerhard, *Der Urnenfriedhof von Rebenstorf im Amte Lüchow*, Hildesheim und Leipzig, 1938.
Plettke, Alfred, *Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Angeln und Sachsen*, Hildesheim und Leipzig, 1921.
Schuldt, Ewald, *Pritzler ein Urnenfriedhof der späten römischen, Kaiserzeit in Mecklenburg*, Berlin, 1955.
Tischler, Fritz, *Der Stand der Sachsenforschung, archäologisch gesehen*, 35 Bericht der R.G.K. 1954, S.21-215.
Waller, Karl, *Der Galgeuberg berg*, Cuxhaven, 1938.

DESCRIPTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF ILLUSTRATED MATERIAL

By K. J. Barton.

The Ware. It is important to stress the general description and feel of the ware, for it bears so similar characteristics to Iron Age 'B' wares that it would be difficult to distinguish between individual fragments of some of these wares. This fact is probably the result of much Saxon material being mislabelled and ignored.

The ware under discussion falls into two groups, the first group which is 90% of the whole, is a hard reduced paste that appears to have a high grog content of fine siliceous material, the paste has been fired under reasonably controlled conditions to produce a uniform finish. The other group consists of small roughly made vessels of which Fig. VII, No. 4 is a good example. These vessels appear to have been formed out of odd amounts of locally obtained and unprepared clays, fired in clump kilns, for the oxidised exterior covers a reduced and improperly fired centre to the ware which would be the result of this method.

The Manufacture. The manufacture of the main body of the ware although crude by many standards, suggests that it was probably in the hands of a skilled person. As described, the ware is of a balanced texture giving a hard, bright, smooth finish to the burnished surfaces. In most cases the vessels are burnished inside and out although the larger vessels are only burnished on their upper portions the bottoms of the vessels being left quite rough, this roughness suggests that the vessels were made by the 'lump' method described by Axel Steenberg (*Antiquity*, June, 1940). He shows how the rims of the vessels are formed first and allowed to harden, while the portion of the vessel yet to be formed is kept moist until the rim has set, the base is then formed, this would mean that the upper portions of the vessel are ready for burnishing as soon as the base is formed while the rest of the vessel would remain rough and unburnished. This feature is common to most of the coarser types.

Classification. The vessels have been grouped according to their types and all sectional forms having affinities to these types are included in these groups. A number of wide mouthed jars with varying rim forms remain unclassified.

GROUP ONE. Small bowls mainly decorated, burnished, and usually well finished.

One 'A', PEDESTAL BOWLS. Fig. V, No. 2. (Ditch 'A' T.1 and T.2 Junction.) Sharply carinated vessels in a reduced handmade ware, the upper vertical portions of the vessel decorated on the exterior with girth grooves, the carination crudely notched all round.

ONE 'B', CARINATED BOWLS. Fig. V, No. 3. (Pit Hut 1.) Fragment of the side of a carinated vessel in a smooth handmade paste. This vessel had no decoration.

Fig. I, No. 4. (Pit Hut 1.) Rim and side fragment of a small decorated carinated bowl. In this vessel, the body is thickened at the shoulder to take the exterior slash decoration and the vertical neck band grooves.

ONE 'C', ROUND SHOULDERED BOWLS. Fig. V, No. 5. (Pit Hut 1.) Rim and side fragments of a small round shouldered vessel with three girth grooves. Fig V., No. 6, (Ditch 'A' T.2.L.2.) Fragment of the side of a vessel in a fine burnished paste, decorated with light shoulder slashing and with slight grooving at the neck.

GROUP TWO. Coarse ware vessels practically globular in shape with three forms of distinctive rim features.

TWO 'A', PLAIN RIMMED JAR. Fig. V, No. 7, (Ditch H.) Roughly formed heavy rim fragment of cooking vessel. Fig. V, No. 8, (Ditch A.) Well formed inturned rim with burnished finish. Fig. V, No. 9. Similar vessel with a square ended rim form. Fig. V, No. 10. A fragment of a finely made vessel with a pronounced inturned rim in a black burnished ware.

TWO 'B', ROLLED RIMMED JAR. This feature is shown in the thickening and rounding of the rim accompanied by a distinct thumb groove around the outer edge of the rim. These features are to be seen in Fig. V, No. 11, (T.10xl) and in Fig. V, No. 12 (T.10xl.)

TWO 'C', COLLARED GLOBULAR JAR. A distinct feature, this rim sprouts vertically from the globular body, is sometimes plain as in Fig. V, No. 14 (T.10.xl.) and Fig. V, No. 15 (T.10.xl.) or decorated as seen in the fine thin bodied and burnished fragment Fig. V, No. 13 (G.61) in which the rim has been finely turned and tooled.

GROUP THREE. SHOULDERED JARS. These are coarse ware vessels predominantly globular in form which rise and incurve and have sagging shoulders, that frequently terminate in a slightly out-curving rim, although variations on this theme are seen in Fig. VI, No. 1 (G.61.) The upper portion of a coarse ware bowl, with a sagging shouldered neck and roughly pinched out rim. This vessel has the typical roughening at the base associated with the vessel of this period. In Fig. VI, Nos. 2 and 3 (G.61 and T.12.x Weaving Hut) the rims are not pinched but smoothly rounded and in Fig. V, No. 4, (Weaving Hut), the rounded everted rim is set over a groove decoration at the base of the shoulder. Fig. VI, No. 5, (Ditch F), has similar characteristics to those discussed.

GROUP FOUR. WIDE MOUTHED JARS WITH EVERTED RIMS. These forms come in all sizes from the cooking pot to the beaker size but in each case the vessels are similar in that they have everted rims that underhang or are the same size as the maximum width of the vessel.

Fig. VI, No. 6, (Ditch 'A') is the best example of this form, round bodied, flat bottomed with the rim spaying outwards. In No. 7 (Weaving Hut), the top of the rim is flattened, whereas No. 6 (Pit Hut 1) retains the earlier features. In No. 9 (T.10.x) the profile remains although the rim becomes hammer shaped. No. 10, (Ditch 'E'), No. 11, (Weaving Hut) and No. 12, (Ditch 'A') tend to have the rims thrown higher although the basic effect is the same, this is also seen on Nos. 13, (Ditch 'A') and 14, (Oval Hut).

Fig. VI, Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. A selection of unclassified rim fragments, probably all belonging to wide mouthed bowls, these have a variety of rim shapes, which bear no affinity to those aforementioned. In each case their body and finish indicate that they belong to this period. They are distributed as follows: No. 15, (Ditch 'A'), No. 16, (Ditch 'A'), No. 17, (T.10xl.), No. 18, (Pit Hut 1), No. 10, (Ditch 'A'), No. 20, (T.10.x.B.x.7).

GROUP FIVE. NECKED JARS. (With or without shoulder cordons).

Decorated Type only, Fig. VII, No. 1, (Oval Hut). Rim fragment with a finely drawn up neck, the body decorated at the shoulder with cordons impressed from the inside.

GROUP SIX. CARINATED JARS. Fig. VII, No. 2. Illustrates this type, with a rim fragment from the Oval Hut, a fine bodied ware of vertical jar form in which the shoulder is pulled in to make a sharp carination, the rim in this case is slightly thickened at its extremity.

GROUP SEVEN. BEAKERS.

SEVEN 'A' PLAIN, roughly made cup shaped vessels in a semi-oxidised paste indicating unskilled manufacture, to be seen in Fig. VII, No. 3 (Weaving Hut) and also in No. 4, although this is

probably a toy, this was also found in the Weaving Hut. Fig. VII, No. 5 shows a slightly better fragment of a beaker in a black paste from Pit Hut 1.

SEVEN 'B', RIMMED, No. 6 (Pit Hut 1) has a sample of this form of beaker with incurving walls terminating in a rounded out thrust rim.

SEVEN 'C', BICONICAL, a fine sample of this form is seen in No. 7 found in Pit Hut 2. A finely made double shoulder and well finished rim, plus the hard grey body indicate skilful potting.

GROUP EIGHT. BASIN. This typical example of a well known domestic form is made in a hard reduced paste, and has a slightly rolled poorly formed rim. Fig. VII, No. 8.(T10x 'Threshing Floor.)

GROUP NINE. PLATTER. Reminiscent of the Roman pie dish, this vessel is circular with a flat base and vertical sides, without special rim features. In a hard black reduced paste. Fig. VII, No. 9, (Ditch 'A').

GROUP TEN. COLANDER. Part of the base of a vessel that has been pierced for straining. Fig. VII, No. 10, (Ditch 'A').

GROUP ELEVEN. LIDS. The only example of a lid is in a soft poorly fired paste partly oxidised. Fig. VII, No. 11. (G.61).

GROUP TWELVE. BASES. Four examples of bases are shown to typify the fact that all the bases from the site are flat, and from all the bases the walls tend to rise in a round form, none rising vertically.

GROUP THIRTEEN. LOOM WEIGHTS. The two complete examples found at the site came from Pit Hut 2. Fig. VII, Nos. 16 and 17 and are typical of the known types of this period, being of the so-called 'doughnut' variety.

GROUP FOURTEEN. SPINDLEWHORL. The fine spindlewhorl from Pit Hut 2 is made in a dark brown smooth paste, and is a freehand product, the hole being off centre, and the collar groove irregular. Fig. VII, No. 18.

DECORATION. The decoration of the vessels is varied and requires special attention. An attempt has been made to classify these decorative features and this includes types already illustrated.

TYPE A. FINGER-PRINTING. This takes the form of decoration frequently met with on 'De-veloped' Iron Age 'A' forms and is not related to Medieval finger-printing, in that the wet surface of the vessel is jabbed to provide relief, and the plastic clay is not moulded with the fingers. Fig. VIII, No. 1, (Pit Hut 2).

TYPE B. CIRCULAR FLAT INDENTS. Probably made with the fingers but carefully executed, this occurs with Type A Fig. VIII, No. 1 and alone Fig. VIII, No. 2 (Ditch 'F').

TYPE C. GROOVING. This includes finger grooving or tooled grooving. This form of decoration appears to be predominantly horizontal, and in the case of tooled grooves this appears to be always the case, however, finger-grooving appears to be used for lozenge and other diagonal decoration. Examples of these forms are to be seen in Fig. VIII, No. 3 (Oval Hut) and No. 4.(T.10.xl.) No. 5 and No. 7 (Oval Hut). The tool induced grooving to be seen in No. 6 (Weaving Hut) is also paralleled in many of the other decorated types and appears to have been the most prevalent form of decoration.

TYPE D. CORDONS. Raised bands of rounded profile formed from inside the vessel, are very common forms of decoration on Buckelurnen, and appear to be a specialised form of decorative technique.

TYPE E. SLASHING. A decorative form also common to early Iron Age forms, in these examples the slashing is on the shoulders and is slanting (both hands).

TYPE F. NOTCHING. Only one example of this is seen here, it occurs on a sharply carinated shoulder of a pedestal vessel (Fig. V, 2).

TYPE G. BOSS. The all important boss decoration occurs in its earliest form as a small decorative bump on the side of a globular form. Fig. VIII, No. 8 (Weaving Hut).

TYPE H. SMALL TOOLED DEPRESSIONS. (i) oval, (ii) round, (iii) rectangular, (iv) triangular. These small forms of tool induced decoration usually occur in association with grooving as a composite part of a decorative scheme, minor slashing is also used. Examples are seen, Fig. VIII, Nos. 9

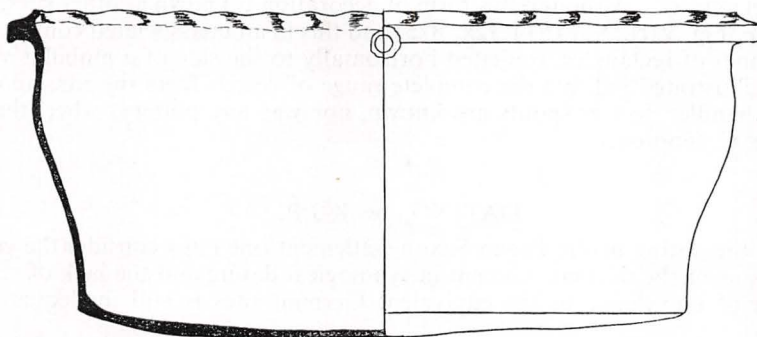


FIG. 16.—Medieval pot from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

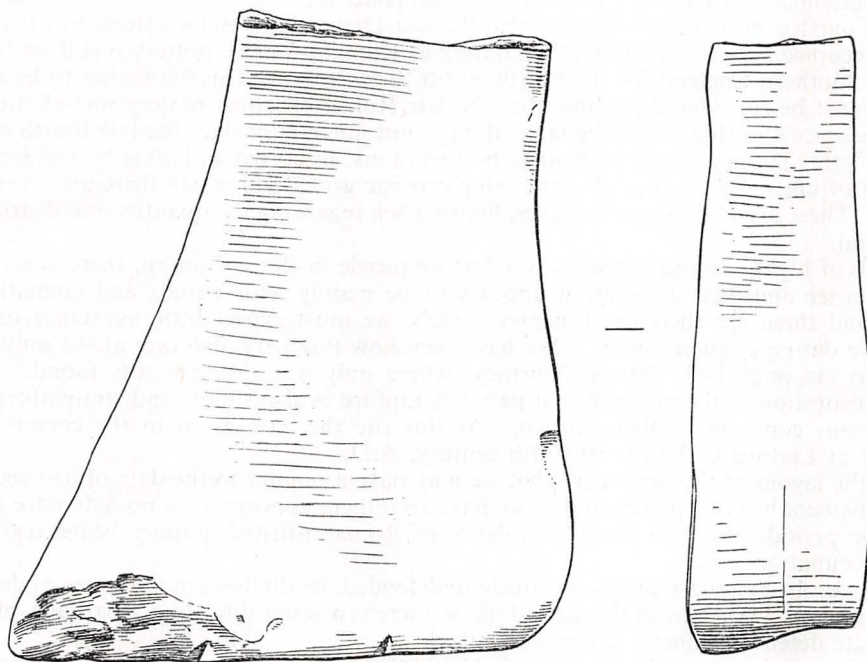


FIG. 18.—Pagan Saxon whetstone from Linford. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

(Ditch 'A'), No. 10, (Ditch 'A'), No. 11, (Oval Hut), No. 12, (Pit Hut 2) and No. 13, the fragment of a decorated rim from Pit Hut 2.

TYPE J. ROULETTING. Although this form of decoration is known at other sites, only one small fragment occurs here, Fig. VIII, No. 15 (T.12x, Bx3) and this in an unassociated context, the decoration consists of double lines of rectangles, rouletted horizontally to the side of a globular vessel.

The specimens illustrated indicate the complete range of vessels from the site, no other forms, or similar forms with handles, feet or spouts are known, nor was any pottery, wheel thrown, glazed or fired above 500 deg. C. (approx.)

DATING, by K.J.B.

In considering the dating of the Pagan Saxon settlement one must consider the comments of Dr. Genrich who warns us of the dangers inherent in typological dating and the lack of statistical data in Britain. The state of knowledge in the equivalent German sites is still inadequate for true close dating.

The lack of associated datable metal objects, is a major drawback in providing dated evidence, as is also the nature of the rectangular house which does not appear to conform to any of the standard 'long house' types known, say at Federsen Werde, Nr. Cuxhafen, a site at which the pottery of Linford has the closest parallels. The very layout of the settlement is also not paralleled by other known settlements at the Elbe mouth.

There is however one pointer, and that is the associated Romano-British material, its association in fair quantities is limited to areas of occupation, and in the ditch opposite the Rectangular house. This would suggest that it was available to be handled, and to be used by the occupants. Its source could have been the known settlement at Chadwell St. Mary, Essex, although recent excavation has shown this settlement to have been mainly Second/Third century in date.³¹ The occurrence of well defined late Fourth century material means that this must have been obtained from the existing occupied or recently occupied sites. The state of the dating of Romano-British pottery is still far from reliable, especially in Southern England for the fourth and fifth centuries. This hiatus has to be accepted and therefore it must be considered possible that the late Romano-British pottery was obtained from the indigenous peoples and that it may be later, though not much later than the late fourth century. The occurrence of this pottery could, of course, be fortuitous, imported as curios by children, or adults. Or the result of unearthing of burials containing ceramic groups, of which there are several known in the district. These arguments are, however, flimsy when regarding the quantity and distribution of the material found.

The lack of highly decorated wares is a further puzzle in this collection, there is no evidence for pure Buckelurnen and their association appears to be mainly with burials and cremations. If this is the case and these are therefore funerary vessels, we must expect little assistance on occupation sites from the dating of such vessels. We have seen how these are also rare at the only other Pagan settlement so far published, Sutton Courtney, where only one example was found. At Federsen Werde the decoration of the material that parallels Linford is also simple and straightforward without the elaborations common to Buckelurnen. At this site the date given to the ceramics of parallel form to that of Linford is the Fourth/Fifth century, A.D.

It is in the layout of the settlement that we may have a pointer to the date of its occupation.

The settlement has two phases and as we have seen there appears to be no difference in the pottery used in these periods and also there is evidence of Romano-British pottery being available in both periods of occupation.

Of the two phases, phase one is obviously undefended, its ditches are but areas of demarcation or compound ditches. Whereas in the second phase there is a wider ditch and a palisade, although these are inadequate defence against a determined attack.

The settlement is several hundred yards above the springline, suggesting that water would have to be carried up daily. The weaving shed of phase two was constructed as a part of the palisade, its thatched (?) roof would provide fuel to any fire arrow. The ditch of phase two was dug for the most part

31. See *Excavation of an Iron Age and Roman Site at Chadwell St. Mary*, by W. M. Manning. *Ibid.* pp. 127.

in sand, and had silted rapidly. All these facts would suggest unwarlike preparations, although the fact that phase two needed a palisade and ditch, and phase one did not, must have some significance.

If we are to believe that the early Fifth century was turbulent, a settlement of Saxons, such as the one at Linford, in an exposed position, comparatively close to native settlements, would surely be subject to attack. However, if the Feoderati theory can be accepted, we might have a settlement of such people already established here before such turbulence began. It is possible that the second phase of occupation with its defences is, despite their flimsy nature, an indication of troubled times. The rapid abandonment of the site is indicated by the clay loom weights and spindlewhorl on one hut floor and the line of lead weights probably indicating an abandoned loom, on another. These huts must have lain in an area unsettled for some time, for who would leave lead lying waste?

Within the date range, this is possible, and we are forced to equate the Romano/British pottery into our calculations. Is it not therefore possible to see in this a late Fourth/early Fifth century settlement of people originating from the area of the Elbe mouth. People using the available native wares as well as their own; who settled at first strung out on the dry hillcrest above the creek heads. Later having to re-group into an area protected by a palisade. Finally (obviously in the face of a local disaster) fleeing and being removed in tremendous haste, leaving the land empty? There are doubtless other answers!

THE METAL OBJECTS.

LEAD.

The principle metallic finds are confined to the Pagan Saxon period and to this metal. The majority of finds are associated with the surface Weaving Hut (Trench 12 extension) where 20 Lead Loom weights were found.

Lead Loom Weights (Fig. 17, Nos. 1, 2 and 3).

Although there appear to be three variations on the method by which these were produced, they are all approximately of the same size. The approximate averages being: Diameter, 2-in.; Weight, 1 lb., Size of central hole $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. at widest point, Thickness, $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. They have been made in a previously prepared (clay) mould, in the case of Type 1, this has been 'decorated' with a collar around the external and internal edges. A tapered core was probably made of wood for easy extraction. The 'cooling' ring found on the base varies in depth in all types suggesting an uncontrolled pouring temperature. In Type 2, the upper surface has been bulged to make a large internal collar, the external collar is missing in this type. Type 3 is plain circular disc.

Other objects of lead include:—

Ditch 'A'. T2. One piece of lead approximately 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. square that appears to have been cut from a larger piece with a sharp tool. It bears many cut marks on its upper and lower surfaces and may have been used as a working block.

Ditch 'E'. End of a small 'ingot' 1-in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ -in. by $\frac{1}{2}$ -in.

Weaving Hut. Two fragments of lead waste and two fragments of twisted lead strip.

Pit Hut 2. One fragment of lead waste.

IRON.

Several fragments of iron were found, only one is worthy of note.

Site 'A'. Iron arrowhead 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long on the remains of an iron split socket shaft. This arrowhead was found at a depth of 9-in. lying at an angle of 30 deg., the point lying to the north west, indicating that the arrow may have been fired from the direction of the main site and it is suggested that it may be of Pagan Saxon date.

BRONZE.

Traces of bronze in an advanced state of corrosion were noted during the excavation, it was not possible to recover any identifiable pieces.

REPORT OF THE CHARCOAL FROM THE SITE.

This report was kindly undertaken by Mr. J. F. Levy, Lecturer in Timber Technology, Imperial College of Science and Technology, University of London.

Iron Age Period:

G.8 ex. Hearth 1 Fragments of Oak.

- G.8 ex. Hearth 2 Several pieces of wood charcoal from small twigs not exceeding 1½-in.-2-in. dia.
One piece, probably Hazel, the rest Hawthorn.
- T.7.x.1 Fragments of Oak.
- G.9 All Oak with the exception of one piece of Elm.
- Species attributable to this period—
Oak (*Quercus sp.*).
Elm (*Ulmus sp.*)
Hazel (*Corylus sp.*)
Hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*)
- Pagan Saxon Period:*
- Ditch 'A' (T.1) All wood charcoal, Oak. The material shows considerable degree of distortion, consistent with the material having been in very wet conditions for a considerable period.
- Ditch 'D' All material Oak.
- Open Hearth Pieces of Oak, probably from fairly large dimension timber, greater than 1-ft. diameter.
- Pit Hut 1 Small pieces of Birch, not more than 2-in. dia.
- Pit G.6.1 Fragments of Oak from branches more than 6-in. dia.
- Species attributable to this period:
Oak (*Quercus sp.*)
Birch (*Betula sp.*)

ANIMAL REMAINS

The following reports have recently been made on the animal remains from this site.

SHELLS

Iron Age. None.

Pagan Saxon Period:

- Weaving Hut Area *Oatrea edule* (Human Food).
Ditch 'A' (T.2) *Helix aspera* (Indigenous).
Circular Hut *Retinella, nitidula* (Indigenous).
(probably contemporary with the filling).

This report was made by Mr. A. G. Davis, British Museum (Natural History).

ANIMAL BONES

Iron Age:

- G.52 Fragments of ox teeth.

Pagan Saxon:

- Ditch 'E' Sheep tooth fragments.
Ox tooth.
Fragments of pelvis—ox?
- Ditch 'F' (T.12 ex) Ox metatarsal.
- Ditch 'A' (T.2) Ox tooth.
- Rectangular House
Area 20 Ox teeth.
(u/s)
- Oval Hut Horse molar.
Fragments of ox teeth.
- Pit Hut 1 Femur of young animal—sheep?
Ox tooth
Humerus phalange.
- Pit Hut 2 6 ox teeth
Proximal phalange and many unidentified fragments.

Weaving Hut	Many fragments of ox teeth. 2 ox teeth. Fragment of oyster shell.
Pit G.61	5 ox teeth. Ox astralgus. 7 pig teeth
Pit G.109	Ox tooth fragments.

This report was made by Dr. F. C. Fraser, British Museum (Natural History) who regrets his inability to give fuller information on these bones owing to their fragmentary state.

GLASS.

A fragment of glass was found during trenching operations to the south of Trench 12 (Box 7) at a depth of 12-in., resting on the natural.

This fragment is approximately 1-in. by $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. by $\frac{1}{16}$ th-in. It has a sea-green colour, with a thin blowing line down the middle. The paste is very bubbly on the inside of the vessel, and uneven on the outside. This piece was submitted by Dr. D. Harden (then) Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, who kindly made these observations: "It is my view that this is quite likely to be Pagan Saxon date. It is very bubbly, and this and the colour, both look to me typically Saxon. It could well come from a pouch bottle." (*Dark Age Britain*, p. 141, plate XVIII e-i).

Querns of Rhenish Lava:

Several fragments of this material were found during the excavations. They are all attributable to the Pagan Saxon Period.

Trench 12 ex.	One small piece of rotary quern, upper surface worn very smooth, no evidence of tooling remains. Under surface very irregular but smooth.
Weaving Hut	
Pit Hut 2	Three small fragments.
Extensions to the south of Trench 10 (Box 7)	

One large piece of an unworked rotary quern. The upper surface prepared for dressing with a small chisel. The under surface very roughly worked. All surfaces suggest weathering.

Pit G.95 (This pit contained small fragments of Iron Age 'A' pottery and one fragment of Romano-British tile).

Two large pieces of querns:

- (1) Part of the central portion of a rotary quern, with a quarter of the central hole still visible. The upper surface still bears traces of two zones of cutting although it is very worn. The underside also has evidence of tooling this time better preserved than the upper surface.
- (2) Very large fragment of a lower stone worn thin ($\frac{1}{2}$ -in.). The upper surface is very smooth and has no tooling left. The underside still bears the original dressing marks quite pronounced.

These imported querns are undoubtedly of Romano-British origin, or at least imported into this country during the occupation, they bear evidence of tooling which is stated by Dr. J. Rodem³² to have been undertaken only during the Roman period and not after. The stones discussed are all worn very thin which would suggest that they had been in use for a considerable period.

FLINTS

Fourteen flint artifacts showing evidence of use were found during the excavation, several were associated with features, the rest being unstratified. The stratified flints occurred as follows:

Iron Age 'A' Period:

G.31 Pit	Large lunate flake—use lustre at edges—slight retouch.
G.10	Lustrous flake with retouch. Lunate flake with retouch.
T.8X4 Hearth 1	Thick flake with retouch.
T.8X4 Hearth 2	Lunate flake with retouch.

32. "Die Geschichte der Basalt-lava-Industrie von Niedermendig und Mayen". *Jahr-buch für Geschichte und Kulture des Mittelsheins* 2/3 Jahrgang, 1950-51.



PLATE I.—Excavations at Linford, Essex. Pit Hut 2.



PLATE II.—Rectangular House,

Pagan Saxon Period:

Pit Hut 2 Flaking splinter.

Ditch 'A' Trench 2 Miniature 'rostro-carinate'? used as a pseudo burin plus double hollow scraper.
Made from a beach pebble or a heavily bruised and weathered nodule.

Mr. Paul Ashbee, who has kindly inspected these flints, makes the following comments: "... these flints tell us little or nothing. There is no general technique or perhaps characteristic technique detectable on any piece, nor is any piece characteristic of any group or culture. They seem, on account of varied weathering and patina, to be strays. The most interesting piece is G.31."

The Society acknowledges, with grateful thanks, a generous contribution from the Ministry of Works, London, towards the cost of this Report.

STONE COFFIN FOUND AT WIX ABBEY

By Bryan P. Blake.

Late in October, 1961, Mr. G. K. Mitchell, of Wix Abbey, reported to the Colchester and Essex Museum the discovery of a stone coffin, in a field to the east of the Church of St. Mary, Wix.¹

The field, during living memory, had always been pasture with a very hummocky surface and a gradual slope down to the east. To level this, Mr. Mitchell had bulldozed one to three feet of the surface from that part of the field near the western boundary—the churchyard fence, and spread it over the eastern portion of the field. During this work the broken portions of a coffin lid were discovered. The field was later deep-ploughed and this operation revealed a stone coffin, and, upon investigation, many wall foundations were seen in the area.²

The coffin and its contents were taken to the Colchester and Essex Museum where the skeleton was removed and studied.³⁻⁴ The walls showed at the surface as lines of orange gravel against the clayish soil and disturbed subsoil—a sand, gravel and silt mixture. These traces, not clear at all parts, were planned and investigated where necessary to find the exact width of the footings or to prove the line of the walls.

The main structure appeared as a rectangle about thirty feet by fifty feet. Excavation revealed only slender footings, about 12 inches depth of packed gravel and stone, sometimes incorporating septaria fragments. The only traces of foundation courses were very large blocks of septaria and ironstone on the line of the north wall where it entered the bank of the churchyard; mortared footings were found at the corresponding position along the south wall. The latter appeared to be a buttress and, together with the presence of the extremely large boulders of the north wall, may denote that the structure here was designed to carry greater weight, as of a tower to the west of the investigated area.

All superstructure and the floor level within the building had disappeared; the floor would have been at a higher level than the field before it was bulldozed.

Traces of other walls were found as shown on the plan (Fig. 1). The feature aligned north-south was of tile and gravel, rammed hard. It is possible that this was a path and not a wall, it could be traced no further to the south, as a mass of tile below the surface defeated the probe. The northern end appeared to widen on the eastern side, curving out more in the manner of a path than a wall.

The angled wall to the east appears to be an annex or porch around the door. Only the footings of septaria fragments remained.

Other features include an unmortared raft of large septaria boulders set in the sand subsoil near the Electric Power Pole (E.P.P. on plan). It may have been the base for a large monument; no trace of superstructure exists. Graves containing human remains were found disturbed by the plough but there was no indication that the area had ever been a full graveyard.

The building surveyed must have been the chancel of a church, the tower and nave of which lie under the churchyard and modern church. Of that building the north wall is of mid-13th century date and is aligned with the north wall of the building found. It is an arcade of three bays with two-centred arches of two chamfered orders; the octagonal columns have moulded capitals and chamfered bases and the responds have attached half columns.⁵ The arcade, which formerly led into a North aisle, is blocked with stone, tile and septaria rubble. The position of the aisle is visible as a relief feature in the churchyard but the walls have not been surveyed. The alignment of the north walls may indicate contemporaneity of construction but, of course, need not do so.

1. O.S. 6-in. map. TM 12 NE. National Grid Reference to 10m. TM 16352900.

2. Several visits were made by the writer with R. Farrands, D. Butlin and B. Stroud, to survey and record the discoveries. Very little digging was undertaken, merely to prove the line and exact width of walls and the nature of their footings. The writer is very grateful to those who accompanied him and helped in extremely unpleasant weather.

3. I am deeply indebted to R. M. Bates, F.R.C.S., who kindly examined the remains. His report forms the Appendix to this note.

4. The removal was necessary as the coffin interfered with ploughing. The church already houses one complete and another fragmentary coffin and the Vicar, Rev. P. N. H. Palmer, M.A., R.D., felt that there was not enough room for another. Mr. Mitchell therefore kindly gave the coffin and lid to the Museum where they are now exhibited. (No. 262.61).

5. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), Essex, North-East, Vol. III, p. 234.*

It is known that a church existed at Wix prior to the foundation of the Nunnery, as the founder gave it to the Nunnery. Queen Edith (Edeva) gave Wix (Wica) to Walter the Deacon after the Conquest and the Manor of Wix Hall was endowed by Walter Mascherell, Alexander de Waham or Wix and their sister Edith—the children of Walter the Deacon, as a Nunnery for Benedictines in the last decade of the reign of Henry I. A confirmation deed of Henry II recites the earlier endowment including the Church of the village of Wykes.⁶ The Nunnery was dedicated, as was the Church, to St. Mary.⁷

In 1525 Cardinal Wolsey obtained the Pope's Bull for the suppression of some small monasteries for the endowment of his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. Wix was included among the number and the Prioress, Mary, surrendered her house, then worth £92 12s. 3d. per annum.

King Henry VIII later granted the Manor to Sir Adam Fortescue, afterwards to Edward Gilbert from whom it passed, by license to alienate of 26th January, 1561, to William Vesey and Robert Vesey and Johanna his wife.

The church, with the other buildings was allowed to become ruinous, until it eventually fell down.⁸ The decaying building must have been a very convenient quarry for the builders of the present Hall, now called Wix Abbey, which was constructed for the Vesey family in 1561 to the south of the church.⁹

The present church was erected in 1740 out of the ruins of the older building but had become dilapidated by 1888 when it was much restored and the small apse added.¹⁰⁻¹¹

THE COFFIN

The coffin and lid (Fig. 2) are of limestone—the usual material for coffins. Both have the same splayed shape—the head (2-ft. 3-in.) wider than the foot (12½-ins.). The coffin is 6-ft. 5½-ins. long externally with slightly splayed sides 2¾-ins. thick. The bottom, which has a drainage hole 28½-ins. from the foot, is 3½-ins. thick and the internal depth of the coffin is 8½-ins.; 7½-ins. of the wider end are blocked to within 2-ins. of the top of the coffin and contain a cylindrical recess to hold the head and the neck of the body.¹²

6. Dugdale, 1846.

7. At some time the church appears to have been dedicated to St. Michael. It is thus named by R.C.H.M., Morant, 1768 and Thomas Wright, 1836. But as Newcourt, 1710 quotes the dedication as St. Mary and it is so named at the restoration in 1888 the inference is that the new church of 1740 was dedicated to St. Michael but that the old name was re-adopted some time, probably a long time, before 1888.

8. The revenue at the time of the Dissolution was worth only £6 13s. 4d. for which small sum no Divine Service could be performed.

9. R.C.H.M., p. 235 and plate p.231.

10. *Essex Standard*, April 4th, 1888.

11. Throughout this note much use has been made of *Notes on the History of the Parish of Wix*, by P. Benwell, M.A. and J. Wood, M.A., vicars of the parish between 1883 and 1914. This notebook was kindly lent to me by Mr. G. K. Mitchell, of Wix Abbey. The writers have copied all relevant portions from:—

Monasticon Anglicanum by Sir William Dugdale, 1846. This authoritative book contains reference to all available relevant charters and documents.

Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, Vol. II, pp. 656-7 by Richard Newcourt, 1710.

History of Essex by Philip Morant, 1768.

Victoria County History of Essex, Vol. II. (N.B.—*The Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, Vol. 10, p. 356, drew attention to the excellent series of Charters of Wykes Nunnery in Essex contained in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VI, Vol. III, 1436. The Rev. Wood ascertained of Mr. Fowler of the Record Office, on Sept. 12, 1910 that he was fully aware of these documents when he wrote his account for the *Victoria County History*).

History and Topography of the County of Essex, by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, 1836. There are also many other sources containing references to the Parish which have been consulted and copied by the writers.

Also consulted by the present writer were those references in the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* on p. 192 of the General Index, Vols. VI-XV, and

The Tending Hundred in Olden Times by Yelloly Watson, F.G.S.

12. *The Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, by Edward L. Cutts, p. 13. The third example from the left is of this type of coffin, though the rectangular cavity above the head is peculiar to this group of rock-cut coffins at Heysham, Lancashire.

See also *Christian Monuments in England and Wales*, by Rev. C. Boutell, M.A., p. 8.

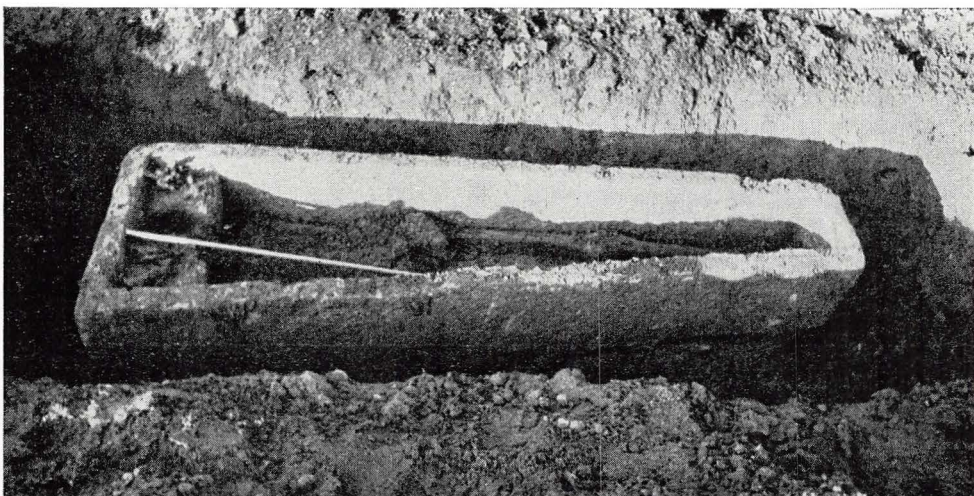


FIG. 3.—The stone coffin *in situ* found at Wix Abbey, Essex. Photograph by Mr. Frank Girling, F.S.A.

The soft, crumbling Oolitic Limestone of both coffin and lid shows marks of the diagonal tooling or dressing—a technique typical of the later 11th, 12th and early 13th centuries.

The lid was found near the coffin. It had been broken into four pieces, only one break was a recent one, probably made by the bulldozer which struck it.

The lid is coped at the foot but not at the head. Along the centre line of the lid runs the upright of the cross, terminating in the lozenge at the head which represents the arms of the cross. This is a raised slab containing the incised pattern of a lozenge including two triangles set base to base and $1\frac{1}{2}$ -ins. apart. With the exception of the head of the cross the ornament is all about $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch in relief.

There appears to be no certain information as to the meaning of the central bar in the middle of the upright and for discussion thereon see Cutts, p. 44.

At the base of the cross, steps or a mound are frequently introduced to represent Mount Calvary and called 'The Calvary'. Sometimes instead of the Calvary is the "Agnus Dei" or the jaws of a dragon transfixed by the cross. Whether the Wix lid has a vague representation of the Calvary or a transfixed shield is a matter of complete doubt.

There is no doubt, however, that the stone coffin contained the body of a person of consequence and by comparison with other examples it may have been a founder, benefactor, ecclesiastic, one of noble birth or a skilled artisan. The situation of the coffin, within the precincts of the Nunnery, perhaps indicates that it is of a benefactor and a person of consequence. It is not likely to be the coffin of one of the founders as it is probably about a century later than the foundation of the Nunnery. This is not an accurate date and is based only upon the shape and general style of the decoration of the lid, limited by the date of the tooling marks which, so far as the writer is aware, do not continue beyond the middle of the 13th century A.D.

The coffin was probably set with its top at, or slightly below the ground level so that the lid was always visible as a monumental slab.¹³

Appendix I.

REPORT ON SKELETON FOUND IN STONE COFFIN AT WIX.

I have examined this skeleton on a number of occasions and in my opinion it is of a man aged between 45 and 50 years, and about 5-ft. 10-ins. in height. Unfortunately the skull and pelvis were

13. Boutell, p. 7.

CHURCH OF ST MARY, WIX

108

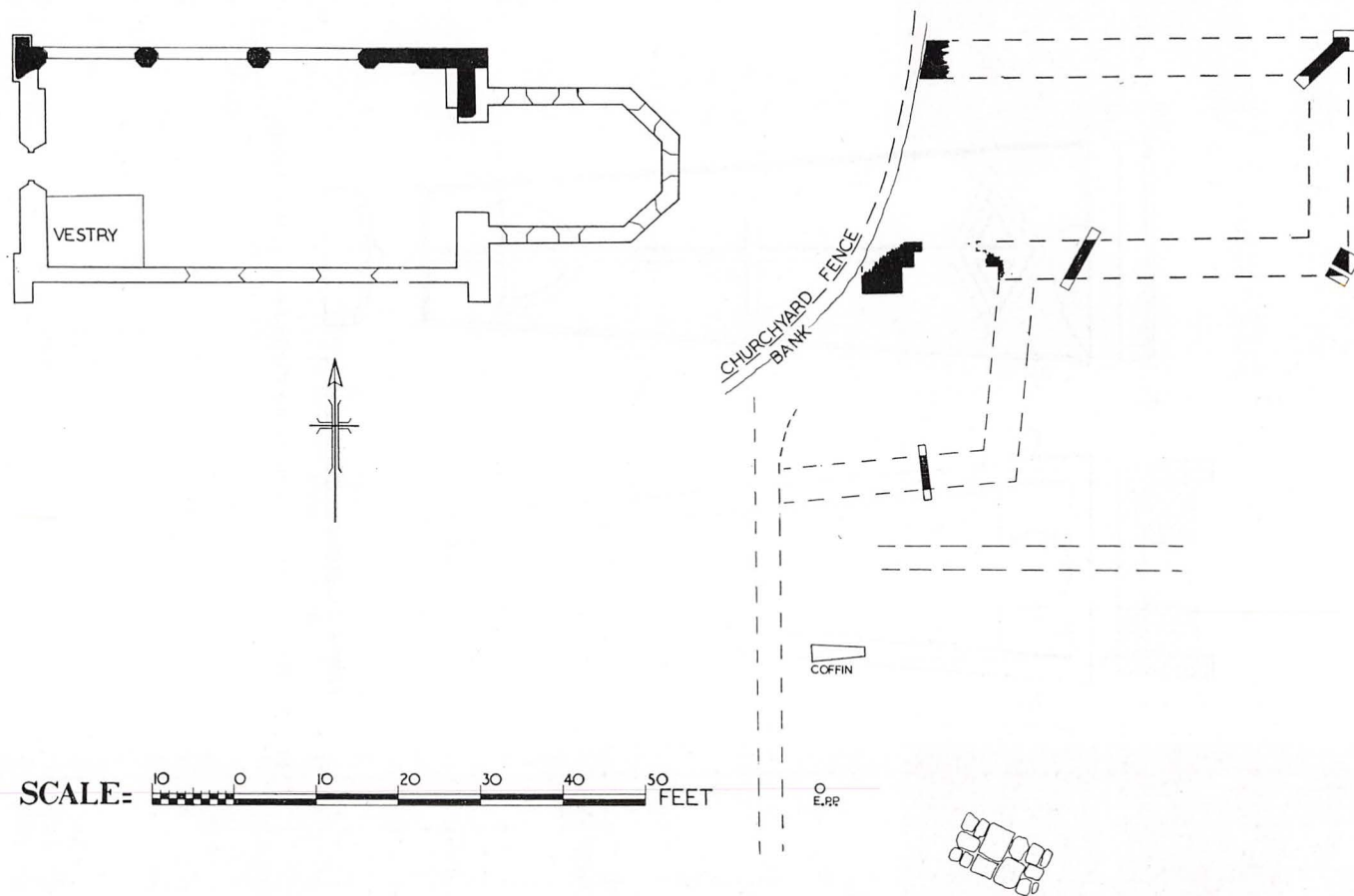


FIG. 1.—Plan of the church of St. Mary Wix, wall foundations and find spot of stone coffin.

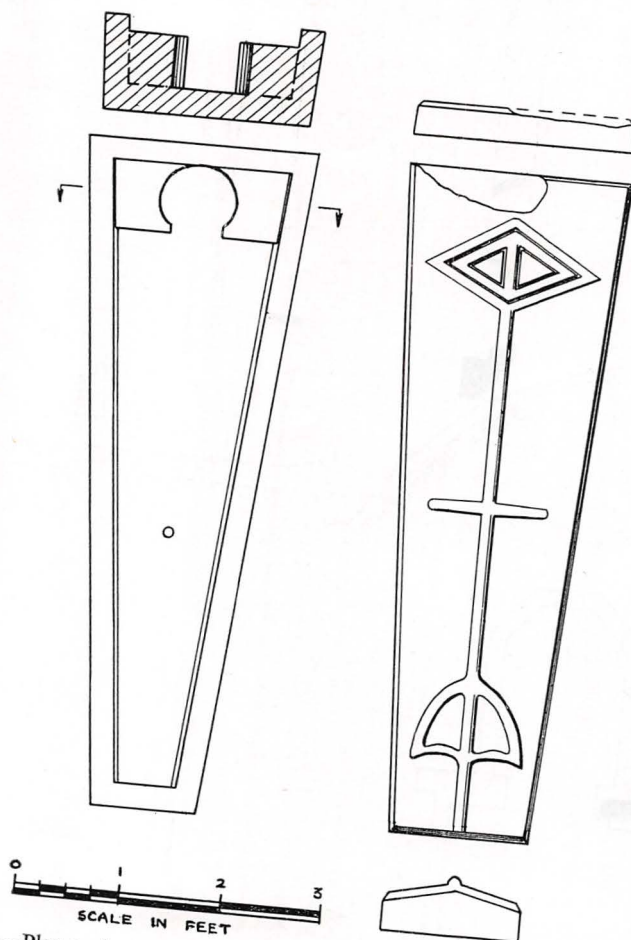


FIG. 2.—Plan and sections of the Stone Coffin found at Wix Abbey.

fragmented, but I came to the conclusion that the skeleton was male for the following reasons:—

- (1) The eversion of the mandibular angle.
- (2) The clavicle is larger, rougher, thicker and more curved than the clavicle of a woman.
- (3) The upper margin of the orbit is rounded and not sharp, as it would be in a woman.
- (4) The long bones of both upper and lower limbs show well developed muscular attachments, especially the linea aspera of the femur. The pterygoid ridges on the inner surfaces of the lower jaw are also unusually well developed.

I was able to fix the age from an examination of all the bones, but particularly the situation of the mental foramen in the lower jaw and of the condition of the teeth.

The height is only approximate on the length of the long bones and the phalanges, but this could be checked by the appropriate formula.

Ralph Bates, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., D.P.M.

The long bones were measured and using the general reconstruction formulae of Dupertius and Hadden the stature was calculated as 5 foot 9 $\frac{4}{5}$ inches.—B.P.B.

LITTLE WALTHAM CHURCH GOODS, c. 1400

By Brian S. Smith, M.A.

The inventories of Essex parish church goods made during the reign of Edward VI have variously been printed in these *Transactions*¹ and the *East Anglian*.² None is as interesting as the early 15th century agreement listing the goods of Little Waltham parish which was deposited in the Essex Record Office in 1960.³ The document may well be unique for the county, and its value lies both in its rarity as an inventory of the goods and fittings of a medieval parish church, and because, as H. W. King wrote in the *Transactions* in 1889 of the Edwardian survey, "all the inventories for this Hundred [Chelmsford] have perished with the exception of that of the Church Goods of Sandon."⁴

The date of the agreement is but one of the problems it presents. It is certainly after 1409 for one gift came from the rector, Thomas Barnston, who held the living from 1409 to 1431.⁵ Other donors are recorded in the *Feet of Fines*,⁶ and all but three occur in deeds of parish property between 1357 and 1416, mostly from about 1400.⁷ Since one or two do not appear until quite late, like John Mersch in 1412, William Parnell in 1411-12, and John Osebarn in 1416, and none after that date, the inventory can probably be assigned with some assurance to between 1410 and 1420. The handwriting alone suggests no later date.

The history of the document is more puzzling. It might have been made on the occasion of a change of officers of the "keperes of the godys of the for seyde chorch", but the rarity of this type of record indicates more unusual circumstances. The only known unusual event at Little Waltham about that time was the rebuilding of the chancel of the church, which the architectural historians date rather uncertainly as 14th or 15th century.⁸ While such work was proceeding the church goods, some of them removed from their accustomed places, would certainly need special protection. Having drawn up the agreement, it should have been kept with the other parish papers, but at some time it strayed from Little Waltham into the hands of a Chelmsford firm of solicitors, who deposited it (with many other records to which it bears no relation whatever) in the Essex Record Office.

The agreement reveals incidental information about the church, for chancel, chapel and sepulchre are mentioned. The site of the chapel has since been lost, but it was probably on the north side, where in the 19th century an organ chamber with a reset 15th century window was added to the east of the new north aisle; the sepulchre was normally placed on the north side of the chancel wall. Lights burnt before figures of St. Peter, St. James, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Margaret, St. Anne and the Blessed Virgin.

The ceremonies of the church are revealed in the list of vestments and goods. Some were richly worked like the "v vestmentes feryal" and the "amysses with gold of cyprys", or the silver vessels, none of which has survived to the present. Most were to be found in any pre-Reformation church, like the two new gradualls, chalices and paxbread, but in the parson's gift of "a cloth for worschepe to purifye women yn ye worschepe of oor ladye", or the "hobe with a touyele for to rede in the generogye" less common articles are described. The latter is especially difficult to explain, and my thanks are due to Monsignor D. Shanahan and Father Howard Docherty, O.F.M., for their suggestions, and those of readers would be equally welcome. A personal conjecture is that this might be an aub, or alb, with towel, used during a special reading of the genealogy of Jesus Christ (either from Matthew 1, vv. 1-17, or Luke 3, vv. 23-28) which was done in some Western churches at Christmas; "touyele" might be transcribed as "tonyele", but this merely adds another unknown word to an already difficult phrase.

1. H. W. King "Inventories of church goods, 6th. Edward VI", *Transactions* of the Essex Archaeological Society, IV, V, N.S. I-III, (1869-89).
2. "Certificates of church goods in Suffolk, including certain Essex parishes, temp. Edward VI", *East Anglian*, N.S. I-III, (1885-90).
3. Essex Record Office, D/DSu Q1.
4. H. W. King, *supra*, N.S. III, 59.
5. R. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, 1710, II, 633.
6. G. Montagu Benton, *Feet of Fines for Essex, 1327-1422*, III, (1949).
7. Essex Record Office, D/P 220/25/19-29.
8. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Essex*, II, 162.

The gifts of goods, cattle and sheep were almost all by local men. The latter kind of donation was, of course, common enough in the Middle Ages, the parishes leasing the beasts and devoting the income to the maintenance of lights or other purposes, although in this inventory the custom has resulted in the unconsciously humorous wording of the gift of "a cow for the parson to synge with every day". Of the named donors only Thomas Coggeshall, John Cranmer and Margaret Lurkes do not also appear in contemporary parish documents, but there was a brass to Thomas de Coggeshall, who died in 1421/2, in Springfield church.⁹ The anonymous citizen of London remains untraced, and the erased name towards the end is possibly Sawen; Richard, James and John Sawen were living in the parish later in the 15th century. The remainder were all men of sufficient local worth to have acted as feoffees in the late 14th and early 15th century of William Chaynell's charity, or as witnesses to the deeds of the charity,¹⁰ the most notable being Richard Waltham, who had bought the manor of Little Waltham in the late 14th century from John de Clifton, and who was commemorated after his death in 1426 by an inscription in the church.¹¹

The full text of the inventory is given below with the original spelling. Extensions of contraction or suspension signs are shown within square brackets. Throughout in the words gift, gave, given and light, the Anglo-Saxon letter "g", in pronunciation between a g and y, was used, but is here transcribed as y. The Saxon letter *thorn* was rarely used, even in the familiar "ye", but it occurs once unexpectedly in the word "hath". In the original there are no punctuation marks, but these have been added to make the text more readable; capital letters, on the other hand, have not been altered.

Thys endenr' y mad between the parsch of lytyl Waltham & the keperys of the godys of the for sayd cherch. atte the ferst, iij Massebokes, iij chaleys, j hool vestymnt, a sengle vestymnt of gyfte of Rychard Waltham, a vestymnt of gyfte of a cyteseyn of London, & v vestymntes feryal, iij aut[er]clothys w[i]t[h] iij frontell, & viij other aut[er]clothys, & iij washyng towaylys, & ij peyr' aut[er]clothys steyned, & a peyr' tables for the hey aut[er], & ij cassys for corporas,¹² & a paxbred,¹³ & a cros of selv[er], & iij other' crossys, a veylle w[i]t[h] aut[er]clothys of sute,¹⁴ iij clothys for the copuler'¹⁵ w[i]t[h] a towayle, an amysse w[i]t[h] gold of cyprys,¹⁶ & ix ban[er] clothys, & an hobe w[i]t[h] a touyele for to rede in the generogyne,¹⁷ a cloth for the rode, & ix clothys for the ymagys, ij newe grayell, & vj other' boks, & a towayle for godys borde. Thoma[s] Berneston p[ar]son of lytell Waltham gaf a cloth for worschepe to purifye women y[n] ye worschepe of oor lady.

Thys endenar' beryth wytenesse of all the ken & shep longynge to the cherch of lytyl Waltham for sayd. atte the ferste, Wylliam Massyngham hath y gove iij ken to susteyne w[i]t[h] the torches, & the same Willyam hay¹⁸ gove a cow for to susteyne a lygt be for' the sepulcr'. Jon Longe gaf a cow for to susteyne the lygt of the torches & a cow of denocyon' for the lygt of the torches. the same Jon Longe gaf ij ken to the rode lygt. the same Jon Longe gaf a cow to susteyne a lygt in the chapell. Jon P[ar]nell gaf ij ken to the rode lygt. Willyam P[ar]nell gaf ij ken for ij lampes to the rode lygt. Richard Rolf gaf a cowe to the rode lygt, a cow for ij lompes for to brenne befor' the rode. Thomas Sewell & Rog[er] Thorleye gaf ij ken for to susteyne lygtys befor' sey[n]t pet[er]. The same Thomas Sewell gaf a cow for to susteyne a lygt be for' the sepulcr', a cow of donacyon' for to susteyne a lygt befor' sey[n]t Jam. Rychard Waltham gaf a cow to susteyne the lygt of sey[n]t Andrew. the same Rychard gaf a cow for to susteyne the lygt of sey[n]t Nycholas. Margaret' Lurkes gaf half a cow to

9. *Essex Review*, VII, 44-46.

10. E.R.O., D/P 220/25/19-29.

11. Miller Christy and W. W. Porteous, "The monumental brasses at Little Waltham Church, Essex", *Essex Review*, II (1893), 45-8.

12. Corporals—a linen cloth on which the elements are placed during Mass.

13. A tablet, usually of silver with a representation of the crucifixion, passed and kissed by the officiating clergy and then the congregation during Mass.

14. Of the same colour.

15. Possibly *capsula* or *capsella*, the vessel in which the Sacrament was reserved.

16. The name of a textile originally imported from Cyprus.

17. For a possible explanation of this difficult phrase see the introductory remarks above.

18. *Hath*, similar to the familiar *ye* for *the*.

sey[n]t Margarete lygt. Jon Osebarn the elder' gaf a cow to susteyne the lygt of sey[n]t Jame & sey[n]t Andrewe. the same Jon gaf halfa cow to susteyne the lygt of sey[n]t Anne. Thomas Cogeshale squyer' gaf a cow to susteyne the lygt be for' the rode & a cow of denocyon' for to susteyne the lygts of sey[n]t Nycholas. & a cow for the lampe y[n] the chaunsell, & a cow for the p[ar]son to synge w[i]t[h] ev[er]y day. Jon Mersch gaf a cow to susteyne a lygt be for' oor Lady. Jon Cranemer' gaf two schep. Margarete Lurkes gaf a schep to sey[n]t Anne lygt. Joh' Osebarn gaf a cow to susteyne two tapores be for' ye sepulcr'. Rog[er] Rolf sen' gaf a cow to susteyne ye lygt of ye torches. Adam Eldefelde gaf a cow to susteyne two tapores of oor Lady. Richard S an of Lytell Waltham gaf one schep to [susteyne] a . . . lygt befor' ye rodescrene ye . . .¹⁹

19. The words after *oor Lady* have been partly erased, and this version was obtained with the aid of an ultra-violet lamp.

AN ACCOUNT OF "WALLWOOD", LEYTONSTONE, FROM 1200-1960

By Frederick Temple.

The long history of that area of land in Leyton known as Wallwood may possibly start about the year 1200 when, according to the Essex historian, Salmon, Ralph de Arderne confirmed to the Abbot and Convent of Stratford Langthorne a gift made earlier by Walter de Corpechun of an estate in Leyton. Salmon tells us that then (i.e. c. 1740) the deed of confirmation was in the hands of Peter le Neve and that the estate was called "the Church and Wood of Leyton". The donor was descended from Robert, son of Corbutio (or Corbucion) who held two large estates in Leyton when Domesday Book was compiled in 1086.

In the 22nd year of Henry III (1237-8) a Feet of Fine records the following transaction: Hugh, Abbot of Stratford, plaintiff, by Henry his monk as attorney—and Richard, son and heir of Geoffrey, son of Richard Corbicum impediens—concerning two hides of land with appurtenances in Luiyton with a plea of Warranty of Charter. Richard Corbicum acknowledged the right of the Abbot Hugh who had it by gift of his grandfather Richard Corbicum whose heir he is; so that whereas plaintiff used to render to Richard and Geoffrey at one time 8 marks yearly for the said land he shall now be quit for ever and is to hold it in free alms quit from any secular service. The Abbot agreed to receive Richard into all benefits and orisons to be done in the Church of the Blessed Virgin at Stratford Langthorne. This land in Leyton now belonging to Stratford was at that time subject to Forest Law so in 1248 the Monastery obtained licence from Henry III empowering them to enclose their wood in such a manner that the King's wild beasts might freely pass in and out. (*Pat. 32 Henry III*). Five years later (1253) much greater privileges were obtained from the same monarch for, of course, a considerable monetary payment to him. The grant said: that their grove which he called Corpechun in the parish of Leyton which is within the metes of the Forest that they may wall in and enclose at their will and make a park thereof and that grove so enclosed they may hold for ever and may break and till it; and the same grove shall for ever be de-forested and free and quit of regard, view and custody of the verderers, regards and all bailiffs of the Forest so that none of them shall claim any power or right to enter there." (*Cartae 37 Hen. III. No. 13*).

The spelling of the name of the wood has several variations, Corpychone frith (where frith equals wood) in 1291 and Carpetune which are derived from the name of the original donors. In the 15th cent. however, it was known as Wallywood and later Wallwood, (Fisher, "*Forest of Essex*"). Reaney in *Place Names of Essex* mentions Wal(l)ewode, 1323 For, Wallwood 1589 Ct. 'The wood by the wall or fortification,' v. weall.

During the long period when it was in the ownership of the Monastery that is till 1538, this same writer states that various confirmations of the grant were secured in 1284 and 1319 and claims founded on it were allowed in 1489 and subsequently (page 318). Details of the 1489 allowances are as follows: "At the Pleas in Eyre held at Waltham Holy Cross before John Radcliff, Esq. Lord Fitzwalter and Sir Reginald Bray, Justices in Eyre and of all Forests, Parks, Chaces and Warrens of the Lord King at this side (River) Trent . . . held on the 7th day of August in the 4th year of the reign of Henry 7th (after certain claims allowed to Hugh, Abbot of St. Mary of Stratford Monastery) the Justices allowed the Monastery to have their Grange called Corpechun in the parish of Leyton now called Wallywood which they may be able to intrench and enclose at their pleasure and to make a park thereof and that Grange to hold enclosed for ever and at their wish to assart and till and the same Grange for ever to have and hold disafforested free and quit of waste and regard view and custody of the foresters, verderers, regards and all bailiffs and other ministers of the same Lord the King's Forest aforesaid whatsoever so that no one of them shall vindicate for himself any power therein or in anywise interfere".

On March 18th, 1538, in accordance with the policy of Henry VIII of dissolving the religious houses of his realm, the last Abbot of Stratford, William Huddlestone, signed the Deed of Surrender of all the property of the Monastery including, of course, Wallwood and its other Leyton holdings; Huddlestone and the other monks received pensions. Whilst the forfeited lands remained in the hands of the Crown, a very detailed account of the entire property is preserved in the "Ministers Accounts" at the Essex Record Office. Those for 1537-8 may be seen as photostats at West Ham Public Library. They were transcribed and translated in 1953-4 by Mr. John G. O'Leary, Librarian of Dagenham. The relevant section for Wallwood (numbered 885 in his index) is "Fees as follows:—Reckoning the

fee for the bailiff and collector of rents 33s. 4d. per year—this year paid 33s. 4d. Fees for the woodward without the custody of the King's wood called Wallewood within the Forest of Waltham 53s. 4d. Paid annually by the Convent through the Farm of the 'Maner' of Leyton, the said fees for this year 53s. 4d. Total £4 6s. 8d." It will be noticed that there is an ambiguity, of meaning about the word 'without' which in the text is 'sine'. If this Latin word is taken to mean 'except for', then the fee of 53s. 4d. due to the woodward would have been for looking after Forest Waste of the Manor of Leyton Grange. Particular notice should be paid to the words 'the King's Wood called Wallewood', for a century later a claim was made that it was private property.

Henry VIII, in need of money, on 9th June, 1545, granted to Lord Chancellor Thomas Wriothesley the Manor and Rectory of Leyton and all the lands there which had belonged to Stratford which, of course, included Wallwood. The following year Wriothesley had licence to alienate (probably making a profit on the transaction) to Sir Ralph Warren, the woods of Leyton being mentioned in the licence. Warren, a very wealthy mercer of London, for long was prominent in connection with the government of that city as Alderman for 23 years and as Lord Mayor in 1536-7 and 1543-4. He had many financial dealings with Henry VIII who secured his election as Mayor in 1536 by sending a letter on election day requiring the Court to elect Warren to the office. Although Sir Ralph Warren held the Manor of Leyton Grange and other Essex Manors, he seems not to have resided at Leyton—his home outside London was Bishop Bonner's Hall at Bethnal Green, the lease of which he bought in 1546. Some of the land attached to this in the early part of Queen Victoria's reign was taken to form part of the present Victoria Park. An account of Warren is given in *D.N.B.* and some sidelights on this interesting person may be found in an article by the late R. J. Tallack in "*Leyton Independent*" of 14 June, 1930. He died on 11 July, 1553 and his stately and ornate funeral is fully described in Machyn's "*Diary*". His will, P.C.C. 5 August, 1553 Taske, starts: "In the name of God, Amen, I Sir Raffe Warren, Knight, Citizen and Alderman of London . . . to myne entirely beloved wife Dame Johan all those my manors in Essex, in Leighton and the parsonage of Leighton with the Vicarage there . . . with remainder at the decease of my wife to my fonde son Richard and to his heirs." This Dame Johan, his second wife, was a daughter and co-heiress of John Lake of London and by her he had the said Richard (died 1598) and a daughter Joan, the wife of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke, Co. Hunts. This couple were the grand-parents of the famous Oliver, Lord Protector.

Being thus possessed of her dead husband's Leyton estate in dower, Lady Warren was now owner of Wallwood. On 25 November, 1558 she married secondly Sir Thomas White whose wife, Anne, had recently died. Sir Thomas, who like her first husband had risen from comparative poverty to great wealth, in that same year acquired the manor of Salisbury Hall in the neighbouring parish of Walthamstow. In 1564 White and his wife (here called Joanna) presented the Vicarage of Leyton to George Johnson. A good account of Sir Thomas is to be found in *D.N.B.* and Thomas Fuller in his "*Worthies*" has recorded: "Whithersoever he went he left the finger marks of his charity behind him," the most noteworthy being his great gifts to St. John's College, Oxford. When he died in 1567 he was "Father of the City of London", having been Alderman since 1544.

Dame White died 8 October, 1573 at her daughter's home at Hinchinbrooke and was buried in the church of St. Benet Sherehog, London. The succession to the Manor of Leyton now passed to her son Richard Warren who held it till his death in 1598, apparently without issue, for the next holder was Oliver Cromwell, son of Joan (Warren) and Sir Henry Cromwell. The new owner held it for but a short time for on 22 May, 1599 he leased the "Manor and Lordshipp of Leyton and all that went with it" to Edward Ryder, citizen and haberdasher of London, for 20 years at a yearly rent of £100. On 1 January, 1600 a deed shows that Ryder became the purchaser for the sum of £3,100 payable in three instalments. I like to think that a great deal of this purchase money was used when on 27 April, 1603, Oliver entertained the new king James on his way from Scotland to London, and giving him on his departure "many rich gifts, one a great and very fair wrought standing Cupp of Gold, also goodly horses and hounds and hawks of excellent wing". The poor folks of Hinchinbrooke had open beer houses, with plenty of beef and bread at this time free for 14 days after his Majesty's departure. ("*Stuart Tracts*"—C. H. Frith).

The new owner, Edward Ryder, had a well known brother, Sir William Ryder, who had close connections with Leyton for he is said to have built the new upper Chancel and to have had at his death (1610) a large and costly monument of two Doric arches placed to his memory on the north wall

of Leyton Church (Kennedy—*Hist. of Leyton*, p.23. 33) Sir William Ryder's career very closely resembles that of Sir Ralph Warren inasmuch as both started as apprentices and became very rich besides serving in the government of the City for many years. A full account of Sir William is to be found in the *D.N.B.*

During Edward Ryder's ownership of the Manor (9 years) he ran into financial difficulties which resulted in his having to mortgage his property. The first was to Sir Baptist Hicks (brother of Sir Michael Hicks of Ruckholt) enrolled 28 November 1608, of lands (named) for £3,125. These lands were to be given up if the sum of £3,624 be paid at the White Bear, Cheapside, by 30 April next ensuing. The second was to Anthony Holmead, of Leyton, gentleman, by deed of 13 Dec. 1608, of the capital messuage or Mansion House called the Grange House of Low Leyton and certain lands (named) for £1,000. Soon afterwards, 9 April 1609, lying on his death-bed he made his will—P.C.C. 33 Dorset: "To my brother Sir William Ryder and to my nephew, Sir Thomas Lake (husband of Mary, one of two daughters of Sir William) all that the Manor and Grange of Lowe Layton and the wood called Wallwood and the Rectorie and the Parsonage and all the lands that be in mortgage, in trust that they pay all my debts, mortgages, etc. then to sell the remainder of my estate, lands and goods, for the good of my children." The three attesting witnesses added a memo: "That the subscribing of hys name with hys owne hand was omytted by reason that Edward Ryder's hand did shake so much that he could not write." The Commission of Probate allowed this will but on 17 June following his creditors exhibited a Bill of Complaint in the Court of Chancery against his two trustees seeking to be relieved for great sums of money owed to them by penalties. They prayed that the Court should order the Trustees to sell the Manor, etc., and use the money in payment of their debts; to which the trustees made answer. After several Commissions of enquiry, a final one composed of four eminent legal people was appointed to examine witnesses as to the value of the manor, of Ryder's goods and the extent of his debts. This done, the Commission reported as follows: The Manor was worth £7,056 of which one third was void because it was held of the Crown "in capite", because his eldest son and heir (also named Edward) was a minor, and in consequence in ward to James I. Here it may be mentioned that when the grants of monastic lands had been made by Henry VIII and his successor they had always been made "in capite" to secure for the Crown the considerable profits accruing from Wardship and Marriage of under-age heirs and heiresses. The value of the other two-thirds in mortgage to Sir Baptist Hicks they estimated at £5,800 and the value of his goods at £303 0s. 9d. There had been spent by Sir William Ryder and Sir Thomas Lake, in redeeming the mortgage of Hicks £3,125 10s. 0d. and of Holmead £1,041 13s. 4d., altogether a total sum of £4,167 3s. 4d. The total value of the assets £5,800 plus £303 0s. 9d. was £6,103 0s. 9d. This left a surplus value of £1,935 17s. 5d. which was to be distributed to the complaining creditors in such ways as the Commissioners appointed and all were to abide by this decision as if it had been made in open Court.

Sir William Ryder and his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Lake seem to have emerged from this Chancery business very successfully, having been given full ownership of two-thirds of the Manor of an estimated value of £5,800 whilst they had paid out only £4,167 3s. 4d. in redeeming the two mortgages. On the other hand the others to whom Edward Ryder was indebted (his total debts at his death are stated in one of the deeds to have been £9,098 10s. 0d.) had a raw deal.

Young Edward Ryder at this time 13 years of age, would remain in the wardship of James I until his coming of age when he would be entitled to the one-third share void to the King. The Commissioners had placed the value of this share at £1,256, considerably less than a true third of the total value of the estate. It is quite possible that Ryder and Lake with the connivance of Sir Michael Hicks of Ruckholts who did most of the business in the Court of Wards which dealt with these matters had enriched themselves at the Crown's expense.

Sir William Ryder did not long survive his brother for on 1 November 1610 he commenced the making of his will which he was not able to complete in proper legal form. In fact, after a part had been written down we find: "Certain noates taken for the perfecting of that will heretofore begonne bearing date 1st day of November 1610." This was followed by a memorandum: "That Sir William Ryder doe declare that all his goods and estate should be divided between his two daughters, Dame Mary Lake and Dame Susan Caesar, and that he had but two daughters and that his purposes was to make them so equal as yff there went but a payre of sheeres between them." The will was not signed or witnessed so it is not surprising that the obtaining of probate by the named executor, Sir Thomas

Lake, should have proved very difficult, resulting in the will coming before the Prerogative Court twice, viz.: 1611. 94 Wood and 1614. 119 Lawe. The daughters quarrelled about this most unsatisfactory will and we find a note: "28 January 1613. A Great Cause (is coming) before the Court of Wards and Liveries between Lady Lake and Lady Caesar." (*Dom. State Papers*). Later in the year, 20 November, we find Thomas Sayer writing to Sir Thomas Lake giving him details of the proceedings in Court. Sayer also says he has had an interview with Lady Caesar who declares that she is willing to compromise and agrees to destroy the Will. The Court agreed to the wishes of the contending parties and consequently Ryder's share of two-thirds of the Manor came to his daughter, Lady Mary Lake. The dispute, however, is complicated by a Deed Poll bearing date 2nd January 1609 of Sir Thomas Lake declaring that Sir William had released by deed his share of the Manor to Lake and that Lake had subsequently drawn up on 9 October 1609 a deed "to raise uses to me and Dame Marye my wife of and in the said Rectory, lands etc. for part of her joynture." (Copy of deed in extra illustrated Kennedy I, p. 314.)

By the end of 1616 young Edward Ryder became of age and, therefore, entitled to his one-third share which had been in the hands of the Crown. On 3 March 1617 by deed he yielded "to Sir Thomas Lake, of Canons, Middlesex, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State and of His Majesty's Privy Council, all that the Manor and the Capital Messuage and the parcells of land and meadows" which his father had mortgaged to Anthony Holmead. The day following the same parties drew up an agreement about the other three children left by their father in order to satisfy the terms of his will which Lake as the remaining trustee was called upon to fulfill. It was declared that as Margaret, now married, had received from Lake 200 marks and Nathaniel when he came of age was to get £100 and Elizabeth at her coming of age or marriage would receive £100—then they were to be satisfied and demand no more. Sir Thomas Lake was now in control of the whole Manor and consequently of Wallwood.

The year 1617 saw Lake at the very zenith of his power. He had amassed considerable wealth during his long period of service to the State in which he had climbed from office to office till he was now Secretary of State to James I. Whilst with that monarch at Edinburgh his two sons, Thomas and Arthur, received the order of Knighthood. His younger brother, Arthur Lake, had just been raised to the valuable See of Bath and Wells. But very soon the wheel of fate was to be turned against him, for in 1619, he, his wife, his two sons and his daughter were to be defendants in a famous trial in the Court of the Star Chamber presided over by the King himself who pronounced the sentence of guilty. They were accused of conspiring to defame the good name of the Countess of Exeter. Besides being very heavily fined, Sir Thomas and his wife were imprisoned in the Tower until they would agree to withdraw all their accusations against the Countess, which they at last did, with Lady Lake holding out for a very long time. Although later restored to Royal favour by means of which Sir Thomas was able to secure grants of certain monopolies, he never again attained high office. It may have been the heavy fines he was called upon to pay that caused him in 1624 to grant a lease of the Manor of Leyton Grange. Dying in 1630, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Thomas Lake the younger but the Grange Manor was held by the widow in dower, as an admission to a copyhold in 1636 at the Court of Lady Mary Lake shows. She held it till her death in 1643 when she was buried alongside her husband at Great Stanmore Church, Middlesex, close to the Manor House of Canons which had been held by the Lakes from 1604.

Sir Thomas, the younger, took over at his mother's death whilst the Civil War was raging. His wife was Dorothy Manners, connected with the Duke of Rutland's family, and they had issue Thomas (died 1633) and Grace (died 1648). It may have been on account of the Civil War that he soon got into serious financial difficulties and I find that in 1647 he was bound by "Statute Staple" to one, James Cray, for the sum of £4,000. Captain George Swanley, "late of Radcliffe and now of Warnesworth, Surrey," took over the debt from Cray and Sir Thomas was forced to mortgage to him two-thirds of his Leyton lands. Early in 1649 he was compelled to part with all to a trio of George Swanley, Robert Abbot (who soon sold to John Smith) and Bernard Ozler who each held in thirds as at the division when Edward Ryder died, except that Forest House and grounds were not to be divided but each was to get one-third of the rents from it. The younger Lake, dying in 1653, was buried with his parents at Great Stanmore.¹

1. I have treated at some length the succession to the lordship of Leyton Grange Manor, especially during the period from 1608-1649. This may be somewhat irrelevant to the subject of the monograph. I have done so, however, because for this particular period our Essex historians have either ignored this or made misleading statements in their accounts of the succession. This monograph gives me the opportunity of putting in print my account of the period in question.—F.T.

By now the country was subject to Oliver Cromwell's rule and the Executive found revenue very hard to come by as so many of the richer Royalist supporters had had to part with most of their property in compounding for their "delinquencies". The money to finance Cromwell's campaigns in Scotland and Ireland and to build the Navy to combat that of the rival Dutch fleet had to be provided, but it was hard to find. There were then many great oaks in Wallwood which the Council of State decided could be used in building the new ships. In the State Papers under date 16 July 1653 we find: "Letter from Captain John Taylor to Admiralty Commissioners—Desire their orders to pay Mr. Skinner Rider for 50 loads of timber purchased by Taylor's son for the building of a frigate at Wapping, Rider offering to give security to repay it to the State's account if he should not be adjudged to be the owner." The answer came 22 July, "Proceedings of Council—On information that Captain Taylor, master shipwright for the State, contracted with Skinner Rider for timber in Wallwood to build a frigate though Rider's title is in suit in the Court of Exchequer—that Taylor bring in the timber and pay the money to Skinner Rider if he be adjudged the owner." This Skinner Ryder (the family spelling of the name) was grandson of Edward who had died in 1609, yet, although the ownership had passed from the family, here we find him claiming to be owner of Wallwood. This is very puzzling: admittedly at this time the Law Courts were in a state of absolute chaos with thousands of cases waiting to be heard. Here is his petition, dated 30 November 1653:—"Skinner Ryder, late lieutenant to Major William Goodrich and now to Major-General Lambert, to Lord General Oliver Cromwell and the Council of State, I presented my case concerning my title to Wallwood wood in Layton parish Essex, bought from Sir Oliver Cromwell by my grandfather and descended to me and you referred the case to the Committee for Removing Obstructions; but they have returned it to you as having no power therein and it has depended before you since 10 June 1653. Timber is already felled there and some sold to Captain Taylor for the Navy but much spoiled by a rude multitude because you forbade me to carry it away till a hearing which is to be the next term in the Exchequer (Court). My agent and I are indicted by Sir Henry Mildmay for riot and forcible entry into the wood and he has put me in great trouble though the Barons of Exchequer cleared me. I beg a reference of the whole case to the Exchequer and beg meanwhile to sell the timber felled on security to answer its value if rejected by law."

Owing to the uncertainty through the case not being decided, local people and others began to help themselves to the timber of Wallwood as the following shows: "1654 Account to the Protector by Carey Mildmay of Waltham Forest, Essex (now Epping Forest) There is a great spoil of timber both by foreigners and inhabitants, there being no person of trust empowered to preserve the forest since the late Act of disafforestation. (Scobell's Act; 1653-4) There is much good timber in Wallwood in Layton Walk, 80 acres, but, though it belonged to the State, it was questioned last year and great spoil made in the timber."

The question of the ownership of Wallwood still dragged on and probably owing to the expense of paying the wages of guardians being begrudged this spoilation continued. At Easter Sessions of 1658 at Chelmsford the Justices had two local cases before them.

I. "Thomas Layne of Low Layton, shoemaker, from January last to this date (i.e. of summons) did forcibly enter the wood of the Lord Protector called Wallwood and did cut down, fell, lop, top and carry away the trees with their tops in the said wood. Witnesses Edward Wood."

II. "Thomas Tyndall, yeoman, and Thomas Lane, shoemaker, both of Low Layton to answer indictment of trespass for great waste and spoils by them committed in Wallwood in Layton, within the Forest of Waltham."

Oliver Cromwell died 16 September 1658, and during the short period of chaotic rule under his son, Richard, two references in State Papers show the depredations still going on. I. "12 September 1659, Council of State—John Trafford's Information referred to the Admiralty Commissioners to examine the truth and report. Meanwhile the Council is to order prevention of waste of the timber mentioned in Wallwood, Essex, within five miles of London (John Trafford had a house and estate in Capworth Street, Leyton.)" II. "26 Jan. 1660. Proceedings in Council—Wallwood in Waltham Forest, the wood spoiled—offenders to be apprehended—a Committee to examine waste of wood and timber in the Forest."

With the restoration of Charles II a rather more settled state of affairs began to develop, and, in September that same year (1660) we have this in the State Papers: "From Skinner Ryder for reference

to some of the King's Council of his claim to Wallwood adjoining Waltham Forest which he inherits from his ancestors, some of whom lost great part of their estates in the Royalist Cause. But as His Majesty's Officers pretend a title for the Crown and disturb him therein he will not have any contest but will lay it down if required." This was the last we hear of Ryder and henceforth the Crown remained in possession of Wallwood.

That the ownership of Wallwood was not definitely a Royal possession is seen in this extract from State Papers: "March 1661—Petition of Richard Jones and Abraham Honor, wood-mongers of London, to the King begging for possession to enjoy the wood cut at Wallwood, Essex, before the Act of Oblivion, having given security in £2,000 to answer for the value if on trial the title be adjudged for His Majesty." Annexed to this petition is the report of the Lord Treasurer, Lord Southampton, dated 26 March from Southampton House: "There is no reason why petitioners be not allowed to dispose of the said wood on security, they being willing to defend themselves in case the Earl of Lindsey, Warden of Waltham Forest and Sir William Hicks sue them at law". But the next entry shows that at last the question is settled: "6 December 1661 warrant for money due from 6 December 1661 to the Earl of Lindsey and the Keepers of Walthamstow Walk, Leyton Walk, Wallwood Wood and Hamfrith Wood". (Calendar of Treasury Books.) There is now a keeper of Wallwood, a paid official and in 1684 we have a record of a grant made to Robert Bertie (a descendant of the Earl of Lindsey) of £22 16s. 8d., for the Keeper of Homefrith and Wallwood, being 3d. per day: and the next, the Lieutenant of the Forest, Sir Eliab Harvey, (of Rolls, Chigwell) received payment of £50 for the railing in of Wallwood. (Secret Services of Charles II.)

In 1670, Henry Thomas, whose pension was in arrears, having sold or pawned all that he had, sent in a petition to Charles II, asking for a piece of ground near the fishpond in Wallwood, Leytonstone, so that he might build a house and keep six or eight cows for the relief of himself and his family. His Majesty promised him any reasonable request but whether he was allowed to build his little house I have been unable to find out. (State Papers)

That Charles II used Wallwood for hunting and fishing becomes apparent from an extract in Calendar of Treasury Papers: "14 September, 1672. Treasury warrants to Sergeant Gregory to arrest John Fox, John Forster, Henry Fox, Richard Cramp of Walthamstow and William Tew, Thomas Lane, Thomas Warne of Low Layton by affidavit of Thomas Gallop (Keeper of Leyton Walk). The first three did grub up 17 trees in His Majesty's wood called Wallwood by the instigation of Warne, and Tew did grub up three other trees in the same wood, and Crump and Lane did lately pull up the sluice of His Majesty's pond in the same to the great damage of His Majesty's deer there and of the fish in the pond which was plentifully stored."

In the year 1677 Rev. John Strype proposed to build a new Vicarage House, the old one "being very ruinous and unfit for habitation." He and divers of the inhabitants of Leyton sent in a petition to the Lord Treasurer (Earl of Danby) praying for a grant of trees from Wallwood. In reply to this the "Worthy Gentlemen" were granted their request, "provided it be without plunder of the Vert and Covert of the deer within His Majesty's Forest and not required for the service of the Royal Navy. (A photostat of letter in Leyton Library). This Vicarage House was the one unfortunately destroyed by bombing in 1940.

The year 1679 saw three strong oaks from Wallwood being used for repairing part of that chancel erected by Sir William Ryder which was in danger of falling down. These oaks provided two pillars and a raising piece replacement of two defective arches and a rotten raising piece. (Kennedy, p. 23).

The robbing of Wallwood had not altogether stopped for in 1692 three Leyton men, brothers by the name Jackson, were charged at the Forty Day Court held for enforcing the laws of the Forest, for illegally cutting wood in Wallwood and fined 5s. each by the Verderers who sent the fine money to Vicar Strype to be given to the poor, the names and amounts being entered in the Vestry Minutes. (Kennedy, p. 374).

By this time the last of the Stuart Kings had gone and Dutch William III and Mary his wife were ruling the land, William was anxious to reward some of those who had made it possible for the 'Bloodless Revolution' to succeed. Prominent among them was Richard Savage, Lord Colchester and later 4th Earl Rivers, who went over to William at Exeter and is said to have been the first nobleman to throw in his lot with William after his landing at Torbay in 1688. Lord Colchester was with the new King fighting in Ireland and Flanders, becoming later Commander-in-Chief of the land forces of

William. It is unnecessary here to give a biography of this interesting character, who early on was known as 'Tyburn Dick' on account of his many youthful escapades, as it may be found in *Complete Peerage* and in *D.N.B.* Part of his reward was a grant of a lease of Wallwood for 99 years. (Lett. Pat. 5. Wm. III. pt. 4. No. 13.) "The area of land involved was said to be 250 acres, but this is an error, for by several surveys it has been found to be 150 acres." (Lysons *Environs of London*.) Probably it was Lord Colchester who received the profits from the felling of much of the timber of Wallwood and turning it into arable and pasture as recorded in Newcourt's *Repertorium* (1708): "Wallwood now felled was one of the three ancient woods of Leyton." When Earl Rivers (as he was then) died in 1712 at his house at Ealing Grove, his sole heir was his daughter, Elizabeth, who herself died in childbirth in the year 1715. What then happened to the Earl's Crown lease of Wallwood is uncertain and is a matter for further investigation.

The early Rate Books of Leyton (dating from 1651) throw but little light on the tenants of Wallwood. Although Mr. Rider is rated for it in 1652-4, the years when he was laying claim to it, Mr. Wood 1657-60, Mr. Albistone 1673-4 and William Humphreys 1674, the general run of entry is "Occupier of Wallwood" with an occasional "unable to collect" or a blank. However in 1697 book we find a Mr. Owsley assessed for Wallwood £30 and this sum remains constant for quite a number of years which leads one to infer that this marks the existence of the first house on Wallwood land. The Rate Books show, too, an assessment on farm land, the tenants named being undoubtedly farmers. This two-fold assessment continued for over a century and a half; the earliest large scale map of Wallwood (1777) certainly confirms this division into two parts, a house with grounds and the larger part farm land.

The first occupant of what we may call Wallwood House was Newdigate Owsley, Esq., late of London, merchant, as he is called on the mural tablet in Leyton church which records his death in 1714, aged 54. In addition to his Wallwood holding he held by copyhold of the Manor of Ruckholt a field of 6 acres behind the Plough and Harrow and some fields to the north of the present Church Lane, as shown in the map of the Manor, 1721 (Kennedy, 18).

The Owsley tablet, which also mentions the deaths of three of his children, was the work of Samuel Tufnell, master mason of Westminster Abbey, and has three very beautiful cherub heads gracing it. Mr. Owsley served as Overseer in 1701 and Surveyor of Highways, 1713 but he was not rated for the years 1703 to 1709 when the house was occupied by Mr. John Lescalleet. He returned in 1710 and lived there till his death in 1714. Lescalleet who was chosen Overseer in 1704 and Surveyor in 1706 had five children baptised and two buried during his short stay at Wallwood. When Mr. Owsley died the house was taken by a Mrs. Wratten rated at £30 in 1715. Her tenancy was very short for in the Churchwardens' account the next year we find: "Received for the burial of Mrs. Wratten in church 6s. 8d. and for her son 3s. 4d." She was followed by a Mr. Wynn who moved from an old house in High Road, Leyton, close to the old National School to which he came in 1707. He was an Overseer in 1714 and remained at Wallwood for about five years during which time he was assessed at the old sum of £30.

Charles Owsley, son of Newdigate, then came to the house and lived there till his death in 1731, being buried at Leyton. This family seems to have been a short lived one, no fewer than ten of them having been buried at Leyton within about 50 years. In 1732, Mr. George Thornbury is rated for the house and land, late Mrs. Owsley, presumably the widow of Charles. He was there, certainly, in 1735, being elected Surveyor in that year. It is not possible to state who were living there for the next few years as the Rate Books 1734-1754 are missing. For 1755 Mr. Richard Blunt is rated, but he was probably there in 1748 when he was elected as Surveyor of Highways, served as Churchwarden in 1752 and the following year was presented at the Forest Court of Attachment for erecting a high pale against part of the heath contrary to the rule of the Forest and without licence. (Rolls 1748-1792). He was ordered also to attend the next Court and show reason why the poles should not be pulled down.

In 1764 there came to live in Wallwood House, Thomas Farrer, Esq. who as Churchwarden (1778-9) was concerned on behalf of the parish with the claim by Dean Jebb that the land on which the Workhouse was built was unlawfully leased (Ken. pp. 233-6).

In 1777 Thomas Richardson surveyed and made a map on a scale 20 inches to the mile of the "Estate called Wallwood situate in the parish of Low Leyton in lease from the Crown to Mrs. Dorothea Owsley." This is in the Essex Record Office but a photostat may be seen at Leyton Library. As it

contains the names, acreage, and occupiers of all the fields, one is enabled to get the first accurate description of the entire estate of Wallwood. The total area of 159 acres is roughly of oblong shape, being bounded on the N.W. by all the present Forest Road and part of Forest Glade where the deep ditch is probably a survival of the ancient ditch and fence that formerly bounded the property; on the N.E. by the backs of the gardens of the old houses in Whipps Cross Road as far as Cotton's Lane; on the S.E. by the railway line and part of Grove Green Road; and on the S.W. by a line between the garden fences of Bulwer Road and Cavendish Drive and the backs of the gardens of Lambourne Road. There were four main components of the estate:—

- (i) Wallwood House itself with its garden and tree lined approach and adjoining fields down to Colworth Road and Forest Glade, tenanted by Thomas Farrer and totalling 40 acres.
- (ii) A large stretch of farmland, nearly all arable, of slightly under 100 acres, let to Widow Arrowsmith at an annual rent of £300.
- (iii) Two fields of 10 acres near the Leyton end of Hainault Road, let at £13 to James Perry (a butcher with a shop in High Road, Leyton).
- (iv) A few meadows along the Philly Brook of 10 acres tenanted by Mrs. Algehr at £20 which were attached to her gardens at the then Leytonstone House.

The map shows that by far the greater part was in Leyton Grange Manor but a smaller part was in Ruckholt Manor.

A few of the field names are interesting—Shoulder of Mutton (from its shape), Sluice Field, Four Brothers Field (probably connected with the monastery) and Great Wallwood Field. The course of the Philly Brook is clearly shown, as is also the ancient bridle way from Leytonstone to Leyton, which ran along the present Wallwood Road to join the old Moyer's Lane, now Hainault Road. From this map it is possible to infer that these four divisions of the area went back in time; and from the early Rate Books one is able to place the earlier occupiers of the farm area (No. ii) William Humphreys, 1675-1694, Widow Humphreys, 1695-1708, Edward Humphreys, 1709, Edward Darville (for farm late Edward Humphreys), 1710-1727, Robert Arrowsmith (for E. Darville's land), 1728-1768, Edward Arrowsmith, 1769-1776, Charles Bocock (late Arrowsmith) 1777, Robert Adams 1778. This farm was known as Wallwood Farm, with its farmhouse behind old Payze's seed shop (now Bearmans Toy Department) in the High Road.

It seems fairly certain that for a large part of the 18th century a lease from the Crown was held by the Owsley family, but the details are uncertain. Charles, heir to his father Newdigate, died in 1731 and during the next twenty years there were five of the family buried at Leyton. By 1754, however, Mary, 4th daughter of Newdigate, seems to have had sole possession, she was the wife of David Lewis an account of whom appears in the *D.N.B.* A stone in Leyton churchyard (but now preserved in the church) described him as "A great favourite of the Muses as his many excellent pieces of poetry sufficiently testify." They lived in an old house, held copyhold of Ruckholt Manor, facing the High Road between the present Kirkdale Road and Gainsborough Road. David Lewis took part in parish business and during the last years of his life was Parish Treasurer. His widow continued to be rated for this house till her death in 1774 at the age of 90 when she was succeeded by her cousin, Dorothea Owsley, the lady named in the 1777 map as holding the Crown lease of Wallwood. She was granted a further lease of 31 years in 1778 on her surrender of a former lease. (An Account of all the Manors in England and Wales held by the Crown, 1787).

To return to Wallwood House with its gardens and meadows, leaving the later history of the farms to be told subsequently, we find that in 1783 Thomas Farrer moved away and from an advertisement in a contemporary newspaper we are able to obtain some details concerning the estate. A Mr. Ridgeway, Auctioneer of Fenchurch Street, announced a sale by auction on the 4th August, 1783, of "the valuable estate known as Wallwood House with about 40 acres of land held under the Crown, with the usual covenants of renewal, fit for a genteel family". Little is said about the "Villa" itself except its admirable situation with fine views of the Forest, but we learn about the gardens, shrubberies, canal and approach to the house. View was by ticket obtainable from the auctioneer. A second advertisement related to the sale of the effects including livestock, furniture, books and pictures, china, carpets, a phaeton and a pair of coach geldings, a hot-house and a greenhouse, etc. This sale was to be on the premises and was to go on for three days.

The purchaser of the estate was Robert Williams who although here for nearly 20 years, has little recorded of him in local affairs except the holding of the office of Overseer, 1790, and Churchwarden, 1795-6. Captain George Millett was the succeeding holder and is rated from 1803 to 1813. Lyson's "*Environs—Appendix*" (1811) says, "the lease of the Wallwood estate is now vested in Captain Millett who resided at Wallwood House". A full account of his work as Captain of the Loyal United Leyton Volunteers during the invasion scare of 1803-6, may be seen in Kennedy, pp. 290-294. Millett left in 1812 and Wallwood House remained empty for about a year and a half when William Cotton came and remained here until his death in 1866. A note added on the 1777 map tells us that Wallwood House with slightly over 39 acres was bought by him, May, 1817 (Sale Book, 5/293) whereupon the Crown interest ceased. William Cotton decided to demolish the house and to build the second one. In laying out the grounds he secured the aid of the famous garden planner, Humphrey Repton (see his book "*Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*", 1816).

Following the examples of the owners of the old houses in the adjoining Assembly Row and also of Mr. Philip Sansom of nearby Leytonstone House in adding to their grounds by acquiring part of the Forest Waste, Mr. Cotton did the same by obtaining a grant of a rectangular strip of "waste" thus bringing the boundary of his land up to the line of the present Whipps Cross Road (the existing new houses in this road were built on this strip of land). How this was done may be seen from the following naive extract from the vestry minutes of 1816: "Mr. William Cotton applied to the Vestry for their approbation on the part of the parish for his inclosing the ground on the Forest of Leytonstone adjoining the back of his shrubbery and he produced a plan showing how he proposed to do the work; which being inspected and the Vestry conceiving that what was desired by him would be a general advantage to the Parish by removing what is at present a great nuisance expressed their assent to the measure as far as they may be concerned therein."

There is a long account of William Cotton, and several members of his family in *D.N.B.* and scattered through pages of Hammock's "*History of Leytonstone*" may be read details of his great activities in connection with the building of the Church of St. John the Baptist at Leytonstone. To all this may be added some details of his work in the parish generally, spread out over the long period of 60 years. In 1806, when Captain Millett resigned from the local volunteer force, Cotton was appointed as 2nd Lieut. under the command of Mr. William Davis of the "Pastures"; in 1809 he was promoted to be 1st Lieut., and when the force was disbanded in 1813, the invasion scare being over, he was presented with a silver salver of the value of 25 guineas. He was a member of the Select Vestry of 1819 to 1823 which was called into being by the tremendous increase in the local Poor Rate. He served on the Committee in connection with the enlargement of the parish church in 1822 which scheme had been largely stimulated by the gift of £1,000 from his father, Captain Joseph Cotton, his own contribution being 100 guineas. After serving as Church Warden at Leyton, 1825-6, during which time I find him in the capacity as local Justice of the Peace handing over to the Overseer for the relief of the poor fines which he had imposed in cases of drunkenness, he asked the parish to accept the pedestal of the font and the board in the Baptistry as a parting gift. He served on the Committee to draw up new rules for the re-constitution of the Ozler School at Leyton and in 1853 when it was discovered that Richardson, the Assistant-Overseer, had embezzled large sums of money connected with Land and Income Tax, Mr. Cotton, in view of his wide financial experience, was called upon by the Vestry to draw up a report. His last appearance at Vestry was in 1864 when he tried to get that body to adopt the Local Government Act of 1858 unfortunately without success. A picture and description of the automatic weighing machine for use in the Bank of England invented by Mr. Cotton and taken from a copy of a contemporary illustrated newspaper, is in Leyton Library.

When in 1866 William Cotton, D.C.L., F.R.S., died at the advanced age of 80, his remains were laid in the yard of the church at Leytonstone he had done so much to bring about. His estate of just under £70,000 was comparatively small owing to large sums he had in his lifetime donated to charity and the furtherance of his christian ideals. His wife, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Lane of Leyton Grange, was similarly minded, having been brought up in these by her father who was Church Warden of the Parish Church no fewer than 17 times. She survived her husband just four years and was laid to rest in the Cotton grave. Their son, Rev. William Charles Cotton (1813-1879), noted for his writings on bees, is also buried there.

Agnes Cotton, their unmarried daughter, contemplated adding a chancel to St. John's Church in memory of her father but her plan is said to have been rejected owing to the fact that this would have necessitated a surpliced choir which was not at that time in accordance with the wishes of the people there. (Information—late Canon Brown). Years later she was able to carry out her wish by providing the chancel of the Church of St. Andrew, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1886, by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught on a site, part of the Cotton estate, given by Lord Justice Cotton. For many years Miss Cotton devoted herself to charitable work. She started a home to care for unfortunate girls which she carried on at first from 1865 in an old house at the corner of Forest Glade, Whipps Cross Road and later from 1877 on a larger scale at the "Pastures" in Davis Lane. Her death in 1899 terminated the association of the Cottons and their good works in Leyton which had lasted well over a century.

In his article on William Cotton (1786-1866) in *D.N.B.* a writer (a younger member of the family) states that William Cotton was born at Leyton; this seems improbable. His father, Captain Joseph went to live in Woodford Parish in 1784, was Overseer there in 1788 and left in 1789. The only Cotton baptismal entry for this period at Woodford is for "Phoebe, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Cotton, 1787". Captain Cotton is first rated at Leyton in 1790 when he was living at Leyton House, Church Road. His daughter, Charlotte, was baptised at Leyton, 1 August, 1790. In neither register is there any entry for the baptism of William; it may be that he was baptised in a London church.

Coming back to the history of Wallwood Farm we find that Dorothea Owsley died and left it to Robert Adams, grazier of Ilston on the Hill, Co. Leicester. He is first rated in 1778 and in 1782 his daughter is baptised at Leyton, receiving the name of Dorothea Owsley Adams. He was rated for Wallwood Farm and farmhouse, which about this time was taxed for 14 windows under the Act. Robert Adams left in 1788, to be succeeded in the farm by Charles Stevens who remained till 1795, when Samuel Turner, Junr. took over. In 1803 we find John Collet rated for it and then in 1810 came James Fletcher till 1814. Some time before this (1796) a Mr. Philip Sansom came to live in Leytonstone House and later acquired the lease of Wallwood Farm and he is rated for it in 1815-16 when it was without a tenant. The following years show a succession of tenants: T. Hunt (1817), James Spering (1818), James Stanyford Tucker (1825), Thomas Dowson (1828), John Dowson (1832), Richard Payze (1835) and finally Arthur Benthall Lake (1854-60) who also had Cann Hall Farm.

Philip Sansom died in 1815 and was buried in the family vault at Leyton in which also lie Elizabeth, his widow (1823), and Henry, his son (1827). It was his daughter Elizabeth who in October, 1830 bought outright from the Crown the 119 acres, 1 rood, 7 poles of land which constituted Wallwood Farm. (Sale Book 8, p. 263). The two-acred site of the Church and yard of St. John given by William Cotton who bought it from this lady was not part of Wallwood but was a piece of the copyhold of Ruckholt Manor which had passed from the Owsley family to the Sansoms. The Tithe Map (1843) shows the extent of this copyhold land which Elizabeth Sansom held stretching along the High Road from Leytonstone House and round Church Lane.

By 1857 when she was dead a Charles Sansom who had inherited the property, now that the railway had come to Leytonstone began to embark on a plan to use the land of Wallwood Farm as a building estate. His idea of naming the estate "Sansomville" was, however, never carried out; but as he was also concerned in the laying out of a new estate on the east side of the High Road, Leytonstone, the family name was retained in the present Sansom Road. (Information from the late Miss G. Lister). Permission was secured to direct a small part of the ancient church path from Leytonstone to Leyton and to substitute for it the present Gainsborough Road and the railway bridge which would give convenient access to one end of the estate. About 1860 the first roads began to emerge and a few quite pretentious houses were built backing on to the railway line. These were the large red brick houses still standing in the present Fillebrook Road. The first roads of the estate proposed to be laid out as shown on a map dated 1864 were the present Colworth, Fillebrook, Wallwood, Fairlop, Hainault and a long crescent shaped one with Bulwer and Lytton Roads as the two ends of the arc, the central part between them being, however, never completed.

From the earliest newspaper advertisement I have been able to trace, there is one of 1863 from which it is possible to learn the optimistic views of the promoters. "Philbroke Estate at Leytonstone on the Woodford and Loughton Railway, 20 minutes from Fenchurch Street and Bishopsgate Street (then the terminus). This valuable freehold estate near the station, is a healthy locality with gravel

The purchaser of the estate was Robert Williams who although here for nearly 20 years, has little recorded of him in local affairs except the holding of the office of Overseer, 1790, and Churchwarden, 1795-6. Captain George Millett was the succeeding holder and is rated from 1803 to 1813. Lyson's "*Environs—Appendix*" (1811) says, "the lease of the Wallwood estate is now vested in Captain Millett who resided at Wallwood House". A full account of his work as Captain of the Loyal United Leyton Volunteers during the invasion scare of 1803-6, may be seen in Kennedy, pp. 290-294. Millett left in 1812 and Wallwood House remained empty for about a year and a half when William Cotton came and remained here until his death in 1866. A note added on the 1777 map tells us that Wallwood House with slightly over 39 acres was bought by him, May, 1817 (Sale Book, 5/293) whereupon the Crown interest ceased. William Cotton decided to demolish the house and to build the second one. In laying out the grounds he secured the aid of the famous garden planner, Humphrey Repton (see his book "*Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*", 1816).

Following the examples of the owners of the old houses in the adjoining Assembly Row and also of Mr. Philip Sansom of nearby Leytonstone House in adding to their grounds by acquiring part of the Forest Waste, Mr. Cotton did the same by obtaining a grant of a rectangular strip of "waste" thus bringing the boundary of his land up to the line of the present Whipps Cross Road (the existing new houses in this road were built on this strip of land). How this was done may be seen from the following naive extract from the vestry minutes of 1816: "Mr. William Cotton applied to the Vestry for their approbation on the part of the parish for his inclosing the ground on the Forest of Leytonstone adjoining the back of his shrubbery and he produced a plan showing how he proposed to do the work; which being inspected and the Vestry conceiving that what was desired by him would be a general advantage to the Parish by removing what is at present a great nuisance expressed their assent to the measure as far as they may be concerned therein."

There is a long account of William Cotton, and several members of his family in *D.N.B.* and scattered through pages of Hammock's "*History of Leytonstone*" may be read details of his great activities in connection with the building of the Church of St. John the Baptist at Leytonstone. To all this may be added some details of his work in the parish generally, spread out over the long period of 60 years. In 1806, when Captain Millett resigned from the local volunteer force, Cotton was appointed as 2nd Lieut. under the command of Mr. William Davis of the "Pastures"; in 1809 he was promoted to be 1st Lieut., and when the force was disbanded in 1813, the invasion scare being over, he was presented with a silver salver of the value of 25 guineas. He was a member of the Select Vestry of 1819 to 1823 which was called into being by the tremendous increase in the local Poor Rate. He served on the Committee in connection with the enlargement of the parish church in 1822 which scheme had been largely stimulated by the gift of £1,000 from his father, Captain Joseph Cotton, his own contribution being 100 guineas. After serving as Church Warden at Leyton, 1825-6, during which time I find him in the capacity as local Justice of the Peace handing over to the Overseer for the relief of the poor fines which he had imposed in cases of drunkenness, he asked the parish to accept the pedestal of the font and the board in the Baptistry as a parting gift. He served on the Committee to draw up new rules for the re-constitution of the Ozler School at Leyton and in 1853 when it was discovered that Richardson, the Assistant-Overseer, had embezzled large sums of money connected with Land and Income Tax, Mr. Cotton, in view of his wide financial experience, was called upon by the Vestry to draw up a report. His last appearance at Vestry was in 1864 when he tried to get that body to adopt the Local Government Act of 1858 unfortunately without success. A picture and description of the automatic weighing machine for use in the Bank of England invented by Mr. Cotton and taken from a copy of a contemporary illustrated newspaper, is in Leyton Library.

When in 1866 William Cotton, D.C.L., F.R.S., died at the advanced age of 80, his remains were laid in the yard of the church at Leytonstone he had done so much to bring about. His estate of just under £70,000 was comparatively small owing to large sums he had in his lifetime donated to charity and the furtherance of his christian ideals. His wife, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Lane of Leyton Grange, was similarly minded, having been brought up in these by her father who was Church Warden of the Parish Church no fewer than 17 times. She survived her husband just four years and was laid to rest in the Cotton grave. Their son, Rev. William Charles Cotton (1813-1879), noted for his writings on bees, is also buried there.

Agnes Cotton, their unmarried daughter, contemplated adding a chancel to St. John's Church in memory of her father but her plan is said to have been rejected owing to the fact that this would have necessitated a surpliced choir which was not at that time in accordance with the wishes of the people there. (Information—late Canon Brown). Years later she was able to carry out her wish by providing the chancel of the Church of St. Andrew, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1886, by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught on a site, part of the Cotton estate, given by Lord Justice Cotton. For many years Miss Cotton devoted herself to charitable work. She started a home to care for unfortunate girls which she carried on at first from 1865 in an old house at the corner of Forest Glade, Whipps Cross Road and later from 1877 on a larger scale at the "Pastures" in Davis Lane. Her death in 1899 terminated the association of the Cottons and their good works in Leyton which had lasted well over a century.

In his article on William Cotton (1786-1866) in *D.N.B.* a writer (a younger member of the family) states that William Cotton was born at Leyton; this seems improbable. His father, Captain Joseph went to live in Woodford Parish in 1784, was Overseer there in 1788 and left in 1789. The only Cotton baptismal entry for this period at Woodford is for "Phoebe, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Cotton, 1787". Captain Cotton is first rated at Leyton in 1790 when he was living at Leyton House, Church Road. His daughter, Charlotte, was baptised at Leyton, 1 August, 1790. In neither register is there any entry for the baptism of William; it may be that he was baptised in a London church.

Coming back to the history of Wallwood Farm we find that Dorothea Owsley died and left it to Robert Adams, grazier of Ilston on the Hill, Co. Leicester. He is first rated in 1778 and in 1782 his daughter is baptised at Leyton, receiving the name of Dorothea Owsley Adams. He was rated for Wallwood Farm and farmhouse, which about this time was taxed for 14 windows under the Act. Robert Adams left in 1788, to be succeeded in the farm by Charles Stevens who remained till 1795, when Samuel Turner, Junr. took over. In 1803 we find John Collet rated for it and then in 1810 came James Fletcher till 1814. Some time before this (1796) a Mr. Philip Sansom came to live in Leytonstone House and later acquired the lease of Wallwood Farm and he is rated for it in 1815-16 when it was without a tenant. The following years show a succession of tenants: T. Hunt (1817), James Spering (1818), James Stanyford Tucker (1825), Thomas Dowson (1828), John Dowson (1832), Richard Payze (1835) and finally Arthur Benthall Lake (1854-60) who also had Cann Hall Farm.

Philip Sansom died in 1815 and was buried in the family vault at Leyton in which also lie Elizabeth, his widow (1823), and Henry, his son (1827). It was his daughter Elizabeth who in October, 1830 bought outright from the Crown the 119 acres, 1 rood, 7 poles of land which constituted Wallwood Farm. (Sale Book 8, p. 263). The two-acre site of the Church and yard of St. John given by William Cotton who bought it from this lady was not part of Wallwood but was a piece of the copyhold of Ruckholt Manor which had passed from the Owsley family to the Sansoms. The Tithe Map (1843) shows the extent of this copyhold land which Elizabeth Sansom held stretching along the High Road from Leytonstone House and round Church Lane.

By 1857 when she was dead a Charles Sansom who had inherited the property, now that the railway had come to Leytonstone began to embark on a plan to use the land of Wallwood Farm as a building estate. His idea of naming the estate "Sansomville" was, however, never carried out; but as he was also concerned in the laying out of a new estate on the east side of the High Road, Leytonstone, the family name was retained in the present Sansom Road. (Information from the late Miss G. Lister). Permission was secured to direct a small part of the ancient church path from Leytonstone to Leyton and to substitute for it the present Gainsborough Road and the railway bridge which would give convenient access to one end of the estate. About 1860 the first roads began to emerge and a few quite pretentious houses were built backing on to the railway line. These were the large red brick houses still standing in the present Fillebrook Road. The first roads of the estate proposed to be laid out as shown on a map dated 1864 were the present Colworth, Fillebrook, Wallwood, Fairlop, Hainault and a long crescent shaped one with Bulwer and Lytton Roads as the two ends of the arc, the central part between them being, however, never completed.

From the earliest newspaper advertisement I have been able to trace, there is one of 1863 from which it is possible to learn the optimistic views of the promoters. "Philbroke Estate at Leytonstone on the Woodford and Loughton Railway, 20 minutes from Fenchurch Street and Bishopsgate Street (then the terminus). This valuable freehold estate near the station, is a healthy locality with gravel

soil, excellent drainage, water and gas laid down, roads made, sand can be dug on the estate. It is proposed to let in plots suitable for building detached and semi-detached houses. Repeated applications have been made for houses in the neighbourhood. For terms apply at the Surveyor's Office, Philbroke Estate, Leytonstone".

The original plan of having really large houses as those built first in Fillebrook Road never, however, caught on, as only a couple of these were sold and Charles Sansom had to let the others. Accordingly less ambitious plans were made and smaller but still substantial ones were then considered to suit the pockets of the prospective purchasers. For quite a long time progress was slow and a considerable part of the land in the central part was not utilised for building, being let for grazing and for sites for nurseries, the largest of the latter being that of Prothero and Morris. Early on complaints were frequent about the damage done by straying horses and cattle which had broken loose through faulty fencing. As a matter of fact this question of straying horses caused much concern even as late as 1895 when Mr. Sam Bent (Pound Keeper) wrote to the Leyton Council asking that the annual rent of his cattle pound be increased from £5 to £10. This request was agreed to and the Council said the Police would be asked to assist in impounding, especially on the Fillebrook Estate. The Official Pound, however, was discontinued when Bent gave up Grove Farm in 1900.

Another source of much trouble to the residents was the presence of gipsies who encamped on the unbuilt spaces of the estate and did much petty pilfering.

In 1867, Mr. George Keates, Auctioneer of Leyton, who was associated with Mr. Charles Sansom, advertised an auction sale at the Green Man Inn of 30 acres of building land on the Fillebrook Estate in lots—plans and particulars to be had at the Green Man, The Plough and Harrow, the Lion and Key, and his office at Wallwood Farm. This same year Messrs. Driver of 4, Whitehall, advertised an auction at The Mart, of 80 acres of "undulating character, exceedingly well adapted for the erection of detached villa residences, schools and public institutions, at present let for agricultural purposes. Also several excellent residences, viz.: Gainsborough Lodge and Nos. 1, 2, 7, 8 Fillebrook Road, let at rents amounting to £464 per annum." (These were those substantial houses mentioned on page 123).

One excellent feature in the sale of the plots was a covenant which provided that the front gardens should have a minimum depth of 30 feet and this was maintained throughout with the exception of a few small cottages in Forest Road at the very extremity of the estate.

By slow degrees during the 1870s the roads began to build up although the central part was still being utilised as previously mentioned. In 1879, however, along came the British Land Co. which secured permission from the old Local Board "to develop an estate on Fillebrook Farm and in the following year the local firm of Prothero and Morris, Nurserymen, but now developing as auctioneers and land agents, obtained similar permission, as did also Mr. Keates, so that during the 1880s the whole was more or less completed. In 1887 at a meeting at the Leyton Town Hall to protest against a scheme for a cemetery proposed to be made at nearby Forest House, Councillor Bare said that there were then 1,000 houses on the Fillebrook Estate and that such a scheme would drive away many of the best people from this "local Belgravia". By 1890 it can be said that the estate was completed and that it was considered to be the most desirable one in Leyton.

The spelling "Fillebrook" which seems to have been first used in 1869 was hereafter continued but the original "Phillibbrook" may be frequently found during the 1880s especially by the parish church folk who refer to the Phillibbrook Mission Church, Sunday Schools and Band of Hope, now at Christ Church, Francis Road.

To return now to the final stages in the history of Walwood House (this being the spelling always used by the Cottons) it is necessary first of all to go back many years. It appears that by a marriage settlement deed of 31 January, 1812, between Thomas Lane of Leyton Grange and his daughter Sarah of the first part and William Cotton of the second part, that the money to buy the estate was arranged for. On 6 December, 1826, William Cotton and his wife, by deed, arranged for a mortgage on Walwood House to the trustees of the marriage settlement in order to provide for the re-transfer of certain annuities mentioned therein. By deed of 14 April, 1864, the premises were re-conveyed to William Cotton by the then Trustees. This was followed by a mortgage on the estate, said to be 39 acres 1 rood 36 poles (with the field names and acreages given) to Rev. Charles Lane, of Wrotham, Kent, and Robert Williams, of Bridehead, Dorset, for a consideration of £10,000. William Cotton in a codicil to his will dated 8 June, 1866, left the estate to his wife for her life and to his son Henry (later

Sir Henry), charged with this mortgage. At Mrs. Cotton's death, 12 December, 1872, the property became Henry's who repaid the mortgage and interest in two instalments in 1873 and 1874.

A deed dated 10 February 1875, shows that Henry Cotton sold to John Griffin, broker of Mincing Lane for £12,500, the entire estate except a piece marked on the accompanying plan "The Church Site" (that is St. Andrews). Griffin on 1 March, 1875 mortgaged it to Robert Williams, of Birch Lane, John William Cunningham, of Kings College, and James Fitzjames Stephens, Q.C. of the Inner Temple (later Knight and a Judge of the High Court), in the sum of £8,145. Eleven years passed without further mention and then on 23 June, 1886, John Griffin who lived at the house, arranged for the Imperial Bank Ltd. to take over the mortgage which they did by deed dated 6 September, 1886.

In May the following year the first attempt at development of the estate started; an advertisement in the local newspapers gave notice of an auction sale on 8 June at the Elms Public House, in Leytonstone "of 75 plots for villas fronting Colworth Road being the first portion of the estate, in an unrivalled position, with both Tithe and Land Tax redeemed, and later it was proposed to let 45 plots for shops and a tavern."

The Fillebrook estate side of Colworth Road by then was built up. This road had been originally a bridle path separating the two estates, with a ditch running its whole length as the boundary.

The new ownership got to work and produced a large map of "The Walwood Park Building Estate" with particulars of the 485 building plots, the ground rents from which would bring in about £4,000 yearly. The roads shown on it were somewhat similar to the present layout, but their names were different, except that Forest Glade went round and followed the course of Poppleton Road to Gainsborough Bridge. There were to be the roads named Hawthorn, Blackthorn, Carisbrook, Rutland and Cotton. The big house with several acres was to be left intact.

Things looked promising as much of the Fillebrook estate had by then been sold and good sales could be anticipated by the increasing stream of better-off people leaving the overcrowded east end of London, but within a few days of the sale at The Elms I find a minute of the Leyton Local Board saying: "The owner of Walwood Park Estate has laid out and offered for sale a portion of the frontage in Colworth Road, contrary to the understanding arrived at with the Board. In view of the further development of the Estate we deem it necessary to protest through the Clerk against the sale proceeding." It appears that the trouble arose through the question of the ownership of the ditch in Colworth Road which the Fillebrook Estate claimed as belonging to them, and consequently a long drawn out and costly law suit followed, resulting in a complete hold up for several years. By the year 1890 I find that the only buildings were 6 houses in Colworth Road. By 1893 the Imperial Bank Ltd. was in possession of the estate. It had amalgamated with the London Joint Stock Bank Ltd. which by deed of 21 May, 1894, sold all the estate to Ernest Edward Rayner of 37 Leander Road, Brixton Hill for £26,000. On 17 September, 1894 there remained to be repaid to the London Joint Stock Bank by Rayner £16,500 and by a deed of the same date Ada Chadwick, widow, of High Field, Shoreham, Kent, took over this liability from Rayner. In 1899, however, Rayner by making a good number of sales of plots was in a position to say he had discharged the mortgage debt to this lady who was then wintering at Monte Carlo and the estate was re-conveyed to him.

Mention must now be made of some of the chief sales made by Rayner which placed him in a very advantageous financial situation, for by 1894, he was of the firm of "Rayner and Brilmayer, Surveyors and Estate Agents of 48, Threadneedle Street." Another Leytonstone development by him in conjunction with the Imperial Bank, namely that of the "Cedars Estate" in the High Road, had also added to his success. These sales were (the names in italics giving the street names):—

- (1) Walwood House, with just over 5 acres of land adjoining, was sold in 1894 to Mr. Thomas *Ashbridge* Smith, a business man of Whitechapel, for £4,000. It is well worth noticing that the Solicitors employed in this transaction and many other were *Fladgate & Co.* and *Maple, Teesdale and Co.* provided the names of three of the new roads.
- (2) From 1894 onwards a trio of gentlemen, R. Dickson *Poppleton*, of Hyde Park Gate, South, Spencer *Chadwick*, 17 Parliament Street and George Goldney Cary, Stonebridge Park, Middlesex, "hereafter called The Syndicate" as a deed designates them, were instrumental in laying out the roads, general development and sales. Spencer Chadwick had a son, Spencer *Dyson* Chadwick, who gave his name to a road. Later, Richard Chadwick, Auctioneer, of St. Martin's Lane, W.C. acquired all the shares of "The Syndicate".

- (3) Joseph Holland, a Leytonstone builder, was said "to have been responsible for the erection of practically the whole of the Walwood Park Estate" in an obituary notice in a local newspaper of 1935. A condition of the sale of plots to Holland was that the prime cost of houses erected by him was to be not less than for £400 for detached, £325 semi-detached and £300 for terrace houses.
- (4) Arthur W. Pile and Thomas Stock, builders of Leytonstone, built a number of houses in Forest Glade and Maple Road.
- (5) Edwin J. Preston, of Kelsey Cottage, Beckenham, Kent, in 1895 put £1,050 in the concern at interest.

In the actual laying out of the estate, that part which lies about Preston Road, must have proved the most difficult section, for here running downhill was until quite recent times a long lake with two islands fed by a ditch from the Forest and draining into the ditch in Colworth Road. This was probably the successor of "His Majesty's Pond which was plentifully stored with fish."

During the early years of the present century Walwood Park Estate was completed except for the House with its attached grounds. About 1905 this was demolished and for a number of years the site left derelict, so that one could see foundations as also those of the original house, together with old tree stumps possibly of the ancient Wood. (*History of Leytonstone*, W. G. Hammock, 1904). Later all was cleared and some very pleasing houses were erected in Chadwick and Whipps Cross Roads.

There are several prints and photographs of Walwood House to be seen in Leyton Library and a representation of it is embodied in a stained glass window in Leyton Parish Church given by the Walwood Lodge of Freemasons when the church was being completely restored by the late Rev. Robert Bren during the first years of the 1930s; surely a splendid way of preserving the memory of an estate with such a long and interesting history.

EXCAVATION OF AN IRON AGE AND ROMAN SITE AT CHADWELL ST. MARY, ESSEX

By W. H. Manning.

The excavation at Chadwell St. Mary was conducted for the Ministry of Works under the supervision of the writer during April 1959.¹ The presence of Roman occupation at Chadwell St. Mary had been known for many years and gravel quarrying after the Great War had produced a large number of chance finds.² The re-opening of part of the pit in 1956 resulted in the discovery of a hoard of Roman coins.³ Subsequently crop-marks were observed on the only part of the site remaining untouched and it was the decision to quarry this area which led to the excavation recorded below.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The excavations revealed part of a settlement extending in date from the Iron Age to the Fourth Century A.D. There is no reason to doubt that it is part of a much larger site, the remainder of which has been destroyed by earlier gravel digging.⁴ No substantial remains of any kind were discovered in excavation except for a large number of ditches and small pits. The finds from the excavation have been deposited in the Colchester and Essex Museum at Colchester.

SITUATION (Fig.1)

The settlement was situated on a gravel hill-top rising above the Essex marshes, which stretch from the foot of the hill to the River Thames about a mile to the south.⁵ To the north it is enclosed by a wide belt of London Clay which under natural conditions no doubt supported a heavy oak forest, cutting off the site from easy contact with the north except along the coast.

RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATION (Fig. 2)

The part of the site surviving and available for excavation in 1959 was a triangular area on the western hill-slope which had been under the plough for many years, probably since at least the Middle Ages. The result of this had been to denude the surface of the site and to destroy all save the deepest of the archaeological features. This action was most obvious in the case of the coffin of which only the bottom three inches remained, covered by about ten inches of topsoil; at a minimum estimate two feet of soil must have been removed at this point.

At the time of excavation no features were visible on the surface and it soon became apparent that most of the crop-marks which had been noticed on the site were due to geological rather than archaeological causes.⁶ It was necessary, therefore, to undertake extensive trenching in order to locate the archaeological features. A bewildering complexity of cross-cutting ditches and post-holes was revealed and their interpretation was not made any easier by the almost invariable sterility of their earlier fillings, for it was only when they had largely silted-up that occupation debris was dumped in them. In some cases this last filling contained pottery forms ranging over several hundred years; suggesting, perhaps, that rubbish had been collected within the settlement as a part of a general tidying-up in the late third or fourth century.

1. I would like to acknowledge the assistance given during the excavation by Miss Sarnia Butcher, of the Ministry of Works, Mr. John Woodward, Mr. Richard Harper, Mr. Vincent Slayden, and in particular, Mr. Keith Bannister, and Mr. Christopher Taylor, and also Mr. H. F. Ockendon the owner, for permission to excavate. In preparing the report the knowledge and advice of Mr. Sheppard Frere has been invaluable, particularly in the Discussion of the Material Excavated, and in dealing with the Iron Age pottery I was fortunate in also obtaining the advice of Mrs. M. Alwyn Cotton, and Dr. F. R. Hodson; Professor C. F. C. Hawkes and Mr. M. R. Hull have kindly read the first draft of the report and I have endeavoured to incorporate their many valuable suggestions in the text. To Mr. Kenneth J. Barton I am indebted for Appendix 2 and the illustrations for it, and also for the interest which he showed throughout the excavation.
2. See Appendix 1 for earlier discoveries.
3. See Appendix 2 for this find and the associated pottery.
4. See Appendix 1 for earlier discoveries.
5. The site is just to the south of the village of Chadwell St. Mary between Gray's Thurrock and Tilbury. Nat. Grid Reference 51/649783.
6. A trench running for two hundred feet down the hill revealed no archaeological features outside the boundary ditch save for the patch of clay and the grave referred to below, neither did extensions to other trenches in the same direction. The long trench, however, did reveal that alternate bands of gravel, often cemented with iron-stone, and clay outcropped at regular intervals down the hillside. Such a formation would produce crop-marks virtually indistinguishable from those produced by a series of banks and ditches.

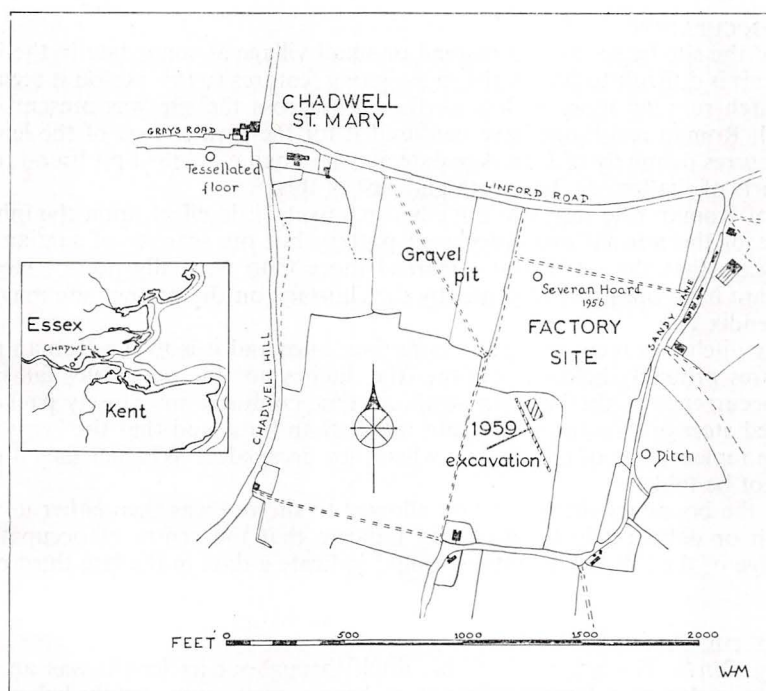


FIG. 1.—Situation of Iron Age and Roman site at Chadwell St. Mary, Essex.

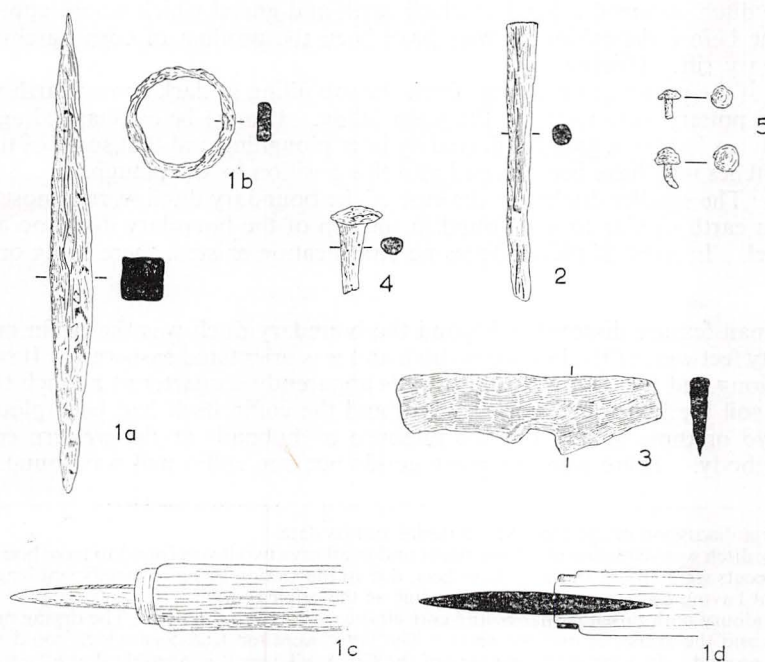


FIG. 6.—Iron objects from Iron Age and Roman site at Chadwell St. Mary, Essex. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

HISTORY OF THE OCCUPATION

Occupation of the site began as a farmstead or small village at some date in the latter part of the Iron Age.⁷ While it is difficult to be definite in assigning features to this period it seems likely that the main boundary ditch running more or less north-south across the site was present in some form at this time, although Roman recuttings have confused it for the greater part of the length examined.⁸ The only other features definitely of Iron Age date are the small clay-filled pit found to the west of the main ditch and parts of shallow ditches north and east of this.

The coming of Roman rule seems to have had relatively little effect upon the inhabitants. They availed themselves of the normal mass-produced pottery but the scarcity of samian ware in the excavated area suggests that the settlement remained more than normally poor. However, as larger finds of samian ware have been recorded nearby the shortage on the present site may be due to other causes. (cf. Appendix I).

The boundary ditch was recut probably more than once and it is to the Roman period that most of the other features probably belong. Neither the ditches nor the post holes fall into any obvious pattern, but the occurrence of the latter in small clusters, confused and closely packed, suggests that they had supported storage structures for grain rather than huts, and that the large number of post-holes is due to the replacement of the timbers when they decayed.⁹ Whether they are of Iron Age or Roman date cannot be told.

The fact that the boundary ditch was first allowed to silt and was then either used as a dump for household rubbish or deliberately filled-in may indicate that the centre of occupation was moving away from this edge of the hill. The pottery would indicate a date in the late third or fourth century for this dumping.

STRATIFICATION OF THE DITCHES (Fig. 3)

The Boundary Ditch: The main fill of this ditch throughout its length was an even mixture of brown earth and gravel with a layer of finer dark brown earth immediately below the plough soil. Occasionally as in the recutting shown in Section a-b it was entirely filled with this dark brown earth which is presumably the natural product of silting. Low in the fill of the earliest cuttings in the central part of the ditch occurred a band of black earth and gravel which would appear to have been burnt at some time before deposition; it may have been the product of corn parching. Below this came a little primary silt. (Section e-f).

The majority of the pottery found came from the top filling of dark brown earth while only a few sherds of Iron Age pottery were found in the main filling. It must be emphasised again that the top filling of all the ditches has been greatly affected by later ploughing and that some of the pottery found apparently over ditches may have been carried into this position by the plough.

Other Ditches: The smaller ditches to the east of the boundary ditch were almost invariably filled with a dark brown earth similar to that found in the top of the boundary ditch, occasionally with an admixture of gravel. In most of these ditches no stratification existed, there being one even fill.

THE BURIAL

The only Roman feature discovered beyond the boundary ditch was the coffin mentioned above. This lay some thirty feet west of the boundary ditch and was orientated east-west. It survived only as a soil mark six feet long and two feet wide, with walls apparently a quarter of an inch thick. Owing to the acidity of the soil the bones had not survived, and the coffin itself had been ploughed away save for the bottom two or three inches, but the presence of hobnails at the western end indicated the orientation of the body. There were no grave goods but one coffin nail was found.

7. See below for a discussion of the Iron Age material and its date.

8. The boundary ditch was sectioned in fifteen places and in all save two it was found to have been recut. In the two cases where recuts were absent this may have been due to the section being of insufficient length to find the recut or to the recut having been on exactly the same line as the original ditch.

9. At Little Woodbury both raised granaries and corn-drying racks were claimed. The drying racks were supported on two posts and the granaries on four posts. The latter were for seed-corn which could not be parched and stored below ground. In view of the geology of the Chadwell area it is possible that all corn was stored in this way. (cf. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 1940).

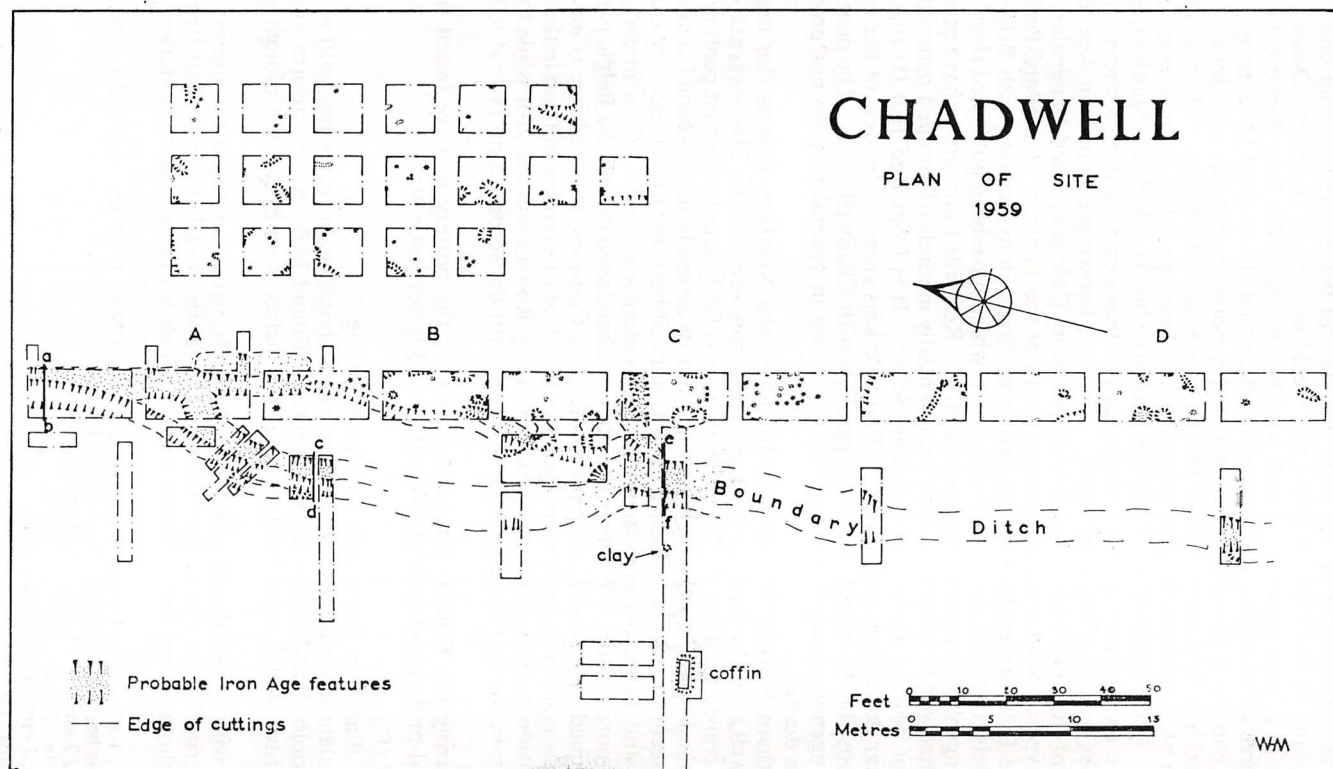


FIG. 2.—Plan of site of Iron Age and Roman Settlement at Chadwell St. Mary, Essex.

DISCUSSION OF THE MATERIAL EXCAVATED

The Iron Age pottery from Chadwell contains a majority of Iron Age 'A' forms with a few examples of Second 'B' type.¹⁰ These latter are all from one class of vessel, the foot-ring bowl usually associated with the area south of the Thames across the Weald of Kent to the South Downs.

In the absence of a large quantity of well stratified material the Iron Age occupation cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. However it is clear that the coarser 'A' type of pottery and the foot-ring bowls were in use at the same time since in three cases both types were found in association,¹¹ and this is confirmed by other sites south of the Thames such as Oldbury. There does not appear to be a well developed phase of Iron Age 'B' in this part of Essex and thus the traditions of Iron Age 'A' may have lived on. The origins of the Chadwell foot-ring bowls, which are Southern Second 'B', can be sought either in a parallel development to that in the Wealden area from a common origin or by a movement into Essex from the Wealden region. The best known group of Iron Age 'B' pottery from Essex is composed of the omphalos bowls from Canewdon, Colchester, and Langenhoe though it may be noted that this type of bowl is more common south of the Thames. (cf. Ward-Perkins, Crayford, Map 2). The three Essex examples seem to have been found in association with Belgic pottery.

The best parallels to the Chadwell foot-ring bowls which have been published from Essex are from the Red Hills at Langenhoe, opposite Mersea Island.¹² Red Hill I appears to have produced material comparable with Chadwell.¹³ The Red Hills are essentially mounds of dumped material and they have produced a range of pottery up to and including Belgic. It is from Red Hill III that the omphalos bowl with curvilinear decoration mentioned by Ward Perkins comes. In view of the lack of stratified material it is only possible to record that these parallels with Chadwell exist. The development of the foot-ring in the Langenhoe examples is not very great and in general they do not provide as exact a parallel as might be desired.

Since the Southern Second 'B' culture is found on the Northern Downs (for example Caesar's Camp, Keston) as well as in the Weald proper an origin from south of the Thames is a strong possibility. The date normally conjectured for the Wealden culture is fairly late in the first century B.C.¹⁴ but the Keston base was found in a context which places it almost certainly in the second century B.C.¹⁵ This earlier date would seem to suit the evidence from Chadwell best, for the 'A' pottery is angular and its shapes undeveloped and Belgic material or influence is virtually absent.¹⁶ Only in early Roman times is occupation once more certain. Whether the site was abandoned during the Belgic period or whether the occupants remained here unaffected until the Roman Conquest the evidence is now too defective to determine; but few places can have been less attractive than this remote hill-top in the Essex marshes. The same consideration would explain the paucity of early Roman material, for while there is sufficient to prove occupation in the first century A.D. it is not until the second century that it begins to occur in any quantity.

Occupation during the Roman period is shown by the pottery to have lasted until the fourth century at least, and probably even later if sherd No. 33 is not just a stray.

IRON AGE POTTERY (Fig. 4)

The find spots of all Iron Age sherds are shown on Fig. 7.

1. Top of a situlate jar, with a fairly high rounded shoulder, in fine ware, with a little grit and a leathery, smooth, buff-brown external surface. Found high in the uniform dark brown earth filling of a ditch which was one foot and five inches deep below the plough soil. (See also sherd 3).
2. Top of a jar with a high shoulder and globular body, with deep finger-tip impressions on the rim. It may be derived from the situlate form. The fabric is rather coarse, but free from grit, and black throughout except for the inner surface which is orange and the exterior which is partly

10. Examples Nos. 1-12 on Fig 4 are of Iron Age A type and Nos. 13-17 are of Wealden type. These foot-ring bowls have also been called 'dumpy Wealden pedestals.'

11. Examples Nos. 7 and 15; 19 and 21; 20 and 22.

12. cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2nd Ser. XXII, p. 164 ff.

13. cf. op. cit. Fig. 7 especially sherds 4 and 6.

14. cf. Ward Perkins: *Oldbury*.

15. cf. Some Problems of the Later Iron Age by Sheppard Frere, in '*Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*.'

16. See sherd 23 Fig 5 for a single sherd possibly of Belgic pottery.

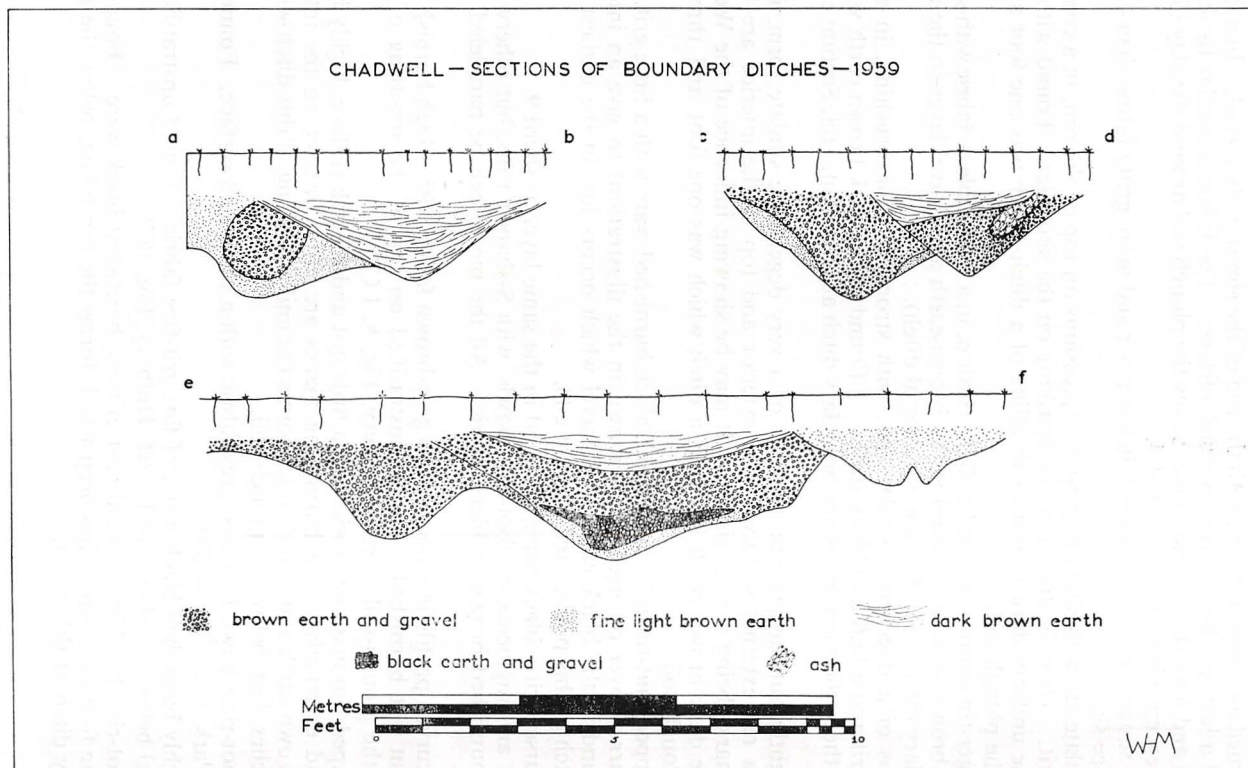


FIG. 3.—Sections of boundary ditches of Iron Age and Roman Settlement at Chadwell St. Mary, Essex.

brown. On the inner surface are the casts of grass stems. Found unstratified on top of the earliest cutting of the boundary ditch below the plough soil.

3. Finger-impressed rim of a high shouldered situlate jar in a coarse fabric with a little grit; black throughout. Found in the same context as sherd 1.
4. Slightly inturned and rounded rim, with the top of the rim slightly waved. In a fine ware with a little grit and a leathery buff-brown external surface. The fabric is similar to sherd 1. Found with sherds 5 and 6 on the natural gravel below the plough soil around the clay-filled pit.
5. Similar to 4 except pierced. See sherd 4.
6. Rim, slightly squared and not inturned, in a coarser and more gritty fabric than 4 and 5. Biscuit coloured. See sherd 4.
7. Rim of a situlate jar with slight finger-tip impressions on top of the rim, in a coarse buff fabric with some grit. There is slight oblique brushing on the shoulder. Found with sherd 15 half way up in the uniform dark brown earth filling of a ditch which was one foot and nine inches deep below the plough soil.
8. Rim with finger-tip impressions and a slight cordon, in a coarse black fabric with some grit and a smooth buff-brown surface. Found in the brown-earth and gravel layer in the earliest cutting of the boundary ditch. (cf. Section e-f, central ditch).
9. Wall, perhaps of a degenerate situlate jar, with strong oblique brushing, in a coarse black fabric with grit and a buff and black surface. Found in the dark brown earth which forms the top filling of the earliest cutting of the boundary ditch at this point. (cf. Section e-f). See sherd 12.
10. Squared, slightly out-turning rim, perhaps of a very degenerate situlate form, in a fine black fabric with a red external surface. The exterior and top of the interior are burnished, the burnishing marks being clearly visible. It may be showing influence of the Wealden pottery. Found in the dark brown earth filling of a ditch which was one foot and three inches deep below the plough soil.
11. Small flat topped, out-turned rim in a fine black burnished ware with a little grit. The back of the rim is turned over on itself (as is shown in the illustration) to give an internal irregular groove. Found in the black earth and gravel which occurs low in the earliest cutting of the boundary ditch at this point. (cf. Section e-f).
12. Base in a coarse, gritty black ware. Found in the same layer as sherd 9. Sherds 13-20 are fragments of 'foot-ring bowls' with S-shaped rims, but otherwise featureless, in a highly burnished brown or black fabric. All the pieces can be paralleled from Wealden sites.
13. Rim with S-curved profile in a fine gritless grey-brown fabric with a high burnish. The interior is smooth but not burnished. Found unstratified on top of the recutting of the boundary ditch below the plough-soil. (cf. Hunsbury, Fig. 8, LC2).
14. Top of S-shaped rim in a fine fabric with a little grit and a black surface, highly burnished both internally and externally. The burnishing marks are more distinct on the interior. Found high in the brown earth and gravel which forms the uniform filling of this ditch which is two feet and three inches deep below the plough soil.
15. Foot of a foot-ring bowl, in a fine grey fabric with a burnished surface. Found with sherd 7. (cf. Findon Park, Figs. 7d and 8b).
16. Base in a highly burnished black ware, of fine grit-free fabric. Found unstratified lying on the natural gravel below the plough soil. (cf. Hulbury, Fig. 187).
17. Foot of a foot-ring bowl in a fine, almost gritless, burnished black ware. Found in a layer of black soil one foot and two inches deep which forms the top filling, below the plough soil, of the boundary ditch at this point.

Not illustrated.

18. Sherd of black ware with very little grit and a highly burnished external surface; beginning to turn out for an S-shaped rim. Very similar in ware to sherd 14. Found unstratified on the natural gravel below the plough soil.

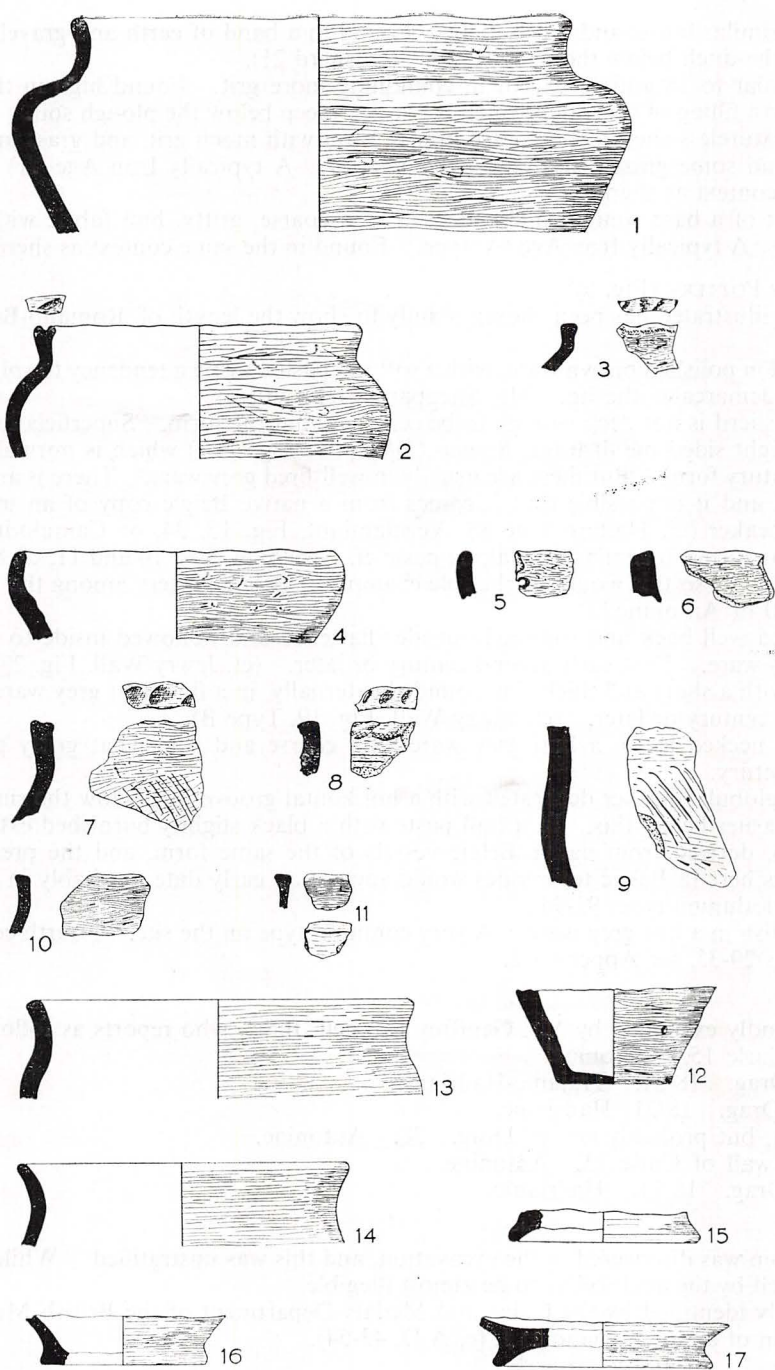


FIG. 4.—Iron Age pottery from site at Chadwell St. Mary, Essex. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

19. Sherd of similar fabric and finish to 18. Found in a band of earth and gravel forming the top filling of the ditch below the plough soil. (cf. sherd 21).
20. Sherd similar to 18 and 19 except in containing more grit. Found high in the uniform dark brown earth filling of this ditch which is two feet deep below the plough soil. (cf. sherd 22).
21. Several featureless sherds in a coarse orange ware with much grit, and grass impressions in the surface, and some grass brushing on the exterior. A typically Iron Age 'A' type. Found in the same context as sherd 19.
22. Small part of a base similar in shape to 12 in a coarse, gritty, buff fabric with grass stem impressions. A typically Iron Age 'A' type. Found in the same context as sherd 20.

ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY (Fig. 5)

The pottery illustrated has been chosen mainly to show the length of Romano-British occupation on the site.

23. Rim sherd in polished brown ware, with a soft red paste having a tendency to split longitudinally; a groove demarcates the lip. Mr. Sheppard Frere writes:
'The sherd is not deep enough to be certain about the form. Superficially it resembles the plain straight sided pie dish (cf. *Roman Colchester*, Fig. 95.7) which is normally an Antonine-fourth century form. But these are usually in well-fired grey ware. There is an early feel about this sherd and it is possible that it comes from a native Belgic copy of an imported form of pedestal beaker (cf. Haltern type 88, Verulamium, Fig. 15, 34, or Camulodunum Fig. 49.6). For similar forms in similar red flaking paste cf. Needham Nos. 10 and 11, cf. 8 (*Antiq. Journal*, XXI, 43-4). If so this would be the sole example of Belgic pottery among the material. Date, c. A.D. 50 or Antonine.'
24. Rim folded well back and rounded outside; flattened and hollowed inside to seat a lid. In a gritty-grey ware. First-early second century or later. (cf. Jewry Wall, Fig. 27, type A, No. 2).
25. Pie dish with a short and thick rim, rounded externally, in a fine light grey ware. Second half of second century or later. (cf. Jewry Wall, Fig. 19, Type B).
26. Rim of a necked jar in a buff grey ware with coarse and somewhat gritty paste. Probably second century.
27. Top of a globular beaker decorated with a horizontal groove just below the rim and with small oblique slashes below this. In a buff paste with a black slightly burnished exterior. The type is Roman, derived from native Belgic vessels of the same form, and the presence of oblique slashing as here (a Belgic technique) would suggest an early date, probably in the first century. (cf. Camulodunum types 91-94).
28. Flanged dish in a fine grey ware. A very common type on the site. Fourth century. For sherds 29-33, see Appendix 2.

SAMIAN WARE

This was kindly examined by Mr. Geoffrey Dannell, B.Sc., who reports as follows:

1. Base of Curle 15. Antonine.
2. Base of Drag. 18/31. Trajanic-Hadrianic.
3. Wall of Drag. 18/31. Hadrianic.
4. Uncertain, but probably rim of Drag. 38. Antonine.
5. Side and wall of Curle 15. Antonine.
6. Base of Drag. 18/31. Hadrianic.

COIN¹⁷

Only one coin was discovered in the excavation, and this was unstratified. While not much worn it was so corroded by the acid soil as to be almost illegible.

It was kindly identified by the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum as:

'? imitation of an *as* of Claudius I. (c. A.D. 43-54).

17. The coin was cleaned by Mr. S. Rees-Jones and the iron-work by myself in the laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology and I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Rees-Jones and also to Miss I. Geddy and Mr. H. W. M. Hodges for their permission and advice.

IRON OBJECTS (Fig. 6)

- 1a. Spike, square in section and pointed at both ends.
- 1b. Ring.

1a and 1b were found corroded together, and are clearly parts of one implement. Their relation to one another is shown in drawings 1c and 1d, in which the wooden shaft has been restored. The spike is presumed to have been driven into a wooden shaft onto which thering had been shrunk in order to prevent its splitting. Its function is not clear, unless it served as some form of boat-pole. (1c and 1d are at half the scale of 1a and 1b).

2. Spike, circular in section and flattened at one end.
3. Knife, triangular in section.
4. Coffin nail, found at the bottom of the coffin.
5. Two hobnails from the west end of the coffin. A large number of these were found, of which the two illustrated are typical.

Though none of these objects were found in association with datable material there is no reason to doubt that they are Roman.

APPENDIX I

PREVIOUS DISCOVERIES ON THE SITE (Fig. 1)

The exact extent of the site can never be known since the greater part of it was undoubtedly destroyed in gravel quarrying before 1936. The following finds have been recorded.

(a) In Thurrock Local History Museum at Tilbury are a series of objects from "a wooden coffer group found in Deekings Pit, Sandy Lane, Chadwell St. Mary, in 1902". These include:

Iron nails and catch for fastening the coffer.
Fragments of wood and brass mountings from the coffer.
Parts of brooches and buckles.
Three bracelets and a spoon.

(b) From The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Essex, Vol. IV, p. 24:

"In Messrs. Christian and Nielson's gravel pit 700 yards south-east of the Parish Church, an oven was found in July, 1922, together with several urns. The oven had apparently been circular and domed, with a diameter of over five feet . . . The pottery which is now in the Colchester Museum . . . is probably of third to fourth century date . . . Roman coins of all dates have been found in the parish and a site about one hundred yards east of the oven has yielded a large quantity of samian sherds mostly of late first or early second century date. No traces of buildings were however noticed."

(c) About 150 yards north-east of the site excavated in 1959, Mr. K. J. Barton made the discoveries described below in Appendix 2.

(d) A portion of a tessellated pavement was found during building work at the cross-roads in Chadwell.

(e) Part of a large Roman ditch is visible in a garden in Sandy Lane. It seems likely that it is connected with the finds from the gravel pit mentioned in (a) and (b).

(f) There is a considerable amount of material from Sandy Lane in the Colchester Museum.

APPENDIX 2

A NOTE ON THE POTTERY AND COIN HOARD FROM THE INVESTIGATIONS AT CHADWELL ST. MARY IN 1956.

By Kenneth J. Barton

The gravel pit at Sandy Lane, Chadwell St. Mary, Essex, had been idle since 1938 but in July, 1956 digging started in the north-eastern section of the pits to the west of the lane. With the kind permission of the owner¹⁸ members of the Thurrock Historical Society (Archaeological Section) commenced a trial excavation on the affected area, a strip 270 feet by 130 feet. A series of trenches cut within this area failed to locate features, and since the trenches hindered gravel winning, the excavation was abandoned and a watch kept on the digging instead.

18. The writer is indebted to the owner, Mr. Harold Ockendon for his co-operation.

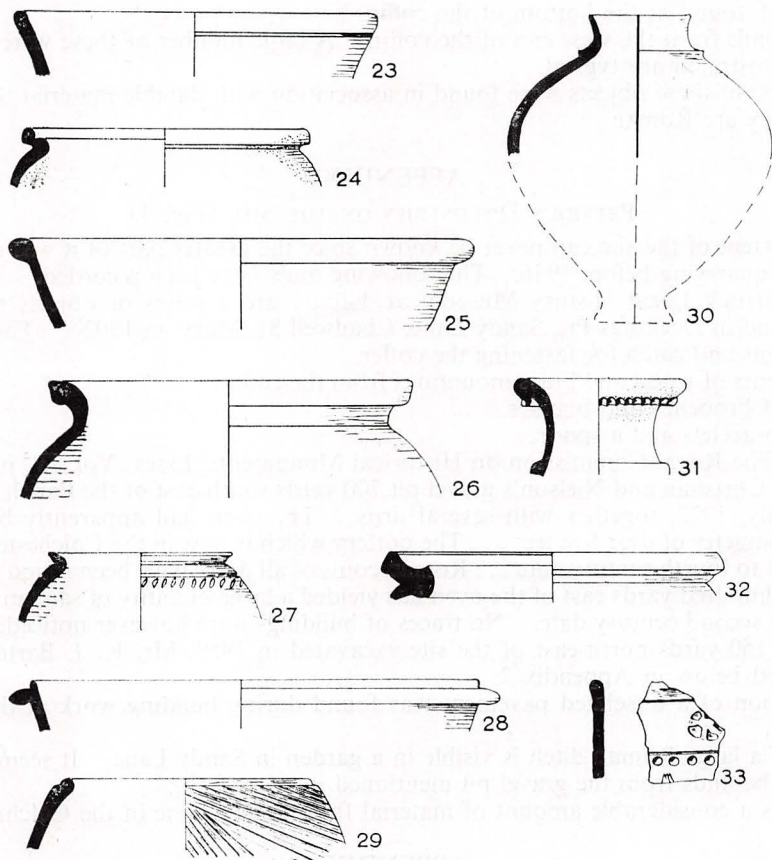


FIG. 5.—Romano-British pottery from site at Chadwell St. Mary, Essex. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

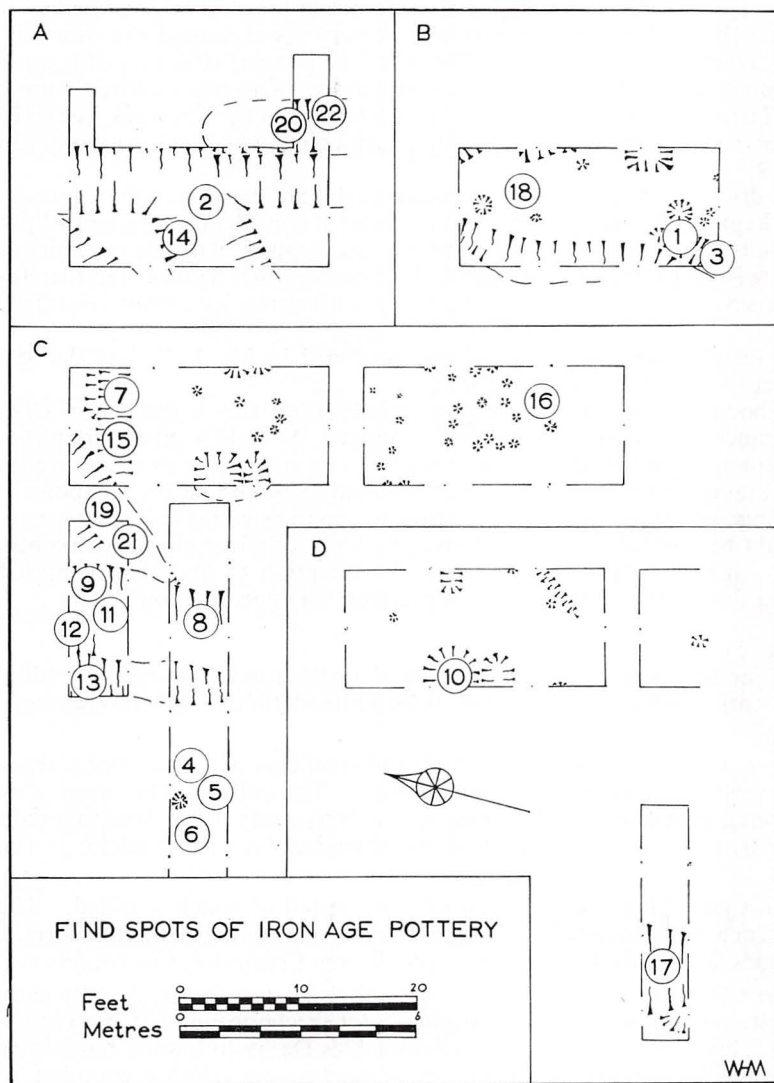


FIG. 7.—Plan of find spots of Iron Age pottery at Chadwell St. Mary, Essex.
(The letters refer to Fig. 2.)

On 19th July, 1956 Roman coins were found in ballast delivered to a building site¹⁹ by a company drawing gravel from this and other pits. Inspection of the pits affected failed to produce evidence of the find spot, but as the Chadwell pit was the only one producing pottery of the same period they were assumed to have come from this site. On 19th August, 1956, while clearing down disturbed topsoil on the site, members of the Thurrock Historical Society uncovered a number of coins.

The coins were scattered in a fan-shaped area, four feet long by two feet wide. The apex of the cone was situated at the neck and upper part of a pottery vessel, buried rim down in the occupation layers, and another coin lay under the rim. The fill of the pot was strikingly different from the rest of the soil surrounding it and was retained for examination. The one hundred coins recovered were declared Treasure Trove and have subsequently been deposited in the Thurrock Local History Museum. They were all denarii and range in date from legionary coinage of Mark Anthony to one of the sole reign of Caracalla.²⁰

Following the discovery of the coins circumstances did not permit continued work on the site, but a daily watch was kept by Dr. A. E. Ward who collected a considerable amount of pottery and noted "two rectangular huts with clay floors, one of which had a raised platform on which rested a quern". None of this pottery is associated with any particular layer or other feature, and therefore its usefulness is limited; however several sherds with known or peculiar features have been described and illustrated. (cf. Fig. 5).

The fill of the vessel containing the hoard was examined by Mr. L. Biek of the Ministry of Works (Ancient Monuments) Laboratory who reports:

"The foreign bodies present in the samples include a few tiny fragments of characteristic green colour and appearance due to the corrosion of copper. A slightly greater number of particles of another kind and colour appear under the microscope to be similar to corrosion products observed on metal objects containing silver or tin. It is not possible to be certain on this point especially as the mauve or purple tinge associated with silver corrosion products could not be detected.

N.B.—It should be pointed out that the great majority of silver objects contained a considerable amount of copper. It is thus the rule rather than the exception to find ancient buried silver covered with a green patina due to the copper which is preferentially corroded out".²¹

THE POTTERY (Fig. 5)

29. Bead rimmed jar fragment. A hard grey paste in the romanized-native tradition. Decorated by angular strokes with a soft textured, wide toothed comb. (cf. *Richborough* 1, Plate xxxiii) 50-75 A.D.
30. The vessel containing the hoard. The neck and shoulders of a small globular pot with a narrow neck and a vertical though slightly overt rim. The collar of the vessel is decorated with a small horizontal raised band. The body is in a hard sandy paste, fired to a reduced grey finish. It has a slightly pitted surface suggesting that there had been some calcite gritting that had been washed out.
31. The neck of a jar with a rolled and flared rim the tail of which is frilled. The basal collar is bulged to form a decorative cordon. The fabric is of a romanized-native form, black burnished ware on a smooth hard dark grey paste. (cf. *Roman Colchester*, Fig. 64, 58). c. 70-80 A.D.
32. Rim fragment from a lid-seated jar, in a hard light grey fabric, heavily charged with small sparkling grit and with a 'gooseflesh' surface. (cf. *Richborough* 53; and Gose type 543). Both in form and fabric this fragmentary vessel resembles Derbyshire ware, but it is not identical with it. It more closely resembles a form of jar or cooking-pot which is common in the Rhineland. Vessels of this type are rare in Britain and seem to occur only on the east coast, between Kent and the Wash. The fragment cannot be closely dated, but is unlikely to be earlier than the third century.²²

19. The Shell Oil Refinery, Corringham. Most of the coins were cast into a concrete culvert.

20. cf. *Numismatic Chronicle* 1957, p. 238.

21. This is a shortened version of his report.

22. Note written by Mr. J. P. Gillam, M.A., F.S.A.

33. The fragment of the rim of a vessel in a black burnished ware, on an under-fired brown slightly 'shelly' paste. Decorated with a five-segmented star stamp, and a row of deeply stamped dots, beneath which some sign of a triangular pattern is evident. This is a late Roman fabric of possible Romano-Saxon origin.

REFERENCES (other than those cited in full in text):

- FENGATE—The Early Iron Age Settlement at Fengate, Peterborough, C. F. C. Hawkes and C. I. Fell. *Archaeological Journal*.
- FINDON PARK—The Early Iron Age Site at Findon Park, Sussex. C. Fox and G. R. Wolseley. *Antiquaries Journal* VIII.
- HULBURY—cf. *Oldbury*.
- HUNSBURY—The Hunsbury Hillfort, Northants. C. I. Fell. *Archaeological Journal* XCIII.
- OLDBURY—Excavations on the Iron Age Hillfort of Oldbury near Igham, Kent. J. B. Ward-Perkins. *Archaeologia* XC.
- CAMULODONUM—Camulodunum, First Report on the Excavations at Colchester, 1930-39. C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull. *Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries* XIV.
- JEWRY WALL—Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester. Kathleen Kenyon. *Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries* XV.
- RICHBOROUGH—Reports on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent. J. P. Bushe-Fox. *Research Report of Society of Antiquaries*, VI, VII, X, XVI.
- ROMAN COLCHESTER—M. R. Hull. *Research Report of Society of Antiquaries*, XX.
- VERULAMIUM—Verulamium, A Belgic and Two Roman Cities. R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler. *Research Report of Society of Antiquaries*, XI.
- GOSE—E. Gose, *Gefäßstypen Der Römischen Keramik im Rheinland*.
- HALTERN—Loeschcke, S., *Keramische Funde in Haltern*.

The Society gratefully acknowledges a generous contribution, towards the cost of publishing this Paper, from H. M. Ministry of Works, London.

EXCAVATION OF THE BATTLE DITCHES, SAFFRON WALDEN, ESSEX, 1959

Alison Ravetz, M.A. and Gillian Spencer, M.A.

The Battle Ditches, Saffron Walden, is an earthwork consisting of a bank and ditch forming a right angle running due south from Abbey Lane in the centre of the town and then turning towards the High Street (Fig. 1, National Grid reference 526382). In July 1959 three weeks of excavation took place. The aim was to discover the date of construction of the earthwork and, if possible, something of its history.

The excavation took place under the auspices of the Saffron Walden Museum Society and was directed by Mrs. Alison Ravetz, M.A., University of Leeds, and by Miss Gillian Chapman, M.A., (now Mrs. Spencer), at that time Curator of Saffron Walden Museum. Permission to excavate was kindly given by Lord Braybrooke, the owner of the Ditches, and by the Ministry of Works Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, since this is a scheduled monument. Valuable financial help was received from the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Essex Archaeological Society, the Saffron Walden Antiquarian Society and from several private persons. The Ministry of Works kindly lent the Museum Society all the equipment required and the Saffron Walden Borough Surveyor gave help with several practical problems. Labour was part paid and part voluntary. The voluntary help was largely given by relays of sixth-formers from The Friends School, Saffron Walden, and by members of a W.E.A. class in archaeology which had met for lectures by the Curator in the spring. Without the willing hard work of these and others the excavation could not have been completed in so short a time. Dr. John Alexander of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cambridge, visited on several occasions with a party of adult students and conducted an electrical resistivity meter survey on the line of a supposed extension of the existing earthwork (see Appendix).

The excavation was visited by Mr. Gerald Dunning, F.S.A., of the Ministry of Works Ancient Monuments Inspectorate. Mr. J. G. Hurst, F.S.A., also of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, examined the pottery found, and the excavators are indebted to him for help with identification.

The finds have been deposited in the Saffron Walden Museum.

THE EARTHWORK TODAY

The bank and ditch begin almost immediately south of the line of Abbey Lane and run southward for 484 feet. (Plate I) They then make a right-angled turn, which has been disturbed by a modern cutting for a footpath, and run eastward for 495 feet. The bank is lower and the ditch shallower on the western side than on the southern side. Details of this variation may be seen in Fig. 2.

The site lies on the southern slope of a gentle valley, the valley of the Slade Brook. The town of Saffron Walden lies in the valley and on the slopes to the south and ridge to the north. The site of the earthwork is much overgrown with trees, a factor which limited the choice of area for excavation.

EARLIER DISCUSSION OF THE SITE

This earthwork has in the past provoked considerable speculation, its size and scale challenging attention.* There is some evidence that it may be part only of a larger earthwork. The possible outline of this extension may be seen in Fig. 1 and the question is dealt with in detail in the Appendix. Finds from the area, both casual and the result of excavation of a cemetery within the angle of the Ditches in 1876, range in date from Neolithic to Mediaeval and include Romano-British and Late Saxon. These have encouraged tentative attributions to a selection of periods though it has always been admitted that only excavation could finally solve the problem.

*H. E. Smith: 'An Ancient Cemetery at Saffron Walden', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, Vol. II, Part IV, New Series, 1883.

Gould: *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 1904.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. *North West Essex*, 1916, p. 259.

Sir Cyril Fox: 'Archaeology of the Cambridge Region', p. 138.

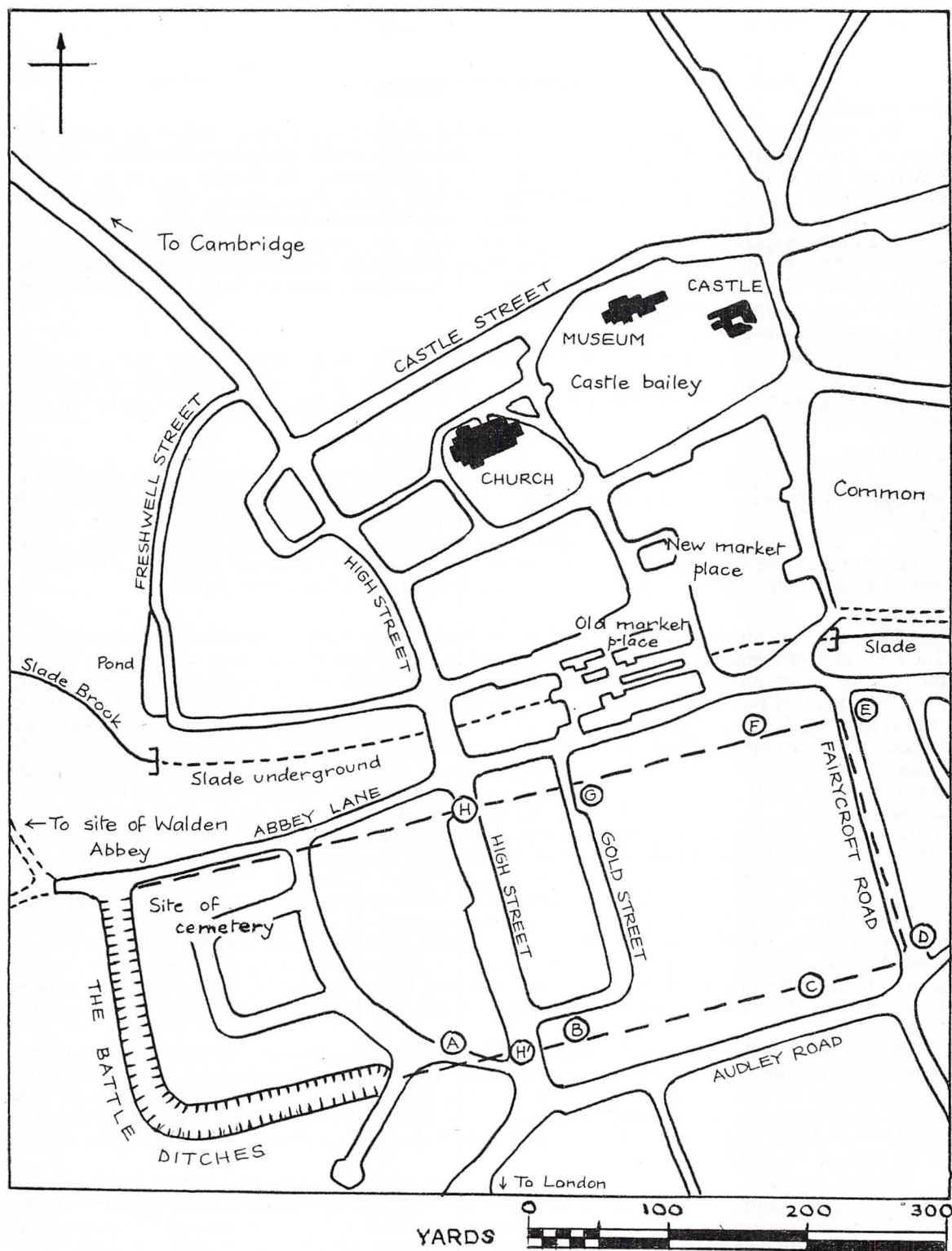


FIG. 1.—Simplified street plan of Saffron Walden showing line of the supposed extension of the earthwork.

- | | | | | |
|--------------|--|------|----------------|---|
| Point A | Site of narrow pond on map 1758. | KEY: | Points F and G | Traces of ditch recorded by R.C. Hist. Mon. |
| Point B | Traces of ditch filling observed 1911. | | | Mon. 1916 and property boundaries indicate |
| Point C | Bank in garden of Junior House School. | | | line of northern rampart or ditch. |
| Points D & E | Ditch filling recorded 1911. | | H and H' | Absence of ditch recorded. |

THE EXCAVATION

THE SUBSOIL

The subsoil is a very mixed deposit of gravel and chalky boulder clay. Below the humus is a layer, over one foot thick, of bright orange gravel. Below this, on the west side of the ditch, is a well-mixed and firm chalky boulder clay with large, well-rounded flints. On the east side of the ditch is chalky boulder clay in two layers enclosing a layer of light yellow, loose, chalky sand. The junction of the gravel and the clay below is disposed in a wavy line, the result of natural leaching.

The ditch happened to be dug at the junction of the two different deposits described, and this accounts for the slightly different profiles of the ditch on either side, as well as the different nature of the silting on each side. The chalky sand is more powdery, and silts more easily and continuously than any other of the natural deposits on the site.

THE LAYOUT OF THE EXCAVATION.

A section 10 feet wide and 51 feet long was cut through the bank and ditch along the north-south arm of the earthwork. Two squares 10 feet wide were opened to the north and south of the main section, leaving balks 2 feet and 3 feet wide, with the intention of finding more pottery from underneath the bank. (Fig. 2).

THE DITCH

The ditch is slightly over 20 feet wide from lip to lip, and varies in depth, in the space of the section dug, from just over 7 to just over 8 feet. (Fig 3). In profile it is an irregular V, with the east side, dug partly in chalky sand, slightly convex, and the west side, dug in chalky boulder clay, slightly concave. The bottom of the V is also irregular, dug more deeply at some points than at others. These variations reflect the variable nature of the subsoil rather than any deliberate intention. The profile may also have been slightly altered when the ditch was cleared out, at a later date.

THE BANK

The bank is of simple construction, without a berm or any trace of wooden fortification on top. The first loads of humus excavated from the line of the ditch were piled up as a marking-out bank at the margin. Then successive loads (which were each quite small) were tipped onto the bank, finding their own angle of rest as they slid down on the inner side. Their order reflects to some extent the stratigraphy of the subsoil, but as this was so varied in itself it is not surprising that the sequence became a little muddled. Over the humus was tipped a small amount of gravel, then, successively loads of humus mixed with chalky sand, sandy gravel, chalk and clay, gravel, chalk, and finally clay mixed with chalk, covered by chalk again. In the square south of the main section the top layer of chalk was over 2 feet thick. But even in the main section, where the chalk occurred in bands never more than 8 ins. thick, these were remarkably compact and uniform from one side of the trench to the other. It is probable that the plastic qualities of the chalk, so heavily mixed with clay, were appreciated, and that it was packed down hard to preserve the shape of the bank. (Plate II).

The bank was little over 20 feet wide at the base and cannot originally have been much higher than its present 5 feet above the old ground surface. On the inner side of the earthwork there was a certain amount of silting, which sealed the old turf line. Above this silting there was a gradual build-up of some 2½ feet of humus, interrupted only by a spread of stones rather similar to the small flints spread across the top filling of the ditch (see below). The flint foundation of the brick wall of the Gibson Estate respects the bank, leaving a space of about 4 feet between itself and the inner margin of the bank.

Two modern and one ancient features of the bank must be considered. In modern times a small trench was dug into the top, near the lip of the ditch, for a gas pipe, long disused. This in turn has been sealed by the present asphalt path. It was remarkable at the time of digging that this gas pipe trench could scarcely be distinguished because its loose filling was so like the sandy, chalky material in which it was dug. As the section weathered, however, the modern disturbance became more distinct in the sides of the trench.

Shortly before the construction of the bank a small fire had been lit on a cleared patch of earth near what later became the lip of the ditch. The turf had been cut back eastwards from the fire for over 3 feet (evidence of similar clearing westwards was of course destroyed when the ditch was dug) and the fire was lit on a saucer-shaped patch of chalky clay which itself rested on flints, probably raked

together for the purpose. The traces of this fire were ephemeral, and unfortunately there were no objects associated with it. Since the turf did not grow again over the spot it must date from not long before the construction of the earthwork, and the fire is most likely to have been lit by the builders themselves.

THE FILLING OF THE DITCH

The filling of the ditch makes it quite clear that at some time the natural silting was thoroughly disturbed. (Fig. 3 and Plate III). Some traces of the primary silting may survive in the bottom deposit in the ditch: fine, loose sand from the east side, with a few large flints that could have weathered out from either side. Above this is a layer of orange gravel, which may have come from either lip of the ditch. This must, however, have been disturbed, for it is not lying now at an angle of rest.

Above this the natural sequence of ditch silting has been broken. A clean and compressed layer of decayed turf is completely sealed by a dump of flints in the middle of the ditch. The turf cannot have grown here naturally, so long before the sides of the ditch had reached an angle of rest; and that weathering had not yet stopped is shown by the continued accumulation of sandy silt from the east side, sealing the tail of the stones. This was prevented from spreading across the whole ditch by the stones. But the firm chalky boulder clay of the west side had, on the other hand, finished weathering, so that here the buried turf merged imperceptibly with the natural growth of humus above it. We must believe, then, that at some time the ditch was almost completely cleaned out, and that the turf and stones were dumped in very soon afterwards.

The layer of flints over the turf is a conspicuous feature of the ditch section. They lie in a layer up to 18 in. thick, centrally above the bottom of the ditch. That they are not silt material is confirmed by the size of the flints, intermediate between the large flints and the tiny stones of the subsoil, and the fact that many of them are chipped, and so unlikely to have derived from the ditch sides. Again, if they were the result of weathering they would be mixed with a lot of chalk; but they are very loose indeed, with only a little soil between them.

The cleaning out of the ditch is very mysterious. The material removed was not apparently dumped back on the bank, so the motive was not to put the earthwork back into use again. The close correspondence in volume of the bank and the ditch make it doubtful that the ditch was actually recut. This doubt is reinforced by the absence of further silting from the west side. No record of any scouring is known. A two-pronged fork found among the stones may be a clue to a nineteenth-century date, but the fork could have worked its way down from above. The likeliest explanation of the dump of stones is that they were thrown down, perhaps with some cut turves as a base, to raise the ditch bottom, which has always in modern times been used as a pathway, to make it free from mud. But further excavation is needed to establish whether they continue far along the line of the ditch. This interpretation still leaves the scouring of the ditch unexplained.

Above the stones there was a deep accumulation of humus, at the present time 3 feet or more thick. Another thin scatter of flints, stretching this time across the whole width of the ditch must be evidence of another attempt at a crude paving of the ditch bottom. Below these the soil is leached and full of minute particles of chalk which must be the result of slow erosion of the sides. The present humus is a mass of matted hawthorn and elm roots, which stop short at the line of the stones.

DATING

The earthwork was in existence before 1304, the date of a reference to "The Great Ditch". A fairly large collection of pottery fragments from the turf sealed by the bank provides a *terminus post quem*. Many of those identifiable are of Saxo-Norman pottery, of c. 1050-1150. Many others are early mediaeval wares of the same period, while others may be of the thirteenth century. The latest certainly identifiable sherds are the yellow and brown-glazed fragments, which should not be earlier than c. 1250, and could even bring the date of the Battle Ditches down as late as 1300.

This is confirmed by a similar collection of sherds found in the lowest part of the bank composed of the old topsoil.

We do not derive any closer definition of date from the two sherds found in the ditch, which included a piece of 13th century fabric from the "primary silting", and a piece of Thetford storage jar dating c. 1050-1150. These could have come from the old top soil, or weathered out of the lip of the ditch. On the humus accumulating in modern times a mediaeval sherd was found.

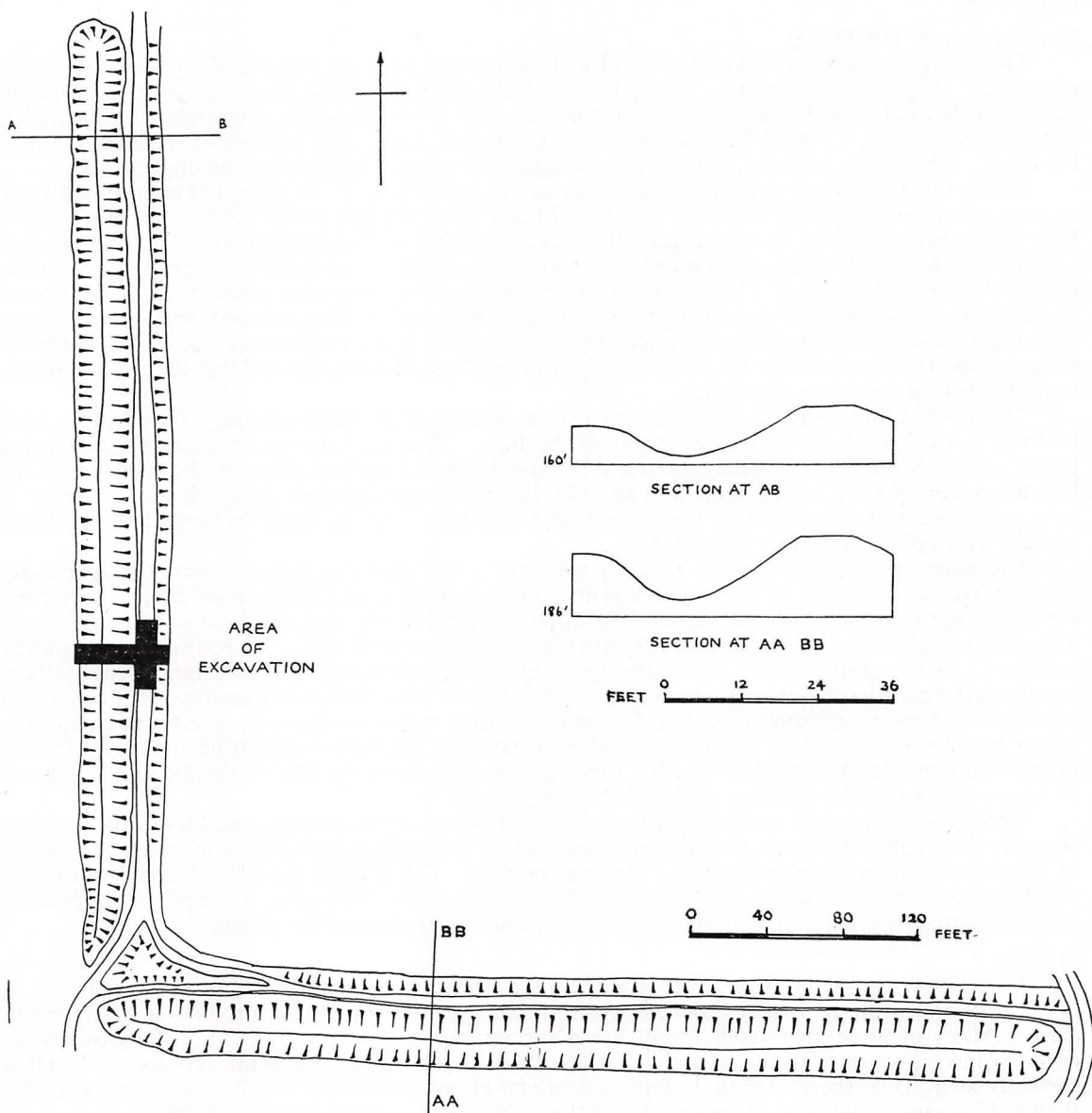


FIG. 2.—Plan of the Battle Ditches, Saffron Walden with two sections showing the variation between the west and south arms.

THE BATTLE DITCHES, SAFFRON WALDEN, 1959

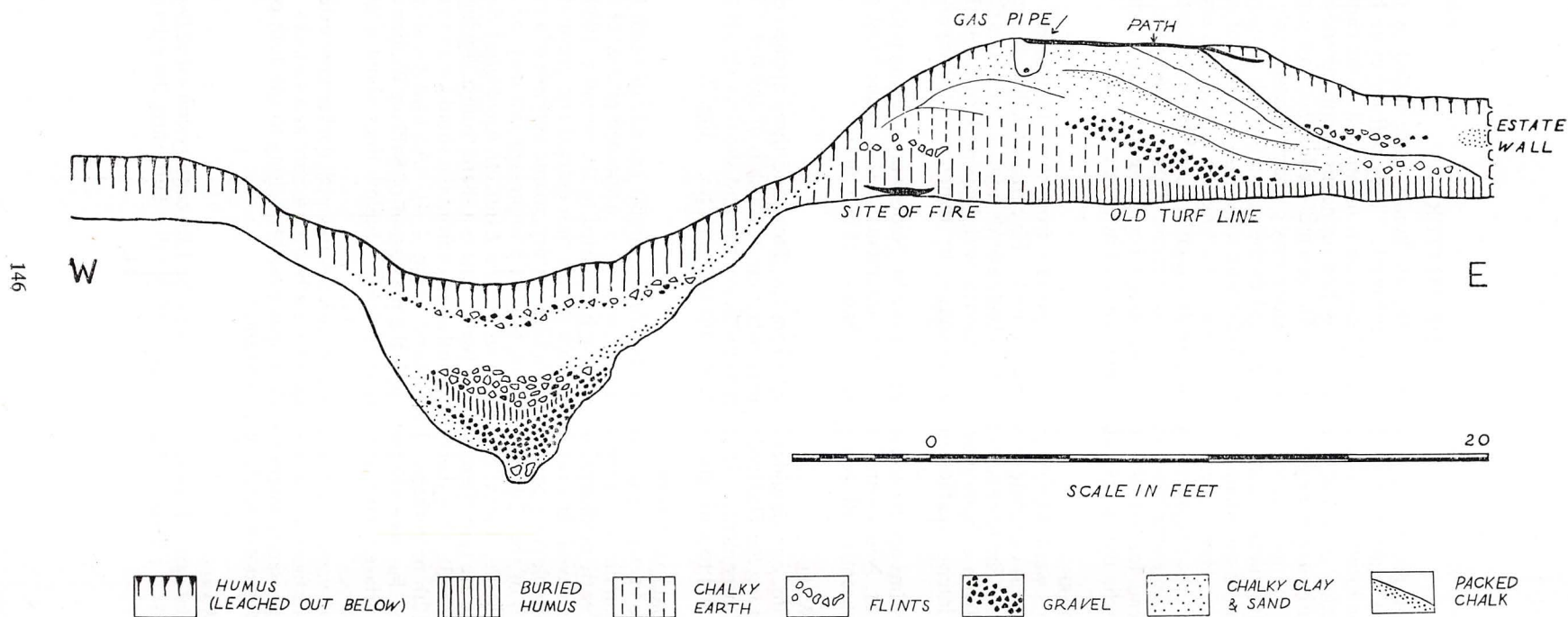


FIG. 3. Section of the Ditch and Bank.

THE POTTERY

The two main groups of pottery, from the old land surface sealed by the bank and the lowest layers of the bank must both predate the earthwork. They will therefore be grouped according to their fabric. The location of those sherds illustrated is mentioned in the captions to Figs. 4, 5 and 6. The whole collection of pottery forms a fairly homogeneous group composed of late St. Neots and Thetford ware with early mediaeval wares. The assemblage for the most part covers the period from c. 1050 to c. 1150 but includes several sherds which may perhaps be assignable to the thirteenth century and two glazed fragments which must be dated to the mid-thirteenth century at the earliest. A few Roman sherds are of no interest, merely conforming with what we know of earlier Roman finds from the area. The two glazed sherds are decisive in putting the date of the earthwork later than 1250; but we know from the documentary evidence that it must have been in existence before 1304.

The nature of the stratification on this site does not allow us to advance any further the problem of delimiting an end for Saxo-Norman wares and a beginning for what are called typically mediaeval wares in East Anglia but the pottery found is not without interest.

THE ST. NEOTS WARE

The St. Neots ware, like the rest of the pottery from this site, consists of fragments only. No complete or even near complete vessels were found. Five rims and three fragments of base are the only distinctive sherds. The remainder are small body sherds none larger than about one inch in diameter. The ware varies from a shelly grey cored material with light pink surfaces, through shelly wares grey cored with pink interior surface and grey exterior, to fragments with greyish black core and exterior surfaces.

Three of the rims appear to have come from St. Neots ware cooking pots while two other inturned rims come from St. Neots ware bowls. The fragments of base come most probably from St. Neots cooking pots apparently with gently sagging bases. (Fig 6, 6-8).

THE THETFORD WARE

One heavy rim, one shoulder sherd (from the ditch) and three applied cordons are the only distinctive pieces among the Thetford ware sherds none of which is of any size. Two of the cordons have thumb impressed ornament. Apart from the heavy rim and shoulder sherds the ware is thin and hard and varies from mid to dark grey in both core and surfaces. (Fig. 7).

THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL WARES

The early mediaeval wares like the rest consist almost entirely of small fragments. The exception is the strap handle with a small part of the body of a spouted pitcher of the 11th or 12th century. (Fig. 4, 1). The early mediaeval wares have been dated to the period c. 1050 to c. 1150 by Mr. J. G. Hurst. There are eleven rims varying from a simple thin everted rim presumably of the 11th century, through thicker simple rims, perhaps of the 12th century, to one example of a more elaborately moulded rim probably also of the 12th century. A finger-tip impressed rim may be compared with a sherd from Rayleigh Castle, Essex, (*Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 1912), (Fig. 5, 2). Fragments of base are rare, there are only two. One is a sherd from a sagging base, the other part of a flat base. (Fig. 4, 2&3). One sherd apparently comes from the shoulder and neck of a pitcher of a type which is of the 12th or perhaps 13th century. (Fig. 4, 4). An example of this type of pitcher from Hadstock, Cambs. has recently come into the possession of Saffron Walden Museum. Three sherds have a rippled surface. One sherd is incised with shallow lines about a quarter of an inch apart. (Fig. 4, 6).

The wares are various and include grey cored wares with darker grey exterior surfaces, grey cored wares with pink surfaces and wares which have a buff-pink core and surfaces. Some of the thinner fine grained wares with sandy interior surface may possibly belong to the 13th century but these are few and small and it is not possible to be certain.

13TH CENTURY WARES

The wares that can definitely be assigned to the 13th century consist of two fragments from the old land surface below the bank. One is a piece of fine thin buff ware, the exterior covered with a brown

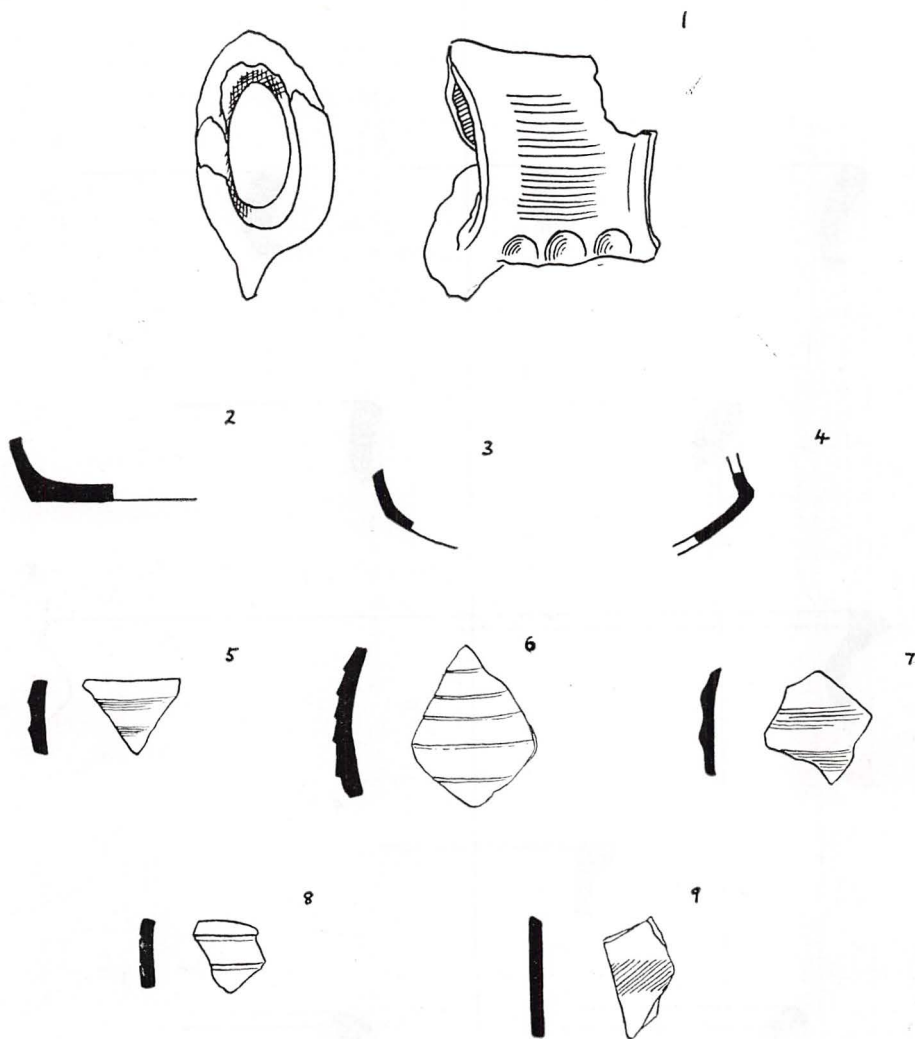


FIG. 4.—Early medieval and 13th century wares. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

1. Strap handle from a spouted pitcher, 11th or 12th century. Old turf line below bank.
2. Flat base of a cooking pot. Early medieval. Grey core, pinkish grey surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
3. Sherd from a cooking pot with sagging base. Early medieval. Grey core, pink surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
4. Shoulder sherd from a pitcher. 12th or 13th century. Buff core, grey surfaces. Lower part of bank.
5. Rilled body sherd. Early medieval. Pinkish grey core and surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
6. Rilled body sherd. Early medieval. Grey core and surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
7. Rilled body sherd. Early medieval. Grey core, dark grey exterior surface, light grey interior surface. Lower part of bank.
8. Incised body sherd. Early medieval. Grey core, pinkish grey surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
9. Body sherd. Pinkish buff fabric. Yellow glaze on exterior surface with brown band, c. 1250-c. 1300.

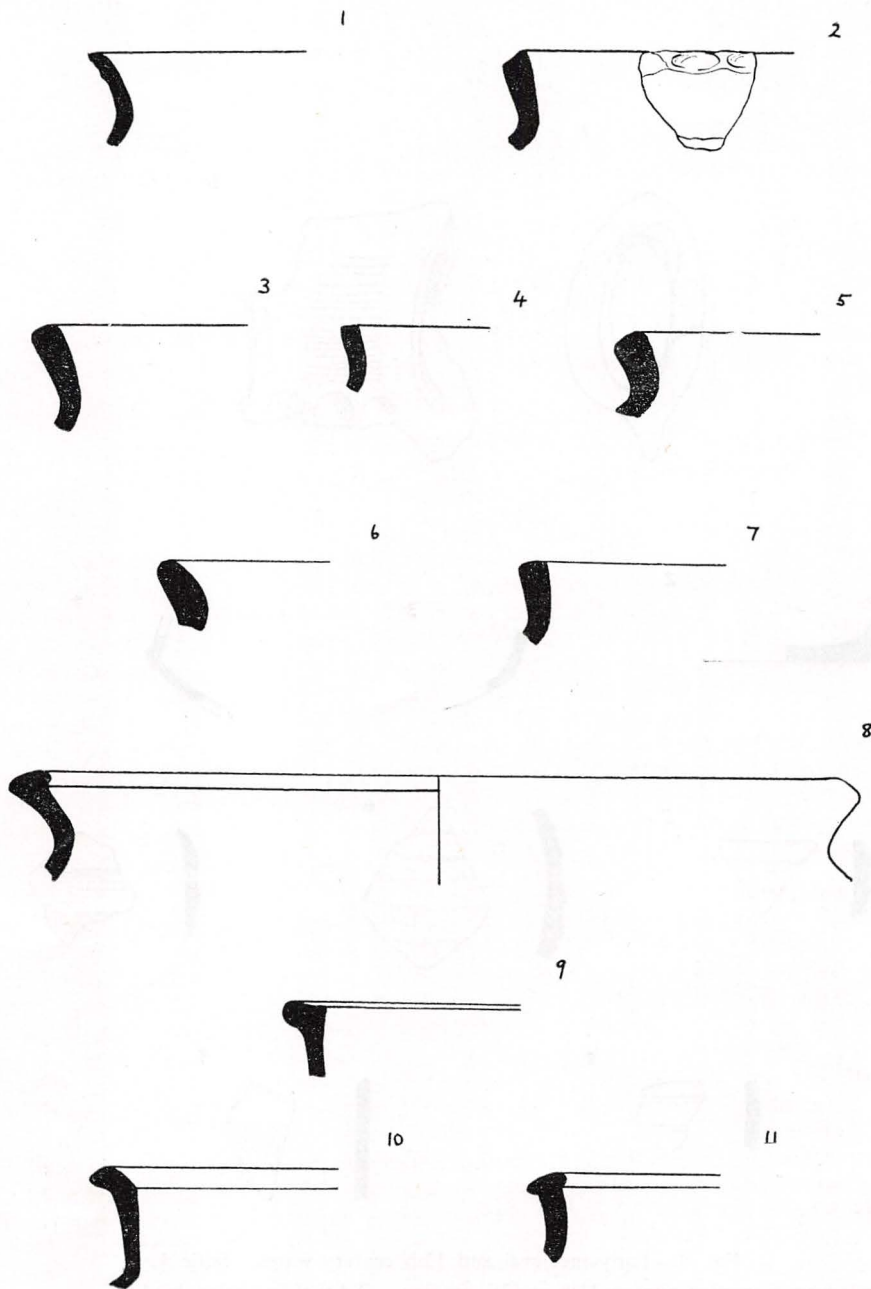


FIG 5.—Early medieval wares of the 12th and 13th centuries. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

1. Simple everted rim sherd. 11th century. Grey core, pink surfaces. Lower part of bank.
2. Finger-tip impressed everted rim sherd. Early medieval. Light grey core, pink interior surface, grey exterior surface. Old turf line under bank.
3. Heavy plain everted rim sherd. 12th century. Grey core, dark grey exterior surface, pink interior surface. Lower part of bank.
4. Plain rim sherd. Early medieval. Light grey core, pinkish grey surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
5. Plain everted rim sherd. Early medieval. Light grey core and surfaces. Lower part of bank.
6. Simple everted rim sherd. Early medieval. Bright orange ware, uniform in core and surfaces. Lower part of bank.
7. Plain everted rim sherd. Early medieval. Light grey core, pink interior and exterior surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
8. Everted rim sherd with slight internal bevel. Early medieval. Old turf line below bank.
9. Moulded rim sherd. Early medieval. Pinkish grey core, dark grey exterior surface, pink interior surface. Old turf line below bank.
10. Rim sherd. Early medieval. Grey core, pinkish sandy surfaces. Lower part of bank.
11. Rim sherd with slight internal bevel. Early medieval. Grey core, pink interior surface and pinkish black exterior surface. Old land surface under bank.

and yellow glaze which may be part of a striped pattern (Fig. 4 & 9). The other piece consists of a sherd of typically later mediaeval fabric with two small spots of greenish yellow glaze.

OTHER FINDS

Other finds on the old land surface under the bank or in the lowest levels of the bank consisted of animal bones and teeth, several oyster and cockle shells, charcoal and a few fragments of iron slag, pieces of daub, part of a pottery spindle whorl and a few very small worked flint flakes and cores.

The animal bone was all very fragmentary. The bones and teeth included those of horse, oxen, sheep, pig, dog and rabbit. The charcoal was also very fragmentary and too small for analysis. The pieces of daub, of which only a little was found, were similar to those found in great quantity in the 1876 excavations within the Battle Ditches and are presumably from wattle and daub huts.

In the make-up of the bank in one of the subsidiary sections was found a piece of fossilised deer antler bearing signs of deliberate cutting or scraping with a knife on one side.

INTERPRETATION

The relevant pottery from the 1959 excavation together with the animal bones and charcoal found suggest a relatively intense occupation of the area for the period c. 1050 to c. 1150 and probably a still not inconsiderable occupation during the latter half of the 12th century. Pottery which can be assigned to the 13th century is on the other hand sparse, suggesting that by the beginning of the 13th century occupation had diminished and become unimportant. The *terminus post quem* provided by the 13th century sherds sealed on the old land surface beneath the bank suggests a date between 1250 and 1300 for the construction of the earthwork.

The question posed by the excavation is what could be the purpose of a large-scale bank and ditch surrounding an area which, although it had once supported a flourishing settlement, was by the time of building once more largely deserted. Proof is perhaps impossible in the absence of a direct documentary record but it seems probable that the earthwork was built as part of a 13th century effort towards town planning.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

The documentary evidence is at least not inconsistent with such an interpretation.

The earliest references to the Battle Ditches are contained in a collection of documents relating to land-holding in Saffron Walden deposited in Saffron Walden church. A transcript of these is in the possession of Saffron Walden Museum. These give a fairly clear picture of the geography of Saffron Walden in the 14th century. For earlier periods one is dependent upon the Book of the Foundation of Walden Abbey which covers a period ending in 1208 and which deals almost exclusively with ecclesiastical affairs, and the Cartulary of Walden Abbey compiled in 1487 but including earlier material. The area of the Ditches was never Abbey land and these collections have little light to throw upon the problem.

The earliest reference to the Battle Ditches is dated 1304 and is contained in a land charter in which one Walkemus makes over to Johannes de Kaldecote and his wife "unam acram terrae cum suis pertinentibus in villa de Walden in campo dicto Lotegoryshale inter terram quondam Johannis le Cloer ex parte aquilonaria et magnum fossatum ex parte australi cuius caput orientale abutbat super messuagium quod fuit Roger Ordgor et caput occidentale super magnum fossatum" ('One acre of land with its appurtenances in the town of Walden lying in the field called Lotegoryshale between land which formerly belonged to John le Cloer on the north side and the great ditch on the south side, of which the eastern head abuts on the dwelling which belonged to Roger Ordgor and the western head upon the great ditch.') The next two references date from 1331 and are two charters dealing with one piece of land which is in the first described as lying in the town of Walden between land of Richard the Deacon one side and the road leading to Walden Abbey on the other (Abbey Lane) and also as having one head abutting "super Magnum Fossatum" ('upon the great ditch') and the other "super parvum fossatum Roberti de Aschendon" ('upon the little ditch of Robert of Ashdon'); and which in the second is described as in the town of Walden "juxta Lotegoryshale inter terram Ricardi le Dekne . . . ex una parte et venellam ducentem de Walden versus Abbatiam de Walden ex parte altera unde unum caput abutbat super Magnum Fossatum domini comitis Hereford et aliud super parvum fossatum

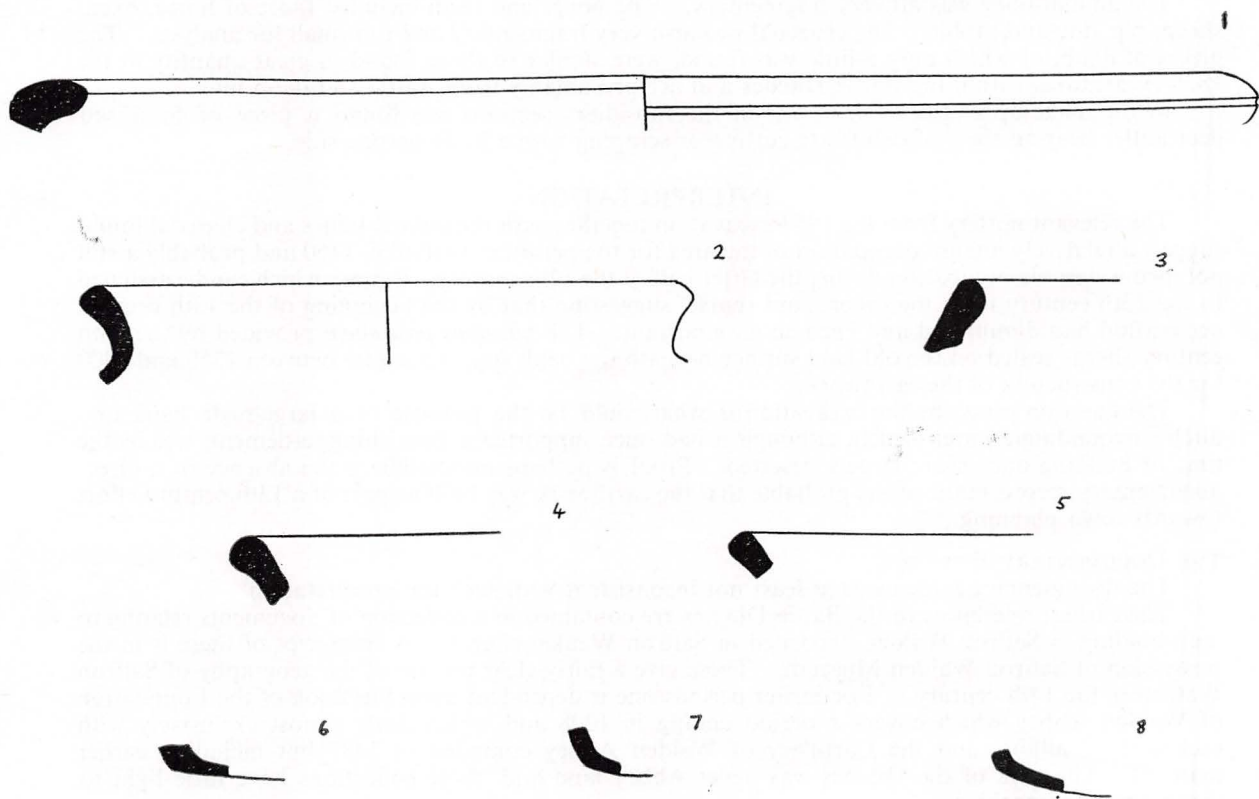


FIG. 6.—St. Neots Ware. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

1. Rim of St. Neots ware inturned bowl. Grey core, light pink surfaces. Old land surface below bank.
2. Rim of St. Neots ware cooking pot. Grey core, light pink surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
3. Rim of St. Neots ware inturned bowl. Grey core, light pink surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
4. Rim of St. Neots ware cooking pot. Uniform grey core and surfaces. Lower part of bank.
5. Rim of St. Neots ware cooking pot. Uniform pinkish core and surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
6. Base of St. Neots ware cooking pot. Grey core, grey exterior surface, pink interior surface. Old turf line below bank.
7. Base of St. Neots ware cooking pot. Uniform grey core and surfaces. Old turf line below bank.
8. Base of St. Neots ware cooking pot. Grey core, pinkish surfaces. Old turf line below bank.

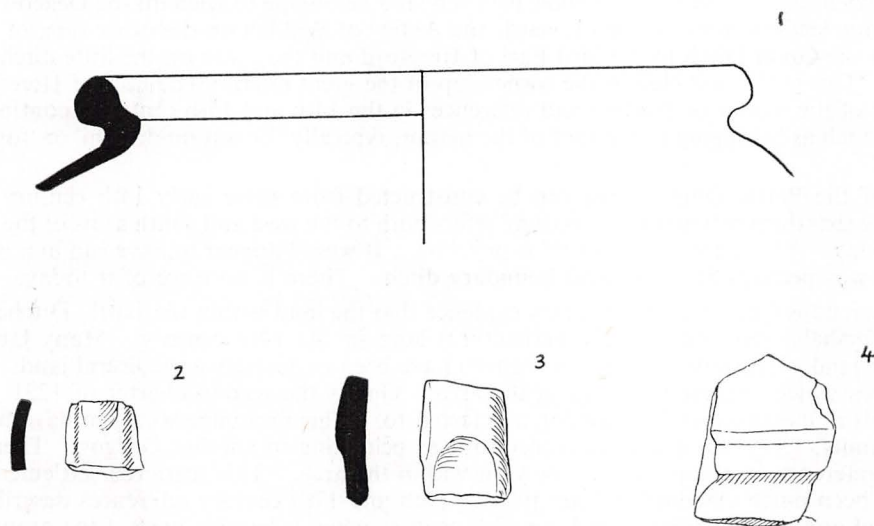


FIG. 7.—Thetford Ware. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

1. Rim of Thetford ware cooking pot. Uniform grey core and surfaces. Old turf line under bank.
2. Thumb-impressed cordon from Thetford ware storage jar. Uniform grey core and surfaces. Old turf line under bank.
3. Thumb-impressed cordon from Thetford ware storage jar. Uniform grey core and surfaces. Lower part of bank.
4. Plain cordon from Thetford ware vessel. Uniform grey core and surfaces. Lower part of bank—soft brown earth.

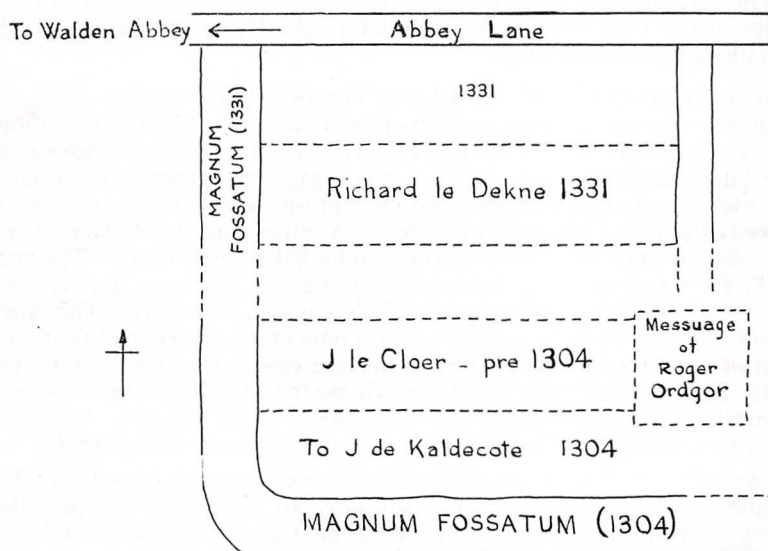


FIG. 8.—Reconstruction of the Battle Ditches area in the early 14th century from documentary sources.

Roberti de Aschendun." ("At Lotegoryshale between land belonging to Richard the Deacon . . . on one side and the lane leading from Walden towards the Abbey of Walden on the other side, of which one head abuts on the Great Ditch of the lord Earl of Hereford and the other on the little ditch of Robert of Ashdon"). This is the first clue to the ownership of the great ditch. The Earl of Hereford was at that time lord of the manor of Walden and references in the 14th and 15th centuries continue to refer to the Great Ditch as belonging to the lord of the manor, typically 'Fossatum domini' or 'fossa manerii de Walden'.

A map of the Battle Ditches area can be constructed from these early 14th century references (Fig. 8) and suggests that the 'magnum fossatum' refers both to the west and south arms of the earthwork as we see it today. The 'parvum fossatum' is puzzling. It would appear to have run in a north-south direction and was perhaps an ephemeral boundary ditch. There is no trace of it today.

It is conspicuous from the documentary evidence that the land within the Battle Ditches (the area called Lotegoryshale) remained largely agricultural land in the 14th century. Many land charters refer to arable land. However it does not seem to have been exclusively agricultural land. There are three references which suggest buildings in the area. One is the second charter of 1331 referred to above. In this a 'messuagium' or dwelling is referred to. This messuage seems to have belonged to the Ordgor family. There is a later reference to it as belonging to another Ordgor. There is also a 14th century reference to a 'curtilagium' or yard within the area. This scattered settlement does not seem to have been much extended in later times. 16th and 17th century references describe the area as pasture land and so it remained until the 19th century when it became part of the grounds of Hill House. The area, except for the fringe of mainly 18th century houses along the High Street was not built up until the Gibson estate was built in the 1930s.

Another interesting fact emerges from the documentary evidence. While there is plenty of documentary evidence for the existence of the Great Ditch on the west side of the High Street, documentary evidence for the supposed extension on the eastern side is conspicuous by its absence although there are many charters dealing with land to the east of the High Street. One would expect such a feature, if it existed, to be used in the identification of plots of land for legal purposes, as it was indeed used on the west side of the High Street.

In sum the documentary evidence shows the bank and ditch in existence in the first half of the 14th century much as they are today. They hint at a further ditch running north-south which has disappeared today. They give no suggestion of an extension east of the High Street and they suggest that in the early decades of the 14th century the area within the Battle Ditches was largely agricultural land with a little settlement here and there.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OTHER THAN FROM THE 1959 EXCAVATION

There has been no recent scientific excavation of the area but in 1876 an excavation was conducted within the angle of the Battle Ditches. (See Fig. 1). Here chance finds of skeletons had been made in the 1830s and the later excavation was made to investigate the cemetery so revealed. Some 150 skeletons were discovered, very few with grave goods, but one with some twenty-two Romano-British bracelets (one a well-established 4th century type). Another had a necklace of a type unique in England, of the late Saxon or early Norman period, and a Viking pin-head. (The necklace is figured and discussed in T. D. Kendrick 'Late Saxon Art' where the pendants are wrongly described as bronze. Recent restoration has shown them to be of silver with a gilt inlay). The excavators, after the fashion of their time, list their finds by groups with no indication of any stratification if it existed and the precise relation of the finds to the skeletons is in most cases unknown; nor are their finds always correctly identified. In the light of more recent knowledge they divide into two chronological groups—Romano-British metal objects and pottery and Late Saxon metal objects. Presumably in the Late Saxon period a cemetery was made which overlaid earlier Romano-British burials.

The investigators of the 1876 excavation also found large quantities of wattle and daub which they assigned to a prehistoric settlement which they supposed to have once occupied the site and large quantities of pottery which puzzled them. They describe it as of classical form but not of classical fabric, being soft and friable so that it could almost be cut with a knife. They felt it should be provisionally classified as "Romano-British" or "Anglo-Saxon".

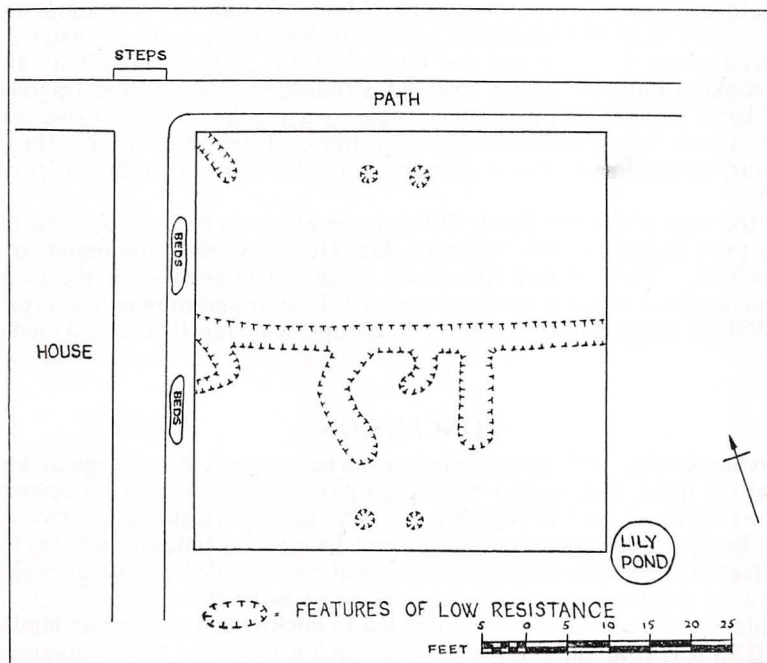


FIG. 9.—Plan to show the result of the electrical resistivity meter survey in the grounds of Junior House School, Saffron Walden.

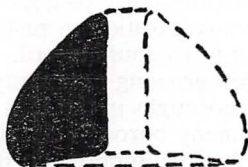


FIG. 10 Spindlewhorl. Scale 1/1.

Some of the pottery referred to has been identified in the Saffron Walden Museum where it arrived on the death of the last member of the Gibson family. (The Gibson family owned the land on which the 1876 excavation took place). Unhappily at the time of accession (1920s) by some oversight only some of it was accessioned and marked. It seems likely though that certain large boxes of pottery must have come from the 1876 excavation and that this is all but certainly so is confirmed by Mr. Guy Maynard, former curator of the Museum. Much of what was duly marked and accessioned is what we would now call Saxo-Norman wares and of the boxes of unmarked material most can be so described. Taken as a whole, both marked and unmarked this body of Saxo-Norman wares includes small Late Saxon cooking pots, St. Neots bowls in astonishing quantity and fragments of Thetford storage jars. The large amount of this pottery suggests a regular and extensive occupation of the Battle Ditches area in Late Saxon and early Norman times. It seems likely that the wattle and daub which the 19th century excavators found in such quantity also belongs to the settlement of the Saxo-Norman period.

When in 1935 the area within the Battle Ditches was about to be built up with the houses of the Gibson Estate, the then Curator of the Museum, Mr. Hubert Collar, attempted to arrange further investigation of the area. This attempt foundered on the unwillingness of the owner of the land. All that was salvaged at this time were unstratified sherds from foundation and sewage trenches. They are in the Saffron Walden Museum and fall into two groups, Romano-British and mediaeval (up to the 13th century).

CONCLUSIONS

In sum the archaeological and documentary evidence suggest a rectangular earthwork in the south-west sector of the town, in existence probably by the middle of the 13th century, with possibly a counterpart on the eastern side of the High Street. This earthwork appears to have enclosed a fairly large acreage which had been occupied intensively from Late Saxon times to perhaps the middle of the 12th century. Thereafter it seems probable that occupation dwindled almost to nothing by the mid-13th century. It was at this point that the earthwork was constructed.

It seems possible that the earthwork was intended to enclose virtually waste land as an extension to the township. If so it is contemporary with other such activities in towns up and down England. The movement seems to have taken two forms. In rich towns like Norwich and Oxford we see earlier earthen banks being replaced by stone walls (E. M. Jope, *Transactions of the Norfolk Archaeological Society*, 1948, and E. M. Jope, *Oxoniensia*, 1951). Other towns seem to have enclosed themselves now for the first time, or enclosed extensions to their townships. At Southampton, for instance, the early 13th century saw King John granting the citizens money "Towards the cloasing in of their town". The enclosure was called the 'Town Ditch' until the middle of the 13th century when the citizens embarked on wall building (B. H. St. J. O'Neill *Aspects of Archaeology: Studies presented to O. G. S. Crawford*). Town extensions are known from the mid-13th century at Bristol. Nottingham began as a Saxon burgh enclosed by earthen rampart and ditch. By the 13th century the town had grown to three times its earlier size and had built itself stone walls.

It is clear that these town planning activities reflected a growing prosperity. The modest scale of Saffron Walden's activity reflects its economic position in relation to other towns—an earthen bank and ditch were perhaps the most the small town could afford. Extensions were intended to provide building land for those whom it was hoped growing prosperity would attract to the towns. It was trading prosperity which enabled so many boroughs in the 13th century to begin to buy their freedom from irksome seigneurial dues, hence the many borough charters which date from the 13th century. Saffron Walden's first charter was granted by Humphrey de Bohun in 1234. No doubt in its turn increasing borough freedom encouraged town-planning ventures. They were not always successful. Some towns saw their extensions fully taken up. But Lydford, Wareham and Winchelsea still show town extensions which remain unoccupied to this day. Saffron Walden's extension too seems to have been a venture which came to little.

It is perhaps not fanciful to see Saffron Walden as a thriving community acquiring its first charter in the middle of the 13th century and planning extensions for building land, extensions which in the western part of the town at least were but meagrely taken up. A glance at the town plan (Fig. 1) shows

a markedly regular and symmetrical town centre which in its turn encourages the supposition that Saffron Walden was aware of the need for town planning.

It remains to explain why an area which was heavily settled in Late Saxo-Norman times should have become so derelict by the mid-13th century. The suggestion is put forward here that the building of the Norman castle on the ridge to the north attracted settlement northward leaving the earlier settlement site to gradual decay.

APPENDIX

THE SUPPOSED EASTERN EXTENSION OF THE EARTHWORK

There is some evidence that the earthwork may have at one time been more extensive than it is today.

The earliest map of the town, 1758, shows at point A in Fig. 1 a narrow pond which may have marked an extension of the ditch.

At point B Mr. Guy Maynard observed during work on the foundations of the Walden Cinema in 1911 traces of a ditch-filling, and what was at the time interpreted as a flat bottom to the ditch. Further consideration of notes and drawings made at the time suggests that in fact the bottom of the ditch was not revealed in these trenches. (Unpublished notes in Saffron Walden Museum and notes made from memory in the summer of 1959).

It has been suggested that a bank in the garden of what is now Junior House School (point C in Fig. 1) may represent part of an early rampart, but it is noticeable that the line of this bank is not a projection of the existing south arm but is deflected slightly north-eastward. The wall on the west side of Junior House School has often had to be buttressed at a point roughly in line with the existing south arm ditch suggesting that there may be some disturbance beneath the wall and a distinct hollow can be seen in the garden of the neighbouring house to the west on the same line.

During the summer of 1959 an electrical resistivity meter survey was made of part of the lawn of Junior House School (point C) under the direction of Dr. John Alexander, with a new design of machine which was being tested by the Ministry of Works. The following is an extract from the Ministry of Works report: 'The results of the survey show that . . . the ditched feature exists but that it is of a shallow nature and it might be that a great deal of the ditch has been removed during levelling operations to form the lawn'. (Fig. 9).

At point D in Fig. 1 and in the line D E sewage works were watched in 1911 by Mr. Guy Maynard who observed a ditch-filling similar to that he had seen at B. (Unpublished notes in Saffron Walden Museum and notes from memory in 1959).

At F the Royal Commission (1916) records that uncertain traces of a ditch were found some years before that date in the disused Baptist Chapel burial ground. The excavators were able to find no trace today.

Between points F and H property boundaries show a fairly steep drop which has suggested to some (Royal Commission, 1916) the line of a northern rampart or ditch.

Lord Braybrooke (*History of Audley End and Saffron Walden*, 1834) states that the west arm formerly extended further northwards on the north side of the present Abbey Lane.

Observations at the points H and H¹ during sewerage excavations early in this century revealed no trace of ditch. At the point when a high antiquity was suggested for the Battle Ditches this was interpreted as an indication that the present High Street runs on the line of an Iron Age trackway through the enclosures whose entrances happened to be at H and H¹. A more obvious and in fact correct interpretation would be that the earthwork respected the already existing High Street of the Middle Ages. And we know that royal proclamations were read at the top of the high Street, no doubt at what was once the south gate of the town.

The line of Gold Street is suggestive. Its abrupt westward turn to join the High Street could be explained as a need to avoid an earthwork running from H¹ to D.

In sum the exiguous surface and excavation evidence suggests that there is some possibility of an extension on the east side of the High Street. Of this extension the southern and eastern arms are better attested than the northern arm. Against the rather slight observed evidence must be set the fact that documents reveal no trace of such an eastern extension.

The Society acknowledges, with grateful thanks, a generous contribution from the Council for British Archaeology towards the cost of this Report.



PLATE I.—The Battle Ditches, Saffron Walden. The ditch and bank.

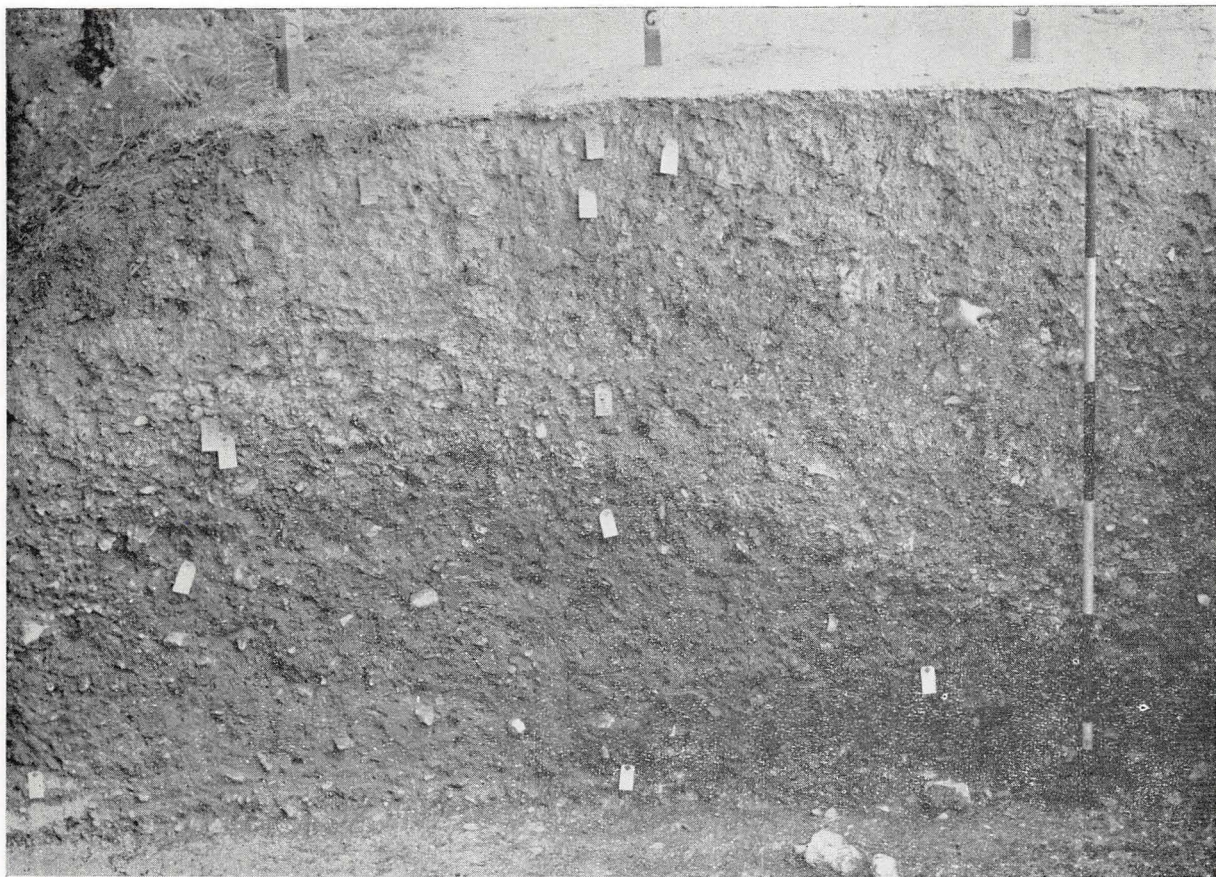


PLATE II.— The Battle Ditches, Saffron Walden. Section through bank.

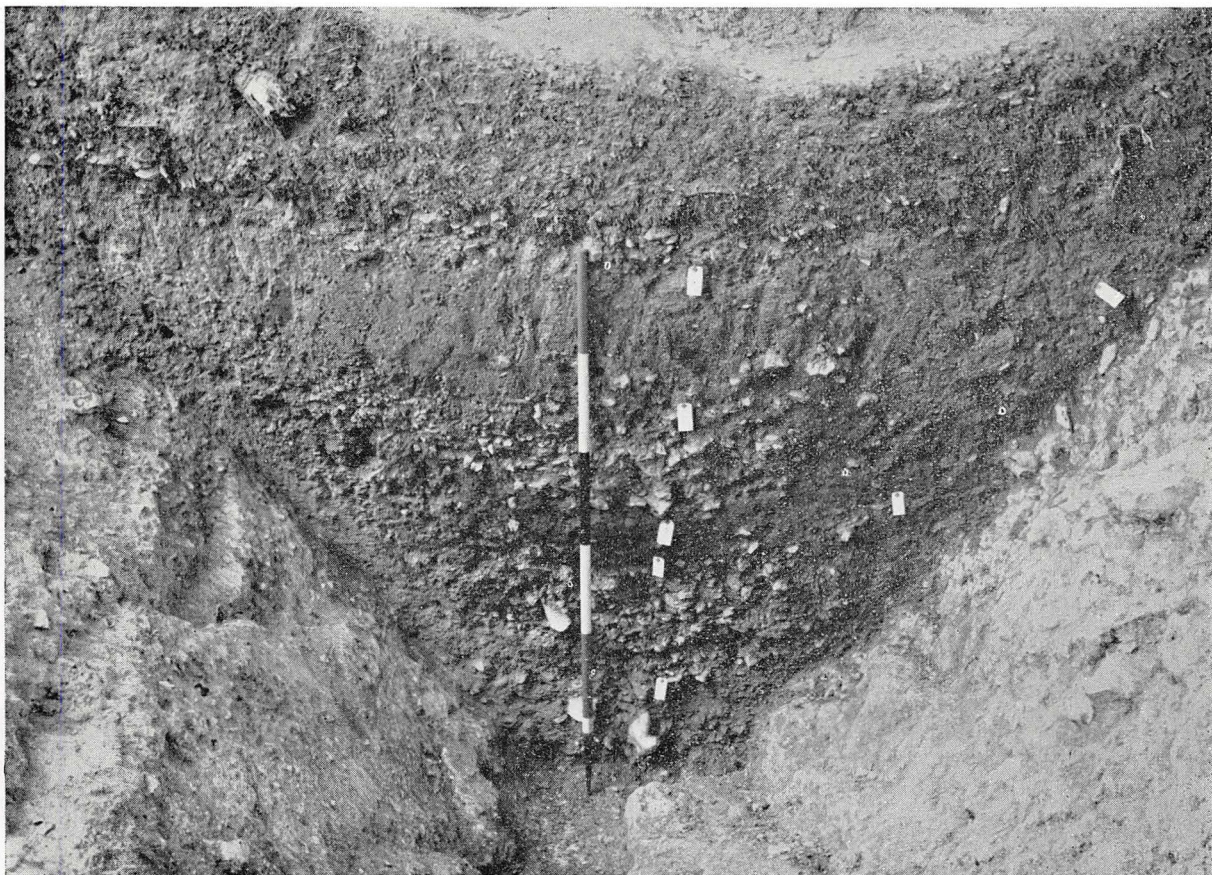


PLATE III.—The Battle Ditches, Saffron Walden. Section through ditch.

ROBERT, SECOND EARL OF WARWICK AND THE PAYMENT OF SHIP-MONEY IN ESSEX

By Miss V. A. Rowe.

In view of the fact that Essex is usually regarded as one of the most Puritan of counties in the reign of Charles I, one would perhaps expect to find it high on the list of those counties which were most recalcitrant in their hostility to Ship-money. Miss Gordon, however, in her article on ship-money¹, did not include Essex in her list of the most obstinate counties. If the record of Essex over the whole six years 1634-1640 be taken into account her conclusion is justified. But it is clear that at first Essex was not only one of the most recalcitrant counties, but, with the exception of Somerset, the most obstinate of all, and Essex received very special treatment by the Privy Council. The reason for the county's greater compliance in the later 1630s merits examination.

The writ for the first levy of ship-money in 1634 went out with the Privy Council's letters. Two Essex towns, Maldon and Colchester, gave the Council great trouble by the difficulties they made in assessing themselves,² but the first Essex men to be summoned before the Board for their resistance to the rate were John Reynor, the bailiff of Rochford Hundred, and Richard Pulley, of Barstable Hundred.³ Rochford was one of the Hundreds which had passed into private control, and the Earl of Warwick appointed the bailiff.⁴ Reynor lived at Rochford,⁵ where the earl had a house. Pulley was Warwick's deputy vice-admiral of Essex;⁶ in the minutes of the Committee of Navy and Customs for 1643 he is described as "an officer of the Earl of Warwick", and he made representations on the earl's behalf.⁷ His name is to be found in the earl's family deeds.⁸ His home at Leigh⁹ was only a few miles from Warwick's house at Rochford.

In November, 1635 the sheriff of Essex told Nicholas that "some constables have agreed to assesse, some have given him noe answere, and some say they cannot".¹⁰ He was asked to send particulars of what he had done, and from his account it is clear that nine out of the nineteen hundreds in the county had not even yet assessed themselves.¹¹ He complained that some officials refused to produce their books and rates for other services, and he was thereupon ordered to send such resisters—churchwardens, overseers of the poor, surveyors of highways, etc.—to the Council.¹² Several complaints about assessments and collectors, in Essex as in other counties, found their way to the Council in the next few months, but the only two entries in the Privy Council Register for 20 June 1636 show that the Council were facing special difficulties in Essex. "This day", so runs the first entry in the Register, "their Lordships taking into consideration the many Inconveniencies that happen to his Majestie's Services, by reason that divers hundreds, Liberties and Baylywicks are graunted away out of the Crowne to private Persons, Whereby the sherrifs of the counties have not that assistance and obedience given to them by the bailiffs of such hundreds for execucion of his majesty's writs, as is requisite and necessary, it was therefore ordered that Mr. Attorney Generall shalbee prayed and required, not onely to take care that noe such graunts bee hence forth past away out of the Crowne, but also to bring Quo Warrantos against such Lords of Hundreds and Liberties to whome any such Bayliffwicks have been past since 12 Jacobi, whereby the same maie bee brought againe to the Crowne".

1. M. D. Gordon 'Collection of Ship-money in the reign of Charles I', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.*, 3rd series, Vol. IV, pp. 141-162.
2. Their resistance is typical of the opposition which the Council met. The towns did not assess themselves within the time allowed, so that the sheriff had to rate them. They then complained that his assessment was too high. The Council, to relieve them, ordered other sea-coast towns to be assessed as well, but after investigation by the two Chief Justices and the Attorney General, found that Maldon and Colchester had been in the wrong and the sheriff in the right, and revoked the Council order. Privy Council Register (henceforward P.C.(2), 44, pp. 327, 15 Jan. 1635, and 457, 6 Mar. 1635.
3. *ib.* pp. 509, 515, 10 April 1635.
4. Morant, *Essex*, 1, 268.
5. P.R.O. State Papers Domestic (henceforward S.P.16) Vol. 358, f. 26.
6. *CSPD* 1635, p. 63.
7. Bodleian, Rawl. A. 221, f. 62. 23 May 1643.
8. B. M. Harl. 3959 f.8.
9. S.P. 16/358. He was assessed for 18s. Ship-money in Leigh.
10. S.P. 16/301/90. 15 Nov. 1635.
11. *CSPD* 1635, p. 481. 15 Nov. 1635. S.P. 16/304/81. 20 Dec. 1635.
12. P.C. (2) 45, p. 305.

That the Council had Essex in mind when they made the order is clear from the second entry. "Whereas wee understand that there are divers Bayliffs of Liberties in the County of Essex (where the Bayliffs are graunted away out of the Crowne) that refuse or neglect to execute the warrants of the sheriff . . . if any bailiffs shall refuse . . . you [the sheriff] are to binde him or them to appeare before this Boord to answer such contempt before us, or if they refuse to bee bound then to commit them to prison untill they shall conforme themselves".¹³ To previous indications that Warwick was aimed at should be added the fact that another of the earl's nominees, the constable of Harlow Half-Hundred, had been summoned before the Council early in May, imprisoned in the Fleet, and released only when the sum due from his district had been paid.¹⁴

The Attorney-General put the machinery of the law in motion, but it was slow, and not until August, 1639 did he report that "hee had lately obtained severall Iudgements upon writts of Quo Warranto by him brought according to former order and direction of this Board against divers Grants of Bailiffwicks". He was ordered to take out execution upon all such judgements.¹⁵ Meanwhile the resistance in Essex was continuing. In July 1636 the sheriff wrote, "there is no penny paid that is not forced amongst the people".¹⁶ In August the Council, though approving the sheriff's former "care and diligence" still had to admit that the arrears in Essex were "much exceeding any other whatsoever".¹⁷ On 17 November the sheriff wrote to the Council informing them that he had appointed some men of his own to collect the levy, so backward had the regular officials been. He had found at Quarter Sessions that many of the collectors had not so much as demanded the money. He enclosed a list of those persons of quality who had not paid their Ship-money, or whom the collectors had been forced to distrain upon to obtain payment; the list included the Earl of Warwick himself and his friends Sir Thomas Barrington and Sir William Masham.¹⁸ The Council dealt with the sheriff's letter early in December; they requested him to send a "particular schedule" specifying the names of all Lords Lieutenant (a significant reference, since Warwick held this office), Deputy Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace who had not paid.¹⁹ The Council obviously intended that the sheriff should inform the refusers that he had been given this order, and that it would be interpreted as a threat that they would lose their local offices, a very serious threat indeed to the local gentry.²⁰

A letter from the sheriff to the Council later in the same month, November, 1636, illustrates the part played by the Earl of Warwick's friends in the resistance to Ship-money. In Sir Thomas Barrington's parish of Hatfield Broad Oak there were two men responsible for the collection of Ship-money. One of them had paid in nothing. The other had paid in the whole sum due from the parish, but could obtain neither help nor money from his fellow-collector.²¹ Sir Humphrey Mildmay, the sheriff, wrote that "yf this man's case may be hearde it wilbe a good course for the Lords of the privy Council to mate [meet] with such in that Hundred as are in the heights of reffrectorynes against this servis of his Majesty, and yf I may be called therein to give my information, I shall finde more then are in this place".²² Mildmay's dark hints are almost certainly directed against Sir Thomas Barrington; John Scott, the refractory collector, was one of Sir Thomas's own tenants.²³ The Council summoned Scott before it,²⁴ but in the following month Mildmay was again writing, this time to Sir Dudley Carleton, one of the Council's Clerks, that the constables in Essex were "kept on" by such as the sheriff hoped the Council knew "right well", and "what their good wills are to this service".²⁵

13. P.C. (2) 46, p. 269. There is a slightly shortened version in *CSPD* 1636-7, p. 1. Warwick had obtained the Hundred of Rochford from the Earl of Hunsdon in 18 Jac. Harl. 3959, f. 21.

14. *CSPD* 1635-6, p. 403. 2 May 1636. Morant, *Essex*, 11, 482.

15. P.C.(2) 45, p. 330. 19 Aug. 1636.

16. *CSPD* 1636-7, p. 57. 9 July 1636.

17. See note 15 above.

18. *CSPD* 1636-7, p. 197. 17 Nov. 1636.

19. P.C. (2) 47, p. 19. 4 Dec. 1636.

20. When the Earl of Sussex had to share the Lord-Lieutenancy of Essex with the Earl of Warwick in 1626 he called it 'a wound to trench deeper on my honour than ever yett happened to myselfe or any of my house'. S.P. 16/9/62.

21. P.C. (2) 47, p. 18. Hatfield Broad Oak was a large parish, and had been divided for administrative purposes into two. It was rated at £7 1s. 3d.

22. S.P. 16/336/69. 29 Nov. 1636.

23. P.R.O. Inquisitions Post Mortem, Sir Francis Barrington. C 142/450/72.

24. P.C. (2) 47, pp. 18-19.

25. *CSPD* 1636-7, p. 229. 26. *ib.* 231. 27. *ib.* 381.

A day or two later the sheriff had heard that Warwick had told the king he had been wrongly reported to be refusing the ship-tax. Warwick also claimed that a law-case concerning Rochford and Eastwood was pending (presumably Warwick was asserting that therefore he was not responsible for payment on account of his property there). Mildmay's answer was conclusive—he had sent Carleton two of the collectors' returns, he had a third for Hadleigh, and a fourth for Fyfield, and the earl had paid none of the sums demanded, within the required twenty days. As for Rochford and Eastwood, it was a matter of tithes that was being decided in the law-courts, and nothing to do with Ship-money. Mildmay added that he had incurred the earl of Warwick's displeasure for certifying what he would be ready to prove.²⁶ Probably Mildmay had been reluctant to name Warwick and the other gentry who were refusing to pay—he had not taken this course until near the end of his term of office, when he may have been driven to do so. And though he was no longer sheriff after November 1636, he had not finished with his burdensome duties. He was ordered in January 1637 to get warrants from the new sheriff to levy the arrears from Mildmay's term of office.²⁷ These arrears, according to the Council secretary, were still "far greater than that of any other county". This was also true in October 1637.²⁸

In the meanwhile Warwick, faced with the knowledge that he was about to lose much of his power of appointment in the county, and knowing that his name had been given to the king as an opponent of Ship-money, dared to justify to the king himself the refusal to pay, and incidentally to admit his influence over the refusers. According to the Venetian ambassador Warwick "made no bones of telling the king frankly that his [Warwick's] tenants or farmers were all old and accustomed to the mild rule of Queen Elizabeth and King James, and could not bring themselves to consent to such notable prejudices as Ship-money. They would consider their fault too grave if they died under the stigma of having at the end of their lives signed away the liberties of the realm". There was "no consideration that he did not advance to induce the king to call a parliament". The king appears to have remained smiling but firm; he said nothing in reply except that "he expected from the example of promptness shown by him [Warwick] that he should be obeyed by the others also".²⁹ Evidently Charles was under no illusions about Warwick's influence over the opponents of Ship-money in Essex. The Venetian ambassador in this same dispatch stated that the leading men of the realm were holding secret meetings for the purpose of "bringing the forms of government back to their former state". It is interesting that on 18 January, two days later, the Earl of Warwick, Viscounts Say and Mandeville, Lord Brooke and Warwick's secretary William Jessop, with one or two of Warwick's Essex friends, are known to have been in London transacting legal business together; they were arranging a marriage settlement for Warwick's third son, Charles Rich.³⁰

In February 1637, legal action on a large scale was taken against the Essex defaulters. Mildmay was served with an Exchequer writ to certify the names of about 60 of the refusers. Rossingham, who kept country correspondents supplied with news from London, wrote that he heard from some of those concerned that they had no disposition to plead against the king, nor yet had they resolved to pay. He had heard that some of them hoped that the king would be persuaded to "let fall the Ship-money, then to call a parliament". Rossingham later reported that only one defendant had appeared in court, the stout old puritan Sir Richard Saltonstall. He was made to deposit the larger of two sums which two different sheriffs had demanded from him; judgment was given against the 59 others on default.³¹ Essex was the only county which was dealt with in such a way, and in which so many of those who refused Ship-money were summoned. But the Council's policy was effective; in Essex the opposition to Ship-money declined henceforward.

Warwick, however, had not yet given up the struggle. In April he appeared as leader of a deputation before the Privy Council. He informed the king of the "reasons of the backwardness of many of the gentry and others the inhabitants of the said county towards his majestie's shipping". The grounds

26. *ib.* 231.

27. *ib.* 381.

28. S.P. 16/370/73.

29. *CSP Venetian* 1636-1639, p. 124-5. 16 Jan. 1637.

30. Harl. 3959 f.31.

31. Birch, *Court and Times of Charles I*, I, 275, II, 282-3.

for opposition were not now those the he had given the king earlier; they were instead the want of "equality and indifferency" [i.e. fairness] in the assessments. The deputation preferred the rates and assessments of the previous sheriff, Mildmay, to those of the new sheriff, John Lucas.³² The king ordered both rates to be written out and compared, and Lucas's account of his rates is among the State Papers.³³ It is a valuable source to any student of the history of Essex in the seventeenth century, for it contains the rate assessed upon nearly every inhabitant of the county. Warwick and his companions in the deputation now professed a "willing readinesse" to pay according to Mildmay's assessments.³⁴ Certainly in May 1637 all of Essex, except for two parishes, had been assessed, which, so the king observed, had never happened before,³⁵ and at the end of October 1637 the arrears due from Essex for the current year were only £400, far less than from many other counties. Wiltshire for instance owed nearly £3,000, and Northamptonshire little less.³⁶

Nevertheless, in districts where the Earl of Warwick's power was particularly strong the collectors still found difficulties. In January 1638 for instance the constables of Harlow Half-Hundred, who were still Warwick's nominees, were summoned before the Council, as was the constable of Ongar Hundred, who was also appointed by the earl.³⁷ The constables of Fyfield township, where Warwick was lord of the manor, were imprisoned;³⁸ one of them admitted, when examined by the Attorney General, that his answer to the sheriff's warrant requiring an answer to be made, was based on that returned by the village of Hatfield Broad Oak, a butcher having brought the Hatfield answer to Fyfield!³⁹ Hornchurch, another village where Warwick was lord of the manor, made so many difficulties about its assessment that the Council grew impatient and declared that if the villagers troubled the Council any more they would be committed to the Fleet prison.⁴⁰ Among those who complained at Hornchurch was John Slaney, a wealthy London merchant, who was treasurer of the company of Planters of Newfoundland, and prominent in the early history of the colony.⁴¹ He had been a party to several of Warwick's land transactions in the 1620s.⁴²

Although in August 1638 a large number of Essex men—over 50—were summoned before the Privy Council on account of their attitude to Ship-money,⁴³ this does not indicate that the county had a particularly large number of refusers. In January 1638 the arrears for the previous year in Essex were £1,940, out of a total sum due of £8,000; this may seem a high proportion of arrears, but, compared with other counties, it was not. In Northamptonshire at the same time £5,640 out of £6,000 due was unpaid, and in Buckinghamshire £3,800 out of £4,500.⁴⁴ Essex was by now one of the most forward counties, and the 50 defaulters were summoned because the Council would tolerate no back-sliding whatever from that county.

It seems clear that the earl of Warwick was looked on as leader of the resistance to ship-money in Essex, and that it was in those parts of the county where his influence or that of his friends was strong that the collectors encountered most resistance. But the months of January to April 1637 mark a turning-point in the history of resistance in Essex; before then the most backward of all the counties in its payments, afterwards it was one of the most amenable. The threat of deprivation of office, the failure of Warwick's bold appeal to the king, the arraignment of the resisters in the Exchequer court, evidently succeeded in their object, and the Privy Council had won.

32. P.C. (2) 47. p. 330. 23 April 1637.

33. S.P. 16/358

34. See note 32.

35. *CSPD* 1637, p. 132.

36. S.P. 16/370/74.

37. *CSPD* 1637-8, p. 172. P.C. (2) 48, p. 534. Morant, *Essex*, 1, 125.

38. P.C. (2) 48, p. 534. *CSPD* 1637-8, p. 207.

39. *ib.*

40. *ib.* 463, 470. P.C. (2) 49, p. 266.

41. W. J. Harvey, *Principal Inhabitants of London*, 1640, p. 3.

D. W. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, pp. 86-100. There is much other information about Slaney. He owned a ship jointly with Humphrey Slaney (*CSPD* 1628-1629, pp. 286, 287, 291), who was assessed to the 1626 Forced Loan in Hornchurch, but 'dwelleth in London'. S.P. 16/52/64.

42. Harl. 3959 ff. 23, 35.

43. P.C. (2) 49, p. 389.

44. See Note 1.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

JOHN HUNTON. QUAKER

EXECUTED IN 1828 FOR FORGERY.

Kennedy's "History of Leyton" (page 332) referring to the old house known as Lea Hall in Capworth Street, mentions it being at one time, owned by a man "convicted and hung for forgery". I had often puzzled about the identity of this man and after a good deal of searching among the Rate Books felt his name was Joseph Hunton. Then in Vol. XLIV, p. 57 of the *Essex Review* appeared a letter from a Henry Bateson with an address the other end of the world: Care of G.P.O. Box 1880 W, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia, mentioning a "John (sic) Hunton, a Quaker, was executed in 1828 for forgery. At the time he was reported to be worth £30,000 and maintained a large establishment at Leytonstone (sic) where he was regarded as a worthy but eccentric person".

Much later, on going through the Manor Rolls of Leyton Grange, I found the following entry for the Court held 7 May 1829: "Joseph Hunton being convicted of felony and executed—his copyhold lands held of his Manor to be escheated according to the custom of the Manor". A later entry for the court held 29 June, 1831 said: "The Manor Bailiff (Richard James) reported the seizure of Joseph Hunton's estate and this was then assigned to Mr. William T. Robinson."

Who was this Joseph Hunton who had been at Lea Hall since 1821? He started his business life as a "Slop dealer" on a large scale at Bury St. Edmunds. This word meant a dealer in cheap, readymade garments. Later he went to London where he became a sugar baker, in which business he prospered. He was by religion a Quaker, and gained a high respect in London for his probity. He married a lady of his own religious persuasion who had a considerable fortune. Putting her money with his own he decided to go into the well known financial firm of Dickson & Co. Speculations on the Stock Exchange involved him in serious heavy losses, in consequence of which he seems to have put out a number of forged Bills of Exchange or Acceptances, one of which signed "Wilkins of Abingdon" was soon discovered to be forged. In order to escape arrest he endeavoured to escape to America but was stopped at Plymouth just as he was about to board the New York packet. When arrested he had discarded his sombre Quaker dress, and he was wearing a light green frock coat, a pair of light grey pantaloons and a foraging cap. Brought up for trial at the Old Bailey in 1828, his case aroused considerable public interest in view of his reputation for commercial integrity. In defence he pleaded that all the bills would have met when they matured and that he had no real intention to defraud. Being found guilty he was, as the law at that time stood, sentenced to death by hanging. Accepting his fate with the utmost resignation, he nevertheless made a short speech deploring the inhumanity of the law. While awaiting execution at Newgate Prison he is said to have declared: "I wish after this day to have communion with nobody—let me take leave of my wife, my family and my friends. I have already suffered my own execution for my heart has undergone that terrible penalty".

He was, however, visited by his wife and several of his Quaker friends. Two Elders of the Meeting sat up with him the whole of the night previous to his hanging and a third Elder, Mr. Sparks Moline¹, was with him at the gallows where he met his fate with unshaken firmness, only requesting that a blue handkerchief should be used to bandage his eyes at the last.

The carrying out of this sentence seems to have caused considerable concern to many people who were at this time proposing more humanity in sentences and in response to their agitation Acts were passed in 1830 and 1833 mitigating to some degree the severity of the law. Finally in 1837 Parliament decided to abolish the death sentence for forgery, substituting for this a long term of imprisonment.

F. TEMPLE.

1. 1805. He is mentioned in connection with the Great House and Walnut Tree House in the Grange Manor Rolls.
1810. He is rated for land in Walthamstow Slip.
1802. In a London Directory he is described as a merchant with an address at Leadenhall Street, London.

RICHARD HUTCHINSON CHOCOLATE POT

On 29th November, 1961 a George I chocolate pot, made by Richard Hutchinson of Colchester in 1719 came under the hammer at Christie's famous sale rooms. It was sold for £900 and acquired by the Colchester Corporation and has been added to the collection of Town Plate which already includes two other pieces made by this Colchester silversmith, namely a punch ladle presented by the late Mr. Eric Calvert and a fine tankard dated 1690. The only other piece of secular plate recorded as having been made by Hutchinson is a cup dated 1679 which was purchased in 1902 by the late Claude Egerton Green then residing at East Hill House.

Pieces of Church Plate with the Hutchinson stamp include a cup and paten 1714 (used in All Saints Church, Colchester and now in the Castle Museum) and others at St. Andrew's, Greenstead, St. Leonard's, Colchester, Kirby-le-Soken, West Hanningfield and Pattiswick.

The Hutchinson family carried on business in the parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Runwald.

A Richard Hutchinson silversmith married one Barbara Lufkin of Ardleigh in 1674. Their son was named Richard and he in turn had a son known by the same Christian name. Two of them appear in the Burial Register of St. Nicholas.

The collection of Plate owned by the ancient borough of Colchester is, alas, somewhat meagre, largely due to the fact that according to an entry in the Assembly Books in 1730 "Ye Town Mace was enlarged not exceeding what ye old plate in ye Mayor's hands will raise reserving ye great gilt cup".

The £900 purchase price was not all paid by the Corporation of Colchester; £200 was subscribed by the National Arts Collection Fund and the Friends of the Colchester Museums, together with a number of individuals, matched the Council's net costs.

LEONARD E. DANSIE.

NOTES ON THE ROMANO-BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHELMSFORD AND DISTRICT

Since 1956, field work, involving a number of minor excavations has taken place in the Moulsham area and elsewhere in the vicinity of Chelmsford.

MOULSHAM (52/709062). The excavations here have been of an exploratory nature, aimed at determining the extent of the Roman settlement partially revealed by Chancellor in 1849 and later excavated by the Roman Essex Society.

Small 'sounding' trenches in the gardens of 66, 68 and 70 Mildmay Road revealed no structural remains, although Roman debris was encountered overlying the natural brickearth. This debris layer varied considerably in thickness and composition but was generally found to be more concentrated nearer the site of the bath-block, suggesting that this was the only substantial building in the vicinity. A subsidiary aim of these excavations was the identification of the site of Chancellor's excavations. This objective was not realised, but fragments of marble and roller-pattern flue-tile of a similar type to those found in 1849 were recovered in the garden of 70, Mildmay Road. If any domestic apartments adjoined the baths, their remains probably lie beneath the southern part of the local slaughterhouse. In support of this notion it may be noted that "bricks and concrete" were found when the A.R.P. dug a trench in the garden of 62 Mildmay Road in 1943. Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to re-examine this area.

A drain leading from the cold bath was found in the garden of 50 Mildmay Road in 1957. This drain was constructed with 'tegula' tiles laid horizontally between bounding walls of roughly-squared septaria. It was filled to a depth of one foot with debris including building material, pottery, tesserae, fragments of lead, bronze and bone pins, iron nails, glass and a number of coins. The coins date mainly from the second half of the third century and include six of Carausius and Allectus. This evidence seems to indicate that the drain went out of use at the end of the third century.

A flat-bottomed ditch was discovered in the garden of 37 Roman Road in 1957 and re-examined in 1960. The ditch was 4-ft. 6-in. wide at the bottom, the rapid silt containing several fragments of plaster and building debris. Above this was a destruction layer 2 feet in thickness, containing burnt material and pottery dating to the early stages of the Roman occupation. The sherds exhibited strong native influences and may connect this layer with the Boudiccan revolt of A.D. 61. Above this burnt layer was a layer containing scattered building material, in turn succeeded by 2 feet of modern accum-

ulation. The ditch itself may well have formed part of the western defences of the Claudian settlement of Caesaromagus, while its contents imply at least two phases of building on the site.

LITTLE WALTHAM (52/707119). In 1956, the footings of a clay wall were discovered in the garden of "The Limes" on the east side of the Chelmsford-Little Waltham main road. The wall was 18-in. wide and extended for at least 20 feet, having an extensive rubbish layer piled against its northern side. The rubbish contained many broken sherds of coarse Romano-British ware and a few fragments of Samian, the majority of the sherds dating to the second century. In the absence of any further evidence it is difficult to determine the precise nature and function of the site.

(52/704123). Scattered pottery and building material have been found in a field some 200 yards north of the above site.

STAGDEN CROSS (52/634148). Coarse grey Romano-British ware has been found in the field to the north of the council houses.

PLESHEYBURY (52/651143). A scatter of fragmentary building material and pottery has been noted here but a 'sounding' trench revealed nothing. Deep-ploughing now makes the survival of any structural remains unlikely.

MILL GREEN (52/646017). Pottery and building material have been found in this vicinity from time to time.

E. E. BARRITT and B. M. KETTLE.

A RECENT ROMAN FIND AT RAINHAM

The following pottery has been found in the Besecarr Gravel Pit around Grid Ref. TQ/550843:—

- (1) Remains of pottery—small pieces.

At the same time part of the rim of a pot and spout belonging to the 13th century has turned up—found 1959.

- (2) Part of a Romano-British bowl found 4-ft. below the surface—1959.

- (3) A number of clay pieces and sherds found 4-ft. below the surface and several brick-like pieces made of clay. Two opinions have been passed on the age of these—the British Museum said that they may be Belgic. Another opinion thought they were Roman loom-weights and pottery sherds—found 1960.

These fragments are in the possession of Mr. F. Lewis, St. Giles, Berwick Road, Rainham, Essex.

J. G. O'LEARY.

FANSHAWE MANUSCRIPTS

The entire collection of Fanshawe manuscripts, including the "Heathcote" MS. (Calendar Royal Comm. on Hist. MS. 1899) have now been presented by Capt. A. Fanshawe, R.N., to the Dagenham Public Libraries and are preserved at Valence House, Dagenham. This large collection is of very great interest, and of particular value are the letters of Sir Richard Fanshawe, Ambassador at Madrid and Lisbon for Charles II (See "*Memoirs of Lady Anne Fanshawe*", 1907, and H. G. Fanshawe "*The Fanshawe Family*", 1927). Sir Thomas Fanshawe was Remembrancer of the Exchequer, 1518-1601. The original MS. of his book, written in 1572 (but not published until 1658) forms a bound volume, containing other MS. in a different hand. "Exchequer of Receipt 1737-1722" and "Exchequer Receipts 1641-1693" comprise two large volumes. A most interesting binding described by Sotheby as "14th Century" (a mistake for 15th in my opinion), is lined with early printed music—the tone, etc. for Palm Sunday from an *Antiphonarium*. It is a Common Place Book. A summary catalogue of the Fanshawe MS. will be issued sometime in the future.

J. G. O'LEARY.

THREE NEW ESSEX MUSEUMS

The Cottage Museum at Great Bardfield, which was opened in 1961 and visited by the Society, continues to attract much interest locally, and many visitors from further afield.

Local interest and enthusiasm is sustained by additions to the exhibits, by lectures and craft classes, and the neatly thatched and excellently restored cottage which houses the museum is in itself a worthy exhibit.

Braintree antiquities, formerly shown in a room of the Town Hall, or passed to the Colchester and Essex Museum, have been set up in the Institute, Bocking End, and for the first time, the collection which contains some notable local antiquities, will be adequately displayed. Mr. M. R. Hull, curator of the Colchester and Essex Museum, assisted by Mr. Bryan Blake, arranged the exhibits and the museum was officially opened during the summer of 1962.

Canvey Island Urban District Council is also to be congratulated for its foresight and public spiritedness in restoring one of the old Dutch houses on the island and furnishing it as a museum.

The cottage was given to the Council by the Trustees of the A. M. Clark Estate and a sum of approximately £800 has been spent on renovations and repairs.

The administration of the museum and the setting up of the exhibits has been undertaken by the Benfleet and District Historical Society, and the Council will contribute the sum of £100 annually towards the cost.

The official opening ceremony of the museum was performed on Saturday, 2nd June, 1962 by an official of the Dutch Embassy in London.

L.H.G.

"ENGLISH MERCHANTS' MARKS, a field survey of marks made by Merchants and Tradesmen in England between 1400 and 1700" by F. A. Girling, F.S.A.

This book has lately been published in a private edition of 400 copies by the Lion and Unicorn Press at the Royal College of Art, South Kensington. With its scholarly text lavishly illustrated with diagrams and Mr. Girling's own excellent photographs of marks on brasses, beams, corbels, glass-windows etc., it is much to be hoped that an edition will soon be available for the general public, as often is the case with the productions of this press.

J. B-B.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

as at 30th June, 1962.

PATRON:

COL. SIR JOHN RUGGLES-BRISE, BART., C.B., O.B.E., T.D., J.P.
Her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant of Essex.

PRESIDENT:

MAJOR J. G. S. BRINSON, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

The Rt. Revd. The Lord Bishop of Chelmsford, John G. Tiarks, M.A.
The Rt. Revd. The Lord Bishop of Colchester, F. D. V. Narborough, M.A., B.D.
The Revd. T. D. S. Bayley, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.G.
The Rt. Hon. Lord Braybrooke
D. A. J. Buxton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
J. J. Tufnell, Esq.
Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., T.D., M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), F.B.A., P.P.S.A.

COUNCIL:

The President.	L. H. Gant, Esq., A.I.A.C.
The Hon. Secretary.	Lt. Cdr. R. H. Farrands, R.N.R.
The Hon. Treasurer.	F. A. Girling, Esq., F.S.A.
Wm. Addison, Esq., J.P.	J. S. Gardner, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby, M.B.E., F.S.A.	M. R. Hull, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.
Miss F. M. Blomfield, M.A., F.S.A.	K. R. Mabbitt, Esq., F.S.A.
D. A. J. Buxton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	The Revd. J. R. McCallum, M.A.
L. E. Dansie, Esq., J.P., F.S.A.	A. D. Merson, Esq., M.B.E., M.A.
A. B. Doncaster, Esq.	J. G. O'Leary, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.A.
F. G. Emmison, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.	P. H. Reaney, Esq., Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A.
F. H. Erith, Esq.	S. J. Woodward, Esq., B.A.

HON. SECRETARY:

JOHN S. APPLEBY, Esq., F.R.Met.S., A.R.Hist.S.,
Cranford House, Elmstead, Colchester.
'Phone: Wivenhoe 472.

HON. TREASURER:

J. B. BENNETT, Esq.,
Fairways, Dormy Houses, East Mersea, Colchester.
'Phone: East Mersea 247.

HON. LIBRARIAN:

The Revd. J. R. MCCALLUM, M.A.,
Alresford Rectory, Colchester.
'Phone: Wivenhoe 288.

HON. EDITOR:

LEONARD H. GANT, Esq., A.I.A.C.,
45 Castle Road, Colchester.

CURATOR:

M. R. HULL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.
The Castle Museum, Colchester.

Representatives of the Society on the Museum and Muniments Committee of the Colchester Corporation:

Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby, M.B.E., F.S.A.	Miss F. M. Blomfield, M.A., F.S.A.
Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.	F. H. Erith, Esq.

Representative of the Society on the Chelmsford Library Committee:

Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.

TRANSACTIONS
of the
ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SOCIETY

VOL. I. PART 3. (THIRD SERIES).

COLCHESTER

Published by the Society at the Museum in the Castle
1964

Price to Non-Members £1 5s.

TRANSACTIONS

of the

ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Vol. I, Part 3 (Third Series)

1964

Contents

A ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT PEBMARSH. By J. P. Smallwood, M.A. ...	171
THE ESSEX FEES OF THE HONOUR OF RICHMOND. By W. R. Powell, B.Litt., M.A., F.S.A.	179
THE ESSEX ENTRIES IN THE INQUISITIO ELIENSIS. By R. Welldon Finn, M.A.	190
HEZEKIAH HAYNES—CROMWELL'S MAJOR GENERAL FOR THE EASTERN COUNTIES. By W. L. F. Nuttall, D.F.C., Ph.D., M.A.	196
THE TURBULENT VICAR OF WRITTLE. By A. D. Carr, B.A.	210
ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES:	
Excavations at Bradwell Lodge, 1962	212
Retirement of Mr. M. R. Hull, M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.	213
Appointment of new Curator to Colchester & Essex Museum ...	213
Appointment of Miss Susan Davis to Guildhall Museum, London ...	213
Romano-British Finds at Little Waltham	214
Bee Hive Quern found at Little Waltham	214
Thetford and St. Neots ware found at Little Waltham	214
Romano-British burial group found at Chelmsford	214
Brass of Robert Barfoot, at Lambourne—palimpsests described ...	215
BOOK REVIEW	
The Victoria History of the County of Essex, Vol. III, Roman Essex	217

The Society is not responsible for the opinions expressed by the contributors, and any letters arising therefrom should be addressed to the authors.

List of Illustrations

A ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT PEBMARSH:

Fig. 1	Plan of Romano-British site	...	...	...	172
Fig. 2	Roman Ditch and timber building	...	...	...	172
Fig. 3	Section of Ditch at east end of large Trench	...	...	...	174
Fig. 4	Section of Ditch at west end of large Trench	...	...	...	174
Fig. 5	The pottery	...	...	...	176
Fig. 6	The pottery	...	...	...	176
Fig. 7	The pottery and iron objects	...	...	...	176

THE ESSEX FEES OF THE HONOUR OF RICHMOND:

Plate 1	Map of Essex in 1086, showing lands held in chief by Count Alan of Brittany and Aubrey de Vere	...	...	...	180
Plate 2	Grant of William d'Espagne to his wife, Lucy, of dower in Willingale Spain	...	...	...	182

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES:

Rubbings of palimpsests on Robert Barfoot's brass at Lambourne	216
---	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

A ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT PEBMARSH

By J. P. Smallwood, M.A.

In 1959 deep ploughing on a field near Pebmarsh, Essex, revealed traces of Roman occupation. The farmer, Mr. G. T. Nott, later dug a trial pit which produced evidence of tile, burnt clay, and some pottery.

In 1962, when the field was fallow, it was possible to conduct a more systematic survey and exploration of the site. The discoveries made in the course of this work have proved to be both puzzling, and of sufficient interest at this early stage in the investigation of the area, to justify the publication of a preliminary report.

The settlement is quite large, extending, apparently in a narrow band, for a distance of some 300 yards (see Fig. 1), and lies to the west of the road from Pebmarsh to Colne Engaine. The four fields across which it extends are fairly level. To the north however, the ground falls away to form the south slope of the valley of a small stream, a tributary to the larger brook which flows through Pebmarsh to join the River Colne between Colne Engaine and White Colne.

The subsoil of the site is variable. To the west of Field I, it consists mainly of yellow clay, while, towards the centre, where the majority of the finds have been made, the clay contains large amounts of chalk. There are, furthermore, several patches of gravel, though at no point where trial trenches have been dug through Roman levels, has gravel been located. The site therefore lies on what is predominantly a clay subsoil, not an unusual feature for Roman sites in this area.

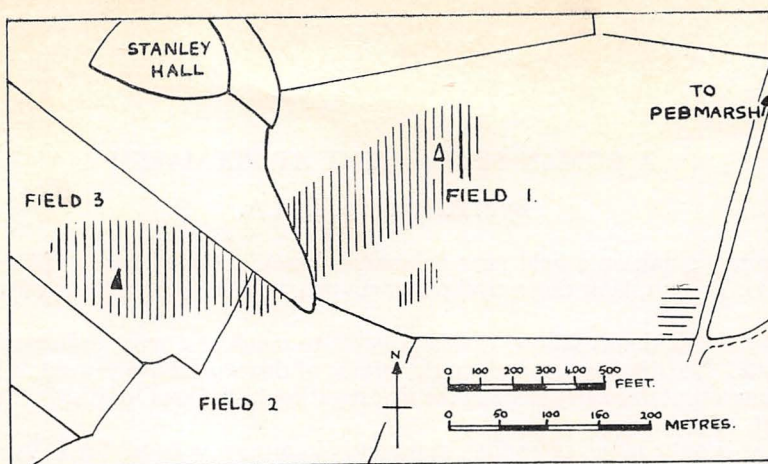
A preliminary survey of the rough-ploughed surface of Field I produced the following results. At the south-east end of the field (see Fig. 1) traces of medieval occupation were visible on the surface. These consisted of a few coarse body-sherds, and one rim of hard heavily-gritted pottery of a type common in the locality during the late thirteenth century. Several kilns producing such wares have been located in the area of Halstead, Sible Hedingham and Gosfield. Whether this trace represents merely a domestic occupation or affords evidence of a further manufacturing site remains to be seen.

During the late summer, when the preliminary investigation took place, it was only possible to view Field I, the adjacent fields being under cultivation. There the distribution of Roman finds (see Fig. 1) is entirely confined to the western half of the field. The plough had uncovered quite a wide sprinkling of Roman pottery, usually in poor condition due to wear and prolonged exposure, together with fragments of tile. Apart from affording a general indication of the probable location of Roman levels, few of the surface finds were either datable or helpful: only two deserve mention. A few yards to the east of the hut (see Fig. 2) the plough had turned up part of a heavily-abraded greyware mortarium. This, Mr. M. R. Hull has suggested, is of very late Roman date, and may afford evidence of occupation continuing down to A.D. 400 or later. At the extreme west end of the field several fragments of hypocaust tile were found. At the time of their discovery it was thought that they might indicate the presence of a building.

In order to test this theory several trial pits were dug at the west end of Field I in an area where surface finds had proved most abundant. The results were quite encouraging. Although no traces of structure were found, there was evidence of an occupation layer, from 6 to 9 inches in depth. This deposit contained metal objects, traces of carbonised wood, and pottery of distinctly late type. Apart from the two flanged bowls which have been illustrated, (Fig. 7 Nos. 28 and 29), a large portion of the body of a black-gritted mortarium and several fragments of Castor ware were recovered.

At the time of excavation it was only possible to speculate that the results obtained from these trial pits pointed to the existence of a large, late Roman, area of occupation probably situated on the adjacent fields. An examination of the surface of the field (marked 2 and 3 on Fig. 1), made after the completion of the harvest, confirmed that the site extends a considerable distance to the west. A generous scatter of Roman brick, tile, and red tesserae indicates the presence of at least one building in that field. Since most of the Roman settlements in the area seem to have acquired more Romanised buildings after A.D. 200 it is not unreasonable to assume that the pattern will be repeated in this instance.

The area where extensive investigation was possible produced evidence of two Roman features. (See Figs. 2, 3, and 4). The first to be investigated was the timber building. All that remained of this structure was a thin but clearly defined layer of carbonised wood which marked it is assumed, the posi-



KEY TO SYMBOLS.





-  AREAS OF ROMAN OCCUPATION.
-  AREAS OF MEDIEVAL OCCUPATION.
-  TIMBER BUILDING.
-  APPARENT SITE OF LARGE ROMAN BUILDING.

FIG 1.—Plan of Romano-British site at Pebmarsh.

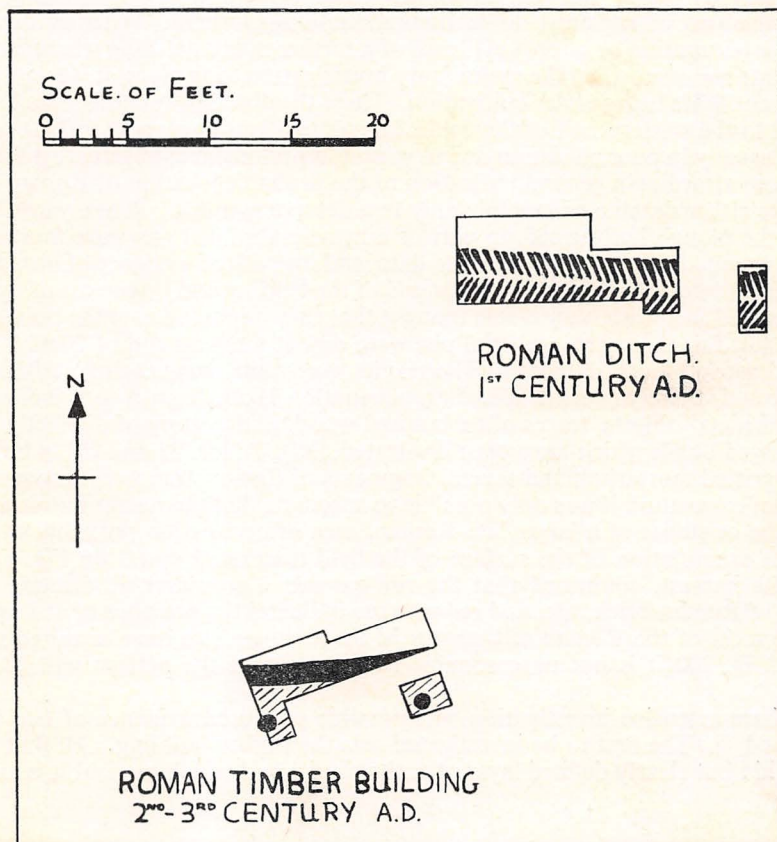


FIG 2.—Roman Ditch and Timber Building at Pebmarsh.

tion of the sleeper beam upon which the timber frame must have been erected. A few sherds of pottery, including the base of a Castor ware beaker, some animal bones and iron objects had been trodden into the surface of the living floor. The Castor ware base suggests a third century occupation. Inside the building two postholes, each about 1 ft. in diameter were identified. These would doubtless have contained the timber uprights necessary to support the roof which, to judge from the number of flanged tiles turned up by the plough in the immediate vicinity, must have been tiled in the normal Roman manner. The walls were of wattle and daub presumably supported by a timber frame. Many fragments of burnt clay, some bearing the impress of wattle, were found inside the hut.

To the north of the hut a second trench, dug at a point where the plough had turned up a heavy trace of black soil, revealed the existence of a 'V' shaped ditch. From this ditch was recovered valuable evidence which throws light both on the earliest occupation and the function of the settlement.

The ditch had been dug into the boulder-clay to a depth which varied between 2 and 2½ ft. below the present surface. The fill contained three fairly well defined layers. At the bottom of the ditch was a deposit of dirty silt containing both pottery and animal bones. Above this the side of the ditch was marked by a thin layer of burnt clay. The remainder of the ditch fill consisted of a thick layer of black soil, containing a very high proportion of wood ash, which at the west end of the section, extended beyond the limits of the ditch itself. Within the ash were tile fragments, daub, animal bone (some burnt, some unburnt), and much pottery. Several of the iron objects illustrated came from this level, together with a number of nails.

The dating of the ditch presents few problems. Much of the pottery recovered was quite clearly datable from parallels at Colchester and other sites. The earliest fragment is almost certainly No. 16, Fig. 5, which is distinctly Belgic in character and would hardly be out of place in a purely Belgic context. The remainder of the pottery, although some of the forms are derived from native prototypes, is distinctly Roman in technique.

It seems fairly certain therefore that the ditch was dug by A.D. 50. After a few years during which silt and refuse accumulated at the bottom, a large quantity of ash was deposited in the ditch. Some of this ash was still hot when thrown into the ditch. From the pottery associated with this fill of ash it would seem that this process occurred during the period A.D. 60-100, or shortly afterwards. The few fragments of pottery which are Hadrianic or later, all of which came from on or near the surface of the ash fill, may be regarded as intruding from the later occupation of the site.

It would be unwise, at this early stage in the investigation of the settlement, to draw firm conclusions as to its nature and extent. Amongst the mass of Roman sites which lie in the area around Halstead, only two villas at Halstead,¹ and Finchingfield,² and a large rural settlement at Gestingthorpe,³ have been investigated to a degree which makes comparison of the results possible. Both at Finchingfield and at Halstead the sites began as Belgic farms which subsequently acquired Romanised buildings. At Gestingthorpe there were also signs of occupation before A.D. 43. Here, despite the lack of evidence of a Pre-Roman occupation, the pattern is more or less repeated. At Finchingfield, Halstead and Gestingthorpe such traces of early buildings as have been found have been of modest dwellings, probably not dissimilar to the one described here. In the case of Halstead and Gestingthorpe, the period of most intense occupation begins in the third century and lasts down to the late fourth century, extending, at Gestingthorpe, into the fifth century. At Pebmarsh, if surface indications are to be trusted, a similar pattern will emerge.

An interesting possible explanation of the location of the settlement is suggested by the peculiarity of its general plan. The plotting of surface finds (see Fig. 1) shows that it extends, in a fairly narrow band, for a distance of some 300 yards. This being so, it seems at least possible that its shape was determined by the alignment of a minor, and hitherto unrecognised, Roman road. A quick glance at the

(1) Halstead — Preliminary report by the author of this article, published in the *Bulletin* of the Colchester Archaeological group. June 1962.

(2) Finchingfield — Romano-British sites at Finchingfield. Articles by J. G. Covernton, M.A., C.I.E. *Transactions of Essex Arch. Socy.* Vol. XXI (1934) and Vol. XXII Part 2 (1939).

(3) Gestingthorpe — Material largely unpublished. Site is referred to by J. Lindsay in his book "*The Discovery of Britain*," The Merlin Press, 1958.

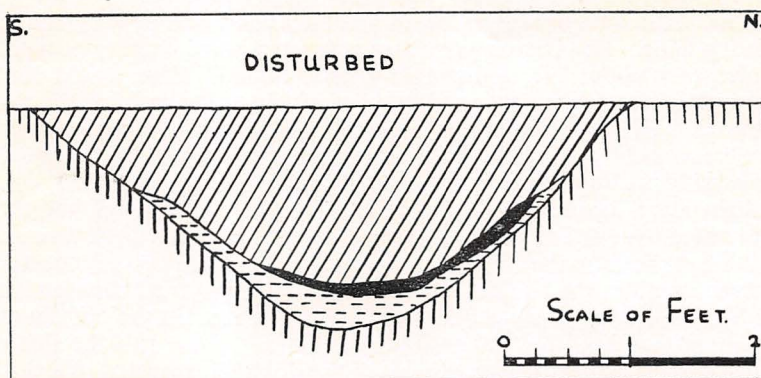
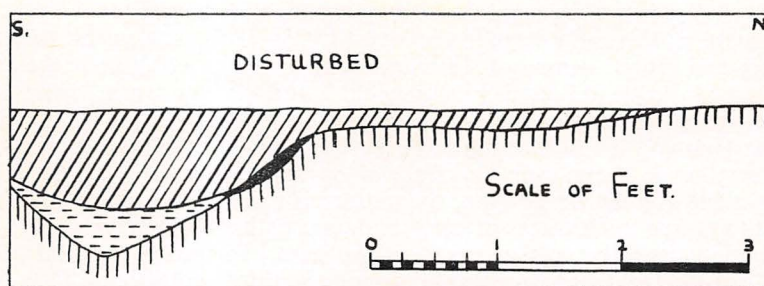


FIG 3.—Section of Ditch at east end of large Trench.



KEY TO SYMBOLS.

DITCH FILL OF BLACK SOIL



BURNT CLAY



SILT AT BOTTOM OF DITCH



SUBSOIL OF BOULDER CLAY



FIG 4.—Section of Ditch at west end of large Trench.

1-inch Ordnance Survey Map reveals a possible road, marked by a stretch of modern road running south-west from the A.12, which itself overlies a Roman road, from a point just to the north of Copdock, near Ipswich, to the railway crossing at Wendham Parva. The line is continued in the road which leaves the B.1070, half-mile North of Raydon and runs to Shelley Hall, again in a very straight stretch between Honey Tye Farm, Leavenheath, and the A.134, and yet again in a footpath approaching Bures Green, Bures St. Mary. Finally it appears in the straight stretch of road running south-west from Hill Farm, Bures. Beyond this point the track of this road, if it is a road, is lost. A prolongation of this alignment would carry the road close to the village of Pebmarsh, very near to the spot where a Roman padlock was discovered shortly after the last war,⁴ and then through the site which is the subject of this article. Beyond the settlement the road line would reach the Colne valley, approximately 1 mile to the west of Halstead. In this area, which has yielded much evidence of Roman occupation,⁵ the Roman road from Colchester to Cambridge, the so-called *Via Devana*, must have crossed the road running north from Braintree to Long Melford.

If the case for a Roman road passing through or close to this new site is not conclusive, at least it merits serious consideration, and may explain the absence of distinct traces of a Pre-Roman occupation in this instance. On the other hand one may, of course, question the existence of a minor road so early in the Roman period. To pre-date the settlement the road must be Claudian, and almost certainly connected with the earliest military occupation of the area. Yet the alignment is remarkably similar to that of an accepted road some 10 miles to the north. Perhaps it could be related to the need to provide a newly-conquered territory with a road network which would permit the rapid movement of troops in any direction. This is, one must hasten to add, pure speculation which may only be substantiated by more concrete evidence of the existence of such a road.

Finally, the function of the settlement must be considered. The recovery of an unusually large number of iron objects, together with the presence, in the ditch, of a layer of ash suggest that iron working, if only on a limited scale, may have been carried on. It is worth noting that the settlement at Gestingthorpe contained several workshops fashioning articles, not only of iron, but of silver, lead and bronze as well. It is too early to say whether the Pebmarsh site was industrial on the scale of that of Gestingthorpe, or whether it merely produced most of the implements needed to clear and farm the land. Slag, possibly indicative of metal working, has been found in an early ditch on the site of the Halstead villa. Furthermore, it is generally held that the normal Roman villa was a self-contained unit, fully capable of manufacturing simple tools on the spot. Here, with the relatively heavy soil probably supporting a thick cover of natural vegetation, a wide variety of implements would have been needed to effect clearance. Moreover the constant need to repair broken tools, and the inconvenience of delay in securing such repair would justify the maintenance of a forge.

In conclusion, I must express my gratitude to the owner of the land, Lt.-Col. E. K. Stewart-Smith, and to Mr. G. T. Nott, the farmer, for permitting me to dig and for the kind interest they have shown in the work. I am further indebted to Mr. M. R. Hull, Curator of Colchester Museum, for his advice on dating and drawing the pottery, and to all those who have helped either in the digging or in the interpretation of the finds.

THE POTTERY

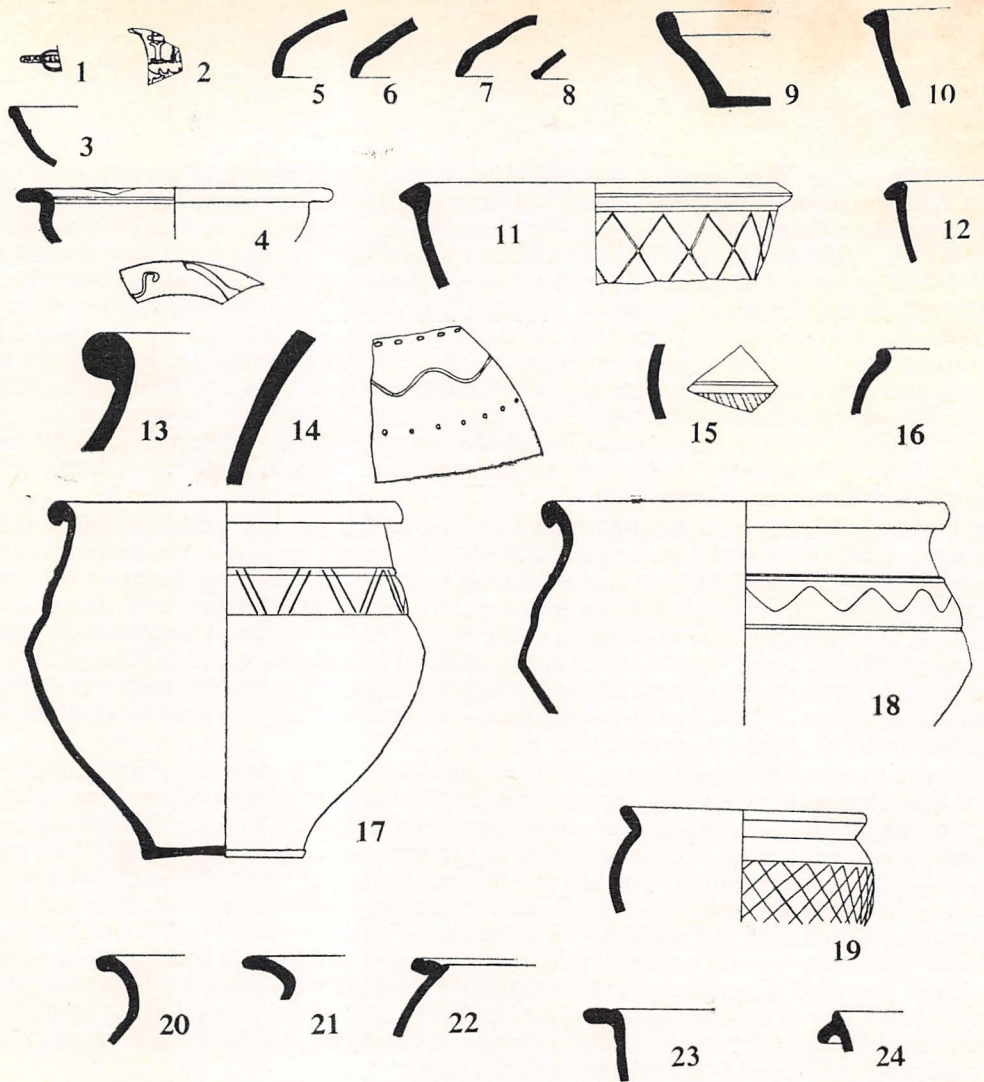
GROUP 1

From the ditch fill

1. Stamp on base of Terra Sigillata dish. Form uncertain. MARCELLUS or MARCELLINUS. From the position of the letters the former is more likely. There were several potters bearing these names at both Lezoux and Rheinzabern. The quality of the glaze is poor but this may be due to prolonged exposure as the sherd was from the top soil. It is probably Antonine in date.

(4) Discovered by Mr. J. Pudney of Halstead. Now on exhibition at the Castle Museum, Colchester.

(5) Ref. J. Lindsay — "*Discovery of Britain*" pp. 48-64, and 239-256. Much more has been discovered since the publication of this book, but most of his conclusions are still valid.



FIGS. 5 & 6 The Pottery—Pebmarsh excavation 1962

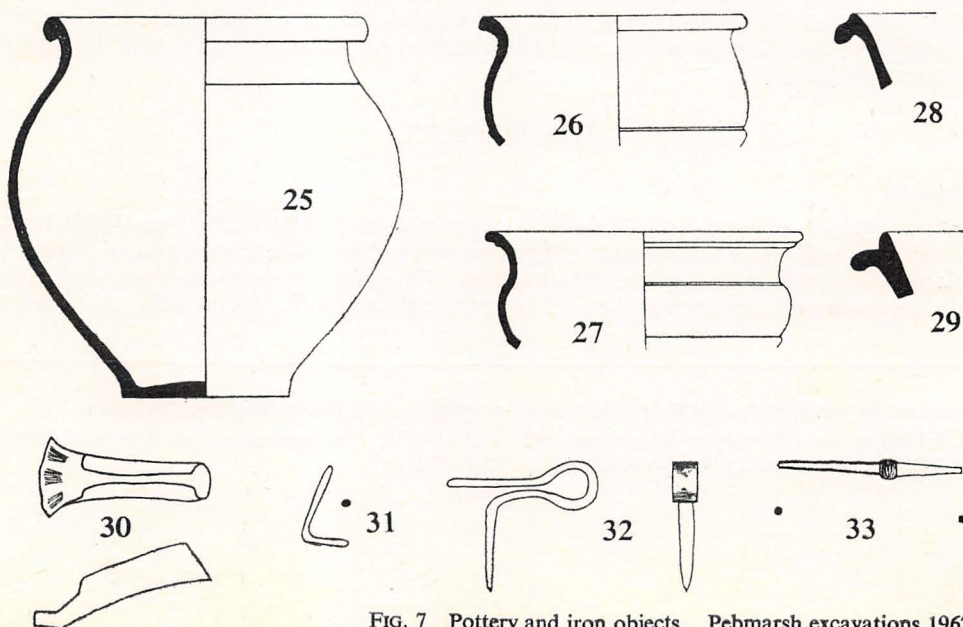


FIG. 7 Pottery and iron objects. Pebmarsh excavations 1962

2. Small fragment decorated Terra Sigillata. Probably *Drag*. 37. From ditch fill.
3. Rim of Terra Sigillata. Form *Drag*. 18/31. Thin ware, dull glaze. From ditch fill.
4. Rim of Terra Sigillata bowl form *Drag*. 35. Decorated en barbotine. From ditch fill.
- 5, 6 & 7. Lids of grey ware (5) was a surface find, (6 & 7) were from the ditch fill.
8. Fragment of lid of pinkish ware. From ditch fill.
9. Platter of grey-brown ware. Romanised version of Native Sub-Belgic platter. A similar platter appeared in a Flavian pit at Leicester, but this example may not be as late as Flavian. From the ditch fill.
- 10, 11 & 12. Pie dishes. *Colchester* form 37. (10) grey sandy ware, (11) grey sandy ware with slightly burnished black surface. Lattice pattern lightly-scored on surface. (12). Dull orange sandy ware. Common in levels at Colchester A.D. 70-150 but according to evidence provided in a discussion of the date range of this type in the Jewry Wall report, it does not seem to be generally common until A.D. 100. From ditch fill.
13. Rim fragments, diameter $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. small storage jar of hard light-grey ware. From ditch fill.
14. Body fragments hard grey ware storage jar. Probably *Colchester* form 249. Decoration of two bands of stab-marks probably made with a stick. In between a thick waved and incised line. From ditch fill.
15. Fragments of side of grey ware vessel with groove and deep diagonal comb stabbings. From ditch fill.
16. Rim of round-shouldered bowl of dark-grey ware. The nearest parallel to this form seems to be *Camulodunum* form 249. Rather native in appearance and must date from shortly after the conquest at the latest. From silt at bottom of ditch.
17. Bowl *Colchester* form 218 A. Hard grey fabric. Surface burnished. Dark above shoulder, lighter brown below, dark near base. Faint decoration on bulge. Date — before A.D. 100. From ditch silt.
18. Bowl of similar form to the above. Soft dark-red ware with black surface. Bulge decorated with wavy line. From surface of boulder clay at side of ditch.
19. Rim fragment latticed jar of dark-grey ware. *Colchester* form 278. Commonest in Colchester A.D. 100-140. From near surface of ditch fill.
20. Rim of cooking pot or jar of reddish grey ware. From bottom of ditch.
21. Fragment of jar of orange-buff ware with very large high rim. This seems to be a late form. At Leicester it does not appear before A.D. 160. From surface of ditch fill.
22. Fragment of reeded rim bowl similar to *Camulodunum* form 243. Reddish-brown ware with dark grey surface. This type seems to be common in the period Domitian - Trajan but is also present at *Camulodunum*. From ditch fill.
23. Bowl of grey ware with a reeded rim. Mildly carinated. *Camulodunum* form 246. Common A.D. 60 - 100. From ditch fill.
24. Rim fragment of light flanged dish of gritty-buff ware. *Colchester* form 305 A. See also *Jewry Wall Leicester* report Fig. 19 No. 28. This form does not seem to appear commonly before A.D. 200 and lasts down to A.D. 350, by which time it has been entirely replaced by a heavier type of flanged dish running from A.D. 260-400. In Colchester the type is absent before A.D. 250. This fragment, which came from the top of the ditch fill, may have been deposited during the occupation of the adjacent third century timber building. It is unlikely to be earlier than A.D. 250.

25. Largely complete cooking pot of hard grey gritty ware. The base has been smoothed as was common in vessels of this type. Date — probably A.D. 50-100. From silt at bottom of ditch.
26. Rim of bowl of dark-grey gritty ware, with groove and curious offset low down on body. There seems to be no parallel for this vessel. From ditch fill.
27. Rim of bowl of dark-grey gritty ware. Again an offset low down on body. Once again apparently a local type.

GROUP 2

Pottery from trial trench at west end of Field 1

28. Rim of flanged bowl. Dark grey ware with black surface and faint traces of horizontal combing below rim. Both the heavy nature of the rim and the trace of combing would suggest a late date. Probably between A.D. 350 and 400.
29. Rim of flanged bowl of hard grey ware. Late third or early fourth century.

Metal objects

30. Socket and part of blade of iron pruning hook or light shovel. From ditch fill. Two similar sockets were found, one in the ditch fill, the other in the hut.
31. Iron hooks from hut. Several more were found in both hut and ditch.
32. Iron rein-guide for use on horse or ox-drawn vehicle. From trial trench at west end of field.
33. Bronze punch or similar implement. The working end is circular in section but incomplete. Its purpose is therefore uncertain. From trial trench at west end of field.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS REFERRED TO IN POTTERY REPORT

Drag. Dragendorff. 'Terra Sigillata' (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, xcvi, xcvii, 1895, 1896).

Camulodunum. C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull. 'Camulodunum.' Society of Antiquaries 1947.

Jewry Wall. K. M. Kenyon. 'Excavations at Jewry Wall site, Leicester.' Society of Antiquaries. 1948.

Roman Colchester. M. R. Hull. 'Roman Colchester.' Society of Antiquaries 1958.

THE ESSEX FEES OF THE HONOUR OF RICHMOND

By W. R. Powell, B.Litt., M.A., F.S.A.

It is well known that the invading army of William the Conqueror included a strong contingent from Brittany, led by Count Alan Rufus, a member of the ducal house. The interest and importance of the Breton colonies established in different parts of England as a result of the Conquest has been emphasised by Sir Frank Stenton.¹ Count Alan himself received from the king a great barony or 'honour' centred at Richmond in Yorkshire and containing land in nine other counties.² In return for the grant Alan, like the Conqueror's other tenants-in-chief, undertook to furnish a specified number of knights for the royal army when required, and arranged to meet this obligation by creating subordinate tenancies, or 'knights' fees.'

The honour of Richmond was one of the greatest in England, and in the early 12th century contained about 190 knights' fees. The early descent of the lordship, and of the knights' fees in Yorkshire, has been treated by Sir Charles Clay, in two volumes based on the manuscripts of William Farrer.³ He describes fees in other counties only when they are linked with those in Yorkshire, as was the case with one of the Essex fees, that of the Espagne family. It therefore seems useful to supplement his study by examining the descent, in the two centuries after the Conquest, of all the Essex lands of the honour.

The following list, numbered for convenience in cross-reference, shows Count Alan's lands in 1086, following the Domesday order of entries, and naming the pre-Conquest tenants in square brackets.⁴ The map on p. 180 shows the location of the lands.

Hundred of Harlow

- (i) EPPING [1066 Wisgar]. Held of the Count by Osbern. 1½ hides and ½ virgate.

Hundred of Dunmow

- (ii) WILLINGALE (SPAIN) [1066 Edith]. Held of the Count by Hervey (d'Espagne). 1 hide and 1½ virgates.

- (iii) CANFIELD, (GREAT?) [1066 Edith]. Held of the Count by Aubrey de Vere. 1 hide and 30 acres.

Hundred of Hinckford

- (iv) FINCHINGFIELD [1066 Three free men holding of Edith]. Held of the Count by Hervey (d'Espagne). 2½ hides.

- (v) BUMPSTEAD, (STEEPLE?) [A sokeman holding of Edith]. Held of the Count by a knight. 7½ acres.

- (vi) YELDHAM,⁵ (GREAT?) [1066 A free man]. No under tenant is mentioned. 42 acres.

- (vii) FINEFIELD [1066 Two sokemen and a free man]. Held by the Count in demesne. 38½ acres.

Hundred of Ongar

- (viii) RODING, (BEAUCHAMP). [1066 Lewin and Etsi]. Held of the Count by Aubrey de Vere. 1½ hides.

Hundred of Tendring

- (ix) BENTLEY, (GREAT?). [1066 Elwin]. Held of the Count by Hervey d'Espagne. Two sections, of 42½ acres and ½ hide, the first of which had previously been held by Earl Ralph.⁶

Hundred of Uttlesford

- (x) MANHALL (in Saffron Walden). [1066 Siward]. Held of the Count by Hervey d'Espagne. 1 hide.

Hundred of Freshwell

- (xi) ROTHEND (in Ashdon) [1066 Edith]. Held of the Count by Hervey d'Espagne. 30 acres.

- (xii) STEVINGTON (in Ashdon) [1066 Edith]. Held of the Count by Hervey d'Espagne. 5 acres.

(1) *First Century of English Feudalism* (2nd edn.) 25-8.

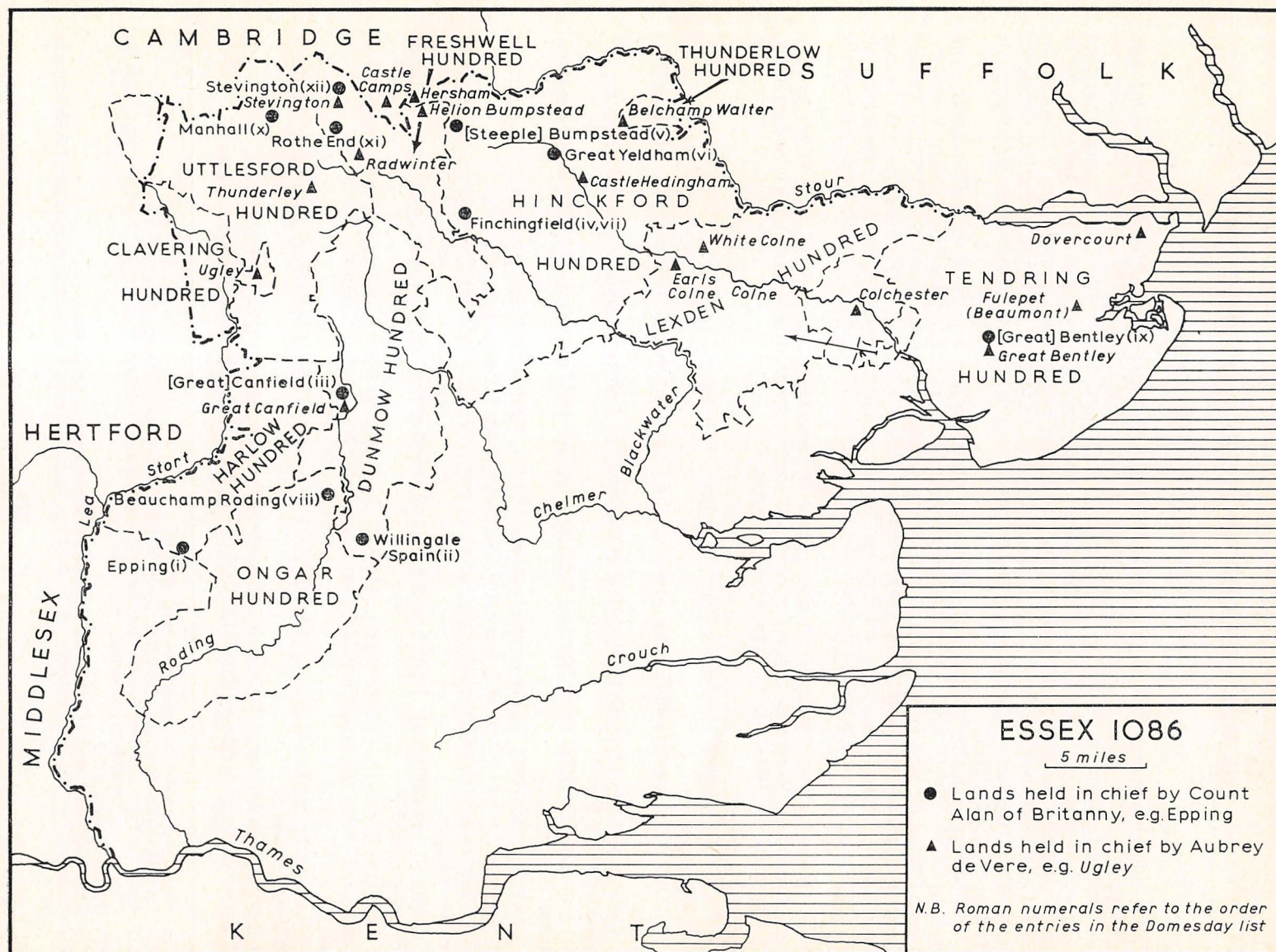
(2) Lincoln, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Nottingham, Hampshire, and Dorset.

(3) *Early Yorkshire Charters* (Yorks. Rec. Ser. 1935-6), iv and v; cited below as *E.Y.C.* I am very grateful to Sir Charles Clay for his help in connexion with this paper.

(4) *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 472-3.

(5) For the identification of 'Gerham' as 'Yeldham' see *Place Names of Essex*, 468.

(6) Ralph de Gael, Earl of East Anglia, whom Alan also succeeded on various Norfolk manors after his forfeiture in 1075.



Map of Essex in 1086, showing lands held in chief by Count Alan of Brittany and Aubrey de Vere.

FIG. 1

It will be seen from this list that Alan's manors were small and scattered. They lay in ten parishes and seven hundreds, and comprised a total of only 11 hides and 15½ acres.⁷ Six of them had belonged to Edith 'the beautiful', otherwise known as 'the fair' or 'the rich', many of whose lands, in Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, had been given to Alan. The Count had retained in demesne only one, or possibly two of his Essex manors, both very small. All the others had by 1086 been sub-infeudated: six of them to Hervey d'Espagne, two to Aubrey de Vere, and one each to Osbern and an unknown knight.

The tenants of the honour of Richmond had to perform guard duty at Richmond Castle during specified periods of the year, and an early 12th-century list of those owing this service formed the basis of William Farrer's numbering of the knights' fees of the honour.⁸ These numbers are cited below in referring to the Essex Fees.

The Espagne (or Spain) Fee (Farrer §8)

This fee comprised tenements number ii, iv, ix, x, xi and xii in the above Domesday list; tenement vi appears to have been added to it after Domesday. In the early 12th century the service due was 3 knights' fees, doing castle guard at Richmond in October and November. Some time after 1135 a new feoffment of ½ knights' fee was made of land at Tunstall, in Catterick (Yorks. N.R.), which rendered castle guard in the same month.⁹

Hervey d'Espagne¹⁰ was probably a Breton,¹¹ possibly from Espinay (Ille et Vilaine).¹² He seems to have died before 1093.¹³ Between 1136 and 1142 Alan III, first Earl of Richmond, granted to Aubrey de Vere (d. 1141), or his son and namesake the first Earl of Oxford (d. 1194), the service of 3 knights' fees due from William d'Espagne.¹⁴ This meant that de Vere became an intermediate military tenant, standing between the Earl of Richmond and William d'Espagne. The grant did not affect d'Espagne's demesne tenure of the manors which his family had previously held.

The Espagnes were Essex landowners for more than two centuries after the Conquest, and from them are derived the names of Spains Hall in Finchingfield, Spaynes Hall in Great Yeldham, and the suffix of Willingale Spain, in which parish there is another Spains Hall.

WILLINGALE SPAIN (Spains Hall). This was tenement ii in the Domesday list. It was held during the early 12th century by William d'Espagne, who by an undated charter probably executed during the reign of Stephen (plate, and Appendix I) granted his wife Lucy dower in Willingale with 1 knight's fee, that of Robert, son of Mengui, and one sokeman, Eustace of Willingale. The charter states that the grant was made before the door of St. Mary's church, Shalford, where William and Lucy had been married. Its reference to the knight's fee of Robert son of Mengui shows that the Espagnes had created a new military tenancy subordinate to their own. Robert's tenement in Finchingfield, and that of the sokeman Eustace of Willingale, are further discussed below. It is interesting to find the service from Robert's fee being conveyed along with jurisdiction over a sokeman, a member of a class of free peasants whose status was of pre-Conquest origin. Both Robert and Eustace figure in the long list of witnesses to the charter, which also includes the donor's brother Richard, William son of Joichel, and Robert Masculus. These last two were, like the Espagnes, tenants of the honour of Richmond (see below: the *Gikel Fee* and the *Mascle Fee*). The archive history of the charter itself seems to have been determined by its connexion with the honour of Richmond. The charter is part of a large collection once belonging to the priory of Hatfield Broad Oak. That priory, so far as is known, never had any land in Willingale, but it was founded by Aubrey de Vere (d. 1141) and his son the first Earl of Oxford (d. 1194), one of whom, as stated above, was granted the intermediate tenancy of the 3 knights' fees held by William d'Espagne. Espagne's charter to his wife probably came into the possession of the de Veres, as his

(7) Reckoning 120 a. to the hide, for which there is good evidence in the Essex Domesday: cf. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 334 n.

(8) *E.Y.C.* v. 2, 11-12.

(9) For this fee see *E.Y.C.* v. 230-31. I also owe several valuable references to a MS note by J. H. Round, in the possession of the society, entitled 'Spain of Spains Hall'.

(10) This name is variously spelt as Espaigne, Espaine, Hispania, Ispania, Spaine, Spannina, Yspania.

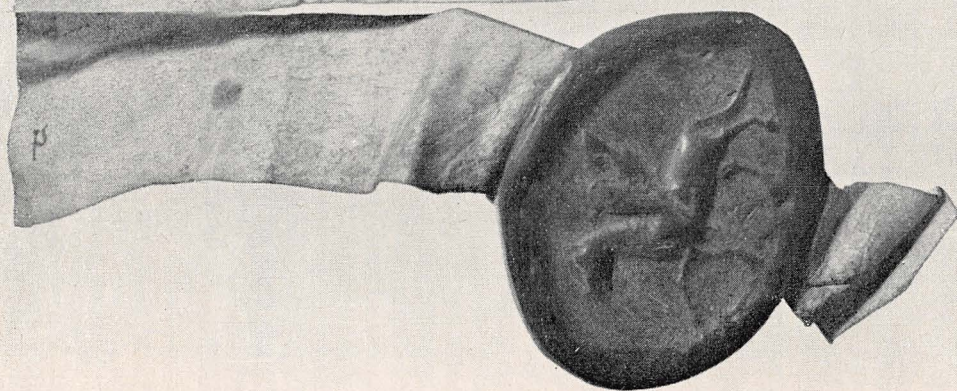
(11) *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 350.

(12) P. H. Reaney, *Dict. Brit. Surnames*, 302 (Spain).

(13) *E.Y.C.* v. 230, cf. iv. 4.

(14) *E.R.O.*, D/DPr 145 f. 37; for this charter see pp. 188-9

Sciant tñ presentes quā futuri quod ego Willm' de yspania dei . . . testis unū
 mee lucie villam de Willigehale cū omib; pñentiis suis 7 feudū unū militis
 scilicet Rodbri filii mengui. & unū solemniā .f. Eustachiū de Willigehale . an
 hostiū ecclie scē marie de Scaldeford ubi eā desponsauit indotē. sine gñictiōe
 aliq. hīs testib; . Ricardo frē meo. Willm' filio Joichel. fulcone dapifero. Rodbri
 de uallis. Gilleberto filio Rad. Rodbri filio mengui. Eustachio de Willigehale. Er-
 naldo decano de finchingefeld. Willm' filio fulconis. Thoma de Ardena. 7 Radul-
 fo filio ei'. Rad de canyrt. Thia de Sēo georgio. hunfrido de brüll. Alano de
 Sēo georgio. hugone decano de oracinga. Luciano medico. Ricardo pincerna.
 Eudone filio Gervasii. Rodbri maselō. Nicolao coco. Thoma camerario. Arnaldo coco.
 Et a leant presentes et futuri. & mee uxoris potē magytrē eorū



feudal superiors, and subsequently got mixed up with the deeds of property granted to the priory. The close connexion between the Espagnes and the de Veres in the 12th century is shown in charters granted to Colne Priory, another Vere foundation, in which members of the Espagne family appear as witnesses.¹⁵

A later William d'Espagne, who was holding Willingale in 1198, occurs in various records up to 1216.¹⁶ In 1240 William d'Espagne, probably his successor, gave the advowson of Willingale Spain to Blackmore Priory.¹⁷ He was still alive in 1248.¹⁸ His successor was Richard d'Espagne, who in 1253 confirmed the grant to Blackmore.¹⁹ John, son and heir of Richard d'Espagne, was a congenital idiot, who became the victim of a nasty piece of sharp practice. In 1273-4 Sir William de Munchensy, a powerful Essex landowner, persuaded him to surrender his lands at Willingale and Finchingfield in return for a horse worth £3 6s. 8d. Under feudal law, however, the control of an idiot's lands during his lifetime was the prerogative of the king, and in 1285 a royal enquiry was held which revealed the facts already quoted.²⁰ As a result of the enquiry John d'Espagne's lands were seized by Edward I and given to his queen. This was stated in 1286, when Willingale was said to be held of the Earl of Oxford for $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's fee and 40d. a year castle guard rent to the honour of Richmond. Finchingfield (see below) was held, also of the Earl of Oxford, for $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee and 20s. castle guard rent.²¹ By 1292 the idiot John d'Espagne was dead and in that year his brother Richard successfully claimed his lands.²²

In 1321 Richard d'Espagne conveyed to Thomas Rys 10s. rent and $\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee in Willingale Spain and Willingale Doe. Rys was to hold of the chief lords with the homage and service of Matthew son of Robert Mingy.²³ This reference links up with that in William d'Espagne's early-12th-century charter, already quoted, to the knight's fee held by Robert son of Mengui. The Mengui family, to whom the Espagnes had sub-infeudated part of their Willingale estate, had a long-standing link with the honour of Richmond, and they also were of Breton origin.²⁴ John, son of Mengi, and Geoffrey Mengui occur as Lincolnshire tenants of the honour in the middle of the 12th century.²⁵ They were also linked with the de Veres: when Aubrey de Vere I founded Colne Priory shortly before 1111 he granted it, *inter alia*, a third of the tithes of Ralph Mengui in (Sible) Hedingham.²⁶ In 1303 Robert Mingy held $\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee in Willingale Spain. He was succeeded by Matthew Myngy (*fl.* 1339) and he by Geoffrey Myngy, whose estate passed, about 1365, to Sir William de Wauton, lord of the manor of Willingale Doe.²⁷ The Mengui family's tenement became known from them as MYNGES.²⁸ In the 15th century it was still held of Richmond.²⁹ Myngs, a lost name, was identified by Morant with Mynchyns (now Minsons), also in Willingale Spain, but it is clear that Minsons, though adjoining Myngs, was a different estate, consisting mainly of land originally belonging to Eustace of Willingale, the sokeman.

Mynchyns took its name from the nuns of Clerkenwell Priory, who held a small estate in Willingale from the 12th century to the Dissolution.³⁰ The nucleus of this was given to them by Richard the priest, who had held most of it as a tenant of Eustace of Willingale. By lending money to Eustace and his son Richard of Willingale the nuns secured control of this land at a perpetual fee farm rent, subse-

(15) *Cartularium Prioratus de Colne*, ed. J. L. Fisher, nos. 36, 40, 57.

(16) *E. Y. C.* v. 231 n.

(17) *Feet of F. Essex*, i. 124.

(18) *Ibid.* 168.

(19) *Ibid.* 193.

(20) *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 349.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 371.

(22) *Plac. Abbrev.* (Rec. Com.), 228-9.

(23) *Feet of F. Essex*, ii. 196.

(24) P. H. Reaney, *Dict. Brit. Surnames*, 223 (Mingay).

(25) *E. Y. C.* iv, 27, 36.

(26) *Cart. Prior. de Colne*, nos. 1, 2, 9, 31.

(27) *Feud. Aids.* ii, 153, 175; *Feet of F. Essex*, iii, 50, 145.

(28) I owe this identification to a MS note by J. H. Round, in the possession of the society, entitled 'Spain of Spains Hall'.

(29) Cf. Morant, *Essex*, ii. 480.

(30) For this paragraph see W. O. Hassall 'The Essex properties of the nunnery of St. Mary, Clerkenwell' (*Trans. E.A.S., N.S.*, xxiii. 44-8), and Dr. Hassall's edition of the *Cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell* (Camden 3rd. ser. lxxi).

quently reduced. Richard the priest's grant also included small tenements held at farm of the Prior of the Hospital and of Robert son of Mengi, from both of whom, in due course, the nuns secured perpetual grants. Another small piece of land was sold to Clerkenwell by William d'Espagne.

FINCHINGFIELD (Spains Hall). This was tenement iv in the Domesday list. It was part of the three knights' fees granted to Aubrey de Vere by the Earl of Richmond.³¹ About 1200 it seems to have been held by Richard d'Espagne, whose relationship to the contemporary William d'Espagne of Willingale Spain is not clear.³² With this possible exception it seems to have descended throughout with Willingale (see above). In 1313 Richard d'Espagne and Maud his wife settled on themselves and his heirs the manor of Eldehall (Old Hall) and 52 a. land in Finchingfield.³³ Eldehall was probably the early name of Spains Hall. Margery, daughter of Richard d'Espagne, carried Spains Hall in marriage to Nicholas Kempe, in whose family it remained until the 18th century.³⁴ Part of the Espagne estate, which had apparently been held in dower by Maud d'Espagne, was split off as the separate manor of Woodhall, held in the late 14th century by the Croucheman family.³⁵

GREAT YELDHAM (Spaynes Hall). The descent of this manor is less clear than those of the two previous. Morant, quoting a rental³⁶ of the honour of Castle Hedingham, says that Spaynes Hall was held, in and after the 13th century, of that honour, whose lords were the de Veres.³⁷ He mentions as under tenants William Muschet in 1253, William and Richard d'Espagne 'in the reign of Henry III,' and Cecily and Isabel, daughters of Michael d'Espagne, in 1286. There are difficulties, especially of chronology, in this account, but the information sounds authentic. The de Vere lordship probably originated in the Earl of Richmond's grant to Aubrey de Vere, and if so Spaynes Hall may be identified with Domesday tenement vi: the 42 acres in Yeldham. The Domesday entry relating to that estate does not name an under tenant, but on the other hand it does not state that Count Alan held it in demesne. It is not impossible therefore, that Hervey d'Espagne held it as the under tenant. Morant's statement that William and Richard held Spayne's Hall under Henry III suggests that the manor had descended along with the Spains Halls in Finchingfield and Willingale. Later in the 13th century it must have separated from them, since Michael d'Espagne, whose daughters held it in 1286, are not known in connexion with the two other manors. Michael occurs in 1280 as a tenant in Essex of the honour of Richmond.³⁸ A man of the same name had lands in Tunstall (the Yorkshire part of the Espagne fee) in 1272. The place of William Muschet in the descent is not clear. He was certainly connected with the Espagnes: in 1240 he acted on behalf of William d'Espagne in conveying the advowson of Willingale to Blackmore Priory.³⁹

MANHALL (in Saffron Walden). This was Domesday tenement x. It lay in the extreme north-west of the parish. The name was preserved in Manhall Wood, now corrupted to Emanuel Wood, in the neighbouring parish of Little Chesterford.⁴⁰ Between 1089 and 1093 Alan II, Count of Brittany, granted to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds 'the land which Hervey d'Espagne used to hold of me in Manhall.'⁴¹ These words suggest that the Count was granting not merely the lordship but the demesne tenancy of Manhall. The later history of Manhall confirms this. The monks of Bury were certainly holding demesne lands at Manhall in the 12th and early 13th centuries.⁴² In 1258 or 1259 they conveyed the manor to Richard of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in settlement of a lawsuit.⁴³ Sir William de Munchensy, already mentioned as the man who tried to cheat the idiot John d'Espagne out of his inheritance, subsequently purchased Manhall and died in 1285 holding it of the Earl of Gloucester for $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee.⁴⁴

(31) *Cal. Inq. Misc.* i, p. 168; *E. Y.C.* v. 231 n; *E.R.O.*, D/Dpr 145 ff. 36-7.

(32) *Cal. Inq. Misc.* i, p. 168; *E. Y.C.* v. 231 n.

(33) *Feet of F. Essex*, ii. 144.

(34) Morant, *Essex*, ii. 363-4.

(35) *Ibid.* 364-5; *E.R.O.*, D/DPr 145 f. 35-36v.

(36) No doubt the 1596 feodary (see Appendix II) part of which is now missing.

(37) Morant, *Essex*, ii. 301.

(38) *E. Y.C.* ii. 231.

(39) *Feet of F. Essex*, ii. 124; and see above.

(40) *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 473; *P.N. Essex*, 520.

(41) *E. Y.C.* iv. 4.

(42) *Feet of F. Essex*, i. 13, 125; D. C. Douglas, *Feud. Docs. of Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, 85-6, 152, 168-9.

(43) *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Ser.), ed. T. Arnold, ii. 295 and n; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1258-66, p. 61.

(44) *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, ii, p. 372.

BENTLEY, (GREAT?). Domesday tenement ix was assigned by J. H. Round to Little Bentley, but is more likely to have been in Great Bentley. There seems to be no later evidence of the Espagne tenancy at Bentley, or any further connexion with the honour of Richmond. When and how Herve's lands there passed out of his family is equally obscure, but the connexion between the Espagnes and the de Veres may be the clue. In 1086 Aubrey de Vere held in demesne 3 hides at Bentley which became the manor of Great Bentley.⁴⁵ It would be natural for the de Veres — a rising family in the 12th century — to consolidate their demesne by acquiring a neighbouring property belonging to their feudal tenants. The Espagnes, for their part, may have found it convenient to dispose of a small holding remote from their main Essex estates.

ROTHEND and STEVINGTON (in Ashdon). Domesday tenements xi and xii formed an outlier of Count Alan's Cambridgeshire estate at Horseheath, Castle Camps and Bartlow⁴⁶, and seem to have descended with Bartlow, which lies immediately north of Ashdon. The part of Ashdon containing Stevington is called Bartlow End. Rothend, now called New House Farm, is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles south of Ashdon. The Espagne fee at Ashdon was sub-infeudated, probably at an early date. In 1279 Sir William de Chishill was said to hold $\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee in Bartlow with the advowson of the church 'of the honour of Richmond of the heir of Robert Gikel who holds of the Earl of Oxford.'⁴⁷ A reference of 1331 proves that this $\frac{1}{4}$ fee, though attached to Bartlow, was actually in Ashdon.⁴⁸ The record of 1279 shows that here, as elsewhere, the Espagne holding had been brought under the intermediate lordship of the de Vere Earls of Oxford, below whom on the feudal ladder were the Gikels, whose connexion with the honour of Richmond is more fully treated below, and whose association with the Espagnes is shown by the 12th century charter relating to Willingale Spain. By 1279 the $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in Ashdon had been further sub-infeudated to the Chishills. With such a complicated series of relationships it is not surprising that the record of that year omits reference to the Espagnes, who had presumably occupied the rung of the ladder immediately above the Gikels. Another reason for the omission could be that the head of the Espagne family in 1279 was the idiot John, who clearly could not press his claims to anything.

The de Veres had other interests in Ashdon, quite separate from the honour of Richmond. In 1086 Aubrey de Vere was tenant in chief of three small holdings in Stevington, one of which he held in demesne.⁴⁹ These appear to have become part of the manor of Waltons.⁵⁰

The De Vere Fee (Farrer's §33)

The original service from this fee was 3 knights' fees, doing castle guard at Richmond in April and May.⁵¹ This was apparently due in respect of Aubrey de Vere's tenements (iii and viii in the Domesday list) at Great Canfield and Beauchamp Roding.⁵² Between 1136 and 1142 Alan III, Count of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, granted to Aubrey de Vere the service of William d'Espagne (of 3 fees), that of Michael son of Juichiell (of 1 fee) and that of Osbert Masculus, the fee of which is not stated. Between 1156 and 1171 Alan's successor Conan, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, confirmed the grant to Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, referring to the service of William d'Espagne (3 fees), that of William son of William son of Giechiell (1 fee) and that of Richard Masle. The two original charters containing these grants appear to be lost, but abstracts of them (see Appendix II) have recently been traced in a feodary of the honour of Hedingham compiled in 1596.⁵³ The two charters were previously known only from a garbled version given by Morant, almost certainly taken from the 1596 feodary rather than the originals.

(45) *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 535.

(46) W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, 62, 69-71.

(47) Farrer, *Feud. Cambs.*, 70, quoting the Hundred Rolls.

(48) *Feet of F. Essex*, iii, 15.

(49) *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 536.

(50) Morant, *Essex*, ii, 541; cf. *Feud. Aids*, ii, 148, 177, 226.

(51) *E.Y.C.* v, 12.

(52) C 145/21: 'Caneuel; et in Roenges'; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* i, p.169, reading 'Cavenby' (i.e. Caenby) assigns these places to Lincolnshire.

(53) *E.R.O.*, D/DP_r 145 f. 47; cf. *Cal. Inq. Misc.* i, 169.

In the 13th century the de Veres also held about 10 fees of Richmond in Cambridgeshire,⁵⁴ the main group of which were at Castle Camps, Bartlow, West Wickham and other places near the Essex border. These were all new feoffments, in which the de Veres occupied an intermediate tenancy under the earls of Richmond, and were themselves overlords of the demesne tenants. The de Vere fee at Bartlow became linked with that at Stevington in Ashdon (see above) and also with one at Norton (i.e. Jekylls) in Finchingfield (see below).⁵⁵

There was clearly a close connexion, originating before the Conquest, between the de Veres and the counts of Brittany. The first Aubrey de Vere, though not himself a Breton, came from Ver (dep. Manche, arr. Coutances, Cant. Gavray),⁵⁶ and he was among those described by Conan, Count of Brittany, in a charter of 1056-66, as 'my barons'.⁵⁷ In both Essex (see map p. 180) and Cambridgeshire many of Aubrey's Domesday manors lay in places where Count Alan also had manors.

CANFIELD, (GREAT?). In 1086 Aubrey de Vere held at Canfield not only 1 hide and 30 acres of Count Alan (tenement iii in the Domesday list), but also, in demesne, 2 hides of the king in chief.⁵⁸ These two holdings were merged, no doubt at an early date, to form the manor of Great Canfield, held in chief, and after the 12th or early 13th century the Richmond tenancy seems to have been forgotten.⁵⁹

RODING, BEAUCHAMP. This was Domesday tenement number viii. It appears to have been subinfeudated during the 12th century to the family of William son of Geoffrey, from whom descended the Beauchamps. There is no trace of the Richmond tenancy after the 12th or early 13th century and the de Veres were later said to hold in chief.⁶⁰

BUMPSTEAD, (STEEPLE?). Tenement number v in the Domesday list is assigned by Round to Steeple Bumpstead, but it could equally well have been in Helion Bumpstead. Since it consisted of only 7½ acres, and its under tenant, a knight, is unnamed, its subsequent descent can only be guessed at. It is here included in the de Vere fee because the de Veres were lords of Bumpstead Hall in Helion Bumpstead and also overlords of Blois in Steeple Bumpstead.⁶¹ In either capacity they could well have acquired this small Domesday holding. It is possible, however, that the holding became attached to the Espagne fee, since Steeple Bumpstead adjoins Finchingfield (see above). In 1425 the honour of Richmond still contained fees *inter alia* in Bumpstead.⁶²

The Gikel (or Jekyll) Fee (Farrer's §18)

FINCHINGFIELD (Jekylls). The charter of Alan III, Count of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, granted between 1136 and 1142 (see above), gave to Aubrey de Vere 1 fee held by Michael son of Juichiell, and Duke Conan's confirmation (1156-71) states that this was then held by William son of William son of Giechiel.⁶³ In the castle guard return of the honour of Richmond, which is roughly contemporary with Earl Alan's charter, it is stated that William son of Gikel held 1 fee, doing castle guard in December and January. The Gikels were also of Breton origin.⁶⁴ Another castle guard return, of the late 12th or early 13th century, states under St. Andrew's term, 'in Essex, of the fee of Earl Aubrey, William Gikel, 1 knight in Norton.'⁶⁵ This was Norton, now called Cornish Hall End, in Finchingfield, and the Gikel holding was Jekylls' Farm, which is in that part of the parish.⁶⁶ It may have been the holding, originally of 38½ acres, held by Count Alan in demesne (Domesday list vii). The Gikels retained it until the 14th

(54) Farrer, *Feud. Cambs.* 58, 64, 69-70, 95-9, 119-22, 139-40, 143, 145. The figures of numbers of fees are slightly ambiguous in some cases.

(55) Farrer, *Feud. Cambs.* 69-70.

(56) L. C. Loyd, *Anglo-Norman families*, 110.

(57) *Cal. Docs. in France* (ed. J. H. Round), 423; cf. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 350.

(58) *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 532.

(59) Cf. Morant, *Essex*, ii. 461.

(60) For the full descent of this manor see *V.C.H. Essex*, iv. 198.

(61) Morant, *Essex*, ii. 531, 350.

(62) *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.) iv. 104.

(63) E.R.O., D/DPr 145 f. 37.

(64) *E.Y.C.* v. 11. The name is also variously spelt Giechrell, Gykel, Jekel, Joichel, Jichel, Juichiell, Jukel; P. H. Reaney, *Dict. Brit. Surnames*, 181.

(65) *Cal. Inq. Misc.* i. p.170.

(66) *Place Names of Essex*, 427-8.

century.⁶⁷ In 1303 Robert Gykel was said to hold 1 fee in Finchingfield of the Earl of Oxford.⁶⁸ This family's under tenancy in Ashdon has already been mentioned under the Espagne fee. The Gikels are also found on the Yorkshire lands of the honour of Richmond. In the mid-12th century Ralph son of Gichel was an under tenant of the Bedale fee in North Cowton.⁶⁹

The Mascle (or Madle) Fee (Farrer's §52)

EPHING (Marles). Domesday tenement number i is listed under Harlow hundred. This helps to identify it. Most of Epping was in Waltham hundred, but a small part, Rye Hill hamlet, was in Harlow hundred, and was still doing suit at the court of that hundred in the 18th century.⁷⁰ At Rye Hill was the manor of Madells, now Marles, which took its name from the family of Mascle or Madle.⁷¹ The charter of Alan III, Count of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, between 1136 and 1142, granted to Aubrey de Vere the service of Osbert Masculus, who was no doubt the Osbert Masle who witnessed a Cambridge charter of one of the counts of Brittany in 1135.⁷² Duke Conan's charter of 1156-71 conveyed to Earl Aubrey the service of Richard Masle. These charters of Alan and Conan do not state the amount of the service, but the early 12th-century castle-guard return states that Richard son of Osbert Malle was holding $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of Richmond.⁷³ The Domesday tenant Osbern was possibly a member of the Mascle family, which continued to hold this manor until the 14th century. After the 12th century the Richmond tenancy was apparently forgotten and Madells was said to be held of the Earls of Oxford.⁷⁴

Further evidence — particularly from early charters — may be found to modify some of the above details, but the main outlines are fairly clear. In the century after the Conquest the Essex tenants of the honour of Richmond formed a small, closely-knit group, mainly of Breton origin or with Breton connexions. Towering above the rest were the de Veres, whose main strength, independent of Richmond, lay in their lordship of the honour of Hedingham. Early in the 12th century Earl Alan gave them an intermediate lordship over the other tenants, and by the 13th century they had acquired a similar intermediate lordship over about 10 fees in Cambridgeshire.

The importance of the Richmond lordship seems to have decreased after the 12th century, while that of the de Veres increased. The 1596 feodary of the honour of Hedingham (see Appendix II), which contains extracts from proceedings of the court of that honour going back to the reign of Henry III, shows that at Finchingfield in the 14th century the de Veres were enjoying wardships over, and taking aids from, tenants holding the Espagne and Gikel fees there.⁷⁵ If the feodary were complete it would probably show that they were doing the same in the other places forming the Espagne fee. On the other hand it is clear that the Richmond lordship, at least over the Espagne and Gikel fees, was not forgotten. In 1274-5 the bailiff of Richmond was said to hold in Finchingfield view of frankpledge, the assize of bread and ale, gallows, sheriff's tourn, and all regalian rights except the office of coroner.⁷⁶ Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, who died in 1425 as lord of Richmond, was said to hold, *inter alia*: 6 fees in Yeldham, Olmstead, Bumpstead, Willingale Spain and Thurrock Breاونson; 30s. 1d. rents called castle guard issuing from Finchingfield, Yeldham and Willingale; 8s. from lands in Norton, Yeldham, Bartlow and 'Goffend'; and 18d. from 'homage of Spayne'.⁷⁷ Olmstead lay partly in Bumpstead Helion and partly in Castle Camps (Cambs.). Thurrock Breاونson, i.e. West Thurrock, was not historically part of the honour of Richmond, but came to be considered as such in the 14th century, perhaps because

(67) Morant, *Essex*, ii. 364; E.R.O., D/DPr 145 f. 38 v.

(68) *Feud. Aids*, ii. 140.

(69) *E.Y.C.* v. 205-07.

(70) Morant, *Essex*, i. 51.

(71) Also spelt Malle, Male, Masle or Masculus. For the name see Reaney, *Dict. Brit. Surnames*, 212 (Male).

(72) *E.Y.C.* iv. 14.

(73) *Ibid.* v. 12.

(74) Cf. *Feet of F. Essex*, iii. 10, 42; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* viii, p. 433. A full account of Madells will be given in the next volume of *V.C.H. Essex*.

(75) E.R.O., D/DPr 145 ff. 35-37.

(76) *Rot. Hundr.* (Rec. Com.) i. 158.

(77) *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 104. The original inquisition (P.R.O., C 139/25) is mostly illegible.

it was then held by the Walton (or Wauton) family, who were tenants of the de Veres in Ashdon.⁷⁸ Norton was Jekylls in Finchingfield (see above), and 'Goffend' was almost certainly a mis-reading of 'Roffend' for Rothend (in Ashdon). The places forming the de Vere and Mascle fees do not figure in the 1425 inquisition or in the 1596 feodary, and nothing can therefore be added concerning them.

The most significant feature of the story is the close relationship between the Counts of Brittany and the de Veres, which existed before the Conquest, and was strengthened after 1066 not only by the formal link between them as lords and tenants, but also by the juxtaposition of many of the Richmond manors with those of the honour of Hedingham, a feature strongly marked in north-west Essex and the adjoining part of Cambridgeshire. The two honours were topographically and tenurially linked. This is certainly not unique: in Hertfordshire and Cambridge, for example, the honour of Richmond was similarly linked with that of Scalers.⁷⁹ In the century after the Conquest it was perhaps a convenient way of providing local leadership in honorial administration. In the remoter parts of an honour it would be particularly important for the honorial barons to be men of standing and authority. If, in such an area, all the under-tenants' holdings were small — as with Richmond in Essex — it might be difficult to find men suitable to act as honorial barons, and this may have been a reason for the enfeoffment as under-tenants of men, like the de Veres, who were prominent as tenants-in-chief in their own right.

APPENDIX I

WILLIAM D'ESPAGNE GRANTS TO HIS WIFE LUCY IN DOWER THE 'VILL' OF WILLINGALE [SPAIN] WITH ONE KNIGHT'S FEE HELD BY ROBERT SON OF MENGUI AND ONE SOKEMAN, EUSTACE OF WILLINGALE (see plate 1).

Sciunt tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Willelmus de Yspania ded[i] e]t concessi uxori mee Lucie villam de Willigehale cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et feudum unius militis scilicet Rodberti filii Mengui et unum sochemanum scilicet Eustachium de Willigehale ante hostium ecclesie sancte MARIE de Scaldeford ubi eam desponsavi in dotem sine contradictione aliqua. Hiis testibus. Ricardo fratre meo. Willelmo filio Joichel. Fulcone dapifero. Rodberto de Vallis. Gilleberto filio Radulfi. Rodberto filio Mengui. Eustachio de Willigehale. Ernaldo decano de Finchingefeld. Willelmo filio Fulconis. Thoma de Ardena et Radulfo filio eius. Radulpho de Cauri. Elia de Sancto Georgio. Hunfrido de Bruill. Alan de Sancto Georgio. Hugone decano de Macinga. Luciano medico. Ricardo pincerna. Eudone filio Geruasii. Rodberto Masculo. Nicolao coco. Thoma camerario. Arnaldo coco. VALEANT PRESENTES ET FUTURI & MEE DONATIONIS DOTEM MANUTENEANT.

Seal: white wax; equestrian (*B.M. Cat. of Seals*, No. 6108).

Date: temp. Stephen, according to *Index to Charters and Rolls in B.M.*, ii. 796. Ernald, 'dean' of Finchingfield was no doubt identical with Ernald 'parson' of Finchingfield who was rector in 1153.

(P. H. Reaney, *Early Essex Clergy*, 85)

MS.: B.M., Add.Ch. 28347.

Printed: *Arch. Jnl.* xiii. 62-4 and 76, with illustration of the seal, showing some details no longer visible.

Note: *Arch. Jnl.* xiii. 76 points out that the church of Shalford (Essex) is not dedicated to St. Mary and therefore suggests that the Shalford in the charter may be Shalford St. Mary in Surrey. This, however, is not conclusive, since change of dedication sometimes occurred. Shalford (Essex) adjoins Finchingfield, where William d'Espagne had an estate.

APPENDIX II

[A] ALAN, A COUNT OF BRITANNY, GRANTS TO AUBREY DE VERE THE SERVICE OF WILLIAM D'ESPAGNE, OF 3 KNIGHTS, THE SERVICE OF MICHAEL SON OF JUICHIELL, OF ONE KNIGHT, AND THE SERVICE OF OSBERT MASCULUS.

(78) Morant, *Essex*, i. 91; ii. 541; *Feud. Aids*, ii. 148, 177, 226.

(79) E.Y.C. v. 260-1.

Alanus comes Britannie &c. Sciatis me dedisse Alberico de Veer et heredibus suis de heredibus meis in feodo &c. servitium Willelmi de Ispania de 3 militis et servitium Michaelis filii Juichiell de uno milite et servitium Osberti Masculi quale mihi faciebat &c.

Date: 1136-42. The grantor is clearly Alan III, who was lord of the honour of Richmond from 1135-36 to 1146. The grantee is either Aubrey de Vere II (d. 1141) or his son Aubrey de Vere III (d. 1194), who was created Earl of Oxford in 1142.

MS.: This and the next abstract are taken from a Feodary of the Honour of Hedingham compiled in 1596 (E.R.O., D/Dpr 145, f.37). [A] is prefaced by the following words: 'Item patet in antiqua charta sine dato prout in tenore eiusdem sequitur scilicet . . . ' In the margin, beside the abstract, is the cross-reference 'in extr' char' f.8,' presumably to a cartulary of some kind.

[B] CONAN, DUKE OF BRITANNY AND EARL OF RICHMOND, GRANTS TO EARL AUBREY (DE VERE) THE SERVICE OF WILLIAM D'ESPAGNE, OF 3 KNIGHTS' FEES, THAT OF WILLIAM SON OF WILLIAM SON OF GIECHIEL, OF ONE KNIGHT'S FEE, AND THE SERVICE OF RICHARD MASLE.

Conanus Dux Britannie et Comes Richmond' &c. Sciatis me &c. donasse Comiti Alberico feodum et servitium Willelmi de Ispania scilicet feodum 3 militum et servitium Willelmi filii Willelmi filii Giechiel scilicet feodum unius militis et servitium Ricardi Masle quale de feodo suo debet et quale antecessores ipsius Ricardi antecessoribus meis faciebant. Hec omnia &c. dono Comiti Alberico et heredibus &c. de me et heredibus &c. faciendum inde servitium 4 militum pro feodo Willelmi de Ispania et feodo Willelmi Giechiel et de surplusagio servitium quale debet feodi Ricardi Masle cum illud de eo habere voluero. Teste &c. apud Rotomagum.

Date: 1156-71. Conan (d.1171) did not use the style 'Dux Britannie' until the autumn of 1156. (*E.Y.C.* iv. 30).

MS.: As [A]. Abstract [B] is prefaced by the following words: 'Item liquet in alia charta sine dato prout in tenore eiusdem sequitur scilicet . . . ' In the margin, beside it, is the figure '23', which is clearly a cross-reference to the same source as that noted under [A].

Note: The originals of these two charters are not known to exist. Morant (*Essex*, ii. 363) probably used the abstracts in the 1596 feodary, rather than the originals. There is no doubt that he (or one of the earlier antiquaries whose notes he edited) had access to this feodary, since he quotes it as the source of other information, (e.g. ii, 301, 305, 364, 480), in one place giving a folio number (14) identical with that in D/DPr 145. In using the abstracts he conflated the two Richmond charters, attributing both to Alan III and making several other errors. The 1596 feodary will repay further study. It contains entries relating to 39 manors, with many extracts from records of the honour of Hedingham. Morant's reference (ii. 480 note i) to a folio 66 shows that part of the feodary is now missing.

THE ESSEX ENTRIES IN THE *INQUISITIO ELIENSIS*

By R. Welldon Finn, M.A.

The *Inquisitio Eliensis* (a title for which there is no ms. authority) is a record, strongly resembling that of Domesday Book, of the estates of the Abbey of Ely, together with certain associated documents which have no parallel in the surviving version of Domesday Book.¹ These consist of Summaries or totals of certain arithmetical details, statistics of population and teams for the demesne manors, and Schedules of claims in respect of estates of which the Abbey had lost possession. It is bound up with a collection of other Ely documents, and three manuscripts of it survive; one (A) in the British Museum (Cotton Tib. A. vi), two (B and C) in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (O.2.41, O.2.1). Part of ms. A was printed by Sir Henry Ellis in the *Additamenta* volume of the printed text of Domesday Book in 1816, while the full text was edited by N. E. S. A. Hamilton together with that of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* and issued in 1876. The copies are all of the late 12th century.

In 1086 the Ely lands lay in six counties, the record of each of which, in the main section of the IE, is kept distinct. The Essex estates come second, and cover sixteen properties which were or had been manors, and the two berewicks or outlying manorial components of the manor of Littlebury. The account of them is divided into two sections; the first deals with the five demesne manors — those which had not been leased or sub-infeudated — and the second with those which, though claimed by the Abbey (and, so far as we can see, with justice) had been appropriated since the Norman Conquest by newcomers. The list, with their order of appearance in the IE, is

93 Broxted	‘Claimed in accordance with the royal records’ ²	
94 Aythorp ? Roding	100 High Easter	106 Broxted (part of)
95 Rettendon	101 South Fambridge	107 Sandon
96 Hadstock	102 (Terling in) Witham	108 Amberden
97 Littlebury	103 South Hanningfield	109 Shellow Bowells (part of)
98 Strethall	104 High Roding	110 Roding ? Morel
99 Heydon	105 Leaden Roding	

The initial Essex entry will serve as an adequate example of the main section of the document.

As regards Essex. In the Hundred of Dunmow.

St. Etheldreda (i.e. Ely Abbey) always held Broxted as a manor and for three hides.³ There were always two teams in the demesne and four belonging to the villagers. (There are) sixteen villeins; previously (*tunc*) there were two bordars, and now there are five; and five slaves. There is woodland for 250 pigs, and thirty acres of meadow. Then and now sixteen ‘animals’, two rounceys, seventy sheep, two beehives.⁴ Then it was worth £10, and now £8.

Nine acres, which Eudes the Steward holds, have been taken away from this manor; and also two carucates of the demesne land, which the same Eudes holds, and which are worth £4.

The losses Ely, in common with many other monastic foundations, had suffered since the Conquest had been severe. One reason for this is that the monastic houses had adopted a system of leasing manors, or portions of manors, in return for rents and services, and in some instances at least had done so to ensure that the tenants thereof would discharge any military service due from the house. But these ‘thegnlands’ were inalienable; they were to revert to the foundation, as part of its demesne land, on the death of the lessee, or sometimes after his death and that of two successive heirs. However, after the Conquest King William had commonly bestowed on a supporter the lands of a particular Englishman or Anglo-Dane, and where these were holding thegnland, the newcomers had usually claimed to inherit

(1) The *Inquisitio Eliensis* is hereinafter referred to as IE, and Domesday Book contracted to DB.

(2) *Has terras calumpniatur abbas de Ely secundum breves Regis: breves Regis* probably refers to the ‘sections,’ one for each fief, of an early draft of DB. The numbers from 93 to 110 indicate the place of appearance in the IE accounts of the holdings; they are not in the mss.

(3) The ‘hide’ is the unit of assessment for taxation and services; in Essex of four ‘virgates’ each of thirty ‘acres’.

(4) Entries in DB make it clear that the figures for livestock are for those on the demesne only. ‘Animals’ probably represent cows from which the plough-oxen were bred; ‘rounceys’ are packhorses.

such estates and to treat them as manors of their own, not as mere tenancies, ignoring their inalienability and the responsibilities they should have undertaken. Thus we are told that Eudes fitzHerbert is holding a portion of Rettendon as of the King because his *antecessor* — the man whose lands the King had given him — had held the estate, but the Hundred-jury, used at the Domesday Inquest to give evidence regarding the legality of possession of estates, testified that this *antecessor*, Leofswine, 'could not sell his land without the Abbot's leave'; in other words, it could not be alienated from Ely lordship. In almost every instance the Hundred-jury supported Ely's claim; on one occasion (Terling in Witham) 'they know nothing about half the holding', and of South Hanningfield they said that two free men had been holding freely and were only commended to Ely — that is, they had sought the Abbey's protection, no doubt in return for services of some character not known to us. But that Ely, since the Conquest, had been wrongfully deprived of more than thirty hides of her Essex estates, is clear.

Indeed, throughout the reign Ely was trying to recover these lost lands, and numerous writs of King William show that while he wished justice to be done, and on several occasions commanded bishops and influential laymen to examine Ely's claims and organise the return of her estates where she could prove her right to them, at the time of the Domesday Inquest in 1086, though Ely had recovered some, many questions were still in dispute.⁵ The whole of High Easter had been lost, and had not been recovered in 1093.⁶

High Easter

2 hides leased to Ansgar 'the Staller' or royal officer, but to return to the Abbey on his death; acquired by Geoffrey de Mandeville, who was given Ansgar's estates.

1½ hides held before the Conquest by six sokemen.

2¼ hides held before the Conquest by two sokemen; in 1086 held by two of Geoffrey's *milites* or trained soldiers.

½ hide held by Guthbert, one of Geoffrey's *milites*.

Such losses were serious ones, for the demesne manors had been supplying provisions for the Abbey personnel (or had commuted food-rents for cash payments), and the tenants had been furnishing rents and services.

The mss. of the IE

That the three mss. had a common source is obvious, for the differences between them are slight, and usually the result of the commission of a copying error. It would perhaps be fairer to speak of 'sources', for the ms. (or mss.) from which they were copied must itself have had a source. That ultimate source was surely an early draft of Domesday Book; despite the close similarity between IE and DB, the latter as we now possess it cannot have been its origin, for the IE includes material which DB does not. But, on the evidence of the Exeter Domesday, a first draft of the Inquest proceedings in the south-west from which was prepared a revised copy which was used to make the Exchequer text, the first draft for the eastern counties must have been appreciably fuller, if less well-ordered, than the fair copy which survives, and which we know as 'Little Domesday' or Domesday Book, volume II. Somehow or other the Abbey secured the original 'first draft' or was enabled to make a copy of it, or at least of such portions as affected its interests, and the probability is that this 'first draft' was the source of the existing IE. Professor Galbraith thinks that the occasion of the production of the immediate source of our IE was the death of Abbot Symeon in 1093, when Ranulf Flambard, William II's Chancellor, demanded a return of the Abbey's possessions.⁷ To this the statement in the Summaries included in the IE to the effect that land has appreciated in value 'in the hand of Abbot Symeon' may be due.

(5) These are given in H. W. C. Davis: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, and discussed in E. Miller: 'The Ely Land Pleas in the Reign of William I' (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xlii, pp. 438-56).

(6) An account of the circumstances was included in *Historia Eliensis* (H.E., II.96.) The Abbey had had a difficult relationship with the pre-Conquest tenant, Ansgar.

(7) V. H. Galbraith: 'The Making of Domesday Book', p. 141 (O.U.P., 1961).

Slight variations between the text of IE and that of DB are then intelligible. They are, in the Essex material, only occasional and of small moment, and could indeed be the mark of a copying clerk desirous of varying his Latinity. We have, for example,

No.	IE	Fol.	DB
95b	sed hundredum testatur esse de abbacia	19	et abbacia de Eli calumpniatur
c	hundredum testatur		Hundredum fert testimonium
99	eciam	19b	adhuc
100d	ecclesia	60b	abbacia
	obiit		vivus et mortuus fuit
101	super regem Willelmum	97b	post adventum regis Willelmi

There are also occasional statistical differences, and we have no means of knowing which is the correct version, e.g.

No.	IE	Fol.	DB
109	xxx acrae	62	xxxv
110	v libri	49	vi

In the first example the entry in the IE second Schedule (No. 78, fol. 208bi) gives *xxxiiii acrae*, and in the second the DB entry is postscriptal.

In the Essex material the occasions on which the IE supplements the information of DB are two only; in No. 103 we are told that the two men who had held Hanningfield of the Abbey were 'free men', *liberi homines*, and there was a sokeman at Amberden (No. 108) who is ignored in DB. These might be merely the result of a copying clerk's omissions.

Equally the matter to be found in DB but not in IE may have been deliberately or accidentally omitted when the original or a copy of IE was made. On the whole it looks like deliberate omission, for there was no particular point in including the inhabitants, teams, manorial appurtenances and valuations of estates which had passed out of the Abbey's possession but to which it made claim (e.g. at Rettendon), while since the grievance was against the man who had appropriated the holding there was no particular point in recording the name of his sub-tenant.⁸ Nor was the Ely clerk likely to reproduce DB's statement that the holding was in the usurper's demesne, or had been held before the Conquest as a manor, for it was of the essence of the claim that these were inalienable Ely properties, at most held by sub-tenants of the Abbey, who 'could not separate from it'. Thus there is probably no more significance than the above in the omission from IE of the DB statement that Leaden Roding had been held in King Edward's day by a free woman as one manor. Indeed, the IE adds that this hide had been added to the manor as this had stood before the Conquest, and had 'lain in the abbey', to which contention the Hundred-jury bore witness.

The most satisfactory text is ms. B, and it is a pity both that Hamilton used ms. A for his version, as had Ellis, and that Round proclaimed that ms. C was the best of the three texts.⁹ It is not easy to discover a reason for the variations in the mss., assuming that a single source produced each, unless they were dictated from a common original. This would perhaps account for the notable variations both in orthography and style. One ms. will write *una* where another has *i*; where A has *viginti* B and C have *xx*; C is inclined to write *carucae hominibus* where A and B have *carucae hominum*. C contracts or omits wherever the sense is not impaired by so doing; its author omits *et*, or the *c* which stands for *caruca*, but frequently omits *semper* when it would have been better to preserve the word. The place- and proper names show marked variation.

No.	ms. A	ms. B	ms. C	DB
93a	Dunham	Dunemawa	Dumawe	Dommauua
97	Littleberi	Littleberi	Litelbyrie	Litelbyria
98	bereuuica	bereuuicha	berewica	bereuuita
	Alfwinus	Alfwinus	Alwinus	Eluuis
100d	Asgarus	Asgarus	Æsgarus	Ansgarus

(8) See, e.g., the entries in IE and DB for Rettendon, Broxted, and High Easter.

(9) J. H. Round: 'Feudal England', p. 124 (London, 1895). For a fuller discussion of this point and others, see R. Weldon Finn: 'The *Inquisitio Eliensis* Re-considered' (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. ix, pp. 385-409).

No.	ms. A	ms. B	ms. C	DB
101	Fambrugge	Fambrugge	Famburge	Phenbrugge
102	Godzelmus	Godzelmus	Godzelin	Goscelmus
103	Hammingefeld	Hanningafeld	Hamugefeld	Haneghefeld

Collation of the mss. as a whole shows that mss. A and B closely resemble each other, frequently containing common errors or expressions. C, which omits a quantity of words and phrases, resembles neither the more closely, and includes a number of grammatical and statistical errors. It has, for example, *tenet* for *tenuit*, *iacet* for *iacebat*, *tenent* for *tenuerunt*; *xi bordarii* where A, B and DB have *ix*; it omits *de dimidia parte et de alia parte nichil sciunt*; it produces the extraordinary *antenuis* for *animalia* (incidentally it alone, and frequently, styles the *animalia*, *ociosa*, 'not working').

Ms. A has considerably fewer blunders than has C, but has *prata* for *prati*, *ualet* for *ualebat*, *m(od)o* for *monachi*, and *vi animalia* where everywhere else the quantity is *vii*, and *xxii bordarii* for *xii*.

Ms. B is by no means flawless, but over the documents as a whole its errors and omissions are far fewer than those of C or A. It omits *tunc* on one occasion, has *viii animalia* as against *vii* in the three other texts, and, like ms. A, has *v bordarii* where C and DB have *vi*.

The texts are, however, so much alike, and so close in plan and detail to DB, that it is difficult to think that they did not have a common ultimate source.

The Summaries

It is uncertain whether the Summaries in the IE, one for each county, were part of the Inquest material, within the first draft of DB but omitted from the fair copy, or specially compiled for it.¹⁰ The appearance of similar Summaries in the *Liber Exoniensis* suggests that they were constructed as integral portions of the Inquest material, and all follow the pattern of separating the demesne manors and those of the *milites*, or of giving figures for demesne, thegnlands, and sokelands (the estates over whose inhabitants Ely had judicial rights). They cover the number of manors concerned, assessments, teams and population, (divided into their various categories), values, and any increase in the last. They take no account, naturally, of estates claimed as Ely demesne but in 1086 in alien hands. How closely they correspond to the statistics of IE and DB can be seen from the table which follows, yet they display discrepancies which are not easily reconcilable. Certainly it is necessary to omit the hidage of the portions abstracted by laymen from Roding and Rettendon.

Some of the discrepancies may be due to the addition of a quantity of Roman numerals, and it is possible that the priest at Roding was in the Summary treated as a villein. We cannot compare the values in 1086 with those of an earlier date; first because we have no pre-1086 value for Littlebury, and secondly because we do not know that the pre-1086 values given are those of the time when Symeon became abbot. The conflict of quantity for slaves could be due to a misreading of *xxiii* as *xliii*.

The two 'manors' of the *milites* cannot be represented by both the berewicks of Littlebury, but must be Strethall alone. It is considered as 'two manors', following the principle of all the surviving Summaries, because two men held it T.R.E., when perhaps it was two manors. It is included because Hugh de Bernières holds it 'under' (*sub*) the abbot, and because its former tenants 'could not separate from the abbey'.¹¹

(10) The IE reproduces a Summary of the Hertfordshire lands of Hardwin d'Eschalers, with none of which Ely was concerned; it is improbable that this was specially made for IE, but it was probably copied from an early draft of the Inquest material.

(11) Strethall had not always been a berewick of Littlebury; it was bought by Abbot Ælfsin with Hadstock and 'the two Lintons' (H.E., II.76) and seems to be regarded as a manor in King Edward's charter confirming Ely's lands and rights (H.E., II.92).

	Hides	Teams		Villeins	Bordars	Slaves	Values (£'s)	
		Demesne	Villagers				Former	1086
Broxted	3	2	4	16	5	5	10	8
Roding	2 (a)	2 (b)	4	8	2	4	4	6
				a priest				
Rettendon	16½(a)	3	12	26	6	6	17	20
Hadstock	2	2	4	11	13	2	6	10
Littlebury	25	4 (b)	15	39	19	7	—	20
Summary (5 manors)	48½	13	39	100	45	24		64
	49½	14	39	102	45	44		64½(c)
Strethall	5	3	5	6	7	6	7	8
Summary (2 manors)	5	3	6	7	7	6	—	8

(a) Portions of the manor not in Ely's hands omitted. (b) In either instance the clerk may have used the T.R.E. ('in the time of King Edward') figure for the Summary; there was one more team in each T.R.E. (c) The Summary adds that 'this land is enough for 61 teams and has improved in value by £9 in Abbot Symeon's hands'. Neither IE nor DB states the 'land for which there are teams', as was done for most counties.

The 'Breviate'

It was Round who gave this title to this record of the number of the teams, demesne and tenants', and of villeins, bordars, and slaves, on the demesne manors, and he thought it had been specially compiled for the IE. The correspondence with DB and IE figures is not very good, and could be due to careless copying, and to the intermittent inclusion of the IE figure for *tunc* and not for *modo*; i.e. for the death of King Edward and not for 1086.

But another reason could be that the figures refer, not to 1086, but to a time when a return of abbey property may have been ordered on the death of Symeon. This might explain, too, why Roding, included in the IE section, is omitted here, and why Strethall, in 1086 a berewick of Littlebury, appears here as though it was a manor. For Roding, the IE shows, was already virtually lost to Ely.

The list as a whole is not drawn up county by county, but by groups of manors, with the totals for most groups given, and these groups may represent a combining of adjacent manors to furnish each a week's food-rent. Strethall and Hadstock, which in the list are separated by Pampisford in Cambridge-shire, could all three have been conveniently administered together by a single reeve. But the remaining three, which appear consecutively, are not geographically adjacent.

The 'Nomina Villarum'

This list gives merely names of manors and the quantity of tenants' teams. Those included are identical with those of the *breviate*, with Hadstock and Strethall reversed in order, and, as in the *breviate*, positionally well separated from the other three manors. The only difference between its figures and those of IE and DB is that in these Strethall is said to have four teams which by 1086 had become five, and here it has two.

The Schedule of Claims

Immediately following the *Nomina Villarum* come schedules of estates claimed to be Ely's but which in one sense or another were in alien hands. One section of these is to be found only in ms. C, and only part of one usurper's acquisitions, some of those of Roger Bigot, sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk, appears in both sections. In the first section the headings give small hint of illegality, but those of the second make it clear that these are abstractions from Ely property — *hec tulit de ecclesia Eudo dapifer; hec invasit episcopus Baiocensis super abbatiam de Ely*, for example. For the most part they refer not to the

demesne manors, but to those to which, in the IE, is prefaced the heading, *has terras calumpniatur abbas de Ely*. One heading says that the lands are 'briefly noted below', and while for some holdings a few statistical details are given, usually hidage, or the amount of meadow in the holding, or its status, we have little comparable material in the Essex entries. Indeed, all the document says of Geoffrey of Mandeville's ablation of High Easter is to call it 'that celebrated village' (*villa famosa*),¹² and that Ralph Peverel has Amberden 'as a manor' is all it says of that holding.

The first section notes only Strethall and Heydon, calling them two manors which Hugh de Bernières holds, valued at £9 10s. 0d., which agrees with IE and DB. The acquisition by Geoffrey de Mandeville of 24 acres of the latter's woodland appears in the second section. The woodland he has taken away at Shellow Bowells is given as 34 acres, whereas IE gives 30 and DB 35. It is only from the Schedule that we know it was not Thorold of Rochester or his son Ralph who took away the manor from Ely, as IE and DB might suggest, but first Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and then Roger Bigot, who is said to hold it. It looks as if the theft was organised and permitted during one of Odo's periods of regency, confirmed by Roger (who does not however seem at any time to have been sheriff of Essex), and sub-infeudated to Thorold, an adherent of Odo's, and then to his son.

What is surprising is the absence of any mention of Fambridge, which in IE and DB Reginald the crossbowman is said to be holding of the king, though according to the Hundred-jury it was rightfully Ely's.¹³ But it is possible that we have not got the whole of the originals of the Schedules.

There is a further Schedule, also only in ms. C, which deals with Ely's losses at the time of the *placitum* or 'plea' of 1070/1, concerned with the losses suffered by Ely. Its date is indicated by the inclusion, as holders of Ely lands, of persons who were dead by 1086; e.g. Lisois de Moustières, whose estates passed to Eudes fitzHerbert. It makes no mention of Strethall and Heydon, or of Sandon, High Easter, Shellow Bowells, and South Hanningfield, all of which appear in the Schedule discussed earlier, but includes Fambridge and the holding which in 1086 was in the royal manor of Witham, here shown to be Terling, as well as Ralph Peverel's Rettendon holding, which do not. But we should not assume that these passed out of Ely ownership between 1071 and 1086, or that recovery of the other manors was made between these dates. None of the IE Schedules seems to be a complete list of alienated property. The first eight holdings are said to be of the Ely demesne, the last three of sokeland only (a division recalling the arrangement of the Summaries). The assessments of the holdings on the whole tally with those of DB and other portions of the IE, except that Lisois is said to hold 30 acres of sokeland at Broxted where the other documents give Eudes 9 acres and two carucates of demesne, which might represent a further acquisition. The order of appearance of the manors is quite unlike that of IE.

A number of writs of the first William's reign order his chief bishops and barons to hold enquiries into the losses of some of the estates suffered by the abbey, to restore them if Ely establishes her claim to them, to report if their holders claim to hold them by the king's gift, when he will judge the matter according to the report, organising exchanges of territory if desirable; and to see that holders of Ely thegnlands make the best agreement with the abbot about tenancy that they can, or if they will not come to an agreement, ensure that Ely recovers the estates.¹⁴ One writ ordains that Richard fitz-Gilbert is to surrender Broxted to the abbey, and that Hugh de Bernières shall give up three hides to it. Richard is not mentioned in connection with Broxted in IE or DB; it is Eudes *dapifer* (fitz-Herbert) who has deprived the abbey of some of its land there, and perhaps Richard sold or leased it to Eudes to avoid trouble. Hugh had more than three hides at Strethall and Heydon, and perhaps these were the holding of one only of the pre-Conquest tenants at the former. As he is in IE and DB said to be holding them 'under' the abbot, he seems to have come to an agreement regarding this inalienable estate, and it is noteworthy that it is not included in the 1070/1 Schedule.

The Essex section of the IE is among the least interesting portions thereof. But it does substantially supplement the information to be gained from DB, and is an excellent illustration of the complexities of the Domesday Inquest and of the texts this produced.

(12) It is *famosa villa* also in H.E. (II.96), 'now called Pleshey'. The Abbey had held it since a widow called Godiva's gift of it in Cnut's time.

(13) Fambridge had come to the Abbey in the same manner as High Easter had (H.E., II. 81, 92).

(14) H. W. C. Davis, *op. cit.*, includes these writs. Copies are also in H.E.

HEZEKIAH HAYNES

Oliver Cromwell's Major-General for the Eastern Counties

By W. L. F. Nuttall, D.F.C., Ph.D., M.A.

Hezekiah Haynes came from an old Essex family¹ and is best known to historians as Oliver Cromwell's Major-General for the Eastern Counties. In this article the writer has assembled scattered data regarding his life, presented in the form of a short biography.

He was the second son of John Haynes,² the owner of Old Holt and Copford Hall, both in Copford, Essex. As an ardent Puritan, in 1633, John Haynes sailed for America with the aim of setting up a new and better England. A well educated and liberal minded statesman, he distinguished himself in becoming the third Governor of Massachusetts and the first Governor of Connecticut, being the most prominent founder of that colony.

As a young man, Hezekiah saw his father for the last time in 1637, when he made a visit to England and sold Old Holt. During the Civil War he joined the Parliamentary Cause early in hostilities and served as a Captain in Colonel Holborne's Regiment of Foot.³ His elder brother, Robert, on the other hand, was a Royalist. In January, 1645, Hezekiah Haynes was chosen as a Major of Horse and during that year was in charge of eight hundred cavalry in the Eastern Counties.⁴ In October of the same year he was sent from Melton Mowbray to the House of Commons bearing a letter, which had been written by Prince Rupert⁵ shortly after having had a heated altercation with his uncle, King Charles, who blamed him for surrendering Bristol to Fairfax. The letter related that Princes Rupert and Maurice, Sir Richard Willis and "divers other Gentlemen of good quality, to the number of four hundred, the least of which is a Captain," had laid down their commissions and disengaged themselves from the King's party, desiring a pass to go beyond the seas. Haynes was invited into the Commons to give some further information regarding the letter and was thanked for his faithful and good services.

When he could free himself from military duties, which took him to different parts of England,⁶ he returned to his home in Essex, where he also sometimes stayed with Richard Harlakenden at Earls Colne. Here he became a close friend with the local Puritan pastor, Ralph Josselin, who frequently mentions him in his diary. On one occasion he expressed his pleasure on hearing the news that Major Haynes had routed three hundred of the enemy, capturing half of them.

In 1647 Haynes went north, where he fought in Colonel Twistleton's Regiment against the Scots and near Carlisle ambushed and routed the Scottish advance guard.⁷ In the following year he was present at the battle of Preston, being one of the senior officers who signed the articles of surrender of James, Duke of Hamilton, at Uttoxeter, after which he was a witness at the Duke's trial.⁸ After serving

REFERENCES AND NOTES

The following abbreviations have been used:—

C.J. *Commons Journal*

C.S.P.D. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*

Thurloe, J. *Thurloe State Papers* 1792

1. Morant, P. *History of Essex II*, 1768, p. 195. Harrison, A. D. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. N.S. XXII*, 1940, pp. 50-8, 355-7; *Copford in History* 1952. For Haynes family arms confirmed 1578, see *Harl. Soc. LXVI*, 1915, p. 119.
2. D. N. B.; *Dict. Am. Biog. VIII*, 1932, p. 459.
3. Firth, C. H. and Davies, G. *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army*, 1940, p. 95. Josselin, R., *The Diary of Rev. R. Josselin*, Camden Soc. Ser. 3, XV, 1908, p. 23.
4. Josselin, pp. 24, 30. C.J. IV, p. 281; *Hist. MSS. Com. Duke of Portland MSS.*, 1891, p. 266. Firth, C. H. and Rait, R. S. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, 1911, I, p. 775.
5. C.J. IV, pp. 327-329; C.S.P.D. 1645-47, p. 216. The pass was not granted.
6. C.S.P.D. 1645-47, pp. 245, 247, 259-60, 267; C.J. IV, p. 28; Josselin pp. 30, 31; Richard Harlakenden was Hezekiah's stepmother's brother. *Essex Record Office D/DU*, 161/167, on 3 Dec., 1647 had released to him by his uncle, Emanuel Haynes, a messuage called Palmers and lands in Copford, Birch and Layer Marney; 161/430, 29 June, 1653, his brother Robert released further lands to him in this vicinity.
7. C.J.V, p. 141; *Portland MSS.* I, p. 471; Firth & Davies, p. 95; Berry, J. A. *Cromwellian Major General*, 1938, Plate V.
8. Burnet, G. *Lives of Hamiltons* 1677, p. 364; Josselin p. 55.

as a Major in General Fleetwood's Regiment of Horse in the Eastern Counties, he practically commanded this regiment during Cromwell's invasion of Scotland, taking a valiant part in his victory at Dunbar.⁹ During the second Civil War he almost certainly was with Fleetwood's Regiment at the battle of Worcester.

After the end of hostilities, in which he had distinguished himself as a capable leader, he was made a Justice of the Peace for Essex and remained in charge of Fleetwood's Regiment of Horse¹⁰. It was probably in the year 1653 that he married Anne,¹¹ third daughter of Thomas Smithsby, who had been King Charles's Esquire Saddler and Master of the Saddlers' Company.

II

In 1653, after the dissolution of the Long Parliament, Cromwell requested the independent churches to nominate "persons fearing God and of approved fidelity and honesty," who formed the Barebone's or Little Parliament, which met in July. Its members' lack of experience of administration and public affairs doomed its efforts to failure. However, before it dissolved itself in December, it passed an Act aimed at bringing together under one treasury the manifold treasuries of the Commonwealth, there being at that time some ten funds with separate treasuries. Under this Act a Committee¹² of six persons, one being Haynes, was set up to enquire into the several treasuries and how the receipts and issues could be brought into one channel.

After dissolution of the Little Parliament, Cromwell was once more faced with having to take the lead in deciding quickly what kind of government should be formed. The Council of officers prepared a new constitution, the "Instrument of Government," which would give executive power to the Protector and the Council of State and provided for an elected parliament which would meet occasionally. With the minimum delay, on December 16th, 1653, Oliver Cromwell took his oath of office as Lord Protector and the new Government came into being. On 27th December a letter signed by John Lambert, Edward Whalley, Hezekiah Haynes and twelve other senior officers was sent to regimental commanders informing them of the action that had been taken.

There followed a period during which the Protector ruled as he chose and introduced legislation by Ordinance. Since the country's finances were much strained by the heavy expenditure that had been incurred by the war with Holland, the Protector was much concerned with financial problems. In consequence, shortly after being installed, he appointed a strong treasury commission¹³ to look into the finances of the country and also to continue with the investigation of uniting the different treasuries. These Commissioners included Colonel Robert Tichbourne and Colonel William Goffe, both regicides; Colonel William Sydenham, who had taken a lead in the dissolution of the Little Parliament; Colonel Edward Montagu, later the Earl of Sandwich; Sir William Roberts, a Councillor of State; Hezekiah Haynes and two others. They were given wide powers and took upon themselves the duty of trying to cut down government expenditure. Hezekiah's brother-in-law, Thomas Smithsby Jnr.¹⁴ was Secretary to the Commissioners for Inspecting the Treasuries and Clerk of Cromwell's Privy Seal. The Treasury Commissioners' enquiry led to positive results, since in 1654 two Ordinances¹⁵ were promulgated, whereby in future all moneys from different sources of revenue had to be paid into the Protector's Exchequer and no moneys paid out except by warrant under the Protector's Great or Privy

9. Firth & Davies, pp. 95, 96; *Original Memoirs written during the Great Civil War*, Sir Walter Scott Ed., 1806, pp. 209, 232, 240; Nickolls, J. *Original Letters and Papers*, 1743, p. 71.

10. C.J. VIII, 5 Dec., 1651, pp. 19, 48; P.R.O. Ind. 4213, fol. 271, 6 Oct., 1652; Rawlinson MSS. A.208, he was issued warrants for the pay of the officers and men of Fleetwood's Regiment, £12,212 in 1663 and £15,102 in 1654. This MSS. is a ledger covering payments to regimental commanders and others.

11. Morant, p. 195. Anne was Thos. Smithsby Snr's 3rd daughter, who in 1649 had married Thomas Bushell, a Puritan merchant of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. He was the owner of ships in service of Parliament. He died in 1650, leaving property in ships and merchandise valued at £12,000. C.S.P.D. 1649-50, pp. 590, 592. Will P.C.C. 151, Pembroke, 7 Mar., 1650. Chancery C2/Chas. I/S105/5, C10/19/16, 1651; C33/198, f. 285.

12. *Acts & Ordinances II*, p. 711; C.J. VIII, p. 292; C.S.P.D. 1653-54, p. 55.

13. C.S.P.D. 1653-54, p. 317, 31 Dec., 1653.

14. Eldest son of Thomas Smithsby Snr. died 1655. SP28/270. Patent Roll C66/2913, No. 34. C.S.P.D. 1656-7, p. 263. For Privy Seals see E403/2608.

15. *Acts & Ordinances II*, p. 918, 21 June, 1654; p. 1016, 2 Sept., 1654.

Seal. In practice, the control of the revenue was placed firmly in the hands of the Commissioners of the Treasury and Court of the Exchequer. Thus a more modern and efficient form of Treasury was brought into being.

In the summer of 1654, the first Parliament of the Protectorate was elected, which was truly representative of the country, except that the Royalists were not allowed to vote. When it met in September, instead of proceeding with constructive legislation begun by the Protector, this parliament began at once to question the constitutional provisions of the "Instrument of Government." The intervention of the Army in its affairs was much resented by the Commons and this led on to a struggle over control of the Army and Finance, in the course of which the Protector made it clear that he was not prepared to give way to Parliament. An impasse was soon reached and in January, 1655, Cromwell decided that he had once more no alternative but to dissolve Parliament.

In addition to being a Treasury Commissioner, Haynes¹⁶ served on a "Committee for the Business of the Post," which in 1653 reported to the Council of State. The principal recommendation of this four-man committee was that both inland and foreign post should be entrusted to "a person of good affection," since otherwise those in authority would have to search the mail frequently for "designs of public mischief." What they implied by this was that the Government should be able to intercept and examine all correspondence, a valuable source of intelligence to Secretary Thurloe. They also recommended that government despatches should be carried free and that the Postmaster should be allowed to charge two pence for a single letter to places distant up to eighty miles from London, three pence for destinations in England and Wales exceeding eighty miles from London, four pence for Scotland and sixpence for Ireland. These recommendations were accepted by the Council and in June the office was put out to competitive tender, the outcome being that John Manley was appointed "Farmer of the Posts" inland and foreign for two years, for an annual payment to the Government of £10,000. After that the post office was granted to Secretary Thurloe, who held it for the remainder of the Commonwealth.

Haynes was also appointed a Commissioner to officiate in Essex and Norfolk under an Act for ejecting scandalous, ignorant and insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters,¹⁷ a typically Puritan measure.

III

The year 1655 brought the Protectorate many problems and anxieties. Owing to his failure to establish a constitutional government, Cromwell's authority was being assailed by the Royalists and republican Levellers, who had a common interest in opposing the "usurper." He dealt with the minority of disaffected officers in the army by dismissal or imprisonment. As regards the Royalists, Secretary of State Thurloe,¹⁸ through his efficient intelligence service and other sources, had information concerning the preparations being made for a general rising, which after several postponements was timed for March. He knew a great deal regarding the appointment of Royalist commanders in different parts of the country and the arrangements that they had made for obtaining supplies of arms and raising volunteers. The rising was to be preceded by the assassination of the Protector and at Middleburg in Holland Charles the Second was waiting for the "good hour" for landing in England.

Things came to a head on 11th March when Colonel John Penruddock started an insurrection in Wiltshire, seizing Salisbury. The Protector appointed Desborough as Major-General in the south-west and it was not long before the insurgents in that part of the country had been suppressed. In other parts of England the government's preventive measures successfully forestalled the Royalists' plans for effective action. That the Protector¹⁹ was prepared to deal with a more serious threat is evident from

16. *B.M.* 22546, folios 109-119. These include two reports dated 1 Jan. and 7 May, 1653, the first signed by Col. John Okey, Col. Thomas Kelsey, Col. Nathaniel Rich and Major Hezekiah Haynes, the second does not have Okey's signature. *C.S.P.D.* 1652-3, pp. 449-50; idem 1653-4, pp. 327, 372; idem 1655, p. 138; for Post Office Act see *Acts & Ordinances II*, pp. 1007-13.

17. *Acts & Ordinances II*, p. 971, August 1654.

18. *Thurloe IV*, p. 132; Firth, C. H. *English Hist. Rev. III*, 1888, pp. 325, 340-1, *IV*, 1889, p. 313-38, 525-35 *passim*.

19. Firth, 1888, p. 342; Vaughan, R., *The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell* 1838, I, p. 151, letter to Pell, 16 March 1655.

the movement of his regular troops and a statement by Thurloe that he "could if there had been need, have drawn into the field within fourteen days, twenty thousand men, besides the standing army."

As regards Eastern England, early in March Cromwell sent Major Hezekiah Haynes to Colchester, which was known to be focal point for "malignants" in the area.²⁰ Haynes had evidently been given instructions to watch the local situation closely and act promptly as soon as he thought it necessary. On 13th March we find him writing to Thurloe²¹ acknowledging the Protector's letters of intelligence and reporting that he had sent for Colonel Sir Thomas Honywood, Colonel Thomas Cooke, Major Dudley Templer and others to meet him in Colchester, so that they could agree what steps to take regarding the security of Essex. Honywood, who had been the Member of Parliament for the County in the first Protectorate parliament, was one of the most influential men in the district. On the 15th Haynes wrote to Thurloe²² that Honywood had ordered the mustering of part of the local militia, consisting of three companies of foot and a troop of horse commanded by Major Templer. He also reported that he had "secured many of those near this town, that have manifested any considerable affection to this wicked interest now in armes." The next day he wrote to Cromwell²³ that Honywood's three companies had been dismissed to be ready at short notice, but that he was keeping Templer's eighty horse under arms for four days in case His Highness should send him further orders. He warmly commended Honywood who had been "mighty active and such a dampness seems to be upon the spirits of the malignants (of which this place is full) a soe visible change in so little a tyme, as really demonstrates the finger of God is in it." In conclusion, he humbly begs His Highness's order what he should do with the prisoners he had in custody, being forced to keep them in inns.

On 14th March the Protector formally appointed the Commissioners for Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely,²⁴ selecting from each county men from whom he expected support. For Essex these were Sir William Masham, Sir Thomas Honywood, Sir Richard Everard and eighteen others, for Suffolk Sir Thomas Barnardiston, John Fothergill, James Moody, John Clarke and twenty-one others, for Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely Sir Francis Russell and seventeen others. The Protector's commission explained that the enemies of peace were still restless in their designs for raising new troubles "and have at this time raised forces and are in actual rebellion in several parts of the nation, plundering and spoiling the good people." Consequently, the Commissioners for each county were appointed with power to raise men to bear arms under field officers chosen by the Protector, such forces to be used to oppose and disarm the rebels.

When Haynes²⁵ made contact with the Commissioners for Suffolk, he obtained their full support and co-operation. On 23rd March he was able to write to Thurloe, enclosing a letter to the Protector from them, in which they stated that they would shortly be mustering three regiments of foot and one of horse at Bury St. Edmunds.

On 20th March Haynes²⁶ sent Thurloe a list of the persons he had apprehended and wrote that he "exceedingly wants directions about the prysoners in custodie" in Colchester, assuming that Thurloe's silence in this matter implied that he should continue keeping them under guard. He also reported that in Norfolk all was quiet and followed this up with a letter, written two days later, saying that he had received an account from the Norfolk Commissioners that Colonel Robert Jermy had mustered part of his regiment of militia and that His Highness had directed them to receive instructions from him, but since he had not had "the least hint from above" he was deferring answering. In Norwich some twenty cavaliers had been arrested and the militia who guarded them did not know what to do with them.

20. *B.M. Add. MSS.* 34013 is a list of suspected persons, received in Whitehall in 1655 from the Major Generals. For Essex, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Norfolk there are 180 names, of which 118 were residents of Essex.

21. *Thurloe III*, pp. 228, 247; for Honywood see *D.N.B.* In the *Rawlinson MSS.* Haynes's original letters have his seal with his family arms of three crescents; for a reproduction of which see Haines, C. R. *A Complete Memoir of Richard Haynes*, 1899, p. 144.

22. *Thurloe III*, p. 247.

23. *Idem*, p. 253.

24. *Idem*, p. 233; *C.S.P.D.* 1655, pp. 77, 78.

25. *Idem*, pp. 228, 236, 266, 292, 294.

26. *Idem*, pp. 284, 292.

Since he wanted an early reply he had sent a cornet of the Essex regiment to await instructions.

In spite of the firm measures taken, it is evident that Cromwell and the Council of State were expecting further trouble. On 24th March the Protector²⁷ wrote to Justices of the Peace in East Anglia urging them to keep a diligent watch on strangers, especially on the coast, and to secure all that cannot give a good account of themselves, so that "dangerous designs would be frustrated in the birth." On the same day he wrote²⁸ to Haynes and the Commissioners of Essex as follows:—

"We doubt not but you have heard of the good hand of God in defeating this insurrection. We hear from all parts that the risings are everywhere suppressed, hundreds of prisoners in custody, and more daily discovered and secured. We hope an effectual course will be taken to disappoint the whole design. The readiness of the honest people to appear has much encouraged us, and discouraged the enemy, who, had he prevailed, would have made us the most miserable and harassed nation in the world. We thank you for your zeal and forwardness, incited, we believe, not only on account of your own happiness, but the Glory of God and good of these nations."

In the Eastern Counties the situation was now under complete control and the local militia, that had been mustered for the emergency, returned to their homes. Haynes appears to have gone back to London.

IV

In May, 1655, Thurloe received information regarding new Royalist conspiracies,²⁹ as a result of which several prominent Royalists were arrested and before the end of June there was no more room left in the London prisons. There was also evidence indicating that the murder of the Protector was being contemplated as a preliminary to another insurrection and to prevent this all Royalists were banished from London and Westminster.

On 22nd June, Haynes, who had returned to East Anglia, wrote to Thurloe from Bury St. Edmunds³⁰ to inform him of the steps the Commissioners in the Eastern Counties had taken in prosecution of His Highness's instructions to apprehend certain Royalists. He reported, however, that the persons of greatest quality were found absent from their homes. In particular he wrote "I thought it my duty to informe you, that my Lord Maynard played least in sight, and held himselfe (as we have cause to feare) for he was at home but a little before our party came to his house, and hearing that he was escaped to my Lord of Suffolk's they followed him thither, but missed him, he being (as they understood) gone thence directly to London. In his house were found sundry Armes well fixed, and newly fitted for service over 20 foote arms, and 12 case of pistolls, and proportionable furniture for soe many horses; besides eleven carbines, with halfe a hundred halberts and javellings, all which are brought safely to Colchester. My Lord Lucas dwelleth in Common Garden, and my Lord Rivers in London, but the certaine place I cannot learne." By the beginning of July, Lords Maynard, Lucas and Rivers were all three in custody in St. James's Palace, London.³¹

By the end of June the standing army in England, which had been reduced in numbers, was supplemented by the new militia, a body of men quite distinct from the local militia referred to above. This was a permanently mobilised body consisting of 6,020 Horse and 200 Foot. On 9th August, 1655, England was divided into ten districts, with Major-Generals³² in command of the new militia, which was virtually an armed police. General Fleetwood was appointed Major-General for Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire, but owing to his other duties was allowed to appoint deputies, which were Packer for the first three and Haynes for the remainder. It was, however, not until October that Haynes³³ was formally appointed as Major-General, which entitled him to a salary of £666, besides his pay of £235 per annum as a regular major of horse. His

27. *C.S.P.D.* 1655, pp. 92-4.

28. *Idem*, p. 92.

29. Gardiner, S. R. *History of the Commonwealth 1649-54. 1894-1901.* III, p. 165.

30. *Thurloe III*, p. 574.

31. *Perfect Diurnall* 27 June, *E.* 845/6; *Perfect Proceedings* 2 July, *E.* 845/12; *Public Intelligencer* 1-8 Oct. 1655, *E.* 489/1, Lords Maynard and Rivers were still in custody in October.

32. Gardiner, *Commonwealth III*, p. 172; Rannie, D. W., *Eng. Hist. Rev.* X, 1895, pp. 477-8.

33. *C.S.P.D.* 1655, p. 387; S. P. 25/77, folios 864-6, Establishment dated 24 June, 1655; S. P. 25/76A.

militia establishment consisted of six troops of Horse and two companies of Foot, a total of 760 men. Each troop of Horse was commanded by a Captain, who had under him a Lieutenant, a Cornet, a Quartermaster, and one hundred men (except in Ely where these were only sixty), the troops and their commanders being as follows:—Cambridge, Colonel Robert Castle; Ely, Colonel Francis Underwood; Norfolk, Captain Robert Jermy; Suffolk, Colonel John Fothergill; Essex, two troops under Sir Thomas Honywood and Major Dudley Templer. In addition the City of Norwich had two companies of Foot, each with one hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Barrett and Captain Nicholas Salter. The Captains in charge of the Horse received £100 per annum and those commanding Foot companies £50. Similarly the Horse soldiers, except for three corporals and a trumpeter in each troop, received £6 per annum and the Foot soldiers £3.

Apart from being placed in command of the local militia, the Major-Generals were given specific orders,³⁴ the most important of which were that all persons engaged in rebellion since the beginning of the Protectorate were to be imprisoned or banished and have their estates sequestered, that nobody was permitted to keep arms without a licence, and that a tax of ten per cent. was to be levied on the annual value of the property of ex-Royalists, the proceeds of which were to defray the cost of the new militia. Later on fuller instructions were issued to the Major-Generals, which included ways by which they were to improve public morals and promote godliness and virtue.

Haynes, in his capacity of Major-General for the Eastern Counties, soon found many matters requiring his attention. He must have been relieved when he was authorised to release on bond of some seventy Royalist prisoners in the different counties under his administration.³⁵

Towards the end of the year, Haynes became involved in the vexed question of municipal representation in the town of Colchester.³⁶ In brief, the circumstances were that under its charter the mayor was elected yearly, while the other members of the corporation were chosen for life. In the second Civil War many of the townsmen had welcomed the Royalists and had taken up arms against the Parliamentarians. In that year the corporation consisted mainly of Royalists, but after the town surrendered to Fairfax, the Parliamentarians succeeded in getting rid of the Royalist members. These were replaced by their own supporters and Barrington was elected mayor. However, by 1654, Reynolds was able to persuade the burgesses to expel Barrington on the grounds of misconduct, and with a Royalist and Presbyterian majority, they appointed him mayor, which naturally went strongly against the wishes of the Commonwealth government.

In November there was a crisis brought about by the necessity of having to elect a new recorder and other office-bearers. Since the Protector and State Council were determined to eliminate candidates representing the heterogeneous opposition to the Protectorate, Haynes was instructed by Cromwell to be present at the election³⁷ and take special care that no person who "had his estate sequestered, or his person imprisoned for delinquency, or did subscribe or abet the treasonable engagement in the year 1647, or had been aiding or assisting the late King, or any other enemies of Parliament" would be allowed to vote. Therefore, before the elections in December, Haynes went through the Colchester electoral roll, carefully striking out persons in these categories. In this way Lawrence, a member of the Barrington faction, was elected mayor by a small majority.

In a letter dated 20th December addressed to General Fleetwood,³⁸ Haynes wrote that he had been commanded to go to Colchester "where yesterday we went to the choice of a mayor, recorder and other officers" . . . and that he had excluded "all persons forbid by his highness orders and proclamation, which I did so effectually, that there remaind not above 140 persons, as electors. Of them the honest interest had but 74. How great need these few and weake hands and hearts have to be strengthened, I submit to your honour's consideration . . . I humbly offered this as a consideration to his highness that unless some speedy change be made in such malignant corporations, it is not for such honest men, that would serve you, to abide their present stations; for no longer than such a severe hand as there was

34. *C.S.P.D.* 1655, p. 346.

35. *Idem*, pp. 367-9, 3 Oct., 1655.

36. Gardiner, *Commonwealth III*, pp. 268-91; Round, J. H., *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XV, 1900, pp. 641-64 and references. These authors have dealt with this subject in considerable detail.

37. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* I, 1858, p. 3; Round p. 655.

38. *Thurloe IV*, p. 320.

in this election be held over them will any good magistracy be countenanced; which, if it may by any means provoke to the doing something effectual in the charters of corporations, I have my end, and I am sure the hearts of most that fear God will be rejoiced."

Haynes's realistic approach to this question was appreciated by the State Council, with the result that in 1656 Cromwell granted Colchester a new charter, excluding the burgesses from the new organisation and giving the right of nomination of offices to the Common Council. The first mayor, aldermen and Common Council were nominated in the charter, care being taken to name a majority of the Barrington party, a few of their opponents being also included.

V

Major-General Haynes's main duty was the conservation of peace, using the new militia to suppress disturbances, disarm dangerous persons and see that the highways were kept safe. This implied close co-operation with the Commissioners of the counties under his jurisdiction. The matter which concerned the Commissioners and him most was the decimation tax imposed on ex-Royalists, to pay for the militia. In their message to the Protector³⁹ the Commissioners for Norfolk pointed out that they recognized the importance of promoting "so good and just a work as the making of a discrimination betwixt the innocent and the guilty, thereby also to provide a necessary revenue for securing . . . the good people of this Commonwealth in the peaceable enjoyment of their dear and dearly bought liberties. Yet we cannot act without regret and trouble of spirit, that their obstinacy against so good a cause and so eminently attested from above should constrain your highness to command us to treat with them upon so unpleasant a theme." Moreover, after they had made the assessments, Haynes⁴⁰ wrote that he feared "in that county there will not be enough by a great deal rayseed to pay the three troopes therein."

The Suffolk Commissioners⁴¹ wrote to the Protector that on receipt of his orders through Haynes they had met to put them into execution, commenting as follows: "We are very clear in our opinions, that this undertaking is not only honourable in itself, but also the most probable and likely means to secure the peace and happiness of this commonwealth, nothing being more equal in our judgements than that those, by the restless turbulency of their spirits do create new troubles and disquiet to the commonwealth, should bear the necessitated charge thereof themselves, without bringing a further burden upon the good and peaceable people of this nation . . ." The Protector and Council were so pleased to have this clear declaration of agreement, signed by Sir Thomas Barnardiston and the other Commissioners, that they published the gist of it.

The Cambridgeshire and Essex Commissioners⁴² similarly undertook to put the Protector's instructions into operation. It is interesting that among the ninety-six Royalists in Essex assessed for the decimation tax was Robert Haynes of Copford, Hezekiah's brother.

Among the many subjects to which the Major-Generals were required to attend was religion. Haynes's attitude to religious matters was influenced by his being a devout Independent. As such he felt that individuals were entitled to liberty of conscience, while on the other hand he saw the necessity for maintaining law and order. He was prepared to listen to the views of Ministers with anabaptist or fifth monarchy beliefs.⁴³ He and the Commissioners for Norfolk were in difficulties with a clergyman, Boteman,⁴⁴ considered to be an active instrument helping the malignants and assisting in the growth of episcopacy. In spite of Haynes having forbidden him to preach, he had given a sermon in a church two miles from Norwich, where he had drawn a crowd. The Quakers were also a source of trouble to him, considerable numbers being under arrest⁴⁵ for making disturbances. In addition he was instructed to suppress a meeting at Barking in Essex⁴⁶ "for holding and defending blasphemous opinions against the deity of Christ" and functioned as a Commissioner for the approbation of ministers of the church.

39. *Thurloe IV*, p. 171, 8 Nov. 1655.

40. *Idem*, p. 216, 19 Nov.

41. *Idem*, p. 225, 20 Nov.; *Mercurius Politicus* 22-29 Nov., E. 489/18; for Barnardiston see *D.N.B.*

42. *Idem*, pp. 257, 317, 434.

43. *Idem*, pp. 687, 727.

44. *Idem*, p. 216; V, pp. 289, 296; *C.S.P.D.* 1656-7, pp. 210, 245.

45. *Thurloe V*, pp. 187-8; *C.S.P.D.* 1656-7, p. 128; *C.J.* VII, p. 470.

46. *C.S.P.D.* 1655, p. 372; *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, N.S. XX, 1931, p. 204.

Reformation of the morals of the people played an important part in the duties of the Major-Generals. They were given orders to forbid horse races, cock-fighting, bear-baitings and plays in their counties, as well as reduce the number of ale houses. The public were thus deprived of their amusements on the grounds that they might give opportunities for the disaffected to meet and hatch plots against the State, "much evil and wickedness" being committed.⁴⁷ They were also given instructions concerning dangerous persons, rogues, vagrants and persons living loosely or unable to give a good account of themselves, who were to be arrested and transported abroad, being usually sent to Barbados. In accordance with this order Haynes arrested in Norwich the satirical poet, John Cleveland,⁴⁸ who could give no account of what he did, other than live quietly in a house, the residence of papists and other disaffected persons. The Norfolk Commissioners nevertheless considered him "a most desperate enemy of God and good men." Another person pertaining to this category was Anthony Aldham⁴⁹ of Thetford, who was arrested by Haynes and the Commissioners of Suffolk on the grounds of his being "a very dangerous person to this commonwealth, and that he hath no estate nor way of livelihood, but lives idly and under great suspicion." In a Puritan state it was considered immoral to be idle.

Haynes⁵⁰ was also interested in seeing that justice was fairly administered and for this reason he arranged to accompany the judges on the circuit of East Anglia in the summer of 1656.

VI

In June, 1656, Thurloe informed Haynes of the government's decision to hold an election for a new parliament, giving him liberty "to try the tempers of men as to parliament." His first reaction was to request that speedy consideration be given to the payment of the new militia in the counties of his association, there having been insufficient funds obtained for the decimation tax for this purpose. His reasons for stressing this were that "they are the persons whom you can mostly confide in and must employ in that affaire; and it is some disgust in them that a whole year should pass, and not one penny assigned to them for satisfaction." Between the 29th of June and the 20th of August, Haynes⁵¹ wrote to Thurloe no less than five times and once to the Protector urging the importance of the militia being assembled and paid. In his last letter to Thurloe he remarked that "I have often moved your honour, my Lord Lambert and Mr. Lord deputie [General Fleetwood] in it, that I should be ashamed almost to reiterate my desires therein, if it were not evident your affaires called for it." His persistence was however of no avail, as no action was taken.

The writs for the new Parliament were issued in the middle of July and Haynes threw himself heart and soul into electioneering. On 15th August⁵² he reported that "I hope to quicken them in their endeavours upon the election day in hand, in which they have been much discouraged by the potencie of the adverse party. Yett all strength can be gott is endeavoured to crowde in my lord deputy amongst them, that the honest people may have someone in parliament to address themselves to." That he was not optimistic regarding the outcome is brought out in his letter of the same date to the Protector, an extract⁵³ of which reads: "Such is the prevalency of that spirit, which opposeth itself to the work of God upon the wheele, that the spirits of those, that are otherwise minded, have been much perplexed and discouraged from almost appearing at the election, seeing that no visible way of balancing their interest. Yet have I and some others with myselfe laboured with them to doe their utmost . . ." In Suffolk⁵⁴ he reported that the honest party, that is the Independents and supporters of the Protector, "will be compelled to take in the Presbiterian to keep out the malignant." Haynes,⁵⁵ himself, had at one time considered standing as a candidate for Norwich, but in the end he put himself up for the County of

47. *C.S.P.D.* 1565-7, p. 73, which was a fuller explanation of an earlier order.

48. *D.N.B.*; *Thurloe IV*, pp. 184, 216; *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, Ed. Thos. Carlyle, 1845, II, p. 394. After three months in prison in Yarmouth, he was released on Cromwell's orders.

49. *Thurloe IV*, p. 271.

50. *Thurloe V*, p. 187.

51. *Idem*, pp. 165, 187, 230, 312, 328; *C.S.P.D.* 1655-6, pp. 262, 277, April 1656; SP 25/76, folio 614; Troops were reduced from 100 to 80 and those released to be paid to 24 June, 1656. *Idem* p. 235, funds for this were to be made available to Haynes by Whalley.

52. *Thurloe V*, p. 311.

53. *Idem*, p. 312.

54. *Idem*, p. 230.

55. *Idem*, p. 328; Josselin p. 117, *Burton, T., Diary*, 1828, IV, p. 487.

Essex and was elected on August 20th. Shortly after that he received a letter from a friend,⁵⁶ who reported having met John Hobart, the member elected for Norwich, who had expressed himself that "we were ruled by an arbitrary power, and not by any known law . . . and that major generals, and such new raised forces, were needless people . . ." The letter also contained this passage: "We may perceive by the appearance at the elections the affections of the people, and I much grieve to see what a poor number appeared hartilie for our friends. If extraordinary engagements had not been, I know to my knowledge, both my lord Fleetwood and Col. Wood had lost it. Many of our seeming friends proved very faynt, that a many very much heightened against you in particular, sayeing, you expresse yourself at Lynn, and in the castle at several times with much bitterness. For my part I shall add my endeavours to take you of all your calumniators."⁵⁷

September found Haynes in bed with a severe cold writing to Thurloe—"I am the Lord's prisoner, but in expectation in what way he will please to visit mee, the physitians (into whose hands, next unto God, I comit mysele) not been resolved whether it will prove a quartern or a fever." The election results had shown clearly the revulsion against the unconstitutional law of the sword, the reaction being particularly severe in the seven counties of the old Eastern Association, which in the past had been centres of Puritanism. Englishmen, with their love of civilian and political liberty, had shown their detestation of the severe rule imposed by the Major-Generals, the basic concept of which was ill founded. Haynes had carried out his instructions faithfully and conscientiously, but had inevitably made himself most unpopular.

When the House was due to assemble on 17th September, the list of members elected was carefully scrutinised by the Council of State with the result that about one hundred members, who were not approved, were excluded from entry. These included no less than twenty-nine from the Eastern Counties,⁵⁸ one being Hobart mentioned above. Among Haynes's associates, who were elected and took their seats for constituencies in the area of his administration, were Sir Thomas Honywood, Sir Richard Everard, Dudley Templer, Sir Thomas Barnardiston, James Moody, John Clarke, Sir Francis Russell, John Thurloe and General Fleetwood.

VII

In September, 1656, in his opening speech to his last Parliament, Cromwell defended the Major Generals, saying that their erection was "justifiable to necessity and honest in every respect." Furthermore, in spite of the Act of Oblivion, he regarded the imposition of the decimation tax on ex-Royalists as "a most righteous thing to put upon that party which was the cause of it," views which were repugnant to many of his friends and supporters.⁵⁹ The Commons were, nevertheless, willing enough to pass an Act⁶⁰ for the security of the Protector, Commissioners being named for dealing with persons committing treason by concerning themselves in plots endangering his life.

During the last months of 1656 the Commons devoted much of their time to the notorious trial of James Naylor⁶¹ on a charge of blasphemy. A Parliamentary Committee, on which Hezekiah Haynes served, was formed to examine him. Naylor, styled the Quakers' Apostle, had let his hair grow to resemble Jesus Christ and had acquired a number of enthusiastic followers. His entry in Bristol, which was a parody of the Saviour's entry into Jerusalem, led the House to vote him guilty of horrid blasphemy. The Commons, which formed themselves into a Court of Justice, took a most serious view of his crime, the Puritan members being determined to persecute him. His crime was debated for several days, the question to decide what punishment he deserved. By a small majority of 96 to 82 he escaped the death sentence. After a further debate the House ordered Naylor to be whipped through the streets, after which his tongue was to be bored with a hot iron and his forehead branded with the letter B.

56. *Thurloe V*, p. 370, letter from Major Bulleston 1 Sept., 1656.

57. *Idem*, p. 383.

58. Davies, G. *The Early Stuarts*, p. 181; *Parliamentary and Constitutional History of England XXI*, 1762, pp. 3-21; for further particulars regarding John Hobart see Firth, *C. H., Eng. Hist. Rev. VII*, 1892, p. 102.

59. Carlyle, T. *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell II*, 1904, Speech V.

60. Scobell Acts II, pp. 371-3; Haynes was one of the Commissioners under this Act dated 10 Oct., 1656.

61. Firth, C. H. *The Last Years of the Protectorate 1656-8*, 1909, I, pp. 84-101; *Parliamentary History II*, 1807, p. 1487; *C.J. VII*, p. 448, 470.

It was Hezekiah Haynes,⁶² with his puritanical zeal, who suggested the second part of this punishment. In spite of the Protector's intervention, the whole punishment was carried out.

At Christmas Major-General Desborough, the Protector's brother-in-law, introduced a bill for the continuation of the decimation tax for maintaining the militia, which received the support of five members of the Council and several Army officers. However, at its first reading, John Claypole, a son-in-law of the Protector, rose to move its rejection and a heated debate ensued, during which it became apparent that the real motive behind the opposition was their objection to the continuation of the military despotism of the Major-Generals. In January, 1651, the bill was defeated, the voting being 124 against and 88 for.

In February, Cromwell had his well known meeting⁶³ with some hundred officers, including the Major-Generals, when in anger he accused them of making him a "drudge" and being largely responsible for many of the ills of the country, concluding that "it is time to come to a settlement and to lay aside arbitrary proceedings so unacceptable to the nation."

Having successfully eliminated the rule by the Major-Generals, there was a strong move in the Commons towards establishing a constitutional government, headed by Cromwell as King. By a large majority they voted in favour of offering him the Crown, but the opposition of the Army to the principle of kingship made Cromwell hesitate and finally decide to refuse the offer. After the Protector had dismissed General Lambert, an alternative solution was found, whereby in June, 1657, he was installed as Protector under a new constitution, the Humble Petition and Advice, which provided for an Upper House and the admission into the Commons of the members who had been debarred from taking their seats the previous year. The creation by Cromwell of a House of Lords, which did not include any of the old nobility, was unpopular and used by the republicans as a means of opposing Cromwell in the Commons, where he had lost his ablest supporters on their appointment to the House of Lords. To forestall the opposition using this as an opportunity to disrupt the Protectorate, he decided to dissolve Parliament.

In the last months of the Protectorate the Government was faced with a serious financial crisis, brought about largely by heavy war expenditure. In spite of onerous taxation, there were no funds to pay large sums owing to the Army and Navy, but before these problems could be solved, Oliver Cromwell was stricken with a fatal illness and died on 3rd September, 1658. Among the many officers who walked from Somerset House to the Abbey in his funeral procession was Major Haynes.

VIII

During these times, Haynes was an active member of the military party in parliament. It is, however, questionable whether he was one of those who favoured the indefinite perpetuation of the rule of the Major-Generals. As an Essex man he frequently came up against difficulties brought about by his position having no legal definition and by having to decide how far he should go in interfering in local affairs, in which by tradition the central government had very little say. That he recognized this problem is shown by the following remarks in a letter to Thurloe:⁶⁴ "I humbly entreat your honour to befriend me so far as to prevent any other counties, such as Hertfordshire, etc., being assigned to me, having truly my hand full, and not sufficiently qualified to the work I have already appointed me."

As a Member of Parliament Haynes⁶⁵ took part in debates on various subjects. He criticised the system of fixing a definite sum as the monthly assessment allocated to each county in England and was in advance of his times in proposing that "you go according to a pound's rate at 12d a pound." This suggestion did not appeal to the House, so they adjourned. On another occasion General Lord Fleetwood explained that the assessment for Ireland of £10,000 per month was more than that poor country could bear. Haynes seconded Fleetwood's motion that the amount should be reduced to £8,000, the sum finally agreed being £9,000. He also served on a number of Committees dealing with Bills or inquiries covering a variety of subjects, such as abuses in ale-houses, trade, estates of delinquents, regula-

62. *Burton I*, p. 153.

63. *Firth* 1909, p. 135.

64. *Thurloe IV*, p. 257, 28 Nov., 1655.

65. *Burton II*, pp. 227; see also *I*, p. 20; *II*, pp. 246, 337-8, 340, 373; *C.J. VII*, pp. 430, 432-5, 442-3, 452, 460, 466, 468, 470-1, 477, 488, 507, 528, 531, 557, 581, 589, 591.

tion of the Court of Chancery, the prevention of the multiplication of buildings in and near London and the registration of marriages, births and deaths.

In addition to his parliamentary duties,⁶⁶ he was appointed a Commissioner for the Counties of Essex, Norfolk and Cambridge for implementing the assessment of £60,000 per month in England and officiated under an Act for the imposition of customs and excise for raising money for the Army and Navy. In February, 1658, he visited Chelmsford in execution of his duties under the Act for ejecting scandalous ministers and in the strictest confidence reported to the Protector⁶⁷ regarding an important discovery he had made. This was probably connected with the Marquis of Ormonde's secret visit to England, undertaken at the request of Charles the Second, who was then contemplating crossing to England with an armed force. The plot was discovered and many arrests followed, the leading Royalists being tried by a High Court of Justice⁶⁸ of which Haynes was a member, and sentences of death were passed on Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewett and others. In the same year he also undertook his duties as Justice of the Peace for Essex, attending the general session of Justices at Chelmsford.⁶⁹ He also continued to command Fleetwood's Regiment of Horse, which in June took up guard duties in London.⁷⁰

As regards his family life, his wife, Anne, gave birth in 1657 to their eldest son, John, who became Hezekiah's heir, their family being eventually three sons and two daughters. In the same year, Hezekiah's elder brother, Robert, died of "a sickness so infectious that it killed all the persons employed putting him into his leaden coffin." Hezekiah thus succeeded to Copford Hall and other family estates in East Anglia.

IX

After Richard Cromwell⁷¹ had been proclaimed Protector on 3rd September, 1658, it soon became apparent that he was incapable of controlling the officers in the Army, who had broken up into three factions. There was a minority loyal to the new Protector, a clique of Republicans and a group headed by General Charles Fleetwood, of whom a Republican has written⁷² that "they had advanced Richard Cromwell in expectation of governing all as they pleased." Fleetwood's followers would have expressed other views and probably have said that in the interests of the Nation and Puritan Cause, they were determined to maintain law and order. Major Haynes, who was a strong supporter of Fleetwood, belonged to this last group, known as the Wallingford House party, as they used to meet in Fleetwood's house in Whitehall.

The Army supported Fleetwood in their demands for arrears of pay, but as this was not forthcoming the majority spoke openly of wanting Richard Cromwell's Parliament dissolved. At this stage a letter⁷³ was sent to General Monck in Scotland, signed by Fleetwood and other senior officers, including Haynes, stressing "the great danger to the good old Cause," resulting from lack of unity in the Army. Partly because of the necessity of having to raise money to pay the Army, a group of officers,⁷⁴ which included Haynes, took steps to restore the Rump of the Long Parliament, which had discontinued sitting in 1653. The outcome was that on 7th May, 1659, Richard Cromwell's short-lived Protectorate came to an end.

Shortly after the re-establishment of the Commonwealth, a Council of State was set up, which included the leading Republicans and the principal officers of the Army, with a majority who believed

66. *Acts & Ordinances II*, pp. 1068, 1075, 1245, 1268, June 1657.

67. *Rawlinson MSS. A57*, folio 383, Letter from Chelmsford to Protector dated 24 Feb., 1657/58. The discovery was reported by safe hand of Lieut. Col. Leagor. Ormonde was in Chelmsford on 31st January, 1658, see Scott E. *Travels of the King*, 1907, p. 328. Haynes was also a Commissioner in London for ejecting scandalous ministers S.P. 25/78, folio 231, 22 Oct., 1657.

68. *Thomason Tract E. 750*, *Mercurius Politicus* 27 April, 17 and 25 May, 1658; E. 753 May-July 1658.

69. *Essex Record Office*, Q/SR 376/112, 13 July, 1658.

70. *P.R.O. E. 351/307*, receiving 11 months pay for the regiment by warrants dated 27 March, 1658; S.P. 25/78, folio 715.

71. Davies, G. *The Restoration of Charles II*, 1658-1660, 1955, p. 34. Throughout this part this source has been used.

72. *Ludlow, E. Memoirs*, 1894, Ed., II, p. 61.

73. *Clarke Papers IV*, p. 4; Berry, J. and Lee, S. G. *A Cromwellian Major General*, Col. J. Berry, 1938, p. 216. The letter was signed by General Fleetwood, Cols., Berry, Okey, Ashfield, Major Haynes and twelve others.

74. Whitelock, B. *Memorials of English Affairs*, 1682, pp. 344-5; *C.J. VII*, p. 644. *Parliamentary History III*, 1807, p. 1546; *Thomason E. 980*, No. 20. The officers who addressed Lenthall, the Speaker, were Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Arthur Heslerige, Lambert, Haynes and 11 others.

in the subordination of the military to the civilian authority, in which they had the full support of the Rump. Parliament thereupon renewed the commissions of most of the officers, but dismissed others. Fleetwood received from the hands of the Speaker his new commission as Commander-in-Chief and Lambert was re-appointed a Colonel of a horse and foot regiment. In July Hezekiah Haynes was also given new commissions as Major and Captain of the Regiment of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and a Major of Horse.⁷⁵ For all practical purposes he thus continued to be in command of Fleetwood's Regiment of Horse. In addition the new Militia and Army units in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Huntingdonshire were placed under his command,⁷⁶ a position similar to the time when he had been the Major-General for East Anglia. A Committee of Safety and Commissioners for nomination of officers commanding regiments, made numerous changes in the officers commanding regiments, to ensure that they would be faithful to the Commonwealth.⁷⁷ This same body also appointed Haynes and other officers to a Committee "to consider who are deserving men and fit for employment in the army."

The unstable relations between the Army and Parliament nevertheless continued and these served to encourage the Royalists to start an insurrection, which was suppressed by General Lambert. After this Lambert's victorious army made various demands, including that Fleetwood should be made permanent Commander-in-Chief, all of which were unacceptable to Parliament, which ordered that the Army should be administered by Commissions. This produced an immediate reaction from Lambert, who, supported by Fleetwood and Desborough, rallied the forces on his side in London and surrounded Westminster. After a day of uncertainty, Lambert's supporters were able to undermine the loyalty of the pro-parliamentary regiments and on October 14th the Army leaders decided against allowing the Rump to resume its sittings.

During these critical times the independent line taken by General Monck, in supporting the authority of Parliament against Lambert's arbitrary actions was causing the Wallingford House party great anxiety. In October, on receipt of a letter from Monck in Scotland, Fleetwood, Lambert and Desborough had a hurried meeting at Whitehall and at about midnight Haynes⁷⁸ was sent to request Clarges, Monck's son-in-law, who was in London to come to them. Clarges was then asked to go to Scotland to prevail upon Monck to enter into negotiation to prevent the possibility of bloodshed between the army of England and that of Scotland. There followed an exchange of letters between Fleetwood and Monck and the appointment of intermediaries, but negotiations for a settlement came to nothing. Monck was evidently playing for time and was getting rid of officers whom he did not trust. Shortly afterwards he openly declared that he aimed at seeing his country "freed from the intolerable slavery of a sword government."

On 2nd November, 1659, the Council of Officers⁷⁹ in London chose ten persons to prepare a form of government. Fleetwood was appointed Commander-in-Chief, Desborough placed in command of the Horse and Lambert made a Major-General. The next day Lambert⁸⁰ set off north with a force of horse and foot, who disliking the role they were expected to play, had vowed "that they would not strike a stroke against General Monck." Fleetwood, who remained in London, once more showed his incapability of pursuing a clear policy with the result that dissatisfaction with the military regime became general among civilians and soldiers alike. The target for unpopularity became the military leaders, known as the Grandees. The weakness of their authority is shown by the attitude of the Commissioners of the Militia of Westminster,⁸¹ who on November 14th addressed a letter to Fleetwood urging him to restore Parliament. On the same day they adopted a resolution "holding themselves bound in duty and conscience to be faithful and constant to the authority of Parliament" and not to obey orders from others. It was probably with the object of trying to win over the Militia of Westminster to the side of the Grandees, that Haynes was shortly afterwards appointed a Commissioner.

75. E. 766, *Public Intelligencer* 4-11 July, 1659, p. 575; 11-18 July, p. 590; *C.J. VII*, pp. 710, 719, 9 and 15 July, 1659.

76. *Rawlinson MSS. C. 179, Minute Book Council* 19 May-10 Aug, 1659, folio 182, 13 July, 1659.

77. *C.S.P.D.* 1658-9, p. 395, 30 June, 1659, S.P. 28/127 and 128.

78. *Clarke Papers IV*, p. 71.

79. Davies, p. 157; E. 1001, *Weekly Intelligencer* 25 Oct.-1 Nov., 1659, p. 202; *Loyal Scout* 28 Oct.-4 Nov., 1659.

80. *Clarke Papers IV*, p. 94.

81. *Idem*, IV pp. 112-3; E. 773, *Public Intelligencer* 28 Nov.-5 Dec., 1659, p. 922.

In London⁸² the cause of the military leaders went from bad to worse. On 6th December the apprentices delivered a petition to the Lord Mayor demanding a free Parliament. The Grandees met this by a show of force, the Army coming into the city "with their swords drawne and pistolls cockt," which resulted in there being some casualties among the hostile crowd. On 23rd December conditions in London were described as follows: "The Citty lies under the highest discontents that I ever knew itt, shoppes shutt uppe, trade gone, feares and jealousies multiply. Nothing will serve the rude multitude butt to have a free Parliament, and the exercise of the Militia in their own hands. They will not believe that Monck's forces are so weak, and his cause so bad as itt's said."

By this time Fleetwood was in a state of mental paralysis, his last act being to hand the Speaker the keys of Parliament House. On the following day, Christmas 1659, the Rump resumed its sitting and the attempts of the military leaders to rule the country by force came to an end.

Shortly after the Rump reassembled they cashiered Lambert and other senior officers. On 13th January, 1660, other officers, including Major Haynes⁸³ were ordered by the Council "to make their repaire to their respective houses furthestmost remote from London." On 1st February his commission as Major and Captain of Fleetwood's Regiments of Horse was abrogated. On 4th February General Monck, assured of popular support, marched into London. Lambert was thereupon arrested, but escaped from the Tower to raise an abortive revolt, after which he was recaptured and imprisoned for life.

X

It was not long before the tide of royalism was sweeping all before it and in May, 1660, Charles the Second was restored to the throne.

After having been ordered to leave London Haynes went to live at his country house of Copford Hall in Essex, where for a time he was left in peace. He was there in July, when his friend, Richard Harlackenden,⁸⁴ assigned to him and two others tithes on lands in Earls Colne for the benefit of the vicar of the parish.

In spite of having retired to live quietly and rusticate, on 26th November, 1660, his arrest⁸⁵ was ordered for alleged treasonable designs and practices. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he remained for the next eighteen months. In the meanwhile his wife, Anne, stayed at Copford, where in April, 1661, their daughter by the same name was born.⁸⁶ After he had been imprisoned for a year, his friends made an attempt to obtain his release and provided a bond⁸⁷ of £1,000, the condition being that he would "for the future peacefully behave himselfe" and if not the bond would be forfeited. This bond was signed in November by Haynes, his brother-in-law, Simon Middleton, and John Collins. Nothing, however, came of this except that on 28th December⁸⁸ a physician and his wife were allowed, in the presence of a Keeper, to visit him in the Tower, where he had evidently become ill.

Finally, in February, 1662, Haynes⁸⁹ was subjected to an examination and Simon Middleton, Bromhead and John Josselin, lawyer, of Gray's Inn were allowed to be present. This Josselin was a

82. *Clarke Papers*, IV pp., 166-8; p. 187.

83. *C.S.P.D.* 1659-60, pp. 308, 328; *S.P.* 25/115, folio 14; *C.J.* VIII, p. 829. Firth and Davies, I., p. 99.

84. *Essex Record Office*, Q/S.R. 256/4, 26 July, 1660.

85. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. XI*, Pt. VI, 1888, p. 3. In Jan. 1661 the Lord Chancellor gave an account to Parliament of "traiterous designs", Haynes being one of those mentioned; *Kennet W. Register & Chronicle* 1728, p. 602.

86. *Copford Parish Register*, baptised 5 April, 1661.

87. *C.S.P.D.* 1661-2, p. 149, 17 Nov., 1661; *S.P.* 29/44, No. 63.

88. *C.S.P.D.* 1661/2, p. 193; *S.P.* 44/5, folio 104.

89. *C.S.P.D.* 1661-2, pp. 270, 277. *S.P.* 44/5, folio 153, 8 Feb., 1662; A Mr. Christopher Porter and a Mrs. Read were also allowed to see him. John and Ralph Josselin are referred to as his cousins in Richard Harlkenden's will, Record Office 256/6. Simon Middleton was the Secretary of the New River Company founded by his father, Sir Hugh Middleton. This project brought the first regular water supply to London. *D.N.B. Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, Ser. 3 II, 1898, p. 275. Berry C. C. *Trans. Hon. Soc. Crymmrodorion*, 1956, pp. 17-46. Scott, W. R. *Joint Stock Companies*, 1912, pp. 155, 217, etc.

brother of his friend, the Reverend Ralph Josselin, the vicar of Earls Colne, and was Richard Harlackenden's steward. Haynes's examination must have gone well for him, since on 24th April he submitted⁹⁰ the following:—"Petition to the King's most Excellent Majesty and the Right Hon. the Lords of his Majesties privie Councell.

"The Humble Petition of Hezekiah Haynes now prisoner in the Tower. Humbly sheweth that your petitioner hath never since his reducement being in January 1659 [1660] been at, or privy to any meeting of officers or others in reference to any publique concernments of the kingdoms, that soon after your Majesties gracious Act of Pardon, he took the Oath of Allegiance, before your Majesties Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Essex, and hath inviolably observed the same, That he doth utterly abhorre the carrying on of any designs to the prejudice of your Majestie or the present Established Government or peace thereof. That from the beginning of December 1660 [1659] to the beginning of October last, [1660] he never was at London, nor yet did lye one night out of the said county of Essex, but lived privately all that time at his owne house, to which not onely his owne servants, labourers, and neighbours, but almost all the parish will be ready to give evidence thereof, if called thereto, and during that year or since he never met with, or was knowing of the meeting of any persons, nor yet directly, nor indirectly, had hee any correspondency, with any of those persons, which stand now committed by your Majestie or any other whatsoever, about petitioning, plotting or acting to the disturbance of your Majestie or Government. That hee is resolved by God's assistance to remaine Loyall to your Majestie according to his oath and the many Engagements he hath since made to severall Lords of your Majesties privy Councell and others in Publique trust, (the premises considered).

Your Petitioner humbly prays that your Majestie would be pleased to grant him his Liberty hee having in November last given security for his future peacable Liveing."

On the same day, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, issued a certificate testifying that he had taken a bond from Major Haynes "with two other knowne sificent persons bound to him in a bond of £5,000 for his observance of the order of Council to mee directed for his enlargement." Thus, after one and a half years' imprisonment without trial, he was given his freedom.

After his release, Hezekiah retired to the country to attend to his estates in Essex, where there are records⁹¹ showing he lived at Copford Hall until 1684. In 1679 his daughter, Anne, married Councillor John Cox of Coggeshall, Essex, with a marriage settlement of one thousand pounds provided by her father. During the last years of his life he handed Copford Hall over to his eldest son, John, and went to live at Coggeshall, where he died on 26th August, 1693.⁹² So Hezekiah Haynes ended his life in peace, his active days having been devoted to the stalwart support of Oliver Cromwell, carrying out his duties loyally and conscientiously with the firm conviction of the justice of the Puritan Cause.

The writer is particularly indebted to Mr. F. G. Emmison for searching for Essex records on Haynes and making these available for study. He is also grateful to the Public Record Office, British Museum and Ashmolean Library for assistance from their staffs.

90. *C.S.P.D.* 1661-2, p. 349, S.P. 29/53, No. 71, 72.

91. *Essex Record Office* D/D.U. 161/410 of 11 Dec. 1666; 185 of 25 Oct. 1669; 186 of 15 Nov. 1670; 187-9 of 11 Jan. 1670/1; D/D.U. 256/8 and 9 of 19 Feb. 1673/4; 256/10 of 7 April 1684; D/D.U. 161/193 of 1 Oct. 1684, which are land records.

92. Harrison, A. D. *Copford in History* 1952, p. 23; *Essex Record Office* D/D.U. 161/193, 1st Oct. 1684. £600 of the marriage settlement was paid within one month of marriage and £400 after the death of Hezekiah Haynes.

THE TURBULENT VICAR OF WRITTLE

By A. D. Carr, B.A.

The *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* includes the names of many who attained distinction in every walk of life — poets, politicians, lawyers, musicians, doctors and divines. Some reached the highest ranks of the famous, some are still legends in their native districts, but the majority are forgotten by all save the occasional researcher. Among this last group may be counted John Lloyd, cleric and scholar¹. Born at Denbigh in 1558, he was educated at Winchester and proceeded, inevitably, to New College, where he had a distinguished academic career; he matriculated in 1577, was a Fellow two years later, bachelor in 1581, master of arts in 1585 and Proctor in 1591. He obtained the B.D. in 1592 and finally achieved his doctorate in 1595². On the death of Michael Maschiart in 1595, he was presented to the College living and peculiar of Writtle, and in 1596 he married Isabell, daughter of Richard King of St. Sepulchre, London³; he remained at Writtle until his death in 1603. According to Anthony Wood he was 'in high esteem there in the neighbourhood and in the university for his rare learning and excellent way of preaching'⁴. He wrote two treatises; *Interpretatio Latina cum Scholiis in Flavium Josephum de Maccabeis seu de rationis imperio, etc.* and *Barlaamus de papae Principatu Graece et Latine*.

From the printed evidence John Lloyd was merely one of the long line of Welsh clergy who followed a prolonged stay at Oxford by service in an English parish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and who today are nothing more than names in the British Museum and National Library of Wales catalogues on account of one or two volumes of tendentious theology. In his own parish, however, Lloyd was, for a time, a centre of controversy. Among the Petre archives deposited in the Essex Record Office there is a group of documents relating to the parish of Writtle at the end of the sixteenth century⁵. Most of these are rough tithe accounts, but one has rather more to offer; it is the 'Advertisement and Articles' submitted by the parishioners to the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the behaviour of 'Doctor Floyd' the vicar⁶. The accusations are of two types — against his ordinary conduct and against his doctrine.

The parishioners first complained about Lloyd's neglect of his congregation. According to the articles he claimed that 'he hath no cure of their soules for that he hath his said benefice of the free gift of New College in Oxford.' He had not preached for six months and had allowed no one else to do so, and he maintained that he was no more bound to preach at Writtle than at Ingatestone, Chelmsford, London or Berwick. The Sacrament had not been administered for nine months and children had to be baptised in adjacent parishes, and worst of all, if the vicar saw fit to provide a *locum tenens*, it was a man who was not even in Holy Orders. Such neglect, if it were true, must have been hard to bear, although not uncommon, because Writtle was a parish of some importance, the second largest in England in area and a peculiar exempt from the visitation of the Bishop of London and his official, where the incumbent's perquisites included the probate of wills. John Lloyd's colleagues had presented him to a minute ecclesiastical empire.

Absenteeism was commonplace enough, especially in the case of a noted scholar who might be engaged on some great new work of divinity; the other sins laid at John Lloyd's door were less excusable. On Sunday, 13th April, 1600, he married John Reynolds and Anne Pascal, although the groom had abducted the bride from her parents, and pocketed a ten shilling fee. The ceremony over, the wedding party adjourned to the alehouse and, on leaving, the vicar called a neighbour, Jacob Lane, out of his house and abused him in the street, calling him 'Runagate Rascall of all Rascalls, Roague, Cosyner and Cosninge Rascall, Rascall of all Rascalls' and, striking him twice, 'Dogg, dogg, damned dogg, dog, dog, dog, very dog, bald pated knave' and various other unclerical epithets 'to longe to resite'. By this time the regular morning service had begun; Lloyd entered the church, silenced his curate, called for pen and ink and, at the Communion table, wrote out a sentence of excommunication against Jacob

1. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 582.
2. Foster: *Alumni Oxoniensis*, p. 925.
3. Foster: *London Marriage Licences, 1520-1610*, p. 233.
4. Wood: *Athenae Oxonienses*, I, p. 738.
5. Essex Record Office, D/DP Q5.
6. Do. D/DP Q5/1.

Lane and six other parishioners for schism (although one of them was absent in France) and made the curate read it. He ascended the pulpit and denounced the excommunicates whom he described as 'damned miscreants', praying 'That God would send His judgement uppon me if I be not thy servant or els uppon them if they be owt of the waye'.

On the Easter Sunday following, Lloyd surpassed himself. First he sang the service according to Cathedral usage, but in such an unruly manner that the congregation were unable to concentrate. Then he ordered the curate into the pulpit to preach (on the evidence of this document John Lloyd's curate deserves a great deal of sympathy) and, during the sermon, baptised a child. He then left the church in the company of one John Herry and went from alehouse to alehouse to 'seeke for Pottage'; when he had found some to his liking he ate it, drank a pot of ale with a toast, walked around the village and finally returned to the church, silenced the curate and distributed Communion.

Lloyd's doctrinal divagations also caused trouble; his sermons were often controversial. In one before the Assize judges, he declared that he would be judged by men of his own cloth and not by any layman. On another occasion he informed his hearers that St. Peter was Prince and King of the Apostles, a dangerous observation in Elizabethan England; another remark which gave great offence was that usury should be no more tolerated in the country, usurers having no more hope of salvation than Judas or Cain. An 'excellent way of preaching' indeed⁷. And he once threatened to send offenders back to the devil from whence they came. Nor was he satisfied with the formulas provided in the Book of Common Prayer; when baptising he said 'I christen' instead of 'I baptise thee' and in the distribution of the Sacrament he said 'Take and eat the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ and God Almighty make thee thankful' in place of the form laid down in the service.

The list of John Lloyd's sins ends with the pessimistic comment that there seems to be no hope of amendment, but the vicar had no intention of letting his case go undefended. The complaints of the parishioners are followed by a copy of a letter from Lloyd to the Archbishop in which he denied the charges, and which contains some highly relevant information. He stated that the parishioners had denied any consent to or knowledge of the articles against their 'learned and godlie pastor, Mr. Doctor Lloyd'. The villain of the piece was, in his view, a prominent local landowner, Peter Whetcombe, a member of a family of some standing in Writtle and the Wid Valley. Whetcombe had persuaded people to tell Sir John Petre, the lord of the manor, that Lloyd had struck Jacob Lane in the churchyard, and, at Writtle Lodge in the presence of Mr. Sybthorpe of the Middle Temple, lord of the manor of Moor Hall in Writtle, had declared that the vicar's only defence was to confess that he was 'distracted of his right wytte, was madd, was lunatyck, or overstudied or drunk or otherwise wondrously distempered'. Whetcombe's reputation was not an altogether savoury one; he was later the Essex agent of Wadham College after its foundation by Sir John Petre's sister Dorothy and it may be significant that the trustees of the College were later to complain that the income from their Essex lands which lay mainly in Writtle and Fryerning had fallen by £155 in the first two years of the foundation⁸. This evidence is not, of course, sufficient to damn Peter Whetcombe, least of all in his dealings with John Lloyd, but it is a straw in the wind, and we are left with the impression that the squire and parson had quarrelled. The probable cause of the quarrel was tithe, as Lloyd's accounts show him to have been meticulous in collecting it. Hence, conceivably, the accusations sent to the Archbishop.

Be that as it may, there is no further information as to the course of the dispute — apart from a reference in the Quarter Sessions rolls. On 2nd January, 1602, John Colline, gentleman, and William Hawkins, husbandman, both of Writtle, entered into a recognisance for John Woolmer of Writtle, husbandman, to keep the peace towards John Fluide, Doctor of Divinity⁹, a consequence, possibly, of the quarrel. No action was taken by the Archbishop against Lloyd, which may point to the falsity of the charges. The authorities, lay and ecclesiastical, had little hesitation in dealing with clerics whose doctrine was doubtful; in 1580 William Shepherd, the unfortunate vicar of Heydon in north-west Essex, had brought upon himself a severe reprimand through a slip of the tongue in exhorting his congregation to be 'Jesuits or followers of Jesus' as they should be 'Christians or followers of Christ'¹⁰. The fact that Lloyd's remarks about Peter brought him no such embarrassment seems ample proof of his innocence.

7. *Athenae Oxonienses*, p. 738.

8. T. G. Jackson: *Wadham College, Oxford* (1893), p. 80.

9. Essex Record Office, Q/SR 156/60.

10. Do. D/P 135/1/1.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

EXCAVATIONS AT BRADWELL LODGE

A short distance from the south side of Bradwell Lodge, which dates from both 16th and 18th Century days, lies a small wood, in the depths of which is a low mound covered with trees and ivy.

An invitation by the present owner, Mr. Tom Driberg, M.P., was accepted to investigate what was thought to be the mound of an ice-house.

On the 24th June, 1962, an initial examination was made by the Society's Chairman, Mr. J. Elsdon Tuffs, A.R.Hist.S., accompanied by the Secretary, Mr. Brian J. Page.

The mound was found to be of some twenty-five feet in diameter, and about four feet in height. The low sides were fairly steep, but the whole of the top (which appeared to be flat) was actually saucer shaped, sinking to about a foot in depth in the centre.

The possibility that the mound had covered an ice-house and that the central chamber had collapsed was probable. However, its curious appearance suggested some other explanation as to its origin.

On the 15th July, 1962, the Wanstead Local History Society (Archaeological Group), consisting of nine members, commenced a sectional cut of some four feet deep through the edge of the mound on the side nearest the house.

At the same time, two other operations were conducted; firstly, several fox burrow entrances were enlarged, and secondly, an earth drill was employed to a depth of just over four feet, at various places in the centre.

Fragments of brick were found around the edge of the top, otherwise — to the depth worked — only earth was encountered.

There were several possibilities as to the purpose of the mound, but nothing conclusive as to its age.

If the fragments of 18th Century brick were significant they may suggest a period of activity associated at that time with the mound. A summer house or temple might well have existed there, although there were no signs of steps, sloping ramp, or remains of a building.

Incidentally, a late 18th Century print of Bradwell Lodge, south side, does show what appears to be a low mound with trees upon it, resembling a small plantation.

Perhaps the most reasonable conclusion at this stage is to suppose that the mound represents the remains of a landscape gardening feature no longer discernable.

During the day, representatives of Anglia Television filmed the activities of the group.

Mr. Driberg very kindly showed the party over the older and newer parts of the house.

J. ELSDEN TUFFS, *Chairman.*

BRIAN J. PAGE, *Secretary.*

NOTE: The Wanstead Local History Society were contacted by Mr. Driberg after he had read that the Archaeological Group had already excavated an ice-house at Woodford. Although the mound in his grounds did not appear to be the site of such a building, the excavations proved interesting for the members.

RETIREMENT OF MR. M. R. HULL, M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.

The retirement in May of Mr. M. R. Hull, Curator of the Colchester and Essex Museum, marked the completion of 36 years of service to the county, to the town and to the Society.

That long period covered some of the most momentous years of our nation's history, and the record of Mr. Hull's achievements in the work of archaeological excavation, record and study is one which has not only brought honour to him personally, but has benefited the town to an immeasurable extent.

The result of ten years of excavation, observation and study of the By-pass Road site was the publication of "Camulodunum", a record which will stand for many years as the text book for the identification of many forms of pottery previously unclassified. The subsequent book, "Roman Colchester" extended the classifications to cover the whole Roman period. Mr. Hull is at present working on a book dealing with the Roman kilns and he looks forward in his retirement to pursuing his researches into other specialised studies of Roman times.

One of the outstanding features of Mr. Hull's curatorship has been the great amount of field work undertaken in the town and district, a policy which has been more than justified by the results obtained.

As a mark of respect and appreciation, the Society has elected Mr. Hull a Vice-President.

L.H.G.

NEW CURATOR OF COLCHESTER & ESSEX MUSEUM

Mr. David Tyrwhitt-Drake Clarke, who succeeded Mr. M. R. Hull as Curator of the Colchester and Essex Museum, took up his duties in May, 1963.

Mr. Clarke, who is 39 years of age, is the only son of Dr. S. H. Clarke and the great-nephew of Charles Tyrwhitt-Drake, a joint founder of the Palestine Archaeological Survey.

From Haileybury College, where he catalogued the School records, he gained a scholarship to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. The War interrupted his studies, and he left in 1942 to join the signal section of G.H.Q., Home Forces, and later served with the Special Boat Service in Italy.

On his return to Cambridge he took a B.A. in Classics and Classical Archaeology, which gained him the Sir Charles Walston and Christopher James Studentships to the British School of Archaeology in Athens.

In 1948 Mr. Clarke was appointed lecturer in classical archaeology at the University of Alexandria. Later he was appointed Keeper of Antiquities at Leicester Museum and secretary of the Leicester Archaeological Society. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and a Fellow of the Museums Association.

L.H.G.

APPOINTMENT TO GUILDHALL MUSEUM, LONDON

The appointment of Miss Susan Davis, B.A., (N.Z.), as Assistant on the staff of the Guildhall Museum, London, has removed from Essex a young, very charming and able curator, under whose supervision the Saffron Walden Museum has been greatly improved.

Miss Davis read history and anthropology at Auckland University, New Zealand, graduating in 1956. Her first appointment was as Assistant Ethnologist at the Dominion Museum, Wellington, where she remained for eighteen months, in charge of the department. She then took one year's leave, to visit museums in England and on the Continent, returning to New Zealand for a further period of eighteen months, resigning in 1960 to come to England to take up the post of Curator of the Saffron Walden Museum in December of that year.

Miss Davis entered into the re-organisation scheme decided upon by the Trustees in 1958 with enthusiasm, and during the period of her curatorship many galleries have been re-displayed, special attention being given to the ethnological interest of the exhibits, and to the fine collection of period costumes.

L.H.G.

ROMANO-BRITISH FINDS AT LITTLE WALTHAM.

(Map Ref. TL/706126)

Excavations by a bulldozer during the construction of a tennis court uncovered a cobbled floor and Romano-British occupation debris; a trial excavation nearby revealed part of a cesspit, the filling of which contained Romano-British sherds and building debris.

The finds included coins of Gallianus, Antoninus, Crispianus; sherds of samian ware (Drag. 30); Castor and other colour coated ware; Romano-British coarse wares (including Cam. forms 40, 273, 305, 407, 409/10); late bronze plate brooch; iron "turf edger"; iron slag; roof and flue tile fragments; daub; three fragments of window glass; Andernach lava and millstone grit; also animal bones and charcoal.

One group of coarse sherds was of particular interest; the fabric is rather sandy and shell filled and, generally, buff-grey in colour. Such a fabric should be 1st century date, but the group included a "frilled pedestal urn" a 2nd century form; it is suggested that this pottery may be of local manufacture.

BEE HIVE QUERN FOUND AT LITTLE WALTHAM

(Map Ref. TL/720119)

The upper stone, of Hertfordshire conglomerate, of a bee hive quern was found during the laying of field drains in the Spring of 1962. The stone is now in the Chelmsford museum.

THETFORD AND ST. NEOTS WARE FOUND AT LITTLE WALTHAM

Following the discovery of pottery in the side of a disused (?gravel) pit (map ref. T/L 712124), excavation uncovered a small depression containing dark earth, with tile fragments, pottery and charcoal. The pottery included Romano-British sherds, grey "Thetford ware" and three sherds of soft pinkish ware, described by Mr. John G. Hurst as Saxo-Norman St. Neots type. The nearest comparable wares from Rayleigh Castle come from mid-13th century levels.

ROMANO-BRITISH BURIAL GROUP FOUND AT CHELMSFORD

A Romano-British burial group, identified by Mr. M. R. Hull and dated to the late 2nd Century, was uncovered during excavation for a new sewer. The group comprised a plain samian platter (Drag. 18/31), a small cooking pot, part of a flagon, and sherds from Type 275 and two other vessels.

The pottery is deposited in Chelmsford Museum.

E.E.S.

BRASS OF ROBERT BARFOOT AT LAMBOURNE

PALIMPSESTS FOUND

The brass of Robert Barfoot at Lambourne also represents his wife, two groups of children (both groups including both sexes), the arms of his company, the Mercers, and his merchant's mark, and has the usual inscription plate, dated 1546.

Barfoot, or Barefoot, held the manor of Lambourne Hall where his family remained until 1724. His brass attracted the attention of Miller Christy and W. W. Porteous in 1900. They suspected that the plate bearing the merchant's mark was a palimpsest because the shape suggested an Evangelistic symbol. Curiously enough, though the plate does indeed bear the ox of St. Luke on the reverse, the shape is that cut for the merchant's mark, the plate having originally been larger.

It was not until 1962 that the matter was put to the proof. Mr. Malcolm Norris noticed "the evidence of buffed-off rivets and curious joint and splits on the face of the Barfoot brass that justified its examination." With the co-operation of the Rector, the Rev. Ralph Stevens, and later of Dr. G. H. C. Bushnell, he lifted and examined the plates. He has kindly allowed us the use of his notes and report.

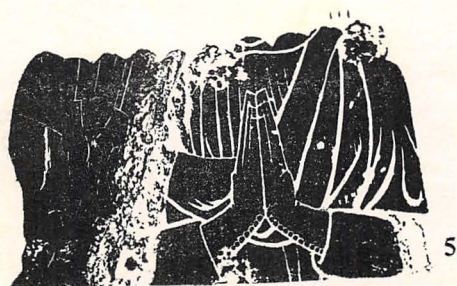
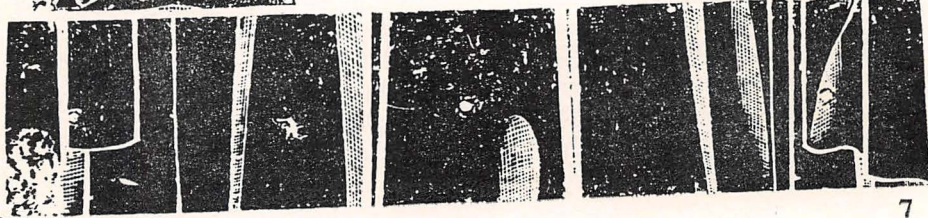
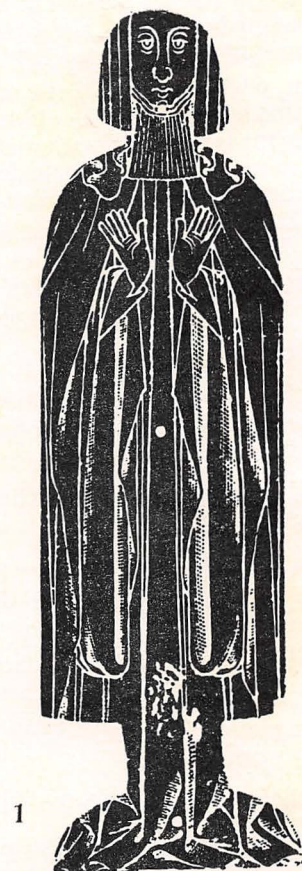
The reverses are as follows:

1. On the back of Robert Barfoot — a nun or vowess, c. 1460, with hands raised and held palms outwards, an extremely rare sort of figure in an unusual attitude. It is almost complete as it was little larger than that of Barfoot.
2. Katherine Barfoot — a merchant c. 1445, with short sword, standing on a bolt of cloth. This figure is very well engraved and nearly complete.
3. Head of Katherine Barfoot — part of a shield of arms, late 15th century, badly worn. Probably Drury or St. John impaling Brown. (Identification by Mr. Colin Cole, F.S.A., Portcullis Pursuivant-of-Arms).
4. Small group of children — shoulders and hands of a priest in mass vestments c. 1440. The plate is split, due to deep cutting, and nailed.
5. Large group of children—right, a civilian c. 1380 with buttoned sleeves and cloak. Left, a lady c. 1430, badly worn.
6. Merchant mark — symbol of St. Luke c. 1300, nearly complete but battered.
7. Inscription — a horizontal strip cut from a very large figure, probably of a lady or ecclesiastic c. 1430, standing on a dog. Three other sections were used in the Hawtry brass, 1544, at Ellesborough, Bucks., and two more to make the Lovell brass, 1445, at Harlington, Middlesex. The association of the pieces, Lambourne — Ellesborough — Harlington is the work of Mr. J. C. Page-Phillips.

Only the plate bearing the Mercers arms has a plain back, and the Barfoot brass provides one of the most interesting and complex groups of palimpsests in the country.

Thanks are due to the help given by the Rector of Lambourne.

H.M.C.



Details of the Robert Barfoot Brass at Lambourne.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ "

BOOK REVIEW

The Victoria History of the County of Essex, Volume III, Roman Essex. Oxford. 1963. Price £6 6s.

The main part of this work is a gazetteer of Roman finds in the County compiled by M. R. Hull, with sections on Chelmsford, Great Chesterford, Harlow and Rivenhall and some smaller places by Major J. G. S. Brinson. The whole is prefaced by a review of the Roman occupation by Professor I. A. Richmond.

Such a document, the fruit of a lifetime's study and thousands of hours of meticulous compilation, does not lend itself easily to review. Every small find is noted, even to a coin of Roman Egypt from a compost heap, and the highest praise is due to such exacting scholarship. Here for the first time is a comprehensive survey of the finds at Chelmsford and Great Chesterford, which will allow their relative importance to be assessed. Maps of burials, settlements and buildings, industries and coin hoards, throw new light on general distributions, if they be tantalising to the general reader (why is it impossible to provide a numbered key to the symbols?)

But alarmed perhaps by the rendering of *quinque* as "four" in the very first sentence a reviewer may be permitted to enquire what the volume is intended to provide.

It is now commonplace that the Victoria County History maintains 19th century traditions in a new age of historical thought, retaining extravagant format and unsatisfactory indices which are largely lists of personal names, a relic of the days when genealogy was regarded as the substance of history. This is not then the account of Roman Essex which is intended for the teacher or the interested layman. Is it a detailed catalogue for the specialist? Alas, no, for omitting the fact that *Camulodunum* and *Roman Colchester* are necessary in order to use the section on Colchester, how topographically incomprehensible are some of the articles. Not even a general plan is provided to illuminate Gestingthorpe or Fingringhoe. Is there no theory worthy of record as to why Caesaromagus (Chelmsford) should alone among British towns have earned the imperial prefix, or no good authority for suggesting the stone building at Great Chesterford is a tax office?

Turning to the introduction, the town walls of Colchester still present problems of sequence. Is sufficient known about the pre-Boudiccan settlement at Colchester to draw definite conclusions as to its size? Why are the "tumuli" at Saffron Walden not mentioned in the text?

Let us overlook many of the poor illustrations on the grounds of archaeological expediency. But does this excuse the poor work of Plate III (Foulness) or Plate XX (Colchester Child's grave) or the lifeless Mercury of Plate XIV? And how many recorded items might also qualify for inclusion, starting with the Kelvedon defixio and the jug handle from Dunmow now in Chelmsford Museum?

Though large numbers of coins are listed, no attempt is made to survey them statistically, or to separate the significant finds from the ephemera consequent upon two centuries of British colonial dominion.

The work therefore falls between two stools, being neither a simple list nor a comprehensive archaeology, and in justice this must be laid at the door of the editorial board rather than those who provided the information.

Local pot hunters will welcome clues for treasure, but local historians, both inside and outside the county have still to face the task of digesting the evidence here presented.

D.T.-D.C.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

as at 31st December, 1963.

PATRON:

COL. SIR JOHN RUGGLES-BRISE, BART., C.B., O.B.E., T.D., J.P.
Her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant of Essex.

PRESIDENT:

MAJOR J. G. S. BRINSON, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

The Revd. T. D. S. Bayley, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.G.
The Rt. Hon. Lord Braybrooke
D. A. J. Buxton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
The Rt. Revd. F. D. V. Narborough, M.A., B.D., The Lord Bishop of Colchester
The Rt. Revd. John G. Tiarks, M.A., The Lord Bishop of Chelmsford
J. J. Tufnell, Esq.
Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., T.D., M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), F.B.A., P.P.S.A.
M. R. Hull, Esq. M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.
P. H. Reaney, Esq., M.A., Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

COUNCIL:

The President.	L. H. Gant, Esq., A.I.A.C.
The Hon. Secretary.	J. S. Gardner, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
The Hon. Treasurer.	F. A. Girling, Esq., F.S.A.
Wm. Addison, Esq., J.P.	M. R. Hull, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.
Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby, M.B.E., F.S.A.	K. R. Mabbitt, Esq., F.S.A.
Miss F. M. Blomfield, M.A., F.S.A.	B. Mason, O.B.E.
D. A. J. Buxton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	The Revd. J. R. McCallum, M.A.
H. M. Carter, Esq.	A. D. Merson, Esq., M.B.E., M.A.
L. E. Dansie, Esq., J.P., F.S.A.	J. G. O'Leary, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.A.
A. B. Doncaster, Esq.	P. H. Reaney, Esq., Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A.
F. G. Emmison, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.	Mrs. E. Sellers.
F. H. Erith, Esq.	J. Williams, B.Litt., M.A., M.Ed.
Lt. Cdr. R. H. Farrands, R.N.R.	S. J. Woodward, Esq., B.A.

HON. SECRETARY:

JOHN S. APPLEBY, Esq., F.R.Met.S., A.R.Hist.S.,
Cranford House, Elmstead, Colchester.
'Phone: Wivenhoe 472.

HON. TREASURER:

J. B. BENNETT, Esq.,
Fairways, Dormy Houses, East Mersea, Colchester.
'Phone: East Mersea 247.

HON. LIBRARIAN:

The Revd. J. R. McCALLUM, M.A.,
Alresford Rectory, Colchester.
'Phone: Wivenhoe 288.

HON. EDITOR:

LEONARD H. GANT, Esq., A.I.A.C.,
45 Castle Road, Colchester.

HON. AUDITORS:

J. H. G. SUNNUCKS, Esq., M.A.,
MRS. M. LIDDEL.

CURATOR:

D. T-D. CLARKE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.
The Castle Museum, Colchester.

Representatives of the Society on the Museum and Muniments Committee of the Colchester Corporation:

Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby, M.B.E., F.S.A.	Miss F. M. Blomfield, M.A., F.S.A.
Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.	F. H. Erith, Esq.

Representative of the Society on the Chelmsford Library Committee:

Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.

TRANSACTIONS
of the
ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SOCIETY

VOL. I. PART 4. (THIRD SERIES).

COLCHESTER

Published by the Society at the Museum in the Castle
1965

Price to Non-Members £1 5s.

TRANSACTIONS

of the

ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Vol. I, Part 4 (Third Series)

1965

Contents

BROOK HOUSE FARM, CHIGWELL. By W. S. Phillips ...	221
THE MANORS OF TOLLESHUNTA. By H. Malcolm Carter ...	239
INTERIM REPORT ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUDDINGSTONE QUERN. By E. A. Rudge, M.A., Ph.D. ...	247
EARLY ESSEX CLERGY. By P. H. Reaney, Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A. ...	249
THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ADAM CHURCH AT MISTLEY. By John Morley, M.A. ...	253
ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES:	
Roman Building at St. Osyth. By Bryan P. Blake ...	259
Archbishop Harsnett: His surname and its origin. By P. H. Reaney, Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A. ...	259
Iron Age Site at Ardleigh. By Bryan P. Blake ...	261
An Early Medieval Grave Slab found at Wix Abbey. By Lawrence Butler ...	263
The Broomfield Dragon. By B. M. Kettle ...	264
Excavations at Great Easton. By John E. Sellers ...	265
Roman Pottery found at Canvey Island. By Warwick J. Rodwell ...	265
13th Century Pottery found at Stisted. By E.E.S. ...	265

*The Society is not responsible for the opinions expressed by the contributors and any letters arising therefrom should be addressed to the authors.
Authors are requested to use the abbreviations suggested by the Council for British Archaeology when referring to publications, e.g. Essex Arch. Soc., T.*

List of Illustrations

FRONTISPIECE Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S., (President 1960-64)

BROOK HOUSE FARM, CHIGWELL:

Fig. 1	Brook House Farm—plan and sections	...	...	...	...	224
Fig. 2	Interior details—fireplace and panelling mouldings	...	...	...	...	227
Fig. 3	Detail of S. wing wall	...	...	...	...	229
Fig. 4	Brook Furlong Farm, Rowington, Warwickshire—plan	...	...	...	...	234
Plates I & II	Brook House Farm—front and rear elevations	...	...	...	...	222

THE MANORS OF TOLLESHUNTA:

Map showing Domesday holders of lands	240
---------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

THE ADAM CHURCH AT MISTLEY

Plate I	Print of Richard Rigby	...	...	...	...	254
Plate II	South Porch of medieval church	...	...	...	...	254
Plate III	Mistley Church; drawing by John Constable	...	...	...	...	255
Plate IV	Mistley Towers as they appear to-day	...	...	...	...	256
Plates V & VI	The Adam church showing portico	...	...	...	...	256

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

Roman Building at St. Osyth. Plan and site	...	...	...	...	260
Excavations at Ardleigh—Plan of Iron Age Ditches	...	...	...	...	262

BROOK HOUSE FARM, CHIGWELL: A 17th CENTURY ESSEX FARMHOUSE

By W. S. Phillips.

Brook House Farm, which stood until its demolition in the autumn of 1963 a little over a quarter-of-a-mile south west of the church of St. Mary in the parish of Chigwell, was a house of somewhat uninteresting external appearance (Plate I) which received, together with several other 17th century houses in the parish, necessarily brief mention by the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments¹. During an examination of the house just before its demolition it became apparent that, despite its external appearance, the building possessed a plan which showed some features of interest to the study of post medieval domestic buildings in Essex, together with some problems of the type so frequently associated with attempts to analyse the history of medieval or early post medieval buildings from structural evidence alone. It is unfortunate that, for personal reasons, it was not possible to continue the examination through more than the early stages of demolition as to have done so might well have contributed to a solution of these problems. Nevertheless, it may be useful to place the results of this examination on record, if only to direct attention to the uncertainties which remain as to the historical significance of the house and which may in part be resolved by future field and documentary researches.

With the exception of one internal wall the house was, in its original form, entirely of timber framed construction with walls clad externally and internally with lath and plaster and set on brick footings. Neglecting the brick addition built at the rear of the house in later years the ground floor plan (Fig. 1) gives an impression of an L-shaped building consisting of a main range with one wing projecting to the rear. Structurally, however, the plan is better regarded as a modified half-H or, for want of a better term, a "condensed E" as the "apparent" main range was seen upon examination to have consisted of an actual main range (the portion east of the ground floor brick spine wall) with a short wing on its western side and the space between this wing and the longer north wing filled by a stair well. This structural arrangement was to some extent apparent upon external examination from the three gables of the rear elevation (Plate II) and the shallow jetty of the south wing. Internally the basic structure was more readily revealed by the roof structure. Although the first floor rooms were ceiled over the ceilings were set at collar beam level so that the lines of junction between the horizontal and inclined portions of the ceilings, indicated by broken lines on the first floor and attic plans (Fig. 1), gave a clear indication of the orientation of the roof structure above. This showed that the north wing roof projected forward from the ridge of the main range enabling this wing to be terminated by a gable at each end. The roof of the south wing differed in that it projected only to the rear of the main range. Expressed otherwise, the north-east rooms of the house were structurally part of the north cross wing but the south-east rooms were part, not of the south wing, but of the main range. As a corollary, the south gable of the front elevation (Plate I) did not form part of the south wing, a point which was also indicated by the difference of ridge levels between this gable roof and the south wing roof. Structurally this gable served no purpose and was presumably built to give some degree of symmetry to the front elevation.

With the exception of the modern lean-to addition at the rear of the building the house was of two storeys throughout with an attic in the south wing and a cellar below the western half of the north wing. The latter was only partly below ground level due to the slope of the site from east to west.

Internally the layout of the house was dominated by a large brick stack, situated in the main range at its junction with the north wing, which served two fireplaces on each floor. Externally this stack terminated, apparently, not in four but in six flues diagonally set in two joined banks of three. As only four fireplaces were found two of these were doubtless dummy flues although all six had at some time been fitted with pots. The four fireplaces provided by this stack were the only original heating. The fireplaces shown in the south wing and at the western end of the north wing were (probably 19th century) insertions, so that in its modern form the house had seven instead of the original four heated rooms leaving one room, the attic and the cellar always unheated.

1. *R.C.H.M., Essex, II, 49.*



PLATES I. and II.—Brook House Farm. Front and Rear Elevation.

At the time of demolition the principal entrance to the house was the door in the south wall which opened into a passage leading to the stair well behind the principal stack. A subsidiary entrance to the house was by way of the door in the brick lean-to from which access to the rear room of the north wing, and thence to other parts of the house, was possible. A third door led from this room of the north wing into the garden. None of these doorways appeared likely to have been original, particularly those giving access to the north wing. A doorway in the rear, or west, wall of the south wing still gave access to the cellar and formerly led also to the area at the foot of the stairs behind the main stack. This entry had at some time been blocked and the area of the entry used as a cupboard, but it appears more likely that this entry rather than any lately existing was original and it would, before the erection of the brick addition, have provided direct access from the farm yard to a central point in the house from which all rooms would have been readily accessible. The ground floor plan also indicates that this door in the south wing may also have served to give entry to the ground floor room of the south wing, a slight set back in the wall surface opposite the cellar entry suggesting a possible blocked door. This conjecture received some support from the width of the set back which was equal to that of the blocked door leading to the stair well.

There was evidence of a second doorway in the south wing, at the southern end of its rear wall where the rail near ceiling level was interrupted and the remaining distance to the corner post spanned by a lintel set up on the top of the rail. This doorway would have been opposite that in the brick spine wall leading to the room shown on the plan as the hall, and one ceiling beam in the south wing room projecting below the ceiling level (the only one in the room so visible) suggested that some form of light partition may have formed a passageway between these two doors. Chamfer stops on the east side of the main ceiling beam in the hall indicated another partition extending from this beam to the front wall of the building and colinear with the conjectural rear partition. The impression thus presented was that of a cross passage at the south end of the house, but all trace of a doorway, if one existed, in the front wall giving entry to this passage had been concealed behind lath and plaster wall covering.

The stairway from the ground to first floor probably occupied, at least approximately, the original stair site. No direct evidence of a stairway other than those leading to cellar and attic, could be found elsewhere in the house and the stair well appeared to be part of the original design. Evidence for this was provided by the rail in the outer wall of the well which was found to be tenoned into a post of the north wing and, on the first floor, by the absence of a continuation (or evidence of a former continuation) of the main range wall plate across the landing (i.e. between points X and Y, Fig. 1). As a corollary, the cellar entry was always within the walls of the house.

Detailed Examination

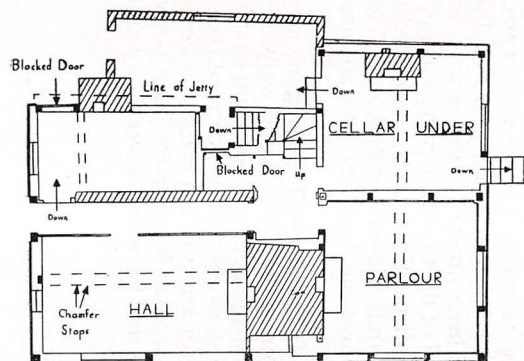
1. Wall Structure

The external walls of the house were, with the exception of the modern brick structure at the rear, entirely timber framed with lath and plaster cladding externally and, in most parts, internally. Examination of the wall structure at several points within this cladding showed no trace of wattle and daub infilling and the original construction may have been similar to that recently existing. A consequence of this form of wall construction was that detail of the timber framing was not generally visible, but some part was exposed during the early stages of demolition and this indicated that the structure was formed of regularly spaced vertical studding with studs approximately 4 in. \times 3 in. spaced at about 1 ft. 6 in. centres. Because of the difficulty in ascertaining the details of the wall construction only the principal posts are shown on the plans (Fig. 1).

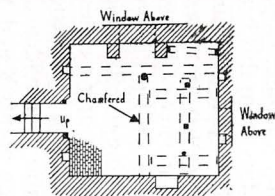
Internal partition walls were, with the exception of the spine wall dividing the main range from the south wing at ground floor level, of similar construction to that of the outer walls. The spine wall was built of 2 in. \times 4 in. \times 9 in. bricks laid in English bond and appeared to be approximately contemporary with the brickwork of the cellar walling and main stack, both of which used the same size of brick and type of coursing. The reason for the use of brick for this wall is a matter for conjecture but it may be related to the need, due to the difference in first floor levels between the main range and south wing, to use it to support two sets of joists at different levels and for which a brick structure may have been considered more convenient than timber.

FIG. 1

BROOK HOUSE FARM.
CHIGWELL, ESSEX.



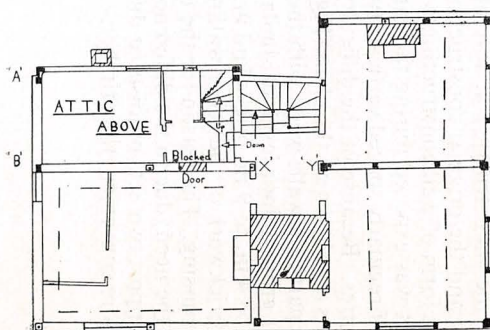
GROUND FLOOR



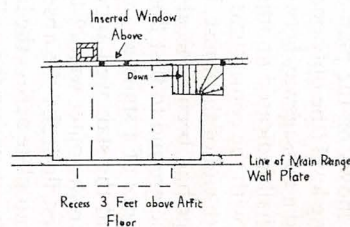
CELLAR



SECTION - HALL AND
S. WING



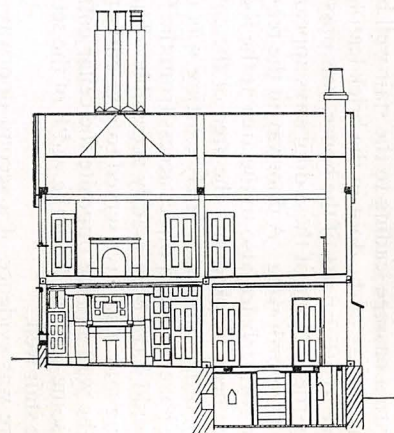
FIRST FLOOR



ATTIC

□ Conjectural position of hidden or removed timbers.

▨ Brickwork.



SECTION - N. WING

2. Cellar

The cellar occupied the whole of the area below the rear room of the north wing, was brick lined and plastered and lit by two small windows at ceiling level. The floor was also of brick but the bricks used here differed from those of the walls in being somewhat irregular in length, varying from about 6 in. to 8 in., and may possibly have been reused from an earlier building.

The original ceiling support appeared to have been a single chamfered beam running east-west across the cellar and supported at a point nearer its western end by a chamfered square section post. At the time of the examination the beam ended on this post but the existence of rather worn chamfer stops at the eastern end only and the manner in which the beam sat on part only of the post head suggested that it had originally extended to the full width of the cellar. The shortening of this east-west beam may be explained by the presence of a second, unchamfered beam, placed north-south and which shared the head of the supporting post. This was embedded at both ends in the brickwork of the walls but must have been an insertion if one accepts the shortening of the east-west beam. Its purpose, if an insertion, can be explained as it served to take the lateral thrust of a shallow brick arch between the two brick piers built to carry the weight of the inserted fireplace in the room above.

The beams and posts in the northern half of the cellar were clearly insertions. The posts were of rougher workmanship, irregular of section, and none of the beams was embedded in the brickwork. Two were, in fact, merely balanced on one east-west beam and held in position by the weight of the floor above.

One rectangular and four triangular headed storage recesses were built into the brickwork of the walls, the four triangular headed recesses being positioned approximately symmetrically in the north and south walls and the rectangular recess in the east wall.

A shallow, depression in the soffit of the original, chamfered, ceiling beam (Section, Fig. 1) indicated that functionally, if not structurally, a passageway crossed the cellar from its point of entry to its northern part.

3. Ground Floor

(a) Hall

The south-eastern room of the ground floor was one of the two ground floor rooms originally heated and appeared, by comparison with the other, to have been that of lesser status. It has, therefore, been assumed to have been, and is shown in Fig. 1 as, the hall, with the other heated room serving as a parlour.² The room was separated from the passageway leading from the modern main entry by a thin wooden partition which showed every indication of being an insertion. It may thus be assumed that the hall originally occupied the whole area to the brick wall which marked the beginning of the south wing. The proportions of the room support this as on acceptance of this assumption the original centre line of the room coincides with the main ceiling beam.

A porch supported on 18th century style brackets above the outer door and fluted wooden pilasters surmounted by a semi-circular plaster arch at the inner end of the passageway suggested an 18th century date for the insertion of this partition. Probably contemporary was the installation of wooden wainscoting which covered the lower part of the walls of the hall and the brick wall of the passage. Another, probably contemporary, alteration to the original construction was the covering of the upper parts of the south wall of the hall and the brick wall of the passage with hessian on a supporting lath frame to provide a surface for wallpaper. In the case of the hall wall this inserted surface had been placed about 4 in. forward from the original wall face.

The axially positioned ceiling beam carried 2 in. chamfers with scroll type stops (Fig. 2) and was supported at its north end by the brickwork of the stack. At its south end it had a shallow, corbel-like support, a feature which has led Mr. S. R. Jones to postulate a truncation or removal of the original

2. In assigning the term "hall" to this room due regard has been given to the reservation of P. S. Spokes and E. M. Jope on the use of the name hall in sub-medieval houses of this type (see P. S. Spokes and E. M. Jope, 'The Priory, Marcham, Berkshire,' *Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, 57 (1959), (86-97). The term is, however, in common use and is here used without implying any specific function to the room. It will be a purpose of the later part of this article to examine the probable significance of this room in relation to the overall plan of the house,

support in the south wall and to question the possibility of a former extension southwards of the main range by half a bay.³ This must, however, remain conjectural as direct evidence on the point is lacking.

At the time of the original examination the room possessed a 19th century fireplace. Later removal of this opened up the original brick fireplace, badly damaged by the 19th century alteration but retaining sufficient of the original brickwork to show that it had been 7 ft. 5 in. wide between the jambs with either a shallow four centred or, more probably, flat headed brick arch about 3 ft. 6 in. above hearth level and of which little more than the springers remained intact. A heavy timber lintel about 4 ft. 9 in. above the hearth was probably not original and may have been inserted in the 19th century to support the upper brickwork when the brick arch was destroyed. On the west side of the hearth a small recess, similar to the seat recesses to be seen elsewhere but only 4½ in. deep, remained with a heavy timber lintel supporting the brickwork above. A similar recess formerly existed on the opposite side of the hearth but had been blocked, apparently before the 19 century alteration.⁴

(b) Parlour

The north-east ground floor room was, as mentioned above, assumed to have been the parlour. The room was lined with panelling, regarded by the Royal Commission as original,⁵ and contained a panelled overmantel between fluted pilasters. (Fig. 2). The moulded fireplace surround was later and has been dated by Mr. J. T. Smith to ca. 1830.⁶

The panelling consisted of rectangular panels with a simple bead moulding and chamfer at the top and bottom edges respectively and slightly more complex mouldings at the sides. (Fig. 2). The bead mouldings along the upper edges of the panels did not continue to the full width of the panels but ran out short of the corners. Vertical edge mouldings continued to the panel corners except at the edges adjacent to the overmantel where they were run out in the manner of the horizontal mouldings.

The main ceiling beam, axially placed with respect to the north wing, carried a 2 in. chamfer with scroll stops like that of the hall.

(c) North-west room

This was originally an unheated room but had a fireplace inserted, probably in the 19th century. The ceiling beam was chamfered and at first appeared to possess no chamfer stops. It was later found, however, that the stop at the eastern end had been concealed by a resurfacing of the partition wall between this room and the parlour. The stops at the western end presumably also existed but would have been concealed by the inserted stack.

(d) South-west room

This room was also originally unheated but had, again probably in the 19th century, been provided with a fireplace and external brick stack which had in turn been blocked in recent years when the room was converted to a bathroom. The large mass of the base of the stack suggested that this may have been installed originally for cooking purposes prior to the erection of the brick lean-to which served as a kitchen more recently.

The floor and ceiling levels here were lower than elsewhere in the house, a feature which was repeated on the first floor. In this south wing the floor level adapted to the fall of the site level whereas elsewhere the floor levels were maintained independent of ground level by permitting the floor to be below ground level at the front of the house and building up the footings at the rear.

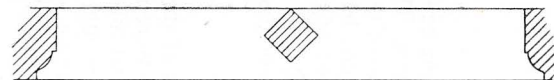
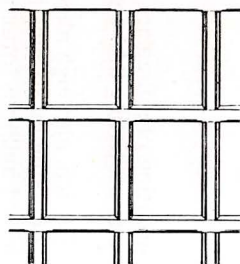
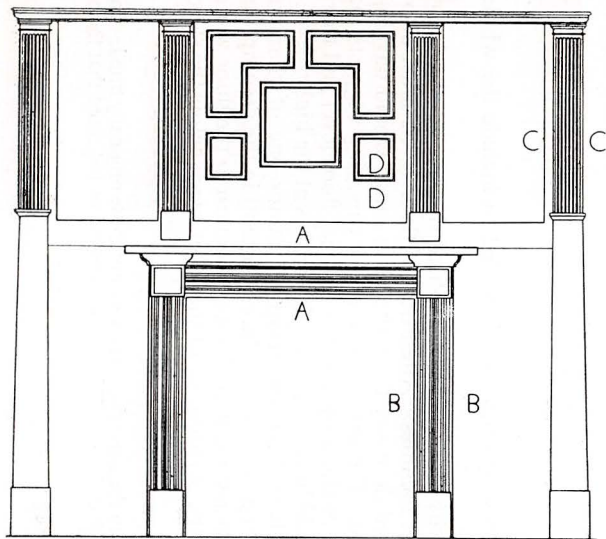
Evidence for the former existence of an external door in this room has been mentioned above.

3. Private communication.

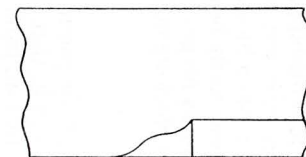
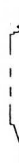
4. Photographs of this and other interior features of the house are held in the Essex Collection of the Passmore Edwards Museum, London, E.15.

5. *R.C.H.M. Essex, II*, 49.

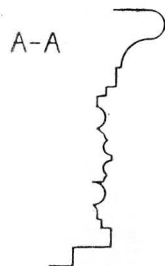
6. Private communication.



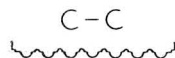
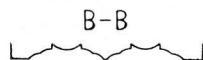
ONE LIGHT OF ORIGINAL WINDOW



CEILING BEAMS



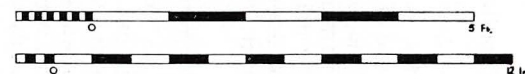
PARLOUR FIREPLACE



PARLOUR PANELLING

FIG2-BROOK HOUSE FARM
INTERIOR DETAILS

FIREPLACE & PANELLING
MOULDINGS



4. First floor

(a) *South-east room*

This, as described above, formed part of the main range and the sloping ceiling at the sides and south end of the room reflected the direction of the hipped roof structure above. The small room taken out of the south-western corner of the main room was probably an alteration of uncertain date.

The main feature of interest in this room was a blocked door which formerly led into the south wing near the stairs to the attic. The blocking was fairly recent, being constructed of modern sized bricks, and the door itself remained in position on its hinges although concealed behind about five layers of wallpaper. A late 19th century date for this blocking might, therefore, be reasonable.

(b) *North-east room*

This, the second originally heated first floor room, showed no features of special interest. It differed in one respect from the south-east room in that the principal timbers were more readily visible, tie beams and corner posts projecting 1 in. to 2 in. from the wall surface. That this was the original intention was shown by the careful chamfering of the corner posts and the lower edges of the tie beams.

The window in the east (front) wall was probably an insertion as its frame was set into the 5 in. wide studs on each side of it and the rail below the window was simply notched into, and not tenoned and pegged into these studs.⁷

The junction of the main range and north wing structures was visible in the cupboard which utilised the space between the stack and the front wall, and the wall plate of the main range could be seen to be tenoned and pegged into the corner post of the north wing.

(c) *North-west room*

Like the corresponding ground floor room this was heated with the insertion of a fireplace in the 19th century. The finish of the room was similar to that of the adjacent room, projecting timbers being chamfered.

The feature of interest in this room was the window in the north wall which, although altered by the insertion of casements in the centre lights, was basically original and the only window so remaining in the house. It appeared to have consisted in its original form of ovolo moulded mullions forming four lights, each of which had a single diamond section shaft in the centre. The insertion of casements had mutilated the centre lights but the two side lights, other than for the introduction of glazing, had retained their original form (Fig. 2).

(d) *South-west room*

For the purpose of this description the south-west room is considered to include the whole first floor area of the south wing.

Alteration had obviously taken place here with the partitioning off of the small room below the attic stairs with the introduction of internal toilet facilities. Alteration of floor levels must also have occurred as with the later arrangement the blocked doorway from the main range would have opened some two feet above floor level on its western side. The jettied structure of this wing suggests that the low floor level which existed over the greater part of the wing was the original floor level and there was no evidence of any formerly existing rail which could have supported floor joists at the higher level. Any alteration to the floor levels must consequently have been the relatively minor one of changing the position at which the step down from the main range level took place. Accepting the assumption of a fairly recent blocking of the doorway we may also assume that this modification to the floor was of the same date and all may perhaps be connected with the partitioning of the toilet space below the stair.

7. All but one of the existing windows were insertions in the sense that they were not those originally fitted. In many cases, however, the presence of a rail, pegged at both ends into studs, below the window indicated that the modern window occupied an original window site.

An examination of the wall structure in this room revealed the rather puzzling feature of a lath and plaster wall concealed between the inner and outer wall surfaces in the south, east and north walls of the wing. It was not found in the thinner west wall, nor did it extend along the south wall into the main range. It differed from the concealed wall surface found in the hall in that the plastered surface was outward facing from the south wing. In the case of the south and north walls this concealed plaster work was painted in a brownish colour (differing somewhat between the two walls) and in the east wall traces of wallpaper were recovered indicating that this concealed surface had once been exposed in the south-east room. Also in the east wall one vertical timber near the blocked doorway was found to have an empty mortise suggesting that a brace or rail had been removed when the doorway was originally installed i.e. the doorway itself was probably not contemporary with the construction of the wall.

This peculiarity of the south wall provides an explanation for the termination of the jetty at the western end of the wing a few inches short of the end of the west wall (Fig. 1). Examination of the south wall at first floor level showed that the outer surface of the wall as it then existed was set some inches outside the principal timbers and the termination of the jetty corresponded with the position of the principals rather than with that of the outer wall surface (Fig. 3).

5. Attic

The attic was situated between the line of the main range wall plate and the west wall of the south wing, with a large recess above floor level projecting into the space above the rafters of the main range, i.e. situated in the roof space of that part of the roof which served to butt the south wing roof against that of the main range.

A single small window lit the attic but this was clearly an insertion, encroaching upon the studs alongside it and lacking a rail below it, and we can, therefore, reasonably assume an originally unlit attic.

6. Roof Structure

In the course of the original examination only very limited inspection of the roof structure was possible by means of a hole made in the wall at the back of the attic recess and at no time was the roof accessible for measurement. For this reason details of the roof structure have been omitted from the sections in Fig. 1. Removal of the roof tiling and the partition wall in the attic at the start of demolition enabled more to be seen of the main range and south wing roof construction and it is reasonable to assume that the north wing roof resembled that of the main range.

The main range roof between the stack and the south end of the range consisted of nine pairs of rafters, of which two pairs were differentiated as principals by possession of original collar beams. (This was the only differentiation. Although dimensions varied slightly between rafters, the principals were not marked by significantly greater scantling). There was no ridge timber but a pair of purlins was clasped between the principal rafters and the collars.

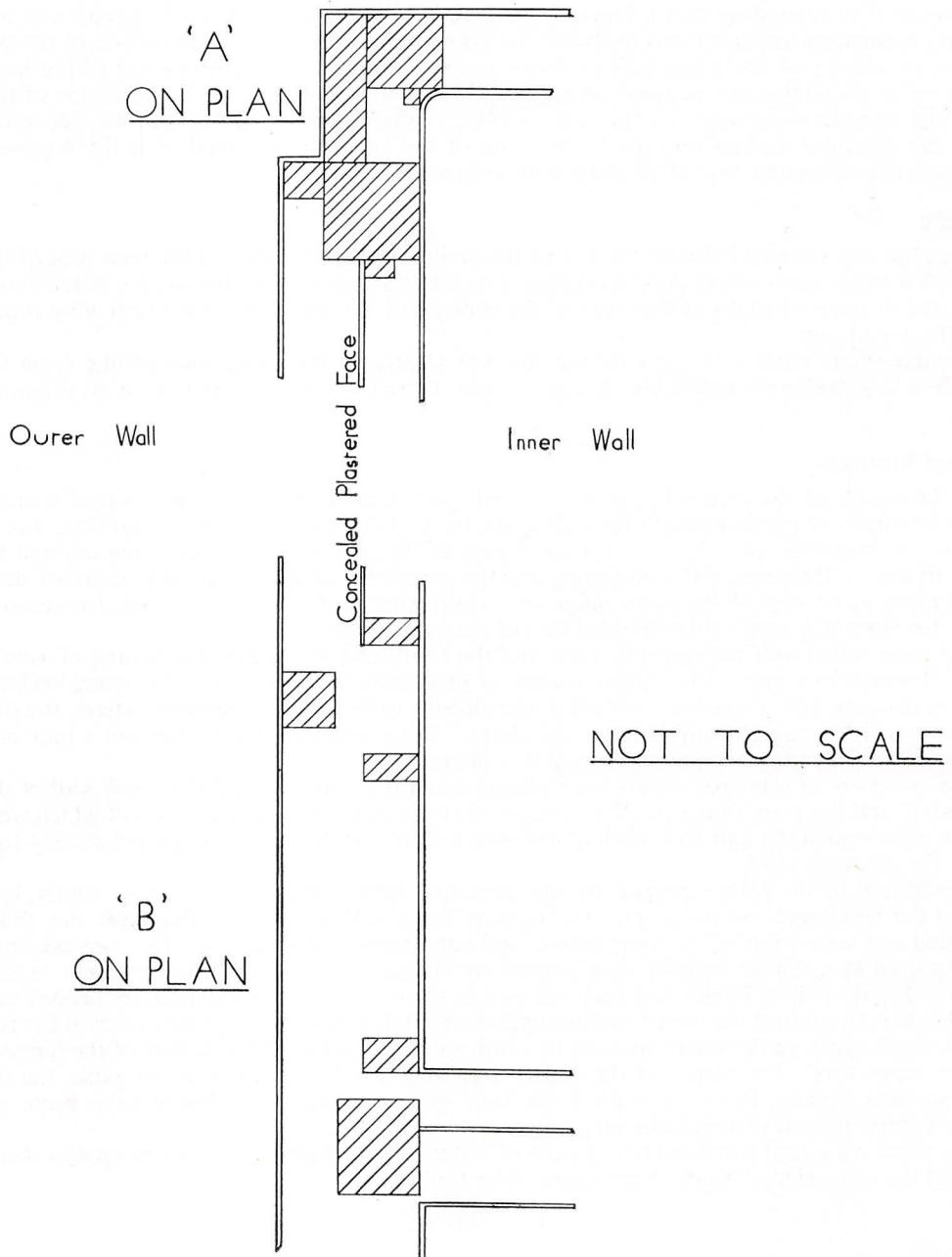
The two pairs of principal rafters were placed over the centre line and the north wall of the room over the hall and the main range was thus composed structurally of three bays, two of which were equal in length and formed the hall and room above with a third, smaller, bay serving principally to accommodate the chimney stack.

In addition to the collars pegged to the principal rafters there were collars which had been nailed to the remaining rafters to provide support for a ceiling. This ceiling was not that which still existed and was visible in the room below, and only traces of it remained. The then existing ceiling was supported in a similar manner on a second set of inserted collars at a lower level. It was clear, therefore, that the ceiling height had been reduced in the room over the hall and, moreover, the use of inserted collars to support the earlier ceiling suggests that this room was originally open to the roof.

The small south gable was formed on its south side by continuing the rafters of the hipped end of the main range roof. The rafters of the main range were not discontinued at the gable, i.e. the gable roof space was isolated from the main range roof space, and the gable could have been, although is not, of course, proved to have been, an addition.

The south wing roof consisted of ten pairs of rafters all of which had collars pegged to them which supported the attic ceiling. Again there was no ridge timber.

FIG 3 — DETAIL OF S. WING WALL



The north wing roof was never seen as clearly as that of the main range but was probably similar in construction except that the ceiling had been retained at the earlier, higher, level. There was clearly a principal truss with tie beam on the line of the wall between the east and west rooms of the wing and the marks of a principal truss with collar could be seen on the ceiling in each of the upper rooms indicating that the roof of the wing was constructed of four bays.

The small stair gable was composed of seven pairs of rafters, the feet of which were set on the wall plates of the north and south wings.

In the absence of known documentary evidence the dating of Brook House Farm must rely on structural evidence. The most interesting feature for dating purposes is the remaining original window in the north wing. The combination of ovolo moulded mullions and slender diamond section shafts would seem to suggest an early 17th century date, which would, of course, be consistent with the evidence of the chamfer stops and the diagonally set joined flues of the chimney stack. Windows of this form in timber exist elsewhere, e.g. Ludlow, Shropshire, where the porch of the Reader's House contains good, although now partially restored, examples which are said to date from 1616.⁸ A similar window, probably a side light of a larger window which is now replaced by an 18th century oriel, can be seen in the Angel Hotel, also in Ludlow. This is a building of imprecise date but on the evidence of interior details and neighbouring buildings is probably also of the early 17th century. An early 17th century date for Brook House Farm would, therefore, appear to be probable but in the absence of more dated examples of this window form from Eastern England it is not possible to place it within a more specific date range.

In attempting to analyse the history of the house the lath and plaster construction of the walls added to the difficulty of the problem by effectively concealing much detail of the structure which would have been visible with an infilled construction with exposed framing. The problem was simplified, however, to the extent that the main range and north wing appeared from the visible construction of the framing at their junction to have been contemporary. The siting of the original stack to serve both main range and wing is, of course, consistent with this belief.

The position in the case of the south wing is considerably less certain. The usual indications of a difference of build exist in the differences of floor and roof ridge levels and the difference in roof structure between the main range and south wing, and the apparent insertion of the doorway in the first floor wall between the two could be consistent with a difference of build although not necessarily evidence of it. We may be reasonably confident that the floor levels of the south wing were not designed to provide space above for the attic as the floor level of the latter was not below the wall plate level of the main range—it was, that is, a true attic and not a semi-attic. Moreover, the room below was quite high in comparison with its length and breadth and could easily have accommodated a higher floor, or lower ceiling, level without having appeared disproportionate.

The evidence appears to support the belief that this wing was not entirely contemporary with the rest of the building but beyond this its history must now be, to a large extent, conjectural. A possible explanation, that the wing began as a single storey structure which was subsequently heightened by the addition of an upper storey and attic, might serve to explain the presence of the jetty, a feature peculiar to this part of the house, as a means of simplifying the mounting of an extension on the earlier structure.

A reasonable sequence for the later changes can fairly easily be deduced. The brick addition to the rear of the timber framed building was not bonded into the stack erected outside the south wing and is consequently unlikely to be contemporary with it. We may, therefore, assume that the insterted stacks were built first and that the lean-to was a later addition, probably late 19th or early 20th century. The blocking of the rear door providing entry to the stair well was also fairly recent as was shown by a strip

8. See H. T. Weyman, *'Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days'*, (Ludlow 1913), p.18. I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Norton of Ludlow Museum for assistance in tracing this reference to The Reader's House. In Monmouthshire the combination appears as that of wooden ovolo moulded mullions with diamond section iron shafts between, (Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan, *'Monmouthshire Houses'*, 3, 83 and 96) but the relatively late arrival of the ovolo moulding in Monmouthshire makes it difficult to compare these examples with Brook House Farm. For the same reason the combination of diamond section mullion with diamond section wooden shafts which Fox and Raglan place late in the period 1550-1610 (Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan, *op cit.*, 2, 44) is probably more relevant to Brook House Farm.

of floor covering which was still in position on the door sill. It would not seem improbable that the blocking of this door and the opening of that from the lean-to into the north wing coincided with the erection of the brick addition.

In considering the historical significance of Brook House Farm we can perhaps begin with advantage by considering the social background against which it should be viewed. Lacking documentary evidence directly related to the house makes an indirect approach necessary, but the documentary researches of Mr. M. W. Barley may usefully be called upon to define the likely social position of this house. In Kent, for example, about the year 1600 men with goods worth £30 to £60 are said to be living in houses of six to seven rooms, while yeomen with goods of £80 to £725 had houses of nine or more rooms.⁹ Standards in Essex are said to have been similar.¹⁰ For Writtle in the 1630s inventories ranging from less than £3 to nearly £400 are recorded but the number of rooms is generally not in excess of six. The larger houses appear generally to be associated with inventories of £90 or more.¹¹ Brook House Farm, with a cellar, eight rooms and an attic (cellar and seven rooms possibly in its original form if we assume the south wing to be a heightening of a single storey service room) would appear by comparison to have been the house of a fairly substantial yeoman possessed, perhaps, of goods valued at £80-£100 or possibly even more.

Before considering the plan of the house brief mention should be made of its external appearance. In its modern form the front elevation had a nearly symmetrical appearance (Plate I) and the contribution made by the south gable to this symmetry has been mentioned earlier. The desire for symmetrical elevation in the greater houses of the early 17th century is well known and numerous examples of smaller houses of the period designed to possess some degree of external symmetry are on record. It has been suggested that in some cases this symmetry may have been obtained at some sacrifice of comfort.¹²

The modern appearance of Brook House Farm, is, however, misleading. Even if we accept the south gable as an original feature the fenestration of the front elevation can hardly have been symmetrical. The east window on the front floor of the north wing has been shown (section 4 (b) above) probably to have been an insertion, whereas the corresponding window of the main range, although not exposed to detailed examination, probably represented an original window position as the only other lighting to the first floor of the main range was the small window in the south wall. If a doorway into the lower end of the hall existed, as the chamfer stops on the hall ceiling beam suggests it may, then the asymmetry of the first elevation would have been increased.

The rear elevation can never have been truly symmetrical. Even if we disregard the possibility of the south wing not being entirely original and deal only with the later appearance the unequal projection of the wings, one only of which was jettied, and the off-centre position of the lobby entrance are sufficient to prove that symmetry was not a feature of the design.

That Brook House Farm was not a house of mean character is evident, not only from the extent of the accommodation which it provided but also by interior details such as the parlour panelling and the careful chamfering of the exposed timber in the north wing. Nevertheless we must conclude that the design of the house owed little or nothing to any fashionable desire for a symmetrical elevation but was determined primarily by functional considerations.

What then is the significance of this house and what were the functions which it was built to fulfill? In examining these questions we have to consider a plan which is traditional to the extent that the internal placing of the chimney stack was retained¹³ and, apparently, in the provision of direct access, at the least, to access by way of the south wing to the lower end of the hall. The extent, however, to which this latter feature should in fact be attributed purely to tradition is worth consideration and will be discussed further below.

9. M. W. Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage*, (London 1961), 62.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 139-140. The correlation is, of course, only approximate but is nevertheless useful in giving some indication of the probable status of occupiers of houses at the various levels of accommodation at this time.

12. Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan, *op cit.*, 2, 46.

13. Traditional, that is, for a sub-medieval farmhouse in this part of the country. Elsewhere, of course, side or gable wall positions for the stack would be regarded as traditional.

"New" features to be seen in the plan are the provision of the lobby or "baffle" entrance and the placing of the main stairway in a small wing projecting from the main range. Both these are features of common occurrence in the early 17th century and neither can be considered of particular significance per se. It is only when we consider these newer features in the context of the overall plan of the house that they begin to appear of interest and to suggest certain conjectures as to the social requirements which influenced the layout of the house.

In considering these features in this overall context a search was made for comparable examples and it soon became clear that, although many of the characteristics of Brook House Farm could be paralleled elsewhere, little appears to have been recorded which shows close similarity to the collective features of the house. This statement obviously requires some amplification as it is clearly possible, by taking a sufficient number of criteria, to make almost any house appear unique, and the following details were taken as defining the plan of Brook House Farm for the purposes of establishing comparisons and considering the interrelation of the principal features.

1. A plan of main range and one or more crosswings, the crosswing providing at least two rooms on each floor, with an internally placed stack in the main range;
2. A stairway opposite the stack;
3. An entrance opposite, or approximately opposite the stack and on the same side of the stack as the stair;
4. A separate entrance to the hall.

A Warwickshire house which appears to have conformed to these criteria is Brook Furlong Farm, about five miles west of Warwick in Rowington parish. This house was examined in the spring of 1963 by a team, of which the author was a member, as part of a field course held at Westham House Residential College, Barford, Warwickshire, and its similarity in essentials to Brook House Farm justifies a brief digression to describe the house.

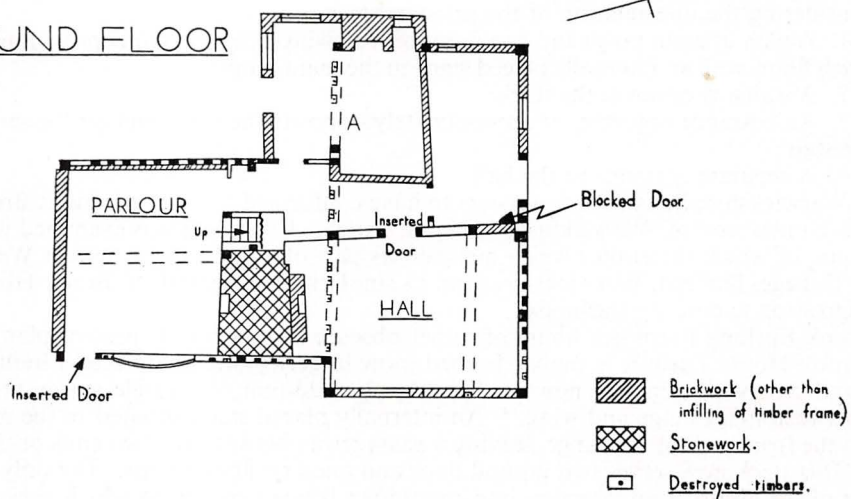
Brook Furlong Farm is a house of rather obscure history but its present plan is shown in Fig. 4. Like Brook House Farm it is timber framed (now largely infilled with brick) built on a plan of main range and crosswing which is now modified by the addition of a single storey brick structure in the angle between main range and wing.¹⁴ An internally placed stack situated in the main range is placed close to the front wall of the range, leaving a passageway between the two ends of the house behind the stack. This stack now serves two ground floor and one first floor rooms. The only other stack, that at the rear of the house, is an insertion into the timber framed crosswing which appears to ante-date the brick walls enclosing the area in the angle of the building although it may be contemporary with those partitioning a room from the south-west corner of the wing.

The doorways into and within the house have been much altered but the original arrangement and later alterations are fairly clearly recognisable. ("Original" used with reference to Brook Furlong Farm is intended to imply that the feature is not later than the erection of the present L-plan building; some part of the house may ante-date this). The only surviving original doorway of importance is that at the rear of the house leading into a lobby behind the stack. This, obviously, was an entrance to the building before the erection of the later brick structure and is comparable to the lobby entrance of Brook House Farm. The doorway shown in the north wall of the crosswing probably led only to a single storey lean-to structure which is now destroyed but traces of which remained when the building was examined. There are clear traces of a former doorway in the destroyed south wall of the crosswing (at point "A" on the plan) but the beam above this position has had its soffit cut away to an extent which prevents a definite conclusion being formed as to whether or not this was original. (The fact that the beam has been cut away may, of course, indicate that the doorway was not an original feature). It may well be that a doorway was inserted at this point when the brick partition wall was erected to take out the small room, probably a kitchen, from the crosswing before this room was enlarged by the erection of the brick addition in the angle of the house.¹⁵ There is also evidence of a former entry into the hall in the front

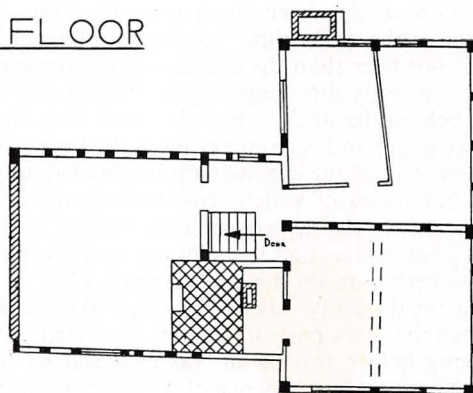
14. Further additions have been made since the house was examined. The description given is that of the house in April 1963 when it was in the early stages of restoration and enlargement.
15. The apparent isolation of this room from the rest of the house before the erection of the extension in the angle of the building is interesting. If no form of shelter existed between this room and the rear entry it seems a curious reflection of a tradition of a detached kitchen, but no evidence of the former existence of such a building was seen.

FIG 4-BROOK FURLONG FARM
ROWINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE

GROUND FLOOR



FIRST FLOOR



(east) wall of the crosswing. This wall, at ground floor level, has been entirely rebuilt in brick at various times and the weather worn condition of, and encroachments of plaster over, the rail above enabled only one former stud position to be identified. Two vertical breaks of joint in the brickwork, one at the position of the missing stud and one just north of the modern window, suggests a former doorway in this wall. Its precise position is, however, slightly ambiguous. It could obviously have been between the breaks of joint in the brickwork but an alternative possibility is between the northernmost break and the cornerpost. In this case it is necessary to assume that the second break in the brickwork is associated with the installation of the modern window in this wall. On balance, although the asymmetrically placed ceiling beam in the hall suggests some form of passageway, the former seems the more likely position. Of the other existing ground floor doors two, the entry into the parlour and that existing between the hall and the rear part of the wing, are obvious insertions. The latter replaces that further north in the same wall which is now blocked by brickwork. The modern appearance of this brick blocking and the presence of the door itself still on its hinges suggests that this blocking is fairly recent, possibly dating from the division of the rear room of the wing.

The stairway is of no antiquity but in view of the lack of evidence of an earlier stair position it may represent, approximately, the site of the former stair.

The history of Brook Furlong Farm is uncertain. That it is probably of two builds, the main range and the crosswing, is suggested by the fact that the bressummer of the front wall of the main range tennons into a post forming part of the main range and not, as one might expect in a house of one build, into the adjacent timber of the wing. The roof structure also suggests two builds. That the two parts may not be very different in date is suggested by their similarity of construction, both having vertical studding at ground floor level and square framing at first floor level in the external walls with small straight braces in the angles between principal posts and wall plates. Which part is actually the earlier is, however, difficult to decide. The existence of a complete set of mortises and pegholes along the south bressummer of the crosswing (now acting, as shown in Fig. 4, for all but a short part of its length as a ceiling beam) indicates that here was formerly a fully framed wall. This impression is strengthened when one examines the first floor structure where timbers in this wall appear to have been removed to provide the doorways from the stairhead into the front and rear rooms of the wing. The view that the crosswing once formed a complete building, to which the existing main range was added, indicated by the above details is, however, difficult to support in the absence of any original stack in this part of the house and an absence of smoke blackening on the roof timbers.

Examination of the main range revealed at first floor level a shallow depression in the stonework on the north side of the stack, now largely obscured by an inserted brick flue from the hall fireplace below, suggestive of a former fireplace on this side of the stack. As this is now just behind the south wall of the crosswing its existence would only be explicable if the crosswing wall were the later feature. The roof structure of the main range shows a break in the purlins and ridge timber at the northern truss as though that part of the roof north of this truss had been reconstructed to abut the later crosswing roof.

The balance of evidence would seem to suggest that the existing main range formerly extended northwards of the stack and that the northern part was destroyed to be replaced by the present crosswing. It must be admitted, however, that the question cannot be considered as decided unless a convincing explanation of the structure of the south wall of the crosswing can be put forward.

If we confine our consideration to the house in its present form, which is the phase of its history of importance in a comparison with Brook House Farm, a 17th century date appears to be likely. Dating features are few but the lintel of the rear doorway and a post on the stairway both carry an ovolo moulding. The ceiling of the room over the hall is, on the evidence of a bracket supporting a corbel strip on which the ceiling joists rest, an 18th century insertion. Wattle and daub infilling in the upper part of the centre truss of the wing supports the assumption that this ceiling is an insertion and that the rooms were originally open to the roof. The latter argument also applies to the main range where evidence of infilling was found in the north roof truss.

Returning now to the discussion of the plan of Brook House Farm the first consideration should, perhaps, be the functions of the rooms. Of their exact functions little evidence remains but some deductions as to probabilities can, nevertheless, be made. The apparent absence of originally heated ground floor rooms other than those assumed to have been hall and parlour suggests that cooking was

still being carried on in the former, unless we assume that an outside kitchen existed, all trace of which has been lost, or that the south wing stack replaced an earlier one on the same site. (The structural alterations in the cellar indicate that the north wing stack must almost certainly have been an inserted and not a replacement feature). Of the latter, one can only say that if such an earlier stack had existed not so much as a single brick remained as evidence of its existence. Barley¹⁶ refers to Suffolk and Essex as part of a region in which the medieval tradition of the detached kitchen was still alive, ca. 1600, but evidence of pothangers above the hearth can be seen in some Suffolk houses similar in size to Brook House Farm indicating that cooking was being carried out in the hall probably in the first half of the 16th century.¹⁷ On balance it seems not unlikely that the hall of Brook House Farm was used for this purpose.

The presence of fireplaces in two upper rooms clearly indicates that these were probably intended as bedchambers—certainly as more than mere storage chambers. Comparison of the finish of the timber work in the first floor rooms of the north wing does not suggest that the rear room, although originally unheated, was intended to be of greatly inferior status to that at the front and we may perhaps extend the argument, without descending to unsupported conjecture, to conclude that this too was not intended solely as storage space. In Sussex, most of the upper rooms in the larger houses are said to have contained beds about this period.¹⁸

The positions of the entries and stairways have been briefly discussed above. Examination of these in relation to each other and to the overall plan of the house shows some points of interest and it is here that comparison of Brook House Farm and Brook Furlong Farm becomes of value. Reference has already been made to the stairway and its position opposite the stack arouses no surprise. The convenience of this position in a house with wings providing rooms to the rear of the main range is obvious and may be paralleled by the position at Brook Furlong Farm. It should be noted, however, that the stairway did not rise directly from the hall and it is difficult to believe that it ever did so. While it is not easy to generalise regarding the position of access to the stair at this period without making the point the subject of more extensive research it is clear, even from a superficial survey, that in many cases the early 17th century stair wing opened from the hall. This applies in some cases where the stair wing is placed, as at Brook House Farm, immediately behind an internal stack.¹⁹ The arrangement at Brook House Farm may well have been the result of structural considerations—the presence of the south wing along one side of the hall may be held to have been responsible—but the point may have further significance and will be referred to again. (The present arrangement at Brook Furlong Farm is, of course, similar in that the stair does not rise from the hall but the doubt as to whether this represents an earlier stair siting reduces the value of the comparison).

Like the stairway, the existence of the lobby entry approximately opposite the stack is not unexpected. There again the convenience of this position is self evident particularly when considered in comparison with the alternative of placing entrance and stairway on opposite sides of the stack. As with the stairway, however, one point is worthy of note, namely that this entry did not give (and the continuity of the brickwork of the spine wall suggested that it never had given) access to the hall by the most direct route; i.e. there was never an entry to the hall opposite the external door and access to the hall can only have been by the somewhat more circuitous route through the lobby behind the stack. In itself this cannot, like the absence of direct access from hall to stair, be of major significance but it follows that the more convenient entry to the hall was probably by way of the door at the other end of the south wing. This situation can again be paralleled by the position at Brook Furlong Farm where the present route from the rear door to the hall is through a doorway which is obviously an insertion and the original path would appear to have been by way of the now blocked door at the north end of the hall—a comparatively indirect means of access from rear door to hall.

Finally, in any consideration of the plan of Brook House Farm we must seek to explain the purpose of the dual entry to the house, a feature which again appears to have been shown at Brook Furlong Farm although here in slightly different form. Certain more obvious explanations can probably be dis-

16. M. W. Barley, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

17. Unpublished observation by the author.

18. M. W. Barley, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

19. e.g. The Manor House and West Hall, both in the parish of Folke, Dorset, (*R.C.H.M., Dorset, I*, 111-113) and a house, now The Old Swan Hotel, Minster Lovell, Oxfordshire. (Observation by the author).

carded. That this was merely a means of providing front and rear entry to the house, as might appear to be the case in the Warwickshire example, is untenable at Brook House Farm where both entries were at the rear. (This argument is not, of course, affected by the possible existence of a front entry to the house in addition to the other two). Improved access to the farmyard also appears to be an insufficient explanation for although the system at Brook House Farm can be held to have reduced traffic from the yard through the hall the argument fails at Brook Furlong Farm where the lobby entry is on the side of the house which is remote from the yard. External conditions, then, would not appear to offer an entirely adequate explanation for this feature of the plan.

Tradition has sometimes been called upon to explain those things for which no better explanation could be found. Was provision of separate access to the hall merely an archaic feature surviving from the tradition of medieval planning although the contemporary lobby entrance had made it functionally superfluous? Here the well known example of this form of dual entry, "The Priory," at Marcham, Berkshire, must be taken into consideration. The influence of medieval tradition in the plan of The Priory is clearly indisputable and has been explained by Spokes and Jope in terms of the pedigrees of apprenticeship of the late 16th century craftsmen.²⁰ The Priory, however, was dated to or about the 1570s—Brook House Farm may well have been a generation, or perhaps more, later, and had lost the obviously archaic form of the Berkshire house. Moreover, the house of rectangular plan with axial stack and a lobby entrance serving the rooms either side of the stack is known to have existed in Essex as early as 1560.²¹ It consequently seems unconvincing to regard Brook House Farm as a "transitional" form or to assume that entry to the lower end of the hall was provided purely for reasons of tradition. (We may, perhaps, note in passing that the traditional form of the plan at The Priory makes the lobby entry here as necessary of explanation as is the apparently archaic hall entry at Brook House Farm. Which ever entry we choose to regard as the more expected in relation to the overall plan of the house we must be left with the need to find a functional reason for the existence of the other).

If external factors and the influence of tradition are discounted it must seem that this arrangement of entries was related to the internal functions of the house. Precisely what these functions were must remain conjectural but some part at least of the picture can be sketched. The hall, clearly, had lost much of its position as a focal point within the house. Insofar as communication within the house is concerned this focal point had obviously moved to the rear entry and stairway which together provided means of access which, for any of the rooms, was completely independent of the other rooms of the house. The change appears, however, to have been a little deeper than the mere change in the means of access. The provision of separate means of access to the hall, the fact that, as a means of reaching the hall, the lobby entrance was not used to its greatest advantage, and perhaps the absence of direct access from hall to stairway, would seem to suggest that the hall had lost to some extent its close integration with the remainder of the house. (The last point is consistent with the argument although, for the structural reasons mentioned earlier, is not necessarily evidence in support of it). This is not to imply that the hall no longer possessed any useful function, but it does suggest that its function could be performed to some extent independently of the activities in the remaining part of the house, which, likewise, could continue to some degree independently of the hall. Brook Furlong farm appears to show a similar dichotomy, as does The Priory, for in the latter the stair is shown rising, not from the hall, but from the room on the other side of the stack. This room, directly accessible from the lobby entrance and which Spokes and Jope regarded as the main family living room, thus forms with the upper rooms an integral part of the house distinct from the hall and service rooms on the ground floor.

The social significance of this type of house plan must be even more conjectural. Is this a mark of the transition of the hall from its medieval function as the communal living room to that of a kitchen? Evidence cited by Barley²² of the "hall" being called the kitchen in Norfolk in the first half of the 17th century suggests that this process of change of function was approaching its conclusion at that time although still not complete. Such a change in the primary function of the room might well explain the shift of the focal point of the house from the hall to the entrance lobby and stairway, but it is doubtful if it convincingly explains the need for a separate entrance to the hall from the yard when this could have been adequately provided from the lobby entrance.

20. P. S. Spokes and E. M. Jope, *op. cit.*

21. Whiteheads, Hatfield Broad oak, Essex, *R.C.H.M., Essex, II*, 120; also M. W. Barley, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

22. M. W. Barley, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

Much has been written on the increasing desire for privacy during the late 16th and early 17th century.²³ The idea of privacy was not, of course, new. The solar wing of the medieval house must imply a limited facility for withdrawal from the communal life of the hall, but the increasing facilities for privacy in every day life at the turn of the 16th century are not difficult to find. The ability to reach any room in Brook House Farm without passing through another is a reflection of this and may be compared with the recorded appearance of a first floor lobby in some Monmouthshire houses about this time to provide separate access from the stairhead to each first floor room.²⁴ Documentary evidence can also be produced and the case quoted by Barley of the Ellwood family, living about the middle of the 17th century in the Manor House, Crowell, Oxfordshire, is of interest.²⁵ Here, although the household was small, we read that the family dined in the parlour, the servants in the kitchen. Clearly, in this household the use of the hall as a communal living room had been abandoned and family and domestic servants were living, to an extent at least, apart. A similar situation at The Priory is implied by Spokes and Jope's assumption that the ground floor room at the south end of the house was the family living room. Brook House Farm and Brook Furlong Farm may perhaps be representative of households living in conditions similar to those of the Ellwood family, the parlour serving as a living and dining room for the family, the "hall" as kitchen and accommodation for a small domestic staff. Such a division might well be consistent with the provision of separate entries to the two parts of the house and it is interesting to note that at Crowell Manor, although the house differs considerably in plan from Brook House Farm, separate entry to the parlour existed.

Much remains to be answered as to the place in history of Brook House Farm, not the least important question being to what extent the explanations advanced above are a correct interpretation of the structural evidence. Further evidence can now come only from other sources, but the existence of two houses apparently so similar in the more important features of their plans as Brook House and Brook Furlong Farms, and as far apart as Essex and Warwickshire, suggests that other houses of this type probably await detailed examination.

The nature of the relationship between this type of house and that of rectangular plan with axial stack and lobby entrance also suggests itself as a matter of interest. On this question we may note that the main range and crosswing plan of the Brook House Farm and Brook Furlong Farm type of house could provide accommodation equivalent to that of the three cell variant of the commoner two cell rectangular axial chimney and lobby entrance plan, but is superior to it in the simplicity with which access to the third room on each floor was provided. Beyond this, however, the relationship between Brook House Farm, with its combination of lobby entrance and additional entry to the hall, and the simpler rectangular plan houses in which the lobby entrance served equally the rooms on either side of the stack is not so obvious. That the former is not merely a transitional form has been suggested above. Even The Priory, if the assumption that the combination of hall and lobby entrances served a definite social purpose is correct, may be transitional only to the extent that this new purpose was achieved whilst employing a traditional plan for the lower end of the house—expressed otherwise it may, with Brook House Farm, be representative of a class of house which, although having features in common with the much commoner simple lobby entrance house, served a somewhat different social purpose. The answer to this problem must, however, be closely bound to the social, economic or other factors which led to the appearance and rapid spread of the simple lobby entrance type of house in the late Tudor period. Without a clear understanding of the origins of this house form there is little point in attempting to explore its relationship to other contemporary forms, and before such an understanding can be achieved more research will be required.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to Mr. R. James for permission, on behalf of the owners, to examine Brook House Farm prior to its demolition.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. J. T. Smith, M.A., F.S.A., for his encouragement and advice in expanding some original notes on Brook House Farm into this article.

23. See, for example, W. G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640,' *Past and Present*, 4 (1953), 44-59.

24. e.g. White House, Clytha. Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan, *op. cit.*, 3, 32.

25. M. W. Barley, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

THE MANORS OF TOLLESHUNTA

By H. Malcolm Carter.

The Tolleshunts were not divided into the three parishes we know today—D'Arcy, Major, and Knights—until a century after Domesday, and the Survey records a dozen manors under the name of Tolleshunta. To identify these with certainty is perhaps impossible, and yet, unless we attempt to do so much of the detailed interest of the Survey is lost.

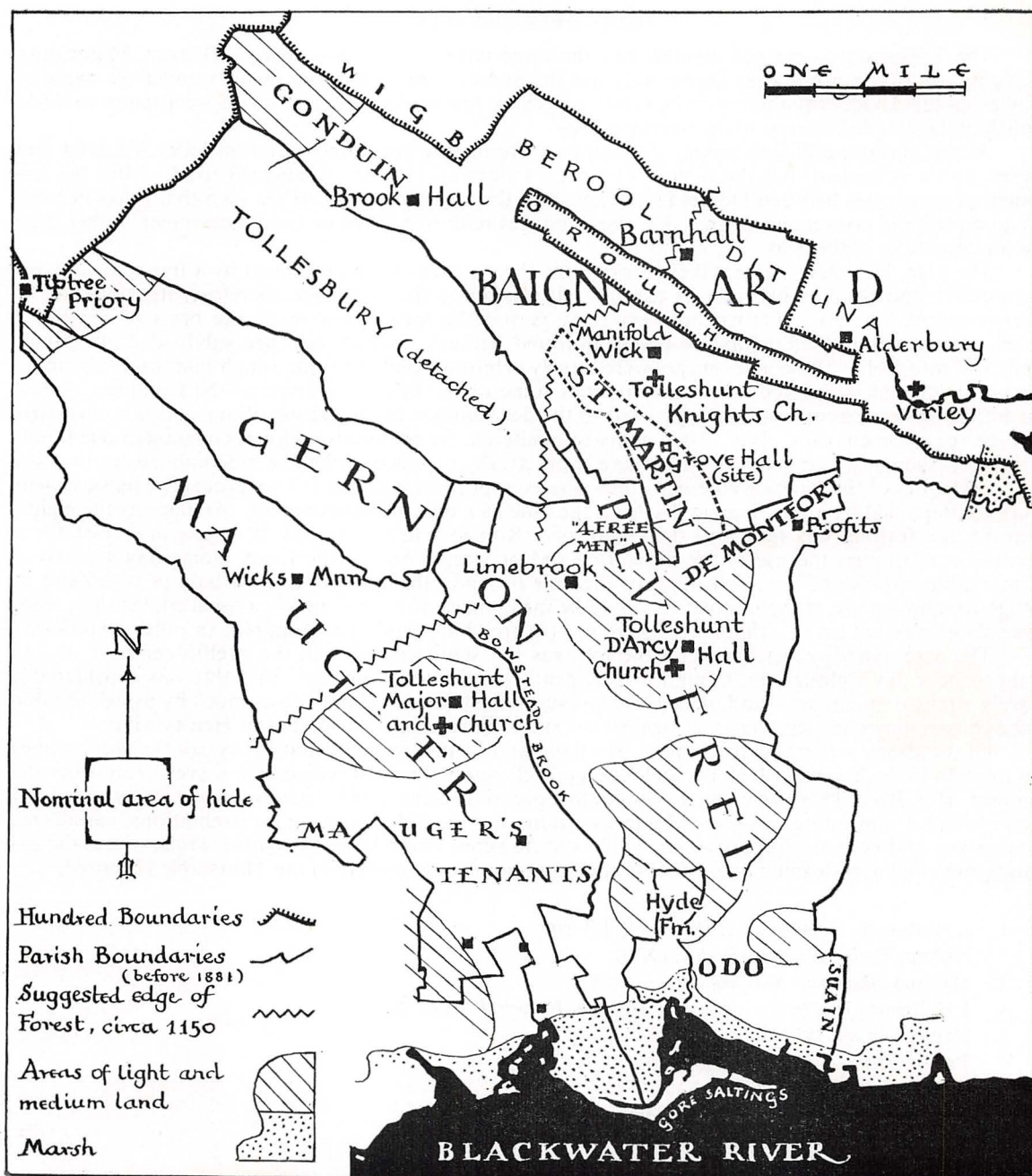
At the outset a difficulty arises. The areas in Domesday are usually given in hides, virgates, and acres, and it is evident that the table, 120 acres=4 virgates=1 hide, is generally used.¹ But the frequent discrepancies between Domesday hidages and the areas they refer to are such that it has become an accepted and convenient dogma that these hidages refer to a fiscal or Geld assessment, rather than to the actualities of the field.

The hide, historians agree, takes its origin in the amount of land occupied by a free man and his household, and tilled by his eight-ox team.^{2,3} It was not in the first place, therefore, strictly a unit of measurement. At an unknown but very early period the hidage was made the basis of taxation.⁴ Each county was allotted its taxable hidage in round figures^{5, 6}, which was then subdivided into hundreds and into fives. These assessments were largely arbitrary, but had some rough relation to the territorial realities of the period. In some counties some of the figures survived to the Conquest almost intact, but Essex was exceptionally exposed to the devastations of the Danish Wars, and it is clear that drastic reassessment took place. The county total altered, the hundreds no longer contained one hundred hides—sometimes much less—and there is practically no trace of the five hide unit except in some of the Manors of the Royal Demesne, which was exempt from taxation.⁷ This process of reassessment was accompanied by a growing emphasis on the hide as a unit of measurement. As early as the eighth century the furlong was reckoned the eighth of a Roman mile.⁸ The use of virgate and rood for a quarter-acre implies the use of the measuring rod or virga. And in the Essex Domesday we have a remarkable instance of the application of the hide to land other than arable—a hide of woodland in Wigborough⁹—a use of the unit which would be meaningless if it were merely a fiscal convention, since woodland was not taxed. (Similarly, there are tax-free hides and even hundreds in other counties).¹⁰

The acre varied somewhat, since the rod was not standardised until the twelfth century. It was said to be a day's ploughing, though it is evident from Walter of Henley¹¹ that this was considered a rarely attained maximum—and indeed, the last surviving team could only do as much by using a double plough spanning eighteen inches, as against the single eleven inch—of Walter of Henley's day.¹²

Of the classic writers on the subject, Maitland and Round were of what I may call the fiscal school of thought in dealing with the hide, and Vinogradoff, surely the most judicial mind ever to consider the subject, (for Round's abilities were essentially forensic), came down heavily on the other side.¹³ I have found it interesting to follow him in assuming that the hide, allowing for exemptions, variations, and errors, did consist of approximately 120 statute acres, and I have not on the whole found the assumption at all a misleading one, either in the Tolleshunts or elsewhere in the Thurstable Hundred.

1. J. H. Round. *Victoria County History*. I, 334 note.
2. Finberg. *English Historical Review*, LXVI.
3. Maitland. *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 387/8.
4. J. H. Round. *The Hundred and the Geld*, *English Historical Review* X, 732.
5. Maitland op. cit. 455-7.
6. Stenton. *Anglo-Saxon England*, 638.
7. Tait. *English Historical Review*, XVII, 280.
8. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1929. IX, 943.
9. *V.C.H.* I, 501.
10. Vinogradoff. *English Society in the 11th Century*, 183.
11. Walter of Henley's *Husbandry*.
12. *Ms.* from Mr. Smith, Oxman, Cirencester Park.
13. Vinogradoff. Op. cit. 201.



The intricacy of the manorial lay-out in Tolleshunta is clear from the great store of material available in Morant¹⁴ and Salmon.¹⁵ In their accounts, manors combine, separate, and combine again in a sort of stately territorial minuet. Acquisitive squires accumulate estates only to run out of male heirs and disperse them again, and in the end, an anti-climax of rather plebeian sounding absentee owners, but no altogether clear picture of what has happened. But the astringent Round, with his eye for detail, and Dr. Darby¹⁶ with his wider perspective simplify many of the problems for us, and Mr. Powell¹⁷ has supplied us with the corresponding background for the history of the parish.

It may seem impertinent for the student to attempt to decide where these doctors have disagreed, but he may, if he knows his countryside, fill in some of the gaps of their scholarship with his own topographical knowledge. This is what I have attempted to do. I have found what appears to be the high level of accuracy in the Domesday returns for the Tolleshunts a great assistance. There appear to be few considerable gaps or anomalies as there so often are elsewhere, and there are a number of details—records of disputes, exchanges of land and so on—which provide valuable data in mapping. I have tried to examine every fact in relation to the geology and the probable state of the land-surface before artificial draining was much undertaken.

As elsewhere, the assessments for swine are the most unsatisfactory, the round figures indicating estimates only. The numbers would undoubtedly be the figures easiest to conceal both from hundred courts and from the assessors.

The Tolleshunts now form a fairly compact block between Tiptree Heath, the Blackwater, and the Salcot inlet. But before the Victorian rationalising of boundaries,¹⁸ northernmost Tolleshunt D'Arcy formed a detachment of Tollesbury, there was a smaller one abutting on the Blackwater, and Tolleshunt Knights was almost bisected by a strip of Salcot and Wigborough. I refer throughout to these boundaries, and not to those of the present day.

The soil of the three parishes is a heavy and tenacious clay, hard to clear and drain, and difficult to work, except for lighter land capping the low hills near the Blackwater, some alluvium along the marshes, and some light but poor land on the Heath. It is on the Blackwater side that we must expect the bulk of the enclosed land, with the much prized marsh-grazing for sheep. Of these D'Arcy has much the largest share. There are many hollows and shallow valleys in the clay which must have held winter bogs before the present elaborate system of ditches was provided.

One thinks of the economic importance of sheep as being a characteristic of the later middle ages. But the high valuations of holdings carrying them in Domesday demonstrate the importance of wool, and perhaps cheese, as a cash crop. We find that Tolleshunt D'Arcy and Tolleshunt Major, whose marshes lie together on the Blackwater, had grazing for 270 sheep. How many acres may we expect this to represent? There seems very little data bearing on the size of the sheep of that period. The medieval draughtsman was unreliable on this point, and no other domesticated species has lent itself so readily to local variation. Marsh breeds are in general larger than those of mountain or heath, on the other hand there seems to have been a tendency for domestic animals to increase in size. I think it reasonable to suggest an animal large by eleventh century standards, medium by ours, hardy, bony and rough-wooled. A reasonable figure today would be a sheep to the acre,¹⁹ to carry it through the year on unimproved marsh of fair quality. Though sheep enjoy browsing on saltings the amount of nourishment derived from these treacherous banks must be small. I visualise the Domesday marshes as being less efficiently drained and sluiced than they are today. They would include areas of reeds and brackish pools. The lower parts, also, would be saltier, as the effects of flood and tempest must then have taken longer to repair.

All things considered, I suggest three sheep to four acres—three hundred and sixty acres for the two parishes. I have put the flood line of January 31st, 1953, on my map,²⁰ and find that it agrees fairly well

14. Rev. Philip Morant. *History of Essex*, 1768.

15. Salmon. *History of Essex*.

16. Darby. *Domesday Geography of the Eastern Counties*.

17. Powell. The making of Essex Parishes. *Essex Review*, Jan. and April, 1953.

18. Statute of 1881.

19. Private enquiry from graziers.

20. Courtesy of the Essex River Authority.

with what appears to be the geological edge of the area. I do not think that Chapman and André are always to be relied on where marsh is concerned, but their area is much the same, though indicating a less serrated coastline. The marsh for the two parishes appears, then, to amount today to 223 acres, of which much is very rough. The balance needed of about 140 acres may be taken to be the loss due to the sinking of the coastline which is generally accepted as having taken place²¹, and consequent erosion. It requires little imagination to reconstruct a lost coastline extending through the Gore Saltings to the present sea wall just east of the Tollesbury boundary. (In Bowen's maps these saltings appear as a considerable area of land). This would enclose an area of about 150 acres (adding a little to cover loss westwards as well), and while one must not be too confident about such a series of assumptions, the near correspondence of the acreages is at least interesting.

The areas of the three parishes before 1881 was 7,484 acres. Of this, 260 acres were marsh, 37 in Tolleshunt Knights. The recorded hidage equals 3,174 acres. The cottages and closes of the peasant population, over a hundred families, the demesne homesteads and a few roadways, may have covered more land than the marshes did, and we are left with about half the parishes in forest and waste, providing pannage for 872 swine.

The map suggests, I think, that the Saxon vills, having been established on the hills near the sea, had extended their north-western frontiers into the forest until stopped by the hundred boundary. There is no reason whatever to assume that these enclosures were brought into the open field system. Many remains of forest survived into the seventeenth century to be recorded by the early map makers,²² much common land was surveyed by Chapman and André,²³ and small areas of heath remain to this day, but the clearest indication remaining is in actual parish boundaries. On the coastal half of the area they consist largely of short straight lines meeting at sharp angles, following the field headlands. Inland, the boundary lines are long and smooth as if from one landmark to another, a layout on which the fields appear to be superimposed. One can easily draw a line, as I have done on my sketch map, to indicate the approximate edge of the forest when the churches were built and the parishes organised.

The three parishes had very different histories. It seems likely that much of Major became a sheep ranch under absentee owners in the middle ages, and that Knights suffered a similar fate in the sixteenth century,²⁴ whereas D'Arcy retained its resident lords to a later date, and its lively village contrasts with its sparsely populated neighbours to this day. The whole area was placed under forest law by the first Plantagenet and was disafforested by Edward I.²⁵ There are many prosecutions recorded for sowing corn and for other offences in the "Novum Vastum" in the thirteenth century.²⁶ During this period the crown granted right of assart, that is, licenced enclosure in the royal forest, to the religious houses of Tiptree, Wix and Coggeshall.

The Tolleshunt manors at the time of the survey were as follows:

<i>Tenant-in-Chief</i>		<i>Sub-tenant</i>
1.	Eustace of Boulogne	
2. Eustace of Boulogne		Adelolf de Merc
3. Robert son of Corbutio		Mauger
4. Ranulf Peverel		Humfrey
5. Robert Gernon		Robert de Verli
	(including 40 acres in Chelmsford Hundred)	
6. Hugh de Montfort		Humfrey
7. Suen of Essex		Odo
8.	Odo Bishop of Bayeux	
9. Eustace of Boulogne		St. Martin le Grand
10. Ralf Baignard		Bernard
11.	Gonduin	

21. Steers. *Coastline of England and Wales*.

22. MSS. in Essex Record Office. Q/DDc, 4-5.

23. Chapman and André. *A Map of Essex* 1777.

24. Norden's *Description of Essex* (Camden Soc. 1840) implies some sort of Latifundia.

25. W. R. Fisher. *The Forests of Essex*, VIII.

26. Unpub. MSS Public Record Office. E 32 13 mem. 21r.

In addition Morant names three "reputed" manors—

- A. Wicks (or Wix) Manor
- B. Highams and Joyces
- C. Langbrokes, now Limebrook

And finally—

- D. The Manor of Tiptree.

Tolleshunt Major.
Tolleshunt Major.
Tolleshunt D'Arcy.

1 and 2. I place these two manors of Eustace of Boulogne first to dispose of them briefly. The first is undoubtedly Bouchers Hall, and the second probably its dependent manor of Gorwell Hall and Prentices. Although in Tolleshunta, they became part of Tollesbury parish, and appear here no more.

3. Mauger's manor occupied all or most of the parish of Tolleshunt Mauger or Major. It was the largest manor in the Tolleshunts, and Mauger's successor Phillip de Boville gave it to Coggeshall Abbey in 1219.²⁷ The greater part of the arable was occupied by four knights, Mauger's sub-tenants. These tenancies appear to have continued, and the enclosure award map of 1807²⁸ shows clearly the early layout, sheep marsh on the Blackwater, then four substantial farms, Highams, Joyces, (both "reputed" manors in Morant) Longwick, and Manor Farm. Then the Hall with the demesne land and church, and then a mixture of heath and irregularly shaped fields indicating the former forest.

Coggeshall had a licence to enclose forest from Henry III in 1257²⁹ in both Tolleshunt Major and Tolleshunt Tregoz (D'Arcy) and I have wondered whether the strange projection from the former into the latter parish, cutting off the north west part from the rest, may not be the area assarted.

Wicks or Wix Manor, Tolleshunt Major, is reported as coming into Wolsey's hands in 1525³⁰ and being used in the endowment of his new foundations. This shows it to have been the property of one of the lesser monasteries which were suppressed and utilised in this way. Two of the lesser houses of Essex had land in Tolleshunt Major, Stansgate and Wix, and we may assume that Wix manor took its name from its owners. Wix Priory received an assart from Henry II³¹ and the manor was still on the edge of the heath in Chapman and André's time.

Morant and Round are agreed on this identification of Tolleshunt Major with Maugers manor.

4 and 5. It will be convenient to deal with the manor held of Ranulf Peverel by Humfrey, and that held by Robert de Virley of Robert Gernon, together. Morant and Round seem to agree in placing these manors in Tolleshunt D'Arcy and Humfrey's manor has been shown by Round to be Tolleshunt D'Arcy³² Hall. The suffix changed from Tregoz to Crepping, to Boys, and finally to D'Arcy,³³ according to the current family. As time passed it tended to play a more and more central part in the affairs of the district, and while most of the other demesne houses have declined or disappeared, this one still looks the part. In the surviving Court Rolls the two manors are administered together from a single court at D'Arcy Hall.³⁴

As de Virley had most of the swine of the parish, we must allocate to him the north-western arm of Tolleshunt D'Arcy—800 acres or more for his 200 pigs. This assumption is perhaps strengthened by an unusual circumstance. It appears from Domesday that at one point on his estate Tolleshunta overflowed the hundred boundary. The assessors placed 40 acres of it in Chelmsford hundred. Dr. Round points out that Chelmsford is some miles away, and seems to suggest an error for the adjacent Wintree hundred.³⁵ I would suggest, that the 40 acres were in Witham hundred, also adjacent, and we may consider where the 40 acres were and what became of them. In the first place, confusion of boundaries

27. *V.C.H.* II, 126.

28. *MSS.* Essex Record Office. Q/RDc, 5.

29. *V.C.H.* II, 125.

30. *V.C.H.* II, 123.

31. *V.C.H.* II, 123.

32. *Essex Arch. Soc. T., N.S.* VIII, 330.

33. P. H. Reaney. *Place-Names of Essex*, 306.

34. *MSS.* Essex Record Office. D/DWi, 15.

35. *V.C.H.* II.

is most probable in wasteland. This suggests de Virley's north-western boundary against Witham hundred. In the second place, although we do not know when the two manors were united, it is not unlikely that the Tregoz who built the church for the whole area had the resources of both to enable him to do so. We do know that he or his successor founded Tiptree Priory, just over the border in Witham hundred.³⁶ Moreover, until a private enclosure act in 1805³⁷ the Priory stood in a demesne of about 40 acres surrounded by waste. The house received an assart of 60 acres from Edward I in 1281,³⁸ and it is pleasant to think that the king may have been offered a stirrup-cup by the grateful canons, when he passed the Priory on his way to Walsingham eight years later.³⁹ At the dissolution of 1525 Anthony D'Arcy successfully claimed the Priory buildings as successor to the founder. At an inquisition three years later the court-leet of Tiptree is mentioned.⁴⁰ It was a small and poor house, and at the end had only two canons. The dry stony soil of the demesne land must have been a perpetual handicap.

6. Domesday records that the manor held by Humfrey from Ranulf Peverel had included four free men, whose 65 acres were later divided between Bernard's manor and the manor held by Humfrey from de Montfort. Round concludes from this that the three manors were adjacent⁴¹. The de Montfort manor included forest. The only position next to both Humfrey's Peverel manor, and to Bernard's, and to the edge of the north east forested area, lies between Grove Hall and the Tollesbury detachment. Here the parish boundaries show exceptional subdivision, where perhaps the little farms of the four free men were divided between the manors. The distinctive addition to Bernard's manor, on a different axis to the rest, is apparent on the map.

The de Montfort-Humfrey manor comprised 92½ acres and had 30 swine, if we allow the Tolleshunt average of 4.3 acres per pig, this almost exactly coincides with the 220 acres held by Robert de Valoines⁴² of the Filliols, who were de Montfort's successors elsewhere. He probably held it in right of his wife, widow of the last Tregoz.

7. The manor of Suen and Odo (not to be confused with Odo of Bayeux), is placed by Morant in Tolleshunt Major, but unfortunately he offers no evidence for this. Such information as we have indicates Tolleshunt D'Arcy. Odo seized 10 acres of land from Barking Abbey's Tollesbury manor,⁴³ and possessed sheep grazing. We must therefore place this small manor on the Blackwater next to the Tollesbury boundary. So small an area as 10 acres could hardly be seized and held at a distance from the aggressor's manor, and the Abbess's complaint suggests a boundary dispute. Suen was Sheriff of Essex, and his tenants would perhaps be in a favourable position in such a case.

8. Bishop Odo of Bayeux held his land from his half-brother, William I to whom it reverted at his fall. The large number of sheep—60—for a moderate sized holding and the cash crop they provided were perhaps the attraction for the extravagant bishop, and indicate some area of Tolleshunt D'Arcy, such as Skinners Wick, which was later part of the D'Arcy's estates. Robert de Valoines who died in 1282, held a knights fee directly from the crown,⁴⁴ and the Boys and D'Arcys appear to have succeeded him. The coincidence of tenancies-in-chief is noteworthy, if inconclusive. Domesday does not specifically call this holding a manor.

9. Count Eustace's manor remained in the hands of the Chapter and Canons of St. Martin le Grand almost throughout the middle ages. There was a brief usurpation by Geoffrey de Mandeville, but, panic seizing that rapacious baron on the sick bed, he hastily returned this with other church

36. *V.C.H.* II.

37. *MSS.* in Parochial archives of Great Brackstead.

38. Morant II, 140.

39. Powick. *The Thirteenth Century*, 510.

40. Morant II, 140.

41. *V.C.H.* I, 532 note.

42. Morant.

43. *V.C.H.* I, 449 and note.

44. Morant I, 395.

lands.⁴⁵ Henry VII transferred endowments from St. Martin's to his new chapel at Westminster, and this manor there supported a prebend. It passed to the Charity Commissioners a century ago, and they put it on the market (for the first time in history) in 1948. Sir Richard Weston of Prested Hall, a prominent royalist, was tenant during the Civil War, and the old house, called Grove Hall, suffered perhaps for his loyalty, being burnt down⁴⁶. It was never rebuilt, but an adjacent house was let with the land and is called Grove Hall to this day. No court rolls are included in the Cartulary at Westminster Muniment Room and after the earliest days the place was perhaps let as a single farm. Morant, who could not have seen the Westminster archives, supposes this manor to have been in Tollesbury.

The Domesday acreage is 155—the Tithe Award acreage is 179. If we deduct from the latter, homesteads and a long, wide, and apparently ancient roadway, we find that the areas may well coincide. There is however nothing to represent the pannage for 30 swine. As the Glebe Farm appears to be situated on a north western continuation of this manor, it may be that St. Martins made a contribution at the founding of the church of part of its waste, or that it was purchased from them.

- The land (apart from the house) is now known as Middle Farm, Tolleshunt Knights.

10. Morant identifies Barn Hall, Tolleshunt Knights, with Baignard's Tolleshunta, partly, I think, because Baignard's feudal successors, the Fitzwalters, were its overlords at a later date.⁴⁷ Round dismisses this. Tolleshunt Knights, he says, has no sheep marsh and Baignard's manor had.⁴⁸ He therefore proposes *Borooldituna* in Winstree hundred,⁴⁹ which also came to the Fitzwalters. (It is evident from Dr. Reaney's book that *Borooldituna* is a highly probable early form of the name,⁵⁰ and indeed, Round draws attention to this). Having settled the matter Round disconcertingly returns to Morant's view in a footnote to the entry on Little Wigborough,⁵¹ from which Bernard took a hide of wood and added it to the manor he held of Baignard. A glance at the map will show that what appears later as the Barnhall estate is not one estate but two, joined only by a section apparently cut off the forest end of the strip of Wigborough which divides them—this section representing, likely enough, the woodland taken by Bernard. It is no less clear that Manifold Wick was a manor house from its nearness to the church. It fulfils all the conditions for Baignard's Tolleshunt Manor. It is large enough in area, it adjoins Little Wigborough, as well as Humfrey's manors, and in spite of Dr. Round, this side of the parish does include a small area—about 37 acres—of undoubted marsh. If we also follow Dr. Reaney in identifying Barnhall with *Borooldituna*, we make use of Round's shrewd conjectures while avoiding his contradictory conclusions.

A number of problems remain, however. If *Borooldituna* was Barnhall, why was it entered in Winstree hundred? Can we reconcile its small size in Domesday with its later importance? Why, indeed, was Barnhall the principal residence of the later lords, probably as early as 1254,⁵² and not Manifold Wick? And why was it built, apparently, further into the clay forest area than the other houses of Tolleshunta?

I suggest that the history of the place is somewhat as follows. There is an abandoned, but once important, moated site named Alderbury, or Devils Wood, in Virley parish, Winstree hundred. With the fields surrounding it, it is shown as part of Barnhall in an estate map of 1625,⁵³ and the nature of the field boundaries suggest to me that this has long been so. (The longevity of these boundaries on heavy land is largely because ditches, being sited in the first place to deal with surface drainage, are not to be altered with impunity). It was here that *Borooldituna* arable and demesne lay, the Tolleshunta extension being merely forest.

45&46. *Cartulary of St. Martin Le Grand*. Westminster Abbey.

47. Morant 1, 395.

48. *V.C.H.* I, 526 and note.

49. *V.C.H.* I, 523 and note.

50. Reaney, op. cit 308.

51. *V.C.H.* I, 501 and note.

52. Essex Archaeological Society. *Feet of Fines for Essex*.

53. MSS. E.R.O.

We find in 1166 a Robert de Tolleshunt⁵⁴ who held a knights fee from the Fitzwalters. The church was built about this time,⁵⁵ and as he lived, from his name, at Manifold Wick in Tolleshunta, he probably built it. The two manors together were never much more than a knights fee,⁵⁶ so he presumably held both. On this assumption the William le Chivaler,⁵⁷ who died well before 1244, who owned the advowson and whose name has ever since been attached to the parish, was his successor, and John de Berwolden, whose name occurs in 1220,⁵⁸ a sub-tenant. Le Chivaler's successor was Simon de Patteshull,⁵⁹ and the de Patteshulls' shared the advowson with St. Osyth and lived at Barnhall. Their name was long associated in a local Devil Legend⁶⁰ with the building of Barnhall and the absence of a house at Alderbury, of which the name announces it to be, in fact, the *Old Manor House*.⁶¹ Ague was already long prevalent in this country.⁶² The de Patteshulls came into the district from, I think, a midland county, and it may well be that they found the malarial flats surrounding Alderbury intolerable, and, as the hilltop had by then been cleared, built their new house on the healthiest site available. When Barnhall came into the hands of the Lords Morley, temp. Henry VIII,⁶³ the knights fee had no longer much significance, but in a largely parvenue society a multiplicity of manors conferred social distinction,⁶⁴ and the name of a second manor, of Tolleshunt Knights, is for the first time mentioned.

11. Gonduin's manor is identified with Brook Hall by Morant. He gives no grounds for doing so. But it is the only doubtful manor without sheep, and Brook Hall is the furthest from the coast of the Tolleshunta manors. It carried half a plough team, presumably sharing with Baignards Tolleshunta manor, which had a team and a half on the demesne. But if as I think, this identification is correct, no account is given of swine, nor can I see how the size of the manor in the eighteenth century can be accounted for. Either Gonduin's manor carried swine and they were omitted in the assessment, or else other manors had pannage in the northern arm of the parish. Grove Hall retained some of its woodland into the fourteenth century⁶⁶ and the map strongly suggests to me that there was at some time a north westerly extension of one of the D'Arcy manors, probably Peverel's, between Tollesbury and Grove Hall, some of which may have been given to St. Osyth's.⁶⁷

There is another holding which may be mentioned here though historically it is not part of the Tolleshuntas. This is Hyde Farm, recorded as le Hyde in 1260.⁶⁸ It consisted, except for the homestead, until 1881, of a detachment of Tollesbury. The area, 129 acres, is of interest in view of the name. It looks very like the hide held by Humfrey as tenant against the wishes of his overlord the Abbess of Barking, who wished to cultivate it in demesne.⁶⁹ No livestock or peasants are recorded so it was presumably populated from Humfrey's adjacent D'Arcy's land.

54. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, 348.

55. *R.C.H.M. Essex, N.E.*, 222. Additional evidence for this dating was gained in a recent restoration.

56. Morant, 1, 393.

57. Selden Society. *Year Book Series*, vol. XX, Case 38.

58. *Calendar of Charters and Rolls* preserved in the Bodleian.

59. Selden Soc. op. cit.

60. H. M. Carter. *Tolleshunt Knights Church and Parish*.

61. *V.C.H. I*, 459 note.

62. MacArthur. *Journal of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, A Brief Study of Malaria in England.

63. Morant 1, 393.

64. e.g. Aubrey's *Brief-Lives*. 1949, 198.

65. Morant, 1, 393.

66. *Bractons Note-Books* c.u.p. 1887, cases 1304, 1371, 1551.

67. Example of gift of pannage, Morant 1, 334.

68. Reaney, op. cit., 308.

69. *V.C.H. I*, 449 note.

INTERIM REPORT ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUDDINGSTONE QUERN

By E. A. Rudge, M.A., Ph.D.

Hertfordshire Conglomerate, known as Puddingstone, is a product of the Reading Beds of the Eocene System. The Eocene Sea covered a great part of eastern and southern England, its shores being approximately indicated by a line drawn from Ipswich to Bishop's Stortford, thence to Newbury, Berks., and south to the Dorset coast. The southern shore lay across the Channel around the mouth of the Seine. The Downs of Kent and Sussex formed islands in this sea. Puddingstone may occur anywhere in this area. In the east of Essex it is a soft variety, bound with a ferruginous matrix; it lies near the surface in a number of places as a layer of iron-pan. Between Colchester and Chelmsford the deposits are firmer and have been quarried as a building material for medieval churches. Maximum hardness is attained in the west of the region. The Hertfordshire rock is of rounded pebbles bound in a hard silica matrix; and the outcrops in the southwest, e.g. at Portesham, Dorset, are of a rock of extreme hardness, showing signs of the effect of heat and pressure.

The Puddingstone Quern was a domestic mill which, according to E. C. Curwen (*Antiquity XV*, 15) came in to use in Britain during the period B.C. 50 to A.D. 150. It consists of two stones which are almost hemispheres of average diameter twelve inches. The upper stone is usually bun-shaped, and has a vertical feed-shute, and a blind hole on one side, intended for a wooden handle, by means of which it may be turned upon a short iron spindle fixed centrally in the nether stone. This spindle rides in a wooden bar fixed across the feed chute. Grinding was effected by turning the upper stone in a to-and-fro motion on the surface of the nether one, the meal spilling out from the edge.

The quern represents a considerable measure of craftsmanship and skill on the part of the maker. The stone is very hard, and of uneven texture. In addition the grinding surfaces were made slightly concave, no mean feat with such a stone.

Querns, complete, partial, or fragmentary, have been found for many years and deposited in Museums and private collections; but little attempt has been made to catalogue them, and to plot places of origin. For the following summary 80 Museums were approached with a simple questionnaire. Replies were received from all but three. The enquiry covered the south eastern counties, northwards to York and westwards to Cardiff and Carmarthen.

The results summarised below are subject to petrological autopsy. Broadly, no querns of the Herts. puddingstone type have been found west of Icknield Way and the chalk, with the exception of a pocket in Rutland and Leicestershire. Only two west of this line—at Cranbourne Chase and Gloucester—are of a conglomerate from the Old Red Sandstone of the Forest of Dean. A feature is the scarcity of these querns on the larger Roman sites, only one reported from Verulam, and half-a-dozen from the Colchester district. The highest single total for any one area is at the Rouen Museum, France, with a collection of 44 from around the mouth of the Seine.

Provenances supplied by the Museums have been identified in the list by Grid References, and the distribution may readily be made by plotting on, say, the Ten-Mile O.S. Map sheet 2.

Many of the querns reported have no known location, and presumably were found near the Museum where they are now housed. All querns are arranged, not according to the Museum housing them, but according to the large grid square in which they were found.

I wish to express my gratitude to all those Museum Curators who so readily co-operated in this preliminary research.

QUERN DATA

Q=complete quern

U=upper stone

N=nether stone

F=fragment

Waddingham	SE/97:97:	1.U	Ashwell	TL/27:39:	1.U
Kyme (Lincs)	TF/15:53:	1.U	Hitcham	TL/980513	1.U
Haugham (Lincs)	TF/33:82:	1.U	Roxwell	TL/640120	1.U
Flitcham	TF/714275	1.U	Finchingfield	TL/685330	1.Q
Gayton Thorpe	TF/745186	1.U	Epping Forest	TL/395947	1.U
Harpley	TF/785260	1.U	Braughing	TL/395254	1.Q
Heacham	TF/693336	1.F	Verulam	TL/135075	1.U
Heacham	TF/689377	1.F	St. Ives	TL/32:72:	2.N
Helhoughton	TF/855276	1.F	Bury	TL/29:84:	1.Q
Ovington	TF/925037	1.U	Somersham	TL/36:77:	1.U
Raynham East	TF/897264	1.U	Clare	TL/77:45:	1.U
Saham Toney	TF/908058	1.F	Thaxted	TL/61:31:	1.U
Saham Toney	TF/92:03:	1.U	Bartlow	TL/59:45:	1.F
Snettisham	TF/662348	1.U	Haverhill	TL/67:45:	3.Q
Snoring Gt.	TF/941344	1.U	Saffron Walden	TL/53:38:	2.U
Snoring Gt.	TF/958345	1.F	Gt. Waltham	TL/69:14:	1.U
Snettisham		1.Q	Potton Creek	TL/95:91:	1.U
Creake N.	TF/827377	1.F	Thorpe Bay	TL/91:85:	1.U
Creake N.		1.U	Harpenden	TL/15:15:	1.Q
Bradenham E.	TF/944083	1.N	Harpenden	TL/15:15:	1.U
Bawsey	TF/675195	1.Q	Harwich locality	TM/1::2::	3.U
Ashill	TF/909057	2.F	Barham	TM/127513	1.U
Kings Lynn	TF/63:20:	3.U	Mendlesham	TM/105658	1.U
Briston	TG/075315	1.U	Combs	TM/044563	1.N
Briston	TG/088305	1.U	Layham	TM/031403	1.N
Briston	TG/08:30:	1.U	Denton	TM/264894	1.F
Reymerstone	TG/013063	1.U	Lopham North	TM/048832	3.Q
Whinburgh	TG/005090	1.U	Scole	TM/142789	1.F
Erpingham	TG/192320	1.U	Scole	TM/152787	1.F
Aylsham	TG/19:27:	1.U	Wattisfield	TM/02:74:	1.U
Yaxham	TG/006109	1.U	Rickingham	TM/05:75:	1.U
Hockwold	TL/753874	2.U	Butley	TM/36:52:	1.U
Weeting	TL/757874	1.U	Baylham Ho.	TM/113525	1.N
Thetford	TL/87:87:	1.N	Attleborough	TM/047954	1.U
Pakenham	TL/93:67:	1.U	Kersey Mill	TM/012445	1.U
Stanton	TL/95:73:	2.U	Whitfield	TR/32:45:	1.U
Ixworth	TL/93:70:	1.U	Canterbury	TR/15:57:	1.U
Ickworth	TL/83:62:	1.N	Canterbury	TR/15:57:	1.N
Waterbeach	TL/50:66:	1.Q	Charing	TQ/62:72:	1.U

Hadlow	TQ/64:50:	1.U	*Maidstone Museum	
Southfleet	TQ/65:48:	1.N	No location	5.U
Pulborough	TQ/05:17:	1.U	No location	2.N
Farningham	TQ/55:66:	1.U	*Norwich Museum	
Rustington	TQ/05:03:	1.U	E. Runton, Southacre	
Nursling	SU/4::1::	1.U	Gresham, locality unknown	3.U
Colchester district	several U & F		No data	2.U
Saffron Walden district		8.U	No data	3.N
Saffron Walden district		4.N	No data	1.Q
Rutland County		13.U	Sandringham Estate Museum	3.U
Letchworth Museum		8.U	Rouen (France) Museum	
			Seine-Maritime & Eure	44
Baldock TL/25:34:				
Barton TL/40:55:				
Ware TL/36:14:				
Easneye etc.				
			*These are additional to those mentioned under grid references.	
			Totals of complete or partial querns found in main grid squares are:	
Kettering district		3.U	SE	1
Spalding, R.B. fen sites		some F	SU	1
			TF	20+3
*Ipswich Museum			TG	8+ (see Ipswich)
No location		12.U	TL	31+ (see Letchworth)
No location		4.N	TM	15+ (see Ipswich)
			TQ	6
*Leicester Museum			TR	3
No location		3.U		

This research was carried out, and the report submitted, under the aegis of the West Essex Archaeological Group.

EARLY ESSEX CLERGY

By P. H. Reaney, Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A.

Some additions can now be made to the lists of Early Essex Clergy printed in *The Essex Review*, Vols. XLVI—LV.

An asterisk denotes a name not in Newcourt.

Great Baddow	THOMAS CHAFFARE (1438 ERO, D/DAY/T2/179). Vicar 1427-1440. RICHARD BRAY (1468 ib., 202). Vicar 1455-89.
Beaumont	*THOMAS CORDWAYNER resigned in 1405 on exchange with John Leman, parson of Aldham, Norwich Diocese; presented 20 March 1405 (<i>Cal. Pat.</i>). Resigned in 1407.
Belchamp	*RICHARD, parson <i>de bellocampo</i> , witnessed a charter of Amicia, countess of Clare, founding a hospital in the vill of Sudbury, <i>temp.</i> Richard the prior (<i>Stoke Cartulary</i> , f. 29d.).

Boreham	*ROGER, parson of Borham in 1241 (<i>Anct. Deeds</i> , V. A 11878).
Bulmer	*JOHN FITZRALPH. An agreement was made c. 1250 between Stoke Priory and Johannes filius Radulfi, rector of the church of Bulmer, regarding tithes in Bulemere (<i>Stoke Cartulary</i> , f.58).
Bulphan	*HENRY MALEMEYNES. Rector in 1256 (ERO, <i>Petre Docs.</i> , A 40).
Great Burstead	*RICHARD. Vicar in 1303 (<i>ib.</i> , A 133). JOHN. Vicar of Burghestede in 1345 (<i>ib.</i> , A 241).
Chignall Smealey	RALPH, parson of Chickenhall church in 1324 (<i>Suffolk Fines</i> , 155) is probably identical with the Ralph who died in 1331.
Clavering	*ALAN DE RELEYE, sometime vicar of Clavering, preceded WALTER DE TRELLEDON, perpetual vicar of Clavering, c. 1250 (ERO, D/DP/T1/2078). *JOHN WALRAM, vicar in 1330 (ERO, <i>Petre Docs.</i> , A 1052, 1254). *THOMAS, vicar in 1375 (<i>ib.</i> , 1363).
Copford	JOHN, parson of Copford in 1373 and 1380 (ERO, D/DAY/T1/1, 3), must be identical with John de Stansted, already noted as rector from 1372 to 1375.
Danbury	*THOMAS BRYEN, rector in 1352 (ERO, D/DAY/T2/68). JOHN BELLE, rector in 1442 (<i>ib.</i> , 186).
Dedham	JOHN BENEYT, vicar in 1367 (<i>Suffolk Fines</i> , 235). Apparently identical with Newcourt's Johannes filius Benedicti Chapman.
Great Dunmow	SYMON FILIUS SYMONIS, persona de Donmowe c. 1230 (<i>Clerkenwell Cartulary</i> , 115, 210). Perhaps identical with Simon Fitz Simon, parson in 1267. *WALTER, vicar of Dunmow, was a co-witness with Symon to 115.
Epping	*JOHN, vicar of the church of Epping in 1375 (<i>Cal. Inq. p.m.</i> , XIV, No. 18, p. 116). Perhaps identical with John de Norwyche, vicar in 1357.
Foxearth	*JOHN BOTELER, already noted as parson in 1341 and 1343, occurs again as parson in 1343 and 1347 (<i>Suffolk Fines</i> , 196, 204).
Goldhanger	WILLIAM DE WYTHAM (or Wicham), already noted as parson in 1293 and 1326, occurs also as holding land in Heveningham (Suffolk) in 1312 (<i>Suffolk Fines</i> , 127). His Suffolk connections suggest his real name was <i>Wicham</i> , from the Suffolk Wickham. HUGH VERDON, parson in 1374 (<i>Suffolk Fines</i> , 245), was presented in April, 1363 (<i>Newcourt</i>), where he is called <i>Verdrun</i> .
Harlow	*LAURENCE DE OFFINGTON died in 1297 (<i>Essex Arch. Soc.</i> , T., XXIII, 321). JOHN DE STANTON was rector in 1301 (<i>ib.</i> , 328) and died rector in 1326 (<i>Newcourt</i>).
Hatfield Broad Oak	*ROGER, vicar c. 1225 (ERO, D/DBa/T1/2). *SIR JOHN, vicar c. 1280 and in 1311 (<i>ib.</i> , T1/126, 7). JOHN COK, perpetual vicar in August, 1384 and April, 1395 (<i>ib.</i> , T1/9, 11). These dates do not agree with those of Newcourt who says John Cook resigned in 1370.
Sible Hedingham	ROBERT, rector of Sible Hedingham in 1412 (ERO, D/DCw/T37/37), is, presumably, identical with Newcourt's Robert de Bannbery, instituted in 1387.
Heybridge	*GODSALM, perpetual vicar of Heybrug' 1236-41 (<i>Early Charters of St. Paul's</i> , 316).

- Ingatestone** *ALEXANDER, rector in 1228 (ERO, *Petre Docs.*, A 691).
 *ADAM DE KEMESEYE, rector in 1291-4 (*ib.*, 678). Probably identical with Alexander, rector of St. Edmunds of Ginges, 1221-8 (*ib.*, 1588), though Newcourt gives the dedication as to the Blessed Virgin.
 *JOHN DE LA DOUNE, rector in 1296 (*ib.*, 660).
 *GILBERT DE LA NYE, parson in 1315. Also mentioned as rector in 1314, 1315 and a. 1318 (*ib.*, 104, 680, 710).
- Langenhoe** *WILLIAM TEMPERVOYSE, parson of Langenho in 1356 (*Suffolk Fines*, 217).
 JOHN DE PRESTENEY. Instituted, December 1362 (*Newcourt*). Still parson in 1368 (*Suffolk Fines*, 237).
- Latton** *ROGER, 'persona de Lattone' after 20 March, 1190 (*Clerkenwell Cartulary*, 119).
- Laver Breton** RICHARD DE BERKYNNGG, parson of the church of Lyere Bretoun in 1335. The parson in 1342 and 1351 was named Richard. Newcourt records the institution in July, 1335 of Richard Baldwyn. These are probably all the same man but there is some error in the surname.
- Maldon** *WILLIAM WHITE, perpetual vicar of Maldone in 1377 (ERO, *Petre Docs.*, A 1879).
- Margaretting** *HENRY, vicar in 1349 (*ib.*, 607).
 THOMAS HUY, vicar in 1349 (*ib.*, 640).
 JOHN. Vicar in 1387 (*ib.*, 531). Presumably identical with John Northampton who resigned in 1392 (*Newcourt*).
- East Mersey** *MARTIN, parson of Maresheie, witnessed a deed dated between 1163 and 1187 (*Anct. Deed* 13850 (5)). Presumably identical with Martin de Bocking, parson, c. 1200 and 1221.
 JOHN ISLE or de Lyls is mentioned as rector in 1393, 1398 and 1408 (*Essex Review*, LIV, 8). Identical with Newcourt's John Delesle who resigned in April, 1409.
- Mistley** *ROBERT DE BOXTED, parson of Misteleye in 1339 (*Suffolk Fines*, 188).
- Mountnessing** *REGINALD. Vicar in 1345 (ERO, *Petre Docs.*, A 241).
- Nevenden** *THOMAS MAHEU. Rector in 1350 (*ib.*, A 1926). Described as 'late rector' in 1351.
- Newport** *JOHN DALBY, vicar of Newport on 2 May 1406 when he was granted a pardon for not appearing to answer Thomas Stanley for a debt of £93 (*Cal. Pat.*). He was vicar in 1400.
- Ockendon** *AGAMUNDUS. 'Persona de Wochend' in 1086 (*Pipe Roll Soc.*, vol. 36).
- South Ockendon** ROBERT DE BOURTONE. Mentioned as parson in 1377 (ERO, *Petre Docs.* A 1800). He was rector 1367-92.
 RICHARD ATTE KIRKE, parson of Southwokynnton, on 23 April 1407 was presented to Hoby (Lincs.), in the king's gift by reason of the minority of John, son and heir of Thomas late earl marshal on exchange with
 *JOHN FREKYLTON, similarly presented on 23 April 1407 to Southwokynnton by reason of the minority of Maurice Brun son and heir of Ingelram Brun (*Cal. Pat.*). According to Newcourt Kirke resigned in May 1408 and was succeeded by John Typet.
- Rivenhall** *ROBERT. Parson of Riwenhale in 1185 (*Records of the Templars*).

- Rochford** *RICHARD DE WALTON. Parson in 1358 (*Anct. Deed L 1578*). Identical with Richard atte Lane of Walton, rector in 1355 and 1362.
- Runwell** *JOHN. Rector in 1243-54 and 1251 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rept. IX., Pt. 1, p. 30 b (144)). In 1251 he granted a licence to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to have a chapel in their capital messuage at Runwell and a free chantry and bells for the same (*ib.*, 38a (1186)).
- Sandon** *NIGEL DE SALFORD. Already noted as rector in 1356 and now also in 1361 and 1363 (ERO, D/DAY/T1/79, 83).
 *THOMAS DE NEUTON. Parson in 1373 (*ib.*, 5, 6).
 *JOHN HARLETON. Parson in 1389 (*ib.*, 112).
 RICHARD MARCHAL. Rector in 1409 (*ib.*, 15).
 JOHN HAMWOOD. Rector in 1430 (*ib.*, 169, 171). Resigned in 1440 (*Newcourt*).
 BENEDICT BURGH. Rector in 1440 (ERO, D/DAY/T1/152). Rector from 1440 to 1444 (*Newcourt*).
- Stanway** *JOHN. Parson in 1380 (ERO, D/DAY/T1/17).
- Stock** *THOMAS. Rector in 1365 (ERO, *Petre Docs.*, A 371).
- Great Tey** *JOHN DE WYLLYNGHAM. Parson of Great Teye in 1365 (*ib.*, 1355).
 JOHN SYWARD. Parson of Great Teye in 1375 (*ib.*, 1363, 1390). Rector 1369-99 (*Newcourt*).
- West Thurrock** EDMUND LE GODE. Instituted March 1309 (*ib.*). Still vicar in 1344 and 1346, but 'late vicar' 13 Dec., 1348 (ERO, *Petre Docs.*, A 1032, 1033, 1039).
- Tilbury-by-Clare** JOHN MILONE. Rector in 1395 (ERO, D/DCw/T46/14). *Newcourt* gives the name as Melon or Melen, rector 1386-97.
- Tolleshunt D'Arcy** JOHN STACY. Vicar in 1398 (ERO, D/DCw/T46/20). Vicar 1394-1440 (*Newcourt*).
- Great Totham** *ROBERT, as parson, witnessed a Great Totham deed before 1196 (*Clerkenwell Cartulary*, 50).
- Walthamstow** *WALTER the chaplain was admitted vicar c. 1219 (*Anct. Deed 13850 (5)*).
- Wennington** *ARNALD. Rector in 1352 (ERO, D/DL/158).
- Wethersfield** THOMAS GRAY. Parson in 1390 (*Suffolk Fines*, 264). Died rector in 1396 (*Newcourt*).
- Wigborough** *WALTER. 'Persona de Wiggeberghe' in 1192 (ERO, *Petre Docs.*, A 1690).
- Wix** *ALGARUS. 'Persona ecclesie de Wikes' c. 1157-62 (*Pipe Roll Soc.*, vol. 36). *Algan*, previously noted, is an error for *Algar*.
- Wormingford** *WILLIAM BAROUN. Vicar of Whethermondford in 1369 (*Cal. Inq. p.m.*, No. 227, p. 240).
- Wrabness** *JOHN. In a document dated between 1215 and 1229 (*Early Charters of St. Paul's*, 203), Hugh, abbot of St. Edmunds, notifies the dean and chapter of St. Paul's that he had presented 'I. capellanum latorem presencium' to the church of Wrabnes and prays them to admit him.
 *JOHN DE COTTON, already noted as rector in 1328, is mentioned also as 'parson of Wrabenase church' in 1321 (*Suffolk Fines*, 150) and must be the John who was parson in 1324 (*ib.*, 155, 156).

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ADAM CHURCH AT MISTLEY

By John Morley, M.A., Rector of Mistley with Manningtree

The Mistley Towers, which stand like solitary sentinels at the entrance to the High Street, are all that remain of the second Mistley Parish Church; yet they are of sufficient national importance to have been restored by the Georgian Group and to have been taken into the guardianship of the Minister of Public Buildings and Works.

Even in Mistley, people know very little about this unique example of Adam architecture or about the events which led up to its being built, improved, partially destroyed and its remaining features restored. Further afield, those who have written articles about this church clearly have not seen the mass of local literary evidence, which illuminates its history. This article will therefore seek to give a comprehensive picture of all the known facts.

The story begins with a London linen merchant, Richard Rigby, who sold his business, went into finance, made a fortune in the South Sea bubble and came to live in Mistley, where his father had come into the local estates. By the time he died in 1730 at the age of 50, he had begun to transform Mistley into a prosperous industrial community. Morant¹ says: "He built a new village of about 30 brick houses convenient for tradesmen and well-inhabited. He also built several granaries, warehouses and a large Malting office and made good quays and coal-yards." In ten years the population increased by nearly 200 persons, which must have been more than a 100% increase.² In addition, local residents moved down the hill to the quayside, thus moving away from the area round the medieval parish church.

The year before this enterprising merchant died, a group of Mistley people appeared before the Justices of the Peace at the Quarter Sessions in Chelmsford to be examined about their application for a Brief^{2a} for the erection of a new Parish Church. They explained that a few years previously their parish church, which had been shored up for over 40 years, had finally collapsed and that their growing community had no place of worship. The parishioners were mainly seafaring and poor and were quite unable to build a new church unaided. The estimate for rebuilding the church as it was amounted to £2,979 10s. 6½d., but a saving of £1,000 could be made if an entirely new structure were erected. This latter course, they particularly recommended because the church could be built on "ye Thornfeild on ye River Stower" in close proximity to the new village, while the old church was over 1½ miles away (a slight exaggeration) and, as the road was bad, many people could not get to it in the winter months.

This petition was granted and the Brief was published in 1731-2, but instead of bringing in £1,742 to supplement local gifts, it only yielded £698. Not only that but this method of raising funds was terribly expensive: 22% went in fees and the churchwardens only received £543.³ The plans clearly had to be modified so that the new church, which the Bishop of London consecrated on 6th June 1735,⁴ must have been a modest structure. Morant says: "It is a neat edifice. In the Tower are five bells." It served the church well enough in an age when religion seems to have been at a low ebb in Mistley. The five bells, no doubt brought from the medieval church, soon disappeared and a new bell was cast in 1745. In that year, Walpole wrote of this church "By a lucky want of religion in the inhabitants, who would not contribute to building a steeple, it remains an absolute antique temple, with a portico."⁵

Meanwhile the young Richard Rigby, who had inherited a rent roll of £1,100 p.a. at the age of eight, had been growing up and making a name for himself.⁶ As the Right Honourable, he was Paymaster General to the Forces from 1768-80 and took the opportunity to fill his pockets with public money, though he was probably no worse than many politicians of his time (Plate 1). In Whitehall, he had employed Robert Adam to impart the elegance of the new age to the Pay Office, and he now invited him down to Mistley to improve the Hall and the Church and to carry out other important works, which would have turned Mistley into a spa.

1. P. Morant. *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, p. 462.

2. Hearth Tax Returns, 1670.

2a. Essex Record Office: *Document Q/SBb 105/1*.

3. *Account Book of Chas. Gray of Colchester*: ERO D/DR B.1.f.136 & 142.

4. Mistley Church Register 3.

5. A. T. Bolton "The Architecture of James & Robert Adam" *Country Life* 1922.

6. See: James Turner: *The Dolphin's Skin*. Cassel 1956.



*Very sincerely Yours
Richard Rigby*

PLATE I—Print of Richard Rigby of Mistley, published 1782.
*Reproduction by courtesy of
The Essex Record Office.*



PLATE II—The South Porch of the medieval church at Mistley Heath.

Photograph by Keith Mirams: May, 1964

Rigby seems to have been more concerned with the view from the Hall than with the utility of the parish church. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how a man with such a large estate could have been so indifferent to the welfare of the church and to the observance of its precepts. The Church register for most of his life was a paper book in which entries were made at the first page that was open, there is no plate of this period and the new bell was given by the churchwarden. At the Hall it is said that brandy was drunk as other men drink small beer, the master never married but left legacies for his illegitimate children and he never troubled to carry out the charitable provisions of his father's will for the benefit of the poor of the village.⁷ But the church stood at the foot of the hill on which the hall was placed, and it would appear that Rigby wanted it to take the place of the summer house looking like a Greek temple which stood in the grounds of so many big houses of this period.

7. Charity Commission 1839,

Robert Adam began work in the Spring of 1776 and the church was reopened for Divine Worship on 6th April the following year.⁴ The entire expense was borne by Rigby. Adam's plans can be seen in the Sir John Soane Museum, though some of the details, like those of the twin clocks, were never carried out. He improved the church by adding a tower to each end: that to the east serving as a sanctuary and that at the west housing the staircase up to the galleries. He also built a portico onto both the south and the north sides, so that it looked more like a town hall than a church. (Plates 5 & 6).

This building, though only 60 feet in length between the towers, seated 277 in the nave and 69 in the galleries,⁸ though 50 of the latter seats were for children and some of them must have been removed when the organ was installed.

Church life proceeded on its quiet way once more. (Plate 3). The churchwarden gave a decent register, there were gifts of plate, alterations were made and the church rate was voted annually. Then on 5th April 1866 a resolution was passed at the Vestry Meeting⁹ that, "A Committee be formed consisting of the Churchwardens and Messrs. Free, Brooks and Constable to examine into the state of the church; what may be the probable cost of its repair; and to report thereon at the next meeting."

The trouble was a serious outbreak of dry rot and the deliberations of this powerful committee (two churchwardens, two industrialists and a prominent farmer) were made more difficult by the fact that the church was far too small to serve the needs of a village whose population had trebled in sixty years. It was doubtful whether people would subscribe for extensive repairs unless the church could be enlarged at the same time. But the building was surrounded by recent graves and considerable offence would be caused if these were disturbed. Such must have been the thoughts of the Committee in the seventeen months before they engaged the services of a London architect, Mr. J. F. Wadmore of Wadmore and Baker. He surveyed the church on 19th September 1867 and submitted his report on 23rd

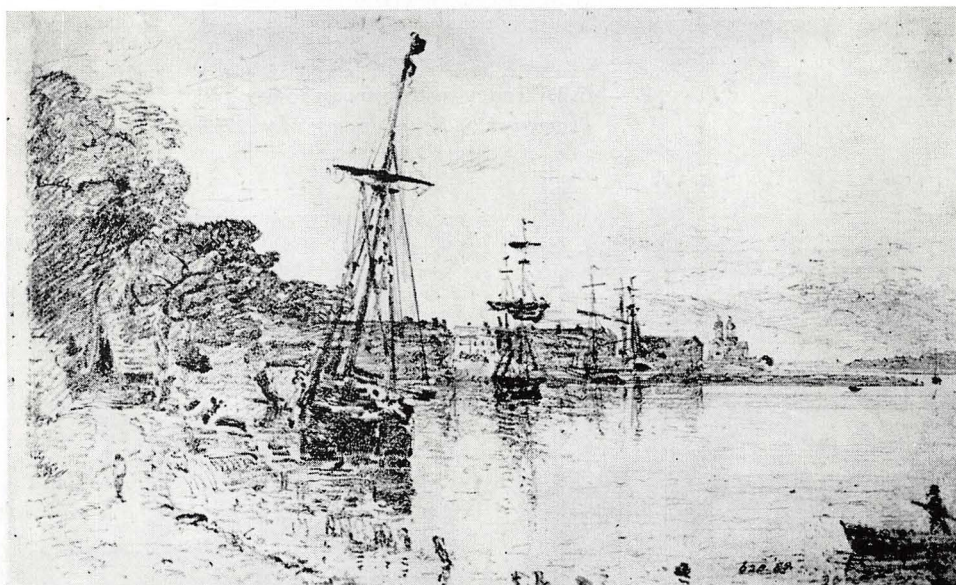


PLATE III—Mistley Shipyard and Church, from a sketch by John Constable, 1817.
Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

8. Incorporated Church Building Society Records.

9. Mistley Vestry Minutes.



PLATE IV—Mistley Towers as they appear to-day
Photograph by Keith Mirams: May, 1964



PLATES V and VI—The Church built by Robert Adam at Mistley, showing Portico.

October, he also enclosed some sketches for a new church on the same site.¹⁰ In the meantime, the thoughts of the Vestry were occupied with the opposition to the church rate, which resulted in the payment being made voluntary. The Committee reported back on 12th December 1867 at a Vestry Meeting called "To take into consideration the present state of the Parish Church and the question of building a new one." The thanks of the meeting were accorded to four gentlemen who had offered to head the subscription list with £500 each and other parishioners present followed their example by promising a total of £592 more. But it was not until 3rd January 1868 that the on-site discussions took a new turn, when a new site was offered opposite the old one. The Committee were taken on a tour of newly erected London churches on 29th January and met again at Mistley on 13th February, inspecting the old and new sites once more before deciding on the new one in order to avoid disturbing graves. Tenders went out in May and included a bill of quantities so that the contractor could state what credit he would allow on the materials of the old church when he had demolished it, either before the new church was built or after its completion. The successful contractor allowed £526 for the Adam church, though his valuation of the furnishings at £37 15s. 0d. was so low that the Committee bought them back.

Application for grant aid was made to the Church Building Society, who were not satisfied with the information given them and resolved to take no action until they had received a report from their own surveyor.⁸ So on 11th July Mr. Wadmore visited Mistley once more (at a cost of a two guineas fee and 22/- in travelling expenses) and records against these items: "Came to Mistley to meet Mr. Joseph Clark who confirmed our Report as to the state of the old church."

Wadmore's original report is no longer extant, but Mr. Clark's report of 13th July 1868 states:

"From the omission in sending the plans etc., of the church intended to be pulled down, it naturally appeared that the antient Edifice was to be destroyed, whereas the old Parish Church . . . was taken down about 1730 and the present edifice built by a Mr. Rigby the owner of Mistley Park . . . to form an object in front of his house.

"The building is carried out in the classic manner of the day and is said to have been built by one of the Adams but without any pretence to external ecclesiastical character or internal arrangement — indeed, but for the graveyard round, it would generally be considered as a secular building. Arising from bad construction and defective ventilation the building is now entirely eaten up with the worst form of dry rot. I can fully bear out from personal inspection the views of the Committee and the architect engaged in the desirableness of its being taken down. The Bishop I am told has consented to this and to the building of a new church on an adjacent site which seems much better placed."

The new church was started in December 1868 and took twelve months to build. The crowd at the Consecration Service was so great that many people could not get in (the church seated 600) and then 350 people sat down to a public luncheon in a local malting for which an outside caterer had been employed at 2/- a head exclusive of wine. Meanwhile, people were beginning to have second thoughts about the demolition of the old church for on January 25th, the architect wrote to fulfil a promise that he made to the Committee on the 17th, i.e. only five days after the consecration of the new building, by sending "a sketch for retaining the old east end of Mistley Church. Should any gentleman of the Committee wish to retain it, it might be used as a mausoleum."

This sketch no doubt suggested moving the pillars of the portico to make up the symmetry of the tower once the body of the church had been demolished. In the event, both towers were treated in this manner. (Plate 4). The initiative for this seems to have been taken by Mr. William Brooks, who had been a member of the Committee from the commencement. His action was particularly courageous as his Committee had not only been unable to afford to build the tower and spire, but were also £600 in debt to the London and County Banking Company. He personally purchased the Towers off the builder "in accordance with a general desire of parishioners that the Towers might remain standing as ornamental objects in their village." Subscriptions were set on foot for reimbursing him, but he was obviously out of pocket as five years later he was glad to sell the western tower to Mr. T. G. Kensit for £120 as a mausoleum.¹¹ Although the towers were never used as mausoleums, the suggestion probably helped to save them, just as Rigby's action in appropriating the fine south porch of the medieval church as his tomb helped to save that. (Plate 2).

10. Local records.

11. Deed of Conveyance 1874.

We have seen that the furnishings of the Adam church were bought back. The organ and bell were utilised in the new church and the remainder were offered for sale. On 13th May, 1870, Mr. Nichols of Lawford Hall thanked the Committee for giving him the opportunity of purchasing the handsome two-decker pulpit and the font, but declined the offer. In March the following year, the architect supplied the name of a London firm of cabinet makers who might give £9 or £10 for the pulpit. The font never was sold, probably because it lacked a drain, and it still stands in the present church. Where the Communion and Credence Tables went is not known.

The body of the church was therefore demolished and the site was used for additional burials. The families who had purchased the towers, did not exercise their rights, and the ownership reverted to the rector and churchwardens. For a time, the eastern tower was used as a public mortuary, but generally speaking the buildings were of little use and they were allowed to decay. But the suggestion in 1950 that the lead on the towers could be sold to improve church finances led to the matter being brought to the notice of the Georgian Group, who not only objected but also raised a considerable sum to restore them under the guidance of Mr. Raymond Erith. The Towers were then placed by the Rector and Churchwardens in the guardianship of the Minister of Public Buildings and Works.

There are many who regret the loss of this unique Adam Church and who would express harsh comments about the action of our Victorian predecessors. A. T. Bolton, for instance, in his magnificent two volume work entitled "The Architecture of James and Robert Adam" says in an otherwise excellent chapter on Mistley: "This Adam Church has fallen a victim to Gothic revival prejudices, which, destroying an interesting monument, have produced in exchange a pattern of that period which very few today would trouble to look at."

If Bolton had seen the local records, he could not have written that sentence; he might, however, have felt very uncomfortable about the "bad construction and defective ventilation" which had caused the dry rot. Was Adam good on paper but poor on supervising work? We today, who rather like the present church, feel that Bolton is as prejudiced as he claims the Victorians were. They surely would have been surprised to know that they had subscribed thousands of pounds simply to have a fashionable church!

Most people, however, have to rely on local guide books for their knowledge. One such book may be taken as typical: "In 1870 a new vicar demolished this church but left the Towers which remain today forlorn and lonely (one is a mausoleum) but serving an excellent purpose as landmarks to ships."¹² With four mistakes in one sentence, it is not surprising that local people have erroneous ideas about the Towers.

The story does not appear to us to be discreditable. A problem had arisen, the Vestry appointed the ablest men of the village to deal with it, they obtained the best advice available, observed the legal formalities and gave everyone time to express their views. It was over four years before any demolition work began. The documents show that the Committee went about their work carefully and that they themselves were carrying the bulk of the expense. They had to cater for the needs of parishioners by providing them with a church which was adequate to their needs, and they could not afford to run two churches. No doubt, they did not realise the value which later generations would place on their building, but had anyone offered to take it off their hands, they would no doubt have granted that request.

12. Official Guide to the Tendring Rural District 1961 p. 17.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

ARCHBISHOP HARSNETT: HIS SURNAME AND ITS ORIGIN

Samuel Harsnett, later Archbishop of York, was born in 1561, son of William Halsnoth, baker, of St. Botolph's St., Colchester.¹ This surname is frequent in the Colchester Court Rolls from the reign of Henry VIII to the seventeenth century.² When appointed Master of Colchester Grammar School in 1586, his name is entered six times as Mr. Halsnothe but he himself signed as Samuel Harsnet and Harsnett is the form used on his brass of 1631.²

Harsnett is clearly a colloquial pronunciation of *Halsnoth*, as is proved by the name of Thomas *Halsnoth* alias *Awstnet*, labourer, of London in 1523.³

The earliest form of the surname is *de Halsnode*, found in a Kent Assize Roll of 1240 and also in a Kent Subsidy Roll for 1334 as Benedict *de Halsnod*. The name occurs in Kent wills, in Canterbury in 1474 as Richard *Halsnoth*, in 1513 as Roger *Harslett* and in 1551 as Henry *Halsnode*, and at Rochester in 1526 and 1548 as *Halsnoth*. It reappears in the 1664 Somerset Hearth Tax as Robert *Halsenorth*.

Whether any of these men were of the same family as the Archbishop is uncertain but it is clear that his family originated in Kent where its early history must be sought. The surname derives from Ayleswade in Frittenden, a late and unexpected development of *Halsnod* (1224), 'the private wood in the corner or nook of land' (OE *healh* and *snād*).⁴

P. H. REANEY.

ROMAN BUILDING ST. OSYTH

During 1962 gravel digging commenced in St. Osyth Priory Park in the field to the south of the Lodge (1). The preliminary removal of the topsoil in October disclosed evidence of Roman building material in the centre of the field (2). A small area was examined and a building 9 ft. 3 inches by 10 feet (north-south) was exposed of which the southern half was excavated to the natural subsoil. (3) A subsequent visit was made to plan the position of the structure (4).

A rectangular area 11 feet 6 inches by approximately 13 feet north-south had been excavated through the topsoil into the underlying natural sand and gravel. In it had been laid a 6 inch bed of compacted pebbles. On the outer lip of this base the wall foundations of mortar and tegulae or of mortar and septaria fragments had been built (5). At some points four courses of tegulae were identified, but though most of the material was fragmented the uppermost layer on the north wall showed the complete width of the tile with both flanges intact but with no trace of mortar above them. It is most likely that this top tile course was the sill for a timber plate, which, if about nine inches wide, would fit comfortably between the flanges of the tegulae. From this supposition it follows that the superstructure of the building was of timber and wattle construction probably with a thatched roof as there was little trace of roofing material apart from that mortared into the footings.

1. *Essex Review*, vol. 50, p. 161.

2. *ibid.*, vol. 51, p. 10.

3. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*.

4. v. J. K. Wallenberg, *Place-names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934), p. 325, where *snād* is explained as 'piece of land cut off'. A. H. Smith, in *English Place-name Elements* (Cambridge, 1956), ii, 131, cites '*unus singularis silva . . . quem nos . . . snad nominamus*' which he wrongly translates as 'a single wood.' It means a wood owned by an individual as opposed to one belonging to the whole community (*communis*). v. also *Antiquity*, ix, 220-2.

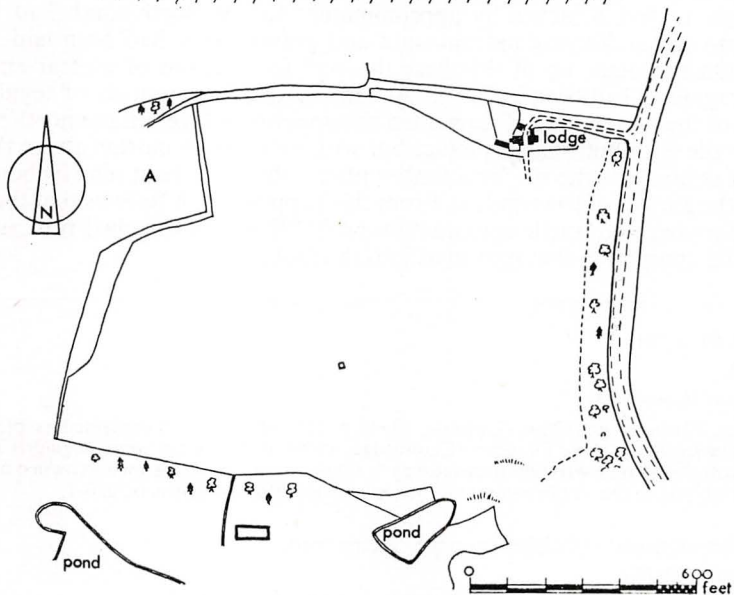
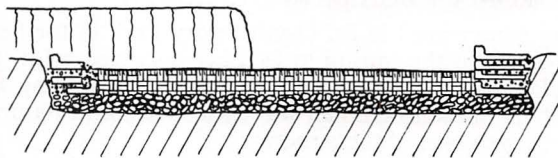
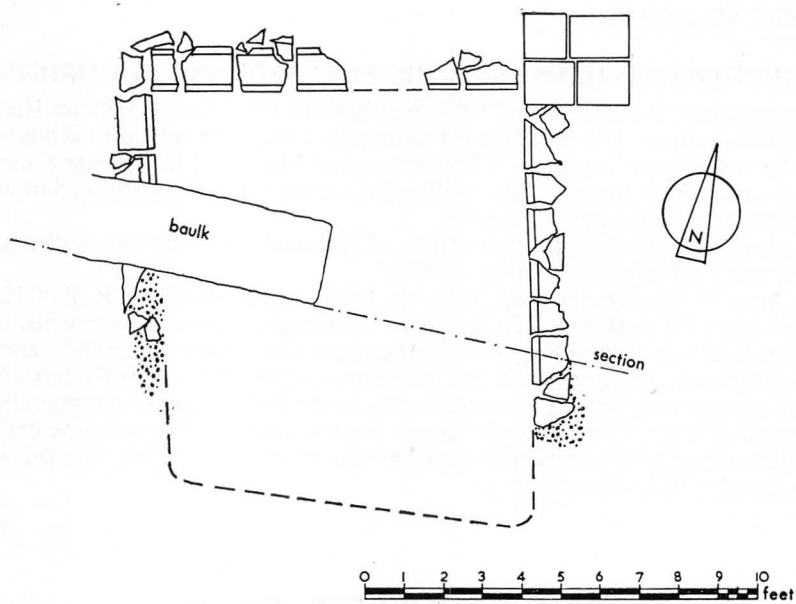
(1) St. Osyth is 10 miles south east of Colchester on the Clacton road.

(2) Map reference TM/11721681.

(3) The writer was aided by Messrs. P. O'Brien and A. Pike and Miss Gillian Tew.

(4) Thanks are due to Peter O'Brien who surveyed the site and measured and drew plans and sections of the building.

(5) See plan and section illustration.



Roman Building at St. Osyth. Plan and Site.

Seven inches of yellow buff clay had been spread over the cobbles inside the walls and trampled hard to produce a floor generally 8 inches below the uppermost tegulae.

The top inch or two of clay had been darkened in wear and by staining from the overlying humus. In the clay many fragments of box flue tile were found.

Though the top course of tiles was not continuous on the north wall, the underlying courses were intact, whereas the south wall with portions of the adjacent ends of the west and east walls had disappeared in the mechanical removal of the overburden, during which the building was first found.

An unusual, and so far inexplicable, feature of the site was the four tiles at the north-east corner which formed a flat base 2 feet 9 inches by 2 feet 3 inches. The thick building tiles were set in some mortar but the foundation was much more superficial than that below the walls. It is most unlikely that this was an entrance threshold and it may be a base for a tank of some sort, maybe for rainwater.

Fifty yards south-east of this building a large depression in the top of the gravel subsoil had been a pond or boggy area, probably for many centuries as it contained pottery from the 3rd to the 17th centuries A.D. The Roman pottery from the few trial holes dug was in the main of 3rd or 4th century date. The small building may be of the same period though there was no internal evidence on which to base a date. The box flue tile fragments in the floor suggest that there had been earlier buildings nearby. A tessellated pavement had been found near 'A' and Belgic and Roman burials and other Roman objects from in and near the Park attest to settlement of the area in Roman times.⁶

BRYAN P. BLAKE.

IRON AGE SITE — ARDLEIGH

At the end of August 1963 an excavation had been planned on the Late Secondary Neolithic settlement at Tye Field, Lawford. Delay in the harvest gave an opportunity for trial investigation to be made by the assembled volunteers on a crop mark site in Shut Four-acre field, Vincennes Farm, Ardleigh. The owner, Mr. F. H. Erith, readily gave permission and assisted the work in every way.

Trenches were planned¹ to intercept the crop mark near the west, north and east corners. The layout of the work was aided by the field notes Mr. Erith made after the initial recognition and aerial photography of the site by Lt.-Cdr. R. H. Farrands, R.N.R. The method adopted is very simple and may be used by anyone with only a pencil and paper yet it can locate a feature to within a foot or two. Standing at any point of the cropmark sketches are made of two or more views which include two permanent landscape features taking care to indicate their precise relationship — say an electric power line pole in the foreground placed in front of a farmhouse some greater distance away. The spot may be re-located even after several years by repositioning oneself so that from one point all the sketches with their indicators appear correct.

The main enclosure ditch was located and sectioned at the three points as was an inner ditch found in the east and west trenches. At the west side the inner and outer ditches were contiguous and the stratification indicated that the inner ditch was the earlier.

At the east side of the enclosure the ditch has a butt end, possibly indicating the entrance of a circular hut. Much pottery was found here in the ditch filling, mixed with burnt clay possibly of an oven.

Further work by the Colchester Archaeological Group supervised by Mr. P. Holbert in 1964³ proved the existence of the ditches at more points. The 1964 season was as much handicapped by drought as the earlier year had been by excessive rain and the extreme hardness of the soil severely limited the work.

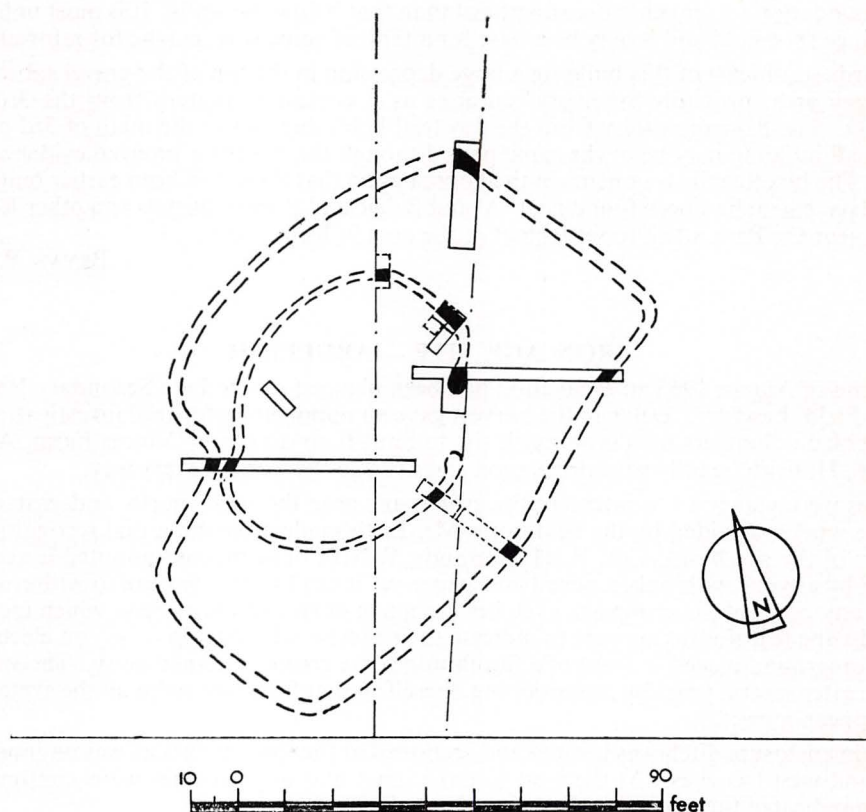
6 V.C.H. Essex, III, p. 176.

1 See plan illustration.

3 Trenches in broken line.

Though the ditches are now located, and pottery from them indicates an occupation of the site in an early phase of the Iron Age, many problems remain to be solved. The reason for the irregular shape of the enclosure, if indeed it is contemporaneous in all its parts, and whether or not the inner cropmark is a hut ditch are two of the many questions that only further excavation may be able to answer.

BRYAN P. BLAKE.



Excavations at Ardleigh of Iron Age ditch enclosures.

AN EARLY MEDIEVAL GRAVE SLAB FOUND AT WIX ABBEY

The discovery of a stone coffin and its lid at Wix Abbey¹ is of considerable interest because of the early date of this memorial and because it illustrates the widespread coastal distribution of the grave-stones carved at the Barnack quarries of Northamptonshire. A few coffin-lids from this quarry region have been illustrated in a previous volume of these *Transactions*;² however, with only one exception, they were decorated with the characteristic 'double-omega' spray of conventional floral design and should be dated to the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The exception was a slab at Stapleford Tawney³ with 'double axe-head' decoration, a design of the late 11th-early 12th century; the inclusion of a well-cut cross paté on the median ridge shaft just below the axe-head suggests that the slab at Stapleford is of early 12th century manufacture and not earlier.

The slab from Wix Abbey is, as Mr. Blake suggests, likely to be that of a benefactor to the monastery but a closer examination of the dating criteria shows that the memorial should certainly belong to the founders' generation—within the second quarter of the twelfth century. It is therefore necessary to examine the three main elements of the design on the lid; these are the lozenge-shaped head, the short central cross-bar and the semi-circular base or 'U' foot. All these three elements are arranged along the median ridge which forms the vertical link in the pattern. This ridge continues without interruption right through from the edge of the slab at the foot up to the top edge of the slab at the head.⁴ The design is in every particular characteristic of the Barnack school of monumental carving. Outside this school the carvers would portray the mound at the base touching the very foot of the slab⁵ or else they would not allow the median ridge to continue beyond the mound to reach the foot of the slab.⁶

The shape of the design at the base of the Wix slab is not at all unusual in Eastern England; it appears as a 'U' foot on slabs of the early eleventh century as at Cambridge Castle,⁷ or as a stylised Calvary mound during the twelfth century as at Castor or Ufford.⁸ The suggestion that it is a transfigured shield must be rejected; secular symbolism does not occur on gravestones in East Anglia until late in the twelfth century⁹ and has yet to be found on Barnack work. Even in the carving produced by small local schools the shield would not be reversed.

The design at the head represents a stylised cross bar and is a variant of the double axe-head found at Stapleford Tawney. The practice of ornamenting these 'axe-heads', lozenges and even the rectangular cross-bars with finely drawn incised lines is characteristic of eastern England in the late 11th-early 12th century.¹⁰ In this example from Wix Abbey the median ridge shaft continues the coped edge within the lozenge head. Sometimes the head, the base and the central pattern are carved as if they were imposed on the ridge.

NOTES

Boutell, C. 1849. *Christian Monuments in England and Wales*.

Butler, L. A. S. 1957. 'Mediaeval Gravestones of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and the Soke of Peterborough,' *Proc. Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, Vol. L, pp. 89-100.

Christy, Miller. 1900. 'Some Essex Coffin-slabs,' *Essex Arch. Soc. T.*, New Series Vol. VII, pp. 369-395.

Fox, C. F. 1922. 'Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture in the Cambridge District,' *Proc. Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 15-45.

1. Bryan Blake, *Essex Arch. Soc. T.*, Vol. I, pt. 2 (Third Series) (1962), pp. 105-110.
2. Christy, 1900, gives examples from Birdbrook, Little Bentley, Little Horkesley, Little Leighs and Little Yeldham.
3. Stapleford Tawney: Christy, 1900, pp. 392-3.
4. Butler, 1957, pp. 90-92. Mr. Blake confirms that the ridge on the Wix Abbey slab continued through to the edge of the slab at the head, but the stone was too damaged for it to be shown on his illustration.
5. As on a twelfth-century slab on Ancaster stone found during excavations at Castle Hill, Thurgarton, Notts.: *Trans. Thorton Society*, 58 (1954), pp. 34-35.
6. As on twelfth-century examples at Newbiggin and Woodhorn (Northumb.): Boutell, 1849, p. 91 and p. 82 respectively.
7. Cambridge Castle: Fox, 1922, pp. 20-21 and Plate III.
8. Castor and Ufford (Northants.): Butler, 1957, p. 90.
9. Repps (Norfolk): Boutell, 1849, p. 18.
10. As at Helpston, Rampton, Waterbeach, Wood Walton: Butler, 1957, p. 90 and fn. 3.

All three elements of the design are a common inheritance from Anglo-Saxon carving; the examples from that period in Cambridgeshire emphasise this. The short central cross-bar may be understood as the relic of a central bar between panels of sunk interlace.¹¹ A bar or cross-arm such as that at Wix Abbey is by no means unusual.¹²

The gently coped surface of the slab and the slightly raised mode of carving upon it illustrates a continuance of Anglo-Saxon sculptural traditions in Eastern England; taken in conjunction with the design on the lid this helps to confirm the date of the slab. The design places the slab within the first half of the twelfth century and certainly no later. The fashion for 'double-omega' foliage patterns at the centre of the slab and for simple cross paté heads was spreading throughout East Anglia within the second quarter of the twelfth century¹³ and by 1150, if not before, such a pattern as that at Wix Abbey would be obsolete.

The form of coffin strengthens this early dating. Although the shape of the head is the commonest medieval type,¹⁴ the provision of only one circular-drilled drainhole suggests a twelfth-century date while more than one drainhole and the cutting of grooves within the coffin base would indicate late 12th- or early 13th-century manufacture.

On the characteristics of this coffin and more especially of its lid a date within the first quarter of the twelfth century is proposed. It is possible though less probable that such a design would still be current in the early part of the second quarter of that century.

LAWRENCE BUTLER.

THE BROOMFIELD DRAGON

Broomfield Church is one of several Norman buildings in Essex containing a substantial amount of re-used Roman material. Mr. Frederick Chancellor, a former President of the Society, suggested to Members visiting the Church in August 1871 that the south wall was original Roman work.¹ He later withdrew this opinion but it was not until recently that the site from which the Norman builders probably took their material was discovered.

A village legend, passed on to me by Mr. A. J. Wells of Broomfield, tells how the builders wanted to build the Church in the north of the parish. They were prevented from doing this by a dragon, who treacherously removed all the assembled materials to a place of his own choice. The story goes that the builders carted their materials back to the original spot several times but on each occasion the wicked dragon moved them back again. The builders eventually gave in and built the church where it stands today.

Examination of the Broomfield Tithe Map and Award of 1846² showed that the fields numbered 109 and 115 were called "Further Dragonsfoot" and "Hither Dragonsfoot" respectively.

The discovery of Roman material in the area was first recorded by Mr. M. Innes in 1950. Further investigation of "Hither Dragonsfoot" (Grid Reference TL/693111) has now led to the discovery of more Roman material including fragments of brick and tile, some large flint nodules, a sizeable lump of freestone and some sherds of pottery. The pottery was mostly of the coarse brown-grey ware so common to Romano-British sites but did include one flagon neck of buff ware.

Thus the chance survival of a curious village legend has helped to give a possible answer to an interesting local problem.

B. M. KETTLE.

11. Fox, 1922, Plates III-V; Cambridge Castle, Cambridge Little St. Mary's and Little Shelford.

12. As at Great Stukeley, Gamlingay and three other churches: Butler, 1957, p. 92.

13. For the connection of 'double-omega' ornament with round-leaf foliage, see G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture* (1951), p. 32 and Plates 39, 42. Although the stone of the coffin and its lid has not been conclusively identified as Barnack limestone, it is an oolitic limestone and the elements of the lid design indicate that it is more likely to be from the Barnack quarry area than any other source in southern England closer to Wix.

14. H. H. Wilmore, *Trans. Bristol & Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, LXI (1939), pp. 135-177, especially p. 142 (Type C).

1. *Essex Arch. Soc. T., (Old Series) V* pp. 249-251.

2. Essex Record Office D/CT 54.

GREAT EASTON: TL609245.

Brief Interim Report

During July, September and October exploratory excavations were carried out in advance of ploughing.

A section was cut across the ditch, described by the Royal Commission as the bailey ditch; this did not produce any evidence for the date or function of this feature. A series of trial trenches further north defined the area of occupation and a larger excavation on the edge of the moat uncovered features associated with four successive phases of construction.

There is some evidence that a substantial building, possibly of timber and daub with a tiled roof, may have stood in the area immediately south of the garden wall of Easton Hall. Destruction debris found here included chalky boulder clay (not "natural" on this site), fragments of burnt daub, a small fragment of pink painted plaster, mortar and nibbed roof tiles, 8 inches \times 14 inches \times $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Associated with this destruction level were a number of large sherds from a pottery louver of complicated design and, from the topsoil, a fragment of green glazed ridge crest.

The pottery includes two Romano-British sherds, some shelly ware with soapy surfaces and a quantity of sherds which are likely to be of 13th-14th date. There are some later sherds but not enough to suggest occupation on this part of the site in the 15th century or later.

Part of the site is to remain unploughed and further excavation is planned for 1965. The finds will eventually go to Saffron Walden Museum.

ELIZABETH E. SELLERS.

JOHN E. SELLERS.

CANVEY ISLAND. TQ749819

Large quantities of Roman pottery of the 1st to 3rd centuries have been washed out of the mud near Thorney Bay. Sherds include colour-coated wares, Castor ware and Samian. The forms noted were: Dragendorff, 18, 18/31, 27, 31, 32, 33, 36, 45. Two bases had potters' stamps: PRI . . . IT and ROI . . . Pieces of roof and flue tiles were present and a fragment of rubble wall may be Roman. Nearby, quantities of 'briquetage' and Iron Age 'C' pottery indicated the site of a 'Red Hill'. Medieval sherds have also been found.

CANVEY ISLAND TQ823833

At Leigh Beck the sea is rapidly destroying a settlement site and a 'Red Hill.' Many hundreds of sherds of Roman pottery of the 1st to 4th centuries have been found on the saltings, together with 'briquetage,' Belgic and Gallo-Belgic wares. Some fourteen different Samian forms have been noted and there is an outstanding amount of decorated ware of forms 30 and 37. A fragment of base was stamped RII . . . A sestertius of Commodus was found in 1964. Brief excavations revealed a typical 'Red Hill', overlaid by a settlement of the 3rd and 4th centuries. A thick and extensive deposit of charcoal suggests that part of the area was burnt in the late Roman period.

WARWICK J. RODWELL.

STISTED: TL795263

In the summer of 1963 a quantity of sherds were gathered from a ploughed field where, in the previous autumn, a high hedge bank had been bulldozed to fill the adjacent ditch.

The sherds, probably of late 13th century date, are in a fabric ranging from buff colour, soft and with easily detachable grits to dark grey, hard and gritty. The vessels represented include cooking pots, many with combed decoration on the rims, storage jars and, possibly shallow dishes. Most of the base sherds are sagging but a few are flat.

A selection of these sherds has been retained for reference by the Chelmsford and Essex Museum.
E.E.S.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

as at 31st December, 1964

PATRON:

COL. SIR JOHN RUGGLES-BRISE, BT., C.B., O.B.E., T.D., J.P.
Her Majesty's Lieutenant of Essex.

PRESIDENT:

Wm. ADDISON, ESQ., J.P., F.S.A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

The Revd. T. D. S. Bayley, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.G.
The Rt. Hon. Lord Braybrooke
The Rt. Revd. F. D. V. Narborough, M.A., B.D., The Lord Bishop of Colchester
The Rt. Revd. John G. Tiarks, M.A., The Lord Bishop of Chelmsford
J. J. Tufnell, Esq.
Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., T.D., M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), F.B.A., P.P.S.A.
M. R. Hull, Esq. M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.
P. H. Reaney, Esq., M.A., Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

COUNCIL:

The President.	A. B. Doncaster, Esq.
The Hon. Secretary.	F. H. Erith, Esq.
The Hon. Treasurer.	L. H. Gant, Esq., A.I.A.C.
Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby, M.B.E., F.S.A.	F. A. Girling, Esq., F.S.A.
Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.	M. R. Hull, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.
Miss F. M. Blomfield, M.A., F.S.A.	K. R. Mabbitt, Esq., F.S.A.
H. M. Carter, Esq.	B. Mason, Esq., O.B.E.
L. E. Dansie, Esq., J.P., F.S.A.	J. G. O'Leary, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.A.
D. G. Davies, Esq., B.A.	Mrs. E. Sellers.

HON. SECRETARY:

JOHN S. APPLEBY, Esq., F.R.Met.S., F.R.Hist.S.,
Cranford House, Elmstead, Colchester.
'Phone: Wivenhoe 472.

HON. TREASURER:

J. B. BENNETT, Esq.,
Fairways, Dormy Houses, East Mersea, Colchester.
'Phone: East Mersea 247.

HON. EDITOR:

LEONARD H. GANT, Esq., A.I.A.C.,
45 Castle Road, Colchester.

HON. AUDITORS:

J. H. G. SUNNUCKS, Esq., M.A.,
MISS F. CAMPKIN.

CURATOR:

D. T.-D. CLARKE, Esq., M.A., F.M.A., F.S.A.
The Castle Museum, Colchester.

Representatives of the Society on the Museum and Muniments Committee of the Colchester Corporation:

Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby, M.B.E., F.S.A.	Miss F. M. Blomfield, M.A., F.S.A.
Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.	F. H. Erith, Esq.

Representative of the Society on the Chelmsford Library Committee:
Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.

TRANSACTIONS
of the
ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME 1 (Third Series)

1961—1965

(Issued 1968)

COLCHESTER

Published by the Society at Museum in the Castle

Contents

FOREWORD by the President of the Society, Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S.	3
EXCAVATIONS IN LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER, 1955 and 1958. By Miss K. M. Richardson, M.A., F.S.A.	7
BLUNT'S HALL, WITHAM. By D. H. Trump, M.A., Ph.D.	37
MEDIEVAL AND LATER POTTERY FROM STOCKWELL STREET, COLCHESTER. By Bryan P. Blake, J. G. Hurst and L. H. Gant	41
SETTLEMENTS OF THE IRON AGE AND PAGAN SAXON PERIODS AT LINFORD ESSEX. By K. J. Barton	57
STONE COFFIN FOUND AT WIX ABBEY. By Bryan P. Blake	105
LITTLE WALTHAM CHURCH GOODS, c. 1400. By Brian C. Smith, M.A.,	111
AN ACCOUNT OF WALLWOOD, LEYTONSTONE. By Frederick Temple	114
EXCAVATION OF AN IRON AGE AND ROMAN SITE AT CHADWELL ST. MARY, Essex. By W. H. Manning	127
EXCAVATION OF THE BATTLE DITCHES, SAFFRON WALDEN, 1959. By Alison Ravetz, M.A. and Gillian Spencer, M.A.	141
ROBERT, SECOND EARL OF WARWICK AND THE PAYMENT OF SHIP-MONEY IN ESSEX. By Violet A. Rowe	160
ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES:	
John Hunton, Quaker. By F. Temple	164
Richard Hutchinson Chocolate Pot. By L. E. Dansie, J.P., F.S.A.	165
Notes on Romano-British Archaeology of Chelmsford and District. By E. E. Barritt and B. M. Kettle	165
Roman Find at Rainham. By J. G. O'Leary, F.S.A., F.L.A.	166
Fanshawe Manuscripts. By J. G. O'Leary, F.S.A., F.L.A.	166
Opening of Museums at Gt. Bardfield, Canvey Island and Braintree. By L. H. Gant	167
English Merchants' Marks. Review by J. B-B.	167
A ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT PEBMARSH. By J. P. Smallwood, M.A.	171
THE ESSEX FEES OF THE HONOUR OF RICHMOND. By W. R. Powell, B.Litt., M.A., F.S.A.	179
THE ESSEX ENTRIES IN THE INQUISITIO ELIENSIS. By R. Welldon Finn, M.A.	190
HEZEKIAH HAYNES—CROMWELL'S MAJOR GENERAL FOR THE EASTERN COUNTIES. By W. L. F. Nuttall, D.F.C., Ph.D., M.A.	196
THE TURBULENT VICAR OF WRITTLE. By A. D. Carr, B.A.	210

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES:

Excavations at Bradwell Lodge, 1962	212
Retirement of Mr. M. R. Hull, M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.	213
Appointment of new Curator to Colchester & Essex Museum	213
Appointment of Miss Susan Davis to Guildhall Museum, London	213
Romano-British Finds at Little Waltham	214
Bee Hive Quern found at Little Waltham	214
Thetford and St. Neots ware found at Little Waltham	214
Romano-British burial group found at Chelmsford	214
Brass of Robert Barfoot, at Lambourne—Palimpsests described	215

BOOK REVIEW

The Victoria History of the County of Essex, Vol. III, Roman Essex	217
BROOK HOUSE FARM, CHIGWELL. By W. S. Phillips	221
THE MANORS OF TOLLESHUNTA. By H. Malcolm Carter	239
INTERIM REPORT ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUDDINGSTONE QUERN. By E. A. Rudge, M.A., Ph.D.	247
EARLY ESSEX CLERGY. By P. H. Reaney, Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A.	249
THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ADAM CHURCH AT MISTLEY. By John Morley, M.A.	253

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES:

Roman Building at St. Osyth. By Bryan P. Blake	259
Archbishop Harsnett: His surname and its origin. By P. H. Reaney, Litt.D., Ph.D., F.S.A.	259
Iron Age Site at Ardleigh. By Bryan P. Blake	261
An Early Medieval Grave Slab found at Wix Abbey. By Lawrence Butler	263
The Broomfield Dragon. By B. M. Kettle	264
Excavations at Great Easton. By John E. Sellers	265
Roman Pottery found at Canvey Island. By Warwick J. Rodwell	265
13th Century Pottery found at Stisted. By E.E.S.	265

List of Illustrations

FRONTISPIECE	Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S., (President 1960-64)	
LEWIS'S GARDENS, COLCHESTER:		
Fig. 1	Plan of Site	6
2	Plan of House I and House II	8
3	Plan of House III	10
4	Plan of House IV and House V	14
5	Sections of Houses I to V	16
6	The Roman pottery	20
7	Decorations and Inscriptions on Roman Pottery	25
8	The small finds	26
9-10	Romano-Saxon and Saxo-Norman pottery	31
11	Clay tobacco pipes	32
Plate I	View of S.E. corner of the Colonia	33
Plate II	Views of Excavations in 1955 and 1958	34
Plate III	Wall Painting showing Corinthian column design	35
BLUNT'S HALL, WITHAM:		
Fig. 1	Plan and section of the earthwork	38
2	Rim sections of pottery	39
Plate IV	Norman cooking pot	36
STOCKWELL STREET, COLCHESTER:		
Figs. 1-18	Hispano-Moresque sherd, and Fifteenth century local wares	42
Figs. 19-31	Sixteenth and Seventeenth century vessels	44
32-36	Stoneware Jugs, Netherlands Maiolica bowls and Tyg	47
Fig. 37	Clay tobacco pipes	50
SETTLEMENTS OF THE IRON AGE AND PAGAN SAXON PERIODS AT LINFORD, ESSEX:		
Fig. 1	Map showing site of Linford excavations	58
Fig. 2	Plan of Iron Age and Pagan Saxon settlements	63
Fig. 3	Iron Age pits	59
Fig. 4	Hearths and Cooking Pits	65
Fig. 5	Sections and plan of junctions of Ditches	66
Fig. 6	Plan of Site 'B' and detail of Trench 3	69
Fig. 7	Profiles of Ditch 'A'	70
Fig. 8	Section of Trench 2	71
Fig. 9	Site of the Rectangular House	72
Fig. 10	Plan and section of Oval Hut, and extension to Trench 10	72
Fig. 11	Plan and section of Open Hearth	71
Fig. 12	Plan of Pit Hut 1 and Weaving Hut	74
Fig. 13	Plan and section of Pit Hut 1	75
Fig. 14	Plan and section of Pit Hut 2	75
Fig. 15	Plans of Saxon and medieval pits	76
Fig. 16	Medieval pot	98
Fig. 17	Saxon lead loom weights	76
Fig. 18	Saxon whetstone	98

Figs. 1-111	The Iron Age Pottery	...	...	...	79-80, 82
Fig. IV	The Romano-British Pottery	...	...	...	88
Figs. V-VIII	The Saxon Pottery	...	...	...	91-94
Plate I	Pit Hut 2	...	...	...	103
Plate II	Rectangular House	...	...	...	103

STONE COFFIN FOUND AT WIX ABBEY:

Fig. 1	Plan of Church of St. Mary and find spot of stone coffin	...	...	...	108
Fig. 2	Plan and sections of stone coffin	...	...	...	109
Fig. 3	The stone coffin <i>in situ</i>	...	...	...	107

EXCAVATIONS OF AN IRON AGE AND ROMAN SITE AT CHADWELL ST. MARY:

Fig. 1	Situation of site	...	...	...	128
Fig. 2	Plan of Iron Age and Roman Settlements	...	...	...	130
Fig. 3	Sections of boundary ditches	...	...	...	132
Fig. 4	Iron Age Pottery from site	...	...	...	134
Fig. 5	Romano-British pottery from site	...	...	...	137
Fig. 6	Iron objects found on site	...	...	...	128
Fig. 7	Find spots of Iron Age pottery	...	...	...	138

EXCAVATION OF THE BATTLE DITCHES, SAFFRON WALDEN, 1959:

Fig. 1	Sketch map of town centre	...	...	...	142
Fig. 2	Plan and profile of Battle Ditches	...	...	...	145
Fig. 3	Section of Battle Ditches	...	...	...	146
Fig. 4	Pottery finds — Early medieval and 13th century wares	...	...	...	148
Fig. 5	Pottery finds — Early medieval wares of the 12th and 13th centuries	...	...	...	149
Fig. 6	Pottery finds — St. Neot's ware	...	...	...	151
Fig. 7	Pottery finds — Thetford ware	...	...	...	152
Fig. 8	Reconstruction of the Battle Ditches area in early 14th century	...	...	...	152
Fig. 9	Plan showing results of resistivity test at Junior House School	...	...	...	154
Fig. 10	Pottery spindlewhorl	...	...	...	154

BATTLE DITCHES, SAFFRON WALDEN:

Plate I	View showing ditch and bank	...	...	...	157
Plate II	Section of the ditch, west side	...	...	...	158
Plate III	Section of the bank, east side	...	...	...	159

A ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT PEBMARSH:

Fig. 1	Plan of Romano-British site	...	...	...	172
Fig. 2	Roman Ditch and timber building	...	...	...	172
Fig. 3	Section of Ditch at east end of large Trench	...	...	...	174
Fig. 4	Section of Ditch at west end of large Trench	...	...	...	174
Fig. 5	The pottery	...	...	...	176
Fig. 6	The pottery	...	...	...	176
Fig. 7	The pottery and iron objects	...	...	...	176

	THE ESSEX FEES OF THE HONOUR OF RICHMOND:		
Plate 1	Map of Essex in 1086, showing lands held in chief by Count Alan of Brittany and Aubrey de Vere	...	180
Plate 2	Grant of William d'Espagne to his wife, Lucy, of dower in Willingale Spain	... ..	182
	ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES:		
	Rubbings of palimpsests on Robert Barfoot's brass at Lambourne	... ..	216
	BROOK HOUSE FARM, CHIGWELL:		
Fig. 1	Brook House Farm — plan and sections	... ..	224
Fig. 2	Interior details — fireplace and panelling mouldings	... ..	227
Fig. 3	Detail of S. wing wall	... ..	229
Fig. 4	Brook Furlong Farm, Rowington, Warwickshire — plan	...	234
Plates I & II	Brook House Farm — front and rear elevations	...	222
	THE MANORS OF TOLLESHUNTA:		
	Map showing Domesday holders of lands	... ..	240
	THE ADAM CHURCH AT MISTLEY:		
Plate I	Print of Richard Rigby	... ..	254
Plate II	South Porch of medieval church	... ..	254
Plate III	Mistley Church; drawing by John Constable	... ..	255
Plate IV	Mistley Towers as they appear to-day	... ..	256
Plates V & VI	The Adam church showing portico	... ..	256
	ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES		
	Roman Building at St. Osyth. Plan and site	... ..	260
	Excavations at Ardleigh — Plan of Iron Age Ditches	...	262

INDEX TO VOLUME I (Third Series)

Adam Church at Mistley, The Rise and Fall of by John Morley	253	Bertie, Robert — Keeper of Homefrith and Wallwood	119
Adam, Robert, Mistley Towers designed by ...	253	Berwalden, John de	246
Agamandus — parson of Ockendon	251	Bethnal Green. Bishop Bonner's hall at	115
Aldbury, Virley	245	Bigot, Roger — Sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk ...	194
Aldham, Anthony, of Thetford	203	Blackmore Priory — grant to, by Richard d' Espanne, 1253	183
Alexander, Rector of Ingatestone	251	Blackwater, river	241
Amberden — estate of Ely Abbey	190	Blake, Bryan P. — Medieval and later pottery from Stockwell Street, Colchester	41
Ansgar the Staller — lessee of land in High Easter Arderne, Ralph de — Abbot of Stratford Lang- thorne	114	Notes on excavations at Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	17
Ardleigh , Iron Age site at. Note by Bryan P. Blake (<i>illus.</i>)	261	Note on Iron Age site at Ardleigh	261
Ashdon, Robert of — landowner in Saffron Walden, 1331	150	Note on a Roman Building at St. Osyth ...	259
Ruthend and Stevington — lands of Honour of Richmond	179, 185	Blunt's Hall, Witham. Report of excavation by D. H. Trump	37
Aythorp Roding, Estate of Ely Abbey	190	Bocking, John Isle (Delesle or de Lyls), Martin de — parsons of East Mersea	251
Baignard, Ralf	242	Bohun, Humphrey de	155
Bannbery (Banbury). Robert de, Rector of Sible Hedingham	250	Boreham, Roger de	250
Barfoot, Robert. Brass at Lambourne	215	Boteler (Butler), John, parson of Foxearth ...	250
Katherine. Brass at Lambourne	215	Bouchers Hall, Tolleshunt	243
Barking Abbey manor in Tollesbury	244	Boulogne, Eustace of	243
Barnack stone coffin from Wix	263	Bourton, Robert de, parson of South Ockendon	251
Barnardiston, Sir Thomas — Commissioner for Suffolk	199, 202, 204	Boville, Phillip de. Gift to Coggeshall Abbey ...	243
Barrett, Colonel Thomas	201	Boxted, Robert de. Parson of Mistley	251
Barrington, Sir Thomas	161	Bradwell Lodge. Note on excavations at ...	212
Barritt, E. E. Notes on Romano-British Archae- ology of Chelmsford and District	165	Bray, Sir Reginald. Justice in Eyre, of Forests ...	114
Barnston, Thomas, rector of Little Waltham ...	111	Richard, vicar of Great Baddow	249
Baroun, William, vicar of Wormingford	252	Brinson, F.S.A., F.A.M.S., Major J. G. S. President of the Society, 1960-64 (<i>frontispiece</i>). Address to the Society, 1961	3
Barton, R. R. Settlements of the Iron Age and Pagan Saxon Periods at Linford, Essex ...	57	Brittany, Alan II, Count of	185
Note on pottery and coin hoard at Chadwell St. Mary	136	Alan III, Count of	185
Bartley, Brian R. Report on Samian pottery found at Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	18	Brook Furlong Farm, Rowington	233
Bates, Ralph. Report on skeleton found in stone coffin at Wix	107	Brook House Farm, Chigwell — by W. S. Phillips	221
Beauchamp Roding — lands of Honour of Rich- mond	179, 185	Brooke, Lord	162
Beaumont, Thomas Cordwayner, vicar	249	Brooks, Wm. Purchased Mistley Towers ...	257
John Leman, vicar	249	Broomfield Dragon, The — note by B. M. Kettle	264
Bee-hive quern found at Little Waltham ...	214	Broxted , Estate of Ely Abbey	190
Belchamp, Richard de	249	Brun, Ingelram	251
Belle, John, rector of Danbury	250	Maurice — Patrons of South Ockendon ...	251
Beney, John, vicar of Dedham	250	Bulmer , John Fitzralph, rector	250
Bensusan-Butt, John. Review of " <i>English Mer- chant Marks</i> ", by Frank A. Girling	167	Bulphan , Henry Malemeynes, rector	250
Berkynng (Barking), Richard de — parson of Laver Breton	251	Burgh, Benedict, rector in Landon	252
Bernard, sub-tenant at Tolleshunt	242	Bury St. Edmunds . Grant of land to Abbey of ...	184
Bernieres, Hugh de	195	Butler, Lawrence. Note on early medieval grave slab found at Wix Abbey	263
		Caesar, Dame Susan	116
		Canvey Island . Roman pottery found at — Note by Warwick J. Rodwell	265
		Carleton, Sir Dudley. Clerk to the Privy Council	161
		Carr, A. D. The Turbulent vicar of Writtle ...	210
		Carson, R. A. G. Report on Coins found at Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	28

Carter, H. Malcolm. <i>The Manor of Tolleshunta</i> ...	239	Cordwayner, John, vicar of Beaumont ...	249
Chadwell St. Mary. Excavation of an Iron Age and Roman Site at — by W. H. Manning ...	127	Corpechun, alias Corpychone frith and Carpetune, grove in Leyton ...	114
Roman coin and Samian ware found ...	135	Walter de — gift of estate in Loughton to Stratford Langthorne Abbey ...	114
Romano-British pottery from ...	135	Cotton, Agnes, gift of chancel to St. Andrew's church, Leyton, and charitable work ...	123
Chaffare, Richard, vicar of Gt. Baddow ...	249	Colton, John de — vicar of Wrabness ...	252
Chaynell's Charity, in Little Waltham ...	112	Lord Justice — Gift of land for church ...	123
Chelmsford. Romano-British burial group found ...	214	William — enclosure of forest 'waste' ...	122
Romano-British pottery found ...	166	— his public services to Leyton ...	122
Roman settlement at ...	165	Reverend William le — buried at Leyton ...	122
Chelmsford and District. Notes on Romano-British archaeology of — by E. E. Barritt and B. M. Kettle ...	165	Cox, John — Councillor of Coggeshall ...	209
Chignall Smealey. Ralph of ...	250	Cramp, Richard ...	119
Chigwell. Brook House Farm described ...	221	Cranmer, John — donor to Little Waltham church ...	112
Chishill, Sir William de ...	185	Cromwell, Sir Henry, of Hinchinbroke, Huntingdon, godparent of Oliver Cromwell ...	115
Chivaler, William le ...	246	Oliver, Lord of the Manor of Leyton ...	115
Clare, Amicia, countess of ...	249	Oliver, Lord Protector ...	197
Richard of, Earl of Gloucester ...	184	Richard, proclaimed Protector ...	206
Clarke, David T.-D. — Appointment as Curator of Colchester and Essex Museum ...	213	Crowell, Oxfordshire. Manor house at ...	238
John — Commissioner for Suffolk ...	199, 204		
Claypole, John ...	205	Dalby, John — vicar of Newport ...	251
Clavering, Alan de Releye, vicar ...	250	Danbury, John Belle and Thomas Bryen, rectors ...	250
Walter de Trelledon, vicar ...	250	Dunby, Earl of — Lord Treasurer ...	119
Thomas of, vicar ...	250	Dannell, Geoffrey. Report on Samian ware found at Chadwell St. Mary ...	135
John Walram, vicar ...	250	Dansie, Alderman L. E. Note on Richard Hutchinson Chocolate Pot ...	165
Clerkenwell Priory. Land in Willingale ...	183	D'Arcy, Anthony ...	244
Cleveland, John — satirical poet ...	203	Davis, Susan. Appointment to Guildhall Museum, London ...	213
Clifton, John de — of Little Waltham ...	112	Deacon, Richard, the — landowner in Saffron Walden, 1331 ...	150
Cloer, Johnnis le — landowner in Saffron Walden, 1304 ...	150	Dedham, John Beneyt — vicar of ...	250
Coggeshall — gift by Philip de Boville to the Abbey ...	243	Desborough, Major-General ...	198, 205
Thomas, donor to Little Waltham church, and brass in Springfield church ...	112	d'Espagne, Hervey — Essex lands held in 1086 ...	179
Cok (Cook), John, vicar of Hatfield Broad Oak... ...	250	John ...	183
Colchester. Buryfield — former Common Land... ...	7	Maud ...	184
Hispano-Moresque pottery found ...	41	Michael ...	184
Lewis's Gardens — excavation of Roman houses ...	7	Richard ...	183
Medieval and later pottery from Stockwell Street ...	41	de Vere, Aubrey — land held in Canfield and Roding, 1086 ...	179
Richard Hutchinson, silversmith and son Richard ...	165	Devil's Wood, Salcot de Virley ...	245
Self assessment for Ship Money, 1634 ...	160	Downe, John de la — rector of Ingatestone ...	251
Colline, of Writtle, John ...	211	Dunbar, Battle of ...	197
Collins, John ...	208	Dunning G. C. Report on Saxo-Norman pottery found at Lewis's Gardens, Colchester ...	31
Colne Priory — Grant of tithes in Sible Hedingham ...	183		
Conan, Duke of Brittany ...	185	East Mersea. Martin de Bockinge ...	251
Constable, John. <i>Sketch of Mistley (illus.)</i> ...	255	Elderfeld, Adam — donor to Little Waltham church ...	113
Cooke, Colonel Thomas ...	199	Ely. Essex land of the Abbey of ...	190
Copford — Hall ...	196	Epping. Lands of Honour of Richmond ...	179
John de Stansted, vicar ...	250	John de Norwich, vicar of ...	250
Old Holt ...	196	Essex Clergy, Early — by D. H. Reaney ...	249
Corbicum, Geoffrey ...	114	<i>English Merchant Marks</i> — review by John Bensusan-Butt ...	167
Richard ...	114		
Corbutio, Robert, son of ...	242		

Essex Entries in the Inquisitio Eliensis — by R. Welldon Finn	190	Great Dunmow — Symon, Filius Symones (Fitz Simon), parson of	250
Essex Fees of the Honour of Richmond — by W. R. Powell	179	Walter de — vicar	250
Everard, Sir Richard	199, 204	Great Easton. Note on excavations at, by John Sellers	265
Exchequer, Court of	198	Great Tey. John de Wyllyngham — parson	252
Eyre, Justices in	144	Syward, John	252
Fanshawe Manuscripts. Note on presentation to Dagenham Public Library — by J. G. O'Leary	166	Great Totham. Robert, parson in	252
Finchingfield — lands of Honour of Richmond Spains Hall	179 181, 184	Great Yeldham. Lands of Honour of Richmond... Spaynes Hall	179 181, 184
Finn, R. Welldon — The Essex Entries in the Inquisitio Eliensis	190	Gregory, Sergeant. Treasury warrant to arrest wrongdoers	119
fitz Herbert, Eudes	191, 195	Grove Hall, Tolleshunt	245
Fitz Simon, Simon — parson of Gt. Dunmow	250	Hadstock. Estate of Ely Abbey	190
Fitzwalter, Lord — Justice in Eyre, of Forests	144	Hamilton, James, Duke of	196
Flambard, Ranulf	191	Hamwood, John — rector of Sandon	252
Fleetwood, General Chas. — appointed Major-General for Eastern Counties	200, 204	Harden, Dr. D. B. Report on glass found at Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	27
Opposition to Richard Cromwell	206	Harlakenden, Richard	196, 208
Fleetwood's Regiment of Horse	197	Harleton, John — parson in Sandon	252
Forster, John	119	Harsnett, Archbishop. His surname and its origin — Notes by P. H. Reaney	259
Fothergill, Colonel John	201	Harlow. Laurence de Offington, rector	250
Commissioner for Suffolk	199, 204	John de Stanton, rector	250
Fox, John		Harvey, Sir Eliab — Lieutenant of the Forest	119
Henry — damage to trees in Wallwood	119	Hatfield Broad Oak. John Cok, vicar	250
Foxearth, John Boteler, parson of	250	Sir John, vicar	250
Frekylton, John — parson of South Ockendon	251	Roger, vicar	250
Gallop, Thomas. Keeper of Leyton Walk	119	Haynes, Anne — marriage to John Cox	206, 209
Gant, Leonard H. Note on opening of Museums at Great Bardfield, Canvey Island and Braintree	167	Hezekiah — Cromwell's Major-General of the Eastern Counties , by W. L. F. Nuttall	196
Report on clay tobacco pipes from Stockwell Street, Colchester	49	Imprisoned in Tower of London	208
Genrich, Dr. Albert. Saxon Pottery from Linford	90	John	196, 206
Georgian Group-restoration of Mistley Towers	253	Robert, of Copford	202, 206
Gernon, Robert	242	Hawkes, Prof. C. F. C. Early Iron Age Pottery from Linford, Essex	83
Gifts to the Society's Archives and Library	53	Hawkins, Wm. — of Writtle	211
Gikel (or Juichiell), Michael	185, 186	Hedingham. Honour of	188
Robert	185, 186, 187	Hertfordshire conglomerate (pudding stone)	247
William	185, 186	Hewett, Dr. — sentenced to death	206
Glebe Farm, Tolleshunt	245	Heybridge. Godsalm, vicar of	250
Gode, Edmund le — vicar of West Thurrock	252	Heydon. Estate of Ely Abbey	190
Godsalm, vicar of Heybridge	250	Hicks, Sir Baptist — Manor of Leyton mortgaged to	116
Goffe, Colonel William	197	Sir Michael — of Ruckholt	116
Goldhanger, Hugh Verdon, parson of	250	Sir William — Warden of Waltham Forest	119
William de Wytham (or Wicham), parson of	250	Highams and Joyces manor, Tolleshunt Major	243
Gonduin. Tenant at Tolleshunt	242	High Easter. Estate of Ely Abbey	190
Gorwell Hall and Prentices, Tolleshunt	243	High Roding. Estate of Ely Abbey	190
Gray, Thos., parson in Wethersfield	252	Hobart, John. M.P. for Norwich	204
Great Baddow. Richard Bray, vicar	249	Halborne's Regiment of Foot	196
Thomas Chaffare, vicar	249	Halmead, Anthony — possessions in Leyton	116
Great Bentley. Lands of Honour of Richmond	179, 185	Honor, Abraham — wood-monger, of London	119
John, vicar of	250	Honour of Hedingham	188
Great Burstead. Richard, vicar of	250	Honour of Richmond. Essex Fees of — by W. R. Powell	179
Great Canfield. Lands of Honour of Richmond	179, 185	Honour of Scalers	188

Honywood, Col., Sir Thomas	199, 201, 204	Lewis, David. Memorial stone in Leyton church-yard	121
Huddestone, Wm. Last Abbot of Stratford	114	Lewis's Gardens, Colchester. Air view of (<i>illus.</i>)	33
Hull, M. R. Retirement from curatorship of Colchester and Essex Museum	213	Clay tobacco pipes from	12, 17, 32
Humfrey, Sub-tenant at Tolleshunt	242	Coins found	11, 12, 17
Hunton, John — Quaker. Note by F. Temple	164	Excavations in 1955 and 1958 by Miss K. M. Richardson	7
Hutchinson Chocolate Pot. Note by L. E. Dansie	165	Medieval pottery and stoneware found	12, 17, 31
Hutchinson, Richard — Colchester silversmith... marriage to Barbara Lufkin	165	Mosaic pavements found, in Insulae 32 & 40	7
Huy, Thos., vicar of Margaretting	251	Pottery found at (<i>illus.</i>)	11, 13, 18
Hyde Farm, Tollesbury	246	Roman glass stirring rods from	27
		Roman painted wall plaster from (<i>illus.</i>)	7, 11, 30
		Roman pottery (<i>illus.</i>)	11, 31
		Roman street levels at	17
		Romano-Saxon pottery (<i>illus.</i>)	31
		Saxo-Norman pottery (<i>illus.</i>)	31
Ingatestone , Alexander, John de la Doune, Adam de Kemeseye, Gilbert de la Nye, vicars of Inquisitio Eliensis. The Essex entries in the — by R. Welldon Finn	251	Leyton , Manor of	115
Iron Age Pottery from Linford, Essex — by Prof. C. F. C. Hawkes	190	Modern building development	124
Iron Age site at Ardleigh	83	Lindsey, Earl of — Warden of Waltham Forest...	119
Isle (or Delesle, de Lyls) — rector of East Mersea	261	Linford . Medieval pottery from (<i>illus.</i>)	89, 98
	251	Pagan Saxon pit huts	61
		Romano-British pottery from	61
		Romano-Saxon pottery found	61
		Saxon loom weights and rotary quern found	68, 102
		Settlements of the Iron Age and Pagan Saxon Periods at Linford , by K. R. Barton	57
Jermey, Captain Robt.	201	Littlebury . Estate of Ely Abbey	190
Colonel Robt.	199	Manor in possession of Ely Abbey	190
Jessop, Wm., Secretary to Earl of Warwick	162	Little Chesterford . Manhall (Emanuel) Wood	184
John, Sir, vicar of Hatfield Broad Oak	250	Little Waltham . Thomas Barnston, rector	111
Johnson, Revd. George. Presented to vicarage of Leyton	115	Beehive quern. Note on	214
Jones, Richard, wood-monger, of London	119	Wm. Cheynell's charity	112
Josselin, Ralph. Puritan pastor	196	Church Goods, c. 1400 , by Brian C. Smith	111
		Romano-British finds	214
Kaldecote, Johannes de. Land owner in Saffron Walden, 1304	150	St. Neots and Thetford ware from	214
Kettle, B. M. — Notes on Romano-British Archaeology of Chelmsford and District	165	Lloyd, Revd. John, cleric and scholar	210
Note on the Broomfield Dragon	264	Long(e), John. Donor to Little Waltham church	112
Kirke, Richard atte, parson of South Ockendon	251	Loteoryshale. Land in Saffron Walden	150, 153
King Charles I	196	Lucas, John, Sheriff of Essex	163
King, Isabell and Richard	210	Lord	200
		Lufkin, Barabara — of Ardleigh	165
		Lurkes, Margaret — donor to Little Waltham church	112
Lake, Dame Mary	116		
John, of London	115		
Sir Thomas	116		
Lambert , John	197	Maken, Thomas, rector of Nevenden	251
General — dismissal by Cromwell	205	Maldon . Self-assessment for Ship Money, 1634	160
Lambourne . Note of brass to Robert Barfoot, by Malcolm H. Carter	215	William White, vicar of	251
Lane, Jacob...	210, 211	Malemeynes, Henry, rector of Bulphan	250
Thomas	119	Mandeville, Geoffrey de	191, 244
Langbrokes (Limebrook) manor in Tolleshunt D'Arcy	243	Viscount	162
Langenhoe , John de Prestney and Wm. Tempervoyre, parsons of	251	Manger, Sub-tenant at Tolleshunt	242
Latton , Roger de — parson of Latton	251	Manhall in Saffron Walden, lands of Honour of Richmond	179
Layer Breton . Richard de Berkyngg, parson of	251	Granted to Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds	184
Leaden Roding . Estate of Ely Abbey	190	Manifold Wick, Tolleshunt Knights	245
Leman, John, vicar of Beaumont	249	Manley, John — farmer of the Parts	198
		Manning, W. H. Excavation of an Iron Age and Roman site at Chadwell St. Mary, Essex	127

Marchal, Richard, rector of Sandon	252	Northampton, John, vicar of Margaretting ...	251
Marcham, Berkshire. "The Priory" house at ...	237	Norwich, John de, vicar of Epping	250
Margaretting, Henry, Thomas Huy and John		Nuttall, W. L. F. Hezekiah Haynes — Cromwell's	
(Northampton), vicars of	251	Major-General for the Eastern Counties ...	196
Maschiart, Michael	210	Nye, Gilbert de la — parson, of Ingatestone ...	251
Marculus (Marcle or Madle), Osbert	185		
Masham, Sir William — appointed Commis-		Ockenden, Agamundus — parson of	251
sioner for Essex	161, 199	Odo, Bishop of Bayeux	195, 242
Massingham, Wm., donor to Little Waltham		Officers and Council of Society	54, 168, 266
church	112	Offington, Laurence de — rector of Harlow ...	250
Maynard, Lord	200	Old Halt, Copford	196
Medieval pottery — from Linford	89	O'Leary, John G. Note on Roman Find at Rain-	
from Saffron Walden	147	ham, Essex	166
from Stockwell Street, Colchester	41	O'Neil, H. E. Report on Roman wall plaster	
Melton Mowbray. Prince Rupert's letter to Com-		found at Lewis's Gardens, Colchester ...	30
mons	196	Ordgor, Roger — landowner in Saffron Walden,	
Merc, Adelford de — sub-tenant at Tolleshunt ...	242	1304	150
Mersch, John — donor to Little Waltham church	111	Ormonde, Marquis of	206
Middle Farm, Tolleshunt Knights	245	Oseburn, John — donor to Little Waltham	
Middleton, Simon	208	church	111
Mildmay, Sir Humphrey — sheriff of Essex ...	161	Osbern — landowner in 1086 at Epping ...	179
Milone, (Melon or Melen), John — rector of Til-		Owsley, Charles and Dorothea	120, 121
bury-by-Clare	252	Newdigate, of Wallwood House, Leyton ...	120
Mingy (or Mengui), Matthew and Robert ...	183		
Mistley. Adam church (The Mistley Towers) ...	253	Pagan Saxon pit huts at Linford, Essex	61
Boxted, Robt. de — parson of	251	Parnell, Wm. — donor to Little Waltham church	111
Consecration of new church	257	Patteshull, Simon de	246
Consecration of the church by Bishop of		Pebmarsh, Roman settlement at , by J. P. Small-	
London	253	wood	171
Porch of medieval church	257	Penraddock, Col. John	198
Sketch by John Constable	255	Petre, Sir John	211
Village, quays and coal yards built by		Peverell, Ralph	195
Richard Rigby	253	Ranulf	242
Moline, Mr. Sparks — quaker	164	Philbroke (or Fillebrook) Estate, Leyton ...	123, 124
Monck, General	206	Philby Brook, Leyton	121
Montagu, Colonel Edward, Earl of Sandwich ...	197	Phillips, W. S. Brook Home Farm, Chigwell ...	221
Montfort, Hugh de	242	Powell, W. R. The Essex Fees of the Honour of	
Moody, James — Commissioner for Suffolk ...	199	Richmond	179
Morel Roding. Estate of Ely Abbey	190	Prentices, Tolleshunt	243
Morley, Revd. John. The rise and fall of the Adam		Prestney, John de — parson of Langenhoe ...	251
Church at Mistley	253	Preston, Battle of	196
Lord	246	Puddingstone Quern. Interim report on the dis-	
Mountnessing. Reginald de — vicar	251	tribution of , by E. A. Rudge	247
Munchensy, Sir William de	183	Pulley, Richard, of Barstable Hundred	160
Muschet, William	184		
Museums of Great Bardfield, Canvey Island and		Querns. Distribution of puddingstone	247
Braintree. Note on opening, by L. H. Grant	167	Saxon rotary, from Linford	102
Myres, J. N. L. Report on Romano-Saxon pot-			
tery from Lewis's Gardens, Colchester ...	31	Radcliffe, John, Justice in Eyre of Forests ...	144
		Rainham, Essex. Note on a Roman Find at, by	
Naylor, James. "The Quaker's Apostle" ...	204	John O'Leary	166
Netherlands' majolica pottery found at Col-		Ravetz, Alison. Excavation of the Battle Ditches,	
chester (<i>illus.</i>)	46, 47	Saffron Walden, 1959	141
Nevenden, Thomas Maheu, rector of	251	Reaney, P. H. Early Essex Clergy	249
Neville, Ralph. Earl of Westmorland	187	Note on Archbishop Harsnett	259
Newport. John Dalby, vicar of	251	Releye, Alan de — vicar of Clavering	250
Newton, Thomas de — parson of Sandon ...	252	Retendon. Estate of Ely Abbey	190
Norman cooking pot from Blunt's Hall,		Reynor, John. Bailiff of Rochford Hundred ...	160
Witham (<i>illus.</i>)	36	Rich, Charles	162

Richardson, Kathleen M. Excavations in Lewis's Gardens, Colchester, 1955 and 1958	7	Thetford Ware found, <i>illus.</i>	147, 152
Thomas — surveyed and drew map of Wallwood, Leyton, 1777	120	St. Martin le Grand	242
Rigby, Richard — of Mistley	253	St. Neots Ware from Little Waltham	214
Rivenhall, Robert de — parson of	251	from Saffron Walden	147
Rivens, Lord	200	Salcot, Essex	241
Roberts, Sir Wm., Councillor of State	197	Salcot de Virley, Devils Wood	245
Robinson, Sir John — Lieutenant of the Tower of London	209	Salford, Nigel de, rector of Sandon	252
Rochford, Richard de Walton, rector of	252	Salisbury Hall, Walthamstow	115
Rodwell, Warwick. Note on Roman pottery found at Canvey Island	265	Salter, Capt. Nicholas	201
Roger, Vicar of Hatfield Broad Oak	250	Salstonstall, Sir Richard	162
Rolf, Richard — donor to Little Waltham church	112	Samian pottery from Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	18
Roman-Building at St. Osyth. Note on (<i>illus.</i>) by Bryan P. Blake	259	Sandon, Ely Abbey, estate of	190
Coin from Chadwell St. Mary	135	Rectors of Burgh, Benedict; Hamwood, John; Harleton, John; Marchal, Richard; Nenton, Thos. de; Salford, Nigel de	252
Coins from Chelmsford	165	Savage, Richard, Lord Colchester and 4th Earl Rivers — lease of Wallwood, Leyton	119
Coins from Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	28	Sawen, James, John and Richard, donors to Little Waltham church	112
Glass from Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	27	Saxon loom weights from Linford, Essex	68
Pottery from Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	20	pottery from Linford, Essex	90
from Chadwell St. Mary	135	rotary quern	102
from Pebmarsh	173, 175	whetstone from Linford, Essex (<i>illus.</i>)	98
Settlement at Chelmsford	165	Saxo-Norman pottery from Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	31
Wall plaster found at Colchester (<i>illus.</i>)	30	Say, Viscount	162
Romano-British pottery from Chadwell St. Mary from Chelmsford	135	Scalers, Honour of	188
from Linford	166	Scott, John. Collector of Ship Money	161
Romano-Saxon pottery from Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	31	Sellers, Elizabeth. Note on 13th century pottery found at Stisted	265
from Linford	89	John. Note on excavations at Great Easton	265
Rothend (in Ashdon) — lands in Honour of Richmond	179, 185	Shellow Bowells — estate of Ely Abbey	190
Rowe, Violet A. Robert, Second Earl of Warwick and the payment of Ship Money in Essex	160	Shepherd, Wm., vicar of Heydon	211
Rowington, Warwickshire. Brook Furlong Farm	233	Shipmoney in Essex, Robert, 2nd Earl of Warwick and the payment of, by Violet A. Rowe	160
Rudge, E. A. Interim Report on the distribution of the Puddingstone Quern	247	Sible Hedingham. Bannbery, Robert de — rector	250
Rufus, Count Alan	179	Tithes granted to Colne Priory	183
Runwell, John — rector of	252	Skinner's Wick, Tolleshunt D'Arcy	244
Rupert, Prince	196	Slaney, John — treasurer of the Company of Planters of Newfoundland	163
Russell, Sir Francis — Commissioner for Cambridgeshire	204	Slingsby, Sir Henry	206
Ryder, Edward. Purchased Manor and Lordship of Leyton, 1599	115	Smallwood, J. P. Roman Settlement at Pebmarsh	171
Sir Wm. Built chancel in Leyton parish church	115, 119	Smith, Brian C. Little Waltham Church Goods, c. 1400	111
Rys, Thomas	183	Smithsly, Anne	197
Saffron Walden. Abbey. Book of the foundation of	150	Thomas — Master of the Saddlers' Company	197
Battle Ditches. Excavation of, 1959	141	Thomas, junior	197
Cartulary of Walden Abbey	150	Societies in union for exchange of publications	52
Charter granted by Humphrey de Bohun	155	Southampton, Lord — Lord Treasurer	119
Manhall, lands of Honour of Richmond	179, 184	South Fambridge — estate of Ely Abbey	190
Medieval pottery found, <i>illus.</i>	147	South Hanningfield — estate of Ely Abbey	190
St. Neots Ware found, <i>illus.</i>	147, 151	South Ockendon — Robt. de Boustone, John Frekylton, Richard atte Kirke and John Lypher, parsons of	251
Spindlewhorl from, <i>illus.</i>	154	Spencer, Gillian and Ravetz, Allison—Excavation of the Battle Ditches, Saffron Walden, 1959	141

Spindlewhorl from Saffron Walden (<i>illus.</i>)	154	Twistleton's Regiment	196
Stacy, John, Vicar of Tolleshunt D'Arcy...	252	Typet, John — parson, of South Ockendon	251
Stansted, John de — vicar of Copford	250		
Stanton, John de — rector of Harlow	250		
Stanway, John — parson in	252	Underwood, Colonel Francis	201
Steeple Bumpstead — lands of Honour of Richmond	179		
Stisted, 13th century pottery found at, Note by Elizabeth Sellars	265	Valoiner, Robert de	244
Stone Coffin found at Wix Abbey — by Bryan P. Blake	105	Verli, Robert de — sub-tenant at Tolleshunt	242
Stratford Langthorne — Grant to Abbey of lands in Leyton	114	Victoria History of the County of Essex, Vol. III, Roman Essex, reviewed	217
Huddleston, Wm. Abbot of	114	Victoria Park, Bethnal Green	115
Hugh, Abbot of	114		
Stock, Thomas — rector of	252	Wadmore, J. F. — architect	255
Strethall — estate of Ely Abbey	190	Walden Abbey — Book of the Foundation of Cartulary of	150
Strype, Rev. John — petition for timber	119	Walkemus. Land owner in Saffron Walden, 1304	150
Suen of Essex	242	Wallwood, Leytonstone. An Account of — by Frederick Temple	114
Sydenham, Colonel Wm.	197	Wallwood, Leytonstone — extent of boundaries of	121
Symeon, Abbot of Ely	191, 194	Field names in	121
Syward, John — parson of Great Tey	252	Wallwood Farm, occupiers of	121, 123
		Wallwood House, tenants of	120, 122
Tempervoyse, Wm. — parson of Langenhoe	251	Sale of, in 1783	120
Temple, Frederick. An account of Wallwood, Leytonstone	114	Walram, John — vicar of Clavering	250
Note on John Hunton, Quaker	164	Waltham, Richard — of Little Waltham manor	112
Templer, Major Dudley	199, 201, 204	Walthamstow, Walter, vicar of	252
Terling, Witham — estate of Ely Abbey	190	Walton, Richard (atte Lane), rector of Rochford	252
Tew, William	119	Warne, Thomas — of Low Leyton	119
Thetford Ware — from Little Waltham	214	Warren — Joan	115
from Saffron Walden	147	Johan, Dame	115
Thomas, Henry — petition to build a house in Wallwood, Leyton	119	Richard	115
Thorley, Roger — donor to Little Waltham church	112	Sir Ralph, Mercer, Lord Mayor of London	115
Thurloe, Secretary of State	198, 203, 204	Warwick, Earl of	160, 161
Thurstable Hundred	239	Wanton, Sir Wm. de	183
Tichbourne, Colonel Robt.	197	Wennington, Arnold, rector of	252
Tilbury-by-Clare. John Milone, rector	252	Weston, Sir Richard, of Prested Hall	245
Tiptree Heath	241	Wethersfield, Thomas Gray, parson	252
Tiptree — Manor of	243	West Thurrock — Edmund le Gode, vicar	252
Priory	244	Whalley, Edward	197
Tobacco pipes — found in Lewis's Gardens, Colchester	32	Whetstone (Saxon), found at Linford, Essex	98
found in Stockwell Street, Colchester	49	Whetcombe, Peter	211
Tollesbury. Barking Manor in	244	White — Lady Ann	115
Tolleshunt — D'Arcy. (Tregoz)	239	Sir Thomas, gifts to St. John's College, Oxford	115
Tolleshunt, Robt. de	246	William, vicar of Maldon	251
Tolleshunta. The Manor of — by H. Malcolm Carter	239	Wigborough — Walter, parson	252
Knights	239	Woodland in	239
Major	239	Williams, Robt. Purchased Wallwood Farm, Leyton	122
John Stacey, vicar	252	Willingale Doe. Manor of	183
Treasury, Commissioners of	198	Willingale — Eustace of	181, 183
Trelledon, Walter de — vicar of Clavering	250	Lands of Honour of Richmond	179
Trump, Dr. D. H. Report on excavation at Blunts' Hall, Witham	37	Richard of	183
Tufnell, Samuel — master mason	120	Willigale Spain — Spains Hall	181
		Willingham (Wyllyngham), John de, parson of Great Tey	252
		Willis, Sir Richard	196

Wix (Wica) — Algarus, parson of	...	...	252	Wix Manor, Tolleshunt Major	...	...	243
An early medieval grave slab found at Wix	...	...		Worcester, Battle of	...	...	197
Abbey — Note by Lawrence Buttlar	...	...	263	Wormingford. William Baroun, vicar	...	...	252
Benedictine Nunnery of St. Mary	...	...	106	Wrabness. John Cotton and John, parsons in	...	...	252
Gift to Walter the Deacon by Queen Edith	...	...		Wriothesley, Thomas. Lord Chancellor	...	...	115
(Edera)	...	...	106	Writtle. The turbulent vicar of — by A. D. Carr	...	...	210
Manor of Wix Hall given to Abbey of St.	...	...		Wood, Colonel	...	...	204
Mary	...	...	106	Wytham (Wicham), Wm. de, parson of Gold-	...	...
Suppression of Wix Abbey	...	...	106	hanger	...	...	250
Granted to Sir Adam Fortescue	...	...	106				