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Its objects are:

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

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

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A Bronze Age Cemetery at Chitts Hill, Colchester, Essex

by PHILIP CRUMMY

SUMMARY: Rescue excavations at Chitts Hill, Colchester, led to the discovery of a Bronze Age cemetery, apparently of two phases. The first of these consisted of a group of seven small round barrows and the second of a Deverel-Rimbury urnfield yielding 27 or more cremations, mostly in urns. Twenty-five small pits of unknown purpose were found which were contemporary with the urnfield. The barrows were levelled in the late Bronze Age or Iron Age period.

Introduction

The Bronze Age cemetery at Chitts Hill lies at the northern end of the field in which the ditch described by M. Petchey on pp. 17-19 is located (Fig. 1). The cemetery was discovered in July 1973 during a visit to the site by the writer when gravel extraction for Colchester's new northern by-pass was under way. Several cremations were found which had been exposed as a result of the topsoil being stripped off. Consequently, over the following month an area around the discoveries was excavated. The work had to be done in two stages to fit in with the gravel-extraction process which accounts for the two offset areas in plan (Fig. 2). Despite pressures on time and labour, it was felt that most of the cemetery was uncovered and recorded.

In addition to the cremations, a large sherd (Fig. 10, unstratified) of Bronze Age pottery was also found as shown approximately by point M in Figure 1. Unfortunately, the area where the piece was found had been so badly rutted and pitted by heavy plant that any excavation would not have been worth while.

The cemetery lay close to the River Colne by its southern bank (Fig. 1). The top of the underlying gravel is about 0.50 m below present ground level and is sealed by approximately 0.25 m of plough-soil and about 0.25 m or more of brown sandy silt loam, the so-called 'cover loam'. This is a soil which contains a high proportion of wind-borne silt and which was formed under periglacial conditions during the Devensian Glaciation. It has an irregular junction with the underlying sand and gravel and consequently is of varying depth.¹

The principal archaeological feature in the area is Gryme's Dyke which can be traced by cropmarks down to the ford across the River Colne where the dyke was seen in section.² The dyke lies to the west of the site (Fig. 1).

In addition to the dyke, aerial photographs³ of the area around the cemetery indicate a sub-rectangular enclosure, a large ring-ditch and some field-ditches (Fig. 1). Also, some years ago, 'Bronze Age and Iron Age' pottery was found at the old quarries south of the cemetery.⁴ The approximate find-spot is shown on Figure 1 by point N. In view of the cropmarks and pottery, a substantial amount of evidence relating to prehistoric occupation in the area is likely to have been lost elsewhere in the present quarry although occasional site inspections after July 1973 led to no further discoveries.

For this report,⁵ the features have been classified into six groups which are discussed in turn below. These are ring-ditches, cremations in urns, cremations without urns, pits, linear ditches and other features.⁶

The stripping of the site by the contractors led not only to the removal of the plough-soil but the cover loam too. Since the archaeological features were cut into the cover loam, this led not only to the loss of the uppermost parts of all the cremations, pits and ditches but also, no doubt, to the complete loss of some other features. The shallow depth of many of the features which survived the stripping makes this clear.

The finds and site records from the excavation have been deposited in the Colchester and Essex Museum.

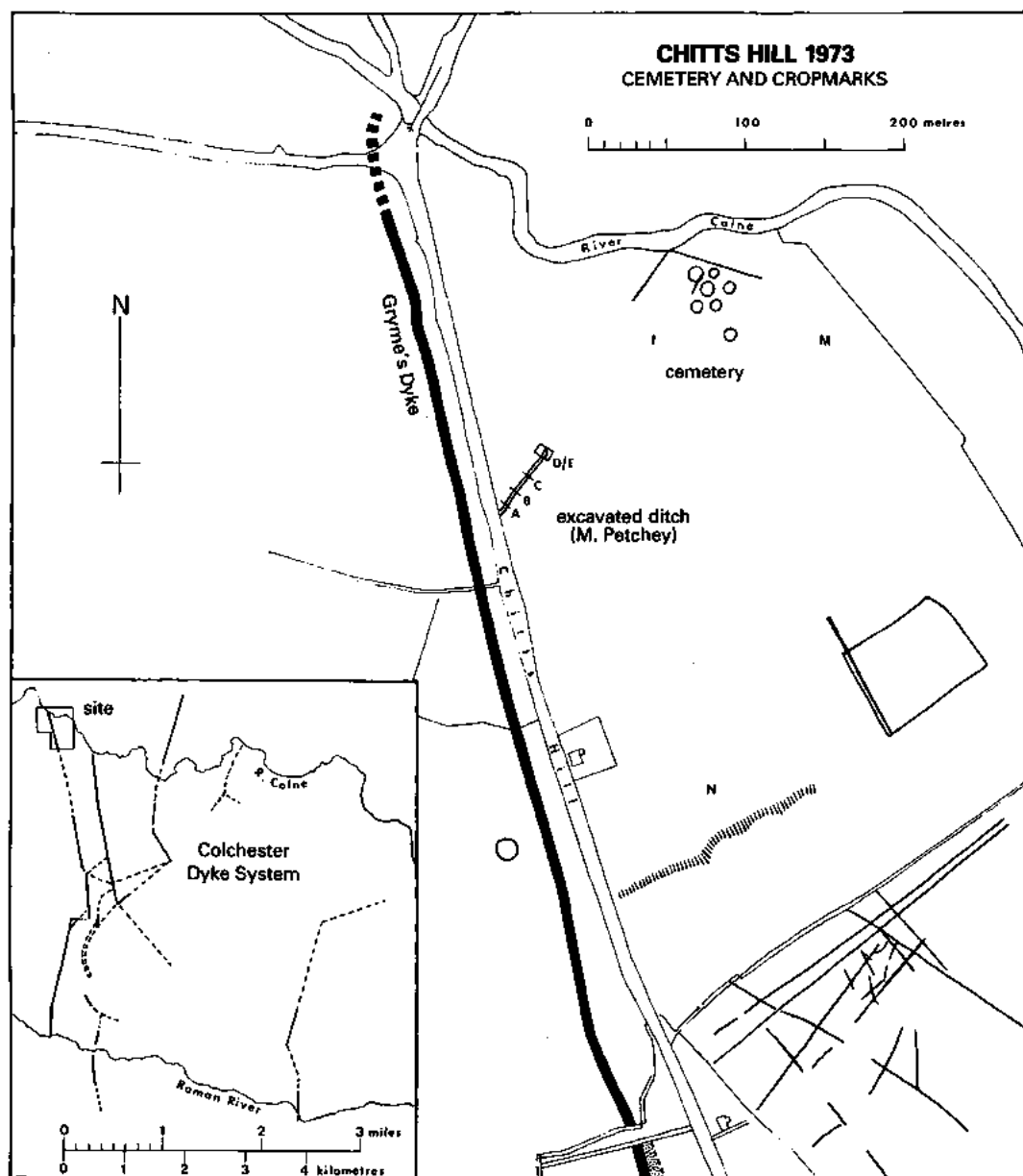


Fig. 1 Chitts Hill: Cropmarks and location plans.

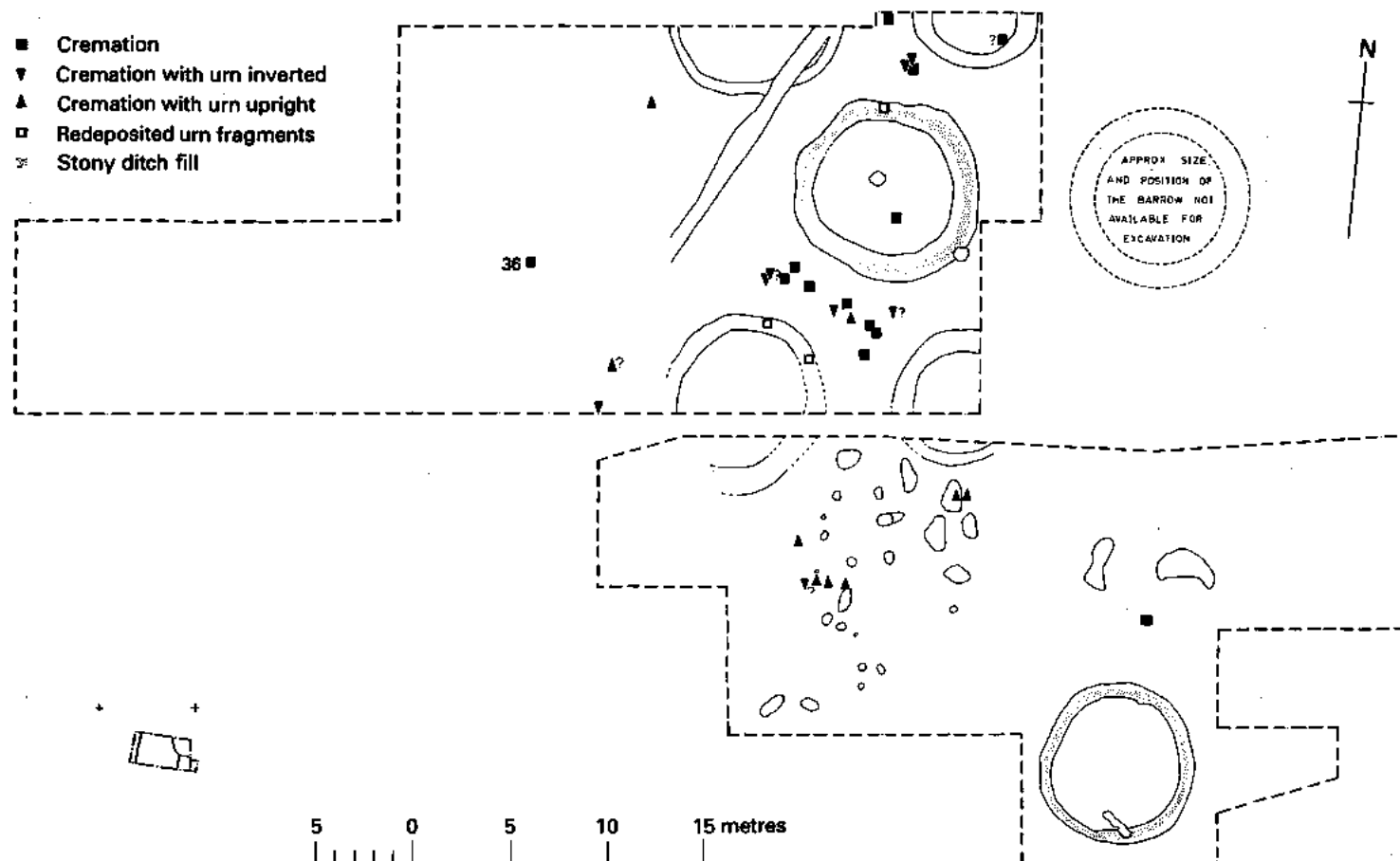


Fig. 2 Chitts Hill: General site plan.

i. *The Ring-ditches* (Figs. 3, 4 and 5)

Seven ring-ditches were discovered in all. The first of these could not be adequately recorded because quarrying could not be delayed. However, its approximate size and position are shown in Figure 2. Ditches F22, F25, F27, F28 and F29 were only planned on the surface and each sectioned in one place. Ditch F50, on the other hand, was excavated completely. Difficult soil conditions and lack of time made it hard to locate the western edge of ditch F27.

The fill of some of the ring-ditches could be divided into two distinct upper and lower deposits on the basis of their gravel and stone content (Fig. 5). The basic matrix was dark brown loamy sand but by comparison with the lower layers the upper deposits were very stony with gravel and small stones. The lowest layers can be equated with ditch silt whereas the upper ones derived from the levelling of the barrow-mounds. As shown in Figure 2 the stony infilling of the

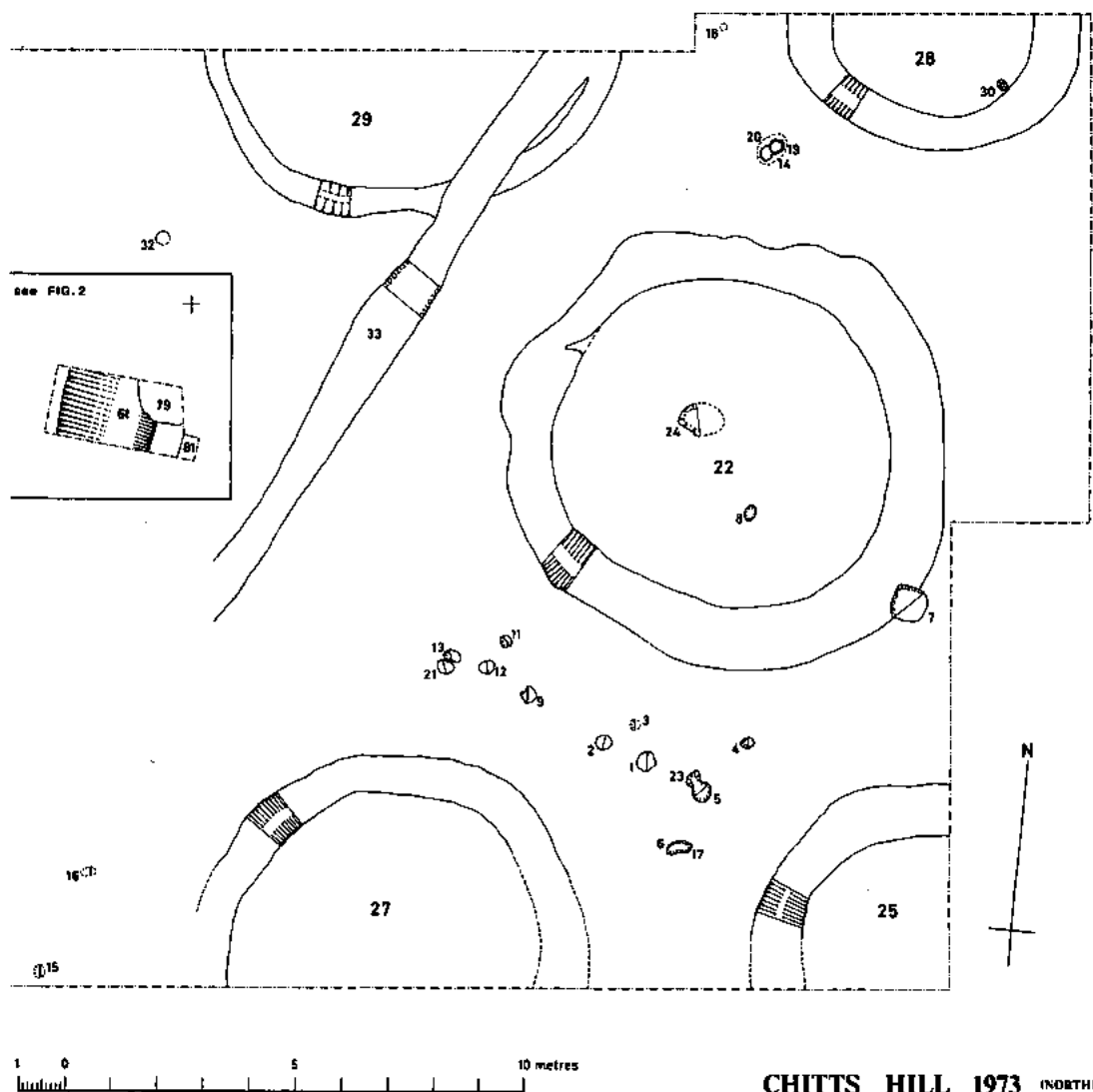


Fig. 3 Chitts Hill: Large-scale site plan: north.

ditches was clearly visible in plan in ring-ditches F50, F22 and F27. The two types of layer are illustrated in the section across F50 and F27 (Fig. 5). Presumably, they also ought to have been present in the sections across F22, F25 and F28 but could not be readily detected. Ditch F29 was

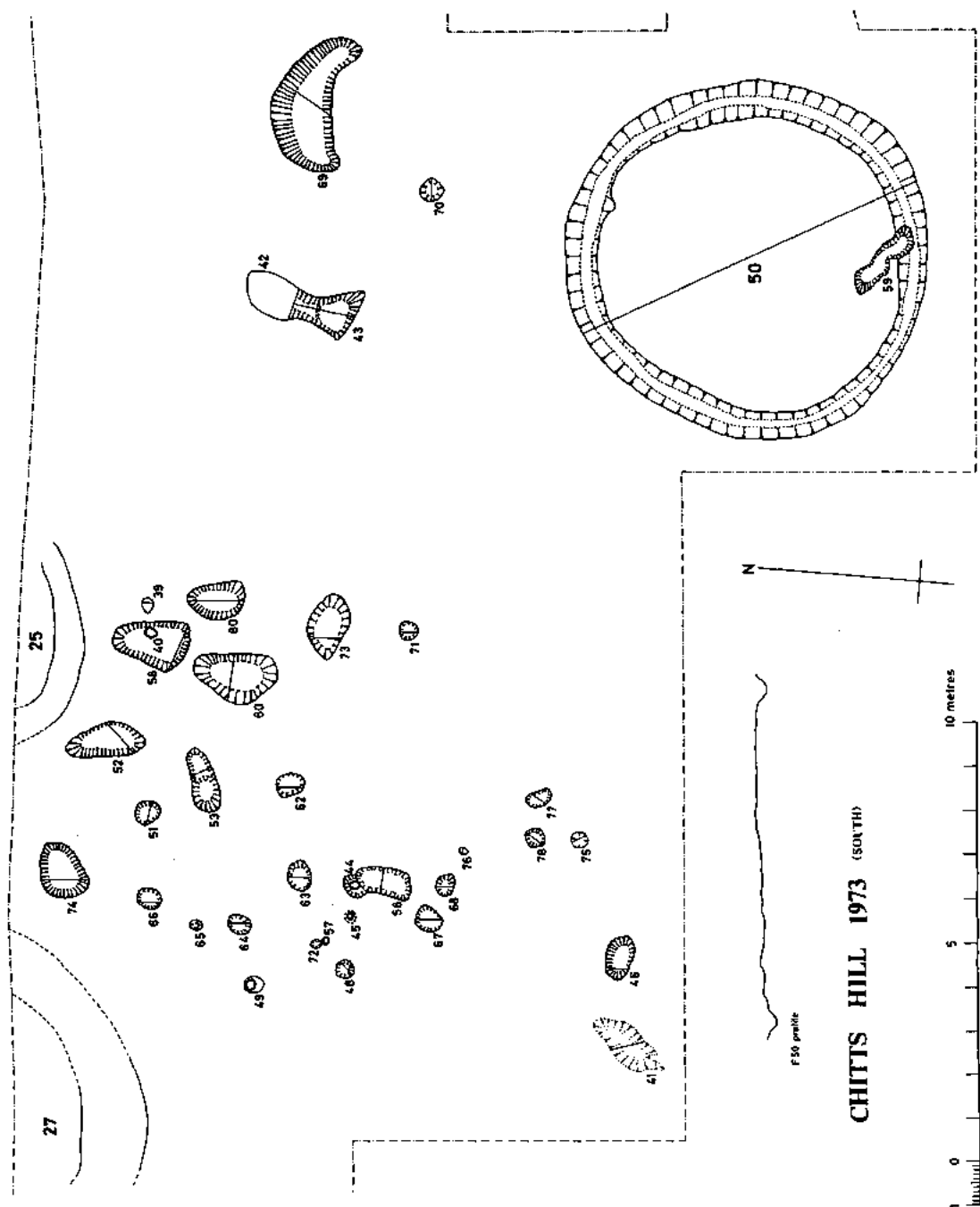
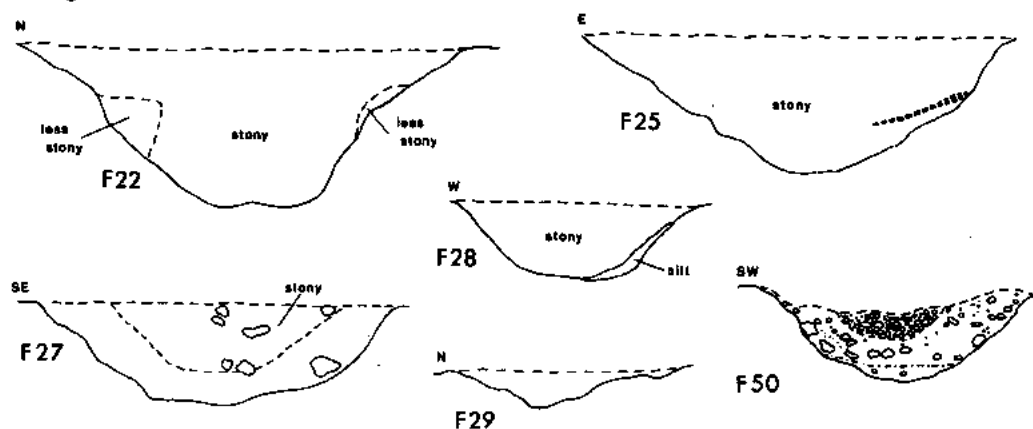


Fig. 4 Chitts Hill: Large-scale site plan: south.

shallower than the other ditches and had been completely removed by the initial stripping which accounts for its narrow breadth in plan. All that survived was silt at the base of the ditch, any stony destruction layer having been lost entirely. In the case of F50, some primary silt at the very bottom of the ditch was also detected (Fig. 5).

Ring-ditches



Cremations

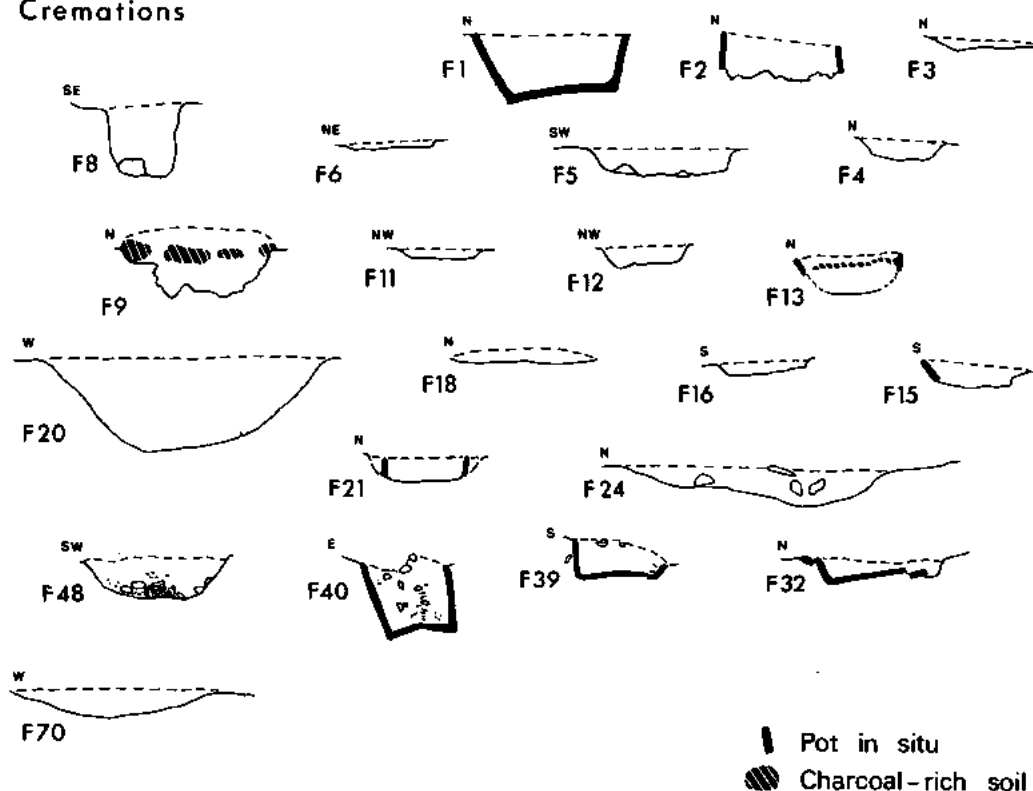


Fig. 5 Chitts Hill: Sections and profiles: ring-ditches and cremations. Scale 1:20.



PLATE I

Chitts Hill: Inverted urns F14 and F19, set in F20 half-sectioned.

[Facing page 6

ii. *Cremations in Urns* (Figs. 3, 4 and 5)

Five cremations were found inside inverted urns. These were F2, F15, F19, F21 and F14. Three other cremations, F4, F13 and F48, were associated with small quantities of sherds, at least one of which in each case was a rim sherd suggesting therefore the possibility of an inverted urn almost wholly destroyed during the topsoil stripping.

Eight cremations were found in upright urns. These were F1, F32, F39, F40, F44, F45, F49 and F57. F16 consisted of a shallow patch of the slightly darker soil characteristic of the cremations. This feature contained fragments of base but no bone. Nevertheless, on account of the soil, F16 was very likely the remains of a cremation in an upright urn.

Only the more complete urns, i.e. F14, F19, F40, F44, F45, F49 and F57 are shown in plan here (Figs. 3 and 4).

In general, it was difficult to detect the pits into which the urns were placed. When located, for example as in F44 and F49 (Fig. 4), they were substantially bigger than the urns themselves, the latter generally resting directly on the natural. In the case of the pots in F14 and F19, the vessels were touching one another and apparently set in a larger pit (F20) which contained a large quantity of cremated bone (Plate I). Although treated as a separate group in the report below on the bones, the material in F20 probably derived from the urns in F14 and F19 when they were inverted for burial. The proximity of F14 and F19 and their relationship to pit F20 suggests that both pots were contemporary.

Parts of three or more crushed urns were found in two of the ditches, one (F26) in ring-ditch F22 and at least two (F37 and F35) in the ring-ditch F27. Visual examination of the sherds comprising F35 indicates the possibility of two different urns with similar tempering although alternatively these could represent different parts of the same vessel. The rim from F35 is illustrated in Figure 10. F26 was found in the lower half of the silt of the ring-ditch F22 (Fig. 2). F35 and F37 were found in the stony destruction layer in the ditch of F27 and must have derived from burials either sealed by or inserted into the mound which belonged to F27 (Fig. 2).

The fill of all the cremations, with or without urns, was typically dark brown (10YR 3/3) or very dark greyish brown (10YR 3/2) loamy sand with small stones and gravel.

iii. *Cremations Without Urns* (Figs. 3, 4 and 5)

Ten cremations were found which contained no fragments of pottery. These are F3, F5, F6, F8, F9, F11, F12, F18, F23 and F70. With the exception of F8, all these features were so shallow that they could have been the bottoms of in-urned burials. In addition, there were two features which consisted of very shallow deposits of comparatively dark soil but contained neither bone nor pot. These are F30 (Fig. 3) and F36 (Fig. 2). They were so shallow that they were not drawn in section and may be spurious.

F24 was a small patch of dark brown loamy sand with stones (Fig. 3) and was most likely the base of the primary burial in F22.

The few fragments of bone contained in features F3, F8 and F12 were considered too small (less than about 4 mm) to be submitted for inclusion in the bone report below.

iv. *Pits* (Figs. 3, 4 and 6)

A total of 26 prehistoric pits were found which did not contain cremations. With the exception of F7, these were all concentrated south of the two ring-ditches F25 and F27 and north and west of the ring-ditch F50.

Pit F7 was dug into the stony infill of the ring-ditch F22 and was unusual in that it contained two distinct layers, the later one of which is likely to have been the result of back-filling (Fig. 6).

Pits

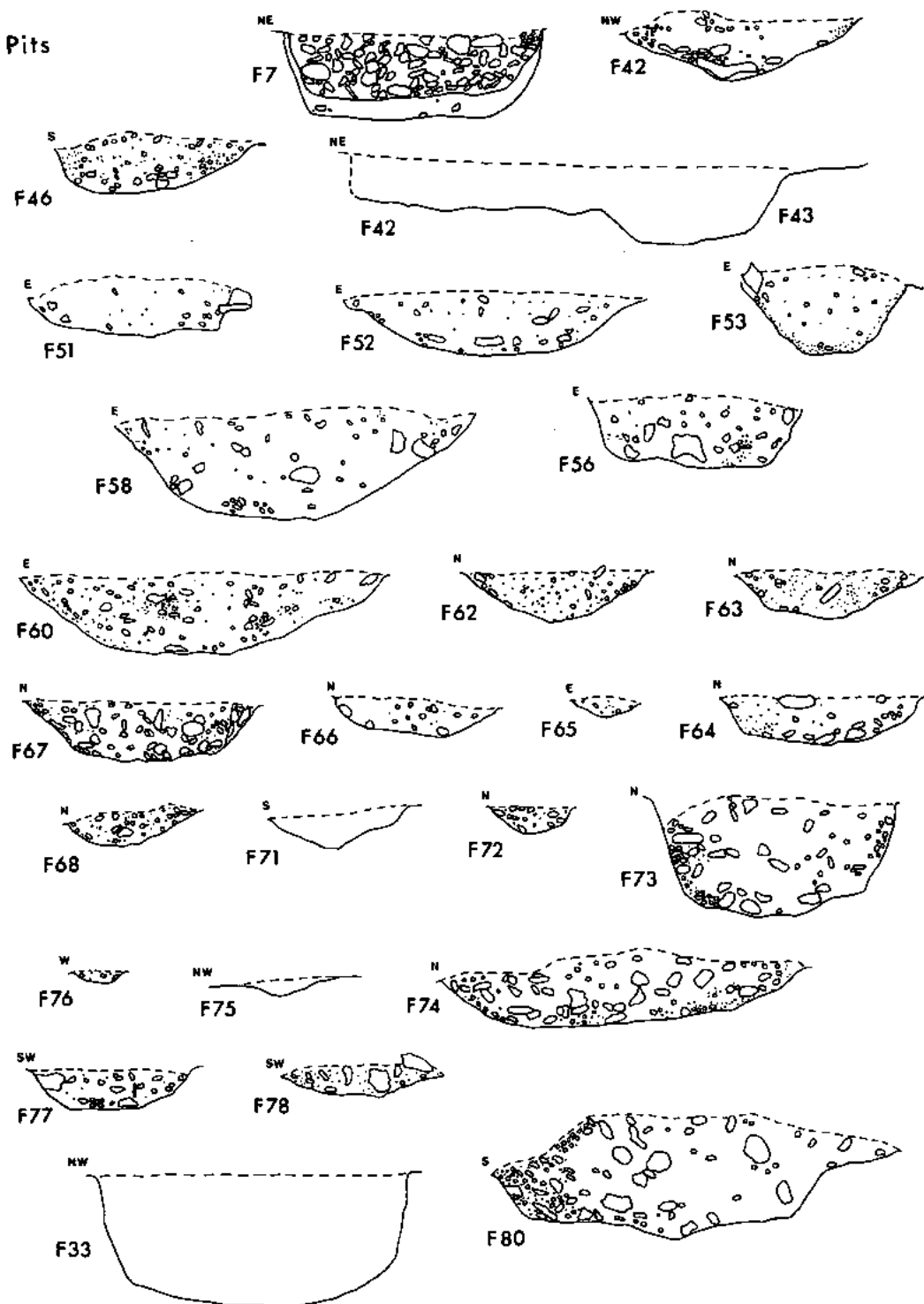


Fig. 6 Chitts Hill: Sections and profiles: pits and ditch F33. Scale 1:20.

The lower layer, perhaps a silt or a lining, was mottled greyish brown silty clay loam with pockets of sand and gravel. The upper layer consisted of brown sandy clay loam which was extremely stony with gravel and small and medium stones. This layer contained burnt flints, lumps of burnt sandy clay and some charcoal. The bottom layer, however, showed no sign of having been scorched *in situ*.

The fill of the remaining pits was typically dark brown (7.5YR 4/4) loamy sand with gravel and small stones.

These pits can be broadly divided into two groups on the basis of size and shape although the archaeological significance of this is doubtful. The first category consists of large pits of irregular shape and comprises F42, F43, F46, F52, F53, F56, F58, F60, F73, F74 and F80. The relationship between F42 and F43 is not known and it is likely that they both represent different parts of the same feature. The second group consists of small pits less than 60 cm or so across. These are F51, F62, F63, F64, F65, F66, F67, F68, F71, F72, F75, F76, F77 and F78.

Although this division may in some way be significant, particularly in view of the manner in which the large pits cluster together, the distinction is probably not particularly important since it is quite possible that, rather than being post-holes for example, the small pits are simply the bottoms of much larger features of sizes comparable to those of the larger type. In profile, none of the small features has vertical or nearly vertical sides but they all resemble the bottoms of the larger features.

Two stratigraphic relationships are of prime importance. These are that the in-urned cremation F40 cut the pit F58 and that the pit F56 cut the in-urned cremation F44.

v. Linear Ditches (Figs. 3, 6 and 7)

Parts of two linear ditches were found.

Ditch F33 was traced in plan for a total of 15 m and sectioned in one place (Fig. 6). No finds were made. The southern end of the ditch was found but its exact position was difficult to detect in plan. The ditch cut through the ring-ditch F29 and must therefore have post-dated the demolition of the barrow.

A section was excavated across a much more substantial ditch F61, the depth of which was about 1.2 m. It was not possible to trace this feature for any length but the contractor's digger-driver who discovered the ditch during his work, said it ran for some considerable distance in a

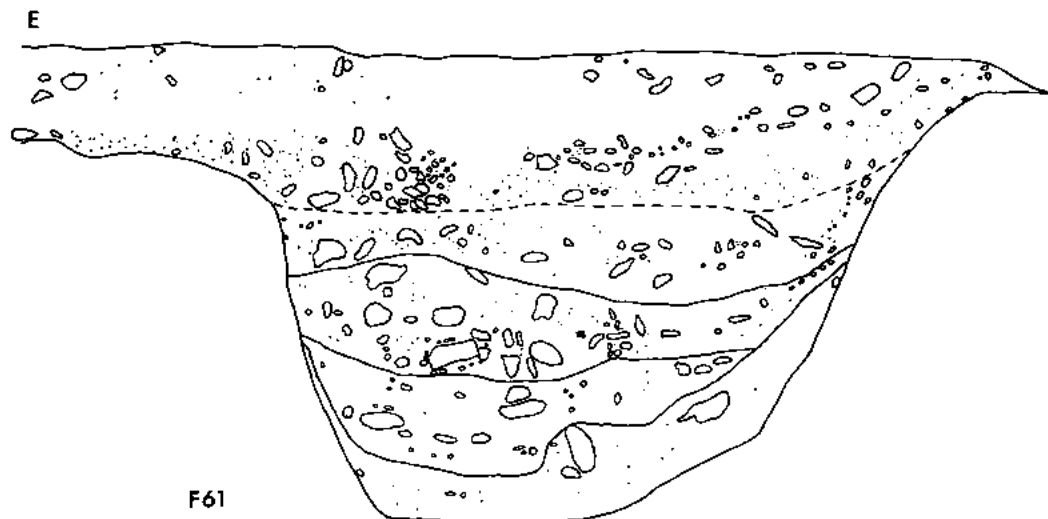


Fig. 7 Chitts Hill: Sections across F61. Scale 1:20.

south-west direction. It did not, however, extend as far north as the main archaeological excavation. Five layers were visible in the ditch-section (Fig. 7). The four upper layers consisted of stony brown sandy clay or loamy sand and may all have been the result of deliberate back-filling. The lowest layer — the silt — consisted of slightly stony light brownish grey clay loam with large stones. The only finds came from the uppermost layer. These comprised three body

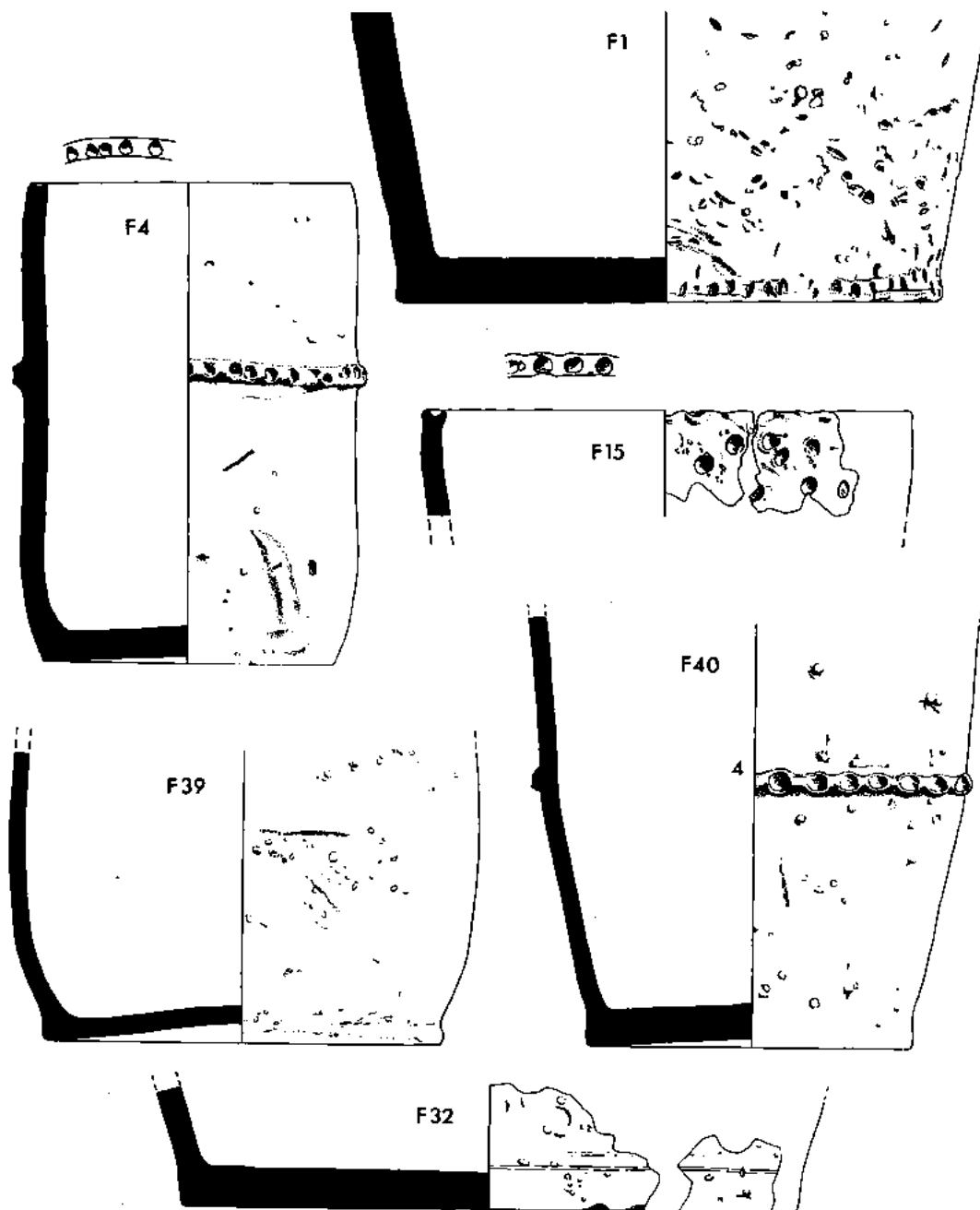


Fig. 8 Chitts Hill: Pottery. Scale 1:4.

sherds which are similar visually to much of the pottery from the cemetery. The largest piece is 13 mm thick and grades in section from red at the exterior to dark reddish brown at the interior. It is lightly tempered with large flint grits.

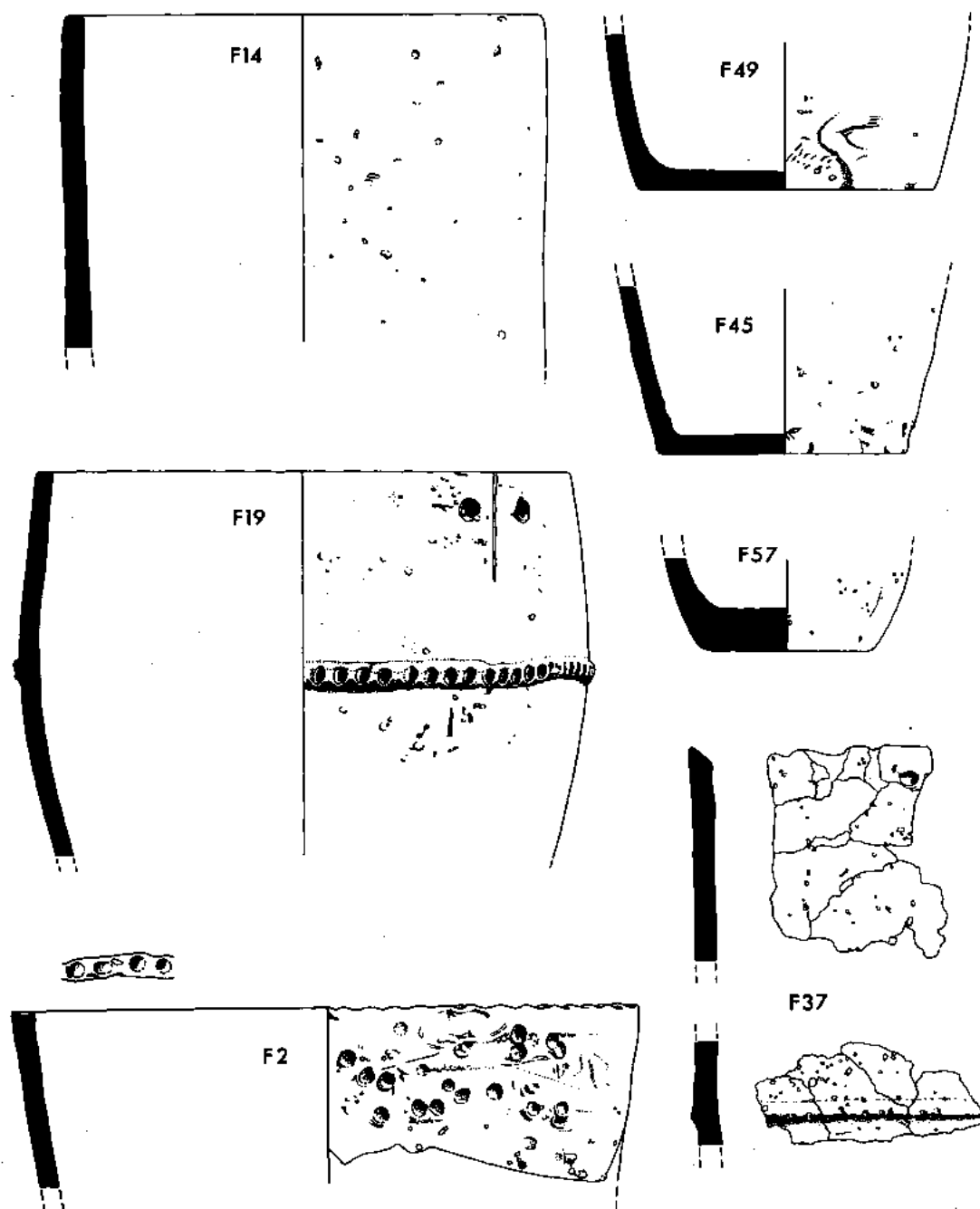


Fig. 9 Chitts Hill: Pottery. Scale 1:4.

vi. Other Features (Figs. 3 and 4)

The other features are likely to be of relatively modern date. F81 and F79 (Fig. 3) were probably recent test-holes for gravel. F59 and F69 (Fig. 4) contained pieces of brick and peg tile. F41 consisted of a shallow deposit of burnt stones and black loamy soil. The fill was very loose and thought to be modern.

The Pottery (Figs. 8–10)

Crushed burnt flint, gravel and coarse sand were used as tempering in most of the pots. Since it is often difficult to distinguish visually between crushed flint and coarse sand, the description of the filler below must be regarded as tentative.

The commonest fabric (i.e. F1, F2, F4, F14, F19, F32, F39, F40, F44 and F49) has a very dark grey core which grades to red or reddish brown near the outer surface. The outer surface is generally brown, reddish brown or yellowish brown. Occasionally the inner surfaces are slightly oxidised brown or dark brown. The clay is usually heavily tempered with crushed flint although coarse sand was used in F1, F2 and perhaps F19. The sherd found at point M on Figure 1 is of this fabric. Nearly all of its outer surface has flaked off exposing its tempering (Fig. 10). F14 is possibly tempered with both sand and flint. F19 contains only a little sand which may have occurred naturally in the clay.

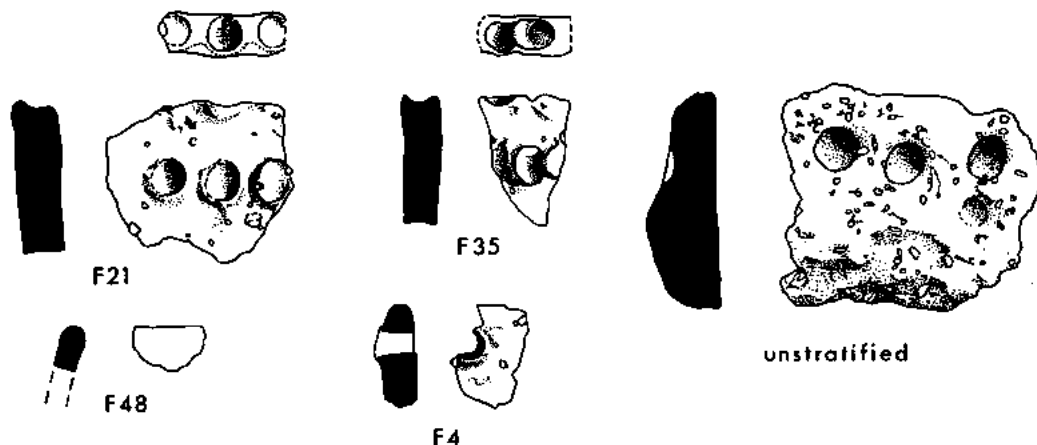


Fig. 10 Chitts Hill: Pottery. Scale 1:2.

The remaining pieces lack the gradation in colour between core and outer surface. Their cores are very dark grey and their outer surfaces are various reddish and yellowish shades of brown. Several of these pots were only lightly tempered, i.e. F15 (coarse sand and flint), F35 (a sandy fabric with possibly no deliberate filler), F45 (coarse sand) and F57 (coarse sand and possibly flint). The other pots were more heavily tempered with coarse sand, viz. F37, F21 and F48 (also possibly contains flint).

Pot F37 was unusual in that its rim was not the flat type. Its cordon was pinched out and lightly decorated with finger-tipping.

The Flints

The flints from the site have been examined by Mr. J. J. Wymer, and the list below is taken from his work-sheets. Each piece is referred to by its find number. Mr. Wymer regarded the bulk of the flints as probably being Neolithic but thought that the two patinated pieces FL154 (Fig. 11.2) and FL298 (Fig. 11.3) may be Mesolithic. He also considered that although unpatinated, FL155 (Fig. 11.5), FL173 and FL320 might also be Mesolithic.

The contexts of the flints are not given here since the assemblage would seem in the main to predate the cemetery.

- i. scraper: FL153 (small end-scraper; Fig. 11.1);
- ii. flake-blades: FL154 (patinated; Fig. 11.2), FL85 (small), FL299 (broken, non-bulbous end only)
- iii. blades: FL155 (small; Fig. 11.5), FL284 (micro-blade);
- iv. flakes: FL156 (very small), FL158 (with slight traces of secondary working or use), FL173, FL211 (Fig. 11.6), FL254 (small, slightly patinated flake ground smooth on bulbous end; Fig. 11.7), FL300 (outer flake), FL301, FL302, FL303 (small), FL304 (patinated), FL306 (patinated), FL307, FL308, FL310 (2 spalls) and FL320 (micro-blade);
- v. pot boilers: FL251 (two flints), FL290 (three flints).

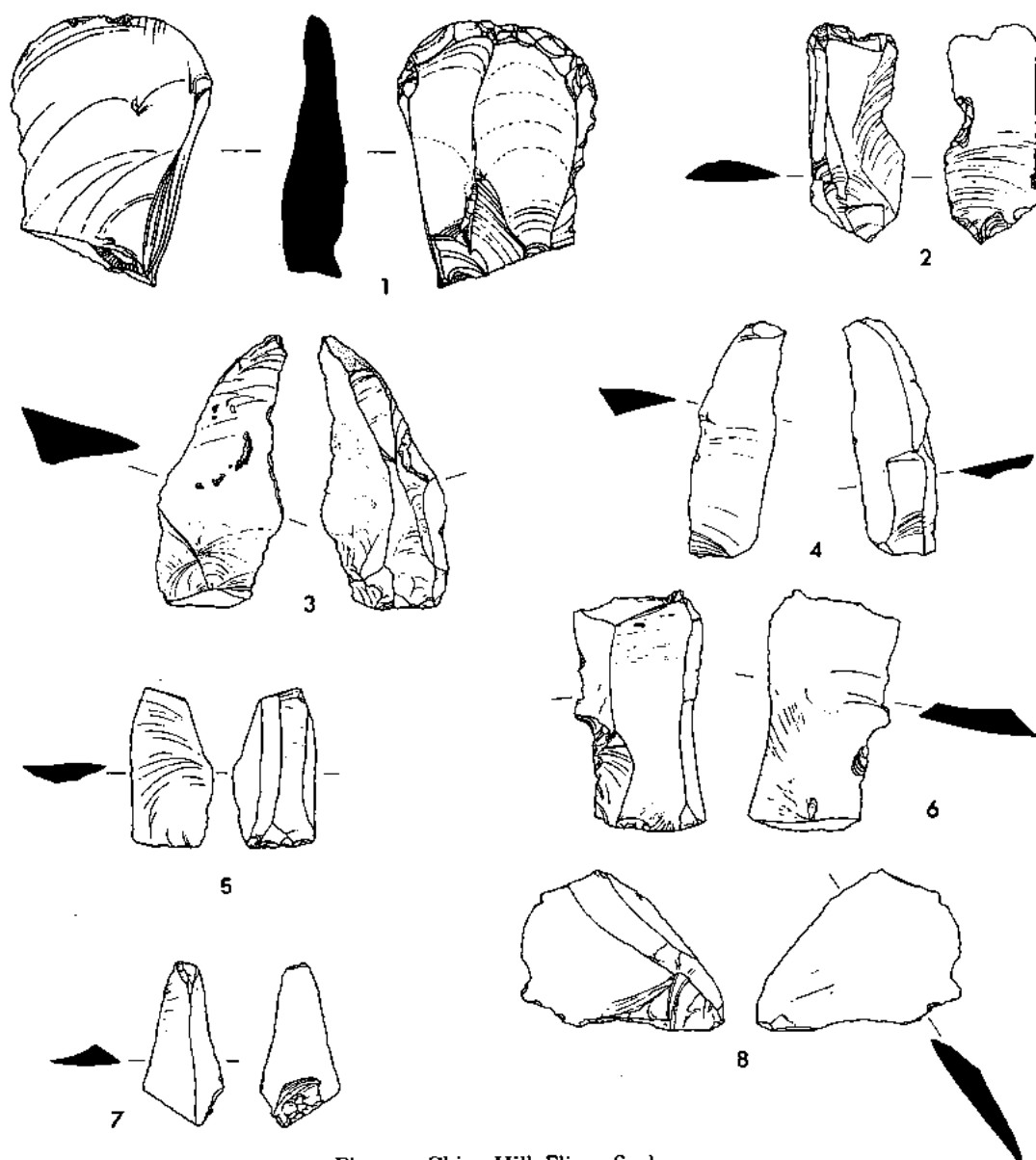


Fig. 11 Chitts Hill: Flints. Scale 1:1.

The Cremations

Dr. C. Wells has carried out a preliminary assessment of the cremated remains. The results of this can be summarised as follows:⁷ Out of the 24 groups, 11 consist of bone which is so finely comminuted that no determination of age is possible. Of the remaining 13 groups, five have been assessed as children, i.e. F2, F5, F26, F32 and F45, two as possible children, i.e. F4 and F14, four as adult, i.e. F1, F19, F20 and F40, and two as possible adults, i.e. F13 and F21. In addition to these, F19 and probably F2 are each thought to contain parts of a possible adult. Dr. Wells stressed that in material such as this, it is not possible to be certain that remains termed 'adult' are not those of a well-developed adolescent of 16 or 17 years of age.

It is hoped that a full report on the cremations will be contained in a future edition of these *Transactions*.

Identification of Charcoal Samples by A. J. Gouldwell

All the wood charcoal recovered from the site was in small quantities and of very small size. Consequently precise identification was rendered difficult. Differences between alder (*Alnus*), hornbeam (*Carpinus*) and hazel (*Corylus*) were not always distinguished, nor was any separation made between hawthorn (*Crataegus*), apple (*Malus*) and pear (*Pyrus*). Alder-group charcoal has greater representation, with some oak (*Quercus*) and one sample of hawthorn-type.

Species identified:

Cremations	F1	<i>Alnus</i> sp.
	F20	<i>Alnus</i> sp. and <i>Quercus</i> sp.
	F26	<i>Alnus</i> sp.
	F37	<i>Alnus</i> sp. and <i>Crataegus/Malus/Pyrus</i> sp.
	F44	<i>Alnus/Carpinus/Corylus</i> sp.
	F45	<i>Alnus/Carpinus/Corylus</i> sp.
Pits	F49	<i>Alnus/Carpinus/Corylus</i> sp.
	F7	<i>Alnus/Corylus</i> sp. and <i>Quercus</i> sp.
	F42	<i>Quercus</i> sp.
	F71	<i>Quercus</i> sp.
Linear ditch	F61	? <i>Quercus</i> sp. (comminuted fragments)

The kind assistance of Mrs. C. Keepax of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, Department of the Environment, is greatly appreciated.

Phasing and Interpretation of the Features

The distribution of the cremations in the urnfield indicates that in general they post-date the construction of the barrows. This conclusion is supported by the discovery of two or more broken urns in the redeposited barrow mound forming the stony infill of the ring-ditch F27. These suggest secondary burials originally inserted into the barrow mounds.

The relationships between the pits F58 and F56 with the cremations F44 and F58 (pp. 8-9) indicate that the digging of the pits was contemporary with the use of the urnfield.

The linear ditch F33 which post-dates the levelling of the barrow F29 is part of an enclosure or field-system and suggests that the cemetery was flattened for agricultural reasons. Pit F7 cut the stony infill of ring-ditch F22 and therefore also belongs to this period.

Thus the following three phases can be postulated: Phase 1 is the barrow cemetery, phase 2 consists of the 'flat' cemetery and the pits, and phase 3 is the levelling of the barrows for agricultural purposes.

The cremations F8 and F30 lie within ring-ditches and thus may invalidate this sequence. However, F30 may be spurious (p. 7) and therefore does not necessarily represent a serious problem. On the other hand F8 is an undoubted cremation but can perhaps be regarded as being

in a class of its own since it is unusually deep. It may have been a phase 1 'satellite' burial under the barrow mound or an extra deep secondary burial through the mound. If not, then the barrows must have been constructed early in the life of the flat cemetery.

Cremation F26 was found near the bottom of the silt in the ditch F22 and must have been washed or dumped in from the side. It need not have pre-dated the barrow. The cremations were nearly all placed at least 1 m back from the edges of the ring-ditches perhaps to prevent them being washed into the ditches like F26. An alternative explanation is that the barrows had external banks.

No satisfactory explanation can be put forward to explain the pits. In plan, F64, F65, F66, F51, F53, F62 and F63 form a roughly circular shape and perhaps may have been structural. However, too much should not be made of this. The pits may have been dug simply to obtain gravel and sand.

Dating and Conclusions

The pottery from the urnfield belongs to the eastern group (in Essex and Suffolk) of the Deverel-Rimbury culture. This was identified by Mr. F. H. Erith and Dr. I. H. Longworth and termed by them the 'Ardleigh Group' after the type site at Ardleigh which lies only six miles east of Chitts Hill (Erith and Longworth, 1960). The pottery from Chitts Hill does not differ significantly from that from Ardleigh. The apparent absence of globular urns and the distinctive 'horseshoe handles' at Chitts Hill is probably fortuitous in view of the small number of urns recovered from the site and their fragmentary condition. At Ardleigh these features only apply to about one in seven of the pots (Couchman, 1975, 19-20).

The *Ardleigh Group* can be dated to the middle Bronze Age (Burgess, 1974, 170, 214-18) with the possibility of survival into the first part of the late Bronze Age (Couchman, 1975, 27-28). The barrow cemetery at Chitts Hill could be Deverel-Rimbury too but there is no conclusive evidence either way.

The pottery in F61 can only be regarded as providing a broad *terminus post quem* for the back-filling of the feature. On the available evidence all the known linear ditches in the field, i.e. F61, F33, the ditches indicated by cropmarks (Fig. 1) and the ditch excavated by Mr. Petchey (Fig. 1) could post-date the construction of Gryme's Dyke as he has suggested (pp. 18-19). These ditches may have been the result of a large-scale change in land-use when the dyke was built and thus may be comparable with the large field-systems found elsewhere within the *oppidum* (Crummy, 1975, 12-14). However, such an interpretation is probably too simple and there is no good reason why a date in the Bronze Age or the early or middle Iron Age should be considered unlikely for any or all of these features or why any of them should be contemporary. To complicate matters, only F33 can be positively assigned to phase 3 since none of the others impinges on the cemetery itself. Unfortunately, there appear at present to be no suitable aerial photographs which might indicate if Mr. Petchey's ditch extends west of Gryme's Dyke and thus pre-dates it.

Acknowledgements

The excavation was carried out by the Colchester Excavation Committee (now Colchester Archaeological Trust) with the permission of Amey-Fairclough. The work was financed by grants from the Department of the Environment, the Colchester Borough Council, the Pilgrim Trust and the Essex County Council. The excavations were supervised by Mr. N. A. Smith and the site plans drawn by Mr. J. Hayes and Mr. E. Godward. The drawings for publication were prepared by Mr. J. Hayes, Mrs. G. M. Crossan and Mr. P. C. Partner. To these people and to all the diggers involved, I extend my warmest thanks and appreciation for their work.

Finally, I am indebted to Dr. C. Wells, Mr. J. Wymer and Mr. A. Gouldwell for their specialist reports and to Mrs. J. Whiffing of the Colchester and Essex Museum who conserved the pottery.

The Society acknowledges with thanks a grant from the Department of the Environment towards the publication of this paper.

NOTES

1. Cover loam is described and discussed in recent work of the Soil Survey in Norfolk, *Soils in Norfolk*, No. 2; *Soil Survey Records*, No. 21. Although the subsoil is different here from that at Chitts Hill, the cover is substantially the same. I am indebted to Mr. R. G. Sturdy for this information and for his help. Deposits with wind-blown elements are discussed in Evans, 1975, 44 and 63-64.
2. A note on the record maps of the Colchester and Essex Museum.
3. Photographs by the National Monuments Record and Professor G. D. B. Jones.
4. A note on the record maps of the Colchester and Essex Museum.
5. The colour notations and names used below are taken from the *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (1971). The classification of stoniness followed is as defined in Curtis *et al.*, 1976, 310.
6. The following feature numbers were either not used or are redundant: F10, F17, F31, F34, F38, F47, F54 and F55.
7. The urned cremations were not excavated in arbitrary layers as since suggested by Calvin Wells (Wells, 1976).

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A Prehistoric Enclosure at Chitts Hill, Colchester

by M. R. PETCHEY

SUMMARY: The excavation of the ditch of a prehistoric enclosure is described. A late Iron Age date is suggested for it, and its place in the economy of the area tentatively ascribed.

Introduction

During the construction of the Colchester Northern By-pass in the spring of 1973, the contractors, the Amey-Fairclough Consortium, planned to extract gravel for use in the road-works from a site at Chitts Hill, Colchester, approximately one mile to the north of Lexden (TL 958 264). Aerial photographs¹ showed two major features threatened: a sub-rectangular enclosure which was saved at the instigation of J. D. Hedges, the County Archaeologist, by the location of the batching plant on it, and the ditch which was the subject of the excavations described in this note.

The site lies on the southern slopes of the valley of the River Colne. The geology of the site is simple: the gravel is part of the glacially deposited sands and gravels on which Colchester stands and overlies London clay which is exposed by the river near its banks.

Gryme's Dyke, one of the system of Iron Age defences known as the Colchester Dykes, runs parallel to, and just to the west of, the road that forms the western boundary of the gravel extraction site. It is visible as a substantial cropmark. Earlier gravel digging in the southern end of the field (at TL 9578 2623) had produced evidence for prehistoric activity in the form of a palaeolithic flint implement and Bronze and Iron Age pottery. An excavation subsequent to the one under discussion revealed a Bronze Age cemetery including seven ring-ditches and 30 cremations.²

The Excavation

The ditch was located using a JCB 3b mechanical digger by cutting five trenches (A-E) across its line as projected from the aerial photographs. Trench A was extended and a complete section dug by hand, and trenches D and E amalgamated as the butt proved to lie between them.

As can be seen from fig. 1 of Philip Crummy's paper (p. 2), the ditch ran approximately north-east across the field for 40 m before butting. Again using the JCB 3b mechanical digger trial trenches were dug in an attempt to locate the possible continuation of the ditch but none was found.

The stratigraphy of the ditch was closely similar in all sections. Beneath the topsoil was a light brown loamy subsoil, in which no traces of the ditch were visible. It appeared as a clear, dark soil-mark cutting into the natural, which was pebbly gravel in a coarse sandy matrix and lay beneath the subsoil.

The ditch was U-shaped in section (Fig. 1) and varied in depth between 1 m and 1.25 m below the level of the natural gravel. It was filled with leached grey clay, interspersed with lenses

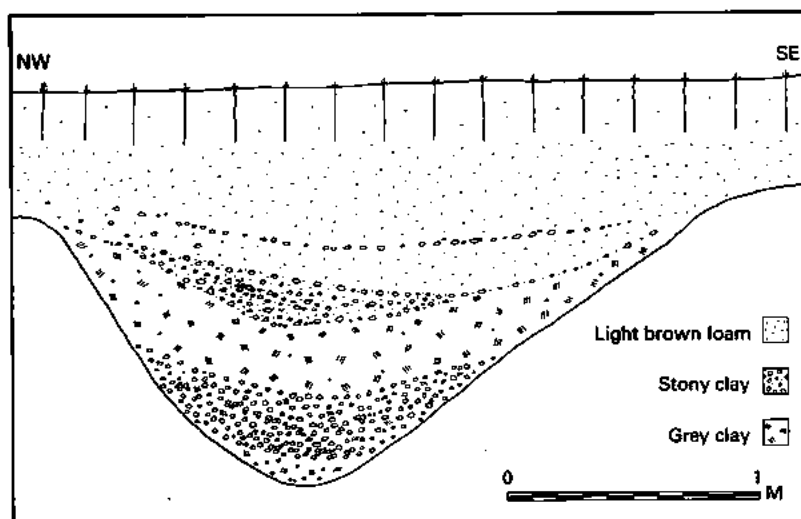


Fig. 1 Chitts Hill: Northern section of Trench A, showing excavated ditch.

of more stony clay and coarse sand. This suggests that the ditch filled by a gradual process of silting over a period of many years. The indications also suggest that any bank associated with the ditch lay on its north-west side. The only variation in this pattern was a fire lit in the upper silts of the ditch in trench B.

The ditch narrowed as it approached the butt, from 2.7 m wide in trench A to 2.25 m in trench D/E.

At the butt end, the ditch turned slightly to the north and ended in a semi-circular shelving terminal.

Dating and discussion

There were no finds from the ditch, even the hand-dug sections, except for a very small sherd of coarse flint-gritted pottery from the final silts in trench D/E. Therefore the dating, as well as interpretation of the ditch, depends on its relationship with other features.

It was initially thought that the ditch was the termination of Gryme's Dyke, and this has been suggested in print.³ This is unlikely for three main reasons. The ditch is too small. The bank seems to have been on the north-west side, which would have been the outside if it were functioning as a dyke. (The bank in the extant section of Gryme's Dyke is on the inside.) Most convincing of all is the evidence of the cropmark showing the dyke terminating at New Bridge on the River Colne. This is plotted on fig. 1 of Philip Crummy's paper (p. 2).

The ditch does not seem to be earlier than the dyke, however. No sign of a western continuation of the ditch beyond the dyke appears on the aerial photographs. Gryme's Dyke, in the latest review of the Colchester Dykes, has been allocated to the penultimate phase of their development, dated to the first half of the first century A.D.⁴ and so the ditch under discussion must be approximately contemporary to this or later.

The ditch represents part of a triangular enclosure, utilising Gryme's Dyke as its western boundary, and the River Colne as its northern. Why there should be no apparent continuation after the break, which presumably represents an entrance, is not clear, though one of the ditches running north-east to south-west across the area of the Bronze Age cemetery⁵ may be such a continuation and the break may be due to localised surface gravel-digging, which would not be obviously apparent in narrow machine-dug trenches.

The two enclosures in the field at Chitts Hill are a third phase, at least, of prehistoric land use in the area. When the ring-ditches were visible as round barrows the area was presumably not cultivated. Later the light soils were exploited for arable farming and the barrows ploughed out.⁶ Finally the enclosures, which are presumably for stock, mark a change from arable to pastoral. An appropriate reason for this change, which comes after the construction of Gryme's Dyke, might be the change in the distribution of population that the construction of this dyke reflects: a concentration in the Sheepen settlement. Accordingly, the Chitts Hill fields would have become distant and inconvenient of access, being cut off from the settlement by the two inner lines of dyke, and so used less intensively.

Acknowledgements

I undertook this excavation whilst holding a Rescue scholarship. I am grateful to them, and to the Amey-Fairclough Consortium for permission to excavate. I must also thank P. J. Drury for invaluable help and guidance and Peter Hawley who assisted during the excavation. The work was financed by the Department of the Environment. The figure is by D. G. Buckley.

The Society acknowledges with thanks a grant from the Department of the Environment towards the publication of this paper.

NOTES

1. By Mrs. I. M. McMaster.
2. Crummy, P., *Colchester: Recent Excavations and Research*, Colchester, 1974, p. 9; and see above, pp. 1-16.
3. Rodwell, W., 'Coinage, Oppida and the Rise of Belgic Power in South-Eastern Britain' in B. Cunliffe and T. Rowley (eds.), *Oppida: The Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe*. British Archaeological Reports Supplement. S.2, Oxford, 1976, pp. 181-367 (Appendix IV: The Camulodunum Dyke systems, p. 339).
4. Ibid.
5. Crummy, P., *op. cit.*
6. Ibid.

Excavations at Rawreth, 1968

by P. J. DRURY

with contributions by Christine Couchman, Rosemary M. Luff and Warwick Rodwell

SUMMARY: *This report describes discoveries made during the construction of the A129 Chichester Hall diversion, and subsequent excavations at TQ 774 929, in 1968. A middle Bronze Age burial was found; an occupation area near by, including a probable hut, belonged to the early Iron Age. Features apparently associated with a late Roman farm were found within a ditched enclosure c. 105 m wide. The upper fills of the ditches contained Anglo-Saxon grass-tempered pottery, more being recovered from a cable trench near by. An early medieval mill-pond and overflow stream were noted near Rawreth Shot Bridge; the bridge itself, constructed in 1800, was also recorded.*

In 1966–67 Miss B. Watts found a scatter of prehistoric, Roman and medieval pottery on the surface of the large arable field (51.75 acres) to the west of Chichester Hall, Rawreth; spoil from a recently filled electricity cable trench in the same area (TQ 774 929) produced a sherd of Saxon grass-tempered ware.¹ Thus, when the construction of the A127 Chichester Hall diversion began in February 1968, the contractor's excavations were observed, and the features revealed were recorded. Excavations within the road verges were subsequently undertaken for three weeks during April 1968, under the direction of the writer for the Wickford Archaeological Society, as an adjunct to the excavations at the Roman 'small town' at Beauchamps Farm, Wickford, directed by Warwick Rodwell and financed by the Department of the Environment. Observation of the roadworks, particularly the replacement of Rawreth Shot Bridge, was maintained until the effective completion of the contract early in 1969.

My thanks are due to the Highways Department, Essex County Council, for consent to undertake the work; Messrs. Sindalls, the contractors, for their co-operation; the officers and members of the Wickford Archaeological Society, especially Mr. and Mrs. T. Hoare, for their assistance; Nancy Briggs (Essex Record Office) for her assistance in dating the bridge; R. H. Allen (Soil Survey of England and Wales) for his advice on the geology, and the various specialists whose contributions appear in this report, particularly Warwick Rodwell, who also gave valuable advice during the excavation. The finds have been deposited in Southend Museum, accn. no. ARCH 15.1977. An interim report appeared in this journal (Drury, 1970), but the conclusions drawn therein are substantially revised in this paper.

The Site: Previous Finds in the Vicinity

The site (E.C.C. Sites and Monuments Record TQ 79:39) lies about 1.5 km south of the river Crouch, between two small tributaries of that river (Fig. 1, B). The soil is heavy and rather poorly drained, the underlying material being London Clay with remnants of third terrace gravels of the river Crouch mixed into the top as a result of ice action. Until recently a prominent mound some 2.5 m high, surrounded by a ditch, survived at TQ 7742 9262, to the west of the new road (Fig. 1, C). In 1838,² the field to the south was called Mill Hill, which Benton (1873, 665) tells us was because of the former existence of a mill 'erected on an artificial mound still remaining, near which portions of millstones have been ploughed up'. A cart track connecting the site with the Wickford road, across land belonging to Chichester Hall Farm, was lost by his time. The destruction of this exceptionally well-preserved monument, c. 1975 and apparently without record, is to be deplored; it has now been reduced to a matter of inches in height, and the adjacent

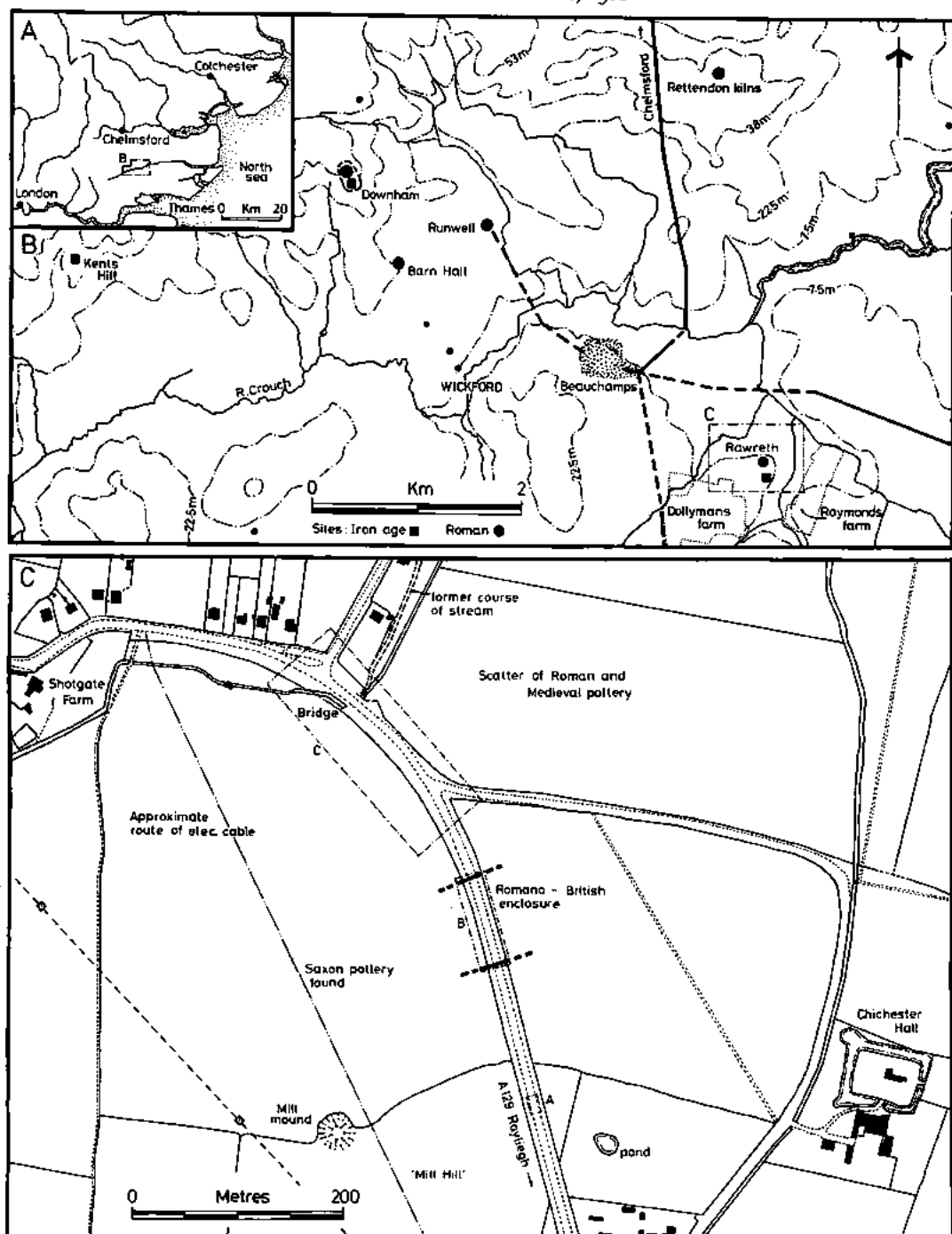


Fig. 1 Rawreth: A, location map; B, the site in relation to the upper Crouch Valley and the Romano-British 'small town' at Beauchamps Farm, Wickford (small symbols indicate casual finds of artefacts); C, plan showing the excavated areas, A, B, and C, and Rawreth Shot Bridge, in relation to the new road and the local topography. Plans B and C are based on Ordnance Survey maps, with the permission of the controller of H.M.S.O.; Crown Copyright Reserved.

RAWRETH Area A

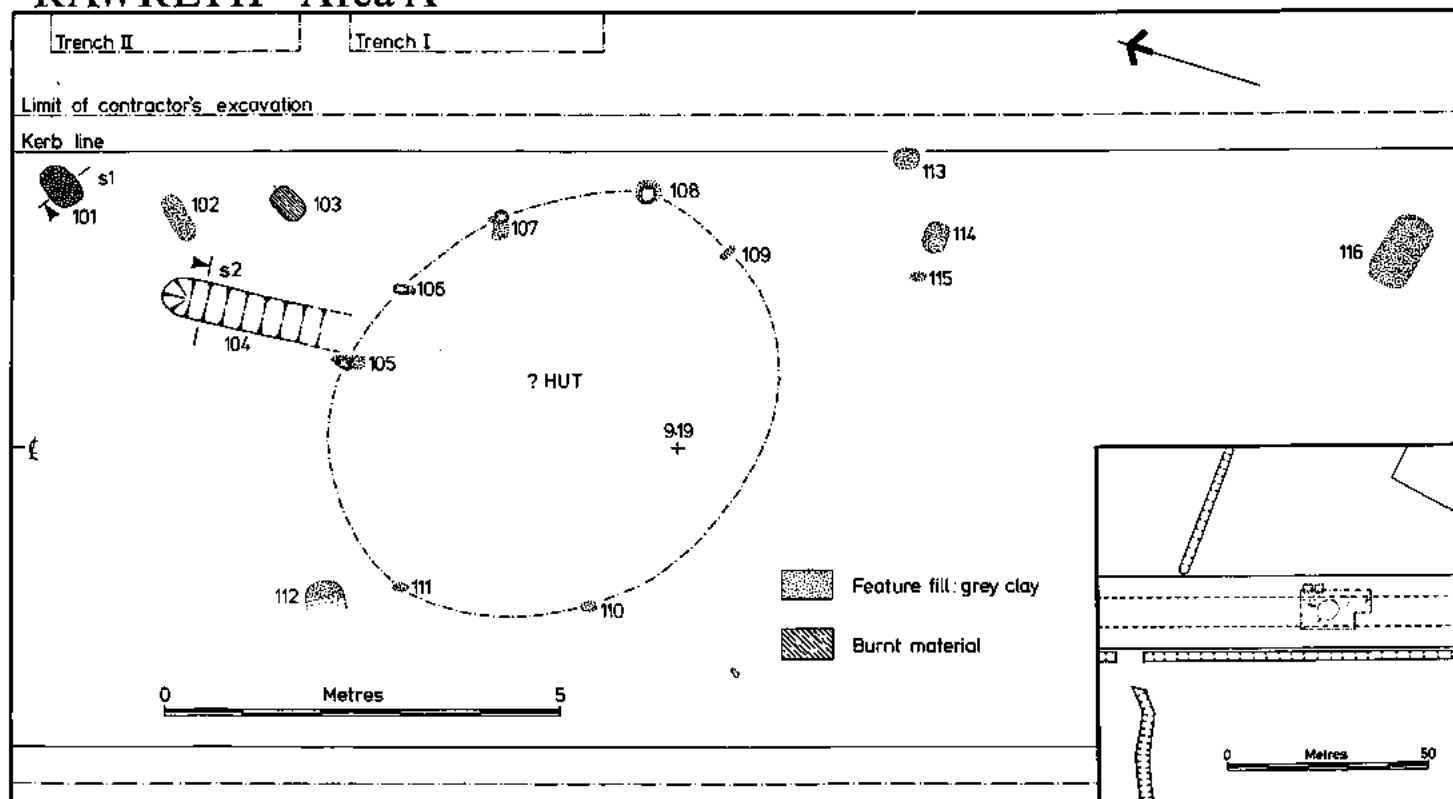


Fig. 2 Rawreth: General plan of the Iron Age features, Area A, with location plan inset.

boundaries have been completely levelled. A scatter of medieval pottery and burnt daub was noted in the vicinity in 1966.³

Roman material was found in the vicinity in the nineteenth century, although the exact find-spots are unrecorded. Benton (1873, 686) noted traces of Roman occupation on 'Dollarmans' (Dollymans) Farm, consisting of cups with saucers and tiles, whilst on Raymonds Farm in 1848, 'pottery with calcined bones' was found 'reclining on a trench of large tiles in an old bank', together with spear-heads and the head of a small Gaulish pipeclay figurine, probably of a maternity goddess, and of late-second-century date. This passed into the possession of Charles Roach Smith, and later to the British Museum (56.7-1.5108; illustrated in Brailsford, 1958, fig. 30.6 and p. 63). Benton (1873, 686) also noted that a 'copper' coin of Carausius had been found in the vicinity. Joseph Peace was the tenant of both Dollymans and Raymonds Farms in 1838, and the extent of his holdings⁴ is indicated on Fig. 1, B. An account of the discoveries on Peace's land at Rawreth by Charles Roach Smith, published in 1849,⁵ refers to 'urns containing bones' being dug up in a bank (clearly the Raymonds Farm site recorded by Benton) following the discovery *c.* 1847 of 'a considerable quantity of broken urns and bones' half a mile away, presumably the material referred to by Benton as being found on Dollymans Farm.⁶ 'Further discoveries of the same kind' had been made 'recently' (i.e. in 1849). In summary, therefore, there is evidence for two (probably first- to second-century) cremation cemeteries in the immediate vicinity of the excavated site.⁷ (Fig. 1, B.)

Description of the Excavated Features

Period I: Bronze Age (Fig. 3)

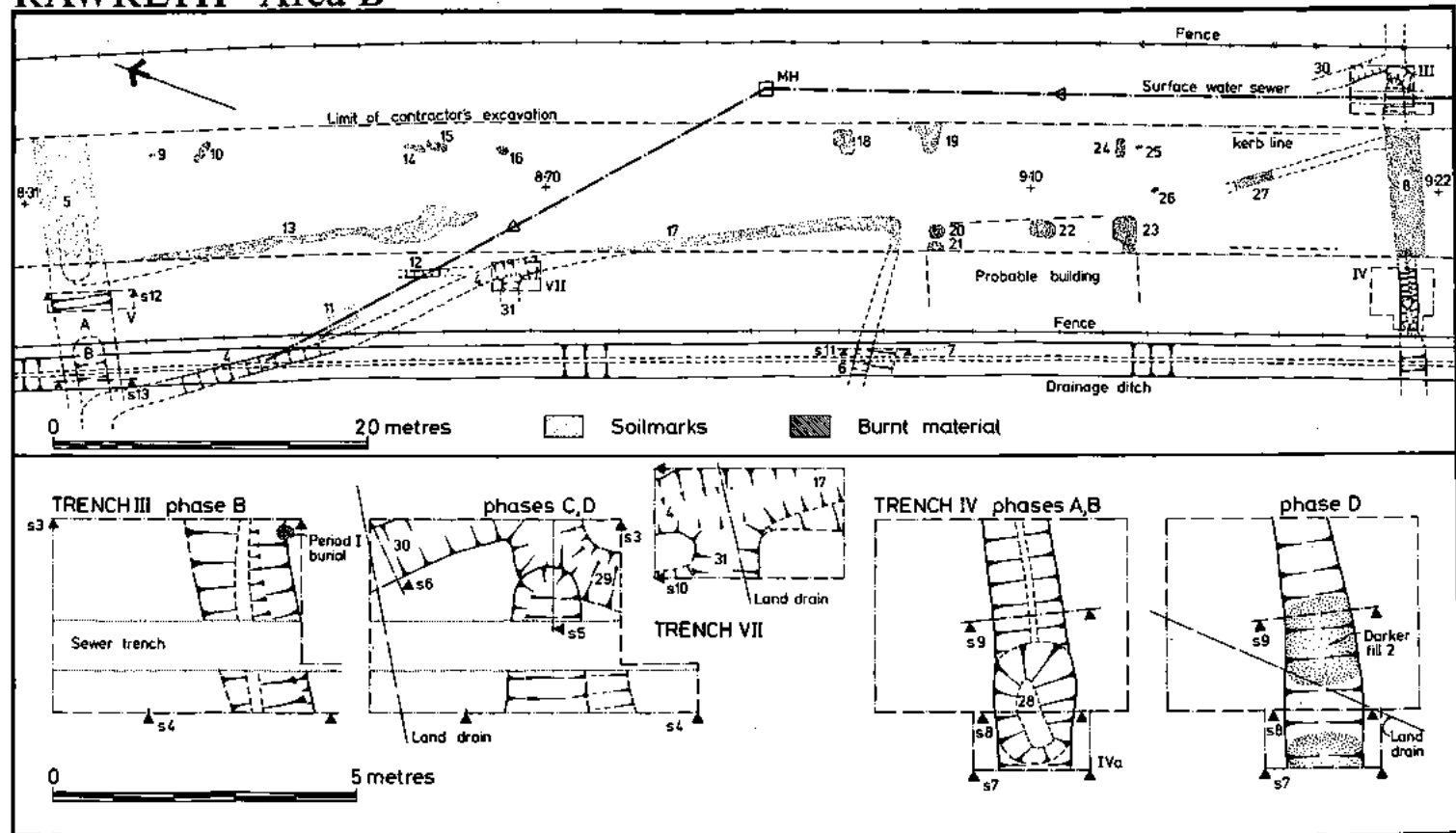
In Area B, trench III (Fig. 3) a Bronze Age cremation burial was found in a much disturbed state. All that remained were sherds of the rim of a Deverel-Rimbury bucket urn (described below, p. 34) which had clearly been buried upside down, in disturbed brown clay III.9, which also contained fragments of burnt clay and charcoal: Section 3, Fig. 5.

Period II: Iron Age (Fig. 2)

In Area A, to the south, topsoil stripping by the contractors revealed a group of features; the small amount of associated pottery was datable to the early Iron Age, probably to the fifth to third centuries B.C. Unfortunately, the clay in the area concerned was more or less plastic, and much disturbed both by ploughing and by the scraper; some planning and excavation were, however, possible, the results being shown in Fig. 2. It seems probable that features 105-111 represent the last traces of an oval hut *c.* 4.75 × 5.80 m; the other features were probably associated with it, although 104 might be earlier.

The features were generally filled with grey clayey material containing much charcoal and flecked with burnt clay. Post-holes 105-7 survived to a depth of 0.15 m, and 108 to a depth of 0.08 m; 109-11, however, only survived to a depth of 0.02-0.05 m. Feature 103 contained charcoal and some burnt clay to a depth of 0.05-0.08 m; 101 was similar, except that the hollow was lined with flint pebbles (3) and the charcoal layer (2) was sealed by the normal feature fill (1): Section 1, Fig. 5. The gully 104, much disturbed in scraping, survived to a depth of about 0.3 m; its southern end could not be exactly ascertained, although it did not extend much beyond the limit shown on the plan. A primary filling of charcoal and flint in a grey clay matrix (2) was sealed by the normal feature fill (1): Section 2, Fig. 5. Features 113-15 were filled with greyish-yellow clay and burnt material, surviving to a maximum depth of 0.10 m; 102 and 116 were similar, the fill consisting of charcoal in greyish clay. Feature 112, containing dark grey clay and burnt material, was all but destroyed in scraping. Trenches I and II, each 3 m square, were subsequently excavated to the east of the carriageway but no archaeological features were found.

RAWRETH Area B



P. J. DRURY

Fig. 3 Rawreth: General plan of the Romano-British site, Area B, with detailed plans of trenches III, IV and VII.

RAWRETH Area B: Evolution of boundaries

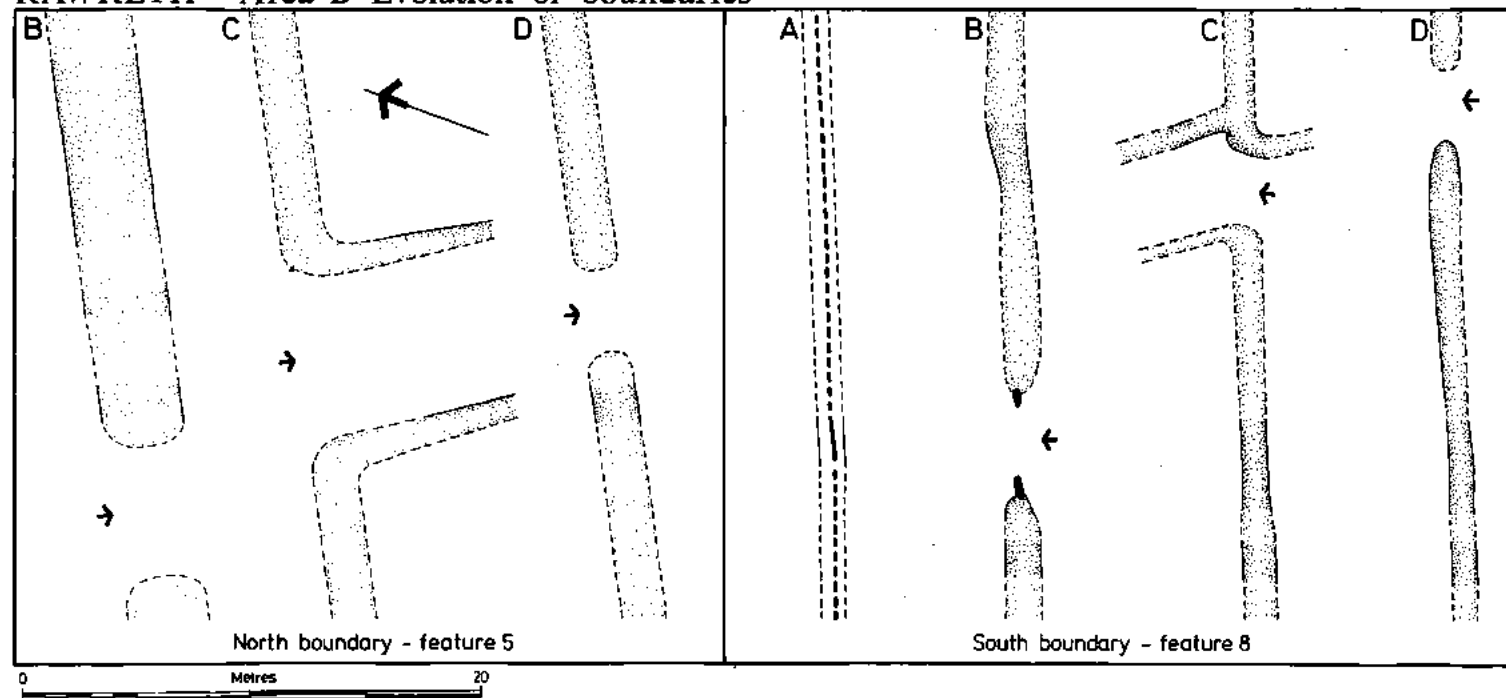


Fig. 4 Rawreth: Plans to show the evolution of the boundaries of the Romano-British enclosure, Area B, during Phases A to D.

Period III: The Romano-British Farm, Area B (Figs. 3-6)

A number of features were revealed during the contractor's excavations between ditches 5 and 8 (about 105 m apart) which crossed the road-line almost at right-angles. Most features appeared to be filled with grey clayey material, although the upper fill of 8 was dark and loamy, and two patches of charcoal and burnt clay 25, 26, were revealed. Excavation of the features found during topsoil stripping was impossible, and few finds were recovered from them. The enclosing ditches were excavated as 'soft spots' by the contractors, and it was possible to recover much material from ditch 8. The filling of 5 was almost sterile. Subsequent excavations in the verges (trenches III, IV, V, VII) was undertaken in an attempt to date the enclosure, and to clarify the nature of the enclosing features.

The southern boundary (8) showed evidence of several phases of activity (Figs. 3, 4). In Phase A it seems to have taken the form of a timber fence: in S9 (Fig. 6) the slightly silty clay IV.5 appears to fill the void left by timbers packed with the redeposited clay IV.9, and the steep profile of the feature, common to the length exposed in trench IV east of pit 28, is consistent with such an interpretation. To the west of the pit feature 8 appears to have been recut as a ditch with a relatively flat bottom (Phase B: S7, Fig. 5); two layers of silt can be seen, the primary one of grey clay (IV.5A) being separated from the upper one of greyish-green silt IV.4 by a lens of clay slip IV.10. In trench III, a similar pattern can be seen in S3 and S4 (Fig. 5); silts III.7 and III.6/5B respectively are separated by the clay lens III.8, although the upper silt is largely cut away in S3 (Fig. 5). The filling of the pit 28 (dark olive-green silt flecked with charcoal (7) and clay (8) under greyish-black loam becoming greener towards the bottom (6)) seems to give little clue as to its function, and 7 tended to merge with the fills of features to the north and south, but the vertical separation of 7 and 8 suggests that we may be dealing with a large post-pit. If so, it seems likely that when the Phase A fenced boundary was remodelled as a ditched one in Phase B, a new entrance was formed, flanked by a substantial gatepost in pit 28, and no doubt balanced by another beyond the eastern limit of trench IV. Layer 7 contained oyster, mussel, and cockle shells, all very fragmentary, in addition to fragments of animal bone and pottery.

In Phase C, the gullies 29 and 30, filled with bluish-grey silt III.5A, were cut partly through the upper silt (5B) of the Phase B ditch (S5, S6, Fig. 5). These gullies could not be extensively explored, but 29 was clearly not coeval with any recut of ditch 8 to the west, as S5 (Fig. 5) shows. The gullies seem to relate to the resiting of the entrance through ditch 8 immediately to their west; the west side of this entrance was not found, but its position was indicated by the short length of gully 27 observed during the stripping of the carriageway, in an area badly disturbed by that operation. In trench IV, Phase C seems to be represented by a rather ill-defined recut of ditch 8 on its original line, over the site of the Phase B entrance; this cut became filled with a light greenish-grey silt IV.4 (S7, S9, Figs. 5, 6), considerably darker and more loamy over the pit 28 (IV.6: S8, Fig. 5) probably due to the consolidation of the filling beneath, and thus the creation of a sump at that point.

In the final Phase, D, the entrance seems to have shifted slightly to the east, the boundary to the west of it being again remodelled, this time as a ditch of weak V-profile. In trench IV, this was filled with a dark silty loam IV.3, in which were patches of, or shallow pits filled with, black loam flecked with charcoal and clay, IV.2. There were clay patches in the bottom of IV.3 (IV.3A: S8, Fig. 5). In trench III the latest filling, III.3, generally corresponded with IV.3, but the outline of the feature, and the presence of layers of III.4 (yellowish-brown clay) and III.5 (greenish silty loam) provide evidence of cleaning and recutting near the entrance (S4, Fig. 5).

The northern boundary was examined in trench V (S12, Fig. 6), where it appeared as a ditch c. 3.7 m wide, of shallow V-profile, containing dark grey silt (V.3) and clay slump (V.4) below weathered clay V.2, the latter almost certainly a deliberate filling. To the west, the section observed in the road ditch (S13, Fig. 6) indicated a similar primary profile (5A), although the clayey silt 4 contained an appreciable amount of pebble, and rose much higher in the ditch; only a patch of clay filling (layer 3) was present. The difference between the two sections seems to suggest

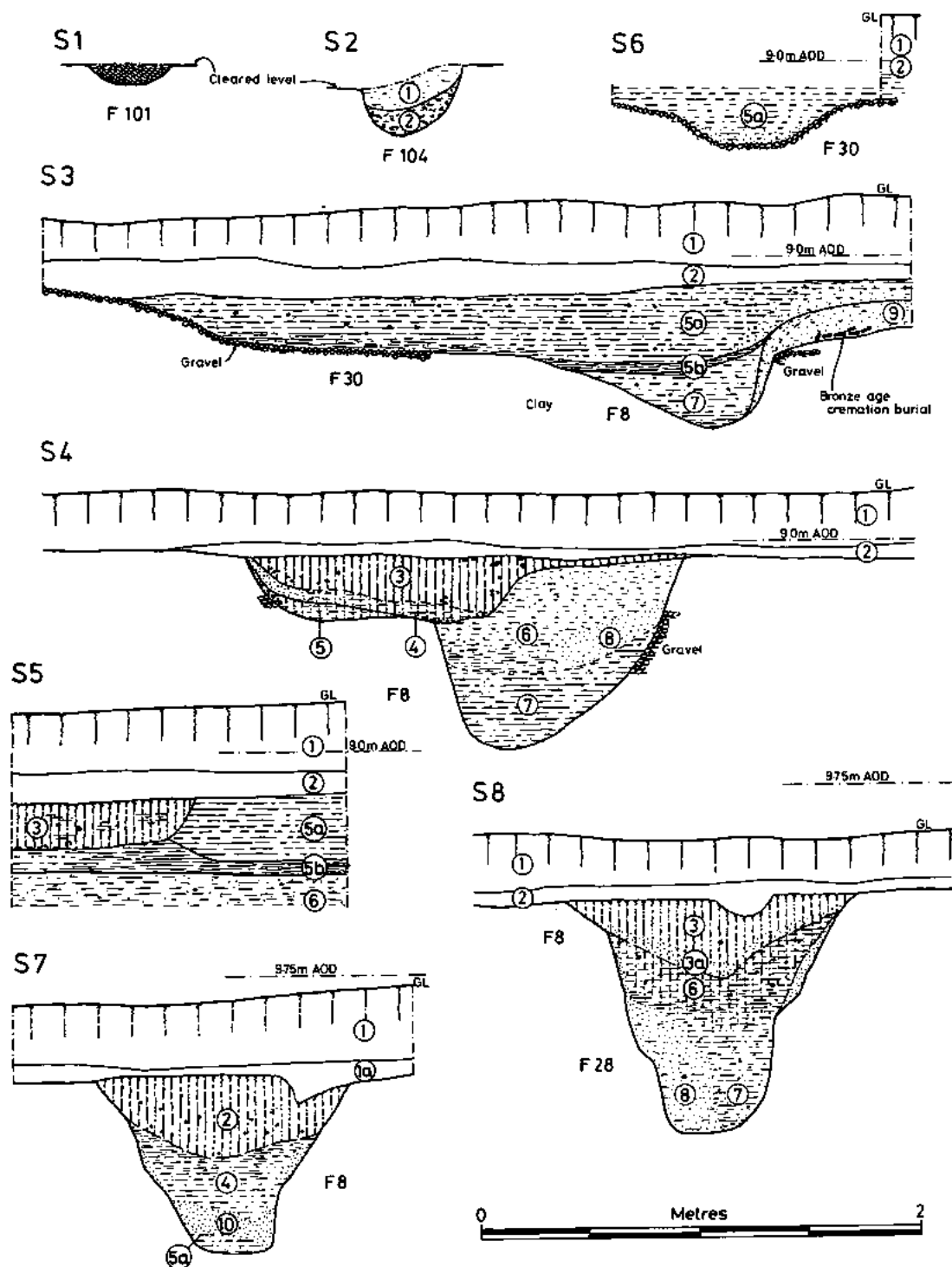


Fig. 5 Rawreth: Sections 1 and 2 (Area A) and 3-8 (Area B). For key to sections, see Fig. 6.

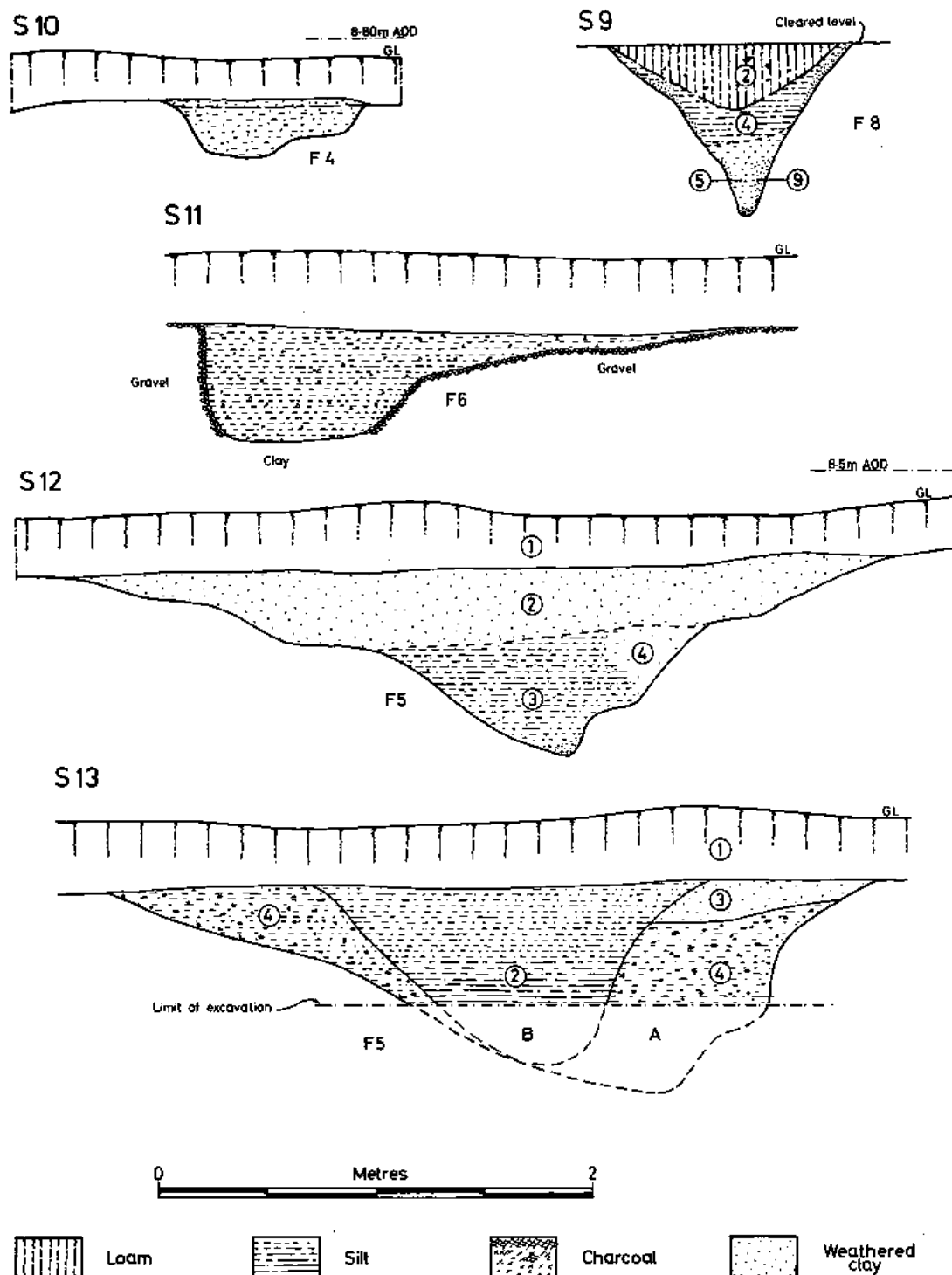


Fig. 6 Rawreth: Sections 9-13 (Area B).

that S13 is close to a terminal of the ditch, flanking an entrance causeway from whose metalling the pebble in the silt was derived; this possibility is suggested in Fig. 4. It seems likely that this 'primary' phase is broadly contemporary with phase B of the southern boundary, despite the difference in the sizes of the ditches concerned. If the northern boundary had initially been defined by a timber fence, as the southern boundary was in Phase A, any trace of this would have been destroyed by ditch 5A.

The clay filling (V.2 and S13, layer 3) was presumably intended to form a causeway across the Phase B ditch; and since both observed sections lie between gullies 4 and 13 it seems likely that the entrance was flanked by these features. Of the form of the main boundary in this phase we know nothing, but the crisp junction between the soilmarks of 5 and 13 suggests that the former was rather narrower than it had been in Phase B (Figs. 3, 4). This entrance was directly opposite the Phase C entrance in the southern boundary, and given the similar nature of the two, there can be little doubt that both are part of the same layout.

Whilst the gully 13 was seen only as a soilmark, the gully 4, filled with fine grey silt with green patches, was seen in the road drainage ditch to be more than 0.60 m deep. It was examined further in trench VII, where it was 0.30–0.50 m deep (S10, Fig. 6) and changed direction at a point where gully 31 (0.25 m deep) joined it from the west, the two features having a homogenous filling of greenish-grey silt. The small gully 12, seen in a sewer trench, may be a related subsidiary feature. The main gully continued southwards as 17, and returned westwards, to appear as feature 6 in the drainage ditch. At this point it was still c. 0.50 m deep, with a rather unusual profile (S11, Fig. 6) probably due to gravel lenses in the clay; the silt here contained some charcoal.

The final phase of the northern boundary was represented by ditch 5B, recorded in S13, Fig. 6, layer 2: a feature of rather rounded profile, filled with fine grey silt. Its plan suggests that in this phase (provisionally equated with Phase D of the southern boundary, despite the difference in the profile of the ditches concerned) the entrance either contracted (as suggested in Fig. 4) or shifted substantially northwards. No phase of feature 5 produced any appreciable amount of occupation debris.

Other internal features observed call for little comment, save for 20–23, which seem likely to represent the settings for the timbers of a substantial building extending to the west. It is from this area, particularly the adjacent section of feature 8, that most pottery and other occupation material was recovered; north of the gully 6, hardly any such material was present. However, the amount of material in the Phase D ditch 8 was clearly related to the distance from the entrance; about three times as much material was recovered from this feature in trench III as in trench IV.

Period IV: Anglo-Saxon

Evidence for Saxon occupation was limited to four sherds of plain grass-tempered pottery from the top of the latest filling of ditch 8, and a much larger sherd from the cable trench to the west. It seems likely that the Saxon settlement lay somewhat to the west of the road line.

Period V: Medieval (Fig. 7)

The road drainage ditch excavated by the contractors to the south-west of Rawreth Shot Bridge revealed extensive silt deposits, 50, which seem to indicate the former presence of a pond, although detailed interpretation is impossible on the evidence available. The latest layers in the sequence visible on the north side of the ditch (S17, Fig. 7) seem to be 2 (brown silty loam) overlying 3 (dark brown to black silty loam with charcoal flecks). These seem to fill a feature cut into 4 (dark brown silty loam with clay patches) which extended eastwards to a slot or post-hole in a bank of redeposited brown clay, 6. The near-vertical nature of the junction between 4 and the brown silty loam (5) suggests that the slot/post-hole once held timbers against which these deposits accumulated. Under 5, the primary filling of an extensive area consisted of brown clayey silt, 7. On

RAWRETH Area C

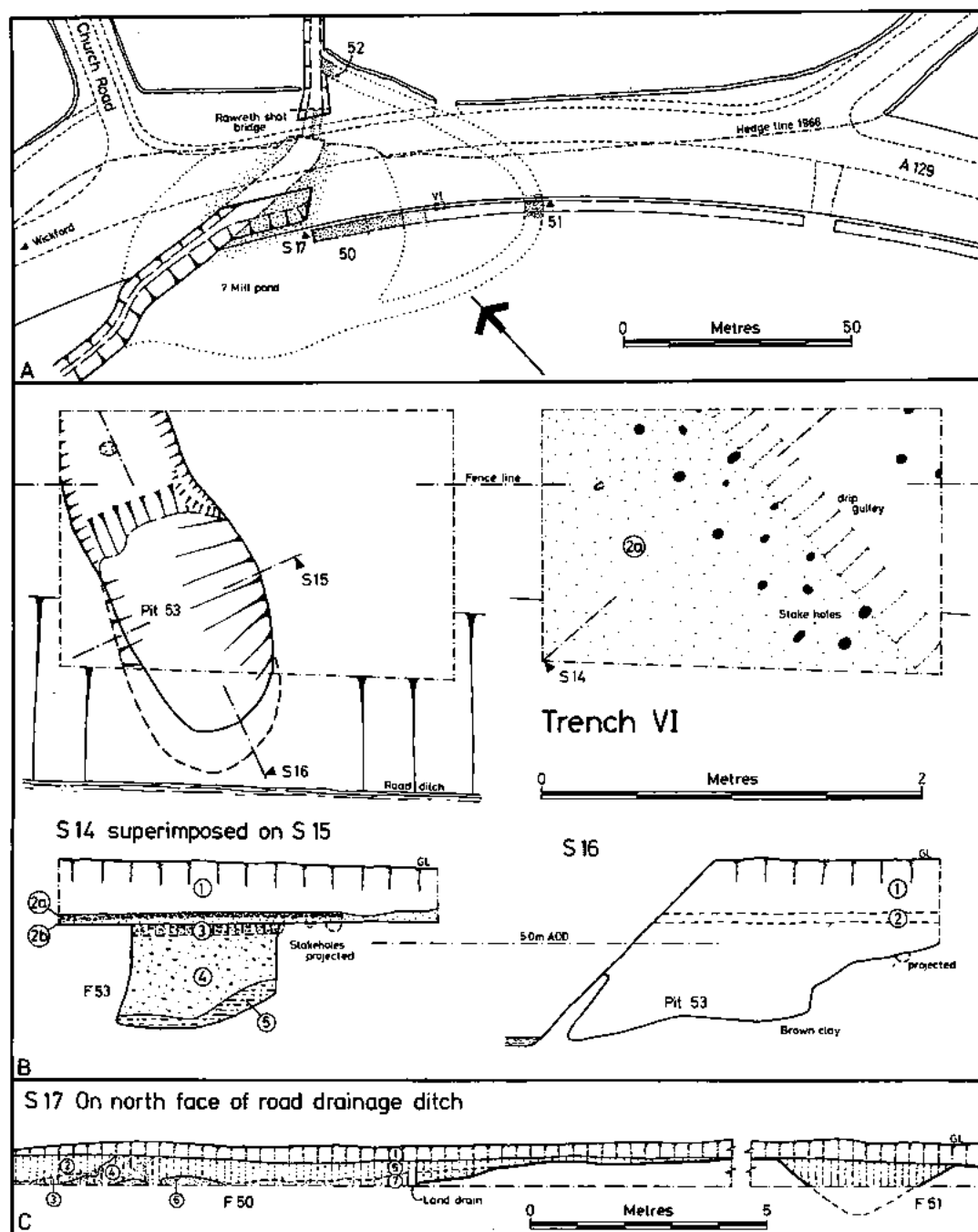


Fig. 7 Rawreth: A, general plan of Area C; B, details of trench VI; C, Section 17.

the south face of the road ditch the section was broadly similar, although the feature represented by layers 4 and 6 was absent.

To the east, a ditch, 51, c. 4.0 m wide and filled with brown silt, was located in the same trench; unfortunately, its depth remains unknown. Another ditch, 52, was noticed in the side of the stream immediately east of the bridge; its bottom was about 0.30 m below the stream bed (i.e. c. 3 m below ground level) and the primary grey silt contained medieval pottery of late-thirteenth- to early-fourteenth-century date (pp. 41–2 below). It was not possible to expose the full section of the feature, but a ditch on a scale commensurate with feature 51 is indicated.

Between features 50 and 51, a pit, 53, containing burnt clay fragments was cut by the drainage ditch; trench VI was laid out to examine it. Beneath the topsoil, a layer of yellow clay, 2b, was found, partly surfaced with a layer of burnt clay and charcoal fragments in a yellow clay matrix, 2a. The latter had a regular edge, to the east of which was a very shallow gully, probably formed naturally by rainwater dripping from a roof. Three lines of stake-holes pierced the edge of layer 2a: all were 6–10 cm deep, three more being found to the east, cutting layer 2b. There can be little doubt that the former reflect the framework of a wattle-and-daub wall, built off a 'floor' or platform represented by layers 2a and 2b.

Sealed beneath these levels was the pit 53, largely filled with material similar to layer 2a (layer 4), and capped with brown clayey loam, 3, also containing burnt clay and charcoal fragments. The floor of the pit sloped to a deep section on the west, the west end of which was undercut; this sump contained a layer of greyish silt, 5. The probable interpretation of these features will be considered below, p. 45.

There was no dating evidence for the features excavated in trench VI, but the small amount of pottery from the features 50–53 suggests activity between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Feature 50 also produced a small amount of residual Roman pottery.

Period VI: The Bridge (Fig. 8)

Before the construction of the new road, the A129 was carried over the stream by a small brick bridge of two unequal spans, usually called Rawreth Shot Bridge. Although the north-east elevation had been partly rebuilt, the structure generally retained its original form; the cutwaters were, however, of modern concrete, although in shape they may have been similar to the originals. Each span was carried by a rough brick arch, the larger one and a half bricks thick, the smaller one brick (230 mm) thick. The abutments and the space over the arches were made up in hoggin, mixed with some earth in the former case; the hoggin doubtless also formed the original metalling, between 250 × 150 mm York stone kerbs which survived below the modern surfacing (Section C–D). Little could be observed of the foundations, due to the manner of the demolition, but it was clear that considerable underpinning in concrete had been undertaken in the recent past; the channels were largely floored in the same material. The bricks used were red, fairly hard, and frogless, c. 230 × 110 × 70 mm, laid English bond in lime mortar; the parapet copings were of white limestone. The ends of the parapet on the south-west side were protected by oak fenders, apparently of some age, bolted to the brickwork. Some layers observed in the north-west abutment could have formed part of the metalling of a ford predating the bridge, but their angle of repose was rather steep and they could equally well have been part of the make-up of the abutment. Another layer of gravel, 0.15 m thick, was observed just above water-line in the south bank of the stream to the west of the bridge, extending some 3.3 m from it and predating its foundation. No other traces of an earlier structure were observed.

In 1745, an Act of Parliament was passed enlarging the powers first granted to the Essex Turnpike Trust in 1725. The 1745 Act was the first to include 'the Road leading from the Sign of *The Eagle and Child*, in the Parish of Shenfield, by *Billericay* to the Town of *Rayleigh*, and from thence to the Town of *Rochford*'.⁸ This route included the (former) A129 between Wickford and Rayleigh, and the bridge here described; it fell within the Rochford Hundred Branch of the First District of

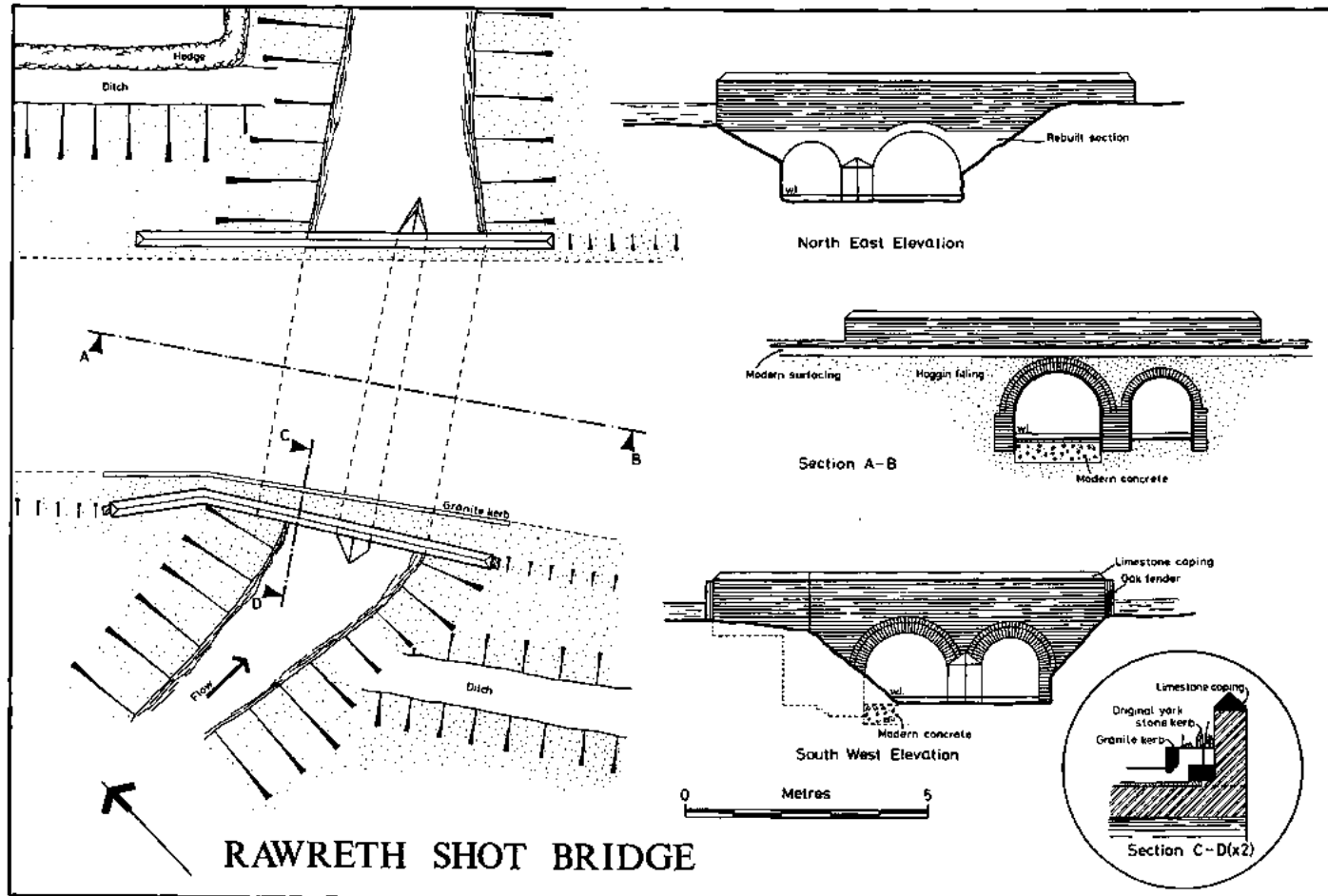


Fig. 8 Rawreth Shot Bridge.

the Trust, whose detailed records do not survive. However, a number of extracts from the minute-books are extant,⁹ and include the following entry:

'14 Oct. 1801 Order for payt. of Bills for work in buildg a new Brick Br. at Rawreth Shot.'

From this, it seems reasonable to deduce that the structure here described was built in 1800/1801. The bridge was adopted by the County in June 1871,¹⁰ and the County Surveyor's Report for 1872¹¹ describes the bridge as follows, after a visit in August of the previous year:

'This Brick Bridge of two small arches each of 3 rings has recently been adopted by County. It is considerably out of repair superficially — but the whole structure, considered generally, appears to be sound and is probably capable of carrying any reasonable traffic.'

The Finds

1. Coins Identified by R. A. G. Carson, Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum

Faustina II	A.D. 161–5	Sestertius, rev. CERES S-C; RIC 1620	Trench IV, junction of layers 6 and 7
Barbarous Radiate	A.D. 270–90	Rev. uncertain	Trench IV, layer 3
House of Constantine	A.D. 335–41	Rev. Gloria Exercitus, I — Standard, details uncertain	Trench III, layer 3

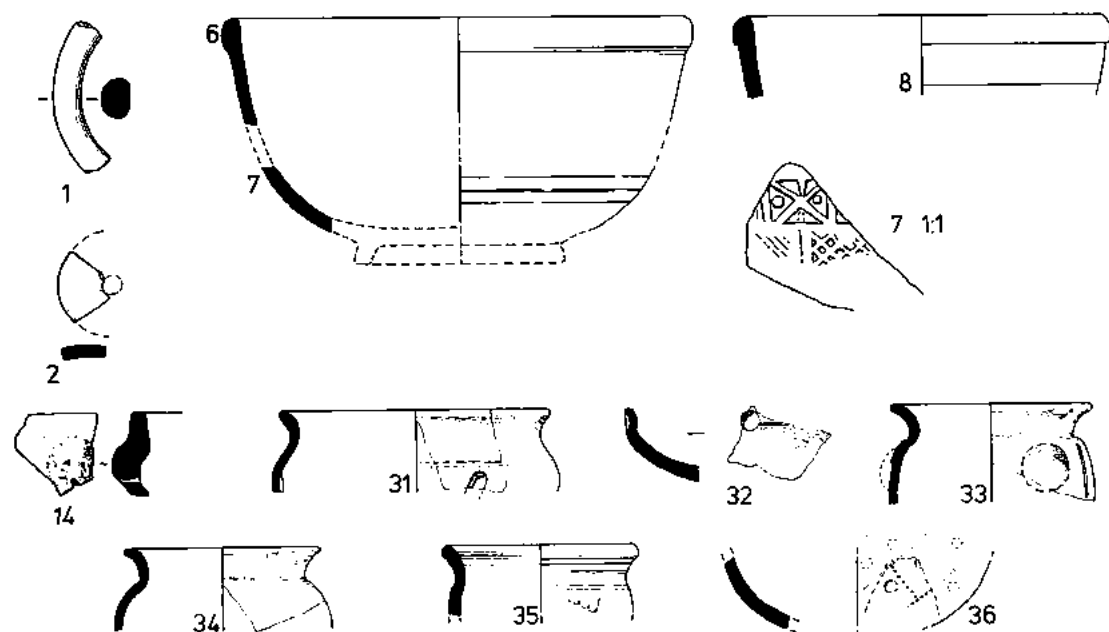


Fig. 9 Rawreth: Objects of shale (1) and pottery (2); Pottery: 6–8, 14, 31–36, Period III. All scale 1:3 except decorated sherd of Argonne ware (7), 1:1. Nos. 7, 31–34 drawn by W. J. Rodwell.

2. Objects of Metal, Shale, Pottery

BRONZE Fragment, probably from a plain ribbon-strip bracelet, from III.2.

IRON Fragments of at least 35 nails were found in Roman contexts, one with a domed head, from III.2; a corroded ring 25 mm in diameter came from IV.3; other ironwork was limited to scraps of plate.

SHALE A fragment of a plain bracelet, Fig. 9.1, from III.3.

POTTERY A fragmentary spindle whorl of terra sigillata (Fig. 9.2), second-century Lezoux ware. From F8, contractor's excavations.

3. Pottery

I. Bronze Age by C. R. Couchman, Essex County Council

- Fig. 10.3 The top of a Deverel-Rimbury bucket urn. The fabric is coarse, very heavily flint-gritted, the surface colour ranging from orange through brown to black; the core is dark brown to black. The two decorative features on the surviving fragments are finger-tip ornament on top of the rim, and a line of perforations about 2 cm below the rim. Both are part of the pool of Deverel-Rimbury ceramic decoration, although they occur together regularly only in the Ardleigh Group (Couchman, 1975). From trench III.9.

II. Early Iron Age

Save for a few small residual sherds from Area B, the early Iron Age pottery was derived wholly from Area A, particularly features 103 and 104. The sherds varied from orange to dark brown in colour (the core generally being more reduced than the surface) and are tempered with crushed flint. This is mostly rather coarse, but in some sherds the tempering is finely crushed, and some, including the bowl no. 35, fall between the two extremes. Two sherds are illustrated:

- Fig. 10.4 Bowl in dark reddish-brown flint-gritted fabric, with dark brown surfaces; the interior is smooth (probably once burnished), whilst the exterior is less well finished. From F104; another example was unstratified, Area A.
- Fig. 10.5 Much-abraded jar rim in a fairly hard, grey, coarsely flint-tempered fabric; rough, eroded, brown to black surfaces. From F110.

Not illustrated: Sherds from flat bases (F104); small fragment of a sharply carinated vessel in finely flint-tempered fabric (F117).

There is very little evidence on which to assess the date of this material. The fact that it is wholly flint-tempered and includes at least one sharply carinated vessel indicates that it belongs to a stylistic phase earlier than that represented at Little Waltham from the mid-third century B.C. onwards (Drury, 1978a). The two illustrable vessels are not characteristic of Cunliffe's Darmsden-Linton group (Cunliffe, 1968, 178-82; 1974, 39 and fig. 11), which certainly occurs elsewhere in the area, but there is a plain bowl from Darmsden (Cunliffe, 1968, fig. 3.41), and it would not be difficult to see 10.5 as a variant of one of the everted-rim jar forms typical of the group.

The only material attributable to the later phases of the pre-Roman Iron Age comprised two sherds of 'Belgic' pottery in grey-brown, granular, black-flecked fabrics, from Area B (III.7 and VII.3).

III. The Argonne Ware by Warwick Rodwell

Four sherds of sigillata in an identical soft, fine micaceous orange paste were found; they represent a minimum of two vessels:

- Fig. 9.6, 7 Rim sherd and two small sherds from the lower part of the body respectively of a hemispherical bowl, Dragendorff form 37, Chenet (1941) type 320. The rim (6) is from IV.3, the body sherds (7) from F8; the fragments can thus be assigned to Phase D, dated to c. A.D. 360-75 onwards. The slip on all three sherds is sufficiently similar to suggest that they belong to the same vessel; it is orange, and of good quality, showing traces of a former high gloss, but the fragments are now rather abraded.

Traces of two bands of roller-stamping survive near the base of the vessel. The lower band was either very lightly impressed, or, more probably, was partially obliterated during the process of applying the foot-ring to the body of the bowl; only cross-hatching from one segment of the roller and what seem to be two strokes of hatching from the adjacent segment can now be distinguished. The upper surviving band shows more clearly, but only the impression of a single segment of the roller survives on the

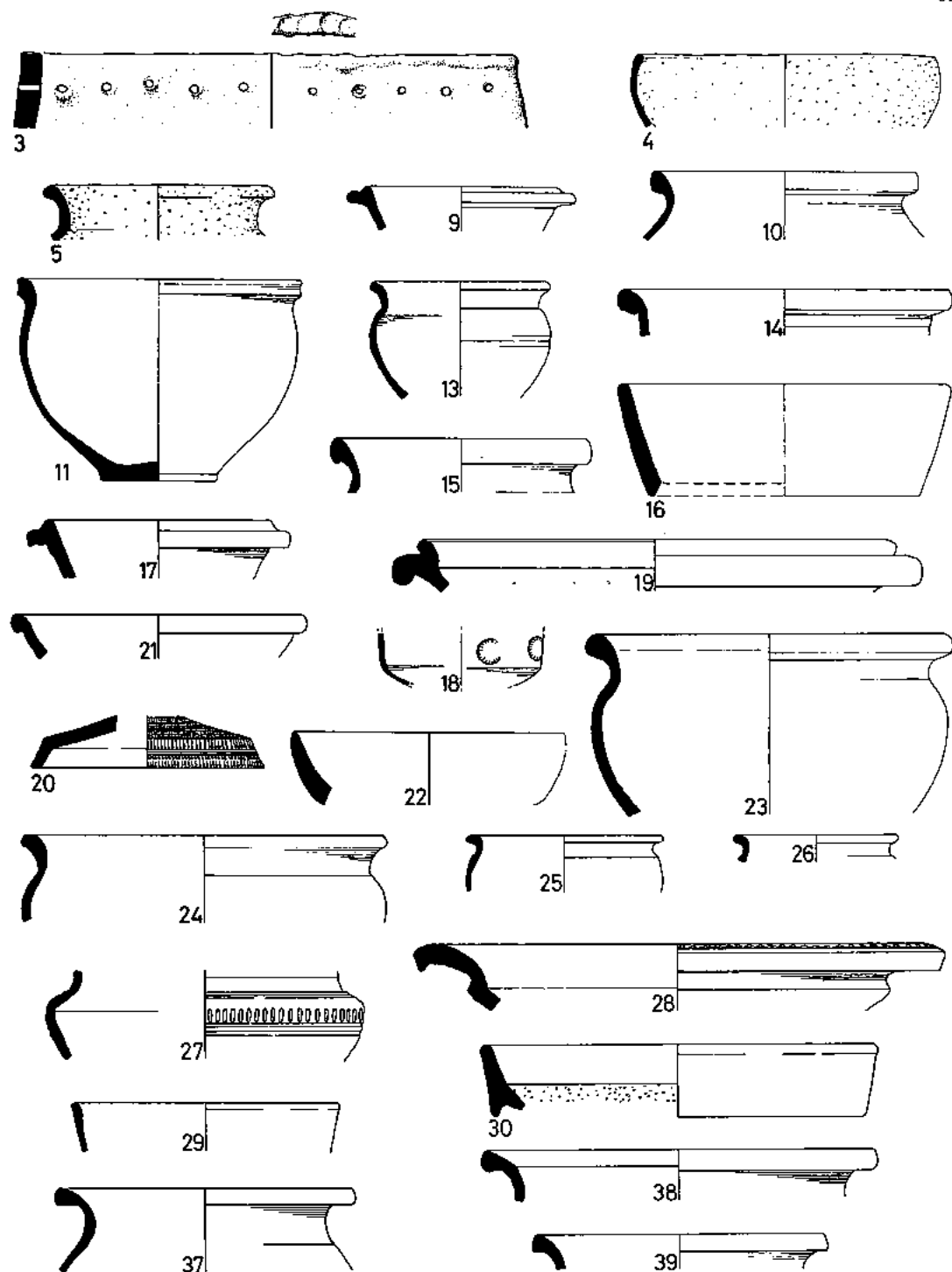


Fig. 10 Rawreth: Pottery: 3, Period I; 4 and 5, Period II; 9-11, 13-30, 37-39, Period III. Scale 1:4. No. 3. drawn by Miss C. Couchman.

sherd. The motif shown is a St. Andrew's cross with the addition of two vertical strokes, barely meeting in the centre; the two lateral triangles formed by the cross contain pellets. These motifs are common on Argonne ware, and, on the evidence available, only a tentative identification of the stamp as Unverzagt (1919), Taf. IV.92, is possible. This is previously recorded from the Bonn area (*ibid.*, 46).

- Fig. 9.8 Rim sherd of a bowl, similar to 9.7, but with a slight offset in the wall, and having a slip rather more red in colour; no trace of any decoration survives. The form seems to be another variant of Drag. f37, in which the decoration begins rather below the groove or offset on the wall of the bowl; cf. Unverzagt (1919), Taf. I, nos. 1, 2, 3. Also from IV.3, Phase D, c. A.D. 360/375 onwards.

Argonne ware is found sparingly distributed over late Roman sites in Britain, mainly in the southern and eastern parts. It tends to occur on major sites such as towns and Saxon Shore forts, and its discovery on a small rural settlement well away from any major communication route is of some interest. Elsewhere in Essex, decorated sherds of Argonne ware have only been found at Colchester, Heybridge, Mucking and Witham, while Chelmsford has yielded an undecorated sherd.

IV. The Other Roman Pottery

CATALOGUE OF THE ILLUSTRATED MATERIAL

POTTERY FROM THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY

Phase A

The phase A deposits IV.5, 9, produced no pottery.

Phase B: Ditch

- Fig. 10.9 Flanged-rim bowl in a hard pinkish-buff fabric containing small red flecks, with an overall mottled light to dark reddish-brown slip-coat: III.5b. Probably a Nene Valley product.
- Fig. 10.10 Jar in 'Rettendon' ware: hard light grey fabric containing much crushed flint and a little sand; darker grey surfaces: III.7; another from IVa.7, Phase B/C.

Phase B: Filling of pit 28

- Fig. 10.11 Jar in fine orange fabric with blue-grey surfaces: IVa.7, 6, 5.

Phase C

- Fig. 9.14 Mortarium spout in the form of a lion's head, much abraded, in a hard off-white fabric with small red flecks, retaining minute traces of a dark brown slip-coat: III.5a. A late Nene Valley product.
- Fig. 10.13 Small jar in fine orange-brown fabric with blue-grey surfaces; IV.6, and an abraded joining sherd from IV.3.
- Fig. 10.14 Jar in fine orange fabric, similar to 10.11, dark grey core, grey surfaces: IV.6.
- Fig. 10.15 'Rettendon' ware jar, fabric as 10.10: IV.6.
- Fig. 10.16 Bowl in hard light grey fabric tempered with much fine sand: IV.6.
- Fig. 10.17 'Rettendon' ware flanged-rim bowl, fabric as 10.10: III.5a, on bottom of gully 29.

Phase D

'F8' indicates that the sherd is derived from the contractor's excavation of part of ditch 8; see p. 26 above.

Oxfordshire Products

- Fig. 10.18 Bowl fragment in soft orange fabric with grey core, decorated with rosette stamps, much abraded: IVa.1, derived from ditch 8. Young, 1977, type C117, a miniature version of C82 and therefore probably dateable c. 325-400+.
- Fig. 10.19 Mortarium rim in smooth buff fabric with red flecks and pink core; small white quartzite trituration grits: F8. Young, 1977, type M22, dated c. 240-400+.

Products of the Nene Valley

- Fig. 10.20 Lid of 'Castor box' in hard off-white fabric with patchy black to brownish-red slip-coat; rouletted externally: IV.3.
 Fig. 10.21 Bowl in off-white fabric containing prominent red flecks; traces of brownish-red slip surviving under the rim: F8.
 Fig. 10.22 Bowl in fabric as 10.20 with dark greyish-brown slip, much eroded: F8.

Red Hadham Wares

Jars

- Fig. 10.23 Fine orange fabric with red flecks, slip-coat clearly evident, slight traces of burning: IV.3.
 Fig. 10.24 Hard, fine orange fabric, grey-brown inner surface, dark brownish-red slip on outer surface: F8.
 Fig. 10.25 Fine orange fabric: F8.
 Fig. 10.26 Fabric as 10.25, blackened patch on rim: F8.

Bowls

- Fig. 10.27 Elaborate vessel; fabric as 10.23, obvious slip-coat externally, runs visible internally: F8.
 Fig. 10.28 Fabric as 10.23 but with light grey core; stamped decoration between two lines on top of rim: F8. Cf. Frere, 1972, 355-56, fig. 136. 1204, from Verulamium, dated A.D. 360-70, and *R. Col.* f317, there dated fourth century.
 Fig. 10.29 Fairly soft, fabric similar to 10.23; no slip survives: F8.

Mortaria

- Fig. 10.30 Copy of Drag. f45, fabric as 10.23, burnished externally; small rounded white flint and translucent quartzite trituration grits: F8.

Romano-Saxon Pottery. All from contractors' excavations of F8

Vessels 9.31-34 were published by Warwick Rodwell (Rodwell, 1970, 272-73) but are illustrated here for the sake of completeness; the descriptions are condensed from that paper:

- Fig. 9.31 Bowl in grey sandy fabric, the surfaces fired to a pinkish-buff, with a deeply impressed diagonal furrow below a slight groove around the shoulder: F8. The vessel belongs to Myres (1956) Group G; Rodwell (1970), fig. 5k.
 Fig. 9.32 Body sherd of bowl in fine, hard, grey fabric, similar to 11.43, burnished externally and bearing a dimple c. 8 mm in diameter: F8. Myres (1956) Group C; Rodwell (1970), fig. 5l.
 Fig. 9.33 Abraded sherd of a bowl in a soft, sandy, brownish-grey ware with dark grey surfaces, similar to 10.13. The body bears the scar of a former applied boss 19 mm in diameter, a small part of which survives; to the right is a faintly scored vertical line. Applied rather than pressed-out bosses are most unusual: Rodwell (1970), fig. 5m.
 Fig. 9.34 Rim sherd of a vessel similar to 9.33 but lacking decoration: F8. Rodwell (1970), fig. 5n.
 Fig. 9.35 Rim of small bowl in a hard, fine, grey fabric, the surfaces originally burnished externally and on the rim, but now rather abraded. The top of two rows of comb impressions survive below the shoulder.
 Fig. 9.36 Sherd from a small bowl in a grey fabric with dark grey burnished surfaces, the exterior rather better finished than the interior. The exterior is decorated with comb impressions, which probably once formed a lattice pattern as indicated; in the interstices are very shallow dimples. The use of comb impressions with 'Romano-Saxon' motifs is most unusual.

A small fragment of Hadham ware bearing an impressed dimple 15 mm in diameter was also found.

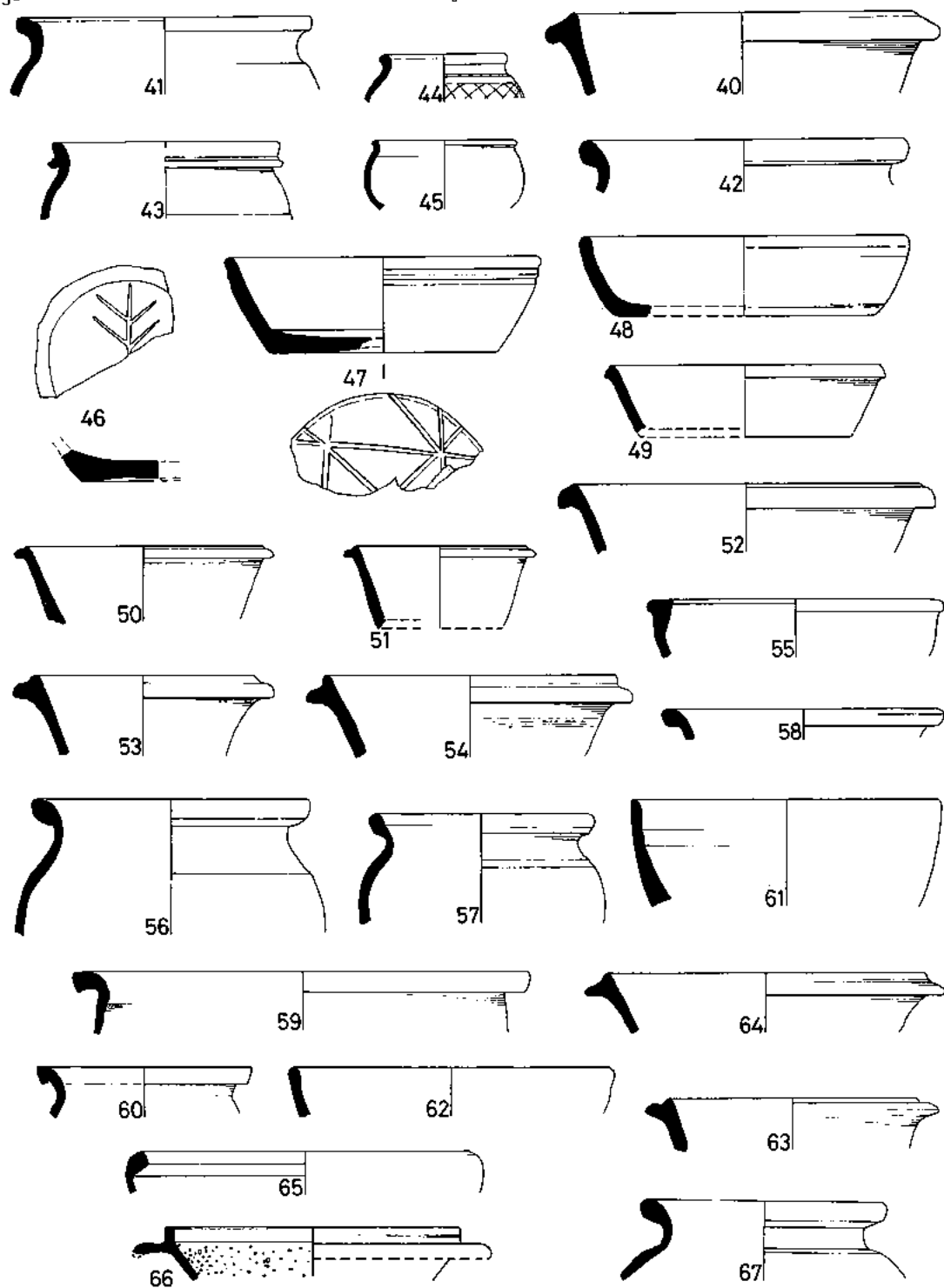


Fig. 11 Rawreth: Pottery: 40-67, Period III. Scale 1:4.

Late Roman Shell-tempered Ware

This was present in some quantity; the following examples are representative:

- Fig. 10.37-39 Jars in dark grey fabric containing much finely crushed shell tempering; pale beige surfaces, the shell being largely bleached out; blackened rims: From F8, except 10.38 from III.3. Rilled body sherds of jars were also present.
- Fig. 11.40 Flanged-rim bowl, fabric and condition as 10.37-39, except exterior is greatly blackened and retains slight traces of rilling: F8.

Grey Wares

Jars

- Fig. 11.41 Fine, grey fabric, orange-brown sub-surface, brown interior surface, dark blue-grey exterior surface and rim, similar fabric to 10.13: F8.
- Fig. 11.42 Hard, sandy, dark grey fabric: III.3.
- Fig. 11.44 Smooth, hard, light grey fabric, darker core and surfaces; rim and shoulder burnished above lattice decoration: IV.2.
- Fig. 11.45 Finely sand-tempered reddish-brown fabric; traces of burnishing on rim: III.3.
- Fig. 11.46 Base sherd in a very sandy light grey fabric with reddish-brown sub-surface; a graffito has been cut into the underside after firing: F8.

Bowls

- Fig. 11.47 Fabric as 11.41, dark grey surfaces; weakly incised decoration on inside of base: F8.
- Fig. 11.48 Fine, hard, grey ware: III.3.
- Fig. 11.49 Fairly hard, finely sand-tempered, grey, micaceous, brownish fabric with lighter core and darker grey exterior surface; F8.
- Fig. 11.50 Fabric as 11.43: III.3.
- Fig. 11.51 Fabric as 11.43, 50: III.3.
- Fig. 11.52 Fabric similar to 11.46, abraded externally: III.3.
- Fig. 11.53 Pale grey fabric tempered with much fine sand: IV.3.
- Fig. 11.54 Hard orange fabric containing fine dark grains, grey core and surfaces; III.3, III.1 (burnt); non-joining sherd from F8.
- Fig. 11.55 Hard, fine, dark grey fabric; F8. Possibly a medieval jug rim.

'Retendon' Ware

Jars

- Fig. 11.56 Orange-brown fabric containing much coarse sand and some crushed flint, light to dark grey surfaces; IV.2.
- Fig. 11.57 Dense grey fabric, little sand, some flint grits; orange-brown core: F8.
- Fig. 11.58 Fabric similar to 11.56, largely burnt orange: F8.
- Fig. 11.59 Fabric as 10.10; III.3.
- Fig. 11.60 Fabric similar to 10.10, sooted on rim: III.1, derived from ditch 8.
- Fig. 11.61 Greyish-brown fabric, dark grey, smooth exterior where not eroded, otherwise as 11.56: IV.1, derived from ditch 8.
- Fig. 11.62 Fabric as 10.10: III.3.
- Fig. 11.63 Fabric similar to 10.10: III.5.
- Fig. 11.64 Fabric as 10.10, but grits sparse; very abraded: IV.1, derived from ditch 8.

DITCH V, PROBABLY PHASE B

- Fig. 11.65 Rim (seemingly the correct way up as drawn) in a soft, pale orange to cream, fine fabric with an all-over orange-brown slip: V.3.

OTHER LOCATED POTTERY

Fig. 11.66 Mortarium rim in fine orange micaceous fabric with grey core; pink and white translucent quartzite trituration grits, traces of cream slip-coat: F11. A product of the Oxfordshire kilns. Young, 1977, type WC5, c. 240–300 and perhaps continuing later in the fourth century.

Fig. 11.67 Jar in a very sandy, hard, grey fabric, dark grey to black surfaces, brown patches: F13.

Fig. 12.68 Bowl in 'Rettendon' ware as 10.10: F13.

UNSTRATIFIED POTTERY

Mortaria

Fig. 12.69 Fabric as 11.66 but lacking cream slip-coat. A product of the Oxfordshire kilns. Young, 1977, type WC7, c. 240–400+ but probably fourth century.

Fig. 12.70 Off-white fabric with a pinkish core and red flecks; grits similar to 12.69. A product of the Oxfordshire kilns. Young, 1977, type M22, c. 240–400+.

Fig. 12.71 Off-white fabric with slightly yellowish surfaces; angular black ironstone grits; probably made in the Northamptonshire area. A similar rim was found in F8, and a sherd in IV.2.

Bowl

Fig. 12.72 Incipient flanged-rim type, fabric as 11.41, 47.

DISCUSSION OF THE ROMAN POTTERY: THE DATING OF THE SITE

Much of the coarse pottery contains crushed flint tempering and is similar to that produced at kilns at Rettendon, some 3.5 km to the north (Tildesley, 1971). Recently, however, it has become clear that 'Rettendon' ware was made at other centres in southern central Essex, in particular Sandon and Chelmsford (Drury, 1976b), and also Inworth.¹² None the less, in view of the proximity of Rettendon to Rawreth, it seems probable that the majority of the flint-tempered ware was actually produced at Rettendon. The most recent review of the available evidence suggests that the ware was being produced by c. A.D. 275 at the latest (Drury, 1976b, 257), and that production continued generally into the late fourth century, and at Inworth during the early fifth.

There was no pottery from the first phase of the southern boundary, and relatively little from Phases B and C; none the less, 'Rettendon' ware was associated with Phase B, a fact which seems to preclude an origin for the settlement much earlier than the later third century. Negative evidence derived from the small amount of stratified material from Phase B and C contexts is of limited value, but the general absence from the site of pottery of diagnostically pre-fourth-century date is striking. There is no samian from area B, save for the spindle whorl (Fig. 9.2), and only one other fragment was recovered from the site — a much-abraded fragment, Drag. f33, probably early second century, from F50, L4. The most common second- and third-century coarse pottery forms, for example the bead-rim bowl (*R. Col.* ff37, 38; Hull, 1958, 280–81), and the everted-rim latticed jar (*R. Col.* ff278–79), are quite absent, despite the fact that the latter persists as late as c. A.D. 350 at Colchester (Hull, 1958, 285), and the former lasted 'in diminished numbers' into the fourth century at Mucking (Rodwell, 1973, 22).

The upper silt of the Phase B ditch (III.5b) produced a flanged-rim bowl apparently in late Nene Valley thick white ware (Fig. 10.9); these vessels generally belong to the second half of the fourth century in this area, and seem only to become common after c. A.D. 360–75 (Drury, 1976a, 46), although they do occur sporadically from the late third century onwards (Kenyon, 1948, 121–22). No other sherds in a comparable fabric occurred in phases A to C. Oxfordshire red colour-coated wares were also absent from these contexts, and late Roman shell-tempered pottery first appears in the Phase C ditch filling IV.6, where but four small sherds were present. All these types are, however, well represented in the Phase D ditch. At Braintree, late Nene Valley and shell-tempered wares were barely present, and red Oxfordshire colour-coat was totally absent, from a site where occupation ceased c. 360–75 (Drury, 1976a, 46). It would thus seem reasonable to

suggest that the transition from Phase C to Phase D took place around that time, a conclusion strengthened by the external dating evidence for the Hadham bowl, Fig. 10.28. A further indication of late date is provided by the sherds of Saxon grass-tempered pottery in the upper part of the Phase D ditch filling, i.e. in a position which suggested that they had been deposited contemporaneously with or immediately after the late Roman material. It seems unlikely the Saxon pottery antedates the first decade or two of the fifth century.

The coin evidence is not helpful in dating the occupation. Discounting the sestertius of Faustina II, which must surely be an heirloom, the two other coins, both from Phase D deposits, are in accordance with the suggested overall dating of the site, although they seem to be residual in their context. In summary, therefore, it is possible to envisage an origin for the settlement in the later third century, and its continuation until, or beyond, the *adventus saxonum*; in other words, each of the four phases is envisaged as lasting some 30 years, but a much shorter chronology remains possible.

The range of fine wares present is notable, particularly the Hadham red wares. In addition to those mentioned above, we have Argonne ware, and a number of fragments of beakers, bearing rouletting or traces of white-painted decoration; they are generally in orange to brown fabrics with brown slip-coats. One fragment occurred in the Phase C ditch (IVa.6), the remainder (c. 15 sherds) in Phase D contexts, but their small size (none was worth illustrating) suggests that the majority of the latter are residual. They seem to be products of the Colchester kilns, which on present evidence declined in the fourth century (for dating see Hull, 1963, 177-78).

A wide range of Oxfordshire mortaria, and examples from the Hadham area, have been described in the catalogue; to these should be added a mortarium sherd in 'Rettendon' ware, with red, grey and white flint trituration grits, from III.1 (Phase D). Only two sherds of amphorae were found, both probably from the same vessel, in a fine orange-pink fabric with fine white flecks, fairly

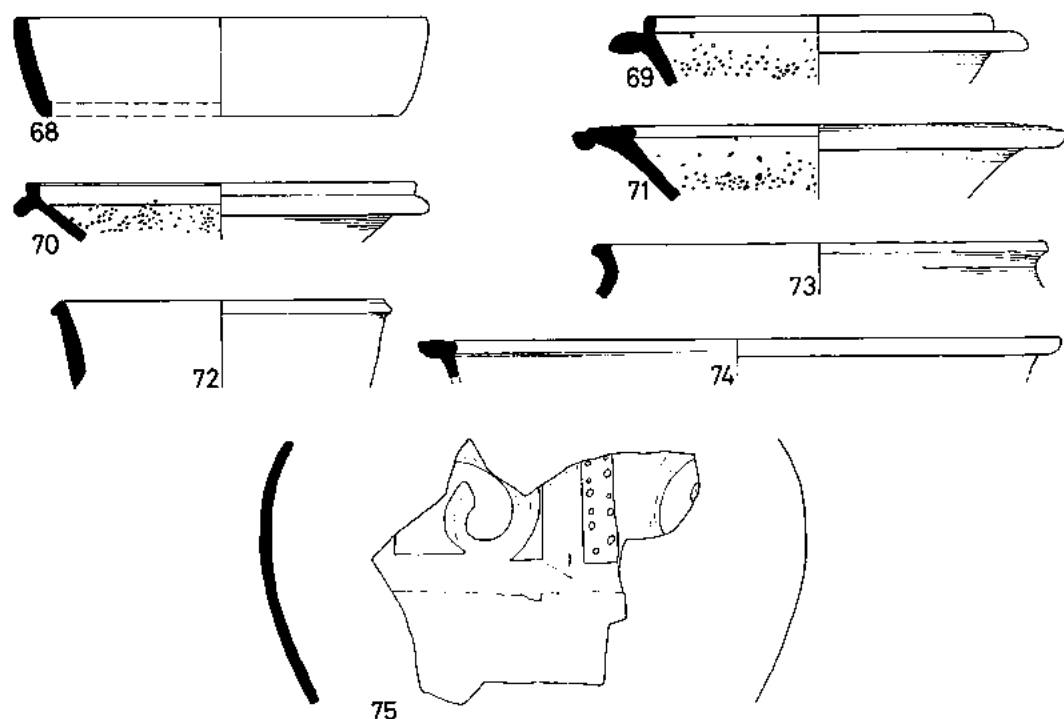


Fig. 12 Rawreth: Pottery 68-72, Period III; 73-75, Period V. Scale 1:4.

micaceous, 13 mm thick. One, from IV.2, had a rivet hole 6 mm in diameter, with traces of a lead rivet remaining in it; the other came from F8. It is not yet possible to suggest a source for the vessel, but almost exactly similar sherds have been found in fourth-century contexts at Braintree (Drury, 1976a, 44).

V. Anglo-Saxon

The Anglo-Saxon pottery was all in a black fabric, with many lacunae where vegetable tempering had been burnt out, but lacking obvious sand tempering; the surfaces varied from light brown to black, and were slightly 'soapy' in feel. Four small sherds were recovered from the top of the surviving filling of the Phase D ditch 8 (from III.1, III.2, F8), including a sherd probably from the shoulder of a simple bag-shaped vessel. A much larger and less abraded sherd came from the cable trench to the west. None of the sherds is closely datable, but they should belong to the fifth to seventh centuries. The stratigraphic context of the sherds provides the best dating evidence (see above); a date in the first half of the fifth century seems probable.

VI. Medieval

Only a very small quantity of medieval pottery was found; except for a thin scatter in the plough-soil, all was associated with the watercourses in Area C. The earliest material was:

- Fig. 12.73 Rim of jar in hard grey fabric with orange-brown surfaces, blackened externally; vesiculated, once shell-tempered, very abraded. Probably twelfth century, cf. Huggins, 1973, fig. 7.61, 8.113. From F50, layer 3; two sherds in a similar fabric were found unstratified within the same feature.

Sherds of grey-brown, hard, sandy fabrics were also present in F50, layers 2/3 and 5, including:

- Fig. 12.74 Hard, grey-brown, sandy fabric; from F50, layers 2/3. Cf. Drury and Pratt, 1975, fig. 59.E1, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century; Drury, 1974, fig. 12.4, c. 1341-50.

The following vessel seems to be of similar date, although exact parallels are lacking:

- Fig. 12.75 Jug sherd in a very fine, micaceous, light grey fabric with dark grey flecks and occasional grits; grey-brown inner surface, red outer surface bearing white-painted decoration under an olive-green glaze. From the primary silt of ditch 52; a fragment of a glazed peg tile (below) was found in the same feature.

4. Tile

Fragments of Romano-British tile were relatively common in Area B features; all were small and none was mortared. The material included fragments of tegulae, imbrices, bonding tiles 25, 30, 35 and 40 mm thick and three fragments of combed box-flue tile (from III.5b, IVa.7, F8); an unidentifiable waster fragment came from IV.2. Fragments of burnt clay were also present in Area B features, mostly of Phase D; there was an unstratified fragment with the impression of a single large wattle.

A fragment of a peg tile 12 mm thick, partly covered with a plain (brown) lead glaze, was found in the ditch 52; other fragments of peg tiles were unstratified.

5. Stone

Fragments of querns of Millstone Grit were found in III.3, IV.3 (× 2), both phase D; an unstratified fragment was c. 50 mm thick, with a 'pecked' face, and two fragments with coarser grits came from IVa.3, III.5b. A small fragment of a Rhenish lava quern was unstratified. Fragments of stone from the Hythe Beds of Kent, tending towards the Hassock rather than the Rag,¹³ came from IV.3, 6, 7, 8 and IVa.6, and nodules of septaria from IV.3 and 4, the former burnt.

A single flint flake, 45 × 14 mm, was found in F8.

6. *The Faunal Remains* by R. M. Luff, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge

Eighty fragments of animal bone were identified from the fourth- and early-fifth-century deposits in area B, as follows:

	BOS	OVIS/CAPRA	EQUUS	SUS	CANIS	LEPUS
Number of bone fragments	34	34	1	1	8	2
Minimum number of animals	2A, 1J	3A	1A	1A	2A	1A

(A = Adult, J = Juvenile)

All the bones were from mature animals, except a distal *Bos* metacarpal where the distal epiphysis was not fused (less than 2-2½ years; Silver, 1963). The *Sus* fragment (mandibular canine) represented a male animal.

Only four bones were measurable, all belonging to *Bos*.

<i>Metatarsal</i>		<i>Scapula</i>	
Maximum total length:	225.0 mm	Minimum neck width:	50.0 mm
Maximum proximal width:	52.4 mm	Greatest length <i>processus articularis</i> :	60.5 mm
Maximum distal width:	59.3 mm	Length glenoid cavity:	52.2 mm
Mid-shaft diameter:	27.0 mm	Breadth glenoid cavity:	43.0 mm
<i>Tibia</i>		<i>Astragalus</i>	
Maximum distal width:	58.6 mm	Greatest length lateral half:	65.0 mm
		Greatest breadth distal end:	43.7 mm
			48.0 mm

Oyster shells were also present.

7. *Material from Field to North-east of Rawreth Shot Bridge*

About 40 sherds were found on the surface of this field in 1968; 17.5 per cent were Romano-British, probably third to fourth century; 35 per cent belonged to the twelfth to early fourteenth centuries, and the remainder were of post-medieval date, all red ware save for one sherd of stoneware. A fragment of a tegula was also found.

Discussion

Any detailed discussion of the settlement pattern in the upper Crouch valley (Fig. 1, B) must await the publication of the Romano-British 'small town' and its prehistoric antecedents at Beauchamps Farm, Wickford (for an interim appraisal, see Rodwell, 1975). At present, however, it is clear that there was a substantial and probably defended Iron Age settlement at Downham Grange, and later Iron Age occupation is attested at Kent Hill, Ramsden Bellhouse,¹⁴ and elsewhere in the area by casual finds of potsherds. Downham was also occupied in the Roman period, and other rural settlements are indicated by finds at Barn Hall, Wickford¹⁵ and Runwell.¹⁶ There are also casual finds of pottery and other material¹⁷ as well as the pottery kilns at Rettendon (Tildesley, 1971).

This rather limited excavation of a small rural site at Rawreth produced evidence of occupation in the early Iron Age and the late Roman period; occupation in the immediate vicinity during the Bronze Age can be inferred from the burial, in the later Iron Age to early Roman period by sherds suggestive of cultivation, and in the early Saxon period by pottery found in the vicinity of Area B. The picture which seems to emerge is that of a settlement shifting its location within a very restricted geographical area on land between two tributaries of the Crouch. Such a situation immediately invites comparison with that observed around the crossing of the river Chelmer at Little Waltham, where the principal settlement phases examined belonged to the middle pre-Roman Iron Age and the early Roman periods (Drury, 1978a). The fact that both sites are on relatively heavy clay land is a further point of comparison, although the London Clay at Rawreth is

rather heavier than the brickearth at Waltham. The very presence of settlement on such land from a relatively early date — in the Neolithic at Waltham and by the middle Bronze Age at Rawreth — no longer causes surprise.

The early Iron Age settlement lacked any archaeologically detectable form of enclosure; this, and the definition of the probable hut by post-holes rather than an encircling feature, are typical of sites of this period in Essex (Drury, 1978b, 73). The excavated area probably formed the nucleus of a single isolated unit, although it remains possible that it lies on the eastern extremity of a more extensive settlement. Substantial pits were not found, in contrast to the early Iron Age site at Linford, on gravel (Barton, 1962). This is probably due to the impervious nature of the subsoil, since pits were also scarce at the middle Iron Age site at Little Waltham (Drury, 1978a). It is therefore likely that the ephemeral material remains of the Rawreth settlement may be typical of such sites on clay subsoils in Essex, which bodes ill for their discovery and excavation in the future.

The oval, rather than circular, plan of the probable hut compares closely with two others of similar date known from Essex, at Heybridge and Linford (Barton, 1962; Drury, 1978b, 45–8, figs. 2–3). In those buildings, the surviving post-holes seem to indicate the lines of the outer walls of the huts, which are rather larger than the Rawreth example (c. 10×11 m and 6×7.5 m respectively); the posts are also more closely spaced. It is possible, therefore, that the post-holes of Rawreth represent intermediate supports for the roof rather than the outer wall; if so, post-holes 113–4 could indicate the line of the latter.

The late Roman settlement, site B, is of considerable interest. Although but two almost parallel ditches have been found (5 and 8), there can be little doubt that the settlement was totally enclosed, since no contemporary features were discovered to the north of ditch 5 or to the south of ditch 8. The evidence of rather irregular internal sub-division, and the presence of at least one timber building, together with the location of the site, suggests that it was a farm. The presence of a few fragments of building-stone and tile probably indicates no more than its use as hardcore, rather than the former presence of a masonry structure. Yet, for a small and seemingly insignificant rural site, the range of fine pottery, including at least two Argonne ware bowls, suggests comparative affluence, although as one might expect on a rural site where coins were probably not habitually carried on the person, this inference is not supported by the coin list.

Why the settlement seemingly arose *de novo* late in the third century we cannot yet judge; it could be the result of a shift from a near-by location or, perhaps, the subdivision of an earlier holding; certainly an earlier Roman settlement in the vicinity is suggested by the cemeteries found near by in the nineteenth century. The close relationship of the Roman and Saxon occupation — stratigraphically as well as spatially — seems to suggest that the site had some special significance at the end of the Roman period, although the nature of the relationship can only be elucidated by further excavation.

It is most unfortunate that we have from this region so little evidence of the form and extent of small rural settlements, the farms whose existence is evidenced so often by discoveries of pottery and occasional features; their investigation must surely be a priority in the future. Rawreth may or may not be typical of such sites; only extensive excavation of several examples will provide the evidence. The farm discovered at The Limes, Little Waltham, which went out of use towards the end of the third century, seems to have been rather different — there is no evidence of enclosure, and the building discovered had a gravel floor on which the timber frame was doubtless founded (Drury, 1978a; Bazett and Chapman, 1966).

Investigation in other lowland areas, to the north and west of Essex, has suggested that farms within rectangular or sub-rectangular enclosures are more typical of the later pre-Roman Iron Age than the Roman period. For example, in the Welland Valley at Tallington, Lincs., a farm within a ditched enclosure (Site 35) c. 145×100 m was probably succeeded by another (Site 37) in an enclosure c. 75×45 m. Structural features associated with both were essentially in the pre-Roman Iron Age tradition, although pottery evidence suggested that the latter did not go out of use until c. A.D. 80–90 (Simpson, 1966, 15–19). From the late second century onwards, farms in the area, e.g.

one at Maxey, seem no longer to have been contained in contemporary enclosures, although small enclosures continued to be constructed for special purposes (*ibid.*, 24). In the Nene Valley, a farmstead within an enclosure c. 50 × 65 m, at Orton Longueville, had its origins in the period before the introduction of Belgic pottery to the area; after successive reconstructions, it finally went out of use c. A.D. 120–40 (Dallas, 1975). At Long Wittenham, in the Thames Valley in Berkshire, enclosures c. 53 × 30 m and 36 × 27 m also seem to have originated in the Iron Age, and to have continued into the early Roman period (Haverfield, 1901, 13 and p. 1). In Essex, such enclosed farms have been found on the Thames terrace at Mucking (Jones and Jones, 1976, fig. 49C), but seem to belong essentially to the pre-Roman period.¹⁸

It therefore seems probable that the reasons for the enclosure of the Rawreth farm, seemingly against the trend both locally and in the wider context of the lowland areas of southern and eastern England, may be a result of its function and its immediate environment. The internal layout of the enclosure, so far as it is known, strongly suggests the importance of animal husbandry in the economy of the settlement, but further than this one cannot go on present evidence.

There seems to be little evidence of occupation after the early Saxon period in the area examined. However, medieval pottery from the field to the north-east of the bridge (p. 42) suggests some occupation around Rawreth Shot in the early medieval period, and the moated site of Chichester Hall was occupied by the fourteenth century.¹⁹ However, the medieval features located near the bridge are of considerable interest. The sheer lack of pottery, even from levels clearly associated with a timber building, indicates that here we are not dealing with a normal domestic site. It seems likely that the ditches, silted pond and buildings should be interpreted as belonging to a water mill. One can envisage a dam across the stream on the line of the pre-1968 road, with the mill reservoir (F50) to the south. The ditches 51 and 52 are probably part of a single feature, a leat by-passing the presumed dam. Whether the mill was sited on the dam or on the leat is not clear, but a site on the former seems most likely here, with subsidiary buildings located within the space between leat and main stream; the structure partially examined in trench VI must have been one of these. There is no mention of a mill at Rawreth in Domesday Book, but the earliest pottery associated with the pond can hardly be much later than the twelfth century (e.g. 12.73, p. 42). The end of the mill's life can be tentatively dated by the pottery from the ditch (especially 12.75) to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. One wonders whether the windmill until recently evidenced by the mill-mound (Fig. 1, C) was its effective successor.

The small water mill excavated in 1965–66 at the preceptory of the Knights Templar at South Witham, Lincs., provides a close parallel for the arrangement suggested at Rawreth. There, the contemporary course of the River Witham was obstructed by a dam, on which was sited a small masonry mill c. 10 m × 7 m; the presence of a fireplace on the outside of the west wall suggests that it may have formed the nucleus of a larger complex, including timber structures. No overflow stream was found; it is probable that it has been destroyed by later courses of the river. The mill was constructed in the first half of the thirteenth century: the site as a whole was deserted early in the following century.²⁰

The bridge over the stream at Rawreth Shot is in no way exceptional; indeed it seems to have been typical of such structures erected in the area by Turnpike trusts during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Modern road improvements have now swept away the majority of these bridges, so that it seems worth while recording this example in detail. In general form it resembles the three-span bridge at Rochford, finally demolished in 1970. This structure, recorded by M. D. Astor, bore the date 1777, and lay on the same turnpike route as the bridge here described.²¹

Notes

1. I am grateful to the Eastern Electricity Board (Southend District) for allowing me to indicate the approximate line of the cable in Fig. 1.
2. Tithe Map and Award, E.R.O. D/CT 284A, B.
3. *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, ii (3rd Series) (1966), 96.
4. Taken from the Tithe Map. op. cit. in note 2.
5. *Journal Brit. Archaeol. Assn.* iv (1849), 156, where the tenant's name is given as *Pease*.
6. Rather than any separate discovery at Witherden's Farm, as suggested by Hull in V.C.H., 1963, 168. With the exception of the figurine head, none of the nineteenth-century finds can now be traced.
7. In Southend Museum (accn. no. 3-1-1922, 90/1, 2) there are two lead wings, described as coffin ornaments, from 'Rawreth'. No further details of the find-spot are known; perhaps they are post-medieval, in which case they should be derived from the churchyard. A Roman date seems unlikely, since the pieces were not integral parts of a coffin, but were intended to be fixed to one, not necessarily of lead. I am grateful to Mr. D. G. Macleod, keeper of antiquities at Southend Museum, for his comments on these objects.
8. E.R.O. D/TX 10, p. 2.
9. E.R.O. Q/CP 5.
10. E.R.O. Q/ABz 2/4.
11. E.R.O. Q/ABz 3/1.
12. Unpublished excavations by W. J. Rodwell: note in *Britannia*, iii (1972), 333.
13. Kindly identified by Martyn Owen of the Geological Museum.
14. *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, ii (3rd Series) (1966), 95.
15. *Ibid.*, 96.
16. Information from Dr. W. J. Rodwell.
17. Mostly recorded in V.C.H., 1963.
18. For enclosed farmsteads in the middle to late Iron Age in Essex see also Drury 1978b, esp. 74-5.
19. For recent finds from the site see *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, viii (1976), 178-80.
20. Interim reports and plans in *Med. Archaeol.*, xi (1967), 274-75 and fig. 77; *Current Archaeol.*, ix (1968), 232-37.
21. I am grateful to Mr. Astor for making available copies of his drawings and notes. Copies have also been deposited in the Essex Record Office.

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A Limited Excavation on the Site of St. Nicholas' Old Church, Ingrave

by C. R. COUCHMAN

Introduction

In March 1975 an application was made to Brentwood District Council to erect a Dutch barn at the east end of a field at Hall Farm, Ingrave, grid reference TQ 6223 9300, which is known to be the site of the old parish church of St. Nicholas. Arrangements were made with the owner of the land, Captain R. P. Laurie, to cut a trench by machine along the line of the western wall of the proposed barn, to record any remains which might be disturbed by the building works. Captain Laurie had readily agreed that the barn should be sited as far east as possible in the field, so that it seemed likely that it would miss the church altogether. The work was carried out by the writer and other members of the Archaeology Section of Essex County Council with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment.

Geology and Topography

The site is on London clay. It is situated on a slight north-facing slope, on the south side of the shallow east-west valley of a tiny stream, a tributary of the River Wid. It lies to the west of the once-moated Ingrave Hall (Fig. 1). There is now no nucleated settlement near the church site and hall. There was none in 1596 (Plate I) and it is not certain that such ever existed. The present village of Ingrave is a comparatively modern ribbon development, along the A128, half a mile away.

Documentary Sources

The site is well documented, although the foundation date of the church is not recorded. It is not mentioned in Domesday, but the Domesday Commissioners seem to have omitted churches more frequently than they recorded them. Ingrave was already a manor at the time of the Conquest, when it became the property of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. It was held of him by Ralf, son of Turolf, who gave his name (Ging-Ralf) to the place (V.C.H. I, 455a; Morant, I, 214).

The earliest documentary evidence of a church at Ingrave dates to 1298, when there is a record of John, Parson of Ginges Rauf (Waller, 351).

Two pictures of the church exist, both on estate maps (Plates I and II). The earlier is part of John Walker's 1596 survey of the Petre estates (E.R.O. D/DP P4); the other is a 1689 glebeland survey by William Stane (in the possession of Capt. Laurie; photograph E.R.O. T/M 200). The two maps show completely different churches. The Walker map appears to depict a possibly unicellular church, though the chancel roof is lower than that of the nave, with a south porch and a wooden bell-cote. The later map has a church with a west tower with a stunted spire, and a chancel of apparently narrower proportions than the nave. This map is coloured; the nave roof is green (lead?), while the chancel roof is red (tiled). The details of the windows in the two drawings

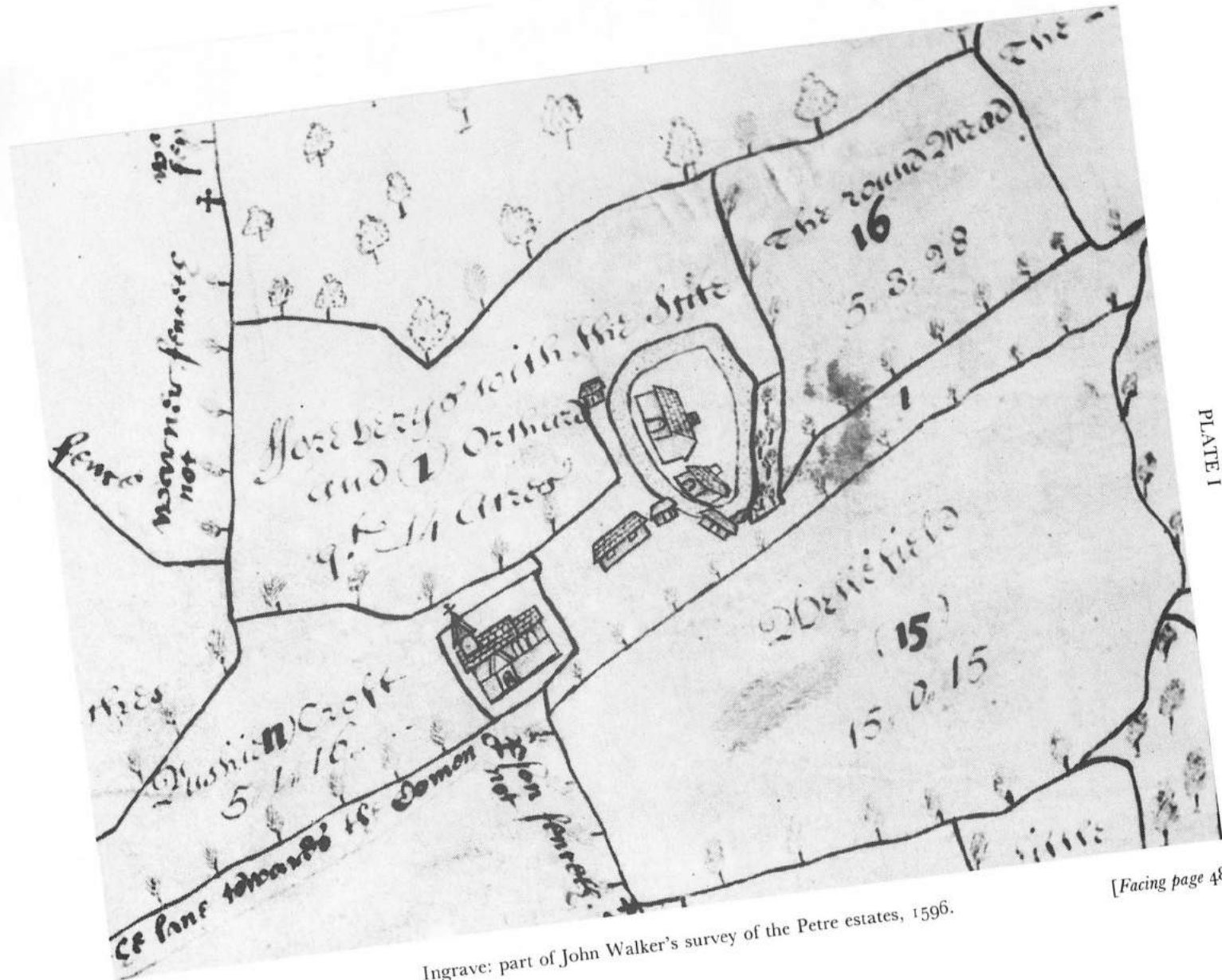


PLATE I

Ingrave: part of John Walker's survey of the Petre estates, 1596.

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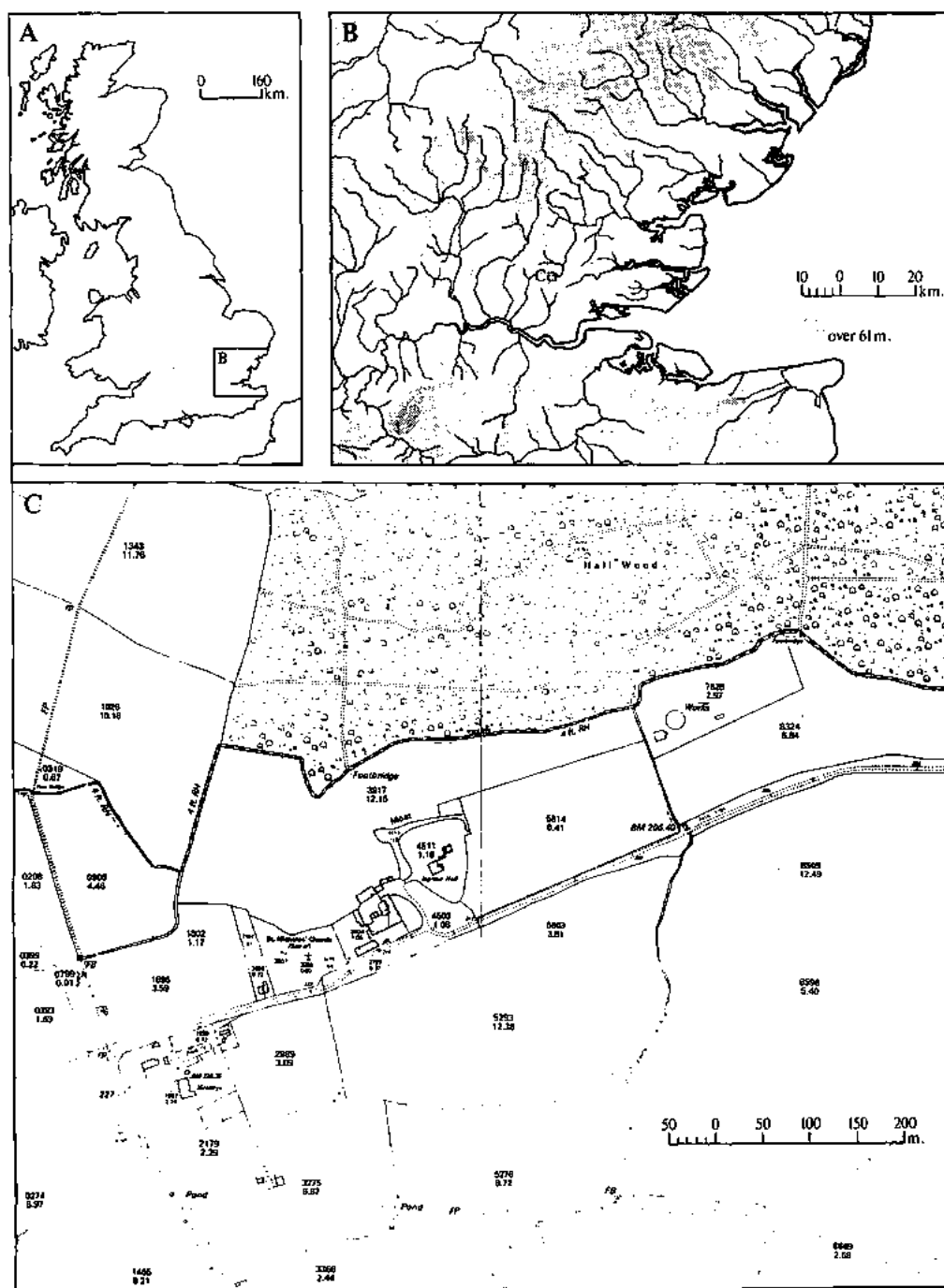


Fig. 1 Ingrave, location map.

are also quite different. Walker was a careful cartographer, and his drawing is likely to be the more accurate representation. Rebuilding on the lines suggested by the Stane map would be uncharacteristic of the seventeenth century and, furthermore, an early-eighteenth-century manuscript history (Holman, *Gingrave*) gives a description of the church which corroborates Walker's picture:

Church and Chancell of one pace Tiled. In a wooden
Frame 3 Bells, a Shaft Shingled.

In 1703 there was an inquisition into the Wallis Charity, which had been set up c. 1520 to provide money for repairs to the church¹ (quoted in Clay, 164). The fact that the inquisition was made at that time may suggest that the church was then in need of repair; there is some slight archaeological evidence to corroborate this (see below, p. 54: features A and B).

Morant records the cause of destruction of the church (Morant, I, 215-16):

The Churches of West-Horndon and Ging-Ralph being grown ruinous, an Act of Parliament was obtained for uniting those two Parishes; and the churches being taken down, a new one, of brick, was built, at the charge of the Rt. Hon. the late Lord Petre [the eighth Lord Petre].

The new church stands on the main Brentwood-Tilbury road, the A128, about a mile away from the old site. An inscription over the door gives the date of construction as 1734.²

The Site

Today the site is pasture, with a well-established turf. It is likely that this has been the condition of most of it since 1734. The outline of the building is roughly visible under the turf (Fig. 2), as are the former western boundary and north-west corner of the churchyard. The present Church Field is rather larger than the original churchyard; it now includes part of the field once known as Rushie Croft on its west side. It seems likely, from a study of the Walker map, that the churchyard had been carved out of Rushie Croft.

Part of Church Field immediately to the north of the church has been cultivated within living memory as a vegetable garden, and the area levelled for this purpose was still visible at the time of the excavation. Likewise, the positions of several graves were marked by subsidence following the collapse of coffin lids. These hollows have since been filled, and the contours of the field somewhat flattened by the movement of farm machinery. A horizontal grave slab within the church, visible in 1845 (Clay, 268), has been rediscovered and cleared by Capt. Laurie. It is dated 1731,³ and must have been one of the last burials within the church before its demolition.

The Excavation

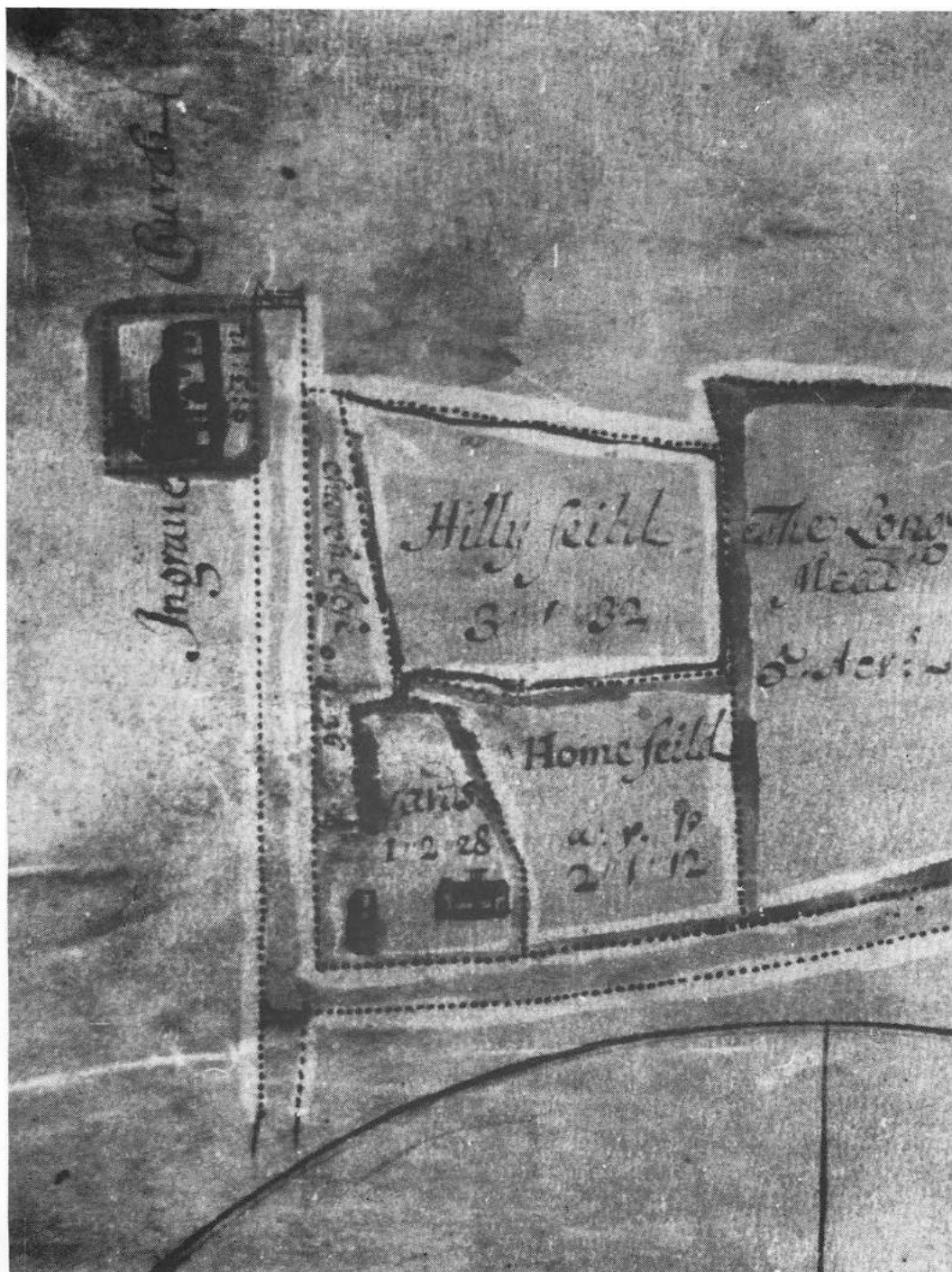
As stated above, a machine-cut trench was excavated along the proposed line of the western wall of the barn, down to what appeared at the time to be undisturbed subsoil. As the machine cut through much building rubble towards the northern part of this trench, an area to the east was cleared mechanically of topsoil (Trench I).

The owner's original proposal was to level the higher, southern part of the east side of the field to provide a flat floor to the barn. As there was a slight east-west scarping at this point which the levelling would have destroyed, a further short length of trench was excavated across this scarp to investigate the possibility of its being man made (Trench III). This trench, however, proved to be completely barren.

Subsequently a further trench, for drainage, was cut by the builders during the construction of the barn, just west of Trench I (Trench II).

Sections of Trenches I and II were drawn, and the features revealed were planned but not excavated. The construction of the barn was not expected to disturb them below the level at which they were planned, so to investigate them further would have been to exceed the excavator's brief (Fig. 3).

PLATE II



Ingrave: part of a glebeland survey by William Stane, 1689.

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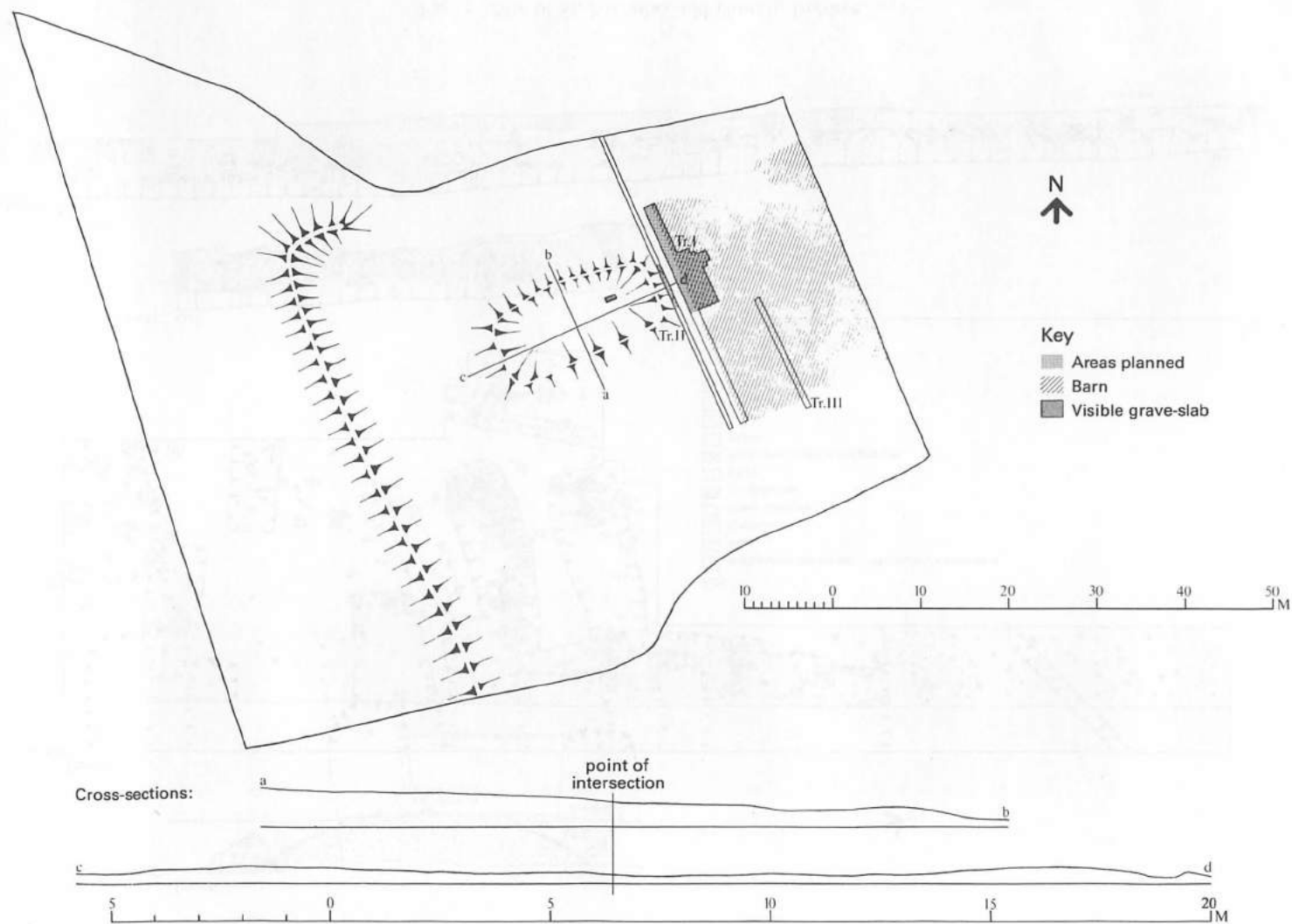


Fig. 2 Church Field, Ingrave: plan of trenches and visible features; and contour sections across church.

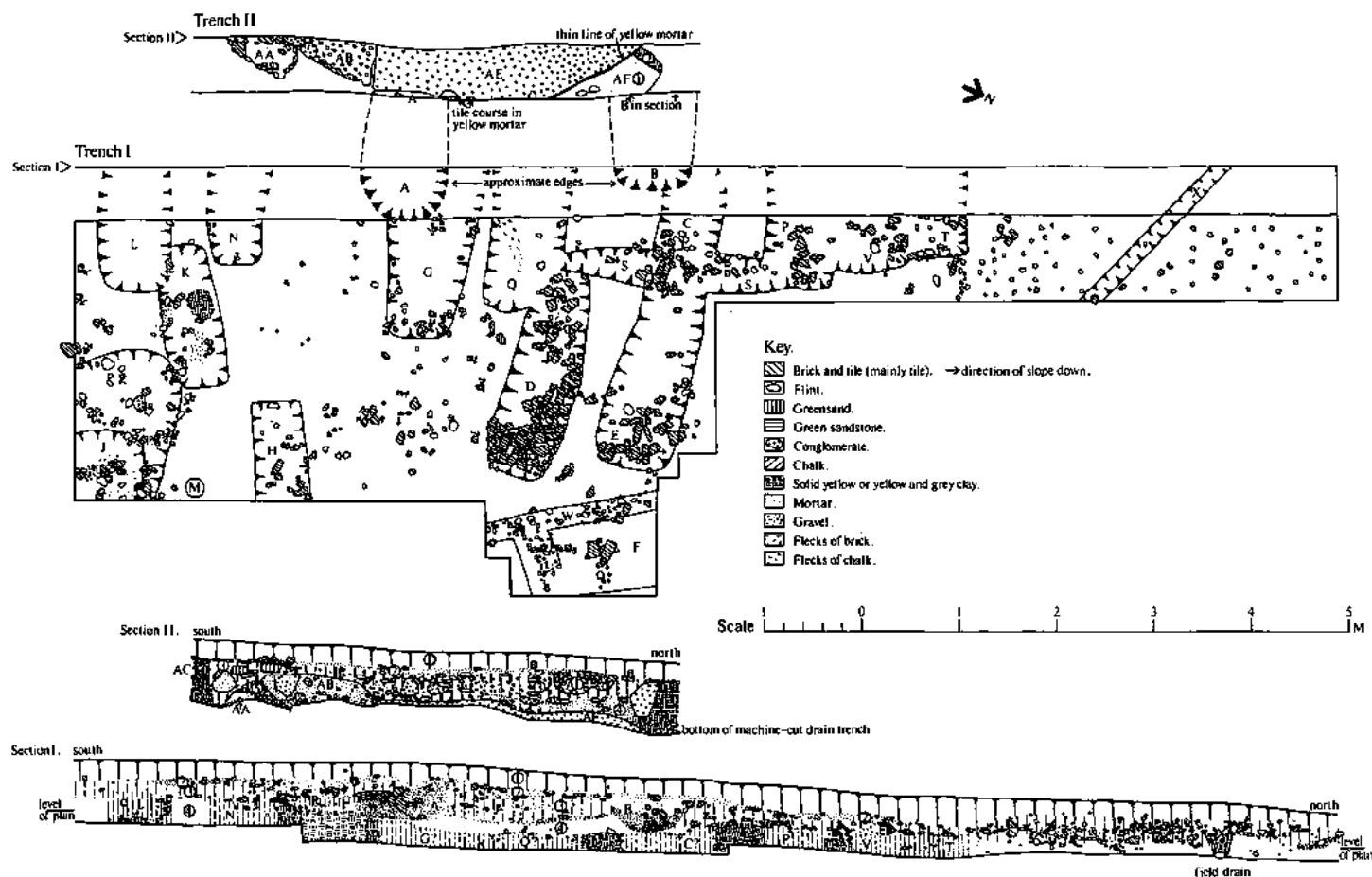


Fig. 3 Site of St. Nicholas' old church, Ingrave.

Layers and Features

The General Layers are listed under their Trench numbers; the Features according to their interpretation. In most cases, the reasons for their interpretation are given with the descriptions. The possible pre-church and the church features, however, are given more detailed treatment in the Discussion (p. 57). Read with Fig. 3.

Trench I

Layer 1. A very dark brown humic loam, with a well-established turf.

Layer 2. Comminuted fragments of mortar mixed with soil, with heavy rubble: brick, tile, flint and stone, between and beyond Features A and B. At south end of section becomes a scatter of small mortar fragments and gravel. Peters out at both ends. Thought to be related to the demolition of the church, or possibly, since the mortar fragments are small, to the subsequent preparation of the ground for conversion to pasture.

Layer 3. Light brown-yellow clay with some fragments of brick, peg tile, stone, flint, some chalk, small pieces of mortar, a little plain white wall-plaster, and some tiny, partially disintegrated fragments of stained glass. Mortar spread at base of this layer was yellower and sandier than mortar in Layer 2, and in Features A and B.

This layer may be partly explicable as soil creep, as the site is towards the lower end of the field, and there is a small but clear lynchet at the northern boundary of the field; but it is likely also to be successive spreads of excess soil from grave-digging. This is more probable as the tops of the graves merge into this layer, so that it is not clear whether any of them cut through it or not.

Towards the north end of the site, the layer of rubble increases in thickness and concentration, in a clay soil of mid-brown colour shading down gradually into the yellow-green-grey of apparently undisturbed subsoil. It is possible that this should be considered with Layer 2, and represent rubble from the demolition falling down the slope. Worm action and soil creep could account for its being dispersed through this layer with its ill-defined lower limit.

Layer 4. Of similar yellow clay to Layer 3, containing much the same rubble. One of the graves, Feature L, was clearly cut through it, but it seems to be part of the same process of build-up as Layer 3.

Trench II

Layer 1. As Trench I.

Layer 2. Corresponds also to Layer 2 in Trench I; contained small fragments of white plaster, some of it wall-plaster, and some brick-and-tile rubble. As in Trench I, it was not continuous along the whole section.

Layer 3. Very heavy mixed rubble: flint, tile, greensand and conglomerate (including one lump with the same mortar adhering as that in Layer 4), but very little brick, with much mortar mixed with mid-brown soil. This appears to be rubble backfilled into the hole made by demolishing the church down to its foundations. A phase of construction not represented at foundation level, and of unknown extent, is hinted at by the presence in this layer of a large lump of hard pale cream-white mortar (c. 0.25 m across) unlike any other found.

Layer 4. Intermittent layer in 3, a pale yellow, chalky texture, very shelly mortar.

Layer 5. Disturbed yellow clay with small lumps and flecks of chalk.

Possible pre-church features

AA. Foundation; fairly soft cream mortar with some small flint pebbles, with course of flint, greensand and thin brick. AA was already destroyed down to the present surviving level and covered

with Layer 5 when AB was laid. It is not clear whether AB actually cuts AA, or was laid alongside it. There is a thin skin of clay between AA and AB, but no more than might be deposited by the boots of workmen building AB.

AF. Cut by AE. Layer 1: very soft, quite loose, crumbly yellowish sand and shell mortar. In the spoil excavated by the builders from Trench II there was a large piece of tegula, partly covered with the same mortar. Layer 2: shallow patch of dirty yellow clay up to 3 cm deep at edge, appears in plan alongside and partly underlying Layer 1.

Church features

A. Foundation cut through by first JCB cutting, Trench I. Appears as subrectangular-section trench in Section I; just appears also on east side of Trench II, where it abuts Feature AE. Contained solid cream mortar and brick; not much tile. Sealed by General Layer 2. Contained a sherd of late-seventeenth- or eighteenth-century pottery.

B. Foundation, also cut through by first JCB trench. Appears with rounded section in Section I; also visible in section on east side of Trench II, but did not reach the floor of that trench. Layer 1: brick rubble, with lumps of yellow mortar, and many flecks of cream mortar. Layer 2: much heavier concentration of lumps of cream and yellow mortar, and of brick, with very little soil.

AB. Curved foundation. Large lumps of conglomerate laid in what may be part of a rough course in yellow mortar, quite soft and sandy with some shell, with quite a number of medium-sized flint pebbles scattered through it.

AE. Very large lump of conglomerate. Thought at first to be a fortuitously placed glacial erratic; but it became clear on cleaning that the eastern edge continued the curve of AB, and that part of a course of rubble masonry — several small tile fragments and a flint — set in similar yellow mortar to AB, survived on top of the 'monolith' on the eastern side of the trench, where the builders' JCB had not scraped off its top surface.

Possible post-church features

R. Shallow, dished feature containing light brown clay with tile in the top, shading down to cleaner clay, with some sparse fine gravel in the bottom. It cuts A, so is presumably post-church (since, as we shall see, A is likely to be one of the latest construction features of the church), but is beneath General Layer 2. It would not seem to be a robber pit for building rubble, as it cuts only shallowly through the side of the rubble-filled feature A, and makes no attempt to follow it. In this limited excavation, no explanation for it is obvious.

AD. Contained closely packed, large rounded flint pebbles set in a smooth cream mortar. It cut through General Layer 3, but was sealed by General Layer 2. It did not appear in the east section of Trench II. Again, in the circumstances, interpretation is not attempted.

Graves

It is a reasonable supposition that the features listed here are graves, on account of their size, shape and position, although none of them was excavated.

C. In plan, top at plan level contains mid-brown silty clay with quite a lot of roof-tile. The lower fill, as seen in section, is mottled grey and orange clay.

D. At level of plan, fill is mid-brown silty clay with much rubble, nearly all tiles.

E. Very dirty clay fill at level of plan, with flecks of brick and charcoal; this shaded across to same fill as C.

G. At level of plan, light yellow-brown silty clay fill, with tile and stone rubble. Lower level as seen in section contained smooth mottled grey-green and orange clay.

H. At level of plan, contained light brown silty clay with some clay lumps, and rubble — mostly tile.

K. At level of plan, fill was light brown silty clay, with lumps of yellow clay, stones and tile.

L. At level of plan, contained light yellow-brown silty clay, more loosely packed and slightly darker than surrounding layers, containing some flint and tile rubble. Lower fill as seen in section was greenish grey, with some lumps of solid yellow and grey clay.

N. In plan, fill was light yellow-brown silty clay, with some rubble. There was no colour change to distinguish this feature in section from the natural yellow-and-grey clay, but a less-solid-textured clay indicated its presence.

P. In plan, fill was light yellow-brown silty clay with rubble. In section, lower part of fill was slightly greyer yellow than surrounding natural; location of north edge not clear.

Q. Light yellow-brown silty clay with little rubble and a scatter of chalk flecks in plan. It was not possible to distinguish *Q* from *V* in section.

T. Fill at level of plan was light yellow-brown silty clay with rubble. In section, lower part of fill was more greyish/greenish yellow than surrounding natural, but junction with *V*, and north edge, not clear.

V. Fill in plan and section similar to both *P* and *T*.

AC. No soil colour or texture change was discernible, but the presence of a grave or other feature is inferred by dip of tiles at the south end of Section II.

Relationships between intercutting graves cannot always be deduced from the limited work done. *C* and *E* are thought to be two graves on almost the same line, as the two combined are too long for a single grave, and there is a slight change of direction in the middle. *D* and *Q* intersect, and here it is possible that *Q* is the later, as a tile fragment at the point of intersection dips down towards *Q*. *K* and *L* are also intercutting, and here the dip of a tile suggests that *L* is the later. *P*, *T* and *V* are all interpreted as graves; if this is so, they were dug so closely alongside each other that their sides cannot be distinguished. They are identified as separate features by the slight bowing of their ends.

Other features

J. Had two layers visible at plan level, or was one feature cutting another. Both contained quite heavy clay, with building rubble. The inner feature, or upper layer, was mid-brown in colour, and slightly more moisture retaining⁴ than the more yellow-orange lower layer (or earlier feature).

M. Not visible through any colour difference, but it retained moisture better than surrounding General Layer 4. Two fragments of fifteenth-century pottery found in top.

S. Gully, with very similar fill to graves *Q*, *C* and *P*. Not possible at level of plan to show relationship to *Q*, *C* and *P*.

F. Very dirty clay, with tile, flint and conglomerate rubble, and brick and charcoal flecking. No edges definable in area of dirty clay within line of *W*, but possibly a separate feature because showed better moisture-retaining properties.

W. Line of tile, flint and conglomerate rubble, apparently set in same dirty clay as *F*, but retaining water better than surrounding soil. Partly covered by lens of hard yellow clay. There was a definite edge to feature(s) *W/F* running obliquely across the corner of Trench I, beyond which was yellow disturbed clay as of General Layers 3 and 4.

X. Field drain trench, with earthenware field drain. Layer 1: mixed yellow-brown clay and mid-brown soil, with rubble. Layer 2: loosely packed hard yellow clay, with some small rubble and stones.

The Finds

These are deposited in the Chelmsford and Essex Museum, Cat. No. 1976/317. Listed above under Features.

Pottery

A. Base-and-body sherd of wide shallow dish; light orange fabric with cream inclusions, fairly loose textured, bricky, quite soft, with fairly sparse large and small haematite grits, fairly micaceous; tan-brown internal glaze. Late seventeenth or more probably eighteenth century.

K. Body sherd; light orange fabric with mid-grey surfaces, smooth, hard, close texture, micaceous. Late fourteenth to fifteenth century.

M. Two body sherds; orange with mid-grey core, quite hard and close textured, some sand, micaceous. Fifteenth century.

P. Shoulder sherd of Belgic pottery, with narrow cord on upper part of shoulder; quite abraded; dark brown fabric with darker surfaces, quite hard, some sand, micaceous. First century A.D.; probably post-Conquest.

W. Small body sherd; orange fabric with a few small red inclusions, smooth, slightly laminated, very micaceous. Probably fifteenth century.

Trench I, Layer 3. (i) Base of jug; orange fabric, hard, smooth, no visible grits, micaceous, flecks of brown glaze on outside of base. Sixteenth to late seventeenth century. (ii) Small body sherd very similar to those from *M*.

Trench I, Layer 4. Small body sherd; fairly hard, brown-orange, with large sand grits. Medieval.

Trench I, unstratified. (i) Base sherd of sag-bottomed vessel; orange with light grey core, hard, very smooth, slightly sandy, micaceous, flecks of decayed glaze on base. Fifteenth century. (ii) Two body sherds; hard, cream-white fabric, clear glaze on both sides. Also one similar but with blue floral underglaze pattern on outside; probably last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Iron

D. Small nail, square-section shaft.

N. Broken flat iron plate, 5 cm × 6 cm.

Trench I, Layer 3. Four square-section nails: one small hook or nail.

Bone

Trench I, Layer 4. Fragment of ulna or possibly tibia from pig or large dog; too small to be more definite. Has distinct man-made cut on one side.

Glass

Trench I, unstratified. (i) Small fragments of plain window glass, some very corroded. Medieval. (ii) One fragment of green bottle glass, modern.

Wall plaster

Trench I, Layer 3. A few small fragments of plain white wall plaster.

Tile and brick

Most of the brick and tile survived as loose rubble presumably redeposited in later features and destruction levels. There was a significant amount of Roman tile and probable Roman brick on the site, but the only structures in which it was incorporated were AA and AF. AA was constructed of large fragments of 1½-in. red bricks (as well as flint and greensand) set in mortar. A large piece of tegula, although unstratified, clearly came from AF as it had the same mortar adhering to it as was used in AF. Other fragments of tegula came from D, and unstratified in

Trenches I and II; there were two fragments of imbrex from K; and other pieces of probable Roman brick were found in D, F, Trench I (Layer 3) and unstratified in Trench I.

Examples kept of later bricks are as follows:

F. 2¼-in. brick fragment, unfrogged. Fifteenth to first quarter of seventeenth century.

Trench I, unstratified. (i) 2½-in. brick fragment, unfrogged, fabric hard with quite large pebble inclusions, two opposite faces covered with green-grey glaze. Likely date third quarter of the seventeenth century. (ii) 2½-in. brick, unfrogged, eighteenth century.

Roof tile fragments occurred in most of the features and layers; they can be classified as follows:

- (i) Single fragment of bonnet ridge tile, heavy, overfired, possibly fourteenth century or earlier (Trench I, unstratified).
- (ii) Peg tiles with round peg-hole, sixteenth to seventeenth century.
- (iii) Peg tiles with round peg-hole, later seventeenth to early eighteenth century.
- (iv) Peg tiles with square peg-hole, most likely seventeenth century or later.

Floor tile. There was one fragment, unstratified from Trench I; Flemish type, plain with yellow glaze, biscuit-fired. Fifteenth century.

Stone

Found built into structures (see Fig. 3):

AA. Greensand, flint.

AB. Conglomerate, flint.

AE. This was a conglomerate 'monolith'. The terms 'indurated gravel' and 'puddingstone' have been deliberately avoided, since at its south end the block was indurated gravel, whereas the north end was far more like a true puddingstone or Hertfordshire conglomerate.

Stone occurring as rubble in destruction levels, graves and other features (see Fig. 3) included: Greensand (two kinds), including one fragment with a dressed face from Trench II, Layer 3; ferruginous sandstone; crystalline sandstone; conglomerate; flint; shelly limestone; chalk.

Samples of the different mortars were also taken, and are kept with the finds in the Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

Discussion

In view of the extremely limited nature of the excavation, any conclusions drawn here, especially about the pre-church history of the site, must be very tentative.

It is clear, however, that there were Roman remains sufficiently close for Roman brick and tile to be available for use in the building. (The earliest known medieval bricks, from Polstead church, Suffolk, are dated to c. 1150-60 (Harley, 137). Even to postulate an eleventh-century date for the bricks used in AA would scarcely allow time for AA to be erected, ruined and the remains so thoroughly covered with soil before AB/AE was constructed on its site. It can therefore be confidently stated that the brick in AA, as well as the tile, is Roman.) Quite a number of Essex churches contain not only possible Roman brick but undoubtedly Roman roof tiles and opus signinum. In some instances this may imply earlier Roman use of the same site, as at Rivenhall, where the church has been proved to have been built on the site of a Roman villa (Rodwell, 1973, a and b). In other cases, as is likely at Broomfield church, Roman material will have been brought from up to a mile away.

What is not clear is whether AA and AF are the remains of Roman structures, or of an early church re-using Roman material. AA was certainly ruined by the time AB/AE was built; a layer of clay soil (General Layer 5) had been deposited over it, through which AB was cut. Further, as shown above, it contains only Roman building materials.

AF is also earlier than AB/AE, as it is cut by AE. Its relationship to AA, if any, was not demonstrable. The large piece of tegula found in the barn builders' spoil, partly covered with the same distinctive shelly, sandy mortar as that found in AF, may be assumed to be associated with it, and this is the only datable material from AF.

AB/AE seems best interpreted as the end of an apsidal chancel. Churches with apsidal east ends may be of any date from Saxon to the first half of the twelfth century. It seems probable that Ingrave is post-Conquest, as fragments of roof tile were laid in courses in AB and AE. There is no evidence at present that roof tile was produced after the Roman period until after the Norman Conquest. This would bring Ingrave into line with the other small churches with apsidal east ends found throughout Essex, unicellular like Little Braxted (*R.C.H.M.*, III, 162), dated to the twelfth century, or of slightly more sophisticated plan, such as Copford, c. 1100 (*R.C.H.M.*, III, 76-78), or White Notley before the chancel was rebuilt, late eleventh century (*R.C.H.M.*, II, 252-53). The Walker map shows the church with three lancet windows high up in the south wall; if this detail is architecturally correct it would agree with a twelfth-century date. Walker also shows a south porch with a round-headed or, more likely, since a Norman porch would be unique, a four-centred arch. This may be the work undertaken under the terms of the Wallis Charity, c. 1520.

As to whether the apsidal end survived until the demolition in 1734, the evidence is conflicting. Holman's description (see above, p. 50) cannot be used to decide the issue; he does not describe the church as apsidal, but he is not consistent in recording this feature in other churches. Feature A, interpreted as a buttress foundation, appears to butt on to the apsidal end AE. Since A contained a sherd of late-seventeenth- to eighteenth-century pottery, if it were buttressing AE this would indicate the survival of the apse to the end of the building's life. However, feature B, thought also to be a buttress foundation (though possibly, since the fill is different, of a different date from A), is at the wrong angle to buttress AE. It would be at the right angle to buttress a square-ended chancel. The possibility must be admitted that Trench III's General Layer 3 represents, not the destruction of the wall built on AB/AE, but of a later, square-ended chancel wall overriding the apse foundations, which was demolished so thoroughly as to leave no direct trace. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that Walker clearly depicts a gable-end roof with overhanging eaves, implying a square-ended chancel. In any case, A, and possibly B, probably represent a last attempt to prevent the church from collapsing into the ruinous condition described by Morant (I, 215).

Conclusion

This excavation, as is common with limited excavations, raised questions to which it did not supply full answers. However, the site of St. Nicholas' church is not under any immediate threat, as fortunately the present owner is aware of its importance and is anxious to preserve it. If it ever became necessary, therefore, these problems of interpretation could be elucidated by further excavation.

Note: In May 1976 a farm manager's house was built in the south-west corner of Church Field, outside the line of the churchyard's western boundary. The trenches were completely barren of archaeological features.

Acknowledgements

The writer wishes to thank the following people: Capt. R. P. Laurie, the owner of the land, for permission to excavate, for the loan of William Stane's map, and for his interest and helpfulness throughout the excavation; Mr. Brewington, of Savills, Norwich, chartered surveyors, for his help and interest; Mr. W. Britnell, of Brentwood District Council, for bringing the application to

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In acknowledging the help of the above people, the writer wishes to make it clear that any errors, and all opinions expressed, are her own responsibility.

NOTES

1. Copies of documents relating to the Wallis Charity for Parish Church Ingrave
By an Inquisition taken 1 May 1703 it was found that in or about 1520 John Wallis gave 'unto the Parishioners of Ingrave 1 Croft of land . . . the rents and profits to be employed towards the repairing the Parish Church'. . . . By the Decree made thereon it was ordered that the rents and profits should thenceforth be employed towards the reparation of the said Parish Church of Ingrave from time to time.
2. D.O.M. Et Divo Nicolao Sacrum. Robertus Jacobus Petre Baro de Writtle Ambabus Aedibus et Paroeciis Thorndon Occidentali & Ingrave In unam ex S.C. coalescentibus Posuit 1734.
3. See notes made in the private Memorandum Book of Thomas Young (1778-1851) of Ingrave:
'On a Portland stone found in Ingrave Old Churchyard Jan^y. 1845

Here Lyes the Body of Edmund Son of Edmund Clark Esq^r. of West Horndon. Who died the 29 of May Anno Domini 1731 Aged 4 years and six months.

Also Near this Stone Lyes a Stone Coffin towards the North, when opened Contained a few bones.'

I am indebted to Mr. C. C. Stevens of Herongate for drawing my attention to this reference.

4. As the soil was baked by the very hot, dry weather, the expedient was adopted of watering the trench at intervals. Areas which retained water as the rest dried out again were quite noticeable, and have therefore been recorded as possible features.

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Work of Essex County Council Archaeology Section 1977

Edited by C. COUCHMAN

In 1976 the Archaeology Section of E.C.C.'s Planning Department published its first compendium of reports (Couchman (ed.), 1976, 144-183). Some 26 discoveries worthy of report were made in 1977. In addition larger excavations at Kelvedon and Orsett (both Iron Age, Roman and Saxon settlements) and Chignal St. James (Roman 'villa' complex) were undertaken. These will be published separately (but see note on trial trench at Chignal below, pp. 77-84).

Items are arranged in chronological order, multi-period sites being listed under the earliest period represented. References relate to the County Archaeological Record. Members of the Section who have contributed include: J. Hedges (Archaeological Officer), D. Buckley (Assistant Archaeological Officer), Miss C. Couchman, M. Eddy, M. Petchey (who has now left the Section), and H. Toller; also M. Wadhams of the County Council's Historic Building Section. These are referred to by initials. The Section records its gratitude to archaeological societies and individuals who have carried out work on its behalf, also to those who have provided specialist reports.

1. TQ 98.6 and 98.22. Barling Hall, Barling Magna. TQ 937 896. D.B.

Watching-briefs and rescue excavations were carried out by D.B., C.C., and M.E., and D. G. Macleod of Southend Museum, upon new extensions to Baldwin's Farm Gravel Pit. The extensions comprised (Figs. 1 and 3):

Area 1: about three acres of marginal gravel deposit between old workings and the Barling Creek sea wall immediately to the south of Barling Hall.

Area 2: about ten acres of gravel from the first phase of a major new extension to the pit north and west of Barling Hall.

Background

Finds were first made in the gravel workings east of Barling village in the 1950s. Some were deposited in Southend Museum, and others are in private collections. They include:

Palaeolithic: numerous artefacts and faunal remains. In Southend Museum are Middle Acheulian hand axes, a few flakes and flake tools, and a pebble-chopper; these are fresh and unrolled, and are clearly not derived from older deposits. The bones include fragments of elephant, horse (*equus*), red deer (*cervus elaphus*), *bos primigenius*, bison, rhinoceros and giant elk (*megaceros*) (Gruhn *et al.*, 1974, 63).

Mesolithic: a micro-burin and unretouched blades and flakes are in the collection of J. Mercer, Isle of Jura (C.B.A. Meso. Survey).

Neolithic: a flint sickle was deposited in Southend Museum in 1963 (Fig. 5.3).

Roman: pottery including a samian platter of f. 31, an amphora handle and a fourth-century urn, also part of a quern and burnt bones were found in 1950 (Essex III, 1963, 47).

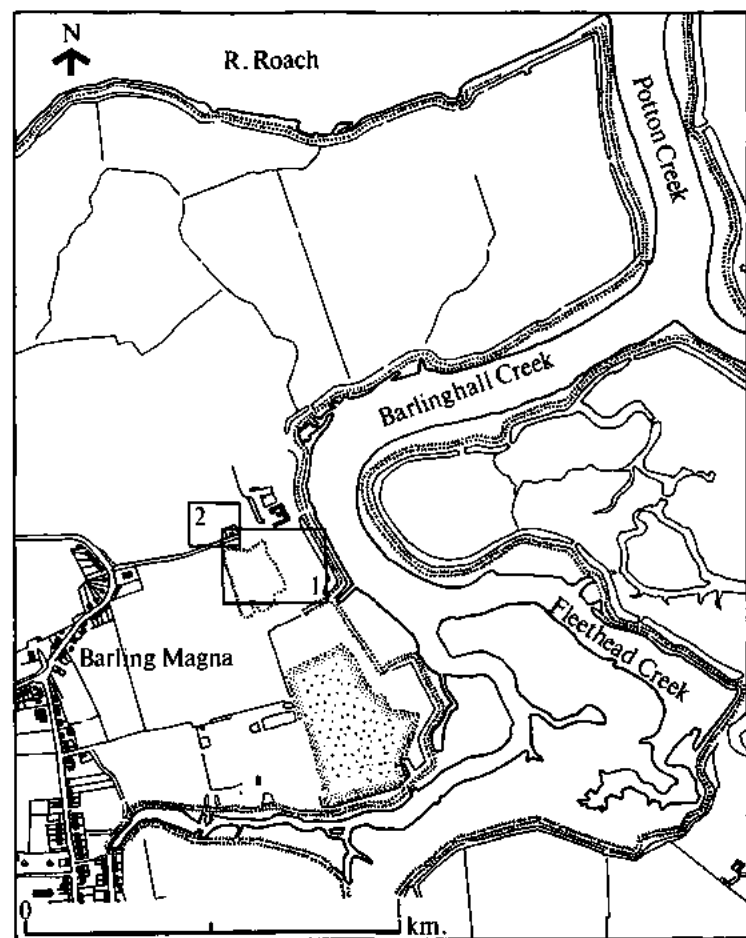


Fig. 1 Barling Hall: Areas 1 and 2 (location map).

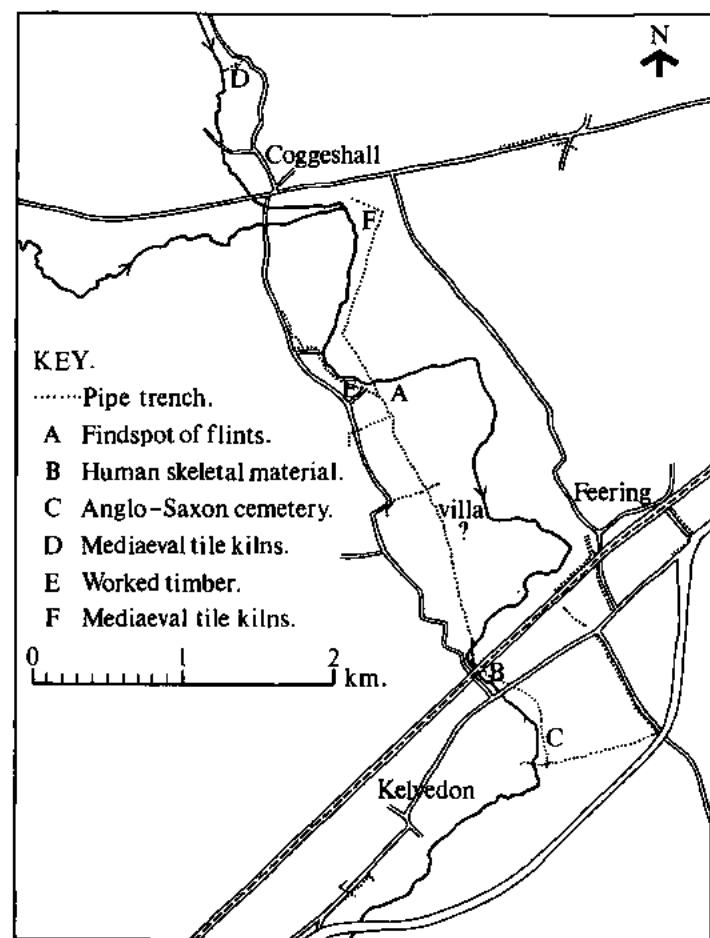


Fig. 2 Coggeshall-Feering-Kelvedon pipeline.

Although these finds are from an area likely to yield cropmarks, none is known to the south of the road from Barling Church to Barling Hall. However, there are features faintly visible to the north of this road, including a possible oval enclosure and periglacial ice-wedges. (These are visible on photographs in Southend Museum (S.M. 35/13/125-6) and on one supplied by Mr. K. Crowe of the South Essex Archaeological Society, taken in June 1977.)

Geology and geomorphology

The complex geological history of south-east Essex has been studied recently by Gruhn *et al.* (1974, 53-71). The site under consideration is located upon Pleistocene sands and gravels known as the Barling Terrace. These deposits are confined to the area south of the River Crouch, the gravels extending from Shoebury to Paglesham, and are best seen in Baldwin's Farm Pit. Here a maximum depth of 16 feet has been observed, overlain by brickearth. This late glacial loessic deposit proved variable in thickness, being absent in the vicinity of Features 1 and 2, but elsewhere attaining a depth of up to two metres.

The palaeolithic artefacts and faunal remains mentioned above were derived from the Barling Terrace gravels. The mesolithic, neolithic and Roman finds, on the basis of the 1977 observations reported here, must have derived from the surface of, and from features cut into, the brickearth and gravel.

Watching-brief and excavations

On the basis of the evidence outlined above, it was considered that a watch was merited on the mechanical stripping of the topsoil and brickearth from the new areas of the gravel pit. Lack of knowledge of definite features plus limitations of finance precluded excavation. Prior to topsoil stripping Mr. J. Wymer visited the pit and examined all visible sections and heaps of screened material for palaeolithic evidence. He established that no bones had been found for several years, and recommended that from the palaeolithic aspect there was no reason to delay gravel extraction. The watching-brief produced no new evidence, though during clearing of the area round Features 1 and 2, Area 1, fragments of two Acheulian hand axes were found (Fig. 5.1).

Following commencement of topsoil stripping, visits were made by the author and Mr. D. G. Macleod, and the features described below recorded. Only those features which were excavated or produced finds have been given feature numbers. The difficulties of excavating features in brick-earth when the fills are almost identical to the natural are well known; and unfortunately it was not possible to wait for optimum excavation conditions, since removal of the brickearth by box scraper followed immediately upon removal of the topsoil. Ditch- and pit-like features recognised by the presence of charcoal flecking and/or crushed tile and pottery proved impossible to follow or relate to other features lacking these indicators. Therefore this report is only a limited summary of what was lost.

Area 1 (Fig. 3)

Feature 1 (Fig. 4, Pl. 1): well-defined feature cut into loose sand and gravel, appearing as a roughly rectangular pit. Fill fine light sandy loam with scattered small pebbles, these increasing towards bottom of feature. Maximum depth (under c. 0.3 m topsoil removed by scraper): 0.2 m. Fill flecked with charcoal throughout; charcoal also concentrated into a number of thin lenses. Clear junction between base of fill and unconsolidated gravel. Cut into gravel at eastern end of F. 1 was a pit (Fig. 4A), also with fine light sandy loam fill, which though lacking a post pipe is believed to be a post-hole. Immediately east of this was a further depression (Fig. 4B), possibly the base of another, shallower post-hole. Finds from F. 1 had a random distribution throughout the fill; their dates range from the first to the eighth century A.D.

Feature 2 (Fig. 4): irregular east-west ditch cut into sand and gravel just north of F. 1. Sectioned in four places, it had a depth of 0.3 m in Cutting III, but elsewhere was less than 0.1 m deep. Fill fine light sandy loam, virtually stone-free. Finds (flint) later prehistoric. There is no evidence to

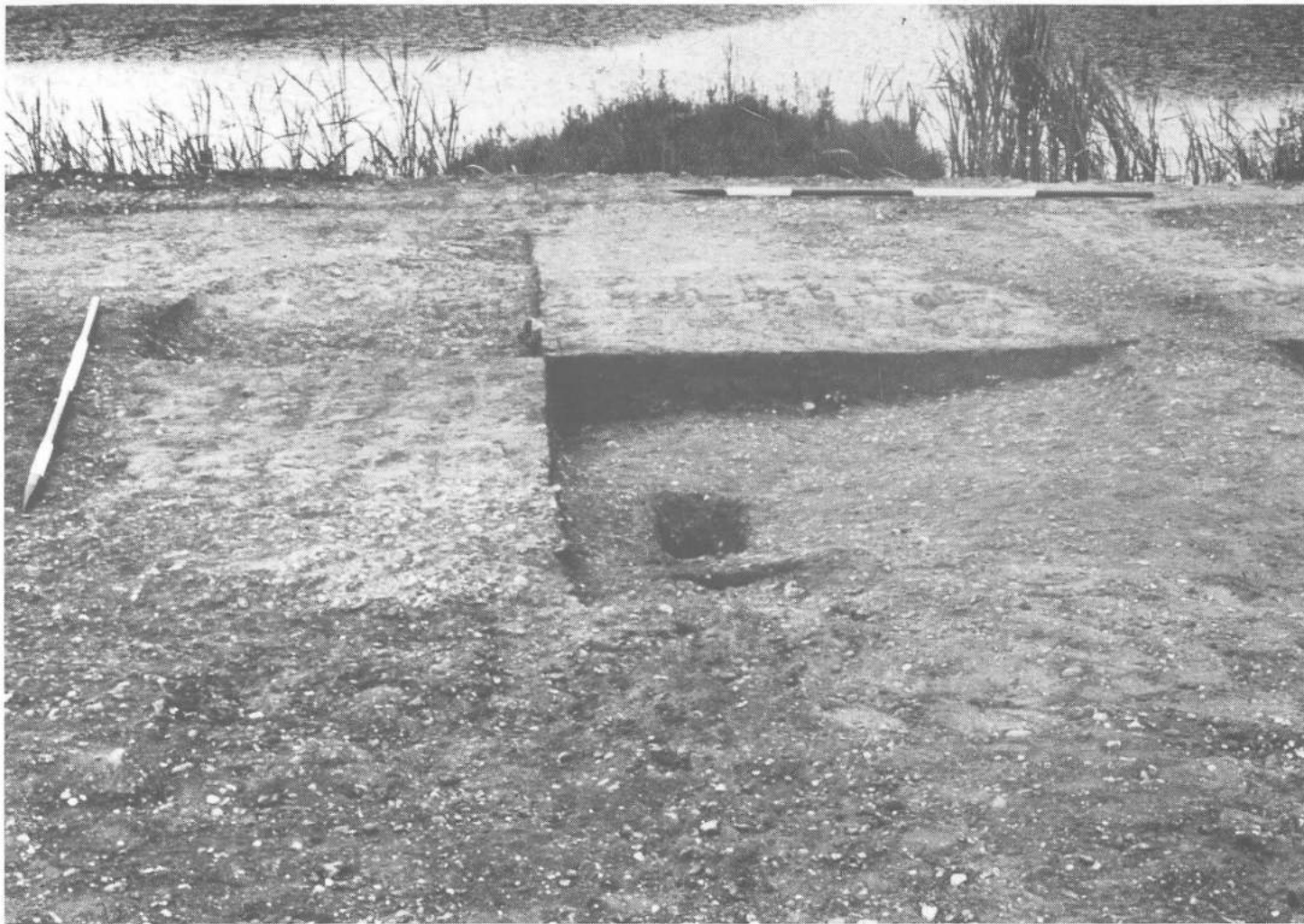


PLATE I

Barling Hall. Area 1, Feature 1: Saxon grubenhaus.

[Facing page 62]

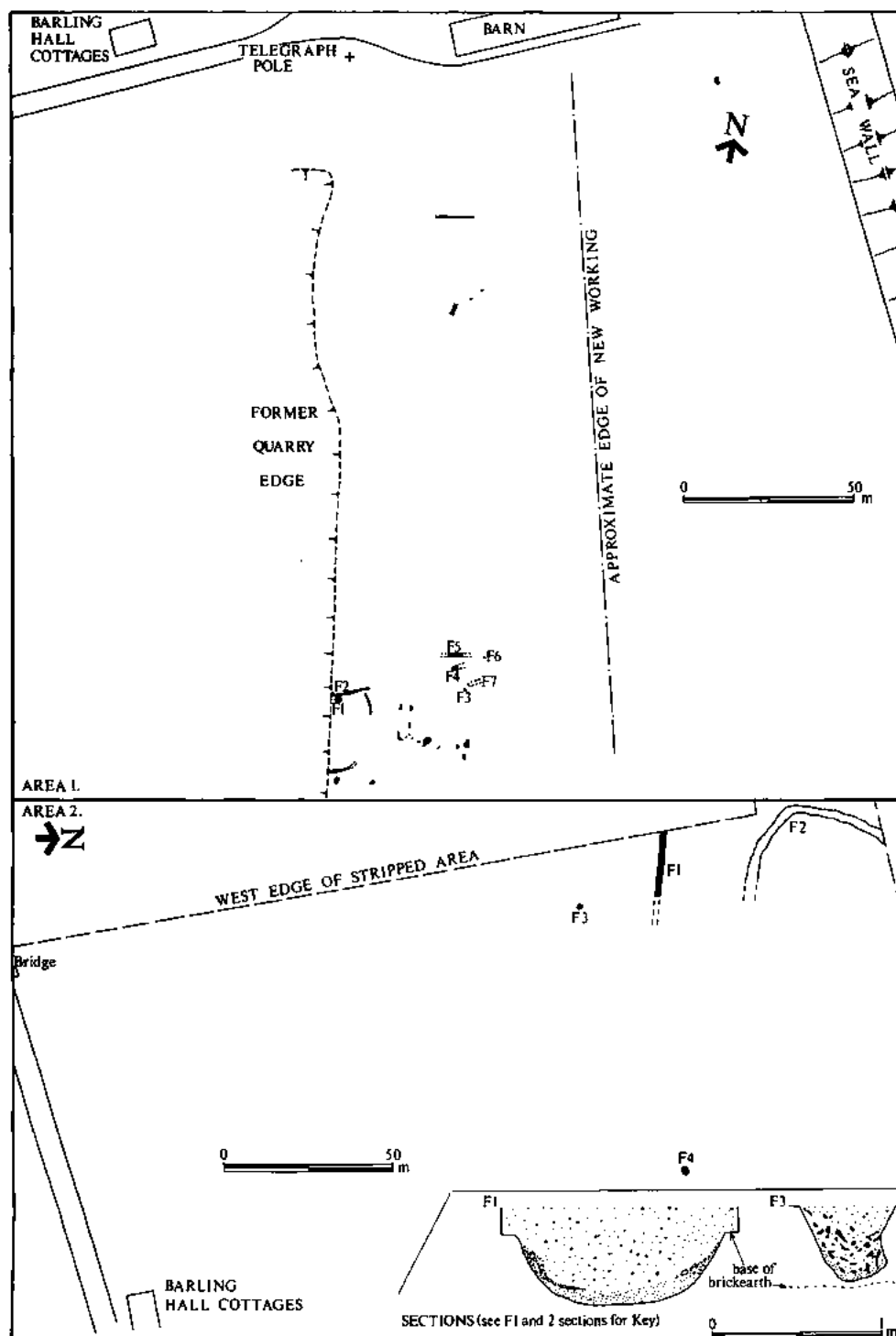


Fig. 3 Barling Hall: Areas 1 and 2 (site plan).

relate this ditch to F.1; the section shows that if projected to surface level the proximity of these features would make contemporaneity unlikely.

Feature 3 (Fig. 3): small straight-sided, flat-bottomed circular pit, 0.85 m in diameter, 0.3 m deep, cut into brickearth. Fill uniform charcoal-flecked brown clay, with finds scattered randomly throughout. Dateable pottery 1100–1300 A.D.

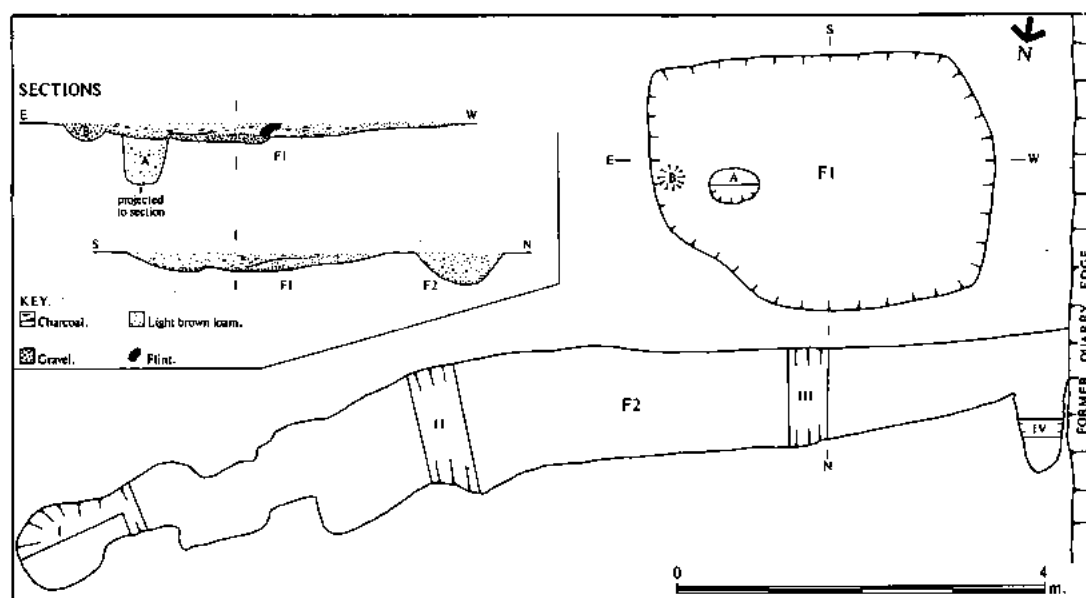


Fig. 4 Barling Hall: Area 1, Features 1 and 2.

Feature 4 (Fig. 3): straight-sided, flat-bottomed ditch 0.6 m wide by 0.2 m deep, of which only an end segment 1.0 m long was excavated. Cut into brickearth with a fine brown loam fill, it proved impossible to trace more than a few metres. Apart from charcoal flecking in the ditch fill there were no finds.

Feature 5 (Fig. 3): length of ditch c. 1.2 m wide, traced for a distance of several metres. A section was attempted but not bottomed. Although located from charcoal flecks and crushed pottery no complete sherds or other items were found.

Feature 6 (Fig. 3): small straight-sided, flat-bottomed circular pit c. 0.6 m in diameter and 0.2 m deep. Cut into brickearth it had a fine brown loam fill. Finds prehistoric but not more closely dated.

Feature 7 (Fig. 3): probably a ditch, but no definite edges could be traced in the brickearth; located from charcoal flecks and crushed pot.

Area 2 (Fig. 3)

A small quantity of flint, pottery and stone was collected from the brickearth, some probably from features not clearly discernible (see finds reports below).

Feature 1: length of east–west ditch which in the west face of the stripped area was 1.2 m wide at the base of the brickearth and c. 1.2 m deep (including 0.5 m added to drawn section to take this to ground level). Fill fine loam virtually indistinguishable from the brickearth, with some gravel lenses towards the base. No finds.

Feature 2: natural, though appearing man-made where seen cutting the gravel below the brickearth. A section across it did not reach the bottom, the sides proving to be vertical and to have a

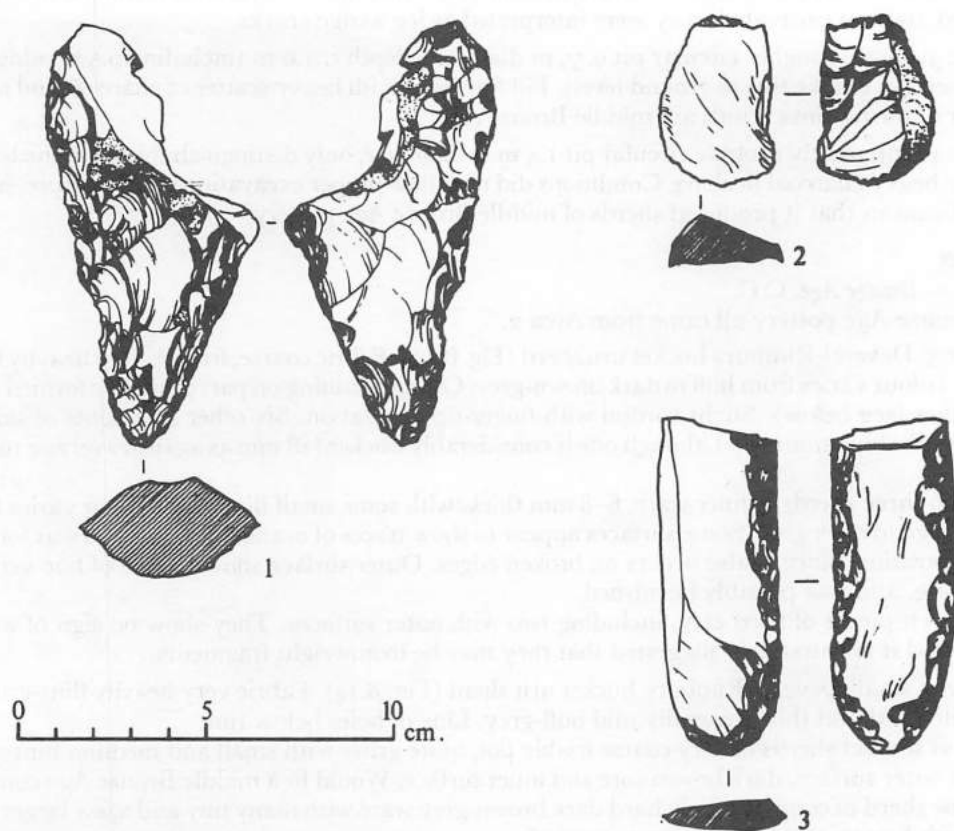


Fig. 5 Barling Hall (flints).

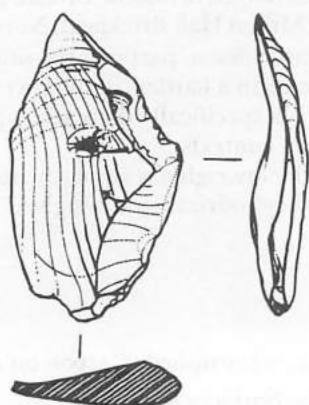


Fig. 6 Springfield (flint).

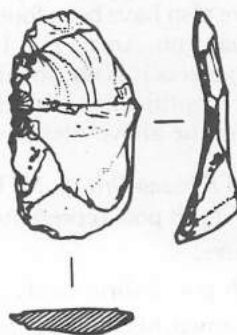


Fig. 7 Coggeshall (flint).

sharp boundary with the gravel. Fill hard brown clay. Other more obviously natural features were observed and not excavated; they were interpreted as ice wedge cracks.

Feature 3: small, roughly circular pit 0.55 m diameter, depth c. 1.0 m (including 0.5 m added to drawn section to take this to ground level). Fill fine loam with heavy scatter of charcoal and a fair number of burnt flints. Finds are middle Bronze Age.

Feature 4: apparently roughly circular pit 1.5 m in diameter, only distinguishable from the brick-earth by heavy charcoal flecking. Conditions did not allow proper excavation of this feature, but it is significant in that it produced sherds of middle Bronze Age pottery.

The finds

Pottery — Bronze Age. C.C.

The Bronze Age pottery all came from Area 2.

Feature 3: Deverel-Rimbury bucket urn sherd (Fig. 8.13). Fabric coarse, friable, very heavily flint-gritted, colour varies from buff to dark brown-grey. Orange staining on part of surface formed after deposition (see below). Slight cordon with finger-tip decoration. Six other fragments of similar fabric, probably same vessel, though one is considerably thicker (18 mm as against average 10 mm of others).

Also three sherds of finer ware, 6–8 mm thick, with some small flint grits, colour varies from buff-orange to dark grey. Some surfaces appear to show traces of orange slip, but this was formed after deposition, since it also occurs on broken edges. Outer surface shows traces of fine vertical smoothing, and was possibly burnished.

Eleven pieces of fired clay, including two with outer surfaces. They show no sign of wattle marks, and it is tentatively suggested that they may be loomweight fragments.

Feature 4: small Deverel-Rimbury bucket urn sherd (Fig. 8.14). Fabric very heavily flint-gritted, but quite hard and thin, generally mid buff-grey. Line of holes below rim.

Also several sherds of very coarse friable pot, quite gritty with small and medium flint grits. Orange outer surface, dark brown core and inner surface. Would fit a middle Bronze Age context.

One sherd of comparatively hard dark brown-grey ware with many tiny and a few larger flint grits, with fine smoothing lines on outer surface.

One fragment of fired clay.

Feature 6: two abraded sherds of flint-gritted pottery; prehistoric.

These finds make this the fourth site in Essex now recognised to be of middle Bronze Age date with finds of non-funerary character. The others are Mucking; Milton Hall Brickfield, North Shoebury; and Braintree (see pp. 71–74 below). Milton Hall provides a particularly interesting parallel, since there also have been found small bucket urn sherds in a harder, thinner, very gritty fabric similar to that from Area 2 F.4. It is suggested that this is a specifically domestic type, since unlike the larger buckets it is not so far represented in funerary contexts.

The tentative identification of the fired clay fragments as loomweights is strengthened by the fact that all three of the above sites have produced undoubted cylindrical loomweights.

Pottery — Saxon and Romano-British. M. U. Jones

All from Area 1, F.1, 28 pots represented (Fig. 8).

A. Handmade wares:

1. Probable thumb-pot. Fabric sandy, brown core, both surfaces burnished. Carbon on outside.
2. Fabric sandy, brown/black, occasional rounded white grits. Surfaces smoothed.
3. Fabric sandy, brown occasional very small white grits. Surfaces smoothed, black.
4. Probable biconical pot. Fabric sandy, brown core, black smoothed surfaces. Three alternate wide and narrow grooves above blunt carination — Myres's 'line and groove' technique (Myres, 1977, 3 Figs. 88, 89, 90; Myres, 1969, 25, 30; Jones *et al.*, 1968, 224).

5. Fabric sandy, rounded white grits. Core and inside surface black, outside brownish. Outside covered with thick slip containing abundant grits, suggestive of pebbledash; seems to be an example of *schlickung*, intentional roughening of outer surface by application of slip containing large particles, presumably to create a firmer grip (van Es, 1967, 273). The rare occurrence of this technique on English sites, though common on the Continent, may indicate its early date.
6. Fabric sandy, rounded white grits. Outside and part of break pale brown, possibly due to firing after fracture; otherwise black; inside smoothed.
7. Fabric similar to 6, but core brown, more laminated and with more grits. Smooth lines on both surfaces.
8. Fabric sandy, rounded white grits, vesicular surfaces from which grits presumably lost. Core and inside grey, outside brown.
9. Fabric hard grey, occasional rounded white grits. Inside smoothed, outside with rough slip as on 5, but lacking added grits.

B. Wheelthrown wares:

10. Probable biconical pot. Fabric grey, with much of possibly burnished surface weathered to expose well-levigated sandy core. Traces of black deposit wiped along inside angle, and on outside. Form more nearly resembles Frankish biconical than Romano-British pots, c.f. two pots from Prittlewell (Pollitt, 1930, 387; Pollitt, 1953, 74 and Pl. XIV). Sherds of comparable fabric, recognisably Frankish from their stamps and rouletting, have been found in Saxon hut fills at Mucking. Evison has suggested a seventh-century date for Frankish pottery (1965, 42).

11. Copy Dr. 38 bowl. Fabric hard, fine grey core, orange/red colour coat. Romano-British.

12. Probable flask. Fabric grey, sandy. Romano-British.

All the hand-made sherds can be matched in the early Saxon settlement at Mucking, which has a provisional date range late fourth to early eighth century A.D. Only three sherds have distinctive characteristics which allow specific comparison: Fig. 8.4, 5 and 9, and may indicate an early, perhaps fifth-century, date.

The general character of the Saxon pottery at Mucking and the problems of dating pottery groups from the fills of sunken huts, are described in Jones 1969, 147. The pottery may be derived from:

- a. The existing surface into which the hut was dug;
- b. The occupation of the hut;
- c. The rubbish thrown into the abandoned hut hollow.

It follows that hut assemblages cannot be considered as necessarily contemporary. Thus the main interest of this pottery lies in its site value, since it adds a new dot to the map of early Saxon Essex. Sherds 4, 5 and 9 imply that the settlement is very early, possibly fifth century. The absence of 'grass'-tempered sherds may be noted, but need not be significant in such a small assemblage.

Pottery — Mediaeval. M.P.

Area 1. F.3: two body sherds, slightly shell-gritted with vesicular surfaces. 1100–1300.

Also three body sherds, grey fabric, red surfaces, with some fine quartzite grits. Probably mediaeval.

Area 2: probable mediaeval sherds and tile come from the brickearth.

Metalwork

All the metalwork came from Area 1, F.1:

Bronze

- i. Fibula (Fig. 13.2). Very corroded, but there are indications that the pin was hinged and of iron. The arms are corroded away; and indeed the present pointed form of the foot may be due to corrosion. Head, bow and foot are decorated with rows of evenly spaced dots interspersed with horizontal lines. It seems to correspond most closely with Hull's Type 43, a debased eye-brooch (Hull, forthcoming, Pl. 194), although the vertical head does not appear to have a parallel. Hull states that there is no evidence of this type's survival beyond c. 70 A.D. However, it may be a Type 44, in which case it may be as late as the end of the first century A.D.
- ii. Part of small curved bar (Fig. 13.1), incomplete. If the curve were maintained, it would be of overall diameter of c. 120 mm. Neckring?

Iron

- i. Rectangular piece of iron 50 mm long, 32 mm wide, 10 mm thick.
- ii. L-shaped object (broken), arms 100 mm and 30 mm long, 20 mm wide and 8 mm thick, also two fragments probably of same object. Box binding?
- iii. Nail or pin 43 mm long.
- iv. Three small pieces, one with fibres adhering.
- v. Two pieces of slag.

Baked clay

Area 1, F.1: 25 small fragments, including soft and hard fired pieces.

Area 1, F.3: seven fragments.

Area 2, F.3 and F.4: see under Bronze Age pottery, p. 66 above.

Stone

Area 1, F.1: five small pieces of grey vesicular lava. Niedermendig?

Area 2: two joining pieces of the same stone from the brickearth, having two worked faces; probably quern.

Flint

Area 1, F.1: one scraper with steep retouch on distal end and one side, broken (Fig. 5.2). one blade core from pebble flint, cortex remaining in part, four small waste flakes, one piece of burnt flint. Also one waste flake of brown pebble which is probably palaeolithic.

F.2: one small end scraper 28 mm by 26 mm by 6 mm, and one waste flake.

F.6: one small 'pear-shaped' grey translucent flint flake with signs of wear at pointed and opposed rounded ends, 22 mm by 12 mm, and one piece of burnt flint.

From the gravel near F.1 came a two-thirds-complete Acheulian handaxe (Fig. 5.1), and a small piece of another.

Area 2, F.3: two flint flakes.

In addition a quantity of worked flint was collected from the surface of the brickearth of Area 2:

four cores, all very rough.

19 flakes, mainly waste, only four having additional working, two to form small thumb-nail scrapers (one broken).

Glass

Area 1, F.1: one small piece of flat slightly greenish tinged glass, possibly modern; also a small fragment c. 10 mm square, 5 mm thick, roughly worked piece of green glass, possibly a bead.

Bone. M.W.

Area 1, F.1: 51 fragments, representing:

one molar *bos*, very fragmented, 20 fragments.

one incisor *sus*, four fragments.

two fragments ribs, probably *sus*.

one small fragment skull, *sus*.

one unidentifiable fragment long bone, very weathered, probably gnawed by animals.

The sample is too small and fragmentary to draw any conclusions; one *bos* is represented and probably more than one pig.

Mollusca

Area 1, F.3: oyster, mussel, cockle and winkle.

Charcoal

Area 1, F.1: several fragments of *corylus* sp. (hazel); identified by C. Cartwright.

Area 2, F.3: sample submitted to the British Museum for C.14 dating.

Conclusion

The watching-brief had limited results given the rescue nature of the work. Apart from the Acheulian handaxes the flintwork found, mainly waste flakes, could only be attributed generally to a later prehistoric date. Its main value came from the recognition of Bronze Age and Saxon features.

The Bronze Age finds, sherds from Deverel-Rimbury bucket urns, come from two widely spaced pits in Area 2. This discovery was entirely fortuitous, one pit being half sectioned by the machine and the other located from exposed finds in the brickearth. It is reasonable to assume that other features of this date were present but unrecognised. The nature of the finds suggests domestic rather than funerary activity.

The finds from Area 1, F.1 had a date range from the first to the eighth century A.D. However, a date in the fifth century is possible, derived Roman material having contributed to the finds within the final silt. The feature is tentatively interpreted as the hollow to a Saxon *grubenhaus*, the small dimensions of which are paralleled at Mucking (Jones, 1969, 145).

Other finds from both areas had no discernible pattern. However, despite the difficulty of finding features in the brickearth the impression was that over Area 1 there was no concentrated occupation. F.1 was isolated, in an area with only undated ditches and occasional mediaeval features. The overall pattern of ditches could only have been traced with considerable effort. The Roman finds from earlier gravel-working west of F.1 suggest more intensive occupation which may also have been the focus of Saxon settlement. The greater quantity of finds from the brickearth over Area 2 suggests more intensive occupation. Some of this was Bronze Age, though later occupation also occurred.

Southend Museum.

2. TL 70. Springfield, Chelmsford. TL 716 086. M.E.

A palaeolithic flint knife with creamy yellow patina (Fig. 6) was lent for study by Mr. Stone of Feering. The knife, which fits comfortably into the hand, shows signs of use on the cutting edges, and retouch on the bulbar end.

Private possession.

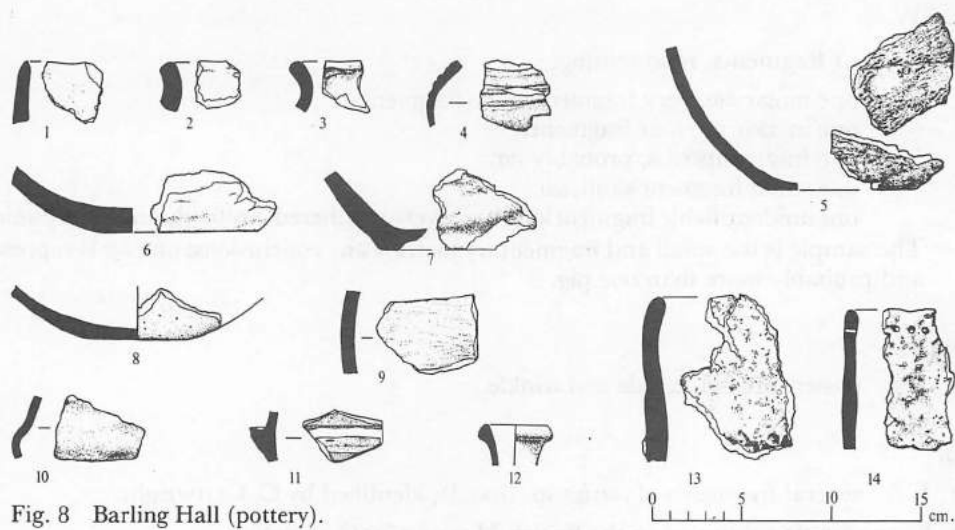


Fig. 8 Barling Hall (pottery).

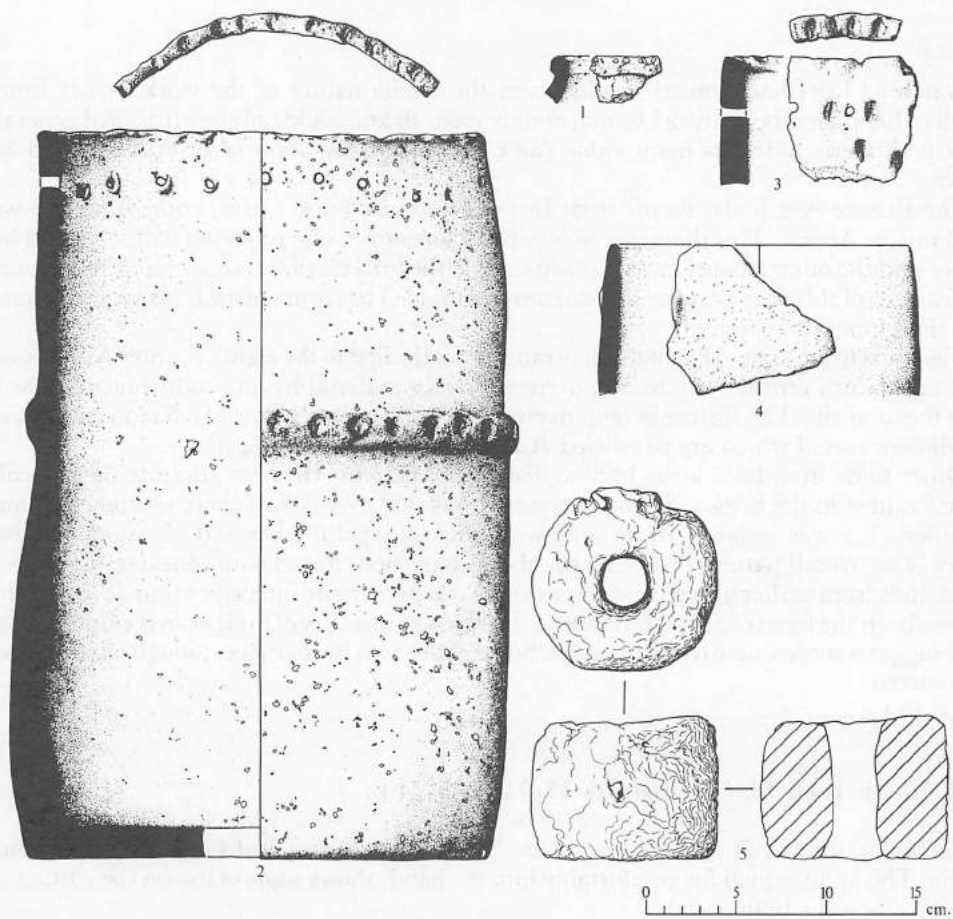


Fig. 9 Marlborough Road, Braintree (pottery).

3. TL 81 and 82. Coggeshall, Kelvedon and Feering sewage disposal scheme. M.E.

Work still in progress on this major cross-country sewer line has brought to light a number of new finds and is scheduled to cut through or pass close to several known sites (Fig. 2).

Site A (TL 857 212). Four struck flint flakes, only one of which showed signs of use (Fig. 7), were found by Mrs. I. Särilvik of Colchester Archaeological Group. Probably neolithic.

Colchester Museum.

Site B (TL 81.6; TL 864 194). Fragments of a human skull, associated with deer and horse bones, were found during thrust-boring a tunnel below the north side of the railway embankment near Kelvedon station. The bones occurred between 1.85 m and 2.15 m below present ground level in a black clayey sediment lying directly on glacial gravel. Pieces of wood and other vegetable matter were noticed but not kept.

The skull fragments were examined by C. B. Denton (Cambridge University). They are of a *homo sapiens* female, aged 30–40 years at death. Lack of artefacts precludes dating.

Thanks are due to Mr. A. Bonner of Feering for the above information.

Colchester Archaeological Group.

Site E (TL 82.65; TL 856 213). A substantial oak timber, a half tree-trunk c. 1.25 m long, was recovered from the bed of the River Blackwater. It had two hemispherical hollows, some 0.5 m deep, adzed into its flat side; these were filled with molluscan remains. The exterior was covered in dark silty clay.

The function of the timber is not clear. It may represent the footings of a bridge or, when the river was wider, a small jetty. It has been dated by C.14 analysis to 1480 ± 70 A.D. (HAR 2345).

Colchester Museum.

Site C (TL 81.59; TL 868 189). The edge of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery is soon to be sectioned by the pipeline.

Site D (TL 82.87; TL 848 234) and Site F (TL 82.72; TL 857 224). Both sites are mediaeval tileries, the latter probably associated with Coggeshall Abbey. Both will be sectioned by the pipeline.

4. TL 72.75. Marlborough Road, Braintree. TL 769 238. C.C.

Construction of the Fairview housing estate has led to the discovery and recording by Mr. T. Turner of Braintree (to whom I am indebted for the information) of a small Roman settlement (see Couchman in Couchman (ed.), 1976, 162). Mr. Turner intends to publish the Roman finds; two pits, however, were prehistoric.

The geological sequence in the Braintree area is of London Clay overlain by glacial sands and gravels, into which the river valleys cut. Above the sands and gravels is Chalky Boulder Clay topping the plateaux between the valleys, and having slight depressions filled with patches of gravel and loam. In the valley bottoms are recent fluvial deposits (Holmes in Kenworthy, 1899, 122). The two pits were cut into glacial gravel, just over half-way up a north-facing slope above the River Blackwater (Fig. 10).

Pit A (Fig. 11)

A shallow, possibly sub-rectangular pit (complete plan not recovered as it was cut by a pipe trench). The fill contained fine charcoal and some burnt pebbles, but there was no evidence of *in situ* burning. From Layer 1 there were fragments of neolithic pottery, probably of one vessel, in a crumbly orange-brown very micaceous ware with large and small flint grits (Fig. 9.1). On analogy

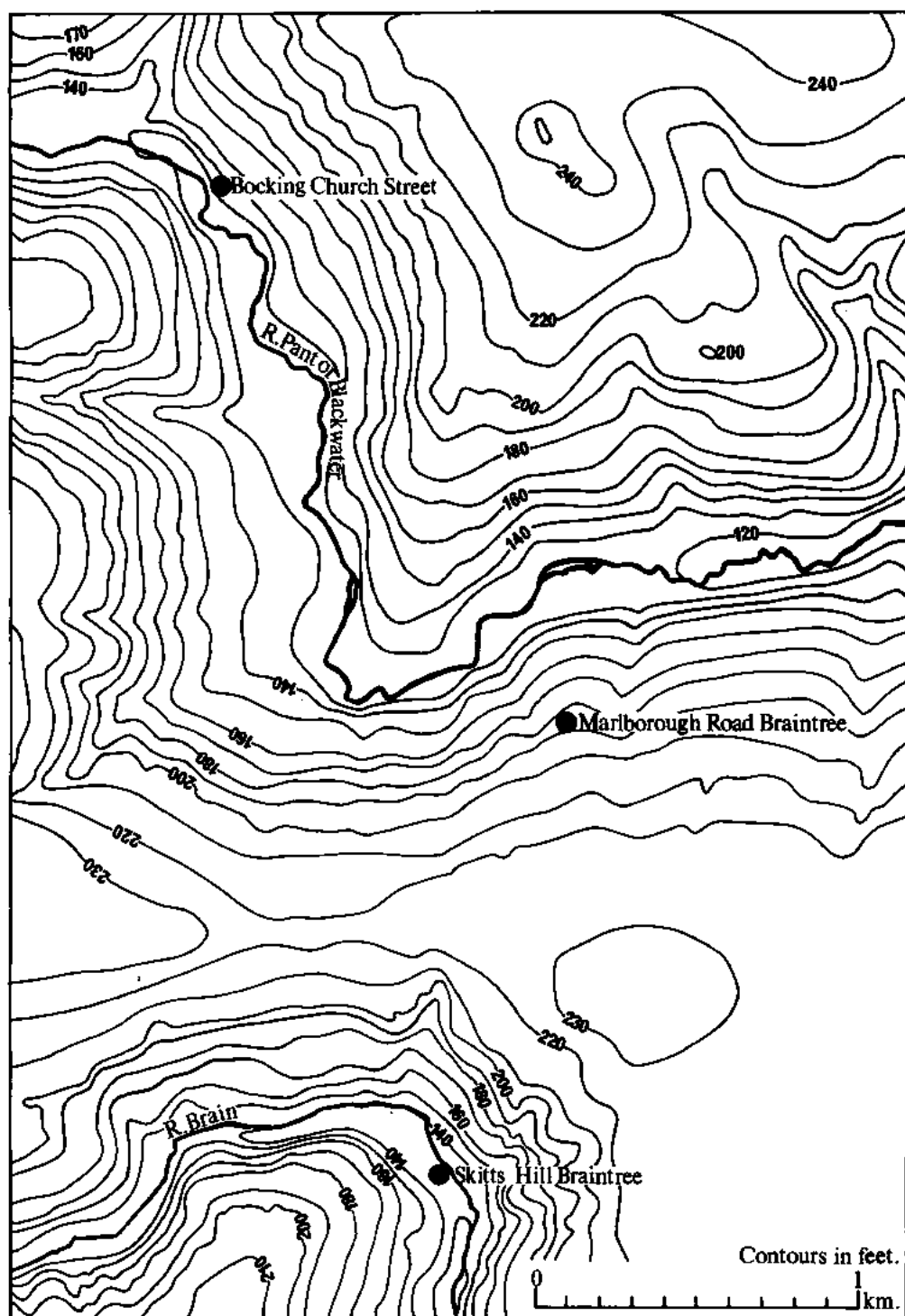
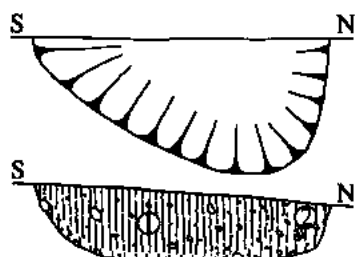
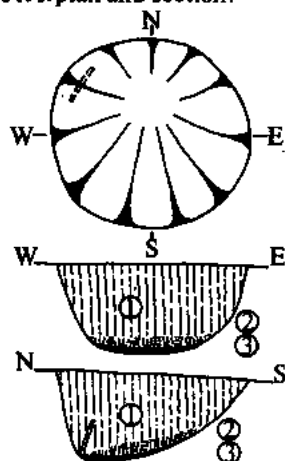


Fig. 10 Braintree middle Bronze Age sites.



Pit 1: plan and section.



Pit 2: sketch plan and section.

KEY.

Pit 1: ① Very stony dark silty soil with much fine charcoal; flint and quartzite pebbles, some burnt.

② Lighter brown sandier soil, less charcoal, many flint and quartzite pebbles, some burnt.

Pit 2: ① Sandy loam with marked traces of burning.

② Clean yellow clay.

③ Burnt soil and lumps of charcoal.

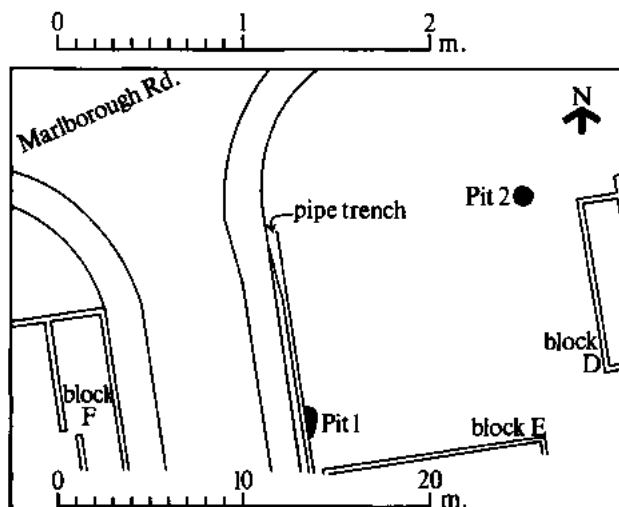


Fig. 11 Marlborough Road, Braintree (plans and sections).

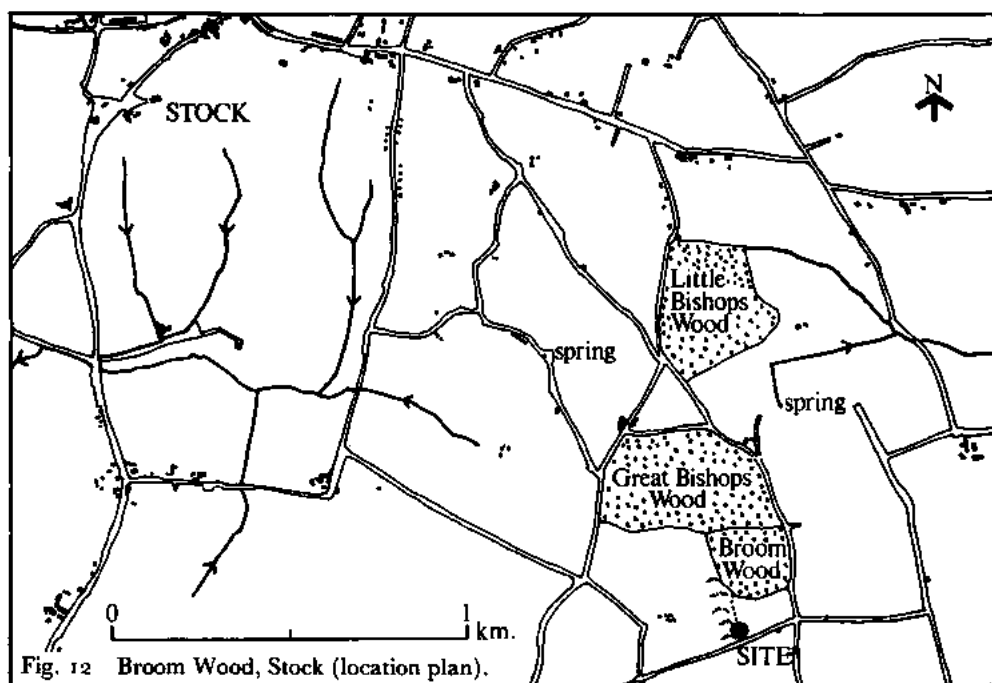


Fig. 12 Broom Wood, Stock (location plan).

with Orsett causewayed camp this seems to be middle neolithic (Kinnes in Hedges and Buckley, 1978, 259-268).

Pit B (Fig. 11)

Circular pit. Within the fill to one side were a large part of a middle Bronze Age bucket urn and sherds of two other vessels. There were also parts of at least five cylindrical fired clay loomweights, all of similar dimensions (Fig. 9.5). In the bottom of the pit was much oak charcoal (sample submitted to the British Museum for C.14 dating), sealed by a layer of clean clay; the pit sides were discoloured by burning. Also in the pit bottom were many quartzite pebbles. These are common in the glacial drift; some were fire-reddened and there were fire-crackled flints.

Pottery (Fig. 9.2, 3, 4): 2. Bucket urn, coarse flint-gritted with many large, medium and small grits; hardly micaceous. Colour buff-orange to dark grey-brown. Apart from the line of holes below the rim, this pot is identical to one from the Chitts Hill, Colchester, cemetery (Crummy, 1977, Fig. 8, F.4), demonstrating that there was no distinction made between domestic and funerary wares in the middle Bronze Age.

3. Bucket urn sherd, coarse fabric with a few medium flint grits; very slightly micaceous. Dark brown.

4. Finer thinner harder fabric, with many small flint grits; hardly micaceous. Orange-buff to dark brown-grey. Beginning of lug (?) survives — possibly related to globular urns?

Pot 2 contained carbonised food remains in the angle of the base. These, analysed by J. Evans (North-East London Polytechnic) were a mixture of starch and resin. The starch indicates the presence of cereals; but the resin, indicative of a wood content, is interpreted as having possibly entered the pot from a wood fire when a breakage occurred during cooking. The discoloured pit sides and burnt pebbles support an interpretation as a cooking-pit.

Middle Bronze Age pottery has been found in two other parts of Braintree (Fig. 10). At Bocking Church Street were found fragments of a 'late' Bronze Age urn (CMR 1926, 8; Col. Mus. 5163.25). There seem to have been several more urns from the same gravel pit, now lost but described as having imitation rope handles; since they were apparently complete they probably represent a cemetery site. Several sherds of middle Bronze Age pottery were found in the 'relic bed' at Skitt's Hill in 1899 (Kenworthy, 1899, 113 and Fig. 16), including a rim fragment with applied cordon and boss, and a fragment of large base (Passmore Edwards Mus. 15289, 15324). Both these findspots are on valley sides, the former of the Blackwater, the latter of the Brain (for discussion of the 'relic bed' and its interpretation as hillwash from the valley side see Drury, 1976, 110-111, Site 44). Unprovenanced within Braintree are a probably middle Bronze Age bowl in a flint-gritted fabric with a finger-tip decorated rim (Passmore Edwards Mus., Kenworthy Coll.); and some base fragments in Colchester Museum (4373.23).

It was clearly the river valley sides of the Braintree area which attracted settlement in the middle Bronze Age. There is no demonstrable connection between the three sites beyond their broadly contemporary dating, though they may conceivably represent a single group practising a transhumance economy. That both agriculture and pastoralism were practised is clear from the presence at Marlborough Road of both loomweights and cereal residue. It is noteworthy that a preference is observable for the gravel valley sides over the Boulder Clay plateaux (Couchman, 1979, forthcoming).

Braintree Museum.

5. TL 83.88. Wakes Colne. TL 893 318. C.C.

A bronze palstave (Fig. 14), found with a metal detector, was lent for study. It is low-flanged, loopless, with an almost straight-sided blade decorated with a trident pattern. It belongs to Burgess's

Group IV in his Penard (twelfth to eleventh centuries) and Wilburton-Wallington (tenth to eighth centuries) phases (Burgess, 1974, 205-8, Fig. 31.5). It is transitional between the 'low-flanged' palstave of the thirteenth to twelfth centuries, with wide-splayed cutting edge (Smith, 1959, 167) and the late type with narrow almost parallel-sided blade (*ibid.*, 176).

Private possession.

6. TQ 99.85. Burnham-on-Crouch. TQ 954 963. C.C.

A small omphalos-based pot was found in the course of cultivating an allotment. It was upright and surrounded by, and perhaps on top of, a number of fired clay objects, and contained only earth. It was reported to the Burnham Archaeological and Historical Society, with whose permission it is published here.

The pot (Fig. 15.1) is complete apart from a chipped rim. The fabric is hard and flint-gritted, the upper part buff-orange, shading to black areas on the lower exterior and base, and black in section. There are traces of burnishing. Grits are slightly more plentiful on the base.

It is a fairly large example of a bowl type common in the late Bronze to early Iron Age in southern Britain, the distribution extending to northern France and Belgium. Some, like this example, are found complete or nearly so. A not dissimilar one was excavated from a pit at Mucking, with three jars, also complete, and a clay bead (Jones and Jones, 1973, 33, Fig. 2). There is a range of complete small bowls of this date from Coombe Warren, Surrey (in Weybridge Museum), and from Reading. No bones have been recorded with any of these finds. The other source of such vessels which were deposited complete is rivers. I am grateful to Mr. John Barrett for these comments on the pot and its type.

The fired clay objects as recovered are all incomplete (Fig. 15.2, 3), but it is clear that more remained in the ground and they were presumably deposited whole. Two types are reconstructable: triangular loomweights, and square blocks 160 × 160 × 50-60 mm. Six fragments of loomweights and three of square blocks survive. Augering suggested that the area covered by fired clay lumps was about a metre across. No charcoal or bone was found.

The occurrence of such bowls complete, in apparently non-domestic and non-funerary contexts, is thought to be significant. The Burnham example seems to have been carefully deposited, and may be votive. The discovery of similar bowls in rivers might reinforce a votive interpretation. The local context is unknown, however, since no excavation of the surrounding area has taken place.

Burnham Archaeological and Historical Society.

7. TQ 79.103. Broom Wood, Stock. TQ 709 971. J.H.

Four Iron Age pots (Fig. 16.1-4) were recovered by a tractor-driver excavating a cattle watering hole at a spring head. The find was reported to Mr. C. Sparrow, Q.C., who informed the Section.

The pots were found in solid blue-grey clay at a depth of c. 1 m. There was no evidence to suggest a pit feature or occupation level. They were undisturbed and grouped closely together. One pot lay on its side on a natural tabular flint nodule.

All the pots have dark grey-brown-black fabric with buff or buff-orange areas. All have medium to large flint grits; pot 4 is particularly heavily gritted. All had a little fine quartz and sand admixture, while pot 3 had noticeably more than the others. They all originally had smoothed surfaces which over large areas has now been lost. Traces of wiping with a grass or straw pad occur on all pots and vegetable impressions are common. It is considered that they were all originally complete, and their present condition is the result of the circumstances of their discovery.

The pots may be paralleled with pots of similar form at Rivenhall (W. J. Rodwell, *pers. comm.*). A fourth-century B.C. date for the group seems most likely.

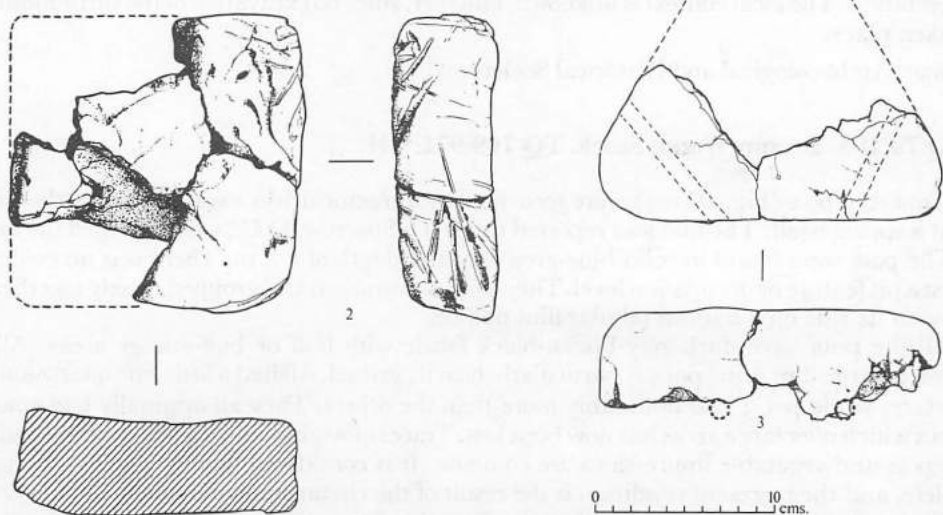
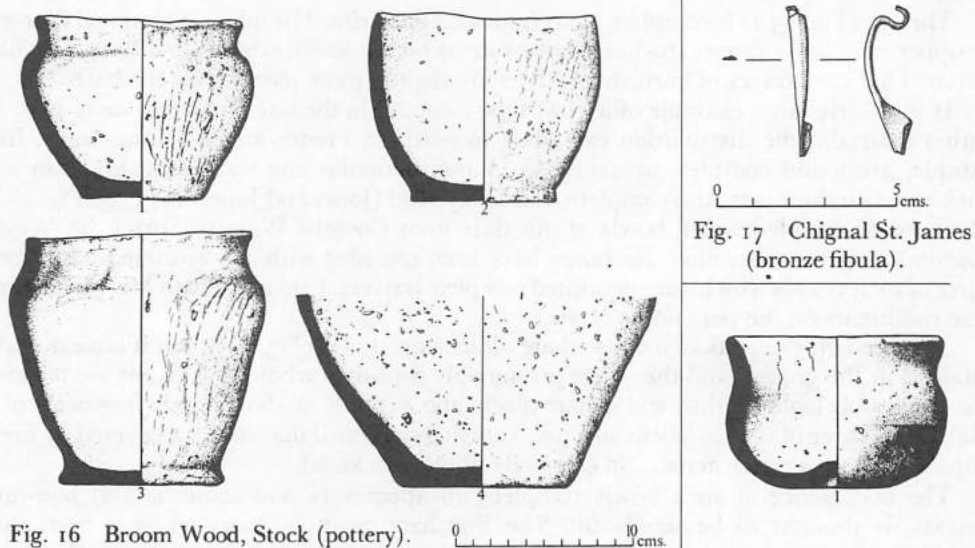
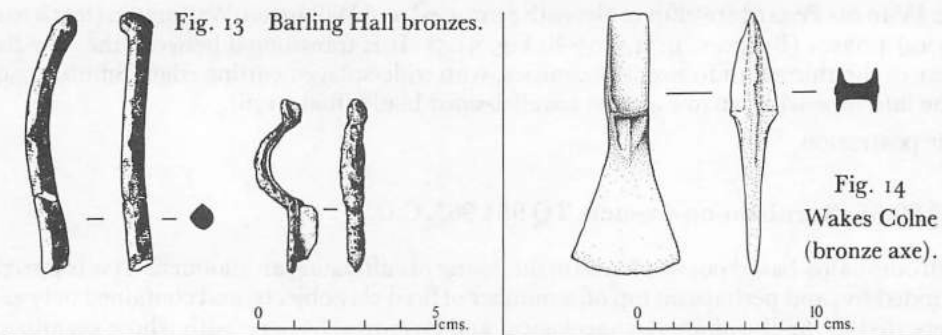


Fig. 15 Burnham-on-Crouch (pottery and clay objects).

A detailed analysis of the pot contents was carried out by John Evans of North-East London Polytechnic. The pots originally held a starch-containing material, most likely a cereal, in water; salt was an additive. The mixture appears to have been boiled until carbonation occurred; pot 3 seems to have boiled over. It seems that the pots were used only once as no repeated charring was evident.

The most likely explanation for this find is that it represents a votive deposit at the spring head. Deposits of this particular nature are unusual in lowland England, but the offering of food to fertility deities located in wetlands is not uncommon in Britain and north-west Europe. A deity in the form of a wooden figurine was found with a deer skeleton in a marsh deposit at Dagenham (Wright, 1923, 288–293), which may be compared with similar representations from Denmark including one from Spangholm Fen found 'standing in the midst of a sea of Iron Age pottery vessels' (Glob, 1971, 128). There are possible votive finds from Walthamstow, reported in 1869 as a crannog, which include eight early Iron Age vessels (Hull, 1960, 253).

The Stock finds are of particular interest as they were located some 150 m south of Great Bishops Wood (Fig. 12), which has been described as a 'British Camp site' and has produced 'abundant evidence of ancient occupation' (*Essex Nat.*, 1909–11, 110).

I am indebted to Mr. P. Drury for the discussion on finds from wetlands.

Chelmsford Museum 1978: 94.

8. TM 00.1. Bradwell-juxta-Mare. TM 031 080. M.P.

In 1977 the Anglian Water Authority constructed a short stretch of sea wall, from the south-west corner of the Roman fort around the rear of the former coastguard cottage to link up with the existing sea wall south of the cottage. The turf was stripped from the line of the wall to provide a surface for the dumped clay of the next stage.

The turf was less than 0.3 m deep and gave immediately on to archaeological levels, distinguished by mortar, rubble and brick debris for at least 7 m from the edge of the fort. Thereafter the nature of the clearing prevented any observation of features, or of the composition of the layers revealed except that they were not of the natural alluvial clay.

9. TL 61.97. Chignal St. James. TL 662 108. C.C., M.E.

In 1976 further aerial photographs were taken of the Roman 'villa' discovered from the air in 1975. It was found that the building was surrounded by a complex enclosure (Fig. 18, and Buckley and Going, 1977, 10–13). The villa had been scheduled before the discovery of the enclosure, and part of this proved to be outside the scheduled area. Meanwhile, Cawoods Aggregates Ltd. had obtained permission to extract gravel from the remainder of the field and the adjacent two fields.

The excavation

A trench 0.95 m wide, 26 m long (Figs. 18 and 19) was excavated mechanically to test the south side of the enclosure, since its line on this side was uncertain from the air photograph (thanks are due to Messrs. Cawoods for the loan of a J.C.B.). In addition, features were observed in bridging works over a gas pipe in the southern corner of the field (Figs. 18 and 19).

Geology

The subsoil here is Chalky Boulder Clay, overlying the glacial gravels required by Cawoods. This explains the failure of cropmarks to form over the ditches until the exceptionally dry summer of 1976.

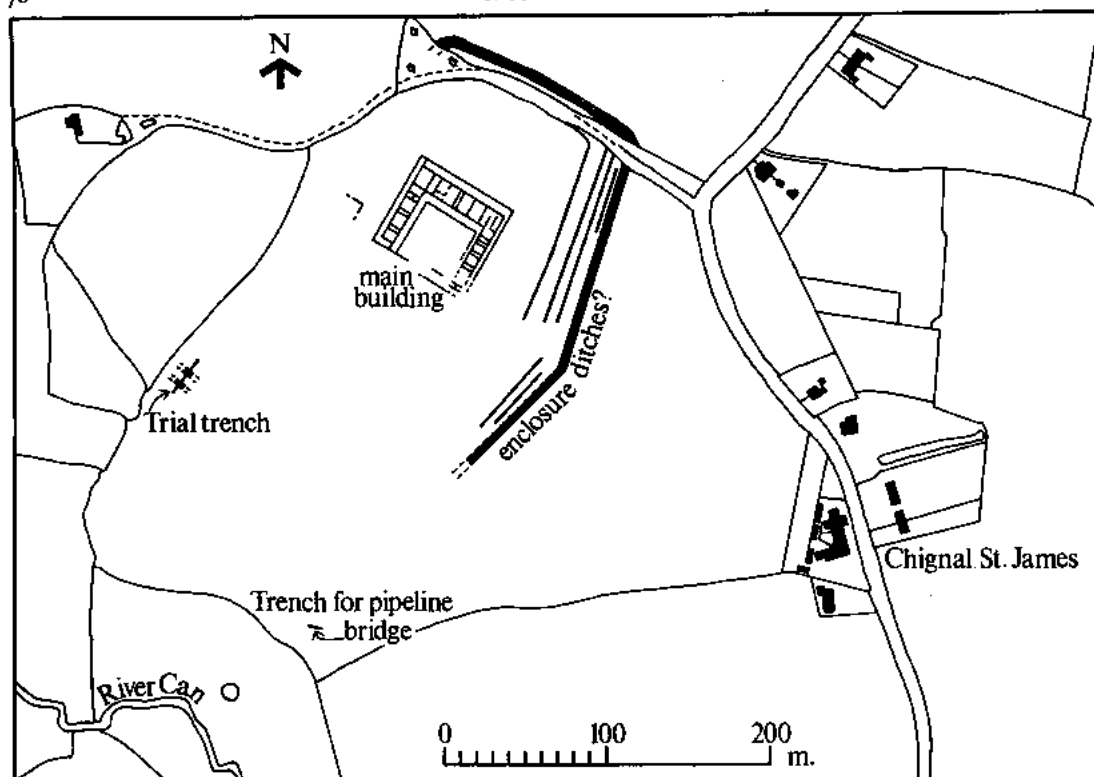


Fig. 18 Chignal St. James Roman site (location plan).

The features

(i) Trial trench over ditches. The east side of the enclosure appears on the air photographs as a large ditch with four narrow lines inside it. The J.C.B. trench was positioned to cut the faint cropmark which possibly represented the large ditch on the south side. It was not extended northwards far enough to be certain that the narrow ditches did not exist on the south side also, though if the spacing were the same as on the east side one of them should have been found. Features which were observed, listed from the south, i.e., the outside of the enclosure, are (read with Fig. 19):

- F.1. A small trench with uniform fill, interpreted as possibly a marking-out trench.
- F.2. Ditch, 1.2 m deep, containing Iron Age and Roman pottery in the secondary silting, c. 0.3–0.4 m from the bottom.
- F.3. Small pit or post-hole, with a wedge of cleaner clay in the fill just possibly representing the back-fill of a withdrawn post.
- F.4. Ditch 1.3 m deep. The primary silt contained a little Roman pottery (besides a residual sherd of late neolithic grooved ware); the secondary silt contained more Roman pottery and some roof tile. In addition, the secondary silt showed clear traces of bank material having slipped in from the upper, inner side.
- F.5. Post-hole, 0.7 m deep.
- F.6. Stout stake-hole, 0.75 m deep, driven in at an angle of c. 60° from the vertical.
- F.7. Post-hole, 0.75 m deep.

F.8. Omitted from published section. An area of dark clayey soil showed in the trench sides sloping shallowly to 0.6 m deep, 1 m from the north end of the trench, and extending beyond that end. This produced Roman roof tile fragments. It was not explored further, since the objective of defining the enclosure had been reached.

(ii) Trench for pipeline bridging works. A concrete bridging raft was constructed over the gas pipeline which runs across the south corner of the field, and Roman pottery and tile from these works was reported to the writers. Only rapid investigation was possible, but the more northerly trench appeared to cut through a building. Interpretation was not possible for all layers and features encountered, but some suggestions are made (read with section, Fig. 19):

Layer 2. Soil formed after building was ruined.

Layers 3, 4, 5. Build-up or deliberate make-up?

Layers 6, 7, 8. Floor levels.

F.9. On edge of trench; cuts floor levels. ? size or connection with building.

F.10. Cuts through floor levels and layers 2 and 3 above. Interpreted as wall foundation trench, robbed out when layer 2 had already formed.

F.11. ? post-hole. Cuts layer 3; ? connection with the building.

F.12. Robbed-out foundation trench or later pit or ditch?

The finds

Pottery. H.T.

Vessels are all wheelthrown in Roman fabrics unless stated otherwise. Colour descriptions are coded per C.B.A. Study Group for Romano-British Coarse Pottery Colour Chart, and arranged as Interior surface/Core/Exterior surface.

Trench (i)

F.2, layer 3. Fig. 20.2. Handmade base. Coarse, sandy, slightly micaceous crumbly fabric, tempered with much shell, probably fresh not fossil, also some small red haematite inclusions, and grass vacua. Much of shell on inside surface dissolved or burnt out. B4A to N2/N2/B4A to N2.

Possible date range 350 B.C. to 50 A.D.

Not illust.: a. thick-walled greyware flask; very hard, medium sand-tempered fabric. Plain base, 50 mm diameter, with slight groove on exterior of wall just above base angle. N5/N5 to N4/N5.

b. three greyware vessels with buff/brown surfaces; hard, fine sand-tempered fabrics.

c. one thin-walled vessel, probably globular beaker with black burnished surfaces and external groove above shoulder; similar fabric to b.

d. one externally black burnished pot; hard grey coarse sand-tempered fabric.

e. one handmade pot; medium hard, coarse sand-tempered oxidised fabric.

f. one large vessel; fine hard fabric with few inclusions, light grey core, oxidised margin; very similar to F.4 layer 3 e. below.

F.4, layer 1. Fig. 20.3. Jar rim, c.f. Cam. f.266B; hard, coarse sandy fabric. YB 5A/N6/YB 6A. Mid first century A.D. onwards.

Not illust.: one vessel in hard coarse sandy grey fabric, N5/N7/N5.

F.4, layer 3. Fig. 20.4. Storage jar rim. Hard fine sandy fabric with occasional larger inclusions of quartz and grog. YB 6A/B5B/YB 6A. Black shiny slip on lip and a body sherd (N3). Similar to Cam. f.273. Mid first century A.D. onwards.

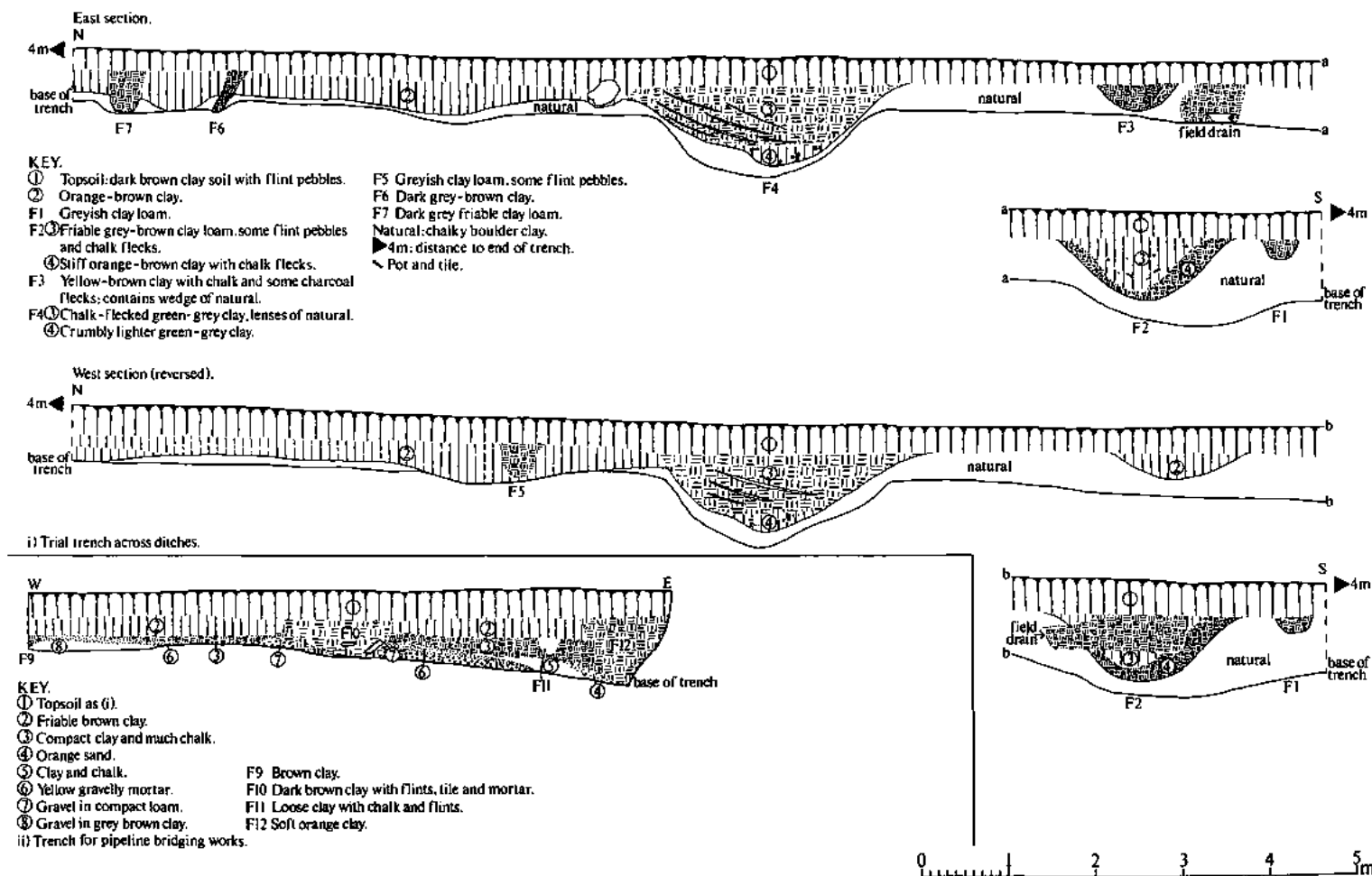


Fig. 19 Chignal St. James Roman site (sections).

Fig. 20.5. Jar, hard medium sandy fabric, with occasional larger sand inclusions. B5A/N4/B5A. As Cam. f.266.

Mid first century A.D. onwards.

Fig. 20.6. Jar in hard, medium sandy fabric with occasional flint inclusions. N7/N6/N7. As Cam. f.266B. Also six body sherds in similar fabric.

Fig. 20.7. Butt beaker rim; hard, fine sandy fabric. YB 4B/N5/YB 3B reduced to N4 in places.

- Not illust.: a. one jar, rolled rim, indeterminate form. BR 6B/B5A/BR 6B.
 b. base fragment of squat bowl, as Cam. f.209, with pinched footring; hard fine sandy fabric. BR 4A/N3/BR 4A. Black burnished on both surfaces. Also one body sherd similar fabric.
 c. two pots, similar fabric to a.
 d. one pot, similar to b. but more oxidised and in finer fabric.
 e. one large vessel; fabric very similar to F.2, layer 3 f. above.

F.4, layer 4. Fig. 20.1. Handmade rim; Grooved Ware in the Clacton style (Longworth *et al.*, 1971, 98-117). Fabric fine, sandy, medium hard. YB 5B/YB 6A/YB 5B. Inner surface and part of broken surface incrustated with black residue, probably carbon with secondary burning.
 Late neolithic.

- Not illust.: a. one thin-walled greyware pot; hard, fine sandy fabric. N7/N5/N7.
 b. one everted rim, jar or beaker; hard, medium sandy fabric. BR 5A/N7/BR 5A.

Trench (ii)

Unstratified. Fig. 20.8. Rim of jar or bowl. Hard, coarse, sandy fabric. N4/N6/N4. As Cam. f.279B and 299.

150 A.D. and later.

Fig. 20.9. Jar in hard medium sandy fabric. BY5/N7/BY5.

Fig. 20.10. Platter, black burnished; hard, medium sandy fabric. B5B/B5A/B5B.

c. 120 A.D. onward.

Fig. 20.11. Jar; hard coarse sandy fabric. N5/BR 5A/N5.

Fig. 20.12. Butt beaker, Cam. f.119C. Fabric as no. 10.

Fig. 20.13. Colour-coated beaker, Cam. f.391. Hard, fine fabric. RB 4A/N4/BY 7A.

- Not illust.: a. one flagon, fine hard fabric, long neck. BY 7A/BY 7A/BY 7A.
 b. one samian sherd f.37 with leaf scroll.
 c. one buff flagon.
 d. one storage jar.
 e. one platter, buff fine fabric.
 f. four-plus greyware pots.
 g. two-plus fine, thin-walled pots.

Metalwork

F.4, layer 1. Fig. 17. Bronze fibula, Hull type 10 or 11B. 'Most sites where [type 10] is found existed before the Conquest' (Hull, forthcoming). Hull illustrates a few post-Conquest examples, but none like the Chignal brooch. Type 11B is not chronologically distinguished from type 10.

Small fragments of iron and slag were present in Fs.4 and 10 and Trench ii.

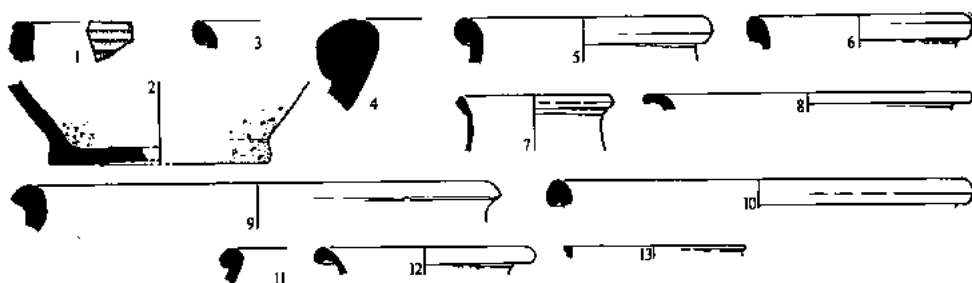


Fig. 20 Chignal St. James (pottery).

0 5 10 15 cms. Scale for Figs. 20, 21, 22 and 23

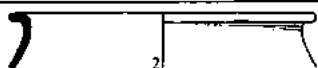


Fig. 21 Southminster (pottery).

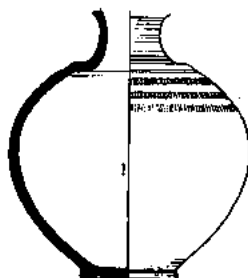


Fig. 22 Kelvedon vicarage (pottery).

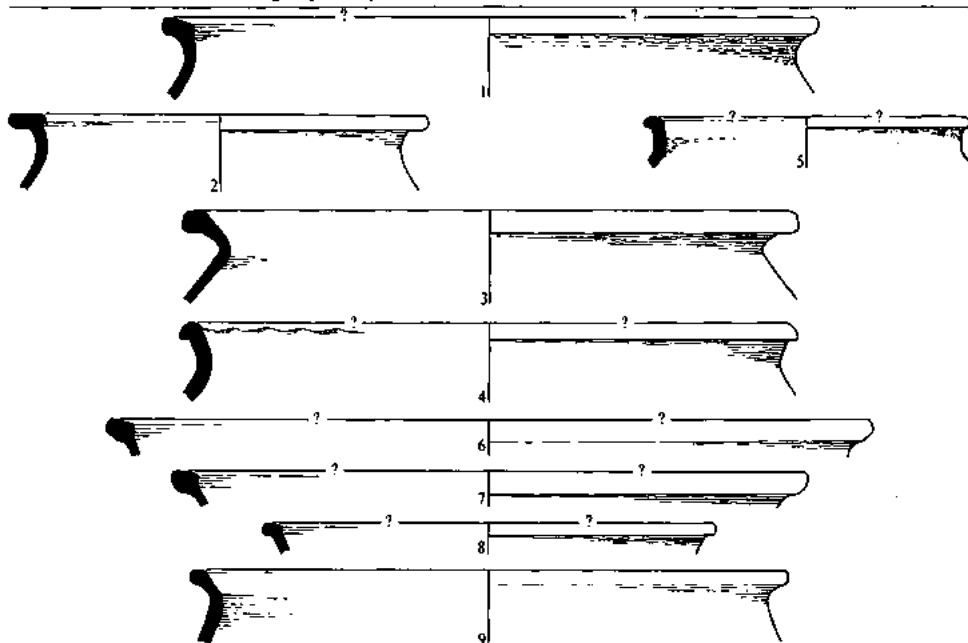


Fig. 23 Elmdon: churchyard and Duddenhoe End (pottery).

Bone. M.W.

Sus, *ovis* and *bos* were represented in the small sample; also possibly *equus*, and an unidentified large bird.

Stone and flint

F.4, layer 3. six small fragments of lava; one waste flint flake. Another waste flake came from the topsoil over F.5.

Roman tile

Fragments were present in F.4, F.8 and F.10 and unstratified from the area of Trench ii.

Discussion

The villa and enclosure have been discussed recently (Buckley and Going, 1977, 12-13), and attention drawn to the field name: Great Banks Field; the adjacent field to the south-east is Little Banks Field. This presumably refers to the bank of the hexagonal enclosure visible on the air photographs, though how late the earthworks were visible is not known; by 1846 the land was under plough (E.R.O. D/CT 76).

It is suggested that Fs. 5, 6 and 7 may represent a box rampart construction, with F.5 the front upright, F.6 a diagonal member and F.7 the rear upright. If so this would give a rampart depth of some 5m, with a berm between it and the inner ditch of 1.5 m. The angle of F.6 (about 35° from the vertical) would if maintained above ground level give a massive rampart of c. 4.5 m high. There is clear evidence of bank slip into the inner ditch, F.4, but not the outer, F.2. It is not clear how F.3 would relate to the scheme, unless possibly representing a fence between the two ditches? (the 'feature' on the west side of the trench opposite it is almost certainly natural). Pottery from the bottom of F.4 suggests that the system was beginning to silt up in the mid-first century; just pre- or just post-Conquest activity somewhere in the area is indicated by the fibula in the topsoil over F.4. It is suggested that the filling of both ditches was by natural silting. Certainly F.4, layer 4 will have formed naturally, with the bank slip in layer 3 likely to have occurred when the retaining revetment rotted rather than by deliberate slighting.

The question remains: who, shortly pre- or post-Conquest, was building defences on such a scale which were allowed to remain? They are non-Roman military in style so were presumably British; but the box rampart form of construction had gone out of fashion some 150 to 200 years previously (Cunliffe, 1974, 238-9). They may nonetheless represent the action of a British noble or community in the face of the Roman threat; in which case confiscation and conversion to an Imperial estate may have followed the invasion (Buckley and Going, 1977, 13). It may then have been convenient to retain the existing defences. An alternative, though much less likely, possibility is that the owner was someone who welcomed the Romans. Adminius had been expelled by his father Cunobelin in A.D. 39 and had fled to Rome; he may have represented a pro-Roman faction among the Catuvellauni. The villa might just represent the subsequent prosperity of a pro-Roman family. The richness of certain early Roman burials in Essex, such as the Bartlow Hills (Essex III, 1963, 39-43) makes it clear that some families certainly did not suffer from the coming of the Romans. Pottery from fieldwalking over the villa site itself includes late-first-century samian (Couchman and Savory in Couchman (ed.), 1976, 158), though this need not relate to the building whose plan shows in the cropmarks.

Whoever the owner was, certainly the villa was the centre of a great estate, with other buildings outside the enclosure, at least from the early second century onwards. The form and purpose of the building in Trench ii could not be established. However, it was not the only 'extra-mural' structure; continuing excavation in advance of gravelworking has located several others.

Parallels for the enclosure are lacking. However, an air photograph in Suffolk County Council's Archaeological Site Record (no. LDG 001) shows a winged corridor villa with outbuildings, within a double-ditched enclosure, at Lidgate. Only the northern part of the Lidgate enclosure is visible, but the one complete corner has the same angle (just over 100°) as the two

northern corners of the Chignal enclosure. The villa plans are quite dissimilar and no dating evidence is available for either buildings or enclosure at Lidgate. The similarity of enclosure may be superficial only.

For an earlier period, the presence of a piece of late neolithic grooved ware requires explanation; and it is hoped that current excavations will clarify the nature and extent of neolithic occupation here.

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

10. TL 81.60. St. Mary's Road, Kelvedon. TL 863 188. M.E.

A quantity of Roman pottery was found on the northern corner of St. Mary's Road crossroads during excavation of narrow pipe trenches by the Gas Board. Two local treasure-hunters excavated a pit, 1 m east-west by 1.5 m north-south, and recovered Romano-British coarse wares, several pieces of decorated samian, and amphora sherds.

Dr. W. J. Rodwell (pending full publication).

11. TL 81.68. High Street, Kelvedon. TL 861 187. M.E.

During the excavation of a manhole for the G.P.O. a north-south ditch, at least 2 m wide and a minimum of 1 m deep, was observed beneath the southern pavement of the High Street, opposite the Co-operative Society's shop. No finds were recovered, but the ditch dimensions would suggest that it formed the west side of the Roman town defences, which elsewhere are virtually sterile.

12. TQ 99.64. Bovill's Marsh, Southminster. TQ 991 992. C.C.

A machine-operator levelling a field noticed three or four clay-lined 'butterflies', red patches in the ground, and reported them to the Maldon Archaeological Group. It appears probable that these were salt-working evaporation tanks of quatrefoil form. They were about 4.25 m square. At the other end of the field were found a complete Roman flask and a rim-sherd of a cooking-pot (Fig. 21.1 and 2). The flask was of greyware with a black burnished exterior and three lines of rouletting on the shoulder. The cooking-pot is of a similar fabric. Both are late second to early third century A.D.

Private possession.

13. TL 81.122. Little Braxted. TL 834 149. M.E.

Gravel extraction in 1974 partially destroyed a site from which Roman, Saxon and mediaeval artefacts were recovered by a machine-driver. The material will be published elsewhere, but the Saxon material is noted here and some of the objects illustrated (Fig. 25):

five iron spearheads; three iron swords; one bronze spear ferrule; one iron shield boss; fragments of iron shield binding; four small sherds of hand-made pottery; one epiphysis of a human long-bone.

These finds may well represent the site of a pagan Saxon cemetery.

Essex County Council Archaeology Section (pending full publication).

14. TL 44.39. Great Chesterford. TL 499 433. A. E. Collins

Works for the M.11 motorway were observed by the Great Chesterford Archaeological Society. The bones of one person, possibly a young girl, were located after removal of tree stumps between the railway line and the gravel pit, and a second mandible was reported from nearby.

This is obviously part of the cemetery explored by Neville (1857, 64) during construction of the Chesterford-Newmarket railway, in which were found 15 infant burials and one ?Saxon interment.

Great Chesterford Archaeological Society (pending full publication).



Fig. 24 Kelvedon: sites 10, 11, 16, 21 (location map).

15. TL 81.28. St. Mary's Church and vicarage, Kelvedon. TL 856 185. M.E.

An apparently circular bank surrounding the church still survives, though on the south and east it is obscured by a recent brick wall and fence.

Outside the north door of the church an octagonal pillar or font base, possibly Norman, was observed. At some time an attempt had been made to reduce its size, though maintaining its octagonal shape. The scribing lines still remained.

The presence of a former vicarage west of the present Georgian house is recorded on a late-eighteenth-century plan. There are no visible remains of this, though sherds of pottery ranging from twelfth-century Mile End-type ware (Fig. 22) to eighteenth-century slipwares have been found. There is, however, a late-eighteenth- or early-nineteenth-century brick water system leading from the area of the former vicarage, via an open ditch, to a brick dam at the south end of the present pond (Fig. 24).

16. TL 43.57. Elmdon. TL 462 398. C.C., M.P.

Excavations for graves in a recent extension to Elmdon churchyard between 1968 and 1975 produced a group of mediaeval pottery and some animal bones.

The pottery consists of about 50 small sherds. One fabric type predominates: an unglazed sandy ware with quartzite grits; the amount of grit varies and this forms the principal distinguishing factor. Most sherds are buff-grey, some with oxidised surfaces; a number show signs of fire-blackening on exteriors and rims (Fig. 23.1-8). There is one shell-tempered body sherd, in grey/black fabric with red surfaces. The absence of Saxo-Norman wares on the one hand, and glazed wares on the other, suggests a late-twelfth-century date, which is borne out by the rim forms.

A further sherd of similar date (Fig. 23.9) was found at Brooksies, Duddenhoe End. Dr. Martin of Elmdon has reported further twelfth-thirteenth-century pottery from Duddenhoe End.

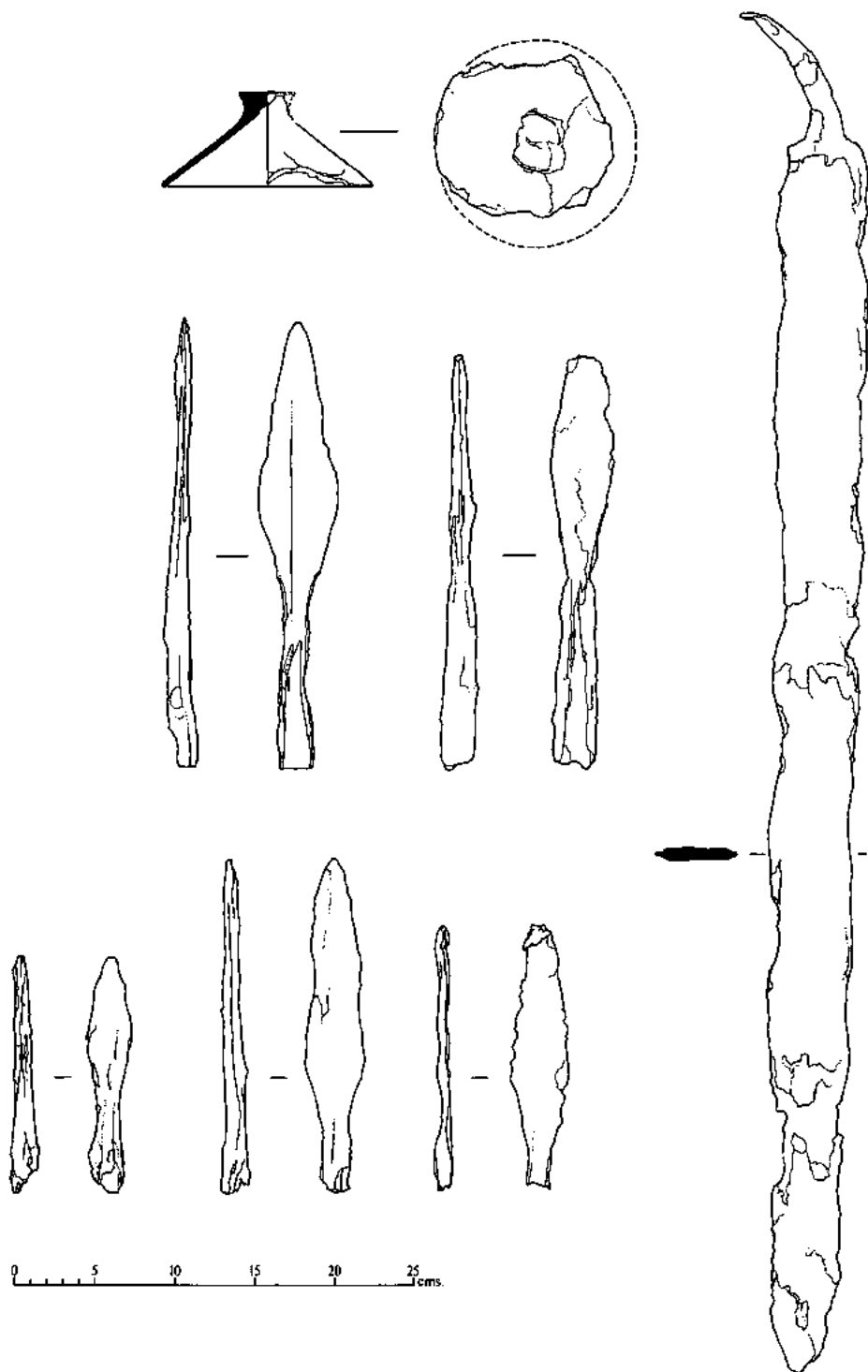


Fig. 25 Little Braxted (ironwork).

All the identifiable bones from the churchyard extension were of *sus* (report, M.W.). There was also one oyster shell.

Elmdon is an elongated two-lobed parish. Elmdon village round the church is roughly central in the northern lobe, with Duddenhoe End similarly placed in the southern one. It is interesting that both these foci have produced finds of similar date; this may be evidence for polyfocal settlement in the parish (Taylor, 1974, 9-11).

Private possession.

17. TL 71.9. St. Mary's Church, Great Leighs. TL 739 156. C.C.

A watching-brief was carried out on the church when the rendering was removed from the exterior of the south wall of the nave. Information additional to the R.C.H.M. report (1921, 99-100) is as follows:

The nave is constructed mainly of coursed flint, with some Roman brick and indurated gravel. One weathered grey limestone fragment was noted in the south wall, also a fragment of sandstone or sandy limestone, squared with one hollowed side. There is one small round-headed light just east of the south porch; this appears contemporary with the wall, although the stones stand slightly proud of the rubble walling once the rendering is removed. The other two windows in the south wall are inserts; among the packing stones round the easternmost, fifteenth-century window is a piece of dressed stone with a plain chamfer.

The chancel is of coursed dressed flint, with a little Roman and some later brick, also a little indurated gravel. The roof of the nave, but not that of the chancel, was lowered in the nineteenth century.

The round tower is built of coursed rubble, largely flint but also with much indurated gravel and Roman brick. In the first stage were observed a piece of dressed shelly limestone and several pieces of grey limestone, possibly once squared. The whole appearance is of a more varied rubble than that used in the nave.

The dating of the tower is uncertain. The west door is Norman. However, the western pilaster buttress sits on the top of the door arch, and there is a possibility that this door is an insert; there is a suggestion of packing stones between the jambs and the main build of the wall. The lower parts of the two northern and two southern pilaster buttresses are built partly of dressed stones of varying sizes and compositions (sandstone and shelly limestone) and partly of Roman brick. From the top of the door upwards they have a much more regular appearance. The two ranges of loops in the second stage of the tower have plain very slightly pointed heads, and would be early thirteenth century at the latest. It was not possible to see from the ground if they were original to the wall or inserts. It may be that the whole upper part of the tower is later than the first stage.

The gault brick gutter was removed from the north side of the church and a small trench excavated as an anti-damp measure. This was very shallow and the only feature observed, at a depth of 0.15 m, was an area of large pebbles, possibly an earlier gutter.

18. TL 71.74. Plot 39, Peverel Gardens, Hatfield Peverel. TL 798 113. C.C.

Peverel Gardens is a small housing development off Church Road, Hatfield Peverel, in a field named Moat Field on the Tithe Map of c. 1841 (E.R.O. D/CT 167) (Fig. 26). A watching-brief was carried out on Plot 39, the only site which had not been developed. Thanks are due to Messrs. Hey and Croft for permission to do this.

The natural subsoil here is a mixture of pebbly yellow and grey clays and clayey gravels. Features cut into this were observed in the sides of the house foundation trenches, which were excavated to a depth of 1.25 to 1.30 m; 0.45 m over the whole site was dark brown clayey humic soil with pebbles and a few brickbats, presumably ploughsoil with some overburden from the building

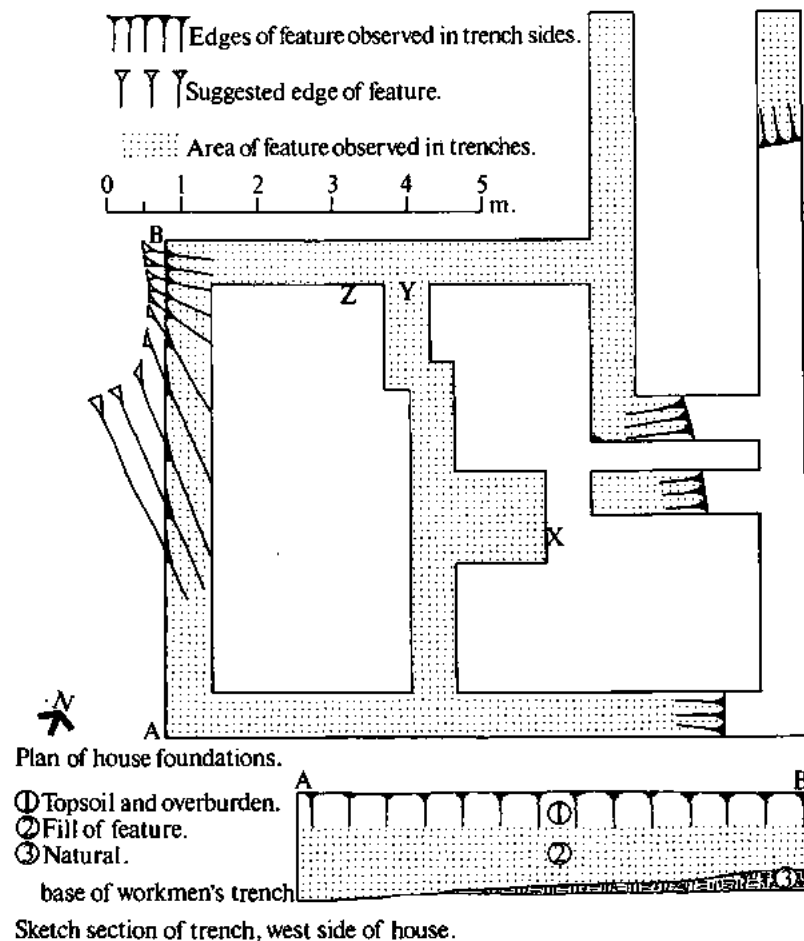
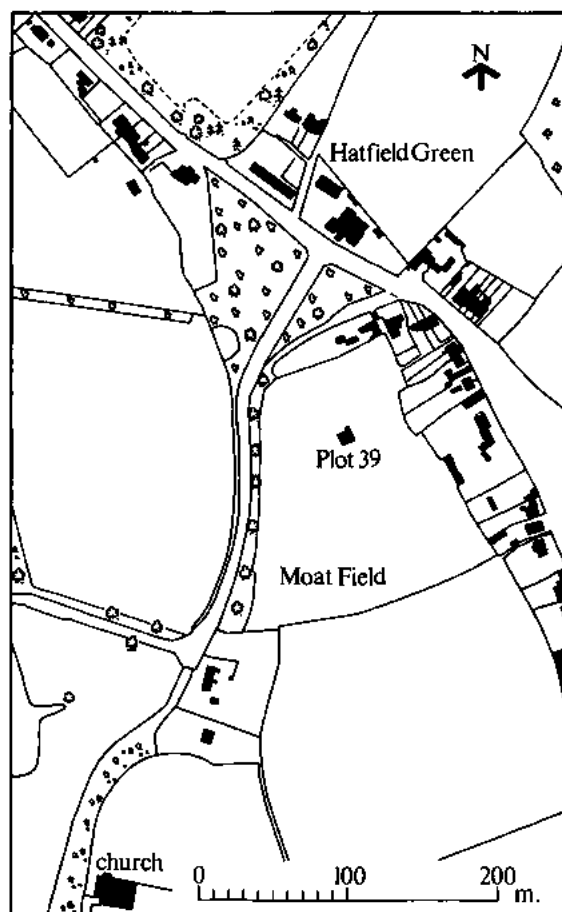


Fig. 26 Moat Field and Peverel Gardens, Hatfield Peverel.

works. The upper fill of the feature was very dark brown humic clayey soil with some pebbles; lower down, lenses of lighter orange-brown soil of similar composition were visible. At point X and near A on Fig. 26.ii, just above the base of the trench the fill became still lighter, greyish brown and much more gravelly, and here water flowed rapidly into the trenches when first excavated. It is likely that these points were near the centre bottom of the feature. Along section A-B (Fig. 26.ii) natural subsoil appeared only low in the trench side; judging by the angle of the base of the feature along this trench, it is thought that the edge of the feature must curve at an angle to the trench somewhat as suggested on the plan.

The few finds, from 0.9 to 1.25 m depth within the feature, include:

X (on Fig. 26.ii). Twelfth–thirteenth- and sixteenth-century pottery; fifteenth–eighteenth-century tile.

Y. Bones of large water fowl, possibly goose.

Z. Pre-1600 weathered brick fragment; curved iron bar; fifteenth–seventeenth-century tile fragment.

Brick, tile and bone. M.W.

It is difficult to suggest the complete form of this feature. It is unlikely to be the backfill of clay or gravel workings, as both clay and gravel here are too contaminated to be useful. It is just possible that it was an east corner of the moat, with a ditch running off north-eastwards; or part of a pond with a ditch running into it. In any case, it was well silted by the eighteenth century.

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

TL 81.49. St. Peter's Church, Wickham Bishops. TL 825 112. C.C.

On a routine site visit it was discovered that rendering had fallen off the exterior of the north wall of the nave, revealing features previously unobserved:

C. 2.75 m east of the west end of the nave, just west of the north-west window, a vertical line of Roman bricks in the wall would seem to represent an earlier north-west angle to the nave. This would make the earlier nave c. 9.25 m long, or of roughly 2 : 3 breadth : length proportions.

C. 7.75 m east of the west end of the nave, just west of the north-east window, the quoin of the blocked north doorway noted by the R.C.H.M. (1921, 259) is now visible. It is of dressed limestone and has a sandstone cill.

20. TL 81.68. 'Chanteclair', High Street, Kelvedon. TL 863 191.

Dr. D. Carrick, A. C. Edwards, M.W.

A complex consisting of a cross-wing structure, and an extensively altered open hall, with a further cross-wing which is now the Post Office. To the rear of the north-east cross-wing is a further long wing.

Central hall

Two bays in length. The south-west end wall has heavy framing with wall braces and an original ogee door head. Front and rear walls extensively altered. The original roof has gone, and the present roof is at a raised level above a later top plate. A chimney stack has been inserted approximately in the centre of the hall; most of this appears to be eighteenth century or later, but there are sixteenth-century bricks below the hearth level, suggesting that the eighteenth-century work was a reduction in size and partial rebuild of an earlier structure.

The first floor has been inserted in the hall in two stages. The south-west end had a bridging joist with chamfer stops, suggesting the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. This joist

springs from the main storey post of the south-west wing and the opposite end is taken on a cross-beam. The remainder of the wall, between this cross-beam and the north-east wing, has had floor joists inserted at right-angles to the previously described bays. These are supported on a deep section timber, planted on the wall of the wing. Dating this section is difficult, but the nature of the support suggests eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

On the north-east, the end wall of the hall is formed by the frame of the adjacent wing. It is apparent that the main storey post in this wall does not relate to its opposite number in the south-west wing, but is nearer the front of the building (see Interpretation, below). This wall shows signs of extensive rebuilding, a number of studs are not in their original positions, and some infilling has been necessary. To one side of the storey post is the remnant of a door head, which appears to have been an ogee. To the rear of this is another doorway with flat arched head, sunk spandrels, chamfers and moulded jambs.

North-east cross-wing

Two and a half bays in length, originally jettied to main street. Extensively altered, jetty underbuilt, a set of fine moulded floor joists inserted, and roof rebuilt. The floor joist joint is a centre tenon with soffit shoulder. The original build of this wing is now only represented by a post and jetty bracket in the side wall, two main storey posts, tie beam and one brace, and part of the framing of the rear half bay including a window opening. A large chimney stack has been inserted in the side wall, with moulded jambs and rebated mantle beam. The moulded beams only span the front and part of the second bay.

The roof is collar every rafter pair and may have had a collar purlin and crown post, but the mortise in the tie beam is suspect in view of its modest proportions. A half hip and gablet to the rear.

Rear wing

Heavy timber framing, with arch braced tie beam, and simple two-armed crown posts. The scantlings of the collar purlin and crown post braces are surprisingly slight, in comparison with the rest of the frame.

The first c. 30 ft. of the wing was originally one room on the ground floor, with square-section first-floor joists above. On the north-east wall of this room is a massive fireplace, with adjacent alcoves c. 20 ft. wide overall. The undersides of the first-floor joists are encrusted with soot. At first-floor level, normal bay dimensions apply.

The next bay is a narrow one, leading to the two reasonable-length end bays. The greater part of the north-east wall of these bays has been removed, and the south-west wall is a later rebuild. There is no indication of an integral first floor in these last two bays.

Interpretation

The true complexity of this building is not immediately apparent. It would be too easy to write it off as an H plan, without considering the implications of the varying features that make up the whole.

a. Hall. There is no reason to suspect that the south-east wall is other than original, and the ogee door head suggests a date between 1340 and 1380. The earlier inserted floor ending where it does, and the fact that it was not deemed necessary to put a first floor in the remainder until much later, poses a problem, until one considers the evidence of the cross-wing. It is suggested that when the cross-wing was rebuilt, and the rear wing added, the adjacent portion of the hall became a cartway, giving access to the rear. This is borne out by the fact that the only evidence of a window at first-floor level is in the bay with the earlier floor insertion.

The remains of the ogee door head in the north-east wall indicates that the original north-east wing related to the hall. Therefore, the initial build would appear to be a hall and two cross-wings.

b. North-east cross-wing. The remaining detailing from the original cross-wing indicates a date of not later than 1400. The extensive rebuild dates from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. It is

extremely interesting that the underbuilding of the jetty can be firmly dated as early as this. The rebuild was thorough; it involved both side walls, front wall and roof. Even the two main storey posts and tie beam appear to have been moved forward bodily. Additional evidence for this lies in the existence of support notches on the posts in question. The rebuild was intended to give some 'class' to the wing, with its fine moulded joists and impressive fireplace. Even the brick infilling to the jetty is of a high level of craftsmanship.

In the original wing the staircase appears to have been in the rear half bay. However, upon the rebuild, the staircase was moved to its present position, as is evidenced by the ends of the moulded joists. The new door with its rich detailing was obviously intended as a prestige entrance from the adjacent cartway.

c. Rear wing. Most of the detailing here suggests that this wing dates from the same period as the rebuild of the front wing. It is logical that they are contemporary, as the rebuilding relates to the cartway, which in turn seems to serve the rear wing.

The previously noted slender scantlings of the crown post braces and collar purlin are the only details suggesting a later date, and these are more typical of the late sixteenth century. However, they could be explained as replacements. The crown post roof was always lacking in lateral stability, and frequently 'racked', breaking crown post braces and purlin. Therefore, a replacement is not unlikely.

21. TM 11.68. Mill Street, St. Osyth. TM 118 156. M. Corbishley

The site was a vacant plot between Kingsland House and Norbeage. The trenches for a new house were observed. There had originally been farm barns and 'hard' and 'soft' yards on the site, and the builders' trenches revealed these. Two points were of interest. 1. A well or water-storage container, circular and built of red bricks but filled with earth and silt; probably nineteenth century. 2. In the 'hard' yard there was a considerable deposit of bricks and stone (mainly flint and gravel). In this deposit there was a piece of worked white sandstone, perhaps from the Priory.

22. TM 13.34. Mistley Quay. TM 122 318. M. Corbishley

Excavations for the foundations of a Scotch Derrick crane were investigated.

Beneath the present surface of the quay is about 3 m of make-up for the building of the quay. This foundation is strengthened by enormous chains. Under this nineteenth-century quay were the remains of an earlier quay or breakwater. Most of this construction is of sharpened but rough wooden stakes placed closely together like a wattle wall; some sawn timber was also found at this level, but not *in situ* as the machine excavating the trench had disturbed them. This wooden construction is probably part of a larger quay complex to increase the depth of the channel at Mistley, pre-dating the nineteenth century but probably not much earlier. The shape of the construction and the mud infill suggests a box, open towards the east to allow the river to silt it naturally. The quay (perhaps the sawn timbers were the remains of an upper construction mainly removed later) could be built on top of this. The nineteenth-century quay was projected over this and out into the river.

23. TL 53.10. North side of Emson Close, Saffron Walden. TL 539 382. M.E.

Foundation trenches for an extension on the west side of Caravans International Ltd. were observed. The area was bounded on the south by a brick wall, dated by brick size ($9\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in. or $232 \times 105 \times 57$ mm) to the sixteenth century. Against this some 0.5 to 0.6 m of crushed

chalk and light brown loam had built up or been deposited. The only feature in the build-up was an unmortared, brick-lined well or soakaway shaft, of which only a 0.8 m length of the circumference remained. The bricks of the shaft were all half-bricks, and were generally $\frac{1}{4}$ in. wider and deeper than those of the retaining wall, and were considerably better made. The shaft cannot be dated precisely, but was obviously later than the wall. Well shafts of this construction can be as late as the nineteenth century, but the bricks from it suggest a seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century date.

24. TL 60.72. Brick kiln, Blackmore. TL 608 005. M.P.

In Chapman and André's map of Essex of 1777, a brick kiln is marked in the south of Blackmore parish on the road to Mountnessing. The farmhouse opposite is still known as Kiln Farm. A barn on the site of the kiln was converted into a house, and during the conversion a quantity of brick and tile fragments were discovered. Mostly, no complete dimensions were recovered, but there were a number of unfrosted bricks with a breadth of 2 in., in a hard fabric, blue/brown F4 (C.B.A. Study Group for Romano-British Coarse Pottery Colour Chart). There were also two complete bricks, $6\frac{3}{4}$ – $6\frac{7}{8}$ \times $3\frac{1}{8}$ \times 2 in. (172–175 \times 80 \times 51 mm), in a hard dull red fabric, yellow/brown B3, with irregular and cracked surfaces indicating over-firing. It is suggested that they were wasters of paving bricks; their association with an eighteenth-century kiln and irregular surfaces rule out the possibility of their being the small bricks used in chimney construction in East Anglia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (M.W.).

25. TL 70.1. 85 Duke Street, Chelmsford. TL 708 069. D.B.

A 1.0-m-wide east–west foundation trench for an extension to the rear of 85 Duke Street, adjacent to the Golden Fleece, was observed. Beneath a cement floor features observed were:

1. C. 1.5 m of compact grey clay containing throughout fragments of bone, shell, tile. A single hard red body sherd of late fifteenth- or sixteenth-century ware.
2. A large pit cut through the whole depth of layer 1 down to the natural (layer 4) comprising a loose mixed loam and clayey fill. Contained a typical late-seventeenth-century collection of domestic wares: identifiable forms, all in hard red fabric with light brown glaze, included a shallow and deep bowls, storage jars and a tyg foot. Also a fragment of a tin-glazed 'Delft' ware plate.
3. A brick-lined soakaway, running north–south, with a very loose grey loam fill, cut through the whole depth of layer 1, stopping at its junction with the natural (layer 4). No finds.
4. Light brown clay with pebbles, a buried soil/subsoil. Disturbance into this noted at west edge of section but could not be followed up.

No. 85 Duke Street is a standing sixteenth-century timber-framed building and the site was occupied by buildings in 1591 (John Walker, *Plan of the Manor and Town of Chelmsford*, 1591, E.R.O. D/DM P.1). Apparently deposition of material to a depth of 1.5 m took place not long prior to construction of this building. Although the original topography is masked by modern accretions, a slight fall southwards is still discernible and a levelling up of the site away from the street frontage is suggested. The pit and soakaway were later features, both in close proximity to the south wall of the building.

Pottery: M.P.; date of building: C. Hewett.

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

26. TQ 69.4. Norsey Wood, Billericay. TQ 69I 956. S. Weller

Excavations were carried out by the Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society for the Department of the Environment and E.C.C. on the site of the future Warden's office within the scheduled area of Norsey Wood. The only features within the area to be destroyed were backfilled gravel pits possibly of eighteenth-century date.

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Excavations in Essex, 1976

Edited by C. R. COUCHMAN

In the spring 1975 edition of the *Essex Archaeological Newsletter* were published notes on archaeological excavations and casual finds which had been made in Essex in 1973-74, compiled by Mr. Peter Huggins. This was generally recognised to be useful information on the current state of archaeological excavation in the county, and the idea was revived at a meeting of the Advisory Committee for Archaeological Excavation in Essex in July 1976. The Editors of both the *Essex Journal* and *Essex Archaeology and History* agreed to print such notes on excavations annually, and the Archaeology Section of Essex County Council has undertaken to compile them.

The following notes do not include casual finds or simple watching-briefs, but do include sites in the historic county now in Greater London. Sites are noted in alphabetical order. The directors of the excavations and the societies or institutions involved are named at the beginning of each report. The present or intended locations of finds and anticipated place of final publication, where known, are noted at the end of the reports.

Thanks are due to the contributors, who spared time to fill in yet another form.

Abbreviations used in these notes

Ch.M. — Chelmsford and Essex Museum; C.E.M. — Colchester and Essex Museum; E.A.S. — Essex Archaeological Society; E.C.C. — Essex County Council; P.E.M. — Passmore Edwards Museum, Newham; S.M. — Southend Museum; S.W.M. — Saffron Walden Museum; Th.M. — Thurrock Museum of Local History, Grays.

1. Asheldham, St. Laurence's Church, TL 979 013

P. Drury for E.C.C. and E.A.S.

This church is redundant and being converted to a youth centre. Dr. W. and Mrs. K. Rodwell investigated the interior in 1975, and P. Drury excavated in the churchyard in 1976.

The present church was pre-dated by a straight road alignment of which the present line to the south of the churchyard is a diversion.

Occupation *c.* seventh century A.D. is attested to the north and west of the present church, succeeded by timber-framed structures including one associated with burials and interpreted as a church. The first phase of the masonry church roughly on the present site, suggested date first half of the twelfth century, comprised nave, central tower and apsidal chancel. In the thirteenth century the tower and apse were replaced by a square-ended chancel, and a west tower was built. The chancel was rebuilt in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; subsequently the nave and tower were demolished, the nave rebuilt and then the tower in two phases and probably finished by the mid-fourteenth century. At some time in the post-medieval period the eastern end of the church collapsed and the chancel was shortened. A two-phase timber building in the north-west corner of the churchyard, dated early twelfth to mid-thirteenth century, is interpreted as a priest's house.

Finds: At present with Chelmsford Excavation Committee.

Final Report: Not known; interim in *Antiq. J.* 58 (1978), part 1.

2. Billericay, Buckenham's Field, TQ 675 934

D. Buckley, E.C.C., and S. Weller, Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society

Earlier discoveries of part of a Roman cemetery from this area suggested the need for an excavation prior to levelling of the field for a school playing-field.

Ten further cremations, of late-first- to early-second-century A.D. date, were found. Ditches c. 1 m deep to the north and west may have formed part of an enclosure to the burial area. To the south was a 2-m-deep ditch which may have been earlier in date. Watching-briefs will be held on further development.

Finds: Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

3. Braintree, Blyth's Meadow, TL 758 231

M. Eddy, E.C.C.

This site, threatened by office development, lies on the projected line of the possible oppidum earthwork of which a length of bank survives in Mount House garden.

Trenching at right-angles to the expected line of the earthwork proved that no Belgic ditch existed at this point, although there was much Iron Age and Roman pottery, and a suggestion of a bank. A middle Iron Age (fifth to third century B.C.) ditch was found where the Belgic ditch was expected. A small trench to the north produced three shallow Roman pits or post-holes. The suggested interpretation is of a possible gateway to the 'oppidum', which superseded an earlier enclosure. Beneath these features a Clactonian land surface producing some flint flakes and charcoal was sealed by sterile clay.

Finds: C.E.M.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

4. Braintree, Chapel Hill, TL 767 231

M. Eddy, E.C.C.

Housing development threatened three sites which were excavated to identify and date the ditch and bank known to exist here in the nineteenth century and thought to be cognate with the Mount House rampart, and to look for any Belgic settlement within it.

At 28-36 Cressing Road the base of a pre-Roman bank was located, with part of an undated circular ditch behind it. The ditch cutting the edge of this bank dated to the seventeenth century A.D., and it cannot be established whether this was a deepening of a pre-existing ditch.

The trench between 98 and 108 Cressing Road revealed a nineteenth-century roadside ditch, and a series of gulleys or plough-marks containing medieval pottery.

A trial trench in the allotments behind Cressing Road showed that much of the area examined had been gravel-quarried.

Finds: C.E.M.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

5. Colchester, Balkerne Lane, TL 992 255

P. Crummy, Colchester Archaeological Trust

The site lies immediately west of the Balkerne Gate outside the area enclosed by the town walls, and straddles the London to Colchester Roman road. It was threatened by the construction of the Colchester inner relief road.

Sequence of occupation and defences as follows:

- (i) C. A.D. 43-49. Flimsy structures were built alongside the London to Colchester road, apparently part of a civil settlement outside the legionary fortress.
- (ii) C. A.D. 49-60. The legionary ditch was back-filled, and timber houses constructed fronting on to the Colchester to London road and the former *intervallum* road. These buildings sealed the back-filled ditch, and the town seems to have been without defences at this time. The houses were burnt in A.D. 60-61.
- (iii) C. A.D. 61-75. A ditch was dug close to the position of its military predecessor. This ditch was back-filled c. A.D. 75 to enable expansion of the town westwards.
- (iv) C. A.D. 75-100. A monumental gateway with two carriageways was built, flanked on the north-west by a Romano-Celtic temple and on the south-west by a possible shrine. The houses to the west fronted on to the London to Colchester road and were comparable in quality with contemporary examples in the town centre; some were burnt in the late first century.
- (v) C. A.D. 100-175. The town wall and Balcerne Gate were constructed incorporating the monumental gateway. The new ditch at the foot of the wall swung round the temple and the (?)shrine, leaving them between ditch and town wall.
- (vi) C. A.D. 150-425. The ditch was widened and dug across the London to Colchester road so that the Balcerne Gate was no longer in use. The buildings to the west of the latest ditch were replaced by timber ones; and a narrow ditch was dug for most of its length along the top of the inside slope of the widened ditch. The (?)shrine and the portico wall of the temple were demolished, but the temple cella remained. Limited access across the ditches was provided at a later stage by a narrow gravel surface.

6. Colchester, Butt Road. TL 993 248

C. Crossan, Colchester Archaeological Trust

This 1½-acre site is to be developed for the new Colchester Divisional Police Headquarters. It lies 300 m south of Headgate, in the centre of the largest of Colchester's Roman cemetery areas.

Excavations in 1976 covered one twelfth of the site and examined 160 graves. Two periods of cemetery have been established. The later of these, to which the majority of the graves belong, is of mid-fourth-century date and contains inhumations uniformly laid out with the head to the west. The adult burials were normally devoid of grave-goods, although infants were frequently accompanied by small items of jewellery and toilet articles. Coffins were most commonly constructed of nailed wooden boards, with variations which included hollowed tree trunks and linings of tile and stone.

A small V-shaped ditch marked the eastern boundary of an earlier cemetery, much disturbed by the later burials. This cemetery contained timber-coffined inhumations laid on a north-south orientation and usually accompanied by grave-goods.

If the burial intensity encountered to date proves typical, the site may yield up to 2,000 burials, and thus presents a valuable opportunity to conduct a statistically valid study of the pathology, physical anthropology, social and religious structure of a late Roman urban community.

7. Colchester, Dugard Avenue, TL 965 236, and Oaklands Avenue, TL 965 242

P. Crummy, Colchester Archaeological Trust

Both sites are scheduled for residential development and are situated between Gryme's Dyke and Triple Dyke. The fields were trenched by machine and the Belgic field ditches thus located were sectioned. They all tend to have rounded profiles and vary in depth from 0.60 m to 1.75 m.

8. Colchester, Dutch Quarter, TL 996 255

C. Crossan, Colchester Archaeological Trust

Trial trenches at the rear of the street frontages, carried out in advance of residential redevelopment, established that significant post-medieval deposits were deeper than anticipated, and would be relatively undisturbed by the development. An east-west Roman wall, 0.70 m wide, was found in Insula 3.

9. Colchester, Lion Walk, TL 997 250

P. Crummy, Colchester Archaeological Trust

A fragment of a mosaic pavement depicting a lion was discovered under the southern end of Lion Walk. This is the third mosaic located from the large courtyard house situated in the south-east corner of Insula 36 and excavated between 1971 and 1974.

10. Colchester, St. Giles' Church, TL 999 249

N. Smith, Colchester Archaeological Trust

Limited excavation was undertaken while the church was being converted to a Masonic Hall. Only the interior of the nave was available for investigation.

The church was built in the twelfth century in the cemetery of St. John's Abbey and the original building had involved the removal of topsoil from the western end of the site eastwards to level out a natural slope. The walls were of coursed septaria on a shallow foundation of Roman tile, septaria and gravel, but the walls to the east had an additional 0.70 m of coursed septaria foundation to prevent sinkage. In the late fourteenth century the north aisle was added, and the original north wall replaced by an arcade of six arches. The earliest floor seems to have been of earth replaced, possibly in the late fourteenth century, by one of plain square tiles, glazed dark green, light green and pale yellow. There were two sixteenth-century brick aisles. Rubble overlying the tile floor contained some relief tiles with floral patterns and two coins of Charles I and, as it is known that the west end was in ruins during the eighteenth century, this suggests the church may have been damaged during the Siege of Colchester in 1648. The chancel was partitioned off and reached by a pathway through the ruined nave until the church was completely refurbished in 1819.

11. Colchester, St. Helena's playing-field, TL 989 259

P. Crummy, Colchester Archaeological Trust

A winged house adjacent to the north side of the *temenos* of Temple 2 (number as in Lewis, 1966) was revealed by parch-marks in the turf. Limited excavation prior to building works indicated that the floor levels had been removed and parts of the foundations robbed, probably in the late Roman period.

Finds: (Nos. 5-11) C.E.M.

Final Report: *Colchester Archaeological Trust monograph series*.

12. Cressing, churchyard, TL 795 205

J. Hope, Bramston Archaeological Field Unit

An excavation begun in 1975 to investigate the nature of Iron Age and Roman remains discovered in grave-digging, was continued in 1976. First century A.D. and later timber structures were recovered, including part of a building with massive post-holes, and a boundary ditch with a short life in the first century A.D., succeeded by a fence. Three cremation burials have been

discovered, and an inhumation burial in a wooden mausoleum. Occupation continued at least to the third century when a corn-drying kiln was constructed.

Finds: C.E.M. and thence Braintree Museum.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

13. Dagenham, 2-16 Church Street, TQ 500 846

Miss P. Wilkinson, P.E.M.

Following recording and demolition of a medieval and two post-medieval buildings, excavation was undertaken to establish their dating. Little evidence remained for the date of the medieval building; but adjacent to it was a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century industrial area: pits and hearths with coal and iron slag, and a probable wheelwright's working area. This was succeeded by a sixteenth-century brick-floored building, probably also of industrial use, and in the eighteenth century this was incorporated into a two-roomed, timber-framed, weatherboarded house. The third house was nineteenth century. The earliest occupation of the site, probably thirteenth century, is represented by finds from three pits and from the old ground surface.

Finds: P.E.M.

Final Report: *Essex Journal*.

14. Dunton/Little Burstead, Whitehall Manor, TQ 651 910

W. Davey, Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society

Excavation of this site had begun in 1965 under the late K. Marshall to recover a building and pottery sequence for this moated site, and continued until 1969 under W. Davey. Foundation walls of a large early-fourteenth-century house were recovered. The site was reopened in 1975 and in 1976 a kiln making nibbed roof tiles, unknown elsewhere in Essex, was found to underlie the house.

Finds: Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

15. Great Bromley, Bromley Thicks, TM 073 263

P. Holbert, Colchester Archaeological Group

Two ring-ditches intersected by a double-ditched trackway were discovered from the air in 1975, and the more northerly one was excavated. The ring-ditch, c. 10 m diameter, had only one internal feature, a slightly off-centre pit, which contained no finds; sherds of plain flint-gritted Bronze Age pottery in the ditch may represent a disturbed burial. The shallow irregular trackway ditches (or hedge-line root-systems) post-dated the ring-ditch. Aerial photographs suggest that it relates to an ancient field-system.

Finds: C.E.M.

Reported in *Colchester Archaeological Group Bulletin* 20 (1977), 8-12.

16. Great Chesterford, Paddock Wood South, TL 537 429

D. Smith and R. Blossom, Chesterford Park Archaeological Society

Excavation of a moated site was begun in 1971. The moat encloses a triangular area, with a network of associated ditched enclosures to the north. Stone footings of a building were located in the south-east angle of the moat. Finds include three pieces of thirteenth-century bronzework, and Saxo-Norman and thirteenth- to fourteenth-century pottery. A possibly associated site to the south-west produced surface finds of building stone and eleventh- to twelfth-century pottery.

Finds: S.W.M.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

17. Hadstock, St. Botolph's Church, TL 558 447

W. and K. Rodwell, for E.C.C.

Excavations were undertaken initially in 1974 in advance of internal alterations to the church. In 1976 restoration works to the tower gave opportunity for further investigations. The tower was shown to be a late medieval addition to the Anglo-Saxon nave, replacing earlier fabric at the west end. It was erected in three constructional stages, making extensive re-use of earlier materials (? from the collapsed Saxo-Norman central tower).

Finds: S.W.M.

Final Report: Probably *C.B.A. research report series*.

18. Latchingdon, St. Michael's Church, TQ 888 987

Miss C. Couchman, E.C.C.

Above-ground and limited below-ground investigations were carried out in advance of the conversion of this redundant church to a house. The late-fourteenth-century church was shown to have replaced a late-twelfth-/early-thirteenth-century one, with the nave and its junction with the chancel on the same lines. Major rebuilding work took place in 1616, and in the early nineteenth century; the chancel was demolished in the mid-nineteenth century. Beneath the earliest floor level was a deep cultivated soil with late-twelfth-/early-thirteenth-century pottery.

Finds: Ch.M.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

19. Little Oakley, Seaview Avenue, TM 222 292

M. Corbishley, Tendring Rescue Archaeology Group

The site of a previously discovered Roman building was partially excavated before redevelopment. Material, but no structures, has also been recorded from the Iron Age and Saxon periods. Two areas have been examined so far. One, outside the area of the villa, contained what may be the southern boundary ditch and rubble deposited after the destruction of the villa. The other area contains part of the villa building. This building, seriously affected by robbing, ploughing, and existing houses, is built of septaria. The plan shows a long building with a corridor at the back and front and a central line of rooms. It appears to have burnt down in the mid-second century A.D. The building rubble was carefully redeposited: the septaria was spread out to the east, and the plaster, roof tile and flooring to the north of the villa in a number of specially dug circular pits. Among the wall plaster was a small piece with a graffito showing what could be a timber-framed building. Excavation will continue in other areas while redevelopment takes place.

Finds: C.E.M.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

20. Little Shelford, Roman site, TQ 983 906

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

A Roman tumulus with a second- to third-century burial had been destroyed at Little Shelford, Foulness, in 1848, and further burial urns were found in 1972. In 1974 and 1975 a field survey revealed the presence of nearly a dozen Roman rubbish pits or dumps over at least 15 acres. The 1976 excavation examined two of these dumps some 100 m west of the cemetery.

The first dump, of oyster shells, pottery, bone and glass, dated to the mid- to late second century, was formed as a result of rubbish being thrown into a ditch. The second dump was a flat

rectangular area, dating to the second half of the second century. Numerous finds of building material, pieces of brick, roof and hypocaust tiles, and painted plaster, also large quantities of pottery, indicate that the dump is almost certainly close to the site of a substantial building.

Excavation is to continue in 1977 to try to locate the settlement itself.

Finds: Possibly to go to projected conservation centre, Foulness.

Final Report: *Essex Journal*.

21. Little Shelford, medieval site, TQ 976 908

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

Fieldwalking in 1975 led to the discovery of a length of possible ancient embankment. Excavations in 1975 and continued in 1976 showed that the bank is clay with part at least strengthened by a complex internal timber structure of oak and ?black poplar, with a corrected C-14 date of A.D. 1490 \pm 75 (Harwell, 1689/1690). Soil evidence suggests that this bank was constructed across a tidal creek. Excavation continues in 1977.

Finds: Possibly to go to projected Foulness conservation centre.

Final Report: *Essex Journal*.

22. Mucking, TQ 673 803

Mrs. M. U. Jones, for D.O.E.

Excavation — begun in 1965 — continued throughout 1976 on multi-period cropmark sites on Thames terrace gravel threatened by gravel extraction. The north enclosure, one of the pre-existing earthworks incorporated into the Roman villa field layout, was excavated. Prehistoric features included three more round barrows, giving a total of five. Barrows 3 and 5 had central graves, inhumation and cremation respectively. They were without pottery, though barrow 5 cremation contained a perforated bone disc. Two lengths of ditch stopped short of the presumed mound of barrow 3, suggesting that they, and other ditches lying either parallel or at right-angles, were further traces of 'Celtic' fields. 'Ardleigh'-type pottery came from barrow 5 ditch and from near-by pits, where it was associated with cylindrical clay loomweights. Mucking seems thus to be the first Middle Bronze Age settlement to be recognised in Essex. A ring of nine post-holes near-by might indicate a contemporary hut. Other prehistoric finds include fragments of fired clay objects associated with salt making, with cupped 'pedestals' previously found only in Kent a century ago.

An increasing density of Saxon features implies a second settlement. Fifty more sunken huts bring the total to 190. They are still of gable post type (with a post-hole at either end of the long axis, central in the shorter sides); six were exceptionally large. Some had additional structural evidence for corner posts, with occasional linear soil stains suggesting walls along the edges of the sunken area. Parallel lines of post-holes, following the average east-west hut alignment, could represent eight more ground-level buildings. One better-preserved example was the site's second 'hall' of a double square plan, with internal division and opposed entrances midway in the longer sides.

A hoard of three silver *sceattas* (of Rigold's Primary Series B, probably minted at Canterbury by Wihtried of Kent in the early A.D. 690s) provides the first historic date for Saxon Mucking. It came from the sunken floor of a larger hut.

Finds: Th.M. and the British Museum.

Final Report: Monograph.

23. Nazeing: Nazeingbury, TL 387 066

P. Huggins, Waltham Abbey Historical Society

Rescue excavations extended over an area of about seven acres of a gravel extraction site near the River Lea. Enclosure and field ditches, wells, ponds and pits yielded much pottery, a little iron-work and some silvered and gilded bronze. The earliest features contained late Belgic forms and were superseded by later-first-century-A.D. features in which grey ware predominated. Pottery included samian ware which terminated in the early second century.

Part of the site was later used as a Christian inhumation cemetery, probably of Saxon date. Over 180 burials, extended and supine with head to the west, were discovered. Two burials have been submitted for C-14 dating. A rectangular timbered hall with staggered wall-posts was aligned with the graves but was partially covered by a few burials. Some grass-tempered pottery was found in the cemetery area and in a ditch far to the south.

Finds: Collection of Waltham Abbey Historical Society.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist. or Britannia*.

24. North Shoebury, Milton Hall Brickfield, TQ 934 867

D. Macleod, S.M.

A watching-brief and limited excavation were carried out when topsoil was stripped prior to brick-earth extraction. Work in 1973 and 1975 had recovered evidence for early Iron Age and medieval occupation to the south of this area. Two concentrations of early Iron Age material were recorded. One at the west end of the strip included double linear ditches; the other, at the extreme east, was near a ditch and bank aligned on the still-existing Star Lane.

Finds: S.M.

25. Orsett Cock, TQ 654 813

H. Toller, E.C.C.

Excavations have been in progress since September 1976, at the site of a triple-ditched cropmark enclosure in advance of proposed roadworks at the A13 Orsett Cock roundabout; 6,500 square metres of the central area of the site have been stripped (Essex scheduled ancient monument No. A115).

Features identified so far are (in chronological order):

- (i) L.P.R.I.A. penannular ditch.
- (ii) Rectangular triple-ditched enclosure of which the middle and outer ditches are discontinuous. This is possibly associated with (i) initially. All three ditches appear to be backfilled c. mid-first century A.D. The inner ditch either remains partially open until the late third century or is recut in the second century. The outer ditch was recut several times during the Roman period on the south side of the enclosure; one phase would probably be associated with (iv).
- (iii) Four second-century-A.D. kilns producing coarse grey sandy wares were cut into the top layers of the middle ditch on the north side of the enclosure; two have several phases of rebuilding or relining.
- (iv) The east-west ditch which is probably related to a phase of the outer rectangular ditch bisected the enclosure. It is associated with a rectangular system of drainage ditches, and was filled in by the fourth century.
- (v) Two grübenhauser, both just outside the area of (i).

(vi) Post-medieval gravel pits and disturbances.

Finds: Th.M.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

26. Orsett, Grey Goose Farm, TQ 626 809

H. Toller, E.C.C.

A limited excavation was carried out in advance of road construction to establish the nature of features revealed by aerial photography. An apparently circular arrangement of features was found to be an interconnected matrix of brickearth veins within the Thames terrace gravel. The features varied in size from shallow linear gullies to shafts, 5 m in diameter and depth c. 2 m. The possibility of their being deneholes has been ruled out; they are interpreted as convolutions and injections between a permafrost layer of gravel and overlying layers of brickearth.

No finds.

Final Report: Possibly *Essex Naturalist*.

27. Peldon, TM 005 157

Mrs. K. de Brisay, Colchester Archaeological Group

Excavations begun on a red-hill in 1973 were concluded in 1976. A hearth was found *in situ*, with seven levels, comprising a total of 36 firings; a sample has been taken for archaeomagnetic dating. Belgic pottery has been found, and a C-14 date of 50 B.C. has been obtained.

Finds: C.E.M.

Final Report: *Antiq. J.*

28. Prittlewell, Sutton Road, TQ 882 873

D. Macleod, S.M.

A watching-brief on builders' trenches led to the rescue of two Romano-British cremation groups, with amphorae, poppy-head beakers and globular urns. Ditches and prehistoric and Roman finds were observed to the west.

Finds: S.M.

29. Rochford, Cherry Orchard Lane brickfield, TQ 860 895

D. Macleod, S.M. and South-East Essex Archaeological Society for E.C.C.

Observation of topsoil stripping prior to brickearth extraction was followed by partial excavation of a roof-tile kiln of uncertain date. Other finds from small features suggest Iron Age and possibly neolithic occupation.

Finds: S.M.

30. Rochford, industrial estate, TQ 882 898

D. Macleod, S.M. and South-East Essex Archaeological Society

A watching-brief on a drain from Rochford industrial estate to Prittle Brook led to the discovery and investigation of a number of ditches containing much Romano-British midden material.

Finds: S.M.

31. Saffron Walden, Abbey Lane, TL 534 383

M. Petchey, E.C.C.

An excavation was undertaken to investigate the Saxo-Norman occupation of this area of Saffron Walden, in advance of development. Non-intensive occupation in several phases was represented by a series of Saxo-Norman enclosures. At a later stage a large north-south ditch, c. 3.5 m deep, was dug across the site, parallel to the adjacent Battle Ditches, but 20 m outside them to the west. A similar ditch outside the Battle Ditches and parallel to them was found in excavations on their southern section in 1972.

One of the boundary ditches contained a quantity of cob, suggesting its use as a building material.

Finds: S.W.M.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

32. Sewardstone, Northfield nursery, TQ 380 977

P. J. Huggins, Waltham Abbey Historical Society

Odd features and Romano-British stray finds have been discovered over the years during horticultural work. In 1975 the Society excavated shallow pits and gullies near the bottom of the valley of the River Lea. Pottery found included material from the Bromley Hall Farm, Much Hadham kilns and colour-coated wares, with an associated coin of Constantius. The site is close to a suspected Roman road.

Finds: Collections of Waltham Abbey Historical Society.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

33. Southchurch Hall, TQ 893 905

L. Helliwell and J. Jackson, Southend Historical Society

The excavation was undertaken to determine the history of the artificial mound on which the house stands. The site is moated. A major retaining wall was found to hold the raised mound on the north-east side. The south gatehouse was discovered, also some evidence of a north gatehouse or bridge abutment; bridge timbers lie beneath the later earth causeway. The garderobe was also found, and its date of abandonment is suggested as c. 1500.

Finds: S.M.

34. Upminster, Beredens Farm, TQ 577 897

Miss P. Wilkinson, P.E.M.

This site was threatened by the construction of the M25 motorway. Excavation revealed the remains of a fourteenth-century timber building on tile footings. Evidence for one bay remained, with an associated brick fireplace. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the house was rebuilt in brick and extended, and again rebuilt and slightly enlarged in the early nineteenth century. It remained standing until 1955. The earliest evidence for occupation of the site consists of random post-holes, stake-holes and a scatter of pottery, and dates to the thirteenth century. The eighteenth-century boundary wall and timber farm buildings were found.

Finds: P.E.M.

Final Report: Probably Passmore Edwards Museum monograph.

35. Upshire, Warlies Park, TL 419 010

Mrs. R. Huggins, Waltham Abbey Historical Society

Quantities of post-medieval pottery from the area suggested the presence of a kiln, and a proton magnetometer survey was carried out over two 30-m squares. One of these areas was excavated; no structures were found, but finds indicate occupation from the fifteenth or early sixteenth century until the 1730s when Warlies Park was established.

Finds: To go to collections of Waltham Abbey Historical Society.

Final Report: Not yet known.

36. Waltham Holy Cross, Black Cottage, Aimes Green, TL 396 029

Dr. K. Bascombe, Waltham Abbey Historical Society

Black Cottage consists of a two-bay hall and cross-wing, each of two storeys and structurally unrelated. The hall has been truncated; trial excavations indicated that it was removed from another site *c.* 1800. The cross-wing appears to be *in situ*, and there was evidence of an earlier hall on the site of the present one.

Finds: Collections of Waltham Abbey Historical Society.

Final Report: Note in *Post-Med. Arch.*

37. Waltham Abbey, Church Street, TL 381 006

P. J. Huggins, Waltham Abbey Historical Society

Rescue excavations prior to redevelopment suggest that flooding prevented early occupation. The earliest dated feature was a thirteenth-century pit or water-hole. The first building, of post-hole construction, was probably sixteenth century. Five hearths, probably of ovens, may be associated with brewing. Other finds included stray Roman material and a *sceatla* of *c.* A.D. 700. A scatter of finds suggested surface rubbish disposal in the eleventh century.

Finds: Collections of Waltham Abbey Historical Society.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

38. Waltham Abbey, Market Place, TL 382 005

P. J. Huggins, Waltham Abbey Historical Society

Rescue excavations took place in a vacant plot at the rear of 1-3 Sun Street, on the corner of Market Place. A fifteenth-century water-hole lay below the post-medieval house yard; this hole had cut through two distinct levels of loam, one with medieval material and the lower with only a few Roman sherds and tiles. This excavation supports the growing feeling, based on isolated finds, that the present Market Place is the centre of a small Romano-British settlement.

Finds: Collections of Waltham Abbey Historical Society.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

39. Waltham Abbey, monastic church, TL 382 006

P. J. Huggins, Waltham Abbey Historical Society

Rescue excavations revealed the three buttresses of the south wall of the south-east transept of the destroyed monastic church. The western buttress is to be considered as a small tower as at

the east end of Rochester Cathedral: it is tentatively dated at c. 1230-40. The central buttress cut a pit with early-thirteenth-century pottery, confirming that this transept was late in the building campaign begun in 1177. Nineteen Christian graves were also excavated; these were cut by a buttress foundation and a pre-1177 gully, and contained Saxon pottery. It is suggested that they were part of the cemetery for the middle and late Saxon settlement at Waltham.

Finds: Collections of Waltham Abbey Historical Society.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

40. Widford, Church of England school playground, TL 694 050

H. Young

A small excavation was carried out to locate the outbuildings of the sixteenth-century parsonage, shown on maps of 1620 and 1814 (E.R.O. D/P 244/3) and the Walker map of 1591 (E.R.O. D/DM P2). No trace of the timber and thatch outbuildings was found, but a large pit, from gravel extraction or for drainage, was found, with a brick conduit entering it from the direction of the parsonage site. The pit dated from the sixteenth to seventeenth century with residual thirteenth- to fourteenth-century and Roman finds. The pit was full by the mid-nineteenth century and was sealed by a brick yard.

Finds: Some at the Vicarage, the rest probably Ch.M.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

41. Woodham Walter, TL 812 080

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

Trial excavations were undertaken on this extensive cropmark complex on the sand and gravel terrace on the south side of the River Chelmer, to establish the state of preservation of the features and a dating sequence for the site.

The complex comprises enclosures, ring-ditches, trackways, land boundaries and pits. Three principal enclosures are:

- (i) A roughly rectangular double-ditched enclosure utilising the terrace slope to the north as its fourth side. More than one phase of ditch construction is apparent.
- (ii) A sub-rectangular enclosure with simple entrance to the south.
- (iii) A series of small linked rectangular enclosures connecting to the wider pattern of boundary ditches.

Three main excavation areas were so placed as to sample lengths of ditch of each of the main enclosures. The sub-rectangular enclosure ditch was V-shaped in section; it proved Iron Age in date, backfilled and levelled with rubbish and building debris in the late first century B.C. to early first century A.D. The rectangular enclosure ditches were also V-shaped in section; they were constructed in the mid-first century A.D., continuing in use into the second century A.D. A certain date for the linked rectangular enclosures was not established. Associated and later Romano-British features were also recorded. A good quantity of flint work from the general surface and residual in features attests a pre-Iron Age occupation in the vicinity.

Finds: Ch.M.

Final Report: *Essex Arch. and Hist.*

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- Lewis, M. J. T., *Temples in Roman Britain* (1966).
E.R.O., Essex Record Office catalogue numbers.

Finchingfield Park under the Plough, 1341-42

by R. H. BRITNELL

The manor of Justicehall in Finchingfield is in the wheatlands of the boulder-clay plateau above the Pant valley. It is first found by that name in the four fourteenth-century accounts in the Public Record Office.¹ In the eighteenth century Morant knew it as the manor of Justices,² but he was vague about its past.³ From internal evidence of the accounts we can deduce that it was held of the honour of Clare by the Giffard family. The first account runs from 4 January to Michaelmas 1339, the second from Michaelmas 1339 to 20 May 1340 and the other two cover the years 1340-41 and 1341-42. None of them mentions the lord of the manor by name in its heading, but the contents of the rolls show that the manor was integrated into the administration of the bailiwick of Clare: during the years between 1340 and 1342 Justicehall received produce from the manors of Bardfield, Woodhall, Hundon, Claret Hall and Clare.⁴ The manor was not a usual demesne manor of the bailiwick, however, and it was not included in the analysis of annual receipts even in 1338-39.⁵ From the accounts themselves we find that it was held in demesne by Elizabeth of Clare only while the heir, Thomas Giffard, was a minor, for a third of the arable, rents and dues of the manor was in the hands of Joan Giffard as her dower⁶ and the last of the accounts, that of the last year of the wardship, records the receipt of 100s. from Thomas for his entry fine.⁷

Justicehall, which had many of the characteristics of the manors of small estates described by Professor Kosminsky,⁸ paid small rents at neighbouring manors for parcels of land held from them. As a whole, including Joan Giffard's share, it owed annually 3s. to the manor of Boyton Hall in Finchingfield, 2s. to the prior of Stoke and another 9s. to the prior of Stoke *de antiqua elemosina* for the manor of Hawke's Hall in Toppsfield.⁹ The arable area of the demesne, including Boyton fields and Hawke's Hall fields, was about 300 acres at the time of the accounts, and Elizabeth of Clare's serjeant was charged with two thirds of it.¹⁰ He had meadow and pasture to maintain a single ploughteam — six stots and three oxen, five stots and four oxen or four stots and five oxen — and a small flock of sheep which, after tithing, yielded 88 fleeces to Clare in 1341 and 85 fleeces in 1342.¹¹

The demesne at Justicehall farmed by Elizabeth of Clare's serjeant was divided between three courses which can be approximately reconstructed from details of cropping in the grange accounts (Tables I and II). But outside the three courses there were soils which were not sown with wheat. Cristenemanfeld was barley land: it was sown with 12½ acres of barley in 1338-39, with 6½ acres of barley and 6 acres of oats in 1339-40 and with 12 acres of barley in 1341-42.¹² Parkfeld, meanwhile, was sown with oats two years in succession in 1338-9 and 1339-40,¹³ and this suggests that the land was of inferior quality. Querehalleboyton was similarly sown with two successive crops of oats in 1339-40 and 1340-41.¹⁴ Such outfields allowed pressure to be taken off the wheatlands by permitting extra fallowings between wheat crops: in 1339-40, for example, only 26½ acres of the spring course were sown with oats, the remainder being fallowed, and the rest of the spring-sown crops were put in Cristenemanfeld, Querehalleboyton and Parkfeld.¹⁵ Whether this arrangement can be properly described as an 'infield-outfield system' depends on how much force is given to the term 'system'. It is more helpful to consider the outfields at Justicehall as a modification of the prevailing Essex three-course rotation of fallow, wheat and oats — in order to make the best economic use of poorer soils — rather than as a defining characteristic of the rotation.¹⁶

In the accounts of 1340-41 and 1341-42 occurs an even more interesting use of marginal lands. In these two years, unlike the two preceding them, most of the regular spring-seasons were sown: this amounts to an intensification of the rotation. Simultaneously the land at Parkfeld which had carried oats crops in 1338-39 and 1339-40 was abandoned, presumably because it no longer repaid cultivation with oats, and in its place there were $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of dredge and $16\frac{1}{2}$ acres of oats *in parco de terra assarta*.¹⁷ In the following year, 1341-42, we again find 20 acres of oats on the assart in the park.¹⁸ The serjeant had made payments for the clearing of the land before it was broken up in the first place,¹⁹ and in both 1339-40 and 1340-41 he raised small sums by selling off the gorse from the assart.²⁰

Table I. The rotation of crops at Justicehall 1338-42 (winter-sown crops underlined)

	1338-39 acres	1339-40 acres	1340-41 acres	1341-42 acres
in Pandfeld	—	<u>26$\frac{3}{4}$</u>	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	—
in Mellefeld	—	<u>9$\frac{7}{8}$</u>	9	—
in Halleboytonfeld	—	<u>12</u>	—	—
in iij croftis apud Haukeshal ¹	—	<u>16$\frac{3}{4}$</u>	21	—
in Oddefeld	22	—	<u>20</u>	22 $\frac{1}{2}$
in Blakewyneshamstal . . . et ibidem in terra Diues	—	—	<u>12$\frac{3}{4}$</u>	12
in Reycroft ²	—	—	<u>10$\frac{3}{4}$</u>	4
in Boytoncroftes	—	—	<u>5</u>	—
apud Haukeshale	—	—	<u>5$\frac{1}{2}$</u>	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
in Howeleslond	6	—	—	6
in Damesellefeld	—	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	<u>26$\frac{3}{4}$</u>
in Netherehalleboiton	—	—	—	<u>9$\frac{1}{2}$</u>
apud Haukeshale in le Leye et Kengesfeld	—	—	—	<u>9$\frac{1}{2}$</u>
in Parkfeld	12	20	—	—
in Cristenemanfeld	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	12
in Ouerehalleboyton	—	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$	—
in parco de terra assarta ³	—	—	20	20
in le Brok versus Topesfeld	—	—	4	—

1. On the assumption that three crofts at Hawke's Hall could well have been Cosinesfeld, Herberdesfeld and Outfeld or 'campus ad portam de Haukeshale', I equate the 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres sown with wheat 'in iij croftis apud Haukeshal' in 1339-40 with the 21 acres of oats sown 'in campo ad portam de Haukeshale, Cosinesfeld, Herberdesfeld et Outfeld iuxta Euc (?) stret' of the following year.

2. The Reycroft of 1340-41 is 'in Roucroft' in 1341-42.

3. The 20 acres sown with oats and dredge in 1340-41 are the 20 acres sown in the following year '(in) parco que in anno precedenti seminabantur cum auena et drageto'.

Source: SC 6/844/33d, 34d, 35d, 36 m. 1d.

The effect of this ploughing may be judged from a comparison of the sown acreages in each of the years for which accounts survive. The area under spring crops in 1340-41 and 1341-42 rose to be over half as much again as the acreage under wheat (Table I). The closeness of the parallel with Langenhoe in the years 1342-45 is striking:²¹ the additional oats was grown as a cash crop, as appears from the sales of grain from the manor (Table III). The sales of wheat in 1341-42 were made possible by reducing the amounts sent to the household at Clare or other manors of the bailiwick: in fact the total receipt of wheat in 1341-42 of 45 q. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ b. was slightly lower than the receipt of wheat in 1340-41, which had been 46 q. 5 b. The sales of oats, on the other hand, were the results of an increase in receipts *de exitu*, which rose from 45 q. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ b. during 1340-41 to 68 q. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ b. during 1341-42.²²

Table II. A reconstruction of the seasons at Justicehall 1338-42 (excluding Joan Giffard's share)

<i>Season A</i>	acres	<i>Season C</i>	acres
Pandfeld	29½	Damsellefeld	26¾
Mellefeld	9⅞	Howeleslond	6
Three crofts at Hawke's Hall	16¾	Netherehalleboiton	9½
Halleboytonfeld	12	Land at Hawke's Hall	9½
	68⅞		51¾
<i>Season B</i>	acres		
Oddefeld	22½		
Blakewyneshamstal	12¾		
Reycroft	10¾		
Boytonecroftes	5		
Land at Hawke's Hall	5½		
	56½		

Source: Table I.

Table III. Sales of grain from Justicehall, 1339-1342

4 January 1339 to 29 September 1339	2 b. of barley for 9d.
29 September 1339 to 20 May 1340	39 b. of oats for 9s. 9d.
29 September 1340 to 29 September 1341	2 b. of dredge for 8d. 24 b. of oats for 6s. 0d.
29 September 1341 to 29 September 1342	97½ b. of wheat for 40s. 5d. 23 b. of peas for 5s. 9d. 259 b. of oats for 64s. 9d.

Source: SC 6/844/33r, 34r, 35r, 36 m. 1r, 2r.

Our knowledge of Finchingfield Park, for so it was called, is by no means exhausted. The use of parks as a source of manorial income was a common feature of the medieval countryside, and the imparking movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries owed much to the desire of landlords to control pasture rights.²⁸ The Clare manor of Bardfield had a park a mile and a half to the south of Justicehall, and it was sometimes used as pasture by the villagers.²⁴ Finchingfield Park was also used as pasture, and was of some importance in the economy of the village. Beasts were pastured there between 3 May and Michaelmas. One third of the receipts from agistment there had to be paid to Joan Giffard and the serjeant owed tithes on what remained, but he was left with 36s. 9d. in 1339 and with 36s. 0¾d. in 1340.²⁵ When the twenty-acre assart was made in the park in 1340/41 the amount he received from agistment there fell to 21s. 5½d.²⁶ The nature of the pasturing is apparent from a small piece of parchment tagged on to the account of 1339/40 listing the receipts from agistment in detail. It shows that the park could then provide pasture for six oxen, two cows, 23 steers, 32 calves, a three-year-old mare, five three-year-old foals, seven two-year-old foals and eight one-year-old foals.²⁷ This list refers only to the period between 3 May and Lammas, when the park was pastured most heavily. In 1340 the total from agistment before the subtraction of Joan

Giffard's third and the rector's tenth was 51s. 8d. between 3 May and 1 August and only 8s. 5d. between 1 August and 29 September.²⁸ The cultivation of 20 acres corresponded to a reduction of the receipts from agistment by 22s. 11d. during the growing season in 1341, so that if we assume the park was agisted to full capacity, the area sold in the same months of the previous year will have been about 45 acres. This would imply a density of 1.9 beasts per acre on the pasture there during the summer months of 1340.²⁹ Pasture elsewhere was sold in 1340/41 in le Ferthing, at Howeslese, at Boytoncroftes and at Pandfeld for a total of 4s. 4d., but none was sold in 1341/42.³⁰ The pasture withdrawn from the park was therefore not compensated for by sales of pasture elsewhere on the demesne. The expansion of the acreage of oats in 1341 coincided with a reduction of the amount of pasture sold to the villagers.

The accounts of Justicehall are new evidence to the hypothesis that expansion of the arable area in the 1340s had to be expansion into lands capable only of growing oats. At Justicehall, as at Langenhoe, land which would bear a wheat crop was already drawn into three-course cultivation, even if it needed a more generous fallowing than one year in three. Land which was marginal to arable cultivation was used as pasture and occasional oats land. But the Justicehall accounts also record a response to the effects of current price movements. The late 'thirties and early 'forties of the fourteenth century mark the trough of an acute depression of agricultural prices.³¹ This, together with the dislocation of the wool trade as a consequence of Edward III's money-raising schemes,³² had severe implications for rural liquidity. The outstandingly poor harvest of 1339 was not compensated by famine prices, presumably because of the effect of grain reserves.³³ Low cash incomes in these circumstances inhibited peasant producers from renewing temporary commitments such as short leases and agistment agreements.³⁴ Agricultural depression therefore implied a decline in the demand for manorial pastures, and an anticipated loss of income from this source was probably the main reason for ploughing up pastures at Justicehall as a temporary expedient. Severe pressure on agricultural profits between 1337 and 1346 did not necessarily bring about an overall reduction of cereals production.³⁵ The ploughing up of pastures to increase oats production at a time of low cereals prices is an intelligible response if all the circumstances are taken into account.

NOTES

- Public Record Office SC 6/844/33-36.
- Morant, P., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, London, 1768, II, p. 367.
- When an aid was levied for the knighting of the Black Prince in the years 1346-50, Thomas Giffard was assessed on four separate holdings, all of which had belonged to different families in 1303. In Toppesfield he had a quarter of a knight's fee held formerly by Henry de Lacheleye (*Feudal Aids*, II, p. 164). In Finchingfield he held three fees by military tenures. One was the knight's fee held by Cecily Dive in 1303, and subsequently known as Dives (*Ibid.*, II, p. 162. Reaney, P. H., *The Place-Names of Essex* (English Place-Name Society, XII), Cambridge, 1935, p. 427), and another was the quarter fee which Nicholas Pecche had had in 1303, subsequently called Petches (*Feudal Aids*, II, p. 163. Reaney, P. H., *op. cit.*, p. 427). The third estate in Finchingfield, which by elimination would seem to be Justices, was a knight's fee held in 1303 by Ralph de Hengham, who had been Edward I's chief justice of King's Bench and who from 1301 had been chief justice of Common Pleas (*Feudal Aids*, II, p. 163). This suggests an origin for the name of the manor rather more satisfactory than that proposed by Dr. Reaney (*op. cit.*, p. 427).
- SC 6/844/34d, 35d, 36 m. 1d, 2d.
- Holmes, G. A., *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England*, Cambridge, 1957, p. 147.
- The rents received by the serjeant are given in the form 'De duabus partibus redditus termini sancti Michaelis in principio istius compoti, xvjs. iijd. ob. quad.' (SC 6/844/35r). In the details of cropping the form is 'in Parkfeld xx acre et non plus quia x acre assignantur pro dote' (SC 6/844/34d): cf. 'In C perticatis noue haye factis inter parcum et le Parkfeld, ijs. ix. quad. et non plus quia Johanna Giffard soluit terciam partem pro sua dote, videlicet xvjd. ob. quad. pro perticata ob.' (SC 6/844/33r).

7. 'De fine Thome Giffard pro ingressu dicti manerii Cs. ad proficuum recipiendum vsque ad legitimam etatem suam de omnibus que in manus domine fuerunt, excepto quod domina habebit pasturam bidentium vsque ad festum sancti Michaelis' (SC 6/844/36r).
8. Labour services are not as well documented as they might be, but the cash account records only slight ploughing boons: food was supplied for 26 men with 12 ploughs and two harrows for a day in 1339 at oats sowing (SC 6/844/33r), for six men with three ploughs for a day at wheat sowing 1339 and for 14 men with seven ploughs at oats sowing 1340 (SC 6/844/34r), for seven ploughs at wheat sowing 1340, but nothing at oats sowing 1341 (SC 6/844/35r) and for four men with two ploughs for a day at oats sowing 1342 (SC 6/844/36 m. 1r). In the winter of 1339/40 the serjeant supplemented his teams by hiring two ploughs for a day at 10d. each to hasten the ploughing. Most ploughing, however, was evidently the work of the two *famuli carucarii*. If we compare the crops threshed and harvested at piece-rates, from the face of the accounts, with the total harvests and sown acreages, from the dorse, we find that the performance of these tasks owed nothing to customary labour. Every single bushel received *de exitu* in 1340/41 and 1341/42 was threshed *ad tascham* and all the crops recorded as sown were harvested *ad tascham* with the exception of the sown acres given as stipends to the ploughmen (SC 6/844/35r and d, 36 m. 1r and d, and m. 2r and d): cf. Kosminsky, E. A., *Studies in the Agrarian History of England* (trans. Ruth Kisch), Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1956, chapter 5, pp. 256-82.
9. SC 6/844/35r. Reaney, P. H., op. cit., pp. 426, 463.
10. This is calculated from the estimate of potential wheatlands in the three courses, in Table II, with the addition of a third of the total in allowance of Joan Giffard's dower.
11. SC 6/844/33d, 34d, 35d, 36d. The 'stotti' of SC 6/844/34 are the same creatures as the 'affri' of the other accounts.
12. SC 6/844/34d, 35d, 36 m. 1d.
13. SC 6/844/33d, 34d.
14. SC 6/844/34d, 35.
15. SC 6/844/34d.
16. Britnell, R. H., 'Agricultural Technology and the Margin of Cultivation in the Fourteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, xxx (ser. 2) (1977), 54-56. This article contains a study of another Essex manor, Bouchier Hall in Tollesbury.
17. SC 6/844/35d.
18. Twenty acres of oats were sown '(in) parco que in anno precedenti seminabantur cum auena et drageto' (SC 6/844/36 m. 1d).
19. 'in stipendio j hominis assartantis spinas in parco ante caruca frangebat terram de nouo ad seminandum ibidem auenam per iij dies, vjd. In spinis et vepribus ibidem assartandis, xijd' (SC 6/844/34r). These payments were made before Michaelmas 1340.
20. In 1339/40 he sold 1000 faggots made in the park for 13s. 4d. and raised another shilling 'de spinis venditis in parco' (SC 6/844/34r). In 1340/41 he sold 1360 faggots 'de spinis in parco' for 16s. (SC 6/844/35r) and in 1341/42 he sold 430 faggots for 5s. 3¾d. and raised 2d. 'de ij faciculis spinarum venditis' (SC 6/844/36 m. 1r).
21. Britnell, R. H., 'Production for the Market on a Small Fourteenth-Century Estate', *Economic History Review*, xix (ser. 2) (1966), 380-87.
22. SC 6/844/35d, 36 m. 1d.
23. On the estates of the Earldom of Cornwall in 1296/97 the lord drew sizeable amounts from the pannage and pasture of his parks, 15s. 2½d. at Sundon (Midgley, L. Margaret, *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall*, Camden Society, lxxvi and lxxviii (ser. 3), London (1942 and 1945), p. 6), 72s. 9d. at Great Berkhamsted (ibid. p. 19), 25s. 1d. at Cippenham (ibid. p. 31), 11s. 4d. at Isleworth (ibid. p. 40), 13s. 0d. at Mere (ibid. p. 56), 32s. 3d. at Watlington (ibid. p. 85), 163s. 7d. at Beckley (ibid. p. 137), 230s. 0d. at two parks in Oakham (ibid. p. 160), 89s. 1d. at Knaresborough (ibid. p. 188), 14s. 4d. at Stoke Climsland (ibid. p. 224), 13s. 4d. at Liskeard (ibid. p. 233).
24. Dr. Holmes's observation that the park was used for non-agricultural purposes (Holmes, G. A., op. cit., p. 89) is misleading, because the park was used for pasture as well. In 1323/24 the serjeant received 112s. 8d. for animals pasturing the park (SC 6/836/11r). In 1337/38 and 1340/41 he received nothing only because the park was being used for pasture by the demesne beasts (SC 6/836/7r, 9r).
25. SC 6/844/33r, 34r.
26. SC 6/844/35r.
27. SC 6/844/34, tag attached to the foot.

28. SC 6/844/34r.
29. Such overcrowding was a common feature of the period. It is discussed by Trow-Smith, R., *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700*, London, 1957, pp. 98-105. This evidence does not, of course, contradict the general hypothesis proposed by Postan, M. M., 'Village livestock in the Thirteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, xv (ser. 2) (1962), 219-49, that animal numbers were low in relation to the arable area. Constricted pastures and over-extended arable cultivation are different aspects of the same agrarian problem.
30. SC 6/844/35r, 36 mm. 1r, 2r.
31. Thorold Rogers, J. E., *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, Oxford, 1866, I, pp. 205-207; Titow, J. Z., 'Evidence of Weather in the Account Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1209-1350', *Economic History Review*, xii (ser. 2) (1960), pp. 395-99.
32. Power, Eileen, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History*, Oxford, 1941, pp. 81-85; Fryde, E. B., *The Wool Accounts of William de la Pole: a study of some aspects of the English wool trade at the start of the Hundred Years' War* (St. Anthony's Hall Publications, 25), York, 1964; Lloyd, T. H., *The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England* (Economic History Review Supplement 6), Cambridge, 1973, p. 18.
33. Rogers, J. E. Thorold, *op. cit.* I, p. 206.
34. At Bardfield in 1342/43 pasture in Flodmad was used for demesne beasts *pro defectu emptoris*, and the same reason was given for the low receipt from pasture on waste land in Brusesfeld (SC 6/836/10r). This same phenomenon explains the events at Langenhoe, referred to above.
35. Baker, A. R. H., 'Evidence in the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* of Contracting Arable Lands in England in the Early Fourteenth Century' *Economic History Review*, xix (ser. 2) (1966), 518-22; Baker, A. R. H., 'Some Evidence of a Reduction in the Area of Cultivated Lands in Sussex during the Early Fourteenth Century', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, civ (1966), 1-5. The *Nonarum Inquisitiones* for Essex do not contain information of the kind used by Dr. Baker as evidence of contracting arable at this period, so the Justicehall accounts cannot be used as a direct check on their general significance.

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The Finances of an Eighteenth-century Essex Nobleman

by J. D. WILLIAMS*

Although aristocratic 'indebtedness has attracted considerable attention from historians of many periods in late years',¹ it has more recently been suggested that very 'little work has been done by historians in the subject of money management in the eighteenth century, and much is needed'.² It is hoped that this case study will contribute to the social and economic history of the landed ruling group during the Hanoverian period, and more particularly to the subject of money management, an integral and vital part of the economy of landownership.

The subject of this investigation is Sir John Griffin Griffin³ who was born at Oundle, Northamptonshire, on 20 February 1719. He changed his surname from Whitwell to Griffin by Act of Parliament in 1749, was created fourth Lord Howard de Walden in 1784 and first Lord Braybrooke in 1788. Before his elevation to the peerage he was a member of Parliament for 35 years and following a military career he saw active service for which he was made a Knight of the Bath and rose to the rank of Field-Marshal. He became Lord Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral of Essex, Recorder and Lay Rector of Saffron Walden, Lord of the Manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden, and Visitor of Magdalene College, Cambridge, before he died at his country house, Audley End, Essex, on 25 May 1797, 'full of years and earthly honours'.⁴ Viewed in this way Griffin appears as a representative figure in the upper reaches of the landed ruling group of Hanoverian England. That he should become so was not at all assured at the time of his birth.

Griffin's father, William Whitwell,⁵ was born at Richmond, Surrey, in 1690, was educated at Oundle School and at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1706 he was admitted to the Middle Temple, matriculated in the following year and was called to the Bar in 1712. Five years later he married Ann Griffin⁶ of Braybrooke, Northamptonshire. She was born in 1695 and was the youngest sister of Edward, the third and last Lord Griffin, and Elizabeth, the second wife of John Wallop, the first Earl of Portsmouth.⁷ It was the first Lord Griffin who had married Lady Essex Howard, daughter of James, third Earl of Suffolk, and owner of Audley End, the significance of which match will soon become apparent.

Altogether, nine children were born into the Whitwell-Griffin marriage: four sons and five daughters.⁸ Sir John was the eldest son but of his early life little is known. It is impossible to tell whether he followed his father's footsteps and attended the school at Oundle,⁹ but part of his education was received at Winchester, where he attended as a commoner between 1734 and

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1736.¹⁰ Again, unlike his father, he did not attend at one of the universities, neither is there any evidence pointing to a grand tour or military academy. It would seem likely that for the earlier years Griffin received his education at home from a private tutor and then went on to Winchester to complete his education and gain the additional experience of living with other boys away from home.

The paucity of material for these early years makes it difficult to be sure of the exact economical standing of Sir John's parents. On his maternal side he was descended from an ancient family, but one which had gained entry into the peerage in only 1688.¹¹ By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Griffins were under economic stress. The first Lord died in the Tower as a result of his support of James II.¹² A letter written by the second Lord to his successor gives a more detailed picture of the family's depressed affairs.¹³ The third Lord's weakness for the bottle resulted in much of the family property falling into the hands of an attorney. As early as 1717, Edward, the third Lord, had sold the castle and manor of Braybrooke, which property had been in the family since 1395.¹⁴ In 1728 his sister, Ann Griffin, mentions¹⁵ his drinking bouts and unreliable character, and indeed the economic standing of the family by the end of the seventeenth century might explain the match between herself and William Whitwell, an example of a peer's daughter marrying a member of the professional group.¹⁶

But again it is difficult to tell whether William Whitwell is an example of the son of a successful professional family marrying the daughter of a member of the nobility, one way in which the ruling group maintained its supremacy and adapted itself to changing circumstances, for it is known that successful members of the legal profession got into landed society as quickly as they could.¹⁷ We know that the Whitwells were engaged in some land transactions in Oundle and its vicinity, and there is evidence to show that they were a locally respected professional family.¹⁸ But by the 1720s it would seem that misfortune befell this family too. One source¹⁹ mentions that William Whitwell had been left an estate in Northamptonshire which he sold, but lost the purchase money in the South Sea Company. This being so, the already declining Griffin family, as well as the nine children born into the Whitwell-Griffin marriage, put an extra stress on the family, and might explain why William Whitwell combined other business alongside his professional work.²⁰ Thus although his marriage to Ann Griffin brought William Whitwell closer to the landed interest, both families were under economic stress by the 1720s, and there was nothing to suggest that the eldest son born into that marriage would one day become a member of the English peerage.

But shortly after embarking on a military career in 1739, the course that Sir John's life should subsequently take was markedly changed, and what follows confirms the view that a 'man might be merely the eldest in the female line of a minor gentle family, yet end his life as a titled magnate or even a peer'.²¹ It has been suggested that it was often the death of an uncle or a cousin rather than a father, brother or grandfather which required that the younger branch should move to the family seat. It was three deaths and a provident marriage in fairly rapid succession that together proved to be the factors that transformed Griffin's circumstances. This experience serves as a token of the limited mobility within the ruling group and also confirms the complicated nature of the rise of some families, underlining, in this instance, its two-stage character: firstly, from the professional ranks into landed society; and secondly, through the next generation into the peerage itself. In this instance the downward flow of a nobleman's daughter was compensated for by the upward flow of the eldest son born into that marriage.

A closer consideration of the factors responsible for changing the course of Sir John's life shows that a major part was played by his aunt Elizabeth, his mother's and the third Lord Griffin's sister. Widowed by the death of her first husband, Henry Grey or Neville,²² of Billingbear, Berkshire, she remarried. Childless from her first marriage she had been made sole executrix, and Grey's estate had been left in trust for her life, and there is evidence to show that she used her favourable position to help her nephew.²³ In 1741 she married John Wallop, Lord Lymington, who was created first Earl of Portsmouth in 1743. As well as giving his aunt a title,

this judicious marriage also provided Griffin himself with a patron, as there were no children born into this marriage either.²⁴ In 1742 Edward, the third Lord Griffin, died, and Ann Whitwell and Elizabeth, Countess of Portsmouth, became co-heirs. The male line had broken, and of the two sisters, one was childless.²⁵

But more was to follow. The link between the Griffins and Suffolks through the marriage of the first Lord Griffin and Lady Essex Howard, daughter of the third Earl of Suffolk and owner of Audley End, took on a new significance after the death of the tenth and last Earl of Suffolk in 1745, when the Suffolk titles passed to the fourth Earl of Berkshire.²⁶ After complicated legal proceedings the estate was successfully claimed by the three descendants of the third Earl of Suffolk, namely, Elizabeth, Countess of Portsmouth, her sister Ann Whitwell, and Lord Hervey, later to become the second Earl of Bristol. In 1747, a decree in Chancery favoured the three claimants, but the house and park were excluded because they had been the property of the Crown when the third Earl of Suffolk had made his settlement in 1687.²⁷ But the Countess of Portsmouth's ambitions had been awakened, and by 1751 she had purchased the house and park.

In the meantime Sir John had changed his natural name and arms to those of Griffin, and in so doing had become the heir-general of that family. As a result he was immediately given his aunt's share of the Audley End estate in 1749, and on her death in 1762, he inherited Audley End house and was the principal beneficiary under her will.²⁸ It is to the financial management of his inheritance that we will now turn.

'It is hard', commented Professor G. N. Clark of the early eighteenth century, 'to find a class of mere landlords.'²⁹ Perhaps nowhere is this more true than when examining the finances of a landowner during the Hanoverian period. In the first instance it is more difficult to follow the finances of this group in the eighteenth century partly because they had much more income from outside sources than had been the case before the Restoration. The main sources of income by Griffin's time were rentals, investments, speculations, trade, careers, holding of public office, marriage dowries, inheritance, the promotion of agriculture and industry and the exploitation of mineral resources. 'Outstanding wealth', Professor Mingay has stated, 'was thus a means to even greater wealth.'³⁰ But Griffin did not belong to the Bridgewaters, Devonshires and Bedfords, or indeed to the 'agrarian millionaires'³¹ with their commercial and industrial undertakings. He was not in the same financial league as the Duke of Bedford whose gross rentals in 1732 had been £31,000; or the Duke of Devonshire's in 1764 which was £35,000;³² or the Duke of Newcastle who received an income from 13 counties, as well as from public office.³³

But if Sir John was not endowed with as many sources of income as some of his contemporaries, neither did he on the other hand experience certain factors that would have been a drain on his financial resources. For instance, although twice married, there were no children to educate, no sons for whom to find a suitable situation in life and no daughters with the burden of dowries, although there was a Dowager Duchess with a jointure.³⁴ The main areas of debt among this group were the strict settlement, personal extravagance, excessive building and election expenses.³⁵ Although engaging in some of these activities, the evidence shows that Griffin was not a spendthrift, but a man of meticulous financial probity.

It is also difficult to follow the finances of this group because the method of handling income changed. Previously, it had been handled by one person, and the income set against the expenditure gave the balance and financial position of the person. For Griffin, the evidence to survive is to be found in three repositories. Firstly, the main sources of information in the Braybrooke Collection in the Essex Record Office consist of a document entitled 'Cash Spent Annually 1749-92';³⁶ a solitary cash book of Griffin's with Drummond's Bank for the years 1790-95;³⁷ a similar document of Lady Portsmouth's for the period 1740-53;³⁸ a few wills;³⁹ marriage settlements;⁴⁰ estate records⁴¹ and household accounts.⁴² Secondly, and most fortunately, there are the Bank Ledgers at Drummond's covering the period 1763-97.⁴³ Thirdly, there is the recent unearthing of records at Trinity House for the years 1763-97.⁴⁴ Collectively,

these records throw some light on Sir John's financial position between 1749 and 1797. Understandably, they do not account for all his financial transactions and, inescapably, there are gaps. There is also an imbalance, in so far as it is generally easier to account in detail for the expenditure than for the income side of his financial position, and it is with the former aspect that we shall continue our investigation.

From the Memorandum entitled 'Cash Spent Annually' it is possible to show that between 1749 and 1792 a total of £341,347 15s. 2½d.⁴⁵ was spent, and from the Bank Ledgers it is possible to calculate that for the period 1763-97 a total of £250,227 10s. 1d.⁴⁶ was spent. By adding the amount recorded in the Ledgers, £40,216 7s. 11d., for the years 1793-97, that is, for the years unaccounted for in the first source, it is possible to show that the grand total expended by Griffin could not have been less than £381,564 3s. 3½d.⁴⁷ It is significant that the first source commences in 1749, the year in which he married, entered Parliament, changed his arms and name to those of Griffin, and the year in which his aunt gave him her share of the income from the Audley End estate. Between 1749 and 1761, that is, down to the year before he officially succeeded to the house, he spent £20,578 0s. 1¾d. In the years 1762-64 his expenditure rose dramatically and the level was at £22,133 19s. 7½d. Between 1765 and 1792, the highest annual expenditure was in 1785, when it was at £17,950 4s. 3¾d., and the lowest in 1776 when it was at £6,972 8s. 4¾d.⁴⁸ Perhaps it is no less significant that the Bank Ledgers begin in his name in 1763, the year after his aunt's death, and the first entry in the Ledger for that year records the balance brought forward from Lady Portsmouth's old Ledger.⁴⁹ According to the Bank Ledgers the year in which most cash was spent was 1789 when the level was £17,372 14s. 1d., and the least spent per annum was in 1779 when the figure was £2,778 5s. 6d. As might be expected the two sources do not match either *in toto* or on an annual basis. For instance, if we consider the period when the two sources coincide, 1763-92, the Memorandum shows an expenditure of £315,747 11s. 0¾d., and the Ledgers an expenditure of £210,011 2s. 2d. Similarly, on an annual basis, the high and low points instanced above do not coincide, so that when the Ledgers indicate a debit of £2,778 5s. 6d. in 1779, the Memorandum shows an expenditure of £9,103 7s. 1¼d., and conversely, when the Bank Ledgers record an all-time high debit of £17,372 14s. 1d. in 1789, the Memorandum shows only £13,174 6s. 10¼d. However, the first source indicates that a large sum of money was expended by Griffin, and the second source confirms a high percentage of this figure.

This considerable expenditure was channelled into three main areas. '... As you are at Audley End,⁵⁰ I imagine you deeply engaged in the amusing Cares of Building, planting, decorating etc';⁵¹ so wrote the Elder Pitt to Griffin, and in doing so, touched upon the projects that were very close to the latter's heart. For not only was Sir John to be engaged at his country seat, the Town house, also, was to receive similar, if less ambitious, attention. The extent of his dedication in this direction is easily quantified in terms of both energy and cash expended. The energy called forth can be measured by mentioning that his rebuilding and restoration schemes were to occupy a good deal of his time between 1762 and 1797. On the other score, the two establishments were to make financial demands of at least £96,626 between 1763 and 1797.⁵² Much has been written about the compulsion to build and rebuild the ancestral home,⁵³ and in no period can this have been more so than in the eighteenth century, a period that witnessed a boom in the building industry.⁵⁴ Had there not been a degree of compulsion with Griffin, there would most certainly have been the need to restore, and on a large scale, for the Audley End that he succeeded to in 1762 had not only been drastically reduced in size, but was also in a sad state of dilapidation.⁵⁵ Sir John, for his part, was to spend £72,780 in rebuilding, restoring, embellishing and laying the whole out in pleasant surroundings, and to this can be added a further £13,424 for furniture. Such a figure compares more than favourably with amounts expended on some other country houses and reflects, if nothing else, the depth of Griffin's pocket and the extent of his ambitions.⁵⁶ Furthermore, unlike some of his rebuilding contemporaries, he was able to commence his work almost immediately after succeeding to the house, without, apparently,

having to nurse his resources carefully for some time⁵⁷ or to wait for a rich heiress⁵⁸ to make such schemes possible.

But as well as being able to support a country mansion, the nobleman also needed to be able to maintain a metropolitan life, which was yet another of the distinguishing features of the upper reaches of the ruling group. Participation in the London season and a seat in Parliament combined to make a Town house essential. In 1762, and again through the good offices of his aunt, he inherited a house in New Burlington Street, in the parish of St. James, Westminster.⁵⁹ If Griffin's ambitions for Audley End were partly generated by his desire to regain the lost dignities of his forebears, it might well be that his schemes for his Town house were mainly due to his desire to be at one with his peers.⁶⁰ At his country seat the best craftsmen were employed and the total rebuilding and refurbishing work amounted to £8,157 with a further £2,255 for furniture. Thus, £96,626, or approximately one quarter of his total expenditure, was channelled into rebuilding schemes.

But important though they were, the family houses were not the only physical expressions of the standing of its members. It was their style of living that also distinguished the great landowners from the lesser, and this was partly manifested in household expenditure, the second main area. Of Griffin's total expenditure, £105,677⁶¹ was spent in this department. On this evidence, little wonder, perhaps, that supervising the steward and agents who managed estate and household affairs is mentioned by Professor Thompson as one of the landowner and his family's five main activities.⁶² That Griffin concerned himself with this aspect is partly evidenced by his comment 'from my first commencing Housekeeper':⁶³ this referred to 1749 and is to be found in the Memorandum quoted above, although he did not actually succeed to the house until 1762. The total expenditure in this department in part reflected the circumstances of the family and understandably varied from one nobleman's household to another, as indeed did the amount spent in each household section, which also in part reflected the interests of the family. As far as Sir John's household expenditure was concerned, it is clear that most of the global sum went on housekeeping (28.9 per cent), paying his staff (16 per cent) and on common consumer goods, and even in those other areas that reflected his social standing and particular interests, for instance, stables (16.8 per cent),⁶⁴ cash spent had the effect of sustaining the incomes of tradesmen and craftsmen at both local and national levels.

But as well as being agents of conspicuous consumption,⁶⁵ some members of this group were also agents of investment. Indeed, of Griffin's total expenditure the estate accounted for £96,100⁶⁶ and home farm activities for £21,627,⁶⁷ making a total of £117,727. Thus more was spent in this third area than in either of the two other spheres already mentioned. Of the total estate debit, capital investment cannot have been less than £54,384⁶⁸ for land purchases, plus a few thousand pounds for fixed capital investment in three main projects and general repair work.⁶⁹ Most of this investment was financed out of his estate income, and only rarely was there need to raise cash via mortgage to purchase an estate, and then for only a short time.⁷⁰

Collectively, these three main areas show an expenditure level of £320,030 of the known total of £381,564. On this basis the sum of £61,534 remains unaccounted for in terms of precision spending. Over the period 1749-97 this averages at £1,240 per annum, and, although it is not possible to quantify in detail, much of this can be accounted for in terms of personal expenses, some election expenses and the payment of annuities.⁷¹ Regrettably, Sir John did not keep a personal account book, or, if he did, it has not survived.

His financial position was such at the time of his death that he could bequeath in his will various sums amounting to over £7,000.⁷² One specific public indication as to the size of his income is given in the obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1797,⁷³ where it is stated that it was about £7,000 per annum. In the light of his known total expenditure and with the knowledge that he died solvent, it would seem that this figure is a conservative estimate. With little evidence to help us before 1749, our examination must be confined to the 48 years after that date until his

death in 1797, during which time at least £381,564 was expended. Put in another way, we are looking for an average annual income of about £7,949.

In turning to the credit side of his financial affairs a number of specific sources of revenue are identifiable. They are inheritance, marriage, investment, estate, farming, career, patronage and cash received from miscellaneous sources. Further, between 1740 and 1753, payments were made by the Countess of Portsmouth to Griffin and these amounted to £4,902 18s. Her one surviving pass-book⁷⁴ with Drummond's shows that these payments varied from as little as £20 to as much as £1,000 at any one time. Whether these payments represent an allowance made by Lady Portsmouth to her nephew, or whether after 1749 they represent her share of the profits from the Audley End estate, cannot be ascertained with certainty. But in the light of what is known of their close relationship, and in keeping with what is known of Griffin's immediate family background, then the first explanation might not be out of place. Of this sum £2,345 16s. was paid to him during the years 1749-53.

A series of deaths played a significant part in Sir John's much-improved fortunes in the 1740s and inheritance was to bring further gains. On the death of his aunt Elizabeth in 1762 he inherited £12,000,⁷⁵ and on his brother Mathew's decease in 1789 he was the richer by £6,000 of stock.⁷⁶ He was also the principal beneficiary of his parents, but apart from gaining his mother's share of the Audley End estate, it is not possible to quantify what this might have amounted to.⁷⁷ Marriage, the second most important factor in changing the course of his life, was also to be a source from which he made cash gains. His first marriage in 1749 brought him £8,000,⁷⁸ and through his second in 1765 he was able to raise £10,000 on his wife's estate.⁷⁹ Collectively, the cash gained from these sources amounted to £38,345. So far, we have been concerned to show cash accumulated by Sir John, and in one sense have demonstrated capital accumulation: what of his known sources of income?

Interest from investment in stock was one such source of income. This policy seems to have been initiated by Griffin in 1765, and participation continued for the remainder of his life.⁸⁰ That it was begun at that time coupled with the amount of stock held in that year, £12,800, might well suggest that he invested the cash received from his aunt. Investment had a twofold advantage: firstly, the interest arising would provide him with a regular income; secondly, he would have at his disposal a fairly liquid reserve of capital. Altogether, there were five areas of investment. Between 1765 and 1774 he held Bank Stock; from 1765 to 1771 he held 1756 3½ per cent; in 1767 and again in 1776 he held India Bonds; between 1771 and 1786 he held 4-per-cent Consols; and from 1776 to 1783, and again from 1786 to 1797, he held 3-per-cent Consols. He also inherited £6,000 of this last stock from his brother. That he was able to invest at all suggests that he possessed surplus cash, and that £14,000 remained in stock at the time of his death is further testimony to the depth of his pocket. Between 1765 and 1797 interest amounted to £8,858 13s., which averaged at £276 per annum. This varied according to the amount of stock held at any one time from as little as £30 in 1784 to as much as £622 7s. 2d. in 1790, and at the time of his death interest was at £420 per annum.⁸¹

Two other areas providing regular income were the estate and home farm. His total net⁸² income from the estate between 1754 and 1791⁸³ amounted to £94,300 and was made up in the following manner:

	£	s.	d.				
Land rents (all sections)	60,798	18	0½	General court baron (fines)	4,507	4	3½
Audley End water-mill	262	2	9	Special court baron (fines)	826	10	0
Tanner (bark sales)	2,165	19	1	Great tithes	9,741	2	8½
Underwood (sales)	11,999	16	6½	Sundry sources	1,129	1	2¼
Quit rents	2,869	19	5½				
				Total	94,300	14	0¾ ⁸⁴

This averaged at £2,548 per annum, and as he is known to have derived an income from this source down to his death, it does not seem unreasonable to project that the full income down to 1796, the last complete year of his life, would not have been less than £108,100.⁸⁵ The home farm accounts show financial transactions on the credit side amounting to £30,864 between 1773 and 1797.⁸⁶

There were also out-county properties.⁸⁷ The Northamptonshire estate with an annual rental of £908 yielded £6,356 for the years 1789-96.⁸⁸ It is very probable that his Norfolk property⁸⁹ accounted for a further £8,915 between 1783 and 1797. The Bank Ledgers record regular and substantial payments during these years by a Kerrison who is mentioned by Lady Griffin⁹⁰ as being of Norwich. This was in all probability Sir Roger Kerrison of Brooke Hall, a banker and twice mayor of that city.⁹¹ It is possible that his Suffolk property gave an annual rental of about £170⁹² totalling £2,040 for the period 1785-96, for again the Bank Ledgers record regular payments during this period when he is known to have owned land in Suffolk. Altogether out-county properties account for about £17,311 paid into his account at Drummond's.

But as well as being a farmer and estate administrator, Sir John was also a soldier, and one whose career spanned from 1739 to 1797. He rose from the rank of Ensign to Field-Marshal⁹³ and he was a colonel of different regiments for some 38 years.⁹⁴ It was an age when commissions were bought and sold much like shares on the exchange and a time when a colonel looked upon his regiment almost as his private property. Although it is not possible to itemise precisely what his salary⁹⁵ would have amounted to during the years 1739-97, it can be stated that his regular promotions brought in a steady income and that his colonelcies brought additional cash. Fairly regular payments are recorded in the Ledgers from 1763 to 1797 although there are noticeable gaps. Two of the better-known army agents, John Calcroft, of Channel Row, Westminster, and Cox of Albemarle Street, made payments into Drummond's. In 1763-64 Calcroft paid in £2,694 16s. 8d., and Cox paid in £500 in 1765, £2,574 11s. 6d. in the years 1776-78, and a further £19,846 11s. between 1781 and 1797, making a total of £25,615 19s. 2d. But this figure does not represent his total income from this source, firstly, because there are long gaps during the period when records are available and, secondly, there are no records before 1763, before which time he is known to have gained quite rapid promotion, having become lieutenant-colonel as well as regimental colonel before the first year in which his professional salary was recorded in the Bank Ledgers. However, on the evidence for the period 1763-97, the identifiable total of £25,615 would only have averaged at £753 per annum, whereas in 1788⁹⁶ the King allowed him £1,200 per annum for the loss of his regiment in that year. What emerges, therefore, is that although it is not possible to account for his full army pay over a period of 58 years, his income from this source was considerable, and for 36 years after he had retired from active service.

Another source of income which did not depend on too much activity on Griffin's part was his control of five lighthouses around Winterton and Orfordness. Initially, the lights had been inherited from the Countess of Portsmouth, but his continued control of them depended on a royal grant.⁹⁷ The Bank Ledgers show that regular and substantial payments were made into his account in every year between 1763 and 1797. From 1763 to 1775 a Charles Ambrose paid in £46,640, and from 1776 to 1797 a John D'Oyly paid in £59,519, making a total of £106,159. This averaged at £3,033 per annum and, as such, constituted the largest single item of average income. From the records deposited at Trinity House it has been possible to identify these two men as Griffin's agents who handled this money on his behalf. Thus, although his estate at Audley End did not yield him as much as some of his fellow-landowners were getting from theirs, his control over the lighthouses virtually guaranteed him a level of income that he might have expected from the original estate before the division.⁹⁸

Finally, there is that less-clearly defined area, cash received from miscellaneous sources. Between 1763 and 1797 a total of £28,879 was paid into his account at Drummond's. This averaged at £849 per annum. It is possible that this included army pay above that already accounted for. His possession of stock also enabled him to draw on this fairly liquid reserve of

capital from time to time. There remain those frustrating entries which only record sums of money 'received' without mentioning specific names. But although lacking in precise detail, it is clear that quite a considerable amount of money was paid into his account at Drummond's and when computed on an annual basis represents quite a substantial figure on the credit side.

Returning to the question of how does the total credit match the total debit, the first answer would seem to be that it did. This is based on the knowledge that Griffin died solvent and also on the evidence contained in the Bank Ledgers, that the credit side exceeded the debit side in all years but one between 1763 and 1797.⁹⁹ In working out a more precise relationship between credit and debit, a number of plausible answers suggest themselves. Against the total expenditure of £381,564 it is possible to account for £364,134, and the Ledgers confirm £293,136 of this, averaging at £8,621 between 1763 and 1797. On this calculation, £17,429 or £363 per year remains unaccounted for during the period 1749-97, but, due to the absence of evidence, army income is not considered before 1763.

However, in order to penetrate beyond the credit-debit level and attempt to examine the problem in terms of expenditure and income, it is necessary to present this evidence differently. The second method would be to consider the global expenditure figure in the same way, that is, £381,564 or £7,949 per annum for 48 years, but to subtract inheritance, £18,000, and marriages, £18,000, from the global credit side, and to treat this sum of £36,000 as capital. This would leave £328,134 or an average annual income of £6,836, leaving £1,113 per year unaccounted for, but, as in the previous calculation, army salary before 1763 is not considered.

A third method would be to shorten the period to 1763-97, that is, when most of the evidence to survive coincides. This would reduce expenditure to £355,963 or an average of £10,469 per annum, and income to £307,352 or an average of £9,039 per annum, thus widening the gap to £1,430 unaccounted for each year. But this arrangement of the data is more unfair to the income side because estate income from 1749 to 1762 is not considered, whereas expenditure during the same period, that is, before Sir John succeeded to Audley End and commenced large-scale rebuilding activities, was considerably less than it was to become after 1762.

Fourthly, if we accept the average annual expenditure for the entire period 1749-97, that is, £7,949, and bear in mind that no debts were recorded when he opened his account at Drummond's in 1763 or when he died in 1797, as well as from our knowledge of him, it might be reasonable to assume that he lived within his income. Due to the absence of evidence for army pay before 1763 it does not seem possible to arrive at a figure which will give his full income for the entire period. However, it can be shown that the Audley End estate yielded an annual average net income of £2,584 between 1754 and 1797; out-county properties an annual average income of £1,236 from 1783 to 1797; the lighthouses an annual average of £3,033 between 1763 and 1797; the army an annual average of £753 from 1765 to 1797; interest from investment averaged £276 between 1765 and 1797; money received from miscellaneous sources averaged £849 from 1763 to 1797; profits from farming averaged £387 between 1773 and 1797. Together, these average incomes, from different sources, for slightly different periods of time, amount to £9,082, and in 1791, the last year in which all the sources are available, his income was £9,834.

Finally, on the expenditure side, the foregoing has assumed a constant capital level of £36,000, but this does not appear to have been the case. Whereas it seems probable that Griffin used some of this capital to purchase stock, it is impossible to tell how he deployed all of this sum. His investment policy was a fluid one and £14,000 of stock remained at the time of his death. If we accept that this figure only should be considered as capital, then it becomes possible to show a total income of £350,134, or an annual average of £7,294, over the entire period, thus leaving a gap of only £655 per year unaccounted for.

It is undoubtedly difficult to determine precisely what the total income of an eighteenth-century nobleman was, and equally difficult to account for all the income from the identifiable sources. Griffin's particular experience highlights the general problems. Although a landowner,

much of his income came from outside sources. It is clear that no one person or indeed one institution handled all his income: names flash across the pages of the Bank Ledgers, not all of whom are identifiable, and this lack of uniformity is not surprising in view of the form that the development of banking was taking at this time. Further, detailed accounts were either not kept or have since been destroyed or lost. But enough has emerged to show quite a close relationship between his total expenditure and total income. It has been possible to itemise fairly precisely the main areas in which he spent most of the total expenditure figure of £381,564. It is to be hoped that this analysis of his finances has also shown that he had his finger in several of the financial pies of his day, and although less varied and less spectacular than some of his peers, they did provide him with a steady and not insubstantial income.

This enabled him to provide and sustain a style of living commensurate to his station, to embark upon an active estate policy and to carefully restore the Jacobean mansion of his ancestors. Of his rebuilding and restoration schemes, spectacular though they were in terms of overall cost, they remained within his means and the evidence is clear in showing that he was able to meet the expense entailed. On this score he was more successful than some of his contemporaries and certainly more successful than his ancestral owners of Audley End had ever been. Although a recognised avenue of possible indebtedness, this was not the case with Griffin. Household expenditure, another recognised pitfall for this group, although at a respectfully high level, was kept under close control. With estate and farming activities, although again the overall expenditure level was high, so, too, was the investment level.

That he was successful in managing his financial resources was due to two main reasons. Although so representative of the ruling group to which he belonged in so many ways, in the matter of money management his attitude and actions seem to have been less aristocratic and more orientated towards a modified form of those values later attributed to some members of the middle classes. It might well be that his own family background in regard to the financial difficulties of the Griffins, Whitwells and Howards of Audley End influenced his own attitude towards money matters, for it would appear that financial probity counted for much with him, and was as much part of the reputation and good name of the family as other aspects of an aristocratic life-style.

Secondly, the management system inaugurated and developed by Griffin makes it clear that high though consumption was it did not put a strain on his resources, largely because it was not allowed to do so. The building accounts¹⁰⁰ which include day-books as well as monthly accounts, the household accounts,¹⁰¹ consisting of 31 volumes based on an annual basis, as well as the estate¹⁰² and farm records,¹⁰³ all show that a close and sustained watch was kept on both the debit and credit side of his financial resources. In estate and farm accounts, the double-entry¹⁰⁴ system was adhered to, and for the building and household records the items of expenditure were checked systematically. In the administration of house, household, estate and farm, he was very well served by honest men: the key figures of house steward,¹⁰⁵ estate steward,¹⁰⁶ nurseryman,¹⁰⁷ as well as the supervisors during the rebuilding work, all contributed to ensure that their master's interests were served. Lord Chesterfield's advice was followed to the letter: 'Keep an account, in a book, of all that you receive and of all that you pay, for no man who knows what he receives and what he pays ever runs out.'¹⁰⁸

Although one might differ as to the relative merits of his financial management, it is hard to escape the verdict that in terms of living within his means he was eminently successful, and this within the context of a high expenditure level in the traditional areas of aristocratic expenditure.

NOTES

1. Thompson, F. M. L., 'The End of a Great Estate', *Economic History Review*, viii (ser. 2) (1955), 36.
2. Kelch, R. A., *Newcastle, A Duke without Money: Thomas Pelham-Holles*, 1693-1768, p. 24.
3. A lesser-known member of this group, he is mentioned in *D.N.B.*, viii, p. 670.
4. Saffron Walden Parish Church Register of Baptisms and Burials, 1794-1814: this was part of the tribute paid by the vicar, William Gretton, on Griffin's decease.

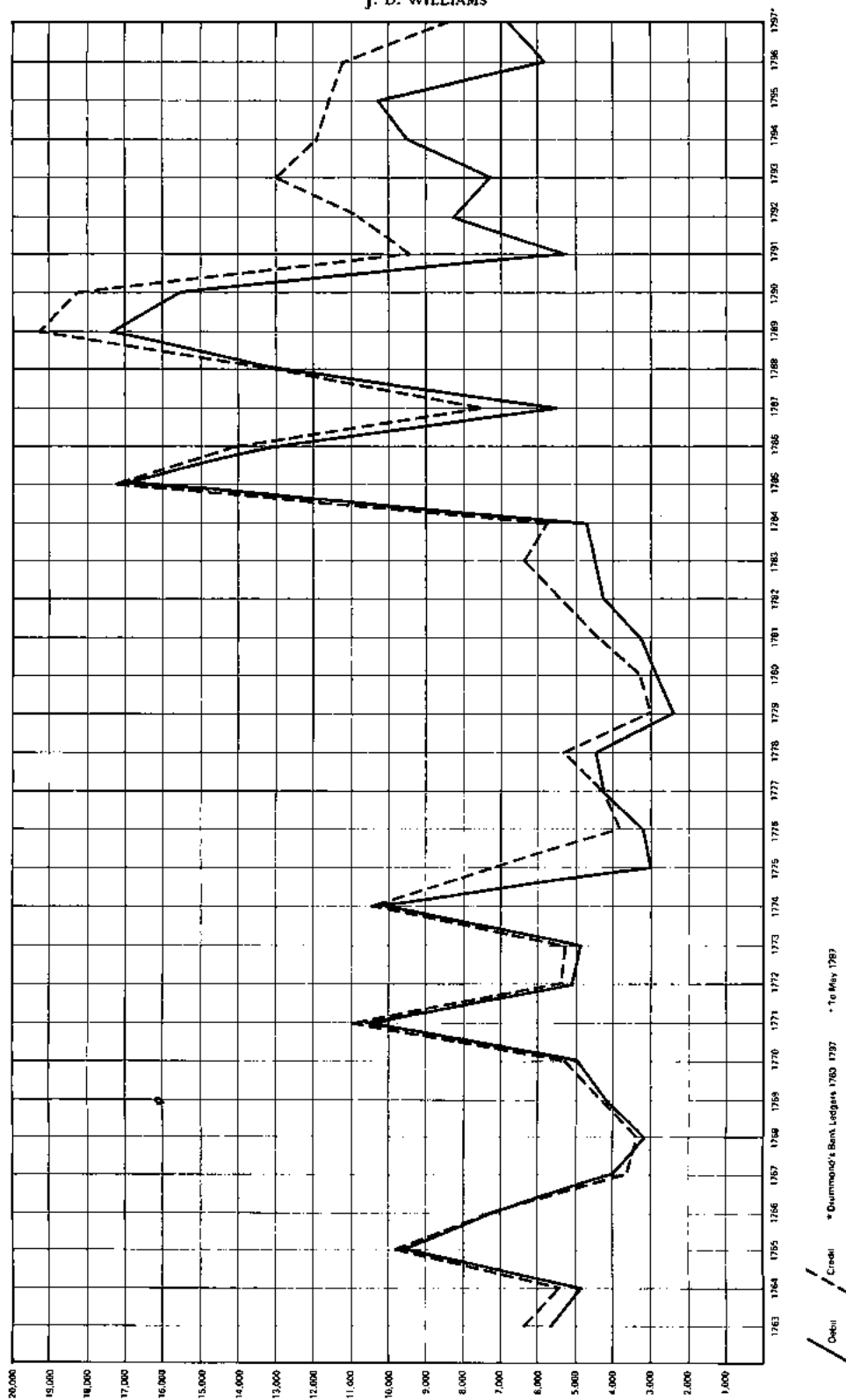
5. Challenor, J., and Smith, C. (eds.), *The Parish Registers of Richmond, Surrey* (1903), I, p. 88; Smalley Law, W., *Oundle's Story* (1922), p. 78; *Northamptonshire*, V.C.H., III (1930), p. 85.
6. Essex Record Office: Braybrooke Collection (hereafter E.R.O. D/DBy), D/DBy F55/2; F30; L33, Z41.
7. *D.N.B.*, xx, pp. 612-13.
8. Oundle Parish Church Register of Marriages, Baptisms and Burials, 1625-1732; two of the sisters died in infancy.
9. The register of admissions for the period 1699-1762 has not survived; see also, Walker, W. G., *A History of the Oundle Schools* (1956), p. 205.
10. Leach, A. F., *A History of Winchester College* (1899).
11. Cockayne, G. E. (ed.), *Complete Peerage* (1892), p. 203. This creation was made only eight days before James II was declared to have abdicated, and, although called in question, was finally allowed. It was also the last of the ten English peerages created by this monarch.
12. Along with the Hattons and Comptons, the Griffins were the most prominent delinquent families in Northamptonshire: see Habakkuk, H. J., 'Landowners and the Civil War', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* xvii (ser. 2) (1965), 130-51. The Suffolk-Griffin match is an example of two families of known Stuart sympathies forming an alliance and the changing political fortunes of that dynasty had detrimental effects upon both families.
13. E.R.O. D/DBy F30.
14. This property was repurchased by Sir John Griffin Griffin in 1788 for £10,000. At the time of its sale in 1717 Braybrooke was worth about £1,300 per annum, and the family's other estate, Dingley, about £1,100 per annum: E.R.O. D/DBy L6.
15. E.R.O. D/DBy F30.
16. Prof. Habakkuk has stated that for 'some Royalists the real cost of the Civil Wars was poor marriages for their daughters', see Habakkuk, H. J., 'Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century', *Transactions Royal Historical Society*, xxxii (1950), 19, fn. 1. However, Elizabeth Griffin's marriage portion was quite considerable as evidenced by her first husband's will, Berkshire Record Office, Aldworth-Neville Papers D/EN F21. But there appears to have been some difficulty over the payment of Ann Griffin's portion although the sum of £1,500 is mentioned, E.R.O. D/DBy C4B/4.
17. Robson, E., *The Attorney in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 135.
18. Northamptonshire Record Office, Grettton Court Rolls 119; Walker, *Oundle Schools*, p. 210; *Northamptonshire*, V.C.H., III, p. 86.
19. Hervey, S. H. A., *Journals of the Hon. William Hervey . . . 1755-1814* (Bury St. Edmunds, 1906), p. 331.
20. E.R.O. D/DBy F30.
21. Laslett, P., *The world we have lost* (1965), p. 48.
22. *D.N.B.*, xiv, p. 258.
23. E.R.O. D/DBy A369.
24. The Earl did have children from his own first marriage.
25. What property remained at this time is difficult to tell. The third Lord left what was left to his illegitimate son who was in possession for only a short time before he was forced to part with it, E.R.O. D/DBy Z41. A letter from Robert Palmer to Sir John Griffin Griffin in 1761 indicated that enquiries had been made in regard to the title of the Griffin estates. Palmer gave it as his opinion that although Lady Portsmouth and Ann Whitwell were heirs at law, after such a long period since the third Lord Griffin's death, they would not prevail in obtaining the estate, as they would have to set aside their brother's will, see E.R.O. D/DBy F48.
26. The great grandson of the second Earl of Suffolk.
27. On the death of the tenth Earl of Suffolk in 1745, the estate, as a result of a settlement made by the seventh Earl in 1721, passed to Thomas, Lord Effingham, who took possession of both house and estate. However, this settlement was challenged on the grounds that the third Earl of Suffolk had made a settlement in 1687, stipulating that in the event of there being no heirs of himself or his brothers, the fourth and fifth Earls of Suffolk, there should be a remainder in fee to himself, which meant that the seventh Earl, who was a grandson of the fifth Earl, was only a tenant for life, and so had no power to create an entail. Further, the house was a royal palace between 1666 and 1701.
28. E.R.O. D/DBy T11/1.
29. Clark, G. N., *The Wealth of Nations* (1949), p. 159.
30. Mingay, G. E., *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963), p. 71.

31. Plumb, J. H., *England in the Eighteenth Century* (1957), p. 18.
32. These, and other, examples, are conveniently summarised in Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* (1969), p. 19.
33. Of the Duke of Newcastle, Professor Kelch has recently shown that both contemporaries and historians have confused gross rentals with net landed income, thus ignoring charges made upon the estate; see Kelch, R. A., *Newcastle: A duke without money: Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1693-1768* (1974).
34. Professor Habakkuk has instanced the wife of the third Duke of Leeds who survived her husband 63 years and drew £190,000 on the estate; see Habakkuk, H. J., 'England', in *The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century* (A. Goodwin, ed.) (1967), p. 2. In Griffin's case it was the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk, who was paid £1,600 per annum down to 1776 — £800 from each half of the divided Audley End estate; see E.R.O. D/DBY E38; T10/12; A292-96.
35. Habakkuk, H. J., 'The Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, xxxii (ser. 4) (1950), 15-30; Thompson, 'The End of a Great Estate', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, viii (ser. 2) (1955), 50. Professor Thompson has drawn our attention to the 'debt-creating activity' of the second Duke of Buckingham, concluding that the 'capacious drain down which most of the really waste money was poured, was not his much-publicised land-purchasing, but his political career'.
36. E.R.O. D/DBY F46.
37. E.R.O. D/DBY A370.
38. E.R.O. D/DBY A369.
39. Lady Portsmouth, Mrs. Whitwell and Mathew Whitwell's wills, E.R.O. D/DBY T10/1.
40. E.R.O. D/DBY T10/1; T10/11.
41. E.R.O. D/DBY A292-96.
42. E.R.O. D/DBY A196-226.
43. These ledgers are deposited at Drummond's Bank; see also Bolitho, H., and Peel, D., *The Drummonds of Charing Cross* (1967).
44. These records were deposited at Trinity House in 1948 and are not catalogued.
45. E.R.O. D/DBY F46; this figure is based on my calculation which corrects Griffin's own figure of £356,842 10s. 4d.
46. This is based on my calculation of the appropriate entries in the Bank Ledgers. See Appendix 1.
47. This figure must be regarded as representing all his known expenditure.
48. E.R.O. D/DBY F46.
49. Bank Ledger 1763: the balance brought forward was £426 19s. 6d.
50. For three and a half centuries Audley End has been one of the greatest of the great houses of England. During most of that time it was the home of three successive families, though for 35 years in the seventeenth century it was, and not unfittingly, a royal palace. The first phase of its history, from 1603 to 1745, saw its magnificent springtime as the palatial home of the Earls of Suffolk prematurely overtaken by blight and decay as the decline of that family and impoverished line was matched by the dilapidation of the great house itself. In a second, happier and constructive, phase between 1762 and 1797 it was the home of Sir John Griffin Griffin who restored it from its earlier decay. Finally it was the home of the Neville family from 1797 to 1948, when it was acquired as a great national treasure by the Ministry of Works after having been requisitioned for military purposes during 1941-46.
51. E.R.O. D/DBY C8/62: dated 1 November 1765.
52. This figure is based on my calculations of the household accounts: E.R.O. D/DBY A196-226; the memorandum: E.R.O. D/DBY F46; and building accounts: E.R.O. D/DBY A241-61, A364-66.
53. For example, see Habakkuk, H. J., 'Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham. His House and Estate' in *Studies in Social History* (J. W. Plumb, ed.) (1955), p. 175.
54. Summerson, Sir John, *Georgian London* (1945), p. 1. An up-to-date bibliography is to be found in Crook, J. Mordaunt, *The Greek Revival Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1769-1870* (1972).
55. It had been described nearly 40 years earlier as 'the ruins of the once largest and most magnificent pile in all this part of England', see Defoe, D., *A Tour Through England and Wales* (1959), I, p. 88.
56. Some examples are to be found in Mingay, *Landed Society*, p. 160.
57. For instance, John, fourth Duke of Bedford, spent 15 years carefully nursing his resources before he was able to embark on the rebuilding of Woburn Abbey; see Gladys Scott Thomson, *Family Background* (1949).

58. Such as Mary Stoyte, who married the third Lord Darnley; see Wingfield-Stratford, E., *The Lords of Cobham Hall* (1959), p. 175.
59. See Sheppard, F. H. W. (ed.), *Survey of London: The Parish of St. James, Westminster, North of Piccadilly*, xxxii, part 2 (1963), pp. 490, 568.
60. See Thompson, F. M. L., *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963), pp. 104-108.
61. This figure is based on my calculation of the household accounts, E.R.O. D/DBy A196-226.
62. Thompson, op. cit., p. 95.
63. E.R.O. D/DBy F46.
64. These examples are based on my analysis of the household accounts.
65. Professor Thompson has drawn attention to the 'multiplier effects' of some of the activities of this group as agents of conspicuous consumption: Thompson, F. M. L., 'Landownership and economic growth in England in the eighteenth century' in *Agrarian Change and Economic Development. The Historical Perspective* (Jones, E. L., and Woolf, S. J., eds.) (1969), pp. 41-60. See also Habakkuk, H. J., 'Economic Functions of English Landowners in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Essays in Agrarian History* (Minchinton, W. E., ed.) (1968), I, p. 2; Eversley, D. E. C., 'The Home Market and Economic Growth in England, 1750-1780', in *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution* (Jones, E. L., and Mingay, G. E., eds.) (1967), pp. 206-59.
66. This figure is based on my analysis of E.R.O. D/DBy A292-96.
67. This figure on E.R.O. D/DBy A262-64.
68. This sum is reached after analysing the following records, E.R.O. D/DBy T1/1-856; T4/1-689; T5/1-35; T6/50-56B; T26; D/DAd 44, Bank Ledgers 1763-97; and Hervey (ed.), *Journals of the Hon. William Hervey . . . 1755-1814* (Bury St. Edmunds, 1906), p. 360.
69. These were new estate cottages, new farm buildings and a new water-mill and outbuildings; most of the remaining disbursements were taken up with further general repairs to estate buildings and to generally tidying up the physical side of his properties.
70. E.R.O. D/DBy T29: Griffin borrowed £2,000 from Robert Palmer but the debt was paid in the same year, 1785.
71. The Bank Ledgers record payments for all three of these items, and the Trinity House material gives some detail in the case of annuities, which amounted to £1,085 per annum at maximum level. See Appendixes 2 and 3.
72. E.R.O. D/DBy A371.
73. *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxvii (1797), pp. 529-30.
74. E.R.O. D/DBy A369.
75. E.R.O. D/DBy F46.
76. Bank Ledger 1789.
77. E.R.O. D/DBy T11/1.
78. E.R.O. D/DBy F46.
79. Ibid.
80. Bank Ledgers 1763-97: it is not possible to tell whether Griffin was advised by his bankers, as was Lord Ashburnham, for instance, by Richard Hoare; see Mingay, G. E., *English Landed Society*, p. 62.
81. This last amount is recorded in his pass-book as well as in the Ledger for that year; see E.R.O. D/DBy A370.
82. I have used 'net' in the sense that land tax, etc., was deducted at source, but not other estate disbursements.
83. Five volumes of estate accounts have survived for Griffin's tenure, but regrettably there is a gap for the last five years of his stewardship.
84. This figure is based on my analysis of the above-mentioned volumes, see E.R.O. D/DBy A293-96.
85. Indeed Griffin continued to extend the size of his estate after 1791.
86. E.R.O. D/DBy A262-64.
87. The original Audley End Estate had comprised 6,066 acres at the time of the partition in 1753. The Bristol half had amounted to 3,572 acres and the Griffin half to 3,257 acres. Sir John's estate policy was mainly concerned with making good the deficiency in both acreage and rent level, and by the end of his stewardship a further 2,622 acres in the parishes of Saffron Walden, Littlebury, Wendens, and Ashdon, in north-west Essex, as well as in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Northamptonshire, had been added.
88. E.R.O. D/DBy T26.

89. The Trinity House records also confirm that he held land in this county.
90. E.R.O. D/DBy C6/3; dated 30 June 1797.
91. Rye, W., *Norfolk Families* (Norwich, 1913), p. 436.
92. Hervey (ed.), *Journals of the Hon. William Hervey . . . 1755-1814*, p. 360.
93. E.R.O. D/DBy 09; see also *The Army List* (1797).
94. These were the 50th Foot, 1759-60; the 33rd Foot, 1760-66; the 1st Troop Horse Grenadier Guards, 1766-88; and the 4th Dragoons, 1788-97.
95. See Robinson, E., 'Purchase and Promotion in the British Army in the Eighteenth Century', *History*, February and June 1951, pp. 57-72; Hughes, E., 'The Professions in the Eighteenth Century', *Durham University Journal* (1952), p. 50.
96. *The Times*, 11 March 1788; see also Scouter, R. E., *The Armies of Queen Anne* (1966), pp. 126-27; Whitworth, R., *Field-Marshal Lord Ligonier. A Story of the British Army 1702-1770* (1958); and P.R.O. H.O. 50/6, 159-65.
97. Trinity House, grant of five lighthouses, October 1765.
98. Indeed, in terms of the inherited Audley End estate, Griffin was comparable with some of the lesser gentry of the county, see Shrimpton, C., 'The Landed Society in the Farming Community of Essex in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1965), p. 5.
99. This was in 1767 when it was £16 12s. 5d.
100. E.R.O. D/DBy A23-55, A241-61; A364-66.
101. E.R.O. D/DBy A196-226.
102. E.R.O. D/DBy A292-96.
103. E.R.O. D/DBy A262-64.
104. See Pollard, S., *The Genesis of Modern Management. A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain* (1965) p. 210; Yamey, B. S., Edey, E. C., and Thomson, H. W., *Accounting in England and Scotland: 1534-1800. Double Entry in Exposition and Practice* (1963), p. 186.
105. Charles Higgins who served Griffin from 1763 to 1797.
106. Thomas Pennystone, who succeeded his father and served Griffin from 1758, that is before he officially succeeded to the house, to 1797.
107. Martin Nockold, who served for a considerable time, from 1766 to 1796.
108. Mingay, G. E., *English Landed Society*, p. 207.

Appendix 1: Graph of Annual Bank Statements 1763-1797*

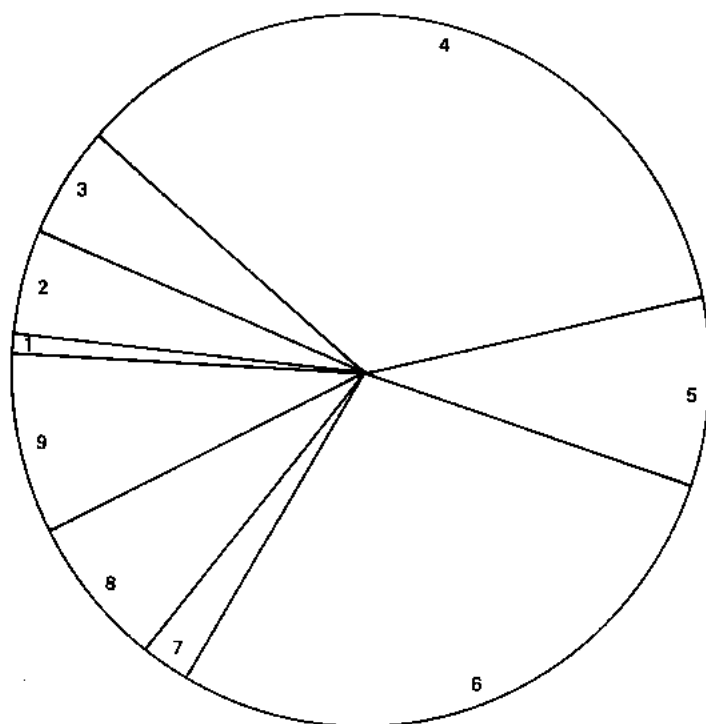


Appendix 2: Financial Abstract 1749-1797

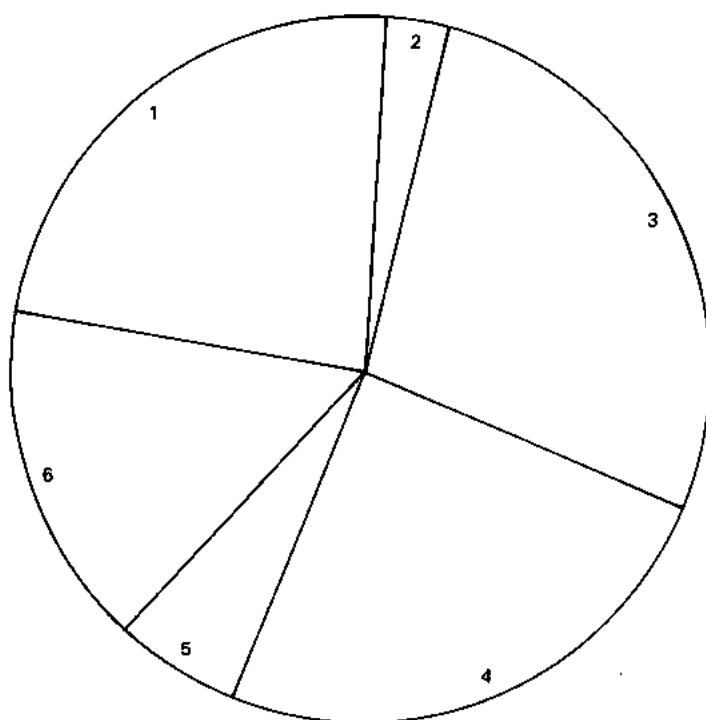
Credit	£	s.	d.	Debit	£	s.	d.
Lady Portsmouth's bank book, 1749-1753 ¹	2,345	16	0	Audley End house and furniture, 1763-1797 ¹³	86,214	0	0
Lady Portsmouth's will, 1762 ²	12,000	0	0	London house and furniture, 1763-1797 ¹⁴	10,412	0	0
Mathew Whitwell's will, 1789 ³	6,000	0	0	Household, 1765-1797 ¹⁵	105,677	0	0
First marriage, 1749 ⁴	8,000	0	0	Estates, 1754-1797 ¹⁶	96,100	0	0
Second marriage, 1765 ⁵	10,000	0	0	Home Farm, 1772-1797 ¹⁷	21,627	0	0
Audley End Estate, 1754-1797 ⁶	108,100	0	0				
Home Farm, 1772-1797 ⁷	30,864	11	9¼		320,030	0	0
Out-county estates, 1783-1797 ⁸	17,311	0	0	Miscellaneous, 1749-1797 ¹⁸	61,534	0	0
Lighthouses, 1763-1797 ⁹	106,159	0	0				
Investment interest, 1765-1797 ¹⁰	8,858	13	0				
Army, 1765-1797 ¹¹	25,615	19	2				
Miscellaneous ¹²	28,879	18	9				
Total, 1749-1797	364,134	18	8¼	Total, 1749-1797	381,564	0	0

1. D/DBy A369. 2. D/DBy T11/1. 3. Ibid. 4. D/DBy T10/1. 5. D/DBy T10/11. 6. D/DBy A293-296. 7. D/DBy A262-264. 8. Kerrison's payments in Bank Ledgers 1783-97; D/DBy T26; Hervey (ed.), *The Journals of the Hon. William Hervey . . . 1755-1814*, 360; Bank Ledgers 1763-1797. 9. Bank Ledgers 1763-1797. 10. Ibid. 11. Ibid. 12. Ibid. 13. D/DBy A196-226; A258. 14. D/DBy A196-226. 15. Ibid. 16. D/DBy A293-296. 17. D/DBy A262-264. 18. D/DBy F46; Bank Ledgers 1763-97.

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Appendix 3: Credit and Debit Areas 1749-1797**(a) CREDIT**

1. Payments by Lady Portsmouth, 1749-53
2. Inheritances
3. Marriages
4. Estates
5. Home Farm
6. Lighthouses
7. Investments
8. Army
9. Miscellaneous

**(b) DEBIT**

1. Audley End house and furniture
2. London house and furniture
3. Households
4. Estates
5. Home Farm
6. Miscellaneous

Some New Gentry in Early Tudor Essex: The Cookes of Gidea Hall, 1480-1550¹

by MARJORIE K. McINTOSH

Around 1460 the Cooke family moved into Gidea Hall, near Romford in the Liberty of Havering. Over the following century the Cookes were to be among the more important of Essex gentle houses, with an extensive landed estate and a strong position in local affairs. A few members of the family achieved greater prominence. Sir Thomas Cook, the founder of the Gidea Hall family, was a prosperous Draper and Lord Mayor of London. Due to his loyal support of the Lancastrian cause, Sir Thomas was charged with treason and heavily fined by the Yorkists.² A hundred years later Sir Anthony Cooke became known on the Continent as well as in England for his learning, his accomplishments as a teacher of Edward VI and his own children, his reformed religious opinions, and the gravity of his character.³ Sir Anthony's major contribution lay in the Renaissance education which he provided for his five daughters, said to be among the most learned women in Elizabethan England. The Cooke women married well, to such men as Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon, and had illustrious sons, such as Robert Cecil and Francis Bacon, so their abilities carried increased impact.

Between the careers of Sir Thomas and Sir Anthony lay two generations of Cookes, spanning the first half of the Tudor era. From 1480 until the mid-sixteenth century the newly established Cooke family was relatively insignificant on a national scale, contributing little to politics, finance, or learning. Yet three individuals flourished in these years whose lives warrant attention. It is difficult for the student of history to gain a sense of how less-distinguished people in the past lived: records tend to illuminate the successful. About three of the 'lesser' Cookes enough information survives to enable us to sketch an outline of their careers. We also gain some impression of their personalities and can describe a few characteristic incidents. We shall discuss here Sir Philip Coke (Sir Thomas's oldest son, a quarrelsome, hot-tempered country gentleman), Richard Coke (Philip's second son, courier and emissary to foreign courts in Henry VIII's reign), and Margaret Coke (second wife to Philip's son John, Lady-in-Waiting to Catherine of Aragon and Princess Mary, staunch Catholic and hard-headed businesswoman).

1. Sir Philip Coke, 1454-1503

When viewed superficially the life of Sir Philip Coke was a quiet one. One might assume that after the political turmoil of his youth, in which Philip had been deeply involved, he was content to settle into a peaceful country life.⁴ This surmise is partially true, for Sir Philip's concerns rarely took him beyond his own neighbourhood. He went several times to the central courts to clear up financial problems left by his father, he sat on a few Essex-wide commissions, and on one occasion he took part in a national political crisis.⁵ Coke was called for the army assembled to resist the western rebels who rose in 1497; he fought in the battle of Blackheath on 17 June, as a result of which he was knighted. He may also have had some religious and educational interests, for he had a private chaplain and donated land to John Colet for the endowment of St. Paul's School.⁶

In general, Coke stayed within Havering. Here he had considerable influence. Havering was a royal manor, governed through the three-weekly assembly of all tenants known as the manor court. Normal administrative and legal matters, including private suits between tenants, were heard at manor court sessions. In addition, Havering had been created a Liberty in 1465, free from county control.⁷ Henceforth the area had its own Justices of the Peace, one of them elected annually by the tenants, with the power to deal with all Havering crimes. Philip Coke exercised authority both within the manor court (the Cookes were the largest landholders in the area) and, from the late 1480s, through his office as the elected Havering J.P.⁸

The records of the Havering manor court make it clear that Sir Philip's local existence was far from tranquil. He brought legal action upon the smallest provocation, he was prepared to be aggressive, perhaps even unscrupulous, in his economic dealings, and he had a fiery temper which could bring him to grief. These qualities may have come to Coke through his mother, the daughter and heiress of Sir Philip Malpas, another wealthy London Draper and one of a Border family known for its determination and hot blood.⁹

Sir Philip made heavy use of the local court for the bringing of often minor suits, initiating five or more cases each year. Most of the issues were conflicts common within an agricultural community: a debt of 30s. due to Coke from the purchase of eight cartloads of hay, 6s. owed him for the grain growing on a four-acre field, a trespass committed by a man who allowed his cattle to enter a field of Coke's, eating and trampling down the grass growing there, or a reckless poacher who shot with bow and arrow a number of Coke's rabbits. One suit derived from Coke's position as J.P. He brought an action against another Havering man for having released from Sir Philip's custody a man delivered to Coke by the court for safe-keeping.¹⁰

A series of disputes involved a father and son named Tatwedyr. John Tatwedyr, senior, was a fuller of Witham with whom Sir Thomas Cook had had dealings over cloth. Philip Coke, as an executor of Sir Thomas's will, brought several actions of debt against Tatwedyr in the early 1490s. In one case Coke charged that Tatwedyr had not paid 53s. 4d. owing to Sir Thomas. Tatwedyr argued that the debt had been conditional, due only if he did not hold to his agreement to deliver to Cook by a set date in 1478 as many pieces of woollen cloth as could be made from 260 pounds of wool. Tatwedyr said he had made from the wool two great pieces of 'Brodecloth' and two lengths of 'Naroweclothes called Kerseyes', which he had brought to Philip Coke, as Thomas had by then died. In the pleadings which followed, it emerged that the agreement had been read to Tatwedyr orally, as 'he is a man barely literate', and he charged that the conditions had not been accurately described by Coke in the reading. John Tatwedyr, junior, a minor Havering official in the 1490s, acted as Philip Coke's bailiff for several years, and there were suits between them over outstanding debts from that relationship.¹¹

It seems possible that Sir Philip exerted undue influence over the Havering court. A high percentage of the cases in which he was a party were settled in his favour (perhaps justly so), and he was able to have a jury dismissed in a case on the grounds that its members were partial to the other party.¹² In one instance Coke took to court the widow of another wealthy Havering man, Avery Cornburgh, formerly a merchant and Esquire of the Body to Edward IV and Richard III and, like the Cookes, a newcomer to Havering. The matter at issue was some rent which Coke claimed Beatrice Cornburgh owed for land in Romford. The Havering court ruled in Coke's favour, whereupon Mistress Cornburgh appealed the case to the equity court of Chancery, pleading that because Coke was 'one of the judges' of Havering and a powerful person, the local court's decision had not been fairly reached.

Sir Philip's quarrelsome manner could also take more violent form. An extraordinary incident erupted in the Havering court in 1497, in which Coke's rage passed beyond the accepted social bounds. By way of background we may note that around 1490 Henry VII's wife, who held Havering as part of her jointure, had started naming a Collector of Rents to live in the manor, attending sessions of the manor court and generally looking after her interests. (Prior to this, the locally elected bailiff had collected all revenues and sent them to the Crown, with no direct royal

supervision.) The Queen's Collector was greatly resented by the tenants. For several years they had been employing diverse means of making his life unpleasant, including a public reprimand for his friendship with a married Havering woman of low repute.¹³ In March of 1497 the Collector swore into office a group of 22 responsible tenants to investigate whether there were any rents owed to the Queen which were not being paid. After several months of delaying, the reluctant tenants finally presented their report. They announced that they had discovered only three cases of unpaid rents, all tiny, the largest of which was a rent of a few shillings owed by Sir Philip Coke for one segment of his holding.¹⁴

That autumn the Collector came to a manor court session to begin collection of these additional rents. The annoyance felt by the community over the past few years seems to have crystallised at that moment for Coke. Not only was an outsider challenging his authority — he, the dominant person in Havering, the elected J.P. for the past eight years, a man knighted for valour on the battlefield only two months ago — but that same interloper was now insulting him by demanding more rent. After what must have been a heated verbal exchange between Sir Philip and the Collector, Coke, 'then one of the Justices of the Peace of the Lord King in Havering, assaulted Thomas Elryngton, Collector of Rents of the Lady Queen, in the presence of the suitors in full court'.¹⁵ The royal clerk noted in the court's records that Coke beat and maltreated Elryngton severely, an act which was in contempt of the court, injurious to the honour of the Queen, and a dangerous example to the tenants present at the session. The incident was reported to the Queen's council, who instructed the local court to punish Coke with the exceptional fine of £5 (normal fines seldom exceeded 3s.).

Coke's attack must still have been on everyone's minds and tongues when the court next assembled three weeks later. This session was a General Court, with an unusually high attendance. Elryngton, presumably emboldened by royal support, announced that he had now decided to collect 12 years' back rent as well as the current payments. Once again Coke flared up, barely refraining from physical violence. His belligerent words and threatening behaviour so disturbed the court that the Steward hastily adjourned the session. For this verbal assault the Queen's council ordered that Coke be fined another £5. Sir Philip's conduct on these two occasions is surely the reason that he was never again elected Justice for Havering, nor, indeed, named to any office for the rest of his life. (On the other hand, there is no further mention of a resident Collector in Havering either.) Philip Coke, then, was a country gentleman leading an externally calm life. Just beneath the surface, however, lay a surprising degree of personal aggression, usually channelled into appropriate forms but capable of bursting out into illegal behaviour.

2. Richard Coke, flourished 1513-36

Philip Coke's second son, Richard, spent most of his life in the world of international diplomacy. As a young man he bore the responsibility for the Cooke family: his older brother John inherited the family estate at Philip's death in 1503 but lived only until 1516. Since John's son Anthony, later the man of letters, was eleven when his father died, Richard acted as head of the family during the next decade. As early as 1513 Richard was taking part in business dealings with some of his relatives, and after 1516 he functioned locally as the family's agent. John, at the time of his death, was the elected Havering J.P., and when a special election was held to replace him, Richard was chosen and continued to hold the office for the next few years.¹⁶

Richard Coke had an interesting, if somewhat shadowy, career. In 1515 he took his first trip abroad, officially to carry a letter from Cardinal Wolsey to Mary, Henry VIII's sister, then Queen of France.¹⁷ Over the next 20 years Coke was constantly travelling back and forth to the Continent, most often to Spain, sometimes serving as a courier, sometimes going as a member of noble retinues, and occasionally staying abroad for longer periods of time. Thus, he went to Calais in the entourage of Sir Richard Wingfield, the Deputy of Calais, in 1518, of Lord Berners

in 1526, and of Viscount Lisle in 1535.¹⁸ He was also in Calais on business for Thomas Cromwell, to whom he sent a bill for his expenses. More commonly, however, he went to and from the Spanish court. He seems to have been in close and sustained contact with the Emperor Charles V. In 1525 he was described as 'Richard, the Emperor's post', and the following year he was said to be 'late of the household of the emperor in Spain'.¹⁹ Similarly, Coke carried letters in 1533 to Catherine of Aragon and from Princess Mary to Charles V.²⁰ Given the nature and organisation of Henry VIII's diplomacy, we may reasonably surmise that Coke was carrying verbal messages and gathering information as well as transporting letters and accompanying delegations. Richard was evidently liked and trusted by Charles V, so he may have had a particularly useful role to play in a period of uncertain international alliances when Henry needed to keep the friendship of Spain if at all possible.

Our sole glimpse of Richard Coke as a person comes in an account of a 'heinous Riot' which took place in 1534.²¹ This encounter suggests that Richard's manner may have been insensitive, and it reminds us of the social disruptions which continued throughout the Tudor years. Anthony Cooke, Richard's nephew, had been married at a young age to Anne Fitzwilliams, daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliams. Anne's father died in 1534, with the funeral to be held in Milton, Northants. Several days before the burial an advance group of mourners set out from London by horse for Milton, a party consisting of Anne Fitzwilliams Cooke, Richard Coke, five other gentlewomen, and seven male servants. As they neared the town of Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, they 'overtook one Robert Mychell, a butcher of the same town, riding, and having a boy with him on horseback, which boy had underneath him upon his horseback certain sheep skins'. One of the servants of the Fitzwilliams group, fearing that the women's horses would shy at the sight of the skins, and also because the road was very dusty, 'gently desired the said Mychell that his servant would somewhat ride aside half of the way, to the intent that the gentlewomen and their company might the more quietly and surely pass'. The butcher immediately manifested his dislike of gentle people, answering proudly that 'the way was as common and free for him as for them, and would not forbear his way for no man's pleasure there'. When told by the servant that 'yet of courtesy he should have been contented a little to forbear for the pleasure and ease of the gentlewomen', Mitchell was angered, 'calling him "Knave" that made that answer' and flying into a 'raging and fury of words'.

It was at this point that Richard Coke intervened. Unfortunately, he misjudged the mood of his adversary. 'Perceiving the man so far out of good order, [Coke] thought to pacify him with fair words.' He addressed a rather condescending speech to Mitchell, ending, 'If you will be a good fellow and leave your brawling and chiding, at the next town we will be glad to give you a quart of wine'. Mitchell considered these words an insult: 'You knave, I will none of thy wine, but by God's body I will make thee and all thy company drink when ye come to Hoddesdon, that peradventure ye shall all repent it'. And so he continued to ride directly in front of their company the rest of the way into Hoddesdon, covering them with dust and uttering a barrage of complaints and threats.

When they came into the town Mitchell suddenly took up a 'great cudgel' into his hands, which he used to block the way of the Fitzwilliams' horses. Whether by virtue of his office of constable of Hoddesdon or merely as a private citizen, he began to call out to his neighbours, 'Clubs, clubs, for God's blood! Staves, staves! Down with these whoreson courtiers!' The street quickly filled with people, over 200 men and women, appearing 'after the manner of an insurrection, bringing with them bills, staves, clubs, swords, bucklers, bows and arrows, and all other sorts of weapons'.

Paying no attention to the cause of the conflict, the Hoddesdon people launched into the fight in good earnest. The Fitzwilliams' servants were knocked from their horses, beaten, and wounded, after which 'in most spiteful fashion the women of the town threw in their faces mire and dirt in the street and ale and other liquor upon the said persons in such fashion as they had been Jews'. One of the Fitzwilliams women with great bravery forced her horse among the crowd

and leapt down into the fray, crying, 'For the passion of Christ, keep the peace, and save my men and slay them not'. Her valour was cruelly rewarded, for Mitchell 'with a cudgel in his hand struck her upon the face and after gave her a blow with his fist and felled her down to the ground, and before she could recover again and get out of the press of the people, she had above XX stripes'.

As the attack came to a close, the local men began to carry off the Fitzwilliams' servants to gaol. Richard Coke made another effort to negotiate with them, but his words, issued 'in sober and good fashion', so enraged the Hoddesdon men that they threatened to put him in 'the Cage' too. Coke's subsequent attempt at conciliation evoked only a stubbornly negative response, leaving him 'in fear and jeopardy'.

Later in the day Mitchell delivered his strongest statement, in response to Coke's request that he release the servants from gaol.

Nay, knave, had we known as much as we know now, by God's body you should have been slain, every mother son, for belike you think ye are able to compare with this town. Nay, not so, for the Marquis of Exeter was put in the worse in this town, yea, and if the best man within this realm under the king, being the king's servant or other, do any displeasure to any of this town, he shall be set fast by the feet, whosoever saith nay.

At last, towards evening, the servants were released and the party allowed to proceed to Milton. The next day, however, when the main company of mourners with Sir William's body came through Hoddesdon, the people again molested them, this time by having a priest claim that he had the right to bury Fitzwilliams in Hoddesdon and forcing them to pay a 'fine' before letting the group pass on through the town.

The Hoddesdon riot did not go unpunished. Immediately after the funeral the wheels of influence began to turn, for the Fitzwilliams/Cooke family had many connections at court. It was forcefully pointed out to Thomas Cromwell that not only had this been a flagrant and pernicious breach of law and order but it had also been an insult to gentle blood, especially to ladies. Cromwell was asked to hear the matter in person or at least to befriend the aggrieved when the case came before the central courts: 'Ye have honored ladies & gentlewomen too much to see these take shame by a villain'.²² The incident eventually came before the Court of Star Chamber, and although the outcome has not been preserved, one can hardly doubt that the Hoddesdon men received the severe punishment established by law for such an attack.

This account illustrates the ease with which violence could erupt, in a collective form, even after a half-century of Tudor rule. The Hoddesdon people's dislike of courtiers and their aggressive local pride were apparently mingled with simple love of a good fight. In personal terms, the encounter suggests that Richard Coke naturally assumed a position of authority but that he lacked experience in dealing with common people. He did not seem to recognise in this volatile and dangerous confrontation that his well-born manner and 'gentle words' were only serving to inflame the situation. A life spent in the worldly and cosmopolitan climate of royal courts had not prepared Coke for the men of Hoddesdon.

3. Margaret Coke, flourished 1512-1552

Margaret Pennington Coke was John Coke's second wife, thereby becoming sister-in-law to Richard Coke and stepmother to Anthony Cooke. Her life is interesting in several respects. She was a Lady-in-Waiting first to Catherine of Aragon and later to Mary Tudor; she remained a devout Catholic until her death in 1552, by which time her family and much of the world around her had become Protestant; she was a practical and acquisitive businesswoman; and she left a rich last will and testament. We do not know whether Margaret was already in Catherine's household at the time of her marriage to John Coke in 1512, but a list of the Royal Household compiled around 1514-15 includes a Mistress Coke as a Gentlewoman serving the Queen, a position she still held in 1523.²³ In the late 1530s Princess Mary referred to Margaret as 'my

mother's old servant', but Margaret later became one of Mary's own ladies.²⁴ In her will, written early in 1551, Margaret provides a list of her fellows in Mary's service. She treasured her contact with Mary and asked two of Mary's household officials to be the executors of her will. (It is interesting to realise that both Richard Coke and Margaret, the two people responsible for the raising of young Anthony Cooke, were closely tied to the Spanish monarchy and the Catholic faith, whereas Anthony went into exile during Mary's reign and was an advocate of a reformed English Protestant church.)

Margaret was a competent person in financial terms. At the time of her marriage she was granted two profitable Cooke manors to hold for life, lands which she administered in a strictly businesslike fashion for the next 40 years.²⁵ While Anthony was still a minor she enlisted his support in going before the central courts to recover papers concerning one of her manors. She ignored the custom of that same manor by refusing to honour a lease made by Sir Philip Coke, instead taking the piece of land directly into her own hands. She conveyed her other manor, in the rich marsh area of Chadwell, into the keeping of a large group of friends and relatives, to be held to her own use and the purposes of her will, thereby avoiding legal complications in the event of her husband's early death and a minor heir. She was virtually unique in sixteenth-century Havering in being named by an important local man as the overseer of his will, a position normally reserved for men.

Margaret's concern with possession rivalled even her strong religious feeling. When an inventory of church goods was taken by royal inspectors shortly after her death, it was reported that some of the movable items from Romford's chapel were 'in the keeping of Mistress Margaret Cokke'.²⁶ In addition to a bell weighing forty pounds, she had a number of pieces of rich cloth used to decorate the altars on special occasions. The inspectors noted that 'these ornaments were in the custody of Mistress Margaret Cokke, which is now deceased, but where they be we know not'. There is no indication that the goods were ever returned to the church. (May the altar-cloths have been among the 'tapestries' which Margaret left by will to Anthony Cooke?)

In the late 1530s Margaret Coke was in the midst of a controversy over a lease of land and tithes from New College, Oxford, the institution which was the ecclesiastical proprietor of Havering's churches.²⁷ In 1527 New College had rented to Margaret the manor of Risebridge within Havering, to which was joined the right of collecting certain of the tithes arising from the parish. For several generations before the 1520s Risebridge had been held by another Havering family, the Legats, who had hoped to have their grant renewed. As the expiration date of Margaret's ten-year lease approached in 1537, Sir Thomas Audeley, high in court circles, undertook to regain Risebridge for the Legats. Cromwell and Thomas Wriothesley backed Mistress Coke, and even Princess Mary wrote on Margaret's behalf. Both sides put pressure on Dr. John London, the Warden of New College. London's position, already awkward, became critical when Cromwell began to use a dangerous weapon — religion. Each time he wrote to the College about Margaret Coke's suit, Cromwell added an accusation that London was still a Papist and that his College was a centre of the old faith. Yet London, in order to clear himself from the charge of being a Romanist, would have had to grant the lease to a former servant of Queen Catherine's who continued as a firm believer within the Catholic church. The College finally decided in Margaret's favour and renewed her lease, whereupon the Legats must have appealed directly to the king: Henry sent a personal letter to the College, ordering that Risebridge be assigned to the Legats. The College compromised, preparing a lease in which Margaret and the Legats were to hold Risebridge together for ten years, Margaret for the rest of her life (she was then an elderly lady) and the Legats thereafter. But Margaret triumphed again, managing to outlive the full period of the lease. It is surely no coincidence that she found herself in the centre of this dispute, for she was a woman both canny and persistent in trying to reach a desired end.

About a year before her death in 1552 Margaret Coke prepared her final will and testament.²⁸ This document is a valuable piece of social history. The selections given below, covering about one third of the total length, illustrate her charitable concerns, her affection for

her relatives, servants and friends, and her bounteous personal possessions, clearly remembered and individually distributed even amidst her preparations for life everlasting. (Her weak statement of faith at the beginning was presumably necessitated by the success of the Edwardian reformation.)

First, I give & bequeath my soul unto almighty God, creator and redeemer of the same. And if it shall please God to call me out of this transitory life within twenty miles of Romeforthe aforesaid, then I will that my body be buried within the Chapel of St. Edward there, in our Lady chapel before the pew where I used to kneel. And that the stone which I have already bought be laid upon my grave with my picture and my late husband's, and our several arms graven thereupon with a remembrance & mention of our several deceases. . . .

Item, I will that my executors shall within one month next after my decease give and dispose to every one of the poor folks in Havering within the Alms House of Romeforthe aforesaid, 20d. And to every other poor householder within the said town of Romeforthe where as they shall think most need, 12d., to pray for my soul and all Christian souls.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the most excellent princess, my especial good Lady & Mistress, my Lady Mary's grace, for a remembrance of my good will and service, a ring of gold with a *Turkes*,²⁹ and two old sovereigns of gold,³⁰ most humbly beseeching her good grace to remember in her prayers to God the soul of me, now her poor bedewoman.

Item, I give unto every of my said Lady's grace women and my fellows in service hereafter named, that is to say, to my lady Anne Wharton, to my lady Kempe, to my daughter Mistress Clarencys, to my daughter Basset, to my daughter Fynche, to my mother Jernyngham, to my daughter Stirlye, to my daughter Moreton, to my daughter Waldegrave, to my daughter Mabel Brownne, to my daughter Anne Cooke,³¹ to my daughter Russell, and to Mistress Cicile Barnes, to every of them one old Angel³² for a poor token of remembrance. . . .

Item, I will & give to M^r doctor Hopton and to M^r Barker, her grace's chaplains, to every of them ten shillings. Also to M^r Ricares, 6s. 8d. . . .

Item, I give to Richard Makyn, sometimes my servant and now my Lady's grace's servant, the featherbed that he hath of mine and lieth upon in her grace's house, two pair of sheets, and one of my young colts running within Chaldewell marsh, as shall be appointed unto him by mine executors, and forty shillings in money. . . .

Item, I will that mine executors shall at my costs and charges keep all my servants in my house at Romeford by the space of one month next after my decease with sufficient meat and drink. And the end of the said month to give unto every of them one whole year's wages according to the rate as they receive now of me, over and above that I shall owe them for their wages, and over and above such legacies as I give unto any of them by this my present testament.

Item, I give unto my son Sir Anthony Cooke, knight, all my hangings of tapestry that were wont to hang in my hall, in the parlour, and in my chamber at the hall end, and my hoop of gold that was my wedding ring, my bed carpet³³ with the Cookes' arms wrought upon it, and all my old ewes of [one word illegible] going and being in Chaldewell.

Item, I give unto my daughter his wife³⁴ my gown of tawny satin furred with black budge³⁵ and my kirtle³⁶ of tawny velvet.

Item, I give unto my goddaughter Margaret Cooke³⁷ one sovereign and a pair of sheets of three brede.³⁸

Item, I give unto my godson Edward Cooke³⁹ one sovereign of gold.

Item, I give to my daughter Myldrede Cysell⁴⁰ a double ducat.⁴¹

Item, I give unto my sister Beatrice Rawson⁴² my gown of black cassia⁴³ furred with *marturns*,⁴⁴ my nightgown furred with *foynas*,⁴⁵ my black cloak of *fryseadoo*⁴⁶ furred with black *conye*,⁴⁷ my little cloak, and twenty shillings. . . .

Item, I give unto M^r Westcote, the physician dwelling in London besides the [stocks?], my signet of gold graven with the picture of St. John Baptist, the which I use to wear upon one of my fingers. . . .

Item, I give unto my old servant Johane Myddelton my featherbed that I use to lie upon at my said house in Romeforthe, and the bedstead, a pair of blankets, two pillows and *pillowberes*,⁴⁸ and all other things belonging unto the said bed, the sparvor⁴⁹ over it of tawny & black velvet, four pair of sheets, whereof one pair of three brede, two pair of two brede, and the fourth a coarse pair of that sort I made for my servants to lie in. Also my least salt of silver and gilt that I was accustomed daily to

use at my said house in Romeforth, five silver spoons, a garnish⁵⁰ of my best vessel, a diaper⁵¹ tablecloth that commonly lieth in the coffer of the buttry, half a dozen of my diaper napkins, and half a dozen plain napkins, one of my diaper towels, a gown of black cloth lined with *bockeram*⁵² and guarded⁵³ with velvet, my round kirtle of tawny Russell,⁵⁴ two of my kine, and my great Flanders chest. . . .

Also, I will that my said executors shall by their discretions distribute between the said Johane Middleton and other my women servants, and among such my poor neighbours dwelling in Romeforth the aforesaid all my apparel and such-like not before bequeathed, requiring them to have a more liberal respect in the distribution thereof unto the said Johane Myddelton than to any other of them, upon hope and in consideration that she will remain unto my said executors as she hath continued unto me, faithful and true, and not conceal or hide from them any matter the which might prejudice the execution and performance of this, my present testament. . . .

Margaret Coke's death brought to a close the interim generations of the Cooke family, those who maintained the family's position between the initial accomplishments of Sir Thomas Cook and the greater fame which was to surround Sir Anthony Cooke's career. The lives of Philip, Richard, and Margaret Coke, new gentry in the Essex countryside, displayed considerable variety and contrast. A nominally quiet life overlay great personal hostility, an unknown younger son was a small but significant link in diplomatic communication, a journey only a few hours from London could be interrupted by a riot, and a leading Protestant family harboured a stalwart Catholic. Life in early Tudor England was not dull, even for those people normally excluded from history's view.

NOTES

1. The initial research for this and the following paper (see pp. 139-145, below) was supported by a Frank Knox Memorial Travelling Fellowship from Harvard University in 1965-66. The author thanks Professor Joel Hurstfield and Dr. F. G. Emmison for their assistance.
2. For a general discussion of the Cooke family see McIntosh, M. K., 'The Cooke Family of Gidea Hall, Essex, 1460-1661', Harvard University Ph.D. thesis, 1967. Partial accounts of Sir Thomas Cook's life are in Orridge, B. B., 'Some Particulars of Alderman Philip Malpas and Alderman Sir Thomas Cooke, K.B.', *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.*, iii (1870), 285-306, and Albertson, Mary, *London Merchants and Their Landed Property during the Reigns of the Yorkists*, Bryn Mawr Ph.D. thesis, 1932. Two recent studies are Sutton, A. F., 'Sir Thomas Cook and His "Troubles": An Investigation', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, forthcoming, and Hicks, M. A., 'The Case of Sir Thomas Cook, 1468: Judicial chicanery or Lancastrian conspiracy?', *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, forthcoming. The name 'Cooke' was spelled in various ways by different members of the family.
3. For Sir Anthony and a little on his daughters, see McIntosh, M. K., 'Sir Anthony Cooke: Tudor Humanist, Educator, and Religious Reformer', *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, cxix (1975), 233-50.
4. In 1471, for example, when Philip was about 16 years old, he and Sir Thomas set sail for France upon Edward IV's restoration but were captured and imprisoned (Orridge, 'Some Particulars').
5. P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice] C 1/58/111, C 1/93/53, and C 1/191/10-16; *Cal[endar of the] Pat[ent] Rolls, 1461-85*, III, 400 and 489; Shaw, W. A., *The Knights of England* (2 vols., London, 1906), II, 30. Sir Thomas had entered into many loans and mortgages, some to help pay his fines; not all were cancelled before his death in 1478. Reference to Crown-copyright records in the P.R.O. appears by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.
6. P.R.O. SC 2/172/38, m. 13v; *Letters and Papers, [Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII]*, I, No. 4659, p. 723.
7. Harold Smith, *A History of the Parish of Havering-atte-Bower, Essex* (Colchester, 1925); *Cal. Charter Rolls*, VI, 204-206.
8. P.R.O. SC 2/172/35-38, annual Views of Frankpledge.
9. For Elizabeth Malpas Cooke's life, see McIntosh, 'The Cooke Family'. The author thanks A. T. Arber-Cooke of Llandovery, Wales, who is pursuing a genealogical study of the Cookes, for information about the Malpases.
10. These suits are in P.R.O. SC 2/172/36, m. 17v; SC 2/172/35, m. 7r; SC 2/172/38, m. 17v; and SC 2/172/35, m. 9r; SC 2/172/35, m. 15r.

11. For Tatwedyr senior, P.R.O. SC 2/172/36, m. 6v and SC 2/172/37, m. 2v; for Tatwedyr junior, SC 2/172/33, m. 14r and SC 2/172/36, m. 22v.
12. P.R.O. SC 2/172/35, m. 2v; the Cornburgh case is C 1/87/50.
13. P.R.O. SC 2/172/36, m. 5r., and SC 2/172/38, m. 5v.
14. P.R.O. SC 2/172/38, m. 12v.
15. Both outbursts are described in *ibid.*, m. 19r. It is ironic that one of Coke's chief duties as J.P. was taking bond from people that they would keep the peace.
16. P.R.O. SC 2/173/1, m. 31r-v, C 142/31/6, and SC 2/173/2, m. 16r. Richard's election is in SC 2/173/2, m. 20v; SC 2/173/3, m. 4r.
17. *Letters and Papers*, II, Pt. 1, No. 256, p. 82.
18. *Ibid.*, II, Pt. 2, No. 4127, p. 1276; *ibid.*, IV, Pt. 1, No. 2132, p. 955 and IV, Pt. 2, New 2599, p. 1151; *ibid.*, VIII, No. 291, p. 118. For his bill to Cromwell, P.R.O. E 36/143(3)/p. 7.
19. *Letters and Papers*, IV, Pt. 1, No. 1655, p. 740; *ibid.*, IV, Pt. 2, No. 2599, p. 1151.
20. *Ibid.*, VI, No. 1522, p. 615.
21. There are two long contemporary descriptions of the riot, similar but not identical: a torn and faded one in P.R.O. SP 2/Q/No. 12 and another submitted to the Court of Star Chamber, P.R.O. STAC 2/15/ff. 95-96. The following narrative is a composite of the two versions.
22. P.R.O. SP 1/85/207.
23. P.R.O. C 142/31/6; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland preserved at Belvoir Castle*, I (London, 1888), 21-22, and New College, Oxford MS. 9757, f. 78v. The author is grateful to the Warden and Fellows of New College for permission to refer to manuscripts in their collection.
24. B[ritish] M[useum] Cottonian MSS., Vesp. F XIII, No. 223. The British Library Board has kindly authorised citation of manuscripts under its control. Excerpts from Margaret's will are printed below.
25. For lands, see, e.g., P.R.O. C 142/31/6, C 1/400/27, C 1/911/68, and E[sex] R[ecord] O[ffice] D/DK T 51/17; P.R.O. PROB 11/22, 23 (Richard Ballard, 23 Porch, 1527). Reference to sources in the Essex Record Office is made with the sanction of the County Archivist of Essex.
26. P.R.O. E 117/2/31, ff. 3v and 14r.
27. New College, Oxford MS. 9654, f. 27r; MS. 9757, ff. 73v, 78v, and 125v; MS. 9758, pp. 84 (Henry VIII's letter), 113, 182, and 192; P.R.O. SP 1/123, pp. 189-90 and 223; SP 1/126/130 and 132; SP 1/131/130; B.M. Cottonian MSS., Vesp. F XIII, No. 223 (Princess Mary's letter).
28. Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills 10 Powell, now in P.R.O. PROB 11.
29. Turkis = turquoise. Proper names and those words italicised in the text of the will are in their original spelling; all other have been modernised, as has the punctuation.
30. A coin minted in England, worth 22s. 6d. in Henry VII's time, later declining in value.
31. This must refer to Sir Anthony Cooke's daughter Anne, rather than to his wife Anne, mentioned later in the will. The young Anne Cooke was to marry Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1553 and would be in Mary's service again during her reign. For the various Cookes who appear in this will, see McIntosh, 'Sir Anthony Cooke'.
32. An English gold coin, worth around 8s. at the time.
33. A thick fabric, often made of wool, used as a covering for tables or beds.
34. Anne Fitzwilliams Cooke, Anthony's wife, who participated in the 1534 Huddesdon riot described above.
35. Lambskin with the wool dressed outwards, used as a fur.
36. A woman's skirt.
37. One of Sir Anthony's daughters, in Mary's service during her reign, married to Sir Ralph Rowlett shortly before her death in 1558.
38. A brede was a full width of woven fabric.
39. Sir Anthony's third son, who died during a trip to France in 1566.
40. Mildred Cooke Cecil, Sir Anthony's oldest daughter, married to Sir William Cecil in 1545.
41. A gold coin of variable value.
42. Beatrice Cooke Copley Rawson, sister to Margaret's long-dead husband John, herself widowed for the second time by 1519. Beatrice apparently stayed regularly with Margaret during their later years: Margaret called one room in her house 'my sister Rawson's chamber'.
43. A rich silk cloth, probably similar to damask.
44. Marten, a fur-bearing animal.

- 45. Foin, a weasel-like animal.
- 46. Frizado, a fine frieze cloth.
- 47. Cony, or rabbit.
- 48. Pillow-cases.
- 49. A canopy for a bed.
- 50. A set of table vessels.
- 51. A linen fabric woven with a small and simple pattern.
- 52. Buckram, a coarse gummed linen.
- 53. Guard, a decorative border or trimming.
- 54. A kind of woollen fabric commonly used for clothing.

Sir Hercules Francis Cooke: Stuart Postscript to a Tudor House

by MARJORIE K. McINTOSH

The Cooke family of Gidea Hall, Romford, enjoyed more than a century of economic prosperity and political prominence after its founding around 1460. The family's history reached its apex in the career of Sir Anthony Cooke, the Tudor man of letters.¹ In the 1580s the Cookes' fortunes took a rapid turn downward, for the young head of the family went deeply into debt as the result of four years at Queen Elizabeth's court.² In the decades after 1585 the family sank gradually into poverty, selling off more and more of its once-great landed estate. The Cookes were ruined economically well before 1629, the year in which the final member of the direct male line died and the remaining lands passed into other hands. At that point the family's history might be said to have closed.

There was, however, one further Cooke who lived on until 1661 and who appeared to be on the brink of re-establishing the family as a wealthy and powerful force. This man, the younger brother of the last head of the family, bore the distinguished name of Hercules Francis Cooke. Francis, as he modestly preferred to be called, went to Ireland as a young man, early in James I's reign. There he achieved a respectable position as a military leader, a lower-level administrator, and a landholder. He returned to England a few years before the Civil War, demonstrating himself a vigorous Royalist and believer in a strict moral code. Cooke's life illustrates the kinds of options available to the younger son of a fallen gentle family and the constraints which could prohibit success.

Francis was born around 1586, the middle son of Sir Anthony Cooke — not the famous humanist of that name who helped to educate Edward VI, but his ne'er-do-well grandson, the person whose years at court resulted in the family's precipitous decline. The younger Anthony Cooke was a first cousin of Robert Cecil's and was closely related to a number of other important people at court and in Parliament. Anthony and his aggressive wife Avis felt that Robert Cecil had a moral responsibility to look after the interests of his 'now impoverished kinsmen'. Poor Cecil was besieged with letters from Anthony and Avis in the years around 1600, asking for improvements in Anthony's position, for the granting of wardships and favours to the family, and for Cecil's assistance in arranging suitable marriages for their children.³

By around 1603 the barrage of requests had become focused on the plea that Cecil take Hercules Francis into his service. Cecil, who had already protested against furthering the welfare of his own relatives at other people's expense, told Anthony that Francis was 'too near him in blood to be entertained in that nature', but the letters continued. A few years after the death of William Cecil, Robert's father, Avis sent Francis himself to Cecil, bearing a note which reminded Robert pointedly that the youth had been his dear father's godson.⁴ Anthony Cooke died in 1604, permitting Avis to portray herself as a helpless widow, which she did with great relish. Francis too began writing to Cecil, complaining that 'his estate is such that he must serve, there being now no employments in the wars'.⁵ The sustained attack finally succeeded in wearing Cecil down: in 1605 he was praised by an aunt for taking into his household 'Hercules Francis Cooke, son to my dearly beloved nephew, the unfortunate Sir Anthony Cooke. . . . I take this your favour

exceeding kind by showing yourself thereby willing to grace and comfort your mother's father's house.⁶

Although Robert Cecil was not eager to assist his relatives merely because of their ties of blood, he was willing to acknowledge and reward ability. Francis Cooke was apparently a moderately capable person, and after a year Cecil found a place for him with the English army in Ireland. In January of 1607 James I wrote to Ireland ordering that the office of Provost-Marshal of Munster be granted to Cooke. Unfortunately, the letter arrived only after the position had already been given under seal to another; as an alternative Cecil obtained for Francis the command of a company of troops in Ireland.⁷

Cooke was to hold office in Ireland from 1607 until 1635. His military role was minor, for the troop of foot-soldiers of which he was Captain seems to have done little other than move from one camp or castle to another. In other areas he was more active. Within a few years of his arrival he became involved in the plantation of Ulster, the attempt to divide forfeited Irish lands among predominantly English or Scottish tenants. By September of 1611 Cooke had been granted 1,000 acres of escheated land in county Armagh. He seems to have taken his landholder's duties seriously, for a few years later an Irish outlaw was killed by 'certain of the Irishry employed by Sir Francis Cooke', and Cooke was complimented by the Lord Deputy.⁸

Cooke was also pursuing some sort of project in England. Late in 1609 he returned temporarily to England on an undescribed mission, and a few years later he told Cecil that 'the expectation that my hopes so long have waited upon' had come to nothing.⁹ Writing in the circumlocutious style which was to become almost incoherent later in his life, he asked Cecil to grant him more land in Ireland.

But I see the condition of our estate rather declining than having any hope of greater advancement, but your Lordship, who ever hath been the foundation & pillar of all my fortunes, may dispose of me so in your own judgment you shall best think fitting, which, if it may be to the settlement of a poor estate here in this kingdom, I shall be ready with my best endeavours to perfect it.

In the 1610s we first encounter evidence of exceptional favour coming to Cooke from someone near to the English throne, support which continued unabated after Cecil's death in 1612. In 1611 Francis was knighted at Dublin Castle by the Lord Deputy, for service which was presumably not martial valour.¹⁰ The following year the Privy Council sent word to Ireland that they had decided to build a new fort, at Desert Martin near Coleraine, and that Sir Francis Cooke was to be established there as Constable with a proper ward. Later in the year Coleraine was incorporated, with Cooke listed as one of the Burgesses.¹¹ (The Portreeve of the new town was Tristram Beresford, a large landholder whose daughter Cooke was to marry a few years later.)

Although nominally busy with Irish affairs, Hercules Francis seems to have spent considerable time in England. In addition to his passage in 1609-10 he was away from his troops in 1613 and was in England from October of 1614 until at least the beginning of 1616, with yet another visit in 1618-19.¹² Order came from England during each of his absences that he should be granted his full pay while gone, instructions which in one case specified that he was 'absent from his said charge for the following of some urgent and needful business here much concerning him'.¹³ One's curiosity is aroused by this phrase. Was he looking after his own, private business, perhaps related to his older brother's disastrous economic plight, or was he working in some other capacity, possibly even for the Crown itself? Certainly the unusual favour shown to him during his Irish years does not seem justified by any exceptional performance in his official duties.

Cooke's position as a landed proprietor was expanded around 1620 when he acquired land from the Drapers' Company of London, as a part of the Londoners' project to establish plantations in county Coleraine, which they renamed Londonderry. From 1620 until the 1630s Francis was listed as one of three resident freeholders of the Drapers' land.¹⁴ After his marriage to Anne Beresford, Cooke gained a second interest in the Londonderry plantation, for his wife held the

entire Skinners' Company estate. Anne Cooke was later caught in the political conflicts which rocked the project in the early 1640s, eventually losing her lease because she had brought in no English tenants and was 'a great fosterer of Irish Papists'.¹⁵ Francis's and Anne's marriage was evidently not close. They had two children, both of whom died young. It is not certain that Francis lived with his family while he was in Ireland, and Anne did not accompany him upon his final return to Essex.¹⁶

Sir Francis's role as Captain, his frequent absences from Ireland, and his support from the Crown were meanwhile continuing. In 1627 he was in England, with a special warrant that his pay might continue, and in the summer of 1629 Charles I himself sent a letter to the Justices of Ireland, asking that they give all favour to the suit of Sir Francis Cooke that some arrears due to him be paid.¹⁷ These forms of interference provoked no small annoyance in Ireland, resentment which had become overt by the 1630s. In September of 1634 Cooke wrote to Sir Francis Windebank, the Principal Secretary, thanking him for 'the great and high favour of your own letter and the obtaining of the king's for my better and greatest relief'.¹⁸ He added that the Lord Deputy was extremely angry at this most recent show of favour and apologised for having 'raised up a storm to trouble you in your passages for your honour's acquirements in my misfortunes'. Francis was back in Essex in 1634, when he signed the Heraldic Visitation of that year as his family's representative, and the following year it was reported that 'Sir Francis Cooke hath sold his company, got his arrears, and is come away'.¹⁹

Cooke's rewards from his 28 years in Ireland were modest. He had gained experience, a knighthood, land (which did not remain in his hands after he came back to England), perhaps a small economic profit, and a wife who stayed in Ireland. He had become accustomed to authority — over his own troops and tenantry and within the city of Coleraine. He had also been involved in economic and/or political dealings in England. He certainly did not interrupt his Irish career with a trip to the New World on the *Mayflower*, an attribution often suggested.²⁰

While Francis was in Ireland, the Essex branch of his family collapsed.²¹ The first outlawry of his older brother, Sir Edward Cooke, occurred in 1611, with the few remaining Cooke lands and Edward's goods seized by the Crown; over the next ten years, six more outlawries followed. (Royal favour once again allowed Francis to benefit: in 1623 he and Sir Robert Clark were granted £1,000 by the king from Edward's goods and landed income.)²² Edward died in 1625 and his young son survived him by only four years. By the time of Hercules Francis's return in 1635 the family lands had passed into his nieces' hands. Edward's widow and mother had been allowed to maintain their households at Gidea Hall and Bedfords, but as Francis had no home of his own in the Romford area, he went to live at Pleshey with his close friend Sir Robert Clark.

Francis's ties to the Crown must have been the cause of the last notable event in the history of the Gidea Hall Cookes. In 1637 Edward's widow Martha received the great and altogether improbable honour of a visit from the Queen Mother of France, Marie de' Medici, during her stay in England. Marie spent a night at Gidea Hall on her way to London from the coast. Her chronicler said that 'the Queen and all her Court were magnificently entertained in this beautiful house [by] a widow, notable for her virtue and her high rank'.²³ Charles I stayed at the near-by royal palace at Havering-atte-Bower, then in decaying condition. Since Martha Cooke was poverty stricken, it is curious that she was chosen to receive the royal visitor and equally surprising that she was able to provide adequate hospitality. One suspects that the anti-royal and anti-French sentiment in Essex may already have been so strong that the Crown was forced to accept any home offered to it, supplementing Martha's resources to enable her to prepare suitable fare and entertainment.

During the decade after he came back from Ireland, Francis devoted much of his energy to local affairs, showing considerable enthusiasm for the enforcement of good behaviour and public order. He was named a Justice of the Peace for Essex in 1640 and was regularly present at Sessions and Assizes for the next few years. He was unusually diligent in carrying out such petty tasks as taking recognisances, investigating complaints, and sending people to gaol to await trial.

He was also on a number of commissions to collect subsidies and other taxes in the years before 1643. As Steward of Havering he (or his deputy) presided over the three-weekly sessions of the manor court.²⁴

Cooke was a staunch supporter of the established order in general and of the king in particular. These qualities made him increasingly unpopular within the county as the Civil War approached. Two incidents illustrate the mood developing in the early 1640s within a county which was to be firmly on the Parliamentary side. In the summer of 1640 Sir Francis was one of two Justices of the Peace who examined and gaoled some of the participants in an outburst of violence among a company of troops stationed in Essex. The Short Parliament had been dissolved and Charles was trying desperately to raise an army to face the attacking Scots; the royal levies were all too prone to desertion or to mutinous demonstrations against Laud's religious policies. The incident in which Cooke was involved was especially dangerous for the Crown, for it included an element of support for the Earl of Warwick, a leader of the 'Puritan' group in Parliament and the chief officer of the army in Essex. It was Warwick who sent a report of the matter to Sir Henry Vane, the Principal Secretary. He said that he had been summoned to Braintree on 23 July by a captain to quiet his troops, whom Warwick found 'much disordered by drink that day, and in that distemper that they went to [the Bocking] church and pulled up the rails about the communion table in the chancel and brought them before their captain's lodging and there burned them'.²⁵ Warwick recommended that the ringleaders be quickly removed from Essex, lest they completely destroy discipline and religious conformity among the troops. What Warwick tactfully chose not to mention, but recorded in the examinations taken by Cooke, is that the leader of the discontent, while in drink, said that the Earl of Warwick was king in Essex, and he threatened to have the blood of certain of his officers. We may surmise that Cooke was more genuinely upset than was Warwick by this intermingling of a drunken brawl with action on the basis of religious principle.

The second incident, from the fall of 1641, illuminates both Sir Francis's own attitudes and the continuing undermining of royal authority within the county. (The Long Parliament was then in session, Laud was in the Tower, and Strafford had just been executed.) The 'information' which Cooke prepared for Warwick provides an exceptionally vivid sense of this man's style. Cooke reported that one Sunday he and Sir Henry Clark had undertaken a visitation of Pleshey, together with the unwilling churchwardens and constables, 'to prevent the great abuse of the Sabbath from surfeiting and drunkenness and other most luxurious rioting'.²⁶ Cooke went into the house of one Joan Allen, 'knowing that house to be a reputed place of much disorder, and a suckling house for all comers', whereupon Joan

broke out into most bitter railing and taunting speeches against the said Sir Francis Cooke, and when he did express that he was one of the King's Justices of Peace, and in authority to see good rule & order to be kept by the King's authority, she, the said Joan Allen, answered she knew not the King, nor cared not for him, nor for the said Sir Francis, nor would not obey his authority.

That she, being a woman of ill life & behaviour, hath refused to obey any Justice's warrant, and hath formerly opposed his Majesty's officers with pitch-forks & other offensive weapons and is not to be contained in any order: that if such opprobrious and scandalous speeches shall be suffered to blemish the names and persons of any, much more those who are in authority and should suppress the vices of such wicked offenders who contrary to all law and order do what they please: by the calumnious abuses of her and others to the said Sir Francis: — if these sufferances have no redress, nor find a sharp correction by example and terror for others to be learned by, I shall lay aside the authority and power that is imposed on me, and give such offenders their own free will, to vomit out the foulness of their malice and odium of reproach as well to others as my self.

Warwick did have Joan committed to the House of Correction, but she was released after a short stay and a whipping, a mild punishment for such an overt denial of authority.

Hercules Francis in the early 1640s was a complicated and difficult person: a Royalist who at the same time showed an excessive concern with the morality of others, a man of strong and

readily articulated reactions, and a relative newcomer to the Essex scene who was acutely aware of his own authority as well as that of the king. It is not surprising that when the political and religious conflicts came to a head in 1642-43, Cooke found himself alone and disliked. On 20 January, 1643, in a feeble attempt to enforce royal power, Sir Benjamin Ayloff was sworn in as High Sheriff; Sir Francis Cooke was one of the handful who supported the king's candidate. The Royalist effort was futile, however, and Ayloff was carried off to London only a few days later by Sir Thomas Barrington, 'for scorn of his Majesty'. On 28 January Cooke, too, was 'taken for London'.²⁷

Sir Francis spent the next two years fighting for the king. (One wonders whether Cooke, then in his late 50s, had seen enough military action in Ireland to qualify as an experienced field commander.) In March of 1643 Cooke, listed as a Colonel, was among the prisoners taken when Sir William Waller's Parliamentary troops recaptured Malmesbury.²⁸ After several months in gaol he returned to the field. Early in December 1644 he was at Salisbury fortifying the close when he was again captured, in a surprise attack, and sent to Southampton.²⁹ Once more he was held only briefly, coming back to Pleshey, where he assaulted one of the town constables executing the duties of his office.³⁰ Cooke does not seem to have done any more fighting after 1644, but his loyalties remained solidly with the king. In 1655 he was one of a group of Essex gentry arrested and imprisoned in connection with the abortive 'Salisbury insurrection' against Cromwell's government.³¹

During one of his confinements, probably late in 1643, Cooke sent an odd letter to Sir Thomas Barrington, the Essex Parliamentary leader. The addition of modified quotations results in a singularly opaque style.

There are many of my noble friends risen up to assist [me] whose report being moderately made may give deliverance to my now half year's imprisonment. If your self, as powerful as any, with Sir Martin Lumlye (both my assured friends) please to be so consonant in this harmony, I doubt not, my bolts may be knocked off. And that you may swing me, or easier wheel me, back again from whence I first came. Difficulties bear no comparative or equity with power and authority, and my suffering and losses do rather give thanks than complain of injuries. (The times are out of joint, and many greater fears affright, do thou, oh Lord, arise and set them by thy power again aright.) The ways of my proceedings are so peaceable inclined, that I dare vow there is not so much as the humming of a snake able to waken any distempers in our parts. And I would rather sow my bread upon the waters, now in my old days for comfort, than howl out my greater calamities to terror: my imprisonment is tedious and my expense ruinous.³²

During the years after 1645 Sir Francis took small part in business dealings and local affairs.³³ He was still living in Pleshey in 1655, but by the summer of 1658 he had moved back to the neighbourhood of his youth. Here he found unfamiliar faces in the family's old homes. In 1629 the remaining Cooke lands had passed to Edward Cooke's two daughters rather than to Francis and his younger brother. Francis and his mother went to court in an attempt to regain the lands but were unsuccessful, so Edward's daughters and their husbands kept the holding for several decades longer.³⁴ After the deaths of Edward's mother and widow in 1642 and 1643, one of Edward's daughters, married to Sir Edward Sydenham, moved in to Gidea Hall. The final transfer of possession away from the Cooke family took place in 1657, when the Havering lands were sold to a London merchant.³⁵

A year after this sale Hercules Francis came back to Romford. This must indeed have been a painful and lonely homecoming for a man of more than 70 years. His relationship with the Sydenhams was strained, so it was probably no coincidence that he stayed in Pleshey as long as they were in residence in Havering. Francis was fond of his other niece, who lived in Suffolk; it is about members of her family that he speaks warmly in his will and to them that he left his meagre property and possessions. His final statement of faith, written in July of 1658, indicates a strong, reformed theology.³⁶

With Hercules Francis's death in the fall of 1661 the Essex line of the Cooke family was extinguished. (One hopes that Francis's mind was clear enough during his last year to witness

and appreciate the return of the king.) Although Francis had begun life as the penniless younger son of a declining house, there were certain factors working on his behalf which created bright prospects for him during the 1610s and 1620s. He was related to Robert Cecil, he seems to have had some personal ability, he had support from someone high in the king's government, he held land in Ireland which might yield profit, he married and had children, and he benefited from the traditional Cooke offices and prestige in Havering. During his years in Ireland he performed his duties in a satisfactory fashion, and his activities as a local official in Essex show that he was prepared to devote unusual amounts of time and energy to his responsibilities. Had the war not intervened he might well have carved out for himself a comfortable position for his closing years — viewed by his neighbours and the government as diligent and honourable though poor and perhaps eccentric. Even without the war, however, it would have been impossible for him to establish himself as a landed gentleman in the earlier Cooke tradition. In economic terms, any chance of a restoration was ended by the mid-1630s, when the Cooke lands passed to the female lines and Francis failed to bring home with him from Ireland any new sources of income. Since his children died and he had no contact with his Irish wife after 1635, he ultimately lacked both the ingredients necessary to a rescue of the Cookes — wealth and heirs. His life thus constituted but an appendix to the history of a major Tudor family.

NOTES

1. McIntosh, M. K., 'The Cooke Family of Gidea Hall, Essex, 1460-1661', Harvard Ph.D. thesis, 1967; 'Some New Gentry in Early Tudor Essex: The Cookes of Gidea Hall, 1480-1550', pp. 129-138 above; and 'Sir Anthony Cooke: Tudor Humanist, Educator, and Religious Reformer', *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, **cxix** (1975), 233-50. The acknowledgements in 'Some New Gentry' pertain to this paper as well.
2. McIntosh, M. K., 'The Fall of a Tudor Gentle Family: The Cookes of Gidea Hall, Essex, 1579-1629', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, forthcoming. Hercules Francis was presumably named after his uncle, Sir Hercules Mewtas. He had a number of sisters, two of whom lived to adulthood, and two brothers. The elder, Edward, is discussed in 'The Fall of a Tudor Gentle Family'; the younger, who lived until 1650, seems to have been of limited intelligence and may have spent his life as a dependant in a relative's household.
3. For example of these letters, see H[istorical] M[anuscripts] C[ommission], Salisbury MSS., X, 375 (orig. vol. 82, No. 19) and XVI, 490; P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice] SP 14/48/22. The author thanks Lord Salisbury for permission to make reference to the Cecil papers at Hatfield House.
4. H.M.C., Salisbury MSS., XVI, 305 and 414-15, and XVII, 175-76.
5. *Ibid.*, XVI, 414.
6. *Ibid.*, 292. The writer was Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell, the last surviving child of the first Sir Anthony Cooke.
7. Cal[endar of] S[tate] P[apers] Irish, James I, II, 80 and 129, and III, 33. In his expectation of being named Provost-Marshal, Francis borrowed money for travel, for which his mother and older brother provided bond. Avis suggested to Cecil that since he had been the cause of their false hopes and the resulting debt, he should furnish the means of repayment. She ended with a masterly backhanded threat: 'If it please your honour to be so gracious to him, as to now but set him free, I dare give my word for him: neither he nor his friends will ever press your honour any more for his debts, which I know he hath not truly made known to your honour by all'. (H.M.C., Salisbury MSS., XIX, 417; orig. vol. 124, No. 16.)
8. Cal. S. P. Irish, James I, III, 368; IV, 130; and V, 146.
9. *Ibid.*, III, 320-21; P.R.O. SP 63/231/80.
10. Lambeth Palace Carew MS. 619, p. 162; Shaw, W. A., *The Knights of England* (2 vols., London, 1906), II, 151.
11. Cal. S. P. Irish, James I, IV, 276 and 300.
12. A[cts of the] P[riory] C[ouncil]. 1613-30. I, 15; II, 372-73; and IV, 373.
13. *Ibid.*, II, 372-73.
14. Johnson, A. H., *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London* (5 vols., Oxford, 1922), III, 40, 129, 218, and 270.

15. Cal. S. P. Irish, 1625-70, II, 291, and III, 230 and 356.
16. The children are mentioned in a 1620 will, P[reogative] C[ourt of] C[anterbury] Wills, 6 Soame, Vol. I (now in P.R.O. class PROB 11), Anne but no children appear on a 1634 Cooke family tree (Metcalf, W. C., ed., *The Visitations of Essex*, Harleian Soc., 2 vols., London, 1886, I, 382). Anne lived on in Ireland until 1680; her will was destroyed by fire but an abstract of it was kindly furnished to the author by the Deputy Keeper of the P.R.O. of Northern Ireland, MS. T.808/2940.
17. A.P.C., 1613-30, X, 392; P.R.O. IND 6808, August, 1629.
18. P.R.O. SP 63/254/155.
19. College of Arms, C.21, as cited by Sage, E. J., 'Cooke of Gidea Hall', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Ser., xii (1861), 480; Cal. S. P. Domestic, Charles I, VIII, 386.
20. For a conclusive refutation of the common proposal that the Francis Coke who went to the New World in 1620 was of the Gidea Hall family, see Charles E. Banks, *The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers* (New York, 1929), pp. 47-48.
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22. P.R.O. C 66/2320/mm. 16-19.
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24. E[sex] R[ecord] O[ffice] Q/SR 311-319, *passim*, and P.R.O. ASSZ 35/83/T-35/84/T, *passim* (used through a typed calendar at the E.R.O.). For examples of his local duties, see E.R.O. Q/SR 312/55, 314/84, 316/76, 83, and 84, and 319/55-8, 82-4, and 95. For economic commissions see, e.g., Quintrell, B. W., 'The Divisional Committee for Southern Essex during the Civil Wars', Manchester M.A. thesis, 1962, pp. 16 and 45. Cooke was granted the reversion of the virtually hereditary Steward's office in 1619, to hold after his brother Edward's death; he was Steward until at least 1650 (P.R.O. E 317/Essex/13).
25. P.R.O. SP 16/461/25, I and II.
26. E.R.O. Q/SBa 2/44. On the bottom of this report is a note in a different hand: 'When this warrant was served upon her, she threatened the Constable & the men that were with him to assist him, that she would be revenged of them all before half a year came about, in so much that they stand in fear of their lives.'
27. B[ritish] M[useum] Harleian MS. 454, f. 56r.
28. *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, 1625-72* (ed. Firth, C. H., 2 vols., Oxford, 1894), I, 445.
29. Ibid., I, 107 and 464.
30. E.R.O. Q/SR 324/24.
31. *Victoria County History of Essex*, II (London, 1907), 239.
32. B.M. Egerton MS. 2648, f. 44.
33. E.R.O. D/D He T1/3 and 7; Q/SR 355/106.
34. P.R.O. C 3/399/64.
35. E.R.O. D/D He T1/4 and 5.
36. P.C.C. Wills, 171 May, Vol. IV (now P.R.O. PROB 11).

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Archaeological Notes

A Romano-British Brooch from Hatches Farm, Braintree

by S. A. BUTCHER

The brooch illustrated in Fig. 1 was found amongst the effects of the late Major J. G. S. Brinson; Mr. P. J. Drury considers that it is likely to be the object referred to as a 'harness mount' in the interim report on excavations at Hatches Farm published by Major Brinson in 1950. A fuller

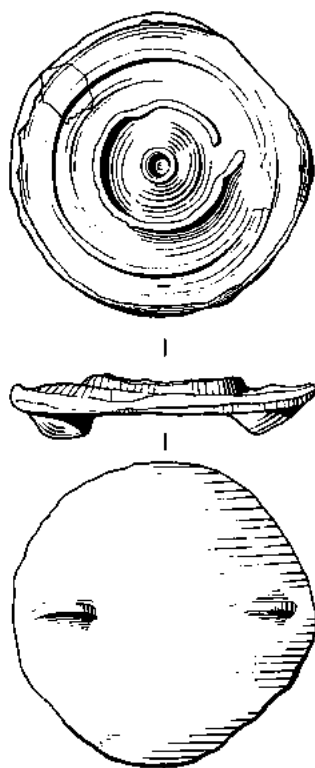


Fig. 1 Romano-British brooch from Hatches Farm, Braintree. Scale 1 : 1.
Drawn by Diane Miller, Department of the Environment.

report, compiled from Major Brinson's records, appeared in volume VIII of this journal (Drury *et al.*, 1976, 104); the pottery from the site was largely of third- to fourth-century date. I am grateful to Mr. Drury for allowing me to study the object.

It is circular, 40 mm in diameter and not more than 2 mm thick. All details are obscured by corrosion, the green colour of which suggests that the metal was a copper alloy. In the centre there is a circular sunken setting of 15 mm diameter outlined by a slightly undercut rim; a small raised ring in the floor of this was possibly used to centre a missing decorative inset (Charlton, 1934, p. 196). There is a raised rib and possibly other decoration on the outer zone and the rim is also slightly raised. The back is flat except for two stumps which probably represent a lug to hold the pin and a catchplate.

In spite of the lack of visible detail there is little doubt that this is a plate brooch of well-known type, first discussed by Bushe-Fox (1913). These usually have a conical 'stone' of glass in the central setting, are often gilded and have fine stamped decoration on the outer zones of the plate. There is an oval form which is similar in all respects except its shape. Both types are widely distributed in Britain; published examples can be quoted from Hadrian's Wall (Charlton, 1934), Richborough (Bushe-Fox, 1928 and 1949), Nornour, Isles of Scilly (Hull, 1968) and Fishbourne (Cunliffe, 1971). The last was in a late-third- or early-fourth-century robber trench. Examples from the *Limes* forts of Saalburg and Zugmantel are published by Böhme (1972) but the type appears to be less common on the Continent and is probably of British origin.

Since it was noted that examples had occurred in Saxon graves it has always been considered to be a late Roman type, though none was stratified in appropriate levels and early Roman brooches are also found in Saxon graves (e.g. at Mucking: I am grateful to Mr. W. T. Jones for allowing me to see these). The Zugmantel find should not be later than A.D. 260. However, support for the late date comes from the remarkable finds at New Grange, Co. Meath, where a group of Roman objects, thought to be votive offerings, has been found in the collapsed material of the great burial mound. Mrs. O'Kelly kindly showed me two brooches of the present type, one oval and one round, which were found in the same horizon as a gold coin of Constantine.

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A Coin Hoard From Peldon Churchyard

Discovery of the Hoard (by Warwick RODWELL)

In September 1971 the writer heard a rumour that a person living in the Kelvedon-Rivenhall area was in possession of a hoard of mediaeval silver coins which had been found 'locally'. Enquiry located the coins and their possessor and an account of their discovery was ascertained. The find

comprised a small hoard of 14 coins, in varying condition, found as a group in the graveyard of St. Mary's Church, Peldon (TL 98941678), in or about the year 1968. The hoard was discovered at a depth of about four feet during the digging of a grave a little to the east or south-east of the porch adjoining the south doorway.

The hoard was seen briefly by the writer, who made graphite rubbings of the obverses and reverses and took photographic slides of the group. These records, upon which the report below is based, have been retained at the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum. When seen, the coins had all been cleaned, so that no trace of the original conditions surrounding their burial could be discerned (for example, fabric or timber impressions). The five groats were in very good condition, whereas the nine pence were all worn and clipped; three of the latter were worn smooth.

The grave-digger reported that the coins were found with 'many bones', but a direct association between the hoard and a skeleton cannot be reliably established. Several explanations for the discovery of the hoard in the churchyard are possible. First, the coins may have been contained in a purse or bag which was inadvertently concealed amongst the garments or wrappings of a corpse. Secondly, a purse may have been accidentally dropped by a fifteenth-century grave-digger or mourner. Thirdly, and perhaps most likely, the coins may have been deliberately concealed as a hoard, with a view to recovery at a later date. Here it may be noted that the find was made beside the path leading to the main door of the church; and since major building works were being undertaken at Peldon in the latter part of the fifteenth century it is conceivable that the hoard was concealed by a craftsman engaged in the restoration. Little can be said of relevance regarding the depth at which the hoard was found, since the exact amount by which ground level has risen in the post-mediaeval period is unknown. As a generalisation it can, however, be said that the ground level on the south side of a church such as Peldon is likely to have risen by not less than two feet between the late fifteenth century and the present day. Thus the hoard might equally have been inserted from the contemporary ground surface, or contained within a shallow grave.

The Peldon hoard should, of course, have been the subject of a treasure-trove inquest, but it proved impossible to prevail upon the finder to declare the coins; their present whereabouts is uncertain. On archaeological grounds, a case for their declaration as treasure-trove could not have been unambiguously established.

The Coins (by Marion M. ARCHIBALD)

The following 11 coins were studied from rubbings:

Groats

EDWARD IV

First Reign; light coinage. London mint.

1. Rose initial mark, quatrefoils beside neck, cusp on breast not fleured, extra pellet in DON quarter: Blunt and Whitten Vc.3.¹
2. Rose initial mark, as No. 1, except rose on breast and extra pellet in TAS quarter: Blunt and Whitten Vc.2.
3. Sun initial mark, quatrefoils beside neck, FRAN, lis after TAS: Blunt and Whitten VI.2.
4. Crown initial mark, quatrefoils beside neck, fleurs on cusps except over crown: Blunt and Whitten VII.1.
5. Crown/sun initial mark, quatrefoils beside neck, trefoils on cusps except over crown and on breast: Blunt and Whitten VII.6 / VIII (Mule No. 2).

Pence

6. EDWARD I-II

Very worn and clipped.

7. EDWARD III or RICHARD II
Very worn and clipped.
8. EDWARD III or RICHARD II
Very worn and clipped.
9. HENRY VI
Annulet issue, 1422-27. London mint.
Not clipped.
10. HENRY VI
Annulet issue, 1422-27. Calais mint.
Clipped.
11. EDWARD IV
First Reign; heavy coinage. Durham mint; Bishop Lawrence Booth. Nothing beside neck, rose in centre of reverse cross. Very clipped.

The following three coins were shown only on the pair of slides of the complete group:

12-14. Very worn and clipped pennies probably of Edward I-III, but details not legible from the slides.

The latest coin present is the crown/sun-marked groat, which was issued during the period 1467-8. Since the not uncommon coins of the period 1468-70 are absent, the hoard was probably deposited in c. 1468. Since however the total number of coins present is so small and since it is also possible that new issues took some time to establish themselves in the currency of out-of-the-way areas and their omission therefore fortuitous, a later deposition date cannot be ruled out. The composition of the hoard confirms the pattern of currency in the period following the reduction in the standard weights of the silver coinage in 1464, as shown by other finds. The 1464 reform and in particular the reductions made a little later in the charges on the bullion brought to the mint, caused most of the earlier heavy groats to disappear from circulation. Since hoarders tend to favour the highest denomination available to them, the evidence for the effect of the reform on the pence in circulation is less clear, but it appears that its consequences were less immediately felt. Very worn and/or clipped pennies struck as early as 1279 continued to circulate as their weight had been reduced sufficiently for them to conform, more or less, to the new standard. Although all nine pennies in the hoard were struck before the reform, only one of them, the London penny of Henry VI, looks unclipped and possibly too heavy to conform to the new reduced standard. It is unfortunate that, in the circumstances, the weights of the coins are not available.

Note

1. C. E. Blunt and C. A. Whitten in *Brit. Numismatic J.* xxv (1945-8), 154-7.

Historic Buildings 1977

(Report from the Historic Buildings Section, Essex County Council)

by M. WADHAMS

With something in the region of 15,000 buildings in the County pre-dating 1820, the problem of writing a brief review of the past year is daunting. In addition to work connected with the legislation by the District and County Planning Authorities, we now have a considerable amount of

useful record and research work being carried out by individuals and local societies. This latter varies from individual detailed studies to information from casual, though interested, observers. Pressure of work and the financial cut-back has meant that the County Council Historic Buildings Information Bank is taking rather longer to set up than was originally envisaged, but work is proceeding.

During the year a number of surveys for revisions to statutory lists have been under way. The Department of the Environment has been working in the former Saffron Walden Rural District, whilst under the recent agency agreement Essex County Council have been working in the Halstead, Chelmsford and former Lexden and Winstree districts. In accordance with previous experience, these surveys are resulting in many new discoveries and useful new information on previously known buildings. It is impossible to mention here more than a few notable items. All periods up to the early nineteenth century have yielded treasures, but most exciting are probably the thirteenth-century hall house at Crepping Hall, Chappel, a thirteenth-century hunting-lodge at Galleywood and a rare Essex example of a kingpost roof at Aldham.

In addition to the above, detailed survey work is being done in Bradford Street, Bocking, with the assistance of many of the owners, occupants and the Friends of Bradford Street. This is proving a valuable exercise. The street has high-quality work of all periods. Two very fine structures appear to date from the mid-thirteenth century and there is outstanding work of the early eighteenth century. Documentary evidence mentions seven separate wool-halls, and it is thought that four of these have now come to light. It is hoped that this information will eventually form part of an extensive historical study of Bradford Street.

Elsewhere, discoveries include a thirteenth-century aisled hall at Clavering, originally identified by Adrian Gibson, a fine thirteenth-century house, Kenningtons at Aveley, and a six-bay fourteenth-century barn at Longs Farm, Little Waltham. Small houses in the north of the county, previously ascribed to the seventeenth century, are now proving to include a high percentage of small hall houses of the period between 1350 and 1550.

Essex County Council have been renovating number 48 Bradford Street, under their revolving fund, set up for this type of work. Superficially an early-nineteenth-century house, it has a sixteenth-century core including some fine moulded beams. Braintree District Council are setting up a similar revolving fund; they are the first District Council in Essex to do so.

The combined efforts of Harwich Town Council and Tendring District Council, have resulted in the restoration of the fine eighteenth-century town coat of arms, the work being carried out by craft students at the Mid Essex Technical College.

Despite the loss of most of the available funds for grants under the Historic Buildings Act, due to cut-backs in local government expenditure, considerable grant aid has still been given under the Town Schemes. These are operating in Harwich; Saffron Walden; Maldon; Manningtree; Coggeshall; Southend; East Hill, Colchester; and Bradford Street, Bocking. A further experimental scheme in conjunction with the Civic Trust is under way in Rochford. Results of these schemes are already apparent visually.

Coggeshall's Grange barn continues to crumble, and the legal and financial problems seem no nearer to a solution than they were 12 years ago. Three other buildings which have caused concern in the past now seem to have their future assured. Widdington Barn, which was taken into guardianship, is now being repaired by the Department of the Environment. The sixteenth-century red-brick 'Sofnol' factory at Thaxted is also under way. Perhaps the most pleasing is to see Wentworth House in Bocking restored, it having been a problem for so long.

Overall, a year where successes outnumber disasters, where knowledge has been extended, and where a great deal of hard work has been done by official bodies, local societies and individuals.

Periodical Literature on Essex Archaeology and History, 1977

by P. B. BOYDEN

This bibliography lists articles and reports on historical and archaeological research relating to the geographical county of Essex published in national and local periodicals (but not the Society's) which were available in the Society's Library in June 1978. It includes material in issues dated for 1976 but which actually appeared in 1977; but excludes monographs which are not part of a regular series: details of these are obtainable from the library catalogue. General and area studies are followed by places. Biographical articles are listed under the subject's place of birth or residence.

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BEAUCHAMP RODING J. McCann: Slade's Farm, Beauchamp Roding. *Essex J.* 12.2, 34-37.

ROMFORD *Romford Record* 9 includes:

W. Southgate: Romford 1850, 6-7.

C. J. Whitwood: Avery Cornburgh, an Old Romfordian (c. 1480), 8-13.

R. Lonsdale: Gidea Park Suburb and the men who planned it, 14-30.

B. Evans: Squirrels Heath and Gidea Park Station, 31-32; Francis Quarles (d. 1644), 33-40.

C. J. Whitwood: Mawneys (Estate), 41-44.

Extract from *Homeland Handbook* 1908 on Ind Coope's breweries at Romford, 45-46.

SAFFRON WALDEN Abbey Lane Saxon-Norman Site. *Medieval Archaeol.* 21, 206; *Essex J.* 12.4, 96.

Saffron Walden History No. 11 includes:

M. Pinner: A True Story of Her Life From Birth Until Her Marriage (1890-c.1910), 63-70.

K. Lovatt: Dates on Buildings and Exterior Walls in Saffron Walden, 71-73.

J. G. O'Leary: Saffron Walden in Parliament (1885-1973), 74-76.

C. B. Rowntree: Essex Leper Stone and Hangman's Stone, 76-78.

H. C. Stacey: Old Saffron Walden, 80-84.

W. M. Robinson's Journal 1904 continued, 85-90.

LITTLE SHELFORD Roman-Medieval Sites. *Essex J.* 12.4, 93-94.

NORTH SHOEURY Iron Age and Medieval Sites at Milton Hall. *Essex J.* 12.4, 95.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA Southchurch Hall Excavations. *Medieval Archaeol.* 21, 251; *Essex J.* 12.4, 96-97.

STANFORD-LE-HOPE R. Bingley: Broadhope Farm. *Panorama* 21, 75-76; Great Garlands Farm Area. *Ibid.* 76-78.

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J. K. St. Joseph: Air Reconnaissance in Roman Britain 1973-76, *J. Roman Stud.* 67, 126-127.

TAKELEY Examination of Warish Hall. *Medieval Archaeol.* 21, 254.

THAXTED The Thaxted Bulletin 19 includes:

The Almshouses and William Benlowe's Charity, 6-7; Beginner's Luck (find of a Roman road in Thaxted by Primary School children), 14-15.

Ibid. 20 includes:

The Annual Parish Assembly (1894-1977), 12-14; Gaslight (street lights in Thaxted 1866-1975), 16-17.

THEYDON GARNON Roman Buildings and Tilery. *Britannia* 8, 407.

THEYDON MOUNT R. Simpson: Sir Thomas Smith and the Wall Paintings at Hill Hall, Essex: Scholarly Theory and Design in the Sixteenth Century. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* CXXX, 1-20.

EAST TILBURY R. Pugh: Empire Day as Observed at East Tilbury C. of E. School (1887-1931). *Panorama* 21, 31-35.

W. T. Jones: Note on R.B. Pottery from East Tilbury. *Ibid.* 43.

WEST TILBURY R. Bingley: Notes on Archaeological Features at Condores Pit, West Tilbury. *Panorama* 21, 45-46; The Hall Farmhouse. *Ibid.*, 72-74.

TWINSTEAD A. Wyncoll: The Wyncolls of Twinstead. *Essex Family Historian* 6 (1977), 9-12.

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WALTHAM ABBEY 'Gromaticus': Well Done, Waltham (Rescue/Current Archaeology Independent Archaeology Competition) *London Archaeol.* 3.3, front cover and 58; *Waltham Abbey Hist. Soc. N.L.* Aug. 1977; J. Camp in *Waltham Abbey Hist. Soc. N.L.* Nov. 1977 2-3.

The Waltham Abbey Bible. *Essex J.* 12.4, 99-100.

A. Havercroft: Chapter House Excavation. *Waltham Abbey Hist. Soc. N.L.* Aug. 1977.

S.E. transept of Abbey Church. *London Archaeol.* 3.2, 39; *Medieval Archaeol.* 21, 207, 223; *Essex J.* 12.2, 48; *ibid.*, 12.4, 98; Church Street Site. *Ibid.*, 97; *Medieval Archaeol.* 21, 243; *London Archaeol.* 3.2, 39; Black Cottage, Ames Green. *Essex J.* 12.4, 97.

Roman Site at Sewardstone Nursery. *London Archaeol.* 3.2, 39; *Essex J.* 12.4, 96; Sun Street Site. *Waltham Abbey Hist. Soc. N.L.* Aug. 1-2; *Essex J.* 12.4, 97-98; Warlies. *Waltham Abbey Hist. Soc. N.L.* Nov. 1977, 4; *Essex J.* 12.4, 97.

WALTHAMSTOW M. E. Batsford: *Non-conformity in Walthamstow* Part I. Walthamstow Antiquarian Society Monographs (new Series) No. 19.

C. C. Pond: *George Monoux's School, Walthamstow* 1527-1977. Series as last, No. 20.

Wood Street, Part I to 1820. *Vestiges* No. 122 Sep.-Oct. 1977; Part II *Ibid.* No. 123 Nov.-Dec. 1977.

WIDFORD Post-medieval Site. *Essex J.* 12.4, 98.

WITHAM W. Rodwell: Iron Pokers of La Tene II-III (Based on a find of three at Witham 1844). *Archaeol. J.* 133 (1976), 43-49.

WIX P. M. Barford: Unlocated — 1974 (Roman pottery found during construction of the A604 Wix bypass). *Colchester Archaeol. Group Ann. Bull.* 20, 13-14.

S. Cooper: The Versatile Thomas Ashby of Stones Green (wireless pioneer). *Highlight* 28, 10.

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Genealogy: a Conspectus

by Jo-Ann BUCK

Ancestry-tracing is now one of the most popular studies, exploring the wider aspects of family history as well as the science of genealogy. In the past, many doubtful pedigrees were produced, but properly to prove ancestry it is necessary to search many of the sources used by other local historians and one therefore gets a broad idea of the period and place occupied by a particular family.

The Society of Genealogists was begun in 1911 by a group of professionals and amateurs, its objects being to promote and encourage the study of genealogy and allied subjects. Present membership is approximately 4,500, of which about a thousand live overseas. Its library has specialised books and manuscript and typescript collections and indices, and its work on further volumes of the *National Index of Parish Registers* is progressing slowly but certainly.

A notable happening in the past few years has been the formation of regional family history societies, now over a hundred; such is the Essex Society for Family History, started in 1974 mainly by the enthusiasm of John Rayment, its present chairman; Sir William Addison is president. Membership of the society, which is affiliated to the Essex Archaeological and Historical Congress, grows apace.

To weld together the activities of local societies, the Federation of Family History Societies was formed, also in 1974; in addition to a twice-yearly conference and study-day, it publishes a six-monthly *Newsletter* and *Digest*, indispensable to the family or local historian. It also has a representative (from the Essex Society) on the national Record Users' Group. Activities of member-societies include transcribing and indexing parish registers, publishing source-reference material and recording monumental inscriptions; for this latter a five-year project was recently launched, Essex being especially active with its chairman being a member of the Registers and Records Committee of the Society of Genealogists; two recent manuals are available for intending recorders, in addition to that published by the C.B.A. From this federation came the organising committee of the XIII International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences held in London in 1976: three of the speakers were from Essex.

With the upsurge of interest during the last two or three decades, many people started doing paid genealogical work and, becoming disturbed at the quality of some searching, a group of responsible professionals formed the Association of Genealogists and Record Agents in 1968 in order to promote proper standards of ethics and research, entry being under strict conditions. The president is Dr. F. G. Emmison, a past-president of the Essex Archaeological Society.

Part-time classes are held all over the country and the University of London's Extra-Mural Department grants a Certificate in Genealogy to those who have passed their appropriate examination.

Because of their belief in baptism after death, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (better known as the Mormons) maintains a genealogical library at some of its main centres which may be used by the public: microfiches of various copy-records and indices held in its granite-mountain fastness in Utah can thus be consulted.

In spite of many records having been lost in the past, vast resources and aids are at the disposal of the informed seeker. Books (good and bad!) abound: leaflets and specialised maps proliferate. Whither now? Genealogy is no longer the dirty word it once was in some quarters, now that it is realised that the study of even one family in its contemporary setting can make a worthwhile contribution to the work of other disciplines such as genetics, demography, social history — even mediaeval archaeology. In the autumn of 1978 an English Genealogical Congress was held at Cambridge, the theme being 'The Theory and Practice of Genealogy, and the Contribution which

Genealogists can make to Historical Studies'. Original lectures were given by nationally known historians, whose subject-matter was wider than might have been thought.

The family historian has never 'had it so good' and if, by becoming an active member of a local group or by depositing the result of individual searches in an established repository, he or she will put something in as well as taking something out, so much the better all round.

Current Research on Essex History and Historical Geography

by Nancy BRIGGS

This list is based partly on *Historical Research for University Degrees in the United Kingdom, List No. 38 Part II Theses in Progress 1977* (Institute of Historical Research, May 1977). Other information, mainly relating to research for American degrees, has been taken from research cards filed at the Essex Record Office. Entries previously listed in *Essex Archaeological News*, Autumn 1976, are marked with an asterisk.

Mediaeval

- *The evolution of the settlement pattern of Barking from Roman times to the mid nineteenth century with special reference to the clearance of woodland. H. H. Lockwood (London Ph.D.).
- *The Forest of Essex. W. H. Liddell (Reading Ph.D.).
- *The Mandeville family and its estates. Anne R. Charlton (Reading Ph.D.).
- *Hundred and manor: local government and the manorial structure of Domesday Essex. P. B. Boyden (Wales M.A.).
- *The charters of Wix Priory, c. 1120-c. 1300. Jennifer D. Thorp (London M.Phil.).
- Social and economic life in Essex villages, 1377-1420. Elspeth M. Moodie (Edinburgh Ph.D.).
- Debt litigation: Writtle, 1380-1500. Elaine G. Clark (Michigan Ph.D.).

Early Modern

- Popular disorder in England, c. 1595-c. 1660. J. D. Walter (Cambridge Ph.D.).
- An edition of the Barrington family letters, 1603-32. A. Searle (Leeds M.Phil.).
- The interest of Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, in the County of Essex and in colonization, 1619-1658. C. Thompson (London Ph.D.).
- *Crime in the County of Essex, 1620-80: a study of offences and offenders at the assizes and quarter sessions. J. A. Sharpe (Oxford D.Phil.).
- Attitudes to Quakerism, 1652-64. B. G. Reay (Oxford B.Litt.).
- Persecution of Quakers in England, 1660-1714. W. W. Spurrier (North Carolina Ph.D.).
- Maldon, 1688-1835. J. R. Smith (Leicester M.A.).
- Early Stuart Colchester, 1603-1660. J. R. Davis (Brandeis Ph.D.).
- Expenditure on the home environment in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rachel P. Cooper (Cambridge Ph.D.).
- William Gilbert of Colchester (1544-1603). Lois Abromitis (Providence Ph.D.).
- The role of East Anglian Women in the seventeenth century. Shelia Cooper (Indiana Ph.D.).
- Puritanism and Education in Elizabethan Essex. Patricia M. Marvell (London M.A.Ed.).
- Regional variations in disease and mortality in pre-industrial England. Mary Schove (Oxford D.Phil.).
- Historical Demography in Tendring Hundred. Rosalin Barker (S.S.R.C. Project).
- Law and order in West Ham, 1641-1660. H. J. Moreton (London M.A.).
- Demography of seventeenth-century outer London. Beatrice Shearer (London Ph.D.).
- Gabriel Harvey of Saffron Walden (c. 1550-1631). W. Colman (Ghent Ph.D.).
- Crime and the gentry, 1540-1640. Cynthia B. Herrup (North-Western University, Illinois, Ph.D.).

Modern

- River Lea Navigation, 1700-1850. H. E. Jones (Oxford B.Litt.).
- Internal population migration and mobility in Eastern England in the eighteenth century. G. C. Pond (Cambridge Ph.D.).
- *Charities and the relief of poverty in the Romford Union. J. E. Burditt (London D.Phil.).
- The economic, social and sanitary development of Barking, with special reference to the period 1841-51. Alison M. Taylor (London M.Phil.).

- The fishermen in nineteenth- and twentieth-century East Anglia. T. Lunmis (Essex Ph.D.).
 The Essex turnpike trusts. J. M. L. Booker (Durham M.Litt.).
 Economic change and the sexual division of labour in nineteenth-century English agriculture. Eve Hostettler (Essex Ph.D.).
 Farming in Essex, 1850-1914. S. J. Pam (London M.Phil.).
 The late-nineteenth-century depression in Essex. K. W. Smith (London Ph.D.).
 The historical geography of landownership and agricultural change in Essex, 1750-1900. J. G. Kingsbury (Cambridge Ph.D.).
 Migration of farm labourers in the late nineteenth century. Alison Britton (Essex Ph.D.).
 Women as casual workers, 1830-1930. Shelley Pennington (Essex Ph.D.).
 Women in the family economy at Halstead, 1840-80. Judy Lown (Essex Ph.D.).
 Nineteenth-century country elections. N. P. Siesage (Oxford D.Phil.).
 English County Prison Administration. Margaret Eisenstein (Princeton Ph.D.).
 Farm size and agricultural production in nineteenth-century Essex. D. E. Barnard (London M.Sc.).
 Social life and leisure in Colchester 1919-1939. K. Withall (Essex M.A.).
 John Castle of Coggeshall and Colchester (1819-1888). D. A. Baker (London Ph.D.).
 Historical geography of Dunmow Hundred. Anne Blazer (London M.Phil.).

Miscellaneous

- Geomorphology of Essex salt marshes. R. J. Butler (London Ph.D.).
 Forest management in Epping Forest (Monkwood). Judy M. Fox (London Ph.D.).

Industrial Archaeology

by John BOOKER

The survey made for the County Council in 1970-2, and which was the basis of the Essex Record Office publication of 1974 (John Booker, *Essex and the Industrial Revolution*) is currently being revised and extended by Mr. Booker as the Essex section of the national gazetteer of industrial monuments being published by Messrs. Batsford. Essex will be included in the East Anglian volume. Some 250 sites will be mentioned, in the present administrative county of Essex, and the entries will be prefaced by a summary of the historical importance of the county in the context of national industrial development.

Particular regional surveys continue to be done each year, especially by groups working under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association. One such group, now meeting at Writtle under the direction of Dr. Denis Smith, is studying the Chelmsford district in detail, working from what remains now *in situ* but assessing their findings in the light of broader historical evidence, including the use of documentary sources.

Museum Activities

by D. L. JONES

Chelmsford and Essex Museum

Recataloguing of the Museum's large and varied costume collection has allowed the redisplay of the costume room. Redisplay of the Prehistoric and British Mammal Collections is continuing. A

new guide to the Museum was published in May. Among new acquisitions are two gold bracelets of 900–600 B.C. from Tanfield Tye, West Hanningfield; a portrait by John Lucas of Lord Chief Justice N. Tindal who was born in Chelmsford and a miniature of Ensign Samuel Reed of the 56th Regiment, dated 1801.

Colchester and Essex Museum

Major accessions:

Inscribed bronze plaque Roman, from St. Helena's School.

It reads 'P ORANIVS / FACILIS IOVI / SIGILLVM EX TESTA' and gives a possible dedication for Temple II. 18.1977.

Drawing of decoy site, East Mersea, 1939–45, intended to attract enemy bombers. 29.1977.

Lustre Ware Jug inscribed 'James Wright, Colchester, Hythe'. 40.1977.

Glass Rummer inscribed 'James Wright, 1852'. 41.1977.

Clockmaker's Tools of R. Scillitoe, Earls Colne. 65.1977.

Colchester Bus Conductor's outfit. 116.1977.

Groat of Henry VI, Calais, 1446, Dedham. 122.1977.

South African and Temperance Medals of Pte. F. Budds, Essex Regiment. 134–135.1977.

Collection of Photographs of Essex by the late Cyril Arapoff. 178.1977.

Anglo-Saxon Brooches, etc., from outside the North-East corner of the Town Walls. 179–182.1977.

Grays Thurrock

Thurrock's second Museum since 1972, the Riverside Museum situated in the old Tilbury Museum is now open daily except Sunday, Monday and Thursday afternoon. It remains open until 8 p.m. on Wednesday and Friday. The new development houses the Borough's exhibition of local Thames history and examines the association between the people of the Purfleet – Tilbury – Fobbing stretch of the Thames and their ancient river. Small archaeological collections from river-bank sites, and displays on Thames military defences, local training ships, barge building, etc., are featured with a number of ship models including pleasure steamers, tankers and the Thames barge.

Harlow

An interesting loan, made by Mr. M. J. McCann of Hatfield Broad Oak, is a nineteenth-century painted cupboard front and table flap taken from a narrow boat on the Grand Union Canal. The painting depicts a landscape comprising a castle by a bridge and river set in a flower border.

Saffron Walden

An exhibition of the agricultural year and a display of farm vehicles has been set up in the stable block at Audley End. The Museum's local buildings gallery, opened in 1977, has been redisplayed, widening its scope to include more local history material relating to the town and its growth. New acquisitions include documentary and advertising material from Holland's flour mill; a collection of pottery including early examples of Mason's Ironstone and Davenport Stone China and a lace pillow and bobbins.

Southend-on-Sea

A major redisplay of the natural history gallery at Prittlewell Priory has been undertaken. The cases contained about 500 specimens of birds and small mammals from the Parsons and Hoy Collection. Three dioramas showing mudflats at Barling, Belfairs Wood and a back garden in Leigh were constructed together with displays on communal insects, night-life, birds of prey, woodpeckers, the otter, the skull structures of birds, fish, animals and leaves and coppicing. Sections on dendrochronology, higher plant growth and fish are planned.

Book Review

Excavations at Pleshey Castle, by Francis Williams. British Archaeological Reports No. 42, 1977, £5.

Pleshey Castle is an earthwork site of the Motte-and-Bailey type. Constructed at some date early in the twelfth century, and substantially altered in the middle of that century, it became the focal point of the Bohun lands in Essex and eventually formed part of the dowries of three queens of England. Although frequented by royalty, the site now gives little or no indication of such former glory.

The excavations reported here were those of a chapel standing at the west side of the bailey. The chapel was demolished and its site covered over by the early sixteenth century: in consequence its later mediaeval internal arrangements were preserved to greater degree than is common elsewhere. The excavations were carried out over four seasons between 1959 and 1963, under the direction of Mr. Philip Rahtz. The results of those excavations have been written up by Mrs. Williams, first as an M.A. thesis and latterly as a British Archaeological Report. Although there have been excavations at Pleshey before and since the campaign under discussion, only brief mention is made of them. We are given, therefore, a chapter in the history of Pleshey rather than the whole 'book'.

The report follows the standard pattern of these Reports in that the reproduction of photographs is appalling, while the reproduction of a typescript limits the variety possible in the way of cross-headings to such an extent as to make it extremely difficult to comprehend the overall plan and layout of the text. There are ten pages of introductory material, description of the methods used, etc., followed by 12 pages of historical outline. The results of the excavation are given in 54 pages of text and 26 pages of tables. One hundred and twenty-four pages are devoted to finds, and there are six pages of 'conclusions'.

Thus we have what is primarily a working tool for the committed archaeologist, with a heavy emphasis on finds. The 'warts and all' approach is honest and refreshing, but it makes for hard reading. No clear picture of the chapel emerges. The reader is instead plunged into a welter of number-coded 'deposits' and 'features'. Good drawings, in the usual sensitive Rahtz style, would perhaps have made things clearer, but none appears. Did Mr. Rahtz produce no drawings of his own on this occasion, or were they all redrawn? If the latter, why?

The excavators found, below the chapel and at the back of the bailey rampart, two circular conjoined foundations of stone and clay of the later twelfth century. These may have carried a military tower, a bell-tower, a dove-cote or a lime-kiln. Over these was erected in the thirteenth century a flimsy timber building: it was not clear whether this was an early chapel or just a shed. In the first half of the fourteenth century a stone chapel, 18.8 m × 7.6 m, was constructed. This was a single cell with angle buttresses. Later in the century, or early in the fifteenth century, north and south annexes were added, apparently timber-framed on footings of stone and brick. These may perhaps have been chantry chapels. Later again there was a lean-to extension at the east end. The chapel was demolished c. 1503 and buried beneath wash from the nearby rampart.

The main body of the report is given over to a catalogue of the finds and to a discussion of them. There were only a few architectural fragments, but these give a better idea of the quality of the building than is given by the remains *in situ*. Mr. Paul Drury discusses the four types of bricks found, relating them to those on other Essex sites. Thirty-two pages are given over to a discussion of the floor-tiles by Mr. Drury. The chapel was first paved in tiles of the 'Central Essex group' early in the fourteenth century. Towards the end of the century it was repaved in 'Mill Green B' tiles. In the middle of the fifteenth century large plain Flemish tiles were introduced. Odd tiles of the 'West Essex', 'Westminster Tiles' and 'Pseudo-Penn' types were probably not used in the chapel itself, but were derived from other buildings nearby. A characteristic contribution by Dr. Gerald

Dunning sets some Pleshey chimney-pots in their British and French contexts, while the pottery is reviewed by Mrs. Williams herself. For the most part her discussion is straightforward and sensible. Somewhat puzzling, however, is the absence of any quantity of high-quality vessels. Mrs. Williams does not comment on this, but notes 'a small amount of pottery was not available for study'. Could it be that someone carried off all the good stuff?

The point is not without significance. Pleshey Castle, while not a strong fortress, was nevertheless comfortable to live in. This much emerges from the written record. The artifactual record is much less forthcoming. Indeed, there is a fairly sharp — and instructive — dichotomy. The finds suggest that the chapel, while superficially a sophisticated building, was structurally much less so.

Whether this information is worth £5, and whether the reader should have to work so hard to get it, is less certain. There is much here that could — and perhaps should — have been consigned to an archive, a process which would have thrown the really salient material into greater relief. British Archaeological Reports are one way of dealing with excavation details. Whether they were the right way in this case is perhaps open to question.

Brian K. Davison

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Richard Britnell, M.A., Ph.D., is a lecturer in Economic History in the University of Durham. He is currently preparing a detailed study of Colchester in the period 1300–1540.

Christine Couchman, B.A., is a member of the County Council's Archaeology Section. She has lived in Essex for most of her life and has contributed several articles to *Essex Archaeology and History*.

Philip Crummy, B.A., is Director of the Colchester Archaeological Trust and has been conducting excavation in Colchester since 1971.

P. J. Drury, A.R.I.C.S., is Director for the Chelmsford Excavation Committee and has published frequently in this journal. He is currently preparing his extensive excavations in Chelmsford and elsewhere for publication.

Dr. Marjorie K. McIntosh, of Boulder, U.S.A., has studied extensively in Britain and published a number of articles on the Cooke family.

M. R. Petchey, M.A., is presently Assistant Senior Archaeologist with Milton Keynes Development Corporation. In 1973 he held one of the first two rescue scholarships during which time he undertook the fieldwork described herein, and that at the mediaeval kiln site at Mile End (published in *Essex Archaeol. & Hist.* VII).

Dr. J. D. Williams is Principal Lecturer in History at the Chelmer Institute of Higher Education and part-time tutor at London University Extra-Mural Department and at the Open University. Author of *Audley End: The Restoration of 1762–1797*, he has contributed to other learned journals and is currently preparing material for publication on estate and household administration under the Lords Braybrooke of Audley End.

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1. Contributions should be sent to the Editor at The Castle, Colchester CO1 1TJ.
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(Hawkes and Hull, 1947, fig. 44 and p. 201).
(Hewett, 1962, 241).

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

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

Hawkes, C. F. C., and Hull, M. R., *Camulodunum*, Society of Antiquaries (1947).

Hewett, C. A., 'The Timber Belfries of Essex', *Archaeol. Journ.*, **cxix** (1962), 225.

Victoria County History, Essex, **iii** (1963).

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

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