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- (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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# TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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# The Cross Shaft at Castle Hedingham

by JOHN H. HOPE

## Summary

The surviving cross shaft at Castle Hedingham is an interesting sculpture, the dating of which has long remained uncertain. It is postulated that the designs are Romanesque, that it belongs to the second quarter of the 12th century, and that it is likely that the decorative style is strongly influenced by the school of Bury St. Edmunds.

## Introduction

Chance has preserved this unique cross, which would otherwise have suffered the same fate as others known to have once stood in Essex towns.<sup>1</sup> Following its overthrow at some unknown date,<sup>2</sup> it was used as a pillar to support a main load-bearing beam in the cellar of the Falcon Inn, Castle Hedingham. In 1921 it was sold to the church for £50 by the owner of the inn, to form a part of the memorial to the fallen of the 1914-18 War. It is a piece of sculpture remarkable for its combination of elegance and crudity, of professional craftsmanship and amateur workmanship, which has not yet received full publication.

## Description

### General

The shaft now stands inside the churchyard of St. Nicholas' Church, close by the south gate, on two platform steps, the upper inscribed with the modern dedication. It still stands on its own plinth, thence rising to a height of 1.83 m. The shaft is not complete, a further portion having been retained by the owner of the Falcon Inn<sup>3</sup> and the final 33 cm. of the standing shaft has been completed with a limestone block. As the original cross-head has never been found<sup>4</sup> the present monument has been surmounted by a wooden wheel-cross.

The shaft and plinth, both of which are of sandstone, display chamfered arrises, those of the shaft studded with bosses, of which 15 survive on the south-west and north-east arrises, and 16 and 17 respectively on the south-east and north-west. All four faces, both of plinth and of shaft, are decorated with carvings, deeply incised on the plinth and on the south face of the shaft, but shallowly cut in relief on the other three sides. The shaft has been described as tapered and of Saxon form,<sup>5</sup> but in fact the tapering is very slight, the difference in perimeter being only 16 cm. in the extant height.

The designs on each face surmount a blank, relief-carved panel (Figs. 1, 3, 4 and 5), and may well have led Baldwin-Brown to comment erroneously that a 'straggling Norman linear pattern' had been overlaid on one face by a more advanced design.<sup>6</sup> There is no overlaying. Moreover, each blank panel is individual, and each echoes the motif surmounting it.

*The plinth (Fig. 2)*

The plinth consists of a solid block of sandstone 38 cm. in height, and square in plan, each face measuring 63 cm. On each face is carved an acanthus motif, identical in each case. From each side of the central trefoil extends a tendril with vestiges of a splayed, foliate end, the right-hand tendril above and outside the conventionalised, spade-shaped frame of the motif, the left-hand tendril below it. Within the frame, and on either side of the top leaf of the trefoil, is a raised boss, and there is some evidence that both lower leaves of the trefoil were also beaded. The design on the southern face of the plinth is very well preserved; on the other faces it is badly weathered. There are also traces of three bosses on each of the arrises of the plinth.

*The shaft—south face (Fig. 1)*

This face is incised with a design basically identical to that of the plinth. Seven units survive,<sup>7</sup> each more compact, less squat and more elongated than the plinth examples, to conform with the general idiom of a shaft design. The main outlines of each frame and tendril are double-carved; no attempt has been made to bead the lower leaves of the trefoil in this reduced dimension, and the two bosses have been transferred from the inside of each unit to align the tip of each spade-shaped frame. Moreover, the sculptor has achieved an interesting variation by allowing each projecting tendril to pass on either side alternately above and below the side of the frame.<sup>8</sup> Each unit is 25 cm. in height, apart from Nos. 1 and 3,<sup>9</sup> which are slightly flattened at only 22 cm.

*The shaft—north face (Fig. 3)*

Five units of design survive complete above the base panel. There is clear evidence of two different sculptors at work, both in the forms of the motifs and in their execution. Though all the units on this face lack the expertise of the south face, the first three show some regularity and compactness; Nos. 4 and 5 are irregular in form and tend to straggle. Nos. 1, 2 and 3 consist of a quatrefoil petal motif set within a lozenge frame, which extends upwards into a crudely debased tendril curve. Nos. 1 and 2 are 30 cm. in height; No. 3 measures 28 cm. Units 4 and 5 bear every sign of cruder workmanship, and there can be little doubt that a different sculptor was employed in their execution. The design changes; a crudely drawn trefoil figure replaces the quatrefoil; the lozenges lose their symmetry and become very uneven; the tendrils become mere blobs, and it would appear that the sculptor forgot to extend the right-hand lines of Unit No. 4 into the tendril curve, being therefore obliged to add it as an afterthought! Moreover, whereas Units 1, 2 and 3 form self-contained entities, the incised lines commencing at the top of the lozenge frame,<sup>10</sup> and concluding at the junction point between the tendril curves, the lines of Units 4 and 5 are conjoined, and run into the lines of the vestigial Unit 6 at the top of this face.

*The shaft—west face (Fig. 4)*

This face contains four surviving units, No. 1 crudely cut and pierced by a prolongation of the wedge-shaped base motif; Nos. 2, 3 and 4 more or less regular, but with a marked tendency towards elongation, betraying possibly a native Saxon influence, and a lack of skill in the execution. Unit No. 1 is 35 cm. in height, No. 2, 46 cm., No. 3, 43 cm., and No. 4, which is extant only to the bottom of the crest, 31 cm. Unit No. 1 is quite individual, with a pointed trefoil motif surmounting an irregular spade-shaped foliate design, incised in double lines. Units 2, 3 and 4, each surmounted by a trefoil motif consisting of an upper pointed blade and debased side tendril curls, are contained within an incised lozenge border, which has so far yielded to the elongating tendency noted above as to have developed in two instances into an ovoid shape. The trefoil crest surmounting each frame is echoed by a similar motif in the top half of the panel within, and divided from a shield-shaped motif below by two tendril curls projecting inwards from the edge of the frame.

# Castle Hedingham Cross

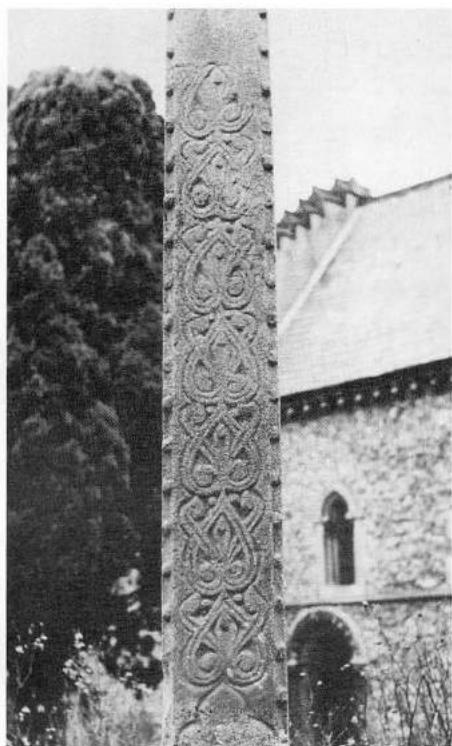


Fig. 1—south face.



Fig. 2—the plinth.

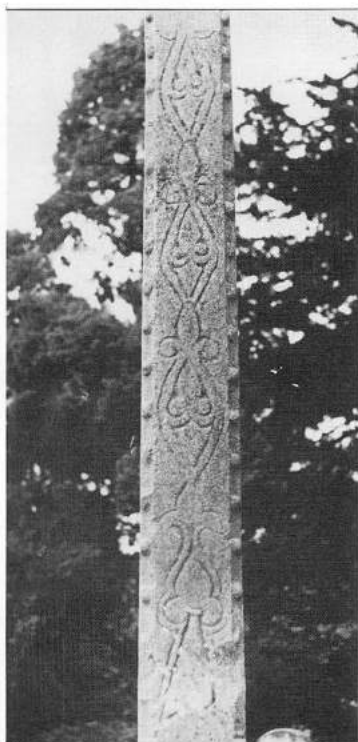


Fig. 3—north face.

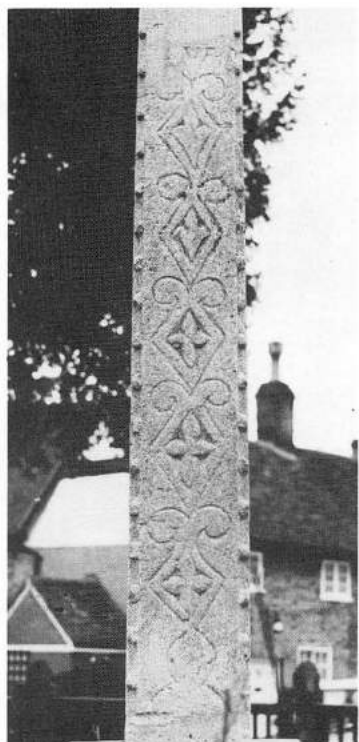


Fig. 4—west face.

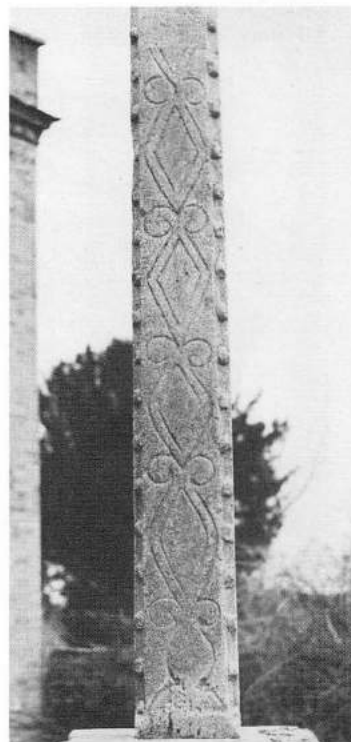


Fig. 5—east face.



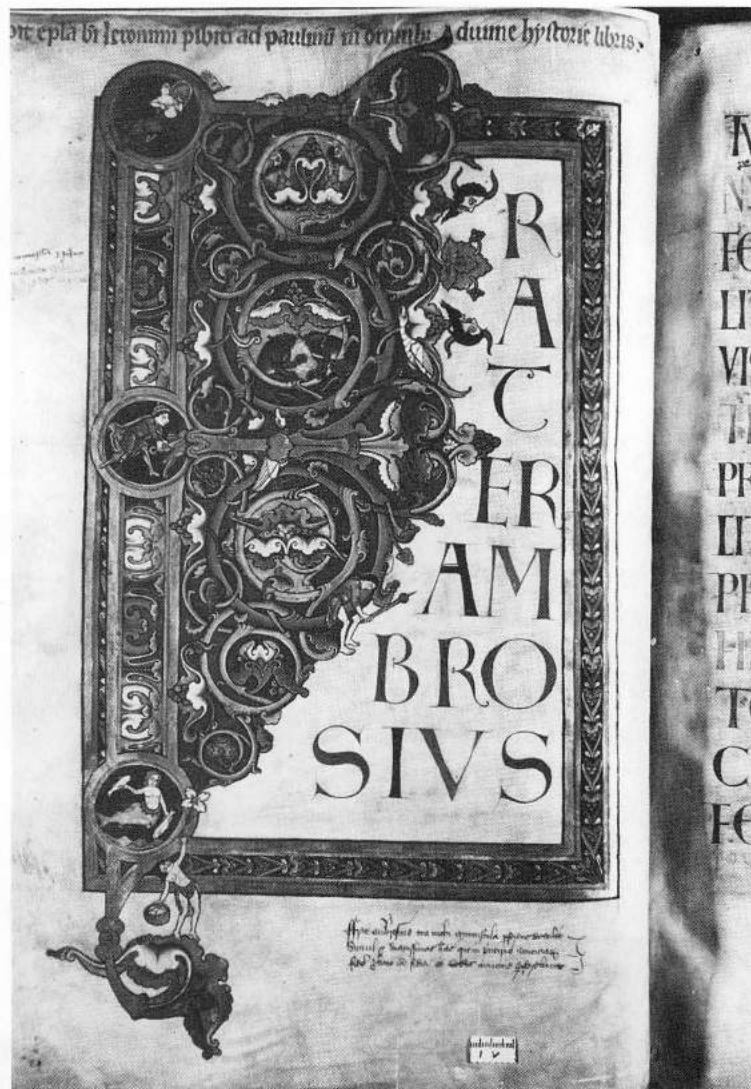


Fig. 7 Illuminated capital from the Bury Bible, Frater Ambrosius page.



Fig. 6 The Bury Bible, f. 342v.



*The shaft—east face (Fig. 5)*

This is the most irregular of the four faces, and, in view of the more or less sophisticated attempts at design on the other three, conveys the impression of being unfinished. Five complete units of design survive, together with the bottom of the sixth below the modern limestone top. The design of all is simple in the extreme, comprising a double-edged empty lozenge surmounted by a very debased tendril curl. No. 1 is a combination of the usual motif with the base figure, as on the north face, but this time surmounted with the tendril curves. The height of each of the other units is irregular, ranging from 28 cm. to 35 cm., only two units being of the same measurement. Moreover, the lozenges of Nos. 2 and 3 have lost their sharp angles and have become ovoid, with No. 2 elongated and straggling. Nos. 4 and 5 have preserved the sharp angles of the lozenge, but whereas No. 5 is regular and definite in execution, the right-hand angle of No. 4 is slightly higher than the left.

**Discussion**

It is what Lindsay calls the 'palmette' design on the south face that is the most impressive, encountered widely both in England and abroad. The fonts at Aylesbury Church, Bucks., Southrop Church, Glos., and Dorchester Abbey, Oxon., bear related designs. The frieze at the head of the lead font at Frampton-on-Severn, Glos., is even closer to the Hedingham cross-shaft flower.<sup>11</sup> Related to the same family are the foliage scrolls round the Prior's Door at Ely, and the third and fourth orders above the tympanum of the West Door of Rochester Cathedral, dating from the 1137 reconstruction. The sixth of the eight mouldings round the south porch of Malmesbury, Wilts., also has acanthus affinities, and is attributed to 1160–70.<sup>12</sup> More naturalistic than the Hedingham flowers is the border of the Stepney stone slab, which Gardner compares to the acanthus borders of the Saxon ivory Deposition in the Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>13</sup> and which he claims is 'an attempt to translate into stone the acanthus borders of the Winchester MSS.'

The widespread influence of the Cluniac movement and experimentation with the acanthus motif has been noted by Miss Saunders,<sup>14</sup> who also acknowledges the debt owed by the Benedictine order to the Cluniac revival.<sup>15</sup> In this context she relates some aspect of the Lansdowne 383 Shaftesbury Psalter, from the scriptorium of a Benedictine house, to the Life of St. Edmund, a product of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>16</sup>

The lozenge motif is even more widely attested, as on the Peterborough Ceiling, which Strickland dates to the last quarter of the 12th century,<sup>17</sup> and where the lozenges each terminate in the curled tendril spray observed at Hedingham. Closer both in style and time to the first three units of the north face of the Hedingham Cross is the St. John the Evangelist page from the Avesnes Leaves of the Gospel of Liessis. Firmly dated at 1146,<sup>18</sup> the manuscript portrays rows of conjoined lozenges, each containing, as at Hedingham, a quatrefoil petal design. Dodwell, though establishing that the Gospel Book was written on the Continent, indicates that the illuminator must have worked both in England and on the Continent, and ascribes both the Avesnes Leaves and the Great Lambeth Bible to a secular artist owing his style directly to Master Hugo of Bury St. Edmunds.

The elements of Master Hugo's style have been discussed by Dr. Elizabeth Parker,<sup>19</sup> and there is every likelihood that from Bury evolved a style of illumination that strongly influenced, among others, the illuminators of the Pembroke Gospels, the Great Lambeth Bible and the Avesnes Leaves.<sup>20</sup> C. M. Kauffmann goes further. Having convincingly argued a date c. 1135 for the illumination of the Bury Bible,<sup>21</sup> he proceeds to a discussion of Hugo's style, showing Mosan and Cluniac influences,<sup>22</sup> and finally assessing Hugo's work as 'an original English contribution to the repertoire of Romanesque abstractions of Byzantine form'.<sup>23</sup> Characteristics of Hugo's style, as apparent in the Bury Bible capitals and border designs, are seed-pods and leaf edges with serrating and trefoil terminations.

The upward-reaching tendrils on the plinth and on the south face of the cross (Figs. 1 and 2) end in a thickening which is surely the trefoil terminals clearly evident in the tendril endings of

f. 342v (Fig. 6). On those of the plinth, despite erosion, there can be no doubt. Likewise, the idea of seed-pods may well be rendered by the central blade of the flower with twin aligning beads (Fig. 2). Admittedly, nowhere on the cross designs is there serrating of the leaf edges, but neither is serrating present in the Bury Gospels when tendrils and not leaves are represented, as in f. 1v (Fig. 7). One detail of the Bury Bible that bears a surprising correspondence is the beading of the lower leaves of the flower off. 334, exactly rendered on the plinth of the Heddingham Cross (Fig. 2).<sup>24</sup>

There can be no doubt that very close parallels exist between the designs on the plinth and the south face of the Heddingham Cross and the prime decorative elements of the Bury Bible. The other faces are less accomplished; indeed, at least one other hand is evident in their execution. But the south face belongs to the same influences reflected in the Bury Bible, the Lambeth Bible, and the Avesnes Leaves. Likewise, there can be no doubt that the dating of the cross must roughly coincide with that of the Bury Bible, namely, c. 1135.

### Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to Miss K. Galbraith of the Department of Art History, Birkbeck College, London, to Dr. D. M. Wilson, Director of the British Museum, and to Professor V. I. Evison, Professor of Archaeology, Birkbeck College, London, all of whom have read and criticised this paper. I am also grateful to Mr. J. Lindsay of Castle Heddingham for his advice on local matters, to the Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Nicholas' Church, Castle Heddingham, to Brian Simpson of the Bramston Archaeological Field Unit and to P.S.D.S., Witham, for their assistance with photography. I am indebted to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for permission to reproduce the photographs of the Bury Bible, which are also reproduced by courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art. I would also like to express my appreciation to the staffs of the Senate House and Birkbeck College Libraries, University of London, and to the Essex County Library Service, Chelmsford, for their help in my researches for this paper.

### NOTES

1. E.g. at Saffron Walden (Lindsay, 1958, and *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, xxi, 327, 373), and at Witham. For the latter, see E.R.O. D/DOT/748 and D/DU/570. Information from T. Henderson of Witham.
2. Discussed in Lindsay, 1958, pp. 81-3.
3. Mr. Kendall, owner of the Falcon Inn, kindly allowed me to examine this fragment.
4. A cross-head, much fragmented, was found by the author inside Castle Heddingham Church. This was drawn by Clive Richardson of the Bramston Archaeological Field Unit, and appeared in *Essex Archaeological News*, Spring 1977. It is not the head of the cross shaft. The material is clunch, and the form and design would indicate a date within the Gothic period. (I am grateful to Mrs. E. Sellers of the Essex Archaeological Society for her identification of the stone type.)
5. As in the guide book *St. Nicholas' Church, Castle Heddingham*. Halcyon Print, Ipswich, p. 2.
6. Baldwin-Brown, 1937, pp. 142-5.
7. Discounting the fragment in Note 3 above.
8. This device is by no means unique. The same technique is adopted by the sculptor of the Malmesbury Arch in the sixth order of mouldings. Gardner, 1951, pp. 72-3 and figs. 123 and 124.
9. The units of each face are enumerated from the base figure upwards.
10. With the exception of Unit 1, the lines of which conjoin with those of the base figure.
11. Bond, 1908, notes five other Gloucestershire fonts of the same mould.
12. Gardner, 1951, p. 72.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
14. Saunders, 1932, p. 47.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.
16. Parker, 1969, p. 264.
17. W. Strickland, *Lithographic Drawings of the Ancient Painted Ceiling of the Nave of Peterborough*. Peterborough, 1849.
18. Dodwell, 1957, p. 17.

19. Parker, 1971, p. 239.
20. Dodwell, 1957, pp. 8-11 and 18-19.
21. Kauffmann, *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, pp. 65-6.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 76, and E. B. Garrison, *Studies*, iii, 1958, pp. 200 ff. Though Kauffmann doubts Garrison's implication that this influence is necessarily Cluniac, it seems certain that the influence of Cluny was very strong at Bury in the 12th century. For the influence of Mosan on Hugo's style see Zarnecki, 1957, pp. 6 ff. This possibility assumes even stronger significance in the light of the fact that Beckwith sees the influence of Mosan in the initial letter of Habbakuk's Prophecy in f. 307r of the Lambeth Bible (Beckwith, 1964, pp. 192-4), and that Dodwell feels that the Lambeth artist may have been one of Hugo's disciples (Dodwell, 1957, p. 19).
23. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
24. Also on one leaf of the uppermost inverted flower of the O capital of f. 342v, Fig. 6.

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### Biographical

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# Excavations at St. Michael's Church, Latchingdon, 1976

by C. R. COUCHMAN

## Introduction

St. Michael's old church, Latchingdon, N.G.R. TQ 888 987 (Plate I) was declared redundant in February 1972, and after a public enquiry, was sold for conversion to a private house. Conversion works involved ground disturbance both inside and outside the building. In March–April 1976, in accordance with Essex County Council's policy on redundant churches (*Redundant Churches in Essex*, 1976, 9–10, 32–3), the writer undertook excavation of the areas to be disturbed, and recording of the fabric, for the County Council, with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment. Subsequent builders' works have also been monitored.

## The Church

In its present unicellular form the church measures 13.9 m. by 7.5 m. externally, with a timber bell-frame support housed within the west end, and a south porch (Fig. 1). Superficially the structure appears to originate in the 14th century (*R.C.H.M.*, 1923, 81). The south wall and porch are mainly of Kentish rag and contain 14th-century features. The north wall was largely rebuilt in 1618; the outer face of the west wall is late 18th century and the east wall is 19th century. The building has always suffered from subsidence, and is supported by eight buttresses of varying dates.

The chancel was demolished c. 1850 when the present parish church was built in the village centre. Local tradition also tells of a tower, which fell at an unknown date.

## Topography and Geology

The Dengie peninsula is bounded by the Rivers Blackwater and Crouch to the north and south respectively, and the central and western part is occupied by a steep ridge running from Cold Norton at its western end, and turning north-east at its eastern end to St. Lawrence. This ridge is much broken by small saddles and stream valleys. St. Michael's Church stands on top of the ridge above one of the stream valleys, with the ground falling away to the north, south and west (Fig. 2). The Ordnance datum point on the west end of the church is 169.2 ft. (51.6 m.). The natural subsoil here, as over much of the Dengie, is London Clay. The church foundations stand directly upon the clay; hence the instability of the building.

## Manorial Background (Fig. 2; see Appendix, p. 31)

Four Latchingdon manors are described in Domesday: Lachenduna, a manor of two hides held by the Holy Trinity of Canterbury (Essex, 1903, 437a); Lachentuna, a manor of three and a half hides and twenty acres held by Hugh de Montfort (*ibid.*, 497b); Lacenduna, of five hides and fifteen

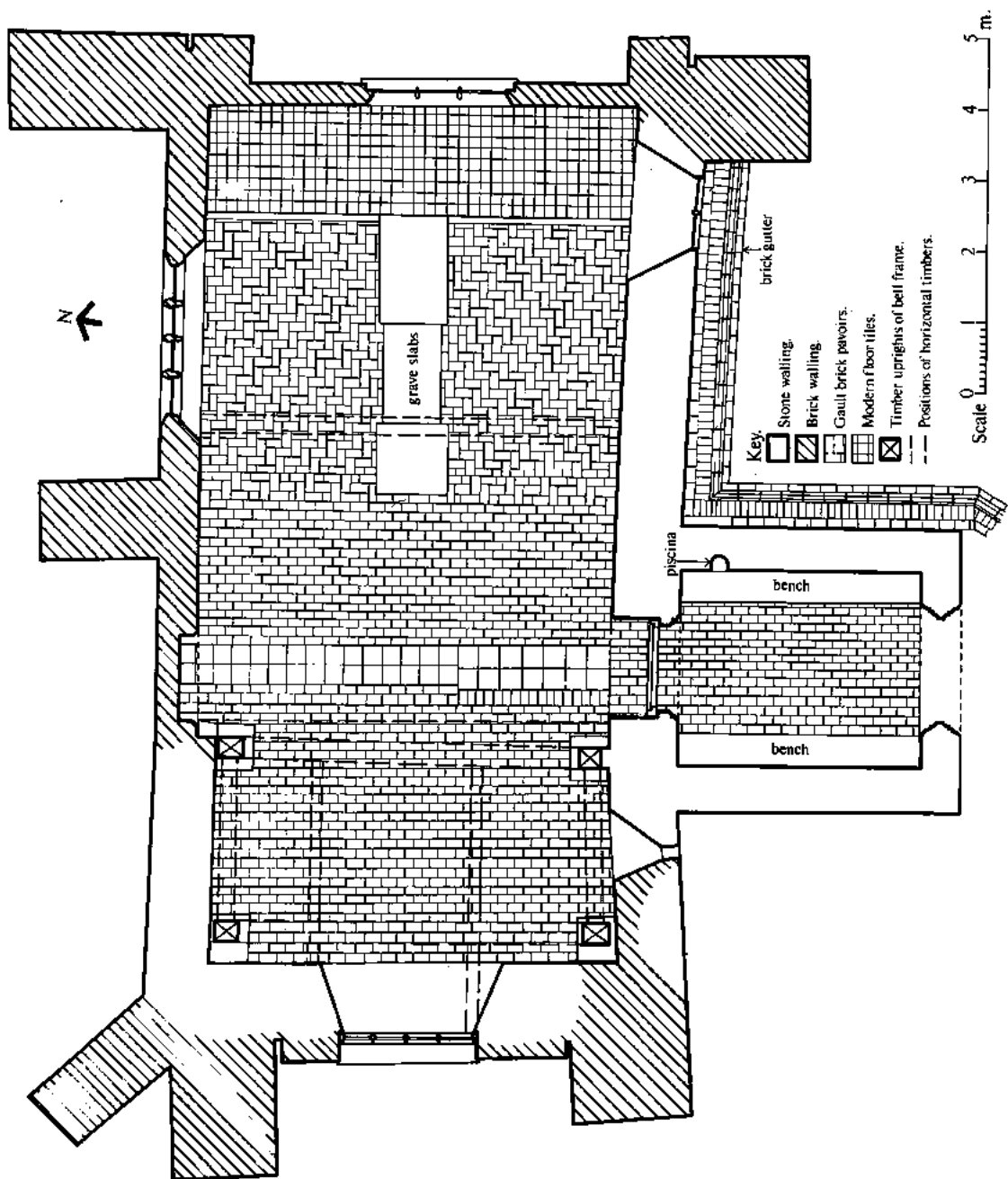


Fig. 1. St. Michael's Church, Latchingdon: ground plan (M. C. Wadhams).

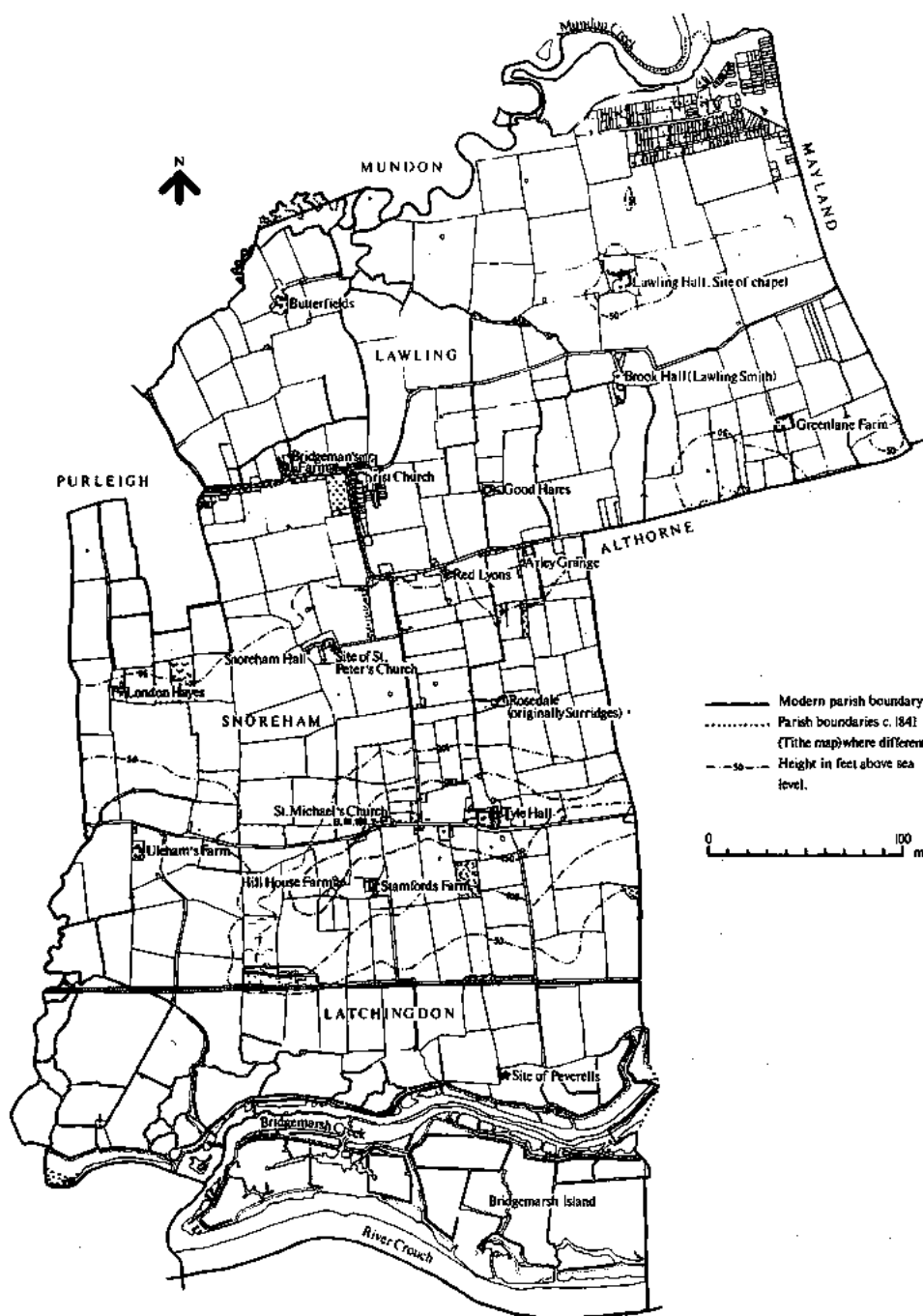


Fig. 2 Latchingdon, Lawling and Snoreham (author).

acres, held by Ulveva the wife of Phin (*ibid.*, 565a); and Uleham, held of the Bishop of London as a manor of two hides and twenty acres (*ibid.*, 442a; Round puts this manor in Lawling, but there is still a farm called Ulehams in Latchingdon, and in any case there seems to have been some confusion over the parochial attribution of the manors). In addition, two parcels of land held by free-men in the time of Edward the Confessor, totalling a hide (*ibid.*, 430a, 437a), described as 'in Latchingdon', had come to the King by 1086. Morant (1768, 353) and Round (Essex, 1903, 565, note 6) describe this as the King's manor, but Domesday calls it *terra*, not *manerium*, and there seems no warrant for ascribing manorial status to it. It was presumably absorbed into the manors which came to the Crown in succeeding centuries. Lastly, Count Eustace of Boulogne held one hide in Uleham (*ibid.*, 465b). No attempt is made here to identify these small parcels of land; they do not affect the general argument.

The manor of Snoreham (or Little Latchingdon) is not mentioned in Domesday. By 1246, when it is first known, it is a separate parish (Feet of Fines, File 48, No. 831). From its position, almost completely surrounded by Latchingdon and Lawling, it was clearly carved out of one or the other, either before or after the Conquest. In 1311 it was held by the de Greys of Wilton of the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury (i.e. Holy Trinity). Nichols (1930, ch. II, part III) suggests that the powerful de Greys built St. Peter's Church, and created the parish, in the early 14th century. However, this appears to be a guess based on the fact that the earliest rector recorded by Newcourt (1710, 533) died in 1326 and the de Greys appointed his successor. The church existed already in 1246-7 (see ref. above). Snoreham is too large to be the manor of Holy Trinity in Latchingdon of Domesday, and its absence from the Survey either as manor or parish seems best explained as a simple omission (Essex, 1903, 391).

In Lawling there were four manors at Domesday. Holy Trinity, Canterbury, held a large manor of fourteen hides (*ibid.*, 437a), purported to have been given by Brihtnoth on the eve of the Battle of Maldon in 991 (for sources and discussion see Nichols, 1930, 14-15). There was a manor of Eudo Dapifer of three and a half hides (Essex, 493a); a manor of two and a half hides and thirty-five acres held by Ranulf Peverel (*ibid.*, 530a); and a manor of four and a half hides held of Robert son of Corbutio (*ibid.*, 546b). In addition, the monks of Canterbury had encroached on a hide of land belonging to the King (*ibid.*, 573b). All the Lawling manors except that of Holy Trinity are ascribed by Round to Latchingdon, presumably because of Lawling's lack of separate parochial status. This introduces the question of how firm the parochial attribution of Domesday was, which complicates the issue of identifying the manors.

It is not certain on which manor St. Michael's Church stood. It was a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Newcourt, 1710, 253), so superficially it would be reasonable to assume that it was situated on Holy Trinity land. The adjacent manor of Snoreham was held by Holy Trinity, but it cannot belong to Snoreham, since this had its own church and was in the Diocese of London (*ibid.*, 533). Gervase of Canterbury (*Actus Pontificum Cantuariensis Ecclesiae*, translated by Stevenson, 1858, 312) states that Archbishop Lanfranc (1070-89) erected churches and suitable manor houses on all the manors belonging to the archbishopric. The Holy Trinity manor of Lawling Hall was seven times the size of their Latchingdon manor, and was a court-leet; yet Holman (1719, 'Latchingdon cum capella de Lawling', 23), followed by Morant (1768, 356), refers to it as having only a chapel of ease, ruined by 1650 (Smith, c. 1931, 264), erected because the existing church at Latchingdon had been too distant to serve the hamlet of Lawling. In his discussion of the Extents of John le Doo, 1305-10, Nichols speaks of Latchingdon as a sub-manor of Lawling (Nichols, ch. V, section 5, table A, note 2, and refers Cant. MS. Reg. B f. 107v), and it seems probable that Holman and Morant are arguing backwards from the observed *status quo* of the 18th century. No archaeological work has been done on the Lawling site. However, it may be postulated that as the superior of two adjacent manors Lawling is the obvious site for a church of Lanfranc's founding. Whether the Latchingdon sub-manor also had one at this date, or indeed earlier, would require archaeological proof; and it is the writer's contention that this was not so (see pp. 11 and 27).



Of the four manors of Latchingdon, Uleham survives as Uleham's Farm, not adjacent to the church and in any case belonging to the Bishop of London. Tyle Hall is identified by Round as the manor of Hugh de Montfort (Essex, 1903, 497, note 7). Stamfords seems to be successor to the manor of Peverells, held by Ranulf Peverel. Domesday puts Peverells in Lawling; but a Tyle Hall estate map of 1755 (Plate II; in possession of Captain Crewdson) confirms the evidence of a presentment for homage of 1595 (E.R.O. D/DHt T516) and a will of the same year (E.R.O. D/DXb 8) that Stamfords, Peverells and another piece of ground called 'Walleys', were adjacent, Peverells then being 'occupied with Tyled Hall'. In 1755 there was a moated house on Peverells, where within living memory there was still a barn and fruit trees, presumably the original estate focus which before 1595 had transferred to Stamfords. The name 'Stamfords' dates from at least 1332 (Reaney, 1935, 217).

For the remaining two Domesday manors of Latchingdon there are three candidates: London Hayes, Hill House Farm and Surridges (i.e. old Surridges, now Rosedale). London Hayes is not shown on Chapman and André's map of 1777, and there are no ancient references to it. Hill House Farm is on Chapman and André; it was 'Hyllhouse *alias* Hellhouse' in 1557 (Feet of Fines, P.R.O.). Surridges is not on Chapman and André; however, it is mentioned as Syriches in the 1595 presentment for homage quoted above, and both the Tithe map of c. 1841 (E.R.O. D/CT 207/1) and early editions of Ordnance Survey maps show what appears to be the remains of a moat. It is suggested that the manor of Ulveva, with 245 sheep in 1086, was Hill House Farm, as this includes an area of marsh; and possibly the land of London Hayes also, since Ulveva's manor was quite large. This would leave the lands of Holy Trinity, of only two hides with pasture for only thirty sheep (though it supported sixty sheep!) as Surridges, an inland estate.

This is admittedly very tentative. The purpose is to seek clues as to which manor provided the land for St. Michael's Church. The church land, and the fields to the north and west of it ('Latchingdon Parsonage' on a map of 1717, E.R.O. D/DRa P3), could have belonged to Surridges; however, it was separated from this manor by Tyle Hall land. The adjacent manors are Stamfords and Tyle Hall. By 1484 Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, held Stamfords of the Bishop of London (Holman, 1719, Latchingdon 'Stamfords'). It is not known at what date the Bishop of London acquired Stamfords; but once he had, it is unlikely that part of it could become the site of a peculiar of Canterbury. After the rebellion of Simon de Montfort in 1263-5 the de Montfort lands, including Tyle Hall, were confiscated by Henry III. Perhaps Simon built and endowed the church out of Tyle Hall manor, c. 1231-65, and gave the advowson to Canterbury. More likely this was the work of the King's new tenant c. 1265-75, possibly Henry Grapenell, who died in 1298 (Morant, 1768, 353) (for evidence of date see p. 24 below). The subsequent connections of Tyle Hall owners with the church, demonstrable at intervals down to the 19th century, may serve to reinforce this attribution.

### The Excavation

The external faces of the north and south walls of the church were recorded by photogrammetric method after cleaning; the east and west walls, being externally of 18th- and 19th-century brick, were not so recorded. Internally the rotten plaster was stripped and the stonework similarly recorded. The excavators were not permitted to remove sound plaster, so the upper parts of these walls are incompletely recorded. The timber bell-frame structure and the roof were examined by M. C. Wadhams (see Report, p. 22). The parameters of the excavation were limited to the extent of the proposed ground disturbance connected with the conversion to a house (Fig. 9).

Full descriptions of structure, layers, features and finds are in an unpublished Level Three report deposited with Essex County Council Archaeological Sites and Monuments Record, Site No. TQ 89.46.

## Standing Structure

*Nave south wall.* Mainly Kentish rag stone (Figs. 3 and 6). Inside church, east of south door, one area of walling is characterised by very brown earthy mortar, distinct from rest of wall. Coursing is also more regular: large blocks topped by smaller, levelled with thin slabs for next course of large blocks; two thin slabs are blue-black slate (Finds Report, p. 26). Externally this distinct walling obscured by weathering and repointing. This stub of wall became basis for later, existing wall. Earlier walling thought to be second half of 13th century (see pp. 24 and 27). Later wall is dated by contemporary window and doorway to later 14th century. There is 14th-century dark red and white scroll painting on west jamb of south door reararch (date E. C. Rouse, *in litt.*, 23.11.76). Cill of 14th-century window was raised (dates from brick sizes): (i) within 100 years of construction; (ii) 17th century; (iii) 19th century. There are 15th–16th-century brick repairs to east end of wall, and some 18th-century brick patching between window and door. West of south door: window aperture was once same depth as extant 14th-century window. Largely blocked internally with rag rubble, externally with large square limestone (and one sandstone) blocks; tiny early 17th-century brick window may be contemporary with this blocking—sandstone blocks in porch are in probably early-17th-century work. Wall above and west of this window is much repaired—?19th century.

South-west corner of church is integrated with brick buttress, bricks as 1618 north wall. Buttress is of different form from early-17th-century north-west buttress; possibly contemporary bricks in interior south-west corner are slightly thicker; buttress partly English, partly Flemish bond.

*South porch* (Fig. 6). Largely Kentish rag stone, one build with nave south wall. Mouldings are limestone except sandstone top stone of south-east corner. Porch arch is late 14th century (cross-section of moulding, Fig. 14), now asymmetrical, repaired with 2-in. bricks. Gable end and upper part of east wall are of smaller, mixed rubble, flint, septaria, limestone, seven pieces of worked sandstone, similar to rubble refacing of exterior of north wall of nave west of brick rebuilding, probably contemporary with brickwork. Documentary evidence exists that porch needed repair: a will of 1595 (E.R.O. D/DXb 8) specifies 'such tyme as the bellfrye and the churche porche of the pishe church aforesaid shal be repayred'. Patching of crack in east wall includes only possible piece of Roman brick in church.

Inside east wall to right of door is holy water stoup, late 14th century and integral to porch wall. South door and stoup both have two-centred arches and hollow-chamfered limestone mouldings.

*Nave west wall* (Figs. 3 and 7). Interior is Kentish rag random coursed rubble. Shell and sand mortar were used here and adjacent part of north wall only. Relationship with south wall is obscured by brick rebuilding. Mortar may suggest these sections are of different date from south wall; but it is unlikely that every wall of church fell down and was replaced in turn! Window is late 18th–19th century. Sandstone and limestone jambs include clearly reused pieces (Fig. 4, 1–4, and long sandstone block at bottom of south jamb). On some stones of north jamb are patches of red paint as south door. Upper jambs were rebuilt in brick, and cill raised slightly, probably when exterior refaced and window inserted. Exterior of wall is faced with bricks dated c. 1780–1800. Similar bricks in buttress to north end of this wall, also north-north-east and south-south-east buttresses; in all three buttresses courses laid on slope (Fig. 8). West gable pebble-dashed over lath and plaster.

*Nave north wall* (Figs. 3 and 8). Interior: most of upper part not stripped of plaster. West of door as interior of west wall. From door to east end is of one build, 2-in. brick, dated by limestone inscriptions: (i) MATHEW BETS AND ROBERT PIERC MAD THIS WALL 1618; and (ii) MATHEW DRAKES e EDMVND CAITMVR CHVRCH WARDENES WHEN THIS WALL WAS BVILT 1618 IRIX (Plate IV). North door reararch is four-centred arch in

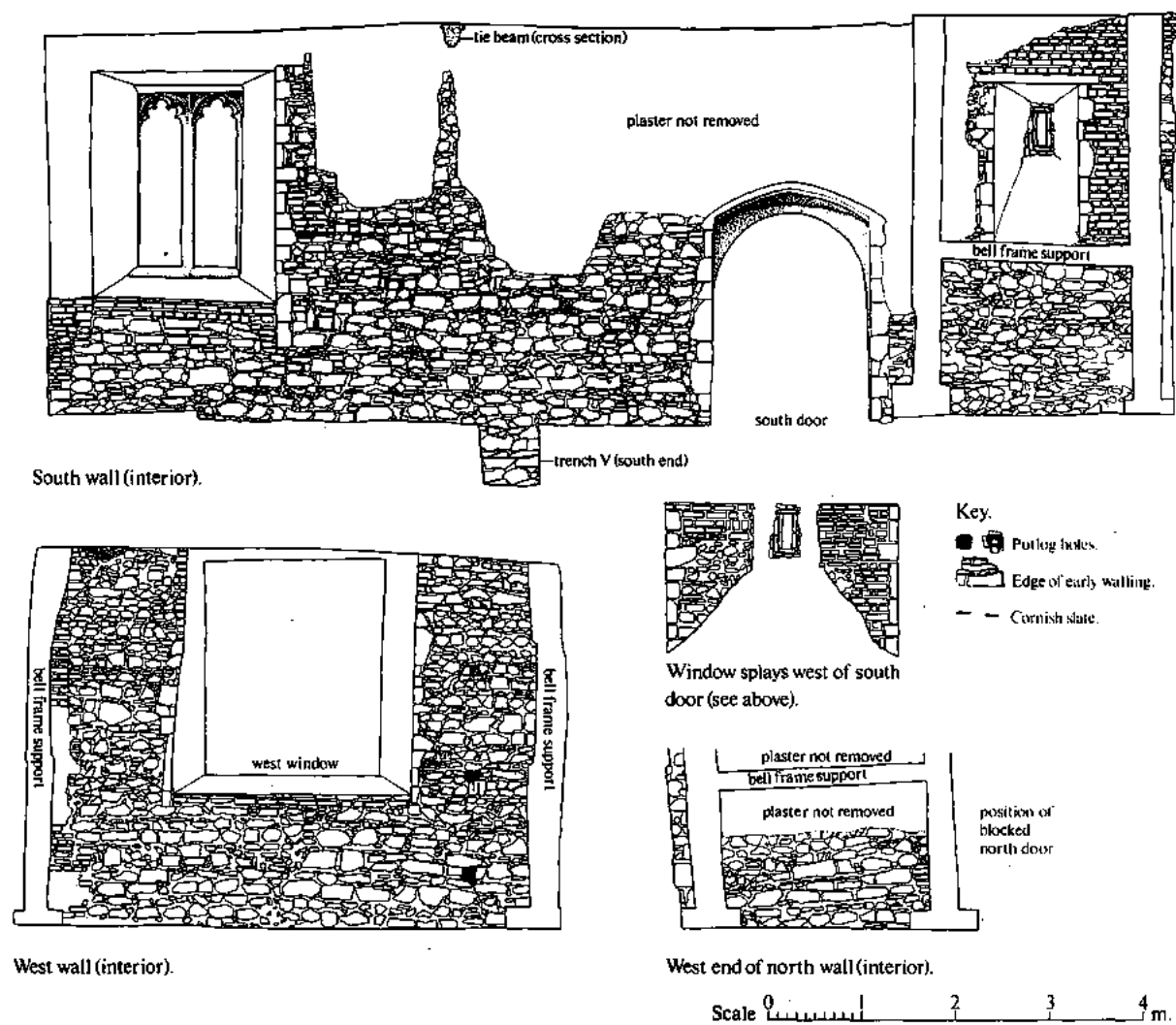


Fig. 3 Internal wall faces (author).

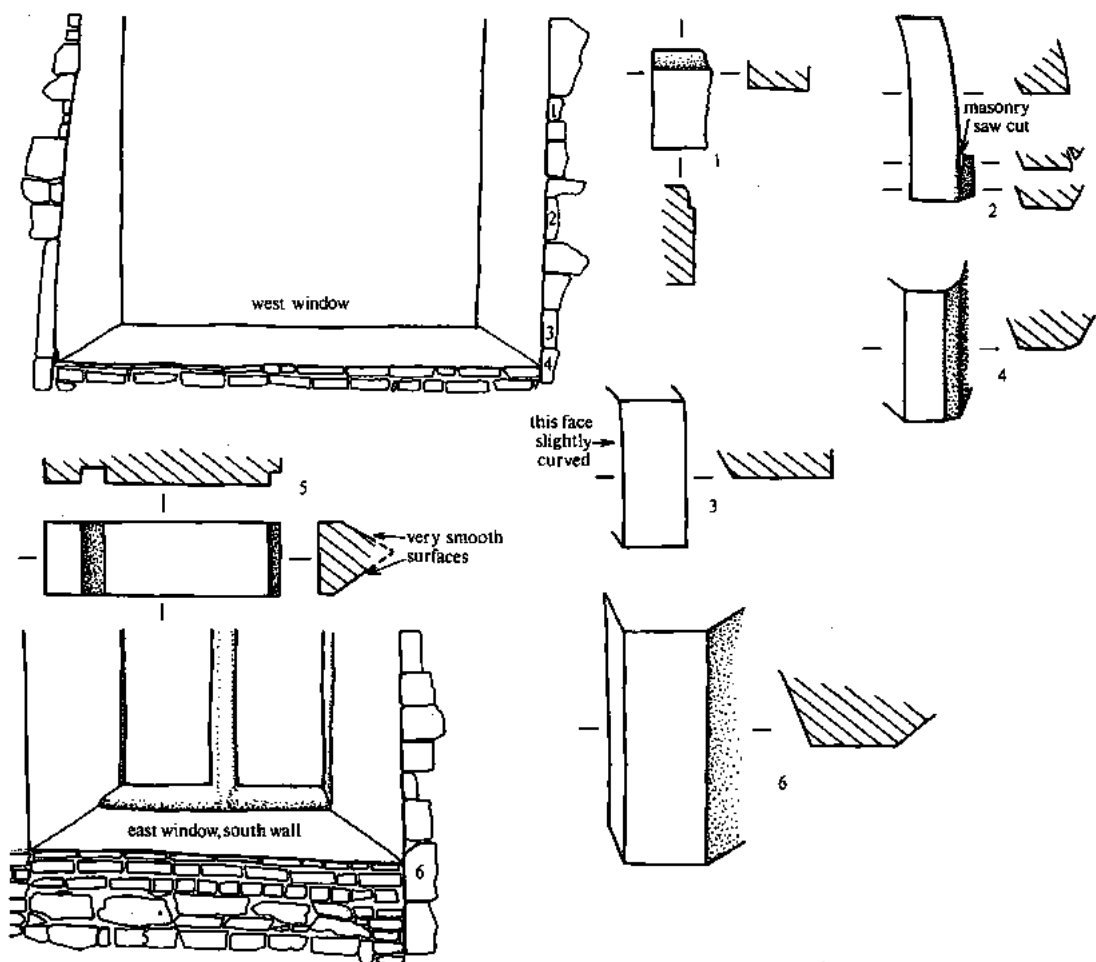


Fig. 4 Reused moulded stones (author).

Scale of stone mouldings 0 30 cm.

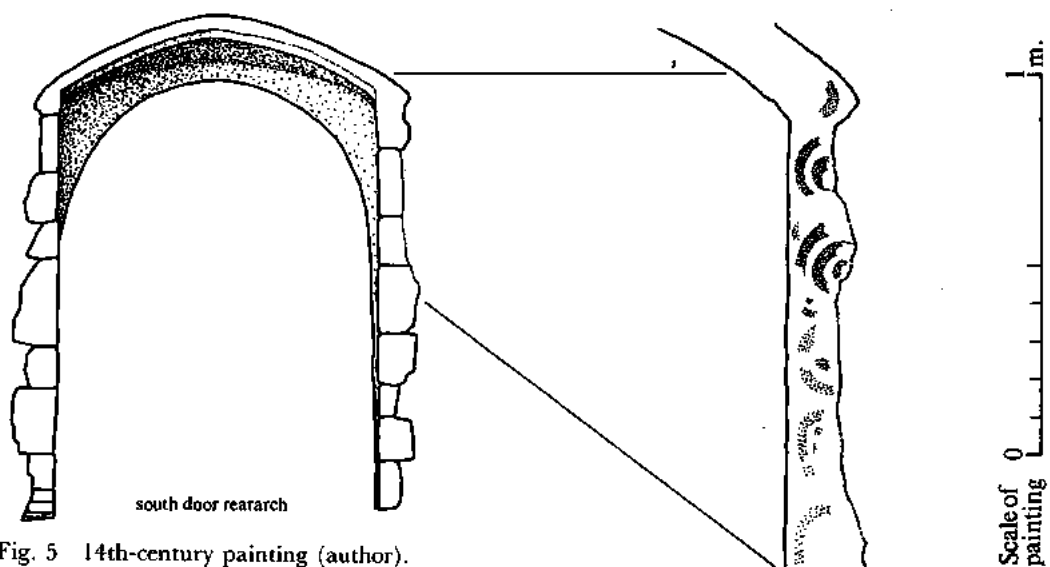


Fig. 5 14th-century painting (author).

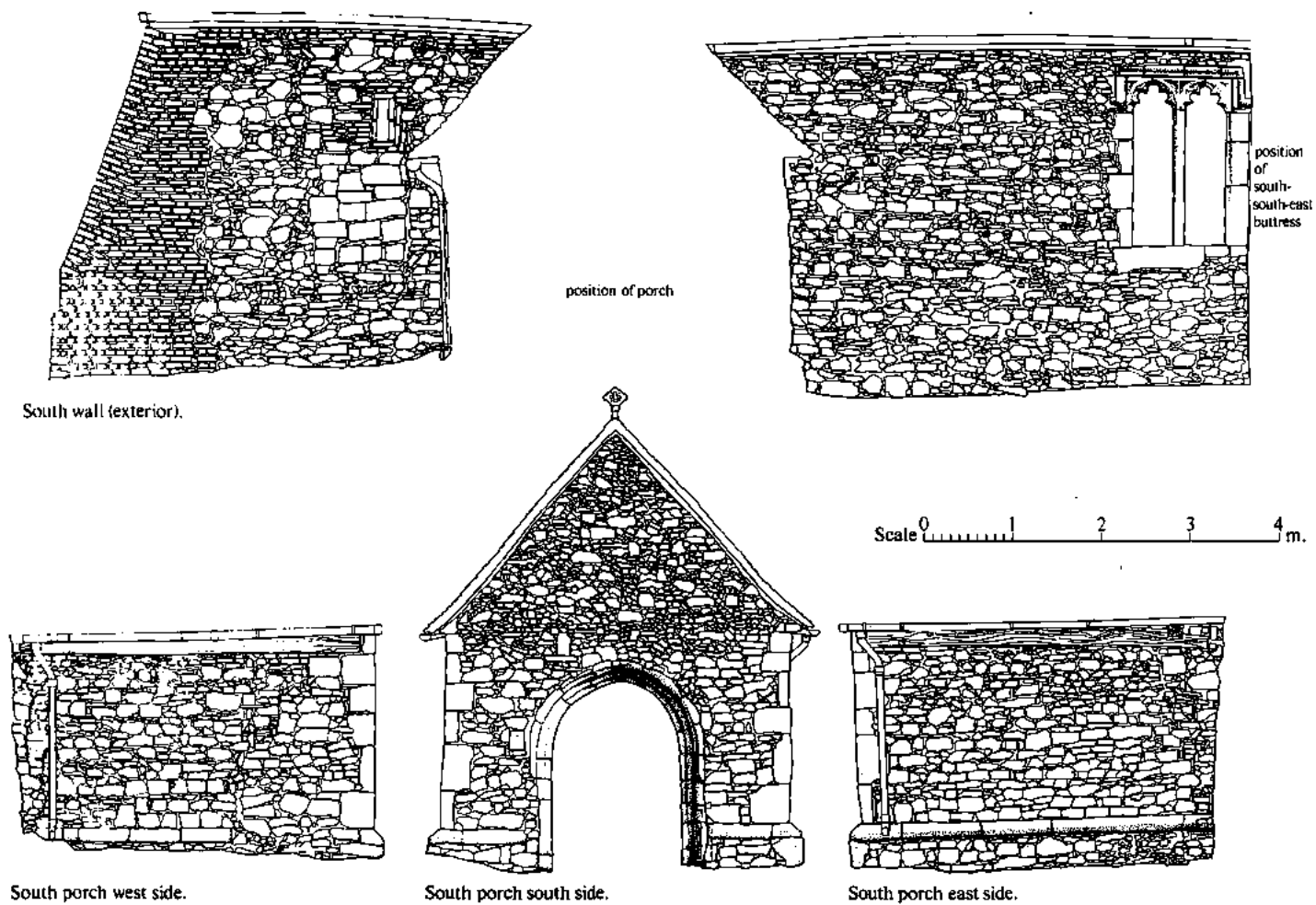
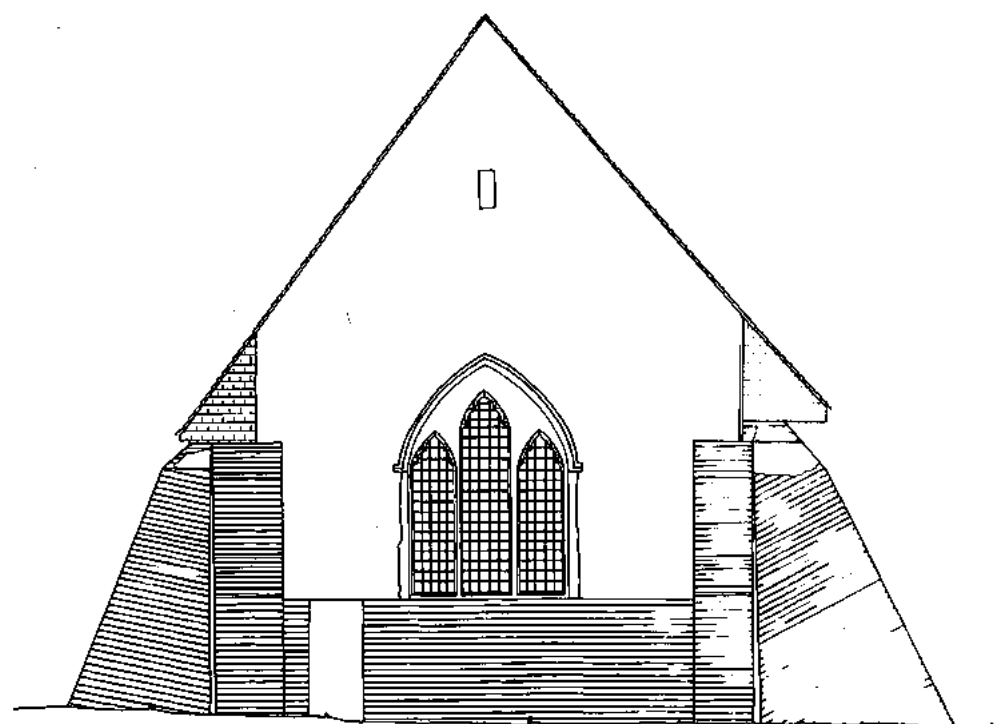
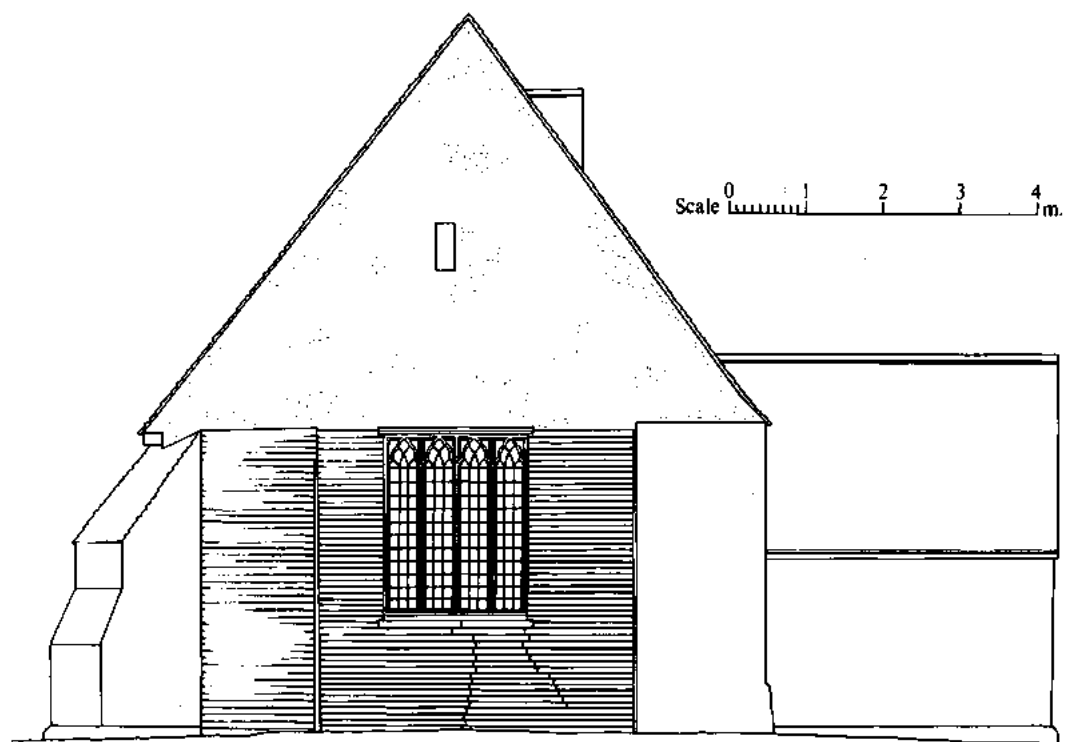


Fig. 6 Exterior of south wall and porch (author).

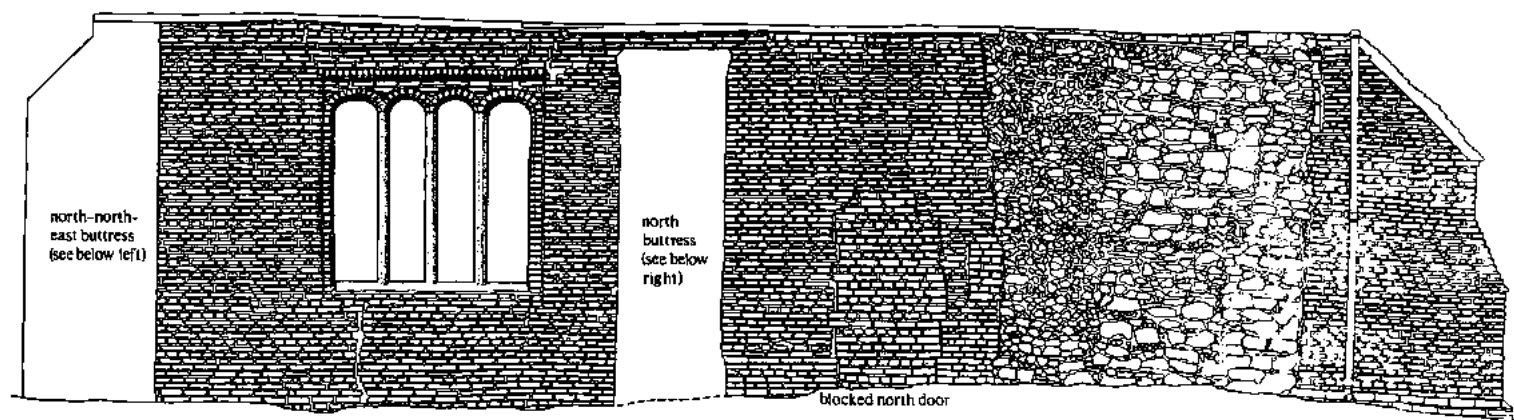


East elevation.

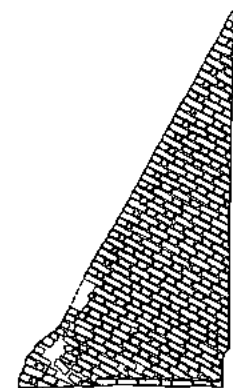
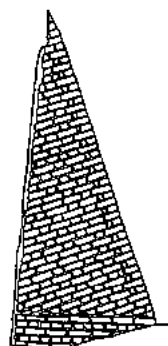
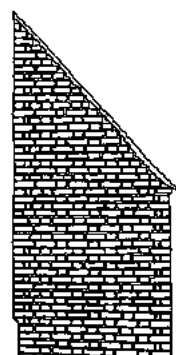


West elevation.

Fig. 7 East and west elevations (M. C. Wadhams).



North wall (exterior).

North-north-east buttress:  
west side.South-south-east  
buttress: west side.

North buttress: east side;



north side;



west side.

Scale 0 1 2 3 4 m.

Fig. 8 North wall exterior and buttress details (author).



moulded brick; west jamb rests on limestone plaster-faced blocks, presumably west side of 14th-century north door. West end of exterior is coursed Kentish rag. Between Kentish rag and brickwork is uncoursed mixed rubble: flint, septaria, 2-in. brick, medieval glazed floor tile; this refaces inner sound rag walling; it is similar to porch gable (above, p. 11) and is probably contemporary with brickwork.

Bricks of 1618 wall are 2-in.; north-north-west buttress is similar, and thought to be contemporary. North buttress is three-phase: (i) contemporary with 1618 wall; (ii) deepened by brick, stone and roof tile addition, date unknown; (iii) mid-20th-century war damage repair.

North door and adjacent water stoup are blocked with 19th-century bricks, different dimensions from those of east and west walls, so presumably different date. Cracks from eaves to door head show weakness necessitating blocking.

*Nave east wall* (Fig. 7). Wall below window and two pilaster buttresses are brick; rest is neat flint, rag and septaria rubble. Mid-19th century; presumably chancel was demolished and wall built when new church was opened in village in 1856 (E.R.O. D/CC 7/9).

### Trenches and Features

For layer shading conventions see key on Fig. 11.

*Trench I and IA* (Figs. 9 and 10). Drain junction box, excavated archaeologically, enlarged by builders. This revealed churchyard build-up with small pieces of building material.

- F.28. Foundation trench with base of brick wall, early-17th–early-19th-century bricks. No floor or path levels associated so possibly not a porch.

*Trench II* (Figs. 9 and 10). Circular septic tank pit, excavated by builders. Drawn section runs around pit walls.

- F. 1. Double grave.
- F. 2. ?Tree or bush hole.
- F. 3. Largely filled with oyster, cockle and mussel shells. General layer 3 (red-orange 'hoggin'—gravel pebbles in clayey sand matrix) and 4 (red-orange sand) are thought to be remains of fill of periglacial feature from which hoggin was extracted (forming F.3) for foundation material for first, or (less likely) second church (see Trench III).

Three sherds of pottery, c. 1175–1250, in Trench II upcast.

*Trench III* (Figs. 9 and 11). Trial pit at chancel south wall/nave junction, excavated archaeologically. Small size hampered interpretation.

- F. 4. Foundations of three successive chancels: (i) Layers 8–4 seen as foundation trench for first church's chancel. 4 ragstone base of wall, 5 and 8 hoggin packed into trench cut into natural, 6 and 7 trampled earth deposited during construction. (ii) Layer 3 rag stone base of 14th-century wall; layer 2 seen as 1815 destruction layer of this chancel. (iii) Brick foundation of 1815 chancel (Myall, 1849).

*Trenches IV and V* (Figs. 9, 11 and 12). Foundation trenches for internal walls of house conversion, excavated archaeologically.

General layers 8 (IV and V) and 9 (V only) and F.26 were dark clay soil with some shell and pottery (*terminus ante quem*, c. 1250), interpreted as plough soil. R. Allen (*in litt.*, 20.10.76) suggests thickness of layer may be accounted for by (i) ridge and furrow cultivation or (ii) build-up of domestic refuse used as fertiliser, or both. Supporting (i) is distinct dip in centre of Trench IV, possibly long-established water-furrow. Organically rich nature of soil with pottery and shell supports (ii). A visitor to the excavation reported that when ploughing the hill-top just north of

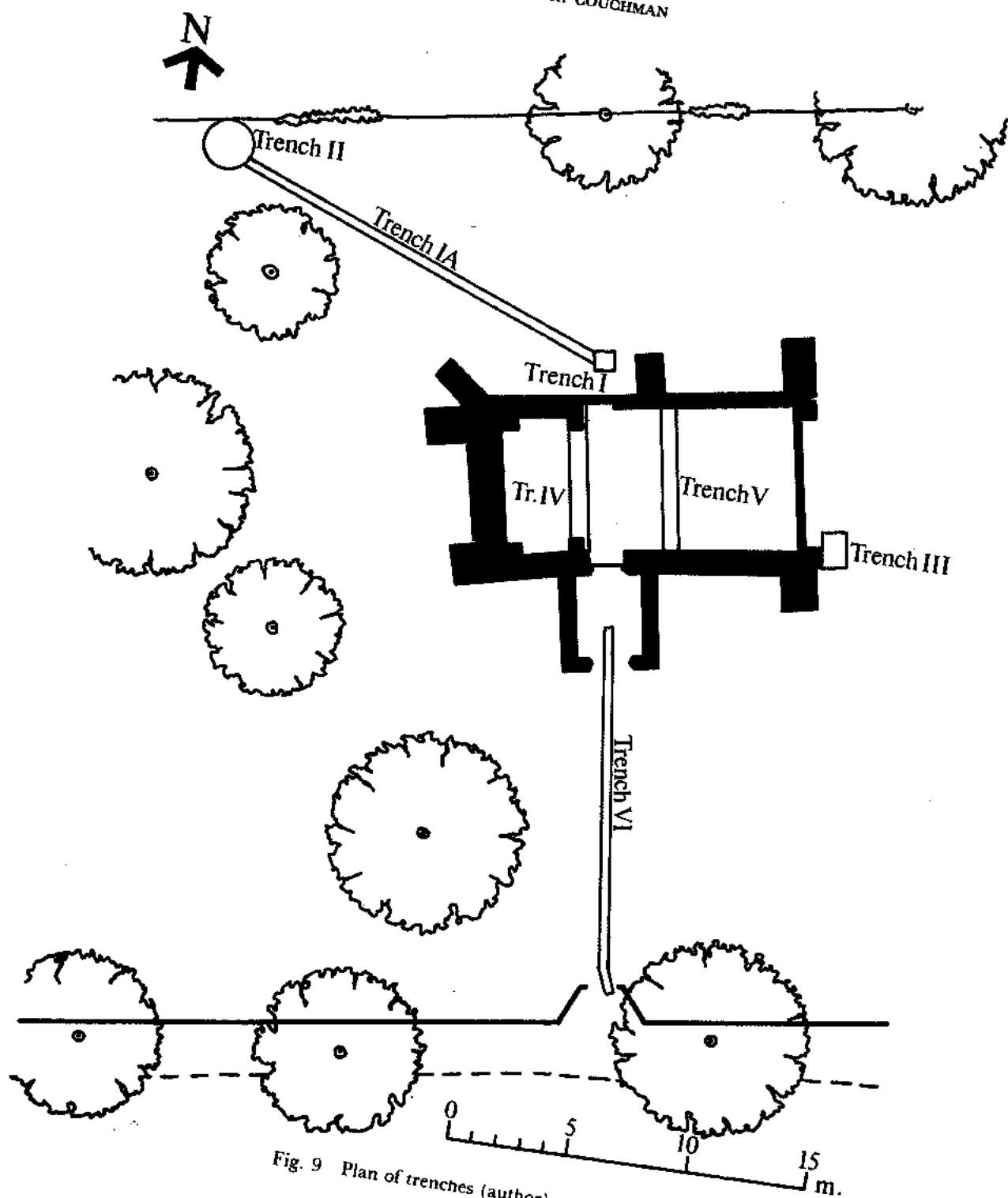


Fig. 9 Plan of trenches (author).

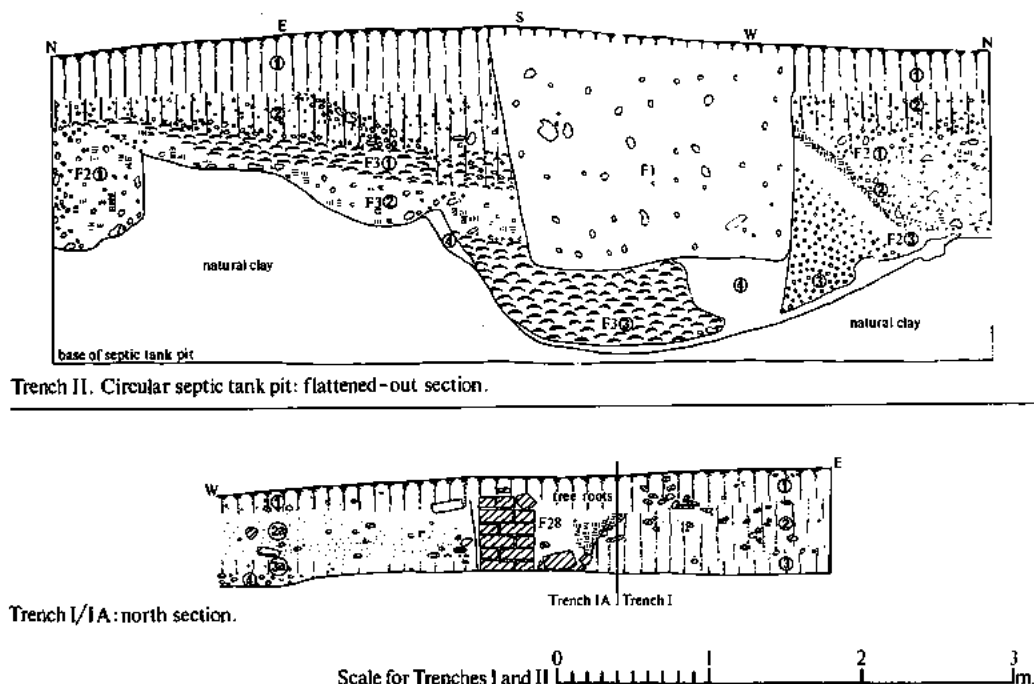
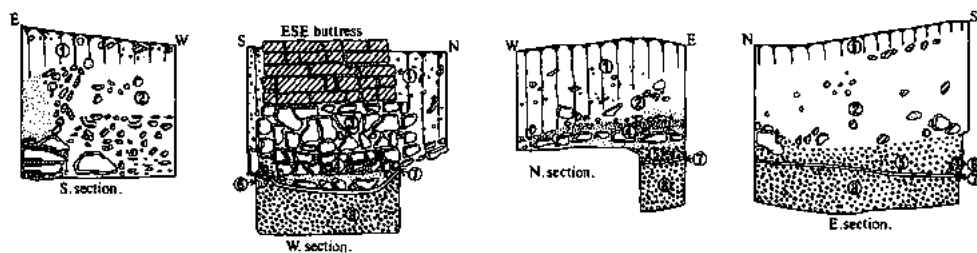


Fig. 10 Trenches I, IA and II (author).

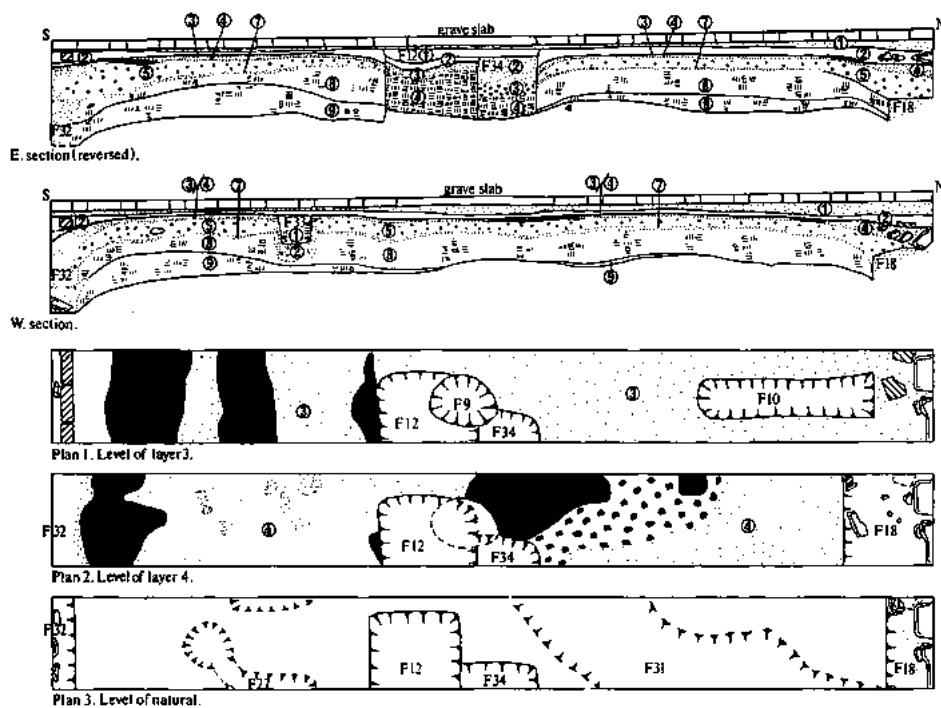
the churchyard he had noticed thick dark soil, whereas soil on a hill-top is usually thinnest. At top of 8, lumps and flecks of mortar and limestone are seen as construction debris.

Under the latest floor of gault pavoids, general layers 1-7 are floor levels and levelling-up between them, including layers of compacted earth and several of white lime blinding. IV, layer 3, includes a group of relaid late-14th-early-15th-century floor tiles north of the font base, adjacent to a red brick floor running from the font base to the north door. Emphasis on flooring materials at this point suggests the north door was that normally used, at least for part of the church's life. It is known locally that before the new church in the village was built, churchgoers used the footpath approaching the church from the north, rather than the road to the south. Burning in IV, layers 3 and 4, may relate to industrial activity connected with restoration works (Rodwell, 1974/5, 377).

- F.5 and 6. Shallow slots, F.5 still with timber fragment. Seen as beam slots for partitions preventing access west of font. May be connected with erection of gallery in 1821 (Myall, 1849).
- F.7, 8, 11, 23. Font base and soakaways. (i) F.23 earliest in this position. Cuts floor layer 5 (lime-streaks in surface of general layer 6—too thin to represent in sections at scale of Fig. 12), so not contemporary with building of first church. F.22 may relate to its construction. (ii) Lined with Kentish rag, and one piece of possibly post-1600 roof tile. Thought contemporary with 1618 restoration. (iii) F.7 shallow dished feature, edged with same brick as F.8. F.8 seen as font base, with F.7 a contemporary soak-away, needing only to be shallow as it drained straight into Fs.11 and 23.
- F.13, 14, 15, 19, 20/21, 24, 33 seen as post-holes; they form no coherent pattern, as expected in such a narrow trench. Some would have supported scaffolding for repairs and rebuildings.

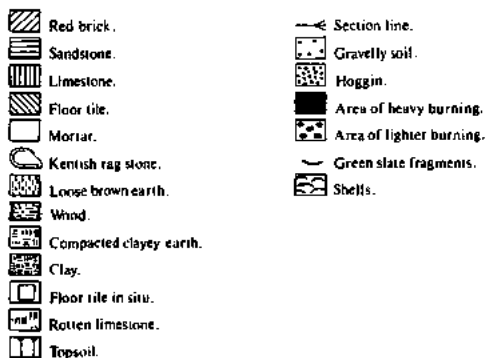


Trench III (F4).



Trench V.

## Key to all plans and sections.



Scale for Trenches III and V (above).



Fig. 11 Trenches III and V (author).

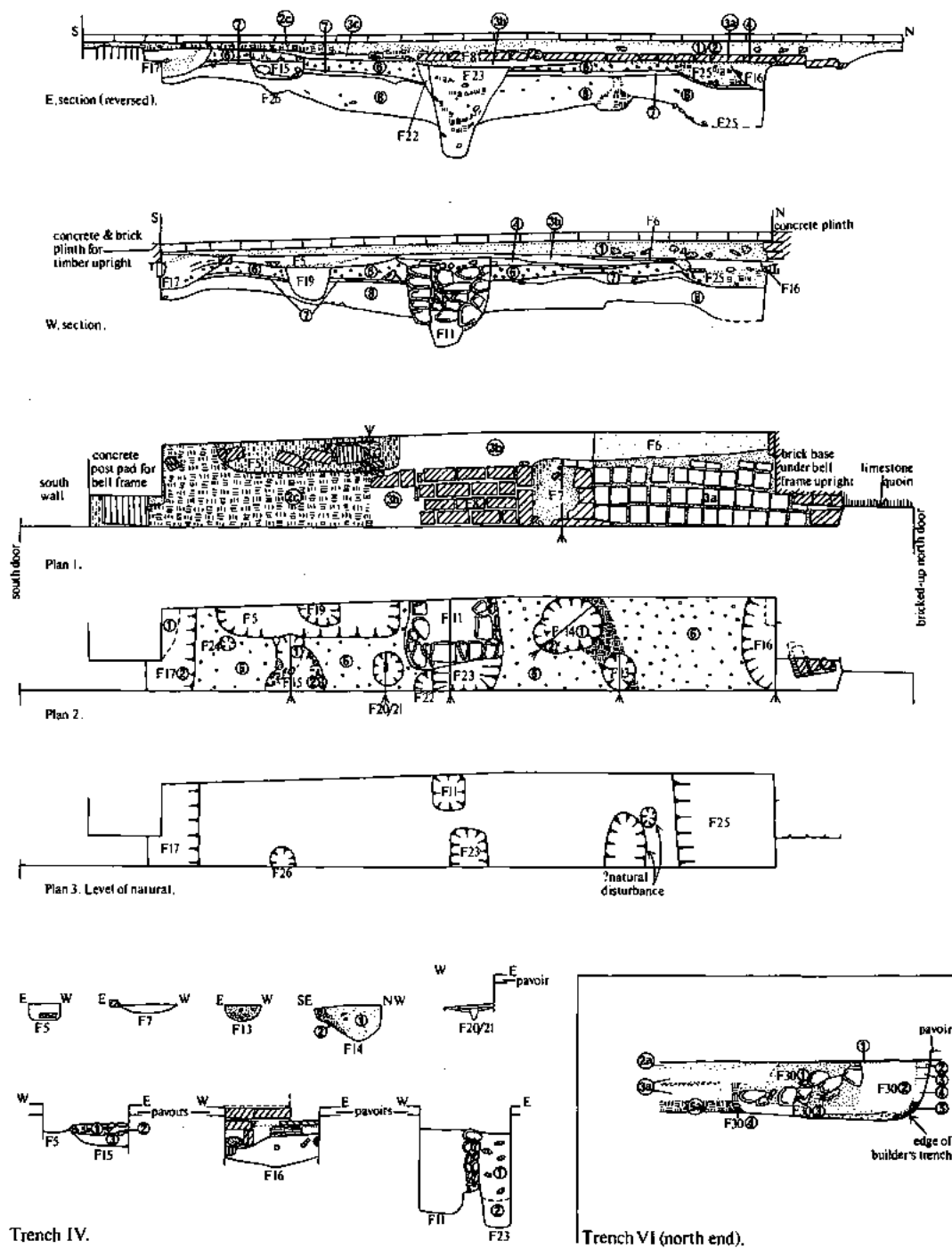


Fig. 12 Trenches IV and VI (author).

Scale 0 1 2 3 m.

- F.17 and 16/25 are most likely seating holes for stone or brick plinths for timber uprights of the bell-frame support (F.17 has sandstone block, possibly a stylobate, in top). Depressions in natural clay under these features (also under F.19 and probably also the depression F.26 under F.15) indicate considerable compression from weight of bell-frame and originally steeple.
- F.14, 34. Late graves, not excavated below level of trench floor.
- F.18. Trench related to north wall construction. Not excavated below level of Trench V floor; lower part contained solid mortar. Mortar in lower part may be top of stub of earlier foundations. Possibly the late-14th-century wall cracked vertically at north door and fell outwards, necessitating 1618 replacement.
- F.32. Mortar-filled construction trench for south wall. Apparently some slump of adjacent layers into side of this trench. Upper part of mortar fill very yellow; it seems that as floor levels built up, area nearest wall was filled with mortar, perhaps to combat damp penetration?
- F.27, 31. Thought to be natural—F.27 three separate features linked beneath undisturbed natural—tree roots.
- F.10. Shallow slot, purpose unknown.
- F. 9. Modern zooturbation.

*Trench VI* (Figs. 9 and 12). Services trench excavated by builders. Revealed mainly disturbed or made ground above similar layer to Trenches IV and V, layer 8. Two path surfaces under present one. F.29 tree or bush hole beneath path surfaces.

- F.30. Several phases of porch foundation. F.30, layer 1, relates neatly to original phase of present porch, i.e. late 14th century. However, this cuts earlier foundation trench, F.30, layers 2–4, which at the top is 1.35 m. wide. Different mortars of layers 2 and 3 may represent further subdivision of phases, but there was no hard junction between them. Width of foundation trench seems too great for a normal porch; it is suggested that the earliest church had a south tower (I am indebted to Dr. W. Rodwell for this suggestion).

### Timber Construction by M. C. Wadhams

*Nave roof* (Figs. 13 and 14). Simple seven-cant roof, good-quality oak, of generous but not over-large scantling. Dating presents problems: it was impossible to ascertain jointing between sole pieces and the two plates, and there were no accessible scarf joints. There was no direct evidence of there having been crown posts, and the lack of pressure marks below observable collars tends to support this. All joints were tenoned; there were no lap joints. This type of roof framing fits into the mid-14th–late 15th century (Hewett, 1974, 34–9). Lack of precise detail precludes greater precision, except that the scantlings and their spacing are far more typical of the earlier part of the date range.

Two moulded tie-beams (Fig. 14a, b). Not clear whether they are *in situ*. The mouldings differ, but both fall into Forrester's (1972) rather large date range of c. 1370–1550.

*Porch roof* (Figs. 13 and 14). Side purlins, intermittent cambered collars, braced from common rafters. Good-quality timber. Date range late 14th–mid-16th century. No evidence that this is original porch roof.

*Belfry framing* (Fig. 14). Little remains except four major posts and some ties. Above ceiling level is complete rebuild, possibly early 19th century. Fig. 14 shows as much as can be reconstructed. Unlikely to be earlier than mid-14th century.

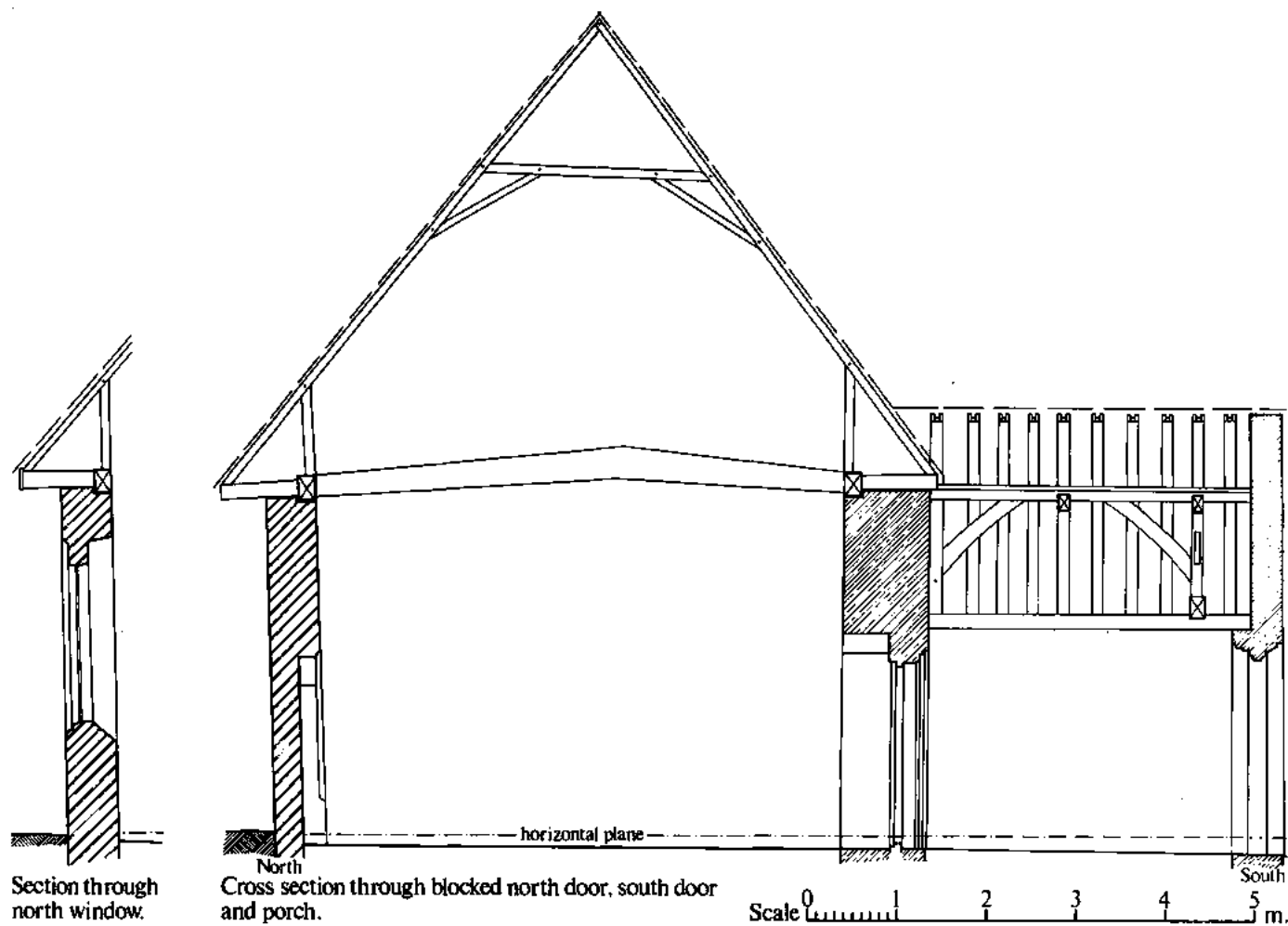


Fig. 13 North-south cross-section (M. C. Wadhams).



## Finds

### Pottery

**Prehistoric.** One neolithic sherd (Fig. 14.1), one neolithic/Bronze Age sherd.

**Medieval.** M. Eddy and M. Petchey. Four fabric types:

A. Grass tempered, black or black with pale brown exterior. Early Saxon, date range 5th–mid-7th century (Hurst, 1976, 294). Trench V, layer 8: five body sherds.

B. Shell tempered, reddish brown or grey/black, 1211 onwards at Writtle (Rahtz, 1969, 94 ff.), mid-13th century at Hadleigh Castle (Drewett, 1975, 112), though fabric common in East Anglia from mid-9th century. C. 850–1250. Trench V, layer 6, one sherd; Trenches IV and V, layer 8, eight sherds.

C. Hard slightly micaceous pale grey fabric, mid-grey surfaces. Probably Thetford-type. Mid-9th–12th century (Hurst, 1976, 314–20). Trench IV, layer 8, two sherds.

D. Sand tempered, mainly light to dark grey, no glaze, C. 1175–1250. Trench I, layers 1, 2; Trench IA, unstrat.; Trench II, unstrat., layer 2; Trench IV, layers 5, 8 (including Fig. 16.2), F.26 (Fig. 16.3), F.25; Trench V, layers 2b, 3, 3/4 (Fig. 16.4), 6, 8 (including Fig. 16.5, 6). Total seventy-two sherds.

Also one very coarse abraded sherd, possibly tile, medieval or Roman? and three post-medieval sherds, not in chronologically significant contexts.

### Floor Tiles by P. J. Drury

**Group I:** A single, deformed, unworn fragment of a tile c. 105 mm. square, 20–22 mm. thick, deeply undercut edges, lustrous brown glaze (F.14). The fabric and manufacturing details are typical of Essex tiles of late-13th–late-14th-century date. The nearest known source is Danbury (Drury and Pratt, 1965, 112, cf. Class T4a), operating c. 1275/85–1325/35.

**Group II:** Sixty-one plain Flemish tiles c. 120–25 mm. square, 24–7 mm. thick, undercut edges, five nail holes (Fig. 16.8). Trench I, layer 2; III, layer 2; IV, layers 3, 3a (30 tiles), F.16, F.19, F.23; V, layers 1, 2, 3, 3/4, F.12. Forty-three have a mottled dark green glaze, nine a thick cream slip under a clear glaze, and nine have no surface remaining.

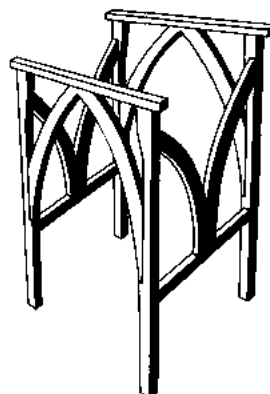
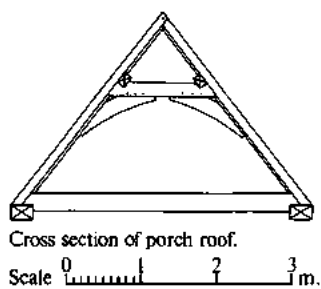
**Group III:** A single, plain (dark brown) glazed Flemish tile (Trench IV, layer 3), c. 118 mm. square, 25 mm. thick, undercut edges, with five nail holes (Fig. 16.7).

The high proportion of dark green to cream tiles in Group III suggests some geometrical arrangement, rather than the usual *checky* pattern. In the late 14th century, there seems to have been a local fashion for plain-colour tiles laid in geometric patterns, e.g. the nave floor of Pleshey Castle Chapel, probably of c. 1380–97 (Drury, 1977, 105–8). The sole use of diagonally-divided (brown/cream) tiles c. 130 mm. square at Bardfield Saling Church, the chancel of which was dedicated in 1380 (Drury, 1976, 78) is also relevant. Plain Flemish tiles are common in Essex and East Anglia, our Groups II and III being amongst the smallest sizes found. By the mid-15th century tiles c. 240 mm. square seem to have been the norm (e.g. the *brode Holand tyle* of a will of 1449: Keen, 1971, 148). Thus Groups II and III are probably of late-14th or early-15th-century date.

The single Group III tile may have been a stray in a shipment of Group II tiles, but equally might originally have been part of the paving of a grave, to form a monument in a floor otherwise of earth. This practice has been noted at Bordesley Abbey, Worcs., in the 14th–15th centuries (Rahtz and Hurst, 1976, 109), and may well have been widespread.

### Brick and Roof Tile by M. C. Wadhams. In chronologically significant contexts:

**Trench IV F.8.** Eighteen bricks, poor material. Size and general shape indicate date not post-c. 1600; but material is unusual and probably of very local origin. Therefore they may not comply



Reconstruction of bell frame.  
(not to scale).



Section through moulding of  
porch arch (stone).  
(not to scale).



a. Central beam.



b. Western beam.

Sections through tie beams (see below).  
(not to scale).

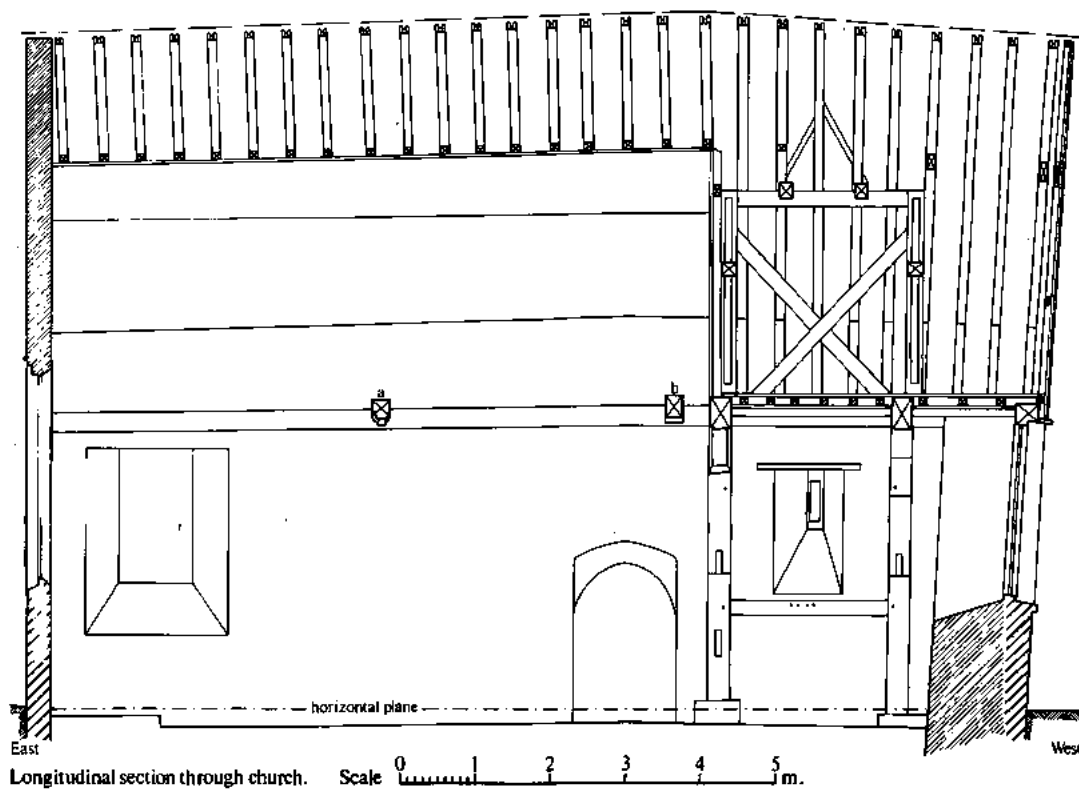


Fig. 14 (M. C. Wadhams).

with general criteria for dating in the local context. (Note: if pre-1600 they are considered to be reused in their present position.)

*Trench IV F.11.* Fragment of roof tile, thin enough to be post-1600, but fabric more typical of early examples.

### Slate

Two types found: a blue-black phyllite and a harder grey slate. An origin in south-west England (but not Delabole) or possibly France or Belgium is suggested for the former (Martyn Owen, Geological Museum, *in litt.*, 28.11.78). In Kent and Sussex south-western and Belgian slate has been found in 13th-century contexts (Joep and Dunning, 1954, 217). In Essex south-western slate was found at Waltham Abbey in a c. 1200 context (Huggins, 1972, 114); and south-western or continental slate in Colchester Castle Great Hall (Hull, Drury, *et al.*, 1981). (I am indebted to M. Owen and P. J. Drury for these references.) The grey slate is thought to be Welsh and 19th century.

Blue-black slate was built into surviving length of south wall of Phase 1 church (Fig. 3), and fragments were found throughout the excavations, including Trench VI, layer 5; but not below layer 5 in Trenches IV and V. Grey slate not found in any pre-19th-century layers.

### Glass

Three kinds of window glass: medieval, some with traces of decoration (suggest late 14th century); early post-medieval (early 17th century); and modern (late 18th or 19th century?).

### Bronze

Nine items, none from early contexts. See Fig. 15.

Details of iron, lava fragment, clay pipes, wall plaster, shell and bone are in the Level Three report on the E.C.C. Archaeological Sites and Monuments Record.

### Tomb Furniture

Holman (1719, 23) describes two monumental brasses extant in his day. The indent of one survives: a man and two wives, dated c. 1450; also an indent of another civilian and wife, not noted by Holman, c. 1440 (dates N. Edwards, pers. comm.). The other brass Holman recorded (neither brass nor indent survives) was of a woman with two escutcheons, of Osborne impaling Maynard (Burke, 1842, 'Osborne (London)' and 'Maynard (Estaines Parva)'). The Osbornes held Tyle Hall from before 1553 to after 1612 (Morant, 1768, 354); and the most likely period for a male Osborne to have married a Maynard is c. 1598–1621, when the Maynards owned New Hall, Asheldham.

Also in the nave floor is a stone inscription recording the death of M—ANN D—NISO—, who died in 1777(?).

The finds remain in the possession of Mr. J. Dunlop, the owner of the site.

### Discussion

The site history may be suggested as follows:

1. Neolithic occupation of unknown kind and extent.
2. Early Saxon occupation, also unknown kind and extent.

3. Late Saxon occupation on or near the end of the ridge on which the church stands. The evidence of soil construction and pottery date range (c. 850–1250) suggest long-standing agricultural use on the site of the church itself. Any remains on the site of the rectory and its outbuildings are not likely to survive, as during the 1860 rebuilding of the rectory (Fig. 17) about 0.35 m. of soil was removed from much of the area (E.R.O. D/CP 11/12).

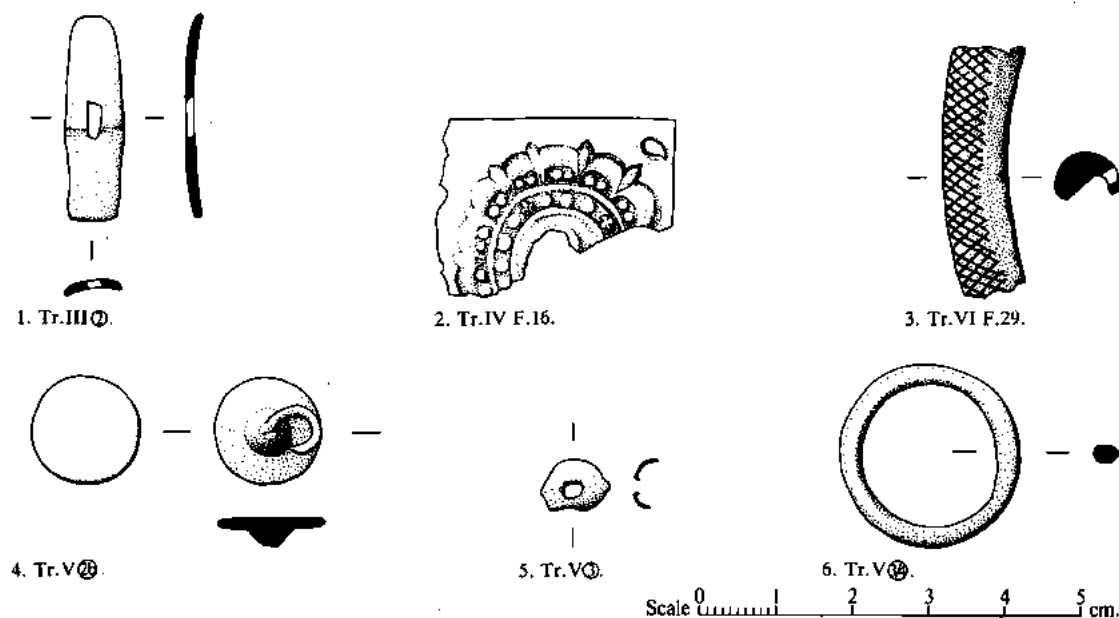


Fig. 15 Bronze objects (author).

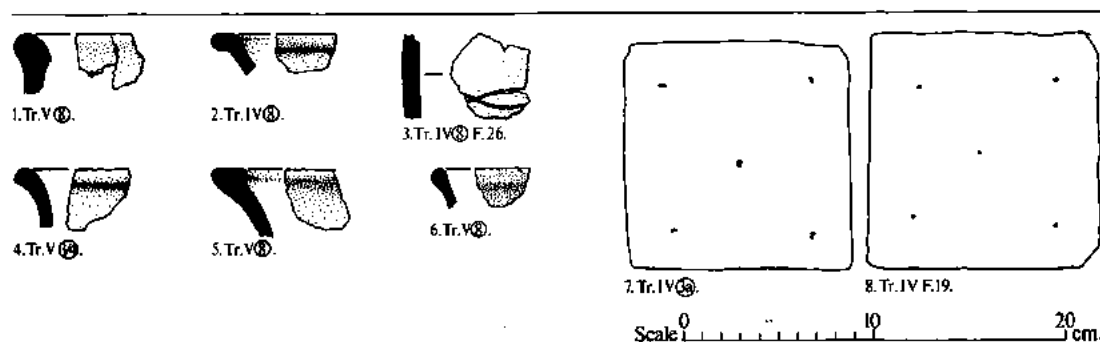


Fig. 16 Pottery and floor tiles (author).

4. Building of the Period I church, the nave on the same lines as the present one, the chancel slightly narrower than the nave but otherwise of unknown plan. A south tower where the porch now stands. The use of blue-black slate suggests a date in the (possibly later part of the) 13th century, and this is reinforced by the pottery in the pre-church soil with a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1250. The arrival of a new tenant at Tyle Hall after confiscation of the manor in 1265 might provide the occasion for the building. Walls Kentish rag stone, roof presumably slated. Part at least of floor tiled (Group I tile). Mouldings possibly sandstone?

5. Late 14th century, Period II, almost complete rebuilding, the nave and west end of the chancel on the same lines as the Period I church. The chancel was rectangular, with a south door. A south porch in place of the south tower; a north door opposite; and a timber belfry (and presumably a steeple) in the west end of the nave. The nave tie-beams and roof structure, and possibly also the porch roof, also date from this rebuilding. The walls were Kentish rag stone; it is not known whether the roof was tiled or slated, or even thatched; no roof tile of this early date has been found. Part at least of the floor was tiled, possibly only the chancel. There is no evidence

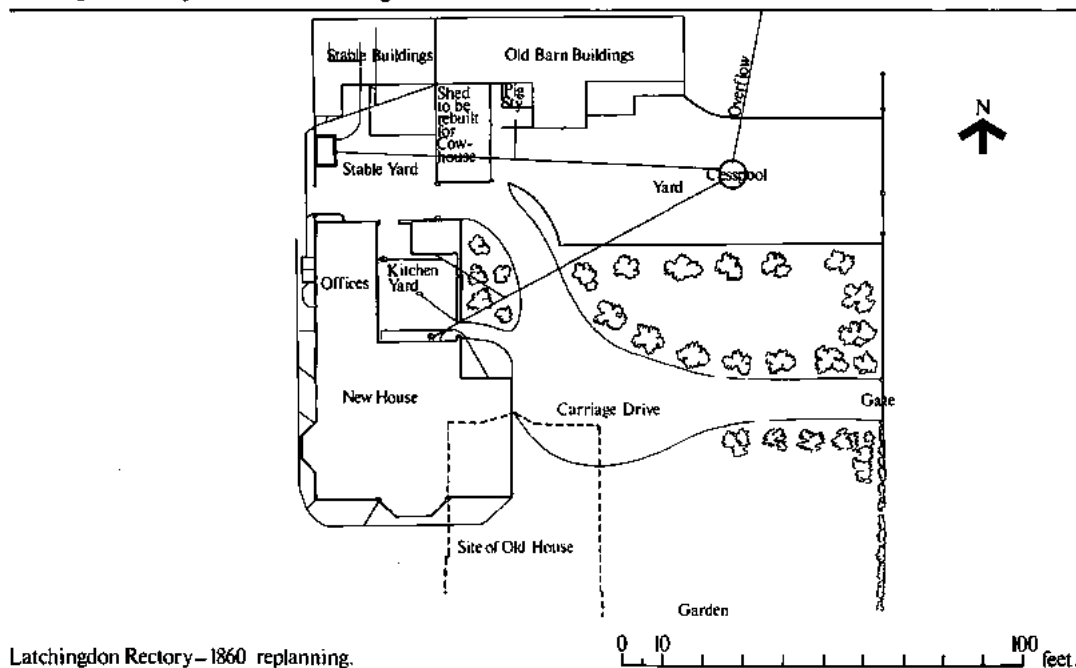
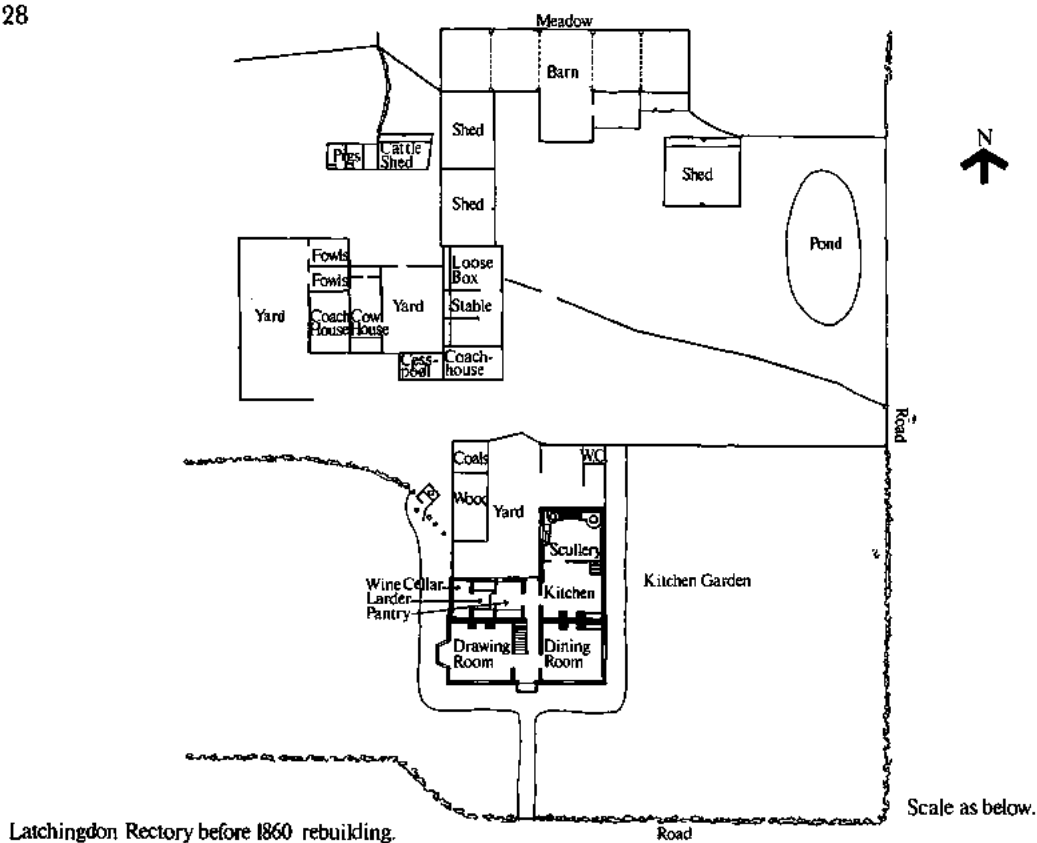


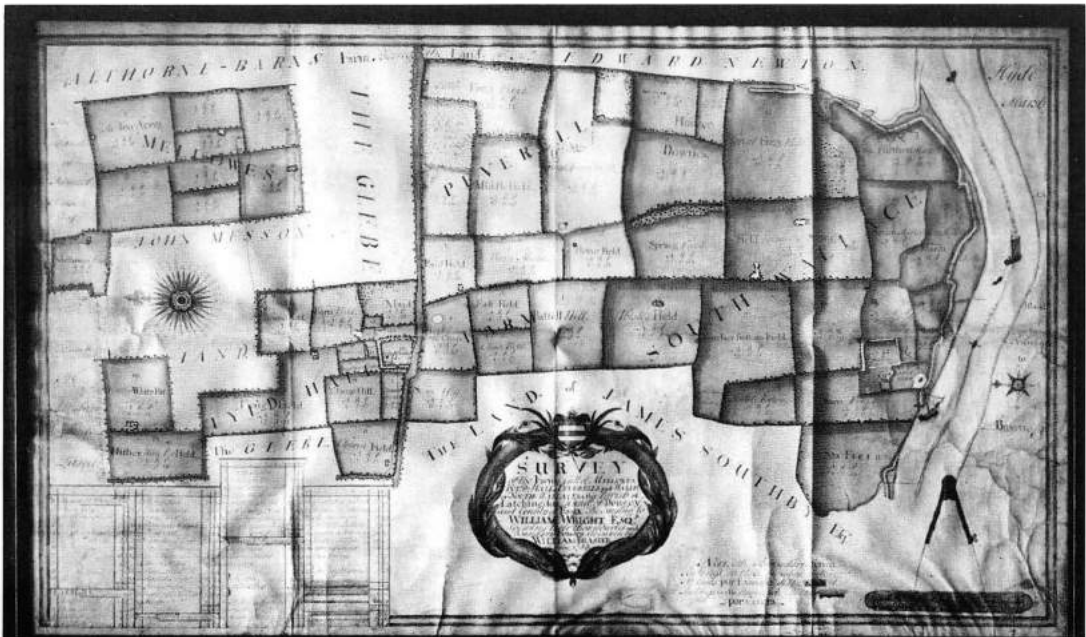
Fig. 17 Latchingdon Rectory before and after 1860 (author, after architects' plan, E.R.O. D/CP 11/12).

PLATE I



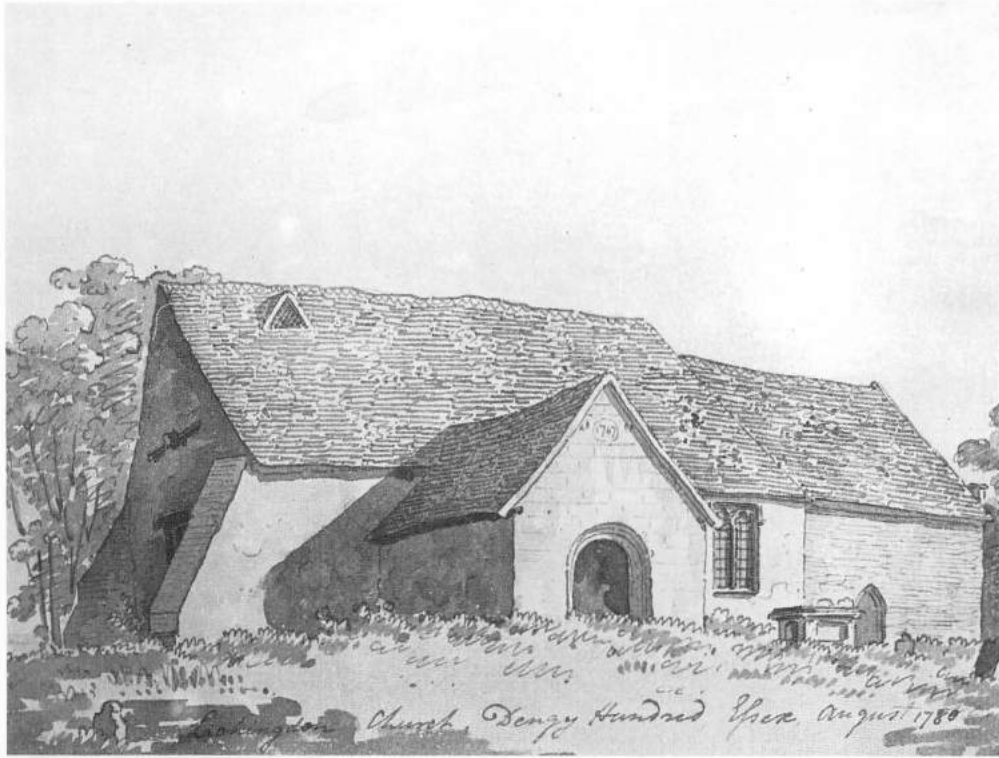
St. Michael's Church, Latchingdon, before commencement of work in 1976.

PLATE II



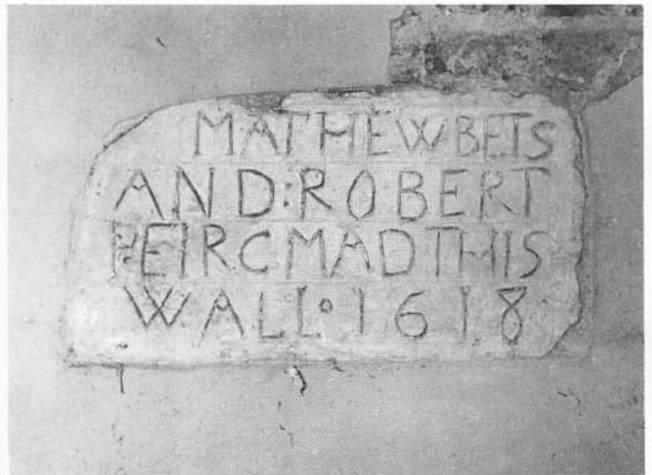
Tyle Hall estate map, 1755.

PLATE III



St. Michael's Church, Latchingdon, 1780.

PLATE IV



Inscriptions set in the north wall of St. Michael's Church.



from Trench V of any flooring in the nave other than lime-blinded earth floors; and if the Group III tile is from a grave, it is presumably from one in an area without other tiling. The first font soakaway (F.23) may also date from this period: it cuts floor level layers 5/6 in Trench IV so does not relate to the Period I building. The windows of this church were glazed, and the walls painted red and white.

6. Minor works, mid-16th century, in the south-east corner of the nave and south-east window cill.

7. In the late 16th century the church was again falling into disrepair. In 1589 Peter Williams, parson of Latchingdon, was presented for being 'a quarreller amongst his neighbours and parishioners a fighter a brabler a common player and gamester not only on weekdays but also on the holydays and on midsummer day last he played cards almost all the day and held no Divine Service' (Court Roll Mich. 31 Eliz., E.R.O. Q/SR 110/53, Vol. XV). Richard Osborne's will (quoted above, pp. 10 and 11) takes account of the fact that the porch and belfry both needed 'makinge and repayinge' in 1595. Peter Williams died on 12 January 1608, and was succeeded by Richard Langley (Newcourt, 1710, 355). It is suggested that it was during Williams's tenure that the church was so neglected that, always unstable because of its position on the end of a London Clay ridge, most of the north wall collapsed.

In 1618 the extensive repair of the church was completed (Period III). Most of the north wall was rebuilt. The window west of the porch was made considerably smaller; the porch was repaired; and a new font drain excavated, lined with stone and one piece of 17th-century tile. The presence of this tile suggests that the roof was tiled; though a 1723 map of Stamford's Farm (E.R.O. D/DM P.5), showing apparently accurate roofscapes, depicts the church on the edge of the map with a blue-grey (lead or slate?) roof, while the farm buildings have red, tiled roofs. It is conceivable that the burning observed in Trench V, layers 3 and 4, was connected with hearths for lead-working. The windows were probably reglazed at this time.

There is a local tradition that the church once had a tower, which collapsed. This may be a memory of the 13th-century south tower. To postulate a west tower would be superfluous; the Period I church had a south tower; the Period II church had a steeple. A map of 1717 (E.R.O. D/DRA P.3) depicts a unicellular church with west tower, but is clearly schematic, since other evidence agrees that both in the 17th and later 18th century the church had no tower and a separate nave and chancel. Richard Osborne's will makes it clear that by the end of the 16th century the belfry was ruinous; and it is suggested that it is the fall of the steeple that tradition records. A falling steeple could have come down with sufficient force to smash the head of the 14th-century window west of the south door, leading to its blocking and replacement with the tiny early-17th-century window, and perhaps weakening the whole south-west corner enough to require the support of the south-west buttress. Certainly the 1723 map shows no steeple.

8. In 1747 the porch was totally plastered; and if the pen-and-ink drawing of 1780 (Plate III; E.R.O. Mint Portfolio 8) is to be believed, the small window west of the porch was for a time blocked up. However, the south-west buttress on this drawing is clearly wrong, so perhaps other details should not be trusted. It appears to show a tiled roof.

9. In the late 18th century the west wall was faced with brick and the west window rebuilt. The three diagonally laid buttresses are also of this period.

10. In 1815 the chancel was rebuilt in brick, 'the most ugly and unecclesiastical thing that was ever erected' (Myall, 1849). The stone of the previous chancel was removed for use in Tyle Hall garden, where it can still be seen. A sketch in Myall's *Diary* shows a hipped-roof structure with slate roof and two-light neo-gothic window in the south wall. This is presumably the origin of the grey slate fragments found in the excavation. A drawing of 1840 (Plate V; reproduced in Fitch, 1905, 97) by Miss Mary Pulley (whose family built the 'new' church in the village), despite the late date, appears to depict the old chancel, with a south door, an apparently 14th-century east window and a tiled roof; she may well have been copying an older picture rather than the chancel of her day.

11. A gallery was erected in 1821 (Myall, 1849), fitted into the bell-frame support. No part of this survives. The brick font base F.8 and soakaway F.7 may date from this time: they appear to be associated with the relaid 14th-century floor tiles and adjacent brick floor, which abut the partition represented by Fs. 5 and 6, and this in turn is likely to be connected with the gallery.

12. The new church in the village was opened in 1856 (E.R.O. D/CC 7/9), and it was presumably then that the chancel was finally demolished and the brick east wall built.

The north door and adjacent water stoup were blocked at some time in the 19th century; but the bricks are different from those of both east and west walls, and it is not clear into what point in the sequence of events this work fits.

13. The interior was replastered in the late 19th or early 20th century by A. W. (Bill) Hawkes.

14. The only other known work on the church prior to the recent conversion is the repair of war damage c. 1950, represented by the latest brickwork in the north buttress, and carried out by a local builder named Hemel Hempstead (!).

### Acknowledgements

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of those who provided specialist advice and reports: principally M. C. Wadhams for advice on the architectural aspects of the work, and for reporting on and providing drawings of the timber construction, also for reports on the excavated brick and roof tile and the bone; to Dr. D. Carrick for examining the bricks in the standing structure; to Captain Crewdson for permission to reproduce the Tyle Hall estate map; to P. J. Drury for his report on the floor tiles; to M. R. Eddy and M. R. Petchey for reporting on the medieval pottery and to M. R. Eddy also for the post-medieval pottery report and for dating the bronzes; to R. Allen for advice on the soil structure; to Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Edwards for assistance with tracing monumental brasses and their heraldry and to the staff of the Essex Record Office for assistance with documentary research and for supplying Plates II and V; to J. D. Hedges for advice on the neolithic pottery; to M. Owen for commenting on the blue-black slate; to Mrs. J. Robinson for local research and information; and to E. C. Rouse for dating the wall painting. Thanks are also due to Latchingdon P.C.C. and the Church Commissioners, and the purchaser of the church, J. Dunlop, for permission to carry out the work; to P. J. Lorimer, the architect in charge of the conversion works; to R. Morris for his assistance in the planning stages of the excavation; and to the builders, Prime Services of Brentwood, for assistance in carrying out watching briefs.

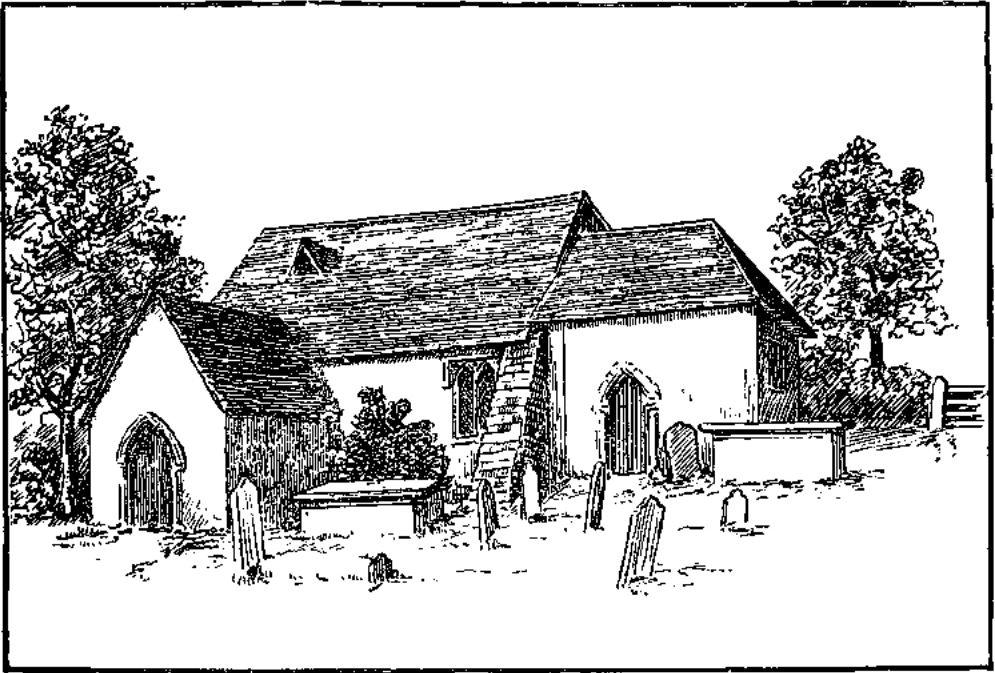
All opinions expressed, and any errors, however, remain the responsibility of the author.

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

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PLATE V



St. Michael's Church, Latchingdon, 1840.

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## Appendix

### Sources of information on the manors of Latchingdon, Lawling and Snoreham.

- Domesday Survey of England. The translation used is that by Round (Essex, 1903, 427-578).
- Chapman and André's map of Essex, 1777.
- Tithe map and award of Latchingdon and Lawling, c. 1841. E.R.O. D/CT 207/1.
- Lawling Hall: map by John Tunstall 'in the parish of Latchingdon in the manor of Lawling Hall', 1696. E.R.O. D/DHt P.2.
- Surveys of lands of William Western, Esq., 1716. E.R.O. D/DFg Pl/1-26.
- Stamfords: 'Mannor or Farm of Stamfords by Capt. John Thomas Engineer', 1723, E.R.O. D/DM P.5.
- Snoreham: Snoreham manor, 1717. Copy dated c. 1836, E.R.O. D/DRA P.3.
- Peverells: 'Survey of the Farms call'd Mellowes, Tyld Hall, Peverells and Wallet or South-Wallace in the Parish of Latchingdon . . . as Taken by William Brasier', 1755. In the possession of Captain Crewdson, Tyld Hall.

It is suggested that the Domesday manors of Eudo Dapifer and Robert son of Corbutio may survive as Bridgeman's Farm and Greenlane Farm; this is not discussed above (Manorial Background) as it is not germane to the main argument. Eudo Dapifer's manor had perhaps enough pasture for sheep to be adjacent to the marsh (87 sheep, Essex, 1903, 493a), i.e. it may have included the land on the north-west of the parish running down to Mundon Creek. Bridgeman's and Greenlane Farm are suggested as Domesday manors on the evidence that on the Lawling Hall map of 1696 they are distinct from Lawling Hall and both occupy discrete parcels of land. However, it is possible that one of the manors was centred on the moated site at Good Hares.

# Work of Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1978

*Edited by C. R. COUCHMAN*

1978 saw a number of discoveries worthy of report as the result of watching briefs and minor excavations by the Section and by part-time archaeologists; also a small amount of excavation in museum stores. Members of the Section who have contributed (subsequently referred to by initials) are: J. Hedges (County Archaeological Officer), D. Buckley (Assistant Archaeologist), K. Bohannon, P. Clarke, C. Couchman, M. Eddy, H. J. Major, H. Martingell, D. Priddy, H. Toller and C. Turner; M. Wadhams of the Conservation and Historic Buildings Section has also contributed. The Section wish to thank those who undertook watching briefs on their behalf, or who wrote contributions to this report. Some of the work undertaken by local societies at the request of the Section is included here; other sites will be published independently.

The uneven distribution of work on the different periods will be noted, with the emphasis on the medieval and post-medieval. This reflects merely the sites available for inspection, not deliberate policy. It is interesting that, purely by chance, what may be the basis of systematic surveys of several villages has emerged.

During the year several pieces of research have been deposited with the County Archaeological Record; these are listed at the end of this report.

Items are arranged in chronological order; multiperiod sites are listed under their earliest date. References, e.g. TL 81.60, relate to the E.C.C. Archaeological Record.

## **1. TQ 58 Romford, c. TQ 509 855 (D.B., H.M.)**

Several palaeolithic hand-axes and flint flakes were found in 1977 during gravel extraction by the dragline operator, Mr. R. Griggs. In 1978 he lent the two finest to the Archaeology Section for recording. He believes that the gravel seam from which the flints came runs from May & Baker's pharmaceutical factory down to the River Thames; and it is possible that they were still within their area of original deposition.

The two hand-axes are typical examples from a Lower Palaeolithic flint industry. The smaller (Fig. 1.1) is a rough pointed hand-axe of dark flint. Areas of cortex remain, mostly at the butt, and there are also areas of thermal fracture. It appears to have been made by heavy hammer technique, leaving a large and prominent cone of percussion at the butt, and deep flake beds over most of the surface. The tip is damaged, possibly recently, and some of the ridges show signs of rolling. Slight patination is present.

The larger axe (Fig. 1.2) is a well-worked pointed hand-axe, almost a pyramid in section and patinated cream with some staining. Two areas of cortex appear at the butt. The flaking is not as deep as on the smaller axe and the directions of flake removal are far more regular. There is slight damage along the edge and at the tip; in general the steeper side (first view) has a more worn and rolled appearance than the flatter side.

Private possession.

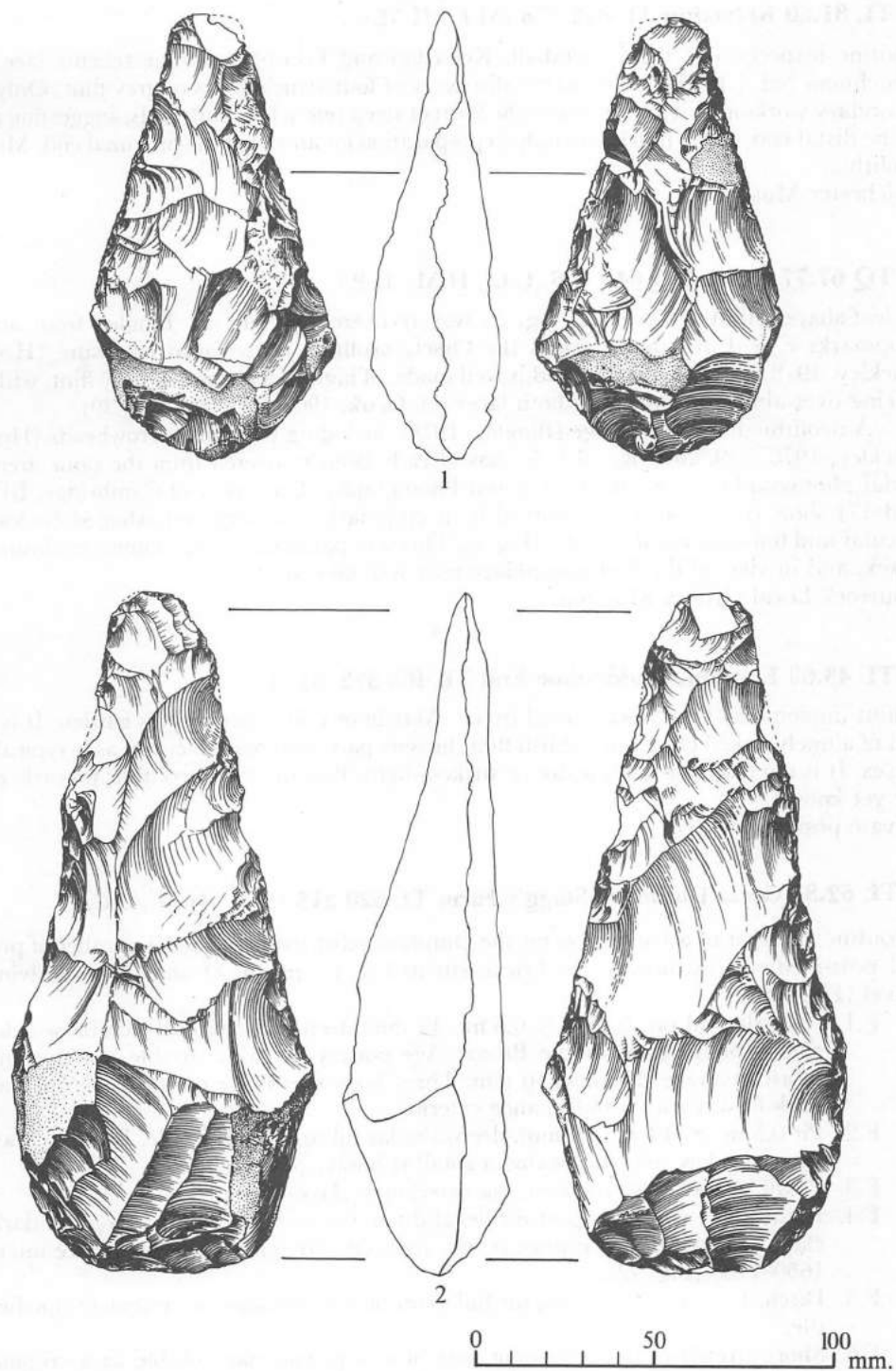


Fig. 1 Palaeolithic hand-axes, Romford.

## 2. TL 81.60 Kelvedon TL 866 188 (M.E., H.M.)

Routine inspection of the Coggeshall, Kelvedon and Feering sewerage scheme (see M.E. in Couchman (ed.), 1977, 71) led to the discovery of four struck flakes of grey flint. Only one has secondary working (Fig. 2); this is in the form of steep retouch at both ends, suggesting a scraper at the distal end, and a notch, possibly in preparation for an awl at the proximal end. Mesolithic-neolithic.

Colchester Museum.

## 3. TQ 67.77 Orsett TQ 646 796 (C.C., H.M., D.P.)

A leaf-shaped flint arrowhead (Fig. 5) was recovered by Mr. R. Bingley from an area of cropmarks c. 800 m. south-west of the Orsett neolithic causewayed enclosure (Hedges and Buckley, 1978, 252). The arrowhead is well made, of high-quality brown/grey flint, with shallow flaking over almost the whole of both faces (cf. Clark, 1960, 220, fig. 13, F.30).

A neolithic flint assemblage (Bingley, 1978), including two other arrowheads (Hedges and Buckley, 1978, 259, 261, fig. 28.4, 5), has already been recovered from the same area. Recent aerial photographs (Committee for Aerial Photography, University of Cambridge, BIK 14, 16 and 17) show this area to be occupied by a cropmark of a large cello-shaped enclosure with circular and linear internal features (Fig. 7). This is unparalleled by any known enclosure form in Essex, and in view of the flint assemblage may well be neolithic.

Thurrock Local History Museum.

## 4. TL 43.63 Elmdon, Duddenhoe End TL 465 372 (H.M.)

A flint implement (Fig. 3) was found by Dr. Martin of Lofts Green in his garden. It is the butt end of a finely flaked chisel, in reddish flint, heavily patinated orange-cream as is typical of these pieces. It is too large for a fabricator or strike-a-light. Possibly later neolithic; no early examples are yet known.

Private possession.

## 5. TL 62.87 Great Dunmow, Stagg's Farm TL 620 215 (M.E., H.M., C.C.)

A routine site visit to a borrow pit for the Dunmow relief road revealed a number of prehistoric and post-medieval features in the brickearth (0.3 to 1.0 m. thick) and the underlying sandy gravel (Fig. 10).

- F.1. A small oval pit, 0.7 m. × 0.6 m., 15 mm. deep. Fill charcoal-rich brown clay. Four sherds of early or middle Bronze Age pottery in coarse friable heavily flint-gritted fabric, average thickness 10 mm. Three body sherds are dark brown, one base sherd dark brown with a buff-orange exterior.
- F.2. Pit 0.5 m. × 0.4 m., 50 mm. deep, similar fill to F.1 but sterile. F.1 and 2 lay on the crest of a low hill overlooking a small tributary of the Chelmer.
- F.3. Possible post-hole, 100 mm. diameter, grey clayey silt fill.
- F.4. Right-angle corner of post-medieval ditch, 0.5 m. wide, 0.2 m. deep, fill dark brown clay. Rim sherd, soft orange fabric, reduced core, greenish-brown glaze internally, c. 1650–1700 (Fig. 22).
- F.5. Ditch, 1 m. wide, following the hill's contours. Contained two fragments medieval peg-tile.
- F.6. Short stretch of ditch forming part of a land boundary visible as a cropmark and lynchet as far north as Folly Farm and as far south as Ash Grove. Undated.
- F.7. Pit 0.7 m. × 0.5 m., fill dark brown clay. Undated.



Fig. 2 Scraper/awl, Kelvedon.

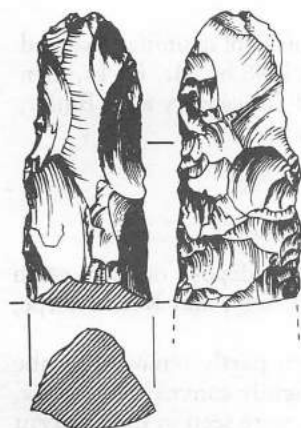


Fig. 3 Neolithic chisel, Duddenhoe End.

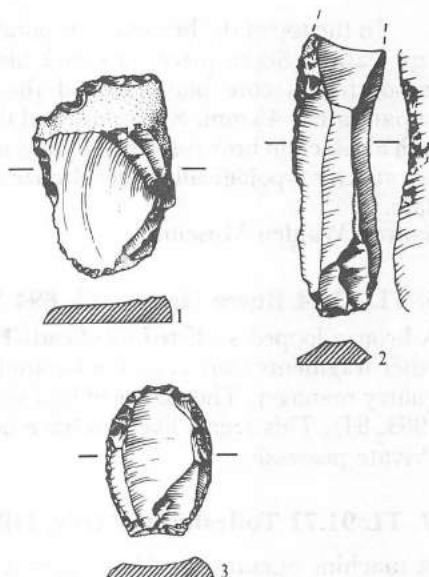


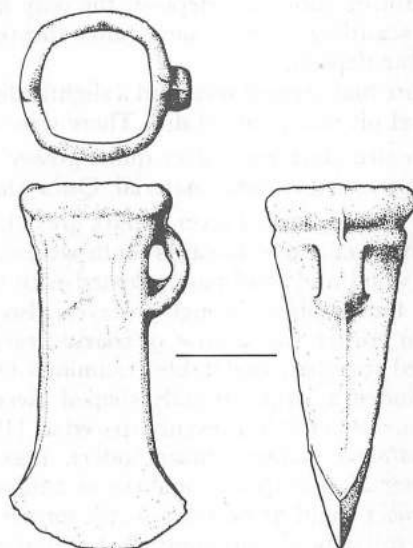
Fig. 4 Neolithic-Early Bronze Age flints, Great Dunmow.

0 50 100 mm.



0 10 20 30 40 mm.

Fig. 5 Neolithic arrowhead, Orsett.



0 50 100 mm.

Fig. 6 Late Bronze Age axe, Bures Hamlet.



In the top of the brickearth around the southern end of F.5 was a scatter of flints unrelated to any feature. Seven pieces of struck black flint were collected. Two are patinated and probably mesolithic: a core platform and the larger of two blades (Fig. 4.2). The smaller blade is unpatinated, 45 mm.  $\times$  12 mm.; and there are three flakes, one heavily retouched (Fig. 4.1). The fifth artefact, in brown-stained flint, is a very finely flaked neolithic/Bronze Age scraper (Fig. 4.3), not strictly typologically early Bronze Age as there is no 'scale flaking', but still possibly Beaker date.

Saffron Walden Museum.

#### 6. TL 83.14 Bures Hamlet TL 894 341 (J.H.)

A bronze looped socketed axe-head (Fig. 6) was found with a small piece of a similar axe and other fragments (not available for study) during mineral extraction in 1948 by Mr. Hicks, then quarry manager. The axe-head is of south-eastern type, mid-8th to mid-7th century B.C. (Butler, 1963, 84). This seems likely to have been part of a small personal hoard.

Private possession.

#### 7. TL 91.71 Tolleshunt d'Arcy, Hill Farm gravel pit TL 922 116 (C.C.)

A machine operator for Hall Aggregates Ltd. reported the discovery of a deposit of black earth with wood and a horse's skull. The writer thanks the operator, Mr. Carey, and Rev. Thorpe, Vicar of Tolleshunt d'Arcy, for their assistance.

A subrectangular area of dark grey clay cut into gravel had been partly removed by the machine. It was c. 1.5 m.  $\times$  1.3 m. square, oriented NE.-SW., with slightly convex sides, and c. 0.5 m. deep, the top 1.8 m. below original ground surface. No features were seen in the adjacent quarry edge; but cropmarks are known of two subrectangular enclosures in the north-west corner of the field, and of a north-south aligned possible field boundary (N.M.R. photo 9211/2/97 491) (Fig. 8). There was no variation in the gravel/clay mix (seen on the air photograph to be a periglacial feature) above the deposit; the only hint of human activity in this was a piece of squared oak, scantling 80  $\times$  45 mm. (after shrinkage), 1.01 m. long, with a pointed lower end sticking into the deposit.

The feature had vertical sides and a slightly dished base, and had been below the water table until the gravel pit was pumped dry. There were three layers:

1. Top centre, dark green-grey quite 'greasy' clay, almost stone-free, with some fine twigs. Possibly rotted organic material. Quite sharp junction with layer 2.
2. Below and to sides of layer 1, dark grey clayey silt; worked timber and twigs, some with diagonally cut ends, towards south-west side of pit. In the top of this wood was a horse's skull, wood and skull partly coated with vivianite, confirming long-term waterlogging. Many flint pebbles throughout layer, also twigs, grass/straw, and beetle remains. Near eastern corner was a knot of coarse vegetable fibre rope, of three S-twisted elements Z-plyed together, undatable (examined by Elisabeth Crowfoot). The timber was oak. It included a large carefully shaped piece (broken) with five holes bored through, c. 20 mm. diameter; four evenly spaced at 110 mm., one at 150 mm. The twigs were *corylus avellana/alnus glutinosa* (hazel/alder), max. diameter 15 mm., and *betula sp.* (birch), diameter 20 mm. plus, some cut in antiquity and more than half with their bark. The oak object could be part of a wattle former and hazel would be ideal for wattle uprights. Also a roll of birch bark, possibly burnt at one end (Wood report, Valerie Taylor).
3. Base layer: much sandier, lighter grey-green, with gravel pebbles: primary silt. Contained one piece of unidentified long bone.

It is suggested that this was a shallow well, the upper part at least possibly wattle-lined. It was open long enough for fine clay silt (layer 1), small fauna and grass/straw to accumulate; the

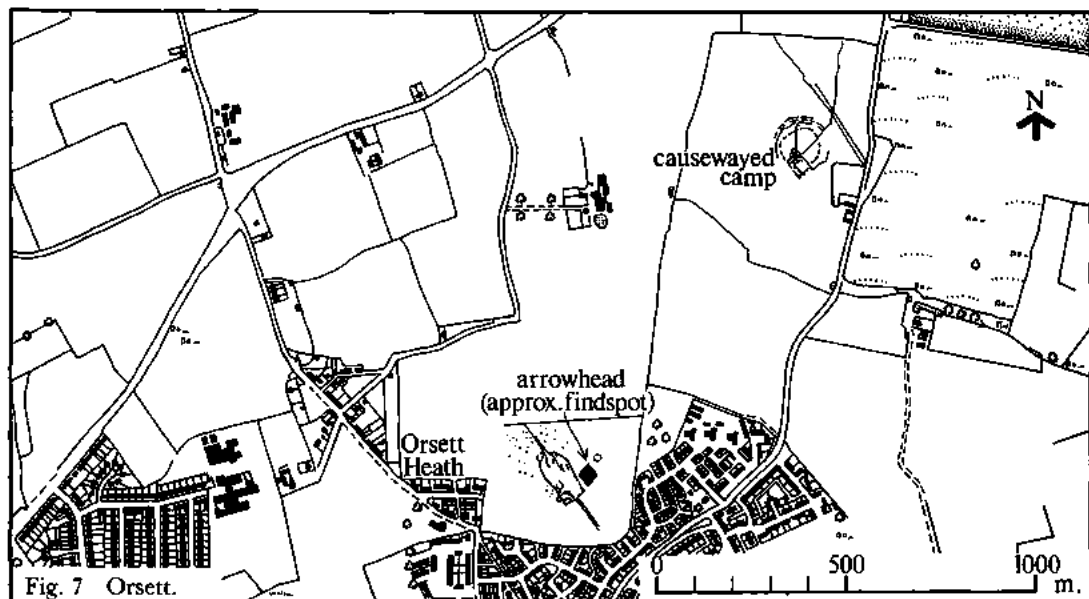


Fig. 7 Orsett.

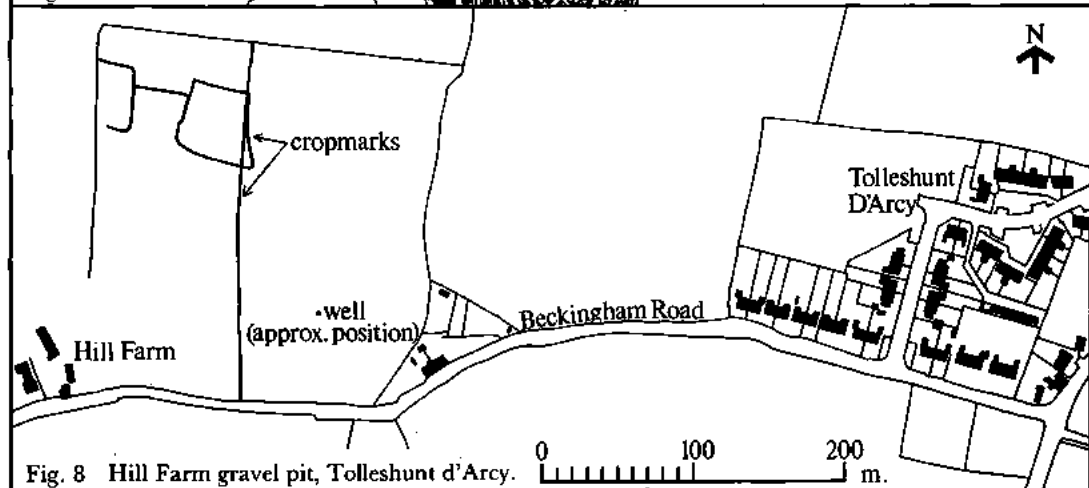


Fig. 8 Hill Farm gravel pit, Tolleshunt d'Arcy.

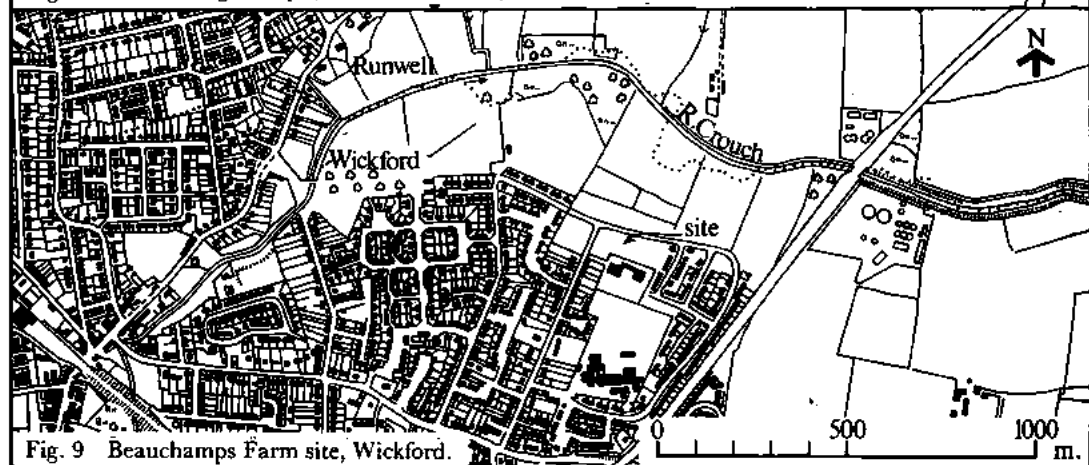


Fig. 9 Beauchamps Farm site, Wickford.

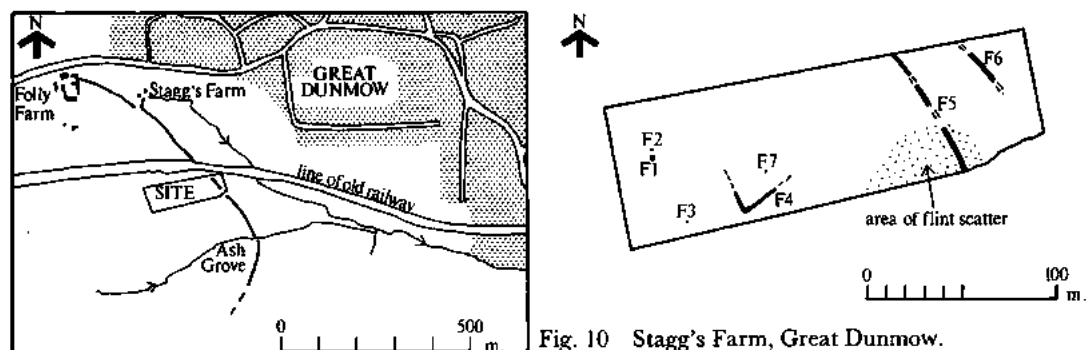
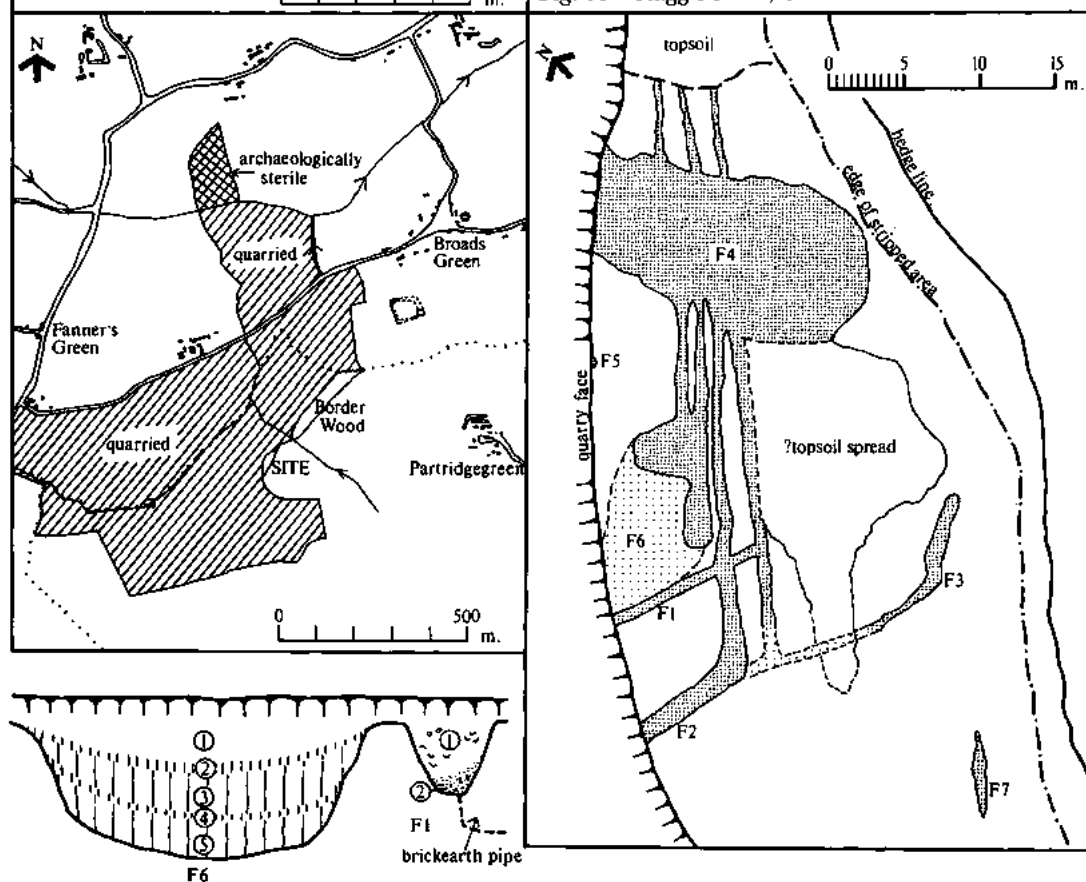


Fig. 10 Stagg's Farm, Great Dunmow.



Sections exposed in quarry face.

Fig. 11 Border Wood, Broomfield/Great Waltham.

fact that the upper 1.8 m. was indistinguishable from the surrounding natural suggests deliberate backfilling or collapse of the sides.

Mr. Carey reported red-fired clay fragments, 'possibly like Roman tile', present when he discovered the feature, but local children had removed these. No other datable finds were recovered.

The presence of the horse's skull tempts one to suggest tentatively that this might have been a ritual well. Horse and head cults in Iron Age and Roman Europe are well attested, as is the use of wells as repositories for offerings to the gods (see Ross, 1968). Lack of datable finds makes further speculation unprofitable.

## 8. TL 61.130 Broomfield/Great Waltham, Border Wood TL 688 118 (M.E., C.T.)

Roman finds were first recorded in 1976 by the late Howard Young. 1978 saw the removal of overburden prior to landscaping by Cawoods Aggregates Ltd., and a site visit was made.

The site lay on chalky boulder clay *c.* 12 m. thick over gravel. Dry weather had hardened this, making excavation difficult; however, the sections in the quarry face were recorded (Fig. 11):

- F.1. layer 1. Black clayey loam, some oyster, few charcoal fragments.
- layer 2. Orange-grey silty sand, much oyster, mussel, charcoal. Cut into apparent brickearth pipe.
- F.2 and 3. Brown clayey loam, probably same feature.
- F.4. layer 1. Brown organic loam, many flints, some chalk fragments.
- layer 2. Orange silty clay, few small pebbles and chalk lumps.
- layer 3. Dark grey silty clay, charcoal fragments, rare flints.
- layer 4. Grey silty clay, some charcoal.
- layer 5. Orange-grey silty sand, some small pebbles, chalk lumps, charcoal fragments.
- layer 6. As layer 3 but lighter.
- layer 7. Grey silty clay, charcoal, oyster. Pit or ditch, overlain by layer 3.
- F.5. Grey clayey loam, lower two-thirds very stony. Pit.
- F.6. layer 1. Redeposited boulder clay, not seen in plan.
- layers 2, 4. Grey silty clay.
- layers 3, 5. Light brown silty clay.
- F.7. Brown silty clay. Irregular linear feature, possibly a ditch.

### Pottery

586 sherds, mostly coarse wares, with a few tile and baked clay fragments. Majority from F.1, 4 and 5. F.1 contained the only fine wares: Samian, one cream slipped and two rough-cast body sherds. F.3: one sherd only; F.7: aceramic. Range of pottery from early Iron Age (or neolithic? — Fig. 12.11) to mid-3rd–4th century A.D. Those with dated parallels illustrated *but* these dates need not be valid in Essex and in the case of Camulodunum form numbers, may need revision; Level 3 archive of all pottery in E.C.C. Archaeological Record. Fig. 12 (sherds arranged chronologically on drawing):

#### F.1, layer 1:

1. Hand-made, very hard, dark grey-black fabric, sand and shell temper. L.P.R.I.A.
2. Very hard black sand-tempered fabric. Early 1st century.
3. Hard grey sand-tempered fabric. Drag. f.27 copy. Commonly pre-A.D. 75 (Cunliffe, 1971, 50.3).
- 4, 5, 6. Fine hard grey and black sandy fabric; smooth external surface. ? 1st–early 2nd century A.D. (Rodwell, 1978).
7. Hard black sandy fabric; smooth external surface.
8. Fine hard grey sandy fabric. Late 1st–2nd century A.D. (Frere, 1972, fig. 107, 281).

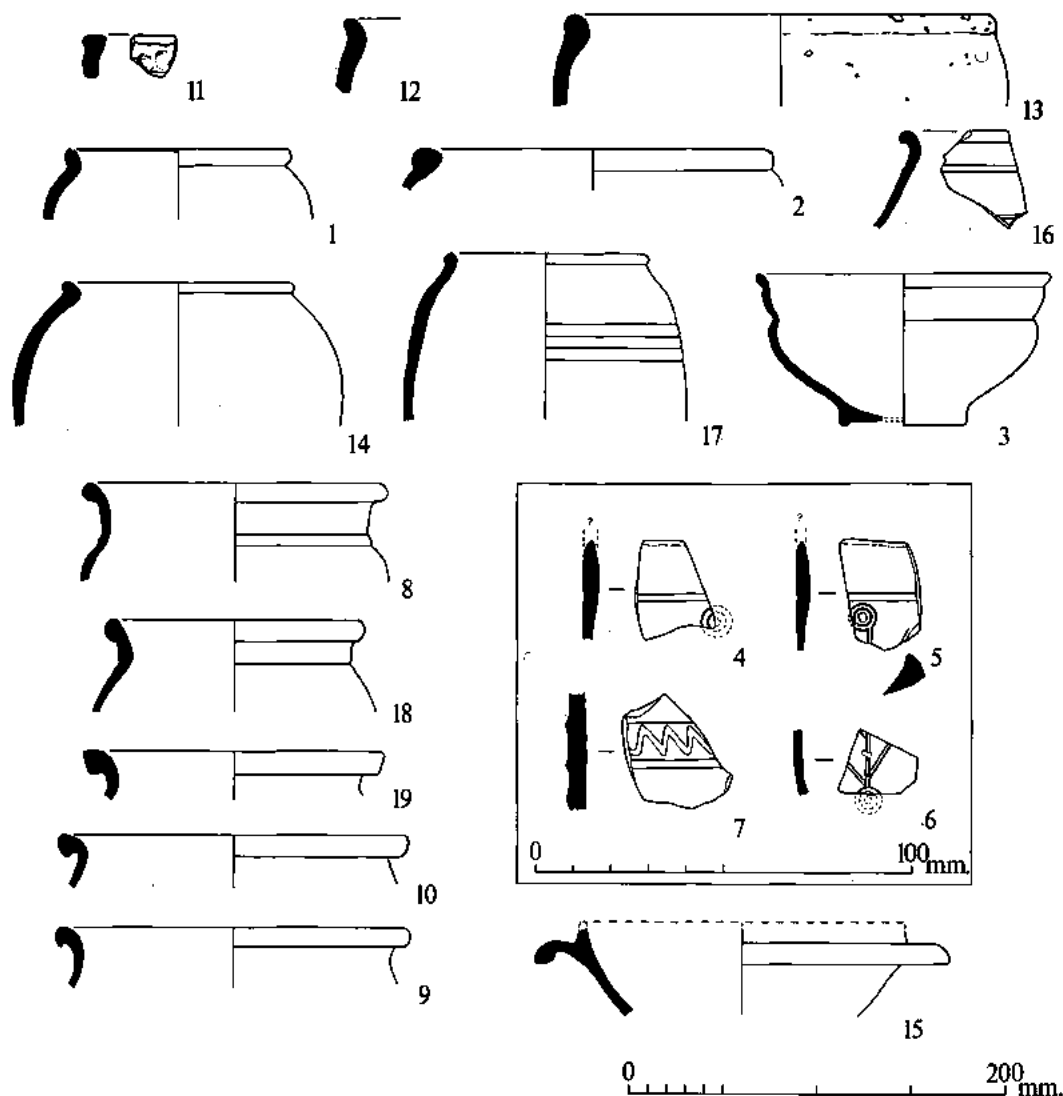


Fig. 12 Pottery from Border Wood.

9. Very hard black sandy fabric.

F.1, layer 2:

10. Hard grey-brown fabric, coarse flint and sand temper (Drury, 1976, fig. 24, 67, in layers dated A.D. 260-300).

F.3:

11. Hand-made, very hard black and red-brown flint-tempered fabric. Neolithic or E.P.R.I.A.

F.4:

12. Hand-made, hard black sandy fabric, smooth surfaces. M.P.R.I.A. (Drury and Rodwell, 1973, fig. 13, 18).

13. Hand-made, hard grey-black fabric, shell and grog tempered; smooth exterior. M.P.R.I.A.

14. Hard black sandy fabric. Cam f.256; commonly A.D. 41–48.
15. Fine soft orange fabric, no apparent temper. Traces of dark red slip on exterior. Probably mid-3rd–4th century.

F.5:

16. Hard red-brown sandy micaceous fabric. Commonly mid-1st century A.D. (Cunliffe, 1971, 189, 63.1).
17. Hard dark grey-black fabric, sand and grog temper. Cam f.249E, A.D. 49–60.
18. Very hard, grey, sandy fabric.
19. Fabric as 18. Probably 2nd century (Manning, 1962, fig. 5, 26).

F.1, 2 and perhaps 3 are apparently the corner of a multiditched enclosure. F.4 and 6 are exceptionally large hollows, though whether backfilled quarries, ponds or industrial 'pits' comparable to those related to the Chignal St. James 'villa' less than 3 km. to the south-west (P. Clarke, pers. comm.) is unclear. F.5 may have been a shallow well. The obtuse angle of the enclosure's corner also suggests similarity with the larger hexagonal enclosure around the Chignal 'villa'.

The late-3rd-century date from F.1, layer 2, is comparable with the post-*c.* A.D. 230 date of the main ditch system at Chignal (P. Clarke, pers. comm.). The dating of F.4 fill is also similar to that from the layers above the sunken floors at Chignal. The abundance of late Iron Age and early Roman material strongly suggests substantial occupation at that time, now lost except possibly F.5. Earlier activity is shown by an E.P.R.I.A. or neolithic sherd from F.3, and residual M.P.R.I.A. sherds in F.4.

Chelmsford Museum

#### 9. TL 72.31 Braintree, Rosemary Avenue TL 756 238 (M.E.)

Inspection of a housing development near the findspot in 1947 of Roman burials (Drury, 1976, 101, sites 32–3) produced no evidence of Roman occupation. There were two undated pits in the side of the scrape for the access road to the development. They were *c.* 20 m. from the north side of Rosemary Avenue, 1.5 m. apart, both *c.* 0.5 m. wide, 0.3 m. plus deep in section. No bones were observed.

#### 10. TQ 79.17 Wickford, Beauchamps Farm TQ 761 938. Pauline Neild, Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society

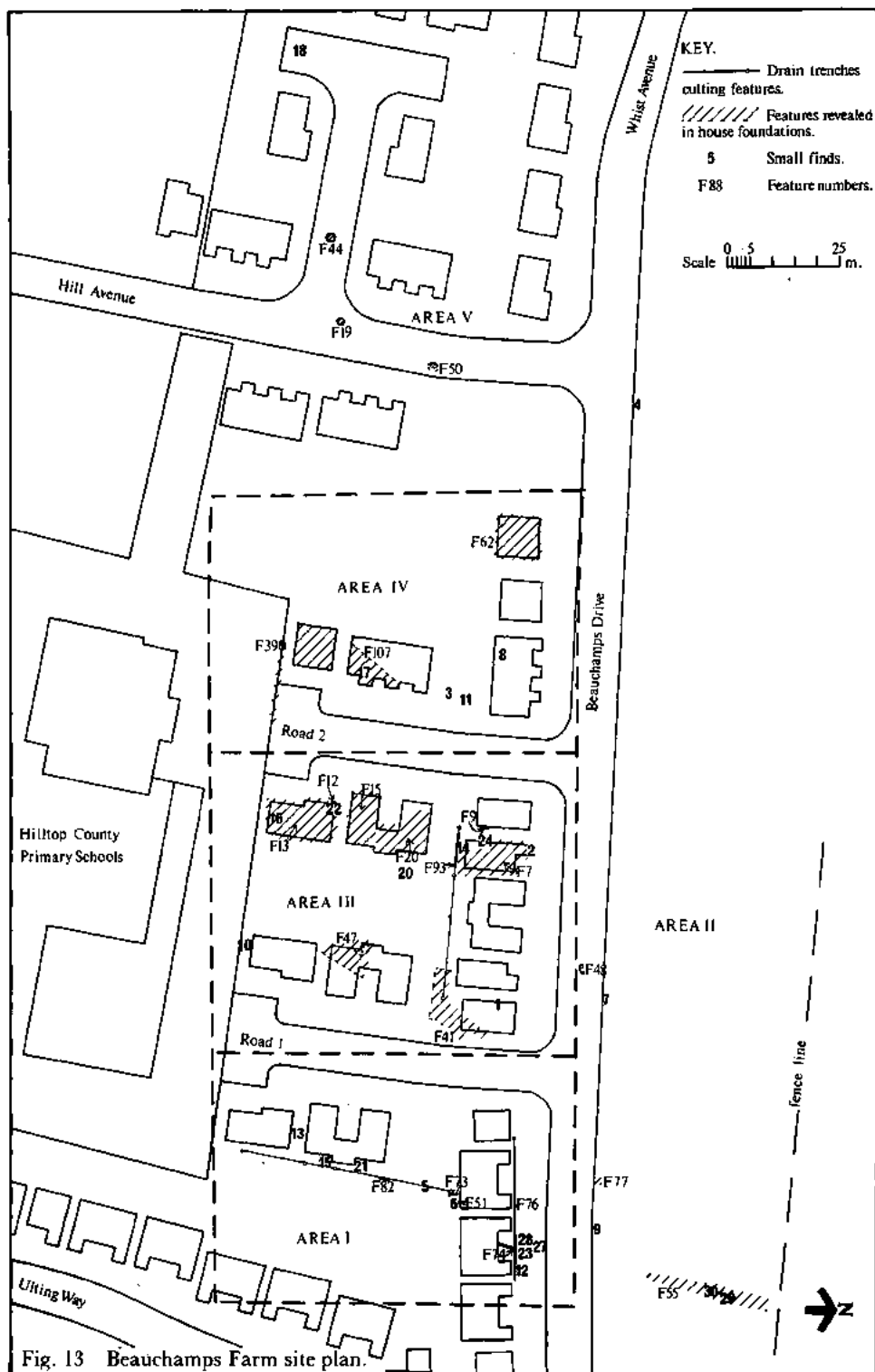
This is a progress report of a watching brief held on the Carter Ward housing development in 1978 (Fig. 9), just north-west of the 1965–72 excavations by W. J. Rodwell. Rodwell's work indicated 6th–5th century B.C. to 5th century A.D. occupation (Rodwell, 1966, 1967 and 1970), including a military presence in the 1st century A.D. and subsequent civilian development. There have been many reports of finds from nearby areas since 1972, intensifying during 1977. As a result the B.A.H.S. undertook a site watch, to continue in 1979. Thanks are due to the developers for access, to finders of objects for permission to study them, and to specialists for their reports.

This note lists the main features and objects recorded up to the end of 1978.

#### Area I (Figs. 13, 14, 16)

Evidence for much disturbance, purpose not yet clear.

- F.73. Dark organic soil area, with Roman coarse pottery. ? continues as F.51.
- F.74. At least 7 m. wide. Fill very dark, with burnt wood fragments and some Roman coarse pottery. Small finds 12, 23, 27 and 28.
- F.76. Finds included much Roman coarse pottery and largely late 2nd–3rd century samian, ox and horse bone. Part of tile structure partially enclosed F.76.
- F.82. 2.6 m. wide, 0.6 m. deep, ditch-like profile. Bone, Roman coarse pottery, tile, burnt clay—some fired to a cinder.



*Area II (Figs. 13, 15)*

- F.48. Reported but no information available.
- F.55. Observed area 60 m.<sup>2</sup>; full extent not defined. Much Roman coarse ware, some samian.
- F.77. Overall dimensions unobtainable. Fired clay and charcoal overlay grey silt. Finds in top layers included late 2nd-century samian and coin of Antoninus Pius. Grey silt may be fill of well; it contained colour-coated beaker and graffito sherd (C.V.R.), animal bone and a minute amount of cremated human bone.

*Area III (Figs. 13, 16, 17)*

- F.7. Very dark soil to depth of 0.2 m.—may be spoil from elsewhere on site. Contained Flavian samian and small find 2. Small finds 14 and 24 from nearby.
- F.9. 0.8 × more than 0.5 m. wide, 0.5 m. deep. Signs of burning, much fragmented animal bone. Piece of Antonine or early 3rd-century samian.
- F.12. Pit cut into F.13, 0.4 m. deep. Piece of Antonine samian, late 2nd–early-3rd-century pie-dish, small find 22.
- F.13. Patches of fire-reddened clay with smithing slag and much broken *tegula*. Small find 16 from F.12/13 area.
- F.15. Spoil from this feature contained smithing slag.
- F.20. As F.7. Both contained animal bone, cremated human bone, much coarse ware, nails, pieces of lead.
- F.41, 47. Areas of tightly packed pebbles, possibly courtyard areas. F.41 surface had a number of circular burnt patches. Much bovine bone on surface. F.47 bounded on one side by cockle-shell drain—stratigraphy elsewhere on site suggests these drains are post-Roman.
- F.93. Group of four pits, dark organic soil, coarse pottery. Trajanic-Hadrianic samian possibly from here.

*Area IV (Figs. 13, 18)*

Features noted by several people, no information recorded on some.

- F.19, 44. Cremation burials. F.44 contained 1st-century A.D. carinated beaker.
  - F.50. No detailed information. Contained piece of 2nd-century samian.
- Information on samian from Norma Davies and Dr. W. J. Rodwell.

*Coins: M. Hammerson*

(A full coin list is deposited with E.C.C. Archaeological Record.)

The coin list is not dissimilar to those from sites occupied throughout the Roman period to A.D. 370–80's, though with a rather higher proportion of 1st–2nd century coins than normal. Most were recovered by metal-detector users and it may be that the larger earlier coins were more readily found than the smaller or more corroded later ones. Not all the coins were available for examination; others included two coins of Cunobelinus.

Many were found in a cremation burial area. Other burials, of 1st-, 3rd- and 4th-century date, have been noted nearby (Wilson, 1970, 291). There may therefore be a votive element in the coin deposition. The earlier bronze coins generally show heavy wear and could also represent a scattered coin hoard buried early-mid-3rd century; however, their findspots were widely dispersed.

The following points may be noted:

1. Coin 1/21 is a worn *As*, probably of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), stamped with the countermark TIB.IM. This seems to have been struck on coins at the Rhine frontier fort of *Moguntiacum* (Mainz), Upper Germany, during the Tiberian period (MacDowall, 1966),



whence *Legio XIV Gemina* was transferred to take part in the A.D. 43 invasion. This coin's presence in Britain is almost certainly due to the movements of that Legion; though Wickford is in the area thought to have been occupied by *Legio XX Valeria* during the invasion there is no reason why the coin should not have been moved the short distance between the probable areas of operation of the two legions. Dr. Rodwell's excavations revealed a military-type ditch (Wilson, 1972, 335).

2. Coin 1/25 is certainly, and 2/16 probably, an imitation of the official coinage of Claudius I (A.D. 41–54). 1/25 is typical of low-grade imitations often found in quantity on later Claudian and Neronian military sites (c. A.D. 50–65); though single specimens should be treated with reservations as they seem to have circulated well into the Flavian period (see Hammerson, 1978).
3. Almost 30% of Constantinian coins (A.D. 313–61) date before A.D. 330; a higher proportion than normal site finds. This may reflect the metal-detectors' failure to find the small late-Constantinian issues and imitations. Few of the small House of Valentinian issues (A.D. 364–78) and none of the small Theodosian issues (A.D. 378–402) are present; this could reflect the method of discovery or a falling-off in intensity of coin-loss after the 360s, a common phenomenon in Britain.

#### *Illustrated small finds*

Numbers are as allotted on discovery or receipt by author. All items bronze unless otherwise stated; drawn by author unless draughtsman's initials given. Thanks are due to D. Haigh and C.C. for research on some items.

#### *Area I (Fig. 14; Fig. 16.13)*

5. Fibula, Cam. Type III ('Colchester brooch'), 1st century A.D. up to c. A.D. 65.
6. Fibula, Cam. Type IIIA, date-range as Type III.
12. Casket- or drawer-handle, cf. Hawkes and Hull, 1947, plate C, No. 3, and p. 333, where not later than early A.D. 60's (C.T.).
13. Derived from Swiss or Rhenish type of triskele openwork mounting, 1st century A.D. possibly to 3rd century (MacGregor, 1976, Vol. 1, 186–8, and fig. 9) (C.C.).
15. Fibula, Cam. Type IV (Dolphin type), Neronian–mid-2nd century A.D.
21. Fibula, Cam. Type XVIII ('Hod Hill'), Claudio–Neronian.
23. Strap end?
26. Bronze-headed iron bolt, possibly head of small lynch-pin (C.C.).
27. Fibula, Cam. Type IV (Southend Museum).
28. Tinned quatrefoil strap junction. See note on 17 (Southend Museum).

#### *Area II (Fig. 15)*

4. Fibula, originally six-coil spring; simple wings on head, middle of bow expanded to a knob. Parallels hard to find; possibly trumpet-brooch prototype or variant, late 1st–mid-2nd century A.D. (H.J.M.).
7. Key handle (C.T.).
9. Ornamental bolt head (H.J.M.).
29. Fibula, Cam. Type VII (Nauheim derivative), Claudio–Neronian or slightly later.

#### *Area III (1–10, Fig. 16; 14–32, Fig. 17)*

1. Enamelled disc brooch. A simpler example from Fishbourne was pre-A.D. 75 (Hull, 1971, fig. 40.39 and p. 104). Butcher illustrates one from Gadebridge Park (1974, fig. 55.29 and p. 128), and notes a Wroxeter example of this 'buckler' type dated pre-A.D. 120, and that it is common in Belgian graves of the second half of the 2nd century A.D. (C.T.).

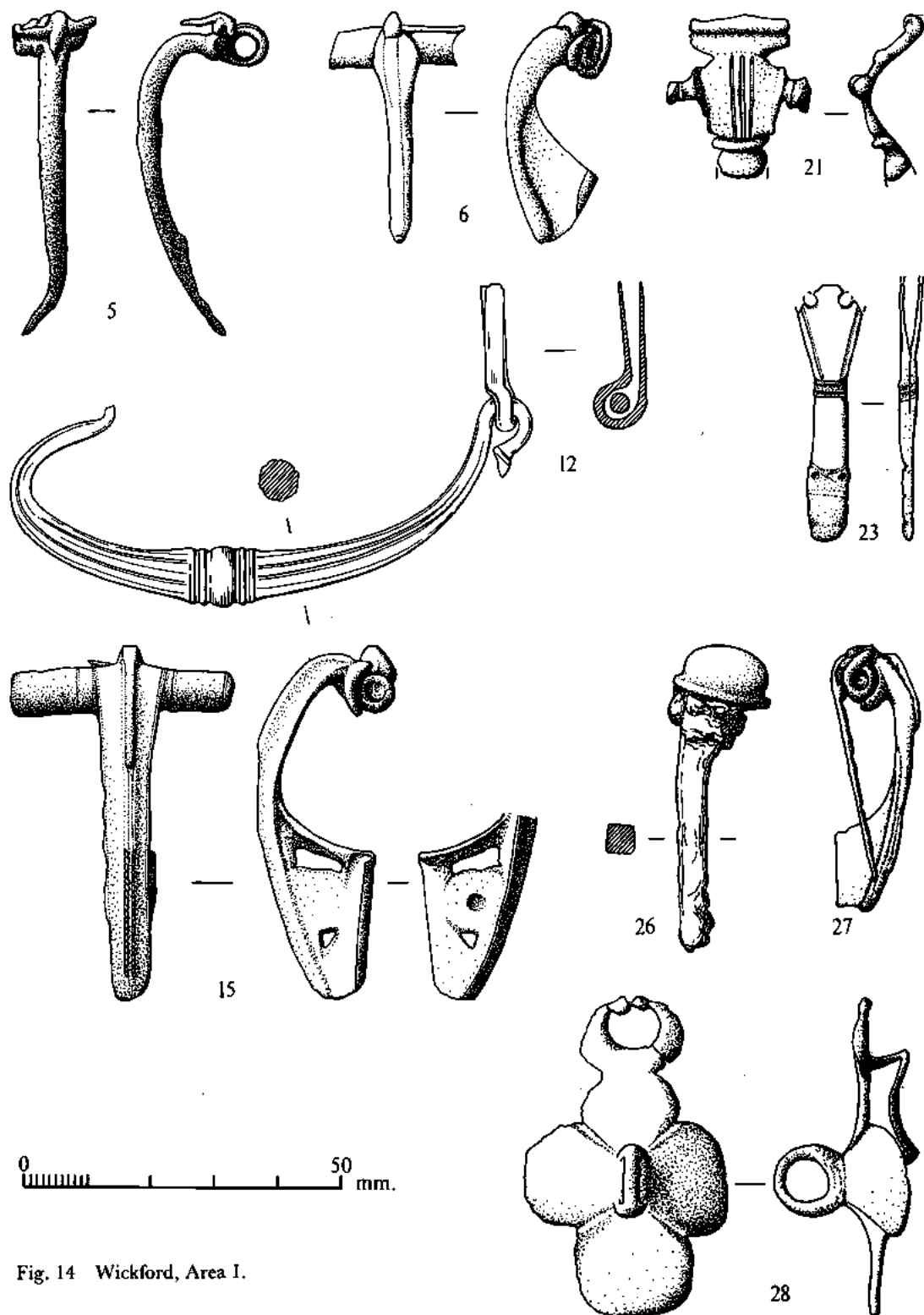


Fig. 14 Wickford, Area I.

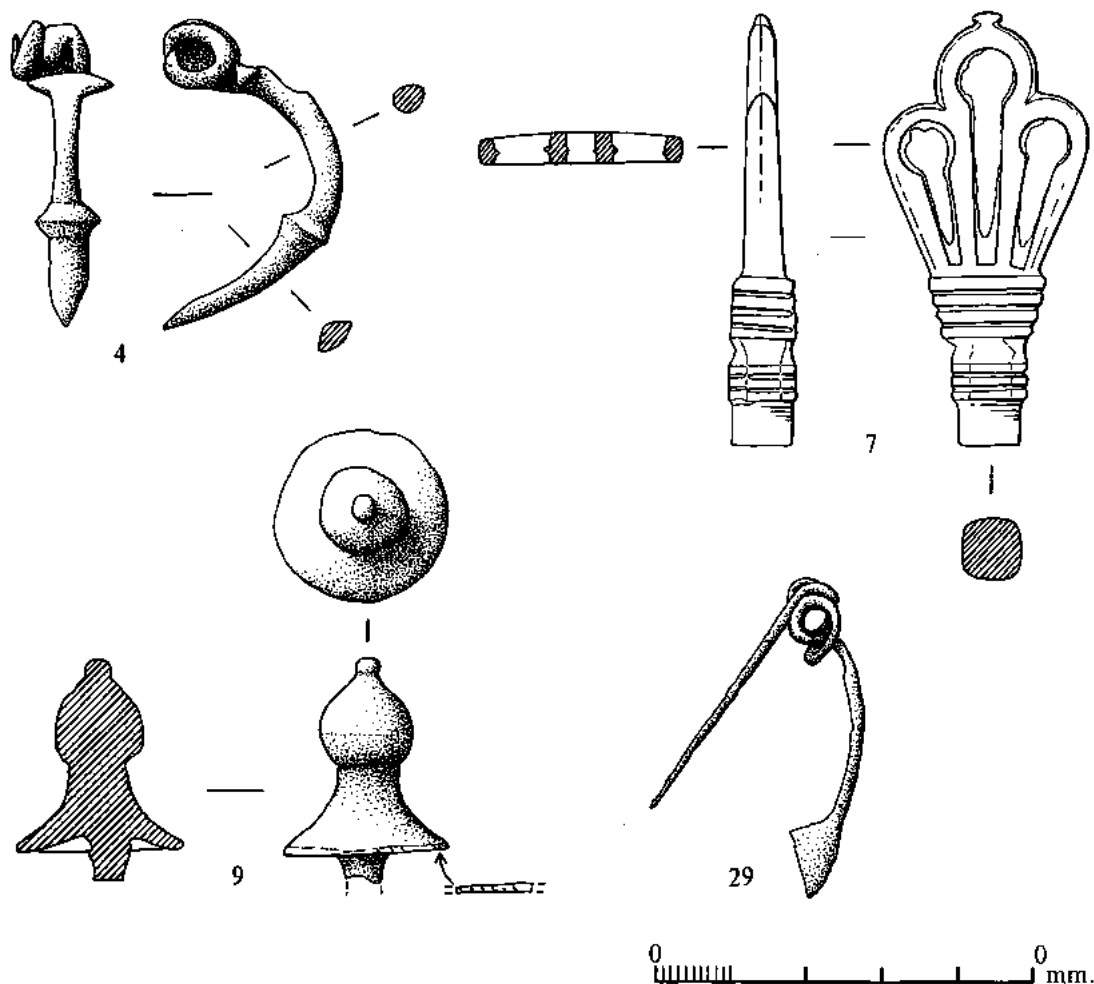


Fig. 15 Wickford, Area II.

2. Enamelled dragonesque brooch, 2nd century A.D. Almost exact parallel from Scole, unstratified (Rogerson, 1977, 133-4, and fig. 55.11); also Wroxeter (Bushe-Fox, 1916, pl. XVI, 9), dated *c.* A.D. 130. (C.T.).
10. Flat plaque with openwork motif (C.T.).
14. Fragment of twisted lead strip.
16. Part of pewter mould (C.C.).
20. Part of grey metal receptacle. Possibly not ancient? (C.C.).
22. Silvered bronze—part of furniture fitting?
24. Part of buckle-plate with openwork decoration, ? mid-2nd—late 3rd century A.D. Cf. Rogerson, 1977, 136-7, and fig. 57, 24; the continental parallels he quotes are both from forts.
25. Plain ring.
32. Disc brooch originally with iron pin. Rough parallel from Wroxeter (Bushe-Fox, 1916, pl. XVI, 12). 2nd-3rd century A.D. (C.C.).

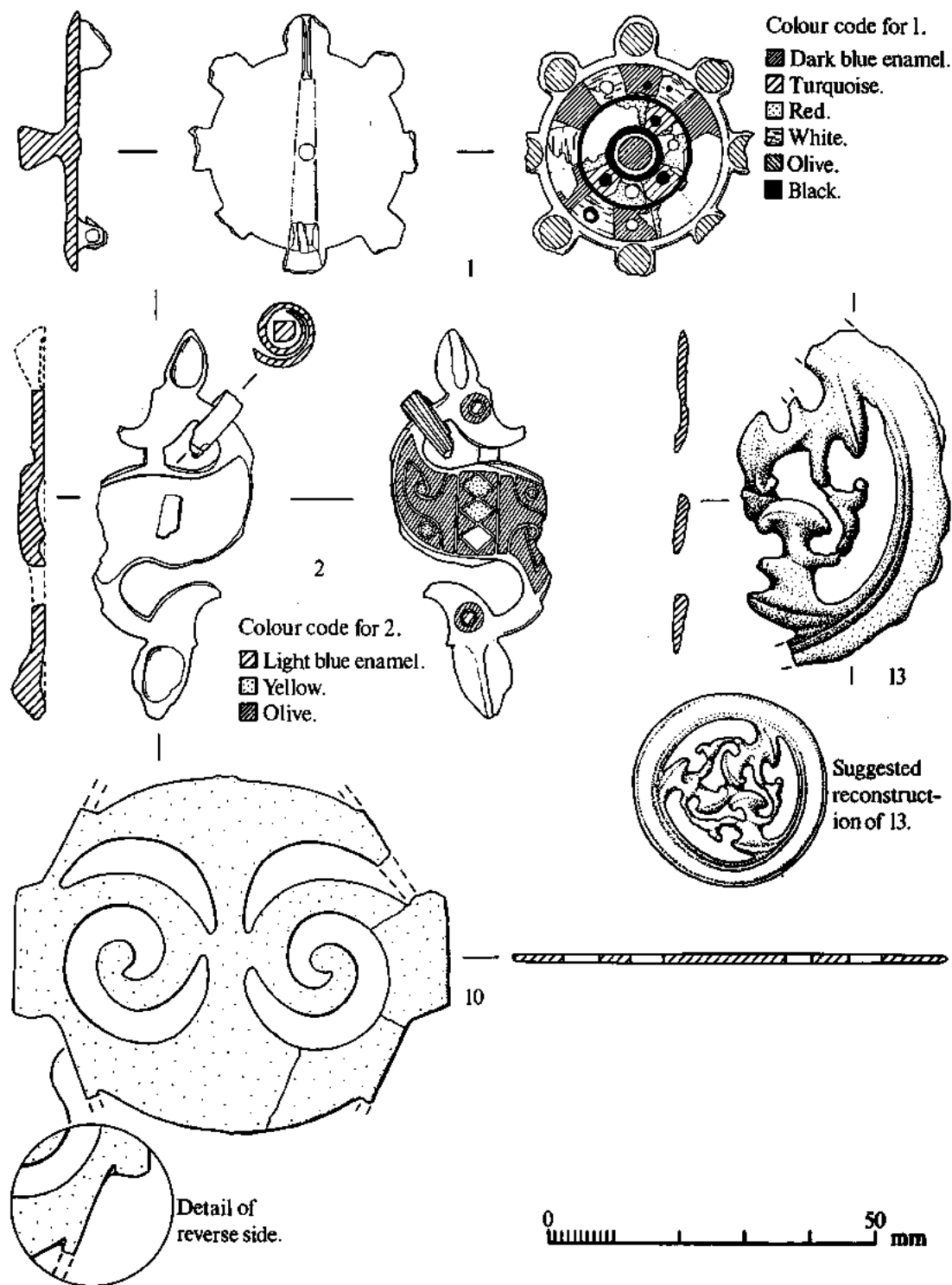


Fig. 16 Wickford, Areas I and III.

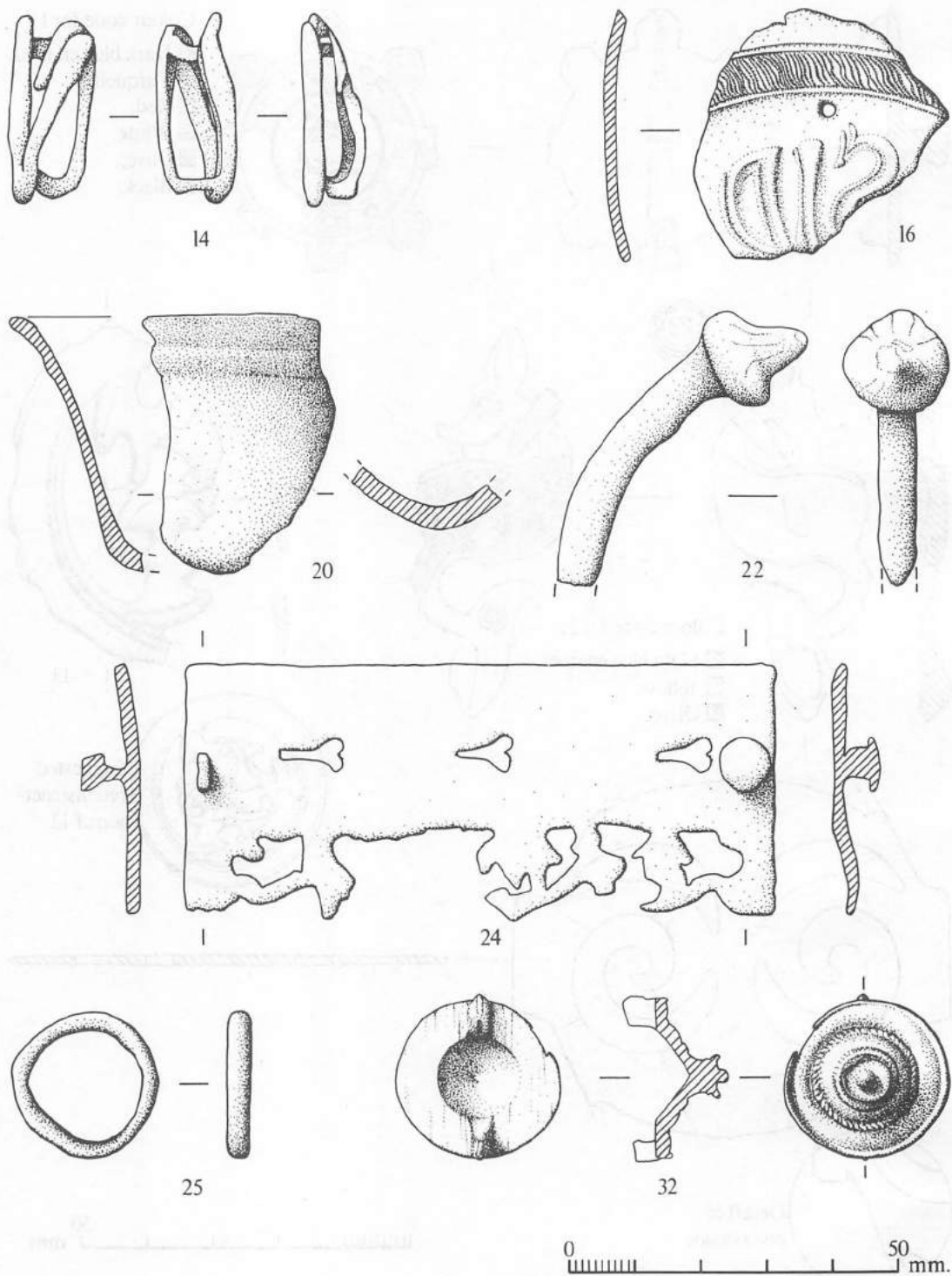


Fig. 17 Wickford, Area III.

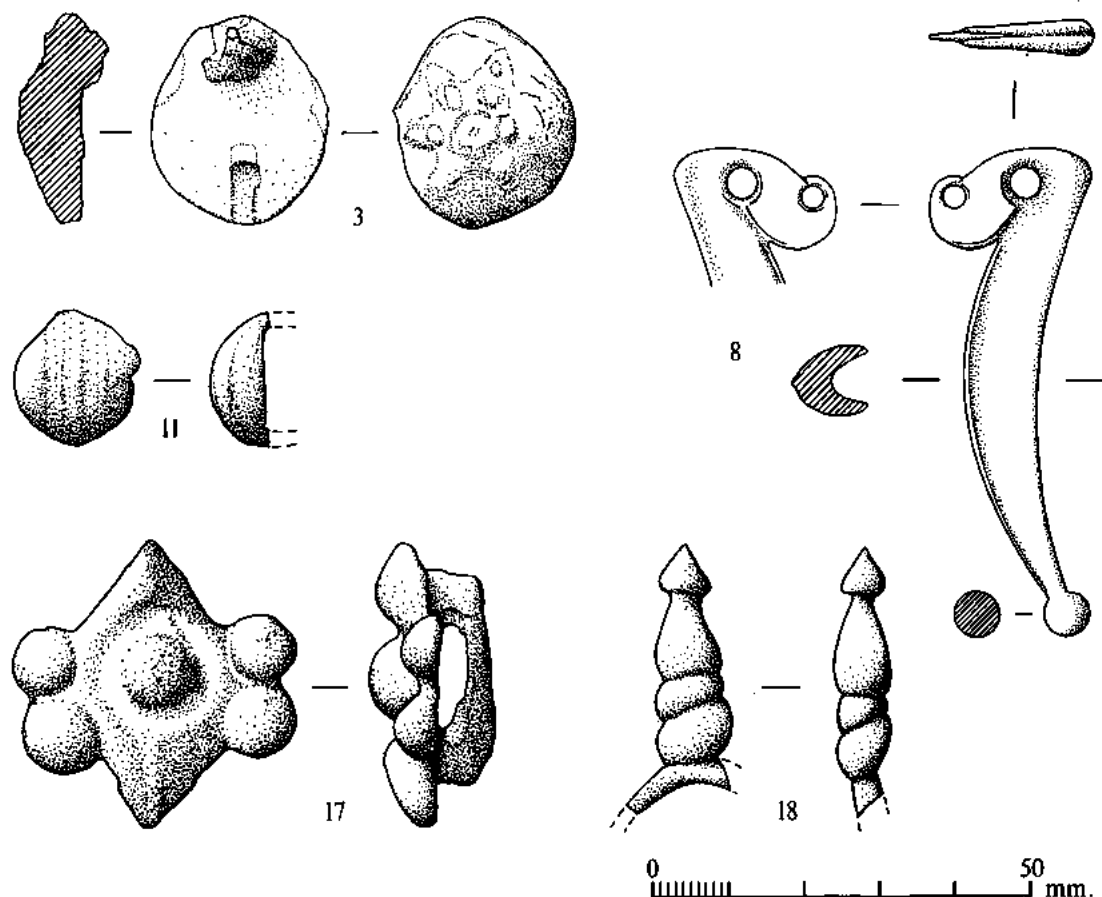


Fig. 18 Wickford, Areas IV and V.

*Area IV (Fig. 18)*

3. Disc brooch with gilded ring in centre and possible enamel inlay (H.J.M.).
8. Bronze pendant or amulet. Parallel from Richborough in 2nd century A.D. context (Wilson, 1968, pl. xxxix, 142, and p. 97) (C.T.).
11. Ring bezel (Southend Museum).
17. Strap junction. MacGregor, 1976, Vol. II Nos. 23-27, are a series of strap junctions from North Britain, some with one loop, some with two. No. 23, part of a hoard mostly of horse harness, found 'in a moss near the Roman camp of Middleby', is almost identical to the Wickford one. Nos. 24 and 25 come from the Roman fort at Newstead, 24 probably Flavian, 25 Agricola or later. 26 and 27 are from the Traprain Law *oppidum*, with late 1st-early-2nd-century coins (Southend Museum).

*Area V (Fig. 18)*

18. Part of ring pin head?

*Comment*

Observation of this site reinforces preliminary conclusions from Dr. Rodwell's excavations. Perhaps the most important result is the further evidence for a military presence. The Tiberian

and imitation Claudian coins, and the strap junctions (small find 17, and less certainly 28) show conquest-period and later-1st-century military occupation; while the buckle-plate (24) suggests continued or renewed military activity in the 3rd century. Regrettably the circumstances of recovery make it unlikely that the exact picture will ever be obtained.

Private possession.

### 11. Roman pottery and tile kilns in Essex (H.T.).

This gazetteer has been compiled from the E.C.C. Archaeological Record and ancillary sources (assistance gratefully acknowledged from P. Drury, C. Going and Mrs. V. G. Swan). Classification and interpretation of kiln sites, structures and debris is problematical: in many cases the evidence is confused, conflicting or unpublished. Some problems have been rationalised by comparison between published sources (*V.C.H.*, 111, 17, fig. 2, and p. 242; Dunnett, 1975, 128, fig. 36, and p. 122; Rodwell, 1972, 38) and unpublished records. It is hoped that future work will be aided by comparison between this list and the *Gazetteer of Pottery Kilns and Kiln Sites in Roman Britain* (V. G. Swan, forthcoming, R.C.H.M.), and also excavation reports as yet unpublished.

Interpretation of trade patterns in tiles and pottery awaits detailed analysis; exporting establishments may be identified by plotting product distributions and relating these to lines of communication. Macro-distributional analysis, as applied to larger production centres like the New Forest group, should be feasible on a micro-distributional scale.

The Colchester pottery kilns are omitted; updated details will be in the forthcoming *Gazetteer*. Distributional analysis of their products is being undertaken as a research project (author's M.Phil., London University, 1976-80).

#### *Gazetteer (Fig. 19)*

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Site name</i>	<i>N.G.R.</i>	<i>E.C.C. A.R. No.</i>	<i>Note</i>
<i>Pottery kilns—definite and probable:</i>				
Ardleigh	Vince's Farm	TM 056 283	02.15	
Ardleigh	Vince's Farm	c. TM 056 284	02.15	Wasters
Billericay	Buckenham's Field	TQ 658 935	69.24	One kiln
Billericay	Union workhouse	TQ 677 951	69.21	
Billericay	Norsey Wood	c. TQ 688 954	69.04	
Braintree	Fairview estate	c. TL 769 237	72.75	Wasters
Chelmsford	Site S	TL 708 063	70.04	Two kilns
Colchester	Various sites	c. TL 990 250	Various	Large group
Great Braxted	Kelvedon Hall Lane	TL 872 159	81.76	
Great Braxted	Tiptree Wood	c. TL 866 156	81.75	Record vague
Halstead	Greenstead Hall	TL 821 296	82.02	
Halstead	Greenstead Hall	c. TL 821 296	82.02	
Inworth	Stubber's Farm	TL 883 181	81.86	
Kelvedon	Enclosure ditch	TL 864 186	81.60	Three kilns
Kelvedon	Chamber's Meadow	c. TL 864 190	81.60	Possibly two
Rettendon	Rettendon Hall	TQ 772 966	79.43	
Saffron Walden	Audley End	c. TL 525 381	53.07	
Sandon	Lavender's Pit	c. TL 752 043	70.53	More than one
Sible Hedingham	Baker's Farm	c. TL 781 331	73.30	
Southend	Suttons, South	TQ 944 857	98.09	
	Shoebury			
Southend	N. of Shoeburyness firing station	TQ 944 853	98.11	Three kilns

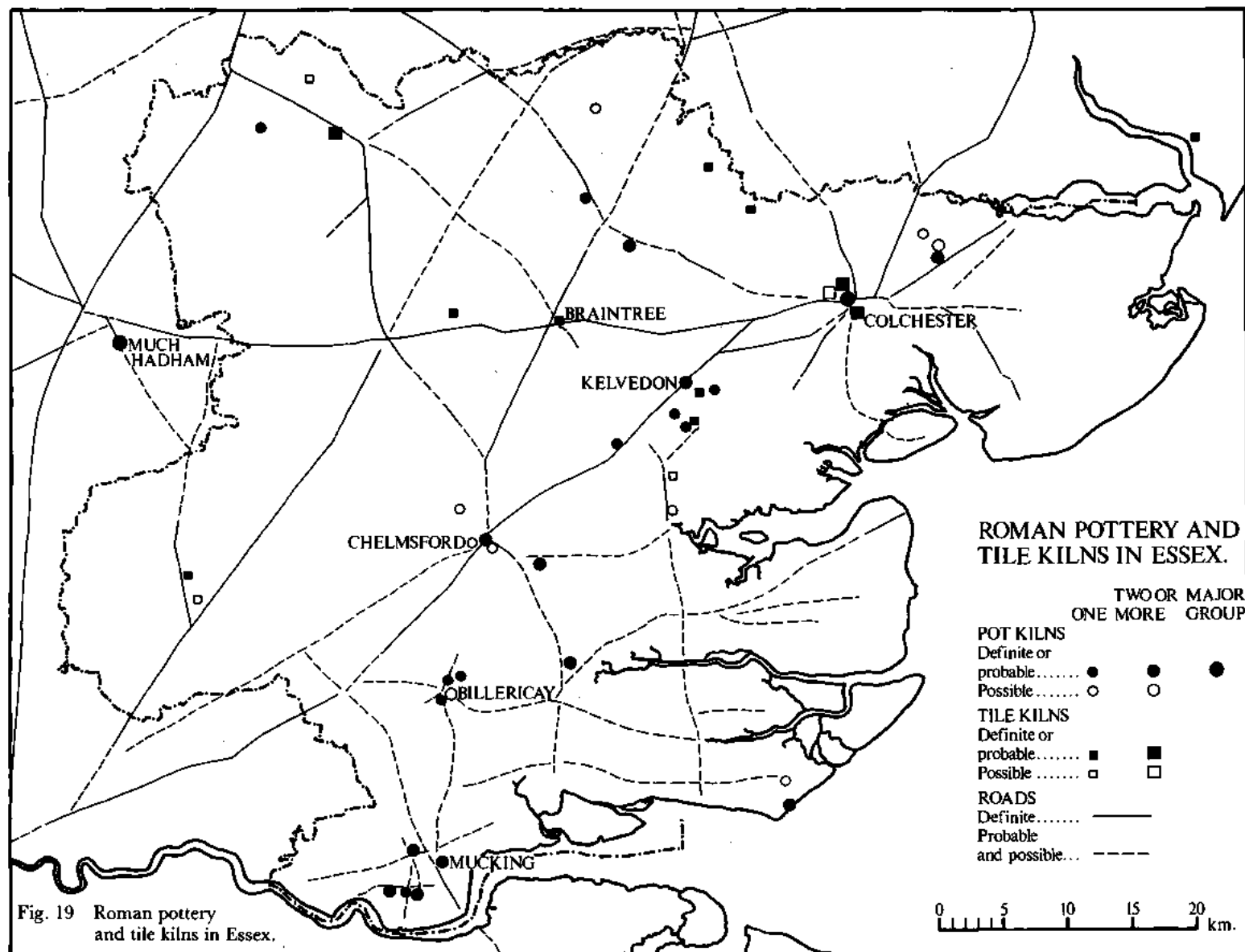
*Gazetteer (Fig. 19)*

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Site name</i>	<i>N.G.R.</i>	<i>E.C.C. A.R. No.</i>	<i>Note</i>
<i>Pottery kilns—definite and probable:</i>				
Thurrock	Palmer's School, Chadwell St. Mary	TQ 634 787	67.21	Three kilns
Thurrock	Gun Hill, West Tilbury	TQ 655 778	67.72	More than three
Thurrock	Cock Inn, Orsett	TQ 653 814	68.03	At least six
Thurrock	Bison Pit, Chadwell St. Mary	TQ 650 781	67.04	
Witham	Ivy Chimneys	TL 811 136	81.40	One kiln
<i>Pottery kilns—possible:</i>				
Ardleigh	—	TM 042 299	02.87	C.M. map, 1955
Ardleigh	Vince's Farm	TM 057 287	02.15	Wasters
Ardleigh	Vince's Farm	TM 057 287	02.15	Wasters (O.S. map)
Belchamp Otten	Fowe's Farm	TL 792 404	74.24	
Billericay	Mill Hill	c. TQ 678 939	69.16, 24	Two kilns (?)
Chelmsford	Goldlay Road, site 1	TL 712 064	70.04	Wasters
Chelmsford	Elm Road	c. TL 702 058	70.04	Wasters (?)
Chelmsford	Melbourne estate	c. TL 678 088	60.86	Wasters (?)
Great Wakering	—	c. TQ 939 872	98.68	Record vague
Heybridge	—	c. TL 850 082	80.19	Excav. finds
<i>Tile kilns—definite and probable:</i>				
Alphamstone	—	TL 880 356	83.10	
Ashdon	—	TL 588 388	53.13	
Braintree	Bradford's Farm	c. TL 767 236	72.75	
Colchester	No. 7	TL 982 253	92.15	
Colchester	No. 14	TL 986 258	92.15	
Colchester	—	TL 983 264	92.52	Two kilns
Great Braxted	Tiptree Wood	TL 866 155	81.75	
Kelvedon	—	TL 873 179	81.95	
Mount Bures	—	TL 912 322	93.26	
Stebbing	Porter's Hall	c. TL 677 244	62.44	
Theydon Garnon	—	TL 474 031	40.20	
<i>Tile kilns—possible:</i>				
Ashdon	—	TL 565 427	54.78	
Colchester	—	c. TL 987 256	92.15	Several (?)
Great Totham	—	TL 853 111	81.78	
Theydon Garnon	—	TL 478 014	40.73	

**12. Roman roads (H.T.)**

Evidence for part of these road lines comes from air photographs. Only the photographic evidence is certain, and the interpretation must be to some extent subjective. It is apparent that the solid, published evidence in support of the conventional picture of Roman communications in Essex is very meagre.





*(a) Heybridge to Wickham Bishops (TL 80.46)*

N.M.R. photo TL 8409/6/211-491 shows a cropmark of the parallel ditches of a road from TL 8474 0931 to TL 8472 0967. To the south this converges at a slight angle with a 750-metre straight length of the modern Wickham Bishops-Heybridge road, coinciding with a parish boundary for two-thirds of the way. Beyond the junction with the Heybridge-Hatfield Peverel road, the line corresponds to a possible road postulated by Drury (interim report on Heybridge excavations, E.C.C. Archaeological Record, TL 80.19). A Hunting Surveys photograph (Essex, 1960, Film 17, Run 24, 092) hints at a road causeway continuing on to the Chelmer flood-plain at TL 8483 0818; this would lead, via the area of Roman finds within the railway junction, to a point on the Chelmer opposite the Saxon *burh* on the high ground to the south.

To the north of the cropmark no trace has been detected. The road was probably aligned on high ground at Chantrey Wood, Wickham Bishops, where it might have changed direction. If it did continue, there are three possibilities: a line through Witham to Braintree; via Great Braxted to Rivenhall or Kelvedon; or towards Colchester to link with the Gosbecks road (Margary, 321), which may have run as far as Birch Green (TL 948 189).

*(b) Chigwell to Harlow (TL 40.94)*

A Hunting Surveys air photograph (Essex, 1960, Film 18, Run 26, 135) shows the soilmark of a road from TL 4643 0500 to TL 4675 0335. Northwards this runs into a stretch of track and parish boundary previously conjectured as a road line (O.S. ref. RRX 119ay) towards Harlow. It may have linked up with the Braughing-Much Hadham road, though possibly that road only served the pottery industry around Bromley Hall Farm (Partridge, 1975, 146). The road layout in Harlow is unclear (Rodwell, 1975, 86, fig. 1, 90, fig. 3). To the south, after a gap of three kilometres, the line runs into a straight stretch of lane for 1.1 km., before joining the Chigwell to Dunmow road (Margary, 30), 3.75 km. north-east of the settlement at Chigwell.

*(c) Radwinter to Wixoe (TL 64.18, 63.93)*

Hunting Surveys air photograph, Essex, 1960, Film 9, Run 4, 036, shows a cropmark of two parallel ditches for c. 450 m. from TL 6853 4213 to TL 6880 4228. There is a slighter cropmark at TL 6778 4170 continuing the line west-south-west. Towards Radwinter, from TL 6563 4049, the line is continued by a land and parish boundary to c. TL 6374 3945; a field boundary then appears to follow its course past Spitlands Farm from TL 6348 3927. West of this farm a small change of alignment was probably made towards Radwinter and the Dunmow-Great Chesterford road (Margary, 300) at TL 6067 3737. To the north-east the line runs into the lane past Walton's Farms which continues to the north-west of the supposed settlement at Wixoe (Rodwell, 1975, 89, fig. 2). No continuation beyond Wixoe has yet been found.

**13. TL 52.04 Henham, St. Mary the Virgin Church TL 543 287 (M.E., J.H.)**

In June 1978 a workman doing external repairs to the east chancel wall of St. Mary's Church discovered six jars embedded in the flint fabric just below the gable apex. The jars lay on their sides with the mouths facing outwards and arranged in a triangular pattern. All were broken during removal.

They are of sandy, slightly micaceous fabric with small black inclusions; grey core, red-brown surfaces; one grey internally. Badly flaked and mortar-covered, they show signs of blackening on the base, suggesting a previous use. All are wheel-thrown. Base diameters range from 115 mm. to 150 mm. They are directly comparable in fabric and form to examples from Great Easton (E. Sellers, pers. comm.) and Saffron Walden (Eddy, 1979, forthcoming), and dated c. A.D. 1050-1150, Fig. 20.

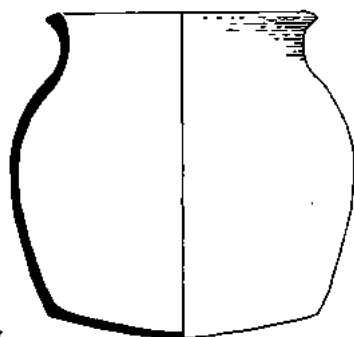


Fig. 20 Henham Church:  
composite reconstruction of pottery.

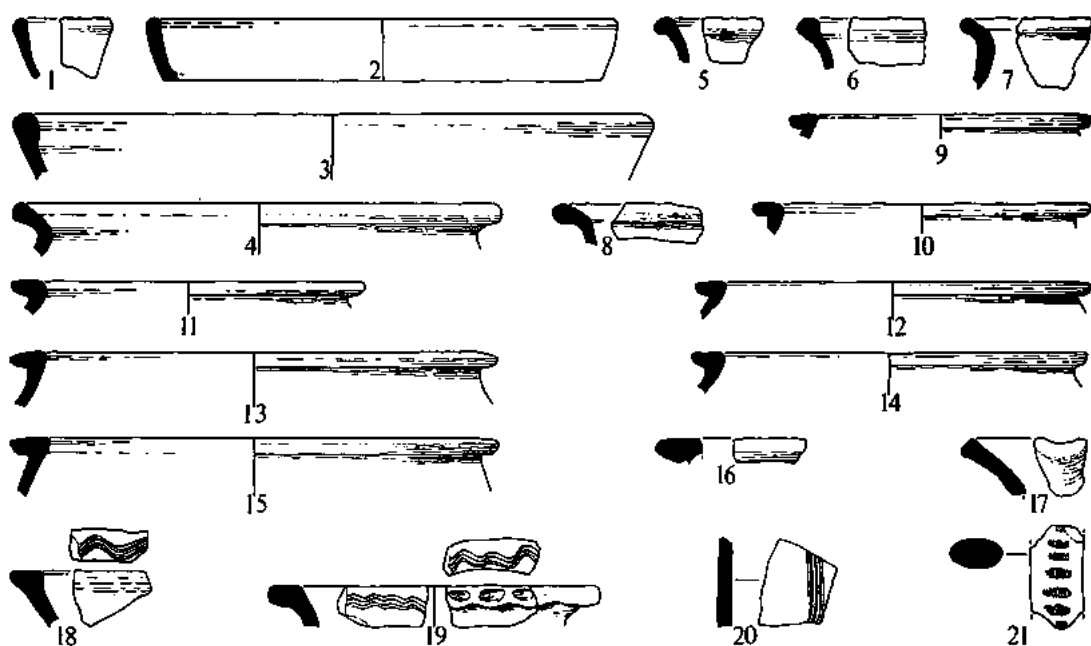
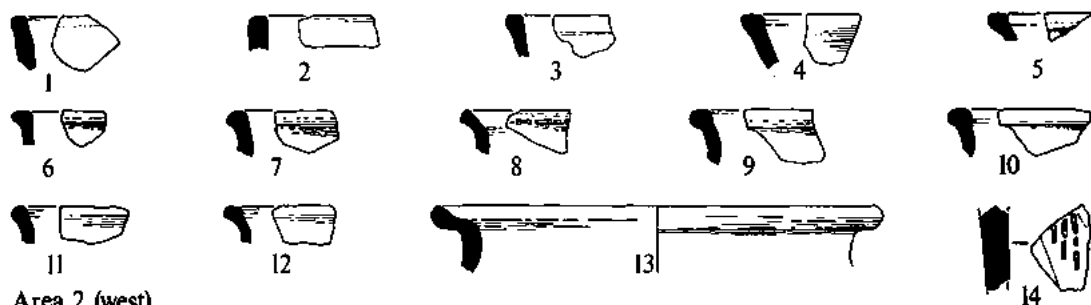


Fig. 21 Duddenhoe End, Elmton.

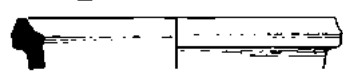


Fig. 22 Stagg's Farm, Great Dunmow.



Fig. 23 Dunmow bypass.

Scale for Figs. 20, 21, 22 and 23

0 150 mm.

Their function is unclear. Use as acoustic jars can be ruled out as they face outwards; likewise a weight-reducing structural feature seems unlikely in view of their small number and position.

The chancel of St. Mary's Church is conventionally dated to the 13th century (*R.C.H.M.*, I, 162); but the same restoration work revealed part of a Norman blind arcade on each side of the east window (*Henham Conservation Society Newsletter*, No. 25, Summer 1978).

Thanks are due to Miss Joyce Winmill for reporting the find to the Archaeology Section.

Private possession.

#### 14. TM 23.01 Harwich, George Street TM 260 325 (M.E.)

A cellarage survey of George Street south of White Hart Lane led to a measured survey of the frontages of this supposed 18th-century street. Measurements from north to south were:

7A	27 ft.	2 units
8	14½ ft	1 unit
9A	13½ ft	1 unit
10	14½ ft.	1 unit
Passage	2 ft.	
10A	14½ ft.	1 unit
Passage	3 ft.	
11	13½ ft.	1 unit
Passage	2½ ft.	
Old chapel	51 ft.	3 units including passageways
Passage	2½ ft.	

All the plot units, though obscured by 18th- and 19th-century façades or even rebuilds, maintained a standard frontage of 14 ft. (4.26 m.) plus/minus 6 in. (150 mm.), or seven-eighths of a rod. The date of this plot division will only be clarified by further work. The small size compared with Witham (5 rods) or Chelmsford (2½ rods) may indicate its late creation in a cramped position; though excavations by B. Milton (pers. comm.) show some occupation in this part of the town in the 13th century.

#### 15. TL 43.53, 64 Elmdon, Duddenhoe End TL 459 367, 454 367 (C.C., M.E.)

Dr. Martin of Lofts Green has reported two areas of medieval pottery finds (cf. Couchman (ed.), 1977, 85-6).

TL 43.64 (Fig. 21, Area 2). All illustrated pieces except No. 1 are in hard sandy fabric, with small dark flecks and rare small flint grits, grey-light brown. Similar to Fabrics E, F and G at Waltham Abbey (Huggins and Huggins, 1973, 155-7), dated A.D. 1050-1250. Rims are paralleled in late-12th- to mid-13th-century contexts (Huggins, 1972; Huggins and Huggins, 1973), though the comparison is not precise. The rectangular stabbing on the handle (Fig. 21, Area 2, 14) is unknown in existing Essex literature. Area 2, No. 1, has a black core and red-brown surface, coarse sand and some vegetable temper; six sherds, one with applied thumb-pressed strip. Closest parallel Waltham Abbey Fabric C (Huggins and Huggins, 1973, 155). Probably pre-Conquest.

TL 43.53 (Fig. 21, Area 1). Fabric A. Sandy, pink to grey, well-fired, slightly micaceous (Fig. 21, Area 1, Nos. 4-7, 10-15, 18, 20, 21).

Fabric B. Finer sandy, grey surfaces, pink core, micaceous (Fig. 21, Area 1, Nos. 2, 3, 16, 17).

Fabric C. Grog-tempered, orange surfaces, grey core (Fig. 21, Area 1, 1).

Fabric D. Grog-tempered, micaceous, smooth, dark orange (Fig. 21, Area 1, 8).

Fabric E. Sparse flint grits, grey fabric, thick brown surfaces.

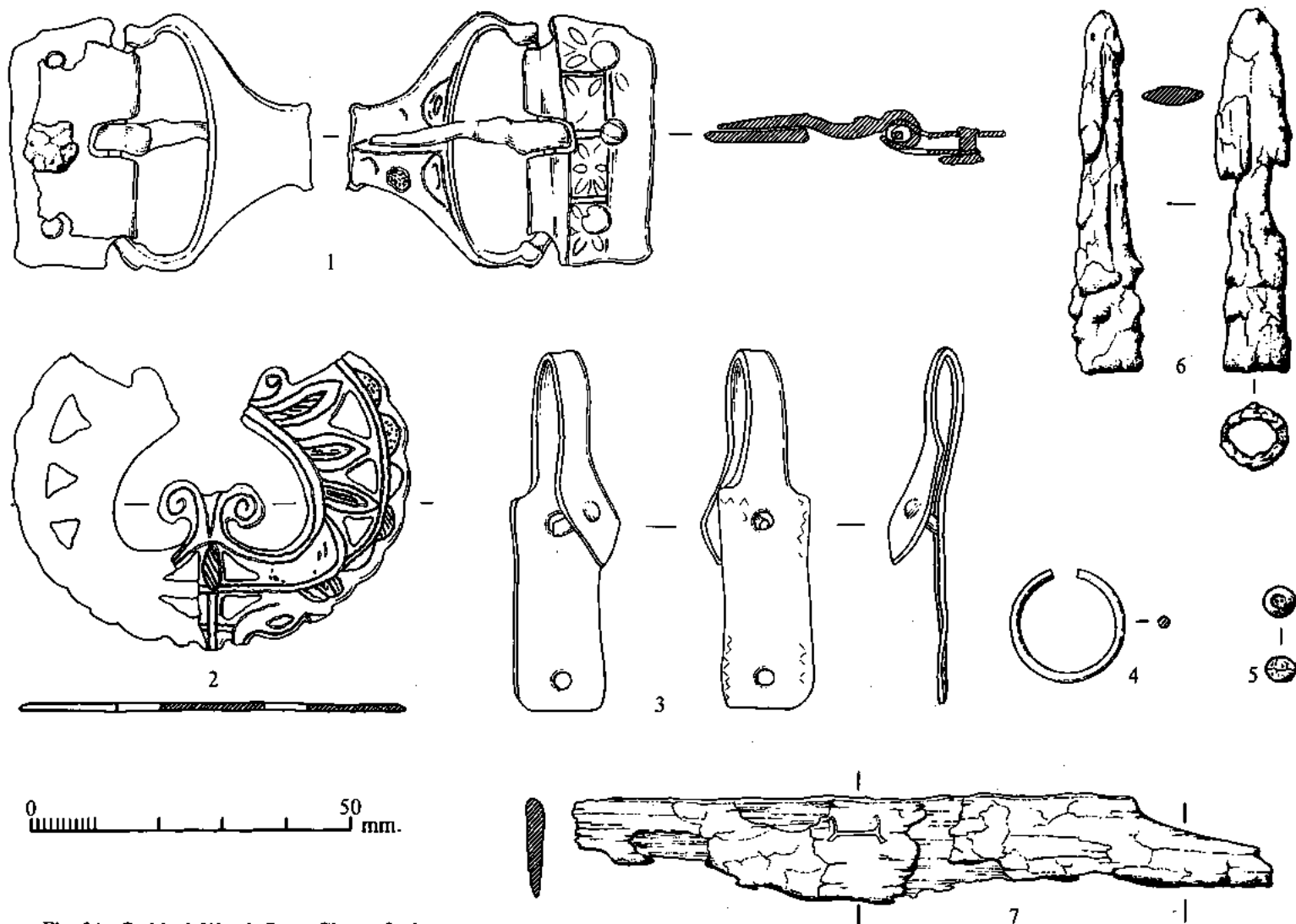


Fig. 24 Paddock Wood, Great Chesterford.

The predominance of flat-topped rims suggests a 14th-century date for the site's *floruit* (Petchey, 1976), as does the incised wavy-line decoration (Drury and Petchey, 1975); the jug (Fig. 21, Area 1, 1), spout (17) and dishes (2, 3) are not out of place then. The stamp on the handle (21) does not occur in published collections from Essex.

Area 1 also produced a flattened spherical orange glass bead, 11 mm. diameter.

The earlier site, Area 2, is on the Wenden Lofts–Elmdon parish boundary, in Copy Mead (1824, E.R.O. D/DQy 33); this name probably only means 'adjacent to the coppice', so presumably the site there is beyond local knowledge. The earliest available map, Chapman and André (1777), shows no habitation.

Area 1, in Brooksies Field (formerly Brook Croft), has also been noted by Margaret McKie (unpub. note in E.C.C. Archaeological Record). She reports that prior to ploughing in 1964 a rectangular enclosure with bank and ditch was visible, with stone, brick and tile rubble and 13th- and 14th-century pottery. The next field to the east is Cockshall Field (1832 Enclosure map, E.R.O. Q/RDc 26), and McKie suggests this as the site of the unlocated manor of Coggeshalls, recorded from 1359 (Calendar of Inquisitions *post mortem*, Simon Fraunceis) to 1571 (Feet of Fines for Essex).

Saffron Walden Museum.

#### 16. TL 53.10 Saffron Walden, Battle Ditches TL 535 382 (M.E.)

The excavation of a cable-trench 0.3 m. wide and 0.35 m. deep was observed, from Saxon Road along the west arm of the ditch system to Abbey Lane. The ditch fill was loose grey loam with 19th-century pottery to the depth excavated, except where cut by Ravetz and Spencer's trench (1962), visible as an area of chalky rubble. The two ends of the Battle Ditches were marked by tips of chalky loam. The path across the south-west angle was shown not to be an original break in the ditches. A base-herd in hard grey sandy fabric, probably 13th century, was the only medieval find.

Saffron Walden Museum.

#### 17. TL 54.18 Great Chesterford, Paddock Wood TL 537 429 (C.C.)

Since 1970 the Chesterford Park Archaeological Society has been excavating a moated site at Paddock Wood (Couchman (ed.), 1977/8, 92, where the gilt bronze finds were described as Saxon; D. W. Smith, interim report on E.C.C. Archaeological Record). Several metalwork items have been found (Fig. 24, 1–7). Thanks are due to the Society for permission to publish this and note 18 below; and to W. T. Jones for comments on the dating of the metalwork and for parallels.

1. Gilt bronze buckle and buckle plate. Cf. Thompson, 1960, 106, fig. 34.2.
2. Gilt bronze zoomorphic brooch or belt embellishment.
3. Gilt bronze strap-hanger.
4. Bronze ring.
5. Bronze bead or button.
6. Iron arrowhead. Cf. London Museum Catalogue No. 7: Medieval Catalogue, 1954, 66, fig. 16.11.
7. Iron knife with silver inlaid cutler's mark.

Items 1–5 are 13th century; 6 is pre-Conquest–13th century; all were found with 13th-century pottery within the moated area. Item 7, not closely dated within the medieval period, was from the lower moat silts.

Chesterford Park Archaeological Society.

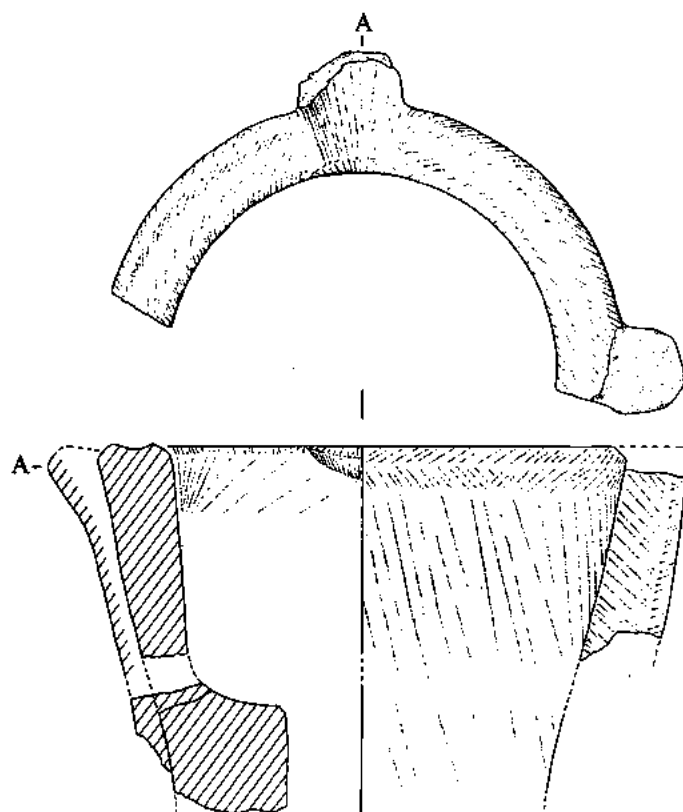


Fig. 25 Bassingbourne Wood, Little Chesterford.

0 150 mm.

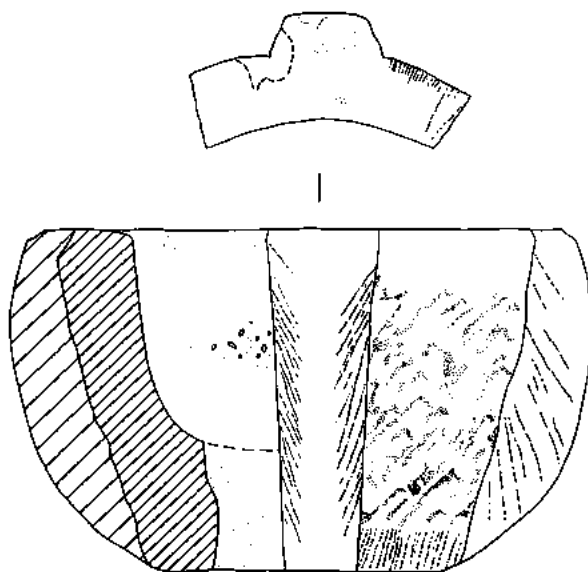


Fig. 26 Maldon Court School.

0 150 mm.

**18. TL 54.86 Little Chesterford, Bassingbourne Wood TL 536 248 (C.C.)**

An area which in the 18th century was within Bassingbourne Wood was fieldwalked by the Chesterford Park Archaeological Society. It produced building materials, and medieval finds including a 13th–14th-century mortar, probably Purbeck marble (Fig. 25) (Dunning, 1977, 324–6, fig. 147). The site is thought to be the property of Roger de Bassingbourne, mentioned in the 1285 Assize Rolls (Reaney, 1935, 520).

Chesterford Park Archaeological Society.

**19. TL 60.71 Widford, 78–82 Widford Road TL 695 052 (C.C., M.E., H.J.M.)**

In 1977–8 the late Howard Young excavated a ditch running across the backs of 78–82 Widford Road, at a slight angle to the present rear boundary of the properties, probably representing an earlier boundary.

*Coin*

Silver half-groat of Edward IV (1461–83). Base of layer 1 (no evidence is available for the nature of the two layers recorded).

*Pottery*

Medieval. Residual; sandy hard grey coarse ware, occurring towards east end of excavation. A few glazed brown or yellow; all small and eroded. Date range early 13th–mid-14th centuries. Fig. 27.1. Cooking pot rim, mid-13th century. Layer 2.

Fig. 27.2. Cooking pot, coarse sand and flint gritted. Early 13th century. Layer 2.

Late medieval. Dominant pottery on site; mainly layer 2, residual in layer 1 where associated with post-medieval types. Evidence of vessel form implies a preponderance of jugs. The main fabric is smooth-surfaced orange ware, sometimes with a grey core. Decoration is white or cream slip stripes and brown glaze splashes. Most have orange surfaces; some have grey exteriors and a few have rougher exterior finishes. Parallels at Hadleigh (Drewett, 1975, Groups S and T), Writtle (Rahtz, 1969, Fabric M) and Rochford (Eddy, forthcoming) where 1495–1525, a date given some support by the coin.

Fig. 27.3, 4, 5. Jug rims; No. 4 very smooth fabric.

4a. Cooking pot; waster, but probably usable.

6. Brown glaze at bottom of interior.

7. Grey exterior, cream slip decoration.

8. Jug rim; grey surfaces, cream slip decoration.

9, 10, 11. Grey exterior; 9 and 11 white slip decoration.

Unillust.: brown speckled stoneware body sherd; Tudor Green spout, base and body sherds, whitish biscuity fabric, thick green glazed surfaces.

Post-medieval. Layer 1 pottery is mainly 19th century with some 17th-century sherds. Only the earlier material is described.

Fig. 27.12. Splashes of brown glaze.

13. Green-brown internal glaze.

14, 14a, 16. Orange-brown glazed surfaces, 14 and 16 with purple speckling.

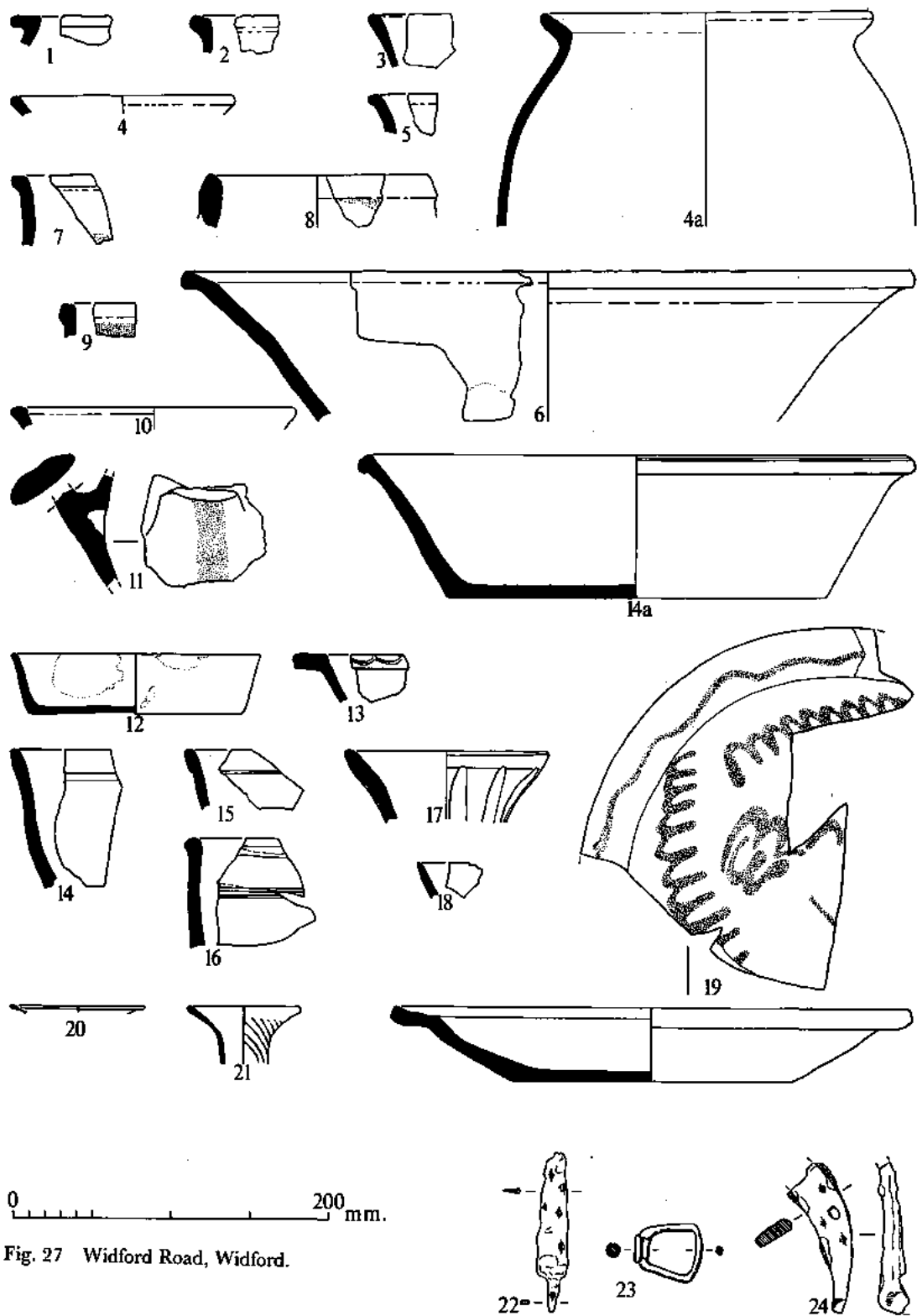
15. ?bowl rim, glaze as No. 14 inside only.

17. Brown-green glazed surfaces.

18. Mug rim, dark green glazed surfaces.

19. Metropolitan slipware dish.





*Brick and tile*

Two late 17th-early-18th-century roof tiles and a probably 18th-century red pavoir were the earliest of the few bricks and tiles present (layer 1). (Information from M.W.).

*Glass*

All layer 2; all badly weathered.

Fig. 27.20. Rim of open-mouth vessel, pale green.

21. Rim of pale green screw-neck flask; 15th century at Writtle (Charlesworth, 1969, 85).

Unillust.: omphalos base of small flask; 16 mm. diameter neck of small flask.

*Copper alloy*

All layer 2. Three tubes, 2 mm. diameter, max. length 28 mm., hole pierced through one end at right-angles to length; formed from rolled sheet.

Thirty-one dress pins with double or treble twist heads; one with single twist head. Complete lengths 23 mm. to 36 mm.; one complete example 50 mm. and one incomplete 47 mm. long. All 0.5 mm. wire.

Double twist head-dress pin 38 mm. long, 1 mm. wire. Cf. Drewett, 1975, No. 379, dated early 16th century.

Round-headed pin, 55 mm. long, in 1.5 mm. wire.

*Iron*

All layer 2; very corroded. Two types of nail: with round flat head and square shank; and with oval or rectangular head and rectangular section shank. Two rings, one oval (60 × 43 mm.), one circular (50 mm. diameter).

Illust.: tanged knife (Fig. 27.22); trapezoidal buckle (Fig. 27.23); part of probable horseshoe (Fig. 27.24). Closest local parallel to the buckle is in a mid-16th century context at Hadleigh Castle (Drewett, 1975, 140, fig. 28.353, and 112-15 and 142). There were other, unidentifiable, objects also.

*Bone*

Sheep and cattle were represented, with the greater part of a disarticulated hog's skeleton, from layer 2.

*Stone*

Pieces of Rhenish lava (no recognisable querns); micaceous sandstone fragments including one worked fragment.

The earliest activity represented is 13th century, the small worn sherds probably indicating agricultural use, likely to have weathered subsequently out of the land surface into the later ditch. By the early-mid-16th century the ditch was filling with rubbish; it is not clear when it was originally excavated. Nos. 78-82, recently demolished, were built c. 1770, and are shown on Chapman and André's map of 1777.

Chelmsford Museum.

**20. TL 61 Moated sites in the parish of Good Easter (H.J.M.)**

This study was undertaken to provide historical background to a watching brief at Wares Farm. As information of interest on the other moated sites in the parish was recovered in the process, it has been expanded to a brief survey of them all.

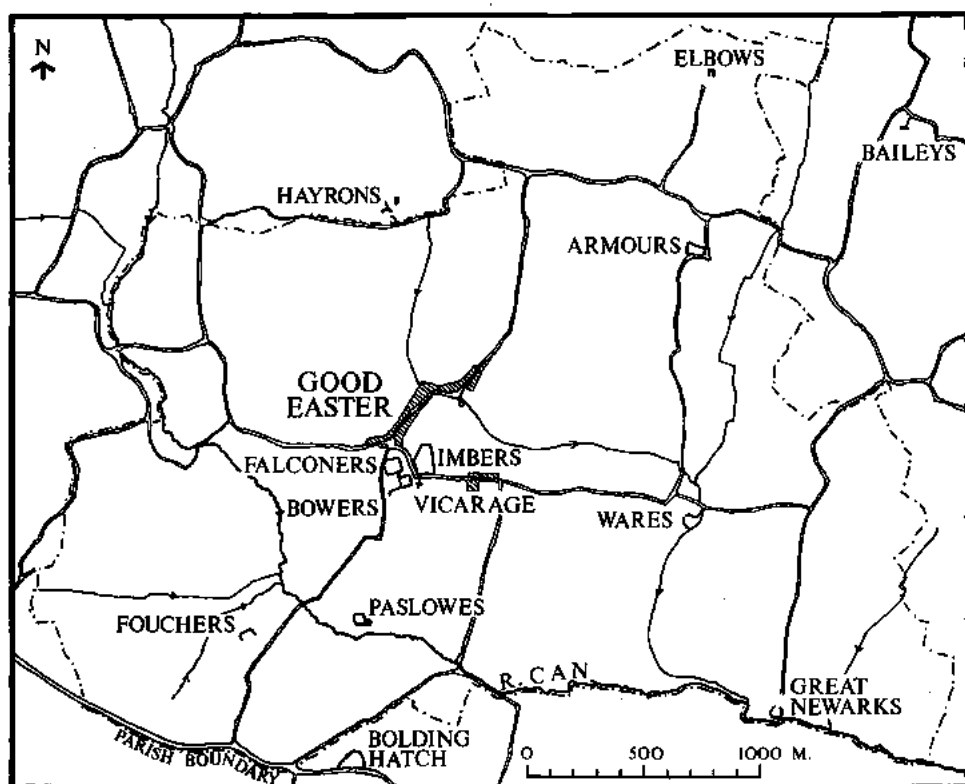


Fig. 28 Good Easter moated sites.

Good Easter lies in central Essex (village centred on TL 626 122). The soil over most of the parish is chalky boulder clay (glacial drift), with alluvial deposits also on the River Can, which forms much of the southern and western part of the parish boundary. The area is drained by many small streams running into the Can, and there are two springs close to the river in the south-east of the parish.

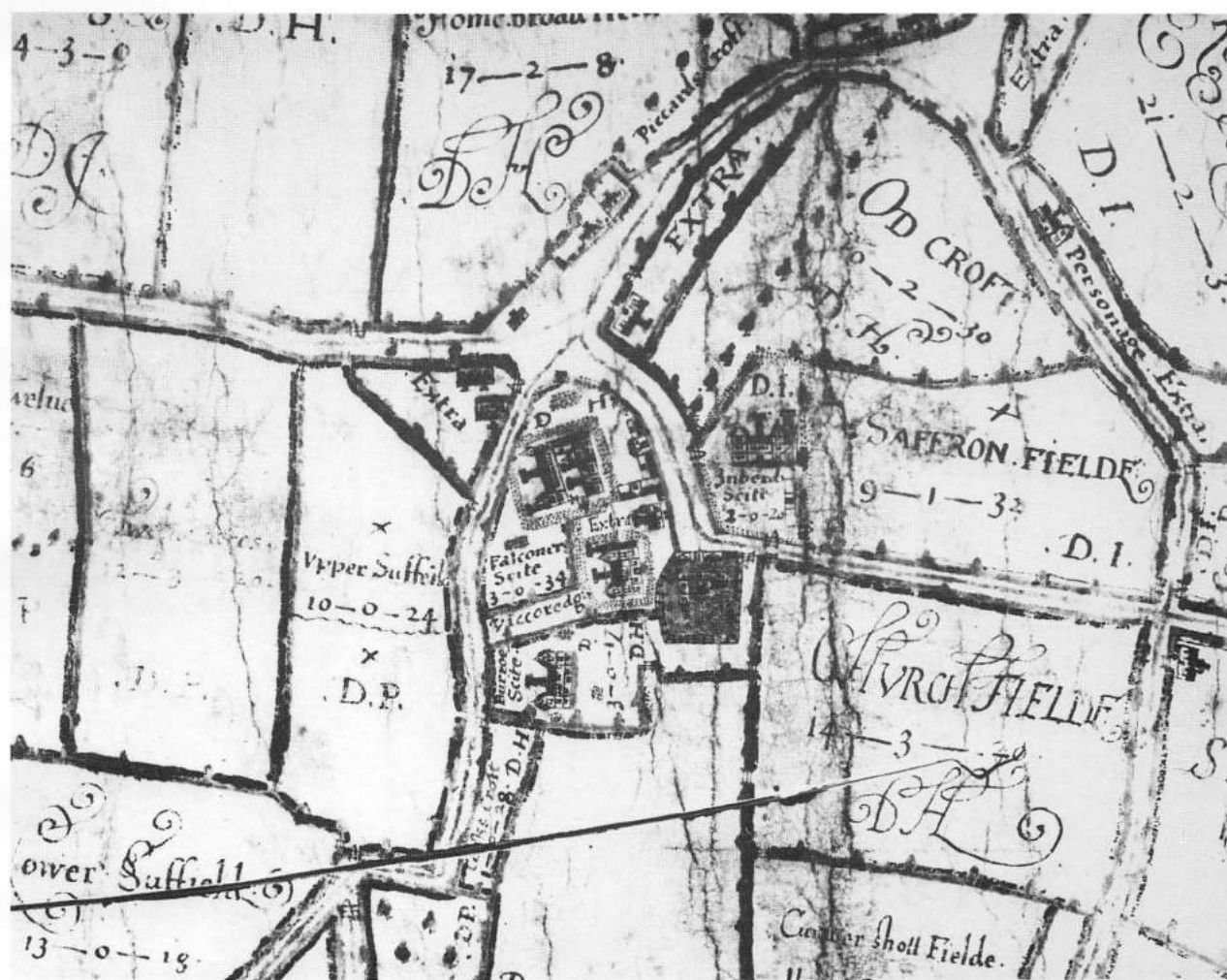
Early references give the name variously as *Estra* (Domesday), *Godicestre*, *Godchester* and *God's Easter*. Morant (1768, 458) derives it from an expression meaning 'Giving to God', but Reaney (1935, 479) gives a derivation from O.E. *eowestre*, 'sheepfold'. The 'chester' endings of early references suggest Roman connections, but there have been no Roman finds from the parish.

Before 1066 the parish belonged to Ailmar, a king's thane, subsequently passing to the collegiate church of St. Martin-le-Grand, London. This ownership was confirmed by William I in 1068.

The church was prebendal, and four prebendaries had their endowments here. The prebendal manors were Falconers, Imbers, Paslowes and Bowers. These were consolidated into two manors at an unknown date, Bowers and Falconers forming one manor, Imbers and Paslowes the other. Imbers and Falconers are still in existence.

In 1492 Henry VII gave Good Easter, with the adjacent parish of Mashbury and the church of St. Martin-le-Grand, London, to St. Peter's Monastery, Westminster; these properties went to the Crown at the Dissolution in 1539. In 1542 the parish was granted to Sir Richard Rich. In

PLATE I



Map of Good Easter, 1623, by Samuel Walker.

1618 it came into the possession of Robert, Earl of Warwick, who sold it to Sir Henry Mildmay of Graces in 1620.

Chalkley-Gould (1905, 3) lists seven moated sites in the parish: Armour's, Great Newark's, Wares, Bowers, Falconers, Imbers and the Vicarage. To the list can be added Paslowes, Fouchers and possibly Elbows (Fig. 28).

#### *Armours TL 61.75*

The name is probably associated with Richard le Armurer (1517 Feet of Fines, P.R.O.). It cannot definitely be claimed as a moated site, though Chalkley-Gould lists it. The O.S. 6 in. map shows a large irregular pond surrounding the building, and the Tithe map (1847, E.R.O. D/Ct 235) shows the pond as a more complete moat. The house was then in Mashbury. Most of the 'moat' has now been filled in. There is no major water source nearby, but there is a small stream c. 250 yards to the east, which drains into the Can. The site lies just over 66 m. above sea-level.

#### *Bowers TL 61.39*

This was one of the prebendal manors. The name is probably associated with Reginald atte Boure (1319 unpub. Subsidy Rolls). Morant (1768, 459) mentions that the house was no longer in existence, and there is no building there today.

A Samuel Walker map (1623, E.R.O. D/Du 28/60; Plate I) shows no moat; though it is on Chalkley-Gould's list, and a recent O.S. survey shows part of a moat, connected to the Vicarage moat. Its original form cannot be determined. Assuming that Walker's map was accurate, this moat must have been drained by 1623.

#### *Elbows TL 61.117*

Probably associated with John Elbode (1376 Court Rolls). Three sides of a small 'moat' are present, and the Tithe map (1839, E.R.O. D/Ct 122) shows it in the same form. The modern farm buildings are to the south, and the moat encloses a very small area. Probably the 'moat' was constructed as a fish-pond.

#### *Falconers TL 61.131*

Falconers or Fawkeners was also a prebendal manor. The name is probably associated with John le Faukoner (1276 Pleas of the Forest, P.R.O.). The site still exists to the north of the church, though little of the moat remains. The Walker map shows the moat clearly, connected by a ditch to the Vicarage moat. It is square, and contains a large courtyard complex. By 1623 Falconers manor had been combined with Bowers.

#### *Fouchers TL 61.15*

Three sides of a possible rectangular moat are shown on the O.S. 6 in. map, though it is not listed by Chalkley-Gould. It may be associated with Henry fitz Fulcherii (1198 *Rotuli Curia Regis*, P.R.O.). The moat is shown on the 1839 Tithe map in a less complete state than it is today. It lies c. 250 yards south of the River Can.

#### *Imbers TL 61.40*

Various named Embers, Inberds or Embirds on old records, this was a prebendal manor. About half the moat still exists, though the buildings inside it are fairly modern. It was an irregular pentagon, bordering the road on two sides, and directly opposite the church. At least two other sides survive as boundary ditches. The complete moat is shown on the Walker map, with two entrances. Within the moat is shown a house with two wings, and a range of outbuildings. By 1839 the moat was incomplete (Tithe map). No derivation of the name is given in Reaney.

*Great Newark TL 61.18*

Once called Newlands Fee; the present name comes from the family of John de Newerkes (1327, unpub. Subsidy Rolls, P.R.O.). The earlier name originated with the ownership of John de la Neuvelands of Newland Hall in Roxwell (1272 unpub. Assize Rolls, P.R.O.), and the manor may earlier still have been known as La Stane. The moat (now incomplete) was circular. It lies very close to the River Can and may at one time have been connected to it.

*Paslowes TL 61.16*

This, the fourth prebendal manor, is the only scheduled moat in the parish (Essex Monument No. 160). It consists of a square moat with a rectangular pond on the east side. The date of desertion is not known, but it was certainly by 1768, as Morant (459) mentions that the house had been demolished or fallen down. The name is probably associated with Robert Passelewe (1236 Calendar of Close Rolls), a treasurer of Henry III, and a likely candidate for the builder of the moat. The moat lies very close to the river, and may once have been connected with it.

*The Vicarage TL 61.37*

The O.S. 6 in. map appears to show part of this moat, but it may be a later ornamental pond. The moat is shown clearly on the Walker map. It is square, and connected at one corner to the Falconers moat. Within it is a two-winged house. The site's history is obscure. Although not apparently one of the original prebendaries' houses, it is marked 'Viccoredg' on the Walker map. No building is shown on the site on the Tithe map. The moat is south of the present Vicarage.

*Wares TL 61.17*

Shown on the O.S. 6 in. map as three sides of an irregular square. The Tithe map shows the moat somewhat enlarged on the south-east side. The fourth side is formed by a small stream which drains into the River Can. The name is probably associated with Roger de la Ware (1281 Feet of Fines for Essex). Morant mentions that Wares 'hath a large house, moated round in a bottom' (1768, 459).

Construction trenches for a garage north-west of the present late-19th-century house revealed late-16th-century brick footings, mainly associated with mid-17th-century pottery dating the demolition of the earlier structure. 14th–15th-century sherds were present, and a late 12th–early-14th-century sherd was associated with a shallow gully or pit apparently oriented north-west/south-east.

The moated sites occur in a variety of situations, and on both types of soil found in the parish. The whole parish is well drained, thus the site distribution does not depend on this factor. The presence of the river probably encouraged the construction of moats close to it, because of the abundance of water; but the village lies on the edge of the boulder clay, above the rather boggy flood-plain, and the location of the main settlement is probably a more important factor in the siting of the moats.

**21. TL 61.65 Chignal St. James, St. Mary's Cottage TL 665 107 (P.C.)**

Several north-west/south-east machine trenches dug into the glacial till as soakaways were observed, at Hillside Cottage, adjacent to St. Mary's Cottage. A ditch aligned roughly east/west was found to run below the present boundary between the two cottages; it was up to 1.5 m. deep, with a probable maximum width of 4–5 m. The clay silt of the lower ditch fill contained a few 12th–14th-century sherds; finds from the upper fill suggested backfilling in the mid-late 19th century. Several other features were also backfilled at this time, including a pit sealed by the house foundations, containing a penny of 1864.

The ditch is presumably associated with the moat still existing in the south of St. Mary's

Cottage garden, forming the north boundary of a moated enclosure to the immediate east of St. Mary's Cottage. Several fragments of worked masonry have been found in the garden to the east of the cottage, lending weight to the possibility of a substantial masonry structure, possibly a church, having stood within the enclosure. A group of probably early-13th-century pottery was found during the last decade during installation of a drainage pipe.

## 22. TL 62.97 Great Dunmow bypass c. TL 637 220 (M.E.)

A bronze sheet with one finished edge, probably part of a bowl, plate or bucket (Fig. 23), was found by C. Going. Similar fragments have been found at Pleshey (Williams, 1977, fig. 42, 27), Writtle (Rahtz, 1969, fig. 50, 107-9 and 113-15) and Hadleigh Castle (Drewett, 1975, fig. 29, 398). The date range of these stratified pieces is 14th-16th centuries, though most are late 15th-early 16th century.

Colchester Museum.

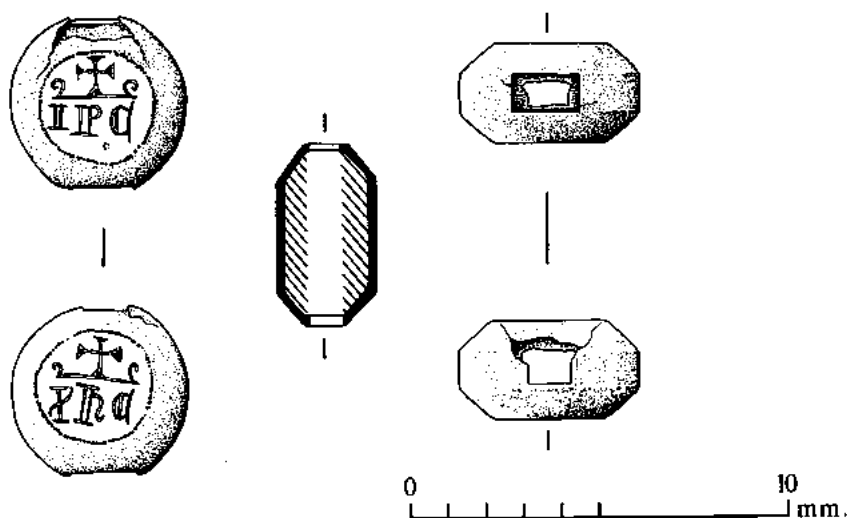


Fig. 29 Sword or dagger pommel, Runsell Green.

## 23. TL 70.123 Danbury, Runsell Green TL 797 054 (C.C.)

A 14th-15th-century sword or dagger pommel was found in a garden (Fig. 29). It is a copper alloy shell, lead-filled, and with an engraved design; cf. London Museum Medieval Catalogue (2nd. ed.), fig. 3.

Private possession.

## 24. TL 80.04 Maldon (M.E., K.B.)

Four watching briefs were carried out in Maldon, three by Maldon Archaeological Group and one (The Friary) by the Archaeology Section.

### 1. The Friary TL 850 069

A drainage trench from the south-east corner of the Adult Education offices to the south-west corner of the Loft coffee bar produced a medieval sherd and a quantity of post-medieval pottery. The 1 m. deep trench cut through recent layers of ash and slag. The trench base was obscured by gravel dumped by the contractors and no obviously early levels were seen. The post-medieval

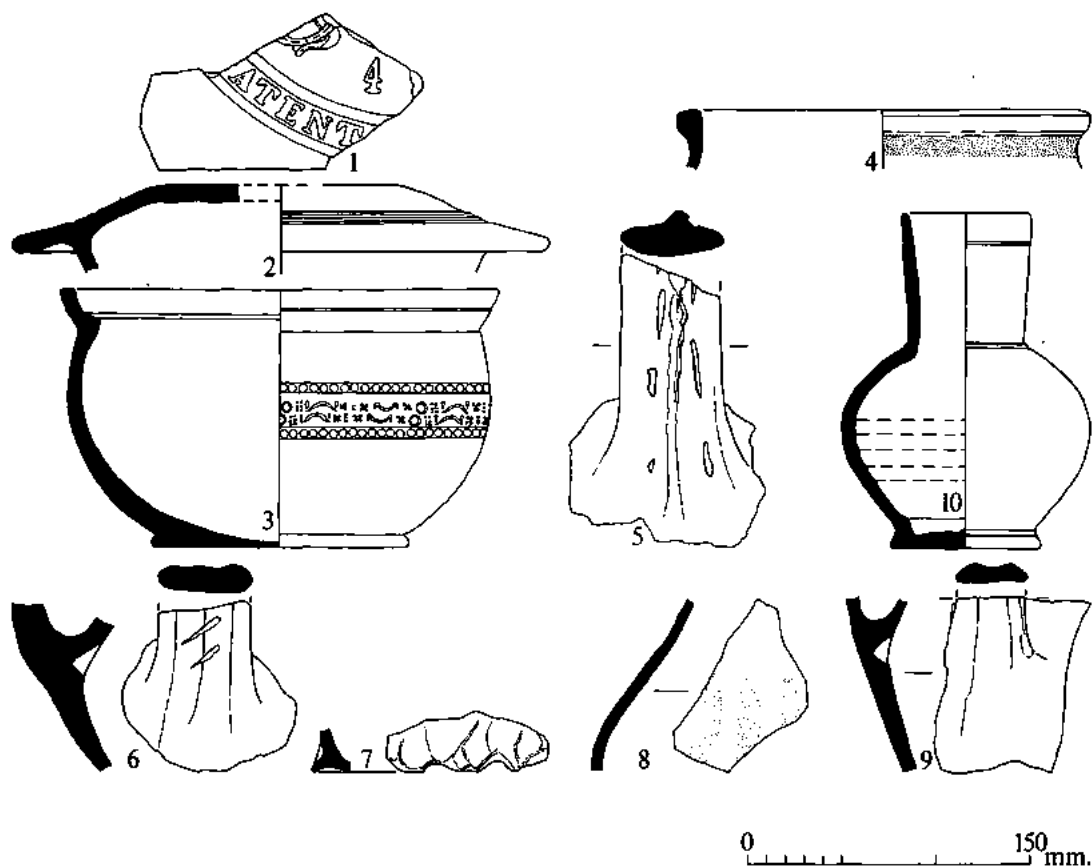


Fig. 30 Maldon 1-3, The Friary; 4, rear of Boots; 5-9, Maldon Court School; 10, Silver Street.

pottery included a late Ch'ang porcelain plate base, post-1860; part of a large salt-glazed cistern (Fig. 30.1); a lid in dark orange fabric (Fig. 30.2); and a salt-glaze stoneware bowl, brown externally, grey internally (Fig. 30.3).

### 2. *Rear of Boots chemists TL 851 071*

Medieval and post-medieval finds were recovered during work on an extension. An early-15th-century bowl rim was found (Fig. 30.4), in hard orange sand and flint gritted fabric with buff slip and brown glaze splashes; also two late Saxon-early medieval sherds; one late-14th-century sherd; and two clay pipe bowls, *c.* 1640-60, and *c.* 1660-80 (Types 4c and 6, Oswald, 1975).

### 3. *Maldon Court School TL 858 072*

A small group of medieval and post-medieval pottery was recovered from a depth of *c.* 1 m. The medieval pottery had a date-range of 10th to 16th century, including a Thetford-type sherd.

Fig. 30.5. Hard, sandy, micaceous, grey: dark surfaces, light core.

Fig. 30.6. Hard, sandy, grey surfaces, red-brown core.

Fig. 30.7. Hard, sandy, few flint grits, orange. Splashes of brown/green glaze.



Fig. 30.8. Jug body sherd, hard, micaceous, red-brown; green glaze externally over cream slip stripes, purple-grey inner surface.

Fig. 30.9. Hard, smooth, orange surfaces, grey core. Very thin dark orange external slip. Paralleled by Rochford Fabric D2 (Eddy, forthcoming) and Writtle Fabric M (Rahtz, 1969), dated late 15th-early 16th century.

There were also a medieval limestone mortar fragment (Fig. 26) and a Rhenish lava quernstone fragment, diameter 70 mm.

The post-medieval finds included mid-17th-19th-century pottery, and an 18th-century green glass cornice-rim bottle neck.

#### 4. Silver Street TL 849 072

Footings for a new boundary wall were observed. A number of loam intrusions into the natural gravel were recorded; in one of these was an almost complete jug in grey mottled brown salt-glazed stoneware (Fig. 30.10). This is a typical Frechen product, the fabric similar to that of bellarmine from Chelmsford and Rettendon, the former dated mid-16th century (P. J. Drury, note on E.C.C. Archaeological Record, TQ 79).

Maldon Archaeological Group.

#### 25. TL 81.59 Feering, World's End Lane c. TL 868 191 (M.E.)

Although the Kelvedon, Coggeshall and Feering sewerage scheme passes through the Saxon cemetery at Feering, the only find here has been a 13th-early-14th-century jug sherd.

#### 26. TL 81.59 Feering Hill TL 866 192 (M.E.)

A trench excavated in the green opposite the Sun Inn was watched by M.W. and Dr. D. Carrick. A road surface was observed at 1.5 m. depth, dipping westwards, and overlain by a soil layer containing Tudor brick and rubble. Another, small gravel, road surface overlay the Tudor roadside ditch, and was in turn overlain by a thin earth layer, possibly a turf-line. A thin gravel surface overlay the possible turf-line; above this was a series of 19th-century rubbish layers.

It is thought that the possible turf-line indicates abandonment of the road line c. 1785, when the present bridge replaced the old one, the gravel above it being a resurfacing for use of the houses fronting on to the former road line. The earlier roads presumably led to the old bridge, the surviving remains dated c. 1680 but certainly with predecessors on the same site. Possibly the lowest surface might be Roman, though the gravel seemed larger than that in the Roman road excavated at Orchard Road in 1977-8.

A further series of road (or yard) surfaces were seen to a depth of c. 1 m. in the Sun Inn car park. Whether these were yards related to buildings earlier than the Sun (c. 1525, *R.C.H.M.*, III, 99) or represent the changing lines of roads within a 'common' is unresolved.

#### 27. TQ 89.85 South Woodham Ferrers, Hambert's Farm TQ 808 982 (D.B., M.E.)

Small late-medieval pottery collections were made by P. Johnson (Castle Point Archaeological Group) and Mrs. P. Neild (Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society). The pottery came from a depth of c. 1 m. in the side of a service trench which ran parallel to the south side of the B1012, opposite the western end of Hambert's Farm buildings. The material appears to be waste from a late-medieval pottery kiln, a number of wasters being present. There is no previous record of kilns of this period at South Woodham Ferrers. On the Tithe map of c. 1840 (*E.R.O. D/Ct* 409) the field is named merely 'Forefield'. This group forms a useful addition to the few published groups from late-medieval Essex kilns.

136 sherds and six joining pieces of kiln furniture were recovered. One kiln fabric was present: hard, orange, sandy, slightly micaceous with few haematite inclusions; white or cream

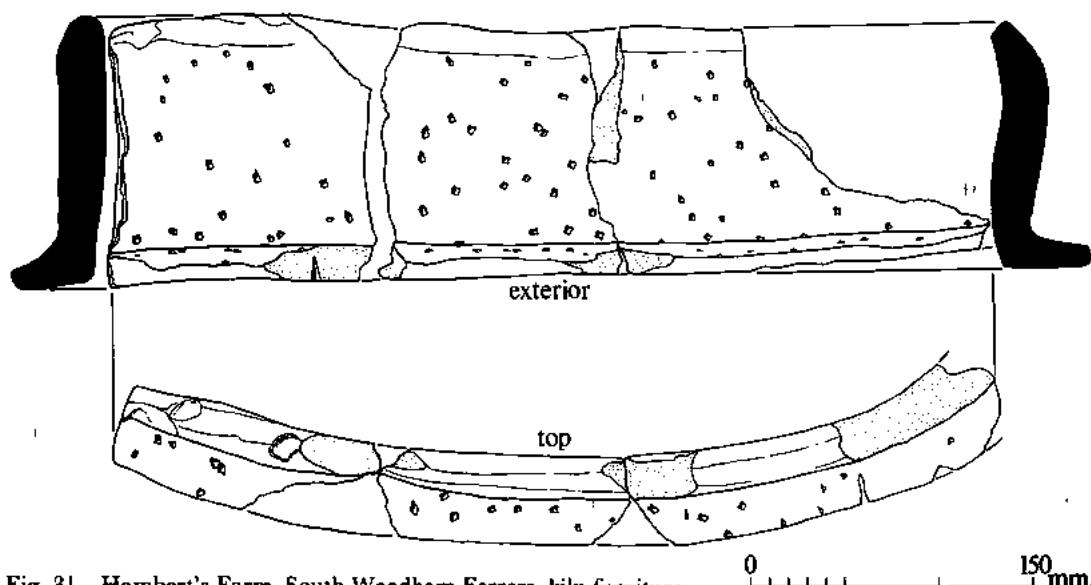


Fig. 31 Hambert's Farm, South Woodham Ferrers, kiln furniture.

slip decoration, particularly on jug necks and handles. A variant had a grey exterior with white slip. *C.* 10% of sherds were glazed, mid-brown or green, appearing yellow over the slip. Two sherds, one body and one handle, were covered externally with white slip. On Fig. 32, stipple represents slip; Nos. 14, 16 and 29 have patches of green glaze; 37 is covered externally with green-brown glaze; 39, imitating Rouen-type ware, is covered externally with yellow glaze.

Kiln furniture (Fig. 31), curved segment, possibly originally semicircular in plan, one end now missing. Pointed square-section stab holes from both sides. Oxidised but with base partly reduced.

In the absence of other evidence, dating must be by pottery parallels. The material definitely attributable to the kiln is apparently a consistent group. Slip-decorated pottery is common from the mid-13th to the early 16th century. The late-15th-early-16th-century examples from Rochford (Eddy, forthcoming) and Widford (above, p. 59) are invariably made from fine clay without temper. The south Woodham kiln material is slightly earlier than *c.* 1450, while the nearest comparable fabric, Writtle Fabric G (Rahtz, 1969, 94), is late 13th century. The fabric is also paralleled at Hadleigh Castle (Drewett, 1975, 114, 117) in the Group I material, which also includes a stabbed handle. The presence of a few highly decorated glazed sherds, including one in the Rouen style (Fig. 32, 36-9), tends to support a late-13th-century date as the earliest possible starting date.

#### *Addendum* by C. Cunningham

It should be noted that Writtle Fabric G (Rahtz, *op. cit.*) is not a precise parallel, as it has fewer but larger inclusions and a different range of decoration. Coarse sandy pottery is quite common after *c.* 1450 in Colchester (C. Cunningham, forthcoming, in P. J. Drury (ed.), 'Colchester Castle and the Temple of Claudius', *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.*), and to some extent at Chelmsford (information from C. Cunningham). Rouen style decoration is imitated at London in the 14th century, examples similar to Fig. 32, 39 occurring at Pleshey (Williams, 1977, fig. 35, 76) and Colchester (Cunningham, *op. cit.*) in 15th- and 16th-century contexts. A date towards the end of the range given above, i.e. the late 14th to early 15th centuries, is proposed for the kiln's period of production, though Fig. 32, 3 is probably a 13th-century piece whilst there are later sherds in the whole assemblage.

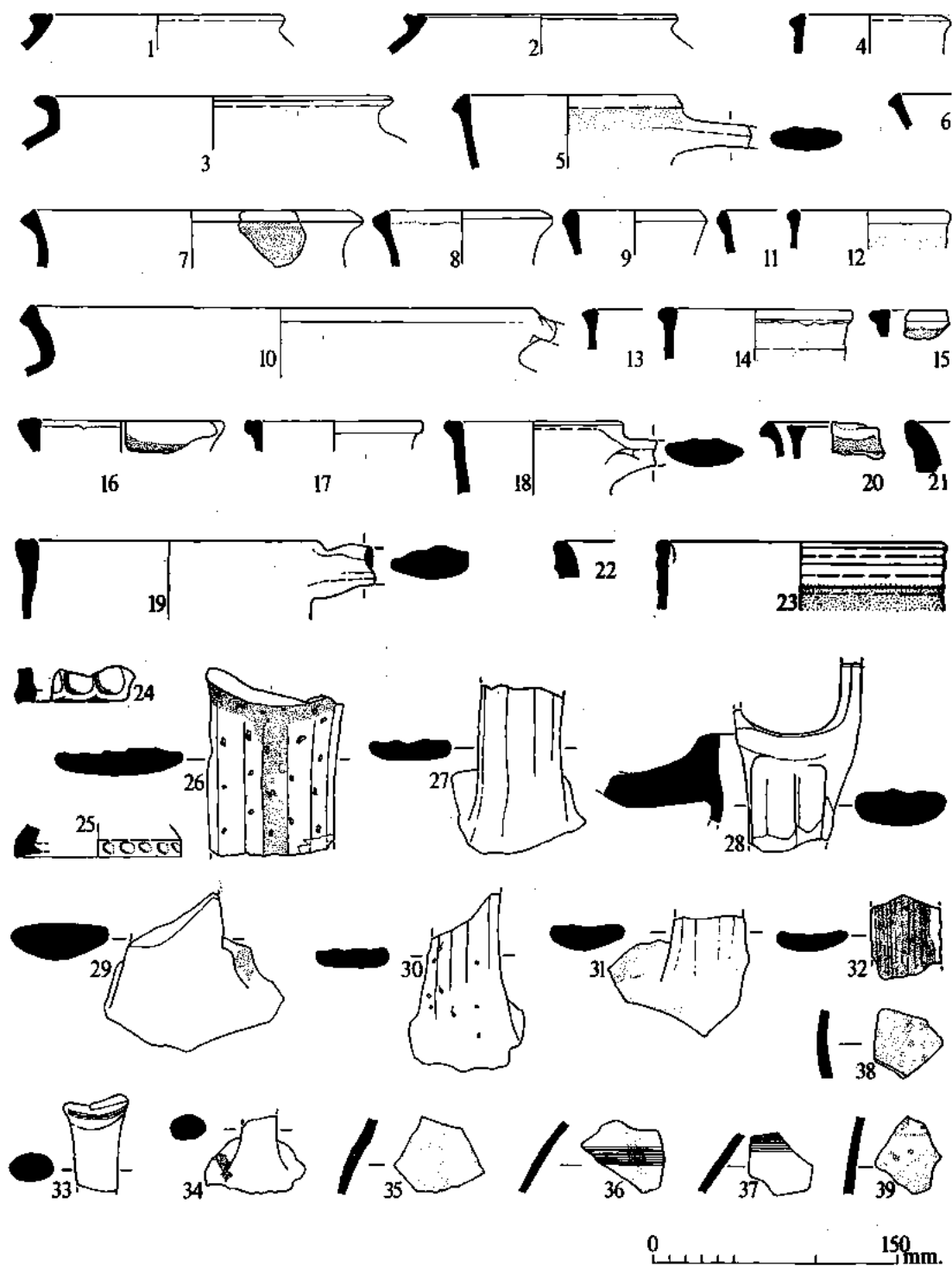


Fig. 32 Hambert's Farm, South Woodham Ferrers, pottery.

**28. TL 90.01 Asheldham Camp TL 973 012 (D.B., M.E.)**

The site was visited after a report of recent disturbance to the south of the camp at the northern edge of the old quarry. The quarry face had been scarped back to give a battered slope, cutting back the remains of the camp bank longitudinally and destroying any surviving ditch at this point. A medieval rim sherd was found in the exposed long section of the bank, *c.* 0.4 m. from the top. The bank material was uniform grey loam with no sign of disturbance. However, at *c.* 0.5–0.6 m. depth the dried face had cracked horizontally for some distance; this could represent a phase division within the bank. The sherd was a wide-mouthed bowl rim, hard, sandy, grey to pinkish brown, with a continuous shallow wavy line on the rim top and a knife-trimmed groove below the outer edge. Style comparable to a Mile End bowl (Drury and Petchey, 1975, fig. 7, No. 36a); interestingly Drury and Petchey consider Mile End pottery to be rare in central and south Essex. Wavy-line decoration is not found at Mill Green, Ingatestone, so a northern origin is most likely. Late 12th–mid-13th century.

**29. TL 52.99 Takeley, Molehill Green TL 565 247 (M.E.)**

A trench running south from the south side of School Lane revealed an area of burnt clay slabs (35 mm. thick) at the south end of the east section. Associated with the burnt clay, which occupied an area 1.5 m. long and 0.4 m. deep, was a brick fragment, probably late 16th century.

4 m. from the site's northern boundary ran a 4 m. wide east–west ditch, possibly two-phase, the later phase being filled in the mid-19th century. This sloped towards a pond on the eastern boundary. Another ditch, visible as a shallow depression, ran from a pond on the southern boundary to meet the east–west ditch. Two raised platforms were thus formed parallel to the site's southern boundary; both supported extensive clover spreads, quite distinct from the grass of the lower-lying ground. These are seen as toft sites, presumably deserted in the mid-19th century, when the hamlet may have shrunk or shifted sideways.

The hamlet of Lower Bamber's Green, also in Takeley, has been deserted within living memory (McCann, 1976). Takeley, an open village surrounded by closed villages, clearly demonstrates the phenomenon of settlement mobility discussed by Taylor (1978).

**30. TL 53.10 Saffron Walden Castle TL 541 388 (M.E., D.B.)**

Excavation of the forebuilding was undertaken as part of a scheme by the County Council, Uttlesford District Council and the Department of the Environment to conserve the castle; this included removing the soil build-up within the forebuilding.

The forebuilding is apparently integral with the keep (Fig. 33). The Royal Commission suggest (1916, I, 234) that it was a room below the third-floor entrance lobby, access to which was gained by a stairway situated centrally to the west wall of the keep. Before conservation the internal ground-surface of the forebuilding sloped upwards from the present entrance to a height of *c.* 1.5 m. A steep-sided hollow *c.* 0.5 m. deep occupied the east end of the forebuilding; and a hole in that wall partially blocked by bricks was visible from inside the keep.

The partly filled hollow against the keep wall was cleared and its sides straightened (Fig. 33). The upper fill of the hole was dated by the presence of Coca-Cola cans and a dead chicken. The surrounding material comprised a series of late-19th–early-20th-century ash and gravelly loam tips.

The lower fill of the hollow (1) was a thick layer of pale grey chalky ash. The sides were cut steeply and obviously with care, and a step occupied *c.* 0.3 m. of the pit floor, which shelved gently to the level of the present keep floor. The brick-blocking between the pit (1) and the keep was apparently breached, providing a triangular passage, 1.1 m. base, 0.8 m. high. The presence of fire-reddened mortar in the wall above the hole and of chalky ash in the pit, and the connecting tunnel, suggest a lime-kiln utilising the existing structure. The stoke-pit or stoking floor and firing

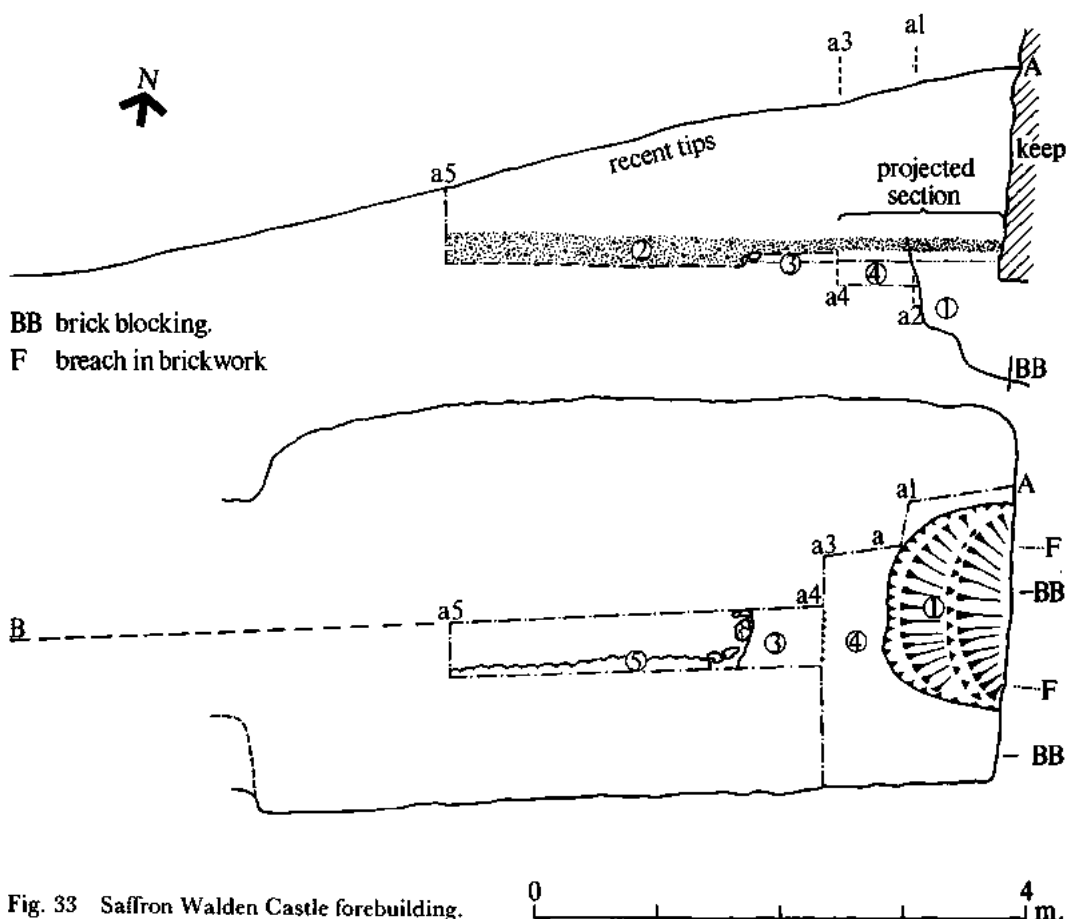
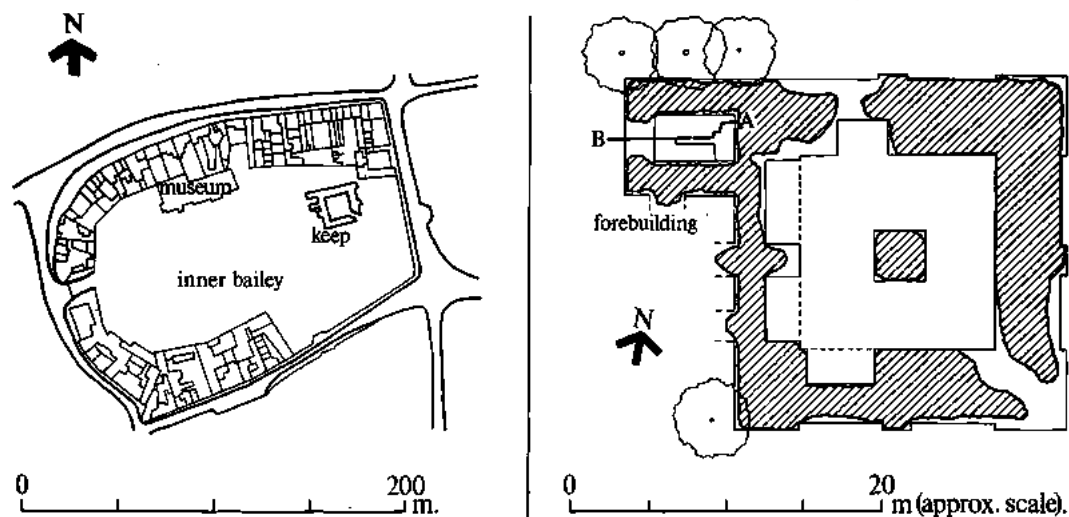


Fig. 33 Saffron Walden Castle forebuilding.

chamber now lie beneath a fan of scree and loam which has trickled through the passage since abandonment of the kiln. This opportunist semi-industrial activity must follow the recorded use of the castle as a barn in 1836 (Braybrooke, 1836, 154–5, quoting Gough MS., Bodleian Library). The flue (1) of the postulated lime-kiln cut layer 2, black loam with much small gravel and mortar fragments, of consistent thickness and level surface. It contained an early-19th-century horseshoe and probably represents the barn floor.

Beneath 2 lay an undated chalk floor (3), c. 60 mm. thick, apparently built up against an east–west dry flint wall (5), which appeared integral with the gravel floor (4) below. Both floors 3 and 4 were laid up against the brick blocking which is dated by brick size ( $9 \times 4 \times 2$  in.) to c. 1600 (M.W., pers. comm.). The broken chalk underlying the floors also lay against the brick blocking. Excavation was not taken below this layer.

### 31. TL 72.36 Braintree, New Street TL 757 228 (M.E.)

Mr. T. Turner reported a group of post-medieval finds from a brick-lined and -floored cess-pit or well revealed during building works north of Market Street and east of New Street. The top of the 1.5 m. deep pit lay c. 0.5 m. below existing street level. Its relationship to buildings in New Street was unclear, but it seemed to have been built before, rather than incorporated into them.

New Street was developed by Lord Robert Riche, who purchased the west side from John Lawrence in 1619. Lawrence reserved rights over a newly built well and pump (Bassett and Drury, 1976, 133); this cannot be the excavated structure as they lie on opposite sides of the street, though they were probably contemporary.

#### *The finds (Fig. 34). Illustrated finds only described*

1. Hard grey sandy fabric, a few rounded quartzite inclusions. 13th–early 14th century.
- 2–4. Cream fabric, green internal glaze, few yellowish and green smears of glaze externally. Surrey-type ware, late 16th–late 17th-century.
- 5, 6. Orange fabric, with orange-brown, (5) and green-brown (6) glaze internally. Mid-17th to mid-18th century.
- 7, 8. Metropolitan ware, 17th century (Cooper, 1968, 22–30).
- 9–11. Cream to buff fabric, yellow glaze internally, smears of yellowish opaque glaze externally. Probably a Surrey ware.
12. Fabric as 9–11. Flecks of green glaze externally. Vessel form compares closely with 2. 9–12 and 2–4 compare with Surrey wares found in Phase III at Woolwich (Pryor and Blockley, 1978, 72), dated 1660–80.
13. Slipware, yellowish buff fabric with chocolate and cream slip. Possibly a Bristol product (cf. Camp, 1976, fig. 4, 16). Late 17th–early 18th century.
14. Blue-tinged maiolica, dark blue chinoiserie design. Mid-late 17th century.
16. Maiolica, blue on white.
- 17, 18. White maiolica, 17 with pinkish fabric.
19. Bellarmine medallion.
- 20, 21. Westerwald stoneware, blue and grey.
- 22–27. 'Black' glass wine bottles, probably second half of 17th century (Wyatt, c. 1957, 10–11).

The finds suggest that the well began to fill with rubbish in the final years of the 16th century; and that filling was completed in the mid-18th century, possibly associated with building on the site.

Braintree Museum.

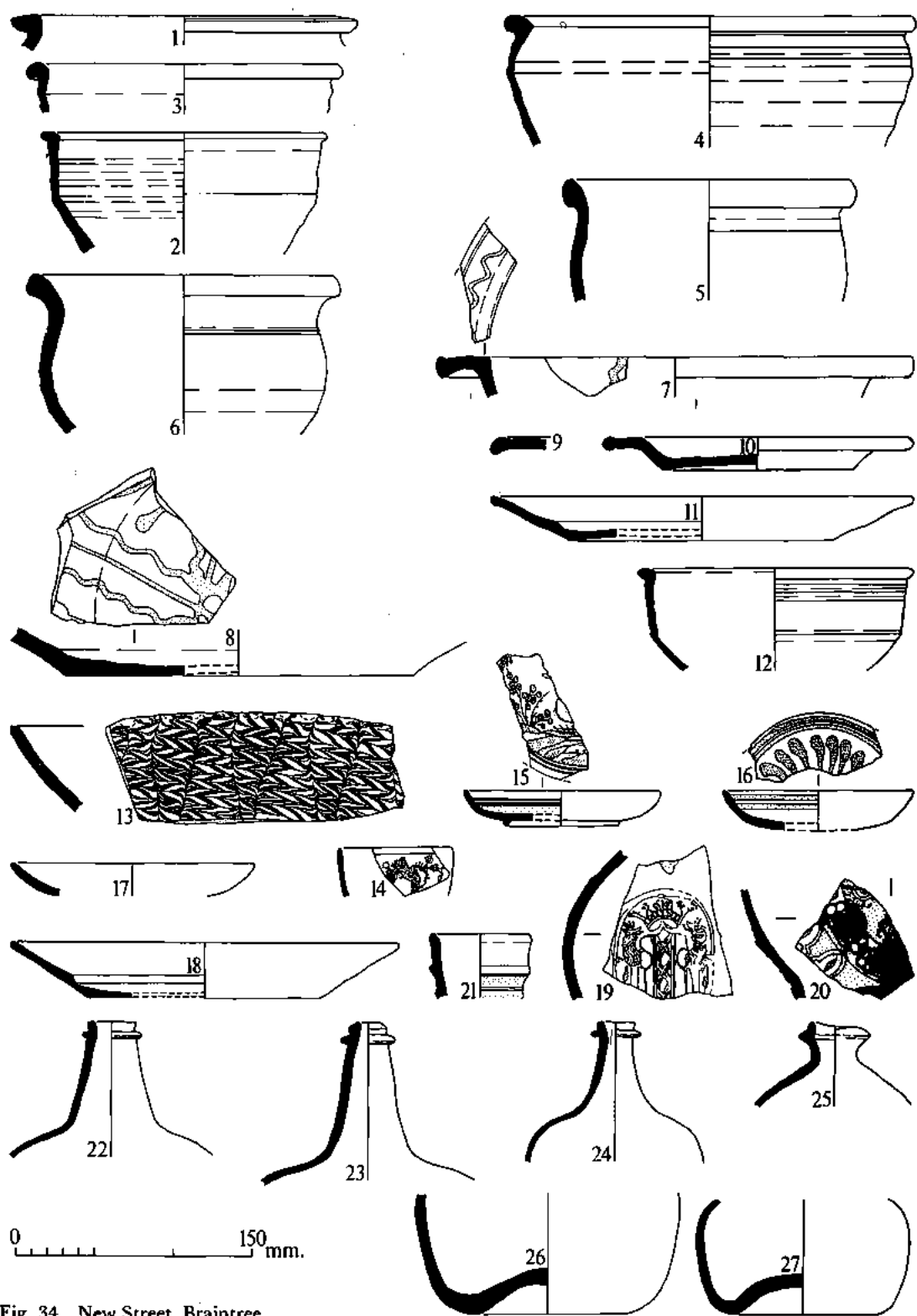


Fig. 34 New Street, Braintree.

**32. TL 81.60 Kelvedon, Chase House TL 859 187 (M.E.)**

Observed in the foundation trench of an extension was a dark grey clayey loam, overlying bright orange sandy clay natural and containing 16th-century brick and tile fragment. No earlier material was recovered, though some might have been expected from previous interpretations of the history of this part of the village.

**33. TL 93.28 Wormingford churchyard TL 933 322 (H.M., and R. M. Jacobi)**

A cruciform flint object (Fig. 35) was noted by the author during research in Colchester Museum. Thanks are due to the Curator for permission to publish. It was found some years before 1968 by a schoolboy at St. Andrew's Primary School, Wormingford, 'on church gravel' (Col. Mus. Accn. Register; presumably Wormingford Church path).

The flint is bifacially worked with precise shallow retouch. It appears to be made on a long narrow flake, part of whose main flake surface remains near the centre and on the upper arm of the cross. It is opaque khaki-grey with a scatter of pinhead-sized white inclusions; unpatinated and without residual cortex. There is no evidence for rolling or staining, but the ends of the arms show slight damage and may be shorter than originally made.

It is a 'four-armed piece', not unlike a group of neolithic artefacts with three arms known as 'tribrachs' (Evans, 1897). While the flaking could be neolithic, and there are many neolithic findspots around Wormingford, the absence of parallels from these assemblages makes a neolithic date doubtful.

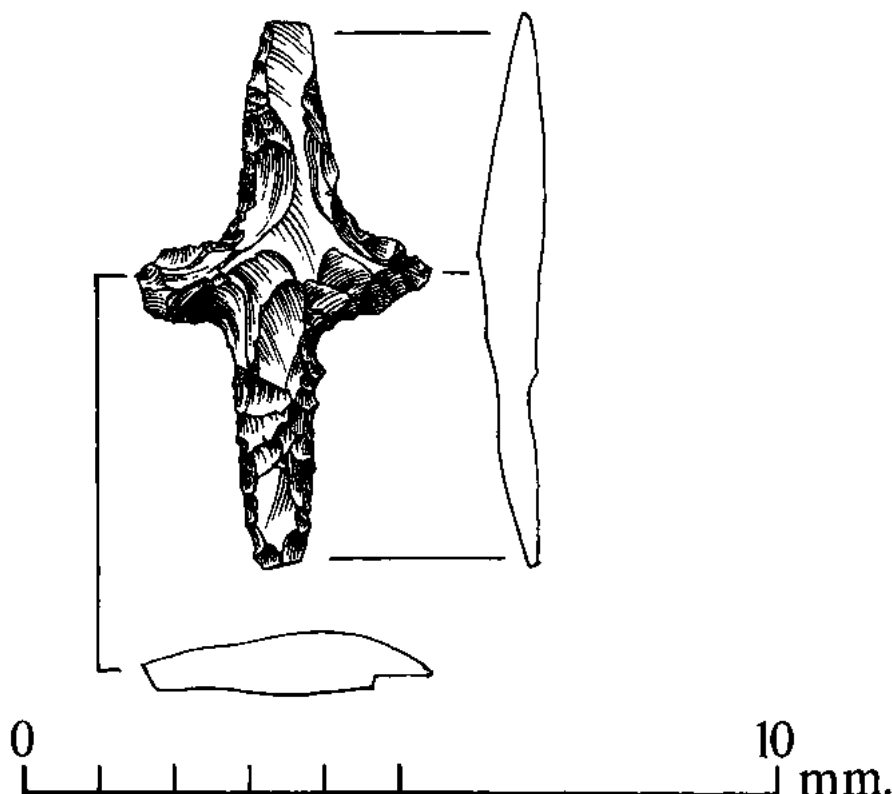


Fig. 35 Cruciform flint, Wormingford churchyard.



Munro (1905, 56-80) has an interesting section on 'Continental forgeries—the Breonic controversy', in which he discusses the finding particularly in Northern Italy of 'a number of flint implements unlike any hitherto found in Europe'. These included 'practical' forms like axes and arrowheads, and other 'more strange types (formes curioses)', including cruciforms, combs and even anthropomorphic pieces. A lively controversy centred on the genuineness of the objects. In Britain such 'formes curioses' are rare, and recent knappers from Flint Jack onwards have concentrated on axes and arrowheads, with the notable exception of the 'Brandon alphabet'.

The Wormingford cruciform poses a number of questions. Was it acquired during the last days of the 'Grand Tour' and brought back to Wormingford by a collector? Is it a more local product? Is it coincidence that a cruciform object should be in a churchyard? Could it have been left originally on a grave? Whatever the case, it is more likely to be of historic than prehistoric age.

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# Historic Building Surveys

by M. C. WADHAMS

Survey work carried out in Essex falls into three categories:

1. Area survey for revision of statutory lists.
2. Items of major importance, subject to continuing research.
3. Items of considerable interest, but not sufficient to warrant publication as separate papers.

The material in Category 1, due to its very nature, has to remain confidential, until such time as the new statutory list is issued by the Department of the Environment. Category 2 contains material which is at present being processed for separate publication. Below are noted 36 buildings in Category 3, which are felt to be worthy of record.

## **The Chestnuts, Main Road, Boreham**

Basically an L-shaped building, with two rear extensions. Timber framed and plastered with some brickwork. Two storeys, red plain tile hipped main roof, and grey slate roof on south-west extension.

The main range facing the road, consisting of *c.* 1550 hall and crosswing, the latter presumably originally gabled, is now oversailed at the front. Some of the hall frame remains, notably the south-east storey post and tie beam, but the roof appears to have been rebuilt on at least two occasions, once in the 18th century and then in comparatively recent times.

The crosswing has also been extensively rebuilt. The first-floor joists are a later replacement, and the ridge line has been lowered to match the hall roof.

In the centre at the rear is a two-storey gabled extension of *c.* 1620. This still has its original roof, with framed side purlins. Adjacent on the southern side is a brick extension of *c.* 1830, with original detailing remaining, including a fine sash window with internal shutters, dado rail, architraves, etc. The chimney stack to this extension is possibly later, as is the small outbuilding on the end wall.

Two doors on the first floor date from the 1620 work. In *c.* 1770–80 the house was given an extensive face-lift, and much of the internal detailing—doors, architraves, staircase, etc.—is of this date. Also at this time the fine corner cupboard and modillioned cornice were added to the ground-floor room of the 1620 extension. On the rear wall of the southern bay of the main block is the remains of a 16th-century chimney stack extensively rebuilt.

To the rear is a timber-framed outbuilding of the 18th century, with much reused medieval timber. Probably a small stable and/or coach house. The first floor is a late insertion, of which it is now impossible to tell whether it replaces an earlier floor. The reused timber includes a medieval window head, and the brace from an early-14th-century crown post.

### Langley Cottage, The Street, Bulmer

Timber framed and plastered, with thatch roof. Originally one property, now two.

Central chimney stack *c.* 1600, of good quality workmanship. There is a single bay of structure each side of the stack, and a lean-to extension on the front elevation.

The framing gives various dating evidence, which superficially appears to have little logic. The lean-to has a halved and bladed top plate scarf, and would be dateable anywhere between 1650 and 1700. The first floors in the main range are similar in date, *c.* 1660. The top plate on the main house has a halved and bridled scarf, not later than *c.* 1570, and the side purlin, intermittent collar roof has some reused timber. The roof dating could be as late as *c.* 1660. Two *c.* 1600 windows remain.

It would appear to be a house of uncertain age, largely rebuilt with central chimney *c.* 1600, then considerably altered *c.* 1660. The present first floors seem to be inserted, but the date is very late for an initial insertion. Possibly they had to be replaced.

### Crows Farmhouse, Chignall

Timber framed and plastered. Two storeys, with red plain tile roof.

An unusual small house of *c.* 1580. Three bays in length. The east bay has an original first floor, but the remaining two bays have an inserted first floor of *c.* 1700. A full-height partition divided the storeyed bay from the open section. Ceilings at first-floor level are all insertions of *c.* 1700 and later. Considerable alteration has taken place; and reused timber is in evidence, notably a bridging joist, inserted and with recut mortices to take part of a first-floor ceiling, and half a late-15th-century door head, now turned on end and used as a bracket.

The roof is good side purlin, with small gablets above the hips, very typical for *c.* 1580.

East chimney stack is also *c.* 1580, irregularly bonded, and with diagonal shafts. West chimney is *c.* 1700, contemporary with the present inserted first floor. Possibly this stack replaces an earlier larger one, as brick footings have been noted by the owner.

The house is rather later than one would expect for an open hall, and there is no sooting on the obviously original roof. Further, *c.* 1700 is extremely late for the insertion of a first floor. Possibly the insertion replaces an earlier first floor, and it is tempting to conjecture that the reused bridging joist came from such a floor. Unfortunately this would now be impossible to prove.

### Horseshoes, Cressing (Plate I, a)

Timber framed and plastered, two storeys, red plain tile roof. Gable crosswing at north end, originally jettied but now underbuilt.

The crosswing is of *c.* 1400-20, of two bays with buttery and pantry at ground-floor level. The central partition has been removed, but there are still indications of service door partitions. The roof is a simple crown post, short with good bracing and cambered central tie beam.

Basically the main hall structure must be contemporary with the crosswing or a little earlier; however, very little of this build is now in evidence. It originally also had a crown post roof, and arch braced and cambered tie beams. At least two bays long. The roof was replaced by a side purlin roof in the late 16th century, and then extensively rebuilt in the early 19th century. The 16th-century replacement reused the original central tie beam, but split it along its length to form two new tie beams of small scantling. A first floor was inserted in the hall *c.* 1650.

The hall was extended in the late 16th century, with the addition of two further bays. Much

of the wall framing remains, as do the top plates, but with the early-19th-century roof above, set on bearing plates. This section was also built open to the roof, and a first floor inserted *c.* 1650.

The main chimney stack is an insertion of the early 16th century, but it has been extensively altered in the mid-17th century, and probably again during the 20th century. The mantel beam is a heavily moulded bridging joist of the late 13th or early 14th century reused. A further piece of this beam is reused in the small chimney stack at the north end.

Extensive alterations in *c.* 1710 included the extension at the north end, and a very fine corner cupboard. Further alterations about 100 to 120 years later include the rear extension.

### **Tithings, Cressing (Plate I, b)**

Timber framed and plastered, two storeys. Red plain tile roof, with some grey slate. A complex small structure, showing evidence of numerous periods.

Two main posts, with a cambered tie beam, and simple crown post, remain, as does a short section of truncated collar purlin. These are the remains of a building certainly not later than *c.* 1570, and stylistically one would suggest 1480–1520. It is the main crossframe of an open hall, little else of which remains, except some repositioned studs in the ground-floor partition between the two main rooms.

Adjacent to the early framing is a large inserted chimney stack of *c.* 1580.

The remainder of the building is of two bays, the southern having an inserted first floor of *c.* 1640, and the other an inserted floor of *c.* 1700. The roof appears to have been raised over the 1640 floor, then rebuilt over both bays in *c.* 1700. This suggests a multiple occupancy by *c.* 1650.

### **Howelett's Hall, Fryerning**

Timber framed and plastered, red plain tile hipped roof. Two storeys. Double range plan, with parallel ridges. Three-window range, 18th- and early-19th-century sashes with glazing bars. Clear dating evidence was lacking, with the exception of certain features.

The front range consists of two rooms with central passage on the ground floor, standard for the 18th century, but the proportions are unusual, particularly the width of the central passage. This suggests a fronting on to an earlier building, which now forms the rear range. Further evidence supporting this comes from the side girth, and bridging joists in the rear range. A three-bay structure is indicated, with one bay partitioned off from the remaining two. Dating these structural timbers was impossible, except that they were unlikely to post-date 1600. The roof above this section was *c.* 1730, with extensive reused material, and there were indications of a former top plate, and roof raise.

Externally the rear range stands on a 17th-century brick plinth, while the plinth to the front range is early 18th century.

In summary, this is a small house pre-1600, extensively altered and rebuilt about 1730, with minor alterations *c.* 1820. Some good 18th- and 19th-century details remain (i.e. windows and staircase).

### **Bluegate Hall Farm, Great Bardfield**

Early 17th-century timber-framed and plastered house, with red plain tile roof. T-shaped plan. Three-window range, early-19th-century double-hung vertical sliding sashes with glazing bars. Two storeys. The first range was originally three bays and chimney bay, with small staircase

PLATE I



a. Horseshoes, Cressing.



b. Tithings, Cressing.

[Facing page 80]

PLATE II



a. Beaconend Farm, Stanway.



b. White Hart Farm, Stanway.



tower at rear. The original chimney stack remains, rebuilt at the top, with two original fireplaces. The staircase in the tower is a modern copy of an early-17th-century one with fretted balusters. The rear wing has a late-17th-century chimney stack. There is good early-19th-century detailing internally, and one 17th-century door. There is a side purlin with intermittent arched collars in the roof. Most of the original frame is now covered with the exception of some bridging joists with stop chamfers.

The farm has an early-17th-century barn of eight bays, timber framed and weatherboarded with thatched roof, and two gabled midstoreys. It was originally aisled, one aisle being rebuilt in the early 19th century. Otherwise the frame is virtually complete, with an early-17th-century side purlin roof with intermittent arched collars.

There is also an early-17th-century granary, timber framed and weatherboarded with thatched roof, linked to the barn by an early-19th-century wall in red brick and flintwork.

The stable block is early 19th century, in red brick and flintwork, with a grey slate roof. It provides stables with a hay loft over. The south end is semicircular with flintwork panels.

### **Marsh Farm, Great Canfield**

Externally from the rear this has the somewhat misleading appearance of a hall house with two crosswings. The south front was faced in red brick in the 18th century.

The east crosswing is structurally a true crosswing but of a late date, apparently *c.* 1620. It has a typical side purlin roof with splay cut and spiked scarfs.

What appears to be a further crosswing at the west end is in fact a rear extension, of uncertain date, but judging by the bridging joist not later than 1650.

The main block is now three bays in length, with heavy timber framing. It is remarkable in that all three bays appear to have an inserted first floor and there is an original full-height partition between the end bay and the other two. The framing is good quality with massive jowled storey posts, and an arch brace to side purlin roof.

As the floor joists were not visible, there is no way of dating the inserted floor, but the bridging joists are stop chamfered. There is a mid-16th-century chimney stack, with three diagonal shafts, on the wall line between these three bays and the true crosswing. Also a modern stack on the rear wall, built to the size and position typical of the 16th century.

Dating of the original open hall is not easy, but presumably falls in the time-span 1450–1530, most likely 1480–1500. The roof suggests a rebuild *c.* 1550. Possibly at least part of the inserted floor is of the same date, but because of the partition between the two 'hall bays' it would be unwise to assume that each bay had a floor inserted at the same time.

### **Turnberry Cottage, Bacon End, Great Canfield**

Six bays long, single storey and attics, timber framed and plastered with thatched roof. The basic frame is of two builds. Four southern bays are *c.* 1480, walls extensively altered, with long halved and bridled scarfs in top plates and an arch braced to side purlin roof; hipped end with gablet at the north end. The remaining two bays are of 1575–1600, with halved and bladed top plate scarfs and side purlin roof.

The first floor is inserted throughout. To the four earlier bays this would have been in *c.* 1530, and is of high quality, with stop chamfered beams and joists. In the other two bays the poorer quality insertion seems to be as late as 1700.

The main chimney stack is typical late 16th century in style, but largely faced in 18th-century brick in English bond. There are sections of 16th-century brickwork in the stack and the only answer can be an extensive refacing in the 18th century, retaining exactly the original form.

The four bays of original work all open to the roof is at present definitely an unusual feature.

### **Hopwells Farmhouse, Great Maplestead**

Timber framed and plastered. Two storeys. Grey slate and red plain tile roof. Windows mainly 18th- and 19th-century vertical sliding double-hung sashes with glazing bars, with some later bay windows added.

In effect Hopwells is two houses, both with extensive alterations and exhibiting work of numerous periods.

The earliest work is the structure, below top plate, of the heavily timbered rear range. This appears to date from the first half of the 15th century, certainly no earlier than *c.* 1380, more likely *c.* 1430. The studding is close but not as close as it would be 60 to 70 years later. Top plate scarfs are all halved and bridled. The structure as it remains is of four unequal bays. The end wall of what is now the kitchen was one end of the 15th-century build. The kitchen bay is the only one with an original first floor, and the roof above was hipped at this end. The next bay was a wide screens passage, which had a large chimney stack inserted *c.* 1620-30. The remaining two bays were originally open hall, the middle one having a large hall window. At the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century a first floor was inserted, more likely at the earlier date, as the roof was rebuilt in its present form at that time. It is a typical simple late crown post with two braces of thin section. Early in the 16th century a two-storey crosswing was added, at the end nearest the road. Two or more bays long, it was gabled at what is now the rear, and shows no indication of jettying. Unfortunately the original roof was replaced in the 19th century, with a low pitched roof on raised top plates, so a close dating is impossible.

The front range presents certain problems of interpretation. A number of individual features are dateable. There is an extremely fine fireplace and chimney stack of *c.* 1550, with a wide span arch at ground floor; a good staircase of *c.* 1620; a number of doors and a window of mid- to late 16th century, the former retaining much of their original ironmongery; and wall paintings of *c.* 1680. Externally at eaves level are some carved brackets of late-16th or early-17th-century date. The problems arise when considering the main structure. The walls and first floor construction show no indication of work earlier than the end of the 17th century, and the roof is a rebuild of about 1820.

The only logical answer at present apparent is that in *c.* 1550 a new range was built, and the earlier hall relegated to secondary importance. This would have had an integral first floor and presumably a solid tread staircase, replaced in the early 17th century by the present staircase.

The late 17th century must have seen a major rebuild. The chimney, staircase, doors and one window were retained, but the walls were largely rebuilt and the first floor rejoisted. The panelling and painting must have been part of this operation. The structural work was typical of the period regarding timber quality; but to be as early as this indicates a carpenter who was extremely confident in the use of scantlings and techniques which economic considerations were only recently making necessary. This also indicates that the reason for the extensive work was one of structural necessity rather than the desire for a more fashionable home.

Whilst the datings outlined above are based upon current available knowledge, there is still a great deal of obscurity surrounding the development of the house. The suggested outline is one which appears to fit the picture as we see it at present.

### **Store House, Great Sampford**

Timber framed and plastered, two storeys, three-window range of double-hung sashes with glazing bars. The ground storey has two canted bays and a central six-panel door. At the north end there is a modern double-fronted shopbay window. Grey slate roof.

This is a late-14th-century open hall house with two crosswings. The central hall has an

inserted first floor, and inserted attic floor. The latter is the second half of the 17th century, but the first floor is probably earlier. A fine mid-16th-century brick chimney stack has also been inserted. The original roof no longer exists.

The crosswings have steeply cambered tie beams, spandrel braced, and crown posts. However, the roof is a complete rebuild of the second half of the 17th century. There is also a 17th-century wing to the rear.

There is good early-18th-century detailing in the form of panelling, cupboards, etc.

### **Wick Farmhouse, Laver Marney**

Late-16th-century house, incorporating remains of a 15th-century open hall. Timber framed and plastered, rectangular plan, three bays and chimney bay, with gabled red plain tile roof. Two storeys, three-window range, late-18th-century double-hung, vertical sliding sashes, glazed in margins. Simple pediment doorcase, with modern part-glazed door. Mid-16th-century central chimney with diagonal pilaster strips, four shafts and a square base, with moulded capping. Early-17th-century chimney stack. Two gabled wings to rear.

Internally little of the 15th century remains, except some main frame members, one sooted rafter pair and some 'great bricke' in the base of the centre stack. Part of the original crosswing remains, with heavy floor joists. 16th-century detailing is extensive throughout: stop chamfered floor joists; two fireplaces, one with timber mantel beam and the other with a three-centred brick arch. Three jowled storey posts, late-18th-century panelling, doors and ironmongery, all of good quality.

### **Little Sampford Rectory**

Externally heavily refaced in the 20th century, this was originally a timber-framed house with two crosswings. A large part of the rear extensions date from c. 1880–1914, and the tile hanging on the front is probably even later.

The earliest remaining work is late 15th century. Little of this period is now visible, except one principal truss to the main hall roof now encapsulated. This roof was of the typical late-15th-century side purlin and principal rafter type. Whether this centre section was ever an open hall is conjectural; the truss is not sooted, but the possibility of there having been a smoke bay or smoke hood cannot be discounted.

The two front gables reflect the position of the crosswings. That over the main entrance has virtually no original work remaining. The other crosswing has some of its original frame, of c. 1600, with long jowled storey posts, and side purlin roof. The first floor of this wing was altered extensively in the second half of the 17th century, when a length of top plate was removed and ceiling and partitions inserted, over half the span only.

A fine c. 1600 brick chimney stack was inserted into the main range; with fireplaces back-to-back on the ground floor, one with oak mantel beam, the other with arched brick head. Diagonal grouped shafts.

A considerable amount of money was spent on the house c. 1730, when it was extensively remodelled internally. Some very fine doors remain from this date, and one room is fully panelled, with original skirtings, dados, architraves and cornices. The staircase is also a good example of early-18th-century work, with turned balusters and moulded handrail, but is possibly not in its original position.

In the north crosswing are some fretted balusters, which are either late 17th century or very good imitation. The lean-to extensions to the north of this wing are 18th and 19th century.

### **Stonage Farm, Little Waltham**

Timber framed and plastered, two storeys and attics with red plain tile roof.

There is a gabled and jettied crosswing at the north end, with slightly cambered tie beam, and crown post roof, *c.* 1400–50.

The main range is *c.* 1600, very high quality, but lacking ostentatious decoration. Originally two storeyed with attics, the gabled dormer is original. It is three bays long with a half hip at the southern end, with massive jowled storey posts and stop chamfered beams. The original chimney stack survives, partly rebuilt.

There is a timber-framed and weatherboarded barn, mid-13th century, partly rebuilt *c.* 1400–50. A number of original posts and tie beams remain and the eastern two bays are reversed assembly at aisle eaves level. It originally had long passing braces. There is a large midstrey; all west of the midstrey is 15th century, as is the roof throughout.

### **Canterburys, Margaretting**

The house was originally a hall and crosswing of *c.* 1400. Some of the wall framing remains, including an original window on what was the external side wall of the crosswing. The roof was rebuilt *c.* 1550. In *c.* 1580 the large chimney stack was inserted, and this date also probably applies to the insertion of a first floor in the hall. Part of the original east end of the hall remains encapsulated, adjacent to the later extensions. This is good-quality very typical early-15th-century work.

The front elevation was faced in red brick *c.* 1740, and the gable fronted extension, adjacent to the hall, could well be of the same date. Two extensions were made in the early 19th century, one at the rear and the other extending westwards and incorporating a 17th-century casement. The final stage was a further two-storey extension at the eastern end in the latter years of the 19th century.

There is a barn, originally 15th century, very heavily framed with a 17th-century rebuild at one end. There is also an early-18th-century dovecote or granary connected to a dovecote, and early-19th-century workshops and late-19th-century stables.

### **Plesheybury, Pleshey**

Timber framed and plastered with two jettied crosswings. 19th-century double-hung sashes with vertical glazing bars. Red plain tile roof. Six-panel door, with doorcase with an ornamented frieze and flat cornice hood.

The west crosswing is mid-15th century, with jowled storey posts, and cambered tie beams. The spandrel bracing to the central beam is modern but likely to be a reasonably accurate copy. There is a simple crown post roof, with short post, without embellishment, two braces to collar purlin. The rear was originally hipped.

The east crosswing is more complex. It has a core which is definitely medieval: an original central tie beam, spandrel braces, part of the top plates and some storey posts survive. The evidence makes dating difficult, but it must be within *c.* 1360–1450. In the latter years of the 17th century the wing was altered and extended both to the rear and in its overall width, and reroofed.

The central section must stand on the site of an original open hall relating to one or both of the crosswings. It is not possible now to tell whether the present structure incorporates anything of this build; it may possibly be a complete 16th-century rebuild. The large central chimney stack has some 16th-century brick on the south side, but it appears to have been largely rebuilt *c.* 1680. The roof is side purlin with intermittent collars, also a rebuild of *c.* 1680.

To the rear is a separate building once used as a bakehouse, and incorporating a fine chimney stack of *c.* 1680. The top of this was rebuilt *c.* 1800, and the roof appears to be of the same date. The walls are partly in modern concrete brick.

### **Beaconend Farm, Stanway (Plate II, a)**

Two storey in red brick, with red plain tile roof. Crosswing at each end, with hipped roofs.

The brick is 18th-century cladding to a medieval hall house with crosswings. The west wing is the earliest structure. Originally jettied, the first-floor joists are heavy and jointed with centre tenons. The roof has a cambered tie beam, and simple crown post with two braces. The joists and tie beam indicate an early-14th-century date, but the crown post is stylistically 200 years later.

The central hall has an inserted first floor of the late 16th century; and a large chimney stack, also inserted, of *c.* 1500, with a fine mantel beam with cambered top. The hall roof has tall, two-braced, octagonal crown posts, with chamfered bases and capitals. The junction with the west wing is achieved by storey posts and tie beam approximately 18 inches away from the wall face, with the gap bridged by cantilevered top plates. A late-14th-century date would be applicable.

The east wing is of the same date as the hall, and has jowled storey posts and simple crown post roof. One original doorhead remains on the ground floor.

### **Catchbells, London Road, Stanway**

Early-15th-century house with later alterations. Timber framed and brick clad. Two storeys. Red plain tile hipped and gabled roof. 18th- and 19th-century double-hung vertical sliding sash windows.

The original east crosswing is early 15th century, with a fine pair of service doorways with rounded heads. Formerly jettied and gabled, it is now underbuilt and oversailed. The original roof remains with cambered and arch braced tie beam, short four-armed crown post, with moulded base and moulded and castellated capital.

Little of the original central hall remains except one storey post. The roof was raised late in the 16th century, and the first floor inserted with moulded bridging joist and stop chamfered common joists.

The west wing is *c.* 1500, originally jettied and gabled, underbuilt and oversailed like the east wing. Fine *c.* 1500 chimney stack, with rebuilt diagonal shafts. There are two original fireplaces.

To the rear of the west wing is a two-storey late-19th-century wing, in brick, part painted. The east wing has rear extensions of the 17th century and later.

The east boundary has a fine 18th-century red brick wall.

### **White Hart Farm, Stanway (Plate II, b)**

Timber framed and plastered, two storeys; with red plain tile roof, some pantile on the rear and grey slate on the lean-to at the east end. Basically a central hall with two crosswings.

The east crosswing is of two bays, gabled with jetty to front: *c.* 1360, it originally had a crown post roof, with steeply cambered tie beam, spandrel bracing and half hip to rear. The crown post and bracing have been removed, but otherwise the roof is complete.

To the east of this wing is a lean-to extension of uncertain date, and to the rear a one and a half storey extension of *c.* 1650, with gambrel roof and mid-18th-century dormer.

The original build of the hall is not easy to date. The chimney stack, which is presumably inserted, is 15th century, altered and raised in the late 16th century. This indicates a 14th- or

15th-century date for the hall at the latest. The roof was presumably raised when the stack was altered, but the present roof and inserted first floor are no earlier than *c.* 1670, and must be later replacements.

The lean-to at the rear incorporates a small staircase tower, which could be contemporary with either the first-floor raise, or its subsequent alteration.

It should be noted that a 15th-century brick chimney stack is not a common occurrence in this level of building, and suggests considerable affluence, and probably imported craftsmen.

The west wing is also difficult to date, the only evidence being a window on what was originally the rear wall, and a tie beam with crown post mortice. It must be before *c.* 1580, but how much earlier is conjectural due to extensive alterations in the late 18th century, and again *c.* 1928. It is tempting to suggest a date contemporary with the raise of the chimney stack. There is an 18th-century extension at the rear and a modern extension to the west.

There is a late-17th-century three-bay barn, weatherboarded with midstrey on the west side. It has hanging knees to the tie beams, and a side purlin roof, with later ridge-board cut in.

### **Green Farmhouse, Stebbing**

Timber framed and plastered, two storeys and attics, red plain tile, double-range roof. The front range is a standard plan late-16th-century small house, of two bays with central integral chimney stack, integral first floor, and small staircase tower. The rear range was added *c.* 1700. It appears that, possibly because of rising damp, extensive rebuilding of the ground floor walls of the original building was necessary at this time, and the work included rebuilding the central stack at ground-floor level. The large mantel beam and a small portion of brickwork above it are all that remain of the lower part of the original stack.

The first floors are flat section joists with soffit tenons and diminished haunches.

The rear range destroyed the original staircase tower with the exception of part of its roof, and a short length of 16th-century brick sleeper wall, which now forms the north wall of the cellar. The *c.* 1700 staircase is also in 'tower' form, and has original handrail and newels. Some *c.* 1700 doors and ironmongery remain.

To the rear is a fine circular well shaft apparently of the late 16th century, with remains of an early 19th-century domed top.

Adjacent, to the rear, is another timber-framed building of late-16th-century date. Originally a house of three bays, the first floor has been raised, and the roof largely rebuilt. Two storey posts are now missing and the central chimney stack rebuilt.

### **20 The Street, Stisted**

Two-storey house, brick and timber frame. Most of the visible detailing is late 18th century, with good double-hung vertical sliding sashes, and well-detailed front door and doorcase. The plan is standard late-18th-century L-shaped layout, with two main rooms divided by a chimney stack, side passage and a rear wing. The present roof is a rebuild of *c.* 1880.

Whilst the planform is standard, it is not perfectly aligned, and suggests that the 18th-century work hides an earlier structure which has been partially incorporated. This is endorsed by the existence of reused late-16th-century brick in the chimney stack, and large section oak first-floor joists in the front bay.

### **Prouds's Farmhouse, Thaxted**

Originally a 14th-century open hall house with at least one contemporary crosswing. The hall appears to have been largely rebuilt *c.* 1570, with an integral first floor and with floor joists having soffit tenons and diminished haunches.

The two front bays of the northern wing are original 14th century, with jetty and gable to front and originally hipped to the rear. Typical cambered tie beams with arch braces, and formerly a crown post above. Studs are wide spaced, and there is an original window at first-floor rear. Two other important 14th-century features are the ogee doorhead, and solid baulk staircase. A later-16th-century chimney stack has been inserted on the line of the screens passage to the hall, and this has involved moving the ogee headed door farther back into the wing. Across the front of the later fireplace is a beam with great casement moulding and crenellations. This is late 14th century, and as it is jointed to a main post in the front wall, was presumably the screen head beam. The post supporting this beam on the rear wall is a 16th-century replacement.

At the rear of the 14th-century wing is a two-bay structure of c. 1520, good quality work, close studded, with integral first floor and arch braced to side purlin roof. It was originally side jettied at the rear on the southern side.

The southern crosswing is of c. 1590, and there are 17th-century lean-to extensions.

### **Pan-in-the-Wood, Tiptree**

Timber framed and plastered, tiled gambrel roof. Centre passage plan, two bays with end chimney stacks and lean-to at rear. This is a very good example of its type, a form which was to become common in the 18th century, but of which we have few good examples remaining. It is also an early example, certainly not later than c. 1720; it could be as early as c. 1680 in view of its quality. Normally with buildings of this size and period the constructional quality is not of the highest; but in this instance efforts were obviously made to achieve something rather superior to the norm, whilst still being modest in size. This becomes apparent from the detailing.

The first-floor joists are all reasonable quality timber, which must have been carefully selected at that period to obtain such conformity, and the beaded corners are a definite refinement. The one visible original fireplace is again a good example of its type. The roof is a 'textbook' late form of gambrel, with steep pitches and a ceiling at the level of the change. Even this ceiling is a typical example of the period, with diagonal struts supporting the common joists between bridging joists. Finally, but particularly noteworthy, are the numerous original doors complete with ironmongery.

### **Brook Farm, Wethersfield**

This house is now on a T-shaped plan, timber framed and plastered with red plain tile roof. The south-east wing consists of an open hall house of c. 1290, three bays in length, with cambered main tie beam, and four-armed crown post. The roof is soot encrusted from the original open hearth. The tie beam is arch braced with spandrel strutting, both horizontal and vertical. The first floor was inserted at an unknown date. The crown post has a heavily moulded base and capital, consisting of a series of angle fillets, with a complete absence of rolls. The crown post bracing is heavy section, and steeply angled. The main hall has been restored on the north-east side. This is high-quality work for its period. There is a probably late-16th-century extension at the southern end.

To the north-west of this range is a further range at right-angles, which appears to date from c. 1550. Of two storeys and attics, it probably originally had a large central chimney stack. Extensive alterations occurred in the mid- to late 18th century, when the north front took its present form, and the end chimney stacks were built.

On the east side is a range of outbuildings, which despite their archaic appearance date from the 17th century. They contain considerable amounts of earlier timber, including some soot-blackened rafters. There is also a division gable in brick nogging of extremely early medieval brick, possibly as early as c. 1200. Unfortunately they are not in their original position and constitute a reuse.

### Danes Vale Farm, Wethersfield

Timber framed and plastered with red plain tile roof; basically a T-shaped plan, with a later extension. The principal range, parallel to the road, is of two storeys and appears to date from c. 1540. It has a side purlin roof with intermittent collars and jowled principal rafters. The main chimney stack appears to be of the same date. The west crosswing is c. 1600.

However, the 1540 build appears to incorporate some earlier work, from a medieval open hall, possibly aisled. There are indications that this earlier structure extended farther eastward, to where the outbuildings now stand. If so the remainder must have been demolished c. 1540, because of the window in the east gable of the later build.

The adjacent outbuilding is heavily timbered, late 15th or early 16th century. It is not convincing as a barn. It was certainly used as a granary, and later probably as stables. The possibility of another dwelling should not be discounted.

### The Gables, Wethersfield

Originally a hall and crosswing, with a later extension at the east end.

The earliest part remaining is the two-bay hall, which appears to date from the 15th century. This was heavily framed, with wall braces to the top plates. A first floor was inserted c. 1550, and has joists with soffit tenons and diminished haunches. The crosswing has only its main frame now in existence, with halved and bridled scarf joints in the top plates. The evidence indicates a date prior to c. 1570, but it is impossible to tell how much earlier it could be. The hall and crosswing roof, and the present crosswing first floor, date from the early 18th century. The structure was extensively altered in the early 18th century and again in the mid-20th century. At the rear of the crosswing is an early-18th-century chimney stack with modern alterations.

In about 1570 a large chimney stack was inserted at the east end of the hall, and a single-storey extension was added c. 1610. This had its roof raised and a first floor added in the second half of the 17th century.

### Tiptofts, Wimbish

This has already been described on a number of occasions; however, a brief note is felt to be necessary, bringing the situation up to date.

Despite J. T. Smith's footnote in the second edition of Pevsner's *Buildings of England: Essex* (1965, 393), the theory that the service wing is a later addition is untenable. Further, the structure clearly indicates that the wing must be older than the hall. The tie beam of the hall at the junction is purpose-made to fit over the existing rafters of the crosswing roof. The framing of the wing as it is exposed bears no structural continuity with the hall, and the hall structure could not have been built without the pre-existence of the wing. Also the position of mortices for top plates of an earlier hall are clearly visible *in situ*. Further, the junction achieved is clumsy and contrived, totally out of keeping with the high standard of design and workmanship in the rest of the building.

All indications are that the previously published dates are somewhat conservative. The style of the hall crown posts would fit better into the late 13th century than the mid-14th century, particularly when one considers the quality of work involved, and therefore the probability that the most modern acceptable techniques would have been used. This is further supported by the fact that we now accept the scarf joint represented here as second half of the 13th century. The mouldings on the capitals are also applicable to this period, according to Forrester (1972, 33-4), and the mouldings on the crown posts of the solar wing (Hewett, 1976, fig. 28) date c. 1230-1300. Hewett has also shown (*ibid.*, 69) that the solar wing must be contemporary with the hall. A date of c. 1260 would be acceptable.



The service wing must be earlier. Hewett (*ibid.*, 57–9) has shown the archaic structural approach used in this wing, which is unlike anything we know of post-1300 date. The contrived jetty, the false jowls, the side jowls, and the apparent crown post, which is in fact a truncated king post, are all features which appear to be groping for, rather than having achieved, a structural logic. The only clue to dating is the king post capital moulding, which Forrester says was in use by c. 1250 (1972, 33); but presumably he could not date its inception. We are not likely to be dealing with a build of before 1200, as the lap joint does not appear anywhere.

### **Old Mill House, Guithavon Valley, Witham**

Predominantly c. 1730, the house retains some earlier features, notably the late-17th-century brickwork in the cellar farthest from the river, two timber-framed external walls to the rear with remains of pricked pargeting, and a yard area extended over in the early 19th century. There appear to be two 18th-century builds: c. 1730, including the staircase and fine doorcase; and c. 1780, including much of the remaining detail and the brick façade, which appears to have reused the doorcase. There were rear extensions in the early 19th century and early 20th century. The staircase is particularly good, with moulded handrail and turned balusters.

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# A Pattern of Land Accumulation: The Audley End Experience, 1762–97

by J. D. WILLIAMS

The 'rise of great estates' and the significance of marriages, family settlements and mortgages in this process has attracted the attention of historians particularly since the publication of Sir John Habakkuk's seminal article some forty years ago.<sup>1</sup> Some more recent contributors have suggested the need to modify the Habakkuk model which had, over the years, become 'accepted orthodoxy',<sup>2</sup> and other scholars have emphasised the need to take greater cognizance of the regional variations in the pattern of landownership.<sup>3</sup> Overall, the main thrust of the Habakkuk thesis, if not for the original reasons, that the general drift of property was in favour of the large landowner, has not been seriously contended.

The Audley End estate is an example of those estates that passed via royal grant from spiritual to lay hands at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. In 1538 the lands of the abbey of Walden were granted to Sir Thomas Audley. Despite the vicissitude of fortunes, political, economic and biological,<sup>4</sup> by the middle of the 18th century, the estate consisted of over 6,000 acres impinging upon six parishes in north-west Essex.<sup>5</sup> Its experience highlights that the preservation of the family as an entity from generation to generation was determined mainly by economic and biological considerations. But following upon the death of the 10th and last Earl of Suffolk in 1745, and after complicated legal proceedings, the estate was divided between the joint heirs of the 3rd Earl of Suffolk on the female side, namely, the 2nd Earl of Bristol on the one hand, and Elizabeth, Countess of Portsmouth, and her sister, Ann Whitwell, on the other.<sup>6</sup> In dividing the estate between the two parties the solution arrived at was to separate the Walden part from the land situated in the other parishes. As the Walden part amounted to about half the total undivided acreage, this was probably the most natural and easiest way of achieving an equal or near equal division. Apart from minor modifications this course met with the approval of both parties. The Bristol half was spread over the parishes of Littlebury, Wendens, Newport, Great and Little Chesterford. The Portsmouth-Whitwell or Walden half, including woodlands, amounted to 3,257 acres and yielded a net income of £2,048 per annum. On the death of the Countess of Portsmouth in 1762, Audley End House and this part of the estate passed formally to her nephew, Sir John Griffin Griffin, the eldest son and heir of Ann and William Whitwell.

That this was so, and that it was to a divided estate that he succeeded, is not without interest. Clearly its division and diminution was not in keeping with the general pattern of land consolidation, and that Griffin did succeed 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'.<sup>7</sup> It was three deaths and a provident marriage in the 1740s that together proved to be the factors that quite transformed Griffin's circumstances, confirming the part played by inheritance and marriages, as well as luck in the rise and prominence of families.<sup>8</sup> Schooled by his aunt, he determined to regain the lost dignities of his forebears as well as promote his own career. After changing his surname and arms from Whitwell to Griffin by act of Parliament, he successfully

recalled the title of Howard de Walden, representing his descent from the Howard Earls of Suffolk of Audley End, and was created the 1st Lord Braybrooke, which title represented his descent from the Griffins of Northamptonshire. Before his elevation to the peerage he had been a member of Parliament, and following a military career he was made a Knight of the Bath and rose to the rank of Field-Marshal. He became Lord-Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral of his adopted county of Essex, Recorder and Lay Rector of Saffron Walden, Lord of the manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden, and Visitor of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Succeeding to once one of the largest private residences in the whole of England, the palatial Audley End had been drastically reduced in size, and was in need of thorough and comprehensive reconstruction if it was to survive as a great house. This Sir John undertook to do.<sup>9</sup> Concurrent with these many ambitions, was his determination to act for the 'Benefit of the Estate itself, & its Possessors in time to come'.<sup>10</sup>

This paper is concerned with Griffin's attempts to arrest this decline and to overcome the acute problem of acreage deficiency, both quantitative and qualitative. Starting with some 3,257 acres he ended by possessing nearly 6,000 acres. This investigation examines the manner in which this enlargement was achieved, and it is hoped that 'some insight into the workings of a land-owner's mind'<sup>11</sup> will be achieved.

In his efforts to overcome the reduction in both acreage and rentals, Griffin embarked upon a policy of extending the dimensions of his estate, which at the time of his succession was only comparable to some of the gentry of the county.<sup>12</sup> Acting on the dictum that to buy was to improve, he also enjoined in the sentiment that round 'a Principal Residence, a gentleman may be supposed to have some considerable estate . . . The love of possession is deeply planted in every man's breast'.<sup>13</sup> But this policy must also be seen in conjunction with the promotion of his career and his efforts at social elevation, for 'acquisition of social position was an essential object of this investment in land'.<sup>14</sup> The partition, then, had the effect of defining the major problem confronting him, and partly of helping him to decide on the appropriate course of action, for even before he formally succeeded to the house in 1762, his mind had become attuned to the need for estate development in terms of growth. Essentially, there were two strands to this policy: regaining alienated land, and gaining new land.

As a result of the partition, the Earl of Bristol had gained some 3,572 acres in north-west Essex, of which 835 acres were in the parish of Littlebury, and as such, nearest to Audley End House and park. Absentee landlords residing in Suffolk, the Bristol family was also to be engaged on rebuilding work at Ickworth Lodge. Although well pleased with the partition, by 1766, and in reply to a letter from Griffin, Lord Bristol intimated his own willingness 'to come to some Agreement, and you shall ever find the same Facility in me, . . . to make so beautiful a Seat as Audley End compleat'.<sup>15</sup> Recognising that the Earl might well find it expedient to part with some of his property in Essex and use cash gained to finance his rebuilding schemes, Sir John was anxious to push on with negotiations. But it was not until 1773 that their promise to accommodate each other got under way, when Griffin intimated his desire to purchase 237 acres of the Earl's lands in Littlebury, consisting mainly of 94 acres already rented by Griffin and 125 acres rented by Thomas Pennystone. To correspondence were added verbal messages delivered by Pennystone who acted as steward to the two halves of the original estate. Lord Bristol's procrastination was a source of perturbation to Sir John and resolutely he informed his Lordship that on the basis of the latter's promises he had already 'enlarg'd my Plantation & Park . . . been at the Expense of purchasing several Lands that are intermix'd with Those belonging to your Lordship on ye Littlebury Side oposite to my Park'. To justify his own expectations he requested permission 'to remind your Lordship of your great Kindness express'd to Me in a Letter I had the Honour of receiving from Your Lordship from Ickworth in January 1766 wherein Your Lordship was pleas'd to Express Yourself in the following words'. The appropriate extract was transcribed, and in doing so Sir John was conforming to the dictum that the 'business of negotiation is best carried on, by letter; which become vouchers of fact'. In his reply, Lord Bristol

conceded that he was unable to recall the contents of his letter of 1766 'having never kept my Copy of it', but added civilly that as 'I perceive I then gave you Ground to expect that I might consent to extend my original Intention of selling those Lands in Front of your House, to accommodate you still further in your views about the Park, I should be sorry to have led you into Buying what you would not otherwise have done, . . . I shall therefore direct a Valuation to be made of those other Lands, which you have press'd for without accepting your obliging Offer, to take my Late Purchase off my Hands'. A note in Sir John's own hand records simply that Lord Bristol 'agrees to accommodate Me with such Lands, as I want'. Griffin for his part paid the Earl £5,000. With an annual rental of £129 6s. the 237 acres were calculated at forty years' purchase which was quite a bit above the market price estimated by Young at that time.<sup>16</sup> That Sir John was prepared to do so was very largely due to the location of these acres, some of which could be seen from the principal apartments of Audley End, as well as complementing his overall estate strategy.

Minor transactions took place in 1774, when matters were settled speedily and amicably. But when in 1778 new negotiations were entered into there was some difficulty and the episode demonstrates how the triangular relationship between Griffin, Bristol and Pennystone could come near to floundering. The difference of opinion arose over whether the ditch surrounding the Warren Ring, which Sir John had purchased from the Earl, was included in the deal. It was important to Griffin in view of his policy of diverting some local byways that cut across his newly acquired property, and particularly because of the erection of the Grecian temple, designed by Adam, on the Warren Ring. As steward for both Griffin and the Earl of Bristol, Pennystone found himself in a delicate position. Expressing his own relationship with his steward as 'candid & liberal', Griffin added that 'I make no Doubt but You will be equally so with Me', and let it be known that he hoped Pennystone would 'not transmit any Thing on the Subject to Lord Bristol, without previously giving Me a Copy'. Although Griffin wished to clear up the disagreement quickly, a good deal of uneasiness remained and by September, Pennystone, who had taken matters very much to heart, was in need of reassurance. Sir John expressed himself as being 'very sorry you have been so unhappy . . . & assure You it was the furthest from my Thoughts to make You so . . . it is well known by all my Friends that I have ever been satisfied of your Desire to promote my Wishes; & hope that in this Instance that You will help a happy and quiet Conclusion'.

By February 1779 a conclusion was reached, with Lord Bristol telling Griffin that he had 'made it a rule to do whatever was in my power to contribute to yr Satisfaction in the Embellishing of Audley Inn'. But Sir John's offer to relieve his Lordship of his manorial rights was politely refused. Griffin did not pursue this line, but chose, instead, to thank the Earl for the exchanges, trusting that they 'will ever be satisfactory to all Parties that may succeed us'. This tactful handling of the situation made it possible for yet another transaction between the two families to be effected in 1793, and the tone of Griffin's letter reveals the very good relationship that existed. On this occasion it was the complete possession of a particular field that was part of a larger plan that he had 'at last perfected'. Lord Bristol signalled his compliance and it was on this happy note that their business relationship ended.

The second strand of this policy was to gain new land by getting hold of adjacent properties. That this was achieved very largely in piecemeal fashion was mainly due to the retention of an open field strip system in north-west Essex after most of the remainder of the county had been enclosed. Griffin's particular experience would seem to confirm, in part, the comment that even 'very wealthy men bought relatively modest estates and contented themselves with the purchase of a single property in a group of properties in a single area'.<sup>17</sup>

Although this aspect of his policy impinged on four parishes it was in Saffron Walden that most gains were made. The manorial survey drawn up for him records his land procuring policy from 1754 until his death over forty years later.<sup>18</sup> Altogether some 373 parcels of land amounting to about 789 acres were added to the diminished Audley End estate. Of this total some 460 acres

were freehold, 328 copyhold and the remainder unspecified. In terms of their accumulated distribution on an annual basis, additions were made in 1754 and 1755, that is, before he formally succeeded to the house, but after he had been given his aunt's share of the divided estate. Between 1762-97, only in five years were no additions recorded, those being 1777, 1778, 1780, 1789 and 1791. In terms of parcels procured per decade, there were nine in the 1750s; ninety in the 1760s; seventy in the 1770s; one hundred and eighty in the 1780s; and thirty in the 1790s. Three parcels were undated.

This growth was achieved in three ways: by purchase, by exchange, and by a combination of these two methods. The bulk of the land obtained was by purchase. Of the 373 parcels added, 303 came as a result of this method and these amounted to 649 of the total 789 acres. The second method enabled 47 parcels to be gained, 32 as a result of private exchange and 15 as a consequence of Parliamentary<sup>19</sup> legislation, making a total of 58 acres gross gain. Thirdly, the combination of these two methods made for two permutations: exchange and subsequent repurchase of the same land; and purchase, subsequent exchange, and further repurchase of the same land. On the basis of the first permutation, some 42 acres were involved when 14 parcels were initially exchanged and later repurchased, and this took place in both private and Parliamentary exchanges. There are four examples concerning the second permutation, whereby some 8 acres were initially purchased by Griffin, exchanged for what at the time he considered to be more desirable parcels or perhaps to accommodate a person with whom he had dealings, and then subsequently repurchased at a later date. This, then, is the overall pattern that emerges from an analysis of the manorial survey and maps, and invaluable though these sources are, by their very nature, they present to the latter-day student a *fait accompli* picture, even when, as in this instance, they record transactions extending over forty years.

But as well as being the biggest landowner in the parish of Walden, Sir John was also lord of the two manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden.<sup>20</sup> Of the 373 parcels gained, 123 were in Brooke Walden and 238 in Chipping Walden, with the remaining dozen unspecified, and of the 789 acres gained some 328 were copyhold. In an open field area the manorial records show that the manor court was an important agency for estate administration, particularly the type of administration that was to characterise Griffin's stewardship of the Audley End estate. As lord of both manors he was able to keep his finger very much on the pulse of the local land market, and the limited correspondence in regard to land procured in these manors would seem to uphold this view.

Some of this property procuring activity is mirrored in the records of the two courts. Primarily, they confirm some of the transactions, but they also highlight the involved nature of such business, particularly in an open field strip area, underlining the procedure that had to be gone through and illustrating the participation of several interested parties as a result of one man's ambitions. As a vehicle for facilitating land transactions these records also amplify some of the data contained in the survey. Generally, copyhold land was surrendered directly to the lord, but there are a few occasions when the estate steward and estate bailiff held land in trust for him. Otherwise, all parcels gained were brought within demesne lands immediately, and as a result became freehold property. As with the survey, these records, too, emphasise the protracted nature of the whole operation.

But to appreciate the finer points of the human drama and accompanying difficulties that sometimes lay behind these transactions it is necessary to turn to the estate correspondence. This source in particular brings out the patience and determination that on occasions was needed to procure a coveted property, and perhaps more than the other records underlines the complexities of this type of estate policy in an open field strip area. Although most of the land purchased and exchanged in the parish of Walden was initially procured on the basis of verbal contract, there is some correspondence which throws additional light on some of the transactions.

One of the leading figures in promoting Griffin's policy was Thomas Pennystone, the estate steward, and although a Quaker, even his patience was tried on occasions. In a letter to his master in February 1787, the decade in which one hundred and eighty parcels were added to the

estate in the two manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden, he informed Sir John that at the time of writing, when both purchases and exchanges were currently taking place, that he was 'so deeply hurt and mortified that I most sincerely wish never to have anything more to do with some part of this Neighbourhood (on any Account) . . . there was something that possesses the minds, that Every Offer or proposal Carrys Sinister Views'. It transpired, in Pennystone's view, that the 'Narrow minded Mr. Bowtell . . . has Yesterday Impress'd strongly on his neighbours the two Leveretts . . . to stand still to present Offers, . . . the other which is Owner of No. 1543 . . . not to Comply without Your Lordship giving him No. 1539 . . . these are such Vexing Absurdity that they are beyond almost bearing the hearing, and the sly Close Mr. Archer Upon former Conversation & being spoak to thinks his place of that Consequence that it Cannot be done without to Compleat the Improvements'.<sup>21</sup>

Stalling, in the hope of ultimately getting a better price, was one of the many problems that made the expansion of an estate a complicated affair, although it might be disguised among several other related difficulties. In one of his letters Sir John mentioned that he had been over 'many, many Years in Treaty with Mr. Batt, the Proprietor of the Parsonage Farm & Great Tythes of Littlebury'.<sup>22</sup> This particular transaction took place alongside several others, for altogether Griffin obtained over 331 acres in the parish of Littlebury. Negotiations with Batt began in 1777 and were not concluded until sixteen years later in 1793. The initial approach was made by Griffin when he wrote stating that he understood that Mrs. Batt and her son were in possession of about 20 acres of land under lease to the church of Ely and of which he would be glad to get possession. Although willing 'to contribute in some small degree to the further ornament of so fine a place as Audley End', she could not oblige as the estate had been settled on her marriage. When negotiations reopened four years later, it transpired that another obstacle had appeared with Batt being unable to 'remove from his Mother's Mind, scruples and Apprehensions, which tho' groundless are insurmountable'. Griffin, in the meantime, had optimistically purchased an estate of 25 acres with a view of exchanging it for Batt's property.

Another four years went by during which time the projected deal had become further complicated. Unabashed, Sir John continued to make enquiries and that the problem had exercised his mind is evidenced in another of his letters. 'I have thought of another Expedient, by which perhaps I might get the Lands I want into my hands without any Act of Parliament at all . . . I might immediately make some advantageous Proposal to the Lessee, that would induce her to let Me into the Possession of what I want—of which I see various Ways to tempt her & Those that come after her'. Openly and earnestly he confessed that the property in question was 'of great Importance to Me towards the Conclusion of a Work I have begun at A.E. & that I should be happy if possible to see completed', and fully acknowledged Mrs. Batt's unwillingness to enter into new business 'not unnatural to Us in our old age'.

Sir John's appeal was to no avail and Batt continued to reiterate that although he himself had no wish to hinder that 'noble plan of improvement', his mother's 'infirm health . . . an age rather advanced, a disposition naturally timid & apprehensive & averse from business, make her wholly unwilling to disturb in any manner a property with which she is at present very well satisfied, & from which she receives a regular income'. When by November 1787 old Mrs. Batt had died and the apparent major stumbling block removed, Griffin felt encouraged to reopen negotiations yet again. But by this time, Batt had developed a concern that the rectorial tithe would suffer. Accordingly, Sir John's next move was directed at the rector of Littlebury, with Griffin's friend and chaplain, who was also vicar of Walden and Littlebury, interceding on his patron's behalf. Meeting with some success, the main business did not get under way until 1788, by which time the estate steward had been drawn into the correspondence saga, although from the tone of his contribution it seems very probable that his letters were dictated by his master. Batt, for his part, employed a surveyor of Chancery Lane, to look after his interests. When matters seemed to be nearing completion another intervention from Batt held up the business yet again. On this occasion he was concerned about the expense entailed although he impressed

upon Sir John that 'it still being my wish, notwithstanding all that had passed, to contribute to the beauty and ornament of so fine a place as Audley End'.

Despite such lofty sentiments, negotiations broke down once more, and nothing further appears to have happened until Batt broached the subject via a third party in March 1793. Intimating, as was his wont, that he would personally derive pleasure in accommodating Sir John, he was 'induced to conclude that no price that I could reasonably ask for that Estate will be equivalent for the Sacrifice I must make in parting it'. Brushing aside these sinister undertones Griffin busied himself during the following two weeks and on 11 April made a firm offer of £5,000. This figure was based on investigations he had made, and although it might appear to those unconcerned to be 'rather high', he asserted his desire to make an offer 'in Proportion as I have done to other Gentlemen'. Advised to accept this 'very Magnificent' offer, Batt still procrastinated. It transpired that by this time he was vexed over promises given previously to his tenant. Professing his inability to reconcile himself to the dilemma, having got above market price for the estate, Batt was angling for security for his tenant. Although recognising the short-term disadvantage of this proposal as 'a Matter not to be pass'd over slightly', Sir John, nonetheless, accepted. By July he was able to confide that he had 'at last perfected, & which among other Things, puts me in complete Possession of the whole of the common Field in Question'. For as well as purchasing in Littlebury, Griffin was also busily exchanging. In 1779,<sup>23</sup> for example, a transaction involving over 20 persons was negotiated. By this time he had made himself owner of much of the common field called Little Shackleton estimated at 21 acres and on which a number of the inhabitants of the manor enjoyed the right of commonage for their cattle. In return for freedom to release the land from such rights he granted two pieces of land for the use of the poor, and a similar exchange took place in 1793<sup>24</sup> as he was completing business with Batt. A good deal older by the time that the protracted affair with Batt was finally concluded, Sir John was relieved to get the land so that the whole business might end on a successful note. Not that all transactions did so. In his dealings with another neighbour, Thomas Wolfe, the results were mixed.<sup>25</sup> Initial exchanges caused Wolfe to express his gratitude for Griffin's 'generosity in granting the request made with so much readiness and for the very liberal terms . . . a fair and equal bargain in the line of dealing between Man & Man, between ourselves, & between You & those who may claim after you, in the strictest line of family settlement'. But when further attempts were made to accommodate each other, they did not materialise.

The strategy underlying the whole operation is partly explained by relating the additions made to demesne lands and particularly to the main holdings, although the parcels procured were not necessarily incorporated into the seven principal farms.<sup>26</sup> On this basis some 258 acres made up of 151 parcels are seen to be lying nearest to Westley farm; 246 acres comprising 131 plots to Audley End farm; 130 acres made up of 27 parcels to Butler's farm; 126 acres consisting of 53 plots to St. Aylott's farm; 27 acres made up of 9 parcels to Pounce Hall farm; 2 acres being a single plot to Ross farm; no additions seem to have been made in the proximity of the seventh farm, Monk's Hall. It is clear that Griffin was not only extending the size of his estate, but that he was also endeavouring to make his properties more compact, thus making possible the immediate or future readjustment in the size of his principal holdings. He was endeavouring to improve the quality as well as the size of his estate, and a comparison between the relevant maps shows the extent to which consolidation had taken place.

Indeed, the second major problem confronting him was qualitative, hinging on the important question of estate privacy. Firstly, some of the land that he could see to the south of the house was not his. For aesthetic and social, as well as for economic reasons, he got hold of a number of fairly small properties and as a result two streets in the hamlet of Audley End were pulled down and a new street built at a more respectful distance from the great house. The effect of this policy is partly seen by comparing the map of 1758 with that of 1783, when by the latter date, the hamlet had been reduced to one street and had been tidily tucked behind the park wall.<sup>27</sup> This particular project extended over thirty-five years. The first property was purchased in 1760 and the last in

1792. Altogether at least twenty properties were purchased by Sir John for which he paid a minimum of £2,750.<sup>28</sup> The cost of individual transactions varied from as much as £1,060, to as little as £30. Among the individuals who found themselves involved were Sarah Lagden, who was paid £135 5s. for a messuage called 'The Swan', next to the bridge, which was removed to make way for the Adam-designed bridge that Sir John commissioned. Her property was pulled down in 1764 and she was given six guineas as a 'kind gift of charity for my Own Use Over and above the purchase Money paid for the House'.<sup>29</sup> In 1769 Robert Cole sold a tann office and adjoining close for £300, an example of Griffin repurchasing property. Thomas Pennystone also had a hand in facilitating this aspect of his master's policy by selling two cottages, and a labourer, Daniel Webb, was paid £50 as well as being given an undertaking that he should have one of the newly erected cottages, to replace the old ones, at the same rent as the others were to be let. In conjunction with the purchases of these small properties exchanges had also taken place, and these included both private and Parliamentary. In 1765 Griffin gave a building and a small piece of land to Mr. Fuller, a malster of the hamlet, in return for a more desirable piece of land. A note in Griffin's hand informs that this exchange 'was not included in ye Act of Parliament but made for mutual Benefit'.<sup>30</sup> In 1776 he got hold of two cottages from Jeffrey Cowell, a labourer, and his sons, and in return agreed to convey a piece of land in Little Walden and to erect at his own expense two 'good' cottages, one tiled and the other thatched, and both of them to be 'well daubed up and finished fit for living in'.<sup>31</sup>

Secondly, a smaller hamlet to the north of the house, and in his park, received similar attention, with Sir John effecting both purchases and exchanges in Duck Street between 1762 and 1792. A comparison between the maps of 1758 and 1783 again reveals the changes that took place, and as in the hamlet of Audley End, they included taking down some of the older buildings and replacing them with new cottages and farm buildings. Among those from whom the properties were obtained were James King, a husbandman; Sarah Burling, a widow; and a family bearing the name of Archer, with whom both exchange and purchase were agreed. Thus over the years Sir John was able to secure ownership of this hamlet, and this episode again confirms his determination to own land adjoining his estate and visible from the great house itself.

But his ambitions were no more confined to one county than they had been to one parish. Although it was to be in the last decade of his life that he embarked upon this wider policy, he ended by also owning estates in Suffolk, Norfolk and Northamptonshire, apart from his control of lighthouses in Winterton and Orfordness.<sup>32</sup> In a memorandum in his own hand Sir John mentioned that he had paid £5,000 to Mrs. Nesbitt in 1785 for an estate in Suffolk, and the Bank Ledgers confirm that on 25 February of that year the sum of £4,932 17s. 6d. was paid to her. She was the mistress of the 3rd Earl of Bristol on whose death in 1779 she inherited some of his property. It was part of these lands that Griffin purchased by private contract in 1785. They amounted to about 186 acres yielding an annual rental of £170. He borrowed £2,000 to help pay for this estate and the debt was discharged by 12 August of the same year.<sup>33</sup> Apart from providing Sir John with additional land and extra income this transaction was probably made with a long-term view of effecting further exchanges of mutual benefit with the Bristol family. The second estate was in Norfolk and consisted of over 327 acres. Although it is not possible to state how much Griffin paid for it, between 1783-97 it yielded £8,915. With the Northamptonshire estate Griffin, as well as extending his acreage and increasing his rent roll, would have experienced the additional pleasure and satisfaction of gaining Braybrooke, the ancestral home of the Griffins. With its purchase and acquisition of the Braybrooke title Sir John became the true representative of both his Howard and Griffin forebears. The title and estate were acquired in 1788. He paid £10,000 for the manor and over 935 acres giving an annual rent of £908.

In turning to the financial implications of this policy two questions suggest themselves: how much did he expend in securing these additional properties, and how did he finance this policy?



Of the £96,100 channelled into the Audley End estate the sum of £39,384 was used in purchasing properties in north-west Essex alone. Impinging on four parishes, most of these gains were in the Saffron Walden area, over 789 acres costing £24,831 10s., and the number of purchases made per decade mentioned above is also reflected in monetary terms. Purchases in the 1750s cost him £303; in the 1760s this had risen very sharply to £5,220; in the 1770s it had dropped to £3,354; in the 1780s, the peak decade, it more than doubled, reaching £8,888; and in the 1790s it was at its second highest level at £7,066. Lands gained in Littlebury amounted to over 331 acres and cost £12,742 10s.; lands in Ashdon and Wendens came to 51 acres and cost £1,810. These gains amounted to 1,172 acres, thus extending the overall size of the Audley End estate from 3,257 to 4,429 acres, which in turn had the effect of raising net income from £2,048 to £3,196 per annum. As far as out county properties were concerned those in Suffolk and Northamptonshire cost him £15,000, there being no record for the Norfolk property. Gains from the three out counties came to over 1,449 acres yielding about £1,670 per annum in rentals. Thus the total gains were 2,622 acres which gave him an overall 5,879 acres as opposed to the 3,257 acres he started with. Accordingly rentals rose from £2,048 to £3,196 for the Essex lands with the out county properties making a total of £4,866.

Thus at least £54,384 was expended on purchasing additional properties in Essex and elsewhere. Not unnaturally the question of how he was able to finance this fairly ambitious programme, concurrent with other spending schemes,<sup>34</sup> is of interest. The short answer would seem to be that he did so out of estate income, and only rarely was there need to raise cash via mortgage or by borrowing, and only then, for short periods.<sup>35</sup> It has been shown<sup>36</sup> that the total income from the Audley End estate down to the last full year of his life could not have been less than £108,100, and to this can be added the out county properties which brought in a further £17,311 *in toto*. This being so, apart from general repairs and some fixed capital investment in three main projects, a sizeable proportion of landed income was ploughed back into long-term investment in the form of land accumulation.

To whom did he pay this money and from whom did he procure these properties? Clearly, there is a contrast between the comparative ease and speed with which he was able to secure the larger blocks of out county land and the more protracted nature of most of the local gains, mainly because of the retention of open field strip farming. In this area it has been shown that although he was lord of two manors and although he was the most dominant landowner in the area, he did not have matters all his own way. In particular the Batt affair underlines the protracted nature of some of the negotiations, all of which did not end successfully, and Pennystone's frustrated comments testify to the problem of stalling. Indeed, in terms of the purchases in the four Essex parishes, 88 separate transactions involving 79 different persons were made. In Saffron Walden, there were transactions with 64 different persons, and with 2 of these, there were 3 transactions, and with 5 persons, there were 2 transactions. Purchases in Littlebury involved 9 persons, Wendens 3 persons, Ashdon one person, and a further 2 persons for lands in both Littlebury and Walden.

Understandably the most frequent transactions were with his immediate neighbours and these included shopkeepers, husbandmen, yeomen, malsters, bricklayers, innkeepers, gentlemen, labourers, a bookseller, a joiner, a tanner and a carpenter. Apart from the transactions with the Batt family, there was usually less difficulty with absentee landowners. This was particularly the case with the Bristol family, who were content to do business with Griffin, to realise some of their assets in north-west Essex so as to finance their own building schemes at Ickworth in Suffolk. There were several others who had for different reasons removed themselves from the vicinity of Saffron Walden. This was the case with Sarah Burling, the widow of Thomas Wyatt, yeoman of Saffron Walden, who had remarried and was living with her second husband, a carpenter in Southwark. Or Thomas Fuller, originally of Saffron Walden, but at the time of the transaction living in Lincoln's Inn. Others resided elsewhere as in the case of George Carter, a victualler from Anstey in the neighbouring county of Hertfordshire, or Charles Shepherd, a gentleman, from

Ickleton in Cambridgeshire, or Mrs. Sarah Ingreys who had inherited land, but was herself resident in Cambridge. So, too, with John Mortlock, Esq., of Cambridge, who sold Ashdon Hall manor in 1795, and Thomas Rumbold, Esq., of Ely, who sold a close.<sup>37</sup> In terms of cash payments, these varied from as much as the £10,000 for the Northamptonshire property, £5,000 paid to the Bristol and Batt families respectively, £2,000 to Joseph Collins, one-time alderman of Saffron Walden, £721 to Edward Ball, £135 5s. to Sarah Lagden, £84 to Robert Ives, £26 5s. to Elizabeth Herbert, and five guineas paid to John Bedington. To a large extent these variations reflected the differences in the size of the properties purchased, from nearly 1,000 acres to less, considerably less, than a solitary acre. As with the rebuilding of the great house and the maintenance of a household of some substance, so, too, with estate enlargement, there were potential multiplier effects in the form of capital circulation, as well as some job creation.

Indeed, it must be remembered that Sir John was a most substantial employer in those parts and there is evidence to show that some of his own employees co-operated with him in the accumulation of these properties. For example, this was the case with Thomas Pennystone,<sup>38</sup> the estate steward, and with Richard Ward,<sup>39</sup> the bricklayer, as well as others. As Saffron Walden was experiencing economic difficulty at this time, it might well be that some of the inhabitants saw the advantage of co-operating with him for cash gains, as well as for custom and the possibility of employment. Even so, it is clear that he did not always have matters his own way, and that some of his neighbours were very much alive to the advantages to be gained from transacting with an improving landowner, who could not easily disguise his intentions, once he had embarked upon an enlargement policy. Procrastination or lack of co-operation by a solitary small owner, could hold up the overall plan and slow down the process of consolidation. Sir John overcame most of these difficulties by deploying a number of strategies. These included persuasion, an appeal to mutual interest, financial inducements, a readiness to pay above the market price, and a willingness to accept responsibilities on the basis of some *quid pro quo*, and when occasion permitted, a firm reminder of promises given and an appeal to posterity. Most of these accumulations were achieved by private agreement, and recourse to Parliament was fairly minimal. Transactions seem to have been negotiated in a fair and honest manner, although the soldier in Sir John might well have caused him to see his efforts at winning properties as a series of campaigns, albeit bloodless, and his own estate map, on which he monitored these acquisitions, was hung up in his dressing room at Audley End. Taking up his time and energy, there was need to have been methodical as well as having to be an indefatigable negotiator, exercising painstaking care, and showing an unflagging determination, as well as patience, to secure desirable land. His experience highlights some of the problems that might arise as a result of obtaining 'small parcels which would need to be laboriously pieced together',<sup>40</sup> before consolidation could take place.

Thus Griffin during a period of over forty years had made an important start in countering the detrimental effect of the partition of the original estate. His achievement was to arrest the decline, regain some of the alienated land, make new acquisitions, where possible consolidate, and regain privacy, for 'the aesthetic delight of the owner was a most important consideration . . . The main enjoyment was the family's, who could savour their own piece of countryside in privacy'.<sup>41</sup> It was also to impress upon his successor the need to continue his policy. That he was thinking beyond his own day is evidenced in several ways, including committing his thoughts in a memorandum to his immediate successor, and marked 'for R.A.N. & his early Inspection'.<sup>42</sup> His commitment and on-going concern are encapsulated in such phrases as 'the first principal object to be looked for the benefit and comfort . . .' or 'the first Object therefore that I should recommend is to use every Endeavour to purchase all the remaining Interests in the said Estates & to get immediate Possession'. Although acknowledging that there might be some difficulties in achieving these ends he emphasised 'but not such I apprehend but Perseverance will get the better of—& I have already open'd Negotiation with the hopes of effecting it'. As to an estate situated under his own park wall that would come up for sale he warned that 'you must not

let that slip through your Fingers'. It was his opinion that it would be in the interest of the proprietors of Audley End 'for the time being, or otherwise of Those who are to follow in Succession to act in these Respects as I myself have done, . . . to all therefore interested in the Subject I leave the following hints for their own prudent Observation'. Accordingly, he commented further, 'All these Matters discover Themselves at once . . . by the mode I have had my Maps of Survey describ'd'. In particular, no opportunity was to be lost in regaining the alienated properties remaining in the hands of the Bristol family. Indeed, with the purchase of the Bristol lands in Little and Great Chesterford, and the enclosing of about 3,000 acres in 1803, and the purchase of the outstanding Littlebury properties in 1814, the 2nd Lord Braybrooke may be said to have realised the wishes of his immediate predecessor, and completed this aspect of his estate policy.

How then does the foregoing fit into current understanding of landownership and land accumulation during this period? Firstly, Griffin was at one with other large landowners in using surplus capital for land accumulation, even if, in his particular case, the need was pressing. His efforts must be seen at least as much in social and aesthetic, as in economic terms. Secondly, his county and out county experiences provide examples of regional variations in the pattern of land accumulation, even if they also conform to the general picture of the piecemeal buying out of small owners and copyholders by the larger landowners. But accretions and consolidations could be protracted affairs, and this case study highlights the importance of private as opposed to Parliamentary routes. Thirdly, although the estate was settled in accordance with contemporary practice, not all of it was, and it is clear from the strategies deployed that he did enjoy some freedom of action. Fourthly, it is hoped that this particular experience of the 'complicated jigsaw of English landownership'<sup>43</sup> is a reminder of variations between and within the landowning families themselves. The partition of the original estate and the manner of Griffin's succession do not conform to the general pattern or indeed to the earlier pattern within the family. Yet despite these characteristics, and although childless, Griffin showed himself to be very much in tune with his peers, and the 'idea of trusteeship—of maintaining the estate for the benefit of its future owners and its present and future occupiers—struck a responsive chord'.<sup>44</sup> That he successfully responded to the challenge marks him out as perhaps the most dedicated steward in the history of the Audley End estate. That he was able to reconcile his determination to accumulate land with apparent fairmindedness, is also worthy of attention.

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## NOTES

I have kept these footnotes to a minimum only indicating the main collections or classes of documents consulted.

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4. L. Stone, *Family and Fortune Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1973).
5. Essex Record Office (subsequently E.R.O.) D/DBY E7-9, A292-96.

6. E.R.O. D/DBY T10/2.
7. P. Laslett, *The World we have lost* (1965), 48.
8. C. Clay, 'Marriage, Inheritance, and the Rise of Large Estates in England, 1660-1815', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, **xxi** (Dec. 1968), 505.
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11. D. Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration* (Baltimore, 1963), 20; G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963), 59.
12. C. Shrimpton, 'The Landed Society and the Farming Community of Essex in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' (University of Cambridge, Ph.D. thesis, 1965), 5. (Subsequently published by Arno Press, New York (Dissertations in European Economic History), 1977.
13. W. Marshall, *Planting and Rural Ornament* (MDCCXCVI), 285.
14. F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963), 41.
15. E.R.O. D/DBY E19(B): the Griffin-Bristol episode is based on this source.
16. See C. Clay, 'The Price of Freehold Land in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, **xxvii** (May 1974), 173-89.
17. H. J. Habakkuk, 'The English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century', in *Britain and the Netherlands* (1959), eds. J. S. Bromley & E. H. Kossman, 172.
18. E.R.O. D/DAd 44.
19. For example, a parliamentary exchange had been effected in 1764 with the local almshouse which enabled the mayor and aldermen of Saffron Walden, the guardians and trustees of the King Edward VI and others to convey to Griffin over 14 acres in return for 20 acres: E.R.O. D/DBY T5/35.
20. E.R.O. D/DAd 8-11, 35-8.
21. E.R.O. D/DBY E40.
22. E.R.O. D/DBY E19(A) & (B): the Griffin-Batt episode is based on these sources.
23. E.R.O. D/DBY T5/18.
24. E.R.O. D/DBY T5/31.
25. E.R.O. D/DBY E19(B).
26. E.R.O. T/M 123; D/DQy 12; D/DQy 14; T/M 124; D/DQy 11; D/DQy 13; D/DU 120.
27. E.R.O. T/M 123; D/DQy 8.
28. E.R.O. D/DBY T1/1-856; T4/1-689; T5/1-35.
29. E.R.O. D/DBY T5/2.
30. E.R.O. D/DBY T5/16.
31. E.R.O. D/DBY T5/16.
32. Income from control of the five lighthouses gave him an average annual income of £3,033: this figure is based on my calculation of the appropriate entries of the Bank Ledgers at Drummonds.
33. E.R.O. D/DBY T29.
34. J. D. Williams, 'The Finances of an Eighteenth-century Essex Nobleman', *Essex Archaeology and History*, **9** (1977), 113-28.
35. E.R.O. D/DBY T6/52.
36. Williams, *op. cit.*, 119.
37. E.R.O. D/DBY T4/650-5; T4/598-616.
38. E.R.O. D/DBY T6/50-50B.
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40. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 41.
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43. Beckett, *op. cit.*, 581.
44. Spring, *op. cit.*, 51-2.

# Excavations in Essex, 1978

*Edited by M. R. EDDY*

This is the third annual round-up of excavations in Essex to be compiled by Essex County Council's Archaeology Section for the Advisory Committee for Archaeological Excavation in Essex. In 1978, 36 excavations were carried out in Essex and adjacent Greater London (Fig. 1). As in previous years the majority of excavations were rescue operations.

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

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

## **1. Chelmsford, 16-18 Baddow Road. TQ 708064**

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

A trench excavated to assess the archaeological potential of the River Chelmer's flood-plain within Chelmsford, indicated that a 2nd century A.D. Roman pit or well was the earliest feature. Three Roman road surfaces, the last following the modern line of Baddow Road, overlay the pit. A medieval build-up was deposited directly on to the Roman road to form a flood-free platform for a 14th-century earth-fast timber building with trodden earth floor. Further deliberate build-up was undertaken until c. 1550, when intensive, continuous occupation began over the whole site.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *C.B.A. Research Report*, Chelmsford series

## **2. Chignal St. James. TL 662108**

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

In advance of gravel extraction excavations continued on the area adjacent to the scheduled Roman courtyard buildings (Buckley and Going, 1977, 10-13). Pre-'villa' occupation is represented by mesolithic and neolithic flints whilst Grooved Ware and Iron Age pottery is residual in the Roman features. The earliest known features within the villa enclosure are a group of 1st century A.D. storage pits, containing carbonised grain, which were replaced by two rectangular post-built granaries in the 2nd century A.D. Two cobbled areas and a 4th-century A.D. sub-rectangular enclosure were excavated outside the villa enclosure. Early Roman field and drainage ditches follow the hill's slope whilst a later group of ditches are probably to be associated with the late Saxon Chignall Hall.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *East Anglian Archaeology (Essex)*

**3. Chigwell, Little London. TQ 452956**

F. R. Clarke, West Essex Archaeological Group

A search was made to recover undisturbed burials from an area adjacent to the sports field where many are known to have been destroyed in grading. None were found.

Finds: P.E.M.

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

**4. Colchester, Middleborough. TL 993255**

H. Brooks and P. Crummy, C.A.T.

An area excavation between the town wall and the River Colne revealed a Roman road running north-west from the Roman north gate before turning sharply to the Sheepen site. Three Roman houses were found, of which two fronted the street. One of these was of courtyard type with clay walls on rubble foundations, built in the 2nd century and demolished in the 3rd and containing three rooms, one apsidal, with mosaics. Two earlier phases of the early-2nd century were identified, the earlier being a ground-built timber frame which was replaced by a timber frame with rubble foundations and was then incorporated into the courtyard house. The second house comprised a four-roomed wing flanked by a corridor and, later, a pair of heated rooms. This house was certainly in use after the town wall's construction and, with the first, attests the existence of a substantial extramural suburb. Only fragmentary robber trenches and tessellated pavements remained of the third house.

A group of kilns of 11th to 12th century date were recovered along with four pre-13th-century inhumations. Two medieval houses were examined, one of which (former New Market Tavern) was surveyed before demolition. The earliest part of the standing structure was 15th century but with 13th- or 14th-century excavated antecedents. The other building was less-well-preserved but the structural sequence, plan and dating were broadly similar.

Finds: Col. E.M.

Final publication: *C.B.A. Research Report*, Colchester series

**5. Colchester, Butt Road. TL 993248**

C. Crossan, C.A.T.

Excavations continued (Crossan, 1977-8, 89, and 1978, 241-2) on the 3rd- and 4th-century cemetery to the east of the roughly contemporary temple and further evidence of 4th-century family plots has been recovered. A large clay-walled circular oven overlies the burials and samples were taken for archaeomagnetic dating.

Finds: Col. E.M.

Final publication: *C.B.A. Research Report*, Colchester series

**6. Colchester, Long Wyre Street. TL 998251**

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

Post-Roman buildings and pits, ranging in date from the 12th to 19th centuries, survived only at the rear of the site. The site is located on the crossroads between *Insulae* 29, 30, 37 and 38 of the *colonia*, and three phases of building have been discovered in the north-west corner of *Insula* 38, the latest of which reflects a 4th-century change in street alignment (Crummy, 1971, 107-11). In the north-east corner of *Insula* 37 late Roman timber-framed buildings seal a masonry structure. A previously unsuspected street runs south from the crossroads.

Excavations continue.

Finds: Col. E.M.

Final publication: *C.B.A. Research Report*, Colchester series

**7. Colchester, Castle Gardens. TM 000256**

P. Crummy, C.A.T.

Trial-trenching near the findspot of Anglo-Saxon brooches revealed a late-2nd century A.D. burial but no further Anglo-Saxon finds.

Finds: Col. E.M.

Final publication: *C.B.A. Research Report*, Colchester series

**8. Colchester, Poplarhall Farm. TL 994263**

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

During demolition the farmhouse was surveyed and found to be a three-bayed 17th-century timber-framed building with a central chimney stack. An outshot and fourth bay were added in the late 17th or 18th century.

Finds: Col. E.M.

Final publication: *C.B.A. Research Report*, Colchester series

**9. Cressing Temple. TL 799181**

J. H. Hope, Bramston Archaeological Field Unit

Three trenches were excavated on the periphery of the Knights Templars' preceptory. A substantial overburden, caused by the initial excavation and periodic clearance of the moats and post-medieval agricultural uses, contained late Saxon and medieval artefacts. This overlay an Iron Age slot cut into chalky boulder clay subsoil. A medieval ditch, possibly a leat from the moat, also contained abraded Roman pottery. A date for the initial cutting of the moat was not established because of the Tudor clearances though a possible extension of the moat appeared to be a shallow fish-pond probably constructed in the 12th century. Post-medieval structures comprised a 17th-century farm building, and a 16th-century brick culvert and brick revetment to the moat's bank.

Finds: Bramston Archaeological Field Unit

**10. Eastwood, Marshall's Farm. TQ 877890**

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

Excavations continued on the corn-dryer (Crowe, 1977-8, 90-1, and 1978, 243). A hearth, pit, ditch and gravel sills pre-dated the corn-dryer and were associated with a coin of Julia Mamaea.

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

Final publication: *Transactions of South-East Essex Archaeological Society*

**11. Great Chesterford Temple. TL 514436**

A. E. Collins, Great Chesterford Archaeological Group

Excavation of the Romano-Celtic temple east of the Roman town was carried out in advance of further plough damage. The walls and mosaics recorded by Neville in 1847 had been removed by ploughing and stone-robbing, though external features survived. The first porch of wooden columns on a chalk pediment had been replaced by an open podium perhaps leading to a grander entrance. Two circular pits with funnel-like openings on one side are seen as libation pits.

Two phases of temple construction were noted. The earlier with a massive cellar is dated to A.D. 60 to 90, whilst a rebuild was constructed after A.D. 280, continuing in use up to c. A.D. 370.

Three further masonry structures have been recorded in the vicinity whilst continuity with the Iron Age is suggested.

Finds include bronze regalia and a silver mask with plaque with inscription and deity. Considerable quantities of decorated wall plaster were recovered.

Finds: with excavator

## **12. Harlow, Holbrooks. TL 465122**

J. C. Chapman, Harlow Museum

In contrast to earlier discoveries of masonry structures and high find concentrations the area excavated in 1978 yielded timber structures, ditches and refuse and quarry pits. A Roman occupation level and a garden area were recovered along with industrial activity represented by gravel quarrying, iron slag and a bone trial piece.

Finds: Harlow Museum

Final publication: *Essex Archaeology and History*, 1980

## **13. Harwich, Kingshead Street. TM 261327**

R. Farrands, Colchester Archaeological Group

Limited excavations at the rear of the Kingshead Garage recovered evidence of 13th-century occupation, dated principally by a Scarborough ware knight-jug and aquamanile and by a possibly Belgian strap-handled costrel. This was overlain by a septaria courtyard surrounded by a free-standing septaria wall. A second septaria wall was built over the first and a clay floor with a hearth laid down. This structure was then levelled and a wall of brick and septaria erected in the 17th century.

Finds: Chelmsford Excavation Committee

## **14. Henham/Ugley. TL 531283**

W. J. Wright, Bishop's Stortford Archaeological Society

Rescue excavations on the line of the M11 motorway recovered evidence of three flint-floored structures of 4th century A.D. date associated with iron-rich ore and iron objects.

Finds: Bishop's Stortford Archaeological Society

## **15. Heybridge/Great Totham, Lofts Farm. TL 864088**

P. N. Brown, Maldon Archaeological Group

As part of an extended watching brief of a cropmark complex at Lofts Farm, Great Totham, under threat from gravel extraction, a rectangular enclosure was trial-trenched in advance of topsoil stripping. The enclosure proved to be a moated site, and 14th-century pottery but no structures were recovered from the interior. A neolithic ditch was found west of the moat.

Finds: Maldon Archaeological Group

## **16. Kelvedon. TL 864186**

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

The excavation of an enclosed cemetery, Trench C (Eddy, 1977-8, 91, and 1978, 245), was completed in early 1978. A rectangular timber mausoleum or shrine with a central, robbed grave lay within the enclosure. The extension of Trench D revealed an outwork of Kelvedon's 'Colchester' gate, cutting some and enclosing other phases of industrial buildings, at least one of which was probably related to a bone-working industry. A timber-lined well contained a carved chalk figurine. Iron Age hut circles and a possible Bronze Age circular ditch were also excavated. A loam build-up, dated by a disturbed coin hoard to the early 4th century A.D., was cut by a scatter of early Saxon features.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *East Anglian Archaeology (Essex)*



**17. Kelvedon, Church Street. TL 857185**

M. R. Eddy and B. R. G. Turner, E.C.C. .

A trench was excavated at right-angles to the street and immediately south of Church Hall Lane to test the hypothesis (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1975, 30) that the Saxon and medieval village lay in this area. The site was intensively occupied from the 14th century onwards, though residual Iron Age, Roman and early Saxon pottery was present.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *East Anglian Archaeology (Essex)*

**18. Leyton, 57/59a Church Road. TQ 376867**

P. A. Greenwood, P.E.M.

Excavations prior to redevelopment revealed Victorian buildings and garden soil overlying two 3rd- to 4th-century A.D. ditch systems. The later system comprised three flat-bottomed ditches running east-west with a 10 m. wide entrance. An earlier defensive ditch terminal and a pit were found. Residual Iron Age sherds occurred and numerous small features were largely undated.

Finds: P.E.M.

Final publication: *Essex Journal*, 1979-80, 15-70

**19. Little Oakley Villa. TM 222292**

M. J. Corbishley, Tendring Rescue Archaeology Group

The fourth season of excavation in advance of development established the limits of the villa, a building some 35 m. in length with a central block with corridors back and front. The walls were of septaria, supporting a wooden superstructure internally. No floor levels survived though tesserae and painted plaster were recovered. The villa was built in the early Roman period and rebuilt, after a fire c. A.D. 60, in the early 2nd century. Evidence of occupation from the neolithic to the Saxon periods was also found.

Finds: to go to Col. E.M.

Final publication: *Essex Archaeology and History*

**20. Little Shelford. TQ 983906**

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

Excavation has concentrated on eight undisturbed acres of Roman settlement producing a pottery sequence from the mid-2nd to the mid-3rd centuries A.D. Roman activity rests directly on sterile sand and terminates with a layer of burnt debris, before being partially sealed by flood clay (James and James, 1977-8, 92, and 1978, 245).

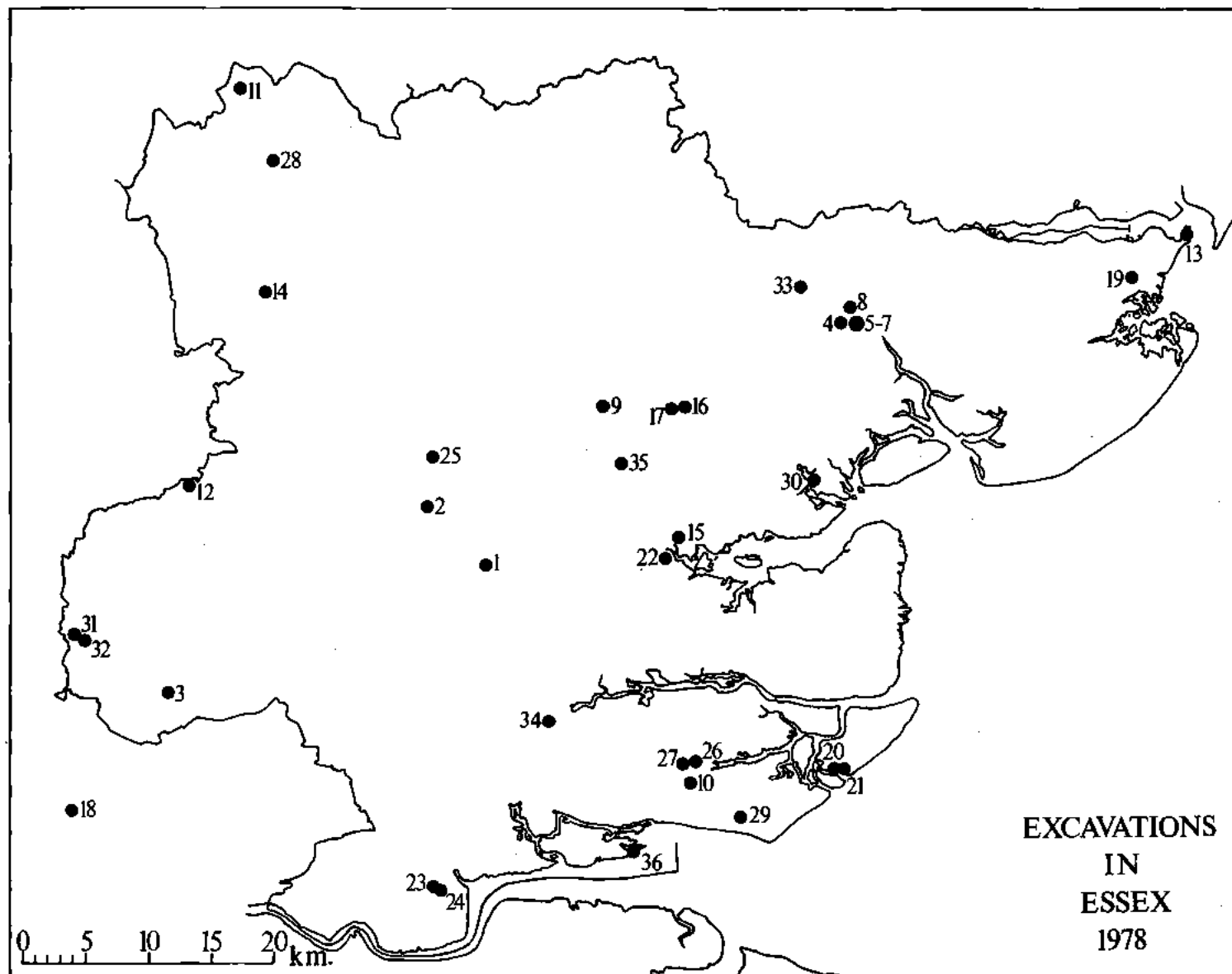
Finds: A.W.R.E. Foulness

**21. Little Shelford, medieval site. TQ 976908**

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

Excavation of a medieval embankment, possibly a raised trackway to Shelford Creek, with timber framework, was concluded. The line of an ancient tidal creek at right-angles to the embankment was located though an anticipated ditch, providing earth for the bank, was not found, suggesting the importation of some soil to the site (Crump, 1977-8, 92, and 1978, 245-6).

Finds: A.W.R.E. Foulness



**22. Maldon, 68 High Street. TL 851070**

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

During demolition of the building occupying the site the surviving portion of a late-15th- or early-16th-century timber-framed building was recorded. This, apart from an L-shaped brick foundation on wooden piles and two rubbish pits, was all that survived of post-Norman date.

Two late Saxon phases of domestic building were recognised, built at right-angles to the street frontage, with a series of back-yard drainage ditches linked to a well or sump. A ditch of variable profile was identified south of the present High Street curb and may be a Saxon roadside drain. A complex of pits sealed by the domestic structures were cut into the natural on the western side of the site.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *East Anglian Archaeology (Essex)***23. Mucking (Linford), North Ring. TQ 6755 8112**

D. Bond, D.o.E. Central Excavation Unit

The remaining three-quarters of a late Bronze Age/early Iron Age circular enclosure were excavated following partial excavation in 1977 (Jones, 1977-8, 92, and 1977, 246). Two phases of the enclosure were confirmed, the earlier of which was ditched with a lightly revetted internal bank. This ditch was later recut on the outside before it became entirely silted. When the western entrance was blocked the eastern was widened. Spoil from the second ditch was dumped on both sides, not added to the internal bank; this may imply a change of use. Three small post-hole structures were separated from a possible stock-pen by a fence.

Finds: D.o.E. Central Excavation Unit

**24. Mucking. TQ 673803**

M. U. Jones, Mucking Excavation Committee

An area of the quarry's south margin was excavated in advance of reinstatement work and the following features recorded: lengths of Roman field ditches, apparently unrelated to the Linford site (Barton, 1962), three well complexes, a two-phase corn-dryer, a Roman cremation cemetery, a plaster burial in a stone coffin and three more Saxon sunken huts (bringing the total to 213). Two other sunken huts and pits with salt-working debris were recovered near the North Ring.

Finds: Thurrock Museum and British Museum

**25. Pleshey Castle. TL 666145**

S. Bassett, University of Birmingham

Information withheld.

**26. Rochford, 24 and 26 Market Square. TQ 875905**

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

Trial excavation indicated that this square was not that referred to in the 1257 market charter, as the earliest building on the site, a post-built structure with limestone stylobates, dated to the mid-14th century. The main phase, with brick foundations, occurred in the late-15th or early-16th centuries and remained little changed until the 19th century.

The principal wall lines of 26 Market Square were recovered as well as remains of two ovens, the later with two main phases. Back-garden pits were of 17th-century date and later.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *East Anglian Archaeology (Essex)*

## **27. Rochford, Golf Course. TQ 871899**

E. H. Hills, Southend Historical Society

Clearing of rough growth around a spring revealed a brick wall attached to an early-16th-century two-chambered brick structure with a stone floor. This appears to be a storage tank for fish taken from an adjacent, now silted, pond. The floor was later partly lifted and the crosswalls breached to allow better drainage when the structure fell into disuse. A wood and later an iron pump was then erected over the large chamber.

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

Final publication: *Essex Archaeology and History*

## **28. Saffron Walden Castle. TL 540387**

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

In advance of conservation and display works the archaeological importance of build-up layers within the forebuilding of the keep was assessed by trial excavation. Two distinct floors associated with a flint wall-base, possibly associated with the keep's use as a barn and certainly post-dating c. 1600, were revealed overlying the broken chalk of the motte.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *Essex Archaeology and History*, 11 (1979), 70-72

## **29. Southchurch Hall. TQ 894855**

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

Excavation of the causeway over the existing moat revealed two rectangular structures standing to the north and south of the moat. The northern structure comprised ashlar blocks of Kentish Rag resting on timber piling. The southern contained a puddled chalk floor and was associated with a retaining wall and two garderobes. Both structures were related to the timbers of a trestle bridge.

Finds: S.M.

## **30. Tollesbury. TL 962111**

Mrs. K. de Brisay, Colchester Archaeological Group

Excavation of the red hill was concluded, confirming its function (salt-working) and its Belgic date (de Brisay, 1977-8, 93, and 1978, 243).

Finds: to go to Col. E.M.

Final publication: *Colchester Archaeological Group Bulletin*

## **31. Waltham Abbey, Abbey Meads. TL 380007**

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

Excavation of the outbuildings, north of the conventual buildings, revealed the corners of two buildings, one probably 13th century and the other late-15th century, associated with pebbled

courtyards. A series of chalk mortar floors cut by a lead pipe, probably part of the Abbey water supply, formed with two rectangular pits an industrial area possibly associated with brewing. A Saxo-Norman metal-working area overlay the rubble footings of an apsidal building. A second, more substantial, wall ran east-west parallel to the building and may represent a boundary wall or part of a larger structure. An 18th-century stone road overlay the post-Dissolution debris, which contained much 13th-century painted window glass, and seals the site.

Finds: P.E.M.

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

### **32. Waltham Abbey, Essex House. TL 382995**

P. J. Huggins, Waltham Abbey Historical Society

A small excavation was undertaken to the rear of Essex House, south of the market square, to trace the extent of Roman occupation. Only stray Roman material was found, though medieval and post-medieval material was abundant and included ploughmarks at right-angles to Sewardstone Street.

Finds: Waltham Abbey Historical Society

Final publication: *Essex Archaeology and History*

### **33. West Bergholt Church. TL 953280**

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

After the stripping of the external rendering, an 11th-century Saxo-Norman door arch, turned in Roman tiles, was revealed in a supposedly (*R.C.H.M.*, 111, 227-8) 14th-century structure. The church's major features and the complex fabric of the north wall of the nave were recorded. Limited trenches exposed a continuous nave and apsidal chancel, almost certainly Saxon. Built into the original wall was the 11th-century doorway which was blocked before the 14th century. A western bell-cage, clad in wood, may also have been added before the 14th century. A south aisle was added in the early 14th century and slightly earlier a rectangular chancel was built. The bell-cage was probably completely reconstructed as a rubble-walled tower in the 15th century.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *East Anglian Archaeology (Essex)*

### **34. Wickford, Beauchamps Farm. TQ 763939**

P. Neild, Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society

An extensive watching brief during development of the area south of the school has revealed evidence of burials along the terrace south of the River Crouch. Ditches, a possible well and a tile-lined structure have also been recorded, whilst small finds, including c. 130 coins, have been plotted.

Finds: Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society

See note in *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.*, 11 (1979), 41-50

### **35. Witham, Ivy Chimneys. TL 811136**

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

The results of earlier work (Brooks, Stokes *et al.*, 1975-6) suggested the presence of a Roman temple, and the renewed threat of residential development prompted an area excavation. A

Roman-Celtic temple associated with a votive pond cut in the late 1st century A.D. replaced earlier Roman structures which may have followed on directly from the late Iron Age activity. After back-filling of the pond an hexagonal tile structure containing a square timber box, backed by clay, was built in the late 4th century A.D. This is interpreted as a baptistry or font (Brown, 1971). Excavations continue, to locate the hypothesised church and the remainder of the temple. Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: *East Anglian Archaeology (Essex)*

## ADDENDUM

### 36. Canvey Point, Canvey Island. TQ 823833

P. J. Johnson, Castle Point Archaeology Group

Excavations within a 'red hill' revealed a 'salt drying oven' consisting of two 'kiln-like' clay-lined chambers placed side by side and served by a common stoke-pit. No datable pottery was recovered from structure but briquetage was present. Samples for archaeomagnetic dating were taken.

Excavation continues.

Finds: P. J. Johnson.

## Abbreviations

C.A.T.	Colchester Archaeological Trust
Col. E.M.	Colchester and Essex Museum
E.C.C.	Essex County Council, Archaeology Section: Finds to go to appropriate museum
P.E.M.	Passmore Edwards Museum
S.M.	Southend Museum

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# Archaeological and Historical Notes

## Cesterwald Reconsidered\*

by DAVID STEPHENSON

'... anon methought  
The wood began to move.'  
*Macbeth*, V. v.

Some fifty years ago, in a posthumously published paper,<sup>1</sup> J. H. Round tackled the problem of the location of Cesterwald, an area of woodland in the north-east of the county. In a survey marked by characteristic erudition, Round employed both medieval exchequer and chancery rolls, and the medieval and early modern 'perambulations' of the limits of the borough of Colchester, arriving at the conclusion<sup>2</sup> that Cesterwald lay to the north of that town.

'in the V-shaped southern extremity of Great Horkesley, where that parish impinges on Lexden and on West Bergholt.'

Round's analysis was broadly shared by Dr. Reaney<sup>3</sup> in his work on Essex place-names, in which he cited a reference of 1262 to *Cesterwolde in Horkesle Magna*, though he equated Cesterwald with Pitchbury Wood, a little to the north-west of Round's location.

And so the matter seemed to be settled, except for a few doubts which had still troubled Round, such as the identity of the 'chester' from which the wood took its name, and the reason why such a name as Cesterwald, in which the second element denotes a substantial wooded area, was given to so small a locality.

Some of the documents used by Round did, however, contain a clue to the solution of the problems. In particular, he noticed, but did not make much of, a crucial change in the terminology of the perambulations: those of the 13th to 16th centuries have as the northern boundary of Colchester Black Brook in Cesterwald (Cestreweld, Chestrewell), whereas those of the 17th century have Black Brook under Chesterwell. Now Round identified 'the old Cesterwald' [*sic*] as an area to the north of Black Brook, basing this identification on a gloss on the name in the perambulation of 1671, even though that document shows that the site of Cesterwald was in some sense unclear to those who drew it up. This may be deduced from the gloss: 'which Chesterwell was affirmed to be in the lands in Horkesley pertaining to St. Peter's church.'

However, the change from 'in' to 'under' Cesterwald in the designations of Black Brook surely implies that the wooded area had once extended south beyond Black Brook. Concrete evidence of this is to be found in a deed of 1641,<sup>4</sup> amongst the Colchester borough archives, recording the acquisition by James Abrathat of Colchester from John Sayers of Aldham, of Chesterwell Wood<sup>5</sup> in St. Michael's parish, Mile End, i.e. within the borough's northern boundary. This wood, said to be of forty acres, is limited on the east side by Mile End Heath, on the south by the lane from Mile End to Bergholt Heath, and on the north-west by the chaseaway

\* The present year (1978) is the fiftieth since J. H. Round's death: this paper, building as it does on foundations laid by him, is but a small sign that Round's work has lost none of its vitality, and still serves to stimulate enquiry.

running from Colchester to Horkesley Heath. This explains the gloss on the name Chesterwell Wood—which lay to the south of the Black Brook, and which was causing some confusion in the minds of the perambulators, so that they needed to clarify the question of which part of Cesterwald helped to form the borough boundary. Most important, the evidence of the 1641 deed enables us to extend the location of Cesterwald much farther south than did Round.

This southward extension of Cesterwald, bringing it within the liberties of the medieval borough and within easy view of the nucleus of Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement within the Roman walls, gives us the answer to the problem of the cester from which the wood took its name: it was clearly Colchester. Indeed, there is 14th-century evidence that Cesterwald also stretched farther to the south-west than Round had supposed, for an inquisition of November 1388 found,<sup>6</sup> that several places in Myland, amongst them Le Chesterwelde,<sup>7</sup> were within the parish of Lexden. Again, Adam, son of Warin of Colchester, in his will enrolled in 1382,<sup>8</sup> disposed of lands in Lexden which included *Chestre Waud vocat' Newwenhey*. This must have been close to the border between Lexden and Mile End, for an early 13th-century charter in the cartulary of St. John's Abbey, Colchester, includes a reference<sup>9</sup> to extensive lands and a wood of four acres in Myland bounded on the west by the road *quae tendit ad Newwenhey*.

It may be that a new estimate of the extent of Cesterwald<sup>10</sup> is primarily significant for the light it sheds upon prehistoric conditions.

In bringing Cesterwald south and west into Mile End and Lexden we make it the obvious terminal point for the northern section of the Iron Age Lexden dyke, which does indeed appear to end somewhat abruptly in the area of Braiswick—which was one of the lands in Lexden, along with *Chestre Waud vocat' Newwenhey*, disposed of by Adam Warin in 1382. Perhaps this suggestion enables us to catch a glimpse of the extent of the lands north of the Colne which were clear of woodland in the pre-Roman period.

## NOTES

1. J. H. Round, 'Cesterwald', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, N.S., xix (1930), 170-3.
2. *ibid.*, 170.
3. P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex* E.P.N.S., Vol. XII, Cambridge, 1969, p. 393.
4. This document is in the Colchester Borough archives, and is at present in a box marked Miscellaneous Deeds, Nos. 1-17. It is marked No. 2.
5. It will be observed that this corruption of Cesterwald is exactly that found in the 1671 perambulation.
6. Colchester and Essex Museum MS. 2 (the St. John's Abbey leger-book) f. 210v.
7. See *ibid.*, f. 210, for a reference in the same period to Chesterwelde field: possibly the same place.
8. Colchester Borough archives, Court Roll 5-6 Richard II, m. 51d.
9. Stuart Moore (ed.), *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestrie*, Roxburghe Club, 1897, Vol. II, p. 602.
10. It may well be, as Round suggests, that Cesterwald had once covered a much wider area to the east of the territory described here. He quoted an entry on the Close Roll of 1277, ordering the justice of the forest south of Trent to allow to a prior, twenty oaks from the wood of Dedham (north-east of Colchester), 'which is within the precincts of the king's forest of Cesterwald'. Round might also have cited another Close Roll entry, in which the king ordered the keeper of the forest of Chesterweld (altered to Chesterfeld), *quod in bosco de Kingswode qui est infra forestam predictam habere faciet Johannis de Colecestr' sex quercus*. . . . (*Close Rolls* 1268-72, p. 473).

In dealing with these documents, however, one needs to be very careful to distinguish between physical wood and legal forest: in both cases Cesterwald is used to refer to the latter. The legal forests were often designated by the name of some constituent area: in the case of that to the north of Colchester, 'the forest of Kingswood' was often used, or simply the 'forest of Colchester'. In at least one document which refers explicitly to physical woods, Cesterwald is quite clearly differentiated from Kingswood and Dedham Wood: *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, 1, 247.



# 13th-Century Marginal Entries Relating to Colchester in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 0.7.41

by DAVID STEPHENSON

Trinity College MS. 0.7.41 consists of copies of two works ascribed to Marianus Scotus (*ob. c.* 1082), namely the *compotus*, made up of a Kalender, Easter tables and tables of movable feasts, and a tract, *De concordia Evangelistarum*. We are here concerned only with the *compotus*. The text is in an 11th-century hand, and was copied, on internal evidence, in 1086. In the margins next to the Easter tables there are rudimentary chronicle entries in a 13th-century hand. Some of these relate to events of national importance, such as the succession of kings, but many refer particularly to Colchester: it is clear that the entries were made in St. John's Abbey in that town. The references which concern Colchester are set out below; in each case they have been assigned a date calculated from their position in the margin of the Easter tables.<sup>1</sup>

- 1096 *Septum opus Colec'.*
- 1115 *Dedicatio.*
- 1120 *Ob. Eudo.*
- 1121 *Ob. Roahis(a).*
- 1132 *Ecclesia nostra incensa.*
- 1155 *Eccl(esia) de Snapis funda(ta).*
- 1177 *Dedicata ecclesia sancti Botulfi.*

These entries take on considerable significance when they are compared with other chronicle material relating to St. John's, notably the central sections (1095–c. 1160) of the so-called *Annales Colecestrenses* compiled in the early 14th century, and the history of the foundation of St. John's in Bodleian MS. Gough Essex 1,<sup>2</sup> a 16th-century copy, probably of a late 14th-century original. The present writer has analysed elsewhere the relationship between these texts,<sup>3</sup> which can be briefly expressed as follows: the central sections of the *Annales Colecestrenses* and the account in the Gough manuscript are derived partly from the grossly untrustworthy description of the early history of St. John's in B.L. Cotton MS. Nero D. VIII, and partly from a lost set of *annales* drawn up in St. John's in the 12th century. Material from the *annales* seems to be reliable, and it is thus of some importance that the marginal entries in the *compotus* seem to reflect only the lost *annales*, being unaffected by the material which found its way into the Nero text.<sup>4</sup>

If we examine each entry in turn, the extent of their contribution to our grasp of architectural and other developments in 12th-century Colchester will become clear.

(a) 1096: *Septum opus Colec'.* This agrees with the *Annales Colecestrenses* and with Gough, both of which have 1095 as the year in which the ground for the Abbey was measured out, 1096 as the year in which building began. The generally accepted dates, derived from Nero, have been 1096 and 1097 respectively.

(b) 1115: *Dedicatio.* This supports the date given in Gough. Nero is hopelessly vague on the date of the Abbey's dedication.

(c) and (d) 1120: *Ob. Eudo.*

1121: *Ob. Roahisa.*

The dates of the deaths of Eudo, founder of St. John's, and his wife, are common to all of the texts.

(e) 1132: *Ecclesia nostra incensa.* This is a most interesting entry. The *Annales Colecestrenses* and Gough have references to a fire in 1133 which destroyed the Abbey and a large part of the town, and caused

the Abbey workshops to be moved from the north to the south side of the church. Nero has no reference to a fire, and attributes the removal from north to south of the Abbey workshops, and dormitories, to the desire of the first Abbot, Hugh, in about 1104, to move them away from the noise of the town. The entry in the *compotus* confirms Gough and *Annales Colecestrenses*, whilst its insertion at a point corresponding to 1132, a year earlier than the date given in those texts, may simply be the result of an error by the annotator in working out the place in the Easter tables of an *anno domini* entry in the lost *annales*. The difference between the *compotus* date and those given by Gough and *Annales Colecestrenses* does at least make it clear that the *compotus* is not the text from which the other two are derived: all three are copied from a fourth text.

(f) 1155: *Ecclesia de Snapi Fundata*. This corresponds to an entry in *Annales Colecestrenses*. It is beyond the scope of the Gough text. Snape was a cell of St. John's.

(g) 1177: *Dedicata ecclesia sancti Botulfi*. No entry to this effect is found in *Annales Colecestrenses* or in Gough, probably because it was not relevant to the purpose of these texts. Nevertheless, this is a most interesting piece of information. It has been argued on architectural grounds that the priory church of St. Botolph was not completed until the 12th century was far advanced; in the absence of 'a date of consecration, marking the completion of the church', it has been tentatively suggested that building was finished in 1160–70.<sup>5</sup> The entry in the *compotus* supplies a precise date which accords well with the architectural evidence.

It is noteworthy that there are some strong phraseological similarities between the *compotus* entries and the *Annales Colecestrenses*, which suggest that we are here close to the wording of the lost *annales*. There is one further element of interest in the *compotus*, however, apart from the significance of its marginal entries. The *compotus* was copied a decade before building began at St. John's, and was thus probably written outside Colchester. But by the 13th century, at the latest, it had been brought to the Abbey, where the marginal annotations were made. Now, *Annales Colecestrenses*, in their description of the arrival from York of the thirteen monks sent to establish a monastic community in St. John's,<sup>6</sup> note that they came *cum nonnullis codicibus aliisque divino cultui necessariis*, amongst which would assuredly have been texts of the sort contained in the *compotus*. It seems not at all unlikely that Trinity College MS. 0.7.41 was one of those codices brought from York to Colchester at the end of the 11th century.

## NOTES

1. All of these entries are to be found on ff. 9v–11v.
2. For *Annales Colecestrenses* see F. Liebermann, *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, Strasbourg, 1879, pp. 158–65. The account of the foundation of St. John's in the Gough manuscript has been printed in translation by George Rickword, 'The Obits of the Abbots of Colchester', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, xvi (1923), pp. 122–6.
3. See David Stephenson, 'An analysis of the chronicle accounts of the foundation and early history of St. John's Abbey', in Philip Crummy, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Colchester* (forthcoming).
4. The Nero manuscript is best consulted in the transcription of H. J. Duckinfield Astley, 'Medieval Colchester—Town, Castle and Abbey—from MSS. in the British Museum', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, viii (1903), 117–37, esp. 122–8. Duckinfield's translation, *ibid.*, 129–35, contains some notable inaccuracies and is to be treated with caution.
5. Sir Charles Peers, *St. Botolph's Priory*, H.M.S.O., 2nd ed., 1964, pp. 12, 17.
6. See the long entry, covering several years, in *Annales Colecestrenses* sub anno 1095.

## Stanway: æt Stanwægum

by DAVID STEPHENSON

In his treatment of Stanway in *The Place-Names of Essex* (p. 394), Dr. Reaney established that the early (11th-century) forms of the name signify 'at the stone ways', but had to confess that 'the reason for the use of the plural in the name is not apparent, unless possibly it be that there were two Stanways in the 10th century corresponding to the later Magna and Parva hamlets'. It would seem more reasonable, however, to take the early forms literally and to postulate not two 'Stanways' but two (or more) stone ways, i.e. Roman roads. That there were at least two such roads, each taking a different route towards Colchester, does seem to have been the case. The northern road, Stane Street, is still a major route into Colchester, but the southern road is now largely lost—though its central sections in the area of Gryme's dyke have been traced in excavation. The junction of these roads would seem to have been at or near Stanway Bridge,<sup>1</sup> in the extreme west end of Stanway parish. Thus 'at the stone ways' would seem originally to have been a rough description of the lands associated with these roads, which must therefore both have remained serviceable in the Anglo-Saxon period.

### NOTE

1. This is the conjectured terminus of the southern road in the frontispiece map in C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum* (1947).

## Periodical Literature on Essex Archaeology and History, 1979

Compiled by P. B. BOYDEN, *Honorary Librarian*

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 at the end of September 1979. The aim is to include papers which readers would expect to find in the Society's publications, so that general articles which include passing references to Essex sites are omitted, as are monographs which do not form part of a periodical series: details of these are obtainable from the Library catalogue. Biographical articles are listed under the subject's place of birth or residence. Unless otherwise stated all periodicals are issues for 1978.

GENERAL Archives of Air Photographs (details of collections including cover of Essex Sites), *Aerial Archaeology*, 1 (1977), 32-9.

J. McCann: The Purpose of Rafter Holes, *Vernacular Architecture*, 9, 26-31.

C. Thompson: The 3rd Lord Rich and the Essex Election of 1604, *Essex J.*, 14.1 (1979), 2-6.

W. Tonkin: Electric Trams in Essex, *Essex J.*, 14.1 (1979), 29-31.

NORTH-EAST ESSEX G. Jones: The Colchester and Ipswich Aerial Survey, *Aerial Archaeology*, 1 (1977), 23-5.

SOUTH ESSEX 'R.B.': Notes on London road waggon services into Thurrock, 1839, *Panorama*, 22 (1979), 24-5.

SOUTH-WEST ESSEX K. Frost: The coming of the Railway to Romford, *Romford Record*, 11 (1979), 17-24.

ASHELDHAM P. Drury and W. Rodwell: Investigations at Asheldham, Essex. An Interim Report on the Church and the Historic Landscape, *Antiq. J.*, 58, 153-51.

BARLING MAGNA Saxon site at Baldwin's Farm, 1977 excavations, *Medieval Archaeol.*, 22, 143.

- BOCKING, BRAINTREE, AND HALSTEAD J. Lown: The Anvil, Field, & Loom (Female factory workers of Courtaulds). *East Anglian History Workshop Newsletter*, 5 (1979), 6-9.
- CHELMSFORD Dominican Priory excavations 1977. *Medieval Archaeol.*, 22, 157.
- E. Thomas: Chelmsford and the Board of Health Report of 1849. *Essex J.*, 14.1 (1979), 22-8.
- CHIGNALL ST. JAMES D. Buckley & C. Going: Chignall St. James, Essex: an Interim Report. *Aerial Archaeology*, 1 (1977), 10-13.
- CHINGFORD B. Ray: Chingford Church of England Infants School. *Chingford Notes*, 1.10 (1979), 75-6.
- COLCHESTER *Catalogue*, 4 (1979) contains: The Cattle Market Site, 2-10. Poplarhall Farm, 11.
- Catalogue* 5 (1979) contains: N. Smith: New Excavation under the Co-Op, 2-5. N. Crummy: Romano-British Jewellery, examples from excavations in Colchester 1971-9, 6-9. H. Brooks: Potter's Kiln found at Middleborough, 10-11. Survey of 2 & 3 Trinity Street. *Post-Medieval Archaeol.*, 12, 112.
- S. McAndrews: Women in Service in Colchester 1911-1940. *East Anglian History Workshop Newsletter*, 5 (1979), 9-10.
- LITTLE DUNMOW M. Spearman: Thomas Blyth's Memorandum Book. *Essex Family Historian*, 12 (1979), 15-18.
- EPPING D. Corke (Ed.): The Wild Life of Epping Forest. *Essex Naturalist*, 4 (1979).
- GRAYS THURROCK M. Chase: A Victorian Scientist (Alfred Wallace) at Grays. *Panorama*, 22 (1979), 8-17.
- J. Hayston: The National Infants School, Grays Thurrock. *Ibid.*, 39-56.
- HADSTOCK E. Martin: St. Botolph and Hadstock: A Reply. *Antiq. J.*, 58, 153-9.
- HALSTEAD See BOCKING.
- HARWICH Harwich and Lower Dovercourt in the year 1864. *Highlight*, 35 (1979), 6-7.
- HAVINGER M. McIntosh: The Havering Manor Court 1350-1650, Part I. *Romford Review*, 11 (1979), 25-33.
- ILFORD K. Oakley and M. Newcomer: Notes on Palaeolithic Flakes from Ilford. *Proc. Prehistoric Society*, 44, 435-9.
- INGATESTONE K. Green: Some aspects of English Medieval Pottery. *Ingatestone & Fryerning Historical & Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, 16, 14-20.
- S. Clark: A Short History of The Hyde. *Ibid.*, 6-13.
- KELVEDON H. Corke: The Story of Kelvedon. *Feering & Kelvedon Local History Museum Series*, 3 (1979).
- LEYTON Iron Age and Roman site at 57-59a Church Road, 1978 excavations. *London Archaeol.*, 3.10 (1979), 275.
- MUCKING 1977 season excavations. *Medieval Archaeol.*, 22, 143.
- M. Astor: The Hedges and Woods of Mucking, Essex. *Panorama*, 22 (1979), 59-66.
- The 'mini' hill fort. *Current Archaeol.*, 67 (1979), 238-9.
- J. Stephens: Experiments in Iron Age Pottery-Making. *Panorama*, 22 (1979), 18-23.
- W. Jones: A Romano-British Stone Coffin Burial at Mucking. *Ibid.*, 26-30.
- NORTON MANDEVILLE E. Lamb: Uncovering the History of a House (3 Garwoods). *Essex Family Historian*, 12 (1979), 11-13.
- ORSETT J. Hedges & D. Buckley: Excavations at a Neolithic Causewayed enclosure, Orsett, Essex, 1975. *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.*, 44, 219-308.
- Saxon site excavated in 1977. *Medieval Archaeol.*, 22, 143.
- A. Pizzey: Quoit Playing at Orsett. *Panorama*, 22 (1979), 86-8.
- PELDON K. de Brisay: The Excavation of a Red Hill at Peldon, Essex, with notes on some other sites. *Antiq. J.*, 58, 31-60.
- PLESHEY J. Goodall: Two Medieval Drawings. *Antiq. J.*, 58, 159-62.
- 1977 excavations at the castle. *Medieval Archaeol.*, 22, 169-70.
- PURFLEET G. Watson: The Rural Industries of Thurrock. Part 2, The Purfleet Quarries, 1554-1850. *Panorama*, 22 (1979), 68-85.
- B. Carter: Some Historical Notes on the Anglo-American Oil Company's Purfleet Terminal. *Ibid.*, 31-5.
- ROMFORD *Romford Record* 11 (1979) includes:
- A. Barnard: Extract from the 'Noted Breweries of Great Britain and Ireland' (on Romford Brewery), 5-11.
- G. Redgrave: Miss Knight's (School at Gidea Park), 12-16.
- J. Cutress: My Early Years, 35-40.
- R. Giles: Looking Back, 41-45.
- R. Browne: Inns of Romford and District mentioned in Parish Registers, 46-47.
- SOUTHEND-ON-SEA Southchurch Hall excavations 1977. *Medieval Archaeol.*, 22, 179.
- STANSTEAD MOUNTFITCHET Man with a problem (owner of the motte). *Popular Archaeol.*, 1 (1979), 4-5.
- TILBURY Tilbury Blockhouse and Fort. *Panorama*, 22 (1979), 57-8.
- WEST TILBURY R. Bingley: West Tilbury Parish Church—A Collapsed Seamark. *Panorama*, 22 (1979), 36-8.
- TIPTREE L. Forsyth: Tiptree Heath—its history and natural history. *Essex Naturalist*, 3.
- WALTHAM ABBEY Sun Street excavations 1977. *Medieval Archaeol.*, 22, 173.
- Essex House and Abbey Mead excavations 1978. *London Archaeol.*, 3.10 (1979), 275.
- WOODFORD F. Clark: The George, Woodford. *Essex J.*, 14.1 (1979), 13-21.

# Current Research on Essex History and Historical Geography, 1979

by NANCY BRIGGS

This list is based partly on *Historical Research for University Degrees in the United Kingdom, List No. 40, Part II, Theses in Progress 1979* (Institute of Historical Research, May 1979). Other information, mainly relating to research for American degrees, has been taken from research cards filed at the Essex Record Office. Information on completed research has been mainly taken from *List No. 40, Part I, Theses completed 1978*.

## Medieval

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, c. 1140–1540. Janet de Gaynesford (Oxford D.Phil.).  
Early History of Waltham Abbey. Rosalind W. Ransford (London M.Phil.).

## Early Modern

Anabaptism and sectarianism in Kent and Essex, c. 1548–58. D. A. Penny (Guelph, Ontario, Ph.D.).  
A biographical study of John Bastwick, 1593–1654. Frances M. Condick (London M.Phil.).  
Woodland use and management, 16th and 17th centuries. Linda Vroman (Kent State University Ph.D.).  
The social functions of inheritance provisions: the Liberty of Havering in the 17th century. T. J. O'Shea (Leicester Ph.D.).  
Links between courtiers and prominent persons in counties during the reign of James I. S. L. Hollings (Sydney Ph.D.).  
The Privy Council and the Government of England, 1629–41. S. P. Salt (Cambridge Ph.D.).  
The English regicides (including Isaac Ewer of Hatfield Broad Oak). R. K. Temple (Warwick Ph.D.).  
An examination of the servant group and changing patterns of domestic and agricultural service in S.E. England, 1660–1760. R. Brown (Cambridge Ph.D.).  
Essex Quakers, 1654–1750. T. A. Davies (Oxford D.Phil.).  
Protestant Nonconformity in Essex, 1660–92. Jillian D. Stern (London Ph.D.).

## Modern

A study of social structure and social conflicts in cloth-producing towns of North Essex and South Suffolk, late 17th to early 19th centuries. P. J. R. King (Cambridge Ph.D.).  
18th-century prisons before John Howard. Joanna Innes (Cambridge Ph.D.).  
Serious crime in Essex, 1815–45, with special reference to transportation to Australia. S. W. Amos (London Ph.D.).  
Congregationalism and urban expansion in Essex. J. R. Hodgkins (Essex M.Phil.).  
Christian Socialism, 1890–1940. Meta Zimneck (New York Ph.D.).  
Conrad Noel and Christian Socialism. M. Sierakowski (Essex M.A.).  
Social history of West Ham, primarily in the 20th century. J. Marriott (Cambridge Ph.D.).  
A social history of the Fire Service. T. G. Segars (Essex M.Phil.).

## Miscellaneous

The evolution of settlement at Kelvedon. Kirsty A. Rodwell (Birmingham M.A.).  
The effects of urbanisation on the River Ingrebourne. Carolyn Roberts (Exeter Ph.D.).

## Completed Research \*Copy in E.R.O. Library

The Mandeville family and its estates. Anne R. Charlton (Reading Ph.D., 1978).  
\*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., 1978).  
\*The Essex Turnpike Trusts. J. M. L. Booker (Durham M.Lit., 1979).  
The corn milling industry, 1750–1850. M. J. Orbell (Nottingham Ph.D., 1978).  
The Lea Navigation, 1767–1867. Patience Champion (London Ph.D., 1978).

## Genealogy

by JO-ANN BUCK

Although the Blake Committee's Report on the needs of local historians contained only one sentence on genealogy, 1978 and 1979 were anything but idle years for family historians. The Federation of Family History Societies now has 120 member-societies, representing, world-wide, over 60,000 people; five new societies were recently formed in the London suburbs. Much self-help is taking place in the form of making specialised indices (e.g. trades and occupations), recording monumental inscriptions, transcribing parish registers, etc. In this latter field, the Essex Society for Family History, realising that their own interest creates wear and tear on original registers, have begun transcribing these irreplaceable records under a long-term scheme; in due course the County Archivist hopes to duplicate carefully checked transcripts so that they may be used instead of the originals.

Weekend study-courses in deciphering the handwriting of old documents have been a regular feature at Suffolk County Council's Adult Education Centre near Ipswich during the past few years, members (many from Essex) usually consisting nearly-equally of local and family historians, each group often finding the other's interests useful. A similar course was run in London by the Society of Genealogists in 1980.

The Federation now has an Education Officer to co-ordinate the teaching of genealogy and family history over the country and, among other things, also publishes a half-yearly *Family History News and Digest*, which can be of use to local historians also. The Federation's representative on the Record Users' Group (which maintains a general surveillance on the national records scene) is the Vice-Chairman of the Essex Society. This group is lodging an objection to the recently announced plan to close the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, by which documents would be made available only at the new repository at Kew; this would involve giving several days' notice for the required records to be transported from London (and with consequent exposure to loss or damage in transit?).

The second English Genealogical Congress at Cambridge in 1978 was exceptionally well attended, the fancy of both television networks being taken by practical sessions on monumental inscription recording in a nearby churchyard, jointly led by the Chairman of the Essex Society. Many societies reported enquiries following the Gordon Honeycombe programme on television, also.

The Federation arranged a Family History Conference at Bedford in the spring of 1980 and will mount a stand at the World Conference on Records at Salt Lake City in the same year.

'The Society in a Changing World', the opening address given by the Director of the Society of Genealogists at the 1979 A.G.M., was very thought provoking. The Association of Genealogists and Record Agents has upheld its professional reputation for competent and ethical work; its list of members (including some in Essex) is circulated to repositories all over the country and abroad.

Thanks to the generosity of a U.S.A. resident with English ancestry, a leased set of the Computer File Index microfiches for the entire country has been deposited at Saffron Walden Library; the University of Essex Library has also obtained a set, as also has Colchester Public Library (at which latter place may also be seen microfilms of the censuses for Essex, 1841-71). A set of the Essex 'fiches is coming to the Essex Record Office, and individuals are sponsoring the purchase of sets covering other parts of the country. This index of baptisms and marriages compiled by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints can often be a 'lucky dip' for tracking down ancestors who 'strayed' from their expected parish, but it doesn't cover every parish and, remember, 'errors and omissions excepted'.

Such 'strays' from any source are being collected by an Essex Society member and, after

indexing for local use, sent on to a national index; whilst the Baxter Index of Essex Marriages carries on where Boyd left off.

Attendances at monthly meetings of the Essex Society are about 90, and a Study Day was held in spring 1980. A stand was taken at the Chelmsford Leisure Exhibition in 1979 at which much interest was shown by the public; an exhibition was also mounted at Southend Library the same year. Recording of monumental inscriptions proceeds apace; the Earls Colne area is now complete and augments Dr. Macfarlane's computerised local history study. The Federation's booklet on M.I. recording, compiled by the Chairman of the Essex Society, is again reprinting, nearly 2,000 copies already having been sold.

Only lack of space precludes mention of the names of all these organisers and doers; volunteers are welcome for all the activities mentioned: contact John Rayment, 57 Coopers Hill, Ongar ('phone Ongar 362602).

## The Brass-Rubbings in the Society's Collections

by STEPHEN FREETH

Amongst the material in the Society's library in the Hollytrees, Colchester, are three collections of early brass-rubbings. They were made between the late 1840s and about 1920, and are old enough to show many brasses and fragments of brasses that no longer exist.

The earliest collection, unfortunately also the most bulky and unmanageable, is that of Arthur Henry Brown (1830-1926), made between 1848 and 1924, and presented to the Society by his executrix at his death.<sup>1</sup> Brown was born in Brentwood and spent most of his life there. He was a dedicated musician, being organist of the parish church and of Brentwood School Chapel, and also an authority upon Gregorian Chant, and he is chiefly remembered today as the composer of many lovely hymn tunes. He was a keen cyclist, and celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday in 1915 with a ride from Brentwood to Thaxted! Unfortunately he had no scholarly interest in the study of brasses, and published nothing on the subject.

Brown's collection consists of 800 rubbings, most of which he cut out and remounted in random order on to continuous rolls of paper, and then indexed in a small book.<sup>2</sup> Some examples, however, were kept flat in a large portfolio. The rubbings are all well executed, with a note of the parish and of the date of the rubbing, and the collection covers most of England with a preponderance of East Anglian examples.

The second collection was assembled by Charles Kentish Probert (1820-87), of Newport and Saffron Walden. He was a keen antiquary, and a councillor of this Society, and as well as his rubbings the Society's library contains five volumes of his photographs and sketches of Essex churches. Further volumes of 'Arms and Epitaphs' are now British Library Addnl. MSS. 33520-33529.

Probert's is probably the least interesting of the three collections. It consists of a large red scrapbook containing a jumble of atrocious rubbings with hardly any labelling or identification, though it is possible to date the collection between 1858 and 1886. However, it does include several items which have since disappeared, and at least one item unrecorded elsewhere, the head of the man from M.S. III at Great Canfield.

The third collection was compiled between c. 1880 and 1912 by three friends, Robert Miller

Christy, William Wade Porteous and Dr. E. Bertram Smith, in preparation for a massive, but abortive, survey of the brasses of Essex. It is therefore a much more systematic and useful record than the other two collections. Christy and his colleagues rubbed every brass that they could get their hands—or their paper—on, including even the brass plate over the gate of the Elizabethan Grammar School at Newport, and indents as well. Friends sometimes gave them old rubbings showing lost brasses, like Joseph Clarke's rubbing made c. 1850 of the Strangman brass at Wimbish. On other occasions they themselves made tracings or ink facsimiles of valuable rubbings in other collections, including those of Brown and Probert, with whom they were on good terms. They kept their rubbings in three huge portfolios, remounting many and also 'blacking in' where necessary for the printer, and carefully recording the whereabouts of each brass and the date and author of the rubbing.

Miller Christy (1861–1928) was the driving force behind this collection.<sup>3</sup> His interests ranged far beyond brasses, and his published work included *Birds of Essex* (1890), *Trade Signs of Essex* (1887) and the chapter on the trades and industries of the county in the *Victoria County History*. He started rubbing brasses about 1880, in spare time from the Quaker Bank in Saffron Walden, and from 1885 he employed William Porteous, a schoolboy, as his paid assistant at a rate of 6d. for small brasses and 1s. for large ones. Porteous soon joined him as a partner in the projected survey of Essex brasses, and for over thirty years they collected rubbings and wrote articles for the various county journals.<sup>4</sup> In 1898 they were joined by E. Bertram Smith, a cousin of Christy's. He had established his bona fides as a brass enthusiast by 'a great escapade—the rubbing of the forbidden Stoke D'Abernon brass surreptitiously at night!', and in the years that followed he travelled all over Essex, particularly when County Schools Medical Officer, adding rubbings and reports to the growing corpus of material.

In 1915 the three published a survey of the brasses of Colchester. It began:

The following remarks bring to a close the long series of articles, over thirty in number and extending back to the year 1895, which we have contributed to these and other pages, all treating of the more interesting of the monumental brasses—some five hundred and twenty in number—remaining in the county of Essex. Of this total we have now figured over four hundred.<sup>5</sup>

They now had enough material and blocks for their final masterpiece. The Great War, however, stopped everything. Christy, the financier of the project, lost his livelihood when his London printing business collapsed; Porteous, now a Tunbridge Wells bookseller, also knew hard times. Smith went to France to run a Field Hospital for the Quaker Ambulance Brigade. Poor Christy, his financial embarrassments, the sale of his house in Chelmsford and a fire in his library seem to have unbalanced him, and he never did assemble the book for which he had worked so hard. At his death in 1928 he left all the notes and rubbings to Porteous, and the parishes Althamstone to Great Canfield were published by the Monumental Brass Society in two parts in 1948 and 1951. Lack of funds prevented any further progress, however, and in the end Porteous handed over the three portfolios of rubbings, the blocks, and twelve volumes of typescript to this Society, and the notes and correspondence relating to the project to the Essex Record Office (accn. 3795). Further notes and letters apparently loaned by Christy and never returned have since reappeared amongst the Laver papers in Colchester Museum.

The real importance of the Brown, Probert and Christy collections is that they contain many rubbings of brasses that have since disappeared. However, fragments and sometimes whole memorials do disappear still, and so the following list of rubbings of 'lost' brasses in the three collections is confined to brasses which were already missing by 1926, the date of Mill Stephenson's classic *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*. It is also restricted to Essex, although Brown's collection has some important material for other counties.<sup>6</sup> For brevity, brasses are referred to by their numbers in Stephenson's *List*. A few brasses, lost in 1926 but since rediscovered, have also been omitted.

Several of the lost items which are referred to below were illustrated by Christy, though not



necessarily from these rubbings, and the relevant references have been provided. Items marked with an asterisk (\*) do not appear to be recorded elsewhere.

**Great Braxted** Inscription, Edward Forth, died 1591. Brown, 'Inscriptions only' roll, 1895; Probert, p. 179, undated. The illustration of this plate in *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* (henceforth *T.E.A.S.*), **xi** (1909), 112, is an unsuccessful attempt to reproduce the design typographically.

**Great Canfield** I. Two daughters. Probert, p. 225, before 1880. *T.E.A.S.*, **xi** (1909), 113. III. \*Head of male figure. Probert, p. 219, before 1880. *Ibid.*, 114. The Christy and Probert collections also contain rubbings of the three sons from this brass. These were lost for many years and are referred to as missing in *T.E.A.S.*, **x** (1907), 184-5, and **xi** (1909), 114, as well as in Stephenson's *List*. Christy's papers in the Essex Record Office, however, strongly suggest that the sons were rediscovered and refixed in their slab c. 1910.

**Chingford** Lost brass of Rowland Rampston, d. 1585, and wife, d. 1590. Christy, 1845. This is a 'dabbing' and not a rubbing, and was made by an alternative technique using powdered graphite on a wash-leather pad. It is very faint, and the bottom portion has been torn away. *T.E.A.S.*, **x** (1907), 187.

**Great Chishill** I. Second shield. Christy, 1882; Probert, p. 137, 1885. *T.E.A.S.*, **xi** (1909), 115. \*Lozenge, from an unknown brass. Probert, p. 137, 1885. *Ibid.*, 116.

**Coggeshall** IV. Portion of marginal fillet reading 'and Anne which'. Brown, roll T, probably 1866; Christy, undated. *T.E.A.S.*, **viii** (1901), 262.

**Colchester, St. James** II. Missing portion of inscription. Brown, portfolio, 1861.

**Cold Norton** Two shields listed as brass No. II by Stephenson in 1926 were in fact stolen in 1918. Brown, 'Shields' roll and roll GG, 1890; Christy, 1891; Brown, roll RR, 1907.

**Dagenham** I. Group of sons. Brown, rolls O and 'E and F', 1853; Brown, 'Inscription, badges, etc.', undated. *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, **xiv** (1908), 45.

**Finchingfield** I. End of sword of man. Probert, p. 97, undated. *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, **ix** (1903), 155.

**Hempstead** II. The children from this brass are listed in Stephenson, but were probably missing by 1916, when the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments failed to find them. Christy, 1881. *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, **vii** (1901), 78.

**Hornchurch** I. A rubbing dated 1854 in Brown's portfolio shows 40 cm. of fillet and three Lombardic letters, B, N and F. *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, **vii** (1901), 74. VIII. Fragment of marginal fillet, '-d live I died'. Brown, roll VV, 1851, roll X, 1862. *T.E.A.S.*, **x** (1907), 205. IX. Fragment of marginal inscription, 'my'. Brown, portfolio, 1854. *T.E.A.S.*, **xi** (1910), 333. In Brown's portfolio is also a rubbing of 1854 of a shield, apparently of brass, showing a lion rampant between three crosses, and probably dating from the early 16th century (Fig. 1). This was 'from the screen', but has never been referred to in any work that I have read. I do not know if it still remains.

**Great Ilford** Inscription to John Smyth, 1475. The Christy collection contains an 18th-century reversed impression of this plate, made by inking the actual brass and pressing paper down upon it. *Trans. Mon. Brass Society*, **iii** (1899), 258.

**Great Leighs** I. Part of the body of the figure. Brown, portfolio, undated. *Essex Review*, **iii** (1894), 201.

**Littlebury** VI. The son. Probert, p. 109, before 1880. *T.E.A.S.*, **viii** (1900), 50. VIII. Achievement. Probert, p. 107, before 1880. *Ibid.*, 52.

**North Ockendon** Inscription, 'Johan Bauchon gist ycy', 14th century. Brown, roll X, 1851. *Essex Review*, **x** (1901), 87.

**South Ockendon** I. A rubbing dated 1851 on Brown's roll B, made before the brass was taken up from its slab, shows many portions now lost. Another early rubbing, made before 1892, is in the Christy collection. *T.E.A.S.*, **xii** (1912), 241.

**High Ongar** Inscription with initials 'E.T.' Brown, portfolio, 1857, and roll GG, 1882, *T.E.A.S.*, x (1907), 203.

**Saffron Walden** Lady, c. 1500 (Stephenson's date of c. 1460 is probably wrong). Probert, p. 185, undated. *T.E.A.S.*, xi (1909), 138.

**Stondon Massey** I. \*Fragment of children. Brown, roll X, 1862.

**Upminster** VII. Two children. Brown, portfolio, 1852, roll X, 1861; Christy, undated. *T.E.A.S.*, xii (1912), 252. Lost brass (1). Brown, roll X, 1861; Christy, undated. (2) and (3). Christy, undated. Shield, Mercers' Company with the arms of Browne on the reverse. Brown, roll X, 1862. Lost brasses (1) and (2) are illustrated in *T.E.A.S.*, xi (1909), 143, 144; (3) and the Mercers' shield were illustrated by Mill Stephenson in *Trans. Mon. Brass Society*, iv (1901), 116.

**Great Waltham** I. \*Children of first wife (Fig. 2). Brown, roll X, 1861.

**South Weald** I. Lost figures of man and one wife. Brown, portfolio, 1851. *T.E.A.S.*, viii (1901), 271. III. Many portions now lost. Brown, roll A2, 1854. *Ibid.*, 275. Lost brass (1). Brown, 'Shields' roll, undated, and portfolio, 1851 and 1854. (2). Brown, portfolio, 1854 and ?1857. (3) and (4). Brown, portfolio, 1854. These lost brasses are illustrated in *ibid.*, 273, 274, 277, 280.

**Wimbish** I. Leg of man. Christy, c. 1850; Brown, roll X, 1861; Probert, p. 183, before 1880. *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, xiv (1908), 40. Lost brass to Joan Strangman, 1578 (Fig. 3). Two inscriptions, the upper part of the effigy and the indents of the portions lost even at that date appear on a rubbing made c. 1850 in the Christy collection. The indents and the general layout of the composition do not appear to have been recorded elsewhere. The two inscriptions alone are on a rubbing of 1861 on Brown's roll X, while they and the upper part of the effigy, which shows further damage since 1850, are on a rubbing made before 1880 on p. 182 of Probert's collection. *Trans. Mon. Brass Society*, iii (1899), 262 (including indents). Note that a fragment of brass from the sleeve of the effigy survives in the British Museum, M.S. VI(6).

**Writtle** VII. The daughter. Brown, roll R, 1880. *T.E.A.S.*, ix (1903), 60. Scroll reading 'Mercy'. Brown, roll X, 1861; Christy, undated. *Ibid.*, 49.

**Private Possession** Neither of these two plates is listed by Stephenson. A: \*Three sons, c. 1580, palimpsest, with part of a contemporary inscription on the reverse (Fig. 4). Brown collection, loose, cut out and never remounted. There are two pairs of rubbings, both showing the obverse and the reverse of the plate, and one pair is labelled 'Unknown palimpsest, Woodbridge, Sept. 1919. In the possession of G. Arnott.' B: \*Inscription, Norwich workmanship, to Isabella Capel, c. 1500 (Fig. 5). Christy collection, stored under Harlow, and labelled 'In the possession of J. Barnard Esq. of Harlow. Said to be from Hunsdon Church, Hertford. Taken 1856.' The Hunsdon attribution seems to be pure speculation because of the Capel tombs that exist there, and the brass is far more likely to be from some Norfolk church.

There are other major collections of brass-rubbings relating to Essex in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, at Burlington House, Piccadilly, and of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. This second collection was until recently housed at the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, but it has now been transferred to nearby Madingley. Both collections are arranged in county portfolios, parallel with Stephenson's *List*, and both contain many lost examples. There is no published list of the lost brasses that are recorded in the Cambridge collection but fairly full references to the Antiquaries' rubbings appear in the *List*.

Within Essex, there is a small and unimportant collection at the Chelmsford Museum, and a very tattered and surprisingly rich selection in the Museum at Saffron Walden. I cannot discover how these rubbings came to Walden, but they include several early ones by Augustus Franks, later President of the Society of Antiquaries, made c. 1850. One of these shows the lost figure of the man from M.S. I at Thurrock, and another the achievement from M.S. VIII at Writtle. Further examination will no doubt reveal other valuable material.

Thanks are due to a great many people, including the Society's Hon. Librarian, Peter Boyden,



Fig. 1 Hornchurch. Rubbing by A. H. Brown, dated 1854, of a shield, possibly of brass, 'from the screen'. Known only from this rubbing.



Fig. 2 Great Waltham, M.S. I [1580]. The children of the first wife. Rubbed by A. H. Brown, 1861. Known only from this rubbing.



Fig. 3 Wimbish. The lost brass of Joan Strangman, 1578, from a rubbing of c. 1850 in the Christy collection. The indents and general layout are not recorded elsewhere.

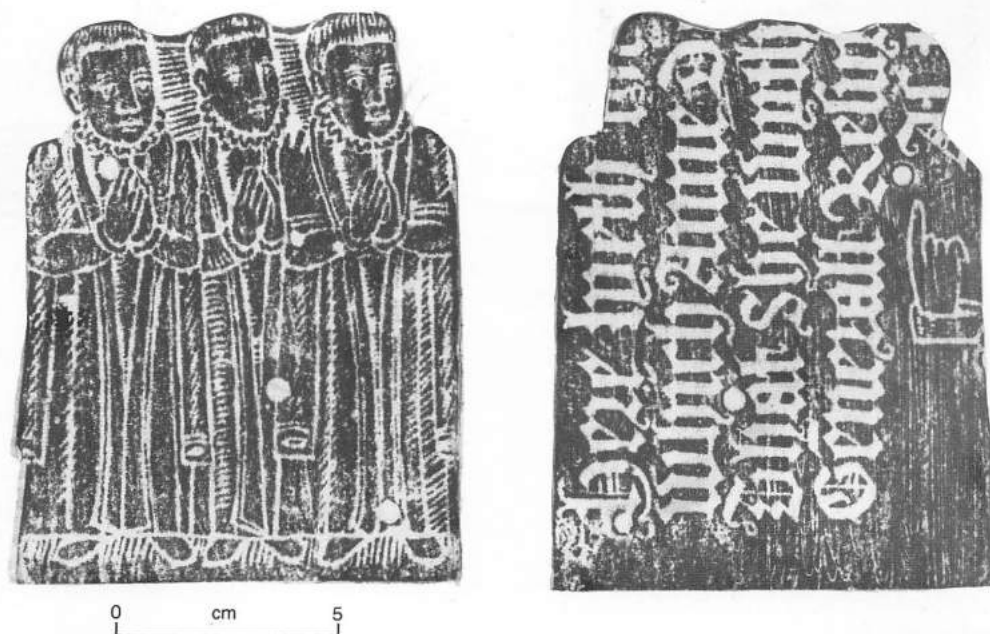


Fig. 4, a, b Private possession. Palimpsest; three sons, *c.* 1580, with part of a contemporary inscription on the reverse. At Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1919, rubbed by A. H. Brown (2 copies). Known only from these rubbings.



Fig. 5 Private possession. Inscription, Isabella Capel, *c.* 1500. At Harlow, 1856. Rubbing in Christy collection, no other rubbing known.

and the staff of the Museum at Colchester, and in particular to Miss Nancy Briggs of the Essex Record Office for help, suggestions and encouragement. Fig. 3 is reproduced by kind permission of the Monumental Brass Society.

#### NOTES

1. G. M. Benton, 'The A. H. Brown collection of brass-rubbings', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* (henceforth *T.E.A.S.*), **xix** (1930), 321-3.
2. A new list of the Brown collection, arranged topographically by counties and parishes, following Mill Stephenson, and with a short biographical introduction, has recently been prepared by our member Mrs. Ann Dowden. Copies are available through the Society.
3. What follows is based upon Christy's obituary in *T.E.A.S.*, **xix** (1929), 138-40; Porteous's obituary in *Trans. Mon. Brass Society*, **x** (1963), p. 35; Christy's correspondence in the Essex Record Office (accn. 3795); and private correspondence between Porteous and Miss Nancy Briggs shortly before Porteous's death in 1963. I am grateful to Miss Briggs (now Mrs. Edwards) for access to these papers.
4. Most of their articles appeared in a series entitled 'Some interesting Essex Brasses', in *T.E.A.S.*, **vi** (1897), 146-70; **vii** (1898), 1-31, (1899), 207-48; **viii** (1900), 15-54, (1901), 249-85; **ix** (1903), 22-67; **x** (1907), 181-227; **xi** (1909), 101-46, (1910), 321-34; **xii** (1912), 225-53; **xiii** (1915), 38-52; *Essex Review*, **iii** (1894), 119-31; **v** (1896), 213-24; **vii** (1898), 31-50; **ix** (1900), 77-91; **x** (1901), 84-100; *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, **v** (1899), 9-21; **vii** (1901), 73-88; **ix** (1903), 145-62; **xiv** (1908), 39-46, 124-37; *Trans. Mon. Brass Society*, **iv** (1900), 45-59. Other articles under various titles appeared in *T.E.A.S.*, **viii** (1902), 363-8; **xvi** (1921), 48-9, (1922), 205-9, (1923), 283-7; *Essex Review*, **ii** (1893), 45-8, 162-5; *Trans. Mon. Brass Soc.*, **iii** (1899), 254-64; *Antiquary*, **xxxviii** (1902), 6-10, 44-7; **xxxix** (1903), 113-18, 175-8, 233-8. A survey of all printed material relevant to Essex brasses, by Miss Nancy Briggs of the Essex Record Office, has appeared in *Trans. Mon. Brass Soc.*, **xi** (1971), 149-61.
5. *T.E.A.S.*, **xiii** (1915), 38.
6. E.g. the rubbing of 1861 on roll C of the two angels bearing the head of the Baptist upon a charger in the Rudyng brass of 1481 at Biggleswade, Bedfordshire (M.S. II), only otherwise recorded in a poor rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Rubbings of lost brasses in the Brown collection for counties other than Essex are noted in Ann Dowden's list. See footnote 2.

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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).

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