

ESSEX

ARCHAEOLOGY & HISTORY



VOLUME 13

1981

THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Essex Archaeological Society was founded in 1852

Its objects are:

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

Publications

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

Excavations

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

The Library

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

Membership

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

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

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

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

Member Societies in Essex

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

ESSEX
ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

**THE TRANSACTIONS OF
THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY**

Dedicated to the memory of
KENNETH CHARLES NEWTON
1927–1978

VOLUME 13 (Third Series)
1981

Published by the Society at the Museum in the Castle 1982

Typeset by Keyset Composition.
Printed by Alderman Printing and Bookbinding Co., Ltd.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME 13, 1981

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Kenneth Charles Newton | 1 |
| KENNETH C. NEWTON and MARJORIE K. MCINTOSH | |
| Leet Jurisdiction in Essex Manor Courts during the Elizabethan Period | 3 |
| R. H. BRITNELL | |
| Essex Markets before 1350 | 15 |
| J. D. WILLIAMS | |
| Vertical Friendship: An 18th-century Case Study | 22 |
| M. R. EDDY and D. PRIDDY (Ed.) | |
| Work of the Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1980 | 32 |
| M. R. EDDY (Ed.) | |
| Excavations in Essex, 1980 | 48 |
| <i>Archaeological and Historical Notes</i> | |
| ISOBEL THOMPSON A 'Belgic' Cremation Burial found at West Mersea | 63 |
| P. J. DRURY, W. J. RODWELL and N. P. WICKENDEN Finds from the Probable Site of a Roman Villa at Dawes Heath, Thundersley, Essex | 66 |
| R. W. CRUMP Excavation of a Buried Wooden Structure at Foulness | 69 |
| NANCY BRIGGS Current Research on Essex History and Historical Geography, 1981 | 71 |
| J. M. SKUDDER Periodical Literature on Essex Archaeology and History, 1981 | 72 |
| JO-ANN BUCK Genealogy | 74 |
| RICHARD WAINWRIGHT Review of <i>Archeology in Essex to A.D. 1500</i> . Edited by D. G. Buckley .. | 75 |



Kenneth Charles Newton

[Facing page 1

Photo: N. E. C. Hammond

Kenneth Charles Newton

M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

1927–1978

Ken Newton was born and educated in Essex (at Stratford Grammar School). After service in the Intelligence Corps, in 1948 he became a clerk in the Essex Record Office, to which he devoted the rest of his working life. He was promoted Assistant Archivist in 1954, becoming Senior Assistant Archivist in 1961. He played a leading role in planning the move to the County Hall extension in 1964, and took a great interest in the technical aspects of archive work: conservation, photography and publication. On the retirement of the first County Archivist, Dr. F. G. Emmison, in June 1969, Ken Newton was appointed to succeed him to the delight of his colleagues, who found him always ready to encourage them to pursue their own research, whether the history of the Borough of Maldon, for some years his own home, or the industrial archaeology of the county. As County Archivist, he served on the Council of the Essex Archaeological Society, and as Vice-Chairman of the Chelmsford Excavation Committee. In 1978 the Chairman of the County Council agreed to revive the annual lecture on some aspect of Essex history, which was to be known in future as the Newton Memorial Lecture in commemoration of his service as County Archivist.

Dr. Marjorie McIntosh's article, printed in this issue, is based on his early work on 16th-century manorial records, but he was soon drawn towards the records of the medieval manor, on which he became an acknowledged expert. In 1960 the Essex Record Office published *Thaxted in the Fourteenth Century*, a work which threw light both on the manor and the borough, and on the town's legendary cutlery industry. He himself saw his work on Thaxted as the first in a series of much-needed sample studies based on the medieval records of Essex manors. He next turned his attention to the ancient demesne manor of Writtle; the results of his research brought him academic recognition with the award of an M.A. degree in the Department of English Local History at Leicester University in 1967. Phillimore published *The Manor of Writtle: the development of a royal manor, c. 1086–c. 1500* in 1970. An article in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, Vol. 3, No. 10 (October 1969), used Writtle records as 'A Source for Medieval Population Statistics'. At the time of his death, he was working on Hatfield Broad Oak, another ancient demesne manor.

Ken Newton was a valuable and enthusiastic member of the team involved in the early exhibitions at Ingatestone Hall from 1954. He was responsible for two exhibition booklets: *Essex and the Sea*, 1959; *Medieval Essex*, 1962. As County Archivist, he launched the series of Essex Teaching Portfolios, compiling *Highways and Byways* himself, and had high hopes for a series of 'Edited Texts'. His brief history of *Essex County Council, 1889–1974*, was compiled at the request of the Chairman of the old County Council. The passage of the Local Government Act, 1974, provided the opportunity to improve the service offered by the Essex Record Office by setting up a branch at Southend.

He shared Dr. Emmison's enthusiasm for, and knowledge of, cartography, preparing the entries for estate maps in the *First Supplement to the Catalogue of Maps*, and taking an increasing share in the work on the *Second* and *Third Supplements*. He made a special study of the Elizabethan cartographers, John Walker, senior, and junior, publishing an account of their work in *Bulletin of the Society of University Cartographers*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (December 1969). The fuller illustrated survey, which he had prepared with A. C. Edwards, former County History Adviser, awaits publication.

The Essex Branch of the Historical Association was fortunate in having Ken Newton successively as Honorary Secretary and Chairman. The Association published his *Medieval Local Records: a Reading Aid*, in 1971, with many Essex examples.

Never robust, his health began to deteriorate in 1971, compelling him to restrict many of his activities. Throughout this difficult period, he owed a great deal to the support of his wife, Mildred. His sudden death in March 1978 occurred after a severe attack of influenza. He was already ill when he tape-recorded a contribution to a weekend conference at Clacton, published in *Archaeology in Essex to A.D. 1500* (C.B.A. Research Report No. 34); the volume is dedicated to his memory 'in recognition of the considerable assistance which he gave to Essex archaeologists during his years as the County Archivist'. Even in this short paper on the value of documentary evidence and maps, one can detect the dry humour with which he always tempered his considerable scholarship.

Leet Jurisdiction in Essex Manor Courts during the Elizabethan Period

by The late KENNETH C. NEWTON and MARJORIE K. McINTOSH

When Kenneth Newton began work at the Essex Record Office in 1948, as a young man of twenty-one, one of his first assignments was to work with the records of Essex manor courts during the Elizabethan period. The then County Archivist, F. G. Emmison, asked Mr. Newton to prepare a set of detailed abstracts of the leet, or public, business carried out by a sample of Essex manorial assemblies. While working on this project, Mr. Newton obtained abundant evidence that the leet aspects of manor court jurisdiction had not died out by the later 16th century, as had generally been believed. Rather, the courts leet continued to serve the needs of the communities within which they functioned. This was especially true in larger, semi-urban manors, in which the manor courts proved competent to attack the new social and economic problems of the Tudor period as well as able to enforce the Parliamentary statutes directed to them.

During Mr. Newton's lifetime, he was most generous in making available to colleagues and students the abstracts which he had prepared and the conclusions he had drawn from them. In the summer of 1977 he discussed with Marjorie McIntosh, a Tudor historian from the United States, the possibility that they might use his abstracts to write an article on Elizabethan Essex leet jurisdiction; they agreed, however, to postpone the project until Mr. Newton's health should have improved. His death, on 16 March 1978, grievously ended this plan. Dr. McIntosh has prepared the article below, based upon Mr. Newton's abstracts and her conversations with him, as a statement of her gratitude and respect.¹

* * *

In Kenneth C. Newton's book on the manor of Writtle, published in 1970, he commented upon the condition of Essex leet jurisdiction during the Tudor period, noting that although the manor as an economic unit had declined, its judicial and administrative functions had not only survived but in some cases had revived and expanded. He wrote:

With the breakdown of its old economic structure there is often a tendency to write off the manor as an institution of importance. This is to ignore its functions as the only organ of civil justice and administration at the lowest level—the local community. Not until the time of the Tudors were functions of local government imposed upon the parish, which hitherto had been concerned with ecclesiastical affairs. But in this process the Tudor legislators were by no means unaware of the existing manorial organisation. [He then gives examples of Tudor statutes which empowered manorial leet courts to supervise the maintenance of bridges and highways.] The penal laws directed against the poor dealing with hedgebreaking, stealing of wood, the taking in of 'inmates' were also implemented, often vigorously, through the courts leet, particularly in the reign of Elizabeth I. Indeed, the spate of such legislation under the Tudors acted as a rejuvenating agent on such courts, especially in the more populous manors, which lasted in at least some cases well into the 17th century.²

This observation has been promulgated and given rich illustration in a thematic fashion by Dr. Emmison, in lectures and written form, most recently in *Elizabethan Life: Home, Work and Land*.³

Mr. Newton's comments were made on the basis of his work with the local court records of seven Essex manors during the Elizabethan period. The manors covered a wide range of communities. Two of them, North Fambridge and Bacons in Dengie, were very small and lay in isolated rural areas. Another pair were also small but were located just outside London: the manor of Ruckholt in Leyton, and Wanstead. The manors of Wethersfield and Ingatestone were centres of trade and demonstrated certain urban characteristics. Finally, Mr. Newton used the records of Walden, the parent manor within the thriving town of Saffron Walden. Mr. Newton also abstracted the records of the two most active courts, Ingatestone and Walden, during the first half of the 16th century, to provide some comparative background. Because of the variety of communities covered by his notes, it is possible to assemble fairly broad picture of leet jurisdiction within Essex during the Elizabethan years. This paper will discuss the operation of 16th-century manorial leets, illustrating the way in which the courts filled the requirements of their own particular communities.

A manor court was the assembly of all tenants of a manor, meeting originally every three weeks, to deal with matters of interest to the lord (such as protecting his own woods and registering the names of his tenants) and with matters of concern to the tenants (such as settling disputes between individuals). Manor courts also carried out leet jurisdiction, matters dealing with public order and the physical well-being of the area's occupants. Leet business was usually performed at special courts, which all inhabitants of the manor as well as all tenants were to attend, most often held once per year but sometimes twice or three times annually. Under the heading of leet jurisdiction fell such items as the maintenance of the manor's roads and bridges, punishment of violent behaviour like assaults or the 'rescuing' of cattle which had been impounded, regulation of the quality of food and drink sold within the manor, the supervision of the region's drainage ditches or gutters.

The degree of leet jurisdiction which a manor might carry out varied from one place to another. Any manor could see to the repair of its own paths, roads, hedges and drainage systems. Many manors had the duty of enforcing the Assize of Bread and Ale—of overseeing the production and sale of food and drink. A special grant or hundredal status was required before a manor might hold a View of Frankpledge, the medieval institution of peace-keeping based upon the use of tithing groups. Although few manors still enrolled all adult males into tithings by the 16th century, the Chief Pledges or headboroughs, the men formerly in charge of the tithings, remained in existence in some manors, serving now as the 'homage' or jury which reported to the court all offences against the public good.⁴

Another factor affecting the way in which leet jurisdiction was implemented by Elizabethan manor courts was the presence of other institutions and officials within the region who were also performing public functions. Thus, if a community had a powerful Justice of the Peace living nearby, the local constable, elected at the leet, might well take offenders against the peace before the J.P. for punishment rather than before the manor court. An energetic lord of the manor, especially if he were resident, could assume certain public responsibilities and might be able to shape the manor court's activity to his own ends. If the manor overlapped with a town, either physically or in terms of its jurisdictional powers, the activity of the manor court might be modified by the authority and competence of town officials. Finally, during the Tudor period the parish was acquiring civil functions, some of which (like the care of the poor) had previously lain at least partially in the hands of some manor courts. Lines between these various forms of local authority were not clearly drawn, a situation which could lead either to flexible and fruitful co-operation between the manor court and other institutions or to confusion and conflict between them.

In the Elizabethan period, the amount and type of business done by manorial courts leet in Essex depended principally upon the nature of the community which the court served. In isolated, purely rural areas, the leet courts had little to do other than to maintain the manor's hedges, ditches and roads. The narrow scope of leet activity in such places is illustrated by two of Mr. Newton's manors, North Fambridge and Bacons in Dengie. These manors both lay in the coastal

area of south-east Essex, North Fambridge at the ferry crossing of the River Crouch, Bacons in a region of drained marshes. The geographical remoteness and unhealthy nature of these manors probably worked to keep their populations small; even in the early 1800s neither manor contained more than 150 people.⁵

The volume of leet business done by the manor courts of North Fambridge and Bacons was low, amounting to only one or two items per year.⁶ One constable in each manor was sufficient to handle the work. The bulk of the leet activity of both courts concerned drainage within the manors. Ditches had to be scoured out, 'wholves' or culverts needed attention, and branches blocking water-courses were to be trimmed. In addition, an occasional hedge required repairs, the 'metes' (boundary markers) had to be maintained, and a path in North Fambridge which had been closed was to be reopened. Neither of these manors enforced the Assize of Bread and Ale, so there is no mention of any local bakers or brewers. In this region, remote from towns, there are but few signs of the overcrowded conditions and high transient population which troubled many other manors.

The authority of the lord of the manor remained strong in North Fambridge and Bacons. The Fambridge Ferry appears on the rolls but not among the leet business: it was the right of the lord to authorise sale of the Ferry and Ferry House and to admit a new man to the *Passagium vocatum le Ferry*. A felon was captured in North Fambridge after the hue and cry had been raised, but this was noted on the rolls only because his goods were then forfeit to the lord. The Bacons court, presumably at the instigation of its lord, reminded all tenants of the statutory rule that no one might keep a hunting dog unless he had 40s. income per year. In these manors, assaults and other forms of illegal behaviour must have been handled through non-manorial channels, probably taken by the constable to a Justice of the Peace.

The manor of Ruckholt in Leyton (including the village of Leytonstone) and the manor of Wanstead illustrate the functioning of courts leet in somewhat more complex communities. Ruckholt and Wanstead lay in the south-west corner of the county, on the outskirts of London, and both were crossed by roads into the capital. These provided easy access to London markets for the tenants (some of whom were citizens and tradesmen of London), but they also brought strangers into the manors. Though these manors were economically and socially more diverse than North Fambridge and Bacons, they were only slightly larger in population: Ruckholt had fewer than fifty households in 1670 and Wanstead only forty.⁷

The courts leet reflect the mixed nature of these manors. Four to five matters annually were brought to the attention of the courts by their elected officials—one constable, one ale-taster, and, in Ruckholt, one headborough or tithingman.⁸ Some of the concerns of Ruckholt and Wanstead were still purely agricultural. The courts dealt with the maintenance of hedges and the conditions of an occasional ditch or stream, and the Ruckholt manorial pound had to be kept in good condition and violators of its security punished. Wanstead enforced the ringing of pigs. Each court passed orders and fined violators concerning the footpaths, highways and bridges of its area, important to trade and contact with London.

Although both manors had the right to enforce the Assize of Bread and Ale and consequently chose ale-tasters, neither reported regularly on bakers and brewers. The Wanstead court received a few reports about the breaking of the assize and moved in the years around 1560 to set the price of a quart of ale, when sold outside a house, at a halfpenny. Ruckholt was bothered by tradesmen who used unlawful or unsealed measures, and in the early 1590s decided to obtain a new set of weights and measures for official purposes.

In these London border manors, one sees signs of a greater complexity of life and a cluster of changes characteristic of the later Tudor period: a growing number of transient people, probably a rising population, and an increase in the number or the visibility of the poor. In response to the situation, the courts of both manors, representing the established tenants of the areas, attempted to control the population and its behaviour and to enforce their own standards. Thus, in 1567 the Ruckholt court ordered that no one should take in vagrant women for more than twenty-four hours unless the strangers had come to visit friends. Later it fined several tenants for taking in 'inmates',

against the Parliamentary statute. Both manors were apparently running short of common grazing land for animals, the result either of a growing population or of a rising number of poor who lacked sufficient private pasture. In Ruckholt sheep and cattle were being improperly grazed in the lanes, and the Wanstead common was said to be overloaded with animals, some of whose owners had no right to use the common at all. Although both manors contained remnants of their original woodlands, the Wanstead court imposed the heavy fines set by statute upon those who broke down the hedges of other people, an offence usually committed by the poor, who needed wood for fuel. Wanstead reported a few assaults and two cases of 'bad order' kept in private houses and fined a man who kept 'purs nettes, ferryttes and Grayhoundes' without the required income. Each court ordered that a new set of stocks be made for manorial use around 1570, and Ruckholt noted that it had no cucking stool or pillory either. In Ruckholt and Wanstead, then, the courts leet continued to carry out some purely rural functions while at the same time beginning to use the mechanisms of the court to attack the new breed of local problems. Here as elsewhere there was a parallel between the worries of the traditional manorial leadership and the concerns of the central government, as reflected in Parliamentary statutes.

As one moves up another step in terms of manorial size and diversity, the level of leet activity continues to increase. Examples of the functioning of courts leet in larger, semi-urbanised manors are provided by Mr. Newton's abstracts from the courts of Wethersfield, in northern Essex near the Suffolk border, and Ingatestone, south-west of Chelmsford on the main London-Colchester road. Wethersfield was a centre of cloth manufacturing, linked to the Suffolk trade, with weavers, fullers, clothiers and others presumably making use of its medieval 'Gilde Hall'. Wethersfield also contained leather workers and local trades-people in addition to its agricultural tenants. Its population was larger as well as more varied than the manors discussed above, with 165 households in 1670 and an estimated size in 1770 of over 800 people. Ingatestone's economy was shaped by its important market and fair, which capitalised upon the manor's location. Trade flourished but there seems to have been little craft production. The population of Ingatestone was probably about the same size as that of Wethersfield, and the manor shared many of Wethersfield's partially urbanised qualities. Ingatestone's character was also affected by the presence of the Petre family—lord of the manor, often resident, and deeply involved in local affairs throughout Elizabeth's reign.⁹

The courts leet of Wethersfield and Ingatestone had a substantial volume of business. The Wethersfield leet handled about twenty public matters per year, nearly a third of which concerned the cleaning of ditches; Ingatestone's court considered about twenty-five issues annually, a quarter of which involved ditches.¹⁰ More officials were needed to maintain order in these communities: two constables, two ale-tasters in most years, and, in Ingatestone, an occasional woodward or a Chief Pledge chosen as an assistant to the constables. These populous villages still dealt with the traditional agrarian concerns. The courts preserved hedges, required that pigs be ringed, and, in Ingatestone, ordered that no horse or mare 'having the disease of mangie or Versey' be grazed with the others. The courts also oversaw the condition of paths, roads and bridges, essential matters for areas whose economic life depended upon trade. Maintaining Ingatestone's road necessitated some degree of co-operation between the manor court and the Surveyors of Highways, new parish officials created by statute in 1555. In 1559 two men were punished by the leet for refusing to help repair the highway as ordered by the Surveyors, and in 1573 the court itself ordered that the Surveyors rebuild a footbridge.

Wethersfield and Ingatestone both undertook to regulate the quality of goods produced and the prices charged by local trades- and crafts-people, not merely the bakers and brewers who came within the courts' cognizance through the Assize of Bread and Ale. Butchers, millers, tanners (at Wethersfield), and inn-keepers (at Ingatestone) were also reported. Table I shows the average number of people listed annually in these manors.¹¹ Wethersfield also fined a man for exercising the craft of 'hayre weaving' against the statute, and Ingatestone complained that people had been selling merchandise in the porch of the church and in the graveyard, again prohibited by statute.

These manors displayed clear symptoms of a rising population and a greater number of poor

TABLE I. Average number of trades- and crafts-people listed annually by urbanised Essex manorial courts leet during the 16th century*

| | Wethersfield | | Ingatestone | | Walden | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|---------|-------------|---------|---------|--|
| | 1558-1603 | 1511-58 | 1558-1603 | 1509-58 | 1558-90 | |
| Brewers† | 4 | 4 | 4 | 13 | 5 | |
| Bakers† | | | | 9 | | |
| Victuallers† | | | | 19 | | |
| Ale-sellers/alehouse-keepers† | | | | | | |
| Inn-keepers | — | 1 | 2 | — | 10 | |
| Butchers | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 10 | |
| Fishmongers | — | — | — | 3 | 4 | |
| Candlemakers | — | — | — | 2 | — | |
| Millers | 2 | 1 | 1 | — | — | |
| Tanners | 4‡ | — | — | 1§ | — | |

*See note 11.

†The decline in the numbers of brewers and bakers and of food and ale-sellers between the earlier and later parts of the century is probably related to changing patterns in home production of bread and ale. By Elizabeth's reign many middle- and upper-level families were making their own supplies rather than purchasing them.

‡Also one 'Whyte tawyer' in 1559 and in 1598.

§Also one glovemaking between 1519 and 1524.

people. In the early years of Elizabeth's reign, Wethersfield apparently had adequate pasture and land, but by around 1590 the court was banning the grazing of animals on the roads and fining people for enclosing land taken from the side of highways. In Ingatestone at the very beginning of the reign it was ordered that a group of at least twelve important tenants should meet at the parish church to 'order among themselves how many cattle each tenant for his part shall have hereafter on the common'. Despite this decision to 'stint' the common, there were reports throughout the Elizabethan years of overloading or illegal use of the common.

Both manors suffered from lack of wood, a problem particularly acute for the poor. The latter frequently dealt with the situation by stealing wood from the supplies of more prosperous tenants or by breaking down hedges. The leet courts addressed the fuel shortage through such measures as an Ingatestone order in 1569 that no one might rent a dwelling until he had first bought sufficient wood, and a 1575 announcement in Wethersfield that every tenant must henceforth have two cartloads of wood ready each autumn for his own winter's use. The courts also restricted the amount of wood which might be taken from the manorial waste.

There was a housing shortage as well. Wethersfield tenants were fined for permitting sub-tenants to move in to their houses with them or for allowing two co-tenants to share a cottage. In similar vein, the Ingatestone court punished tenants who had young people living with them who were neither relatives nor in formal service. Transients without obvious means of support were treated with special severity. In Wethersfield the tenants were repeatedly prohibited from taking in any inmate or stranger, 'unless he be a good liver', and in 1598 they were barred from leasing out a cottage with less than an acre of land to 'any strange person not being inhabitant within the precincts of this View who is in any way likely in the future to be charged to the inhabitants of this town'. A system of locally assessed poor relief as enacted by statutes during the Elizabethan period thus served to reinforce the hostility felt by settled families toward poor newcomers.

By the second half of the 16th century, poverty had become so widespread in these communities that the standard forms of private charity were unable to deal with the problem. The lords of both Wethersfield and Ingatestone did offer assistance to some of the reputable, native

poor within their manors. In Wethersfield in 1577 the lord granted a message to trustees for the maintenance of indigent inhabitants, a grant renewed in 1601; in Ingatestone Sir William Petre had already established an almshouse for ten deserving persons during Mary's reign.¹² The poor might also receive unexpected help, as in 1574, when an Ingatestone woman committed suicide by drowning. Her goods, worth £5 10s., were thereupon forfeit to the lady of the manor, but Lady Petre requested that the possessions be distributed among the needy of the manor. Despite the worthy motives of the donors, the scale of such charity was too small to constitute an effective means of coping with the extent and new characteristics of local poverty.

Social misbehaviour, which may well have been more common among the poor and new arrivals, was strictly supervised and punished by the older, stable ruling families who controlled the courts leet. Assaults were reported in both manors, and Wethersfield fined a man who walked by night and slept by day as well as two men who kept 'commen Alehouses *vel* Tipling houses' without licence from the J.P.s. At Ingatestone those who abused their neighbours or sowed discord, usually women, were put in 'le kuckyng stole'. The playing of illegal games was reported occasionally in Wethersfield and was obviously seen by the Ingatestone court during Sir William Petre's lifetime as a major threat to good order: each year those who kept gaming houses or who played such games as bowls, dice, certain card games and 'slyde grote' were fined.

In Mr. Newton's discussion of his abstracts, he commented that a good indication of the degree of urbanisation of a manorial community lay in its concern with public health. Larger villages and towns had more severe problems than did purely rural settlements in obtaining supplies of fresh water and in carrying away refuse. Using references to sanitation as a measure, we should conclude that both Wethersfield and Ingatestone contained urban elements, with Ingatestone displaying greater concern than Wethersfield. In 1563 the Ingatestone court ordered a man

to remove 'the dongehyll' which he has put in Stock lane and not to put his dung or the gore of slaughtered animals there so that it is an impediment to carts and vehicles there passing, nor to block up the common gutter, nor to cause evil and stinking odours.

The court also tried to enforce sanitary means of disposing of household wastes. The common gutters had to be kept clear, and people were reported for building privies or 'Jakes' which drained directly into the gutters, blocking them and emitting 'harmful stenches'. The Wethersfield court began to deal with public health matters only in the later 1580s and 1590s, fining butchers who threw the remains of animals into the highways and punishing people who dumped 'filth' and manure into the roads. Both courts also supervised public safety, with orders to fill in 'the Sawe pitt' in the highway at Wethersfield, to rail off 'le gravell pyttes mouthe' at Ingatestone, and to build a chimney in an Ingatestone room in which fires were being lighted, 'to the great danger and alarm of the neighbourhood'.

Although Wethersfield and Ingatestone shared many problems, the Ingatestone court leet showed a curious enthusiasm for reporting and punishing wrongdoers. One suspects that this was due at least in part to the presence of the Petre family, eager both to maintain order in their own neighbourhood and to profit from the fines imposed by the court. Thus, those who broke hedges and/or stole wood at Ingatestone were punished with unusual vigour. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign such offenders were to spend time in the stocks (the punishment used in Wethersfield throughout the period), but as the years progressed, the penalty became more severe, reaching its zenith in 1600 with the order that anyone taking wood should be whipped naked from the 'gyrdlested' upward until he or she bled well. The whipping was to be performed under the direction of the constables, the leet's own officials, but was to take place in the presence of the Overseers of the Poor, elected by the parish. The leet also announced that the Overseers were to forfeit 6s. 8d. to the court for every failure on their part to punish a receiver of stolen wood, an order which the leet technically had no right to make. In dealing with recalcitrants—men who refused to

work for their sustenance or women who were 'seditious quarrellers'—the Ingatestone court decreed that the individuals should be utterly expelled from the manor. Such people presumably held no land within the manor.

The most interesting attempt by the Ingatestone court to extend its authority began in 1574, probably at the instigation of the Petres. In that year the court resumed its long dormant practice of swearing all adult males into tithing groups. This medieval system, originally tied to Ingatestone's right to hold a View of Frankpledge, had by 1500 been allowed to lapse by Barking Abbey, the pre-Dissolution lord of the manor. It was thus a major breach with recent tradition when the court suddenly ordered that all males aged twelve or more who had lived within the manor for a year and a day should appear at the next session to be sworn into tithings. For the next fifteen years Ingatestone had formal tithing groups with Chief Pledges at their heads, one of the few manors in mid-Elizabethan England to do so. The Petres profited economically from this arrangement, since failure to enter a tithing or to attend the annual View of Frankpledge was punishable by a fine, payable to the lord. At first the number of defaulters was low, but by 1588 a total of twenty tithingmen and thirty-eight Chief Pledges preferred to pay 2*d.* each instead of coming to the View. Further, all men in tithings were now being forced to contribute to the 'decinners pence' or common fine owed to the lord. Surely the demise of this experiment in practical antiquarianism resulted from the refusal of the tenants to take part.

The Petres were on occasion prepared to use the Ingatestone court leet to foster their own economic interests even more directly. In 1562 a man was fined the goodly sum of 20*s.* for 'saying and noising abroad divers dishonest, abusive, approbrious and scandalous words' about the Petre's bailiff, who was insulted while trying to collect from the man some money which the tenant owed to the lord. The customary rights of the tenants were limited by the Petres in 1565 when it was ordered in the court that no Ingatestone person might henceforth bring suit against any other native without first notifying the lord, who could then decide the matter himself if he so wished (and, one supposes, collect the requisite fees himself). Financial profit for the Petres probably lay behind the unusual concern of the Ingatestone court for suitable dress. In 1569 three men were fined for wearing apparel beyond their status, a rare revival of a medieval sumptuary law—and who in the manor would have known of that law other than Sir William Petre, a trained lawyer? From 1588 onwards the Ingatestone jurors paid an annual sum of 12*d.* to the Petres, as lords of the manor, for the failure of the tenants to wear woollen caps on Sundays and feast days as dictated by the 1571 Act.¹³

In the manors of Wethersfield and Ingatestone, then, the leet court showed itself to be a flexible institution. The courts were able to modify and expand their traditional roles in order to tackle the new problems which were arising within the larger villages, working with other local officials when necessary.¹⁴ If, however, the lord of the manor was a powerful figure, the courts leet ran the risk of finding themselves harnessed to his concerns, a situation in which the independence of the court could be gravely weakened.

The final manor court studied by Mr. Newton was that of Walden, a manor which contained within its bounds the town of Saffron Walden, a heavily urbanised community by Elizabeth's reign. Saffron Walden served as a focus for trade in the north-west corner of the county, thanks to its location on the road between Cambridge and Chelmsford and just off the Newmarket-London highway. In addition to its active market, which may already have contained specialised rows or streets for the various commodities sold, Walden was a centre for the production of woollen cloth, had a leather industry, and was growing and drying the saffron crocuses from which the town took its name. The population of Walden in the later 16th century was probably three or four times that of Wethersfield or Ingatestone.¹⁵

The leet courts of Walden between 1558 and 1590 bear witness to the diverse nature of the community and indicate a pronounced lack of concern about the precise distinctions separating the authority of the manorial leet from that of the town.¹⁶ The court heard about fifty public matters per year and was staffed by a crew of three constables and a group of Chief Pledges, ranging in

number from four to twelve, elected to help the constables. The job of supervising Walden's trades- and crafts-people was carried out by the town's Clerk of the Market, who made use of the facilities of the manorial leet to register and implement his judgments.¹⁷ The leet records also refer to the Master Treasurer and Bailiff, town officials, who sometimes performed functions on behalf of the leet. The manor court used stocks and a cucking stool to enforce its orders, implements shared by the town. The Elizabethan lords of the manor of Walden, the Howard family, are virtually invisible in the court's records, appearing only a few times as the nominal owners of the community's pinfold.

The traditional concerns of the smaller, rural manors are still to be seen, modified in many cases by Walden's urban character. Proper drainage had to be ensured: although there are a few references to the digging out of ditches, most of the orders concerned the gutters at the side of streets leading through built-up areas. Hedges had to be repaired, but in Walden one also encounters problems with walls and fences between urban lots. Paths, streets and gates had to be kept clear not only of water and grazing animals but also of wastes (both animal and human) and piles of fuel and timber. Cart traffic across the common was banned, except during a fair. Walden had trouble with its pinfold, which was invaded by the owners of impounded animals or used improperly in private quarrels. Pigs roaming the streets were a regular problem. Despite the manor's urban core, the open fields around the town still needed control, with orders made by the court to regulate gleaning and the grazing of animals after harvest. In the area of craftsmen and traders, the leet played an important role even though Walden market had its own Court of Pie Powder. The manorial court received reports from the Clerk of the Market about some thirty brewers, bakers, victuallers, alehouse-keepers and inn-keepers each year, together with nearly fifteen butchers and fish-mongers. Clearly this was a sizeable town with a substantial number of travellers who needed food and accommodation (see Table I).

In the Walden leet records of Elizabeth's reign, there is no evidence of the kind of exaggerated anxiety about the poor and disorder which was so marked in Ingatestone during this period. Certainly there were poor in Walden. At the very beginning of the reign a group of prominent men were asked to choose certain poor people, 'soche as for charite sake shalbe appointed', who were to be exempt from the general rule against grazing cattle in the highways. The establishment of almshouses in Walden in 1400 and 1557 may have provided some assistance to at least the indigenous poor, and the economic and physical expansion of the town during Elizabeth's reign may have enabled Walden to absorb newcomers into legitimate employment and housing.¹⁸ After 1558 there is no suggestion in the leet records of a shortage of common pasture or of woods. Only two people were presented for taking in inmates, and there was but a single order to remove co-tenants from a dwelling.

The court also had a more relaxed attitude toward misbehaviour. It did indeed report and fine those people involved in assaults, as many as seven per year, who had beat each other, usually on the head, with daggers, sticks, staffs, or a stone, a club, teeth, 'the pestell of a mortar', a 'hanger' sword and a candlestick. One finds, however no mention of illegal gaming, hedgebreaking, or walking by night, and only three women were reported as scolds, out of a large and closely packed population. Neither was anyone expelled from the town for misconduct during Elizabeth's reign. The Walden court similarly felt no urgency about enforcing the wearing of the statutory woollen caps, noting this offence just once, though one doubts that the caps were any more popular here than elsewhere.

Walden's matter-of-fact attitude toward the poor during the Elizabethan period constituted a change in mood from the court's reactions a generation or two earlier. As Mr. Newton's abstracts from the 1509-58 years make clear, the Walden court during the first half of the century had shown much the same eagerness in reporting misdeeds and punishing wrongdoers which the Ingatestone court was to display during Elizabeth's reign.¹⁹ (Since Walden was held by the crown as a part of the Duchy of Lancaster estate until 1539, one cannot explain the repressive mood of the pre-1540 Walden court as resulting from the influence of a resident lord.) The reasons for the change in tone

within the Walden court over the course of the century are not obvious. It is possible that the problems characteristic of a growing population within a confined setting, such as a growing number of unemployed or transient poor and a house shortage, seem most alarming when they first appear. Perhaps the community of Saffron Walden, which was already encountering difficulties of this sort during Henry VIII's reign, had by 1558 accumulated enough experience in dealing with them to be able to treat them more casually. Ingatestone was facing such problems for the first time in the second half of the 16th century. Further, Walden may have been able to respond to and absorb the growing population more easily than Ingatestone, both because of its freedom from an exclusively manorial administration and because of the absence of an active supervisory lord.

The Walden court was far from apathetic in dealing with those matters which did seem important to the community. Sanitation, which was a severe problem within the town, was tackled energetically by the court leet. People were told to clean or move their privies, 'Sinckes', gutters, and 'the foul water and corruption that issues from his house', all of which annoyed the neighbours or polluted their wells. Extremely heavy fines were imposed—as much as £5 per offence. The practice of dumping wastes into the common waterways, especially if they drained into 'le Slade', was punished, as was the slaughtering of animals in private houses and yards. The dung produced by hostelry stables was a particular problem. In 1576 the court tried to deal with 'the excrement and filth lying in the common streets within this town' by ordering that anyone who had put wastes into the streets should cart them away within six days. Should they fail to do so, it was pronounced lawful for any other person to carry away the material and put it to his own use, presumably as fertiliser. The activity from which the town took its name also caused difficulties, as witnessed by the repeated orders that no one was to throw away in any public places within twenty perches of the town any saffron flowers, which were discarded after the workers had removed the valuable yellow stigmas. By 1582 the punishment for dumping dung, saffron flowers or other filth within twenty perches of the town had risen to a fine of 2s. or, if the sum were not paid, to a compulsory stay of two days and two nights in the stocks.

The leadership of the Walden leet also took seriously the question of the court's effective functioning. In the earlier Tudor period Walden had had a View of Frankpledge and active tithing groups, but by the middle of Elizabeth's reign no one in Walden seems to have had any interest in preserving the latter institution, and tithings gradually died out. The last effort to maintain the old form occurred in 1566, when fifty males were sworn into tithings and another twenty-six fined for not coming to be sworn. The Clief Pledges or headboroughs, who formed the jury which reported upon public matters at the leets, continued to be chosen throughout the reign. The court imposed strict standards of behaviour and ethics upon the members of the jury, for the successful operation of the leet depended upon the honest and private discussions of the jury, the prime source of local information. Thus, one man was fined for withdrawing from the jury's meeting without consent of the group, and in 1568 an order was made imposing the substantial fine of 40s. upon any member of the jury who disclosed anything said during the jury's discussion of what it should report at the next leet session.

The court leet of Walden had thus adapted to fill the current needs of the community. Older institutions or rights which no longer served a purpose or which could not be enforced, such as swearing men into tithings, were quietly dropped. Other aspects of leet jurisdiction flourished and acquired new facets, but only if they were deemed important to the well-being of the community or of the court itself. A key area of concern in this market town, the regulation of crafts- and trades-people, was handled by a joint effort of town officials and the manorial leet. It is also obvious that the court was selective in its enforcement of Parliamentary statutes, simply ignoring those laws which it did not choose to implement. In the absence of a strong lord, the Walden manorial leet was able to follow its own pragmatic course with impunity.

Mr. Newton's abstracts thus establish that in Elizabethan Essex the institution of the manorial court leet had not fallen into a post-medieval collapse. In smaller, purely agricultural communities, there was often little for the leets to do other than to supervise the manor's hedges,

ditches and roads. Even here, Parliamentary legislation of the middle and later 16th century brought an expanded scope of action to the manor courts. It is, however, in the larger manors, partially or fully urbanised, that one can best observe the vitality and flexibility of the courts leet. The courts demonstrated themselves well able to carry out the new duties assigned to them by law and were resourceful in devising means of dealing with the problems which faced their communities as a consequence of the economic and social changes of the Tudor period.

APPENDIX A

Summary of the Leet Business of the Ingatestone Manor Court, 1511–58

Mr. Newton abstracted the leet business of the Ingatestone court for the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary. (Records are preserved from 1511 through 1558, in E.R.O. D/DP M75–98.) These notes permit us to observe the changes in the manor's leet jurisdiction during the 16th century. In Henry VIII's reign the court still maintained some medieval rights which had died out by the Elizabethan period, but it had not yet acquired the broader sphere of action conveyed by later Tudor statutes. Nor did the Abbess of Barking exercise the degree of supervision/control over the court which the Petres were later to do. Thus, in Henry's reign the manor court heard an occasional report of criminal acts, as when in 1530 a man was fined for having broken and entered a house and stolen a cup worth 12*d*. The court was already using expulsion as its most severe weapon: a common 'pety bryber' was ordered to leave Ingatestone in 1533. The reigns of Edward and Mary witnessed an expansion of leet responsibility. Illegal games were first mentioned around 1550, as were problems with sanitation and 'Sinke gutturs'. The 1550s saw the beginning of references to the overstocking of the common and the earliest orders concerning hedgebreakers. The appearance of a shortage of pasture and wood only in the 1550s and the absence of difficulties with the poor until Elizabeth's reign suggest that the population rise of the 16th century was not felt acutely in Ingatestone during the first half of the century.

APPENDIX B

Summary of the Leet Business of the Walden Manor Court, 1509–58

The abstracts of the Walden courts leet from 1509 to 1558 which Mr. Newton prepared indicate that the attitude of the court shifted significantly over the course of the 16th century, particularly with respect to the poor and to proper behaviour. (The records are found in E.R.O. D/DBY M16–23.) During Henry VIII's reign the Walden court was seriously concerned about hedgebreakers, reporting as many as ten instances per year. In 1545 the court took the severe step of instructing the Chief Pledges to inspect 'all those cottages in which the paupers of this town dwell' to see if they had sufficient wood for the winter; those who were 'unprovided' were to be 'regarded, pronounced, and declared breakers of hedges'. Feelings had risen to such a pitch by 1554 that it was ordered that anyone who broke a hedge for the second time was to be expelled from Walden. The court punished the playing of unlawful games, an offence sometimes associated with being a night-walker. Walden featured during this period several 'tenyse pleys' and a 'bowlygaley', plus countless settings for dice and card games. The court resorted to expulsion for a man who stole fish, for lepers, for people of 'vicious and riotous dispositions' and for scolds and prostitutes. Tithings were still enforced, apparently on a geographical basis: the Chief Pledges, elected as representatives of specific neighbourhoods within the town, reported upon offences within their areas.

The history of the conflict over the onerous job of supervising Walden's craft community may also be traced in Mr. Newton's abstracts. At the beginning of Henry VIII's reign the Walden court leet was following the customary procedure of electing annually two ale-tasters, two weighers of human and horse bread, and two tasters of meat and fish, who then reported on the town's crafts- and trades-people at the leet. In 1514 and 1515, however, the Chief Pledges announced that since the King had just granted to the town of the Walden the office of Clerk of the Market, the manorial court should henceforth be discharged of its duties in regulating local tradesmen. It was decided by the court and Steward that the King's Council (Walden was then a royal manor) should be consulted in this matter. The following year the Chief Pledges submitted a report on trades-people but pointed out that all the earlier manorial offices of inspection were now held by the Clerk of

the Market. In 1517 the jury of Chief Pledges refused to report on tradesmen at all, against the specific instructions of the Steward, whereupon its members were collectively fined £10. A compromise was evidently reached the next year, whereby the leet reaffirmed that the Clerk of the Market, 'by colour of his office', held the other supervisory positions and that the leet would henceforth not elect its own officials. The Clerk, however, functioned by means of submitting to the leet the names of offenders; the court entered the list on its records and was responsible for the collection of fines. This solution remained in effect throughout Elizabeth's reign.

NOTES

1. The article has profited from suggestions made by Victor Gray, Nancy Briggs and Dr. Elaine Clark.
2. K. C. Newton, *The Manor of Writtle* (London, 1970), pp. 86–7. Mr. Newton cited as his reference for this statement the unpublished abstracts which provided the substance of the present study.
3. F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Home, Work and Land* (Chelmsford, 1976), Part 3, especially Ch. 12.
4. A study by D. A. Crowley of late medieval leet jurisdiction in Essex has shown that although the View of Frankpledge, dependent upon a rigorous complement of tithings, had by the 15th century ceased to operate in its original fashion, many manor courts nevertheless continued to perform leet functions through a modified tithing system. This was particularly true in those areas in which the manor coincided with a village unit and in communities which contained a trading element. (*Frankpledge and Leet Jurisdiction in Later-Medieval Essex*, Sheffield Ph.D. thesis, 1971, Chs. 8–12.)
5. Thomas Wright, *The History and Topography of the County of Essex* (2 vols., London, 1831–5), Vol. II, pp. 671–3 and 688–90; A. F. J. Brown, *Essex at Work, 1700–1815* (Chelmsford, 1969), pp. 43 and 65. In 1770 North Fambridge had an estimated population of less than 150, with no shops, bakers or butchers.
6. Manor court records survive for North Fambridge (Hall) between 1571 and 1596, with entries concerning leet business in only five years (Essex Record Office D/DMj M3). Records for the manor of Bacons in Dengie exist for 1559–97, with leet entries in twenty-three years (E.R.O. D/DP M1201). Mr. Newton's abstracts, kept at the E.R.O., are T/Z 161/1–3.
7. *Victoria County History of Essex*, Vol. VI (Oxford, 1973), pp. 174–205 and 317–30.
8. Ruckholt manor court records exist for the years 1567 to 1602, with leet entries in seven years (E.R.O. D/DCw M39); Wanstead records survive for eleven years between 1559 and 1588, with leet entries every year (E.R.O. D/DCw M1 and M3–5). The election of a headborough in Ruckholt suggests that the manor had held the View of Frankpledge in the medieval past: there is no other indication of a View or of tithings. It is interesting that the manor court did not attempt to revive the earlier form of peace-keeping during the Elizabethan period of social unrest. A View and tithings were presumably less useful, perhaps utterly impossible to enforce, at a time when the population was mobile and rapidly changing (cf. pp. 9 and 11 below).
9. Wright, *History and Topography of Essex*, Vol. I, pp. 147–51 and 669–77, and Brown, *Essex at Work*, pp. 2–3, 64, 94 and 98. In 1770 Wethersfield had four shops, one baker and two butchers. Comparison of these figures with the numbers in Table I suggests that the community had not changed substantially in size since the Elizabethan period. In 1821 Wethersfield had a population of about 1550, whereas Ingatestone's was only 750. For information on the Petre family, see F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre* (London, 1961) and A. C. Edwards, *John Petre* (London, 1975).
10. Wethersfield (Hall) manor court rolls cover the years 1558–77 and 1581–1603; Ingatestone (Hall) rolls are complete for Elizabeth's reign, with leet material in almost every year for both courts (E.R.O. D/DFy M18–21 and D/DP M99–101).
11. When trades- and crafts-people were reported at 16th-century manorial leets, they were charged with have committed some non-specific offence ('breaking the Assize', 'selling at excess price') and fined a few pence. The lists of names provided by leet records, which include the same people year after year, are believed to constitute in effect a registry of all local trades-people within the stated crafts. The numbers can therefore be used as a rough indication of relative population size.
12. Wethersfield information from the court rolls; Ingatestone material from Wright, *History and Topography of Essex*, Vol. I, p. 151.
13. Cf. Emmison, *E. L.: Home, Work and Land*, p. 239, for Sir William Petre's opposition to games, and p. 274 for dress.

14. For a summary of the leet business of the Ingatestone court for the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, see Appendix A.
15. Wright, *History and Topography of Essex*, Vol. II, pp. 105–26, Brown, *Essex at Work*, pp. 2–5 and 98, and C. B. Rowntree, *Saffron Walden Then and Now* (Chelmsford, 1951), *passim*. Occupational information was also derived from the court rolls, as in the references to a man called ‘Peter the Surgeon’ active in Walden during Elizabeth’s reign. By the early 1800s Saffron Walden contained over 4500 inhabitants.
16. Mr. Newton abstracted the Walden manor court rolls from 1–32 Elizabeth (E.R.O. D/DBy M24–25).
17. Appendix B includes a discussion of this topic and its history.
18. Rowntree, *Saffron Walden Then and Now*, pp. 55–61.
19. See Appendix B for a summary of Walden leet business from 1509 to 1558.

The Society acknowledges with thanks a grant from the local History Centre, University of Essex, towards the publication of this paper.

Essex Markets Before 1350

by R. H. BRITNELL

In the history of medieval local trade and urban development a lot hinges on evidence for the founding of new weekly markets. The relevant documentation is imperfect, despite the requirement from at least the late 12th century that new English markets should be authorised by the Crown. The listing of known markets and market charters is nevertheless a first step to useful analysis, and can serve as the foundation for both local and more general enquiries into the history of rural and urban economy. Essex, like Suffolk and Norfolk, was particularly well favoured with markets in the Middle Ages. The following lists include all those I have found from before 1350. List A includes markets known to have existed before 1200 together with those occurring in the period 1200–1349 for which there is no evidence of a royal licence.¹ Most markets in this latter category were held by prescription—held, that is, by ancient custom rather than by charter. Markets in List A are, for the most part, the oldest markets in the county. In List B are those markets licensed between 1200 and 1349 which may be supposed to be new foundations from that period, since no reference to them has been found earlier than their earliest recorded market charters. The division between List A and List B cannot represent an absolutely reliable distinction between older and newer markets, but it is the best that can be done until new evidence is brought to bear on particular cases. The lists are not exhaustive, being based chiefly on printed sources. Only the earliest known date for each market is given except in special circumstances, and the owner is specified as at the time of the reference given.

LIST A

| Market | Earliest mention | Reference | Owner |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Barking | 1219 | <i>Fines</i> , I, 55 | Abbess and nuns of Barking ² |
| Braintree | 1200 ³ | <i>RCh</i> , 51 | Bishop of London |
| Castle Hedingham | 1254 | <i>Fines</i> , I, 205 | Hugh de Vere, Earl of Oxford |
| Chelmsford | 1199 ⁴ | <i>RCh</i> , 17b | Bishop of London and St. Paul's Church |
| Chipping Ongar | 1287 | <i>CAD</i> , V (No. 11885), 211 | — |
| | 1294 | <i>CIPM</i> , III (No. 184), 109 | John de Rivers |
| Colchester | 1086 ⁵ | <i>DB</i> , II, 104–7b | King |
| Great Bardfield | 1224 | <i>CRR</i> , XI (No. 2805), 564 | Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester |
| Hadstock | 1129 ⁶ | <i>RRAN</i> , II (No. 1576), 224 | Bishop and Church of Ely |
| Harlow | 1213–29 | Harlow, 251 | Abbot and monks of Bury St. Edmunds |
| Hatfield Broad Oak | 1218 | <i>RLC</i> , I, 381b | King |
| High Roding | 1231 | <i>CR</i> , 1227–31, 506 | William, Earl of Warenne |
| Hordon-on-the-Hill | 1337 | <i>CIM</i> , II (No. 1557), 381 | Maud de Haudlo ⁷ |
| Maldon | 1086 ⁸ | <i>DB</i> , II, 5b, 6 | King |

| Market | Earliest mention | Reference | Owner |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Newport | 1141 ⁹ | <i>RRAN</i> , III (No. 274), 99 | Empress Matilda |
| Pleshey | before 1274 | Harley MS. 662, f.118r | ? |
| Rayleigh | 1181 | <i>PR</i> , 27 <i>Henry II</i> , 108 | King |
| Saffron Walden | 1141 ¹⁰ | <i>RRAN</i> , III (No. 274), 99 | Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex |
| St. Osyth | 1189-90 | <i>CA</i> (No. 172), 86 | Abbot and canons of St. Osyth |
| Southminster | 1218 | <i>RCh</i> , 381 | Bishop of London |
| Stratford (Langthorne) | 1225 | <i>CR</i> , 1254-6, 175 | ? |
| Thaxted | 1296 | <i>CIPM</i> , III (No. 371), 237 | Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester |
| Waltham Holy Cross | 1189 | <i>MA</i> , VI, 65 | Abbot and canons of Waltham Holy Cross |
| Witham, Chipping Hill | 1147-54 | <i>RRAN</i> , III (No. 848), 312 | Master and knights of the Temple |
| Writtle | 1204 | <i>PR</i> , 6 <i>John</i> , 7 | King |

LIST B

| Market | Date of grant | Reference | Owner |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Ashdon | 1315 | <i>CChR</i> , III, 283 | Bartholomew de Badlesmere |
| Aveley | 1248 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 328 | Stephen de Langton |
| Billericay ¹¹ | 1253 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 433 | Abbot and monks of Stratford |
| Boreham | 1281 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 249 | Bishop of Bath and Wells |
| Bowers Gifford | 1292 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 427 | Robert Giffard |
| Bradfield | 1320 | <i>CChR</i> , III, 417 | John de Brokesburn |
| Bradwell-juxta-Mare | 1283 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 265 | John de la Mare |
| Brentwood | 1227 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 43 <i>RLC</i> , II, 188 | Abbot and canons of St. Osyth |
| Burnham-on-Crouch | 1253 | <i>CPR</i> , 1247-58, 246 | Walter Fitz Robert |
| Coggeshall | 1256 | <i>CChR</i> , III, 480 | Abbot and monks of Coggeshall |
| Corringham | 1317 | <i>CChR</i> , III, 331 | William le Baud |
| Danbury | 1280 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 230 | William de St. Clair |
| Earls Colne | 1250 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 347 | Hugh de Vere, Earl of Oxford |
| Elmstead | 1253 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 429 | Richard de Tany |
| Epping | 1253 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 427 | Abbot and canons of Waltham Holy Cross |
| Felstead | 1292 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 421 | Abbess and nuns of Caen |
| Fobbing | 1227 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 52 <i>RLC</i> , II, 194 | Thomas de Camville |
| Goldhanger | 1348 | <i>CChR</i> , V, 87 | John Heveningham |
| Good Easter | 1309 | <i>CChR</i> , III, 129 | William de Melton |
| Grays Thurrock | 1221 | <i>RLC</i> , I, 458 | Richard de Gray |
| Great Baddow | 1306 | <i>CCR</i> , 1302-7, 421 | King |
| Great Dunmow | c. 1224 | <i>CRR</i> , XI (No. 2805), 564 | Richard Fitz Simon |
| Great Oakley | 1253 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 419 | Richard de Montfichet |
| Great Wakering | 1200 | <i>RCh</i> , 54 | Hugh de Neville |
| Hadleigh | 1231 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 128 | Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent |
| Halstead | 1250 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 349 | Abel de St. Martin |

| Market | Earliest mention | Reference | Owner |
|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Harwich ¹² | 1222 | <i>RLC</i> , I, 523 | Hugh le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk |
| Hersted (in Steeple Bumpstead) | 1253 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 422 | Drew de Barrington |
| Ingatstone | 1289 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 340 | Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England |
| Kelvedon | 1312 | <i>CChR</i> , III, 191, 192 | John Filiol |
| Manningtree ¹³ | 1238 | <i>CR</i> , 1237-42, 110 | Hubert de Roilly |
| Prittlewell | 1238 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 236 <i>CR</i> , 1237-42, 110 | Hugh de Vere, Earl of Oxford |
| Rainham | 1270 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 148, 149 | Robert Walerand |
| Ramsden | 1221 | <i>RLC</i> , I, 459b | Nicholas de Barrington |
| Ridgewell | 1318 | <i>CChR</i> , III, 408 | Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke |
| Rochford | 1257 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 473 <i>PQW</i> , 238b | Guy de Rochford |
| Romford | 1247 | <i>CR</i> , 1242-7, 536 | King ¹⁴ |
| Roydon | 1257 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 474 | Walter Fitz Robert |
| Shopland | c. 1257 | <i>Fines</i> , I, 227 | Robert Tybbetoth |
| Stebbing | 1338 | <i>CChR</i> , IV, 443 | Henry de Ferrers |
| Stevington (in Bartlow End) | 1272 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 182 | Richard son of Thomas de Snetterton |
| Stock ¹⁵ | 1239 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 244 | Prioress of Ickleton |
| Takeley | 1253 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 427 | Abbot and canons of Waltham Holy Cross |
| Terling | 1331 | <i>CChR</i> , IV, 233 | Bishop of Norwich |
| Theydon Garnon | 1305 | <i>CChR</i> , III, 62 | Hugh Garnon |
| Theydon Mount | 1225 | <i>RLC</i> , II, 62b | Paulinus de Theydon |
| Wendens Ambo | 1262 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 43 | Maurice de Berkeley |
| West Ham | 1253 | <i>RCh</i> , I, 433 | Richard de Montfichet |
| West Thurrock | 1207 | <i>RLC</i> , I, 91b | John de Bassingbourn |
| West Tilbury | 1257 | <i>CChR</i> , I, 468 | Richard de Tilbury |
| White Roding | 1269 | <i>CChR</i> , II, 115 | Isabel, daughter of William de Bynanes |
| Witham, Newland | 1212 | <i>RCh</i> , 188 | Master and knights of the Temple |
| Wix | 1204 | <i>RCh</i> , 126b | Abbess and nuns of Wix |
| Woodham Ferrers | 1234 | <i>CR</i> , 1231-4, 522-3 | William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby |

It may be observed that of the total of seventy-eight markets listed here, only twenty-four (fewer than a third) seem likely to have been founded earlier than 1200. Three of these (Chelmsford, Hadstock, Saffron Walden) are known from 12th-century grants of markets, but no generalisation about the chronology of market founding in this period may be built on so weak a foundation. For the period 1200-1349 the evidence is more homogeneous and chronological analysis is possible. Table I shows how many markets are known to have been authorised in successive periods of twenty-five years between 1200-24 and 1325-49. In Essex the most dynamic phase of development was the ten years between 1247 and 1256 when at least seventeen new markets were licensed, among them Romford, Aveley, Halstead, Burnham-on-Crouch, West Ham, Epping, Great Burghstead and Coggeshall, all of which were to have a permanent status as Essex market towns.

TABLE I: Markets licensed in Essex, 1200-1349

| Years | Number |
|---------|--------|
| 1200-24 | 8 |
| 1225-49 | 10 |
| 1250-74 | 19 |
| 1275-99 | 6 |
| 1300-24 | 8 |
| 1325-49 | 3 |

The foundation of a market at Great Burghstead marks the origins of Billericay, whose name is on record only from 1291.¹⁶ For Epping there is contemporary evidence that the market was a new construction on Epping Heath away from the old manorial centre.¹⁷ In the case of Halstead the lord's title to a market was challenged in the King's court four years after the grant of a charter, which implies that a new market had been raised in the interim.¹⁸ There is similar contemporary evidence for the raising of a market at Shopland.¹⁹ So it is plausible to take the evidence of the lists at its face value as an indication of exceptional opportunities between 1247 and 1256 for founding new markets. This was in an important sense the end of an era, since none of the Essex markets founded after 1256 became sufficiently well established to survive through the later Middle Ages.

Table II relates the markets of Lists A and B to some features of geographical location. Although the concept of a main road is a difficult one to handle in medieval history, it is reasonable

TABLE II: The location of Essex markets before 1350

| | By main roads | By the coast | Elsewhere |
|-----------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| List A | 8 [9] ^a | 3 ^b | 13 [12] |
| List B | | | |
| 1200-74 | 8 [11] ^c | 13 ^d | 16 [13] |
| 1275-1349 | 4 ^e | 4 ^f | 9 |

^a Castle Hedingham, Chelmsford, Colchester, Harlow, Newport, Saffron Walden, Stratford, Witham (Chipping Hill), [Braintree].

^b Barking, Maldon, St. Osyth.

^c Brentwood, Earls Colne, Epping, Halstead, Romford, Wendens Ambo, West Ham, Witham (Newland), [Coggeshall, Great Dunmow, Takeley].

^d Aveley, Burnham-on-Crouch, Fobbing, Grays Thurrock, Great Wakering, Hadleigh, Harwich, Manningtree, Prittlewell, Rainham, Rochford, West Thurrock, West Tilbury.

^e Boreham, Ingatestone, Kelvedon, Ridgewell.

^f Bowers Gifford, Bradwell, Corringham, Goldhanger.

to suppose that roads joining the principal towns of the region were main ones. The figures in Table II relate to markets on or close to the roads from London to Colchester and from London to Cambridge, together with those on the road along the Colne Valley linking Colchester to Cambridge. The evidence of Lists A and B very forcibly suggests that Stane Street, leading westwards from Colchester to Bishop's Stortford, was another main road, so Table II shows, in square brackets, the figures resulting when this road is also included. The coast was a means of cheap communication for local and long-distance trade, and so the second column of the table indicates those markets with direct access to the sea. The distribution of markets in List A is shown separately from that of markets in List B, and the latter are divided between those founded before 1275 and those founded after. Figures relating to Lists A and B are not strictly comparable, since the former markets were almost all, to judge from the nature of the evidence for their existence,

markets which became well established, whereas List B must include some of a very ephemeral character. However, some conclusions may be drawn.

In the first place, it is noteworthy how few markets from List A were situated on the coast. Besides the Borough of Maldon and the markets at Barking and St. Osyth one should consider Colchester in this context, since the borough had access to the sea from the Colne estuary. Even so, this is a thin showing by comparison with the 13th century, and implies that a comparatively rapid growth of coastal trade through minor centres was a feature of commercial development in 13th-century Essex.

Secondly, there is a marked difference between Lists A and B in the extent to which markets away from main lines of communication were capable of survival. Table III shows how many markets in the various categories of Table II still operated in the 16th and 17th centuries. For this later period the markets in existence have been listed by Professor Everitt.²⁰ From this table it appears that roadside site offered the best prospect for longevity. Well over half the markets known

TABLE III: Numbers of markets in the various categories of Table II which survived until the period 1500-1640

| | By main roads | By the coast | Elsewhere |
|-----------|---------------|--------------|-----------|
| List A | 6 [7] | 2 | 7 [6] |
| List B | | | |
| 1200-74 | 5 [7] | 4 | 3 [1] |
| 1275-1349 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

to have been founded on main roads in Essex before 1275 survived to the Early Modern period, whereas only a third of coastal markets and fewer than a third of markets founded away from main lines of communication did so. But in this respect there are significant differences between markets in Lists A and B, since the former stood a higher chance of surviving wherever they were situated. The discrepancy is particularly marked in the case of markets founded away from major lines of communication. The only market in this category from List B which survived into the Early Modern period was Billericay, but a number of such markets in List A did so—Chipping Ongar, Hatfield Broad Oak, Horndon-on-the-Hill, Rayleigh, Thaxted, Waltham Holy Cross. The significance of this is that early developments in rural marketing were often associated with important manors rather than with pre-existing patterns of communication by land or water.²¹ Such early markets were evidently, in a number of cases, able to preserve their local standing, in spite of their distance from main roads, by virtue of their established role in local patterns of trade: large and well-frequented markets inevitably had some advantages over newer ones. It was very difficult for later landlords to achieve such a local prominence for new markets away from main roads and waterways at a time when they could hardly hope to establish regional monopolies of marketing facilities. Indeed, sometimes even well-established markets came under competition from newer ones on roadside sites. The King's market at Writtle was eclipsed by the Bishop of London's new foundation at Chelmsford, and the Templars allowed their market at Chipping Hill to be overtaken by a new one on the main road at Newland.²²

In the third place, it appears from Table II that the proportion of Essex markets on main lines of communication decreased during the course of the period 1200-1349. Between 1200 and 1274 such markets constituted 57 per cent of all the new markets listed (or 65 per cent if those on Stane Street are included). Between 1275 and 1349, however, the proportion of such markets was only 47 per cent. The implication of this is that the prime sites for founding new markets became scarcer as the roads and coastline were colonised with new markets and their associated new settlements. This decline in profit opportunities partly explains the decline in the number of markets founded in the second half of the period.

From this evidence it appears that good communications became increasingly important as a precondition for prosperous new markets as the number of markets in the county increased in the centuries before the mid-13th. Between 1200 and the 1250s, and perhaps even earlier, good communications were normally necessary for a market to achieve any permanency, a good roadside site being more likely to be favourable than a coastal one. This does not mean that these markets were chiefly dependent upon long-distance trading, which is unlikely to be the case. Even over short distances trade benefited from roads or water communications of above-average quality. But, of course, a market on a main road was likely to derive some benefit from visits by travelling merchants. A few Essex markets may have developed specialisations as a consequence of contact with London and other distant markets, though of this our knowledge is lamentably poor. One can be confident that good communications were the single most important factor in determining which of the many new Essex markets founded between 1200 and 1349 were going to have an impact on the local economy. After the 1250s, however, the large number of markets already in existence, and the slower rate of growth of the rural economy, meant that even roadside and coastal sites held little promise.²³ The markets founded in the later 13th and early 14th centuries made little mark in the documentation of either their own or of subsequent ages.

ADDENDUM

A recent study of Essex markets and fairs speaks of a mention of Coggeshall market about 1225 – W. Walker, *Essex Markets and Fairs* (Essex Record Office Publications No. 83), Chelmsford, 1981, p. 7. Mrs. Walker has kindly written to tell me that, on closer examination, the charter in question (Essex Record Office, D/DU 564/1) should be dated about fifty years later.

NOTES

1. The year 1200 is chosen as a starting point for chronological analysis because the surviving enrolments of royal charters begin in 1199–1200, the first year of King John.
2. *V.C.H., Essex*, v, 217. The earliest reference cited here is not conclusive evidence for a market at Barking.
3. A market is implied in this evidence for the development of a borough at Braintree.
4. A market was granted by this charter.
5. Recorded as a borough in *Domesday Book*.
6. A market was granted by this charter.
7. Maud owned only half the market.
8. Recorded as a borough in *Domesday Book*.
9. The market was to be closed down from this time.
10. A market was granted by this charter.
11. 'at their manor of Great Burghsted'.
12. 'in Durecurt'.
13. 'at Sheningho'.
14. *V.C.H., Essex*, vii, 76.
15. 'at her manor of Herewardestoc'.
16. Reaney, 1935, 146.
17. *CR, 1251–3*, p. 472; *V.C.H., Essex*, v, 114, 116.
18. *Fines*, I, 205.
19. *Ibid.*, I, 227.
20. Everitt, 1967, 474.
21. Britnell, 1978, 183–90.
22. Newton, 1970, 16–18; Britnell, 1968, 14–15; Beresford, 1967, 436–7.
23. Britnell, 1981, 219–20.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CA *The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 1–10*, ed. L. Landon, Pipe Roll Soc., lv, Lincoln, 1939.
 CAD *Calendar of Ancient Deeds*, 6 vols., H.M.S.O., London, 1890–1915.

- CCR* *Calendar of Close Rolls*, H.M.S.O., London, 1892 onwards.
CChR *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 6 vols., H.M.S.O., London, 1903–27.
CIM *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, H.M.S.O., London, 1916 onwards.
CIPM *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, H.M.S.O., London, 1904 onwards.
Cornwall *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, 1296–7*, ed. M. Midgeley, 2 vols., Camden, 3rd ser., lxvi, lxxviii, London, 1942, 1945.
CPR *Calendars of Patent Rolls*, 52 vols., H.M.S.O., London, 1891–1916.
CR *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 14 vols., H.M.S.O., London, 1902–38.
CRR *Curia Regis Rolls*, H.M.S.O., London, 1922 onwards.
DB *Domesday Book*, ed. A. Farley, 2 vols., London, 1783.
Fines *Feet of Fines for Essex*, ed. R. E. G. Kirk and others, 4 vols., Essex Archaeol. Soc., Colchester, 1899–1964.
Harlow J. L. Fisher, 'The Harlow Cartulary', *Trans. of Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, new ser., xxii, 1940, 239–71.
MA *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8, London, 1817–30.
PQW *Placita de Quo Warranto*, W. Illingworth, Rec. Comm., London, 1818.
PR *The Great Roll of the Pipe*, various regnal years, Pipe Roll Soc., 1884 onwards.
RCh *Rotuli Chartarum*, ed. T. D. Hardy, Rec. Comm., London, 1837.
RLC *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 2 vols., Rec. Comm., London, 1833–4.
RRAN *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. W. C. Davis and others, 4 vols., Oxford, 1913–69.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beresford, M., *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1967).
 Britnell, R. H., 'The Making of Witham', *History Studies*, i (1968).
 Britnell, R. H., 'English Markets and Royal Administration before 1200', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., xxxi (1978).
 Britnell, R. H., 'The Proliferation of Markets in England before 1349', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., xxxiv (1981).
 Everitt, A., 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', in J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iv (1967).
 Newton, K. C., *The Manor of Writtle* (1970).
 Reaney, P. H., *The Place-names of Essex* (Place-name Soc., xii, 1935).
Victoria County history, Essex, v (1966), vii (1978).
The Society acknowledges with thanks a donation from the author towards the publication of this paper.

Vertical Friendship: An 18th-century Case Study

by J. D. WILLIAMS

The published researches of the last forty years have brought us nearer to an understanding of the English landowner 'in the round'. The landowner has long been associated with estate administration, agricultural improvements, country house rebuilding, industrial and transport developments, as well as with the governance of the country at more than one level. Attention has also been devoted to a consideration of those factors responsible for the rise of landed families, and the list includes inheritances, marriages, strict family settlements as well as luck. This paper is concerned with an Essex landowner's attempts to raise his own status and accordingly the status of the family of which he was the head. It will also be concerned with the methods deployed, and accordingly with the part played by patronage as one of the several factors identified in the rise of landed families. Indeed, it has been suggested that after property, and emanating from it, the most important factor in determining status during this period was patronage. Although a good deal is known about government patronage, it has also been shown that it was no isolated phenomenon, 'but the visible top-growth of a plant whose roots and branches ramified throughout society, the political aspect of a personal system of recruitment which operated at every level and served to articulate the rigidities of a structure based on property'.¹ Even though the government patronage controlled the more lucrative, it was private patronage that controlled the more numerous appointments, and in practice 'public and private patronage were dovetailed at many points'. Alongside his property a man's position in society was measured by the number of friends he could oblige, and in this context 'friends' has been defined as 'all those who expected or, reciprocally, from whom one could expect the benefits of patronage'. It has also been emphasised that patronage brings us very close to the 'inner structure of the old society', concerned as it was with 'vertical friendship' between patrons and clients and which permeated society as a whole. During this period patronage has been defined as 'the middle term between feudal homage and capitalist cash nexus', the essential social bonds being the chains of informal vertical loyalty converging at the top in the struggle for power of the great landowners.

One such landowner was Sir John Griffin Griffin. His work in restoring Audley End House and developing the estate is already known as is the manner of his entry into landed society.² It is not only that his immediate background did not suggest that he would one day enter the ranks of the ruling group, but even after succeeding to the trappings of landed society there was need to improve the quality of that inheritance, and to promote and raise his status and subsequently the status of the family. He was to be as concerned with regaining the lost dignities and titles of his forebears as with the restoration of the house and improvement of the estate that formed part of his depleted inheritance. To this can be added his determination to make his own mark in promoting his chosen career. There is a unity of purpose between self-advancement and family restoration. He aimed to make himself representative of the group to which he belonged, and also representative of the forebears from whom he was descended.

At Audley End there are two portraits of Sir John. One hangs in the saloon and the other in the

south library. The latter, by West,³ is of him seated in his tent in general's uniform, and originally hung in the Adam library on the ground floor. The other, by Rebecca,⁴ is of him in the robes of the Order of the Bath, and was originally placed in the position it still occupies today. That he chose to be portrayed on both occasions in costumes associated with his army career, is, perhaps, an indication that he saw himself as a soldier above all else, and that it was as a soldier that he wished to be remembered. It was to commemorate his country's victory in the Seven Years War, and no doubt his own part in it, that he erected the Grecian Temple designed by Adam. This temple stands on a hill to the west of the house and can be seen from some of the principal apartments. Horace Walpole⁵ described him as an 'officer of some distinction' and Morant,⁶ perhaps reflecting on the manner in which country society saw him, tells that he 'distinguished himself greatly in the late wars in Germany'. That he should have addressed himself seriously to the pursuit of his army career is not therefore surprising.

Griffin began his career as a twenty-year-old Ensign in 1739: by 1796, at the age of seventy-seven, he had attained the rank of Field-Marshal. During these fifty-seven years he saw active service in the Austrian and Seven Years War and for his part in the latter, and after being wounded, he was made a Knight of the Bath. He was, at different times, colonel of four regiments, and he continued to show a keen interest in military affairs throughout his life. His army and regimental promotions have all been carefully preserved. It is not possible to give precise reasons for the choice of the army as a career, but it is possible that the economic standing of his family might have been an influential factor, as one brother entered the navy and another the world of commerce. It is also possible that his choice was in some measure governed by a desire to follow in the footsteps of his maternal great-grandfather. Further, it was widely recognised that service in the army was one way of learning life and seeing a little of the world: a completion of one's education and at the same time a preparation for the tasks that might lie ahead. In any event, in the light of his subsequent career, the choice might well have been a deliberate one.

The command of a company of Foot Guards or their equivalent in the Household Cavalry was perhaps the most coveted of appointments among junior officers. Griffin went some way towards achieving this when in 1744 he was appointed Lieutenant of the Third Regiment of Foot Guards, and three years later Captain, also taking the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of the Foot. His experience would seem to confirm the view that a young man with connections might look forward to being lieutenant before he was thirty. Professional advancement was made easier for those with money and commissions were bought and sold like shares on the exchange,⁷ and the purchase system enabled men of good family to gain rapid promotion in the junior ranks to the detriment of more experienced men with emptier purses and without interest. For Griffin, promotion continued to come his way. In 1756 he was made aide-de-camp to the King, and in 1758 he was made Major of the Third Regiment of the Foot Guards and he was to be their Captain. By 1761 he was Lieutenant-General but had to wait until 1778 before he was appointed General. Finally, in July 1796, he attained the top rung of the army ladder when he became Field-Marshal. This final promotion came some eighteen years after his previous advancement and some thirty-five years since last seeing active service.

Fully appraised of the need to promote his own interests according to methods of the day, Griffin was to angle, and somewhat persistently, for the award of Knight of the Bath, usually reserved for those who had served the State in a number of fields, including the armed services.⁸ In a letter of 26 November 1758,⁹ he solicited the Duke of Newcastle's help in securing 'His Majesty's Royal Approbation of my Services'. It transpired that Newcastle had already told him of the King's approval of his conduct at St. Cast. If Newcastle would be kind 'to take Me under your Protection, and to recommend me for the Favour I sollicit; It would be done without Hesitation from his Majesty'. In a letter of 17 June, his tone had become more urgent.¹⁰

Nothing but my Ambition of having a publick Testimony of his Majesty's Approbation of my Conduct last Year . . . should ever make me so sollicitous and troublesome: It is not my Lord from any Doubt I have of

obtaining the Honour that You have been so kind to intend, and undertake for me: nor do I presume to ask why, for undoubtedly your Grace has very good Reasons for Having thus postpon'd It: but I own if it goes on any further, when It does come, It will carry more the appearance of an Ornament of Vanity, than any Thing Else, whereas if it is done just now, when his Majesty has been pleased to distinguish Others for their Services, It will be seen and known why the King has thus honour'd me. I must therefore request your Grace that you do me the Honour to propose It to the King the first time that you go into his Majesty . . .

When Newcastle was not forthcoming, undaunted, but unsuccessfully, he tried the Elder Pitt. He continued to contend that should the mark of distinction be made at another time, 'it would never have, this Effect, nor should I indeed feel any Satisfaction in it'.¹¹

In his letters to both men in 1760, his fulsome phrasing, characteristic of the period, fails to check a desire which was approaching the point of desperation. In February¹² he reminded Newcastle of what had already passed between them when the Duke had shown himself to be 'kinder and more gracious to me than anybody' and had been pleased to 'tell me of Expressions which his Majesty made use of to You on my Acc't: that I should blush to repeat'. In March¹³ he further reminded the Duke that 'ye Red Ribbon has already been twice in my family'. By November¹⁴ he was writing to Pitt and among other points emphasised that statesman's readiness to protect any officer who 'exerts his utmost Endeavour in ye Discharge of his Duty (among which Number I shall not I hope be thought vain to rank Myself)'. His wound at that time did not permit him even to attempt a personal confrontation for 'it has been my good Fortune this Campaign to have been engag'd in three different Affairs (more than fell to ye Share of any other General Officer in the whole Army) and to have I confess more publick and private Thanks for Each from their S. H. Prince Ferdinand and the Hereditary Prince (under whose Orders I was in All of Them) than I shall ever think I deserve: add to This, tho' I claim no Merit from That, that I was wounded in the Two last of Them'. A similar letter was sent to Newcastle.¹⁵

However, it was through Bute that Griffin finally met with success and in 'the days when George III refused Bute nothing'.¹⁶ On 23 March 1761, his ambition to wear the Red Ribbon was realised and he would have been doubly gratified in gaining an honour that had also been enjoyed by two of his forebears.¹⁷ In answer to his request that he might with propriety wait on the King on crutches to receive the Order, Bute affirmed that an officer of his 'Character and in his situation can never offend his Majesty, by carrying the honourable marks of service into the Royal Presence'.¹⁸ On Tuesday, 26 May, Griffin was duly installed in the Henry VIII Chapel at Windsor. His success enabled him to attend George III's coronation on 22 September in the full habit of the Order of the Bath at the Court of Requests at Westminster, and his impressions of this event are recorded in a memorandum he took on the request of some of the oldest members of the Knights of the Bath.¹⁹

This episode demonstrates the importance that Griffin attached to securing recognition for services rendered to his country in war. It also reveals his unflagging determination, or blatant persistence, to achieve his ambition. Fully conversant with the methods of realising his aspirations, by continually importuning the King's ministers, it serves to confirm the view that any addition to personal title counted for much. In his several applications Griffin had been at great pains to show that it was a 'publick mark of his Majesty's approbation' that he was so desirous of achieving. That is, to proclaim to his friends and to the world at large, that in his chosen profession, which he clearly took seriously, he had met not only with success but that it had also been deserved.

For senior officers the plum appointments were colonelcies of regiments and governorships of forts. Although strictly speaking these were military appointments, political considerations, especially in the case of army officers who were also members of Parliament, entered into them. It is generally agreed that an interest in obtaining a colonelcy or a governorship usually indicated that the applicant looked upon the army as his first profession. Altogether, and at different times, he was colonel of four regiments. Between 1759 to 1760 of the Fiftieth Foot; from 1760 to 1766 the Thirty-Third Foot; the First Troop horse Grenadier Guards between 1766 to 1788; and, finally,

the Fourth Dragoons from 1788 to 1797.²⁰ To obtain a colonelcy, 'both powerful and persistent political influence was indispensable in such matters'.²¹ Having gained a regiment, the colonel almost looked upon it as his private property, and some of the regiments were in fact known by the name of their colonels, and not by their official numbers. Some regiments were more desirable than others, but all were looked upon by their colonels as a source of income.

It was during his colonelcy of the Thirty-Third Foot, and after he had been invalided out of active service, and after he had been made Knight of the Bath, that Griffin gave serious attention to promoting this aspect of his career. In September 1765²² he corresponded with Rockingham, at that time the First Lord of the Treasury, over an English regiment of Dragoons. It transpired that the regiment in question had been 'fixed' by the King a few days earlier. Rockingham wondered whether Griffin would instead take an Irish regiment, 'upon conditions of it being understood, that you shall have the first Regiment of dragoons in the English Establishment, which may become vacant'. Anticipating such an offer, Griffin, in the meantime, had written to Mr. Secretary Conway.²³ Conscious of the obligations he owed to such ministers who 'think of me in any Military Arrangements', he added, 'I hope they wont believe me less sincere in my senses of their attention if I beg leave to decline'. He assured Conway that he would not complain if an older officer had succeeded to the English regiment recently filled, but 'there is that justice Due to a Mans self, that he cant forbear feeling when things of this kind happen, and which he is not conscious of having deserv'd'.

In his reply, Conway²⁴ indicated that there was an agreement among the colleagues he had spoken to that Griffin should have an English regiment if one could be kept clear, and that in the meantime he hoped that he would consider the other. Writing two days later he reaffirmed that the Irish regiment had not been settled and that there was still time for Griffin to change his mind and accept.²⁵ Yet another letter informed that the King's decision on the English regiment was absolute and that he still hoped that Griffin would reconsider the Irish one.²⁶ He intimated that he would be happy if 'You show'd so much friendship as not to let the world say you were among the refutors and for our sakes among the dissatisfied'.

In his own reply²⁷ to Rockingham, Griffin acknowledged the efforts made on his behalf, and assured his Lordship that 'if I could with decent Justice to myself, do as your Lordship wishes I should'. To Conway²⁸ he indicated his appreciation and his own high regard for him. So much so, that he could 'speak to You now as a soldier and a Man of tender feelings'. But despite such sentiments, he still held that in honour and justice to himself he could not comply with their respective wishes, and it was not possible for him to reconcile himself to accepting the Irish Dragoons. He impressed upon Conway that his decision did not stem from either stubbornness or ungratefulness, but he had previously suffered a setback when he had succeeded to the Fiftieth Foot.²⁹ He was at pains to assure both Rockingham and Conway that it was not his intention of distressing them, and if he could hit upon a way of saving appearances, and with credit to himself, until a regiment of English Dragoons became vacant, he would do so. In the meantime, His Majesty's ministers would have an opportunity of 'obliging some other Friend and not at my Expense'.

The keen disappointment felt soon gave way to satisfaction when he became colonel of the First Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards on 21 March 1766.³⁰ Fittingly, perhaps, it was Rockingham who intimated his Majesty's intention of giving him this regiment. Griffin remained with this regiment until 1788, when measures for reducing the two troops of Horse Grenadier Guards were agreed, and as a result he received command of the Fourth Dragoons, holding both commands until the reduction took place. At Griffin's particular request the King gave his new regiment the additional title of the 'Queen's Own'. In communicating His Majesty's decision, Sir George Younge mentioned that the King 'has been personally moved to give you this Mark of his Favour for the consideration that your being thus retained in his Service would be much more acceptable to you'.³¹

The other avenue to attract his attention was military governorships. It has been calculated³²

that there were thirty-five garrison towns in Britain, and that the governorships of these places carried attractive salaries, while at many, the duties involved were nominal. Griffin made several applications through Jenkinson to Bute. By July 1762,³³ an application of his to Bute had received a kind reception which experience encouraged him to feel hopeful of success in the event of a vacancy occurring. In keeping a watchful eye on the situation, he learned of the indifferent state of health of Sir Charles Howard, who, he had been told, 'cannot hold out long'. In the light of such intelligence Griffin considered it right to convey the information, and he flattered himself that his friend Jenkinson would 'take Occasion to make Use of to my Advantage'. Griffin intimated that he would be in Town soon and at Lord Bute's service on the 28th of the month, 'and sooner if I should hear of Sir Charles' Death'. Writing from Hurstbourne, he let it be known that Lord and Lady Portsmouth, as well as his own Lady, were well and joined in sending their compliments! Nothing came of this application, as Howard held out longer, much longer, than Griffin had confidently expected, and did not die until 1765.

On 19 August 1762, and again from Lord Portsmouth's residence, Griffin once more wrote to Jenkinson. On this occasion it was the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight that was the topic under discussion. He announced that he had been 'not a little impatient Yesterday in Expectation of an Answer to my Application to Lord Bute'. He went on to remind Jenkinson that it was natural, and indeed to be expected, that his uncle, Lord Portsmouth, with whom he, Griffin, was staying at that time, should also wish him the Lieutenant-Governorship, as it was his Lordship who was the Governor. Under such circumstances it would 'give Me as well as his Lordship much greater Pleasure to succeed to this Vacancy than to One of greater Value'. But this application, despite Griffin's use of his patron, the Earl of Portsmouth, was also unsuccessful, although the post remained vacant until 1764.³⁴

Griffin's persistence in these matters must also be seen in terms of his efforts to secure as high a financial return as possible from his investment in an army career. This was particularly so in the context of the depleted estate that he had inherited as well as the need to undertake very considerable restoration of the house: there was an urgent economic reason for him to secure an additional source of income to supplement his existing financial resources. It has been possible to show that at least £25,615 found its way into his account at Drummonds Bank during the period 1765-97 alone, whereas he had entered the army in 1739 and consequently this must be a minimal figure.

As well as being a soldier, Sir John also belonged to that group of army officers who sat in the House of Commons, and who formed the largest single professional group in that place. On 28 November 1749, he was returned to Parliament in a by-election on the interest of his uncle, the 1st Earl of Portsmouth. It was a death, together with his aunt's judicious marriage, that made it possible for him to enter the House with comparative ease.³⁵ The death was that of John, Viscount Lymington, the son and heir of the Earl by his first wife: he had represented the Borough of Andover, Hampshire, since 1741. His aunt gave Griffin her share of the Audley End estate in 1749, which act not only provided him with the landed qualification needed to enter the House but also with a second source of income to help sustain a second career. Griffin was returned to seven successive Parliaments and stood three contests, before his elevation to the peerage in 1784.

But Griffin was not one of those members who were born to hunt with Parliamentary packs. His ambitions in the House were not only military but also social. There was, therefore, a strong personal reason for his welcoming the formation of the Chatham administration in August 1766. He was ready with his claims. In a letter dated 1 August, Sir John, mindful of the friendship and protection he already owed his friend, wrote that he was confident that Chatham 'will not blame, nor think my Ambition ill placed'.³⁶ He wanted to share with his forebears the very honours that they had enjoyed. Although thus far in his career in the House he had confined his ambitions to obtaining military promotion in one form or another, he had, in one of his letters to Newcastle in 1760,³⁷ given notice of another aspiration, namely that a peerage of England had recently become extinct in his family, and that a peerage was in abeyance between his own family and Lord Bristol. That he considered that Chatham would not think his ambition ill placed was due to several

factors. On Lady Portsmouth's death in 1762 he had inherited one of the once largest private residences in the country, widely admired in its hey-day, and which had, for thirty-five years, been one of the royal palaces of the kings of England. He had also inherited some 3000 acres of the original Audley End estate, and more recent continued military promotion with other marks of royal favour had augmented his income and status. He thus considered that he was eminently peerage worthy.

In his letter³⁸ to Chatham he pointed out that he had had 'a peerage so very near to me' which had died 'with my own uncle', the 3rd Lord Griffin. He also had a joint claim to the Barony of Howard de Walden, and papers explaining his claim were included. He confided that although the Walden title 'would be more eligible to me than a new Creation', as the Bristol family would not willingly depart from its claim, he would be extremely happy and honoured to accept a new creation. But, no doubt, as Bristol was Chatham's close political ally, Griffin hoped that some influence might have been exerted by Chatham in his favour. That it had been his intention of making such a claim for some time is evidenced by the fact that his aunt had considered doing so herself eleven years earlier, but had she been successful, the title would have continued in the heirs of her body only.³⁹ Such a possibility had persuaded the Countess to take no further action, but in making him her own heir, and eventually giving him part of the estate and the house, she had also fired his ambition to reclaim the lost dignities of the family.

Illness prevented Chatham from replying before 19 August. Although wanting to help Griffin he explained that it 'is early Days with me, since I had the great honour to be permitted to attend the Closet'.⁴⁰ As yet, he was not fully acquainted with the King's intentions of creating new peers. However, he did know that there had been many applications and that His Majesty in all probability would not wish to create many. He promised to do his best when an opportunity presented itself. In his own reply at the end of the month, Sir John acknowledged the open and candid manner in which Chatham had written. In repeating his claim he was confident that Chatham's friendship for him would 'pardon me for pleading by own cause, if I take the Liberty to speak with a degree of Freedom'.⁴¹ Although appreciating Chatham's point that it was still early days, this was precisely why he had been quick in making his application. Any delay might have the effect of making 'what appears to your Lordship to be difficult now, still more so by and by'. He stressed that in seeking his own ends he had no wish to obtain a peerage at the expense of any other person to whom a peerage had been promised. Such action would have been vain, unreasonable and indeed unjust. But he did feel that applications made during former ministries could not expect to meet the same success under Chatham 'as I flatter'd myself I had for mine'. He reiterated his claim, mentioning that his country seat and estate 'till my time have always had a peer for their Possessor' and 'not one of which perhaps has everybody to say who aims at a Seat in ye H. of L.'. With facts such as these on his side, facts 'undeniably true', coupled with Chatham's friendship, surely, he pleaded, 'you may not find the difficulties so great . . . having said more than enough to convince your Lordship how much I have this view (indeed I have no other) att heart'. He concluded that whatever the outcome, he would not make another application of this kind, 'well knowing that there is not in the world a man on whose Friendship I have so much reason to depend on'.

Despite his pleading, his apparent strength of claim and his professed confidence in Chatham's ability to procure the coveted prize, his application did not succeed. It is difficult to be sure whether Chatham's illness and subsequent withdrawal had a direct bearing on Griffin's claim, or whether the divided estate, or indeed the King's known reluctance, all combined to make his efforts abortive. He must have regretted that he had not inherited the title of his forebears along with the house and estate. But the episode does indicate his lack of desire for political office.

This of course raises the question of to which Parliamentary type did he belong? Using one scholar's⁴² categories, independents, court and administration group, and party politicians, then the broad answer for Griffin must be that he belonged to the first of these groups. But by using another category⁴³ the composition of the House is seen to be more complex. These categories

include: placemen and pensioners; lawyers and professional men; merchants; army officers; naval officers; country gentlemen; East Indians; West Indians and North Americans. In a social sense, Griffin belonged to the country gentleman category, since in theory every member was such in so far as he had to swear to the possession of landed property, although the term took on a different meaning in a political context. Further, he sat in the interest of a political patron, and to this must be added that he was a member for thirty-five years. But although a seat in the House was an ideal shared by many a young Englishman, to remain there was not always the full extent of such ambition, but rather a means to ulterior aims. Equally, although many members thought of a seat in the upper chamber as a natural way of rounding off a career in the Commons, the successful ones had first to surmount considerable obstacles, and it by no means followed that service in the Commons would guarantee a seat in the Lords. This was, however, the goal that Griffin was desirous of obtaining. He had confided to Chatham in 1766 that he had no other at heart, and in so doing had at once revealed that an absence of political ambition was compensated for by social motivation. He therefore belonged to another type, the social climbers.⁴⁴ Down to 1784 the peerage remained a fairly close circle, but in that year there was a burst of new creations.

The premise on which Griffin's claim rested remained the same as that of almost twenty years earlier, but by 1784 the political scene was very different. He made his application through the Younger Pitt, who undertook to expedite the matter with the King. Having been associated with Chatham and supporting Pitt, Griffin was ready to spell out his claim in detail. In this petition⁴⁵ he traced the creation and subsequent descent of the Howard de Walden title. His claim rested on the marriage of Lady Essex Howard, the eldest daughter of the 3rd Lord Howard de Walden and 3rd Earl of Suffolk, to the 1st Lord Griffin. But as there had been a second daughter, Griffin claimed as the co-heir, the younger co-heir being the Earl of Bristol. Also delivered with his petition was a document showing his descent on the Griffin side, his uncle, the 3rd and last Lord Griffin, having died in 1742. He reminded His Majesty that he occupied the very mansion that had been built by the 1st Lord Howard de Walden, that he owned the estate, as well as being Lord of the ancient manors of Brook and Chipping Walden. Griffin was impressing upon the King that he possessed the best qualifications for admittance into the peerage, namely, that he held a landed estate, and that members of his family had previously held titles.

His claim was also helped by Lord Bristol's co-operation. The Earl withdrew, and on 15 June 1784, stated that he was happy to have it in his power 'to remove any obstacle to a Pursuit you have so much at heart'.⁴⁶ On Lord Bristol's advice, Griffin had written to the Earl's son, Lord Hervey, who wrote of 'how happy I am at all times . . . of any event likely to happen that can be of any advantage to yourself'. It might well be that as well as aiding Sir John in the short run, the Herveys were also doing themselves a good turn in the long term. At sixty-five, it was becoming less likely that he would have natural heirs to succeed him, so that the title would again fall into abeyance. This is what happened and the title was successfully claimed by the Bishop Earl of Bristol in 1807, before passing to the Scott-Ellis family, where it remains today.

On 24 June 1784, the petition was referred to the Attorney-General. On 3 July he reported to the King that in his opinion Griffin had proved his pedigree and with the Earl of Bristol was co-heir to the Howard de Walden title, and that His Majesty had 'an undoubted right' to allow and confirm the Barony either on Griffin or Lord Bristol. But as the title had been in abeyance since 1687, it was held that claims of such an 'important nature ought to be thoroughly investigated and considered', and so the petition was referred to the House of Lords, and on to the Lords Committee for Privileges, which finally met on 22 July, but did not give a decision.

The protracted nature of these proceedings coupled with the experience of his earlier abortive attempt were taking their toll on Sir John. By 28 July⁴⁷ both he and his Lady were 'still in a state of anxiety about the Peerage', and his sister-in-law, Marianne Clayton, wrote that she hoped it would be finally resolved, 'for there is nothing so tiresome as a long course of uncertainty, and it also gives Sir John an amazing deal of trouble'. It transpired that a decision had not been reached due to lack of evidence, but, she added in her letter to her brother, 'as everybody seems to agree in the justice of

the claim, I should hope no more reasons will be found to defer it'. In another letter,⁴⁸ on 30 July, it was the same topic that occupied her thoughts. She confided that Sir John 'has so much business now, that I think that if it lasts much longer, he will quite worry himself ill, and there is nothing so tiresome as uncertainty, when one moment you think yourself sure of obtaining what you wish, and the next, you give up all hopes of it; however I flatter myself Sir John will be rewarded at last for his trouble, by succeeding in his claim, which everybody seems to think is perfectly clear'. Despite feeling the strain, Griffin did not relax his efforts, and from the same witness, we learn that she 'never did so much business for anybody in my life as I did for him during the Month I spent in Burlington Street,⁴⁹ when I was honored with being one of his Secretaries'. On 3 August the Lords Committee reported to the King that they had met, heard counsel, examined witnesses upon oath and had inspected the appropriate records, and it had been resolved that the Barony was in abeyance and that the petition was from one of the co-heirs of the last Lord Howard de Walden. On the same day the Committee's resolution was approved by the House of Lords and laid before the King. Two days later Griffin was summoned by King's Writ to attend Parliament. On 9 August he attended the House of Lords and after the customary ceremony took his place on the Baron's Bench as the 4th Lord Howard de Walden.

That his application had met with such difficulty was largely due to the nature of his claim. Although he had intimated to Chatham that he would have been pleased to accept a new creation, his claim from the start had been to recall the Howard de Walden title of his great-grandfather. Not only had this title been in abeyance, but Griffin himself was only a co-heir, enjoying only half of the original Audley End estate. But even new creations were difficult to come by and even owners of large estates sometimes found to their cost that 'the final prize might still evade them',⁵⁰ and only gradually in the century did service in the State become a recommendation for a seat in the House of Lords.

In 1788 he received the additional title of 1st Baron Braybrooke. Bringing further pleasure and prestige this second title was of dual significance. In the first place it represented his descent from the Griffins of Braybrooke, and was particularly fitting because it had been the marriage between the 1st Lord Griffin and Lady Essex Howard that had enabled him to claim the Howard de Walden title. Secondly, and perhaps with greater significance as far as the future owners of Audley End were concerned, it was this title that passed to his successor, Richard Aldworth Neville, in whose descendants the title has remained.

This article has been concerned to show the part played by patronage in the furtherance of Griffin's professional and social aspirations. To the financial dimensions of his military career, already touched upon, can be added the very significant cash gains that accrued directly from royal patronage. This consisted of his control of five lighthouses around Winterton and Orfordness. Initially the lights were inherited from his aunt, Lady Portsmouth, but his continued control of them depended on royal grant. This was renewed in 1765. The Bank Ledgers at Drummonds show that regular and substantial payments were made into his account in every year between 1763 and 1797. From this source a total of £106,159 was received, averaging £3033 per annum, and as such constituting the largest single item of average income.⁵¹ Thus although the estate at Audley End did not yield him as much as some of his fellow landowners were getting from theirs, his control of the lighthouses virtually guaranteed him a level of income that he might have expected from the original estate before the partition. This being so, one cannot over-emphasise the importance of this particular benefit and on-going enjoyment of royal favour.

Despite some disappointments, Griffin's success had been twofold: social and economic. Firstly, his aim had been to establish himself within the world of the ruling of his day. His path was eased by his landed origins and it was considerably helped by the valuable Portsmouth connection. Even so, there was still need to show initiative and an unflagging determination if he was to make his mark. His efforts in the area of personal advancement were characterised by the same

single-mindedness that also typified his endeavours in improving other aspects of his depleted inheritance. Secondly, in establishing himself he also re-established the status of his family. In becoming a representative member of the ruling group he also restored the standing of the family from whom he was descended. In particular the social and financial successes helped lay a firm foundation upon which his successors were to build. Above all, his experience underlines the importance of the role of the individual in bringing about a favourable change in family fortunes. But this case study in vertical friendship is also a microcosm of the system of patronage and of the society in which it operated. The personal network is very much in evidence. Finally, it illustrates the part played by patronage as one of the several factors responsible, when successfully operated, for the ongoing rise of a landed family. Having started his life as John Griffin Whitwell in 1719, he was to die in 1797 'full of years and earthly honours'.⁵² By such time he had become the 4th Lord Howard de Walden, the 1st Lord Braybrooke, Lord-Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral of Essex, Knight of the Bath, Field-Marshal, Recorder and Lay Rector of Saffron Walden, Lord of the Manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden, and Visitor of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Some of these honours he achieved by inheritance; others were by virtue of his having successfully participated in the art of 'consorting together'.

The Society acknowledges with thanks a grant from the Chelmer Institute towards the publication of this paper.

NOTES

1. This paragraph owes a heavy debt to Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880*, 1969, 44-9, and the quotations are taken from this source.
2. See J. D. Williams, *Audley End, The Restoration of 1762-1797*, Chelmsford, 1966; 'A Pattern of Land Accumulation: The Audley End Experience, 1762-97', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 11, 1979.
3. E.R.O. D/DBY A30/3/1772.
4. E.R.O. D/DBY A32/2/1774.
5. G. F. Russell Barker (ed.): H. Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, 1894, II, 259.
6. P. Morant, *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 1768, II, 550.
7. E. Robinson, 'Purchase and Promotion in the British Army in the Eighteenth Century', *History* (February & June, 1951), xxxvi, 57-72.
8. J. C. Risk, *The History of the Order of the Bath and its Insignia*, 1972.
9. B.M. Add. MS. 32886, f. 25.
10. B.M. Add. MS. 32892, f. 129.
11. P.R.O. 30/8/38; 20 August 1759.
12. B.M. Add. MS. 32902, f. 74.
13. B.M. Add. MS., f. 62.
14. P.R.O. 30/8/38.
15. B.M. Add. MS. 32915, f. 192; undated, this was probably in 1760. Newcastle also approached Griffin's patron, the Earl of Portsmouth, in September 1760; see B.M. Add. MS. 32912, f. 193.
16. Sir L. Namier and J. Brooke, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, 1964, i, 103.
17. J. Haydn, *The Book of Dignities*, 1894, 2nd ed., 765.
18. E.R.O. D/DBY C8/14.
19. E.R.O. D/DBY C8/23.
20. E.R.O. D/DBY 09/6; 09/10; 09/12; 09/14.
21. E. Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century: The North East, 1700-1750*, 1952, 91.
22. E.R.O. D/DBY C8/54b.
23. Henry Seymour had been Commander in Chief, 1762-3, and was Secretary of State at this time, 1765-8; E.R.O. D/DBY C8/50; dated 5 August and written at his Town house.
24. E.R.O. D/DBY C8/51.
25. E.R.O. D/DBY C8/52.
26. E.R.O. D/DBY C8/53.
27. E.R.O. D/DBY C8/54a.
28. E.R.O. D/DBY C8/55.

29. *Ibid.*
30. E.R.O. D/DBy 09/12.
31. E.R.O. D/DBy C9/50; he was Secretary at War.
32. E. Hughes, 'The Professions in the Eighteenth Century', *Durham University Journal*, 1952, 50.
33. B.M. Add. MS. 38199, f. 38.
34. *Army List*, 1764, 134.
35. In 1749 Griffin was returned 'almost without opposition, his competitor having but one vote. . . . This made the expense light'. See R. Sedgwick, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715-1754*, 1970, ii, 86.
36. E.R.O. D/DBy C8/72.
37. B.M. Add. MS. 32904, f. 62.
38. E.R.O. D/DBy C8/72.
39. E.R.O. D/DBy F48.
40. E.R.O. D/DBy C8/73.
41. E.R.O. D/DBy C8/75.
42. I. R. Christie, *Myth & Reality in Late Eighteenth Century British Politics*, 1970, 13.
43. Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, 118-62.
44. Sir Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 1963, 11-14.
45. E.R.O. D/DBy L2.
46. Both these letters, one from the Earl of Bristol and the other from Lord Hervey, are included in D/DBy L2, upon which source a substantial part of this discussion is based.
47. Bucks. R.O.D/CE; letter 6.
48. *Ibid.*, letter 7.
49. Griffin's Town house.
50. G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 1963, 26-7.
51. J. D. Williams, 'The Finances of an Eighteenth Century Essex Nobleman', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, 9, 1977, 113.
52. Saffron Walden Parish Church Register of Baptisms and Burials, 1794-1814: this was part of the tribute paid by the vicar, William Gretton.

Work of the Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1980

Fifth Annual Report

Edited by M. R. EDDY and D. PRIDDY

In 1980 some eighteen discoveries worthy of report were made. The larger excavations undertaken by the section are summarised below (pp. 48–57).

This report follows the previous format. It is arranged chronologically and subdivided by parish or site name. Members of the Section who have contributed (and who are referred to by initials below) include: J. D. Hedges (Archaeology Officer), D. G. Buckley (Assistant Archaeology Officer), M. R. Eddy (Urban Archaeology Officer), Ms. D. Priddy, Mrs. C. Turner, Mrs. P. Ryan and Miss H. E. Martingell. M. Wadhams (E.C.C. Historic Buildings Section) has commented on the tile and brick and animal bones. The section is grateful to all those who undertook observations on its behalf and to those who have contributed specialist reports.

All information on the sites below has been added to the Essex Sites and Monuments Record (E.S.M.R.) under the appropriate record number.

1. Birdbrook TL 70754112 (TL 74/69) (H.E.M.)

Garage foundation trenches produced six worked flints, four of which are sections of large straight-sided blades.

One crested or first blade with a light blue patina, struck from a core prepared for long blades. The platform was removed after the blade was struck (Fig. 1, 1). Three unpatinated blades (Fig. 1, 2–4). Two secondary flakes, not illustrated.

Although this technique of producing long, thin, sharp parallel-sided blades first appeared in the Upper Palaeolithic and continued to the Bronze Age, during the Mesolithic they were principally used as blanks for tools (*vide* Clark, 1932) and these pieces would not be inconsistent with this.

Finds: Private possession.

2. Great Burstead TQ 68159225 (TQ 69/92) (H.E.M.)

An unusual tranchet axe/adze (Fig. 1, 5) was found in the vicarage garden by Mrs. Elvy in 1975. It is 11 cm. long, made of almost white flint, heavily stained a deep chestnut brown, and is similar to an axe from Norsey Wood (Wymer, 1977, 88). Such tools are usually associated with the earlier Mesolithic (Jacobi, 1980, 17).

Finds: Private possession.

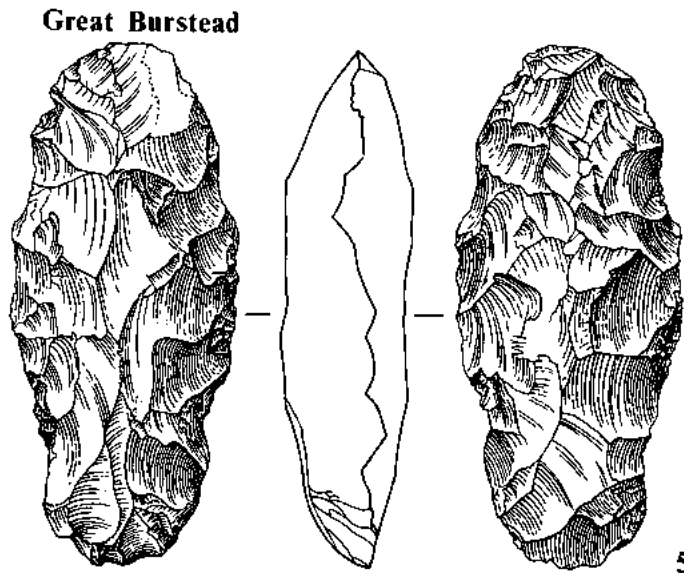
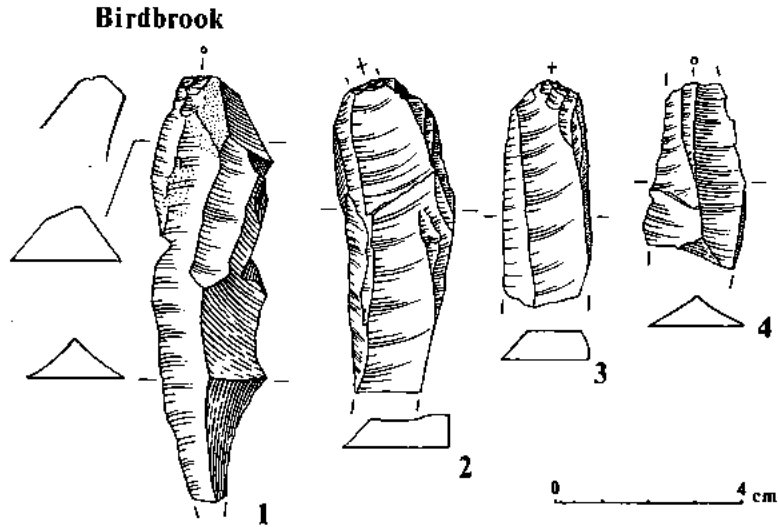


Fig. 1

3. Little Waltham, Pratt's Farm TL 717117 (TL 71/57) (D.G.B., C.T.)

Finds recovered by Mr. B. Foster following the removal of topsoil from Church Field for gravel working. Dark stains were visible in the sub-soil and there was much evidence of burning, but no features were identified.

Neolithic/Bronze Age Pottery

Fig. 2, 1 and 2 Simple flattened rim with finger impression, hand-made, dark grey/black throughout, abundant medium-sized flint grit.

Eleven body and three base sherds in the same fabric but with predominantly light brown/buff or grey external surfaces and grey or black interiors.

It is possible that both rims and all the sherds are from a single pot of late Neolithic/Early to Middle Bronze Age date.

Also two sherds dark grey to black laminated fabric with fine flint grit and one sherd in fine sandy fabric with flint grit, light brown throughout, smoothed exterior.

These finds are a useful addition to the recently published distributions of Essex sites producing Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery (Hedges, 1980; Couchman, 1980).

Iron Age Pottery

E.P.R.I.A.(?) Small base sherd, grey with black external surface, abundant very fine flint and, visible under magnification, sparse very fine red inclusions.

M.P.R.I.A. A group of small sherds in fine sandy fabric including:
Fig. 2, 3: rim in hard black fabric, abundant fine sand. Probably Little Waltham Form 13 and equivalent to fabric A (Drury, 1978, 56). Rim sherd similar to Fig. 2, 3, black core, light brown surfaces (now worn), otherwise as above.

From elsewhere in the field came a small M.P.R.I.A. sherd in black fabric with brown internal surface, abundant fine sand and possibly a little fine vegetable tempering. Also an abraded sherd, black with abundant fine sand.

L.P.R.I.A. Possible butt-beaker sherd with grey core, thin red margins, probably dark grey or black surfaces (now worn). Common fine pale grey grog and fine red inclusions, micaceous. Hard fired. Faint traces of vertical combing.

Other finds included medieval/post-medieval tile, post-medieval pottery, daub and slag.

Finds: Private possession.

4. Danbury Camp TL 778050 (TL 70/43) (D.G.B., P.R.)

The Iron Age and later history of the earthworks has been summarised by Morris and Buckley (1978). Further fieldwork is reported here.

Church Green TL 779052. A cable trench (Fig. 3, A) was excavated, revealing a number of small post-medieval or modern features. A major deposit of topsoil immediately south of the road may be the upper fill of a substantial ditch. Although its full width was obscured by a pipe trench and hard-core it does lie on the line of the northern side of the camp as recorded by Spurrel (1890) and contained post-medieval finds, which could represent the final filling of the camp's northern ditch. Alternatively it may only be a roadside ditch.

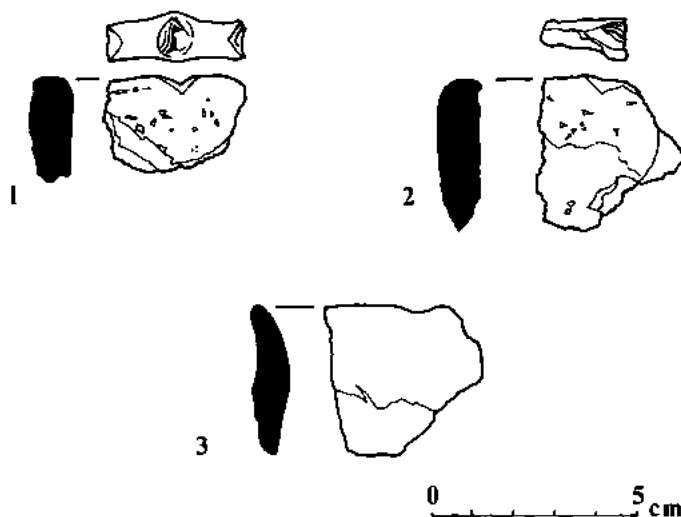
Undated skeletal remains of two adults were recovered near the entrance to the Almshouses. Other inhumations near here were recorded when a sewer trench was installed to serve the rectory (information from local residents). A small grass-tempered sherd of early Saxon pottery adds to the small number of Saxon finds already known from Danbury (Morris and Buckley, *op. cit.*).

Allotments TL 77850507 (Fig. 3, B). Finds made by Mr. D. Gustard, further to those reported by Morris and Buckley (*op. cit.*), include four E.P.R.I.A./M.P.R.I.A. sherds; three L.P.R.I.A. sherds; one Roman rim fragment; fifty-two early and twenty-eight later medieval sherds and eighty-one post-medieval coarseware sherds.

These finds collectively substantiate the conclusions of the 1974 and 1977 excavations.

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

Little Waltham



Great Canfield

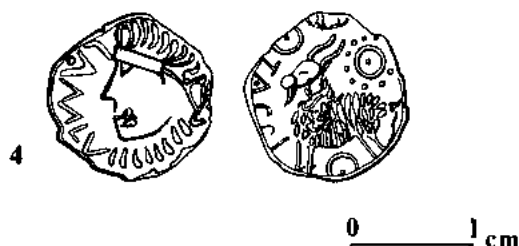


Fig. 2

5. Great Canfield c. TL 577187 (TL 51/127) (M.R.E., Mark Davies, Colchester Museum)

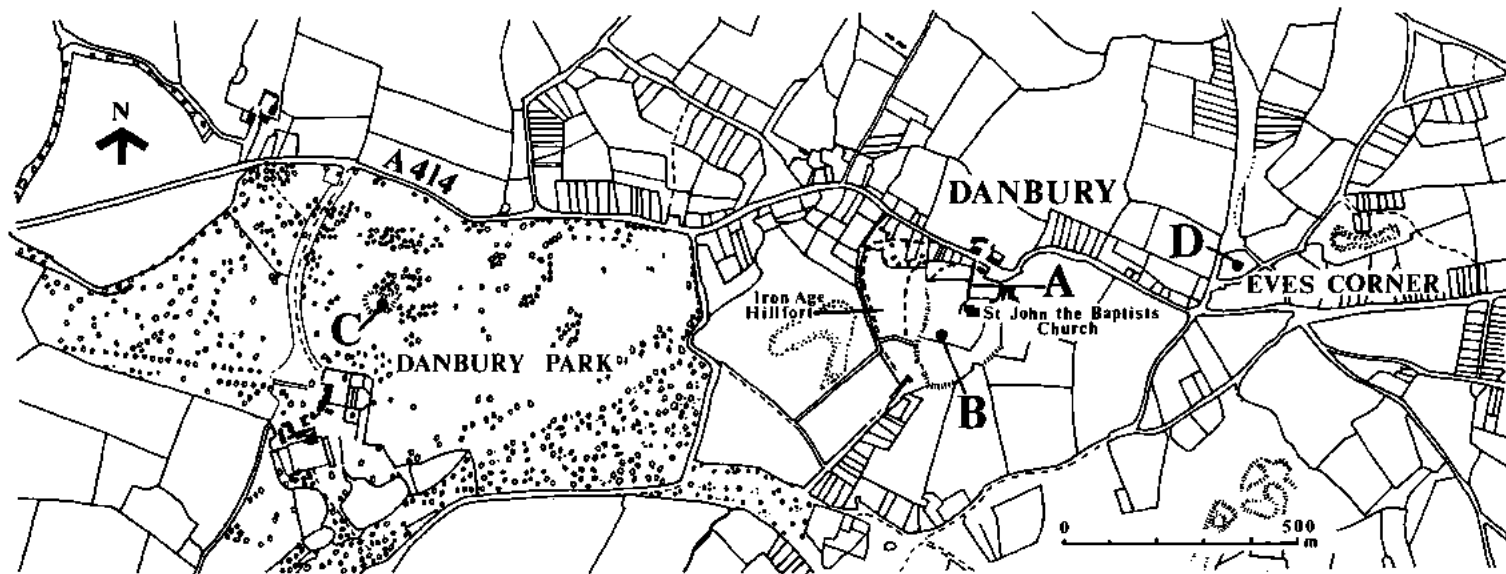
An Iron Age bronze coin (Fig. 2, 4), revealed by a metal detector, was loaned by Mr. Perry. This area has produced numerous Roman finds in the past (Couchman, 1976, 156).

Obverse: CAMLV, bearded head facing to the left.

Reverse: TASCI, goat standing to the left with three ring ornaments, beneath and in front of and behind the head, the last surrounded by pellets.

This coin is of a previously unrecorded type issued by Tasciovanus, whose monogram shows on the reverse. It is struck in bronze and weighed 1.31 grams before removal of the corrosion which partially obscured both sides of the coin. Otherwise its condition is generally fair.

There are certain similarities with other coins of Tasciovanus, the nearest corresponding example being a small bronze (Mack, 182), which also has both a bearded head on the obverse, facing to the left, and a goat on the reverse, but standing to the right. However, unlike the latter and



Sites in the Danbury area

Fig. 3

almost all of that ruler's other coins which bear a monogram of the mint where they were produced, this coin was not issued from Verulamium.

The obverse legend, CAMLV, though presenting certain difficulties of precise interpretation, clearly indicates that the mint was at Camulodunum. There is no parallel to this legend as there is for that on the gold stater and quarter stater (Mack, 186 and 187), found at Leyton, Essex, and on Farley Heath near Guildford respectively, which are Tasciovanus' only other coins with a Camulodunum mint-mark. They both bear the same ligatured monogram CAMVL as was used later on some of the coins of Cunobelin.

Since this is the first bronze coin of Tasciovanus attributable to the mint at Camulodunum, it is reasonable to suggest that other contemporary bronze types were also produced there, possibly including some of those already known but which lack a mint-mark. If that is so, the usual interpretation of Tasciovanus' mint at Camulodunum being merely the result of temporary Catuvellaunian ascendancy over the Trinovantes in c.17 B.C. may need to be revised in favour of a more lasting political relationship.

Finds: Private possession.

6. Henham, Great Hall Field, TL 544294 (TL 52/103) (J.D.H., M.R.E., C.T.)

Roman pottery and tile, recovered by metal detector users, were reported to Miss J. Winmill and Mrs. P. Christie of Henham, who visited the area and identified two sites, one Roman, the other marked by medieval and later brick.

Pottery

Finds consisted of a small quantity of sherds and fragments, mostly abraded or too small for dating purposes. Of interest are:

1. Flanged bowl rim (burnt) in red colour-coated oxidised ware—an Oxfordshire kiln product, f. c. 51 (or possibly f. c. 52), manufactured 240–400+ (Young, 1977, 160).
2. Wide-necked jar rim in similar fabric to above—? an Oxfordshire kiln product, cf. f. c. 18.2, manufactured 270–400+ and not well recorded in Essex (Young, 1977, 152).
3. Miscellaneous sherds in fine oxidised wares, including beaded and flanged rim fragments and an everted rim, probably from a wide-mouthed bowl of 3rd or 4th century A.D. date.
4. Straight-sided dish rims in light grey and black-burnished fabrics, cf. Colchester f. 39 and f. 40. These forms in black wares were thought to have dated post c. A.D. 120–30 (Hull, 1963, 178).
5. Beaded and flanged rim in coarse ware fabrics, suggestive of mid-3rd–4th century A.D. dates.
6. Everted jar rim in coarse ware, cf. Colchester, f. 278, dated 2nd or 3rd century A.D. (Hull, 1963, 183, 186).

Building Debris

Tegulae, floor and hypocaust tiles, *tesserae*, mortar, building stone, oyster shell and sandstone quern fragments.

Coins (D. Rudling, Institute of Archaeology, London)

1. Constantine II, as Caesar, A.D. 317–37. Bronze, 19 mm.
Obverse: CONSTANTINVS IVN NC. Radiate and draped bust left.
Reverse: BEATA TRAN?QVILLITAS. Globe on altar inscribed VOT/IS/XX in three lines, above three stars.

Mint mark: $\frac{F/B}{PLON} = \text{London}$

Reference: cf. R.I.C. 255.

2. Commemorative issue of the period A.D. 330–7. Bronze, 17 mm.
Obverse: (VRBS ROMA). Helmeted head of Roma left.
Reverse: Wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. Mint mark illegible.
Reference: *cf.* Hill and Kent (1972), 51.
3. Illegible. 4th century. Bronze, 17 mm.

Iron

Corroded horseshoe, flat, originally with rectangular holes (Waltham Abbey, Group 2) 12th to 16th century (Huggins, 1972, 121–4).

Flint

Strike-a-light made from cortex-backed, pot-lid fractured grey flint, finely retouched around three-quarters of the margin; pre-19th century.

The Roman site was previously unrecorded, whilst medieval and later finds may be the remains of the lost manor house of the Earls of Suffolk.

Finds: Private possession and Saffron Walden Museum.

7. Panfield TL 73522638 (TL 72/118) (D.G.B., C.T.)

Five sherds of Roman pottery and five fragments of tile were found by Mr. B. Foster.

1. Light grey sandy coarse wares (small fragments) comprising an everted triangular bead rim from a jar, a sherd decorated with a single horizontal groove and three plain body sherds.
2. Grey ware sherd with coarse grey grog inclusions from a large storage jar.

The group is not closely datable; 2nd–4th century A.D. is suggested.

Finds: Colchester Museum.

8. Shenfield TQ 607944 (TQ 69/72) (D.P., M.R.E., C.T.)

Surface finds from the field to the east of St. Mary's Church, collected by Mrs. E. Sellers, included: five fragments of Roman brick, two fragments of Roman tile, and a sherd of post-medieval pottery, *c.* 1600–1800. A *lessera* (found by Mrs. M. Kenyon) and a very abraded mortarium rim sherd, probably 4th-century Oxfordshire product, were found at TQ 6073 9532.

TQ 60589511 (TQ 69/94)

Finds collected by Mrs. E. Sellers from St. Mary's churchyard included: one Roman rim sherd, one Roman colour-coated base, one possible base sherd of 13th-century sandy-gritted ware, and one small sherd of early post-medieval white ware with internal green glaze.

Previous finds of Roman pottery and brick, together with the above, may indicate the presence of a building nearby.

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

9. Berden Hall Priory Farm TL 45863044 (TL 43/36) (W. J. Wright)

Proposals to level a U-shaped earthwork enclosing a spring prompted a survey by the Bishop's Stortford and District Local History Society. Limited excavation showed that the feature was covered by a well-developed turf some 23 cm. thick, whilst 10 to 15 cm. of silt had accumulated within the central area. No dating evidence was recovered, though it may have been related to the 12th-century priory. A brick structure of Tudor date, controlling a spring, was recorded on Rochford Golf Course (Hills, 1979), and may well be comparable.

Fieldwalking in the area produced Roman pottery at TL 457 305.

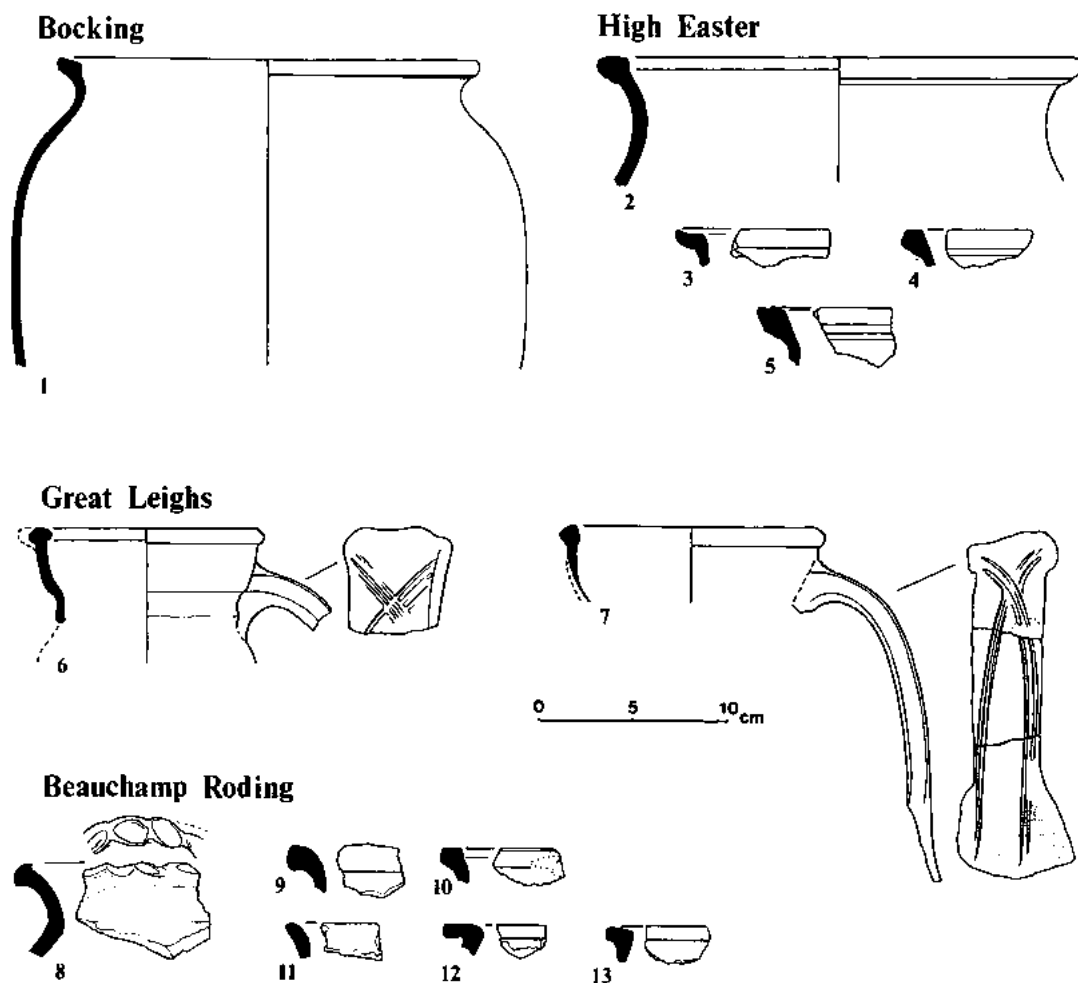


Fig. 4

10. Bocking, Straits Mill TL 772247 (TL 72/119) (D.B., M.R.E.)

Twelve joining sherds from a medieval pot were found by Mr. B. Foster in topsoil removed for gravel extraction.

Fig. 4,1 Cooking pot. coarse sand and quartzite tempered orangey brown fabric with black charcoally deposit on the lower portion of the body. The flattened rim and short upright neck suggest a 12th- or early-13th-century date.

A tile tempered with coarse sand and containing a large quartzite lump was also found. The underside was marked with vegetable temper and the upper surface had a dark grey coating. The surfaces were orange red and the core purplish-grey. The thickness varied from 2.1 to 2.6 cm. It might be described as 'Roman' in the fabric of a church but seen three-dimensionally is coarser than typical Roman tile.

Finds: Private possession.

11. Brentwood, West Horndon Hall TQ 62328976 (TQ 68/1) (D.P.)

Three fragments of 15th–16th-century Flemish floor tile, one sherd of stoneware and two pieces of Reigate stone and Oolitic limestone were found by Mrs. E. Sellers at the site of West Horndon Hall.

From the site of St. Nicholas' Church (TQ 624 897) (Couchman (ed.), 1976, 180–1), further finds included six fragments of 15th–16th-century Flemish floor tiles, and fragments of post-medieval building debris. (Tile reported on by P. J. Drury, and to be published in Drury and Norton, forthcoming.)

Finds: Chelmsford Museum.

12. Chipping Ongar, north of St. Martin's Church TL 55350295 (TL 50/2) (M.R.E.)

Six or seven burials located in a service trench in the access lane to the White House were reported by Canon Vaughan-Jones. They were orientated east–west, heads to the west, and interred along a line some 2.5 m. north of the present northern boundary of the churchyard. The White House was apparently constructed in the 16th century (*V.C.H.* 4, 1956, 162) and the lane, though first shown on the 1805 1-inch Ordnance Survey map, almost certainly dates to that time. The evidence of the 1789 plan of Castle Farm (E.R.O. T/M 231) is, however, equivocal.

Fragments of two adult skulls were retained by Canon Vaughan-Jones for reburial.

13. High Easter, south of church TL 61941462 (TL 61/137) (M.R.E.)

A group of early medieval pottery, reported by Mr. D. Bircher, was found during tree-planting on the north-west side of a pond in the grounds of the Bury. A reference to 'old mounds and humps' in the adjacent meadow which were levelled some years ago resulted in a site visit to examine the area for surviving earthworks. Despite the levelling, two rectangular raised platforms were visible near the road frontage (Fig. 5). A recent, partly backfilled trench, cut through the western platform, produced more sherds of pottery and post-medieval tile.

The pottery comprised thirty-four sherds of which twenty-nine were shell-tempered.

Fig. 4, 2 Cooking pot. Shell-tempered. Brownish-grey surfaces, dark grey core. Saxo-Norman.

Fig. 4, 3 Cooking pot. Sandy. Dark grey surfaces, grey core. Early medieval.

Fig. 4, 4 Cooking pot. Shell-tempered. Orange-red surfaces, grey core. One similar fragment, unillustrated. Saxo-Norman.

Fig. 4, 5 Cooking pot. Shell-tempered. Dark grey surfaces, grey core. Saxo-Norman. Three sherds.

Bones of horse, cattle, sheep and pig were identified (M.W.). Shells of oyster and whelk were also found.

Finds: to Saffron Walden Museum.

14. Great and Little Leighs, Little Warwicks TL 711177 (TL 71/50) (M.R.E.)

A group of 114 sherds of medieval pottery was recovered in 1968 at a depth of *c.* 1 m. during the removal of a hedge west of Little Warwicks farmhouse (Mrs. Bazett and Mrs. Sellers, E.S.M.R.). A survey of Little Leighs (Griffiths, unpub., 1981) included re-examination of the material. The pottery is of two principal types but this may be a product of the firing process and construction of the vessels, all jugs. Type A fabric is soft, slightly sandy with micaceous and black inclusions comprising almost exclusively of thick body sherds and slightly sagging bases. Type B fabric is thinner, sandier and often vesiculated and more orange in surface colour than the pinkish-brown of Type A. Several sherds were decorated with rilling and thumb-impressed vertical and diagonal

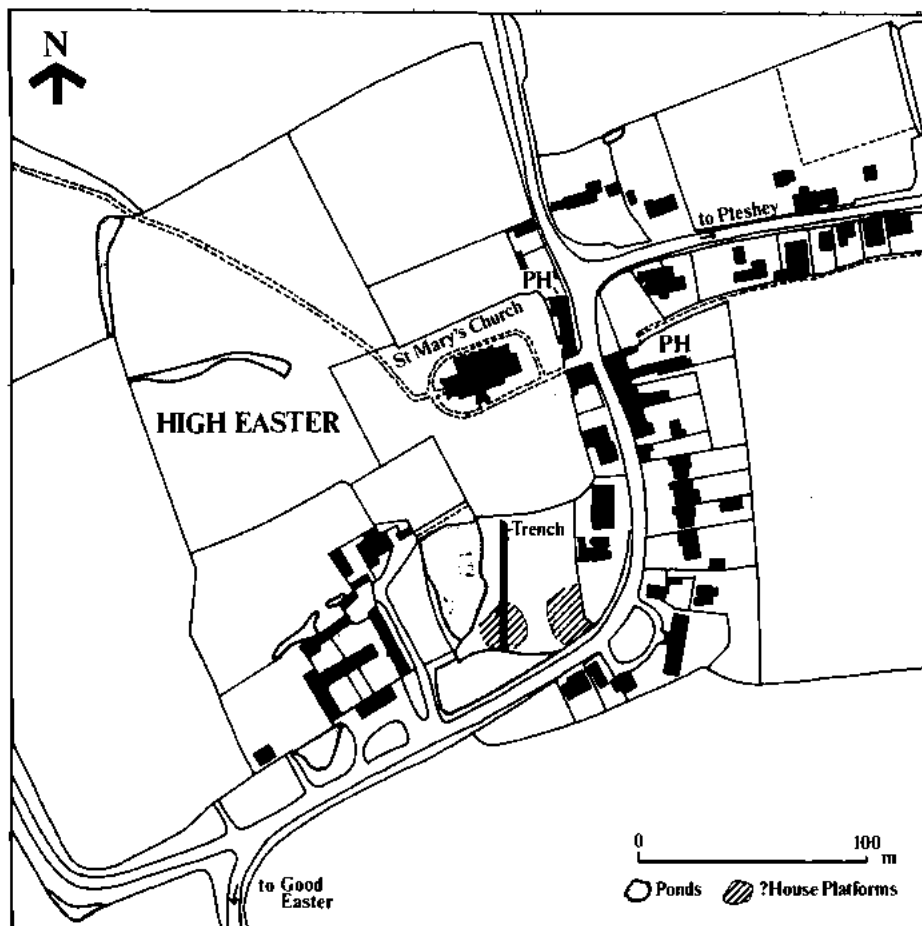


Fig. 5

strips, and some bore traces of a yellowy-white slip and/or transparent greenish glaze. The strap handles were decorated with incised lines. Most sherds were pockmarked by large minerals blown out in firing and some were slightly crazed, suggesting that the pottery may be kiln-waste.

Fig. 4, 6 Jug rim and strap handle in Type B fabric.

Fig. 4, 7 Jug rim and strap handle in Type B fabric.

Griffiths (*op. cit.*) erroneously illustrates four rims.

A body sherd in a grey sandy fabric with orange margins and dark grey inner surface was also found. The exterior surface is green-glazed, yellow over a curved line of cream slip.

The area was examined after ploughing in 1980 and several fragments of medieval and post-medieval tile (M.W.) recovered. A worn strap handle, probably from a cup or tyg, and a body sherd of soft smooth orange ware of late medieval or early post-medieval date were recovered with a fragment of fired clay.

This possible kiln debris has no known parallel in the collections from Braintree (Drury, 1976), Pleshey (Williams, 1977), Writtle (Rahtz, 1969) or Chelmsford (Cunningham, pers. comm.). On fabric and decorative grounds a 14th–15th century date may be suggested prior to the recovery of stratified examples. Reaney (1935, 37) records a *Pottersfeld* in 1302 but this is unlocated in the parish.

Finds: Private possession.

15. Beauchamp Roding TL 576097 (TL 50/54) (M.R.E.)

In the collection of the late H. Young is a group of medieval pottery sherds described as 'Beauchamp Roding, ?D.M.V.'. The fields immediately adjacent to the isolated church of Beauchamp Roding have been accepted as a deserted medieval village (M.V.R.G., 1976, 55).

- Fig. 4, 8 Cooking pot. Coarse shell temper and some sand. Orange surfaces, grey core. Fingertip decoration on rim. Comparable to Fabric E1 at Waltham Abbey, 1060 to 1200 (Huggins and Huggins, 1973, 156).
- Fig. 4, 9-11 Cooking pot. Coarse shell tempered. Orange surfaces and grey core. Comparable to Fabric D2 at Waltham Abbey, 850-1300 (*ibid*, 155-6). Rim 4 conforms to the style attributed to the 10th or 11th centuries, the others probably being later.
- Fig. 4, 12 Cooking pt. Sand temper. Smooth orange surfaces, grey core. Probably 13th century.
- Fig. 4, 13 Cooking pot. Coarse sand tempered. Bright orange surfaces, grey core. Probably 13th century.

Four sherds of early medieval sandy ware, and four later medieval glazed and nine unglazed sherds were present with three post-medieval sherds, including the base of a possible Stock product.

The limited number of confirmed deserted medieval villages in the county, and the predominance of early medieval sherds among the finds, indicate the potential importance of this site to Saxo-Norman settlement. It is tempting to suggest that, as the bulk of the pottery is unlikely to post-date the 13th century at the latest, the decline of the village here was initiated by the campaigns of the Anarchy.

Finds: H. Young's executors, to go to Chelmsford Museum.

16. Little Yeldham, St. John the Baptist Church TL 779396 (TL 73/10) (M.R.E.)

An architect's trial hole against the north wall of the nave, east of the westernmost cement-rendered buttress, revealed the wall footings. The wall rested on a layer of flint cobbles and rammed chalk some 30 cm. deep, above which a 10 cm. layers of cobbles supported a cobble offset 20 cm. thick. A 3 cm. skim of yellow mortar had been used to level the offset surface, and above this mortar layer was a fragment of masonry made up of flint cobbles and pieces in a matrix of grey loam with some orangey-yellow mortar flecks. This material was visible for c. 45 cm., above which the wall had been pointed with cement. The threshold of the north door, dated tentatively to the 13th century (R.C.H.M., Essex, 1916, 189-90), rests on the mortar levelling of the offset.

An unstratified wall tile was found outside the north wall. Probably originally square, 12.0 cm. (4¾ in.) and 2.2 cm. (0.85 in.) thick. Orange-red unglazed fabric with small black inclusions. Yellow sandy bedding mortar on underside and edges. Cream mortar with medium white inclusions on broken edge. Thin white deposit on one edge below yellow mortar. Stamped rosette design within a circle. Date range: ? 14th century.

Finds: Private possession.

17. Danbury, Eves Corner Kiln TL 785052 (TL 70/000) (M.R.E., P.R.)

Kiln debris was noted during development north of the buildings on the northern edge of the green at Eves Corner (Fig. 3, D). A site visit revealed a double-flue post-medieval kiln (Fig. 7), partly removed by levelling. The stoke-pit had been totally divorced from the kiln and the flues survived for the most part as lines of crushed brick. A section across the flue at the boundary of the development suggested two phases of construction. No dating evidence was recovered other than

tile fragments, which appeared to be mid-16th- to mid-18th-century types. A grant of land made in 1683 to George Brooks refers to a brick-kiln 'lately before erected' near Eves Corner (E.R.O. D/DGE M116). It may be that the kiln recorded here is that of George Brooks.

18. Danbury Palace Kiln, TL 768053 (TL 70/166) (M.R.E., D. Haigh, P.R.)

A brick-built kiln in the grounds of Danbury Palace was discovered by Mr. Evans of Danbury Park Youth Centre, and limited excavation was undertaken with the part-time aid of some of his staff.

Description of the Site (Figs. 3 and 6)

The structure lies within the southern edge of a former gravel and sand quarry, c. 175 m. north of Danbury Palace (Fig. 6), and had been partly cut into a lobe of unexcavated gravel.

The Structure (Fig. 6)

The kiln is rectangular in plan and is almost totally brick-built.

The stoke-pit walls were of brick, capped by concrete, with a concrete floor. A short flue partly covered by a concrete arch led to the firing-chamber and was blocked at the lower level by brickwork which was not bonded into the main structure. The blocking was apparently held by a metal bar which supported the floor of the firing-chamber. Within the flue three courses of fire-brick had been inserted below the arch whilst an extension of the firing-chamber's floor occupied a similar position on the other side.

The firing-chamber was floored with tile on concrete and narrowed towards the chimney. Two linings were apparent—horizontal fire-bricks near the stoke-pit and angled tiles near the chimney. Two iron bars ran across the chamber at its mid-point whilst two runnels set in the brickwork at the same level near the flue probably housed two similar bars. Gaps in the brickwork, disturbed by tree-roots, may well have held two more bars just outside the chimney. No evidence for the roof was found, and no details of the possible lower chamber were recovered.

The chimney was of solid brickwork with a central, iron-lined smoke-stack, the front wall being c 5 cm. from the smoke-stack proper. A brick arch led into the chimney-stack, which had concrete flaunchings.

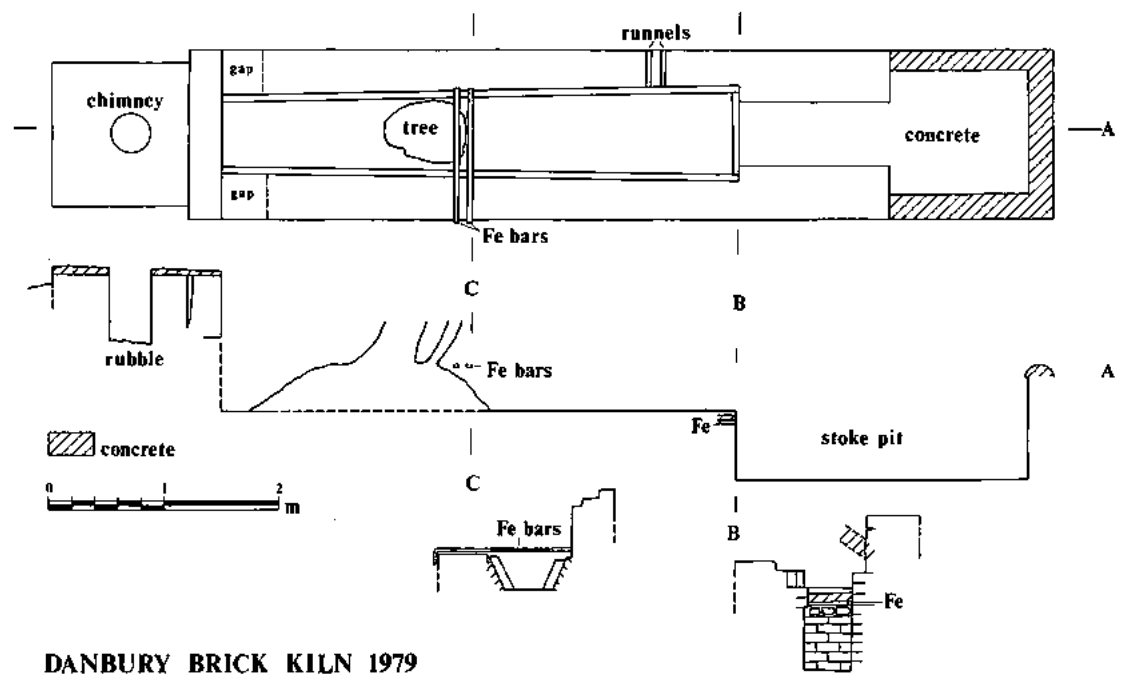
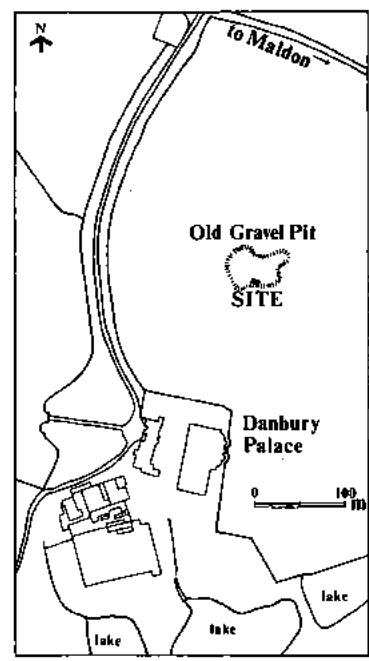
Considerable damage had been caused to the upper levels of brickwork by tree-roots, whilst leaf-mould and rubbish had partially filled the stoke-pit. Tarry residues, possibly from coal, were found around the kiln but were stratigraphically unrelated to it.

Site History

The only direct reference to the kiln is a small rectangular structure shown on the 1922 edition of the 25-inch Ordnance Survey. Although the gravel pit is shown on the 1874 and 1897 editions of the 25-inch Ordnance Survey, the kiln is not. The 1892 sale catalogue (E.R.O. B13) refers to the gravel pit's capacity for repairing drives and paths but does not mention a kiln.

The presence of bricks stamped *RICHARDSON DANBURY* and *R.D.* suggests that the kiln operator was named Richardson, as a brick-maker would be most unlikely to buy bricks from another manufacturer. The only candidate in Kelly's Directories was Herbert John Richardson of The Slough, Danbury, described as a farmer in 1895 but as farmer and brick-maker in 1899. By 1902 he had become managing director of Richardson's Brick and Tile Company (Danbury) Ltd., with offices in Maldon and Danbury. The firm was still operating in 1910 but by 1912 Bakers of Danbury Ltd. had acquired the brickworks at Slough House (Came, 1968).

Richardson bricks were used to construct a wall north of the Palace pleasure gardens and are dated there by an inscribed stone which states: *HUNC MURUM, DESIG. H.E. HOARE, AEDIF. G. MILLER, AN^o 1899*. These bricks are smaller than those in the kiln and some of the headers have a brownish-purple glaze. The paths and steps in this part of the garden are also impressed *RICHARDSON DANBURY*. According to a local resident, the paths were laid in 1910.



DANBURY BRICK KILN 1979

Fig. 6

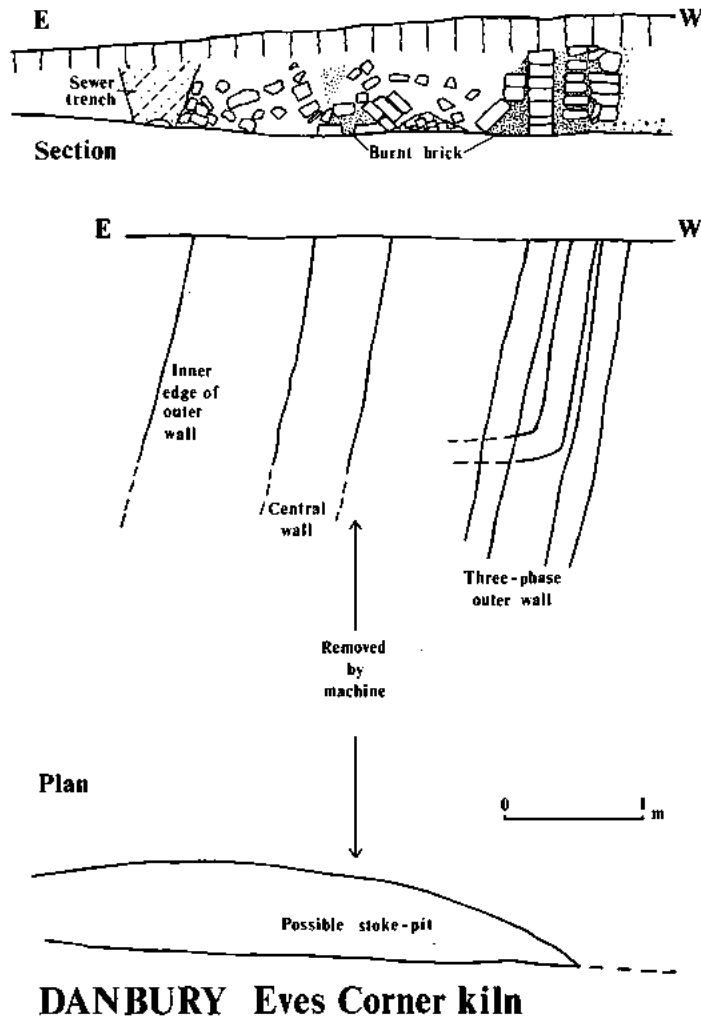


Fig. 7

Conclusion

Danbury has been a centre of small-scale brick, tile and pottery manufacture from the late 13th century A.D. onwards (Drury and Pratt, 1975). A 17th-century double kiln has been excavated at Runsell Green, Danbury (Drury, 1975), which is similar in plan to the Danbury Palace kiln, though the latter is of single-chambered form. The Danbury Palace stoke-pit was better formed, being brick-built, and a chimney was installed. Its apparent lower chamber and blocking may well be a mechanism for increasing the up-draught and the iron bars are seen as fire-bars, perhaps supporting metal grills bearing the kiln load.

The Danbury Palace kiln may be seen as the most developed form of Musty's (1974) Type 4 rectangular tile-kilns, and it operated in competition with continuous firing-kilns by providing for a specific market nearby. Mr. Richardson was manufacturing bricks as late, perhaps, as 1912, with essentially pre-Industrial Revolution methods of manufacture and trading.

Bronze Age Radiocarbon Dates**TQ 98.2 and 98.22 Barling Hall, Barling Magna TQ 937896****TL 72.75 Marlborough Road, Braintree TL 769238**

These two sites have been previously reported (Couchman, 1977, 60–74), but the radiocarbon dates from charcoal associated with Deverel-Rimbury pottery were not available from the British Museum at the time of publication. These have recently been published (Burleigh *et al.*, 1981, 19–20) but are given here for reference:

Barling, Baldwins Farm, Area 2, F3; from a small pit associated with Deverel-Rimbury bucket urn sherds 3290 ± 90 bp BM-1631.

Braintree, Marlborough Road, Pt B; from a pit associated Middle Bronze Age pottery 2780 ± 35 bp BM-1632.

Kinnes (Burleigh *et al.*, *op. cit.*) considers both dates appropriate to a regional 'Deverel-Rimbury' aspect of the later Bronze Age on current evidence.

Summary

The fifth report of the Section's work is concerned solely with those sites or finds which are relevant to the broad rescue/research themes identified in the fourth report (Eddy (ed.), 1980, 51–85) or by the specialist contributors to the Clacton conference (Buckley (ed.), 1980).

An eclectic approach still dominates in the field of early prehistory and the finds of long flint blades at Birdbrook (above, 32) and of a tranchet axe/adze at Great Burstead (above, 32) are useful additions to Jacobi's distribution map (1980, fig. 6). The Neolithic and Early Iron Age finds from Little Waltham are equally useful in distributional terms as they occur on the claylands of central Essex. Little Waltham is the twenty-fourth instance of neolithic pottery in the county (*vide* Hedges, 1980, fig. 11) and the thirteenth example of an earlier Iron Age settlement (*vide* Drury, 1980, 50–2). It is particularly interesting to note that all these finds come from areas with a clay subsoil.

The recent work on the hillfort at Danbury stems from the excavation undertaken by Morris and Buckley (1978), and essentially confirms their conclusions. Danbury is one of the few hillforts in the county to have undergone excavation in modern times mainly because it lies close to the centre of a popular village where small-scale developments have been closely monitored.

Evidence of later Iron Age and Roman activity has been relatively infrequently reported to the Section in previous years except for watching briefs on known sites. This year, however, new sites have been recognised at Henham and Panfield, whilst Shenfield has not been mentioned in the literature before. The Iron Age coin was found in an area producing abundant Roman finds and is the first indication of pre-Roman activity. Again all these sites are on clay subsoils.

Early and middle Saxon sites and finds are rare additions to the E.S.M.R., though late Saxon or Saxo-Norman finds have been recorded at High Easter and Beauchamp Roding (above, 40 and 42)—these are also important as examples of deserted or shrunken medieval villages. In addition, High Easter is a rare instance in Essex of surviving village earthworks. All the medieval and post-medieval sites reported are of some relevance to the study of ceramics, particularly the kiln sites, since little has been published in the county. Work on churches has been limited but some structural evidence at Little Yeldham has been revealed. West Horndon and Chipping Ongar illustrate two different forms of pressure on churches, in one case rural depopulation resulting in redundancy and demolition and in the other urban growth requiring the development of part of the churchyard.

This report has been restricted to those sites and finds which are related to the research objectives already identified (Eddy, 1980, 82). Consequently a number of discoveries, particularly of post-medieval material, have been excluded.

Bibliography

- Buckley, D. G. (ed.), *Archaeology in Essex to A.D. 1500*, Council Brit. Archaeol. Res. Report 34 (1980).
- Burleigh, R., Matthews, K., Ambers, J. and Kinnes, I., 'British Museum Natural Radiocarbon Measurements XII', *Radiocarbon*, **xxiii**, No. 1, (1981), 14-23.
- Came, P., *Ninety Years of Building in Essex*, E.R.O. Pamphlet Box D.I. (1968).
- Clark, T. G. D., *The Mesolithic Age in Britain* (1932).
- Couchman, C. R. (ed.), 'Work of Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1974-76', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **viii** (1976), 144-83.
- Couchman, C. R. (ed.), 'Work of Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1977', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **ix**, (1977), 60-94.
- Couchman, C. R. (ed.), 'Work of Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1978', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **xi** (1979), 32-77.
- Couchman, C. R., 'The Bronze Age in Essex', in Buckley, D. G. (ed.), (1980), 40-6.
- Drury, P. J., 'Post-Medieval Brick and Tile Kilns at Runsell Green, Danbury, Essex', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* **ix** (1975), 203-11.
- Drury, P. J., 'Braintree: Excavations and Research, 1971-6', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **viii** (1976), 1-143.
- Drury, P. J., Chelmsford Excavation Committee Report I: *Excavations at Little Waltham 1970-71*, Council Brit. Archaeol. Res. Report 26 (1978).
- Drury, P. J., 'The Early and Middle Phases of the Iron Age in Essex', in Buckley, D. G. (ed.) (1980), 47-54.
- Drury, P. J. and Norton, C., *The Medieval Floor Tiles of Essex, Suffolk & Cambs.* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. (forthcoming).
- Drury, P. J. and Pratt, G. D., 'A late 13th and early 14th century Tile Factory at Danbury, Essex', *Medieval Archaeol.* **xix** (1975), 92-164.
- Eddy, M. R. (ed.), 'Excavations in Essex, 1978', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **xi** (1979), 101-10.
- Eddy, M. R. (ed.), 'Work of Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1979', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **xii** (1980).
- Eddy, M. R. (ed.), 'Excavations in Essex, 1980', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **xiii** (1981).
- E.R.O., Essex Record Office.
- Evison, V. I., Hodges, H., and Hurst, J. G., *Medieval Pottery from Excavations: studies presented to Gerald Clough Dunning* (1974).
- Griffiths, K. E., *Survey of Lt. Leighs Parish, including study of land boundaries*. University of Durham B.A. dissertation. (1981, unpub.).
- Hedges, J. D., 'The Neolithic in Essex' in Buckley, D. G. (ed.) (1980), 26-39.
- Hill, P. V., and Kent, J. P. C., *Late Roman Bronze Coinage, Pt. 1* (1972).
- Hills, E. H., 'Rochford Golfcourse', in Eddy, M. R. (ed.) (1979), 108.
- Huggins, P. J., 'Monastic Grange and Outer Close Excavations, Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1970-1972', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, **iv** (1972), 30-127.
- Huggins, P. J., and Huggins, R. M., 'Excavations of Monastic Forge and Saxo-Norman Enclosure, Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1972-73', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **v** (1973), 127-84.
- Hull, M. R., *The Roman Potters' Kilns of Colchester*. Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Antiq. Lond., **XXI** (1963).
- Jacobi, R. M., 'The Mesolithic of Essex', in Buckley, D. G. (ed.) (1980), 14-25.
- Morris, S., and Buckley, D. G., 'Excavations at Danbury Camp, Essex, 1974 and 1977', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **x** (1978), 1-28.
- Musty, J., 'Medieval pottery kilns', in Evison, V. I., et al. (eds.) (1974), 41-66.
- M.V.R.G., *Medieval Village Research Group Report*, **xxiv** (1976), 55.
- Rahitz, P. A., *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex, 1955-57*, Medieval Archaeol. Monograph, 3 (1969).
- R.C.H.M., Essex, *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Essex*, **i** (1916), 189-90.
- Reaney, P. H., *The Place-names of Essex* (1935).
- R.I.C., London, 255, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, **vii**, ed. P. N. Bruun (1966).
- Spurrell, F. G. J., 'Danbury Camp, Essex', *Essex Natur.*, **iv** (1890), 138-40.
- Williams, F., *Excavations at Pleshey Castle*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 42 (1977).
- Wymer, J. J. (ed.), *Gazetteer of Mesolithic Sites in England and Wales*, Council Brit. Archaeol. Res. Report 20 (1977).
- V.C.H., *Victoria County History of Essex*, **iv** (1956), 156.
- Young, C. J., *The Roman Pottery Industry of the Oxford Region*. Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 43 (1977).
- The Society acknowledges with thanks a grant from the Essex County Council towards the publication of this report.*

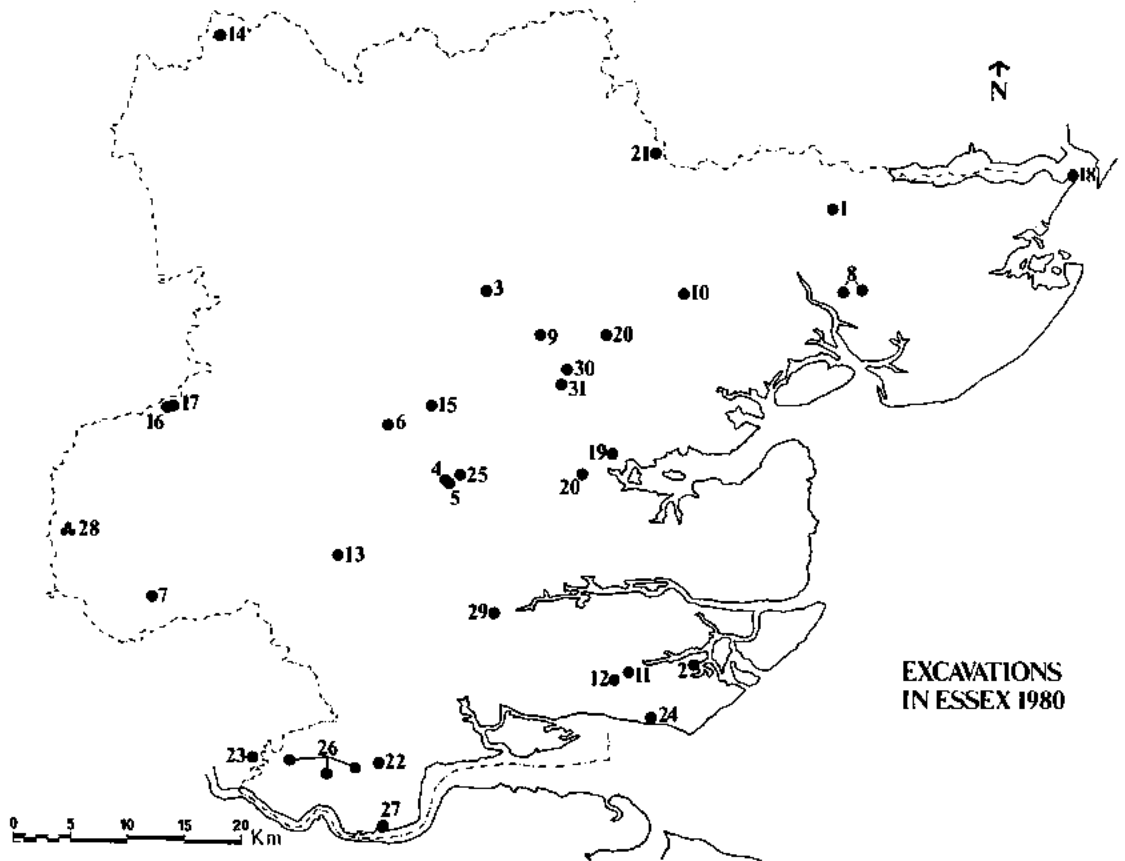
Excavations in Essex, 1980

Edited by M. R. EDDY

This is the fifth annual round-up of excavations in Essex to be compiled by Essex County Council's Archaeology Section for the Advisory Committee for Archaeological Excavations in Essex. In 1980, thirty-one excavations were undertaken in Essex and adjacent Greater London (Fig. 1). As in previous years the majority were rescue operations. In order to increase the general interest of these reports, a survey of results has been added at the request of the Publications Committee.

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. Ardleigh, Vinces Farm (TM 055992) (cont.)

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

Further excavation of the late Bronze Age cemetery revealed several ploughed-out barrows with associated burials, previously examined by Erith (1958, 11–15; 1960, 31–4). The cemetery apparently respects a north–south ditched trackway though there is no evidence for the trackway being ditched in the Bronze Age. Fieldwalking and selective excavation indicated a series of rectangular ditched enclosures of 1st- and 2nd-century A.D. date. This enclosure was appended to a large rectangular enclosure which is probably late Bronze Age in origin. A Roman kiln and wasters were also found.

Finds: Central Excavation Unit and Col. M.

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

2. Barling, Barling Hall (TQ 931901)

K. Crowe, S.E.E.A.S. and S.M.

Observation in advance of gravel extraction produced evidence of ditches and pits, including a possible sunken hut.

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

3. Braintree, Drury Lane (TL 758231)

B. H. Milton, E.C.C.

Excavation prior to development indicated a 13th- to 14th-century date for the primary fills of property boundaries at right-angles and parallel to the medieval market square frontage. The projected line of Drury's Roman road II (1976, fig. 2–4) was sectioned and no Roman road surfaces found, though a medieval lane was recorded partially underlying the existing lane and sealing a medieval boundary ditch. A complex of Roman cess-pits was partly excavated and shown to be of 2nd-century date. A buried soil contained mesolithic flints.

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

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

4. Chelmsford, 207–8 Moulsham Street (TL 708064)

M. R. Eddy and H. J. Major, E.C.C., Chelmsford Borough Council and Moulsham Traders' Association

A masonry wall, known from previous excavations, was shown to be an internal wall of Roman date. Previous finds and the building's backland position suggest a religious function. The structure was demolished to floor-level in the late Roman period, and a post-built timber structure was then erected. Roman tiles, used as post-packing, were the only finds associated with this structure.

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

Final publication: with C.E.C.

5. Chelmsford, 217–18 Moulsham Street (TL 709065)

M. R. Eddy and B. Milton, E.C.C., Chelmsford Borough Council and Moulsham Traders' Association.

The earliest occupation of the site was represented by undated curved and straight gulleys and beam-trenches. A substantial early Roman ditch ran at right-angles to the roadside ditch parallel to the present Moulsham Street. Metal-working debris was recovered from the ditches. An early medieval well-shaft, originally timber-framed, was partially excavated and a complete 13th-century jug found. In the 16th century Moulsham Street was widened. Fronting on to the late medieval road was a timber-framed building with dwarf walls with tile footings. This building contained tile-built ovens. Many features were truncated by 18th-century gaoil foundations.

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

Final publication: with C.E.C.

6. Chignall St. James (TL 662108) (cont.)

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

Further evidence of late mesolithic and early neolithic occupation was recovered from pits and hollows in the surface of the boulder clay subsoil. A rectangular enclosure of M.P.R.I.A. origin was excavated and appeared to have been in use into the early Roman period. The early Roman strip-field system was found to comprise at least twenty-three units, each c. 5 m. wide and over 100 m. long. A metallised surface running parallel to the drainage gullies within the field system was shown to post-date it. A small inhumation cemetery overlay an early Roman pit complex.

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

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

7. Chigwell, Little London (TQ 456963) (cont.)

F. R. Clark, West Essex Archaeological Group

Further excavation near the hypocaust identified a *caldarium* and plunge bath associated with other rooms. The walls had been robbed and the robber trenches contained finds dated to c. A.D. 400.

Finds: P.E.M.

8. Colchester Eastern By-Pass

G. Tann, Tendring Rescue Archaeology Group

Observation of topsoil stripping in advance of road construction revealed finds of neolithic and Bronze Age flints and Bronze Age to post-medieval pottery. Two rescue excavations were carried out.

Elmstead Hall (TM 064262)

A small L.P.R.I.A. cremation cemetery was excavated and twelve vessels, including a *terra nigra* platter, recovered.

Great Bromley, Boudge Hall Wood (TM 076257)

An early Roman enclosure ditch was excavated and a possible kiln and possible Bronze Age occupation recorded.

Finds: Col. M.

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

9. Cressing Temple (TL 798192) (cont.)

J. H. Hope, Brain Valley Archaeological Society

The cellar of the Tudor 'great house' was cleared of recent rubbish and two phases of brick floors, drains and garderobes were recorded. Further excavation on the north and east walls of the Templars' chapel showed that the east wall had been reconstructed in the 16th century owing to subsidence caused by the fills of an earlier inhumation cemetery. The stone foundation of the north-west corner of a large, strongly buttressed building, with a small buttressed annex of probable 15th-century date, was examined. Iron Age and Roman features were also recorded.

Finds: with excavator.

10. Easthorpe, Gol Grove (TL 942221)

R. M. Knowles, C.A.G.

Further work to confirm the line of a Roman road identified a possible causeway across the Roman River and two hollow ways which combined within Gol Grove.

Finds: with excavators.

11. Eastwood, Marshall's Farm (TQ 87758905) (cont.)

K. L. Crowe, S.E.E.A.S.

Excavation north of the corn-drier previously examined revealed a series of late-3rd- to 4th-century rubbish deposits which included building stone (probably Kentish Rag). Partially overlying the rubbish deposits was a yellow grey clay interpreted as a flood deposit. Post-dating the clay level was a series of stake holes which may have represented fences.

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

Final publication: *E.A.H.*

12. Eastwood, Western Approaches (TQ 855890) (cont.)

D. G. McLeod, S.M.

A two-phase Late Bronze-Age–Early Iron Age enclosure was excavated in advance of development.

Finds: S.M.

13. Fryerning, Stonemore Wood (TL 638018)

J. Downs, I.F.H.A.S.

A mound, bifurcated by an open, recent ditch, was excavated and the eastern half shown to contain a brick-built tile-kiln. The western wall had been destroyed by the ditch but a double flue up-draught kiln fired from the north end is suggested. Only peg-tiles and bricks, probably of late-16th- or early 17th-century date, were found.

Finds: I.F.H.A.S.

14. Great Chesterford, Crown Orchard (TL 507429)

A. E. Collins, Department of the Environment, E.C.C., Great Chesterford Archaeology Group.

Excavation prior to and during development, immediately east of the Roman walled town,

revealed a possible L.P.R.I.A. house gulley overlain by an early 1st century A.D. ditched enclosure. Later in the 1st-century a major east-west road was constructed. Set back from the road, a timber-framed building with tessellated floors and painted walls was erected in the 2nd century. This structure was replaced after a fire by another timber-framed building. Behind these was an alley with a further timber building beyond it. The buildings either side of the alley were apparently integrated, using common wells, pits, latrines and an oven, and their plans and quantities of worked bone suggested a mixed commercial and domestic property.

By the later 3rd century settlement had contracted and the buildings were replaced by ditched enclosures. In the late 3rd or early 4th century a band of ground was prepared for a masonry town wall, with a gateway 11.5 m. wide on the line of the early road. The outer town ditch was located and shown to be butt-ended in front of the gateway with a small drainage gulley linked both ends. Above this were the remains of a timber bridge.

Medieval structures and ditches, wells and pits were also recorded.

Finds: with excavator.

15. Great Waltham, 11 Dickeymoors (TL 699132)

P. J. Drury

Limited excavation of a possible gravel pit of late Roman date produced a Saxon pottery sequence from the middle fills. Finds ranged in date from a 5th-century carinated vessel to a 9th- or 10th-century bar-lipped vessel. Medieval pottery was recovered from the upper fills.

Finds: with excavator.

Final publication: *E.A.H.*

16. Harlow, River Way (TL 460120)

R. W. Bartlett, H.M.

Trenches through modern build-up revealed quantities of Roman building debris and pottery but no building plans. A square timber-lined well had been cut into the base of a large, shallow pit and contained parts of a wooden bucket, pulley block, a carved finial and seven leather shoes associated with an early 2nd-century glass flagon and animal bones. A wooden platform was set into the clay at the west side of the well. Finds from the layers above the well suggest that it was rapidly filled in the early 2nd century after the collapse of one side.

Finds: H.M.

17. Harlow, Stafford House (TL 465122) (cont.)

R. W. Bartlett, H.M.

The Roman ditches recorded in 1979 were traced across the site and further ditches were found, some of which drained into a large shallow pit. Several pits of uncertain function were associated with spreads of building rubble and areas of burning though no coherent building remains were noted. A shallow timber-lined pit, of planks nailed directly into the clay, was also found. Most features were of 3rd- or 4th-century date.

Finds: H.M.

Harwich, Kingshead Street (TM 261327) (cont.)

R. Farrands, C.A.G.

Further small-scale excavations at the rear of the Kingshead Garage recovered more of the plan of the courtyard structure and increased the range of British and continental ceramics.

Finds: C.E.C.

19. Heybridge/Great Totham, Lofts Farm (TL 866090) (cont.)

P. N. Brown, M.A.G. and E.C.C.

Excavation of the Bronze Age ring-ditch continued and an enclosure to the west was investigated and shown to post-date the final filling of the ring-ditch. Three cremations, two associated with pottery, were found. The other, possibly primary, cremation was associated with fragments of a possible wooden vessel. Observation of topsoil stripping continued but generally proved negative due to an increase in the speed of stripping and extraction.

Finds: M.A.G.

20. Maldon, Beeleigh Road (TL 848072)

P. N. Brown and M. R. Eddy, M.A.G., Maldon District Council and E.C.C.

A trench was excavated, prior to development, at right-angles to and south of Beeleigh Road, sectioning a ditch producing late Saxon pottery. This ditch had been badly disturbed by medieval clay extraction. A shallow well, possibly wicker-lined, was filled in during the Roman period. Residual Iron Age pottery was found.

Finds: M.A.G.

21. Mount Bures, Fen Farm (TL 907322)

I. McMaster and A. J. Fawn, C.A.G.

Excavation of cropmark ditches, in the area of a Belgic burial found in 1849 (*V.C.H.*, 3, 60), showed these to be modern field drains, but a ditch, not visible as a cropmark, was shown to be of L.P.R.I.A. date. A gravelled area, parallel to the ditch, may represent an associated pathway.

Finds: with excavators.

22. Orsett 'Cock' (TL 654813)

M. U. Jones and S. King

Excavation of the fourth Saxon sunken-hut and the north entrance of the Phase II (Toller, 1980, 35-8) enclosure continued.

Finds: T.M.

Final publication: with H. Toller in *E.A.A. (Essex) and Medieval Archaeology*.

23. Rainham, Moor Hall Farm (TQ 545820) (cont.)

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

Continued work prior to gravel quarrying has indicated that the L.P.R.I.A. triple-ditched enclosure has only one entrance. The hut circles and beam trenches were mainly undated. Limited evidence of early Roman activity was recovered. A late Roman farmyard lay to the west of the earlier enclosure, whilst L.P.R.I.A. and early Roman ditches and pits were found to the east. To the north earlier Iron Age ditches, pits and a hut circle were recovered. Several wells of L.P.R.I.A. and Roman date were excavated.

Evidence for a ploughed-out barrow cemetery with cremation burials was associated with pottery and flint of Late Bronze Age/E.P.R.I.A. date.

Finds: P.E.M.

Final publication: P.E.M. Monograph.

24. Southchurch Hall (TQ 894855) (cont.)

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

Excavations south of the new toilet block revealed the brick and tile footings of a possible addition to a chapel which is known to exist nearby. Excavations were begun on the site of a bridge over the moat and the garderobe outlet whilst a watching brief was maintained on the new service trenches.

Finds: S.M.

25. Springfield Cursus (TL 726066) (cont.)

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

A second season of work concentrated on the western terminal of the cursus which was square-ended in plan. The now eroded U-shaped ditch profile averaged 3.5 m. wide and 1.2 m. deep, the north and south ditches being 50 m. apart. No internal features of neolithic date existed at this terminal. The area was considerably disturbed by L.P.R.I.A., Roman and later features, including a single ditched Romano-British enclosure of which three sides were confirmed by excavation. Neolithic pottery and worked flint were found within the cursus enclosure.

Finds: E.C.C., to go to British Museum.

Final publication: *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*.

26. Thurrock A13/M25 Road Schemes (cont.)

T. J. Wilkinson, E.C.C.

Continuing work on this road concentrated on three sites:

Orsett, Rectory Road (TQ 647811)

An apparently unenclosed E.P.R.I.A. settlement site comprised a group of pits and post-holes. One bell-shaped pit contained several kilogrammes of carbonised grain sealed by a layer containing much pottery including a complete carinated bowl.

North Stifford, Ardale School (TQ 598798)

The cropmark complex revealed a sequence of occupation dating from the middle Iron Age to the late pagan Saxon period. Two middle Iron Age rectangular, and one C-shaped, enclosures were associated with five penannular gullies, and a D-shaped enclosure was dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. A group of Saxon sunken huts were excavated and a small Saxon cemetery of nine inhumations and one cremation was found south of the huts. Within the cemetery area were three circular gullies which may be ploughed-out Saxon barrows. A small stake-built rectangular structure may be of Roman or Saxon date.

Stifford Clays (TQ 609804)

Further excavation revealed a series of enclosures of middle and late Iron Age date. The only Roman feature was a single ditch. A small rectangular building was shown to be Saxon, but the multi-phase gullies of a field-system are of uncertain date.

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

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

27. West Tilbury, Tilbury Fort (TQ 651755)

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

Excavation, prior to restoration, revealed a gravel road running from the north to the Fort itself or the nearby ferry. The road was constructed on a substantial clay make-up put down as a base for

the Fort. Beside the road was a triangular brick redoubt of late-17th- to late-18th-century date. Shortly after its construction the redoubt was strengthened by a redan. A new road entered the redan on the east side and was later replaced by a road and new entrance at the south-west corner. Evidence for a timber-firing platform was found associated with late-17th-century pottery.

The embankment to the covered-way was sectioned and roads from the redan *via* the covered-way to the ravelin protecting Landport Gate were found. A walkway on the crest of the ravelin's bank was revealed. Three skeletons were also found.

Finds: to be housed at Tilbury Fort?

Final publication: *Post-Medieval Archaeol.*

28. Waltham Abbey, Sun Street (TL 383006)

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

Three small excavations were undertaken in the town in advance of refurbishing and building rear extensions.

41 Sun Street

The timber frame was recorded and a trench excavated inside the building to determine details of its history.

46 Sun Street

Ditches or pits were found of which the earliest was dated to 1350–1450 on pottery evidence. One pit, dated to *c.* 1540, contained remains of the poisonous plants, black henbane and less hemlock.

56 Sun Street

A ditch, as yet undated, contained parts of leather shoes and a leather legging.

Finds: W.A.H.S.

29. Wickford (TQ 757941) (*cont.*)

P. Neild, Billericay Archaeological & Historical Society

Observation continued and more gravelled surfaces, including a possible road, ditches, pits, ovens and cremation burials recorded. Limited excavation revealed L.P.R.I.A. pits, a ditch and three roughly parallel gulleys. A bronze *fibula* with the inscription *TARRA* was found.

Finds: B.A.H.S. and E.C.C., to go to S.M.

Final publication: *E.A.H.*

30. Witham, Deal Cullen Seed Works (TL 81751535)

J. Hope, E.C.C. and Bramston Archaeological Field Unit

Limited excavation of contractors test-holes near the line of the burh defences showed a depth of *c.* 0.7 m. of modern rubbish over the site though possible ditch fills were noted, but not recorded fully prior to the collapse of a deeper test-hole section. No finds of antiquity.

Final publication: Report on E.S.M.R.

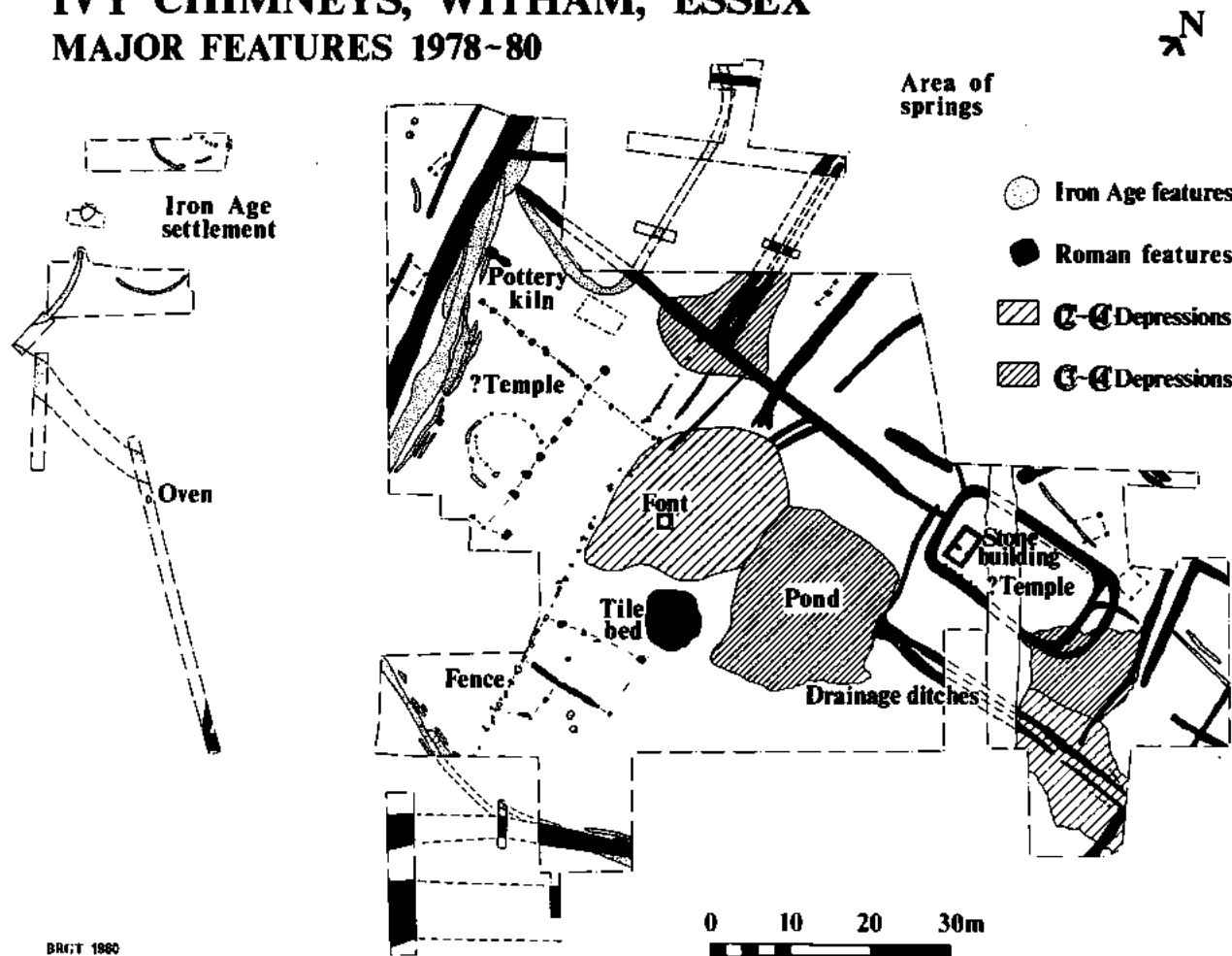
31. Witham, Ivy Chimneys (TL 811136) (*cont.*)

R. Turner, E.C.C.

Continued excavation showed that pre-Roman settlement spanned the whole of the Iron Age but was only enclosed in the M.P.R.I.A. and L.P.R.I.A. The Iron Age occupation probably comprised only one or two houses at any one time but an extensive field system was found. A large

IVY CHIMNEYS, WITHAM, ESSEX

MAJOR FEATURES 1978-80



BAGT 1980

sub-rectangular round-cornered building of A.D. 300–60 was associated with a third votive depression. Votive finds were recovered from the backfilled beam trenches of this possible temple. A smaller two-celled building with masonry footings and tile on mortar floors replaced the timber building and appears to have been contemporary with the font (Eddy, 1980). Sub-Roman activity was represented by two buildings, one of sub-rectangular plan. Fig. 2 shows the principal features.

Finds: E.C.C.

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

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| B.S.D.L.H.S. | Bishop's Stortford & District Local History Society |
| C.A.G. | Colchester Archaeological Group |
| C.E.C. | Chelmsford Excavation Committee |
| C.M. | Chelmsford & Essex Museum |
| Col. M. | Colchester & Essex Museum |
| <i>E.A.A. (Essex)</i> | <i>East Anglian Archaeology (Essex)</i> |
| <i>E.A.H.</i> | <i>Essex Archaeology and History</i> |
| E.C.C. | Essex County Council |
| E.S.M.R. | Essex Sites & Monuments Record |
| H.M. | Harlow Museum |
| I.F.H.A.S. | Ingatestone & Fryerning Historical and Archeological Society |
| L.P.R.I.A. | Later Pre-Roman Iron Age |
| M.A.G. | Maldon Archaeological Group |
| P.E.M. | Passmore Edwards Museum |
| S.E.E.A.S. | South-East Essex Archaeological Society |
| S.M. | Southend Museum |
| T.M. | Thurrock Local History Museum |
| W.A.H.S. | Waltham Abbey Historical Society |

Progress in Essex Archaeology, 1980

All the excavations undertaken during this and previous years have had some impact on archaeological interpretations or methodology but, until the publication in 1980 of the Clacton conference proceedings (Buckley (ed.), 1980), it has not been practicable to put the interim notes presented here into a coherent framework of rescue/research.

Following the period-by-period approach of the conference it is clear that the only advances during 1980 in the study of the palaeolithic and mesolithic periods were accidental. The Roman temple site at Witham (31) produced a group of palaeolithic hand-axes whilst mesolithic flintwork was recovered from the villa site at Chignal St. James (6) and Braintree (3). This dearth of fieldwork in the earlier prehistoric period is clearly a reflection of the difficulties inherent in predicting such sites. With the advent of more settled communities these problems are lessened and the occurrence of cropmarks and of a wider range of artefacts facilitate site identification. The excavation of the cursus at Springfield (25; Hedges and Buckley, 1981) has added immeasurably to our knowledge of this type of monument though it is eccentric to the main distribution of possible cursus cropmarks in north-east Essex (Hedges, 1980, 29).

Work on the Bronze Age can be conveniently divided into studies of settlement and of burials. Couchman (1980, 45) expressed particular concern that settlement evidence should be sought to complement the distribution of metal-work finds and ring-ditch cropmarks. It is interesting therefore to note the recovery of exiguous Bronze Age occupation revealed by the Colchester Eastern By-Pass (8) in an area remarkable for its intensity of ring-ditch cropmarks. The recording of an enclosure of Late Bronze Age/E.P.R.I.A. date at Eastwood near Southend (12) is perhaps

more interesting in view of the intensity of Bronze Age finds in the Southend area. The extensive site at Ardleigh (1) has produced evidence both of settlement and burial whilst as a by-product of the excavations at Rainham (23) a barrow cemetery has been revealed. At Heybridge a ring-ditch cropmark has been shown to be of Bronze Age date and has produced a possible wooden vessel unique in Essex at this period. Although the excavation of the classic barrows of the Wessex Downlands is now considered repetitious the lack of excavated burials in Essex makes further work of value to Bronze Age studies in this county. Equally the need for radiocarbon dates and ceramic/metalwork associations, coupled with the ability of excavated ring-ditches to date in relative terms other elements in cropmark complexes, give such sites a wider importance.

The transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age has been little examined apart from at Eastwood (8) and perhaps at Ardleigh (1). However, this year's excavations have revealed a number of E.P.R.I.A. and M.P.R.I.A. settlements and these bear out the contention (Drury, 1980, 52) that there is a change from the open settlements of the Early Iron Age to the enclosed sites of the Middle Iron Age (Thurrock, 26; Witham, 31). It is also clear that Little Waltham, a settlement of the earlier Iron Age, is not unusual in being established on a clay subsoil (*ibid*, 47) as the sites at Chignall St. James (6), Maldon (20) and Witham (31) show.

The L.P.R.I.A. and Roman periods are best taken together because of the continuity of settlement through the Conquest. Indeed, that continuity may be pushed further back at Chignall (6) and Witham (31), if one accepts them as focal areas within a landscape. The ubiquity of L.P.R.I.A./Roman finds precludes consideration of each site, but the principal contributions will be assessed under the headings suggested by Drury and Rodwell (1980, 74) and in view of Priddy's (1980, 80) comments on cropmark enclosures. The work at Ardleigh (1), Rainham (23), Springfield (25) and Thurrock (26) have all assisted in the dating of specific cropmark enclosure forms, whilst at Chignall (6) a number of enclosure forms have been excavated. Of particular interest is the triple-ditched enclosure at Rainham (23), similar in many respects to the enclosure at Orsett (22) for which a 'military inspiration' has been claimed (Drury and Rodwell, 1980, 65). Large-scale excavation of both has now satisfactorily demonstrated that this form of enclosure is of Iron Age origin and the postulated forts of the northern Thames terraces (Dunnett, 1975, 41) are in fact a local form of Iron Age farmstead. The presence of kilns at Ardleigh (1) and on the line of the Colchester Eastern By-Pass (8) will make useful addenda to our knowledge of the pottery industry.

Roman urban archaeology in 1980 is marked as the first year, since the inception of these notes, in which no excavation has taken place in Colchester. There have been, however, excavations in the smaller towns of Braintree (3), Chelmsford (4 and 5), Great Chesterford (14) and Wickford (29), as well as at Chigwell (7), currently identified with *Duroilitum* (Rodwell, 1975, 88). Mainly directed at testing hypotheses of town development and answering questions raised by earlier work, the work in the small towns has added, for example, a fourth stone building at Chelmsford (4) as well as useful environmental evidence (5); necessitated minor amendments to the road system in Braintree (3); and increased the known area of settlement at Wickford (29). The sequence at Great Chesterford (14) is comparable to that at Kelvedon with the abandonment of extra-mural settlement by the later 3rd century. Although the work at Chigwell (7) has still to confirm Little London's status as a town, let alone its identification with *Duroilitum*, the excavations are beginning to put the known remains into a more coherent framework.

The extensive excavations at Witham (31) have thrown considerable light on the nature, and persistence, of pagan religious centres in the countryside. The Witham site is an example of a temple at the lower end of the social scale whereas the temple complex at Harlow (16 and 17), as yet less-well-defined, is representative of a more affluent class of monument. The presence there of a large shallow pit supplied by drainage ditches and a wood-lined pit at Harlow (17) is suggestive of the pond and 'font' arrangements at Witham.

The end of Roman Essex remains archaeologically elusive though at Chelmsford (4) an undated post-built structure overlies the masonry building. Evidence for the *Adventus Saxonum* is equally scant and has come to notice only by accident (see Jones, 1980, 82) at Great Waltham (15)

and Thurrock (26). The sequence of pottery from Great Waltham is potentially of the utmost importance to post-Roman ceramic studies.

For the later Saxon period the small-scale work on the Maldon *burh* has located the first possible excavated evidence for the *burh* defences (20) and with other fieldwork and landscape study should permit the definition of the enclosure on the ground. The more limited work at Witham (30), though unsuccessful, has at least helped to formulate a policy for the site.

Medieval rural archaeology has been relatively little studied though two moated sites at Cressing (9) and Southchurch Hall (24) have been subject to excavation work. Both projects, now complete or nearing completion, originated some time ago and would no doubt have been approached differently in the light of the rescue/research priorities defined by Le Patourel (1978, 42-5) and by Le Patourel and Roberts (1978, 53-5).

Within the medieval towns work has been limited in extent but has been directed at answering specific questions about urban history as at Braintree (3), Chelmsford (5) and Waltham Abbey (28). The Harwich excavation (14) has produced an extensive and impressive range of imported pottery out of all proportion to the relatively small area so far excavated.

Excavation and restoration at Tilbury Fort (27) has clarified aspects of the development of this post-medieval fortress and forms an element in a national policy to explain and display the principal military structures from the Tudor period onwards. The post-medieval kiln at Ingatestone (13) can be related to the study of rural ceramic industries, an aspect of archaeology and economic history to which Essex can contribute (see Drury, 1975, and Drury and Pratt, 1975).

It is clear that the problem-orientated excavations produce the most useful, and cost-effective, results. There is still room, however, for the opportunist excavation where sites are revealed by development works, but this is most appropriate for the early prehistoric and Saxon periods. For the pure research excavation the objectives must be well defined in advance and the resources, both in terms of funding and skills, must be available rigorously to follow such a programme through to a published conclusion.

Summary

Reports on all the excavations and major watching briefs have been recorded over a five-year period (Couchman (ed.), 1977 and 1978, Eddy (ed.), 1979, 1980 and above). This body of information has not only allowed archaeologists and the public in Essex ready access to the preliminary results of one aspect of archaeological work in the county, but has also presented the raw data for a survey of trends in excavation policy and interests. When compared with the level of development threats and the finance available for excavation a rough measure of archaeological effectiveness can be achieved.

For the purposes of this analysis excavation projects continuing for more than one year are counted separately in each year and there is no distinction made between trial trenches or area excavation. These factors will undoubtedly produce a bias in the statistics but, as the size of an excavation is not necessarily commensurate with its value to archaeology (and that value is often subjective), it is hoped that such bias will be minimal or even irrelevant to main trends.

The total number of excavations for each year varied between a maximum of forty-one and a minimum of thirty-one, but there was no obvious pattern of increase or decrease over time. However, when the annual totals were divided on the basis of the stated reasons for excavation into rescue, non-rescue and preservation assessment, a clear decrease in non-rescue work was demonstrated (see Table IA). The proportion of rescue work increased steadily during the five-year period apart from a slight fall in 1977 of 1.4%. The level of work on preservation assessment or preservation for display remained constant with only one excavation per annum except in 1980 when work at Ardleigh was coming to a close and at Tilbury was being commenced. As one of the preservation exercises was very small-scale (at Saffron Walden castle) in real terms, 1980 saw no actual increase in conservation archaeology. The average actual and proportional excavation effort is shown in Table IB and most closely corresponds with 1978 when thirty-six excavations were undertaken.

TABLE IA. Percentages of rescue/research excavation

| | 1976 | | 1977 | | 1978 | | 1979 | | 1980 | |
|-------------------------|------|----------|------|----------|------|----------|------|----------|------|----------|
| | % | (actual) | % | (actual) | § | (actual) | % | (actual) | % | (actual) |
| Rescue | 65.9 | (27) | 64.5 | (20) | 72.2 | (26) | 75.6 | (31) | 74.2 | (23) |
| Non-rescue | 31.7 | (13) | 32.3 | (10) | 25.0 | (9) | 22.0 | (9) | 19.3 | (6) |
| Preservation assessment | 2.4 | (1) | 3.2 | (1) | 2.8 | (1) | 2.4 | (1) | 6.5 | (2) |
| | 100% | (41) | 100% | (31) | 100% | (36) | 100% | (41) | 100% | (31) |

Percentages corrected to one decimal place.

TABLE IB. Average number and percentages over five-year period

| | % | (actual) | |
|-------------------------|------|----------|------------------|
| Of total number | — | (36) | 36 |
| Of rescue | 70.6 | (25.4) | 26 (rounded up) |
| Of non-rescue | 26.0 | (9.4) | 9 (rounded down) |
| Preservation assessment | 3.5 | (1.2) | 1 (rounded down) |

When the sources of support are examined a number of trends emerge, though the figures represent only the number of contributions made and not the financial outlay by each 'sponsor'. The analysis is shown in Table II; preservation assessment exercises are included under rescue.

The clearest pattern is the demise of Manpower Services Commission contributions to rescue projects in 1978 and to non-rescue projects (the only instance of government finance to this sector) in 1979. Numerically this source has been replaced by commercial sponsorship, though it is clear that the financial contribution from this source is very small at present. The steady decline in non-rescue excavation is again apparent but it is interesting to note the precise coincidence between non-rescue work and local society or privately funded excavation work. Local society or private work on rescue sites has, despite a setback in 1978, been maintained if not increased.

The public sector involvement in archaeological excavation has, with one exception, been devoted to rescue archaeology. From the coarse analysis allowed by Table II, it can be seen that public sector archaeology was much reduced in 1977 and that the Department of Environment (DoE) contribution measured in numbers of sites has not returned to its former level, and indeed, in 1980, was half the 1976 figure. County Council involvement was also reduced in 1977 but since then has returned to nearly its original level in 1978 and 1979. In 1980 the number of sites supported by the County Council fell but to a level comparable with the DoE. District Councils and museums also reduced their commitments in 1977 but this has returned to the original level among the museums. The District Council level of involvement has been slightly reduced from the 1976 level.

If the County and District Council and museum figures are combined to give a total figure of local authority involvement then the local authorities have contributed to roughly 50% more sites than central government in 1976. This proportion has increased to twice the DoE commitment in 1980. Without the full figures for 1981 a forecast is difficult but the programme of excavation proposed by central and local government is known to be much reduced and rescue archaeology will reach its lowest ebb since the inception of this compendium of interim excavation reports.

It is perhaps too early to review publication progress as so many excavations are under way or recently completed but a cursory examination of the basic data demonstrates that only eleven excavation seasons have been published at Level IV in an acceptable academic journal, whilst some fifteen are known to exist in typescript awaiting publication. Of these only one is non-rescue and only one rescue excavation totally unsupported by the public sector has been published. It is to be hoped that this situation will be radically improved in the next five years.

TABLE II. Funding sources (includes direct and indirect support)

| | DoE | E.C.C. | District Councils | Museums | Manpower Services | Other Government funds | Commerce | Private or local societies |
|----------------|-----|--------|----------------------|---------|----------------------|------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|
| <i>1976</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Rescue | 22 | 18 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 9 |
| Non-rescue | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| <i>1977</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Rescue | 14 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Non-rescue | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| <i>1978</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Rescue | 17 | 16 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| Non-rescue | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| <i>1979</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Rescue | 16 | 17 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 13 |
| Non-rescue | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| <i>1980</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Rescue | 11 | 10 | 5 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 10 |
| Non-rescue | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| <i>Average</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Rescue | 16 | 13.8 | 5.2 | 5 | 1 | 0.2 | 1.2 | 9.2 |
| Non-rescue | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.2 | 0 | 0 | 9.4 |

Bibliography

- Aberg, F. A. (ed.), *Medieval Moated Sites*. Council for British Archaeology Res. Rep., 17 (1978).
- Buckley, D. G. (ed.), *Archaeology in Essex to A.D. 1500*. Council for British Archaeology Res. Rep., 34 (1980).
- Couchman, C. R. (ed.), 'Excavations in Essex, 1976', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, ix (1977), 95-106.
- Couchman, C. R. (ed.), 'Excavations in Essex, 1977', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, x (1978), 240-8.
- Couchman, C. R., 'The Bronze Age in Essex', in Buckley, ed. (1980), 40-6.
- Drury, P. J., 'Post-Medieval Brick and Tile Kilns at Runsell Green, Danbury, Essex', *Post-Medieval Archaeol.*, ix (1975), 203-11.
- Drury, P. J., 'Braintree: Excavations and Research, 1971-76', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, viii (1976), 1-143.
- Drury, P. J., 'The early and middle phases of the Iron Age in Essex', in Buckley, ed. (1980), 47-54.
- Drury, P. J., and Pratt, G. D., 'A Late 13th and early 14th century tile factory at Danbury, Essex', *Medieval Archaeol.*, xix (1975), 92-164.
- Drury, P. J., and Rodwell, W. J., 'Settlement in the later Iron Age and Roman periods', in Buckley, ed. (1980), 59-75.
- Dunnett, R., *The Trinovantes* (1975).
- Eddy, M. R. (ed.), 'Excavations in Essex, 1978', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, xi (1979), 101-10.

- Eddy, M. R. (ed.), 'Excavations in Essex, 1979', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **xii** (1980), 39-51.
- Eddy, M. R. (ed.), 'Work of the Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1979', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **xii** (1980), 51-85.
- Erith, F. H., 'A Bronze Age Urn-Field at Vinces Farm, Ardleigh, near Colchester', *Colchester Archaeol. Group Bull.*, **i** (1959), 11-15.
- Erith, F. H., 'Winter Ploughing 1959-60 at Ardleigh', *Colchester Archaeol. Group Bull.*, **iii** (1960), 2-7.
- Hedges, J. D., 'The Neolithic in Essex', in Buckley, ed. (1980), 26-39.
- Hedges, J. D., and Buckley, D. G., *Springfield Cursus and the Cursus Problem*, Essex County Occasional Paper, 1 (1981).
- Jones, M. U., 'Mucking and the early Saxon rural settlement in Essex', in Buckley, ed. (1980), 82-6.
- Le Patourel, H. E. J., 'The excavation of moated sites', in Aberg, ed. (1978), 36-45.
- Le Patourel, H. E. J., and Roberts, B. K., 'The significance of moated sites', in Aberg, ed. (1978), 46-55.
- Priddy, D. A., 'Aerial Photographs in the Sites and Monuments Record', in Eddy, ed. (1980), 76-82.
- Rodwell, W. J., 'Trinovantian Towns and their Setting: A Case Study', in Rodwell and Rowley, eds. (1975), 85-107.
- Rodwell, W. J., and Rowley, R. T., *The Small Towns of Roman Britain*, Brit. Archaeol. Repts., 15 (1975).
- Toller, H., 'Excavations of the Orsett "Cock" Enclosure, Essex', *Britannia* **xi** (1980), 35-42.
- V.C.H. **iii**, *The Victoria History of Essex*, **iii** (1963), 60.

Archaeological and Historical Notes

A 'Belgic' Cremation Burial Found at West Mersea

by ISOBEL THOMPSON

The burial, comprising four pottery vessels and a small amount of cremated bone, was found in 1979 by Mr. Stutter, of 42 Fairhaven Avenue, West Mersea, when digging a trench for the building of a new garage in his garden. The pots and bone were collected and taken to the Colchester and Essex Museum by Mr. Stutter, who described them as being placed together in a cavity in the earth. P. R. Sealey of the Museum staff visited the site and collected some further sherds; he subsequently drew my attention to the burial and invited me to submit a note on the finds. The special interest of this burial, the first of its kind to be found in the area, will be discussed below.

The pottery

1. (My cat. No. 870.) Pedestal urn: rather gritty grey-brown soft grog-tempered fabric, quite fine grog, dark grey surfaces, smooth outside, worn to pink at rim and foot. The form is Cam. 201 (Hawkes and Hull, 1947, pl. LXXIV), or A:2 in my own type series of 'Belgic' pottery. The distinctive feature of this form is the so-called 'dice-box' foot, where the join between base and body of the pot is higher and narrower than the internal base, and is usually marked by a cordon to strengthen the join. It is chiefly an Essex form: it is the commonest form of pedestal in the Lexden cemetery, with other examples from Ardleigh and Colchester (Birchall, 1965, Nos. 132-3, Ardleigh, and 186, Colchester; hereafter cited as AB numbers); and just across the Suffolk border at Boxford (Owles and Smedley, 1970, e.g. Nos. 5 and 41). It is not a Kent form at all, where the only related example is a large oddly stilted vessel from Aylesford (AB 66), but in Hertfordshire there were four in the Welwyn Garden City grave (Stead, 1967) and two in the Hertford Heath grave (Holmes and Friend, 1955-7).

The West Mersea vessel has the neat compact form and narrow neck found in some of the Lexden pots (AB 187, 190).

2. (My cat. No. 871.) Cup: slightly gritty-feeling soft grey-brown grog-tempered fabric with pink showing below grey-brown surfaces, burnished outside to dark grey. The form is E1-2 in my type series, but a small shallow version: it is very closely paralleled by two vessels from Lexden (AB 176, 177). Other similar versions occur at Twitty Fee, Danbury (Dunning, 1934, fig. 2, No. 7), and Boxford (*op. cit.*, No. 1). The Sheepen form Cam. 211B is slightly taller; this shallow form is not closely paralleled elsewhere.

3. Pedestalled cup (873): thick, soft and very friable dark grey slightly gritty grog-tempered fabric with dark grey surfaces. This is form F3-4 in my type series: but there is only one known parallel as small as this, from Creeksea (AB 215). The kick of the carination is an unusual feature of this vessel, which has rather uncertain detailing of its cordons.

4. Butt beaker (872): gritty grey-brown, with some grog, and grey-brown surfaces, unburnished, and stamped. Originally it had some tooling on the neck above the cordon, and below the decoration. The fabric is grittier than that of the other vessels. It is a barrel-shaped butt-beaker

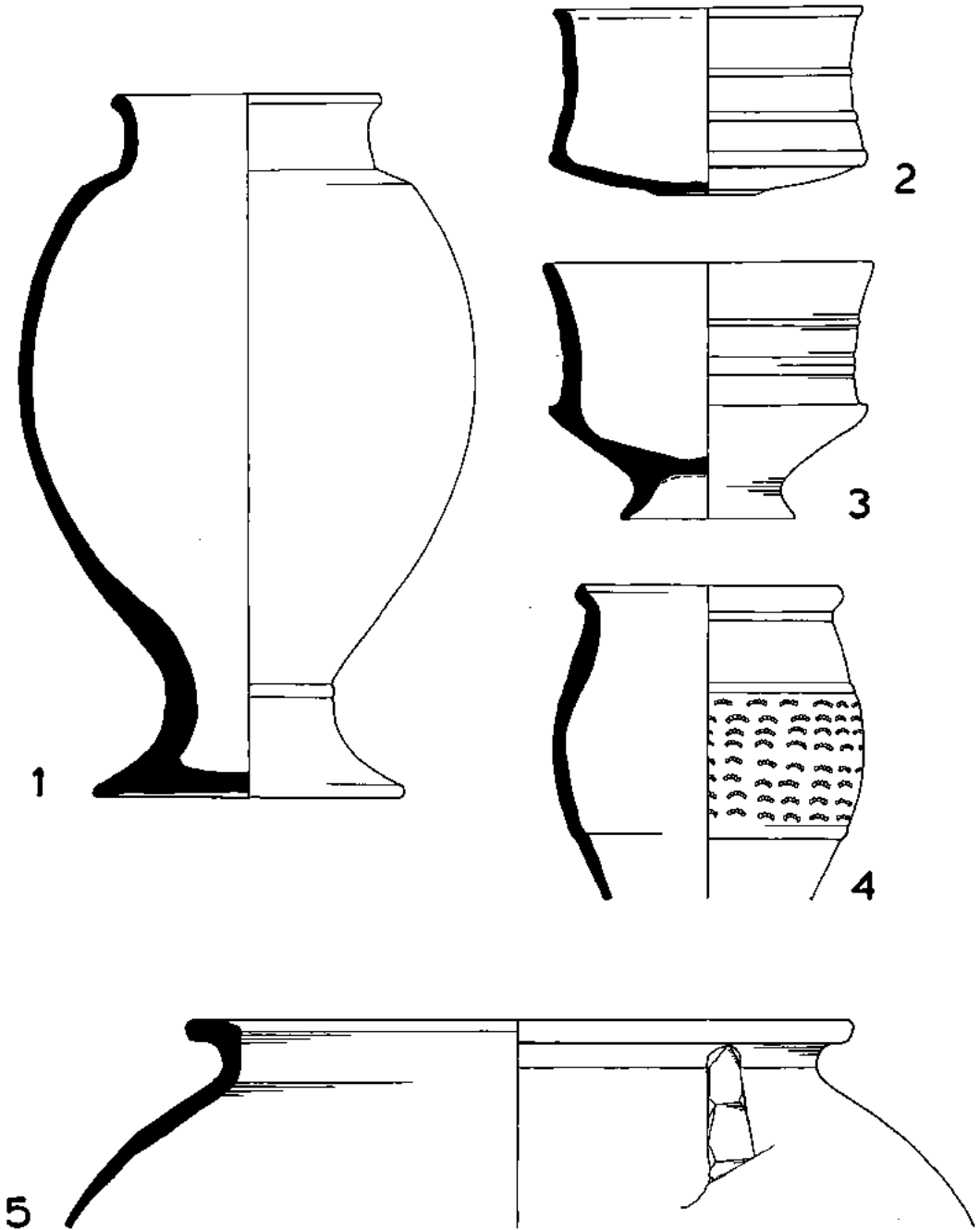


Fig. 1 Pottery from West Mersea

copy, a common shape, with an unusual decoration for which I know of no immediate parallel. Form G5-3.

The burial is noteworthy in that it provides some unexpected dating evidence, in the association of an A:2 pedestal urn with a copy of a Gallo-Belgic import. No other such association is known: this type of pedestal urn is generally regarded as an early form that was in use before the imports of Gallo-Belgic wares. This is undoubtedly true, as it is unlikely that such wares would not have been included with them in the Lexden cemetery had they been available. But it is now clear that an overlap occurs. This West Mersea burial has its closest links with the graves from Lexden and Creeksea, as might be expected since they are the nearest in spatial terms; none of its individual close relations are in graves that also included Gallo-Belgic wares or their copies.

Unstratified sherds from the foundation trench comprised two coarse reddish-brown hand-made flint-gritted sherds; the base of a small colour-coated beaker; and some grey fragments, one or two possibly Roman, but mostly medieval, including a base fragment. Several pieces joined together to form a substantial part of the rim of a medieval jar:

5. Jar rim (976): pink very sandy fabric with pale grey surfaces; dark grey core at thickness of rim. Decorated with an applied clay strip; the rim is distorted at this point. For a close parallel to this vessel, cf. a storage-jar rim and probable base from Danbury (Drury and Pratt, 1975, fig. 60, No. A14). The jar was from a group of pottery from a probable pit near the kiln site, and was of a fabric that was common on the kiln site itself, but the vertical neck of A14 was felt to indicate a rather earlier date for this group: 'perhaps belonging to the second half of the 13th century'. The Danbury vessel seems similar in both form and fabric to the West Mersea example.

The bones by Don Brothwell, Institute of Archaeology

1. 16 fragments of cremated bone, mainly long bones. Possibly but not certainly human; probably at least one adult represented. Also part of an uncremated vertebral bone of Bos/Equus size.
2. Over 20 fragments of cremated bone, including 13 pieces from long bones; also 2 fragments of skull. Thickness of long bone cortex and skull vault suggests an adult individual; sex could not be determined.

Clearly the head and parts of the limbs are represented, suggesting that a whole body may have been initially burnt, though most bone is missing, and this does not amount to the quantity actually resulting from a cremation.

References

- Birchall, A., 'The Aylesford-Swarling culture: the problem of the Belgae reconsidered', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, **xxx** (1965), 241-367.
- Drury, P. J., and Pratt, G. D., 'A late 13th and early 14th century tile factory at Danbury, Essex', *Med. Arch.*, **xix** (1975), 92-164.
- Dunning, G. C., 'Iron Age pottery from Danbury, Essex', *Antiqs. J.*, **xiv** (1934), 186-90.
- Hawkes, C. F. C., and Hull, M. R., *Camulodunum*. Society of Antiquaries (1947).
- Holmes, J., and Friend, W. H. C., 'A Belgic chieftain's grave on Hertford Heath', *East Herts. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, **xiv**, 1 (1955-7), 1-19.
- Owles, E., and Smedley, N., 'Two Belgic cemeteries at Boxford', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.*, **xxx** (1970), 88-107.
- Stead, J. M., 'A La Tène III burial at Welwyn Garden City', *Archaeologia*, **ci** (1967), 1-62.

Finds from the Probable Site of a Roman Villa at Dawes Heath, Thundersley, Essex

by P. J. DRURY, W. J. RODWELL and N. P. WICKENDEN

The late Alan Sorrell discovered an extensive Romano-British site at Dawes Heath, Thundersley, Essex (TQ 819889). Fieldwalking over a number of years yielded much pottery and other finds, and a scatter of building material sufficient to suggest the presence of masonry structures. Whilst no coherent plan has emerged, either from aerial photography or fieldwalking, there is every reason to think that the site was, unusually for southern Essex, that of a villa (Drury and Rodwell, 1980, fig. 61 and p. 64). The purpose of this note is to put on record a summary of the Romano-British artefacts found in fieldwalking; pre-Roman material is confined to a few prehistoric flint flakes.

The writers are most grateful to Mrs. E. Sorrell, in whose possession the finds remain, for allowing us to study and publish them here.

Objects of Copper Alloy by N. P. Wickenden

A small bronze figurine of a seated mother goddess, probably once part of a group of three, has recently been published with other small bronzes from Essex (Drury and Wickenden, 1982). Other significant objects are as follows:

- Fig. 1.1 Strainer handle, 122 mm. long; the terminal appears incomplete. Enough survives of the rim of the strainer to reconstruct an internal diameter of 80 mm. There are two flat horn-like projections along, and in the same plane as, the shaft. For the type, see Eggers, 1951, Taf. 13.161, and map 46 for its distribution in Free Germany.
- Fig. 1.2 Bead or toggle, 20 mm. long and pierced through its length. A constriction 7 mm. from one end suggests that its function may have included having something tied around this point.
- Fig. 1.3 Round-headed nail, 28 mm. long; the shaft is round in section.

Glass

Fragments of window glass (matt on one side) and square bottles were found, together with fragments of fine vessels, including a rim of a bowl. Four sherds of bright blue glass vessels are also present.

The Terra Sigillata by W. J. Rodwell

Since the pottery is derived from the plough scatter, the majority of sherds are heavily abraded.

Decorated Ware

- Fig. 1.4-5 A decorated sherd and part of the rim of a bowl, form 37, showing slight traces of burning; two further decorated sherds of the same vessel were recorded at Southend Museum in 1969. Another very abraded sherd may be from the same bowl; Central Gaulish, probably Lezoux. The vessel is a small example of its type (rim diameter c. 160 mm.), decorated with a continuous winding vine scroll pattern. There are leaves of at least two types attached to the scroll, and buds in the field. The vessel belongs to the Sacer-Attianus group (cf. Stanfield and Simpson, 1958, pl. 83.8). However, no

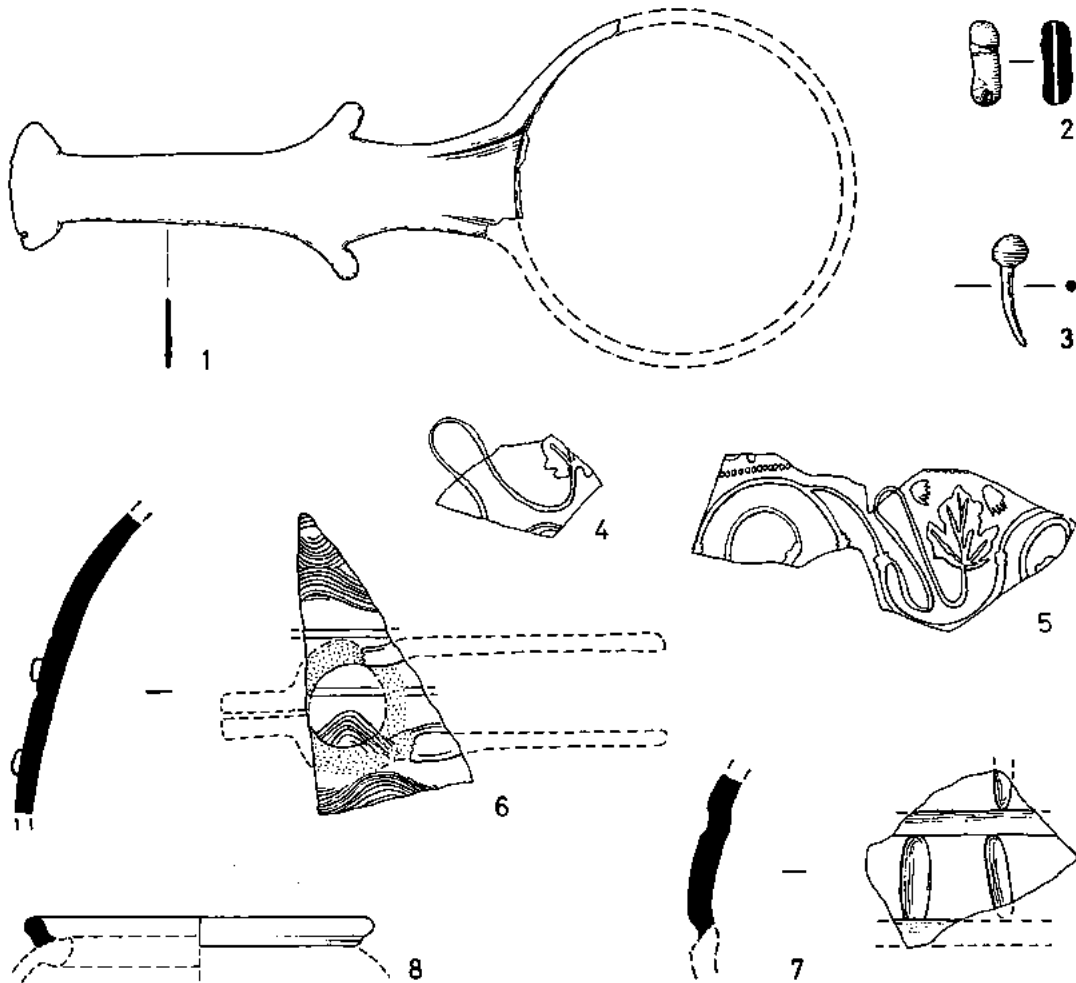


Fig. 1 Finds from the Dawes Heath villa: 1-3, copper alloy; 4-8, pottery. Scale 1:2, except 8, 1:4.

exact parallel for the complete leaf is shown; it is closest to leaves used by Sacer, who also occasionally used buds in the field (for a signed bowl, *ibid.*, pl. 82.3). The ovolo is too fragmentary to identify with certainty, but it would fit Sacer's ovolo No. 3 (*ibid.*, fig. 22). Date: c. A.D. 125-50.

Unillustrated: Form 37 base, Antonine; Form 30/37 base, CG, Antonine; Form 30R rim, EG, Antonine.

Plain Ware (all unillustrated)

Form 15/17, SG, Flavian; f24/25, SG, ? Flavian; F18, SG, pre-Flavian; f27, footring, SG, Flavian; f27, SG, ? pre-Flavian; f27, CG, 2nd century; f18/31, Hadrianic or early Antonine; ff18/31, 18/31R, 31, 31R, 30 sherds, mainly CG, some EG, Antonine; f31R mended with dovetail rivets; f36, CG, Antonine; f32 base, EG, late Antonine; f33, CG, Antonine; f38, CG, Antonine; f45, CG, EG, Antonine (one mended with dovetail rivets); f79 rim, CG, late Antonine.

The Coarse Pottery by W. J. Rodwell

- Fig. 1.6 Sherd from the shoulder of a large jar in a fairly fine orange-red fabric with medium grey surfaces. On the exterior there is a cordon defined simply by two grooves, above and below which is combed wavy-line decoration. There are two applied clay blobs which, together with surface scars, show that there was formerly an applied motif overlying the combing. Too little survives to identify this motif with certainty, but it is possible that it represents a pair of blacksmith's tongs. There are two examples of 'smiths' vases' from Colchester, where they were possibly made (cf. May, 1930, 147, fig. 3; Hull, 1958, 128, fig. 57.2). The type has been discussed briefly by Toynbee (1963, 191, Cat. No. 162). Probably 4th century.
- Fig. 1.7 Sherd, probably from the body of a large beaker, in a greyish brown, slightly sandy fabric. The exterior is dark grey and was probably once burnished; the decoration appears to have consisted of a chequerboard arrangement of broad, round-bottomed grooves. Too little survives to draw meaningful parallels: the vessel does, however, clearly belong to the series of 4th-century coarse-ware beakers, which are commonly decorated with impressed lines, shallow folds or dimples and other 'Romano-Saxon' motifs.
- Fig. 1.8 Rim fragment of a lid-seated jar of Mayen Ware. The fabric is very hard with a pimply surface, purplish-grey in colour and contains various tempering. See Fulford and Bird, 1975; this is an example of their fabric 1, type 4. Fourth century, imported from Germany.

Fulford and Bird list examples in Fabric 1 from Chadwell St. Mary, Mucking, Bradwell, Colchester and Gestingthorpe in Essex (1975, 176). Apart from the sherd under discussion here, four others can now be added: Chelmsford Dominican Priory, Colchester Castle, Heybridge, (all unpublished), and Sewardstone Hamlet (Huggins, 1978, 179).

Unillustrated

There is much coarse pottery spanning the entire Roman period, including 1st-century shell-tempered ledged- and bead-rim jars (cf. Drury and Rodwell, 1973, 79–84), Colchester colour-coated wares, and Spanish amphora fragments; also much late Roman material, including Rettendon-type ware (Drury, 1976), oxidised Hadham wares, late Nene Valley colour-coated ware, and Northamptonshire mortaria (*R. Col.*, f. 500).

Bibliography

- Drury, P. J., "'Rettendon" ware kiln debris and other material from Sandon', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* **viii** (1976), 253–8.
- Drury, P. J., and Rodwell, W. J., 'Excavations at Gun Hill, West Tilbury', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **v** (1973), 48–112.
- Drury, P. J., and Rodwell, W. J., 'Settlement in the late Iron Age and Roman Periods', in *Archaeology in Essex to A.D. 1500*, ed. D. G. Buckley, C.B.A. Res. Rep. **34** (1980), 59–75.
- Drury, P. J., and Wickenden, N. P., 'Four Bronze Figurines from the Trinovantian *Civitas*', *Britannia*, **xiii** (1982).
- Fulford, M., and Bird, J., 'Imported Pottery from Germany in Late Roman Britain', *Britannia*, **vi** (1975), 171–81.
- Huggins, R. M., 'Excavation of a late Roman site at Sewardstone Hamlet, Waltham Holy Cross, Essex, 1968–75', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **x** (1978), 174–89.
- Hull, M. R., *Roman Colchester*, Soc. Antiq. Res. Rep., **20** (1958).
- May, T., *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum* (1930).
- Stanfield, J. A., and Simpson, G., *Central Gaulish Potters* (1958).
- Toynbee, J. M. C., *Art in Roman Britain* (1963).

Excavation of a Buried Wooden Structure at Foulness

by R. W. CRUMP

During the autumn of 1975 it was decided that a stratigraphical survey should be carried out on the remains of what appeared to be an ancient internal embankment situated about 300 metres north-west of the Roman discoveries at Little Shelford, TQ 976908, running south from Shelford Creek and north towards Smallgains Farm. From local sources it was established that the embankment had been robbed over a period of years to fill low ways, etc. The remaining section measured 165 metres. In an attempt to obtain evidence for dating and method of construction, the extreme northerly face of the embankment was cut back 2 metres down to ground-level. The construction was entirely of clay with about 8 in. of topsoil. There was no trace of any other building material. The excavation enabled a fairly accurate measurement of the embankment to be made: width across the base 15.83 metres, width at the ridge 11.26 metres, height above ground-level (centre) 1.82 metres. To conclude the survey a section 2 metres wide was taken immediately in front of the embankment east-west; at a depth of about 1 metre timbers in log form were uncovered at two different levels.

Excavation work between 1976-80 revealed a complex array of timber (Fig. 1) set down in three levels, the third level consisting of one timber that was used as a tie. The construction consisted of fifty vertical posts set out in three main rows, the central row aligned north-south central to the embankment. Interlocking the posts were two levels of horizontal timber set out in two rectangles, one to the west of the construction and one to the east; these were joined using mortice and tennon joints (see reconstruction, Fig. 2). The first level of timber was 0.71 metre below ordnance datum which was established at 7,320 ft. Two of the vertical posts were excavated completely; two-thirds of the posts' lengths still had the bark on and generally all the timbers at the

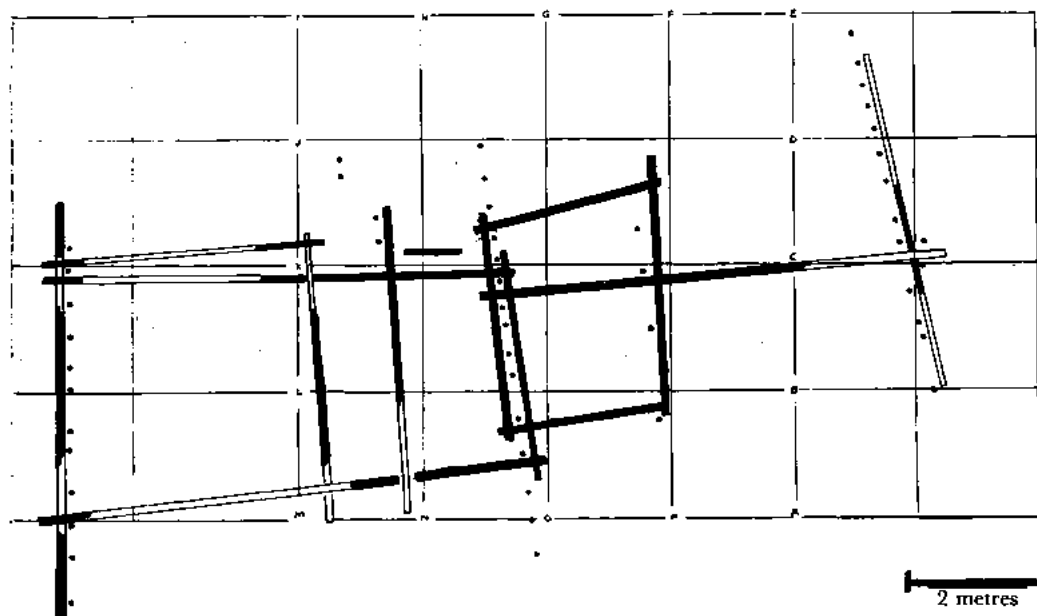


Fig. 1 Plan of timbers unearthed. Each post located is illustrated thus ●. The infilled lines represent timber actually found. The open lines suggest the original size of the timbers.

second and third levels were well preserved, though the tops of all the posts, and the first level of timber, were rotted. This was probably due to the first level being subjected to continuous seasonal changes while the second and third level were constantly damp. The two posts excavated measured 3 metres in length by 0.26 metre diameter. The ends had been angled, then pointed at the tip to allow easy entry into the soil. The horizontal timbers were all measured and the average diameter for them was established as 0.19 metre.

Two features of special interest were noted during the excavation: (1) the discovery of a vertical post shaped to a tenon with two timbers morticed over it, one being the third level tie (see Fig. 2); (2) a wattle interwoven barrier had been constructed across the central row of posts. The wattle was of alder woven on posts 0.08 metre diameter \times 0.35 metre deep.

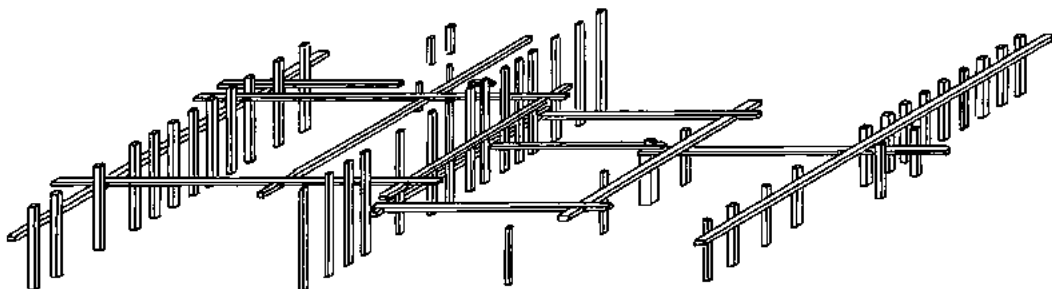


Fig. 2 Sketch of timbers unearthed. Missing portions have been drawn in and the whole structure squared up for ease of illustration.

Excavation has shown that the construction did not rise above normal ground-level, and the excavation of four sections, three at points across the length of the embankment, and one across the northern path of it, have revealed no further timberwork, suggesting this was an isolated construction. A study of the soil, early maps and aerial photographs shows that the construction was laid across the path of a tidal creek flowing from Shelford Creek eastwards across the axis of the embankment.

Method of Dating

Dendrochronology

A survey was carried out by Mr. M. German of the A.W.R.E. (Foulness) Archaeological Society, on the two posts completely excavated. These provided the best samples from which a curve was produced. The timber was identified as one of the Slow Grown Oaks, probably Durmast. A reference curve was found produced by Fletcher, Tapper and Walker, covering A.D. 1230–1546. This curve for Slow Grown Oaks and designated MC18, was compiled from measurements on, for example, the bases of panel portraits and oak chests. A computer was used to find the position of the best fit, the most likely felling dates are in the period A.D. 1483 to A.D. 1489.

Radiocarbon date

Two samples were processed at Harwell and from the Damon and Longs (1972) table a corrected mean date of A.D. 1490 \pm 75 was established (HAR 1689 and 1690).

Conclusions

So far no comparisons can be found for this construction, although archaeological reports on structures excavated in Cambridge, Essex, London, Dublin and, indeed, Norway, have been

studied. Looking at all the evidence uncovered, we are left with two possible answers regarding the purpose of the construction: (1) that it was set across the tidal creek as a unique form of fishing weir, but a study of local medieval fishing methods reveals no comparisons; (2) and the most likely answer, was to stabilise the foundation beneath the earth embankment which at this point would have been particularly weak.

Historical Note

During the medieval period Shelford Marsh was shared between three mainland parishes, those of Rochford, Shopland and Little Wakering. The embankment probably had a dual purpose: (1) to mark the boundary between the detached parishes of Shopland and Rochford within the Island; (2) to be used as a raised internal track across the low-lying marsh leading from Shelford Creek and a possible loading position serving the south-west of the Island.

Acknowledgement

We wish to acknowledge the financial support from the Department of the Environment for the radiocarbon dating. Drawings by A. C. H. Burrell.

Current Research on Essex History and Historical Geography, 1981

by NANCY BRIGGS

This list is based partly on *Historical Research for University Degrees in the United Kingdom, List No. 42, Part II, Theses in Progress 1981* (Institute of Historical Research, May 1981). Other information has been taken from research cards filed at the Essex Record Office. Information on completed research has been taken from *List No. 42, Part I, Theses completed 1980*.

Medieval

The education of the nobility in England, 1150–1450. Elizabeth Gue (Oxford D.Phil.).

Members of the Commons, 1472–5. J. T. Driver (Liverpool Ph.D.).

Rural-urban relations in late medieval England, with special reference to Colchester. J. A. Galloway (Edinburgh Ph.D.).

Early Modern

The Oligarchy of Harwich, 1550–1660. R. M. Cornell (Catholic University of America Ph.D.).

William Harrison (1535–93) and 'The Great English Chronology'. G. J. R. Parry (Cambridge Ph.D.).

Marriage and Family Life in the 17th century. J. Robyn Priestley (Sydney Ph.D.).

Wages and wage-earners, 1563–1725: the evidence of wage assessments. M. F. Roberts (Oxford D.Phil.).

Modern

The economics of the Old Poor Law. G. R. Boyer (Wisconsin Ph.D.).

Crime in the Witham Division, 1815–c. 1850. Janet Gyford (Essex M.A.).

Family and work under Courtaulds. Grace Belfiore (Oxford M.Litt.).

Agricultural depression in East Anglia, with special reference to Scottish farmers, 1870–1939. J. N. Mead (Essex M.Phil.).

Airport location and land use planning in S.E. England, 1919–53. D. Meyrick (London Ph.D.).

Miscellaneous

Administration of the royal forests from 1616. J. L. Nichols (London M.Phil.).

History of the management of Epping Forest. Barbara Wood (London M.Phil.).

Comparative community study of the parishes of Coggeshall, Feering and Great Tey. C. Johnson (Essex Ph.D.).

Completed Research

The archaeology, architecture and history of Rivenhall church. W. G. Rodwell (Birmingham M.A.).

*Barking Abbey in Saxon times, E. A. Loftus (Trinity College, Dublin, M.Litt.).

Early Quaker activity and reactions to it, 1652–64. B. G. Reay (Oxford D.Phil.).

*The borough of Maldon, 1688–1768. J. R. Smith (Leicester M.Phil.).

*Copy in E.R.O. Library.

Periodical Literature on Essex Archaeology and History, 1981

by J. M. SKUDDER

This bibliography lists articles and reports on historical and archaeological research relating to the geographical county of Essex published in national and local periodicals (but not the Society's) which were available in the Society's Library up to September 1981. It includes material in issues dated for 1980, but which actually appeared in 1981; but excludes monographs which are not part of a regular series; details of these are available from the Library catalogue. General and area studies are followed by places. Biographical articles are listed under the subject's place of birth or residence.

All publications are 1981 unless otherwise stated.

For Interest

The Human Skeletal Remains from Simonsborg. An early Roman Iron Age cemetery. Arbörger (1979), 69.

Bloemers, J. H. F. Nijmegen: *Rob excavations 1974–1979, in the Roman Forts, Cemeteries and Canabae Legionis. Rob.*, cxxxix, 471–4.

Essex

Eddy, M. R. (ed.). *Excavations in Essex, 1979* (short reports on 41 excavations), *Essex J.*, xvi, 1, 2–9.

Bainbridge, V. R. *Nonconformity in Essex, 1660–1689. Ibid.*, 24–7.

Buckley, D. G. (ed.). *Archaeology in Essex to A.D. 1500* (Papers from Oulton Hall Conference, 1978). *CBA Research Report*, 34, 1980.

Wall, A. *An Account of the Essex Revolt, February 1601. Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, liv, 129, 131–3.

Owen, J. *Growth of the Essex Catholic Community (1850–1950). Essex Recusant* (1980), xxii, 1–38.

Nolan, M. M. *Essex Quarter Session Rolls, ix, Ibid.*, 39–55.

McLoughlin, Fr. J. *An Essex Religious Congregation. Ibid.*, 56–9.

Thomas, E. G. *Pauper Apprenticeship* (brief mention of Essex parishes). *Local Hist.*, xiv, 7, 400–6.

Vaughan, C. R. *The London–Harwich Road* (Part 1). *Essex J.*, xvi, 2, 20–6.

Davidson, J. S. *A History of Chemistry in Essex* (Part 2). *Essex J.*, xv, 3, 87–90.

Audley End

Williams, J. D. *The Management of an Eighteenth-Century Essex Home Farm. Essex J.*, xvi, 1, 19–23.

Williams, J. D. (*Sir John Griffin Griffin*). *The Landowner as Manager. Essex J.*, xv, 3, 74–82.

Belchamp Walter

Turner, R. P. *The Raymonds of Belchamp Walter. Ibid.*, 96–102.

Bradwell

Langford, K. *Bradwell Lodge. Essex J.*, xvi, 1, 30.

Chelmsford

Thoman, E. G. *Chelmsford and the Great Exhibition of 1851. Essex J.*, xv, 3, 83–6.

Chignall St. James

Short Report. *Britannia*, xi, 376.

Chingford

Dansie, J. *Some notes on Chingford's Roads in the Georgian Period* (Part 3), *Chingford Notes*, ii, 4, 30-1.

Rumble, A. *In and Around the 'Village' (Reminiscences)*, *Ibid.*, 31-3.

Halfacre, J. *Chingford Mount Cemetery*. *Chingford Notes*, ii, 3, 18-20.

Dansie, J. *Some Notes on Chingford's Roads in the Georgian Period* (Part 2), *Ibid.*, 21-2.

Colchester

Short Report. *Britannia*, xi, 376, 378.

Inscription. *Ibid.*, 403.

Smith, N. and Crummy, P. *Culver Street Excavations—First Report*. *Catalogue*, ix.

Alcock, J. P. *Classical Religious Belief and Burial Practice in Roman Britain*. *Archaeol. J.*, 137 (1980), 51.

Epping

Clark, F. R. *Excavations at Epping Mound, 1968-9*, *Essex J.*, xvi, 2, 13-19.

Newens, S. *Epping and the Problem of Public Health* (19th c.), *ibid.*, 1, 11-17.

Epping Forest

Excavations at Broadstrod Mound. *West Essex Archaeol. Gp.*, ii, 8-12.

Great Oakley

Barker, Rosalin. *The Local Study of Plague*. *Local Hist.*, xiv, 6, 332-40.

Harlow

Short Report. *Britannia*, xi, 378.

Harwich

Barker, R. *An Account of Unnatural Death in the Harwich Peninsula, 1550-1838*. *East Anglian Hist. Workshop J.*, ii, 3-10.

Woods, J. *History of S. Parsons and Co. Highlight*, xlii, 6-7.

Langham

Wyncoll, A. *Valley House, Langham, and the Umfrevilles*. *Essex J.*, xvi, 1, 28-9.

Little London—Chigwell

Clark, F. R. Short Report, Summer Excavation. *West Essex Archaeol. Gp.*, i, 1.

Recent Finds including bathhouse suite, pottery. *London Archaeol.*, iv, 2, 50.

Maldon

Smith, M. L. *Promotion of the Maldon, Witham and Braintree Railway* (Part 3). *Essex J.*, xv, 3, 91-5.

Mucking

Curtis, S. *Activity in the Air* (extracts from a farm dairy during Battle of Britain), *Panorama*, xxiii (1980), 81-90.

Jones, M. U. *Mucking Post-Excavation, 1979*. *Ibid.*, 47-57.

Jones, W. T. *The Mucking Windmill*. *Ibid.*, 42-6.

Orsett

Toller, H. S. *An Interim Report on the Excavation of the Orsett 'Cock' Enclosure, Essex 1976-9*. *Britannia*, xi, 35-42.

Orsett Heath

Bingley, R. *Demolition of Heath Farm*. *Panorama*, xxiii (1980) 26-9.

Rainham

Short Report. *Britannia*, xi, 379.

Romford

Clube, J. R. *Maria Clube, A Victorian Schoolmistress in Romford. Romford Record*, xiii, 5-6.

Duval, J. *Miss Elizabeth Balls. Ibid.*, 24-5.

Frost, K. A. *From Steam to Electric in Suburban Essex. Ibid.*, 26-8.

Giles, R. E. *Memoirs—III, Ibid.*, 10-15.

Whitwood, C. *The Bells at the Church of St. Edward the Confessor, Romford. Ibid.*, 19-20.

Crewdson, R. *Ring out the Old, ring in the New* (personal memories), *Ibid.*, 21-3.

Stanford-le-Hope

Whitaker, J. *Joseph Conrad. Panorama*, xxiii (1980), 8-25.

Stebbing

Ellis, K. J. *An Analysis of a Farmer's Account Book. Essex J.*, xvi, 2, 27-31.

Thurrock

Toller, H. S., and Wilkinson, T. J. *An Investigation of Sub-Circular Cropmarks at Grey Goose Farm, Thurrock, Essex. Inst. Arch. Bul.*, xxvii, 95-116.

Carney, T. *The Belhus Park Icehouse. Panorama*, xxiii (1980), 97-106.

Domesday Thurrock (1086). Ibid., 30-5.

Tilbury Fort

Excavations on outworks. *London Archaeol.*, iv, 2, 50.

Waltham Abbey

Sun Street and Monastic Sewers—recent excavations, *Ibid.*, 50.

Wanstead

Hemming, J. *The Symbol Stones of Wanstead. West Essex Archaeol. Grp.*, ii, 6-7.

West Tilbury

Bingley, R. *The King's Head, West Tilbury. Panorama*, xxiii (1980), 91-3.

Witham—Ivy Chimneys

Short Report. *Britannia*, xi, 378-9.

Wickford

Neild, P. *Archaeology in Wickford* (Short Report). *Billericay Arch. and Hist. Soc. Newsletter*, December 1980.

Woodford Green

Parr, V. *A Historical Note. West Essex Arch. Grp.*, i, 2-3.

Genealogy

by JO-ANN BUCK

Membership of the Essex Society for Family History is now in the region of 800 and shows no sign of abating; a good many members are active in various directions, not the least being recording of monumental inscriptions before these fade or are swept away. Recording of the Nonconformist Cemetery at Moulsham is now complete, as also is that for Dunton parish church; under way is the cemetery in Rectory Lane, Chelmsford, which is to be partly cleared to make way for a relief road.

Preparations are in hand for a pilot scheme leading to the indexing of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Returns for Essex.

The Chairman of the Essex Society (John Rayment) has been appointed Record Office Liaison Officer for the Federation of Family History Societies, and a survey is being carried out to assess the impact of family history activities on record offices which, because of cuts, are under severe pressure by the effects of this invasion. The survey was initiated because of the imposition of charges to searchers by certain repositories; thanks to the efforts of the Association of County Archivists (of which body our County Archivist, Vic Gray, is Press and Publicity Officer) few such repositories are now making such a charge, it being felt that a system of voluntary donations would be less resented by the user and also be less likely to antagonise depositors or would-be depositors. Essex tempts donations by the presence of a small but interesting 16th-century chest which has its complicated locking system visible.

The Federation will be reporting on the findings of this survey and making suggestions to relieve the hard-pressed staffs of record repositories, such as improving searchers' behaviour, by urging them to do a bit more 'homework' before attending search-rooms, and by promoting voluntary schemes such as indexing and transcription. This, needless to say, is aimed not only at family historians and genealogists but also at all manner and kind of researchers.

On the national level, the Third English Genealogical Congress was held in York in August 1981, its theme being 'Ancestors on the Move'; Essex Society's Chairman was again active both at lecturing and at organising a practical recording project in the churchyard of St. Paul at Heslington.

Membership of the London-based Society of Genealogists is now approaching 6000 and larger premises are being actively sought. The Director and two other members had a busy and successful tour of the United States during the year. The Society's President, re-elected at the Annual General Meeting, is H.R.H. Prince Michael of Kent.

That (sometimes) lucky dip previously known as the Mormons' Computer File Index has been renamed the International Genealogical Index, or I.G.I. for short.

Book Review

Archaeology in Essex to A.D. 1500. Edited by D. G. Buckley. 130 pp., 49 figs., 8 pls. C.B.A. Research Report No. 34. Price £10.75 (basic and consolidated subscribers £8.75).

This volume contains summaries of eighteen papers on Essex Archaeology read at the Clacton-on-Sea Conference in March 1978, and reflects the state of knowledge at the time. It is dedicated to Ken Newton, the County Archivist, whose sad death became known shortly after the conference. His paper on the value of documents and maps to medieval archaeology in Essex is an important contribution to the report.

R. H. Allen and R. G. Sturdy clearly describe the environmental background, with its variations in geology and soils, and periodic changes in climate and sea-level. A study of these changes is necessary for the dating of our earliest and most important excavated Palaeolithic site, at Clacton-on-Sea. Levels in the cliff deposits at the Palace Hotel site, near the spot where Hazzledine Warren found the oldest wooden spear in Europe, might have provided vital evidence, but tests by J. J. Wymer disclosed that they were too deep for excavation. Type sites such as Clacton are rare for the early prehistoric period and much of the surviving material comes from chance finds and badly recorded investigations, but R. M. Jacobi has shown in his papers on Late-Glacial Settlement in Essex and the Mesolithic of Essex that a great deal can be achieved by careful re-examination of museum material.

John Hedges collates, for the first time, the evidence for Neolithic man in Essex. Because of the rise in post-glacial sea-level, former inland sites are now on the coast, and it was here, on the submerged land surfaces, that Warren carried out his pioneer work. An important advance in recent times has been the planned programme of identification and excavation followed by the Essex County Council Archaeological Section. Their work at Orsett causewayed enclosure has given us an Essex type site for the Middle Neolithic, and, subsequent to the Clacton conference, they have published an account of the Springfield cursus, near Chelmsford.

An initial survey of the Bronze Age by C. R. Couchman, using distribution maps based partly, with some misgivings, on records, shows a mainly coastal and riverine emphasis for the early and middle periods. An interesting result of plotting the material for the Late Bronze Age, when metal was more common, was a line of founders' hoards to the west of the county, extending from the Thames to the Cambridge border.

Paul Drury looks at problems of the Early and Middle Iron Age. There have been only small-scale excavations of the hillforts, mostly unpublished, and few substantial excavations on settlement sites, apart from Little Waltham, which is the first to be published in detail. Though our knowledge is still inadequate, a tentative study of recently published pottery is now possible, and a framework for these periods is emerging.

Professor Hawkes discusses Essex in the period before the Claudian invasion in the light of Caesar's writings and modern archaeological problems, which include the nature and extent of continental 'Belgic' influence on the native Trinovantes. A joint study of settlement in the later Iron Age and the Roman period by Drury and Rodwell suggests that the basis of the present landscape in central and northern Essex is a system of land tenure originating in or by the Late Iron Age. The Romans cut strategic roads across the pattern, and new areas were replanned or brought into cultivation. To the south, at Thurrock and Dengie, they suggest planned landscapes of the Roman period which may indicate imperial estates. Most villas, villages and small towns were on sites already settled in the Iron Age. Much of what is known of major buildings in small towns is best exemplified at Chelmsford, perhaps intended as the chief administrative centre before the final choice fell on Colchester. Our knowledge of Colchester between the Claudian and Norman conquests is summarised in a separate paper by Philip Crummy.

The Roman invasion appears to have occurred without violent physical change. Was this also true of the *Adventus Saxonum*? The limited evidence available suggests continuing prosperity at the turn of the 5th century, with building activity continuing at Chelmsford and cases of Roman and Saxon burials in association near Roman settlements. W. T. Jones remarks in the introduction to his provisional gazetteer of twenty-nine Saxon burial places that '... for a county that is named after the Saxons archaeology makes a poor showing in this respect'. However, at two Essex sites, Wicken Bonhunt (described separately by Keith Wade) and, more notably, at the multi-period site at Mucking, both settlements and adjacent cemeteries have been excavated. Where, then, do we find the Saxons? Mrs. M. U. Jones describes the features that make Mucking an important European type site of the migration period, where settlements and cemeteries may be studied together and comparisons made with continental material. Military bronzes, very early pottery and a strategic position on the Thames estuary support the picture of a military station, and, with evidence of dense population, suggest that this may have been an entry point for immigrants.

Warwick Rodwell gives an account of medieval ecclesiastical sites and structures from the Saxon period onwards and Oliver Rackham's discussion of the medieval landscape returns to the settlement theme introduced by Drury and Rodwell. Rackham dismisses the long-held belief that much of Essex remained woodland virtually untouched by man well into the Middle Ages, for the landscape we know was already in existence at the time of Domesday Survey. No such continuity with Roman times can be seen in M. R. Petchey's study of the medieval towns. Apart from Colchester, which was still predominant in the Middle Ages, no Roman urban community seems to have survived beyond the 5th century. A 10th-century revival of town life came in the reign of Edward the Elder, with *burhs* at Witham and Maldon. The first post-Conquest towns in Essex were

founded close to the castles of the great 12th-century landowners. There is no paper from the conference on the castles themselves or on other medieval defended sites. Architecture is represented by Cecil Hewett's specialist study of pre-Conquest carpentry, and an essay by M. Wadhams on later vernacular architecture, which is largely a plea for the use of new techniques in research and conservation.

Most of the contributions are masterpieces of compression, and some are initial surveys of important fields of research, with recommendations on future policy. The volume has a good index, clear maps and line-drawings, and useful reference lists. It is essential reading for all serious students of Essex archaeology.

Richard Wainwright

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

E. H. Britnell, M.A., Ph.D., is Senior Lecturer in Economic History at the University of Durham.

Marjorie K. McIntosh, Ph.D. (Harvard), is a previous contributor, and is working on a book on Havering.

M. R. Eddy, M.A., and Ms. D. Priddy, B.A., work in the Archaeological Section of the County Planning Department as Urban Archaeological Officer and Archaeological Assistant.

J. D. Williams, Ph.D., is Principal Lecturer in History at the Chelmer Institute of Higher Education. He is a previous contributor, and has written papers on Audley End for the "Essex Journal" and other publications.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Contributions should be sent to the Editor at 14 Ryegate Road, Colchester CO1 1YG.
2. The closing date for the receipt of material is 1 July. Publication date is 1 December.
3. The text should be typed double-spaced on A4 paper, on one side only, with at least a 3 cm. margin all round and 4 cm. at the top. The pages must be numbered.
4. Footnotes should also be typed double-spaced and submitted collectively.
5. Bibliographical references should be given according to the Harvard system, i.e. in parentheses after the text, giving: author's surname; date of publication; page, figure or plate number; e.g.:
(Hawkes and Hull, 1947, fig. 44 and p. 201).
(Hewett, 1962, 241).

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

(*Essex*, iii, 171).

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

Hawkes, C. F. C., and Hull, M. R., *Camulodunum*, Society of Antiquaries (1947).

Hewett, C. A., 'The Timber Belfries of Essex', *Archaeol. Journ.*, **cxix** (1962), 225.

Victoria County History, *Essex*, iii (1963).

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

6. Line drawings.

The printing area of the *Transactions* page is 20.3 cm. by 14.3 cm. All drawings should be designed to reduce to, or within such a space. E.g., pottery drawings which are prepared at full size, for reduction to $\frac{1}{4}$, to occupy a full page, should be mounted carefully on a single sheet, and occupy a total area not exceeding 81.2 cm. by 57.2 cm. Reduction should be borne in mind at all stages of the drawing, with particular attention paid to line thickness, size of lettering, etc. Where instant-lettering (e.g. Letraset) is employed, Baskerville or Berling type faces only should be used, in order that a degree of uniformity may be maintained through the *Transactions*.

Folding plans are expensive and can usually be avoided.

All maps, plans, sections, etc., should bear metric as well as imperial scales, and a north sign where appropriate.

Titles, scales and keys should be no larger than is absolutely necessary; they should be fitted into empty corners to avoid wasting space.

7. Half-tone plates will have the same dimensions as the text. Original prints on glossy paper should be larger than the ultimate published size, to enable greater definition to be obtained during the reduction process. There should be a scale in every photograph.

Plates are numbered as a single series throughout each article.

8. Typescripts must be complete in every detail, and the text submitted should be the original, not a carbon copy. The responsibility for supplying all illustrations rests with the contributor, who must also obtain permission for the use of any copyright material.

9. First proofs only will be submitted to the contributors, unless there are exceptional circumstances.

10. Contributors will be given 20 offprints of their articles. Contributors of short notes will be given one copy of the 'Archaeological Notes' section of the *Transactions*. Additional copies may be ordered in advance at cost price.

11. In order to reduce costs the Publications Committee is prepared to consider the use of microfiche. Authors are advised, therefore, to consider what elements of their contributions could be published in this medium and prepare their articles accordingly, after prior consultation with the Editor. Supporting technical data, statistical tables, etc., may be appropriate subjects.

12. Authors should also bear in mind the desirability of good illustrations in the form of photographs and drawings to improve the attractiveness of the volume for general readership.

ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, DECEMBER 1981

Patron

Admiral Sir Andrew Lewis, K.C.B.
Her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant of Essex

Honorary Life President

Col. Sir John Ruggles-Brise, Bt., C.B., O.B.E., T.D., J.P.

President

W. H. Liddell, M.A.

Vice-Presidents

Lord Alport of Colchester, P.C.
The Rt. Hon. Lord Braybrooke
The Rt. Revd. A. John Trillo, B.D., M.Th.,
Lord Bishop of Chelmsford
J. J. Tufnell, Esq.
The Rt. Revd. Roderic N. Coote, D.D.,
Lord Bishop of Colchester

Dr. Marc Fitch, C.B.E., D.Litt., Hon.F.B.A., F.S.A.
The Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
The Master of Pembroke College, Oxford
The Mayor of Southend
Dr. F. G. Emmison, M.B.E.
Dr. A. F. J. Brown
The Mayor of Maldon

Hon. Secretary

Miss I. M. Thompson, M.A.
175 Princes Avenue, London NW9

Trustees

J. S. Appleby, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.Met.S.;
J. B. Bennett; K. R. Mabbitt, F.S.A.

Hon. Social Secretary

Mrs. M. J. Cornwall, B.A.
2 Orchard Close, Copford Green,
Colchester CO6 1DB

Hon. Treasurer

M. S. Crellin
The White House, Silver Street, Maldon

Hon. Librarian

J. Mead
Belsize Cottage, 3 Broad Street, Boxford, Suffolk

Curator and Hon. Editor
D. T-D. Clarke, M.A., F.M.A., F.S.A., F.R.N.S.
Museum Resource Centre, 14 Ryegate Road,
Colchester CO1 1YG

Hon. Deputy Librarian

J. Skudder
25 Lexden Road, West Bergholt, Colchester

Hon. Membership Secretary

Mrs. O. Daynes
Burrs, Abbes Roding, Ongar

Hon. Legal Adviser

Charles Sparrow, Q.C., LL.B., F.S.A.

Council

The President and Honorary Officers, The Trustees
M. Astor, Dip.Hort.(Mon.); P. J. Crummy, B.A.;
V. W. Gray, M.A.; D. J. James; A. C. Monk; A. B. Phillips, B.A., B.Ed.;
Rev. W. J. T. Smith; P. A. Smither; Mrs. E. Sellers; R. Wainwright;
J. Webb; J. J. Wymer, M.A., F.S.A.

Representative Member

Chelmsford and Essex Museum: D. L. Jones

Representatives of the Society

Colchester Borough Council Cultural Activities Committee:

Mrs. J-A. Buck; J. C. K. Cornwall; K. R. Mabbitt

Colchester Borough Council Conservation Committee:

K. R. Mabbitt

Chelmsford Borough Arts Committee:

J. E. Sellers

Essex County Council Library, Museum and Records Committee:

J. E. Sellers

Essex Archaeological Advisory Committee:

Mrs. E. E. Sellers

Essex Archaeological and Historical Congress:

Executive and Research: J. E. Sellers

Historic Buildings and Sites: D. T-D. Clarke

Community Council of Essex: Mrs. E. Sellers

Victoria County History of Essex Committee: Mrs. J-A. Buck

Council for British Archaeology: J. E. Sellers; Miss I. M. Thompson

Colchester Archaeological Trust: J. Burton

Chelmsford Excavation Committee: Mrs. M. L. E. Arnett

Committee for Archaeological Air Photography Anglian Region: C. J. Going

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME 13, 1981

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Kenneth Charles Newton | 1 |
| KENNETH C. NEWTON and MARJORIE K. McINTOSH Leet Jurisdiction in Essex Manor Courts during the Elizabethan Period | 3 |
| R. H. BRITNELL Essex Markets before 1350 | 15 |
| J. D. WILLIAMS Vertical Friendship: An 18th-century Case Study | 22 |
| M. R. EDDY and D. PRIDDY (Ed.) Work of the Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1980 | 32 |
| M. R. EDDY (Ed.) Excavations in Essex, 1980 | 48 |
| <i>Archaeological and Historical Notes</i> | |
| ISOBEL THOMPSON A 'Belgic' Cremation Burial found at West Mersea | 63 |
| P. J. DRURY, W. J. RODWELL and N. P. WICKENDEN Finds from the Probable Site of a Roman Villa at Dawes Heath, Thundersley, Essex | 66 |
| R. W. CRUMP Excavation of a Buried Wooden Structure at Foulness | 69 |
| NANCY BRIGGS Current Research on Essex History and Historical Geography, 1981 | 71 |
| J. M. SKUDDER Periodical Literature on Essex Archaeology and History, 1981 | 72 |
| JO-ANN BUCK Genealogy | 74 |
| RICHARD WAINWRIGHT Review of <i>Archeology in Essex to A.D. 1500</i> . Edited by D. G. Buckley | 75 |