

ESSEX

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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.

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

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ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

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The Cropmark Complex and a Group of Deverel-Rimbury Burials at Ardleigh, Essex

by C. COUCHMAN and L. SAVORY

Summary

This paper describes the important multi-period cropmark complex at Ardleigh. The evidence for Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman settlement is summarized and a group of Deverel-Rimbury cremations excavated from the face of Martell's gravel quarry recorded. A gazetteer of finds and dated cropmarks in the Ardleigh complex is included.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Bucbricks Co Ltd, the owners of Martell's Pit, for permission to carry out watching briefs, and to the quarry manager and operators for their co-operation. The writers are also grateful to Mr C.B. Denton for his report on the cremated bones; and to Mr D.G. Buckley and Mr J.D. Hedges of Essex County Council Archaeology Section and Commander R.H. Farrands of the Colchester Archaeological Group for their comments on the draft of this report. The opinions expressed, and any errors, remain the responsibility of the writers.

Introduction

Ardleigh in north-east Essex (Fig. 1) was put on the archaeological map when Erith and Longworth defined the Ardleigh Group of the Deverel-Rimbury culture (Erith and Longworth, 1960). One of the present writers has summarised the evidence for possibly continuous settlement in the Ardleigh area from the neolithic to the Roman period (Couchman, 1975, 14). Most of this evidence comes from aerial photography and fieldwork undertaken by the Colchester Archaeological Group, with the aerial photographic record supplemented and extended by the National Monuments Record Air Photographs Unit and the Committee for Aerial Photography, Cambridge.

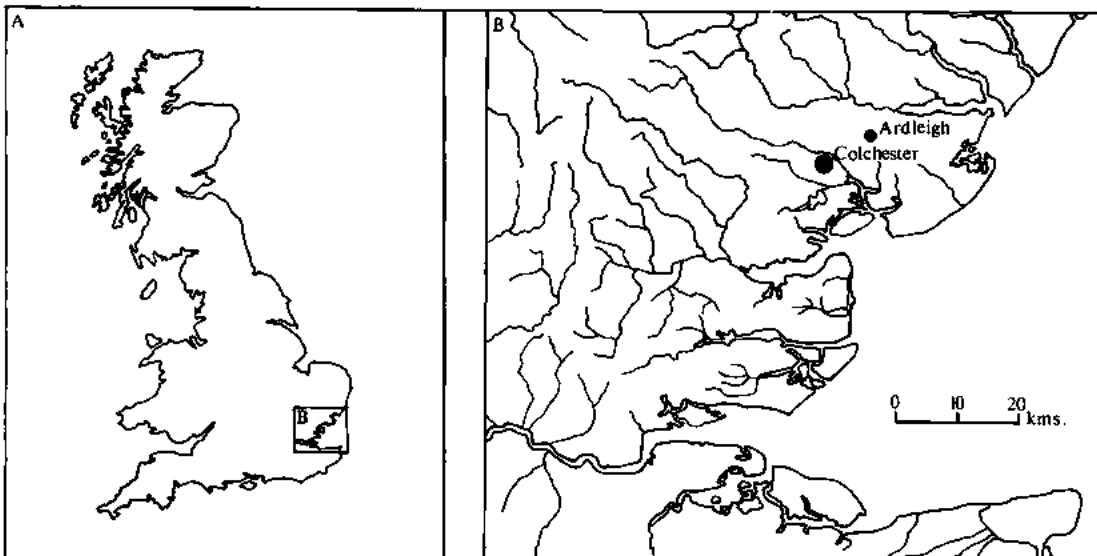


Fig 1: Ardleigh Location Map

The purpose of this note is twofold: to publish the important cropmark complex at Ardleigh, the surviving areas of which are in process of being scheduled as an ancient monument; and to report on a group of four 'Ardleigh' cremation burials discovered by the writers at Bucbricks sand and gravel quarry at Martell's Farm, Ardleigh, in 1974.

The Cropmarks (Fig. 2 & Pl 1)

The 'skeleton' of the Ardleigh cropmark complex was first photographed by Cdr R.H. Farrands in 1959 (Farrands, 1960) around the findspot of the Deverel-Rimbury cemetery. The attention it has since received from aerial photographers has established the importance of the complex. The Colchester Archaeological Group has investigated a number of small areas; and latterly watching briefs have been carried out in the gravel workings by the writers (see below). The complex is recorded in the Essex Sites and Monuments Record as number TM 02/15.

The site is situated on loam underlain by glacial gravels, and forms a linear development along both sides of the headwaters of a tributary of the Salary Brook, just above the valley bottom at 110 feet O.D. It is certain that the complex was more extensive than our knowledge at present allows. The gravel quarry has already destroyed the archaeological remains there, likewise the railway and the present village of Ardleigh; whilst areas of orchard and nursery prohibit the detection of cropmarks to the north and west.

In a wider context, the site at Ardleigh fits into an emerging pattern of prehistoric settlement along the river valleys of north-east Essex. The results of aerial photography suggest neighbouring

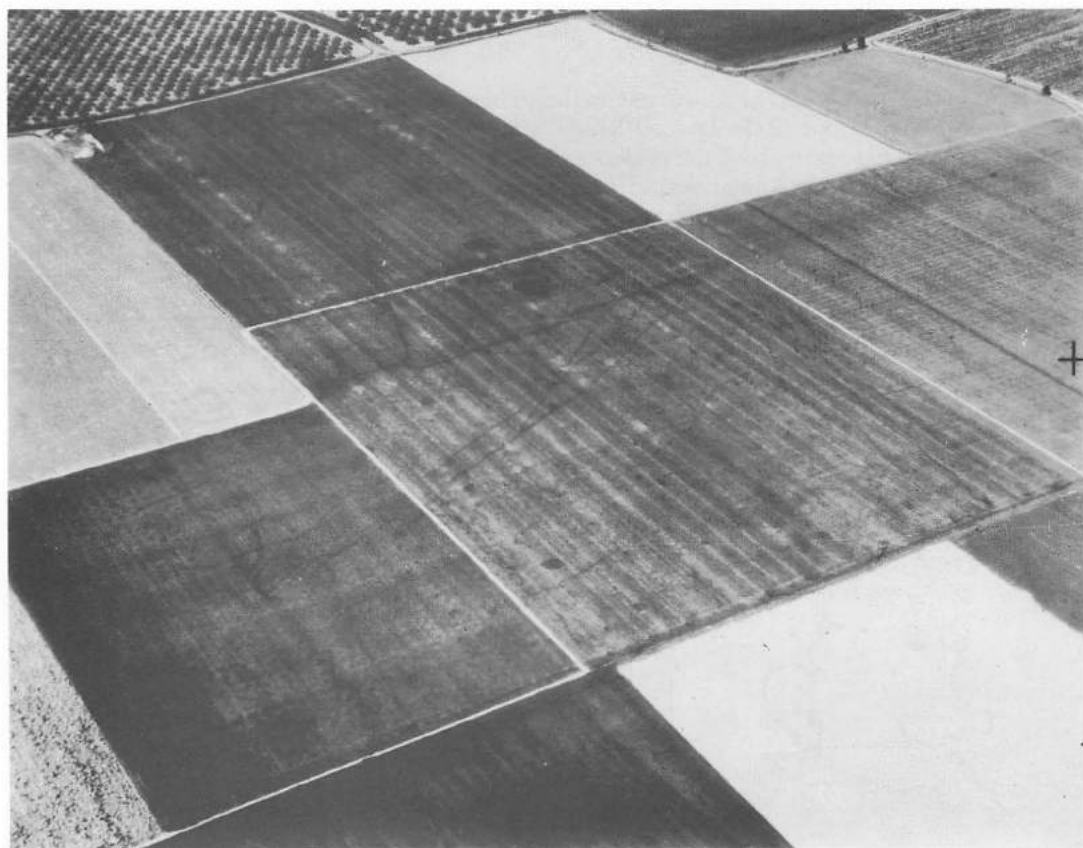


Plate I. Ardleigh Cropmarks (reproduced by permission of Dr. K. St. Joseph)

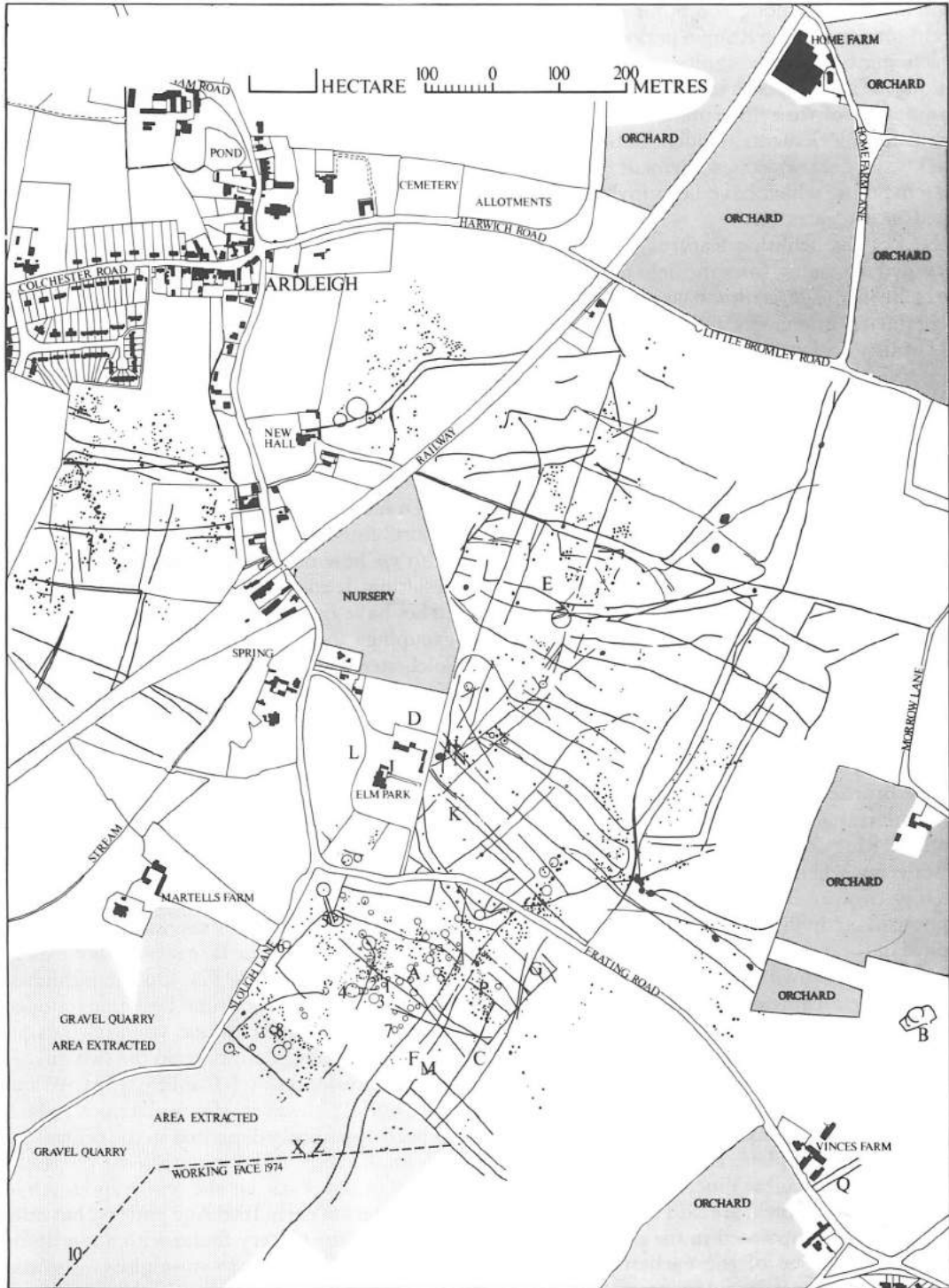


Fig. 2: Ardleigh: Cropmark Complex

settlement areas along the Stour valley and Colne estuary and their tributaries; while in later prehistory and in the Roman period the proximity of Ardleigh to the tribal centre and later *colonia* at Colchester is probably significant. At the present state of research, however, Ardleigh appears to be unique in this area, both in the complexity and linear extent of the cropmarks represented, and in the significance of their interpretation.

Six distinct elements are identifiable within the cropmark system: pits, ringditches, double-ditched trackways, field systems, settlement enclosures and the Roman road. The majority are not dated at present: those which have been investigated and relevant surface finds are indicated on Fig. 3 and listed in the gazetteer.

No certain neolithic features have been isolated in the cropmark complex, but a flint axe is recorded as coming from the field north of Frating Road, just west of the orchards. Evidence for the early Bronze Age is almost as scanty: a single beaker (presumably from a burial) was found in 1942 during gravel extraction north-west of Slough Lane (Clarke, 1970, No. 225).

The first evidence of large-scale occupation comes from the middle Bronze Age (Fig. 2, A and 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 10). About 170 Deverel-Rimbury cremation burials, of which a fair proportion of those analysed were multiple depositions, attest the presence of a large settlement. Most of this material has already been discussed in other articles (Erith and Longworth, 1960; Couchman, 1975); only a couple of points are worth adding here. A re-examination of the excavation reports suggests that some at least of the 'barrows' may rather have been flat ringditched enclosures. Although the ditches were excavated through the thin loam overburden into gravel, the reports repeatedly stress the stone-free nature of the ditch silts (see various reports listed in the gazetteer). Even had the mounds been made of scraped-up topsoil, it is difficult to see how they could have slipped or been ploughed back into the ditches without a stony fill resulting. It may also be noted that since the publication of the 'flat urnfield', cropmarks of ringditches have been found in the same area. The question therefore arises of whether the urnfield groupings may have been contained within ringditched enclosures, or whether, as at Chitts Hill, Colchester, free groupings occurred between the ringditches (Crummy, 1974, site plan p. 9). On the other hand, the way in which adjacent linear cropmarks appear to respect several of the ringditches (just south of the north-facing bend in Frating Road) may suggest that these at least were barrows, still visible when that part of the trackway system was laid out.

The Bronze Age settlement has not yet been located. However, aerial photographs show several circular arrangements of pits, two east and one north-east of Ring 4, and a further one or possibly two south of Ring 5. This is an area without Iron Age finds (except possibly Ring 5), and it is worth considering whether these might be part of the Bronze Age settlement.

Only two pre-Belgic Iron Age sites have been excavated: a single farmstead (Fig. 2, B) and a supposed ringditch burial (Ring 5). On present evidence it is not possible to say whether either is typical of the area as a whole, though it can be said that the final plan of the farmstead is not closely paralleled in known cropmark sites in Essex or elsewhere (Harding, 1974, 32). On the published evidence the farmstead would seem to be of at least two phases: a post-built round house surrounded by a subrectangular one of more massive nature, possibly with an internal palisade, which swings out to respect the house site. Rodwell (1976, 33, 34) would see three phases. Pottery from the two ditches is similar, but has a wide date-range of fifth to second/first centuries B.C. (cf. Cunliffe, 1974, 40 and 328). The ringditch has been interpreted as a cremation burial; however, the situlate pot (which would not be out of place in the sixth century B.C.) had been apparently deposited in the central pit broken and incomplete, and accompanied only by two small pieces of bone with some charcoal.

Seven other areas on Vince's Farm and one in the grounds of Elm Park, i.e. the centre and south of the cropmark complex, are said to have produced surface scatters of early Iron Age pottery, but only two have been pinpointed in the published literature: C, where the pottery found with a sandstone pestle, seems to be of the earliest Iron Age; and D, where Iron Age loomweights were also found. Both domestic and funerary finds of the late Iron Age have been made within the cropmark complex in sufficient quantity to indicate largescale settlement. Surface finds of pottery suggest two possible foci of settlement: the more northerly very extensive (E); the more southerly (F) described

by the finder as a 'Belgic squatter site'. Three burial areas have also been identified: C, G and D, with three, possibly four and a single grave group respectively.

The trackway system and associated field boundaries are not dated, though in form they resemble the trackway and field system at Gosbecks, Colchester, which is taken to be late Iron Age (Crummy, 1975, 12). A section across one of the trackway ditches at Ardleigh was recorded by the writers, as was a length in plan during gravel working, but no dating evidence was recovered. It is important to establish the date of the trackway system, since recent aerial photographs show that the most easterly trackway, running north-north-east/south-south-west, continues northwards as the modern Home Farm Lane. This gives rise to speculation as to how much of the present landscape may possibly be late Iron Age in origin. Part of Morrow Lane, the orchard boundary west of Vince's Farm, and part of Slough Lane run parallel to this eastern trackway, and also to the stream. By contrast, Frating Road clearly ignores the cropmark layout. (The narrow double linear feature running east-south-east from New Hall which also ignores the main trackway layout is probably to be seen as the predecessor of the modern cart track which it echoes). Drury (1978, 65, and 66 Fig. 14) has postulated that the skeleton of an extensive area of pre-Roman land layout may survive in the Chelmer valley north of Chelmsford, Essex; and it is a reasonable supposition that at Ardleigh also some modern landscape features could have a pre-Roman ancestry.

Settlement in the area seems to have continued without a break into the Roman period, as attested both by pottery scatters in plough soil and a pit containing late Iron Age and Roman material (H). Roman finds are included in the gazetteer for completeness; they included domestic, funerary and kiln sites and a ritual pit, and the Roman road from Colchester to Mistley Quay bypasses the south-east corner of the complex. No late- or post-Roman material has been found.

Group Of Deverel-Rimbury Cremations (Figs. 3 and 4)

A routine watching brief undertaken by the writers at Martell's gravel quarry in late 1974 revealed a group of cremations exposed along the quarry face. The cremations - three inurned and one unaccompanied multiple burial, all in pits - were already extensively damaged, both pits and urns being partially bisected by quarrying. A further deposit had been almost totally removed: only a few rim sherds remained, and these clearly not *in situ*. No trace of a ringditch enclosure was found in the quarry face (Fig. 3, Section X - Z shows all the relevant features). The close spatial grouping of the

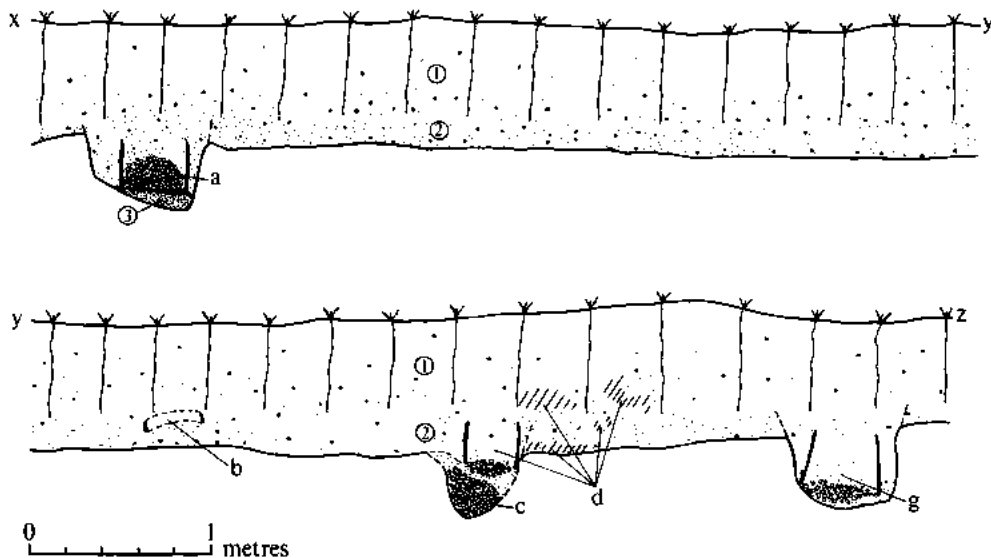


Fig 3: Ardleigh: Section of quarry face containing pots.

pits, and the homogeneity of the pottery, suggest that the burials form a distinct group - more or less contemporary or a family group? Although the unaccompanied cremation is stratigraphically earlier than cremation (d) the actual timescale represented need not necessarily be great.

The pots are all Deverel-Rimbury bucket urns. (a) and particularly (d) show the 'Ardleigh' multiple finger-tipping decorative technique (Fig. 4), but there is no stylistic reason why the group should not be contemporary.

The bones have been examined by C.B. Denton, Department of Physical Anthropology, Cambridge (Full report held in Essex County Council Archaeological Record). A possible total of five persons was represented, two adult and three immature. The unurned burial (c) included two individuals one adult, probably male, the other immature. (a) contained an adult, possibly female;

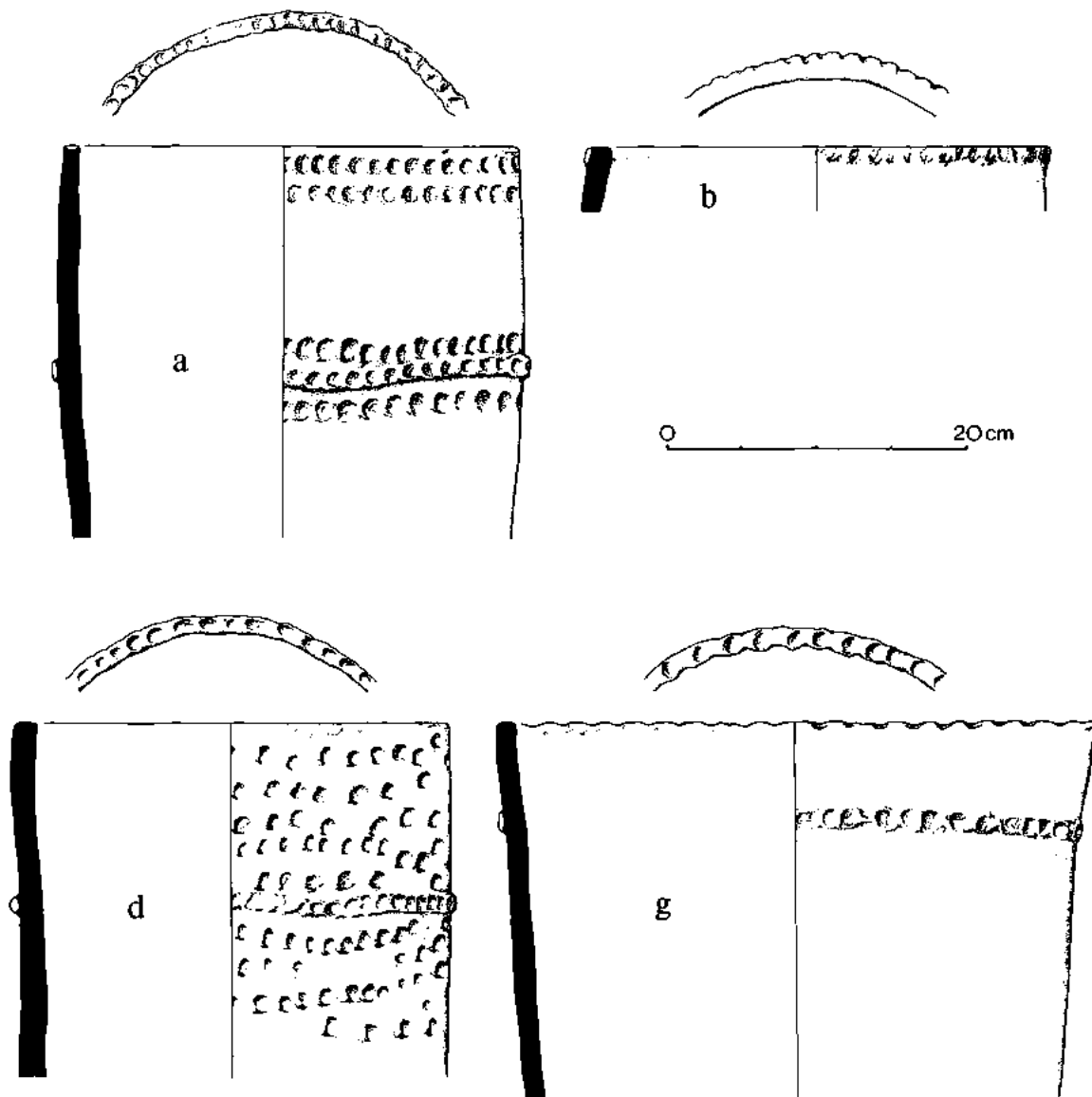


Fig. 4: Ardleigh: Pots from Martell's Pit Scale 1:6.

(d) and (g) each held one individual, possibly immature. Multiple burials are a feature at Ardleigh; at least ten are known from those earlier excavations where the deposits were analysed (Rings 2, 3 and 4). The implications of multiple burial in the Bronze Age have been discussed elsewhere and all known examples tabulated (Petersen, Shepherd and Tuckwell, 1974, 49-51 and Appendix III).

No other finds were made with these burials. The pottery has been deposited in Colchester Museum, accn. No. Col. Mus. 179. 1975.

Gazetteer Of Finds And Dated Cropmarks In The Ardleigh Cropmark Complex

Ringditches are catalogued by the numbers given them by the Colchester Archaeological Group and so named in the literature; other sites are catalogued by letters, to avoid confusion with other ringditches numbered by the C.A.G. but not in the immediate area of the cropmark and complex and so not included here.

Neolithic:

Field north of Frating Road, just west of orchards: flint axe - Colchester Museum Records

Bronze Age:

TM049283 (just off Fig. 2): Beaker - Erith, 1965B, 30; Clarke, 1970, No. 225; Col. Mus. A. TM05602842 (centred): Deverel-Rimbury urnfield - Erith, 1958, 1961A; Erith and Longworth, 1960; Couchman, 1975.

1. TM05562840: Ardleigh Ring 1 - Erith, 1960C; Couchman, *op.cit.*
2. TM05552840; Ardleigh Ring 2 - Erith, 1960B; Couchman, *op.cit.*
3. TM05542839; Ardleigh Ring 3 - Erith, 1961B, 1969; Hawkes, 1965; Couchman, *op. cit.*
4. TM05512840; Ardleigh Ring 4 - Erith, 1968.
6. TM05412846; Ardleigh Ring 6 - Erith, 1962B
7. TM05572834; Ardleigh Ring 7 - Erith, 1963, 42.
8. TM05392834; Ardleigh Ring 8 - Erith, 1972.
10. TM051280; Ardleigh Ring 10 - Erith, 1963.

Earlier Iron Age:

5. TM05482850; Ardleigh Ring 5 - Erith, 1975.
 - B. TM06352836; early Iron Age house and enclosure - Erith and Holbert, 1970; Harding, 1974, 30-32; Rodwell, 1976, 33-4; Crook, 1977, 43,35.
 - C. c. TM057283; early Iron Age pottery with sandstone pestle - Erith, 1962A; Couchman, *op.cit.*
 - D. TM056288; early Iron Age pottery and loomweights - Colchester Museum Records.
- Seven other finds of early Iron Age pottery on Vince's Farm - Erith, 1962A.

Late Iron Age:

- C. TM057283; three late Iron Age grave groups - Erith, 1960A
 - D. TM056288; Late Iron Age burial from grounds of Elm Park - Colchester Museum Records.
 - G. TM05782843; 'Gallo-Belgic burial' - Version of Colchester Museum map with Essex County Council Archaeological Record.
- C, D and G above would seem to add up to the eight grave groups referred to in Erith, 1960A, 3.
- E. TM 058290 (centred): c 10 acre scatter of Belgic and Roman pottery, on Abbotts' Hundred Acre Field - Erith, 1960A.
 - F. c. TM056283; 'Belgic squatter site' - Erith, 1960A, 2.
 - H. TM 05672876; Belgic and Roman pit - Erith and Holbert 1974

Roman:

- A. c. TM05602841; Roman pits - version of Colchester Museum map with ECC Arch. Record.
 D. TM056288; third century vessels - Essex iii, 1963, 38
 J. TM05562872; mid first to early second century ditch with much domestic rubbish, in Elm Park kitchen garden - Erith and Holbert, 1965, 17; O.S. 25 in map TM 0528.
 L. TM05512875; early second century pit - Erith, 1965A
 M. TM0562 2828; pottery kiln - Essex iii, 1963, 38; O.S. 25 in map TM 0528.
 N. TM05672874; pottery kiln - O.S. 25 in map TM 0528.
 P. TM057284; second to third century grave group - Version of Colchester Museum map with ECC Arch. Record.
 Q. TM06242813; length of Roman Road, Mistley to Colchester - Farrands, 1975.

Cremated Human Remains From Martell's Pit, Ardleigh

by C. B. DENTON, Department of Physical Anthropology, University of Cambridge

Pit (c)

The remains from Pit (c) were examined first because of the larger amount of material, and were used as a comparison for the other three cremations from the site. These fragments appeared to be representative of two individuals though no specific duplicate portions of bone were able to be recognised to substantiate the hypothesis to absoluteness. The fragments indicated that one individual was an adult and the other immature. Fragments of bone identified as of crania varied in thickness. This would be expected of all crania as at some areas the bone is thicker than at other areas, but the degrees of difference of some of these fragments seemed to be too great to belong to a single cranium. Evidence supporting this was the presence of a zygomatic process of a temporal bone, and taking into consideration shrinkage due to the combustion, the process was small and possibly immature. Also present was a wormian bone, most likely from the lambdoid suture, with a thickness of only 2 mm, and with the greatest stretch of imagination this could not have come from an adult cranium. Apart from the robustness of fragments of crania and long bones, the real break-through for age at death of the older individual, though only established as adult, was the tip of a posterior spine of a vertebra displaying consolidation of the epiphysis. Features for the sex of the adult were not absolute, though a fragment of frontal bone displayed part of a developed supra-orbital torus, and two fragments of femur shaft prominent *linia aspera*, these features biased more towards a male individual. Colour of fragments: white - light brown.

Weight of fragments: 1317.0 gm.

Overall length of fragments: 0-55 mm.

Number of individuals: 1 adult male, 1 immature.

List of recognisable fragments:

Skull: 1 fragment sphenoid

23 fragments of teeth

2 fragments squamous of parietal bone

8 fragments from the region of mastoid area

16 fragments with serrated areas; sutures

1 wormian bone

2 fragments of the alveolus of a mandible

2 fragments of the alveolus of a maxilla 2 fragments of frontal bone displaying the internal crest

1 fragment of supra-orbital torus

1 fragment of zygomatic process of the frontal bone
 4 fragments of ramus of a mandible; 3 of the coronoid process R and L.
 1 zygomatic process
 1 fragment of a vomer

Long bone: a few fragments were identified of femur and tibia, the *linia aspera* displayed on three pieces of femur shaft.

Other than long bone or skull: 6 fragments of ribs
 1 fragment of innominate bone
 42 fragments of vertebrae, including body portions, articular facets, spinous processes.
 Metacarpal, metatarsal, phalanges fragments.

Other fragments were identified as of skull and long bone but could not be placed as coming from specific areas of these bones, and in the case of long bones, which particular bone.

Pit (a)

Colour of fragments: white - light brown.
 Weight of fragments: 368.6 gm.
 Overall length of fragments: 0-42 mm.
 Number of individuals: 1 adult ?female. More than half the fragments were miscellaneous, some of the remainder were identified as of long bones but unidentifiable as from specific bones, a few of other post-cranial remains, and some of the skull. The evidence displayed by certain portions of the cranium suggested a female individual, these were part of an occipital bone displaying the internal and external protuberance; a fragment of a zygomatic bone; and part of the superior margin of an orbit including the zygomatic process. All these were female in character, the last two fragments articulating at the zygomatic process.

Pit (d)

Colour of fragments: white - light brown.
 Weight of fragments: 40.0 gm.
 Overall length of fragments: 0.32 mm.
 Number of individuals: 1 ?immature.

These fragments were on par in size and robustness as those from Pit (g), from which a fragment of the shaft of a fibula was identified, the proportions of this piece of bone suggesting the possibility it was part of an immature bone.

Pit (g)

Colour of fragments: white - light brown.
 Weight of fragments: 124.0 gm.
 Overall length of fragments: 0-28 mm.
 Number of individuals: 1 ?immature.

Some of the fragments were identified as of long bone, but none of skull, the fragments of long bone seemingly less robust than those from Pit (c) and Pit (a). One portion of a fibula. It was possible that a fragment measuring 18 mm in length with a distinct shape was of animal.

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The Excavation Of A Romano-British Pottery Kiln At Palmer's School, Grays, Essex

by K. A. RODWELL

In 1970 a late 2nd-century Romano-British pottery kiln was discovered when a sewer was laid through the grounds of Palmer's Girls' School. This was subsequently excavated and found to be of characteristic North Thames bank type, producing a range of coarse wares including pedestal urns. Debris from an earlier kiln indicated that it was producing stamped mortaria, and other fine wares.

Introduction

In 1970 the construction of the Tilbury Docks Approach Road necessitated the re-routing of a sewer across the playing fields of Palmer's Grammar School for Girls, Grays (TQ 635787; now Palmer's Sixth Form College). The school lies on the 75 foot (23m) terrace of the Thames (Fig 1, Pl I). Previous archaeological discoveries (Fig 2) had included Roman pottery from a gravel pit to the east (Farrar 1971, 327) and burial urns found during the construction of the swimming pool in 1930 (VCH 1963, 189). Consequently the contractor's trench was observed by Mr P.J. Drury (Drury 1973, 113-8) and was found to truncate a number of archaeological features, the most notable of which was a Romano-British pottery kiln.

As the weather conditions at the time of the discovery in January were adverse, it was decided to excavate the damaged remains of the kiln in the following summer. Other commitments prevented Mr Drury from directing this work himself and it was consequently undertaken by Dr W.J. Rodwell assisted by the author.

The excavation, which took place for three weeks in July 1970, was designed as a combined rescue, research and educational project and was carried out by twelve sixth-form pupils from both Palmer's Girls' and Boys' schools. As the kiln lay beneath one of the finest hockey pitches in the county, excavation was restricted to the immediate vicinity of the kiln; turf and topsoil were removed by hand. The area had been ploughed before the school was built and there was no vertical stratigraphy: natural gravel was encountered 0.4 m below turf level. All archaeological deposits within the trench were completely excavated.

The work was financed by grants from the Governors of Palmer's School, the Education Committee of Thurrock U.D.C. and the Department of the Environment. Thanks are due to the headmistress and governors of the school for their interest in the project and for permission to excavate, to the staff and pupils for their enthusiasm and assistance, and to the groundstaff for removing and replacing the turf. The officers of Mucking Excavation Committee, in particular Mr J.B. Webb, handled the administration and several societies and individuals loaned equipment.

Thanks are also due to Mr P.J. Drury for making his records available at the time of the excavation and for his subsequent assistance in the preparation of this report as director of Chelmsford Archaeological Trust; to his staff who processed the pottery; to Mrs K.F. Hartley for her report on the mortaria; to Helen Humphries who with the author produced the illustrations, and to Dr W.J. Rodwell for his advice and assistance. The finds and site archive are deposited in Thurrock Museum.

The Excavation

Three distinct phases of activity were identified (Fig. 4).

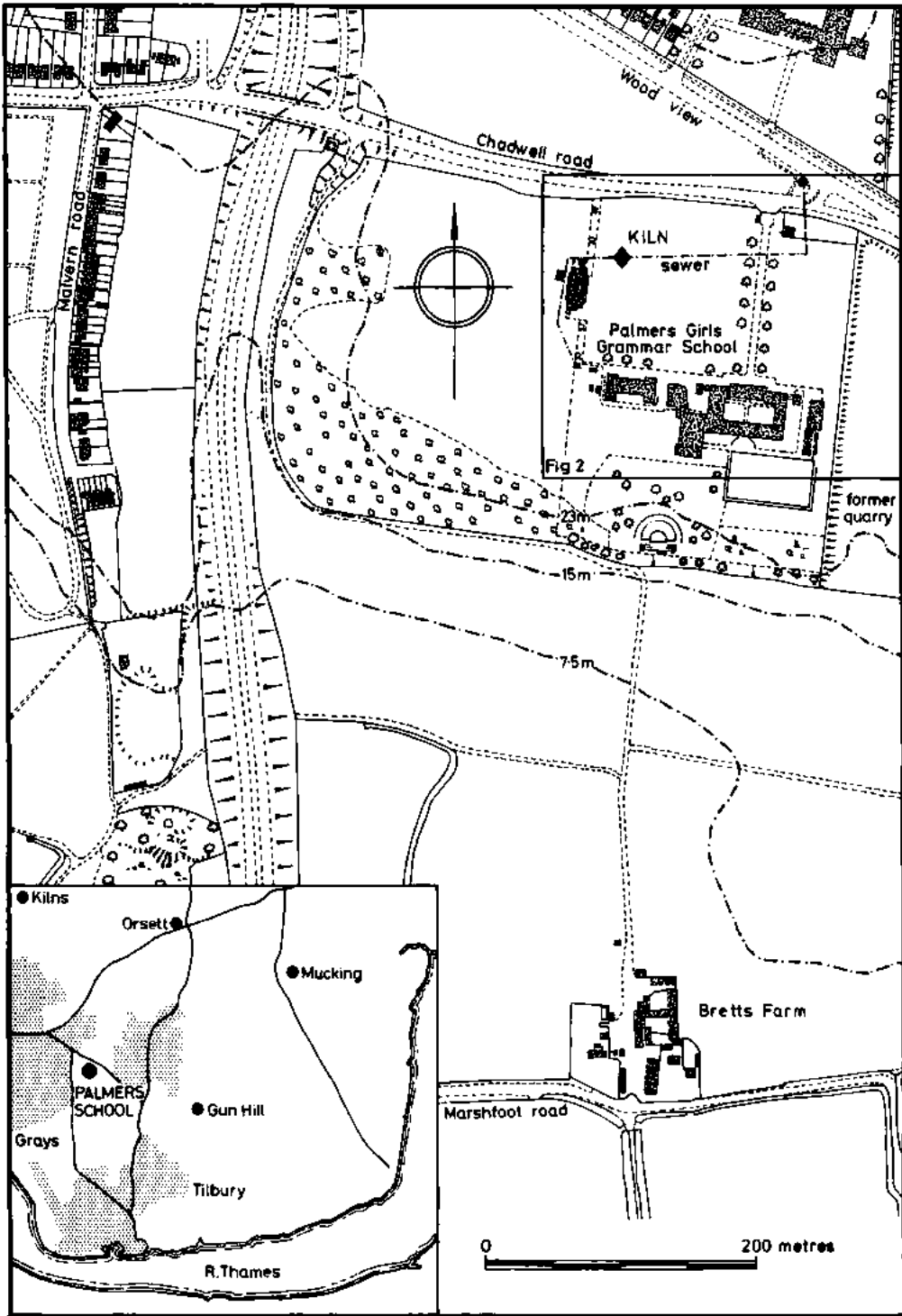


Fig 1 Palmer's School, Grays: location map

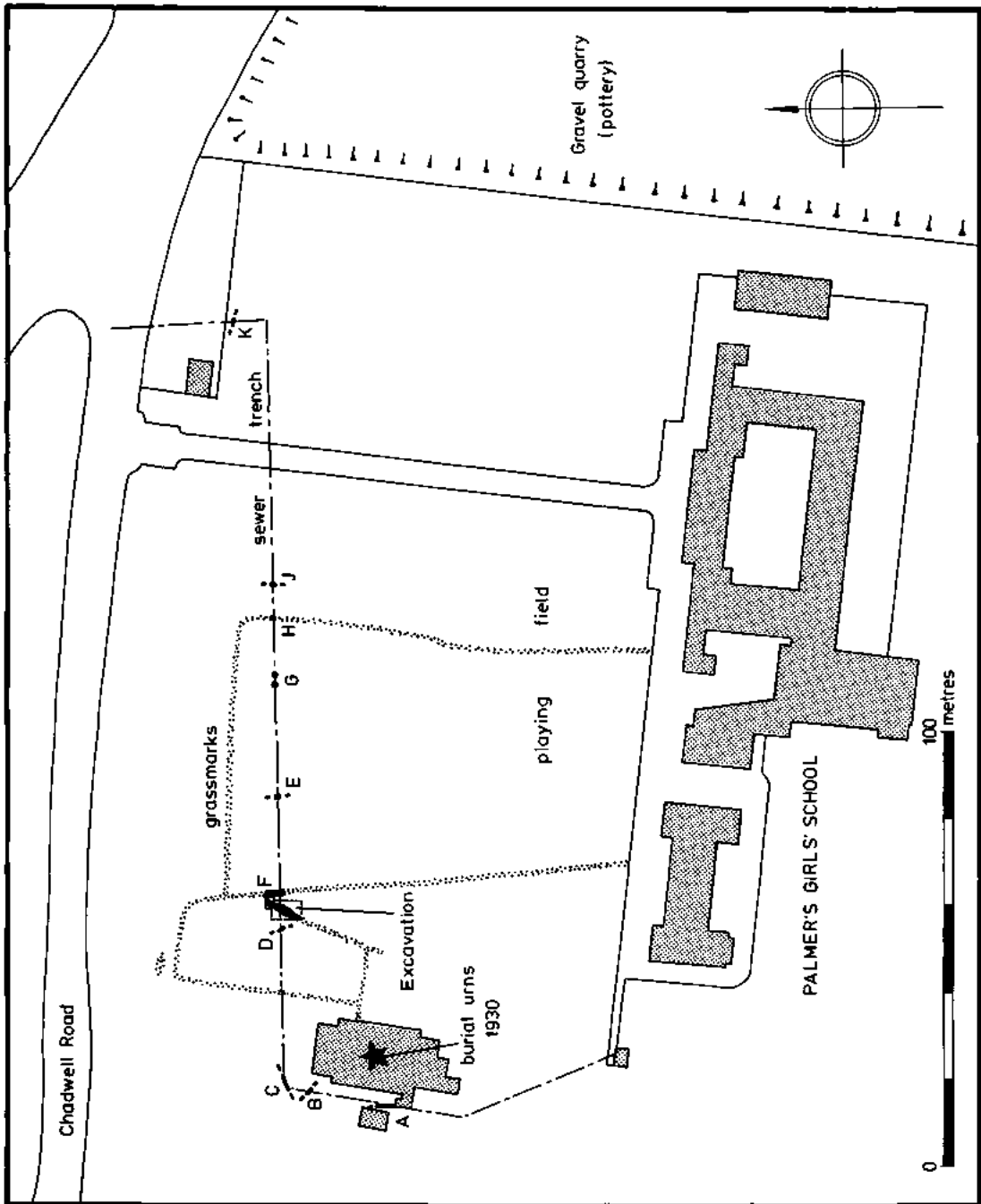


Fig 2 Palmer's School, Grays: archaeological discoveries in the vicinity of the school.

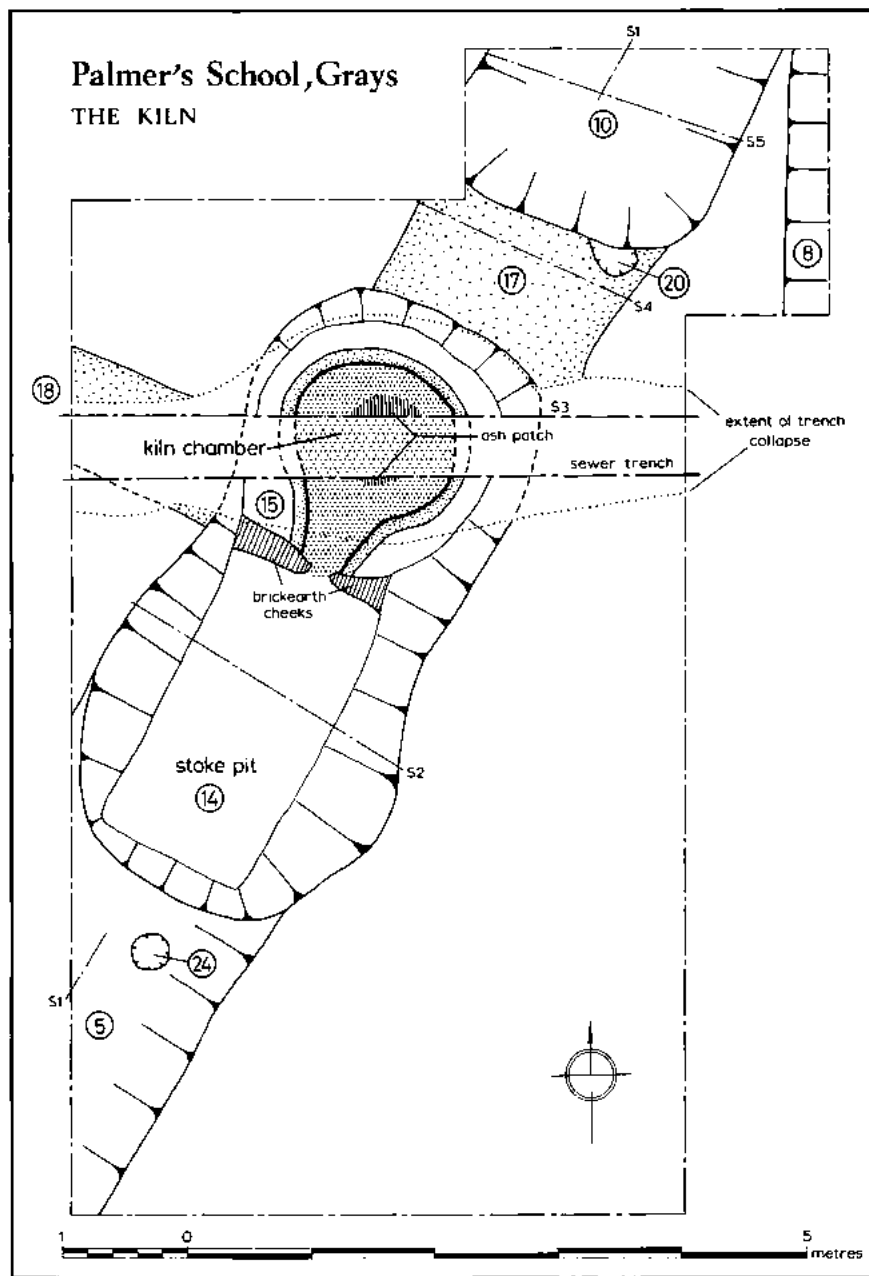


Fig 3 Palmer's School, Grays: the kiln.

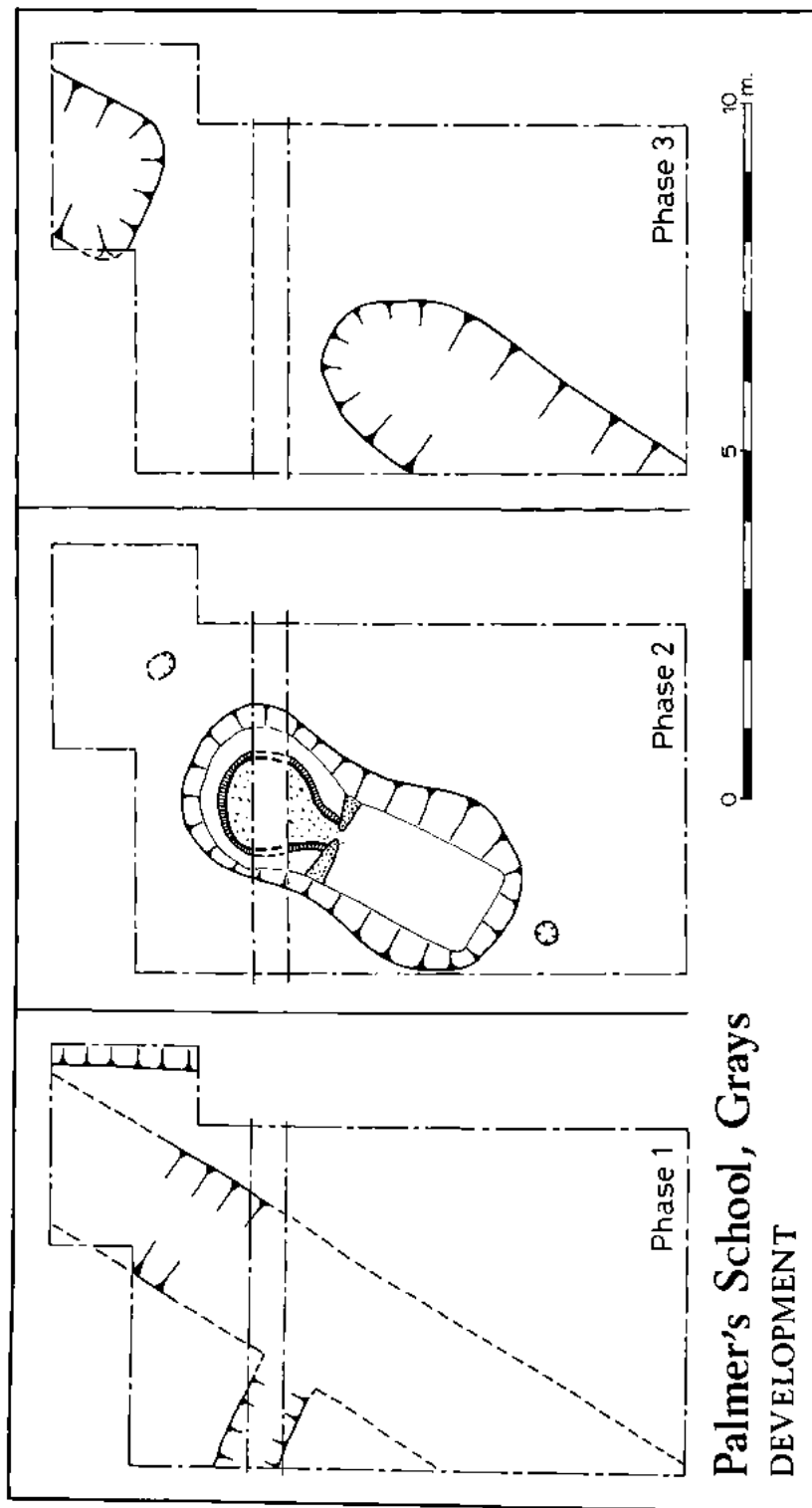
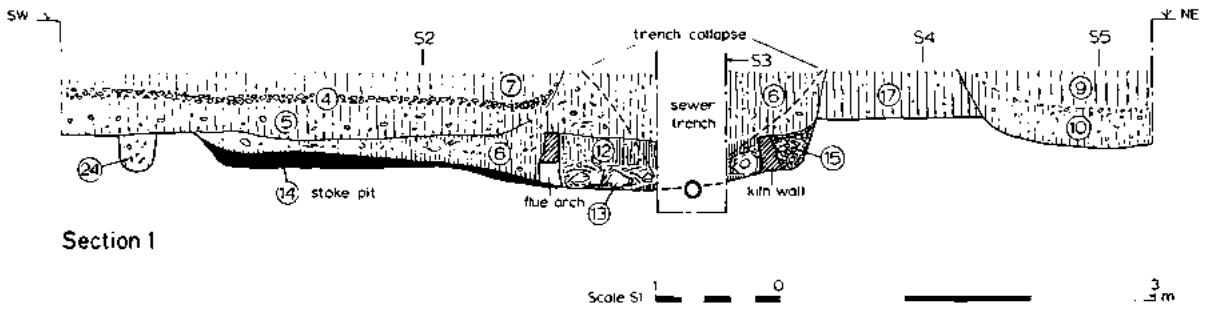
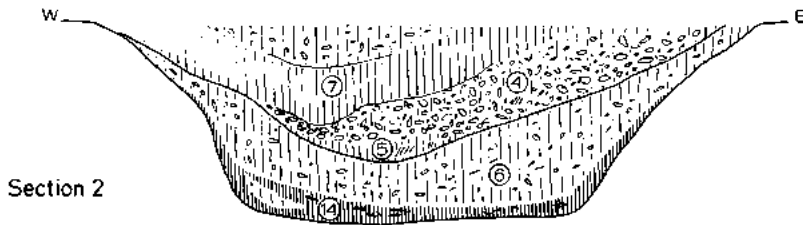


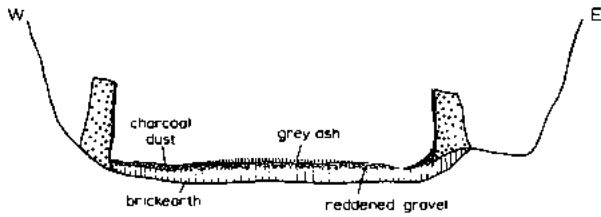
Fig 4 Palmer's School, Grays: phase plans



Section 1



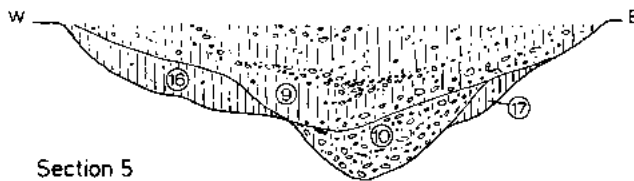
Section 2



Section 3



Section 4



Section 5

Palmer's School, Grays



Fig 5 Palmer's School, Grays: sections of the kiln, stokepit, and ditches in the excavated area.

PHASE 1

A ditch, F17 (Fig 3, Fig 5.S4), 1.9 m wide and 0.4 m deep, ran obliquely across the excavated area. It had two upper fills, L16 and L21. Only a short length had escaped destruction by subsequent



Plate I Palmer's School, Grays: aerial view looking south. Grassmarks are faintly visible on the playing field; X marks the position of the kiln.

features. The ditch contained kiln debris and pottery wasters which included red and cream flagons and mortaria with herringbone stamps. A small ditch, F18, was probably contemporary but the junction was destroyed by the sewer trench. A third ditch, F8, on a different alignment cannot be ascribed to any particular phase but was devoid of kiln debris and hence may be earlier. It was fully sectioned by the sewer trench (Fig. 6F) and appeared as a crop-mark (Fig. 2).

PHASE 2: The KILN (FIG 3)

The kiln was constructed at the northern end of a waisted sub-rectangular pit up to 5.1 m long, 2.6 m wide and 0.8 m deep, which followed the alignment of the silted ditch F17. The sewer trench had removed the central section of the kiln chamber and some of the upper layers had caved in whilst the trench was open, but the remainder was undisturbed. The chamber (PI II) had an internal diameter of 1.3 m and survived to a maximum height of 0.4 m. The kiln wall was free-standing and constructed of sandy clay; wattle supports were not used. Its internal face was grey and hard-fired, the core was red and the outer zone, which was still semi-plastic, purplish-brown. The firing tunnel was short and terminated in a facade which spanned the width of the pit. The facade was constructed of brickearth, unfired except in the mouth of the flue', which was thickened externally (PI III) for additional strength. After construction, the space between the kiln structure and the edge of the pit was backfilled with clean gravel, L15 (Fig. 5, S1).

The chamber floor consisted of heat-reddened gravel laid over a thin layer of brickearth derived from kiln construction. Towards the centre of the floor a patch of grey ash, largely removed by the sewer trench, may indicate the position of a central pedestal. In the flue the floor was not reddened but hollowed by repeated raking-out and covered with a layer of soot (L14), which extended across the base of the stokepit (Fig 5, S1, S2). There was practically no recognisable charcoal. Two postholes F20 and F24 provide the only evidence for any possible structure above the kiln.

There was no evidence for kiln furniture: the presumed pedestal had been removed by the sewer



Plate II Palmer's School, Grays: the kiln chamber, fully excavated, bisected by the pipe trench; looking south-west with the stokepit and ditch beyond.



Plate III Palmer's School, Grays: the kiln and stokepit fully excavated, showing the flue arch and facade construction; looking north-east with the ditch in the background.

trench and its position was marked only by an accumulation of ash which had escaped raking out as a result of its proximity to the pedestal. There were no firebars associated with this structure and no means of lodging them on the kiln wall. It is probable that the pots were stacked directly on the floor (see below, p. 26).

The last firing was a failure and upwards of thirty wasters were left in the bottom of the kiln (L13: Fig. 5.S1; Pl IV). It is unfortunate that the damage caused by the sewer trench precluded any useful study of the pots' disposition within the chamber. After the last firing the chamber was backfilled with a layer (L12) which contained much crumbled kiln superstructure but little pottery. The stokepit was filled at the same time (L6).

PHASE 3

A ditch was re-established following the same alignment as both earlier features and an entrance created in the region of the former kiln chamber. The ditch was up to 2.5 m wide and 0.6 m deep and had been recut at least once (south: L4 and L5, recut L7; north: L10, recut L9; Fig 5.S2, S5). The pottery it contained was almost entirely residual kiln material.

OTHER FEATURES

A number of other features were observed in the sewer trench (by Mr Drury; Fig 2, A-J; Fig 6). The majority (A-D,F,H,K) were field ditches, similar in appearance and dimensions to those within the excavation (F8 was part of ditch F), but E, G and J merit further comment.

The profile and primary fill of feature E (Fig 6) suggest that it was the stokepit of another, later kiln; a large fragment of Oxfordshire colour-coat mortarium (Fig. 8.7) was found at the bottom of

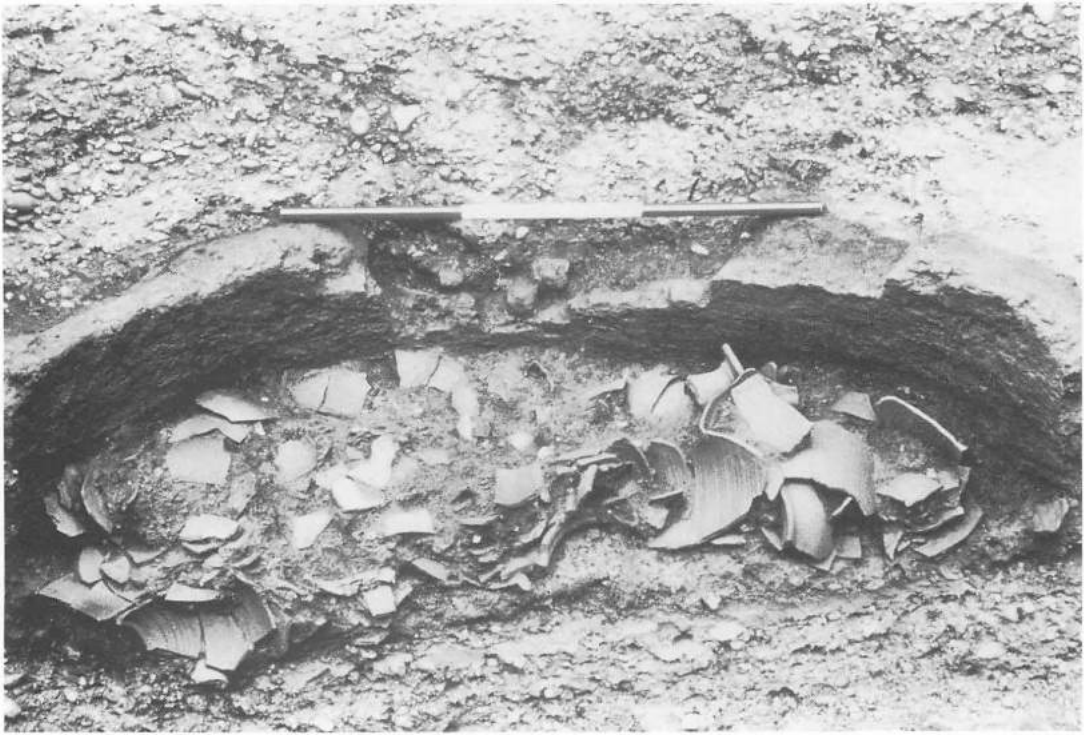


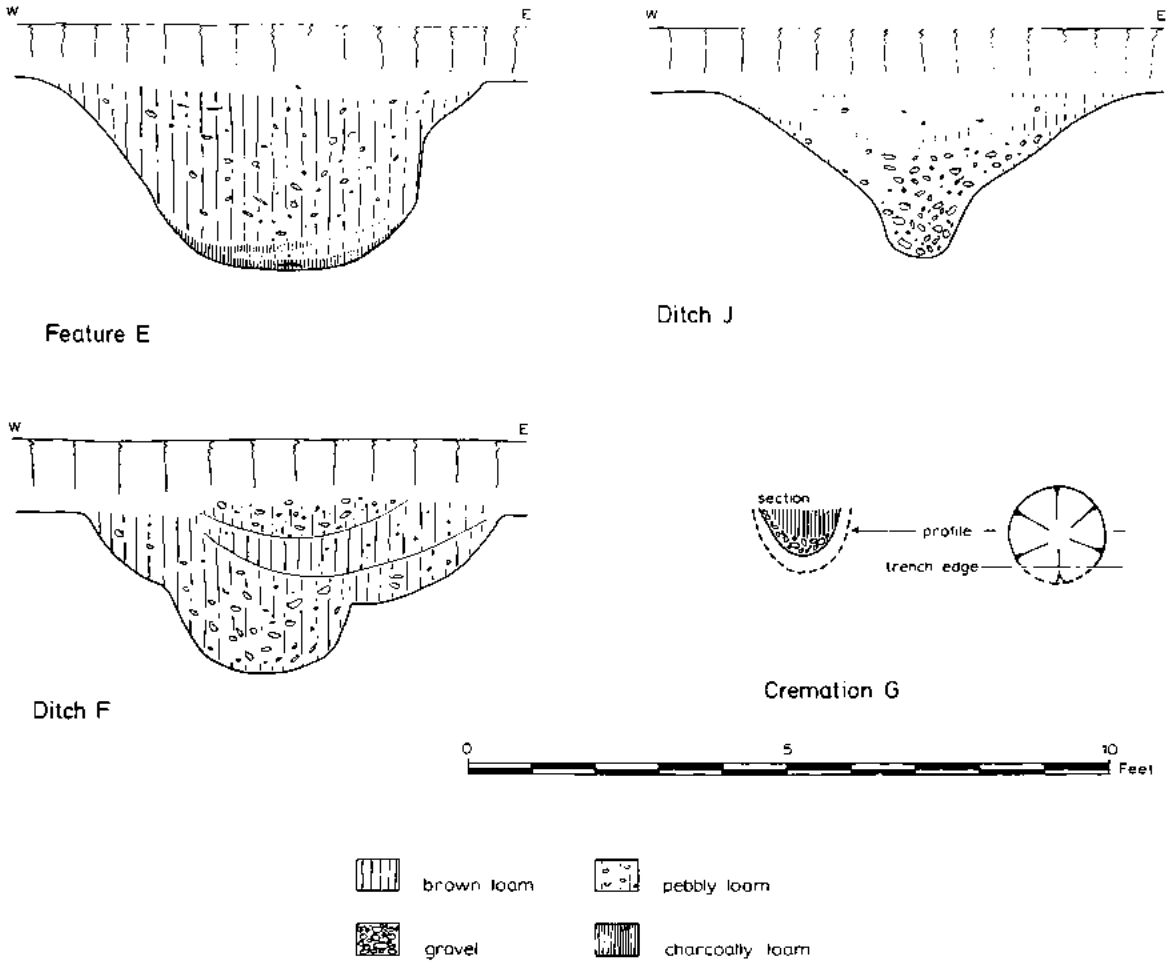
Plate IV Palmer's School, Grays: the kiln chamber with the last firing *in situ*.

the pit. Ditch J had a V-shaped profile with a shovel slot and a sterile pebbly filling uncharacteristic of the other ditches and suggestive of a Roman military origin; the site occupies a commanding position overlooking the Thames.

Two unaccompanied cremation burials were found at G; they consisted simply of small circular pits full of charcoal and ash. Burial urns were found when the swimming pool was constructed in 1930 and two are published below (Fig. 12.11, 12).

Grassmarks, which were clearly visible on the ground at the time of the excavation, enable these features to be set in their wider context, as part of a rectilinear Romano-British field system in which other potential kilns may be identified (eg Feature E, Fig 2). There appear to be no recent aerial photographs which show these features clearly; they are faintly visible on Pl. I.

In 1974 a second sewer trench was cut across the school playing field (Carney 1975, 47). Observations revealed another small Roman ditch and a backfilled denehole, or former flint mine entered by a vertical shaft. Such pits are common in the Grays area.



Palmer's School, Grays SEWER TRENCH FEATURES

Fig 6 Palmer's School, Grays: sections of features in the sewer trench.

THE POTTERY

The Mortaria (by K. F. HARTLEY)

Kiln Products

There were fragments of at least eleven vessels in two fabrics.

Fabric 1 A fine-textured, cream fabric which varies from being soft with no visible inclusions to having a moderate amount of ill-sorted quartz inclusions. The fabric is sometimes a greenish-cream and may have a pink core; trituration grit where it survives consists of flint, quartz and some red-brown material. Eight examples.

Fig 8.1 A composite drawing of the principal type, a small, neat, hooked rim, with a spout flanked by triple herringbone stamps. The same die is used on all vessels (Fig. 7.1). Likely to have been made in the last years of the 2nd or the early 3rd century.

Not illustrated: flange fragments from five mortaria, similar to but less angular than 8.1, with faint grooves on the end of the flange in three instances. Multiple herringbone die impressions. They are probably of a type which could be dated cAD 160-200 but they have exceptionally small rims.

Not illustrated: flange fragment from a nearly wall-sided mortarium with incomplete stamp from the same die. Made in the late 2nd or early 3rd century.

Fig 8.2 A flange rim of unusual form.

Fabric 2 This also has a finer and coarser version according to the amount of temper added. Pink or orange-brown fabric with a thin white slip. Probably similar to Fabric 1 in all other respects. Three examples.

Not illustrated (fine): Flaked hooked rim and part of base perhaps from one vessel, as 8.1, AD 150-200.

Not illustrated (coarse): bead and flange fragment with fragmentary herringbone stamp impression, as 8.1, AD 150-200.

Fig 8.3 An unusual, wall-sided mortarium probably made in the early 3rd century. The mortaria in Fabrics 1 and 2 can be attributed to a workshop on the site: Fabric 2 is unusual in mortaria in East Anglia. Six of the mortaria are stamped and no other stamps are known from the same die. The rim-profiles of 8.1 and 8.3 leave no reasonable doubt that this kiln was active in the late 2nd or early 3rd century.

Other Mortaria

Fig 8.4 Quadrant rim in granular, greyish-cream fabric with blackish core to surface in places, and a brownish-buff slip, packed with well-sorted transparent quartz inclusions. When complete, the potter's stamp reads MAXIF, presumably for Maximus (Fig. 7.2). Other stamps have been noted at Enfield; Hambleton villa; Harlow; London (6); Springhead, Kent; and the Whitton villa, Suffolk. The fabric points to production in the Verulamium region at some site such as Brockley Hill or Radlett, and the rim profile supports a date cA.D. 110-140. L4, ditch.

Fig 8.5 Fine-textured, pale brownish-cream fabric with mainly flint trituration grits. This is an unstamped form which was much more common in southern England than elsewhere. It is likely to have been imported from Gaul or Germany and was made within the period A.D. 160-230. L7, ditch.

Fig. 8.5 A collared mortarium in fairly hard, cream fabric with abundant fine trituration grit. This is almost certainly an import from Lower Germany, made within the period A.D. 150-250. Sherd lost, provenance unrecorded.

Fig 8.7 Fine-textured, orange-brown fabric with grey core and thin white slip; abundant transparent, pinkish and brownish quartz trituration. Burnt before fracture. Made at workshops in the Oxford region such as Baldon or Dorchester. Form WC7 (Young 1977), A.D. 240-400. Sewer trench, feature E, primary silt.

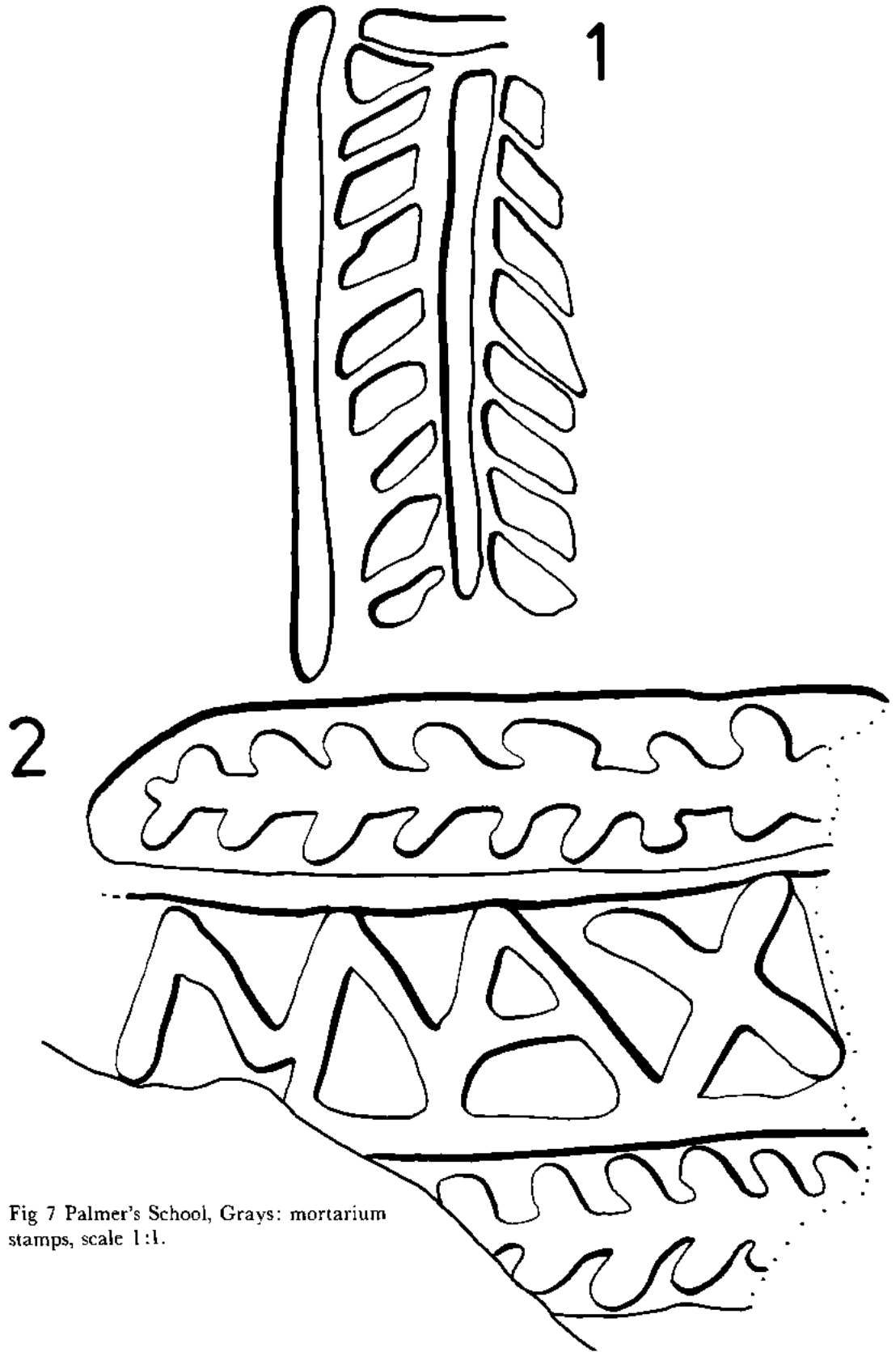


Fig 7 Palmer's School, Grays: mortarium stamps, scale 1:1.

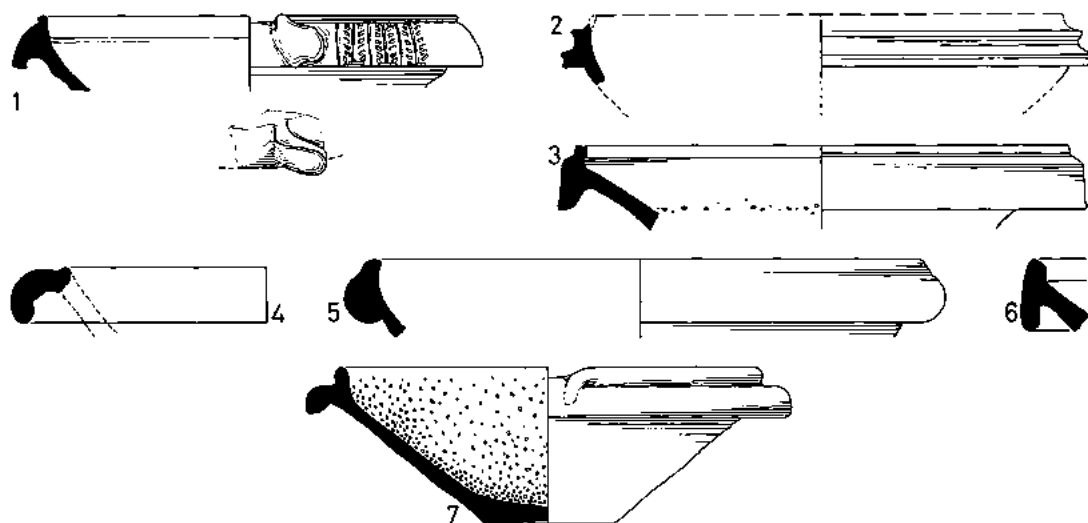


Fig 8 Palmer's School, Grays: mortaria, scale 1:4.

THE COARSE POTTERY MADE ON THE SITE

A total of 74.92 kg of kiln pottery was recovered from the excavation and salvage work. Only a limited number of forms was present and the material has been treated typologically.

THE POTTERY FROM THE EARLY DITCH: L16, 17 and 21 (Fig 9)

This feature contained a small but significant group of fine ware wasters which included mortaria, cream flagons and cream-slipped red flagons, together with a little coarseware. The fine wares also occurred in residual contexts, but residual coarse pottery could not be distinguished from the products of the later kiln.

Table 1 Phase 1 Kiln Products

	Kg.	Stratified	Residual	Total
A. Mortaria		0.15	0.75	0.90
B. Cream Flagons		0.45	1.12	1.57
C. Red Flagons		0.25	1.03	1.28
D. Coarseware		0.54		

For mortaria, see above, p

B Cream Flagons

A soft, fine fabric the same as that used for the mortaria, sometimes containing visible sand grains. It varied in colour, according to firing, from a very light greenish-grey to a pinkish buff. The exterior was coated with a cream slip, now rather abraded. At least 10 different vessels were represented; Fig. 9.1 is a composite reconstruction of the type. The base had a footring groove, the handle was triple-reebed and the body normally decorated with two zones of grooves. There was some variation in rim form; including a hooked rim (Fig 9.2) and four cupped rims, two of which were plain (Fig 9.3) and two grooved externally in imitation of ring-necked types (Fig. 9.1).

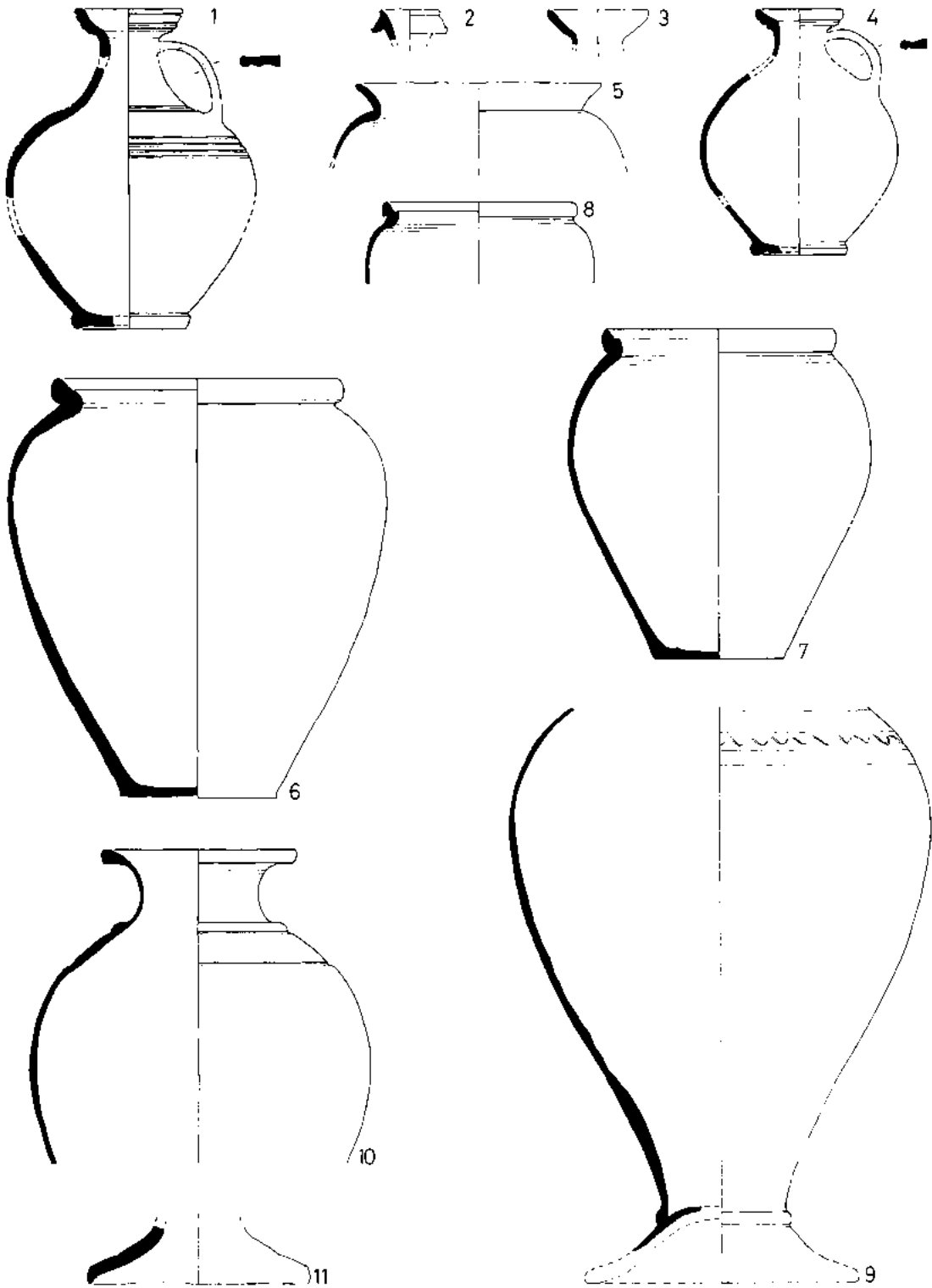


Fig 9 Palmer's School, Grays: kiln pottery phases 1 and 2, scale 1:4.

C Cream slip-coated red flagons

Rather soft orange-brown sand-tempered fabric coated externally with a cream slip, now very abraded. At least 10 different vessels were represented; Fig 9.4 is a composite reconstruction of the type, which was also manufactured in the same size as the cream flagon. The base had a footing groove, the body was plain, the handle double or triple-reebed according to size and the rim invariably of imitation ring-neck type.

D Coarsewares

There were only two recognisable types; a ledged-rim jar as type 1 below and an everted-rim beaker with burnished decoration (Fig 9.5) as type 4 below. Neither were obvious wasters but the likelihood of an earlier coarseware kiln is strong.

Firing Faults

Underfiring was the principal fault, and was particularly marked amongst the cream wares where it was often accompanied by fine surface crazing. The mortaria also showed a tendency to flake. Slip preservation was poor but this is at least partly due to acid soil conditions.

THE KILN GROUP (Figs 9-11)

Despite the destruction caused by the sewer trench, substantial portions of over thirty wasters were recovered from the kiln chamber (L13), giving a clear indication of the range of kiln products in the last firing. The layer of soot at the base of the stokepit (L14) also contained fragments of these vessels together with pottery which may have been derived either from earlier firings of the excavated kiln or from other contemporary kilns in the vicinity. The residual material from the upper kiln layers and the later ditches did not extend the range of forms and consequently all the material has been quantified by type and weight. The results are presented in table 2. The illustrated examples are generally drawn from L13 or L14.

Table 2 Phase 2 Kiln Products (L13 & 14)

Type	Strat. wt (kg)	% Strat.	Residual wt (kg)	Total wt (kg)	% Total
1 Ledged rim	21.25	45.97	12.49	33.74	47.70
2 Pedestal urn	13.35	28.87	1.53	14.88	21.00
3 Bowl	8.15	17.63	4.74	12.89	18.22
4 Beaker	2.75	5.95	2.71	5.46	7.72
5 Dish	0.73	1.58	2.85	3.58	5.06
6 Flask	-		0.18	0.18	0.30
Total weight	46.23		24.5	70.73	

Residual material has only been included where it was more complete or extended the typological range.

There were two fabrics; a coarse one, used only for large ledged-rim jars, and a fine one, used for all other forms, in conjunction with slips and burnishing. Neither would be distinctive away from their site of manufacture.

Fabric 1 coarsely tempered with quartz sand up to 1 mm across and a little red grog. Intended to be a hard grey reduced ware but variable in practice owing to accidents of firing.

Fabric 2 a fine, dense, very slightly micaceous fabric with very little visible sand, firing as fabric 1.

Firing Faults

Pottery in the last firing exhibited a wide variety of faults; many vessels were wholly or partly oxidised and were frequently very underfired, whereas some of the reduced wares were hard to the point of vitrification. Some vessels had distorted and blown, or cracked, or exhibited surface crazing. Spalling was a very common fault which particularly affected bases. The pedestal urns were the least successful type; their particular weakness appears to have been their pedestal feet, which had spalled or underfired in all but one example.

Pottery types*Type 1 Ledged-rim jars*

A minimum of 15 vessels was found in the kiln and 12 in the stokepit. Two sizes were manufactured; the larger (21 examples; Fig 9.6, L13 is typical) with a rim diameter 160-190 mm, and the smaller of 130-150 mm (6 examples; Fig 9, 7 L13). The former was invariably made in fabric 1, but fabric 2 was generally used for the latter. Both types had simple wired-off bases and no special surface treatment. Fig 9.8 is an exceptionally small example from L6.

Type 2 Pedestal urns

A minimum of 14 vessels was found in the kiln and 2 in the stokepit. Three different types were represented; large (4), medium (9) and white slip-coated (3). All were in fabric 2 and had tall pedestal feet thrown separately and luted to the body.

A Large (Fig 9)

The rims and shoulders were slipped with the same clay as the body and decorated with zones of burnishing.

Fig. 9.9 Hard grey, rim missing, pedestal base spalled, burnished wavy line on shoulder. L13.

Fig. 9.10 Hard, patchily oxidised rim and shoulder. Surface abraded, traces of burnishing. L13.

Fig. 9.11 Large pedestal base. L10.

B Medium (Fig 10)

Rims and shoulders were slipped and decorated with multiple zones of burnishing.

Fig. 10.12 Hard-fired, one side oxidised, the other reduced; multiple zones of alternating plain burnishing and wavy lines on a reserved background. A reconstructed drawing; the side had blown and the rim tilted during firing; the only undamaged pedestal base. L13.

Fig. 10.13 Underfired and oxidised, the burnish well preserved; an alternative scheme of decoration. L13.

Fig. 10.14 A smaller example, oxidised and slightly underfired, badly crazed towards the base; the pedestal has failed. Burnished wavy line decoration. L13.

Fig. 10.15 the base of a vessel similar to 14. An attempt has been made to grind off the remains of the pedestal base and create an ordinary flat base. L13.

C White slip-coated (Fig 10)

The exteriors of these vessels had been completely coated in an off-white slip and then burnished all over.

Fig. 10.16 Complete except for the pedestal, rather soft and oxidised. Slip runs internally, exterior now rather abraded. L13.

Fig. 10.17 A smaller, less angular example, underfired and oxidised. L13.

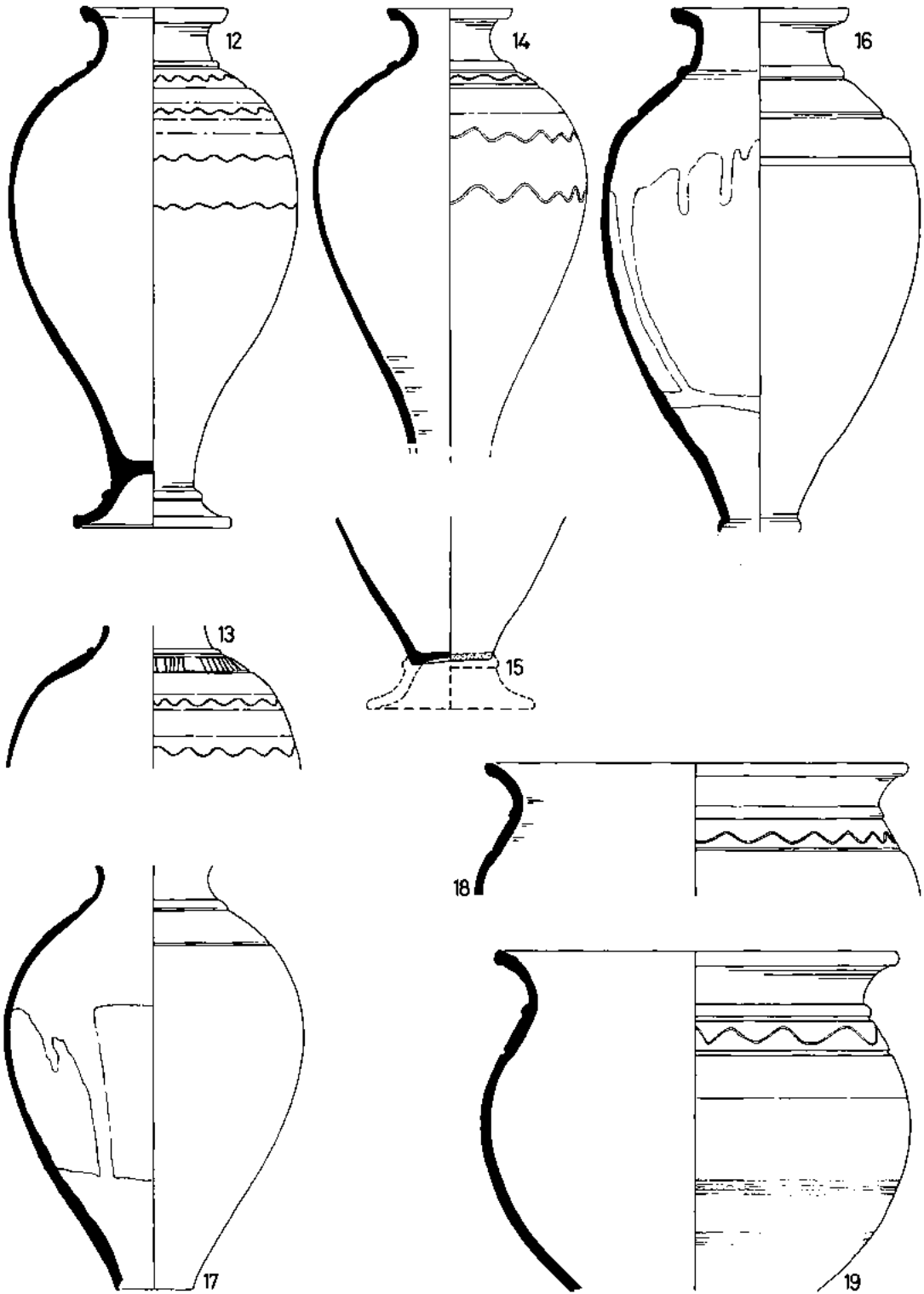


Fig 10 Palmer's School, Grays: kiln pottery phase 2, scale 1:4.

Type 3 Cordoned bowls

A minimum of 2 vessels was found in the kiln and 13 in the stokepit. the rims and shoulders were slipped and burnished, with single reserved zone below the cordon. this was decorated with a burnished wavy line or groups of short vertical lines. the lower bodies were not slipped but decorated with several bands of thin burnished lines, and the flat bases were trimmed and burnished. All were in fabric 2. Rim diameter ranged from 190-260 mm.

Fig. 10.18 Hard-fired and grey, a large example. L14.

Fig. 10.19 Hard, grey and rather sandy, surface crazing. L14.

Fig. 11.20 Underfired and oxidised, slip and burnish well preserved. L13.

Fig. 11.21 Fairly hard grey, many small 'potlid' fractures, burnished vertical lines on shoulder. L14.

Fig. 11.22 Fairly hard, oxidised, a small example. L14.

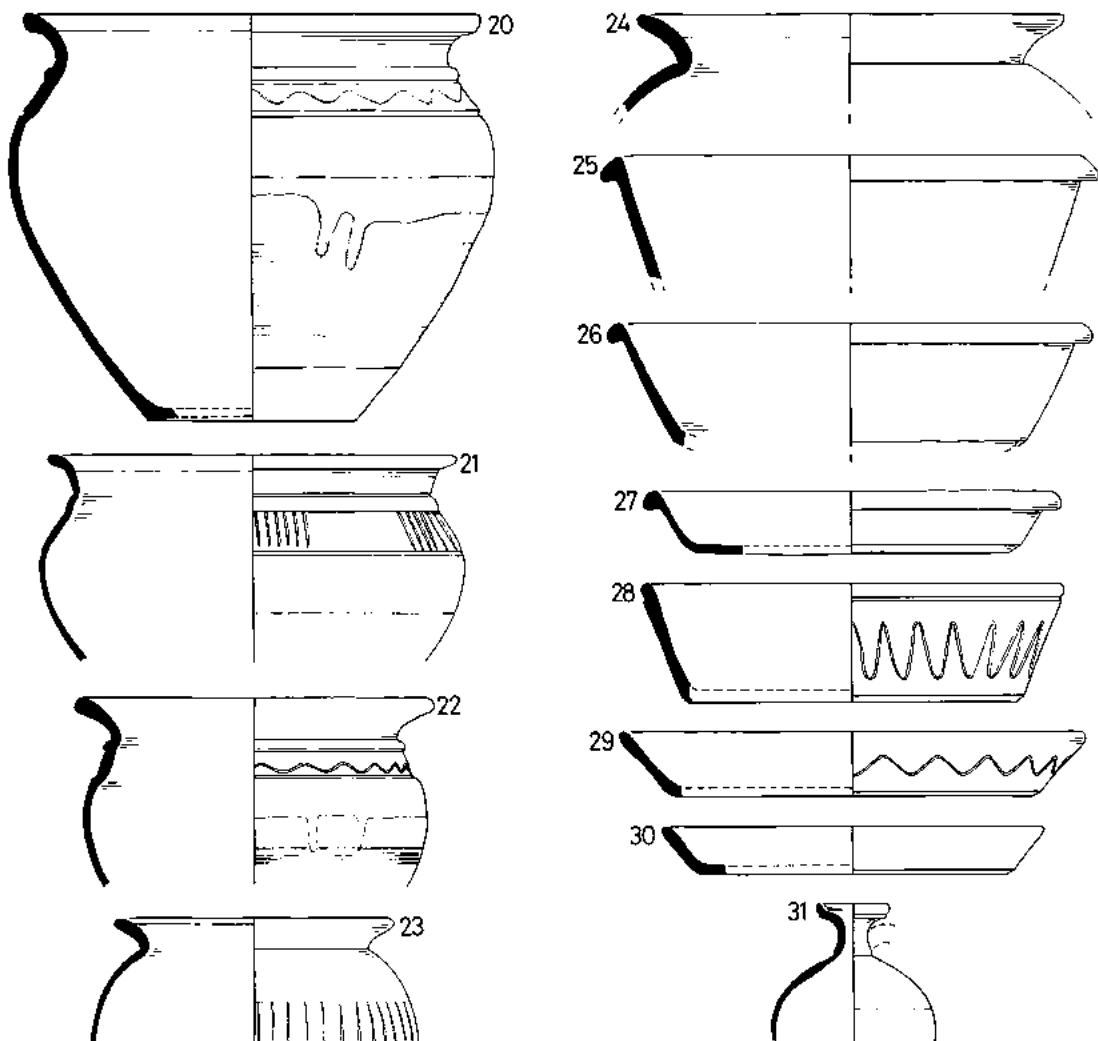


Fig 11 Palmer's School, Grays: kiln pottery phase 2, scale 1:4.

Type 4 Everted-rim beakers

A minimum of 1 vessel was found in the kiln and 13 in the stokepit; they were represented by fewer sherds than the foregoing types. Rims and shoulders were slipped and burnished and the bodies decorated with burnished single lattice, grouped lattice, or vertical lines above a basal zone of burnishing. Bases were flat and burnished underneath. All were in fabric 2. Rim diameters ranged from 140-220 mm with sizes of 140-170 mm being most frequent.

Fig. 11.23 Hard fired, partly oxidised, burnished vertical lines. L14.

Fig. 11.24 Hard, light grey, rim slightly mis-shapen, a large example. L4.

Type 5 Dishes

There were none in the chamber but a minimum of 9 from the stokepit, 5 bead-rim and 4 straight-sided. Overall, bead-rim types with a rim diameter of 170-280 mm were four times more common than straight-sided vessels, which ranged from 190-260 mm in diameter. Both were in fabric 2, burnished all over with bevelled bases.

A Bead rims

These were invariably plain.

Fig. 11.25 Partly oxidised, large and deep. Unstratified.

Fig. 11.26 Partly oxidised, slight surface crazing. Unstratified.

Fig. 11.27 Partly oxidised, a small example. L6.

B Straight-sided

These frequently had a burnished wavy line on the exterior.

Fig 11.28 One side oxidised, the other reduced, a groove below the rim. L14.

Fig. 11.29 Oxidised, wider and shallower, L14.

Fig. 11.30 Oxidised, small and plain. L14.

Type 6 Flasks

There were no examples from the kiln but a complete neck from L6 (upper stokepit) had the appearance characteristic of pots from the last firing. There were also sherds from at least 2 similar vessels in L10. Flasks seem only to have been produced in small quantity. Rim, neck and shoulder were slipped and burnished. the lower body was plain. No bases were found.

Fig. 11.31 A composite drawing; the rim hard-fired, oxidised a bright orange with grey patches and the scar of a poorly attached handle. the body reconstructed from sherds from L10, all reduction fired.

THE SAMIAN WARE (by WARWICK RODWELL)

Fragments of sigillata from the excavation represent 25 vessels, which is a high number considering the paucity of non-kiln material on the site. With one or two exceptions, the samian is all likely to be residual from nearby domestic occupation; the exception may be grave-pots (see below). The assemblage may be broken down as follows: South Gaulish (2), forms 29 and 37, of which the former is burnt black and may be pre-Flavian; Central Gaulish (10), common forms, mostly if not wholly of Antonine date; East Gaulish (10), common forms, and probably all Antonine; uncertain (3).

While the high proportion of East Gaulish Antonine samian on coastal sites in Essex has long been noted (eg at Canvey Island and Heybridge), it is surprising that on this site it should comprise 50% of the 2nd-century assemblage. Unfortunately, the samian is of little assistance for dating purposes: two sherds in the pre-kiln ditch, F17, show that the filling of this feature did not take place before c.A.D. 150. There are several undistinguished Antonine sherds from the construction pit and stokepit of the kiln (L14 and L15), and others from the recut ditches L5 and L10.

POTTERS' STAMPS (Fig. 12)

Fig. 12.1 Albucius ii of Lezoux. Form Ludowici Tx, complete vessel, stamped ALBVCI (die 6b), c.A.D. 150-180. Found in 1957 in the quarry east of the school (Thurrock Mus. Accn. No. 435). In view of its completeness, this bowl may well be derived from a burial. The same die is recorded on form 33 at Mucking.

Fig. 12.2 Saciro ii of Blickweiler. Form 18/31 to 31 (transitional), stamped ŠĀCIROF (die 2b), c.A.D. 125-150. The base is more than half complete and a large section of wall is attached. This, together with the fact that there is slight internal burning on the vessel, might suggest that it was originally deposited in a cremation burial. It was recovered from the spoil heap of the contractors' pipe trench, close to the kiln. With it was found a large, burnt sherd of samian form 40 (East Gaulish, Antonine).

Fig. 12.3 Secundus v of Lezoux. Form 31, stamped SECVNĎUS.F (die 4a), c.A.D. 145-175. This fragment from the centre of the base is broken in such a way as to suggest that it has been made into a crude hexagonal counter. From a rabbit hole in the top of L9.

Not illustrated: tiny fragment of f 31, East Gaulish, Antonine.

THE NON-KILN COARSE POTTERY

The quantity of non-kiln pottery from the excavated area was small and much of it comprised fragments of storage jar which were probably used as packing pieces during the firing process. From the remainder the following pieces can be singled out.

Fig. 12.4 Fine, rather soft grog-tempered fabric, grey core orange surfaces. A zone of incised concentric circles below a group of rather crudely burnished cordons. London ware; the incised decoration is typical of the fine grey variety (Marsh 1978, 123) but the fabric has affinities with the buff stamped type (Rodwell 1978, 234). Late 1st or early 2nd century. L5.

Fig. 12.5 Everted-rim beaker with burnished lattice decoration. Hard granular sandy fabric, grey-brown core, dark grey surfaces, BB2, L12.

Fig. 12.6 Poppy-head beaker, light grey, finely sand-tempered fabric, burnished externally. L10.

Fig. 12.7 Another larger example, fabric as 6, surfaces abraded. L9.

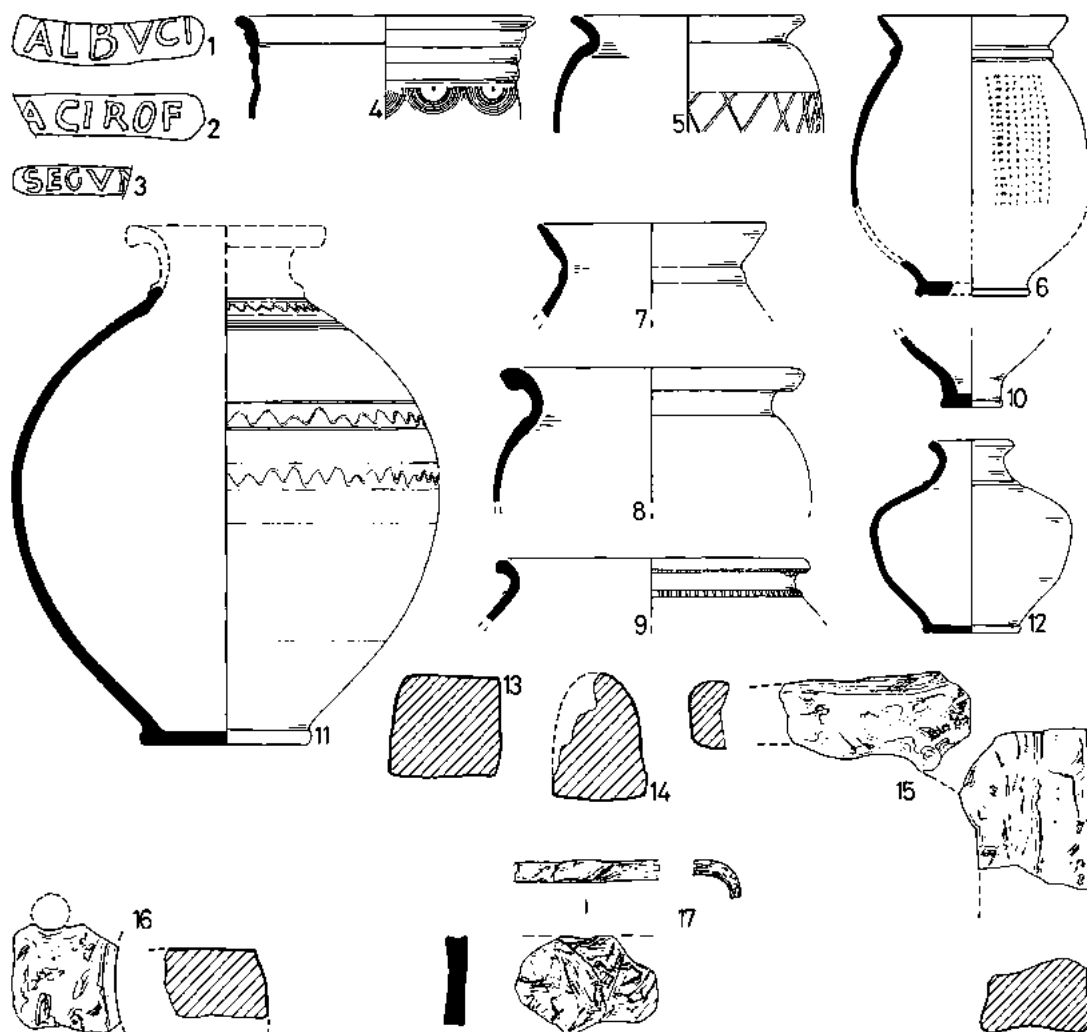


Fig 12 Palmer's School, Grays: other pottery and fired clay, scale 1:4.

The following sherds from L9 belong to phase 3, and are 3rd or 4th century:

Fig. 12.8 Jar, hard grey-brown fabric with very coarse quartz sand tempering.

Fig. 12.9 Jar, hard grey coarsely sand-tempered fabric, rouletting on shoulder and edge of rim.

Fig. 12.10 Pedestal base from beaker, fine sand-tempered fabric, light grey surfaces, grey-brown core.

THE 1930 BURIAL GROUP

Fig. 12.11 Narrow-necked jar, rim missing, medium grey sand-tempered fabric, the upper body decorated with alternating zones of plain burnishing and burnished wavy lines on a reserved background. The lower body and foot, which has a small footing groove, are also burnished. This

type of decoration is very characteristic of the North Thames bank. This vessel is probably late 1st or early 2nd century; of Bushe-Fox 1926, pl XX.2.

Fig. 12.12 Small narrow-necked flask, complete; slightly soft, soapy fabric tempered with sand, grog and vegetable matter which has left small surface lacunae, red-brown core, dark grey surfaces burnished externally. The fabric is a 1st century one and a late 1st or early 2nd century date would also fit this vessel.

THE FIRED CLAY

The fired clay was derived principally from the ditches of phases 1 and 3. The small size of the pieces and their virtual absence from the phase 2 kiln deposits suggest that they originally constituted a single early group stratified in layers 16 and 17 and unconnected with the later kiln. The material can be divided into six types, four of which were stratified in the phase 1 ditch (1, 2, 3, 5).

1. Square-ended firebars (Fig 12.13; L10)

Seventeen pieces of rectangular-section bar with square terminals, maximum surviving length 100 mm. The illustrated example had a dense hard coarse sandy fabric, but more commonly they included chopped vegetable matter.

2. U-section firebars (Fig 12.14; L17)

Nine pieces, fragments only, no terminals, length unknown. Fine sandy clay tempered with chopped vegetable material, red core, grey surfaces with a dirty yellow coating, an incipient salt glaze.

3. Composite firebars (Fig 12.15; L16, 17)

Ten pieces of variable dimensions from a composite rectilinear firebar grid. Parts of three faces survive. Red vegetable-tempered core, all external surfaces have a pronounced light grey-green glaze. For a reconstructed grid, see Rodwell 1979, 146, Fig. 7A.

4. Pierced floor (Fig. 12.16; L10)

Two fragments; the illustrated piece has both small and large holes, the other a single small hole over 60 mm deep (L4). Both are made of fairly dense sandy clay tempered with vegetable matter.

5. Vessel fragments (Fig. 12.17; L4, 6)

Forty seven small fragments from very coarse hand-made straight-sided vessels tempered with abundant chopped vegetable material (grasses and husks), and fired grey-brown. These are from sub-rectangular salt evaporation vessels; part of a corner was found, and another piece had a fragmentary lip. These vessels are discussed more fully below.

6. Friable lumps

Seven formless lumps with a curved outer face, tempered with vegetable material and fired hard, light and clinkery. Grey interior, green salt-glazed surface.

This collection raises a number of problems, as only the first category, square-ended firebars, is unequivocally associated with pottery manufacture; the remainder are probably or certainly connected with salt production. The debris from the phase 1 ditch implies a pottery kiln manufacturing mortaria, in which the square-ended firebars are robust enough to have served as kiln furniture. Floors which were either pierced (type 4) or made from a fixed grid of bars (type 3) are a

possibility for such a kiln, but are not the norm in the region. Furthermore these examples are relatively slight in size and find an exact parallel on the salt-boiling sites on Canvey Island, where both types were regularly used to support evaporation pans (Rodwell 1979, 14.5-9). The type 5 fragments come from such pans, which were rectangular vessels with rounded corners and upright walls, in the order of 100 m high and 200 to 300 mm square. Types 2 and 6 also occur in salt-production contexts and all types except 1 and 5 have a glazed surface very characteristic of material from Thames-bank salt production sites.

There remains the problem of how and why this material reached the site, for with the exception of type 5 in which salt could have been transported, the material is structural and would have been fired *in situ*, not prefabricated. Only a more extensive knowledge of the context of the site would assist in the understanding of this problem, but it is interesting to note the evident close association between pottery and salt manufacture on the North Thames bank, a process which is also clearly evident on the North Kent marshes (Rodwell 1979, 161). It is possible that salt-impregnated briquetage debris was transported up from the marshes solely to serve as salt-licks for cattle.

DISCUSSION

Dating

There was no evidence for any pre-Roman activity and the earliest material from the excavation and its environs, apart from a single sherd of possibly pre-Flavian samian, was late 1st century or early 2nd century, for example the London ware bowl (Fig. 12.4) or the 1930 burial group (Fig. 12.11-12). The most precise date for the two phases of kiln activity is provided by the mortaria which were being manufactured on the site. They belong to the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries (p) and were stratified in the phase 1 ditch. There is little reason to suppose that a long period of time elapsed between the two phases and the main kiln group would appear to fall within the same date bracket. Both the samian, which was not closely stratified (p), and the coarse pottery types would be wholly consistent with this evidence. There were a few sherds of 3rd or 4th century pottery from the phase 3 ditches (Fig. 12.8-10).

Affinities

Typologically the excavated kiln belongs to the dispersed but increasingly numerous North Thames bank group. Pottery production began in the region in the 1st century A.D. and is attested at Mucking (Jones and Rodwell 1973, 18) and Gun Hill, West Tilbury (Drury and Rodwell 1973, 62). Six kilns of 2nd to 4th century date have also been excavated at Mucking (Jones and Rodwell 1973, 13-47) and at least another six at Orsett (Rodwell 1974, 13-39; Toller 1980, 40). All are of single-flued updraught type with a central pedestal (occasionally double), but whereas the first and early 2nd century kilns (Mucking I and VI) had suspended floors of radial firebars, the later kilns yielded no kiln furniture except a free-standing pedestal, and lacked any means of supporting a suspended floor. It must be concluded that none was used and that pots were stacked on the kiln floor. The pedestal served to absorb the main heat-blast and to assist the circulation of gases (Rodwell forthcoming). The Palmer's kilns appear to lie at the point of transition, for the phase 2 kiln belongs to the later group and lacks any evidence for a floor, but the debris from the earlier kiln suggests the use of firebars. However, the situation is complicated by the fact that this kiln was producing whitewares, otherwise unknown in Essex outside Colchester, and so may have been of a typical construction.

It is impossible to say on present evidence whether these fine wares were produced in quantity or were a small and experimental firing, nor is it yet clear how widely they were traded; the stamps are so far unique to the site. The greywares are, however, typical of the Thames bank industry and some forms were produced over a long period. A kiln waste group from Orsett (Rodwell 1974, 25-8) of late 2nd or early 3rd century date contains most types found at Palmer's, whilst the two Mucking kiln

assemblages closest in date (II and VI) have some types in common. The pedestal urns form the most unusual part of the assemblage. Owing to their high failure rate they probably appear to be a commoner type than they actually were.

All the finer vessels exhibit the Thames-bank predilection for multiple zones of burnished decoration. These vessels would originally have had a lustrous metallic appearance which has normally been removed by soil acids but which survives in contexts such as wells.

The excavated kiln is clearly one of a group; grassmarks suggest more slightly to the north, and feature E in the sewer trench may be the stokepit of another, probably of 4th century date. The kilns are situated on or close to the boundaries of a Romano-British field system which may be attached to a villa or farmstead lying on more sheltered ground below the crown of the terrace, in this case probably south of the present school buildings. The picture at Palmer's is fragmentary but it may be compared with the extensively-excavated landscape at Mucking, where the kilns are also scattered across the outfields of a villa or farmstead situated at the bottom of the slope (Jones and Rodwell 1973, 13). Once again they were situated in or close to field boundaries with no more than one or two kilns in use at the same period. At Mucking several wells were contemporary with the kilns and appear to have been used by the potters (*ibid.*, 19). Such may also have been the case at Grays; the vessel decorated with *genii cucullati* (Farrar 1971, 327) from the adjacent gravel quarry appears to have come from the bottom of a well and could have been made on the site.

The quality and range of pottery types implies specialist potters satisfying more than an immediate purely domestic demand, but equally does not represent a full-time industrial concern like Colchester or the Nene Valley. Potting was probably a seasonal concern and the presence of salt-making debris at Palmer's suggests a link with the other major industrial activity in the locality, which involved a similar technology and which also operated on a seasonal basis.

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Excavations on the Braintree Earthworks, 1976 and 1979

by M. R. EDDY

Summary

Trenching at points along the line of the possible *oppidum* bank at Coggeshall Road, Braintree, indicates a Roman or earlier date for that bank. Other Iron Age features were found as well as evidence of medieval and post-medieval activity.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to Crossman Ltd., of Braintree for permission to excavate at Blyths Meadow; to Braintree District Council for allowing excavation at the Cressing Road sites and to Essex County Council, Highways Department, for permission to excavate the Railway Street site. Mark Dixon acted as site supervisor in 1976 and Lucie Vinceguerra dealt with the finds. The Mount House survey was carried out by Graham Scobie and Tim Appleton and the contour survey of Trotter's Farm Allotments, Cressing Road, is based on that undertaken by Braintree District Council. Thanks are due to Hazel Martingell for the illustrations and comments on the flints; to Christine Couchman for her notes on the samian; and to John Hedges and David Buckley for their assistance and advice. Excavation was made possible by grants from the Department of the Environment.

Introduction

The presence at Braintree of a half-mile length of bank and ditch (Essex Sites and Monuments Record Number TL 72/77), running parallel to and partially beneath the line of the Roman Road (Coggeshall Road) from Colchester to Braughing, was noted and described by Cunnington as early as 1833 (Cunnington MSS 1833), though he ascribed the earthworks to the Roman occupation. Drury (1976A) has collated all the known Iron Age, Romano-British, and medieval material from the Braintree area and has proposed that this bank and ditch represented the remnants of a Belgic *oppidum*, perhaps comparable to that at Wheathampstead, Herts. As Drury (*op. cit.*, 104-8, 121-3) has summarised the evidence relating to this monument, including the publication of the relevant extracts from Cunnington's MSS, it is not necessary to repeat this information. Rodwell (1976, 326) has also emphasised Braintree's key importance in Belgic Iron Age times and included it in his class of minor *oppida*. He further urged (*op. cit.*, 328) that 'no opportunity should be lost to excavate in advance of redevelopment'.

Two such opportunities were presented in late 1976. A proposed office development at Blyths Meadow to the south of the sole surviving portion of bank, within the grounds of Mount House; and by a proposed large scale housing project at Trotter's Farm allotments south and west of Cressing Road (Figs. 1, 2 and 3). Excavations at both sites were carried out on behalf of Essex County Council and the Department of the Environment, from 11 October until 23 December 1976. During the course of the excavations the Mount House monument was surveyed (Fig. 7) and is described in detail below (p. 45).

A further opportunity arose in 1979 prior to a road-widening scheme at the Coggeshall Road/Railway Street junction.

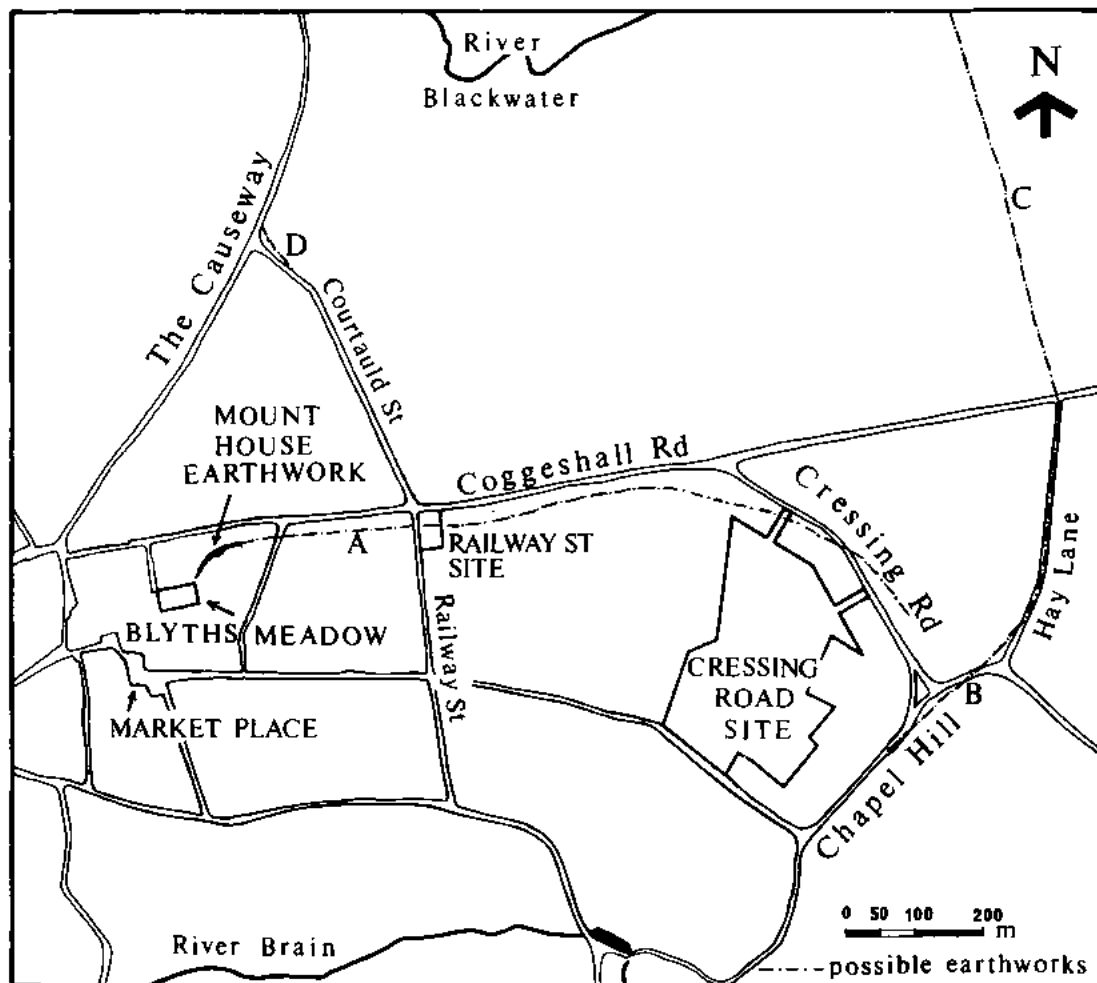


Fig. 1 Braintree: Location of sites and earthworks.

Recording Method

The Blyths Meadow, Cressing Road and Railway Street sites were distinguished by two code letters (BM, CR and RS respectively) followed by the year of excavation (76 or 79). The trenches on each site were named separately by a letter. Individual features and layers (contexts) were numbered sequentially starting from (1) and each trench given an open ended sequence prefixed by its own code thus -

- BM 76 (A5) - Context (5) in Blyths Meadow, trench A
- CR 76 (B16) - Context (16) in Cressing Road, trench B.
- RS 79 (+) - Unstratified in Railway Street, trench.

History Of The Sites

As the historical and archaeological development of Braintree has been fully reviewed by Drury, and as the individual sites were marginal to the town, no more need or can be said beyond that below.

(a) **Blyths Meadow** - This area was known in 1833 as the Cherry Orchard, but by c. 1900 a house had been built facing the town and was successively occupied by veterinary surgeons. The rest of the orchard, including the standing monument, was incorporated into the grounds of Mount House, now the offices of Braintree District Council, and the area was landscaped in the late-nineteenth century.

(b) **Cressing Road** - The southern part of the allotment area was held by the Bishop of London from the early-eleventh century, if not earlier. (Newcourt, 1710, I, 87; Kenworthy, 1893, 270). The area of the Bishop's Palace and land was gradually down-graded to become known as Parsonage Farm in 1843 (Kenworthy, 1893, 270).

The northern part of the site was dedicated to the poor in 1630 by a Mr Trotter (Cunnington, 1904, 16-17). Its history prior to this is uncertain though it was known as Sampson's Hyde. Cunnington (1833) states that the earthwork passed into this field apparently terminating at a barn (probably that shown on the Tithe map of 1843 (ERO, D/P 264/27)).

(c) **Railway Street** - The existing buildings (148-152, Coggeshall Road) and the former 68 Railway Street are shown on the 1843 Tithe map.

GEOLOGY AND GEOMORPHOLOGY

Such Geological Survey records as exist (G.S. 1908) show, incorrectly, the drift underlying this part of Braintree as sand and gravel and the only recent work in Mid-Essex (Clayton 1957) does not extend far enough north to be useful. The excavation provided a certain amount of geological information (Fig. 5).

(a) **Blyths Meadow** - The lowest excavated formation was represented by a chalk-flecked orange-brown clay (A35), which was overlain by a charcoal-flecked orange-brown clay (A34). Both were cryoturbated, showing narrow cones of bright orange sand, one of which cut through to the subsoil surface. This sequence was overlain by 0.4 to 0.5 m to stiff mid-brown clay (A13) with a single solution hollow (A33) also filled by a bright orange sand.

(b) **Cressing Road** - On both of the roadside sections the lowest excavated formation was a light yellow-green compacted clayey sand or fine gravel which in Trench A (65.05 m O.D.) was overlain by 0.5 m of chalky clay (*cf.* BM 76 (A35)); and in Trench A only, this was capped by a further 1.5 m of stiff plastic clay. In Trench B the interface of yellow clayey sand and the till was 66.18 m O.D. This sequence was broadly comparable to the Blyths Meadow sequence, though the charcoal-flecked clay was absent and no cryoturbation was observed. The trenches (C and D) in the allotment fields were topsoil stripped, though clay was observed at a depth of 2.80 m at the bottom of the modern quarry pit. Alluvial clayey silts were observed at a depth of at least 1 m at the bottom of the slope in the south-west extremity of Trench D. All trenches contained buried soils. That in Trench A had Victorian and more recent finds and that in Trench C, a single rim sherd of sandy gritted early medieval ware. This tentatively suggests that the E-W field boundary to the south of Trench C (Fig. 3) might have been in existence before c. 1300. Trench D produced no finds.

(c) **Railway Street** - Immediately below 25 cm of topsoil, a silty - orange clay, 25 cm thick, overlay chalky boulder clay.

Earlier excavations have revealed a sandy clay ('brickearth') subsoil over clay-bound gravel (Drury *op.cit.*, 3) west of Bank Street and the Market Place. East of the town's historic core the natural subsoil is boulder clay, which has two distinct phases at Blyths Meadow. This boulder clay capping is still present in the Cressing Road trenches but apparently thins out to the east and south. It would appear that the known line of the *oppidum* earthwork is roughly coincident with the boundary of an outlier of the Mid-Essex dissected boulder clay plateau.

THE EXCAVATIONS

(a) **Blyths Meadow** (Fig. 1, 2 and 5)- Two trenches A and B were machine excavated. Trench A was designed to cut the projected line of the bank and ditch immediately south of the Mount House monument. The area available was restricted by the presence, on the north side of the site by a standing kennel building and demolition rubble; on the east by trees and on the south by builders' equipment. A portion of the demolition dump was moved by JCB to make room for Trench B.

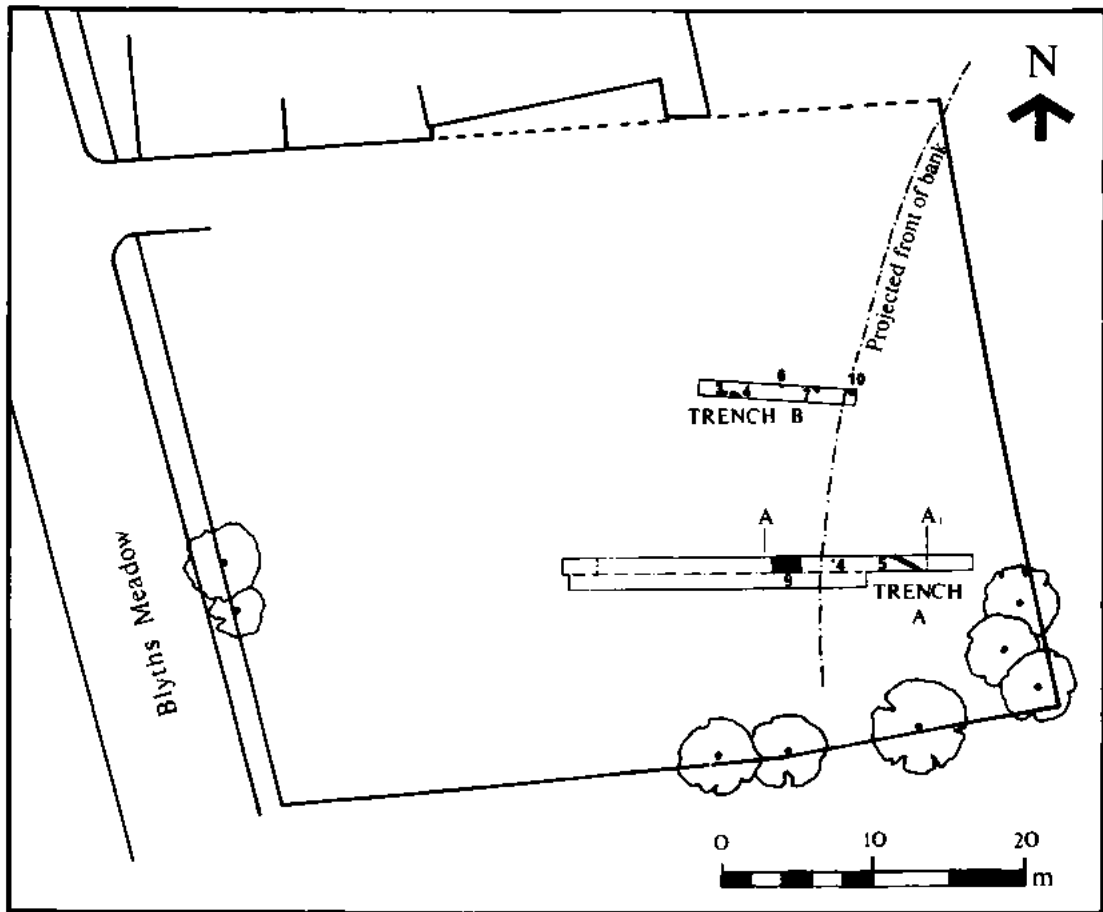


Fig. 2 Braintree: Blyths Meadow Site Plan

Trench A (Figs. 2 and 5): All excavated contexts are summarized in Table I. Layer A14 produced a mixture of pottery with a date range from the fifth century B.C. to the early fourth century A.D. with a single Roman coin. Only gully A5 and ditch A9/A32 produced EPRIA pottery and are attributed to this period.

Feature A6 was located on the projected line of the rampart's front face but proved to be a post-hole probably for a c. 1920's tennis court (local resident pers. comm.). If the bank had ever been extant at this point levelling for the tennis court would have removed it and also explain the truncation of A4 and A5.

TABLE 1. Blyths Meadow : Trench A contexts

Context	Description	Stratigraphic Position	Interpretation	date
A1, A2, A3	Black humic loam	Within A14 (Not shown on Fig. 5)	Plant or garden disturbance	'Modern'
A4	Grey silty clay	Not in section	Stake-hole	?EPRIA
A5	Grey silty clay	—	Gully	EPRIA
A6	Clay packing (A7) and ghost post (A8)	base of A14	Square post-pit for tennis court	c.1920
A9	Grey silty clay, A9a yellow silty clay interleaves with A9	Below A32	Lower ditch silt	EPRIA
A10, A11, A12	Black humic loam	Within A14 (Not shown on Fig. 5)	Plant or garden disturbance	'Modern'
A13	Orange boulder clay	—	Natural	—
A14	Black humic loam	Below (+), Above A5, A9, A32	Recent garden disturbance of Roman and later levels.	—
A15 to A31	Mainly black humic loam	Within A14	Root disturbance	'Modern'
A32	Dirty orange clay	Above A9, below A14	Upper ditch silt	EPRIA
A33, A34, A35	see p.5.	—	Natural	—

Trench B (Fig. 2): This was opened as near to the Mount House bank as the rubbish dumps and existing structures would allow in order to follow ditch (A9/A32) and to locate, if possible, the larger ditch supposedly associated with the bank. Context (B4), a shallow depression deepening to the south with a grey silt fill contained Roman sherds. Contexts (B3), (B6), (B7) and (B10) were post or stakeholes (Table 2), with grey silty fills. Dating evidence comprised two Romano-British and a flint gritted Iron Age sherd from (B7) and a Roman tile fragment from (B10). A number of modern postholes or small pits were also identified (B1, B2, B5, B8, B9 and B11, not shown on Fig. 2).

TABLE 2. Blyths Meadow : Post or Stake-Holes. (Dimensions in Centimetres)

	Depth	E-W	N-S
BM 76 A	4	12	8
BM 76 B	3	15	22
BM 76 B	4	38	41 (min.)
BM 76 B	6	12	18 (min.)
BM 76 B	7	14	37 (min.)
BM 76 B	10	18	66 (min.)

(b) **Cressing Road** (Figs. 1, 3, 4 and 5) - Two allotment access points, between 28 and 36 Cressing Road and between 98 and 108 Cressing Road, provided the only vacant areas on the presumed eastern end of the earthwork system. These were examined by Trenches A and B respectively. Trench D was placed across a spur of land facing south and west, overlooking a dry valley, in order to pick up any settlement evidence on the only undeveloped area within the earthwork. Trench C cut the chord of a roughly circular low mound immediately north of the principal east-west boundary within the allotments.

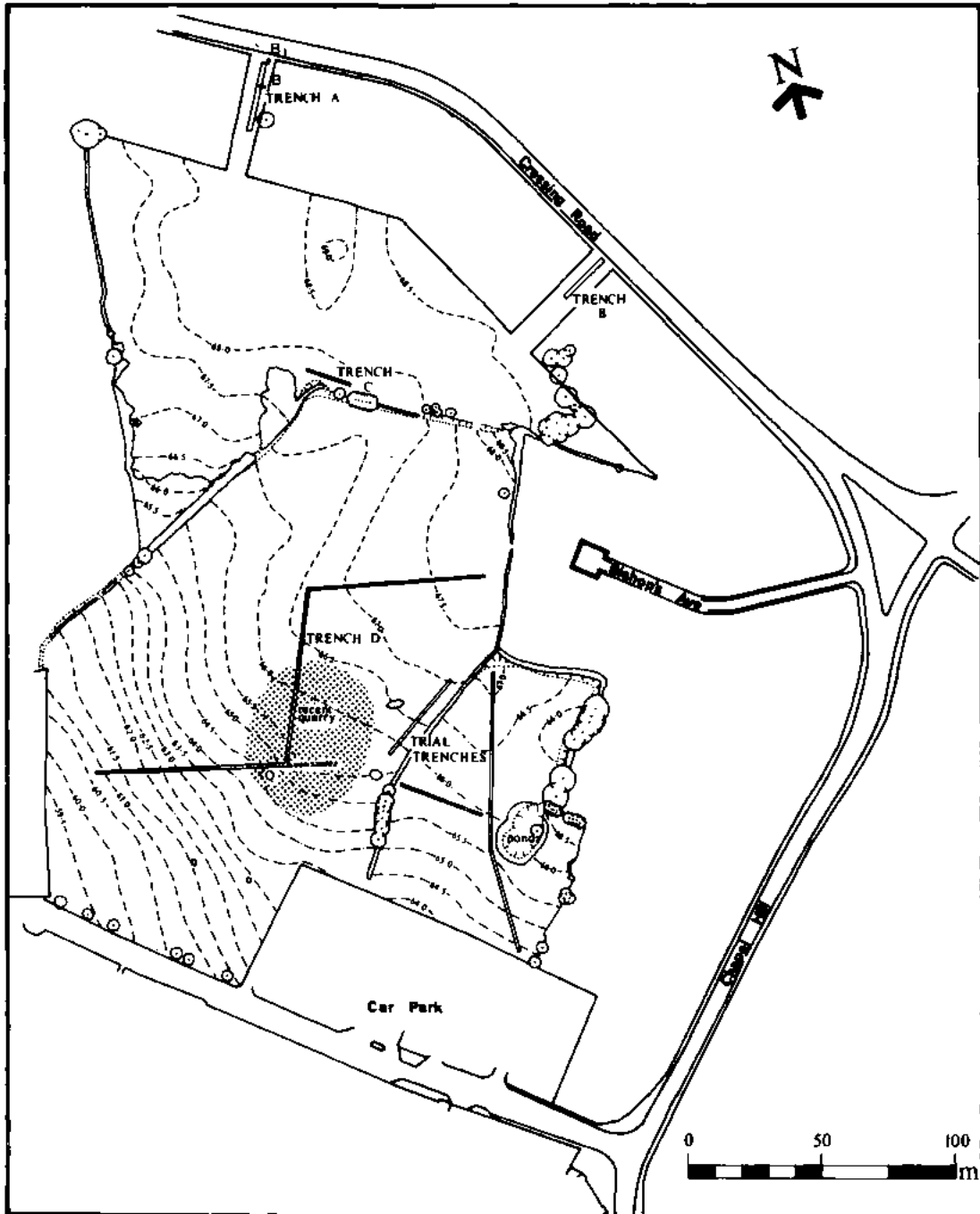


Fig. 3 Braintree: Crossing Road trenches and contour survey

Trench A (Figs. 3, 4 and 5): Machine excavation at right angles to Crossing Road revealed a light brown clayey loam (A4) disturbed by several modern intrusions (A2, A8, A9, A11, A12 not shown on Figs. 4 and 5).

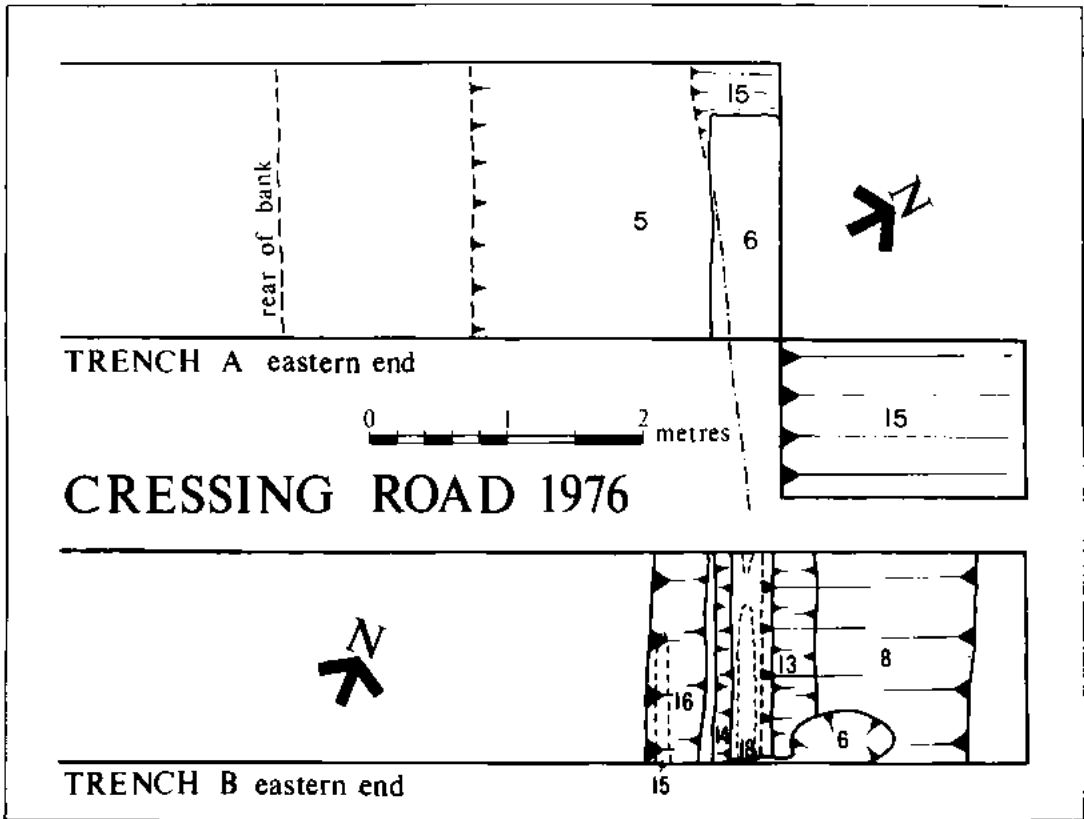


Fig. 4 Crossing Road Feature Plan

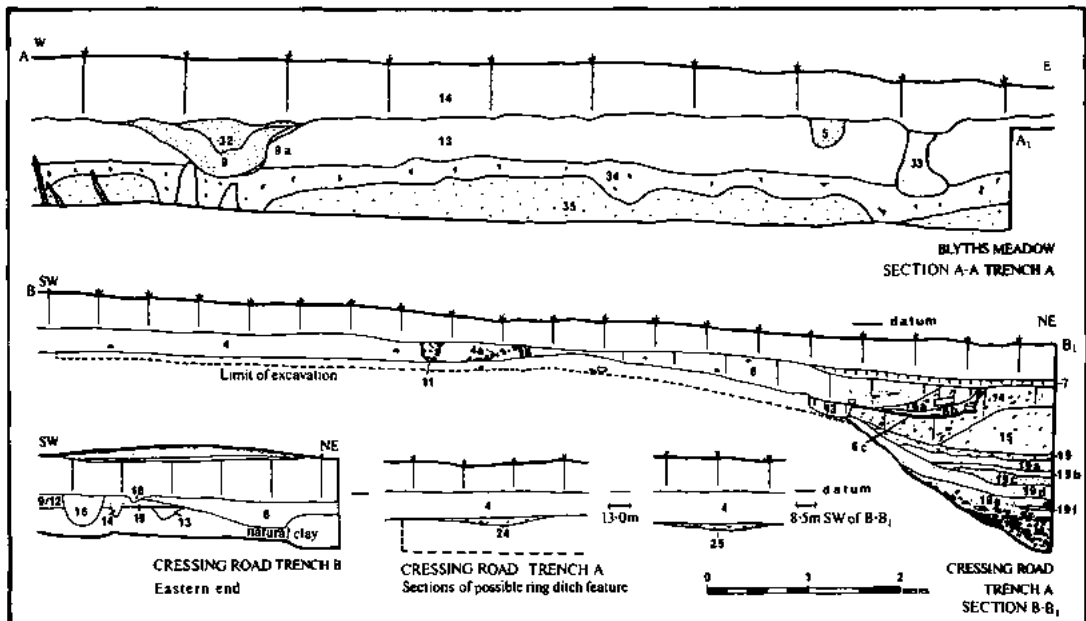


Fig. 5 Braintree: Blyths Meadow and Crossing Road sections

In the 4.0 m immediately behind the road frontage a series of modern ditch fills (A6, A7, A14) truncated the remnants of a bank (A4a, A16) to the SW and cut into the upper silts (A15) of an earlier ditch or pond, lying mainly beneath the modern road.

This earlier feature comprised lower silts of stony clay, compacted sands (A19a to A19f) with lens of pure sand (A19b) containing late seventeenth century pottery and brick fragments and upper silts of clay and sand with charcoal (A15) containing late seventeenth to early eighteenth century wares.

Truncation of the bank had occurred before the post-Medieval period. The upper layer (4A), a silty clay with some gravel contained eroded thirteenth and fourteenth century sherds, whilst the lower stone-free silty clay (A16) produced a single heavy rim of a coarseware storage jar in a late Iron Age early Roman fabric with two small sherds of Romano-British pottery.

Behind the remains of the bank were two shallow curving gullies, (A24, A25; Fig. 5) filled by an orange-brown silty clay, with their concave sides facing, 7.5 m apart. The arrangement was suggestive of a possible hut-circle ditch though no finds were recovered from either, and the gullies were rather wide (1 m) and shallow (8 cm) for a hut-circle drip gully or construction trench.

Trench B (Figs. 3, 4 and 5): This trench was hand excavated at right angles to the present line of Cressing Road, which it has been suggested (Drury 1976, 123) continued the line of the earthwork.

A recent roadside ditch (B8), filled by a charcoal-flecked silty clay had been cut through a grey-brown clayey loam build-up (B9), sterile of finds, and into the natural clay below.

The only other features revealed in this trench were a series of gullies roughly parallel to the present road and between 2 m and 3 m from the present inner pavement edge. The gullies were filled by a slightly greenish grey-brown silty clay and were cut from various levels within the built-up material (B9). Gullies (B13, B14, B16) ran across the full width of the trench whereas gullies (B15, B18) petered out before reaching the northern side. Dating material was non-existent though a spread of yellow clay (B6) overlying roadside ditch (B8), and therefore very recent, (B6) produced a rim of grey sandy medieval fabric.

Trench C (Fig. 3): This trench 11.20 m x 1 m cut the chord of a low brush-covered mound with an enclosing circular ditch, situated at the head of a dry valley near the highest point of the allotment area. A depth of 0.35 m of orange-brown clayey loam beneath 0.30 m to 0.40 m of topsoil was recorded, but the impression of mound and ditch proved to be reflected in the topsoil only. A single flattened rim sherd of sand-gritted grey medieval pottery was recovered from an unstratified context. The soil build-up was compatible with the development of a positive lynchet behind a field boundary which was first recorded in 1630 and in existence by the early medieval period.

Trench D (Fig. 3): A trial trench was cut by machine up the slope of the dry valley side to the west of the ridge; thence along the ridge for 67.6 m and thence to the eastern boundary of the allotments. At the western end, in the bottom of the dry valley, 1.50 m of alluvial silt were recorded, though not bottomed and found to be resting on the uphill side, on a brown plastic clay. Most of the area exposed on the west of ridge had been, in fact, removed to a depth at Q₁ (Fig. 3) of at least 3 m and back-filled by modern foundry waste.

No artefacts of antiquity were found.

Trenching by Martin Petchey and D.G. Buckley of Essex County Council's Archaeology Section in January 1976 (marked Trial Trenches on Fig. 3) revealed no evidence of Iron Age occupation whilst the few medieval finds have been described in Drury (1976 A, 83-4).

(c) **Railway Street** (Fig. 1 and 6) - Topsoil was removed by machine from an area 2 m by 13.8 m, the long axis being parallel to Railway Street. The trench was designed to cut the line of the Coggeshall Road bank, the rear of which survives some 50 m to the west.

Natural clay occurred immediately beneath topsoil in the south end of the trench, though in the northern 6.5 m, a shallow depression filled with stone rubble represented the demolition of cottages, pre-dating the Tithe Map. This rubble lay directly on natural clay.

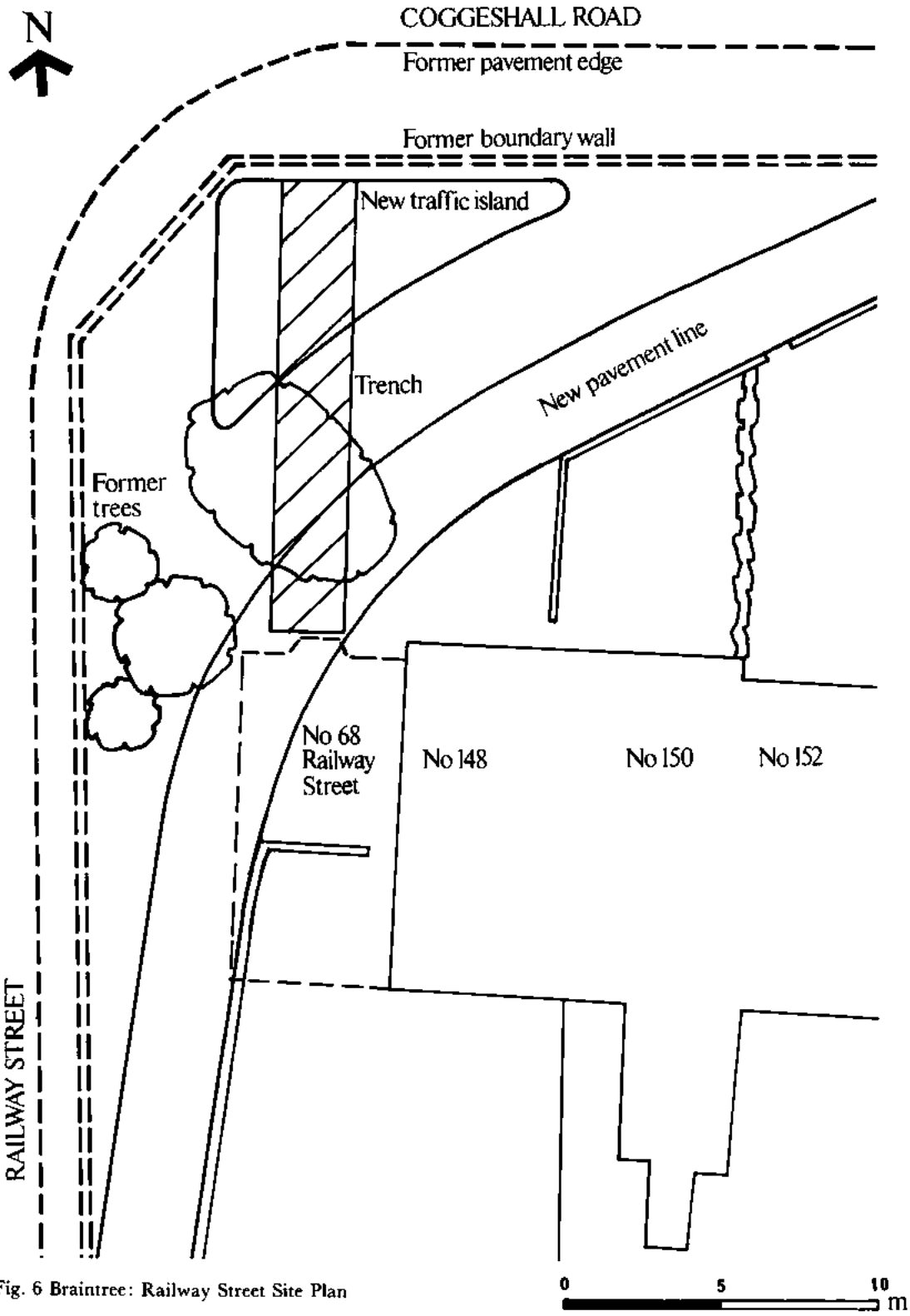


Fig. 6 Braintree: Railway Street Site Plan

No evidence for the earthwork was found in the area excavated and the ditch, if any at this point, is presumed to lie beneath the modern road.

The Mount House Monument (Figs. 1 and 7)

The monument as it survives is L-shaped rather than curving in plan. Both faces are very steep, though more gently sloping to the east, and are heavily wooded. The rear face had apparently been severely treated, probably by nineteenth century landscaping and shows a concave slope whilst the front face has been truncated by a modern fence. The mound survives to a height of 2 m above the general ground level behind the monument, but at the highest point, is 3 m above the level of the concrete to the north and west. A distinct depression, 3.75 m below the highest point of the mound may represent a ditch in front, but if so the concrete has masked the true contours.

The monument has been recommended for scheduling and a decision is awaited at the time of writing.

The principal earthwork runs along a saddle on the ridge between the two rivers apparently avoiding the slightly higher (above 225') land to the east and west (Drury, 1976A, Fig. 49). The earthwork effectively encloses a valley side and bottom, a topographic feature associated with *oppida*, e.g. Bagendon (Clifford, 1961), Sheepen (Rodwell, 1976), Wheathampstead (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936), Loose (Kelly, 1971), Dorchester Dyke Hills (Rodwell, 1976), Silchester (Boon, 1969), and Stanwick (Wheeler, 1954).

Further Possible Earthworks in the Braintree Area

Further traces of the principal east-west earthwork can be observed at the Railway Street/Coggeshall Road junction where a portion of bank survives behind the Victorian cottages south-west of the junction (Fig. 1A). The ditch presumably lies below the present road. A portion of ditch, about 10 m wide as it survives and much obscured by allotments lies 40 m south of the Coggeshall Road/Cressing Road corner.

Other possible lines of ditch were also observed in the town but the remains are slightly obscured by vegetation and recent buildings. They are, however, described to complete the picture.

A depression in the garden of the Clockhouse at the junction of Chapel Hill and Cressing Road (Fig. 1B) is continued on the north side of the Cressing Road by Hay Lane. This line is apparently continued by a hedge line almost down to the river Blackwater (Fig. 1C). A further short length of ditch was noted in a garden at the junction of the Causeway and Courtauld Street (Fig. 1D).

Drury (1976A, Fig. 4) suggests that the more southerly end of the putative Hay Lane earthwork is related to the pre-Roman field system, whilst the end north of Coggeshall Road is integral to a Roman system dependent on that road. The northern boundary is unconvincing as an element in a Roman system. It should be noted that the proposed line would effectively link the Brain and Blackwater rivers crossing the ridge at its highest point. The Causeway section is too short to place in its setting, if indeed these are 'real' earthworks at all and not fortuitous alignments.

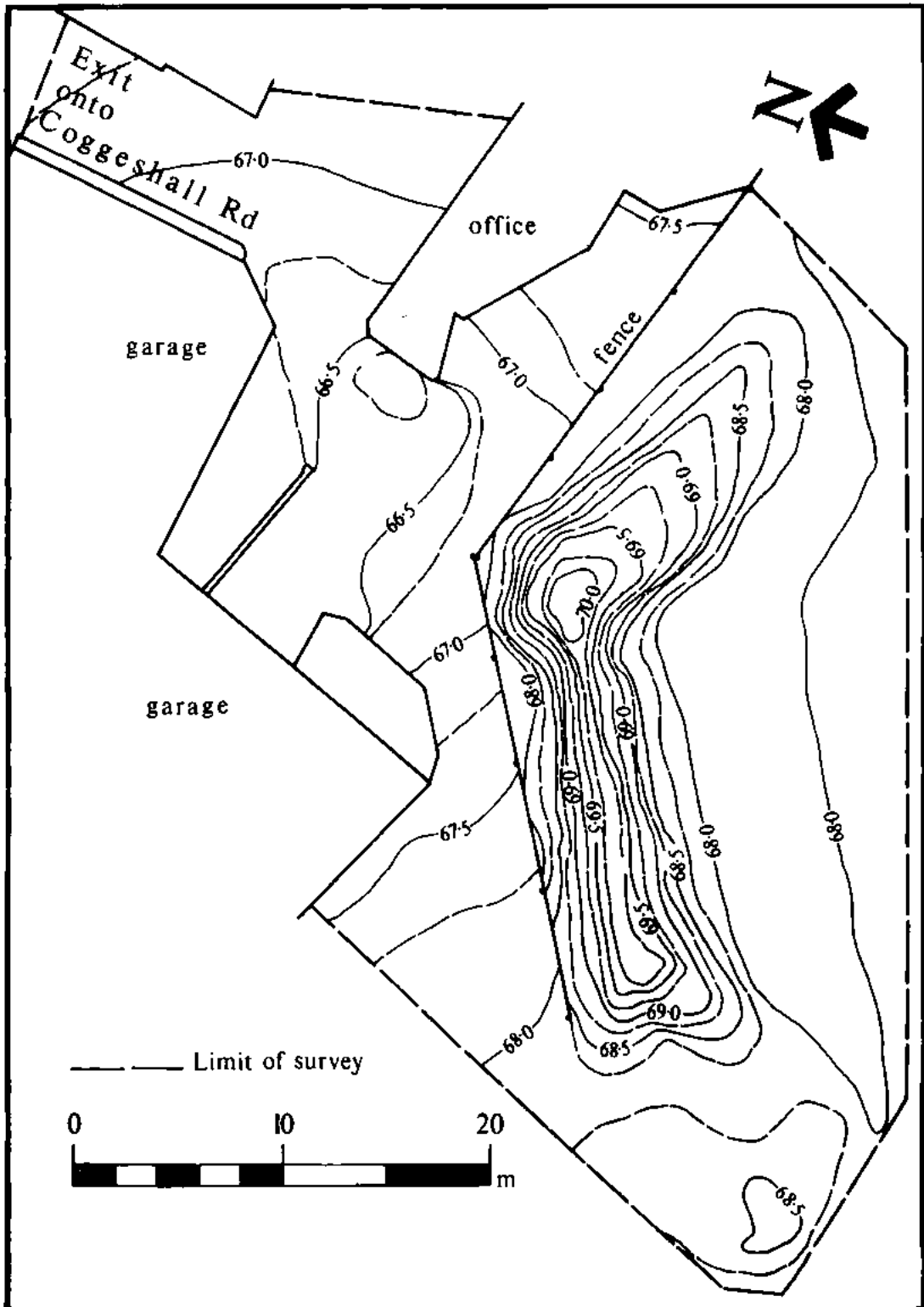
The Artefacts (Fig. 8)

The artefacts are ordered by their category but as the material of the one site is essentially different from that recovered on the other the finds from each site are dealt with separately.

COINS

Blyths Meadow. Both effectively unstratified. Roman. Bronze barbarous radiate. Illegible.

Post medieval. Irish threepenny piece. Crown over harp RE FRA, obverse; --- MAG BRIT reverse.



THE FLINTS by Hazel Martingell

Blyths Meadow, unstratified.

Fig. 8.1. Horseshoe type scraper, light retouch all round edge except where there is a modern break. Grey. Unretouched trimming flake.

Cressing Road, Trench A, unstratified. Two unretouched flakes, dark grey, traces of iron staining.

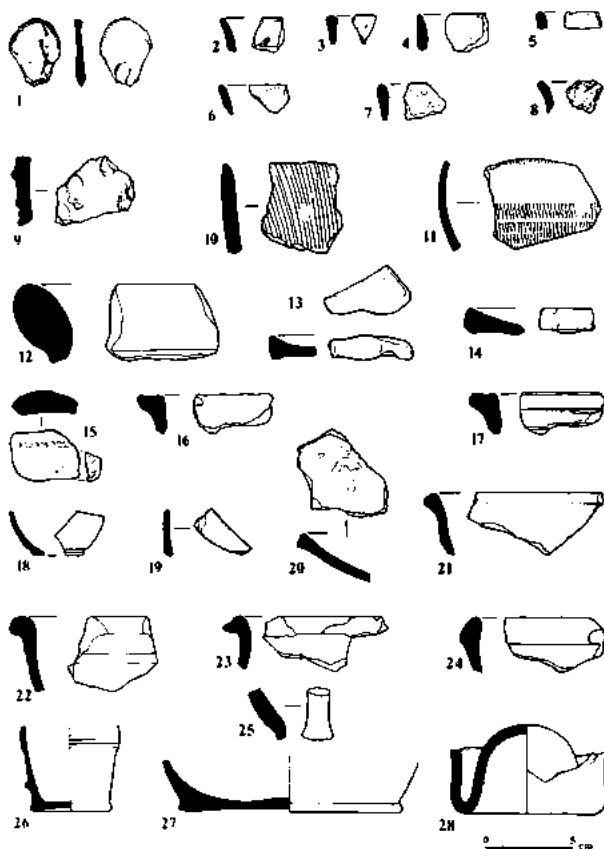


Fig. 8 Braintree: The finds: worked flints, 1; pottery, 2-27; glass 28. Scale 1:2

POTTERY

The bulk of the pottery from the excavations can be considered unstratified through the recent horticultural history of both sites. Only the Iron Age material from Blyths Meadow and the post-Medieval from Cressing Road, where stratified material was obtained, are treated in detail. Roman and medieval pottery is discussed generally and only in detail where necessary. Unstratified Roman rims were drawn and pencil drawings are to be included in the ES & MR (TL 72/77).

BLYTHS MEADOW POTTERY**Prehistoric**

Some one hundred and nine fragmentary sherds of early Iron Age pottery were recovered, of which

only thirty-four were stratified, including a rim (Fig. 8.5) in context (A5) and a body sherd in Fabric A, in context (B7). This assemblage falls into three groups based on fabric type:

Fabric A - Coarse flint grits, unfinished or eroded surfaces. Grey-black to black, rarely orange.
Fabric B - Small flint grits, burnished or wiped surfaces. Black or dark grey brown. Only twelve examples including all rims except Fig. 8.3. The distinction between Fabrics A and B may be solely related to the position of the sherd within the pot, light tempered clay being incorporated in the rims.
Fabric C - A single unstratified body sherd in a coarse flint and vegetable tempered fabric. Dark brown exterior, brown interior. Originally burnished/wiped.

Fig. 8.2 Everted rim, black externally, brown internally. Possibly combed on neck. Context (A9).

Fig. 8.3 Beaded, vertical rim. Dark brown. Context (A32).

Fig. 8.4 Everted rim, orange externally, black internally. Context (A32).

Fig. 8.5 Vertical sub-square rim. Dark brown. Context (A5). *cf.* Langdon Hills. (Hoares, 1971, 57-8; ESMR TQ 68/40).

Fig. 8.6 Everted rim. Pale brown. Context (A1).

Fig. 8.7 Vertical, internal slight bead rim. Grey. Context (A14).

Fig. 8.8 Everted rim. Dark grey. Context (A29).

Fig. 8.9 Thumb impressed decoration on Fabric A body sherd. Context (A14).

The limited nature and fragmentary condition of the material precludes definitive comparisons though the assemblage is typical of forms and fabrics within Cunliffe's (1974) Darmsden-Linton style. Drury (1978, 127-134) discusses the occurrence of the style in Essex and records its presence at Linford (Barton, 1962), Maldon (Drury *op. cit.*, 127), Saffron Walden (Bassett, 1982, 46), Langdon Hills (Hoares, 1971), Stock (Hedges, 1977), and Rivenhall (Rodwell and Rodwell, forthcoming). The dating is also discussed by Drury (1978) who proposes that the Darmsden-Linton's fine wares' *floruit* was probably the fifth century B.C. and that during the fourth century the fine wares and fingertip decoration on the body become less common.

The nature of the Braintree group would suggest a fourth rather than a fifth century B.C. date, though the limited sample militates against over-confidence. There are certainly few parallels, however, with the earliest material from Little Waltham (Drury, 1978, 127) dated by radiocarbon to a mean of 234 ± 55 B.C. (corrected).

Later Prehistoric and Roman

Later Iron Age pottery and Roman pottery was mainly unstratified though a few sherds of late Iron Age material was recovered from context (A5).

These comprised: grog tempered soft grey fabric with dark brown surfaces; a fine-ware sherd, brown core, dark grey surfaces, slightly micaceous, no spalling or surfaces; base or shoulder sherd in dark grey fine quartzite gritted fabric.

Fig. 8.10 A single heavily-combed body sherd in orange-brown, grog tempered fabric. Perhaps Rodwell's IIa (1976, 230-1). Context (A14).

Fig. 8.11 Hard, grey body sherd with two zones of multiple horizontal rouletting. Context (A37). Precise parallels for fabric and decorative schemes are unknown but comparable with Cam. 391 or 392 (Hawkes and Hull, 1947). Mid-second to fourth century. Associated with a plain grey ware sherd.

Roman pottery on the Blyths Meadow site ranged in date from the first century until the fourth, though shell tempered wares were absent. The fragmentary samian was examined by C. Couchman:

BM 76 (A12) Plain rim. Drag. 33.

BM 76 (A14) 2 sherds of Drag. 37 or 30; 3 sherds of Drag. 18/31; 5 sherds unidentifiable.
 BM 76 (A18) 2 possible bowl fragments, form unidentifiable.

Medieval and Post-Medieval

All unstratified, a flat-topped rim in hard sandy buff grey fabric was recovered with a sandy orange body sherd with pale green, pitted glaze (possibly Hedingham) - of late thirteenth to fourteenth century date.

Post-medieval types included examples of Stock products, Staffordshire, Westerwald stoneware and orange, brown-glazed local wares (*cf* Fig. 8, 21 to 25) below. Date range *c.* 1625 to present.

Clay Pipe

Unstratified, large bulbous bowl with large round foot. Rouletting below lips, Oswald (1975) type 6. 1660-80.

CRESSING ROAD POTTERY

Roman

Three sherds were recovered from the lowest level in the eroded bank tail, context (A16).

Fig. 8.12 Thick eroded rim of large storage jar. Dark red, sand and grog tempered fabric. Probably Cam 273 (Hawkes and Hull, 1947), late first to mid-second century rather than earlier forms. One buff and one grey ware sherd, both slightly micaceous.

Medieval

Again mainly from the upper layer of the eroded tail of the bank, with a scatter of medieval sherds over the whole area.

Fig. 8.13 Thumb-pressed base, grey core, dark orange surfaces. Context (A4).

Fig. 8.14 Rim of open bowl or dish. Orange fabric, green glaze internally. Worn. Context (A4).

Fig. 8.15 Sherd in soft orange fabric with dark green glaze and row of impressed circles as decoration. Context (A4). Fourteenth century.

Context (A4) contains a range of body sherds dating from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Context (A4A), the interface between (A4) and (A16), produced three worn sherds of grey sandy, thirteenth century fabric.

Fig. 8.16 Flat rim in hard grey sandy fabric. Context (B6). Comparable to Fig. 8.120 from Naylinghurst (Drury, 1976 B).

Fig. 8.17 Flat rim in hard grey sandy fabric. Area C, unstratified. Similar medieval fabric in Context (B16).

Post-Medieval

The principal stratified group of post-medieval finds was recovered from the large roadside ditch or pond. For the purpose of this report contexts (A15) to (A15e) and (A19a) to (A19f) are treated as two groups, (A19) being the earlier.

Fig. 8.18 Base of small globular stoneware cup, brown saltglaze. Context (A19). Fig. 8.19 Body sherd in soft pink fabric with thick brown glaze over narrow corrugations. Context (A19).

Fig. 8.20 Body sherd of 'Metropolitan' ware, greeny-brown glaze with yellow glaze seven-pointed star. Context (A19).

Fig. 8.21 Externally beaded rim. Soft orange fabric, with greeny-brown glaze inside and out. Context (A15).

Fig. 8.22-24 Rim sherds in soft orange fabric with greeny-brown glaze inside and out. Context (A15).

Fig. 8.25 Slender rod handle. Similar fabric to 21-24. Dark green glaze. Context (A15).

Fig. 8.26 Base of small cup in cream biscuit fabric with dark brown tin-glaze inside and out. Two other sherds of tin-glaze, bluish white inside and out, were recovered. Context (A15).

Fig. 8.27 Base, slightly flared, in fabric of 21-24. Context (A15).

The presence of Metropolitan wares in the lower level suggests a mid-seventeenth century date whilst the tin-glazed fabrics and the glass bottle (see below 8.28) suggest a date of the end of the seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries. The glazes on the earlier orange wares are brown rather than green on the later examples.

Glass (Cressing Road)

Fig. 8.28 Base of glass wine bottle, high omphalos. Greenish black. Context (A15).

RESULTS OF EXCAVATION

Early Prehistory

The EPRIA ditch, lying near the crest of the ridge between the Rivers Pant and Blackwater, may reflect a move from the gravel valley sides occupied in the Neolithic and Bronze Age (Couchman, 1977, 71-74). The limited nature of the excavation prevents an adequate understanding of the early Iron Age activity on the ridge, though a change in settlement focus or simply a more intensive use of the clay soils may be involved. The relationship of this short length of ditch to Drury's field system (1976, Fig. 49, J and H) is obscure but not incompatible with the trend of those considered by Drury (*op.cit.*) as Roman or later field boundaries.

The Earthworks

The scant remains of the bank in Cressing Road trench A is indicative of the nineteenth century expansion of the town, though the landscaped bank in the grounds of Mount House gives some idea of the bank's original height. The presence of Romano-British sherds in the bank tail at Cressing Road (pp. 40-43 above) suggests that the bank itself predates the second century A.D. As the only comparable features fall within the last years before the Roman Conquest the contention that the bank and ditch are of that date is supported. The other possible earthworks may be related to the Coggeshall Road bank and, if so, the *oppidum* thesis is further strengthened. See below for Braintree's position in relation to major Belgic occupation sites in Essex.

Post-Medieval

The medieval and post-medieval activity at Cressing Road relates to agricultural activity though the ruts in trench B may be cart-ruts and the large ditch or pit in trench A is seen as a watering place adjacent to the drove road from the south-east.

MINOR AND MAJOR 'OPPIDA' In Essex

A number of those earthwork complexes from Essex included by Rodwell (1976, 326-339) have dubious status as 'oppida' (whether the Latin is directly translated as 'town' or not). Both Rodwell's (1976) and Collis' (1971) definitions of the term, *oppidum*, relate to interpretations of market functions

and wealth, often from poorly stratified finds. The physical appearance, though often disguised by time, is however as valid a basis for classification as it was in 1936 (Wheeler and Wheeler).

Billericay Norsey Wood Camp

Although Belgic material has been found within the enclosed area (of c. 98 ha.) the earthworks are better seen as a medieval deer park. Rodwell also dismissed it (1976, 326).

Braintree

The presence of at least one linear earthwork abandoned by the middle of the Roman period, is now attested by topography and excavation whilst further earthworks are suggested by field walking (v. supra).

Great Hallingbury, Wallbury Camp

A bivallate defended enclosure (enclosing c. 12.5 ha) on the east bank of the River Stort. A Belgic, secondary building phase is attested by excavation (Morris and Buckley, 1979). Rodwell (1976, 330) suggests that Wallbury is as likely a candidate for Cassivellaunus' *oppidum* as Wheathampstead.

Great Horkesley, Pitchbury

A small (c. 2.5 ha) defended enclosure with a secondary building phase in the late Iron Age. Pitchbury must be related in some way to the Camulodunum dyke system (Rodwell, 1976, 330). It has, however, no material claim to urban status in its own right.

Saffron Walden, Grimsditch Wood

An unplanned complex of earthworks. Date and function unknown.

Iford, Uphall Camp

Now destroyed, this univallate defended enclosure lay next to the River Roding. The area enclosed was about 19.4 ha., larger than Wallbury. Early to mid-Iron Age pottery was recovered from an apparent land surface below the bank (Wilkinson, 1978, 220-1).

Witham, Chipping Hill and Witham Lodge

At Chipping Hill the inner defensive circuit has a Fécamp-type ditch and later Iron Age material has come from the site (Rodwell, 1976; Davison, Petchey and Rodwell, in preparation). This is quite acceptable as a fort. It is, however, unfortunate that a late Roman ditch (Brooks, Stokes *et al.* 1975) at Witham Lodge some 2 km south-west of the Chipping Hill enclosure has entered the literature as a possible Iron Age earthwork (Rodwell, 1976, 331 and Fig. 47). This ditch, on the excavated evidence so far published, is Roman not late Iron Age.

Morris and Buckley (1978, 22-3) list the Essex 'hill-forts' or 'prehistoric forts' (Avery, 1976) and give the enclosed areas where known. From this it is clear that the bulk of Essex forts (excluding the Late Bronze Age Mucking fort, which encloses 0.75 ha) are between 2.40 ha and 6.70 ha save Wallbury Camp, 12.4 ha and Uphall Camp, 19.4 ha.

Both Wallbury and Uphall are situated in low-lying locations close to rivers and both have apparent early Iron Age occupation phases (Morris and Buckley, 1978, 23; Wilkinson, 1978, 220-1). Uphall is exceptional, being four times larger in area than the average earlier Iron Age fort and

undoubtedly could have made a substantial contribution to understanding Iron Age settlement and economy.

Wallbury, however, has a late Iron Age phase attested by excavation (Morris and Buckley, 1978, 23) and this, with its size and the factors outlined by Rodwell (1976, 330) suggests its inclusion in Cunliffe's (1976, 100) compact *oppidum* class. It should be noted that Wallbury and the dyke systems (the territorial *oppida* of Cunliffe 1976, 100) of Braintree and *Camulodunum* lie on an east-west axis across northern Essex, in that part of the County where Dressel 1 amphora and Welwyn type burials are most common (Dunnett, 1975, 11). Possible square ditched burials have recently been recognised in this area (Priddy, 1980).

The existence, though tentatively postulated, of three possible urbanised or urbanising centres in north Essex related to exotic imports and elaborate burial styles has innumerable implications for our interpretation of late Iron Age society, economics and politics. No opportunity therefore, should be missed to examine the postulated dykes at Braintree (p. 45 above) as they now represent, with the Mount House earthworks, the only means to studying Braintree's possible pre-Roman importance. Further progress in the study of urbanisation in the late prehistoric period could also be made by work at Wallbury as well as at Colchester where some work has already been undertaken to date the dyke systems. Iron Age settlement studies generally within the county would benefit inestimably from the study of the fort or *oppidum* in its landscape and region as Morris and Buckley (1978, 24) advocate.

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A Horse and Rider Aquamanile from Harwich, and the Significance of Scarborough Ware in Essex

by C. M. CUNNINGHAM, P. G. & N. C. FARMER

Attention was first drawn to the wide distribution of products of the Scarborough kilns by G.C. Dunning (1965, 233-6) and their incidence in Scandinavia and the Low Countries was demonstrated in his work on the trade in medieval pottery around the North Sea (Dunning 1968, 39-41). Since then, much more Scarborough ware has come to light and an introduction to the industry has been published (Farmer 1979). There has, however, been no detailed examination of the regional distribution of the ware, or the duration of its export from Scarborough. Nor has any study yet been made of the interaction between the Scarborough industry and the local industries where Scarborough ware is found. This note considers Scarborough products from Essex (Fig. 1; Appendix I) against the background of these problems, its preparation being prompted by an exceptional find from Harwich.

Harwich was founded by the Earl of Norfolk probably in the late 12th century, and received a borough charter in 1318 (Bassett 1981, 125). Situated in a primarily agricultural area, it enjoyed prosperity and expansion in the 13th century, in common with other east coast ports. Pottery found in excavations shows contact with France, the Low Countries, the Rhineland, and to some extent Spain; it also reveals links with the whole of the eastern English seaboard, including Scarborough. Mr R.H. Farrands began excavation of the King's Head Motors site in Harwich in 1978 (Eddy 1979, 104). The Scarborough ware from the site is the finest known from Essex, two pieces being of sufficient importance to warrant separate publication.

The Aquamanile (Fig. 2; Pl. Ia)

Part of an aquamanile (a horizontal, zoomorphic jug) in the form of a horse and rider, with trappings on the horse's head and chest. All that remains of the rider is the left arm and right hand holding the reins. The fabric is Phase II hard grey reduced Scarborough ware, similar to the Cambridge knight jug (Farmer 1979, fig. 10), with applied decoration in Phase I soft pink fabric, and an overall olive green glaze. The reins consist of a twisted applied strip, and the trappings are formed from applied strips with incised decoration. The horse's breastplate is marked by two such strips, originally enclosing small roundels, three of which survive. The rider's hands bear incised nail-impressed decoration that is a common feature of Scarborough ware (Rutter 1961, 26; Farmer 1979, pl. IV).

Little attention has been given to the aquamanile in recent years, although in the last century, when many came to light, it was the subject of much interest. H. Syer Cuming's article of 1857 was the first major study of the form and dealt primarily with the metal examples, which were also exhaustively studied on the Continent in Falke & Meyer's magnum opus of 1935, compiled from an art-historical viewpoint. The knight on horseback was one of the commonest forms of metal aquamanile made on the Continent in the 12th and 13th centuries; a few are known from England, for example from Hexham, Hereford (now lost) and Warrington (Nelson 1915, 81-3).

Figures and knights on horseback are not common in the range of Scarborough ware aquamaniles so far recognised. No complete example from the Scarborough kilns exists, although a fragment almost identical to that from Harwich is in Trondheim Museum (T583; Pls. Ib,c). This is in Phase II

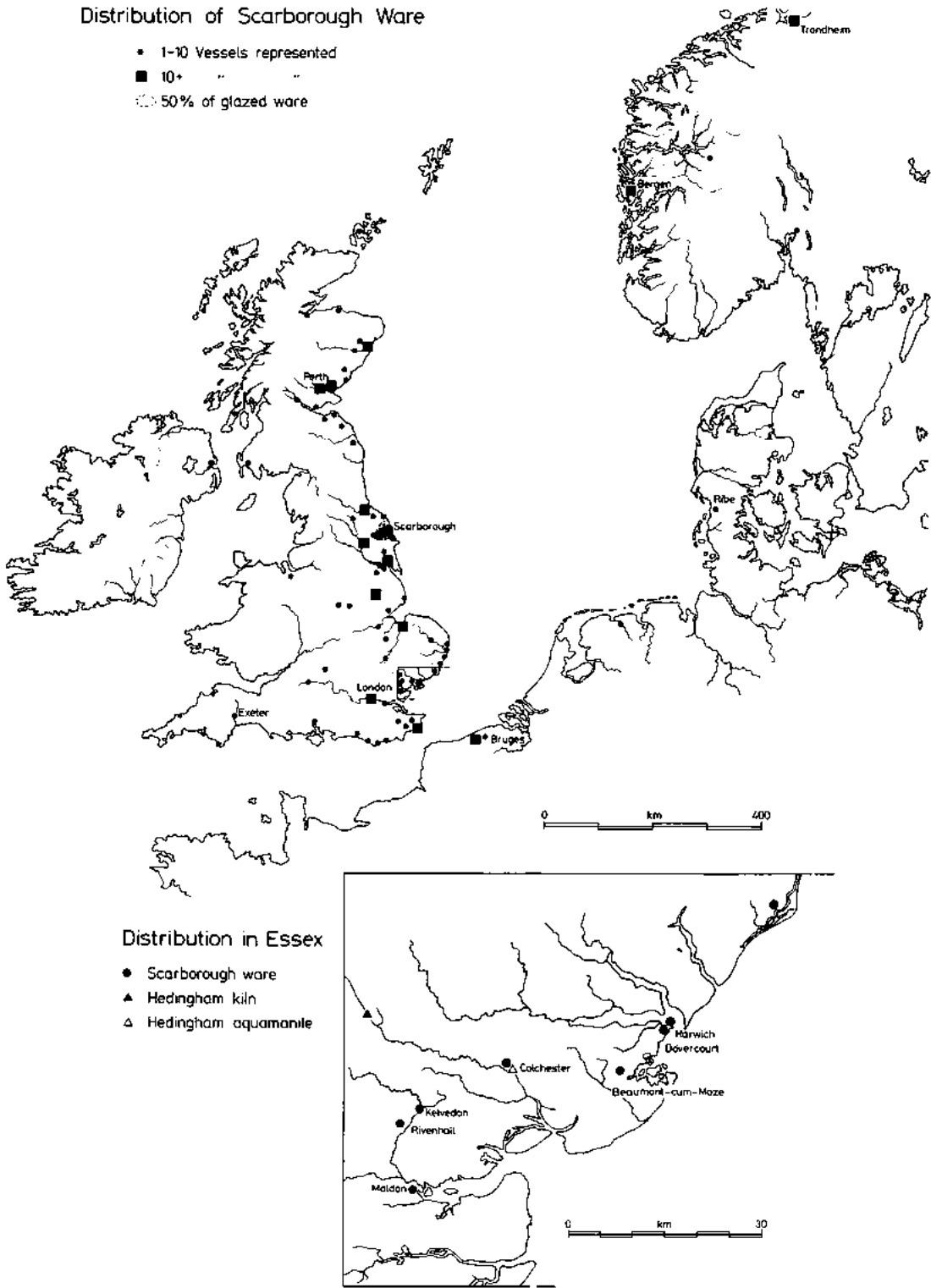


Fig. 1 Distribution Map of Scarborough Ware.

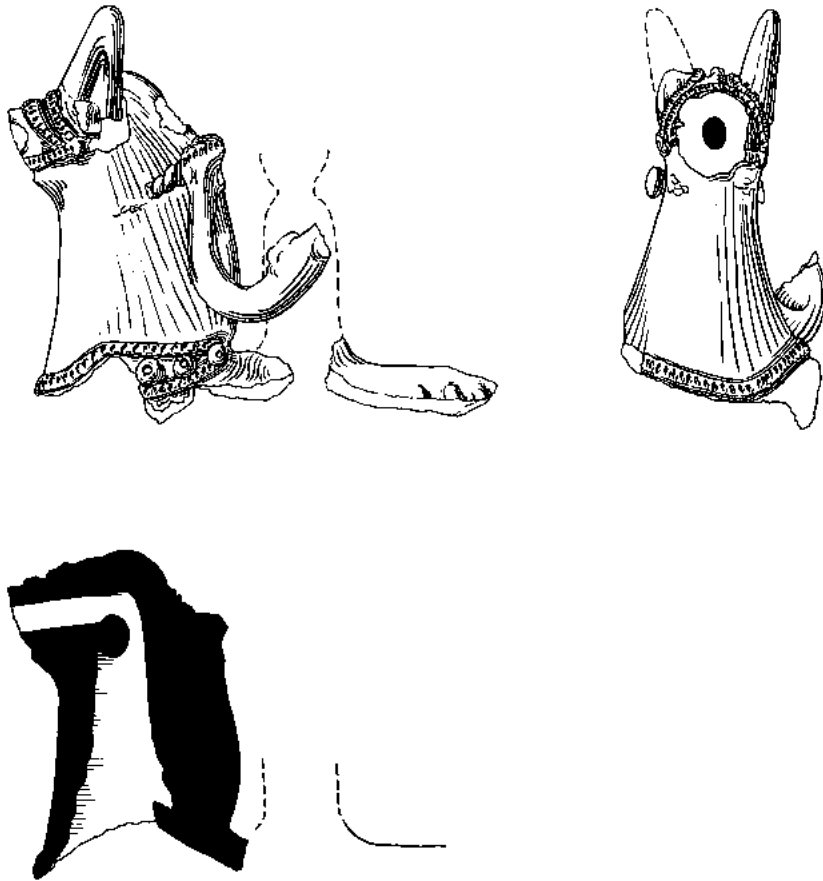


Fig. 2 Fragment from horse and rider aquamanile in Scarborough ware from Harwich (Scale 1:3).

fabric (see Farmer 1979, 29 and Appendix II); the reins are plain strips, not twisted, but otherwise the parallel is so close that the two vessels may have been made by the same hand. A fragmentary horse aquamanile, probably a product of the Scarborough kilns, has been found at King's Lynn (Clarke & Carter 1977, fig. 96.11). Part of the rear portion of a Scarborough ware aquamanile (presumed to be a horse because of the trappings) from Rushey Platt, near Swindon (Pl. III) is decorated in a highly sophisticated manner and glazed so as to produce different colours highlighting the applied decoration (Ashmolean Museum 1910.408E). The most complete example of a knight on horseback in any ware comes from Mere, Wiltshire (Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum 1b.35; Stevens 1869).



a



b



c

Plate I Fragments of horse and rider aquamaniles in Scarborough ware: a, Harwich (*photograph by Gordon Ager*); b, c, Trondheim (*Courtesy Museum of the Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences & Letters, Trondheim*). Scale 2:3.

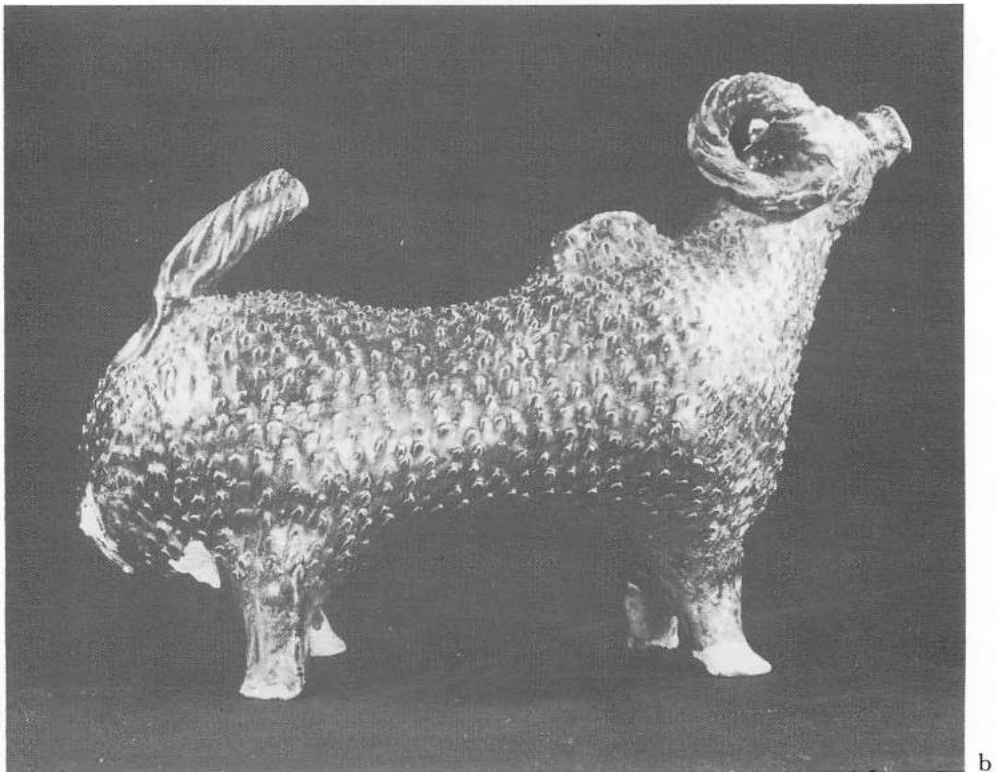


Plate II Ram aquamaniles: a, Hedingham ware from Colchester (*Courtesy Colchester & Essex Museum; photograph by Gordon Ager*); b, Scarborough ware (*Courtesy: Scarborough Borough Council*). Scale 1:3.

On the metal horse and rider aquamaniles, the filler holes were on top of the figure's head, but ceramic examples normally have a filler hole at the rear. The Mere vessel has a skeuomorph of the hinged lid common on the metal vessels. The Rushey Platt aquamanile has a rear filler hole, and it is likely that the Harwich vessel was similar.

A distinction must be drawn between knights on horseback, with the relevant accoutrements of helmet and shield, and ordinary mounted figures that are not so adorned, such as the one from Lewes (JBAA II 1847, 343). It can at once be seen that the distinction is extremely problematical, especially with regard to the Scarborough kilns. Fragments of horse aquamaniles are invariably incomplete, and could have had either knights or ordinary figures mounted on them, or indeed have been unmounted. There were at least three production centres for knight aquamaniles; Grimston, Norfolk (the best example being from King's Lynn: Clarke & Carter 1977, fig. 92.13); the site that produced the Mere vessel (Laverstock?: Stevens 1869, 187-9) and the site that produced one from Ditchingham, Norfolk (Hobson 1902, 6). This last may even have been imported from the Continent (Kasten 1976).

The present evidence for knights on horseback being produced at the Scarborough kilns is inconclusive, and rests solely on one fragment - the Scarborough ware anthropomorphic 'tubular spout' with triple-crested head-dress from Stonar, published by Dunning (Dunning 1968, 42, fig. 15.4) as coming from a knight jug. On further examination, the size and weight of this suggests that it is more probably the filler hole from an aquamanile, as pouring from it would not have been very practical. The triple-crested head-dress may represent a king or knightly figure and the mace he carried would seem to support this. Whether he also originally carried a shield is a matter for conjecture. Venturing into the realms of speculation, one might ask how many individual Scarborough ware knight's heads and shield fragments may have come from 'knight' aquamaniles. A circular shield fragment in Scarborough ware - a shape unknown in knight jugs - has been found at King's Lynn (Clarke & Carter 1977, fig. 95.8) and is paralleled in form by a ceramic knight on horseback (not in Scarborough ware) from Andernach on the Rhine (Kasten 1976, 445. Abb. 27, K3).

One of the most interesting aspects of these aquamaniles is the detail of the furniture, although fragmentary; how far is it genuinely representative and how far merely decorative? The reins on the bridle of the Harwich horse are twisted, and while this may simply be a trademark of the pottery, more usually found in the handles, it is quite possible that it represents plaiting, commonly used to give a better grip. A browband crosses the forehead above the eyes and below the ears attaching to the cheekstrap on either side. The cheekstraps each loop separately around the ears and join back to the same strap, just above the browband, instead of continuing across the top of the head behind the ears as would be expected.

Little is published about the leatherwork of medieval horse furniture (but see Waterer, n.d.) although the metal stirrup, bit and spur have been studied in detail (London Museum 1940). A commonly-depicted type of medieval bridle is shown in the Bayeux Tapestry (e.g. Stenton 1965, pls. 15-17, 20-21). There are no earloops, but there is a browband, with cheekstraps continuous across the head. The potter's version of the bridle should not be taken literally. Logically the cheekstraps would have continued across the poll, to which earloops may have been attached. There are a number of possible explanations for this arrangement, if it is not entirely fanciful:

1. Earloops do survive in modern harness, where they are mainly decorative, for example in showing Shire horses. Although they were never a standard part of English bridlery, they were much more common on the Western American bridle, which was derived from Spanish and ultimately Moorish bridles. It is not impossible that the Scarborough potter was copying a metal aquamanile of continental origin. This poses the question of how commonly metal vessels were in use in this country, and how available they were for copying by potters, presumably to supply customers who could not afford a metal vessel. Nevertheless it is a salutary observation that the metal knight on horseback now in Warrington Museum (Nelson 1915, fig. 7) possesses no bridle at all; the knight merely holds a broad, strap-like rein, and the animal lacks

breastband, throat lash, saddle cloth etc. A horse in a very similar posture, but lacking any rider, exists in the Nuremberg museum collections (Reifferscheid 1913, 62) - here only a bridle is present and nothing else. It seems somewhat illogical to portray (a) a horse with a knight on his back who, without a bridle, lacks any real means of controlling the animal (let alone keeping his saddle in position - there is no girth strap!) and (b) a horse without a rider but with a bridle. In other words, potters could equally well have copied from bronze aquamaniles that were not accurate representations from life in the first place.

2. Many medieval illustrations (e.g. Gianoli 1969, pl. 61) show a divided browband which curved between the ears and was attached to the continuous strap across the head. The Hereford example, unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1828, is worth mentioning here, as the horse's head clearly displays a divided browband (Nelson 1915, 81). This simply fulfils the same function as a normal browband i.e. to make the bridle more secure and help keep it in place. It is unlikely that this is in any way connected with, for example, the attachment of armour, but it has the effect that, viewed from the side, it can easily look like separate earloops. It is possible that the Scarborough potter misinterpreted this bridle, either from a manuscript or from life. The omission of a throatlash may well be an inaccuracy on the part of the potter, as many contemporary illustrations show bridles without browbands of any sort, but few in detail without throatlashes.

3. The Trondheim version (Pl. Ib, c) appears to have a boss on the forehead. This may merely represent a forelock, but if it is part of the bridle, it would securely lock together the two earloops (c.f. Trew n.d., pl. XIV, 78). It is therefore possible that this represents a realistic functional bridle, which became increasingly stylised in subsequent versions.

Thus although it is possible to suggest explanations for the various aspects of the bridles, none of them can be substantiated, and they may simply be the stylistic preference of the potter.

Turning to the saddle, it can be argued that almost every detail is accurate. The Harwich aquamanile shows the standard breastplate, in this case a thick leather strap decorated with bosses, which helped to keep the saddle in place, and provided something for the rider to hold on to, as well as being decorative. The Rushey Platt example shows the rear strap, but in this case the treatment suggests a jointed strap. This articulation can be paralleled, for example, in the breastplate of Sultan Osman II (Jankovich 1971, pl.58). The fragment from the rear of the Harwich aquamanile suggests tassels attached to a saddle cloth. The back of the Rushey Platt fragment, by contrast, is extremely ornate. The applied straps are very suggestive of the sort of strapping joined by ornamental bosses quite frequently found in medieval illustrations (c.f. Gianoli 1969, pl.71). There can be no explanation, however, for the fact that it continues below the belly. Finally, the roundels between the strapwork may be simply decorative or intended to represent a colourful saddlecloth, although this is inconsistent with the strapwork. It is most likely, however, that they are a stylised attempt to represent dappling (c.f. Nelson 1915, pls. 2a, 2b).

The Harwich aquamanile is finely modelled, but in artistic terms it is eclipsed by the Rushey Platt specimen with its multi-coloured glazes and elaborate and delicately-applied decoration. The Rushey Platt vessel is in Scarborough Phase II fabric (Farmer 1979, 28). The Harwich one, also in Phase II fabric (post c 1225), was stratified in levels containing 13th century pottery, and so it is possible to suggest a date range for it of c 1225-1300, which overlaps with the King's Lynn example (Clarke & Carter 1977, fig. 96.11).

A copy of a Scarborough ware ram aquamanile in Hedingham ware (Fig. 3; Pl. IIa) was found at St John's Green, Colchester in 1897 (Colchester and Essex Museum 18.1897). The fabric is fine, micaceous and slightly sandy, pink-orange in colour, with a grey core in places. It is covered in a green glaze of good quality, with scale decoration on the body. The horns are missing, but it is otherwise complete, with a strap handle and a front filler hole.

This aquamanile bears a striking resemblance to Pl. IIb (Scarborough Museum 3.39.2), also with a

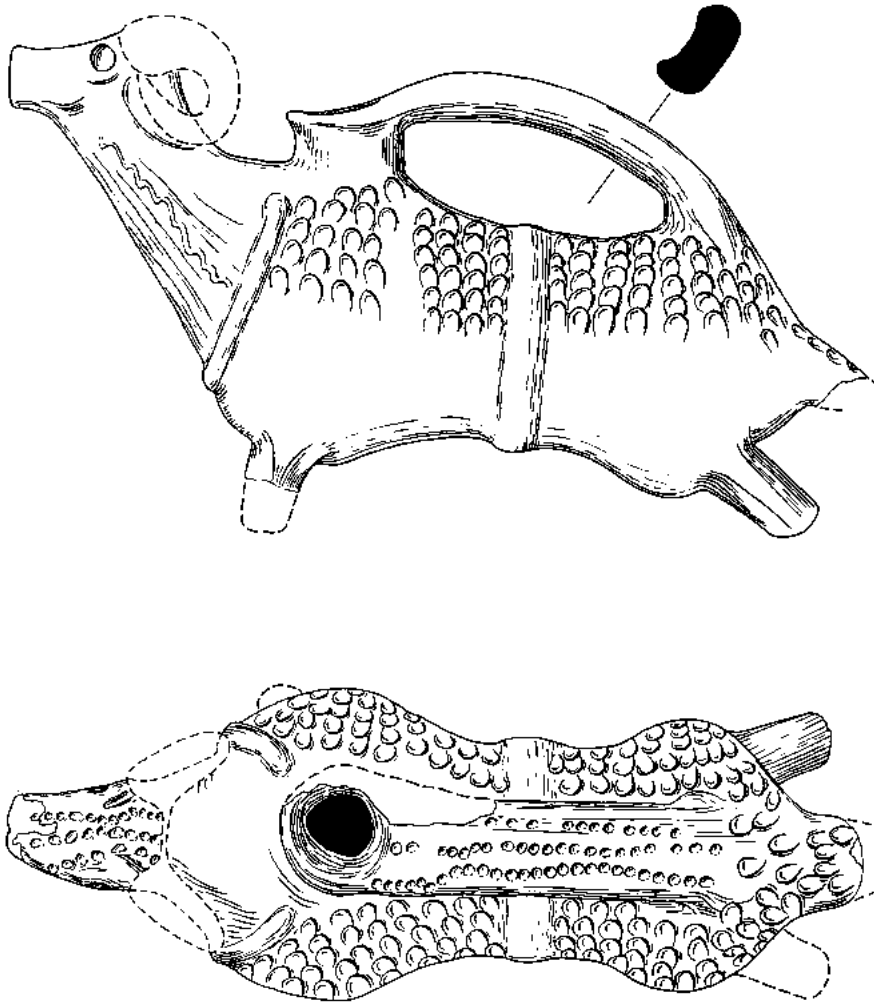


Fig. 3 Ram aquamanile in Hedingham ware from Colchester (Scale 1:3).

front filler hole. There are two significant differences. Firstly, many Scarborough ware ram aquamaniles have twisted rod handles joining the body near the shoulder, but the Colchester ram has a flat strap handle, separate from the tail, which hangs down. This is odd, as twisted handles are a characteristic feature of Hedingham ware jugs, but in this instance the less common strap handle is used, decorated with small round impressions which also occur on top of the head. This handle was probably necessitated by the under-developed form of the filler hole. Secondly, the quality of execution, although surprisingly good, does not compare with that of the Scarborough vessel. The scales, for example, while competent, are not as fine as the original. Similarly, the body of the Colchester ram has been thrown in two parts and rather crudely fitted together, while the other has been finely modelled and joined. (The techniques of manufacture of aquamaniles will be dealt with in detail in Farmer forthcoming.)

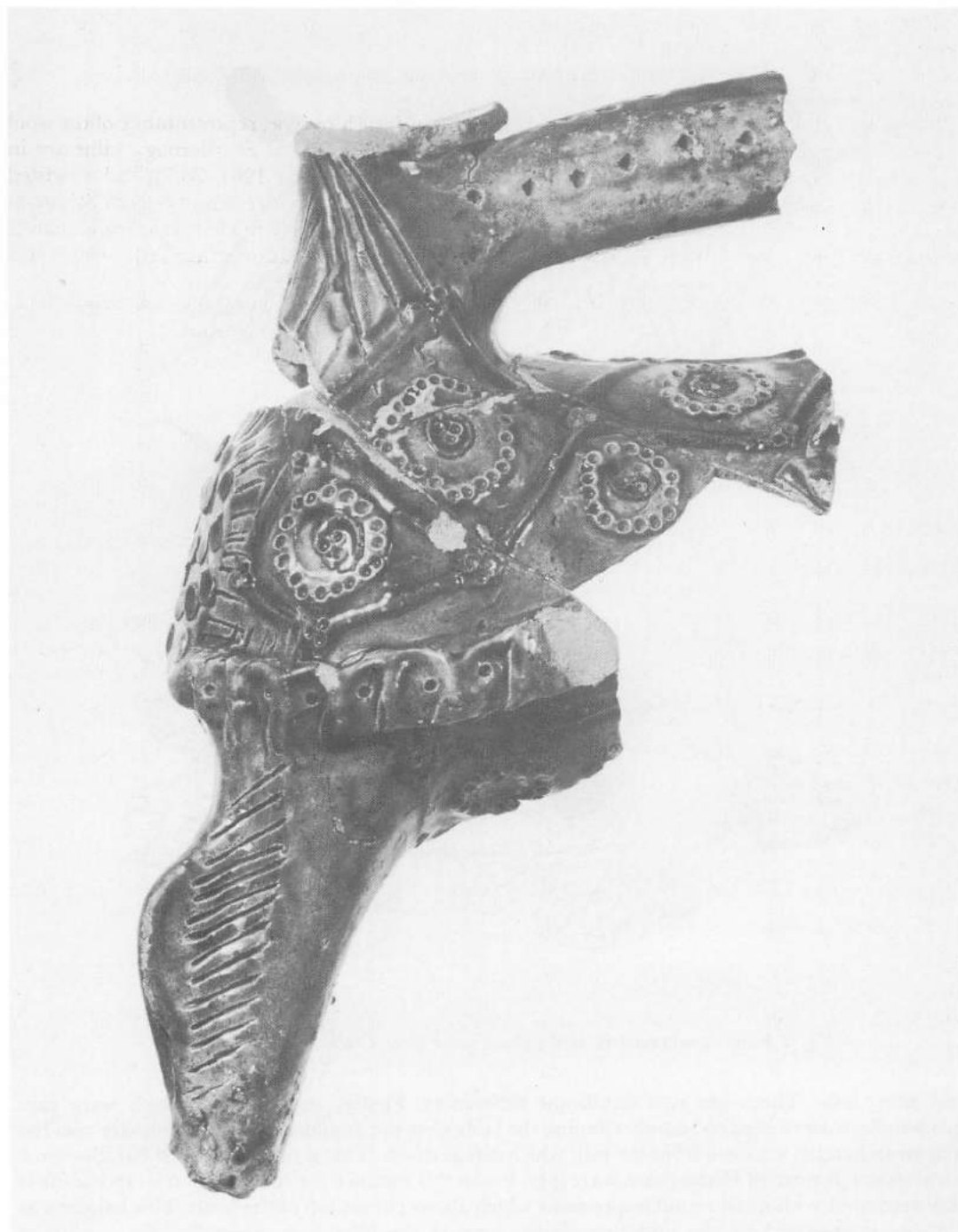


Plate III Aquamanile fragment from Rushey Platt, near Swindon (*Courtesy: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*). Scale 3:4.

It is therefore clear that this aquamanile was made at Hedingham in imitation of the Scarborough type. A fragment from the rear of a vessel probably similar to Pl. IIb from Beaumont-cum-Moze (R.H. Farrands, pers. comm.) shows that Scarborough ware aquamaniles in the form of rams were present in Essex.

There are good grounds for considering the ram to be a Yorkshire type, representative of the wool trade (Farmer forthcoming). Two almost complete examples from the Scarborough kilns are in Scarborough Museum together with fragments of three others (Rutter 1961, 26-7), and a twisted horn from a vessel of this nature, also in Scarborough ware, has been recognised from Stretham Manor, near Henfield, Sussex (Henfield Museum, unpub). A very finely modelled ram aquamanile of unknown origin has recently been found at Dover (Willson 1975, 22; Farmer 1981, 70-1); it is probably of continental manufacture. Ceramic ram aquamaniles are not unusual on the Continent (Kasten 1976), although there they are uncommon in bronze. One is known from the Netherlands, and another from Norway (Falke & Meyer 1935, pls. 507, 511). Because aquamaniles are so rarely found complete, it is difficult to assess the proportion of rams against other forms; small Scarborough ware sherds with scale decoration could as easily belong to jugs.

The Scarborough ware aquamaniles appear to have been widely traded, as might be expected with a kiln situated on the coast. One half of a ram's body has been identified at Chester (Grosvenor Museum) and it is known that Chester merchants traded with Scarborough in the 14th century (Waites 1964, 18).

There is as yet no detailed study of the Hedingham industry, although a study of a group of this ware from Rivenhall (Drury forthcoming) is useful. Production had started by the late 12th century, and was probably declining at the end of the 13th century (*ibid*). Its distribution is concentrated in the northern half of Essex and in Cambridgeshire, but it will probably become increasingly recognised in Suffolk. At the southern limits of its distribution, it was superseded by Mill Green products in the later 13th century. The presence of the Colchester ram shows that the Hedingham potters did on occasion imitate attractive forms and styles, but this is not typical, as Hedingham ware is mostly noted for its pleasant polychrome decoration, rather than the plastic style characteristic of Scarborough.

Elaborate vessels form a fairly large proportion of the Scarborough ware so far recognized in Essex, but this may be a distorted picture in view of the relatively small amount present. This is probably because the Hedingham industry, which was well established throughout the period of importation of Scarborough ware into Essex, was supplying the local markets with plain and decorated jugs. It is not surprising, therefore, that the more exotic Scarborough ware products and forms found a market there, and it is significant that the Scarborough ware aquamaniles were copied.

The Knight Jug (Fig. 4a)

The upper part of a Phase I Scarborough ware knight jug in a typically soft pink fabric with dark olive green glaze. The jug originally possessed two pairs of unmounted knights with long triangular shields in the form of dummy handles, and a tubular spout; this and the handle are now missing. The jug has a tall upright neck with a vertical, square topped rim showing typical damage caused by inverted kiln stacking. The body of the jug has been decorated with a wavy applied (thumbed) strip. The knights' shields are decorated with long rows of indentations separated by horizontal incised lines. These shields start just below the head, which projects above the attachment strut, and is simply formed with a single pierced depression for the eye.

This fragment is most closely paralleled by the more complete fragment of a Scarborough ware jug from Hatterboard (Rutter 1961, 16-17; Farmer 1979, fig.9) near Scarborough. Both vessels represent the least developed phase of the knight jug form, before the introduction of mounted figures, and at this stage of development the figures are basically secondary handles decorated with heads and shields. It is possible that the applied thumbed wavy line below the figures represents the ground, and this form of decoration also occurs on the Dartford jug (Farmer 1979, pl. XIII). The elongated triangular shields with rows of horizontal decoration are typical of the early jugs, as is the treatment of the eye on the figure, later examples possessing an applied pierced disc. It is probable that this

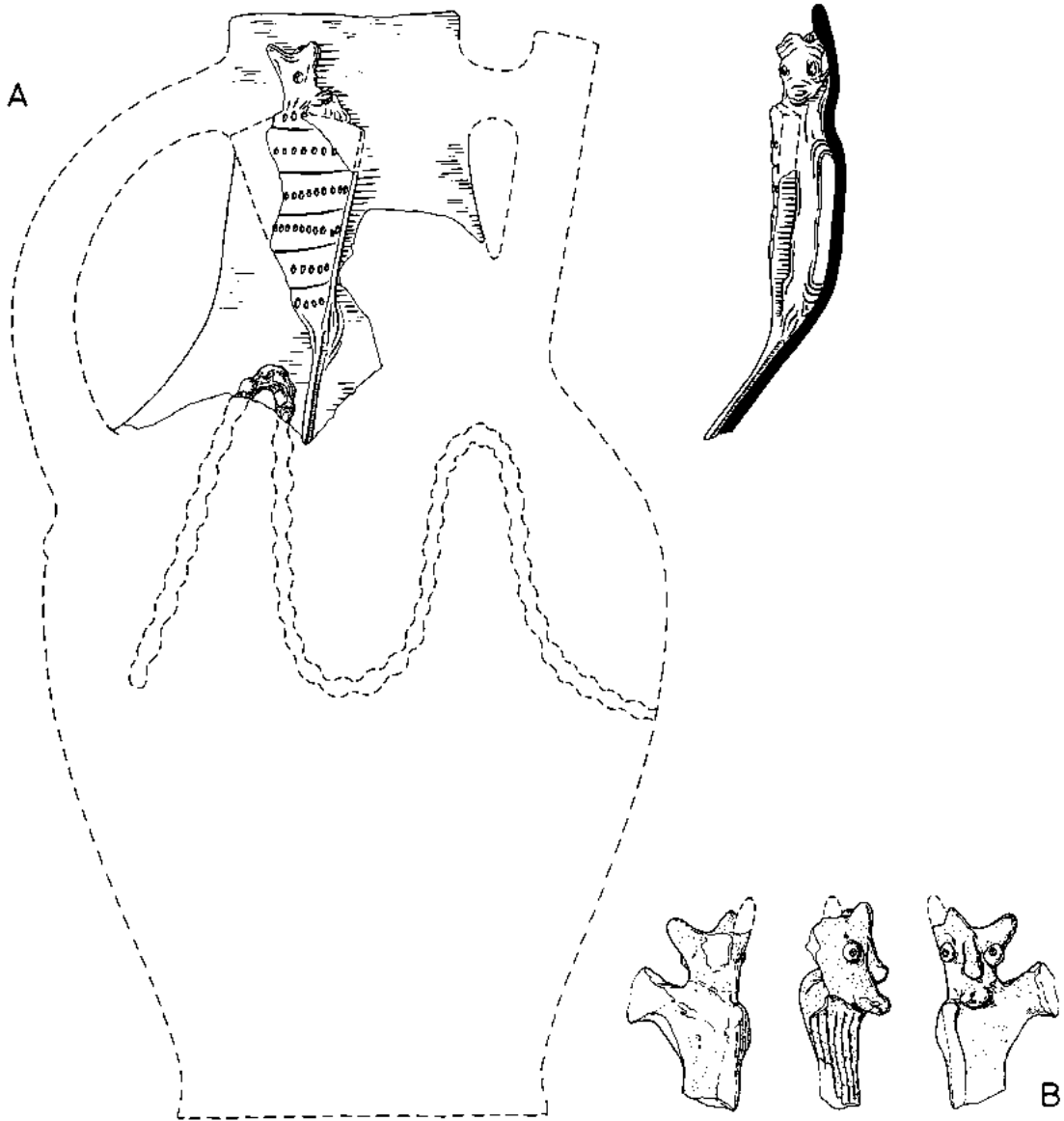


Fig. 4 Fragments from Scarborough ware Knight Jugs: a, Harwich; b, Maldon (Scale 1:3).

vessel originally possessed an anthropomorphic spout, and the fabric and general decoration indicate that it is of late 12th to early 13th century date. Another example (Fig. 4b) was found unstratified near 159 High Street, Maldon by Mr T.J. Oriss in 1978. It consists of the head and shoulders of an applied figure, in Phase I Scarborough fabric, with a glossy green glaze. Although in a Phase I fabric, the style of head and decoration on the shield show that the piece belonged to a Phase II period jug; the clay used during Phase I of the industry was also used for the more plastic decoration on some Phase II products. Insufficient remains of the fragment to determine its final shape and whether or not it was mounted. The eyes are formed of applied pierced discs, as are those on the Phase II Nottingham and Bruges jugs (Farmer 1979, 30, fig. 9; pls. XI-XII), and the shield is decorated with

incised vertical lines, predominantly vertical rather than horizontal decoration being a Phase II feature. The head itself is well modelled with a triple-crested head-dress and pointed beard.

Acknowledgements

Our thanks are due, above all, to Mr R.H. Farrands for his constant help, and for generously allowing the Scarborough ware to be published in advance of his main site report. We are also grateful to the Colchester & Essex Museum for lending the Hedingham ware aquamanile for study and for permission to publish it; to the Ashmolean Museum for permission to publish the Rushey Platt aquamanile fragment; and to the Museum of the Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters, Trondheim, Norway for agreeing to the publication of the Trondheim horse. Paul Brown of the Maldon Archaeological Group kindly lent the Maldon knight for study, and our thanks are due to Mr M.R. Eddy of Essex County Council's Archaeology Section for drawing our attention to it. Mrs V. Gabbitas of the Museum of Leathercraft at Northampton provided invaluable advice on the horse harness. John Callaghan formerly of Chelmsford Archaeological Trust drew Figures 2-4. Lastly, we are indebted to John Cherry for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper.

Appendix I: Scarborough Ware Fragments Found In Essex

Beaumont-cum-Moze

TM18902462: Two fragments from the rear end of a zoomorphic aquamanile with scale decoration (in possession of R.H. Farrands).

Colchester

TL99792513: Fragment green-glazed strip jug.

TL99702508: Two body sherds.

TL99342555: One body sherd.

(Colchester Archaeological Trust)

Dovercourt

TM23883115: Part of the base of a jug with applied vertical strips with incised decoration, interspersed with strips of scale decoration (on loan to Chelmsford Archaeological Trust).

Feering

TL875205: Fragment of twisted rod handle (Feering and Kelvedon Local History Museum).

Harwich

TM260327: Fragments of jug with green-streaked honey glaze with narrow applied vertical strips.

Two grooved rod handles.

One twisted rod handle.

Fragment from neck and handle of jug with plain dark green glaze.

(On loan to Chelmsford Archaeological Trust).

TM259327: Tubular spout.

Fragment of grooved rod handle.

Fragment of beard jug.

Fragment of small cup or bowl (?), glazed internally and externally.

Jug fragment with honey glaze and applied decoration.

Fragment of thumb base.

(Chelmsford Archaeological Trust).

TM260326: Horse and rider aquamanile (R.H. Farrands).

Fragments of knight jug (R.H. Farrands). Fragment of jug with honey glaze and applied pellets (On loan to Chelmsford Archaeological Trust).

Fragment of jug with rod handle (on loan to Chelmsford Archaeological Trust).

Maldon

TL851070: Fragments of a jug with applied vertical strips interspersed with strips of scale decoration.

Part of the base of a jug with a honey glaze and scale decoration.

(Chelmsford Archaeological Trust).

TL854068: Fragment of knight jug (in possession of Maldon Archaeological Group).

Rivenhall

TL828178: Four small fragments of strip and pellet jugs.

Part of jug in Phase I fabric.

(Chelmsford Archaeological Trust).

Appendix II: Thin-Section Analysis Of The Harwich Horse Aquamanile

Fragments of the Harwich and King's Lynn aquamaniles have been included in the D.o.E. thin-sectioning programme for Scarborough ware currently being carried out at Southampton University by Dr David Williams. Results have shown both vessels to compare closely to Phase II Scarborough ware. The Harwich example, however, was notable for its limestone inclusions, and although not typical, similar inclusions were noted in one of the control sherds from a Phase II Scarborough ware kiln.

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New Light On The Anstey Case

by P. A. BRAND

I

Although the various legal proceedings collectively known as the 'Anstey case' took place during one of the most obscure periods of English legal history - the first decade of the reign of Henry II - the 'case' is, paradoxically, the best known of all those to have come before the English courts in the course of the twelfth century. It owes this prominence to the apparently fortuitous survival among the public records of a detailed memorandum drawn up by the victor in the case, Richard of Anstey.¹ In it, Richard details the steps he has taken and the money he has expended in ensuring his succession to the lands of his maternal uncle, William de Sackville, against the claims of William's only daughter, Mabel de Francheville, whom Richard was able to demonstrate was illegitimate. Richard's memorandum was first published in 1832 by Sir Francis Palgrave,² and in 1890 it was utilized by Hubert Hall in a fictionalized account of 'Court Life under the Plantagenets'.³ More recently, extracts from it - in translation - have appeared in the second volume of *English Historical Documents*⁴ and the text has been re-edited by Patricia M. Barnes.⁵ Other contemporary material relating to the case also survives. A letter from archbishop Theobald of Canterbury to Pope Alexander III, recounting the assertions made by the parties to the case during the hearings before the archbishop's court of audience, is included in various manuscript collections of the letters of John of Salisbury. The letter has been published in the standard modern edition of the letters of John of Salisbury.⁶ Another letter from Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, to archbishop Theobald, relating to the case, has also been edited and published⁷ as have two papal letters on the same matter.⁸

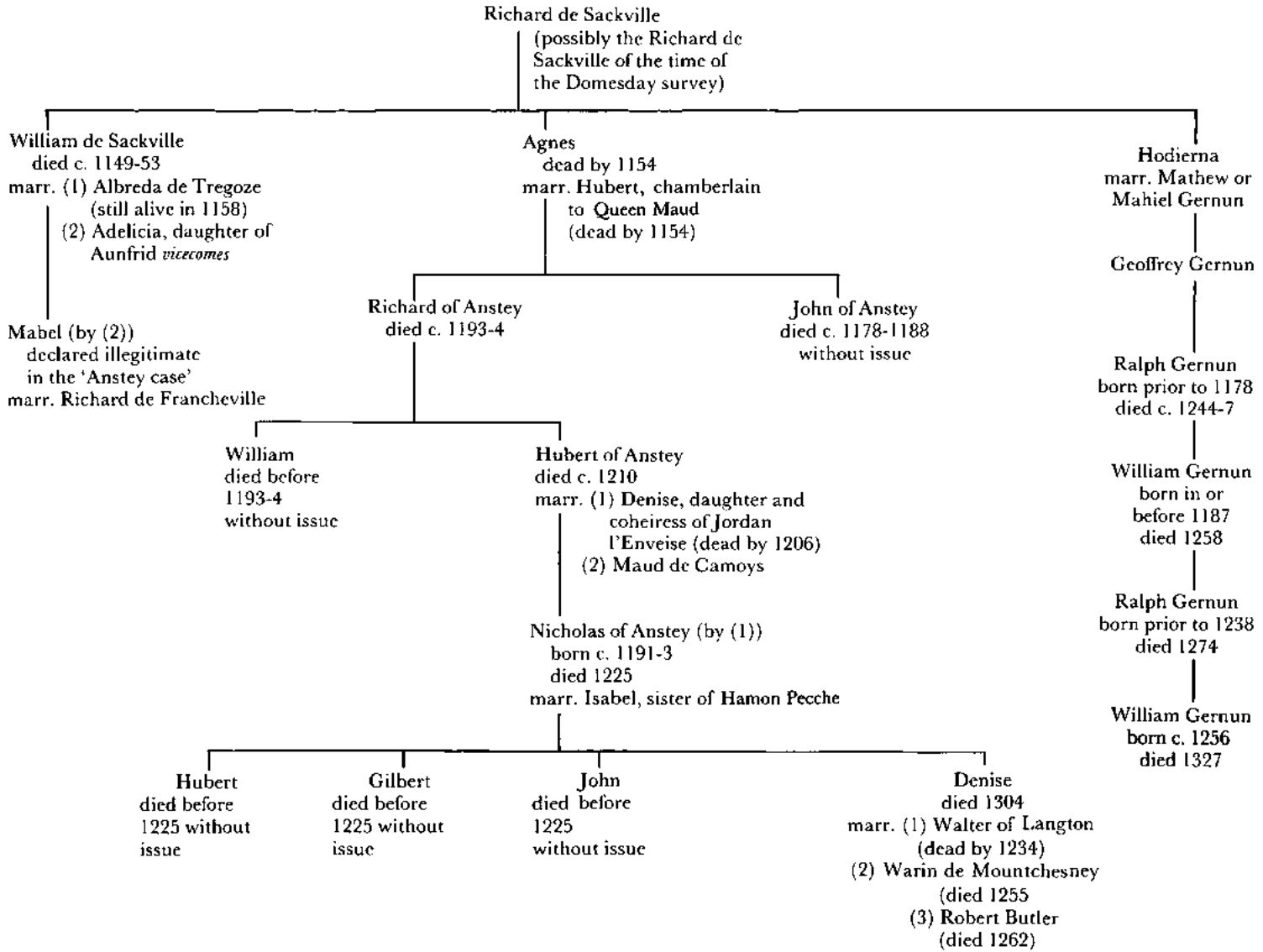
From these materials it is possible to trace, often in considerable detail, what happened in the case - the different courts involved, the lawyers whose services were used by Richard of Anstey, the cost of the litigation, the length of time the case took, and the main legal issues at stake. Miss Barnes has provided an excellent summary of what the documents tell us in her introduction to, and commentary on, the Anstey memorandum.⁹ What the materials do not reveal, however, is just what was at stake in the case - which lands comprised the inheritance of William de Sackville, fought over by Richard of Anstey and Mabel de Francheville.¹⁰ It is the purpose of this article to draw attention to some evidence which has hitherto been overlooked, and which supplies this missing information. This same material also, as will be seen, suggests that some correction is needed in what have hitherto been accepted as the facts of the 'Anstey case'.

II

In Hilary term 1244 the first pleadings took place in the Bench at Westminster in an action of *fin fel* brought by Warin de Mountchesney and his wife Denise.¹¹ The object of this action was to compel Ralph Gernun to observe the terms of a final concord made before the justices at Westminster in the reign of King Richard I. The final concord had concerned manors in some nine localities, mostly in Essex - Great Braxted, Benton Hall (in Witham), Kelvedon Hatch, Pledgdon (in Henham), Little Anstey (Hertfordshire), Theydon Garnon, Little Leighs, Latchingdon and Great or Little Wenham (Suffolk), together with a rent of sixty shillings a year in Colchester, and ten and a half knights' fees in

Family Tree Of The Families Of Sackville, Anstey And Gernun

NEW LIGHT ON THE ANSTEY CASE



a further fourteen places, a majority of which were also in Essex - Quendon, Radwinter, St Lawrence, Aspenden (Hertfordshire), one of the Tolleshunts, Bensted Green (in Sandon), Brockley (Suffolk), 'Walde' (in Bradwell juxta Mare), Nipsell's Rayments (in Mayland), Steeple, Shropham (Norfolk), Rockland All Saints or Rockland St Andrew's (Norfolk), an unidentified place named 'Auleg' or 'Haudlo', and Somerton (Suffolk).¹² The parties to it had been the present defendant, Ralph Gernun, and Denise's grandfather, Hubert of Anstey.¹³ It was the contention of Warin and Denise that, Ralph was obliged to 'achieve'¹⁴ to Denise, as the granddaughter and sole heiress of Hubert of Anstey, for Hubert had, under the terms of the final concord, and by virtue of his descent from Agnes, the elder daughter of Richard de Sackville¹⁵, retained the 'esnescy'¹⁶ of the inheritance in dispute between himself and Ralph Gernun. Ralph owed them - or so they claimed - the service of 4 3/4 Knights' fees¹⁷, but had refused to perform the service due to them ever since the "war between King John and his barons".¹⁸ Warin and Denise claimed damages of £100 for Ralph's failure to observe the terms of the final concord.

Ralph Gernun's defence conceded the authenticity of the final concord and revealed certain additional facts as to the circumstances which had given rise to its being made. It had, he stated, brought to an end the litigation which he had brought against Hubert of Anstey to claim a 'reasonable'¹⁹ share of the inheritance of William de Sackville. William de Sackville was, he stated, the father²⁰ of the Agnes from whom Hubert was descended, and of his own mother²¹, Hodierna. He claimed, however, that he had never performed the service now demanded to Denise or any of her ancestors, either before or after the making of the final concord, and that he had never 'achieved' to any of them. Maud de Lucy, the 'lady' of Ongar, had received his service during her lifetime; and her grandson and heir - Richard, the son of Richard de Rivers - was currently in seisin of it.²² Ralph sought the King's aid in his defence, for the outcome of the case could adversely affect the interests of Richard, who was a minor in wardship to the King.²³

Judgement in the case was adjourned to the following Trinity term. By Trinity term 1245 the case had been removed into the court *coram rege*, perhaps because of the royal interest involved. In that term, the court ordered that Ralph Gernun be distrained to attend the court to hear judgment in the case in the following (Michaelmas) term.²⁴ Although no record of the final judgement given in the case now survives²⁵, it is almost certain that it was delivered in Easter term 1246 and that it gave Warin de Mountchesney and Denise what they were seeking.²⁶

What this mid-thirteenth century case shows, then, is that Richard of Anstey and his heirs did not enjoy an unchallenged possession of the whole of the inheritance of William de Sackville once the 'Anstey case' was at an end. There was no renewal of the Francheville claim to the inheritance but, as this case shows, Richard of Anstey's son, Hubert,²⁷ was later faced with a fresh claim to part of the lands from Ralph Gernun. The claim was made between 1189 and 1199 (the reign of King Richard I)²⁸ and was to one half of the Sackville inheritance. It was based, as has been seen, on the fact that Ralph was the heir of William de Sackville's younger sister, Hodierna;²⁹ and the final concord made in settlement of Ralph's claim appears to have transferred to him one half of the Sackville inheritance.

It is possible only to speculate as to why neither Richard of Anstey (in his memorandum) nor archbishop Theobald (in his letter to the pope) make any mention of the claims of Hodierna and her issue to a share in the Sackville inheritance. One - admittedly speculative - possibility is that at the time when the Anstey case was brought, the holder or claimant of the 'esnescy' of an inheritance was considered competent to bring or defend litigation on behalf of all the other coheirs of the inheritance, in much the same way as, later, the possessor of the 'esnescy' might perform all the service due to the lord of the fee for all the coheirs. It was only if, and when, the joint inheritance had been recovered that the junior co-heirs were allowed to claim their shares against the holder of the 'esnescy'. The later common-law position - that each coheir could only seek his or her own share in litigation - would, on this hypothesis, be a consequence of the weakening of the position of the holder of the 'esnescy' in the early common law period.³⁰ If this very tentative hypothesis is correct, then this may also provide an explanation for the drawing up by Richard of Anstey of a memorandum detailing the costs of recovering the Sackville inheritance. Against any claim for a share of the

inheritance there would, in these circumstances, have to be set a counter-claim for a proportionate share in the costs of recovering the inheritance. Richard of Anstey's memorandum may have been intended to support just such a counter-claim.

The most important new information yielded by this case of 1244-6 is, however, the list of manors and knights' fees, for there is every reason to believe that here, at last, we have something like a full inventory of the lands which had been at stake in the 'Anstey case,'³¹ concentrated mainly in Essex, but also including manors and knight's fees in the two neighbouring counties of Hertfordshire and Suffolk and also knight's fees in Norfolk.

III

The evidence provided by the litigation of 1244-6 as to the lands which the Anstey family acquired as a result of the 'Anstey case' is also important in a negative way, for it allows the identification of those lands held by the family which were *not* part of the Sackville inheritance. The principal non-Sackville holdings of the family were the manors of Anstey, Little Hormead and Braughing in Hertfordshire - all of them held of the honour of Boulogne, and for the total service of three knights' fees.³² The manor of Anstey, which the 1236 feodary regarded as bearing the service of one and a half knights' fees (half the total)³³ was valued at the death of Denise de Mountchesney in 1304 at £12. 18s. 5d. a year. This included no valuation of the castle, because of the great cost of its upkeep.³⁴ The 1236 feodary regarded the manor of Little Hormead as bearing, as its share, only the service of half a knight's fee.³⁵ At that date it was held in dower by Isabel, the widow of Nicholas of Anstey.³⁶ In 1304, at Denise's death, it was valued at £4. 5s. 5d. a year.³⁷ The manor of Braughing attracted the service of one knight's fee. It had been subinfeudated prior to 1214, when Hubert's widow, Maud, sought her dower share of the service owed for the manor.³⁸ The 1236 feodary records two separate sub-tenancies here, for each of which was owed half of a knight's fee.³⁹ Two separate sub-tenancies here are also mentioned in the 1324 inquisition post mortem on Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.⁴⁰ Closely associated with this holding of the three Hertfordshire manors was the tenancy by the Anstey family of a further half knight's fee at Berkesdon, in the parish of Aspenden, in the same county. This was similarly held of the honour of Boulogne. Both Hubert and Nicholas of Anstey are mentioned as tenants of it⁴¹, but already before 1214, the manor had been subinfeudated, for Hubert's widow sought her dower share of service owed for the manor.⁴² The sub-tenant here was the Prior of Holy Trinity, London. In the 1236 feodary he is described as tenant of half a knight's fee at 'Wakeden'⁴³: in 1324 a successor is described as holding half a knight's fee at Braughing of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.⁴⁴

The manors of Anstey, Braughing and Little Hormead were all held in demesne by Count Eustace of Boulogne when Domesday Book was compiled.⁴⁵ When he became a monk at Cluny in c. 1125, they probably passed with his other lands to his daughter Maud, who subsequently married Stephen Count of Mortain, later King Stephen.⁴⁶ By a charter, which Davis and Cronne believe dates from Christmas 1141, Stephen granted Anstey and Braughing with other lands, of a total value of £100, to Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, to the 'use' of Geoffrey's eldest son, Ernulf. Ernulf was also to be the mesne lord of ten knights' fees under his father.⁴⁷ The rebellion of both Geoffrey and Ernulf de Mandeville in 1143-4 must have led to the loss of these lands.⁴⁸ They seem then - at least in part - to have been granted out again, this time to Hubert, the chamberlain of Queen Maud. No charter attesting the grant survives, but probably at some date prior to 1146/7 (when the control of the honour of Boulogne passed to Eustace, the son of Stephen and Maud),⁴⁹ Hubert was in a position to grant land worth £4 at Braughing to the priory of Holy Trinity London. The Queen's charter confirming the grant speaks of the land at Braughing as forming part of a holding of land worth £16 in all, granted by King Stephen to Hubert, in exchange for land Hubert had formerly held at Bendish in Essex⁵⁰. In what appears to have been a separate transaction, Hubert is also found joining with his son, Richard, in a grant of Berkesden to Gervase of Cornhill. Gervase was to hold Berkesden by the service of half a knight's fee.⁵¹ This land then also passed, by Gervase's grant, and

with a confirmation from Richard, the son of Hubert⁵², to the Priory of Holy Trinity, London and Stephen subsequently confirmed their tenure of the land.⁵³

That Hubert the chamberlain of Queen Maud was the father of Richard of Anstey the litigant is clearly demonstrated by a charter confirming these two grants to Holy Trinity priory issued by Richard of Anstey's son, Hubert⁵⁴. Hubert's charter speaks of the land at Braughing as having been granted to the priory by his grandfather as having been part of the land received by him in exchange for his land at Bendish; it also speaks of the land at Berkesden as having been granted by his father Richard but as having been held both by Richard and by Richard's father, Hubert. The £16 of land granted to Hubert the chamberlain comprised the manors of Anstey, Braughing and Hormead, which were later in the possession of the Anstey family. Richard 'of Anstey' took his surname from the main manor he had inherited from his father.

The proposed identification of Richard of Anstey with Richard, the son of Hubert, chamberlain of Queen Maud, would be difficult to accept if Miss Barnes were correct in supposing that William de Sackville had died c. 1139-40.⁵⁵ This would imply that neither Hubert nor Richard had taken steps to obtain the Sackville inheritance at a time when they would have stood their best chance of success - the reign of King Stephen, but had left matters for over fifteen years till Henry II succeeded to the English throne. It is, however, known from the letter John of Salisbury composed for archbishop Theobald that Albreda de Tregoze, William de Sackville's first wife, obtained a sentence in her favour in the church courts during the time that the bishop of Winchester, Henry of Blois, was papal legate, i.e. between 1139 and 1143⁵⁶: a date confirmed later in that same letter by the mention of Richard's claim that by then twenty years and more had elapsed since the sentence was given.⁵⁷ William had, so Richard alleged, subsequently lived with her as his wife for ten years or more prior to his death. This suggests that William did not die until c. 1149-53.⁵⁸ If William did not die till then, there was no great delay in opening the litigation, indeed, if archbishop Theobald's letter is correct, it seems to have started (in France at least) almost immediately after William's death.⁵⁹

IV

The litigation between Richard of Anstey and his cousin Mabel de Francheville - the 'Anstey case' - is deservedly well-known. For no other English litigation of the twelfth century does there survive such extensive and valuable documentation. Yet, hitherto, certain matters of importance relating to this litigation have remained obscure. As this article has demonstrated, many of these matters are illuminated by the official record of a case heard almost a century later, *Mountchesney v. Gernun*. From this record it is possible to discover the extent and the location of the English lands of William de Sackville, the inheritance which had been in dispute in the 'Anstey case'. The later litigation also reveals that Richard of Anstey's mother, Agnes, was not, as has hitherto been supposed, William de Sackville's only sister, but merely the elder of his two sisters; and shows that, towards the end of the twelfth century, a descendant of the younger sister, Hodierna, was able to make good a claim to a moiety of the Sackville inheritance. The later case also provides, albeit indirectly, information that is essential to the identification of the lands which Richard of Anstey had inherited from his father before embarking upon the 'Anstey case'.⁶⁰ This gives us some idea of the landed resources which Richard was able to call on in pursuing his claim to his uncle's lands; it also helps shed some light on the hitherto obscure matter of Richard of Anstey's own origins. Richard of Anstey can now be identified as the son of Hubert, the chamberlain of Stephen's queen, Queen Maud. +

Footnotes

1. The original document is E 101/505/1 in the Public Record Office, London. All other original documents cited in this article are in the same repository.
2. F. Palgrave, *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth: Anglo-Saxon period*, II (London, 1832), pp. lxxv - lxxxvii (translation at pp. ix - xxvii).
3. H. Hall, *Court Life under the Plantagenets* (London, 1890).

4. *English Historical Documents*, vol. II (1042-1189), ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway (London, 1953), no. 55 (pp. 456-457).
5. P.M. Barnes, 'The Anstey Case' in *A Medieval Miscellany for D.M. Stenton*, ed. P.M. Barnes and C.F. Slade (Pipe Roll Society, new series, vol. xxxvi (1960), pp. 17-23.
6. *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W.J. Millor, H.E. Butler and C.N.L. Brooke (London, 1955), no. 131 (pp. 227-237).
7. L. Voss, *Heinrich von Blois, Bischof von Winchester (1129-71)* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 166-167.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168; P.M. Barnes, *op.cit.*, p.24.
9. P.M. Barnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-16.
10. For some suggestions on this point see P.M. Barnes, *op. cit.*, p.3, and J.H. Round, 'The Essex Sackvilles', *Archaeological Journal*, vol lxiv (1907), 217-226.
11. KB 26/132 m. 15d. A transcript of this entry will be entry no. 1175 in *Curia Regis Rollis* (hereafter *C.R.R.*) vol. xviii, when it is published. A procedural stage of the same case is recorded on the roll for Trinity term 1243: KB 26/130m. 9 (= *C.R.R.*, xviii, no. 250).
12. For the evidence supporting these identifications see Appendix
13. This final concord does not survive.
14. *Achieviare* is almost impossible to translate. It means, in this context, 'to acknowledge and/or perform the duty of doing the service owed for a tenement to a superior lord *through* the person to whom the 'achievement' has been made'.
15. It should be noted that they do *not* say that the inheritance was that of Richard de Sackville.
16. This is the share belonging to the senior of two or more coheirs or to the descendants of the senior heir, with the privileges attached to it. This had included the right to demand that each of the junior coheirs 'achieve' to him or her.
17. This should probably have been 5¼ knight's fees.
18. i.e. 1215-1216.
19. i.e. his rightful share as coheir of William de Sackville: clearly one half.
20. This is probably a mistake for 'brother'.
21. This should probably be 'grandmother': see further below, n.29.
22. Maud died *circa* 1243 leaving as her heir, Richard, then a small child. For the lordship of Ongar and its descent during this period generally see *Victoria County History* (hereafter *V.C.H.*) of *Essex*, iv, ed. W.R. Powell (London, 1956) p.160.
23. Seeking aid of the king was always a good delaying tactic for a litigant, since it meant that the case had to be adjourned till the king had been consulted on the matter.
24. KB 26/134B m.3 (= *C.R.R.*, xviii, no. 1722).
25. No plea-rolls of the court *coram rege* survive for the period between Trinity term 1245 and Michaelmas term 1249.
26. The main evidence is an action of debt brought against Warin in the 1254 Essex eyre by John de Scalariais (JUST 1/233 m.7). John claimed fifty marks from Warin as due under a parole agreement under which that sum was to become due if John succeeded in a plea brought in Warin's name, but sued at John's expense, to recover the service of five knights' fees for him. The money had, John claimed, become due at Easter 1246. Although Warin denied making any such agreement, the near coincidence of the number of knight's fees and date of the litigation suggests that the plea brought by John in

Warin's name was this plea, and that judgement was given in favour of Warin (and Denise) in Easter term 1246. For other evidence to show that lands in the Gernun share of the Sackville inheritance were subsequently held of the lords of the Anstey share, see Appendix, pp.77, 78, 79.

27. For evidence that Hubert was the son of the Richard of Anstey of the memorandum *see* the pleadings in a case brought against Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, in the Bench in Michaelmas term 1274, for the manor of Little Yeldham in Essex: CP 40/5m.43. In those pleadings Denise, by now the widow of Warin de Mountchesney, asserted that the father of her paternal grandfather, Hubert, was named Richard, and that this Richard had been alive in the reign of King Henry II and had then held the manor. Since the manors of Anstey, Hormead and Braughing were in the possession of the Anstey family from at least the mid-twelfth century (for which, see above, p.71), and these manors were held, as later, of the honour of Boulogne by Knight service, the absence of any record in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II's reign of any payment of relief in respect of these lands or any mention of wardship exercised over them, indicates that there was no inheritance of these lands between 1159 (the date the honour of Boulogne came into the hands of the King) and the end of the reign. This, in turn, suggests that the Richard of Anstey of the Anstey case (which continued to 1163) is the same man as Hubert's father.

28. Hubert probably succeeded his father during the course of the reign of Richard I, which means that the case was probably brought later in the reign. The best evidence as to the date of Richard's death is provided by the Pipe Roll record of the fee farm paid for the Essex manor of Ridgwell. As late as 24 Henry II (1177-1178), it was still being paid by one John of Anstey: *Pipe Roll, 24 Henry II*, ed. J.H. Round (Pipe Roll Soc., O.S., xxvii, 1906), p.47. This John may tentatively be identified with the brother of Richard of Anstey of that name mentioned in Richard of Anstey's *memorandum*. By 1 Richard I (1188-1189), John had been succeeded here as tenant by Richard of Anstey: *Pipe Roll 1 Richard I*, ed. J. Hunter (Record Commission, London, 1844), p.222. He in turn was succeeded as tenant of Ridgwell by Hubert of Anstey during the course of 6 Richard I (1193-1194): *Pipe Roll 6 Richard I*, ed. D.M. Stenton (Pipe Roll Soc., new series, v, 1928), p.24.

29. In the litigation of 1244-6, Hodierna is described as Ralph's mother. This is almost certainly an error for Ralph's grandmother. The evidence for this is only indirect, but nonetheless quite compelling. From litigation of 1227 concerning land at Great Horkesley in Essex, it appears that Ralph's father's name was Geoffrey: JUST 1/229 mm. 19, 19d. An earlier case of 1204 confirms that his father's name was Geoffrey, and his grandfather's name Matthew: D.M. Stenton, *Pleas before the King or his Justices*, vol. iii (Selden Soc., vol. lxxxiii, 1966), no. 913. The cartulary of St John the Baptist, Colchester records two grants made by Mahiel Gernon (? a Breton version of Matthew), one of land in Wormingford in Essex, the other possibly of land there: *Cartularium Monasterii sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colcestria*, ed. S.A. Moore (London, 1897), i, p.227. Land was held at Wormingford by the Ralph Gernon of the litigation of 1244 and by his son William: *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, i (London, 1904), nos. 440, 850. In the second of the two Colchester grants, Mahiel Gernon is joined by a wife named Hodierna, and his son Geoffrey is also associated with the gift.

30. A tenant against whom such a claim for a share was brought could, however, in the thirteenth century, insist on the summoning of the other coheirs to sue with the coheirs present and suing. For the weakening position of the holder of the 'esnevy' in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries *see* F. Pollock and A.W. Maitland, *History of English Law before the time of Edward I*, ii (2nd edition, Cambridge, 1898), pp. 275-278.

31. This statement needs to be qualified in two respects. The letter of archbishop Theobald (above, n.6) suggests that part of the inheritance of William de Sackville was in France and held of Theobald, count of Blois. Nothing further is known of these lands. It is also possible that Richard of Anstey did not pass on the Sackville inheritance intact to his son Hubert: that he may have alienated or lost part of it, or subinfeudated what had been demesne lands in the time of William de Sackville.

32. For the tenure of these lands by Hubert of Anstey and Nicholas of Anstey *see Book of Fees*, i, pp.237, 241; ii, pp.1429, 1434.

33. E 198/1/4. In 1212 the service of two knights' fees was owed for the land here and at Little Hormead: *Book of Fees*, i, p.125.

34. KB 27/178m.33. The castle was certainly already there in 1218: *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i.350. It is also mentioned in 1225: *Pat. Rolls, 1216-1225*, p.543.

35. E 198/1/4. See also n.33 above.

36. *Ibid*; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* ii p.60; *Cl: Rolls, 1237-1242*, pp. 478-479.

37. KB 27/178m. 33.

38. *C.R.R.*, vii. p.93
39. E 198/1/4.
40. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vi. no. 518.
41. *Book of Fees*, i. pp. 125, 238, 242; ii. pp. 1429, 1434.
42. *C.R.R.*, vii. p.93.
43. E 198/1/4.
44. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vi. no. 518. Braughing is close to Aspenden.
45. *V.C.H. Herts* i, ed. W. Page (London, 1901), pp.321-32.
46. Sanders, *English Baronies*, p.151.
47. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iii, ed. H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1968), no.276. The grant may in fact only be a confirmation, for the Empress Maud's second charter to the Earl which Cronne and Davis date to late July 1141 (*Ibid*, no.275) also speaks of £100 land, and ten knights' fees which Ernulf de Mandeville is to hold of his father, in accordance with the terms of a still earlier grant.
48. R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen, 1135-1154* (London, 1967), pp.80-85, 85n.22.
49. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* iii no.553, note.
50. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iii no.509. Hubert's own charter granting the land to the priory also survives: E40/1043. This recites the consent to the grant of his wife Agnes and sons Richard and John.
51. This is known of only through Stephen's confirmation: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iii no. 244. The reference to the land being of the fee of Earl Eustace suggests a date after 1146/7.
52. This suggests that Hubert was by then already dead.
53. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* iii no. 515. Gervase's original charter of grant to the priory also survives: E40/11967. This indicates that he had sold the land to the priory for eighty pounds. The grantor is said to have held the land of Hubert the chamberlain and his son Richard.
54. E40/1005. Compare also the confirmation charter issued by Hubert's son, Nicholas of Anstey: E40/1004.
55. P.M. Barnes, *op. cit.*, p.1.
56. Voss, *Henrich von Blois*, pp. 22, 38.
57. *Letter of John of Salisbury*, no.231.
58. *Ibid*. The letter says that there had been no appeal against the sentence of divorce by William's other wife, Adelia, for ten years and more, and that William had lived with Albreda till his last days. Taken together, they imply he lived another ten years.
59. The litigation must have started during the lifetime of Count Theobald of Blois, who died in 1152. Theobald is said to have consulted the greater bishops of France, before giving judgement in Mabel's favour: *Letters of John Salisbury*, no.231.
60. Richard may also have inherited from his father the Essex manors of Ridgewell and Little Yeldham. There is a damaged later thirteenth century copy of a twelfth century charter of an unknown grantor granting these two manors to Hubert *armiger*: C146/2154. Hubert was to hold Ridgewell for a rent of fifteen pounds yearly, Little Yeldham for a rent of ten pounds, but was also to pay scutage for them when scutage was levied and have this allowed against the rent. Ridgewell was later in the tenure of the Anstey family (above, n.28); Little Yeldham was lost by Richard of Anstey some time in the reign of Henry II (above, n.27). Hubert *armiger* was probably another name for Hubert, the Queen's chamberlain.

+ I would like to thank Miss P.M. Barnes for her helpful comments on this paper.

APPENDIX

Various pieces of evidence, mainly belonging to the thirteenth century, allow the identification of almost all the places mentioned in the list of manors and knights' fees as belonging to the Sackville inheritance. This evidence also allows the allocation of these manors and knights' fees to either the Anstey or the Gernun share of that inheritance. It will be found that both manors and knights' fees in the final concord were so listed as to give those allocated to the Anstey family first, those allocated to the Gernun family second.

(1) THE DEMESNE MANORS

(a) The Anstey share

(i) **The 'Bracstede'** of the final concord can be identified as the manor of *Great Braxted*. There is indirect evidence to prove that the manor had once been held by William de Sackville¹ and the Domesday tenant who held two hides (less 15 acres) there of Eudo Dapifer, and who was named Richard, is probably to be identified with the Richard de Sackville who was a tenant of Eudo Dapifer elsewhere in Essex and Hertfordshire². That the manor was assigned to the Anstey share is shown by the fact that in Hilary term, 1214, Hubert's widow, Maud, sought her dower share of demesne land here³, and that at the death of Hubert's son, Nicholas of Anstey, in August 1225, his widow Isabel was assigned Great Braxted *in tenenciam* till her dower was assigned⁴. Isabel later made good her claim to Great Braxted as part of her *dos nominata*⁵, and in a feodary of the knights' fees of Warin de Mountchesney and his wife Denise, compiled in 1236, she is noted as holding the manor by the service of one knight's fee.⁶ By 1260, the land had reverted to Denise, for the manor was one of two settled, with the co-operation of her son, William de Mountchesney, on her third husband, Robert Butler, for life, with remainder to Denise and her heirs.⁷ At the death of Denise in 1304, her inquisition post mortem showed her as holding lands worth £11. 14s. 10d. net here, by the service of half a knight's fee, of Robert FitzWalter, Lord of the Essex barony of Little Dunmow.⁸

(ii) **'Bredingho'** can be identified as the locality known as *Benton or Bennington Hall* in the parish of Witham⁹. In 1198, Hubert of Anstey was impleaded for half a knight's fee here by two members of the Filliol family, but they eventually quitclaimed it to him.¹⁰ In 1214, his widow sought dower of demesne land here.¹¹ A note in the 'Pinchbeck Register' of the abbey of Bury St. Edmund's records Denise de Mountchesney's tenure of half a knight's fee in Great Braxted that was held of the abbey. It notes that the land was once held by Hubert of Anstey and adds that in the time of Henry I¹² it was held by Richard of Anstey. It also adds that it used to be called 'Bridinghoo'.¹³ This suggests that by the late thirteenth century, the land in Benton Hall had come to be regarded as part of the neighbouring manor of Great Braxted.

(iii) **'Calwedun'** or 'Kalest Wenden' can be identified as the manor of *Kelvedon Hatch*.¹⁴ It had been subinfeudated by 1214, for Hubert's widow, Maud, was then seeking her dower share of service due from land here, rather than the land itself.¹⁵ In 1231 Nicholas of Anstey's widow also sought dower of service here, and was assigned the service of a quarter of a knight's fee owed by Thomas FitzLambert of Moulton.¹⁶ In litigation in 1276 and 1279, Denise claimed that a quarter of a knight's fee and suit of her court at Anstey every three weeks were owed for this manor.¹⁷ When the Moulton manor here was seized into the king's hands in 1265-6 it was valued at just over £10 a year.¹⁸ Later evidence, from 1277, however, suggests that by then it was worth at least £20 a year, and possibly more.¹⁹

(iv) 'Plokendun' is to be identified as the manor of *Pledgdon* in the parish of Henham.²⁰ The Richard who held this manor as the tenant of Eudo Dapifer at the time Domesday book was compiled is probably Richard de Sackville.²¹ In 1214 Hubert of Anstey's widow, Maud, is said to have been assigned dower of land here.²² In 1236 the manor was held of Robert FitzWalter, Lord of the barony of Dunmow, for the service of half a knight's fee.²³ Prior to 1273, this manor too had been subinfeudated - to the Pecche family. In 1273 and 1274, Gilbert Pecche settled the manor in fee tail on himself and his wife Joan, and the heirs of their bodies, with reversion to his son John and John's heirs.²⁴ Gilbert Pecche, the settlor, is probably to be identified with the man of that name who was the son and heir of Hamon Pecche, and lord of the barony of Great Bealings in Suffolk and part of the barony of Bourne in Cambridgeshire.²⁵ If so, he was probably the cousin of Denise de Mountchesney.²⁶ When Gilbert's son, Gilbert, died in 1323, the manor was stated to have been held of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, grandson and eventual heir of Denise,²⁷ by the service of one quarter of a knight's fee.²⁸ A quasi-lease of the manor made prior to the death of Gilbert, suggests that it was then worth rather under £30 a year.²⁹

(v) 'Parva Anesty' can be identified as the manor of *Little Anstey* in the parish of Anstey in Hertfordshire.³⁰ In 1212, the guardian of Nicholas of Anstey is recorded as holding land here for the service of half a knight's fee, 'of the honour of Richard de Sackville'.³¹ Two years later, Nicholas' step-mother, Maud, was suing for her dower share of demesne land here and in Anstey.³² In the 1236 feodary, the land here is described as being held by Denise and Warin de Mountchesney of Robert FitzWalter, Lord of the barony of Little Dunmow, by the service of half a knight's fee.³³ At Denise's death in 1304, she is recorded as holding lands in Little Anstey worth £4 a year of the same barony for the same service.³⁴

(b) The Gernun Share

(vi) 'Tayden' is *Theydon Garnon*. It seems probable that only part of the land which the Gernun family held here belonged to the Sackville inheritance. In 1235/6 Ralph Gernun was noted as holding land in Theydon Garnon of Margery de Rivers by the service of two knights' fees³⁵, and these are clearly also the two knights' fees of the fee late of Warin FitzGerald on which Ralph Gernun was to have scutage in 1224.³⁶ The inquisition post mortem of Ralph Gernon of circa 1248 carefully distinguishes this land, which is said here to be held of Margery de Rivers by the service of one knight's fee from the land held here by one third of a knight's fee of 'the heirs of Ongar', which is probably the Sackville manor.³⁷

Confirmation of this is provided by the inquisition post mortem on Ralph's son, William, of 1258, which shows him holding part of his lands at Theydon Garnon of Baldwin de Lisle for the service of two knights' fees, and part of his lands here of Denise de Mountchesney for one third of a knight's fee.³⁸ The latter holding is recorded as being worth 5 marks (£3.6s.8d) a year.³⁹

(vii) 'Legh' is the manor of *Little Leighs*.⁴⁰ Ralph Gernun was engaged in litigation with Richard FitzHubert and his wife Isabel concerning land in 'Legha' during the first decade of the thirteenth century, eventually securing a quitclaim to the manor of 'Legha' from them.⁴¹ In 1238 he secured a further quitclaim from Hubert de Ruyly to one carucate of land here.⁴² Ralph's inquisition post mortem of c. 1248 records his holding land here of 'the heirs of Ongar' by the service of one third of a knight's fee.⁴³ The inquisition post mortem of his son William contains no such reference.⁴⁴ This may be because by 1258 the land here had been granted away. Likely grantees are both a local religious house, the priory of Leez⁴⁵, and the Marny family.⁴⁶ The Marny family in turn subinfeudated their holding here to Benedict of Blakenham⁴⁷. It was probably this sub-tenancy which later passed to the St Philibert family.⁴⁸ Proof that the land was at Little Leighs comes from an action of mesne brought by Benedict of Blakenham against William de Marny in 1277. Benedict claimed that Denise de

Mountchesney was distraining his tenement there for services, of which William ought to have acquitted him. ⁴⁹ Two hides at 'Lega' were held of Eudo Dapifer by one Richard - probably again Richard de Sackville - at the date of the compilation of Domesday Book. ⁵⁰

(viii) '**Lascendon**'. The place-name form suggests that the third manor assigned to the Gernun share of the Sackville inheritance was at *Latchingdon* ⁵¹. If so, this is probably to be identified with the land at Lawling in Latchingdon, held of Eudo Dapifer by Richard (de Sackville) at the time of Domesday Book. ⁵² No Gernun demesne interest here has been traced, but the manor may be represented by the ninety acres of arable, six acres of pasture, one grange and £4 of rent in Snoreham (the next parish to Latchingdon) held of William Gernun by John de Grey for the service of one twentieth of a knight's fee in the early fourteenth century. ⁵³

(ix) '**Wenham**'. This provides an even greater problem of identification. It is probably either *Great or Little Wenham* in Suffolk and may be represented by the carucate and one quarter of a knight's fee in 'Wenham' which Ralph Gernun quitclaimed in 1210 to William of Bromford and his wife Agnes, in exchange for the seignory of a knight's fee at 'Tolleshunt' held by Nicholas de Bovill. ⁵⁴ No further Gernun connection with either Wenham has been traced.

(x) The rent of sixty shillings in *Colchester* probably also formed part of the Gernun share. Again, however, the evidence linking the Gernun family with it is tenuous: a mandate of 1216 to allow Ralph Gernun the peaceful possession of an (unspecified) rent here. ⁵⁵

(2) THE KNIGHTS' FEES

(a) The Anstey Share

(i) '**Quendon**'. The first of the Sackville military sub-tenancies was at *Quendon*. At the time Domesday Book was compiled Richard (de Sackville) held land here in demesne of Eudo Dapifer. ⁵⁶ In 1214 the widow of Hubert of Anstey, Maud, sought her dower share of the service owed for a tenement here. ⁵⁷ The 1236 feodary notes that the manor is held of Robert FitzWalter, Lord of the barony of Little Dunmow, by the service of two and a half knight's fees. ⁵⁸ No sub-tenant is mentioned as responsible for the service, but this probably only reflects the temporary circumstances of a wardship of the sub-tenancy. ⁵⁹ In 1254 Ralph de la Haye died in possession of lands in Quendon, held of Warin de Mountchesney (and Denise) by the service of one knight's fee. His heir is stated to be William son of William de Mountchesney. ⁶⁰ No further trace of this sub-tenancy has been found. ⁶¹

(ii) '**Reddewinter**' is probably *Radwinter*. In 1214 the widow of Hubert of Anstey, Maud, sought her dower share of the service owed for a tenement here, ⁶² and in 1231 the widow of Nicholas of Anstey, Isabel, did the same. ⁶³ Again, thereafter, this sub-tenancy ceases to be mentioned, though it (and, possibly, the sub-tenancy at Quendon) may be represented by the two and a half knights' fees at Radwinter which were said at the death of Aymer de Valence to have been held of Aymer by Martin le Chamberleng and his tenants. ⁶⁴

(iii) '**villa sancti Lauencii**' is very probably *St Lawrence alias Newland* ⁶⁵. The only connection traced with the Anstey family is that Isabel, the widow of Nicholas of Anstey, sought her dower share of the service owed for a tenement here in 1231. ⁶⁶

(iv) '**Assinden**' Despite the form of the name, this sub-tenancy was probably at *Aspenden* in Hertfordshire rather than Ashingdon in Essex. ⁶⁷ When Domesday Book was compiled,

Richard de Sackville held one and a half hides here in demesne of Eudo Dapifer.⁶⁸ In 1212 the guardian of Nicholas of Anstey is recorded as holding one knight's fee here in the name of his ward⁶⁹, and in 1214 Hubert of Anstey's widow, Maud, sought her dower share of the service owed for a tenement here.⁷⁰ Nicholas of Anstey's widow, Isabel, likewise sought her dower share of service here in 1231.⁷¹ The 1236 feodary shows that the sub-tenant here, holding by the service of one knight's fee, was David FitzFulk, and that the land was held in chief of the king as of the honour of Boulogne.⁷² The Anstey connection with this sub-tenancy can be traced continuously into the fourteenth century.⁷³

(v) **'Toleshunte'**. This sub-tenancy was at one or more of the three neighbouring places named *Tolleshunt* in Essex: Tolleshunt d'Arcy, Tolleshunt Knights and Tolleshunt Major. In 1231, Isabel, the widow of Nicholas of Anstey, sought her dower share of service due from land at Tolleshunt,⁷⁴ and in the 1236 feodary the service of two half knight's fees, held by Richard of Anstey and Roger of Tolleshunt, is noted as having been assigned to her.⁷⁵ The only subsequent evidence which connects the Anstey heirs with Tolleshunt is the 1303 inquisition into Knight service which records Maud de Musteriis as the guardian of a quarter of a knight's fee at Tolleshunt Major held of Denise de Mountchesney.⁷⁶

(vi) **'Bedenestede'** is *Bensted Green* in the parish of Sandon. In 1214 the widow of Hubert of Anstey, Maud, sought her dower share of the service owed for a tenement here⁷⁷. In 1231 Nicolas of Anstey's widow, Isabel, did the same, and was assigned the service due from a single knight's fee held here by John 'de Bedenested'.⁷⁸ By 1280, John had been succeeded in the sub-tenancy by a grand-daughter, Sabina, who was the wife of John Bacun. In that year, and again in 1285, they were engaged in litigation with Denise de Mountchesney over her claim that they owed three weekly suit to her court at Anstey.⁷⁹ The William of Claydon who is recorded as the tenant of a knight's fee at Sandon, held of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, in 1324 was probably a descendant of Sabina.⁸⁰

(vii) **'Braclee'** is *Brockley* in Suffolk. In 1214 the widow of Hubert of Anstey, Maud, sought her dower share of the service owed for a tenement here⁸¹, and in 1231 it was the turn of Nicholas's widow, Isabel to do the same.⁸² It is the 1236 feodary which first allows a certain identification of the place in question: for it describes the place as being close to Bury St. Edmund's. It also tells us of the tenant, Nicholas 'de Godding', and that he owes for it the service of half a knight's fee.⁸³ A continuing Anstey connection with the subtenancy is shown by the presentment made in the 1286 Suffolk eyre by the jurors of the hundred of Thinghoe that Denise de Mountchesney had distrained Robert of Kelsale here, and had then (in contravention of both statutory and common law restrictions) driven the distresses she had taken to her manor of Ridgwell in Essex.⁸⁴ At the death of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, in 1324, Cecily Talemach is recorded as holding one knight's fee of him here.⁸⁵

(b) The Gernun Share

(viii) **'Walde'** appears to be in the parish of *Bradwell-juxta-Mare*⁸⁶. In 1231, Ralph Gernun acknowledged Richard le Prestre's right to a mesne lordship between himself and Felicia Mauntel, who held a quarter of a knight's fee at 'la Welle' in dower.⁸⁷ In 1282 William son of Ralph Gernun, the great-grandson of that Ralph Gernun, acknowledged his duty to warrant, acquit and defend the current sub-tenant of the land, Richard de Tany, his heirs and assigns, against Denise de Mountchesney and her heirs and assigns, against Denise de Mountchesney and her heirs, in respect of the lands Richard held at 'la Walle' in the parish of Bradwell, in the hundred of Dengie.⁸⁸

(ix) **'Gypesho'** can be identified as the locality now known as *Nipsell's Rayments* in the parish of Mayland⁸⁹. The only reference to connect it with the Gernun family is in the 1231 final

concord between Richard le Prestre and Ralph Gernun. Under the terms of this final concord, Richard quitclaimed to Ralph all right to a lordship over the quarter of a knight's fee held here by the heirs of Robert Mantel.⁹⁰

(x) '**Alestepel**'. Despite the rather curious form of the name, it seems almost certain that the third of the Gernun sub-tenancies was at *Steeple*.⁹¹ One Richard - probably Richard de Sackville - held three hides and thirty five acres at Steeple of Eudo Dapifer when Domesday Book was compiled.⁹² The final concord of 1231 between Richard le Prestre and Ralph Gernun indicates that at that date Richard held half a knight's fee here of Ralph, and shows Richard quitclaiming all right to a mesne lordship over the half a knight's fee held here by the heirs of Robert Mantel.⁹⁴ In 1240 Rose of Broxtead recovered the land which had been held in 1231 by Richard le Prestre. She agreed to hold it of Ralph Gernun by the service of half a knight's fee. Between 1240 and 1246 her interest here seems to have been acquired by Peter de Tany.⁹⁵

(xi) '**Scropham**' is Shropham in Norfolk. In 1231 Richard le Prestre quitclaimed to Ralph Gernun all right to a mesne lordship over half a knight's fee held here by Richard de Cauz.⁹⁶ In 1302, Roger de Cauz and others are recorded as holding half a knight's fee here of William Gernun, Ralph's great-grandson, and he is recorded as holding it in turn of the king in chief.⁹⁷

(xii) '**Rokelund**' is also in Norfolk, and one of the four places named Rockland in the county (Rockland All Saints; Rockland St Andrew's; Rockland St Mary; Rockland St Peter). The 1302 evidence which places the holding in the hundred of Shropham⁹⁸ reduces the choice to Rockland All Saints or Rockland St Andrew's. One Richard - possibly Richard de Sackville - held here of Eudo Dapifer when Domesday Book was compiled.⁹⁹ In 1231 Richard le Prestre renounced all claim to a mesne lordship between Ralph Gernun and the William of Rockland who held half a knight's fee here.¹⁰⁰ In 1302 Robert Benelond and Isabel de Cally were recorded as holding half a knight's fee here of William de Gernun, who was said in turn to hold it of the King.¹⁰¹

(xiii) '**Auleg**' or '**Haudlo**' has not been satisfactorily identified.

(xiv) '**Sumerton**'. The final sub-tenancy was at Somerton in Suffolk, quite close to Brockley, whose sub-tenancy was assigned to the Anstey share of the Sackville inheritance. In 1242/3, Robert de Hawstead is recorded as holding one knight's fee here of Ralph Gernun, which the latter held of the 'lady of Ongar'.¹⁰² In 1302/3 William Talemache is recorded as holding half a knight's fee here of William Gernon.¹⁰³

APPENDIX - NOTES

1. William de Sackville granted to the monastery of St John the Baptist at Colchester a rent of five shillings owed for a mill that had been payable to the manor of Great Braxted: *Cartularium Monasterii ... de Colcestria*, i, 163-165.

2. *V.C.H. Essex*, i, ed. W Page (London, 1903) p.491b. On Richard de Sackville as a Domesday tenant see *Ibid.*, p.379, and W. Farrer, *Honors and Knight's Fees*, iii (Manchester, 1925), p.271. See also Round, *art. cit.* pp.223-226.

3. *C.R.R.*, vii, p.493. Maud de Camoys was Hubert's second wife, and had married him between Trinity term 1205 and Hilary term 1206: *C.R.R.*, iv, pp.47, 62.

4. *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii, p.57b.

5. *Ibid.*, 60.

6. E 198/1/4. The land she held here of the abbot of Bury St Edmund's for half a knight's fee, is probably the land at Benton Hall: see below.

7. *Feet of Fines for Essex*, ed. R.E.G. Kirk (Colchester, 1899-1910), p.238. Robert was, however, dead by 8 December 1262: KB 26/172m. 9d.
8. KB 27/178m. 33d. This presumably excludes the land at Great Braxted worth thirty-seven shillings a year held of Denise by Randolph de Mountchesney and his wife for a rent of thirteen shillings and two pence, mentioned in an inquisition *ad quod dampnum* of 1299 (C 144/33 no.1). This had probably once formed part of the demesne. It may, however, include the land at Benton Hall which is not mentioned in the inquisition post mortem. An inquisition of 1303 into Essex knights' fees more correctly describes Denise as tenant of a whole knight's fee at Great Braxted: *Feudal Aids*, ii, 145.
9. *V.C.H. Essex*, i.451: *The Place Names of Essex*, p.300.
10. *Rot. Cur Reg.*, i. pp.38, 185; *C.R.R.*, i, p.63; *Essex Feet of Fines*, i.p.15.
11. *C.R.R.*, vii, p.493.
12. This should read Henry II.
13. *The Pinchbeck Register*, ed. F. Hervey (Brighton, 1925), i. p.282.
14. The early forms of Kelvedon and Kelvedon Hatch are often indistinguishable. That this is Kelvedon Hatch in the hundred of Ongar rather than Kelvedon in the hundred of Witham, is shown by the fact that it was a jury of the former hundred who made a return concerning the sub-tenant of the land here, Thomas FitzLambert of Moulton, in the inquisition *de rebellibus* in 1265-6: *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, i (London, 1916), no. 657.
15. *C.R.R.*, vii p.93. This suggests the subinfeudation had occurred before 1206: above, n.3.
16. *C.R.R.*, xiv, no. 1236; E 198/1/4.
17. C P 40/14m. 33d; C P 40/30 m. 24d. For the eventual settlement of this litigation, under which she quitclaimed the demand for the suit of court, see *Essex Feet of Fines*, ii, p.32. This litigation also shows that the Moulton family paid a rent of five shillings a year for Denise to the abbey of Westminster. This suggests that the manor here was that held by Westminster abbey at the time Domesday book was compiled. cf *V.C.H. Essex*, iv, pp 65,67.
18. *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i. no. 657.
19. In 1277 Thomas FitzLambert of Moulton granted the manor and advowson in fee tail to his son Henry for a rent of £20 a year during Thomas' lifetime, and a pair of gilt spurs thereafter: *Essex Feet of Fines*, ii, p.14.
20. *Place Names of Essex*, p.528; *V.C.H. Essex*, i. p.494.
21. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. p.494.
22. *C.R.R.*, vii, p.93.
23. E 198/1/4.
24. *Essex Feet of Fines*, ii, pp. 1,6; *Cal.Inq. P.M.*, iii, No. 36.
25. I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies* (Oxford, 1960), pp.19, 48.
26. Denise is described as the niece of Hamon Pecche in *Ci Rolls, 1231-1234*, p.508 (and cf. *C.R.R.*, xi, no. 409). Her mother, Isabel, was probably, therefore, Hamon's sister.
27. When Denise died, her heir was her grand-daughter, Denise, the wife of Hugh de Vere, who was the daughter of Denise's son, William de Mountchesney. When she died without issue in 1313, the Anstey and Mountchesney lands went to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke as the son and heir of Joan, the daughter of Denise by Warin de Mountchesney: KB 27/178 mm. 33, 33d; *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, v, no. 475; Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 144-145.
28. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vi, no. 353.
29. *Ibid.*: an enfeoffment had been made of the manor twenty years previously, under which a rent of £30 became payable after the first twenty-six years. The intention was presumably to ensure that the land was then surrendered to the grantor.
30. *V.C.H. Herts*, iv. ed. W. Page (London, 1914), p.14.
31. *Book of Fees*, i, p.125.
32. *C.R.R.*, vii, p.93: the land at Anstey is described as being at 'Great' Anstey.
33. E 198/1/4.
34. KB 27/178 m33.
35. *Book of Fees*, i, p.477. In 1236 the land comprised in this holding was said also to be in Childerditch, Bonhunt and 'Windhull': *Book of Fees*, i, p.608.
36. *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, pp.618, 643. For the 'honour' of Warin FitzGerald see N. Denholm-Young, *Collected Papers*, (Oxford, 1946), pp. 154-161, and Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, iii, pp. 164-295. These other Gernun lands were probably acquired by exchange for lands at Fowmere in Cambridgeshire: Farrer, *op.cit.*, iii, pp. 202-207. See also *V.C.H. Essex*, iv, p.262.
37. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, i, no. 850.
38. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, i, no. 440. The change in the recorded lordship of the manor presumably reflects the successful outcome of the litigation brought in 1244. cf *V.C.H. Essex*, iv, 262 (which is probably in error here).
39. C 132/22 no. 15.
40. Most of the thirteenth century evidence refers simply to land in 'Legha', which could be Great or Little Leighs. For proof that the land was Little Leighs see below.
41. *C.R.R.*, iii, p.31; *Essex Feet of Fines*, i, pp.42, 45.
42. *Essex Feet of Fines*, i. p.119.
43. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, i. no. 850.
44. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, i. no. 440.
45. The Gernuns were later regarded as patrons of the priory: *Essex Feet of Fines*, ii. p.220, *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, xv., no. 985. The priory was in parish of Little Leighs.
46. *Essex Feet of Fines*, ii. pp. 18, 220.

47. *Essex Feet of Fines*, ii. p.18.
48. *Feudal Aids*, ii, p.134 (1303; but note that he is said to hold only half a knight's fee, whereas Benedict of Blakenham had owed one hundred shillings a year and the service of a whole knight's fee); *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vii, no. 533 (which shows John de St Philibert as sub-tenant of William de Marny, owing the service of a whole knight's fee).
49. CP 40/18m. 51. The litigation was settled by final concord in 1278: *Essex Feet of Fines*, ii. p.18. The services for which Denise had been distraining - homage, three weekly suit to her court at Anstey and relief on five knights' fees - were almost certainly the services due from the Gernun family under the final concord of Richard's reign, which had been recovered in 1245/6. The relief was probably that due from another William Gernun on the death of his father Ralph in 1274: *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, ii, no. 63.
50. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. p. 495
51. *Place Names of Essex*, p.216.
52. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. p.493.
53. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vi. no. 312. Note also that at the death of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, William Gernon was recorded as holding four and three quarter knights' fees of the Earl here as well as at Theydon Garnon and Little Leighs: *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vi. no. 518.
54. *Essex Feet of Fines*, i. p.45.
55. *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i. p.263b.
56. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. p.495b.
57. *C.R.R.*, vii. p.93.
58. E 198/1/4.
59. It was in this same year that Henry de Tibetot acknowledged the right of Denise and Warin de Mountchesney to the wardship of the land and body of Ralph, the son and heir of William de la Haye (who is almost certainly the heir to this subtenancy). In return, they granted him the right to marry Ralph to his daughter Nicholas: *C.R.R.*, xv, no 1771.
60. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, i. no. 301.
61. But see next entry.
62. *C.R.R.*, vii. p.93.
63. *C.R.R.*, xiv. no. 1236.
64. *Cal. Inq. P.M.* vi no. 518.
65. *Place Names of Essex*, p.224.
66. *C.R.R.*, xiv. no. 1236.
67. *Place Names of Hertfordshire*, ed. J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton (English Place Name Society, xv, 1938) p.171: *Place Names of Essex*, pp.176-177.
68. *V.C.H. Herts*, ed. W. Page iv (London 1914), p.18.
69. *Book of Fees*, i. p.125.
70. *C.R.R.*, vii, p.93.
71. *C.R.R.*, xiv no. 1236.
72. E 198/1/4.
73. JUST 1/872m. 23d; CP 40/44m22; JUST 1/325m.9; CP 40/72m5; *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vi. nos. 106, 518.
74. *C.R.R.*, xiv. no. 1236.
75. E 198/1/4.
76. *Feudal Aids*, ii. p.132.
77. *C.R.R.*, vii, p.93.
78. *C.R.R.*, xiv. no. 1236; E198/1/4.
79. CP 40/32m. 39d; JUST 1/243m 1d. The dispute was settled by a final concord, admitting Denise's claim. in the latter year: *Essex Feet of Fines*, ii p.134.
80. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vi. no.518.
81. *C.R.R.*, vii, p.93.
82. *C.R.R.*, xiv no. 1236.
83. E 198/1/4.
84. JUST 1/827m. 38.
85. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vi no.518.
86. *Place Names of Essex*, pp. 210-211.
87. *Essex Feet of Fines*, i. p.90.
88. CP 40/44m. 48.
89. *Place Names of Essex*, pp. 219-220.
90. *Essex Feet of Fines*, i. p.90.
91. *Place Names of Essex*, pp.226-227.
92. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. p.493.
93. *Essex Feet of Fines*, i. p.90.
94. *Ibid*, pp. 130, 132.
95. JUST 1/997m. 5d; cf JUST 1/233m. 16.
96. *Essex Feet of Fines*, i. p.90.
97. *Feudal Aids*, iii, p.422.
98. below, n.101.

99. *V.C.H. Norfolk*, ii. ed. W. Page (London, 1906), p.164.
100. *Essex Feet of Fines*, i. p.90.
101. *Feudal Aids*, iii, p.422.
102. *Books of Fees*, ii, p.918.
103. *Feudal Aids*, v. p.29.

The Reformation in Colchester, 1528-1558

by JENNIFER C. WARD

Early Protestantism is known to have been strong in South-East England where its growth was fostered by the influence of London, the proximity of the Continent, and the presence of the cloth industry, but relatively little work has been done on individual towns to see when and how Protestantism developed. Colchester is as well known for its Lollards in the early sixteenth century as for its Puritans later. The situation between 1528 and 1558 is not however clear-cut, and, unless we can find evidence for radical beliefs among a large number of people of different social groups, we are not fully justified in describing the town as Protestant. During this period, religious and economic factors were inextricably linked. Colchester was important both for its cloth manufacture and its internal trade, the wealthiest inhabitants being merchants and clothiers, and the town was hard hit by the slump in cloth exports after 1551. There is no doubt that in the Reformation period the town authorities were grappling with the effects of serious inflation and an increasing problem of poverty, as well as with religious change.

Marketing was not only vital for economic survival, but also for the growth of Protestantism. Colchester's commercial contacts were probably the most important factor influencing the dissemination of new ideas. The town had its links with the Low Countries and a number of alien immigrants settled there before the great influx of religious refugees under Elizabeth. A close and mutually dependent relationship existed between Colchester and London, and between Colchester and its hinterland in north-east Essex and in Suffolk.

Colchester was not an ecclesiastical centre, and there was no religious authority in the town likely either to make a prolonged stand against religious change or to be heeded by the townsmen. There is little sign of religious influence exerted either by the Benedictine abbey of St John, by the Crossed and Grey friars, or by the Augustinian priory of St Botolph which served as a parish church. The parishes were numerous and mostly poor. Colchester had twelve parishes of which eight were within the town walls, and much of the patronage was in the hands of St John's abbey and St Botolph's priory. At a time when £10 a year may be regarded as a minimum stipend for a parish priest if he were to carry out his duties adequately, many livings fell below or only just above this figure, and chantries were therefore especially important, in that they could virtually double the value of livings; St Leonard's parish at the Hythe and St Peter's were each valued at £10, and the chantries at £12. 13. 4. and £9 respectively.¹ The size of the parishes varied considerably; whereas in the 1540s St Giles' parish had 160 houseling people, St Peter's was described as a very great parish with 400 houseling people.²

In view of these conditions, Colchester livings were likely to attract either pluralists or minimally qualified priests. Nicholas Davy, the chantry priest at St Leonard's in 1548 and rector there in 1550, was described as of good conversation, but Nicholas Bush at St Peter's was of small learning.³ Although at least six of the town's churches in 1531 were held by graduates, very little is heard of their activities in the town, and several were presumably non-resident. Richard Langrish was rector of St. Nicholas' church between 1531 and c. 1537, but his main interests were in Yorkshire.⁴ The graduate of whom most is known is Richard Cawmond, vicar of St Peter's between 1494 and his death in 1535, and also rector of Mount Bures. He was a graduate of Clare Hall, and maintained his Cambridge connection throughout his life. He also had contacts in London, one of his executors being Robert Mere of London, gentleman. His witnessing of wills and his presence at the examination of heretics in 1528 show that he was in Colchester at least from time to time.⁵

Any assessment of Reformation developments has to bear this economic and religious background constantly in mind. There is no doubt that Colchester was a centre of Lollardy, and the 1527

Visitation of Essex and the subsequent examinations revealed Lollards even at the top of the town's social hierarchy. Colchester was therefore familiar with religious deviation before the Reformation. Yet, although the Lollards were well entrenched, they only comprised a tiny proportion of the town's population. The heretics of 1527-8 numbered nineteen men and fourteen women, together with one German, and one Grey friar who decamped to Amersham;⁶ this estimate is probably slightly on the low side, as places of residence were not always given. Moreover Lollards may have outwardly conformed; John Pykas, baker, went to confession and took communion once a year so that men might not wonder at him.⁷

What becomes clear is that, as with Protestant groups later, Colchester provided a centre for outsiders as well as townsmen, and the connections with London were specially important. Thomas Matthew's house in Colchester was visited by the London Lollards, Father Hacker and Robert Necton; Robert sold imported books in the London area.⁸ Heretics at Steeple Bumpstead had discussions with their fellows in Colchester and London.⁹ The most significant pointer to the future was the importance attached by the heretics to the possession of English New Testaments; John Pykas had his own copy, as had Marion Westden, the wife of Thomas Matthew, and others.¹⁰ Within Colchester, the Lollards formed close-knit groups, meeting in houses and on the whole well known to each other. John Pykas spoke of meetings in the house of Thomas Matthew, fishmonger, of his English New Testament being borrowed by Robert Beste, and of his discussions with other Lollards.¹¹ Later wills indicate that the close-knit nature of the groups continued after many of the heretics abjured. Catherine Swayne who died in 1530 referred to John Beste the elder, her executor, and John Beste her godson; Catherine herself, and Robert and John Beste had been accused of heresy two years previously.¹²

The heretics came from all social groups. Craftsmen included a baker, weaver, blacksmith and fletcher.¹³ Far more significant are the Lollards' connections with the wealthy families who dominated Colchester society and government, a situation which is paralleled at Coventry. Two heretics were the widows of bailiffs, Margaret Cowbridge and Catherine Swayne. John Beste, probably Catherine's godson, was a clothier, chamberlain in 1544-5, and bailiff five times between 1547 and 1564. Thomas Matthew, fishmonger, was a member of the Common Council, and was probably the wealthiest of the Lollards, being assessed on £30 goods for the 1524-5 subsidy; Thomas Bogas, fuller, and later brewer, also served on the Common Council.¹⁴ At least three of the heretics had connections with the Christmas family which numbered among its members the richest merchants and clothiers in the borough; the Beste and Christmas families were related, as were the Bogas and Christmas families, and Catherine Swayne appointed John Christmas Esq to guide her executor, John Beste the elder.¹⁵ No accusation of heresy was ever made against the Christmas family, but it is interesting to see them linked with the Lollard network.

Although the Lollards were well established and had influential connections, it would be going too far to say that the leading members of the Council were favourable to Protestantism in 1528.¹⁶ Indeed, as the break with Rome went ahead in the 1530s, the town appears to have been cautious and conservative, accepting royal policies but not wanting to go beyond them. The town lacked Protestant leadership, both lay and ecclesiastical, and was very much under the surveillance of Thomas Audley. The bailiffs were anxious to make gains for the town whenever possible, but there was little opportunity for this in the early years of the Reformation. There is no definite evidence of Protestant beliefs until towards the end of the 1530s.

In contrast to a city such as Canterbury, there was a marked lack of ecclesiastical encouragement of Protestantism at Colchester. This was probably partly due to the conservative attitude of Bishop Stokesley of London, but also to the views of the Colchester clergy themselves. The wills of Richard Cawmond, vicar of St Peter's, in 1535 and of John Reynolde, parish priest of St Leonard's, two years later were both traditional in tone, although Cawmond, unlike Reynolde, made no reference to requiem masses.¹⁷ Some of the clergy of Colchester were hostile to Henry VIII's changes. In 1534, Henry Fasted wrote to Cromwell about 'certain books of the king's print', probably the propaganda tracts, *The Glass of Truth* and the *Articles of the Council*, which were opposed by the clergy. He alleged that John Wayne, rector of St James' parish, and an official to the bishop of London, preached openly

against these books and ordered his parishioners to have nothing to do with them. Fasted brought some of the books to Wayne in the presence of 'certain worshipful men of Colchester' so that he could look at them in case he had not read them. These men were probably aldermen and common councillors, and Wayne urged them to confiscate the books; they noted the titles as Fasted would not allow them to take them away. Wayne was not the only one to criticise the books; a hostile sermon was preached by Dr Thystell in the Greyfriars at Colchester.¹⁸

The curate of St Nicholas' church went further; on the third Sunday in Lent, 1535, he read a book called 'le sentence', and then and there prayed for the pope and the college of cardinals, and stated that because of certain articles in the book his parishioners could not have absolution unless they proceeded to the court at Rome. He was alleged to have said many other words against the laudable statutes of the king.¹⁹ It is significant that there was no radical reaction to these sermons and pronouncements, and the town did not split into two camps as at Bristol. The town authorities may easily have been on Wayne's side, but the curate of St Nicholas' parish clearly went too far and found himself presented for his offence in the town's session of the peace.

It is probable that the clergy's conservatism had been enhanced by the need to contain Lollardy, and five heretics were presented in the session of the peace in April, 1535. John Faley, parish clerk of St Peter's, argued that he was not bound to list his sins in detail at confession, and he was subsequently examined by Thomas Audley as well as by Bishop Stokesley. The others refused to believe in transubstantiation; John Wodcok said that 'the sacrament of the altar is made of dough, and they would make us believe that it is God in the form of bread, and so they make us believe that the moon is made of a green cheese', and Thomas Heyward alleged that, if the sacrament of the altar was God's flesh and blood, he would not be 'champed and chewed'.²⁰

In assessing the progress of the early Reformation in Colchester, the influence of Thomas Audley, Lord Chancellor from 1533 until his death in 1544, was extremely important. Audley became town clerk and a freeman of Colchester in 1514; he retained the office until 1532, and always maintained a close connection with the town. His main residence was the manor of Berechurch which he obtained from St John's abbey and kept after the Dissolution.²¹ In spite of a few expressions of criticism, as when he urged Cromwell not to dissolve St John's abbey and St Osyth's, Audley was a completely loyal servant of the Crown.²² With such a powerful figure often at hand, a man who could secure privileges for Colchester, the bailiffs would not wish to run the risk of his displeasure.

The town was hardly involved with the dissolution of the monasteries and the trial and execution of the abbot of St John's, Thomas Beche alias Marshall, although in view of the quarrels between town and abbey its dissolution was probably welcomed. Only two Colchester men were examined as to the abbot's treason, Thomas Nuthake, physician and mercer, and Robert Rouse, mercer,²³ and personal contacts between town and abbey appear to have been minimal. The bulk of the monastic land went to men such as Audley with court connections and influence; although he was disappointed in his hope of obtaining St John's abbey, he acquired the priory of St Botolph in 1536, and the house of the Crossed friars six years later.²⁴ Francis Jobson was granted the Grey friars in 1544, and John Lucas St John's abbey four years later.²⁵ There are very few examples of grants to prominent Colchester men, although Audley alienated some of his St Botolph's land to the wealthy clothier John Christmas whom he described in his will as his cousin.²⁶

The gains for the town, made with Audley's help, were more substantial, and were especially important in an age of growing population and rampant inflation when the town badly needed greater resources. It was Audley who forwarded the town's request in 1535 for the grant of Kingswood heath, which was agreed to by the Crown.²⁷ Far more important in the long term was the acquisition of chantry lands. Audley was again closely involved in 1539 when the bailiffs and burgesses were allowed to take over for the use of the town the possessions of John of Colchester's chantry in St Helen's chapel, and of the Joseph Elianore chantry in the church of St Mary at the Walls; at the same time Audley was granted the lands of the fraternity of St Helen which had been voluntarily dissolved.²⁸ Part of the proceeds from the chantries was to be used to pay the fee farm, and part to found a free school with statutes drawn up by Audley. Although he died before the statutes were finished, and the school itself had to be virtually refounded in 1584, it certainly existed

in the 1540s and 1550s, and testifies to the importance attached by the town authorities to education.²⁹ This point is occasionally reinforced in individual wills. Thomas Christmas, the wealthiest clothier in Colchester, had in 1520 combined religion and education by providing for an honest, learned and beneficed priest to pray for his and all Christian souls, and to teach grammar and other learning freely to 24 children in return for a salary of £10 a year. John Smalpece, a former bailiff who died in 1543, wanted his son to be kept at school and honestly brought up. Ten years later, William Alldust, yeoman, wanted his children to learn to read and write before they were bound apprentice.³⁰

Quite apart from these tangible gains which Audley made possible for Colchester, he played a part in the development of religious affairs in the town. When the suffragan bishopric of Colchester was established in 1536, it was Audley's steward, William More, who was the first bishop.³¹ Audley's will, with its emphasis on sermons, indicates that his influence would be exerted on the side of the new rather than the old; if there were enough money, sermons were to be preached in Lent for twelve years in the Colchester churches of which he was patron, and a pension of £1. 6. 8., previously paid to St Botolph's priory and restored to St Peter's church, was to be used for a yearly sermon on Good Friday for ever.³² The serious problems of parish poverty in Colchester were not tackled, and, unlike certain other towns such as York, there was no formal amalgamation of parishes in this period. Instead, certain livings appear to have lapsed.³³ The dissolution of St Botolph's as a parish church was certainly considered; Audley sold his tithes of St Botolph's to the church of All Saints, and this was to cause litigation in the future. He restored to parishes some small yearly pensions formerly paid to St Botolph's priory, but his prime aim was to turn the chapel of Berechurch, previously dependent on the parish of Holy Trinity, into a rectory, and this he achieved in 1536.³⁴

The sweeping changes of the 1530s were tacitly accepted in Colchester, and the bailiffs ensured that royal orders were observed. Thus, in 1543, the vicar of St Peter's, possibly John Thorpe, was presented in the leet for not preaching the Gospel of God or the statute of the king in church as he should. Two years later, Thomas Kyrkham, the rector of St Mary at the Walls, was presented for not proclaiming the royal injunctions and statutes in church four times a year.³⁵

These political aspects however only comprise one side of the Reformation picture. Were religious beliefs and practices changing at the same time? Was Colchester becoming a Protestant town? To answer these questions, the evidence of wills is crucial. Wills were not made by the poorest inhabitants, but there is a considerable social range in the surviving Colchester wills, from tradesmen and craftsmen to aldermen and bailiffs. The principal difficulty concerns the use of preambles to wills. These take three basic forms, the traditional wording bequeathing the soul to Almighty God, the Virgin Mary and all the holy company of heaven, a neutral preamble bequeathing the soul to God alone, and a Protestant form which stresses the merits of Christ's Passion in an expression of Justification by Faith. Some Colchester preambles were abbreviated by the copyist so that it is impossible to tell how they would have read originally. The main danger is that the preamble may have reflected the clerk's view rather than the testator's, and in a few cases the writer exercised his literary skill to produce a high-sounding introduction.³⁶ Yet in a town like Colchester it would have been relatively easy to find a scribe who reflected the testator's beliefs, and the preamble can therefore be taken as an indication of religious opinion. The evidence however is both more valuable and more conclusive when backed up by details of the type of bequests.

Taking the decade 1528-1537, the details provided by the wills indicate that the whole emphasis was on the traditional side; the first Protestant will is not found until 1538. Of the total sample of 48 wills, only two bequests were made to monasteries in Colchester and four to the friars. Religious life centred on the parish church, with 79% of the testators leaving a gift to the high altar to cover forgotten tithes, 46% referring to masses for the salvation of their souls, and 29% making some gift to the Church. The requiem masses were mentioned in wills with both traditional and neutral preambles, a sure sign that neutral preambles were not necessarily a sign of religious radicalism. Most of the gifts were for church repairs, but could also cover a wide range of miscellaneous items.³⁷

The fraternity most frequently mentioned is the Jesus gild in St Peter's church, gifts being made for the maintenance of the mass of Jesus. Elaborate provisions are found in the 1525 will of Robert

Northern the elder, bailiff, who wanted an honest priest to sing for his soul and his friends' souls in St Peter's church for a year at a salary of £6. 13. 4., and who left money for the Jesus mass; he was to be buried in the chapel of Jesus at St Peter's.³⁸ The reference to the 'honest priest' is often found in early sixteenth century Colchester wills, although the practice became rare after 1526. It reflects a concern with the person of the priest rather than solely with his office, and indicates a discontent with the standard of the clergy and a desire to ensure that the masses were effective. In a number of cases, the masses were to be given for all Christian souls and not just for the relatives of the testators.³⁹

It was in the 1540s that Colchester made the decisive break with the past. The economic problems of the town were becoming more serious, and attempts to solve them were closely bound up with the Reformation changes. It is unfortunate that no churchwardens' accounts survive for this period, but by 1548 Colchester churches had lost their medieval appearance; this is brought out by the details of church goods which had been sold by 1548 and the uses to which the money had been put. At St James' church for instance, the money was used for glazing, white liming and painting the church, and at St Giles' for white liming.⁴⁰

Once all chantries and obits had been abolished, a complete break was effected. By 1548, Colchester was accustomed to the dissolution of chantries and other religious foundations. Quite apart from the dissolutions of 1539, a number of other parish gilds had disappeared by 1546-8; the Henrician and Edwardian certificates make no reference to certain gilds included in the subsidy assessment of 1525.⁴¹ The hospital of St Mary Magdalen continued to exist; Thomas Gale was appointed to the hospital in 1548, and described as master on his death in 1557, when he left a brother of the hospital as his executor.⁴² The certificates of 1546-8 listed three remaining chantries, but only two were operating. Harmanson's chantry in St Leonard's church, founded by the naturalised alien Edmund Harmanson in 1502, had fallen into Audley's hands about 1543. Barwyk's chantry in St Leonard's church dated from the time of Edward IV, and was for a term of 99 years. Haynes' chantry in St Peter's church was established in the time of Richard Cawmond, and provided a priest to sing the Jesus mass, and gave eight shillings in alms for two poor men.⁴³

As in 1539, the aim of the bailiffs was to secure chantry property for the welfare of the town; there was apparently no concern that with the abolition of chantries some parish churches would be much poorer than before, and therefore still less able to attract well qualified and resident incumbents. Although the bailiffs failed to acquire the Harmanson chantry,⁴⁴ they were granted most of the possessions of Haynes' and Barwyk's chantries in November, 1550, in return for a payment of £284.5., the purpose being the better maintenance of the port of Colchester, and the erection of a water-mill or mills on the River Colne at The Hythe. The borough however could not meet its debt to the Crown, and it was particularly unfortunate that two of the men who had guaranteed payment died shortly after the purchase. Therefore within two months, in January 1551, the property was sold for £120 to three wealthy Colchester men who all held office in the town - the mercers Robert Leche, bailiff in 1549-50, and John Byrde, chamberlain in 1551-2, and the draper Robert Middleton, chamberlain in 1550-1. In addition, these three men were to pay the original purchase price of £284.5. to the Crown.⁴⁵ The bailiffs were thus unable to use chantry property to alleviate the economic problems of the town. The worsening situation is mirrored not only by the number of bequests to the poor, but by the town's institution of a poor rate in 1557.⁴⁶

The years 1538-53 saw major changes taking place in religious outlook, although as yet Protestant tenets were only held by a small number of people. For the last decade of Henry VIII's reign, 1538-47, 68 wills survive. 57% still used the traditional preamble, and 15% the neutral form; the new feature was the 10% of wills with a Protestant introduction. Taking the wills as a whole, the most remarkable development is the decline in the number of bequests to the parish church, 60% leaving money to the high altar for tithes forgotten, and only 18% making a gift to the Church. Even more noteworthy was the way in which bequests for requiem masses had dropped, only 10% providing for this, although some testators asked for prayers rather than formal masses.⁴⁷

Even before the Edwardian Injunctions and the Act for the Dissolution of the Chantries of 1547 had poured scorn on the idea of requiem masses, Colchester testators were clearly unconvinced of their use. These religious trends continued in Edward VI's reign, although unfortunately only

sixteen wills survive for the years 1548-53. Fourteen of the preambles were neutral, two Protestant.⁴⁸ No gifts at all were made to the parish church, nor to the high altar for tithes forgotten; in 1551, however, John Stone, clothier and alderman, asked for prayers from the poor.⁴⁹ There was a marked increase in the number of bequests to the poor; 26% of the wills between 1538 and 1547 made such provision, as against 15% between 1528 and 1537, and 38% between 1548 and 1553. There is no proof that the increase was linked to the growth of Protestantism; rather is it to be explained by the problem of inflation and the difficulties in the cloth industry.

The evidence of wills for 1538-53 shows conclusively that old practices were ceasing, and that the parish church was no longer playing as important a role in people's lives as in the early sixteenth century. Many people in Colchester had jettisoned the old practices, but were not yet adopting the new doctrines about which they probably heard through their trading contacts. This was partly due to the length of time it would take men and women to become used to the new ideas, and partly to the atmosphere of uncertainty as to which religious settlement would in the long run prove permanent. The influence of the English Bible was possibly vital, but cannot be documented for Colchester. Preaching was very important for the spread of Protestant ideas, and references to sermons became more frequent in wills, although by no means common. John Clere, the Protestant clothier and alderman, in 1538 provided for five sermons in the church of St James to be preached 'by the most discreetest, wisest and best learned men' to the praise of God and to the true setting forth of His Word.⁵⁰ Other bequests were less lavish; Richard Colbronde, for instance, in 1540 left 6s 8d to the parson of St Leonard's 'to make out a sermon in setting out the glory of God and the honour of our most noble prince'.⁵¹ This parson was probably the same man who was examined under the Act of Six Articles in 1546, and he may have been the first Protestant minister in Colchester; he was possibly William Wright who was appointed by Audley in 1539, and is referred to in wills in 1541, 1543 and 1544.⁵²

Apart from John Clere's will in 1538, no testament with a Protestant preamble survives before 1545. It would appear that it was not until the very end of Henry VIII's reign and after the death of Audley that testators felt free to give a Protestant preamble. Of most of these testators very little is known, but it is likely that they were mainly craftsmen and shopkeepers, prosperous enough to make a will, but lacking great riches or status. The evidence of wills, together with that of the men examined in 1546 under the Act of Six Articles, and the material for Mary's reign, indicates that it was this social group which provided the nucleus of committed Protestants in Colchester.

With only a small number of Protestant wills existing between 1538 and 1553, it is obviously hazardous to generalize that either the town or any particular group of inhabitants was Protestant. As yet, radical influence was not exerted by aliens from the Low Countries; 53 aliens were resident in Colchester in 1551, but mostly remained only for a short time.⁵³ Some Flemings settled and achieved prosperity, but their religious beliefs were likely to be traditional. James Godfrey from Gelderland became a beer brewer in St. Leonard's parish; his will of 1540 had a traditional preamble, and his son was urged to use his unbequeathed goods to the pleasure of God and the consolation of his soul.⁵⁴

Moreover, it cannot be assumed that those involved in the cloth industry were radical in their beliefs. Most evidence is available for the clothiers, and this can be considered along with the material on the bailiffs who often followed this occupation. Ten bailiff wills survive for the period 1529-47; wills of men who held office in these years and died later have not been considered, as with subsequent religious changes their views might easily have changed. Of the ten preambles, two are Protestant, six traditional, one neutral and one incomplete. In the next decade, three bailiff wills exist, two with neutral preambles and one incomplete. To these can be added the 1555 will of John Byrde, mercer, chamberlain in 1551-2, and one of the purchasers of the chantry lands; his will had the full Protestant preamble and as his youngest daughter was called Mercy it is likely that he was a committed Protestant himself.⁵⁵

These wills show considerable variety and a strong element of caution in outlook. The will of John Clere, clothier, of 1538 had a Protestant preamble, and he left money for sermons, highways, and the poor; he is likely to have been a Protestant for, although his executors were urged to perform deeds of charity in the event of the death of his children, no reference was made to these being for the salvation

of John's soul. There may have been a connection between John Clere and the Lollards as the Clere and Beste families were related. It cannot be assumed, however, that a whole family would have the same beliefs; John Clere's eldest son John died in 1539 leaving a will in the traditional form.⁵⁶

William Buxston, mercer, was mainly concerned with leaving the bulk of his goods and property to his bastard daughter, Margaret. His will indicates a mixture of old and new beliefs, and in this he may have been typical of many Colchester inhabitants; the will has a Protestant preamble, but the residue of his goods was to be used for deeds of charity for the benefit of his and all Christian souls.⁵⁷ Only one bailiff, William Becket, clothmaker, specified requiem masses, leaving ten shillings to the Greyfriars in 1538 to sing a trental for his soul.⁵⁸ It would appear that many of the Colchester bailiffs were dissatisfied with the old religious tenets; they would have had enough money to endow requiem masses had they wished. At the same time, very few were ready to embrace Protestantism.

Whatever their beliefs, the bailiffs were united on the need to obey royal policy and preserve law and order in the town. Under both Edward VI and Mary, the actions of the bailiffs were the subject of close government scrutiny. As radical groups emerged, they were quickly suppressed by the lay and ecclesiastical authorities, religious extremism being regarded as conducive to disorder. General supervision of the religious and moral state of the town was exercised by both archdeacons and bailiffs. Thus the archdeaconry act book of 1540-2 and the town court rolls of 1550-1 and 1551-2 all refer to illicit activities in the time of divine service. According to the archdeaconry book, half of the 160 houseling people in St Giles parish failed to come to church on Sundays and Holy Days. The parish clergy were watched carefully by the town authorities. Under Mary, the leet continued to make presentments of those who worked on Sunday, opened their shops on Sundays and feast days, and did not attend Church.⁵⁹

Heretics were dealt with promptly, and this was essential since they could move freely and rapidly from place to place. In 1541, the bailiffs dealt with Matthew Estwood who said 'maliciously and publicly, "I will do no more reverence to the Cross made in the similitude of the Cross of Christ than I would do to the bathhouse"'.⁶⁰ In 1546, at least five Colchester men were examined under the Act of Six Articles. For the first time a parish priest came under suspicion when the parson of St Leonard's, possibly William Wright, was examined and dismissed on bond to reappear when summoned. John Hadlam, tailor, 'standing to his own ignorant sense', was remanded and sent to Newgate. Three others, John Damesell, Robert Smythe, and William Harvyne were discharged, but warned to watch their talk in future. Robert Smythe may have been a clothier, and John Damesell was a member of the Common Council in 1548.⁶¹ In view of the date when these men were accused, it is possible that they were Protestants rather than Lollards.

Bearing in mind the bailiffs' fear of disorder and of resistance to the royal power, it was to be expected that Colchester would declare for Mary on her accession and co-operate with the Privy Council in dealing with any of her opponents.⁶² Welcoming Mary as legitimate queen could not however put the clock back in religious terms and reverse the developments of the 1540s. Although the number of committed Protestants appears to have been small even in 1553, they were on the increase, and there are few signs that Colchester men wanted to return to the situation of the 1530s. The rector of the parish of St Mary at the Walls was deprived of his living.⁶³ A few of the leading men may have favoured the restoration of Roman Catholicism; Robert Maynard, clothier, and bailiff in 1552-3 and 1556-7, was described by Foxe as 'a special enemy to God's Gospel'.⁶⁴ Of greater significance was the summoning before the Privy Council in 1555 of the butcher and bailiff, Thomas Dibney, because of complaints of his evil behaviour in matters of religion; this was the first time that a bailiff is known to have opposed the Crown's religious policy. He may have been related to Joan Dibney, accused of not attending Church in 1556, and to Margaret Dibney, a widow from Colchester, who settled at Aarau in Switzerland in 1557 with her two children.⁶⁵

Forty-three wills survive for the calendar years 1554-8, a larger sample than for Edward VI's reign, probably because of the influenza epidemic of 1557. 68% of the preambles were neutral, and the 16% figure for the traditional preambles is not much greater than the 9% which adhered to the Protestant form. The proportion of wills leaving gifts to the poor remained fairly high at 30%, but only one will left a gift to the high altar, and one alone made a gift to the Church. One single testator,

William Wyseman, shearman, in 1557 referred to prayers for the soul, but by the poor and not by a priest.⁶⁶ No reference has been found to any requiem masses. Quite clearly, the old practices had gone for good. In this respect, Colchester was markedly more radical than many other towns, such as Chichester and Lewes, where the number of requiem masses increased under Mary. Apart from Thomas Gale, master of the hospital of St Mary Magdalen, whose will of 1557 ingeniously combined Protestant and Roman Catholic tenets, the other five testators of Mary's reign who were probably Protestants were mainly craftsmen and shopkeepers. Four left wills with Protestant preambles, of whom John Byrde was a mercer, Arthur Stanton a clothier but by no means one of the wealthiest, John Gylder a butcher, and Margaret Saunderson a widow; in addition, Robert Fawkon, yeoman, was probably Protestant, as his daughters were named Grace and Faith.⁶⁷ This evidence from wills corroborates the court roll of 1556 where several of the fugitive heretics were traders and craftsmen.⁶⁸ The same picture emerges among the Marian martyrs where occupations such as apothecary, weaver, glazier, tallowchandler, currier, mariner and mercer were mentioned.⁶⁹ It is likely that most of the Colchester Protestants were in this social group rather than among the very rich or very poor. The evidence shows, however, that they still formed a minority in the town.

From the bailiffs' point of view in the 1550s, the most urgent problem was the growth of extreme Protestant groups, regarded as a threat by all those in authority whatever their religious persuasion. Most dangerous in contemporary eyes were the Anabaptists. As early as 1549, Thomas Putto, tanner, recanted his heresy at St Paul's cathedral.⁷⁰ In 1554, the Privy Council was ordering the punishment of those at Colchester who were trying to persuade the people not to attend divine service.⁷¹ That the bailiffs took the question of Putto and his associates very seriously is made clear in the leet and the session of the peace held on 27 April, 1556. The leet was held not only before the bailiffs but before eight of the ten aldermen, four of them being justices of the peace. The leet investigated parishes in Headward, listing those who had not received communion that Easter and did not go to church; it is not clear why there was not a complete investigation of the town. Six persons were listed, five of them women, a point which lends weight to the opinion of Kingston, commissary of the bishop of London in Essex, that men should bring their wives to church. Otherwise, it was stated, the parishes of Holy Trinity, St Nicholas and St Runwald were obedient to the laws of the Catholic Church and of the king and queen.⁷²

The session of the peace on the same day was held as usual by the two bailiffs, four justices of the peace, and afforced by two aldermen, Robert Browne and Robert Maynard, and by Jerome Gilberd, lawyer and gentleman, who was not at this time holding office in the town. One at least of these men, Thomas Dibney, probably had Protestant sympathies, but, like all the bailiffs, would be ready to counter any threat to disorder; Robert Maynard was alleged by Foxe to go to sleep on the Bench.⁷³ Thomas Putto was presented along with twenty or more unknown malefactors for meeting in force and arms on Saturday, 10 November, 1554, at Mile End and in Colchester in unlawful conventicles. Putto by this time was probably in prison. He was alleged to be a heretical preacher who taught many to resist the Crown and the Catholic Church, to the harm of the Christian faith. The jury then proceeded to give a list of obstinate and fugitive heretics - eight men and nine women - of whom Joan Dibney and Robert Serle, haberdasher, had been previously accused of absence from church. The list was headed by Thomas Putto, and ended with Ellen Ewring, later burnt at the stake. The men were mainly craftsmen; the occupations of tanner, haberdasher, baker, tallowchandler, barber, carrier, twillweaver, saddler and shearman were mentioned or occur in Colchester deeds, and two at least of the men were freemen, namely Nicholas Payne and John Storey.

What proved to be an insoluble problem for the town authorities was the way in which Protestants resorted to Colchester from the town's hinterland and from London, and fostered Protestant beliefs in the whole Colchester area. It is significant that Anthony Browne, who was to become Chief Justice of Common Pleas, is alleged to have said, 'This town is a harbourer of all heretics and ever was.' Browne is described as playing the devil at Colchester, together with Cosin, innholder of the White Hart, and Jerome Gilberd the lawyer, ordering the town officials to search in every house for strangers and bring them before the justices, and having a jury sworn to declare the names of all those suspected of heresy.⁷⁴ Protestants were attracted to the town not simply because there were fellow-believers there

who would shelter them, but because of its focal position, making it easy to move into another county or diocese or to go overseas. Moreover, the heathland round Colchester made good hiding-places for refugees. The hedge-preacher and distributor of Protestant literature, George Eagles alias Trudgeover, was arrested in July, 1557, after he had been seen at Colchester fair on St Mary Magdalen day; he had been especially active in and around Colchester and was subsequently executed for high treason.⁷⁵

Within Colchester, the King's Head was a centre for heretics, and three preachers of Edward VI's time were said to resort there.⁷⁶ Moreover, the Anabaptist group, the Family of Love, is found in the town under Mary; Christopher Vitell, joiner, is said to have brought these doctrines to England when he came from Delft to Colchester. The confession of Henry Orinel of Willingham, Cambridgeshire, shows conclusively how important was Colchester as a centre for Protestant strangers under Mary. He explains how about 1555 he came to an inn in the town and met many acquaintances and strangers who had come to discuss religious matters. He found Vitell's opinions strange and scarcely sound so that at one time he was minded to go to Oxford to ask for Ridley's and Latimer's advice. His account points to lively religious debate in the Colchester inn.⁷⁷

Therefore under Mary the town had its own group of Protestants who could be both extremist and vociferous, most of whom were craftsmen and shopkeepers. More important, Colchester was being visited by Protestants from London and the surrounding area, and also from the Low Countries. The majority of Colchester inhabitants conformed, as before, to the religious situation, and, judging from the wills, a number of Protestants were not accused of heresy. It was probably the more vocal members of the group who were put to death. It is difficult to make an exact count of the number of Colchester martyrs, as their place of residence is not always specified. Four Colchester men and one woman were burnt at Smithfield and Stratford in 1556. Of the 22 prisoners from the Colchester area sent up to London in August of that year, six are known to have been from the town; many of these were given an easy submission but were later retaken. Foxe lists ten martyrs at Colchester examined by the Church in October, 1556, and re-examined in the presence of the bailiffs the following June; at least three men and five women were from Colchester, one of them dying in Colchester castle and the rest burnt.⁷⁸

What is clear from Foxe's accounts is that the burnings provoked intense hostility within the town. This probably stemmed from earlier anticlericalism as well as opposition to the sheer extent of the Marian attack on heresy, and confirmed Colchester's inhabitants in their refusal to revert to traditional practices. Crowds turned out as heretics went to the stake. John Kingston complained to Bishop Bonner in the summer of 1556 that it took him 2½ hours to take 23 men and women arrested round Colchester the short distance between St Katherine's chapel and the castle; he wanted Bonner to order the bailiff, George Sayer, to give him armed help, and have the town clerk present to note down the names of 'the most busy persons'.⁷⁹ Thomas Tye, priest, wrote to Bonner, 'The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester. The ministers of the Church are hemmed at in the open streets, and called knaves. The blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed upon in every alehouse and tavern. Prayer and fasting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife...'⁸⁰

The years 1528-1558, with their frequent changes in religious settlements, mark a period of uncertainty during which the majority of Colchester's inhabitants found that the safest thing to do was to conform. From the 1540s, however, Colchester had a group of Protestants which, though small, was increasing in size. This decade marks the crucial period for religious change in the town, as it was the time when Colchester got rid of the old practices for good, and the situation could not be reversed under Mary. Colchester had abandoned traditional religion but had not yet adopted Protestantism. It was too short a time for more than a minority to assimilate the new ideas and become Protestant; the small radical groups were a portent of future developments. It was not until the longer reign and more stable situation under Elizabeth that Colchester could become a Protestant town.

Appendix Will Preambles, 1528 – 1558

year	Number of wills	Preamble		
		Traditional	Neutral	Protestant
1528	4	3	1	
1529	4	3	1	
1530	5	4		
1531	4	4		
1532	3	3		
1533	9	8	1	
1534	4	2		
1535	4	1	1	
1536	6	3		
1537	5	1	2	
1538	5	2		1
1539	6	3	3	
1540	15	11	2	
1541	7	3	2	
1542	5	4		
1543	8	6		
1544	4	3	1	
1545	7	4		2
1546	9	3	1	4
1547	2		1	
1548	2		1	
1549	2		1	1
1550	5		6	
1551	4		4	
1552	0			
1553	3		2	1
1554	4		4	
1555	7	1	3	1
1556	10	1	8	1
1557	15	5	8	2
1558	8		7	

1. One will of 1550 survives in two copies, with two different neutral preambles. Not all wills have a complete preamble; hence in some years there is a discrepancy between the number of surviving wills and the total number of preambles.

Notes

1. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ed J. Caley and J. Hunter (Record Commission, 1810), i, 443. Cf. Public Record Office (Subsequently P.R.O.), E.301/20, no. 56, m.5 and 6, and E.301/19, no. 29. chantry certificates for 1546 and 1548, where there are certain differences in the values.
2. Essex Record Office (Subsequently E.R.O.), D/ACA 1, f.90. P.R.O. E.301/19, no. 29.
3. P.R.O. E.301/19, no. 29. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1549-51* (1925), 203. E.R.O. D/ACR 5, f.100.
4. J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses. The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1892), 879.
5. R. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1708-10), ii, 179. C.H. Cooper and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1858), i, 530. J. Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922), part 1, i, 311. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 27 Hogen. E.R.O. D/ACR 2, ff. 191, 192, 243, 263, 266. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, part 2 (1872), no. 4545.
6. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, part 2 (1872), nos. 3267, 4029, 4175, 4218, 4242, 4254, 4545. J. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. G. Townsend and S.R. Cattley (London, 1837-41), iv, 585-6.
7. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, part 2 (1872), no. 4029.
8. Ibid. no. 4030. A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964), 28-9.

9. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, part 2 (1872), no. 4218.
10. *Ibid.* nos. 4029, 4175.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.* nos. 4029, 4175, 4545. E.R.O. D/ACR 2, f.228.
13. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, part 2 (1872), no. 4029.
14. For the names of the bailiffs, see *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1907). P.R.O. E.179/108/162, m.1; E.179/108/169, m.1. *The Red Paper Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1902), 29-31, 166. W.T. Whitley, 'Thomas Matthew of Colchester and Matthew's Bible of 1537,' *Essex Review*, xliii (1934), 1-6; Thomas' death in 1534 nullifies Whitley's thesis that he was responsible for Matthew's Bible. E.R.O. D/ABW 25/35.
15. P.R.O. Prob.11, 2 Martyn; F.G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Wills of Essex Gentry ad Merchants* (Chelmsford, 1978), 273-4. E.R.O. D/ABW 4/140; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, part 2 (1872), no. 4545. E.R.O. D/ACR 2, f.228.
16. Whitley, *op. cit.* 6.
17. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 27 Hogen. E.R.O. D/ABW 31/24. John Reynolde was probably the curate for the rector, Robert Harvey, who was also rector of St Mildred Poultry, London; Newcourt, *op. cit.* i,502; ii, 173.
18. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vii (1883), no. 406. G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police* (Cambridge, 1972), 151, 209.
19. Colchester Court Rolls, 26 and 27 Henry VIII, roll 3; it is not clear what the book called 'le sentence' was. The Colchester court rolls are in the borough archives in Colchester castle.
20. *Ibid. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xiv, part 1 (1894), no. 1001; the dating of the document is discussed by Elton, *op. cit.* 152.
21. Colchester Court Rolls, 6 and 7 Henry VIII, roll 1. P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of Colchester* (Chelmsford, 1815), 138.
22. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xiii, part 2 (1893), no. 306.
23. *Ibid.* xiv, part 2 (1896), nos. 454, 458. J.E. Paul, 'The last Abbots of Reading and Colchester,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxiii (1960), 115-21.
24. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, x (1887), g.1015 (29); *ibid.* xiv, part 2 (1896), no. 775; *ibid.* xvii (1900), g. 285 (2).
25. *Ibid.* xix, part 1 (1903), g.1035(73); *ibid.* xx, part 1 (1906), g.621(5); *ibid.* xxi, part 1, g.1537(35). *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1548-9* (1924), 86.
26. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xi (1888), g.519(9). P.R.O. Prob. 11, F.1 Alen.
27. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, viii (1885), no. 262 and g.481(6).
28. *Ibid.* xiv, part 2 (1896), g.619(31). J.H. Round, *St. Helen's Chapel, Colchester* (London, 1887), 1-19.
29. *Victoria County History, Essex*, ii (1907), 502.
30. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 28 Ayliffe. E.R.O. D/ABW 33/105; Colchester Court Rolls, 34 and 35 Henry VIII, roll 12. E.R.O. D/ABW 1/90.
31. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xi (1888), no. 465, g.519(19). More died in 1541, and no further bishop was appointed until 1592.
32. P.R.O. Prob. 11, F.1 Alen.
33. Newcourt, *op. cit.* ii, 176-7, 180.
34. P.R.O. Prob. 11, F.1 Alen. P.R.O. C.1/1151/43-4. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xi (1888), g.385(1), no. 519 (6, 8, 9, 14); *ibid.* xvi (1898), g.107(8); *ibid.* xix, part 1 (1903), no. 503. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1550-3* (1926), 431. Newcourt, *op. cit.* ii, 163, 165-6, 181-2.
35. Colchester Court Rolls, 35 and 36 Henry VIII, roll 2. *Ibid.* 36 and 37 Henry VIII, roll 2. Newcourt, *op. cit.* ii, 175, 179.
36. E.g. E.R.O. D/ACR 4, ff.80, 204; D/ABW 25/46.
37. E.g. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 27 Hogen.
38. E.R.O. D/ACR 2, f.190.
39. P. Janelle, *L'Angleterre Catholique à la Veille du Schisme* (Paris, 1935), 33-6. E.R.O. D/ACR 2, ff.227-8, 239-40, 257; D/ACR 3, f.100.
40. E.P. Dickin, 'The Embezzled Church Goods of Essex', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s. xiii (1915), 165, 167.
41. P.R.O. E.179/108/169, m.1, 4, 5, refers to the guilds of St Anne and St James in St James' parish, the guild of St Barbara in St. Peter's parish, and the guild of St John the Baptist in St Runwald's parish.
42. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter (Record Commission, 1810), i, 443. P.R.O. E.301/20, no. 56, m. 7. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1547-8* (1924), 356. E.R.O. D/ABW 16/128.
43. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter (Record Commission, 1810), i, 443. P.R.O. E.301/19, no. 29; E.301/20, no. 56, m.5, 6. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 8 Blanyr.
44. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1549-51* (1925), 219.
45. *Ibid.* 420-1. Colchester Court Rolls, 5 and 6 Edward VI, rolls 5, 17-19.
46. P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of Colchester* (Chelmsford, 1815), 180.
47. E.g. E.R.O. D/ABW 39/51.
48. E.R.O. D/ABW 25/85; the will of Richard Martyn survives in two copies with two different neutral preambles.
49. E.R.O. D/ABW 33/199.
50. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 25 Dyngley.
51. E.R.O. D/ACR 4, f.82; if no sermon was delivered, the money was to be distributed among the poor. Cf. E.R.O. D/ABW 33/126.

52. Newcourt, *op. cit.* ii, 173. E.R.O. D/ACR 4, ff.111, 251; D/ABW 8/83.
53. *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, ed. W.J.C. Moens (Huguenot Society of London, xii, 1905), p.i.
54. E.R.O. D/ACR 4, f.98
55. E.R.O. D/ABW 4/48.
56. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 25 Dyngeley; Prob. 11, 14 Crumwell; Prob. 11, 2 Martyn. Emmison, *op. cit.* 273- 4.
57. E.R.O. D/ACR 3, f.120.
58. E.R.O. D/ABW 3/59.
59. E.R.O. D/ACA 1, f.90. *The Red Paper Book of Colchester*, ed W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1902), 140. Colchester Court Rolls, 35 and 36 Henry VIII, roll 2; *ibid.* 4 and 5 Edward VI, roll 8; *ibid.* 5 and 6 Edward VI, rolls 2 and 23; *ibid.* 1 and 2 Mary and 1 Philip and Mary, roll 2; *ibid.* 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, roll 11; *ibid.* 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, roll 3.
60. Colchester Court Rolls, 33 and 34 Henry VIII, roll 3.
61. See above, p.89. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xxi, part 1 (1908), nos. 1119, 1180, 1204, 1302. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1542-7* (1890), 464, 475, 485-6. *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1907), 166. *The Red Paper Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1902), 133, 136.
62. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1552-4* (1892), 304, 311, 313, 317, 323, 418.
63. Newcourt, *op. cit.* ii, 175.
64. J. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. G. Townsend and S.R. Cattle (London, 1837-41), viii, 387.
65. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1554-6* (1892), 137. Colchester Court Rolls, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, roll 4. W.G. Benham, 'Twelve Colchester Persons indicted as heresy in 1566,' *Essex Review*, 1 (1941), 158. The date should read 1556.
66. J.E. Oxley, *The Reformation in Essex* (Manchester, 1965), 204.
67. E.R.O. D/ABW 33/313; D/ABW 8/245; D/ABW 39/198.
68. E.R.O. D/ABW 4/48; D/ABW 14/77; D/ABW 16/124, 128; D/ABW 33/275, 334.
69. Colchester Court Rolls, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, roll 4.
70. Foxe, *op. cit.* viii, 138-40, 306-7, 386-7.
71. *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. J.G. Nichols (Camden Soc. 1st series, liii, 1852), 58-9. *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, ed. J.G. Nichols (Camden Soc. 1st series, lxxvii, 1859), 295.
72. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1552-4* (1892), 395.
73. Colchester Court Rolls, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, roll 4. W.G. Benham, 'Twelve Colchester Persons indicted as heresy in 1566,' *Essex Review*, 1 (1941), 157-62; the date should read 1556. Benham's list of fugitive heretics is incomplete, and the names of Nicholas Payne, barber, and Joan wife of Thomas Hawkes, spinster, need to be added. Foxe, *op. cit.* viii, 306.
74. Foxe, *op. cit.* viii, 390.
75. *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, ed. J.G. Nichols (Camden Soc. 1st series, lxxvii, 1859), 212.
76. Foxe, *op. cit.* viii, 393-7. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1556-8* (1893), 129-31.
77. Foxe, *op. cit.* viii, 384. A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964), 274-5.
78. E.B. Bax, *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists* (London, 1903), 360. J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (Oxford, 1824), ii, part 2, 284-6. M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), 246-7; Henry Orinel is often referred to as Henry Crinel, but Spufford points out that there are no Crinels in the Willingham parish register, but numerous Orinels.
79. Foxe, *op. cit.* viii, 138-40, 151-6, 303-10, 381-93. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1556-8* (1893), 18-19.
80. Foxe, *op. cit.* vi, 740; viii, 304-6. The chapel was probably St Helen's, in Maidenburgh Street, which was dedicated to St Katherine and St Helen in 1239; J.H. Round, *St Helen's Chapel, Colchester* (London, 1887), 1, 11.
81. Foxe, *op. cit.* viii, 383. Thomas Tye was parish priest at Great Bentley.

Towards a 'Perfect Militia', Warwick, Buckingham and The Essex Alarum of 1625

by B. W. QUINTRELL

In the autumn of 1625, after an interval of more than twenty years, England hesitantly resumed an aggressive foreign policy. She did so without enthusiasm, after the unanimity of approach which had marked the parliament of 1624 had crumbled in the face of political and diplomatic pressures. Foreign policy was very much in the hands of the Duke of Buckingham and, although it enjoyed the full support of the new king, Charles I, was hedged about with hazards. The king's exchequer had the funds neither to pay for a war nor for the stiffening of the home defences which necessarily went with it. The precise nature of the intended intervention emerged only very late in the day. This lack of openness about objectives had already combined with the Commons' mounting suspicions about the extent of Buckingham's power and the limits to his competence to produce only niggardly financial support for the undertaking. During the fruitless second session of the parliament of 1625, convened at Oxford, Sir Edward Coke had trenchantly suggested that, although the Commons were reluctant to finance Buckingham's activities, the country at large might be prepared to support the king himself by means of a privy seal loan. There were however others, like Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick, who retained their hopes of prospering through the Duke's favour, and who saw a welcome opportunity for advancement in the preparations for war and for defence.¹

Despite Buckingham's reluctance to reveal the full extent of his plans, it was clear that the humiliation of Charles's sister Elizabeth in the Palatinate and the diplomatic failure of his own visit to Spain with Charles in 1623 remained to be avenged. All summer a fleet had been clumsily gathering at Plymouth and, providing it could be prepared before winter, suggested that some sort of attack on the Spanish coast was likely. At the same time, the preparations at Plymouth were accompanied by signs of closer attention to domestic defences, especially from secretary of state Conway and Sir John Coke, who became his fellow secretary in September 1625; with the earls of Carlisle and Holland, they stood particularly close to Buckingham in foreign policy. Late in James's reign Conway had produced a new drill manual, based on the best Low Country practices, for the English trained bands.² As the Oxford session ended, Charles once more recommended the use of the manual and formally announced his intention of 'putting the trayned Bands into such a readines and establishing such a Militia at home as may give lyfe and safetie and courage to our Subjects, and terror to those that may intend any disturbance or innovation.' A few months later he was to speak of 'settling ... a perfect Militia' which would be 'the sure and constant Bulwark and defence of this Kingdom.'³ Meanwhile Sir John Coke and others became increasingly concerned about the disrepair of the coastal defences.

There was however little that the king's government could immediately do to make even a 'hopeful beginning.'⁴ The implications of the untidy ending of the Oxford parliament, the concentration of attention on the fleet at Plymouth and a severe outbreak of plague in London all served to emphasise the structural weaknesses and the political uncertainty which afflicted English government. For several months Court and Council were on the move, and sometimes scattered. 'The leavyng of the last Parliament sowed all Things, and the continual Journynge admits not the ordering of any Thing' conceded Conway.⁵ Political circumstances also contributed to the sense of dislocation. If the king and Buckingham went ahead with the privy seal loan, as Sir Edward Coke had suggested, in their urgent need for funds, its chances of success were bound to be compromised by the simultaneous

collection of the two subsidies which the 1625 parliament had cautiously granted in its first session. If the fleet was sent out against Spain, then it followed that the relaxation of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, on which the French had insisted as part of Charles's recent marriage treaty, would be abruptly replaced by a period of renewed stringency.⁶ Buckingham was said to carry 'all Business in his Brest' and, Conway apart, 'not one grave man' had his ear.⁷ The Privy Council that summer had a more than usually tenuous grasp on affairs of state. Conway himself, for speed or convenience, several times sent out warrants without the usual full formal authorisation, stirring in recipients further doubts about Buckingham's overbearing ways.⁸ Such a government was hardly in a position to display a capacity for improving the militia intrinsically superior to that which it had shown in James I's reign, even if a 'comprehensive plan of military reform' had been in its collective mind.⁹ But the immediate needs of the war effort demanded that, thin though finances were, something should be done; and out of that hastily contrived remedial activity came an initiative which seems to have caught Buckingham's eye and, having been translated onto a national plane, made a genuine contribution to the reform of the English militia.

Sir John Coke's attention to coastal defence was made more urgent by reports of heightened Spanish activity in the Flanders ports, raising the possibility that their general, Spinola, might make some kind of diversionary attack or even attempt a landing in order to delay the final preparations of the English fleet. That part of the English seaboard across the water from the Spanish Netherlands and the port of Dunkirk appeared especially vulnerable.¹⁰ As Coke took stock late that summer, it was clear that Harwich was in a particularly bad way. 'All the ordnance is dismounted, the platforms decayed and the forts abandoned,' he told Buckingham on 25 August. Even the beacon had fallen down. He wanted a commander and trained soldiers to be sent there, 'the rather because the varie noise of arming and training may be some meanes of hindering the enimies attempts.' On 31 August Conway reported that someone had been sent.¹¹ That same day William Trumbull, the veteran English agent at Brussels, gave some substance to the rumours in one of his last messages before his recall. In pressing terms he reported that he had heard that twenty five ships and two hundred frigates were gathered at Dunkirk, preparing to carry five thousand of Spinola's 'land men' over for an attack on the Essex coast. Harwich seemed the most likely target 'as a place of best Commodity for them and of greatest consequence to our Country and his Majesties service.'¹² Prudently, the mayor and townsmen there had already petitioned the Council for the restoration of their defences 'heeretofore erected and maintayned by the Crowne (as they alledge.)'¹³

Trumbull sent his warning both into Essex and to the Court, then near Southampton. The copy for Essex he sent 'in more than post haste' to Warwick at Leez, on the assumption that he was lord lieutenant of the county. But although by substance, standing in Essex and range of interests, Warwick must have seemed to Trumbull the obvious choice for the office, he had acquired by 1625 no more connection with the lieutenancy than his less-Courtly father had ever done. The lord lieutenant of Essex was Robert Radcliffe, 5th Earl of Sussex, who had held the post continuously since 1603. He remained so even though he had no home in the county after his sale of New Hall in Boreham to Buckingham in 1622. There had been speculation then that Buckingham might dispossess him of the lieutenancy; but he had not done so, perhaps because he had little personal interest in local office, however exalted.¹⁴ Sussex's long absences and indifference to his responsibilities, quite apart from his odd private life, had severely strained his relationship with the small group of senior gentry who served as his deputies. For some days Sussex, then at Attleborough in Norfolk, was to remain in ignorance of Trumbull's report, and was destined to play only marginally less insignificant a part than in most other Essex lieutenancy matters.

The immediate beneficiary was Warwick. Although he had not been at Leez when Trumbull's message arrived on 29 August, his kinsman Sir Nathaniel Rich had taken it at once to the nearest deputy lieutenant William Lord Maynard, and he had sent immediately to Conway for instructions. By then, and probably even before Trumbull's warning direct to the Court had arrived, the Council had ordered the Essex lieutenants to send a regiment to the coast as a precautionary measure; two days later, on 30 August, it trebled its demand to 3,000 men. The force was to come entirely from the county's trained bands; and it was to remain on duty at Harwich until released by the Council.

Warwick himself was urgently summoned to Court by a letter signed by Buckingham, Carlisle, Holland and Conway on 30 August, for 'some special reasons knowne to us, much importing his Majesties service.'¹⁵ This was an opportunity Warwick could not afford to pass up. For some years he had been intent on establishing himself at Court, as by rather different means had his younger brother Henry Rich, 1st Earl of Holland. For all his lack of political weight, Holland had as a compliant assistant of Buckingham recently become a Privy Councillor; but Warwick had so far enjoyed more of the social and ceremonial pleasures of Court life than the material rewards of office. Nor had he acquired much by way of official responsibility in Essex. He had become a J.P. in 1617, but he was not *custos rotulorum*. Buckingham had made him vice-admiral for the whole Essex coast, and not just for part of it, in 1620; but while the office held out some prospect of closer ties with the three parliamentary boroughs, it was the lord lieutenancy which most interested him. In August 1625 he stood well with the Duke. Although an upset stomach kept him away from the Oxford session, Sir Nathaniel Rich in the Commons had done his best to provide a moderating influence on Buckingham's behalf. And although Charles I was himself a high churchman, the Duke had reasons of his own for maintaining, for the time being at least, political links with the more zealous Calvinists at and around the Court; like him, they were anti-Spanish and, he believed, might help him isolate his critics.¹⁶

When Warwick got to Court, he was quickly given charge of the three regiments to be garrisoned at Harwich and made responsible for improving coastal defences. He was warned that secretary Conway was too busy to be able to help him much, and that he should use his own initiative. The king's instructions emphasised his standing in Essex, and were largely framed in words which he, or Holland, might have chosen. The king had 'the rather made Choyce of you (besides our assured fidelitie in you and your habilitie to discharge the trust Committed to you) for the opinion wee have that your interest in those partes and the estimation had of you by the people there, will the better move them to Conceive of our Care for the protection of them and Contribute not only their willinge defence of those places and maintenance of them selves in this action.'¹⁷ In a detailed memorandum drawn up at this time, Warwick put at the top of his list 'a Commission of Leiftenancy', almost certainly for himself alone. But when a revised commission was in due course issued on 10 September, it was directed jointly to Warwick and Sussex. Meanwhile, with Sussex still ignorant about the turn of events, Warwick rode hard from Court for Harwich on 2 September, hurting his shoulder when his horse fell towards the end of the 120 mile journey.¹⁸

The main responsibility for getting the bands to Harwich and for providing the facilities and equipment they needed fell on Maynard and four other deputy lieutenants. They had to see that the troops were provided with billets, that food prices were controlled in the markets, and that arms and powder, pickaxes and shovels were all supplied. They had also to see that the men were paid. They drew rather more than three-quarters of the entire Essex bands, foot and horse, to the garrison, together with eighteen of the foot company captains and horse commanders, leaving only some of the western foot companies on alert for disturbances elsewhere. The captains had by the 1620s begun to decline in social status, and very few had experience of military affairs: only eight of them were J.P.s, and only Sir Henry Mildmay of Moulsham was one of the leading county gentry. The Council advised the deputies to call on 'all such Gentlemen in the Country as have been in the warrs'; and although the Plymouth fleet had claimed the majority, they were able to pick commanders from older men of experience, like Sir Henry Mildmay of Graces, and captain Robert Gosnald who became sergeant-major general of the whole army. Several had associations with Warwick. The Council had not specified the number of horse to be called up, but the deputies put 50 lance and 100 light horse in Dovercourt to guard Ramsey Bridge and the ways to Harwich. They ordered all householders, including nervous ones at Harwich, to stay at home and be prepared to protect their properties. They also got Thomas Darcy, Viscount Colchester to see that a spy ship was sent out from Colchester to report on the vessels at Dunkirk. One of the deputies, Sir Harbottle Grimston, who seemed surprised by the scale of the operation, had elected to stay at Harwich close to his home at Bradfield, as a reassurance to the town and had attended none of the preliminary meetings. By 4 September the bands had joined him, in the good order they were to maintain throughout their term

of duty. Once again, the deputy lieutenants had shown that, left to themselves and not beset by contradictory or politically impractical orders from above, they could achieve impressive results in remarkably quick time.¹⁹ In addition, they managed not only to report to the Council but also to send Sussex a copy of their instructions. They hoped he would not be offended by their retention of the original from the Council, 'for that wee know not whether any ill disposed persons may be apt to question our authoritie in drawinge an Arme together in this unusual manner.'²⁰ While the deputies may have had in mind here, as in the past, Sussex's remissness in not supporting them with his presence, they were also clearly aware of the need to take precautions against challenges of a kind which became commonplace in the later 1620s as the pressures of Buckingham's war policy increased.

Sussex was however nettled enough to stir himself. His attitude from the outset was self-centred, coloured by his overriding wish to maintain his dignity despite the apparent emergency. He announced his intention of coming to Harwich; and ordered his deputies, without regard to their many other commitments, to 'take up a house for him within the town and a house without the towne in some place nere.'²¹ He arrived on 6 September, two days after the bandsmen, probably making his first visit to Essex on official business since selling New Hall. How far he was already aware of the threat to his lieutenancy from Warwick is unclear; but he very shortly came to appreciate it after his arrival when he discovered the full extent of Warwick's authority. This blow to his honour became at once his main concern, although it must be said that the emergency arrangements left little scope for his active involvement. He was particularly piqued at not getting joint command of the garrison. Even before the new commission of lieutenancy arrived, he wrote to the Council urging that the bands should be sent home; and, biased though his advice was, the Council may in time have wished it had taken it. He and Warwick managed to choose their complement of seven deputy lieutenants together on 13 September and to agree on the appointment of Sir Thomas Mewtys as marshal of the army; but Sussex the next day rode out of Harwich in a huff. His part in the emergency was over. For many months to come, however, he continued to badger Councillors, especially Conway, as he sought to salve his pride. He was not above claiming that he had got the bands to Harwich himself and had been there when they arrived. Warwick hastily assured Conway that the joint lieutenancy was 'very well relished both by the gentlemen and the generality', by which he hoped 'to have good advantage of performinge the service which his Majesty hath pleased to commit' to him.²²

It was to prove something of a forlorn hope. While Warwick was undoubtedly in his element with troops to command and defences to mend, he had to act under certain constraints. He had a vested interest in making the most of his emergency powers, but he knew he could not keep the bands indefinitely at Harwich. At very short notice, they had been torn away from their gainful employment at what for many of them was the busiest time of the year, to be stationed in makeshift quarters in a remote and 'aguish' place when plague was spreading out from London, the economy was flat and the harvest poor.²³ There was no sign of Spinola; and the continued non-appearance of an enemy increased the risk of annoying rather than reassuring the bands. The county's support fund, levied by the deputies, was rapidly running out. As early as 14 September Warwick echoed Sussex in asking Conway to stand the bands down, suggesting that a cheaper combination of guard ships and his own reviving coastal defences would provide adequate protection; but he got no response.²⁴ He and his friends worked hard throughout September to maintain a sense of purpose and an atmosphere of insecurity by discovering and passing on to the Council reports of papist concourses, of scraps of paper bearing incriminating intelligence found on public highways, and of soundings taken by Dunkirkers in Essex havens. Their activity provided a prelude to the decision taken by Charles and Buckingham in October 1625 to impose fresh restrictions on recusants, including a further attempt to dispossess them of all but their household arms. Warwick's eventual haul from Viscount Colchester, despite his help to the deputies, and William Lord Petre was amongst the largest in England; and for a time the more serviceable part, from the Petres, was stored at Leez and not distributed according to custom among the trained bands.²⁵

But recusant arms did not make up for the increasing uncertainty about the funding of Warwick's activities. It was clear from the outset that the king's near-empty Exchequer imposed severe

limitations on the scale of Warwick's defence works, and he had to argue hard to justify a modest expansion of his original estimate, to include a rebuilt blockhouse on Mersea Island, to protect Colchester, as well as rearming Harwich and making a new fort at Landguard Point, intended to guard the whole south-eastern seaboard. This aspect of his responsibilities moved only slowly forward, as the procedurally conscious Ordinance Office responded sluggishly to his requests for arms and munitions. But at least he knew that the Exchequer would eventually cover the costs.²⁶ Much less certain was the position regarding the bandsmen at Harwich. By late September the £4,000 raised mainly by county rate was exhausted, and the prospects of replenishment, even by means of a loan from the financier Sir Paul Bayning or the merchants of Ipswich, were bleak. The band captains had already dipped into their own purses to pay their men, but they were generally 'gentlemen of small means.'²⁷ Yet it remained unclear if, when and to what extent the county's ratepayers might expect reimbursement from the Exchequer. Warwick's instructions from the king proved of little help. Their terms were, in this respect, qualified and at best non-committal. Warwick was ordered, according to his 'wisdom and judgement and as occasion shall be offered, to mingle with the remonstrance of the Law and their duties, the opinion or assurance that yf the law and practice hath not been such, the presente tyme and necessitie supplied by them, they shall have a reimbursement out of the Exchequer of all such sommes they shall expend over and above the ordinarie payments and Charges they are bound to beare.' Warwick was disposed to think that the Crown was prepared to take some responsibility at least. He informed the high constables that only 'for the present' would the charge fall on the county; and the deputies, at the time of the first levy, had assured the captains that 'for allowance back whereof from his Majestie wee will use our best endeavours to the Lords', clearly in the expectation of success. Much more certainly, Conway unequivocally told Warwick and Sussex in a letter of 13 September that 'the king will repay' moneys collected for this purpose in the county; the letter took a week to reach Warwick, making him wish that messages 'of so much comfort were put in the hands of a more speedy messenger.' But promises were one thing, the deed quite another. Charles I's good faith was already in doubt. By the time Conway's letter actually arrived, both Warwick and his deputy lieutenants had written separately to the Council on 18 September, citing ample Elizabethan precedents, arguing that many had contributed in the first place only because of the 'hope of restitution', and that the rate had been vital in keeping the troops from taking what they could in the countryside. If the king was unwilling to help them, they hoped that other counties which benefited from their defensive precautions might be persuaded to do so.²⁸ Here, out of financial necessity rather than military thinking, may be found early signs of an appreciation of the concept of mutual defence in eastern England.

How far opinion in the county began to harden against Warwick is not easily discovered. Sir John Hipplesley, one of Buckingham's busy informants who had visited Harwich, told the Duke on 29 September that he feared 'some men hath brought a greater charge upon Essex than yt needed. I beseeche you be careful in that, for the Cuntrie is much troubled with it and that noe other Countrye doth the like; but the falte layde upon my lord of Warwick's forwardnesse.'²⁹ That same day, as it happened, Warwick heard from Sir Dudley Carleton at the Hague that 'there is no imaginable appearance of the Dunkirkers making descent on your coast.' Warwick's old associate John Pory, who had just arrived at Harwich 'to kiss hands', was startled at the speed with which Warwick despatched him to Court; but he was also discreet in his subsequent reports of the bandsmen's reactions to the news he brought back with him that the costly garrison could now stand down.³⁰

The Council however remained less helpful to Warwick on the question really at issue. 'As concerning the charge the countrye hath bene at for the paiment of these troopes', it told him on 2 October 1625, 'wee will cause the presidentes of former times to bee inquired into and accordingly wee will take order therein', suggesting once again that repayment was far from imminent.³¹ The county's reaction at Michaelmas quarter sessions, which began on 6 October, was strong but not obviously directed against Warwick. This may have been because the sessions were for the first time since 1578 held at Warwick's own town of Braintree, presumably because of the risk of plague at Chelmsford - although it had recently been chanced at Harwich. The foreman of the grand jury was John Hawkins, a prominent townsman and London alderman who was a firm friend of the Riches'

vicar at Braintree, Samuel Collins. Warwick himself was not present, and Sir Francis Barrington may not have been; but Francis's son Sir Thomas Barrington was there and may have presided over the bench. The grand jury implored the court to seek recompense for the 'great and wonderful charge' which the county had incurred; and Sir Thomas and five of his fellow J.P.s returned the whole presentment to the Council with an accompanying letter which again cited the precedents from 1588, 1596 and 1599 and reiterated the inconvenience caused to 'many principal yeomen, farmers and tradesmen' by their attendance at Harwich. Such was the disadvantage of founding the bands on men of property, however modest.³² The bench also replied forcibly to another Council initiative. It came from lord keeper John Williams, to whom Warwick and his anti-Spanish circle were markedly hostile and whom Buckingham was shortly to dismiss from office. In 1625, Williams was engaged on another flimsy attempt to restore the yield of the subsidy to Elizabethan levels, in Essex's case to that of 1578. It merely provided the bench with a further opportunity to stress the county's economic unease and political disquiet. Buckingham's advisers had feared the collection of the subsidy would jeopardise the success of the privy seal loan; in Essex the subsidy remained deflated while the loan rapidly had no prospects at all. Soon after its launch, Warwick insisted on coming to Court to discuss it, 'because I cannot soe well performe by writinge as by word of mouth.' Essex was excused; but the concession suggested that the Harwich expenses were less likely than ever to be repaid.³³

Even so, Warwick's fears that his work might be suddenly 'cut off' were not realised.³⁴ Without the bands to worry about, he was able to turn his attention to his longer-term responsibility for refortification. Here, however, he had also already run into serious difficulties. The king's instructions had told him to communicate the 'use and necessitie of this present occasion' to Hertfordshire, Suffolk and Norfolk 'that are next adjacent' and also to 'make use and imploy such and soe much of theire assistance in what kinde soever, as may serve for this publike defence and opposition of such enterprizes as wee are well informed are projected and in hand against those Counties.' Assistance was probably meant to include financial support; but despite getting Conway to write on his behalf to the three counties, and to Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire besides, Warwick met with a complete refusal to help.³⁵ Most lords lieutenants cited their county's economic plight; but in Suffolk, where the need for cooperation was most acute, the lord lieutenant Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk, took umbrage at Warwick's brisk and intrusive attitude. Because Landguard, where Warwick proposed to build his main fortification, was across the confluence of the Stour and Orwell from Harwich and thus technically in Suffolk, the Earl was able to challenge Warwick's pretensions and authority at every turn. He refused to obey an order from Conway of 13 September sent on to him by Warwick and instructing him to get 1,000 men to Landguard Point, because it bore only the secretary's signature. He qualified one of Warwick's orders to the Suffolk deputies with the observation that it sprang merely from Warwick's 'owne humour' and not from the Council, and he later expressed the hope that the 'great blusterings about Harwich' would cease when Warwick lost his lieutenancy. Suffolk himself, as a disgraced lord treasurer, had recently appealed to the Council for backing in lieutenancy matters; yet such was his jealous regard for his own jurisdiction that the Council resolved in October 1625 to ask the king for a commission under the great seal to empower any lord lieutenant to levy men or 'contribucions' in another lieutenancy for security reasons 'upon signification of any cause of danger' by the king or six of his Councillors or either of the secretaries of state. As a vice-admiral with an extensive jurisdiction, Warwick possibly had a clearer view of the need for interdependence among maritime counties than did most lords lieutenants; but the Suffolk deputies themselves had advocated building a fort at Landguard, and the need was obvious. The Earl of Suffolk's honour stood in the way.³⁶ S.R. Gardiner saw in this attempt to introduce regional responsibility for defence the germ of inland ship money, and there can be little doubt that it was intended to lessen the Crown's costs, if at all possible; but in a military context, it probably presages the regional associations for mutual defence which the Civil War encouraged. To the extent that the Eastern Association proved by far the most successful of them, Warwick's efforts when confronted with an empty Exchequer may be taken as having done a little to accustom these counties to the concept.³⁷

Despite these difficulties, Warwick's main concern was always to foster Buckingham's friendship and support. In all that Warwick did at this time the element of personal ambition was never far from the surface. That private interests and factional ends should go hand in hand with the public service was by no means unusual; but he had to be careful not to overreach himself. As both Hippenley and the Earl of Suffolk appreciated, Warwick had a tendency to take too much on himself. Told by the Council to use his own initiative, he had still to remember he was the Duke's dependent, not a free agent. In the autumn of 1625 he sought to reassure himself by securing the sole lord lieutenancy of Essex. He and Holland worked hard on Sussex, trying to cajole or press him into resignation. When Buckingham stayed at Leez for several days during October 1625 on his way to the Hague for diplomatic negotiations with the Dutch and to Amsterdam to pawn some of the king's jewels, Sussex was still in office. Warwick keenly anticipated the Duke's arrival, put the bands on an hour's warning and had the drums beaten. By then he had probably written Buckingham a letter, which survives in two drafts, asking with characteristic bluntness for the grant of the Essex lieutenancy to himself alone, and urging that a new commission should be granted quickly before Sussex reconsidered his alleged willingness to resign. Buckingham seems to have avoided committing himself, even though Holland was high in his favour and accompanying him on his expedition. Warwick cannot have known that Conway had already assured Sussex that once the emergency was over the lieutenancy would revert to him alone; but he must have become increasingly aware that there were limits to what he could expect from Buckingham. Sussex's indolence was easier for the Council to live with than Warwick's hustling style.³⁸

Because wider political and religious considerations were also at stake, with a high church king on the throne, Warwick went on trying nevertheless. Before the Duke finally sailed from Harwich, after Warwick had delayed his departure until the seas were deemed free from Dunkirkers, he inspected the defence work so far completed both there and at Landguard. Warwick took with him one of his young English engineers, experienced in Low Country methods, whose return he had arranged with Sir Dudley Carleton very shortly after Trumbull's alarm had sounded. The Duke's reaction is not recorded; but doubtless he was satisfied. By then he had been mellowed by several days spent in 'very royall' entertainment at Ipswich, where Warwick had conducted him from Leez. Buckingham had handsomely rewarded the town's trained band captain, who had redeemed his uncourtly manners by the earnestness with which he had invited the Duke to see 'how they were provided to entertaine Spinola if he came.' Buckingham had also been treated to spiritual refreshment by Samuel Ward, the Ipswich lecturer. His notice of Ward, whose connection with puritan circles in both Cambridge and the Commons was close, was probably intended to endorse his own relationship with courtly puritans like Dr John Preston, to whom he had just offered the lord keepership in succession to Williams. Whether out of a feeling of confidence, or because doubts were already setting in despite appearances, Buckingham's visit was very shortly followed by a noticeable stirring among Essex's more puritan clergy, some of them members of Ward's own family and others friends and pupils of John Preston. By the time Warwick and Viscount Say confirmed their suspicions about Buckingham's religious position at the York House conference in February 1626, the Essex puritan clergy were already regrouping and augmenting their strength.³⁹ Warwick's dismissal from the lord lieutenancy was delayed until September 1626, when he lost control of the defence work too. It was suspected that Buckingham 'would not have him joy and glory too much in his service'. His work on the coast was to be finished by others, although he managed through the good offices of his brother Holland to keep closely in touch with proceedings at Landguard - so much so that the Council in 1627 wrote to him as though it was actually in his care. After Buckingham's death he became lord lieutenant again, but until December 1640 always held the office jointly with a partner more trusted by the Court.⁴⁰

Despite his frustrations over funding, the Council's inability to provide effective support and the halting flow of Buckingham's favour, Warwick in one respect may well have made a contribution which shortly turned out to have wider importance. It concerned the bands' training, and offered some hope that Conway's manual might at last be put into effect. Soon after the Essex bands had been drawn up at Harwich, Warwick in a pointed criticism of Sussex's stewardship, pronounced them 'very rawe', and remarked that few of their officers 'knew the duty of their place.' They were all in

need of intensive training. Accordingly he coupled with a brisk letter to Carleton at the Hague on 8 September for gunners and engineers, whom he knew by name, a request for 'xvi officers, or gentlemen of Companies, or Serieants for the better informinge and instructinge of our Companies here.' At the time the Council had just ordered all Low Country officers back to their regiments; but Carleton duly sent across suitable men prepared to give the Essex bands their first serious training for many years.⁴¹ By the time Buckingham arrived at Leez, the bandsmen had returned home; but some of the training officers may well have been in the county still, possibly at Leez itself, as the engineers certainly were. The disbanding of the garrison had not ended the need for expert tuition. While it is not possible to establish what passed between them as Warwick tried to seal his accord with his great neighbour of New Hall, it is likely that Buckingham duly absorbed the notion of making use in all counties of the experience gained on active service by English training officers, who were available during the winter months. While he was in Holland, he could well have made some arrangements for bringing home upwards of a hundred of them. They came early in January 1626, barely a month after his own return; and the national scheme, then introduced, looks more like the product of rapid, semi-formal dealings than of carefully considered deliberations by the Council. It had not been subject to much preparation. The Council did not know quite how many sergeants to expect or what their names might be; it had not got entirely clear who was to pay them while they were at work, and had probably not consulted the counties, although it was anxious to spare the Exchequer all it could; and while it wanted the best sergeants for the maritime counties, it took several days after their arrival, amid mild confusion, before it got them all allocated - and the counties more or less correctly informed of the identity of their instructors - and ready for their first three months duty. Many counties were reluctant to take them, and few retained them for as long as they might have done. The coming of the sergeants was thought to imply Conciliar criticism of the deputy lieutenants' past efforts, and was awkwardly timed during the traditional off-season for the lieutenancy, requiring detailed arrangements to be made at short notice during the winter months; the cost was also transferred to the counties.⁴² One county which did welcome them was Essex, despite the rancour of the Earl of Sussex. While Warwick spoke in the Lords in 1626 on the value of home training, Sussex was anxious to be rid of sergeants he clearly identified with his rival. He preferred the services of a single muster master, appointed by himself. The assize grand jury, however, settled the matter in 1629 when, in response to a Council enquiry, it recommended the dismissal of the current muster master and the employment instead, of half his handsome salary each, of two of the four training sergeants, William Andrews and John Clarke, who had first come to the county in January 1626.⁴³

Thus while the evidence is circumstantial rather than conclusive, it seems highly probable that the scheme which first and most plainly brought home to the English counties the Council's concern about the condition of the trained bands had its origins in Warwick's endeavours at Harwich. It was in such ways that the limited improvements of which early Stuart government was capable often came about, as individual initiatives were translated in piecemeal fashion into national 'policy'. In many respects Warwick's reforming energy was inconvenient for the Council in the autumn of 1625, as he stretched its financial and administrative resources uncomfortably far and provoked a series of awkward repercussions.⁴⁴ But his exemplary resourcefulness in Essex may well have provided a much needed 'hopeful beginning' to the king's distant dream of 'settling ... a perfect Militia.'

Notes

1. *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625*, ed. S.R. Gardiner (Camden Society, 1873), 62, 90-92, 115; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Skrine (Salvetti) Correspondence* 8, 10, 15, 29; R. Lockyer, *Buckingham* (1981), chap. 7; C.L.F. Thompson, 'The Origins of the Politics of the Parliamentary Middle Group, 1625-1629', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 22 (1972), 71-86. I am much indebted to Mr Thompson for discussion of the subject of the present paper and of many other aspects of Essex history.

2. *Instructions for Musters and Armes and the Use thereof* (1623; STC 7683); L. Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia* (1967), 241; HMC, *Skrine*, 6, 18, 23.

3. Bodleian Library, MS Firth c.4, pp. 227-30; *Acts of the Privy Council 1626, 72-4. State Papers relating to Musters, Beacons ... in Norfolk*, ed. W. Rye (1907), 7. Plague in London had prevented the reissue of the manual: D. Hirst, 'The Privy Council and the Problems of Enforcement in the 1620s', *Journal of British Studies* 18 (1978) 53n.
4. An optimistic turn of phrase used by Charles I to the Council in May 1626: *APC 1625-6*, 496.
5. Arthur Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* (1746), II 363.
6. PRO, SP 16/8/34; HMC, *Skrine*, 27-34; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 273n.
7. Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, II 365.
8. For example in Sir Henry Mildmay of Wanstead, master of the king's jewel house, who was reluctant to part with jewels intended for pawn; he observed 'there are twoe many, boathe in the Corte and Kingedome whoe look upon my Lorde Duke his proceedings with more than a curious eye': SP 16/7/73; see also 7/83.
9. The phrase comes from Boynton, *Militia*, 245. Much of his supporting evidence, however, is of indeterminate status, lacking date and attribution.
10. British Library, Harleian MS 389, f.481r; Essex Record Office, D/Y 2/7, p.51; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian 1625-6*, 161.
11. SP 16/5/77, 85; MS Firth c.4, p.142; PRO, SP 14/214, p.226. Conway gave no name but may well have had Warwick in mind.
12. MS Firth c.4, p.140; PRO, SP 77/18, pp. 207-38.
13. *APC 1625-6*, 160, 161; MS Firth c.4, p.182. The Council replied to the Harwich petition on 5 Sept.
14. SP 14/131/53, 132/38, 133/24.
15. MS Firth c.4, pp. 142-4; Harl. 1581, f.366r; *APC 1625-6*, 147.
16. PRO, C 231/4, f.45r; *APC 1619-21*, 247; *APC 1625-6*, 124; *Journal of the House of Lords*, III 477; R.G. Marsden, 'The Vice-Admirals of the Coast', *English Historical Review* 23 (1908), 736-57, esp 742; Thompson, 'Middle Group', 76-9.
17. MS Firth c.4, pp. 151-2.
18. SP 16/6/44, 8/84; C 231/4, f.192v; MS Firth c.4, pp. 153-4; Harl. 389, f.487r.
19. MS Firth c.4, pp. 144-155; D/Y 2/7, pp. 271, 275, 281, 283. One other deputy, Sir Thomas Fanshawe, a surveyor of Crown lands, was called to Court early in the emergency: MS Firth c.4, p. 145. The political implications of the Crown's financial inadequacies invariably hindered the deputies more than did purely administrative weaknesses during the 1620s; see also D. Hirst, 'Parliament, Law and War in the 1620s' *Historical Journal* 23 (1980) 455-61.
20. SP 16/6/12.
21. MS Firth c.4, p.150; SP 16/6/38, 44.
22. MS Firth c.4, pp.151-3; SP 16/5/99. Mewtys had been detained by Warwick on his way back to his regiment: SP 16/7/30; *The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis, 1613-44* ed. Richard Neville, Baron Braybrooke (1842), 133.
23. MS Firth c.4, pp. 166-7; *CSPV 1625-6*, 167. According to Joseph Mead, the bandsmen were warned only on the Saturday for duty at Harwich on the following Monday morning: Harl. 389, f.487r.
24. SP 16/6/60. Warwick complained on 29 September that of five letters to Conway and two to the Council, he had received just one reply (on 13 Sept.): SP 16/6/116. See also SP 16/6/44, 60,76,87,88,98,99. Although quite hard pressed, Conway nevertheless found time for seemingly less urgent business, e.g. SP 14/214, pp. 227-8.
25. *APC 1625-6*, 188, 226; SP 16/6/41,44,60,88, 12/16, 34; PRO, SP 39/1/87; *CSPV 1625-6*, 176. Sussex made a solitary contribution: SP 16/6/57.
26. SP 16/6/87 and e.g. SP 39/1/96.
27. MS Firth c.4, pp.170,174,178; SP 16/6/89,98, 11/1.
28. MS Firth c.4, pp.146,152,155,164-6,170; SP 14/214, p.229; SP 16/6/76,77,88.
29. SP 16/6/122.
30. MS Firth c.4.p.180; Harl. 389, f.494r. Probably sarcastically, Conway endorsed the message Pory brought back to Warwick, 'Hast, Hast, Post Hast, Upon your Life.'
31. SP 16/7/4.
32. ERO, Q/SR 68/2,3; 251/107; MS Firth c.4, pp.185-9; SP 16/7/35, 210/41. This concession over the privy seal loan anticipates permission Buckingham later gave in exceptional cases for the forced loan to be diverted to local purposes: Hirst, 'Enforcement', 55n.
33. MS Firth c.4, pp. 185, 188-9, 192; SP 16/7/80; Thompson, 'Middle Group', 78.
34. MS Firth c.4, p.185; SP 16/7/80.
35. MS Firth c.4, pp.151,177; SP 14/214, p.229; SP 16/6/44,76,98, 7/8, 8/44. All these counties had been regarded as maritime by Elizabeth in 1583: SP 12/164/72.
36. BL, Additional MS 39245, ff. 91v,95r; SP 16/6/16, 7/3, 98i & ii, 521/175; SP 14/214, p.229; MS Firth, c.4, p.177.
37. S.R. Gardiner, *History of England 1603-1642* (1893 edn), V.1. B. As Dr Holmes points out, the shock of civil war did not alone ensure successful regional organisation: C. Holmes, *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War* (1974), 2.
38. SP 16/6/60, 7/3; MS Firth c.4, pp.175,176,193; Harl. 389, ff. 494v, 498v, 502r, 506r; HMC, *Seventh Report*, 594a; Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, II 361,365. See also SP 16/6/57.
39. Ward had helped to prompt the Commons' attack on Richard Montagu's *A New Gagg for an old Goose* (1624, STC 18038) in the parliament of 1624, an attack which was to be amplified in 1625; Montagu held, among others, the living at Stanford Rivers. Among the clergy on the move were Nathaniel Ward, Daniel and Nathaniel Rogers, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, and Thomas Weid. See also Harl. 389, f.506r; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 276; Thompson, 'Middle Group', 80; Gardiner, *History of England* V, 353; P. Collinson, 'Lectures by Combination', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 48 (1975) 204. Preston declined the keepership.

40. Harl. 390, f.123r; MS Firth c.4, p.343; SP 16/36/22, 37/64. Officially both lord lieutenancy and fort transferred to Sussex: C 231/4, f.209r; SP 14/214, p.254; Bodl. MS Bankes 41/130. See also J.H. Leslie *The History of Landguard Fort in Suffolk* (1898), 9-25.
41. MS Firth c.4, p.160; SP 16/6/44, 8/22,47; Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, II 365.
42. SP 16/18/42,43,55, 19/6-13,38. Buckingham is usually credited with introducing the scheme e.g. SP 16/521/123. See also *Memorials of the Holles Family* ed. A.C. Wood (Camden Society, 1937) 75-6; *Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.*, ed G. Roberts (Camden Society, 1848),90.
43. HMC, *Buccleuch (Montagu House) MSS*, III 272; MS Firth c.4, pp.170-1; 213; PRO, Assi 35/70 (Essex)/7; *APC 1628-9*, 257.
44. There was one more yet to come. With the £4,000 still unpaid, the county gave the forced loan of 1626-7 a rough reception.

John Ennows: A Previously Unknown Clay-Pipe Maker of All Saints, Colchester

by M. R. EDDY and P. M. RYAN

Summary

An Inventory of the estate of John Ennows (d.1684), of All Saints parish, Colchester, gives details of his domestic and industrial possessions. An attempt, though negative, was made to trace his products and, more successfully, his origin and career.

Introduction

During 1982 and early 1983 one of the authors (PMR) searched the Administration Bonds of the Colchester Archdeaconry in the Essex Record Office, in order to isolate information on occupations. In the course of this the Inventory of John Ennows (ERO D/ACWb 46) was found and transcribed.

The Inventory presents a reasonably detailed description of John Ennows' possessions at the time of his death in 1684 and of his general living conditions. It is particularly interesting in that the contents of his workshop are described though his trading stock is not mentioned. John Ennows' existence as a pipe-maker was previously unknown and his life generally is only scantily recorded.

John Ennows' Origins And Life History

The only secure point in John Ennows' life is his death in 1684. His burial on 1 October was recorded in the Parish Registers of All Saints, Colchester (T/R 108/2). The Letters of Administration for his intestate estate were granted on the 20 October by the Archdeaconry Court of Colchester to the applicants, Nathaniel Ennow, apothecary and brother of the deceased, and to Mathias Cook, woolcomber, both of Colchester.

A Nathanael Ennous, son of John Ennous, a Quaker, is recorded in the Register of Colchester Grammar School in 1672 and was suggested by Moen (1905, 133) as being of Dutch descent. The name John Ennous or Ennows does not occur in the Hearth Tax Returns of that period though a John Inhouse is assessed as having 3 hearths in the 1671 (Q/RTh 5) and in the 1673 (Q/RTh 9/5) returns for St Peters parish. The similarity of Ennows, Ennous and Inhouse and the absence of other comparable forms suggest that they are in fact variants of the same name. In the Hearth Tax Returns of 1662 (Q/RTh 1) John Enowes is assessed for 2 hearths in Holy Trinity Parish. This John Ennous must be the father of John Ennows, the pipemaker, and the John Enowes/Inhouse of the Hearth Tax Returns is almost certainly John Ennous.

The Parish Registers of All Saints, Colchester (T/R 108/2), record the marriage of John Ennows, widower, to Martha Hopp(.....), single, on 4 March 1658. Both are described as being of *Pelters*, which may mean St Peters. Whilst Nathanael Ennous was almost certainly the offspring of this union, John Ennows would have been only 25 on his death, at the most, if a full brother to Nathanael. If he was a full brother, John Ennows would have been unlikely to have been in business on his own before the age of 21, that is by 1679 at the earliest. It would seem more likely, therefore, that John Ennows was the child of his father's first marriage.

John Ennows, the elder, may well be a descendant of Jacob Annewe of St Peters parish who is mentioned in the Lay Subsidy of 1597/98. Jacob Annewe is identified by Moen (1905, 116) as of Dutch extraction.

Clay-Pipe Making In Seventeenth Century Colchester

The production of clay-pipes in Essex has been little studied though Harley (1963) summarised the limited evidence. For Colchester Gant (1958, 1959a, 1959b and 1960) published short notes on his historical research and archaeological observations whilst his unpublished notes on the pipes found during the Lion Walk excavations survive in the archives of Colchester Archaeological Trust.

Gant (1959a) identified only one certain maker, Nathaniel Spurgin, in the late seventeenth century. N. Spurgin stamped his pipes *NS*, operated between 1680 and 1720 and was admitted as a burgess in 1700. Of similar date was a kiln site, observed by Gant (1960) during the construction of Tesco's supermaret in the High Street. He described a kiln with clay walls containing clay-pipe fragments, though neither its size or shape could be recorded. Fragments of saggars were recovered as were pipes stamped *IA* which Gant identified with a merchant, J. Austine. Austine may have been Flemish in origin (Gant, 1960).

Transcript of The Inventory (D/ACWb 46)

8 October 1684 - John ENNOWS, tobacco pipemaker of All Saints, Colchester

Inventory of John Ennows' Goods And Chattels

A true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the goods and chattels of John Ennows late of All Saints parish in Colchester in the county of Essex, Tobacco pipemaker dec. taken and appraised the Eighth day of October anno dm. 1684 by us whose names are hereunder subscribed as followeth vizt.

		£. s. d.
IN THE HALL		
Imprimis	the Clossett and Cupbord one table and three stooles	01:10:00
Item	One Jack colerack cobyrons fyre pan tongs + spitt	01:00:00
Item	one Chayre, three other old Chayres one salt box, a spice box a candle box a stricking bord one olde glasse case	00:04:00
Item	four pewter dishes one brasse Candlestick, three kettles one skillett one flaggon two pottage ports and some earthen pannes	01:05:00
IN THE LODGING ROOM		
Item	one Close bedstedle one feather-bed one flock bed two bolsters one pillow one rugge and one little table	02:00:00
IN THE BEST CHAMBER		
Item	one bedstedle, two feather beds one bolster two pillows two blankets and one Rugg	03:00:00
Item	one Chest of drawers, one table and one hutch	01:05:00
Item	One Trunk four leather chayres a old wooden chayre	00:06:00
Item	One looking glasse a warming pan, little brass andirons and Creepers	00:07:00
Item	four silver spoons	01:00:00
Item	five pewter dishes and nyne plates	00:10:00
IN THE MEAL CHAMBER		
Item	one kneading trough, a meal tub one old tub to sift meal in + a cheese rack	00:05:00
IN THE OTHER CHAMBER		
Item	one hanging presse one old hutch one old box two olde trunks + a few old bookes	00:10:00

IN THE GARRETT

Item	One old flockbed two flock bolsters one Rugg + a trundle bedstedle + a parcell of small coles	00:10:00
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IN THE KITCHEN

Item	One copper one great Spitt and a dripping pann	00:15:00
Item	one mishing tub one old tub + other lumber	00:05:00

IN THE SELLAR

Item	two hogsheads two little vessels a beer stall a tunnell a few glass bottles a stone bottle with oyle	00:06:00
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IN THE SHOPP

Item	five skiewe(rs), twelve payre of moulds sixty nyne bords and fifty grates	06:00:00
Item	two troughs, a beating block, a moulding bench a beating yron, a slice + other trifles	01:00:00
Item	One old cupbord	00:01:02
Item	two potts two yrons and peeles (? pooles)	00:10:00
Item	Old stooles one buckett old tubs + a tressett	00:05:00

IN THE CLAY HOUSE

Item	the clay	03:00:00
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IN THE YARD

Item	the wood	12:15:00
Item	the clay house + stable	03:00:00
Item	Book debts	10:00:00
Item	his wearing apparrell + money in his purse	02:00:00

Total Suma	51:09:02
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John (his mark) Hayward } Gualteri (his mark) Batley }	Apparisors
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October 20 1684

Nathanael Ennow brother and administrator of John Ennow late of All Saints in Colchester was sworne well + truly to administer before me

H. Shelton

John Ennows' Pipe-Making Tools

John Ennows' working life appears from the Inventory to have been restricted to the *Shopp*, to the clay house and the yard. Leaving aside the limited furniture in the shop his equipment comprised:

5 skewers (moulding and/shanking wires)	£. s. d.
12 moulds	
69 boards	
50 grates	_____
	£6. 0. 0.
2 troughs	
1 beating block	
1 moulding bench	
1 beating iron	
1 slice	
other trifles (?smoothing and polishing tools)	_____
	£1. 0. 0.
2 potts	
2 irons	
peeles (?pooles)	_____
	£0.10. 0.

TOTAL	£7.10. 0.

The two potts, two irons and peeles are not necessarily part of the stock in trade of the pipe-maker and £7. 0. 0. should be regarded as the more certain value of his equipment.

Other inventories and wills quoted by Oswald (1975, 23-4) give few details of the manufacturing equipment but the values are given for the total quantity of tools. These may be summarised as follows:

		£. s. d.
1670	John Barnard (Bodmin, Cornwall) (after Douch, 1970)	3 Pip moulds and things useful £0.10. 0.
1671	John Fox (Spalding, Lincs.) (after Wells, 1970)	6 prs. mould —
1674	William Harpley (Gt. Yarmouth, Norfolk) (after Oak Rhind, pers. comm.)	All sorts of working tools £1. 0. 0.
1676	James Harford (Boston, Lincs.) (after Wells, 1970)	2 pr. of 5 prs. mould and other implements belonging to his trade £1.16. 8.
1683	Simon Earle (after Douch, 1970)	His moulds and tooles belonging to his trade £4.10. 0.
1690	Nicholas Hambly (Truro, Cornwall) (after Douch)	Pipe moulds £0. 5. 0. (includes clay)
1691	William Case (Downham Market, Norfolk) (after Oak Rhind, pers. comm)	Materials to make pipes His hobbs (? tools) good and bad £4.14. 6. (includes clay)

1727	William Artwell (Arundel, Sussex) (after Atkinson, 1972)	2 prs. screws and boards and greats, 1 beating block and trough, 1 hogshead, firepan and poker	£3.11. 6.
1728	Issac Bilby (Spalding, Lincs.) (after Wells, 1970)	Tools, moulds and utensils	£3. 0. 0.
1729	Matthew Heblethwaite (Lincoln, Lincs.) (after Wells, 1970)	ye working tools	£2. 0. 0.

It is clear that John Ennows' tools are significantly (three times the average) more valuable than his contemporaries, though on the available evidence he had a much wider range of moulds. The number of boards (69), used for rolling clay blanks and for drying the blanks seems unnecessarily high when compared with Home's (1688) and Walker and Walker's (1969) list of tools which both stress the trimming, polishing and boring tools. The 50 grates are presumably for either drying the blanks or loading the kilns.

Part of this excess may be accounted for by stock, either burnt or unburnt which, though unmentioned, may be included in "other trifles". The other inventories give some idea of the price range of the stock.

1671	John Fox (Spalding)	Pipes	£2.10. 0.
1674	William Harpley (Gt. Yarmouth)	Pipes made	£0.10. 0.
1676	James Harford (Boston)	10 gross pipes	£0.10. 0.
1727	William Artwell (Arundel)	Pipes burnt and unburnt	£1.15. 0.
1728	Issac Bilby (Spalding)	Pipes burnt and unburnt	£1.11. 0.
1729	Matthew Heblethwaite (Lincoln)	Pipes burnt and unburnt	£1. 0. 0.

If John Ennows' stock is so accounted it must be less than £1. 0. 0. in value and is a relatively small element in the total value of his workshop.

The quantity of clay in stock is however more typical of known clay stocks, being valued at £3.0.0. This compares with:

1674	William Harpley (Yarmouth)	Clay	£2. 0. 0.
1676	James Harford (Boston)	5 tons of clay	£5. 0. 0.
1727	William Artwell (Arundel)	Clay	£4. 0. 0.
1729	Matthew Heblethwaite (Lincoln)	Clay	£2.10. 0.

John Fox of Spalding (1671) had 20 tons of black and white clay plus fuel valued at a total of £36. 3. 4. On the basis of the figures for James Harford's clay a value of £1. 0. 0. per ton is a realistic valuation (or at least credible to the authorities) and this would accord with the figure for Fox's clay supply leaving some £16. 3. 4. for fuel - a sum not far in excess of Ennows' wood supply valued at £12.

0. 0. Such rough figures take no account of variations over time of the purchasing power of the pound, the variations in cost of one type of clay, or the various qualities of clay. Nor is it clear whether raw clay or refined clay is intended. Nicholas Hambly's stock-in-trade, including tools and clay, is remarkably undervalued by comparisons at £0. 5. 0. and this valuation seems to reflect considerable poverty or some maladministration of the estate.

Oswald (1975, 24) comments that most of the inventories contain mention of a horse, hampers or pack saddle. None of these are given in Ennows' inventory though the clay house and stable are valued.

Conclusion

John Ennows, the younger, was apparently a pipe-maker of some substance with a potentially wide range and number of products judging from the number of moulds, boards and grates. His inventory is probably one of the most detailed records of an individual pipe-maker from the county. Unfortunately, the problem of the nature of his stock remains unknown as is the site of his manufactory. Only one kiln site of Ennows' time has been observed in Colchester and that was associated with pipes stamped IA and lay in St Nicholas' parish. However, it is interesting to note that John Ennows' name may have originally been Annewe, which he might have still used in his business whilst his name and his father's were anglicised in official documents. The kiln was found at the junction of High Street and Maidenburgh Street, in a different parish from that in which Ennows' property was situated according to the 1848 Tithe Maps. The parish boundaries near this junction are very irregular suggesting some alteration of those boundaries prior to 1848. It is known that St Nicholas' parish had dwindled in size between 1610 and at least 1768 due to encroachment by other parishes (Morant, 1768, 117). It maybe that the High Street was lost, at least in part, to All Saints in those years and was later regained. An equally tempting association is Ennows' Dutch origin and the apparently Dutch form of the pipes in the kiln fabric claimed by Gant (1960, 44). The dating of the pipes both in the kiln and walls and the final products possesses difficulties for this tenuous connection of Ennows to the IA pipe kiln, in that the pipes in the kiln walls are dated 1680-1720 by Gant (*op. cit.* 44) and the final products to 1690-1700 (Harley, 1960). If the Ennows identification can be accepted then the pipe dates are too late by a decade, though the kiln wall pipes might represent a kiln built soon before Ennows' death. The final products may, if the dates are accepted, be made by another using the kiln after 1684. Alternatively the kiln may have been built by an English maker, using the IA Dutch style pipes in the construction, on a site distinct from Ennows' workshop. Such connections are however extremely tenuous and should be treated with caution, though it is clear that the IA pipes are particularly important for the study of Colchester's pipe-making industry. A re-assessment of the pipes collected by Gant on the Maidenburgh site would appear to be necessary and this should be linked to the study of the large and well-recorded series from the Lion Walk site.

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Fire Beacons, Volunteers, and Local Militia in Napoleonic Essex - 1803-1811

by PETER. B. BOYDEN

The student of the measures adopted in Essex during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars to resist the French should they have attempted to land in the county is fortunate in being able to turn to such a thorough description as that provided by Burrows in his history of the Essex Yeomanry.¹ The first seventy pages of this work contain a full description of (amongst other things) the stationing of troops, precautions against invasion, the erection of beacons, county administration, and the formation of volunteer and yeomanry units. Unfortunately the various subjects discussed are all treated as separate sections, with little or no attempt to link them together and provide an overview of the total 'war effort' made in the county. Whilst this paper will not completely remedy this defect it will attempt to link together two facets of the preparations made in the face of the threatened invasion of 1803, and explain the relationship between fire beacons and related signalling systems, and local volunteer units. A general introduction to this subject has already been published, which examined the background to the erection of the beacons, considered their effectiveness, and also the military capabilities of the volunteer units that they would have summoned to the field.² The present article is the first of a series of regional studies designed to explore in more depth this subject at a local level.

The outbreak of war with revolutionary France in 1793 soon led a number of towns in the coastal areas of Britain to begin raising units of volunteers from amongst their populations as a last line of defence if the invading French managed to escape the regular troops deployed to intercept them. Already in June 1794 James Wright, Robert Coleman and Henry Dingleby received their commissions as officers in the Waltham Abbey Volunteer Infantry.³ By 1801 when peace was patched up between Britain and France at Amiens 25 volunteer units of both infantry and cavalry had been raised in Essex,⁴ and in common with those elsewhere were now stood down. Relations between the two countries however soon deteriorated, and the Government once again began in October 1802 to accept offers from volunteer units for active service, and a number of the Essex units were reraised, and several new ones formed during 1803. The Essex volunteers were prepared to serve in the event of an actual invasion in various areas, ranging from the whole of Great Britain, to their immediate locality,⁵ where they would have come under the command of senior officers of the regular army. Until that actually occurred the control exercised over them by Officers Commanding Districts was for constitutional reasons of necessity somewhat nebulous, whilst the levels of military competence and discipline varied greatly between units. In order to prevent chaos it was necessary to have a pre-arranged plan of action to be taken by the volunteers in the event of an actual invasion, and it was to the evolution of this plan that Lt. Gen. Sir James Craig KCB, General Officer Commanding the Eastern District turned his attention during the summer of 1803.

The meeting of the Essex Lieutenancy held on 8 July 1803 was attended by Craig and members of his staff. Various matters relating to the defence of the county were considered, and in order to expedite arrangements for the preparation of it for a French attack it was divided into six, each area being under a 'Lieutenant of Division'. The divisions and lieutenants were as follows:

Tendring and Harwich - John Hanson
 Lexden, Winstree, Thurstable, Witham and Colchester - Thomas Kynaston
 Dengie and Maldon - James Watson Hall
 Rochford - Daniel Scratton

Hinckford, Freshwell, Dunmow, Clavering, Uttlesford and Saffron Walden - Lord Maynard Harlow, Ongar, Waltham, Chelmsford, Becontree, Chafford, Barstable and Havering - Charles Smith ⁶

Having consulted the Commander in Chief, Craig wrote to Lord Braybrooke, the Lord Lieutenant of Essex, on 9 August 1803 suggesting that beacons would be the best means of alerting the volunteers to assemble for action, and of generally spreading the news that an enemy landing had occurred. In addition to a network of beacons he also suggested that each parish should have a red flag to be flown from its church tower once the beacons had been lit. The Duke of York (Commander in Chief) was anxious that the work should be undertaken as quickly as possible, and hoped that the selection of beacon sites could be made by members of the Lieutenancy rather than officers of the Quarter Master General's Department. Whilst relating this scheme to Braybrooke Craig also pointed out that it would be necessary to have someone at each beacon to fire it once the neighbouring one was lit. In addition, there would need to be lookouts on each church tower ready to hoist their flags upon seeing the beacons fired. He was aware of the confusion that accidental fires could create, and also of the large number of people that would be required to man the system, although he thought 'that a Boy of sufficient Discretion may easily be found, at a very trifling expence to be employed' for the duty of watching from a church tower.⁷

Craig's letter was considered at the next Lieutenancy meeting on 12 August, and it was resolved that the Lieutenants of Division be instructed to fix upon suitable places within their areas for the erection of beacons, and to arrange for their construction.⁸ At the meeting the following week the Lieutenants delivered reports of their progress in erecting beacons and procuring flags. Several wished to know how the beacons were to be constructed, and where the money to meet the costs of their erection and manning was to come from. James Hall also raised the practical point as to whether those minding beacons on the coast were to fire them on the basis of signals from Naval Signal Stations, or to use their own discretion. This last point was to be referred to Craig who was to consult the Admiralty, but it was decided that the cost of the exercise should be met by the Receiver General of the County as a legitimate charge under Chapter 55 of the General Defence Act.⁹ Craig attended the next meeting on 26 August and 'explained very fully and satisfactorily his Plan with respect to the Signals and Beacons'. He stated that he did not think that fire beacons should be used at night, and offered to deal with specific queries by letter. Amongst the resolutions passed was one that the clergy and churchwardens be recommended not to allow any flags to be flown from their church other than the red ones in the event of an invasion, and another that farmers be urged not to burn weeds or other refuse for the time being.¹⁰

The Lieutenants of Division having been left to carry out their duty for six weeks it was resolved at the Lieutenancy meeting of 4 October that they should each submit a return to the Clerk of the Lieutenancy, and to Craig, of how the work of erecting beacons had progressed.¹¹ These returns were reported by the Clerk on 21 October to have shown that they had carried out their duties in a satisfactory manner, and that a network of beacons and flag poles existed throughout the county. At the same meeting it was also reported that details had been received from the Quarter Master General's Department on how 'the Expences incurred in Erecting Beacons and Signals were to be defrayed'.¹² As November the Fifth approached the Lord Lieutenant recommended to the mayors and magistrates of the county that no Guy Fawkes bonfires should be lit in case they were mistaken for beacons, and cause alarm.¹³ These precautions did not, however, prevent a great deal of activity in Chelmsford late in the evening of 1 November when some weeds and straw on a bonfire to the south of the town were at first taken to be a lighted beacon.¹⁴ The county Lieutenancy met on the following Friday, and perhaps with the events of Tuesday in mind, Craig announced his intention to test the effectiveness of the beacons by an 'Experiment by Smoke Signals'.¹⁵ The details of the experiment were circulated to the Lieutenants of Division on 5 November - an apposite date - the test firing having been fixed for Monday the 14th. At 12 noon 'a quantity of furze and other materials' were to be lit at Colchester and others fired at Great Wigborough, Danbury, Langdon Hill, Cowe Green, Ongar Park, Good Easter, Weathersfield and Littlebury Broom when they saw the smoke

from one of the others, or at 12.30 if none were visible. The Lieutenants were to station people at beacons in their Divisions to ascertain whether they were intervisible.¹⁶ When the results of the experiment were reported to the Lieutenancy on 27 January 1804 they were not very encouraging. Craig had come to the conclusion that 'he had no hope in this county of obtaining Signals of that Nature (smoke) on which any reliance could be placed'. As a result he proposed to 'erect about 24 Flag Stations of much larger dimensions than those procured for the Parishes to each of which he should place a Military Guard'. This proposal was approved by the meeting, and it was agreed that the beacons should remain in being, and be lit upon the displaying of the new flags.¹⁷ That is the last that is heard of the beacons until August-September 1806 when the Earl of Chatham, then Commanding the Eastern District, asked the Lord Lieutenant to approve of the abolition of the remaining ones. On 16 September a circular letter was dispatched to the Lieutenants of Division instructing them to take immediate steps for the destruction of the beacons in their divisions and to dispose of the materials as they thought fit.¹⁸

That could have been the end of the Essex beacons, but in the event it was not. At the end of December 1807 Braybrooke informed Parker, the Clerk of the Essex Lieutenancy, that he had heard from a Mr Thomas that the Quarter Master General's Department were going to revive the network, and that the subject would be discussed at the next Lieutenancy meeting. He continued 'I have had no other information, & feeling as I do the inconveniences & expence of the original houses & beacons I hoped the plan had been abandoned. I made & attended the largest beacon & watched in my neighbourhood the corresponding one at Sewers End, & not withstanding a great flame & smoke our beacon was not seen by our neighbours neither did we distinguish their's. The signal houses are now all evacuated by order, I believe, of the C in Chief, & I own I heard of the order with pleasure for independent of the failure of the beacons, the soldiers who watched (or rather who were ordered to watch at ye signal houses) behaved disorderly ran in debt in the neighbouring villages & never were seen in their duty - but were heard of as poachers.' His Lordship was not however prepared to let his private prejudices stand in the way of his public duty, as he added 'I thought it right to mention these circumstances upon this occasion, but I shall be very happy to forward any wishes the Lcy may signify or read any resolution they may wish to form to the Cr of ye District'.¹⁹ Why it was that the Essex beacon system sprang once more into being in 1809 is nowhere stated, although reasons for this development will be advanced later. The GOC Eastern District was still the Earl of Chatham, who had ordered their end over a year before. A powerful influence in the deliberations that preceded the decision was probably an officer on Chatham's staff - the Assistant Quarter Master General of the Eastern District, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Birch, who had been closely involved with the initial establishment of the system in 1803.

No personal details are known of Birch, but from the Army Lists it is possible to reconstruct his military career. First commissioned into the 16th Dragoons as a Lieutenant in March 1793 he was promoted Captain in April 1794. He became a Major in June 1799, and Lieutenant Colonel in April 1803. He is first recorded as a DAQMG in the list for 1804, and in June of that year he left the Dragoons and became a Permanent Assistant in the QMG's Department without a regimental commission. Described as AQMG between 1805 and 1811, he was promoted to Colonel 1 January 1812, and listed in the Army List for that year as DQMG North Britain,²⁰ but does not appear in subsequent lists, and nothing further is known of him. If such a being can be imagined, Birch was an enthusiastic supporter of the fire beacon: indeed, the dates during which he was in the Eastern District imply that he might have been stationed there specifically to supervise their construction. In late August and early September 1803 he spent a lot of time riding round the Tendring Hundred looking for the best locations for beacons and signals, and drew up a 'Proposed plan for the most expeditious mode of communicating Intelligence throughout the Hundred of Tendring' for Hanson to aid him in his beacon-siting labours.²¹ He followed this up with a letter in which he stated that on second thoughts Thorpe and Wrabness were the only locations in the Hundred from where beacons could be seen.²² Ironically it was Birch who wrote to Parker three years later asking him to arrange for the abolition of the remaining beacons.²³ Birch's fame as a beacon expert was not, however, confined to the Eastern District, for when the Commissioners of Military Enquiry were investigating

the Quarter Master General's Department in ? 1809 he was called upon to explain the system employed in paying for the Essex beacons.²⁴ Although it cannot be definitely proved it seems highly likely that Birch had somehow managed to convince Chatham that the reinstatement of the Essex beacon network was a desirable project in the light of the prevailing military situation, and in January 1808 the work of repairing beacons and huts began.²⁵ In April Birch wrote to Col Tyrell asking him to find someone 'occasionally to watch the Signal Hut & c at Rettendon', although he could not provide any pay for the work, he hoped 'soon to establish the stations on such a footing that a weekly remuneration may be granted to some person near at hand.'²⁶

Birch's detailed proposals were considered by the Lieutenancy on 27 May 1808, which resolved to 'do everything in thir power towards putting such arrangements into execution'.²⁷ The chief difference from the earlier scheme was that the stations were to be manned (except for Colchester and Danbury, see note 35 below) by civilians under the direction of the Lieutenants of Division rather than by soldiers as previously. The beacon-minders were to receive three shillings a week, and their duties were to be fulfilled in addition to their usual occupations. The scheme was to start on 1 June, and amongst the details supplied to Parker was the now famous map of the Essex Signal Stations which includes details of the huts to be provided at each beacon for the comfort of the minder and the storage of fuel.²⁸

The Lieutenants were to transmit the claims of those 'attending the several Signal Stations' in their Divisions to the Clerk of the Lieutenancy, who in turn passed them to Birch.²⁹ Once they had been signed by the Earl of Chatham the Lieutenants then had to obtain receipts from the attendants, and the money was remitted by draft to Parker to forward to them via the Lieutenants of Division.³⁰ Such a system, although carefully designed to prevent fraud, meant that long delays resulted in the payment of the money, which on occasion caused hardship.³¹ Edward Livermore's bill 'for his care and trouble in inspecting and looking after the Signal Station or Hutt of Monk's Hedge' between 1 June and 30 November 1808 was not approved by Tyrell until 22 September 1809.³² In fact it seems that by the end of 1809 the bureaucracy was becoming too much even for Parker, let alone the humble men who minded the beacons.³³

Relief was not to come for another 18 months, when in July 1811 Birch informed Parker that to save money the Government had decided to do away with the beacons once and for all, and that the Earl of Chatham (still commanding the Eastern District) had decided that 'every expence on account of this service may cease on the 1st of August next'. The pay accounts of the attendants were to be made up to that date, and it was hoped that the huts would be allowed by the land-owners to remain standing in case they should be required in the future.³⁴ The second lease of life of the Essex beacons thus came to an end, their demise being presided over by the same man who had acted at their first appearance almost eight years previously. By now any military reasons for their existence had completely disappeared, and the abolition of the Essex Beacons meant an annual saving of £109.4s.0d. to the Government.³⁵

The close connection between the volunteers and the beacons at the time when the latter were being established has already been mentioned. Unfortunately there are no subsequent references to this relationship, and it appears that they developed along separate paths from 1804. Although there was a fall in the number of volunteer units in Essex between 1803 and 1807, the number of men enrolled in them increased slightly during this period.³⁶ The reduction in the threat of a French invasion, which led to the abandonment of the beacons in the summer of 1806, did not also lead to a concomitant reduction in the volunteers, partly because membership of a volunteer until exempted men from the militia ballot.³⁷ By May 1807, however, Britain's military position had deteriorated considerably, and Castlereagh was obliged to take emergency action in the face of problems abroad, the inefficiency of the volunteers at home, and the fact that a large number of militia men would be eligible for discharge early in 1808. He therefore appointed Inspecting Field Officers of Volunteers who were to improve the military efficiency of the volunteers until they could be replaced by a better body of troops.³⁸ It is against this background that the resurrection of the Essex beacons has to be viewed. Although repairs were underway in January 1808 (see note 25), and the Lord Lieutenant had heard that the network was to be revived the preceeding month (see note 19), it was not until 27

May that Birch's scheme was submitted to the Lieutenancy, although it was to take effect from 1 June (see note 27).

In the meantime an act had been passed to augment the militia (47 Geo III Sess 2, cap 71), and in May 1808 Castlereagh introduced a bill to create a local militia in England and Wales, which became law on 30 June as 48 Geo III cap 111. The local militia as to be raised by ballot like the regular militia, but it was made harder for members of volunteers units to evade service, and volunteers for the local militia received a bounty of 2 guineas. Unlike the regular militia the local was not liable to serve beyond the adjoining county, and their annual period of training was only 28 days.³⁹ Since one of the aims of the act was to provide a more efficient local defence force than the volunteers one clause regulated the transfer of volunteer units *en bloc* to the local militia (Section 36).⁴⁰ This seems to have occurred in Essex, although it was not until March 1809 that the Lieutenancy divided up the county into recruiting areas for the five battalions of local militia. Of these the 3rd, 4th and 5th were chiefly formed from the Colchester, Hinckford, and Ongar Volunteers respectively.⁴¹ The officers of the new force received their commissions on 10 April,⁴² the date which effectively meant the end of the volunteers, since the mounted units were on the way to being amalgamated into the Essex Yeomanry, which was formed in 1814.⁴³

It is to be noted that the recommissioning of the beacons and the revival of interest in the volunteers, and their later transformation into the local militia, were both going on at the same time. This can hardly have been a coincidence since these activities were both the result of a general anxiety about the possibility of an enemy invasion, and the ability of the local forces to deal effectively with such an occurrence. Although the overall military situation continued to be bad during 1808 and 1809, the upturn in Britain's fortunes that followed Wellesley's victory at Talavera (28 July 1809) soon rendered active precautions against invasion increasingly unnecessary. The beacons were discontinued at the end of July 1811, and although balloting for the local militia did not actually cease until 1817, they had not been embodied for training since the spring of 1813.⁴⁴ If their connection was not always that close, the beacons and the volunteers, and their lineal descendants the local militia, did run along parallel lines of development in that they were both products of the same circumstances. It seems likely that the beacons would have been fired in 1809 to bring the local militia into the field, in exactly the same way that they would have brought the volunteers to their quarters in 1803. In the nature of things the beacons were easier to set up and abandon than bodies of men, and notwithstanding the support provided by Birch for his brainchild, the history of the beacons does reflect more accurately than that of the volunteers and local militia the reality of the threat of a French landing in Essex during the Napoleonic Wars.

FOOTNOTES

1. Burrows, J.W.: *Essex Units in the War 1914-1919, The Essex Yeomanry, Vol 3* (n.d., c1925)
2. Boyden, P.B.: "A System of Communication throughout each County" Fire Beacons and their role in the Defence of the Realm 1803-11', *National Army Museum Annual Report 1978-1979*, 9-13
3. *List of the Officers of the ... Fencible Cavalry and Infantry... Militia etc* (1796), 206. Cf Burrows *op. cit.*, 44 who states that 'Yeomanry Cavalry and Volunteer Infantry did not make their appearance in Essex until 1798'.
4. *Ibid.*, 1801 edition.
5. *Volunteers of the United Kingdom 1803*, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 9 and 13 Dec 1803, 17-18.
6. Lieutenancy Minutes E(ssex) R(ecord) O(fice) L/M 39, 160-8; Chelmsford was later transferred to Hall's Division, and Barstable and Chafford to Scratton's, *ibid.* 171-4. For a copy of the 'Plan for establishing a system of communication throughout each county' which advocated the division of shires, and other measures for the expedition of local defence measures see the copy in National Army Museum 8108-7-10.
7. Copy of letter in Hanson Papers, ERO D/DHa 0/12 ff11 and 12.
8. ERO L/M 40, 25.
9. *ibid.* 30-2, minutes of 19 Aug meeting.
10. *ibid.* 34-5.
11. *ibid.* 50-1.
12. *ibid.* 54-5.
13. *The Times* 31 Oct 1803.
14. *ibid.* 5 Nov 1803.

15. ERO L/M 40 minutes of 4 Nov meeting.
16. ERO D/DHa 0/13 ff15-18.
17. ERO L/M 40, 90-1
18. Chatham to Braybrooke 30 Aug 1806, Braybrooke to Parker 9 Sep 1806, Birch to Parker 15 Sep 1806, Circular to Lieutenants of Division 16 Sep 1806, Parker to Braybrooke 20 Sep 1806, Lieutenancy Correspondence - ERO L/C 2/1. For details of the sale of beacon materials in Hall's Division, then under J. Tyrell, see ERO D/DKe F9.
19. ERO L/C 2/8 Braybrooke to Parker 8 Dec 1807.
20. According to the Monthly Army List he was in Edinburgh by Oct 1811.
21. ERO D/DHa 0/12 ff7 & 8 - where not dated, but it must predate the letter of 12 Sep 1803; see next note.
22. *ibid* f3, Birch to Hanson 12 Sep 1803.
23. ERO L/C 2/1 Birch to Parker 15 Sep 1806.
24. *Eleventh Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry: Departments of the Adjutant General and Quarter Master General*. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 26 Feb 1810, 106-7, Qs 18-20.
25. Pierpoint Morgan Library New York, Murray-Pultenay Papers Vol 24, p1327. Capt J. Harvey AQMG Colchester to Maj Gen J. Murray Chelmsford, 13 Jan 1808.
26. Birch to Tyrell 3 Apr 1808, ERO D/DKe F9.
27. Minutes in ERO L/M 41.
28. Birch to Parker 15 May 1808 and enclosed letter to Lieutenants of Division, ERO L/C 25. The map is reproduced in Burrows *op. cit* facing p 25, and in facsimile in Wood, R.G.E. (Compiler), *Essex and the French Wars 1793-1815* (1977), No. 37.
29. Birch to Parker 26 Dec 1808, *ibid*.
30. Birch to Parker 4 Jul 1809, Capt J. Vernon to Parker 7 Aug 1809, ERO L/C 2/8.
31. For example, James Burket who minded the Gosfield Beacon, refs in Boyden *op. cit.* fn 14.
32. Bill in ERO L/C 2/8 with letter Birch to Parker 22 Nov 1809, which mentions the difficulty of getting the money to the attendants.
33. ERO L/C 2/8 Deputy Commissary General J. Thomson to Parker 7 Dec 1809.
34. *ibid* Birch to Parker 26 Jul 1811.
35. This is the cost of minding 14 beacons at 3s per week for a 52 week year. The Colchester and Danbury beacons were looked after by soldiers from the near-by barracks, see memorandum cited in note 28.
36. Out of an establishment of 7561 there were 7008 enrolled in Dec 1803, calculated from source cited in note 3. According to James Willson's 'View of the Volunteer Army of Great Britain', 1806, (reprinted in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 31 (1953)) the total of effectives was 7130. By adding the 1803 strengths of the units listed in the 1807 Volunteer List omitted by Willson a total of 7354 is obtained. The number of units was 53 in 1803, 43 in 1806 and 47 in 1807.
37. Fortescue, J.W. *The County Lieutenancy and the Army 1803-1814* (1909), 187-9.
38. *ibid* 179-82.
39. *ibid* 211-5.
40. See also Atkins, A. *The Local Militia, containing a correct abstract, The Act for establishing a permanent Local Militia* (London, n.d.), 10-2.
41. Burrows *op. cit* 58-60.
42. *A List of the Officers of the Local Militia of Great Britain 1811*, 79-83.
43. Burrows *op.cit* 64-8.
44. *ibid* 61.

Work of Essex County Council Archaeology Section 1982

Edited by DEBORAH PRIDDY

This is the seventh annual report by the Archaeology Section of Essex County Council's Planning Department (Couchman (ed.), 1976, 144-183; 1977, 60-94; 1979, 32-77; Eddy (ed.), 1980, 51-85; Eddy and Priddy (eds.), 1981, 32-47; Priddy (ed.), 1982, 111-132).

Summaries of the larger excavations undertaken by the Section are described on pp. 156-165.

Items are arranged in chronological order, multi-period sites being listed under the principal period represented. Parish and site names, national grid references and County Sites and Monuments Record number are given. Members of the Section who have contributed include: J. D. Hedges (County Archaeological Officer), N. Brown, D. G. Buckley, M. R. Eddy, C. P. Clarke, H. J. Major, H. E. Martingell, B. Milton, D. Priddy, C. Turner, R. Turner and S. Tyler. Contributors are referred to by initials at the beginning of each report.

The Section is grateful to all those who undertook site observations on its behalf, and to those who have contributed specialist reports. Descriptions of unillustrated finds can be found in the Sites and Monuments Record.

GREAT WALTHAM, HOWE STREET (unprovenanced) (D.G.B., H.E.M.)

A bifacially flaked axe or adze (Fig. 1.1) loaned to Chelmsford Museum for study (Ch.E.M., Acc. No. ID 1540).

Dark to mid-grey flint with inclusions, one side patinated light blue-grey. Sides convex, cutting edge sharpened by transverse removal flakes. Thin profile, narrow pointed butt.

Length: 200 mm, width: 63 mm, thickness: 32 mm.

This form of implement seems to occur throughout the Mesolithic, and is an addition to the published distribution in Essex (Jacobi, 1980, fig 6).

Finds: Private possession.

NAVESTOCK (unprovenanced) (D.G.B., H.E.M.)

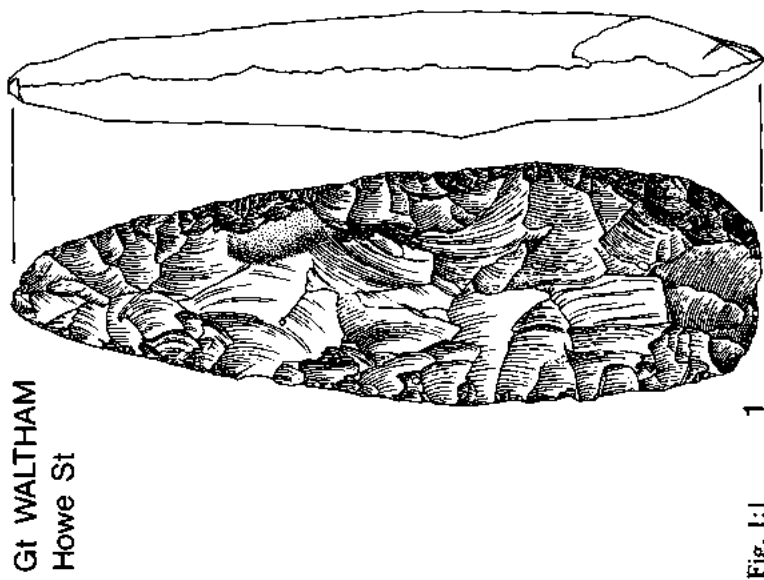
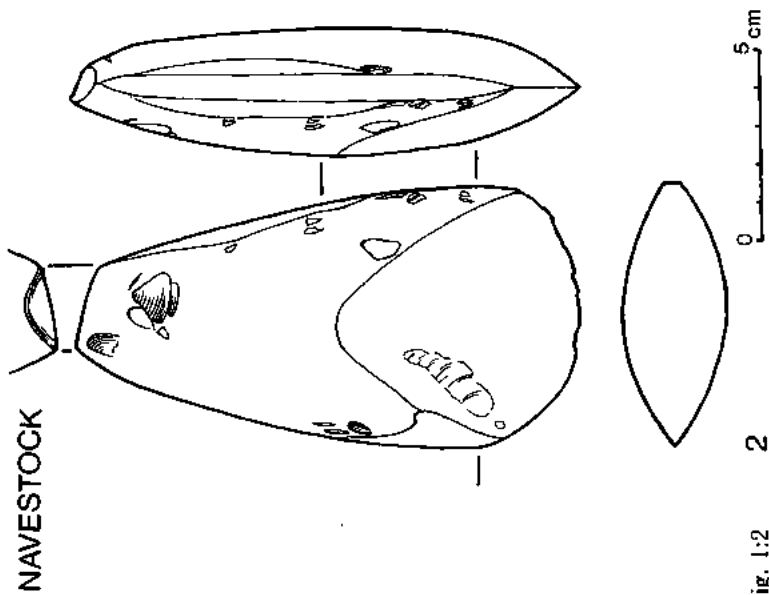
Polished flint axe-head (Fig. 1.2), donated to Chelmsford Museum by Mrs. H. Bridges, and lent for study.

Patchy olive green-grey in colour, flattened sides, tapering near the medium to narrow butt, either broken or formed by a single detached flake. Very broad, gently curved edge with slight damage. Edge and butt symmetrically opposed, thick profile.

Length: 134 mm, width: 67 mm, thickness: 33 mm.

One of a small number of Neolithic axes recorded from West Essex (Hedges, 1980, fig. 14), it is paralleled by Type 'L' in Adkins and Jackson's study (1978, 36-7; figs. 192-195).

Finds: Ch. E. M., Acc. No. 1982:119.



Excavation of a Bronze Age Ring-ditch
CLACTON, RUSH GREEN, TM 156154 (TM 11/67) (DGB, DP)

Introduction

Prior to housing development a ring-ditch, previously recorded by aerial photography (Plate I), and sectioned by a sewer Trench in 1975 (Couchman (ed), 1976, 147-9), was excavated. Its interpretation as a ploughed-out barrow was confirmed and a date in the middle Bronze Age established by radiocarbon dating. This account forms the final report for this site and a full level III archive report is deposited in the SMR (TM 11.67).



Plate I

(Photo: N.M.R.)

The cropmarks are located to the west of Rush Green Road in an area designated for housing (Fig. 2). Topographically the land is flat, comprising terrace sands and gravels, extensively overlain by brickearths and loams (Jermyn 1974). Aerial photographs show that the area is bisected by a network of periglacial ice-wedge casts.

The cropmarks were first photographed by Cdr. R. H. Farrands in 1962 when the whole area was under cultivation.

Cropmark features identified include the ring-ditch reported here, a further five ring-ditches of varying diameters, an oval enclosure, a rectilinear field system and the ice-wedge casts.

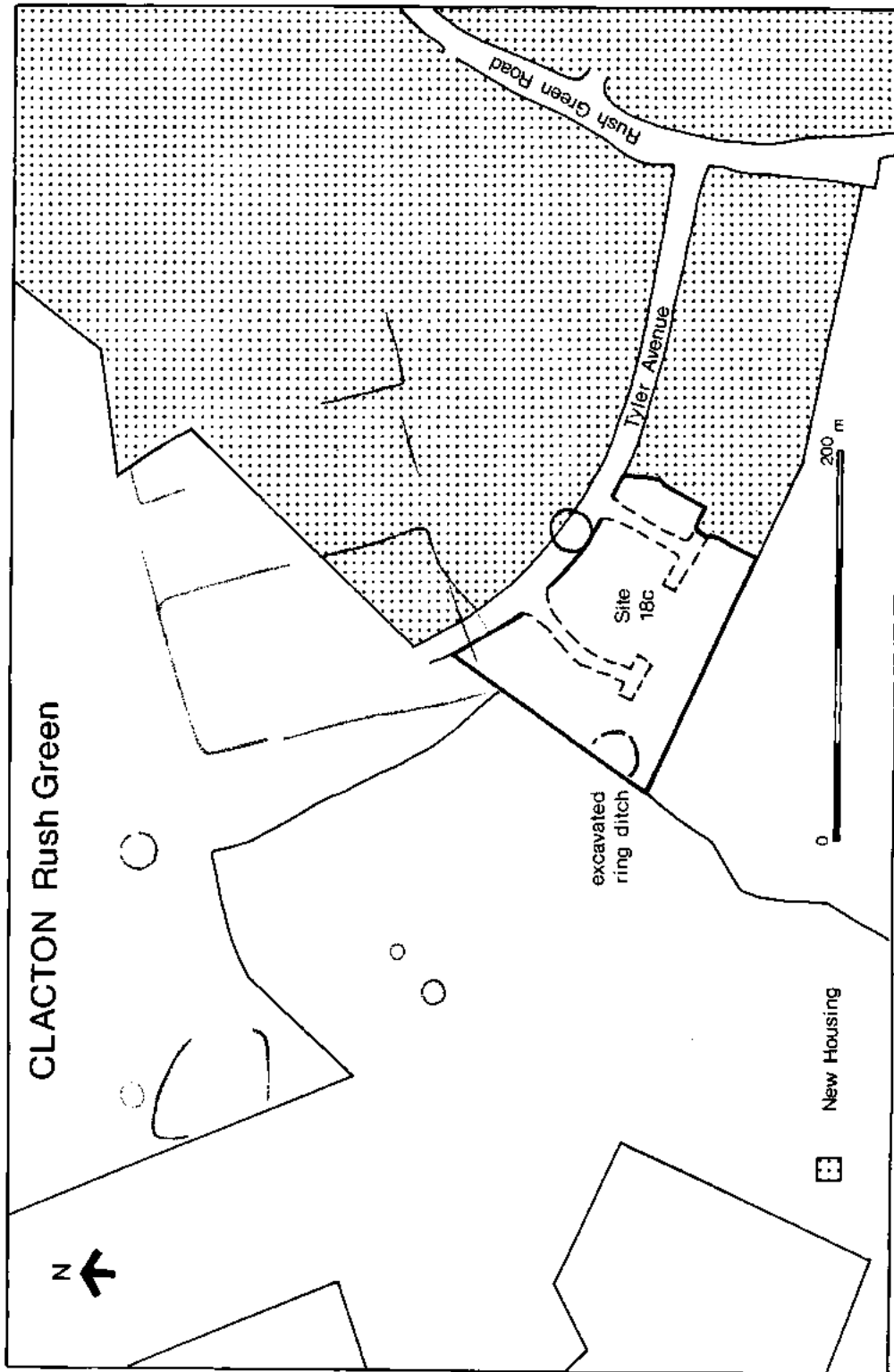


Fig. 2

The Excavations

The objectives were to confirm the ring-ditch dimensions, locate any internal features and, if possible, to provide a date for the cropmark.

The topsoil and subsoil (layers 1 and 2) were removed by machine. Cutting 1 exposed an area *c.* 8 by 7 m. over the central area of the ring-ditch, with two extensions to locate the ditch to the south and east. Cutting 2 located the ditch to the north. Three sections of the ditch were excavated by hand and all potential features within the interior examined (Fig. 3).

The ditch (Feature 1) enclosed an area of *c.* 22 m diameter. Approximately central to this was an oval pit containing a cremation (Feature 2). All other features investigated were interpreted as root or animal disturbance. However, a number produced finds (Features 3 and 4), and for this reason the main disturbances are shown on the site plan.

The Ditch (F1): Excavated sections ranged in width from 2 to 3 m, and showed considerable variation in profile (Fig. 4, A-A, B-B, C-C). Silting was primarily brown sandy loam, with occasional pebble lenses, becoming clayey towards the bottom of the ditch. Detailed layer descriptions, with Munsell colour chart descriptions are contained in the archive report.

The only finds were a small number of flints and abraded sherds from the upper levels of the ditch. A charcoal sample from C2, F1, II (5), including a variety of plant species, gave a radiocarbon date of 3310 ± 70 (1360 b.c.)

The Burial Pit (F2): This was oval, 1.10 by 0.85 m and cut to a maximum depth of 25 cm below layer (2), i.e. 1.05 cm below present ground level (Fig. 4, D-D). Layer descriptions are as follows:-

1. Plough soil
2. Light brown sandy clay loam (10 YR5/6)
3. Light brown sandy clay loam containing charcoal (10 YR5/4)
4. Lens of sand/fine gravel (cf natural)
5. Concentration of fine grey loam containing charcoal and small pieces of fired clay (5 YR5/6).

Layer (6), not seen in section, but shown on plan (Fig. 3) comprised a pile of cremated bone. Both (5) and (6) were deposits of *c.* 30 cm diameter and 15 cm depth, the compactness of which suggests deposition in an organic container, such as leather, basket or wood, of which no trace survived.

The only find from the burial pit was a single flint flake. Charcoal from layer (3) was exclusively of oak and gave a radiocarbon date of 3040 ± 80 (1090 b.c.), while that from layer (5) contained a variety of plant species.

The Finds

Pottery

All sherds are slightly abraded and exhibit no indications of form, surface treatment or decoration.

C1 - (2)/sub-soil: 3 sherds, dark brown hard fabric, 12.5 mm thick, with calcined flint tempering > 0.5 mm and occasional larger grits > 4 mm.

C1, F1, III, (2): 2 sherds mid-dark brown, friable fabric with occasional calcined flint grits > 2 mm and abundant flint tempering > 0.5 mm; 1 sherd orange-brown hard fabric occasional flint grits > 3 mm.

C1, F1, III, (3): 2 sherds with 6 chips, pinky-orange, sandy fabric with dark brown core (11 mm thick).

C1, F4, -, (3): 3 sherds and one chip flint-tempered pottery, hard lamellar orange-brown fabric, with high proportion of crushed calcined flints > 2 mm (6.5 mm thick).

In the absence of diagnostic features no certain date can be ascribed to any of these sherds, although the fabrics would not be out of place in an early-middle Bronze Age context.

Flint (H. Martingell)

A total of 19 natural and worked flint pieces were recovered from layers (1) and (2), feature (1) and feature (2).

CLACTON Rush Green

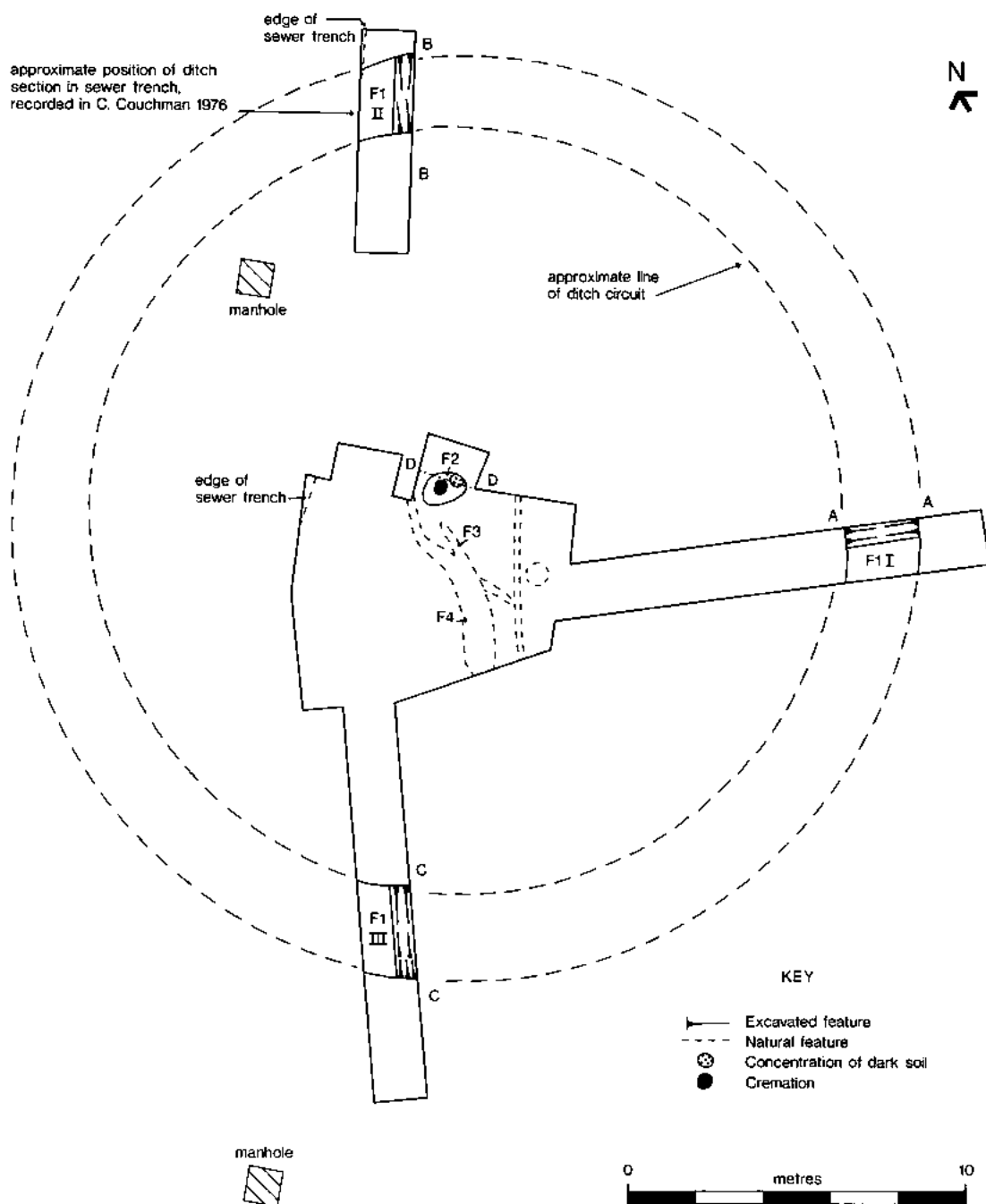


Fig. 3

CLACTON Rush Green

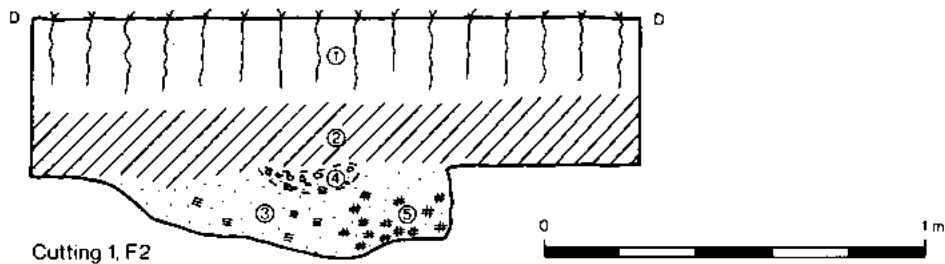
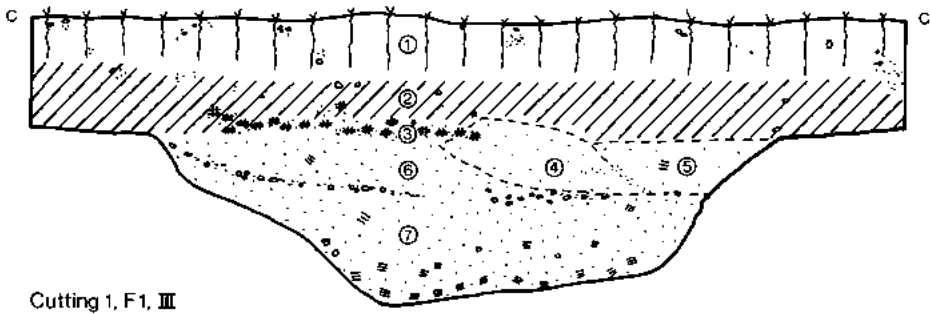
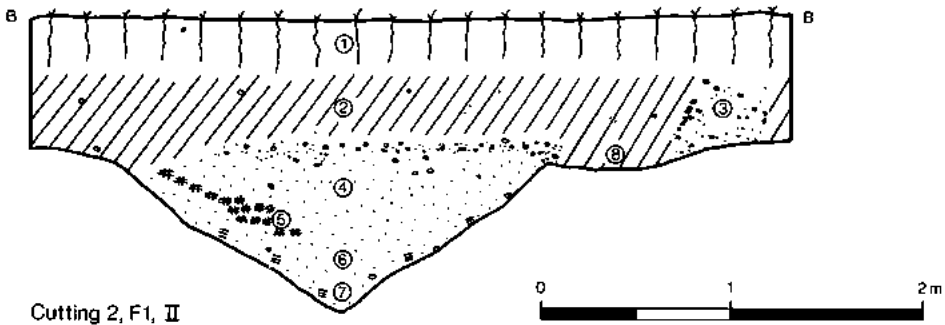
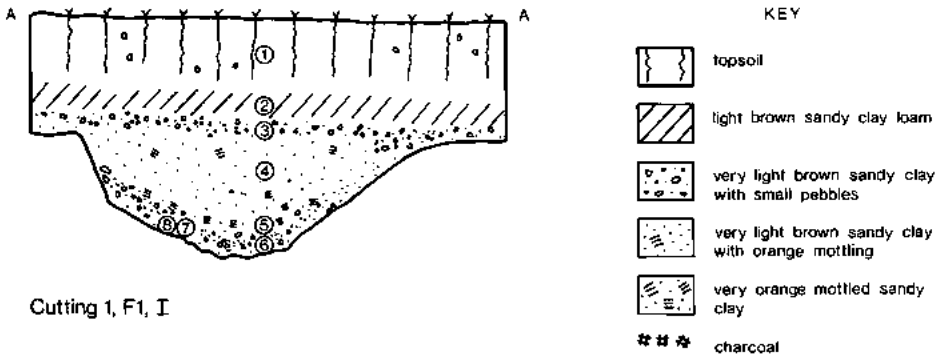


Fig. 4

Fig. 5.1 Scraper on secondary flake with retouch extending around three-quarters of the perimeter C1 (2).

Fig. 5.2 1 retouched fragment C1 (1).

Fig. 5.3 1 disc core/core scraper C1, F1, III (3).

Fig. 5.4 1 blade butt. C1, F2 (3).

CLACTON Rush Green

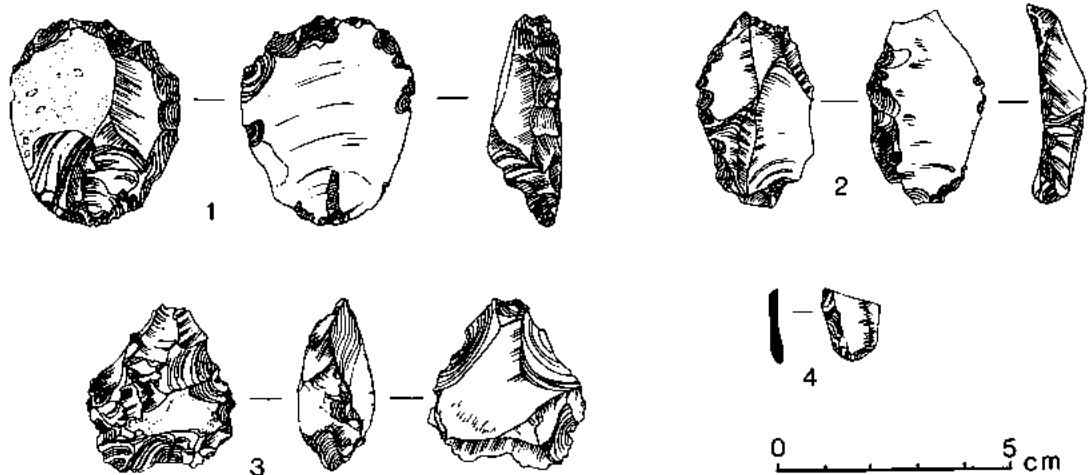


Fig. 5

Also 13 unretouched flakes (6 tertiary, 6 secondary and 1 primary), 1 tabular piece, possibly a core, and 1 burnt natural piece.

The scraper, disc core and blade butt (Fig. 5: 1, 3, 4) are all well-made neolithic pieces. The remaining flint work is irregular in quality, suggesting a date not earlier than the Neolithic and probably much later.

The Cremation (F. Powell)

Cremated bone from C1, F2 (6) formed a compact mass making extraction difficult. The bone was white in colour with moderate fragment size (15-20 mm) and slight to moderate fissuring, indicating more or less complete cremation before burial. The presence of cranium, long bones and phalanges suggests that the complete skeleton was buried and recovered.

A small quantity of unidentifiable cremated bone was also recovered from C1, F3 (3).

Environmental Evidence

Charcoal (M. Taylor)

Charcoal samples were submitted from two contexts:

C2, F1, II(5): This contained a variety of identifiable species including:

- Flaxinus excelsior* (ash) - 1 fragment.
- Ilex aquifolium* (holly) - 2 fragments.
- Corylus avellana* (hazel) - 16 fragments
- Alnus glutinosa* (alder)
- Pomoideaceae*
- Salix* sp (willow)
- Populus* sp (poplar) - 2 fragments
- Quercus* sp. (oak) - 37 fragments

C1, F2, (3): All the charcoal was *Quercus* sp. It was of particular interest that high magnification was required to identify the rings measuring less than 1 mm.

The absence of other species may also be significant. It is suggested that the body might have been cremated in an oak coffin. Alternatively, a great forest tree was used to build the pyre. However, if this was the case some contamination would still be expected.

Plant macrofossils (P. Murphy)

Samples of charred plant remains from two contexts were examined, both had been wet-sieved in a 1 mm mesh before they were received. The following plant remains were present:

	C2, F1 (5) (Central Burial)	C1, F2 (5) (Ring-Ditch)
<i>Medicago lupulina</i> - type (seeds)	-	4
<i>Rubus</i> type (thorn)	1	-
<i>Plantago lanceolata</i> L. (seeds)	-	6
<i>Galium aparine</i> L. (fruitlets)	1	-
<i>Arrhenatherum elatius</i> var. <i>bulbosum</i> (tubers)	-	+++
Indeterminate cereal (caryopsis fragment)	-	1
Indeterminate cereal (culm bases)	-	++
Indeterminate (bud)	1	-
Indeterminate (seeds)	1	2

In addition a few modern intrusive seeds of *Silene alba*, *Atriplex* sp., *Polygonum aviculare*, *Sambucus nigra*, and shells of *Cecilioides acicula* were present.

The most conspicuous feature of the assemblage from the burial pit is the abundance of whole and fragmentary onion couch tubers (*Arrhenatherum elatius* var. *bulbosum*). Tubers of this have been found in association with other Bronze Age cremations at Abingdon, Oxfordshire (Jones, 1978) and North Shoebury, Essex (Murphy, forthcoming). These may represent deliberate deposition of edible tubers. In this deposit, however, the presence of culm bases of cereals suggests another possible explanation: that uprooted onion couch plants and cereal straw may have been used as a kindling for a fire, and that only the denser, more compact parts of these plants became carbonised. Although the particular significance of the burial pit deposit is not clear, there is little doubt about the general type of vegetation represented in the two samples from the site. They contain a mixture of cereal remains with seeds of tall weed plants, including black medick, ribwort, plantain and goosegrass, onion couch tubers and a possible bramble thorn. Tall predominantly grassy weed vegetation including these species is nowadays commonly found along hedgerows at the margins of arable fields.

RADIOCARBON DATES

Harwell No.	Site Context	Date bp-1950	date bp
HAR-5405	C2, F1, II (5)	1360 b.c.	3310 ± 70
HAR-5405	C1, F2 (3)	1090 b.c.	3040 ± 80

Although the Rush Green ring-ditch produced no diagnostic finds, the two radiocarbon dates place it within the middle to late Bronze Age. It can therefore be associated chronologically with the regional group of the 'Deverel-Rimbury' culture recognised at Ardleigh, Chitts Hill, and elsewhere in the region. (Erith and Longworth, 1960; Couchman, 1975; Hinchliffe, *in prep*; Crummy, 1977; Lawson *et al.*, 1981).

The burial appears to have been a single unurned cremation in a pit, although further burials may have been made in the barrow mound. It was located at the approximate centre of the ring-ditch,

suggesting it was a primary burial. However, there is a discrepancy in that the radiocarbon date from the burial pit is some three hundred years later than that from the lower silts of the ditch, therefore it may be a secondary burial. The possibility of further burials within the unexcavated area of the ring-ditch interior cannot be discounted.

Certain features of the burial were of interest. Pieces of oak charcoal, from originally substantial timber, were scattered throughout the burial pit. Possibly derived from a wooden coffin or the pyre, their density suggests cremation occurred at the burial site. The bone was subsequently collected and may have been deposited within an organic container. As part of the burial rites a similarly contained deposit of ashey soil was placed within the burial pit. This incorporated small pieces of fired clay and a variety of plant remains which contrast with the exclusively oak charcoal within the general fill of the pit. These would seem to derive from a different source and it is likely that the activity giving rise to this burnt deposit occurred away from the burial site.

The aerial photographs indicate a continuous ring-ditch, without causeways, although where excavated it was of variable depth and width. The sections gave no obvious indications of re-cutting. Charcoal within one ditch segment may represent subsequent 'ritual' activity or merely the burning of cleared scrub on a convenient piece of vacant ground. The dimensions of the ditch would support a substantial mound consistent with a bowl barrow (Ashbee, 1960).

The ring-ditch is one of six recorded in the immediate area, all of which are likely to represent ploughed-out barrows. They do not appear to form a nucleated cemetery, indeed, few ring-ditches in the area constitute tightly nucleated groups, but a generally dispersed pattern. A group of fifteen ring-ditches at Millers Farm, c. 1.5 km to the south, is the nearest, and is also one of the few groups which could be loosely described as a nucleated cemetery.

The Rush Green ring-ditches are among several hundred now recorded from north-east Essex, where their distribution is particularly dense (Lawson *et al.*, 1981, fig. 36). This is, in part, due to conditions of cropmark formation and the bias of fieldwork, however, on the whole it seems to approximate to the true picture, except in the immediate coastal belt where development has obscured the evidence. The majority of excavated ring-ditches in Essex have been assigned middle-late Bronze Age dates. The large numbers of them on the Tendring Plateau reflect the attraction of this area for early settlement commencing in the Neolithic (Hedges, 1980, 27, figs. 14-15) and continuing during the Bronze Age (Couchman, 1980, 40-42).

Acknowledgements

The excavation took place by kind permission of Mr. G. T. Mann, the developer of the land, who is thanked for his co-operation and for kindly providing a machine for the removal of topsoil. Thanks are also given to E. C. Cressey, Consulting Civil Engineers, for making the arrangements; H. Martingell, P. Murphy, F. Powell, and M. Taylor for providing specialist reports; C. Johns and S. Double for volunteer assistance; M. Jecock for Figures 3 and 4 and H. Martingell for Figure 5.

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

WIVENHOE, KEELAR'S FARM, TM 050233, (TM 02/107) (D.P., B. May)

Attempts to locate and section a large rectangular crop-mark enclosure (Eddy (ed.), 1980, 59; fig. 5), prior to its destruction by mineral extraction, revealed several features. None were positively identifiable as the ditch since no finds were recovered and the field contains complex periglacial features. A watching brief has been maintained by Mrs. B. May.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA, PRITTLEWELL (unprovenanced) (N.B.)

A quantity of middle Iron Age pottery was recovered during road and railway works between 1923-30, on the site of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Provenance and associations were, unfortunately, not recorded (Fig. 6).

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA
Prittlewell

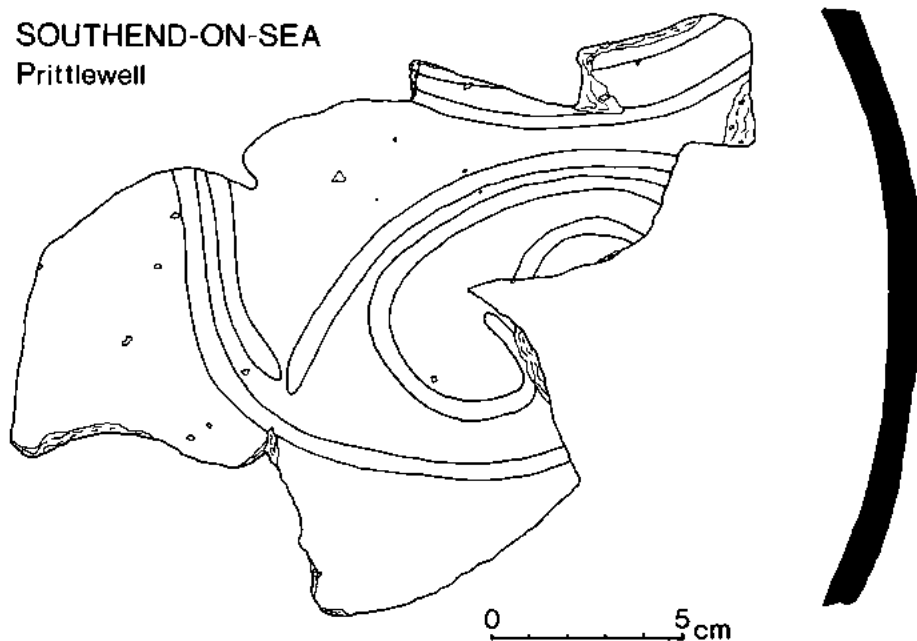


Fig. 6

Grey to grey-brown hard fabric, heavily tempered with large calcined flints and a little fine sand. Rounded profile. Exterior smoothed and partly burnished with curvilinear decoration, probably figure-drawn.

Although free-flowing decoration of this sort is unusual in a south-east Essex context, it probably dates to the Middle Iron Age. It is paralleled by a glauconite-tempered, everted rim, footring bowl from Mucking (M. U. Jones, pers. comm.). The style of decoration is more common in the Upper Thames Valley and the Chilterns, and can be closely paralleled by a bowl from Puddlehill (Beds.) (Cunliffe, 1978, fig. A: 22/4).

Finds: S.M.

LAYER-DE-LA-HAYE, MALTING BARN, TL 97921953 (TL91/102) (C.T., R.T., H.J.M.)

A segmental ditch of mid-1st-century A.D. date was found during the renovation of Malting Barn. One segment (Ditch A), excavated by the owners Mr. and Mrs. Burtenshaw, was c. 7.1 m long, between 0.60-0.80 m wide and 0.5-0.35 m deep, with a 'U'-shaped profile.

Two ashy, lower fills, probably contemporary, contained a large quantity of Belgic pottery. These were sealed by a thick sterile layer of redeposited natural.

Part of a second segment (Ditch B) was badly disturbed, and contained less pottery in its grey sandy-loam fill. This segment was probably c. 5 m long, up to 1.5 m wide and 0.40 m deep. It is possible that one or two further segments lie underneath a shed, others may extend to the east and west.

Little can be said about the ditch in isolation, but the pottery is of some interest.

Pottery

The 1st-century A.D. pottery is of pre- and post-conquest date. 540 sherds, in a wide range of late Iron Age and early Roman fabrics, include 'Romanising' coarse wares (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 206-7). The traded wares consist of Terra Nigra, Terra Rubra, Gallo-Belgic and/or Roman white wares, Arretine ware, South Gaulish samian and Spanish amphorae.

The complete range of identifiable forms, in all wares are illustrated in Figs. 7-9.

LAYER-DE-LA-HAYE

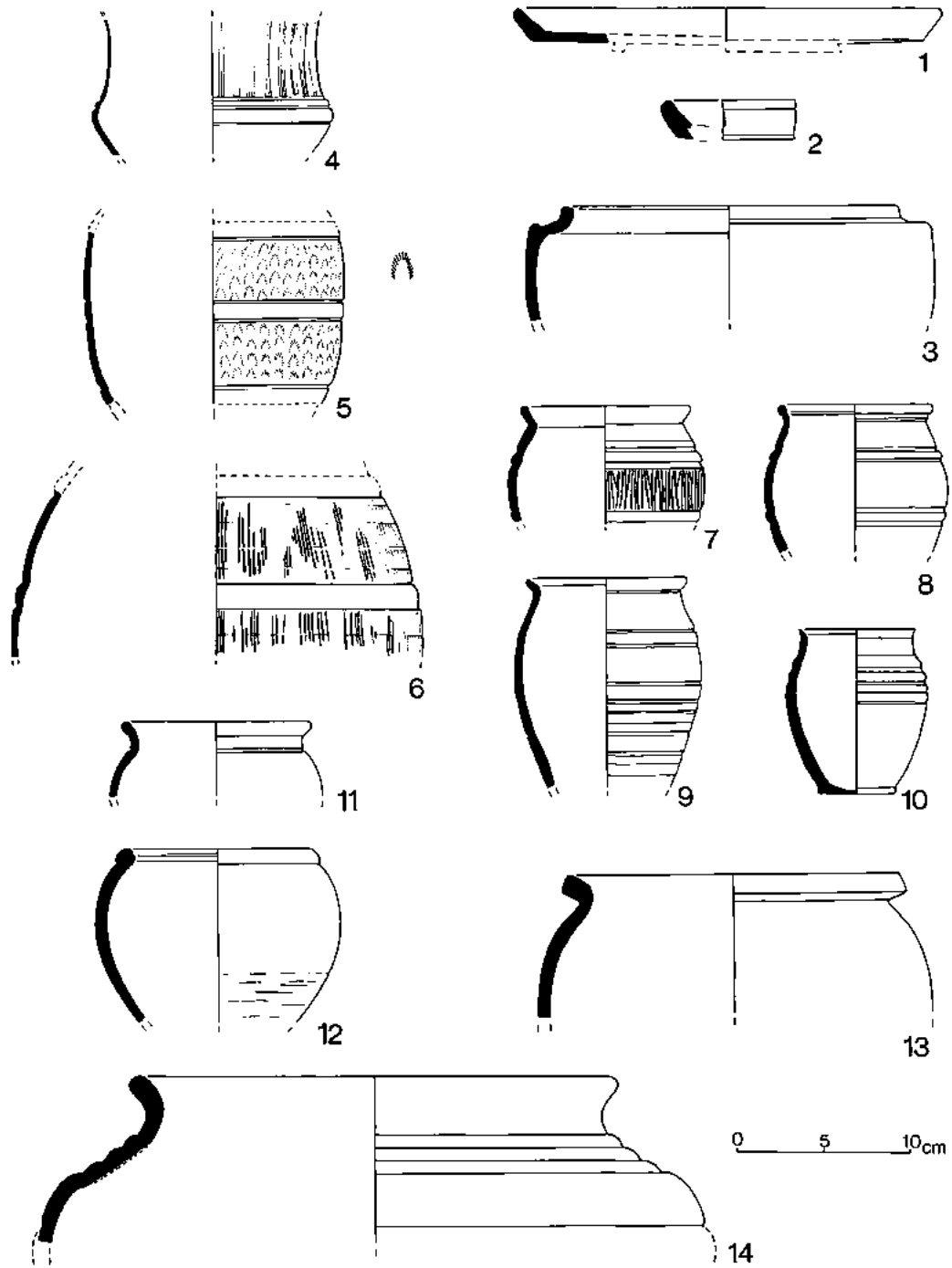


Fig. 7

LAYER-DE-LA-HAYE

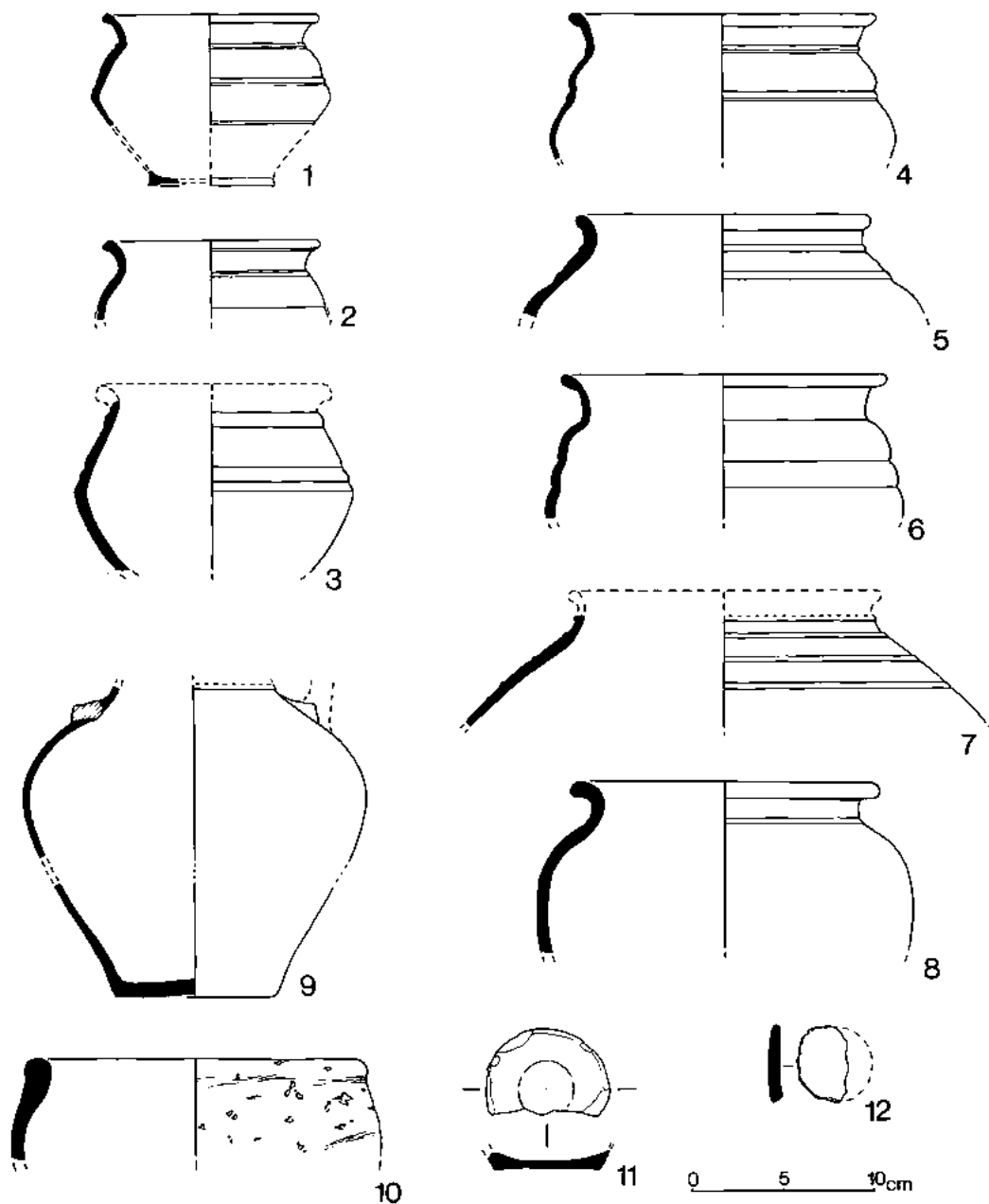


Fig. 8

LAYER-DE-LA-HAYE

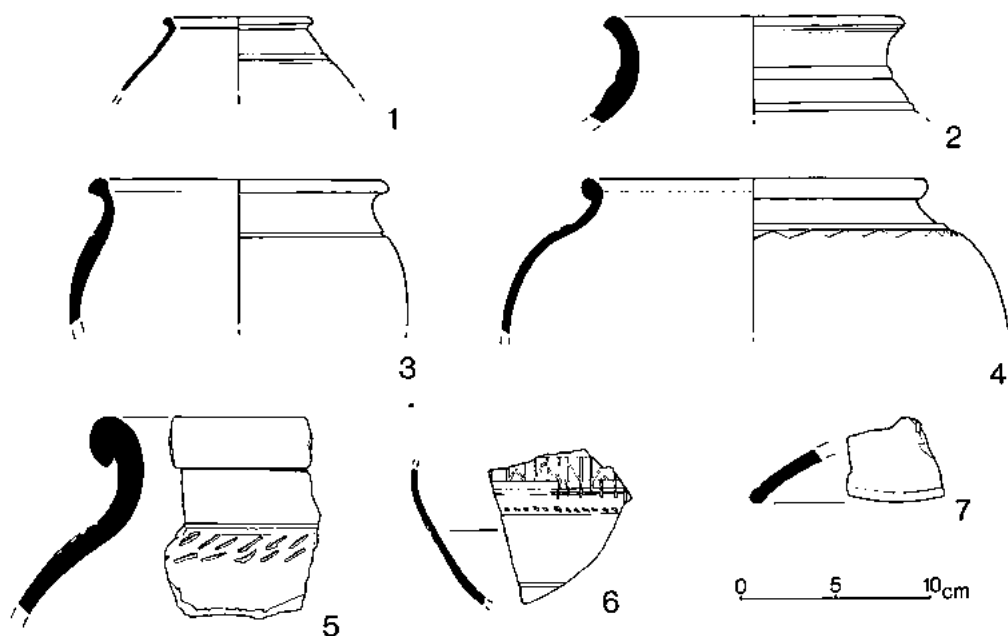


Fig. 9

Ditch A

Traded wares consist of an Arretine ware fragment of Augustan-Tiberian date, a Terra Nigra platter sherd, sherds from a Terra Rubra girth beaker, 33 sherds in an imitation Terra Rubra fabric, equivalent to TR 4 (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 204), 3 small Gallo-Belgic or Roman white ware sherds and a very abraded handle fragment from a Beltran I/Cam. f.185B Spanish amphora (identified by Dr. D. F. Williams). The majority of the coarse wares are in Belgic grog-tempered and Romanising fabrics, together with 3 small shell-tempered ware sherds and a small sherd from a Roman sandy grey ware cordon-shouldered jar/bowl.

Platters

Fig. 7.1 Terra Nigra platter with micaceous surface finish (cf. Rigby 1973 fig. 5.1). Similar to Cam. f.I, normally considered to be pre-conquest, although the general date range for importation of Terra Nigra wares was c. 10 B.C.-A.D. 85.

Fig. 7.2 Grog-tempered platter, cf. Cam. f.21. One of the most common pre-conquest platter forms in Britain, though some examples are also known from early pre-conquest deposits (Thompson 1982, 441-2).

Bowls

Fig. 7.3 Cam f.253 in a grog-tempered fabric. Early 1st century A.D.

Beakers

Fig. 7.4 Terra Rubra girth-beaker decorated with sets of comb-incised vertical lines, in a fabric equivalent to TR 3 (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 204). Terra Rubra wares were imported from the pre-Claudian period to c. A.D. 60. Girth-beakers in this fabric are considered to be characteristic of the first half of the 1st century A.D.

Fig. 7.5 Butt-beaker in TR 4 fabric decorated with stamped palmettes. Similarly decorated beakers are known from Camulodunum (Cam. f.116), Kelvedon, and Skeleton Green (Herts). Butt-beakers of this form were characteristic of the first half of the 1st-century A.D. and were less common after the conquest (Thompson 1982, 507).

Fig. 7.6 Butt-beaker in TR 4, decorated with comb-incised lines.

Fig. 7.7-9 Plain barrel-shaped butt-beakers in grog-tempered fabrics. Date range as Fig. 7.5.

Fig. 7.10 Miniature beaker in TR 4. Date range as Fig. 7.5.

Jars/Bowls

Fig. 7.11 Grog-tempered jar.

Fig. 7.12 Grog-tempered jar with possible lid-seating groove. Thompson group CI-I, dated pre- and post-conquest.

Fig. 7.13 Grog-tempered jar, a common form, lasting until the end of the 1st-century A.D., often handmade (Thompson, 1982, 218) as this one may be.

Fig. 7.14 Large ripple-shouldered jar in grog-tempered fabric. Wide rimmed variant of rim types Thompson B2-1, spanning a broad date range, both pre- and post-conquest.

Fig. 8.1 Bowl, cf. Cam. f.216, in Romanising fabric. Some post-conquest examples are known of this 1st-century A.D. form, and the fabric may also suggest a later 1st-century A.D. date.

Fig. 8.2 Bowl version of jar Cam. f.218, in Romanising fabric. Can be placed in Thompson's DI-2, likely to be post-conquest. Rims from two other jars, also in Romanising fabrics, were found in Ditch A.

Fig. 8.3 Cordoned jar in 'grog' tempered or Romanising fabric. The cordon, high up under the rim, places this in Thompson's group B3-3, most commonly found, to date, in north-east Essex. Pre- and early post-conquest examples are known.

Fig. 8.4-5 Cam. f.218 jars in Romanising fabrics. Included in Thompson's groups B3-4 and D2-1, for which a 1st-century A.D. date is suggested. Sherds representing 3 or 4 vessels of this form were found in Ditch A, all in Romanising fabrics, and thus probably post-conquest.

Fig. 8.6 Ripple-shouldered jar in Romanising fabric, probably post-conquest.

Fig. 8.7 Part of a cordoned vessel in Romanising fabric, probably from the shoulder of a Cam. f. 231C jar (or possibly a bowl cf. Thompson's B3-4, *ibid* 152.3). Although the starting date for the form was in the first half of the 1st-century A.D., the form was not common until after the conquest.

Fig. 8.8 Jar in Romanising fabric, within Thompson's B1-3, late 1st-century B.C. to later 1st-century A.D. This example is closely paralleled by a jar from Lexden (*ibid* 101), and its fabric may also support a post-conquest date.

Fig. 8.9 Flagon, in a fine 'grog' tempered fabric with red surfaces. The base form is similar to that of Cam. f.132, and this vessel conforms closely, in both form and fabric, with Thompson group 6. Most examples of group 6 flagons, copying imported wares, occur in pre-conquest contexts, but some post-conquest vessels are known.

Fig. 8.10 Shell-tempered ware jar, similar in form to Thompson's C3. A rim sherd from a second vessel of this 1st-century A.D. form was also found in Ditch A.

Miscellaneous

Fig. 8.11 Trimmed base in Romanising fabric, possibly cut down to serve as a lid.

Fig. 8.12 Roughly rounded sherd or disc in Romanising fabric.

Ditch B

The imported wares consist of 3 small, worn, South Gaulish samian sherds from a f. 27 bowl and a dish, probably both in late Flavian fabrics; 9 small sherds from Gallo-Belgic beakers and/or Roman flagons in white or cream wares, and 6 small sherds and fragments from a Dressel 20 Spanish

amphora. The latter is most likely to be of 1st-century A.D. date in this context, but could be as late as 2nd century. 18 sherds in TR 4 were found, though only 3 small sherds of Belgic grog-tempered ware were present. With the exception of a hand-made plain body sherd in flint-tempered fabric, which is probably pre-Belgic and residual, the remaining coarse wares are all in Romanising, and a few, Roman, fabrics.

Beakers

Fig. 9.1 Butt-beaker in TR 4, similar in date range to Fig. 7.5 above. Other sherds in the same fabric were probably derived from beakers of the same form.

Jars/Bowls

Fig. 9.2 Gordon-shouldered jar in grog and sand tempered fabric. Fabric may be pre-conquest, although this form was also produced after the conquest.

Fig. 9.3 Bead rim jar with internal rim ledge, Romanising or early Roman fabric.

Fig. 9.4 Bead rim jar in Romanising fabric, decorated with an incised zig-zag line.

Fig. 9.5 Large storage jar with stab decorated shoulder, in grog-tempered fabric. Although the fabric is Belgic the rim form is Roman and this vessel is likely to be post-conquest.

Fig. 9.6 Sherd decorated with stabbing and burnished lines in Roman sandy coarse ware fabric.

Fig. 9.7 Lid, a development of Cam. lid type 3, in Romanising fabric.

Miscellaneous beaded and everted rims derived from at least 16 coarse ware jars/bowls were also found in Ditch B.

Discussion

The study of Belgic pottery suffers from a lack of closely dated forms. Vessels can usually only be assigned to a relatively earlier or later date within the period. The pottery from the sealed fills of Ditch A thus provides a useful range of associated and broadly contemporary forms of mid 1st-century A.D. date. That from Ditch B is less reliable.

The fine wares, and their copies, are of good quality, perhaps indicating the status of the site. However, the 7-8 vessels of native TR 4 may suggest that the more expensive Terra Rubra, available in Colchester, was generally beyond the purse of the occupants.

Other Finds

22 fragments of baked clay included a corner fragment of a triangular iron age loomweight, and fragments derived from a hearth or oven. These included part of a crucible, analysed by Mr. J. Evans of North East London Polytechnic, found to have been used for copper-alloy working.

Briquetage (730 g) included fragments of brine pans, a pedestal base and part of a pinch prop (de Brisay, 1975, 7-9). The presence of structural briquetage suggests an unknown salt-working site nearby. The nearest recorded red hill is at Peldon, c. 6 km to the south.

Discussion of the Site

The quantity of high quality pottery suggests an occupation of some status. Wealth may have been generated by agriculture or salt-making.

Its position at the southern end of the *Camulodunum* dyke system may be significant. Further evidence may be revealed by continuing building works.

Finds: Private possession.

CANVEY ISLAND, TQ 822833 (TQ 88/60) (C.T., D.P.)

Over 200 small sherds of Roman pottery, ranging in date from the 1st-century A.D. to the mid-3rd - 4th-century A.D. were recovered by Mrs. Traveller and members of the Section.

Imported wares included sherds of 1st or 2nd-century A.D. samian (including a f.37); colour-coated beakers, none of which are closely datable although one may be a Colchester product, while another is possibly an early Roman continental import; a poppy beaker sherd in fine grey ware, c. A.D. 80-190; a decorated London type ware sherd of late 1st- or early 2nd-century A.D. date and a sherd of *Ceramique a L'éponge* ware (from a bowl?), 3rd- or 4th- century.

The coarse wares consist of a common range of forms, including sherds from Colchester f.37/38 and f.39/40 type dishes, f.278 jars and ledge rim jars. The latter occur in sand with grog, or grog type inclusions, fabric, shell tempered wares and sandy Roman wares. One is decorated with a zig-zag line on the shoulder, in a sandy fabric with grog inclusions, similar to vessels found in association with Kiln I at Gun Hill, Thurrock (Drury and Rodwell, 1973, fig. 16.91). Also present was a flange rim dish sherd of mid 3rd- 4th-century A.D. date.

Finds: Private possession.

EXCAVATION OF THE ROMAN FEATURES, SPRINGFIELD, 1979-80, TL 72900615 (TL 70/163) (JDH, DGB)

Introduction

Excavation of a Neolithic cursus monument incorporated examination of features including a rectilinear enclosure of Roman date (Fig. 10). The opportunity has been taken to publish these Roman features in advance of the final report on the cursus (Hedges and Buckley 1981, and in prep).

The site lies on the gently sloping terrace, above the present day flood plain of the River Chelmer, at c. 35 m O.D. Pottery in the top 20 cm of the cursus ditch, spanning the whole Roman period, suggests it survived into the Roman period when its earthworks were ultimately destroyed by ploughing. The recording system used is based on that of the DoE Central Excavation Unit (Jefferies 1977). Layer descriptions include Munsell colour codes for 'wet' samples. Only the most significant feature section descriptions have been included in this report, but detailed accounts of all features are contained in the site archive (E.C.C. site No TL 70/163) in the County Sites and Monuments Record.

Roman Features (Figs. 10 and 11)

Details of Roman features are summarised in Table I. Only the following merit further description:-
Ditch 867 (Fig. 11): A V-shaped ditch with shallow slot at the bottom. Four layers were consistent throughout:-

1214 Silt loam, sparse pebbles. 10YR4/4 (Munsell code).

1215 Gravel, generally small pebbles up to 2 cm. diameter, Matrix as 1214.

1216 Silt loam, sparse pebbles. 7.5 YR4/4.

1217 Gravel, matrix silty clay loam 10YR4/4.

Dated to the 1st-century A.D. on the basis of a small number of sherds from the lower layers (see pottery report). It is also cut by later Roman features 889, 850, 949 and possibly 950.

Enclosure Ditch 870: Seven sections were cut across the line of this feature to confirm its overall form, three within Trench A (Fig. 10), and the rest within slit trenches N,P,R and V. Predominantly 'V'-shaped profile, although the illustrated profile (Fig. 11) is broader owing to its proximity to the corner, but the layers are consistent with other sections. A fourth, southern side to the enclosure was not confirmed.

1297 Silty clay loam, sparse stones. 10YR4/4

1159 Loam, common stones up to 4 cm diameter, 10YR5/4.

1178 Gravel, matrix sandy loam 10YR5/4.

Dated to the 4th-century A.D. on the basis of Rettendon type wares recorded from the primary silts.

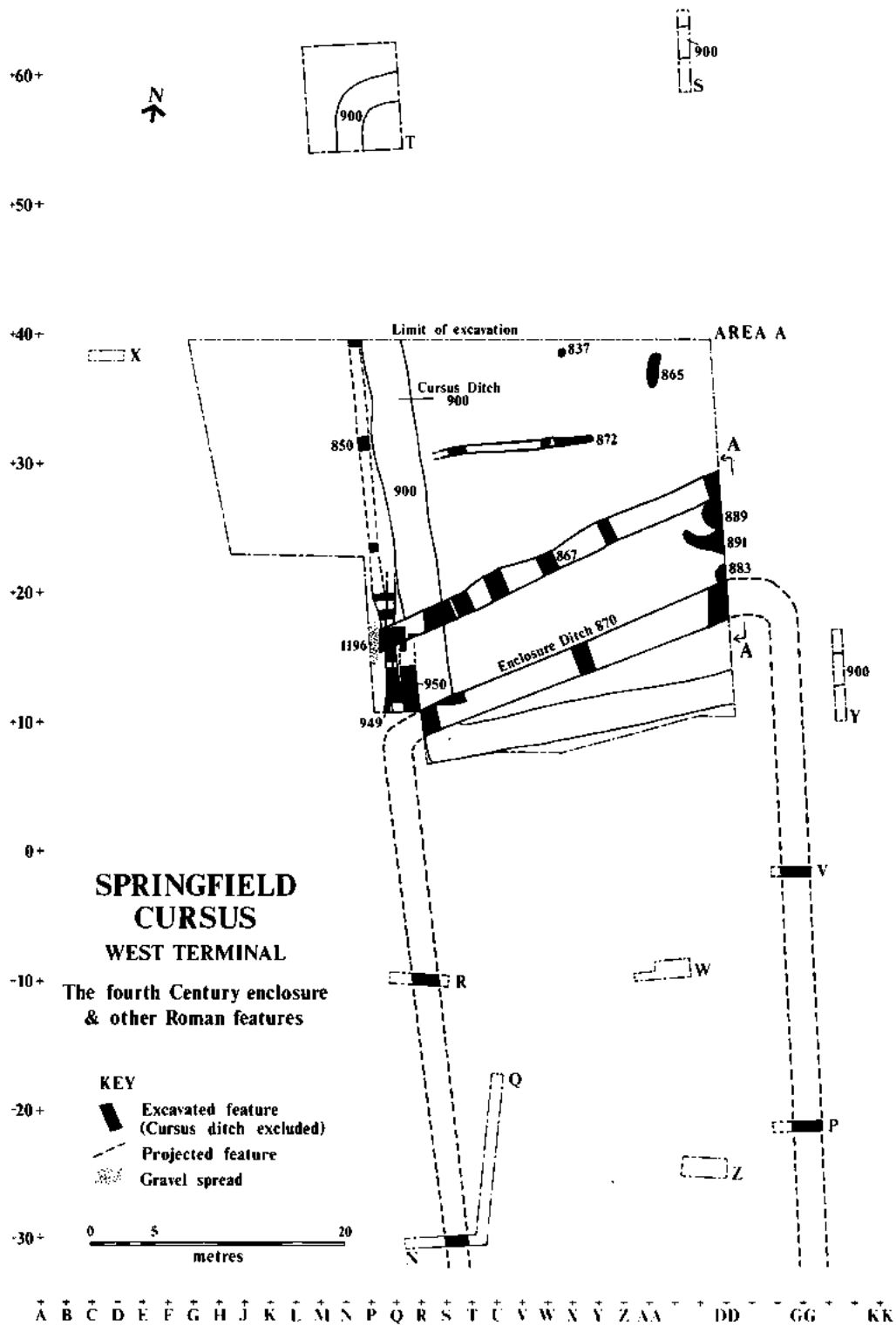
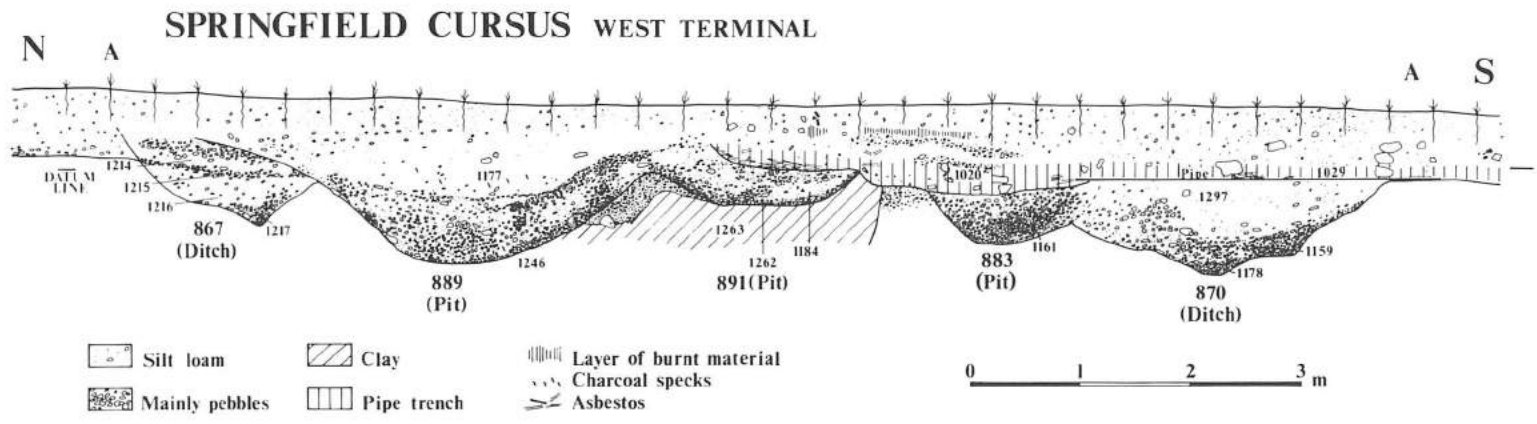


Fig. 10



Area A section A-A

Fig. 11

TABLE I. Springfield 1980 : Details of Roman features
(Depth of Features is taken from the machined surface)

Feature No.	Feature Interpretation	Max. dimensions (metres)			Finds		Comment
		N-S	E-W	Depth	Pottery	Other	
837	Post-hole	0.86	0.86	0.32	-	Gr	
850	Ditch	-	0.60	0.18		F, T	Cuts 1196,949,950
865	Pit	2.65	0.95	0.20	R	F,BC,T,S1,M	-
867	Ditch	2.00	-	0.82	N(?),MIA,LIA,R	F,BC,T	Cut by 889,850,949 See Fig. 11
870	Enclosure Ditch	2.90	-	1.02	N(1),MIA(1),LIA (?), R	F,BC,T,B,G	See Fig. 11
872	Ditch	0.80	-	0.24	R,IA(?)	F,T,M	-
883	Pit				M?	-	See Fig. 11
889	Pit	2.70	-	c.1.06	N(1),IA(?),R	F,T,B,S,Gr.	Cuts 867. See Fig. 11
891	Pit	1.70	2.60+	0.40	R,LIA(?)	F,B	See Fig. 11
949	Ditch	-	0.90	0.60	N(1),R	F,T,C	Cut by 850, 950
950	Ditch	-	1.30	0.44		F,T	Cuts 949
1196	Cobbled Surface	not determined		-	-	-	Overlies 867,950

F	=	Flint	C	=	Coin
BC	=	Burnt Clay	Gr	=	Grain
T	=	Tile	N	=	Neolithic
S1	=	Slag	MIA	=	Middle Iron Age
M	=	Metal	LIA	=	Late Iron Age
G	=	Glass	R	=	Roman
S	=	Stone	M	=	Medieval

Discussion

The limited excavation of Romano-British features at Springfield requires little discussion. Iron Age pottery was present in a number of residual contexts indicating occupation prior to the Roman period. Pottery, recovered from the ploughsoil, upper level of the cursus ditch and other features, spans the 1st to 4th-centuries A.D. A single post-hole, 837, was the only structural evidence recorded, and the cobbled surface, 1196, suggests a nucleus of settlement to the south-west of the excavated area. No specific purpose could be assigned to pits 865, 889, 891 and 883, and probably these represent activity at the fringe of the occupation area. Several phases of boundary alignment are represented by ditches 867, 872, 850, 949 and 950. Only ditch 867 showed up on aerial photographs, probably representing part of an extensive Roman field system. The rectangular single ditched enclosure, 870, may have been constructed during the 4th century A.D. The southern side was not confirmed, and a small part of the > 0.14 ha. interior investigated produced no evidence for function. This enclosure is an addition to the gazetteer of dated Essex enclosures (Priddy and Buckley forthcoming). The site also represents an addition to the distribution of rural settlements within the Chelmer Valley around the Roman town of *Caesarmagus* (Buckley and Hedges forthcoming). Cropmark evidence suggests extensive Iron Age and Roman field systems and settlement along the river terraces. Small enclosures of this form are common elements of 'multi-period' cropmark complexes in Essex, but this is the first to be dated to the later Roman period. Additional Roman occupation has recently been noted to the north-east (Priddy (ed), 1982, 122).

Environmental evidence supports an economy based, in part, on cereal production. However, the Chelmer flood plain is likely to have been used for stock grazing during the Roman period, much as it is today, and it is tentatively suggested that the enclosure was constructed close to this grazing area for stock control. A similar, slightly larger, enclosure is visible on aerial photographs c. 300 m to the east and others may eventually be identified elsewhere along the valley.

Artefacts

Coins (D.R. Rudling)

Illegible Ae. As or Dupondius. Probably 2nd-century. Context 1028, Seg. 930 (top of cursus ditch).

Barbarous Radiate. c.A.D. 270-290. Ae. 13 mm. Obverse: radiate head right. Reverse: (?) Pax Standing left. Context 1013, subsoil.

Helena. Commemorative issue struck after her death. c.A.D. 337-340. Ae. 4 of Rome. Obverse: (FLIVLHE-LEN-AE) AVG. Diademed and draped bust right. Reverse (PAX) PV - (BLICA). Pax standing left holding branch and transverse sceptre. Mint mark missing. (Hill and Kent 1972, 616). Context 1325, gully 949.

Charles II Copper farthing. Dated 1675, subsoil.

Iron (H.J. Major)

With the exception of a probable straight backed knife blade point; surviving dimensions; length: 8 cm; maximum width: 2 cm. Context 1135, Roman pit 865, corroded iron objects are probably modern.

Quernstone

Fragments of a lava rotary quern upper stone, bearing radial grooves and a poorly defined kerb. Diameter c. 35 cm, 4 cm thick at the outer edge. Context 1304, Roman ditch 949.

Glass

Fragment of light blue glass from square jar with moulded oval panels. Roman? Context 800 (topsoil).

Half of Roman 'melon bead'. Context 1063.

Fragment of light green glass. Context 1159 (Roman ditch 870).

Fired Clay

A total of 271 g of burnt clay was recovered from various contexts. The largest amount from the top of Iron Age ditch 867. No evidence for origin.

Iron Age and Roman Pottery (C. Turner)

The pottery consists of c. 500 sherds, mostly small and abraded. The lack of forms, and condition of the surviving material means dating is dependent largely upon fabric evidence, though few fabrics can be related to a known place of manufacture. As a result only a broad date range can be suggested for most feature fills.

Middle Iron Age

Represented by 9 sherds from ditch 867 and a few scattered small sherds and fragments. Forms and fabrics conform closely with the Little Waltham series (Drury 1978). A minimum of 9 Belgic grog tempered coarse wares were recovered.

Fig. 12.1 Black throughout, dark brownish-black patches on the external surface; sand tempered; traces of burnishing externally. Middle Iron Age, Little Waltham form 13 (Drury, 1978, fig. 38). Context 1158, Ditch 867.

Fig. 12.2 Black throughout, except externally below the rim which has a dark brown core and surface; sand tempered; traces of burnishing externally. Middle Iron Age, Little Waltham form 4 (Drury 1978, fig. 37). Context 1172, Ditch 867.

SPRINGFIELD CURSUS West Terminal

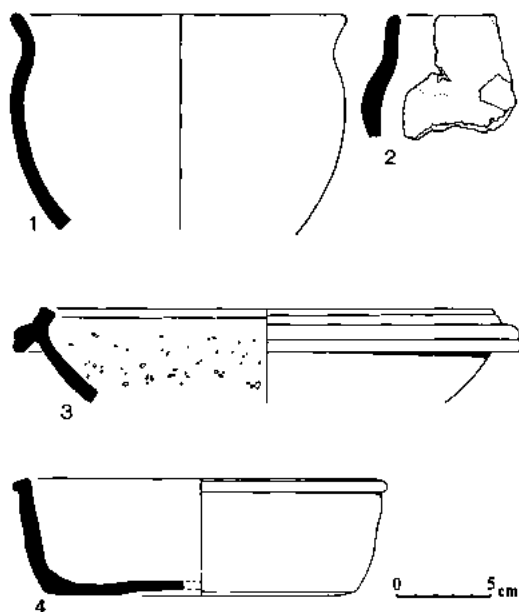


Fig. 12

Roman

This spanned the whole Roman period. Early Roman pottery included small quantities of samian and colour-coated wares, the later pottery consisting of colour-coated Oxford wares, a Nene Valley white ware mortarium rim, a late Roman shell tempered ware sherd and Rettendon type wares.

Dating of the Features

Cursus ditch: Fills in the upper 20 cm contained pottery spanning the whole Roman period, none closely datable.

Ditch 867: Lower fills contained sherds of 1st-century A.D. date, while the top fill contained mainly Roman pottery, none closely datable. There was also a little earlier, residual, material in the upper fills.

Enclosure Ditch 870: Roman pottery, including Rettendon type wares, were found in the lower fills, while the upper fills consisted of mixed Belgic and early Roman sherds.

Small Roman features (Pits 865, 889, 891; Gullies 872, 934): Little of the pottery from the pits is closely datable with the exception of a third or fourth century bowl form in Pit 865.

Fig 12.4 Grey core and inner surface; blackened externally; sand tempered; apparently burnished overall. Closely paralleled in form by a vessel from Witham, Essex (Brooks, Stokes *et al.*, 1975, fig. 7.60) from a 3rd- or 4th-century A.D. context. Context 1135, Pit 865. A probable 4th-century Nene Valley mortarium rim and late Roman shell tempered sherd came from the top fill of Pit 889.

The only datable material from the gullies is a Rettendon type ware sherd and a possible late 2nd or early 3rd century A.D. mortarium rim, both from gully 872 which also contained residual late Iron Age or early Roman pottery.

Fig. 12.3 Grey-brown core, red margins, worn grey surfaces (darkest below the rim); tempered with sand, quartz and flint; traces of burnishing externally below the rim; multi-coloured quartz and flint trituration grits. Late 2nd or early 3rd century? (cf. Hull 1963, fig. 107, Form 504). Context 1146, Gully 872.

Plant Remains (P. Murphy)

Roman Pit 889, context 1177:

The sample contained a fairly typical Roman cereal assemblage comprising: brittle rachis wheat internodes, spelt glume bases and spikelet forks, spelt-type caryopses with broad, flat ventral surfaces and blunt apices; and a weed flora in which *Bromus mollis*/*secalinus* caryopses form the predominant component. An unusual feature is the high proportion of underdeveloped wheat grains.

Other Contexts:

The remaining features produced little of interest, apart from post-hole 837, context 1152. The presence of spelt-type grains and spelt glume bases, as well as several *Bromus* caryopses suggests that this feature relates to Roman activity at the site.

These samples can be taken as evidence for cereal farming in the vicinity, though since so little material was recovered it is impossible to determine the precise types of activity represented.

Acknowledgements

Excavations were undertaken as part of a rescue project, on behalf of the Department of the Environment, by kind permission of Chelmsford District Council and Mr R. Fleming, the land owner. Thanks are given to H. Major, site finds assistant and post-excavation assistant who contributed considerably to this report; N. Card and N. Brown, site assistants and all volunteers. For specialist reports we are indebted to H. Major, P. Murphy, D. Rudling and C. Turner. Other Members of the E.C.C. Archaeology Section are thanked for their advice.

BARLING, GLEBE FARM, TQ 929895, (TQ 98/55) (M.R.E., R. Crump)

A site visit by Mr. R. Crump of A.W.R.E. (Foulness) Archaeological Society during works on a 17th-century farmhouse, with an 18th-century east wing, revealed a number of finds.

Two parallel flint walls, each 6.10 m long, 0.30 m wide and 4.10 m apart, were discovered: one directly below the south wall of the east wing, the other, parallel to, but 0.30 m south of, the north wall of that wing.

Between the two walls was a sequence of grey silty-clay with a thin, but extensive, charcoal layer near the top. Beneath this was a deposit of yellowish brown clay overlying more grey silty clay. These layers produced artefacts, but because of the rescue nature of the work they were effectively unstratified. There was at least 0.25 m of stratigraphy.

The finds indicate a date range from the Saxo-Norman to post-medieval periods suggesting that the stone-based building was replaced by the existing building. The copper alloy foot of a tripod cauldron is indicative of a fairly affluent occupant during the later medieval period. The presence of iron tools is also of interest, though these could have been manufactured at any time within the date range (Fig. 13).

Limited documentary research shows that Barling passed from the Crown during the reign of the Confessor to St Paul's, and that the manor house and vicarage, held by the Dean and Chapter, were closely associated. Glebe Farm is shown as the vicarage on the Tithe Award map of 1837 and lies opposite a field then described as '5 acres, moat adjoining'.

Stone buildings, other than churches, are rare in Essex and the possible association of Saxo-Norman pottery is most unusual in a rural context. Secular stone buildings have been recorded in Colchester (Crummy, 1981) and most are of flint rubble. At Maldon similar footings have been found, again in association with Saxo-Norman pottery, though these were also recorded beneath a standing building in the course of refurbishment.

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

BARLING Glebe Farm

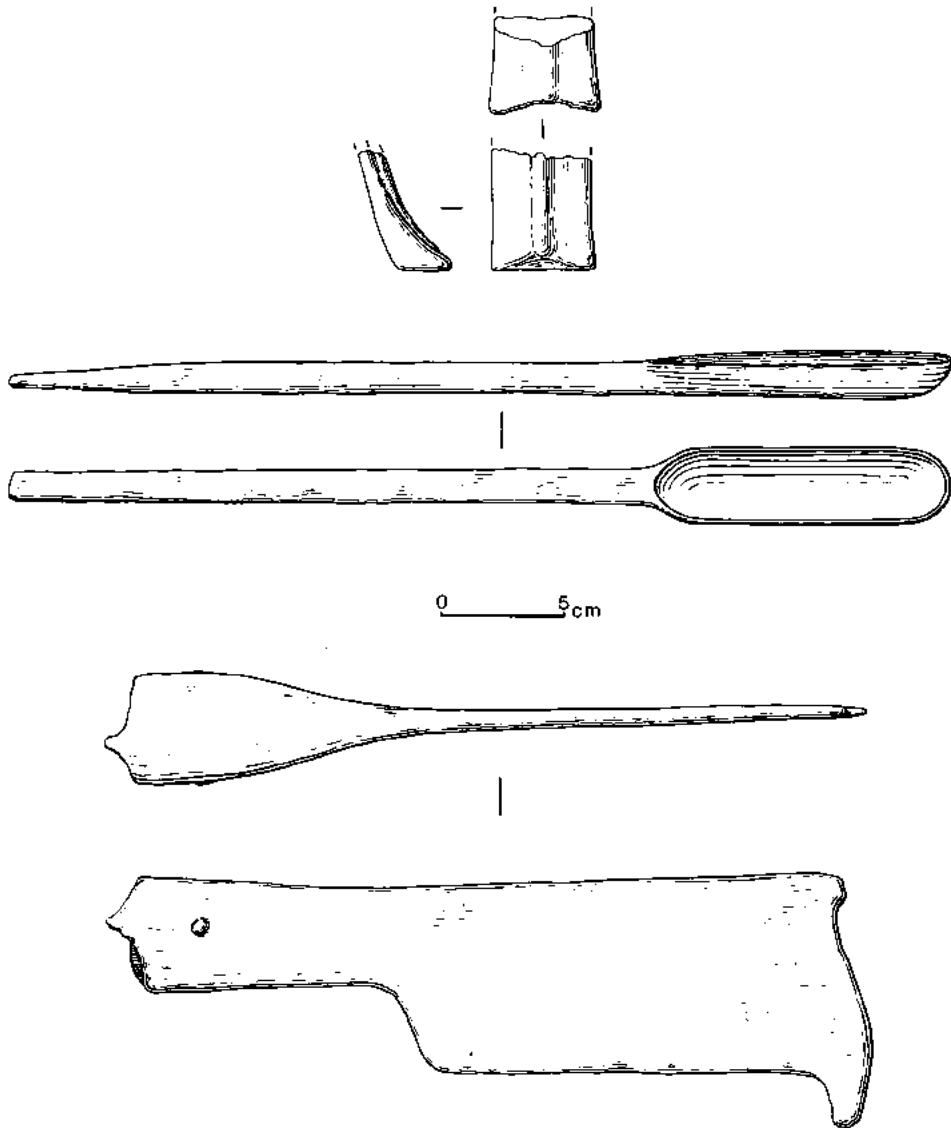


Fig. 13

WETHERSFIELD, TL 73052950 (TL 72/127) (D.G.B., M.R.E.)

Medieval pottery found in a garden was reported by Mr. D. Westland of 'Spices', Rotten End. A range of glazed, slipped and plain sandy fabrics is represented. Of particular interest is a swallows nest spout of a lid seated jug, probably a late Thetford type product, late 13th-century in date (Fig. 14).

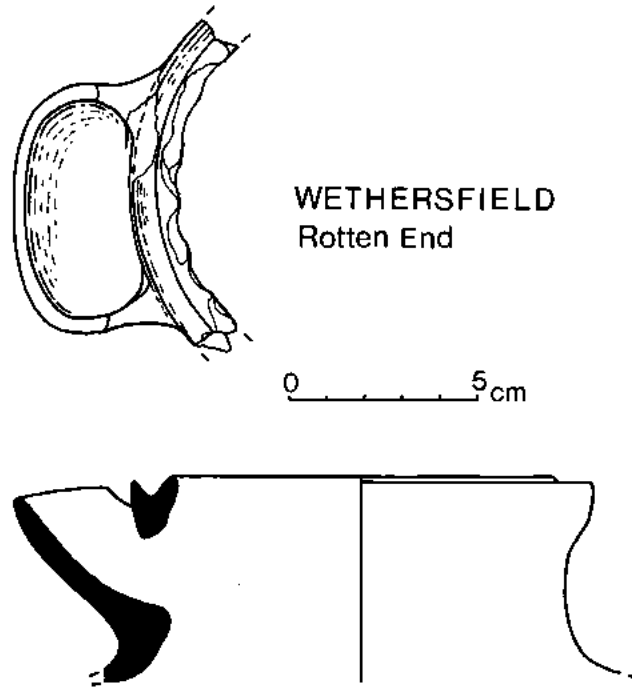


Fig. 14

Finds: Private possession.

ALTHORNE, CLIFF REACH, TQ 921967 (TQ 99/81) (B.G.B., C.T., M.R.E.)

In addition to worked flint previously reported by Mr. Hammond (Eddy (ed.), 1980, 51-4; Priddy (ed.), 1982, 113) from his fieldwork along the north bank of the River Crouch, Mr. Hammond has also collected a quantity of pottery. This includes two iron age sherds and a substantial amount of 13th-14th century pottery, with a few sherds of 16th-17th and 18th-century coarse wares, mostly abraded and some barnacle-encrusted.

The medieval pottery may derive from a short-lived settlement on the marsh, destroyed by coastal erosion; or from rubbish dumped beyond the sea-wall.

Pre-Roman pottery

One sherd from the shoulder of a handmade plain jar, in flint tempered black fabric. Mid-late Iron Age (cf. Little Waltham Form 8; Drury, 1978, 54; Fig. 38). A second sherd from a handmade vessel of uncertain date, but probably pre-Roman. Black fabric with abundant flint inclusions.

Medieval Pottery

Mostly 13th-14th-century grey and sandy red ware, with a small percentage of shell-tempered sherds. A range of everted and triangular cooking pot rims, and some jug rims and handles, are represented. A few sherds are glazed.

Finds: Ch.E.M.

GREAT LEIGHS, ST MARY'S CHURCH, TL 739156 (TL 71/9) (M.R.E.)

Replastering of the north, south and east nave walls revealed further details of the building sequence.

The north wall, between the door and the east wall, showed no signs of alteration or architectural features. A relatively narrow strip of plaster removed from the south wall, between the door and the east wall, showed no worked stone along the bottom, and east jamb, of the window embrasure. Two small limestone blocks forming the west jamb were revealed whilst a third had been built into the wall.

In the east wall the north jamb of the large early doorway (Eddy (ed.), 1980, 69) was found to be ferruginous sandstone, unlike the limestone of the corresponding jambs visible inside the tower. Traces of indurated conglomerate courses appeared to be integral to this jamb. Brick and tile fragments were built into the north end of the wall, and a change in the building fabric is suspected, but was obscured by render left in place. Plaster stripping did not extend far enough to expose the south jamb, but the extent of brick rebuilding suggests that it was entirely destroyed by the 1741 reconstruction of this doorway.

Two tiles built into the north end of the east wall were of some interest. Tile A showed in profile a rounded projection from one face, and was in a dark red sandy fabric. Tile B, a soft orange fabric, had 4 parallel, slightly curving lines incised on part of one face. The surface of Tile B was slightly dished.

LITTLE CANFIELD, TL 58982136 (TL 52/39) (B.M., M.R.E.)

A windmill mound on the north side of Stane Street, in the garden of School House, was surveyed with the help of Leicester University students, prior to destruction by building works.

The mound was *c.* 10 m. in diameter across the top, and *c.* 30 m. at the base. The north and west sides were surrounded by a ditch, which had presumably been infilled to the south and east during the construction of the School House and Village Hall (Fig. 15).

Where a segment of the mound had been removed the section was recorded (Fig. 16). The earliest layer (3), possibly natural subsoil, was a heavy orange silt-clay, with occasional small chalk fragments. This was sealed by a lighter, crumblier brownish-yellow silt-clay (2) which appeared to make up the bulk of the mound. There was no trace of a buried topsoil between (2) and (3). At the south-west end of the section was a steep-sided, flat-bottomed slot, 1.25 m. deep and *c.* 1 m. wide at the bottom, cutting (2) and (3). It contained a medium brown crumbly silt-clay (4) with fragments of chalk, coal, tile and pottery. The edges were indistinct at the top, and two deposits, a heavy orange silt-clay (5) and a yellow-brown silt-clay with dense chalk lumps (6) were probably patches within the backfill of the slot.

Finds comprised 7 small body sherds: a 13th-century grey ware sherd, the rest red, or pinkish-orange sandy wares, with one fragment of a corrugated jug neck, and another possible jug neck fragment with a brown glaze and yellow glazed slip decoration. The finds would fit a wide date range of mid-14th - late 15th-century.

Two joining fragments of medieval roof tile were also found. An initial site visit also produced 2 sherds of a 13th-century sandy grey ware cooking pot.

The mound has been suggested as a possible reused round barrow (Lawson *et al.*, 1981, Essex Gazetteer No. 91), and a Roman date tentatively postulated on the basis of its proximity to the Roman road. The trench (4) exposed in the section is in keeping with that for one arm of the cross of a medieval post-mill, and this accords with its known use in medieval times. Removal of the mound will be observed by the Section.

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

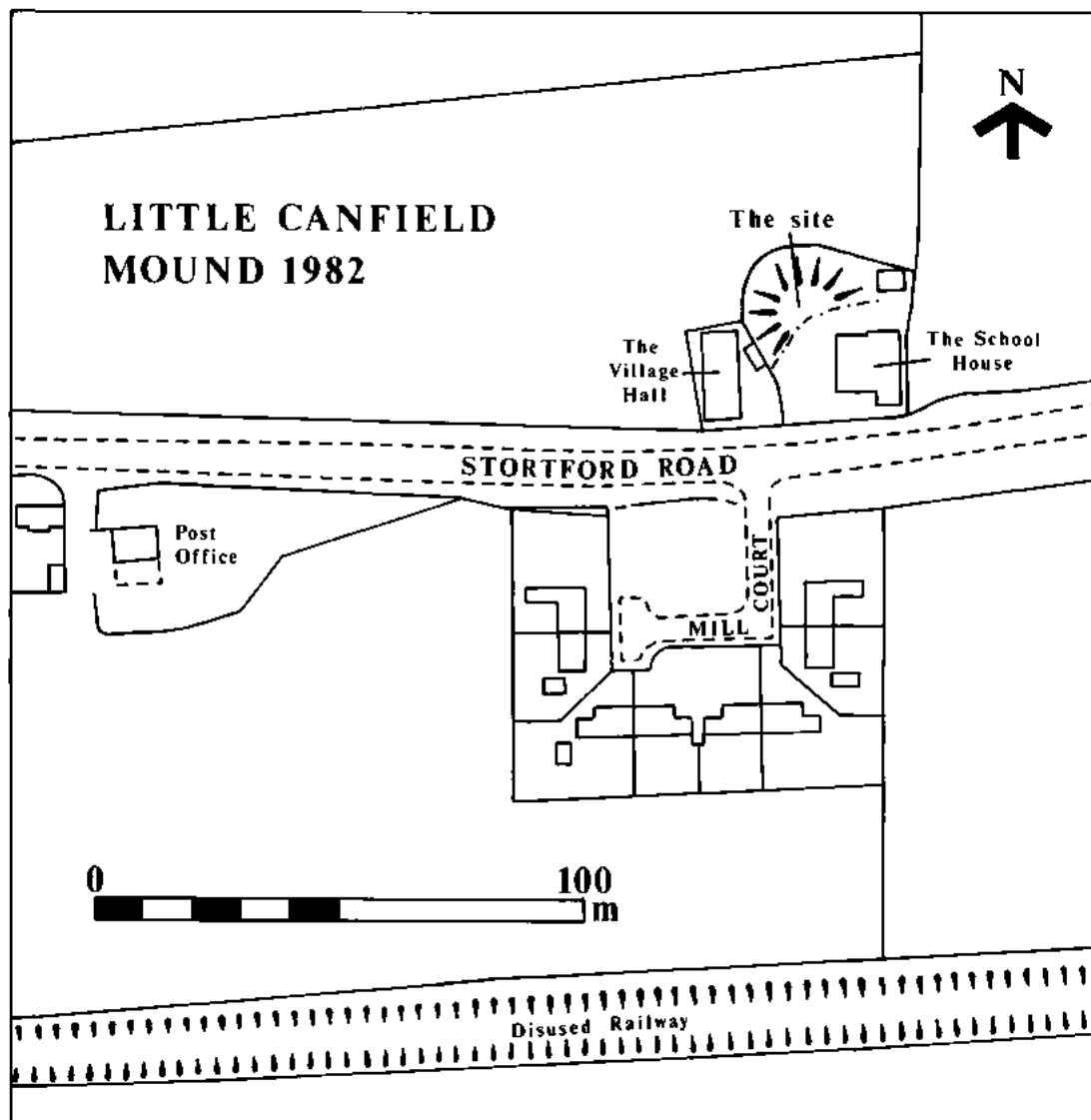


Fig. 15

EAST MERSEA, Tudor Blockhouse at CUDMORE GROVE, TM 07201518 (TM 01/79)
(M.R.E., B.M., D.P.)

Aerial photographs in the Sites and Monuments Record show a number of cropmarks in this area, probably ranging from the prehistoric to post-medieval periods (Fig. 17). Faint traces of an upstanding earthwork were also visible. These were identified as the remains of a triangular blockhouse and subsequently confirmed on the ground. Co-incidentally, Mr. C. Trollope of Fingringhoe sent a sketch survey and details of the site to the Section. A full measured survey was undertaken with the help of Leicester University students.

The site is on the east coast of Mersea Island, commanding the entrance to the Colne Estuary, on the marshes between the present beach and the sea-wall. It comprises two banks forming a triangle

LITTLE CANFIELD MOUND 1982

Plan showing positions of profiles

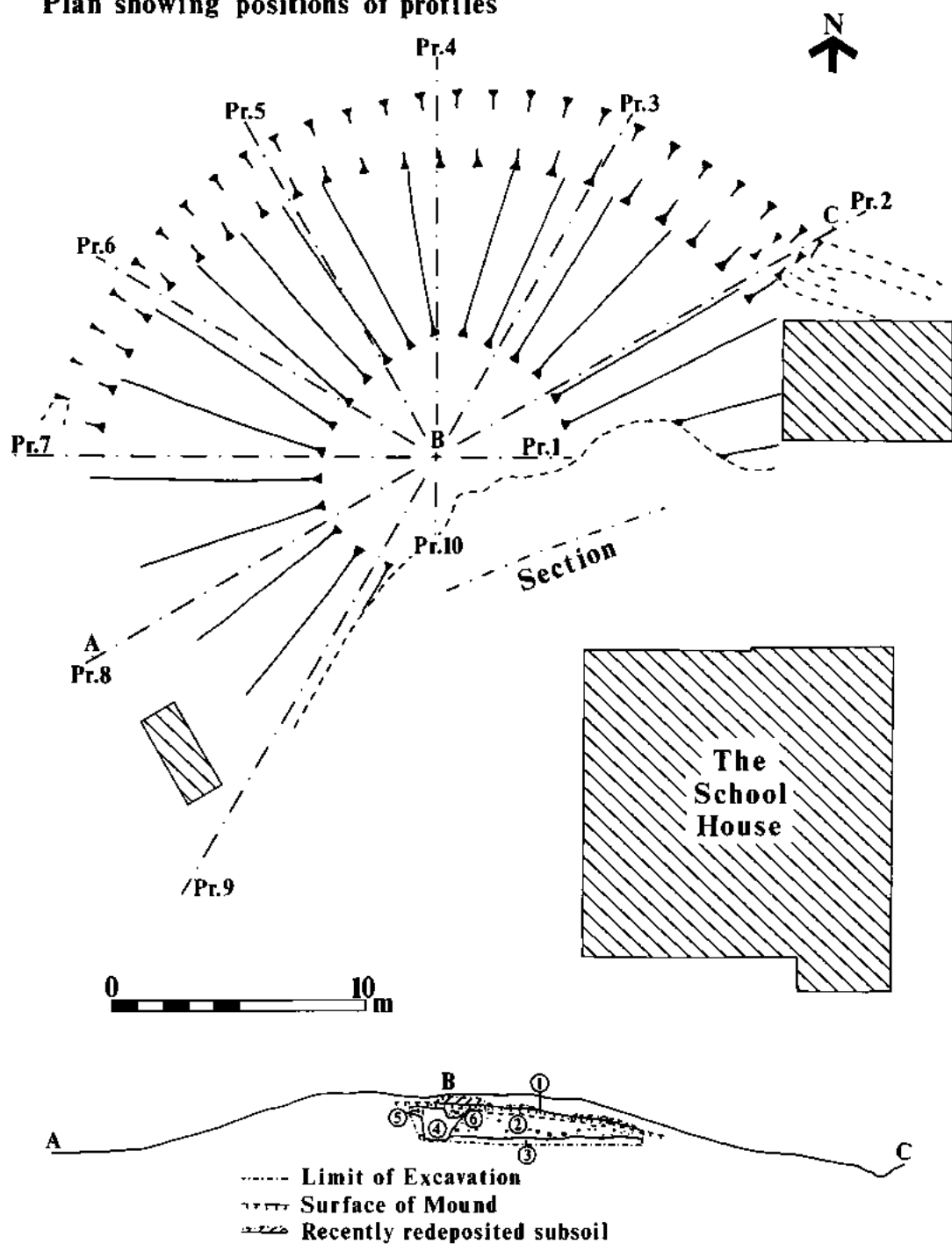
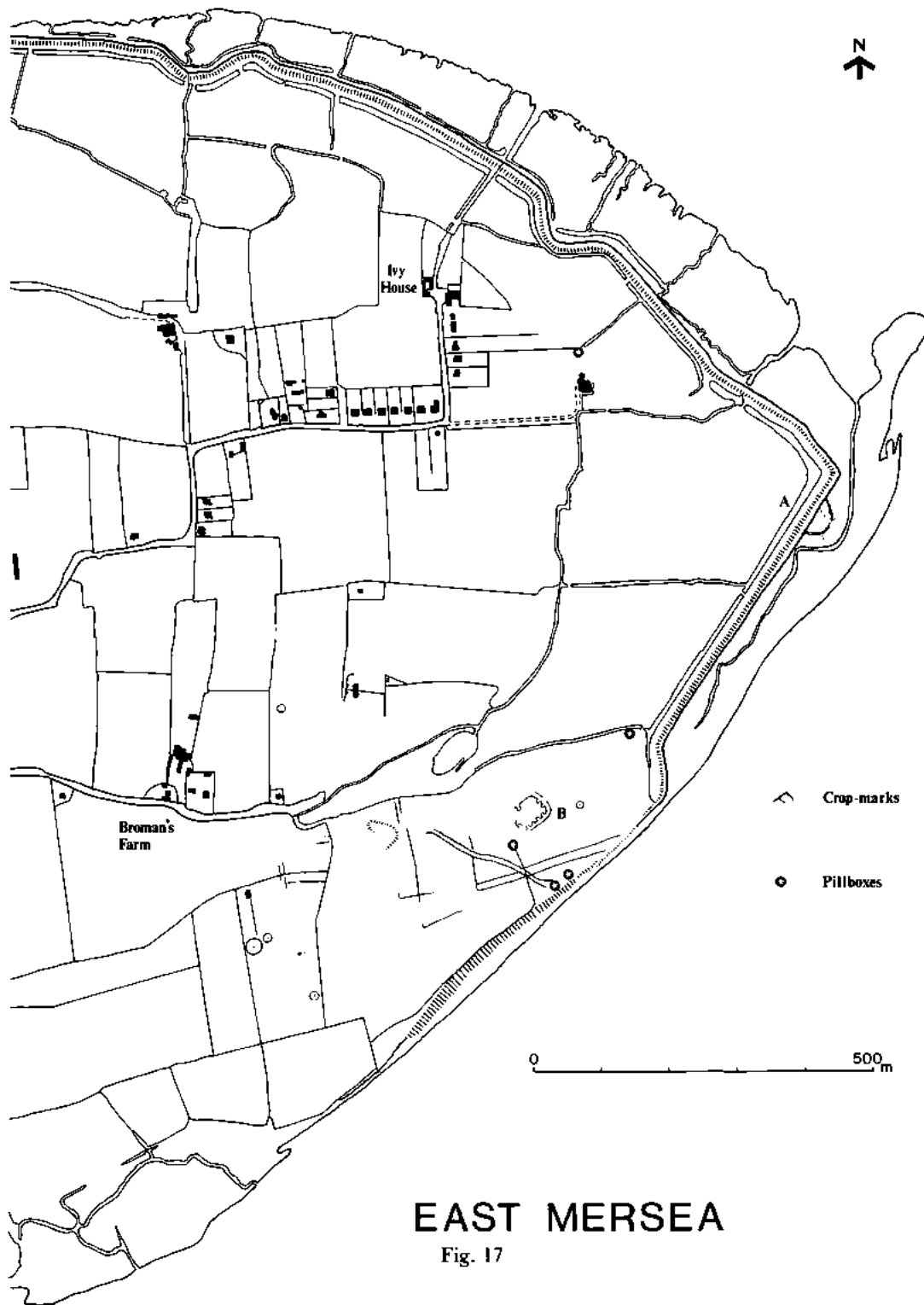


Fig. 16

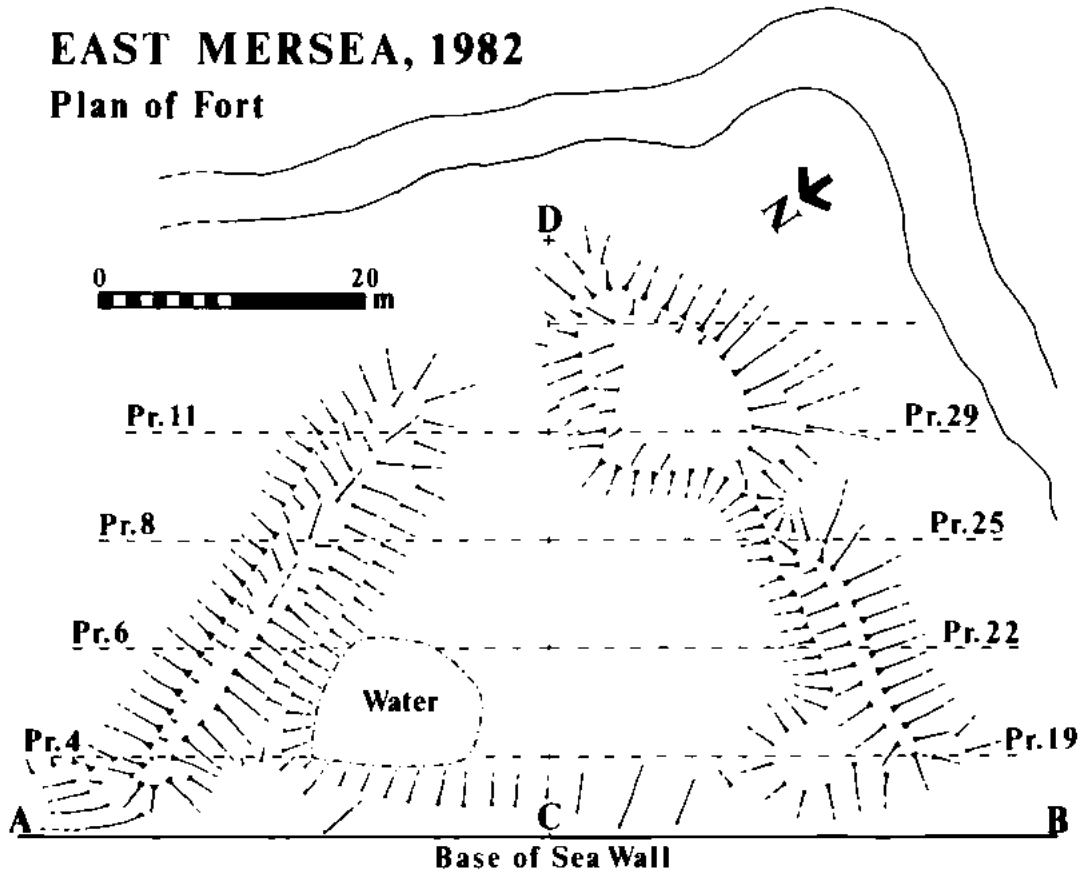


against the sea-wall, which has destroyed its third side (Fig. 18).

The fort is known from a map in the Essex Record Office (E.R.O. D/DEt P.2), dated to 1656. The map has been published (Sier, 1921, 221-4) and it was noted that a triangular embankment survived on the ground in 1897 when it was recorded by the Ordnance Survey, although Sier did not identify the site on the ground.

EAST MERSEA, 1982

Plan of Fort



Profiles

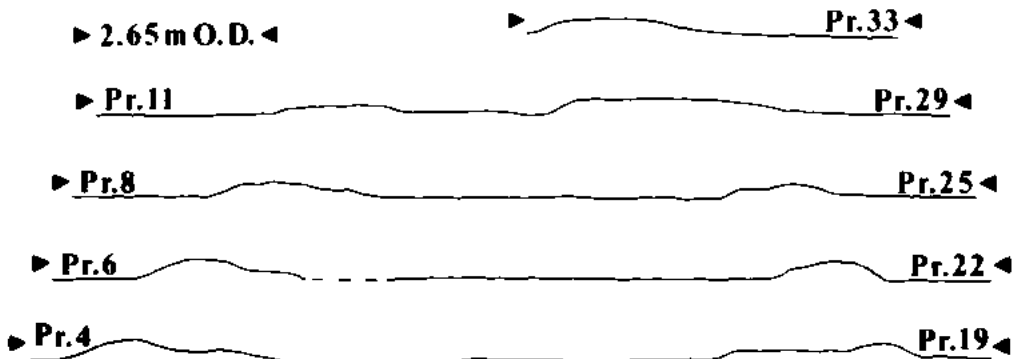


Fig. 18

The fort was built in 1547 and was described as being one of the east coast 'bulwarkes of earth and board' in Edward VI's journal for 1553. There is certainly no evidence for brick or stonework today and the breaches in the monument by the sea suggest it was an earthen structure (History of the King's Works, IV, 471). As with other east coast forts it was a symmetrical enclosure with earthen ramparts and round earth-filled baskets to protect the gun crews.

In October 1552 it was abandoned and in 1586 was occupied by an old woman (*ibid*, 471). By the end of the 1580s it had been refortified, and was effective in 1631. It finally fell into disuse in the 1650s, after the siege of Colchester (Sier, 1921, 223-4).

The nature of the defensive works at B (Fig. 17) is unknown, but it is interesting to note Sier's comment (*op cit.*, 223) that the area known as 'Old Battery Bushes' were west of the sea wall. Their date remains unknown and nothing is visible on the ground. The cropmarks are presumably the infilled ditches of low earthworks protecting Napoleonic, or later, gun emplacements.

LITTLE BRAXTED, ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, TL 83551472, (TL 81/36) (D.P., D.G.B.)

External repairs to the south wall of the church revealed a blocked opening (Fig. 19) *c.* 0.8 m above ground level and *c.* 6.6 m from the east wall of the south porch, at the approximate tangent point of the apse. A roughly-formed round-headed, deeply-splayed opening 0.80 m high and 0.70 m wide, narrowing to 0.37 m x 0.34 m still contained an inner, post-medieval, brick blocking. No details of the feature were visible from the interior. The splays were very uneven with large lumps of conglomerate protruding through a thin layer of soft creamy white plaster. The opening is slightly angled to the east. This, together with its size and position, suggests it is an altar squint which enabled the service to be observed from the outside. This church is of 12th-century origin, but the date of this feature is not clear.

Directly east of the squint, at a slightly higher level, was a small irregular opening *c.* 0.30 m square. Its original form was unclear, but it may have been an internal feature such as an aumbry or altar cupboard.

The features were not visible in any of the topographical material in the Essex Record Office.

DOWNHAM, ST MARGARET'S CHURCH, TQ 73029527 (TQ 79/34) (D.G.B.)

Whilst digging a new grave in the churchyard the sexton, Mr. E. Wood, found a reckoning counter and noted a quantity of brick and tile. He reported this to Mr. P. Nutt, who informed the Archaeology Section. Mr. Wood subsequently found a second counter.

The grave was *c.* 1.6 m west of the south-west corner of the church tower.

The grave was *c.* 1 m deep and dug through made-ground including a black soil layer containing much brick and tile, some stone, oyster shell, a number of human bones and quantities of post-medieval pottery. The trade token also came from this layer.

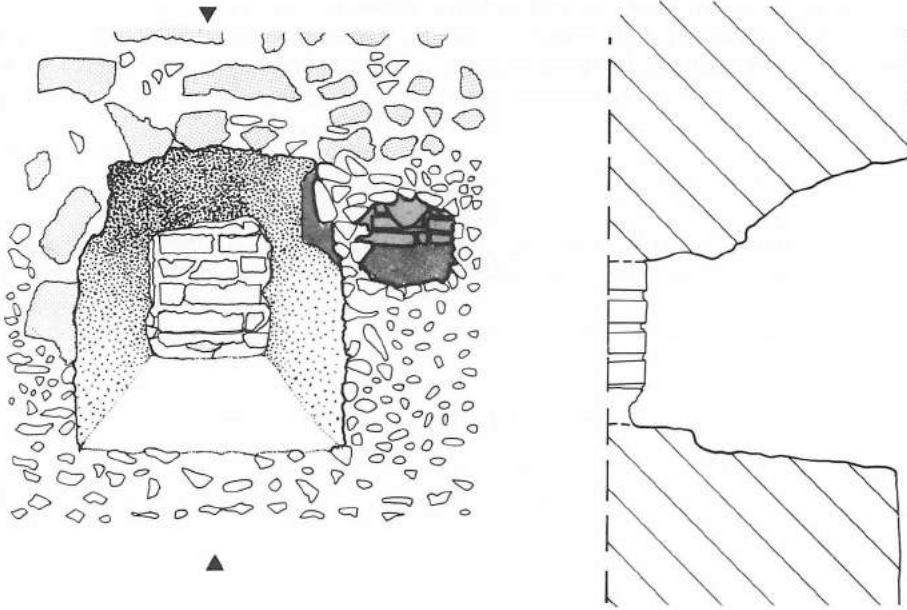
This layer appeared to be a dumped deposit not derived from a structure in the immediate area. The church is isolated and has apparently been so for much of its history (Prebble, 1976). It seems most likely that the material relates to church building works, dated by pottery to the 18th century.

With the exception of the 15th-century brick tower, the church was entirely rebuilt in 1871, the culmination of several centuries' attempts to keep it in repair. Documents make it clear that the church was in poor structural condition, and that much was spent trying to keep it in order (Drury, 1965, 8).

Finds

Reckoning Counters

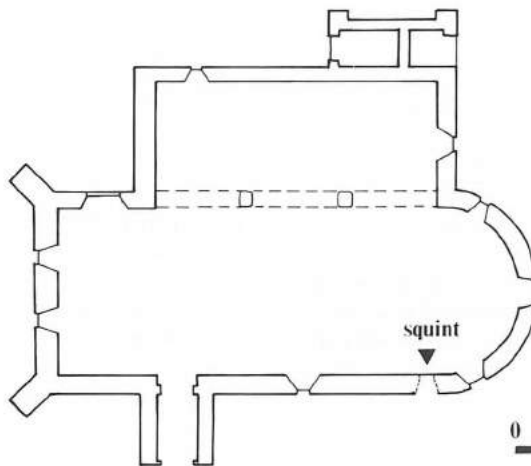
These were a *c.* 15th-century French 'jetton' and a 16th-century issue by Hans Krauwinkel of Nuremberg.



**St. Nicholas' Church,
Little Braxted.**

Blocked squint in East wall of the nave.

□ indurated gravel



Plan
(after R.C.H.M.)

Fig. 19

Brick and Tile (M. Wadhams)

Samples of brick and tile suggest a date range in the 15th-16th-centuries. The bricks were poor quality, badly shaped and clamp fired, 15th-century or possibly earlier. The thickness of the roof tile is also consistent with the 15th-century, while a single floor tile, with green glaze is 15th-16th-century.

Post-medieval pottery (M.R.E.)

This included several pieces of one or more Stock ware mugs, sherds of at least 3 stoneware vessels, probably jugs; sherds of smooth orange earthenwares including dishes, jars and mugs; and stoneware with brown or green-brown glaze, internal, external or both.

The group range from the late 16th-mid 18th century, with the exception of a single late medieval jug sherd in a grey sandy fabric.

Finds: Ch.E.M.

COGGESHALL, Route of the By-Pass, (D.P., B.V.A.S.)

Fieldwalking, after the removal of topsoil, in advance of the roadworks, produced a quantity of post-medieval pottery and modern finds as well as a small number of prehistoric worked flints. Although the route crossed several known archaeological sites no additional features were recorded.

ORSETT, Site of Causewayed Enclosure, TQ 65158060 TQ 68/36 (L. Ramsey)

A clay pipe was found in the ploughsoil during excavations in 1975 (Fig. 20). Fairly small bowl, wide mouth, thin stem and flat spur. Bowl decorated with small leaves attached to stem, formed by the mould flashes. Rosette decoration on the spur. Form and decoration suggest date in 18th-19th-centuries (Oswald, 1975). Mr A. Simpson suggests similar pipes were being made in Maldon *c.* 1800-50 (pers. comm.).

Finds: T.M.

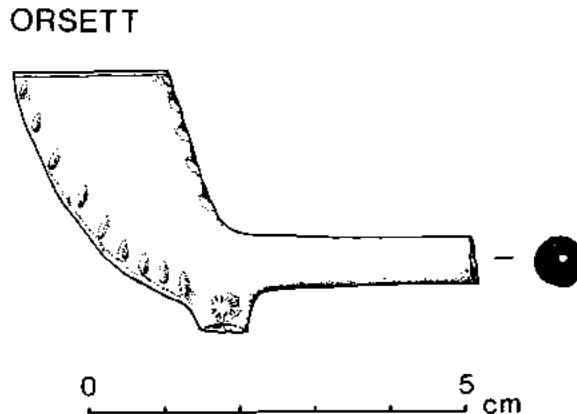


Fig. 20

ELSENHAM, ST MARY'S CHURCH, TL 542259 (TL 52/34) (D.A.P., D.G.B.)

Drainage works around the south and east walls of the chancel resulted in a lowering of the ground level, revealing a slight flint rubble offset at the wall base. Quoining did not extend below the old ground level.

A small brick built vaulted structure was revealed *c.* 60 cm east of the south door. At its west end it had been cut by the insertion of a square brick base, while its east end was abutted by a square brick foundation up against the south wall, in which a grille to the vault beneath the chancel was visible.

The foundations probably formed the bases for 19th-century monuments since removed.

WALTHAM HOLY CROSS, WARLIES PARK, TL 41650126, (TL 40/30) (M.R.E.)

During a site visit to the 18th-century rotunda a single everted rim sherd of a late medieval/early post-medieval jar, with short neck and high shoulder was found. Sherds of medieval or post-medieval tile were also noted in the ploughsoil.

Finds: E.F.D.M.

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE SITES AND MONUMENTS RECORD (S.T.)

Aerial photography continues to be important, both in terms of site reconnaissance, and subsequently, the formation of excavation priorities. During the year plotting and accessioning of photographs from the National Monuments Record and the Cambridge University Collection has continued. Additional negatives were lent by Mrs I. McMaster and Cmdr. R. Farrands. Many new sites were identified, examples of which are described here.

Terling, TL 763145 (TL 71/120)

Complex consisting of a sub-rectangular enclosure and a broad ditched linear feature, which may be a driveway associated with the enclosure.

N.M.R. TL 7614/1256/195, 198, 199 (1978)

Feering, TL 875202, (TL 82/113)

Double-ditched trackway, aligned north-east/south-west, and a large ring-ditch with a central pit. The pit feature suggests the ring-ditch represents a plough-out barrow, probably of Bronze Age date, with a central burial.

N.M.R. TL 8720/1/172, 180, 185 (1979)

Thaxted, TL 60253025 (TL 63/110)

Broad sub-rectangular ditched enclosure, possibly an infilled moat.

C.U.C. CMG 60 (1980)

Study of the E.C.C. vertical air photographic cover (1960, 1970, 1980) has also produced a number of sites, although the altitude of these flights makes crop-mark identification difficult.

Sheering/Matching, TL 505127 (TL 51/135)

A group of 4 ring-ditches to the west of Pincey Brook, with a further 3 ring-ditches, linear and curvilinear features to the west. At least 4 of the ring-ditches have central pits, one may have a double-concentric ditch.

H.S. 1081/51/4407 (1970)

In several places new photographs allow extra detail to be added to known sites.

Feering, TL 870193 (TL 81/59)

Two ring-ditches with central pits, together with a number of linear features were recorded by Mrs McMaster (McMaster, 1975, 20). Photographs by the N.M.R. in 1979 show 3 additional ring-ditches, suggesting a cemetery group.

N.M.R. TL 8619/1573/187, 191-199 (1979)

Proposals for the expansion of Stansted Airport, which have far-reaching archaeological implications for much of north-west Essex, prompted a review of the crop-mark evidence. Large scale plotting of a

number of sites, including the example illustrated here, demonstrate the archaeological potential.

Great Dunmow, TL 641224 (TL 62/68)

Crop-mark complex (Fig. 21) comprising: a multi-ditched rectangular enclosure and associated trackways, similar in form, but not size, to the excavated enclosure at Woodham Walter (Buckley and Hedges, forthcoming); a rectangular feature to the north and a number of rectangular pits and linear features to the west. In addition, two parallel ditches, the distance between which is greater than might be expected for a track-way, might be interpreted as a prehistoric mortuary enclosure. The site is currently threatened by mineral extraction.

N.M.R. TL 6422/1/143, 145 (1974); TL 6322/3/76, 6322/4/80, 82, 6322/2/73 (1975); TL 6324/1260/140, 6422/1260/145 (1978).

A further aspect of aerial photographic work has been the compilation of crop-mark surveys for the Tendring and Chelmer/Blackwater areas. The gazetteer for the Tendring survey has been completed, and reveals a very rich prehistoric landscape, one of the most important sites, much photographed, is that at Little Bromley (Fig. 22).

Little Bromley, TM 089275 (TM 02/67 and 69)

First photographed in 1962 (Cmdr Farrands) subsequent flight by Mrs McMaster, the N.M.R. and C.U.C., particularly in 1976, have continued to add detail to this site (Fig. 22). A linear settlement complex, flanking both sides of a stream, consists of a circular enclosure, with opposed entrances and a wide ditch, possibly a 'henge' partly contiguous with a series of rectangular enclosures and a very large number of ring-ditches, trackways and field systems. To the south of the stream a further group of ring-ditches, one of which has been examined (Erith, 1964, 37-41), appears to represent a Bronze Age barrow cemetery which may, perhaps, be mirrored by contemporary settlement to the north of the brook.

It is hoped to increase the Section's involvement with aerial photography in the future by initiating air-photographic surveys of specific areas with high crop-mark potential.

Archaeology and Planning

(D.G.B.)

An agreed archaeological policy, incorporated into the *County Structure Plan*, ensures protection for important sites and provides for adequate access to threatened sites by the attaching of archaeological conditions to planning permissions. Archaeological input to local plans further strengthens the position, and during the year the Section provided input to a number of draft plans being prepared by District Councils. One recently adopted is the Chelmsford Town Centre Plan. In addition to this, a report, for limited circulation, was produced jointly by the Section and the Chelmsford Archaeological Trust. *Archaeology in Chelmsford: A Policy for the Future* outlines the archaeological background to date, the current planning position, and considers the directions and level of future work.

Development resulting from the implementation of the expansion of Stansted Airport would have considerable implications for the archaeological heritage. In May 1982 the County Archaeological Officer presented the combined archaeological case against expansion at the enquiry, on behalf of Essex, Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire County Councils. Current archaeological policies, their implementation, and the pressure which would result from the expansion (including the threat to two scheduled ancient monuments) was evaluated, and a series of archaeological implication studies, with period distribution maps, were presented.

Other officers of Essex County Council put cases in respect of the historic landscape, listed buildings and Conservation Areas. Copies of the proofs of evidence, and supporting papers, are deposited in the Sites and Monuments Record.

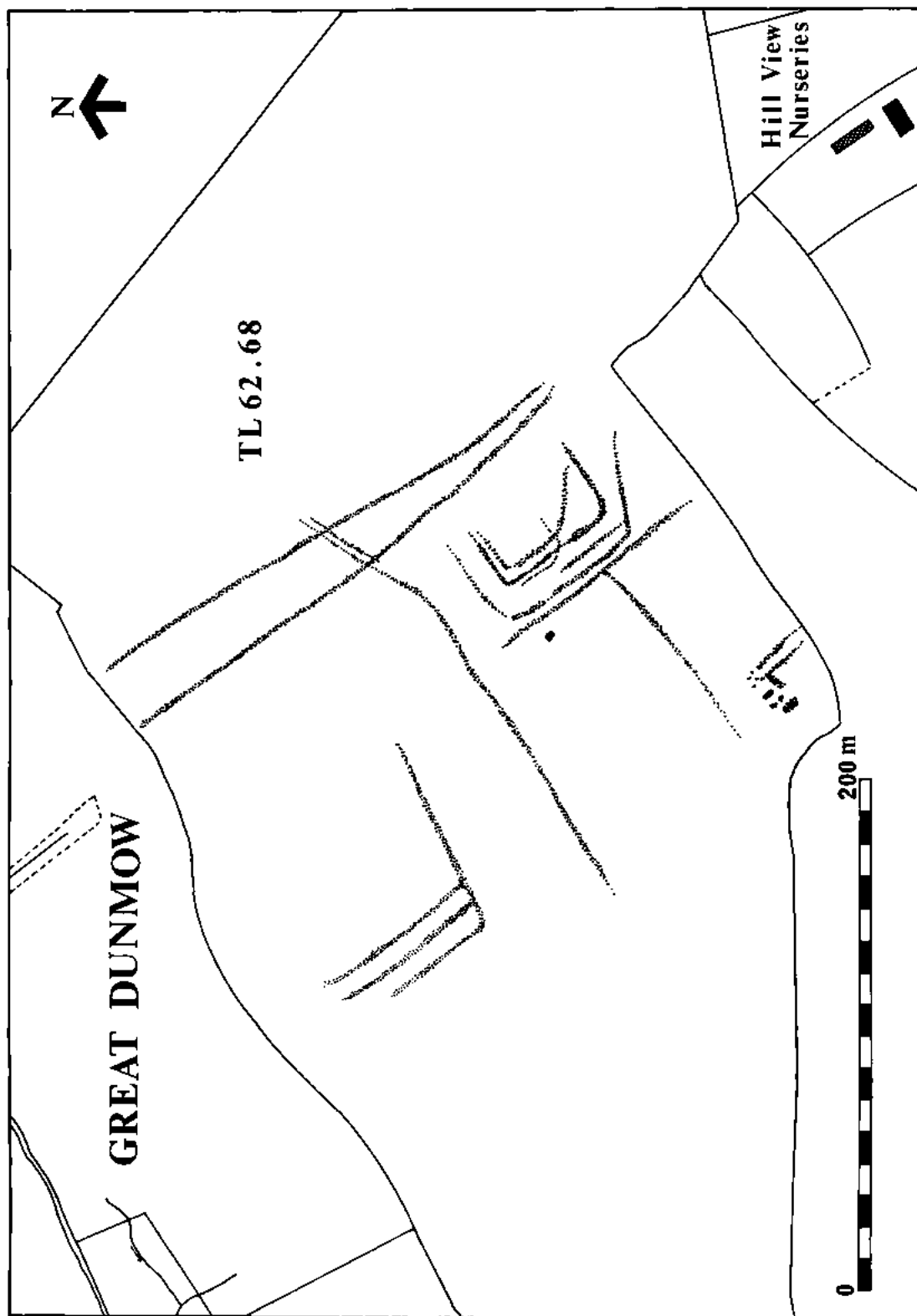


Fig. 21

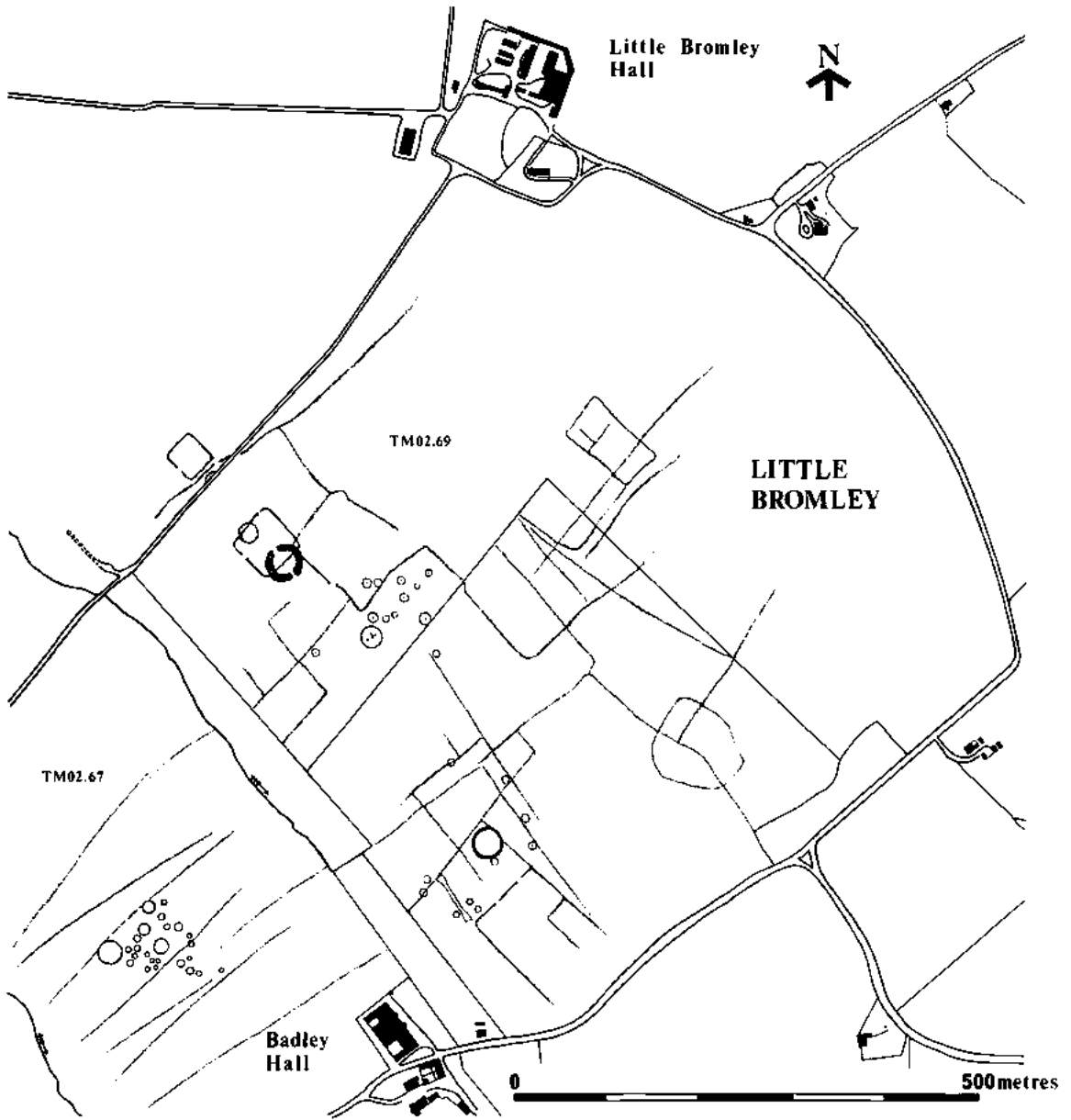


Fig. 22

HISTORIC BUILDING SURVEYS 1982 *by* M. C. WADHAMS

This is the third series of notes on historic buildings surveyed by the County Council's Historic Buildings Section. The buildings described are only a selection of those inspected, omitting those which form continuing research, and are subject to confidentiality until new statutory lists are issued by the Department of Environment. Also included is additional detail to that published in previous statutory lists.

Listing re-survey continued in the former Dunmow Rural District, and in November, the DOE accelerated re-survey commenced.

With 50% of the County to be surveyed in three years it is clear that the descriptions in the new lists must be minimal. Whilst the prime objective is protection of our heritage, it is hoped that the end product will provide a basis for future, more detailed, research. Four investigators, (Mrs L.E. Loring; Mr J. McCann; Mr D.F. Stenning; Mr M.C. Wadhams), will be carrying out the programme agreed to complete a set number of parishes each quarter, working strictly to the criteria laid down.

SIBLEYS FARMHOUSE, CHICKNEY (RCHM 1916, 4,63) TL 565298

Timber framed and plastered, with red plain tile roof.

Late 14th century hall house, of which only the west crosswing survives, the remainder having been rebuilt in the second quarter of the 16th century. The west wing is gabled and jettied, with widely spaced studs, and simple crownpost roof. One original doorhead survives on the ground floor. Two bays in length, there is an 18th century small infill bay at the rear, linking with a 15th or 16th century kitchen. This is a structure open to the roof, with the remains of a large timber chimney, and a queen post roof.

The 16th century work consists of a two storey main range, built on a grand scale, of 3 unequal bays in length. To the front is a lean-to roofed staircase tower, which retains its central newel, original treads and risers, and windows. Storey posts are jowled and the roof is a simple but impressive crownpost structure.

Indications are that the main 16th century chimney is slightly later than the frame, but if so, it must replace an alternative method of smoke removal as there is no sooting of the roof timbers. With a building of this quality, an earlier brick chimney is not beyond the bounds of possibility, relating to the usual type of alterations made to an open hall from the mid-15th century onwards. The top of the present chimney was rebuilt early in the 17th century with attached diagonal shafts. Two very fine original brick arched fireplaces survive on the ground floor. Adjacent to the main fireplace, and at the west end of the 'hall', forming a cross passage, are 16th century post and plank full height screens. At the rear is a probably late 18th century bakehouse/brewhouse range with large original fireplace and chimney stack. This build may be earlier, as it includes a large late 17th century corner-cupboard, but little structural dating evidence is visible. It is tempting to surmise that this is the late 17th century kitchen replacing the adjoining earlier one.

The east crosswing is contemporary with the main range, with jetty and gable to front, heavily jowled storeyposts and crownpost roof. Some late 16th century wallpainting remains at first floor.

Beneath the centre range is a large 16th century cellar. Throughout, many 16th century doors, some 16th century and 17th century windows and 16th century fittings survive.

This is an extremely important building, for a number of reasons. Namely, the survival of the kitchen, the later rear range, and the form of the 16th century rebuild. These features and the problem of the interpretation of the chimney would reward further detailed study.

Other buildings

3 bay barn of unusual size, dating from the third quarter of the 16th century, of very good quality. Aisled with jowled storey posts and arch braced tie beams. Arch braced side purlin roof. Raised roof midstretey.

At the north end is a 2 bay extension with inscribed date 1683. Built out of second-hand timber, with a lodged side purlin roof.

15th century or earlier small gatehouse, converted to dovecote in 16th century. Heavily framed, open back and front, with indications of entrance doors at the front, and archbraced opening to the rear. The side wall frames are saltire braced, at lower level, and arch braced above. Such gatehouses are rare in Essex.

PEACHEY'S FARMHOUSE, WILLOWS GREEN, FELSTED (RCHM (1921) 93; 83) TL 723194

Two main builds, with early 17th century extensions to rear.

The earliest structure is the west wing. A simple structure with integral first floor, and crownpost roof, originally hipped at both ends. The first floor is lodged, and there are no jowls on the storey posts, and no indications of jettying. Small, original windows survive on the west side, and there were probably larger windows at the north end. The east side, however, is only part studded with large openings, taking up a bay and a half, with diagonal bracing from centre storey post, both at ground and first floor level. Overall the building is 1½ poles long and ½ pole wide.

The original use and date, both present problems. It is certainly not a house crosswing, and seems to have been a free standing structure, largely open, on one side, at ground level and first floor level. A small hunting stand seems illogical geographically. Two other possibilities were investigated: that it related in some way to the adjacent Leez Priory estates, or that it was some form of standing relating to the original southern end of Willows Green, which it overlooks, but neither produced sufficient evidence to enable a definite conclusion to be reached.

The simple form makes precise dating impossible but considering its relationship to later structures on the site, and general style of the frame, the most likely would be c. 1400-1450.

In the third quarter of the 16th century, a good quality house was built against the existing building: two bays with central chimney bay, and with integral first floor. The first floor joists have soffit tenons with diminished haunches, and there are halved and bladed top plate scarfs. The roof is side purlin with intermittent collars. Only main ties were used in the end wall adjacent to the earlier structure.

The chimney is of red brick, typical of late 16th century, but it may have replaced an original timber flue, not many years after it was built. The rear wing includes much re-used medieval timber, but appears to be 17th century, linking with a barn, itself extensively rebuilt, but not later than 16th century.

MOAT FARM, GESTINGTHORPE (RCHM (1916) 3; 100) TL 816368

Timber framed house of two storeys with gabled crosswings at east and west ends. Red plain tile roof.

The west wing is wide span, and 4 bays long. The third bay contains the trimmed first floor for the original staircase. Floor joists are jointed with unrefined centre tenons and are of large, square section. Probably originally jettied at the front, the first floor has been cut back to line with the centre range. Three original door heads remain on the ground floor. One linking the staircase bay with the front is a deep segmental head, the same form appearing on an external door in the rear bay. The other, which would have linked the wing with the hall, is a straight tangential two centred arch with deeply moulded label, and shafted jambs with moulded capitals and bell bases.

At first floor level, the jowled storey posts remain to each bay, except where the frame has been truncated at the front. The tie-beams are cambered, originally with massive arch bracing. Above is a crownpost roof, with two free standing, four-armed crownposts, supporting a massive collar purlin.

The third bay division has a full height partition.

A simple 16th century staircase with square handrail and balusters, replaced the original and necessitated both the moving of the original partition, adjacent on the south side, and the building of a partition, at first floor level, to form a landing.

In the modern lean-to rear porch, is a cut down external door, which may well date to the original build.

A date of *c.* 1370 is suggested for this wing. Allowing for the high quality workmanship, the crownposts lack the decoration one would expect at an earlier date, but are still basically 14th century in character. The door heads, and floor joist joints reinforce such a dating.

Less evidence is immediately apparent for the east crosswing. However, one segmental door head survives on the west wall, and the position for another, adjacent to it, is apparent. Between the two there was originally a partition, now removed, its line blocked by an inserted chimney stack. This wing is three bays long, probably jettied to the front.

The roof has one crownpost, between the front two bays and a full height partition dividing these from the rear bay. The collar purlin is continuous and part of the original gable framing survives.

Detailing throughout suggests this wing is contemporary with the west wing, though the approach is more utilitarian. However, this is quite logical as the layout indicates the east wing as service wing and the west wing a top end.

Interpretation of the central hall presents more of a problem. It is fully two poles in length, and now a generous two storey height. The roof is a rebuild of the late 16th century, incorporating much of the original soot blackened timber. From this it is possible to show that the original roof was a massive framed side purlin, arch braced to collars. This form is known in Essex in the late 14th century, but lasts well into the 15th century. On the rear top plate is a splayed and bridled scarf, and on the front top plate, a halved and bladed scarf. Chronologically, the former would fit with the late 14th century, whilst the latter with the late 16th century. No floor joists joint could be seen. Presumably this represents either a late 16th century rebuild, or an original first floor re-roofed in late 16th century. Three factors have also to be considered:

1. The large inserted brick chimney stack is difficult to date to the end of the 16th century and is more typical of *c.* 1480.
2. The ceiling at first floor was inserted in the early 16th century, at the latest, as an attic floor.
3. The main posts are fully two storey, and except for one, which may be a repair, seem to be fully framed with the floor.

It is tempting to postulate a late 14th century first floor hall with cross-wings, with a timber chimney inserted sometime prior to the present brick edifice of the late 15th century. Such houses are rare, but a similar, more modest, example exists at Termitts' Hatfield Peverel, dating from about the same period. However, whilst the existence of a hall cannot be doubted, its exact form must remain conjectural for the time being. The aforementioned chimney stack in the east wing is also of the late 15th century.

Original work throughout is high quality, but not over ornate, suggesting a very wealthy farmhouse. There are other later internal details of interest, such as a number of 16th century doors and a fine, late 17th century cupboard.

Other buildings

Dovecote

Timber framed with 3 storeys. Tiled roof. Good quality work of the early 17th century.

Barn

Timber framed and weatherboarded, with two formerly gabled midstreys, one with a 17th century date inscribed on the top plate. Halved and bridled scarfs. Aisle bracing to storey posts. Normal

assembly throughout. Originally with a crownpost roof. A date of late 14th century would seem applicable.

No 20, HIGH STREET, DUNMOW. TL 628218

Mid-14th century, open hall with crosswings. Timber framed and plastered with red plain tile roof. Modern shops to ground floor frontage. Northern wing of 3 bays plus a small smoke bay at the rear. No jowls on principal posts, soffit tenon floor joist joints, cambered tie beams, and some stop chamfering to main frame. Crownpost roofs, with four armed octagonal crownposts with moulded bases and capitals. Hall collars pegged to collar purlin.

First floor inserted into hall range and roof raised c. 1600. Some good late 17th and early 18th century doors remain.

Crosswings originally gabled to the street, and jettied at the northern end.

TUDOR HOUSE, NEWPORT (RCHM (1916) 5; 202) TL 521348

Timber framed and plastered with framing exposed externally to street frontage. Red plain tile roof.

A complex structure of numerous phases over a comparatively short period, which makes interpretations difficult.

The northern two bays and 'chimney' bay are of the second quarter of the 16th century, the north end being a crosswing, jettied and gabled to the street, and the remainder featuring a long wall jetty. The chimney, is a slightly later insertion, presumably before c. 1550. To the rear of this bay is a staircase tower, presumably original.

There are two further bays to the south, mostly datable to the middle 16th century or slightly later, but incorporating certain structural anomalies which suggest the possibility of an extensive rebuilding incorporating remains of an earlier structure.

Overall, the building is high quality with unusually deep jetty overhang, and carefully selected timber. Floor joist joints throughout are soffit tenons with diminished haunch. A number of original doors and windows survive, the latter with heavily moulded mullions.

Both internally and externally, the main chimney stack is ornate. The top has been extensively restored, but is stylistically convincing. Four highly decorative fireplaces survive. Presumably this chimney replaces a timber chimney, as there is no sooting to indicate a smoke bay.

OLD SCHOOL HOUSE, RAYNE. TL 731228

Early 17th century building, extensively altered in 18th century. Timber framed and weatherboarded, with red plain tile roof. Originally single storey, a first floor inserted in the 18th century. 3 window range, 18th century double hung vertical sliding sashes with glazing bars and early 19th century horizontal sliding sashes with glazing bars. Late 18th or early 19th century red brick chimney stack. 3 entrance doors. Southern bay is small 2 storey dwelling. Crested ridge tiles. Internally the original frame remains, with one original window shutter *in-situ*, and through wall bracing. Inserted floor is supported on bridging joists, with hanging knees.

TWEED COTTAGE, STEBBING. TL 661245

Late 13th century hall house with crosswing, timber framed and plastered with red plain tile roof.

Small open hall of two unequal bays, the narrow bay adjacent to the floored end bay to the north. The latter originally longer, was truncated in the 17th century.

The roof to the hall is sooted, with cambered, arch-braced tiebeam and truncated king post. The post shaft is octagonal with moulded base and capital. Three tiers of capital mouldings, all based on degenerate scrolls. The collar purlin is jointed into the upper shaft, which is halved across the collar, but does not reach the apex.

The south crosswing was extensively altered in the 17th century and later, which makes interpretation difficult, particularly as it obviously was not 'standard' when built. There appears to

have been no true partition between the hall and the ground floor of the wing, and the side girth is heavily moulded on the hall side. However, this girth is extremely slender, but it is part of the wallframe above, which certainly appears to be original, and has a splayed and tabled scarf with over squirted abutments and feather wedge. The first floor in the wing has fully framed large joists in the front bay, with an opening trimmed for a ladder stair, but the rear bay has 17th century slender joists and no mortices for earlier ones. The 2 main storey posts survive, but the original crownpost roof has been rebuilt.

In the 16th century a first floor was inserted in the hall with a moulded bridging joist, and a chimney stack was inserted at the same time.

The truncated king post is extremely unusual. It has a parallel in the early wing of Tiptofts at Wimbish, but the style of this example suggests a later date. It is possible that we are here dealing with the late degeneracy of a very early king post tradition, of which no known examples survive.

OLD RECTORY, STRETHALL (RCHM (1916) 3; 297) TL 488395

Timber framed and plastered with red plain tile roof.

Small, good quality early 15th century open hall house, with floored end bays. Jettied at both ends, with half hipped roof. Corner posts supporting jetty, jowled internally. Central open hall is of two unequal bays, cross passage in larger bay, adjacent to cross-frame of end bay. Simple crownpost roof, with braces meeting below collar purlin in one end bay.

In the 16th century a red brick chimney stack was inserted in narrow bay of hall, with garderobe adjacent, and first floor inserted in the larger bay, at the same time.

ASHLEYS, ULTING ROAD, ULTING TL 803099

14th century or early 15th century open hall house. Originally facing south, the main front is now to the north. Original east wing is hipped to north, gabled and originally jettied to south. Early 16th century west wing is gabled to front and rear. Late C16 gabled staircase tower. 16th century inserted first floor to hall. Original solid tread staircase in west wing. Formerly known as Crouchman's.

LANE FARMHOUSE, WAKES COLNE TL 891296

Timber framed and plastered, with red plain tile roof, and mid 19th century grey brick facade. L-shaped plan.

The earliest visible structure is a short length of the rear wall of medieval open hall, with jowled storey post, and the adjacent top plate, tie beam and studding of a contemporary crosswing. There are also a number of sooted rafters from a crownpost roof, re-used in the main roof. All the timber is high quality and the studs are widely spaced. Dating this work is problematical as so little is visible, but the overall date range must be 1250-1450, with the most likely date being *c.* 1380-1400.

In the second quarter of the 16th century, the house was entirely re-modelled, with an integral first floor and large red brick chimney stack. Also at this time the west wing appears to have been built with an arch braced side purlin roof, cambered tiebeams, and jowled storey post. Floor joist joints in this wing are soffit tenons with diminished haunches.

The South Wing, however, appears to be an earlier remnant. Heavily timbered and with simple soffit tenons on the floor joists, it is 3 bays long, with an original first floor in the bay adjacent to the main range. Size and layout suggests a kitchen, dating from about the same period as the open hall. Signs of weathering internally indicate that it stood ruinous at some time. 18th century brick chimney stacks at east and west end.

The *c.* 1850 re-front included a major roof rebuild on the main range, the rebuilding of the top of the 16th century chimney stack, and internal detailing throughout, with the exception of some 18th century and one 16th century re-used doors.

KENTS FARMHOUSE, WEST HANNINGFIELD (RCHM (1923) 8; 167) TL 719999

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

A former open hall, of which one crosswing survives, the main range being a complete rebuild of the 17th century.

Precise dating of the crosswing is difficult. It is heavily framed and jettied to the front with spandrel bracing to the main bridging joist. The floor joists are jointed with simple centre tenons. Three bays long, there was originally a single chamber at first floor level, and apparently a large and a small chamber at ground floor. However, there is weathering on the rear of the ground floor cross partition, which would suggest exposure to the elements. It is hard to argue that it served as a rear wall since the main frame is continuous. A period of dereliction is possible but the weathering is very localised for this.

Principal tiebeam is cambered and jowls to front storey posts but not those mid-wall.

The date for this wing is unlikely to be later than c. 1400, and with the curved timber and lack of lap joints not earlier than c. 1250. There is a length of early 13th century end wall tiebeam re-used as a floor joists, in the original build, therefore one is inclined to avoid the earlier part of the date range, and suggest the wing was built in the 14th century.

The re-used timber has four secret notched lap joints, mortices for studs and angled mortices for corner ties. On the underside the beam is grooved for wattle and daub, whilst the top is drilled for interwoven infill.

The main chimney stack is mid 16th century and would have been inserted in the open hall, prior to the re-building of the main range as a 2 storey structure in the 17th century.

Abbreviations

- C.E.M.** Colchester and Essex Museum
Ch.E.M. Chelmsford and Essex Museum
C.U.C. Cambridge University Collection
E.C.C. Essex County Council
E.D.F.M. Epping Forest District Museum
E.R.O. Essex Records Office
H.S. Huntings Surveys
N.M.R. National Monuments Record
S.M. Southen Museum
S.M.R. Essex County Council Sites and Monuments Record
S.W.M. Saffron Walden Museum
T.M. Thurrock Local History Museum

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Excavations in Essex 1982

Edited by DEBORAH PRIDDY

This is the seventh annual round-up of excavations in Essex compiled by Essex County Council's Archaeology Section, for the Advisory Committee for Archaeological Excavation in Essex. In 1982 twenty-seven excavations were reported to the section (Fig. 1). As in previous years the majority of excavations were rescue operations.

Sites are listed alphabetically, the directors of excavations, the societies and institutions involved are named at the beginning of each report. The present or intended location of finds, and the place of final publication, where known, are stated at the end of each summary. Excavations continuing from previous years are indicated, and readers are referred to 'Excavations in Essex 19 ' listed in the bibliography.

Contributors are thanked for supplying information. The original reports have been added to the County Sites and Monuments Record in the Planning Department, Essex County Council, Globe House, New Street, Chelmsford.

1. ABRIDGE, WITTAL'S FIELD (TQ 458974)

F. Clark, W.E.A.S.

Excavation of a double ring-ditch, outer ring diameter of c. 15 m indicated a probable ploughed-out barrow of two phases. The inner, penannular ditch, c. 13 m in diameter, enclosed several shallow features. A stoney surface, between the two ditches, at the entrance to the inner ring, appeared to have been cut by the outer. Small amounts of charcoal and calcined bone were present in the top of the inner ditch, and a barbed and tanged arrowhead was recovered from the upper fill.

Finds: To go to P.E.M.

Final Report: To be deposited in P.E.M.

2. BARLING, GLEBE FARM (TQ 935895)

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

Extensive alteration to the mid-18th century east wing revealed two parallel flint walls. Material recovered from the infill ranged in date from the Saxo-Norman to post-medieval periods.

Finds: E.C.C.

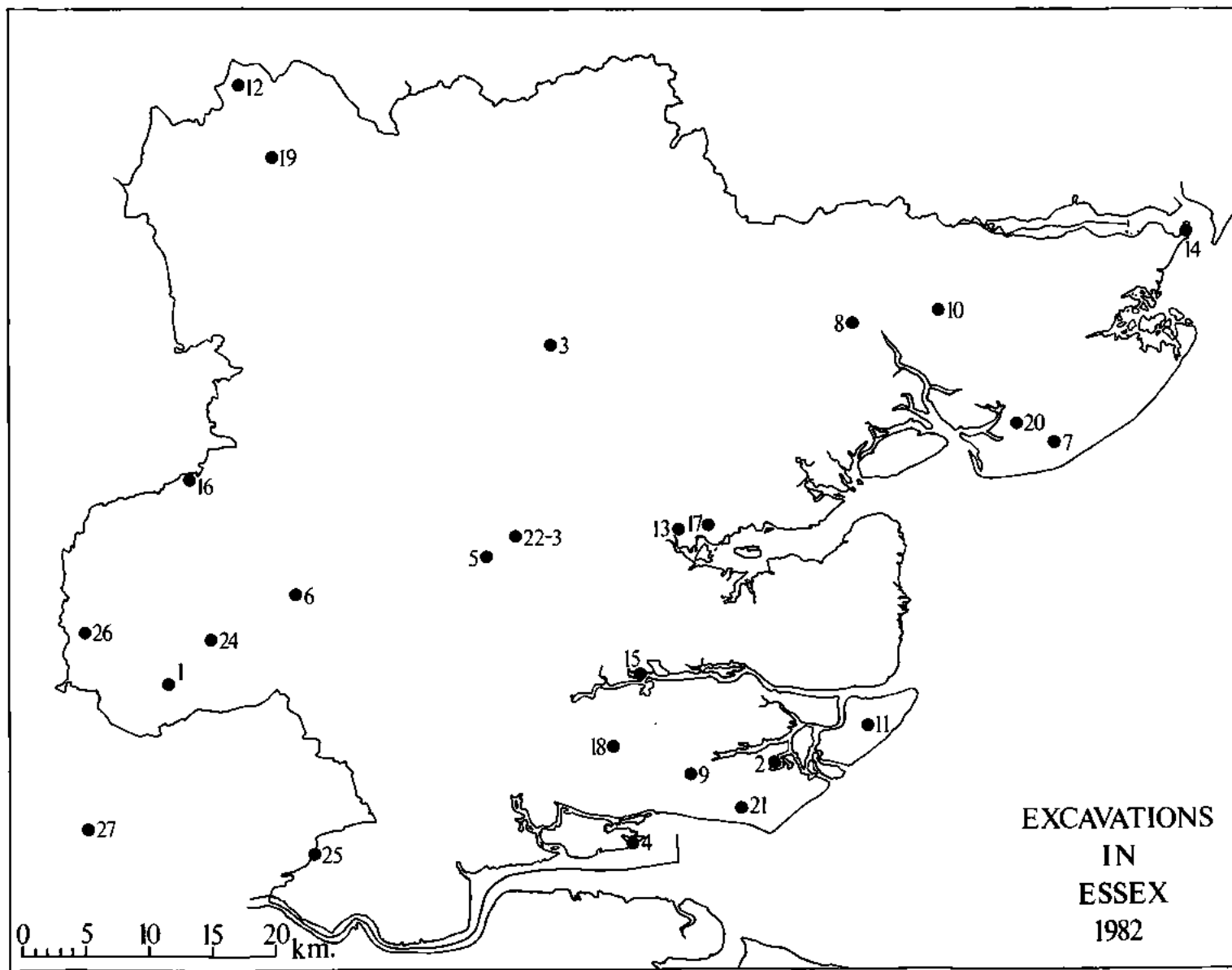
3. BRAINTREE, THE FOUNTAIN (TL 754230) (Cont.)

J.H. Hope, B.V.A.S.

Excavations in the modern town centre revealed traces of a late Iron Age circular house gully cut by a 1st century A.D. ditch to the south, and part of a probable 1st century building platform which was cut by later Roman and modern pits. The ditch was sealed by a rammed gravel surface, aligned approximately parallel to Sandpit Road. Traces of a possible cill-beam structure were found to the north. This road was subsequently overlain by a sequence of timber-framed buildings. Coins range from the 1st century B.C. to the mid-fourth century A.D. and included two coins of Addedomanus; a unique coin of Cunobelinus, and a *dupondius* of Nero, counter-marked by Vindex.

Finds: Heritage Centre, Braintree.

Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.



4. CANVEY ISLAND, CANVEY POINT (TQ 823832)

P.J. Johnson, C.P.A.G.

Two, possibly three, further oven-like structures were revealed on the mud-flats (Eddy (ed.) 1980 (b), 61). These consisted of single chambers fed from the south by a common stoke-pit. No finds were recovered but the features are assumed to be connected with late Iron Age/Romano-British salt production.

5. CHELMSFORD, GRAYS BREWERY (TL 7100665)

D.A. Priddy, E.C.C.

Small scale excavations at the junction of the High Street and Springfield Road revealed evidence for prehistoric, Roman and medieval activity. No certain prehistoric features were recovered but a quantity of residual flintwork was found. A 3rd century A.D. ditch at right angles to Springfield Road (probable line of the London to Colchester Road leaving *Caesaromagus*) contained a range of pottery suggesting considerable activity in the area. The ditch was sealed by a gravel surface during the Roman period. Re-occupation of the site in the 13th century was attested by traces of a probable boundary ditch and the western wall line of a timber building using post-pads on a slight brickearth plinth, both arranged at right angles to Springfield Road. A late medieval timber-lined drain may well have been associated with buildings shown on Walker's 1591 map of Chelmsford.

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

Final Publication: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

6. CHIPPING ONGAR, THE ALLOTMENTS (TL 55350270)

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

A bank, surviving to a height of 1.5m with a shallow ditch some 5m wide, first noted by Gilbert (1904), was rediscovered in the allotments south of Castle Street. Cartographic and field evidence show that it formed part of an enclosure, pre-dating the castle, running southwards to the edge of the floodplain and west along Bushey Lee.

Two small trenches showed the earthworks to be artificial. The ditch produced few finds: a single late Iron Age (?) sherd and worn Roman tile. The size and form of the earthwork argues against a Roman origin and a late Saxon date is tentatively proposed.

Finds: E.F.D.M.

Final Publication: E.A.A.

7. CLACTON, RUSH GREEN (TM 156154)

D.G. Buckley and D.A. Priddy, E.C.C.

Limited excavation of a ring-ditch c. 21 m in diameter revealed a central pit containing an unurned cremation, possibly originally deposited in an organic container. The pit fill also contained charcoal and burnt daub. A few worked flints and sherds of undiagnostic prehistoric pottery were recovered.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

8. COLCHESTER, CULVER STREET (TL 995251)(Cont.)

P. Crummy and N.A. Smith, C.A.T.

The first phase of excavation was completed, recovering further details of the tribunes' houses, and later 1st century buildings post-dating the change from fortress to colony. A timber-lined cess-pit in the corner of the northern house contained at least ten small North Italian Eggshell Ware bowls.

Finds: C.A.T.

Final Report: C.A.T. Monograph Series.

9. EASTWOOD, MARSHALL'S FARM (TQ 87758905) (Cont.)

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

Excavation focused on the possible drain, discovered in 1981, which was traced further to the north, and appears to have partially surrounded a masonry structure to the west. Features were sealed by a scatter of rubble and roof-tile. Finds, including a late 'military style' strap-end, suggest a *terminus post quem* in the mid-4th century A.D.

Finds: S.M.

10. ELMSTEAD MARKET, CHURCH OF ST ANNE AND ST LAWRENCE (TM 06502600) (Cont.)

M. Corbishley, T.R.A.G.

Construction of a new vestry/meeting room necessitated excavations north of the nave. A number of graves were found, one only a few centimeters from the north wall. Disturbed soil in this area contained a quantity of burnt daub which appeared to run under the wall foundations.

Removal of concrete rendering from the Norman north door showed it to be built of Roman tile and integral to the wall.

Further work on the possible chantry chapel showed it to have trench-built foundations made up of reused septaria and mortar fragments, flint and ironstone. Evidence of a doorway into the chancel has yet to be investigated.

Finds: Church; E.C.C.

Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

11. FOULNESS (TQ 9892)

R.W. Crump, A.W.R.E. (Foulness) (Cont.)

The building survey included excavation at Ridge Marsh Farm; and the identification of a late 18th century signal house at Courtsend associated with the Napoleonic wars. It seems likely this is the only Essex example surviving from this particular system.

12. GREAT CHESTERFORD, PLUMB'S YARD (TL 508428)

T.E. Miller, G.C.A.G.

A small excavation in the town centre revealed a large late- or post-medieval pit, cut by a broadly contemporary cess-pit. Several Roman ditches were investigated and occupation levels noted in section.

Finds: G.C.A.G.

13. GREAT TOTHAM, LOFTS FARM (TL 866092)(Cont.)

P.N. Brown, M.A.G.

Prior to machine clearance two bronze Roman sword chapes and a 3rd-4th century coin were recovered. A number of field ditches, elsewhere in the quarry, have been dated to the Roman period.

Finds: M.A.G.

Final Publication: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

14. HARWICH, 14 ST AUSTIN'S LANE (TM 260328)

P.J. Drury and C.M. Cunningham, Ch.A.T.

Recording and limited excavation of an early 15th century timber-frame, during reconstruction, revealed a two-storey structure with two rooms below and a single first floor chamber jettied on the street front. It had been built over a cobbled area as an extension of a (long demolished) property to the west. In the 16th century it was divided from that property and extended eastwards, undergoing extensive reconstruction, the cills being underbuilt in stone. Soon after, a central brick chimney stack was inserted and other internal changes made. The house was modernised in the early 18th century and severed from its eastern extension in, or by, c. 1800 when it was refronted in brick; an attic inserted in the new mansard roof, the house extended backwards and cellars dug beneath it. A passage was created giving access from the street to the rear yard in which tenements were erected.

Finds: Ch.A.T.; to go to C.E.M.

Final Report: Ch.A.T. Monograph Series

15. HULLBRIDGE SURVEY

J.D. Hedges, P. Murphy and T. Wilkinson, E.C.C.

Preliminary survey and sampling, in advance of excavation, to examine the submerged land surfaces exposed along the Crouch Estuary between Battlesbridge and Burnham-on-Crouch (Vincent and George 1980) revealed thirty-one exposures of note along the north bank, eleven of which produced evidence of occupation or economic activity. These included two associated with salt-making, probably "Belgic" and medieval; two mesolithic/neolithic flint scatters seated below estuarine clay; four sites associated with wooden structures, probably prehistoric and three with undatable occupation debris. Five of the remaining exposures revealed submerged forest pre-dating the development of the estuary. Samples for radiocarbon dating and palaeoenvironmental data were taken.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final Report: E.A.A.

16. LATTON, LADYSHOT/MARK HALL WOODS (TL 469106)

R. Bartlett, H.A.G. and H.M.

Sections across linear features, running parallel to the Parish boundary, produced Roman tile and pottery and showed shallow ditches rising to an unmetalled road surface. Root disturbance prevented recording a section right across the road. Fieldwork suggests these features form the main route from the Holbrooks temple site (V.C.H. III, 1963, 13-41) to a known kiln in Epping Forest.

Finds: H.M.

17. LITTLE TOTHAM, ROOK HALL (TL 87850925)

P. Adkins

Limited excavation in advance of gravel extraction revealed evidence for multi-period occupation. Of particular interest is a large quantity of Bronze Age pottery, much of it from within features, including at least three cremation burials and clay-lined features, including a possible pottery clamp.

Finds: With Excavator.

18. RAYLEIGH, DUTCH COTTAGE (TQ 804911)

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

Discovery of a fireplace lined with reused Delft tiles prompted further study of this octagonal house.

A narrow trench from the central stack to the blocked 'front' door showed the stack to be built on a clay base, with a clay platform to support the walls. The plan of the upper storey floorboards suggests one access by a vertical ladder against the north wall and a possible second against the central stack.

Final Report: Post-Medieval Archaeol.

19. SAFFRON WALDEN, AUDLEY END HOUSE (TL 524382)

C.M. Cunningham, Ch.A.T.

Three small trenches, west of the roadway to the car park, showed up to 0.4 m of topsoil overlying building debris, apparently derived from one of the early 18th century demolition phases of the outer court (Drury, 1980). This covered probable Jacobean make-up levels and a hall foundation, probably predating the layout of the house c. 1605-16 (Bassett, 1982, 94-105). These lower levels were largely unexcavated.

Finds: D.O.E. Store, Audley End

Final Report: To go to N.M.R.

20. ST. OSYTH, WELLWICK FARM (TM 120168)(Cont.)

M. Corbishley, T.R.A.G.

Gravel extraction prompted investigation of the Roman trackway and field-system. No further evidence of the ironworking area or rubbish pit was revealed, although ironworking debris was found in the fills of the trackway ditch.

Finds: C.E.M.

21. SOUTHCHURCH, SOUTHCHURCH HALL (TQ 894855) (Cont.)

J.R. Jackson, S.H.S.

Examination of the 17th century causeway across the moat, on the line of the gatehouse, is now complete. Part of two transverse sole-plates from the bridge trestles appear similar to Rigold's Type 2 (Rigold, 1975). The SE corner of the northern ashlar stone buttress was also defined; the main stone retaining wall, connecting the two garderobes was dismantled, and the stones numbered prior to re-building.

Finds: S.H.M.

Final Report: To be deposited in S.M.

22. SPRINGFIELD, SPRINGFIELD LYONS (TL 736082) (Cont.)

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

Excavation of the late Bronze Age and saxon occupation continued. The late Bronze Age circular enclosure, c. 60 m in diameter, appears to be of single phase construction with a 'U'-shaped ditch, c. 5 m wide and 1.5 m deep, with five causeways located. Internal features include pits and postholes representing two or more circular structures. Finds include pottery, perforated clay 'slabs', worked flint, and an important collection of clay metalworking moulds from the primary ditch fills.

Saxon features include further cremation and inhumation burials, some with grave-goods. Features indicate structures using a variety of construction techniques including earth-fast posts, post-in-trench and ground-beam forms of several phases.

Finds: E.C.C.

Final publication: E.A.A.

23. SPRINGFIELD, WHITE HART LANE (TL 72780942)

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

A watching brief, during roadworks, revealed prehistoric and medieval features. Abraded pottery, from a curving gully, suggest it may represent an early-middle iron age circular house.

Two parallel ditches, partially visible as crop-marks, were dated to the 12th century and possibly formed a property boundary.

Finds: Ch.E.M.

Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

24. THEYDON MOUNT, HILL HALL (TQ 488995)

P.J. Drury, Ch.A.T.

Structural analysis, begun in 1981, continued alongside excavation and documentary research. Residual pottery shows the site was occupied by the 13th century. There was clearly a substantial house centred on the N.W. corner of the extant courtyard, with a complex structural history (Period I) when Sir Thomas Smith acquired the estate in 1556. His building activities (Period 2) are now interpreted as follows; work of phases C, D and E forms the basis of the extant fabric:

A. (1557-8) Reconstruction of the house around a courtyard to the east of the earlier nucleus, with a hall in the south range and a kitchen (fully excavated in 1982) at the S.E. corner. The building was part brick and part timber-framed.

B. Repairs and alterations to the new building probably occasioned by structural failure.

C. (1568-9) Reconstruction of the North and West courtyard ranges, with dressings of stone and cut brick.

D. (1574-5) Reconstruction of the South and East courtyard ranges, with dressings largely of *terra cotta*.

E. (c. 1576-87) Construction of the N.W. range, probably as part of a putative western service court, and a range on the west side of the forecourt to the north of the house.

In the course of the excavation the original layout of the giant Doric columns (Period 2D) on the east front and the S.E. stair tower (widened c. 1714) was ascertained. Foundations of the east range yielded more tin-glazed architectural *terra cotta*, including part of a large convex shield bearing the arms of Smith.

Finds: D.O.E. Store, Hill Hall.

Final Publication: Not yet known.

25. UPMINSTER, WHITEHALL WOOD (TQ 570825) (G.L.C.)

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

Crop-mark excavation revealed traces of prehistoric ditch systems, numerous small pits with calcined flint and a possible settlement area. A late Neolithic or early Bronze Age date is suggested but undiagnostic pottery makes dating difficult.

Finds: P.E.M.

Final Report: P.E.M. Monograph

26. WALTHAM HOLY CROSS, 37-39 SUN STREET (TL 384006)

J. Littlefair, W.A.H.S.

Victorian foundations were revealed along the street frontage overlying an apparently vacant lot, confirming maps from 1600 onwards which do not show buildings on the site until 1870. The edge of the Sun Street ditch was noted, but lies mostly under the pavement. Postholes may indicate a

boundary fence. A second ditch c.1 m to the south, parallel to the first, may have acted as a drain after the silting of the latter.

A further trench to the south also exposed Victorian footings. These overlay a clay surface, which sealed a charcoal-like layer.

The ditches appear to have been backfilled prior to the construction of No. 41, dated 1520 (now E.F.D.M.), and the clay and charcoal layers may represent prior clearance and levelling.

Finds: E.F.D.M.

27. WEST HAM, STRATFORD BROADWAY (TQ 391844) (G.L.C.)

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

A late medieval village pond, backfilled in the 17th century, was shown to have possibly underlain the present road system. Rocque's map (1741-6) shows buildings overlying it. A series of agricultural/industrial pits was found nearby.

Finds: P.E.M.

Final Report: P.E.M. Monograph

Progress in Essex Archaeology 1982

Excavations in Essex have continued at approximately the same level as in previous years (Eddy (ed.), 1981, 57-61; Priddy (ed.), 1982, 133-145) with no dramatic change in the overall pattern, or the scale of excavations undertaken, although a gradual drop in the numbers of excavations over this period is evident. This is almost certainly due to the great costs now involved. At a national level this is reflected in the extent of excavation funding by the Department of the Environment in the county, and locally, societies have had to carefully consider, in the light of these costs, the extent to which they can undertake fieldwork, and the objectives of each proposed project.

Approximately half the excavations continued from the previous year, of which 83% were rescue sites. Of the new excavations in 1982 some 66% were initiated in response to various threats. Few excavations received grant support from the Department of the Environment (6.5%) all of which were projects carried out by full-time archaeological agencies within the country.

Factors which adversely affect the investigation of early prehistoric sites have been repeatedly stressed (Eddy (ed.), 1981; Priddy (ed.), 1982), therefore it was particularly encouraging to see the inception of a major survey project aimed at examining the early prehistoric land-surfaces along the Crouch Estuary (15). The archaeological potential of this area has been clearly demonstrated (Vincent and George, 1980) and the current programme of archaeological, chronological and palaeoenvironmental sampling should, by its integrated approach, herald a significant advance in our understanding of this area from the Mesolithic onwards.

New evidence for settlement and burial sites can be added to the distribution maps for both the Neolithic and the Bronze Age. On the Thames terraces linear features and pits at Upminster (24) suggest a Neolithic or early Bronze Age settlement, whilst extensive evidence, covering a similar period has been forthcoming from features, including Bronze Age cremation burials, first recorded as crop-marks at Little Totham (16). Continuing excavations at Springfield (21) have recorded structures from within the large circular enclosure (Priddy (ed.), 1982) and have fully recovered the important group of metal-working moulds from the enclosure ditch. This site presumably represents some degree of special 'status', compared with the more common, though insubstantial traces of open settlements, rather than any chronological difference. The recovery of structural and industrial evidence is a significant advance since, often, little other than the chronology of an enclosure can be established.

Few diagnostic finds were recovered from a single ring-ditch, destroyed by housing at Clacton (7), but a Bronze Age date was established by radiocarbon dating.

A double ring-ditch excavated at Abridge (1) producing some charcoal and cremated bone from the surface of the inner ditch, suggests a two-phase barrow structure. There are a number of double ring-ditches recorded in the county (Lawson, Martin and Priddy, 1981, 2), mostly interpreted as multi-phase barrows rather than a more elaborate funerary monument, and the evidence from Abridge would seem to bear this out. The only indication of date was a barbed and tanged arrowhead of Bronze Age date.

In contrast, there is little to report on projects specifically aimed at the Iron Age. Work has continued on the settlement site at Great Totham (12) whilst Iron Age features have been recorded at Little Totham (16), Springfield (22), Braintree (2) and on various exposures along the River Crouch (14).

Small scale investigations on Canvey Island (3) revealed structures associated with late Iron Age/Romano-British salt making and highlight the problems and practical difficulties of excavating such sites, and the pressing need for systematic survey and selective excavation (Priddy (ed.), 1982, 144).

For the Roman period the exact nature of settlement at Eastwood (9) is still not entirely clear although it has produced evidence for masonry buildings. A further part of a field-system at St. Osyth (19) was excavated in advance of mineral extraction and a probable road sectioned at Latton (15). Features were recorded in urban contexts at Braintree (2), Chelmsford (4), Colchester (8) and Great Chesterford (11). Traces of timber buildings at Braintree confirm the extent of peripheral occupation postulated by Drury (1976, Fig. 4), whilst the presence of Roman features to the north of the River Chelmer at Chelmsford (4) indicate some evidence for occupation along the probable line of the road to Colchester.

The only early Saxon site to be examined this year was Springfield (21) where further burials have been excavated and a wide range of construction techniques recorded for timber buildings. The settlement is clearly of great potential, particularly if, as seems likely, it extends further down the hill where stratified deposits might be expected.

Extant late Saxon defensive earthworks are only rarely identified, more so in Essex, with its poor survival rate for earthworks of all periods. The enclosure ditch at Chipping Ongar (6), although producing no dating evidence, does appear to be a potential candidate for a 'burh' or defended area of this period. There are only two such sites documented in Essex and its positive identification would be of considerable importance to what little we know of the area in late Saxon times.

A number of sites in the medieval and post-medieval period have been excavated. Urban sites in Chelmsford (4), Harwich (13) and Waltham Abbey (25) contribute towards a more complete understanding of urban topography and settlement layout.

Excavations at Elmstead Market church (10) have produced further details of the structural sequence. This was the only church where excavation was necessary during the year although watching briefs were maintained at a number of others. Investigations of medieval and post-medieval houses ranged from the opportunity to record one of the few 17th century octagonal Dutch Houses at Rayleigh (17) and further excavations at Southchurch Hall moat (20), to small-scale excavations at Audley End House (18), and programme of structural analysis and documentary research, associated with excavations at Hill Hall (23).

Excavations during 1982 have, in general, been planned with regard to regional and national research priorities, within rescue contexts, outlined in *Archaeology in Essex to A.D. 1500* (Buckley (ed.), 1980); indeed a detailed research brief is now an essential prerequisite of 'project-funding' by the Department of the Environment. In this respect these excavation summaries aim to provide useful update to the 1980 survey (Buckley, *ibid*) upon which the objectives and results of work within the county can be placed.

Abbreviations

- A.W.R.E.(Foulness)** A.W.R.E. (Foulness) Archaeological Society
B.V.A.S. Brain Valley Archaeological Society
C.A.T. Colchester Archaeological Trust

C.E.M. Colchester and Essex Museum
Ch.A.T. Chelmsford Archaeological Trust
Ch.E.M. Chelmsford and Essex Museum
C.P.A.G. Castle Point Archaeological Group
E.A.A. East Anglian Archaeology Monograph Series
E.C.C. Essex County Council
E.F.D.M. Epping Forest District Museum
G.C.A.G. Great Chesterford Archaeological Group
H.A.G. Harlow Archaeological Group
H.M. Harlow Museum
M.A.G. Maldon Archaeological Group
P.E.M. Passmore Edwards Museum
S.E.E.A.S. South-East Essex Archaeological Society
S.H.M. Southchurch Hall Museum
S.H.S. Southend Historical Society
S.M. Southend Museum
T.R.A.G. Tendring Rescue Archaeology Group
W.A.H.S. Waltham Abbey Historical Society
W.E.A.S. West Essex Archaeological Society

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Archaeological and Historical Notes

Mersea before 1046: A Reconsideration

by PETER B. BOYDEN

In his recent paper (Hart 1980) Dr Hart suggests on the basis of wills of Ealdorman Ælfgar and his daughters that the 20 hide manor granted by Edward consisted of a number of separate holdings that had belonged to this family in the tenth century. Of these Peldon and Mersea were bequeathed to the minster at Stoke; Fingringhoe to St Peter's at Mersea; and there is also reference to another Mersea (?) estate of 6 hides upon which the minster (St Peter's) stood. According to Hart the estates left to Stoke fell into lay hands on the death (before the end of Cnut's reign) of the last surviving daughter, and were then apparently acquired by the king himself. How he obtained possession of Fingringhoe and the 6 hides attached to the minster Hart does not speculate, but, in any event, these disparate holdings were amalgamated into one, and in 1046 granted by Edward to St Ouen. Hart's analysis makes apparently good use of the surviving (and obviously incomplete) documentary evidence relating to Mersea and adjoining parishes, but the suggested sequence of developments is at variance with certain aspects of land tenure in late Anglo-Saxon England.

First, is it certain that the various pieces of land mentioned in the wills were within the boundaries of the 1046 manor of West Mersea? Certainly Fingringhoe must have been, since by 1086 the entire parish was included in the manor of West Mersea. So was part of Peldon, although there were two other holdings that were not - the later manor of Peldon held in 1086 as 5 hides by William the Deacon (Domesday Book fo 94b; Morant 1768 i, 418), and the half hide manor that later became the Rectory (*ibid* 46b, and 419). There was also a part of the Mersea sokeland which lay in both West Mersea and Peldon and was later to become the manor of Peete (Round 1903 456 fn 11; DB ff 22,24). Since no assessment of the Peldon land is given in the wills the holding bequeathed to Stoke could have been either the later rectory or manor, or that part of the parish that lay within the 1046 manor; but not the sokeland which could not be bequeathed.

In addition to West Mersea (fo 22) and Peete (fo 24) Domesday states the island also contained two other manors at its eastern end. One of these was Bocking Hall which had been granted to Christ Church, Canterbury (fo 8; Hart 1971 Nos 30 & 52), and the other the 6 hide manor of East Mersea (fo 46b) held in 1066 by Robert fitz Wimarc and in 1086 by his son Suen. We are not told in which part of the island Ælfgar's family had their lands, although they seem to have given 6 hides (the only estate in the wills for which an assessment is given) to St Peter's minster which is usually taken to have been at West Mersea. Although the circumstantial evidence (and it is no more than that) for the existence of a minster at West Mersea is strong (Rodwell & Rodwell 1977, 113-4), the only 6 hide estate on Mersea Island was at East Mersea, and if this is just a coincidence (which we shall probably never know) it is certainly a remarkable one. Hart's theory therefore emerges from this particular test fairly well. Although the Peldon estate may have lain elsewhere, the Fingringhoe and Mersea ones must have been within the bounds of the 1046 manor.

A second approach is to consider the changes in title and composition of the various holdings, and to see whether the developments described by Hart can be paralleled elsewhere. The story is a complicated one, and whilst there is no reason to doubt that in the tenth and eleventh centuries estates did change hands with some rapidity and that holdings were frequently split up and regrouped, I know of no other instance that can be cited to support Hart's views. Moreover there are grounds for believing that the repossession of land by the crown and its subsequent re-granting in the manner described would have been theoretically impossible. At some time it would have been necessary for a king to have granted out the land under discussion and this he would have done by 'booking' it and

issuing a charter to the recipient(s). Since it appears that one of the objects of booking land was to remove it from royal power for ever (John 1964,49) it seems unlikely that the crown could subsequently re-incorporate it into the royal demesne as Hart's argument requires. If however it be assumed that the land was taken back by the king it would not have been necessary for him to issue a new charter to St Ouen when he gave them the estate. They would have received the previous diploma(s) issued when the land was originally booked (Keynes 1980, 33-4, 141-2).

It would appear that an impasse has been reached. Hart's arguments based on the documents appear to be correct, but when considered in the light of contemporary land-holding practices more conclusive evidence than is currently available is needed to produce a convincing case. If it be assumed that the 1046 manor had always been in royal hands until Edward granted it to St Ouen, which is what all the evidence save the wills implies, is it possible to reconcile them with what is known of land tenure and testamentary practices of the tenth century? Before considering that question it is necessary to review the evidence which supports the view that West Mersea was an ancient demesne royal manor before 1046; in addition to the difficulty of understanding why Edward should have amalgamated several previously separate holdings. Certainly the Domesday description of West Mersea (fo 22) is very similar to that of the ancient demesne royal estates in Essex. The demesne manor and its dependent sokeland is well paralleled at (for example) Lawford (fo 6), whilst the attachment to it of the lordship of the surrounding hundred is similar to the position at neighbouring Witham (fo 1b). Indeed it would appear that when the county was divided up into hundreds, probably after its reconquest from the Danes by Edward the Elder in 917 (*cf* Loyn 1974, 3-4), in the case of Witham at least the duties of the reeve of the royal manor were extended to include those of the hundredman, with the result that the lordship of the hundred became an appurtenance of the manor of Witham. If something similar happened at Mersea, which seems likely, then it would appear that the manor was in royal hands in the early tenth century. If it did then pass in pieces to Ælfgar and his family it is not obvious what would have become of the lordship of the hundred of Winstree whilst they held it. If then it appears that West Mersea was in royal hands until granted to St Ouen in 1046, what is to be made of the attempts to leave parts of it to the minsters of Stoke and Mersea by Ælfgar and his daughters?

An ancient demesne royal manor would have consisted of folkland which would have descended within the royal folk, and although it could be leased it could not have been given away or bequeathed without first being booked. It therefore seems likely that Ælfgar and his daughters were only leasing Mersea from the crown, possibly for a variation of the usual term of three lives. Thus by the time the third and last member of the family (Ælflæd) came to make her will she hoped that in return for the number of estates that she left to the crown the king would allow the transference to Stoke and Mersea of the royal manor that they had leased. Her 'anxiety for the future of her family's foundation .. reflected throughout the text of her will' (Hart 1980, 97, where it is not explained) is surely the result of this attempt to do something that was impossible and perhaps illegal. The only way that the terms of the will could have been carried out would have been for the king to have booked Mersea to either Ælflæd or himself, and this he apparently declined to do. On her death the lease fell in and the estate reverted to the crown. To support this interpretation it is possible to cite the attempt by Leofwine to grant the annual farm of the royal manor of Hatfield Broad Oak to the Abbey of Ely in 1002 x c 1016 (Hart 1971, No 35). Whatever the circumstances under which Leofwine had temporary control over the farm of the manor, whether as reeve or lessee, there is no known way that he could have granted it to Ely, and no sign that they ever enjoyed the revenue.

It seems likely then that West Mersea remained a royal manor until granted to St Ouen by Edward. This interpretation of the pre-1046 tenurial history of the manor not only takes account of the relevant documentary evidence, but also agrees with the general principles of landholding in late Anglo-Saxon England. It would also appear that the statement of Edward that the income from West Mersea was 'formerly the private revenue of my predecessors' may be interpreted more widely than Hart believes (Hart 1980, 97).

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Medieval Pot Quern from Hadleigh Castle

by D. G. BUCKLEY and H. MAJOR

In the finds report of the important medieval excavation at Hadleigh Castle during 1971/2, by P.L. Drewett, a piece of worked lava stone from the demolition material of the Phase II hall, dating to the thirteenth century, is described as mortar (Drewett 1975, 138 and fig. 27 no 330). Although fragmentary, there is little doubt that this is not from a mortar but from a medieval pot-quern.

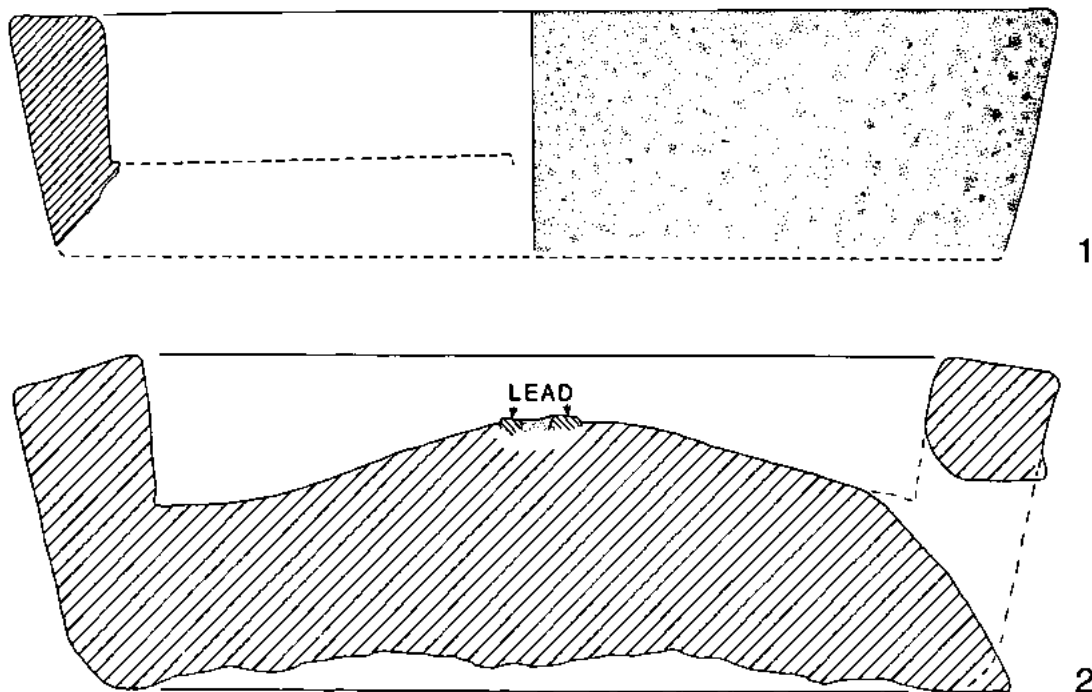
It forms an edge piece of a lower stone into which the topstone would be recessed (fig 1.1). The grinding surface would have been slightly convex, not flat or dished as originally illustrated, and the upper stone correspondingly concave. The original diameter was c 42.4 cm at the top and 10.0 cm deep. It would have had a central hole for a spindle and the flour would have escaped through a hole in the side. On the grinding surface of the topstone to either side of the central hole two slots held an iron cross or rynd, with a hole through which the spindle passed, and by which means the distance apart of the two stones could be regulated. In the upper surface of the top stone there would be one or more holes for a handle(s) fitting.

The majority of lava querns found in Britain are generally considered to originate from the Mayen quarries in the Eifel Hills, Germany. These quarries have a long history, spanning the production and trading of neolithic saddle querns to circular rotary querns of the late La Tene period. (Crawford and Roder 1955). From the Roman period onwards there was a considerable trade with Britain and other provinces. This apparently ceased with the earlier Saxon period, but became well established again by the middle to late Saxon period (Parkhouse 1977) and continued throughout the Middle Ages. The distinctive pot-quern, as opposed to corresponding flat upper and lower stones, appeared, according to Roder, about 1000 A.D. (Crawford and Roder 1955, 70 and fig 1.8).

Publishing a pot-quern from Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire, Dunning (1965, 62/3) recorded fifteen other English sites which had produced similar pot-querns with a distribution extending from Kent to Yorkshire. Sussex was subsequently added to the distribution area with the publication of examples from Selmeston and Lewes (Holden 1965, 187-191). The report on a pot-quern from excavations at the royal abbey at Faversham, Kent, also lists a number of other examples.

The pot-quern from Hadleigh is the first published from Essex. However, recent research has revealed two lower stones and eighteen upper-stones in Colchester Museum, the majority are unprovenanced but are believed to derive from Colchester and its immediate areas. One of these lower-stones is illustrated for comparison (Fig 1.2). This still retains the lead plug which held the spindle and has a square outlet for the flour. There is also a lower stone in Chelmsford Museum recorded as coming from Colchester; an upper-stone from Duxford, Cambridgeshire, and a lower stone from Sawston, Cambridgeshire, in the Saffron Walden Museum; an upper-stone found near Loughton Camp in the Passmore Edwards Museum; and two upper-stones from Wakering and an upper-stone from Rayleigh Mount in the Southend Museum.

The majority of these stones are complete; however, pieces of lava have been recovered from a number of Essex medieval excavations. These are often too small and fragmentary for specific



Pot querns from Hadleigh Castle (1) and from Colchester Museum (2). (Reduced 1/4)

identification or are recognisably Roman in form, but the possibility that they could be derived from pot querns should be noted.

Acknowledgements - Thanks are given to P.L. Drewett for commenting on this note and to the staff of the various Essex museums for their assistance. Figure 1.1. is by J. Thorne, DOE, A.M. Illustration Section and 1.2 by H. Major.

Current Research on Essex History and Historical Geography, 1983

by Nancy Briggs

This list is based partly on *Historical Research for University Degrees in the United Kingdom List No. 44, Part I Theses completed 1982, and Part II, Theses in progress 1983* (University of London Institute of Historical Research, May 1983). Other information has been taken from research cards filed and theses deposited at the Essex Record Office.

Medieval

The De Ferrers family in England, 1066-1279 - P.E. Golob (Cambridge Ph.D)

The Bohun earls of Hereford and Essex, c.1275-1370 - Gwenllian Jones (Oxford M. Litt)

The Bohun family in the 14th century - Winifred A. King (Keele M.A.)

Patronage of the Augustinian canons in 12th century England - Jane Herbert (London Ph.D)
 Medieval religious guilds - B.R. McRee (Indiana Ph.D).
 The role of royal castles in English government in politics in the 15th century - M.J. Roeder (Wales
 (Swansea) Ph.D.)

Early Modern

The early modern shrievalty - Myron C. Noonkester (Chicago Ph.D.)
 Witch Hunting and Witch Trials in Chelmsford - Rita Colacino (Rome University)
 Witchcraft in Elizabethan Essex - W.J. Coll (Calgary M.A.)
 The manor of Crondon: 1550-1603: a social and economic study - Ann Robey (London M. Phil)
 Ports of the Stour and Orwell, 1558-1640 - Florence Evans (East Anglia Ph.D)
 Female peers during the reign of James I - Margaret Sinclair Minor (Kent State Ph.D).
 "The well affected and the country": politics and society in the English Revolution, c.1630-c.1662 -
 W. Cliftlands (Essex Ph.D.)
 The peerage in politics, 1640-49 - J.S.A. Adamson (Cambridge Ph.D.)
 Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643-53 - Anne Witham (London Ph.D.)
 Interregnum East Anglia: politics, government and society in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, 1649-62 -
 J.G.A. Ive (Cambridge Ph.D.)

Modern

Social aspects of health and medicine, 1700-1815 - Christine Joseclyne (Essex Ph.D)
 Sunday schools in Essex: their purpose and function, 1780-1830 - P.J. Griffiths (London M.A. Ed.)
 Women in the textile industry: Yorkshire and Essex, 1780-1850 - Sian Moore (Essex Ph.D.)
 Amateur artists and drawing masters in the 18th century - Kimberly Todd (London Ph.D)
 Coroners' Inquisitions, 1830-50 - Elisabeth Cawthon (Virginia Ph.D.)
 Emigration to Australia - Sister Mary Pescott (Australian National University Ph.D)
 Secondary Education in Halstead - G.S. Slinning (Essex M.Phil.)

Completed Research

Wages and wage-earners, 1563-1725: the evidence of wage assessments - M.F. Roberts (Oxford D.
 Phil)
 Letters of the Barrington family, 1628-32: an edition - A. Searle (Leeds M. Phil.)*
 Landed interests and the land question in Essex in the 19th and early 20th centuries - J.G. Kingsbury
 (Cambridge M.Litt)Men of bad character: property crime in Essex in the 1820's - Janet Gyford
 (Essex M.A.)*
 Laissez-faire and interventionism in housing: Chelmsford, 1900-14, a case study - Shirley Durgan
 (Essex M.A.)*

* Copy in E.R.O. Library.

Periodical Literature on Essex Archaeology and History, 1983

by J. M. SKUDDER

This bibliography lists articles and reports on archaeological and historical 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 June, 1984. It includes materials in issues dated for 1983, but which actually appeared in 1984, 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. Bibliographical articles are listed under the subject's place of birth or residence.

All publications are 1984 unless otherwise stated.

Essex

Catherall, P. D. *A Romano-British pottery manufacturing site at Oakleigh Farm, Higham, Kent* (comparisons with Essex sites). *Britannia*, **xiv** (1983), 103–41.

Birdbrook

Charge, B. B. *A ring-ditch site at Chadwell's Farm, Birdbrook, Essex. Haverhill and Dist. Archaeol. Gp. J.*, **iii.2** (1983), 113–16.

Boreham

Egan, G. *Post-medieval Britain in 1982* (New Hall Convent School exc. short report). *Post Medieval Archaeol.*, **17** (1983), 193–4.

Chelmsford

Frere, S. S. (ed.). *Roman Britain in 1982* (short report). *Britannia*, **xiv** (1983), 39.

Youngs, S. M. *et al. Medieval Britain . . . in 1982* (Grays Brewery site, short report). *Medieval Archaeol.*, **xxvii** (1983), 175.

Chipping Ongar

Youngs, S. M. *et al. Medieval Britain . . . in 1982* (Castle Street allotments, short report). *Ibid.*, 175.

Colchester

Frere, S. S. (ed.). *Roman Britain in 1982* (short report). *Britannia*, **xiv** (1983), 309.

Trett, R. *Roman Grooved Pendants from East Anglia* (Colchester examples) *Norfolk Archaeol.*, **xxxviii** 3 (1983), 219–34.

Harwich

Youngs, S. M. *et al. Medieval Britain . . . in 1982* (14 Austin's Lane, short report). *Medieval Archaeol.*, **xxvii** (1983), 175.

Hatfield Broad Oak

Searle, A. *Barrington Family Letters 1628–1632*. *Royal Hist. Soc.*, **28** (1983).

Nazeing

Morris, C. A. *A Late Saxon Hoard of Iron and Copper-alloy Artefacts from Nazeing, Essex*. *Medieval Archaeol.*, **xxvii** (1983), 27–39.

Rayleigh

Egan, G. *Post-Medieval Britain in 1982* (Dutch Cottage, short report on excavation). *Post Medieval Archaeol.*, **17** (1983), 192–3.

Romford

McCaul, P. *From L.B.H. to L.B.H.* (Local Board of Health). *Romford Record*, **16**, 5–11.

French, G. E. *Guiding in Romford*. *Ibid.*, 12–13.

Jones, C. *What's in a name?* (Liberty uniform). *Ibid.*, 14.

Browne, M. *Pyrgo Mansion in Victoria's reign*. *Ibid.*, 15–17.

Paar, H. W. *The Romford Brewery Railway*. *Ibid.*, 18–20.

Marson, G. L. *Mrs. Ethel Isabella Endersby. Recollections of a childhood in the 1890s*. *Ibid.*, 24–28.

Anon. *A Walk in Romford High Street (1909)*. (Extract from the Cornell manuscript). *Ibid.*, 29–32.

Saffron Walden

Stacey, H. C. *Saffron Walden's Armorial Bearings*. *Saffron Walden Hist.*, **24** (1983), 225–9.

Stacey, H. C. *The British Girls' and Infants' School, Debden Road, Saffron Walden*. *Ibid.*, 229–31.

Stacey, H. C. *Churchwardens' Accounts 1622 to 1756. Gifts to the Poor* (concluded). *Ibid.*, 238–40.

Egan, G. *Post-Medieval Britain in 1982* (Audley End House, short report on excavations). *Post Medieval Archaeol.*, **17** (1983), 194.

Pepper, H. *et al. Abbey Lane Congregational Church, Saffron Walden*. *Saffron Walden Hist.*, **25**, 3–7.

Stacey, H. C. *Some facts concerning the Saffron Walden Gasworks*. *Ibid.*, 7–8.

Foster, W. E. *Memories of the British Boys' School, Saffron Walden, 1937–1964*. *Ibid.*, 9–12.

Whiteman, M. *A Fragment of Social History* (Tenant records 1882). *Ibid.*, 14–18.

Stacey, H. C. *Gold Street—Derivation of name*. *Ibid.*, 19–22.

Stacey, H. C. *The Bells of Saffron Walden Parish Church*. *Ibid.*, 26–30.

Southend-on-Sea

Youngs, S. M. *et al. Medieval Britain . . . in 1982* (Southchurch Hall excavation). *Medieval Archaeol.* **xxvii** (1983), 175.

Springfield

(White Hart Lane) as above 176.

Springfield Lyons

(Excavation) as above 176.

Theydon Mount

(Hill Hall) as above 176.

Drury, P. J. 'A *Fayre House*, Buylt by Sir Thomas Smith'. *The Development of Hill Hall, Essex*. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* **cxxxvi**, 98–123.

Tilbury

Wilkinson, P. M. *Excavations at Tilbury Fort, Essex*. *Post Medieval Archaeol.*, **17** (1983), 111–62.

Bingley, R. *West Tilbury: the Parish Bounds*. *Panorama*, **26**, 20–35.

Catton, J. P. J. *E.T.—B.C.. A Popular View or Archaeological Notes on the Parish of East Tilbury*. *Ibid.*, 46–60.

Book Reviews

COLCHESTER ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT 2: THE ROMAN SMALL FINDS FROM EXCAVATIONS IN COLCHESTER 1971-9 by Nina Crummy.

Principal illustrators, R H Moyes & T W Cook. 183 pages, 212 figures, 5 microfiche. Price £14. ISBN 0 9503727 30. Published 1983.

This report is one of a breed which deals with Small Finds, catalogued according to their function rather than simply by material. The advantages of this system are that one gets a clearer overall picture of everyday life in Roman Britain; that one is forced to think more positively about techniques of manufacture and the different properties of different materials: and that it makes reference much simpler. This last point is important, since the author states in her introduction that it is her hope that the volume will be "a useful guide for finds assistants as a small finds report embracing samples of most types of object likely to be found on Roman sites". Agricultural objects are poorly represented, Colchester being a Roman city, and this fact is acknowledged.

How great a work of reference, then, does this book prove to be? Firstly, the presentation. It is attractively produced (computer typeset by Colchester Archaeological Trust) and reasonable at £14, bearing in mind it is hardback, which it does need to be. The drawings are of a very high quality, and pleasantly arranged on the page. In some instances, the style of sections varies within a figure (e.g. Fig 151), and some sections are totally omitted, e.g. Nos 1650, 4369, 4378. These are minor blemishes which are difficult to avoid when dealing with more than one site and draughtsman. More disturbing are the drawings of the ironwork, technically competent but showing the objects in their corroded state, apparently without recourse to x-rays. One wonders how many, in fact, have been x-rayed. Problems of identification, e.g. 4226, could be easily solved, whilst other drawings could be clarified, e.g. 4231, 4442 and the coffin fittings, 4289-95.

Secondly, the contents, 4,758 objects are listed, of which approximately one quarter are illustrated and described in the text, the remaining number being described (unillustrated) on five microfiche included with the volume. The objects are classified in 18 categories, briefly: 1) personal adornment; 2) toilet/surgical/pharmaceutical; 3) textile manufacture; 4) household utensils and furniture; 5) recreational; 6) weighing and measuring; 7) written communication; 8) transport; 9) buildings and services; 10) tools; 11) fasteners and fittings; 12) agricultural; 13) military; 14) religious; 15) metal-working; 16) bone working; 17) pottery manufacture; 18) miscellaneous and unclassifiable. Of these categories, 9, 15 and 17 are omitted entirely and are dealt with in separate volumes concerned with the excavated features. The coins will form a further volume. One noticeable omission appears to be the glass vessels. Some of the categories are more distinct and practical than others, and there is the usual problem of how to classify some objects, i.e. rivets as opposed to riveted studs; possible toy figurines are included in the religious category; and an iron rake prong, identified by W. H. Manning, is relegated to the miscellaneous category. But on the whole I was surprised how well the system works. I do wonder whether the section on the bone-working industry deserves such full illustrations. I would prefer to see some of it in microfiche and instead illustrate a few more objects, for instance, some of the more interesting iron nails or copper alloy sheeting.

Thirdly, the detail. Each entry has a catalogue number and comes complete with its site data and provisional dating, outlined in the introduction by Philip Crummy. The *provisional* dating of the features, open to later alteration when more work on the site is done, is one of the unfortunate drawbacks of divorcing the finds from the site report. The author has personally described the majority of objects, and this has been done most carefully. A search revealed only one howler: the iron trowel, 2975, is described in good "WHS" diction as "cast in one"—Roman ironwork was *wrought*. Parallels are not listed exhaustively; instead the policy is to refer to a specialist work. In this respect, more could have been made of the identification of the Butt Road box as a Casket Burial of a

type discussed fully in the Skeleton Green report. This is briefly referred to in a footnote, but the striking similarity (even down to the composite copper alloy studs filled with a lead solder, as 2179) is not brought out. Nevertheless, the bibliography at the end comprises a useful collection of references.

Specialist contributions are by D. Bailey, D. Buckley & H. Major, E. Fowler, P. Galloway, S. Greep, M. Hassall, M. Henig, R. M. Luff, G. Webster and J. P. Wild.

So what of the book's use as a work of reference? Museums and individuals interested in the subject will find this a godsend; so too will members of the metal detecting fraternity. Undoubtedly it will also be of great use to the small finds specialist, as part of an ever-growing corpus of comparative material. Furthermore, whilst the Cunliffe Report is in vogue, there is little room for full publication of finds, so that it is a great economy to be able, instead of publishing yet another pair of tweezers, to refer simply to Crummy No 1884. To test the extent of this economy, I applied it to my own forthcoming report on small finds from the Chelmsford *Mansio*. Approximately a quarter of the objects could be cut down to a simple reference to this book, and the same fraction of illustrations could be removed (the pruning was greatest for pins, cosmetic instruments, studs and beads). Otherwise, however, I found that many objects, whilst often similar to Colchester examples, are different enough to warrant full publication. It is apparent there is no such thing as a complete typology of Roman Small Finds, as Nina Crummy herself is at pains to point out. This book does what it is supposed to do: publish the small finds from recent excavations in Colchester.

My attention to some detail in this review must not detract from the overall high standard and merit, for which the author, illustrators and contributors must be warmly congratulated.

Nick Wickenden

Domesday Book, Essex ed Alexander Rumble, Chichester: Phillimore, 1983.

Some eighty years separate the publication of Round's translation of the Essex Domesday text and the appearance of the edition under review. The 1903 version was published as part of the *Victoria County History*, its successor (as it is intended to be) is in the 'History from the Sources' series launched by the late John Morris of University College, London.

This series "aims to publish history written directly from the sources for all interested readers, both specialist and otherwise. The first priority is to publish important texts which should be widely available, but are not." So far as the study of Domesday is concerned we are told in the introduction that "because the text has not been easily available . . . investigation . . . has been chiefly confined to specialists; many questions cannot be tackled adequately without a cheap text and uniform translation available to a wider range of students, including local historians." This is not the place to consider these ill-informed sentiments, but the belief that Domesday entries can be edited by those who are not recognisable as either scholars of the Survey or historians of the county to which they relate is amply demonstrated by the publishers' choice of those named with Rumble as having prepared this edition of the Essex text. How successful they have been in their task will become apparent as the volume is described.

A photographically reduced facsimile of the Record Commission text is printed opposite the modern translation. The decision to use Farley's edition is not adequately explained, and difficult to comprehend. The Photozincograph edition would have been better, and obviated the necessity for the endless (and mostly trivial) correction to Farley's text. The translation, if more stilted than Round's, gives little cause for complaint once its idiosyncrasies have been mastered. The rendering of *demsne* as lordship, and *sokeman* as Free man (not to be confused with freeman) for example, are neither helpful nor accurate. At the conclusion of the Essex text proper are printed entries down elsewhere in DB that describe Essex land, although those in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* are not included. An extensive collection of notes follow, although except for Farley's mistakes (marked with asterisks)

there is no indication in the text that an entry is the subject of a note. Readers familiar with Round's *VCH* edition will know that it is the notes which in large measure contribute to the excellence of his work. With Rumble's edition it is the poor quality of the notes, and appalling lack of reading that they betray, which mark it out as deficient. It is clear from the notes and bibliography that none of the post-1903 volumes of the *Essex VCH*, have been examined, and neither have any of the Society's *Transactions*. These are amazing and inexcusable oversights, which have seriously weakened the critical apparatus of the edition. Amongst other things knowledge of Carter's article on Tolleshunt (*ante* 1,23 9ff) would have helped with the identification of the Domesday estates there. Similarly the appendix on the Ely Inquest would have been enriched by a reference to (and study of) Finn's article (*ante* 1,190ff), whilst the maps of Domesday estates and hundreds would have benefited from the incorporation into them of the results of Fowler's paper (*ante*. xiv,n.s . . 183ff).

The volume is completed by indexes of persons and places, the reader being referred not to pages or folios, but to entries in the text, indicated in a novel manner. For example, against the name of Alric, Bondi's brother, appear the figures 30.20. They indicate the twentieth holding in the thirtieth fief, which turns out to be Geoffrey de Mandeville's Ardleigh holding described on fo59b. Although apparently clumsy, the system works quite well in practice, even if the lack of conventional page numbers is at times annoying.

Whilst this volume is both cheaper and easier to purchase than *VCH Essex i*, Rumble's edition of the Domesday text cannot be recommended to the non-specialist with the same confidence that Round's can. If nothing else, this exercise in making bricks without straw confirms that the editing of the Domesday text needs to be undertaken by those with a thorough background knowledge of the Survey itself, who are also well-versed in the historical literature of the county being worked on.

A golden opportunity to take advantage of the fruits of eighty years' work on both Domesday itself and early medieval Essex has thus been thrown away, and Round's remains the standard edition of the Essex Domesday text. It is to be hoped that a scholarly edition worthy to replace his will be prepared by those competent to do so, and published before another eighty years have elapsed.

P.B.B.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Paul Brand, M.A., D.Phil., F.R.Hist.S., was Assistant Keeper in the Public Records Office and later Lecturer in Law at University College, Dublin. He contributed to "Legal Records and the Historian" (ed. J. H. Baker), and is currently working freelance editing publications for the Selden Society and the Jewish Historical Society.

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Deborah Priddy, B.A., works at the County Archaeological Section and is a regular contributor.

B. W. Quintrell, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., teaches in the Department of History at the University of Liverpool, and is currently preparing an edition of William Lord Maynard's early Stuart lieutenancy book (Bodleian, MS Firth c.4) for the "Essex Historical Documents" series.

Kirsty Rodwell, is currently working in Bath. She has worked with Warwick Rodwell at many sites in Essex, notably Kelvedon and Rivenhall, and also at Barton-on-Humber. She contributed many of the drawings for "Roman Essex" which was published by our Society.

Jennifer C. Ward, M.A., Ph.D., is Senior Lecturer in History at University of London Goldsmiths' College. She has published various articles on the Clare baronial family, and has recently edited *The Medieval Essex Community. The Lay Subsidy of 1327*, for the Essex Record Office series. Essex Historical Documents.

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

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(*Essex*, iii, 171).

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

- Hawkes, C. F. C., and Hull, M. R., *Camulodunum*, Society of Antiquaries (1947).
Hewett, C. A., 'The Timber Belfries of Essex', *Archaeol. Journ.*, cxix (1962), 225.
Victoria County History, *Essex*, iii (1963).

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