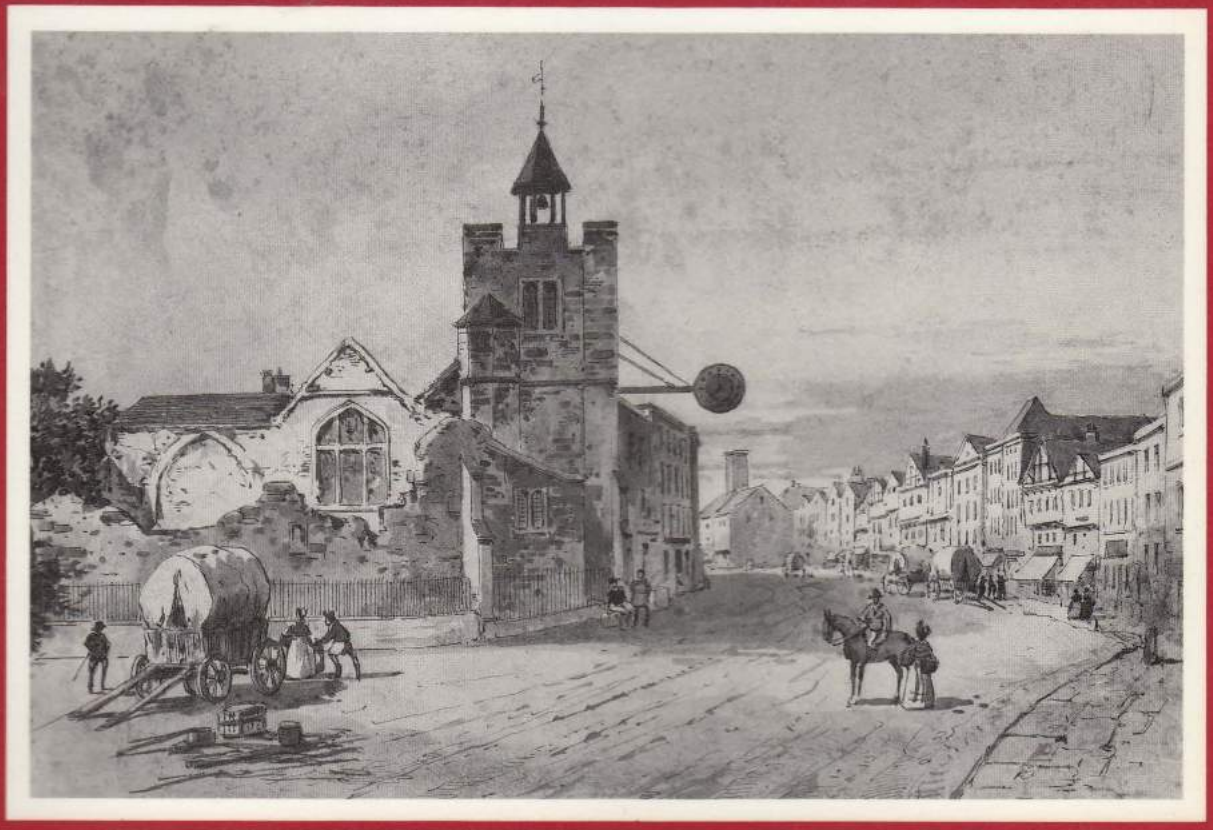
ESSEX

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY



TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX SOCIETY

FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Volume 18

1987

ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

THE ESSEX SOCIETY FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

The Society was founded in 1852 as the Essex Archaeological Society

Its objects are:

(1) To promote and encourage the study of the archaeology and history of the historic county of Essex.
(2) In furtherance of the above to publish the results of such studies in *Transactions* and to disseminate information on matters relating to archaeology and history in Essex through appropriate media.
(3) To organise conferences, lectures, and visits for the benefit of members and interested members of the public; to educate the wider community in the historical and archaeological heritage of Essex; to co-operate with other bodies on matters of common interest and concern.
(4) To provide library facilities for Society members and approved members of the public.

Publications

The articles in its *Transactions* range over the whole field of local history. Back numbers and offprints are available; list and prices on application to the Librarian.

Members receive a quarterly *Newsletter* covering all aspects of the Society's activities, news of current excavations and fieldwork, and items of topical interest.

The Library

The library is housed at the Hollytrees, High Street, Colchester, and is extensive. It aims to include all books on Essex history, and has many runs of publications by kindred Societies. Members may use the library on any weekday during museum opening hours (10-1, 2-5, Saturdays, October to March, closes 4 p.m.) on presentation of a signed membership card.

Membership

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

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

A list of officers, with addresses, will be found in this volume.

Subscribing Societies in Essex

Billericay Archaeological and History Society; Brain Valley Archaeological Society; Castle Point Archaeological Society; Colchester Archaeological Group; Essex Society for Family History; The Friends of Historic Essex; Great Bardfield Historical Society; Halstead and District Historical Society; Haverhill and District Archaeological Group; Ingatestone and Fryerning Historical and Archaeological Society; Maldon Archaeological Group; Saffron Walden Historical Society; Southend-on-Sea and District Historical Society; Waltham Abbey Historical Society; West Essex Archaeological Group; Woodford and District Historical Society; Chigwell School.

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THE TRANSACTIONS OF
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Contents

Cover illustration: Colchester High Street 1816, by T.H. Shepherd.
From a watercolour recently purchased by the Colchester and Essex Museum COLEM. 82. 1987.

Editorial

First place is properly given to an expression of heartfelt appreciation to Nancy Briggs, who retired from her post as Senior Assistant Archivist at the Essex Record Office this year. As the member of staff in charge of the search room, tens of thousands of visitors, graduates, under-graduates, school children and enquirers concerned with their family, their village or their historic home have had occasion to be grateful for her wide knowledge, her generous attention and her willingness to help.

Trained in the venerable carrels of the Bodleian Library, she came to Chelmsford in 1953 and was promoted to her responsible post in 1966. Her special interests were in Georgian architecture, especially the work of John Jackson, the architect of the Shire Hall, a building still bearing the banner of quality amid the redeveloped mediocrity of central Chelmsford, and in monumental brasses. A member of the Monumental Brass Society since she was an undergraduate, she revised the lists for Essex, and also found time to study the publications and papers of Essex antiquaries, especially those of the 18th century.

It is the inevitable lot of those who undertake responsibility for great historical collections, that they get little opportunity for their personal studies, and it is good to know that the fruits of her research may be published before very long.

Meantime, may this be a simple token of gratitude: the statistics of enquiries at the Essex Record Office, impressive as they are, acquire new meaning when they are seen against the background of Nancy's personal service.

★ ★

With this volume the present Editor lays down his pen, albeit hoping it will only be the red one, and that he also may now have the time for recording some of the original material which has occurred during his service in this county. Editing, though sometimes tedious, has its compensations in the finished volumes; and, in handing over the task to Owen Bedwin the Society may be justly confident that the long tradition of its publications will not only be continued, but enhanced.

At such a moment editorial prerogative may perhaps be invoked to comment on the contemporary scene. Ideally, with the economic growth in the south-east, it would be gratifying to observe that the future, for membership, for archaeology and for historical studies, was full of promise. Though in no other matter would one be so desirous of being proved wrong, it has to be said that currently this does not appear to be the case; and whilst acutely conscious of the danger of being accused of *laudator temporis acti*, an analysis may at least be justified as indicating to future social historians how things looked in 1987.

Gains there have undoubtedly been. The development storms of the 1960's, first confronted by the formation of the Essex Archaeological and Historical Congress, have led to the creation of the Archaeological Trusts at Colchester and Chelmsford, with the ever-to-be-honoured work of Margaret and Tom Jones at Mucking, and later to the creation of the County's Archaeological Section as well, of course, as the rather earlier Historic Buildings Section. The Essex Record Office has established branches at Southend and Colchester and the Essex Curators' group has laid tentative foundations for co-operation amongst our many museums.

Most of these advances have, however, relied substantially on public funding, and the new philosophy of seeking finance from the private sector has had but limited results. It is understandable that commercial organisations expect returns in the form of publicity at the very least, to justify expenditure to shareholders, and, in the areas with which this Society is concerned, this is not easy to achieve. Excavations, publications, museum extensions are relatively localised, and when competing with the thousand-and-one social causes which also (and rightly) call for support, let alone sports activities which may prove attractive to television, are bound to find themselves fairly low on the lists which, we are assured, regularly appear at the board meetings of our major companies. As we all know, it is not the beginning, but the continuing of any great matter, which is the essence of our work, and there is little glamour in that.

Now a new idol, tourism, has appeared on the scene. Millions are being spent on historical re-creations, with the implication that the resultant profits may provide the thousands necessary to preserve our material and natural heritage. It will be well indeed if this proves to be the case, but it is already possible to discern trends which suggest that visitors, both British and from overseas, may prefer to find our monuments and landscapes for themselves, rather than be nutured on polystyrene pap. What then, if meantime we have allowed them to decay?

An interesting sidelight is afforded by the public attitude to the use of metal detectors. This instrument is itself, like all instruments, quite neutral, and can be used for good or ill. Nevertheless, it is continually and widely promoted as a means of immediate personal enrichment, regardless of the destruction of archaeological record which its irresponsible use may create. It is easy to blame the media for their failure to ask any pertinent questions other than "what is it worth?" but their attitude only reflects that of our community as a whole.

Another sign of the times has, of course, been the severance of the Society's century-old association with the governance of the Colchester museum, as recorded in our last issue. Governmental attitudes to history and the arts are also reflected in recent directives for the curricula of schools and universities, and in both these instances the dangers of overweening bureaucracy, so powerfully set out in the later volumes of Gibbon, seem to have been totally ignored.

We have, therefore, as individuals, and in the groups which represent our personal interests, a formidable task before us — to convince the public, of which we are a part, that history — *true history* — matters, and is, in terms of buildings, documents, artefacts or landscapes, a precious part of our civilisation.

A respected colleague, confronted with a proposal to 'asset-strip' the collections for which he was responsible in the interests of financing a more 'tourist-orientated' presentation, commented "Then your children will curse you".

With that thought, gentle reader, I thank you for your forbearance, and bid you farewell.

A Late Bronze Age Hoard from Fingringhoe

by Paul R. Sealey

Summary

A small collection of Bronze Age finds discovered by metal-detector in plough-soil at Plane Hall Farm is interpreted as a dispersed founder's hoard of the Ewart Park metal-working tradition of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. Finds made at the same time included a Roman stud. Other discoveries of Bronze Age metal-work from the parish are described; they include a lost socketed axe hoard found before 1847.

Introduction

The identification service at the Colchester & Essex Museum gives staff an opportunity to record archaeological finds that might otherwise go unheeded. It was through this channel that the hoard published here came to our attention. The observation is worth making because the distributions of museums and of *reported* Bronze Age hoards are not unconnected (Burgess & Coombs 1979, iv-v). We shall return to this topic later.

Reference is made throughout this report to the successive industrial phases of late Bronze Age metallurgy; a summary is given here in tabular form for the benefit of readers not familiar with the field (Table 1).

Industrial Phase		Centuries B.C.
Wilburton		10th
Ewart Park	Carp's Tongue (south-eastern England)	9-8th
	Heathery Burn (northern England)	
Llyn Fawr (= Hallstatt C)		7th

Table 1. Late Bronze Age Industrial Phases
(After Burgess & Coombs 1979, iv; Burgess 1979, fig. 15a)

Circumstances of Discovery

The items published here were recovered from plough-soil by C.R. Behn in August 1985 in the course of a search of the field by metal-detector; renewed investigations the following year brought to light the broken ring.

The Site

The find was made below the 30m contour at TM 0244 1962 in the field to the west of Plane Hall Farm; local people say the field has been ploughed throughout living memory (Fig. 1). C.R. Behn logged the find-spots of individual items and it is evident that they came from a narrow strip some 2m wide and 10m long parallel with the road immediately to the north. J.J. Heath tells me the geology is glacial outwash sands and gravels on the London Clay. The coast is only 1.25km distant but where precisely it was situated in the late Bronze Age is another matter (Wilkinson & Murphy 1986).

Catalogue

The catalogue must be prefaced with a note on metallurgy. P.T. Wilthew of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory (*Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission*) kindly analysed selected items by X-ray fluorescence. He identified the two lumps as pure copper and showed that a leaded bronze had been used for the socketed axe. The addition of lead to bronze became standard practice in the Wilburton industry; leaded bronze remained in circulation in the following Ewart Park phase but there is some evidence that lead levels declined in Llyn Fawr times. Lead lowered the melting point of the alloy and reduced its viscosity; it was understandably popular with smiths in the late Bronze Age when hollow-cast artefacts with thin walls became common. But lead contents in excess of 2% give a softer metal and so high lead levels presumably also reflect an attempt to eke out tin, copper and scrap bronze supplies (Brown & Blin-Stoyle 1959, 193-7; Hughes 1979; Northover 1983, 63, 65, 67).

Any catalogue items that cannot be proven to be Bronze Age (such as the socketed axe fragment) and metal forms not exclusive to the period (such as the plain ring) should (for these reasons) be described as copper-alloy. Likewise the widespread use in the Roman period of brass and gun-metal, as well as bronze, obliges us to describe the metal of the Roman stud as copper-alloy.

1. Socketed axe (Fig. 2 no. 1). Weight 201.99g. Maximum length 8.2cm; diagonal mouth width 4.2cm. The mouth is square in section with a pronounced collar-moulding to provide a grip for the thong that secured the axe to its shaft (McK. Clough 1973, 493). Below the collar is a rounded rib-moulding from the lower edge of which springs the single side loop. The plain body of the axe flares gently towards a blade which had been removed in antiquity. Little or no attempt had been made to eliminate the casting seams.

Axes of this kind belong to the Ewart Park tradition, more specifically to that regional manifestation of the phase confined to south-eastern England and known as the Carp's Tongue complex. These south-eastern axes are among the most common artefacts of the late Bronze Age in the region (Butler 1960, 113-22; 1963, 82-4; Burgess 1969a, 39; O'Connor 1980, 161).

2. Socketed axe fragment (Fig. 2 no. 2). Weight 26.59g. Maximum length 3.1cm; width 1.6cm. This scrap of metal has two flat faces with a rounded corner. One of the edges

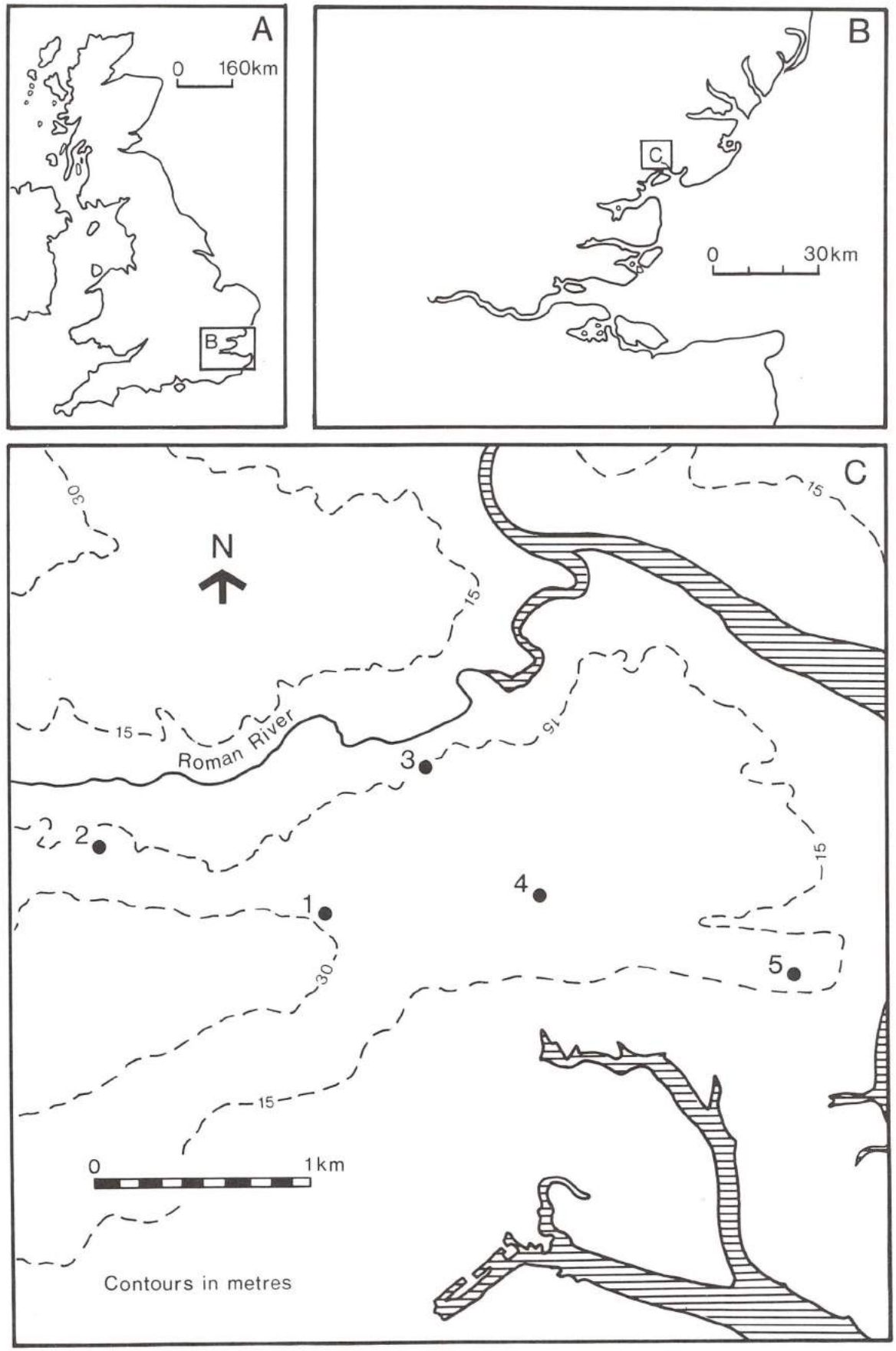

Fig. 1 Fingringhoe location map. 1 Plane Hill Farm hoard; 2 Fingringhoe Hay; 3 Fingringhoe School; 4 Frog Hall Farm site; 5 Freshwater Ballast Pit.

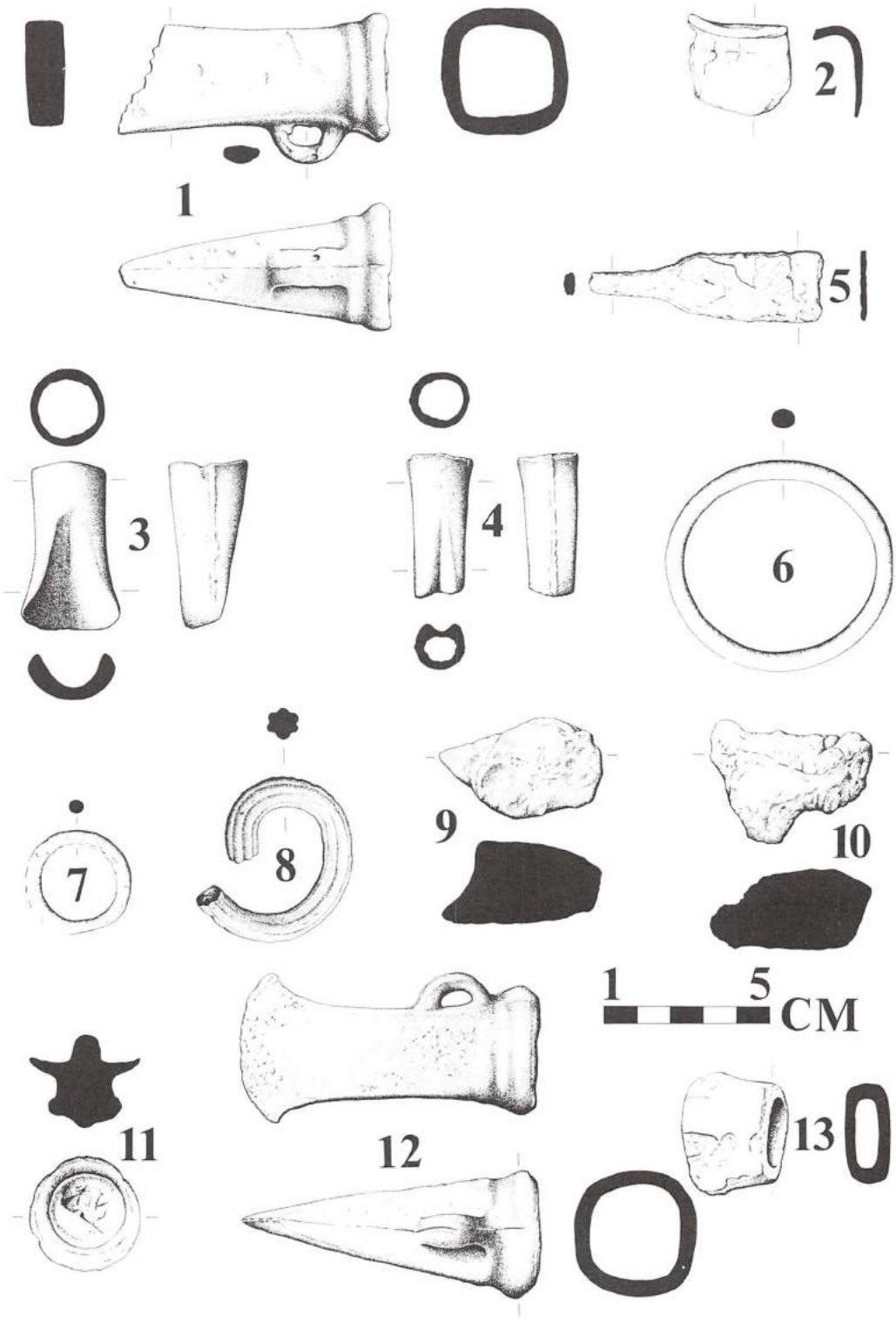

Fig. 2 Fingringhoe Metal-Work. 1-11 Plane Hall Farm hoard. 1-2 socketed axes; 3-4 socketed gouges; 5 tanged chisel; 6-8 solid rings; 9-10 copper ingot fragments; 11 intrusive Roman stud; 12 Freshwater Ballast Pit socketed axe; 13 Fingringhoe School socketed axe. Scale 1:4.

has been filed down and the faces have been forced towards each other. P.M. Barford suggests the item is part of a socketed axe, from the body below the collar.

3. Socketed gouge (Fig. 2 no. 3). Weight 61.04g. Maximum length 4.8cm; width of blade 3cm. Hollow with a circular section. Both the plain mouth and splayed cutting edge bear traces of damage in antiquity. The casting seams are conspicuous although an attempt had apparently been made to remove them.

4. Socketed gouge (Fig. 2 no. 4). Weight 26.7g. Maximum length 4.3cm. Hollow with a circular section and plain mouth. The casting seams are conspicuous although an attempt had apparently been made to remove them; the blade end of the tool had been detached below the start of the groove.

Socketed gouges make their debut in Britain at the end of the Wilburton industrial phase; they are common in the succeeding Ewart Park stage (Burgess 1969a, 37, 39; O'Connor 1980, 137, 175-6). Coombs (1971, 254) notes the absence of short gouges with broad blades (his class III) from Wilburton contexts; if this does not simply express the rarity of the type, it would seem they do not appear until Ewart Park times. Gouges are present in several Llyn Fawr hoards (O'Connor 1980, 419-20, 422 with refs) and it is clear that they remained in production until the end of the Bronze Age. Gouges are wood-working tools, for cutting grooves and round holes (MacWhite 1944, 160). Joiners at the museum who examined the Fingringhoe finds said that those with broad blades might have been used for preliminary tooling, with the slender bladed form reserved for the final precision work. Were this the case, one would expect both forms of gouge to be regularly associated as complementary items in tool kits. But only the slender form is standard. Dr J.P. Northover says that short gouges with broad blades are a positive rarity; he drew attention to a specimen from Mount Batten (Devon) (Clarke 1971, fig. 2 no. 5, 141, 143). Similar gouges are present in the Husbands Bosworth (Leicestershire) (McK. Clough 1979, fig. 5.5, 126 no. 6), Carlton Rode (Norfolk) (Evans 1881, fig. 207) and Wandsworth (Greater London) hoards (Rice 1923; 1924, 126).

5. Tanged chisel (Fig. 2 no. 5). Weight 14.54g. Length 7.1cm; maximum blade width 2.1cm. The blade is narrow and parallel-sided. It is apparent from the rectangular section that the (missing) cutting edge must have been at the end. What might at first sight be taken to represent the tang (see below) is likewise incomplete. Corrosion has destroyed much of the original surface.

The fragment may best be explained by a tanged chisel of unusual form from Tickenham (Avon), recovered from a barrow where the later of two burials gave a C_{14} date of 715 ± 130 b.c. (Green 1973, 37, 41; Pearce 1983, 535, pl. 91 no. 758). The Tickenham chisel — which is complete — has a blade which narrows in waisted fashion towards a collar at the junction with the tang. If Tickenham does account for the Fingringhoe chisel, it must be postulated that the original artefact had a collared tang not far beyond the present narrow end of the blade. These rare tanged chisels are Roth type III (Roth 1974, Taf. 5 nos 1-2). Notwithstanding the validity of his classification, attention should be drawn to a more subtle assessment of their typology, in which it is pointed out that many permutations of collar and blade form are found (Burgess *et al.* 1972, 217). In Britain tanged chisels with collars first appear in Wilburton contexts and are common in the succeeding Ewart Park phase (O'Connor 1980, 137-8, 175). Roth (1974, 38, 40) has suggested they were leather-working knives but the possibility should not be ruled out that the narrow bladed forms (such as Fingringhoe) were used for wood (O'Connor 1980, 175).

6. Ring (Fig. 2 no. 6). Weight 51.2g. External diameter of long axis 6.8cm; short axis 6.3cm. Maximum thickness 7.5mm; minimum 6.5mm. Plain and solid with circular section.

7. Ring (Fig. 2 no. 7). Weight 10.48g. External diameter 3.3cm; thickness 5mm. Plain and solid with a circular section; a 13mm length on the outer face is flat. Pitted surface.

8. Ring (Fig. 2 no. 8). Weight 54.9g. Estimated original external diameter 5cm; maximum thickness 8mm. Corrugated (grooved) surface. The ring has been severed and bent.

Plain rings of circular section are present in Bronze Age contexts from the Wilburton industrial phase onwards (Needham 1980a, 209). No less than eighteen feature in a hoard of the period from Blackmoor (Hampshire) (Colquhoun 1979, fig. 4.4 nos 70-3, 75-88, 109). They are a diagnostic element of metal-work from northern England (the Heathery Burn tradition) in the succeeding Ewart Park phase (Burgess 1969a, 40). But in the South plain rings are less common. It is reassuring therefore to note their presence in Ewart Park founders' hoards from Essex. Examples include the ring from Elmdon 'three inches in diameter' (7.62cm) (Neville 1848, 3), that from Arkesden which — if drawn to scale — would have an external diameter of some 5.5cm (Clarke 1891, pl. 3a, no. 4, 11) and the pair in the Leigh II hoard (Pollit 1926). The smaller of the two rings from Fingringhoe was cast with a flat portion on its outer face. This same feature is found on rings of similar size in the Parc-y-Meirch (Abergele) hoard (Clwyd) but where the metal is bronze with a lead (?) core (Sheppard 1941, pl. 3 nos 10-17, 5; Savory 1976, 52, fig. 9 no. 4). It is apparent from the range of dimensions exhibited by these rings that no one functional explanation can account for the class in its entirety; one must suppose they include at least finger-rings, bracelets, harness equipment and cauldron handles as well as baldrick and scabbard fittings. The corrugations on the third ring are matched by those on much of the surface of two cauldron handles from Llyn Fawr (Savory 1976, fig. 2). Our ring is too small for a cauldron but the deliberate breakage suggests the recyling of scrap and so the possibility of its Bronze Age date can be mooted.

9. Copper lump (Fig. 2 no. 9). Weight 135.36g. Maximum length 4.7cm; height 2.5cm; width 2.8cm.

10. Copper lump (Fig. 2 no. 10). Weight 122.44g. Maximum length 4.6cm; height 2.6cm; width 3.1cm.

Both lumps are fragments of plano-convex (bun-shaped) ingot formed by the solidification of smelted molten copper in the bottom of a bowl-shaped furnace. The flat face represents the surface of the molten copper pool.

Although the original upper and lower faces of both fragments are apparent, neither has a circular edge that would allow the diameter of the complete parent ingot to be gauged. Complete ingots such as those in the Worthing (Sussex) and Bexley Heath (Kent) hoards are rare (Smith 1958, GB.37-3 no. 32; Britton 1960, GB. 53-3 no. 11). The weights of such specimens from Britain and neighbouring countries show that the furnaces involved were of only modest dimensions (Tylecote 1980, 189). But it is broken ingots that are so common in hoards of the period. Indeed some consist of nothing else. The only recorded instance of this phenomenon in Essex (Ashdon) had more than 25kg of copper lumps (Clarke 1891, 11-2). Even nowadays the dismemberment of a complete ingot would not be easy. Evans (1881, 422) pointed out that they must have been hammered into lumps as soon as the metal had solidified and before it had cooled. This would account for the rough appearance of the fractured surfaces on the Fingringhoe fragments. It follows that division of the ingot was done by the ore-smelter and not by the smith. This would account for the rarity of complete ingots in hoards far from primary sources of the metal. Those that are present could be broken by reheating until melting point was approached, followed by hammering (Tylecote 1976, 159). Dr J.P. Northover tells me that plano-convex ingots do not appear in Britain until the Ewart Park phase.

Published analyses show that the metal of these ingots is copper; assertions that some are bronze should be viewed with circumspection (Evans 1881, 422-3; Tylecote 1962, 29-31; Northover 1983, 65, 67). Trace element analysis shows that copper from at least two sources is represented by finds in Britain; the sources might include ores from western Devon and eastern Cornwall (Craddock & Tite 1979, 7 *pace* Northover 1983, 65, 67 who regards the ingot copper as imported).

Bronze of course is an alloy of copper and tin; from Wilburton times lead was added (as we have seen). But finds of lead and tin ingots in hoards are rare. Lawson (1979, 178) cited two Essex hoards with tin (Arkesden and Grays Thurrock II), to which P.C. Adkins tells me the 1979 Wickham Bishops II hoard should be added (pending confirmation of the presumed tin by analysis). But when asked for his comments on the 'lump of tin' from Grays Thurrock II (Butcher 1922, 108), Dr J.P. Northover kindly undertook an analysis and reported that the metal is in fact a high tin-bronze, with 21.21% tin. The West Caistor hoard (Norfolk) included lead; there are perhaps only two other hoards from England with the metal (Lawson 1979, 173, fig. 9.2e, 176, 178). Why ingot copper (which is common) should not be regularly associated in hoards with lead and tin remains one of the puzzles of late Bronze Age metallurgy; a credible explanation of this anomaly is still awaited (Evans 1881, 425-7; Pearce 1983, 100-3 *pace* Charles 1975).

11. Roman stud (Fig. 2 no. 11). Weight 56.18g. Length 2.9cm; maximum diameter 3.4cm. Copper-alloy with an internal iron shank. A central cone rises from a concave dish, below which is a round thick waist. All that survives of the iron shank below the waist is a stump; corrosion has also led to it rupturing the cone from the inside.

These studs are common in Britain throughout the Roman period. There is some variety of typology but the Fingringhoe specimen is not amenable to any closer dating on that basis. Ours (with iron shank) is type I, as defined by Allason-Jones (1985, 95). A lack of duplicates in excavated assemblages shows they were used singly and not in sets. They are well-represented in military contexts. An example from Carnuntum had served as a dagger pommel; others may have been fittings from sheaths used on mattocks and picks (*op. cit.*, 99-102). Their not infrequent occurrence on civilian sites still awaits explanation.

Present Location

The finds have been retained in private possession.

Interpretation

As the metal-work described here was unassociated and unstratified, some explanation should be given for our confidence that the finds represent a hoard. Any precipitate invocation of hoarding to account for such discoveries should be discouraged (Lawson & Ashley 1980, 330). But aspects of the Fingringhoe find preclude the possibility that the items were an accumulation of inadvertent losses on a settlement site and other features of the assemblage suggest that a dispersed hoard is the only feasible interpretation of the group.

From the outset one was reluctant to suppose the metal-work had come from a settlement because of an absence of late Bronze Age pottery at the find-spot and of the rarity of bronze finds on occupation sites of the period. Some sites from the county may be cited as examples. H. Brooks tells me that his 1975/76 excavation of a sub-circular ditched enclosure at Frog Hall Farm in Fingringhoe produced no metal finds at all. Nor did the defended settlement at Springfield; it is ironic that fragments of fired-clay moulds for Ewart Park sword production were recovered from the ditches (Buckley 1986, 58). The only metal-work from a double-ditched rectangular enclosure with round house at Heybridge was a fragment so small that its identification as socketed axe is not certain (Brown 1985, 57). All three sites have produced significant quantities of late Bronze Age ceramics.

When metal-work *is* found on an occupation site, it invariably takes the form of small scraps from larger items (Heybridge) or small artefacts (complete or incomplete) seldom duplicated in contemporary hoards (pins, buttons, studs, tweezers). Tools and weapons (when present) are only a minor element in settlement assemblages. Indeed there are significant differences in the composition of metal assemblages from hoards and occupation sites (Needham 1980b, 24-7). The rarity of bronze on settlements must be attributed to recycling. Bronze was a precious commodity; damaged or worn tools were not abandoned but kept with a view to exchange for new artefacts from a smith, perhaps in part-exchange. Tiny personal attachments and ornaments lost on settlements had insufficient metal to make their retention worthwhile. This finds expression in differences

in the average weights of items from settlements and hoards. Comparison of the Runnymede Bridge occupation assemblage and the nearby Petters Sports Field hoard (Surrey) gives average item-weights of 5.49 and 93.9g respectively (Needham & Burgess 1980, 440-2). The average item weight in the presumed hoard from Fingringhoe is 70.52g. This high mean weight compares well with the Petters Sports Field figure and makes it unlikely the Fingringhoe finds represent accidental losses on a settlement. A high proportion of tools at Fingringhoe — as well as the absence of ornamental and attachment pieces — lends further weight to the interpretation of the find as a hoard.

That the Fingringhoe find was indeed a hoard would explain why the bronzes were found in so confined an area. Dispersal of a hoard (perhaps buried at no great depth) could be accounted for by a long history of ploughing. It was after dispersal that the Roman stud in the field would have become mingled with the items from the hoard. Some mention should be made of amorphous blobs of copper-alloy retrieved from the find-spot. They are apparently metal-working by-products, solidified splashes of molten alloy and the like. Although intrinsically undateable, their presence is worthy of note should excavations in the immediate vicinity ever bring to light debris from the production of Bronze Age metal-work. The hoard itself includes copper ingot fragments as well as broken and scrapped objects ready for recyling. It bears every indication that it had been buried by a bronze smith. Such founders' hoards acted as scrap banks; their composition changed as material was withdrawn or fresh scrap added.

Date

The chronological range of the individual categories of find present has already been indicated in the catalogue. It is clear that the hoard cannot have been buried until the Ewart Park industrial phase of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. because south-eastern axes, gouges with broad splayed blades and plano-convex copper ingots are not met with until then. Need it be any later? At least some of the artefacts represented at Plane Hall Farm were still current in the Llyn Fawr phase that followed in the 7th century. None of the material diagnostic of the period (such as Sompting axes) has been reported from Fingringhoe. In a small hoard such as ours, their absence does not of course carry the weight it might with a large assemblage. But any lingering doubts that the hoard might indeed be Llyn Fawr are dispelled by the copper ingot fragments because they are not present in hoards of the period and would seem to be an exclusively Ewart Park phenomenon.

Discussion

We may begin by relating our hoard to the Bronze Age landscape. Fingringhoe is rich in Bronze Age material but there is little evidence for late Bronze Age settlement patterns in the parish. A site of the period was excavated by H. Brooks in 1975/76 for the Colchester Archaeological Trust at Frog Hall Farm a kilometre east of the hoard at TM 0347 1965. Inside a sub-circular penannular ditch some 12m in diameter lay a series of post-holes interpreted by the excavator as a round house. P.J. Crummy tells me that a pit outside the ditch gave a C_{14} date of 810 ± 80 b.c. (HAR-2502). Post Deverel-Rimbury pottery indicates a late Bronze Age date but a full assessment of the site must await the excavation report. Closer still to the hoard is an undated sub-rectangular enclosure 55 by 61m centred on TM 0273 1981 some 340m to the north-east. An aerial photograph made available by P.J. Gilman shows an entrance on the east and an internal ring ditch in the north-eastern corner. Should the enclosure transpire to be Bronze Age, it would appear that unlike so many hoards, ours may have been buried in the immediate vicinity of a settlement.

It is easier to place the Fingringhoe hoard in a regional context because so many have been discovered in Essex. Few though have been adequately published. With the exception of Little Baddow II (Couchman 1977, 146-7), a Bronze Age hoard has not appeared in this journal for over fifty years. One hopes this will excuse the comprehensive treatment accorded the Fingringhoe find. A lack of commitment to the publication of Bronze Age metal-work goes some way to account for discrepancies in estimates of the hoard total from the county (see Table 2). A corpus of hoards would be a real service to scholarship and for this reason the writer is compiling a check-list; news from readers of hoard discoveries would be welcome.

	Davies	Couchman	Coombs	Rowlands
Early Bronze Age	0	1	—	—
Middle Bronze Age	11	7	—	7
Late Bronze Age	53	38	37	—
Totals	64	46		

Table 2. Bronze Age Hoards in Essex
(After Davies 1979, 149; Couchman 1980, figs 15-7; Coombs 1971; Rowlands 1976, 233-5)

Although we do not know exactly how many hoards have been found in Essex, it is clear that most (some 80%) are late. Davies (1979, 149) says that only one of his fifty-three late hoards does not belong to the Ewart Park phase. Nearly all — like Fingringhoe — are founders' hoards. Such hoards are also well-represented in neighbouring counties; there is indeed a remarkable concentration in south-eastern England (O'Connor 1980, map 75). But one is struck by their absence from an extensive tract of north-eastern Essex (Couchman 1980, fig. 17). Fingringhoe is the first from the area in question. Many other archaeological discoveries from the region have been notified to the Colchester & Essex Museum and so one feels confident the dearth is not some vagary of modern retrieval but a faithful index of hoard deposition in antiquity. But how precisely one is to

translate this perception in terms of Bronze Age conditions is a more intractable problem.

We may end by grasping the nettle of why our hoard was buried, never to be reclaimed. Bearing in mind the value of scrap bronze, recourse to hoarding in antiquity might have been necessary to frustrate the opportunist thief or to safeguard wealth in times of unrest. Founders' hoards could be retrieved at will, when additions or subtractions of scrap would be made. Such hoards had an ever-changing, dynamic composition likely to encapsulate artefacts current at the time. This explains why so few Ewart Park hoards in Essex contain earlier metal-work; one of the rare exceptions is Rayne, with middle Bronze Age palstaves (Davies 1979, fig. 8.8 nos 10-11, 165-6). A less prosaic explanation has been advocated by those tempted to interpret some hoards — even founders' — as commemorative deposits, as graveless gravegoods (Eogan 1964, 285; O'Connor 1980, 307-8 with refs). But this approach has won little sympathy in Britain; it is felt here that the workmanlike and utilitarian tone of these assemblages cannot accommodate the spiritual claims of a cenotaph. Were the plethora of such Ewart Park hoards in fact funerary, it is difficult to see why the rite did not continue beyond the Bronze Age with hoards in the new metal, iron.

Few Ewart Park hoards document the emergence of the tradition from the Wilburton industrial phase. It would appear that most of the extant hoards were buried later — rather than earlier — in the period *c.*900-700 B.C. There is a growing apprehension that this rash of Ewart Park founders' hoards is most readily explicable in terms of scrap rendered obsolete or redundant in the final, Llyn Fawr, phase of the Bronze Age (Burgess & Coombs 1979, v; Burgess 1979, 272-6). We have no reason to think the transition from bronze to iron metallurgy was gradual (*pace* Cunliffe 1978, 290). Only four Bronze Age hoards from Britain have iron; that present is always only a minor element of the entire assemblage (Gingell 1979, 248 with refs). Hoarding ended with the introduction of iron and the rarity of mixed hoards argues against a protracted transition. In any given part of the country, iron could have displaced bronze as the staple metal within the working life of a smith, (say) twenty-five years at most. The Llyn Fawr phase began in the early seventh century and within a hundred years or so, iron was in general use even in the remoter parts of mainland Britain (Burgess 1979, 278-9). One knows the phase had a particularly brief span in Essex because so little metal-work exclusive to the period has survived. Both Sompting (Burgess 1969b, fig. 2) and Armorican socketed axes are rare. The Colchester & Essex Museum has but three of the latter; none is even reliably provenanced to the county. Seemingly the most vocal find of the period — the Sheepen cauldron with its iron stud or nail (Hawkes & Smith 1957, 160-5) — must be repudiated because Dr J.P. Northover tells me the cauldron should now be seen as a product of the twelfth century B.C.

One can now understand why a hoard buried towards the end of the Ewart Park phase was never retrieved by its owner. Within some few years of its burial, Essex adopted the novel metal, iron. Bronze assumed a subordinate role as the metal for cauldrons, horse-trappings and other miscellaneous accoutrements. Demand for the metal slumped: the Fingringhoe hoard was never recovered because there was no need for its scrap. The hoard — like others of its genre — survives as a swan-song for full Bronze Age metallurgy, a relic of the climacteric years that witnessed the advent of iron.

A Catalogue of Bronze Age Metal-Work from Fingringhoe

1. Socketed axe hoard. In the Colchester & Essex Museum is the MS diary of William Wire, watch-maker, radical and antiquarian. The entry for 11th March 1847 reads 'A laborer (*sic*) told me that when digging for brick earth on Fingringhoe Hay about four years since he discovered ten metal instruments and from what could be ascertained about them they most probably were socket Celts'. Wire had a sound knowledge of antiquities and we may rest assured that the find represents a (lost) hoard of ten late Bronze Age socketed axes.

To judge by the modern place-names Hay Farm, Upper Hay Farm, Hay Grove and Lower Hay, Fingringhoe Hay must have been a tract of land in the extreme north-west of the parish centred on TM 014 201, only some 1.25km from the Plane Hall Farm hoard. But Fingringhoe Hay is not another founder's hoard; it exemplifies instead those hoards that consist exclusively of intact socketed axes. Evans (1881, 457) was the first to interpret them as merchants' hoards, buried (as he thought) by itinerant vendors. That the Fingringhoe Hay find did indeed consist of late Bronze Age metal-work is lent some support by the curious circumstance that there are other merchants' hoards of socketed axes where the axe tally is a multiple of five. Examples include the Bell's Mill (Edinburgh) and Osmondthick (West Yorkshire) hoards with five axes apiece (Anonymous 1868, 275-6; Dennison 1917, 236; Coles 1962, 116-7; Briggs 1979, 251); the Essendine (Leicestershire) and Branston (Lincolnshire) hoards with ten (McK. Clough 1979, 119-20; Davey 1973, 56, 93, fig. 32 nos 295-304); the Dovercourt (Essex) hoard with fifteen (Anonymous 1912, 8, pl. 1; Butcher 1923, 261) and Winteringham (Humberside) with twenty (Davey 1973, fig. 30 nos 272-4, 118). This is not the place to reassess the hallowed notion that socketed axe hoards were buried by merchants. But surely a merchant (however we understand the term) would have peddled the whole range of contemporary metal-work and not confined his stock to one line? Statistical analysis of all socketed axe hoards might indicate if coincidence could account for so many hoards with axes in multiples of five. If not fortuitous, perhaps we should ask if these hoards might not instead represent some such phenomenon as accumulated wealth or savings (with or without the intention of recovery) in which the axe was treated as a currency bar?

2. Socketed axe (Fig. 2 no. 12). Weight 232.5g. Maximum length 9cm; mouth diameter 4cm; blade width 4.5cm. The mouth is rounded with a pronounced collar-moulding;

below is a rounded rib-moulding from which springs the single side loop. The plain body of the axe flares gently towards a broad curved blade. Some effort had been made to remove the casting seams. Like the Plane Hall Farm tool, this is a south-eastern axe. It was found by chance in 1958 in redeposited gravel on the edge of the Freshwater Ballast Pit (TM 047 193). Its present location is the Colchester & Essex Museum (48.1958).

3. Socketed axe blade (Fig. 2 no. 13). Weight 47.69g. Maximum length 3.2cm; blade width 3.75cm. Much of the surface is pitted by corrosion; the blade is particularly abraded. A worn and broken tool that had conceivably been used as a wedge in antiquity. The blade is a metal-detector find made by C.R. Behn in 1982 at Fingringhoe School (TM 029 204) when he was examining mud dredged from a pond. It has been retained in private possession.

4. Socketed axe. In 1958 the Colchester & Essex Museum acquired a socketed axe which it was suspected had come from Fingringhoe (Hull 1962, 8 no. 168.1958). One can see from a museum photograph that it was a south-eastern socketed axe with wing ornament; the blade had apparently been removed in antiquity and replaced by a modern plaster restoration. An anonymous and undated pencil gloss in the accession register repudiates the Fingringhoe provenance and assigns it to Birdbrook, a parish in the northern extremity of the county near the Suffolk and Cambridgeshire borders. The entry adds that it was on loan to the Earls Colne grammar school (which closed in 1975). A.D. Merson tells me the axe was discovered by a schoolboy and shown to him when he taught at the school. His understanding is that it had been found at Ridgewell, an adjacent parish to Birdbrook. Its Fingringhoe provenance was acquired through association with G.M. Benton, who borrowed the axe for study. All attempts to trace its present whereabouts have failed. But at least we now know the correct provenance is Birdbrook/Ridgewell and that its supposed connection with Fingringhoe can be disregarded.

Acknowledgements

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Excavations at Barrington's Farm, Orsett Cock, Thurrock, Essex 1983

by Brian Milton

(with contributions by Susan Tyler and Nigel Brown)

Summary

Excavations along the line of the new A13 east of the Orsett Cock roundabout, Thurrock, South Essex, uncovered features of Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman, Saxon, medieval and later date.

Introduction (Fig. 1)

The development of the A13 and M25 in Essex has provided opportunities in recent years to investigate further the archaeology of the Thurrock area. The Late Iron Age/early Roman multi-ditched enclosure on the site of the Orsett Cock roundabout (*c.* TQ 655 813) was extensively excavated in 1976-9 by H. Toller (1980) after initial investigations by W.J. Rodwell (1974). Excavations of cropmark sites on the road lines west of the roundabout in 1980 uncovered features of Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman and Saxon dates (Wilkinson forthcoming).

In November 1983, topsoil was removed from the area east of the roundabout along the road line and to the south, for gravel extraction for the construction of a further section of the A13. Aerial photographs had shown cropmarks in this area (Fig. 1) and provision was obtained for a two-month excavation by Essex County Council Planning Department Archaeology Section prior to further development.

The site is located on flat, cultivated land *c.* 6 km north of the River Thames. The natural subsoil in the area is a mixture of river terrace gravels and brickearth. The gravel was generally yellow and sandy with patches of coarser orange gravel and occasional lenses of coarse orange or pale grey sand. There was a spread of dark medium brown brickearth *c.* 100 m to 150 m east of the Old Brentwood Road overlying the gravel to a maximum depth of *c.* 0.3 m. A number of silt-filled natural features were found (see *Geological features*, below).

The Excavations

A watching brief was carried out as scrapers removed topsoil from the area of the road and from the gravel pit to the south. The most important area archaeologically was up to 200 m east of the old Brentwood Road, where the cropmarks were densest and more varied (Fig. 1). As the machines moved off the area, the visible features were

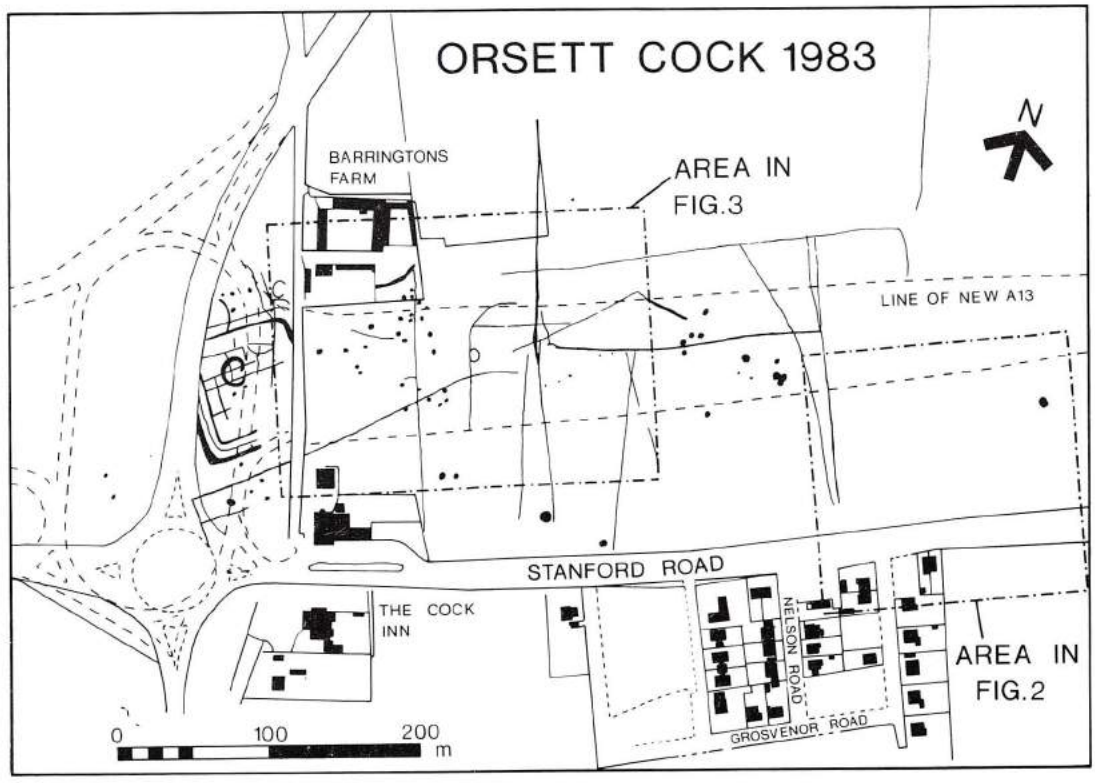

Fig. 1 Barrington's Farm: Location plan with cropmarks.

cleaned with hoes and shovels; places where cropmarks indicated possible archaeological features were also cleaned, sometimes after further machining. In total, about 1,500 m² was cleaned to some extent and the features uncovered were loosely grouped into four areas, I to IV (Figs 2, 3). Site grids were set up in each area and the visible features were recorded and excavated. Unfortunately, due to the large amount of disturbance caused by the scrapers, it is likely that many small features remained undiscovered or were destroyed. In the area of the dark brickearth spread, features were difficult to see even when cleaned.

Geological features

A number of oval and irregular-shaped depressions proved to be natural hollows. Though superficially resembling oval pits or sunken-floored buildings on the cropmark photographs and on plan, they tended to be less regular and varied in size from *c.*1.5m to 5.0m in length, 1.4m to 3.0m wide. Their fill was a very pure clean silt, varying in colour from medium brown to pale grey. Most of these features were found in Area III, though a few were found in Area I and to the east of Area II.

Prehistoric features

The Beaker Burial

The earliest dateable archaeological feature uncovered was a presumed beaker grave F40 in Area I (Fig. 2), containing three beaker vessels. It cut an earlier, probably natural, feature F39. A description of this feature has already been published (Milton 1985).

The Ring Ditch (Fig. 4)

A small ring ditch F52 in Area IV (Fig. 3) was located from cropmarks. It was approximately oval in plan, with internal dimensions *c.*6.6m by 4.8m. The ditch was, on average, 1.4m wide, 0.6m deep, v-shaped with a narrow flat bottom. The primary layers were pebbly sand and gravel deposits, the upper layers being silt loam.

The ditch probably surrounded a barrow containing cremations. Large sherds of three pots, probably of Middle Bronze Age date were found, apparently backfilled into the upper layers of the ring ditch on the north, south-east and south-west sides. They were associated with scatters of cremated bone and charcoal. Within the ring ditch were five small pits, F53, F62, F66, F68 and F136 circular or

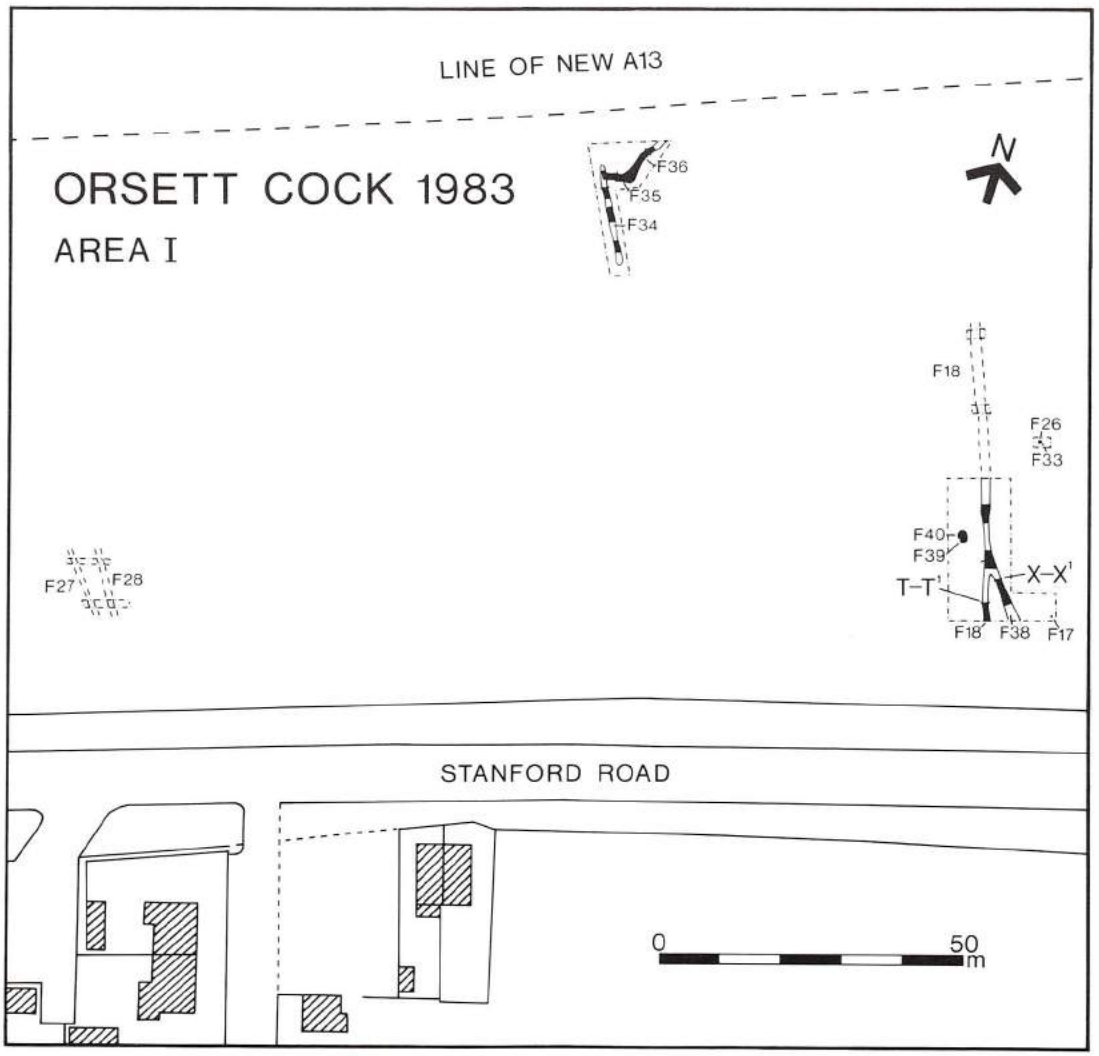

Fig. 2 Barrington's Farm: Plan of Area I.

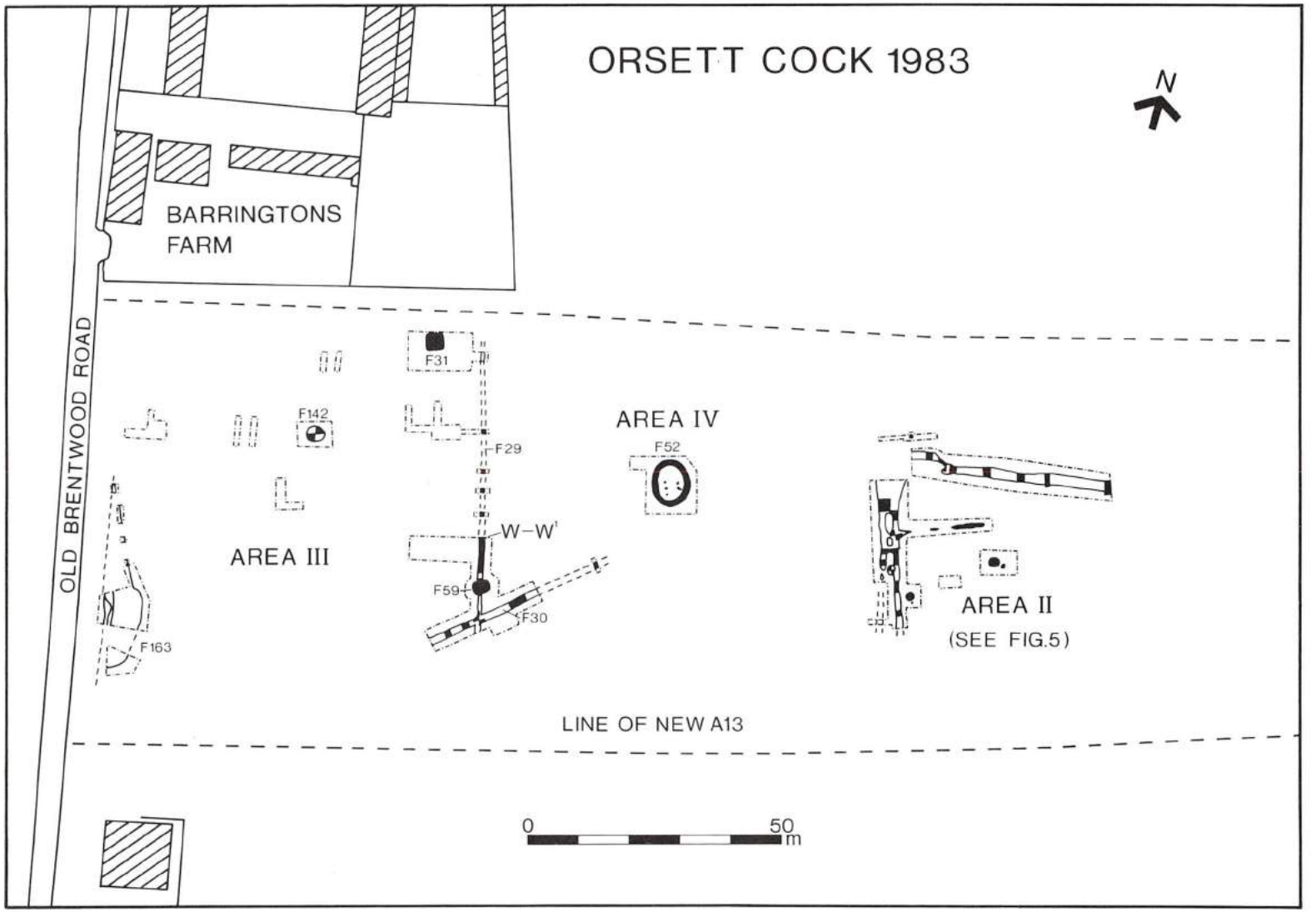

Fig. 3 Barrington's Farm: Plan of Areas II to IV.

oval in plan; their fills were dark brown to almost black, with varying densities of charcoal flecks. F62 produced the most charcoal, though it was irregular in shape and probably badly disturbed by animals. Two of them, F53 and F62, contained cremated bone, but not in very great quantities. F66 and F68 resembled post pits.

Early to Middle Iron Age pits (Fig. 6)

Two large Early or Middle Iron Age pits, F19 and F115 were found in Area II (Fig. 5). F19 was oval, 2.4m long, 2.2m wide and 0.8m deep with vertical sides. It contained layers which produced large amounts of pottery and some charcoal and burnt clay. Pit F115, 17m south-west of F19 was circular, 1.7m in diameter, 0.7m deep and also contained large amounts of pottery, some triangular loomweight fragments and burnt clay and charcoal. Two small features F110 and F134 lay close to F19 and F115 respectively, both small shallow pits, F134 produced a possible triangular loomweight fragment and their proximity to the pits suggests a contemporary date.

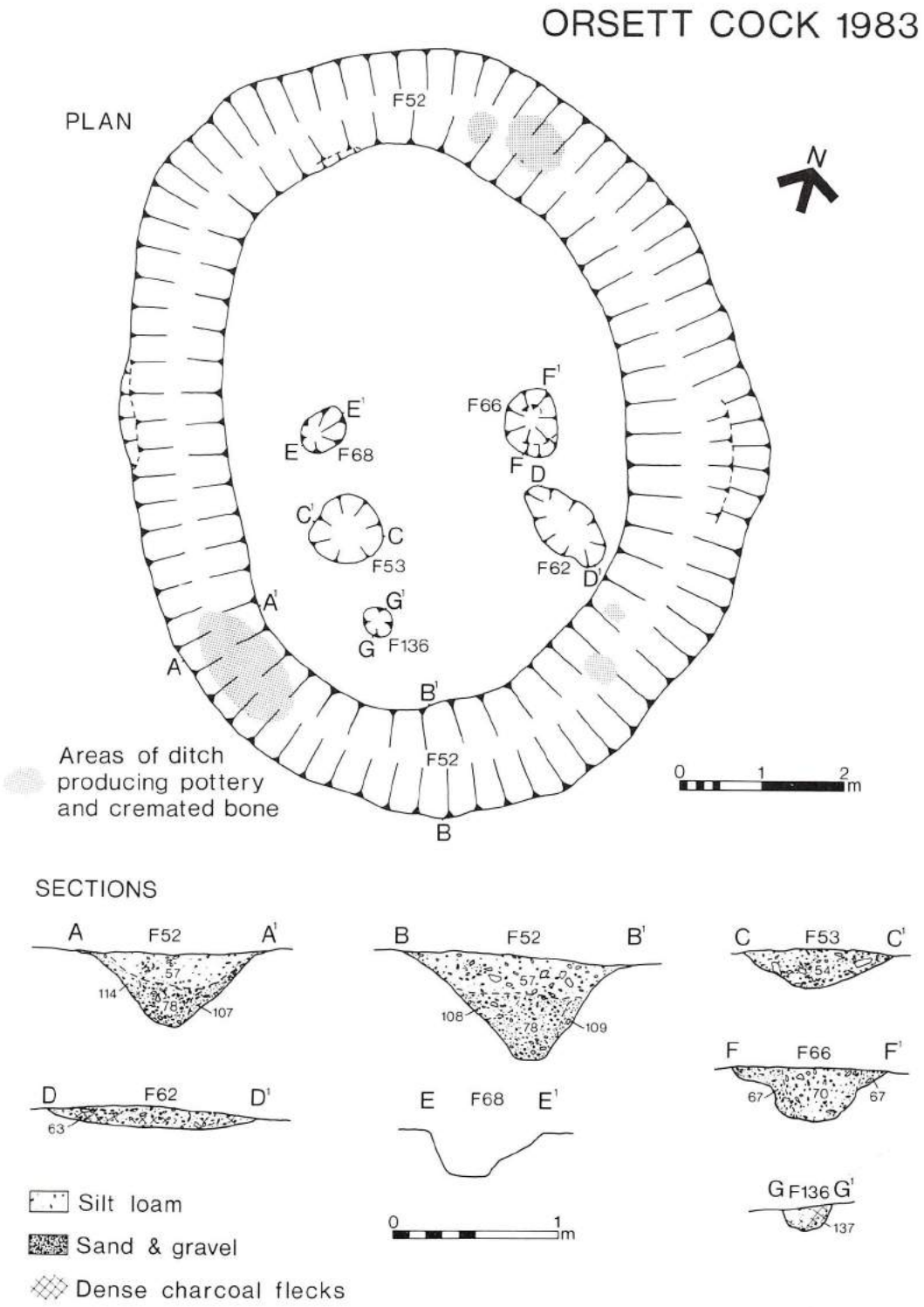

Fig. 4 Barrington's Farm: The ring ditch, plans and sections.

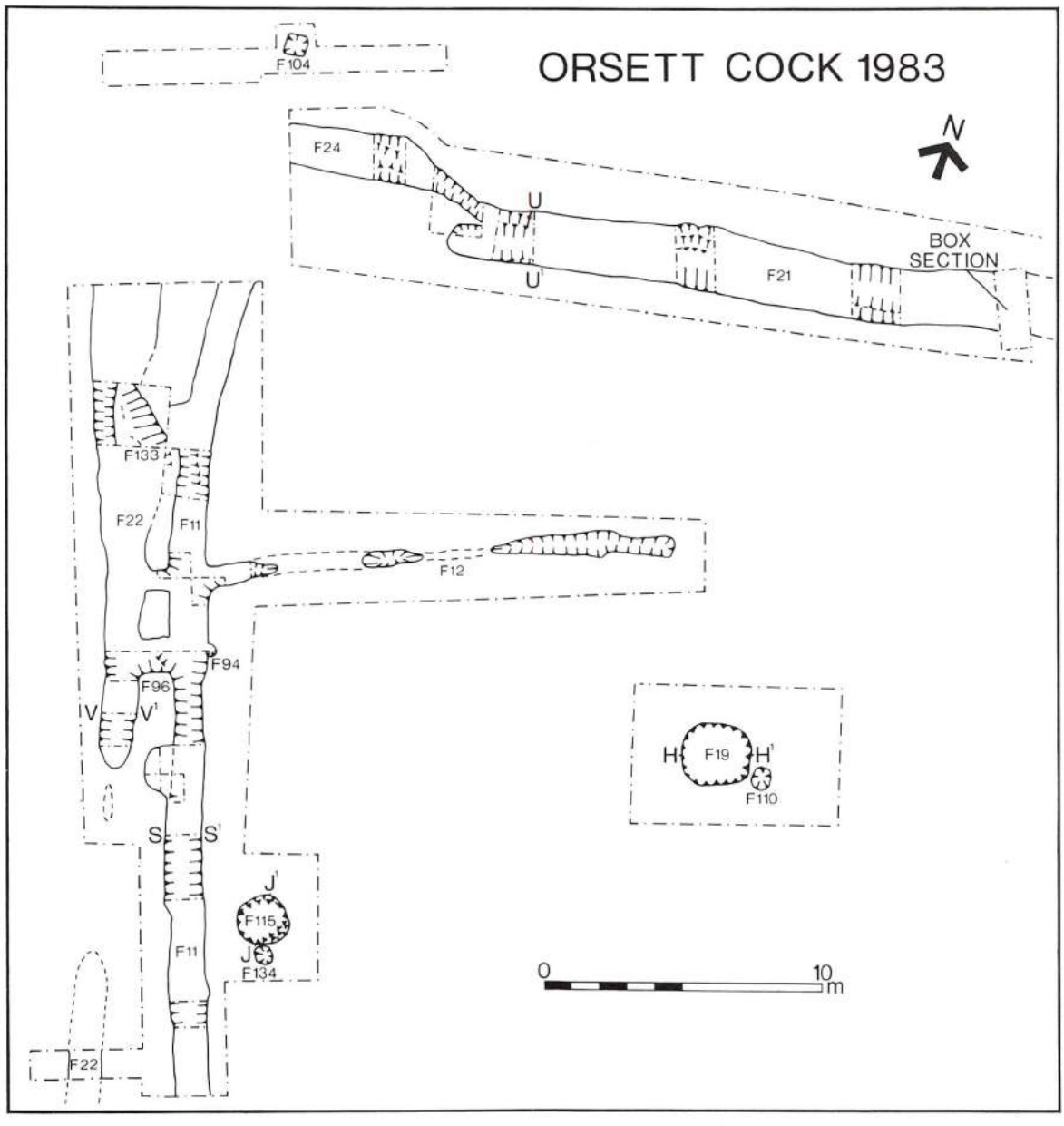

Fig. 5 Barrington's Farm: Plan of Area II.

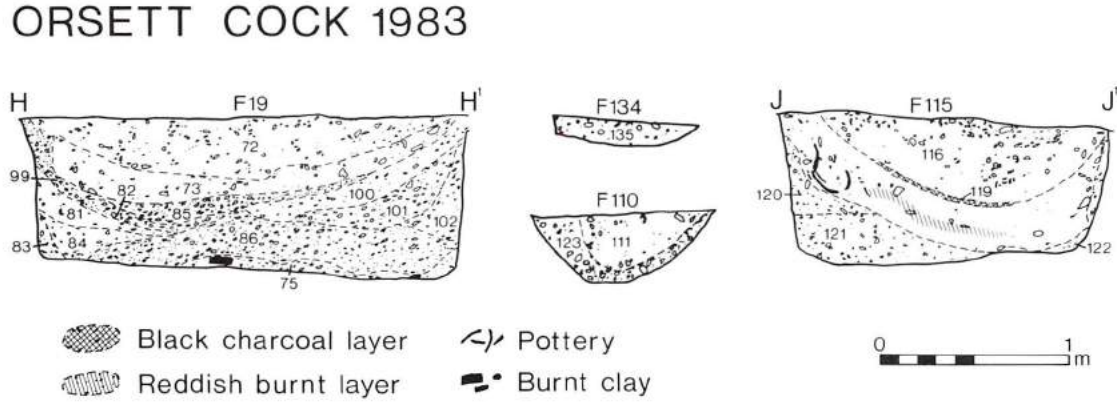

Fig. 6 Barrington's Farm: Iron Age features — sections.

Roman features (Fig. 7)

A small area was stripped to reveal the south-east corner of the Orsett Cock enclosure (Rodwell 1974, Toller 1980). The area was cleaned and planned but not excavated. The features uncovered included the corner of the outer ditch, the edges of which were rather indistinct and appeared to be cut by later Roman features. The area produced pottery generally of 1st to 2nd century date, with some sherds of 4th century ware.

A ditch F30 ran SW-NE parallel to, and to the south of the southern side of the Orsett Cock enclosure. It was *c.*1.6m wide, 0.5m deep and was previously sectioned in 1957 (Rodwell 1974, 19) west of the old Brentwood road. From its dimensions it can probably be interpreted as a field boundary ditch. It produced 1st to 2nd century Roman pottery and one late Roman sherd, probably intrusive.

A small circular pit or posthole, F17 in Area I (Fig. 2), 0.4m in diameter, 0.2m deep, contained large numbers of burnt fragments of puddingstone quern of Iron Age or Roman date. No other dating evidence was found.

F27 in Area I (Fig. 2), located but not excavated, may be Roman in date (see *discussion*, below)

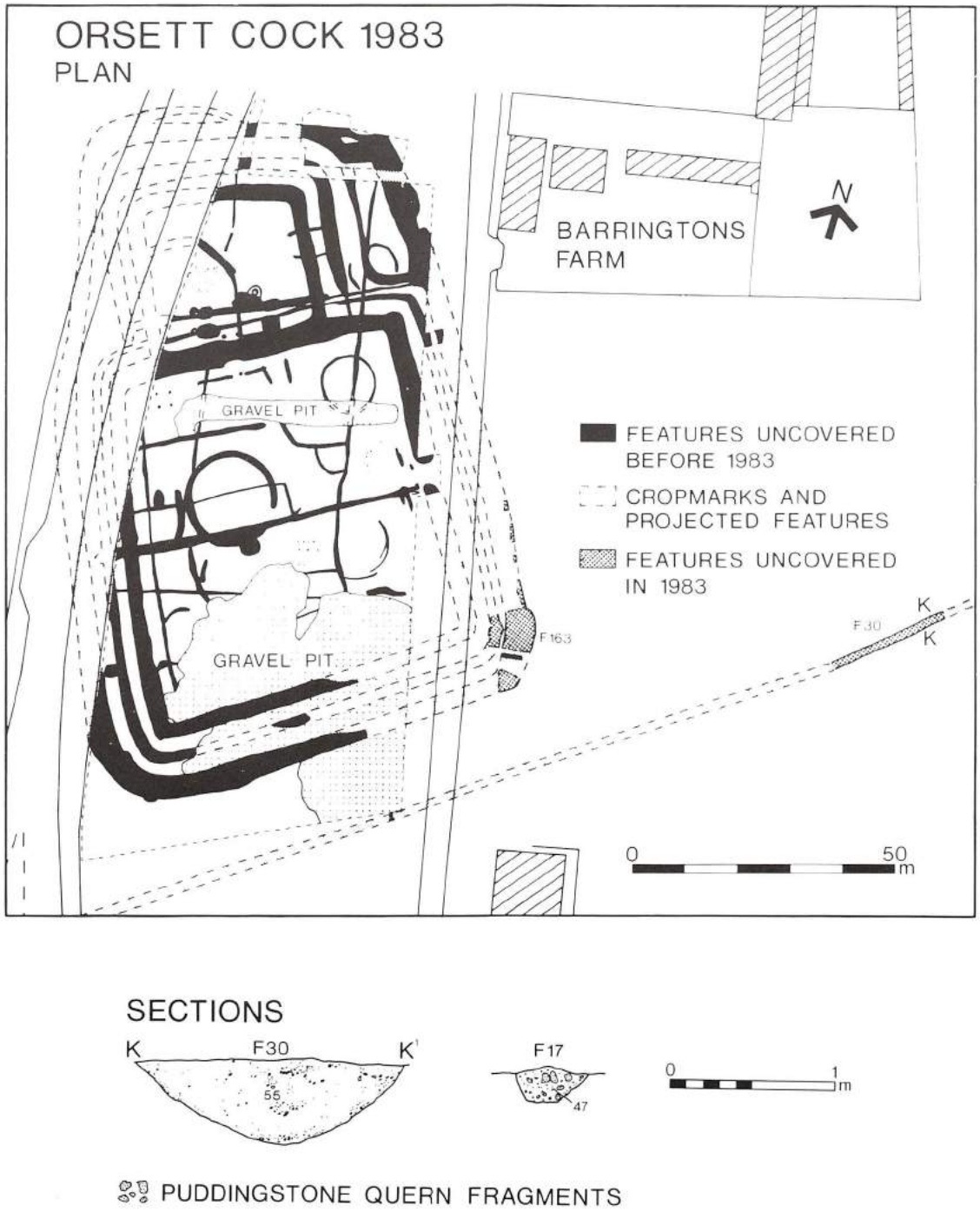

Fig. 7 Barrington's Farm: Plan of Orsett Cock Enclosure and sections of Roman features. [See Fig. 2 for location of F17]

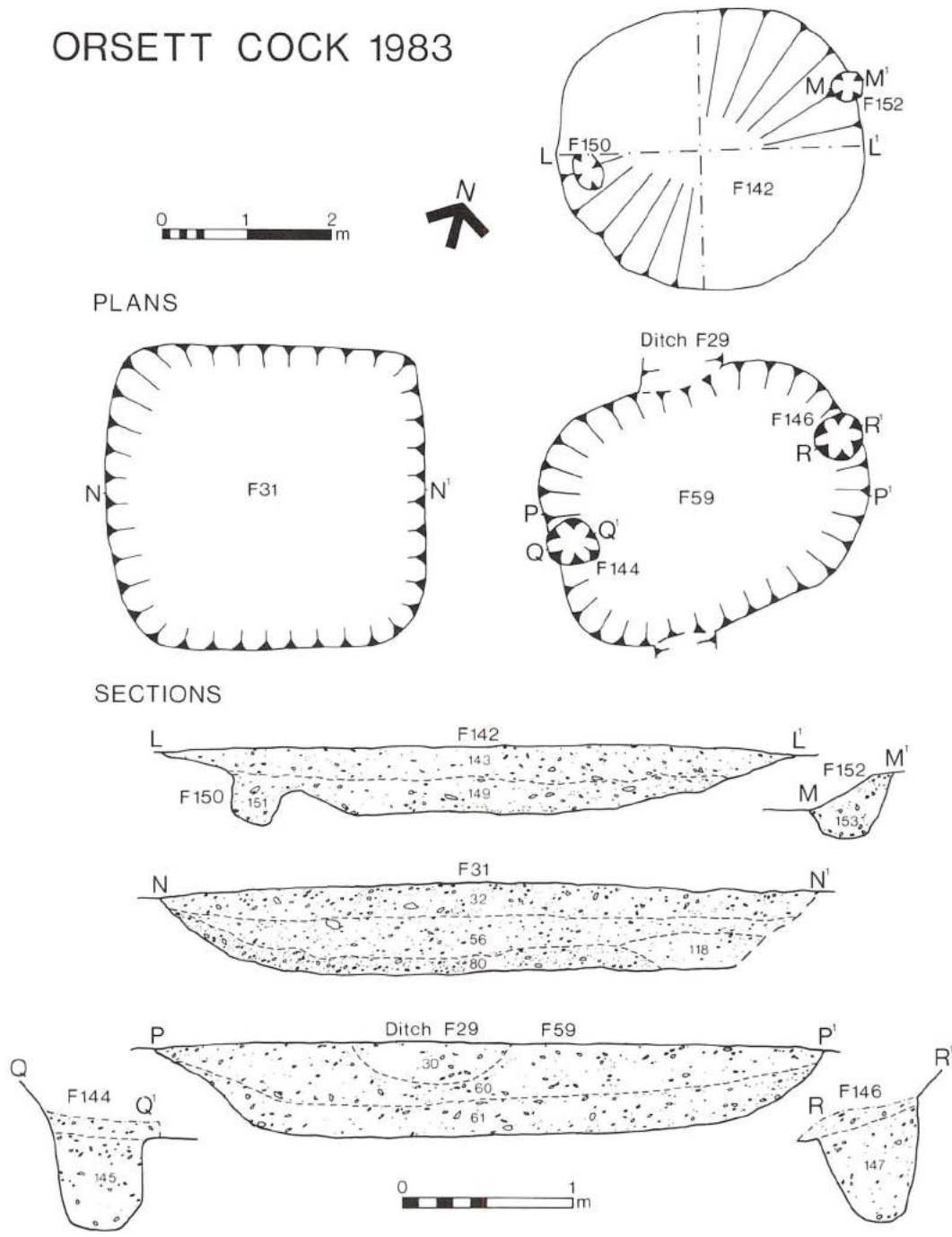

Fig. 8 Barrington's Farm: Saxon *grubenhäuser* — plans and sections.

Saxon Features (Fig. 8)

Three Saxon *grubenhäuser* F31, F59 and F142 were uncovered, all in area III, (Fig. 3).

F31 aligned E-W was almost square, 4.0m long, 3.8m wide, 0.55m deep with almost straight, steep sides, rounded at the corners. No end posts nor traces of a surrounding structure were found, although the excavated feature and surrounding area were very carefully cleaned. Its upper fill was a dark medium-brown sandy silt loam with patches of paler sandy loam. The lower layers 56 and 118 were paler with more redeposited sand, and the bottom fill, 80 contained much redeposited natural gravel. It produced few finds, but its bottom layer (118) contained several lumps of unfired pale brown clay close to the sides.

F59 was slightly smaller than F31 and more oval, 3.8m long, 2.9m wide and 0.5m deep with sloping sides. Its fill was a darker brown and contained more finds than F31, including several fragments of fired clay loomweights and part of a clay spindle whorl. It was aligned NE-SW and had a large posthole at each end (F144 and F146), each about 0.5m diameter, 0.6m deep. Their fills were similar to the fills (60, 61) of the *grubenhaus*, a dark brown sandy silt loam.

F142 was oval, similar in size to, and on the same alignment as F59. It was shallower, 0.4m deep and its postholes

were slightly smaller, 0.4m in diameter and 0.3m deep (Figs 7, 8). Its fills were very dark brown, with fairly dense charcoal flecks, and produced large amounts of pottery. It was only half excavated due to lack of time.

Several other cropmarks indicated possible Saxon huts, especially in the area to the south of Barrington's Farm buildings (Fig. 1). However, when cleaned up they proved to be silt-filled natural hollows. A possible *grubenhaus* had been found and recorded by R. Bingley in 1968 when it was cut by a sewer trench (Rodwell 1974, 22). It lay *c.*20m east of the south-east corner of the Orsett Cock enclosure, but was not re-examined in 1983 since it was in an area constantly used by construction machinery.

Medieval and postmedieval features (Fig. 9)
Several ditches were uncovered which appeared to be part of the rectilinear road and field system in this area visible as cropmarks (Fig. 1). F18, and F28 in Area I (Fig. 2), F11, F22 in Area II and F29 in Area III (Fig. 3) all ran N-S, perpendicular to Stanford Road and were of similar dimensions, 0.8m to 1.1m wide, 0.2m to 0.3m deep. Three ditches provided some dating evidence; ditches F11 and F29 contained peg tile fragments and F29 was seen to cut the *grubenhäus* F31 and Roman ditch F30. Two ditches in Area II, F12 and F21 ran approximately east to west. F12 was a very narrow and shallow gully and much of it had been machined away. F21 on the other hand was large, *c.*2.2m wide, 0.8m deep (Fig. 8) the upper fill contined modern pot and clay pipe fragments: however the line of the ditch may be older. It terminated before meeting the ditches F11 and F22, and a shallower gully F24 began at its west end and continued west though its junction with F11 and F22 was obscured by the dark brickearth subsoil in this area. Aerial photographs suggest that it turns north (Fig. 1). Ditch F38 in Area I (Fig. 2) joined and cut F18 and is probably a realignment of this ditch.

Undated features (Fig. 10)
Several features were found which produced no dateable finds and for which no date could be postulated. A series of ditches in Area I, F34, F35 and F36 (Fig. 2) were all very shallow and presumably part of a larger feature, some of which had been removed by machine and some lay below the remaining topsoil. F35 was seen to cut F34.

Also in Area I were a small oval pit, F26, 0.7m long, 0.5m wide and 0.15m deep, and a posthole nearby, F33, 0.3m diameter and 0.1m deep. (Fig. 2).

In Area II a number of undateable features were uncovered. A very small shallow posthole, F94, 0.3m in diameter 0.05m deep, a small length of gully F96 between, and cut by, F11 and F22 and a shallow squareish pit, F103, probably modern.

Discussion

The features uncovered during the excavations are rather widely scattered, but they represent a wide range of activity from the Beaker period (Milton 1985 87-91) through to the post-medieval. This is to be expected considering the large number of occupation sites of all periods in the Thurrock area. Although the only actual buildings found were the three Saxon *grubenhäuser*, it must be stressed that small features such as postholes could have been missed during the removal of the topsoil and that the areas which were thoroughly investigated amounted to only a small percentage of the area threatened. The excavations examined the areas where cropmarks were visible and where features were noticed during the removal of topsoil, hence there is a bias towards larger features such as large pits and ditches.

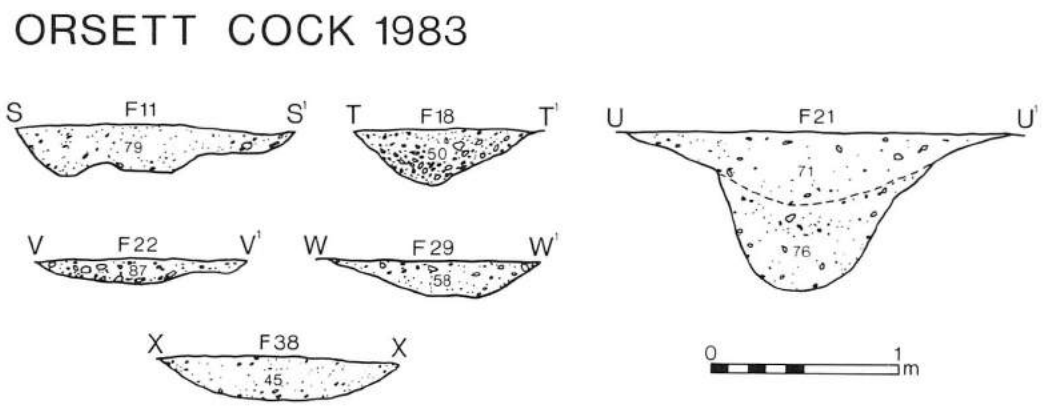

Fig. 9 Barrington's Farm: Medieval and later ditches — sections.

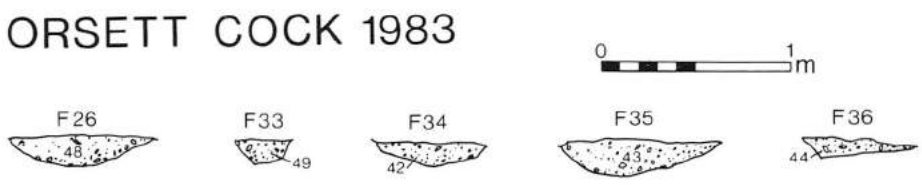

Fig. 10 Barrington's Farm: Undated features — sections.

Bronze Age — The ring ditch

Hundreds of ring ditches have been recorded in Essex (Priddy 1981, Fig. 36) and are generally considered to be ploughed-out burial moulds of the Bronze Age. The majority of those excavated have been assigned Middle to Late Bronze Age date (Buckley and Priddy 1983, 128). The presence of at least four cremations and associated pottery of Early to Middle Bronze Age date confirms this interpretation for the Orsett Cock ring ditch, although the feature is very small and unusually oval and irregular in plan.

The exact purpose of the internal features is unclear. At Ardleigh Ring I a central burial pit had been dug which was left to silt nine inches (230mm) before the burial urns were placed in it. (Erith 1960, 51), and at Ardleigh Ring VI two central pits contained pure soil (Erith 1962, 107). Erith concluded (1962, 108-9) that the cremation pits had been excavated some time, perhaps some months, before a death occurred. The reason he suggests for this is that all the holes, including the ring ditch, were dug when the gravel was softer during the winter months prior to an iminent death. A similar interpretation, of silted-up cremation pits, could be placed on some of the internal features of the Orsett Cock ring ditch, with the cremations deposited at the level of the ploughsoil and subsequently destroyed by ploughing. F53 and F62 both yielded small amounts of cremated bone, possibly brought down by worm or animal action from cremations above. However, assuming an internal mound, Erith's interpretation would involve a large amount of extra work in moving the soil excavated from the ring ditch in winter into the centre after the cremations had been interred and it would seem a comparatively easy task to clean out the accumulated silt from the cremation holes prior to burial. An alternative explanation for the apparent silting could be that other items of a perishable nature had been placed in the holes some time before the cremations themselves.

Features other than cremation pits have also been found within ring ditches. At Ardleigh ring III two features described as 'ritual fire pits' were found due east and west of the central burial (Erith 1961, 35) and at Newhouse Farm two silt-filled pits were found, again due east and west of the central feature (Couchman 1975, 18). At Orsett, two features (F66 and F68) situated approximately east and west of the centre of the ring ditch resembled postholes.

It seems likely considering their situation that the three cremation urns recovered from the upper ditch fills were originally deposited within the mound of the barrow and thrown into the ditch when the mound was flattened.

Iron Age

Two large pits, were dateable to the Early to Middle Iron Age, each with a small, probably contemporary, pit or posthole nearby. In addition, residual Middle Iron Age sherds were found in the Roman ditch F30 and in previous excavations on the Orsett Cock Enclosure (Rodwell 1974, 33; Toller 1980, 35).

The most likely form of Early to Middle Iron Age occupation in the area is a small farming settlement. Nearby, such sites have been excavated at Orsett Causewayed Enclosure (Hedges and Buckley 1978, 252-5), and Rectory Road, Orsett, (Wilkinson forthcoming), both unenclosed sites consisting of a number of pits and postholes. Elsewhere in Thurrock Early to Middle Iron Age sites have been excavated at Gun Hill, Tilbury (Drury and Rodwell 1973), Rainbow Wood, Thurrock (Potter 1974), Linford (Barton 1962) and Ardale School (Wilkinson forthcoming).

Roman

The Roman ditch F30 produced early Roman pottery, with a single sherd of 4th-century ware, probably intrusive. It seems likely therefore that it was dug during the earlier phases of Roman occupation of the Orsett Cock Enclosure, and was probably a field boundary ditch. An aerial photograph of 1946 (Rodwell 1974, 21) suggests that this ditch turns southward near the south west corner of the enclosure. To the south, other ditches are visible parallel with and perpendicular to F30, forming a field system or an enclosure. The cropmark of F30 north-eastward is more difficult to trace, but it appears to continue up to 200m east of the Orsett Cock enclosure. This field system may include two other linear cropmarks east of the enclosure which run NW-SE, out of alignment with the more obvious medieval/post-medieval rectilinear system aligned with Brentwood and Stamford roads (Fig. 1). One of these, F27, was located but not excavated.

Saxon

Three Saxon features were uncovered, all presumed *grubenhäuser*.

F31 was much more square than the other two and aligned more E-W, but its most obvious feature was its lack of postholes. It is possible that postholes backfilled with natural gravel were not detected, but this seems unlikely, especially considering that the postholes of F59 and F142 were very obvious. A few of the *grubenhäuser* excavated at Mucking were postless (Jones 1975, 197) as were seven of the seventy excavated at West Stow, Suffolk (West 1985, 113-5). Assuming F31 was a *grubenhaus*, and not a large square pit dug for some other purpose, it seems likely that it was surrounded by a structure which left no trace below the ploughsoil.

The other two *grubenhäuser* are typical in form and orientation (Jones and Jones 1975, 150) and near the middle of the size range (Jones 1979, 32) of the *c.*200 sunken huts excavated at Mucking.

The three *grubenhäuser* excavated in 1983, when added to the four excavated by H. Toller (1980, 40) and a possible one excavated by Mr. Bingley (Rodwell 1974, 22) shows a rather sparse scatter of eight buildings (Fig. 11), with possibly others indicated by cropmarks to the south and west of the roundabout. Little can be said about this group of huts. It cannot be shown if they were all definitely contemporary and no associated early Saxon features have been found except a possible Saxon posthole structure (Toller 1980, 40).

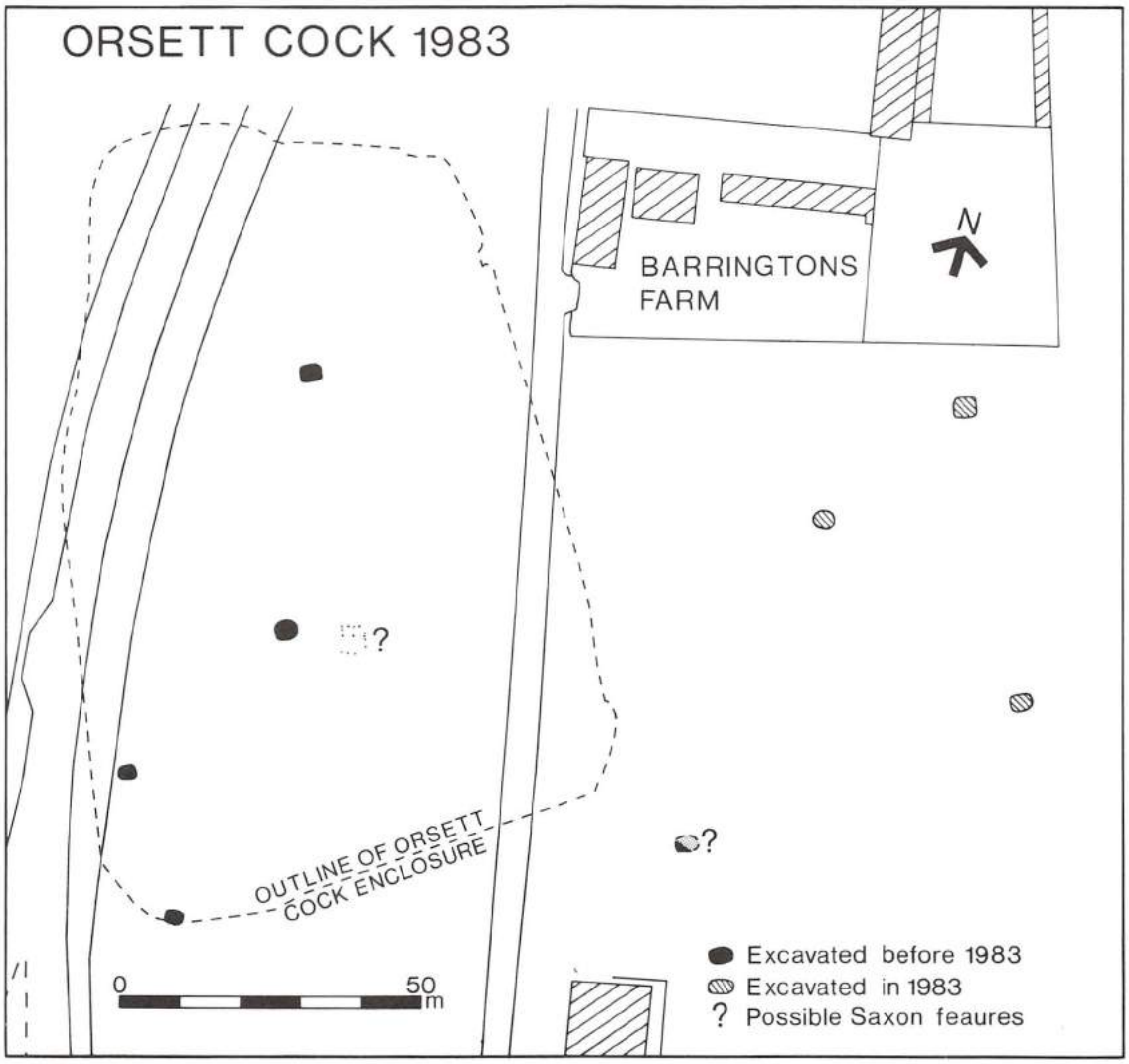

Fig. 11 Barrington's Farm: Distribution plan of Saxon buildings.

Medieval and later

Several ditches were excavated which were visible as cropmarks and appeared to be part of the rectilinear field system aligned with the Stamford and Brentwood roads. Hugh Toller (1980, 40-1) argued that a post-Roman date is more likely than the Late Iron Age/Roman date previously suggested (Rodwell 1975, 35, Drury and Rodwell 1980, 64), because apparent elements of the field system, the old Brentwood Road and three ditches excavated by Toller, cut through the Orsett Cock Enclosure which had continued in use at least until the early 4th century. The 1983 excavation confirmed Toller's findings, with four ditches (F11, F21, F22, F29) shown to be of medieval or post-medieval date.

The Finds

Prehistoric Pottery (by Nigel Brown)

Bronze Age — The ring ditch F52

All the pottery was recovered from the ditch, none from internal features. Large parts of probably three vessels are represented but as none is completely reconstructable this is uncertain.

Definitions:
Size of Temper
Small: less than 1 mm diameter
Medium: 1-2 mm
Large: above 2 mm

Sherds of a large urn (Fig. 12.1) were recovered from a north segment of the ditch. The fabric of this vessel is soft with poorly sorted small to large flint grits. The exterior is rough with occasional vegetable impressions and slight finger and finger nail impressions; these are particularly common below the rim presumably as a result of rim formation and securing of rim to body. Some strips and lumps of clay have been applied on the inside of the rim to strengthen weak points. About 50 mm below the rim is a very roughly executed finger-impressed applied cordon. From the cordon the walls curve in toward the rim giving a biconical form. The base is flat, the rim plain and rounded.

Sherds from south-west and south-east segments of the ditch appear to comprise another large urn, but only the flat base and sections of the walls are reconstructable. The fabric, tempered with small to medium well sorted flint grits and some sand, is harder and better finished than that from segment 1. No rim sherds were recovered, but three sherds (Fig. 12.2, 3, 4) have applied elongated horizontal lugs which would appear to have formed a discontinuous cordon at a slight shoulder. The curve of these sherds indicates a biconical form.

A number of sherds from north and south-east segments of the ditch could be reconstructed to give the complete profile of a small flat-based thin-walled vessel (Fig. 12.5). The fabric is hard with dense, poorly-sorted flint grits. Where they survive the surfaces are smooth with few pieces of

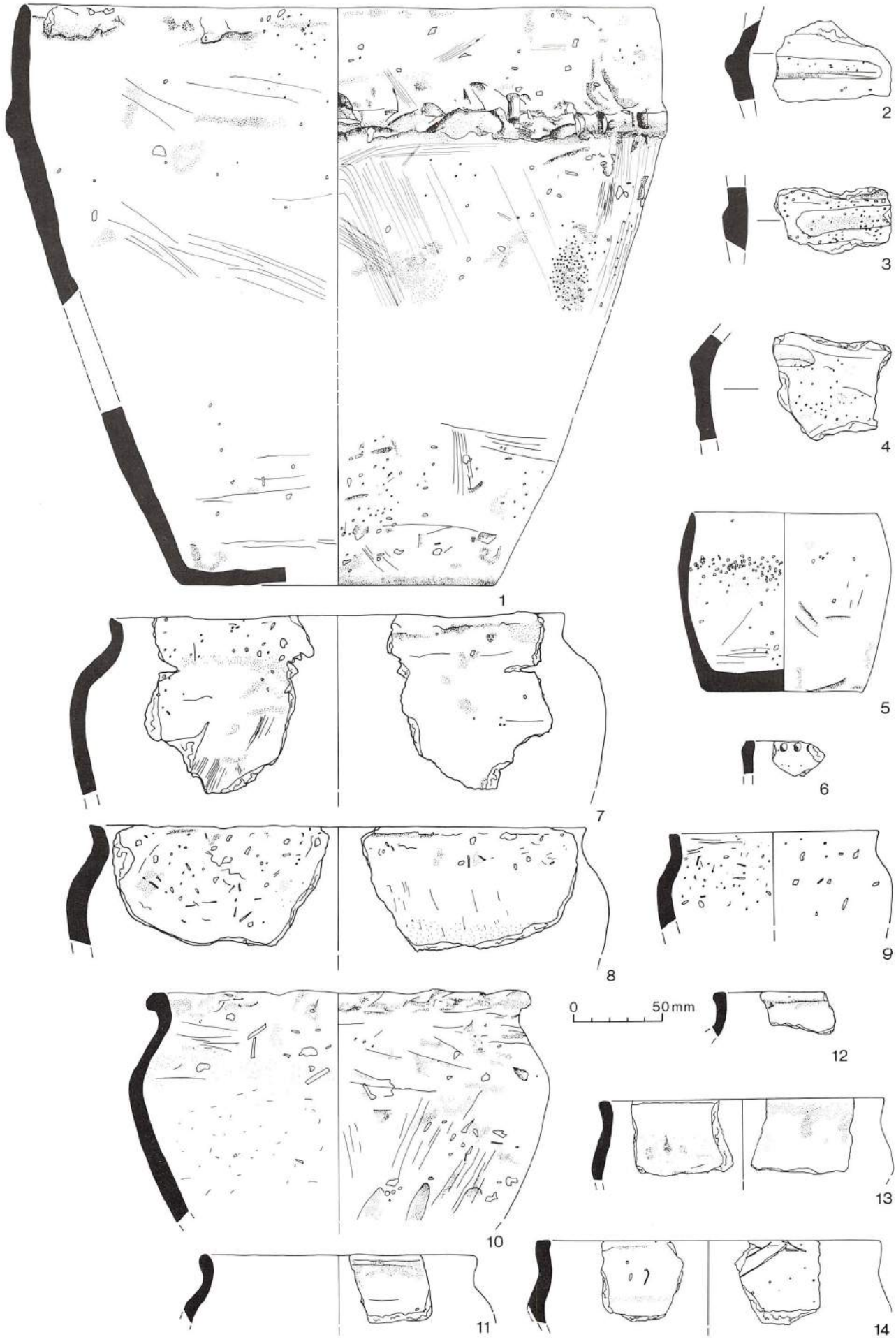

Fig. 12 Barrington's Farm: Prehistoric pottery 1 to 14.

temper showing through. The vessel has a slight shoulder and plain rounded rim, once again the pot is biconical form.

In addition to the above pots, a single rim sherd (Fig. 12.6) was recovered from a south-west segment of the ditch. The fabric is hard with smooth surfaces and sparse small flint grits with occasional larger pieces. There is a row of oval impressions on the outside of the rim.

Discussion

The pottery from the ring ditch belongs to the range of Deverel-Rimbury ceramics. Deverel-Rimbury pottery from Barling is associated with a radiocarbon date of 1335±85 BC (BM-1631) (Eddy and Priddy 1982, 46). Radiocarbon dates for ring ditches at Mucking are 1150±90 BC (Har 2339), 1260±80 BC (Har 2340) and 1340±80 BC (Har 2342) (Jones and Bond 1980, 471). Therefore a date for the Orsett Cock pottery in the mid 2nd millenium BC would seem likely. However, given the long ancestry of Deverel-Rimbury pottery and the similarity of the Orsett vessels, particularly of the lugged shoulder sherds, with biconical urns, an earlier date cannot be ruled out. With this in mind, parallels may be noted between the lugged sherds and part of a biconical vessel from an internal feature at Springfield Cursus (Brown in prep.). The fabric and form of the small vessel (Fig. 12.5) may also be paralleled in the assemblage from Springfield Cursus.

Iron Age — Domestic pits F19 and F115

Both pits produced quantities of prehistoric pottery in the range of fabrics listed below. Colour varies, even in individual sherds, through the range buff, orange brown, grey brown and grey.

Definitions:

Density of Temper
- Sparse: less than 5 per sq cm
- Medium: Density 6-10 per sq cm
- Dense: more than 10 per sq cm

Size of Temper
- Small: less than 1 mm diameter
- Medium: 1-2 mm
- Large: above 2 mm

Fabrics
- A. Medium density, poorly sorted small-large flint grits.
- B. Sparse to medium density small-medium flint grits with some sand.
- C. Medium density, small to medium flint grits.
- D. Sparse large voids left by dissolved shell with occasional vegetable voids, laminated fracture, soft.
- E. Dense sand with occasional medium flint grits.
- F. Sparse fine sand with occasional small flint and some vegetable voids.

Pit 115

Fabric A

At least three vessels are represented. Two rim sherds (Fig. 12.7, 8) are from jars with plain rims and rounded shoulders. A further rim sherd is present from a smaller, thinner vessel of similar form (Fig. 12.9). The sherds of this fabric are generally abraded and seem to be somewhat overfired. Total 30 sherds (902 g).

Fabric B

These are unreconstructable body sherds some with burnished surfaces, one sherd of a flat base. Total 22 sherds (187 g).

Fabric D

Possibly all one vessel (Fig. 12.10) a large part of which is reconstructable. The vessel is a large round-shouldered jar, with an irregular rim with a rough line of finger impressions on the top or outside edge. The exterior is finger-wiped, horizontally above the shoulder, vertically below it. Total 118 sherds (861 g).

Fabric F

Largely unreconstructable body sherds, many have smoothed or burnished exteriors, the interiors have more vegetable voids. Two rims of different vessels are present, an upright rounded rim of a high-shouldered jar (Fig. 12.11) and a flat-topped rim slightly expanded on the exterior (Fig. 12.12). Both have traces of burnish surviving on the exterior. Total 35 sherds (316 g).

Pit 19

The sherds from this feature are generally much smaller than those from 115.

Fabric A

Rims of three separate vessels were recovered; the upright flat-topped rim of a round-shouldered jar with smoothed exterior (Fig. 12.13), a slightly everted flat-topped rim of a smaller and more angular jar with burnished surfaces (Fig. 12.14) and a small flat-topped roughly made rim (Fig. 13.15). Total 9 sherds (160 g).

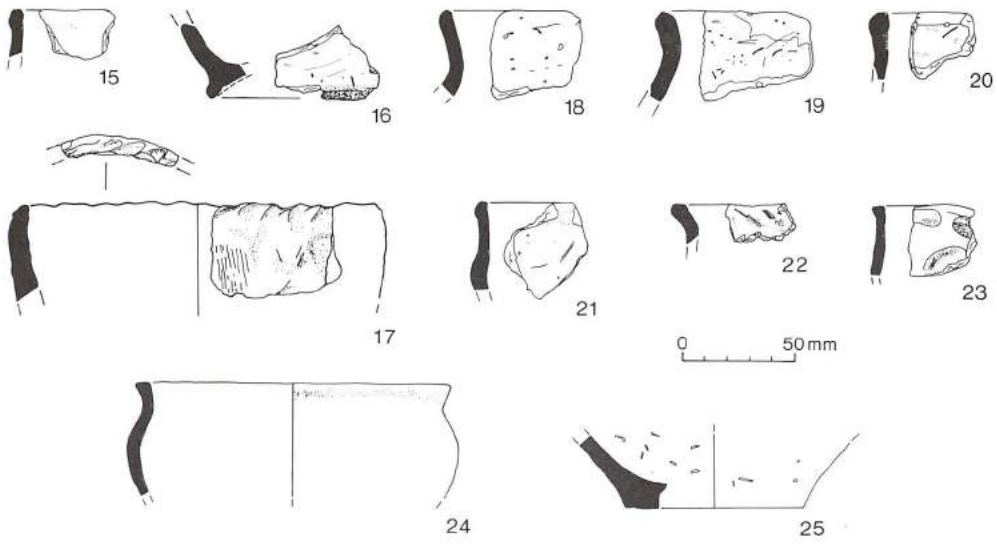

Fig. 13 Barrington's Farm: Prehistoric pottery 15 to 25.

Fabric C
One rim and two base sherds were recovered. The rim is plain, rounded and abraded, one of the bases is flat the other is an abraded, broken footring (Fig. 13.16). Total 32 sherds (272g).

Fabric D
Body sherds. Total 5 sherds (42g)

Fabric E
Mainly body sherds, many with grass-wiped exteriors, a single inturned rim with an irregular row of finger impressions on the top (Fig. 13.17). Total 17 sherds (70g).

Fabric F
Material of this fabric comprises; three rounded rims (Fig. 13.18, 19, 20), two of which are partly abraded and are probably from the same vessel, two other rounded rims (Fig. 13.21, 22), an upright flat-topped rim of an angular jar, an irregular flat-topped rim with finger impressions below as a result of rim formation (Fig. 13.23), and a flat-topped rim sherd slightly expanded on the exterior, with burnished surfaces, probably from a round-bodied bowl (Fig. 13.24). A flat base is also present (Fig. 13.25). Total 77 sherds (706g).

Discussion

The material from both pits is probably contemporary and of Early or Middle Iron Age date, having general similarities with material of this date from Mucking, Gun Hill, Rainbow Wood and Moor Hall, Rainham. In particular, the large jar (Fig. 12.10) from pit 115 is reminiscent of pottery from Rainham (Greenwood 1982 fig. 4). The wide range of fabrics present is typical of the EIA. At Mucking flint-tempered pottery current in the Late Bronze Age gives way to increased use of sand temper and general diversification of fabric types in the EIA (J. Catton *pers. comm.*); a similar pattern occurs at the LBA enclosure at Springfield. The presence of shell-tempered fabric D may be significant. Shell-tempered fabrics predominate in the EIA assemblages from Rainbow Wood (Potter 1975) and also occur in the Gun Hill assemblage (Drury and Rodwell 1973). Finger-tip impressions on the shoulder and/or rims of coarse jars are common in the EIA assemblages at North Shoebury and Springfield Lyons; the rare occurrence of finger-tip impressions in the Orsett Cock pottery may indicate a MIA date, when the use of this form of decoration declines.

Other Contexts

A sherd and a fragment of MIA pottery were recovered as residual finds in the Roman ditch F30 and a single MIA sherd was found during general cleaning over the south-east corner of the Orsett Cock enclosure.

Roman Pottery (by Catriona Turner)

A small quantity of Roman pottery was recovered. Forty-six sherds (178g) including a sherd and a fragment of Middle Iron Age pottery (see Prehistoric Pottery, above) were recovered from the fill of a Roman ditch (context 55, ditch 30) and are discussed in this report. A single Middle Iron Age sherd and forty-five Roman sherds (836g) were found during general cleaning over the south-east corner of the outer ditch of the enclosure, and a further thirty-three sherds (361g) occurred as residual material in Saxon and medieval contexts. The Roman pottery from the post-Roman contexts is recorded fully in a separate archive report, and consists mostly of small abraded coarse ware sherds.

Context 55

All of the sherds are small or fragmentary and are very abraded.

A high proportion (37) of the Roman sherds from this context are derived from one vessel, of first century AD date: a southern Essex-type early Roman shell-tempered ware ledged-rim jar, similar in type to those found at Gun Hill (Drury and Rodwell 1973, 82, fig. 16). One coarse ware plain body sherd was also found.

The Roman fine wares consist of: an unstamped samian f.33 cup base sherd; sherds from a cream-slipped oxidised ware flagon (or similar handled form) of probable first or second century date; and a small sherd in oxidised fabric similar to late Roman oxidised wares, *cf.* Oxford and Hadham wares.

The Roman pottery from context 55 may therefore span a wide date range, from first or second century to possibly as late as third or fourth century. However, if the small, probably late Roman, oxidised ware sherd is considered to be intrusive, a first or second century date may be suggested for the fill.

The Anglo-Saxon pottery — (by Susan Tyler)

Summary: Six features (three *grubenhäuser*, two postholes and one ditch) yielded a total of 4.9kg of Anglo-Saxon pottery. Over 75% of the total came from the *grubenhaus F142*, fills 143 and 149 (this feature was only half excavated). The other five features that produced Saxon pot were: *grubenhaus F31*, fills 32, 56 and 118 (337g); ditch F29, fill 58 (90g) and *grubenhaus* F59, fills 60 and 61 (1.147kg) and its two postholes F144, fill 145 and F146, fill 147 (45g and 90g respectively).

The Fabric Analysis
The fabrics were examined with a hand-lens giving a X10 magnification. In some cases it has proved difficult to distinguish naturally sandy clay from that which contains deliberately added quartz-sand temper. However, the fabrics fall into three main groups:

I Vegetable-tempered.
II Quartz-sand tempered.
III Tempered with roughly equal quantities of quartz-sand and vegetable matter.

Definition of terms used

Size of temper
Small: particles less than 1mm diameter
Medium: particles 1-2mm diameter
Large: particles greater than 2mm diameter

Density of temper
Sparse: less than 5 per sq cm
Common: 6-10 per sq cm
Abundant: more than 10 per sq cm

N.B. Throughout the report particles of vegetable-temper can be assumed to be large unless otherwise specified.

Catalogue of Pottery
Diagnostic pieces are described below and illustrated in Fig. 14.

1 *Rim.* Upright. Fabric: common quartz-sand temper, well-sorted, medium dense. Colour: outer and inner surfaces dark brown; core: dark reddish-brown. Weight: 6g. *F29; fill 58*

2 *Rim.* Upright. Vegetable-tempered with abundant vegetable voids and occasional large quartz inclusion. Colour: dark brown throughout. Weight 5g. *F29; fill 58*

3 *Pot. c.*25% of plain, high-shoulder bowl, comprising one carinated shoulder piece and 12 other body sherds. Partly burnished exterior. Fabric: clay matrix has small well-sorted sand particles with sparse vegetable temper producing a smooth, hard ware. Colour:

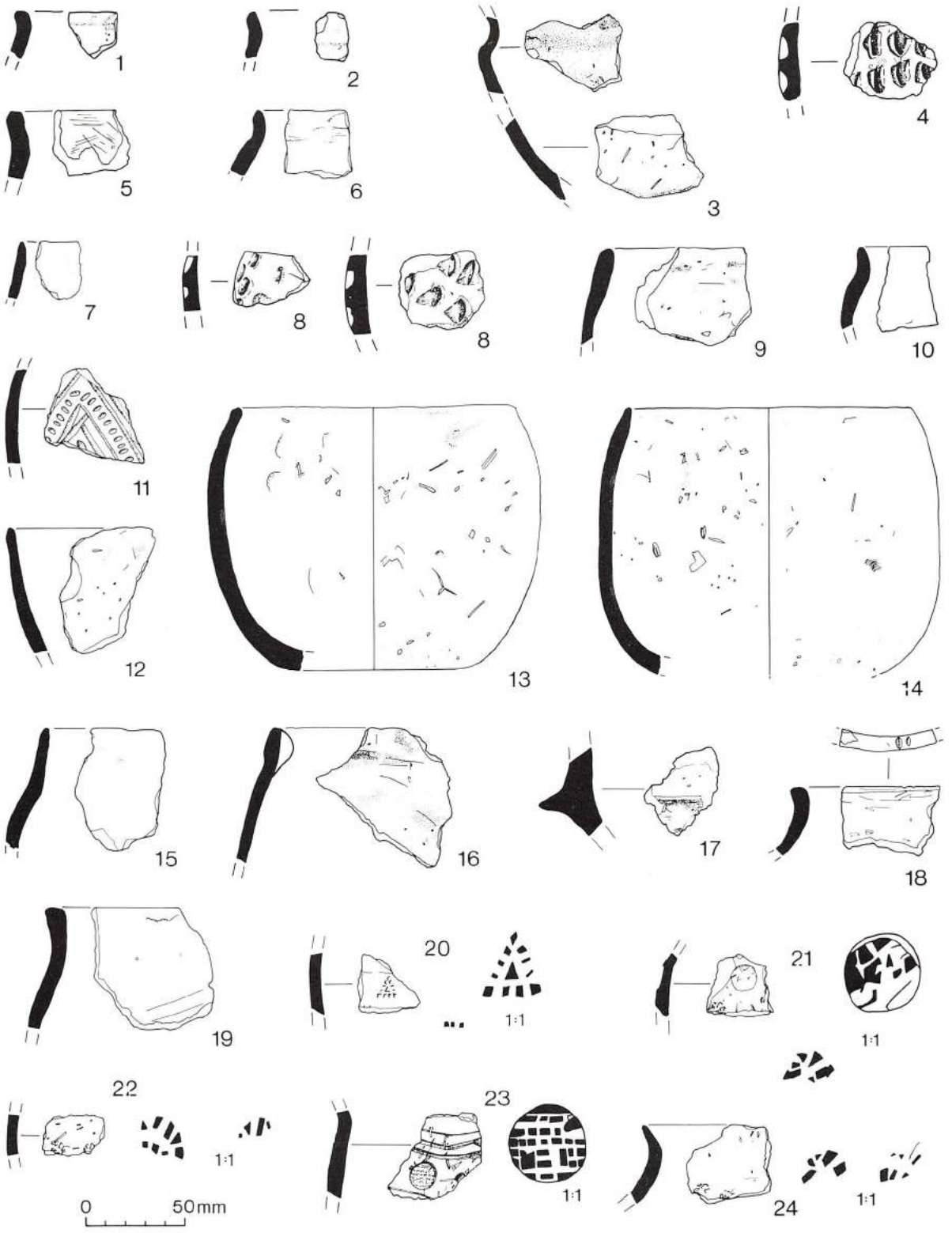

Fig. 14 Barrington's Farm: Saxon pottery.

outer and inner surfaces reddish-brown; core dark brown. Average thickness of walls: *c.*8mm. Weight of sherds: 85g. *F31; upper fill 32*

4 *Finger-rusticated body sherd.* Fabric: common vegetable temper within a clay matrix containing medium to large sand particles. Colour: outer surface reddish-brown; inner surface and core: dark brown. Weight: 15g. *F31; intermediate fill 56*

5 *Rim.* Upright with flattened top giving a slightly angular profile; exterior shows signs of finger-wiping. Fabric: sparse vegetable temper within clay matrix which contains very small sand particles. Colour: outer surface reddish-brown; core and inner surface dark brown. Weight 20g. *F31; bottom fill 118*

6 *Rim.* Upright rim with hollowed neck. Quartz-sand tempered fabric with common poorly-sorted medium to small particles. Reddish-brown throughout. Weight 15g. *F59; upper fill 60*

7 *Rim.* Slightly inverted; very slight angle about the neck. Quartz-sand tempered with abundant medium-sized particle. Colour: dark brown throughout. Weight 6g. *F59; upper fill 60*

8 *2 finger-rusticated sherds.* Common quartz-sand temper; medium-sized abundant particles, poorly sorted. Colour: dark brown throughout. Weight 28g. *F59; lower fill 61*

9 *Rim.* Upright. Common quartz-sand temper, small particles, well-sorted. Carbonised residue on inner surfaces. Outer reddish-brown; core and inner dark brown. Weight: 34g. *F59; lower fill 61*

10 *Rim.* Upright. Common quartz-sand temper: small, well-sorted particles. Colour: outer very patchy, colours ranging from dark brown to buff; core and inner dark brown to black. Weight 14kg. *F59; lower fill 61*

11 *Decorated body sherd.* Incised linear and stamped decoration: two incised double arches ('*stehende bogen*') with deep oval stamps within the inner arches and more shallowly stamped ovals between the inner and outer arches. Fabric has an abundant vegetable temper with sparse medium-sized quartz inclusions; burnished exterior. Colour: dark brown throughout. Weight: 16g. *F144; fill 145*

12 *Rim.* Irregular upright; from a bowl. Fabric: abundant vegetable temper within a sandy clay matrix (very small sand particles). Colour: outer reddish-brown with dark brown patches; inner and core black-brown; inner surface 'finger-wiped'. Weight 45g. *F146; fill 147*

13 *Pot. c.*25% of globular bowl with upright rim; slightly sagging base. Coarse fabric with sparse vegetable voids; outer surface is coarser than the inner and is generally more sandy in texture, a possible example of *schlickung* (see Surface treatment and decoration, below). Colour: outer reddish-brown to orange-brown; core black-brown inner black-brown; carbonised residue on inner surface. Height *c.*135mm. Weight 250g. *F142; upper fill 143*

14 *Pot. c.*30% of globular jar with upright irregular rim; base missing. Sparse vegetable temper with clay matrix with small sand particles. Colour: outer patchy, reddish-brown to light brown; core medium brown; inner medium to dark brown. Carbonised residue on both inner and outer surfaces. Height *c.*160mm; weight 395g. *F142; upper fill 143*

15 *Rim.* Upright irregular. Abundant quartz-sand temper, small particles. Colour: outer patchy, partly burnished dark brown over greyish-brown and buff; core dark brown; inner patchy — orange-brown, reddish-brown and dark brown. Carbonised residue on inner surface. Weight 225g. *F142; upper fill 143*

16 *Rim.* Upright with thickening, possibly for a lug broken off or missing. Sparse vegetable voids and well sorted abundant medium to fine quartz-sand. Colour: outer reddish-brown; core dark brown; inner dark brown. Weight 15g. *F142; upper fill 143*

17 *Lug.* Unperforated simple side-lug; abundant vegetable temper. Colour: outer orange-pink; inner and core black-brown; weight 5g. *F142; upper fill 143*

18 *Rim.* Everted, flattened; two oval ?finger-tip impressions. Abundant vegetable temper within fine clay matrix; exterior surface partly burnished. Colour: dark brown throughout. Weight 190g. *F142; upper fill 143*

19 *Rim and body sherds.* Upright. Sparse vegetable voids within fine sandy matrix with small, well-sorted quartz particles. Colour: inner and outer surfaces orange-brown; core light grey. Weight 90g. *F142; upper fill 143*

20 *Body sherd.* Decoration: one triangular segmented stamp with incised horizontal line above (see Appendix 1). Well-sorted common quartz-sand tempered ware with sparse large quartz inclusion (72mm). Outer surface partly burnished. Weight: 20g. *F142; upper fill 143*

21 *Body sherd.* Decoration: 2 different stamps — 1 segmented circle and one segmented oval (see App. 1). Common-abundant vegetable voids and small well-sorted sand particles. Colour: reddish-brown throughout. Weight: 7g. *F142; upper fill 143*

22 *Body sherd.* Decoration: 2 segmented oval stamps, same stamp (see App. 1). Sparse vegetable voids within well-sorted fine sand matrix. External surface burnished. Black-brown throughout. Weight: 12g. *F142; upper fill 143*

23 *1 decorated neck/body sherd*; probably from a globular or sub-globular vessel. Decorated with 2 stamps — one segmented circle and one simple dot (see App. 1); above the stamps are 3 incised horizontal lines. Abundant vegetable temper (some pieces 2-5mm long). Outer and part of inner surface burnished; colour: buff throughout. Weight: 16g. *F142; upper fill 143*

24 *1 decorated rim/neck sherd*; everted rim. Decorated with 2 segmented oval stamps, same stamp, one incomplete; this appears to be the same stamp as used on No. 22 (see App. 1). Sparse large vegetable voids within smooth dense sandy clay matrix; outer and inner surfaces burnished. Colour: buff throughout. Weight: 15g. *F142; upper fill 143*

Discussion

The three Orsett *grubenhäuser* form part of an early Saxon settlement, part of which has previously been investigated under rescue conditions (Toller 1980, 35-42). This report does not include the early Saxon pot recovered in previous excavations which is currently under study elsewhere, there has, therefore, been no attempt to formulate a typology for the site.

Forms

As at Mucking (Jones 1969, 145-156) the pottery can be divided into 'fine' and 'coarse' wares; the latter is the largest group and contains the most complete pots. The fine wares are very fragmentary; often only one or two small sherds from any individual pot survive.

'Coarse Wares'

The dominant form is a globular or sub-globular jar with upright or slightly everted rim and slightly sagging base. The fill of *grubenhäus* F142 produced by far the most complete examples of this type (Nos. 13 and 15). Carbonised residue on the inner surfaces of numerous sherds suggest that they were used as cooking vessels. This form of 'coarse' ware pot predominates in several other early-fifth to mid-seventh century settlements which contained *grubenhäuser* including that at West Stow, Suffolk (West 1969, 11-13); Heybridge, Essex (Drury and Wickenden 1982, 12-25):- forms C50A and C50B; Mucking, Essex (Jones 1969, 147) and Ardale School, Essex (Wilkinson, forthcoming). Elaborations on this simple form present at Orsett include one example of a pot with simple unperforated side-lugs to assist lifting (No. 17). It is impossible to date closely this simple utilitarian pot form, but the predominance of the upright or slightly everted rim tends to place the assemblage in the first half of the postulated date range for this type (i.e. *c.*400-550); the everted rim represents an early insular development from the true globulars with upright rim of the Anglian Schleswig cemetries (Myres 1977, 6-7).

'Fine Wares'

Very little can be said about the fine ware forms, as the surviving sherds are all small and abraded. One plain pot, No. 3, has a high, almost carinated shoulder, but it is not the sharply carinated form characteristic of the early fifth century. The bulk of the fine wares, however, would seem to belong to globular and sub-globular jars and bowls similar to the coarse ware forms with upright or slightly everted rim (e.g. No. 24).

Surface Treatment and Decoration

4 sherds of 'finger-rusticated' ware occurred in two *grubenhäus* fills at Orsett belonging to two vessels, the form of which cannot be ascertained (Nos 4 and 7).

The outer surfaces of globular jar No. 13 has several rough patches of protruding medium-sized quartz-sand particles, whereas its inner surface has been smoothed. This could be an example of '*schlickung*'; the intentional roughening of the outer surface of a pot by the application of a slip containing quartz-sandparticles. This technique has been identified at nearby Mucking (Jones 1980, 85) and on other mid-and south Essex

settlement sites including Barling (Couchman 1977, 66-67); Heybridge (Drury and Wickenden 1982, 16) and North Shoebury (Tyler, forthcoming) and may be diagnostically early as it occurs on Continental sites abandoned in the early fifth century such as Wijster, abandoned *c.*425 (van Es 1967, 273; Couchman 1977, 66).

Most (*c.*80%) of the fine-ware sherds have burnished or partly burnished outer surfaces and some also have their inner surface burnished or smoothed (e.g. Nos 23 and 24).

Decoration consists of stamps and grooves, but the pieces on which they occur are very small and do not give the entire decorative scheme; it is, therefore, difficult to date them, but a mid-fifth to mid-sixth century date range for the decorated pieces is plausible. Appendix 1 by Teresa Briscoe gives a classification of the stamps.

Fabrics

Thin-section analyses of the fabrics has not been undertaken; it is, therefore, only possible to comment in general terms.

The predominant ware is tempered with common to abundant vegetable matter and makes up *c.*75% of the total amount of pottery. Quartz-sand-tempered wares comprise *c.*25% of the total, some also containing a small amount of vegetable matter. Grog, shell and grit-tempered fabrics are absent. The predominant surface colour is dark brown, although colour varies considerably. Approximately half of the sherds have smoothed or burnished surfaces. Four sherds are finger-rusticated, and there is one example of deliberate surface-roughening by the application of a slip containing large grits (*schlickung*).

Flint (by Hazel Martingel)

Nine pieces of prehistoric worked flint were found, including seven flakes, some with small areas of retouch, a notch piece and a core scraper on a pebble.

None are particularly diagnostic for any one period. The core scraper on a pebble is precisely made and has a glossy patina. It comes from the fill of a large domestic Iron Age Pit (F115) and is a type of tool/waste that has been found in association with Iron Age features.

The Quernstone (by Dave Buckley)

Six contexts produced stone possibly deriving from quernstones. Fragments of the badly-scattered upper stone of a puddingstone quern, coloured deep purple by intense heat, were found in the small pit or posthole F17. This quern is of standard Iron Age/Roman form. These have a distribution concentrated upon Norfolk, Suffolk, Herts and Essex (Rudge 1968), and examples are recorded from quite a number of South Essex sites (records of author).

Fragments of lava were found in five contexts; the fills of the medieval or post-medieval ditches F11, F21, F22 and F29 and the *grubenhäus* F142. Although they are all without worked faces, they almost certainly derive from querns of Roman or later date. The background to this trade within an Essex context has recently been published (Buckley and Major 1983). An original Roman date for most pieces is likely. The finding of lava within Saxon *grubenhaus* fills is a common occurrence (Parkhouse 1977).

A fragment of Millstone Grit with one worked face was found in the fill of *grubenhäus* F142, though it cannot with certainty be called a quern fragment. Millstone grit querns occur on a number of Essex sites (records of author).

Also from *grubenhaus* F142, were fragments of fine-grained sandstone (Sarsen?), none with worked faces, and a large micaceous sandstone 'pebble' with several concave surfaces, suggesting it was used for sharpening implements.

The Tile

Roman tile fragments were found in the fill of the ditch F30 and residual in the fills of all three *grubenhäuser* F31, F59 and F142 and also in the post-medieval ditch F21.

Peg tile fragments were found in the ditches F11 and F29.

Iron (by Hilary Major)

Seven iron objects were found, including three nails and a small fragment of an iron bar from Saxon contexts, and a hinge and another bar fragment, possibly from a box fitting, from postmedieval contexts.

The only notable object is part of an Iron Age socketed blade (Fig. 15.1) from pit 115, context 117.

Slag (by Hilary Major)

Five contexts, all of Saxon or later date, produced small quantities of slag.

Lead (by Hilary Major)

A small piece of lead, probably scrap, came from the Saxon *grubenhaus* F142, fill 143.

Fired Clay (by Hilary Major)

Fragments of at least three Iron Age triangular loomweights were found in pit F115, fill 117. The most complete example (Fig. 15.2) had at least two perforations. It was 72 mm thick and had sides *c.*210 mm long. (For a note on triangular loomweights from Essex see Major 1982).

Fill 60 in *grubenhaus* F59 produced part of a Saxon loomweight and an undecorated bun-shaped spindle whorl (Fig. 15.3).

Ten other contexts of Iron Age, and Medieval date produced small amounts of baked clay, including fragments of daub from pit F19, fill 73 and a possible triangular loomweight fragment from pit F134, fill 135.

Animal Bone (by Owen Bedwin)

The bone assemblage (13 fragments identified) is too small for any general conclusions to be drawn. The presence of cattle and sheep in early Saxon domestic contexts (i.e. the fills 143 and 149 of the *grubenhäus* F142) should be noted, however.

Environmental Samples (by Peter Murphy)

Seven small soil samples, with some hand-collected material, were received for examination. Charcoal and other charred plant remains were separated by manual water flotation, using a 0.5 mm collecting mesh and the non-floating residues were gently wet-sieved in a 0.5 mm mesh prior to drying and sorting for bone fragments.

Cremated Human Bone (by Alison Cameron)

The cremated human bone from four burials was examined in the laboratory; the minimum number of individuals was estimated as four. The bone was fragmentary and its white colour suggested a good degree of cremation.

Observations were made for demography (age and sex), but no anthropology or pathology was noted. The results by individual for sex, age and weight are summarised in table 1 (below).

Burial no.	*Sex*	*Age*	*Weight*
54	—	—	10g
F57	—	adult	135g
63	—	—	4g
98		?adult	102g

Table 1 The results for the cremations from Orsett Cock

Appendix 1 — Classification of Stamps from Grubenhaus, F142, context 143 — upper fill

T. Briscoe

Catalogue no.	Pot form	Stamp description	Stamp type	Size in mm	Pot stamp archive no. (Essex)
23	Sherd	Circular grid	A3 avii	14 x 14	30
23	Sherd	Oval	D 1 ai	6.5 x ?	31
22 & 24	Sherd	Oval grid	D 2a	10 x ?	32
20	Sherd	Triangular grid	E 2f	11.5 x 12	33
22	Sherd	Oval grid	D 2a	9 x 9	34
21	Sherd	Motif Within circle	A8	13 x 13	35

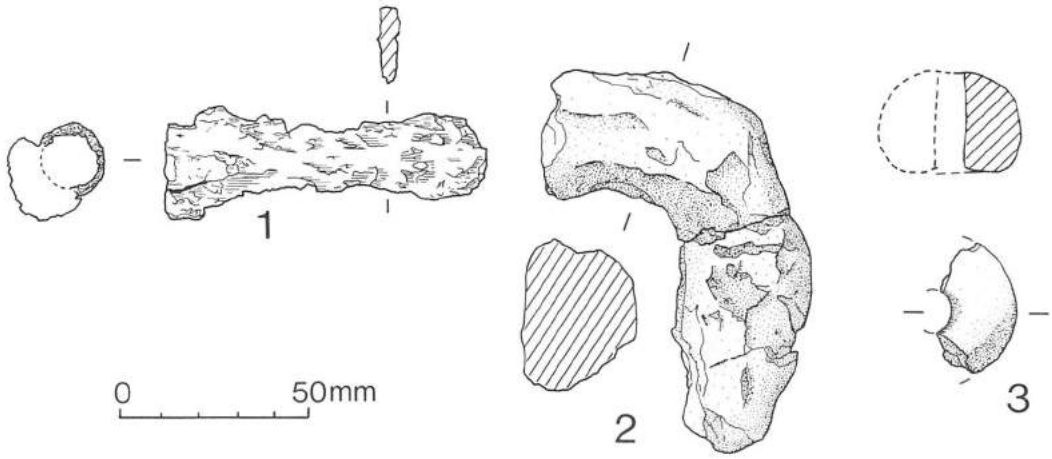

Fig. 15 Barrington's Farm: Miscellaneous finds.

Plant Remains (by Peter Murphy)
The four contexts in the ring ditch which produced cremated bone also produced charcoal in varying quantities. Two other pits within the ring ditch, F64 and F136, produced charcoal.

A 0.8kg sample of the fill of *grubenhaus* F142 produced charcoal, porous bone fragments, fragmentary teeth, (probably of cattle) a small carbonised wheat grain (*Triticum* sp.), a carbonised cereal grain fragment and three indeterminate carbonised weed seeds as well as intrusive modern seeds *Veronica hederifolia*, *Chenopodiaceae* and shells of *Cecilioides acicula*. This fill thus appears to be a refuse deposit.

Acknowledgements
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Excavations at Southchurch Hall. An interim report.

by John R. Jackson

Southchurch has long ceased to have a separate identity, having been absorbed by the modern town of Southend-on-Sea. However, as a monument to the manor which is recorded from before Domesday there survives Southchurch Hall, a timber-framed house dating from about 1300 and enclosed by a moat. The Hall is situated about three-quarters of a mile to the east of Southend town centre (fig. 1), and lies on the 10m south facing terrace of the Thames estuary (grid reference TQ 894855). A spring fed stream running south no doubt made the site attractive for occupation from early times and was later channelled to feed the moat. The manor is unusually well documented and achieved a notable degree of prosperity in the 13th century.[1] The Hall was given to the County Borough of Southend-on-Sea in 1927 and restored, the surrounding land and moat being landscaped as a public garden.

Excavations commenced in the Autumn of 1972 in persuance of a policy previously agreed by the Southend Borough Council in the hope that in addition to equipping the Hall as a furnished medieval manor house, it might also be possible to locate and reconstruct the numerous manorial buildings known from an inventory of 1391 to have existed around the Hall. Work continued summer and winter one day a week until the end of 1985.[2]

This report will consider first the excavations within the island and then those in the vicinity of the moat. Trial trenches dug 5m from the east end of the Hall revealed only build-up for the construction of the island. However, during building operations at the east side of the Hall a medieval stone-built wall (h) was observed in the foundation trenches (fig. 2). A little to the south, another trench was excavated to locate stone foundations (j) noted when the Hall was refurbished in 1930. A series of trial trenches were also excavated to provide an east-west section through the island.

More substantial and extensive remains were found in the area of the moat. Trial trenching close to its north-eastern edge revealed shallow chalk foundations (a1) similar

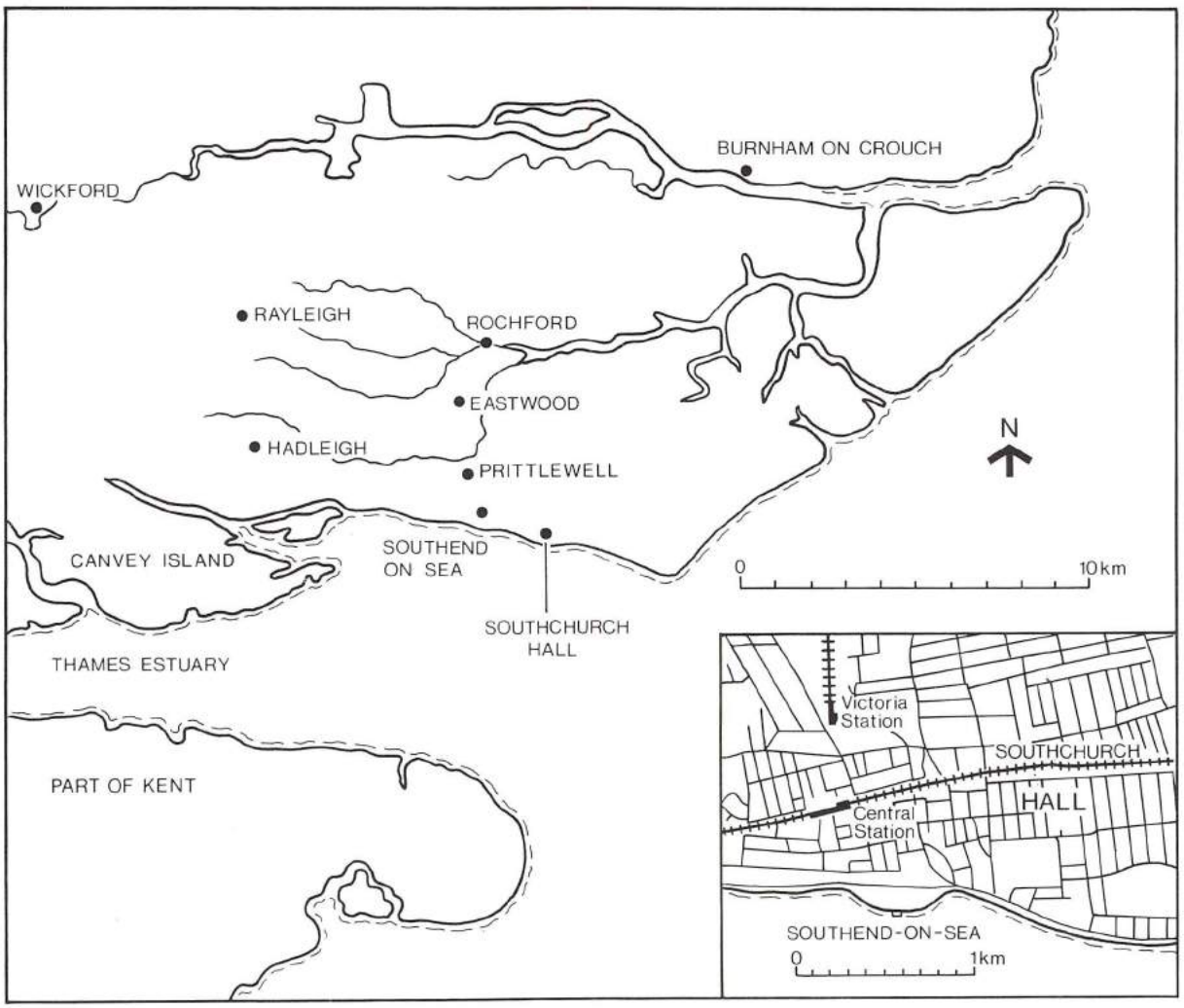

Fig. 1 Southchurch Hall. Location map.

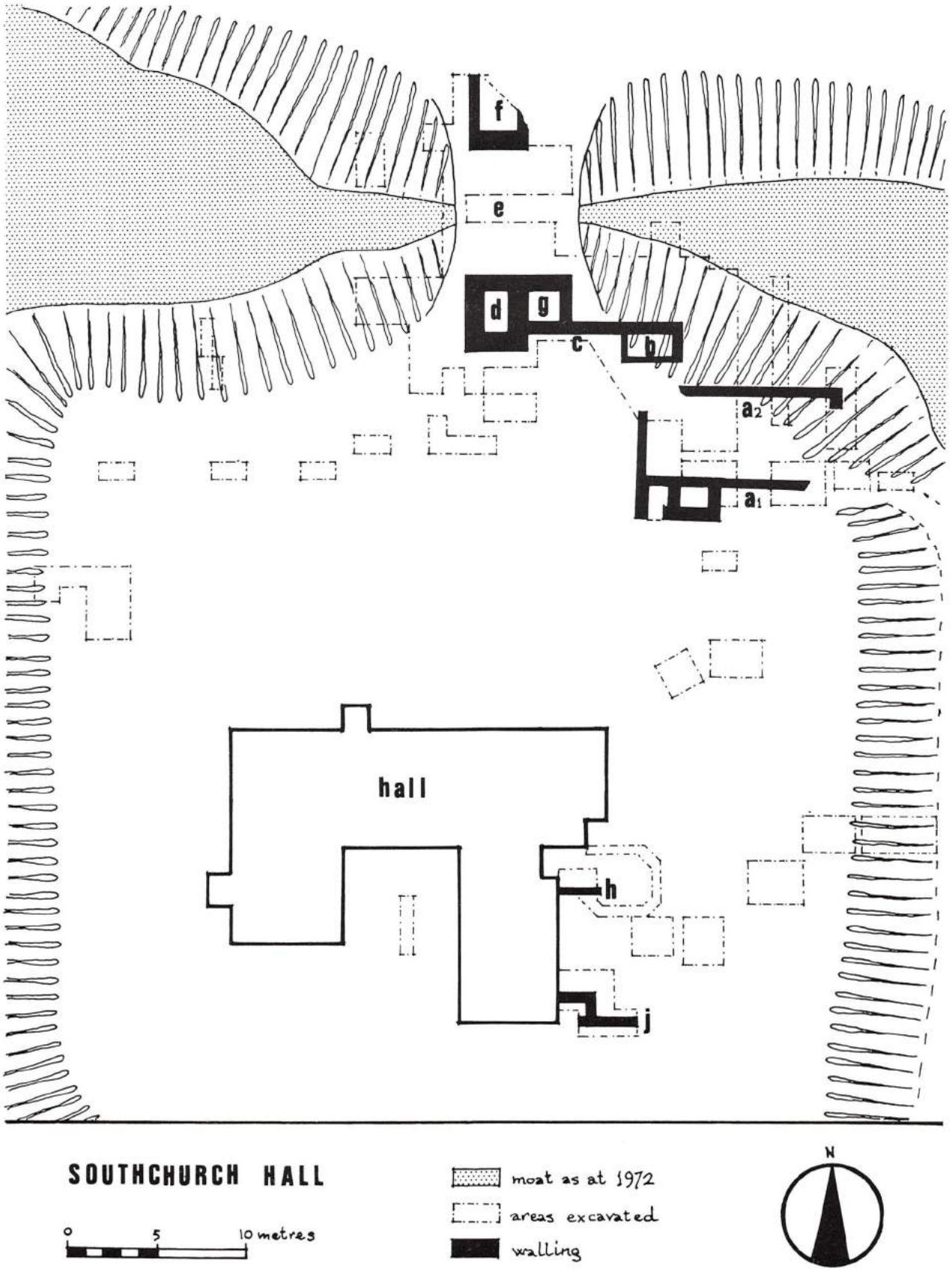

Fig. 2 Southchurch Hall. Plan showing buildings and excavations.

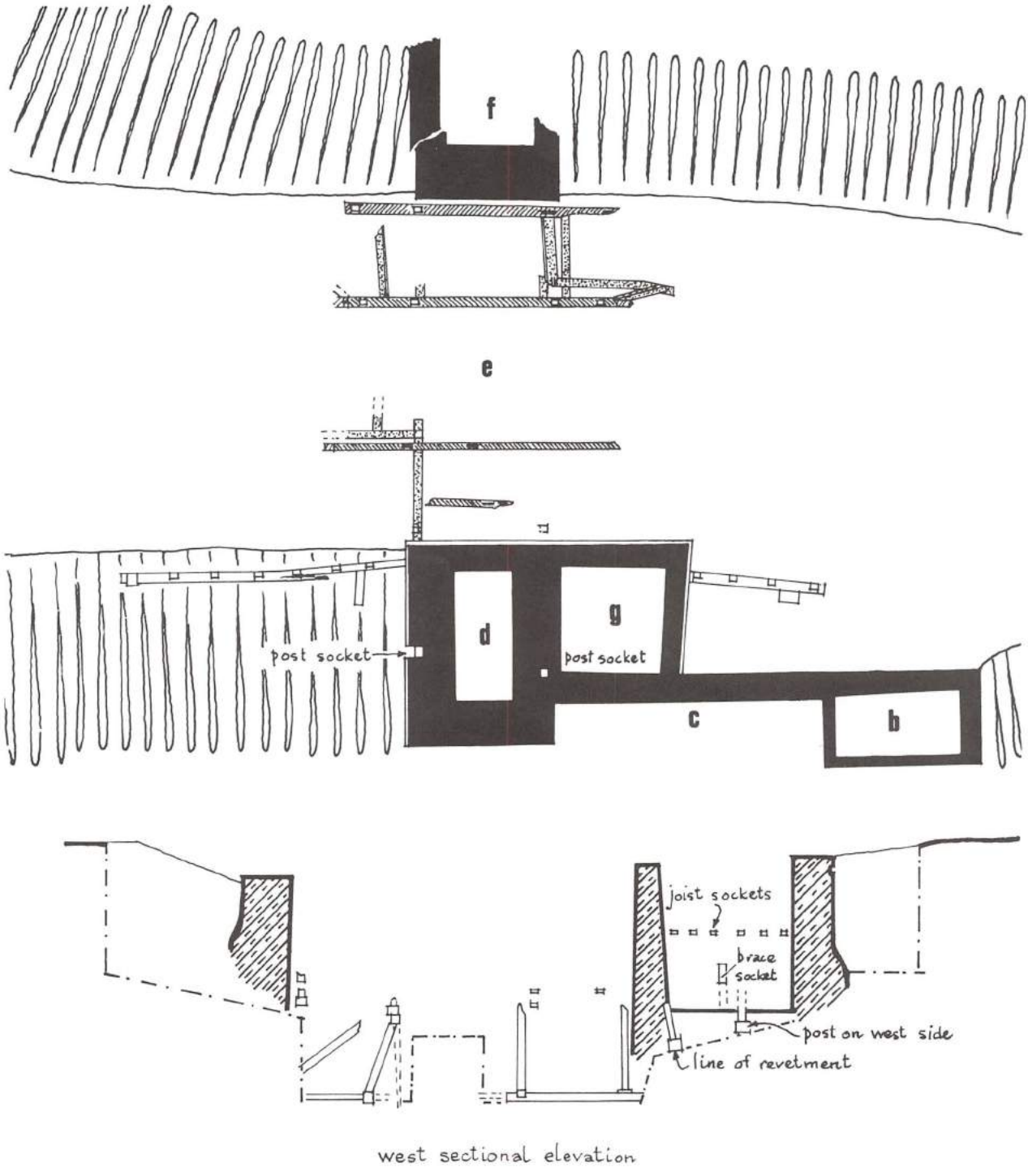

Fig. 3 Southchurch Hall. Timber structures.

to the foundation walls of the present Hall, and a retaining wall (a2) built of ragstone. These were probably associated with buildings ranged around the perimeter of the island. The removal of diseased elm trees and further excavations uncovered ragstone walling (b and c, fig. 2), and a stone structure (d). The post-medieval causeway which crossed the moat at this point was removed to expose the north face of structure (d) which proved to be a gatehouse and the ashlar face of an abutment (f) on the north side of the moat. To the east of the gatehouse (d), two rectangular garderobes (g and b) were found. Excavations in the wet moat located a series of bridge timbers (fig. 3) between the gatehouse and abutment, and also a heavy timber revetment running east to west on the south side of the moat partly beneath the stone foundation.

The stone gatehouse (d) was built round a timber frame which was possibly contemporary with the timber revetment. This extended 6m west of the gatehouse (d), and to the east 3m beyond garderobe (g). The posts were approximately 850mm apart, and were mortised and tenoned into sole plates, the end posts being larger and with a groove on the inside face. Each post had a carpenter's mark and it is obvious from the numbers that this revetment extends under under structures (d) and (g). The bridge was of three phases. The original one had longitudinal and transverse sole plates, the latter supporting trestles. 1.25m above the original sole plate there was a second plate partly resting on the remains of the posts and shores of the original, and with the addition of a timber pile at each end. Above this second phase, and in one case resting on it, there was a third set of timber sole plates. Two of these transverse plates have remains of posts and shores comparable to Rigold's type II bridge (Rigold 1975, 56).

The gatehouse (d) is constructed mainly of chalk faced with ragstone and septaria. The walls, which are built on timber piles, are 1m thick in places and rise to a height of 2.5m above present moat water level. The structure extends eastwards in the form of a substantial retaining wall (c) built of ragstone with a chalk backing and terminates as the north wall of the garderobe (b). This garderobe has an arched opening to the moat with brick and stone reveals, and a floor of squared greenish sandstone slabs. A second and larger garderobe (g) was formed in the angle of the east wall of the gatehouse (d) and the retaining wall (c). It was identical in construction to the smaller garderobe, but with the opening to the moat facing east. The floors of the two garderobes are at the same level. The abutment (f) on the north side of the moat is built on timber piles and is faced with ashlar made of Kentish ragstone on the south and west sides, and it may be assumed also on the east. Behind this facing, the walls are of chalk and septaria. In the early 18th century, the gatehouse (d) and abutment (f), as well as the bridge timbers, were buried when this part of the moat was filled with clay to form a causeway topped with building debris.

10,700 pottery sherds ranging from Roman to 20th century were found on the site and comprise: early medieval shell tempered wares, including a pitcher spout; London and Mill Green wares; medieval coarse ware, including a small jug with part of its contents; Andenne ware; Martincamp costrels; Merida red ware; Italian maiolica; Southern whiteware, including a biconical jug from Cheam and a large Coarse Border ware bowl; red earthenware including bunghole cisterns and tripod pipkins; early German stoneware; tin-glaze, including a plate base dated 1695; and combed slip ware. A considerable amount of well preserved leather was found in the moat silt, mostly soles of shoes with a few uppers. There was also some waste leather. As well as the bridge timbers being preserved in the moat silt, a few other wood items were found, including strakes from a clinker built boat, a bowl and a measure. 1,400 metal objects were found including a silver spoon dated 1554, thimble, rumbler bell and a few jettons. Lead included a weight, plumb-bob and window came. Amongst iron work found were knives (one with a gilt end and maker's mark), keys, spurs, stirrups, horse shoes and harness, sickles and many nails. Other finds comprised painted glass window fragments, wine and bottle glass; clay pipes of all dates; animal bone, including a carved chessman; oyster, mussel, winkle and cockle shell; knapped flints and rubbing stones; a large amount of roof tile and 14th century and later brick debris, as well as fragments of moulded stone work, grindstones and quernstones.

The occupation of the site may be provisionally phased as follows:—

I. some form of Iron Age and Roman activity, inferred from the presence of a few finds of that date;

II. Anglo-Saxon and early medieval, evidenced by charters and Domesday, though as yet a blank in the archaeological record.

III. in the late 12th century, the moat was dug and timber defences built, including the bridge and revetment. The upcast from the moat was used to enlarge and raise the level of the natural mound on which it is assumed the Hall was originally built.

IV. in the late 13th century, the stone gatehouse was built around a pre-existing timber structure and the adjacent retaining wall and garderobes were built.

V. about the middle of the 14th century, the bridge collapsed as a result of the north side of the moat falling in. The ashlar stone abutment was built on the north side of the moat, and a new bridge constructed.

VI. the third and final phase of the bridge is attributed to the mid-15th century, when repairs were also carried out to the property.

VII. a period of relative decline, lasting from the end of the 15th throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. The bridge was no longer in use and the moat silted up.

VIII. early in the 18th century the causeway was constructed as an entrance to the Hall, now a farm.

Notes

1. For an account of the history of the manor and building see Nichols 1936, and Helliwell 1969.
2. For summaries of each year's work, see 'Excavations in Essex' in *Essex Archaeology and History*, 1976-1985; and Medieval Britain in *Medieval Archaeology*, 1983-85.

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Excavations at Bellingham Lane, Rayleigh, Essex

by Brian Milton with a contribution by Helen Walker

Introduction (Fig. 1)

Excavations were carried out in 1983 and 1985 by Essex County Council on the site of the demolished Regal Cinema, Bellingham Lane, Rayleigh (TQ 806908) (E.S.M.R. TQ 89/2), due to be redeveloped for sheltered housing. Situated about 200m south-east of Rayleigh Castle, the site was on the postulated line of the ditch of the Outer Bailey, thought to extend eastwards to Bellingham Lane (Helliwell and MacLeod 1981,2). Although not previously excavated, the outline of the Outer Bailey defences were partly visible until about 50 years ago (Eddy 1983, 74). The building work offered an opportunity to locate and excavate the ditch to determine its dimensions and date and to examine archaeological features along the frontage of Bellingham Lane.

Location and Geology

Rayleigh is situated about 15km north of the Thames Estuary, on the crest of a ridge which overlooks the South-East Essex plain. The castle lies on a small spur which projects westward from the ridge, with clear views to the north, south and west. The geology of the ridge is Bagshot sands overlying London Clay; the natural subsoil encountered consisted mostly of layers of pale yellow to orange and dark grey silt clays and very fine yellow sand.

The Excavations (Figs 2, 3)

In June 1983 a rectangular area *c.*17m x 8m was stripped by machine on the site of the foyer of the demolished cinema near the site frontage. The concrete floor directly overlay the natural orange-yellow silt clay, which was cleaned by hand and the features uncovered were excavated and recorded. Upon the discovery of part of a ditch running NE-SW in the north corner of the site, the area was extended westward by machine to locate the other side of the ditch, which proved to be substantial, *c.*10m wide at this level. In August 1985 a further trench was dug to investigate this feature. A rectangular area *c.*14m x 4m was dug by machine to remove the concrete floor of the cinema and the upper fills. Within this area a 2m wide trench was then excavated by hand, using forks and shovels, to obtain a profile of the ditch.

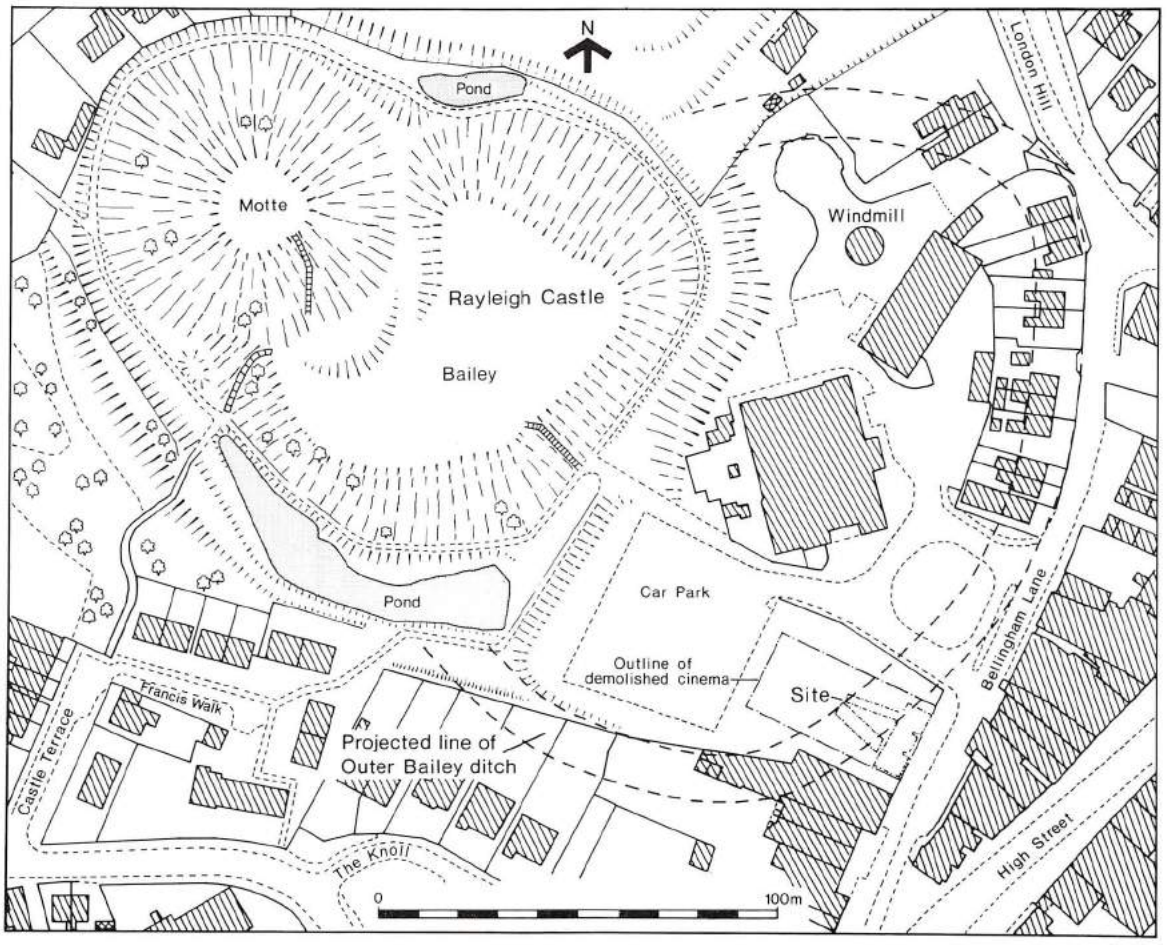

Fig. 1 Bellingham Lane, Rayleigh. Plan of the castle showing site location.

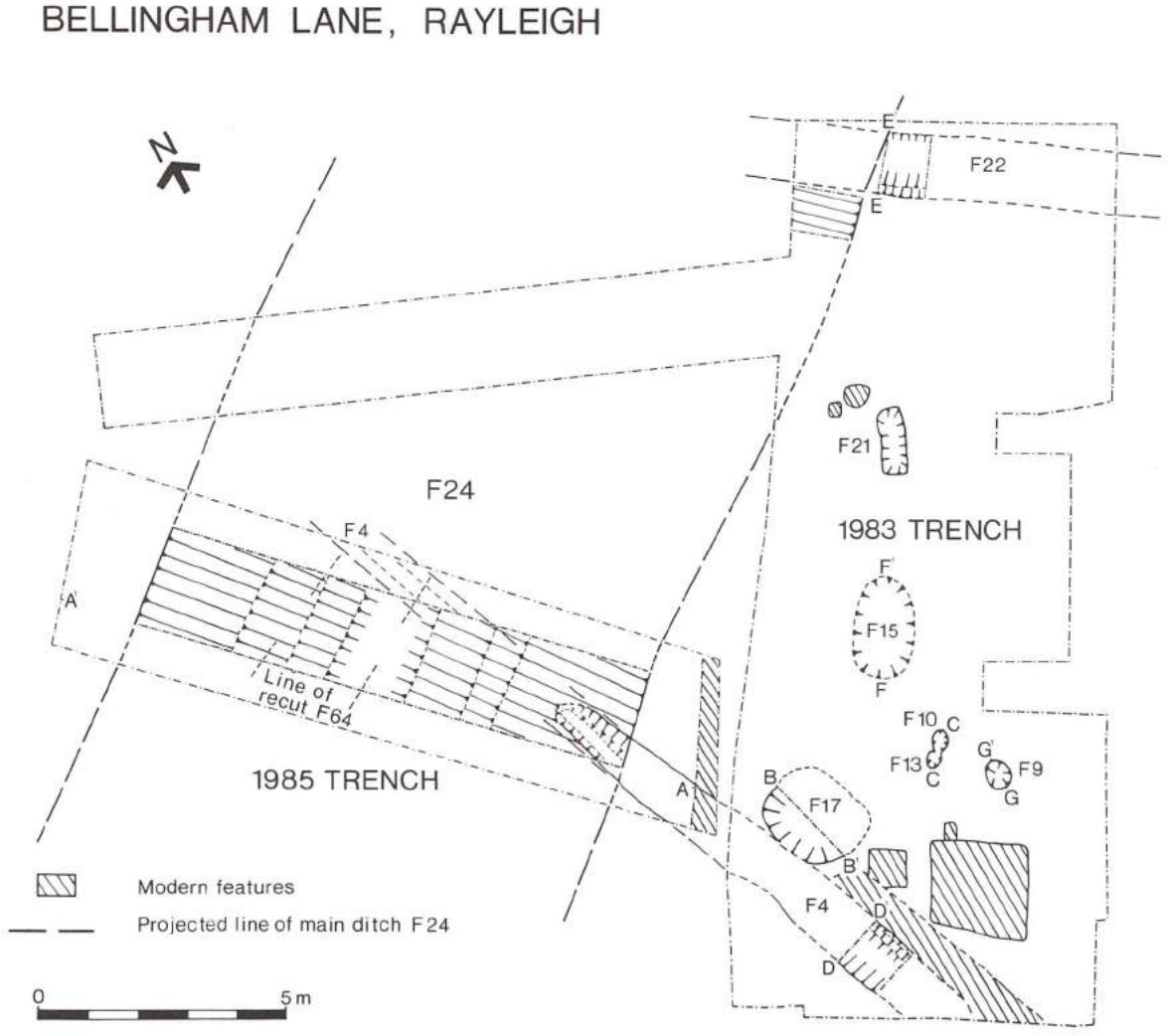

Fig. 2 Bellingham Lane, Rayleigh. Plan of excavated areas.

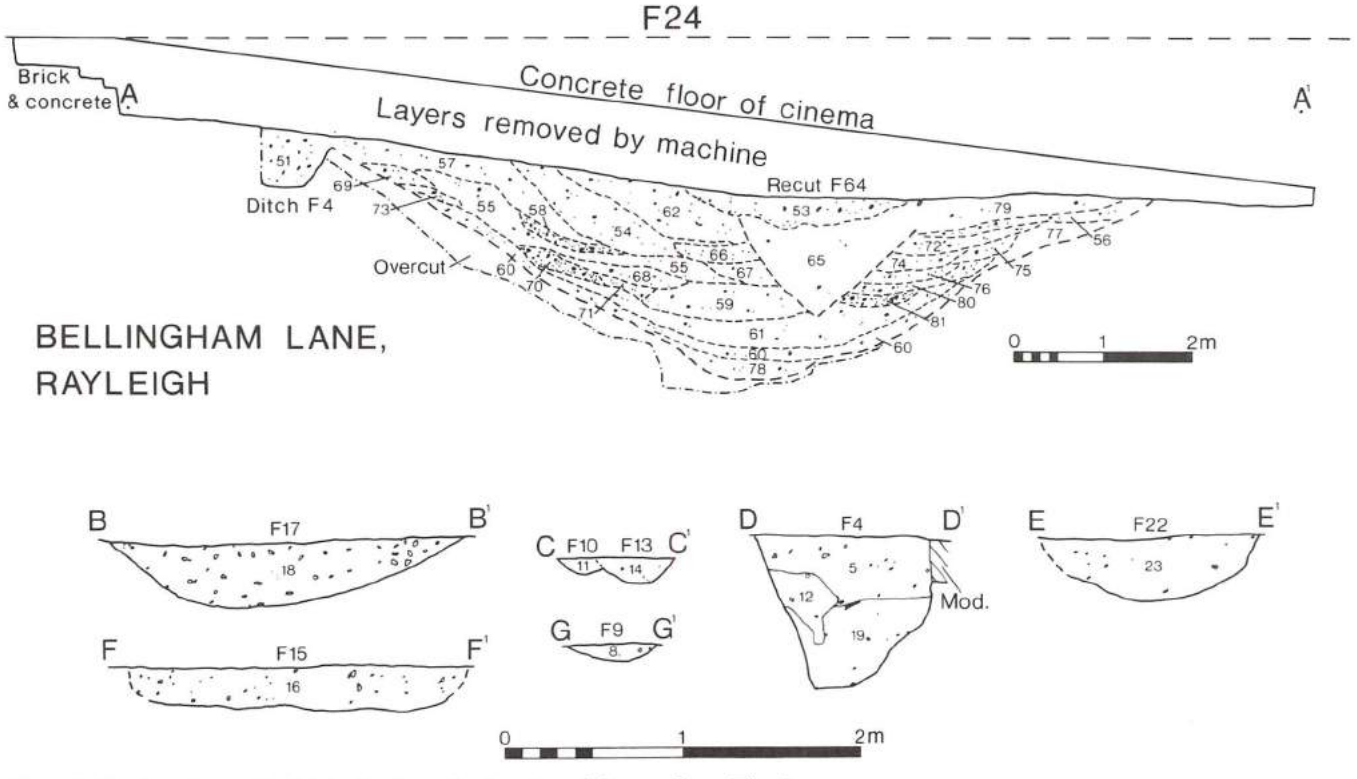

Fig. 3 Bellingham Lane, Rayleigh. Sections: for location of these refer to Fig. 2.

The Outer Bailey ditch (F24)

Much of the ditch had been removed when the sloping floor of the cinema was first constructed. Its original width would have been *c.*12m and its depth *c.*4.0m, with fairly shallow-sloping sides. The top metre or so of the ditch section consisted of layers of dark garden soil and building debris, below which its fills were paler, fairly mixed, generally a dark medium grey-brown silt clay with occasional lenses of redeposited orange natural silt clay. Apart from the bottom two or three layers, apparently the result of silting, the fills seemed to have been pushed into the ditch from the south-east, suggesting an outer bank. Finds included bone, peg tile and pot, mostly of late 13th to early 15th century date, fairly well distributed throughout the ditch at all levels, suggesting that the ditch had filled over a short period of time. Few residual sherds of earlier medieval (11th-12th century) pottery were recovered.

A recut, F64, was visible in the sections of the main ditch. V-shaped, *c.*2m wide, 1m deep, it was dug when the main ditch had filled up to almost half its original depth. This recut had been backfilled with a yellow-orange silt clay (65), virtually devoid of inclusions, identical to fill 79 on the north side of the Outer Bailey ditch. It is clear that this was a single deposit and that it is not the backfilled material from the recut, but appears instead to be from an internal clay bank of the Outer Bailey. It was sealed by the later ditch fill 53, which produced pottery of 15th to 16th century date.

Other Features

A number of other features were uncovered in 1983. Two large shallow, indistinct depressions F15 and F17 produced a few sherds of pottery of *c.*14th century date, though these may be residual. A ditch F4, *c.*1m wide and 0.8m deep ran approximately NW-SE at the south end of the trench. Its continuation was found in 1985 cutting the Outer Bailey ditch although it was not at all clear where it cut the darker fills (53, 54), nor was it visible in the south-facing section. It contained residual pottery of 13th to 15th century date as well as a number of 17th century sherds, and was probably a boundary ditch of this date. Another ditch F22, 1.2m wide, 0.4m deep ran perpendicular to Bellingham Lane; it was 17th century or later. Other features of uncertain date included a dog burial (F21) (probably modern) and three small pits or post-holes (F9, F10 and F13). Several other features, definitely modern, were excavated and are indicated on Fig. 2.

Discussion

The Outer Bailey

The excavation has confirmed the position of the Outer Bailey defences as indicated in R.C.H.M. (1928, 123), where, on the site of the Regal Cinema, the ditch turns north-east to follow the line of Bellingham Lane. Although the northern extent of the ditch is not known, it is likely that it respected the contours of the hill and turned westward near where Bellingham Lane meets London Hill, running just north of the present windmill, thus enclosing an area of about one hectare (Fig. 1). Macleod's excavations at the north end of the Outer Bailey in 1969-70 located a small length of a clay bank which he interpreted as a defensive bank surrounding a possible barbican (Helliwell and Macleod 1981, 67-72). It is possible that this feature, *c.*30m north-west of the present windmill, and dated 1163-1270 by Macleod, may instead be part of the inner bank of the Outer Bailey defences. The excavations produced evidence of banks on both sides of the ditch.

The absence of substantial amounts of pottery of 11th and 12th century date (4 out of a total of 271 sherds), even in the lower layers of the ditch, suggests that the Outer Bailey might have been a later addition to the Castle earthworks, probably late 12th or 13th century. It is known that alterations were still being made to the Castle and defences at that time. Voss (1951, 7) records that money was spent on repairs and improvements to the Castle and precincts in the late 12th century and Helliwell and Macleod (1981, 12-14) recorded evidence of alterations to and strengthening of the Inner Bailey and Motte defences of the period 1163 to 1270 during their 1959-61 excavations, including palisades erected on the crest of the Inner Bailey rampart and on the lower slopes of the Motte and a deep ditch dug between the Motte and Bailey.

The pottery from the ditch suggests a late 14th to 15th century date for the initial backfilling. Soil was pushed in from an external bank, presumably to make way for building developments in the town. It is known that by this time the Castle had become a ruin and was being robbed for building stone (Voss 1951, 7-10).

Tudor Earthworks

The smaller V-shaped recut of the Outer Bailey ditch was probably a 15th or 16th century development and was almost certainly the boundary of a later property reusing the remains of the castle defences. Macleod (Helliwell and Macleod 1981, 65) discusses the presence of ditches relating to Elizabethan properties, including a mill, known to have existed in 1585/6, which may have stood near the position of the present mill.

Other Features

Little can be said about the other features on the site, as most are of uncertain date, however F4 and F22 resemble field boundary ditches, probably associated with the late 17th century farm buildings excavated by Helliwell and Macleod (1981, 21-2). The relationship between ditch F4 and the upper fills of the Outer Bailey ditch (those removed by machine), was not satisfactorily resolved. The level of the bottom of ditch F4 remained fairly constant across the site, suggesting that the external bank had been removed and that the Outer Bailey ditch had been largely filled in by this time. F4 must therefore have cut some of these upper ditch layers despite not being visible in the south-west facing section of the Outer Bailey ditch. Other features, including the dog burial, may be associated with the 19th century houses previously situated along the west side of Bellingham Lane.

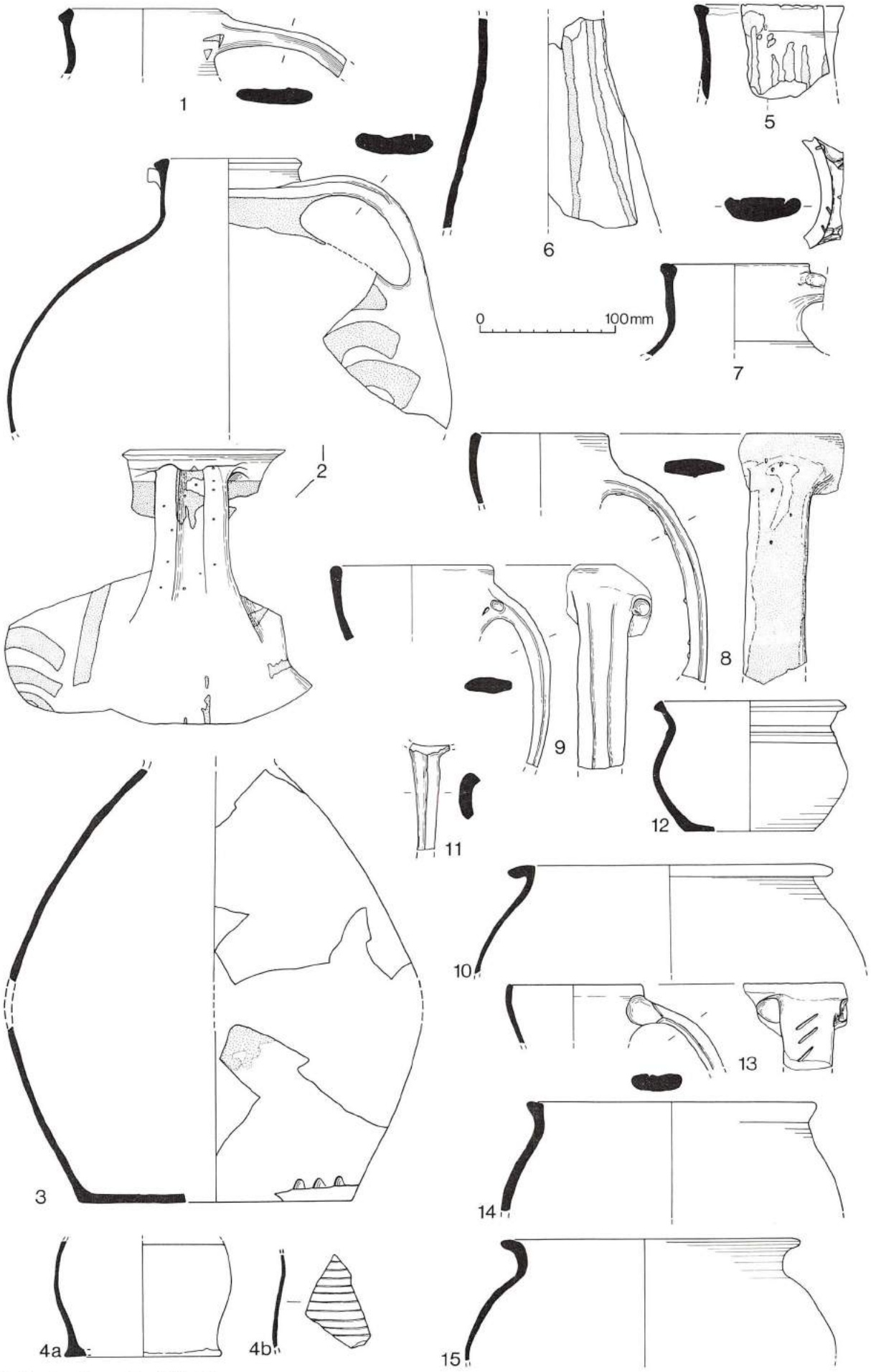

Fig. 4 Bellingham Lane, Rayleigh. Pottery.

The Finds

Prehistoric Pottery by Nigel Brown

A single small, somewhat abraded prehistoric sherd weighing 22g was recovered from the ditch F24. The sherd seems to derive from a round-shouldered vessel and is tempered with small flint grits, it cannot be closely dated but a late Bronze or Early Iron Age date appears likely.

Medieval and Post-Medieval Pottery by Helen Walker (Fig. 4)

Method

The pottery has been recorded using a system of classification already in use for other post-Roman pottery in Essex (Cunningham 1985a, 1-2). Cunningham's fabric numbers are quoted in this report and the fabric types present in each feature are shown on Table 1.

The fabrics (in chronological order)

Fabric 12A	Early Medieval shell-tempered ware.
Fabric 13	Early Medieval Ware.
Fabric 35A	Mill Green Ware, a fine micaceous ware, usually brick red with a grey core as found at the kiln site (Christy and Reader 1918) and described by Pearce *et al.* 1982.
Fabric 35B	Mill Green-type Ware — where the fabric is visually indistinguishable from that of Mill Green but the forms, methods of decoration, etc., are untypical. Some Mill Green types may be from a suspected kiln at High Road, Rayleigh (Helliwell and Macleod 1981, 23). The pottery, probably from a waster dump, is unpublished but has been examined by the writer; it consists mainly of decorated fine ware jugs, perhaps datable to the 14th to 15th century.
Fabric 20C/R	Mill Green/Rayleigh coarse ware. Coarse wares were also found at the Rayleigh ?waster dump, and again they are very similar to the Mill Green product: both have a fine micaceous matrix with a moderate sandy tempering and are often orangey-brown with a grey core.
Fabric 20	Other medieval coarse wares.
Fabric 21	Sandy orange wares.
Fabric 27	Saintonge ware: late 13th to early 15th century.
Fabric 23A	Medieval Surrey White Wares: Cheam Ware, as described by Orton (1982), late 14th to late 15th century.
Fabric 40	Post-medieval red earthenwares.
Fabric 45	Stonewares.
Fabric 48D	Staffordshire ironstone types.
Fabric 50	Staffordshire-type slipwares.

Fabrics 12A, 13, 20 and 21 are fully described by Drury (forthcoming).

Pottery from the Outer Bailey Ditch F24

Approximately 7kg of pottery was excavated.

The fine wares

Mill Green-type Wares (Fabric 35B) resembling material from the Rayleigh ?waster dump:

4.1	Probable two-handled cistern: unglazed; cream-slip painting. *Context 53.*
4.2	Large squat jug: remains of clear glaze over cream-slip painting; abraded. *Context 53 and 54.*
4.3	Rounded jug: speckled green glaze overlying a coating of cream-slip. *Context 53 and 54.*
4.4a	Jug base: unglazed; grey but with purplish-buff 'skin'. *Context 55.*
4.4b	Body sherd. ?from same vessel as No. 4a: unglazed; decorated with fine incised lines. *Context 54.*

Not illustrated: body sherd; green glaze overlying a cream-slip coating; combed decoration; cf. Mill Green Ware (Fabric 35A). *Context 53.*

Other Mill Green-type Wares (Fabric 35B)

4.5	Part of ?conical jug: cream-slip stripes underlying a greenish glaze gives an olive green body and yellow/green stripes; poorly finished rim. *Context 55.*
4.6	Part of ?conical jug: similar to 4.5. Altogether eight sherds have been decorated in this way. *Context 55.*
4.7	Jug rim: unglazed; reduced with almost black surfces and a lighter purplish core. *Context 53.*

Mill Green Wares (Fabric 35A):

4.8	Probably from conical/pear-shaped or baluster jug; cream-slip coating with only traces of glaze. *Context 55.*
4.9	Jug rim: similar to No. 8 but with a full, if somewhat abraded green glaze. *Context 53.*

Not illustrated: Part of Mill Green Ware ?squat jug; unglazed with applied 'ears', paralleled by an example found during excavations at Mill Green (Christy and Reader 1918, fig. 15.1).

The coarse wares

4.10	Cooking pot: Fabric 20C/R; orange-buff external surface and margins, otherwise pale grey. *Context 55.*
4.11	Pipkin handle: Fabric 20C/R; heavy external sooting. *Context 55.*
4.12	Small jar or pipkin: Fabric 20C/R; clear internal glaze on bottom half; heavy external sooting. *Context 53.*
4.13	Jug rim: Fabric 20; stabbed decoration on handle; pale grey with an even paler core. *Context 54 and 55.*
4.14	Cooking pot: Fabric 20; fine throwing lines; dark grey with reddish 'skin'. *Context 57.*
4.15	Cooking pot: Fabric 20; grey core and red-buff surfaces. *Context 55.*

Mill Green/Rayleigh coarse ware predominates. Of the seven cooking pot rims present in this fabric, four have flat-topped or slightly everted rims above a short upright neck. This rim type is found on other Essex coarse wares and is thought to be of the early to mid-13th century (Drury 1977, 270). One cooking pot has a blocked, neckless rim of a type found at Danbury tile factory and dated late 13th to early 14th century (Drury and Pratt 1975, 128). Number 10 is a cooking pot with a slightly down-turned rim and one other such rim is present: a comparable form was found at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle (Rahtz 1969, fig. 54.32) from period II (*c.* 1306-1425). None of the cooking pot sherds are glazed or decorated, although some are fire blackened.

Other forms are a pipkin handle (4.11) and a small jar or pipkin (4.12). Also present is an unglazed fragment of water pipe with a fabric similar to that of Mill Green or Rayleigh except the sand tempering is a little coarser.

Coarse wares in other fabrics comprise a jug rim (4.13) and three cooking pot rims, two of which (4.14, 4.15) are illustrated; the third has a slightly down-turned flanged rim reminiscent of 4.10.

Discussion

Large sherds with many joints indicate that there is little residuality. The earliest material came from layers 55 and 61, comprising three sherds of early medieval shell-tempered ware (Fabric 12A). These probably date to the 11th and 12th centuries and may be associated with the motte and bailey. A sherd of Early Medieval Ware (Fabric 13) occured higher up in the ditch, but is abraded and likely to be derived.

Mill Green Ware has been securely dated from deposits associated with successive Thames waterfronts and was imported into London from the later 13th to mid 14th centuries, reaching a peak *c.* 1300 (Pearce *et al.* 1982, 270). The presence of more developed cooking pot rims (e.g. 4.10) and later forms such as the pipkin (4.11) make a 14th rather than a 13th-century date more likely.

The latest vessel, found in the upper fill (53) of the ditch, is the ?cistern (4.1). Such vessels have been fully discussed by Cunningham (1985b, 70) and date to the 15th and 16th centuries. The large jug (4.2) may be a related form and therefore contemporary. At Writtle such reddish jugs with curving slip-painted decoration occurred in the 15th century (Rahtz 1969, 107). Both jug and cistern could also be classified as Fabric 40, post-medieval red earthenwares.

The total date range for the pottery in the ditch is therefore 11th to 16th century, but the majority is datable to the 14th and 15th centuries.

Pottery from Pits F15 and F17

Only a few sherds were present in each feature (see Table 1), but the pottery is similar to that found in the large ditch F24. Pit F15 contained a beaded-rim cooking pot fragment in early medieval shell-tempered ware, perhaps datable to the 12th century.

Pottery from Ditch F4

This feature yielded several sherds of medieval pottery contemporary with the pottery from ditch F24 and probably derived from it, since F4 cut the upper layers of F24. Present in F4 but not in F24 was a sherd of Cheam White Ware (Fabric 23A) and a sherd of green-glazed Saintonge Ware (Fabric 27), the only medieval import to be found. Post-medieval

Table 1: Quantification of pottery by feature, fabric and sherd count.

FABRICS

Feature and type	Fill	12A	13	35A	35B	20C/R	20	21	27	23A	40	45	48D	50	Sherds	Comments
F22 small ditch	23	—	1	—	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	8	—
F4 boundary ditch	5	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	1	—	19	3	—	—	28	—
	51	—	—	1	6	—	5	—	—	1	31	1	—	—	45	Cut F24; joins 53
	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	1	—	—	8	—
	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
F15 shallow pit	16	1	—	5	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	Abraded sherds
F17 shallow pit	18	—	—	—	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—
F24 large ditch	53	—	—	6	43	34	14	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	98	Joins 54 (4 fits); joins 51
	54	—	—	1	71	13	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	87	Joins 55
	57	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	56	—	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	Fabric 13 sherd abraded
	58	—	—	—	3	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	Joins 60
	55	2	—	12	17	19	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	—
	61	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	60	—	—	1	9	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—
		12A	13	35A	35B	20C/R	20	21	27	23A	40	45	48D	50		

FABRICS

sherds predominate, however and diagnostic sherds of black-glazed earthenware and Cologne/Frechen stoneware vessels date this feature to the 17th century. A description of these vessels is available in the archive.

Pottery from Ditch F22

This feature contained two post-medieval sherds, one of modern Staffordshire ironstone and one fragment of Staffordshire-type combed slipware, possibly from a press-moulded dish. Such vessels were manufactured from the second half of the 17th to the 18th centuries.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Ken Crowe of Southend Museum for letting me examine the pottery from High Road, Rayleigh.

The tile

Peg tile fragments were found in ditch F24, mostly in the upper layers. They were also present in most of the smaller features.

Animal Bone by Owen Bedwin

A total of 44 fragments of bone and teeth were recovered, plus most of the skeleton of a large dog (?alsation size). Of the 44 fragments, 39 were identified. Species represented were *Bos* (18), *Sus* (10), *Ovis* (7) and *Equus* (4). These four species presumably indicate the main food species in the late medieval and post-medieval diet. The dog skeleton is probably a modern burial.

Acknowledgements

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Fieldwork and Excavation at Pyrgo Park 1971 and 1972

by Elizabeth Sellers and Patricia M. Ryan

Summary

Ordnance survey maps of Havering-atte-Bower show earthworks at the reputed site of Pyrgo Palace. In 1971 observation of building debris both on the surface, and uncovered by pipe laying and ditch levelling, suggested the presence here of an extensive site. Trial trenching in 1972 revealed brick drains, the remains of the north-east corners of brick buildings and of boundary walls, ditches and other features to the north.

Introduction

A watching brief, in the spring of 1971, and trial trenching, in the autumn of 1972, were undertaken by Elizabeth and John Sellers at the request of Mr. J.G. Hurst, then an Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments at the Department of the Environment. The work was funded by the Department and the grant was administered by the Research and Fieldwork Committee of the Essex Archaeological Society. The work done in 1972 was requested as part of the forward planning for a proposed M12 North Orbital motorway; this was never built.

The site (Fig. 1) at N.G. TQ 521939, lies in an arable field on a gently sloping area at *c.*285 feet above Ordnance Datum. The ground falls away fairly steeply to the south-west, and to the north-west, where there is a view down the valley of a small brook which joins the Bourne Brook north of Stapleford Abbotts. Victorian farm buildings and the site of the Victorian house lie on slightly higher ground to the east and there is a small valley to the south-east.

The soil here is a mixture of clays derived from leached Boulder Clay, the London Clay and the Claygate beds. A detailed survey was made by R.H. Allen, of the Soil Survey of England and Wales, during the excavation; a copy is filed with the site archive.

The work in 1971 was divided into two parts. Half a day was spent watching the removal of a hedge and its associated ditch (Fig. 1 "H") and the levelling of a second ditch (Fig. 1 "D"). Subsequently three days were spent observing and recording archaeological evidence thrown up by trenches cut to lay pipe drains across the whole area within which the site lies.

In 1972 work began immediately after harvest on the area of the proposed road line (Figs 1, 2) and continued for three weeks. A 180m trench, Trench A, was cut along the south edge of the area. Trenches 1 to 19, 50m long, were cut at right angles to Trench A at 20m intervals and a second east-west trench, Trench B, across the north side of the area. Some additional trenches were cut within this area to investigate particular features. Spare machine time after back filling made it possible to investigate further in the areas of f7, f20 and f22 (Fig. 2).

All trenches were excavated with a JCB digger; with few exceptions these removed the plough-soil down to the top of the sub-soil, leaving most of the features encountered undisturbed. The only hand excavation done was to clarify features during recording.

The site was surveyed from peg-lines laid south of Trenches A and B and west of Trenches 1 to 19. The trenches were recorded by measurements and notes in a survey book, and numbered cards were used to describe some features in more detail. The published site plan (Fig. 2) shows the principal features encountered, identified by a selection of the excavation feature numbers. The site plan and detailed notes of the many features encountered are deposited with the finds at Passmore Edwards Museum (Accession number LD. PEM. AC. 042 and Sites and Monuments Number TQ 59/20). Another copy of the full archive is with the County Archaeological Section at County Hall, Chelmsford and an additional copy of the historical

The results of this work should be read within the context of the brief — to explore the archaeological potential of the site — and also with regard to the large area involved, the very small labour force and the relatively short time taken.

The History of Pyrgo Park

Towards the close of 1542 Henry VIII was negotiating with Sir Brian Tuke for the transfer of the newly created Pyrgo Park.[1] It is uncertain whether this was by exchange or purchase. Four years previously Sir Brian Tuke, treasurer of the royal household and steward of the manor of Havering had been granted licence to empark three hundred acres of his own lands in Havering-atte-Bower, Stapleford Abbots and Navestock.[2] His house was described as 'a goodly and portly house of brick covered with tile, cased with goodly windows of white glass and with conduits of water to every house of office'. It had an inner court, a base court, two gardens and two yards surrounded by a brick wall. The base court was bounded by the house, the precinct wall, a fence of 'sawn pales' and on the south side by a stable and barn. The stable accommodation was relatively modest consisting of a two storeyed building of five bays, with chambers on the upper floor. It was constructed of timber and loam and had a tiled roof.[3] Bricks for the house were made nearby, for the Great and Little Brick Fields are included in a terrier of 1542-3. 'The close where the new chapel is begun' is also listed.[4] Despite the fact that Brian Tuke described the house as 'my poor house beside Havering', Norden called it 'a fair house' and it is shown as a sizeable building with a number of gables on a map of 1618.[5] It was assessed as having thirty hearths in 1671. Ingatestone Hall and Rochford Hall, both built during the same period, had a similar number.[6] A bowling green is mentioned in a deed dated 1785.

Although Henry VIII stayed at Pyrgo in 1543, the house appears to have been used mainly as an annexe to

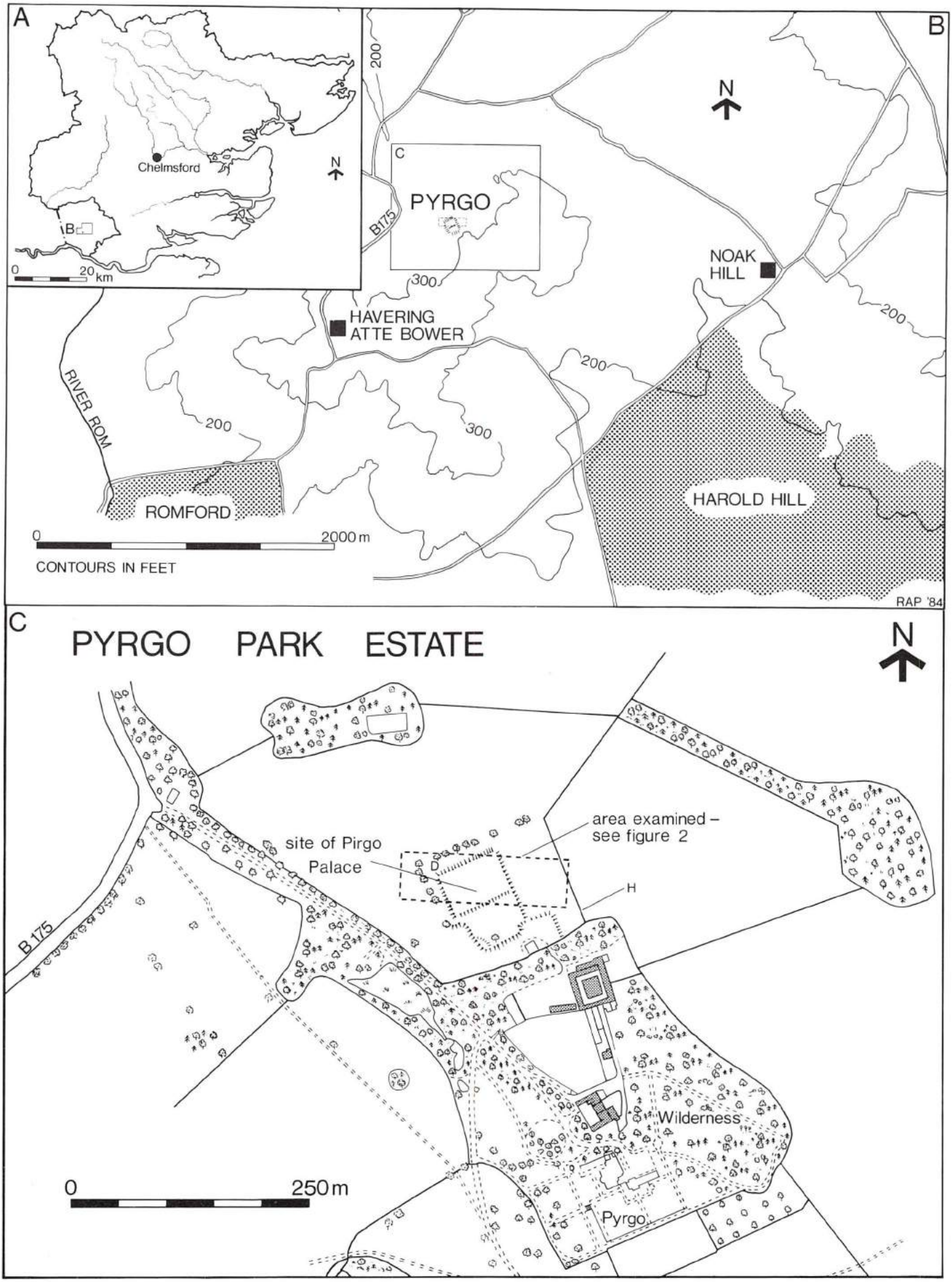

Fig. 1 Pyrgo Park. General site location.

PYRGO PARK

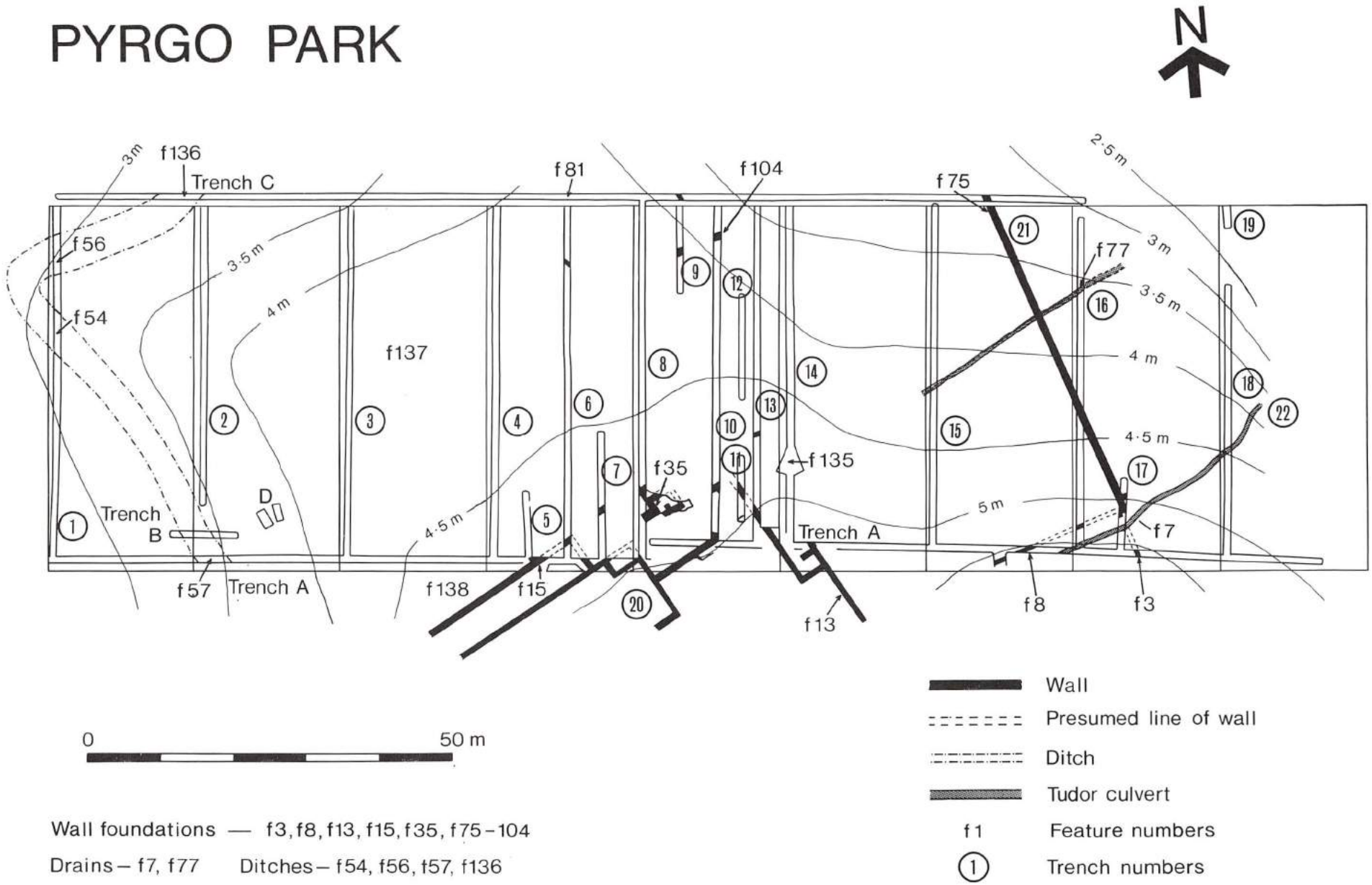

Fig. 2. Pyrgo Park. Plan of excavated trenches.
(Note: contours in metres correspond to a site datum, *not* O.D. and survey lines shown to the south and west of the trenches)

Havering Palace.[7] In 1559 Elizabeth I granted it to Lord John Grey.[8] His great grandson sold the property to Sir Thomas Cheke in 1629.[9] The estate descended to the Archers of Umberslade by the female line.[10] Towards the end of the eighteenth century a tenant occupied the land and buildings and their condition deteriorated. The chapel was demolished between 1771 and 1778.[11] A deed of 1785 refers to the sale of building materials from the house and finally Archer trustees sold the estate to Edward R. Howe in 1790.[12] The remainder of the mansion was demolished by 1814 and a farm house was built south-east of the original site.[13]

In 1828 Michael Field, a stock broker, purchased the estate. He was succeeded by his brother Robert who employed the firm of Cubitts to rebuild the house in 1852[14] to the design of Anthony Salvin. The Italian classic façade was built of Suffolk White brick with architectural features of Portland stone. Marble and Minton tiles were used in the interior. Ten years later, the next owner, Joseph Bray, a wealthy railway contractor, improved and enlarged the house and ancilliary buildings at a total cost of £30,000. E.M. Barry supervised the work.[15] Writing in 1889, Montague Brown described the interior in detail: German artists had been engaged to paint the walls and ceilings with panels depicting a variety of subjects from classical goddesses to the sciences and arts.[16] To the north of the house lay the stable courtyard with a laundry and fuel store. These buildings were connected to the house by a tunnel. A conservatory and vinery added to the facilities of the ornamental grounds and kitchen garden. Gas lighting was supplied from a gas plant situated at the rear of the model farmery. A number of cottages provided accommodation for estate workers and domestic staff. Pyrgo Park was advertised as a 'noble residential estate fit for a gentleman of rank and wealth or for a merchant prince' in 1867.[17] Lady O'Hagan extended the house still further in the early twentieth century, but on her death in 1919, her son broke up the estate. In 1937 the Essex County Council bought the mansion and the remainder of the Park from a company of property developers as part of their Metropolitan Green Belt policy. However, the house had to be demolished in the early 1940's.[18]

Brian Tuke was first recorded as owing suit to Havering manor court in 1514.[19] He acquired more property within the manor in 1515 and 1517. He leased Newbury from New College, Oxford in 1518,[20] and in 1530 purchased a farm from the heir of Thomas Rowley. This may have been Garnets which William Reynolds sold to Thomas Rowley in 1469.[21] In the fifteenth century the Reynolds were often called 'of Portgore', an earlier version of Pyrgo. Portgore seems to have been the name of a district rather than an individual property prior to the sixteenth century. At the time of the transfer of Pyrgo Park, Wolves, Gores alias Lewyns, Ferns alias Carrowes, Joyes and Cullings were all in Tuke's ownership. He had enclosed parts of several farms to form the park. Henry VIII enlarged the park still further when he enclosed more of Wyatts land and four closes and a grove called Broksburghs, later corrupted to Foxburrows.

It is impossible to be certain which property was the predecessor of the sixteenth century mansion. Garnets disappears from the records at this date. However, a note on the valor of Tuke's lands describes Baldwyns as 'the principal seignury of olde tyme'. Bakers may have been the name of the earlier house, for one of the draft surveys in the Public Record Office is entitled 'The manor house of Portgoo alias Bakers'. This suggestion is supported by the terrier of 1542-3 where 'Bakers Mead beneath the Place' is listed.[23]

The Excavations (Fig. 2)

The House

The brick foundations at f13, f15 and f35 must represent the north-west corner of the house and buildings. This is probably the house shown on the 1618 map but the scale of this map is only 8 inches to 1 mile so the representation of the house is unlikely to be reliable in detail. The existence of straight joints between foundations, the presence of wall foundations of different widths and the use of at least three different varieties of mortar suggest that the buildings were not all of one period of construction.

The Gardens

These lie north of the house. They are bounded by walls f75 to the north-east and f8 to the south-east. West of the house, the north-west corner lies within the angle of the ditch f57, f54, f56 and f136. This is the ditch ("D" on Fig. 1) which was levelled in 1971. Since it follows a line dividing the almost level site of the gardens from the steeper slopes running down to the valley, it is likely that this was a dry ditch. Between f136 and f81 the line of the boundary lies outside the area excavated. It seems possible that the foundations in the area of f81 may be part of some kind of plant house, facing south-west and with a tiled floor. This structure was seen in 1971, as a spread of yellow sand with associated floor tiles. It may be that f81, or another wall represented by foundations further east, runs south-east to join f104, which appears to run north-east to join f75. These boundaries, and the extrapolations suggested, approximate to those shown on the 1618 map.

Within the garden, the level area f137 could accommodate a full size square bowling green. The bowling green recorded in the early eighteenth century could have been made in the early seventeenth century and might have been a grassed alley rather than a square lawn.

The two major drains running north-east from the house are shown on the plan as f7 and f77. Both were substantial mortared structures of brick and roof tile with arched tops. Culvert f7 had walls four courses high and ran through a square "settling tank"; f77 was built with walls of two courses of bricks. There are a large number of other, smaller, brick and roof tile drains within the garden area. These are probably of more than one period of construction and are shown on the large scale archive plan.

The Finds

There were insufficient resources to collect samples of brick, roof tile and mortar from every feature found. The finds from the site comprise surface finds, representative or of intrinsic interest, finds from the drainage contractors trenches and those disturbed by machine excavation or by hand trowelling. Thus it is not possible to use any objects to date the structures uncovered and dates attributed to finds come from other sources.

The site archive includes detailed reports on building stone, bricks, roof and floor tiles, pottery and miscellaneous finds.

Within the pottery report, the only significant context where sherds were found *in situ* was f135; a slight hollow filled with dark soil with many small late thirteenth century sherds.

Medieval Pottery by H. Walker

1) *Summary*

The hollow, f135, produced three and a half kilos of pottery, consisting almost entirely of Mill Green ware of later thirteenth to mid fourteenth century date. Coarse and fine ware fabrics occur in roughly equal quantities. A few sherds of contemporary white wares and local earthenwares are also present, together with small quantities of post-medieval pottery and early medieval wares.

A further one and a half kilos of pottery was recovered from other contexts, including more Mill Green ware and post-medieval types such as sixteenth and eighteenth-century stoneware and seventeenth-century local earthenwares. Part of a Roman vessel similar to an incense cup was also found.

The abundance of Mill Green Ware is not surprising as Pyrgo Park is only 15 km (9 miles) south-west of the kiln site.

2) *Method*

The pottery has been recorded using a system of classification already in use for other post-Roman pottery in Essex (Cunningham 1985, 1-2). Its fabric numbers are quoted in this report.

As none of the pottery comes from datable contexts all the material has been considered together.

The illustrated pottery is from f135 unless otherwise stated.

3) *The Pottery*

3i) *Shell Tempered Ware Fabric 12A*

Shelly ware is thought to have been current in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It contains crushed shell and virtually no sand giving a smooth texture (Drury, forthcoming). Nineteen sherds are present all from f135, most have orangey-brown surfaces and grey cores. Fig. 3.1 shows part of a socket perhaps datable to the end of the twelfth century, reduced patches indicate uneven firing.

Mill Green Fine Ware Fabric 35

The fabric is described in detail in Pearce *et al.* (1982). It is hard, fine and micaceous, although Fig. 3.2 shows a jug handle with sandy tempering similar to that of the coarse ware. This feature is also found on some jugs from excavations at Mill Green (Sellers 1968, 207) and was probably to strengthen what must have been the weakest part of the vessel. This adaptation is not found on other contemporary wares such as London-type and Kingston-type ware. Most sherds are brick-red with a grey core, while some examples from Pyrgo are buff coloured. About 2.2 kg of fine ware was recovered.

Mill Green Fine Ware Forms No complete or nearly complete vessels were found but rim fragments from eighteen jugs and one jar are present. Four main types of jug were manufacturerd at Mill Green: conical and pear shaped; baluster; squat; and rounded jugs (Pearce *et al.* 1982, 279-281). But not enough of any one vessel survived to identify any of these types. All the jug rims are characteristically inturned with the exception of one thickened flat topped rim.

Mill Green Fine Ware Glaze and Decoration Most of the fine ware has either a clear glaze over slip painting or a mottled green glaze on a general white slip. This slip is sometimes combed, usually in simple vertical lines although two examples are wavy. Combs with five prongs are commonest but a four, and a seven prong comb have also been used. Stroke sizes range from less than 1 mm to 2.5 mm.

One small sherd of polychrome decoration was found consisting of a green slip stripe and white dots on a red slip background and covered with a clear glaze. It is paralleled by sherds found at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle in period I (Rahtz 1969, fig. 57.103-5). Similar decoration is also found on Rouen style Mill Green baluster jugs from Thames waterfront deposits (Pearce *et al.* 1982, plate I).

Table Summarising Mill Green Fine Ware Decorated Sherds

Decoration	No of Sherds	Associated Vessel Type (Pearce *et al.* 285-7)
Combed	36	Conical and pear shaped jugs, squat jugs baluster jugs
White Slip Painting	25	Squat jugs
Polychrome	1	Baluster jugs
Applied scale decoration	1	Rounded jugs

In addition, two glazed sherds with thumbed applied strips are present, this type of decoration is more usual on coarse ware forms.

All the following Mill Green fine wares are illustrated in Fig. 3.

No. 2 Jug handle with slash marks and 'ears' pressed into either side of the handle. The tempering is particularly coarse and the sherd is abraded so that no glaze and only traces of slip remain. (unstratified).

No. 3 Jug handle, the fabric is fine buff coloured with a grey core, a partial green glaze overlies an uneven coating of white slip.

No. 4 Jug rim, completely oxidised fabric, it has a partial clear glaze and no slip.

No. 5 & 6 Jug rims with mottled green glaze overlying a white slip, both slip and glaze extend over the inside of the neck.

No. 7 Jar rim, totally oxidised, there is no glaze except for a single splash of clear glaze on the inside of the rim.

Mill Green Coarse ware Fabric 20C

About 1.9 kg of coarse ware was recovered. This ware is the same as that of the fineware but contains moderate amounts of sandy tempering. It is micaeous and usually orangey-brown with grey cores. For a full fabric description see Pearce *et al.* (1982).

Mill Green Coarse ware Forms Again there are no complete or nearly complete vessels but several rim fragments are present. Fifteen rims are from cooking pots with flat topped or everted rims above a short upright neck (Fig. 3.8 and 9). Two cooking pot rims are of the blocked neckless type (Fig. 3.10). Fig. 3.11 and 12 show two small cooking pots or jars. No. 11 has a greenish partial internal glaze, and no. 12 has a line of similar glaze beneath the rim externally. Bowls are represented by two rims; Fig. 3.13 has splashes of green glaze internally and some sooting on the rim and exterior. Fig. 3.14 has a flanged rim with splashes of glaze internally.

Mill Green Coarse ware Glaze and Decoration. Two sherds were found with thumbed applied strip decoration. A partial clear or green internal glaze is not uncommon especially near the base.

The Dating of Mill Green Ware

Mill Green ware has been securely dated from deposits associated with successive Thames waterfronts and is fully discussed in Pearce *et al.* 1982 (272-275). It first appeared in London between *c.* 1240-70, reached a peak *c.* 1300 and by *c.* 1350 importation had stopped or tailed off. Evidence from King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle and the waterfront deposits suggest that the polychrome baluster jugs are datable to *c.* 1290 to *c.* 1306.

Several explorations have been carried out in the area of the Mill Green kilns, the most notable of which was carried by Mr. J. and Mrs. E. Sellers in 1967 (Sellers 1968, 207), finds suggested a nearby kiln with four periods of manufacture. This and other excavations (Pearce *et al.* 1982, 268) produced material that could be of the late fourteenth century and would therefore post-date the disappearance of Mill Green ware from

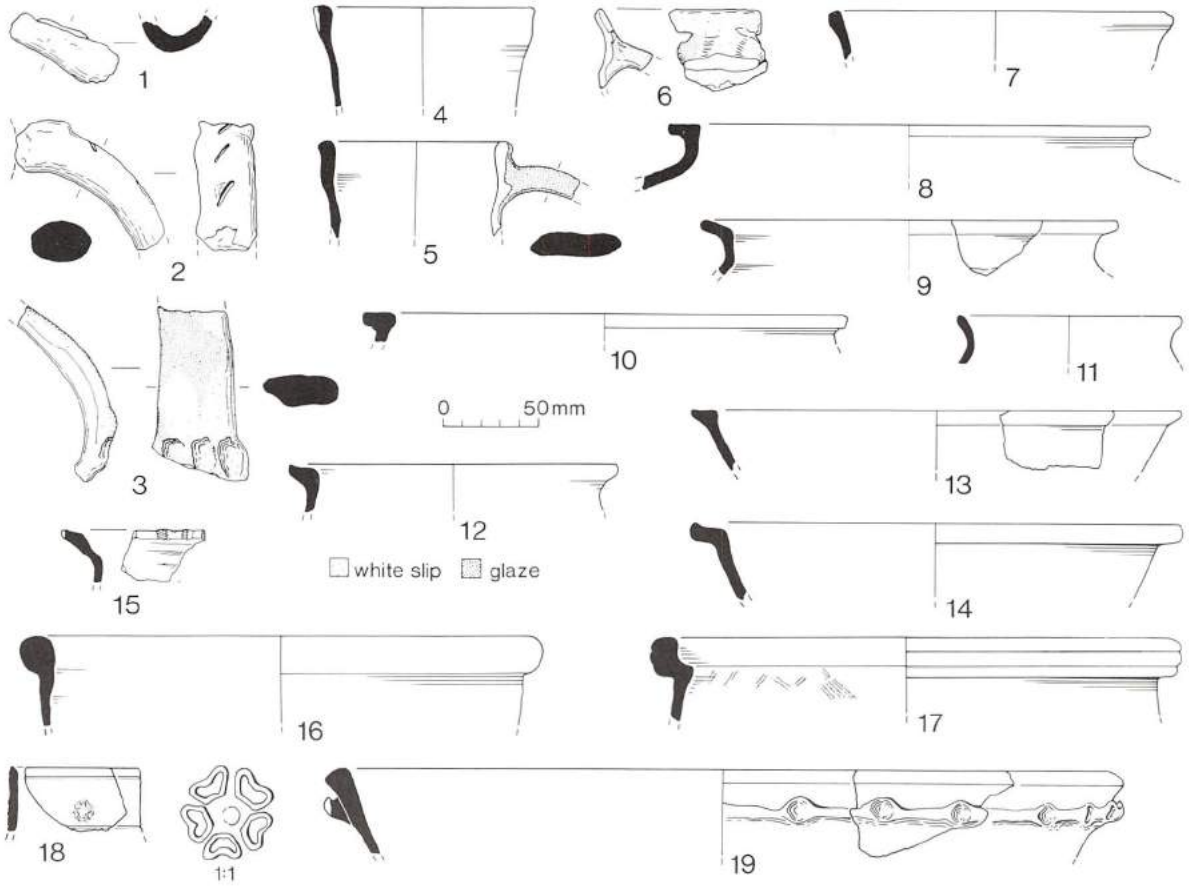

Fig. 3 Pyrgo Park. Pottery.

London. At King John's Hunting Lodge, Mill Green is a major ware and occurs in periods I, II and III the early thirteenth-early sixteenth century, although it may be residual in contexts later than the fourteenth century.

The cooking pots at Pyrgo can be dated by rim form; the more common flat topped or slightly everted rim above a short upright neck (Fig. 3.8 and 9) is found on other Essex coarse wares and is thought to be an early-mid thirteenth century type (Drury 1976a, 270). The blocked neckless form (Fig. 3.10) is found at Danbury tile factory and dated late thirteenth-fourteenth century (Drury and Pratt 1975, 128). These date ranges fit in roughly with the evidence from the waterfront deposits.

As none of the later coarseware forms such as cisterns and dripping dishes are present and the forms and decoration are similar to those found in London, a later thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century date seems most likely.

Other Medieval Pottery

Twelve sherds of sandy ware, Fabric 21, are present, these are hard, orange or light brown in colour, sometimes with a grey core or margins. Fabric 21 is usually locally made. Three sherds have been decorated by adding bands of white sands to the glaze to give a 'pebble dash' effect. Fig. 3.15 shows an inflected flanged rim with orangey-brown surfaces and a grey core; such rims are found on fifteenth century jars (Cunningham 1985, fig. 4.25) and jars with handles (Rahtz 1969, fig. 55.71 period III).

Five sherds of white ware, Fabric 23 were also recovered. One of which is unglazed with a pinkish tinge, it is tempered with sub-angular sands, mainly brown and orange in colour, and may be a Kingston-type ware product. In London Kingston-type ware was a contemporary of Mill Green ware (see Vince 1985, 35 for dating).

Post-medieval red Later Earthenwares Fabric 40

These are hard, containing little or no sand and feel smooth to the touch. In Chelmsford, Fabric 40 superseded Fabric 21 early in the sixteenth century, whereas at Colchester this change may not have taken place until well into the sixteenth century (Cunningham 1982, 373).

No. 16 (Fig. 3) Bowl rim, beaded and unglazed, possibly seventeenth century (unstratified).

No. 17 (Fig. 3) Hollowed everted rim of jar or pipkin. Internal clear glaze and traces of slip painting ?seventeenth century (surface find).

Not illustrated:

a. A neckless jar or pipkin paralleled by one found at Braintree (Drury 1976b, Fig. 34.24). It has a rilled body and an all-over brown glaze, possibly seventeenth century. (PP 72.84).

Stonewares Fabric 45

Most of the stonewares were of the Cologne/Frechen type. Also found was one sherd of Nottingham/Derby stoneware.

No. 18 (Fig. 3) Rim of very small jug with rosette decoration, partially covered in a brown wash. Cologne, mid sixteenth century (Trench C west end).

Not illustrated:

b. Neck of Frechen jug of the type with a vertical narrow neck and a bulbous body. The glaze is very speckled giving a distinctive "tiger ware" effect *c.*1700 (PP. 72.84).

c. Base and a body sherd with part of a medallion probably from a bellarmine. Cologne/Frechen sixteenth century (surface find).

d. One body sherd of Nottingham/Derby type stone ware, thin walled, unmottled with a lustrous brown glaze, eighteenth century.

Other Post-Medieval Pottery

Also found was a body sherd of post-medieval Surrey white ware, probably seventeenth century and three sherds of tin-glazed earthen ware.

Roman Pottery

No. 19 (Fig. 3) Vessel in fine, micaceous, pinky buff fabric mixed with streaks of white clay. Similar in fabric, form and decoration to an incense cup or tazza, but the large diameter precludes this possibility.

Discussion

Few conclusions can be drawn from such a small collection of pottery but it is interesting to note that most of the material predates the Tudor house, indicating occupation before that period.

Mill Green ware seems to have enjoyed a virtual monopoly at Pyrgo in the medieval period; no other coarse wares are present and other finewares are represented by only a handful of white wares and sandy orange wares. Its dominance is explained by the proximity of the kiln site (15km away) although distance may not be the only factor as the London-type ware kilns must have been fairly close (central London is 24km to the south-west of Pyrgo Park) yet no London products are found. This situation reflects the general pattern where, (outside the city) Mill Green ware serves south and central Essex and London-type ware, in the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries is commonest to the south and west of London especially on sites along the Thames (Pearce *et al.* 1985, fig. 3). Further excavation will be needed before the marketing and distribution of Mill Green ware becomes clear.

Also of interest is the relatively high proportion of coarse wares to fine wares this contrasts sharply with the Thames waterfront deposits where the coarse wares make up only between 1 and 4% of the total Mill Green products (Pearce *et al.* 1982 appendix 3) indicating that the coarse wares may have been mainly for local consumption.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank Carol Cunningham for her help and advice on this report. Thanks are also due to John Cotter for identifying the stonewares and to Catriona Turner for identifying the Roman pot.

Brick

Representative examples of brick were collected from the site. They can be grouped into three different periods. Orange-red textured bricks, which can be sub-divided by texture or size into two or three categories, are all probably of fifteenth to early sixteenth century date. Differences could be due to different batches or firing positions. The better quality bricks of purplish-red are very typical of the early seventeenth century in Essex. The very hard nineteenth century purplish bricks most likely post-date 1850.

In addition to these three groups, there were yellow flooring bricks which are typical of those produced after about 1600 through to the twentieth century, and therefore cannot be more closely dated.

Roof tile

Roof tile samples, all of the two peg hole type, date from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. The smooth, orange, non-gritted flat tiles with one rough, finely crazed surface are distinctive, belonging to the fifteenth century or earlier. Contrasting with these are the usual sixteenth or seventeenth century type; smooth, orange, non-gritted but cambered peg-tiles (with later examples of the same type).

Medieval Floor Tiles

Examples of all the types of floor tiles found have been kept: as complete tiles, pieces from numbered contexts or samples from tile found on the surface. Most of these have not been identified with known Essex tile types but a ?late fourteenth century Penn type tile and Flemish floor tiles, ?of the late fifteenth century, are notable.

The Penn type tile (*cf.* London Museum Medieval catalogue fig. 83, no. 80) is 15cm (4½") square with a pierced five-foil within a circle, in cream slip, under clear glaze. It was found in 1971 in the spoil from a pipe trench. The Flemish glazed tiles are in a distinctive pink and cream marbled fabric and 20cm (9") square. There are four varieties: darkish green, cream and blackish-green plain tiles, and a tile with cream slip, and traces of a line impressed, multi-petalled flower design under a streaky light brown glaze. Numbers of these tiles were found, some bedded on a layer of sand, when the moat (Fig. 1, "D") was levelled in 1971. Thanks are due to Mr. P.J. Drury for his comments on these tiles.

Building stone

This included Purbeck marble, flagstones from the Purbeck beds, roughly worked clunch and Kentish ragstone, worked fragments of Caen stone from a window sill and reveal, and fragments of Greensand mouldings including a large roll, a small roll and a rounded moulding with a shallow groove. Among the Portland stone finds were parts of a panel with recessed faces, a moulded 'bell' base of a column and a large roll moulding possibly part of a door or window reveal. If the Portland stone formed part of the Tudor house this would be of particular interest. This stone was not commonly used until the late seventeenth century (Dr. F.W. Anderson, pers. comm.). A fragment of marble probably came from a Victorian washstand and a piece of Welsh slate from a nineteenth century fire surround.

Miscellaneous finds

The remaining finds comprise very small quantities of iron, glass, clay pipes, stone, bone, fallow deer antler, and samples of lime and sand mortar. The stone includes a small fragment of a lava rotary query and a piece of quartzitic sandstone from a saddle quern (identified by the late Dr. F.W. Anderson)

Discussion

Historical research has shown that Brian Tuke was buying land in the Manor of Havering in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and it may be that one of the houses bought then stood at or near the site of the Tudor house. The presence of sherds of good quality green glazed Mill Green ware, in fl35, does suggest that a house of yeoman or gentry status stood nearby in the later thirteenth century. Those bricks and tiles to which late fifteenth century dates have been attributed could also have come from such a house.

The evidence from the 1972 excavations suggests a substantial brick building of more than one period. Although it is not possible to connect the archaeological record directly with the house shown on the 1618 map, there can be no doubt that this is the site of the house acquired by Henry VIII *c.*1543.

Acknowledgments

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Foot-notes

1. Draft surveys 1542. (PRO E315, 410 f41, f43-43d).
2. Dictionary of National Biography XIX, 1222, Cal. L. and P. Henry VIII XII(1), 514.
3. Draft survey, 1542. (PRO E315, 410 f43-43d). In 1566 Thomas Larke wrote a very detailed description of the water supply system of Ingatestone Hall (ERO D/DP M186 and D/DP P1). This is published fully in *Tudor Secretary* by F.G. Emmison.
4. Terrier, 1542-3. (PRO E315, 410 f39).
5. Cal. L. & P. Henry VIII XIII(2), 195; Norden, Essex 34; Map of Liberty of Havering 1618 (ERO D/DU 162/1).
6. Hearth Tax Assessment, 1671. (ERO Q/RTh 5).
7. Colvin, History of the King's Works IV(2), 151.
8. Cal. Pat. 1558-60, 82.
9. Morant, 1768, Essex I, 60-1.
10. Morant, 1768, Essex I, 61, Deeds (ERO D/DHe T9 and E16).
11. Morant, 1768, Essex I, 61; Muilman, Essex IV, 316. Chapman & Andre Map.
12. Deed 1785. (ERO D/DE T112); Deeds (ERO D/DXp 1); Deed (D/DHe T1/36).
13. Ogborne, 1814; 118; ERO. Sage Col. Sale Cats; 6/6.
14. VCH VII, 16-7; ERO Sage Col. Sale Cats. 6/10.
15. Sale Catalogue 1867, Sage Col. Sale Cats. 6/10.
16. Montague Brown, Records of Pyrgo (pub. 1889) 145-148 Sage Col. Sale Cats. 6/10.
17. Sage Col. Sale Cats. 6/10.
18. VCH VII, 16-7.
19. Court Roll of Havering 1514-5. (PRO SC 2 173/2).
20. Court Roll of Havering 1514-8. (PRO SC 2 173/2); VCH VII 16-17.
21. Court Roll of Havering 1530. (PRO SC 2 173/4); ERO D/DJg T12/7.
22. Court Rolls of Havering 1440-1466. (ERO D/DU 102/30, 47).
23. Valor of Tuke's lands 1542-3, (PRO SC 11 190); Draft Survey (PRO E315 410 f43d); Terrier 1542-3, (PRO E315 410 f39).

Tollesbury Hall, Tollesbury, a thirteenth-century manor house

by John McCann and Douglas Scott

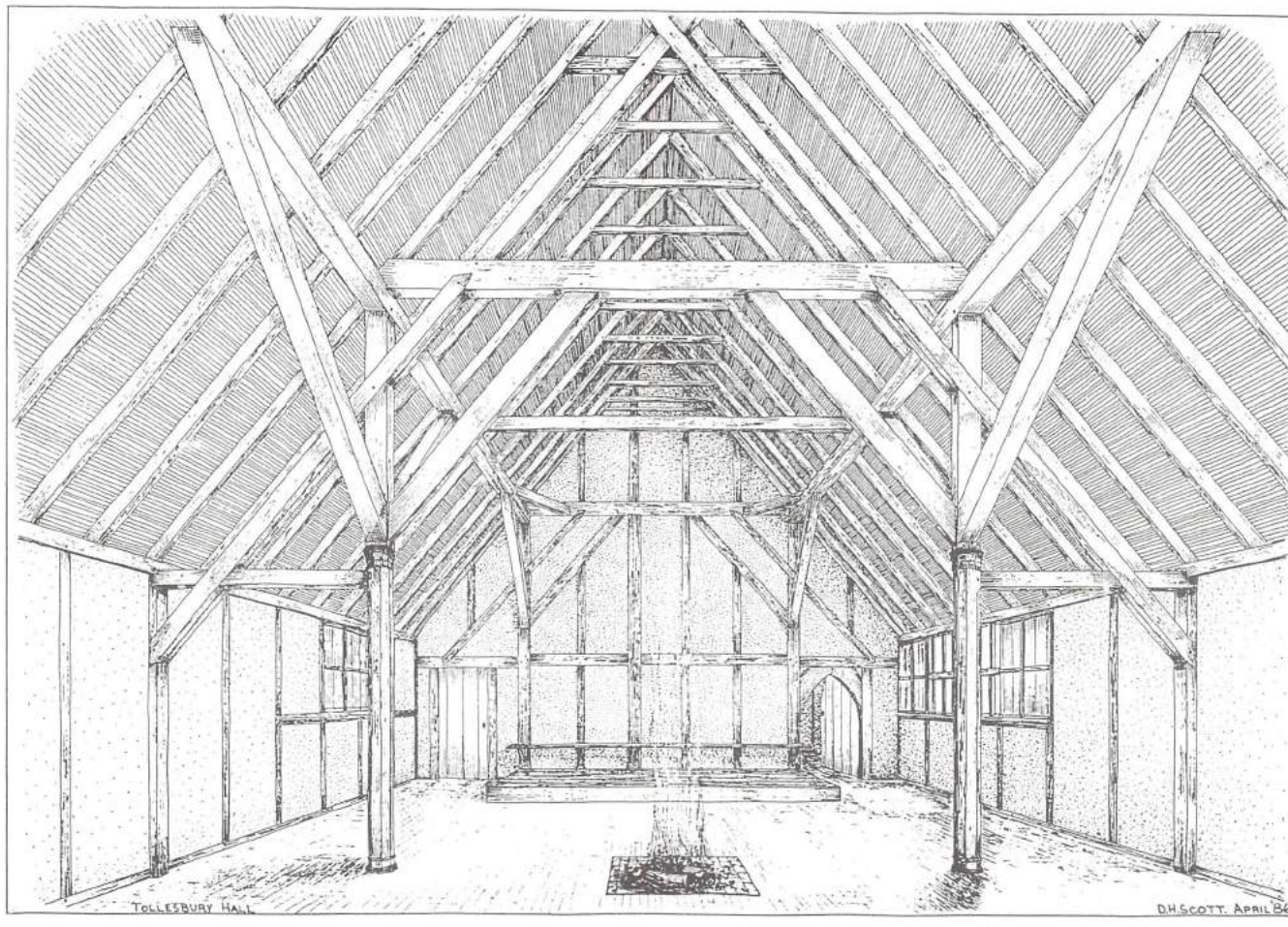
Introduction

One timber-framed aisled hall at Tollesbury, the fourteenth-century Bourchier's Hall, has been known since the Royal Commission inventory of 1922 (*Essex*, iii, 217); another has come to light in the recent re-survey of listed buildings. Tollesbury Hall, 20 metres south of the Parish Church of St. Mary, was described by the Royal Commission as a fifteenth-century hall house which originally had two crosswings; at that time it was occupied as three tenements (*Essex*, iii, 218). In 1953 it was listed Grade II under a similar description — evidently from external inspection only. Since then it has been re-combined into one house, and proves on examination to be the surviving part of a thirteenth-century aisled hall with an integral service bay and a two-bay parlour-solar crosswing, the latter rebuilt in the fifteenth century. It is exceptional for a moulded capital and early constructional features.[1].

Historical background

In the Middle Ages Tollesbury was one of the richest parishes of eastern Essex. It comprised over 6,000 acres (2,400 ha); the 1381 poll tax return records 118 males, nearly a quarter of the population of Thurstable Hundred (PRO E.179/107/64). There were two main manors, Bourchier's and St. Mary's, of which the latter was the more valuable, granted to Barking Abbey by the Crown at an unknown date before the Conquest. Like all the coastal parishes its agriculture was based on sheep grazed on the salt marshes, kept as much for dairy produce as for meat and fleeces; more than a quarter of the Abbey flocks were kept there. In addition the manor had extensive woodlands (enough for 500 swine in 1086), a mill, two saltpans, and valuable oyster layings; in 1381 many of the males were described as 'draggers' (Sturman, 1961, 79, and VCH, i, 369-73 and 449). The nave and west tower of the parish church are of eleventh-century origin (*Essex*, iii, 216-7). Morant identified Tollesbury Hall as the manor house south of the church (Morant, 1768, i, 402). In 1373 the Abbey established a vicarage, granting 'the site and manor of Tollesbury for (the vicar's) habitation' (CPR, Edward III, 264). With the other possessions of Barking Abbey it passed to the Crown in 1539, and remained with it until 1607, when the rectory and advowson of the church were granted to Sir Roger Aston and John Grimditch. The house was sold away from the remainder in 1627 (Morant, 1768, i, 404).

Tollesbury Hall from the south-west



Tollesbury Hall, Tollesbury — a reconstruction looking east

Description

The hall is of two bays facing south, arranged like the church with the 'high end' to the east. Both aisles were demolished in the sixteenth century when a floor was inserted — a common alteration by which good daylight could be introduced at both storeys. A mortice for an arcade-brace at A (fig. 1) shows that the structure continued to the west to form an integral service bay, but this has been entirely replaced by a seventeenth-century timber structure, and little survives of the 'low end' of the hall.

A lean-to extension and stair tower occupy the site of the north aisle, both relatively late structures. At the east end there is good evidence of an original crosswing of two bays, structurally integrated with the hall, most of which was replaced by a similar crosswing in the fifteenth century. It is common to find that a small parlour-solar end has been replaced by a larger one as standards of accommodation rose, but here the later crosswing was of similar plan area to the original one, and marginally lower. Why it was rebuilt is not clear. As with many early buildings the internal floor level and external ground level have risen, so that the headroom of the lower storey is much reduced. In the sectional drawings the original ground level is estimated from the height of doorways and a binding-beam of the crosswing. Visible timbers are shaded; concealed or missing timbers are shown in broken lines.

The hall

The surviving parts of the aisled hall have all the structural features now recognised as typical of the thirteenth century. All the timbers are straight and of square section, each dressed from a whole tree, except the surviving arcade-post of the middle truss which is octagonal with a moulded capital, reduced to a square section above (fig. 2). The posts are unjowled, arranged the same way up as the trees from which they came. These posts and the arcade-braces retain the taper of the parent trees. Other typical features of the period are parallel or near-parallel braces (figs. 3 and 4), some terminating in secret notched lap joints diminishing in depth towards their ends (figs. 5 and 6). In the middle truss there are oblique trenches for a pair of adjacent passing-braces which were halved on each side of the arcade-post (fig. 7). Mortices in the tiebeam indicate that tenoned secondary rafters continued the same lines up into the roof (figs. 3 and 6). The extra tiebeam B between two main trusses is original.[2] The position of the missing aisle-tie C is known with certainty, as the peg-hole for it and the chamfer-stop below it are visible (fig. 3). If the slope of the roof is continued downwards to meet the line of the former aisle wall it dictates the use of 'reversed assembly' at the wallplate.[3] Only one rafter couple and collar from the original roof have survived post-medieval alterations; they are heavily smoke-blackened, but with unblackened pegs

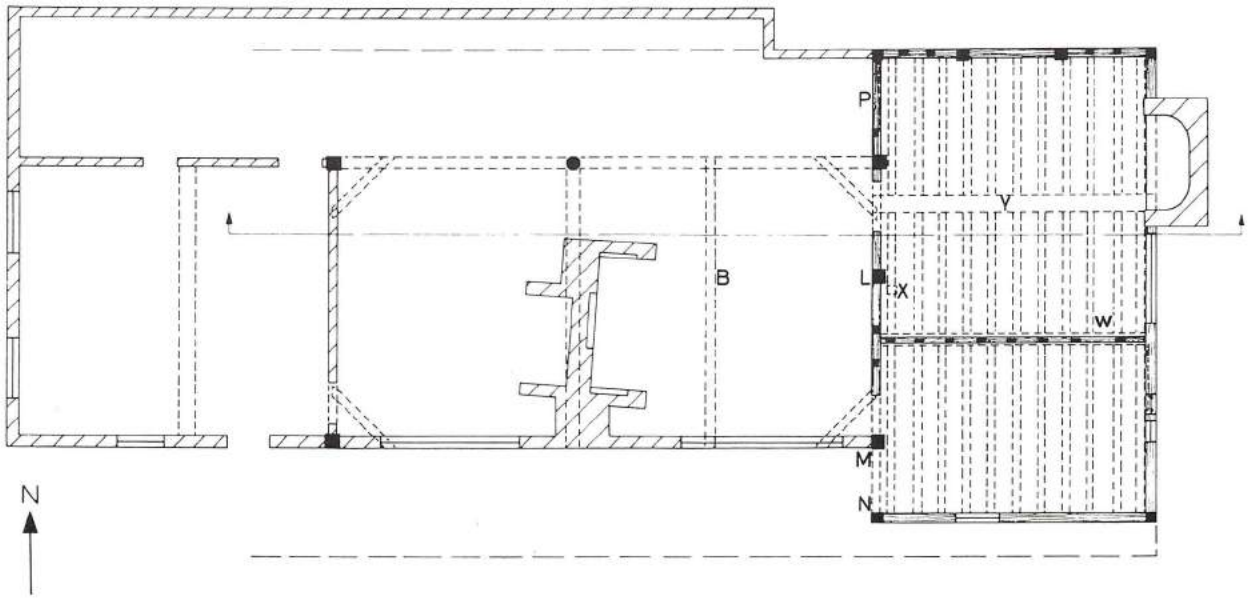


Fig.8

FEET 10
METRES 3

THE HALL, CHURCH STREET,
TOLLESBURY, ESSEX. 1
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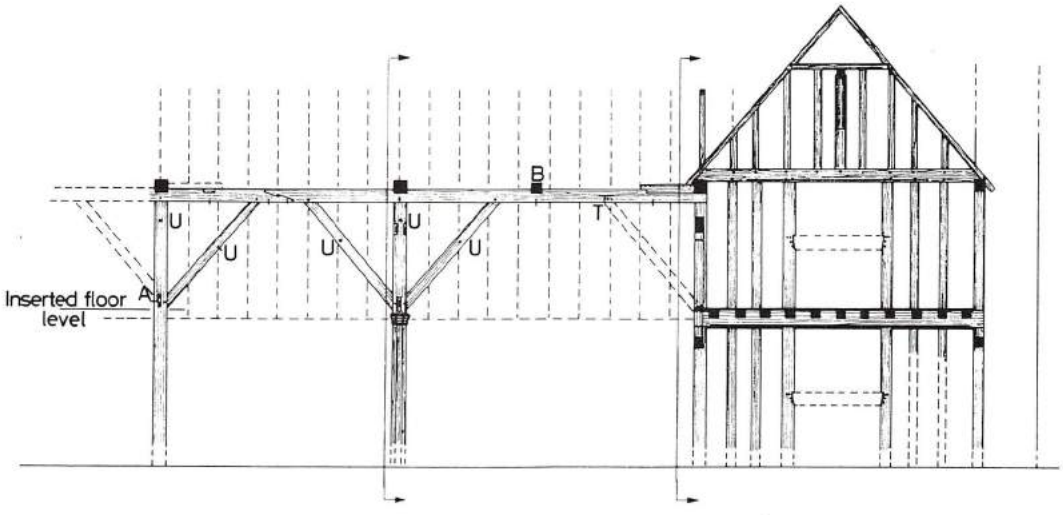

Fig.1

FEET 10
METRES 3

THE HALL, CHURCH STREET,
TOLLESBURY, ESSEX. 2
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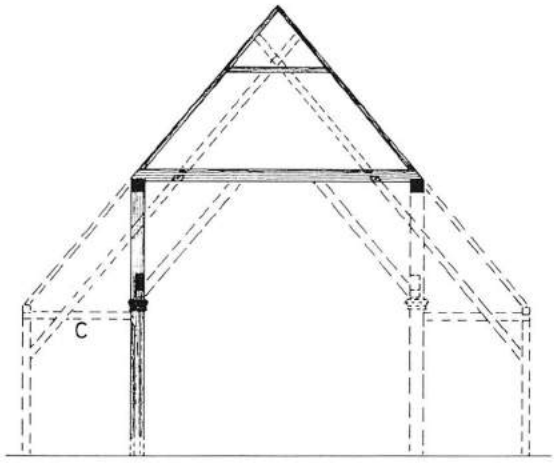

Fig.3

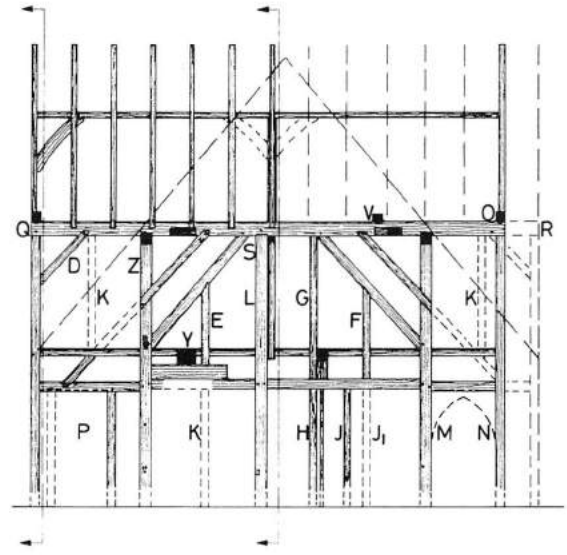

Fig.4

FEET 10
METRES 3

THE HALL, CHURCH STREET,
TOLLESBURY, ESSEX. 3
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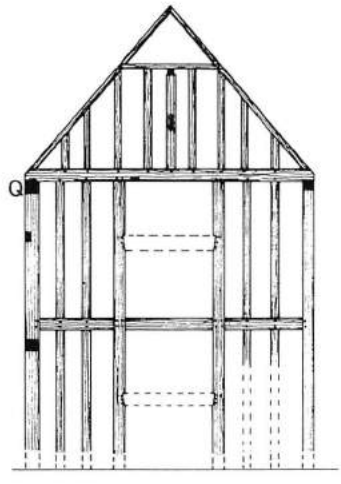

Fig.17

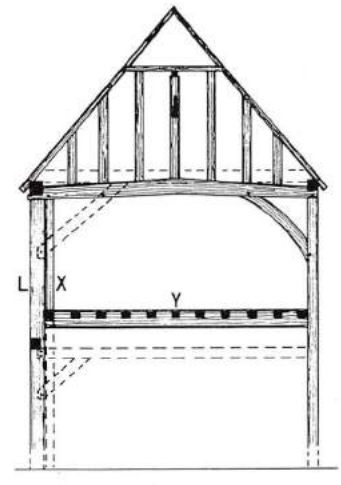

Fig.14

FEET 10
METRES 3

THE HALL, CHURCH STREET,
TOLLESBURY, ESSEX. 4
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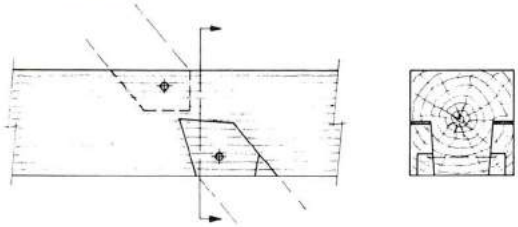

Fig.6

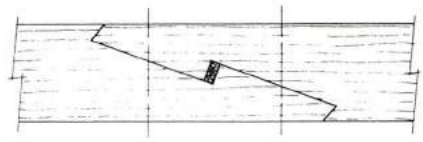

Fig.11

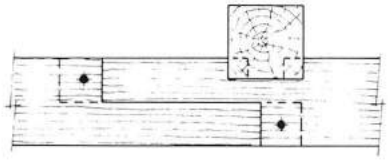

Fig.15

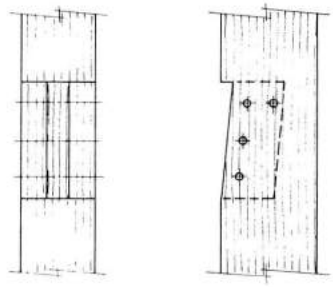

Fig.18

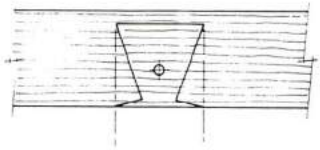

Fig.12
Joint of tiebeam B to arcade plate.

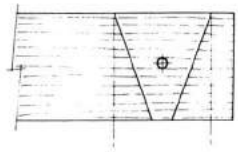

Fig.13
Tying joint to wallplate at Q

INS. 12
CMS. 30

THE HALL, CHURCH STREET,
TOLLESBURY, ESSEX

5

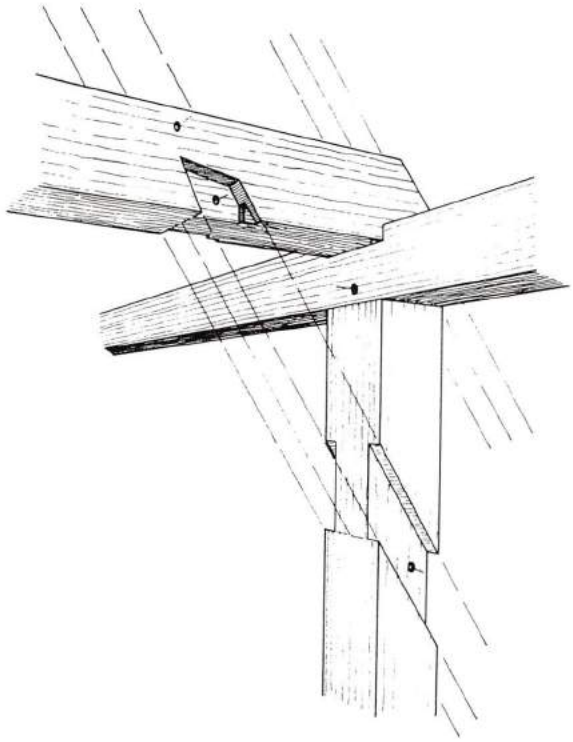

Fig. 7

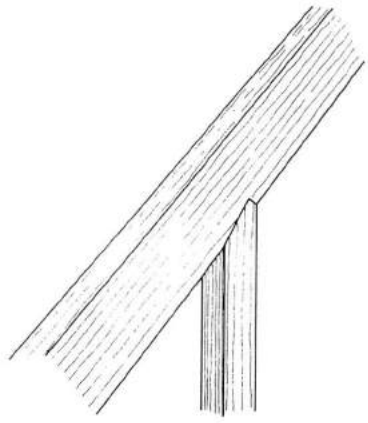

Fig.9

THE HALL, CHURCH STREET,
TOLLESBURY, ESSEX.

6

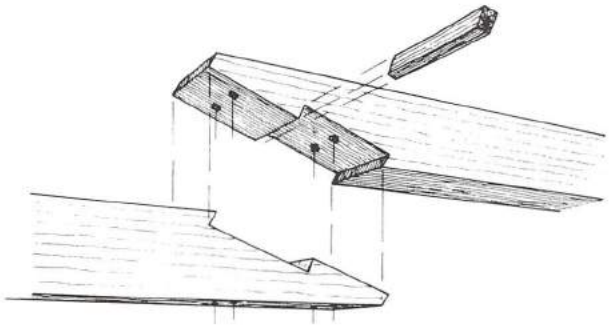

Fig.10

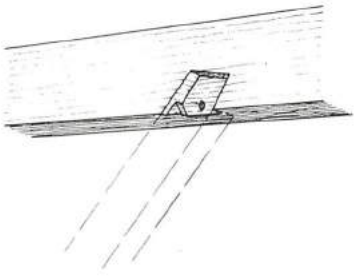

Fig.5

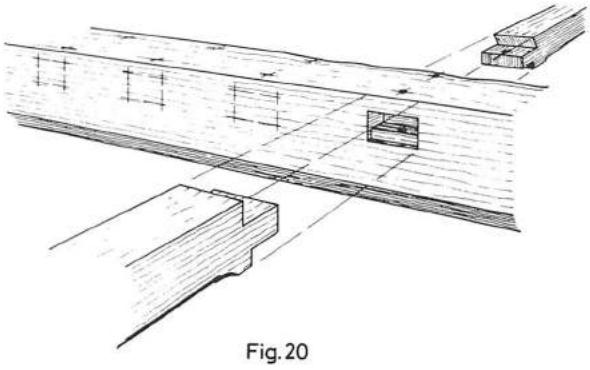

Fig.20

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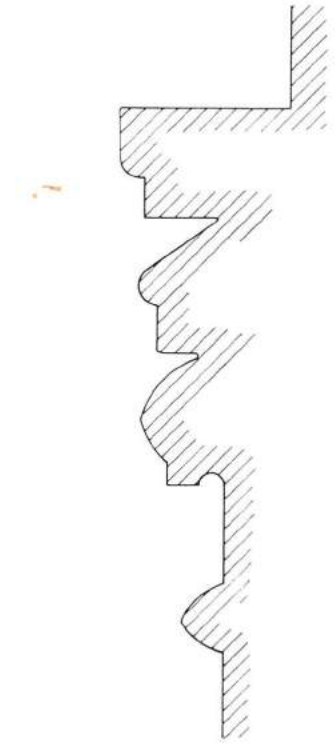
7



INS 3
CMS. 8

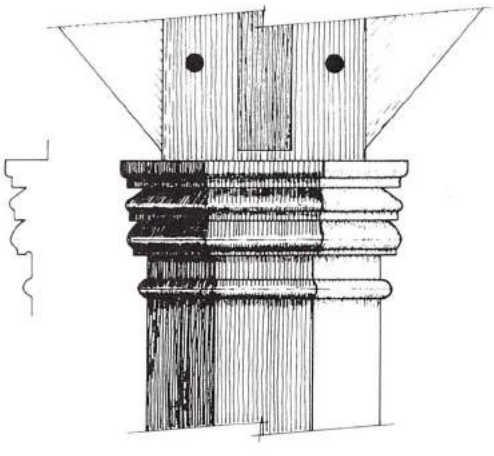


Fig.2

INS 12
CMS 30

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8

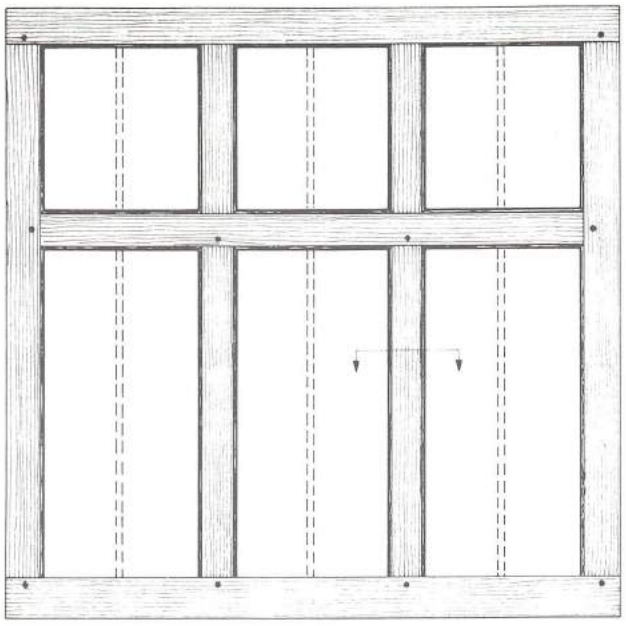
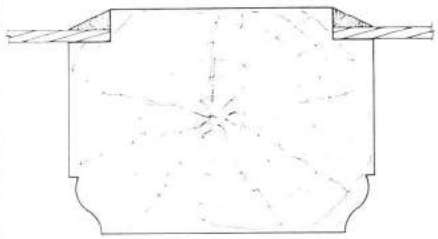


Fig.19



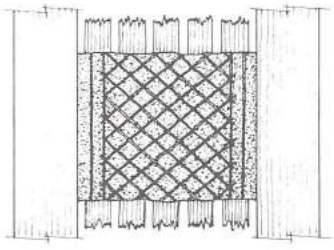
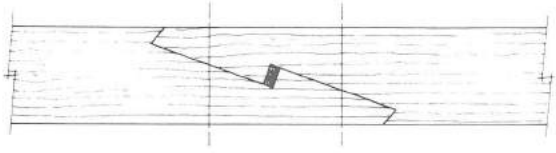


Fig.16

INS. 12
CMS. 30

THE HALL, CHURCH STREET,
TOLLESBURY, ESSEX. ©D.H.SCOTT. 16-2-'86 9



INS. 12
CMS. 30

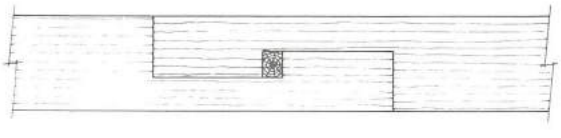


Fig. 21

NOT TO SCALE

THE HALL, CHURCH STREET,
TOLLESBURY, ESSEX. ©D.H.SCOTT. 16-2-'86 10

which indicate re-setting. Dragon ties (corner braces) are present at the east corners, and were formerly present at the west corners. The scarf joint in the north arcade-plate is of the splayed and tabled type with square under-squinted abutments, tightened by a tapered edge-key (figs. 10 and 11). The tying joints which are accessible are of widely splayed lap-dovetail form, each additionally secured by a peg driven from above — an archaic and unnecessary practice which was discontinued later (figs. 12 and 13).

The wall between the hall and the east crosswing (fig 4)

The external brace at D is a rare feature[4] (fig. 5). Widely spaced studding is generally recognised as an indication of early date in Essex. Here the aisle walls have not survived, but the east end of the hall (part of which is external) is built with minimal studding, being composed mainly of posts and straight braces. Two short studs E and F are certainly original, neatly notched into braces (fig. 9). The wall is plastered between the framing; no jointing or pegging is visible on the exposed surface. Stud G in the upper range, and stud H in the lower range are original and undisturbed, again without visible jointing or pegging. Stud J is original but appears to have been moved from J_1. Concealed or hypothetical studs (all marked K) divide the wall into panels 3 feet (0.91 m) wide for infill, without peg-holes in the exposed surface.

The former east crosswing

The post L has one plain and two rising mortices in the east face, from which the height of the original binding-beam, the brace to it, and the brace to the tiebeam can be reconstructed (fig. 14). At M there is a square groove in the post for a missing doorhead, which at this period would have been two-centred. The post N on the other side of the doorway is not original. A peg-hole at O is the only visible evidence for an external brace similar to that at D. The front of the crosswing has been cut back in a post-medieval alteration; a hypothetical reconstruction of the missing part is shown in broken lines in figure 4. At the other doorway P plaster conceals the evidence of the doorhead, but the rail above is rebated for an original door opening into the crosswing. A door to the stair to the solar is often found in this position, necessarily opening outwards; but here the door must have led to a rear ground-floor room which would have contained a stair. The timber QR is continuous, forming the wallplate of the crosswing and the end tiebeam of the hall, and it has been incorporated into the structure of the present crosswing. It is 30 feet (9.14 m) long, and would have been longer originally.

Units of measurement

As with many early buildings it is noticeable that the main dimensions work out to be in exact feet. The bays of the hall are 19 and 15 feet long, from the centres of the posts. The arcade-plate is 7 feet above the moulded capital. The continuous timber of the north arcade-plate is 28 feet long. The smaller dimensions appear to work out in exact inches or quarter-inches, but this is less ascertainable as allowance has to be made for shrinkage across the grain of the timber.

Timber and construction marks

The timber is of high quality, some of exceptional length, accurately squared and dressed with a side-axe. Some of the surfaces are so smoothly dressed that the toolmarks are barely perceptible, but near the west end of the south arcade-plate the timber is knotty, from the top of the tree, and there it retains the 'signature' of the axe, with a curved cutting edge used obliquely across the surface. At S (fig. 4) the post is scribed to the waney arris of the wallplate. The oblique trenches in the middle arcade-post are cut without the use of a saw, retaining the toolmarks of a keen straight blade. The empty matrices of secret notched lap joints are finely cut. An empty peg-hole at T (fig. 1) exhibits the helical signature of the auger, showing that it penetrated the timber at the rate of four turns to the inch (25 mm), an eloquent testimony to the high quality of the tool. A series of peg-holes in arcade-posts and braces (all marked U in fig. 1) have no structural function and were probably made to attach staging during construction. Peg-holes at similar heights have been recorded in the barley barn, Cressing Temple.[5] Building accounts show that carpenters often made up ladders on site (Oxley, 1935, 7, and Warmington, 1976, 133). To reach these arcade-plates safely ladders 20 feet (6.10 m) long would have been required, which would have been wasteful of long timber and difficult to handle. The peg-holes suggest that working platforms were erected about 15 feet (4.57 m) above original ground-level.

The present east crosswing

This can be dated to the fifteenth century by the crownpost roof, which is almost complete in the rear bay, more altered in the shortened front bay. In the east wallplate is an edge-halved and bridled scarf (fig. 15), known in vernacular carpentry from *c.*1375 (Hewett, 1980, 267). The tiebeam V above it is a post-medieval repair, well executed with lap-dovetail joints to check outward movement at this point. The ground floor is divided by an original partition, with a plain doorway through at W. This truss is ingeniously adapted to the earlier wallplate (fig. 14). The west end of the cambered tiebeam is fitted under it and supported by an extra post X (the lower part of which has been cut away at a later date); the other end is lap-dovetailed under the newer east wallplate of smaller scantling, bringing the upper faces of the different wallplates level for a symmetrical roof structure. A section of ornamentally patterned daub has been left exposed in this partition, revealing oak staves 2¾ inches (70 mm) wide[6] (fig. 16). The framing of the north end is unusual in that the girt is interrupted by two full-height posts which enclose the windows (fig. 17). The jointing for the sills is deep and complex, indicating that there were oriel windows (fig. 18). Independently framed glazed windows have been inserted in the seventeenth century, with auger holes for iron saddle bars (fig. 19). The west end of the north tiebeam has been cut to fit the original tying joint of the thirteenth-century wallplate at Q in 'normal assembly', and the archaic peg has been re-fitted (fig. 13). In

another adaptation the transverse beam Y is supported by the earlier side wall, without a post (although now altered by an inserted doorway). All the common joists are chamfered with step stops, and jointed to the beam with central tenons with housed soffit shoulders (fig. 20), a type of joint which is characteristic of the fifteenth century (Hewett, 1980, 280); some of the joists are scribed to the waney upper arris, as shown at the right of the figure. At Z a secondary rebate has been cut in the thirteenth-century arcade-post for a later doorway opening into the great chamber, approached from a stair tower in the same position as the modern one.

Sixteenth-century developments

A large brick chimney stack was inserted in the hall, characteristically out of square with the frame, the aisles were demolished, and girts and studs were inserted below the arcade-plates, re-using timber which may have come from the aisle walls (omitted from the drawings for the sake of clarity). A floor was inserted in the hall.

Seventeenth-century developments

The Walker maps show that many parlour-solar crosswings were unheated until the seventeenth century (Edwards and Newton, 1984, tables 1-10). The external chimney stack of the crosswing appears to have been added in the early seventeenth century, presumably after the property was sold in 1607 or 1627. Substantial repairs and alterations were undertaken, including the total rebuilding of the west (service) bay, rebuilding the roof of the hall above tiebeam level, cutting back the front of the crosswing and making related alterations to the front bay of the roof, and new windows. More recently the south wall of the hall has been rebuilt in brick.

Discussion

Tollesbury Hall was built for Barking Abbey, one of the major convents of nuns in England, which enjoyed close relations with the Crown. The Abbey would have had its own carpenters, responsible for all its timber structures, whether at the Abbey, at its parish churches, or at its manors. The major studies of Cecil Hewett have shown that early timber buildings exhibit an identifiable series of technological developments: master carpenters of the various major institutions were in touch with each other and ready to adopt any useful advance. Firmly dated technological features in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are found mainly at cathedral level, but this is appropriate because they were conceived at high level. Through apprenticeships and the interchange of journeymen carpenters the new techniques were transmitted to buildings of lower status. This study is still proceeding, and much remains to be discovered. Tollesbury Hall is important both for itself and for the light it may throw on the development of historic carpentry.

(1) The structure of Tollesbury Hall has a logical simplicity which effectively divides it into two phases. The primary frame is heavily built, fully jointed and pegged, and efficiently triangulated, being designed to support the great weight of the roof. Lighter and less integrated studding was then inserted to hold the panels of wattle and daub infill. In later carpentry these functions became inter-related, with heavy studding which served not only to hold the infill, but which was tenoned and pegged to resist the torque of the wallplates, requiring a more complex process of assembly. The separate treatment of these functions at Tollesbury Hall is one of several indications that it is of early date.

(2) Crownpost roofs were in use in most domestic buildings of high status by *c.*1280. Here the surviving roof timbers show no indications of crownposts or of a collar-purlin.

(3) The most identifiable element of the moulded capital is the half-roll with frontal fillet, to which Forrester ascribed two periods of use, *c.*1220-1300 and *c.*1400-1500. The main difference between the stone capitals he illustrated and this one is that the wide abaci and bells were reduced here to what was possible within the girth of the largest available timber. The most similar capitals illustrated are at Bristol Cathedral, 1210-20, St. Alban's Cathedral, 1220-30, and Aldenham parish church, Hertfordshire, *c.*1250 (Forrester, 1972, 31, 42).

(4) Unjowled posts and a simple form of tying joint in which the tiebeam is lapped to the plate but not directly connected with the post were used at the famous barley barn, Cressing Temple, carbon-dated to *c.*1200; a more recent dendrochronological examination of one core yields a date range of 1211-20. The adjacent wheat barn exhibits an important technological advance in which jowled post, plate and tiebeam are fully integrated. This has been carbon-dated to 1255 ± 60 years, and a similar dendrochronological exercise indicates a date range of 1275-85 (Hewett, 1969, 22-32, 40-7, 55-61, and Fletcher and Tapper, 1984, 129). The tying joint at Tollesbury Hall is an advance on the former, but indicates no knowledge of the latter.

(5) Hewett and Rackham have identified various forms of notched lap joint, from which it is clear that the simplest and earliest form was being improved in three ways in the period 1180-1250:
   (a) The 'secret' form, in which a web of timber on the lesser timber bridges over the notch, transmitting extending stress to the end which might otherwise shear along the grain (Rackham *et al.* 1978, 117-8).
   (b) The 'refined profile', in which the triangular tooth on the larger timber is set back from the arris, thereby resisting fracture at this point (Hewett, 1980, 50, 289, 291-2).
   (c) The 'diminished' form, in which the depth of the lap is reduced towards the end of the lesser timber. 'The thick base makes the lap less likely to split away from the rest ... the thin tip avoids weakening the (larger timber) by cutting into it unduly' (Rackham *et al.*, 1978, 117-8)

These refinements occur in various combinations in different buildings, but are found all together in the western part of the nave of Wells Cathedral, where building was resumed after the Interdict of 1209-13, in the eastern apse of Westminster Abbey, 1245-59, and at Blackfriars Priory, Gloucester, 1240-70 (Hewett, 1985, 11-2, 102-3, and Rackham *et al.*, 1978, 105-9). The examples at Tollesbury Hall have two of these features — they are 'secret' and 'diminished', but they are not of 'refined profile'.

(6) A scarf joint in the north-east transept of Salisbury Cathedral, 1225-37, is the first recorded in English carpentry which applies the principle of a tapered edge-key between tables to force the abutments into compression (Hewett, 1985, 22-3). This has plain vertical abutments, a simple and exploratory form which later was to be greatly improved by under-squinting, or angling them backwards. The two types are compared in fig. 21. The splayed and undersquinted form occurs at the Cressing wheat barn, but on the evidence already given this is unlikely to be earlier than 1275. It remained in use until well into the fourteenth century; it is so efficient that it has been re-introduced since. John Wood II illustrated it in 1781 and described it as 'the strongest and best way of scarfing I ever saw, or can think of' (Wood, 1781, 15-6). Shortened forms of it have been used in high-quality repair and restoration work in this century. We cannot assume that it was used for the first time at the Cressing wheat barn; the comparisons already given suggest that it was used earlier at Tollesbury Hall.

A date range of *c.*1220 to *c.*1280 is proposed for Tollesbury Hall, probably early rather than late in this period.

Notes

1. Tollesbury Hall is now listed as Grade II*.
2. This tiebeam tapers by 1¼ inches (30 mm) from south to north. Tiebeams between main trusses occur at Fyfield Hall, Fyfield, and have been reported recently by Philip Aitkens at Brockley Hall, Brockley, and other early buildings in Suffolk.
3. 'Reversed assembly' is that tying assembly in which the aisle-tie (or tiebeam) is lap dove-tailed under the plate, whereas in 'normal assembly' the tiebeam is over the plate. This distinction was first noted by C. A. Hewett in 'Timber building in Essex, some evidence for the possible origins of the lap-dovetail', *Trans. Ancient Monuments Society*, **9** (1961), 33-56.
4. This feature is recorded also in Gibson, A., Partridge, C., and Day, I., 'Investigation of a thirteenth-century building at No. 2, West Street, Ware', *Hertfordshire Archaeol.* **8** (1984), 126-43.
5. Examined and recorded by J. McCann and Philip Walker in April 1980. These holes do not occur in the adjacent wheat barn, probably because ladders of adequate length were already available on site. It is still necessary to keep very long ladders there for regular replacement of the peg-tiles.
6. The wattle of buildings of high status is composed of wider staves, with narrower gaps between, than that of more vernacular buildings.

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A Friend to his Country

William Mayhew & the Recovery of the Colchester Charter 1763

by John Bensusan-Butt

Late in the year 1757, William Mayhew, attorney, was in Ipswich, probably on account of a by-election in which Charles Gray, M.P. for Colchester, was interested as next in line to be Recorder there. Whatever the reason, he took the opportunity to sit to Thomas Gainsborough for his portrait, and in the course of painting it, Gainsborough said to him he did not think one in ten lawyers was worth hanging, later writing to apologise (having been told of his mistake): "Really, Sir, I never saw one of your profession look so honest in my life, and that's the reason I concluded you were in the wool trade." The portrait is now in Perth, Australia, but that is another story. As Henry Fox, father of Charles once said: "Every set of men are honest: it is only necessary to define their sense of it, to know where to look".

Look at William Mayhew's memorial tablet in St Leonard's, Hythe, and it describes him as 'an alderman of this borough, a chearful companion, a friend to his country, a good Christian, but no bigot" who "lived esteemed, and died lamented by his family and friends, upon the 21st of August 1764, aged 58 years." Few epitaphs are so accurate, as this paper will seek to show.

If honesty is self-interest, he had a large sense of that; neither in defending the interests of his family-dependents, nor those of the freemen of Colchester, can he be faulted for vigour and determination, nor for his capacity to have a finger in every available pie. The Court of Chancery was no match for him: only the House of Commons Committee of Elections worsted him, though there too his cause won in the end.

WILLIAM MAYHEW (1706-1764)

inscribed on back:

"Gainsborough de Ipswich pinxit 1757"

now in the Western Australian Art Gallery, Perth

by *Art Photo Engravers Pty Ltd, Perth*

How he looked after his family, and his general activities as a lawyer can be dealt with first, then his part in the much more important matter of the recovery of the Borough Charter, scandalously lost for more than twenty years.

William Mayhew, was son of a "haberdasher of hatts" of the same name at Chelmsford, and was baptised there on 22nd April 1706. His brothers, John and Thomas, born in 1707 and 1709 respectively, proved far less forceful characters. William the hatter died in 1711, and his widow Elizabeth, née Bold, continued the business till her death in 1742.

William appears to have entered the office of his uncle Thomas Mayhew, attorney in Colchester, and was admitted attorney himself, in the Borough Courts, on 16th October 1727.

But ten days before had occurred the event that coloured the family's existence for the rest of his days, the death of his uncle Thomas. It was his nephew William who bore the brunt of the troubles that ensued.

Thomas had not made a will for 10 years, and his finances were hopelessly mixed up with those of his clients.

Thomas Mayhew had been steward, attorney and solicitor to a Thomas Hallam, Esq. of East Bergholt for whom in 1715 he had sold Irish estates for £20,000. But Thomas Hallam died in 1719, and soon after, so did his brother William, co-executor with Thomas Mayhew. They were supposed to invest the Irish money in suitable lands for Hallam's infant daughter Mary. In Chancery in 1732, a Master called Holford set out to list such of Thomas Mayhew's properties as should be handed over. But they never were in Mary's lifetime. Happily, perhaps she did not miss them much, as she soon married Philip Bennet, Esq. of Widcombe Manor, outside Bath, a most beautiful mansion built by him c.1727. He was M.P. for Shaftesbury when she died in 1739, and later M.P. for Bath. His sister was married to a brother of his neighbour, the celebrated Postmaster Ralph Allen of Prior Park.

The hand-over of properties was delayed in the following masterly fashion. Every time one of Thomas Mayhew's numerous heirs died, a *Bill of Revivor* became necessary for the suit to continue, often against a new set of administrators. Thus it was not till 1767, that Mary Bennet's son Philip recovered his rightful inheritance of £19,220.4.6. in the form of Whatfield Hall and other properties in Suffolk, the King's Head Inn in Colchester, and the Manor of Bourchier's Hall, Tollesbury (Morant I. p.402) of which the Master found Thomas Mayhew to have held a mortgage (1722) of £6,900 for securing repayment of £3,444.

As for another client, Penelope Wyncoll, widow of Dedham, it appears that in 1728, the year of Thomas Mayhew's death, he advised her to burn her husband's will (or else advised her what to do when she had done so) and so his and her affairs appeared concurrently in Chancery with the Hallam ones (Higham v. Bacon) and these meant that administrations of part of Thomas Mayhew's estates continued to be granted till 1821: when they consisted of a still useful residue in Chappel, Great Tey, Wakes Colne and Mount Bures, and two leases for 1,000 years at Elmstead, which had another 900 years to run.

To begin with, in 1728, the only surviving executor of Thomas Mayhew's will of 1716/18 was the Town Clerk, Richard Bacon, to whom the first Administration was granted. Thomas Mayhew, only son of the deceased, was granted Administration, after his coming of age. As we learn from the wall-tablet erected to him in 1748 by William Mayhew, now in the vestry of St Mary at the Walls, this Thomas was a "student of Christ Church, Oxford, afterwards at Leyden in Holland" but died a bachelor in 1738. In 1742 William Mayhew secured the Administration (with others). In 1736, when he was 30, he had married Thomas' sister Elizabeth (29), i.e. his first cousin: a fact duly noted on the tablet in St Mary's.

Thomas' will mentions the Whatfield estate, and many others at Pattiswick, Little Totham, Alphamstone, two in Colchester, to be sold and the proceeds divided between his three sisters, Anna, Maria and Christiana but as these estates were in Chancery, and many of them more properly belonged to the Hallams, no sale could take place. William Mayhew, as executor, made the sisters allowances instead.

As such they had little chance of any dowry: thus, besides Elizabeth married to William (so necessary to the family defences), only one other married, Christiana, to Richard Dawes, surgeon, of not much note.

In the circumstances it is not surprising that William Mayhew had strong feelings about badly made wills; and the ones he made himself were far from ordinary.

For one thing, he usually puts in a "supervisor", a sort of long-stop behind the executors, to whom they are to refer as umpire in case of disputes. This was a common practice in Tudor and Stuart wills, but very rare in the 18th century. He also advised clients to write in their own hand anything particularly disputatious. Otherwise, it seems, he sat down and wrote them, off the cuff, in his own hand to the testator's dictation: so a lot of oddities creep in, and occasional presents to himself, wife and sisters.

A good will, almost a self-portrait, is that of his sister Anna (1752) whose legacies include a chair to her dog: another is that of Dr Robert Potter (1752) who leaves many nice bibelots to the Mayhews, including his own portrait holding a rose.

A useful early will, 1733/4, is that of Richard, brother of Arthur Winsley, who founded the Almshouses. William Mayhew made it. Thomas Mayhew witnessed it. William was given a farm at Mile End. The orphan sisters shared £150. But it is fair to add, other friends and relations got presents as well. A typical bachelor's will. £50 went to a Mr Edward Jones.

Jones turns up again in Mayhew's most outspoken will, that of Susannah Newton, spinster, 1741/3. She leaves her mother property at Much Holland for life, "she providing thereouts (sic) according to her Discretion for my unfortunate reputed Daughter or Child Susannah the spurious Offspring of that ungrateful and perfidious Villain Edward Jones of Colchester in the County of Essex, grocer," and she ends by revoking all former wills "particularly" that she made in 1738, "by the base Artifice and Insinuation of the said Edward Jones."

However, a very rich will, handwritten by William Mayhew and admirably simple and straightforward, is that of Isaac Boggis, baymaker of what is now the Minories, 1762. Being a tough character, he did not leave Mayhew, trustee of his first Marriage Settlement, anything at all, not even a ring. But he appointed an adviser, as Mayhew thought he should, and added a Codicil in his own hand.

But there was one will above all that really compensated the Mayhews for the tribulations inflicted on them by uncle Thomas.

In 1737 died Thomas Harrison, gent., last of the Harrisons who had provided the Mayhews with a grandmother. A black ledger-stone in the Chancel of St Leonard's, Hythe, gives the family tree down from Ralph Harrison, Alderman, during the Siege in 1648: and it is stated thereon that it was put down by Mr William Mayhew, a devisee and executor named in the last will of the said Thomas.

Written as usual in William Mayhew's own hand, it begins by saying that Thomas Harrison is sick and infirm but of sound mind, and "for preventing any disputes and controversies that may arise among my relations", he makes his will as follows:

He leaves to his particular Friend and namesake Mr Ive Harrison of the city of London, mercer, the White Hart Inn, in Colchester, for himself and heirs, so not to be sold.

To William Mayhew, attorney, kinsman, he leaves his "new erected brick'd messuage" at the Hythe, and a Quay there. But three good premises opposite the Town Hall, and a farm at Walton (sic) are to be sold to provide £500 to his reputed daughter, Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Clarke of Pattiswick.

Then he climbs about the family tree as follows:

Humphrey Mayhew of Pattiswick 1/-d; but £20 to his wife, and £5 each to her son William and daughters Elizabeth and Mary, "their own receipts required and not their father's".

Similarly, Thomas Mayhew 1/-d, but his sisters Anna, Mary, Elizabeth, Christiana and Jane, daughters of the late, Thomas Mayhew, £5 each.

Mrs Elizabeth Mayhew of Chelmsford, and sons John and Thomas, £5 each.

And after a few other legacies, he makes Ive Harrison an executor, "with no further reward or gratuity", but William Mayhew the other, has the residue of his estate "to defend any suit that may be commenced by the said Thomas or Humphrey or either of them", whom, you recall, he cut off with a shilling.

The signatures are very shaky, and a further Item is this:

"I give to my Landlord Salmon's family and to the Nurses and helps that sat up with me Hatbands and Gloves, and to Thomas Bush and his wife Hatbands and Gloves. Also I give to Mrs Salmon's maid Ten shillings and sixpence and to the man Samuel who lives with Salmon my shoes and Stockens and direct that my Landlord Salmon makes my coffin."

(Salmon was a carpenter and builder.)

And this was signed 30 January 1737.

"The Bequest to his reputed daughter Elizabeth having been first struck out by his order."

It was she who was to have £500 from the sale of three shops opposite the Town Hall (they are now nos. 28-30), and a farm at Walton. Happily the High Street deeds declare that some few days before he died Harrison was reconciled to her: "and sent for Mr Mayhew and desired she should have the farm at Clackton (sic) in lieu of £500 but declared himself too ill to sign any more papers; which the said William Mayhew promised to perform". The switch from Walton to Clacton is not explained. But Morant (I. p.484) notes that in 1768 Philip Bennet, Esq. has "Walton-Ashes and another good Farm" at Walton. These were involved in another will by Thomas Mayhew, that of John Moore of 1726.

In the event Mayhew exchanged the 3 High Street properties for the farm at Clacton. Elizabeth was married first to Thomas Smith, vintner, and then to Robert Godfrey, master bricklayer by whom she had a son who was Robert Harrison Godfrey, gent. in 1786. The shops were mortgaged to William Mayhew, father and son: but at least Elizabeth had occupancy, and as an old lady lived comfortably in what is now a shop that looks down Trinity Street.

Mr Ive Harrison, left the White Hart Inn (round Bank Passage at the top of High Street), was far less lucky.

In 1737 the will was witnessed by three of Salmon's associates:

Thomas Rush Jonathan Field	Master bricklayers
James Corke	Apprentice carpenter

Both Rush and Field died in 1743.

In 1747 the Inn was offered for sale: it is not clear by whom.

In 1754 James Corke and John Wilkinson, bricklayer, son-in-law of Rush and brother-in-law of Field, gave evidence for Ive Harrison in Chancery that they had known Thomas Harrison, and the witnesses' signatures were authentic, &c.

Ive Harrison declared himself to be in a state of anxiety, 17 years after it was made, lest the will should be lost, or the next-of-kin should pretend that Harrison had been too ill to know what he was doing.

This Mayhew stoutly denied, and said they were not dreaming of depriving Harrison of his inheritance.

Mr Ive Harrison made his point. A Mr Charles Whaley bought the Inn from him: by 1764 it was new built. In 1763 Dr Johnson stayed the night there and made memorable comments on good eating. He was seeing Boswell off to Holland.

But how nicely Thomas Harrison did by Mayhew, and his son after him, may be judged by an advertisement in the *Ipswich Journal* for April 19th, 1788. It concerns an Auction of all the Harrison estates. William Mayhew moved from Holy Trinity to the Hythe soon after he inherited from Harrison.

And Lot I is "Mr Mayhew's late Dwelling House, which is completely fit, and ready for the reception of a small genteel family; the house is compact and neat,

with sash windows, is delightfully situate, and commands a pleasant prospect; and comprises of two parlours, a study, kitchen, and pantry, on the ground floor; 4 bedchambers, 4 garrets, a cellar, and good wine-vault, with a brewhouse, laundry, dairy, and a range of convenient out-offices; a four stall stable, two coach houses, granary, a very large orchard, neat gardens well laid out, and planted with choice fruit and other trees."

A Wharf, Quay, Limekiln, &c. follow, and Lot V is at Great Clacton:

"Consisting of a messuage and Farm, copyhold of inheritance, at the will of the lord, pleasantly situated about half a mile from the village of Great Clacton, and a part of the land comes up directly to the German ocean, from which land on the sea is a fine view: the house is very convenient, and large enough and fit for the summer's residence of a small family; the gardens are neat, and well planted and laid out; the ponds are well stocked with fish, and the land is good, and contains 77 acres, 3 roods, and 24 poles, now occupied by Wm. Moss, tenant at will, who will shew the premises."

The Clacton *pied-a-terre* must have been very convenient when he was on business near the coast. This he frequently was, for the number of wills he made there (more than he ever made in Colchester) is explained by a more important employment of eighteenth century attorneys, that of holding manor courts.

Charles Gray MP of the Hollytrees had the biggest practice in this line, but Mayhew was Deputy to Sir Richard Lloyd, Steward to Bessy, Dowager Countess of Rochford, whose Essex estates included the manors and rectories of Great and Little Clacton, St Osyth, Kirby, Walton and Thorpe-le-Soken, with 6,800 acres of land. When the 4th Earl succeeded in 1746 a new steward, William Field, did the work himself, and Mayhew no longer appears.

But Mayhew was, in his own right, steward of Tollesbury and Whatfield, and also employed at East Mersea. And in Suffolk at Layham, he was similarly steward to the D'Oyley family, whose fortune came from the invention of cheap summer fabrics in Charles II's time: hence the doyleys on dining tables. The horse gave professional men a wide range of activity in the eighteenth century.

But it is when we come to politics that we see William Mayhew in the role for which he was remembered as a hero long after. And, as for the play, it is as well to realise that the rules of the game were comparatively simple. If you watch a game of whist, knowing the rules of it, and how the player seeks to inform his partner of what he holds, without alerting his opponents to the same extent, that is a good image of the honesty involved. Moreover, politics in the eighteenth century were in a framework which it was widely held was as good as human nature permitted. For many the Whig Revolution of 1688, had issued in the best of all possible worlds. This was the Land of Liberty, and if its inhabitants were not always worthy of it, that was due to Human Frailty, and no fault of our Glorious Constitution. Hence Reform tended to a rude word, and Innovation distinctly perilous.

As Henry Fielding said, in his paper "The Champion", mostly devoted to the destruction of Robert Walpole, the largest sect in England were the UBIQUITARIANS. They were everywhere, in every class of society, and their creed was: "WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT".

Thus in Mayhew's time, the Charter of the Borough of Colchester was regarded, after some loosening up in the time of William and Mary, though in structure it dated back to 1635, as good as anyone could wish, and its loss in 1742 was the disaster which it was his role to repair.

Mediaeval kings had gradually added more useful privileges and possessions to the Borough, but it was Charles I who added the practice (each time a Charter was renewed) of nominating (on local advice) not only the High Steward, Recorder and first Mayor, but also a complete set of Aldermen, Assistants, and Common-Councilmen *for life*. Democracy only entered in when death, resignations, bankruptcy or insanity offered a vacancy. Then such of the free-burgesses who were rate-payers in the town, would assemble and nominate TWO persons, and the surviving Corporation chose the one they liked best or hated least. Only a free-burgess might become one of the 18 Common-Councilmen, only a Common Council man could become one of the 18 Assistants. Only an Assistant could be one of the 12 Aldermen, only an Alderman could be made Mayor, or one of the two J.P.s annually elected. The Mayor presided, among many other duties, at two weekly Courts, the Monday Court for Freemen, and the Thursday Court for "Foreigners". FURRINERS were those persons who just lived here, and had no vote because they were not free. "Foreign Fines" were a rate which could be collected from such persons if in business.

During our period the free-burgesses were something around 1,600 in number You became a free-burgess by right of Birth because your father or grandfather was one, or by right of apprenticeship, because your Master had been one. You could also purchase a Freedom, but only by consent of the free-burgess in Common-Floor assembled. *All* free-burgesses had a right to vote on additions to their number. In Queen Anne's day, some Mayors sold freedoms privately to raise Money for the Corporation, but this was declared illegal by the Commons on 6th May 1714. Thus on the whole the free-burgesses kept themselves to themselves, except in times of great excitement when one Party or another wished to make certain of its majority. More usually Honorary free-burgesses were useful persons, whom it was intended to bump up to be Aldermen and Mayor (which could be done in a day, at a pinch). Others were rich outsiders who gave a lavish entertainment by way of thanks.

The Charter in force up to 1741 was that of William and Mary, 1693, which in its turn had merely re-instated the Officers appointed by Charles II in 1684. In Anne's day, Sir Ralph Creffield and John Potter were the leading Tories, and Sir Isaac Rebow the leading Whig. Rebow served in 11 Parliaments, but the Whigs were not in the ascen-

dancy till after Potter failed in 1719. The Borough property was heavily mortgaged. All the Whigs did after 1720 was to ensure the mortgages were transferred to Whigs.

In 1721, the Mayor, Arthur Winsley, who founded the Alms-houses, and lies on a handsome marble monument in St James's, ordered the Town Clerk, Edmund Raynham, to advertise the Corporation's least encumbered estate to let for a 100 years. This was the Severalls, 630 acres of arable and pasture, 150 of woodland. Daniel Defoe took this up for £1,000 down, and a rent of £120 per annum. (His Moll Flanders was said to be born at Mile End.)

He settled this estate on one of his daughters, from whom it passed to a family called Bernard, and stayed till 1820.

By the late thirties William Mayhew was Agent to the Bernards, and collected their rent for them, and paid the Corporation. So did his son after him. In the fifties he was indefatigable in turning off persons who sought to establish squatters' rights on Kingswood Heath. He tried to establish a race-course instead.

But we must revert to the twenties.

Sir Isaac Rebow died in 1726. He was M.P., High Steward and Recorder, and lately Mayor. His son succeeded him as M.P. This son was married to a daughter of Alderman Matthew Martin. Martin became Mayor and High Steward. The new Recorder was Robert Price, Esq. whose brother was married to a Martin. As was his privilege he appointed the Town Clerk. This was Richard Bacon, whose elder brother had lately married one of Sir Isaac's daughters.

It would appear that the Whigs had everything under control, but it was not to be.

In 1727, following the collapse of a boom induced by plague in France, the local cloth trade, the famous trade in bays, run by Dutch families who settled here in 1575, was in dire straits. Sufficient Whigs went bankrupt for Tories to triumph and take over the trade, and Corporation as well. Old Sir Ralph Creffield became Mayor. Young Tories were rapidly promoted. In '28 and '29 Mayors John Blatch and James Boys admitted 190 new free-burgesses, including on November 3 1729 many outside gentry.

This was common practice, when you wished to control a Borough, and was partly revenge for the behaviour of the Whigs in the by-election of 1706, when Mayor John Raynham made freemen in alehouses, taverns and private places, unattended by the Town Clerk, a fact confirmed by the Assembly Book for 6 November in that year.

In 1733 Joseph Duffield even reverted to the sale of freedoms, and he, Blatch, Boys, and an apothecary named Carew shared all the mayoralities from 1728-41, during which time no Whig was ever promoted. And to make the Mayor more impressive, most of the Corporation plate was melted into the present Mace, the second largest in England.

Of the money Duffield raised by selling freedoms, over £200 stayed in his pocket till 1738, when he was told to invest it in South Sea Annuities. After that it was taken out to pay for law-suits, which usually profited no-one but the Town Clerk. On his retirement in 1736, Richard Bacon presented a bill for £534 for services rendered and was duly paid. In 1738 William Mayhew presented a bill for £103, for applying to the Commons in March '36, for a Paving Act, though the bill was dropped in Committee. The Corporation could neither pave nor pay, but agreed that he should have 4 p.c. interest. And on 4th September 1738 he was promoted Common-councilman and Assistant.

However, the Tory path was now far from smooth.

In 1739/40 George Gray, glazier and Whig Alderman, was convicted of "sodomitical practices", (where, when and with whom, being fully reported in the Assembly Book or Borough Minutes). So he was removed. But this was a Pyrrhic victory.

Sir Robert Walpole had decided Colchester was ripe for recapture. In 1740 it was arranged that seven local innkeepers, who were not free, should bring an action against John Blatch, the Mayor, and others, for levying a 10/-Foreign Fine on them as a Licence to draw Beer. County Assizes found this to be illegal, so the Borough Chamberlain (or Treasurer) Abia Hutchinson was ordered to repay all such illegal extortions since 1715, when the order for such fines had been made.

Furthermore the Justices (i.e. Aldermen) who had ordered the levy and their officer, William Seaber, who had gone to collect them, were referred to King's Bench for sentence, and kept in London 10 days before they were fined £100 each "and a fourth person £120." (*Ipswich J.* 29 Nov. 1740) being greeted on their return to Colchester with "Huzzas, Links, and much Applause."

More important, it was found that Mayors Blatch and Boys had been illegally elected in 1728, and '9, so they were removed, and George Wegg senior, holder of all the Bormch mortgages save the severalls, resigned aswell.

Legal proceedings in such cases were frequent and vexatious. Writs of *Quo Warranto*, (by what warrant), would be entered in the High Court against persons allegedly usurping power: if successful, King's Bench would send down a Writ of *Mandamus*, an Order that the proper person be admitted to office.

Ejection of improper persons might go so far that no Quorum was left to do anything.

Hence in March '41 there were not enough Tory Aldermen left to prevent a 70-year old Whig, Jerry Daniell, being made Mayor, in time for the General Election in May.

And before coming to that election, we may add that a *Quo Warranto* being entered against the Aldermen who elected Daniell, by William Daniel the attorney who conducted all these affairs for Walpole, a new election for Mayor was ordered for 31st August, and Jeremiah Daniell, acting Mayor and others being met, the proceedings were prevented by a riot led by 13 notable burgesses, William Seaber, Isaac Boggis, the leading baymaker of the time, two of his family, and others. Happily the Ipswich Journal was able to report next March that "several honest citizens" had been acquitted for rioting on Charter Day.

But it is now time to speak of the General Election, but first to hold our horses and say a little of such elections in general.

Accumulated in the manner described before, free-burgesses, high and low, were a very mixed bag. In Colchester all 1,600 of them came into their own at an election for Parliament.

The vital thing to remember is that continuing mediaeval practice, there were TWO M.P.s for each Borough, however small, and elections being very expensive, in mid-eighteenth century, the Whigs and Tories often settled for One Seat Each, and were returned unopposed. This was known as a COMPROMISE, and could be very unpopular.

Normally the free-burgesses expected lavish supplies of drink, and other favours. If they were OUT-VOTERS, i.e. no longer lived here, they would be fetched down from London or elsewhere, and lodged and fed as well. It was a great time for family reunions. Meantime special Assemblies and Monday Courts would be held at which those who had not taken up their freedoms, appeared, were sworn, and then were entered in the Oath Book.

Political waverers could expect to be tipped for a vote, and tipped double if they "plumped" — i.e. voted for one candidate only. How everyone had voted was afterwards printed in "Poll-Books", so the political behaviour was wide-open. And both sides were represented on the hustings to see no one voted who should not.

A Colchester poem of 1785, the "Memoirs of Sir Simeon Supple", describes how that gentleman decides to stand, gives the Corporation a feast, which ends up under the table, and then proceeds to the Poll.

"I never beheld so delightful a show!" (says he)
"The Clerks were well-powdered, and ranged in a row!
And in ev'ry nich of the hustings were seen
A *monstrous* huge Counsellor squeezed in between
Whose business, I found, on this eminent day,
Was to argue the rights of the voters away."

It was the Mayor, as Returning Officer, who presided and allowed or disallowed voters as they arrived. He could also close the Poll at a favourable moment. Thus the Corporation Party was in a strong position. It was only modified by the unhappy candidate's right to demand a Scrutiny before the result was announced. This was a check through the votes cast. Some would be entered with a "Quaere" beside them -- if for example they were thought to be receiving Parish relief, which disqualified them. And if a Scrutiny didn't work, the defeated candidate could petition the Commons in which meantime the victors sat. Results were thus often reversed, but it was a lengthy and expensive process. Defeated candidates in a Borough like Colchester often went bankrupt.

The election of 1741, held on May 7th to 9th, was scandalous beyond all measure.

Old Jerry Daniell the Whig Mayor could not stand the pace. After the first day he went home, and appointed Sergeant Price, the Whig Recorder, as his Deputy on the hustings.

There were four candidates for the two seats. The two Whigs were Ald. Martin, and a young find of Walpole's, John Olmius, Esq.

The Tories were Samuel Savill and Charles Gray of the Holly Trees. His father was the sodomitical George, who later cut him out of his will. But Gray was the most respected character at Colchester, and eventually its M.P. in most Parliaments up till 1780.

Presiding over this Poll, however, as came out when a petition reached the Commons, Recorder Price (though he had not objected to them when Houblon was elected in 1735) succeeded in disqualifying all the honorary freemen the Tories had created since 1728.

"No matter," he said, "poll them with a *Quaere*; there will be a future time to enquire into it." On this basis, though Gray and Savill were well ahead if you included the honorary freemen, he thought it safe to return Martin and Olmius, without announcing the number of votes cast. Nor would he permit a scrutiny. So Martin and Olmius went off to Parliament to support Walpole. The printed Poll-Book puts all the persons queried in italics, 140 or so for Gray & Savill, some 50 for Martin and Olmius.

Price was so unpopular then dying soon after this, he was buried on 15 August in London in the Temple Church, "and not in Colchester as first intended." His home parish was Holy Trinity, and his house about where St John's Green School now stands, with a garden stretching down northward towards Scheregate Steps.

But by now the Commons were hot on Walpole's trail, and in February 1742, declared quite rightly that Gray and Savill should have been returned. Mr William Mayhew, as one of the scrutineers appointed by the petitioners, was a witness for them.

Gray and Savill returned to Colchester in such triumph that there is no mention in the local papers that on April 6th the acting Whig Mayor and remaining Aldermen "disclaimed on record in the Court of King's Bench", and thus the Charter which depended on their existence was lost, and Colchester was without one till 1763.

Barrington Taverner, the Town Clerk, fled abroad. He was in Cagliari, Sardinia, when in 1767 he begged Gray to ask the Corporation to pay his bill for business done "while their former Charter was expiring and my poor affairs (by my own fatal misconduct) were going to ruin."

But the loss of the Charter, which meant that the Borough was ruled like any other Hundred of Essex by County J.P.s and a Chief Constable appointed by them,* soon began to hurt. Nor did it help in 1745 that our two Tory M.P.s were thought to have Jacobite leanings. They sat still and said nothing.

It was the ejected Whig M.P., John Olmius, of New Hall, Boreham, who wrote to his Majesty, very early in the rebellion, offering to raise 500 men at a week's notice, and

*For the record there were three Chief Constables during this interregnum. *Wm. Seaber*, draper 1742-6, *Henry Lodge*, upholsterer 1746-56, and *John Pilborough*, printer 1756-63.

The local J.P.s most active were Charles Gray, Jeremiah Daniell, son of the Mayor, and the rector of Lexden, the Rev. James Kilner.

In 1742 a bill for erecting Hospitals & Workhouses in Colchester received the royal assent in June: William Mayhew, Governor, Isaac Boggis, baymaker, Deputy Governor, Abia Hutchinson, tallow-chandler, Treasurer of the Workhouse Corporation. But this led to nothing.

It will be noted, however, they were all Tories: only Pilborough not a free-burgess.

pay for their arms when sent down. The Lord Lieutenant of Essex, Lord Fitzwalter, was furious, and told Olmius "such offers did not become any private gentleman, but only Lords Lieutenant and the very prime of the nobility". A Lord was a Lord in those days. The snub was the more galling in that Olmius' one aim in life was to become a Peer.

In 1747, the Tories being in very low water, William Mayhew espoused the cause of the Hon. Richard Savage Nassau, younger brother of a very important Whig, the Earl of Rochford, whose seat was at St Osyth Priory.

The *Ipswich Journal* for June 20th 1747, introduced Mr Nassau as follows:

To the Burgesses of Colchester.

> WHEREAS the *Hon. Richard Savage Nassau Esq.* has been encouraged by several of the Burgesses to offer himself as a Candidate at the next General Election, in Opposition to a Compromise, which, it is apprehended, will greatly tend to the taking away the Rights and Privileges of the said Borough; Your Votes and Interest are therefore desir'd for the said Hon. Richard Savage Nassau, in Opposition to such Compromise, which will very much oblige, Gentlemen,
>
> Your most humble Servant,
> Richard Savage Nassau.

The result was a triumph for Mr Nassau. He had 797 votes, of whom all but 200 were plumpers, and of the London votes he had 70 out of 78. Mr Gray came next with 682, and Olmius last with 553.

However, Nassau had only stood to oblige his brother the Earl. He was a very luke-warm attender at the Commons. The recovery of the Charter meant too much exertion and expense. It did not appeal to him.

In the Colchester branch of the Record Office, there is an envelope containing much of Mayhew's correspondence with our backsliding M.P.'s.

The first item is Mayhew's rough copy of a letter to Nassau on 2nd October 1749, sending him a petition signed by over 200 persons, and saying he could get 700 or more if needed. Moreover, says Mayhew, "I know how to get you reimbursed any Expense you may be at, out of Corporation Revenues" and "you will gain the heart of the people by it for the future" and "immortalize the name of Nassau". But, Nassau expressed himself surprised not to have heard from "his Friends in Colchester", that the petition was coming.

Mayhew was filled with indignation. Were not the petitioners Mr Nassau's true Friends? Had they not voted for him, expecting a Charter, which the principal citizens stood in far less need of. Nassau had not promised in writing to recover the charter, but Mayhew had regarded it as a Point of Honour that he would. In applying to him, Mayhew had faithfully reported "the Complaints" of your injured Friends ... those poor distressed Burgesses", so it was up to Nassau to take such steps as seemed prudent.

Nassau's failure to move led to his utter rejection by his supporters. He did not stand again.

Meantime in 1750 Mayhew organised the Charter Club, meeting conveniently at the Kings Head, still in his hands as part of his uncle Thomas's estate.

But why did the loss of the Charter matter so much to the Club members?

It had already been stated very well in 1748 by the Rev. Philip Morant in his immortal "History and Antiquities of Colchester", written partly at the request of Gray, who afterwards thanked him for restoring the town's self-respect.

Book I. p.71 puts the case.

> "Some stupid Persons pretend", says Morant, "that we enjoy greater Quietness than when we remained in full Possession of our Charter. But that *noise* was only the glorious Sound and Echo of Liberty. And how disagreeable is our Situation? If we have any Appeals, or other Law-business, which used to be transacted in our Courts with great Ease and very little Charge, we are forced to be dragged about 20 miles to Chelmsford, at a very great expense; and the Money that used to be spent among us, is sunk there.
>
> "The pavements of our streets, and the town-houses, and other estates are running to ruin; our public gifts and benefactions lost for want of persons duly qualified to receive them, or infamously imbezzled and squandered away, and only for some few private ends which I am ashamed to mention.
>
> And he concludes sadly:
>
> "... En quo discordia cives
> Perduxit miseros ...!" (Virgil. *Eclogues* 1. 72)

Similarly on October 14 1749, launching the petition that so vexed Mr Nassau, after saying that those who signed the Petition at the shop of Mr Charles Darby, stationer, in Colchester, were "unanimously determined to support for the Future the interest of such Gentlemen only who will assist us in obtaining the full Enjoyment of all our Rights", the advertisement in the *Ipswich Journal* then continues:

> "N.B. The Advantages of a Charter, amongst others are these: When we had a Charter, we had a Right by our own Voices to elect our principal and subordinate *Magistrates*, whose Duty and Business it was to distribute Justice at our own Doors: and Courts to recover small Debts at an easy Expense ... Our own and Children's Rights to *Freedom* were then preserved, our *Apprentices* secured in obtaining that Freedom their honest Services entitled them to: now they have nobody to admit them to those Rights --- we were deprived our *half-year Commons*, our Cattle are impounded, and no redress to be had --- Our *Estates* run to ruin for want of Repairs: the *Rents* of many lost for want of proper Persons to compel payment ... A valuable *Fishery* incroached upon and made common --- Our pavements running in ruin. Our *Streets* annoyed with Nuisances --- Our *Markets* spoiled by Forestallers, Regrettors, and Ingrossers (those were all sorts of middle-men who did nothing but put up prices) --- &c &c. --- Sure, none but the most abject Slaves to Ease and Indolence, and Persons disregarding a Freeman's Oath can tamely suffer these Things.
>
> (Signed) Yours, A FREE BURGESS"

In July 1752, "The Young Men of Colchester, that have a Right, but have not been admitted to their Freedoms ... are desired to meet at the King's Head Inn, every second Monday of the Month, in order to make an Estimate of Your Number; it being thought the most expedient Method to induce some worthy Commoner to bring us a Charter; not doubting but you will every Man vote for, and use your utmost Interest in so noble a Cause as renewing your ancient Rights and Privileges.

N.B. Those that not in Town, or cannot come, are desired to send their Names and Places of Abode --- It is not a Party Cause, nor will any Expense accrue."

The technique of this was an eighteenth century common-place. You built up a solid band of voters, and then found a candidate or candidates who would do what you wanted. In 1768 such a person was even advertised for, and Alexandra Fordyce, Banker, duly stepped forward.

But in 1753, as another election approached, Mayhew and the Club had a difficult hand to play.

The first difficulty is obscure. There were evidently those who fancied some new form of Charter, and in May '53, the Charter Club warned the Freemen: "Avoid the Snake in the Grass! ... Innovations and *Charter Cookery* are not the things we want." And the Freemen were begged not to be deflected from their purpose. "Thus to act will shew you are not the Scoundrels some modern Gentlemen are pleased to call you, to be purchased at an hour's warning by money and drink for any Vile purpose: but men of the generous Mastiff's Quality in the Fable --- who can refuse Bread from those who attempt to stop your Clamour for an Opportunity to plunder your families."

One of the Club's constant themes after this, is that the free-burgesses would reject any cooked-up Charter if obtained. Charters had to be accepted. They would vote against.

And the second difficulty Mayhew and the Club were up against was that no two Candidates would work together in a Compromise, let alone accept the Club's support.

In the summer of '53, it was known that both *Olmius* and *Grey* would be seeking election, but both were intending "to stand single". In June Mayhew suggested to Olmius that his "interest", i.e. support of the Town was strong enough to take a second candidate in with him, (so long as it wasn't Mr Nassau), if both would promise to get the Charter. But no one agreed. So what Mayhew did to pin Olmius down was quite extraordinary.

He pursuaded Olmius to bet him (in the form of a promissory note) 500 gns to one, that he Olmius would NOT be elected, or, IF ELECTED, he would NOT be petitioned against, within 14 days.

This is distinctly subtle!

It means that if Mayhew (and the Club) saw to it that Olmius was either returned unopposed, or at the head of the Poll (hence in no danger of a Petition) he could afford to get them a Charter. It normally cost much more than 500 gns to get in.

But all hope of a compromise was lost when a third candidate appeared. This was Isaac Martin Rebow, great grandson of Sir Isaac Rebow, the great Whig of Queen Anne's day, hence our "Sir Isaac's Walk", which was part of his garden at Headgate.

Furthermore Isaac Martin Rebow was backed by ANOTHER Charter Club, meeting in High Street at the King's *Arms*.

The original Charter Club at the King's *Head* reacted by advertising its firm and continued support for Olmius and Gray. But all in vain. They both repeated their determination "to stand single".

Moreover Olmius was very put out. In its advertisement the Club had been so rash as to state that the Faction raised against Gray and Olmius was chiefly composed of those "Brewers, Distillers, Tavern and Alehouse-keepers, whose Interest is to promote the running of Taps without Limitation; that the miserable may get drunk, and become insensible of their own Wretchedness, and the Injury they are doing their poor Wives and Children --- It is likely, Gentlemen, that you should be benefitted by those who occasioned you to lose the very Rights and Privileges you want to have restored? No, Gentlemen; Hussars seldom give up their plunder!" So, the Club was determined to support Gray and Olmius, even though their friends "would not permit either to join the other."

It was the inn-keepers who by objecting to paying Foreign Fines precipitated the loss of the Charter in 1741. But Olmius now advertised his resentment of the injurious remarks about "many Persons for whom I have a particular Regard."

And (fortified by the wager of 500 gns) it may well have been Mayhew who on April 13 1754 inserted the following advertisement in the *Ipswich Journal.*

"The Free-burgesses of Colchester in the Interest of JOHN OLMIUS Esq: are desired to meet at some of the following Houses at Colchester on Monday next, being the day appointed for the Election, *in order to proceed thence to the Hustings.*

The *Queen's Head* in the High Street

The *Post House* (then the Old Three Crowns at the head of High Street)

The *White Bear* near the Hustings

The *Castle* at North Bridge (nowadays a restaurant or café)

The *Black Naggs* in Headgate Street

The *Fleece* in the same street (now Halifax Building Society)

The *Maidenhead*

N.B. The Poll to begin at Nine o'clock."

At the same time an "OUTCRY" was raised against Mr Gray for supporting an Act encouraging the Import of Irish Yarn. English spinners would suffer! Gray replied that the Act was to prevent Yarn going to France, whereby they would suffer far more. France would make more cloth than we did.

But the Outcry and the Running of Taps paid off. The result of the Poll was. OLMIUS, top, with 628: Isaac Martin Rebow, next, with 572: GRAY, bottom, 545.

For Mayhew, this was highly embarrassing. He was primarily agent for Gray. A SCRUTINY was immediately

asked for and granted. Rebow marched out in disgust. Olmius was docked of 55 votes, Rebow of 75, and Grey of only 30: by which means Gray came second with 515 to Rebow's 497 and was returned with Olmius.

Rebow petitioned against Gray, not Olmius. The 500 guineas were still safe.

The petition was heard in January 1755. Two excited letters from Mayhew to his Colchester partner Richard Freeman tell us something of them. Counsellor Pratt (later Lord Camden) was a very Cicero in support of Gray. Freeman must send up the parish officers to give evidence on voters receiving alms, &c. &c.

On 13 March the *House of Commons Journals* devote nine pages folio, and double columns, to the Report on the Petition. They are astonishing reading. Suffice it to say here that the case for Gray was based on the entry of free-burgesses in the Oath Book, but this was shown to be so higgledy-piggledy, and to have so many pages torn out, or re-numbered, that Mayhew, although affirming it had been no different when he was a scrutineer in 1734, had to admit that *some* Voters might have rights of which there was now no record.

When the Commons Committee began to accept voters on "parole evidence", i.e. on oath, counsell for Gray gave up, and said "he would trouble the Committee no further." So Rebow took his rightful seat. Not surprisingly, no Poll-Book was published. For the joy of his supporters, see Appendix.

But Mayhew was indomitable.

Hardly was Rebow safe in his seat, than he wrote to Olmius, uring that he and Rebow should combine in getting the Charter they had separately promised the free-burgesses they would do.

"If," says Mayhew, "Gentlemen had rather spend two or three Thousand Pounds in an Election and forefeit their Character, rather than assist them in their request, MERRY be their HEARTS, and let them be gone. But if they have a Mind to enjoy the Borough in Peace and quietness, let them join in getting a Charter, and I will heartily assist."

Moreover, if the M.P.s won't assist, the People will apply for a Charter without them, so it is their last chance to prove themselves. And Mayhew concludes by telling Olmius: "As I am called upon as a Guarantee for you, *I hope I shall have no Reason to complain of a Breach of Faith, but paint you in those Colours I always wish to see honest Men in, for it is Time to know who really are so, and who not!*"

OLMIUS did not mind how he was painted, and two years later, returning to the attack, Mayhew was very blunt. "Nothing," he wrote "renders a man so despicable as the breach of his promise ... If I hear not soon from you, I shall give directions" (to apply for a Charter) "and place it to the Account of your Note".

This time Olmius replied that if Mayhew had had only a fortnight's patience, he'd have heard from him.

And four days after, Olmius and Rebow having met out of harm's way at Witham, they announced their joint resolve to get a Charter "as soon as possible". This news, however, was not sent to Mayhew, but to Philip Havens, a Quaker, who belonged to the Charter Cookery Club. So Mayhew told Olmius once again, no new fangled Charter would be accepted, even if obtained.

But it is evident that both M.P.s had decided to rely on other support.

Prebendary Boggis, who collected the history of that family, has a note of declaration by Olmius and Gray which appears to date from this time.

In it they deny that they "are aiming to place whole Power in the Magistrates and the House and so take away the Rights of the rest of the Free-burgesses": witnesses:-

John Olmius	Phil. Havens	Will. Rowght
Cha. Gray	Mich. Hills	Isaac Boggis
Jere. Daniel	John Wall	Will. Bloys

the last six all baymakers

In November, when Mayhew wrote again, Olmius replied from Parliament Street as follows:

Dear Sir,

Your letter has greatly surprised me. You must be sensible in the present state of affairs, it's impossible any answer can be given you by, Sir, Your most Humble Servant,

J. Olmius

To which Mayhew replied with an ultimatum. Either Mr Olmius was to put down 100 gns towards obtaining the Charter, or "pay the 500 gns I have your promissory note for."

IN FACT on 3rd November, the Privy Council HAD been presented with a humble petition from Colchester, and this had been referred to the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals for Action.

On 9th February 1758, another Petition followed on its heels, and was similarly referred. For lack of evidence one can only guess that Petition No. 2 was from Mayhew and Co. and against Charter cookery.

Anyway, the Law Officers took their time.

In 1760 the death of George II meant that negotiations had to begin all over again. But now the wind was at last in Mayhew's favour.

For one thing, Olmius, who had re-applied for a peerage in 1757 (as a reward for his constant support of all governments) was now in hopes of getting one at the Coronation. He duly became Baron Waltham in July 1762, though it was only an Irish title, with no seat in the Lords.

Meantime, in the Election occasioned by the Accession, Gray and Rebow went all out for a Compromise. In March 1761, they attended a meeting of the King's Head Club and promised 'to persecute with Vigour and Measures already begun for the Renewal of their Charter', for which 'a proper Deposit is already made in the hands of Wm. Round Esq.' one of the County Treasurers. So Gray (Tory) and Rebow (Whig) were returned unopposed. And their pockets being reasonably intact, they were as good as their word.

On 21st December 1761 the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals reported to the Privy Council that they had been attended by 'the Agent for the Petitioners' and they recommend no alteration in the former Manner of electing the Mayor, which was by Nomination of two out of the twelve

Aldermen, for choice of one by the Mayor and residue of the said Aldermen, or the major part of them. The alteration proposed (here we come to part of the Cookery?) was that such election could be done even if those present were not the major part. The Attorney and Solicitor General do not think this alteration is necessary as there are so few Aldermen anyway and they say 'they are the more confirmed in this Opinion, as the Petitioners did not seem anxious for obtaining the Alteration proposed.'

Hence in January 1762 the Privy Council orders the Charter to be prepared, and in December a draft list of reliable local persons was proposed to hold office: and quickly approved.

The Law continued to take its time to write everything out but at the end of September 1763, Gray and Rebow were met at Lexden by the new Corporation and a wildly cheering crowd. The M.P.s had the Charter with them, for which they had waited 21 years. Upon reaching the Moot Hall, it was read out aloud by William Mayhew, junior, Deputy-Recorder, and accepted without dissent.

The Charter was perfect in every way, an exact replica of that of William and Mary, except for naming new officers, and being in English instead of Latin. Latin had ceased to be the official language in 1731.

As for the Officers, the High Steward was the Earl of Rochford and the Recorder was Isaac Martin Rebow. Charles Gray was content to be an Alderman, and so was William Mayhew senior.

The Mayor was a Whig, Thomas Clamtree, supervisor of the riding officers of the county, who was eventually Mayor six times. King Coel's Pump at the top of the High Street was quickly repaired and adorned with his name. A new Theatre was built behind the Moot Hall. Attempts were made to put some order into the Town's estates.

Mayhew 'by whose unremitting and persevering conduct the Charter had been obtained' died the next year, Tuesday, 21st August 1764, aged 58, before the charms of the Charter began to wear off. This happened when Lord Justice Mansfield found that the debts of the old Corporation would still have to be paid. That discredited Body was apparently not dead: it had merely been through a period of suspended animation. By 1768 the anti-Corporation party was so strong it could nearly win a seat in the Election.

The Corporation would not pay its debts to the former High Constable, William Seaber, so his son of the same name defeated a compromise by introducing a third candidate, the Scottish Banker, Alexandra Fordyce, very popular and open handed. Gray and Rebow survived by a few votes, but continued thereafter without much trouble till 1780.

The years that followed were factious and stormy dominated by a terrible Town Clerk, Frank Smythies. But there were still those who recalled the fight for the Charter in heroic terms. Thus Benjamin Strutt, later clerk to William Mayhew junior, writes in his *History of Colchester* (1803) p.133.

> 'Under the Charter of William and Mary, the corporation continued to act till the year 1741, when some of the officers not having been elected according to the directions of the charter, and vexatious prosecutions being commenced against several of them, they disclaimed upon record in the courts at Westminster: thus surrendering up a post and the liberties of their brethren upon the onset, without daring to wait the issue of a conflict; and delivering up a station when fortune might have continued them in possession of it.
>
> 'Yet though the charter, and of course the corporate body, was extinct and dead, public spirit, and the generous ardour of British liberty were not expired, but burned in the breasts of many whose names the burgesses of Colchester have reason ever to remember with gratitude. These first attempted, and through the course of twenty years persevered in the design of getting their brethren restored to their ancient liberties, yet so difficult was the task that it was not 'till the year 1763 a renewal of their lost charters could be obtained.
>
> 'This was done by the letters patent of George III, dated the 9th of September, 1763, which are almost literally the same as the charters of Charles II and William and Mary, and are in effect a complete and full renewal of all rights, liberties, and privileges which the burgesses of Colchester ever had, claimed, or enjoyed.'

A curious reluctance to give any names afflicts local literature after 1800. Otherwise we might know more of those to whom the town should have been so grateful.

Only William Mayhew is omnipresent. But he was a Tower of Strength as well as being a Law unto himself!

The First Chap^{r}. of the Second Epistle of Elections

This Manuscript, to which Mr. Philip Gifford, Local Studies Librarian in Colchester Library, kindly drew my attention in 1983, was evidently prepared for printing during the 1753 election, and demonstrates the opposition to Mayhew's activities, and acknowledges Charles Gray's embarrassment by them. The original is in one hand, with corrections in another.

The biblical form partly acknowledges the alliance of Whig and Dissenter, always present in Colchester. It recurs in a printed broadsheet 'The Acts' of 1787, attacking the Town Clerk, Frank Smythies, when he was disputing the Recordship with Grimwood.

Verse 3 'The Man from the West', is Olmius, from New Hall, Boreham
Verse 6 Mayhew's wager with Olmius, evidently widely known.
Verse 9 'The good old Friend' is Charles Gray b.1696.
Verse 11 'The Young Man from the East' is Isaac Martin Rebow, b.1731.
Verse 16 The curious expression: 'he put forth his finger' etc. is explained by *Isaiah* ch.58, verses 8-9; the Elder is 'seeing the light' and *not* putting forth his finger, which is a rude gesture.
Verse 21 'The Judge of the Cause' is Richard Benyon, High Sheriff.
Verse 26 'The Judges and Rulers of the People' are the Commons Committee of Privileges and Elections.
Verse 54 'The Pavement Act' is the Paving Act of 1750, tacked on to the Channel Act Geo.II. 23, 3rd session, allowing the Commissioners to raise parish rates for the purpose, in the absence of the Corporation.

Unidentified so far:-
Verse 7 The two kinsmen who had taken wives from among their enemies.
Verse 30 The Sons of Belial are probably Mayhew and George Pickard, winemerchant, who was linked to Rigby.

The 1st Chap^{r} of the second Epistle of Elections

Verse
the
1 And it came to pass in the days of George the second, in the 27th

year of his Reign, that the people cried out with a loud Voice, saying, "Let us chuse ourselves rulers over us, to make us Statutes and Laws, as are meet for us."

2 And the mighty men of C----r gather'd themselves together, even at the Kings head assembled they themselves.

3 And they commun'd together and said, "Behold here cometh a man from the West. Mighty is he in riches, so y^t there is none in all y^t Country like unto him.

4 Let us now therefore make profit unto ourselves, for surely he will buy the Town at a great price.

5 And we will show him unto the people as their Ruler, & one who will promise to make them a free people."

6 And the chief Captain covenanted & sold the Town for 500 p^s of gold, Changes of Raiment, & much eating and Drinking.

7 And Behold there were join'd unto these People two Men (& they were Kinsmen) who had taken to themselves wives from among their Enemies & had alienated their hearts from their own people.

8 And the Chief priests and Tradesmen gathered themselves together also, & cried out with a loud Voice unto the Assembly at the Kings head saying

9 "O ye Freemen & thou M---w that hast the Chief rule, we pray you take heed of our good old Friend who has so long serv'd us, for he is a meek & good man & will do for us whatsoever we Desire."

10 And they answer'd and sayd fear not it shall be well with him.

11 And it came to pass while they were yet speaking that there came a young man from the East, even of the Family of Honour & Honesty. And he spake unto the people saying, "Behold I offer myself for a Law giver unto this Town.

12 And I will walk in the steps of my fore-fathers, & will consult your good in whatsoever I do.

13 I will also restore unto you the Priviledges which my Ancestors procures for you, even for your freedoms will I exert myself."

14 But the Chief priests and the Rulers of the People cried out with a loud Voice saying he shall have no place with us.

15 And behold the glad Tidings thereof were told unto an Elder of the people y^t a Young Man from the East had offer'd himself to be a Law giver unto this Town.

16 And he put forth his finger even unto his ear, and said it pleaseth me much for well I knew his Forefathers. They were good men & there hath not been such Lawgivers for this Town even to this day.

17 And when the Day of Election drew nigh the Chief Priests spake unto the People saying, "Take not we pray you silver nor gold nor Meat nor Drink nor Changes of Raiment least peradventure it should be accounted a bribe."

18 Notwithstanding they withheld not their hands themselves but gave unto the people of the good things of this World, & it was not counted a bribe.

19 And the people shout^d with mighty shouts saying, "We will not have a Boy to rule over us (even so of old spake Saul of David)."

20 And it came to pass on the Evening of the Day of Election that they cryed out with a loud Voice saying the good old man for ever.

21 But while they were yet shouting a Man appeared unto the people even the Judge of the Cause.

22 And he spake unto y^e people by the mouth of his Servant saying, "The young man, even the young man of the East, hath the greater Number of Voices."

23 And the Chief priests Lawyers & Tradesmen were in great wrath for they had lost their good old man.

24 And they communed together and said we will surely hath a Scrutiny, and thereby secure our old Friend.

25 And thus it shall be done, we will take the Town books & cut out leaves thereof & such of, the Antient Records as will not answer our purpose will we Destroy.

26 "For surely", said they, "the Birthrights of their old Men will we take away & well establish such of their Children as shall serve our Turn.

27 Moreover we will prepare the Judge of the Cause to do for us whatsoever we would have him to do. By his Advisers will we prepare him.

28 And in their Mouths will we put a lying Spirit which for Lucre sake will they say is the Spirit of Truth.

29 And they will Deceive him (for he is a Weak man) and we know they are Men favouring our Cause."

30 And it came to pass that these two Men (Sons of Belial) did according to all those things that were said unto them.

31 And they prevail'd over the Weak judge to take away the Birthrights of many & then declare their good old man our Lawgiver contrary to Justice & the Oath he had taken & they also told him no harm should come unto him.

32 And it came to pass when the young men of the East heard these things, he answer'd them. Saying, "I cannot see the Birthrights of my Friends taken away but will surely Defend them, even before the great Senate house of this Nation."

33 Notwithstanding which they hearkened not unto his Voice, but persever'd in their Resolution till they had finish'd.

34 And it came to pass when they had quite done y^t that they put their Darling old Man into a Chair and carried him thro^t the Streets of the Town with Musick and Dancing as if they had obtain'd an honourable Victory.

35 But the young Man tarried not but hastened up to the great City.

36 And it came to pass when the Judges & Rulers of the People were gather'd together. The young man presented himself before them.

37 And behold he spake unto them Saying, "Hear me O ye Judges and Rulers and ye Counsellors Plead my Cause for I am much Injur'd."

38 And they said speak on for we will hear you.

39 And the young Man told them saying, "The good people of C---r have chosen me for their Lawgiver, but the Chief priests, Lawyers & Tradesmen of the Town have made Bondmen of Freemen & Freemen of Bondmen And behold they have taken away my Seat in this House."

40 And they answer'd him Saying, "Fear not young Man you shall have justice done you.

41 Attend you and your Counsellors & your Witnesses her on the first Month on the 22^d of y^t Month & your Cause shall be heard."

42 And it came to pass when the Day of Tryal was fully come, the Senate assembled themselves together to hear the Cause Debated on both sides.

43 And they heard the young Mans Objections first which made their good old man sore asham'd for he wot not what to say by way of reply (which made a great noise through all the Coasts of Essex) (passage in brackets is crossed through).

44 Then did the good old man make his objections, assisted by Ignorance, Ingratitude, Bribery, Perjury & foulmouth Scandal, to the great Concern of all those who had formerly conceiv'd a good Opinion of him.

45 And there was heard a mighty noise like the Sound of great Displeasure.

46 Then did the young Man like the Sun rising in the east disperse all those Clouds y^t Malice & Envy had spread over him.

47 And behold his Enemies fled before him and all those y^t rose up against him hid their faces.

48 Their good old Man also was siez'd with horror insomuch y^t he could not look this excellent young Man in the face.

49 Moreover when the young man came to answer the old mans objections, lo their good man could not stand the clearing twelve of them, but with shame and confusion of Face, quitted that which he had so unjustly obtain'd.

50 And it came to pass when the Senators saw this they cried out with a loud Voice, saying, "Hear O ye Priests & ye free men of C------r give ear & behold the Justice of the young Mans cause.

51 Now go ye therefore every Man to his own House & the young Man shall be your Lawgiver, and it shall be call'd from this Day Virtue Rewarded or Vilany Detected."

52 And when the Chief Priests, Lawyers and Tradesmen of the Town heard this, they hid themselves in holes & corners & Mourned in Sack Cloth & Ashes.

53 And all the days of the good old Man in the house were thirteen years and upwards, and he returned to his own home full of Shame and Grief.

54 Now all the Services that this good old man did for the Town of C----r from first to last and his kindness to the Poor Workmen, are they not written in the Pavement Act, Land tax Acts, & the Tryal at the County Town.

F I N I S

Acknowledgements

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Over the years since then the scholarly staffs of the Essex and Suffolk Record Offices have been invariably helpful, and now we are fortunate in having the Local Studies section in our Trinity Street Library, and the Colchester Branch Record Office at Stanwell House.

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The Editor regrets that, for reasons of space, the transcripts of letters quoted are omitted. Photocopies have been supplied to the Society's library, the Essex Record Office, Colchester branch, and the local studies section of the Colchester Public Library.

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Thos. Mayhew, attorney	1716-8/28	216 Brook
Thos. Mayhew, son of above	1736/9	701/82
WILLIAM MAYHEW	1758/64	360 Simpson
William Mayhew, son of above, Recorder of Colchester, &c.	1787/8	32 Calvert
Isaac Boggis, baymaker	1761/2	882/492

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Dr. Robert Potter, surgeon	1752	108 BR 24

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The Fambridge Colony: an experiment in land reclamation by unemployed Londoners, 1906-7

by Beryl A. Board

In November 1897 a great storm ravaged the east coast. It whipped up an abnormal tide that battered the sea defences of the Dengie peninsula and breached them in many places. Some of the worst damage was in the upper reaches of the river Crouch. The autumn had been very dry and the banks were already cracked when the sea swept over them and washed away their backs.[1] At Stow Maries the walls bounding Hayes and Morris farms were broken at Clementsgreen and Stow creeks. In the neighbouring parish of North Fambridge there were small breaches west of the ferry, but the worst disaster in that parish was the collapse of the wall east of the ferry, which was thought to be impregnable.[2] The walls were outside the jurisdiction of the Dengie Commissioners for Sewers and many landowners were already impoverished by the agricultural depression. In North Fambridge, according to local tradition, two farmers wrangled over the repair of the western breaches while successive tides widened them until repair was beyond the resources of either man.[3] At high tide water lay like a great lagoon from Snoreham to Woodham Ferrers, covering Blue House, West Wick, Grooms, Little Hayes, and parts of Great Hayes and Morris farms. The road to Fambridge ferry was under water and between the Ferry Boat inn and the sea wall lay 300 yards (274m) of flooded marsh, on the site of the former saltpans.[4] The rector of North Fambridge, R.F. McLeod, appealed in 1898 for national action to reclaim the land. He tried to raise a fund to repair the walls, but received only promises of £140.[5] Later that year A.J. Hollington, a London business man who was establishing a large clothing factory in Colchester, bought Great Hayes, Little Hayes, and Morris farms in Stow Maries. He engaged R.F. Grantham, engineer to the Canvey Island Commissioners for Sewers, who closed the breach at a cost of *c.*£2,500 in 1898.[6] J.W. Strutt, Lord Rayleigh, who owned Blue House farm, made several attempts to close the gaps in the river wall east of the ferry, but by February 1899 water flooding through the gaps had made the ferry road dangerous and sometimes impassable. Although a branch railway line was opened in 1889 with a station at North Fambridge and connection with the main London to Southend line at Wickford, it had not replaced the ferry route to Rochford and Southend.[7] Maldon Rural District Council, as the highway authority responsible for the ferry road, applied to the Local Government Board for a loan to repair the breaches as the best way of protecting the road from flood water. The powers of rural district councils had been defined as recently as 1894, and the Board was intransigent in restricting the role of the Council to that of highway authority and refused to allow expenditure of public money on the repair of private sea walls. The Council, hamstrung by the Board's ruling, raised an embankment along the east side of the ferry road at a cost of £2,600.[8] When the road was flooded through the eastern breaches the embankments gave access to the river for travellers using the ferry and for yachtsmen who had threatened to leave Fambridge because they could not reach their craft at high water.[9] It was clear that, until the breaches were closed, the Council would incur endless expense in repairing the embankment, which was constantly undermined by flood water. The simple solution would have been to repair the breaches by national expenditure, under the supervision of a commission of sewers. Some landowners claimed that there were precedents for such action,[10] but the inflexibility of the Local Government Board denied that means to Fambridge.

It was not until 1906 that new legislation, the Unemployed Workmen Act, made possible the repair of the Fambridge breaches under a Central (Unemployed) Body for London, set up by the Local Government Board. The Act was the last measure of A.J. Balfour's doomed Conservative government. Although it was hastily drafted, the measure was based on the experience of the Mansion House Fund (1903),[11] which itself was strongly influenced by the work of the Charity Organisation Society and Toynbee Hall university settlement. The Society, founded in 1869 to coordinate private charity, had critisized the indiscriminate distribution of a Mansion House Fund in 1886, following the Trafalgar Square riot, and itself developed professional methods of assessing need.[12] Toynbee Hall was founded in 1884 by the Revd. Samuel Barnett, vicar of St. Jude's in Whitechapel to commemorate Arnold Toynbee, who had written that 'the mere vague impulse in man to do his duty is barren without the knowledge which enables him to perceive what his duties are and to perform them.'[13] The Mansion House Fund (1903) was formed in the autumn at the instigation of Cosmo Gordon Lang, bishop of Stepney, Samuel Barnett, and others to organize work for the unemployed of the four East End boroughs of Stepney, Poplar, Bethnal Green, and Shoreditch.[14] The Fund was administered by two men from Toynbee Hall settlement, William Beveridge and Henry R. Maynard, with the voluntary aid of residents and associates.[15] One of the Fund's most important activities was its use of the rural colony system. Selected men were sent to work at sites such as Osea Island and Hadleigh, where they were given board, lodging and pocket money, while their wives remained in London receiving allowances based on the number of their dependent children. The Fund sent 467 to the rural colonies but a week before Easter 1904 it ran out of money.[16] However, a report on its work was sent to Walter Long, President of the Local Government Board, and by the autumn of 1904 he had set up the London Unemployed Fund (1904-5), on the lines of the Mansion House Fund but extended to every London borough. The new Fund consisted of (a) joint committees composed of members of borough councils and of

boards of guardians, and in some cases other interested people, and (b) a central committee composed of representatives of the joint committees, of the City Corporation, of London County Council, and nominees of the President of the Local Government Board. Walter Long's scheme was embodied in the Unemployed Workmen Act (1905), which regularised and extended the work of committees, similar to those set up by the London Fund, under Central (Unemployed) Bodies responsible for co-ordinating policy and managing relief schemes.[17] A public appeal made in November 1905 had raised £125,000 by the end of the year. It owed its success to the generosity and support of Queen Alexandra, and was consequently known as the Queen's Unemployed Fund.[18] The London (Unemployed) Body could levy a rate in the metropolitan boroughs for establishment expenses, emigration, employment exchanges, and the purchase of land, but expenditure on wages and maintenance had to be met by voluntary contributions.[19]

The first suggestion that the Fambridge breaches might be repaired by unemployed men seems to have been made in the winter of 1903 by the 'Unemployed Association' to Fambridge parish meeting. The meeting decided to consult the owners of West Wick and Grooms farms, which lay west of the ferry, where the wall had been breached in three places. No similar action was taken over the Blue House breaches, which suggests that at that time one of Lord Rayleigh's attempts to repair the wall east of the ferry was temporarily successful.[20] Nothing seems to have come of the approach from the 'association', but fourteen months later, in February 1905, Maldon Rural District Council applied to the London Unemployed Fund for help in repairing the breaches.[21] Discussion of the project was delayed until the autumn, because the Fund lacked resources to start the work. However, in early December the Working Colonies Committee of the Central (Unemployed) Body for London considered a scheme for the repair of the Fambridge breaches submitted by R.F. McLeod, rector of North Fambridge. Among the members of that committee were William Beveridge and Keir Hardie. In January 1906 McLeod, with representatives of Maldon Rural District Council, Essex County Council, the Great Eastern Railway and local landowners, met the chairman of the Central Body, Henry R. Wakefield, vicar of St. Mary's Bryanston Square, and members of the Colonies committee. Lord Rayleigh offered to give to the Body either £1,000 or 200 acres (81 ha.) of the reclaimed land if the breaches were repaired under the Act. He was the only landowner to offer a contribution and the Committee quickly decided to accept his proposal, and to repair the breaches east of the ferry. The Great Eastern Railway undertook to convey the unemployed men to the site at a single fare for the double journey. The Body formed a sub-committee to oversee the

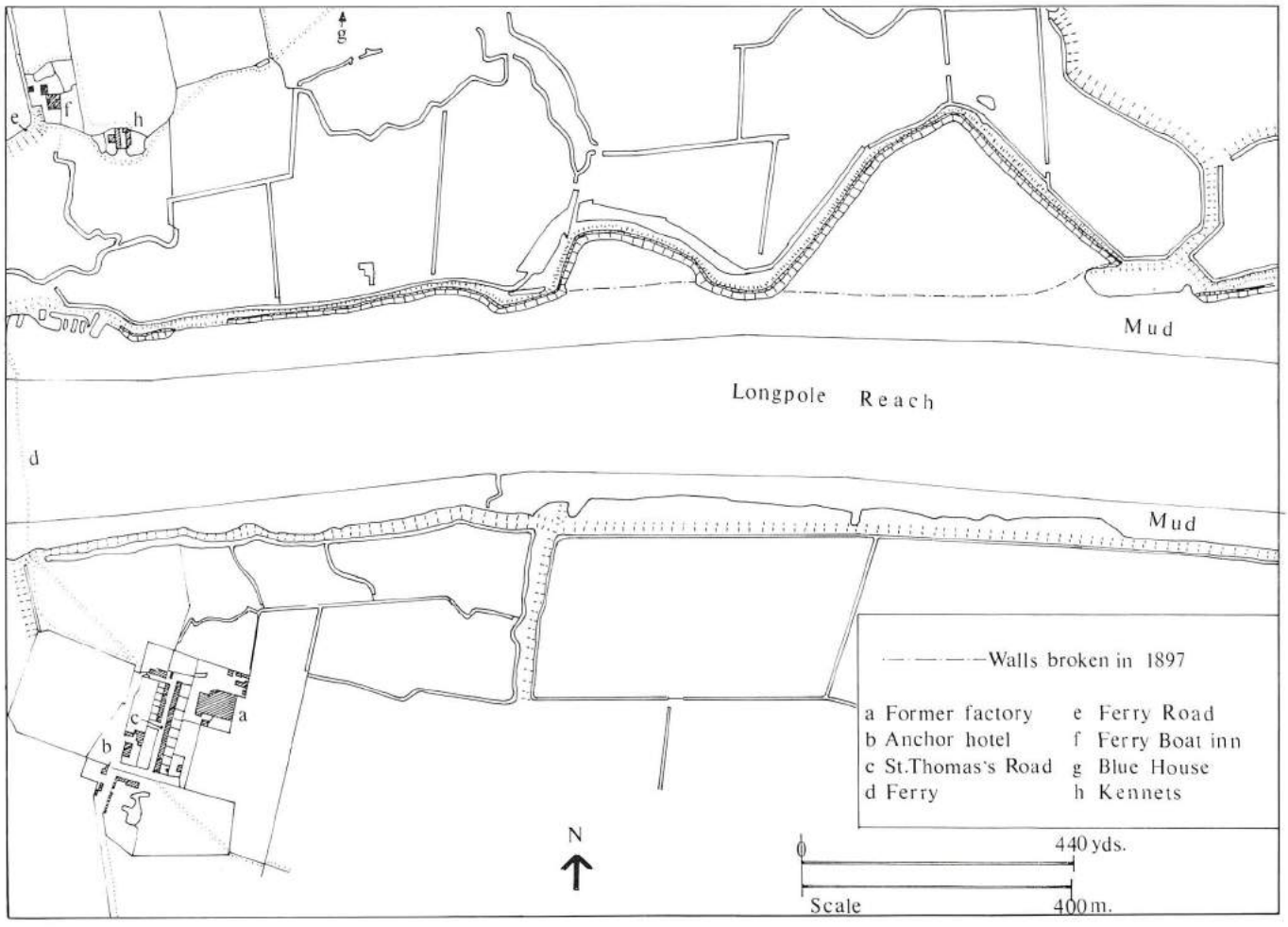


Fig. 1 The Fambridge Colony. Drawn by Kenneth B. Board.

colony and appointed as technical adviser, at a fee of £200, Albert Edward Carey, engineer to the Fobbing, Foulness, and Dengie levels.[22] Carey was a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers and a fellow of the Geological Society, with thirty years' experience which included the reclamation of marshes at Newhaven and Thames Haven.[23] He was also a popular historical novelist 'half way between Henty and Kingsley'.[24] His duties at Fambridge were to include the supervision, design, and setting out of the work and periodical inspection.[25] When he made his first survey early in 1906 there were two breaches in the main river wall east of the ferry 600 yards (548m) apart, and Lord Rayleigh's inset wall was broken in several places. At high tide some 200 acres (81ha.) were flooded to a depth of 2-4 feet (0.6-1.2m) and channels 20 feet (6m) deep had been scoured in the main breaches. Carey's plan was to repair the eastern quadrant of the eastern breach and the western quadrant of the western breach, and to join the two across the flat in the rear of the old river wall. The surviving walls west and east of the breaches were to be raised by about 2 feet (0.6m). He intended to use the colony labour force to build up the walls, a few feet at a time, when the tide was on the ebb. He recommended that 25 men, who had a few months' experience of sea walling at the Body's Osea Island colony in 1906, should be transferred to Fambridge and that two experienced gangers should be appointed to oversee the colonists. He estimated that the project, if done entirely by contractors, would cost £4,300. The committee added a further £1,000 for the cost of the colony.[26]

To those who were seeking ways of finding work for the unemployed, avoiding the degradation of the union workhouse and the wasteful inefficiency of municipal relief works, the Fambridge enterprise held great promise. Among those people were George Lansbury and William Beveridge. George Lansbury was a member of the Poplar Board of Guardians and a borough councillor. A decade of political activity in the east end of London had made him a popular and respected champion of the working class. Influenced by Joseph Fels, the American philanthropist and protagonist of the 'vacant land' policy, he had persuaded the Poplar Guardians to set up an agricultural colony at Dunton and the London Unemployed Fund to establish another at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk. Lansbury was chairman of the Farm Colony Committee of the Poplar Board of Guardians and in 1906 he was chairman of the Working Colonies Committee of the Central (Unemployed) Body for London.[27] William Beveridge had been involved in schemes for the relief of unemployment since he joined Toynbee Hall university settlement in 1903. As a member of the Mansion House Fund (1903) he had interviewed applicants and their former employers, selected men to be helped, and organised relief work. He was critical of temporary palliatives, and in 1905 began studying the uses of labour exchanges to regularize the employment of casual labour. He acknowledged the possible importance of home colonies for the employment of men made redundant by decasualization.[28]

It seemed fortunate that at North Fambridge there was a task which would test the feasibility of using unemployed men on reclamation, and that at South Fambridge, on the opposite bank of the Crouch, stood the disused factory of Wimshurst, Hollick & Co., with several vacant workers' cottages, built in 1898, on which the colony could be based. The Central Body agreed to rent the cottages for six months and acquired landing rights on the north bank for the rest of the year. A cook and storekeeper were engaged[29] and the Body sent William Wilkie Scotland, the superintendent of its Letchworth Garden City labour colony, to set up the new Fambridge colony. Scotland had served his time as a boy in the merchant navy, had spent three years in the Royal Engineers Corps and had been a deep sea diver. He had also been foreman with four large engineering contractors and claimed to have travelled in almost every country, being in touch with the working classes all his life. He was an authoritative, self-confident Scot, sceptical of the wisdom of 'experts' and proud of his own ability, born of experience.[30]

By March 2, 1906 the adaptation of the cottages and the former factory for the accommodation of some 180 men was well advanced, but the colony was not expected to be ready to receive a number of men until the 12th of the month.[31] On March 12, before work on the wall had begun, an exceptional tide, higher than any since 1897, poured through the broken wall and surged over the railway line, 0.62miles (1km) to the north. The line was quickly repaired with train loads of ballast[32] but the extent and force of the floodwater added urgency and difficulty to the closing of the enlarged breaches. By mid-March the main breach east of the ferry was 700 feet (213m) wide and, as the tide fell, 30,000,000 cubic feet (850,000cu.m) of water rushed like a weir through the central gorge. Carey abandoned his original plan and decided to pile the most westerly of the two breaches east of the ferry, to do away with the inset wall, and to use it as a quarry for material to stiffen the piling. The eastern inset was to be strengthened by adding to its width and height.[33] The huge volume of water behind the sea wall was a constant threat while the breach was being closed. To control that water Carey proposed to dam the arterial ditches which fed into the breach and gradually to drain it away through controlled sluices in the sea wall.[34] The skilled work of piling was to be done by the contractor and the labouring work on the walls would be done by the unemployed, under the direction of twenty experienced local wallers working as gangers.[35]

The contractor, Anthony Fasey & Son of Leytonstone, began preparatory work on March 17 to install the tackle for a ferry to take the men across the river from the colony and to prepare wharfing for chalk barges. Two days later a dispute arose between Scotland and 24 of the 27 colonists. The Fambridge sub-committee held an immediate inquiry into the men's complaints, which were about the food and domestic arrangements. One man, accused of using foul language to the store-keeper, said that the superintendent had, unprovoked, knocked him to the ground. Scotland regretted his action but said he thought the man was about to attack him. The sub-committee decided that the complaints were ill-founded and dismissed the 24 men, but it did agree to visit the colony once a fortnight to hear any further complaints.[36]

W.W. Scotland with some of the colonists.

Dormitories in the former factory.

A bedroom in one of the cottages.

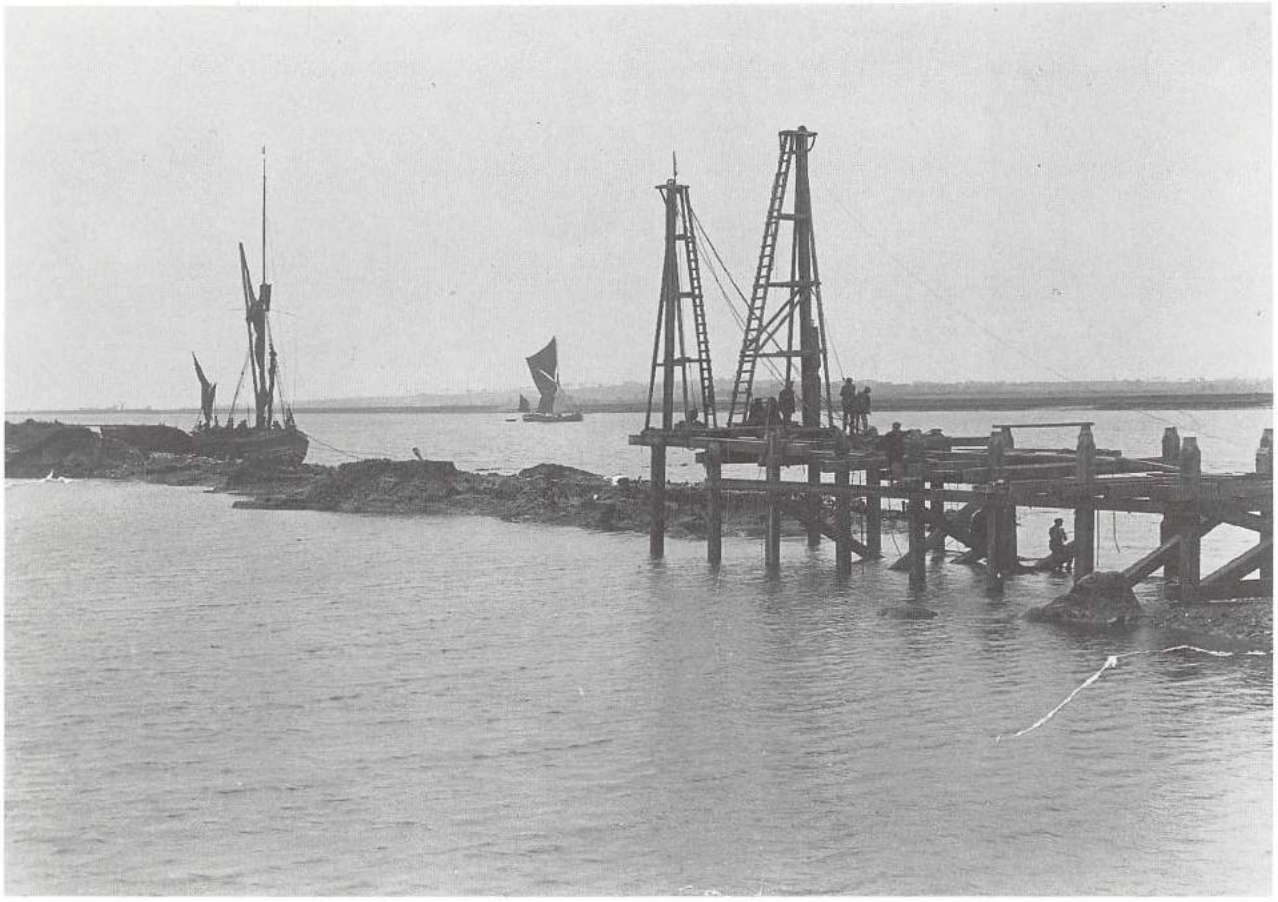
Unloading a chalk barge.

It was not until April 10 that work on the colony started again, but by the end of the month some 60 men were resident and morale was high. The colonists were entertained by the people of South Fambridge and they heard a lecture by R.F. McLeod on 'Walls for protecting land from incursions of river and sea water in ancient and modern times', including the history of the Dengie levels and the Crouch breaches. The men expressed their determination to succeed in closing the breaches and their appreciation of having been selected for the trial scheme, which, if successful, might encourage the use of many unemployed men in land reclamation around the whole country.[37] The sense of privilege felt by those early colonists was probably imparted by the selection methods they had survived. The Local Government Board had designed record papers, for use by the distress committees, which were intended to ensure that the new Act benefited respectable, capable workmen, settled in a locality, hitherto accustomed to regular work but temporarily out of employment through circumstances beyond their control. Receipt of poor relief in the previous twelve months would disqualify. Applicants were warned that the committee might seek to verify their signed statements, that work could not be guaranteed, and that they should not call at the distress committee's office unless sent for. The inquiries covered the applicant's ordinary employment, last employment, present income, fitness and willingness to migrate or emigrate, the character of his home (cleanliness, comfort, care of children), and his efforts for thrift. Absence from home and the barrack-like conditions of colony life were seen as 'test' elements which would deter the feckless, but not, apparently the respectable and capable.[38]

The colony buildings at South Fambridge were indeed barrack-like, but they had been well adapted by Scotland. The old factory provided dormitories, a mess room, a day room, and an office. A kitchen was set up to provide three meals a day and the four-roomed cottages, built of corrugated iron lined with matchboarding, gave storage and sleeping space. A cottage could house 12 men and was equipped with a zinc bath and sanitation. Water was pumped from a well. The superintendent, who lived in a separate bungalow, later known as Aero Lodge, dealt with minor illness and Dr. Forge of Rochford treated the men as members of a sick club at a rate of 1½d a week for each man, and 5s 6d for a special day visit and 10s 6d at night. George Lansbury gave the men a billiard table, a piano was acquired, and there were frequent concerts by local residents. Men were encouraged to cultivate gardens, and during the summer a cricket ground was rented and equipped. The average allowance paid to the wives of Fambridge colonists was 14s 6d a week, and at Christmas, when the men had four days leave, the allowance was increased by 8d a day. Over a full week, payment at that rate would yield 18s 6d at a time when 18s was estimated as the minimum requirement of a man with a wife and five children.[39]

The task originally assigned to the colonists was the repair of the inset wall with bags of clay, but that wall had disappeared under the tide of March 10. The new task was to rebuild the old sea wall. The men were ferried across the river in a lighter to the north bank. When the tide was out they walked 1¼ miles each way to the site; when it was in they walked 3 miles each way. The committee provided high leather boots at a cost of 3s 6d, which was probably deducted from the family allowance, as it was from the men at Hollesley Bay colony. The men worked in gangs of 50, supervised by the experienced wallers. They dug and wheeled clay and chalk, frequently with clay and slush above their knees, and the new boots chafed their feet. The river crossing on a lighter which could hold 120 men was not always smooth, and one morning many men refused to cross for fear of drowning. The work was laborious and slow and every tide might damage or sweep away the previous day's work.[40] While the contractor was piling the breach from the eastern end the tide scoured away the western end of the river wall, widening the gap still further to 570 feet (174m), but by the end of June the piling was complete and the fresh gap had been closed by a timber dam.[41] The water was, at last, shut out from the land, but trouble had broken out in the colony. On Monday, June 25, two members of the Colonies Committee, George Lansbury and William Beveridge, hurried to Fambridge in response to a telegram from Scotland and another from the men, who were refusing to work under him. As on the previous occasion, Scotland was accused of striking a man without provocation. He claimed to have defended himself when the man, returning late from the Anchor public house on Sunday night, abused and attacked him. Hearing threats of a further assault on him by a second man, Scotland cycled to Canewdon later that night to call out the local policeman, who returned with him. The next morning the two colonists went to the Ferry Boat inn at North Fambridge, disobeying Scotland's order to return. Suspecting that they were about to be dismissed, they followed their workmates to the sea wall and persuaded them to strike in their support. After hearing the evidence of those who had taken part in, or witnessed, the incident on Sunday night, the committee members decided that the two agitators should leave the colony. Another 12 men left, but the rest (about 100 men) returned to work, after signing an apology and a statement that they had been foolish and misled. The committee privately advised Scotland to avoid personal conflict, whatever the provocation,[42] but was unable to resolve the difficulty the superintendent faced daily of running a colony in close proximity to a public house.[43]

Throughout July the contractor's men reinforced the timber dam with tons of clay and chalk to resist the force of the September tides, and the colonists worked well, strengthening and raising the river wall. Carey was confident that the piling, the higher wall, and the reinforced dam would stand, but on August 6 an exceptionally high tide swept away 60 feet (18.2m) of the timber, and the flood poured in, washing away tons of clay and chalk. The colonists' work on the wall survived intact. When the committee sought the opinion of the superintendent, Scotland was forthright in his criticism of Carey's methods. He claimed that the river wall to the west would not have broken away if the gap had been piled simultaneously from both ends. He ascribed the failure of the dam to the distance of 15 feet (4.5m) between the main timbers, which left the cross members to take the



Breach taken from horseshoe — looking downstream, showing laden barge sailing upstream, iron barge anchored. Between pile drivers are roofs of Norpits farm buildings and square tower of Canewdon church.

Chalk barge.

Crossing the river.

A store room in one of the cottages.

full weight of the water. Carey admitted that he had economised on the timbers of the dam to save money. He still thought that the breach could be closed with barge loads of clay and chalk, but when Scotland insisted that it was too dangerous to anchor barges where the water rushed through the gap, he agreed to pile the whole breach. Scotland had submitted an alternative scheme, but the committee decided to follow the engineer's advice so that responsibility for the outcome would be his.[44]

The broken dam was repaired, but it failed again under the assault of the tide on September 1st. By that date the Fambridge breaches had cost £8,509, which was £309 above the sum allocated for completion of the work under Carey's revised scheme, adopted less than six months earlier. Attempts by some members of the committee to delay an appeal to the Central Body for further funds, pending the receipt of more information or the report of a special committee, were defeated.[45]

After the second failure of the dam, Carey submitted a new scheme to the committee. Scotland took part in the conference between the engineer and the committee and after some disagreement it was decided that the contractor should continue the piling to form a temporary dam and that the inset wall should be rebuilt. Scotland was confident that his men, who had almost completed their work on the eastern shore, could build the inset wall under the guidance of a few wallers. By December 21 the water had been drained off the land through guillotine shutters in the dam.[46] Throughout the winter of 1906-7 the colonists built the new wall. Their task was to cut away the surface of the natural soil for a few feet so that the wall would rest on a solid platform, and to build the new wall in puddle clay tier by tier, treading and punning each layer into the stratum of clay below.[47] The men's clothing and the facilities at the colony were inadequate in the winter months, and the committee had to provide oilskin capes and leggings and to allow Scotland to adapt one of the cottages as a wash-house with extra baths.[48]

In January 1907 Scotland was promoted to be superintendent of contract works, and was succeeded at Fambridge by Hubert Holland.[49] Holland had been an enquiry officer at Woolwich under Walter Long's scheme and had served as assistant at Hollesley Bay since the opening of that colony.[50] The contractor left the site soon after Holland's arrival. The committee claimed that some work was unfinished and criticism of Carey grew and a suggestion was made that he should forfeit his fees. In April the committee heard that he had not visited the site since January 25, and that the timber dam was leaking 'more than usual'. By mid May the end of the work on the new wall was in sight and the committee decided to dismiss all but the most efficient men when their furlough became due.

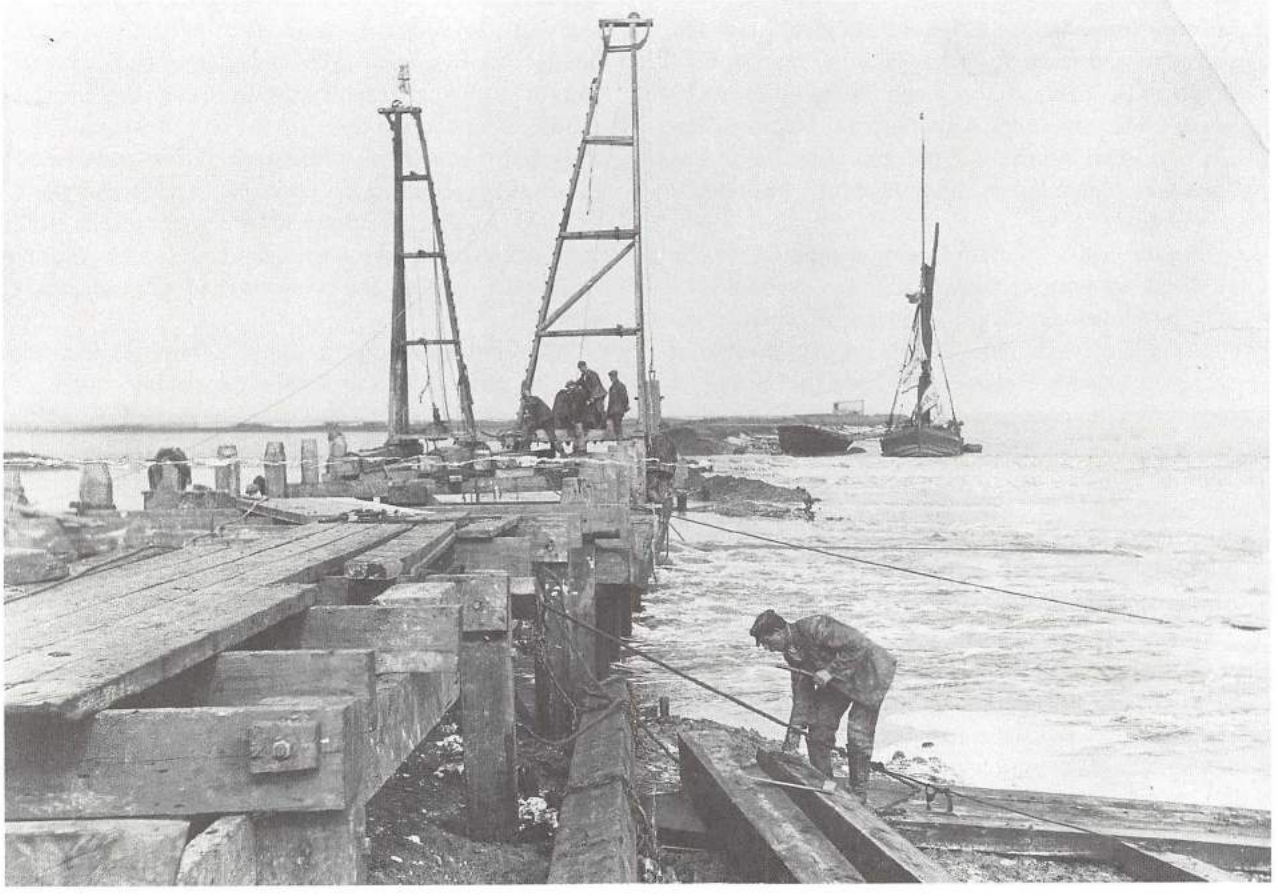
The work suffered another set-back on June 3 when part of the new inset wall subsided about a foot (0.3m) and only Hammond's swift action prevented further damage. Hammond had no engineering experience but he had warned Carey that the wall was threatened by an old pond and his warning had not been heeded. Carey subsequently had the pond filled, the ground behind the wall raised, and 140 feet (42.7m) of the damaged wall rebuilt.[51] The Finance Committee was dismayed by the obligation to pay a further £1,184. The work at Fambridge was completed in mid July and the colony closed at the end of that month.[52]

An application by the Central Body to the Local Government Board for a grant to repair the sea wall at Beckney Reach, west of Fambridge ferry, was refused on the grounds of cost and by March 1908 most of the plant from the colony had been sent to London. The committee was still trying, at that time, to sell cooking apparatus, utensils, bedding, ferry gear, and the piling. Having failed to attract a buyer for the timber dam which was embedded in the river, the committee asked Scotland to estimate the cost of drawing it out[53] but it was not until 1909 that much of the timber was taken out by a team of unemployed men who were working on a swimming pool at Burnham-on-Crouch.[54]

The committee hoped to find a use for the reclaimed land that would benefit Londoners. A suggestion that it might be used as a tip for London road refuse failed to gain support from the metropolitan boroughs, and the committee consulted Thomas Smith, manager of Joseph Fels's garden plots at Mayland, about its cultivation. Smith thought the land, if used for growing corn or for grazing, might show a profit after three years, but his scheme required the purchase of Blue House farmhouse as a bailiff's cottage, the building of four labourers' cottages, construction of a wharf for barges, and more work on the sluices in the sea walls to prevent salt water from seeping onto the land. The estimated cost was £7,467. The committee quickly agreed to accept Lord Rayleigh's alternative offer of £1,000 less costs, towards the reclamation.[55] That sum had been offered in early March 1906, when Carey had estimated the cost of engaging a contractor to repair the breaches at £4,300. The damage done by the end of March 1906 had increased that estimate to between £7,000 and £8,000 and the final sum paid to the contractor and local wallers was £11,000. Another £15,000 had been spent on the establishment and maintenance of the colony, the purchase or hire of equipment used by the colonists, and allowances to their wives.[56]

While the Working Colonies Committee was fighting for the survival of the Fambridge colony, much of the blame for the increased cost of the work was laid on Carey. Scotland was a severe critic of the engineer's methods. The committee had rejected his own estimate that the work would cost between £15,000 and £20,000. He observed that it took 'the expert' two months to find out that the breach had to be piled and he scoffed at Carey's attempts to reinforce the timber gantry with clay and chalk. It may have been his refusal to allow his men to unload such reinforcement from a barge anchored in the gap after the gantry had failed that forced Carey to pile the whole breach. Every setback weakened the committee's confidence in the consulting engineer, and increased its reliance on the opinions of the superintendent.[57] Carey's professional confidence seems to have been undiminished by criticism of the Fambridge experiment. In November 1906 he gave oral evidence before the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion, to which

Colonists working on the western breach (east of the ferry).



Breach showing piling, pile drivers and iron barge.

he had submitted a report on a national scheme of coastal protection. Criticism of his methods at Fambridge had been reported in the press in October and, the day before his appearance before the Commission, the President of the Local Government Board had told the House of Commons that the cost of the work had risen to £17,950. Carey disclaimed responsibility for the cost of the colony and stressed the extreme difficulty of closing breaches in sea walls.[57] In his *Tidal Lands* (1918) he presented, as a classical method, his final scheme for closing the breach at Fambridge with a temporary dam and rear inset wall glossing over 'one mishap', and adding that 'there are so many side issues and contingent possibilities that it is an operation requiring experience and skill to avert disaster.'

Unlike Captain John Perry, who closed the infamous Dagenham breach in 1720 at a cost of £40,000, Carey did not suffer from political manoeuvre, personal slander, dishonest contractors or capricious workmen,[58] but there were factors other than the difficulty of the operation and the violence of the weather that affected the engineering work and added to the cost of the colony. Those factors, identified by Beveridge, Lansbury, Scotland, Hammond, and Carey himself, were: the committee's mishandling of the engineering contract, the siting of the colony buildings, the heterogeneous nature of the workforce, and the short period of employment.[59]

When the Central Body and its committees were discussing the possibility of using unemployed men to repair the Fambridge breaches, they were being urged on all sides to make speed the first consideration. Carey's advice was sought and accepted within the space of nine days. The committee members had been chosen for their knowledge of poor relief and had no technical advisers. They had no conception of the difficulty of the task they were about to undertake, nor did they perceive that the difference between a contractor's methods and their own would invalidate Carey's estimate of the cost.[60] Had they taken time to seek information about the repair of earlier breaches in the locality they might have been more cautious. Lord Rayleigh's repair was said to have cost £8,000 and in 1872 a breach at Brick Farm, South Fambridge, was repaired by a force of 150 local men at a cost of £20,000.[61] Although the committee grew to value Scotland's opinion in engineering matters, he was only responsible for the colony and the supervision of the colonists' work. The members were astute enough to reject the superintendent's alternative scheme when Carey's dam failed, so that the responsibility for the expense and failure of the work could be laid on the engineer, but they were naïve in their expectations of the terms of the contract. Lansbury suggested that the contractor should have accepted a maintenance clause, but was assured by Carey that no responsible contractor would have accepted such a clause under the conditions at Fambridge, where he was not in charge of the entire operation.[62] Although the two workforces were engaged on separate parts of the scheme there is evidence of conflict, for in September, after the failure of the dam, Carey was asked to call the attention of the contractor's foreman to the status of the superintendent.[63]

The colony had been based at South Fambridge because there were suitable, vacant buildings which seemed to be near enough to the work site at North Fambridge. A short and comparatively safe crossing near the ancient ferry was provided by the use of a lighter running on a chain for an outlay of about £100, but the use of a fixed ferry meant that the workforce could not be shipped to any other point on the north bank, and as early as April 1906 Scotland warned the committee that getting the men on foot from the landing stage to their work would cost £100 a month in wasted time. The purchase of a steam launch was mooted at that time, but the fixed ferry remained in use throughout the life of the colony.[64]

The selection of men to fill places in the colony was the responsibility of the distress committees. The inquiry procedure laid down by the Central Body was designed to benefit men who had, until recently, been in continuous employment. However, many men in that category would not humble their pride to apply to the distress committees.[65] They were the urban counterparts of the industrious countryman, described by Walter Long, who 'goes through many privations before he allows himself to be described as unemployed. He gives up his cottage as well as his furniture and takes to two rooms, and finally to one. He tramps ... for miles in all directions only to come home to find his children crying for the bread he cannot give them.'[66] When such men did go to the distress committees, they were already weakened in spirit and in health by the privations of unemployment, and were unfit for labouring work. The committees, whose primary purpose was the relief of distress, tended to give places to those whose need was greatest and to those who had been out of work longest, so that the men arriving at Fambridge included artisans and mechanics, and others such as those from Woolwich who knew only the specialised work of the arsenal. When the supply of 'formerly industrious' men was scanty, the committees filled the colony places with men who had become casual workers through misfortune, idleness, or lack of ability. The chance nature of casual work undermined good character and self-reliance and many men in that category saw the Central Body merely as another employer providing three months' work to be fitted in when their ordinary casual employment was slack.[67] The batches of men who arrived at Fambridge varied in ability, character, and intention. Their numbers rose from 57 in early May 1906 to 154 a month later and from that time there were always between 146 and 189 men at the colony.[68] In the first nine months only 6 per cent of the men sent by the distress committees were navvies, with the strength and skill to do work required at Fambridge. The rest were unfit, unskilled, or unwilling to undertake heavy digging.[69] Selection improved after Carey and Scotland appealed for more suitable men and the colony was eventually recognised as the roughest available to the committees. There was still much wastage and in the last six months of the colony's life the superintendent found that 44 per cent of the men were good, 36 per cent did their best but lacked strength or skill, and 20 per cent were unsuitable.[70] Separation from home and family, deprivation of money wages, life in barrack-like

conditions, and heavy labour were thought to provide an adequate test of the applicants' genuine need, but the system of payment was a constant source of complaint, most men received money set aside by their wives from the family allowance, and the usefulness of the other test elements was outweighed by the cost of the Central Body's responsibility for the maintenance of the men and their families. Once a man was drafted to the colony the Body maintained his family and provided him with fares, lodging, food, pocket money, medical care, and some clothing in return for as much work as could be extracted from him in a 44-hour week.[71] The average weekly cost of a Fambridge colonist was £1 12s 7d at a time when skilled wallers were paid 6d an hour and Maldon R.D.C. was paying 5d an hour to the men repairing the Ferry Road embankment.[72] The total loss incurred by the employment of unskilled labour was estimated at 40 per cent by Scotland and as high as 60 per cent by Carey.[73]

The colonies were intended to provide temporary employment and the maximum period was to be 16 weeks only. Much of the first month spent at Fambridge was used to build up physical strength and to teach spadework. The lazy and those who failed to improve were discharged after four weeks. It became necessary to offer an extended period of employment at Fambridge, with an increase in pocket money from 6d to 1s a week, to forty of the best men.[74] However the average period of work was only 8.4 weeks, so that even with a stiffening of forty experienced and willing men, the workforce always contained many who had either just arrived or who were about to depart for various reasons. Of the 979 men sent to Fambridge during the life of the colony only 217 completed their time. Of the rest, 167 left because they had found work, and an almost equal number were dismissed for: unfitness for the work, 80; misconduct, 37; sickness, 29 and drunkeness, 25. Of the others who left of their own accord 148 did not return from furlough, 79 left giving no reason for their departure, 45 said they were dissatisfied, 37 had trouble at home, 23 emigrated and 22 refused to cross the river.[75]

Through the establishment of the Fambridge labour colony the Central Body for London had sought to relieve the distress of deserving, unemployed men and their families by carrying out a difficult and dangerous engineering project. They accomplished the second objective, although at a greater expense than they had foreseen, and their failure to achieve the first objective was in great measure due to the conditions of colony life, which deterred the independent and industrious, and to the nature of the work, which failed to provide either useful training for further employment or a suitable bridge between periods of regular employment. Although assessment of the Fambridge experiment was temporarily obscured by crude comparison of Carey's first estimate and the final cost, the clear and forthright evidence given to the Royal Commisions on the Poor Laws and on Coast Erosion, by those who were closely involved in the colony's inception and supervision provided a reliable basis on which better policies would be founded. New measures for dealing with unemployment, delayed initially by the resistance of John Burns, President of the Local Government Board 1905-14, and by the 1914-18 war were not enacted, however, until 1929.[76] When several walls along the upper Crouch were damaged by an abnormal tide in November 1921 they were successfully repaired by local unemployed men under a Ministry of Agriculture scheme and the Upper Crouch Drainage Board, constituted in 1921, continued to implement that policy.[77]

By 1980 the existence of the Fambridge labour colony had faded from local memory but its evidence survives not only in official reports but in the sea wall and the rotting timbers of Carey's temporary dam at North Fambridge, in the buildings at South Fambridge where the men were housed, and in a fine set of photographs, commissioned in April 1906 by the Working Colonies Committee and deposited in 1979 in the Essex Record Office by W.W. Scotland's daughter.[78]

Notes

Abbreviations

Coast Erosion 1	*First Report of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion* [Cd. 3684] H.C. (1907), xxxiv.
Coast Erosion 2	*Second Report of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion* [Cd. 4461] H.C. (1909), xiv.
Poor Laws	*Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress* [Cd. 5066] H.C. (1910), xlviii.
G.L.C.R.O.	Greater London Council Record Office.

1. *Coast Erosion 2*, p.34, Q.841; *Essex County Standard*, 4 Dec. 1897; Grieve, H.E.P., *The Great Tide* (1959), 45.
2. *Essex Naturalist*, **x** (1897-8) 358; E.R.O., T/P 181/10.
3. Information from the late Leonard Lancaster of Barn Farm, N. Fambridge.
4. *Essex Naturalist*, **x** (1897-8) 358; E.R.O., D/Z 26/4; E.R.O., D/DMj Pl (map *c.*1700).
5. *Essex Naturalist*, **x** (1897-8) 358; *Maldon Express*, 2 Mar. 1907.
6. Deeds in possession of Mr. A.J. Hollington; Brown, A.F.J., *Colchester 1815-1914* (1980), 30: *Coast Erosion 2*, p.31, Q.774.
7. North Fambridge Parish Meeting Minute Book, February 1899, October 1900; *Poor Laws, p.159, Q.80808; Carter, E.F., An Historical Geography of the Railways of the British Isles* (1959), 471.
8. *Coast Erosion 1*, p.255; Local Government Act, 1894.
9. E.R.O., D/Z 26/4.
10. Maldon Rural District Council Minutes, 14 Mar. 1906.
11. *Poor Laws*, p.58, para. 8.
12. Bosanquet, H. *Social Work in London 1869-1912: a History of the Charity Organisation Society* (1914); Jones, G.S., *Outcast London* (1971), 257-8.
13. Briggs, A. and Macartney, A. *Toynbee Hall* (1984), 4.
14. *Times*, 25 Nov. 1903, 12; *Poor Laws*; p.12, paras. 26-8; Harris, J. *William Beveridge: a Biography* (1977), 109.
15. Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, 66-9; Harris, J. *William Beveridge*, 110.
16. *Poor Laws*, p.12, para. 27; p.46, para. 4.
17. *Ibid.* pp.47-8.
18. *35th Report of the Local Government Board* [Cd. 3105] H.C. (1906), xxxv, p.clxxxvi.
19. *Poor Laws*, p.48; Harris, J., *William Beveridge*, 122.
20. North Fambridge Parish Meeting Minute Book, Dec. 1903. The 'Association' was almost certainly the Mansion House Fund (1903).
21. Maldon Rural District Council Minutes, 8 Feb. 1905.
22. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, pp.57, 64, 285; *Maldon Express*, 3 Feb. 1906.
23. *Coast Erosion 1*, p.177, paras. 4803-9; 176n.
24. British Library catalogue; reviews quoted on dust jacket of his *Sussex Lad* (1920).
25. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, 5 Oct. 1906, pp.285f.

26. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 67, 14 Feb. 1906, p.74.
27. Lansbury, G. *Looking Backwards and Forwards* (1935); Postgate, R. *The Life of George Lansbury* (1951).
28. Harris, J. *William Beveridge* (1977), 108-122; *Poor Laws*, pp.6-21.
29. *Kelly's Directory of Essex* (1902); G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, p.64; C.U.B.L. 67, p.75.
30. *Poor Laws*, pp.125-132; G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 67, p.218; *Coast Erosion 2*, pp.158-163.
31. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, p.72.
32. *Maldon Express*, 17 Mar. 1906.
33. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, pp.285f.
34. Carey, A.E. and Oliver, F.W., *Tidal Lands: a study in shore problems* (1918), 140-1.
35. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, pp.285f; C.U.B.L. 67, p.130.
36. *Burnham on Crouch Advertiser and Dengie Hundred Advertiser*, 17 Mar. 1906; *Kelly's Directory Essex* (1906); G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, p.101; C.U.B.L. 67, pp.113-5.
37. *Maldon Express*, 5 May 1906.
38. *Poor Laws*, p.597.
39. *Ibid.* p.4, Q.77769; pp.127, 131, 158, 160; G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, pp.118, 136, 199; C.U.B.L. 11, pp.6, 141; C.U.B.L. 67, pp.150, 152; *Maldon Express*, 19 May 1906.
40. *Poor Laws*, p.157, para. 17; G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, pp.285f; Stepney Borough Council. *Report of Stepney Distress Committee* 1907, p.15.
41. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, p.212.
43. *Poor Laws*, p.130, Q.80016; p.160, Q.80832-5.
44. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, pp.212, 264, 285f; C.U.B.L. 11, p.34; C.U.B.L. 68, pp.31-3.
45. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, pp.247, 285f.
46. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, pp.285f, 359; C.U.B.L. 11, pp.34-5.
47. Carey, A.E. and Oliver, F.W. *Tidal Lands* (1918), 141.
48. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, pp.317-8, 359.
49. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 11, p.61.
50. *Poor Laws*, p.158, Q.80784-5.
51. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 68, pp.167, 200, 207, 221; C.U.B.L. 11, pp.80, 262-3, 282.
52. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 11, p.242; *Times*, 24 June 1907, 4; *Poor Laws*, p.162, Q.80945.
53. *37th Report of the Local Government Board, 1907-8*, H.C. (1908) xxx, p.clxxv; G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 12, pp.189, 211.
54. British Library 1883b; Burnham U.D.C. Minutes, 5, 11, 23 Feb., 8 May 1909.
55. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 11, p.282; C.U.B.L. 12, pp.134, 152, 160-6.
56. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, p.57; *Coast Erosion 2*, p.148.
57. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 68, pp.32, 150; *Times*, 6 Oct. 1906, 8; *Coast Erosion 2*, pp.160-1; G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 68, p.31; *Coast Erosion 1*, pp.175-180.
58. Grieve, H.E.P., *The Great Tide* (1959), 27-8. *V.C.H. Essex*, **v**. 285-9.
59. *Poor Laws*, p.14; *Coast Erosion 1*, pp.176-7; *Coast Erosion 2*, pp.146, 150, 156, 160.
60. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10, p.285; *Coast Erosion 2*, p.156; *Poor Laws*, p.14.
61. *Poor Laws*, p.159, Q.80808; Benton, P. *History of the Rochford Hundred*, ii. 776-7.
62. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 68, p.33; C.U.B.L. 11, pp.34-5.
63. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 68, p.37.
64. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 67, pp.74, 77, 153; *Coast Erosion 2*, p.149, Q.15877.
65. *Poor Laws*, p.58, para. 11; p.13, para. 38; p.213, para. 22.
66. *Ibid.* p.58, para. 10; p.159, Q.80819; p.157, para. 19; p.99, para. 4; p.126, para. 5.
67. *Ibid.* p.158, Q. 80774-6; p.213, paras. 19, 23; p.210, para. 1 and footnote; *Coast Erosion 2*, p.159, Q.16121.
68. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 10 *passim*.
69. *Coast Erosion 2*, p.158, Q.16108.
70. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 67, p.130; *Poor Laws*, p.157, para. 23; p.158, Q.80780.
71. *Ibid.* p.13, para. 37; p.48, para. 32; p.130, Q.80014; *Coast Erosion 2*, p.149, Q.15878.
72. G.L.C.R.O., C.U.B.L. 11, p.225; *Poor Laws*, p.161, Q.80878; Maldon R.D.C. Minutes, 21 Nov. 1906.
73. *Coast Erosion 1*, p.176, Q.4848, 4890-2; *Coast Erosion 2*, p.160, Q.16198.
74. *Poor Laws*, p.157, Q.80744 and paras. 19-20, 22.
75. British Library 1883b (Central Body (London) Report 1906-7), p.117.
76. Ensor, Sir R., *England 1870-1914* (1936), 517-8; *Dictionary of National Biography*.
77. Essex County Council Reports (Land Drainage Sub-committee), 1922, pp.148, 457, 865, 1123; 1923, pp.471-2, 882; Grieve, H.E.P., *The Great Tide* (1959), 55.
78. E.R.O., D/DU 939. Some of the photographs are reproduced in the present article by kind permission of Mr. V. Gray, County Archivist.

Work of the Essex County Council Archaeology Section 1986

Edited by Deborah Priddy

This is the tenth annual report by the Archaeology Section of Essex County Council's Planning Department. Previous reports are listed in the bibliography (Couchman (ed.), Eddy (ed.) and Priddy (ed.)). Summaries of the larger excavations carried out by the section can be found elsewhere in this volume (104-113).

Reports are arranged in chronological order or, in the case of multi-period sites, under the principal site represented. The Section is grateful to all who undertook work on its behalf and to the specialist contributors. The illustrations were by the following: Mags Adams (Fig. 6), Steve Godbold (Fig. 5), Sue Holden (Figs 1-2, 4, 13), Alison McGhie (Figs 8-9) and Catriona Turner (Fig. 10). All other illustrations are by the individual authors. Full descriptions of all sites and finds can be found on the County Sites and Monuments Record.

Gestingthorpe (TL 83-1)

Nigel Brown

Bronze flanged axe (Fig. 1) recovered as a surface find by Mr H. Cooper from the same field as the main Roman building (Draper 1985). The axe (weight 123g) is poorly preserved, heavily pitted and scored with corrosion, and had probably been in the ploughsoil for some time. Very little of the surface survives and the edges are much abraded. There is also some recent damage. The butt is arched; body slender, curving to a sharply expanded blade. There is a transverse bevel and slight flanges. Owing to its poor condition it is not clear whether the flanges are cast or hammered up. Axes with cast flanges are characteristic of the Stage VII Arreton tradition of Early Bronze Age metalwork, of which the arched butt is also a trait. However, its general appearance, in particular its slight flanges, show affinities with the earlier Falkland axes of Stage VI. Early Bronze Age metalwork has rarely been recorded from Essex and this is a welcome addition. Other findspots in the vicinity include the Alphamstone Collared Urn cemetery and flint knives recorded in the Colne Valley and Belchamp Brook (Couchman 1980, 40-1, fig. 15).

Finds: in private possession.

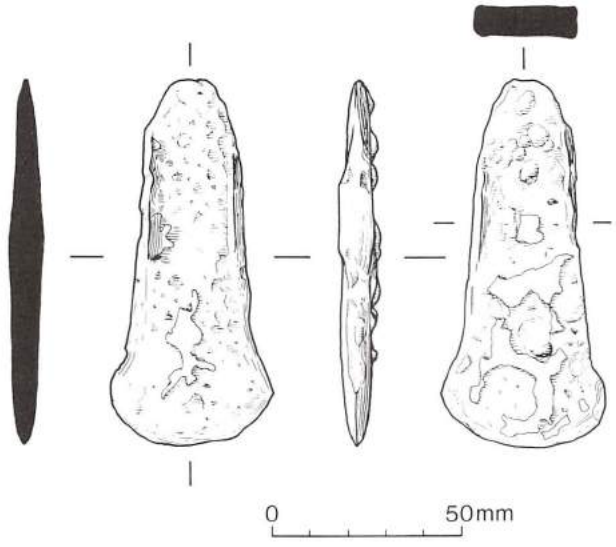


Fig. 1

Springfield (TL 70-5)

Paul Gilman

A Bronze Age beaker, found in 1904, has gone largely unrecorded and cannot now be traced, although noted in 1980 by Couchman (1980, 40-1, fig. 15). Described as a 'small earthenware cup', it was reportedly found by workmen in a gravel pit. Identified by the British Museum as Bronze Age or Neolithic, it was presented to Chelmsford Museum (Anon 1904, 120). In 1949 it was described as a 'small "B" beaker'. It had a light brown coarse fabric with abundant shell and grit temper; decorated with deeply incised horizontal bands, possibly interspersed with stab marks. The vessel was broken with part of the rim missing. The O.S. (TL 70 NW 3) description suggests it is of the all-over combed type and it was included by Clarke in his Eastern group (1970, No. 261F). Attempts to trace it have so far proved fruitless and it appears that it no longer remains in any local museum. Beaker finds in Essex are sparse (Couchman 1980, 40-2, fig. 15).

Its findspot is of interest in view of the proximity of the Bronze Age enclosure at Springfield Lyons where Beaker sherds have also been found, although these have zoned decoration and are probably later (N. Brown, pers. comm.). It is paralleled at Mucking (Jones and Jones 1975, 137-9, figs 45-6) and one of similar form, but with all-over stab marks came from Alresford (Hull 1946, 67, pl IX.3). Both are assigned to Clarke's East Anglian group. Given the interest of this find to Neolithic and Bronze Age studies in the Chelmer Valley, it is hoped that this artefact will eventually be rediscovered.

Hadleigh, Chapel Lane (TQ 88-4)

Nigel Brown

A watching brief during the development of an area adjacent to the double-ditched cropmark enclosure (Scheduled Ancient Monument No. 108) revealed part of an Early Iron Age enclosure ditch.

Excavated Features: A ditch, orientated east-west then turning sharply to the south, some 1.8m wide and 0.2-0.3m deep, was traced for *c.*24m. Where examined, the fill comprised two layers: an upper dark grey sandy silt loam with frequent pottery and charcoal (1) and a lower grey brown sandy silt clay, with occasional pottery sherds. A large concentration of fired clay occurred in (2) in trench 18 (Fig. 2).

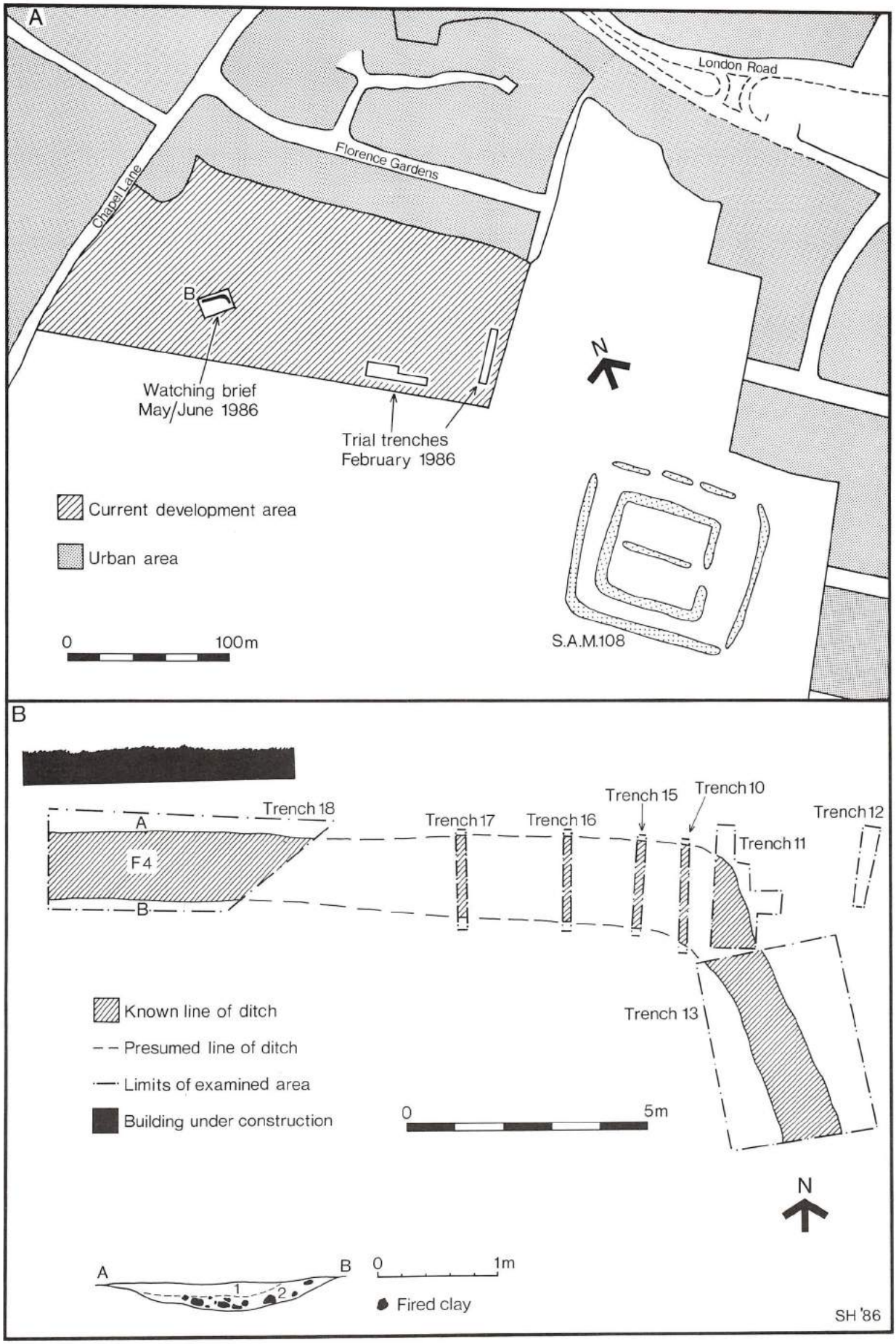

A
London Road
Florence Gardens
Chapel Lane
B
Watching brief
May/June 1986
Trial trenches
February 1986
N
Current development area
Urban area
0
100m
S.A.M.108
B
Trench 18
A
F4
B
Trench 17
Trench 16
Trench 15
Trench 10
Trench 11
Trench 12
Trench 13
Known line of ditch
Presumed line of ditch
Limits of examined area
Building under construction
0
5m
N
A
B
1
2
0
1m
Fired clay
SH '86

Fig. 2

Finds

Flint (Hazel Martingell): 15 pieces of later prehistoric worked flint were recovered. 8 pieces of waste appear to come from 1 or 2 cores, although none join. One of these is a core platform trimming piece with opposed utilised edge (Fig. 3.1). One flake has a pronounced bulb of percussion which conforms with the type of negative flake bed on the core (Fig. 3.2). The single retouched piece is a pointed flake with a large notch (Fig. 3.3).

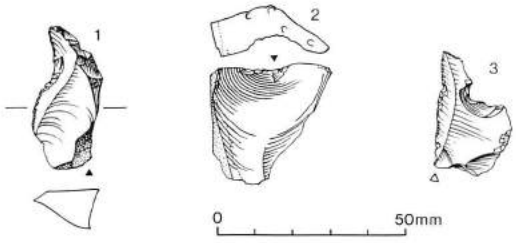


Fig. 3

Pottery: A total of 402 sherds (weighing 3.23kg), representing at least 10 fabrics, were recovered from the ditch. The assemblage comprises a range of jars and bowls appropriate to both the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, although in this context it appears to be the latter. The pottery has been recorded using a system devised for a number of later prehistoric assemblages in central Essex. Fabrics present are:

- A Flint, S2 well sorted
- B Flint, S-M2
- C Flint, S-M with occasional L
- D Flint and sand S-M2
- E Flint and sand S-M2
- F Sand, S-M, 2-3 with addition of occasional L flint
- H Sand, S2
- R Shell M-L2, soft fabric
- T Chalk
- W Flint S-L2 with some sand
- Z Unidentifiable

Where the size of inclusion is represented by:

- S less than 1mm diameter
- M 1-2mm diameter
- L more than 2mm diameter

and the density of the inclusion by:

- 1 less than 6 per cm^2
- 2 6-10 per cm^2
- 3 more than 10 per cm^2

Sherds of coarse jars predominate (Fig. 4.1-7), however fine angular bowls (Fig. 4.10) and occasional sherds of very thin-walled bowls/cups (Fig. 4.8-9) are also present, indicating that the assemblage is derived from a wide range of domestic functions. The jar with the high angular shoulder and flared rim (Fig. 4.1), and the rim with the slashed decoration (Fig. 4.2), are widely paralleled in LBA and EIA assemblages. The hooked rim of a barrel-shaped jar (Fig. 4.4) is similar to one from the Orsett causewayed enclosure (Barrett 1978, fig. 39.4), and the expanded rims (Fig. 4.3, 6-7) are also paralleled there (Barrett 1978, figs 41.71-2). These may indicate an EIA date, as may the bead rims (Fig. 4.5). The very regular circular impressions on the angular bowl (Fig. 4.10) are reminiscent of impressions on a LBA bowl from Loft's Farm (Brown 1985, in prep.) and on a EIA vessel from North Shoebury (Brown, forthcoming).

Given that most of the pottery appears to derive from coarse jars, it is not surprising that the coarse ill-sorted fabrics D and W dominate the assemblage. Most of the pottery contains flint temper, however, over half the fabrics (E,F,H,W) contain a high proportion of sand (Fig. 5). Many Essex EIA assemblages display a tendency to sandy fabrics and a general diversity of fabric type, compared to LBA pottery. The presence of shell-tempered fabric R may also indicate a EIA date. Shell temper commonly occurs in EIA pottery in south Essex and dominates the EIA assemblage at North Shoebury (Brown forthcoming).

Fired Clay (Hilary Major): Perforated triangular loomweight from (2), Fabric crumbly, poorly mixed with sand and vegetable inclusions (Fig. 4.11). Colour varies from buff-orange-grey, surfaces badly eroded. It may have been fired when complete but was probably also burnt after breakage. Length of sides: *c.*170mm, weight: 578g. This is a relatively early example from Essex. There are a few from earlier sites such as Burnham on Crouch, associated with square baked clay slabs and LBA/EIA pottery (Couchman 1979, 75), but they are more common from later Iron Age contexts. The Hadleigh example is unusually thin for its size. This may be a feature of earlier loomweights but too little is known at present to be certain.

Discussion: The large quantity of pottery and fired clay indicate the close proximity of domestic occupation. No features were revealed to the north and east when further topsoil was removed. It is therefore likely that the settlement lay to the south, within the supposed enclosure. Open settlements have been taken to be characteristic of the Early Iron Age in Essex, with enclosed sites occurring in the later Middle Iron Age (Drury 1978, 52). However, this excavation and that at Loft's Farm (Brown 1985; in prep.) indicates the existence of much earlier enclosed settlements. A ditch forming what may have been the corner of a similar rectangular enclosure, associated with LBA pottery, was also recorded approximately 5km to the north-east (Eddy 1981, 51). It is hoped to undertake further work on this site as the development progresses.

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

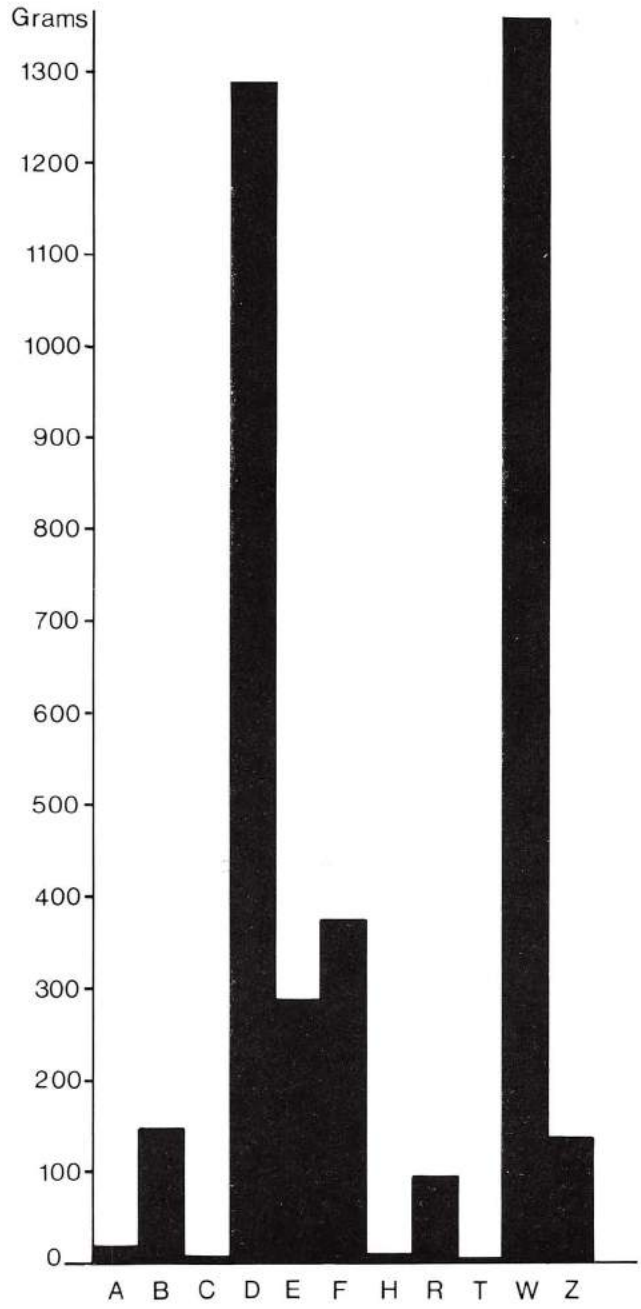
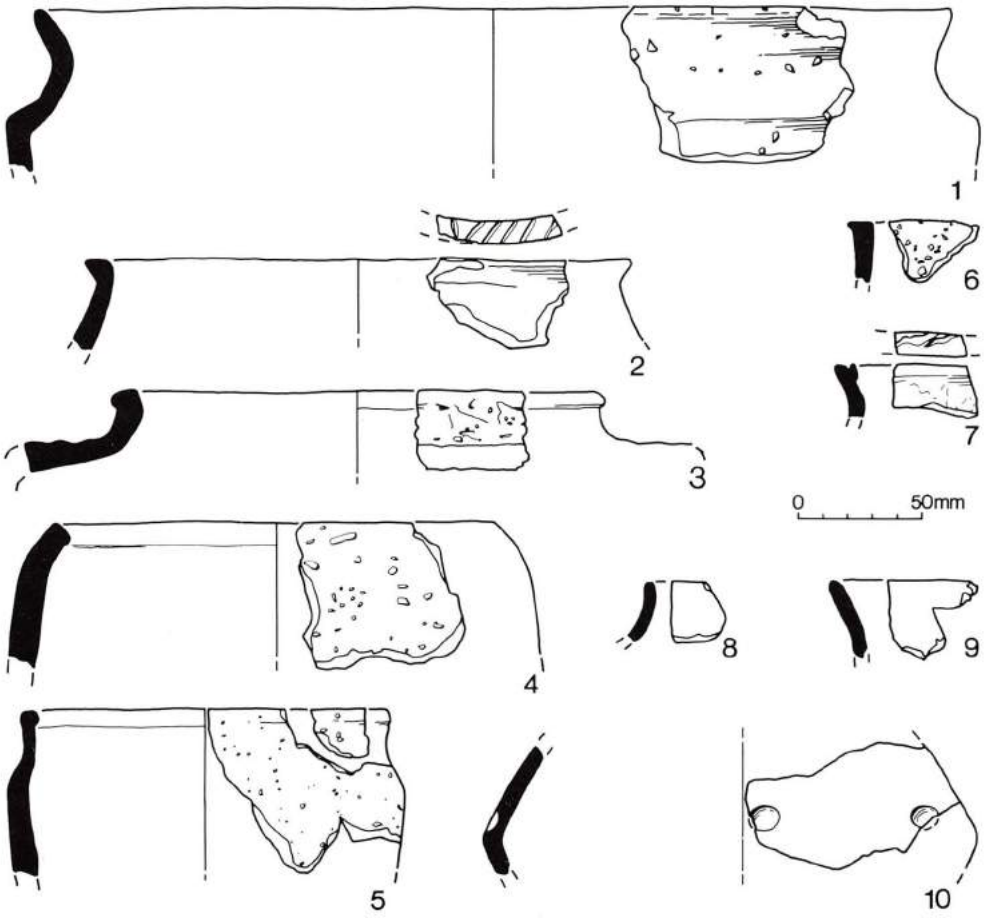


Fig. 5



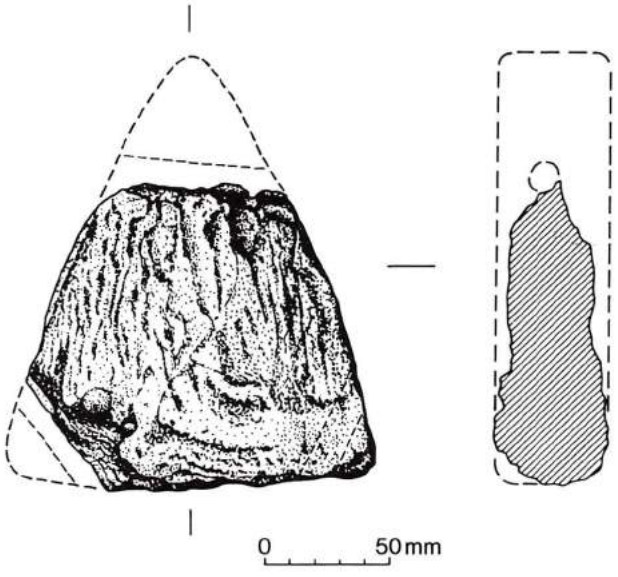


Fig. 4

Chignal St. James, Chignal Hall (TL 61-141)
Owen Bedwin

An area of 10,000 m² was examined after topsoil stripping. Although designated for gravel extraction, the subsoil was chalky boulder clay. A small enclosure, defined by ditches (2) and (11) (Fig. 6) was revealed. A section cut through ditch (2) showed it to have been cut 1.2m into the subsoil; it was 2.5m wide with a symmetrical profile. The latest pottery, present in all fills, was mid-1st century A.D. This was mostly in the form of large sherds, accompanied by fragments of burnt daub, animal bone, charcoal and burnt flint. It would appear that this ditch was rapidly filled with domestic debris some time in the mid-1st century A.D. Its construction date remains uncertain.

A shallow curvilinear gully (9), only 150mm deep and up to 400mm wide, produced Middle Iron Age pottery, including rim sherds with finger nail decoration along their upper surface (paralleled at Little Waltham, Drury 1978). Further work is anticipated.

Finds: Ch.E.M.

Great Dunmow, Chequer's Lane (TL 62-55)
Nigel Brown

Inspection of foundation trenches to the rear of the High Street revealed three pits and a post-hole. One pit produced a single sherd of Roman pottery, whilst another pit and the post-hole produced post-medieval finds. The pits appear to be quarry pits, probably of relatively modern date. The absence of Roman finds is in contrast to the plentiful evidence of Roman occupation 100m to the east, and on the former nursery site immediately to the south, although the latter had itself been disturbed by quarrying (Wickenden forthcoming).

Finds: E.C.C.

West Mersea, Hall Farm (TM 01-128)
Deborah Priddy and Mandy Gee

Prior to redevelopment for a sheltered housing scheme, two trial trenches were excavated in anticipation of Roman occupation, in this vicinity (V.C.H. 1903, 158). Surprisingly, no pre-20th century features were revealed neither was any Roman material recovered. The area had evidently been extensively disturbed in recent times.

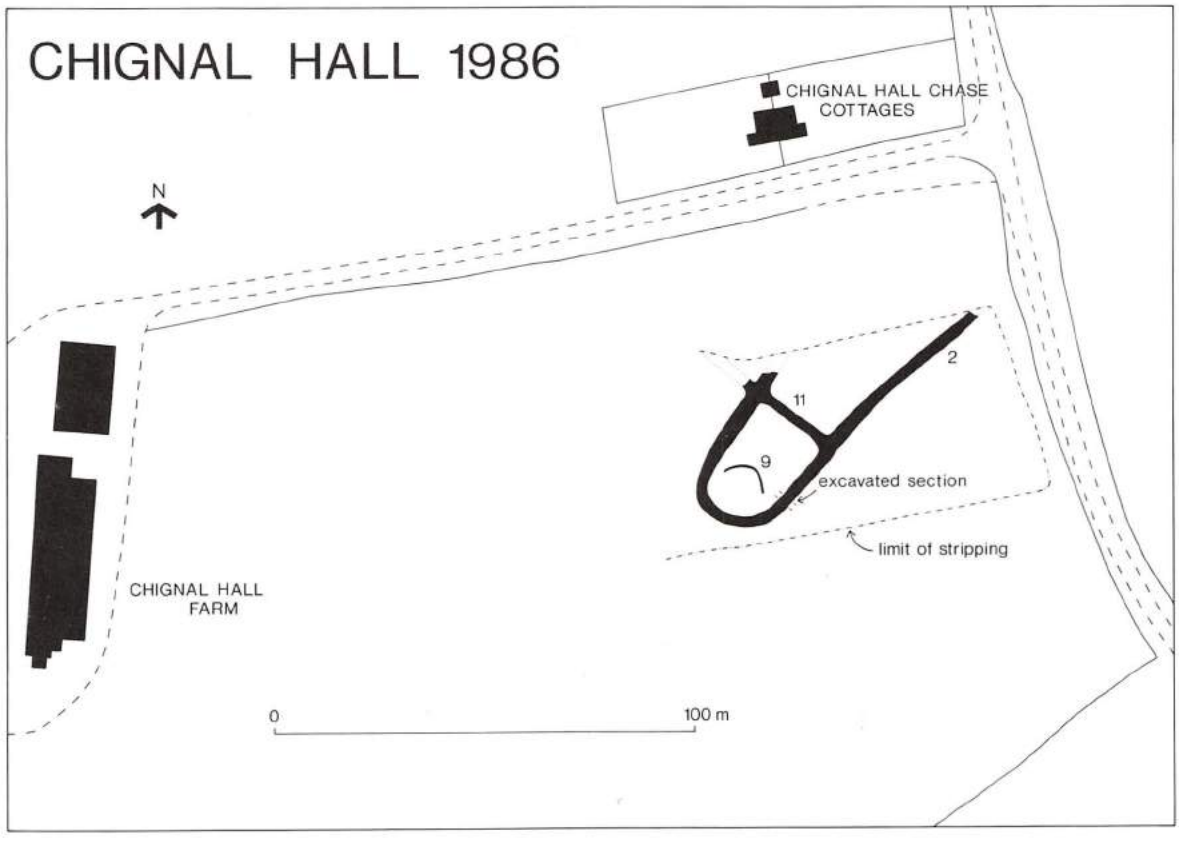


Fig. 6

Colchester, MCTC Monkwick (TL 92-273)
Deborah Priddy

Topsoil stripping for the construction of a new firing range in immature woodland revealed a ditch and several shallow scoops (Fig. 7). The ditch (2) ran north-south across the site and, where sectioned at its southern end, was found to be 1.90m wide and 0.49m deep. Its upper fill (3) was a dark grey sandy silt containing a few fragments of burnt daub. This sealed a mid-grey sandy silt clay (4) which also contained undiagnostic sherds of Roman grey wares, and a primary brown-grey sandy silt (5) with no finds. It was not clear whether this ditch was continuous or had a causeway, nor whether it was most likely to be a field boundary or an enclosure ditch. A shallow scoop (6) *c.*0.8m in diameter and 0.15m deep may have been a hearth. A dark brown sandy silt (7) containing much charcoal and ash overlay thin lenses of partially fired clay (8) and charcoal/ash (9). Large burnt stones (10) were set in its base, embedded in a grey sand and gravel mixed with charcoal (11). No finds were recovered and its relationship to the ditch, if any, is unknown. The features suggest the presence of Roman occupation in this area which is only 300m west of the Berechurch Dyke, the easternmost element in the late Iron Age *oppidum*, whilst two ditches *c.*400m to the south also produced much Belgic and Roman pottery (V.C.H. 1903, 125).
Finds: C.E.M.

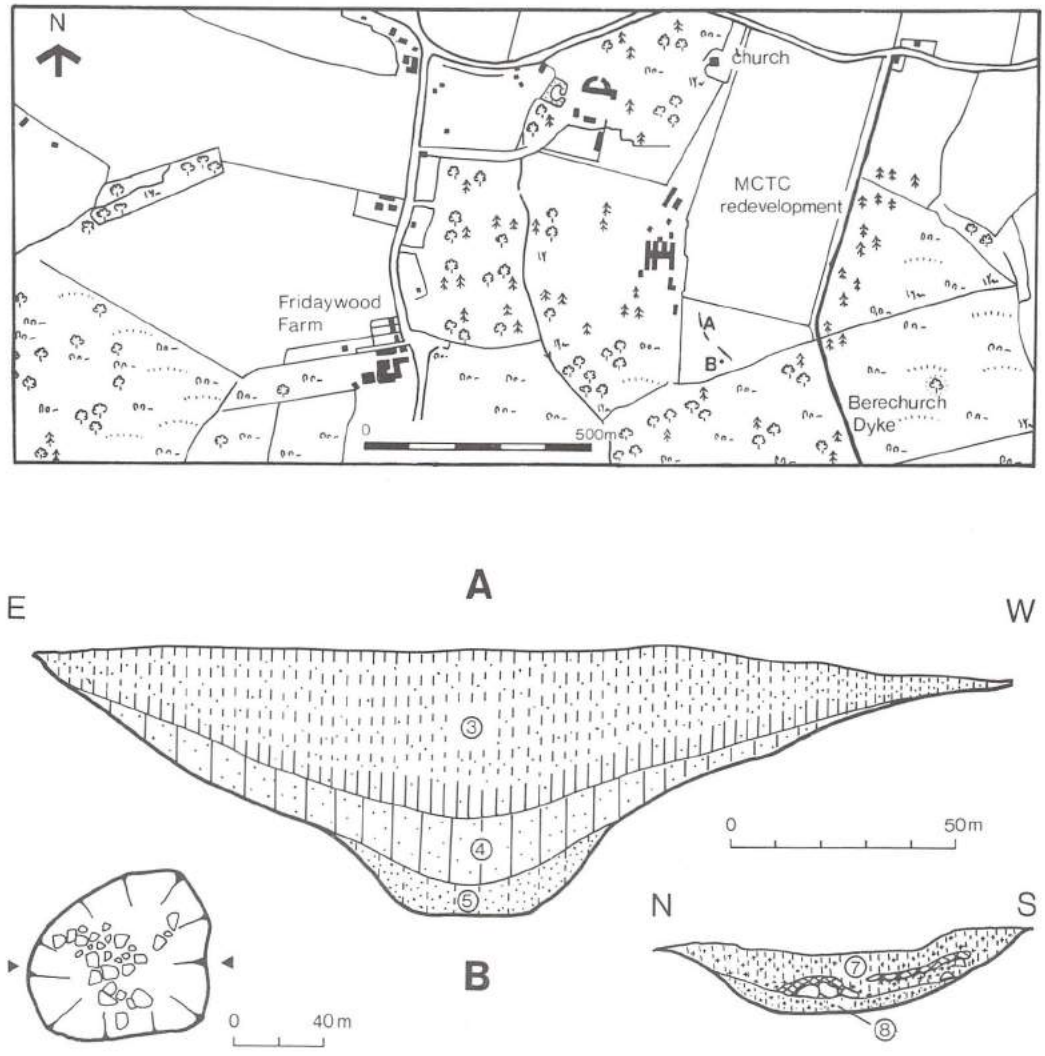


Fig. 7

Springfield, Storm's Farm (TL 70-128)

Susan Tyler

The upper half of a copper alloy cruciform brooch was discovered by Mr Spooner, a member of the Essex Metal Detecting Society, who lent the object for analysis and illustration.

Copper alloy cruciform brooch (Fig. 8); upper half only, head and part of bow. Traces of white metal coating on the terminal knobs. Square head panel; rectangular panels either side. Three terminal knobs (semi-circular in cross section and slightly hollowed) equidistant around head; head and knobs cast in one. Decoration: knobs decorated with incised grooves, one around base of dome and several beneath waist (7 beneath central knob, 5 beneath side knobs); central square panel decorated around edge with stamped circles; side panels decorated with segmented 'Y'-shaped stamps (each incorporating two circles), 3 stamps on one panel, 5 on another. One side panel bent forward slightly. Bow at junction with headplate grooved and facetted. In fairly good condition. Broken across bow in antiquity. Edges of side panels badly chipped. Surfaces flaking, particularly on bow. Pin missing. Iron corrosion products spread across most of the back. Pin hinge damaged. Maximum width 48.5 mm; maximum length (incomplete) 44 mm.

The form of the head and bow belongs to Aberg's Group II (1926, 36-9) and suggests a date in the first half of the 6th century. It would undoubtedly have had a zoomorphic foot, probably a horse's head. It can be paralleled at the nearby Springfield Lyons cemetery (grave 4882; object no. 2904). The majority of parallels come from Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. The findspot is within an area of cropmarks, comprising a ring-ditch, linear features and pits.

Finds: private possession.

Coggeshall, Old Fire Station (TL 82-63)

David Andrews

Inspection of foundation trenches (0.6 m wide, *c.* 2 m deep) revealed about 1 m of archaeological deposits which accumulated during the development of this part of the medieval town (Fig. 9). The sequence has been interpreted as follows:

I. Natural orange brown sandy clay and gravel at a depth of *c.* 0.9-1 m, overlain by brown to dark brown silts and loams. The latter could represent soil formation above the natural, but may also have been dumped material. The water table was 1.4 m below the existing ground level.

II. (i) On the south side of the site, at a depth of *c.* 1.4 m, grey and blackish waterlogged organic silts were found. These did not appear to extend very far to the north or south of the foundation trench and could represent the filling of a linear feature running approximately parallel with Church Street. This feature ran beneath the front of the formerly jettied shop to the east.

Similar, though not quite so well developed, silts were found in the foundation trench running just behind the Stoneham Street frontage. The bases of several timber posts were found in both features. Since they did not seem massive or numerous enough to be piles, and were at the edge of the ditch, they could be the remains of some form of revetment. These features may represent roadside ditches at least 1 m wide, presumably medieval in date. Dendrochronological tests did not produce a positive result.

(ii) In the north of the site, one, possibly two, floor levels represented by hard pale yellowish clay flecked with chalk, were evident. At one point a bowl-shaped depression filled with black material, probably coal, seems to mark the position of a hearth. The floors were bounded by two walls made of flints bedded in sand, *c.* 400 mm wide. One wall ran parallel to Stoneham Street, just behind the line of the proposed ditch, and the other ran east-west, *c.* 3.5 m from the side of the shop to the north. The walls would have served as cills for the ground beams of a timber-framed building, about 5 m wide, presumably with its long axis parallel to Stoneham Street where it was bounded by the ditch. At the rear of the building there seems to have been a yard or garden. To the south of the Church Street frontage, no very clear floor levels were visible in the sides of the trenches but the possibility cannot be excluded that there was a building here. No dating evidence was recovered for the building represented by the cill walls, but a medieval jug fragment, possibly a Hedingham product, found in the sections to the south, indicates that the site was occupied from the 13th or 14th centuries.

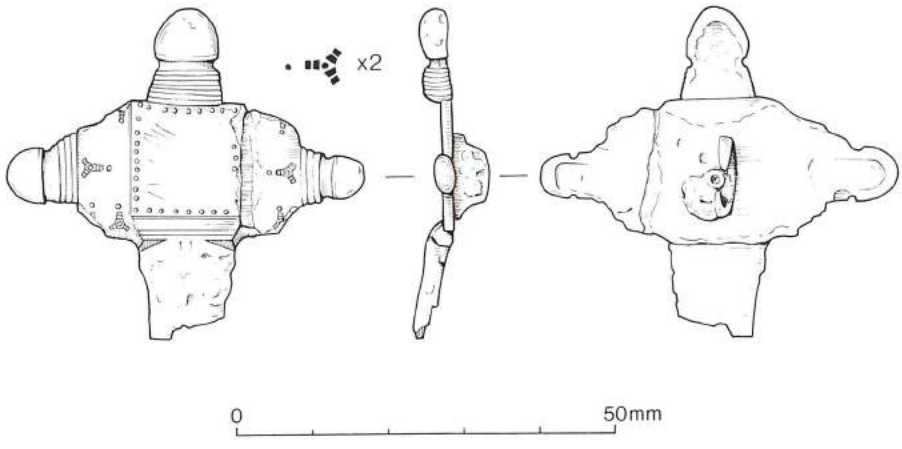


Fig. 8

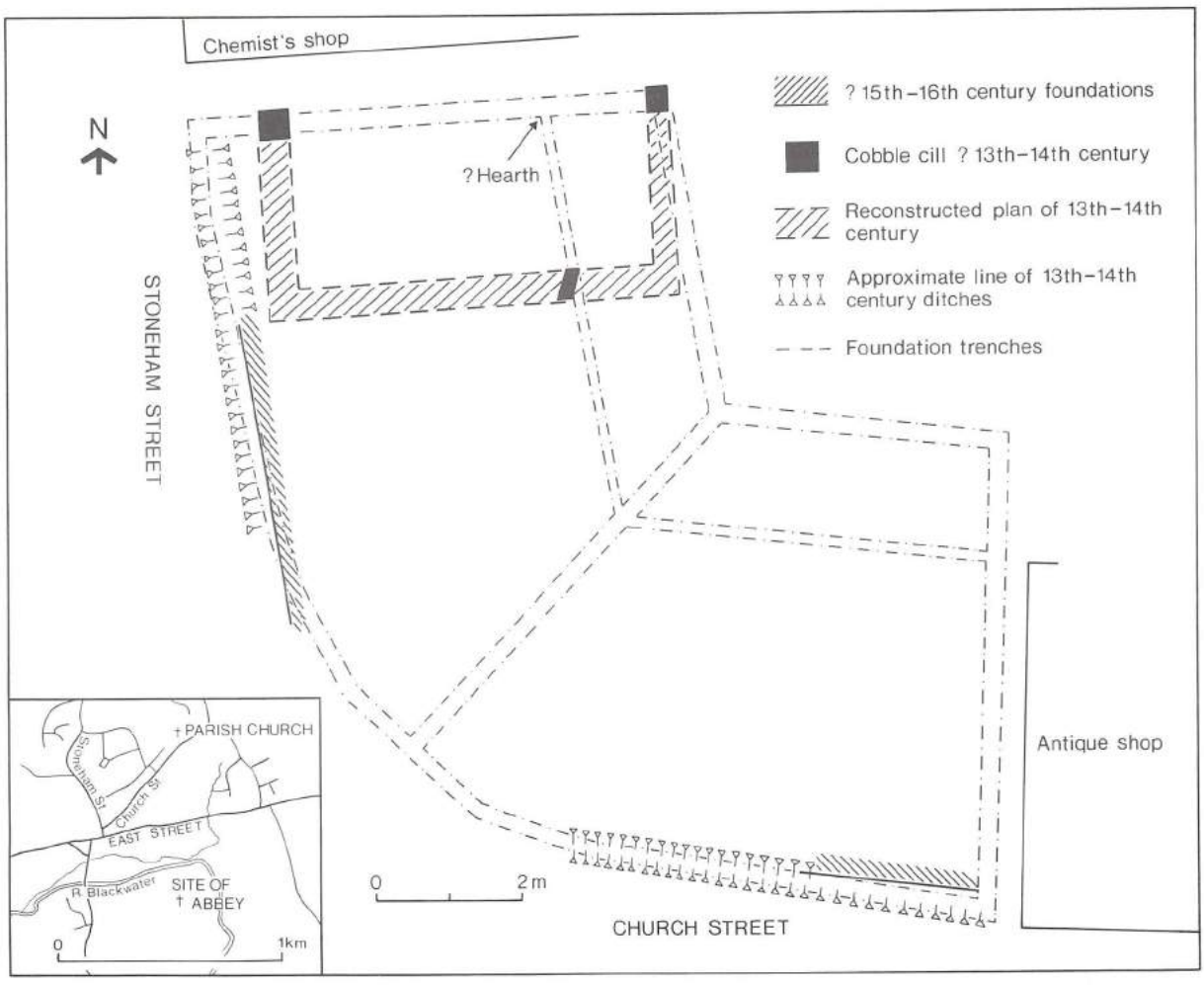


Fig. 9

III. (i) In the trench along Church Street, the ditch had partially silted-up and then been covered in dumps of brown loam. Immediately below the modern make-up a layer of gravel is thought to represent an earlier road level. To the east, this ran beneath the later jetty of the antique shop, though perhaps not under its original footings. To the north the gravel extended beyond the line of the modern pavement, terminating at the line of a substantial flint wall, probably the foundation for the ground beam of a timber-framed building. To the north there were also a number of floor surfaces and, although they could not be directly related to the wall, from their level they must either be contemporary or later.

(ii) In the foundation trench at the west side of the site along Stoneham Street, another wall was found running the full length of the trench. This was 700 mm high, made of coursed peg-tile with some flint, in a hard lime mortar. It was clearly the front wall of another building. Since it resembled the wall along Church Street, it is suggested that it is approximately contemporary. No dating evidence was found for these features but peg-tile and perhaps fragments of bricks were present in the dumps over the ditches, and a date in the 15th-16th centuries is proposed.

IV. 19th and 20th-century features, mainly concrete foundations and floors, with brick-built drains and sumps, most of which served the fire station.

The impression gained from this watching brief and work elsewhere in Coggeshall is that the present centre of the town was low-lying, vulnerable to flooding and only built up late in the Middle Ages, certainly after the grant of the market charter in 1256. The main area of Roman settlement was to the east, in the vicinity of the church. It is likely that the shift to the present site was brought about through the influence of the abbey, which controlled the market. The roadside ditches hint at a degree of town planning on the part of the abbey.

Finds: E.C.C.

Rayleigh, 3-5 London Hill (TQ 89-2)

David Andrews

Foundation trenches revealed evidence for a medieval tenement about 5 m wide, apparently parallel to the road and possibly dating from the 14th century.

Finds: E.C.C.

Wicken Bonhunt (TL 53-123)

David Andrews and Deborah Priddy

Inspection of foundation trenches for a house in the former garden of Wicken House revealed a scorched brickearth deposit overlain by crushed chalk. Its extent appeared to be roughly rectangular, *c.*3 x 2 m. Several pits had been cut into the natural chalk, capped with brickearth, and, on the south side of the site, loamy layers had been dumped against the boundary wall to level the site. This area is thought to be the site of the shrunken village and pottery dating from the 11th century onwards has been found nearby. No finds were recovered on this site, but it is possible that these deposits indicate the site of a medieval tenement.

Saffron Walden, The Castle Grounds (TL 53-10)
David Andrews

Excavation for the burial of a 'time capsule' in the grounds of the castle, as part of the town's Charter 750 celebrations, revealed chalk at a depth of 300-350mm. Subsequent mechanical excavation showed this chalk to be redeposited, sealing archaeological features beneath it (Fig. 10). The north and south sections were recorded. A deep cut feature dates from the time of the castle, perhaps from the 13th century. Its edge seems unusually deep for a castle ditch and suggests that it was a cellar or a pit with some specialised function. It does not fit with the castle's plan as the main ditch is thought to lie to the west on the line of Museum Street. As its profile was relatively unweathered, it does not seem to have been open for very long. A number of thin surfaces, sealing the fill of this feature could be interpreted as internal floors, and the patch of small chalk lumps at their west end may represent a wall alignment. If so, this building may well date to the 15th century. A thick layer of rammed chalk clearly represents a surface, but it is not clear whether this was external or internal. Pressed into its surface were some fragments of tile and the handle of a large 16th/17th-century storage jug. Possibly this layer may have derived from the levelling of earthworks and the presence of a block of Greensand, together with other building debris, suggests the demolition of a structure of some importance; perhaps the manor house which was once situated on the hilltop. Bassett notes (1985, 61) that at some time in the later 18th century the area around the keep was landscaped. Clearly the aspect of the castle grounds has been radically altered, eliminating virtually all traces of what must have been extensive earthworks and buildings.
Finds: S.W.M.

Chelmsford, Moulsham Street (TL 70-1)
Hilary Major

Medieval annular brooch (Fig. 11), recovered from an unstratified context during building operations. The annulus has a plain oval section, the pin a slightly rounded square section with an incomplete ring. An upstanding moulding at the junction of the head and shaft bears three transverse grooves. This type of brooch was used throughout the Middle Ages (Wheeler 1940, 274-5) and cannot be closely dated.

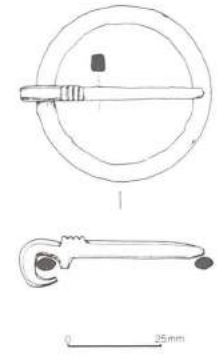


Fig. 11

A few sherds of 11th/12th-century pottery and a quantity of 17th/18th-century pottery were also found and can be paralleled by finds from excavations in this area (Cunningham 1985).
Finds: private possession.

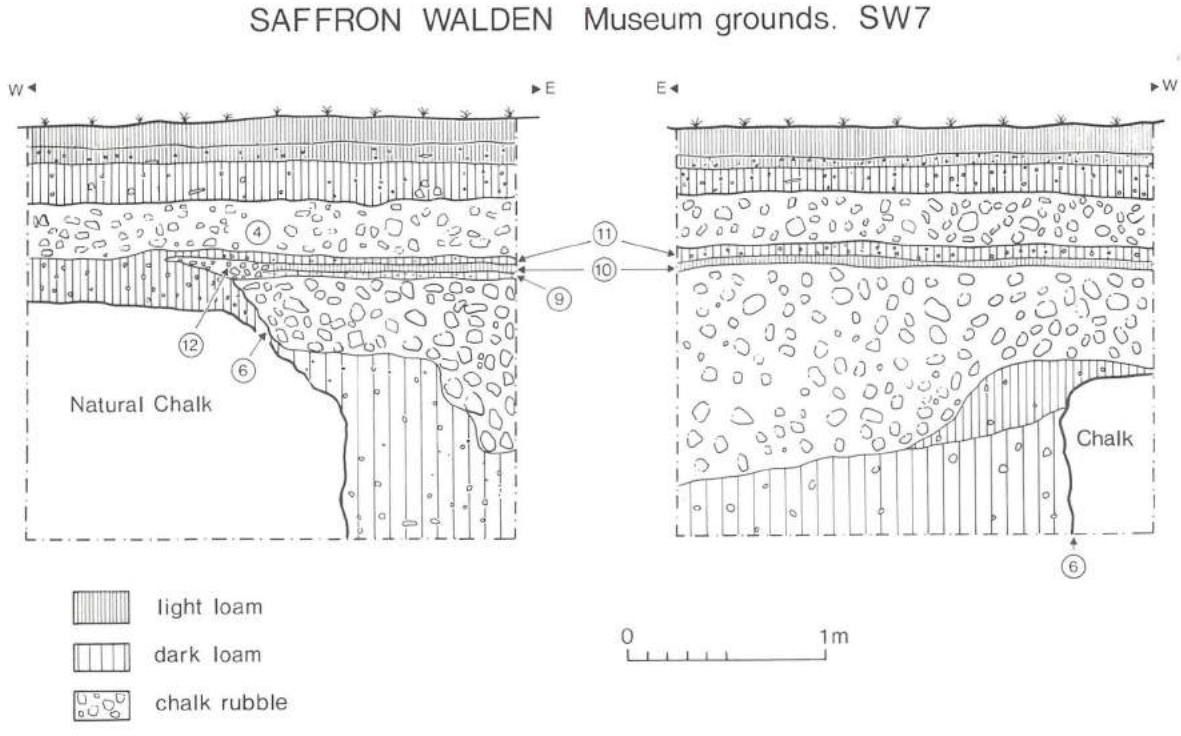


Fig. 10

South Ockendon, South Ockendon Hall Moat (TQ 68-4)

Deborah Priddy

South Ockendon Hall is situated in the old village centre, *c.*1km ENE of the parish church, inn and village green, now almost engulfed by the sprawling conurbation east of London. The present hall is an imposing 19th-century farmhouse *c.*250m north-west of the moat. The moat is a large quadrilateral; its southern arm, wider than the others, originally continued the west of the south-west corner where there was a large mill pond. A bridge and the remains of a gatehouse are situated near the north-west corner (Pl. 1). In 1985 an application for scheduled monument consent to scour the moat was granted and, as a condition of consent, a watching brief was maintained. During these operations medieval brickwork was noted to the north of the gatehouse. This was exposed after the removal of ivy and, at the request of English Heritage, plans and elevations were made in March 1986.

The surviving fabric of the gatehouse is Reigate rubble faced with ashlar (Fig. 12). It is *c.*40m long, 0.75m wide and 5.5m high with an entrance set asymmetrically within it. The arch and the wall above it were rebuilt in brick at the end of the 17th/early 18th century. The present bridge may also date to this period but traces of Reigate abutments can still be seen. The character of the stonework is monumental with well-jointed, squared blocks. Unfortunately there are no architecturally diagnostic features which allow it to be dated. There are two main off-sets with a third to the south of the bridge. The lower courses on the south side terminate in a slightly irregular way which may indicate it is truncated or rebuilt. Little facing stone remains on the internal face and a number of post-medieval lean-to farm buildings have been built up against it. These two factors obscure the junction of brick and stonework and no evidence for the return of the stonework is visible. Very little stone structure was noted lying in the moat bottom. Either the rest of the stone structure was demolished (and the stone reused elsewhere or sold) or, perhaps more likely, we are looking at a stone façade, fronting a timber-framed or brick gatehouse.

Parallels for the gatehouse are not easy to find in Essex. All the surviving stone gatehouses are monastic. Cartographic evidence from the late 16th/early 17th-century Walker maps (Edwards and Newton 1984) show, for the most part, small timber-framed or brick gatehouses, such as that at Garnetts, High Easter (Edwards and Newton 1984, pl. XXX; Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 41848), although a gatehouse range at Mascallsbury, White Roothing (Edwards and Newton, 1984, pl. XIX; E.R.O. D/DC 27/1118) approaches a scale comparable to South Ockendon. One brick and stone gatehouse known from documentary and cartographic sources was that at Thorndon Hall, West Horndon. The accounts record that Beerstone from Devon was bought in 1594 for the new gatehouse and terrace (Ward and Marshall 1972, 6). Walker's map of 1598 (Edwards and Newton 1984, pl. X; E.R.O. D/DP P6) shows an elaborate brick and stone gatehouse, *c.*100′ wide. An aspect of 1669 an illustration in 'The Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany during the Reign of King Charles II' (1821) shows a substantial gatehouse, with a central upper storey and fine moulded chimneys. Walker's map shows it was originally flanked by polygonal towers, but by 1669 only one survived.

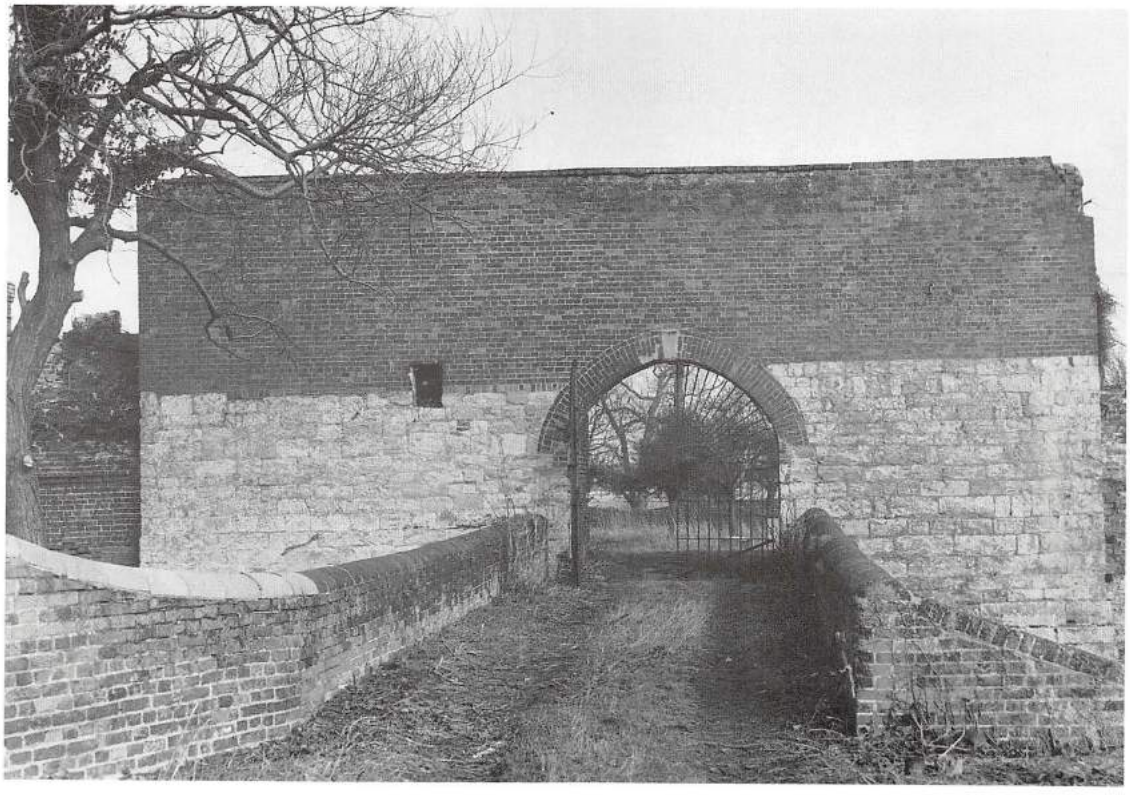


Plate 1

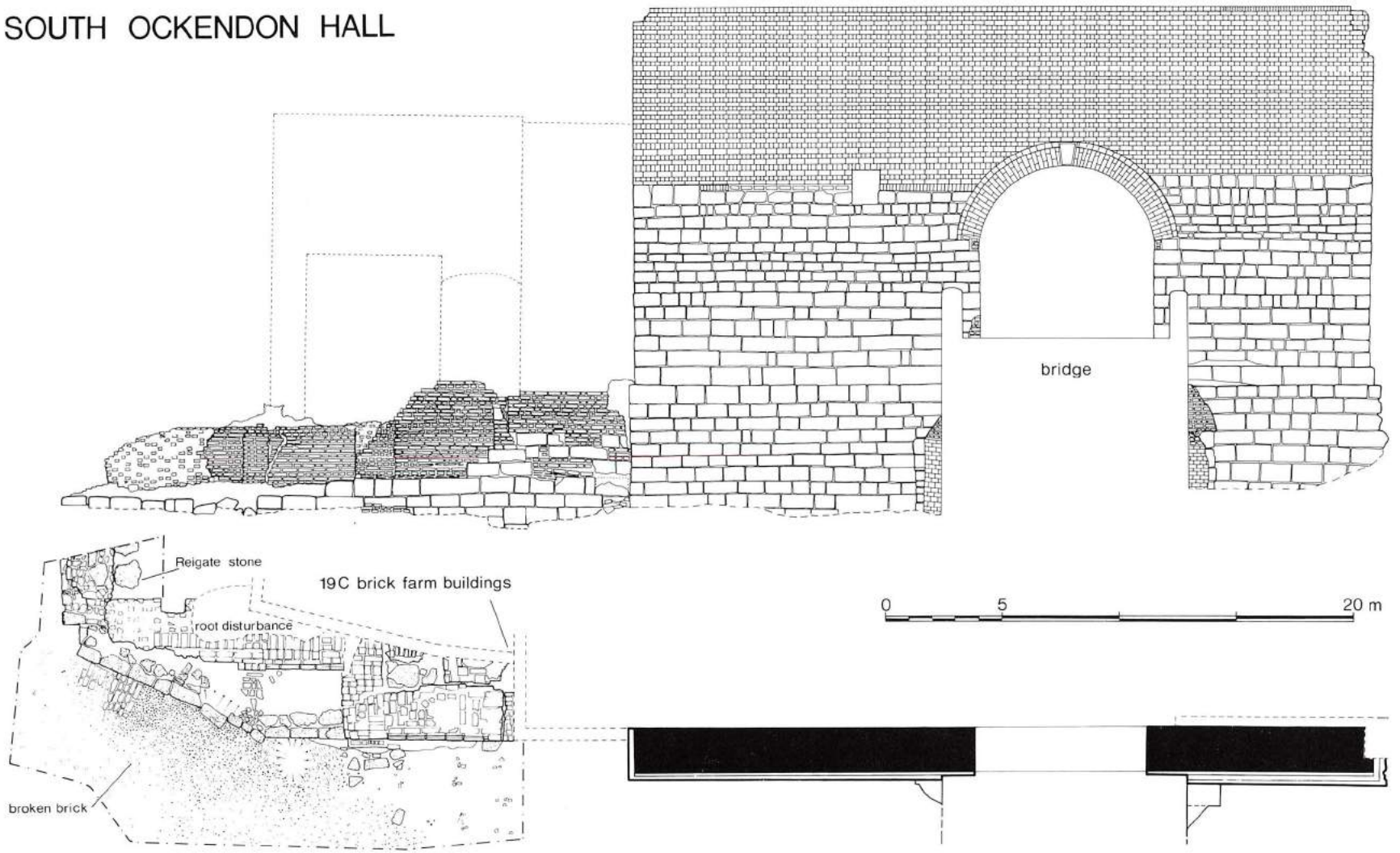

SOUTH OCKENDON HALL
bridge
Reigate stone
19C brick farm buildings
root disturbance
broken brick
0
5
20 m

Fig. 12

North of the South Ockendon gatehouse, the very lowest courses of stone continue as a revetment to the north-west corner for *c.*35m, turn at an angle of 45° and then seem to return along the northern arm (Fig. 12). The 15th-century brickwork to the north of the gatehouse may be later since, if projected, it jutts out beyond the stonework. Wall scars indicate at least two structures projecting out towards/over the moat, one perhaps representing a gardedrobe. It is possible that some kind of corner tower (as at Nether Hall, Roydon) or turret (as at Killigrews, Margaretting) existed, but further work and excavation would be needed to resolve this.

Sandwiched between the post-medieval brickwork to the south of the bridge is a further short length of medieval brickwork but no features are visible. Opposite, a limestone rubble revetment flanks the south side of the bridge. Elsewhere, flint rubble and traces of wooden revetting are visible on the inner bank of the northern arm.

Nothing is known about the original hall. South Ockendon was a Domesday manor. The earliest reference records William de la Rochell making a grant to support a chaplain at the free chapel at South Ockendon Hall between 1190-1225 (V.C.H. 1978, 119). Building accounts for 1318/19 (ERO D/DP M 1152) detail various works connected with the hall, kitchen, well and privy and 16th-century wills mention 'the great dining chamber, middle chamber' and 'gallery chamber' (ERO D/AER 11A/66; PRO PROB 11 34 f83). One fragment of a glazed, decorated floor-tile was found in the moat. Moulded and rubbed bricks reused in the core of the wall north of the bridge may be derived from elaborate decorative chimneys from the house. The only building known to have existed on the platform is shown on a survey of 1641 (Fig. 13; ERO D/DGe P5); a large, probably 17th-century, timber-framed house, hard up against the west side of the moat. The archaeological evidence: impressive moat, use of stone for a gatehouse, brickwork and building materials, combine with the documentary evidence to suggest that South Ockendon Hall was a wealthy and prestigious, manor house.

Great Bentley, St. Mary's Church (TM 12-131)
David Andrews

Archaeological work in advance of the construction of a parish room adjacent to the south wall of the church consisted of digging part of the foundation trenches by hand, and carrying out a watching brief. The church is Norman, built of indurated conglomerate or puddingstone, laid herringbone fashion. It was found to have offset foundations, made of similar stone, at least 450mm deep. Above the foundations, but below the existing ground level, the face of the wall was rendered, suggesting that the entire church was originally rendered and the characteristic masonry concealed from view. Abutting the south wall, and enclosing the Romanesque south doorway, were foundations, 600mm wide, of a structure *c.*4.25 x 4.75m. This was either a porch or possibly a vestry. It was brick built, with stone dressings and had a brick floor. The bricks were Tudor and the structure may be dated approximately to the 16th century. A brick-lined vaulted tomb of apparently 18th or 19th-century

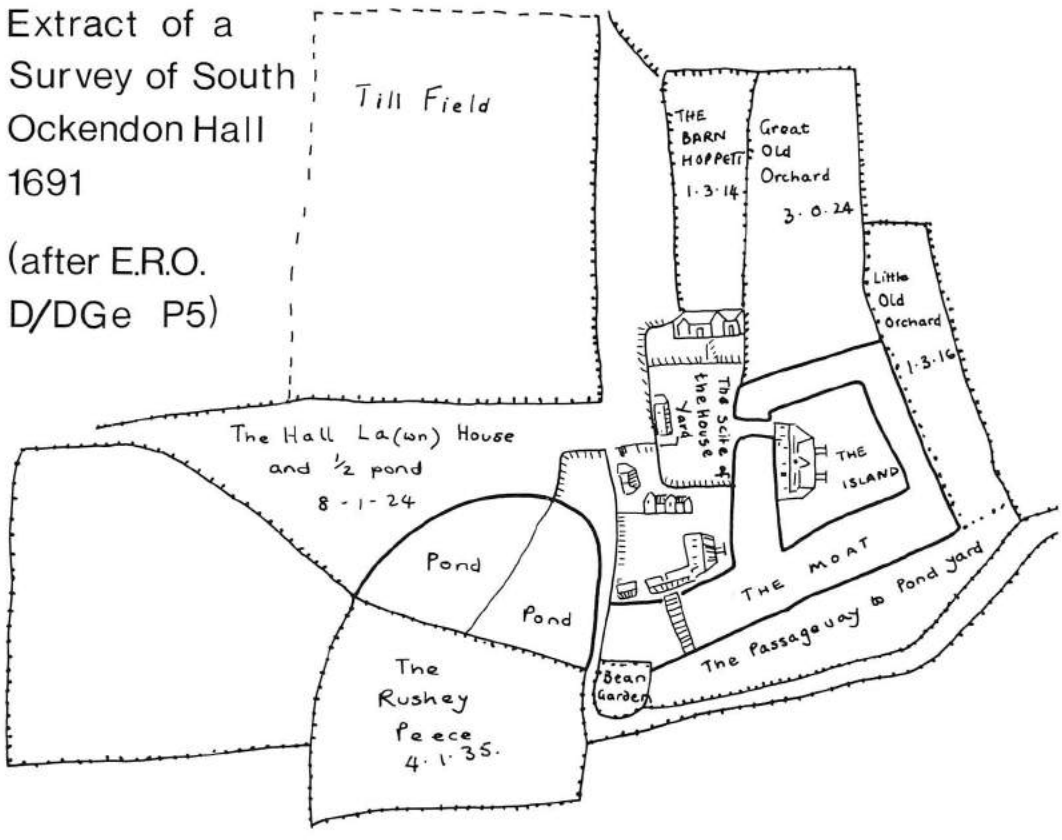


Fig. 13

date, which cut through the east wall of the structure, provides a *terminus ante quem* for its demolition. Otherwise, the main discoveries were post-medieval burials which had taken place close to the church, destroying any pre-existing stratigraphy. To the south, the graves petered out and evidence was found for an east-west ditch, probably representing the former southern boundary of the churchyard, prior to its extension in 1876. Finds comprised pottery (none earlier than the 13th century) building debris and coffin fittings.
Finds: C.E.M.

Aythorpe Roding, St. Mary's Church (TL 51-33)
Deborah Priddy
A watching brief was maintained during drainage works around the walls of the 13th-century, two-celled, church. On the south wall of the chancel the flint rubble foundation buldged slightly, but no distinctive offset existed. The quoin at the junction of the nave and chancel had been patched and a large chamfered greensand block inserted. A very large block of Septaria was set at the base of the foundation (0.7m). In places where the bottom of the foundation was exposed, it was sitting on a layer of rammed chalk boulder clay and flints. On the north side of the chancel an irregular offset foundation was noted. At the east end of the nave on the north side a demolished foundation, bonded into the nave wall, 0.8m wide, ran off at right angles. It only extended some 0.6m and had been robbed almost to the base of its foundation. A soak-away trench to the north, crossing its projected line, failed to pick it up. It is therefore suggested that this feature was a buttress, given its position and the lack of any other wall scars. The outer sections of the trenches showed at least 0.5m of made-ground in most places. A thick topsoil sealed mixed brown and orange-brown silt-clays and redeposited chalky boulder clay. At the west end of the church a thin, extensive layer of brown silt-clay with flecks of chalk, charcoal, mortar and brick, reddened by burning in places, was noted at a depth of *c.*200mm, to both the north and south of the church. It produced a few sherds of 15th/16th-century pottery which probably represent activity associated with the building of the tower.
Finds: Ch.E.M.

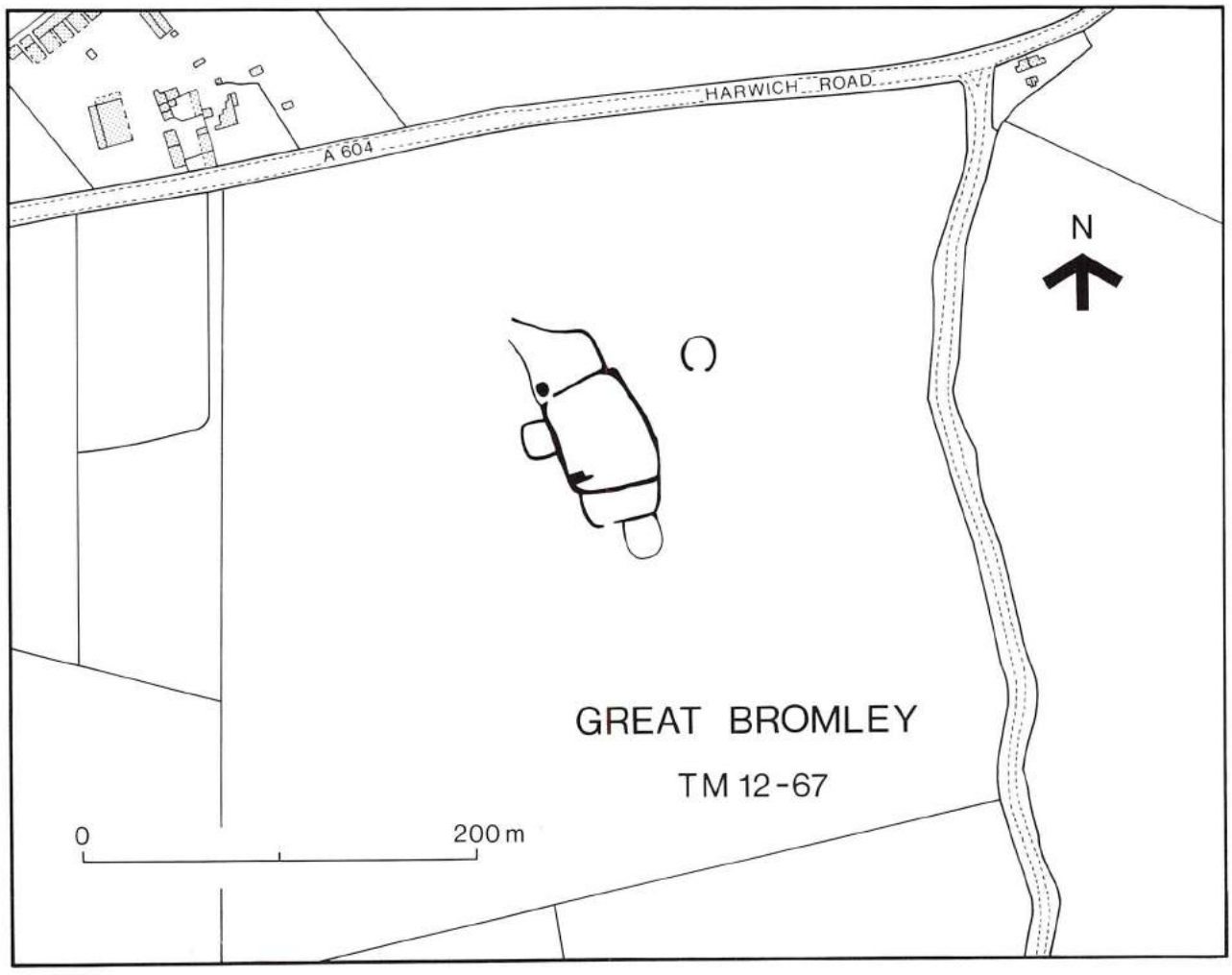


Fig. 14

Aerial Survey Susan Tyler

Five flights were made between April and October. The major objectives were to record cropmarks and extant monuments, particularly in areas likely to be affected by the expansion of Stansted Airport. Cropmarks appeared only fleetingly, but distinctly, during June and early July (barley) and in early August (wheat). Some of the cropmarks observed are described below:

Great Bromley (TM 12-67)

Tripartite rectangular enclosure (Fig. 14) of 0.25ha with 'D'-shaped compounds abutting its south and west sides. Previously photographed, this year very distinctive cropmarks were visible in mid-July, in ripening wheat. The northern part of the enclosure has a funnel-shaped entrance which may have been connected with stock herding, like the 'banjo' enclosures (Cunliffe 1974, 158-161). Similar, 'D'-shaped compounds have been noted at Middle and Late Iron Age domestic enclosures at Ardale School and Mucking, Thurrock (Priddy and Buckley, 1987, 58, fig. 36).

Photographs (in ESMR):	CUC	BXS 66, BXJ 34, 90 (1976)
	McMaster	2.5-6 (1977), 212.6 (1979)
	Farrands	175.2-3 (1977)
	E.C.C.	38/2

Great Bentley (TM 12-71)

Large rectangular enclosure with overlapping entrance in the south-eastern side (Pl. 2). Linear features surround it. Observed periodically since it was first photographed in 1959. Showing clearly late June/early July in barley.

Photographs:	CUC	ZZ 58, 60 (1959), AOS 76 (1966), BXJ 76 (1976)
	E.C.C.	74

Great Leighs (TL 71-114)

Large sub-rectangular enclosure with an entrance in its north-east side and an inner compound with entrance in south-east side (Pl. 3). Surrounded by linear features which may be associated with it. Showing in ripening barley in early July.

Photographs:	CUC	BXR 1-2 (1976)
	E.C.C.	86-2-21

The majority of cropmark photographs taken have yet to be studied and accessioned to the ESMR. Extant monuments proved difficult to photograph, mainly because of the tree cover. Sites recorded included: Thremhall Priory, moat at Aythorpe Roding, Colchester Hall, Leez Priory and Layer Marney Towers.

Historic Buildings Dave Stenning

Colchester, The Rose and Crown Hotel
(TM 00932532)

Picturesque, substantially medieval complex with some 20th-century work which incorporates timbers from long demolished buildings. Underlying the south-western end of the two late medieval structures is an older aisled building. Roughly two and a half bays survive, with remains of posts, evidence for passing braces and a generally utilitarian standard of carpentry. Nevetheless, the passing braces are of serpentine form and were fixed at the aisle ties and tie beams with open notched lap joints. Two scarf joints, both of 'splayed with under squinted abbuttment' type, for which a 14th-century date seems likely. Whether the structure was a barn or a house is not at all clear and must await further investigation.

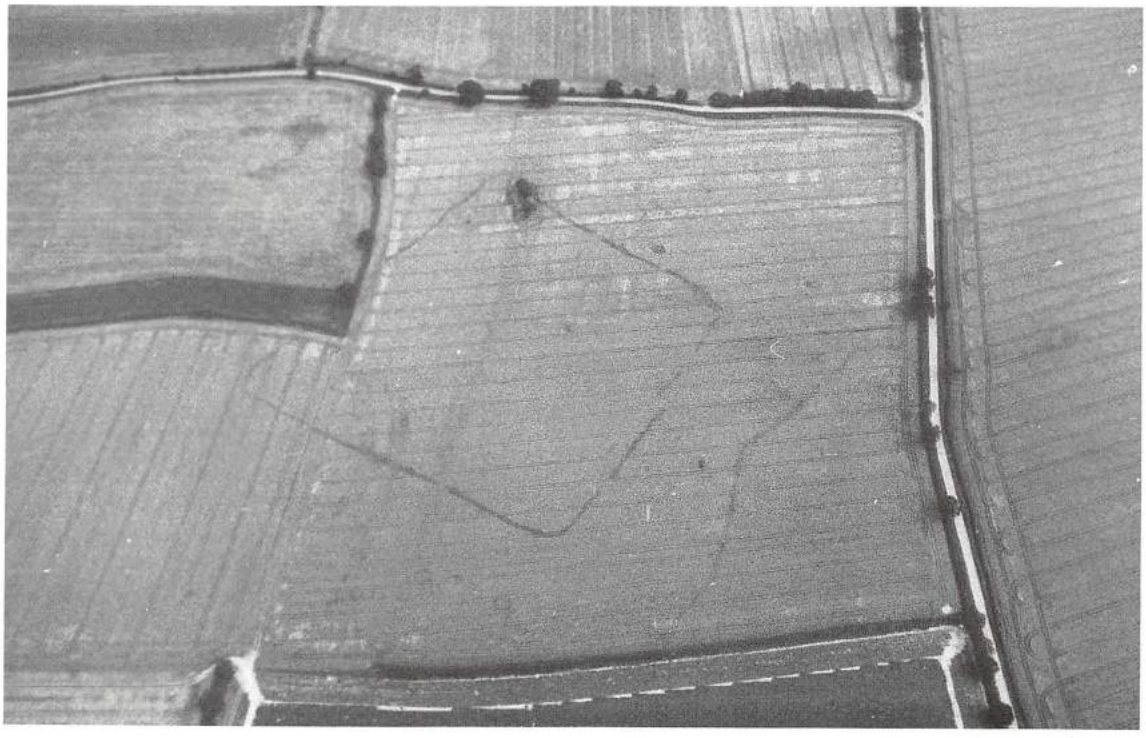


Plate 2

Plate 3

Colchester, The Red Lion Hotel (TL 99712522)
This is one of the most elaborate late medieval buildings in the county and is fortunately well preserved. Curiously little is known about its early history or function and documentary evidence is scarce. It is normally assumed that it was built as a town house in the late 15th century. By 1515 the owner was the Earl of Surrey and it was leased as a hostelry, known alternatively as the White Lion or the New Inn.

The richly ornamented front elevation (Fig. 15) conceals an intricate plan form which shows evidence of at least four major building phases. Towards the rear of the site, on its western edge, is a very large two bay hall. Its carpentry seems to be typical 15th-century work of the Suffolk/Essex border and this is likely to be the oldest extant structure. The remainder of the building, including the front range, a range along the east boundary and a cross block with first floor hall, is in a markedly different style. This intricate arrangement of blocks, despite its apparent unity of effect, involved at least three building operations.

Although this work must surely have taken place within a very short time span, the latter two phases do not seem to have been forseen. For instance, the phase two rebuilding resulted in the blocking of windows on three floors and phase three, in the removal of chimney stacks.

Some of the carved detail is singularly original and the same carvers hand can be detected in all three phases. A particularly striking feature are 'capitals' carved with chevron-like crestings. These are superficially similar to the work of a less rigorous hand at the Lavenham guildhall and Paycockes, Coggeshall (Priddy (ed.) 1986, 153); a later and better integrated motif of the same form appears in the Spring chantry chapel at Lavenham church. It seems likely that the carpenter at the Red Lion was among the top carvers of his day and familiar with, or the originator of, an idiosyncratic style. Clearly the builder was not only a person of considerable means but also one who planned on an increasingly grand scale, employing the best materials and craftsmen.

Abbreviations

See Priddy (ed.), 113.

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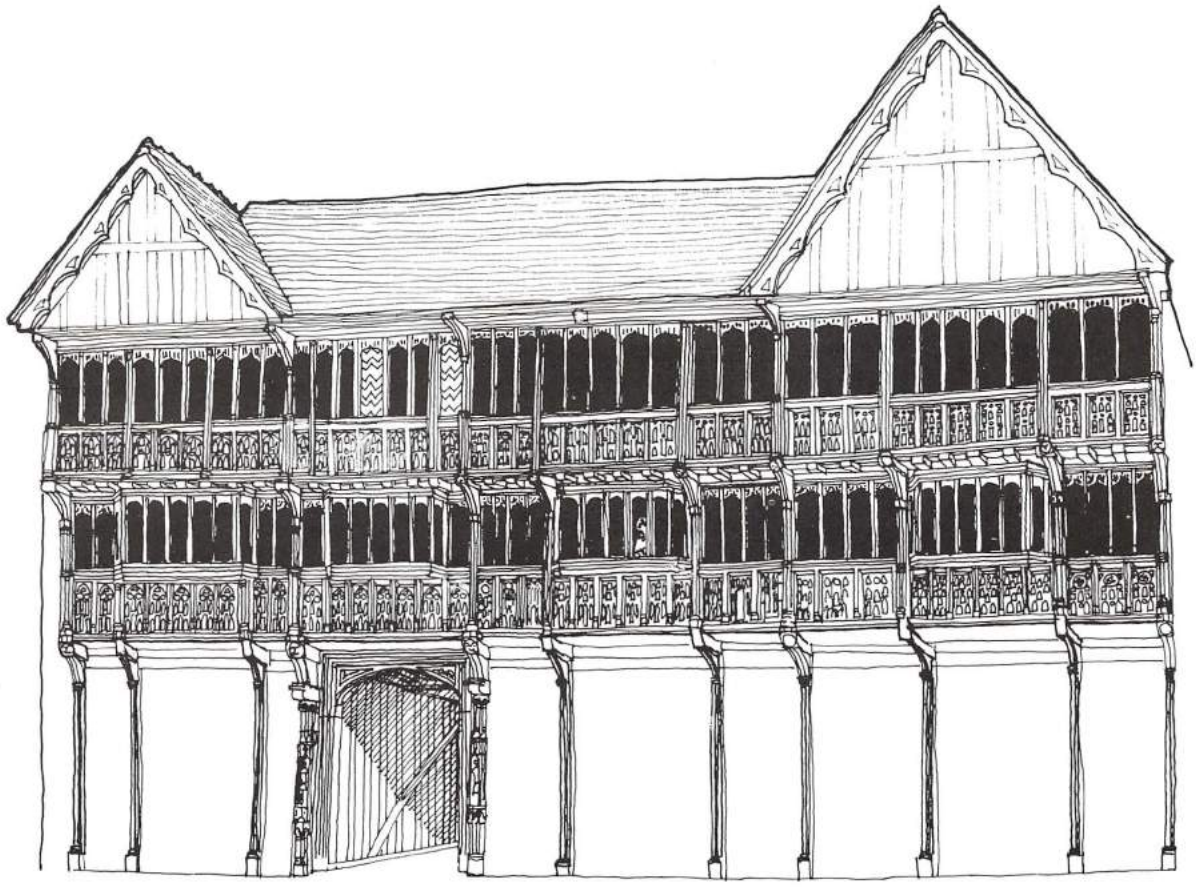

Fig. 15

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Excavations in Essex 1986

Edited by Deborah Priddy

It is now ten years since the Advisory Committee for Archaeological Excavation in Essex requested the County Council Archaeology Section to compile an annual round-up of excavations in the county and these have continued to be an invaluable guide to work in progress for all those interested in the archaeology of Essex. In 1986 37 projects were undertaken (Fig. 1).

Sites are listed alphabetically by parish; the directors of excavations and organisations involved and information regarding the location of finds and place of final report, where known, are listed. Excavations continuing from previous years are indicated by reference to the relevant 'Excavations in Essex 19 '.

Contributors are once again warmly thanked for providing information. The original reports have been added to the County Sites and Monuments Record held by the Archaeology Section at Globe House, Chelmsford; for details of sites in the London Boroughs contact the Passmore Edwards Museum.

1 **Abridge**, Piggots Farm (TQ 462973)
F.R. Clark, W.E.A.G.

Resistivity survey of a cropmark complex, adjacent to the 'Little London' Roman settlement (Priddy (ed.) 1982, 135) confirmed the position of a large square, internally subdivided enclosure. It is hoped to carry out trial excavations to date this enclosure in the future. A double ring-ditch in the same field was excavated in 1982.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1983, 163.

2 **Barking**, Barking Abbey Industrial Estate (TQ 438840)
K. MacGowan, P.E.M.

A total of three Middle Saxon hall-type timber buildings, three Saxon wells and a revetted water-course have now been excavated. Important finds include a large quantity of Ipswich type pottery and associated imported wares; a range of glass vessel fragments and more than a hundred timbers showing clear tool marks. The continuation of the medieval wall screening the church from the precinct, running down to Barking Creek, was also noted, as was the corner of a building to its west. The line of the main drain from the reredorter was exposed briefly but appeared to be badly damaged.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1984-5, 123; 1986, 156.
Finds: P.E.M.
Final Report: P.E.M. Monograph

3 **Barking**, St. Margaret's Church (TQ 441838)
K. MacGowan, P.E.M.

During the excavation of drainage trenches a wall sealed by the standing building, was noted at 45° to the west wall. Its foundation was mortared chalk and the lower courses of the wall itself appears to have been of Ragstone. A 'bulge' in the north face of the west wall might indicate the position of a parallel wall, but although chalk and stone rubble was found in the drainage trench at this point this could not be proven. A blocked doorway in the south wall was also recorded and a quantity of worked stone recovered.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1986, 158.
Finds: P.E.M.
Final Report: to be decided.

4 **Barking**, Gascoigne Estate (TQ 442837)
K. MacGowan, P.E.M.

A clay floor and adjacent area of metalling, together with a number of beam-slots and post-holes suggest a medieval building. Finds were mostly ceramic, namely Mill Green Ware and Border Ware or shelly wares, probably of 14th-century date, although Saxo-Norman sherds were found. At the north end of the site pits containing Mill Green Ware and two probable boundary ditches were present. Post-medieval build-up and cellaring was extensive.

Finds: P.E.M.
Final Report: P.E.M. Monograph.

5 **Barling**, Gravel Quarry (TQ 928899)
R. Jefferies, S.E.E.A.S.

A red hill with associated 1st-century pottery was recorded. A number of ditches and pits of uncertain date were also found.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1982, 133; 1984-5, 123.
Finds: with excavator.

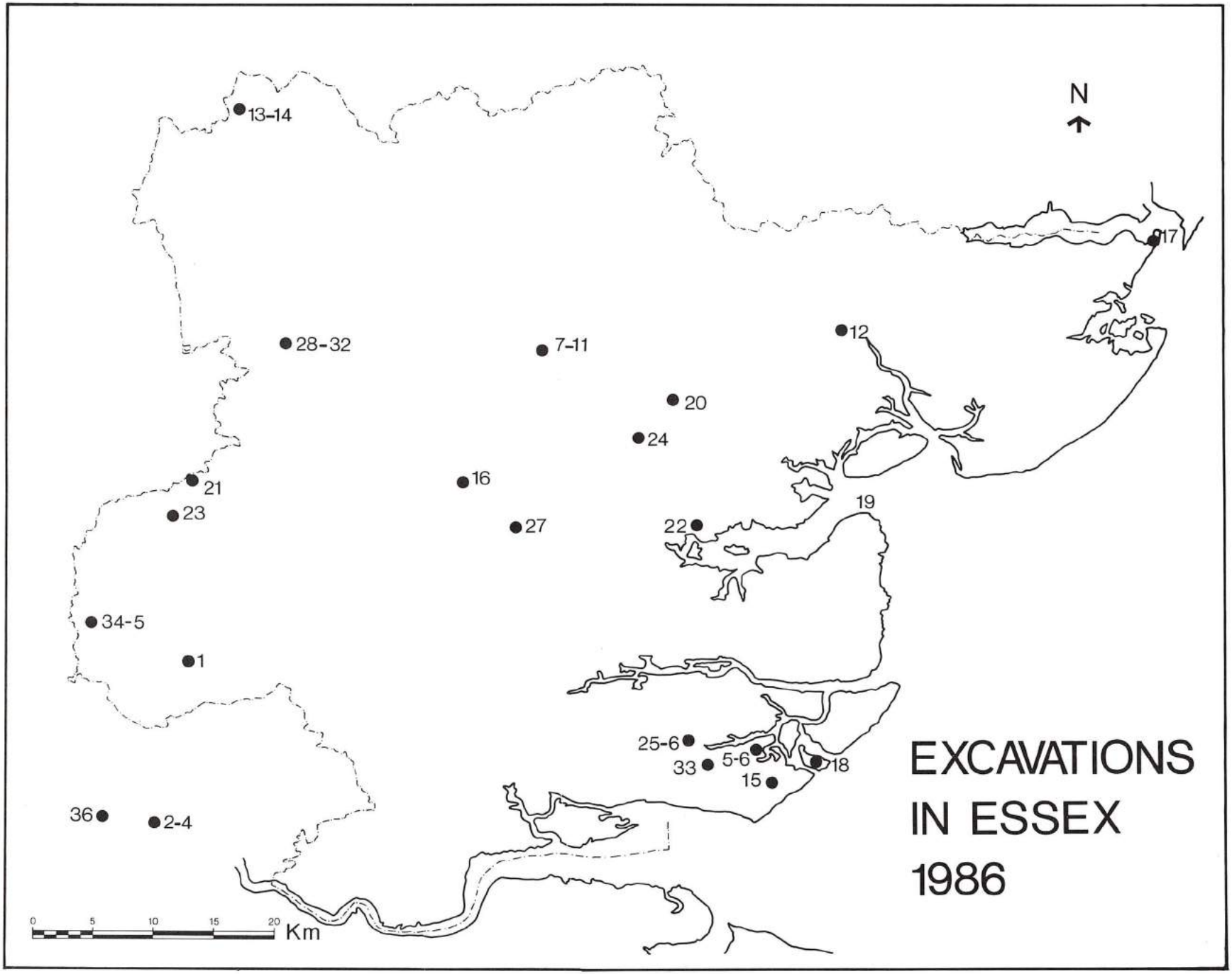
6 **Barling**, Glebe Farm (TQ 935895)
R.W. Crump, A.W.R.E.

A further opportunity to investigate the masonry foundations underlying part of the mid-late 17th-century standing building suggests it may represent part of the early manorial centre of Barling. Recording of the timber-frame was completed.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1983, 163.

7 **Braintree**, 65 Rayne Road (TL 75462309)
J.H. Hope, B.V.A.S.

An area was examined to see how far west the Roman occupation extended from that recorded in 1974 (Drury and Platt 1976). Results were similar to those in 1974 with successive phases of timber buildings, although the dating sequence is not yet clear. The earliest activity is represented by a ditch containing 1st-century A.D. pottery and an early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EXCAVATIONS
IN ESSEX
1986

Fig. 1

Iron Age triangular loomweight. The southern end of the site was disturbed by a 12th-century boundary ditch. There is now sufficient evidence to prove that Roman occupation extended right across the area of the medieval town centre between Rayne Road and High Street/London Road.

Finds: B.T.H.C.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

8 **Braintree**, 69 Rayne Road (TL 75392309)
J.H. Hope, B.V.A.S.

Two small trenches are currently being dug to establish whether Roman occupation extended this far west. A deep deposit of black loam, probably derived from post-Roman ploughing, still seals earlier deposits. To date the only traces of occupation have been part of a medieval timber structure which has produced a silver half-penny of Richard II.

Finds: B.T.H.C.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

9 **Braintree**, The Boar's Head (TL 75452302)
J.H. Hope, B.V.A.S.

A late Iron Age circular house gully was overlain by a series of rectangular building platforms dating from the mid-1st century, and possibly the 2nd century. One fronted a road, flanked by a drainage ditch and another was fronted by a shallow drainage gully. A domestic oven was observed within one of these buildings. A series of pits containing late 2nd/early 3rd-century A.D. pottery cut the northern-most platform. Some evidence of industrial activity is suggested by one feature containing roasting ore and a number of ovens. The most notable finds have been a Nene Valley folded beaker and a Celtic-style bronze penannular ditch with scroll terminals.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1986, 158.
Finds: B.T.H.C.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

10 **Braintree**, College House (TL 756229)
J.C. Bakewell, B.D.C.

The final season on this site, in advance of roadworks, saw the removal of the remaining Roman deposits. One of the wells was bottomed and it is hoped to excavate the second. Part of a possible Late Iron Age or Early Roman enclosure ditch was excavated.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1984-5, 125; 1986, 158.
Finds: B.D.C.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

11 **Braintree**, Sandpit Road (TL 756232)
J.C. Bakewell, B.D.C.

Post-medieval and modern disturbance appears to have removed much of the stratigraphy in the area of the Youth Club although Roman contexts have been recorded in the past.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1984-5, 125.

12 **Colchester**, St. Botolph's Priory (TL 999249)
D. Shimmin, C.A.T.

Trial trenching to the north-east of the standing remains of the nave of the Priory church revealed traces of the previously unrecorded north transept. Substantial mortared masonry foundations sat on an unmortared sand and stone deposit. The south-west corner of the transept had been buttressed and this survived intact almost to floor level. Its northern wall had been largely robbed, following the dissolution of the Priory in 1536 when the nave was blocked off for use as a parish church. Although the line of the eastern wall had been completely destroyed by post-medieval pit digging, it is clear that the transept was comparatively small, *c.*4.5 x ?8.25m internally. The north wall of the eastern arm of the church and the transept floor had also been robbed. Two burials of probable medieval date were located to the north of the transept.

Finds: C.A.T.
Final Report: *Colchester Archaeological Reports.*

13 **Great Chesterford**, Great Chesterford Churchyard (TL 505428) T.E. Miller, G.C.A.G.

Part of the churchyard extension was examined prior to grave-digging. The site lies approximately 50m from the south-east corner of the 4th-century walled town. The position of earlier excavations in the area (V.C.H. 1903, 84) was not located. Two small undisturbed areas produced a number of pits and gullies. The majority of the pits were of 2nd-century A.D. date, although a few were 4th-century and one was of 1st-century date. Pottery from these areas spanned the period from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age to the end of the Roman period.

Finds: with Director.
Final Report: *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*

14 **Great Chesterford**, Mill House (TL 505427)
T.E. Miller, G.C.A.G.

A single, incomplete skeleton, associated with a few sherds of Roman pottery, was found during excavations for foundations. A Roman pit was also recorded close by.

15 **Great Wakering**, Crouchman's Farm (TQ 944872)
R. Jefferies

A series of pits and ditches, together with a kiln of uncertain date were recorded in advance of mineral extraction. A circular feature with an internal hearth and a possible kiln base was also found.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1984-5, 129; 1986, 160.
Finds: with excavator.

16 **Great Waltham**, Broads Green (TL 68551222)
C.P. Clarke, E.C.C.

Excavation of a number of features, prior to mineral extraction, revealed a small rectangular post-in-trench structure, five unurned cremations and a number of pits and post-

holes. All date to the early Late Bronze Age and represent an unenclosed settlement. The distribution of the cremations in the settlement area, and their lack of grouping, is unusual. Fieldwalking to the east produced a concentration of Bronze Age flintwork and pottery consistent with the continuation of the settlement in this area.

Finds: E.C.C.; to go to Ch.E.M.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

17 **Harwich**, Church Street (TL 25983266)
Brian Milton, E.C.C.

Excavations on the site of the Methodist chapel revealed evidence for medieval occupation. The earliest feature was a small slot, probably the north wall of a late 12th or 13th-century building. This was sealed by a number of 13th-century floor levels and wall foundations. Other features included a line of post-holes and a cess pit. At some time, probably during the 14th century, 0.5m of sand was laid, presumably as a precaution against flooding. This was cut by several later medieval and post-medieval features, including two large rectangular vertical-sided pits; possibly the remains of 15th/16th-century sunken-floored buildings.

Finds: E.C.C.

18 **Havengore Island**
B. Crump, A.W.R.E.

Fieldwalking revealed a number of potential Roman salt-working sites, visible as areas of red earth and scatters of pottery. Preliminary examination of the pottery suggests a range in the mid-2nd/mid-3rd centuries. A concentration of building debris and finds of samian could possibly indicate a structure in the area.

Finds: A.W.R.E.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

19 **Hullbridge Project**
T.J. Wilkinson, E.C.C.

Intertidal exposures along both banks of the Roach estuary and most of the north shore of the Thames were studied. Further contextual, environmental and economic evidence for the Roman site at Canvey Point was forthcoming. In addition a substantial outcrop of wood peats and submerged forest was examined on the Thames foreshore, near Purfleet, providing valuable information for the later prehistoric environment as well as artefacts, including a polished greenstone axe and a polished flint axe or chisel.

Excavation on the Blackwater estuary (Site 28), some 3-3.5m below High Water Mark, yielded some 1,700 finds as well as features which appear to represent part of a Neolithic post-built building. Conditions of preservation were such that the original topsoil and part of the contemporaneous occupation deposit remained and were sealed by later estuarine clays.

The excavated deposits produced abundant quantities of carbonised plant remains which will throw considerable light on the Neolithic economies of lowland Essex.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1983, 167; 1984-5, 129-30; 1986, 161.
Finds: E.C.C.
Final Report: *East Anglian Archaeol.*

20 **Kelvedon**, Doucecroft (TL 862191)
C.P. Clarke, E.C.C.

Two small trenches adjacent to that area examined in 1985 revealed more of the late Iron Age enclosure, containing another round house, bringing the total inside the enclosure to two, with a third outside. The southern side of the enclosure was formed by a pair of ditches which formed a trackway. Sections through the outer ditch showed four distinctive phases. The date range for the site is within the first half of the 1st century A.D.

The general picture of the site is that of a domestic settlement which just persisted into the Roman period, but predates the Roman small town of *Canonium*. The existence of a round house to the south of the Roman road, some 200m to the south-east of the site, may be part of the same settlement. Probable field boundaries of contemporary date indicate agricultural activity immediately to the south.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1986, 161.
Finds: E.C.C.; to go to C.E.M.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

21 **Latton**, Harlow Temple (TL 468123)
R.W. Bartlett, H.M.

Excavation of part of the inner courtyard was completed, revealing areas of densely packed cobbling from the earliest stages of the early 2nd-century A.D. rebuilding. This sealed substantial fragments of iron scrap, presumably salvaged from the earlier building. Beneath the cobbling, a middle Iron Age circular structure, similar to those found at Little Waltham, produced early 3rd-century B.C. pottery. This is clearly an extension to the Iron Age features excavated by W.E.A.G. in the 1960s (France and Gobel 1985). A number of post-holes from both inside and outside the structure appeared to be of Roman date. Most of the pottery spanned the 1st century B.C. to the late 4th century A.D., reflecting the late Roman robbing of the site. The inner part of the Iron Age structure had been removed by a late Roman pit. Finds were similar in character to those found in the 1960s, with large numbers of votive Belgic and early Roman coins, brooches and ironwork. Fragments of masonry from the various phases of rebuilding were recovered. Animal bone recovered was largely sheep/lamb with smaller amounts of cattle, pig and deer.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1986, 161.
Finds: H.M.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

22 **Little Totham**, Rook Hall Farm (TL 878093)
P.A. Adkins

This multi-period site has continued to produce evidence for prehistoric and later activity. Many of the features were shallow scoops, some containing worked flint. A number of

urned and unurned cremation burials and two ploughed-out barrow burials were recorded as was a fourth prehistoric well. The ditched trackway which traverses the site was sectioned. It was flanked by double ditches, the inner being shallower. The ditches were partially sealed by a later road metalling. Many other pits, ditches and gullies were recorded including the eaves-drip gully of a circular building.

Fragments of bronze waste were retrieved from the area of a Bronze Age cremation, including one fragment of bronze possibly from a socketed axe. A Late Bronze Age smith's hoard was also found on the site. Weighing 7kgs (15lbs), it comprised mostly of fragments of bun ingots with only two fragments of implements (socketed axes). Analysis of the ingots shows them to be almost pure copper.

Extensive evidence for metalworking was revealed. A furnace or ore-roasting pit for iron smelting produced a *tuyère*, dated by thermoluminescence to A.D. 530 ± 290. Areas of crushed slag, cinder, charcoal, ore and burnt clay may represent small bloomeries. A total of seven *tuyères* were recorded, some with slag or 'run iron' still attached. A wide range of metallurgical debris was present on the site and grass-tempered pottery was also found.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1983, 167; 1984-5, 131; 1986, 160.
Finds: with excavator.

23 **Netteswell**, Netteswellbury (TL 456095)
R.W. Bartlett, H.M.

Preliminary trial trenching and geophysical survey around the Monks' Barn produced a number of intersecting 'V'-shaped ditches. Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pottery was found in the primary fills, whilst early 1st-century B.C. pottery came from the final fill. In addition a number of late Mesolithic flint blades and flakes were recovered. A single coin of Cunobelin came from the upper fill of one ditch. Preliminary examination of the site suggests that the site was probably a late Iron Age enclosure of the Woodham Walter type (Buckley and Hedges 1987). Extensive disturbance of the site precludes further extensive excavation.

Survey and excavation in the grounds of the house produced no features earlier than the 19th century, together with a small amount of Victorian pottery.

Finds: H.M.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

24 **Rivenhall**, Coleman's Farm (TL 84571670)
D.G. Buckley, Major, H. and Milton, B., E.C.C.

Trial excavation of an 'oval' or oblong cropmark enclosure was carried out on one of a series of such enclosures in Essex, tentatively dated to the Neolithic and interpreted as long barrows or mortuary enclosures. Four sections across the line of the ditch confirmed its position and dimensions. A small quantity of flintwork and earlier prehistoric pottery helped to substantiate a Neolithic date. Field walking of the area produced Mesolithic and Neolithic flints.

Finds: E.C.C.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

25 **Rochford**, Horner's Corner (TQ 876905)
D.D. Andrews, E.C.C.

This superficially 19th-century butcher's shop and abattoir incorporates two timber-framed buildings, probably of 15th/16th-century date. Limited excavation and a watching brief revealed that the earliest levels were gravel surfaces with 13th/14th-century pottery, probably associated with the medieval market place. From about the 15th century, structures were erected on the site, and in some places as many as six superimposed floor levels, from timber buildings predating the standing structure, were recorded. Since none of the structures could have had a very long life-span, it suggests classic market place infill; relatively impermanent buildings being replaced by more substantial and durable ones.

Finds: E.C.C.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

26 **Rochford**, Rochford Hall (TQ 870903)
D.D. Andrews, E.C.C.

An extended watching brief has been maintained on the restoration and conversion of the building, providing further details of the site layout and structural sequence.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1986, 00.
Finds: E.C.C.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

27 **Springfield**, Springfield Lyons (TL 736082)
D.G. Buckley, E.C.C.

Excavation of the Late Bronze Age enclosure ditch was completed and a third group of clay bronze moulds was recovered. from the lower ditch fills. A possible Late Bronze Age round house was found to the south-west of the enclosure. Other prehistoric features included a Late Neolithic pit and gully, and a pit containing a horse skull with an iron bit, possibly a late Iron Age ritual deposit.

A small number of early Saxon cremations and graves were identified, but the edge of the cemetery has yet to be defined. Two later Saxon buildings were excavated on the south side of the site, both of post-in-slot construction. Other late Saxon features included pits and post-holes.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1982, 142; 1983, 168; 1984-5, 134; 1986, 163.
Finds: E.C.C.; to go to B.M.
Final Report: *East Anglian Archaeol.*

Stansted Airport Project (Fig. 2)
Howard Brooks, E.C.C.

28 **Takeley**, Colchester Hall (TL 555237)

Work continued at this Domesday manor in an attempt to elucidate the date, sequence and form of both the buildings and the moated enclosures. At least three structural phases have been identified beneath the modern hall; the earliest (3) being a 16th-century or earlier structure represented by a series of beam slots. Precise dating is difficult but it is cer-

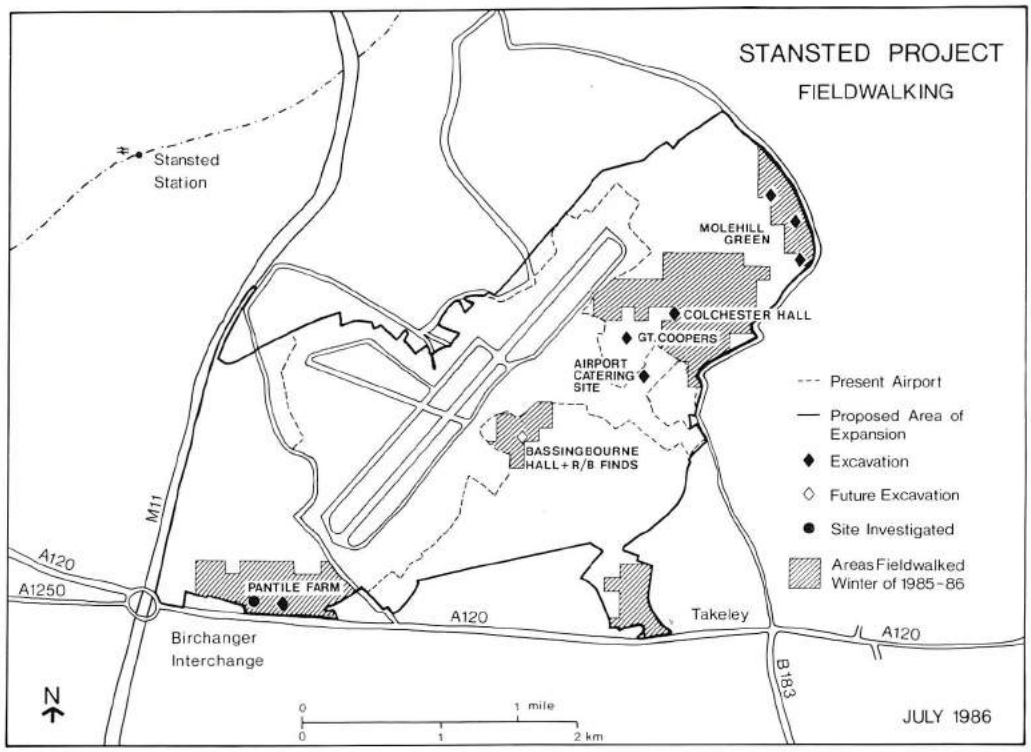

Fig. 2

tain that the foundations of a 17th-century brick house (1), superseded by the modern hall, was that built by the Russell family and that (3) is part of the medieval Colchester Hall which fell into disrepair and was demolished in the mid-16th century, at the dissolution. Many fragments of worked stone, some dating to the 12th/13th centuries were reused in 17th-century rubble foundations. In general, continuous occupation and rebuilding has removed most of the archaeological deposits and the only area where early remains survived was under the garden of the modern hall. The moat system has also proved difficult to date since they have been regularly cleaned out. The cartographic evidence suggests that the main enclosure (containing the remains of the various Colchester Halls) is the earliest part of the system, potentially medieval in origin, but not necessarily earlier than the 17th century, and that the two outer enclosures are 19th/20th-century additions.

29 **Takeley**, Great Coopers (TL 552350)

A suspected medieval house platform and silted-up moat system, adjacent to farm buildings, was examined. Most of the site was shown to have been landscaped during the Second World War when a number of huts, associated with the USAF base, were constructed; the 'house platform' dating to this period. Although some of the moats appear to be early post-medieval, most are recent field drains. There is no reason to believe that the farm or the moats pre-date the 16th or 17th centuries.

30 **Takeley**, Molehill Green

Site A (TL 563243)

The remains of a small wooden structure, interpreted as a peasant's hovel, was located following the recovery of a concentration of medieval pottery. The plan of the building was *c.* 5 x 6 m, 'D'-shaped, with lean-to sheds or open-ended structures. A badly disturbed hearth was found inside and a possible cooking pit outside the building. A preliminary date in the 13th century is suggested.

Site B (TL 562245)

Excavation in an area where a pottery concentration was found revealed a number of early — middle medieval ditches or field boundaries.

Site C (TL 564240)

Excavation on the site of a further pottery concentration revealed a hitherto unknown moated site comprising an 'L'-shaped ditch or moat, varying in width from 2-7 m, enclosing an area *c.* 1 ha, and running into a roadside ditch. It is likely that the new moat and a pond are part of a larger moated site, perhaps centred on Waltham Hall. Internal features suggested fence lines, drains and foundations of wooden buildings connected with a farmyard.

31 **Takeley**, Airport Catering Site (TL 551232)

Part of a Late Iron Age — Early Roman settlement was revealed when topsoil was removed (Fig. 3). A large ditch, 2-4 m wide, bisects the site and on either side are the remains of seven timber round houses, the most complete being *c.* 11 m in diameter. A second house had a central internal hearth. The main period of occupation appears to be the late 1st century A.D., although there was residual Belgic

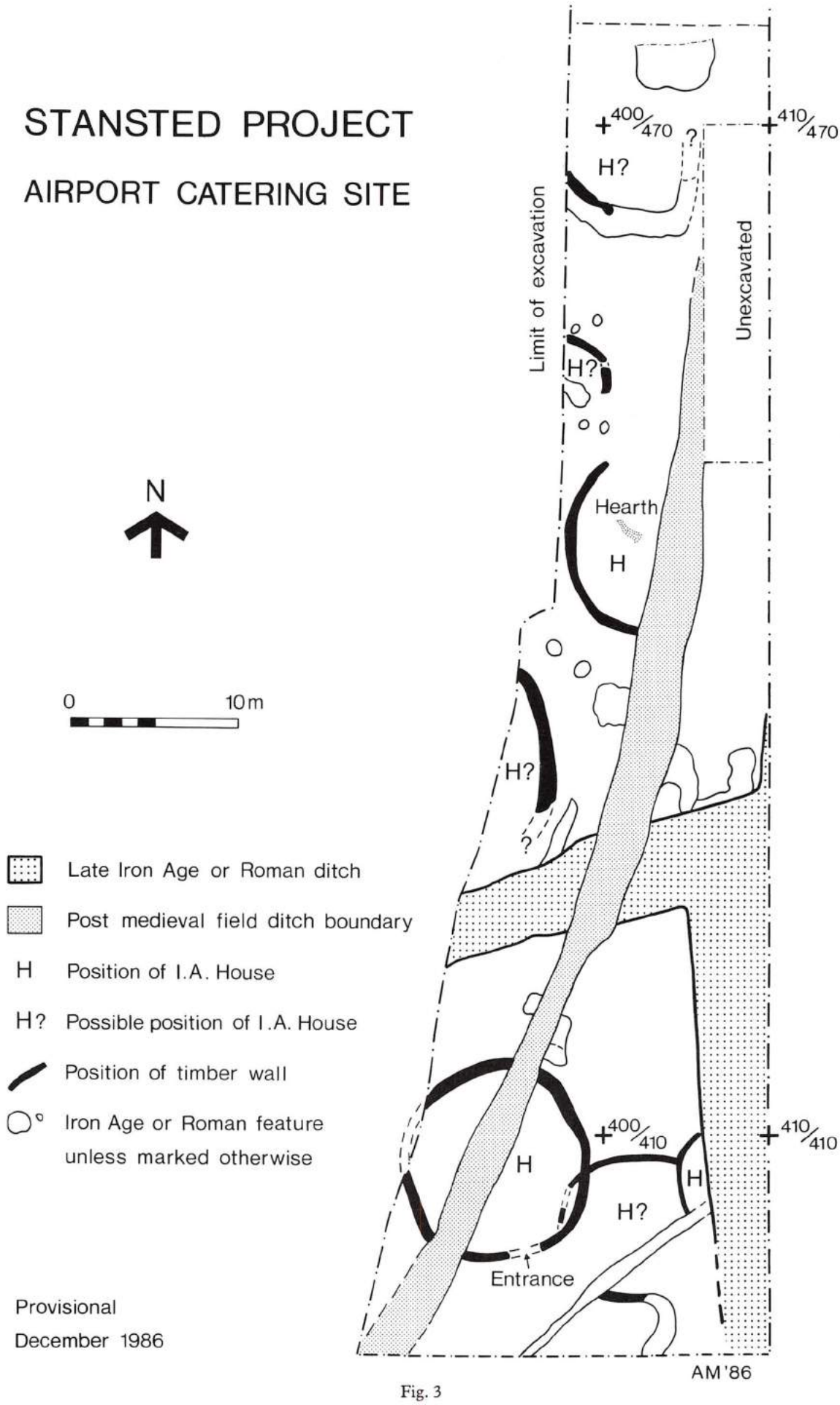
STANSTED PROJECT
AIRPORT CATERING SITE
N
0
10m
Late Iron Age or Roman ditch
Post medieval field ditch boundary
H Position of I.A. House
H? Possible position of I.A. House
Position of timber wall
Iron Age or Roman feature unless marked otherwise
Provisional
December 1986
+400/470
+410/470
H?
Limit of excavation
Unexcavated
Hearth
H
H?
?
+400/410
+410/410
H
H
H?
Entrance
AM '86

Fig. 3

and Late Iron Age material on the site, including a sherd of Dressel 1 amphora.

Finds: E.C.C.
Final Report: *East Anglian Archaeol.*

32 **Birchanger**, Pantile Farm (TL 524215)

A concentration of medieval pottery, located during fieldwalking prompted an area excavation to examine a potential occupation site. No structural remains were present and it is assumed that either ploughing had removed any structure present, or that the finds represent a manure dump incorporating domestic refuse.

33 **Sutton**, Temple Farm (TQ 880883)
R. Jeffries, S.E.E.A.S.

Small scale excavations failed to reveal any features, but a large scatter of Roman building debris and pottery was present. Further work is anticipated.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1984-5, 133-4; 1986, 163.
Finds: with excavator.

34 **Waltham Holy Cross**, Abbey Church (TL 38110065)
P.J. Huggins, W.A.H.S.

Archaeological investigation connected to the installation of a new underfloor heating system revealed that part of the 12th-century church stands on earlier, presumably pre-conquest, foundations. The first was a timber structure with sill beams resting on packed flints, within a shallow trench. This was followed by a stone church of Brixworth type with flanking *porticus*; this could be the church to which Tovi brought the Holy Cross, *c.*1030. A chamfered base course in Barnack stone and a wall of herringbone masonry may represent the first aisled cruciform church, and could be the work of Harold *c.*1057/8. It is likely that further remains of the pre-conquest stone churches survive outside the present east end.

The standing Abbey church is the nave of the Collegiate church, founded by Harold, and extended as the Augustinian church in 1177-1242. Continuing work in 1984 a large trench was dug in open grassland to the east of the present church. The original form of the east end proved to have been an apse and ambulatory and not adapted from a multi-apse form as originally thought. A small 'bubble' chapel off the ambulatory was formed between two buttresses. Courses of Puddingstone seen in 1960 at the side of the Augustinian extension were shown not to have been of primary structural significance but could have supported minor features along the Augustinian central nave.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1984-5, 136, 1986, 164.
Finds: to go to E.F.D.M.
Final Report: to be decided.

35 **Waltham Holy Cross**, Abbey Mead (TL 38150079)
P.J. Huggins, W.A.H.S.

Parts of Buildings 13, 14 and 15 were discovered in the outer monastic precinct where twelve buildings were located between 1972-8. A complex system of drains are possibly associated with nearby brewing. The earliest features were pits and ditches of the early Augustinian period.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1986, 164.
Finds: to go to E.F.D.M.
Final Report: *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

36 **West Ham**, 30 Romford Road, Stratford (TQ 392844)
B.A. Colla and M. Redknap, P.E.M.

Prior to renovation, recording and excavation of a two-phase early 18th-century (*c.*1690-1720) house of double pile plan form was undertaken. The structural timbers of the front and central dividing walls match and are therefore of one build. The brick front half of one side wall probably relates to the building of the main fireplace, and includes a small decorative alcove. This alcove, together with much of the interior has panelling of *c.*1720. The carpenters' marks on the central dividing wall would normally imply that this was an outside wall. Unfortunately, no evidence for the relationship between the front and rear blocks has yet been found to survive.

The interior was planned so that the doors matched across the passage (one being later moved) and this plan was repeated on the first floor. Original door frames survive with later additions and the original window frames survive in the front and are integral with the 1720s' panelling.

The roof line has been considerably altered. The dragon beam is intact, apart from a central joint, and has sequential carpenter's marks. The chimney stacks and roof are contemporary. The front gable remains on its original line but the matching rear gable has been destroyed.

Excavation beneath and behind the structure confirmed this date. The standing building was preceded by a 17th-century timber structure with a clay floor. There was also evidence for two possible late medieval structures and a 13th-century field ditch. The building lies above? the London-Colchester Roman road which gradually changed alignment in the late Roman or early medieval period. It appears to have been quarried for its gravel in the 15-16th century.

Finds: P.E.M.
Final Report: to be decided.

37 **Aerial Photography**, North-east Essex
I. McMaster, C.A.G.

Five flights were made and conditions remained good until heavy rain in July. Some 200 colour slides were obtained of sites in north Essex and Suffolk. The majority are already recorded but some extra detail was revealed. Two new Essex sites were the cropmark of a large building at Wakes Colne and a possible henge monument at Earls Colne.

Negatives with I. McMaster, copies of slides in ESMR.

Progress in Essex Archaeology 1986
Over the last ten years the number of archaeological excavations undertaken has fluctuated from year to year with an

apparent peak in 1984 and 1985. The thirty-seven projects reported (including two non-excavational fieldwork) is slightly down on an average of 40 excavations per year. Seventeen new excavations were undertaken, although the majority were not on a large scale. The development of Stansted airport necessitated an extensive programme of excavation and fieldwalking, the only major new project in the county funded by English Heritage. Its starting point was the excavation of known moated sites like Colchester Hall (28) and Great Coopers (29). However, fieldwalking is paying off and a number of new sites have been located (30-32).

Nineteen sites were excavated in advance of redevelopment and this continues to be the main threat in the county. Road schemes, particularly those in Braintree, have provided a number of opportunities for assessment of the Roman town; whilst the other perennial threat, mineral extraction, resulted in four excavations. Archaeological recording resulting from the massive problem of maintaining the fabric of the county's ancient churches continues to demand small scale excavations and extended watching briefs. Six projects were concerned with assessing the archaeological potential of sites, whilst only two excavations were undertaken for research reasons. Three sites were Scheduled Ancient Monuments, thus requiring Scheduled Monument Consent for archaeological works. Mention should also be made of those societies whose work is not recorded here, but whose non-excavational fieldwork, fed to the County SMR, is of considerable value; in particular, the work of local aerial photographers.

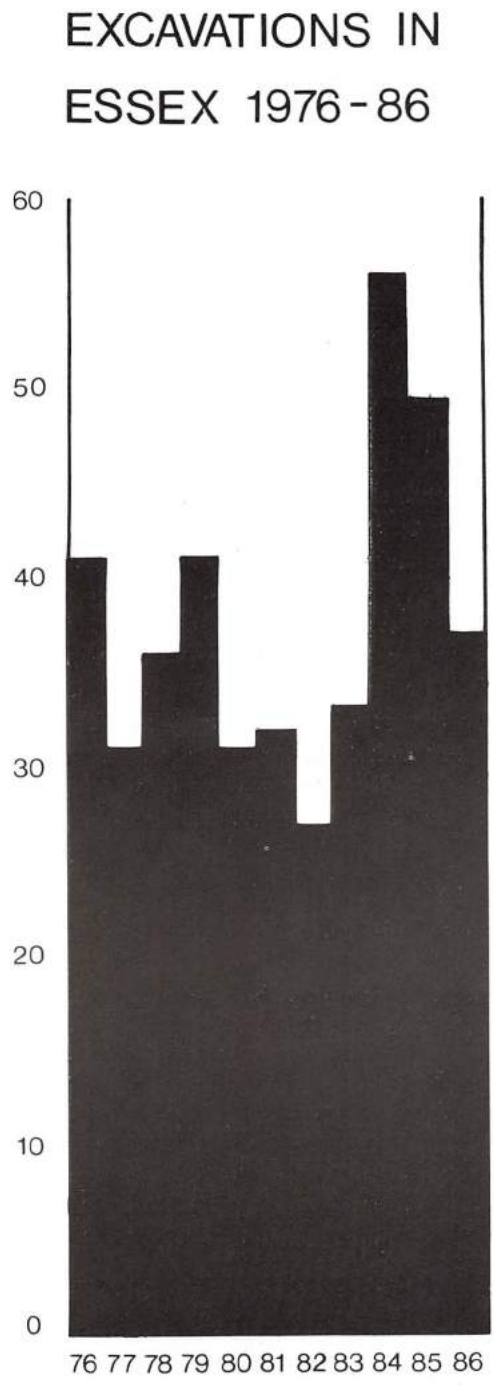

Fig. 4

Work carried out in 1986 continued to build on the results of past years with a number of significant discoveries. In Neolithic studies, traces of a timber building with its contemporary land surface, sealed by estuarine clays in the Blackwater estuary (19), is of considerable importance in terms of Neolithic settlement and environment, and reinforces the very high potential of the inter-tidal zone suggested by previous fieldwork of the Hullbridge survey. A small research excavation confirmed the Neolithic date of the oblong enclosure at Rivenhall (24) but work would be needed on a far larger scale to determine its function within a seemingly 'ritual' landscape. Neolithic features have also been noted at Springfield (27). Multi-period occupation from the Bronze Age onwards is evident at Great Waltham (16) and Little Totham (22). A number of late Iron Age enclosed settlements were examined at Kelvedon (20), Netteswell (23), Braintree (10) and Takeley (31) the latter having an earlier, unenclosed phase. The identification of the Iron Age site at Takeley, as well as other possible contemporary sites in the Stansted area, is of considerable importance in countering the claim that little settlement occured on the heavy clay soils of this area.

Further details of Roman occupation at Abridge (1), Great Chesterford (13-14), Great Wakering (15) and Sutton (33) emerged, with the possibility of a Roman building on Havengore Island (18); whilst additional evidence for the extent and nature of the small town of Braintree (7-11) and the Harlow temple (21) was forthcoming.

The extent of the early Saxon mixed cemetery at Springfield (27) has yet to be determined after further burials and cremations came to light; whilst the same site, together with Barking Abbey (2), produced additional timber building plans from domestic and monastic contexts respectively. The quantity of early Saxon features and artefacts at Little Totham (22) justifies far more in terms of resources than the dedicated salvage recording of Mr Pat Adkins allows and the metallurgical data from the site is likely to be of national importance.

The Stansted project has been very much concerned with medieval rural settlement. Work at Colchester Hall (28) and Great Coopers (29) both demonstrate that moats are not always of great antiquity. More elusive and little understood are the low status dwellings, visible in fieldwalking as pottery scatters, and providing only

ephemeral structural traces when excavated. Such sites must be a common phenomenon, rarely noted or excavated, but hinted at in recent fieldwork on north-west Essex (Williamson 1986).

Works concerned with churches very often destroy stratigraphic relationships and need to be closely monitored for indications of earlier structures, as at Barking (3). Work at Waltham Abbey (34) continues to unravel the architectural development of the pre-conquest church and the transformation of the subsequent collegiate church to that of the Augustinian Priory. Trial work at St. Botolph's (12) recorded the north transept of this important monastic church for the first time. Buildings relating to the life of both pre- and post-conquest monasteries were recorded at Barking (2) and Waltham Abbey (35). Work in medieval towns has been limited, but has produced useful structural and ceramic sequences at Harwich (17) and Rochford (25), whilst an intergrated approach to the study of buildings in West Ham (36), Barling (6) and at Rochford Hall (26) saw the recording of standing buildings, coupled with excavation.

Great advances have been made in the last ten years of Essex Archaeology. For the Neolithic, Bronze Age and Anglo-Saxon periods in particular, we have gone from an understanding based almost entirely on artefactual distribution to one in which settlement sites are at last being identified. Environmental work and dating techniques should enable far more data to be extracted from our sites. Most important is careful reflection that excavation is being undertaken within a clearly defined research design with an appropriate excavation strategy. Finally these summaries aim to reflect the nature of work being undertaken in Essex. Projects reported here can only be considered complete when a full and final published report appears and the archive and finds are safely deposited with the appropriate museum; only then will we have rescued the past for the future.

Addendum: 'Excavations in Essex 1983-4' (Priddy 1984-5, 137).
Witham: 'Finds' should read 'E.C.C.; to go to Ch. E.M.'

Abbreviations

A.W.R.E.	A.W.R.E. (Foulness) Archaeological Society
B.D.C.	Braintree District Council
B.T.H.C.	Braintree Town Hall Centre
B.V.A.S.	Brain Valley Archaeological Society
B.M.	British Museum
C.A.G.	Colchester Archaeological Group
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
E.C.C.	Essex County Council
E.R.O.	Essex Record Office
E.F.D.M.	Epping Forest District Museum
G.C.A.G.	Great Chesterford Archaeological Group
H.M.	Harlow Museum
P.E.M.	Passmore Edwards Museum
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
S.E.E.A.S.	South-East Essex Archaeological Society
S.M.	Southend Museum
S.W.M.	Saffron Walden Museum
W.A.H.S.	Waltham Abbey Historical Society
W.E.A.G.	West Essex Archaeological Group

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Priddy, D. (ed.), 'Excavations in Essex 1982', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **15** (1983), 163-72.

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'Excavations in Essex 1985', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, **17** (1986), 156-165.

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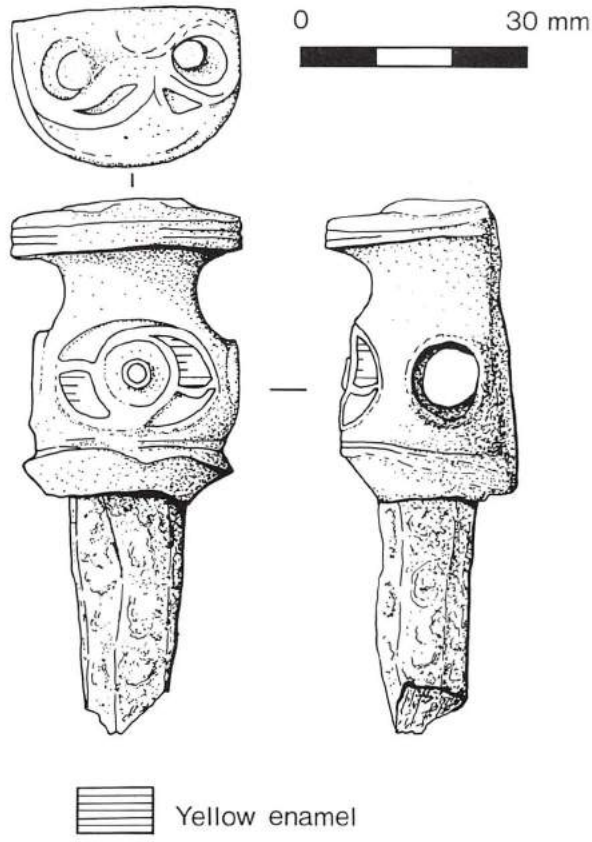
The Society acknowledges with thanks a grant from the Essex County Council towards the publication of this paper.

Archaeological Notes

A Late Iron Age Linchpin in Saffron Walden Museum by Hilary Major

The linchpin described below has not previously been published in detail, but was noted by MacGregor (1976, 49) where it was included with her vase-headed linchpins. This type of linchpin was previously discussed by Ward Perkins (1940) who termed it the 'Yorkshire' type. This name is, however, somewhat misleading, since the distribution is widespread from Scotland to Cornwall.



A linchpin from Saffron Walden Museum

The circumstances of discovery of the object are unknown. It is at present in Saffron Walden Museum and was recorded in the register for 1886 as 'bronze pommel of a sword.' No donor or provenance is given, but it is more likely than not that the linchpin was found locally.

The linchpin has an iron shank, only a short length of which survives. The head has an iron core sheathed in copper alloy, which has corroded away in places on the back and top revealing the iron beneath. The flat back is plain. The top and front are both decorated with incised patterns; some cells on the front retain traces of yellow enamel, and doubtless all the cells were once enamelled. More than one colour may have been used, but no sign of this remains. The cells are up to 1.5mm deep. The D-shaped top is in poor condition, rendering the pattern rather indistinct, but the remainder of the object is in fairly good condition.

MacGregory (1976, 49) describes this linchpin as 'slender'. It is not unusually thin or small, but is unusual in its D-shaped section, as opposed to the normal circular or oval section.

The two panels of decoration are dissimilar, although both are loosely based on the cable motif. The pattern on the top of the head appears to be similar to that on the crescentic head of the linchpin from King's Langley, Hertfordshire (Ward Perkins 1940). It is an assymetric form of the cable motif, but unlike the King's Langley example the sub-circular voids contain bosses suggestive of the 'boss-and-petal' pattern found, for example, on strap junctions from Traprain Law (MacGregor 1976, cat. nos. 26 and 27).

The treatment of the front panel is simpler, with a central boss surrounded by four areas of enamelling forming an oval panel. An oval, rather than circular, panel is rather unusual, but in this case is well suited to the available space. The enamelled areas are not quite symmetrically set out. The pattern is a version of the cable motif which is more often found in circular panels. It may be seen on a bronze plaque from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Fox 1946, viii) which dates from the first half of the first century AD.

In common with most vase-headed linchpins, the Saffron Walden linchpin can be dated within the first century AD, and its stylistic affinites make a date before *c.*60 AD most likely.

I would like to thank C. Going for bringing this object to my attention, and the staff of Saffron Walden Museum for their help.

References

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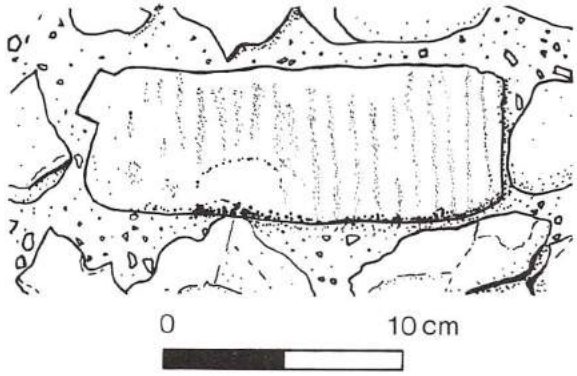
MacGregor, Morna, 1976	*Early Celtic Art in Northern Britain* Leicester.
Ward Perkins, J.B., 1940	'Two early linchpins from King's Langley, Hertfordshire, and from Tiddington, Stratford-on-Avon' *Ant. J.* XX, 358-67.

The Society acknowledges with thanks a grant from the Essex County Council towards the publication of the above two notes.

A Roman Lava Quernstone from Takeley Church by Hilary Major

Roman tile and brick is a common feature of the fabric of churches in Essex. Less common are fragments of Roman querns. The example illustrated can be found in the external north wall of Takeley Church, and is part of a lava upper or lower quernstone. The visible portion of the edge bears the vertical grooves typical of Roman querns. Such grooving is also found on early post-medieval querns, but these are much smaller in diameter. The diameter of this example is estimated to be over 600mm, indicating that it may in fact be a small millstone rather than a hand-quern. Other featureless fragments of lava can be seen elsewhere in the north wall of the church.



A quernstone from Takeley Church

Great Chesterford Church also incorporates quernstones in its fabric (pers. comm. C. Going), including a fragment of a Hertfordshire puddingstone quern in the churchyard wall.

A Late Roman Buckle from Harlow Temple, Essex by Richard Bartlett

In 1972, after consultations between the Department of the Environment and the Harlow Development Corporation, the Roman Temple mound (TL 468123) was landscaped. During this work, a number of objects were recovered including the buckle plate described below. Unfortunately the precise findspot of the individual items were not recorded and the material found was passed on to the West Essex Archaeology Group for inclusion in their report of the excavations on the Temple mound between 1962 and 1971.[1] Following the return to Harlow Museum of all of the small finds from the Temple, the importance of this particular item was recognised and it was decided to publish it separately from the main report. The buckle plate is now at Harlow Museum, accession number HMB 5407.

Description

Bronze buckle plate, (Fig. 1) with buckle and pin missing, total length 6.25cm, maximum width 2.25cm. The plate is made of a long strip of sheet bronze, originally doubled over where the hinge bar would have run, where it is cut to fit against the side of the loop and to permit free movement of the tongue. The belt itself was attached between the front and back plates thus formed by means of two rectangular rivets, both at the outer corners. The back is plain but the front is decorated with an engraved and punched ornament comprising a peacock pecking the fruit of a small tree. The tree has one vertical and three pendant branches on the left side and two pendant branches on the right side. Around the branches are clusters of punched crescents for leaves and punched dots for fruit on the upper and lower right hand branches. The peacock is fairly crudely drawn and its head and the upper right hand branches run together. The head has a double crest, a pointed open beak and a punched dot eye. The plumage on the body and folded wings is shown by punched crescents. The eye feathers on the long furled and blunt ended tail are represented by two rows of crescent motif punching.

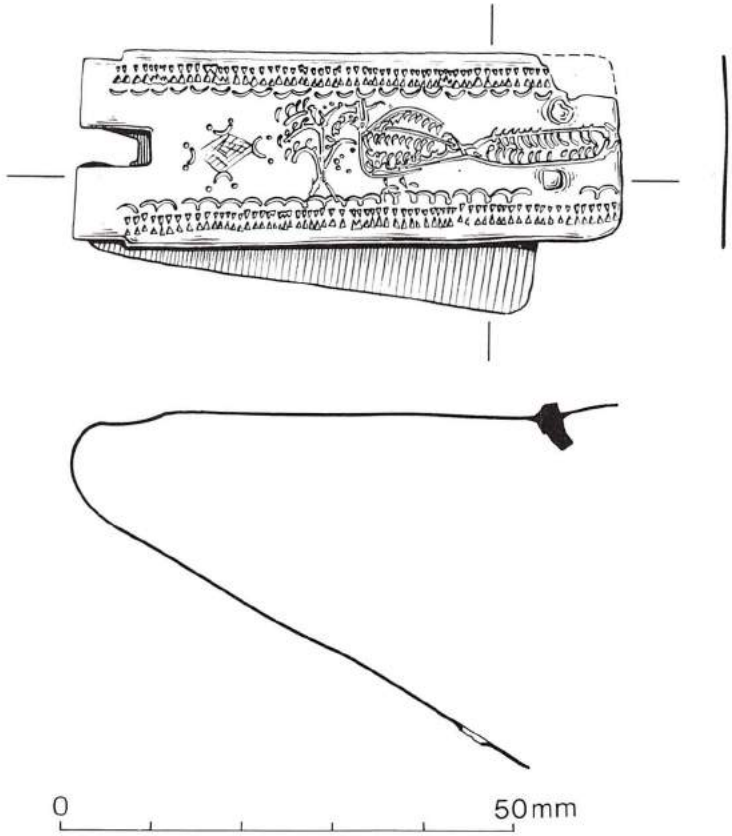


Fig. 1 A late Roman bronze Buckle plate from Harlow Temple, Essex.

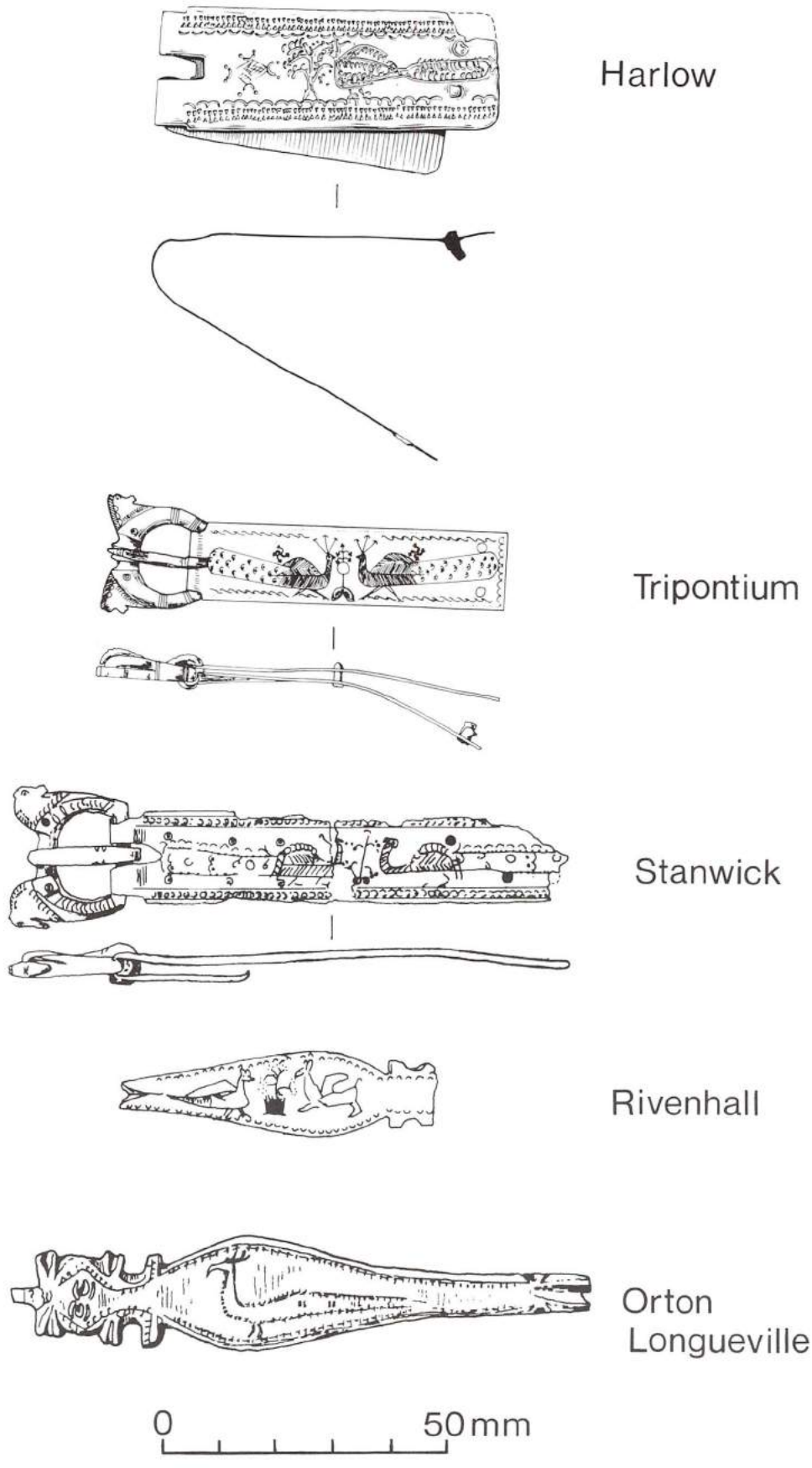


Fig. 2 Peacocks and trees of life on late Romano-British metalwork.

Facing the bird is an engraved cross-hatched lozenge with a crescent and a pair of punched dots at each angle. The long sides of the plate have inner borders of punched crescents and outer borders of punched opposing triangular motifs along a lightly inscribed guideline. The whole object is in good condition with an even patina. The plate is bent open and the end rivets have sprung away from the back plate. The upper right hand corner of the front plate is missing. There is a certain amount of wear on the plate edges and the back has several scratches, indicating that the plate was not in new condition when lost.

The type and its dating

This object is one of a highly distinctive class of buckles and plates discussed by Sonia Hawkes in a study of British finds of certain types of late Roman belt fittings.[2] The Harlow plate is an addition to her Type 1b. Intact examples of this type of buckle are known from Stanwick, Yorks.; Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxon.; Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwicks. and Tripontium, Cave's Inn Farm, Warwicks. Twenty eight whole or fragmentary examples of these Type 1b buckles have been recognised and judging by the differences in style these can only represent a fraction of what must have been a considerable number produced.

Sonia Hawkes has shown that this type of buckle and plate is undoubtedly of British origin and that their distribution seems to suggest a centre of production in the West Midlands. She postulates a dating for manufacture in the second half of the fourth century A.D. While some examples of this type are known from fifth century sites, these are all so heavily worn as to suggest prolonged use after manufacture.[3] The best preserved and least worn examples eg. at Gestingthorpe, Essex; Wycomb, Glos.; and from Cirencester, Glos.; all come from late fourth century contexts. The Harlow plate is similar in its design to the examples from Tripontium and Stanwick although these are more complex and ordered in their decoration. It is obviously devolved from this tradition of ornament but is more rustic in its execution. However, it shows a higher level of craftsmanship than the strap end from Rivenhall, Essex,[4] which while being similarly decorated with a peacock and tree of life is very crude in its style. Unfortunately, the plate from Harlow cannot be associated with any stratified context. Stylistically, it seems to be later that the Tripontium buckle,[5] (Fig. 2) which Sonia Hawkes has ascribed to the third quarter of the fourth century. Although its point and date of manufacture cannot be certainly stated, it could be argued that it may have been made in the second half of the fourth century and was lost some time later after it had been in use for a period of time.

The tree of life, the peacock and their Christian character

The nature of Christian symbolism on Romano-British metalwork has already been discussed in depth by Sonia Hawkes.[6] By the end of the fourth century, representations of this general type (birds or beasts flanking a central tree or vase and feeding or drinking from them) had become a widespread symbolism, occuring on Christian funerary monuments, mosaics, and wall paintings throughout the Roman Empire. Therefore even when found in Britain on such a humble object there can be little doubt as to its Christian meaning.

Much of Christian symbolism in art was derived from other religions, especially from the cults of the eastern empire. The tree on the Harlow plate represents the tree of life, an important Christian symbol, being associated with both the tree in the Garden of Eden and the Cross of Christ. The peacock was particularly favoured in Roman art and has strong connections with both Juno and the Orphic cults. The concept of immortality was strengthened by the fact that the peacock loses its elaborate plumage in the winter and renews it in the spring. For the Christians this analogy with the renewal of life after death was a powerful one especially since they believed that the flesh of the bird was incorruptible (St. Augustine, *de. civ. Dei* xxi, 4). Therefore the peacock in Christian imagery became closely associated with the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.

The meaning of the main symbolism on the belt plate from Harlow is clear: the bird is a Christian soul eating the immortal fruits of the tree of life and the fact that the bird is a peacock reinforces the idea that it is destined for paradise and everlasting life, while further promising a bodily resurrection. The main ornament on the plate is an insular version of what was a widespread type of symbolism dating from the early Christian tombs in the catacombs in the second century. It was only in the fourth century that Christian symbolism gained a wider recognition. The majority of parallels for this type of symbolism are known from this period and are found throughout the Roman Empire. The quality of these representations varies considerably but they all share the simplicity of composition characteristic of this period. Christian art in Britain does not appear to have survived the end of the fourth century and did not reemerge until much later. Bearing in mind the strongly pagan nature of Roman Britain and the short period that Christianity had to establish itself in the provinces, it is remarkable that any trace of this type of art survives at all. Peacocks and trees of life from fourth century Britain survive principally on mosaics and on metalwork, especially on the Orphic mosaics of the 'Corinium School.'

Trees of life are known from a variety of mosaics, the most notable being the undoubtedly Christian mosaic from Hinton St. Mary in Dorset. However, this example bears little resemblance to the tree on the Harlow plate. The northern school of mosaics represents trees of a similar type to that found on the surviving metalwork and the crudely executed Rudston mosaic from Yorkshire[7] exhibits similarities to that on our buckle plate. The closest parallel to the trees from Harlow, Tripontium and Rudston comes from a hemispherical bowl which formed part of a late hoard from Ballinrees, near Coleraine, County Derry, Northern Ireland.[8] Although the date of this hoard appears to be post A.D. 420 many of the items are unquestionably of late fourth century manufacture. The bowl carries an in-

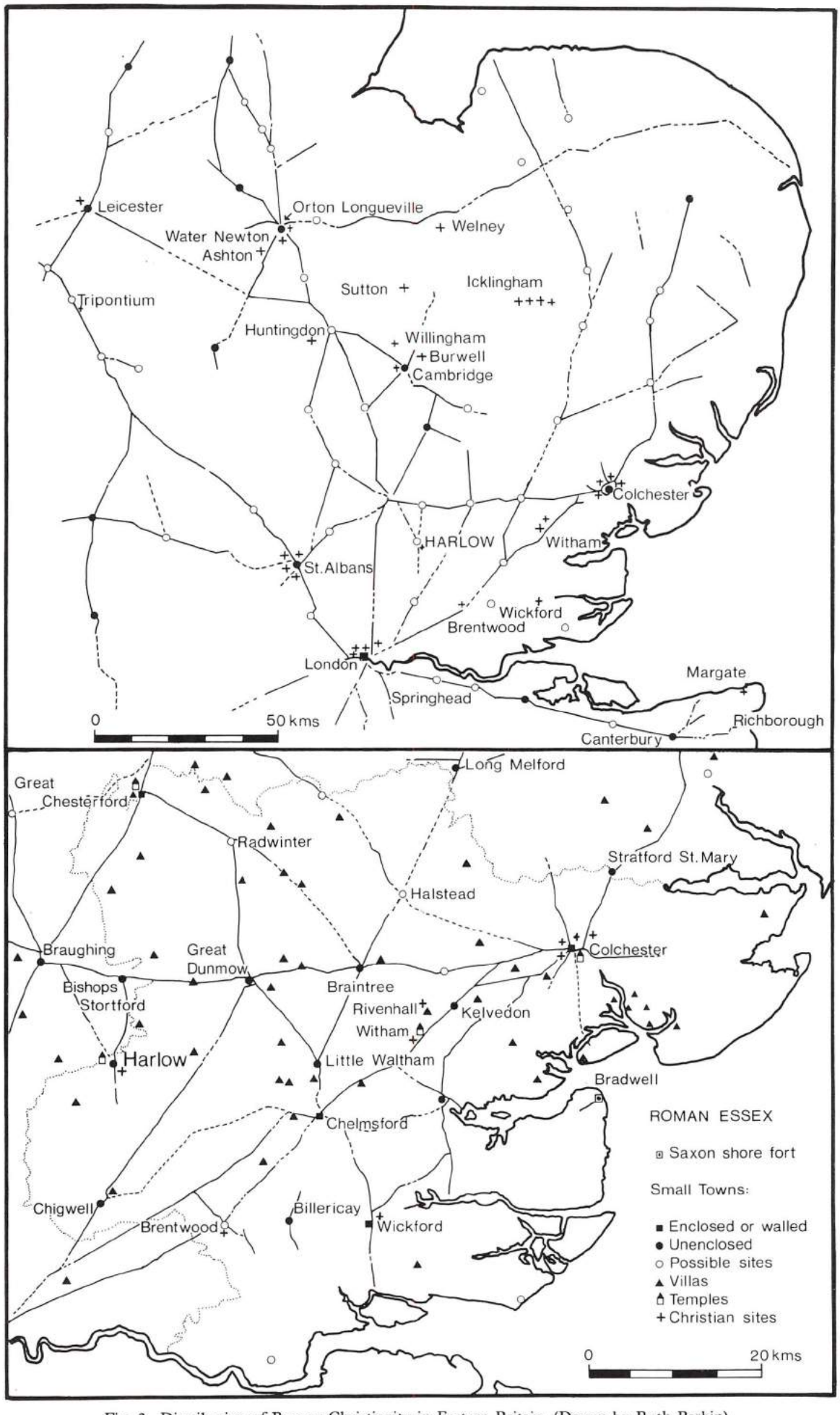


Fig. 3 Distribution of Roman Christianity in Eastern Britain. (Drawn by Ruth Parkin).

tricate ornament in which trees of life predominate. In treatment, the trees on the bowl bear similarities to the Rudston trees and the trees on the Tripontium buckle. The Harlow tree while not so stylised as either those of the Ballinrees bowl or the Tripontium buckle does show a similar, if, cruder treatment of the same concept. In the lower register of the Ballinrees bowl is a motif of a chequered lozenge with clusters of three dotted rings at its corners. This is reproduced on the Harlow plate in a much cruder form but has many parallels on the late Roman buckles of type 1 where similar geometric designs with chequer fill are characteristic of the majority of the long engraved plates. Another piece of metalwork worthy of mention is the pewter bowl of late Roman date from the Isle of Ely.[9] This is unquestionably Christian and its decoration included not only an incised Chi-Rho monogram but also a procession of birds and sea creatures including peacock. The Harlow belt plate also has close parallels with other buckle plates where the composition of peacocks in association with trees of life is a common factor. (Fig. 2) The Tripontium example is a superior piece with two opposing peacocks separated by a small formalised tree. The buckle found at Stanwick,[10] Yorks, is very similar in content to that from Tripontium although it is cruder in design and is clearly a descendent of the Tripontium type. A more decadent rendering of the tree flanked by a peacock and a griffin is to be found on the strap end from Rivenhall, Essex.[11] A further example of a peacock design is known on a nail cleaner from Lynch farm, Orton Longueville, Peterborough.[12] The variety of competence on these examples suggests that this type of decoration was probably favoured by the makers of Type 1 buckles and strap tags and employed with sufficient frequency for the differences of treatment to occur.

Evidence of Christianity in Roman Britain is not common. Amongst finds of metalwork, therefore, the Harlow buckle plate is important, not just because of its Christian figure ornament, but also because it further brings to attention objects on which Christian symbolism can occur, namely belt fittings, of British manufacture, which could possibly have been worn by the military, perhaps units of the field army (*Comitatenses*) who manned garrisons in the fortified towns and road stations of lowland Britain in and probably through the fourth century A.D.

The Harlow Buckle plate and its regional significance

In his book on Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500,[13] Charles Thomas reviewed the available evidence for the extent of Christianity in the Province. The Harlow buckle plate, being both attractive and portable would have only a low weighting according to his method of gauging the likelihood of Christianity in Britain, and can only suggest that some kind of Christian presence locally was possible. It could easily be an import into the area and as such may have had little significance to the population of Roman Harlow.

However, an examination of the evidence for the distribution of Christianity in East Anglia, indicates that the religion was fairly widespread. (Fig. 3). To the sites listed by Thomas can be added a Chi-Rho inscribed sherd from the settlement at Kelvedon, Essex.[14]

London had become a Bishopric by A.D. 314 and Verulamium almost certainly had a Martyrial Church to St. Alban. Furthermore, historically, St. Albans was a centre for Christianity in the late Roman period. A number of temples are believed to have suffered from spoilation during the fourth century, presumably at the hands of Christians. Whether this was as a result of official policy or was undertaken by zealous local Christians is unclear but the evidence for this action within our area is widespread. The Mithraeum at Wallbrook, London together with the temples at Harlow, Colchester, Great Chesterford, and Witham (all in Essex) may all have shared a similar fate. It is interesting that the Harlow Belt plate was found on the temple mound and one can perhaps speculate that it may have been lost at the time that the temple was being dismantled. By the late Roman period, Christianity had established itself in many of the population centres around Harlow and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the religion had followers in and around the immediate area. The discovery of the belt plate on the temple mound, while not conclusively supporting this argument, does nevertheless strengthen the likelihood that the Christian faith was at least known to, or perhaps practised by, some of the inhabitants of this small Roman settlement. The possible military nature of the belt plate which Sonia Hawkes[15] suggests could have been part of the uniform of a local field army, is worthy of comment. Although Harlow was not a particularly large or important Roman settlement, it does control a crossing point on the River Stort and is situated at the confluence of the Roman roads from Braughing, Bishops Stortford and the possible tile kiln at Epping. Consequently its position may have made it suitable as a staging post for this militia in times of instability resulting from either local insurgency or from barbarian raids. The lack of firm evidence of any early Saxon presence in the Harlow area could reflect that the local population may have been sufficiently prepared for the turbulent events surrounding the decline of Roman influence in Britain. However, further research may help to clarify some of the problems which have been discussed above.

Acknowledgements

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The drawing of Fig. 1 was done by John Callaghan.

Notes

1. *The Romano-British temple at Harlow*, N.E. France and B.M. Gobel, West Essex Archaeological Group Monograph, 1985.
2. Hawkes, S.C. and Dunning, G.C. 1961, 'Soldiers and Settlers in Britain, fourth to fifth Century', *Medieval Archaeol.* **5** 1-70.
3. A 5th century example is known from Mucking, grave 987 (Evison, V.I. *Angles, Saxons and Jutes*, 1981, fig. 4). I am grateful to Mrs. Sonia Hawkes for bringing this to my attention.
4. Tonnochy, A.B. and Hawkes, C.F.C. 1931 'The Sacred Tree motive on a Roman bronze from Essex', *Antiq. J.* **11**, 123-6.

5. Hawkes, S.C. 1973, 'A late Roman Buckle from Tripontium', *Trans. Birmingham Warwickshire Archaeol. Soc.* **85**, 145-159.
6. Hawkes, S.C. *op. cit.* (Note 5).
7. Richmond, I.A. 1963, *The Roman Pavements from Rudston, East Riding*, Hull Museums Publications, 215.
8. Mattingly, H., Pearce, J.W.E. and Kendrick, T.D. 1937 'The Coleraine Hoard', *Antiquity* **11**, 39-45.
9. Clarke, L.C.C. 1931, 'Roman Pewter bowl from the Isle of Ely', *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* **31**, 66ff, pl. 1.
10. Hawkes, S.C. and Dunning, G.C. 1961, *op. cit.* (Note 2).
11. Tonnochy, A.B. and Hawkes, C.F.C. 1931, *op. cit.* (Note 4).
12. Hawkes, S.C. 1976, 'A late Roman Nail Cleaner with Peacock', *Durobrivae*, **4**, 17-18.
13. Thomas, A.C. 1981, *Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500*, esp. Chapters 4 and 5, 96-143.
14. *Britannia* 1983, **14**, 343.
15. Hawkes, S.C. 1961, 1973, *op. cit.* (Notes 2 and 5).

The Sources of Indurated Conglomerate from Early Medieval Churches in North and East Essex by Robin Turner

The presence of 'ironstone' in Essex churches has recently been brought to our attention (Barford 1986) and it seems appropriate to expand on that note in the light of information gained in 1978 during investigations at St Mary's Church, West Bergholt (Turner 1984).

It is a common misconception to describe the material in question as ironstone (e.g. Rodwell with Rodwell 1977, 96; Great Bentley): it is properly termed indurated conglomerate and is formed by the percolation of iron-rich minerals through beds of gravel. The resulting conglomerate, sometimes mistaken for puddingstone (e.g. RCHM 1922, 107), is thus composed of gravel in a matrix of iron minerals, and has a rusty orange or brown colouration.

The origin of this material is of interest since it is present, often in bands or lifts, in the fabrics of 10th to 12th-century churches including that at West Bergholt. It was assumed that the indurated conglomerate in the 11th-century fabric of the north wall of West Bergholt Church was of local derivation, and a small trial hole was dug about 200m to the east of the church in an attempt to search for its source. The exploratory trench was up to 1.5m deep, and iron induration was present from the base of the ploughsoil to the bottom, but particularly at a depth of *c.*1.1m. As it happened the trial hole cut through part of a prehistoric feature which contained sherds of a Belgic jar (Priddy 1983, 117, fig. 6.1) and it was noticed that a small amount of induration actually adhered to the pot. In geological terms, therefore, the induration is very recent, and probably continues in some places to the present day. It is caused by the waterlogged, iron-rich nature of the heavy clay in the area which, if over a gravel subsoil, would give rise to indurated conglomerate. Adrian Gibson, the geologist who assisted with the trial trench, forecast that very localised areas of induration must exist over a wide area of north and east Essex.

When this material was discussed with local farmers a number of incidences were reported of ploughshares being broken on very large blocks of conglomerate weighing several tonnes. There is therefore little doubt that the indurated conglomerate in West Bergholt Church was found locally.

Barford has suggested that lumps of indurated conglomerate may have been brought to the surface by deep ploughing or during clearing prior to ploughing, but this is not wholly convincing: pre-industrial ploughs would probably not have been strong enough or had enough pulling power to uproot the large blocks of conglomerate found at West Bergholt and other churches. It is, however, possible that smaller areas might have formed over localised gravel outcrops, and lumps of this size could more easily be dislodged by ploughing. An alternative, and perhaps more likely explanation is that beds of indurated conglomerate were located during quarrying for sand and gravel and that these sources were exploited. The mortar from West Bergholt Church almost certainly used locally derived sand (Evans 1985) from exactly the sort of location where indurated conglomerate would be expected to have formed.

Indurated conglomerate was commonly restricted in use to Saxo-Norman or early Norman churches. The cessation of its use may have been due to its friability on extended exposure to the atmosphere. At West Bergholt Church some small lumps were used in the 11th-century foundations: these fragments were still extremely hard when found during the excavations whereas the larger blocks of the same material in the above ground fabric had badly decomposed, pebbles having begun to fall out of the matrix through frost and wind action. It may be that the West Bergholt conglomerate represents good quality material which has lasted comparatively well, and that the conglomerate in other churches decomposed much quicker, alerting masons to the drawbacks of using this material.

It was previously proposed (C. Hewett, pers. comm.) that indurated conglomerate originally came from a very few sources which were exhausted between the 10th and 12th centuries. This theory can now be discounted and the material may be seen as widespread but localised, and was ultimately found to be unsuitable for building purposes.

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Current Research on Essex History and Historical Geography, 1986-87 by Jennifer Butler, Essex Record Office

This list is based partly on *Historical Research for University Degrees in the United Kingdom List No. 48*, Part I, *Theses Completed 1986*, and Part II, *Theses in Progress 1987* (University of London Institute of Historical Research May 1987). Other information has been taken from research cards filed and theses deposited at the Essex Record Office.

Medieval

Medieval settlement and landscape history of S.E. Essex AD 400-1200
Anne E. Barker (Leicester M.Phil.)

12th century English and European Legal History
B.R. O'Brien (Yale Ph.D.)

Later Medieval Peasant Society
P.H. Schofield (Oxford D.Phil.)

Early Modern

Servants in Early Modern England 1550-1720
Helen Brash (W. Australia M.A.)

Servants 1580-1640
M. Burnett (Oxford D.Phil.)

The Life of Sir Roger Townshend, 1595-1637
Linda Campbell (East Anglia Ph.D.)

Political Relations between England and the Romanian Principalities 1580-1670
Laura Coulter (London Ph.D.)

Modern

Accounting and Auditing History 1856-1907
M. Hegazy (Birmingham Ph.D.)

L.N. Cottingham, architect
Janet Myles (C.N.A.A. Ph.D.)

The Influence of the Army on the history of Colchester 1854-1918
A.F. Robertson (Essex Ph.D.)

Education of Master and Mates in the Merchant Navy 1750-1850
C. Singleton (London M.A.)

Effects of Air Raids in World War I
P.J. Snoxell (C.N.A.A. M.A.)

Elementary Education in East Essex 1780-1900
W.G. Sully (London M.A.)

Completed Research

A study in the structure of land-holding and administration in Essex in the late Anglo-Saxon period
P.B. Boyden (London Ph.D.)

History of county planning in Essex, 1930-74
N.R. Toogood (London M.Phil.)

Women in the textile industry: Yorkshire and Essex, 1780-1850
Sian Moore (Essex Ph.D.)

Lay Piety in the Borough of Colchester, 1500-1539
Laquita Higgs (Michigan Ph.D.)

Elizabethan Progresses
Mary Hill Cole (Virginia Ph.D.)

Nonconformists in the suburbs: Congregationalism in Essex, 1800-1972
J.R. Hodgkins (Essex M.Phil.)

A curious assemblage of seeds from a pit at Waltham Abbey, Essex; a study of medieval medication by Dr Brian Moffat

Introduction (P.J. Huggins)

The seeds discussed here were found in a layer of waterlogged vegetation in a pit during excavations by Waltham Abbey Historical Society in the back garden of No. 46 Sun Street in 1979. The layer was at a depth of 8ft 6in (2.59m) from the present ground surface and 4ft 5in (1.35m) below the level of the old ground surface. The excavation was one of many designed to study the development of the town. The site (TL 3838 0058) of the pit was 280ft (85m) east south east of the south east corner of the walled monastic precinct.

There were sixty-one sherds of pottery in the 'vegetation layer' and in the silt above. These are dated to the second half of the 16th century. Thus the deposition of the seeds can be dated to within a few decades after the dissolution of the monastery. The pit also included a leather shoe complete with uppers and a length of knitted hose.

Analysis of Sample

The vegetation layer in the pit was 6in (15cm) thick. A sample of 200ml from the evidently organic material was analysed. Francis J. Green of Southampton University identified the seeds and fruits as:-

Hyoscyamus niger (black henbane)	448
Conium maculatum (hemlock)	31
Polygonum aviculare agg. (knotgrass)	3
Rumex sp. (docks)	2
Urtica dioica (stinging nettle)	1
Sonchus asper (sow-thistle)	1

Only the two commonest species which were identified will be discussed; the others are commonplace in material from excavations. Identification of the seeds and fruits is precise and unambiguous.

Evidence from other sites

Hemlock and black henbane seeds have been identified previously at the medieval sites of Coppergate and Hungate in York (Anglo-Scandinavian), at the Whitefriars Street Car Park site in Norwich (9th/10th century), at Sewer Lane in Hull (15th/16th century), at Highgate in Beverley ('early medieval'), at a succession of sites in the upper Thames

Valley (ending with 'early Saxon'), and in the Graveney boat (10th century) (Hall *et.al* 1983; Godwin & Bachem 1959; Ayers & Murphy 1983; D. Williams 1977; Hall & Kenward 1980; Robinson 1981; Wilson & Conolly 1978.) Totals of seeds amounted to a maximum of 20, usually of one or the other species.

Other sites, at these and other places, have yielded no such seeds of hemlock and black henbane. This is even the case where superb preservative conditions in waterlogged deposits have prompted systematic recovery of large volumes (of the order of tens of kilograms) of plant remains. Analogous analyses of pollen are unhelpful; the identification of hemlock is subsumed under the family Umbelliferae, and that of black henbane, unsatisfactorily, may not be identified using the two current authoritative keys (Faegri & Iversen 1975; Moore & Webb 1978).

Habitat of the Plants: General

The habitats of the two plants are dis-similar; the position can be summarised as:-

	Hemlock	*Black henbane*
	biennial	annual or biennial
Habitat — general (1)	damp places and waste ground throughout the British Isles.	on light soils, especially near the sea, and in farmyards, etc.

(1) Clapham, Tutin & Warburg 1981.

Identification of the Plants in Medieval Times

The plants are distinctive and prominent. They have been fully described in botany, herbal medicine and folklore since Antiquity. Confusion in identification is out of the question were one equipped with a botanical or herbal text, particularly one with illustrations. For instance, in John Gerard's 'Herball', dated 1597, woodcuts and minute descriptions differentiate black henbane from the yellow (the newly introduced tobacco plant) and white (see below), and hemlock from hemlock water dropwort (*Oenanthe crocata*) and others of the Umbellifer family. The smell of the plants is repeatedly stipulated; hemlock smells of mice and henbane of tobacco. In earlier herbals the vernacular names of both plants seem constant and clear. Thus one plant could not reasonably have been taken in mistake for the other, or any other common native plants.

Properties of the Plants and their Effects on Man

The deliberate cultivation of the two plants will now be considered.

Harvey (1981) collates 22 lists of the plants from contemporary medieval herbal and botanical works. There were plants which were grown and were recommended for growing. The lists date from AD 380 to 1538 hemlock is listed 8 times and black henbane, 13 times. Henbane was described in AD 1080 as an 'industrial crop' (*op.cit.* 41). The plants are *not* everpresent in the medieval garden, and the properties of the plants require particular discussion.

The plants are both poisonous throughout. Cooper & Johnson (1984) assess the danger and identify the active constituents. In henbane, these are, above all, hyoscyamine, and also hyoscine (or scopolamine), a hallucinogen and atropine, and in hemlock, a large and distinctive group including the alkaloid, coniine. The symptoms and signs of poisoning from henbane are:- blurred vision, dry mouth, confusion, dilated pupils and rapid heartbeat, and possibly, dizziness, nausea, headache, euphoria, hallucinations; and from hemlock:- vomiting, dilation of pupils, incoordination, coldness of extremities, coma, convulsions, and eventually death from respiratory paralysis. These symptoms have been the reported outcome of ingestion, usually of roots, henbane being mistaken for chicory and wild carrot, and hemlock for parsley and parsnip.

The effects on animals are similarly drastic. Slighter doses reduce milk yields and taint milk in cattle. These are reasons for clearing the plants where livestock are present. The modern message, is quite clear; avoid these plants at all costs. Yet in medieval times both plants were not avoided and were often cultivated.

Medieval & C16th Texts and the Uses of Plants

Medieval monastic foundations have the reputation for being in the forefront in medical theory and practice. (P.J.H. adds: at Waltham Abbey it is not unreasonable to assume there was some continuing medical tradition in the second half of the 16th century following the Dissolution of 1540 of the Augustinian Abbey). Medical texts are known to have been held at Waltham itself and in the two larger collections in other Augustinian abbeys at Canterbury and Leicester (James 1903, 1935-6 & 1936-7; Ker 1942-5). The first of these is dated to the thirteenth, and the other two to the late fifteenth centuries.

Discussion

The sample analysed consists of a small collection of highly peculiar seeds, which can function as an anaesthetic and analgesic. The specific purpose cannot be ascertained. The concentration of seeds was isolated 'by eye', and was contrasted with 'the average waterlogged deposit' (F.J. Green pers. comm.). A fuller study of the albeit insubstantial organic matrix would have been useful, in that any massed fibre from animal or vegetable, could be the backing for a plaster, clyster or cataplasm. This unfortunately was not evident and is not extant. Shunning identification of this find with treatments which are for ailments that are rare, out-of-the-way or lurid, a more prosaic end — as an analgesic pad, or compress — is suggested. There has been no modern pharmacological evaluation of the two plants — complete and together — that we have been able to trace (Prof. J.S. Kelly, Dept. of Pharmacology, University of Edinburgh).

Odum (1965) collated observations on the plants germinating on freshly disturbed and exposed soils at 17

medieval archaeological sites in Denmark, and Skåne, Sweden. Vigorous and luxuriant growth was remarkable, and had a most peculiar species composition; 12 sites had such outbursts with black henbane prominent (2 more with solitary plants, and 1 with a modern annual strain), and 7 sites with hemlock. No other species appeared with the prominence and regularity of these two. Neither plant was noted growing in the vicinity of any site. In a series of experiments designed to monitor the germination of seeds from soils of known date (of being sealed in), the two species were similarly prominent. The viability of seeds over periods of 100 to 600 years was the major conclusion. Black henbane was outstanding in this data. This is directly relevant to the study when one notes that most of these 17 sites were monastic (11), castles (2) and urban (3) (this category does not preclude monastic sites in the vicinity. Unless there has been a dramatic contraction in the abundance of black henbane and hemlock, or major changes in habitat (for which there is little evidence), these outbursts would seem to originate in monastic precincts — 'infirmary waste' and gardens. The extreme endurance of viable seed of henbane (apparently at its optimum in slightly to moderately moist soils) leads, we read, to spontaneous regeneration upon soil disturbance. It seemed most unlikely that such upsurges occur only on Danish and Swedish sites. The writer knows only of such occurrences being reported at Culross Abbey (Cistercian, Fife) in 1905 (anon. 1908 and 1910) where a sub-species *Hyoscyamus niger pallidus*, the corolla of which lacks the characteristic purple veins, grew in profusion out of newly disturbed soils within the precinct. The botanical peculiarity prompted the report. In 1985, both species were observed in profusion at Jedburgh Abbey (Augustinian, Borders) but here extraneous tipping obscured the picture.

Conclusions

The seeds found might have been discarded from the treatment of a simple ailment requiring a small amount of painkiller. This could be done by steeping seeds in much the same way as the alkaloids in pulses are brought out to prepare them for eating. Cultivation of both species of plants seems probable from general accounts, and from the Danish archaeobotanical studies. The medical treatises held, at the time, in the libraries of Augustinian abbeys at Canterbury, Leicester and Waltham indicate a small range of end-uses.

The original visit to Waltham was made to discover whether there were any distinctively medical materials — deposits & artefacts — associated with excavations of Augustinian houses. The writer had put together a 'documentary model' for medical material, used internally & externally, where its bulk and exoticness permit recovery, recognition and interpretation in the light of manuscripts of the time. The Waltham seeds are, we believe, discards at the stage of preparation of a medicine. As such, they led directly to the Soutra Hospital Archaeoethnopharmacological Research Project. On the prime Scottish site of a medieval hospital, the recovery, analysis and interpretation of 'infirmary wastes' is being systematised (SHARP 1986, *et seq.*).

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Book Reviews

The Mansio and other sites in the south-eastern sector of Caesaromagus: the Roman Pottery, Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report 3.2, CBA Research Report 62, by C.J. Going, 125 pages, 59 figures & 2 plates.

This is the first-ever substantial publication of Roman Pottery from excavations in central Essex. As such it is an important contribution toward archaeological work on sites of the Roman period throughout the county, and probably throughout southeastern England. It is also an interesting example of the currently fashionable methods of publishing material of this nature, as practiced by the CBA.

In spite of the passage of almost a century since the first important works on the subject, by Hans Dragendorff and Joseph Déchelette, the publication of Roman pottery from excavations remains a remarkably controversial exercise. Is the pottery report written in order to provide dating evidence for the excavation, or in order to present the pottery types present, or as a means of understanding patterns of trade which the pottery may represent? Are the pottery types best presented as fabric types, which usually means according to their source of manufacture, or as form types, which usually means according to their chronology? Is the target audience of a pottery report the public at large, the archaeological community in general, or researchers of Roman pottery? In a way, this report is the archetypal response to these questions for the mid-1980's. It will fail to respond in the manner which would be preferred by some readers to all of these questions, yet it will even then remain a thoroughly competent report, and by far the best modern report on Roman pottery found in Essex.

The basic idea of the report is sound, but it does have some drawbacks. The first of these is that the main body of the pottery is wholly divorced from the descriptions of the sites and contexts where it was found: this was undoubtedly an unavoidable circumstance, owing to the nature of modern post-excavation work, but the volume might have been made somewhat more readable by the inclusion of a brief summary of the contents of the companion volume, Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report 3.1, (CBA Research Report 66, *The Mansio and Other Sites in the South-Eastern Sector of Caesaromagus*, by P.J. Drury), with an explanation of the site numbering system, which is quite obscure without the companion volume in hand. Happily this volume avoids the use of microfiche, but one might see this as a mixed blessing, if in fact one is compelled to buy another volume to use this one properly.

A similar problem is the presentation of the typology by vessel classes, rather than by fabrics. It is difficult to see what this is meant to demonstrate, since the arrangement by classes is not clearly linked to vessel functions, nor are the arrangements within classes either strictly chronological or by fabrics or sources of manufacture. This gives rise, for example, to Figure 1, which brings together terra nigra platters and black-burnished ware dishes; on the same figure, the late (3rd-4th century) BB2 type B2 1.1 appears before a number of earlier BB1 and BB2 types, which are not separated from each other, and alongside type B1 6.1, which is a mica-dusted (or mica-gilt) version of pompeian-red ware (apparently not otherwise present), probably first century. While the last of these may have served for baking pizza-like bread (as suggested by Kevin Greene), it seems unlikely that the black-burnished vessels were used at all similarly (Section VII, 'Residues on Romano-British pottery', is of no help whatever in this regard). Yet this is the implication given until the reader has turned from the figure first to the catalogue and then to the fabric list — this part of the volume can only be read backwards, as it is impossible to keep in mind all the fabric numbers while looking at the catalogue or the figures. There does appear to be a general chronological ordering within the classes, but this is much better demonstrated in the next section, 'The stratified groups': this reader at least would have found the typology more useful if it had been arranged first by fabrics, and then arranged in the same order of classes within each fabric group.

By contrast with the typology, the stratified groups are rather easier to use, and they are one of the main strengths of the volume. The necessity of repeating some of the illustrations is self-evident, as the purpose here is quite different from that of the typology. Another aspect which makes this a volume of considerable importance is the presentation of kiln material, from Moulsham Street, Chelmsford, and from Inworth, with plans, illustrations of other finds, and discussion of the importance of these production centres. There is a discussion of the Rettendon ware 'workshop', but finding which vessels in the earlier sections are in this fabric is a time-consuming task.

It is a pity that the final chapter could not have been considerably expanded; it is clearly no more than a brief summary of quite a large amount of information which this material and its comparison with other assemblages has afforded. (It is a perennial problem for pottery researchers that there is considerable pressure to reduce all conclusions to a bare minimum, when the body of the work consists of the accumulation of a great mass of small details, many of which cry out for at least tentative interpretations). The blank space in Table 9 might have been used to include the fabric names, instead of referring the reader all the way back to Chapter II, and the data in Table 9 might also have been shown graphically, as for the classes in Table 10, but these are relatively minor details. It is also curious that the highly detailed discussion of 'fabrics and trade', 'assemblage composition' and 'the trade pattern to Chelmsford' do not contain any discussion of the problem of residuality, especially in late Roman levels, particularly since this is raised so tellingly in the last section with regard to Hull's pottery dating at Colchester. Throughout Chapter XII there is much quoting of the percentages of various wares and types present at each of the ceramic phases, but it would be surprising indeed if these were not subject in the later phases to potentially significant biases created by residual material. It may be difficult to demonstrate these

biases in the statistics, but their presence ought not to be ignored altogether.

There is an interesting postscript on 3rd century AD pottery in Essex, which reconsiders the dating proposed by Chris Green on London sites, which depends considerably on Green's earlier re-dating of the Colchester 'Mithraeum' assemblage — originally dated by Hull as post AD 337 — on the basis of the presence of Oxfordshire red colour-coated wares, and Cam form 306. Although recent excavations in Colchester have yet to produce clear evidence either supporting or contradicting Going's belief that Oxfordshire red colour-coated wares are uncommon in Essex before the middle of the 4th century, one piece of new evidence which appears to corroborate Going's reaffirmation of Hull's dating is the presence of a quite remarkably large number of Cam 306's (more than 100 examples) from 4th century graves at the Butt Road cemetery site (*Colchester Archaeological Reports*, forthcoming). The Butt Road evidence suggests quite emphatically that at Colchester this is a predominantly 4th century form.

Robin P. Symonds

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Other contributors are listed in Volume 17.

Notes for Contributors

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(Hawkes and Hull, 1947, fig. 33 and p.201).

(Hewett, 1962, 241).

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(*Essex*, **iii**, 171).

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

Hewett, C.A., 'The Timber Belfries of Essex', *Archaeol, Journ.*, **cxix** (1982), 225.

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

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