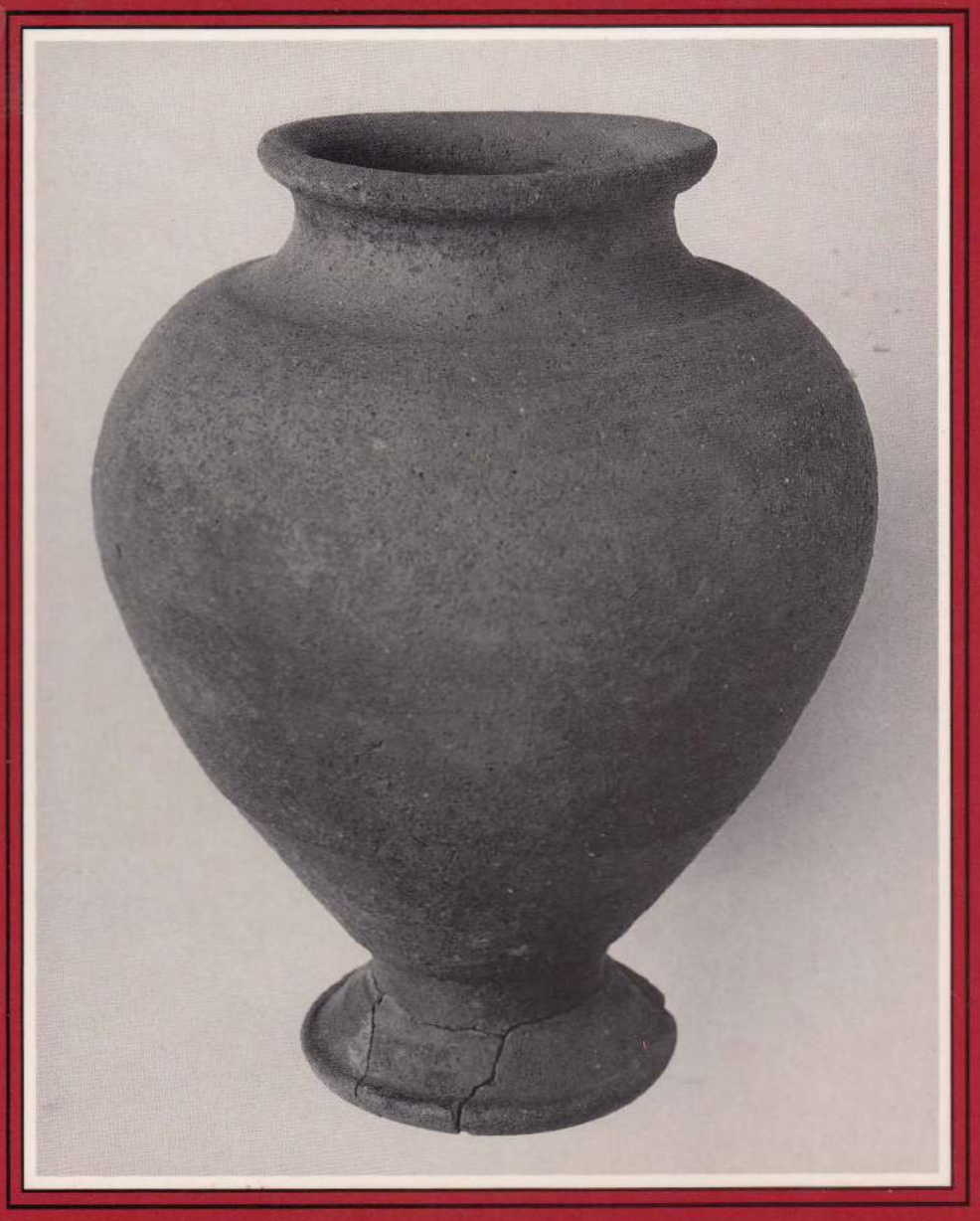
ESSEX

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY



TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX SOCIETY

FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Volume 21

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ESSEX

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

THE TRANSACTIONS OF
THE ESSEX SOCIETY FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Volume 21 (Third Series)

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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.

Amended July 1987.

Essex Archaeology and History: Volume 21 (1990)

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Cover illustration: Pedestal urn of the 1st century BC/1st century AD from Billericay. The vessel is 174 mm high (Photo by Ray Cobbett). See report on the 1987 excavation in this volume.

Kenneth Richard Mabbitt F.S.A.
1899-1989

With the death of Ken Mabbitt the Society has lost one of its oldest and most loyal members, and a former President.

Ken was born at Stepney on 12 June 1899. His father, Thomas Mabbitt (born in 1833), had been captain of the *John Allen*, one of the old sailing clippers, and his grandfather, so he recalled, was employed during the Napoleonic War. A remarkable span of three generations.

Ken's long association with Essex commenced when he was only a few months old, and his family moved to Clacton. There he attended St. Osyth Road School, and then, at the age of twelve, he was granted a special scholarship to the Colchester School of Art. Thereafter Colchester became his home, and having worked for a short time with Chambers the builder he served as an apprentice with the engineering firm of Brackett. Meanwhile he continued to attend evening classes at the Art School where he studied woodwork and metalwork under the tuition of H.C. Edgar, whose daughter he was later to marry.

Towards the end of the First World War Ken joined the Royal West Kents, and for several months was in the Army of Occupation before resuming his former employment.

It was in the early 1930s that he and his brother, Harold, set up their own woodcarving business at their home in Mersea Road, and before long, trading as H. & K. Mabbitt, they became distinguished for their fine craftsmanship and their skill in the production of church furniture and fittings. Some of their work was carried out in conjunction with architects, among them S.E. Dykes Bower, Donald Insoll, Peter Foster, and Quinlan Terry, but much of it was to Ken's own design. Examples of his artistry can be seen in many places throughout Essex and elsewhere, including Chelmsford Cathedral and the parish churches of Dedham, Frinton, Birch, Tollesbury, and Margaretting. He also designed the shades for the organ pipes in Canterbury Cathedral, and the Master's Chair for the Tallow Chandlers Company in London. For this Society he designed the President's silver badge of office for our centenary in 1953.

The list of Ken's achievements over a period of more than fifty years is indeed a long one, and it is hoped that an account of his work will appear in a future volume of this journal.

Inevitably the last war intervened, and he then served for several years with the Ministry of Supply. In 1987 the good will of his business was sold to Bakers of Danbury where 'H. & K. Mabbitt' continues in the care of his nephew, Tom Mabbitt.

Ken's work was first acknowledged in the *Transactions* of the Essex Archaeological Society as far back as 1928, and four years later he became a member on the nomination of the Rev. Montague Benton, who gave him much encouragement. His only paper in the *Transactions*, 'The Audley Chapel in Berechurch Church', appeared in 1936, but his 'combined knowledge of craftsman and archaeologist' was soon recognised. He was first elected to the Society's Council in 1945, served as President from 1967 to 1970, and was subsequently a Trustee, and, for many years, Chairman of the Public Relations Committee. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1954.

Ken Mabbitt died on 27 November 1989, and the large congregation who attended his funeral service in the Church of St. James the Great at Colchester was evidence of the great respect in which he was held. Quiet and unassuming he was a dedicated craftsman, who remained active almost to the end of his life "I *must* get on," he lamented during his last few months of illness, "I have wasted a whole year."

He is survived by his widow, Christine, a devoted member of the Society, and by his two daughters and three grandsons who count many of the members among their friends.

A portrait of Ken Mabbitt appeared as a Frontispiece to Volume III (Third Series) of the *Transactions*.

KENNETH WALKER

Essex Archaeology and History **21** (1990), 6-10

Caesar's Second Invasion of Britain, Cassivellaunus, and the Trinobantes

by E.W. Black F.S.A.

Caesar's version

Caesar's account of his first invasion of Britain late in 55 B.C. (*B.G.* IV.20-36) is a smoothly flowing description of events, broken only by the digression on chariot-fighting in Chapter 33 which occupies an appropriate position and puts no strain on the narrative. Chapter 33 is only revealed as dating to 54 B.C. or later by its reference to cavalry of which there was none with Caesar in 55 (Hawkes 1978, 167). The account of the second invasion in 54 B.C. is a very different matter (*B.G.* V.8-23). Here there is considerable dislocation and variation in treatment. These chapters are surveyed below with an indication of the verbal connections between chapters and discussion of some significant items of their content. Other matters already exhaustively treated by Hawkes (1978) and Rodwell (1976) are dealt with in the appendix on Caesar's settlers *ex Belgio*.

V.8 The Crossing from Gaul to Britain with the arrival of all the ships by about midday. The Britons were frightened by the size of the fleet and withdrew *in superiora loca* (to higher ground/inland).

Rice Holmes (1936, 335 and 595-665) placed Caesar's disembarkation point between Sandown Castle and Sandwich; Hawkes (1978, 157-9) on the coast near Worth.

V.9 This continues the narrative of the previous chapter. The seizure of a position for a camp is passed over in a participial clause, but since prisoners were taken the participle *capto* must be given its full force and translated by 'captured'. According to Caesar he had no reason to fear for the safety of his ships in the anchorage he had chosen. Caesar made a night march of about XII Roman miles to an encounter with a British force at a river. The defeated Britons took refuge in a fortified position which was captured by the seventh legion. Caesar ordered the construction of a fortified camp.

The river and nearby British fortification have been identified as the Great Stour and Bigbury hill-fort close to Canterbury (Rice Holmes 1936, 678-85). If these identifications are accepted, then the distance of XII Roman miles to the Great Stour somewhere in the vicinity of Canterbury makes it impossible that Caesar started his march from a camp on the present coast. He must have camped some III-IV Roman miles inland from the present coastline on the day of his arrival, presumably towards the higher ground to which the enemy had fled. This camp may perhaps be sought in the vicinity of Eastry and Woodnesborough, and was probably distinct from the naval camp where the guard for the ships was stationed. However, greater caution is necessary with regard to the description of the British fortifications in this chapter. As Nina Crummy has pointed out to the writer, Caesar's description could refer to defences combining natural woods and a linear dyke (a prototype 'territorial *oppidum*') as easily as to a hillfort. A site about XII Roman miles from the coast between the Little Stour and Great Stour is an alternative to Bigbury.

V.10 is linked to the previous chapter by *postridie eius diei* ... (on the day following this ...). Caesar sent troops in pursuit of the fugitives from the previous day's fighting, but before they were out of sight a messenger arrived with the news that there had been a storm and many ships had been damaged. It is clear that Caesar was anticipating this event in his remarks about the safety of his anchorage in V.9.

V.11 is linked to the previous chapter by *his rebus cognitis* ... (when he learned this ...). Caesar himself returned to the ships and the Roman forces were ordered to stop their pursuit of the enemy. Repair of the damaged ships was put in hand, the ships were beached, and fortifications were constructed round them. This took ten days. When Caesar returned to where he had heard the news about the ships he found that larger British forces had assembled and that overall command had been conferred on Cassivellaunus whose territory was separated from the maritime tribes by the Thames and was about LXXX Roman miles from the sea. The last sentence of the chapter states that despite earlier internal wars the *Britanni* placed themselves under Cassivellaunus to resist the Roman invasion.

It is not clear how much of Caesar's army accompanied him to the coast. Probably a substantial force remained in the camp XII Roman miles inland, but this is not made explicit in Caesar's narrative. The information given about Cassivellaunus and his territory clearly looks forward to Caesar's crossing of the Thames and invasion of Cassivellaunus' s lands, and the figure of LXXX Roman miles was presumably the distance to the crossing-place used by Caesar. In the context of V.11 Caesar was in no position to know any of this.

V.12 has no verbal link with the preceding chapter. It is a digression on the population and resources of Britain beginning *Britanniae pars interior* ... (the interior part of Britain ...). There are three references to Gaul as the standard of comparison in this description, implying knowledge in Caesar's readers of Gallic buildings, types of trees, and climate.

While selective, the chapter is sober and where it can be

checked by archaeology, as in the case of the iron currency bars, it appears reliable. The chapter quotes the tradition of the inhabitants of the interior that they were indigenous. This implies the gathering of intelligence by enquiry, either from natives of the interior or from other Britons in the south-east who were aware of their tradition. The identity of those who crossed *ex Belgio* to settle in the *maritima pars* is discussed in the appendix.

V.13 Although there is no verbal link with the previous chapter the description of the size and shape of Britain seems to follow on naturally from V.12. The final sentence of the chapter states: *Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies centum milium passum* (And so the whole island has a circumference of 2,000 miles).

V.14 begins *ex eis omnibus longe sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine* (Of them all by far the most civilized are those who live in Kent, a wholly maritime region, and they have a way of life not very different from that of the Gauls). This is followed by three items of exotica: the people of the interior do not sow corn; all the Britons use woad (and shave the body); and groups of ten or twelve men practice wife-swapping.

Ex eis omnibus at the start of V.14 does not pick up anything at the end of V.13. Rather it follows on from the *Britanni* in the last sentence of V.11, as *regio ... maritima* picks up *a maritimis civitatibus ...* (from the maritime tribes ...). The generalisation about the people of Kent resembling the Gauls in their way of life at the start of V.14 would not raise questions in the minds of most readers, but the three specific comparisons with Gaul in V.12 could be expected to do so. Readers would be disappointed if they searched the earlier books of Caesar to find what sort of houses the Gauls had, and what the vegetation and climate of Gaul was like, for this information is never provided. The conclusion is clear that V.12-13 is a later insertion and that in Caesar's original plan V.14 formed a brief digression in an appropriate place following V.11, which described a temporary halt to the campaign.

V.15 describes two attacks by the Britons, the first on the Roman army on the march and the second while it was engaged in fortifying a camp. Both attacks were beaten off. There is no verbal indication that the disgression in V.14 is ended and the first sentence launches abruptly into the first British attack.

V.16 begins *toto hoc in genere pugnae ...* (In all the fighting of this kind ...), linking it firmly to the previous chapter. The difficulties of the heavily-armoured Romans against the more mobile and versatile British chariot-fighters are described. The content of V.15-16 partly duplicates that of IV.33.

V.17 begins *postero die* (On the following day ...), and describes the decisive defeat of another British attack. The chapter concludes *... neque post id tempus umquam summis nobiscum copiis hostes contenderunt* (... and after that the enemy never engaged with us with their full forces).

V.18 begins *Caesar cognito consilio eorum ad flumen Tamesim in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit* (When he learned of their plan Caesar led his army to the river Thames against/into the territory of Cassivellaunus). The battle at the crossing of the Thames is described.

The phrase *cognito consilio eorum* does not pick up the final remark of V.17 since there Caesar does not mention any decision-making or plan: it is simply stated that the Britons did not launch any more all-out attacks. The nearest thing that can be construed as a *consilium* is at the end of V.11 where the Britons *communi consilio* had conferred their united command on Cassivellaunus. There also the river Thames is first mentioned as the boundary between Cassivellaunus' realm and the maritime tribes. Although Cassivellaunus was first introduced in V.11 and he appears as the principal opponent of Caesar in every chapter from V.18 to V.22 where the war is concluded, he is conspicuously absent from V.15-17. The indications are that these chapters (V.15-17) are a later insertion into the narrative, like V.12-13, and that in the original plan V.11 was followed by the short digression formed by V.14, and then by V.18.

This reconstruction confirms that it was Caesar's crossing-place of the Thames into Cassivellaunus' territory which he located LXXX Roman miles from the sea, i.e. from his own naval camp. We have seen above that the crossing of the Great Stour near Bigbury (if this was the place captured by the seventh legion) lay about XVI Roman miles from the present coast. Caesar therefore proceeded at least a further LXIV Roman miles to the point where he crossed the Thames. There is no way of determining his route to the Thames, but the most direct march from Bigbury to the possible ford between Higham and East Tilbury is only XXXIII Roman miles. Despite the arguments of Thornhill (1976, 124-5) it seems impossible that Caesar could have marched almost twice this distance to reach the Higham-East Tilbury crossing. Rather his crossing-place must have lain further upstream.

V.19 starts with *Cassivellaunus, ut supra demonstravimus, omni deposita spe contentionis, dismissis amplioribus copiis, milibus circiter quattuor essedariorum relictis, itinera nostra servabat ...* (Cassivellaunus, as we pointed out above, had given up all hope of victory in battle and had dismissed his additional forces except for about four thousand charioteers. With these he shadowed our advance ...).

This opening sentence apparently refers to the end of V.17 where we were told that the Britons did not face the Romans again in full-scale battle after their heavy defeat south of the Thames. However, the parenthesis *ut supra demonstravimus* must be inserted since what it implies, i.e. that Cassivellaunus had given up hope of defeating the Romans in battle, is contradicted by the account of the crossing of the Thames in V.18 where Caesar describes large forces (*magnas ... copias*) of the enemy opposing him. If the parenthesis is regarded as an insertion Cassivellaunus' decision to adopt guerilla tactics recorded in V.19 came only after Caesar had crossed the Thames into his own territory. The failure of the Britons south of the Thames to attack Caesar after their

defeat is a separate matter, presumably reflecting a failure in morale. Nor did it last, since they later did attack Caesar's naval camp (V.22).

V.19 describes how Cassivellaunus' tactics made it difficult for Caesar to get corn or to devastate the land very far from his line of march. Cassivellaunus had found out the direction Caesar's column was heading in and despite Caesar's silence it is clear that he had a particular objective.

V.20 This objective was somewhere in the territory of the Trinobantes, who are abruptly introduced at the start of this chapter. It is revealed that Caesar had with him Mandubracius, the son of a Trinobantian king who had been killed by Cassivellaunus. The Trinobantes are described as *prope firmissima earum regionum civitas* (almost the strongest tribe of those parts). According to Caesar they approached him and promised to surrender and follow his instructions. They asked him to establish Mandubracius as king and to defend him from harm at the hands of Cassivellaunus. Caesar demanded forty hostages and corn for his army and sent Mandubracius to them. The Trinobantes met this demands promptly.

Caesar himself characterises the Gauls as incurably factious (*B.G.* VI.11), and he describes his own support for the Aeduan leader Diviciacus whose rival, his own brother, was eventually killed on Caesar's orders (*B.G.* I.18-20; V.6-7). The Trinobantian surrender, the giving of hostages, and the description of the tribe as almost the strongest of those parts, despite the qualifying *prope* (almost), make it clear that this tribe had been opposing the Romans along with Cassivellaunus. There is no reason to think that Tribobantian nobles were any less factious than their Gallic counterparts, and rival nobles will have had a hand in the death of Mandubracius' father, or benefited from it. As in Gaul Caesar was exploiting tribal political divisions for his own ends.

V.21 begins *Trinobantibus defensis atque ab omni militum iniuria prohibitis* . . .(When the Trinobantes had been protected and safeguarded from all damage by the soldiers . . .). It goes on to describe the surrender of five additional tribes to Caesar. Caesar learned from the Trinobantes and these other tribes that the *oppidum Cassivellauni* was not far away, so he marched to it and captured it.

It is clear from the first part of the first sentence that when the Trinobantes surrendered to Caesar, Caesar's army was inside and devastating Trinobantian land. We are not told how long a time was taken up in receiving the tribal delegations and then the hostages, but some days' delay at least must be envisaged in which Caesar's army was encamped rather than mobile. After the Claudian conquest in A.D. 43 the territory of the Trinobantes was Essex and adjoining areas (Rivet and Smith 1979, 476). Within this a Roman settlement, beginning with military occupation from *c.* A.D. 60/5, lay in the Moulsham Street area of Chelmsford (Drury 1988, 125-30). Its name, Caesaromagus, has posed a problem for modern commentators. It has been suggested that the imperial prefix indicates a planned town which was intended to be the capital of the Trinobantes, as this is commonly the case with towns so named in Gaul (Wacher 1974, 195-202 with references) However, there is no trace of the rectangular street grid and public buildings that would give substance to this suggestion and the late starting date of *c.* 60/5 for the initial military occupation makes it very unlikely that the name Caesaromagus denotes an official urban foundation later than this. The name may rather be taken at face value, 'the plain/market of Caesar', denoting the traditional camp-site of Caesar in 54 B.C. where he received the surrender of the Trinobantes and the five other tribes.

The tribes who surrendered to him informed Caesar that he was not far from the *oppidum Cassivellauni*. If the identification of Caesaromagus with the camp where the negotiations and submissions took place is accepted, this *oppidum* must be situated 'not far' from Chelmsford. The phrase *non longe* is vague, but it certainly suggests a location closer than Wheathampstead, the site proposed by the Wheelers (1936, 20), which lies XXXV Roman miles distant.

Wallbury fort is one candidate, just over XVI Roman miles from Caesaromagus, and Ring Hill camp, XXV Roman miles distant, another. Wallbury was canvassed by Rodwell (1976, 330), but regrettably little is known about it or about Ring Hill camp (Morris & Buckley 1978, 23). Caesar's description of Cassivellaunus' *oppidum* makes it clear that, like the place captured by the seventh legion in Kent, it combined man-made and natural defences (in this case woods and swamps: *B.G.* V.21.2-3). Again it is possible that instead of a hill-fort what is meant is something like a prototype of the later 'territorial *oppida*'.

V.22 starts *Dum haec in his locis geruntur* . . . (While this was going on here . . .) and this ties V.22 to V.21. Cassivellaunus sent orders to the Britons in Kent to attack Caesar's naval camp. This they did but they were beaten off. Cassivellaunus decided to open negotiations and he used Commius the Atrebaten as a go-between and sent envoys to Caesar. What particularly influenced him was the defection of the tribes to Caesar. Caesar ordered hostages to be delivered and imposed taxes (vectigal) on Britain. He forbade aggression by Cassivallaunus against Mandubracius or the Trinobantes.

The chronology is unfortunately unclear. If it was especially the defection of the tribes to Caesar that influenced Cassivellaunus, did this happen before or after news of the defeat of the British attack on the naval camp? It would make better sense if it came after it, and if this was so, it is tempting to identify the four Kentish rulers named in this chapter as the kings of four of the tribes named in V.21, the Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, and to locate these tribes in Kent. (The identification of the Cenimagni as the Iceni magni of Norfolk (Rice Holmes 1936, 347) then completes the catalogue of the allies of Cassivellaunus.)

V.23 begins *Obsidibus acceptis* . . . (Once the hostages had been received . . .) and this follows on from V.22. The chapter describes the crossing back to Gaul.

The nationality of Cassivellaunus

It is invariably assumed that Cassivellaunus ruled another tribe quite distinct from the Trinobantes (e.g. Hawkes (1978,

160 and 168-70) who identifies his tribe as the Catuvellauni). This is certainly the impression conveyed by Caesar's narrative, but Caesar never speaks of the nationality of Cassivellaunus. It is an intriguing possibility that Cassivellaunus was himself a Trinobantian. It is in the last sentence of V.22 where Cassivellaunus is forbidden to harm Mandubracius or the Trinobantes that Caesar comes closest to stating that he was not, but does not state it explicitly. In the same chapter it is clear that the account of the negotiations between Cassivellaunus and Caesar has been fudged (*ibid*, 176). When Caesar is not explicit but strongly creates the impression that something is the case we are bound to be suspicious.

We have seen above that under the faction who opposed Mandubracius the Trinobantes had been fighting with Cassivellaunus against Caesar, and that Cassivellaunus's *oppidum* was not far from the place in Trinobantian territory where the tribe (or part of it) surrendered to Caesar. Caesar's presence in Trinobantian territory in V.20-21 after crossing the Thames *in fines Cassivellauni* in V.18 is not explained by him, though clearly his aim was to put pressure on the Trinobantes to accept his puppet Mandubracius. However, this does not make sense if the hostile commander Cassivellaunus was king of a neighbouring tribe. Caesar should have dealt with him first and then imposed Mandubracius on the Trinobantes. In fact it worked, because the surrender of the Trinobantes was quickly followed by the attack on the *oppidum Cassivellauni* and by Cassivellaunus' surrender. These difficulties disappear if Cassivellaunus and Mandubracius' father were both Trinobantes, and if the Trinobantes referred to by Caesar were only those leaders of the tribe who had supported Mandubracius' father and now viewed Mandubracius, backed by Caesar's legionaries, as a viable rival to Cassivellaunus. The *oppidum Cassivellauni* will have lain within Trinobantian territory: tribal nobles could regard an *oppidum* as part of their *clientela* or following, as the Cadurcan Lucterius regarded Uxellodunum (*B.G.* VIII.32). The *fines Cassivellauni* and the *fines* of the Trinobantes were identical.

If this reconstruction of Caesar's objective and the identification of his chief opponent as a Trinobantian are correct it remains to explain why Caesar might have sought to conceal these facts. It can hardly have been an oversight that he failed to mention them. The only justification Caesar ever offers for his invasion of Britain comes in *B.G.* IV.20 where he claims that in almost all the wars he had fought in Gaul the Gauls opposing him had received assistance from the Britons. This is never alluded to again, for in 54 B.C. Caesar needed to justify, or disguise, new acts of war.

In 56 B.C. at the conference of Luca he had reached agreement with his fellow triumvirs that his command in Gaul should be extended for five years and that he should not be superseded (Cicero *Balb.* 61). To secure this, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus had to be excluded from the consulship of 55, for he had threatened that if elected he would deprive Caesar of his command (Suetonius *Div. Jul.* 24.1). He was duly excluded by the candidature and election of the triumvirs Pompey and Crassus, who secured provincial commands for themselves and the continuation of Caesar's. In 55 Caesar had achieved the crossing of *Oceanus* and for it a thanksgiving of twenty days in Rome (Dio 39.53.2). But in 54 Domitius Ahenobarbus was consul. Dio (38.35.1-2) records the adverse reaction of Caesar's own troops in 58 when they thought that his campaign against Ariovistus was inspired by personal ambition, and Cicero (*Prov. Cos.* 34-5), speaking in favour of renewing Caesar's command in 56, sought to portray him as the dedicated servant of the Roman state. The charge of personal ambition could have been repeated with effect in Rome in 54, especially when Caesar lacked a decisive victory. Caesar's own testimony (*B.G.* V.22.5) shows that Cassivellaunus remained strong enough to threaten Mandubracius. It is a comment on Caesar's political sensitivity that his account of the second invasion of Britain left so much unclear, or distorted. It would be much better for him to appear to have championed a suppliant who had been driven from his kingdom by a foreign enemy, the leader of a dangerous coalition of tribes, than to be interfering in internal tribal politics in a land where the Roman citizens under his command seemed constantly at risk of being cut off by wind and wave.

The composition of Caesar's Commentaries

Of no less importance than the content of Caesar's account is the light it throws on his methods of composition. The analysis has shown that V.8-11, V.14, and V.18-23 were originally intended to stand as the complete account of the invasion of 54 B.C., and that V.12-13 and V.15-17 were later additions. Perhaps Caesar felt that in his attempt to disguise the political realities he had abbreviated too much. Without the additional chapters the account of the second invasion would have been about two-thirds the length given to the first invasion; with them the two accounts are almost the same length.

IV.33, the excursus on chariot-fighting in the first invasion, must have been composed after the experiences described in V.15-16 since it was only in the second invasion that Caesar had any cavalry with him and could observe their performance against the British chariots. Part of the content of IV.33 is derived from V.15-16, but the description of the spectacular feat performed by a warrior running forward along the chariot-pole while the horses were at full gallop does not appear in those chapters. Again, the excursus on the Britons' customs in V.14 duplicates V.12, but only by a single sentence summary: *ex eis omnibus longe sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine.* The rest of V.14 comprises exotic, and perhaps fabulous, items. It is evident from these cases, where we can compare the records used by Caesar with what Caesar wrote for publication, that he prefers the sensational to the sober and accurate. This is reflected also in the way he focuses on personalities, on himself in particular. *Ipse* and *Caesar* propel each chapter of the narrative and in V.18-22 Cassivellaunus is constant as his adversary, but in V.15-17, although first introduced as the British commander-in-chief in V.14, Cassivellaunus is absent. V.15-17 are clearly first-hand accounts of the campaign, a detailed journal and commentary on points of

interest by an intelligent observer. V.12-13 are like memoranda on particular topics, but again showing evidence of first-hand gathering of information. Was Caesar himself responsible for these raw materials as well as for the literary version in which they are incorporated? Certainty is impossible, but the different tones of the two make it seem to the present writer very unlikely. The *celeritas Caesariana*, and some of its shortcomings, are as evident in V.8-11, V.14, and V.18-23 as in Caesar's campaigns. V.12-13 and V.15-17 plod along, but they are more reliable.

Appendix: Caesar's settlers *ex Belgio*

In *B.G.* V.12 it is stated that the *maritima pars* of Britain was first raided and then settled by people who had crossed out of *Belgium* (*qui ex Belgio transierant*). These people were almost all of them (*omnes fere*) called by the names of the tribes from which they had originated. The statement does not say that these settlers were *Belgae*, and the assumption that they were has caused untold difficulties to commentators and archaeologists. The most significant objection to the assumption is that it is not true that almost all the tribal names we are given in Caesar's text can be matched in his list of *Belgae*. In Britain he names Trinobantes, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi. The list of *Belgae* and their Cis-Rhenine German allies who opposed him in 57 B.C. comprises Bellovaci, Suessiones, Nervii, Atrebates, Ambiani, Morini, Menapii, Caleti, Veliocasses, Viromandui, Aduatuci, Condrusi, Eburones, Caeroesi, Paemani (*B.G.* II.4.5-10). In comparing the two lists it can be seen that only the Ancalites had a name sufficiently close to that of a Belgic tribe (the Caleti) to give any substance to the idea that the names of the British tribes matched the names of the *Belgae* known to Caesar. Possibly the Cassi may have suggested the Veliocasses, the neighbours of the Caleti, but two tribes out of the six whose names we are given hardly justifies the statement that almost all the tribes' names matched. It is necessary to search for other, non-Belgic, settlers *ex Belgio* who might have carried their tribal names to Britain.

In *B.G.* II.4, where the Remi described the forces of the Belgic confederacy, they also gave Caesar traditional historical information about the *Belgae*: in origin they were generally Germans who had crossed the Rhine a long time ago (*antiquitus*) and who had driven out the Gauls and taken over their land (*Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent expulisse*); in the lifetime of the speakers' fathers they had been the only ones successfully to resist the Cimbri and Teutoni, a feat which gave them great military confidence. The Remi then went on to enumerate the *Belgae* tribe by tribe (see above), and in so doing remarked that in their own lifetime the king of the Suessiones, Diviciacus, had been the most powerful ruler in all Gaul and had held power (*imperium*) over a large territory there and even in Britain.

When this history is read in conjunction with *B.G.*V.12.2 describing the settlers *ex Belgio* who crossed to Britain, it seems far easier to identify these with the Gauls expelled from their lands in *Belgium* than with their expellers from across the Rhine. The statements in *B.G.* II.4.1-2 and V.12.2 give two traditions of the same event. No doubt there was a period of disturbance and migration lasting several years, but the tradition given by Caesar is clear that most of the tribes who came to Britain maintained their original identity.

There are only tenuous clues to the date. *Antiquitus* could signify anything, but presumably a long time before the *terminus ante quem c.* 115-105 B.C. given by the successful Belgic resistance to the Teutoni and Cimbri. It may be significant that the two tribes among the *Belgae*, the Caleti and Veliocasses, whose names can perhaps be linked to British tribes recorded by Caesar, were both situated on the periphery of Belgium. They may have retained their lands along the lower Seine, eventually to become part of the political confederacy of *Belgae*, while others were driven out by the invasion of the tribes from across the Rhine. If so, there are other tribal names in Britain, not attested by Caesar but known from later sources, part of whose populations may have migrated at the same time, since they are also attested on the periphery of *Belgium*. The Parisii, neighbours of the Velliocasses, are connected by name with the Parisi of eastern Yorkshire, and the Catalauni, southern neighbours of the Remi, with the Catuvellauni centred in Hertfordshire. The Atrebates in the upper Thames valley may also owe their name to a migration at this time, rather than to the arrival of Commius after his submission to Antonius late in 51 B.C. (*B.G.* VIII.48.8-9). In Gaul the remnants of this tribe may have been Belgicised and not been among the groups that crossed the Rhine. Cenomagni (unless the same as Cenomanni attested in Gaul and north Italy), Bibroci, and Trinobantes cannot be found in Gaul, but the names of these tribes may have disappeared completely, to be replaced by Ambiani, Bellovaci, Suessiones, and other settlers in the heart of *Belgium*. Finally, the *civitas Belgarum* in Britain, a Roman designation like the Cantiaci, could owe its name to a tradition of remote migration *ex Belgio* as easily as to Belgic ethnicity.

If these ideas are accepted then the arrival of trans-Rhenine tribes in *Belgium* (Caesar's *Belgae*), the expulsion of Gauls *ex Belgio* which this caused, and the settlement of the latter in Britain, can be tentatively dated by the arrival of the Parisi in eastern Yorkshire. This is assigned to the late fifth or fourth century B.C. (Cunliffe 1978, 121), but since the Parisii settled in eastern Yorkshire it may be that parts of Britain nearer to Gaul had already been colonised and this date may give a *terminus ante quem* for the main migrations. The case for such migrations, based on the evidence of artifacts, has been maintained in the face of some scepticism by Harding (1974, 157-76).

On the interpretation offered here Caesar records no 'Belgic' invasion of Britain. He does record the *imperium* of a Belgic king, Diviciacus, here sometime between *c.* 100 and 57 B.C., but he gives no details about its nature or extent. Increasing Belgicisation of Britain there certainly was, attested initially by the presence of high value Belgic coinage, and there are recorded instances of refugees, the chiefs of the Bellovaci (*B.G.* II.14.3) and Commius, who commanded great but unspecified influence (*auctoritas*) in Britain (*B.G.* IV.21.7). All this obviously required close contacts between the British tribes and the *Belgae*, but it does not require any British tribe to have been *Belgae* (as defined by Caesar), nor does it require a Belgic invasion of Britain.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations and References

B.G.	Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*
Balb.	Cicero, *Pro Balbo*
Cunliffe, B., 1978	*Iron Age Communities in Britain* (second edition). London.
Div. Jul.	Suetonius, *Divus Julius*
Drury, P.J., 1988	*The Mansio and Other Sites in the South-Eastern Sector of Caesaromagus*. CBA Research Report **66**.
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Morris, S., and Buckley, D.G., 1978	'Excavations at Danbury Camp, Essex, 1974 & 1977', in *Transactions Essex Archaeological Society* **10** (third series), 1-28
Prov. Cos.	Cicero, *De Provinciis Consularibus*
Rivet, A.L.F., and Smith, C., 1979	*The Place-names of Roman Britain*. London
Rodwell, W.J., 1976	'Coinage, oppida and the rise of Belgic power in south-eastern Britain', in B. Cunliffe and T. Rowley (eds.), *Oppida in Barbarian Europe*, BAR **SII**, 181-359.
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Essex Archaeology and History **21** (1990), 11-18

Salvage Recording of Iron Age and Roman remains at Ickleton Road, Great Chesterford, Essex.

by Carl Crossan, Martyn Smoothy and Colin Wallace

Further evidence of a first century cremation cemetery with definite pre-conquest beginnings, previously explored by the Hon. Richard Neville in the 1850's, was revealed during building work. The finds took the form of some sixteen pottery vessels, both imports and local products. Great Chesterford is better known for its late Roman (and Anglo-Saxon) cemeteries and these discoveries shed welcome light on an earlier period. A subsequent watching brief in another part of the site encountered probably second century features relating to the Roman small town.

Introduction

In February 1989, during the machine excavation of drainage trenches for a new building at Iceni House, Ickleton Road, Great Chesterford (TL 5029 4267), the contractor, Mr R.K. Wood of Royston, Herts., turned up pottery and human bone. The discovery was promptly reported to the Archaeology Section and investigated by the first named author. Martyn Smoothy carried out further work at the final development of the site in May 1989. This part is now known as Great Chesterford Court.

The original site archive and all finds are located in Saffron Walden Museum.

Previous discoveries

Great Chesterford is a site of no little archaeological significance both regionally and nationally, containing within its bounds a pre-conquest centre of some importance, an early Roman fort and a late Roman fortification (not to mention the present-day village and its mediaeval church, rebuilt and altered in later centuries; RCHME 1916, 113-116).

There have been many excavations and discoveries since the mid-nineteenth century work of Richard Neville FSA (1820-1861), fourth Baron Braybrooke and sometime President of this Society, but modern work, summarised most recently in the Victoria County History (Brinson 1963) and by Collins (1980), is not well-published. There is only space here to review those aspects relevant to our particular site.

The best known discovery of late pre-Roman Iron Age grave-goods from the area was in 1856 at Bramble Shot, a mile or so from Great Chesterford itself (see note by Neville in the *Archaeological Journal*, 14, 1857, 85-87). It comprised two grog-tempered pedestal urns (Thompson 1982, 705), two pairs of silver brooches (Stead 1976, 406) and two cordonned, bobbin-shaped tazze made of shale.

Chris Going has suggested that a Dr.1 amphora now at Audley End House (Fitzpatrick 1985, 324 no.44) can be connected with the bucket burial found at Bramble Shot in 1869 (Stead 1971, 278-79).

Nearer to the present site was Neville's third cemetery, excavated in 1855 in a field bordered by the Great Chesterford-Ickleton road, south of the later Roman defences and across the Cam. Unlike the other cemeteries excavated by Neville, the finds here showed it to be made up of cremation burials (note in the *Archaeological Journal*, 13, 1856, 171-173).

Immediately across the road from IGC 89 was the Greyhound Inn (now the house called The Lynchets). Oldham (1850) published a Flavian-Traianic cremation group of three vessels from here: a samian platter, ('killed' by having a V-shaped notch sawed from its rim) which was inverted over a large necked jar. This is turn contained a stamp-decorated cylindrical beaker. Excavations on the site in 1972-74 by the Great Chesterford Archaeological Group revealed a further burial and other features of Roman and later date (Essex SMR, P.R.N. 4930)

The 1989 Site

Recovered from its position in the side of one of the contractor's trenches (no. 2 on Fig. 2) was a virtually complete pedestal urn, grog-tempered ware. Excavation of its fill yielded some tiny fragments of bone and a collection of worked flint (trimming flakes, blade fragments, a bificial fragment, burnt flint and debitage) interpreted by Hazel Martingell (pers. comm) as all coming from one knapping floor. It should be explained that, on Fig. 2, contexts 1 to 15 and 50 refer to individual *finds* of pottery or bones (and are thus carried through to the pottery and bone reports) while the watching brief contexts (51 to 55) refer to individual *features*.

A further six vessels in varying states of preservation (nos 1 and 3-7) came from the seven-metre length of trench running east from the findspot of 2. All were of similar date and comprised two more pedestal urns, a bowl and matching lid, a cup (all these in grog-tempered ware) and an Italian wine amphora. Nearby, according to the contractor, were the finds of human bone marked as 9 and 11 on Fig. 2. Together with the skull recovered *in situ* from the side of a part-filled soakaway at point 10, these may indicate the presence of inhumations as well as cremations in this cemetery site (see further, below).

Other material handed over by the contractor came from slightly further east, the areas of the new access road and Plot 2 of the development. Apart from further human bones (8, 14 and 50) these comprised four groups of pottery. Three later first century vessels are grouped as 12 and more grog-tempered vessels as 13, 14 and 15, with an imported vessel also in 14. Excavation of their contents revealed cremated

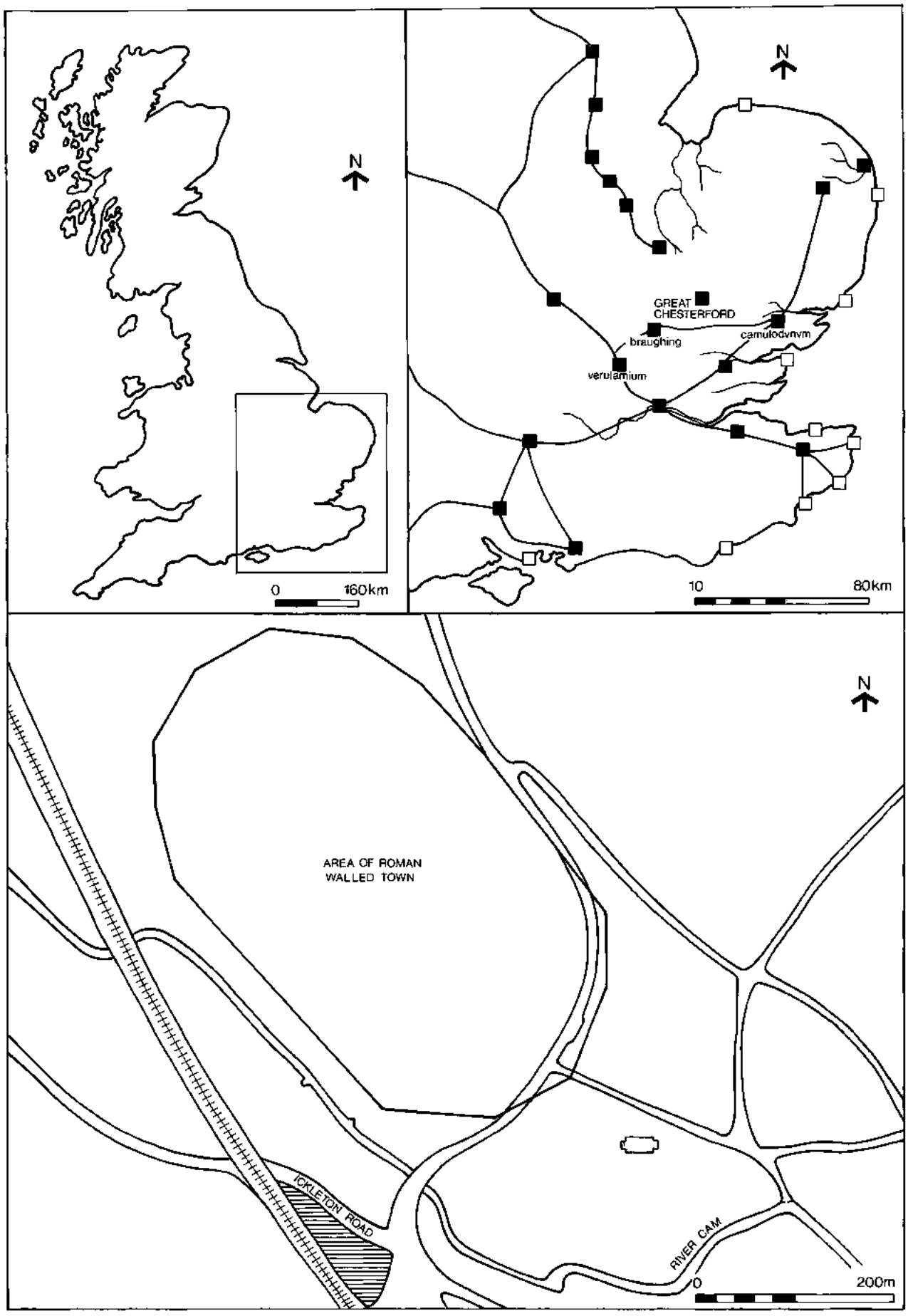

Fig. 1 Ickleton Road, Great Chesterford: location map

human bone in 13 and unidentifiable burnt bone in 14a and d. The fill of 15 contained charcoal, copper alloy fragments, cremated human bone and unburnt pig and chicken bones. Related to the cemetery side is context 52 of the later work, which was apparently a cremation pit. It contained much ash and three fragments of burnt human skull, the burning of which appears to have taken place in the pit itself. It was only possible to excavate a small area of the pit where it survived between the concrete foundations of building A — according to the workmen it was originally two or three metres in diameter. No dating evidence was recovered.

The watching brief showed that the eastern part of the site did not appear to contain any remains of either inhumation or cremation burials. However, a number of features were observed in the sides of foundation trenches. These were particularly common in building C and the northern half of building B. It was not possible to record all of these features, through lack of time. Four features in building B *were* excavated, in an attempt to determine their nature and date.

Context *51* was a pit (*c* 90cm diameter) cutting the natural gravel subsoil and filled with a homogeneous silty loam. Also sectioned by the building's foundation trench was context *53*, a large (*c* 100cm diameter) post-hole with heavy flint packing. Near to 51 was a shallow ditch running approximately north-south, context *54*, 170cm wide at its top and more than 10 metres long. Context *55* was a large (*c* 170cm diameter) steep-sided pit. Tip lines were clearly apparent within it, including two distinct layers of mussel shells. Mussels were also found in 51 and oysters in 51, 53 and 54. Animal bone (including a complete horse humerus from 55) is dealt with below.

A substantial trench (*c* 2 metres wide) was noted running approximately northeast-southwest in the foundations of building D. One of the sections was cut back but no finds were recovered.

The dating evidence from the watching brief consisted largely of pottery and it is summarised below using the codes for forms (e.g. B2) and fabrics (e.g. *47*) in the Chelmsford Archaeological Trust's pottery typology (Going 1987). The recently published fabric series from the 1950s excavations at Great Chesterford (Toller, in Draper 1988, 25-31) has not been found useful. For the London Ware bowl below, see Marsh (1978, 124 and fig. 6.18).

51 *Coin*: Claudius, 44-64.
Samian: f27, ?CG, ? Hadrianic *Other pottery*: London Ware bowl rim, Marsh 42; Fabrics *26*, *45*, ? *53*, *47* and *21*.

53 *Samian*:? f80, CG, Antonine, *Other pottery*: burnt mortarium rim (*26*), form as Verulamium I 1039 or Hartley (in Draper 1988) Type 11; flagon (*4*); fabrics *15*, *21* (also in 51 and 55), *35*, *36*, *40*, *45* and *47*.

54 *Other pottery*: Dish B2 (*47*); Jar G21.1 (greyware); Fabric ?*53* (also in 51).

55 *Samian*: f37, CG, late Antonine; f18/31, CG (Les Martres), Hadrianic. *Other pottery*: Jar G17 (*35*); Beaker base (*2*); Fabrics *14* & *47*.

Despite the coin, these all seem to be second century contexts. Post-hole 53 and pit 55 can be late second/early third, pit 51 and ditch 54 somewhat earlier. As to reliability, 51 and 55 are small-sized (less than thirty sherds) while 53 and 54 are medium-sized (96 and 53 sherds respectively) and thus better dated.

The pottery probably from the cemetery
by Colin Wallace

Sixteen vessels, in various states of completeness, were recovered from the western part of the site: an imported wine amphora, eleven late Iron Age grog-tempered vessels, two Gaulish imports and two local Roman products.

The numbers applied here are those given at the time of discovery, with the addition of lower case letters to distinguish the several vessels from findspots 12 and 14. For the wheel-thrown, grog-tempered vessels, the form terminology is that of Thompson (1982) and detailed fabric descriptions have not been given.

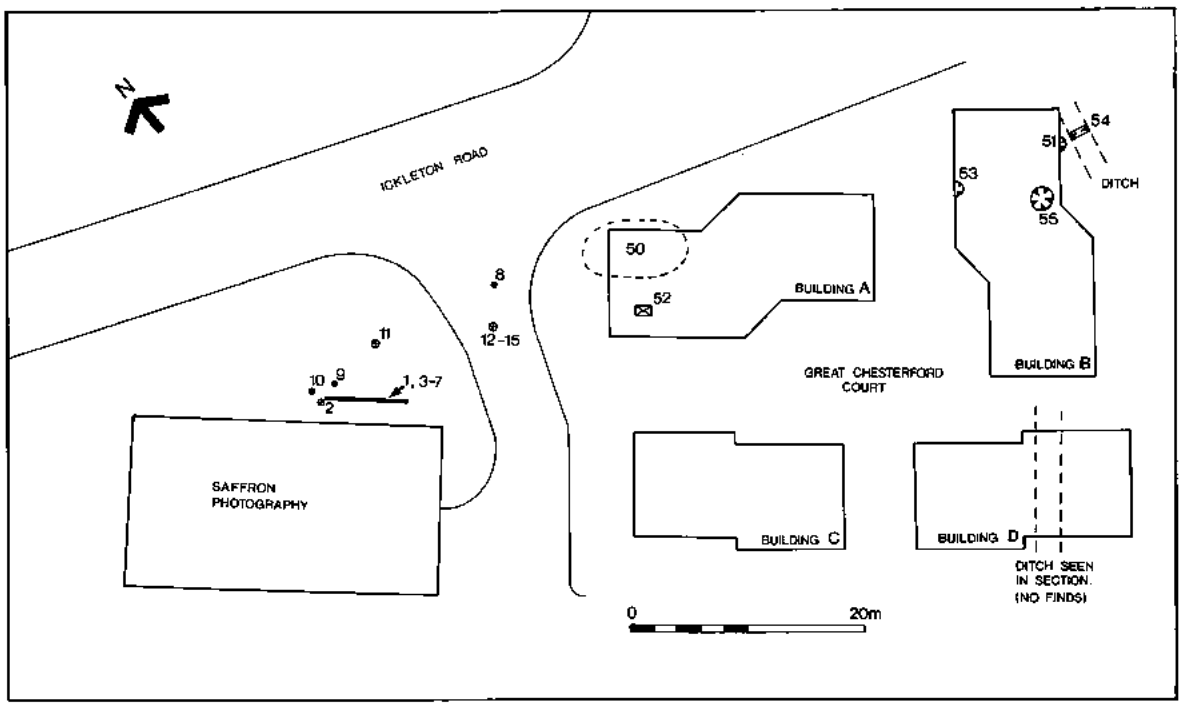

Fig. 2 Ickleton Road, Great Chesterford: site plan

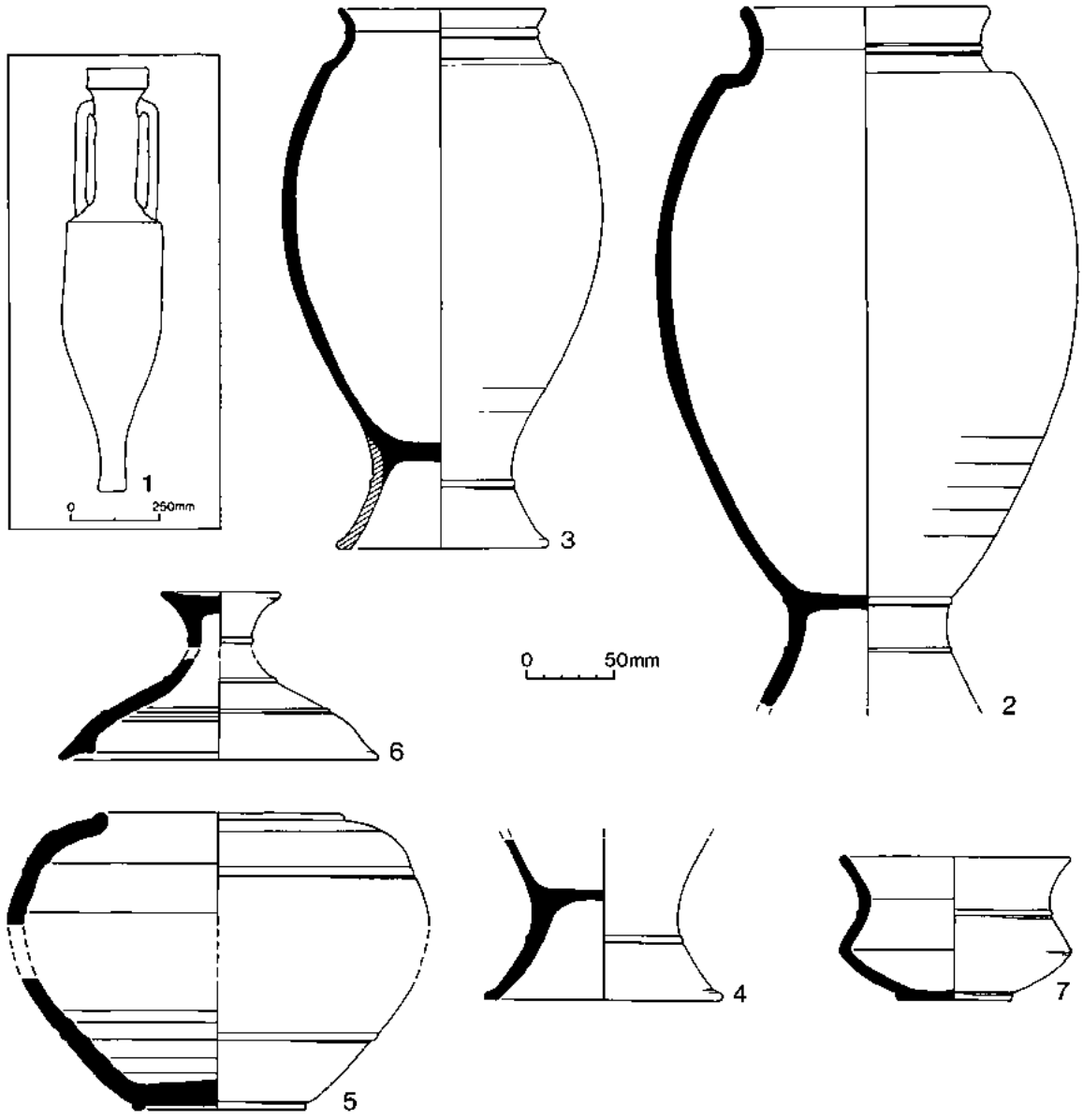

Fig. 3 Ickleton Road, Great Chesterford: pottery Nos. 1-7 ($\frac{1}{4}$, reconstruction $\frac{1}{20}$)

(Fig. 3.1) Reconstruction of a Dressel 1B amphora, represented here by some eighteen large and unwieldly fragments. Rough sandy light red fabric with abundant 'black sand', a characteristic of Peacock's fabric 2 (1971, 164) for which a Campanian origin has been suggested. The rim is not present, but the shape of other diagnostic parts (handle and shoulder) give the form away.

Dr.1B/Peacock and Williams class 4 was an Italian wine amphora, very common in the western Mediterranean and of the second half of the first century BC.

(Fig. 3.2) A virtually complete, large trumpet pedestal urn (Thompson form A5) in grog-tempered ware. The form is already known from Neville's work at Great Chesterford (Thompson 1982, 706, fig 36). See also vessels 3, 4, ,14b and 14c (below).

(Fig. 3.3) A rather smaller and less complete trumpet pedestal urn, grog-tempered ware.

(Fig. 3.4) The base (with some bodysherds) of a large trumpet pedestal urn, grog-tempered ware.

(Fig. 3.5) Sherds from an elaborate, cordoned, lidded bowl (Thompson form D3-4), grog-tempered ware.

(Fig. 3.6) Around half of a ? matching lid (form L4). This one is yet another variant amongst a very general grouping (see Thompson 1982, 545).

(Fig. 3.7) Most of a simple carinated cup (form E1-1) in grog-tempered ware. It has a cordon round the waist and a sharp, three-angled profile.

(Fig. 4.12a) Most of a samian platter, South Gaulish form 18, early Flavian (identified by Dr. Warwick Rodwell). Only a part of the last letter of the central stamp survives.

(Fig. 4.12b) Four joining sherds from a hemispherical bowl, light grey fabric with darker surfaces (now worn). The diameter was difficult to estimate and has probably been exaggerated in the course of showing the decoration, incised angled lines below cordons.

(Fig. 4.12c) Base and bodysherds of a 'ring and dot' beaker, cream fabric (for both the body and the eroded decoration). The reconstruction shows how the barbotine decoration, vertical lines of overlapping rings and intervening panels of dots, may have looked. Probably a Verulamium region product, as it does not have the contrasting colours in its ornament which are seen as a characteristic feature of Cherry Hinton products (Evans forthcoming).

(Fig. 4.13.) Lower half of a grog-tempered jar.

(Fig. 4.14a) Almost all of an everted-rim beaker. The fabric, here with smoothed surfaces, is that described in the recent King Harry Lane cemetery report (Rigby 1989, 137) as White Fine Sand. In this country, vessels in this particular fabric have all been pre-conquest butt-beakers of form *Cam* 113, imported from Northern Gaul. Valery Rigby has suggested to me a second half first century AD date for this piece and noted traces of painted

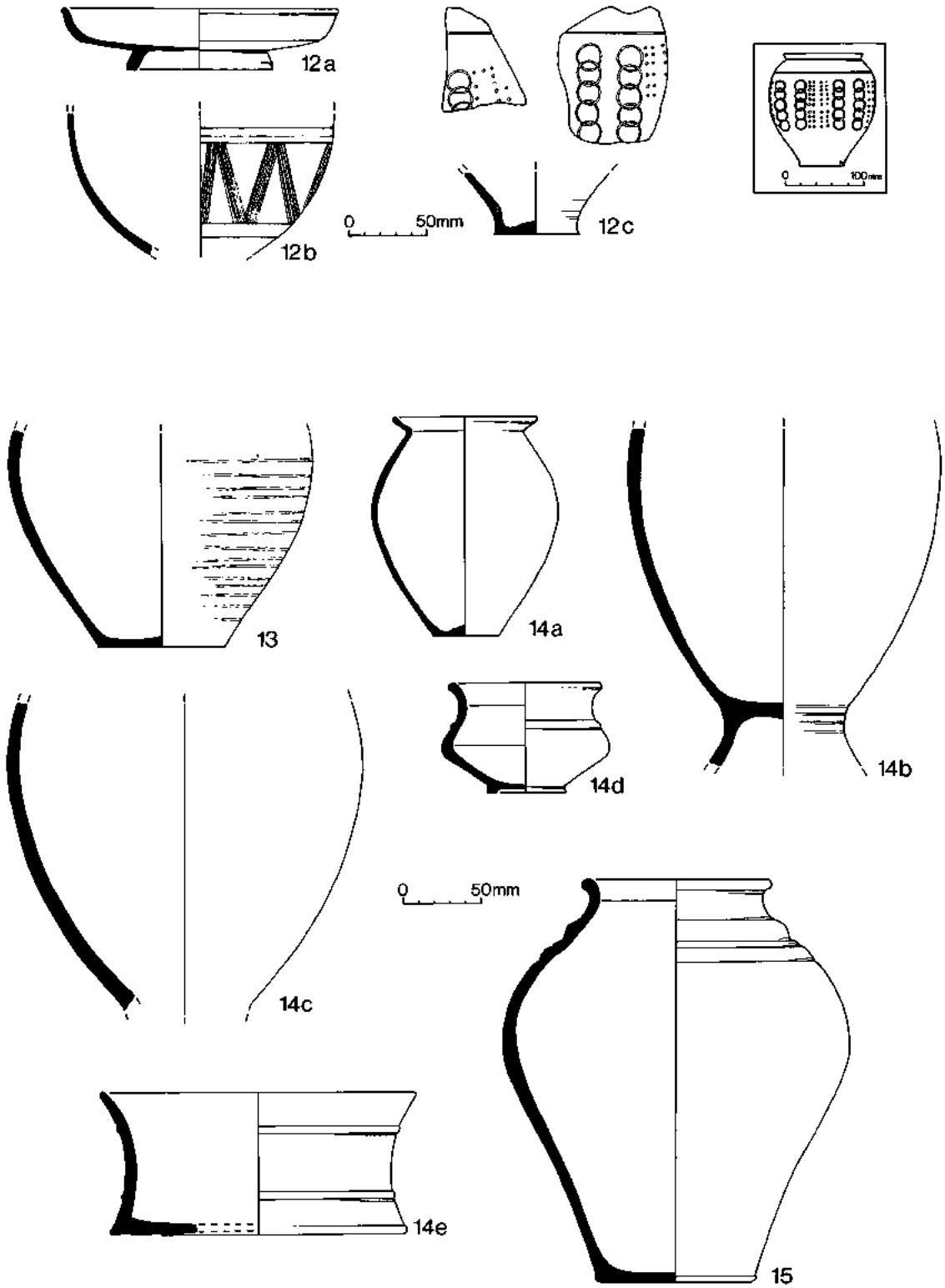

Fig. 4 Ickleton Road, Great Chesterford: pottery Nos. 12a-15 ($\frac{1}{4}$, reconstruction $\frac{1}{8}$)

decoration surviving below the rim and on parts of the shoulder. I have not been able to parallel the form.

(Fig. 4.14.b) The lower half of a trumpet pedestal urn, grog-tempered ware.

(Fig. 4.14.c) Sherds from the lower half of a pedestal urn (foot missing), grog-tempered ware.

(Fig. 4.14d) Most of a squat wide mouthed cup (Thompson form E2-1), grog-tempered ware.

(Fig. 4.14e) Sherds from a carinated wide mouthed bowl (the pedestalled version, Thompson form F3-4), grog-tempered ware.

(Fig. 4.15) A virtually complete, high-shouldered cordoned jar (cf Thompson form B3-6), grog-tempered ware.

Dressel 1 amphorae were of a notably robust design and could be long-lived in secondary use (e.g. those from Sheepen, post AD5; Sealey 1985, 101-108). Where they can be dated, the grog-tempered vessels are of the first century AD, through without associations this cannot be pressed.

Some, together with 14a, must be post-conquest while 12a, b and c (though only from an approximate findspot based on the contractor's recollections) could be a Flavian group from late in the cremation cemetery's life.

The human and animal remains

by Martyn Smoothy

Inhumed human bone

The sample comprises 109 pieces of bone weighing 3,568g. which have been identified to skeletal part. The archaeological context of the sample is compromised by the circumstances of recovery but the sample may relate to late Roman re-use of an earlier cemetery site.

If the sample is considered as a unit (which seems reasonable considering the context), a minimum of five individuals are present:

Skull no. 1 — A young/young mature adult male	Con.8
Skull no. 2 — A mature juvenile/young adult male	Con.9
Skull no. 3 — A mature juvenile/young adult female	Con.10
Skull no. 4 — A young adult female	Con.14
Skull no. 5 — A young adult male	Con.50

This sexing/aging scheme is based on skull characteristics and at the best is only a statement of probabilities. A larger (articulated) sample combined with a detailed metrical analysis would be required to achieve a greater degree of certainty.

The post-cranial material is listed below (table 1)

Table 1 — Human Bone by Context (excluding cremations)

	8	9	9	10	11	14	50	52	Tot.	MNI
Skull	7	7		15		16	3	3	51	5
Maxil.		1					1		2	2
Mand.	1						3		4	2
Teeth							6		6	1
Vert.							8		8	1
Ribs	3		5			1			9	1
Clav.	1								1	1
Scap.	1						2		3	2
Hum.		2			2		1		5	3
Rad.					1				1	1
Ulna					1				1	1
MetC.			1						1	1
Pel.			2						2	1
Femur		1	3		3				7	3
Tibia			1		2		1		4	2
Fib.			3						3	1
MetT.							1		1	1
Tot.	13	11	15	15	9	17	26	3	109	5
MNI	1	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	5	

It is possible to fit all the post-cranial material which display sexing/aging characteristics into the scheme outlined above (ie. skulls 1-5).

The following post-cranial bones may be noted:

The right-hand femur, tibia and fibula from context 9 all come from the same individual, the state of the epiphyses indicate an age of 20 years or above. Based on the robustness of the bones the individual is probably male and the length of the femur indicated a height of approximately 174 cm (5 ft 8½ in). These bones may be from the same individual as skull no. 1.

The pelvis and femur (specimen no. 2), from context 9 are from a female of 17 years or above (epiphysial fusion). This individual may be represented by skull 3 or 4.

The left humerus from context 9 is aged to between 16½ and 20 years by epiphysial fusion and most probably related to skull 2 or 3.

Context 11 contained a right-hand humerus, radius and ulna all from the same individual, aged 20+ years by epipysial fusion. It also contained a left-hand humerus from an individual aged 18 years or less.

All the other bones in the sample could have come from any one, or more, of the skeletons. It must be noted that in the absence of detailed contextual recording (e.g. excavation of obviously articulated burials), the bones may well derive from more than five individuals.

Three instances of unusual pathology were noted in the sample:

The adult male fibula from context 9 has an unusual (tumerous?), growth which may be an Osteoma or, more probably, Osteosarcoma (i.e. bone cancer).

The left femur shaft from 9 is slightly more curved than usual and this may be due to vitamin D deficiency (rickets), the curvature is not very pronounced and probably only demonstrates a mild form of the condition.

The skull (no.4), from the context 14 has two wormian bones (ossicle at lambda and bregmatic ossicle). This is a genetic characteristic and would have had no discernable effect on the individual (wormian bones are not present in the other four skulls).

In conclusion, the sample is too small to allow any general inferences about the demography of the population from which the burials derive. The fact that four of the individuals (two male, two female), probably died in their late teens/early 20's is of no surprise considering the mortality pattern usual in early populations. The other male probably survived into his later 20's/early 30's though it is not possible to give a precise age at death (though a very advanced age is not probable).

The signs of rickets in the femur which may derive from one of the younger males may be evidence of some dietary deficiency during childhood, however, the condition is not severe. The tumerus growth on the fibula of the older male is of interest as evidence of cancer is not common in early populations, whether it is evidence of a more widespread condition which caused the death of the individual is not clear. For the other four individuals no cause of death can be suggested from the skeletal remains.

The epipysial fusion data used above is drawn from Schmid's *Atlas* (1972, 75), while the height calculation for the older male derives from Brothwell (1972, 102).

Cremated human bone

Cremated human bone was recovered from two of the vessels found on the site:

Context 13 — the vessel contained 317 g of cremated bone. The bone was very well burnt and very fragmented, the few larger pieces which survived are in poor condition. The few pieces which can be positively identified are human, presumably from a single individual. It is impossible to age or sex the bones (though they do not derive from an infant).

Context 15 — the vessel contained 721 g of cremated bone. The bone was well burnt and very fragmented. The identifiable pieces indicate that a single individual is present with all parts of the skeleton being represented. The size of the bone fragments suggest a juvenile whilst a single well preserved proximal phalanx (foot), is fused which suggests an age of 12 years or above. Therefore the individual may have been in its early teens, it is impossible to sex the skeleton.

Three heavily burnt fragments of human skull were recovered from context 52 (a cremation pit?) and are included in table 1.

Animal bone

The animal bone from the site is listed in table 2:

Table 2 — Animal bone by Context

	11	15	51	53	54	55
Bos	1@116g		1@30g	21@690g	3@98g	
Ovis				4@42g	4@63g	1@38g
Sus		3@17g				
Equus						1@531g
Gallus		3@1g				
Avian?				9@1g		
Un.ID.			4@2g	5@40g	5@19g	4@9g
Tot.	1@116g	6@18g	5@32g	39@773g	12@180g	6@578g

Given the size of the sample (69 pieces weighing 1,697 g), it is pointless to attempt any general discussion beyond noting the presence of the 'standard' domestic species, i.e. cattle, sheep, pig, horse and chicken. The Avian bones in context 53 probably come from a small wild bird, I have not attempted to identify these to species. The individual contexts may be characterised as follows:

Context 11 — cattle humerus collected by workman together with human bones.

Context 15 — unburnt pig ribs and chicken bones from same vessel as human cremation. Funerary ritual?

Context 51 — bone refuse from pit.

Context 53 — standard domestic type bone refuse from pit.

Content 54 — standard domestic type bone refuse from ditch.

Content 55 — the presence of a complete horse humerus is rather unusual and taken together with a deliberately bent bronze pin from the same pit may be indicative of some sort of ritual activity, though one cannot rule out coincidence.

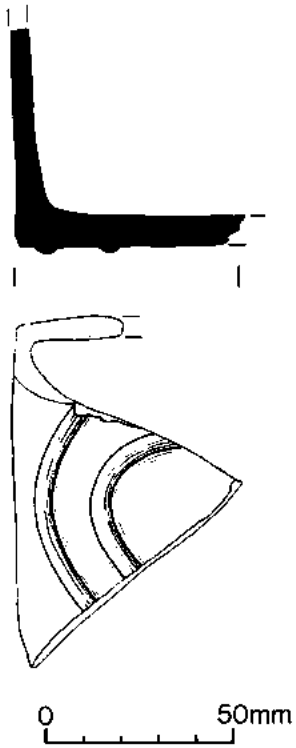

Fig. 5 Ickleton Road, Great Chesterford: glass bottle base

The Other Finds

by Colin Wallace

The pottery from watching brief contexts has been summarised as dating evidence earlier in the report. Apart from some fragments of copper alloy in the fill of vessel 15 (the cordoned jar), there remain six other finds to be dealt with here.

Context 51	Coin:	Claudius, copy As, *c* AD44-64 (reverse obscured)
Context 52	Iron:	nails.
(Fig. 5) 53	Glass:	base of a square bottle, decorated with two concentric circles. Natural greenish-blue metal.
	Iron:	nails
	Stone:	upper stone fragment, lava quern, piece of worked stone (quartzite).
(Fig. 6) 55	Cu. Alloy:	Pin, multi-faceted head with two grooves below, c.f. Crummy (1983) Type 5. Complete but bent (*c.* 120mm long when straight).

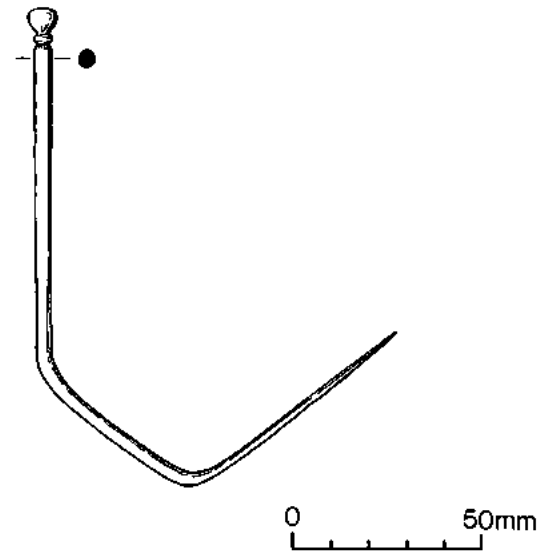

Fig. 6 Ickleton Road, Great Chesterford; bronze pin

Discussion

There are three aspects of the site which deserve discussion. The first can be disposed of very briefly, for of the evidence for the five or so inhumation burials, it can only be suggested that it might relate to late Roman/post-Roman reuse of an earlier burial ground.

The watching brief showed a contrast between the western and eastern parts of the site, with the latter firmly 'domestic'. Neither the shape nor the nature of Roman Great Chesterford before the fourth century are well-understood, so that for the moment nothing can be added to the bare factual record given earlier.

No trace of either metalwork or glass vessels were recovered from the contractor's trenches in the western part of the site, making it clear that we are probably dealing with an Iron Age cemetery of the kind recently published from Verulamium (King Harry Lane), rather than a rich burial (or burials) like the Bramble Shot finds.

King Harry Lane (in use *c* AD1-60) produced a number of cremation burials with amphorae (Rigby 1989, table 7, page 115), although only two were thought to have been deposited complete (as the fresh breaks on the amphora from IGC 89 show it to have been).

No associations can be reconstructed with confidence for the pottery probably from the cemetery, with the exception of the Roman (as opposed to traditional late Iron Age) vessels catalogued above as 12a, b and c. These are later in date than the rest, comparable to the finds made nearby in 1850 and 1855. Taken together, the evidence of the pottery suggests that here was a long-lived burial ground spanning most of the first century AD.

Given that the work which is the subject of this report was conducted under salvage conditions, a reasonably full account has been produced. However, at the moment the site is just another dot on a distribution map of Dressel 1 amphorae — what it could have been is now unknown in detail. This report is a small contribution to an archaeological

definition of Great Chesterford, a picture which will not begin to come fully clear until more of the past work is published.

Acknowledgements

This work was carried out with the cooperation and encouragement of Mr. Franklyn Drake (Saffron Photography Ltd) and Mr. Andrew Morley (BDB Management Services, on behalf of Cambridge Trust PLC). We would like to thank Saffron Photography's contractor, Mr. R.K. Wood and Deborah Priddy (sometime of the Archaeology Section) also. Colin Wallace is grateful to Chris Going, Peter Hunt, Hilary Major, Hazel Martingell, Nick Nethercoat (for the illustrations), Valery Rigby, Dr. Warwick Rodwell (who dated the samian) and Steve Wallis for their assistance.

The report has been compiled by Colin Wallace, with assistance from Carl Crossan. Aside from his named contribution, Martyn Smoothy wrote the section on the watching brief discoveries.

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Late Iron Age and Roman Billericay: excavations 1987

by David R. Rudling

Rescue Excavations and a Watching Brief at Billericay Secondary School during 1987/8 revealed traces of Late Iron Age/Romano-British (1st to 4th century A.D.) occupation. The major features discovered included cremation burials, ditches, wells and pits. These results are discussed in conjunction with earlier discoveries at Billericay.

Introduction

During the summer of 1987 archaeological excavations were undertaken in advance of redevelopment at Billericay Secondary School (Fig. 1). Subsequently a watching brief was carried out during the digging of foundations and service trenches for the new building. The area investigated had been the location of several prefabricated classrooms which were demolished in order to build a new permanent classroom block.

The excavations were a joint project by Essex County Council and the Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society. Staff and pupils of Billericay School also assisted with the excavations and the project had an important educational role. During the main investigations the opportunity was taken to try and re-expose part of the pottery kiln found in 1977 during the regrading of Buckenham's Field to extend the School playing fields (Buckley *et al.*, forthcoming). The aim was to obtain an archaeo-magnetic date for the kiln.

The finds and the Site Archive are retained by ECC.

The Site

Billericay Secondary School lies to the south of Billericay town centre (NGR TQ 675 938). Modern Billericay is located on a relatively high gravel-capped spur which acts as a watershed between the tributary stream systems of the Rivers Crouch and Wid. The spur comprises an outlier of the Bagshot and Claygate Beds, conformably overlying the London Clay. These beds in turn are capped by Pebble Gravel and Warley Gravel. Billericay occupies a strong strategic position and overlooks the London Clay lowlands.

The Archaeological Background

Since the 18th century finds of Iron Age and Roman material have been discovered around Billericay. These discoveries indicate that the area was the site of a small Roman town (Rodwell 1975) with Iron Age antecedents (Rodwell 1976, 325; Thompson 1982, 612-7). There appear to have been two main foci of occupation. The first was at Norsey Wood (*V.C.H. Essex III*, 1963, 48-9) which is located to the north of Billericay High Street (NGR TQ 685 955). The second is a wide area to the south of the modern town centre and includes the site and grounds of Billericay Secondary School. A summary of all the previous discoveries in the southern area accompanies the report on the 1973-1977 excavations at Buckenham's Field — Noak Hill Road (Buckley *et al.* forthcoming). It is thus only necessary here to briefly summarise the past archaeological investigations in the immediate vicinity of the Secondary School buildings.

In June 1970 the discovery of Roman pottery during the digging of foundations for old people's homes in School Road (immediately north of the School, Fig. 1) promoted a rescue excavation by the Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society. This established the presence of Iron Age material (including two coins of Cunobeline) and Roman finds (including a gulley, pits, a well, and a cremation burial) which suggest 1st-2nd century A.D. occupation. Finds dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries were also recovered (Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society 1971a).

In September 1970, major extensions planned for Billericay Secondary School led to further rescue excavations, under the direction of the late D.T. Bumpstead. This fieldwork, which continued until October 1971, was located to the south east of the area investigated in 1987. The occupation range of the School Road site was confirmed and the major discoveries included an Iron Age Potin coin (Class II), a metalled east-west road *c.* 3 metres wide with side ditches containing 1st century material, ditches (including two sealed by the Roman road), two 'working hollows' or 'hut floors', at least six wells, various pits (one of which 'contained several hundred kilograms of fired daub fragments, many with wattle impressions on one side and a chevron stamp on the other'), two corn-drying ovens (one of which 'yielded a coin of Honorius') and a cremation burial (Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society 1971a, 1971b; *Britannia* Vol. III, 1972, 331).

The 1987 Excavations

Prior to construction work only part of the area to be redeveloped in 1987 was available for investigation. The available area was divided into two parts: Trenches A and B (Fig. 2), and whilst one area was being excavated the other was used for the spoil heap. In both cases the topsoil was removed by a mechanical excavator (J.C.B.).

The recording system used was one of Context Record Cards and these cards form part of the Archive. The context numbers of the fills of features are given in brackets. For general plans of the features in Trenches A and B see Figs. 3 and 5 respectively. A selection of the section drawings form Figs. 4 and 6. *N.B.* Because the ditches were excavated in segments there is some duplication of fill context numbers.

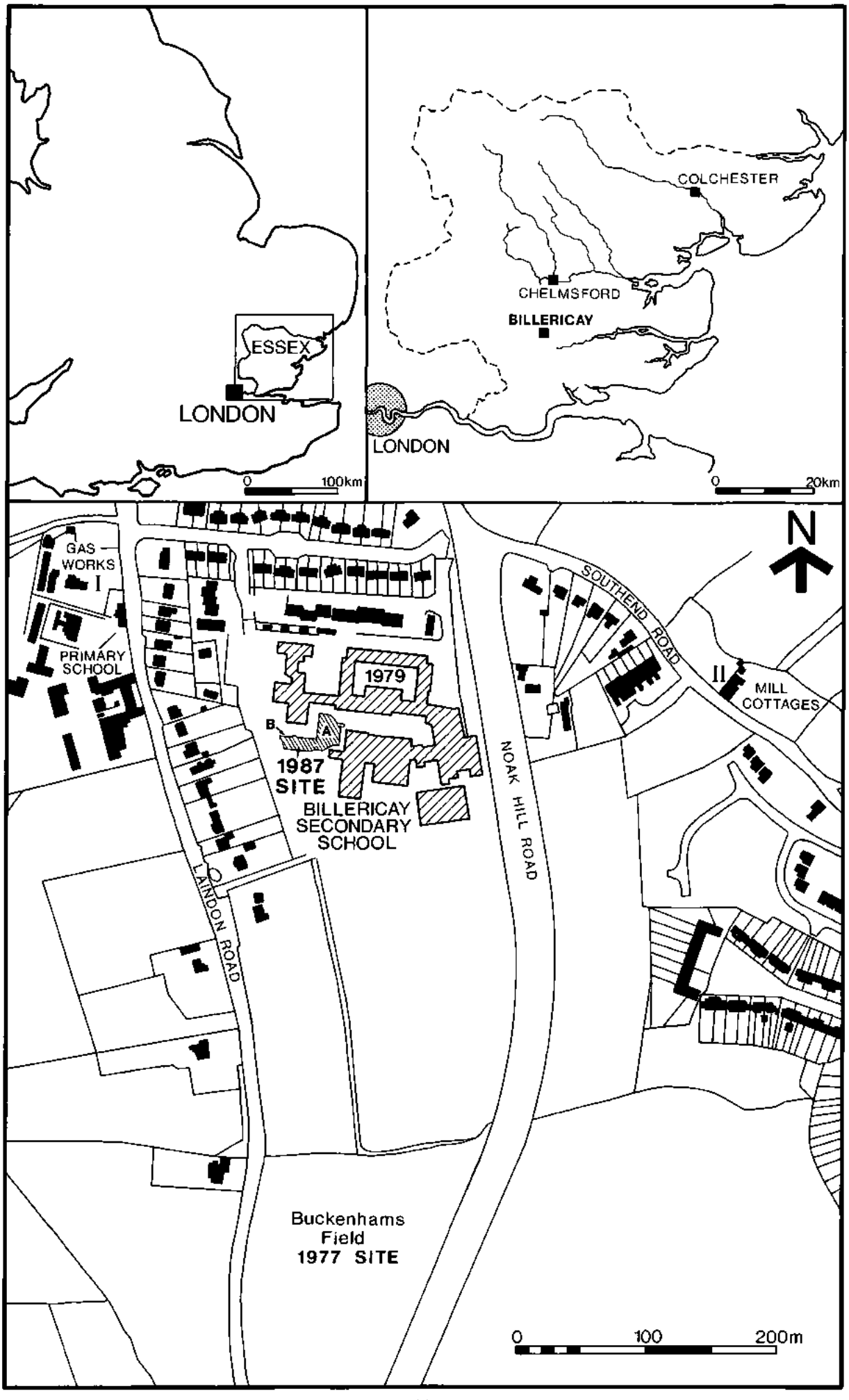

Fig. 1 Billericay Secondary School. Site location.

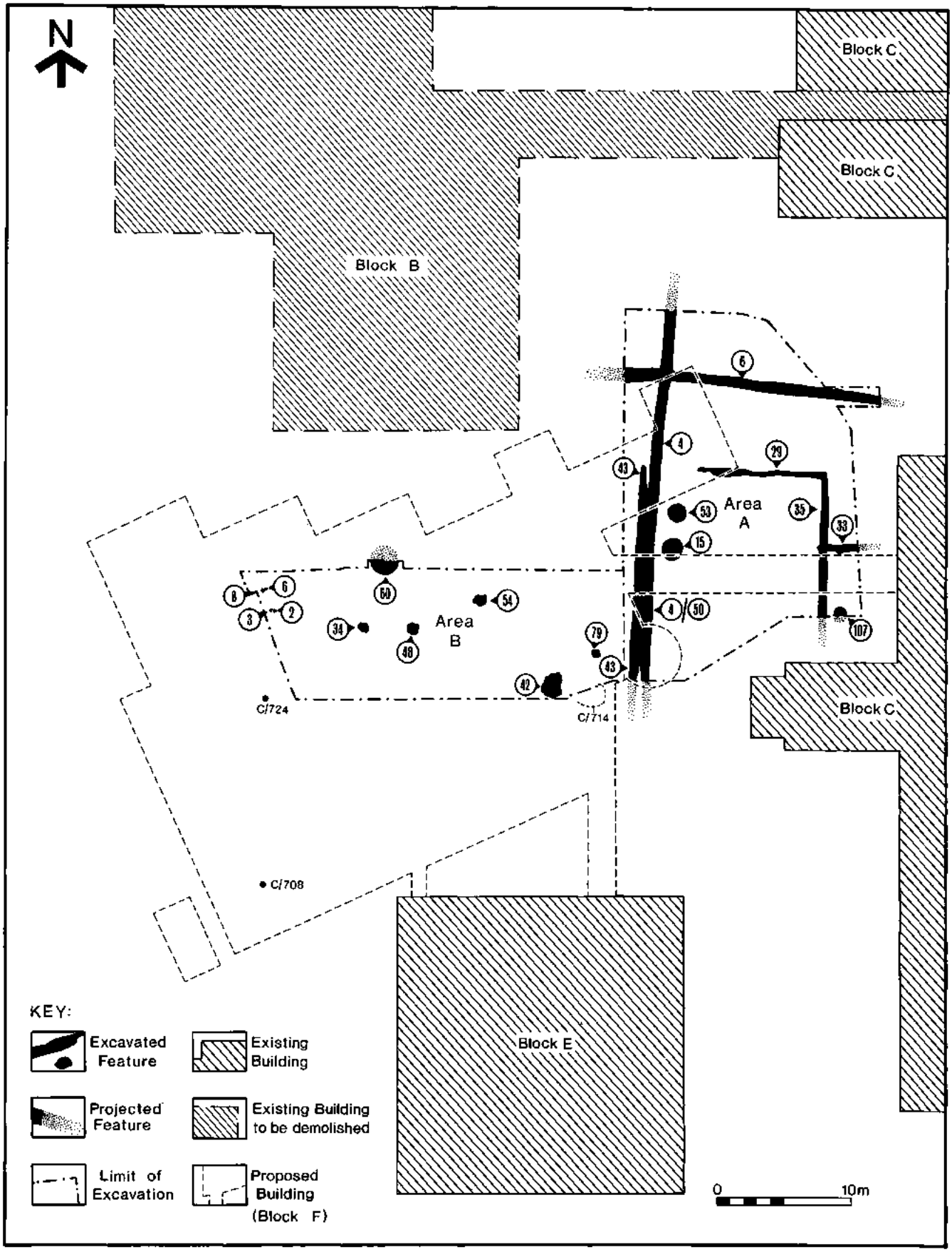

Fig. 2 Billericay Secondary School, 1987/8.
Plan to show the locations of Excavation Areas A and B and also the position of the new classroom block (F). The main archaeological features are also shown.

Trench A

a) The Ditches

Context 6 (fills 5, 12, 42, 48, 57, 113)
This badly truncated east-west ditch yielded a number of traces of burnt bones and charcoal from late Iron Age/early Romano-British cremation burials. The very fragmentary cremated remains were found in association with sherds of pottery vessels, some of which had probably functioned as containers for the burnt remains, and others as ancillary burial vessels. A number of distinct concentrations (Contexts 11, 13, 20, 40, 54, 76, 86, 112) of burnt bones, charcoal and pottery were found, and these represent cremation burials deposited at or near the bottom of the ditch. Most of the pottery finds (Pottery Catalogue Group 2) are made of grog-tempered wares, but there are also some examples of shell-tempered wares. Together these finds indicate a 1st century date, possibly pre-Conquest. Of particular interest amongst the pottery finds are examples of vessels with perforated holes and others which are decorated with burnished 'eight-spoke wheel' patterns. Other noteworthy finds from the ditch include small fragments of salt briquetage, pieces of possible triangular loomweights, and a handle from a copper-alloy nail cleaner. The latter (Context 5) is dated to the mid to late 1st century, and may thus indicate a post-Conquest date for the cremations and/or infilling of the ditch which also yielded some sherds of Romano-British pottery, including an example with Romano-Saxon decoration (Pottery Catalogue No. 22). It is assumed that all or most of these sherds are intrusive.

Context 104 (105)
Context 104 is a section of east-west ditch immediately to the west of Context 6. Although wider than Context 6, it is probably that Context 104 is a continuation of the same feature. Unfortunately the precise relationship between the two sections of ditch was removed during the cutting of Context 4. Cutting the fill of Context 104 was Context 97 (98, 99), a pit containing predominantly grog-tempered and shell-tempered pottery with just a few ?intrusive sherds of Romano-British date.

Contexts 4 (3, 118), 50 (39, 41, 46, 47, 49, 94, 115, 117) and 43 (44, 45, 51, 58, 114)
Contexts 4, 50 and 43 are all north-south orientated ditches. The earliest is Context 43, which terminates to the south of Contexts 6/104. Finds from the infilling of this feature were not plentiful or particularly useful for dating purposes. The pottery (Group 5) however is perhaps consistent with an early 3rd century date. Context 43 was replaced by Context 50, the base of which runs parallel with, and immediately to the east of, its predecessor. At a higher level Context 50 cut the eastern side of Context 43. Again dating evidence is sparse, with the pottery (Group 6) suggesting a mid-late 3rd century date. Finally Context 50 was recut as a much longer ditch: Context 4. The northwards extension of the new ditch cut the junction of Context 6/104. The fill of Context 4 contained quite large quantities of finds, especially pottery (Group 7), and also included a Barbarous Radiate coin (*c* A.D. 270-290). The evidence suggests a late 3rd century date for the infilling of the recut ditch.

Contexts 29 (28) and 35 (34)
Contexts 29 and 35 are the shallow remains of two ditches which join to form a right angle. Context 35 is orientated north-south and is parallel with Contexts 4, 50 and 43. Context 29 is aligned east-west and terminates approximately 4 metres due east of the northern terminal of Context 43. It would thus appear that Contexts 29, 35 and 43 are parts of a rectangular enclosure or field, with the gap between Contexts 29 and 43 forming an 'open' entrance (the excavations revealed no post holes from an entrance structure). Dating evidence from the fill of Context 29 is meagre, but that from Context 35 (Group 10) includes sherds of late 3rd/4th century Oxfordshire Ware pottery.

Context 33 (32)
At right angles to, and cutting into Context 35 was another shallow ditch/gulley: Context 33. The western terminal of this ditch ends at Context 35 and does not encroach further into the rectangular enclosure formed by Contexts 29, 35 and 42. Pottery finds (Group 11) indicate a late 3rd or 4th century infilling of Context 33. Context 33 cuts a ?post hole (Context 68) of uncertain date.

b) The Wells/Deep Pits

Context 15 (14, 64, 84, 89, 90, 95, 96, 102, 103, 106)
Time and safety factors prevented the complete excavation of this deep, circular pit. The size, shape and depth of this feature, however, indicate that it was dug to function as a well (note that the archaeological excavations reached the modern water table at a depth of 1.6 metres from the surviving top of the well). A distinctive thin black deposit, Context 106 (not shown in the section drawing), may have been the remains of some type of organic lining for the well. In the eastern half of the feature (and not showing in the section drawing) several very large sherds of grey ware (Pottery Catalogue No. 52) were found in an almost vertical position 'lining' the junction of Contexts 102 and 103. There is some evidence (Context 90) that there may have been an attempt to recut the well.

The dating of the construction of the well is uncertain, but finds from the upper fills give a general date range of 3rd/early 4th century. The uppermost fill (Context 14) yielded a coin of Constantine I and this, together with the pottery evidence (Group 9) suggests that the well may have been completely filled in by the early to mid 4th century. Other finds of interest from the well include part of a residual 1st century brooch (Context 14), a possible ploughshare (Context 102), and relatively large quantities of tile (Contexts 14, 64, 84, 89, 95). The majority of the identifiable tile fragments are roofing tiles (especially *imbrex* but also *tegula*), with only a few pieces of 'flat' tile and no box-flue tile.

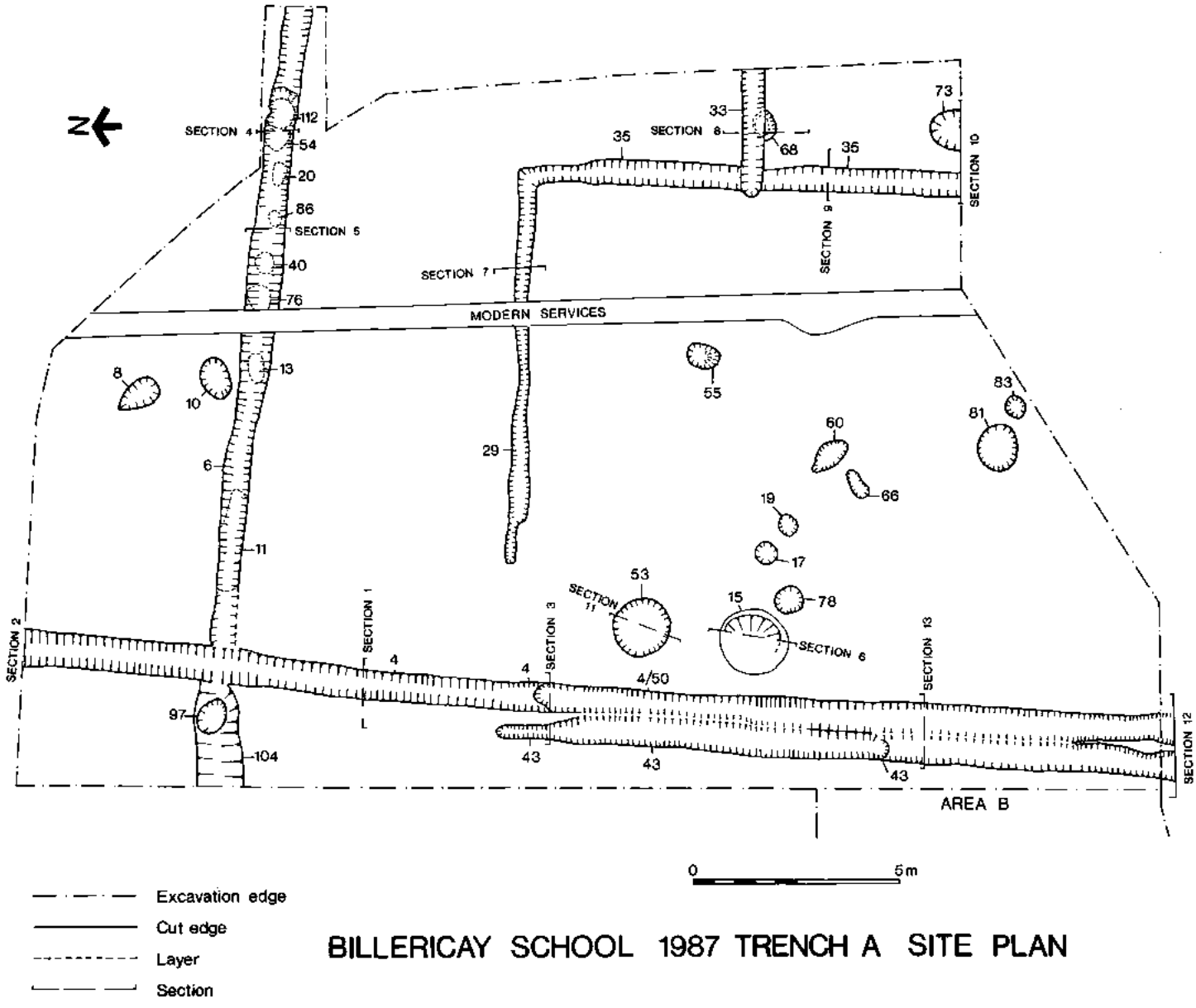

Fig. 3 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. Plan of features in Trench A.

Context 53 (52, 59, 69, 70, 88)

Context 53 was another large, deep circular pit. Although the bottom of this feature did not reach the modern water table it is possible that the Roman water table may have been higher and that the pit may thus have functioned as a well.

The main dating evidence for the infilling of this feature are sherds of pottery from a late 2nd/mid 3rd century Central Gaulish oval-bodied beaker (Catalogue No. 49). The discovery of sherds from this beaker in all of the fills of Context 53 indicates that the pit was probably filled in fairly rapidly. In contrast to the fills of Context 15, the fills of Context 53 yielded very little tile.

c) Other Pits, Depressions and Post Holes

The excavations revealed the badly truncated remains of various pits, depressions and post holes. Section drawings of the most shallow features have not been included in this report.

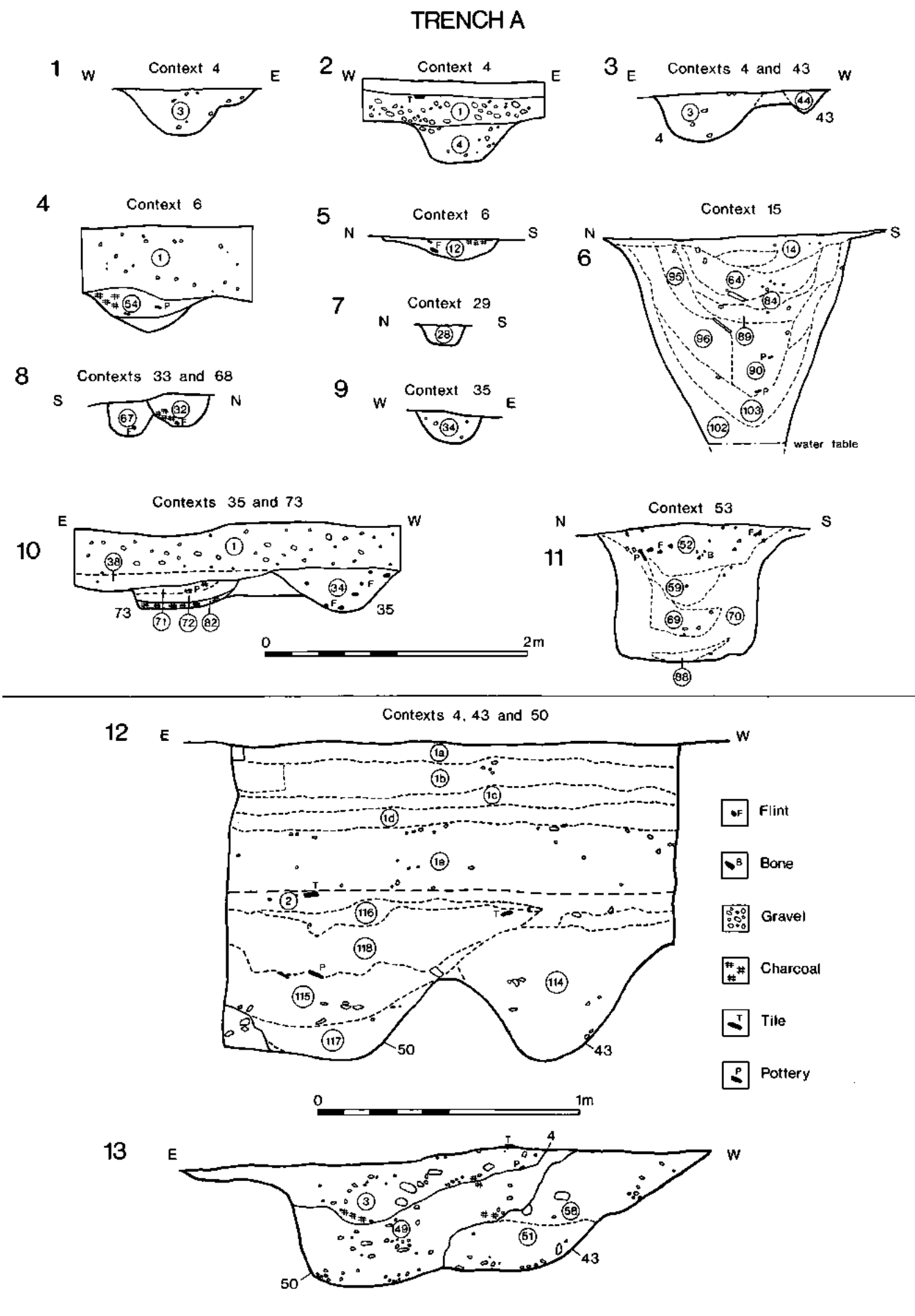

Fig. 4 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. Trench A: sections.

Context 73 (71, 72, 87)
The shallow remains of Context 73, a pit, contained three fills, the lowermost of which was rich in charcoal. The majority of the pottery finds (Group 4) are either of grog or shell-tempered wares, and indicate that the pit dates to the 1st century. The discovery of several sherds of Romanized pottery (including part of the base of a flagon) may be interpreted as either intrusive or evidence that the pit is post-Conquest.

Context 81
The shallow depression/?pit yielded two sherds (Catalogue No. 111) of Early-Middle Iron Age pottery. The few other sherds were fairly small and of Late Iron Age/Romano-British date.

Contexts 10 (9), 55 (56), 60 (61) and 66 (65)
These shallow depressions/pits all yielded sherds of Romano-British pottery. Roman tile was also recovered from Contexts 55 and 60. In the absence of more recent finds it is thus possible that these features are Roman.

Contexts 17 (37), 19 (18), 78 (77, 79) and 83 (82)
These shallow depressions may be the bottoms of post holes/small pits. The dating of these features is hampered by a scarcity of finds (only Contexts 77 and 83 yielded any pottery: one and two sherds respectively of Roman wares).

Context 8 (7)
A piece of post-Medieval tile was recovered from the bottom of this feature and this dating is supported by a pot-sherd of similar date. The fill of the pit also yielded five sherds of residual Romano-British pottery, thus demonstrating the danger of dating such features on the basis of only a few sherds.

Trench B
Note: Most of the features revealed in Trench B were extremely shallow and/or truncated. Many were modern depressions/bases of features most probably associated with the former prefabricated classrooms. These features are not shown in Fig. 5.

a) The Cremation Burials

Contexts 2 (4), 3 (5), 6 (7) and 8 (9)
Four almost complete pottery vessels (Group 1) were found in the north west corner of Trench B. Three of the vessels (Catalogue Nos. 1, 3 and 4) contained fragments of burnt human bone. In addition, Context 2 (Pot No. 1) also contained parts of 2 iron brooches which also appear to have been burnt. The other pot (Context 3 — Catalogue No. 2) yielded no finds and is thus interpreted as an ancillary cremation vessel (it may perhaps have contained organic matter which has left no visible trace). The four vessels were buried in pairs, Contexts 2 and 3 and Contexts 6 and 8. It is possible that in each case there was a main cremation vessel and also an ancillary vessel (note that only a very small quantity of bone was found in Context 8). It is also of interest that both pairs of cremation vessels include a pot which has a burnished 'eight spoke wheel' pattern on the underside of its base. Such a symbol may have had some connection with Celtic religion (see below).

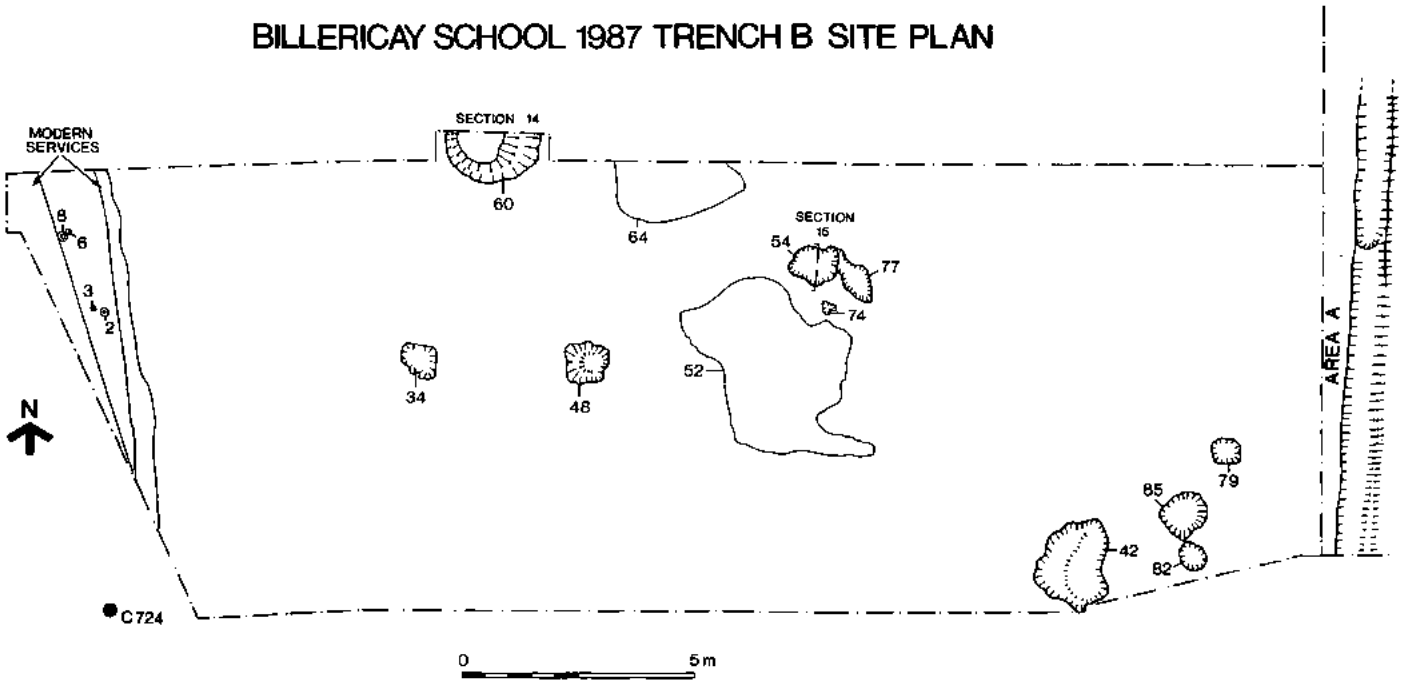

Fig. 5 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. Plan of features in Trench B.

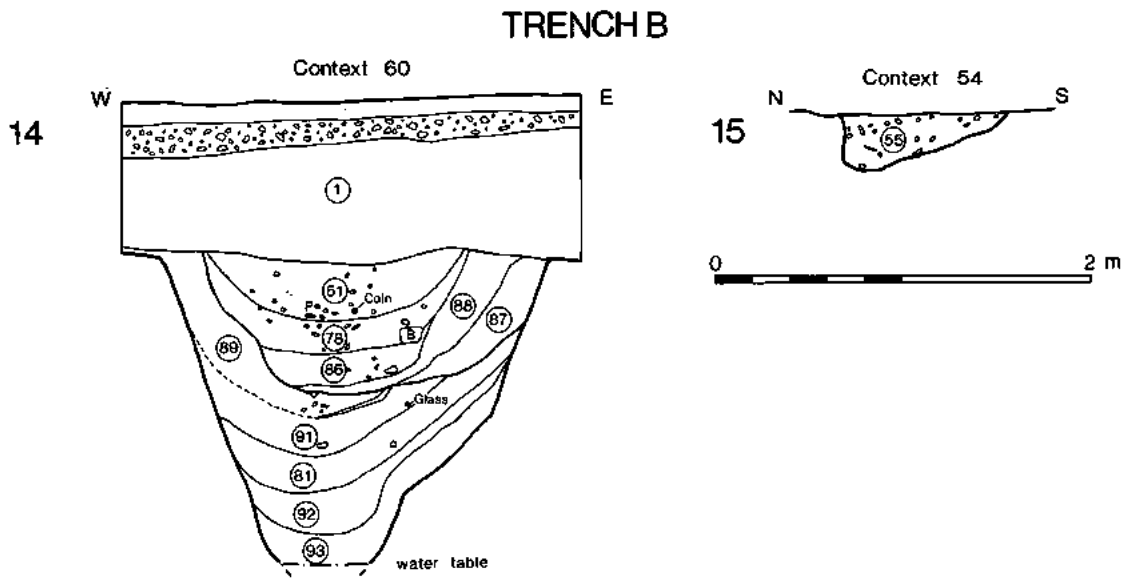

Fig. 6 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. Trench B: sections.

There were no obvious signs that the cremation vessels had been placed into pits or a ditch (as in the case of the burials in Trench A). Unfortunately the area had been disturbed by the digging of two modern service trenches (Fig. 5). Later in 1987, however, during the watching-brief (see below), traces of two parallel north-south ditches were recorded on the western edge of Trench B. The eastern ditch, which appears to have run across the north west corner of Trench B, yielded a complete but empty pedestal urn (Catalogue No. 5). This urn is likely to be another ancillary cremation vessel. It is thus possible that all five cremation vessels were deposited on, or near, the bottom of a north-south orientated ditch. During the watching brief this ditch was observed extending northwards, and it may have joined a western extension of the major east-west ditch (Context 6/104) in Trench A (a ditch which also contained cremation burials).

The four cremation vessels in Trench B, and also that found during the watching brief, have a general date range of late 1st century B.C./early 1st century A.D. All are of local fabrics and traditions and none is necessarily post-Conquest. The only associated finds are the two iron brooches from Context 2, which are dated to the 1st century A.D., but are not necessarily pre-Conquest. Although all iron brooches are a reflection of the pre-Roman Iron Age, some continued to be manufactured until about A.D. 55 (Mackreth 1973, 12). The probability is that the burials are either Late Iron Age or early post-Conquest.

As to the age/sex of the cremated individuals, the surviving evidence (see below) is unfortunately too fragmentary to allow positive identification. Only in the case of the contents of Context 6 is it possible to suggest that the remains are those of an adult, possibly male.

b) The Pits

Contexts 42 (43), 54 (55) and 77 (76)

Context 42 contained a variety of types of Romano-British rubbish including pottery, tile, animal bone, charcoal and a Colchester B Type brooch (*c* A.D. 50-70). The pottery finds (Group 12) suggest that this feature dates to the 3rd century.

Context 54 also contained pottery, tile (especially roofing tiles), charcoal, bone and a single charred grain of wheat. The pottery dating (Group 13) is again 3rd century. Context 77, which is cut by Context 54, yielded a small number of Roman potsherds.

Context 74 was a small depression/base of a pit or post hole containing the complete base of a folded beaker (Catalogue No. 115) which is dated to *c.* A.D. 180-250.

c) The Pits/Postholes

Contexts 34 (35), 48 (49), 79 (80), 82 (83) and 85 (84)

Although all of these features were very shallow, the discovery of Romano-British finds and/or the absence of modern material suggests that they may date to the Roman period. Contexts 34, 48, 79 and 85 all yielded quantities of charcoal. Contexts 34 and 48 produced fragments of burnt bone and might have been cremation pits.

d) The Well

Context 60 (61, 78, 81, 86-93)

This Roman well was only partially excavated and not bottomed (the water table was reached at a depth of 1.6 metres from the top of the feature). Although only a few finds were recovered from the lowest fills (Contexts 92 and 93), the upper layers yielded large quantities of material including pottery, tile, glass, animal bone, charcoal, metalwork and a coin of Otacilia Severa.

The pottery (Group 14) includes a number of sherds which conjoin with those from different contexts within the well, thus indicating that at least the upper part of the well was filled in fairly quickly. The latest material from the uppermost fill (Context 61) belongs to the 4th century and includes sherds with 'Romano-Saxon' type decoration and the

rim of a jar of 'Late Shell Tempered Ware' (Catalogue No. 108). As to precisely when in the 4th century the well was totally filled in is uncertain, but Late Shell Tempered Ware is not recorded at Chelmsford prior to *c.* A.D. 360/70 and, assuming that the Billericay example is not intrusive, a late 4th century date for Context 61 is thus a possibility.

Compared with the tile assemblage from the 4th-century well in Trench A, that from Context 60 includes a higher proportion of 'flat' tiles and also an example of combed box-flue tile.

The Watching Briefs

In 1979, 1987/8, and 1989 watching briefs were undertaken during soil moving/construction work in the vicinity of the 1987 excavations.

1979

During 1979 a quantity of pottery was discovered during the construction of a pond within the School Quadrangle which is located to the north east of the 1987 excavation Trench A (Fig. 1). Members of the Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society visited the site on the 7th September and recovered additional pottery sherds. It was apparent, however, that the whole area had been disturbed in recent times either by gravel digging or during the construction of the School Quadrangle (S. Weller, pers. comm.). The pottery from the pond site is 1st century in date and includes some large pieces from grog-tempered vessels (Group 3).

1987/8

(Context nos. are prefixed by C to distinguish them from those in excavated trenches A and B).

After the excavations during May-July 1987, Sam Weller and Peter Benians (members of the Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society) undertook a watching brief during the construction of the school extension (Fig. 2). The foundation trenches for the new building (Block F) revealed traces of four main features: a continuation southwards of one of the north-south ditches (Context 43) in Excavation Trench A, a substantial but shallow north-south 'double ditch' linear feature running parallel to, and west of, Context 43, and a large burnt area containing fragments of Romano-British tile and pottery (Context C/174).

The 'double ditch' feature (Contexts C/727 and C/728) was located on the western boundary of Excavation Trench B and probably cut across its north west corner, although no such feature was observed during the excavations (possibly due to disturbance in that corner caused by two modern service trenches). The eastern part (Context C/727) of the double ditch yielded an almost intact pedestal urn (Context C/724, Catalogue No. 5). Such a complete vessel is likely to have been associated with cremation burials. It is possible that the four cremation vessels found in Excavation Trench B were also located in this north-south ditch. If so, this is another example of the depositing of cremation burials on, or near, the bottom of ditches.

The various building operations yielded a number of finds: mainly Romano-British tile and pottery (Catalogue Nos. 113, 116, 123), and also a sestertius of Hadrian (Context C/708).

A more detailed record of the observations made during the watching brief, and a plan of the findspots form part of the Archive. The finds are stored with those from the excavations.

1989

During 1989 Classroom Block B (Fig. 2) was demolished and the site converted into a car park. A watching brief was undertaken during the preparation of the parking area, but this work did not affect any of the underlying archaeological deposits which are expected to exist in this area, and these should survive beneath the car park (S. Weller, pers. comm.).

The Finds

Flintwork

by Christopher Place

The flint debitage from Billericay consists of 37 pieces of humanly struck flint, and one hammerstone (Table 1). As all the flint was in residual contexts only a brief description has been attempted.

Table 1. Billericay School, 1987: Summary of Flintwork (by Christopher Place)

Context	*Blades*	*Broken Blades*	*Bladelike Flakes*	*Flakes*	*Rejuvenation Flakes*	*Scrapers*	*Utilized Flakes*	*Cores*	*Hammerstones*
A1	1	2	2	2			1	1	
A3	1	4		3	1				
A5	1	1		1					
A11			1						
A16					1				
A26	1			1			1		
A36	1								
A51						1			
B1			2	6					
B61				1					
B66									1
TOTALS	5	7	5	14	2	1	2	1	1

This collection is dominated by blades and blade-like flakes, with both the core and the rejuvenation flakes also showing evidence for blade removal. The only retouched piece is a long side scraper, with irregular retouch on both sides.

It is tempting to suggest that this flint could be placed within the Mesolithic, though as Jacobi (1980) has suggested for many other Essex assemblages, this may be a little optimistic without the support of associated microliths.

Pottery

Introduction

The 1987 excavations produced a large quantity of Late Iron Age/Romano-British pottery. Much of this material, however, came from the topsoil and from general trowelling layers, both of these sources having been disturbed in modern times. In addition, many of the sherds were fairly small and abraded. Interesting pottery groups, however, include the cremation vessels and the contents of one 1st century pit and several later Romano-British wells/large pits.

Aims and methods

This report was undertaken primarily in order to provide a date range for the excavated features, and secondly as a guide to the range of material available for more detailed study. The latter objective is important since this is the first major publication of excavated Roman pottery from Billericay.

In the case of the principal sealed/interesting groups (A/6, A/15, A/53, B/2-8 and B/60) all of the material was sorted into fabric groups and form types (jars, bowls etc.). The sherds in each fabric group were weighed and counted, and the rim sherds used to estimate vessel equivalents (eves). This data was recorded on pottery record sheets and has been archived.

Pottery from all the other features was examined and 'spot-dated'. Details of the range of fabric types and datable form types present were recorded on record sheets which have been archived. The pottery from the topsoil, general layers, and the 1987/88 watching brief was only quickly examined in order to locate sheds which are interesting with regard to the overall range of fabrics/vessel forms from the site. A selection of such sherds is described below in the catalogue.

All of the Samian Ware sherds from the excavations and watching brief were examined by Norma Davis and Catherine Johns. Norma Davis's detailed report and catalogue form part of the Archive.

Fabric Types

For details (and further references) of various fabrics and their forms the reader is referred to the work on Roman pottery at *Chelmsford* by Chris Going (1987).

1. *Flint-tempered*

The temper varies from fine to medium-coarse flint, and the colour is mainly grey, black or brown. Later Bronze Age/Early Iron Age to Mid Iron Age.

Forms: Jars.

Catalogue numbers: 109; 110.

2. *Pre-Roman Sand-Tempered*

There were only a few sherds that fell within this category and in each case there was additional tempering material, such as grog or organic matter. Colour range: grey-brown. Iron Age.

Forms: Jars.

Catalogue numbers: 29; 111; 112.

3. *Grog-Tempered*

Thompson 1982; *Chelmsford* Fabrics 53, 34 and 45.

The whole subject of 'Belgic' grog-tempered pottery in South Eastern England has been dealt with by Isobel Thompson (1982). Such fabrics in Essex are common in late pre-Roman Iron Age contexts, but die out soon after the Conquest (Going 1987, 10, Fabric 53). After the Conquest, various 'Romanizing' wares with grog temper are recorded at Chelmsford (Fabrics 34 and 45).

For details of other 'Belgic' grog-tempered vessels found at Billericay see Thompson 1982, 612-17.

Forms: Jars; bowls.

Catalogue numbers: 1-16; 21; 23-28; 38-39.

4. *?South Essex Shell-Tempered Ware*

Colchester Fabric 50

This ware is commonly found in South Essex and North Kent. 1st/early 2nd century.

Forms: jars; jars/bowls.

Catalogue numbers: 17-20; 30; 33; 78.

5. *Samian Ware* by Norma Davis (incorporating comments by Catherine Johns)

Nearly all of the Samian sherds can be assigned to Central Gaulish production during the 2nd century, especially during the Antonine period (A.D. 138-180). There are only four sherds of South Gaulish fabric and these probably belong to the Flavian period (A.D. 69-95). There were two definite and two probable sherds of East Gaulish fabric and these date to the Antonine period. The various vessel forms are listed below by source of manufacture.

i) *South Gaul*

Forms: Dr. 18; Dr. 27; Dr. 30; Dr. 37.

(ii) *Central Gaul*

Forms: Dr. 18; Dr. 18/31; Dr. 31; Dr. 31R; Dr. 27; Dr. 33; ?Dr. 36; Dr. 37 (see Cat. no. 35); Dr. 38; Dr. 45; Curle 11; Curle 15; Walters 79 or 80.

(iii) *East Gaul*

Forms: Dr. 18/31; Dr. 37.

6. *Central Gaulish Rhenish Ware*.

Greene 1978, 18; *Chelmsford* Fabric 8.

Forms: Beakers.

Catalogue number: 49.

7. *Colchester Colour-Coated Ware*

Anderson 1980, 35; *Chelmsford* Fabric 1.

Forms: Beakers.

Catalogue number: 117

8. *Nene Valley Colour-Coated Ware*

Anderson 1980, 38; *Chelmsford* Fabric 2.

Forms: Beakers.

Catalogue numbers: 32; 56; 96-97.

9. *Oxfordshire Red Colour-Coated Ware*

Young 1977, 123; *Chelmsford* Fabric 3.

Forms: Bowls; flagons.

Catalogue numbers: 69; 98-99; 119-120.

10. *Oxfordshire White-Slipped Red Ware*

Young 1977, 117; *Chelmsford* Fabric 13.

Forms: Mortaria.

Catalogue number: 67.

11. *Hadham White-Slipped Wares*

Chelmsford Fabric 14.

Forms: Jars.

Catalogue Number: 41.

12. *Miscellaneous White- or Cream-Slipped Red Wares*

Chelmsford Fabric 16.

Forms: Flagons.

Catalogue number: 31.

13. *Colchester Buff and White Wares*

Hull 1963, 107-8; *Chelmsford* Fabric 27.

Forms: Mortaria.

Catalogue number: 46.

14. *Oxfordshire White Ware*

Young 1977, 56; *Chelmsford* Fabric 25.

Forms: Mortaria.

Catalogue numbers: 68; 122.

15. *Miscellaneous Fine and Sandy White/Cream Wares*

Forms: Flagons

16. *Miscellaneous Fine Oxidized Wares*

Forms: Flagons/jugs; bowls.

Catalogue numbers: 36; 50; 50A.

17. *Miscellaneous Sandy Oxidised Wares*

Forms: Bowls; jars; flagons; beakers.

Catalogue numbers: 72; 118.

18. *'London-Essex' Stamped Wares*

Rodwell 1978, Group 2: 234-45; *Chelmsford* Fabric 19.

Forms: Bowls.

Catalogue number: 65.

19. *Black-Surfaced Wares*

Chelmsford Fabric 35.

Black-surfaced, fine-sandy fabrics were common at Billericay. These wares were probably produced over a long period at various centres, including Hadham. Some of the Billericay examples have 'Romano-Saxon' type decoration, which is associated with the Hadham kilns (Roberts 1982).
Forms: Bowls; jars; beakers.
Catalogue numbers: 22; 42; 55; 58; 64; 80; 84; 87; 92-93; 100-101; 113.

20. *Fine-Sandy Grey Wares*
Chelmsford Fabrics 39 and 47.
Forms: Platters; dishes; bowls; jars; beakers; strainers.
Catalogue numbers: 34; 37; 40; 43-44; 47; 52-53; 61; 63; 73-75; 81-83; 85-86; 90; 94; 102-107; 115-116; 125.

21. *Black-Burnished Ware (BB1)*
Farrar 1973, 86-97; *Chelmsford* Fabric 40.
Forms: Dishes; dishes/bowls.
Catalogue numbers: 48; 66; 70.

22. *Black-Burnished Ware 2 (BB2)*
Farrar 1973, 97-101; *Chelmsford* Fabric 41.
Forms: Dishes; dishes/bowls.
Catalogue numbers: 51; 57; 60; 76; 88-89; 91.

23. *Miscellaneous Mortaria*
Various sources including the Verulamium area, ?Hartshill/Mancetter and unidentified East Anglian centres.
Catalogue numbers: 54; 79; 121.

24. *Rettendon Ware*
Chelmsford Fabric 48.
Forms: Jars.
Catalogue numbers: 71; 77; 123.

25. *Storage Jar Fabrics*
Chelmsford Fabric 44.
Catalogue numbers: 62; 95; 114.

26. *Amphorae*
Sherds of amphorae were not common, and with one exception were all from South Spanish Dressel 20 type vessels. The exception was of form Dressel 2-4.
Catalogue numbers: 45; 124.

27. *Late 'Shell-Tempered' Ware*
Chelmsford Fabric 51.
Forms: Jars.
Catalogue number: 108.

28. *Medieval Sand Tempered Ware*
There was at least one example of late medieval sand tempered ware.
Form: Cooking pot.

29. *Miscellaneous Post-Medieval Wares*
There were a small number of pottery sherds representing the period from the 17th/18th century to the 20th century.
Forms: Various.

Pottery Catalogue (Figs 7-13)
Group 1: Trench B, Contexts 2; 3; 6 and 8; Watching Brief Context C/724. 1st century and possibly pre-Conquest.

1. Cremation vessel. Round cordoned jar with tall, narrow neck. Grey grog-tempered ware. Thompson (1982) Type B3-5 (later 1st century B.C./early 1st century A.D.). Partial burnishing on neck below rim and burnished lattice decoration between the two cordons.

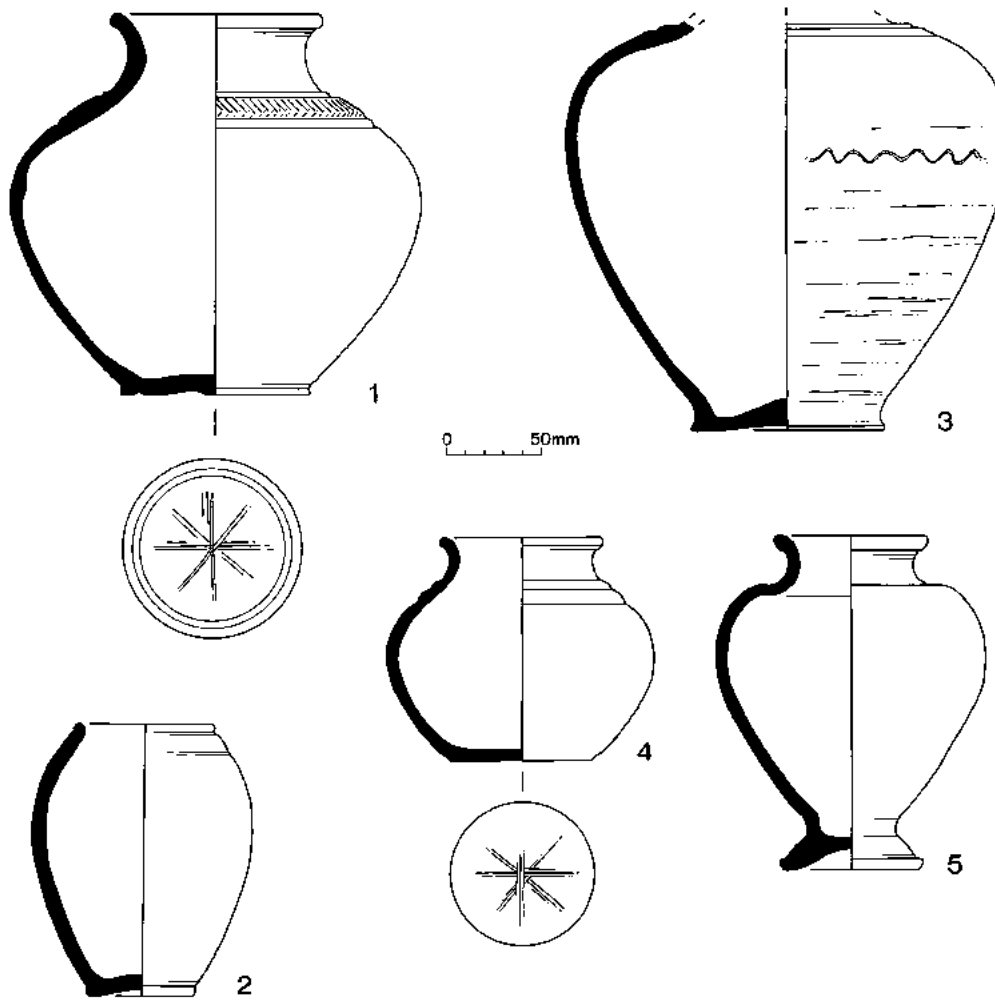

Fig. 7 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. The pottery.

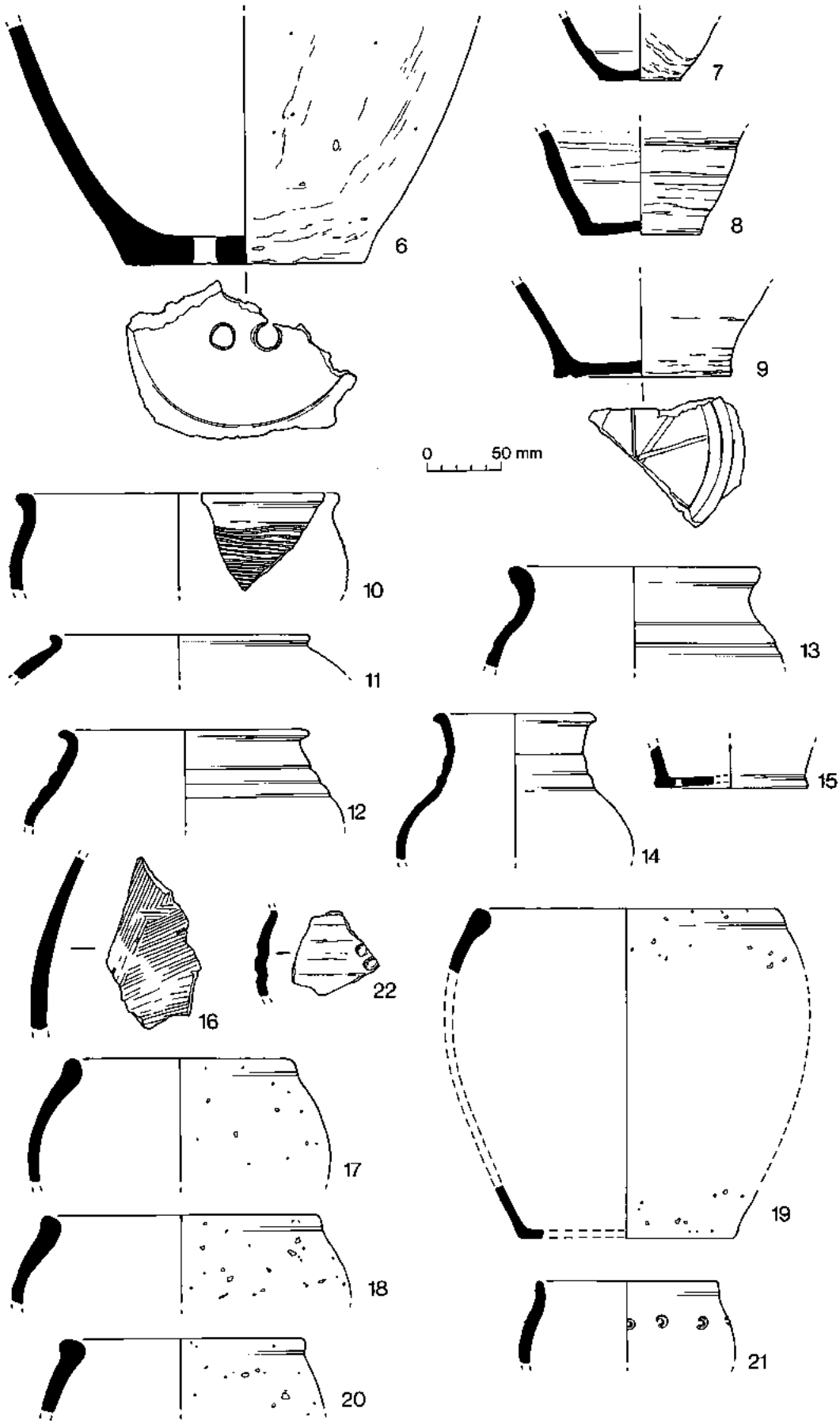

Fig. 8 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. The pottery.

Burnished 'eight-spoke wheel' pattern on the underside of the base. Ernest Black (1986, 224) has noted a number of pottery vessels from Romano-British burials which were decorated (painted or incised) with 'wheel' patterns. He suggests that such patterns were perhaps intended as a symbol of a Celtic God, probably Taranis, who was concerned with the dead. Context B/2.
N.B. The 1987 excavations at Billericay yielded two other cremation vessels with 'wheel' patterns on their bases — see below, nos. 4 and 9.

2. Ancillary burial vessel. Tall, plain barrel jar with small bead rim. Black burnished grog-tempered ware. Thompson (1982) Type B5-1. (This type overlaps the Conquest but is also found in the 1st century B.C.). Context B/3.
3. Cremation vessel. Jar with rippled shoulder (the rim is missing). Grey-brown grog tempered ware with black surfaces. Thompson (1982) Type B2-3 or 4 (1st century B.C./1st century A.D.). Lightly burnished wavy line decoration on the girth of the vessel. Context B/6.
4. Cremation vessel. Round cordoned jar with tall, narrow neck. Grey grog-tempered ware. Thompson (1982) Type B3-5 (later 1st century B.C. — early 1st century A.D.). Part of the wall of the vessel has been flattened, probably during firing. The underside of the base is decorated with a burnished 'eight-spoke wheel' pattern (see no. 1). Context B/8.
5. ?Ancillary burial vessel. Pear-shaped pedestal urn with rising 'quoit-shaped' pedestal base. Grey-buff sandy ware with only a little visible grog temper. Thompson (1982) Type A1 (1st century B.C./1st century A.D.): Context C/724. (This vessel is illustrated on the cover of this volume).

Group 2: Trench A, Context 6 (ditch). 1st century and possible pre-Conquest.

6. ?Cremation vessel. Large jar with base perforated by several (at least three) large holes which measure approximately 18 mm. in diameter. Grey-brown grog-tempered ware. The purpose of the holes in the base of this vessel is uncertain. The small number of holes and their large size is in contrast with those used for more typical grog-tempered ware strainers (*cf.* Thompson 1982, Type S1). Thompson records a number of grog-tempered vessels which have had holes drilled in the base or body after firing. At least one of these pots, from Abington Piggotts, Cambridgeshire, is recorded as having contained a burial. Context A/40.
7. ?Cremation vessel. Complete base of jar. Grey grog-tempered ware with black burnished exterior surface. Similar to the base of the ancillary burial vessel described above (no. 2). Context A/54.
8. ?Cremation vessel. Complete base of jar. Grey grog-tempered ware with grey-buff exterior surface, part of which is burnished. Context A/112.
9. ?Cremation vessel. Base (50% complete) of jar. Grey grog-tempered ware with black burnished exterior surface. The underside of the base was decorated with a burnished 'eight-spoke wheel' pattern (see no. 1). The base also has a shallow, burnished foot ring. Context A/11.
10. Rilled jar with everted rim. Grey grog-tempered ware with orange-brown margins. Thompson (1982) Type C7-1. Context A/11.
11. Jar with small, everted rim. Grey grog-tempered ware. Burnished exterior. Context A/11.
12. Jar with rippled shoulders. Grey-brown grog-tempered ware. Thompson (1982) Type B2-1. Context A/12.
13. Wide-mouthed everted rim jar with slight bulge between cordons on shoulder. Grey-brown grog-tempered ware. Burnishing on the rim and below the neck. Thompson (1982) Type B3-1. Context A/76.
14. Long-necked jar with cordon on the shoulder. Grey-brown grog-tempered ware with orange margins. Thompson (1982) Type B1-4. Context A/5.
15. Base of jar/bowl with several holes (at least two) drilled into the base after firing. Grey grog-tempered ware with orange margins. The small number of holes and their relatively large size (approximately 6 mm. in diameter) is in contrast with those used for more typical grog-tempered ware strainers (*cf.* Thompson 1982, type S1). Context A/5.
16. Body sherd from a jar with combed decoration. Orange grog-tempered ware with grey core. Context A/5.
17. Straight-sided jar/bowl. Grey shell-tempered ware with sand. *Cf.* Wilkinson (1988), Fig. 73, no. 60. Context A/5.
18. Straight-sided jar/bowl. Orange shell-tempered ware with grog. Context A/5.
19. Straight-sided jar/bowl with internally thickened rim. Grey shell-tempered ware with some grog and sand. Context A/5.
20. Straight-sided jar/bowl with externally thickened rim. Grey-brown shell-tempered ware with some sand and grog. Context A/5.
21. Small jar with shoulder, and everted rim which is burnished. Grey grog-tempered ware. The shoulder is decorated with a band of 'ring and pellet' stamps. Thompson 1982, Type C8-1 is the vessel form, but this has a band of stabbed, as opposed to stamped, decoration on the shoulder. Context A/110 (topsoil above the trench extension to follow the ditch eastwards).
22. Intrusive body sherd from a bowl with rounded profile. Black surfaced, light grey fabric with red core. Hadham Ware. The exterior surface is burnished and decorated with a groove and impressed dimples. 'Romano-Saxon' type decoration, *cf.* Roberts 1982, Classes A14-A19. Late 3rd/4th century. Context A/112.

Group 3: 1979 Watching Brief. 1st century.

23. Bowl with everted rim and bulge between two cordons on the shoulder. Grey-brown grog-tempered ware with burnished external black surface. Thompson 1982 Type D2-1. Context Square 1.
24. Bowl with everted rim, offset neck and slight cordon. Grey grog-tempered ware with burnished exterior surface. Thompson 1982, Type D1-1. Context Squares 1+ and 5.

Group 4: Trench A, Context 73 (pit). 1st century, and possibly post-Conquest.

25. Pedestal base of jar. Grey grog-tempered ware. Burnished exterior. *Cf.* Thompson 1982, Type A1. Late 1st century B.C./1st century A.D. Context A/71.
26. Rilled jar with everted rim. Grey fine grog-tempered ware with burnished rim. Thompson 1982, Type C7-1. Context A/71.
27. Body sherd from a jar with rilled decoration. Light brown grog-tempered ware. There is a band which is not rilled. *Cf.* Thompson 1982, p. 275, no. 1B. Context A/71.
28. Thick-walled body sherd from a jar with scraped decoration. Grey grog-tempered ware. *Cf.* Thompson 1982, p. 265, no. 40 (B60a). Context A/71.
29. Base of jar with vertical combed decoration. Grey-brown sand-tempered ware with some grog. See also Cat. no. 112. Context A/71.
30. Rim of straight-sided jar/bowl. Grey shell-tempered ware with sand. See Cat. no. 17. Context A/71.
31. Base of flagon. White-slipped fine red ware. Possibly a Colchester product. 1st/2nd century. Context A/71.

Group 5: Trench A, Context 43 (ditch). North-south orientated ditch cut by a parallel ditch (context A/50). Early 3rd century.

32. (Not illustrated). Body sherd from a grooved, bag-shaped beaker with rouletted decoration. Fine off-white/pink Nene Valley Ware with black colour-coat. *Cf.* Howe *et al.* 1980, Fig. 5, no. 45. Early 3rd century. Context A/51.
33. Neckless jar with ledged rim. Grey-brown shell-tempered ware with some sand and grog. *Chelmsford* Type G5.1. Pre-Flavian. Residual. Context A/44.
34. Dish/bowl with bead rim. Grey sand-tempered ware with burnished black surfaces. *Chelmsford* Type B2 or B4. 2nd/mid 3rd century. Context A/44.

Group 6: Trench A, Context 50 (ditch). Mid-late 3rd century.

35. Bowl. Central Gaulish Samian Ware. Form 37. Three joining sherds from different contexts: A/47; A/1 and A/89. The moulded decoration is of a 'freestyle hunting scene with ovolo border. The design shows the tail and hind quarters of a feline, the fore part of a small deer and the head of a (?) bear. Part of a figure with a raised right arm is also shown, together with a small and large twist. The ovolo is double-bordered with a thin, straight tongue ending in a swollen tip with a central hole. A beaded row is present beneath the ovolo. This design can be compared with the style of PATERNVS of Lezoux who was operative *c* A.D. 145-190.' (Comments by Norma Davis). Context A/47.
36. Base of a flagon/jug with wide foot-ring. Fine orange ware. 1st/2nd century. Context A/39.
37. Body sherd from a folded beaker with at least two vertical and one horizontal grooves between circular folds. Grey sand-tempered ware with darker exterior surface. *Cf.* Mucking (Jones and Rodwell 1973, Fig. 10, no. 100) Type Q; *Chelmsford* Type H39. After A.D. 250. Context A/41.

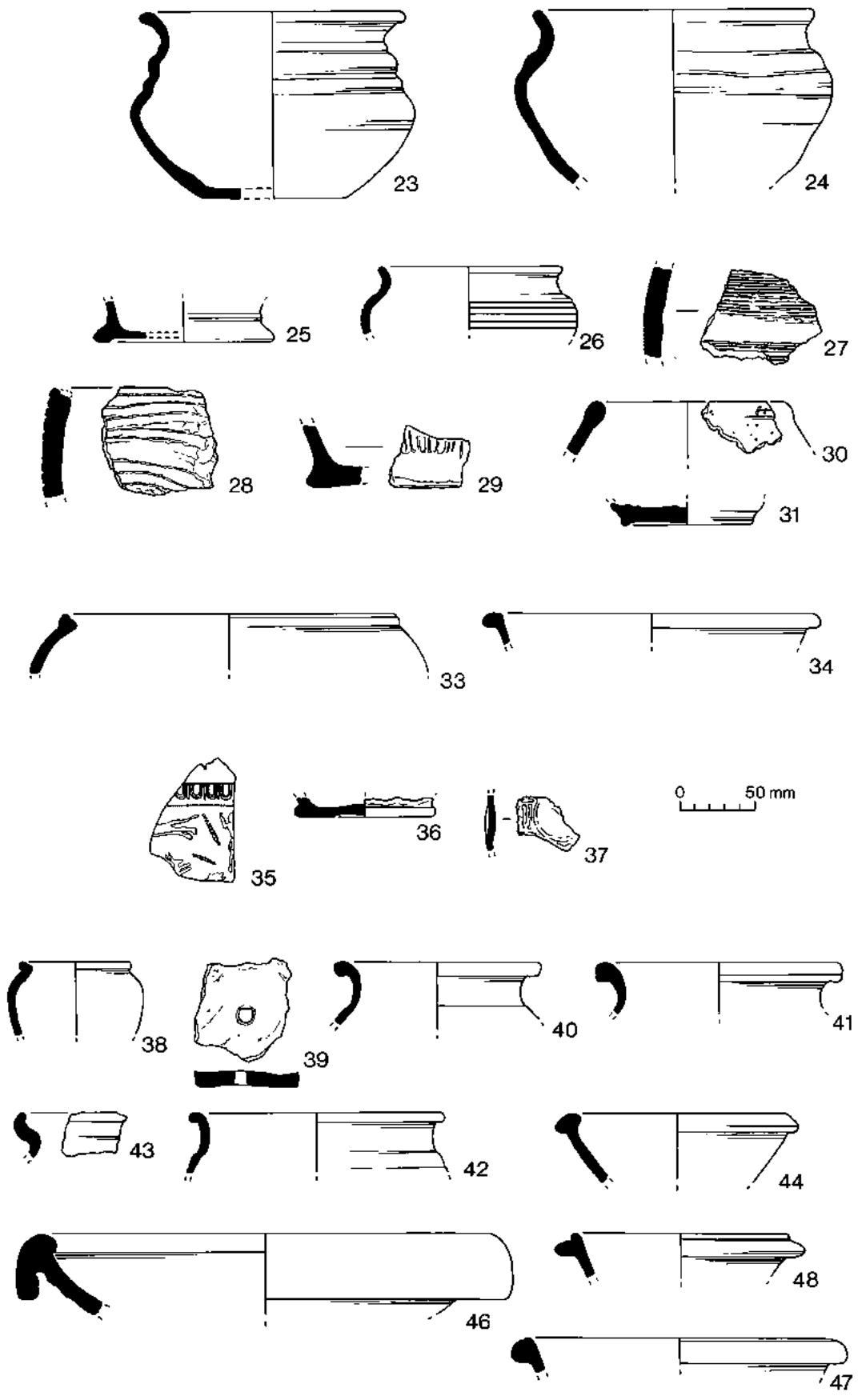

Fig. 9 Billericay Secondary School, 1987.The pottery.

Group 7: Trench A, Context 4 (recut of Context A/50). Late 3rd century. Other dating evidence for the infilling (Context A/3) of this ditch includes a Barbarous Radiate coin of *c.* A.D. 270-290 (Cat. no. 3).

38. Small round-shouldered jar with bead rim. Grey/orange-brown fine grog-tempered ware. *Cf.* Thompson (1982) Type C1-2. 1st century. Residual.
39. Base of jar with hole drilled through its centre after firing. Fine 'Romanized' grog-tempered ware with grey external surface above an orange margin, grey core and orange internal surface.
40. Necked jar with everted rim. Grey sand-tempered ware with relatively coarse quartz grains. *Cf. Chelmsford* Types G23 and G24.
41. Necked jar with groove on the exterior of the rim. White-slipped sand-tempered orange ware. ?Hadham Ware. 2nd/3rd century.
42. Necked jar with cordon below the neck. Black surfaced grey ware with orange margins and grey core.
43. Bowl/jar with cupped-rim. Grey sand-tempered ware. Mucking (Jones and Rodwell 1973) Type G; *Chelmsford* Type E2. Late 2nd to 4th century.

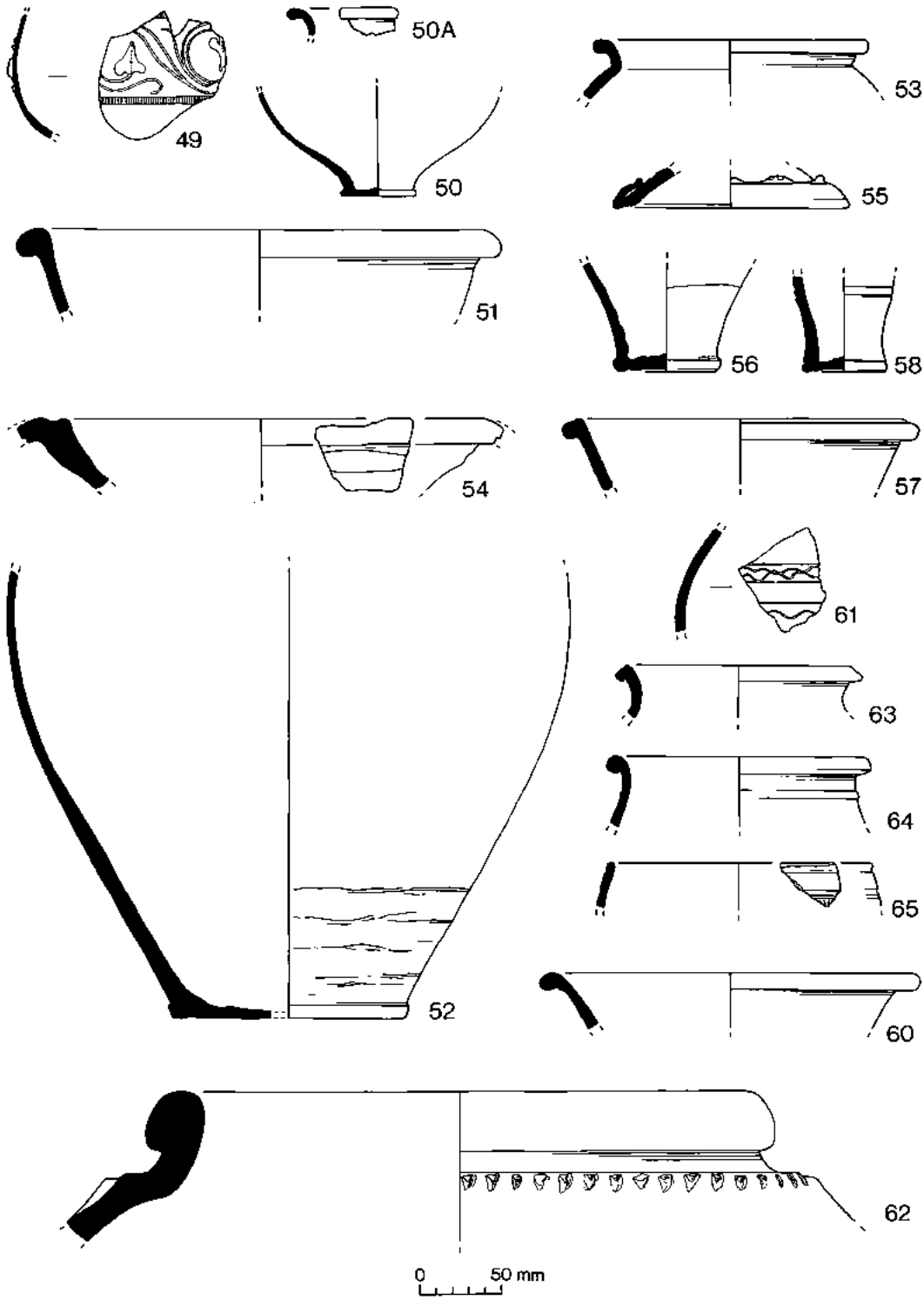

Fig. 10 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. The pottery.

44. Bowl with a flattened bead rim projecting internally and externally. Grey sand-tempered ware. *Cf. Chelmsford* Type C31.
45. (Not illustrated). Large body sherd from a Dressel 20 olive oil amphora from Southern Spain. Buff sand-tempered ware. 1st-3rd century (Peacock and Williams 1986, Class 25).
46. Hammerhead mortarium with a slight internal beading. Colchester White Ware. *Chelmsford* Type D11.1/1. *C.* A.D. 160-220.
47. Dish with incipient flange rim. Grey sand-tempered ware with burnished surfaces. *Chelmsford* Type B5. *C.* A.D. 230-300.
48. Flanged dish/bowl. Grey sand-tempered ware with black burnished surfaces. BB1. *Cf. Chelmsford* Type B6.3. *C.* A.D. 260-400+.

Group 8: Trench A, Context 53 (pit/well). This feature yielded a relatively small quantity of pottery, most of which consists of very small abraded sherds. Parts of two vessels, however, were found in several fills of the feature and provide the main dating evidence: late 2nd-mid 3rd century.

49. Oval-bodied beaker with small bead rim. Fine orange fabric with a glossy black colour-coat; Central Gaulish 'Rhenish' Ware. *En barbotine* scroll and leaf decoration. Late 2nd-mid 3rd century. Contexts: A/52; A/59; A/69; A/70 and A/88.
50. Complete base from a flagon. Fine micaceous orange ware with burnished exterior surface. Context A/70 (with other sherds from Contexts A/52 and A/69).

50A. Bowl with out-turned rim. Fine micaceous orange ware with burnished exterior surface. The same fabric as for Cat. no. 50. Context A/70 (N.B. another piece of the same rim was recovered from Context A/3).

51. Deep bead-rimmed pie-dish. Fine sand-tempered grey ware with light brown margins and burnished grey-black surfaces. BB2. Mucking Type B (Jones and Rodwell 1973). *Cf. Chelmsford* Type B4.2. *C.* A.D. 180/90-250. Context A/52.

Group 9: Trench A, Context 15 (well). The main dating evidence for the final infilling of this feature is a coin of Constantine I (Cat. no. 4) from Context A/14. This coin is likely to have been lost by *c.* A.D. 330.

52. (Not illustrated). Large jar (four very large sherds and several small pieces were found). Grey sand-tempered ware. For approximately 6 cm. above the base on the exterior, the surface has been roughly smoothed. Junction of Contexts A/102 and A/103.
53. Necked jar. Grey sand-tempered ware with orange margins and grey core. Context A/103.
54. Mortarium with outcurving rim and internal bead level with the rim. Off-white sand-tempered ware with flint trituration grits. An East Anglian origin. *Cf. Chelmsford* Type D1.4. *C.* A.D. 160-200. Context A/103.
55. Frilled pedestal base of a large jar. Black-surfaced orange sand-tempered ware. Similar bases but in fine grey fabric were made at the Mucking kilns (Jones and Rodwell 1973; Fig. 9, Type N, nos. 75 and 76 — mid 3rd to mid 4th century). See also Colchester (Hull 1963) Form 207). Context A/96.
56. Complete base of a folded beaker. Fine pale orange fabric with black colour-coat. Nene Valley Ware. On the exterior the colour-coat changes from a dark to a lighter colour at approximately 4.5 cm. above the base. *Cf.* Howe *et al.* (1980) Fig. 4, No. 43. Mid-late 3rd century. Context A/95.
57. Dish with rounded flange. Grey sand-tempered fabric with dull orange margins and grey core. Burnished surfaces. BB2. Monaghan (1987) Class 5A4. *C.* A. D. 200-350. Context A/90.
58. Base of tall, narrow-based poppyhead beaker. Black surfaced grey sand-tempered ware with buff margins. Burnished exterior. *Cf.* Monaghan (1987) Class 2A6. *C.* A.D. 190-230. Contexts A/89 and A/96 (joining sherds).
59. (Illust. as Cat. no. 35). Bowl. Central Gaulish Samian Ware. Form 37. *C.* A.D. 145-190. Joins with sherd from Context A/1. Context A/89.
60. Dish with rounded bead rim. Grey sand-tempered ware with burnished black surfaces. BB2. *Chelmsford* Type B2.1. *C.* A.D. 150-250. Context A/89.
61. Body sherd from a jar. Grey sand-tempered ware with traces of an external white slip. Incised wavy line decoration. Context A/89.
62. High-shouldered storage jar with undercut rim and a line of oblique stabbing on the shoulder. Grey with some sand and grog temper. *Chelmsford* Type G44. A type which spans the period 1st to early 4th centuries. Context A/89.
63. Jar with undercut rim. Grey sand-tempered ware with burnished exterior surface. Context A/64.
64. Necked jar with a narrow cordon. Black surfaced fine grey ware with dull red margins and grey core. Context A/14.
65. Bowl with convex-sided walls (loosely based on Samian Form 30), bead rim and stamped decoration below two grooves. Fine micaceous grey-brown fabric with a dull red core and burnished exterior surface. 'London-Essex' Ware. Rodwell (1978) Group 2. *Cf. Chelmsford* Type C12. Late 1st-early 2nd century. Residual. Context A/14.

Group 10: Trench A, Context 35 (ditch). Late 3rd-4th century.

66. Dish with slightly flaring side walls. Grey-brown sand-tempered ware with black burnished surfaces. BB1. *Chelmsford* Type B3.2. 3rd-4th century. Context A/34.
67. Base of a mortarium. White colour-coated sand-tempered orange fabric with grey core and quartz trituration grits. Oxfordshire White Colour-Coated Ware. Probably Young (1977) Type WC7. *C.* A.D. 240-400+. Context A/34.
68. (Not illustrated). A base (diameter 100 mm.) and a body sherd from a mortarium. Oxfordshire White Ware with quartz trituration grits. *C.* A.D. 240-400+. Context A/34.
69. (Not illustrated). Flange from a bowl copying Samian Form Dr. 38. Oxfordshire Red Colour-Coated Ware. Context A/34.

Group 11: Trench A, Context 33 (ditch). This feature yielded little datable pottery, and the dating of its infill thus remains uncertain. ?Late 3rd/4th century.

70. Deep bead-rimmed dish-bowl with burnished lattice decoration. Grey sand-tempered ware with black burnished surfaces. BB1. *Cf. Chelmsford* B4.2/1. *C.* A.D. 140-mid/late 3rd century. Context A/32.
71. Jar with out-turned rim. Grey sand and abundant flint-tempered fabric. Rettendon Ware. *Cf. Chelmsford* Type G24.1. At Chelmsford Rettendon Ware *first* occurs in 'contexts dated to the final decades of the 3rd century'. Context A/32.

Group 12: Trench B, Context 42 (pit). 3rd century.

72. (Not illustrated). Flagon with a flange-neck. Orange sand-tempered ware. 3rd century. Context B/43.
73. Dish with incipient flanged-rim. Grey sand-tempered ware with overall burnishing. *Chelmsford* Type B5.1/1. *C.* A.D. 230-280. Context B/43.
74. Neckless jar with ledged rim. Grey sand-tempered ware with burnished exterior surface. Large quantities of sand-tempered ledged-rim jars were recovered from the Buckenhams Field (Billericay) kiln excavated in 1977. Mucking (Jones and Rodwell 1973) Type F; *Chelmsford* Type G5.4. 2nd-mid 3rd century. Context B/43.

Group 13: Trench B, Context 54 (pit). 3rd century.

75. Large neckless jar with ledged rim and cordon decorated by stabbing. Grey sand-tempered ware with burnished rim and exterior (except for the cordon). The vessel size and the stabbed cordon, but not the rim form, compare with an example from Mucking (Jones and Rodwell 1973; Fig. 5, no. 30). Early-mid 3rd century. Context B/55.
76. Dish/bowl with bead-rim. Grey sand-tempered ware with black burnished surfaces. BB2. *Cf. Chelmsford* Types B2.3 or B4.2. *C.* A.D. 125-250. Context B/55.
77. Jar with slightly undercut bead-rim. Grey sand-tempered fabric with occasional flint inclusions. Rettendon Ware. *Chelmsford* Type G24.2. 2nd-4th century. Context B/55.

Group 14: Trench B, Context 60 (well). 4th century. In addition to the pottery described below, the other main piece of dating evidence for the infilling of this feature is a coin of Otacilia Severa (Cat. no. 2).

78. Jar/Bowl with bead-rim. Orange shell-tempered ware with grey core. 1st/early 2nd century. Residual. Context B/81.
79. (Not illustrated). Mortarium with hammerhead rim (broken). Off-white sand-tempered ware. Possibly from Hartshill or Mancetter. 3rd century. Context B/81.
80. Dish with straight sides, bead-rim and chamfered base. The rim is delineated by a groove. Black surfaced fine grey ware with buff margins and overall burnishing. *Chelmsford* Type B3.2. 3rd-4th century. Contexts B/81 and B/91 (joining sherds).
81. Neckless jar with a ledged rim. Grey sand-tempered ware with buff surfaces. See no. 74. 2nd-mid 3rd century. Contexts B/81 and B/89 (joining sherds).
82. Neckless jar with a ledged rim. Grey sand-tempered ware. Context B/81.

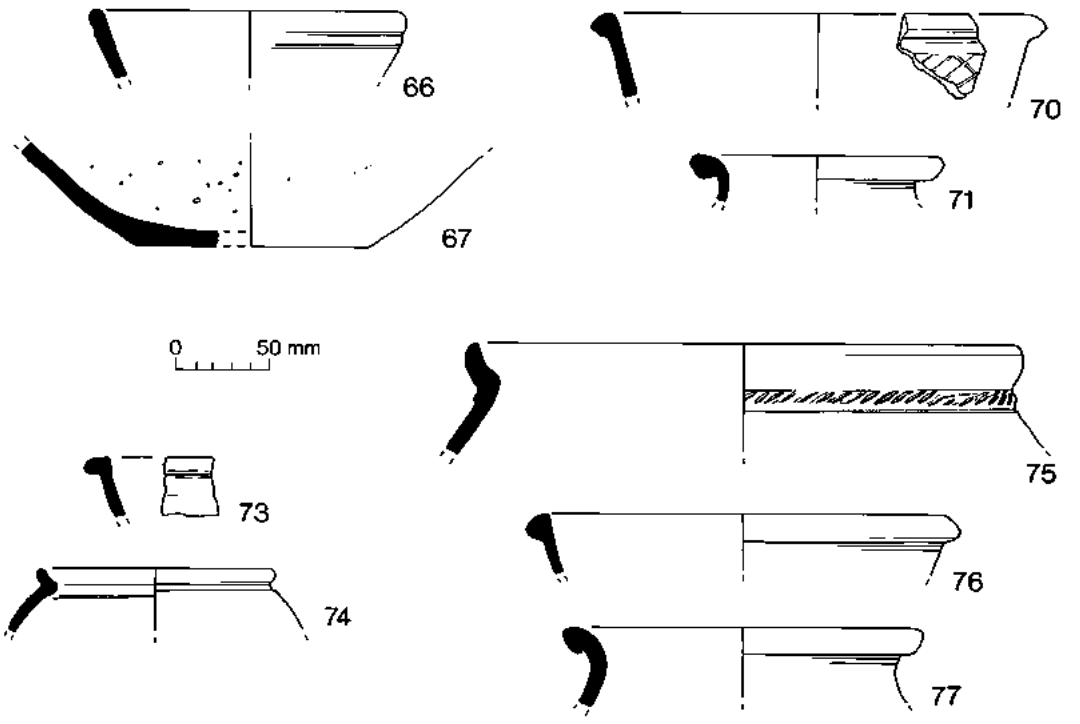

Fig. 11 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. The pottery.

83. Jar with a recurved profile, a hooked rim and a narrow pointed cordon. Grey sand-tempered ware. *Chelmsford* Type G19.5. Late 1st/early 2nd century. Context B/81.
84. Globular 'poppyhead' beaker with a narrow neck cordon and a flaring rim. Black surfaced grey sand-tempered ware. Burnished exterior. *Chelmsford* Type H6. 2nd century. Context B/81.
85. Neckless jar with a ledged rim which has a well defined groove. Grey sand-tempered ware with orange margins and grey core. Context B/91.
86. Shallow dish with bead-rim and chamfered base. Grey-buff sand-tempered ware with burnished surfaces. *Chelmsford* Type B2.3. *C.* A.D. 125-late 2nd century. Context B/90.
87. Neckless jar with a ledged rim. Black surfaced grey sand-tempered ware with dull red core. Contexts B/89 and B/61.
88. Shallow dish with bead-rim and chamfered base. Grey sand-tempered ware with black burnished surfaces. BB2. Mucking (Jones and Rodwell 1973, Fig. 4, no. 10). Type B; *Chelmsford* Type B2.1/1. Mid 2nd-mid 3rd century. Contexts B/89 and B/81 (joining sherds).
89. Deep dish/bowl with bead-rim and burnished decoration. Burnished grey-black sand-tempered ware with thin lighter margins. BB2. *Cf. Chelmsford* Type B4.2/2. 3rd century. Context B/89.
90. Neckless jar with a ledged rim which has a well defined groove on the top and also a simple concavity on the inner edge. Grey sand-tempered ware with orange margins. Context B/86.
91. Shallow dish with slightly flaring sides. Black surfaced sand-tempered ware with orange-brown core. Burnished overall. BB2. *Chelmsford* Type B1.3. Context B/78.
92. Jar with an out-turned rim and a cordon below the neck. Black surfaced fine grey ware with dull red core. The exterior surface is partially burnished (the rim, the base and for 3.5 cm. above the base). Context B/78.
93. Frilled pedestal base of a large jar. Black surfaced sand-tempered grey ware with dull red margins and grey core. *Cf.* Cat. no. 55. Mid 3rd-mid 4th century. Context B/78.
94. Frilled pedestal base of a large jar. Grey sand-tempered ware with orange-buff exterior surface. Traces of ?white slip on the exterior. Context B/78.
95. Base of large storage jar. Hard grey ware. Context B/78.
96. Body sherd from a folded 'scale' beaker. Light greyish-brown fabric, orange core and black colour-coat. Nene Valley Ware. Under-slip applied scale decoration. *Cf* Howe *et al.* (1980) Fig. 4, nos. 38-39. *Chelmsford* Type H32.1. 3rd century. Context B/61.
97. Pentice-moulded beaker with rouletted decoration. Off-white fabric with an external black/internal dark brown colour-coat. Nene Valley Ware. *Cf.* Howe *et al.* (1980) Fig. 5, nos. 55-56. 4th century. Context B/61.
98. Part of the handle of a flagon. Fine orange fabric with red colour-coat. Oxfordshire Ware. *Cf.* Young (1977) Type C8. A.D. 240-400+. Context B/61.
99. Shallow bowl, copying Samian Form 36. Fine orange fabric with red colour-coat. Oxfordshire Ware. Young (1977) Type C47. A.D. 270-400+. Context B/61.
100. Beaker with tall, tapering neck (missing), bulbous body and restricted pedestal base. The decoration comprises 'faceted' oval folds. Black surfaced fine fabric with dull red margins and grey core. Burnished exterior surface. Possibly Hadham Ware. *Cf. Chelmsford* Type H39 1.1. 4th century. The surviving sherds from this vessel have two examples of *grafitti* which were incised on the pot after firing. The first example is on the exterior of the base and consists of a simple 'X'. See also Cat. no. 102. *Cf. Chelmsford* Fig. 49, nos. 11-12. The second example is an inverted 'A' on the body of the vessel. Context B/61.
101. Body sherds from a bowl/jar with deeply grooved 'Romano-Saxon' type decoration. Black surfaced fine fabric with dull red margins and grey core. Burnished exterior surface. Probably Hadham Ware. 4th century. Context B/61.
N.B. Another example from Billericay of deeply grooved 'Romano-Saxon' type decoration is that on a cremation vessel of fine grey fabric which was found during a watching brief of the Noak Hill roadworks in 1973 (Weller *et al.* 1975). The Noak Hill example is also decorated with bosses and 'dimples' (see Cat. no. 22).
102. Base from a folded beaker. Grey sand-tempered ware with orange margins and grey core. A simple 'X' was incised on the base after firing. (*Cf.* Cat. no. 100). Context B/61.
103. Flanged dish/bowl. Grey sand-tempered ware with orange-buff core. Burnished surfaces. Mucking (Jones and Rodwell 1973, Fig. 4, no. 19) Type D; *Chelmsford* Type B6.2. Later 3rd/4th century. Context B/61.
104. Cupped-rim bowl/jar. Grey sand-tempered ware with light brown margins. Mucking (Jones and Rodwell 1973) Types G and H. Post A.D. 200. Context B/61.

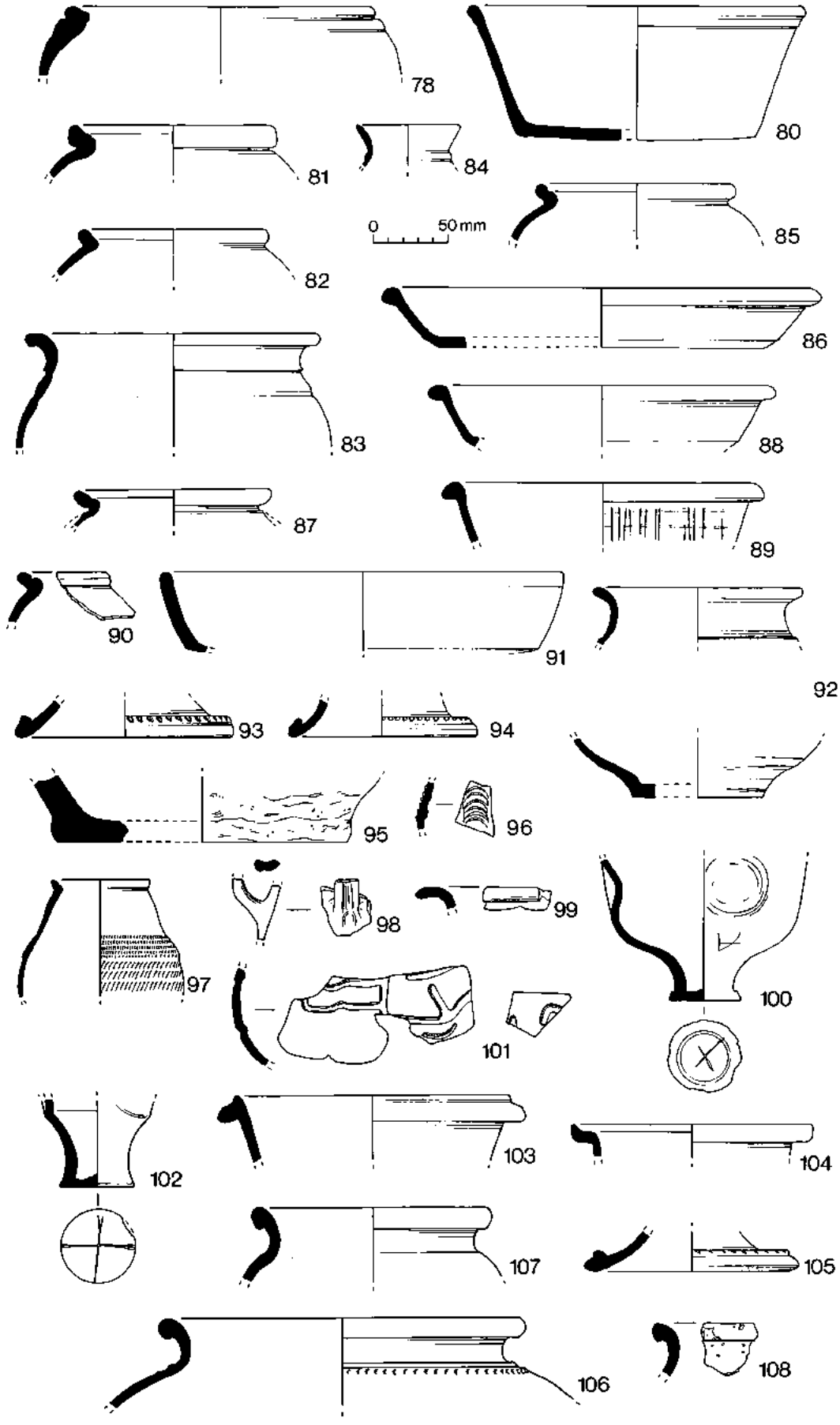

Fig. 12 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. The pottery.

105. Frilled pedestal base of a large jar. Grey sand-tempered ware with orange margins. Context B/61.
106. Storage jar with undercut rim, a cordon, and a zone of impressed decoration. Grey sand-tempered ware. *Cf. Chelmsford* Type G45. *C.* 2nd-3rd century. Context B/61.
107. Necked high-shouldered jar with undercut rim. Grey sand-tempered ware. Context B/61.
108. Necked jar with an out-turned, squared off rim. Orange shell-tempered ware with inclusions of fossil shell (i.e. 'Late Shell Tempered Ware'). *Chelmsford* Type G27.2. *C.* A.D. 360/70-400+ (the form is dated at Chelmsford by the first occurrence of the fabric *c.* A.D. 360/370). Context B/61.

Group 15: Miscellaneous Contexts.

109. Body sherd from a jar with a line of diagonal fingernail impressions on the shoulder. Grey-brown fine flint-tempered ware. See Hamilton *in* Wilkinson (1988, 78 and Fig. 68, Baker Street, No. 1). Early Iron Age. Context A/27.
110. Rim of jar/bowl. The sides of the rim have been pinched together and the top is decorated with finger-impressions. Black fine-medium flint-tempered ware. *Cf.* Wilkinson (1988) Fig. 71, no. 3. Middle Iron Age. Context A/62.
111. Jar with incurving rim and finger-impressions on the shoulder. Burnishing on the rim and the exterior surface. Grey-brown sand-and organic-tempered ware. *Cf.* Hamilton *in* Wilkinson (1988, Fig. 68, Rectory Road nos. 2 and 3). Early-Middle Iron Age. Context A/80.
112. Round-shouldered jar with bead-rim and combed decoration. Grey-brown sand-tempered ware with a little grog. Possibly from the same vessel as Cat. no. 29. Thompson (1982) Type C4; Monaghan (1987) Type 3G1. *C.* A.D. 40/50-100/110. Context A/16.
113. Platter or shallow dish with moulded footring. Black surfaced fine sand-tempered ware with dull red margin below the inner surface. Non micaceous. A local copy of a Gallo-Belgic product. The centre of the inner surface bears an unintelligible maker's stamp: a rectangle containing a pellet at each end, with 7 'I's between. An exact parallel for this stamp is not known, but compare with *Camulodunum* (Hawkes and Hull 1947) Plate XLVIII, no. 252. *C.* A.D. 80-120. Context C/759.
114. High-shouldered storage jar with everted rim and a line of stabbed decoration on the shoulder. Grey sand- and grog-tempered ware. *Chelmsford* Type G44.4. 1st-early 4th century. Context A/9.
115. Complete base of a folded beaker. Grey fine sand-tempered ware with orange core. *Cf. Chelmsford* Type H32. 3rd century. Context B/75.
116. Carinated platter with internal ridge and a shallow groove on the exterior of the base which represents a devolved footring. Grey sand-tempered ware. Monaghan (1987) Class 7B2. *C.* A.D. 40/50-70. Context C/759.
117. Bag-shaped beaker with cornice rim and roughcast decoration. Fine orange ware with brown colour-coat. Colchester Colour-Coated Ware. *Chelmsford* Type H20.2. *C.* A.D. 130-170. Context A/1.
118. Body sherd from a bowl with a raised band which is decorated with circular impressions. The sherd also bears another, larger, circular stamp mark. 'Romano-Saxon' type decoration. Orange sand-tempered ware. 4th century. Context B/1.
119. (Not illustrated). Rim and body sherd from a necked bowl with out-turned rim. Rouletted decoration on the neck and at the base of the wall. Fine orange fabric with red colour-coat. Oxfordshire Red Colour-Coated Ware. Young (1977) Type C75. *C.* A.D. 325-400+. Context B/1.
120. Body sherd from a bowl with a double cordon. Impressed decoration. Fine orange fabric with red colour-coat. Oxfordshire Red Colour-

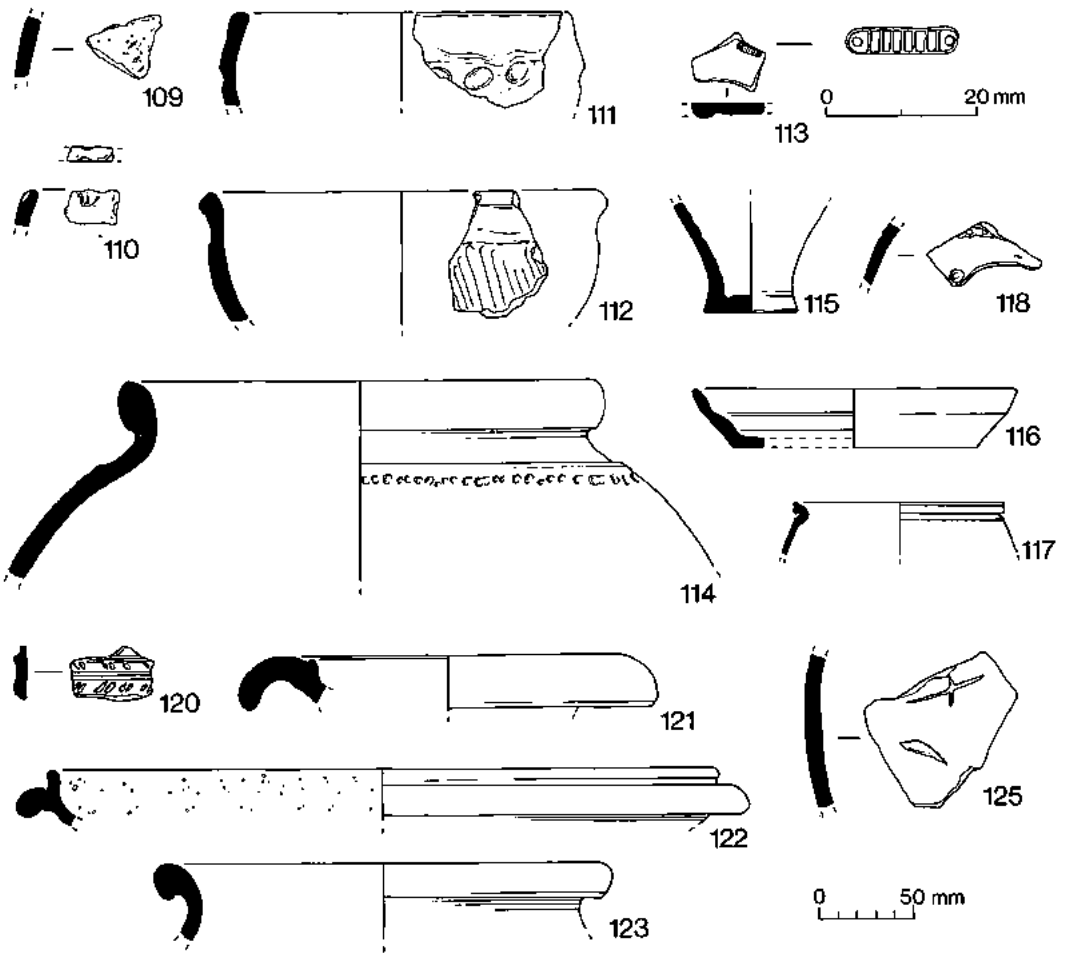

Fig. 13 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. The pottery.

Coated Ware. Young (1977) Type C84. *C.* A.D. 350-400+. Context B/1.

121. Mortarium with out-curving, rounded rim with an internal bead. Buff sand-tempered fabric with one flint trituration grit. Possibly a product from the Verulamium region. *Chelmsford* Type D1.1. Trajanic-Hadrianic Context A/61.
122. Mortarium with upstanding rim and squat flange folded close to body. White sand-tempered fabric with quartz trituration grits. Oxfordshire White Ware. Young (1977) Type M22. *C.* A.D. 240-400+. Context B/1.
123. Large jar. Grey sand- and moderate flint-tempered fabric. Rettendon Ware. *Chelmsford* Type G24. *C.* 2nd-4th century. Context C/810.
124. (Not illustrated). Part of the neck of a Dressel 2-4 wine amphora, in all probability from Italy (identification by David Williams). This form has a wide date-range, spanning the period from the late 1st century B.C. to around the mid 2nd century A.D., although the main thrust of their distribution in the western Mediterranean and adjoining areas seems to have reached a peak before the end of the 1st century A.D. (Peacock and Williams 1986, Class 10). Context A/116.
125. Body sherd from the shoulder of a jar. Grey sand-tempered ware with buff margins and grey core. Incised graffito:]X. Context A/1.

Clay Pipes

by David Atkinson

The excavations yielded a small quantity of clay pipe bowls and stems. Some examples can be dated to the 17th and 18th centuries, and others probably belong to the 19th century (although these fragments lack definitive dating features). A catalogue of all the pipe fragments forms part of the Archive, and a selection are described below.

1. Bowl. Atkinson and Oswald Types 8-9. *C.* 1630-40. Trench A, Context 109.
2. Piece with heel. Atkinson and Oswald Type 25. *C.* 1720-40. Trench A, Context 109.
3. Bowl. Atkinson and Oswald Type 12 approximately. *C.* 1660. Trench B, Context 1.
4. Piece with part heel and stamp. 17th century. Trench B, Context 1.
5. Piece with base and initials T/C. Atkinson and Oswald Type 25. *C.* 1720. Trench B, Context 1.

Glass

by John D. Shepherd

Only 32 small fragments of glass were submitted for identification. Of these six can be positively identified as being Roman in date. Three are probably Roman and three possibly Roman. The remaining 20 fragments date from the late 17th or 18th centuries up to the modern period and include some fragments of indeterminate date. A catalogue of all 32 fragments forms part of the Archive.

Roman Glass (None illustrated)

1. Fragment of thick amber-brown glass from the cylindrical neck of a flagon (e.g. Isings 1957, Form 52 or 55). Free-blown. Late 1st or early 2nd century. Trench B/91.
2. Fragment of natural bluish-green glass from the rim of a jar. Free-blown; everted rim with a slightly infolded lip. Late 1st or 2nd century. Trench B/81.
3. Fragment of natural greenish-blue glass from the rim of a bowl. Free-blown; lip folded outwards and down to form a flattened hollow-tubular rim. Mid 1st to 3rd century. Trench A/3.
4. Fragment of natural bluish-green glass from the base of a bowl or flagon (Isings 1957, form 67c or 52b respectively). Free-blown; pushed-in and cut-out base ring. Late 1st or early 2nd century. Trench A/52.
5. Fragment of natural green glass from the upper part of the handle of a jug or flagon (form unknown). Applied and drawn, probably on a free-blown vessel. Late 1st to 3rd centuries. Trench A/3.
6. Fragment of natural green glass from the rim of a beaker or bowl (Isings 1957, Form 106 or 116 respectively). Free-blown; rim slightly outsplayed, knocked-off and left rough. Late 3rd or 4th century. Trench A/36.
7. Fragment of natural green window glass of the blown, double and glossy variety. Probably late Roman in date. Trench B/1.

Discussion

Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of this assemblage does not allow for a detailed discussion of its content. Only a few Roman pieces are worthy of additional comment and these come from well-attested vessel types, i.e. late 1st and early 2nd century bowls or flagons, and early Roman jars and jugs or flagons. The absence of any fragments coming from the common late 1st and 2nd century bottle forms (i.e. Isings 1957, Forms 50 and 51) should be noted. Such vessels are normally represented in any Roman glass assemblage containing forms of that date.

The six identifiable Roman fragments all come from distinguishable parts of their respective vessels or, also, have distinctive glass metals.

The amber-brown neck fragment (no. 1) comes from a vessel type which is well-known amongst late 1st and early 2nd century glass assemblages in Roman Britain. The tall-necked flagon (Isings 1957, Form 52 or 55) is a round form found frequently in the region of the Empire north of the Alps, and its distribution suggests that it was especially a product of the glass-houses working in the Seine-Rhine region between *c.* A.D. 60-120 (Price 1977, 155-8; Price 1980, 66, nos. 6-7, fig. 15). The body of the flagon in this amber-brown metal would most probably have been conical in form, but bulbous-bodied types do exist. The latter variety is closely related to a series of squat, bulbous-bodied jars or bowls (Isings, Form 67c), both often decorated with vertical ribbing, and the naturally coloured base fragment (no. 4) may come from either of these two types. The late 1st or early 2nd century date range still applies.

The remaining early Roman vessel forms come from types which cannot be too closely dated. The bowl rim (no. 3), the jar rim (no. 2) and the flagon handle (no. 5) come from functional types which were being produced over a long period of time. It is possible that the latter comes from the type of flagon described immediately above.

The assemblage includes a single fragment of a vessel which, in form, metal and technique of manufacture, is diagnostic of the late Roman glass industry. This small rim fragment (no. 6) comes from a wide-mouthed and deep beaker (Isings 1957, Form 106) or a shallow bowl (Isings 1957, Form 116). These two types occur frequently in late Roman glass assemblages thoughout Roman Britain (e.g. Barnsley Park, Price 1982; The Beeches, Cirencester, Shepherd 1986; Temple Precinct, Bath, Shepherd 1985).

Coins

a) Roman

1. Hadrian. A.D. 117-138. Ae sestertius. Mint of Rome. *c.* A.D. 125-138.
   Obverse: [HADRIA]NVS AVG[VSTVS/P.P]; bust, laureate, right.
   Reverse: (legend worn flat), female figure standing left.
   This coin is very worn and is not likely to have been lost before the end of the 2nd century, and perhaps not until the middle of the 3rd century. Watching brief, Context C/708.
2. Otacilia Severa, wife of Philip I. Ar. Antoninianus. Rome. *c.* A. D. 244-246.
   Obverse: MARCIA OTACIL SEVE[RA AVG]; bust, diademed, draped, right.
   Reverse: [CON]CORDIA AVGG; Concordia seated left, holding patera and double cornucopiae.
   Reference: *RIC* 119b. A coin that is worn, with considerable signs of wear on the reverse. Probably not lost before the last quarter of the 3rd century. Trench B/61.
3. Barbarous Radiate. *c.* A.D. 270-290. Ae 11 mm.
   Obverse: Bust, radiate, right.
   Reverse: Female figure standing left.
   Poorly preserved. Trench A/3.
4. Constantine I, A.D. 307-337. Ae follis. Trier. A.D. 321.
   Obverse: CONSTA-NTINVS AVG; bust, laureate, right, wearing travea, eagle-tipped sceptre in right hand.
   Reverse: BEATA TRAN-QVILLLITAS; globe set on altar inscribed VOT/IS/XX; above, three stars. Mint mark: $\overline{\text{PTR}}$.
   Reference: *RIC* 305. A coin in very good condition, with few signs of wear. Probably lost before A.D. 330. Trench A/14.
5. Constantine I. Ae follis (traces of silvering). Trier. A.D. 323-4.
   Obverse: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG; bust, laureate, right.
   Reverse: SARMATIA-DEVICTA; Victory advancing right, at foot, seated captive right. Mint mark: $\overline{\text{STR}}$.
   Reference: *RIC* 435. Some signs of wear on the raised surfaces. Trench A/1.

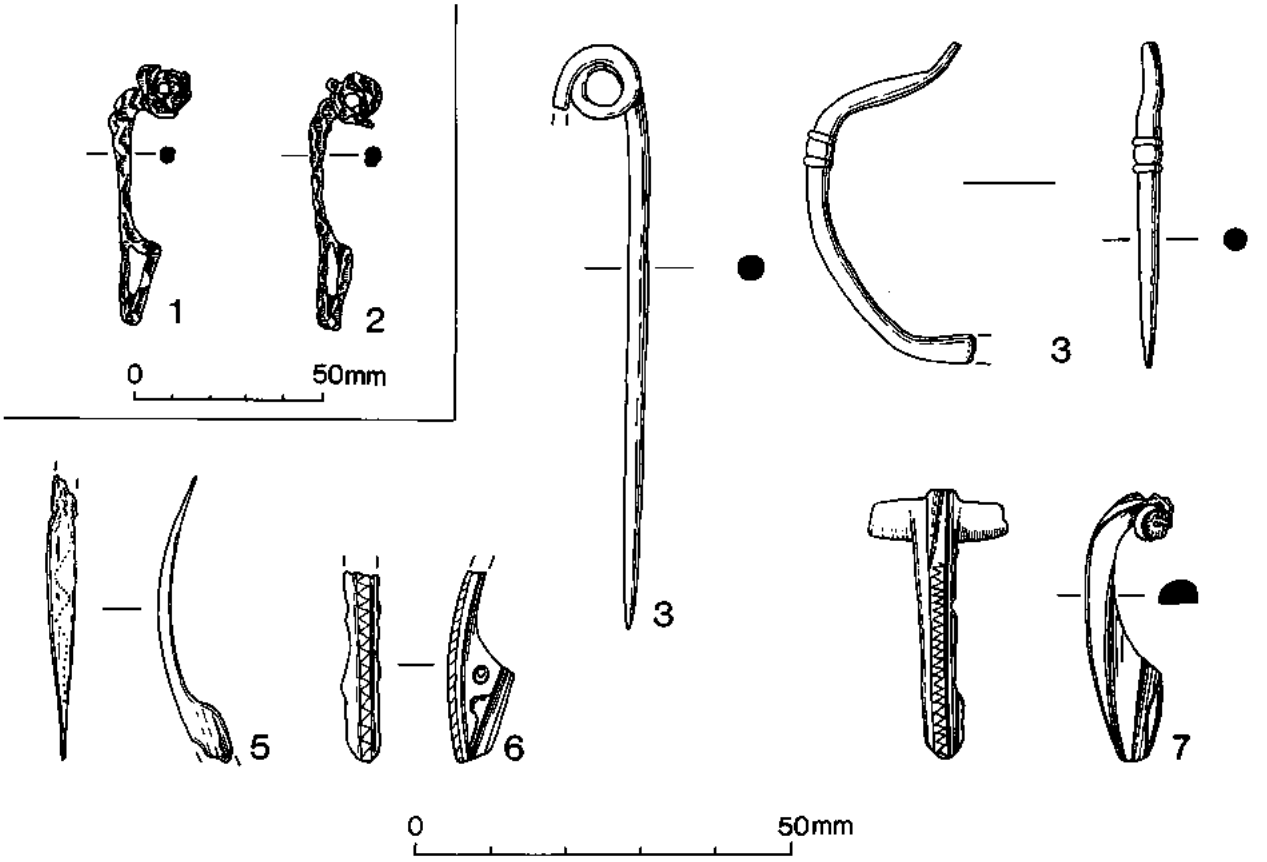

Fig. 14 Billericay Secondary School, 1987.
The brooches (Nos. 1, 2 are iron; the remainder copper alloy).

6. Constantius II or Constans. A.D. 347-348. Ae (fragment).
Obverse: Bust, laurel and rosette-diademed, right.
Reverse: [VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN]; two victories standing facing one another, each holding a wreath and palm. Mint mark: uncertain. Type as *RIC* 180. Trench B/1.
7. House of Valentinian. *c.* A.D. 367-375. Ae (large fragment).
Obverse: DN[ ]; bust, diademed, right.
Reverse: [GLORIA ROMANO]RVM; Emperor advancing right dragging captive with right hand and holding labarum in left. Mint mark: uncertain. Type as *RIC* Trier 5a. Worn/corroded. Trench A/38.

b) *Post-Medieval*

1. Charles I, 1629-49. Copper farthing. 'Richmond' round Type 1C (CARO, BRI). Mint mark: illegible. Trench A/1.
2. German jetton made by Kilian Koch of Nuremberg. Ae 27 mm. Made primarily for use in Paris, *c.* 1587-1600.
Obverse: PROSPERATVM.EST.OPVS.IN.MANIBVS.EIVS; in *EX.* NORENBERG; Charity personified as a woman, crowned and seated upon clouds, takes manna from baskets held by angels and pours it down upon Paris, shown below.
Reverse: DESVPER.AVXILIVM; a galley, representing the arms of Paris, with oars out, sailing to left, its sail filled by a blast from Aeolus. *Cf.* Barnard (1917) French jetton No. 115. Trench B/1.

Brooches

by Hilary Major

Parts of at least seven brooches were found. All are 1st century A.D., and none is necessarily pre-Conquest or later than 70 A.D. All are illustrated (Fig. 14) with the exception of no. 4.

a) *Iron*

1.-2. Two iron bows; pin fragment; pin and part of spring. The pins probably belong to the bows, but do not join, due to their corroded state. The brooches appear to have been burnt.
1) Nauheim derivative, probably with circular sectioned bow. Head sharply angled, possibly with a moulding at the angle; open catchplate; spring incomplete, probably four coils.
2) Nauheim derivative, rectangular sectioned bow. Head sharply angled, possibly with a moulding at the angle; open catchplate; spring incomplete.
Both brooches are from Trench B, Context 4 (the contents of a burial urn — see Pottery Catalogue no. 1).

b) *Copper-alloy*

3. Bow and part of the spring; moulded bow; catchplate probably open. Similar to Hull's Type 19 (Crummy 1983, 8). Probably first half of 1st century A.D. Trench A/1.
4. A pin from a different brooch. Length: 75 mm. Trench A/1. (Not illustrated).
5. Part of the bow and foot of a strip bow brooch; the bow is decorated with a zig-zag of small punched dots. Nauheim derivative, 1st century A.D. Trench A/2.
6. Foot and catchplate of a Colchester B. brooch — Hull's Type 92 (Crummy 1983, 12); edges damaged. Ridged bow with zig-zag line down ridge. Triangular catchplate with circular cut-out and non-perforating impressed triangle. 50-70 A.D. Trench A/14.
7. Colchester B Type (as no. 6): slight damage to edges, pin missing, spring very corroded, chord loop possibly incomplete; plain wings. Ridged bow, poorly moulded at the head, giving an irregular stepped effect. The bow is decorated with a zig-zag line. 50-70 A.D. Trench B/43.

Other Copper-Alloy Objects

by Hilary Major

The copper alloy from the site is predominantly unremarkable, and utilitarian rather than decorative. Only the nail cleaner handle from A/5 may be intrinsically datable to the mid/late 1st century A.D. Two objects are of note: a possible lid from A/38, decorated with a stylised ?bird; and a fragment from B/61 with Celtic style decoration. (Illustrated objects in Fig. 15).

1. Half of a sheet disc, probably a stud head. Corrugated rim with central dome, possibly with repousse decoration. Traces of ?mineralised organic material on back. Diam: 28 mm. Trench A/3.
2. Handle from a small nail cleaner; tip missing. Square loop with circular perforation, at right angles to the blade; spiral moulding at junction of loop and blade. The blade is shouldered with a line down each edge. Crummy (1983, 58) sees the shouldered type (1b) as being mid to late 1st century. Trench A/5.
3. Rivet made from folded sheet. Length: 12 mm. Trench A/16.
4. Nail-type rivet or stud, probably with a circular head; point and edge of head missing. Length: 7 mm., surviving head diameter: 9 mm. Trench A/16.
5. Ring; diamond-shaped section; slightly faceted, rather irregular surface. External diameter: 20 mm., internal diameter: 12 mm. Trench A/32.
6. Hinged object; two joining pieces, damaged along the break and edges. The break comes at a sharply angled bend, possibly not original, as the metal appears to have been stressed at that point. The object is roughly oval, with a convex top surface: it has two lugs retaining a hinge axis bar at one end and a short, broken projection at the other. The plate bears feather-like linear decoration, probably the body and wings of a stylised bird, with the missing terminal forming the head. Assuming that the bend along the break is not original, the object is probably a lid, although unusual in its shape, and in its hinge arrangement. Trench A/38.
7. Stud; in poor condition, detail not visible. Deeply concave sheet head with rolled rim. Badly damaged; shank broken. Diameter: 18 mm. Trench A/59.
8. Small cone, formed from a diamond-shaped sheet with two adjacent sides folded together. Possibly an unused sheet rivet (*cf.* no. 4). Trench A/90.

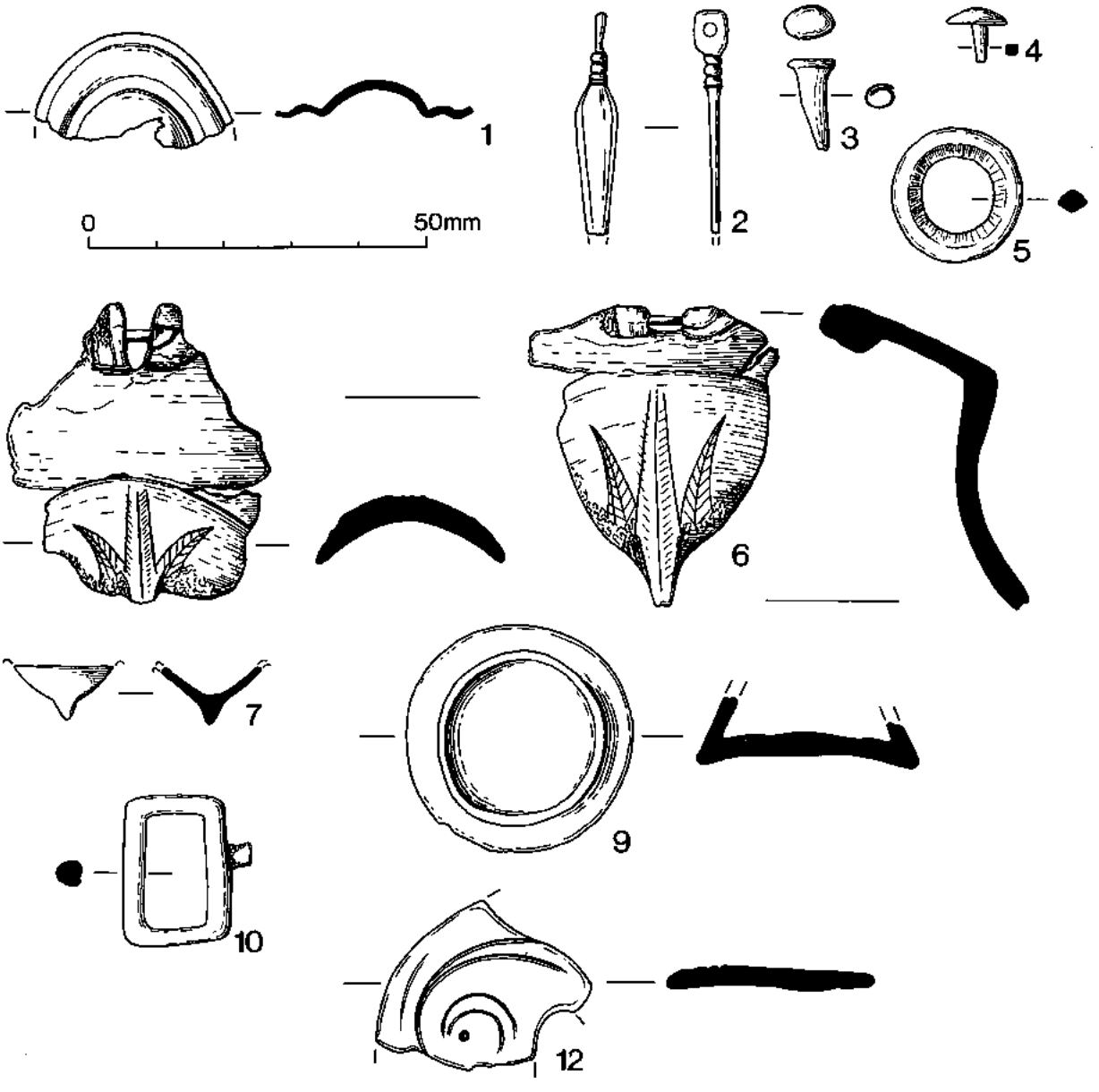

Fig. 15. Billericay Secondary School, 1987. Copper-alloy objects.

9. Part of a conical fitting, closed at the wider end by a concave disc. Only 8 mm. of the object survives; maximum diameter: 33 mm. This may be a cap, or a furniture mount (*cf.* Crummy 1983, 16, no. 4602 for similar unidentified object). Possibly not Roman. Trench A/1.
10. Rectangular loop with D-shaped section on three sides and rectangular section on the other. The latter side has a short projection from it, which appears to have broken off. 22 × 15 mm. Two similar objects are illustrated in Crummy (1988, 95, nos. 3621-2), where it is suggested that they are medieval open hooked tags. Trench A/1.
11. Folded sheet, with at least one rivet still in place. Original shape of sheet possibly hexagonal, with sides of *c.* 15 mm. Trench B/61.
12. Fragment of decorative plate; shape uncertain. It bears curvilinear decoration, with possible traces of red enamel. The decorative style may be loosely termed 'Celtic' but too little of the overall pattern survives to draw parallels. Trench B/61.
13. Rod fragment, curved at one end; possibly a brooch pin. Length: 28 mm., diameter: 1.5 mm. Trench B/1.
14. Rod fragment. Length: 22 mm., diameter: 1 mm. Trench B/1.
15. Half of a ring; oval section. (The surface is grey — possibly not copper alloy?). External diameter: 26 mm., section 2 × 1.5 mm. Trench B/1.
16. Fragment of rod with terminal of uncertain shape. Length: 18 mm. Trench B/1.

Other Iron Objects

by Hilary Major

Most of the iron from the site was fragmentary; none was X-rayed or conserved apart from the brooches, and this has hampered identification of some objects, e.g. the possible stylus from A/36. However, it may be said that this group constitutes a typical small group of domestic/agricultural ironwork, with the most common element being nails, and the remainder including rings of uncertain purpose, woodworking tools (e.g. carpenter's dogs), agricultural accessories (e.g. ox goads) and small household fittings. The only unusual object was a small trident from B/81 (a fill within the well B/60), which may have had a short bone handle.

The nails include a relatively large number of hobnails, including two groups, from A/52 and A/90, which probably represent discarded footwear rather than casual loss. Of the remainder of the nails, most are the ubiquitous disc-headed, square shaft type, which is undatable. Only two have the flattened triangular heads which probably facilitated their use as lost-head nails, and which are almost always Roman.

A catalogue of all the iron objects forms part of the Archive and a selection is described below (Illustrated objects in Fig. 16):

1. Bar, slightly twisted, with oval terminal, possibly spoon-shaped. Length: 72 mm., section *c.* 4 × 2 mm. Trench A/3.
2. Dog. Width: 52 mm., length of arms: 22 mm. Trench A/3.

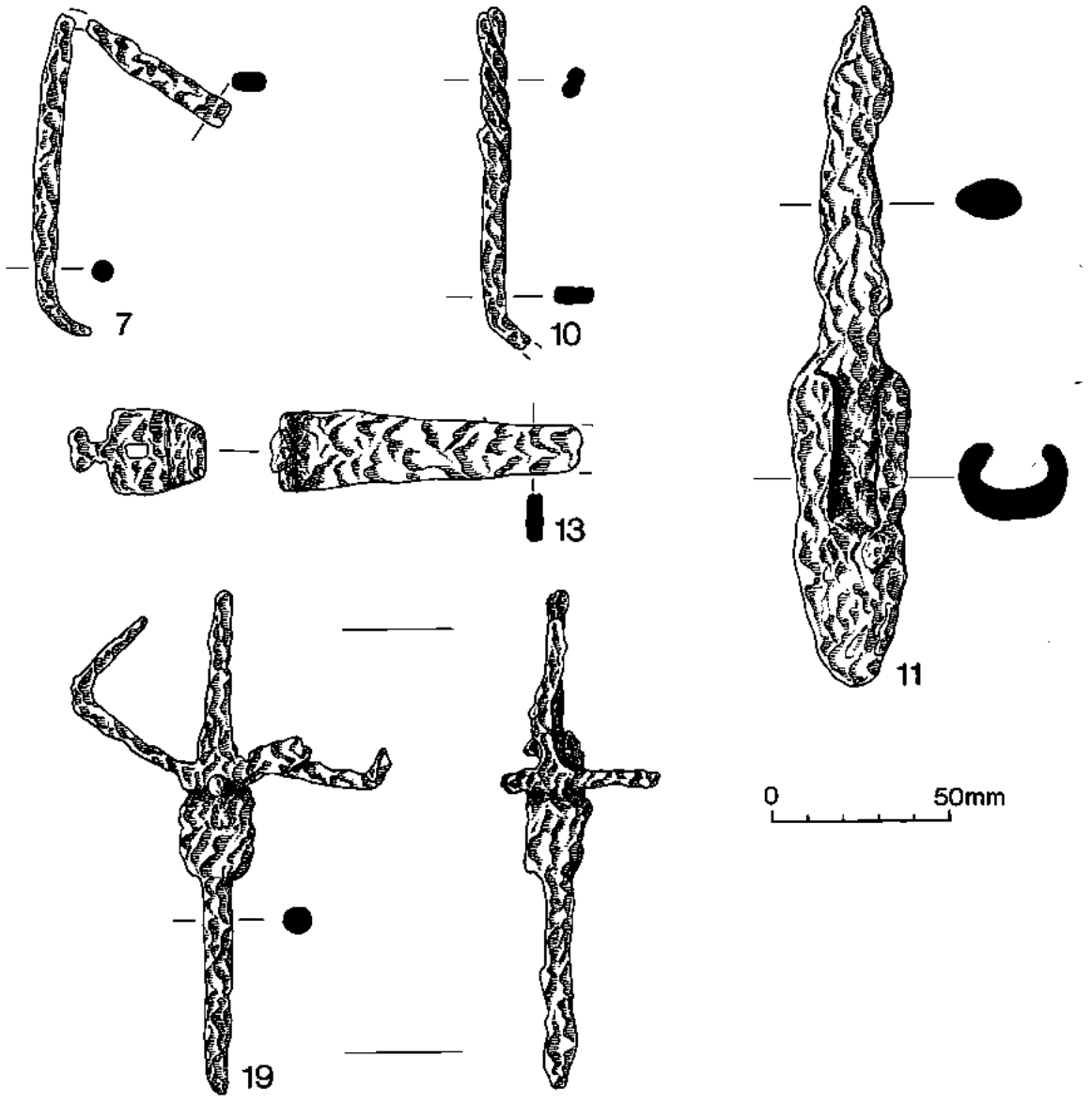

Fig. 16 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. Iron objects

3. Probably part of a knife blade with the tang bent over, or possibly a nail corroded onto a plate fragment. It does, however, appear to be all one object. Length: 42 mm., blade is *c* 24 × 18 mm. Trench A/3.
4. Ring, circular section. External diameter: 21 mm., internal diameter: 13 mm. Trench A/14.
5. U-shaped object with ?spatulate terminals; made from bar with circular section, diameter: *c*. 4 mm. Length: 50 mm., width: 17 mm. Trench A/34.
6. L-shaped bar, pointed at one end. Probably part of a dog. Maximum section 8 × 5 mm. Arm lengths: 39 and 38 mm. Trench A/36.
7. Stylus? One end is pointed, the other spatulate; it does not appear to be shouldered as would be normal for a stylus, but the detail is obscured by corrosion. Bent. Circular? section. Length: 142 mm. Trench A/36.
8. Fragment, probably part of an open socket and beginning of blade. Length: 56 mm., maximum width: 44 mm. Trench A/36.
9. Bar, possibly knife blade; the section appears triangular. 85 × 19 × 5 mm. Trench A/59.
10. Handle formed from twisted bar with rectangular section, 9 × 4 mm. The twisting starts *c*. 40 mm. from one end, which is bent and may have been a loop, or possibly the start of a blade. Length: 90 mm. Trench A/90.
11. Possible ploughshare. The object does not conform particularly well to Roman share types, but could be a winged bar share (Type 2B, Rees 1979, 59). Many shares ostensibly of this type are not definitively identified as shares. This object is perhaps closest in form to one from Meols illustrated by Rees (*ibid.* 173) which may not be Roman. Length: 190 mm., maximum width: 32 mm. Trench A/102.
12. Ox goad: Type 2 (Rees 1979, 76). Diameter: 18 mm., length: 39 mm. Trench A/109.
13. L-shaped bar: one arm is tapered, the other arm is perforated at the bend, and has a decorative terminal. Probably a box fitting. Trench A/114.
14. Plate fragment. *c*. 29 × 24 × 2 mm. Trench B/61.
15. Ring. Rectangular section, 5 × 3 mm. Slightly oval, exterior dimensions: 37 × 31 mm. Trench B/61.
16. Plate or strip fragment. 89 × 36 × 2 mm. Trench B/61.
17. Strip fragment. 70 × 24 × 2 mm. Trench B/61.
18. Split spike loop, one point everted. Length: 58 mm., external diameter of loop: *c*. 26 mm. Trench B/61.
19. Trident, consisting of a bar tang with 3 prongs at one end, and a short cross piece at the point of divergence of the prongs. There is an iron collar round the tang below the prongs, and possible traces of bone on the tang, assumed to be the remains of the handle. The writer knows of no direct parallels. Length: 140 mm., width of head: 90 mm.
20. Hobnails: Group of *c*. 25 hobnails, some still corroded together, with mineralised organic material (leather?) *c*. 7 mm. thick on the shafts. Also one hobnail without traces of mineralised material. Length: *c*: 15 mm., head diameters: uncertain. Trench A/52.
21. Hobnails: group of *c*. 26, some corroded together, mineralised organic material (leather?) on shafts, bone corroded onto some surfaces. Some may be unbent. Length: *c*. 14 mm. Trench A/90.
22. Nail with triangular head in the same plane as the shaft, square shaft. Length: 42 mm., head width: 8.5 mm. Trench B/55.

Iron Slag

by Owen Bedwin

The slag assemblage was small and widely distributed across the site. There were 76 pieces weighing a total of 1,720 g., from 26 different contexts (apart from the topsoil). The appearance of all fragments (a mixture of hearth lining and fuel ash) was consistent with slag from iron smithing (P. Northover, pers. comm.). There was no sign of tap slag fragments. Given the scattered distribution of slag across the site, with no obvious concentrations, and the absence of any hearth-like structures during excavation, it is unlikely that smithing took place within the excavated area. The implication is, however, that it took place nearby. A catalogue of the slag fragments forms part of the Archive.

Lead Objects

by Hilary Major

1. Irregular fragment with impression of ?nail or rivet holes on the back. This could have been a plug for a hole in something or, more probably, is just a piece of waste which solidified in contact with something else. Trench A/61.
2. Small disc; probably scrap. Trench B/61.

Stone

by Hilary Major

A catalogue of the few stone finds forms part of the Archive.

Fragments of lava came from Contexts A/3, A/34, B/43 and B/61. Only the piece from A/3 shows traces of its origin as a Roman quern, but the others are undoubtedly from querns. The trade in Rhenish lava began shortly after the Conquest, and fragments of lava occur in contexts dated throughout the Roman period. The other common stone used for querns in Essex, Millstone Grit, is absent from the site.

Baked Clay

by Hilary Major

A small amount (1,117 g.) of baked clay was recovered and a catalogue of this forms part of the Archive. Most of the group consisted of small, abraded lumps, but fragments from A/11 and A/54 may have derived from triangular loomweights, and pieces of daub from A/114 and A/115 had wattle impressions. One piece of probable salt briquetage came from A/12. (This is a slightly curved sherd in laminated vegetable tempered fabric; buff to light pink in colour with a cream surface. The full thickness is not present — maximum thickness: 17 mm. This is almost certainly salt briquetage; the texture and colour is typical, although it is difficult to be completely certain with such a small fragment).

Two other contexts (A/86 and A/112) also yielded single pieces of probable salt briquetage.

Roman Tile

A total of 390 identifiable pieces of Roman tile/brick were recovered from Trenches A and B. In addition there were many small/broken fragments. All were sorted by a visual assessment of fabrics and, where possible, by tile types, and catalogued on recording forms which form part of the Archive. The pieces of tile which could be identified by form included the following types: *tegula* (182 pieces — 46.67% of the total number of identifiable pieces); *imbrex* (131 pieces — 33.58%); 'flat' tile/brick (70 pieces — 17.95%); and box-flue (7 pieces — 1.8%). Most of the tile fragments are fairly small and, with the exception of thickness and *tegula* flange heights, no dimensions could be measured.

Fabrics

Most of the tiles are made of fine, sandy orange fabrics. Other fabrics include buff and grey sandy wares, orange and buff wares with grog and/or organic inclusions, and hard orange/red/grey wares. Some of these fabric variations are probably due to firing conditions.

Tile Types

Tegula flanges vary in height from 3.8 to 5.5 cm. Various pieces of *tegula* bear traces of finger-impressed 'signature' marks. Such marks are normally semi-circular or looped, and include multiple (2 or 3) concentric examples (see below: Tile Catalogue no. 1). One piece of *tegula* (Context B/1) has a circular fixing hole. A *tegula* waster fragment (Context B/1) has a distorted flange and is of a hard red/grey fabric with many air holes.

The flat tiles/bricks include examples which range in thickness from 2.6-3.0-3.5-3.9 cm. One piece of flat tile (Context B/1) of 3 cm. thickness bears traces of semi-circular 'signature' marks. Another piece of flat tile bears part of an incised *graffito* (Tile Cat. no. 4). Two fragments of flat tile (Contexts A/116 and B/1) of 3.5+ cm. thickness have traces of adhering ?molten glass.

All seven box-flue tile fragments have combed decoration/keying. Of these only two show the full width of the combed marks: the results of a seven- and a nine-toothed comb respectively (Tile Cat. nos. 2 and 3). With

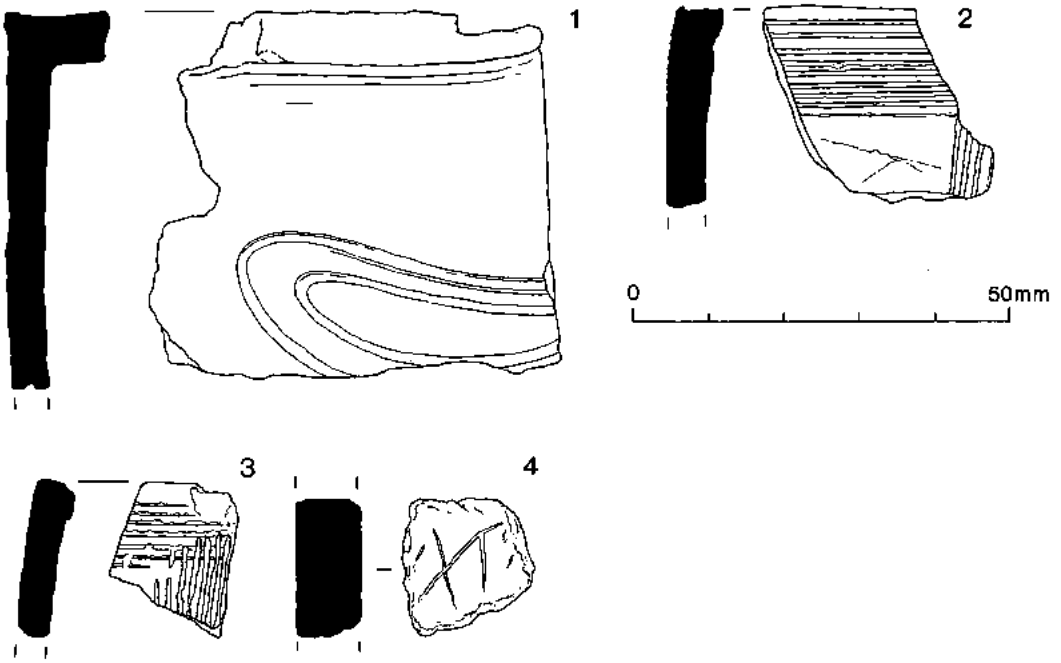

Fig. 17 Billericay Secondary School, 1987. Roman tile.

one exception (?1.1 cm. thick) the flue-tiles are approximately 1.7-2.0 cm. thick.

Non-functional markings on the Roman tile include an animal foot-print (on piece of *tegula*), a finger mark (*imbrex*) and part of a sandal imprint (flat/*tegula*).

Tile Catalogue (Fig. 17)

1. *Tegula* fragment. Fine orange fabric. The upper surface of the tile bears two concentric grooved 'signature marks'. The flange has a cut-away section and is from the botton end of the tile. Context A/65.
2. Box-flue fragment. Fine orange fabric. Keying on the face of the tile has been achieved using a nine-toothed comb. Context A/116.
3. Box-flue fragment. Fine orange fabric. Keying on the face of the tile has been achieved with a seven-toothed comb. Context B/1.
4. Flat tile fragment. Buff fabric. 3 cm. thick. Incised *graffito*:) XI or] m (identification by Mark Hassall). Context B/1.

Cremated Bone

Trenches A and B both yielded a number of Late Iron Age/early Roman cremation burials and also various small fragments of burnt human bone.

In Trench B cremation burials were discovered in three pottery vessels (Contexts B/2; B/6 and B/8). Other small fragments of cremated bone were recovered from Contexts B/34, B/48 and B/54, and it is possible that Contexts B/34 and B/48 are cremation pits.

In Trench A the main east-west ditch (Context A/6) contained a number of concentrations of burnt bone, charcoal and pot sherds (i.e. Contexts A/11, A/12, A/13, A/20, A/40, A/54, A/76, A/86 and A/112). These concentrations probably represent badly disturbed cremations which were originally buried in pottery vessels. Other pieces of cremated bone were recovered from the upper fills of the ditch, especially Contexts A/5 and A/11. Elsewhere in Trench A small fragments of cremated bone were found in Contexts A/34, A/49 and A/56.

Samples of cremated bone from seven contexts were submitted for analysis. Sue Browne's detailed report on these forms part of the Archive and a summary of her results is contained in Table 2. In only one case (Trench B/7) was it possible to suggest the age and sex of the deceased (i.e. adult/?male).

Table 2. Billericay School, 1987: Cremated Bone (by Sue Browne)

Context Number	*Context Type*	*Total Weight of bone (gms.)*	*Burial Age*	*Sex*
Trench A				
5	Isolated find	.73	—	—
11	Isolated find	1.87	Indet.	Indet.
49	Isolated find	1.12	—	—
54	Cremation	6.51	—	—
Trench B				
4	Urn (Context 2)	277.99	Indet.	Indet.
7	Urn (Context 6)	395.55	Adult	?Male
9	Urn (Context 8)	11.13	Indet.	Indet.

Animal Bone

by Owen Bedwin

A total of 39 fragments of bone and teeth were identified from sealed Roman contexts. (A further four fragments were unidentified). All fragments were small, most were worn. Local soil conditions were clearly not conducive to good preservation of unburnt bone. Only two species were represented, namely *Bos* and *Ovis*, but such a small assemblage cannot provide any reliable information about the diet or economy of the site's inhabitants.

A list of the animal bones forms part of the Archive.

Charred Seeds

by Pat Hinton

The cereal grains are mostly very badly charred, distorted and fragmentary and in only a few cases is any of the external surface remaining. Where sufficient of the original outline can be recognised, two can be identified as barley and most of the remainder as wheat. Of the better preserved wheat grains some show characteristics of Spelt, but two grains in Trench A, Context 11, which are relatively shorter, broader and more rounded, resemble the compact form of Bread Wheat, Club Wheat, but in the absence of any internode or spikelet fragments it is not possible to identify any of these damaged grains more certainly.

Of the other charred seeds, Cleavers and Brome grass are common arable weeds of the Iron Age and Roman periods, Brome grass often occurring with Spelt. Hazel nuts, presumably collected, are found frequently in earlier prehistoric sites but less often in Iron Age and Roman assemblages. Hazel was the most common type of charcoal at Billericay (see below) and was present in the same context (Trench B/61) as the two hazel nuts.

Summary details of the charred seeds are provided in Table 3.

Charcoal

by Caroline Cartwright

Excavations at Billericay produced a total of 436 gms. of charcoal, through the trowelling, wet sieving and flotation of 34 contexts. Full details of the timbers utilised form part of the Archive.

Corylus sp. (hazel) was the most common type of charcoal with 164 gm. (37.6% by weight of the total). Most of the hazel charcoal fragments derive from roundwood measuring between 1.4 and 1.6 cm. in stem diameter. Hazel is found in 17 contexts with the greatest concentrations in Context A/34 (43 gms.) and Context B/61 (25 gms.).

Fraxinus sp. (ash) follows hazel in frequency with a total of 87 gms. (19.9%) from 12 contexts. Ash charcoal fragments comprise short lengths of roundwood with an average stem diameter of 1.8 cms.

Crataegus sp (hawthorn) and *Quercus* sp. (oak) are almost equally represented; the former with 62 gms. (14.2%) from four contexts, and the latter with 60 gms. (13.8%) from eight contexts. The hawthorn fragments comprise small roundwood specimens, but most of the oak fragments derive from mature timber.

Salix/Populus (willow/poplar) accounts fro 30 gms. (6.9%) in two contexts, and there is a small representation of *Betula* sp. (birch) with a total of 16 gms. (3.7%) from four contexts. A further 17 gms. of bark charcoal (3.9%), possibly oak, was present in three contexts.

In terms of habitat, oak, ash and hazel may be seen as representative components of oak woodland, with birch and hawthorn possibly on the fringes, colonising clearings, or at woodland and field boundaries. Willow/poplar is commonly found close to sources of water. However, it may not be feasible to consider these timbers as an assemblage representative of a particular habitat or habitats. The timber may have been the result of specific selection processes for fuel (oak, ash and birch) or kindling (hawthorn, willow/poplar bark) or fencing and hedging (hazel, hawthorn, willow, ash and birch). All the timbers represented exhibit particular characteristics suitable for certain artifact types and building material.

Discussion

The excavations and watching briefs at Billericay Secondary School have yielded considerable evidence of Late Iron Age/Romano-British occupation. The area investigated in 1987 produced only minimal evidence for earlier prehistoric activity (some ?Mesolithic flintwork and a few sherds of Early-Middle Iron Age pottery) and it is thus likely that large-scale utilization of the area did not occur until the 1st century B.C./early 1st century A.D.

The evidence for Late Iron Age occupation of the School and School Road sites consists mainly of coins (one Potin Class II and two bronzes of Cunobeline) and the cremations contained inside 'Belgic' grog-tempered ware vessels. The latter are not particularly well dated however, and it is uncertain whether these are pre- or post-Conquest. Other evidence of Iron Age occupation includes the ditches found in 1970/71 sealed beneath the early Roman road. These ditches yielded pottery which is said to belong to 'Iron Age 'A' and 'B'' (Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society, 1971b).

With the exception of ancillary vessels and the two iron brooches in Trench B, Context 2, the general lack of other grave goods indicates that the cremated remains found in 1987 are those of people who were probably of relatively poor social status. The burials appear to have been deposited

Table 3. Billericay School, 1987: Charred Seed Remains (by Pat Hinton)

Species	*Context*							
	A/11	A/41	A/52	A/54	A/90	A/112	B/55	B/61
Triticum cf. *spelta* (Spelt Wheat)		2	1	4				
Triticum cf. *aestivum* (compactum type) (Club Wheat)	2							
Triticum sp. (Undifferentiated Wheat)	4			21	1	3	1	
Hordeum vulgare L. (Hulled Barley)					1			
Hordeum sp. (Hulled or Naked Barley)						1		
Cerealia indet. (Undifferentiated cereals)	15	1		11	1			1
Corylus avellana L. (Hazel, Nutshell fragments)								2
Galium aparine L. (Goosegrass, Cleavers)	2				2			
Bromus cf. *secalinus* (Brome Grass, Chess)	3					1		

at, or near, the bottoms of ditches and it is possible that Context 6/104 (Trench A) and Context 727 (1987/8 Watching Brief) formed part of a rectangular field or enclosure. If so, the general lack (with the possible exception of Trench A, Context 73) of associated features within the defined area may indicate that it was not used for occupation purposes (it should be noted, however, that all the surviving features have been much truncated by modern landscaping and that shallow features/deposits are thus unlikely to have survived).

Most of the archaeological features found on the School and School Road sites can be attributed to the Roman period. Of particular interest is the metalled road found in 1970/71. The 1970/71 excavations also revealed traces of a wide range of activity areas (examples: corndrying ovens, 'working hollows' or 'hut floors', 'pebble floors' and wells) and the variety of such discoveries was much greater than that found in 1987/8. This may indicated that settlement/activity areas were concentrated alongside the Roman road.

In contrast to the discoveries of 1970/71, the principal features found north of the Roman road during 1987/8 were ditches, wells and pits. It has already been suggested that Trench A Contexts 43, 29 and 35 may have formed three sides of a rectangular field or enclosure. The significance in this area, and to the west of it, of ?contemporary wells is uncertain. Presumably the water was needed for domestic purposes and/or the needs of livestock. The absence of any direct traces of buildings in Trenches A and B does not prove that these buildings did not exist there. Such buildings may, for instance, have been made of timber-framed construction (Rodwell 1975, 87) or made of cob, neither of which need leave any trace in the archaeological record. Indirect evidence for buildings might include the discoveries of reasonably large quantities of Roman tiles, most of which were of roofing types. It is important to remember, however, that such tiles were used for a variety of purposes, as is demonstrated by the incorporation of tiles into one of the corndrying ovens found in 1970/71 (Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society 1971a, 5).

The School Road site also had a well and yielded a mass of Roman tiles (in a rubbish pit). It is again uncertain whether this area was one of settlement or on the fringe of such settlements.

Evidence for economic activities at the School site is mainly concerned with farming and includes the two corndrying ovens found in 1970/71 and the possible ploughshare and the ox goad from the 1987 excavations. In addition, the recent excavations produced a small quantity of charred domesticated seeds (Spelt Wheat, Club Wheat, Hulled Barley and Hulled or Naked Barley). Unfortunately, due to the acidity of the soil only a few animal bones were recovered from the 1987 excavations, and these included only two types: cattle and sheep/goat. The available evidence thus indicates a mixed farming economy. Evidence found in 1987 for other Roman economic activities included smithing and woodworking (as attested by iron slag and iron objects respectively).

Single Roman cremation burials were found at both the School Road and School 1970/71 sites. In both cases the burials included two pots: a funerary urn and an ancillary votive vessel. Several Roman contexts excavated in 1987 also yielded a few fragments of cremated bone. Although it is possible that some of these fragments may have 'travelled' following the disturbance of earlier burials, others such as those found in Trench B, Contexts 34 and 48, may represent badly truncated cremation burials.

The School and School Road sites continued in use until the 4th century. During this period the two definite wells found in 1987 and some of those found in 1970/71 met similar fates: their final infilling with rubbish. The discovery of relatively large quantities of tiles in the upper fills of the wells found in 1987 may indicated the demolition of nearby buildings at this time. Occupation of the area may have continued however, until the end of the 4th century, evidence for this idea including the coin of Honorius found in one of the corndrying ovens, at least three coins of the House of Valentinian (*c.* A.D. 364-378) and the example of 'Late Shell Tempered Ware' from the upper fill of the well in Trench B.

Having examined the evidence for Roman activity on the School/School Road sites, it remains briefly to view such data in terms of the wider context of archaeological discoveries which have been made south of Billericay Town Centre. Perhaps the most striking feature of the available data is the size of the area which has yielded Late Iron Age/Romano-British cremation burials. This area can be traced as far north west as the site of the Gas Works (Fig. 1, I), as far north east as Mill Cottages (Fig.1, II) and as far south east as the part of the Noak Hill Road which flanks Buckenhams Field (Fig. 1). Collectively the cremations with pots have a date range from the 1st to 4th century and they generally lack rich grave goods. (The one exception is a burial with a mirror and glassware from Mill Cottage: S. Weller, pers. comm.) The discovery of so many cremations distributed over such a big area suggests that the area probably had a fairly large population. The precise nature and layout of the settlement is more uncertain, but the suggestion of a 'small' unenclosed Roman town with Late Iron Age origins seems reasonable. Habitation sites within such a 'small town' might have been fairly dispersed, with each having its own enclosure/s, wells, burial areas, etc. In addition to farming activities, evidence for other major economic pursuits in Southern Billericay include the pottery kiln found in Buckenhams Field. Occupation in the area continued until the late 4th century, after which the fate of the inhabitants is unknown.

Also unknown is the relationship between the two large Late Iron Age/Roman areas of occupation located respectively to the north and south of Medieval Billericay. The most significant Roman finds from the Medieval area of Billericay were some cinerary and other urns mentioned (Roberts 1863) as coming from a field near the Dissenters' Burial Ground (NGR TQ 674 944). Recent (1987) rescue excavations by Messrs. A. Hawkins and E. Merridan on land to the east of the High Street have also yielded some Roman pottery.

The School/School Road sites produced little evidence for post-Roman and pre-modern activity. Although there was no evidence of Saxon occupation, the Medieval period is

represented by pottery sherds found at the School. The early post-Medieval period has produced some interesting finds including a German jetton dated *c.* 1587-1600, three copper farthings of Charles I (two were found in 1970/71 — B.A.H.S. 1971b) and several 17th century clay pipes. The interpretation of this material is uncertain, but may indicate a period of occupation or land use.

The Buckenhams Field Pottery Kiln, 1987

During the rescue excavations at Billericay School in 1987 the opportunity was taken to re-expose part of the pottery kiln which had been found ten years earlier by David Buckley during the excavations/watching brief on Buckenhams Field (*Britannia* Vol. IX, 1978, 449-50). The site of the kiln was relocated by Dr. John Evans with the aid of a magnetometer. The modern turf and topsoil was then duly removed. Unfortunately, almost all of the formerly well-preserved kiln structure had been destroyed during the regrading of the field. All that apparently remained *in situ* of the kiln was a layer of sandy clay burnt red but rather soft.

Dr. Tony Clark came to sample the meagre remains of the kiln for possible directional archaeomagnetic dating purposes. Despite heavy rain, nine samples were taken by the disc method and orientated with a gyro theodolite (Measurement Reference no. AJC-2). Subsequent tests showed that although the sampled material was reasonably magnetically stable, it had unfortunately tilted since firing (Results: Dec = 7.4°E; Inc = 67.2°; alpha — 95 = 3.6). Corrective measures to bring the results back on to the reference curve to overlap the Roman period resulted, in the circumstances, in a tentative dating of cal A.D. 43-100 at the 68% confidence level; the upper limit extending to about A.D. 150 at the 95% confidence level.

Unfortunately this dating is somewhat earlier than had been expected, the products found in the kiln having previously been dated to the later 2nd century by comparison with products from the Mucking kilns (Jones and Rodwell 1973).

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Domesday Book and Feudal Topography

by W.R. Powell

The following notes aim to illustrate some of the ways in which the Essex entries in Domesday Book can be linked up with later evidence to shed light on the topography of the county during the Middle Ages. The first two originally formed part of a paper read at a conference on Domesday Book organized by the Historical Association's Essex Branch in 1986: they have been revised for the present purpose. The other notes suggested themselves during recent work on the new Domesday Map of Essex.

Essex Vineyards

J.H. Round argued that vineyards were re-introduced into England by the Normans, having died out since Roman times,[1] but references have been found to English vineyards in the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries, and one Domesday entry, in Hampshire, implies the existence of a vineyard in Edward the Confessor's reign.[2] There is no doubt, however, that the Normans considerably extended viticulture in this country. Domesday evidence shows that vineyards existing in 1086 had often been planted since the Conquest, and that some of them were not yet bearing.[3] They were almost all on the estates of great barons or abbeys. In Essex they were to be found on nine manors, the largest vineyards being at Rayleigh, Great Waltham, Castle Hedingham, and Belchamp Walter.[4] The growth of the Angevin empire in the 12th century gave England ready access to the wines of Gascony,[5] and from that time the English industry declined. An Italian writing about 1285 compared the drinking habits of the English and the French. Both races, he said, made it their business to drain full goblets, yet we must forgive the English if they are glad to drink good wine when they can, for they have but little wine in their own country.[6]

Viticulture did not, however, die out completely here, as can be seen from Essex records. In 1309 an estate called the Vyneyard, at Purfleet in West Thurrock, belonged to John the vintner,[7] and there was a vinery at Harlow in 1387.[8] A vineyard is mentioned at Roydon Hall in and after 1351, though it is not certain that it was still in production.[9] The place was later called Vinegar Hills, a verbal corruption which may, perhaps, have originated in a rustic gibe at the quality of the wine. Vineyards can also be found as place-names at Great Baddow in 1421, at Fobbing in 1539, and Saffron Walden in 1605.[10] Morant noted in the 18th century that 'wild vines bearing red grapes' had lately been visible on the west side of the castle at Hedingham,[11] and Round was tempted to suggest these were the 'still lingering descendants of the vineyard of its Domesday lord, the first Aubrey de Vere.'[12]

The Hides of the Manor of Havering

In 1086 Havering, held in demesne by the King, was assessed at 10 hides.[13] Later records show that the manor included not only Havering village, but Romford and Hornchurch, neither of which is mentioned in Domesday. From the 13th century to the later 17th century Havering formed part of the dower of the queen consort of England, who had a country house in the village. The tenants of the manor enjoyed special privileges, which were confirmed and extended by royal charter in 1465.[14] About 1355 Queen Philippa of Hainault, Edward III's consort, carried out an extent of the manor listing every tenant and undertenant, the size of each holding, and the number of houses on it.[15] Havering's manorial officials later used the extent for reference, and called it 'Le Domesday', indicating its high authority. Queen Philippa's Domesday, which survives only in a 16th-century copy discovered at New College, Oxford, during work for the *Victoria County History of Essex*, sheds light on the hidage of the manor recorded in Domesday. The assessment of 10 hides seems strangely low in relation to the area of the manor, when compared with that of other Essex manors,[16] until it is realised the Havering hide was unusually large. In Essex the Domesday hide usually comprised four virgates, each of 30 acres, making a total of 120 acres.[17] The assessment was artificial, being imposed from above,[18] and it cannot be assumed that the Domesday hide, or the acre, were always the same size. Malcolm Carter, an experienced farmer as well as a scholar, considered that the Domesday hide 'allowing for exemptions, variations, and errors, did consist of approximately 120 statute acres' (i.e. of arable land), and he added that he had not 'on the whole found the assumption ... misleading, either in the Tolleshunts or elsewhere in Thurstable hundred.'[19] On royal manors, however, or at least on some of them, the hide was abnormally large. There is evidence of this from Hatfield Broad Oak and Writtle,[20] and above all from Havering. Queen Philippa's Domesday shows that the virgate was normally 120 acres, giving a hide of 480 acres.

At some point, probably in the 16th century, the original of Queen Philippa's Domesday was lost, and there was no reference to it in the records of a lawsuit brought by James I *c.* 1617 against the free tenants of Havering manor. The story has a curious twist, for the King's case was actually based on William the Conqueror's Domesday Book.

The case arose from James I's attempts to increase his extra-Parliamentary income by exacting fines from persons holding 'concealed' lands against the King's rights.[21] The royal forests provided especially favourable conditions for such actions, because centuries of assarting had afforded many opportunities of 'concealment', and because the King's powers there were buttressed by forest law. Soon after his

accession James began levying fines against persons holding unauthorised inclosures in the Forest of Essex. When he extended his claim to Havering he met opposition. Until the early 14th century Havering had indeed been part of the Forest, but by the later 15th century, if not before, it had acquired the statues of a forest 'purlieu', exempt from all the forest laws except those protecting the King's game.

The King's lawyers contended that the tenants of Havering manor were legally entitled to occupy only 1,200 acres within the manor: all other lands then held by the tenants, said to comprise 11,533 acres, were supposed to have been appropriated without the King's licence. Among 'proofs for the King' put forward in the brief was the following: '2. Domesday Book, the manor x hide at 120 acres to a hide proved by the Chequer booke'. The Crown lawyers were here arguing that the 10 hides at which Havering was assessed in 1086 represented the 1,200 acres to which alone, according to their brief, the tenants of the manor had good titles.

In rebutting the Crown's case the free tenants of the manor denied that 'at any tyme within the memory of man (they) have holden or ought to have . . . among them 1,200 acres and no more, but have a far greater number of acres.' That they were quite right can be seen from the manorial history of Havering. What they failed to point out was that the Crown was wrong in stating that Havering's 10 Domesday hides in 1086 were equivalent to 1,200 acres. In fact, as Queen Philippa's Domesday proves, 10 hides in Havering were equivalent to 4,800 acres rather than 1,200 acres. But the point was in any case academic, for Queen Philippa's Domesday shows, in all its meticulous detail, that by *c.* 1355 no fewer than 11,850 acres in Havering were held by tenants or undertenants whose title was not then in question. For the historian the case is doubly fascinating. It shows William the Conqueror's Domesday Book being used as legal evidence more than 500 years after it was compiled, and it also shows the kind of error into which the user of Domesday Book can sometimes fall.

Ranulf brother of Ilger

Among the Domesday Barons of Essex, with lands widely scattered throughout the county, was Ranulf brother of Ilger, a trusted minister of both William I and William II.[22] His main estate was in the Lea valley, at Roydon, Nazeing, Harlow, and Great Parndon.[23] He also had sizeable manors at *Ginga* (probably Mountnessing) and Birdbrook, as well as smaller ones at Ramsden (Crays), Thorpe Hall in Southchurch, (Great?) Yeldham, Newland in St. Lawrence, Bobbingworth, East Horndon[24] and Little Bromley.[25]His manor of *Inga*, in Barstable hundred, has not been identified. Besides his own manors, Ranulf had custody of the King's manor of (North) Benfleet.[26] Outside Essex he had lands in the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Middlesex, Norfolk, and Suffolk.[27] In Huntingdonshire he also had custody of most of the royal estates. His manor of Stanstead (Abbots), which lay opposite Roydon on the Hertfordshire side of the river, was the marriage portion of his wife, niece of the powerful Ralf Taillebois.[28]

Soon after Domesday, and certainly by 1091, Ranulf was appointed sheriff of Huntingdonshire.[29] He held the post at least until 1094, and during that period was mentioned in several of William II's charters and writs.[30] After that he disappears from records, apparently without leaving heirs. Many of his manors passed to members of the prolific Clare family. Thus the overlordships of Everton (Hunts. and Beds.), Arlesey (Beds.), Stanstead Abbots, and Great Parndon, were held in the 12th century by the Clare earls of Pembroke, lords of Chepstow.[31] Those of Birdbrook,[32] Mountnessing,[33], Little Bromly,[34] and Great Yeldham[35] seem to have become annexed to the honour of Clare, which was held by the descendants of Richard Fitz Gilbert, lord of Clare, who became earls of Hertford and later of Gloucester.[36] The overlordship of Ranulf's manor of Gamlingay, in Cambridgeshire, and possibly also that of Newland in St. Lawrence, were held in the 13th century by the Fitzwalters, lords of Little Dunmow, another branch of the Clares.[37]

Dengie Manors and Church

Domesday Book lists two manors called Dengie (*Daneseia*), both assessed at 2½ hides. One, which had belonged before the Conquest to Siric, an Englishman, was held in 1086 by an unnamed knight as tenant of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux.[38] This became the manor of Dengie Hall, lying in the centre of the parish. After Odo's fall in 1088 it was annexed to the honour of Wrinstead *alias* Peverel of Dover, and it descended like South Hall in Rainham, the tenancy-in-demesne being held in the 12th and 13th centuries by the Crammavill family.[39]

The other Domesday manor of Dengie is to be identified with the later manor of Bacons, in the north of the parish. In 1066 it belonged to Turchill, a free man, but in 1086 it was held by the French abbey of St. Valery-sur-Somme.[40] In 1066 William the Conqueror's fleet had sheltered in St. Valery harbour on its way to England. The Normans had prayed at the abbey for a favourable wind, and at William's request the monks had brought out in procession the shrine containing the body of their saint.[41] In 1068 William expressed his gratitude to the abbey by giving it several English manors. These, including Dengie, were placed under the administration of the Essex priory of Takeley, a cell of St. Valery.[42] In the 13th and 14th centuries St. Valery's Dengie manor was held in demesne by the Bacon family, which paid the abbey a fixed annual rent-charge of 10 marks (£6 13*s* 4*d*).[43] The wars between England and France in the 14th century caused great difficulties for the alien priories, and in 1391 St. Valery sold its English estates to William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, for the endowment of his foundations of Winchester College, and New College, Oxford. The rent-charge from Dengie, by then called the manor of Bacons, was among the properties assigned to New College.[44]

The manor of Dengie Hall established itself as the principal manor in the parish. The parish church of St. James adjoined the Hall, the lords of which held the advowson.[45] Control of the church was, however, disputed by the lords

of Bacons manor. In 1282 Gilbert Bacon quitclaimed to Henry, son of Henry de Crammavill, a moiety of the church.[46] Two years later Crammavill quitclaimed to Bacon the advowson of 'the chapel of Dengie.'[47] The 'chapel' thus conveyed must have been a share of the parish church, rather than a separate building, for in 1291 the income from the church was stated to be £6, while 'the portion of Bacon therein' was £5 6*s* 8*d*.[48] Bacon's portion, sometimes described as a chapel or prebend, descended with Bacon's manor. Its successive incumbents, called 'wardens and owners', 'rectors and owners', 'owners and portioners', or 'portionists', were presented, instituted, and inducted like parish priests, and took part in the services of the church.[49] These arrangements led to disputes between the rectors and the portioners, and in 1542 the Bishop of London, Edmund Bonner, drew up a deed of composition to which the interested parties agreed.[50] In future the rector of Dengie was to receive all the income from the church, and was to perform all the duties of the cure. The portioner was to receive an annual stipend of £4 8*s*., paid by the rector, and was entirely freed from duty in the parish. Since the agreement made no provision for increasing the stipend in line with inflation — which was rapid in the 16th century — and the portioner remained liable for clerical taxation, Bacon's portion, which in 1291 had been almost as valuable as the rectory, eventually became practically worthless, though payments continued to be made at least until the 18th century.[51] The rectory, on the other hand, appreciated in real value, being worth over £700 by the early 19th century.[52]

Ranulf Peverel's Manor of Vange *alias* Fobbing

Domesday Book lists two manors of Vange (*Phenge*). The larger, comprising 5½ hides, was held in 1086 by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, William the Conqueror's half-brother, and under him by Ralf, son of Turold.[53] This became the manor of Vange Hall, which passed, along with Hassenbrook Hall in Stanford-le-Hope, another of Odo's manors, as part of the honour of Swanscombe.[54] The smaller manor, of one hide, was held by Ranulf Peverel, and under him by Serlo.[55] Morant supposed that it was eventually merged with Odo's manor, but it is now possible to suggest a separate descent.

Ranulf Peverel was a baron with great estates in both Essex and Hertfordshire, which came to be known as the honour of Peverel of London or of Hatfield Peverel. On the death of his son William in 1130 they escheated to the Crown.[56] In 1235, when an Aid was raised to provide a dowry for Henry III's sister Isabel on her marriage to the Emperor Frederick II, the tenants of the honour of Peverel included Gilbert Mauduit, who was assessed to pay one mark for ½ knight's fee which he held in Essex, and a further two marks which he held in the county under the Earl of Chester.[57] He was also assessed at one mark for ½ knight's fee held of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, i.e. of the honour of Framlingham.[58] In the same year Mauduit granted to Alexander, Treasurer of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, the homage and service of John Wallis (*le Waleys*) and Joan his wife, Roger de la Hide and Amy his wife, Richard Pigun and Sabina his wife, and Alice Fitz John, all of whom were Mauduit's tenants in Fobbing, the parish adjoining Vange to the west. At the same time the Treasurer quitclaimed to Mauduit one carucate of land in Little Henny.[59] The land in Little Henny was clearly the ½ knight's fee which Gilbert held of the honour of Framlingham, since (Little) Henny had been one of the manors held in 1086 by Roger Bigod (d.1107) ancestor of the earls of Norfolk.[60] Gilbert Mauduit's estate in Fobbing must have been one of the fees which he held of the honour of Peverel, and it is fairly certain that it was identical with the Domesday manor of Vange, which had evidently changed its name between 1086 and 1235. Such changes were not uncommon in the 11th and the 12th century, before parish boundaries were finally delineated.[61]

At least part of the rent paid to St. Paul's by Gilbert Mauduit's former tenants in Fobbing was used to maintain a chantry at the cathedral. This appears in 1244, when Alexander the Treasurer took legal action against John and Joan Wallis and John's daughters Anne and Sabina, and compelled them to acknowledge that they were bound to pay him 43*s*. a year from their free tenement in Fobbing for the purpose of the chantry.[62] The exact location of their tenement, and those of Roger and Amy la Hide and Mauduit's other tenants, have not been established, but other evidence suggests that they were in the area where the northern tip of Fobbing, the north-west corner of Vange, and the south-east corner of East Lee converge. Joan Wallis, Amy de la Hide, and their sister Alice de la Lee were joint heirs to an estate described in 1240 as being in Lee (*La Leye*)[63], and in 1252 John and Amy de la Hide sold an estate in East Lee, Fobbing, and other places.[64] It is not unlikely that Joan, Amy, and Alice were among the heirs of Robert de la Lee, who in 1254 were stated to be the patrons of East Lee parish church, and that there was a connexion between the manor of East Lee and Peverel's Domesday manor of Vange.[65]

The Lost Parishes of West Lee and East Lee

The parishes of Essex, like those in other counties, grew up gradually to meet religious needs, and their formation depended upon local resources and intitiative. Church building was greatly stimulated by the Norman Conquest, and proceeded rapidly during the boom years of the 12th century. By 1300 there were some 400 parish churches in the county, not including at least 70 chapels of lower status. The typical parish church was endowed with glebe land, with fees for services performed by the parish priest, and above all with the tithes from the produce of the landholders of the parish. It usually stood near the manor house. The advowson of the church usually lay with the lord of the manor for which the church had been built, or with his heirs, thought it sometimes came into the possession of a religious house.[66]

Between 1300 and 1800 there were very few changes in the boundaries or the status of Essex parishes. Those that did take place usually affected very small parishes, where the endowments had proved too poor to maintain a priest. Among these were West Lee (later merged with Langdon Hills), and East Lee (later the extra-parochial place called Lee Chapel). Since West Lee and East Lee have often been

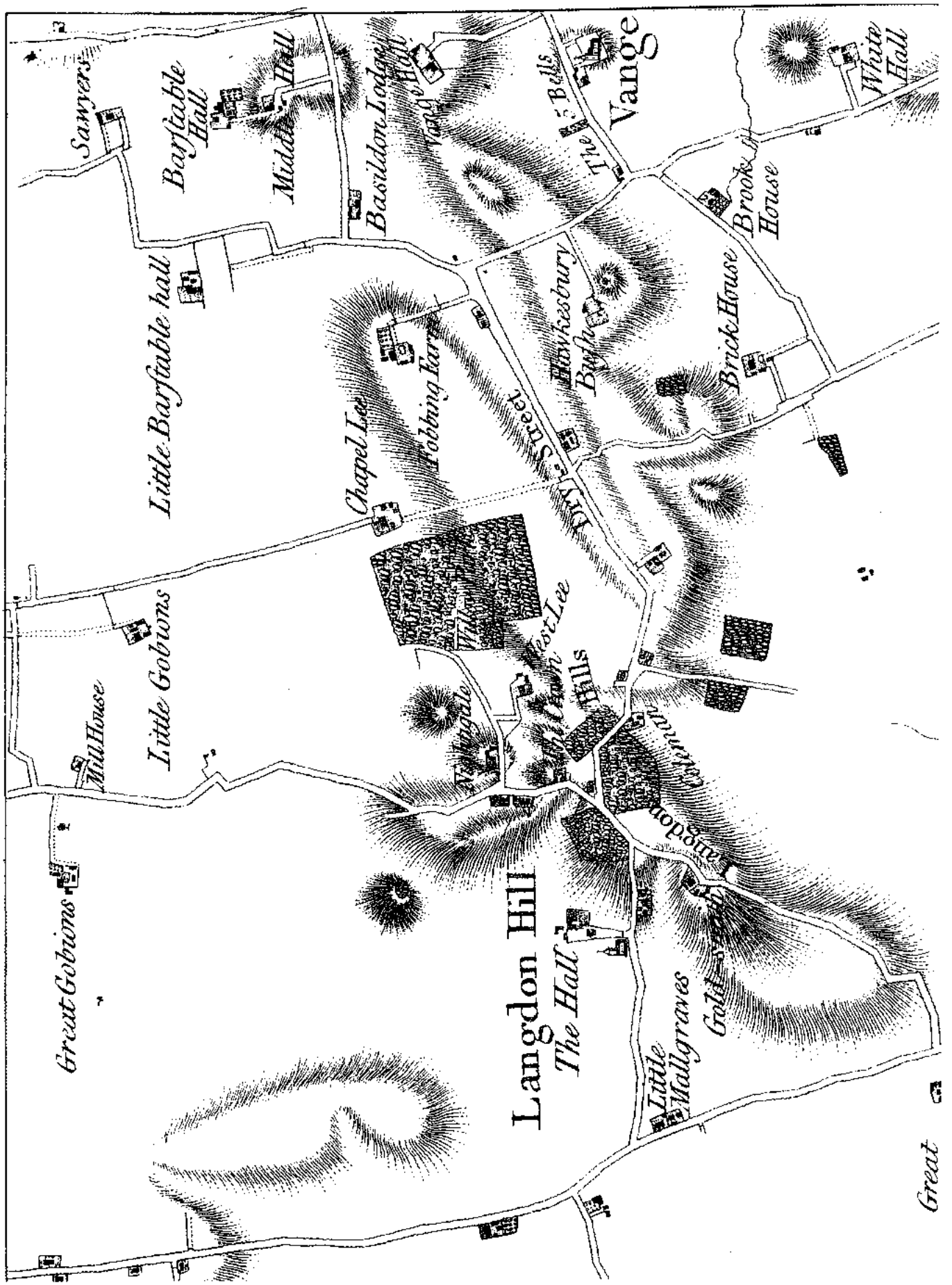

Plate I West Lee and Lee Chapel (Chapel Lee). From Chapman and André's *Map of Essex* (1777).

confused, both with each other and with West Lee chapel in West Tilbury and East Lee chapel in East Tilbury, it may be useful to look in detail at their history.[67]

West Lee and East Lee were adjoining parts of the upland district lying between Langdon Hills and Vange, in Barnstable hundred. The place-name 'Lee' means 'a woodland clearing' or 'open land'. In 1086 Langdon Hills and the neighbouring vills of Fobbing and Little Burstead were all well-wooded. At Fobbing and Little Burstead, and also Laindon, north of East Lee, there was a marked increase in the number of bordars between 1066 and 1086, suggesting pioneering activity such as forest clearance.[68] It is not unlikely that West Lee and East Lee were settled during that period, or during the following century, and it is certain that both had become parishes by the end of the 13th century. The advowson of West Lee belonged to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, who were the lords of the manor of West Lee, and also had peculiar jurisdiction over the parish.[69] The connexion with St. Paul's led Morant to identify West Lee with the Domesday manor of *Lea*, which also belonged to the cathedral, but Dr. Cyril Hart argued convincingly that *Lea* was Hadleigh,[70] and it therefore seems likely that West Lee was originally part of the Bishop of London's Domesday estates in Laindon.[71]

As early as 1297 the income of West Lee church was proving inadequate,[72] but rectors continued to be instituted until the end of the 14th century. Since the bishop had no jurisdiction over the parish, none of the institutions was entered in the episcopal registers, and Richard Newcourt was therefore unable to include in his *Repertorium* a list of West Lee's rectors. A few of the rectors' names appear in other sources, the last known being John Jekkes, who succeeded Richard Baly in 1399.[73] By 1432 the living was too impoverished to attract an incumbent, and it was therefore decided to unite West Lee with the neighbouring parish of Langdon Hills — itself small and poor. This was done by the bishop's order, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and of Beeleigh Abbey as patron of Langdon Hills.[74] The parishioners of West Lee, who also consented, were enjoined to resort in future to the church of Langdon Hills. The rector of the united benefice was required to celebrate mass in West Lee church once a year, on its saint's day. The Dean and Chapter were to have the next presentation to the united benefice, and after that every third turn, while the Abbey presented at the other two turns. St. Paul's retained its peculiar jurisdiction in West Lee, which included the oversight of the redundant church, and the Dean did, indeed, carry out a visitation of the church in 1458, noting that it contained an alabaster monument depicting the Passion of Christ.[75]

After 1536, when Beeleigh Abbey was dissolved, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's took over the whole advowson of Langdon Hills.[76] How long West Lee church survived is not known. It may have been 'Langdon Hills chapel', the lease of which, with 10 acres of land, was sold in 1573-4,[77] but it is not mentioned in the parochial inquisition of 1650, nor in the archdeacon's visitation of 1685.[78] By the 1760s, when Morant was writing, even the site of the church was forgotten.[79] It was probably near West Lee (now Westley) Hall, the manor house, which can still be seen, with smart 18th-century buildings, at the eastern end of Homestead Drive. In 1842, according to the tithe map, the glebe of Langdon Hills included Westley Field, of 2½ acres, lying 200 yards south-west of Westley Hall.[80] That is now part of Westley Heights, in Langdon Hills Country Park.[81] It would have been a commanding position for a church, and one most convenient for the Hall. There were, however, two fields called Chapel Field, which cannot be ruled out as possible sites of West Lee church. Both lay on the north side of Lee Chapel Lane, about ¼ mile north of Westley Hall. The larger (no. 180 on the tithe map), in 1842 comprised 6½ acres, part of Butlers Grove farm. The smaller, (no. 182), of 1½ acres, was part of the Langdon Hills glebe.

There is no record of the boundaries nor of the area of West Lee parish. The agreement of 1432, in awarding St. Paul's one presentation in three, seems to indicate that the value of West Lee rectory was half that of Langdon Hills. Since the area of the united parish was 1,800 acres,[82] West Lee had probably comprised about 600 acres, and there is no doubt that this, like the manor of West Lee, included West Lee Hall and the surrounding area.[83]

East Lee was a separate parish by 1254, when it was included, as 'Leye' in the list drawn up by Fulk Basset, Bishop of London, for the Norwich Taxation.[84] The value of the rectory was originally entered in the list as 20*s*., but a later hand added 'now not worth that'. Even at 20*s*. it had been the poorest living in Barstable Deanery.[85] The patrons of the living in 1254 were the heirs of Robert de la Lee. No earlier reference has been found to him, nor to his place in the feudal hierarchy. In the previous note, on the manor of Vange, it has beeen suggested that his heirs included the sisters Alice de la Lee, Joan Wallis, and Amy de la Hide. They were not, apparently, the only heirs. This appears from a series of conveyances in 1252 and 1254 by which Thomas, son of Thomas de Ramsden, acquired an interest in Robert de la Lee's property in several south Essex parishes. In 1252 John de la Hyde and Amy his wife sold to Ramsden a messuage, 100 acres of land, 9 marks and 11*s*. 7½*d* rent in 'East Lee, Fobbing, Langdon Hills, Dunton, Horndon, Chadwell, West Tilbury, and Havering', in return for an annuity of 8 marks.[86] By three linked conveyances in 1254 John de la Hulle and Rose his wife, and Hugh de la Lee and Lucy his wife, conveyed to the same Ramsden all their rights in the lands and tenements sometime of Robert de la Lee in 'Fobbing, East Lee, Langdon Hills, Horndon, Tilbury, Dunton, Chadwell, and Havering.' It will be seen that these were the same places as those in the deed of 1252, with one change in the order of listing. In return for this grant Ramsden gave John, Rose, Hugh, and Lucy 80 acres of land in East Lee and one rood of wood in West Lee, 'to wit, all the land called the Hyde and the wood which lies next to it to the west.' They were to hold these with reversion to the heirs of Rose and Lucy. Walter Butler and Sabina his wife, who were also parties to the conveyances of 1254, surrendered their rights to 30 acres of land and 24*s*. rent in Dunton, Langdon Hills, and East Lee, in return for a life interest in a messuage and land in (Little) Thurrock and Chadwell.[87]

Plate II Lee Chapel Farm *c.* 1900. Above; from south-east.
Below: from west. Reproduced by kind permission of the County Archivist, Essex Record Office.

The conveyances of 1254 and 1252, while putting John and Rose de la Hulle and Hugh and Lucy de la Lee in possession of a large tenement in East Lee, do not mention the advowson, but it is not unlikely that they obtained that also, for William de la Lee was rector of East Lee in 1291,[88] and in 1323 the presentation of a new rector was made by John atte Lee.[89] The next presentation, in 1335, was made by Thomas de Bardfield.[90] He was a local landowner who in 1329 had given 95 acres of land in Laindon and East Lee to found a chantry in Laindon church.[91] In 1337 he and Joan his wife made a family settlement of 4 messuages, 147 acres of land, 3½ acres of meadow and rents in Laindon, East Lee, West Lee, and East Horndon.[92] John Butler (*Botill, Boteler, Botiller*), who presented to East Lee in 1369 and 1374,[93] was in 1373 holding the manor of East Lee for life, with reversion to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, who died in that year.[94] Humphrey's widow, Countess Joan (d.1419), was holding the manor on 1412.[95] After her death East Lee passed to her granddaughter Anne, widow of Edmund Stafford, Earl of Stafford.[96] Anne died in 1438, and the manor was later held by a younger son of her third marriage, John Bourchier, Lord Berners (d.1474), who was succeeded by his brother Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex (d.1483).[97]

Thomas Brydham, who was instituted to East Lee in 1420, was the last known rector.[98] East Lee must by that time have been as poverty-stricken as West Lee. In 1291 its benefice had been valued at £1 10*s*., the lowest figure in Essex, equalled in only nine other parishes for which details are given.[99] In the 14th century East Lee was grouped for civil purposes with West Lee and Langdon Hills as a single vill, which in 1327 had only 11 taxpayers.[100] A list of Peter's Pence levied on the parishes of the seven southern deaneries of Essex, drawn up between 1426 and 1431, assessed East Lee at only 2½*d*.: no parish paid less, and only two parishes paid so little.[101]

By 1535 East Lee had ceased to be a parish, but its church still survived, with the lower status of a 'free chapel', valued at £3 6*s*. 8*d*. a year.[102] Sir Brian Tuke, a prominent official under Henry VIII, held the manor of East Lee and the advowson of the chapel at his death in 1545.[103] He had obtained them by grant of Sir Robert Wingfield (d.1539) to whom they had been granted by Henry VIII. They passed successively to Tuke's sons Charles (d.1547), and George (d.1574).[104] The chapel was investigated by Edward VI's Chantry Commission, which reported in 1548 that it was a mile from Laindon parish church, that it was worth £4 a year, and that services were being conducted there by a chaplain, Richard Gyle.[105]

By 1650, when the Commonwealth government sent round its Parochial Commission, East Lee chapel was no more than a distant and confused memory. The Commission reported, under Langdon Hills parish:

> There hath been by tradition a chapel long since demolished within the said parish called East Lee chapel, but it is not known that there was ever any divine service performed in the said chapel, or that any tithes were payable thereon, And that Captain Halls now receives the tithes of East Lee, but by what right we know not.[106]

Morant, writing a century later, treated East Lee under Laindon:[107]

> This [East Lee] is a distinct place, and pays no tithes either to this parish or Langdon Hills ... Here was anciently a chapel, now demolished, but the site of it is still visible. It was either built originally for a chantry, or one was founded there afterwards.

Although Morant did not understand that East Lee had once been a parish, his statement about its tithes was correct. The extra-parochial status of the place had, in fact, been vindicated in the courts in 1742-4, when Mary Wolledge of Lee Chapel (as East Lee was now called), successfully reclaimed money exacted from her by Laindon parish on account of surveyors' rates.[108]

Lee Chapel remained extra-parochial until 1858, when it automatically became a civil parish under a general statute.[109] In 1846 it was the subject of a tithe commutation award.[110] That sounds strange in an extra-parochial place, but it neatly confirms the earlier evidence of East Lee's origins as a parish. The impropriator of the tithes was Crawshay Bailey, who owned and farmed most of the land in Lee Chapel.[111] As late as 1901 Lee Chapel, with a total of 490 acres, had only nine inhabitants.[112] But fifty years later it was engulfed by Basildon New Town, and gave its name to the populous 'neighbourhoods' of Lee Chapel North and South.

As late as 1952 a guidebook was still stating that the foundations of the 'chapel' at Lee Chapel still existed, but that may have been merely a repetition of earlier guides,[113] for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (Essex) had found nothing to report from Lee Chapel in 1923.[114] The site of the foundations does, however, seem to have been known locally in the early years of this century. A sketch plan of Lee Chapel Farm, drawn in or before 1964 by someone who had known the area well 50 years earlier, marks 'old monastery site?' immediately north of the farm pond, and adds 'or here' a little to the east.[115] The pond still survives in the recreation ground adjoining Sporhams at Basildon.[116] The site is about a mile from Laindon church, which fits the location stated in the chantry certificate of 1548, quoted above. The glebe of East Lee probably included Little Chapel Fields (no. 31 on the Lee Chapel tithe map), which in 1846 comprised 21 acres, lying about 600 yards north-west of Lee Chapel Farm house, immediately west of the lane (now Green Lane), leading northwards from the Farm, and also Church Field (no. 7), and Chapel Field (no. 8), together comprising 19 acres, about a mile north-north-east of the Farm and ½ mile south-east of Laindon church, an area now lying on both sides of Upper Mayne, Basildon, and including the western side of Gloucester park.[117]

Lee Chapel Farm house, which lay west of the pond, was burnt down in 1915 or 1916. It had a 19th-century front, with an older block, perhaps of the 16th century, to the rear.[118] Its site is also in the recreation ground, near the south-west corner.

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Footnotes

1. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* **N.S.** vii. 249-51.
2. H.C. Darby, *Domesday England*, 276.
3. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 382-3.
4. D.B. ff. 43b, 58, 76b, 77.
5. *A new Historical Geography of England before 1600*, ed. H.C. Darby, 120.
6. G.G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain before 1600*, 30.
7. *V.C.H. Essex*, viii. 62, 65.
8. Ibid. 141.
9. Ibid. 236.
10. *P.N. Essex*, 235, 156, 542. For Fobbing see also E.R.O., D/CT 141, no. 188.
11. P. Morant, *Hist. Essex*, ii. 291, note H.
12. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 383.
13. Ibid. vii. 11, 17-18.
14. Ibid. 1-3.
15. Ibid. 17.
16. Havering's total area was 16,100 statute acres. Barking manor, comprising 18,863 acres, was assessed at 30 hides (D.B. f. 17b). The manors of East Ham and West Ham, together comprising 7,165 acres, were assessed at 17 hides (ff. 14b, 64). Woodford, comprising 2,146 acres, was assessed at 5 hides (f.16).
17. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 334, note 4.
18. H.C. Darby, *Domesday England*, 9-10.
19. H.M. Carter, 'The Manors of Toleshunta', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 3rd ser. i. 239.
20. Hatfield Broad Oak: *V.C.H. Essex*, viii. 173; K.C. Newton, *The Manor of Writtle c. 1086-1500*, 43: virgate of 80 acres.
21. For the case see: P.R.O., SP14/94, 99, 109, 201-3.
22. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 538-41.
23. Ibid. v. 118, 142; viii. 140, 215-17, 232-3.
24. *P.N. Essex*, 159.
25. Ibid. 333; cf. *P.N. Essex*, 333 (Derleigh).
26. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 428.
27. *V.C.H. Beds.* ii. 226, 261; W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambs.* 174-6; *V.C.H. Herts.* ii. 406, 368; *V.C.H. Hunts.* ii. 370; *V.C.H. Middlesex*, i. 117, 129; *V.C.H. Norfolk*, ii. 182-3; *V.C.H. Suffolk, i. 559-60.*
28. *V.C.H. Hunts.* i. 326-7.
29. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, i, nos. 321, 322.
30. Ibid. nos. 329, 337, 435, 447, 462, 477; op. cit. ii, p.405.
31. For Everton (Hunts. and Beds.) see *V.C.H. Hunts.* ii. 370; *V.C.H. Beds.* ii. 226; *Book of Fees*, 882, 1455; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii, no. 1967. For Arlesey (Beds.) see *V.C.H. Beds.* ii. 261; *Book of Fees*, 882. For Stanstead Abbots see *V.C.H. Herts.* iii. 368; *Book of Fees*, 123; R. Ransford, *Early Charters of Waltham Abbey*, no. 354. For Great Parndon see *V.C.H. Essex*, viii. 215-17. For the earls of Pembroke see *Complete Peerage*, x. 348f; I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies*, 110-11.
32. Morant, *Essex*, ii. 344.
33. Ibid. ii. 43; J.H. Round, 'Thoby priory and Fryerning', *Essex Archaeological Transactions*, **N.S.** xiv. 360.
34. Morant, *Essex*, i.440: s.v. Braham.
35. Ibid. ii. 299.
36. For the honour of Clare see Sanders, *English Baronies*, 34-5; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 498f. s.v. Hertford.
37. W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambs.* 174-6; Morant, *Essex*, i. 372.
38. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 457.
39. Morant, *Essex*, i. 369; *V.C.H. Essex*, vii. 133; Sanders, *English Baronies*, 151; *Book of Fees*, 121, 582, 590, 901, 1359, 1464; *Feet of F. Essex*, ii. 12; *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, 87, 482.
40. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 453; C. Brunel et H. Salter, *Chartes des Abbés de St. Valery* (1910), 3, 32-3.
41. *English Historical Documents*, 1042-1189, 221.
42. Brunel et Salter, op. cit., 3, 32-3; H.E. Salter, *Facsimiles of Early Charters in Oxford Muniment Rooms* (1927), 27.
43. *Feet of F. Essex*, ii. 35, 40, 96; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 25; Brunel et Salter, op. cit. 15, 16; Morant, *Essex*, i. 369-70.
44. *V.C.H. Essex*, ii. 199; Brunel et Salter, op. cit. 15, 16, 21, 30; E.R.O., D/DP Z16/6.
45. Morant, *Essex*, i. 369; Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, ii. 211; *Reg. Radulphi Baldock &c.*, ed. R.C. Fowler, 277, 279, 280.
46. *Feet of F. Essex*, ii. 35.
47. Ibid. 40.
48. *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 21.
49. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, ii. 212; Morant, *Essex*, i. 371.
50. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, ii. 213.
51. Ibid.; Morant, *Essex*, i. 371.
52. *White's Dir. Essex* (1848), 288.
53. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 454.
54. Morant, *Essex*, i. 238, 245; I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies*, 144.
55. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 526.
56. Ibid. 346; Sanders, *Baronies*, 120; J.H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 90-1, 140-2.
57. *Book of Fees*, 481-2.
58. Ibid. 484; Sanders, *Baronies*, 46-7.
59. *Feet of Fines*, Essex, i. 111.
60. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 549.
61. As in the case of a DB manor of Leyton: see *V.C.H. Essex*, vi. 185, 326.
62. *Feet of F. Essex*, i. 146.
63. Ibid. i. 131.
64. Ibid. i. 188.
65. *E.A.T.* **N.S.** xviii. 22. See also below, 'The Lost Parishes of West and East Lee.'
66. For this paragraph see W.R. Powell, 'The Making of Essex Parishes', *Essex Review*, Jan. 1953, 1-18.
67. For the Tilbury chapels see above vol. xix. 155, 157.
68. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 482, 460, 441, 437.
69. *Domesday of St. Paul's*, ed. W.H. Hale (Camden Soc. 1858), 164; *V.C.H. Essex*, ii. 12, quoting *Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral in 1297 and 1458*, ed. W. Sparrow Simpson (Camden Soc. 1895); *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 24; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1300-26, 305. In 1314 the income from West Lee manor was maintaining the brewhouse of St. Paul's: *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, 81.
70. Morant, *Essex*, i. 247; C. Hart, *Early Charters of Essex* (1st edn.), Norman Period, 36.
71. *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 437, 441; cf. Hart, op. cit. 35.
72. *V.C.H. Essex* ii. 12.
73. *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, 7, 15. In 1326 John Kirketon left West Lee on removal to London: *Reg. Baldock*, 280, note 7. In 1392 William Bryghtwell was instituted in succession to Henry Lavington: *Cal. Pat.* 1391-6, 181.
74. Newcourt, *Repertorium Eclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, ii. 357-8; cf. *V.C.H. Essex*, ii. 10-11.
75. *V.C.H. Essex*, ii. 20.
76. Newcourt, op. cit. ii. 357-8; Morant, *Essex*, i. 247.
77. P.R.O., E210/10209.
78. H. Smith, *Ecclesiastical Hist. Essex*, 243; *E.A.T.* **N.S.** xxi. 306.
79. Morant, *Essex*, i. 247.
80. E.R.O., D/CT 200 (Langdon Hills tithe award); cf. O.S. Map 6 inch. (1st edn.), lxxvi. Essex County Archaeology Section kindly tell me that no relevant remains have been recorded from that area.
81. Essex County Council, *Langdon Hills Country Park* (1983) includes some historical information on West Lee.
82. 1,800.639 acres, according to O.S. Map 6 inch. (1st edn.), lxxvi.
83. Cf. *Langdon Hills Country Park*, 18. (West Lee manor in 1776).
84. *E.A.T.* **N.S.** xviii. 22.
85. West Lee is not listed in the Norwich Taxation.
86. *Feet of F. Essex*, i. 188.
87. Ibid. i. 212. For Walter Butler of Little Thurrock cf. 224.
88. P.H. Reaney, *Early Essex Clergy*, 110.
89. *Reg. Baldock*, ed. R.C. Fowler, i. 271.
90. Ibid. 307.
91. *Cal. Pat.* 1327-30, 376.
92. *Feet of F. Essex*, iii. 41.
93. *Reg. Sudbury*, ed. R.C. Fowler, i. 265, 263: he was styled 'John Boteler of Bardfield' in 1374. The latter description suggests that he was related to Thomas de Bardfield, who presented to the rectory in 1335.

94. *Cal. Inq. p. m.* xv, p. 347; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 473-4.
95. *Feudal Aids*, vi. 433.
96. *Cal. Pat.*1416-22, 381-2; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 475-6.
97. *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 181; ii. 153, 248; P.R.O., C140/53.
98. *Cal. Pat.* 1416-22, 258.
99. *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 23.
100. *Medieval Essex Community*, ed. J.C. Ward, 98; cf. *Essex Sessions of the Peace*, ed. E.C. Furber, 188.
101. *V.C.H. Essex*, ii. 5-6*n*: cf. Writtle 8*s*., Waltham Holy Cross 7*s*., Hornchurch 5*s*.
102. *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Rec. Com.), i. 448: 'free chapel in Langdon.'
103. P.R.O., C142/84/62; D.N.B. s.v. Tuke, Sir Brian.
104. P.R.O., C142/169/42.
105. P.R.O., E301/19/15. These details were kindly supplied by Miss H.E.P. Grieve.
106. H. Smith, *Ecclesiastical Hist. Essex*, 243. Smith, like later writers, confuses East Lee with West Lee.
107. *Hist. Essex*, i. 250-1.
108. E.R.O., D/DFa E14.
109. 20 Vict. c. 19; cf. *V.C.H. Essex*, ii. 342.
110. E.R.O., D/CT 216. Miss N.R. Briggs kindly drew my attention to this tithe award 35 years ago.
111. Bailey was Conservative M.P. for Monmouth 1852-68: *Mc. Calmont's Parliamentary Poll Book* (1971 edn.), pt. i, 206.
112. *Census Rep.* 1901.
113. *Essex* (Little Guide, 7th edn. 1952), 130; ibid. (2nd edn. 1915), 192; *Durrant's Handbook for Essex* (1887), 137; *White's Dir. Essex* (1848 edn.), 551.
114. R.C.H.M., *Essex*, iv. 82. Essex County Council Archaeological Section kindly tell me that no relevant remains have been reported there.
115. E.R.O., T/P 172.
116. Cf. E.R.O., *Sale Cats*. Langdon Hills, Westley Hall Estate, 1876; Lee Chapel Farm, 1886; Chapman and André, *Map of Essex* (1777), sheet xxii.
117. E.R.O., D/CT 216.
118. E.R.O., T/P 172. See plate II.

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Harwich; its archaeological potential as revealed in excavations at George Street and Church Street

by David Andrews, Brian Milton and Helen Walker

with contributions by Hilary Major and Brian Spencer

This paper presents the results of two excavations and two watching briefs at Harwich. The Methodist chapel site in Church Street and the watching briefs show that the town has up to 2 m of stratified deposits, there being an especially rapid rise in level in the 13th century, sealed by a deep levelling layer of c. 1300 which seems to be very extensive, at least in the area

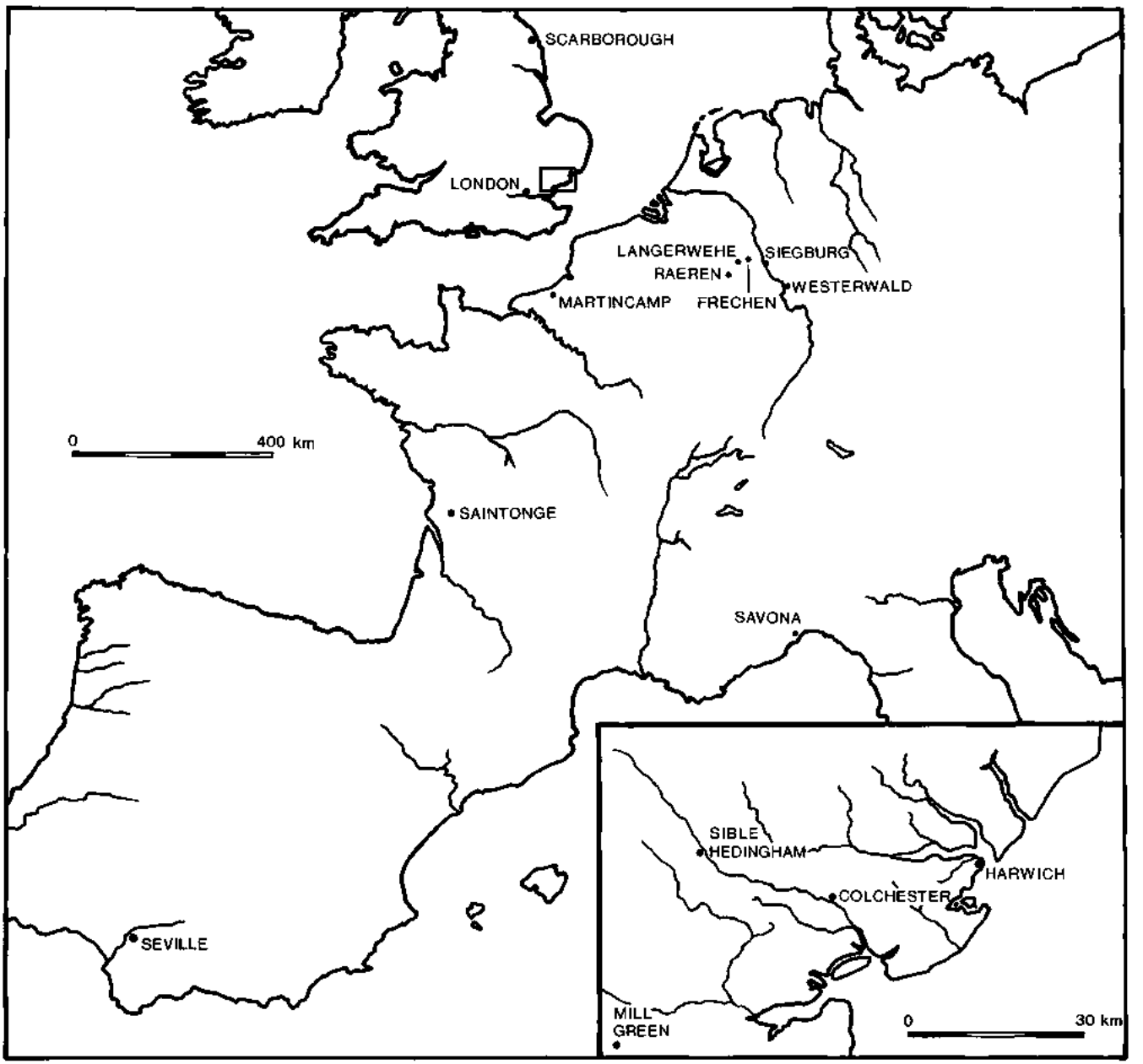

Fig. 1 Location plan

of Church Street. At this point, the ground level in the town seems to have stabilized, with only a more gradual rise over the succeeding centuries. On the Methodist chapel site, at least three phases of 13th century buildings were identified. It is suggested that a garden soil or dark earth layer above these might be associated with late medieval economic decline, though this cannot be conclusively demonstrated. The excavation at George Street indicated that the western periphery of the town was not built up until the 17th-18th centuries. The pottery is notable for the range of imports, and that from the Methodist chapel site is one of the best stratified assemblages known from the county.

Introduction (Fig. 2)

The proposed building by Tendring District Council of sheltered housing on George Street, West Street and Church Street offered the opportunity for the Archaeology Section of Essex County Council to carry out excavations in these areas. The first took place in November 1985 on George Street, involving a large area of the street frontage between White Hart Lane and no. 13, and a small area at 29 West Street, north of White Hart Lane and adjacent to the site of the demolished White Hart Hotel. A year later, an excavation was carried out on the site of a demolished Methodist chapel adjacent to Mayflower House in Church

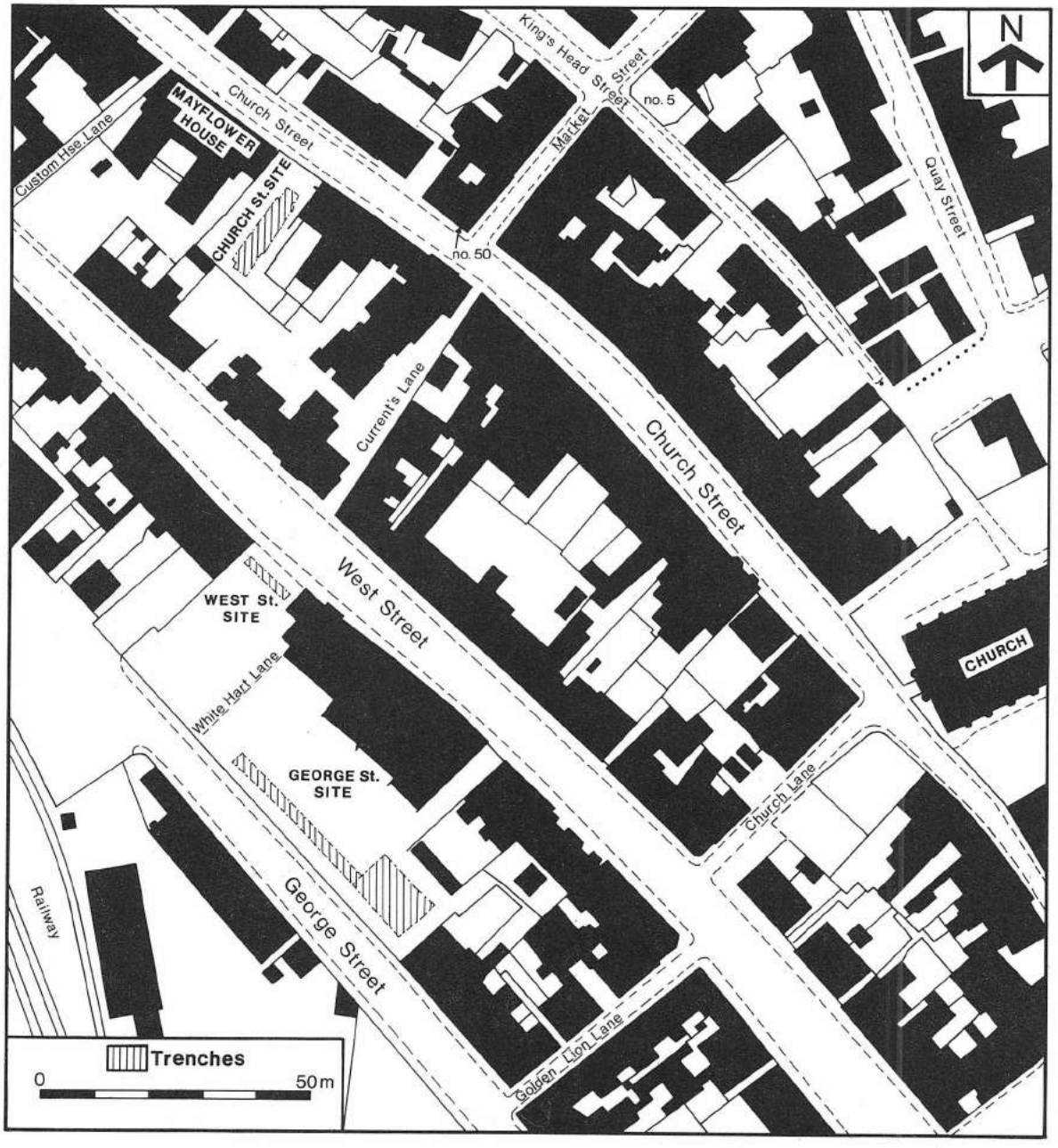

Fig. 2 Harwich, Site location plan

Street. In the spring of 1987, a watching brief was carried out as Mayflower House was demolished and foundation and service trenches dug for the new building. Also considered here is a watching brief at 50 Church Street, and another at the corner of Market Street and King's Head Street.[1] This report is so arranged that the results of each investigation are assessed individually, a synthesis being presented at the end.

Location and Background

Harwich is situated on a low, sandy promontory projecting northwards into the estuary of the Orwell and Stour, thought to have been formed after a change in position of the mouth of the estuary around AD 1000 (Weaver 1975, 5). The bank of sand overlies London Clay, which in turn overlies chalk. Septaria outcrops south of the town and this stone was used as a building material in Roman and medieval times.

The town was founded by the earls of Norfolk around 1200 to exploit its strategic position as a safe natural harbour at the mouth of the two rivers. The medieval town initially centred around Church Street, King's Head Street and West Street, and began expanding both eastwards and westwards in the 16th and 17th centuries. Whereas the Church Street sites are in the centre of the town, the George Street one was at its periphery. However, a limited investigation on the site of the demolished White Hart Hotel site discovered much 13th-14th century pottery (Milton 1984-85).

George Street

Introduction (Fig. 3)

The buildings had been cleared from the site some years previously. A machine trench, about 44 m long and 2 m wide, was excavated parallel to George Street and about 3 m back from the pavement to determine the amount of disturbance along the frontage. It was found that the smaller tenements that had existed at the north end of the development area adjacent to White Hart Lane did not have cellars, and nor did the demolished Independent chapel, but that the larger buildings in between did have them, these having been filled with sand at the time of demolition. Two areas of this trench, designated areas I and II, were considered worthy of detailed investigation. The former was a 2 m square portion of the linear machine trench. Area II was located further south on the relatively undisturbed site of the Independent chapel. Here the trench was extended east to uncover a rectangular area measuring 13 × 8 m. In both areas, the upper layer, a brown-black sandy loam, was removed by machine, and the layers and features below were excavated by hand. A machine trench was also dug along the frontage of West Street, north of White Hart Lane, but was abandoned due to excessive cellar disturbance.

13th-14th Century Contexts (Fig. 4, 6)

In area I, two small pits or post holes (F97, F99) cut the natural sand, which was present at a depth of about 1 m below ground level. Both measured 300-400 mm across, and were 200-250 mm deep. Their fills contained pottery of 13th-14th century date.

In area II, only the northern half of the trench, and a strip 1.5 m wide across the southern half, were excavated down to natural sand. A number of features were uncovered, all in the northern half. They were recorded as sealed by a thin layer (21) of brown-grey sandy loam with common mottles of reddish-brown clay, overlain by a thicker (150 mm) layer of grey-brown sandy loam (20). These layers seemed to represent an old soil horizon, and contained sherds of 13th-14th century pot, in large quantities in layer 21. Because this pottery was much the same date as that from the features described above, and because otherwise one must assume that any layers above the natural sand had been cleaned off before the features were excavated, something which seems improbable, it is concluded that the features were cut through layers 20 and 21, or from within them.

A line of post holes (F76) at the base of a slot ran east-west across the site, though it had been removed by later features near the sides of the trench. In all, 17 post holes were excavated, circular or near-circular, varying in diameter between 150-250 mm, and up to 150 mm deep. They were deeper towards the eastern half of the line, where the slot was also more obvious though never more than 30 mm deep. Four other probable post holes (F78, F80, F82, F91) were found south of the line of posts. F80 and F91 were close together and joined by a small slot.

15th-17th Century Contexts (Fig. 5, 6)

The features described above were sealed by a deposit (2) of blackish sandy loam or garden soil 400-600 mm thick, containing finds datable from the 13th century to the 20th century. This seems to have accumulated over a period of time, since later finds came from nearer its surface. In area II, this layer was removed by machine and not examined in detail. A number of late and post-medieval features found cutting layers 20 and 21 were recorded as sealed by the garden soil. In fact, since these features contained finds of much the date as those from the garden soil, it seems clear that they were cut through the soil or else from levels within it.

Some of these features (F22, 24, 32, 70, 72, 75) contained only a few 13th-14th century sherds, which are presumed to be residual. The dating of the finds from the other features is set out in table 1. The larger features (F13, 32) may have been rubbish pits, though this was not in fact suggested by their fills. The smaller were no doubt post holes, though they had no obvious structural significance.

18th-19th Century Contexts

The buildings which had existed on the site were all constructed from the level of the garden soil, often with shallow foundations which even in the case of the chapel did not penetrate the full depth of this deposit. The little that remained of these buildings was not examined in detail. A number of features were identified as associated with the Congregational chapel, a building which seems to have dated from *c.* 1800.[2] They included some post holes, a grave, and a shallow oblong pit.

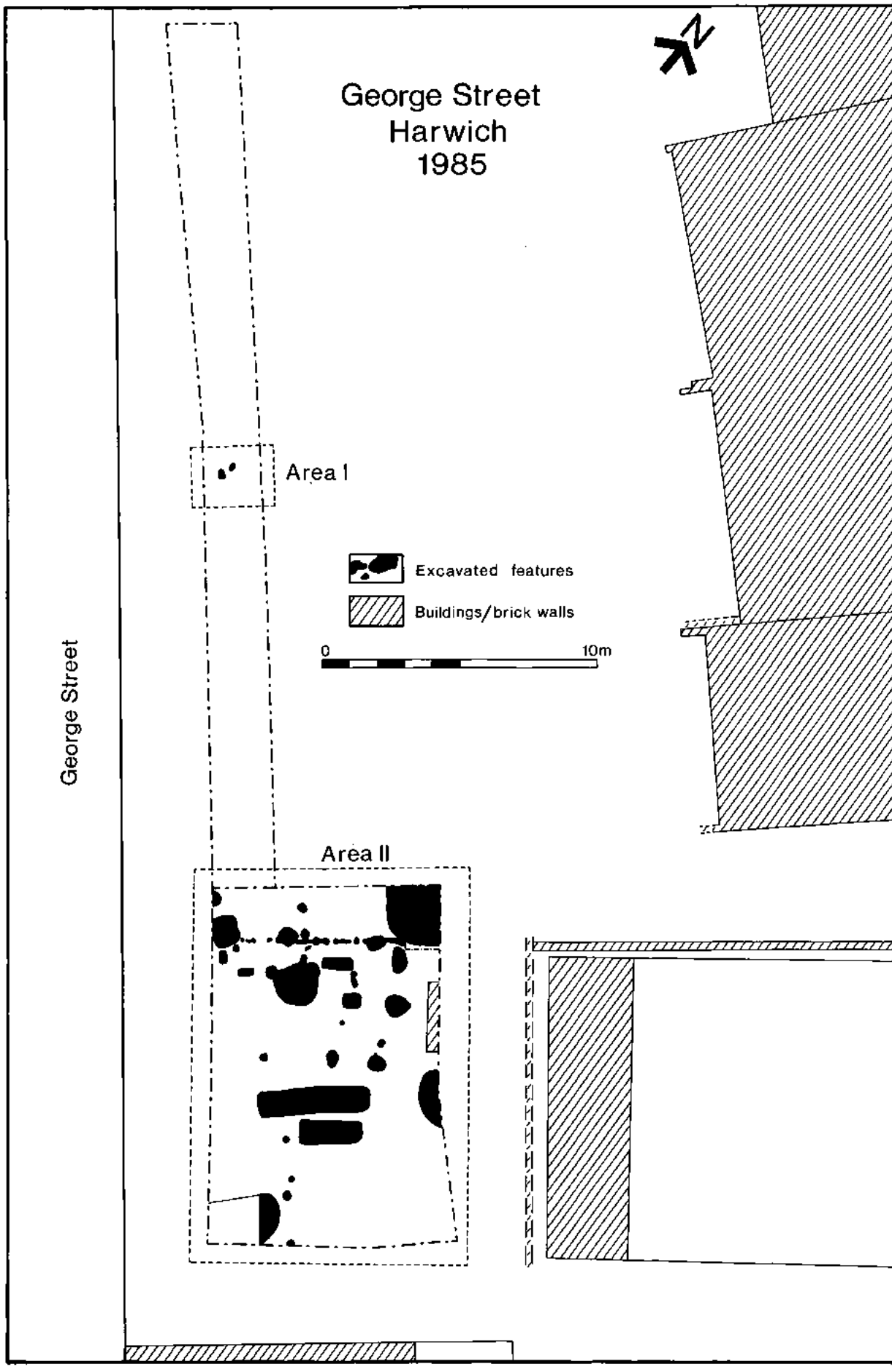

Fig. 3 The George Street site showing location of trenches

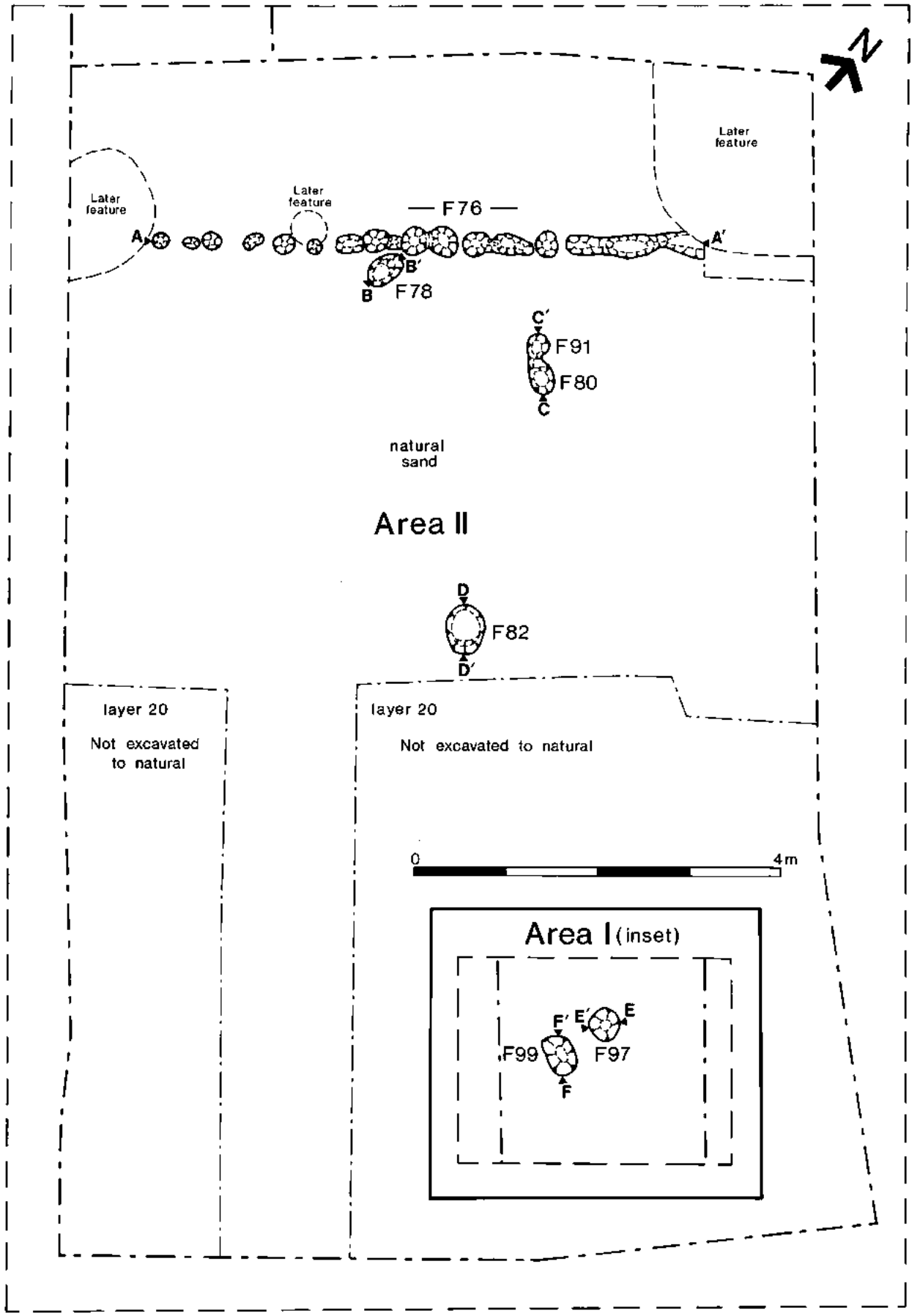

Fig. 4 George Street, plan of medieval features

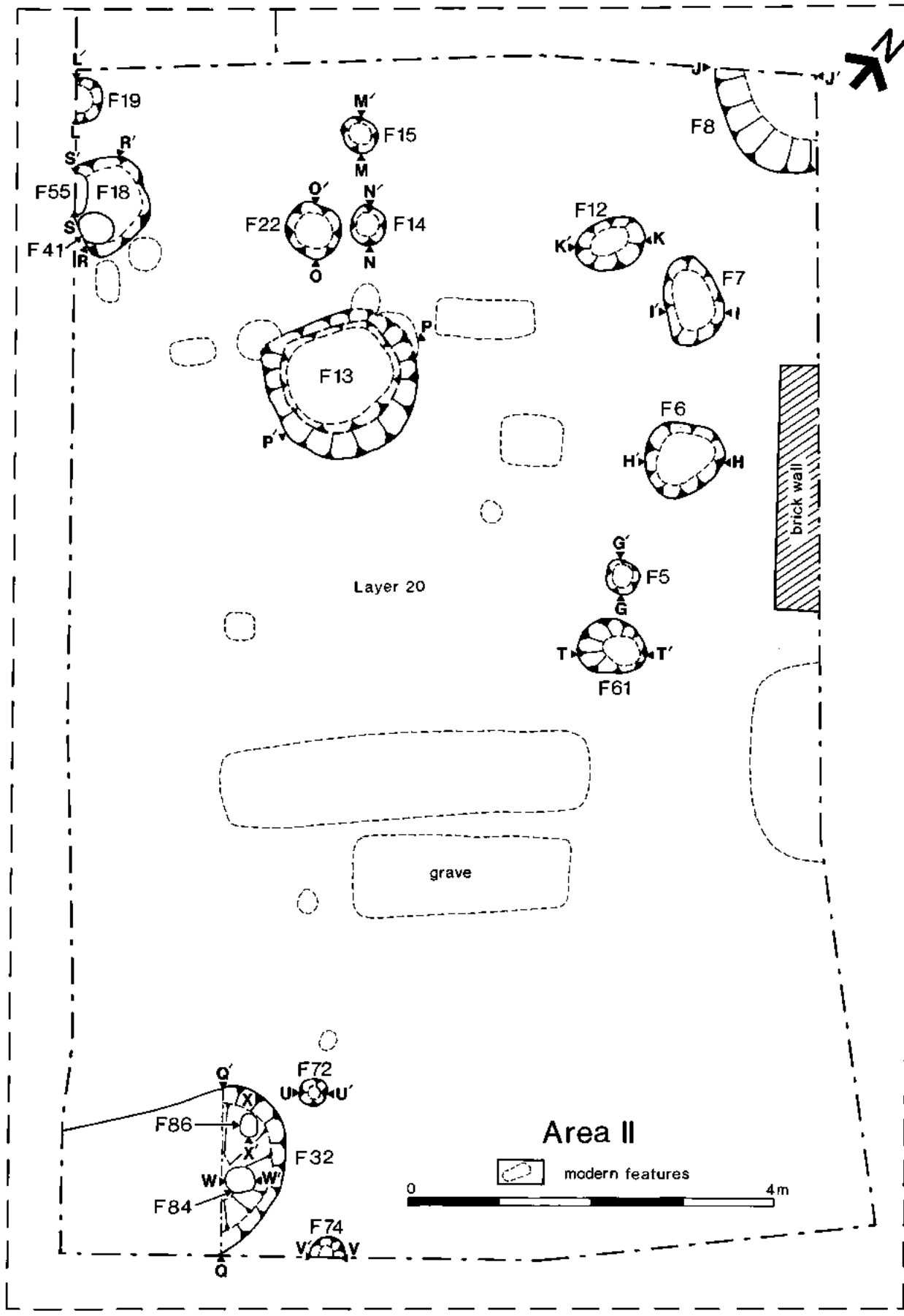

Fig. 5 George Street, plan of 15th-17th century and later features

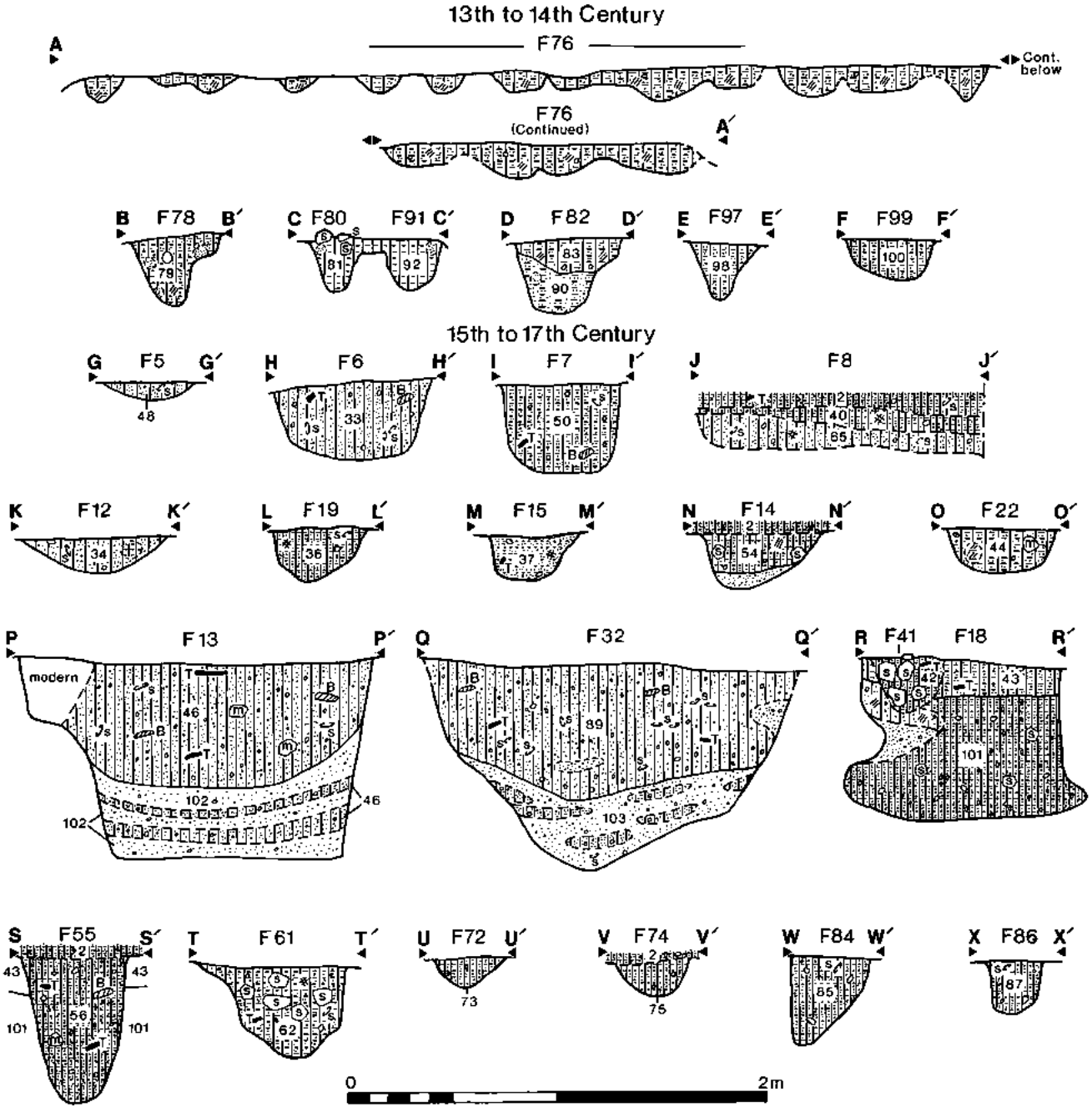

Fig. 6 George Street, sections through principal features

Discussion

The excavation revealed on a larger scale a sequence similar to that evident in the section examined behind the cellar wall at the White Hart hotel in 1979 (Milton 1984-85). There a small 13th century pit was found cutting natural sand, and sealed by dark sandy loam containing medieval pottery. This was in turn overlaid by a garden soil of late medieval to post-medieval date, below post-medieval gravel surfaces. Throughout the Middle Ages, both sites seem to have been open space, no doubt forming the backlands to properties on West Street. The line of post holes (F76) may represent the fence of a stock enclosure, and was very likely a property boundary. It can be seen (Fig. 2) that its line is continued in a modern brick wall. It is strange, however, that it was cut by later features and not obviously superseded by a later structure. The darker colour of the upper soil layer (2) suggests that at the end of the Middle Ages and in the post-medieval period, if not before, the area was actively cultivated and used as gardens. Both sites seem to have remained undeveloped until the 17th century or early 18th century.

Church Street, The Methodist Chapel Site

Introduction (Fig. 7)
In November 1986, a trench about 14 m long and 2 m wide was excavated by machine on the site of the demolished Methodist chapel adjacent to Mayflower House (itself demolished and redeveloped in 1987). Post-medieval cellars were found to occupy an area about 8 m wide along the frontage. Modern brick rubble, building foundations and a thick layer of brown to black garden loam (143, 150) were removed by machine. Thereafter the site was cleaned and excavated by hand, the trench being narrowed to 1.5 m for safety reasons. All but the westernmost 2.5 m was taken down to the natural yellow sand, which was 1.8 m below existing ground level. In spring of 1987, a watching brief was carried out on the groundworks for the development on the Mayflower House site, which had been extensively damaged by basements.

Period 1 Late 12th century to *c.* 1225 (Fig. 8, 9)
The earliest traces of occupation were features cut into a layer of sand (114) only slightly darker in colour than the natural, probably the remains of a buried soil since it contained intrusive finds. The features comprised a slot (F130) about 200-300 mm wide and 100-150 mm deep, and a group of post holes at the east end of the site. Both slot and post

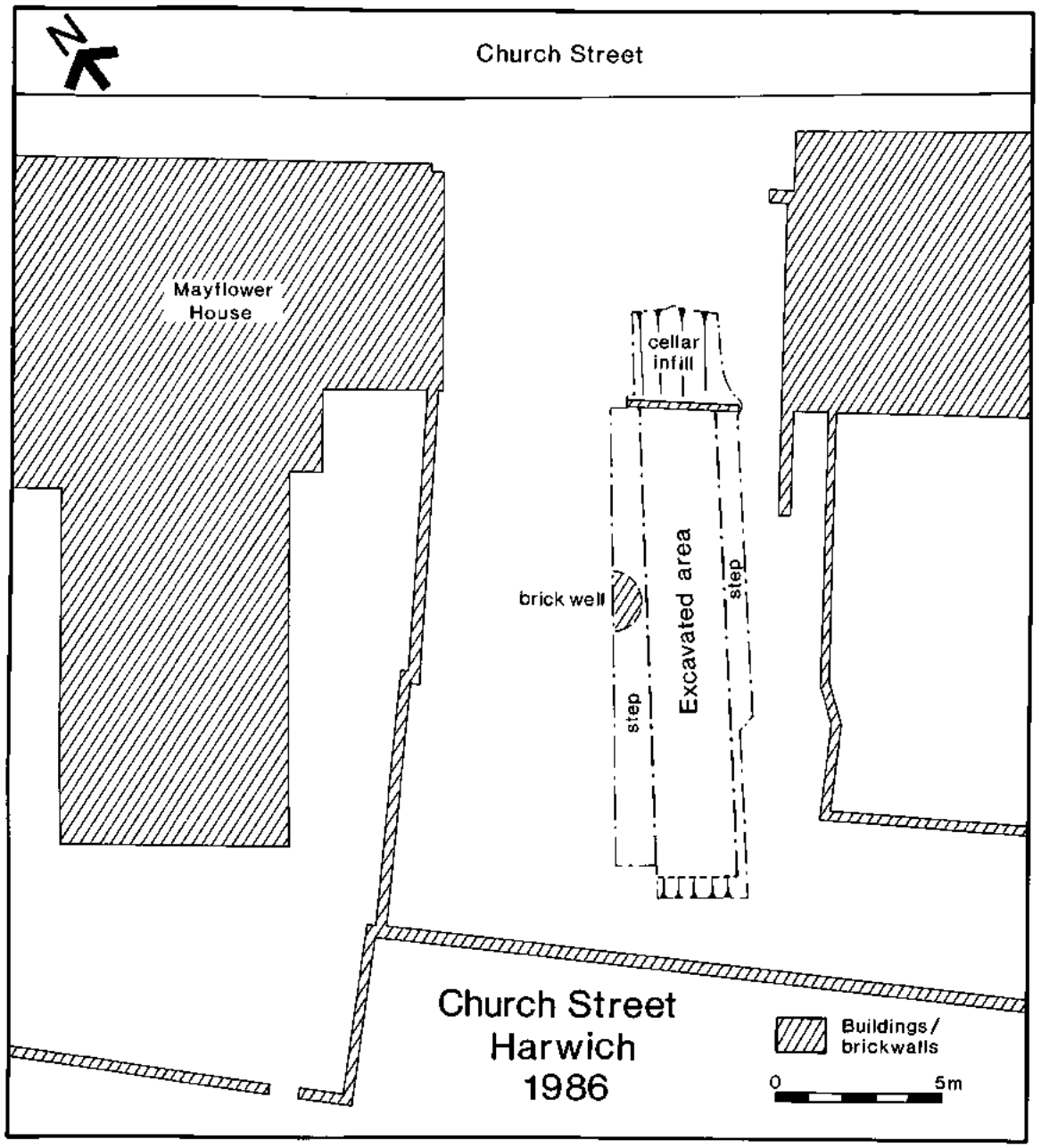

Fig. 7 The Methodist chapel site in Church Street, showing location of trenches

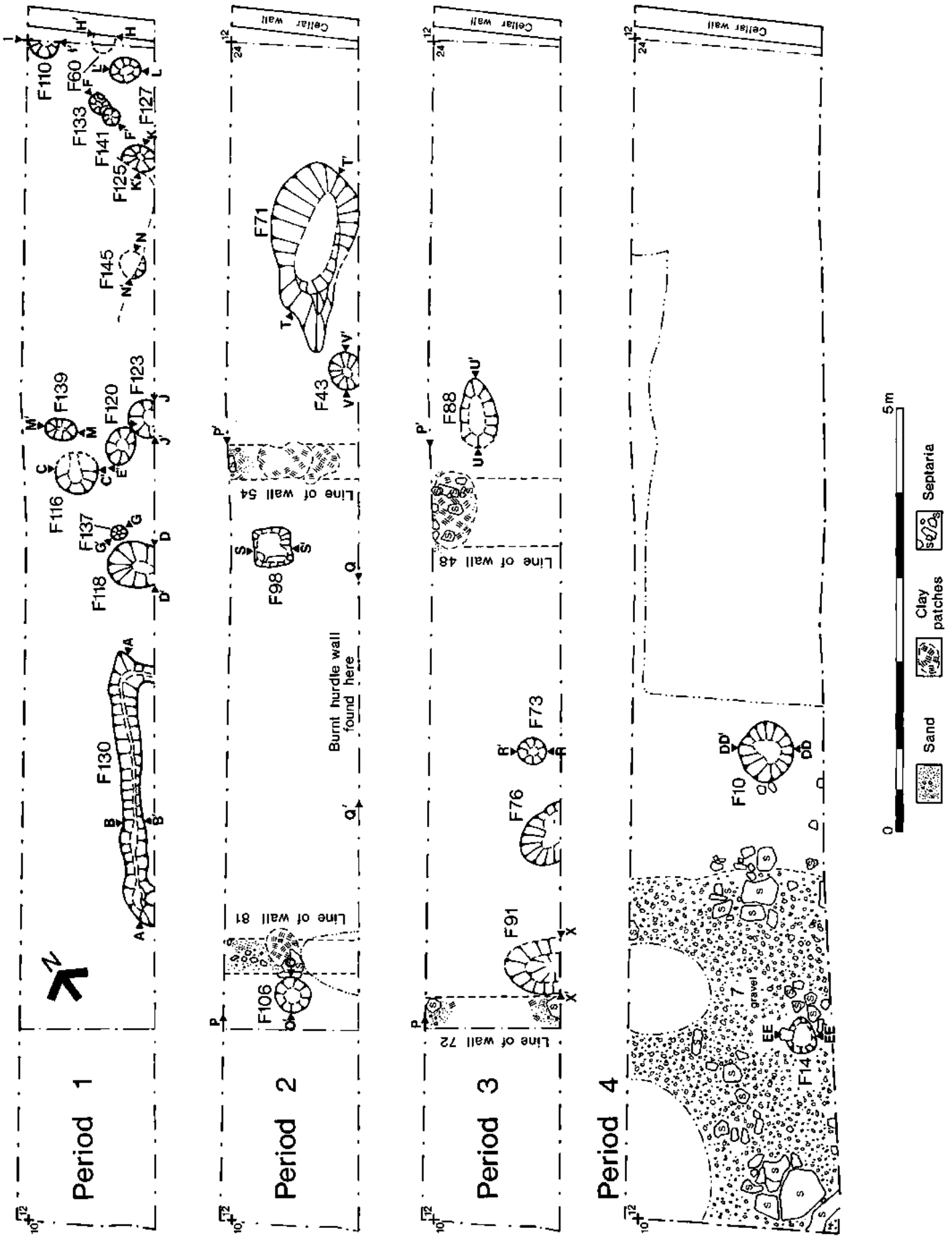

Fig. 8 Methodist chapel site, phases 1-4

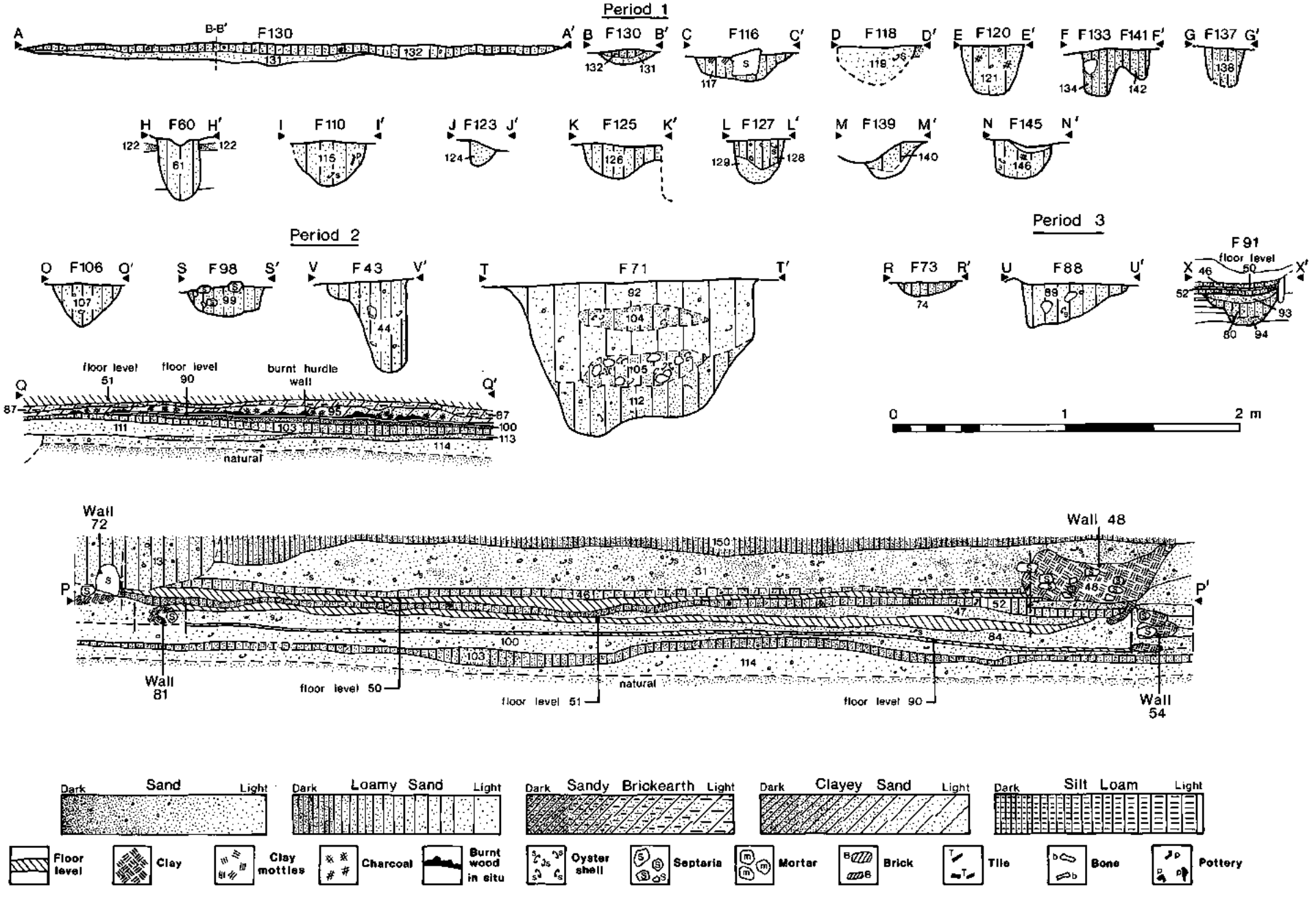

Fig. 9 Methodist chapel site, main site sections and sections through features

holes seem to represent buildings about 3 m and 5 m wide respectively, parallel to the street frontage. Some patchy clayey layers with evidence of burning were all that was found that could have been the remains of floors.

The two buildings could not be related stratigraphically, and need not have been contemporary. Indeed, the pottery from the fills of these features, which has a date range from the late 12th to some time in the first half of the 13th century, could be used to suggest that the post hole building is the later, inasmuch as one of the post holes contained phase II Scarborough ware, which is thought to have been produced after *c.* 1225. However, this could be intrusive from the overlying period II layers. Unfortunately, the pottery sample from this period was too small to support any very convincing arguments about the relative dates of the buildings, or about the date of the earliest settlement on the site.

Period 2 *c.* 1225-1250 (Fig. 8, 9)
Ground level was raised through the deposition of a layer of yellow sand (100) up to 200 mm thick, and a building was constructed parallel to the frontage. Its walls had clay and septaria footings (F81, F54) about 0.35 m wide and 5.5 m apart internally. Two superimposed earth floors were found. The earlier (90) consisted of grey to black firm loamy sand with clay patches and charcoal flecks, cut by a square post hole (F98). The building seems then to have been damaged by fire, as this floor was overlain by charcoal-rich deposits (95) and, remarkably, a portion of burnt hurdle walling at right angles to the external walls which had fallen and been left *in situ*. This extended only just into the southern part of the excavated area. Wall 54 itself showed what seemed to be evidence of scorching. Another thin (100 mm) layer of yellow sand (84) was then dumped as make-up for a second floor made of hard brown silty clay, the surface of which was grey to black in colour, with some reddish, burnt-looking patches (87, 54).

A post hole was found to the west of the building, whilst to the east of it, cutting mixed layers of sand and loamy sand, were a post hole (F43) and a large pit (F71). The latter measured 1.6 × 0.7 m and was 0.9 m deep. Its fills contained household refuse, food debris (mostly oyster shells), and burnt material. It is interpreted as a cess pit. Stratigraphically, both F71 and F43 could belong to the succeeding phase. The pottery assemblage from this period was very little different to that from the preceding one, being datable broadly to the mid-13th century.

Period 3 *c.* 1250-1300 (Fig. 8, 9)
Wall 81 was cut, and no doubt partially robbed by, a small pit (F91). The fill of this pit, the surviving wall footings, and the earth floor of the preceding period were covered by levelling layers of sand (47, 52), which were cut by two probable post holes (F73, F76). Two wall footings (F48, F72), also made of septaria blocks in a matrix of silty clay, were laid on these layers on a similar alignment to, but about 700 mm to the west of, the walls of the earlier period. Associated with these and overlying the levelling layers and post holes was another clearly defined floor (50) made of sandy silt with black and red burnt patches. To the east, outside the building, there was a deposit of dark rather mixed loamy sand, and another probable post hole (F88). The latest pottery from this period was a piece of London-type ware datable to the late 13th to early 14th century.

Period 4 *c.* 1300-1450 (Fig. 8, 9, 10)
Upon the destruction of the phase 3 building, a deposit of clean yellow sand (31) was laid across the site raising the level by up to 400 mm. In the west half of the site, this dump was overlain by thin gravelly deposits cut by three post holes, in turn covered by a well defined surface (7) made of cobbles with some large blocks of septaria. To the east, this petered out or else had been worn away, and instead there was at the same level a brown silty deposit (6), which further east had been removed by later features. Two probable post holes (F10, F14) were cut into these layers.

The pottery from the dumped sand, the cobble surface, and also a layer of trample above this, was much the same as in preceding periods, with the addition, however, of some 14th century types. From layer 6, however, there was a sherd of early German stoneware datable to perhaps as late as the 15th century, but this could be the result of contamination from the rather similar soil deposits above this layer, a problem discussed below. Since the finds from the sunken floored buildings that had cut away the stratigraphy in the east half of the site were datable to the 15th-16th centuries, the cobble surface has been interpreted as a courtyard associated with structures all trace of which had disappeared from the site.

The interpretation of the sequence later than the cobbled surface is somewhat complicated by the excavation procedure, which was, reasonably enough, to machine off the surface rubble and underlying dark brown soil deposits (143) until well defined archaeological layers and features appeared. What was not expected was that the lower part of the soil deposit (150) was probably of medieval origin, since it was paler in colour and noted at the time to contain medieval greywares, though unfortunately no finds were collected from it. As this layer was cut by the sunken-floored buildings, it must have accumulated or been deposited before or at the same time as the construction of that building, and thus in this period, or else in an intervening one for which there is no evidence other than the soil layer itself. Whether this hiatus in the sequence was caused by truncation of the stratigraphy, or by an abandonment of the site, is discussed in more detail below.

Period 5 15th-16th centuries (Fig. 9, 10)
As mentioned above, the dark brown soil was cut by a succession of two large rectangular features which have been interpreted as sunken-floored buildings. The earlier of these (F27) was parallel to the road, measured 4.5 m across, and was 0.6 m deep with steep sides. To the west of it, the garden soil was cut by a large pit (F34) at least 1.6 m deep, very likely a cess pit, and by a smaller hole (F34) of uncertain function. To the east, there were also two cut features, the larger of which (F29) was 350 mm deep and had an upper fill almost solely made up of septaria lumps. The fill of F27 contained 16th century pottery, as did those of F34 and F29.

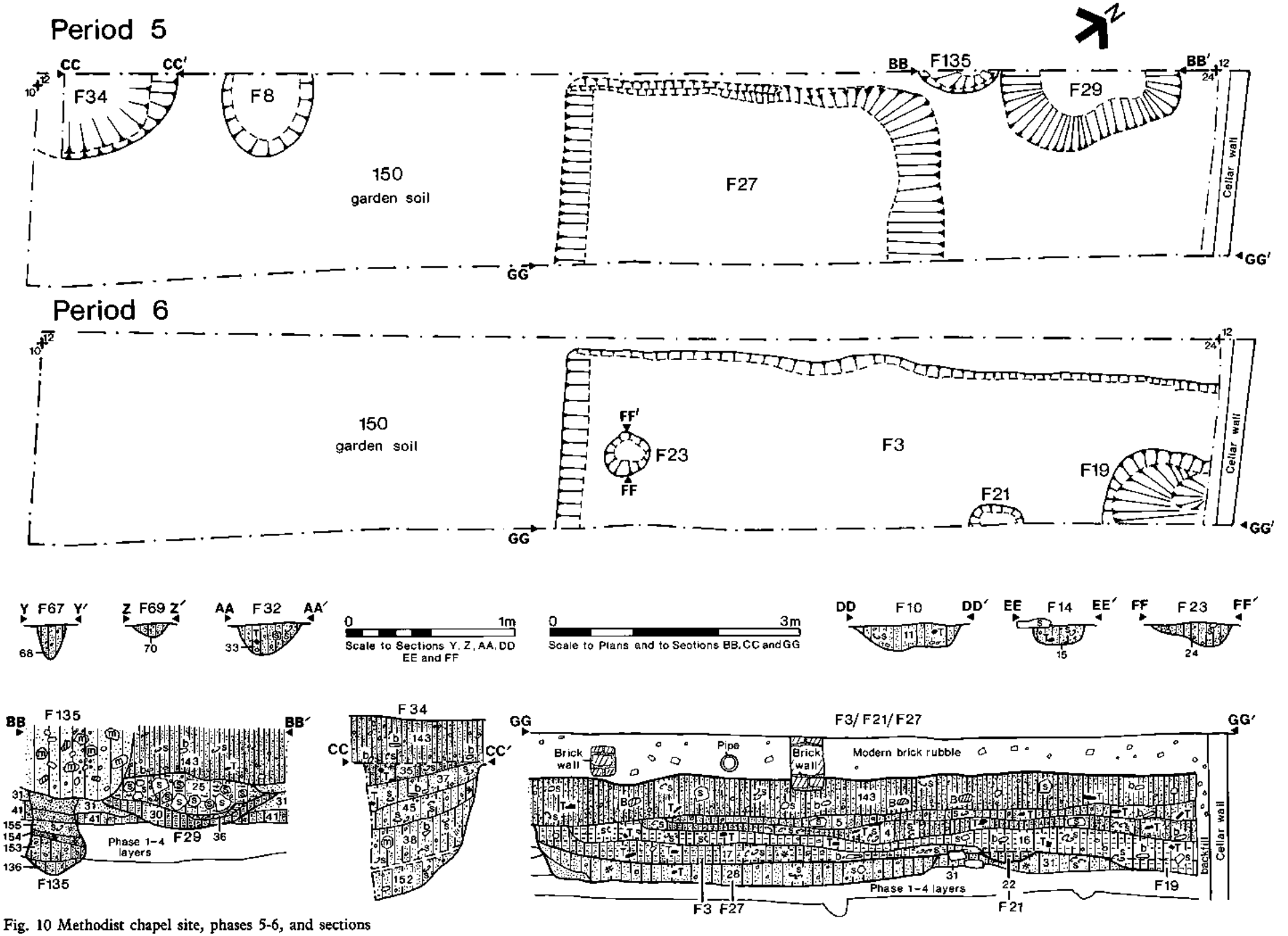

Fig. 10 Methodist chapel site, phases 5-6, and sections

Period 6 Later 16th century (Fig. 9, 10)
F3 was another large rectangular pit which shared the west and north edges of F27, but continued eastwards beyond the modern cellar wall which cut it. It was shallower than F27, *c.* 300-400 mm deep, and it seemed that F27 had been filled to this level when F3 was dug. Two small pits or shallow depressions (F21, F23), and a larger feature (F19), cut into the bottom of F3 were probably contemporary with it since they had similar fills. To the west of the building which F3 is thought to represent, there extended the deposit of garden soil.

Whereas F27 was filled with relatively clean loamy sand, the fills of F3 were rich in domestic refuse, mainly bone and shell, and contained a large amount of pottery datable not later than *c.* 1550. The similarity of date between the pottery from F27 and F3 raises the possibility that they were one and the same thin. If indeed discrete features, then they were clearly short-lived.

Period 7 17th-19th centuries
The cellar on the frontage was probably 17th-18th century in date. Just to the north of the excavated trench, there was a brick well of probably similar date which had been capped off with a domed vault. Once again buildings spread from the frontage on to the rear of the site. Their footings were however removed by machine and not examined in detail.

Period 8 19th-20th centuries
The Methodist chapel was built in 1829, replacing a chapel in King's Head Street.

Discussion
Although preserving a remarkable vertical sequence, because of its narrowness and the destruction of the frontage by cellars, the Methodist chapel site was of limited value for interpreting the topography and lay-out of the area. This is unfortunate as the discoveries raised a number of interesting possibilities which cannot be satisfactorily resolved. Thus the earliest structures (period 1) can be dated to the beginning of the 13th century or even the end of the 12th, and as such could predate the first references to the town early in the 13th century. This also raises the possibility that they might be associated with a period of occupation earlier than the establishment of the existing street pattern, even though they apparently respect the alignment of Church Street. However, in the present state of knowledge, there can be no reason for not interpreting these buildings, and those of later periods, as being other than ancillary to a house on or (allowing for some encroachment) close to the existing street frontage.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the phases 1-3 buildings, datable to the 13th to early 14th centuries, is the intensive use being made of the backlands. In the 15th and 16th centuries, as is evident from surviving buildings and contemporary maps such as those made by the Walkers of Hanningfield, it was most usual for outbuildings and extensions to be at right angles to the frontage and rare to have units parallel to it, as seems to have been the case at Church Street. Here the buildings were only about 5 m from those presumed to have stood on the street. Whether they were free-standing or linked to them is of course uncertain.

A notable feature in the vertical sequence was the dump of sand (31, 41) up to 400 mm deep. It was very extensive, being found in the watching brief on the Mayflower House site to the north. Possibly equivalent deposits have also been identified in watching briefs elsewhere in the town (see below). It would seem to represent a major levelling horizon datable to *c.* 1300.

At the rear of the site, the levelling layer was overlain by a septaria-paved surface presumably associated with a courtyard. This was in turn covered by garden soil which indicates a change in the use being made of the backlands. Inasmuch as no pottery was found clearly datable to the period from about the mid-14th century until the end of the 15th century, it could be argued that the entire plot became unoccupied and was either cultivated or lay waste. A succession of two sunken-floored buildings were then built at the eastern end of the site, cut through the garden soil and presumably representing outbuildings associated with a building on the frontage. The earlier seems to have gone out of use in the 16th century, and the later also in that century. The subsequent post-medieval buildings were not investigated in detail.

The excavation shed some light on building techniques. The earliest structures were represented by post holes for earth-fast posts, and by a slot which presumably held a cill beam, possibly of the interrupted sort set between posts. There were then two buildings with walls made of clay and septaria. Too little was seen of these to infer with confidence how they were built, but since neither endured for more than about 50 years, and a portion of hurdle walling was found associated with the period 2 building, it is unlikely that they were box-framed. No evidence was found for the reconstruction of the sunken-floored buildings, but presumably they had suspended floors above deep sub-floors. This type of arrangement is virtually unknown in Essex,[3] and may well have been an expedient devised to minimise the worst effects of flooding caused by high tides. These buildings, too, were apparently not very durable, for they seem only to have stood for about the same time as those of the earlier periods.

The Watching Briefs

50 Church Street (Fig. 11)

Introduction
The 18th century house at this address had long lain empty and derelict, and then finally collapsed in 1987. Much of the site, apart from a small yard to the rear where there was a brick vaulted cistern or 'rainback', perhaps of 17th century date, was occupied by a cellar. The walls of this were pulled down to be replaced in concrete. In the process, a sequence of archaeological deposits was revealed, a portion of which on the street frontage was drawn (section 1). Two samples of the sequences exposed in foundation trenches at the rear of the site were also examined and recorded (sections 2 and 3).

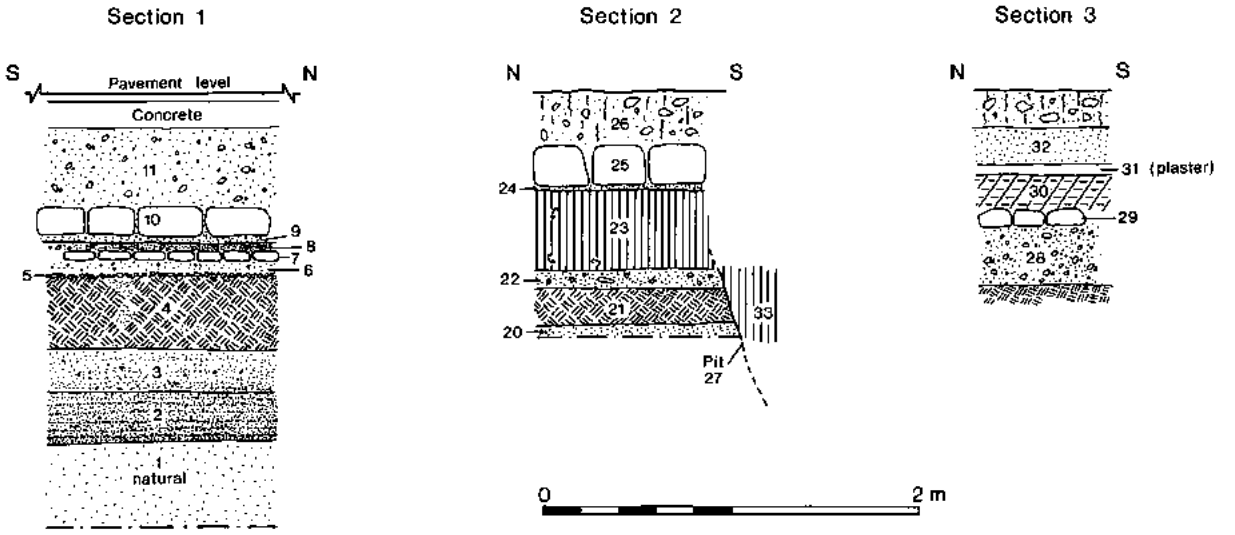

Fig. 11 50 Church Street, sections recorded in watching brief

The Street Frontage and Road Sequence

Between the existing pavement level and the natural, a yellowish sand (1) with finely comminuted shell indicative of a former beach, there was a depth of 1.8 m of stratified deposits. In these, five main levels were recognized which could be regarded as corresponding to phases of activity. They were, from bottom upwards:

I. a deposit of laminated sand, yellowish at the top, grey-brown lower down, with occasional pieces of septaria and oyster shell (2). The layering in this could be taken to indicate gradual deposition, apparently the laying down of successive sandy surfaces.

II. grey to brown gravel with sand and silt (3). Lamination was evident in the lower 70 mm of this layer, and at the top of it. This had the appearance of gravel metalling, again formed in several stages.

III. grey-brown clay with sandy patches and mottles (4), overlain by a thin band of pebbles (5). The clay, which does not occur naturally at Harwich, must have been dumped in an attempt to raise the level significantly. The pebbles presumably represent metalling on top of it.

IV. paving made of small septaria blocks (7) bedded on yellow to grey-green sand and gravel (6). This clearly represents a street (or pavement) surface. A thin layer of sandy gravel with grey silt (8) could represent a renewal of this surface, or else be associated with the next phase of paving.

V. a later street surface made of larger septaria blocks (10) bedded in yellow sand (9).

VI. sandy gravel make-up (11), cut by modern services, overlain by the existing pavement, all clearly of recent date.

The Stratigraphy At The Rear Of The Site

These trenches were located from about 5 m from the frontage to the rear of the site. They were only 1.5 m deep, and thus did not extend down to the natural. There was a slight rise in level towards the rear of the site.

The sequence in section 2, which was parallel to Church Street and located in the most easterly part of the site, may be interpreted as follows:

I. the sand (20) exposed on the bottom of the trench, which contained gravel and pebbles. Trowelling revealed it to overly a fairly extensive layer of grey clay with blackish laminations indicative of trampled surfaces, in which was set at least one small block of septaria. These layers seem to represent a series of surfaces, with some dumping.

II. up to 200 mm of greyish or dark rusty brown sandy clay (21). This was fairly sterile of artefacts and other inclusions, and looked like redeposited natural, apparently equivalent to 4 in section 1. At the top of this layer, there was, as in section 1, yellow to grey-brown sandy gravel with some stones (22), a surface for which the clay could have been make-up.

III. a deep (400 mm) layer of blackish loam (23), with abundant oyster shell, charcoal and some stones. In some places, there were gravelly patches, as if for hard standings or paths. Cut into it were at least two pits (*cf.* 27), 1.2-1.5 m wide, and in depth extending beneath the excavated level. The top fill of these was indistinguishable from the surrounding black earth, only becoming recognizable where it had cut into layers of contrasting colour. It is presumed that the pits were cut from an unidentified level within the black earth deposit. It is also presumed that they were cess pits, which had probably been cleaned out prior to infilling when they went out of use. They would have been located in a yard or garden area, represented by the black earth.

IV. septaria blocks (25) in a sandy bedding (24), butted by a sandy layer to the south, which elsewhere was observed to butt a brick surface. Whereas the septaria blocks looked more like external than internal surfacing, the sand and bricks looked like a floor, and it is concluded that by this stage buildings extended to at least part of the back of the site.

V. disturbed modern overburden

To the west, in the more central part of the site, and thus located between sections 1 and 2, there was a somewhat different sequence (section 3). Above the clay layer (21), there was a deeper and more conspicuous layer of grey to rusty yellow-brown sandy gravel (28), probably equivalent to 22. This was sealed, not by black earth which was absent in this section, but by small septaria blocks (29) forming a paved surface. This looked more likely to have been associated with a yard than the interior of a building, and indicates a clear difference in the use of this area closer to the frontage. Above these blocks, there was a layer of dark grey-brown silty clay with charcoal.[1] (30), possibly make-up for successive surfaces. These consisted of a layer of whitish lime plaster (31), probably demolition or construction debris, overlain by sand (32), and were at the same level as the surfaces to the east.

Dating

No dating evidence was recovered from section 1, but a few sherds were found in the trenches towards the back of the site. A sherd of medieval greyware (Fabric 20) was recovered from the black earth (23), which was noted to contain very few pieces of peg-tile, which only really becomes common in archaeological deposits of the 15th-16th centuries. Six sherds in this fabric were found in pit 27 cutting this layer, and in the other pit that was identified in this section, together with a green-glazed pale bodied sherd, probably a Saintonge product. From immediately below the septaria paving in section 2, there was recovered a sherd of medieval sandy orange ware (Fabric 21). In other words, a 14th century date may be suggested for the black earth and the pits, whilst the paving above it can be assigned to the 15th-16th centuries.

Discussion

Inasmuch as the earliest surfaces in section 1 are not consistent with what would be expected in a street, it may be that they date from a period either before the foundation of the new town, or else from an initial stage after its foundation but before it received its existing street lay-out. On the evidence of this section, the streets of Harwich may not have been paved until the 14th-15th centuries. The paving did not seem to be present to the south and east along Market Street, which may have remained a muddy lane after Church Street acquired a metalled surface.

The most striking feature of the sequence in all three sections was the deposit of clay, which seems to have been a major levelling layer, and as such equivalent to the deep layer of sand on the Methodist chapel site. Both are at about the same level (levels for the watching brief were approximated from the pavement and thus somewhat imprecise), and both seem to be of about the same date (the better evidence on the other site suggests early 14th century). The blackish loam or garden soil (23) also has an equivalent on the Methodist chapel site. Here, as there, it seems to indicate a change of use of the rear of the site or the backlands, which were occupied by a garden or muddy open space, and only later, probably in the 15th-16th centuries, came to be more intensively used and built over.

The Corner of Market Street and King's Head Street

Introduction

This plot (no. 5 Market Street) had long remained vacant, apparently since bomb damage. It was redeveloped in 1989. Much of the southern part of the site was occupied by brick-built cellars of perhaps 18th century date. These cellars were filled, and holes were dug for concrete stanchions to support the foundations of the new building. The sections in the holes were all somewhat different. Only that nearest the Market Street frontage was recorded, a sketch being made of its west section i.e. that at right angles to the street. This hole was about 400 mm behind the frontage line, and 400 mm from 5-6 Market Street, the flank of which is timber-framed and of 15th-16th century date.

The Sequence (Fig. 12)

In the hole examined, natural sand with finely broken up shell (1) was found at a depth of 1.9 m. In one of the other holes, it was covered by brown silty sand, possibly the remains of an old soil profile, but here it was overlain by thin layers of laminated dark brown, orangey-brown sand blackish sands (2, 3), below a layer of mottled-grey and greenish sand (4). Above this there was a distinct layer of blackish organic silty sand, containing much burnt material (5). This was covered by mottled grey and greenish sands (6), below mixed dark brown laminated sands (7). A succession of thin layers of this sort is clearly indicative of occupation, and layers such as 2, 3, 5, and 7 were surfaces that might have been associated with buildings. The burnt layer (5) could represent a major fire, like that for which evidence was found at the Methodist chapel site in Church Street. Dating evidence was limited to a rod handle, probably in fabric 20, and a white bodied sherd, burnt externally, of uncertain origin, from layer 5. This pottery can be dated to the 13th century.

Cut through the layers described above was a pit (8) which measured at least 900 mm square and 500 mm deep, though probably very much deeper still. It was filled with dark brown, and dark greenish-brown, silty sand (9). This was probably a cess pit. Brown staining at the edge of the pit suggests the possibility of a wooden lining. A few sherds that were probably from its fill, comprising one in Fabric 20, one white-bodied green-glazed fragment, probably Saintonge, and an everted rim hollowed as if for a lid-seating in a reddish-brown fine fabric of uncertain provenance but classifiable as Fabric 21, may be dated to the 14th century.

The pit was sealed by a layer of greenish and blackish sands (10), covered by a grey-brown clayey layer (11). The latter could have been the floor of a building.

Above these deposits there was a layer of gravel (12) which probably represented metalling. It was succeeded by septaria paving (13). These surfaces were extensive, being conspicuous in the holes to the south. In turn, they were superseded by pebble metalling (15) on sandy make-up (14).

The topmost deposit, below the debris from the site clearance, was a dark grey-brown garden soil (16). On the Market Street frontage, this layer was rather different,

consisting of thin laminated deposits, darker and more organic in texture, containing refuse, notably shellfish remains and pottery. They seemed to represent a much trampled area where rubbish had been discarded. A stake hole and a post hole pointed to the existence of structures, possibly of an impermanent type. The pottery comprised Fabric 20 and German stoneware datable to the 14th-15th centuries. It may seem remarkable that such old deposits should be only 200 mm below existing pavement level, but this dating is confirmed by the fact that they run under the adjacent timber-framed building which is datable to the 15th-16th centuries.

The final event in the sequence was a robbed wall foundation, cut from a level now truncated, and clearly post-medieval, being brick-built. The line of this wall was about 900 mm behind, and parallel to, the existing frontage.

Discussion

The laminated sandy deposits and surfaces at the bottom of the sequence can be paralleled at the Methodist chapel and 50 Church Street sites. Less evident here is the dumping to raise the level datable to *c.* 1300 which is so conspicous on the other sites. However, possibly equivalent deep sandy dumps were noted in the other holes, and it may be that the gravel (12) corresponds to them, in which case this should be interpreted as make-up for the septaria rather than a surface in its own right. Very clear on this site is the fact that by *c.* 1500 or slightly earlier (i.e. the date of the adjacent house at 5-6 Market Street), the rapid build-up in the level had come to a halt.

This sequence indicates a succession of different land uses. Surfaces, some probably associated with buildings, were cut by a cess pit, which one would not really expect to be situated on the frontage inside a building, though this is not impossible, in turn sealed by an extensive paved area. The soil and muddy surfaces overlying this could represent another change in use, or simply a failure to keep the area clean. Assuming one is not dealing with a frontage line which has rapidly moved to and fro, the implication is that the lay-out of this part of the town has not been static, an interpretation at odds with the notion that it was planned in one go. Another possible explanation is that there was a good deal of variation in the use of the market-place, but this raises the question of where the market-place was. There is no obvious market-place infill at Harwich, though the ground-plan of the area south of St. Nicholas church could be interpreted in this way. Perhaps the market-place occupied the area to the south Market Street, which subsequently became infilled and built up.

The Medieval and Later Pottery

by Helen Walker

Introduction

About 12.5 and 18 kg of pottery was excavated from George Street and the Methodist chapel site respectively. 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. Methods of quantification are by weight and sherd count.

The Fabrics (in fabric number order)

Fabric 11

Stamford ware, described by Kilmurry (1980). One very small undiagnostic sherd was recovered from the weathered natural (114) on the methodist chapel site. It has a low iron content and fine quartz grains which dates it from the second quarter of the 11th century (Kilmurry 1980, 130). The core is dark grey with pale margins and surfaces (colour i), and has a pale yellow-green glaze (glaze type I) which was in use throughout the period of Stamford ware production i.e. up to *c.* 1250.

Fabric 12B

Early medieval shell-with-sand-tempered ware. The suggested date range for this fabric, at least in Essex, is early 11th to second half of the 12th century (Drury forthcoming). Only one sherd is present, residual in layer 20 on the George Street excavation. It is dark grey with a buff internal surface.

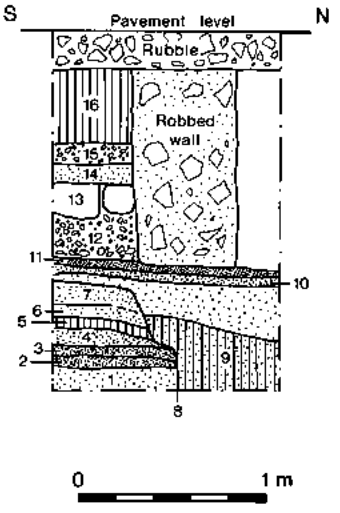

Fig. 12 Corner of Market Street and King's Head Street, section recorded in watching brief

Fabric 20
Medieval coarse ware. This is hard, usually grey, and tempered with varying amounts of sand. Two vessels also show traces of grass or straw tempering (Nos 26 and 38). It derives from a variety of sources and dates from the late 12th to 14th centuries (Drury forthcoming). Examples of Mile End (near Colchester) and Hedingham ware amongst others might be expected here, but as these two wares are virtually indistinguishable even under the microscope, it was decided not to subdivide the coarse wares. Cooking pots are the most frequent form (Nos 1-4, 18, 24-26, 28, 29, 30, 37). The cooking pots have been dated by rim type according to a chronological sequence already put forward by Drury (forthcoming) for Rivenhall. Also illustrated are jug rims (Nos 5, 6, 31, 38) and a bung hole from a cistern (No. 27).

Fabric 21
Sandy orange wares; local, mainly oxidised, sand tempered fabrics. For the purposes of this report, Fabric 21 has been divided into two types: medieval sandy orange ware (Fabric 21M), and late medieval sandy orange ware (Fabric 21L). This latter type is hard, sometimes slip-painted, and is unglazed or sparsely glazed. It dates to the 15th century and was the forerunner of post-medieval red earthenware (Fabric 40). It is described by Cunningham (1985a, 1). Illustrated forms comprise bowl rim (No. 43), bowl/condiment (No. 53), jug rim (No. 54), and jar rim (No. 56).

Fabric 21A
Colchester ware. Within the general category of Fabric 21, examples of Colchester ware could sometimes be distinguished. It was produced from the late 13th through to the early 16th centuries, although most examples found here date from the 15th-16th centuries. The fabric is fully described in Cunningham (1982, 365-7) and in Drury (forthcoming). It is characterised by abundant inclusions of white quartz. Surface treatment includes cream slip-coating beneath a mottled green-glaze, and later slip-painting usually without glaze. Four examples are illustrated: chafing dish (No. 14), jug (No. 57), jug/cistern (No. 58), and storage jar (No. 59).

Fabric 21C
Sgraffito ware, probably manufactured in Cambridgeshire during the 14th to 15th century (Bushnell and Hurst 1952, 21-26). One sherd only was found, residual in a 16th century cess-pit (34) on the Methodist chapel site.

Fabric 22
Hedingham fine ware from the Sible Hedingham area in north Essex. Produced from perhaps the end of the 12th century (Drury forthcoming). The fabric is fairly soft and very micaceous. Colour is typically orange or orange-buff, occasionally red, and tends to be oxidised throughout. All sherds could be from jugs, (several are illustrated: Nos 9, 10, 32-35, 39, 40, 44, 48, 50) except for two sherds from a small rounded vessel (No. 41).

Fabric 23A
Surrey white ware, produced from the mid-13th to 15th centuries (Vince 1985, 46-57). Forms: jug rim (No. 13) and a fragment of Cheam ware jug (described on p.85).

Fabric 24A
Scarborough ware phase I, a soft friable pink fabric described by Farmer (1979), with a suggested date range of *c.* 1135-1225 and exported from *c.* 1200 (Farmer and Farmer 1982, 66). Sherds usually have a thick mottled green glaze but not as thick or as dark as phase II material. Two sherds exhibit polychrome decoration (No. 8). Forms comprise: jug rim (No. 7), and unidentified fragment (No. 19). It was not found on the Methodist chapel site.

Fabric 24B
Scarborough ware phase II. A hard smooth fabric ranging from pink or buff to white, with a suggested date range of *c.* 1225-1350 (Farmer 1979). Examples from Harwich generally have a thick olive green glaze, except for two sherds which have a clear glaze. Illustrated forms comprise a rod handle from a jug or aquamanile (No. 42), and fragments from jugs (Nos 36, 49).

Fabric 27
Saintonge ware from south-west France. A fine white fabric with a pitted green glaze. It has been found at many sites in England and Wales, including London and other North Sea ports, and was imported in quantity from the mid-13th century. At Hull and Exeter, importation rapidly peaked *c.* 1300, and then went into a less rapid decline so that little Saintonge ware reached either port after 1350 (Davey and Hodges 1983, fig. 1.3). However, Allan writes that at Exeter Saintonge ware was current in late 14th to 15th century pottery groups (Allan 1983, 199). Saintonge polychrome is also present at Harwich. It is thought to have a fairly narrow date range of *c.* 1280-1310 (Dunning 1968, 45), although at Exeter it may have remained in circulation as late as the 1330's with some survivals into the 15th century (Allan 1983, 201). Jugs are the only forms found at these sites at Harwich; most are paralleled by examples from Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975). Only one jug rim is illustrated (No. 12).

Fabric 29
Iberian green glazed ware, as described in Hurst *et al.* (1986, 65-66). Only one example was found, a bowl rim (No. 65).

Fabric 29A
Spanish olive jars, described in Hurst *et al.* (1986, 66). This fabric was found only on the George Street site. It was traded from the late 16th to 18th centuries.

Fabric 31
Low Countries red ware, a fine red ware often with a very glossy glaze, described by Cunningham (1985b, 64) and Jennings (1981, 134-142). It is sometimes difficult to distinguish from Fabrics 21 and 40, but typical forms and fabrics can usually be picked out. It dates from the late medieval to post-medieval periods. Forms illustrated comprise bowl rim (No. 51), and cauldron/pipkin rim (No. 64). Cauldron/pipkin No. 68 is of Dutch type.

Fabric 34
Unclassified buff wares. One jug fragment only (No. 47).

Fabric 35
Mill Green ware, described by Pearce *et al.* (1982, 277-279). It is fine, micaceous, usually without added tempering and is typically brick-red with a grey core. It was manufactured at Mill Green, near Ingatestone in central Essex, and is dated from Thames waterfront deposits to the late 13th to mid-14th century. Forms comprise part of a slip-decorated jug (No. 45). A sherd with Rouen-style decoration was residual in a phase 5 context on the Methodist chapel site.

Fabric 36
London-type ware. This fabric is fully discussed in *Pearce et al.* (1985). It started production in the early to mid 12th century and was in decline by the early 14th century. It was traded along the coast during the late 12th century but by the late 13th century North Sea trade in London pottery ceased (Vince 1985, 78 and 84). Jugs were the only form identified; most are paralleled by already published examples in Pearce *et al.* (1985), but two are illustrated (Nos 11, 46).

Fabric 40
Post-medieval red earthenwares, datable from the late 15th to 16th century, described by Cunningham (1985a, 1-2). Illustrated forms comprise bowls (Nos 21, 67, 70), a black-glazed mug (No. 22), a large storage jar/cistern (No. 66), a cauldron/pipkin (No. 68), and jug base (No. 69).

Fabric 41
'Tudor Green' ware from Surrey. A fine near-white fabric, thin-walled and usually with a bright green glaze, it dates from the beginning of the 15th to perhaps the mid-16th century (Moorhouse 1979, 54). Only one example was found, a small ?skillet (No. 71).

Fabric 42
Southern white wares made in Surrey. These are similar to Fabric 41 but tend to be thicker and sandier. It was contemporary with 'Tudor Green' but outlived it (Cunningham 1985a, 2). Present only on the George Street site. All sherds found have a clear lead glaze. None are illustrated.

Fabric 43
Martincamp flasks from northern France, described in Hurst *et al.* (1986,

103-4). The neck of a Martincamp flask Type I with a possible date range of 1475-1550 was found in feature 3 (phase 6) on the Methodist chapel site.

Fabric 45
Stonewares from various urban production sites in the Rhineland.

Fabric 45A
Langerwehe, a dark grey fabric fully described in Hurst et al. (1986, 184-190). Several sherds are underfired, a Langerwehe characteristic. In London, Langerwehe drinking jugs are found from *c.* 1360 onwards and increase in frequency into the early to mid-15th century (Vince 1985, 59). By the late 15th century, it is difficult to distinguish Langerwehe from Raeren; such examples have been designated as Fabric 45A/C. Two forms, both jug bases, are illustrated (Nos 52, 60).

Fabric 45B
Siegburg, a fine, light grey to white stoneware fully described in Hurst *et al.* (1986, 176-184). The examples found here probably date to the 14th and 15th centuries. None is illustrated.

Fabric 45C
Raeren, a dark grey stoneware fully described in Hurst *et al.* (1986, 194-208). It was manufactured from the mid-14th to the 17th century, although the later 16th century jugs were not traded. Two almost complete squat drinking jugs were found in feature 3 (phase 6) on the Methodist chapel site (Nos 61, 62). These jugs are represented in Breughel's paintings and were exported from about 1485-1550 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 194). Also present in the fill of the same feature were the rim of a long necked jug (No. 63), and a large base, described in the text.

Fabric 45D
Frechen, described in Hurst *et al.* (1986, 214-221). It was imported from the mid-16th century to the late 17th century. Forms comprise various jug types. Most are paralleled by already published examples in Hurst *et al.* 1986. One is illustrated (No. 16). The majority of sherds have a mottled or 'tiger' ware salt-glaze indicating a late 16th to 17th century date rather than a mid-16th century one (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 214).

Fabric 45F
Westerwald, imported from the early 17th century onwards (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 221-225). Only one sherd is present, found at George Street, and described in the text.

Fabric 46
Tin-glazed earthenware. Examples found date from the beginning of the 16th to the 17th century or later. Several types are present:

Fabric 46A/C:	Anglo-Netherlands tin-glaze (No. 20)
Fabric 46D:	Spanish tin-glaze (No. 73)
Fabric 46E:	Italian tin-glaze (No. 15)
Unattributed:	(No. 55)

Fabric 47
Staffordshire salt-glazed white ware, datable *c.* 1720-1770 (Draper 1984, 36-39). Two sherds only were found, both from George Street.

Fabric 48D
Staffordshire ironstone types, dating from the early years of the 19th century onwards. Only one sherd was found, a cup rim from George Street, intrusive in context 20.

Fabric 48E
Yellow ware, dating from the 18th to 20th centuries. Only one example was found, from George Street (described under 15th-17th century and later contexts).

Fabric 48X
Miscellaneous 19th century pottery. Two sherds were present in the garden soil (2) at George Street.

The Pottery from George Street (Fig. 13)
13th to 14th century contexts
The pottery from area 1 is quantified in Table 1. None is illustrated. That from area II was both more abundant (581 sherds, weighing 5.87 kg) and more interesting. It too is quantified in Table 1.

The earlier contexts on area II that contained pottery were post holes 82 and 91, and the buried soil layers 20 and 21. Layer 21 contained a range of medieval fine wares (Hedingham ware, London-type ware, Scarborough ware phase II, Saintonge ware, Surrey white ware (No. 13), and Mill Green ware), as well as medieval coarse ware (Fabric 20, Nos 3 and 5) and medieval sandy orange ware (Fabric 21). The earliest sherd is a fragment of London-type ware belonging to the mid-13th century. Mill Green is perhaps the latest ware present, with a date range from the later 13th century to the mid 14th century (Pearce *et al.* 1982, 272-3). The pottery, therefore, from this lower part of the soil seems to form a coherent 13th-14th century group, all of which could have been in production in the second half of the 13th century, with the exception of cooking pot No. 3 which has an early to mid-13th century type rim.

Layer 20, the upper part of the soil, produced a greater quantity and wider range of pottery. This was also of 13th-14th century date, apart from a residual sherd of early medieval shell-with-sand-tempered ware. The illustrated sherds include a ?Rouen-style London-type ware jug handle (No. 11) dating to the early to mid-13th century (Pearce *et al.* 1985, 19), a medieval ?Low Countries jug (No. 17), a coarse ware cooking pot rim (No. 1), probably of an early to mid-13th century type, plus fragments of Hedingham ware and Scarborough ware phase I jugs (Nos 7-10). The presence of nine late or post-medieval sherds, including a sherd of 19th-20th century Staffordshire type ironstone, is to be explained by contamination or imprecision in the course of excavation.

Also considered here is context 3, containing sherds from the cleaning of the top of the buried soil. The majority of these were similarly of 13th-14th century date, but some were late and post-medieval, clearly deriving from the overlying deposits and later features. The extent of confusion in the identification of layers is illustrated by the fact that sherds from the same vessels were found in contexts 3, 20 and 21. The latest diagnostic medieval sherd in 3 is the Saintonge polychrome jug rim (No. 12) dating from *c* 1280-1310 (Dunning 1968, 45). Of the medieval coarse ware cooking pot rims, No. 4 is of the more developed blocked type without a neck datable to the late 13th to early 14th centuries. The later pottery includes a fragment of Ligurian tin-glazed earthenware (No. 15), and a medallion from a Frechen stoneware bellarmine (No. 16).

1. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; grey with buff-grey margins; slight sooting around rim. Context 20 (soil layer)
2. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; reddish fabric; external sooting. Context 3 (cleaning surface of layer 20)
3. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; brown-grey; reddish margins. Context 21 (soil layer)
4. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; hard, pale grey; slight

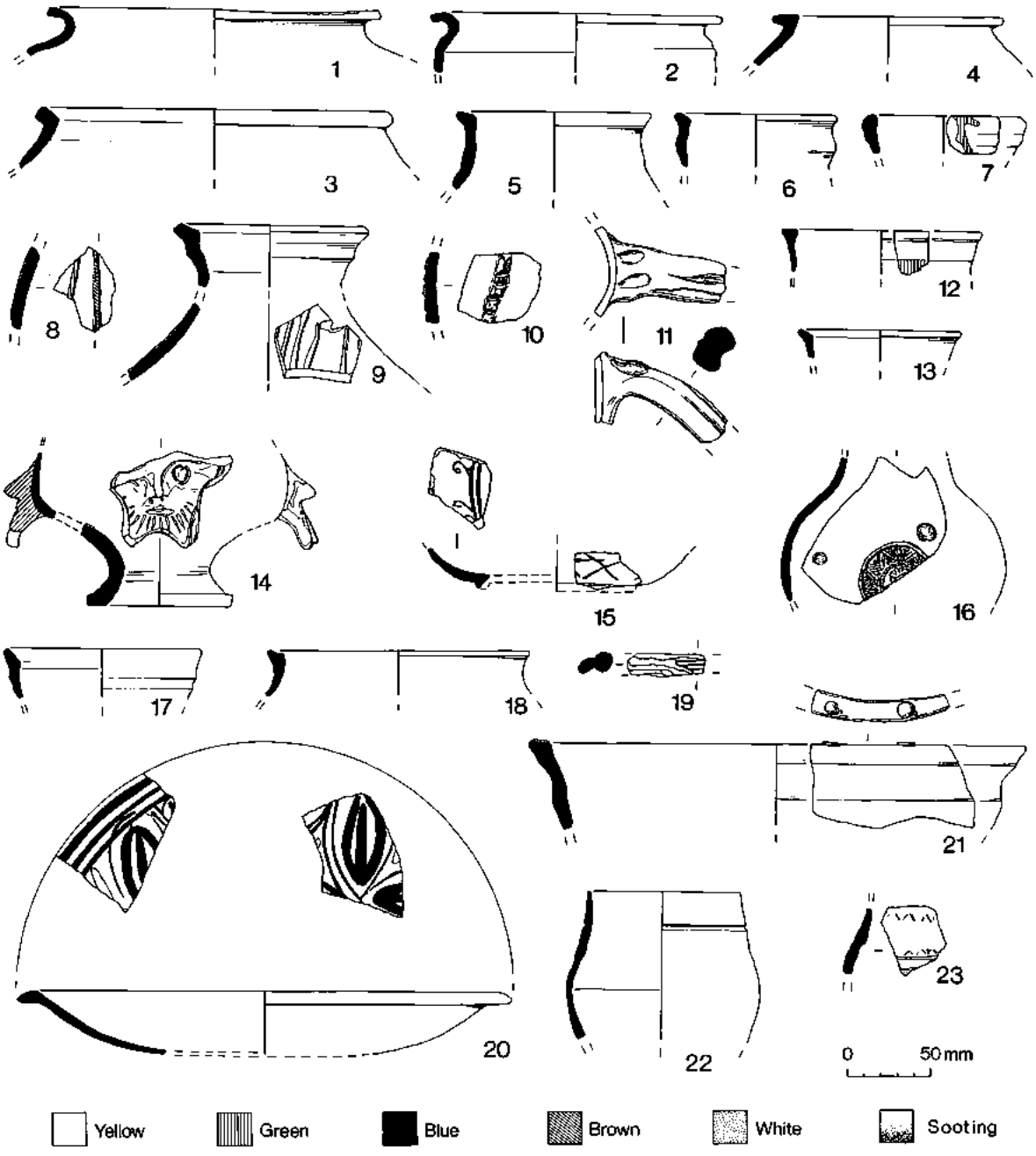

Fig. 13 Pottery from George Street

sooting around rim. Context 3 (cleaning surface of layer 20)

5. ?Jug rim: Fabric 20; grey with orange margins. Context 21 (soil layer)
6. Jug rim: Fabric 20; pale grey, reddish margins. Contexts 3 (cleaning surface of layer 20) and 20 (soil layer)
7. Jug rim: Scarborough ware phase I (Fabric 24A); crazed, mottled honey glaze with green streak. Context 20 (soil layer)
8. Polychrome sherd from decorated ?strip jug: Scarborough ware phase I (Fabric 24A). One strip is made from clay paler than that used for the pot body and coloured green; for the second strip a red clay was used, enchanced by painting with an iron coloured pigment. The sherd has an external clear, crazed glaze giving a honey-coloured background. Same vessel as no. 7. Context 20 (soil layer)

Not illustrated: sherd probably from the same vessel as No. 8 with a honey coloured glaze and an applied red pellet. Context 20 (soil layer)

9. Rim and shoulder of jug with applied strip decoration: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22). The strips are made from clay paler than that of the pot body, perhaps to make the decoration stand out, but a covering of mottled green glaze obscures this effect. Context 20 (soil layer)
10. Body sherd: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); 'pinched' applied strip, otherwise similar to No. 9. Context 20 (soil layer)

Not illustrated: sherd of Hedingham ware (Fabric 22) with combed decoration under a thick green glaze, similar to sherds found in buried soil 96, area 1. Context 83 (fill of post hole F82).

11. Jug handle: London-type ware (Fabric 36); probably Rouen-style; 'ears' are impressed not applied, unusual in London-type ware; partial clear glaze on outside with splashes of glaze inside. Context 20 (soil layer)

Not illustrated: body sherd; London-type ware (Fabric 36); highly decorated style, mid-13th century; paralleled in Pearce *et al.* (1985, fig. 35, 115). Context 21 (soil layer)

Not illustrated: body sherd; London-type ware (Fabric 36); cream slip-coating; unglazed. Context 83 (fill of post hole F82)

Not illustrated: body sherd; Scarborough phase II (Fabric 24B); pink fabric; applied scales and vertical, rouletted applied strip in white fabric. Context 83 (fill of post hole F82)

12. Rim of ?polychrome jug: Saintonge ware (Fabric 27). Context 3 (cleaning surface of layer 20)

Not illustrated: flared base; Saintonge ware (Fabric 27); as found on full-bodied or rounded jugs of the mid to late 13th century (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 181, no. 1000. fig. 183, no. 1013). Context 21 (soil layer)

13. Jug rim: ?Surrey white ware (Fabric 23A); apple-green glaze. Context 21 (soil layer)

14. Face mask and base of chafing dish: Colchester ware (Fabric 21A); clear glaze; forked beards were fashionable from the end of the 14th until the beginning of the 15th century; a similar Colchester ware chafing dish was found at Colchester Castle (Cunningham 1982, fig. 28.39). Context 3 (cleaning surface of layer 20)

Not illustrated: body sherds of Colchester ware (Fabric 21A); exhibiting what appears to be an archaic form of Rouen style decoration, with applied strips in the shape of chevrons and applied pellets in the intervening panels, but unlike other Rouen copies there is no coating of red slip, and the glaze is clear rather than green. Context 20 (soil layer), and 40 (fill of depression F8)

15. ?Footring bowl: Italian tin-glazed earthenware (Fabric 46E); Ligurian, probably from Savona; fine buff fabric; berettino decoration; perhaps mid-16th century; comparable to no. 21 in Hurst *et al.* (1986) datable from

Context	Fill	Area	Relationship	Shell-with-sand-tempered ware 12B	Medieval coarse ware 20	Hedingham fine ware 22	Scarborough ware phase I 24A	London-type ware 36	Scarborough ware phase II 24B	Saintonge ware 27	Surrey white ware 23A	Medieval white ware 23	Mill Green fine ware 35	Medieval sandy orange ware 21M	Late medieval sandy orange ware 21L	Colchester ware 21A	Langerwehe stoneware 45A	Siegburg stoneware 45B	Low Countries red ware 31	Post-medieval red earthenware 40	Southern whiteware 42	Cologne/Frechen stoneware 45 D/E	Italian tin-glazed earthenware 46E	Spanish Olive jars 29A	Anglo-Netherlands TGE 46 A/C	Tin-glazed earthenware 46	Westerwald stoneware 45F	Staffordshire salt-glazed white ware 47	Misc. post 1600 48X	Yellow ware 48E	Staffordshire ironstone 48D	Unidentified medieval U	Comments
F13 Pit	46	II	Cut through or within garden soil layer 2, cut buried soil layers	–	13	2	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	1	39	1	–	–	8	2	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	17th-18th C
F15 Post hole	37			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	17th-18th C
F19 Post hole	54			–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	17th-18th C
F41 Post hole	42			–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	Cuts pit 18, 17th-18th C
F7 Small pit	50			–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Black-glazed ware, 17th C or later
F9 Post hole	36			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Black-glazed ware, 17th C or later
F29 Grave, 19thC	57			–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	16th-17th C
F6 Rubbish pit	33			–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	From mid 16th C, cross-fit with context 87
F86 Post hole	87			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	From mid 16th, cuts context 89
F8 Depression	40			–	22	–	1	–	–	4	–	–	–	2	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Upper fill } ? 16th C
	66			–	19	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Lower fill }
F61 Small pit	62			–	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15th-16th C
F18 Pit	43			–	11	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	1	2	7	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	? 15th C
F28 Oblong pit	49			–	11	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	9	2	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	14th-15th C
F22 Small pit	44			–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
F24 Pit	47			–	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
F32 Large pit	89			–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13th-14th C pottery
F70 Post hole	71			–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
F72 Post hole	73			–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
F75 Post hole	74			–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2 Garden soil	–	II	Above 3,20,21	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	–	–	–	–	12	–	–	1	–	61	8	18	–	1	1	4	1	–	2	1	–	–	Date range 13th-20th C
F82 Post hole	83	II	Cut through or within buried soil layers 3,20,21	–	1	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
F91 Post hole	92			–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
F97 Post hole	98	I		–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
F99 Post hole	100			–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
medieval 3 Layer	–	II	Cleaning of 20 ?same as 88	–	186	3	5	2	1	30	–	–	3	19	10	4	–	–	–	16	1	3	1	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	Cross-fits between 20,21,49 same vessels in contexts 40,46
88 Layer	–	I		–	13	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	3	2	–	–	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
20 Buried soil	–	II	Below 3	1	142	11	4	7	5	14	–	–	1	14	3	2	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	Same vessels in contexts 33, 40
21 Buried soil	–	II	Below 20	–	52	1	–	2	3	2	2	–	4	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
96 Buried soil	–	I	?Same as 21	–	10	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
				12B	20	22	24A	36	24B	27	23A	23	35	21M	21L	21A	45A	45B	31	40	42	45 D/E	46E	29A	46 A/C	46	45F	47	48X	48E	48D	U	

Fabric number and common name

early medieval | 13th-14th C | mid 14th-16th C | 16th-18th C | 19th-20th C

Table 1 Quantification of pottery from George Street by fabric and sherd count, arranged in chronological order

1575 to 1625; rare in England. Context 3 (cleaning surface of layer 20)

16. Medallion from bellarmine: French stoneware (Fabric 45D); 'tiger' ware effect; stacking scars; probably later 16th to 17th century. Context 3 (cleaning surface of layer 20)
17. Jug rim: unidentified, but possibly Low Countries; red-brown with moderate sub-rounded sands, averaging 0.3 mm across; very thick external coating of white slip extending into lip of rim, covered in thick bottle-green glaze; patches of slip and glaze also on inside of vessel. Layer 20 (soil layer)

15th to 17th century contexts

These comprise the overlying garden soil (2), and various pits or post holes which were cut through it or from levels within it, also cutting the medieval buried soil. A total of 378 sherds weighing 5.76 kg were recovered (Table 1).

In the garden soil (layer 2), there were only four 13th-14th century sherds. The remaining sherds have a date range from the mid-14th to 15th century (i.e. the Siegburg stoneware) to the 18th-20th century, although the majority are datable to the 17th-18th centuries. The following diagnostic sherds are described (but not illustrated);

a) Rim of a Frechen 'Tiger' ware plain narrow globular jug, paralleled in Hurst *et al.* (1986, fig. 106.333), dated 1575-1600.
b) Rim of a Frechen 'Tiger' ware plain ovoid jug, paralleled in Hurst *et al.* (1986, fig. 106.334), dated 1600-1625.
c) Fragments of black-glazed earthenware tygs/mugs of the 17th century and later.
d) Fragments from three Metropolitan slipware dishes, 17th and 18th centuries.
e) Rim of Westerwald stoneware tankard, cobalt-blue glaze and moulded decoration, ?18th century.
f) Rim of yellow ware cylindrical jar (Fabric 48E) encrusted in mortar, 18th-20th century.

The cut features date from the 15th-18th centuries, though all contain some residual material which must be derived from the earlier buried soils. A cross-fit between pit F6 and post hole F86 shows that these two features were open at the same time.

18. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; grey with brown-buff margins; external sooting. Context 40 (fill of depression F8)
19. Unidentified form: Scarborough ware phase I (Fabric 24A); perhaps from an aquamanile or highly decorated jug; decayed green glaze. Context 65 (fill of depression F8)

Not illustrated: sherds from ?globular Spanish olive jar (Fabric 9A); *cf.* Hurst *et al.* 1986, fig. 29.79, perhaps dating to the 17th century. Context 46 (fill of pit F13)

20. Dish: Anglo/Netherlands tin-glazed earthenware (Fabric 46A/C); pink fabric with buff surfaces; off-white tin glaze on inside, with blue and brownish gold painted decoration; outside undecorated, plain lead glaze; probably 17th century. Context 46 (fill of pit F13)
21. Bowl: Fabric 40; applied lead pellets on rim; unglazed. Context 62 (fill of pit F61)
22. Mug: Fabric 40; all-over mottled black glaze. Context 46 (fill of pit F13)
23. From jug: unidentified fabric; highly fired, almost stoneware; pale grey; incised decoration; unglazed. Context 49 (fill of pit F28)

The pottery from Church Street (Fig. 15.16)

Approximately 18 kg of pottery was recovered from this site, and is presented below in phase order. The fabrics from each successive phase are quantified in the form of a bar chart (Fig. 14). The bar chart shows when a particular fabric type first appears in the stratigraphic sequence, but if it occurs in later phases it is not always possible to determine whether it is current or residual. In general, however, there seems to be little residual pottery in the medieval phases 1-4, since each new building level sealed the preceding one with little disturbance of the deposits or dumping of earth containing older cultural material. An indication of how little truly residual pottery there was is shown by the fact that there is an unusually high number of joins between sherds of different phases. This can be explained by the over-excavation of features and problems in the accurate identification of layers and fills. Thus it is clear that some of the residuality evidenced on the bar chart results from errors in excavation. Pottery from large pits with several fills has been quantified separately.

Period 1

Very little pottery (21 sherds weighing 272 g) was present in this phase. Buried soil 114 contained a sherd of Stamford ware datable *c.* 1125-1250, the only example of this ware found on the site. The layer also contained intrusive finds comprising a coarse ware cooking pot rim which appears to be from the same vessel as that found in pit F71, and a hollowed everted sandy orange ware cauldron rim.

The lower fill of building slot F130 contained a slightly developed everted cooking pot rim (No. 24) perhaps datable to *c.* 1200 (Drury forthcoming), while a single unglazed and undecorated sherd of London-type ware was found in the upper fill. If the two fills were dumped at the same time, then a late 12th to early 13th century date seems most likely for the infilling of this feature.

Post hole F118 in the vicinity of the slot contained a sherd of medieval sandy orange ware and a sherd of Hedingham ware belonging to the same vessel as one in context 109 in period 2. Pit F116 and post hole F120 contained single sherds of medieval coarse ware as did the post holes at the eastern end of the site. A beaded cooking pot rim was found in eastern post hole F110 (No. 25). Also found was a sherd of Scarborough ware phase II in the fill of post hole F127. It shows vertical applied strips beneath a greenish glaze, and is probably from the shoulder of a jug.

The Scarborough ware phase II sherd in the fill of post hole F127 provides a *terminus post quem* of *c.* 1225 for the end of period 1. It is possible, however, that the sherd is intrusive, as the post holes on the east side of the site are sealed by a period 2 layer which contains quantities of Scarborough ware. If this is the case, then the best dating is provided by the London-type ware sherd which cannot be before

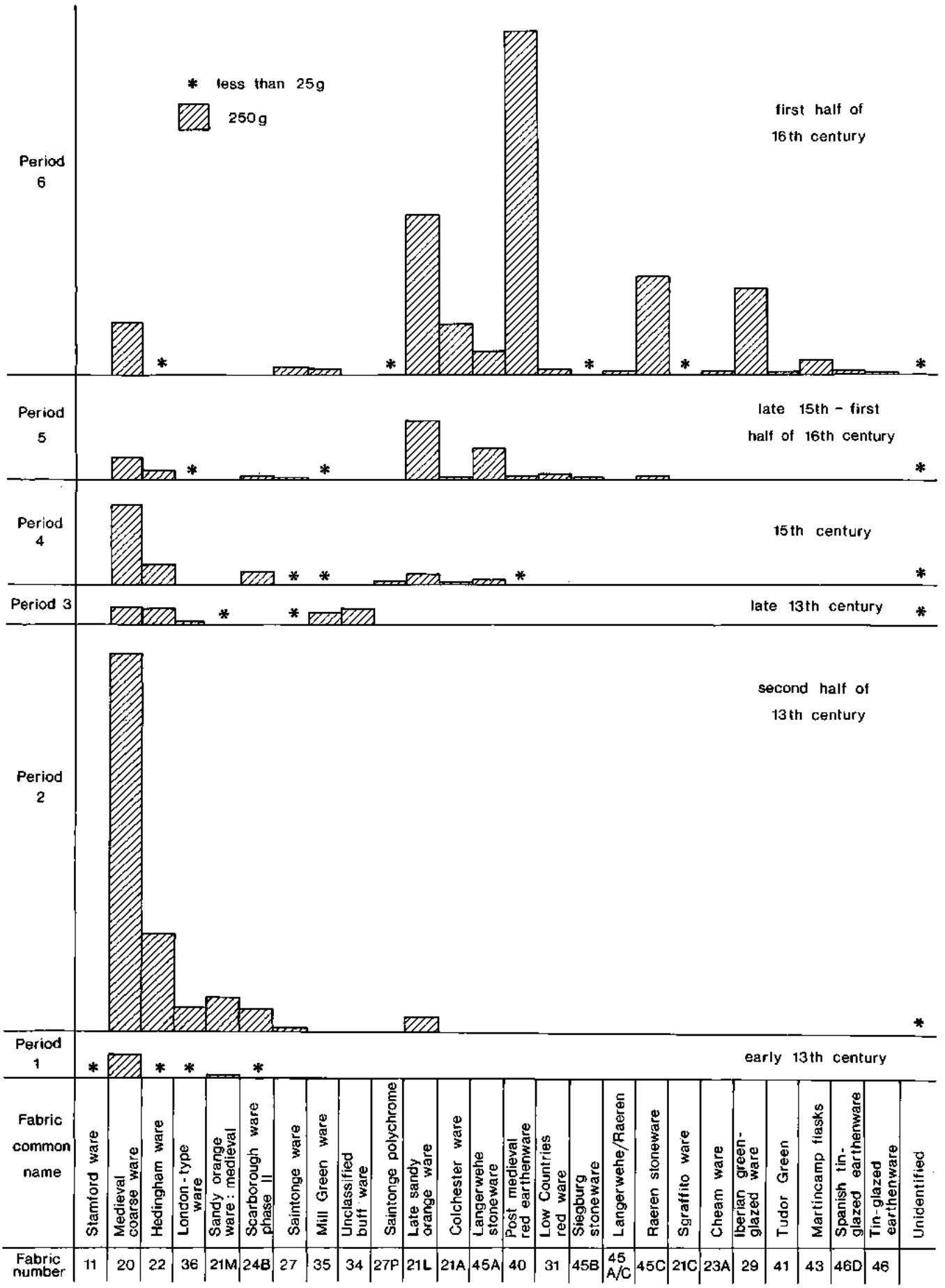

Fig. 14 Bar chart showing the pottery from the Methodist chapel site quantified by phase and fabric

the late 12th century, and the two cooking pot rims (Nos 24-25) which could both belong to *c.* 1200. The absence of Early Medieval ware also supports an early 13th rather than a 12th century date for period 1.

24. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; pale grey, buff margins. Context 132 (fill of slot F130).
25. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; grey with reddish surfaces; coil built, therefore borderline with Early Medieval ware; cooking residues on both surfaces. Context 115 (fill of post hole F110).

Period 2

A larger quantity of pottery (400 sherds weighing 5.45 kg) was excavated from period 2. From the bar chart (Fig. 14), it can be seen that all the fabrics present in period 1 are present in period 2, with the exception of Stamford ware. Saintonge ware and late sandy orange ware (Fabric 21) appear for the first time, though the latter is almost certainly intrusive (see below). Medieval coarse ware (Fabric 20) is by far the most frequent fabric, and Hedingham ware is the commonest fine ware.

In the area inside the building, 133 sherds weighing 1.13 kg were found, most of them undiagnostic sherds of medieval coarse ware and sandy orange ware. Of interest is a cooking pot with an unusual squared rim (No. 26) which does not fit into Drury's typology, and a bung hole from a cistern (No. 27). The fine wares comprise Hedingham (No. 32), Saintonge and London-type wares. The Saintonge sherds are all burnt, and are no doubt associated with the fire documented in this period. Amongst the London-type ware were sherds with Rouen-style decoration datable to the early to mid-13th century. They included the shoulder of a baluster jug (*cf.* Pearce *et al.* 1985, fig. 29.77), and a jug rim and handle (*cf.* Pearce *et al.* 1985, fig. 25.55). An unidentified sherd from this phase has rilling and a white slip under a patchy clear glaze; it appears to be the same fabric as No. 17 from George Street, thought to be of Low Countries origin.

A similar quantity of pottery was excavated in the layers outside to the east of the building. The main difference between this assemblage and that discussed above is that London-type ware is absent, whilst Scarborough ware phase II is relatively abundant. Fifteen sherds of late sandy orange ware, which is normally dated to the 15th century and which otherwise does not appear until period 4, must be intrusive.

Medieval coarse ware and medieval sandy orange ware make up about half the pottery from pit 71 (Table 2). The rest comprises mainly Hedingham ware (Nos 39, 40, 41), with some Scarborough ware phase II (No. 42), and one sherd of London-type ware. The latter has a rouletted applied strip of crossed diagonal lattice design, characteristic of the North French style (*cf.* Pearce *et al.* 1985, pl. 9b) dating to the early to mid-13th century. The coarse wares include a bowl rim in sandy orange ware (No. 43) with a hole which may have been for suspension, a cooking pot (No. 37), and a jug or cistern (No. 38).

The presence of Scarborough ware phase II precludes a date of before *c.* 1225. All the diagnostic London-type ware belongs to the early to mid-13th century, although the Saintonge ware makes a date before the mid-13th century unlikely. Perhaps the best dating evidence is the Hedingham ware copy of a Scarborough ware bearded jug with a parrot beak (No. 35). This in turn would have been made in imitation of Saintonge parrot beak jugs which were copied by the Scarborough potters during the second half of the 13th century (Farmer and Farmer 1982, 105). Most of the cooking pots have early to mid-13th century rims, except for No. 26 which does not fit into Drury's classification; and No. 29, which has a blocked neckless rim characteristic of the late 13th to early 14th century, although the fabric is surprisingly coarse for such a developed rim. Nos 26 and 38 are unusual because in addition to sand tempering, grass or straw has also been added to the clay, something not previously seen by the author in medieval pottery from Essex. Similar fabrics occur in Ipswich, but a Suffolk source has not been identified for this fabric type (S. West pers. comm.).

Table 2 Methodist Chapel site: quantification of pottery in cess pit F71 by fill fabric and sherd count

Fill	Fabrics 20	36	22	21M	24B	Total	Comments
58, 59	16	–	23	3	5	47	Cross-fits with Contexts 57 and 92
91, 101	31	1	26	11	7	76	Cross-fit with Pit 29, same vessel in Contexts 41, 90 and 104
104	2	–	1	–	–	3	
195	4	–	1	1	–	6	
	53	1	51	15	12	132	

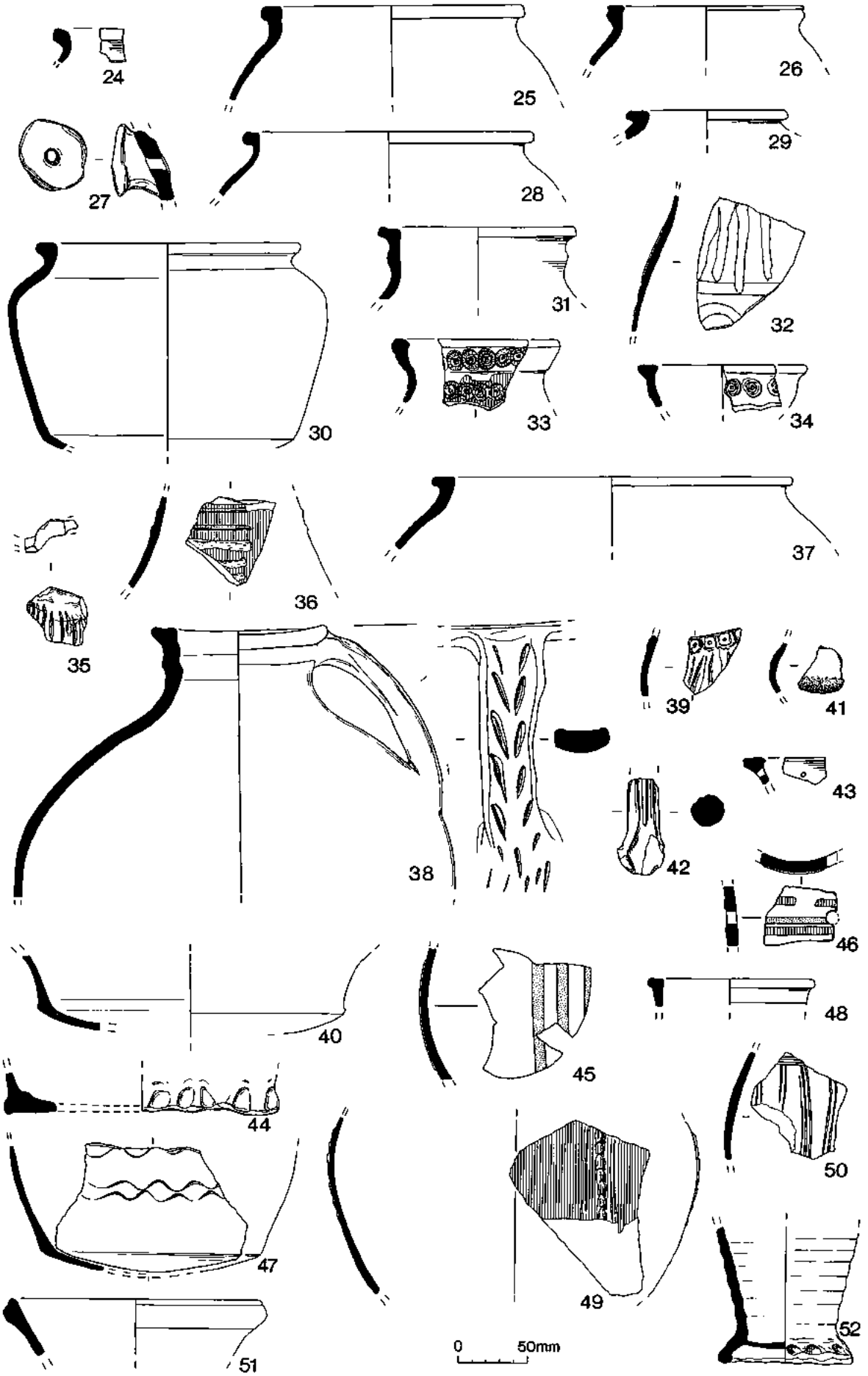

Fig. 15 Pottery from the Methodist chapel site

26. ?Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; orange-brown surfaces, thick grey core; micaceous; traces of chaff tempering; ?same source as No. 38. Context 111
27. Bung-hole from cistern: Fabric 20; pale grey with brownish patches; crudely made. Context 103
28. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; grey with brick-red margins; internal residue. Contexts 51, 82, 100
29. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20; grey with reddish-grey surfaces; very coarse. Context 100
30. Cooking pot: Fabric 20; buff-brown; external sooting up to shoulder. Contexts 57, 82
31. Jug rim: Fabric 20; grey with orange-brown surfaces. Context 57
32. Sherd from top half of jug: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); very micaceous; orange with grey core; red-slip coating underlying applied cream-slip strips; patchy greenish glaze. Context 102
33. Jug rim: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); ring-and-dot-stamped decoration; partial mottled green glaze. Context 82
34. Jug rim: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); ring-and-dot-stamped applied pads; partial mottled green glaze. Context 82
35. Spout from bearded jug: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); in imitation of Scarborough ware; glossy olive green glaze. Context 57
36. Neck of jug: Scarborough ware phase II (Fabric 24B); applied strip decoration; smooth bottle-green glaze. Context 82

Nos 37-43 are all from the fills of pit F71

37. Cooking pot rim: Fabric 20, grey core, buff surfaces; sooting on shoulder. Context 92
38. Jug or cistern: Fabric 20; thick grey core, brick-red margins and patchy orange-brown surfaces; elongated voids with striations down the length indicates the addition of grass or straw tempering; stab marks along length of handle, continuing below the handle. Contexts 92, 101
39. From shoulder of jug: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); self coloured applied strips and applied ring-and-dot-stamped pads; dark mottled green glaze. Context 58
40. Jug base: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); splashes of green glaze on sides, beneath base and internally. Contexts 57, 58
41. Part of small rounded vessel: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); external sooting on lower half of vessel. Contexts 57, 92
42. Handle from jug or aquamanile: Scarborough ware phase II (Fabric 24B); ridges and grooves along top surface; smooth bottle-green glaze. Context 59
43. Bowl rim: Fabric 21, borderline with Fabric 20; perforated from inside during manufacture. Context 105

Period 3

Only 70 sherds weighing 635 g belong in this period. Medieval coarse ware and Hedingham ware are most abundant, occurring in almost equal proportions. Also found were small amounts of London-type ware, medieval sandy orange ware and Saintonge ware. Scarborough ware is absent. Appearing for the first time are Mill Green ware and unclassified buff ware.

A sherd of Saintonge ware has a thumbed applied strip (unillustrated), characteristic of mid to late 13th century jugs (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 26). A jug base (No. 47) in an unusual fabric has been catalogued as unclassified buff ware. Similar fabrics occur in Ipswich but a Suffolk source has not been identified. Twelve sherds were found from a Mill Green jug decorated with vertical applied white slip stripes (No. 45). This type of decoration on Mill Green has not been seen by the author before, although slip-painted stripes are known (Pearce *et al.* 1982, 285). It should perhaps be classified as Mill Green-type, in which the fabric is indistinguishable from that of Mill Green but forms and decoration are untypical. A possible production site of Mill Green-type ware has been excavated at Rayleigh in south-east Essex (Walker 1989).

The latest datable sherd in period 3 is from the neck of a ?squat jug in London-type ware (No. 46), with horizontal bands of white slip decoration. It is comparable to examples in Pearce *et al.* 1985, (figs. 48.165, 49.166) datable from the late 13th to early 14th century. A later 13th century date is more probable than an early 14th century one, as the coastal trade in London-type ware had ceased by the end of the 13th century (Vince 1985, 84). Mill Green ware also dates from the later 13th century.

44. Jug base: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); slight thumbing; splashes of green glaze on sides and underside of base; arc-shaped scar on underside of base consistent with vessels stacked base to rim in the kiln. Context 72
45. Part of jug: Mill Green ware (Fabric 35); reduced to mid-grey fabric; applied white stripes; mottled green glaze giving light green strips against a dark green background. Contexts 72, 12, 63
46. Sherd from the neck of a ?squat jug: London-type ware (Fabric 36); thick grey core, reddish brown surfaces; applied white slip strips beneath a decayed greenish glaze; hole drilled after manufacture. Context 46
47. Base of jug: unclassified buff ware (Fabric 34); smooth red-buff fabric; inclusions of moderate, fine grey and colourless sub-angular sands; not unlike Hedingham ware but harder with much less mica; incised decoration; occasional splashes of green glaze. Context 41

Period 4

This period produced a total of 130 sherds weighing 1.32 kg. The bar chart (Fig. 11) shows that medieval coarse ware is the most common fabric with smaller amounts of Hedingham ware, Scarborough ware and Mill Green ware. London-type ware and medieval sandy orange ware are absent. A small quantity of Saintonge is present and Saintonge polychrome appears for the first time. Late medieval sandy orange ware reappears and includes Colchester ware. A Langerwehe stoneware sherd is present and post-medieval red earthenware also appears.

The pottery from the sand dump (31, 42) is similar to that from the features sealed beneath it. A Hedingham ware jug rim (No. 48) and a Scarborough ware decorated sherd (No. 49) are illustrated. Also in Hedingham ware is a grooved

rod handle, perhaps a copy of Scarborough ware. Some sherds of late medieval sandy orange ware in layer 31 must be intrusive.

The metalled yard surface 7, the layers beneath it, and the trample (12) above it, produced an assemblage comparable to that from the sand dump, including Scarborough, Hedingham, Saintonge and Mill Green wares. Amongst the sherds from 12 were three sherds of Saintonge polychrome, a parrot-beak spout, a strap handle and a body sherd, which may be fairly closely dated to the late 13th to early 14th century.

These surfaces may have been in use for a long period of time. They were also at the interface with the overlying garden soil, apparently at a point where the sequence had been truncated. Factors such as this must explain the presence of later pottery. Thus 12 also contained sherds of late medieval sandy orange ware, including Colchester products, whilst in layer 6, an earthy deposit at the same level as the yard metalling, there was a piece of Langewehe stoneware datable to the mid-14th to the mid-15th century. A sherd of internally glazed post-medieval red earthenware (Fabric 40), no earlier than the late 16th century and perhaps as late as the 17th or 18th centuries, which was found in post hole 10 may be intrusive or may indicate that this feature was cut through the overlying garden soil and has been inaccurately phased.

48. Jug rim: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); partial mottled green glaze. Context 42
49. Part of jug: Scarborough ware phase II (Fabric 24B); applied decoration; partial smooth bottle-green glaze. Context 31

Period 5

A total of 93 sherds weighing 1.47 kg were recovered (Fig. 14). Medieval coarse ware, Hedingham ware, London-type ware, Scarborough ware, Saintonge and Mill Green ware all present, albeit in small quantities. The dominant fabric is late medieval sandy orange ware, including Colchester slip-painted ware. Langerwehe stoneware is the second most common fabric. Post-medieval red earthenware is also present. New fabrics comprise Low Countries red ware, and Siegburg and Raeren stonewares. Contexts containing pottery assigned to this phase are three cut features:

Pit F8: this contained single sherds of Saintonge ware, late medieval sandy orange ware, Low Countries red ware, and 15th-16th century red earthenware.

Sunken building F27: about 70% by weight of the pottery in this feature consisted of residual medieval wares. Amongst them is a ?late 13th century Saintonge jug parallled in Platt and Coleman-Smith (1975, fig. 182.1003). Later wares comprise Low Countries red ware, late medieval sandy orange ware, post-medieval red earthenware, and Raeren stoneware. The latter is the best dating evidence for this feature, being datable to the late 15th to the first half of the 16th century.

Pit F29: the pottery from the three fills is presented in Table 3. The range of material is similar to that found in F27, but the residual medieval material (27%) is much less abundant. Two of the medieval sherds are of interest. A Mill Green fragment has Rouen-style decoration, achieved by coating the pot body with red slip which is overlain by applied strips and pellets in a pale coloured clay. The application of a green glaze gives a pale green decoration and a reddish brown background. In London such decoration is found on Mill Green baluster jugs dating to *c* 1300 (Pearce *et al.* 1982, 292). An unidentified medieval sherd with a white green-glazed fabric, lacking the pitted glaze of Saintonge and too fine to be Surrey, may be of Northern French origin. If so, then it must be fairly early, dating from 1150-1250 (Vince 1985, 48). Late sandy orange wares include a bung-hole from a cistern, slip-painted with a sparse clear glaze. The German stonewares provide the best dating evidence. The illustrated Langewehe jug base is probably late 15th century (D. Gaimster pers. comm.), whilst the Raeren stoneware could be of this date or rather later, up to the mid-16th century.

50. Jug fragment: Hedingham ware (Fabric 22); combed decoration beneath glossy, mottled green glaze. Context 30
51. Bowl rim: possibly Dutch (Fabric 31); partial clear glaze on the inside. Context 30
52. Bottom half of jug: Langerwehe stoneware (Fabric 45A); underfired; patchy iron wash; salt-glaze. Similar to one in pit F3 (No. 60). Context 25

Table 3 Methodist Chapel site: quantification of pottery in pit 29 by fill, fabric and sherd count (U = unidentified)

Fill	Fabrics 20	U	22	36	24B	27	35	21L	31	45B	45A	45C	Total	Comments
25	2	1	–	1	–	1	–	2	2	1	4	1	15	
30	6	–	3	–	1	2	1	19	3	–	–	1	36	
36	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	4	Cross-fit with cess pit 71
	8	1	3	1	3	4	1	22	5	1	4	2	55	

Table 4 Methodist Chapel site: quantification of pottery in cess pit 34 by fill, fabric and sherd count

Fill	Fabrics										Total	Comments
	20	27	35	21L	21A	21C	45A	45C	31	46		
35	2	–	–	8	–	1	–	–	–	–	11	
37	7	3	–	31	–	–	–	–	–	1	42	
38	13	2	1	42	1	–	1	1	2	–	63	Cross-fit with pit 3
	22	5	1	81	1	1	1	1	2	1	116	

Period 6

This contained the most pottery, 391 sherds, weighing 8.33 kg. The assemblages from the two main features are discussed separately below.

Pit 34: the pottery from its three fills is summarised in Table 4. About 20% (by weight) of the pottery is medieval. Of note are a Saintonge jug rim with a lustrous green glaze paralleled by a vessel at Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 187.1039) datable to *c.* 1300-50; and a Mill Green rod handle from a jug, with a cream slip beneath splashes of green glaze. The assemblage is dominated by late medieval sandy orange ware, (Nos 53, 54) including a sherd of Colchester ware. Unillustrated are fragments of an unglazed slip-painted bung-hole cistern (*cf.* Cunningham 1985a, fig. 6). The only example of Sgraffito ware came from this pit: a small sherd decorated with incised wavy lines. The late sandy orange ware and the German stonewares indicate a 15th-16th century date for the filling of this pit. The latest pottery was a plain white tin-glazed albarello, datable to the 18th century. It presumably derived from the overlying garden soil which had slumped into the area of the pit.

53. Bowl: Fabric 21; crudely made; knife-trimmed; squarish base; decayed green glaze on inside of base; possibly a condiment. Context 38
54. Jug: Fabric 21; lustrous external brown glaze. Context 37
55. Drug jar or albarello: tin-glazed earthenware (Fabric 46); friable cream fabric very light in weight; all-over off-white crazed glaze, with a very slight pinkish hue; undecorated. Context 37

Sunken building F3: this feature produced the largest pottery assemblage (6.8 kg, Table 5), including a number of exotic vessels. (The table includes the finds from the associated features F19, F21 and F23, which seem to be contemporary with F3). The high incidence of partially complete pots makes it possible to estimate the minimum

Table 5 Methodist Chapel site: quantification of pottery in pit 3 by fill, fabric and sherd count (U = unidentified)

Feature	Fill	Fabrics																			Total	Comments
		20	22	27	35	23A	21L	21A	45B	45A	45A/C	45C	31	29	40	41	43	46	46D	U		
F3	5	8	–	1	1	–	25	4	1	2	1	15	2	1	85	1	–	1	1	1	150	Cross-fit with context 4 and pit 34
	4	13	–	4	–	2	16	9	1	3	2	3	–	–	37	1	–	–	–	–	91	Same vessel in layer 12
	16	5	1	3	–	–	8	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	20	
	17	4	–	1	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	
F19	20	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	5	Cross-fit with context 5
F21	22	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	
F23	24	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	
		32	1	9	1	2	54	14	2	5	3	20	3	1	127	2	1	1	1	1	280	

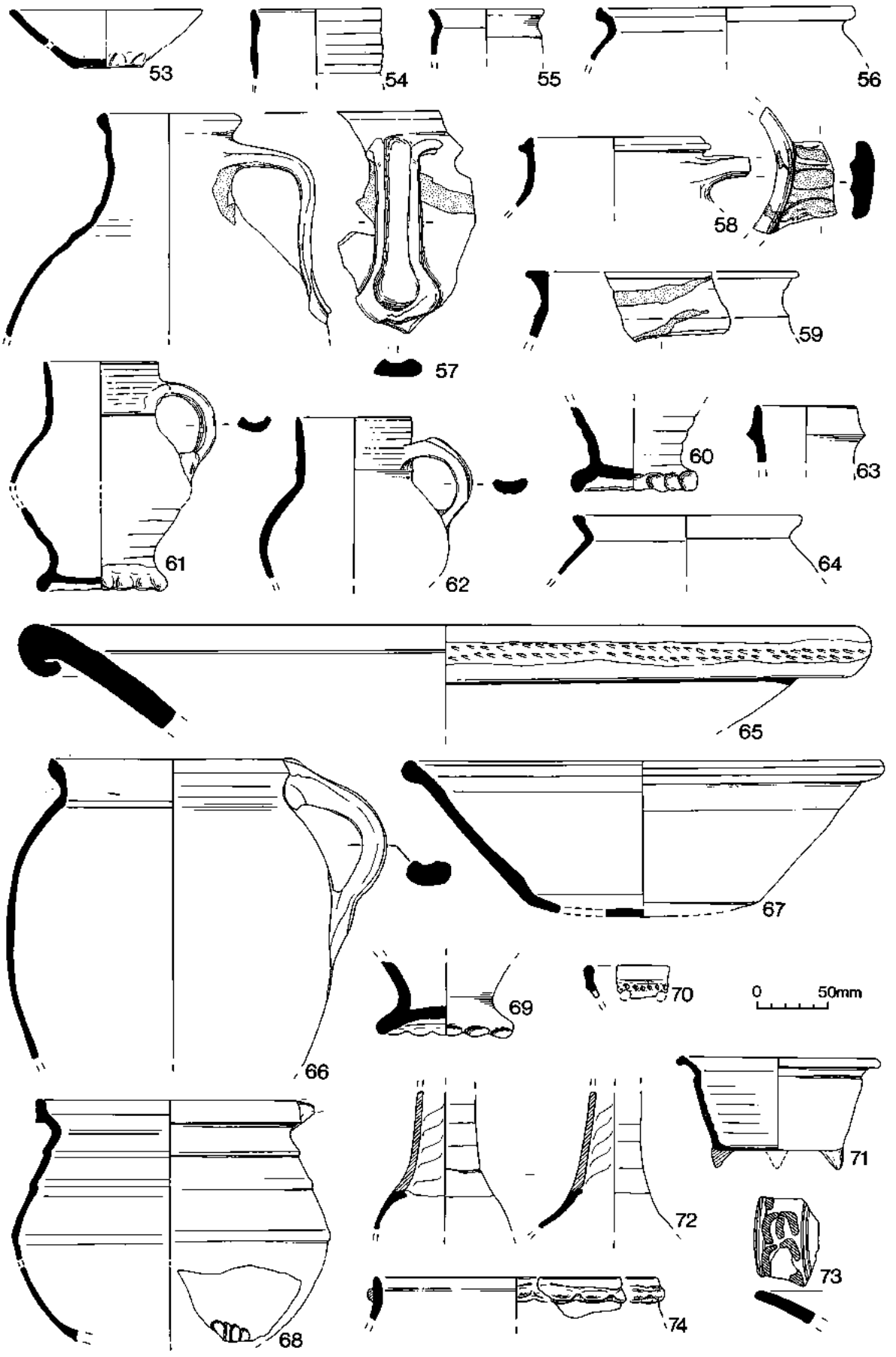

Fig. 16 Pottery from the Methodist chapel site

numbers of the different forms present in the feature. There is a wide variety of forms for use in cooking, storage and at table.

Jars: one in sandy orange ware (no. 56); two in post-medieval red earthenware; one unidentified (No. 74)

Skillets/pipkins/cauldrons: one in Low Countries red ware (No. 64); one Dutch-type (No. 68); one in Tudor Green (No. 71)

Storage jars/cisterns: one in Colchester ware (No. 59); one in post-medieval red earthenware (No. 66)

Large jugs/cisterns: one in Colchester ware (No. 58)

Jugs: one in cream white ware, two in sandy orange ware; two in Colchester ware (No. 57); one in Langerwehe stoneware (No. 60); one in Raeren stoneware (No. 63); three in post-medieval red earthenware (No. 69)

Small drinking jugs: three in Raeren stoneware (Nos 61, 62)

Costrels: one Martincamp flask (No. 72)

Bowls: one in Iberian green-glazed ware (No. 65); two in post-medieval red earthenware (No. 67)

Dishes: one in Isabella polychrome (No. 73)

The most accurate dating for pit F3 is provided by the imports which give a consistent date of late 15th to first half of the 16th Century. The examples of Tudor Green, Colchester ware and post-medieval red earthenware also fit in with this date. No late 16th to 17th century types such as Frechen Stoneware, black-glazed ware and southern white ware, so abundant in George Street contexts, are present here. All levels contain small amounts of presumable residual medieval ware, but only the bottom fill (17) contained no 15th and 16th century material. The late medieval Cheam white ware jug fragment may also be residual or may have been old when discarded.

56. Jar rim: Fabric 21; glossy clear glaze externally and on inside of rim. Context 5
57. Jug: ?Colchester ware (Fabric 21A); brick-red fabric with darker 'skin'; unglazed; slip-painted decoration. Context 5
58. Rim of large jug or cistern: Colchester ware (Fabric 21A); as No. 57 but with occasional splashes of glaze on the inside. Context 16
59. Rim of storage jar: Colchester ware (Fabric 21A); orange fabric; unglazed; slip-painted decoration. Context 5
60. Bottom half of jug: Langerwehe stoneware (Fabric 45A); underfired; patchy iron wash; salt-glaze; internal sooting; perhaps late 15th century; similar to one in pit F29 (No. 52). Context 5
61. Drinking jug: Raeren stoneware (Fabric 45C);partial iron wash; salt-glaze; probably first half of 16th century (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 194). Contexts 5, 38
62. Similar to No. 61, but with less iron wash. Context 5
63. Rim of cordoned-neck jug: Raeren stoneware (Fabric stoneware (Fabric 45C) or Aachen; glossy pale grey salt-glaze with patches of iron wash; iron wash internally. Context 5
64. Rim of pipkin/couldron: ?Dutch (Fabric 31); glossy all-over amber glaze; blackening beneath rim. Context 5
65. Green-glazed bowl or Lebrillo: from Seville (Fabric 29); internal bottle-green glaze with splashes of glaze on the outside; rouletting on rim; imported from the 13th to 17th centuries and used for washing clothes (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 65). Context 5
66. Large one-handled storage jar or cistern: Fabric 40; large 'bib' of greenish glaze opposite handle, glaze also down length of handle. Contexts 4, 5
67. Bowl: Fabric 40; clear glaze on inside of base. Contexts 5, 20
68. Cauldron/Pipkin: Fabric 40; Dutch type; brick-red margins otherwise dark grey; lid-seated rim with pouring lip; glaze on inside of rim with splashes of glaze internally. Contexts 4, 5
69. Frilled base: Fabric 40; greenish glaze; crudely made; perhaps a copy of a Langerwehe or Raeren jug. Context 5
70. Rim: Fabric 40; all-over greenish glaze; incised decoration; two holes made during manufacture. Context 5
71. ?Skillet: Tudor Green ware (Fabric 41); bright green internal glaze; untypical form; rather delicate for kitchen use, perhaps used at table. Context 5
72. Part of Martincamp Flask: Fabric 43; type I. Context 16
73. Isabella polychrome dish: from Seville (Fabric 46D); all-over tin glaze; purple spur-band decoration and concentric blue lines; similar to an example in Hurst *et al.* (1986 fig. 24.62) dated 1500-1550. Context 5
74. Bowl/jar: unidentified fabric; orange with grey core and dark 'skin'; sand tempered with larger (ave. 1 mm across) inclusions of soft white mineral with sugary, friable texture, does not react with dilute hydrochloric acid, possibly gypsum; thumbed applied cordon around neck; an import. Context 5

Not illustrated: Surrey White ware (Fabric 23); fragment of jug with splashes of glaze; the lower handle attachment is secured by stabbing with a pointed tool in an inverted V shape, a method of manufacture used at Cheam (Pearce 1984, 23); date, late 14th and 15th centuries (Vince 1985, 57). Context 4

Not illustrated: Raeren stoneware (Fabric 45C); part of frilled base from large jug (diameter 120 mm) with a speckled salt glaze, perhaps from a face jug (*cf.* Hurst et al. 1986, fig. 94.302). Context 5

Unstratified pottery

Of note is a fragment from a large globular Saintonge vessel decorated with vertical, rouletted, applied strips. It is very abraded though patches of pitted green glaze remain. It may be part of a three-handled pitcher: such a vessel is illustrated in Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 183.1014, and dated to the late 13th century.

Discussion of pottery from George Street and Church Street sites

Because of the presence of a series of superimposed building levels, the Methodist chapel site produced one of the best stratified medieval pottery sequences published for Essex, though with a chronological range limited to *c.* 1200-1300, and to the late 15th and 16th centuries.

At both the Methodist chapel and George Street sites, coastal trade is very much in evidence during the medieval

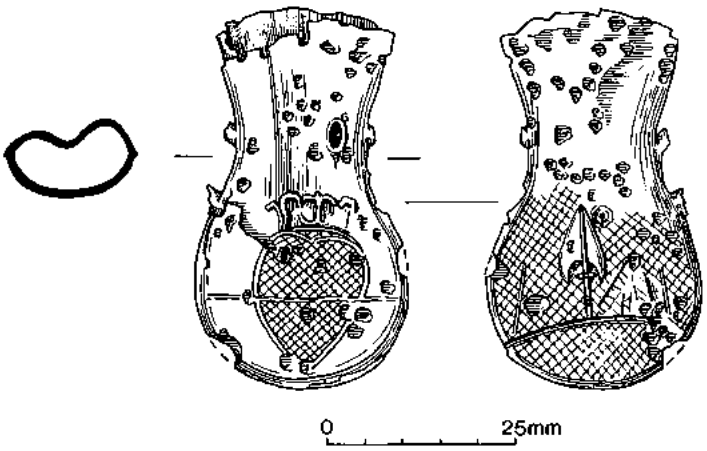

Fig. 17 Pilgrim's ampulla

period; trade in London-type ware is significant and most sherds in this fabric can be dated by decorative style to the early to mid-13th century. At the Methodist chapel site, if it is assumed that the sherd of Scarborough ware in period 2 is intrusive, then London-type ware was being imported before Scarborough ware. London-type ware effectively disappears from the sequence by period 4, supporting the view that North Sea trade in this pottery stopped at the end of the 13th century.

Hedingham fine ware is ubiquitous in medieval levels. There is some evidence that when Scarborough ware appears in the sequence Hedingham ware (already an established industry) begins to imitate it. Early Hedingham ware exhibits applied cream slip decoration (No. 32), but when both fabrics are found in the same feature (i.e. cess pit F71), Hedingham ware shows the vertical applied strips (No. 39) and twisted rod handles characteristic of Scarborough ware. The most notable example of this imitation is the bearded jug rim discussed above (No. 35). The copying of Scarborough products by Hedingham potters has already been demonstrated (Cunningham and Farmer 1983. 60-63).

Evidence of overseas trading during 13th century phases is limited to sherds of green-glazed Saintonge ware. The bar chart (Fig. 14) shows that the amount of Saintonge increases after period 3. Although by period 6 it must be residual, this may be an indication that, as at Exeter, trade in Saintonge continued after it had ceased elsewhere (see above, p. 85).

In the late medieval and post-medieval periods, trade switches from the English North Sea ports and south-west France to north-west Europe and the Mediterranean. The amount of imported pottery also increases and there are now no locally produced finewares. Period 5 features are characterised by the presence of the earlier German stonewares i.e. Siegburg, Langerwehe and Raeren of the 14th to 16th centuries. Small amounts of Low Countries red wares were also found. In period 6, about 30% by weight of the pottery in the fill of sunken building F3 was imported: a whole array of imports were found dating to the first half of the 16th century, comprising drinking jugs from Germany, a flask from northern France, cooking vessels from the Low Countries and a bowl and highly decorated dish from southern Spain. These not only show that Harwich was a thriving port at this time but also serves to date the local earthenwares found in the same feature. The bar chart (Fig. 14) shows that large quantities of post-medieval red earthenware (Fabric 40) were also present, indicating that this fabric was already well established at least by the mid-16th century. This contrasts with the situation at Colchester where the fabric does not appear until the later 16th century (Cunningham 1982, 373).

In spite of the fact that there was little stratification at George Street, the pattern seems familiar to that of the Methodist chapel site, with much pottery dating from the second half of the 13th century, although there is less that can be assigned to the late medieval period. There are also several post-medieval European imports, but these belong to the 16th to 17th centuries rather than to the first half of the 16th century.

It is difficult to comment on the status of the sites from the pottery. Certainly there is a high proportion of fine to coarse wares, and a high proportion of imports and traded wares, which could indicate high status on an inland site but not necessarily at a port where transport costs would have been low.

Other Finds Reports

NB. In the finds entries, where provenance is not otherwise indicated, the site code (HW2 = George Street; HW3 = Methodist Chapel site, Church Street) precedes the context number, the period and approximate date range of which is then given.

Flint and Coal

Three prehistoric struck flints were found on the Methodist Chapel site. Several pieces of coal were found on the same site in 16th century contexts.

A Pilgrim's Ampulla from George Street (Fig. 17)

by Brian Spencer

Leaden ampulla, flask-shaped, but with a narrow flattish section, decorated on the (more rounded) obverse with a crown with three fleurons and a downward-curving base, on a hatched ground; and on the reverse with a heart covered with hatching and surmounted by a crown of simple outline

form. At the sides are fragments of a pair of loop-handles from which the ampulla would have been suspended round the wearer's neck. Characteristically, the mouth of the ampulla has been sealed by nibbling along its edge, thus securing its tiny dose of thaumaturgic water from accidental loss.

An ampulla with the same obverse and reverse (though from a different mould) was found at Brandon, Suffolk (reported to Bury St. Edmunds Museum, Feb 1983, by E. Mallett). Others with an almost identical obverse have turned up at Maltby Springs, near Louth, Lincs. and Salisbury (Spencer forthcoming). One other sort seems to possess stylistic links with the Harwich ampulla. This has virtually the same obverse, but the reverse is decorated with a pseudo-coat-of-arms topped by a simple crown in outline. Examples of the latter sort have been found at St. Richard's Friary, Pontefract (1963), and Aylesbury, South Humberside (1987).

The various symbols mentioned above were probably purely decorative and unfortunately none of them can be taken to indicate the place of origin of these ampullae. For general observations on ampullae of this character, see Spencer 1971.

This example came from the fill (89) of pit 32, which contained 13th-14th century pottery. However, this pit was recorded as being amongst the late medieval and early modern features on the site. A *terminus ante quem* for the filling of the pit is provided by the fact that it was cut by a post hole containing red earthenware (Fabric 40) datable to the 16th century.

The clay pipe

by Hilary Major

A number of bowl fragments were found on the George Street site, but only those from contexts 2 (the garden soil) and 46 (fill of pit F13) were complete enough to date. The bowls from both contexts were of Oswald's type G6, dated *c.* 1660-80 (Oswald 1975).

Iron objects (Fig. 18)

by Hilary Major

The majority of the iron from George Street consisted of unidentifiable fragments. Besides the cutters and the buckle which are both illustrated, other objects of interest included a possible knife fragment (HW2, 3, not closely datable); the tang from a tool or knife (HW2, 57, 19th century); probable hinge fragments (HW2, 40 and 46, 16th century and 17th-18th century respectively); and a wire loop (HW2, 33, 16th-17th centuries) which is of a type more normally found in copper alloy (see Caple 1985, 48 for examples from Chelmsford). 72 nails with surviving heads were recovered. All were hand-made, and all except two had round heads: an oval-headed nail from context 3, and a pyramidal-headed one from 33. The average length of complete nails was 61 mm, with a range from 26-98 mm. There were also a few longer, incomplete nails. Also found were single-ended bolts (HW2, 2 and 3), and a double-ended bolt 60 mm long (HW2, 20, 13th-14th century).

A wider range of identifiable iron objects was found on the Methodist Chapel site, though many were fragmentary. A knife (illustrated) has a probable cutler's mark. Other knife fragments were found in 46 (period 3) and 5 (period 6). Other fragmentary blades from the fill of the sunken building (period 6, contexts 4 and 16) are more likely to be from shears. Also found in the 16th century fill of this building were a probable vessel foot (context 5), an arrowhead (illustrated), and a number of cleats (context 4; also present in 38, fill of pit 34, period 6). 40 nails with surviving heads were found, most of them round, but two were rectangular, and there were one each with square and oval heads. The average length of the complete nails was 64 mm, with a range of 43-98 mm. Nine bolts were recovered. Three were double-ended, with heads of variable shape and 45-72 mm long. The remainder (four of them from the fill of the period 6 sunken building) were incomplete, but may be single-headed. The largest is at least 145 mm long. Square or rectangular washers with circular perforations came from contexts 46 (period 3) and 31 (period 4).

1. Knife, blade and tang damaged. The scale tang, 8 mm wide, has a single perforation and a slightly thickened back. The blade bears what appears to be an inlaid cutler's mark, perhaps OX or XO. HW3, 9, period 5, 15th-16th century.
2. Key bit; handle missing. HW3, 5, period 6, 16th century
3. Socketed arrowhead of pyramidal shape, probably for a crossbow. HW3, 16, period 6, 16th century.
4. Pair of heavy duty cutters. The end of one handle has been turned through 90° to form a stop. HW2, 34, probably 17th century.
5. Iron buckle with copper alloy buckle plate and pin. The details are obscured by corrosion. HW2, 20. 13th-14th century.

Copper alloy (Fig. 19)

by Hilary Major

1. Square plate with perforated corners; folded across the middle, some damage to the edges. Decorated with a central stamped roundel containing a fleur-de-lys, surrounded by twelve individually punched triangles, three to a side. HW3, 63, period 4, 14th century.
2. Buckle; incomplete and distorted. The end bars have central mouldings and an incised line round each end. HW3, 9, period 5, 15th-16th century.
3. Thimble; fragmentary and badly distorted. Oval pits on top and sides, two rouletted bands round bottom. HW3, 5, period 6, 16th century. Another thimble fragment came from the same context.
4. Strap end formed by two plates rivetted together. The top plate has linear decoration. HW3, 4, period 6, 16th century.

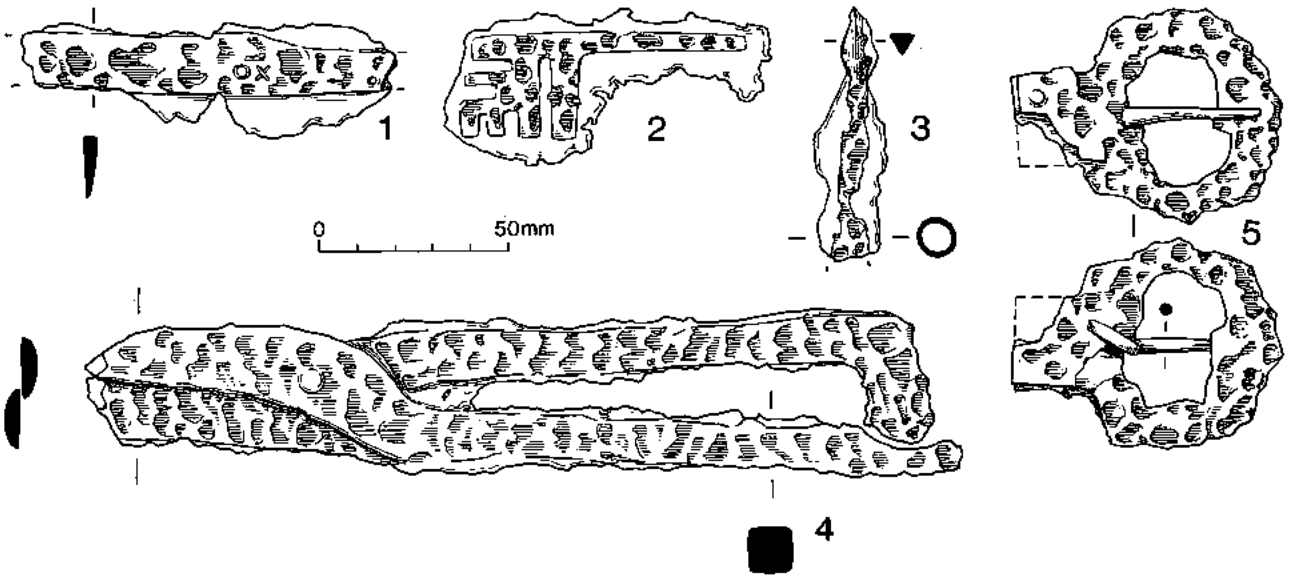

Fig. 18 Iron objects

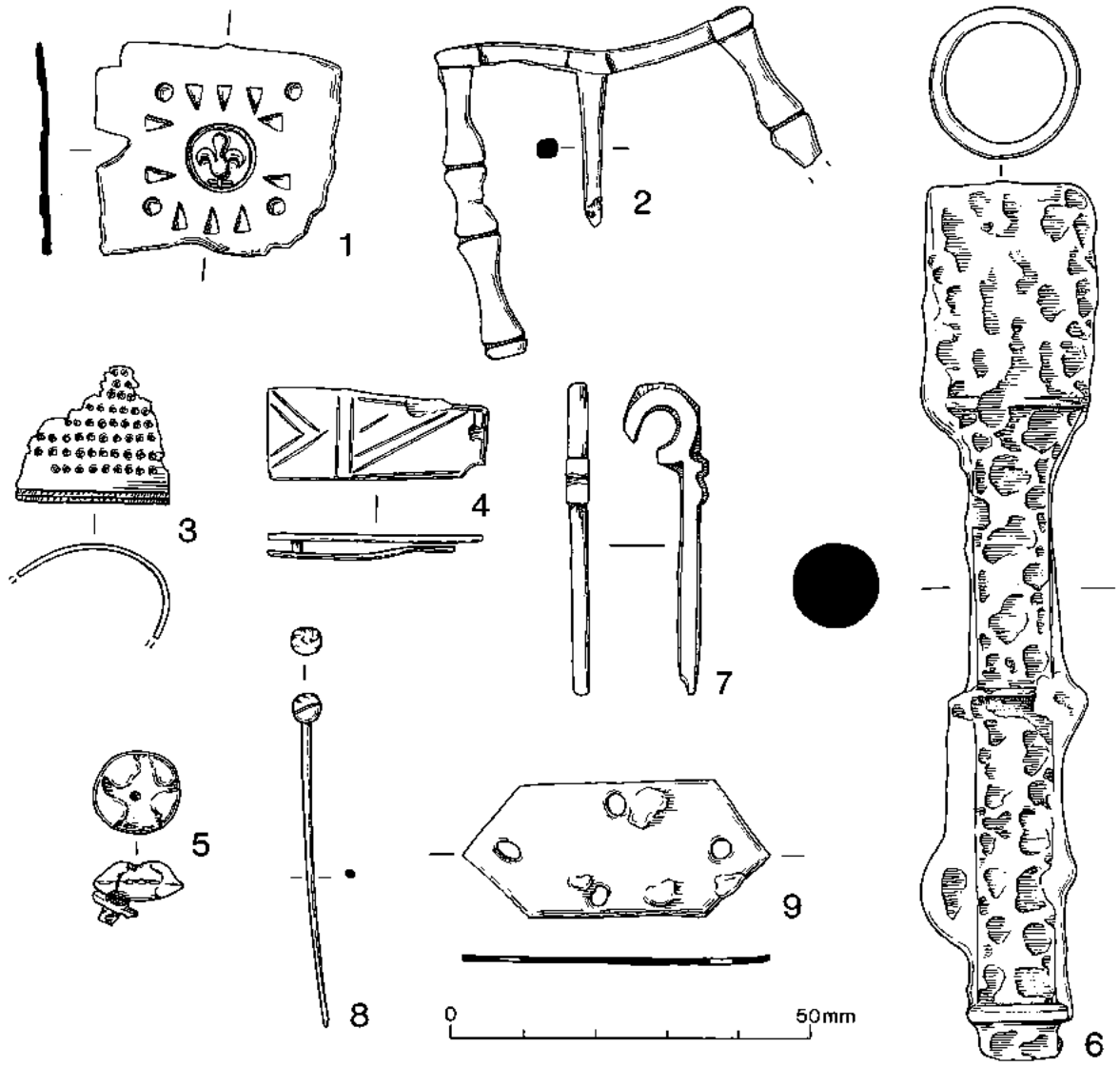

Fig. 19 Cu-alloy objects

5. Small button of lenticular section; central perforation containing a short copper alloy rod protruding on the upper side of the stud and holding in place a small decorative washer, now very corroded but possibly a quatrefoil. The stud was coated with white metal, still shiny in places; and the top was decorated with two chased lines round the edge and four ?stylized flowers, now obscured by corrosion. HW2, 33, 17th century.
6. Candlestick stem; unperforated socket with shallow convex moulding at its base, and flange in centre of stem. This type of plain candlestick is not closely datable between the 14th and early 17th century, although the moulding at the base of the socket suggests a date towards the end of this period (Michaelis 1978, 42). The base material is uncertain, but it appears to have been plated with copper alloy, which has corroded badly. HW3, unstratified.
7. Brooch pin with moulding at the joint of ring and pin. It is typical of the pins from medieval annular brooches; the type is not closely datable, and is probably residual in this context. HW2, 2, post-medieval garden soil.
8. Pin; the head is rather crudely decorated with a spiral groove and radiating curved lines on the top. HW2, 2, post-medieval garden soil.
9. Hexagonal plate with punched holes. HW2, 67 (13th-14th century).

Coins

by Hilary Major

Two coins were found on the George Street site:

1. Silver threepence of Elizabeth I, dated 1580. From the fill (33) of cut feature 6.
2. Undated Commonwealth silver penny of *c* 1656 in poor condition. From the fill (46) of cut feature 13.

Window Glass (Fig. 20)
by David Andrews
A remarkable find was a fragment of painted glass from George Street, from the fill (46) of a pit (13) which produced 17th-18th century finds. Unlike most excavated window glass, including two fragments the same context, the piece is well preserved, and not iridescent with a laminated surface. It is greenish in colour, bubbly, and 2 mm thick. On one side it is painted with reddish brown brush strokes. The painting is confident, and seems to depict the head of a fish amongst waves.

On the Methodist Chapel site in Church Street, a piece of weathered window glass was found in a period 5 context, and 11 pieces in the fill of the period 6 sunken building. Of these, two were badly weathered, but the rest were well preserved, being pale green with glossy surfaces, the weathering limited to brown staining. The thickness of the fragments ranged from 1.5 mm to just over 2 mm. Many of them had grozed edges; they seem to be from diamond quarries with a side length of 75 mm. A rounded edge, and the general flatness of the pieces, suggests that this was cylinder or broad glass.

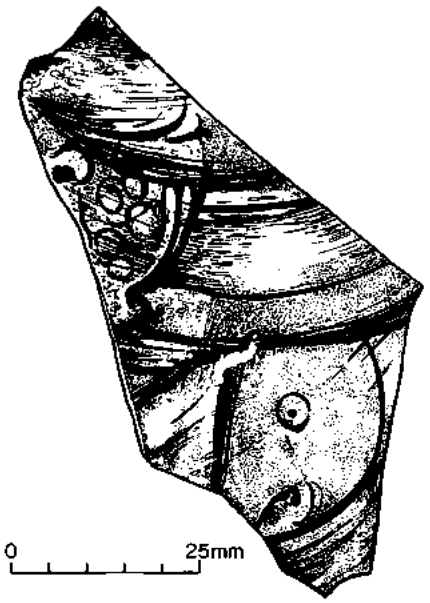

Fig. 20 Painted glass from George Street

Building Materials
by David Andrews
An anomalous find was a fragment of crudely made Roman flue tile, with lozenge decoration down one side, recovered from the fill of a period 5 feature datable to the 16th century. Evidence of Roman buildings is known from sites near Beacon Hill and at Dovercourt, but not from the Harwich peninsula itself.

Pegtile was absent from the contexts sealed by the sand dump that begins period 4, and thus seems not to have been in use, on this site at least, before *c.* 1300. Even in period 4, it was rare except in the very latest contexts, datable to the 15th century. By period 6 (i.e. the fill of 3, the sunken-floored building), pegtile was common. Two glazed ridge tile fragments were found in period 4 and 5 contexts. A well made tile-like fragment, 65 mm wide and 10 mm thick, with a purplish surface finish or slip, from one of the later period 4 contexts, could have been from a piece of roof furniture such as a decorated roof tile or louvre.

Brick first appears in period 6, being present in the fill of the sunken-floored building. The five pieces collected include two bricks in an off-white to pinkish fabric with few visible inclusions. One is a fragment, about 39 mm thick and at least 90-100 mm wide, but the other is intact and measures 42-49 × 88-94 × 186 mm. The underside is very rough and uneven, the top is smoother, and slightly rebated at the edges, no doubt the result of stacking for drying. Small white bricks of this type said to have been imported from the Low Countries (Drury and Rodwell 1978, 143) are amongst the earliest bricks to have been used in Essex in the Middle Ages, appearing in contexts of the 14th century onwards. However, these examples are somewhat different to other white bricks recently found in the spiral stair of the tower of Asheldham church and reported upon elsewhere in this volume. The latter are in a yellower fabric, and are wider and probably also longer. Amongst the other bricks is an intact red one measuring 49 × 95 × 216 mm. It is in a dark orangey brown fabric and has a pitted bottom surface. The other fragments are both 54 mm high. One is 110 mm wide.

Two fragmentary paviors 23-25 mm thick were recovered from period 5 contexts, both unglazed with reduced surfaces and rather rough, uneven bases. One had undercut edges. A similar fragment was also found in the fill of the period 6 sunken-floored building, in which a total of seven pavior fragments were found. Of the others, one was crudely made in a red fabric with a sandy but uneven base, undercut edges, 24 mm thick and in excess of 150 mm square, with a colourless (i.e. brown) glaze with a few patches of slip. The remaining five are all broadly similar. They are glazed dark green-brown to purple, are just in excess of one inch (28-32 mm) thick, and have undercut edges and slightly sandy bases. The fabrics tend to be somewhat different, but three which are pinkish to orangey with an admixture of white clay inclusions and fine streaks, and some black iron ore, could be from the same production centre. Like the white bricks, these paviors may well be imports from the Low Countries.

The Edible Molluscs
Large amounts of shell were found in contexts of all periods and types, with concentrations in the small post-medieval rubbish pits at George Street (F5, F6, F7), and in the pit F71 and the fill of the sunken-floored building F3 at the Methodist chapel site. The vast majority of the shells found were oyster (*Ostrea edulis* (L)), with smaller amounts of whelk (*Buccinum undatum* (L)), winkle (*Littorina littorea* (L)) and mussel (*Mytilus edulis* (L)), with a single valve of cockle (*Cerastoderma edule* (L)) from the Methodist chapel site. The only significant difference between the two sites was with the winkle: 48 shells were recovered from George Street, but only one from the Methodist chapel site.

Discussion and Conclusions

Previous excavations at the Quay Pavilion and St. Austin's Lane[4] have already shed light on the archaeological potential of Harwich, but these investigations have re-emphasised how remarkably well preserved the town's archaeological deposits are, especially those of the 13th and 14th centuries when the level in the town rose by up to 1.4m. The rise in ground level that took place in Italian towns at the transition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages is a subject that has recently attracted heated debate (Brogiolo 1987), some seeing it as the product of a continuing vitality of urban life, others regarding it as signifying the opposite. Where associated as at Church Street with at least four superimposed building phases, there can be no doubt that it reflects the dynamic growth of the newly founded town. Another measure of how flourishing the town was at this period is the intensive use that was made of the backlands, where extensive outbuildings were constructed, in contrast with the open space or gardens of later periods.

It is unfortunate, however, that so little can be said about the early history of Harwich. Published sources afford only a few dates on which to hang this history: the record of a chapel in 1177, of a market at Dovercourt in 1222, further mentions in 1229 and 1238, and the obtaining of a charter for a market and fair in 1253. The town is known to have been founded by the earls of Norfolk, but the date of this

event has escaped all record. The three parallel streets of West Street, Church Street and King's Head Street, bespeak regular town planning, but it is not impossible that the somewhat less regular streets of the north-east corner of the town belong to a different phase of development. The earliest pottery could well date from the period 1177-1222, and some of the earliest features, although sharing the same alignment, could be associated with a street pattern other than the existing. However, the appearance of phase II Scarborough ware, which is currently thought to have been in production from *c.* 1225, in the fill of one of the post holes of one of the period 1 buildings on the Methodist chapel site, suggests that the occupation on this site is unlikely to have begun much earlier than *c.* 1200.

However vigorous the initial growth of the town may have been, it did not come to occupy its existing extent, for on George Street there was no evidence of frontage development before the end of the 17th century or the early 18th century. A striking feature of the Church Street sequences is the dumping of sand or clay to raise the level by up to 600 mm probably *c.* 1300, something that must be associated with some major event such as large scale redevelopment, or reconstruction subsequent to flooding. The pre-existing buildings were sealed below this level. Above it, there is, curiously, a hiatus in the sequence. At the Methodist chapel site, there was a metalled surface at the rear of the site, assumed to have served a building on the frontage which was later removed by sunken-floored buildings and cellars. The surface was, in turn, covered by garden soil which was external to the sunken-floored buildings erected probably in the later 15th century. If the soil extended to the frontage, which could not be examined because of the existence of a cellar, it could be that the site was abandoned and became either waste or cultivated ground in the time between the demise of the presumed building and the construction of the sunken-floored ones. The absence of pottery datable *c.* 1350-1450 supports the idea of such an abandonment, but since there are relatively few pottery types characteristic of this period, this argument is at risk of becoming circular.

The sunken-floored buildings were demolished in the later 16th century and covered by a layer of garden soil which may also have extended to the frontage. The cellar, of course, had destroyed the stratigraphy in this area, and the post-medieval remains were not investigated in detail, but nevertheless there was no clear evidence of new buildings until the 17th-18th centuries. Both postulated phases of desertion are very hypothetical, but would be a significant comment on the economy and fortunes of the town at a time when many towns were experiencing economic difficulties. It should also be relatively easy to trace the extent of this late medieval 'black earth' in excavations and watching briefs at other sites, and so obtain circumstantial evidence to confirm or refute this speculation.

Harwich's trading contacts are reflected in the range of imported pottery found, even if this does not constitute a relative or absolute measure of economic prosperity, at least not in the present state of knowledge. In the earliest phase at the Methodist chapel site, the most common identifiable fine ware was London-type ware. In the succeeding phases, Hedingham ware occupies this position, closely followed by Scarborough ware. Imports from France and the Low Countries are only present in the later 13th early 14th century phases. In the 15th-16th centuries, German stonewares are a significant component of the assemblage, accompanied by a few more exotic imports from Italy and Spain.

The pottery cannot be taken as an indication of site status. Inasmuch as stone buildings were excavated at St. Austin's Lane and stone cellars are to be found at Harwich, the absence of any trace of stone buildings at the Methodist chapel site means it is unlikely to have been of more than middling status, although in a central position in the town. On the available evidence, the most sought-after locations in the town were those close to the quays which would obviously have been advantageous for merchants. However, it is only through more intensive observation of building works, and larger area excavations, that it will be possible to obtain solutions to these problems in the history of the origins and development of the town.

Acknowledgements

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Authors: David Andrews and Helen Walker (currently), Brian Milton (formerly), Essex County Council Archaeology Section, County Hall, Chelmsford.

Notes

1. The site codes were HW2 (George Street), HW3 (Methodist chapel/Mayflower House), HW4 (50 Church Street), and HW5 (corner of Market Street and King's Head Street). The site archives are deposited at the Colchester and Essex Museum.
2. Information from Winifred Cooper and Andrew Carden.
3. A comparable building, abandoned in the 18th century, has been found in excavations at the gravel quarry site at Chigborough Farm, Heybridge. Information from Mags Adams.
4. Directed by S. Bassett for DOE and Essex Archaeological Society Fieldwork and Research Committee. Interim reports are held by the Essex Sites and Monuments Record and the Essex Record Office.

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Pottery from a Possible Late Medieval Kiln Dump at 77 High Road, Rayleigh

by Helen Walker

This report describes some 20 kg of previously unpublished pottery excavated in 1958 and 1974. No kiln structure was ever positively identified but sherds found in 1958 were identified by J.G. Hurst as waste material from a pottery kiln.

The pottery consists mainly of fine ware jugs. No complete or even partially complete vessels were found but there is some evidence that baluster and squat/rounded jugs were present, of which some are highly decorated. The pottery can be dated on stylistic grounds to the second half of the 14th to 15th century. The fabric and methods of handle attachment appear to be the same as that of the earlier Mill Green industry. It is proposed to call this pottery Rayleigh High Road ware.

The only published reference to the kiln is made by Helliwell and Macleod (1981) in the Rayleigh Castle report; however, the pottery is not described. The writer has also attributed pottery excavated from a large ditch at Bellingham Lane, Rayleigh to this kiln.

Introduction to the Excavated Evidence

The site was situated on the east side of the High Road, opposite the junction with Great Wheatley road, between the town of Rayleigh and the Weir roundabout (Fig. 1). According to the Chapman and Andre map of 1777 the site is located well outside the town (although there may have been some ribbon development along the High Road). If this was the case in the Middle Ages, then the location would have been comparable to other medieval Essex kiln sites such as Mile End (near Colchester) and the Sible Hedingham group (in North Essex) where the kilns are situated outside but near to main towns.

No written archive was found for the 1958 excavation (searched for at Southend Museum). The only evidence for a kiln apart from the pottery are four roof tile fragments which are overfired and have splashes of sometimes blistered glaze. Glaze is present on the underside of the tile and on the breaks. Possibly they were used as kiln props. A high ratio of rims to weight of sherds amongst the pottery has been noted, indicating that some of the undiagnostic sherds were discarded.

The 1974 excavations were carried out by D.C. Macleod (now retired) on behalf of Southend Museums Service. Apart from the unpublished interim report (Macleod 1974) the site was never written up. The interim report describes late Saxon/early medieval forest clearance and domestic occupation in the 13th century as well as evidence of a possible kiln. The site was dug in a series of trenches but because of the incompleteness of the written archive (obtained from Southend Museum) it was not possible to find the relationships between features from different trenches, or the relative position of the 1958 excavation. Neither can a plan of the excavations be provided, a rough idea of the stratigraphy within the trenches could, however be built up.

In trench 5 a feature was interpreted as a flue leading to the firing chamber; the upper part of the kiln was thought to have been ploughed away. The flue was flat bottomed and straight sided, measuring 30 cm deep by 24 cm across. In Macleod's report it is described as containing dark ash it did not contain pottery. At the same depth an area of burnt clay, carbon and ash is described. Above this was a burnt clay area containing pottery. A photograph of the flue still exists but does not show the burning at all clearly and its interpretation seems open to doubt.

The largest single concentration of pottery (6.5 kg) was found in trench 7, layer 3 above a cobbled surface. Varying amounts of pottery were found in six other trenches (pottery totals for each trench is shown in Table 1). Cross-fits were found between trenches 2 and 5 and 5 and 8. There were no cross-fits for the 1958 material or from trench 7 layer 3. Cross-fits were also found between contexts within the same trench. Some kiln pottery is found on features/contexts not associated with the kiln and is sometimes also found with various types of non-kiln pottery dating from the 12th-20th century. Perhaps the kiln dump was disturbed by later activity.

About 3% of the total kiln sherds were found to be wasters. Wasters were found in all trenches containing pottery. This is further evidence of a kiln site but is by no means conclusive as 'seconds' are found on settlement sites. The different types of waster are described in Appendix 1.

The non-pottery finds were examined for evidence of pottery making activities; as with the 1958 material, overfired, reduced roof tile fragments were found, perhaps associated with the kiln. Several fragments of burnt daub are present.

Method

This pottery has been analysed using Cunningham's typology (Cunningham 1985a, 1-2). The fine ware is number 35B in the fabric series and the coarse ware is Fabric 20E. Methods of quantification used are weight, sherd count, and, where large quantities of pottery are involved, Estimated Vessel Equivalent (eves), which is obtained by adding together the percentages of rim present. As there was no stratification, the pottery has been treated as a single group. All percentages quoted are by weight unless otherwise stated.

The aim of this report is to describe and characterize the ?kiln material so that it is possible to distinguish it from other similar types.

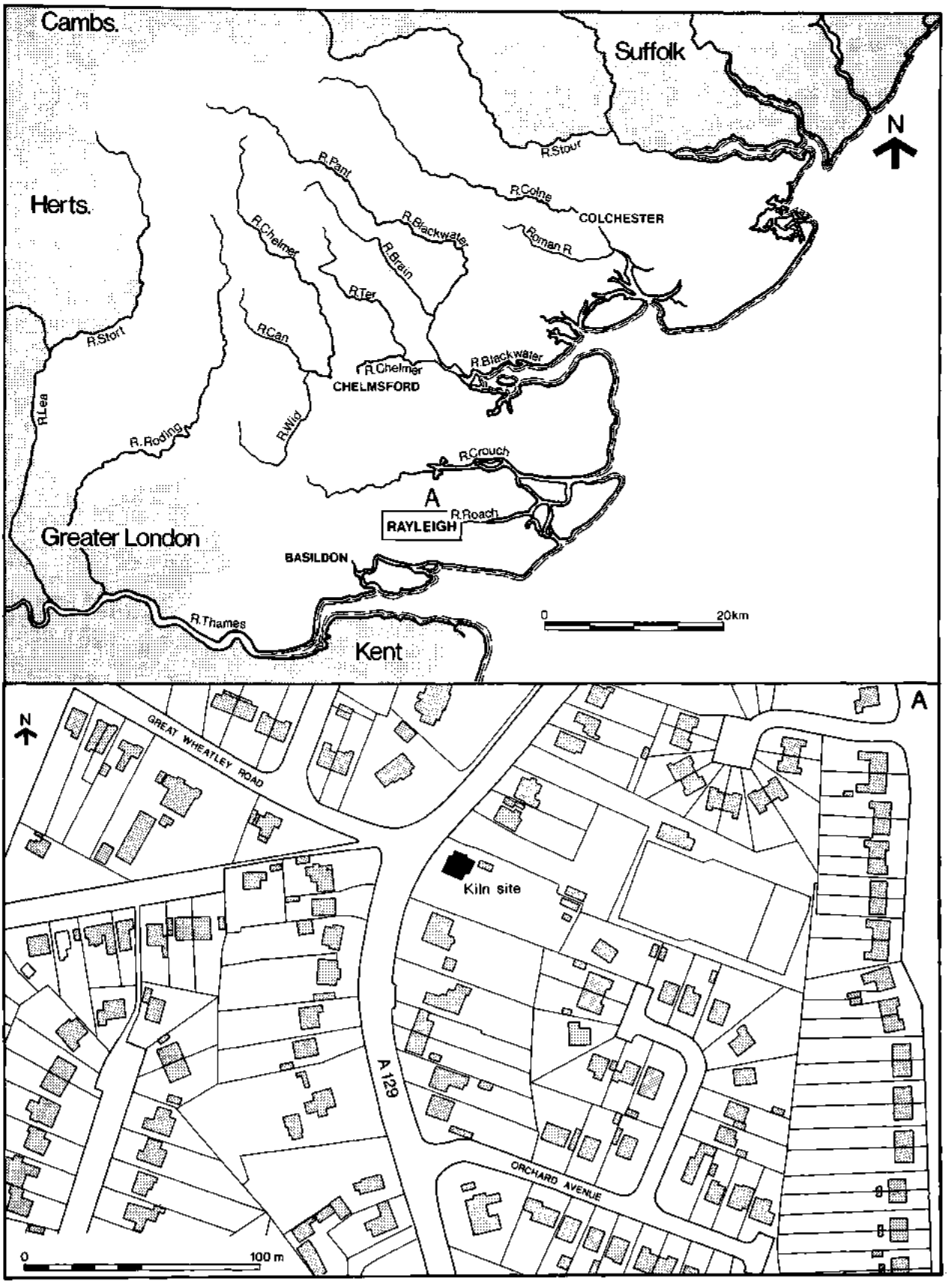

Fig. 1 Rayleigh High Road Kiln location map.

The Fine Ware

Nearly 91% of the pottery is fine ware (2299 sherds, weighing 17.6 kg, 789% eves). All but two vessel fragments were identified as jugs. Unfortunately no complete profiles could be reconstructed but there are many rims, handles, bases and decorated sherds.

Fine Ware Fabric

Four sherds of fine ware were sent to Beverley Nenk, of the Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London, for thin-section analysis. Her results are as follows.

> The vessels are wheel-thrown in a fine, red-firing fabric and are visually identical to Mill Green Ware (Pearce *et al.* 1982). The fabric of the fine ware varies from fairly soft to hard, is smooth to slightly rough, and has a fine texture. Under the binocular microscope, the visible inclusions are abundant fine quartz grains, up to 0.2 mm across, with sparse larger grains up to 0.6 mm, sparse red clay pellets up to 0.6 mm, sparse red and black iron ore up to 0.2 mm, and sparse flecks of white mica up to 0.2 mm. Thin-section analysis shows subangular and rounded quartz and composite quartz, ranging from coarse silt to a very fine sand grade; the very common quartz is typically less than 0.1 mm in diameter. Also present are sparse plagioclase feldspar up to 0.3 mm, and sparse grains of glauconite up to 0.1 mm diameter.

A few examples were found to be quite gritty, transitional between the fine ware and the coarse ware. There is one instance of a jug handle with a coarse sandy tempering *cf.* Mill Green ware (Pearce *et al.* 1982, 289). The colours of sherds were given codes and analysed to find evidence of firing conditions. A summary is given in the following paragraph. Percentages are calculated from sherd count.

Most sherds are oxidised and typically have a darker 'skin' or surfaces (37%) indicating a late stage reduction in the firing process; some sherds are darkened on the external surface only. The oxidised colour is normally bright orange, although brick-red is also common. The darkened surfaces can be grey, brown or purple. About 15% of sherds are totally orange but are often abraded; perhaps this was not the intended colour or perhaps the dark surface has worn away. In about 12% of cases there is also a reduced core. A small proportion, about 5% are totally oxidised to a brick-red and a further 5% are pinky red throughout. About 11% of sherds are reduced to a mid-dark grey or brown, though very pale, ashen examples also occur. A very few sherds, about 1%, are buff, and tend to be abraded. The remaining sherds (14%) are a combination of these colours. For instance, sherds can be grey-buff, reddish-buff, grey with a pale external surface or margins, or have an orange outer half and grey internal half.

Jug rim form

Jug rims can be divided into two basic types:

> Thickened with a distinct, external triangular bead (Nos 1-8). Nearly 40% are of this type.
>
> Thickened with a flat top (Nos 9-13). Nearly 60% are of this type.

In some cases rims are borderline between these sub-forms. There are two exceptions, an almost bifid rim (No. 14) perhaps a variant of the triangular bead type and a thickened, slightly everted, flat-topped rim (No. 15).

Triangular bead rim: A total of 27 sherds weighing 700 g (eves 260%) are of this type. Six rims have handles still attached. Five out of the six have strap handles with a thumb-made depression along the length (Nos 1-2). Nearly all sherds have horizontal incised grooves around the neck (Nos 3-6), sometimes widely spaced, sometimes close together. On one rim where the handle had come away from the neck, grooved lines are visible underneath, showing the grooves were incised before attaching the handle. In two cases the grooves are accompanied by cream slip-painting (Nos. 3-4). Another rim has a band of cream slip-painting below the rim and along the handle depression (No. 7). One triangular bead rim has an all-over cream slip-coating without glaze. Only a very small part of its handle remains but it may be of the 'ribbed' type (see handles section). In general glaze is fairly sparse and pale green. Only one rim has a complete external glaze.

Flat-topped thickened rims: A total of 83 sherds weighing 1052 g (eves 488%) are of this type. Five rims have identifiable handles still attached. All the handles appear to be of the same type; ribbed with incised lines along the length (No. 9). The jug with 'ears' where the handle meets the neck (No. 10) may have possessed a rod handle. Again, nearly all examples have incised horizontal grooves around the neck (Nos 11-12). Jug No. 11 shows the remains of a pulled spout. In some cases the grooves on the neck are accompanied by slip-painted bands. There are thirteen sherds covered in a coating of cream slip (No. 13), and this coating extends to the inside of the neck. Only four slip-coated sherds are accompanied by incised grooves, perhaps because the slip would obscure the decorative effect. In about five cases the slip-coating is covered by a partial green glaze. As with the triangular beaded rims this zone generally tends to be unglazed or only partially glazed.

Jug handles

A total of 108 handle sherds weighing 2.5. kg were excavated. With the exception of one rod handle (No. 16) all others are strap handles; these can be divided into subgroups:

Strap handles with central depression: About 14% of handles were identified as this type, already described under rim forms, where it appears to be associated with the triangular bead rim. In nearly all cases the broad thumb-made central depression is decorated with a cream slip-painted stripe running along its length (Nos 7 and 17). No examples of this handle type are slip-coated. Glaze is green and sparse if present at all. The width of handle ranges from 40 to 60 mm.

Ribbed strap handles with incised lines: About 38% are of this type, already mentioned under rim forms where they tend to be associated with flat-topped thickened rims. These have usually three sets of ridge and furrows running the length of the handle (Nos 9, 18, 19 and 20). In nearly all cases the

ribs are accompanied by parallel incised lines (Nos 9, 18 and 19). Handles vary in width from 40-70 mm and some must have come from quite large vessels (No. 18). Glaze is usually sparse or non-existent. Nine handle fragments are covered in a thick cream slip, sometimes under a sparse green glaze (No. 20), whilst five examples have a (sometimes off-centre) slip stripe along the length of the handle. The wider handles have two stripes (Nos 18 and 19).

Strap handles with central ridges: The third type has a central ridge running along the length of the handle. It does not appear to have been applied separately. Only two sherds are of this type, 2% of the total. The ridge of the illustrated example (No. 21) is thumbed and traces of cream slip-coating remain. The second example is plain apart from splashes of green glaze.

Other handles: All other handles are either indeterminate or plain strap handle fragments. Three of the plain handles have slip-painted stripes along the centre. There is a single example of a bifid handle, described in the catalogue (No. 22).

Handles — Manufacturing techniques

Work has already been done on the way Kingston, London and Mill Green potters made and attached their jug handles (Pearce 1984). The Rayleigh handles have therefore been investigated in this way. One of the most striking features of the Rayleigh handles are the stab marks; every handle has been stabbed several times with a narrow pointed tool. The pushed out clay shows as little bumps on the inside surface of the handle. The stabbing has been done at an oblique angle giving some holes a little tail, forming a 'tadpole' shape. No attempt was made to cover these holes. The upper handle attachment has been secured by deeply stabbing the handle across the top where it joins the body; the result of this can often be seen on the inside of the neck as a number of pin pricks (No. 9). The lower handle attachment appears to have been secured by pressing fingers into the pot from the inside as finger and finger-nail impressions can be seen (Nos 17 and 18). Twelve lower handle fragments were found and all had been treated in this way. On larger vessels the whole hand may have been used. By comparing these methods of treatment and attachment of handles with Pearce's article it would seem that the Rayleigh potters were using identical methods to those used at Mill Green.

Jug bases

A total of 204 sherds weighing 3.2 kg were excavated, 27% of base sherds are too fragmentary to be classified but the majority can be divided into two subforms:

Flared bases: About 33% are of this type. They are usually slightly sagging with triangular shaped thickening at the basal angle (Nos 23-25). Above the base the profile narrows and then flares out again, perhaps giving rise to a baluster-shaped jug. The more complete base fragments are always thumbed, usually singly or at intervals (No. 24). One smaller fragment shows continuous thumbing (No. 25) but it is not possible to determine whether the entire base would have been thumbed or whether No. 25 represents thumbing in groups. About 67% of all flared base fragments show thumbing. Ten bases were broken in antiquity where the base meets the side of the pot, showing a structural weakness. Perhaps the bases were applied separately. None of the bases are decorated (apart from thumbing). Two examples have a partial, internal green glaze and nine have occasional splashes of glaze on the outside, while nearly all sherds have splashes of glaze on the underside of the base. The thicknesses of the walls and base vary considerably (thickness of base 4-20 mm, thickness of walls 4-8 mm).

Sagging bases: About 44% of bases are slightly sagging. Thumbing is less frequent than on flared bases. Only 37% of sagging bases are thumbed and in most cases sherds are too fragmentary to determine the pattern of thumbing, i.e. whether the sherds are thumbed singly, in groups or continuously. Thumb marks come in an assortment of sizes and represent the work of more than one potter. The three most complete bases are illustrated (Nos 26-28). No. 26 is continuously thumbed with very light thumb marks and has almost straight sides. Nos 27 and 28 are without thumbing and have gently widening profiles consistent with squat or rounded jugs. No. 27 has a partial cream slip-coating. All bases are unglazed on the sides except for occasional splashes. None are glazed internally. As with flared bases there are often splashes of glaze on the underside of the base.

The relationship between rim and base

As there are no complete jug profiles it is not possible to say which base type belongs with which rim. The ratios of rim to base types are given below:

flared bases	33%	sagging bases	44%
triangular rims	39%	flat-topped thickened rims	59%

From the figures it is tempting to suggest that the triangular beaded rim goes with the flared base as the proportions are roughly similar. However the same cannot be said for the ratio of flat-topped thickened rims to sagging bases. Stylistically the flared base and triangular rim might be expected to come from the same vessel to balance the triangular effect.

Decoration of jugs

Stamps: A total of 40 sherds exhibit stamped decoration. Stamps are pressed out from the inside of the pot leaving a circular depression or in some cases they are applied and pressed on but always using self-coloured clay. This type of decoration is almost always found on the shoulders of jugs and is sometimes accompanied by horizontal incised lines. Six different stamps were noted: *Wheat-ear* One off (No. 29) described in the catalogue. *Sunbursts* This is by far the most common motif (24 sherds with 22 separate stamps) showing the sun and its rays. Of the nine examples where there is more than one sunburst, the stamps are arranged vertically (No. 30) with one exception (No. 31) where they are horizontal. All sunbursts examined are very similar and could have been produced by the same tool. *Ring and dot* A total of four ring and dot stamps on four sherds were found. Two different stamps appear to have been used, the first a large

cartwheel stamp which is pressed out and applied (No. 32). Two examples of this are present, both situated where the shoulder of the jug bulges out (see illustration). The second type (No. 33) consists of smaller ring and dot stamps (or shallow cartwheel stamps where the spokes do not show). These are pressed out from the inside but not applied; their position on the jug could not be determined. *Oval rosette* One off (No. 34) described in catalogue. *Armorial stamp* One off (No. 35) described in catalogue. *Raspberry stamps* Six different stamps on six sherds were found displaying this pattern. No complete stamps were found but the pattern probably consists of a circle of six dots with one in the centre. No. 36 shows a raspberry stamp near to the lower handle attachment. It is the only stamp definitely not from the shoulder of a jug. This particular stamp is also pressed out and applied whereas the other five stamps are pressed out only. No. 37 shows two raspberry stamps next to each other. Five out of the six sherds have a coating of cream slip beneath a partial mottled green glaze, the last example has green glaze only.

Horizontal thumbed applied strips: Four sherds are decorated in this way. All examples are fragmentary so it is not possible to say whether they went right around the vessel as cordons, or were in fact much shorter, perhaps forming twisted bow shapes. The most complete example is illustrated (No. 38). Each is covered by a dark green glaze and one is accompanied by an underlying coating of cream slip. Two sherds have patches of internal glaze. All appear to be from the upper zone of the pot.

Vertical thumbed applied strips: An example of a vertical, thumbed applied strip was found from the lower half of the body of a ?jug. The fabric is reduced, grey and shows patches of green glaze. The applied strip was made more obvious by pressing it out from the inside surface. One other similar sherd with this type of decoration was found, probably from the same vessel.

Cordons: Part of a thumb-pressed cordon around the neck of a vessel is present but only one example of its kind was found. Slightly more common are narrow, unthumbed cordons around the necks of jugs (No. 39). Fragments from three different vessels were found, these jug necks are unusual being long, narrow and lacking incised grooves. All are slip-coated beneath a partial green glaze, and the fabric is reduced. In addition two narrow, plain cordons or ridges were found on the shoulder of a vessel (No. 40).

Incised wavy lines: Seven sherds exhibit this type of decoration (Nos 41-43). They are all fragments from the shoulders of vessels. Each has a patchy pale green glaze with the exception of one which has a cream slip-coating beneath a clear glaze (No. 41). On two sherds the wavy lines are below bands of horizontal incised grooves (No. 42).

Incised horizontal grooves: Excluding grooves found on the neck, 48 body sherds exhibited horizontal grooves. These always occur in bands of four to six lines and are always from the shoulder of the vessel. They often occur with stamps and incised wavy line decoration.

Stabbed decoration: One sherd only was decorated in this way and is described in the catalogue (No. 44).

Slip-painted decoration: Approximately 20% of sherds exhibit cream slip-painted decoration. It occurs on the necks and handles of jugs (already discussed under forms) and chiefly on the bodies of jugs. Such decoration appears to be confined to the upper half, often the shoulder of the vessel. No fragments are complete enough to show the whole pattern. Decoration can either be scrolled (Nos 45-48) or sometimes more geometric with straight lines and dots (Nos 49-50A, B and C), perhaps a debased form of Rouen-style decoration. The chevron stripes (No. 51) and the abstract decoration (No. 52) are one offs. On other examples (Nos 53 and 54) stripes branch out from a main 'stem' rather like branches of a tree. The consistency of the slip tends to be quite thick, much more so than post-medieval slip-painted vessels encountered by the writer. It is thought that slip was painted on with the thumb or fingers rather than a brush (Alan Vince pers. comm). Occasionally the application of a slip is so thick that it stands out in relief as dollops. In some cases however, the slip was more watered down and has run producing dribbles down the side of the vessel. The majority, approximately 70% of sherds, have at least a partial glaze.

Cream slip-coating: Nearly 15% of all sherds have a cream slip-coating. It occurs on rims, necks, handles (already mentioned under forms) and on body sherds. As slip-coating appears towards the base of one vessel (No. 27) it may not be confined to the upper zone of the pot, unlike other types of surface treatment. Slip-coated rims are always coated on the inside of the neck as if the pot has been dipped in slip. About 43% of slip-coated sherds are unglazed. Of the glazed examples a partial pale green or mottled green glaze is most frequent.

Non jug forms

Only two vessels other than jugs were identified; a ?pipkin/jar with an everted rim (No. 55) and an unidentified form (No. 56). The ?pipkin/jar has a handle stump which appears to be bent sideways; it is therefore either distorted or is a horizontal handle similar to those found on large post-medieval storage jars. If so it is quite an unusual form, although a loop-handled jar in Late Medieval Transitional ware was found at Norwich (Jennings 1981, fig. 26.449). There is no evidence of an upper handle attachment at the neck, so if the handle is not horizontal then it must be a pipkin-type handle. Number 56 is described in the catalogue.

Fine ware glazes

Nearly 56% of the sherds are glazed. These have been quantified by sherd count and divided into categories according to glaze colour and glaze cover. The results are shown in the form of a bar chart Fig. 2. Glaze colours have been divided into four types; clear, pale green, mottled green and dark green. The shade of green must to a certain extent be deter-

mined by the colour of the pot body beneath e.g. reduced sherds, more often than not have a dark green glaze. Green glazed sherds outnumber clear glazes by a ratio of approximately 2:1. Pale green glazes are the most frequent and often have a dull powdery finish. This effect may be due to chemical action from burial in the ground or may be the result of a glazing fault. Perhaps the glaze had been applied too sparingly or the pot had not been fired to a high enough temperature (Jope and Ivens 1981, 34). There are also cases of over-fired blistered glazes. As can be seen from Fig. 2 relatively few sherds have an all-over external glaze. The glaze is either partial or present only as (?accidental) splashes. Again, this may be a glazing fault and not intentional. Internal glazes are uncommon and tend to be found only on the insides of necks and shoulders.

The relative frequency of glaze on the underside of bases, beneath rims and on the underside of handles where they join the neck indicates that the pots were stacked upside down after glazing.

Table 1 Quantification of Rayleigh High Road Ware

All kiln pottery	*% rim*	*Sherd Nos*	*Wt(g)*
1958 material	413	155	3.835
Trench 8	16	29	241
Trench 7	225	842	6.503
Trench 5	37	367	2.332
Trench 4	109	455	2.757
Trench 3	13	114	649
Trench 2	192	525	2.966
Trench 1	—	30	140
Totals	eves 1005	2517	19.423 kg

Coarse Ware	*% rim*	*Sherd Nos*	*Wt(g)*
1958 material	117	20	515
Trench 8	16	3	54
Trench 7	27	51	466
Trench 5	—	36	178
Trench 4	31	48	259
Trench 3	—	7	33
Trench 2	25	53	314
Trench 1	—	—	—
Totals	eves 216	218	1.819 kg

The Coarse Ware

About 9% of the total kiln material (218 sherds, weighing 1.8 kg, 216% eves) is coarse ware. Unfortunately ten sherds from trench 2 and single sherds from trenches 3, 4 and 8 show signs of use (external sooting). Therefore, although the pottery appears to be Rayleigh High Road ware, it must derive from an occupation context not a kiln or a kiln dump context. Forms comprise mainly cooking pots and bowls; unfortunately, no profiles could be reconstructed. Also found were single examples of a dish, a handle ?from a dripping dish and a jug handle (all described in the catalogue Nos 65-67).

Coarse ware fabric

Two sherds of coarse ware pottery were sent to Beverley Nenk (DUA, London) for thin-section analysis. The fabric is described as follows:

> It is soft, feels rough and has an irregular texture. It appears to be identical to the fine ware, but with the addition of a coarser temper of subangular and rounded quartz and composite quartz, typically *c.* 0.4 mm, and up to *c.* 2.00 mm in size, sparse red clay pellets, up to 1.3 mm, sparse organic matter up to 1.00 mm and very sparse subangular flint up to 3.00 mm.

Quartz grains are most frequently clear and have a glassy appearance; polished amber, rose and grey quartz grains are also found. Examples of coarse ware are most frequently oxidised, usually to a bright orange (37%), others are pinky red (6%) or brick-red (2%). Some of the oxidised sherds have a dark 'skin' (15%) in the same way as the fine wares and some are oxidised with a grey core (21%). Only 3% are reduced grey. The remaining 16% are mixtures e.g. grey sherds with orange margins or surfaces.

Cooking pots

Rims have been divided into two basic types; one has a flat or sloping top above a vertical neck (61% of total, Nos 57-59), the second has a blocked rim without a neck (39% of total, Nos 61-62). Several rims are intermediate between the two (No. 60). Rim sizes of the vertical-necked cooking pot range from 150-280 mm diameter, although rims measuring between 240 and 260 mm are the most frequent. Rim sizes of cooking pots without a neck range between 220-260 mm diameter. Two cooking pot rims (Nos 57 and 61) have a band of incised grooves around the shoulder in the same manner as some of the fine ware jugs. One rim has splashes of green glaze on the inside surface, all others are unglazed.

Bowls

Eight possible bowl rim sherds were found all with horizontal flanged rims (Nos 63-64). One very abraded sherd has an incised zig-zag decoration on the flange.

Bases

Out of ten coarse ware base sherds found, four are slightly sagging, two are flat and four are indeterminate. Eight out of the ten sherds have a pale green internal glaze.

Catalogue (Figs 2, 3)

Fine wares (Nos 1-56)

1. Rim and handle of large jug: orange with dark 'skin'; triangular bead rim; thumb-made depression along length of handle; large patch of clear glaze on outside surface of handle; splashes of decayed pale green glaze beneath rim, on undersurface of upper handle attachment and on lower edge of handle. *1958 kiln material.*
2. Rim and handle of smaller jug: similar in form and colour to No. 1; patches of decayed, pale green glaze on handle, beneath rim and on under surface of upper handle attachment. *1974 Trench 4*
3. Jug rim and neck: orange; slightly abraded; triangular bead rim; grooved and slip painted. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
4. Jug rim and neck: orange-buff with brown surfaces; triangular bead rim; grooved and slip painted; patch of decayed greenish glaze. *1958 kiln material.*

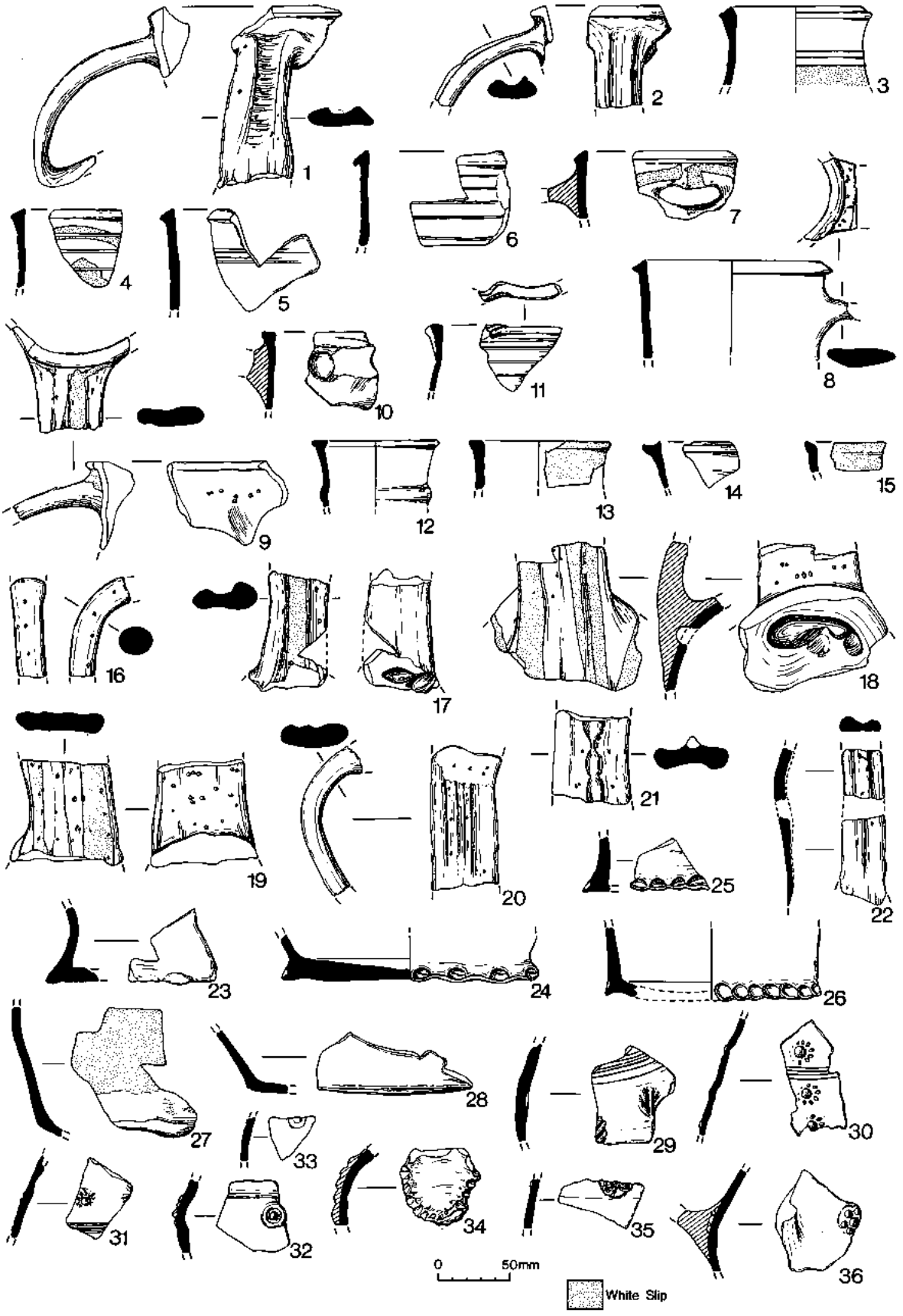

Fig. 2 Rayleigh High Road Pottery.

5. Jug rim and neck: orange with grey-brown surfaces; triangular bead rim; grooved; partial, blistered, powdery light green glaze. *1974 Trench 4.*
6. Jug rim and neck: orange with grey-brown surfaces; triangular bead rim; grooved; distorted, has collapsed in kiln; partial external green glaze, splashes of green glaze internally; bits of clay have adhered to glaze. *1974 Trench 4*
7. Jug rim: orange with darker orange-brown surfaces; triangular bead rim; cream slip-painting; splashes of pale green glaze. *1958 kiln material.*
8. Jug rim: pinky red throughout; triangular bead rim; all over cream-slip coating, unevenly applied; incised line on handle. *1974 Trench 2*
9. Rim and handle of jug: orange with dark grey surfaces; flat-topped, thickened rim; incised lines along handle; cream slip-painting in an identical style to No. 7; splashes of green glaze beneath rim and on under surface of upper handle attachment; internal view shows method of handle attachment. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3*
10. Rim of jug: dark grey with lighter purplish surfaces; flat topped, thickened rim; may have possessed a rod handle. *1958 kiln material.*
11. Rim of jug showing part of spout: orange with darker external surface; flat-topped thickened rim; incised grooves; partial pale green glaze with splashes of glaze internally. *1974 Trench 2.*
12. Rim of jug: pale orange throughout; flat-topped thickened rim; incised grooves; partial green glaze. *1958 kiln material.*
13. Rim of jug: orange with grey core and grey surfaces; flat-topped thickened rim; all over but patchy cream slip-coating. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
14. Rim of jug: orange with grey core; 'bifid' rim. *1974 Trench 3.*
15. Rim of jug: grey core, orange surfaces; flat-topped, everted rim; all over external cream slip-coating, patchy cover of cream-slip internally and on rim. *1974 Trench 2.*
16. Rod handle: reduced grey; stab marks; patches of green glaze. *1958 kiln material.*
17. Strap handle: brown with orange margins; thumb-made central depression; stabbed, slip-painted stripe; the inside view shows the potter's finger and finger nail marks. *1958 kiln material.*
18. Lower part of strap handle: orange with darker brown 'skin'; ribbed type with incised lines, although too near base to show ribbing clearly; stab marks; cream slip-painted stripes; occasional splashes of green glaze; inside view shows potter's finger and finger-nail marks. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
19. Lower part of strap handle: grey core, orange margins brown surfaces; ribbed type with incised lines; stab marks; slip-painted stripes; occasional splashes of green glaze. *1974 Trench 2.*
20. ?Upper handle attachment: orange with grey core; ribbed type without incised lines; stab marks; thick coating of cream-slip; single patch of mottled green glaze. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
21. Strap handle: orange throughout; abraded; raised central ridge, thumbed; stab marks; traces of cream slip. *1958 kiln material.*
22. 'Bifid' handle: grey with orange margins; stab marks; cream slip coating; handle has split transversely. *1958 Kiln material.*
23. Flared jug base: brick-red with dark 'skin'; splashes of pale green glaze on underside of base. *1974 Trench 5.*
24. Flared jug base: orange with dark 'skin'; thumbed; splashes of pale green glaze externally and on underside of base. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
25. Flared jug base: grey core, orange margins, brown surfaces; continuously thumbed; splashes of pale green glaze externally and on underside of base. *1958 kiln material.*
26. Sagging base: bright orange with grey core; continuously but very lightly thumbed; unglazed apart from very sparse splashes on sides and on underside of base. *1974 Trenches 5 and 8.*
27. Sagging base: orange margins, grey core, brown surfaces; partial external and internal cream slip-coating; splashes of glaze on underside of base. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
28. Sagging base: all over orange but with orangey-brown internal surface; very smooth surfaces; splashes of pale green glaze on sides and on underside of base. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
29. Wheat-ear stamp: reduced grey; pressed out stamps; incised horizontal lines; decayed, blistered, pale green glaze; bits of clay stuck to glaze; probably a waster. *1958 kiln material.*
30. Sunburst stamps: grey internal half, orange outer half; pressed out stamp; incised horizontal lines; rich dark green glaze. *1974 Trench 4.*
31. Sunburst stamps: orange with darker internal surface; pressed out stamp; incised horizontal lines; unglazed. *1958 kiln material.*
32. Cartwheel stamp: orange; abraded; pressed out and applied stamp; decayed pale green glaze. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
33. Ring and dot stamp: brick-red, dark grey surfaces; pressed out stamp; cream slip-coating. *1974 Trench 2.*
34. Rosette stamp: orange, dark external surface; applied stamp also pressed out from the inside leaving three ?finger marks; dark green glaze; orientation of stamp possibly horizontal. *1958 kiln material.*
35. Armorial stamp: orange outer half grey inner half; pressed out and applied stamp showing two shields with crosses; decayed powdery pale green glaze. *1958 kiln material.*
36. Raspberry stamp: orange-brown with darker surfaces; pressed out and applied stamp; coating of cream slip; partial mottled green glaze; splashes of glaze internally. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
37. Raspberry stamps: reduced grey; pressed out stamps; cream slip-coating; partial mottled green glaze; glaze on break; large area spalled off, a waster. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
38. Thumbed applied strip: orange, dark surfaces; dark green glaze; patches of glaze also on inside; sherd appears to be distorted. *1958 kiln material.*
39. Neck of jug: reduced, pale grey; showing cordon and handle attachment scar; all over external cream slip-coating under partial, pale green glaze. *1974 Trench 2.*
40. Shoulder of jug: orange with darker core; abraded; two cordons; all over external cream slip-coating under partial clear glaze giving a yellow colour. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
41. Incised wavy line decoration: orange with darker 'skin' and grey core; cordon; all over external cream slip-coating beneath patchy clear glaze. *1974 Trench 3.*
42. Incised wavy line decoration: orange with darker core; incised horizontal grooves; pale green glaze. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
43. Incised wavy line decoration: orange with dark 'skin' and grey core; patches of pale green glaze. *1974 Trench 5.*
44. Stabbed decoration: grey with orange margins; dark green glaze. *1974 Trench 5.*
45. Slip-painted decoration: orange with darker surfaces; scrolled pattern; plain glaze with green flecks. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
46. Slip-painted decoration: orange with grey core and dark 'skin'; scrolled pattern; plain glaze. *1958 kiln material.*
47. Slip-painted decoration: orange with dark 'skin'; abraded; scrolled pattern; partial pale green glaze. *1958 kiln material.*
48. Slip-painted decoration: orange with thick-grey core; scrolled pattern; mottled green glaze. *1974 Trench 3.*
49. Slip-painted decoration: from neck and shoulder of jug; orange with dark surfaces; stripe and dot pattern. *1974 Trench 4.*
50. A, B, C slip-painted sherds: orange with dark surfaces; perhaps from same vessel; stripe and dot pattern; splashes of plain glaze. *1974 Trenches 2 and 4.*
51. Slip-painted decoration: reduced grey; chevron stripes and dot pattern; patches of decayed green glaze. *1958 kiln material.*
52. Slip-painted decoration: reduced, grey with purple external surface; occasional splashes of pitted green glaze. *1958 kiln material.*
53. Slip-painted decoration: orange with dark internal surface; outer surface abraded; 'branched' decoration. *1958 kiln material.*
54. Slip-painted decoration: orange with dark surfaces and grey core; 'branched' decoration; matt, pale green glaze. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
55. Pipkin/jar: orange with dark 'skin'; external surface abraded; handle is horizontal or pipkin type; internal splashes of green glaze. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
56. Unidentified vessel: dull orange, abraded. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*

Coarse Wares (Nos 57-67)

57. Cooking pot rim: orange with dark 'skin' and grey core; incised grooves around shoulder. *1958 kiln material.*
58. Cooking pot rim: pale with buff external surface; abraded. *1958 kiln material.*
59. Cooking pot rim: thick brown core, orange surfaces. *1974 Trench 2.*
60. Cooking pot rim: thick grey core, orange surfaces. *1974 Trench 8.*
61. Cooking pot rim: orange with dark surfaces; incised horizontal grooves around shoulder. *1958 kiln material.*
62. Cooking pot rim: orange. *1958 kiln material.*
63. ?Bowl rim: brick-red. *1974 Trench 2.*

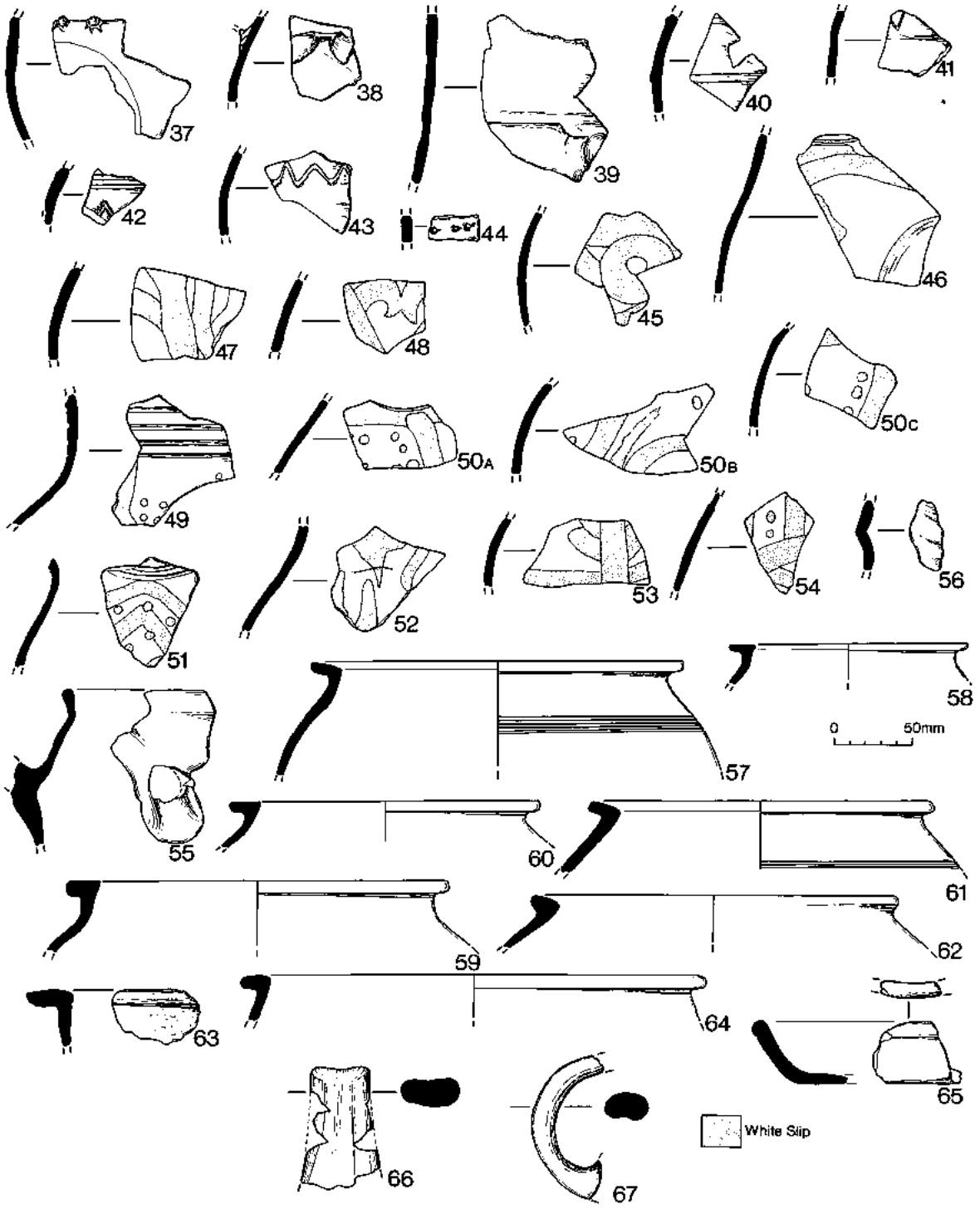

Fig. 3 Rayleigh High Road Pottery.

64. ?Bowl rim: orange; abraded. *1958 kiln material.*
65. Dish: orange margins, grey core and dark surfaces; crudely made; coarse tempering; two stab marks on under surface; decayed, pale green internal glaze, single splash of green glaze on the external surface. *1974 Trench 5.*
66. Handle of ?dripping dish: orange margins, grey core and dark surfaces; two splashes of clear glaze on underside. *1974 Trench 7 Layer 3.*
67. Jug handle: dull orange; abraded. *1958 kiln material.*

Discussion

As there is no external dating evidence, Rayleigh High Road ware can only be dated on stylistic grounds; slip-painted decoration enjoyed a long tradition in Essex lasting from the 13th-16th century. Large slip-painted jugs with grooved or ribbed handles (such as Nos 1 and 9) are found elsewhere in south-east Essex, at Hadleigh Castle (Drewett 1975, fig. 16.30 group B *c.* 1550-1575; fig. 19.180, fig. 20.179, fig. 21.185, group S *c.*1475-1525) at Southchurch Hall, Southend (Gaimster in prep.) and at North Shoebury (Walker in prep.). They are also found in Colchester, north-east Essex (Cunningham 1982, Colchester slip-painted ware fig. 30.53 period VIII ?15th century), in central Essex, at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle (Rahtz 1969, fig. 54.52, late period II to III ?late 14th-15th century), at Moulsham Street, Chelmsford (Cunningham 1985b fig. 42.6 from a late 15th century pit group) and from Maidens Tye, near High Easter (Walker 1988). No doubt they are found at many other sites as well. Where these similar jugs are dated they usually belong to the 15th-16th centuries. A date as late as the 16th century for the Rayleigh material is unlikely as by that time most slip-painted wares were only sparsely glazed if at all, in contrast to Rayleigh ware which typically has a partial green glaze. In addition, by the 16th century slip-painted vessels were produced in much harder post-medieval red earthenware (Cunningham's Fabric 40).

Some of the decorative stamps can be compared to products from other kilns. The closest parallel is between the Rayleigh wheat-ear stamp (No. 29) and wheat-ear stamps found on Kingston-type ware jugs of the late 14th century (Vince 1985, fig. 5). Both occupy a similar position on the shoulder of the jug and are accompanied by incised horizontal grooves. Wheat-ear stamps also occur on Hertfordshire glazed ware which is datable from the mid 14th to early 15th century (Jenner and Vince 1983, 164). Raspberry stamps (Nos 36-37) were used on other wares of varying date: dark red raspberry stamps are found on jugs from Rye in Sussex dating to the last quarter of the 13th century (Barton 1979, 220 and plate 37). A Mill Green anthropomorphic jug displays white-slip raspberry stamps (Pearce *et. al.* 1982, fig. 8) but the stamps have only six dots instead of seven. Raspberry stamps are also found on Kingston-type ware jugs (Hinton 1980, fig. 4) and on Siegburg stonewares of the 15th to first half of the 16th century (Hurst *et. al.* 1986, No. 261). However this resemblance may be coincidental as Siegburg ware of this date is not at all common in England (Hurst *et. al.* 1986, 176). Ring and dot stamps (Nos 32-33) were used on Hedingham ware of the 13th century (e.g. Rahtz 1969, fig. 52.15A).

The resemblance in fabric and methods of handle attachment between Rayleigh and Mill Green ware has already been noted. Both kilns may have exploited clay from the bagshot beds which outcrop in each area.

Beverley Nenk concludes that:

> There appears to be no visible difference between the finewares of Rayleigh High Road and those of the Mill Green kilns. The Rayleigh High Road coarse fabric seems closer to the Mill Green sandy fabric, the Mill Green coarse fabric having only moderate larger quartz tempering. The matrix of the Rayleigh High Road coarseware fabric seems to be cleaner than that of the Mill Green sandy and coarse fabrics, and both the Rayleigh High Road fabrics appear to be slightly less micaceous than the Mill Green fabrics. The Rayleigh High Road sandy fabric contains slightly more flint than the Mill Green fabric. However, these differences are minimal and are difficult to detect without thin-section analysis.

Although the rim and handle forms from Rayleigh do not resemble Mill Green ware jugs as found in London (Pearce *et. al.* 1982) excavations in the vicinity of the kilns (Christy and Reader 1918) produced pottery which is quite similar, jugs with triangular bead rims, handles with slip-painted stripes, ribbed handles and flat-topped thickened jug rims. A jug neck with incised horizontal grooves was also found (fig. 12.1). Why Mill Green ware found in the area of the kilns is so different from that in London is beyond the scope of the report. Perhaps they represent different phases of production.

To conclude; on stylistic grounds Rayleigh High Road ware is comparable to forms dating from the late 14th to 16th century, although a 16th century date can be ruled out in terms of glaze and fabric. As the Rayleigh material is related to the Mill Green industry (perhaps the kiln was founded by potters from Mill Green) it must have been contemporary with Mill Green ware or started up shortly after the demise of the industry. Mill Green fine ware production probably tailed off around the middle of the 14th century (Pearce *et. al.* 1982, 292) so a suggested date range for the Rayleigh material is 2nd half of the 14th to 15th century.

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Appendix 1 — Wasters

Fifty-one sherds, weighing 631 g or just over 3% of the total kiln pottery appear to be faulty. Waster sherds occur in all trenches containing pottery.

Some sherds display two types of fault. The types of fault can be broken down as follows:

		No. of sherds
1.	air of clay	6
2.	distorted (often flattened)	5 (illustration No. 6)
3.	blistered or bubbled glaze	9
4.	bits of clay stuck to glaze	11 (illustration No. 29)
5.	glaze on break	7
6.	distorted with blistered glaze	1
7.	distorted with bits of clay attached	2
8.	blistered glaze with bits of clay attached	1
9.	blistered glaze with glaze on break	1
10.	blistered glaze, overfired	4
11.	glaze on break, overfired	2
12.	spalled, glaze on break	2 (illustration No. 37)

Fault 1, air in clay, is due to incorrect preparation of clay, faults 3, 4 and 5 could be accidents in the kiln. The glaze on break (fault 5) however indicates the sherd was broken and then re-used inside the kiln, perhaps as a kiln prop. Combination faults 6-12 could also represent sherds re-used in the kiln.

A relatively high proportion of stamped sherds (20%) were found to be wasters. This is the reverse of what would be expected; highly decorated vessels would have been the most expensive to produce and therefore care would have been taken to protect them during the firing process.

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Bailiffs and burgesses in Colchester 1400-1525

by R.H. Britnell

Richard I's charter to the borough of Colchester issued in 1189 remained the foundation stone of the town's government in the late Middle Ages.[1] In a mere nine words of Latin the charter had granted the burgesses the right to elect from amongst themselves their own chief administrators, the king's bailiffs.[2] All through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries two bailiffs had been elected just before Michaelmas every year to carry on the king's government in the town. Colchester never adopted the alternative constitutional device of appointing a mayor to head its administrative operations. The bailiffs' duties had inevitably altered over the years in response to the changing requirements of the king, on the one hand, and those of their fellow townsmen on the other. The institutional apparatus with which they had to deal had been heavily modified in 1372 with the introduction of a written constitution for the borough.[3] But most of the time the bailiffs followed routines that were well-established by 1400. One of their main responsibilities was to keep law and order in the town and to administer justice between individuals. To do this they conducted sessions of the borough courts on fifty to sixty days a year during the fifteenth century.[4] The courts sat in the Moothall, a single multi-purpose hall that served for public meetings as well as for judicial functions. Meetings of the town council, over which the bailiffs presided, were held there.[5] Besides these judicial and presidential activities the bailiffs acted on behalf of the borough in dealings with the world outside. They had executive responsibility for any tasks delegated to them by the crown,[6] and they were ultimately responsible for Colchester's financial obligations to the Exchequer, though in this business they had chamberlains to help them. The main obligations were the payment of £35 a year as part of the king's regular income and, from time to time, the levying of additional taxes imposed by the crown and parliament.[7] And finally, the bailiffs also represented the community of the borough in lawsuits affecting the rights of the burgesses.[8]

It is a mystery how the two bailiffs shared the various tasks between them. We might expect that they would divide the work to be done, so that one should preside at the Monday courts and one at the Friday courts, or that one should preside over judicial work and the other take on everything else. But if this had been the case, we should expect that in the course of time some distinguishing nomenclature would be adopted. One bailiff might become the Monday Bailiff and the other the Friday Bailiff, or one might become the Bailiff of the Courts and the other the Bailiff of the Council. But nothing of the sort ever happened. The ordinary terminology of borough records emphasized undivided rule. There was never a formal division of labour between the two and the records are dumb about any work-sharing arrangements. On occasions only one bailiff was present in the borough court, as at the Monday courts on 1 February and 13 February 1430 when recognitions of debt were acknowledged before Thomas Godeston alone, or at the Thursday court on 7 September 1430 when a charter was similarly recognised before John Beche.[9] We may guess that on these occasions bailiffs were acting alone on account of a partner's pressing business or indisposition. But such saving of labour was not admitted as a principle of organization. Usually both bailiffs were in attendance on court days, and the expression 'in the presence of the bailiffs' (*coram balliuis*) was used regularly to mean 'in court'.[10] The commonest usage of this term occurred when title deeds, arbitration awards, and recognisances of debt were acknowledged 'in the presence of the bailiffs', before being presented for enrollment in the borough court rolls. Such enrollments might be requested at any time when courts were in session. Sometimes both bailiffs are explicitly named as having been present, as at the Thursday court on 27 April, 1430 when a deed was recognised in court and the bailiffs Thomas Godeston and John Beche were asked that it might be enrolled.[11] There are other examples where the bailiffs are more circumstantially implied to have been both present, as when they are described as having heard and determined the course of a plea concerning a letter obligatory in 1405.[12] An early sixteenth-century case brought by two unfortunate pledges against a defaulting principal debtor records that the debt in question had been recognised at Michaelmas 1513 'in the presence of John Swayn and John Clere then bailiffs of the lord king's town aforesaid in the court of the same lord king's town'.[13] Both bailiffs usually attested deeds conveying property situated within the liberty of Colchester, and this too may be activity that took place during court sessions.[14] A bailiff who died in office was replaced as soon as possible. When John Beche died on Monday 27 June 1457, a jury of twenty-four men met to elect his successor on the following Thursday.[15] For this active dual leadership to have lasted through the centuries the way it did, we may be sure that the Colchester burgesses preferred it to a system of leadership by one man.

Of course, not just anyone was elected bailiff. There is a complete list of bailiffs for the period 1400-1525 (except for the year 1508-9) in the borough register known as the Oath Book.[16] There is a certain amount of biographical information about these men, though never as much as we should like, in the borough court rolls and registers, as well as in the public records. Wealth, of whatever character, was the major criterion for office in the borough. There was a considerable overlap of interests between this ruling group and those of local landlords. One meeting point of various interest groups was the town's most exclusive fraternity, the

Gild of St. Helen, whose headquarters were the Crouched Friars' church in Crouch Lane. Amongst the Colchester borough records there is a single surviving account of Henry Stampe, Thomas Wode and John Yong as masters of the gild of St. Helen for the year 1441-2 or perhaps 1442-3.[17] It shows that the gild had forty-nine members who paid a subscription of 2*s.* 0*d.* a head. A few of the names are now illegible, but the list includes John Beche,[18] John Rouge,[19] Thomas Osekyn[20] and Robert Selby,[21] all of whom had been bailiffs within the previous five years.[22] John Heyward, a former town clerk, also belonged.[23] Amongst the county members was John Doreward, esquire, presumably the eldest son of Sir John Doreward of Bocking who was a prominent Essex landlord and former Speaker of the House of Commons.[24] Another member was Geoffrey Rokell, esquire, lord of the manor of Frinton.[25] The abbots of Colchester and St. Osyth were also members of the gild. The reality of the social links implied by the gild, and the willingness of members to co-operate in practical matters, can be illustrated by an episode in 1439, at a time when grain shipments were being controlled by the government. John Beche, Thomas Osekyn, the abbot of Colchester and Geoffrey Rokell, esquire, were licensed to ship a thousand quarters of wheat and barley from Norfolk and Suffolk for the victualling of Colchester. It is impossible to say just how the spirit of enterprise and the spirit of philanthropy might have combined in this venture, but there can be no doubt about the exceptional capital at the disposal of gild members.[26]

The bailiffs were wealthy because the assumptions upon which Colchester's inhabitants acted, and the systems of election they devised, were all designed to ensure that only the wealthy would stand a chance. To begin with, the electorate was a highly restricted one. Although we have no explicit statement to this effect, it must be the case that women were excluded from the electorate. But not all the male inhabitants of the borough had political rights, because not all of them were burgesses. To be a burgess one either had to have been born in the borough or to have been formally invested with the privilege by swearing an oath of loyalty and paying an entrance fee.[27] Many of the poorer inhabitants of the town who had migrated in search of work from neighbouring towns and villages were not burgesses and had no political rights. There is no record from any period of the Middle Ages of just what proportion of the townsmen were legally burgesses. The only information about this, and that not very exact, is a tax assessment of 1488 listing the names of 463 taxpaying households. Of these 45 were burgesses living outside the Liberty of Colchester, 196 were burgesses living in the Liberty, 131 were non-burgesses living in the Liberty and 91 were unclassified.[28] This implies that at the very least nearly a third of the taxpayers in the town were non-burgesses. The proportion of the total population was likely to be higher, since there were probably proportionally fewer burgesses amongst the poorer ranks of the population who were exempt from taxation.

In the course of time the exclusion of the poorer section of the population from political responsibility became quite explicit, and this meant the exclusion of even the poorer categories of burgess. An undated by-law from the period 1430-50 refused even the right to attend elections to all except burgesses who were self-employed householders paying taxes and town rates. Children, lodgers, apprentices and some categories of journeyman were formally barred.[29] If the limitation of political rights to taxpayers is to be taken seriously, this means that in 1488 borough elections might be attended by at most 287 men from an adult population of three or four thousand. And the election itself was not a question of one man one vote. It was the task of the assembly to elect four electors, one from each of the four wards of the town. These four in turn chose a further twenty, and then this committee of twenty-four electors chose the bailiffs and certain other officers.[30] So the constitutional apparatus of the town had a built-in narrowing device. And to make absolutely clear the purpose of the all this, the by-law of 1430-50 already mentioned required that nobody should be chosen to the electing committee unless he had an annual income of 40*s.* from property.[31]

Quite apart from the restriction of the electorate, there were increasingly formal limitations upon the sort of person entitled to be elected. The written constitution of 1372 was explicit that the electors should choose 'two sufficient and serious-minded bailiffs, the most loyal and the most profitable for the community'.[32] In practice this meant choosing two of the richest burgesses. In the course of time restrictions became greater rather than less. During the fifteenth century the eight aldermen became an elite of wealthy men who alone had access to higher office in the town. This was a feature common to many towns at the time.[33] In 1447 it was required that nobody should be chosen as bailiff unless he had already served as an alderman.[34] The group from which the town's leading officers could be selected was inevitably narrowed down to a very small one. And then in 1523 the electors were forbidden even to change the body of aldermen without their own consent. The role of electors by this time was restricted, in effect, to choosing whose turn came next amongst the aldermen.[35]

The bailiffs were not alone at the head of borough society. From 1372 onwards, throughout the remainder of the medieval period there was a borough council that was obliged to meet at least four times a year and that was empowered to make by-laws for the benefit of the community of the borough. The council had twenty-four members (the eight aldermen and sixteen ordinary councillors) and they met in the moothall. But this council was no more designed to be a cross-section of borough society than the bailiffs were. They were elected by essentially the same restricted electorate as the bailiffs, the only difference being that the four electors chose the eight aldermen who then, with the newly-elected bailiffs, chose the other sixteen councillors. A taxation assessment of 1524 shows that council members were drawn from the wealthiest 16 per cent of the tax-paying population, which means that they were from the top 10-12 per cent of the population as a whole.[36] The structure of town government clearly implied a highly stratified urban society whose lower echelons had no political rights and whose middle echelons had no political expectations.

It would be easy to become dismissive about the

representative nature of town government in the late Middle Ages. Not for a moment can we consider this form of government to be anything other than an oligarchy of the wealthy. Whether it was tacitly understood or explicitly stated, there was never any doubt that the government of the borough was and ought to be securely in the hands of the wealthiest burgesses. No one at the time expected anything different. The formal apparatus of civic life made it impossible to extricate Colchester's civic pride and civic concerns from those of its wealthiest inhabitants. But the eighth centenary of Colchester's first charter of liberties calls for something more than a review of political inequalities in medieval society. We can decently celebrate that self-government without misplaced piety, blatantly oligarchic as it was, provided that we have understood the constraints operating upon it. We need to recognise that Colchester was not a law unto itself. It was a part of the kingdom of England and subject to the laws of the realm. The powers of its chief officers were delegated from above. We also need to accept that urban government in the later Middle Ages had to be an oligarchy of wealth, that it was so in every town in the kingdom and could not have been anything else. When evaluated by the standards of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, rather than by our own, there are in fact some important features of Colchester's government which deserve favourable comment. Even the term oligarchy, though fully justified as a description of the borough's system of government, is open to misconstruction.

The term oligarchy can be used to mean a sinister conspiracy of interest. But in one respect, that idea has to be qualified for Colchester's medieval government. The types of wealth represented in the town's ruling circles were characteristically very varied, and most of the time the town government conspicuously lacked any dominant economic interest. Its membership was drawn from professional, commercial and agricultural wealth, and its composition was therefore more analogous to that of a rotary club than to that of an employers' federation.[37] Some leading townsmen were primarily dependent upon income from property. Such was Thomas Godeston, a Surrey man who became a burgess of Colchester in 1397-8.[38] Between 1398 and 1429 he was elected bailiff thirteen times,[39] and he attended at least fourteen parliaments for Colchester during this period,[40] so he must count as a major figure in the borough of his day. His income was partly from land. In 1405 he had property interests in Ramsey,[41] and around Colchester he acquired a substantial holding of over fifty acres of arable and over twelve acres of meadow, which he used to endow a chantry.[42] He owned a tavern between 1400 and 1426,[43] and he had a mill in Colchester in 1428.[44] Other leading townsmen at the same period were clearly merchants. Philip Neggemere was a Suffolk man from Bawdsey who became a burgess in the same year as Thomas Godeston.[45] He was bailiff only once, in 1402-3.[46] His interests centred on Hythe, where he leased a tenement in 1402-3.[47] A crane that he owned there was subsequently acquired by the community of the borough.[48] In 1399 he was reported by a Colchester jury for creating a nuisance with timber he had piled up for building a ship.[49] He presumably imported coal, since he had a coalyard and sold coal in the borough.[50] He was also reported between 1398 and 1405 for selling wine against the assize.[51] In 1406 he owed £3 0*s.* 8*d.* in arrears of customs duty.[52]

The characteristic of wealth in late medieval Colchester had an important implication for the characteristics of the ruling group there. Though the government of the borough was an oligarchy, it was an oligarchy open to new talent, or at least to new money-making talent. Heredity counted for virtually nothing. There are inevitably some examples of sons who succeeded fathers as leading townsmen, but nothing suggests that this was ever a matter of course. Much more striking is the way in which newcomers to Colchester society, or Colchester inhabitants who got rich quick, were admitted into the inner circle of power. Consider, for example, the career of the merchant Thomas Jopson. He was born in Heslington,[53] where the University of York now stands, and presumably became attached to Colchester as a result of trading along the east coast. There is no record of his business at that time, but in later years he was a major dealer in coal and salt, both appropriate specialisms for a northerner.[54] In 1462 he became a burgess of Colchester.[55] After fourteen years he was elected chamberlain in 1476, and then he was bailiff of Colchester five times during the last two decades of the century.[56] He built up his fortune by acquiring land in Langenhoe and probably elsewhere, and in the sixteenth century his family rose clear into the landed gentry of Essex.[57]

The figures in the accompanying table indicate how much movement there was in the ruling elite. Because two bailiffs were elected annually, in every decade twenty bailiffs were elected all told. The number of new bailiffs never approached this figure, but it sometimes approached half of it. The figures do not suggest that there was any tendency towards a closing of the ranks in the course of the fifteenth

The total number of men elected as bailiffs of Colchester in each decade compared with the number of those elected for the first time, 1370-1530

	Number of men elected bailiff at least once	Number of men elected bailiff for the first time
1370/1371 — 1379/1380	12	7
1380/1381 — 1389/1390	9	7
1390/1391 — 1399/1400	11	4
1400/1401 — 1409/1410	10	4
1410/1411 — 1419/1420	8	3
1420/1421 — 1429/1430	10	5
1430/1431 — 1439/1440	11	6
1440/1441 — 1449/1450	10	4
1450/1451 — 1459/1460	11	9
1460/1461 — 1469/1470	14	11
1470/1471 — 1479/1480	9	3
1480/1481 — 1489/1490	14	9
1490/1491 — 1499/1500	12	6
1500/1501 — 1509/1510	9-11	6-8
1510/1511 — 1519/1520	12	8
1520/1521 — 1529/1530	13	7

Note: The bailiffs of 1508/1509 are not named in the Oath Book

Source: OB, fos. 49v-125v

century. On the contrary, the number of men elected as bailiff, and the number of newcomers to the office was on average greater in the period 1450-1530 than it had been during the previous eighty years. The 1450s and 1460s stand out as decades of particular openness to new talent.

Another important feature of this oligarchy is that it was in practice somewhat more open to external influence than the terms of the borough constitution would suggest. The approved method of influencing the bailiffs and council was by petition, and a certain number of petitions are known to have been granted. Another common method of trying to influence the bailiffs on matters of day-to-day concern was through the ordinary policing operation of the borough courts, where juries might make recommendations relevant to the particular problems they were confronted with.[58] In practice, too, the council was sufficiently attentive to the opinions of the burgesses to seek their approval for many of the measures they adopted. Though the council had formally supplanted the open meeting of the burgesses that had probably preceded it as the chief consultative body of the town, the bailiffs continued to seek the approval of the burgesses for the measures they had taken. The surviving borough ordinances of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were mostly said to be established by the commonalty as well as by the bailiffs, aldermen and councillors.[59] Presumably the procedure was to seek such consent to new ordinances at the general meeting of burgesses assembled for the annual election of borough officers. Such approval was apparently something more than a ritual formality, since on occasion the names of those who approved was carefully recorded. For example, in 1488 a by-law was made that nobody in Colchester 'be so bold or so hardy to kepe any bores, sowes or any other maner hoggs wandryng or wrotyng in the comen strets of the burth', and also requiring that all cows and bullocks on the borough commons should be under the custody of the common cowherd. There follows a list of thirty-three men described as present and assenting 'at the time of the making of the aforesaid constitution and ordinance'.[60] This practice did not extend the process of consultation far down the urban social hierarchy, but it meant that the borough officers felt answerable to most of the borough's substantial householders.

Having looked more closely at the characteristics of Colchester's oligarchical government, we can now turn to examine some aspects of the quality of the government in question. One encouraging feature of the leading group throughout the late Middle Ages was its habit of political independence. The fifteenth century was a period when, having secured the right to be consulted in parliament about grants of taxation, many boroughs surrendered the responsibilities involved on account of the costs of maintaining members of parliament away from home. Instead of electing a member and paying his expenses, they would allow a local lord to have the seat for one of his affinity, on condition that no costs should fall on the borough.[61] But Colchester maintained its independent parliamentary representation through the fifteenth century. Colchester men were willing to go to parliament even though the borough sometimes found it difficult to pay their expenses. Those who went in the turbulent years of faction fighting during the 1450s and 1460s — John Baron, John Bishop, John Boteler, John Ford, William Ford, William Petworth, William Saxe, Thomas atte Wood, John Wright — were all Colchester men and members of the ruling group.[62] All of them were bailiffs at various times, most of them more than once.[63] The council back in Colchester was capable of taking an active interest in the doings of parliament. An important parliamentary text from the late fifteenth century is the report made by Thomas Christmas and John Vertue, members for Colchester, after attendance at the parliament of 1485; it begins 'Maister Baillies, and all my masters. Accordying unto our deute we went to Westmynestr the vijth day of Novembr[e]'. There follows a day-by-day account with no hint of an allegiance to any particular interest.[64]

There is no hint of any submission to external intervention in the choice of members. If any neighbouring landlord was going to achieve such a position of domination in the 1440s and 1450s one might expect it would be the strongly Lancastrian earls of Oxford, who were lords of the manor of Wivenhoe. John de Vere, the twelfth earl, supported Henry VI through the 1450s and was executed as a Lancastrian in 1462. His son, another John, the thirteenth earl, remained under suspicion in Edward IV's first reign and helped to restore Henry VI in 1470.[65] During the years when it was in favour, this family, if any, was in a strong local position to dominate Colchester. But there is no evidence that it was able to do so. Certainly the earl had not been able to intimidate the burgesses in 1448-9, when the bailiffs and community successfully challenged in the Court of Chancery his right to control the fishing in the Colne estuary.[66]

In opposition to the local influence of the earl of Oxford did Colchester in fact choose to enter the Yorkist camp? The only argument ever proposed to this effect relates to the reign of Edward IV, when the town's Yorkist allegiance cannot be considered problematic. Certainly Colchester's bailiffs were not anxious to make enemies with local landlords if it could be helped, particularly not with well-connected trouble-makers. Even a minor local figure like Sir Thomas Cobham, the guardian of Lexden manor, was not to be offended unnecesarily. In April 1452 John Piggesle the butcher was declared to be worthy to lose the freedom of Colchester for creating discord between Sir Thomas and the burgesses.[67] On some occasions avoiding awkward antagonism may have led the bailiffs to compromise their principles. There survive in the Public Records a couple of petitions to the crown which allege that the bailiffs of Colchester had shown favouritism to the Sir Gilbert Debenham of Little Wenham, the duke of Norfolk's steward, in deciding court cases. But even if altogether justified, these petitions surely do not warrant the inference that Debenham had reduced the bailiffs to submission and that he dominated the town.[68] His name is not recorded in any documents transcribed into the surviving borough registers, and one would not suppose from the borough records that Colchester people thought any more of him than of a large number of other small landowners with estates in southern Suffolk and northern Essex. It is unlikely that a knight who was himself

dependent on the patronage of the duke of Norfolk could dominate one of the kingdom's richer towns just because he had an estate nine miles away. The truth of the matter is probably that the town's ruling group avoided unnecessary entanglements with the local nobility. Above all Colchester appears to have avoided alliances with landlords who might have dragged them into a risky political commitment. There is no evidence that the external or internal affairs of the borough were touched by the wrangling for power at the head of state either in the 1450s and 1460s or subsequently. In the political and military histories of fifteenth-century England the town gets no mention, and this can reasonably be regarded as a highly desirable state of affairs.

There is another related observation to be made in favour of Colchester's medieval tradition of government. It was, so it would seem, remarkably free from faction. In an age when the central affairs of the kingdom were subject to violent struggles for power, when two kings were murdered and one died in battle, we hear of no such disruptions to the internal government of the town. Bailiffs succeeded each other from year to year, and only when a bailiff died in office from natural causes was there any disruption of the normal pattern of elections.[69] The only known break in the on-going routine of the borough courts during the period of the surviving records was during the five weeks in the summer of 1381 on account of the Rising of that year.[70] Recorded conflicts of any great moment were between the burgesses and landlords who had manorial rights in the Liberty of the Borough, rather than between the burgesses themselves. The spoils of office were not as well worth fighting over as those of the central government, and indeed office in the borough could be a financial burden. Members of the ruling group in the later fifteenth century would appear to have adopted a stance of *bourgeoisie oblige* towards the affairs of the community, and to have co-operated to ensure that its finances remained manageable.[71]

But ultimately, perhaps, the question we shall want to put to the oligarchs concerns the quality of justice they maintained within the town. They were there to administer justice between individuals, which often meant confrontations between rich and poor. They were also there to police the town and, when necessary, introduce new by-laws, and here again there were many issues where the interests of rich and poor might clash. It would be naive to suppose that in these circumstances justice always prevailed, or even that the fifteenth-century townsman's sense of justice was the same as ours. In much of what they did the bailiffs were merely enforcing the law of the land, which had its own built in social values. From the fourteenth century onwards the bailiffs imposed, through their lawhundred courts, the oppressive legislation against prohibited games, primarily directed against the wage-earning class.[72] In 1477, for example, Roger Martyn and Richard Nustede were fined for having dice-players and card-players in their homes, and three other men were fined for playing dice and cards at night time.[73] Robert Fecer was fined for enabling his neighbour's servants to play tennis.[74] In 1480 a young man was fined for playing tennis at the time of divine service.[75] Suspicion surrounded all attempts at servants to enjoy themselves. In 1473 Robert Goldfynch and his wife were fined because they took their neighbours' servants into their house on Sundays and feast days and supplied them with food and ale in exchange for money that their customers allegedly stole from their employers.[76] There is evidence, too, of the usual late medieval suspicion of, and hostility to, the idle working man. In 1457 John Cukhook the weaver was fined 12*d.* because he was living in suspicious idleness without visible means of support.[77] Collective attempts by workmen to better their lot were treated as conspiracies and summarily dealt with. In 1425 Nicholas Dawber was fined 6*s.* 8*d.* for leading some sort of workers' movement to raise wages, and fines were imposed on six other workers, of whom two are described as labourers and two as daubers. Nicholas was fined another 3*s.* 4*d.* because he let his son roam the streets at night, and when a sergeant had arrested his son, Nicholas said something rude.[78] In spite of the fact that wage rates in the late Middle Ages were high by historical standards, urban workers lived in an oppressive environment without the enjoyment of what we should consider essential freedoms of action and association.

But such was the law of the land, and such were conditions all over the country. The bailiffs were implementing rules that were probably approved of by a large proportion of the population, and they could only act upon information supplied to them by men from outside their own group. At the lawhundred court offences were reported by juries of burgesses drawn from each of the four wards of the town. The employer class was a broad one in the late Middle Ages, and itself included many families of modest means. We are not dealing here, therefore, with the corrupt self-interest of a minority.

And in other respects it is likely that the interests of poorer members of the community were honestly cared for. Amongst the small number of by-laws on record there are several from 1412 to protect employees in the cloth industry. Standardised weights of 4.5 and 2.25 lb. were to be used in transactions with spinners, and such weights were to be tested and approved free of charge. This was to prevent spinners being cheated by the use of unregulated weights. It was forbidden to take wool out of the franchise to have it woven; this regulation is designed to protect the employment of spinners in Colchester even at the expense of mercantile profits. No weaver was to be compelled to take his wages in kind, and if any employer tried to pay in anything other than coin the aggrieved weaver could have instant redress through a court of piepowder.[79] These regulations were taken seriously. From the return to a royal writ composed by the bailiffs in 1452 we know that men exercising the craft of clothmaking in Colchester were sworn to abide by them, and that the bailiffs had recently imprisoned William Godfrey in the town prison as a perjuror and a violator of the liberty of the borough because he had cheated Agnes Wellys and Joan Burgeyn.[80] The ethics of the ruling group involved a strong sense of just dealings between richer and poorer members of the community.

The bailiffs were also able to offer poorer members of the community redress for personal grievances through the borough courts, as in the example of redress to weavers

already mentioned. In this respect they could offer a better service than we have, since litigation in the borough court was cheap, and probably no more protracted than it would be today. The borough courts were a facility for the whole town and they handled a large number of pleas. In 1437-8, for example, there were 628 different pleas brought to court — maybe one plea for every eight inhabitants of the town over the age of fourteen, though of course some were more litigious than others.[81] It was not unusual for wage-earners to sue for unpaid wages, and the very fact that the poorer inhabitants of the borough took their pleas to court implies that they expected justice to be done there.[82] Most of the pleas the bailiffs had to deal with were not interesting conflicts between their social equals but petty disputes over a few shillings, or the rival accusations of those who had had a set-to with sticks and stones. Considering the amount of time this demanded of the bailiffs in their years of office, and the slight reward that they received for their troubles, it is only just to conclude with a general report in their favour and to give two cheers for the moothall. The bailiffs belong squarely in the long tradition of local public service which is one of the more attractive features of England's historical development.

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Notes

Colchester Borough records are referred to by the following abbreviations in the notes: OB for Oath Book, RPB for Red Paper Book, CR for court roll, LB for the Leger Book of St. John's Abbey. References to court rolls are given in the form CR1/2, signifying the second membrane (using the medieval numeration of the membranes) of the first court roll.

1. This paper is based closely on one read in Colchester Public Library on 8 March 1989 as one in the series of lectures organised by members of the Department of History at Essex University to celebrate the eight hundredth anniversary of King Richard's charter. I am grateful to Arthur Brown and John Walter for inviting me to participate, and for their hospitality on that occasion.
2. Morant, 1748, iii, 35-6; Moore, ed., 1897, ii, 672-3; *Cal. Ch. R.*, i, 410-11.
3. Britnell, 1986b, 115-20.
4. Britnell, 1986a, 137.
5. Morant, 1748, ii, 9-10.
6. E.g. RPB, fos. 71r-72v, 81v-82r, 191v-195r.
7. OB, fos. 11r-17v.
8. E.g. RPB, fos. 68r-68v.
9. CR 50/16r, 17d, 36d.
10. E.g. CR 50/9r, 10d, 24d; CR 55/4d, 10d, 26r, 26d; CR 64/4d, 7r, 16r, 18r, 18d, 19d, 28r.
11. CR 50/22d; cf. CR 55/10d.
12. CR 34/21r.
13. CR 87/8r.
14. E.g. CR 64/7r (*bis*), 18r, 18d, 24d, 28r; CR 67/7d, 14r, 16r, 18r, 19d.
15. CR 67/23d.
16. The list is included in the published edition: Benham, ed., 1907.
17. The roll is headed 'Compotus Henrici (Stampe, Tho)me Wode et Johannis Yong magistrorum Gilde (Sancte Helene) a festo ... anno regni Regis Henrici sexti xx^mo^ vsque in (eodem festo) anno (eiusdem regis) xxj^mo^ per vnum annum integrum'. The first two names can be completed from the list of those who paid subscriptions. If the account was from Michaelmas to Michaelmas it would be that of 1441-2. If, however, the gild began its accounting year at the feast of St. Helen, the roll is that of 1442-3.
18. He had a tavern in Headgate Street in 1465 (CR 66/19r).
19. Rouge was a merchant (Wedgwood, 1936, 725) who owned a tavern in Colchester between 1432 and 1449 (CR 51/2d to CR 63/15r). He was one of the wardens of the Gild of St. Helen in 1439 (CR 57/7r).
20. Osekyn was a merchant (CR 60/24d; P.R.O., E.122/51/40. mm. 2r, 3r). He owned a tavern at Hythe between 1412 and 1445 (CR 38/13d to CR 60/22r; cf. CR 53/12r for its location).
21. Selby was a merchant (CR 57/27r).
22. OB, fos. 87v-90r.
23. He was town clerk from Michaelmas 1428 to Michaelmas 1435 (CR 49/1r, 50/1r, 51/1r, 52/1r).
24. Morant, 1768, ii, 385; Roskell, 1965, 137-9, 155.
25. Morant, 1768, i, 480.
26. *Cal. Pat. R., 1436-41*, 239.
27. Morant, 1748, i, 98-9.
28. B.L., Stowe MS 828, fos. 48r-59v.
29. OB, fo. 24v.
30. OB, fo. 22v.
31. OB, fo. 24v.
32. OB, fo. 22v.
33. Reynolds, 1977, 175-7.
34. OB, fo. 146r.
35. RPB, fo. 30v.
36. Britnell, 1986b, 201, 232.
37. Britnell, 1986b, 32-3, 110-12, 211.
38. OB, fo. 66r.
39. OB, fos. 66r (1398-9), 67v (1401-2), 70r (1404-5), 71v (1406-7), 74r (1411-12), 74v (1413-14), 76r (1415-16), 76v (1417-18), 78r (1419-20), 79r (1421-2), 80r (1423-4), 81v (1425-6), 83v (1429-30).
40. House of Commons, 1878, 258 (Oct. 1399), 263 (Sep. 1402), 271 (Oct. 1407), 276 (Nov. 1411), 278 (May 1413), 283 (Nov. 1414), 289 (Nov. 1417), 291 (Oct. 1419), 294 (Dec. 1420), 297 (May 1421), 299 (Dec. 1421), 302 (Nov. 1422), 308 (Apr. 1425), 313 (Oct. 1427).
41. Kirk and others, eds., 1899-1964, iii, 245.
42. Morant, 1748, ii, 50.
43. CR 31/11r to CR 46/23r.
44. CR 48/23r.
45. OB, fo. 66r.
46. OB, fo. 68v.
47. OB, fo. 69r.
48. CR 31/2d.
49. CR 30/16r.
50. CR 30/1d; CR 33/21r.
51. CR 30/1r to CR 34/11d.
52. CR 36/19d.
53. OB, fo. 99v.
54. CR 80/10r; CR 81/1d, 13r; OB fo. 111v.
55. OB, fo. 99v.
56. CR 76/1r; OB, fos. 106v, 108v, 109r, 110v, 113r.
57. Kirk and others, eds., 1899-1964, iv, 76, 82; Morant, 1748, ii, 29n.
58. Britnell, 1986b, 218-19.
59. Britnell, 1986b, 219-20.
60. RPB, fo. 182r.
61. McKisack, 1932, 60-4, 106-18.
62. Wedgwood, 1936, 43, 79, 144, 343, 344, 680, 744, 967, 972.
63. OB, fos. 98v (Baron), 99v, 102r, 104v, 105v, 107r (Bishop), 102r, 103r, 104r, 104v (Boteler), 96r, 98r, 99r, 100v, 102r, 102v, 104r, 105v, 107v (William Ford), 94v, 95v, 97r, 98r, 99v, 101r (John Ford), 95v, 98r (Petworth), 94v, 95r, 96v *bis*, 97r, 97v (Saxe), 92r, 94r, 95r (Wood), 100r, 101r, 102v (Wright).
64. Pronay and Taylor, eds., 1980, 185-9.
65. Stephen and Lee, eds., 1885-1900, xx, 240.
66. Morant, 1748, i, 86-7.
67. CR 64/20r, 65/2r. For Piggesle's occupation, see CR 63/14r, 66/1d.
68. Haward, 1926, 182-3; Haward, 1929, 311.
69. OB, fos. 65r, 92r, 97r, 109r, 109v, 113r, 115r.
70. CR 21/4r.
71. Britnell, 1986b, 227-9.
72. 12 Richard II, c. 6.
73. CR 76/11r.
74. CR 76/21r.
75. CR 78/1d.

76. CR 75/1d.
77. CR 67/19r.
78. CR 45/25r.
79. RPB, fo. 13r, v.
80. RPB, fos. 81v, 82r.
81. Britnell, 1986a, 136. This supposes (rather generously) an adult population of 5333.
82. E.g. CR 67/8r, 25d; CR 71/19d, 20d.

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Wealth and Family in Early Sixteenth Century Colchester[1]

by Jennifer C. Ward

Early sixteenth century Colchester is well known for its manufacture of textiles as well as for its role in internal marketing. Its population has been variously estimated as between about 4,000 and 6,000 in 1524, but even at the lower figure Colchester would rank as one of the larger English towns and an important urban centre in the eastern counties.[2] Although economically it had declined from its peak in the early fifteenth century, there was still considerable wealth in the town, as seen in the taxation assessments of 1524 and 1525, and in the wills of leading inhabitants.[3] The family had an important part to play in the creation and transmission of wealth, and family fortunes have a significant bearing on the well-being of the town, as well as on personal relationships, and social cohesion and mobility.

Colchester, like other late medieval towns, had a hierarchical society with great contrasts in wealth, but the family unit was vital at all levels, and early sixteenth century records throw considerable light on family arrangements and structure. The wills are particularly valuable, and survive in considerable numbers for the freemen of the town and those who had goods or property to bequeathe. They show clearly the importance attached to the nuclear family. Least is known about the poor. The minimum assessment in 1524 was set at £1 a year in wages, and those who earned less were excluded. Wage-earners probably constituted the majority of the inhabitants, as those who were included in the assessment made up 47% of the 754 taxpayers in the liberty of Colchester.[4] Men from this group rarely became freemen of the borough, nor did they make wills, unless circumstances turned out to be particularly propitious. Some clue as to their attitude to family can however be gained by looking at the wills of those who paid tax in 1524 on small quantities of goods, in some cases as low as £2.

Apart from the wage-earners, most Colchester men were assessed on their goods, with only a few being assessed on land; the tax was levied on whichever would yield the most. Here, more evidence as to family survives, and many men are known to have been freemen of the borough; in the case of immigrants, although not of Colchester-born men, their admission as freemen was entered on the court rolls. A few wills survive for those at the bottom end of the scale, and more as one proceeds upwards. Deeds enrolled on the borough court rolls and Chancery cases throw further light on these men and their families. The majority in this group paid tax on goods worth between £2 and £9 inclusive, and only 17% of taxpayers had £10 or more in goods, with 5% having goods of £30 or more. Twelve men and one woman had goods of £50 or more, with six of the men at the very top of the social hierarchy having goods of or exceeding £100. The wealthiest man in the borough was John Christmas whose goods were valued at £600 in 1524. It was from the richer men in the borough that the bailiffs, aldermen and councillors were chosen.

The prospects of founding a family in Colchester were always uncertain in the early sixteenth century, and the wills emphasise the prevalence of mortality. Epidemics of plague, sweating sickness and other illnesses were widespread, and the variation in the number of Colchester wills from year to year provides some indication of serious outbreaks of disease. Whereas in many years only about six wills were proved, in 1502 there were sixteen of which thirteen were dated between May and October; in 1514, twelve wills were drawn up, eight of them between May and October. The high figures may well have been the result of plague which generally broke out during the summer months. Quite apart from the deaths of adults, many families had few or no children who survived to grow up, and the children might easily be daughters rather than sons. Thus, to take the wills surviving for 1507, only John Barker left a large family of three sons and three daughters. John Fenkyll had a son aged five, John Lightwyn two daughters, and Thomas Northen one daughter and a baby expected. Roger Burgyn mentioned his wife's son and daughter, presumably by a previous marriage, but no children of his own.[5]

Because of the extinction of families, no early sixteenth century town could maintain its population, let alone increase it, without immigration. Moreover, town populations were highly mobile, and new inhabitants would be needed to take the place of those who left. Quite apart from the wealthy families who moved out of the town and became members of the Essex gentry, others lower down the social scale might well decide to move in search of better prospects. Women from Colchester married men from other towns; Margaret, the daughter of Henry Barker, married Edward Fraunces, a merchant tailor of London, and the granddaughters of John Clere, one of the richest clothiers in Colchester in 1524, also married London men.[6] Young families of all social groups might move out of the town when a widow remarried, as her choice of a next husband would by no means be restricted to Colchester; for instance, Marion, widow of the tallow-chandler, Thomas Smythe, took as her next husband a beer-brewer of Hadleigh, Suffolk.[7] There are examples of well-established families in early sixteenth century Colchester, such as the Christmas and Clere families among the élite, and the Mace family among the relatively prosperous, John Mace being assessed on £10 worth of goods in 1524. However, mortality, lack of heirs, and the attraction of other places meant that there was a considerable turnover in the Colchester population.

Colchester had therefore to be able to attract immigrants, preferably those with skills and possibly wealth to build up a business, generate employment and create prosperity in

the town, rather than the poor subsistence migrants who were simply looking for employment. The former, who can be termed betterment migrants, can be traced through those who took up their freedom and whose names were recorded in the Court Rolls. The totals of immigrants were substantially lower than in the early fifteenth century,[8] but Colchester could still attract men from a large area. The numbers who took up their freedom varied from year to year; there were none in 1510-11, and 1538-9, compared with eighteen in 1513-14, and twenty-four in 1549-50.[9] The numbers increased in the mid-sixteenth century; whereas there were 61 freemen immigrants between 1500 and 1510, there were 106 between 1540 and 1550, a total which was exceeded in the next decade. The majority of the immigrants came from Essex and Suffolk, but Colchester also attracted men from other parts of Eastern England, the Midlands and the North; rather fewer came from Western and Southern England and from Wales. Immigrants also came from the Low Countries, and this connection was to prove of major importance in the Elizabethan period.

Although it is impossible to generalise on the fortunes of immigrants, it is likely that most of them only achieved modest prosperity. Some freemen who had been burgesses for a considerable time only had £2 worth of goods in 1524; this was the case with Robert Dix, born at Kirby-le-Soken, who became a freeman in 1501-2, and Thomas Johnson from Derbyshire who became a freeman in 1507-8.[10] Alternatively, some of these men were at the beginning of their careers; Thomas Colbrond from Langham who had goods worth £2 in 1524 became a burgess in 1527-8.[11] Yet the importance of the immigrants in the creation of wealth is emphasised by the taxation assessment of 1524. Of those assessed on goods worth £50 or more, John Cole came from Nayland, John Maykyn from Layer Marney, and John Bradman from Little Walden, while Thomas Baker was from Somerset. The beer-brewer, James Godfrey, had been born in Gelderland.[12] Of the thirty people assessed on £30-£49 worth of goods in 1524 and 1525, thirteen were immigrants, such as William Beket, Austin Beriff and Christopher Hammond from Suffolk, John Maynard and Thomas Matthew from London, and William Griffith from North Wales.[13] It was therefore possible for a Colchester immigrant to reach the top of the Colchester hierarchy. These men were however exceptional, and it is likely that they had some wealth and connections behind them, in addition to business acumen and good luck. Some occupations were more lucrative than others, and the men at the top were often clothiers or merchants, occupations requiring capital. Some of the immigrants who did well came from landed or gentry families. Christopher Hammond was described as a gentleman, and John Neve's inquisition *post mortem* shows that his father had land in Stowmarket and the surrounding villages. John Turner, assessed on £20 worth of goods in 1524, left land in Messing to his eldest son.[14]

The amount of movement among the town's population, combined with the relatively short expectation of life, meant that attention was focused on the nuclear family. There are relatively few references in the wills to the parents of a testator. Mothers were occasionally left bequests, as when Thomas Clere in 1520 left a twenty-four yard cloth to his mother together with a tenement in East Street for life which he had received of his father's gift.[15] In 1509, Thomas Mone wanted his mother and his wife to act as his executors.[16] Fathers and fathers-in-law could sometimes be called on to be executors or supervisors of wills. In 1528, Robert Thorpe wanted his father, together with Thomas Vitall, to sell his broad loom and other things of his occupation, and to carry out his religious bequests; fifteen years before, William Laurens appointed his father-in-law John Stephyn supervisor and described him as his well-beloved in Christ.[17]

Similarly, references to grandchildren were few. In 1502, John Grene ordered his tenement at the end of North Street to be sold and the money to be divided among his daughter's children who were to pray for his soul and for those of his friends and all Christians; nothing was left to his daughter, and it is therefore likely that she had predeceased him.[18] When the widow, Alice Hewet, died in 1532, she left £2 each to her granddaughters, Emma and Mary Mace; any future children were to have their share, but, she stated, 'ever sons before daughters'.[19] The following year, the girls' grandfather, John Mace, weaver, died, leaving the girls £5 each at marriage.[20]

The emphasis on the nuclear family meant that the wife as well as the husband had a crucial role to play, not only in the household but also in urban society. Relatively little, however, is heard of the wife during her husband's lifetime. Wives were regarded by the law as subject to their husbands, with husbands responsible for business and property matters. There is little indication of emotional feeling in the wills, simply because this was a matter which was rarely touched on in any record. Richard Rucke was exceptional when in 1510 he referred to his well-beloved wife, Joan.[21] Eight years later, Agnes Rede was similarly exceptional when she described her son and executor Harry Aleyn as well-beloved.[22]

It was taken for granted that women would be married, and that the wife would bring with her property or money, and household goods.[23] An advantageous marriage was an accepted way for a man to move up the social hierarchy. When a father died leaving young daughters, it was usual for him to make provision for them, stating that the bequest was to be received at a particular age or at marriage; John Nordon, smith, in 1518 left his daughter Alice £3 'to help her to marry', and this money was to be paid to Alice at the age of eighteen.[24] Remarriage was common, and, as will be seen, widows might well have property from their former husbands. It was exceptional for husbands to try to prevent their wives from marrying again, as when Thomas Duglas, alias Stubber, and John Myche left property to their wives on the condition that they did not remarry.[25] A husband might however require his wife to give security before remarriage that she would carry out his will; this could well be regarded as a safeguard for the children or a guarantee for the performance of religious bequests.[26]

Quite apart from her property and goods, the wife could extend her husband's family connections inside and outside the town, and this could prove a great advantage to an ambitious husband. These family networks are found throughout the social hierarchy and could be extended further through

remarriage. John Bardefeld's wife Katherine was the daughter of Robert Cowbridge who was bailiff in 1507-8.[27] John and Henry Nordon were brothers-in-law to Thomas Flyngant, alderman and bailiff.[28] The link between the Mace and Hewet families has already been seen, and they were also connected with the Martyn and Dibney families.[29] Marriages could also help to integrate new men in Colchester society. The immigrant William Hubert became a freeman in 1519-20, and married Margaret who had previously been married to Thomas Burges, and to Nicholas North, draper, who had died in 1517; William was also a draper, and was assessed on £30 worth of goods in 1524, some of which had probably come to him as a result of his marriage.[30]

The wife's primary responsibilities would be towards her family and household, and many wills throughout the hierarchy referred to her bringing up the children. In 1520, Thomas Clere, clothmaker, expected his wife Emma to bring up his children well and honestly, and in 1533 John Colbrond, harnessmaker, wanted his wife to bring up the children until they were able to help themselves.[31] In view of the amount of remarriage, a widow could find herself responsible for stepchildren, and in 1528 William Lake, gentleman, desired his wife to be good to his children, bring them up, and put them into apprenticeship or service.[32] Schooling was only occasionally mentioned, as by John Smalpece, bailiff, who died in 1538, although Thomas Christmas, who died in 1520, wanted his wife to bring up his younger son Thomas and his daughter Elizabeth 'in good honest conversation and learning'.[33] The most specific provisions were made by John Turner, mercer, in 1525. His wife Emma was to find his three sons meat, drink and clothing; they were to be kept at school during their nonage, and, as soon as they could read and write, they were to be put to service with a convenient master.[34]

In only a very few cases was the wife given a more limited role. John Clere, clothmaker, and one of the richest members of the élite in 1524, only allowed his wife Jane to have custody of his son Nicholas until he was seven years old, and then his executors were to bring him up until Nicholas reached the age of twenty-one; the executors were John's son and son-in-law, Benjamin Clere and William Bonham.[35] Richard Weston, gentleman, in 1541 provided for his two eldest sons to be brought up by two members of the gentry, but it is probable that his three children by his present wife were brought up by her.[36] When Henry Webbe, clothmaker, died in 1547, all his property, jewels and plate, and wool and cloth had to be sold to pay his debts. His wife is not mentioned in the will, and so had probably predeceased him. He left three sons and four daughters, and arranged for two of the sons to be brought up by Nicholas Clere and John Denby.[37]

How far the wife was involved in her husband's business during his lifetime is not clear, but many widows certainly carried on their husbands' occupations. Although they are not found in Colchester as clothiers or merchants, they were involved with shops and crafts. In 1501, John Abbot, barker, left his wife Christine his dwelling-house, and all the things belonging to his craft for life; the latter were to be inherited by his son Clement after Christine's death on the condition that he was her faithful and diligent servant in all matters concerning the craft, Christine giving him sufficient wages.[38] Agnes Rede left the stuff in her shop (tools, moulds and metal) to her son John Rede in 1518.[39] In 1540, John Myche left one of his two shops to his wife Elizabeth, the other going to his son Thomas; Elizabeth was also left his warehouse and fish-house, although Thomas was to have hanging of the herring in half the house.[40]

Even during her husband's lifetime, the wife might be concerned with property matters. Wives were often mentioned as parties to deeds, and may well have had a say in the disposal of property; there was always a danger that, if they were not named in the transaction, they would bring a claim to the property later. When a grant was made and entered on the borough court rolls, it was customary for the bailiffs to examine the wife on her own in order to ensure her free consent to the deed, and to check that she was not acting out of fear of her husband or under compulsion.[41] A few wills survive which were made by wives during their husbands' lifetime which show the important role played by women in family and property arrangements, even though the husband's permission for making the will was often expressly stated.[42] The practice of remarriage gave women an even greater concern with property; it might be essential for a wife on her death- bed to provide for the children of earlier marriages, to reinforce a previous husband's will, or to provide for a present husband. In 1510, Christina Hewet left her house to her husband for twenty years, but it was then to pass to her daughter Margaret Church and her heirs.[43] Elizabeth Lys in 1522 arranged for her son John Wodhowse, living in Hornchurch, to pay £20 to her husband Roger.[44] A more complex situation was faced by Margaret Hubert on her death in 1521.[45] She had previously been married to Thomas Burges and Nicholas North, and had been appointed Nicholas' executor when he had died four years before.[46] Nicholas had left his dwelling-house to Margaret for life and subsequently to his son Nicholas, a tenement at North Bridge and household goods to his daughter Alice at the age of sixteen, and £10 to his son Robert at the age of twenty-four. Margaret emphasised in her will that Nicholas's will was to be carried out in every particular. However, the son Nicholas must have died, as she laid down that Robert was to receive the house and his money when he was twenty-four years old, and in the meantime the house was to remain in the possession of William Hubert. William was made supervisor of the will, and her son Robert Burges, assessed on £13. 6*s*. 8*d*. worth of goods in 1524, executor. William was given Margaret's full authority to claim anything due to her under her father's will, after the death of her stepmother.[47]

The provisions made by women such as Margaret Hubert point to the responsibilities which women had in early sixteenth century towns. The numerous cases when the wife acted as her husband's executor show a trust in the wife's ability to carry out the duties, even though a supervisor and sometimes a co-executor could also be appointed. Wives as executors are found throughout will-making Colchester society. Thomas Smythe, butcher, was assessed on £2 worth of goods in 1524 and died in 1530. He left no property, and, apart from small bequests to the Church, he left his goods

to his second wife Elizabeth who acted as his executor.[48] At the other end of the scale, the bailiff John Coggeshall left his wife Anne as his executor in 1529.[49] However, not all the wives of the richest inhabitants of the borough were given this responsibility; here, considerable wealth was at stake, and often land in villages round Colchester in addition to borough property. John Reynolde, bailiff, made his son Thomas his executor in 1524,[50] and, as has been seen, John Clere made use of his son and son-in-law. Thomas Christmas, the wealthiest man in Colchester, left his son John as his sole executor in 1520, with five supervisors.[51]

The duties of executor could be difficult, especially if a husband had left heavy debts. It was the responsibility of the executor to pay debts, and unfortunately the wills only speak of them in general terms; William Barker, waterman, who died in 1517, left his wife as his sole executor, and specified that his boat called the Anne was to be sold to pay his debts.[52] Where the children were young, the responsibility for executing a will could continue for many years, and problems could easily arise when there was not enough money to meet the bequests. Thomas Clere in 1520 tried to get round this problem by arranging for the money bequeathed to his children to be put into bags, and deposited at St. John's Abbey, Colchester, and then handed over to the children at the right time.[53] Remarriage could add to the executor's difficulties, as brought out by the somewhat hysterical outburst in Alice Haynes' will in 1508.[54] Alice claimed to having been alone and without help during her widowhood. She asserted that she was unable to carry out completely the will of her first husband, Roger Purpyte; because of her second marriage to Richard Haynes, gentleman and bailiff, she could not have her first husband's goods in order to execute his will. She also alleged that she had had difficulties in securing her jointure after her second husband's death. In other cases, however, the next husband backed up his wife as executor.

The practice of enrolling wills and deeds on the borough court rolls gave publicity and security to property transactions, and certain widows took advantage of this. Margaret Smalpece had her husband's will, for which she was one of the executors, enrolled sometime after his death in 1538, and the court added a memorandum as to the age of their son John.[55] Joan Cakko had her husband John's will enrolled and swore to its truth; John was a mariner who died in 1543 and made Joan his executor.[56] Within five years she had married John Mayken, mariner, and the two had a deed enrolled concerning John Cakko's capital tenement called the Ship, in St. Leonard's parish, which had been bequeathed to Joan for life.[57] The borough court also gave publicity to arrangements within the family. John Downe had made provision for property in West Stockwell Street to be held by his wife Katherine for life, then by his son William for life, and subsequently to be sold and the money spent on requiem masses. William predeceased Katherine, and she, as executor, and by then married to Henry Barker, arranged for the property to be sold in accordance with John's will.[58] The arrangements within the family of John Forster, millwright, were recorded on the borough court rolls after his death in 1516.[59]

It was customary for the testator to divide his property and goods among his wife, his children, sometimes other relations, and the Church. This concentration on bequests to wife and children underlines the significance of the nuclear family. It was stated in a number of Chancery cases that lands and tenements in Colchester were devisable by will according to ancient custom.[60] For Colchester testators, family considerations ranked higher than those of the Church, although the Church might ultimately benefit in the event of the death of all the heirs. Within the family, there was no idea of all the father's possessions passing to a single heir. In addition to the wife, it appears that all sons and daughters received a share.[61] The disposition of his wealth by the head of the household would greatly affect the future of the family and its standing in the community. If the wife was left a substantial share to dispose of as she pleased rather than for life, the property, goods or money might ultimately benefit the new family into which she married. Even if her bequests were for life, children might find when they grew up that they had been dissipated. Where the goods were divided among a large family, the shares might be so small that the sons would be building up their own fortunes virtually from scratch, and they might well decide to move elsewhere; daughters would take their shares into other families on marriage. It would only be in the wealthiest families (and, among these, the ones which had sons) that wealth could be built up from one generation to the next and a landed inheritance established. The practice of dividing possessions and the frequent lack of heirs, taken together, largely explain why there were relatively few family dynasties in the town.

Wives had to be left enough goods or property to carry out their responsibilities as executors and to care for their children, and nearly every wife received some bequest. John Clerke's will in 1527 was an exception, possibly because of shortage of money or debts, or because of his wife's age; his son William received John's dwelling-house to sell, and was to look after John's wife Rose.[62] Debts constituted a serious problem for Robert Prynchet, carpenter, who died in 1517, and he provided for his dwelling-house to be sold to pay his debts, with anything left over being devoted to religious purposes; his wife was left all his first wife's clothes and household furnishings.[63] A number of craftsmen had no property, and their wives simply received goods. In 1507, John Fenkyll, smith, left all his goods to his wife Margaret, apart from the iron which was to be kept until his son John reached the age of twenty; John was then aged five.[64]

Where the husband had property, it was usual for the wife to be left the dwelling-house at least for life, together with goods, and sometimes additional property. There was however considerable variety in the arrangements made by testators. John Barker, smith, in 1507 left his wife all his goods, together with his dwelling-house for life; after her death it was to be sold and the money distributed among the family and also used for religious purposes.[65] Agnes, wife of Robert Herde, shoemaker, obtained his dwelling-house in 1511 to dispose of as she pleased, and all the goods in it.[66] William Hubberd, also a shoemaker, in 1526 left his wife a tenement in North Street for ever, and his dwelling-house and tools until his son Robert was aged twenty-three; Robert at the time was five years old.[67] John Turner,

mercer, on his death in 1525 left his wife Emma the revenues of his lands in Messing until his eldest son was of age, together with property in Colchester for life, including the tenement called Cross Keys in the market-place; the Colchester property still had to be paid for, so Emma had to keep up the payments and maintain the property in good repair.[68]

With the wealthiest men of Colchester, the situation was often complicated by earlier property arrangements, and the wills sometimes aimed at overriding these. There could also be a more threatening tone taken towards wives than is found in the wills of those lower in the social scale. Robert Northen the elder, bailiff, and cousin of Robert Northen of Mile End Hall, in 1525 bequeathed to his wife for ever his dwelling-house, land, and his tenter-ground, together with plate, woad and cloths, and his scarlet gown, one of his horses and two kine. However, he specified that she was to release the lands in which she was jointly seised with him, except for those left to her, and she was not to receive her bequests if she refused to do this.[69] She was not made Robert's executor. Joan, the wife of Thomas Christmas, had her dower and jointure arranged before the death of her husband in 1520. She could live in the dwelling-house if she wished until her younger son Thomas reached the age of twenty, and was left a little additional land and rent for life, together with plate, household goods, and her clothes and jewels; if she claimed more than the will laid down, she was to forfeit her bequests.[70] John Clere in 1538 left his wife money, and her clothes and jewels, and she had to quitclaim the earlier arrangements made for her dower if she was to receive her legacies.[71]

Although the eldest son received a larger part of the inheritance than his brothers and sisters, it was the usual practice for all the children to have a share. No valuation of property was given in the wills, but sons generally obtained more than daughters; as Alice Hewet laid down in 1532, 'ever sons before daughters'.[72] This principle of division applied throughout the social hierarchy, but can best be illustrated from the wealthy families who had a large number of children. When Thomas Christmas made his will in 1520, the lion's share of his Colchester and Essex property passed to his eldest son, John, but land, £200 in money, plate, household stuff, and Thomas's head house were left to his younger son, Thomas, 200 marks to his daughter Elizabeth, and land and £20 to his daughter Anastasia. Thomas also made provision for the schooling of Anastasia's son, Arthur Clerke, and made bequests of property to Arthur's sister, Emma, and to his godson, Thomas Christmas.[73]

Thomas' wealth was outstanding, but less prosperous testators adopted the same principle of division. Robert Cowbridge, clothmaker and bailiff, who died in 1512, left his lands in Colchester and outside the town and £20 in money to his son William, and property and £6. 13*s*. 4*d*. to each of his two unmarried daughters. One daughter was married, namely Katherine Bardefeld, and she was left £5 as the first payment for the house she was living in. £2 was bequeathed to a niece.[74] John Turner's son eldest son George was to receive his father's lands in Messing when he came of age; the second son Thomas was to have the Cross Keys after his mother's death, and the youngest son John was to receive the tenement which his mother was also holding for life. Each son was to receive the sum of £6. 13*s*. 4*d*. at the age of twenty, and a maser and three silver spoons after their mother's death.[75] The same principle of division is found with the aliens. Richard Shelbury, haberdasher, came from Gelderland; he became a freeman in 1518-19, was taxed on £19 worth of goods in 1524, and died nine years later. He left £6. 13*s*. 4*d*. to his eldest son, £5 each to the two younger sons, and £5 each to his two daughters.[76]

In certain cases, the division involved the testator's means of livelihood. John Atkyn, butcher, on his death in 1504, left tenements to his wife, and to his sons Thomas and Nicholas, two stalls in the marketplace to his son William, and goods to his son John, including the stuff belonging to the craft of tallow chandlers.[77] The division of a business is brought out very clearly in the will of John Johns the elder, mariner, in 1549.[78] His son Laurence was to receive John's half share in the new crayer being built in Kent, together with an extra £8 to go towards its cost. His son John was to receive his crayer called Jylyane 'even as she now doth go to sea with all her implements'. Laurence was to receive his monger called the Clemente with all her equipment. The two sons were to divide all his nets between them, were to share his lighter, and also his coalyard for the remainder of his lease. His dwelling-house was to be sold and the money to go to Laurence's and John's children, with two-thirds of the money going to the four sons, and one-third to the daughters.

A few children of Colchester families went into the Church and were not forgotten in their parents' wills. In 1512, Margaret Burgyn left her son, Matthew Shipman, friar, money to say masses for her soul and to carry out other good works, and made him the supervisor of her will; five years earlier, his stepfather, Roger Burgyn, had also left Matthew money for masses.[79] Matthew may have been a friar at the Greyfriars in Colchester where Roger and Margaret were buried. In 1509, Katherine Ruffull left a featherbed and two pillows to her son John who was a canon at St. Osyth's.[80] John, the son of Thomas and Alice Garrard, was also a canon; Thomas left him £1 in 1512, and two years later Alice left him the same amount, and a cope cloth for when he should sing his first Mass.[81]

Bastard children were very rarely mentioned, and both these examples concerned former bailiffs. William Debenham, gentleman, in 1536 left land in Billericay to his illegitimate son Christopher.[82] Ten years later, William Buxston, mercer, left the bulk of his estate to his bastard daughter Margaret who was at the time under the age of sixteen. The property included two houses, with five shops belonging to them, in the parish of St. Runwald's, and land in Ardleigh.[83]

No child could receive his bequest until he or she was of age, but this could vary from late teens to early twenties. It was always stated that a daughter should receive her bequest at marriage, but a specific age was usually given as an alternative. With many testators leaving young children, it was important that these provisions were made. Thomas Christmas and Robert Cowbridge laid down that their daughters were to receive their legacies at the age of twenty or at marriage. John Stephyn in 1516 specified that his daughters were to receive their money at the age of twenty-

four, but Thomas Clere in 1520 gave the age of eighteen, and Nicholas North in 1517 the age of sixteen.[84] As far as sons were concerned, there was similar variety. Some testators, like William Barker, waterman, in 1517, left money to sons to be received at the time of their marriage.[85] Thomas Christmas and John Turner envisaged sons coming of age at twenty. Richard Shelbury arranged for money to be paid to his sons at twenty-two, Peter Borowe at eighteen, Nicholas North at twenty-four, Thomas Clere at twenty-one, and William Hubberd at twenty-three.[86] Clearly, each testator made his own decision.

The main concern in the wills which have been considered was with the immediate family, namely the wife and children for male testators, or children in the case of widows. The question arises as to whether a wider circle of relations would benefit if the testator was childless, or if there were no sons. There are however only a very few instances where this occurred. John Coggeshall, bailiff, left money and furnishings in 1529 to his daughter Joan, and the rest of his goods and his lands for life to his wife Anne; these were to pass to the right heir, his nephew Robert Browne, after the death of his mother, John's sister.[87]

In the majority of cases where there were no children, the greater part of the estate was left to the widow. The emphasis was very much on the nuclear rather than the extended family. These wills also tended to put considerable stress on works of piety. William Wode in 1508 provided primarily for his wife, but ultimately the estate was to be used for deeds of charity.[88] In 1514, Alice, wife of James Aleyn, was to receive 400 of the 500 marks granted to James by his father on the day of his marriage, and 100 marks were to be used to pay for his burial, settle his debts, and carry out deeds of charity; Alice also received land, property and goods to keep James' obit.[89] In the case of the wealthy alien Edmund Harmanson in 1502, his estate was divided between his wife, his granddaughter Margaret, daughter of Henry Barker, and the chantry which he founded in St. Leonard's church.[90]

Whether attention is focused on childless couples, or on testators with children, it is noteworthy that relatives outside the nuclear family were rarely mentioned in the wills. Robert Cowbridge was one of the very few to mention a niece, and references to nephews are rare. In view of the frequency of remarriage, it is interesting to find that few bequests were made to stepchildren. Roger Burgyn in 1507 left ten shillings each to his wife's daughter and granddaughter, and appointed his wife's son-in-law executor, but it is likely that the contemporary attitude was summed up by John Pakyngton thirty years later when he left money to his wife's two sons if his own sons died.[91]

Similarly, brothers and sisters of testators were only occasionally mentioned. Sometimes they received a bequest of land, as when Robert Crakebone in 1526 left two copyhold tenements to his brother Thomas after the death of his wife, and one to his sister Joan Rolf; or a sum of money as when Richard Rucke left his sister Alice Rucke £10, together with household goods.[92] In one case, a sister benefited from the early death of her brother. John Salow died in 1533 while he was apprenticed to John Hurry, clothmaker, and he left his sister Alice the property which he had inherited from his father in North Street, together with household stuff which his father had given him, on the condition that his will was carried out.[93] It was far more usual, however, when brothers and sisters were mentioned, for only a token bequest to be made, as when John Abbot, barker, in 1501 left his best clothing to his brother John Abbot, his second best gown to his brother-in-law William Barbur, and £0. 6*s*. 8*d*. to his sister Alice Barbur.[94]

Brothers, relations by marriage, and very occasionally uncles were sometimes mentioned in connection with the execution of a will. Robert Northen made use of his brother Henry in 1538, and Martin Godfrey, alien, of his brother James in 1520. John Clere and John Denby appointed a son and son-in-law as their executors.[95] Robert Felix acted as executor for both his wife's parents, Thomas and Alice Garrard, and Thomas left property to Robert to remain to his children.[96] In 1532, John Mace was left the bulk of the estate of Alice Hewet, his mother-in-law, and acted as her executor.[97]

In view of the fact that relations outside the nuclear family were only occasionally remembered in the wills, it is not to be expected that others outside the family group would receive more frequent mention. The bonds of work, friendship and neighbourliness which presumably existed are rarely reflected in the bequests. John Amys in 1514 was exceptional in leaving £0. 3*s*. 4*d*. each to his master's four children, and £1 to Joan, his master's servant, out of the money bequeathed to him by his father.[98] The apprentice John Salow left a bequest to his master, and Robert Herde, shoemaker, and Margery Shildrake remembered an apprentice.[99] Thomas Christmas was the only one of the élite to provide for his tenants and workers.[100] Servants were occasionally remembered, and the amounts bequeathed varied widely; William Robertes in 1534 left £2 to his servant Edward, £0. 13*s*. 4*d*. to Joan Robertes on the day of her marriage, and £0. 13*s*. 4*d*. to John Buxton when he was twenty-one.[101]

Some testators showed a concern for a wider circle through their bequests to godchildren. Here it is necessary to distinguish between unnamed godchildren, treated collectively, and left a small sum each, and those who were named, were possibly related, and were of more importance to the testator. The difference is brought out in Thomas Christmas' will of 1520 when he left one shilling to each of his godchildren to pray for his soul, but left his godson Thomas Christmas specific property for ever.[102] Similarly, one shilling was left to each of their godchildren by Joan Birch in 1507, and Adam Norman in 1523.[103] On the other hand, Katherine Swayne, a bailiff's widow, left household stuff in 1530 to her godsons, John Best and John Barker,[104] and in 1533 John Mace left £0. 6*s*. 8*d*. each to his godchildren, Robert and John Dybney, when they were of lawful age.[105] Two years later, Lawrence Wellis left his godson Robert Dybney his best gown.[106] It is likely in these last three cases that there was a family connection between godparent and godchild.

Although the division of property in the wills was explicit, it could on occasion give rise to trouble among the heirs. Disputes could arise over particular provisions, or over alleged contradictions in the wills of husband and wife, or

of one generation of the family and the next. The interests of the children of two marriages could also cause difficulties. An attempt might be made to anticipate trouble, but not always with success. John Birch in 1501 left four marks to his daughter on the condition that her husband should not trouble his executors over carrying out the will. In fact, the husband, Richard Crooke, brought a case in Chancery over the inheritance.[107]

Three Chancery cases can be taken to illustrate the sort of problems which occurred. Under the will of Nicholas North, £10 was due to his son Robert at the age of twenty-four. William Hubert found himself being sued by his co-executor of Margaret Hubert's will, Robert Burges, for not paying this sum to Robert. He asserted that he had paid the money.[108]

Mary, wife of Richard Barker and then of William Crach-erode, was seised of three tenements in Colchester, but alleged that the deeds were in the hands of John Clere who refused to hand them over. John argued that as executor to Robert Barker, the father of Richard, he was bound by Robert's will to sell the tenements to pay Robert's debts and carry out deeds of charity. One had been sold by his co-executor, Richard Barker, before his death, and William and Mary were unlawfully taking the profits of the remaining two.[109]

When Agnes Rede died in 1518 she left her son John Rede, pewterer, her shop, and all the moulds, tools and metal in it, on condition that he paid the debts of her husband Matthew Rede.[110] Her other property was to be sold and the money used for an obit and divided among her children. Her executor was her well-beloved son, Harry Aleyn. This will led to considerable litigation in Chancery. Harry alleged that John took over the property, took the profits and kept the deeds. John claimed that Agnes had no right to the property, and he was the lawful heir.[111] An action was also brought against John by Matthew Rede's granddaughter, Grace Person, and her father.[112] In yet another case, John alleged that on Agnes' death Harry took plate and goods which were rightly Matthew's and which Agnes held as one of Matthew's executors.[113]

The final outcome of all these cases is unknown, but their evidence together with the wills points to the overwhelming importance of the nuclear family in Colchester society. The family continued to be regarded as significant even after death, as seen in the arrangements made for burials and requiem masses. Many testators specified that they wanted to be buried next to members of their immediate family. In 1530, Katherine Swayne and Isabel Sayer stated that they wanted to be buried by their husbands,[114] Margaret Hubert wanted to be buried next to her first husband, Thomas Burges, and Edith Algode next to her second husband in the chancel of St. James' church.[115] Similarly, husbands like Richard Saberne and Edmund Harmanson stated that they wished to be buried next to their wives.[116] William Neve in 1493 wanted to be buried between his wife and daughter, John Bardefeld the elder in 1506 next to the grave of his daughter, and John Barker in 1507 beside his mother.[117]

This concern for the family unit, even after death, is seen also in the arrangements for requiem masses, but here the concern was often for friends as well as family, and this brings out the point which is otherwise concealed in the wills that ties of friendship as well as kinship were important in urban society. Edith Algode in 1504 provided for obits and prayers for herself, her two husbands and her friends, and John Swayne ten years later for himself, his wife and good friends.[118] Richard Rucke in 1510 provided for masses for himself, his friends and all Christians.[119] However, what comes over clearly is that bequests for the living members of the family took priority over requiem masses; although testators made provision for their souls, they had no desire to deprive their children of their inheritances, and the number of masses would only be increased in the event of the death of the children.[120]

The nuclear family thus formed the basis of Colchester society in the early sixteenth century, and family ties were an important means of providing social cohesion. The importance attached to family is found among all the social groups who made wills, from those who only had about £2 or £3 worth of goods to those with over £100. Although women are less frequently mentioned in the records than men, their role was vital. Quite apart from childbearing and running the household, they could provide the means for their husbands to advance in the social hierarchy, and could through marriage help to integrate newcomers into Colchester society. They had an important part to play in business and property matters, and their role became particularly significant when they were left as widows. The practice of dividing the inheritance among the children was important in giving them a start in urban life, but militated against the establishment of a large number of prominent family dynasties. It encouraged the emphasis on the nuclear family, and may have been a factor in encouraging young people to look round for their best chance of a livelihood and deciding to move elsewhere. Urban society was intensely mobile, changing and hierarchial, but the family unit gave it some stability in an uncertain world.

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Notes

1. This article is based on the Morant lecture, given to the Essex Society for Archaeology and History on 13 May, 1988.
2. The differing estimates are due to the difficulties of converting the 1524 taxation assessment into population figures; it is not known how many heads of household were omitted because of poverty, and there are differences of opinion as to the average size of the household. I.G. Doolittle, 'Population Growth in Colchester and the Tendring Hundred', *Essex Journal*, vii, 1972, 31-3. C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*, (Cambridge, 1979), 12. R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525*, (Cambridge, 1986), 201-2.
3. The changing economic position in the town is discussed by R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525*, (Cambridge, 1986), 163-264.
4. Public Record Office (subsequently P.R.O.) E179/108/162. The liberty included the eight town and four suburban parishes of Colchester, together with Lexden, Mile End, Greenstead and East Donyland. P.R.O. E179/108/169 gives the taxation assessment for 1525.
5. Essex Record Office (subsequently E.R.O.) D/ACR1 fos. 127a-128b, 129b, 145a-b.
6. E.R.O. Colchester Branch, Colchester Borough Court Rolls, 8 and 9 Henry VIII, roll 16. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 35 Wrastley.
7. *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1907), 157, 173.

8. R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525* (Cambridge, 1986), 204.
9. *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1907), 145-7, 158, 167-8.
10. *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1907) 143, 145.
11. Ibid. 154.
12. Ibid. 139, 141, 144, 147.
13. Ibid. 144-5, 147, 149, 152.
14. P.R.O. E150/640/5. E.R.O. D/ACR2 f. 185a.
15. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 4 Maynwaryng.
16. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 160a-b.
17. E.R.O. D/ACR1, fos. 214b-215a; D/ACR2, fos. 208b-209a.
18. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 41a-b.
19. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 271a-b.
20. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 258a-b.
21. E.R.O. D/ACR1, fos. 171b-172b.
22. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 79a-b.
23. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 21 Bodfelde; John Reynolde in 1524 referred to the household stuff his wife brought to the marriage.
24. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 74b.
25. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 49a-b; D/ABW 25/46.
26. E.g. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 185a-186a, 242b-243a.
27. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 22 Fetiplace. *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1907), 145, 152.
28. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 73b, 74b. *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1907), 150, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160.
29. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 271a-b; D/ACR4, f. 97a-b.
30. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 74a. *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1907), 150.
31. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 4 Maynwaryng. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 266a-b.
32. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 232b-233a.
33. E.R.O. Colchester Branch, Colchester Borough Court Rolls, 34 and 35 Henry VIII, roll 12. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 28 Ayloffe.
34. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 185a-186a.
35. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 25 Dyngeley. John Clere died in 1538.
36. E.R.O. D/ABW 39/51.
37. E.R.O. D/ABW 39/79.
38. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 30a-b. A barker was a tanner.
39. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 79a-b.
40. E.R.O. D/ABW 25/46.
41. E.g. E.R.O. Colchester Branch, Colchester Borough Court Rolls, 32 and 33 Henry VIII, roll 4.
42. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 125b-126a, 143a.
43. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 171a.
44. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 143a-b.
45. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 125b-126a.
46. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 74a.
47. P.R.O. C1/417/23 shows that problems arose over carrying out this will.
48. E.R.O. D/ABW 33/16.
49. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 218b.
50. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 21 Bodfelde.
51. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 28 Ayloffe.
52. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 70a.
53. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 4 Maynwaryng.
54. E.R.O. D/ACR1, fos. 133b-134b.
55. E.R.O. Colchester Branch, Colchester Borough Court Rolls, 34 and 35 Henry VIII, roll 12.
56. Ibid. 1 and 2 Edward VI, roll 4.
57. Ibid. roll 9.
58. Ibid. 9 and 10 Henry VIII, roll 8.
59. Ibid. 10 and 11 Henry VIII, roll 16d. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 44b-45b.
60. E.g. P.R.O. C1/293/63.
61. It is possible that in some cases married daughters were omitted from their fathers' wills on the grounds that they had already received their share in the form of their dowries.
62. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 203a-b.
63. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 54b-55a.
64. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 145a-b.
65. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 127b-128a.
66. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 184b.
67. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 199b-200a.
68. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 185a-186a.
69. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 190a-191a. She was not Robert's executor.
70. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 28 Ayloffe.
71. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 25 Dyngeley.
72. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 271a-b.
73. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 28 Ayloffe. The mark was worth £0. 13*s.* 4*d.* or about 66p.
74. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 22 Fetiplace.
75. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 185a-186a.
76. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 275a-b. *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1907), 150.
77. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 86a-b.
78. E.R.O. D/ABW 21/31. The crayer and monger were types of small vessel.
79. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 127a-b; D/ACR2, f. 17a-b.
80. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 155b.
81. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 194a-b; D/ACR2, fos. 10b-11a. The place where John was a canon was not specified; the Garrards lived in St. Botolph's parish, and John may have been an Augustinian canon there.
82. E.R.O. D/ACR3, f. 21a-b.
83. E.R.O. D/ACR3, fos. 120b-121b.
84. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 40a, 74a. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 4 Maynwaryng.
85. E.RO. D/ACR2, f. 70a.
86. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 125b-126a, 199b-200a. When Nicholas North's widow, Margaret Hubert, made her will, she still envisaged her son Robert North coming of age at twenty-four.
87. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 218b.
88. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 132b.
89. E.RO. D/ACR2, f. 11a-b. E.R.O. Colchester Branch, Colchester Borough Court Rolls, 18 and 19 Henry VIII, roll 12.
90. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 8 Blamyr.
91. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 127a-b; D/ACR3, fos. 20a-21a.
92. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 197a-198a; the land was in East Donyland and Berechurch. E.R.O. D/ACR1, fos. 171b-172b.
93. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 260b.
94. E.R.O. D/ACR1, fos. 30a-31a.
95. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 235b; D/ACR4, f. 8a-b. P.R.O. Prob. 11, F34 Bodfelde, 25 Dyngeley.
96. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 194a-b; D/ACR2, fos. 10b-11a.
97. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 271a-b.
98. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 25b.
99. E.R.O. D/ACR1, fos. 158b, 184b; D/ACR2, f. 260b.
100. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 28 Ayloffe.
101. E.R.O. D/ACR3, f. 1a.
102. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 28 Ayloffe.
103. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 191a; D/ACR2, f. 153a.
104. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 228b.
105. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 258a-b.
106. E.R.O. D/ACR3, f. 7a.
107. E.R.O. D/ACR1, fos. 17b-18a. P.R.O. C1/295/62.
108. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 74a, 125b-126a. P.R.O. C1/417/23.
109. P.R.O. C1/293/62-5; Prob. 11, 29 Blamyr.
110. E.R.O. D/ACR2, f. 79a-b.
111. P.R.O. C1/380/10-14, 442/41.
112. P.R.O. C1/559/31.
113. P.R.O. C1/565/63.
114. E.RO. D/ACR2, fos. 228b, 270a-b.
115. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 99a-b; D/ACR2, fos. 125b-126a. Edith had been married first to Geoffrey Estwode.
116. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 34b. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 8 Blamyr. Both wills date from 1502.
117. P.R.O. Prob. 11, 8 Vox, 18 Adeane. E.R.O. D/ACR1, fos. 127b-128a.
118. E.R.O. D/ACR1, f. 99a-b; D/ACR2, fos. 22b-23b. John was the husband of Katherine Swayne, previously mentioned.
119. E.R.O. D/ACR1, fos. 171b-172b.
120. E.g. E.R.O. D/ACR2, fos. 35b-36a.

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Work of the Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1989

Edited by P.J. Gilman and A. Bennett

This annual report enables the Section to publish notes on a number of watching briefs and chance finds made during the year, as well as final reports on a number of smaller excavations. Summaries of the larger excavations can be found elsewhere in this volume (p. 126-139).

Reports are arranged in chronological order or, in the case of multi-period sites, under the principal period represented. The Section is grateful to all who have undertaken work on its behalf, especially those providing specialist reports and museums who have allowed finds to be published here. The illustrations are by the following: Lesley Collett (Figs 2 and 4); Sue Holden (Fig. 3); Alison McGhie (Fig. 1); and Nick Nethercoat (Figs 5 and 6). Full details of all sites can be found in the County Sites and Monuments Record.

East Donyland, East Donyland Hall (TM02/8)
Paul Gilman and Hazel Martingell

A Neolithic, partly polished flint axe (Fig. 1) was kindly loaned to the Archaeology Section for recording by the finder, Capt. P. Thistlethwaite. He found it under a hedge on his estate in *c.* 1982. The flint is dark grey, containing inclusions, and is lightly stained brown, probably from a humic deposit. The blade half is complete, polished bifacially. The butt end is missing, and the central area is bifacially flaked. This is the first Neolithic axe find to be reported from East Donyland parish.

Finds: private possession.

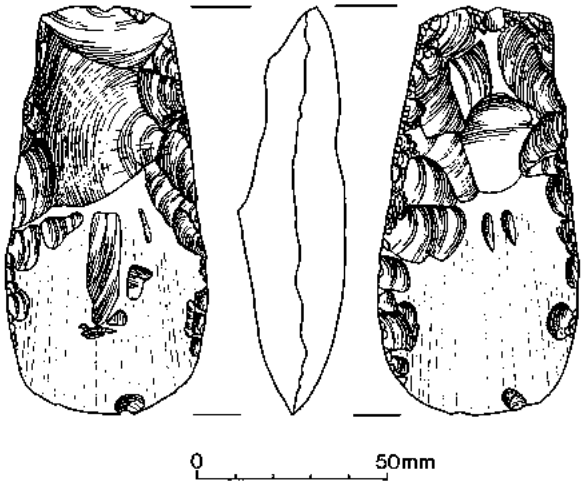

Fig. 1 Neolithic flint axe from East Donyland

Woodham Walter (TL80/139)
Paul Gilman

A complete, Neolithic ground stone axe (Fig. 2), found by Mr. G. Beighton in *c.* 1986, was loaned to the Archaeology Section for recording. Mr. Beighton found the axe on the surface of a footpath between Warren Farm and Woodham Walter Church. The axe is in very good condition, with only slight damage around the butt and on one face. At the time of its discovery, the area of the find was an orchard but since then a gravel quarry has extended over the area. This find is a useful addition to the Neolithic finds known from Woodham Walter parish. Neolithic flintwork and pottery were found in the excavation of a cropmark enclosure complex in 1976 (Buckley and Hedges 1987, 5, 16-20). A large fragment of a ground and polished flint axe has also been found, from the ploughed surface of Brook Field (Buckley and Hedges 1987, 19).

Finds: private possession

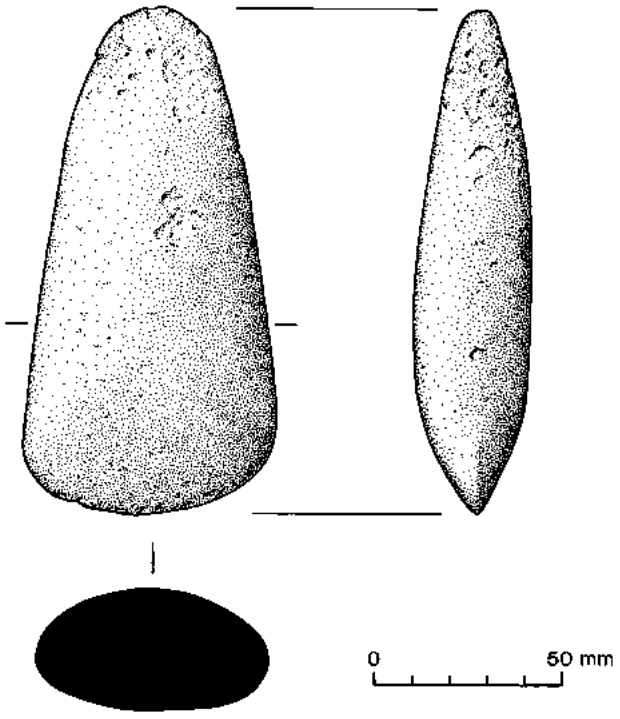

Fig. 2 Neolithic stone axe from Woodham Walter

Harlow, Old Harlow, Gilden Way
Nigel Brown and Richard Bartlett

Two Late Bronze Age (LBA) objects found by metal detector were loaned to Harlow Museum and Essex County Council Archaeology Section for recording.

Fig. 3.1 Tip of socketed axe: weight 49 g. The surviving lower sides curve to a slightly expanded cutting edge. There are no traces of casting flash, part of a subrectangular nearly flattened socket survives. The whole object is heavily abraded and corroded, some smooth surface patina survives on the faces. The object may be part of a south eastern style socketed axe of the Ewart Park phase, although certain identification is impossible.

Fig. 3.2 Sword blade fragment: weight 58 g. The whole object is heavily damaged and corroded with no surface patina surviving. The cross section shows a broad flattened midrib with faces curving smoothly to the cutting edge, although the heavy damage could have removed any slight hollow between midrib and edge bevel. The fragment is clearly from a LBA broad bladed sword. It is uncertain whether it belongs to a Wilburton or Ewart Park sword. However, the latter is most likely, given the frequency with which Ewart park sword fragments occur in Essex hoards, and the scarcity of Wilburton metalwork from the County.

Both these two objects appear to have suffered considerable abrasion and may well have been in the ploughsoil/topsoil for sometime. Given the proximity of their findspots they may well derive from a dispersed hoard.

Finds: private possession.

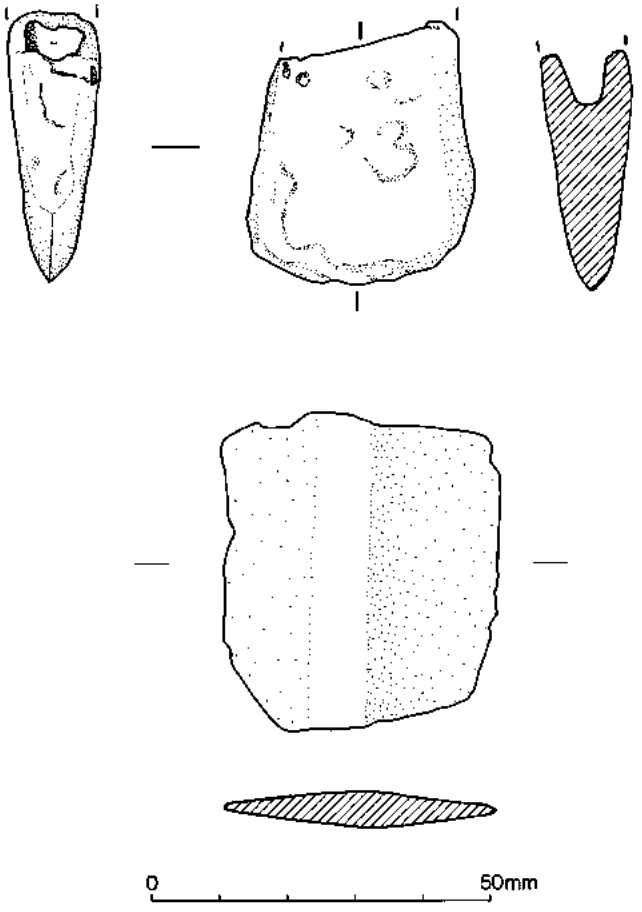

Fig. 3 Bronze Age finds from Old Harlow

Sheering, Land adjacent to Sheering Church (TL51/93)
David Andrews and Deborah Priddy

A 1 m² test pit was excavated on the site of a new church hall in a pasture field to the north of and adjacent to the churchyard. The natural chalky boulder clay was not reached, there being at least 0.8 m of made ground. This was interpreted from bottom upwards as:

1) A possible pit cut containing burnt daub, flints, slag, and pottery comprising shell-tempered and early medieval wares datable to the 12th century.
2) A layer which contained burnt clay flecks with charcoal and pottery.
3) A similar layer with building debris but no pottery.
4) A stiff clay topsoil

A watching brief was undertaken during the contractors' groundworks. Topsoil stripping for the car park and access road revealed no features other than the foundations of a brick wall of 18th or 19th century date, parallel and close to the northern boundary hedge of the churchyard.

Excavation of the strip foundations for the hall revealed at least ten archaeological features. These comprised two pits, four shallow ditches, three narrow slots and a possible post-hole. The linear features were all orientated approximately east-west and seem most likely to represent timber structures and boundary ditches. Datable finds were recovered only from a small pit, and consisted of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (LBA/EIA) pottery. The other features appeared to have been cut from the same level as this pit.

This site is of considerable interest. It underlines the archaeological potential of the very small amount of remaining pasture land in the county. The prehistoric finds add to the growing body of evidence for early 1st Millennium BC settlement on heavy clay soils (Brown 1988), and provide further evidence for intensive occupation along the Lea and Stort at that time. This site is approximately 2 km north-east of the extensive LBA/EIA settlement at Moor Hall on the opposite side of the Pincey Brook (Robertson 1975). The site also sheds some light on the location of the parish church in the landscape, hinting at a prehistoric origin to its importance. It shows, also, that there was medieval settlement around the church, which is now isolated, the village being strung out along the main road to the north.

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

Braintree, High Street (TL 72/36)
David Andrews

A trench for gas mains 1.1-1.2 m deep and running much of the length of the High Street was inspected and a rapid assessment made of the stratigraphy. Northwards of Townrow's Ladies' Shop (No. 76), the bottom of the trench was covered with a loose orangey sandy gravel, and then at its north end, by the junction with Bank Street, with clay. This presumably reflects the changing geology, though it is uncertain whether the gravel was natural.

Opposite County Travel (No. 90) and the Braintree Carpet Centre, there seemed to be a pit exposed on the

bottom of the trench, filled with greenish yellow-brown sandy silt with much oyster shell. From this were recovered two sherds of romanizing grey ware, and ten of Hadham white-slipped greyware, datable to the 3rd century A.D. or later. If this pit has been correctly identified, then the High Street, which is a continuation of the Chelmsford-Braintree Roman road, must have wandered from its original course at this point.

In the sides of the trench, around 6-8 main layers were evident, consisting predominantly of gravel and flints in a sandy loam matrix representing successive metalled surfaces. These were generally about 1 m deep, in places occupying the full depth of the trench. It was noticeable that the lowest layers were much darker in colour and dirtier-looking: they presumably indicated a situation where the road was very muddy and allowed to become choked with refuse. These blackish layers were up to 300 mm deep and showed evidence of waterlogging, with numerous finds of bone and pieces of medieval leather shoes. Opposite Townrow's Ladies Shop (No. 78), from the top of these deposits (700 mm down from existing ground level) was recovered a base sherd in a fine-textured orangey fabric with a sooted exterior (Fabric 21, or transitional Fabric 21/Fabric 40) datable perhaps to the 14th-15th centuries.

The top 600 mm of the metallings contained a fair amount of tile and brick, and so was probably mainly post-medieval in date. This would imply the road surface has risen by that much since *c.* 1450-1500. Since this seems unreasonably inconvenient for the adjacent householders, and since on the whole it does not seem necessary to step down into the buildings flanking the street, it is probable that beforehand the road had been hollowed out, with its surface below the buildings flanking it. This would explain to some degree the semi-waterlogged condition of the lowest road metallings, and the later metallings with the tile and brick would represent a levelling-up and general improvement of the street.

Copford, Church of St. Mary (TL92/34)

David Andrews

In 1989, the roof of Copford church was re-tiled. The works included the erection of a scaffold inside the church lest any damage to the ceiling should injure the wall paintings. At the request of the architects, the church was visited to check for evidence that might shed light on its structural history.

The roof (Figs 4, 5) is seven-cant, with scissor-bracing. It is of two periods, corresponding to the main body of the

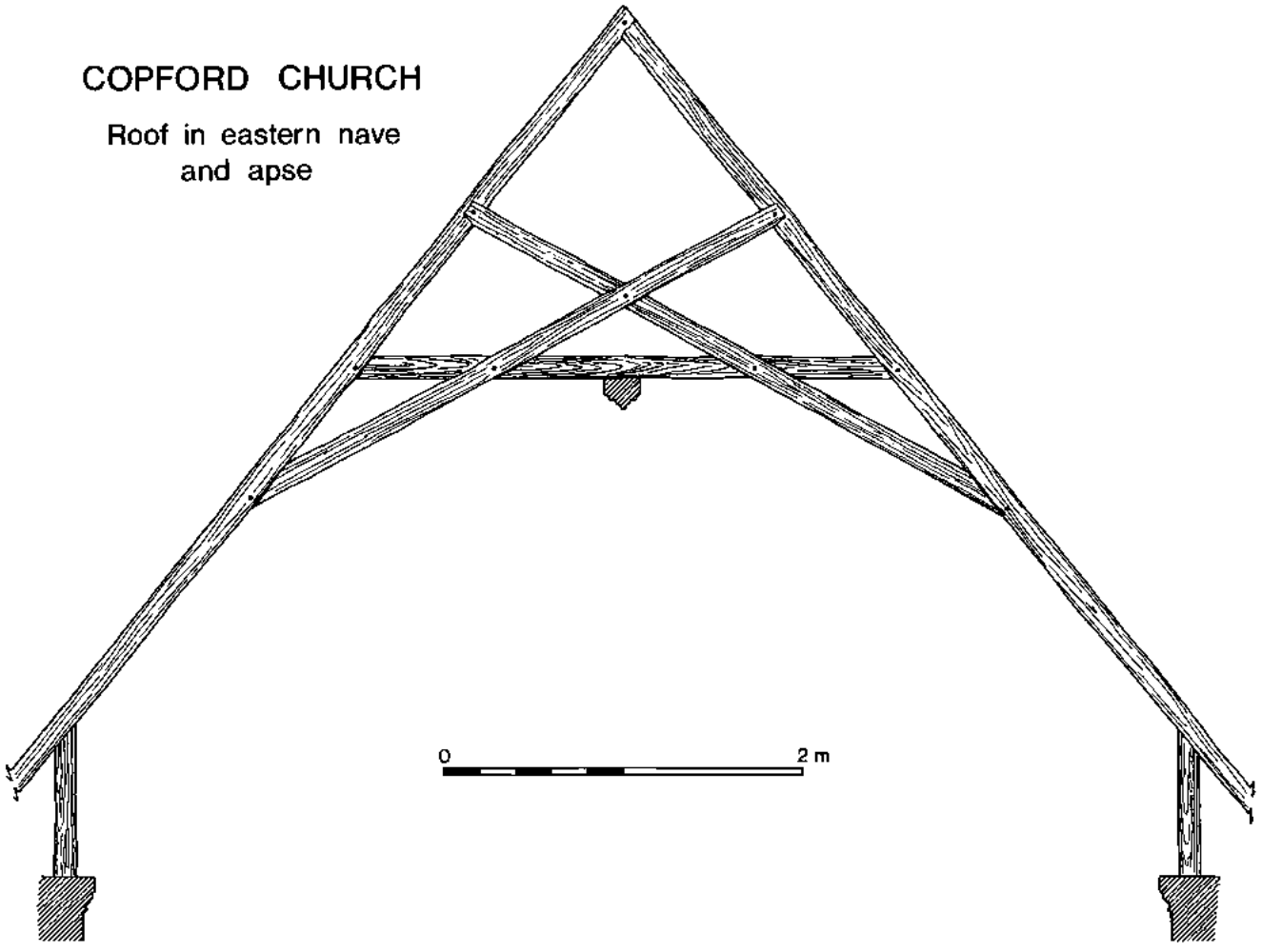

Fig. 4 Copford Church Roof

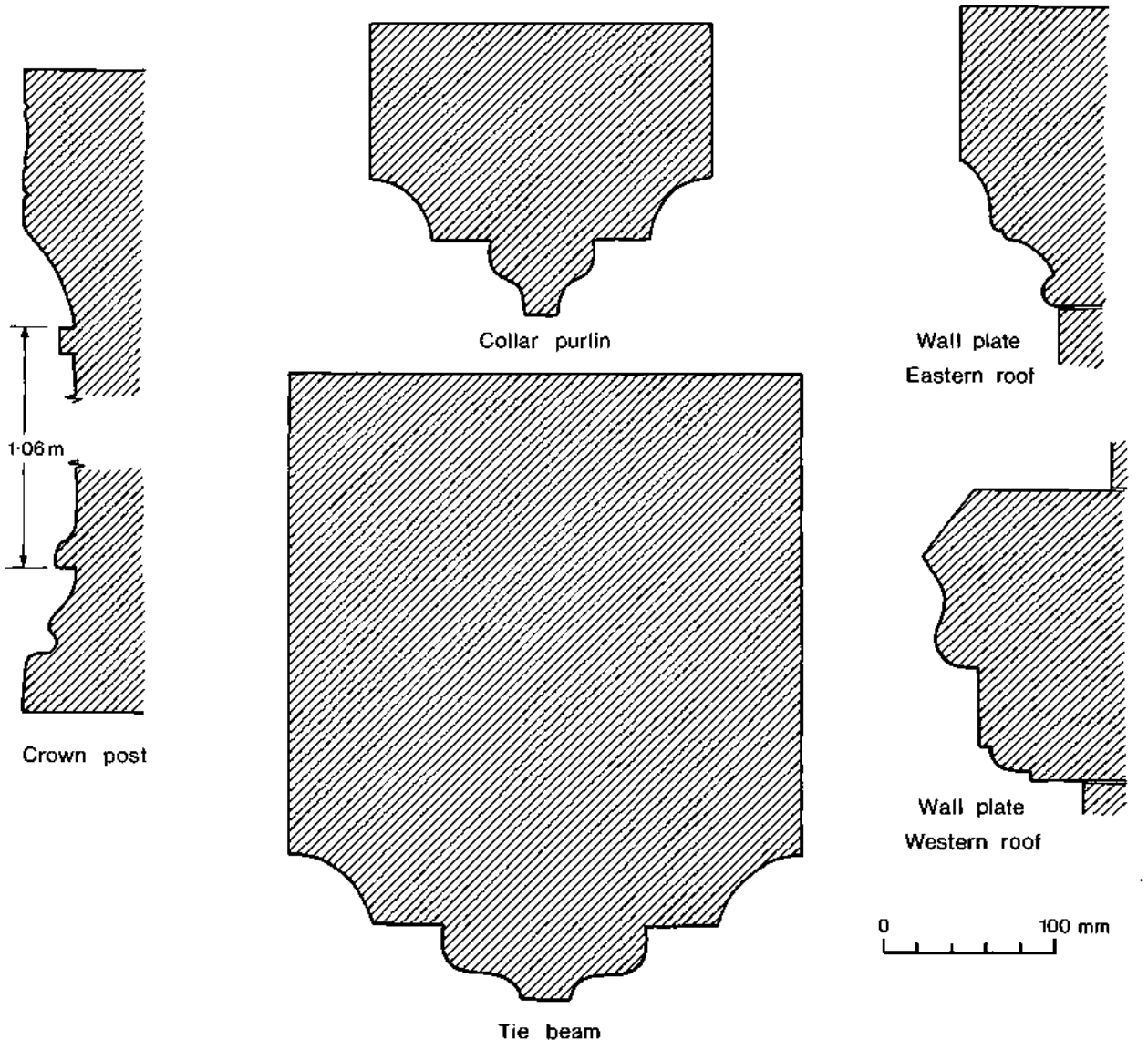

Fig. 5 Copford Church — roof detail

nave, and the easternmost bay of the nave and the apse. This division manifests itself externally by a slight break in the line of the ridge. Inside, it is marked by a tie beam which supports a crown-post roof extending eastwards into the apse.

Whereas the main nave roof is built entirely with mortice and tenon joints, the eastern one has lap joints where the scissor braces meet the rafters. On the premiss that lap joints are earlier than mortice and tenon ones, and that a mixed construction with both types of joint is earlier than one systematically using mortices and tenons, then the eastern roof is the earlier of the two. This conclusion is to some extent supported by the existence of a crude projection on the soffit of the collar of the first truss of the western roof, which continues the line of the collar purlin of the eastern one, these two trusses being immediately adjacent.

The crown post and collar purlin of the eastern roof are integral to the original construction, as the mouldings of the wall plates are continued on to the tie beam where they abut. The apse roof too is of the same build, as the plates are tenoned into the tie beam and the collar purlin is tenoned into one of the rafters. The apse rafters are tenoned into a semicircular collar just below the apex of the last truss of the scissor-braced roof. Between the main rafters of the apse, there are short horizontal members into which are tenoned intermediate shorter rafters.

The western roof is made of inferior timber to the eastern one, many of the beams having waney edges. The plate of this roof is slightly lower than the east one, and it has a differently moulded profile. The construction at the plate also varies between the two roofs: in the east one, the ashlar pieces are tenoned into the plate; in the west one, the plate is tenoned to the sole plates and the ashlar pieces are set behind the plate, which is really no more than a fascia.

The top of the north wall was not inspected externally. It is unlikely to have been very revealing. It can be seen from below to have been rebuilt. Since the wall plate in the apse

where the vaulting is still intact is at much the same level as elsewhere in the church, there is no reason to think that the wall height has been significantly altered since the collapse of the vaults.

The only part of the roof that was inspected externally was that of the south aisle. Little could be seen because of the lath and plaster ceiling. To the east of the transverse arch at the end of the south aisle, which at this level could be seen to be built of brick, the roof and ceiling had been rebuilt, presumably at the same time as the insertion of the arch, probably in the late 18th or 19th century. At the eaves, this build has sole plates tenoned into the two wall plates, the outer one of which is set flush with the external face of the wall. Whereas this build is in new sawn timber, the earlier one is made of re-used timbers, and the sole plates are halved over the outer wall plate, which is set back inside of the outer face of the wall. Internally, the aisle has widely spaced principal rafters, which have had to be braced from the arcade piers, and between which are butt-purlins. This looks late or post-medieval in date.

As to the date of the main roof, tenoned construction is thought to have come in from the end of the 13th century, and this is the date assigned to the roof by Hewett, who was not able, however, to examine it from close quarters (Hewett 1982, 102; and *cf.* Currie 1989).

If the eastern roof is assigned to *c.* 1300, or slightly earlier, the western one cannot be very much later, as otherwise one would expect it to be of the crown-post type. The combination of scissor-bracing and crown-post can be paralleled at White Roding church, which Hewett (1982, 11-12) dates to the second half of the 13th century. The mouldings of the wall plates, tie beam and crown posts do not seem closely datable. This approximate dating of the roof provides a *terminus ante quem* for the collapse of the vaults. It is worth noting that they are approximately contemporary with the creation of the south aisle.

Little Walden, Cloptons
Carl Crossan

Cloptons is a timber-framed house of possible 15th-century origin. The site was visited while dredging was in progress on a large ditch which extends across the north side of the house. The dredging work did not reveal the full extent of the feature, which may be part of a former moat. In its present form the ditch, interrupted by a causeway opposite the house, is *c.* 100 m long, 6 m wide and 2-3 m deep. The eastern end turns to link with a small field ditch about 8 m to the north. Traces of an earlier revetment of substantial horizontal timbers were located behind a relatively modern wooden structure retaining the south side of the bank. Irregularities were noted in the surfaces of the fields to the north and east of the house. The significance of the irregularities in the eastern field is not known: those to the north may well be associated with a group of buildings depicted on the Chapman and André map of 1777.[2]

Harwich, Kings Head Street and Market Street (TM23/1)
Deborah Priddy

Trial pits showed the Kings Head Street frontage and part of the Market Street frontage to have been basemented. A third trial pit revealed a stratigraphic sequence. Make-up underlay the northern edge of a septaria cobbled surface possibly representing an earlier surface of Market Street. Clay floors with associated burning overlay this followed by further make-up and rubbish deposits, all of which produced medieval pottery.

Willingale, Church of St. Andrew and All Saints (TL50/26)
David Andrews

This is a small church with a 12th-century nave and a 15th-century chancel. Trenches about 300 mm deep were dug along its perimeter in 1989 to create a dry area to try and relieve the problem of rising damp in the walls. The trenches revealed:

1. That the church seems to lack a built foundation.
2. That the south-east buttress had been underpinned in 18th-19th century brick.
3. Brick underpinning on the south side for the Brocket vault.
4. A portion of projecting flint foundation of uncertain character about halfway along the south side.
5. A medieval grave slab, located in the angle between porch and south-west corner.

The grave slab is in fact a rediscovery. It was known to Miller Christy (1900, 373-4) who published it with a drawing. He recorded that it had been discovered in *c.* 1865 about 2 feet below the ground surface, without any coffin. It is made of oolitic limestone probably from the Barnack quarries, and is very simply decorated, with a semi-circular moulding down the long sides, and a raised kind of slightly rounded profile running longitudinally down the middle of it. Dr. Butler (pers. comm.) links it to a more elaborately decorated one from Wix (Blake 1962; Butler 1965) which belongs to a group of grave slabs of Barnack origin. He dates the Wix example to the early 12th century, and the Willingale one should probably also be assigned to that century.

Ardleigh, Station Road (TM02/115)
Owen Bedwin

The area behind Phoenix Mill was examined prior to the building of an extension as this lies adjacent to the cropmark complex to the west of Station Road. Deposits down to 1.60 m were visible. These all proved to be made ground, not very well consolidated, mostly black, soft, humic layers with some modern rubble. They looked very like backfilling into a large hole, presumably part of the water mill's channel. There were no finds earlier than the 19th century.

Pleshey, Folly Farm (TL62/12)
Raphael Isserlin

An assessment was undertaken in advance of the proposed conversion of a Listed 17th-century barn. Two pits were dug, one inside and one outside the building. Inside, a series of deposits were found to be the flooring of the barn. A post-hole, probably associated with the construction of the building was also found, but no earlier remains. Outside, a medieval gully and pit were found as was a yard surface contemporary with the barn.

Saffron Walden, 67 High Street (TL53/10)
David Andrews

This house has a neoclassical facade concealing the remnants of a timber frame. Much of the timber in the facade is reused and clearly recent, probably dating from the 18th/19th century re-building. In the left-hand or southern part of the house, there is primary bracing and the framing looks recent. However, the north wall is older, possibly 15th-16th century, with the original studwork and central storey post. There are dowel holes for benches etc. in the studs, and it looks as if this could be the remnant of a hall. The framing of the adjacent No. 65 (Christine's) seems to be later, as the main bridging joist of the ceiling/first floor butts up against a recess cut into one of the studs of No. 67. The roofs of No. 67 are apparently all new. The wall over the stairs down to the cellars is old, having its original wattle and daub. The cellars allegedly occupy most of the frontage.

Saffron Walden, Museum Street (TL53/10)
David Andrews

This site, immediately adjacent to the Museum annex, was inspected when the ground level was reduced prior to future development. In the eastern part of the site chalk bedrock was exposed. To the west there was made ground. The junction between these deposits ran approximately north-south. This apparently abrupt edge implies a large cut feature, and corresponds in position to the eastern bailey ditch, which is thought to follow the line of Museum Street. This interpretation is supported by the existence of a rise in ground level of about 2 m at the eastern boundary of the site, where a revetment wall separates it from the Tennis Club property.

Saffron Walden, Market Hill (TL53/10)
David Andrews

The former men's outfitters on the west side was refurbished in 1989. None of the works were followed in detail. Foundation trenches in the yard at the back produced spoil that looked clean. Two cellars either side of the doorway extend the full length of the frontage. They are mostly brick built and look post-medieval, but the northern cellar looks as if it incorporates earlier work, possibly an earlier cellar which had been extended. The timber-framed buildings above are also post-medieval. The northern half includes reused timber and may incorporate a little earlier work.

Aerial Survey 1989
Paul Gilman

1989 proved to be probably the best year since 1976 for aerial survey in Essex. As last year, attention was concentrated the north-west and centre of the county. Eight flights were carried out during June-August. In 1989 the best cropmarks appeared in June and early July in ripening cereals. Although cropmarks continued to be observed well into August, stormy weather in late July and early August flattened some crops or meant that crop-marks became less distinct relatively quickly. In August, a late bonus was provided by a number of surprisingly clear cropmarks in sugar beet. The dry weather in June and July produced some very fine parchmarks in grassland. The plan of the largely buried remains of Tilty Abbey was revealed, even to the extent of showing the pillars of the church. Other fine parchmarks included Coggeshall Abbey and, at Heybridge, the line of the Roman road leading south to the Blackwater from the Roman small town.

Although all of this year's photographs have not yet been analysed, it is clear that many new sites have been discovered. They include: single ring ditches at Little Bardfield, Kelvedon and Takeley, a ring ditch and a 'pear-shaped' enclosure containing a small ring ditch (perhaps a roundhouse) near Witham; and two conjoined rectangular enclosures at Shalford. New cropmark features were also recorded at a number of already known sites. The photographs from which these results are drawn were all taken by ECC staff; no new sites were accessioned to the SMR from other sources as funding for this backlog plotting was once more not forthcoming. The following is a selection of the most interesting of the new cropmarks.

Great Leighs (TL61/152)

A sub-square enclosure (Fig. 6.1), *c.* 67 × 62 m (0.4 ha). The northern ditch of the enclosure is crossed by a narrow, double ditched trackway, which apparently continues to the south as a single, linear ditch. Adjacent rectilinear features suggest the probable presence of other enclosures. Essex cropmark enclosures have recently been assessed, based on the evidence from excavated sites (Priddy and Buckley 1987). Rectlinear enclosures under 1 ha vary in form from sub-square to rectangular. However, apart from a sub-square enclosure at Colchester, for which an Early Iron Age date has been claimed, all other excavated enclosures of this type belong to the Late Iron Age and Roman period.

Belchamp St. Paul (TL74/81)

Two large (*c.* 35-40 m in diameter) ring ditches (Fig. 6.2) on the floodplain south of the River Stour. The southern one is incomplete, but exhibits a number of pits within. Many ring ditches are already known from the Stour valley. This new discovery illustrates the value of reflying areas such as this, even if they have been heavily surveyed in the past.

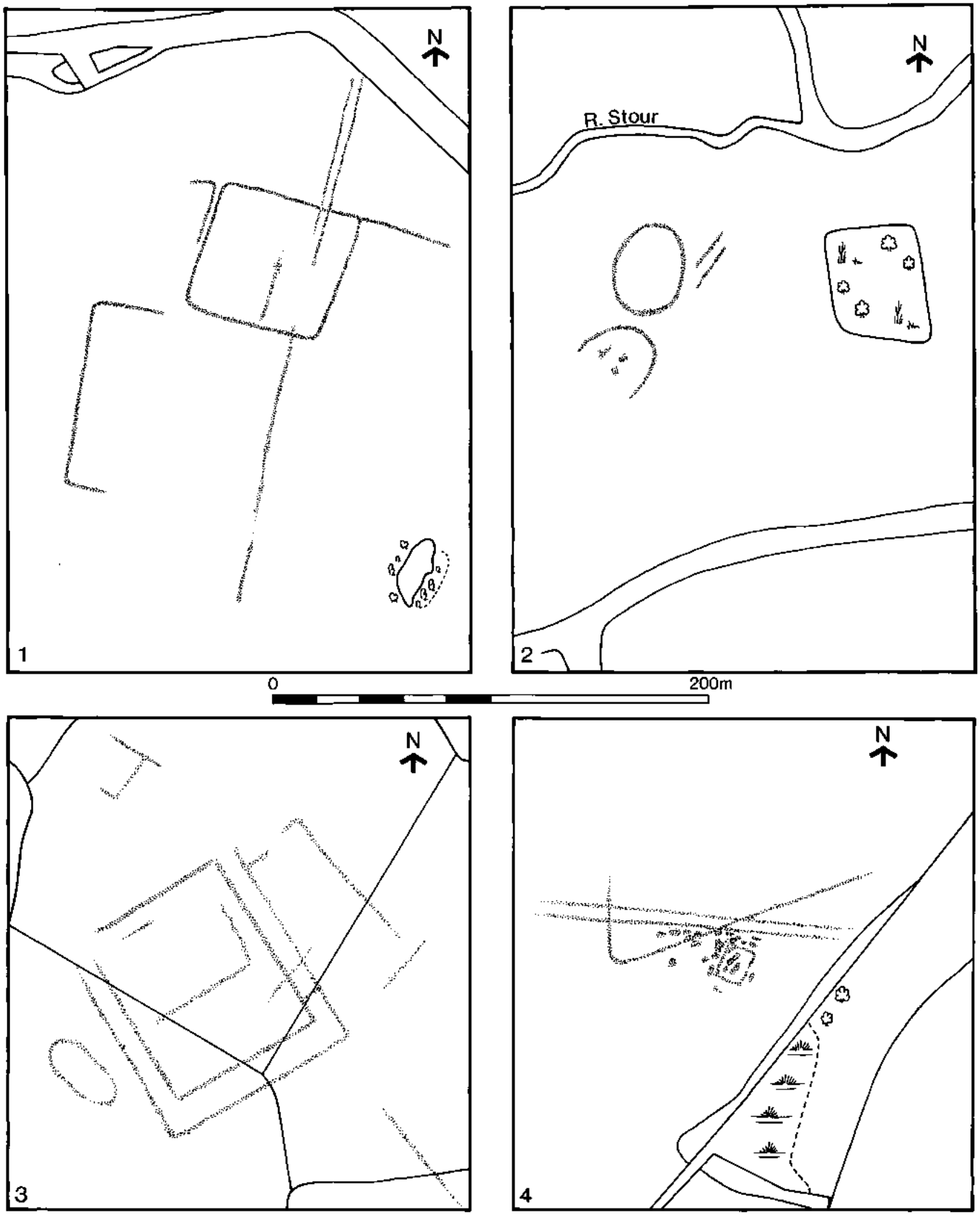

Fig. 6 Cropmark sites at Great Leighs (1), Belchamp St. Paul (2), Alphamstone (3), and Great Dunmow (4)

Alphamstone (TL83/98)
Double-ditched rectangular enclosure (Fig. 6.3), *c.* 117 × 95 m (1.1 ha), assuming the existence of an outer ditch on the northern side. Within, there are faint traces of a further enclosure in the northern half. There are adjacent linear features to the north, east, and south. To the west is a faint oval cropmark, *c.* 40 m long. The western half of the double-ditched enclosure is known from previous O.S. aerial photographs.[2] The other features are all new.

A number of double-ditched rectangular enclosures are known from the county. Three have been excavated, one at Alresford and two at Mucking, all producing evidence of a Roman date (Priddy and Buckley 1987, 63-64). However, the Alphamstone enclosure is somewhat more regular than the others, suggesting a more appropriate comparison may be with the Romano-Celtic temple enclosures at Gosbecks and Great Chesterford.

The oval enclosure can be added to the twelve Essex sites which have been interpreted provisionally as ploughed-out Neolithic long barrows and/or mortuary enclosures (Buckley *et. al.* 1988, 86-90). Support for this hypothesis has been provided recently by the trial excavation of an enclosure at Rivenhall which produced Neolithic flintwork and pottery (Buckley *et. al.* 1988).

The new features revealed at this site demonstrate the value of the repeated flying of cropmark sites.

Great Dunmow (TL62/121)
This is the most interesting of the new sites found in 1989 and is located in the north of the parish, close to Bigods Wood. The cropmark features (Fig. 6.4) comprise two parallel lines aligned slightly north of east-west. Adjacent, to the south, is a small square enclosure, measuring *c.* 17 × 14 m. Between the enclosure and the parallel lines is a group of 'pits', many of which are apparently aligned on the parallel lines rather than the enclosure. A number of 'pits' are within and around the enclosure, and one or two seem to cut its north-western corner.

As with any cropmark complex, interpretation can only be provisional until further evidence is forthcoming. However, the most likely explanation for the parallel lines is that they represent a minor Roman road. The pits are strikingly similar to the cropmarks shown by Saxon sunken featured buildings, such as those excavated at Mucking. As for the small square enclosure, the lack of the characteristic double-celled arrangement would seem to preclude its interpretation as a Romano-Celtic temple. However, the enclosure is similar to the Late Iron Age cemetery enclosure excavated at Maldon Hall Farm (see this volume p. 133; Lavender forthcoming). Potentially, this site is of great interest, given its location north of the Romano-British small town at Great Dunmow and close to the probable Roman villa at Bigods Hall (Wickenden 1988, 85, 86).

Ridgewell (TL74/82)
A small double-ditched circular enclosure (Fig. 7), overall diameter *c.* 30 m. The inner enclosure is penannular, with an entrance on the north-east. The cross-tree trenches of a windmill are visible within.

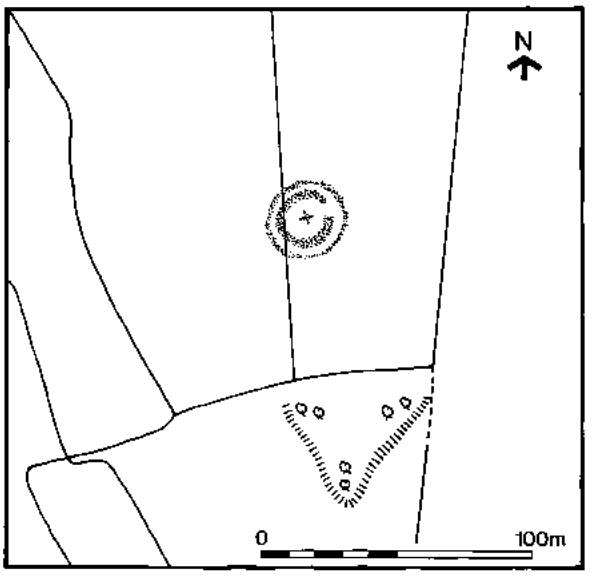

Fig. 7 Cropmark site at Ridgewell

Abbreviations
See p. 138.

Notes
1. Plate II
2. 74/090/328-329

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Excavations in Essex 1989

Edited by P.J. Gilman

This annual report, prepared at the request of the Advisory Committee for Archaeological Excavation in Essex, comprises summaries of archaeological excavation and fieldwork carried out during the year. The longevity of many projects often results in a lengthy post-excavation and publication process. The publication of these summaries therefore provides a useful guide to current archaeological research, and the opportunity to take an overview of significant advances. This year 53 projects were reported to the County Archaeological Section (Fig. 1).

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

Contributors are once more warmly thanked for providing information. The illustrations are by: Lesley Collett (Fig. 1), Jason Walker (Fig. 2), and Stewart MacNeill (Figs 3 and 4). The original reports have been added to the County Sites and Monuments Record held by the Archaeology Section at the Essex County Council, Planning Department, Globe House, Chelmsford. For details of sites in the London Boroughs, contact the Passmore Edwards Museum, Stratford.

Progress in Essex Archaeology 1989

The number of projects (53) is almost the same as last year (54). Most are new projects, reflecting the continued high level of threat posed by development to the archaeology of the county. The significant contribution of local archaeological societies and fieldworkers is reflected in their involvement, wholly or in part, in no less than 11 projects. Analysis of the County Archaeological Section's own projects shows a shift to a larger number of smaller investigations, and an increase in the number of surveys. This is largely accounted for by the number of assessments carried out in advance of development, as at Coggeshall (10), Horndon-on-the-Hill (26), Pleshey (33), Sheering (38), and Thaxted (47). Developer funding has continued to play an increasing role in the financing of rescue archaeology though this is still a cause for concern, particularly where post-excavation work is not provided for. However, Local Authorities have continued to provide much-needed finance, both for their own developments and for other projects in their areas.

Redevelopment remains the major cause of destruction, particularly in urban areas. Mineral extraction continues to provide a significant threat to rural sites. This has resulted in new excavations at Brightlingsea (4) and Maldon (30), and continued activity at Goldhanger (18), Great Totham (21), and Stanway (40).

The earliest prehistoric periods, the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, are represented mainly by finds of artefacts. Upper Palaeolithic blades were found at Latton (28), where there was further work on a Mesolithic working floor. Mesolithic flints were also found at Brenthall Park (22) and a possible Mesolithic site was reported from South Benfleet (39). For the Neolithic, a number of pits were excavated at Goldhanger (18), together with the remainder of the building discovered last year. A Neolithic pit was also found at Great Totham, and flints were found at Harlow (23) and Latton.

The most significant Bronze Age investigation was the excavation of the ring ditch group at Brightlingsea (4). This holds much promise for the study of funerary practices and for the dating of the Ardleigh pottery style. Bronze Age barrows were also excavated at Latton (28) and Great Totham (21).

Late Bronze/Early Iron Age structures were discovered at Ilford (27) and Great Totham, and Stansted (41). The results from Sheering (38), with those from Stansted, provide further evidence for occupation of the boulder clay plateau during this period. At Ilford continued excavation has revealed more buildings within the Middle Iron Age hill fort. This period is also represented by cremations at Chingford (9), and other features were found at Stansted (43) and Stanway (40). 1989 was also notable for the excavation of a Late Iron Age cremation cemetery enclosure at Maldon (30), the first of its type to be found in the county.

Unusually, there is little to report from urban Roman sites. At Braintree (3), attempts to locate the Roman road, Stane Street, proved negative. However, further evidence of metalworking was found at Chelmsford (6) and forms a useful addition to the results of earlier excavations. Great Chesterford (19, 20) provides a fine example of co-operation between local archaeologists and professionals.

Last year, work on Roman rural settlement was dominated by the spectacular discoveries at Stansted. This year, the Stansted Project has concentrated on the more mundane, but equally vital task of unravelling the layout of the contemporary landscape. This has been paralleled by the investigation of Late Iron Age/early Roman field systems at Goldhanger and Great Totham. The Maldon Archaeological Group has continued its valuable work on an interesting, albeit puzzling Roman rural settlement (31). At Latton yet more votive material was forthcoming.

Early medieval archaeology is represented by only a few sites. However, they include the discovery of sub-Roman occupation at Latton and the unexpected Saxon pottery finds at Chelmsford (7). At Great Totham, dendrochronology has, surprisingly, dated two wells to the 6th and 7th centuries

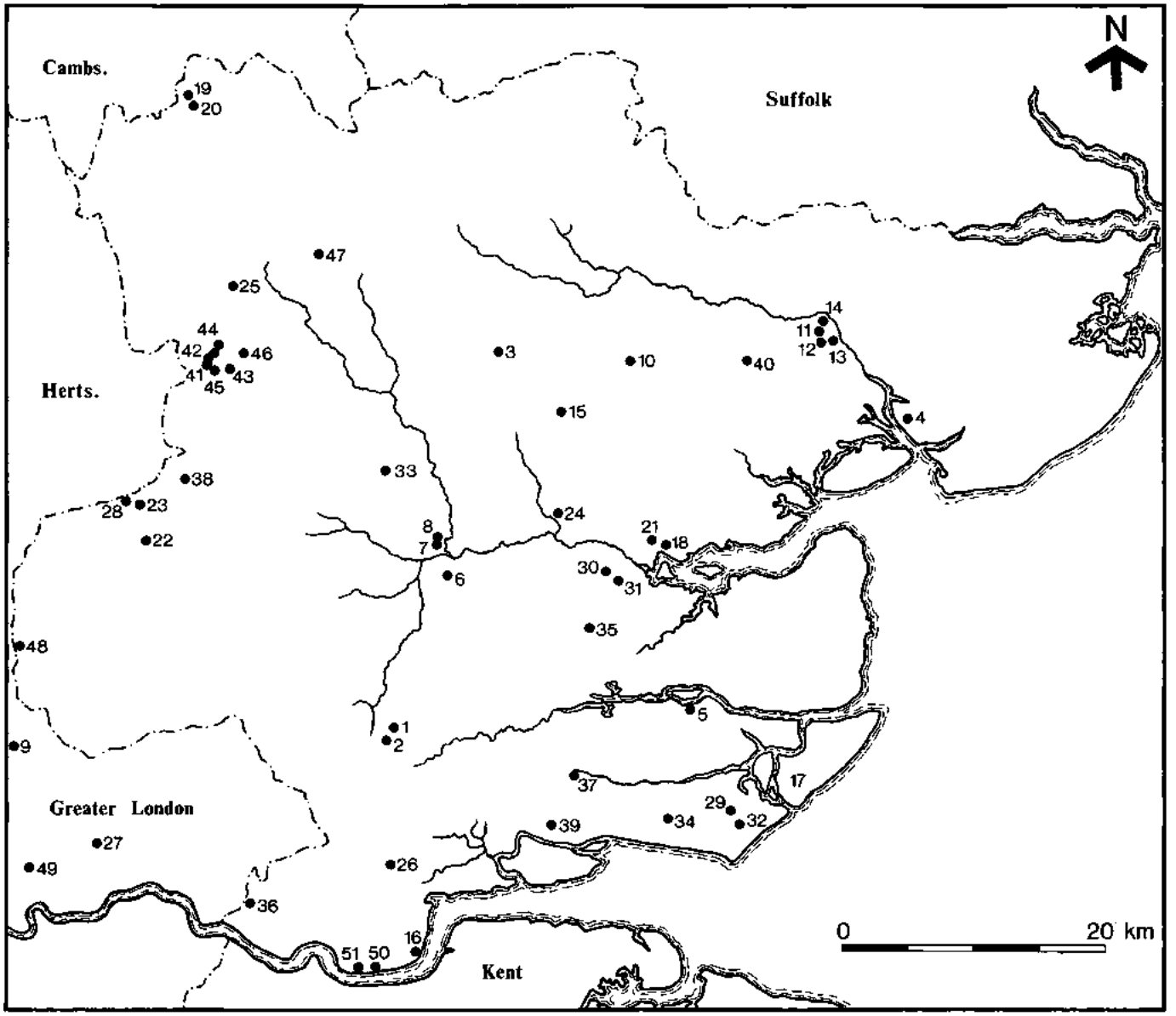

Fig. 1 Location of excavations in Essex 1989

A.D. respectively. The further clarification of the form of Abbey Church 2 at Waltham Holy Cross (48) is also worthy of mention.

Medieval urban archaeology is better represented this year. At Chelmsford, the focus of investigation has shifted from the Roman town in Moulsham to the later, medieval settlement north of the Chelmer (7, 8). There seems to have been a similar change in emphasis at Colchester (11, 12). The limited evaluation at Horndon-on-the-Hill (26) has illustrated the archaeological potential of this little-studied small town.

Work on the County's medieval religious structures was also well to the fore, notably the investigation of a leper hospital at Colchester (13), and small-scale but interesting results at Thaxted (47), and Church 4 at Waltham Holy Cross (48). Medieval rural settlement was not such a productive area. At Chingford (9) the excavation of a moated manor found evidence of medieval occupation, but not the manor house itself. However, at Cressing (15), remains of medieval industry contemporary with the Templar occupation were found.

Activity in post-medieval archaeology included continued work on the county's defences, at Coalhouse Fort, East Tilbury (16) and Tilbury Fort (50). It is hoped that the initial stage of the Brenthall Park project (22) will lead to the excavation of one or more of the important 17th-century Metropolitan pottery kilns known from documentary sources. Enterprising work at Purleigh (35) has also resulted in the discovery of a pottery kiln. Finally, at Cressing the discovery of the remains of earlier gardens will facilitate the re-laying out of the walled garden on 16th-century lines.

1. Billericay, Chapel Street, Barnsley Cottage (TQ 675944)
S.G.P. Weller, B.A.H.S.
Trial trenching in the garden of the cottage revealed much interference, possibly from gravel digging. Finds included much post-medieval pottery, a bronze penny token issued by the Irish Mineworkers Association, and a fragment of Samian ware.

Finds: B.A.H.S.

2. Billericay, Tye Common Road, New Lodge (TQ 667942)
S.G.P. Weller, B.A.H.S.
A watching brief was maintained during the first phase of the redevelopment of this site. Only one feature was noted, apparently on the line of a boundary ditch recorded on the Burstead Tithe Map of 1839. A few pieces of post-medieval pottery were recovered, but most of the finds were modern.

3. Braintree, Rayne Road (TL 753231)
R. Havis, E.C.C.
Excavations failed to locate the position of the Roman road, Stane Street. The main feature consisted of a large post-medieval ditch of unknown function.

Finds: E.C.C.

4. Brightlingsea, Moverons Pit (TM 073181)
C.P. Clarke, E.C.C.
Numerous cropmark features on a gravel terrace overlooking the Colne Estuary are threatened by quarrying. The cropmarks include a closely nucleated group of some 30 ring ditches, distributed over an area of 0.5 ha. Excavation of the ring ditch group began in October 1989. Subsoil was sand and gravel, capped over some 40% of the area by a thin layer of brickearth. The ring ditches were between 4-13 m in diameter. The ditches themselves were 0.3-3 m wide and up to 0.6 m depth. Some were extremely eroded and barely survived at this level. The ring ditches respected one another's edges without exception and the lack of intercutting together with the absence of associated post-holes and other features, provides strong evidence that the ring ditches were the surviving remains of round barrows.

There were no traces of burials within the majority of the ring ditches, but a group of three on the western edge of the cemetery contained centrally positioned cremations in Ardleigh-style Deverel-Rimbury urns. One of these ring ditches also contained an urned satellite burial beside the inner lip of the ditch. Elsewhere, some thirty-five cremation burials were recorded, mainly in groups set between the ring ditches. Most of these were in bucket urns, usually inverted, but globular vessels and un-urned cremations were also found.

It appears likely that the ring ditches containing cremations represent a transitional phase between the majority of the ring ditches, where the burial rite must have been surface or very shallow burial, and cremation burials without enclosing ring ditches. Radiocarbon dates from the cremations may elucidate the development of the cemetery.

The assemblage of Middle Bronze Age pottery is very significant in East Anglian terms, and the radiocarbon dates should help to clarify the nature and development of the local Ardleigh style. It is also hoped that palaeobotanical data from the carbonised deposits associated with the cremated bone will increase our understanding of Middle Bronze Age agriculture and economy in the region. The priority for future work lies in the identification of associated settlement sites.

Final Report: Proc. Prehist. Soc. or East Anglian Archaeol.
Location of finds: E.C.C.; to go to C.E.M.

5. Canewdon, Upper Raypits Farm (TQ 898959)
K. Crowe, S.M.
A watching brief was maintained during the construction of an agricultural reservoir, *c.* 50 × 70 m, to the south of the river Crouch. Two nearly parallel ditches were recorded, but no finds. The only archaeological item found was a small flint blade core, dated to the Mesolithic.

6. Chelmsford, 193-6 Moulsham Street (TL 70820636)
P. Allen, E.C.C.
A 4 m by 15 m trench, perpendicular to Moulsham Street, the main street of the Roman town, was investigated. The street-side ditch was excavated together with fragmentary remains of a post-built structure cut through it. A late medieval yard surface and a series of wells were recorded towards the rear of the site. This was extensively disturbed by post-medieval pits and modern features but a small area of Roman strata had survived in the south-west corner. A series of gullies and pits filled with furnace waste and clay mould fragments were almost certainly related to a metal working establishment excavated immediately to the south, in 1970 and 1972, by the Chelmsford Excavation Committee at 191-2 Moulsham Street.

Finds: Ch.E.M.
Final Report: Part of Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep./Chelmsford Archaeol. Trust. Rep.

7. Chelmsford, 1-9 New Street (TL 70870700)
R. Isserlin, E.C.C.
Despite severe disturbance by Victorian brick buildings, the remains of 13th-century timber buildings were found, with a large pit to the rear, which produced mid-13th century pottery. A more surprising discovery was that of Roman and early-middle Saxon pottery in the fill of a roadside ditch, which had been encroached on by the medieval timber buildings. The presence of Roman material on this site was not expected, given that the Roman town lay across the river around what is now Moulsham Street. No Saxon settlement is known from this area of Chelmsford, although cemeteries have been found at Broomfield and Springfield.

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

8. Chelmsford, Corry's Garage, 20-1 New Street (TL 70870711)
P. Allen, E.C.C.
This site was heavily disturbed, especially the frontage onto New Street, but machine clearance of around half the total area revealed late medieval and post-medieval rubbish pits and brick-earth quarries. Two of these are dated to the 14th century, but the site was apparently not built up at this time, and the pits merely represent peripheral activity at the northern limit of the medieval town.

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

9. Chingford, Chingford Hall (TQ 363924)
K.J. MacGowan, P.E.M.
Watching brief and excavation work were carried out in advance of development on the site of St. Pauls moated manor. The moat was sectioned and varied in width between 4-10 m. The moat was found to be not completely circular but had a dry causeway to the island. Although rubbish pits and two areas of 14th-century pitched tile hearths, of several phases, were found, the manor house itself was not located. It is possible that the hearths were physically separate from the manor house which probably lies to the south, outside the development area. Two Middle Iron Age cremations were also found.

Finds: P.E.M.

10. Coggeshall, Coggeshall House/Brooklands (TL 85352292)
C.P. Clarke, E.C.C.
Three small trenches were excavated in the grounds of Coggeshall House/Brooklands. Most of the features revealed were post-medieval but some Roman pits and ditches were also found. An abundance of large Roman fineware sherds indicates this area is close to the site of the probable Roman villa (Clarke 1988) though the exact position of the building remains unknown. A clay floor, probably medieval, alongside Church Street provides evidence that the medieval settlement was originally located in the vicinity of the church but shifted to the Market Place area during the medieval period.

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

11. Colchester, Angel Yard (TL 99632523)
D. Shimmin, C.A.T.
Rescue excavation and building survey recommenced on the Angel Court Council offices site. The remains of the surviving timber-frame of nos 133-134 High Street were surveyed in detail prior to demolition, indicating a construction date of 1600-1650. The frontage itself had been destroyed by cellars, but excavation to the rear revealed some late medieval/early post-medieval features including a peg-tile oven, a drain and clay floors. Medieval pits were found to cut a thick deposit of 'dark earth' and to have destroyed Roman deposits in the trench excavated.

Final Report: Colchester Archaeol. Rep.
Finds: C.E.M.

12. Colchester, Osborne Street Car Park (TL 99882488)
D. Shimmin, C.A.T.
Rescue excavation continued on this extra-mural site prior to redevelopment for a multi-storey car park and shopping complex. At the St. Botolph's Street end a series of late medieval and early post-medieval structures were excavated including stone and tile foundations, a peg-tile oven, timber ground-plates, barrel settings and timber-lined pits and drains. These sealed a sequence of well-preserved stake-and-wattle drains and fences of late 12th-14th century date. Part of a Roman tessellated pavement was also uncovered, sealing an earlier daub floor and timber ?revetment. At the Stanwell Street frontage the remains of a substantial building with well-preserved tiled floors of 16th-17th century date were excavated. The building had been burnt down, probably during the Siege of Colchester in 1648.

Previous Summaries: Gilman (ed.) 1989, 161.
Finds: C.E.M.
Final Report: Colchester Archaeol. Rep.

13. Colchester, St. Mary Magdalen's Churchyard, (TM 00582482)
C. Crossan, C.A.T.
Excavations on the site of Colchester's medieval leper hospital located two hospital buildings. One, possibly the hospital's original chapel, was enlarged *c.* 1200 to form the first parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, a structurally complex building which remained in use until 1852. Burials recovered from within the church included a medieval interment accompanied by a pewter chalice, probably the remains of a former rector and master of the hospital. Areas of open ground were subject to a very high density of post-medieval burial with resultant disturbance to earlier graves. Displaced skeletal remains present in the back-fill of the later graves include some notable pathological abnormalities.

Finds: C.E.M.
Final Report: to be decided.

14. Colchester, 14-15 West Stockwell Street (TL 99602541)
C. Crossan, C.A.T.
Trial excavations revealed an early sequence of Roman street metalling at the junction of insulae 3, 4, 11 and 12. Elsewhere on the site Roman levels were found to have been removed by later pits and terracing activity. At the West Stockwell Street frontage an absence of evidence of medieval building may be a significant indication that occupation in the lower region of the street did not reach a high density until the post-medieval period.

Finds: C.E.M.
Final Report: Colchester Archaeol. Rep.

15. Cressing, Cressing Temple (TL 799187)
N. Brown, E.C.C.

Work during 1989 consisted of the prior excavation by hand of a number of contractors trenches, and trial trenching within the walled garden.

Contractors trenches: a trench (CT9, 1 and 2, Fig. 2) for a new electricity supply running from the boundary of the site along the north edge of the west moat, to the Wheat Barn revealed little. Successive layers of surfacing for two tracks were recorded. One of these is still in use and the other, although now grassed over, was in use until quite recently. There was also some indication that the west moat may once have extended further north. A succession of layers relating to a 19th and 20th century bullock yard was recorded in another electricity trench (Fig. 2, CT9.4) running between the Wheat Barn and the house. A sewer trench from the new toilet block by the granary to the septic tank mainly follow

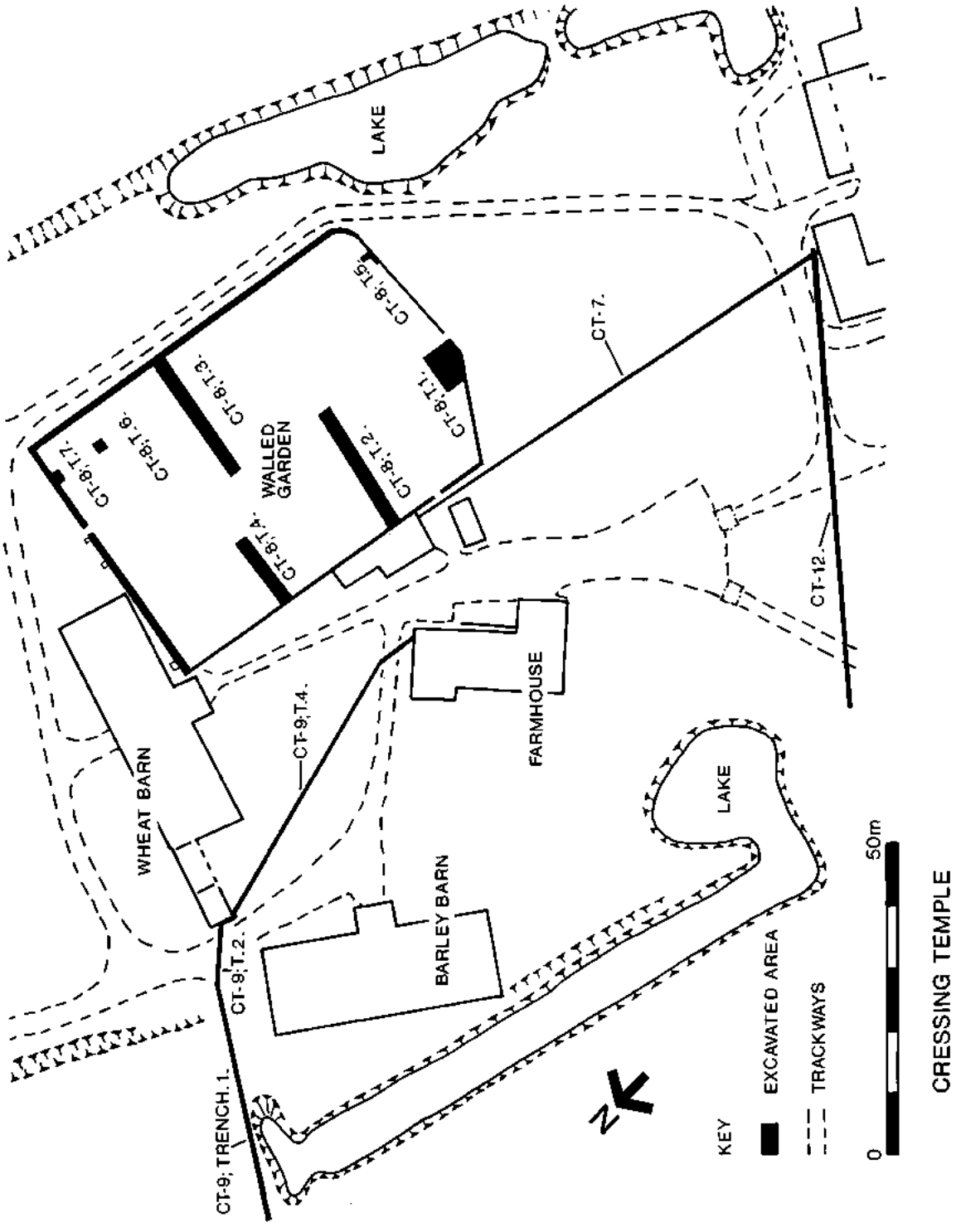

Fig. 2 Cressing Temple. Location of trenches.

ed the line of an existing track. It revealed little apart from the surfacing for the track. However, where it crossed the lawn at the front of the site, a rough cobbled surface, possibly post-medieval, was revealed. A trench for a water supply to the toilet block (Fig. 2, CT7) between the walled garden and granary, uncovered a series of walls, drains, layers, ditches, and pits throughout its length. These ranged in date from 12th century to post-medieval.

Walled Garden: Seven trial trenches were excavated within the 16th century walled garden, to assess the survival of earlier garden layouts and the extent of any underlying early medieval features. A pattern of 19th century gravel paths, drains and beds was revealed across the whole garden. These paths can be seen to relate to those shown on the 1st edition 25" OS map of 1875, and to some extent influenced the present garden layout. In the southern part of the garden a series of beds, cultivated soils and other features survived, some apparently of 16th century date. A wide brick-paved walkway ran parallel to the south and west walls. This paving was left *in situ* in the trenches at the south end of the garden, with a view to examining a large area in the next season. To the north, the paving had been largely dug out, probably in the 19th century. At the south end of the garden, beneath the 0.3-0.5 m of stratified garden deposits, a variety of features cut into the chalky boulder clay were revealed. These ranged in date from Late Bronze Age to post-medieval and included large pits which produced Hedingham ware and other early medieval pottery together with quantities of slag and/or furnace lining. Very few subsoil features were present in the northern part of the garden. On the east side a substantial brick wall (0.5 m wide) was traced running parallel to the east garden wall and cut at both ends by the north and south garden walls. The foundation trench produced 16th-century pottery. Further contractors trenches will be excavated in 1990 and it is planned to excavate a larger area in the south-west corner of the garden to examine the earlier garden layouts and explore the nature of the underlying early medieval features.

Previous Summaries: Gilman (ed.) 1989, 161-2.
Finds: E.C.C.
Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

16. East Tilbury, Coalhouse Fort (TQ 691768)
J.P.J. Catton, T.M./Coalhouse Fort Project.
Further excavation of the 1874 dry ditch defences resulted in the removal of *c.* 1.5 m of river clays. They had been used to backfill the ditch in the late 19th century during the addition of a protective earthen embankment along the west side of the fort. In the southern area, where re-excavation is taking place, the limit of levelling of the ditch allowed for at least four 12.5" R.M.L. guns to be fired from their blast-proof armoured casemates. Few artefacts were recovered from the river clay fill, which contained numerous mollusc remains. The two vertical, semi-circular ragstone retaining walls opposite the caponier have been located, but appear to have lost their dressed ragstone finish. Approximately 2 m of infill now remain. This should contain the debris of the garrison from 1874-1900 and the base of two caponiers, demolished during the infilling operation, which are sited by the open battery and casemate No. 1.

Previous Summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1986, 160; 1988, 264.
Finds: T.M.

17. Foulness, Havengore Island and New England Island (TQ 98NE)
R.W. Crump, A.W.R.E. (Foulness)
Fieldwalking resulted in the identification of six probable ploughed-out red hills. Many fragments of pottery have been recovered and a quantity of briquetage. Five of the sites are on Havengore Island and one on New England Island.

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

18. Goldhanger, Chigborough Farm (TL 880081)
M. Waughman and M. Beamish, E.C.C.
The second season of excavations at Chigborough Farm was begun with the next phase of topsoil stripping. An area measuring 130 m by 45 m was cleared but because of pressure from the gravel company many features could not be fully excavated in the time available. A number of shallow pits produced Neolithic flintwork and pottery. However, the principal features related to Late Iron Age and early Roman agricultural activities, and included part of a Late Iron Age rectangular ditched enclosure. The interior of the enclosure was virtually devoid of features apart from a few scattered post-holes and a large pit, waterlogged at the bottom, which may have been a well. Outside the enclosure, fence lines and small fenced enclosures were of both Late Iron Age and early Roman date. Field boundary ditches, although backfilled in the Roman period, may have been Late Iron Age in origin. A large pit, possibly a gravel quarry, containing Late Roman debris and a small hearth feature containing Beaker pottery were also found, but nothing else of similar date.

A small area (10 × 5 m) was opened by hand on the edge of a field under crop immediately to the north of the 1988 excavation, to look for the remainder of the postulated Neolithic building (Gilman (ed.) 1989, 162). A line of five post-holes was found running parallel to what was thought to be the southern edge of a building found last year. This probably formed the northern edge of the building which was rectangular and measured 11 × 5 m.

Previous Summaries: Gilman (ed.) 1989; Wallis 1989.
Finds: E.C.C.; to go to C.E.M.
Final Report: East Anglian Archaeol.

19. Great Chesterford, Newmarket Road (TL 505430)
S. Wallis, K. Cassidy and P. Dey, E.C.C./G.C.A.G.
Watching brief on gas pipe-laying revealed parts of the Late Roman walled defences beneath Newmarket Road. It seems that the present road runs on the line of the wall between

'Walcot' and just south of 'The Manse'. Much of the wall has been robbed but some structural material survived intact.

Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

20. Great Chesterford, South Street (TL 508427)
S. Wallis and P. Dey, E.C.C./G.C.A.G.
Part of an area of housing development between South Street and the River Cam was examined. The site lies within the area of Roman settlement, between the fort and the walled town. Much of the site was covered by 20th-century levelling deposited to prevent flooding. However, within an area of 25m², excavation was possible. Part of a wall, aligned east-west, was found which had been robbed and backfilled in the 2nd century A.D. A small pit contained much of a St. Neots ware vessel, and was dated to the 10th or 11th century. A dog burial of uncertain date was also found.

A watching brief, largely carried out by Col. Peter Dey of the G.C.A.G. followed during the digging of house footings. A large pit and at least one layer of Roman date were observed, as was a well of uncertain date and post-medieval features, probably associated with the recent industrial use of the site.

Finds: E.C.C.; to go to S.W.M.
Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

21. Great Totham, Slough House Farm (TL 873091)
S. Wallis, E.C.C.
A second, final season, of rescue excavation took place in advance of mineral extraction. The excavation of the Iron Age settlement was completed (Gilman 1989, 163). Six round houses, not all contemporary, several lengths of curved gully, small structures, and numerous pits were found, as was evidence for iron working. Features investigated in the western half of the site included: a Neolithic pit; a Middle Bronze Age ring ditch; remains of Late Bronze Age and Late Iron Age/Early Roman settlement; evidence of Saxon activity; and two further wells. One had a collapsed square wooden shaft which had been replaced by a piece of hollowed-out tree trunk. Dendrochronology has dated this well to the 6th century A.D., and has dated a well previously thought to be Roman (Wallis 1989, 42) to the early 7th century A.D. The field system revealed by aerial photography was dated to the Iron Age. A large triangular feature visible on the aerial photographs is interpreted as a Roman quarry, probably to provide cobbling for the adjacent trackway.

Previous Summaries: Gilman (ed.) 1989; Wallis 1989.
Finds: E.C.C.; to go to C.E.M.
Final Report: East Anglian Archaeol.

22. Harlow, Brenthall Park (TL 4709)
R. Harold, E.C.C./H.M.
This project has been initiated following a planning proposal by a development consortium to construct approximately 3,500 new homes on a 400 acre site in Harlow. All areas not under crop or pasture (*c.* 250 acres) have been fieldwalked on 20 m transects aligned on the National Grid. In addition, a watching brief was maintained during the excavation of 80 geological test pits by the developers. Preliminary analysis of the results suggests only limited surface evidence for past occupation. The bulk of the finds are 16th century or later, and include possible remains of kiln structures. Further analysis may identify possible kiln sites related to the important local Metropolitan ware industry. Controlled excavation of such a kiln site is one of the main targets for the project. Only a handful of sherds predate this period, but include medieval, Roman and prehistoric fragments. An assemblage of *c.* 100 flints is, on initial examination, largely Mesolithic (Hazel Martingell, pers comm) and exhibits at least one cluster which may be significant.

Finds: H.M.
Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

23. Harlow, St. John's Church/Market Street (TL 471116)
R. Bartlett, H.M.
A watching brief was carried out on land to the east of St. John's Church, Old Harlow, during building works. Numerous 19th-century sand pits, many containing 18th-mid 19th century pottery, were noted. These may reflect commercial sand extraction or backfilling. Earlier material was recovered, including a small number of Neolithic flint tools (scrapers and blades). A few medieval pottery sherds were also found, but no features.

Finds: H.M.

24. Hatfield Peverel, Hatfield Peverel Priory (TL 79731098)
D. Andrews, E.C.C.
Two test pits were excavated within the scheduled monument on the south side of the church in the area of a proposed church extension. The church was originally that of the Benedictine Priory, and this area was occupied by the cloisters. After the Reformation, a Tudor mansion was built on the site. A very little residual prehistoric and Roman pottery was found. Nothing was discovered that related to the priory, apart from some possibly early medieval pottery, and some building debris. It is clear that the mansion effectively erased the remains of the priory. It also seems to have had cellars. However, there is a chance that its foundations survive and incorporate some of the priory walls.

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

25. Henham (TL 5544023293)
R. Havis, E.C.C.
See this volume, p.143-4.

26. Horndon-on-the-Hill, Corner of High Street and Mill Lane (TQ 66998333)
D. Andrews, E.C.C. and J.P.J. Catton, T.M.
Trial trenches were dug on this vacant plot, formerly the site of Mount House. The natural was stiff yellow clay, found at a depth of 1 m. Above this, in one trench, there was a gravelly layer, overlain in this and the other trenches by an extensive deposit of brown loam with much peg tile, plaster or mortar, shellfish remains, and other domestic refuse. Pottery from this deposit was mainly 15th century, though some residual sherds, including Mill Green ware, were present. These layers are not quite what would be expected in a backlands position, and it is probably that they are to be associated with a market place, which has subsequently been infilled. The existence of a market place can anyway be inferred from the nearby Market Hall and the shape of the house plots.

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

27. Ilford, (London Borough of Newham), Uphall Camp (TQ 43808500)
P.A. Greenwood, P.E.M.
Continued work in 1989 included the rest of the areas uncovered in 1984 and 1987-1988 as well as a watching brief lasting some 9 months. A total of 10 definite round-houses, 6-7 'four posters', 2 penannular enclosures and at least 3 rectangular structures, all dating to the Middle Iron Age have been found. The Roman military structure is some 82 × 54/61 m in size and dates to the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. New evidence for Roman activity includes ditches and a possible burial in the 1st-2nd century A.D. Roman conquest period material with quantities of Late Iron Age coarse ware fills the upper layers of the *c.* 6 m wide and *c.* 2 m deep defensive ditch on the west side of the Camp. This indicates that the ditch of the Middle Iron Age fort was re-used at the time of the Roman conquest. Further work on the south-west corner of the site is anticipated in 1990. Traces of earlier activities on the site include a small enclosure, possibly Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age in date.

Previous Summaries: Wilkinson 1978; Priddy (ed.) 1984-5, 128; 1988, 265; Greenwood 1988; Greenwood 1989; Gilman (ed.) 1989, 164.
Finds: P.E.M.
Final Report: P.E.M. Monograph

28. Latton, Harlow Temple (TL 468123)
R. Bartlett, Harlow Museum
The final season of work concentrated on the eastern half of the temple courtyard up to and including the outer wall of Room H. Post Roman/Early Saxon occupation was recognised to the north of the site associated with an earthfast post structure. This lay above Roman destruction levels and presumably reflects sub-Roman squatting on the site, possibly in the remains of a building. Several phases of cobbling and ballast make-up covered most of the site dating from the 1st-4th centuries A.D. Beneath the earlier levels was a large oval depression, now recognised as an Early Bronze Age pond barrow, with associated cremation burials. The Mesolithic working floor, partially excavated in 1988, was traced further eastwards until it was disturbed by the Bronze Age barrow.

Finds in 1989 included bronze and gold priestly regalia, three miniature, votive 1st-century A.D. swords, a miniature votive breast in bronze and ivory, 1st-century A.D. horse/cavalry fittings and 73 'Belgic' coins, plus 1st-century A.D. brooches and metalwork. Substantial amounts of Mesolithic-Bronze Age flint tools were recovered including a Mesolithic axe/adze. Some blades of Upper Palaeolithic date were also found.

Previous Summaries: France and Gobel 1985 (1962-71 excavations); Priddy (ed.) 1986, 161; 1987, 107; 1988, 265; Bartlett 1988a; Bartlett 1988b; Gilman (ed.) 1989, 164.
Finds: Harlow Museum
Final Report: East Anglian Archaeol.

29. Little Wakering, Abbotts Hall (TQ 928883)
R.W. Crump, A.W.R.E.
This timber-framed farmhouse was surveyed in advance of extensive restoration. The current house is late 17th/early 18th century, aligned east-west with external chimneystacks at each end. The front entrance faces south and leads into a small hallway with a stairway positioned centrally. An extension to the rear (north) seems to have been added before 1750 and would have made an 'L-plan'. There is also evidence at the rear for an outshot, which probably housed a kitchen and washroom. The outshot was replaced by a brick building in Victorian times, forming the present square plan. The timber-frame contains a considerable amount of re-used timber. Two ground-sill scarfs were found 'in situ'. This, together with several re-used floor joists with central tenons, suggests the former presence of a 15th-century structure.

Final Report: Essex J.

30. Maldon, Maldon Hall Farm (TL 830064)
N. Lavender, E.C.C.
A small rectangular cropmark enclosure, investigated in advance of a borrow pit for the Maldon By-pass, was found to be the site of a small enclosed cemetery, dating to the 1st century B.C. A central pit contained the remains of five fine pedestal urns and three small bowls. The burial also contained small fragments of bronze, and a silver brooch. This is the first enclosed cemetery of its type to be discovered in Essex, although similar cemeteries are known from Hertfordshire.

Finds: Private Possession
Final Report: Proc. Prehist. Soc.

31. Maldon, Southern Relief Road (TL 844056)
P.N. Brown, M.A.G.
The initial 1988 discoveries and subsequent trial trenching revealed a farming settlement which was established in the Late Iron Age and continued into the second half of the 3rd century (Gilman (ed.) 1989). Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age occupation was also recorded.

Area excavation was begun on the most imminently threatened of two concentrations of Roman activity identified in 1988. A trial trench was expanded to expose an area of *c.* 500 m^2. The predominant subsoil over the development site is clay with large gravel patches. This may explain the location of the settlement in the first instance. Most of the clay visible in the excavation seemed to be related to archaeological ditch or pit features. One prominent ditch had been backfilled with clay and many ditches appeared to be lined with clay. The latter is difficult to understand given the care and effort which would have been required, and its purpose is not obvious.

A well sealed burnt layer in one ditch and evidence from other features suggested the site had suffered at least one extensive burning. Three large animal jawbones at the bottom of ditch segments included one identified as ox. The roller-stamped flue tile fragment previously identified as a Chelmsford die, has now been recognised, by Ernest Black, as an example of 'Die 5a' (Lowther 1948). Pottery from the site includes over 80 Samian ware sherds. All three Gaulish production centres are represented, although most are Central Gaulish. There is one example of 1st Century B.C. Arretine Arrezzo pottery. An amphora/flagon handle has a maker's mark 'PIRP.C', which is not listed in Callender (1965).

Previous Summaries: Gilman (ed.) 1989, 164.
Finds: M.A.G.
Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

32. North Shoebury, (TQ 933866)
K. Crowe, S.M.
A watching brief has been maintained for most of 1989 during the housing development at North Shoebury. Some prehistoric flintwork was recovered from fieldwalking prior to development but no archaeological features could be seen in the sections of foundation trenches. An Early Bronze Age low-flanged axe was found by a metal detector in the top-soil but no other material has been recovered so far.

33. Pleshey, Folly Farm (TL 66371447)
R. Isserlin, E.C.C.
See this volume, p.123.

34. Prittlewell, Prittlewell Priory (TQ 877874)
K. Crowe, S.M.
A watching brief was maintained in January 1989 during the laying of a new gas supply to the Priory Museum. The pipe-trench was aligned approximately west-east to enter the front wall of the Priory. A single stone (septaria, chalk and limestone) wall foundation was cut by the trench. The wall, *c.* 1 m wide, is probably of monastic date, but no dating evidence was uncovered. Previous watching briefs at the Priory, in 1985, during electric cable laying, recorded walls and a fireplace/hearth of the monastic kitchen to the south-west of the refectory.

Interim Reports: Southend Museum Archive Report
Finds: S.M.

35. Purleigh, (TL 811024)
S. Potter
Placename and documentary evidence indicates the former existence of a pottery kiln in the area of this N.G.R. Fieldwalking located a scatter of post-medieval, tile, and brick including many sherds fused to tile by glaze. All the pottery seems to date from the 17th century, a period when potters are reasonably well-documented in the parish.

Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

36. Rainham, Tesco Site (TQ 52108240)
F.M. Meddens, P.E.M.
Two trenches were excavated as part of Phase I of this site. The aims were the dilimitation of the northern edge of medieval Rainham, environmental reconstruction of the prehistoric marsh environment and assessment of prehistoric exploitation of the marsh area. Part of an early stream-bed of the Ingebourne River was exposed, revealing extensive peaty marsh deposits. Drainage and boundary ditches, and pits were also observed. These, where datable, were Late Iron Age to early Roman. The small amounts of animal bone recovered included disproportionate amounts of dog. Samples of pollen and insect remains are currently undergoing environmental analysis.

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

37. Rayleigh, 91 High Street (TQ 805906)
R. W. Crump, A.W.R.E.
Survey of this building has identified an early dwelling of *c.* 1350, aligned east-west. A crown-post roof and traces of a first-level floor survive from this phase. This structure may be the remains of a central hall with north and south wings, of which the south wing may have survived. Alterations in the 17th century included an additional building, aligned north-south, and the insertion of a chimney-stack at the east end of the early structure. The top plates in the 17th-century addition are jointed with face halved and bridled scarf joints.

Final Report: Essex J.

38. Sheering, Parish Hall (TL 50831373)
D. Andrews and D. Priddy, E.C.C.
See this volume, p.119.

39. South Benfleet, Badger Hall (TQ 794875)
K. Crowe, S.M.

A small collection of flints was brought into Southend Museum for identification. They had been collected from the owners garden in South Benfleet over a period of about 6 years, but only in May 1989 were they brought to the Museum.

The collection comprises two tranchet axes, blade cores, scrapers, micro-burins, and debitage indicative of a Mesolithic flint working site. A full report is in preparation. It is hoped to visit the site to undertake limited archaeological investigation.

Finds: Private possession
Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

40. Stanway (TL 95452255)
D. Shimmin, C.A.T.

Rescue excavation in advance of gravel extraction continued on a series of large Iron Age ditched enclosures located immediately west of Gryme's Dyke and about ¾ mile from the Gosbecks settlement. Further pits were excavated in the two western enclosures, including Middle Iron Age features as well as those dating from the 1st century A.D. when the Iron Age oppidum was at its height. Finds include a fragmentary Late Iron Age bucket with iron and bronze binding from a pit in the largest enclosure.

Previous Summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1988, 270; Gilman (ed.) 1989, 168.
Final Report: Colchester Archaeol. Rep.
Finds: C.E.M.

Stansted Airport Project (Fig. 3)
H. Brooks and R. Havis, E.C.C.

41. Stansted, Airport Social Club (SCS) TL 523224 (Fig. 4)

Further work on this multi-period site following winter 'weathering' revealed a few more small features. Of interest was a group of post-holes which, although not forming a strictly rectangular arrangement, could be interpreted as a late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (LBA/EIA) six-poster structure, measuring 5 m × 2 m. The double-ditched Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age trackway was detected 2 m beyond the west edge of the site. It could not be followed any farther west because of a concrete roadway and an area of hard standing, beyond which was a field disturbed by World War II buildings.

Further work on a *c.* 3 ha. area, previously stripped by contractors on the northern, eastern and southern sides of the excavated area, revealed a continuation of the Late Iron Age/Roman enclosure ditch to both north and south. Running roughly parallel with it were a further three or four

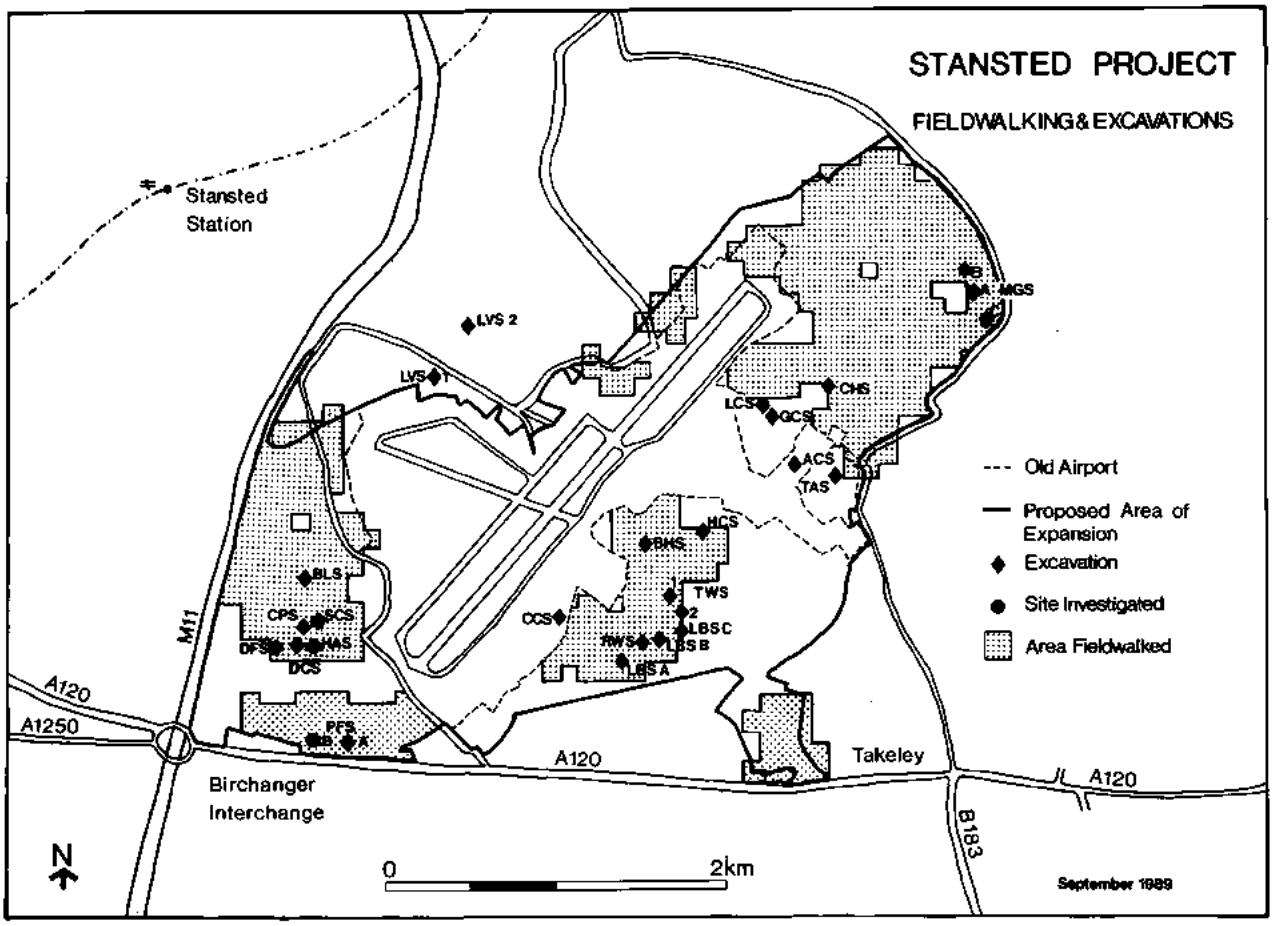

Fig. 3 Stansted Airport. Location of sites.

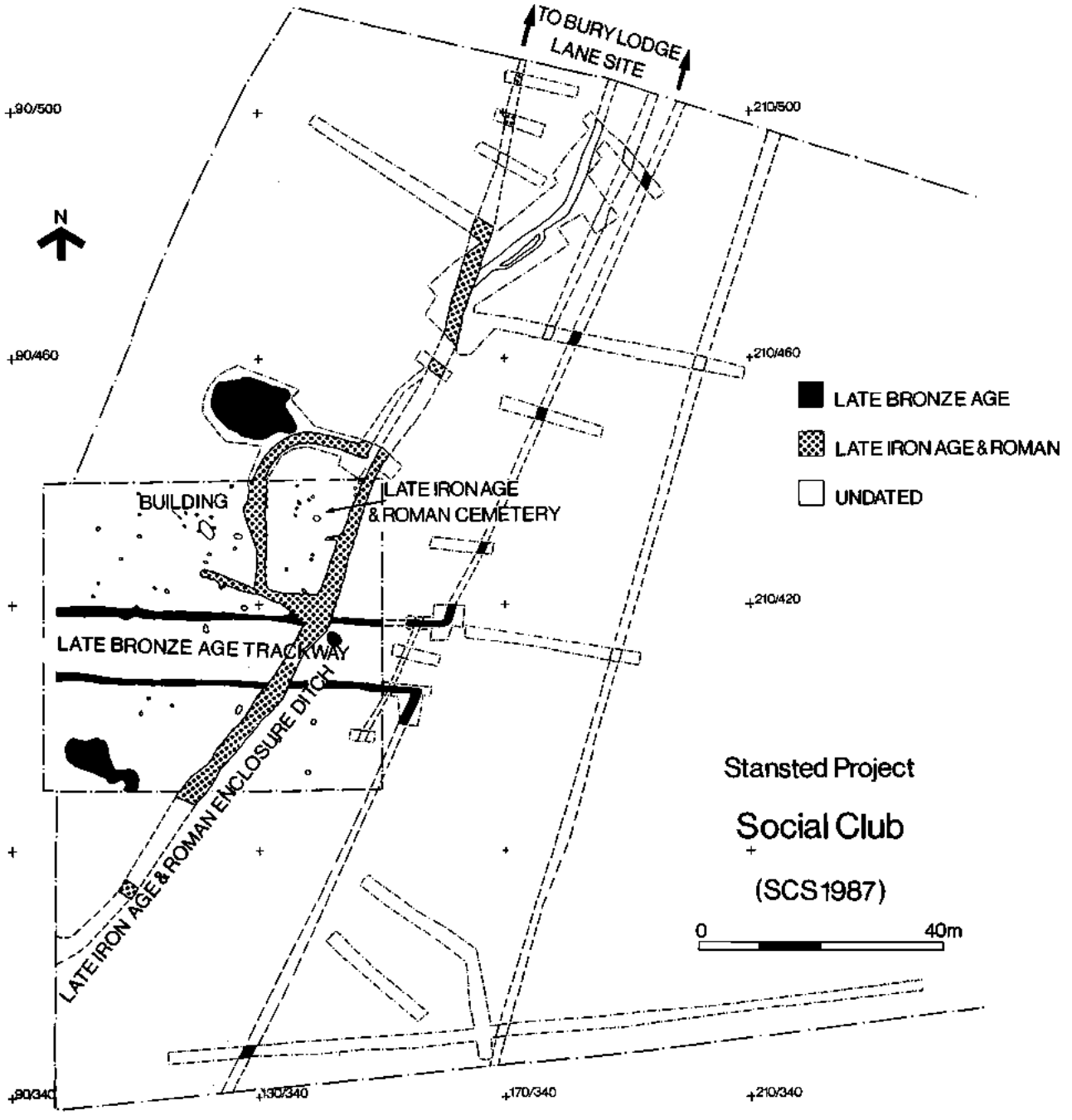

Fig. 4 Stanstead Airport. Excavated plan of the Airport Social Club site.

ditches. Some of these are undated, but one was a continuation of the terminal ends of the late Bronze Age double-ditched trackway. Two points arise from this: firstly, there seems to have been a continuity of this north-south boundary position from LBA/EIA through to Roman; and secondly, that the ditches continue north off the site, and, when they emerge beyond a modern road, appear to adjoin the Late Iron Age and Roman site at Bury Lodge Lane (20 m north), thus providing a wider archaeological landscape to which the excavated sites can be related.

The enclosing ditch around the group of Late Iron Age/Roman cremations curved back to meet the large enclosing ditch, suggesting that it had been 'tacked on' to the inside face of the earlier ditch or its bank. A group of four posts at the northern edge of the cemetery enclosure may have had a funeral function, although this cannot be proved.

Previous summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1988, 270; Gilman (ed.) 1989, 165.

42. Stansted, Bury Lodge Lane (BLS) TL 523226

Further, limited excavation was done on this site. The principal features were a Late Iron Age ditch enclosing an area of *c.* 0.3 ha. (within the excavated area), which was surrounded by a later, more rectangular Roman ditch. Adjoining the south edge of the Roman ditch (or possibly cut by it) are

a number of other ditches which ran north off the adjacent Social Club site (see above). A group of post-holes on the south edge of the site could be the remains of a Bronze Age structure.

This site is rather enigmatic. Surface finds of Roman building debris suggested a Roman structure here. However, the enclosed area contained only a few pits, stretches of ditch or gully, and several areas of flint and chalk cobbling. It is unresolved whether there were buildings here which have been destroyed by the plough and only survive as patches of cobbling, or whether the enclosure was 'empty' and used primarily for stock keeping.

Previous Summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1988, 270; Gilman (ed.) 1989, 65.

43. Stansted, Long Border sites (LBS A-C) centred TL 543221

Contractors' topsoil stripping over an area of *c.* 6 ha. allowed an extensive watching brief to be undertaken, centred on the excavated medieval site at Round Wood (see previous summaries). The principal features located were Iron Age, Roman, medieval and post-Medieval field ditches, Iron Age and Roman cremations, and part of a Middle Iron Age circular gully, presumably part of a round house. A group of post holes found towards the northern edge of the site may be part of an outlying structure associated with the three timber buildings excavated at Round Wood.

44. Stansted, Lee Valley sites (LVS 1,2) TL 53032378, 53172400.

Watching brief work in advance of pipeline laying examined an 8-9 metre wide corridor. Two small sites were located, both associated with Iron Age pottery. Site 1 consisted of a number of pits and ditches; and site 2 three ditches or gullies. Other features along the route of the pipeline comprised:

TL 50511933: post medieval ditch, two Late Iron Age cremations, and a single Middle-Late Iron Age pit.
TL 50631873: two Iron Age ditches
TL 50901830: one Iron Age pit, one pit of unknown date.
TL 51081820: single pit, date unknown.
TL 51181761: one Late Iron Age pit, two gullies of unknown date.
TL 51181730: many features, from Middle-Late Iron Age through to post-medieval.
TL 50901690: one medieval pit.

45. Stansted, Hotel Site (HAS) TL 524221

A watching brief during adverse weather and in poor ground conditions recovered Roman (House of Constantine) and medieval (12th century long cross penny) coins.

46. Takeley, Thremhall Avenue (TAS) TL 555231

Watching brief work on an area of 0.3 ha. revealed a series of ditches, pits, gullies, and post holes, associated with Late Iron Age and Roman pottery. Identifiable structural elements included a fence line.

Finds: E.C.C.; to go to S.W.M.
Final Report: East Anglian Archaeol.

47. Thaxted, Church of St. John the Baptist (TL 61003100)

D. Andrews and D. Priddy, E.C.C.

A test pit was excavated in the south aisle of Thaxted Church preliminary to a proposed heating scheme, since abandoned. The natural was weathered chalk in a matrix of brown silty clay. Above this was a churchyard soil intensively used for burials. From it were recovered five 11-12th century sherds and one 13th-14th century one. Five graves were identified in the area of the trench, and sporadic bones were evidence of there having been more still. In view of the pottery, these burials are thought to pre-date the existing church. A level of infant and child burials only 400-500 mm below the floor were, however, interpreted as inhumations made inside the church.

Finds: S.W.M.
Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

48. Waltham Holy Cross, Abbey gardens (TQ 381006)

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

The possibility that an eastern chapel had been added to the apse-and-ambulatory church was investigated. Enough of the foundation trenches remained to define a rectangular chapel with semi-circular east end, some 21 ft (6.4 m) wide and 27 ft (8.2 m) long internally, and set axially on the end of the ambulatory of this Second Collegiate church or Church 4 of the whole sequence. Within the possible date range of *c.* 1090-1177 the preferred date of construction is *c.* 1124-1130. This is one of a group of three added chapels around the ambulatory. It is reasoned (K. Bascombe pers. comm.) that this chapel was built as a new setting for the Holy Cross of Waltham.

Church 2 is a stone building previously postulated to be a Brixworth-type plan with side porticus. To support this interpretation there ought to have been foundations for the chancel arch and of a squarish chancel as well; these were indeed found in the summer of 1989, with the chancel being just rectangular. Church 2 is the one to which Tovi brought the Holy Cross *c.* 1030. For Church 3, from *c.* 1053-1060, Harold changed to a square crossing and added north and south transepts for the first time. All that remains to be found is the precise form of any eastern extension. There is room for a small apse in unexcavated ground; this would have been used for Churches 2 and 3. If this is so the outline of Harold's church would compare with that of Old St. Peter's in Rome; it had been suggested that this model might have been in Harold's mind. With the information being collected it is hoped to lay out the line of the various churches.

Finds: W.A.H.S.; to go to E.F.D.M.
Final Report: Essex Archaeol. Hist.

49. West Ham (London Borough of Newham), Hubbard Street (TQ 391835)
K.J. MacGowan, P.E.M.
Hubbard Street forms the eastern boundary of the London Borough of Newham's Buildings Services Depot which is itself situated within the precincts of Stratford Langethorne Abbey. This is the third excavation to be conducted within the grounds of the Abbey. Previous investigations, in 1975 and 1983, were directed by P. Wilkinson. The latest excavation, to the east of those in 1975 and 1983, is funded by Newham Building Services in advance of the construction of a new depot building. A trench 30 m × 30 m revealed a sequence of yards, under which were two probable field boundaries and a field drain of early 19th-century date. To the south of these was a wooden drain of hollowed ash trunks held together with wire hoops. To the west were a number of pits connected by a gully. It is possible that these relate to the leather industry of the period after the dissolution of the Abbey. All these features cut a plough soil containing material from the Roman period until around the 18th century.

Previous Summaries: Priddy (ed.) 1984-5, 137.
Finds: P.E.M.

50. West Tilbury, Tilbury Fort (TL 651755)
P. Moore, P.E.M.
Excavations were carried out in the Place d'Armes of the eastern Covered Way and wooden structures were recorded, at low tide, on the north foreshore of the Thames. In the Place d'Armes four phases of building activity were visible in the southern salient walls.
1) a red brick wall built on a horizontal wooden beam, embedded in the pre-fort surface. It was greatly damaged by the foundations of:
2) a yellowy-brown brick wall and a 0.30 m thick chalk platform;
3) the foundation and concrete impression of an iron swivel post for a gun carriage, the gun embrasure, and possibly two larger U-shaped concrete platforms for the back of a gun carriage.
4) the final stage consisted of the embrasure being bricked up and the wall and earthern bank being raised by over 1 m.

Part of a 18 m × 8 m rectangular brick building was visible above ground and excavations showed that it had both concrete and rubble foundations. Where the concrete foundations were seen, five horizontal beams, each on two piles, were set into it, with joists running over them from under the exterior wall. The location, wall thickness and elaborate foundations suggest this may be the magazine built in this area in *c.* 1847.

On the foreshore a 6 m × 40 m pier was investigated at the south-east corner of the fort. Little remained of the eastern side, especially at the top of the foreshore, but on the western side two parallel rows of posts supported a row of vertical wattle hurdles, while at the southern end these hurdles were replaced by planks. The structure was filled with chalk blocks lying on a raft of hurdles. As this pier is only shown on 1780's maps of the remodelling of the SE defences, it may have been built to transport materials there, and then been razed afterwards. West of this is a concentration of wooden structures including an extant multi-phase causeway. Work, however, concentrated on a *c.* 55 × 35 m area of foreshore mud, where *c.* 1670 piles, posts and beams were recorded. Eleven structures and phases of piers, drainage sluices and the V-shaped 1670 bastion piling can be initially identified. Tree species include oak, pine, alder and elm, and dendrochronological examination of these species may help to distinguish all structures and phases here, where foreshore structures are known from at least the mid-16th to 19th centuries.

Previous Summaries: Gilman (ed.) 1989, 169.
Finds: P.E.M.
Final Report: Post-Medieval Archaeol.

51. West Tilbury, Tilbury Riverside (TQ 6475)
S. Wallis, E.C.C.
Earthworks surveyed in advance of construction of a ferry terminal included narrow ridge and furrow. Map research shows the area was marshland pasture until the late 18th century, indicating that the ridge and furrow resulted from drainage and cultivation in the late 18th/early 19th century.

52. North-East Essex, Aerial Photography
P. Adkins
A total of 14 hours flying was undertaken, grant-aided by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. The dry weather meant that a wealth of cropmarks was visible. It is too early to say how many new sites have been discovered, until the results have been checked against the County Sites and Monuments Record.

53. North-West Essex, Aerial Photography
P. Gilman, E.C.C.
See this volume, p.123-5.

Abbreviations

A.W.R.E.	A.W.R.E. (Foulness) Archaeological Society
B.A.H.S.	Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society
B.D.C.	Braintree District Council
B.M.	British Museum
C.A.T.	Colchester Archaeological Trust
C.E.M.	Colchester and Essex Museum
Ch.E.M.	Chelmsford and Essex Museum
E.C.C.	Essex County Council
E.F.D.M.	Epping Forest District Museum
G.C.A.G.	Great Chesterford Archaeological Group
H.M.	Harlow Museum
M.A.G.	Maldon Archaeological Group
P.E.M.	Passmore Edwards Museum
S.M.	Southend Museum
S.W.M.	Saffron Walden Museum
T.M.	Thurrock Museum
W.A.H.S.	Waltham Abbey Historical Society

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Archaeological Notes

A Neolithic axe from Southend

Ken Crowe

In 1986, a finely chipped Neolithic flint axehead was brought into Southend Museum for identification and subsequent donation. The axehead is in fine condition, with no detectable post-depositional damage (Fig. 1). It was found in the garden of the donor at TQ 905853 (Southchurch parish).

The implement is in a grey-brown flint, with fairly lustrous grey surface. It is 128 mm long, and the crescentic cutting edge measures 69 mm across. Bilaterally, it is fairly symmetrical, with noticeably concave sides. In profile, one face is a little more domed or crested than the other.

The axe may fall into Adkins and Jackson's type L.[1] It is now accessioned into Southend Museum's collections as A. 1986. 1.

Notes

1. Neolithic stone and flint axes from the River Thames, B.M. Occasional Paper No. 1 (1978)

A Shafthole Adze from Blackmore

Nick Merriman

Circumstances of Discovery

A stone shafthole adze was found by B. Farrow Esq, in December 1988 while walking in a field near Blackmore (TL 606012). The field is three-quarters of a mile south-east of the priory, at the east end of Wenlocks Lane (Fig. 2).

Description

The adze, classified as such following Roe (1979) has almost parallel sides and slightly convex ends (Fig. 3). It is 105 mm long, a maximum of 70 mm wide, 31 mm thick, and weighs 317 g. The shafthole, which has a minimum diameter of 17 mm, is not quite centrally placed, and its profile is not quite of hour-glass shape, as one of the openings is wider than the other. There is some later damage, possibly from a plough, in the form of a shallow cut on one face extending from the shafthole to the side. The adze has been assigned the Essex county number E67.

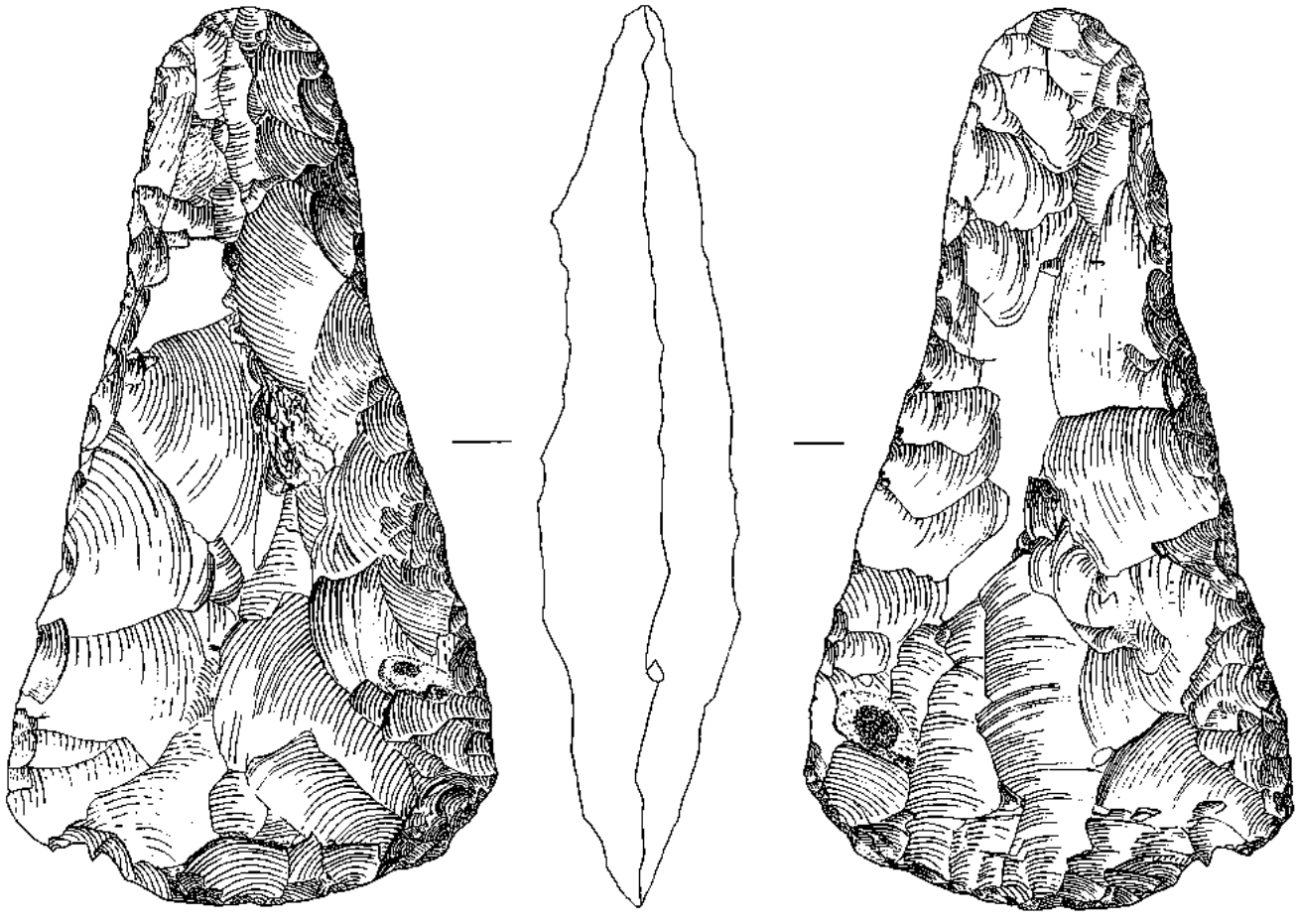

Fig. 1 Neolithic flint axe from Southend.

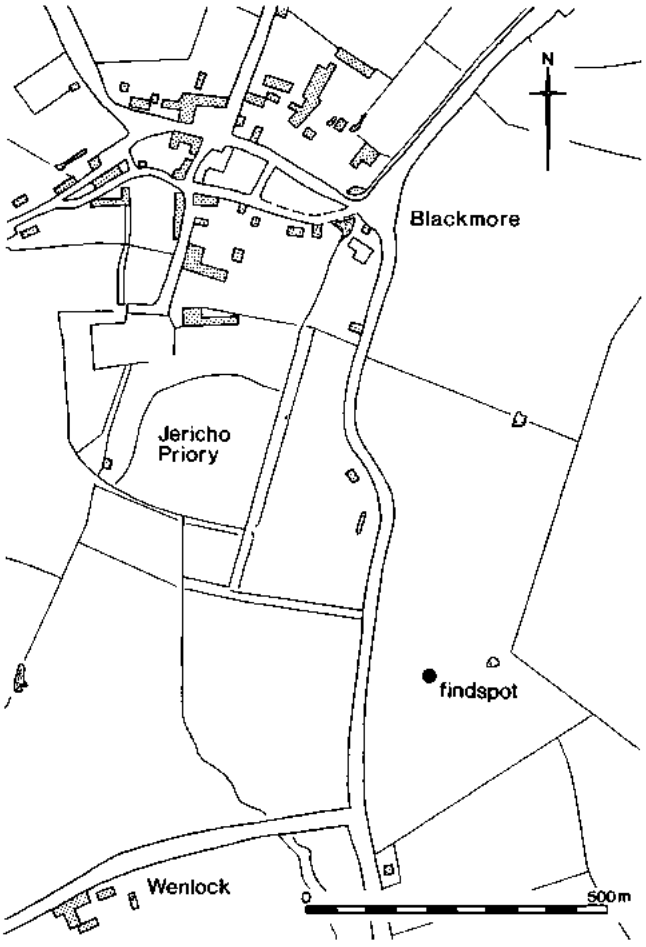

Fig. 2 Findspot of shafthole adze from Blackmore.

Petrology

A thin section of the adze was kindly prepared by Valerie Jones of the British Museum (Natural History) and examined by Dr. Alan Woolley. He found it to belong to Group XV, a micaceous sub-greywacke, which has a source in the southern Lake District. This rock, together with that of Group XVIII, seems to have been preferentially used for both shafthole adzes and axe-hammers (Roe 1979: 36).

Discussion

Shafthole adzes are relatively uncommon (*ibid*) and are broadly scattered across the country, with a slight cluster in south-eastern England, especially along the south coast. From Essex itself there is only one other definite shafthole adze (of coarse lithic sandstone) from Stanway (Clough & Cummins 1988: 177), although there are a number of implements classified earlier as maces and perforated hammers by Clough and Green (1972) which might now be classified as shafthole adzes.

The nearest concentration of shafthole adzes seems to be on the Thames, where there are examples recorded from Putney, ?Sunbury and Kingston, and from Dartford Heath in Kent, the latter recorded as Group XV on Roe's (1979) map, but described as greywacke in the fuller catalogue by Clough and Cummins (1988: 164). The closest adze definitely of Group XV is from Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire (*ibid*: 185). A glance at the distribution of Group XV products as a whole (*ibid*: 278) shows that the Blackmore adze

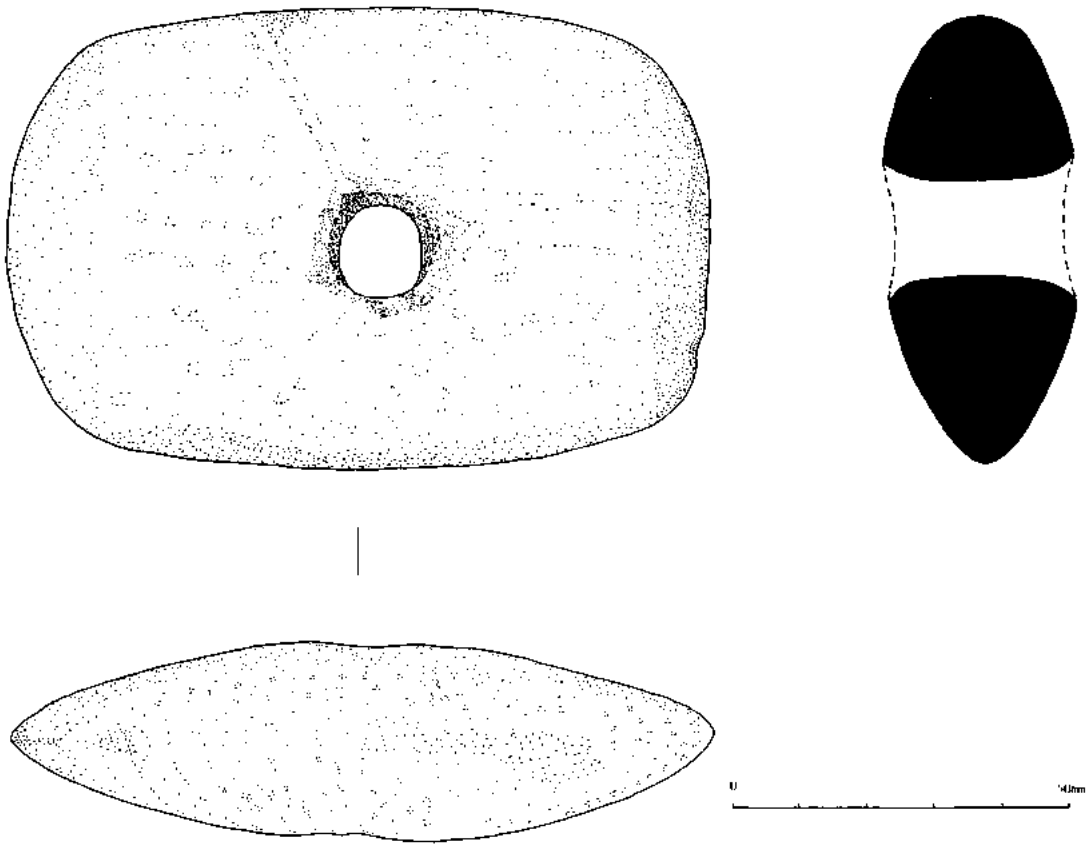

Fig. 3 Stone shafthole adze from Blackmore.

is the most south-easterly one in England, the only other Group XV product from Essex being an axe from Saffron Walden. However, the concentration of shafthole adzes on the south coast has not been petrologically identified, so this picture may be a false one.

Shafthole adzes have few secure associations, but Smith (1979: 16) argues that, because the same rock sources were used, they were being produced at the same time as battle axes and axe hammers, i.e. *c.* 1650-1250 b.c.

The adze has been retained by the finder.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank Brian Farrow for reporting the adze, and for allowing it to be studied. Thanks are also due to Valerie Jones and Alan Woolley for the petrological examination, to Christine Jones for the drawing of the adze, and Julie Carr for the map. Barbara Green kindly supplied details of other Essex finds.

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British Chariotry and Territorial *oppida*

by E.W. Black F.S.A.

In *B.G.* IV.33 Caesar described the skills and fighting tactics of British charioteers to his readers. He appreciated how they combined the mobility of cavalry and the staying-power of infantry (*Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in proeliis praestant . . .*), and how by daily experience and practice they could manoeuvre on difficult terrain and even run along the chariot-pole to the yoke and back into the moving chariot. In *B.G.* V.15-17 a fuller account is given of Caesar's encounters with British charioteers and again he stresses the difficulty that both his legionaries and his cavalry, separately, had in coping with them. It was only when the cavalry were supported by the legionaries that they won the day. Later, when Caesar had crossed the Thames, his opponent Cassivellaunus dismissed his forces except for 4,000 charioteers. With these he was able to contain the damage done by the advancing Roman army since Caesar could not risk his cavalry operating beyond the protection of his legionary column (*B.G.* V.19).

Professor Hawkes linked the great dyke systems which defended the Late Iron Age centre at Camulodunum with chariot warfare (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 15):

> The 'general idea' of a hill-fort is intensive defence of a single position against capture. But the 'general idea' of the dykes is extensive defence of a large tract against penetration; and its development in this period in Britain can readily be explained in terms of the British art of war. For, as history and archaeology alike record, the leading weapon of offensive warfare was the chariot; and it must surely have been against penetration by chariotry that these dykes were particularly designed.'

This view was correct, but it has been unfortunate that ever since commentators have thought of the chariot as an offensive weapon only. It was also a superbly effective defensive weapon as Cassivellaunus demonstrated to Caesar, and British territorial *oppida*, with their systems of dykes can only be understood when it is realised that they were designed to be defended by chariots.

As Hawkes rightly noted, the dykes were not for intensive defence, they were not ramparts to be lined with slingers or other defenders. Nor within the vast areas they enclosed is there evidence for the density of population to provide large numbers of defenders: arable fields and pasture comprised most of the interiors. At Verulamium a scatter of ditched enclosures representing farms can be identified (Hunn 1980, 27-8; Frere 1983, 3-4, Fig. 3), and a similar pattern is evident in the Gosbecks area of Camulodunum (Crummy 1988, 24-7).

The defences were designed as an obstacle to an attacking chariot force, but to achieve any advantage it was necessary for the defenders to retain the mobility they wished to deny to their enemy, i.e. the chief defending force had to be charioteers. It is clear from Caesar that the charioteers he encountered, who practised their skills daily, were professional warriors, not amateurs. A force of 4,000 of these specialists was available to Cassivellaunus. The territorial *oppida* are best explained by the need for British kings to maintain such a force of professional warriors; the land protected by the dykes had to be protected precisely because it was the produce of this land that supported the charioteers and their horses. Seen in these terms, the argument that the Chichester dykes were remodelled in successive stages to enclose less territory each time in the face of hostile pressure (Bradley 1971, 34) is a misconception: what was actually happening was the multiplication of defensive obstacles. In general the greater the need for larger permanent forces, the larger the area that had to be enclosed. Territorial *oppida* were not in any sense more urban than hill-forts; rather they reflect a specialised type of defensive warfare and its requirements.

The prototype of the territorial *oppidum* may be described by Caesar himself in *B.G.* V.9.3-7. Somewhere in east Kent he encountered British cavalry and charioteers at a river. They were driven back by the Romans and took refuge in a place which had outstanding natural and man-made defences (*locum nacti egregie et natura et opere munitum*) and which had been prepared for use in inter-tribal warfare. All the entrances (*omnes introitus*) were blocked with trees which they had felled and packed tightly together. Caesar described how small bands of Britons came out of the woods, attacked the Romans, and stopped them getting inside the

defences. It is clear that these woods were the natural defences to which he referred and that they must have been integrated with the man-made defences. The seventh legion formed a tortoise, built a mound against the man-made defences, captured the place and expelled the enemy from the woods.

The Britons who fought Caesar at the river were cavalry and charioteers and it seems most likely that it was they who made sallies against the attacking Romans. British infantry are not mentioned by Caesar and again it seems likely that it was dismounted cavalry and chariot-warriors defending the man-made defences who made it necessary for the seventh legion to form a tortoise as a protection against missiles.

Caesar elsewhere (*B.G.* V.21.2-4) describes the *oppidum Cassivellauni*. The use of *oppidum* immediately receives a gloss: what the Britons meant by an *oppidum* was thick woods fortified by a bank and ditch where they usually assembled to avoid any invasion (*oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt*). Cassivellaunus' *oppidum* had natural fortifications, woods and swamps (*silvis paludibusque munitum*). Caesar attacked at two points. This is significant: the defenders' tactical mobility using their chariots was largely neutralised because they had two attacking forces to deal with. The Britons soon fled from the *oppidum*.

Clearly Caesar encountered fortifications in Britain which differed from those in Gaul: he described one as a *locus* and he included a gloss on the *oppidum Cassivellauni*, distinguishing it from Gallic *oppida*. It is clear in both cases that woods and man-made defences were integrated. It seems likely that these were the direct predecessors of later 'territorial *oppida*' with multiple lines of defence.

Such 'extensive' systems of defence could respect the existing settlement pattern in a way that 'intensive' defences could not. This is best illustrated in the way that the farm at Gorhambury was respected by one of the dykes in the system at Verulamium (Grew 1980, 373-4). The Lexden tumulus and adjoining cemetery seem to have been respected in a similar way by the Lexden dyke at Camulodunum (pers. comm. P. Crummy), and there are peculiar 'salients' in dykes in the Chichester system which may represent deviations to enclose pre-existing features (Bradley 1971, 20, Fig. 6). As well as being defences, the dykes were boundaries to territories with a particular productive function, and so with some sort of legal or administrative unity, if not ownership. This explains their continued use and construction after the Roman occupation at Colchester.

The finding of a sherd of *terra sigillata* and a copy of a Claudian *as* below the bank of Gryme's Dyke at Colchester (Crummy 1986, 56) dates the construction of this most westerly dyke of the system to later than A.D. 43. The dyke cannot be regarded as a Roman military defence, and can only have been constructed as a boundary extending the territory, presumably a legal entity, marked by the earlier dykes but extending it in a visible and traditional manner. It may not be inappropriate to recall the passage in Tacitus (*Annales* XIV.31) where the veterans recently settled in their new colony of Colchester drove Trinobantes from their homes, and expropriated their fields, calling them captives and slaves, with the connivance of the soldiers who were present. Perhaps the construction of Gryme's Dyke was part of this process.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Nina Crummy for discussing with me the interpretation of Caesar's Latin, and for undertaking the typing of my manuscript.

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A Roman Site at Henham, Essex

R. Havis & M. Medlycott

This report describes the discovery of Roman material in two locations about 60 metres apart at Henham Reservoir, to the north west of Henham village (Fig. 4). Henham Reservoir lies at the bottom of a south-easterly facing slope; the subsoil is a mixture of sand and gravel with some patches of heavy boulder clay within it.

The first location was an area *c.* 70 m by 8 m, opened up by machine for the construction of a shallow holding pond for fish (TL 55440/23293). Conditions for archaeological recording were not ideal; topsoil had been removed, plus up to 30 cm of subsoil. Consequently, shallow features would have been lost, and all surviving features were truncated. Nevertheless, observations were possible over two days in October 1989; the area was cleaned as fully as possible, a plan made, and some features sampled rapidly for dating evidence (Fig. 5).

The best dating evidence is provided by contexts 2 and 12 (Fig. 5), which contained both a quantity of pottery and coins. Other contexts produced only a limited amount of pottery. A metal-detector survey was undertaken within the excavated area and in its vicinity, producing 11 Roman coins and some other metal objects, including a bronze bracelet, bits of sheet bronze and iron nails. The coins have a date range from *c.* 260-340 A.D. The pottery chiefly dates to the

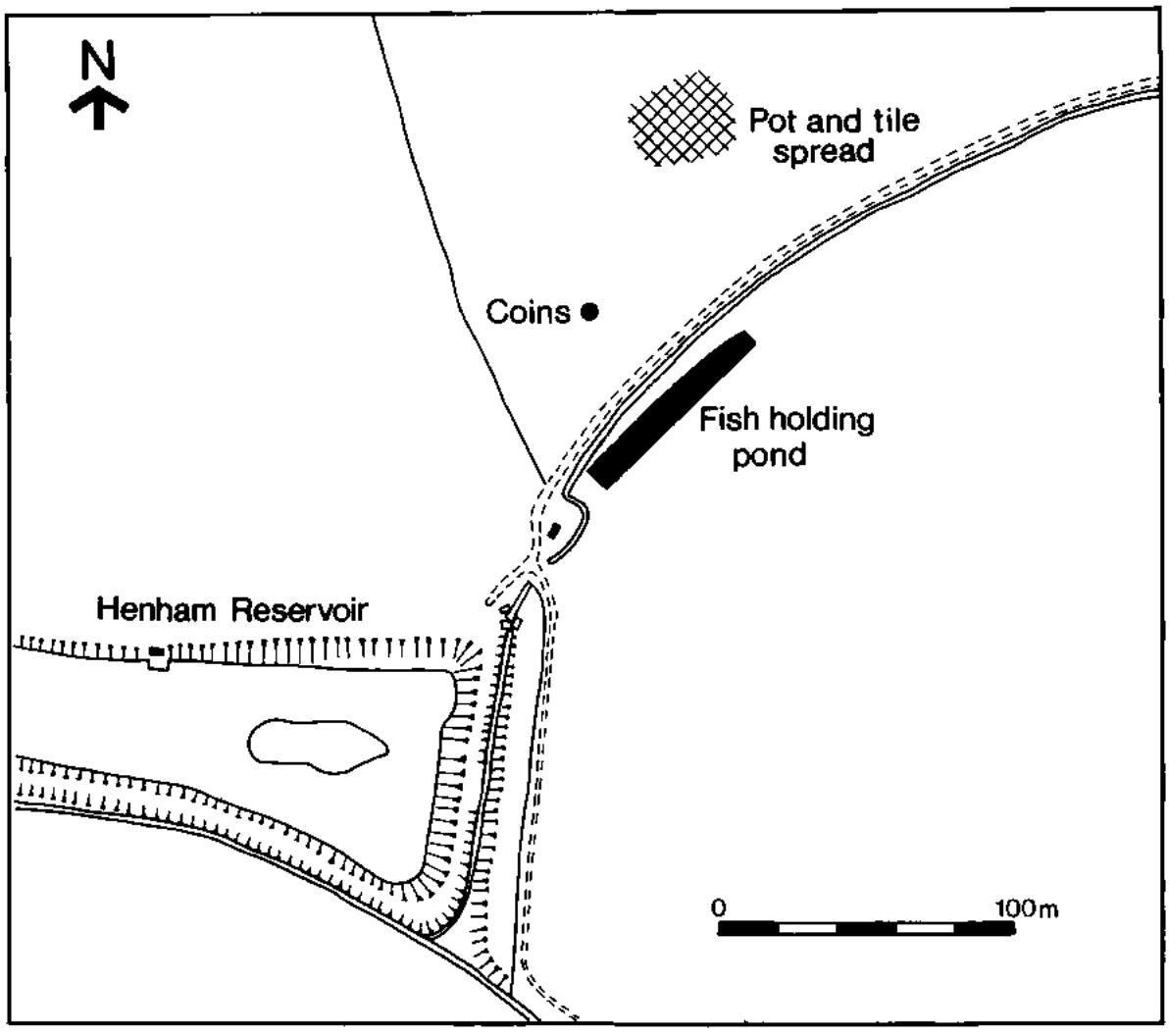

Fig. 4 Location map for Roman finds near Henham reservoir.

fourth century A.D., with a few exceptions, chiefly unstratified, dating to the beginning of the second century A.D.

The second location was in the ploughed field to the north-east of the holding pond (TL 55450/23295). It comprised a spread of flint rubble and Roman tile (see location map). Fieldwalking revealed the presence of large quantities of late Roman pottery as well as bone, flint flakes and oyster shell. Also visible were patches of a very black earth, containing a much higher concentration of pottery, these have been interpreted as features that have been hit by the plough. It is suggested that this spread of occupational debris represents a late Roman structure. The quantity of roofing tile, in comparison to the amount of flint rubble present, indicates that this structure was of timber construction with a tiled roof. Also present amongst the debris are several pieces of tesserae. The pottery and coins found in the plough soil date to the same period as the area of the holding pond, that is to the late third and early fourth century A.D.. However, a brooch was also found dating to the 1st century B.C./A.D., and a few sherds of pottery were also dated to this period.

These observations indicate late Roman settlement at Henham Reservoir. The presence of a few unstratified finds belonging to the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period suggests earlier activity in the vicinity.

A supporting-arm brooch from the field next to Cuton Hall, Springfield (TL 7347 0789)

Susan Tyler

A copper alloy supporting-arm brooch was discovered by Mr. Spooner, a member of the Chelmsford Metal Detecting Society, who lent the object for analysis and illustration (Fig. 6).

Copper alloy supporting-arm brooch with iron pin. Rectangular head with four horizontal grooves (two along the top edge and two along the bottom). At either end of the head are two perforated projections which would have held the iron axis bar of the pin; mineralised remains of the iron pin are visible in them. The bow is fairly long and narrow and undecorated. The foot has four notches on either side, three pairs of horizontal grooves and a slightly upturned end.

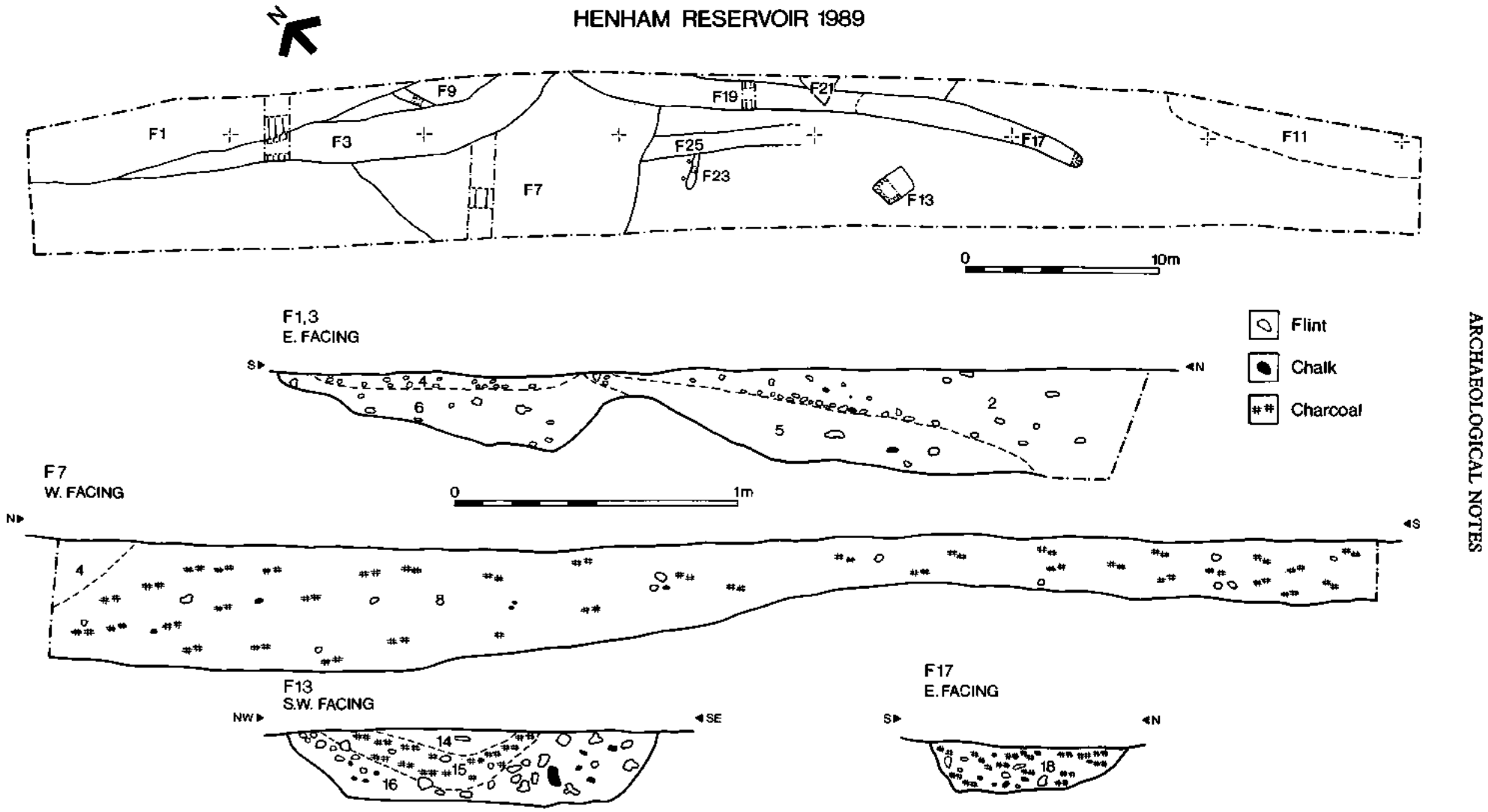

Fig. 5 Roman features near Henham reservoir: plans and sections.

The brooch is in good condition with only slight damage to the catchplate. Length: 39 mm; diameter of head 18 mm.

The brooch can be classified using Böhme's classification (Böhme 1974, 10-14) for supporting-arm brooches (*Stutzarmfibeln*). The Springfield brooch has the following characteristics which place it within Böhme's *Typ Perlberg*: brooches with a fairly rectangular headplate with a diameter of less than 25 mm, facetted bow and fairly narrow footplate. *Typ Perlberg* supporting-arm brooches are a rare form with Böhme listing only thirteen known examples in 1974 (Böhme 1974, 13), amongst which there are only two pairs.

The Springfield brooch has a narrow, longish bow which is plain in comparison with Continental examples of the type; it has no precise parallel on the Continent, but a very similar brooch has been recovered from excavations of the Early Saxon settlement at Mucking, Essex (Jones and Jones 1975, 161, fig. 55 no. 8). Most *Typ Perlberg* brooches are found in north Germany and northern Holland and these Essex examples can be seen as outliers, presumably brought across by early fifth century immigrants.

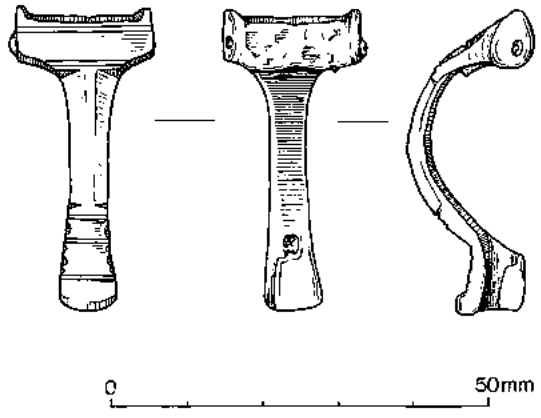

Fig. 6 Supporting-arm brooch from Springfield.

Objects found with these brooches have not yet given much help with their dating. The generally accepted date of manufacture is the first third of the fifth century with deposition sometime thereafter (M.G. Welch pers. comm.). As the Springfield brooch shows little sign of wear it was most probably deposited in the first half of the fifth century. It is worth noting the proximity of this stray find to the Early Saxon cemetery at Springfield Lyons, a mere 30 m to the north-east. The Springfield cemetery has produced brooches with dates of manufacture ranging from the middle of the fifth through to the middle of the sixth century, but no supporting-arm brooches (Tyler 1987, 18-23).

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Asheldham Church Revisited

by David Andrews and Martyn Smoothy

Introduction

In a classic demonstration of the archaeological potential of an unassuming parish church (Plate I), Drury and Rodwell (1978) have made Asheldham church of crucial importance to settlement history in Essex. Their 1975-76 excavations showed that the church was built over a Romano-British field system, a mid-Saxon settlement, and a late Saxon timber building, presumably a church. Nine phases of rebuilding and alteration of the existing fabric were also identified. Those excavations were occasioned by the conversion of the redundant church into a youth centre, and the construction of an extension on the north side of the nave. In 1989, the interior was re-ordered, and the extension was enlarged to the east, its construction being preceded by a full area excavation. The site of the new building was of particular interest as it lay within the area of the timber church postulated by Drury and Rodwell. Alterations to the interior of the church also provided the opportunity for some observations on its fabric.

The Excavations (Fig. 7)

Trench A on the north side of the chancel was excavated by hand in a series of arbitrary spits, as no stratigraphy was discernible, to a depth of 700 mm, stepping down in the east to 900 mm and then 1.1m, the limit of the raft foundation. The natural, a yellow-brown sandy gravel, was found in a small test cutting at a depth of 1.4 m. The soil in the area of the trench consisted of a dark brown loam which, apart from being increasingly sandy lower down, was uniform over the site. Ten graves were found, as well as one charnel pit. They comprised one infant, three children, one juvenile, four young adults and one mature adult. Much scattered bone was also found in the soil. Together with the articulated burials, it represented an estimated minimum of 31 individuals. The grave cuts were unrecognizable in the homogeneous soil. Only two of them had a stratigraphic relationship, and it is therefore impossible to place them in a temporal sequence. The composite section shows the level to which the graves were cut, which ranged from 400-900 mm below the modern ground surface, but in the absence of other data this does not help to explain the order in which they are dug. No traces were found of coffins, shroud pins or other artefacts associated with the burials. They cannot therefore be dated, but since the bones were relatively well preserved in an acid soil, and located on the north side of the church, they were probably post-medieval. Other features in trench A were a pit or post hole (500) previously excavated by Drury and Rodwell, and probably of no great antiquity since it overlay a grave; a soakaway (503) associated with

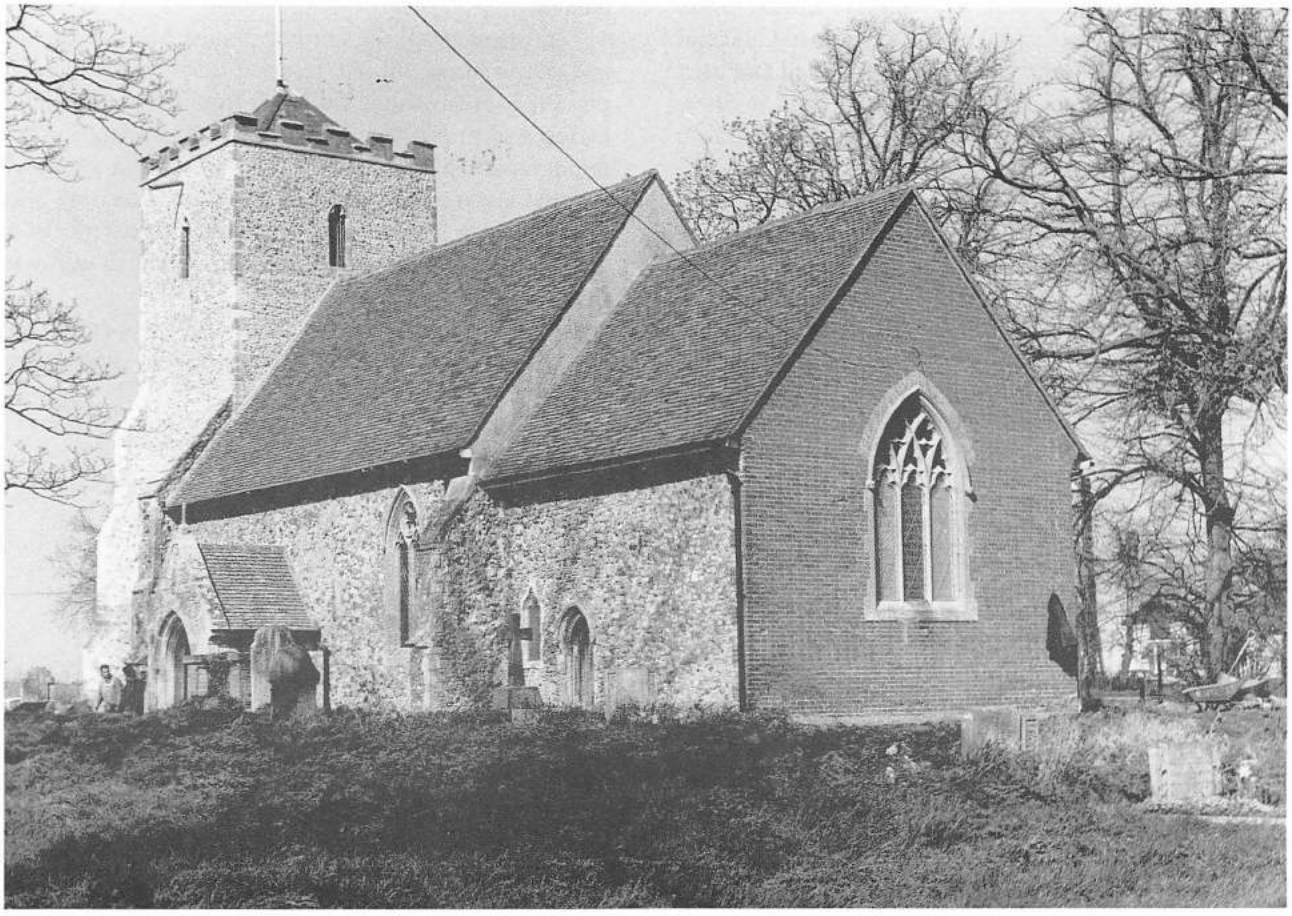

Plate I Asheldham church from the south-east.

the earlier extension; and Drury and Rodwell's trench (502), which had been excavated to a depth of *c.* 500 mm.

Where the trench butted the chancel, the 11th-12th century apse wall (55) could be seen running along the base of the wall and then turning southwards under it. It survived to a height of about two courses, and was made of septaria blocks of very variable size set in mid-brown sandy mortar. The wall rested on a layer of yellow clay (22) up to 150 mm deep sealing the foundations, which consisted of septaria lumps and flints in a matrix of brown sandy loam (23) filling a trench. The ground-plan of the apse was confirmed in trench B located adjacent to the east wall of the chancel, where it was found underlying the remains of the rectangular chancel dating probably from the 13th century. (The present chancel wall has been rebuilt a little to the west of this — see below). The south part (54) of the chancel wall foundations seemed to be a distinct build, butting that to the north (52) which at its northern end had been robbed (53). It was unclear which of these two builds was the earlier.

The Finds

29 sherds of pottery were found, none from a meaningful stratigraphic context. They comprised two fragments of Roman greyware, 17 Saxon sherds, six medieval and four of 19th-20th century date. Twelve of the Saxon sherds had predominantly vegetable temper, four had sand temper, and one shell temper. The only form was an everted rounded rim from a small globular cup. Dating by fabric types is difficult, but evidence from other excavated Saxon sites in Essex, most importantly Mucking (Hamerow 1988), suggests that a predominance of vegetable temper indicates a date in the second half of the period 450-800 A.D. Of the medieval sherds, four were early medieval shell-tempered ware datable to the 11th-12th centuries; one was a fragment of Mill Green coarse ware datable to the 13th century; and one a piece of 13th-14th century Colchester ware.

Building materials comprised five pieces of Roman tile (which it was noted occurred in the northern part of the chancel wall foundations, 52 and 53), a few pieces of dressed oolitic limestone, and a relatively large amount of pegtile. A small amount of window glass was found, including four late medieval fragments, two of them painted, from trench B outside the east wall of the chancel. These pieces, which are unusually thick, 3-4 mm, have weathered to an opaque brownish colour, and do not have the usual lamination and iridescence. Instead, the surface of the fragments is intact although much of their thickness has deteriorated and been chemically altered. The original colour is difficult to determine, but two seem to have been green and one reddish. The colour of the paint is also uncertain: today it is an off-white, in one case outlining reddish-brown bands. The fragments are too small for it to be possible to say what was depicted. The only other find of note was a piece of a flat Rhenish lava quern with a smooth grinding surface. It had a diameter of *c.* 500 mm, and was probably of 10th-13th century date.

Observations Inside The Church

Two holes dug for stanchion bases at the west end of the nave, on a line with the west jambs of the north and south doors, revealed a brown pebbly sandy loam overlying the orangey brown gravelly sandy subsoil. This was generally encountered at a depth of 900-1000 mm, but in places it was upstanding above this level and had clearly been cut into for burials, which seem to have been common inside the church.

In the chancel, the cutting of joist holes in the north and south walls for an inserted floor exposed splayed plastered reveals about 1.6-1.7 m from the east wall. They correspond in position with the rebuild evident in the external masonry 2.3 m from the east end, and are possibly related to the rebuilds of this end of the chancel (see below). Although they would seem to indicate the existence of window embrasures, the splay of that in the north wall was in the wrong direction for a window.

The church roof is ceiled in, but it was possible to inspect it. It was originally of seven cant scissor-braced

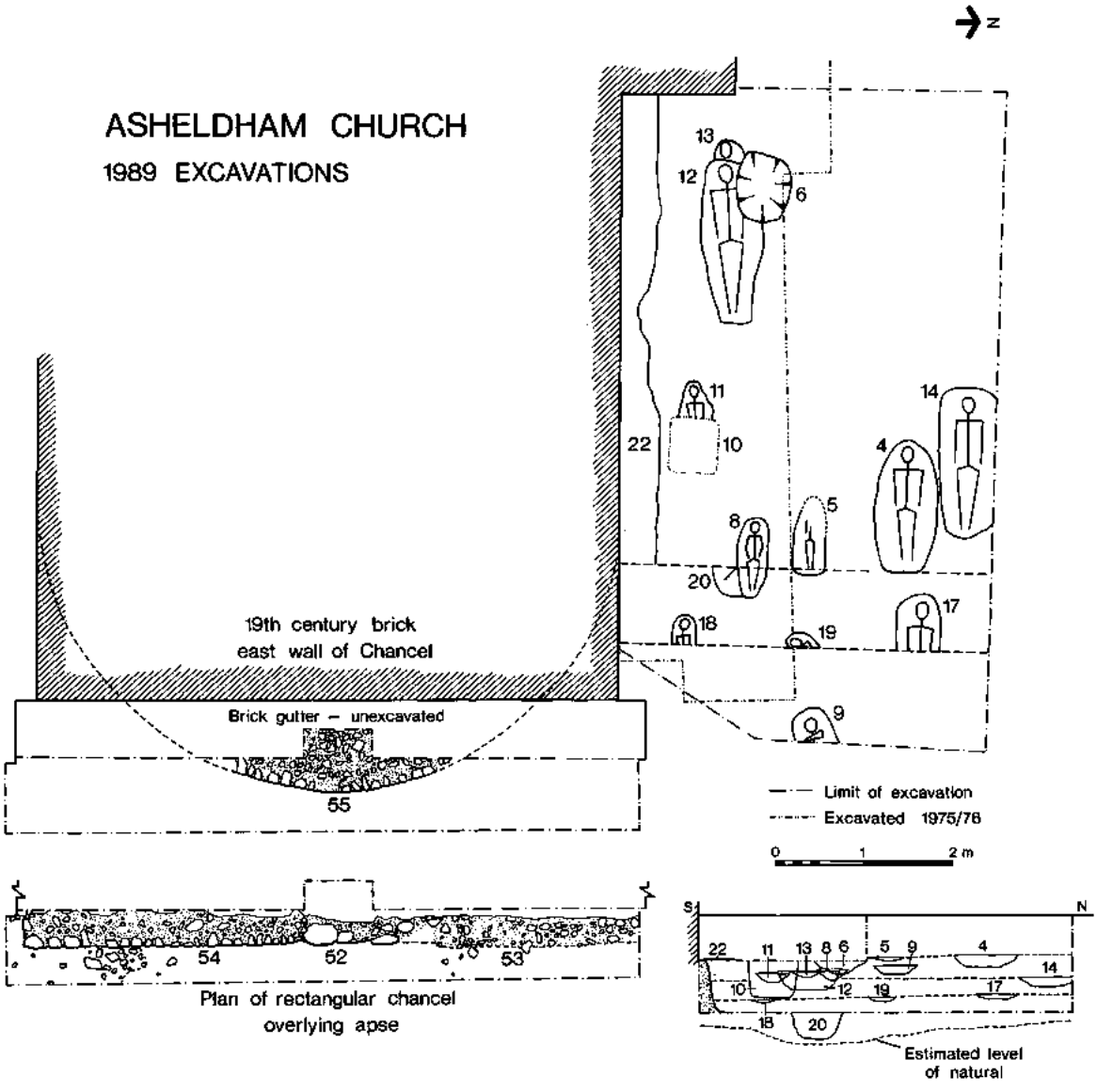

Fig. 7 Asheldham church. Plan of excavated areas, with a diagrammatic composite section.

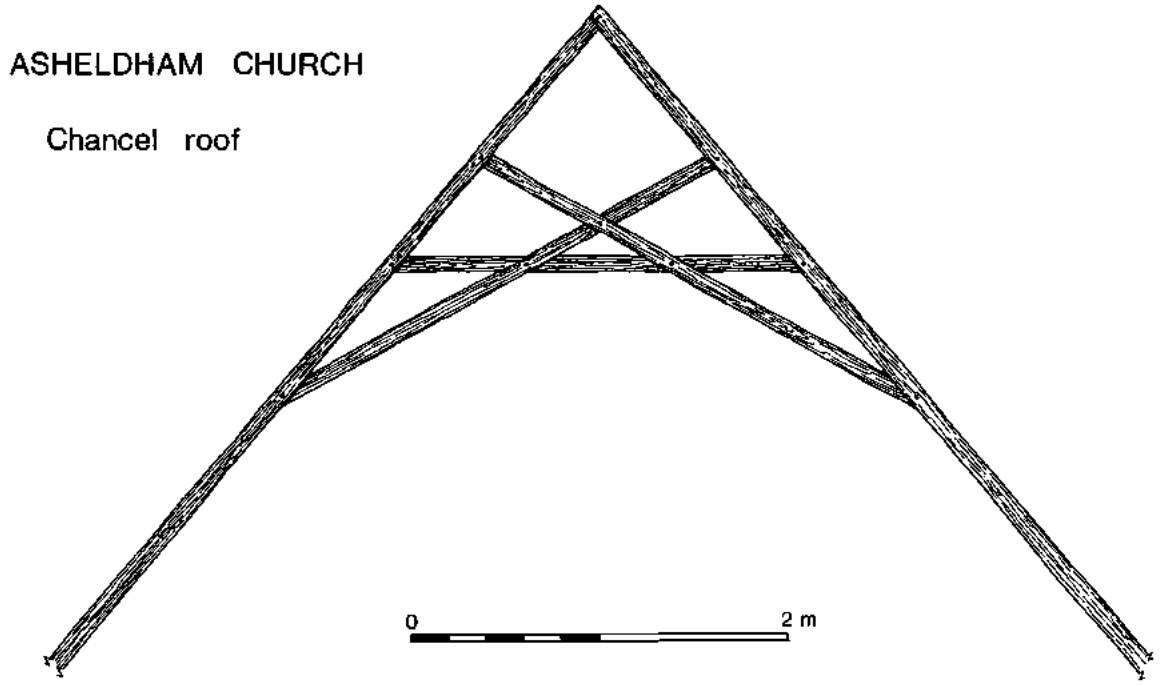

Fig. 8 Asheldham church. Scissor-braced roof truss in chancel.

construction (Fig. 8). Above the chancel, it is substantially complete, except for the four easternmost trusses which were renewed when the chancel was shortened and then restored to approximately its former length (see below). About nine original trusses survive in the nave. The timbers, which are of elm, are 80 mm deep and 100 mm wide, and are mortised and tenoned together. The absence of lap joints in a roof of this sort means that it ought to date from the late 13th or 14th centuries.

The insertion of doorways into the tower prompted an examination of the spiral stair. Only the newel and half the treads are made of stone, the other half being of white bricks, though red ones also occur in the rubble base to the stair. The white bricks seem original to the construction, and are presumably Flemish. Similar bricks also occur in the inner window arches in the upper storey of the tower, a later build to the base though both are attributed to the 14th century (Drury and Rodwell 1978, 143). Two fragmentary white bricks which were salvaged were rather different both in dimensions (109 × 42-47 mm; 115 × 45 mm) and fabric, one being rather high fired with grey surfaces and blackish inclusions, and the other with pinkish surfaces, moderate to small voids, and a very rough base where it had presumably been laid to dry on grass or similar material. A red brick which was examined also had very uneven surfaces, the top being slightly convex. It measured 115 × 47-50 mm, and was at least 210 mm long. (Medieval white bricks are also discussed in the Harwich report in this volume).

A dressed slab of Purbeck marble had been re-used as a threshold for the ground-floor door leading to the spiral stair. At the level of the new first-floor entry into the tower, a fragment of stone from a window head was found incorporated into the core of the wall. It seems to be from a round-arched window 18" wide internally, with plain chamfered reveals, a rebate for a shutter, and a groove on the underside for a saddle bar (Fig. 9). These two stones give some hint of the appearance and fittings of the 11th-12th century church.

Discussion and Conclusions

The intention of the excavation, to discover more information about the postulated Saxon timber church, was a complete failure. No trace was found of the slot which constituted the evidence for this church and which ought to have continued into the excavated area. Whilst there seems to be a higher concentration of graves towards the east end of the church, so that this area was perhaps more disturbed than that in which the slot was found, the total absence of stratigraphy makes it seem unlikely that any features of other than recent origin have survived except at the level of the subsoil. This, of course, was not investigated, either in 1975/76 or in 1989. In short, the interpretation of the slot as representing a timber church seems questionable, though it is possible that it was preserved in an isolated portion of stratigraphy undisturbed by later graves.

The full ground-plan of the apse was discovered, together with the remains of the later chancel. In plan, this corresponds to the position of the apse which had been simply squared-off. Rodwell and Drury (1978, 141) date the chancel to the 13th century, with a reconstruction in the later 13th or 14th century. The reasons for this interpretation are not set out, but there was evidence for a rebuild in the chancel east wall foundations found in 1989.

The building history of the east end of the chancel is complicated. Clear vertical joints in the masonry of the north and south walls indicate a rebuild, with which the brick east

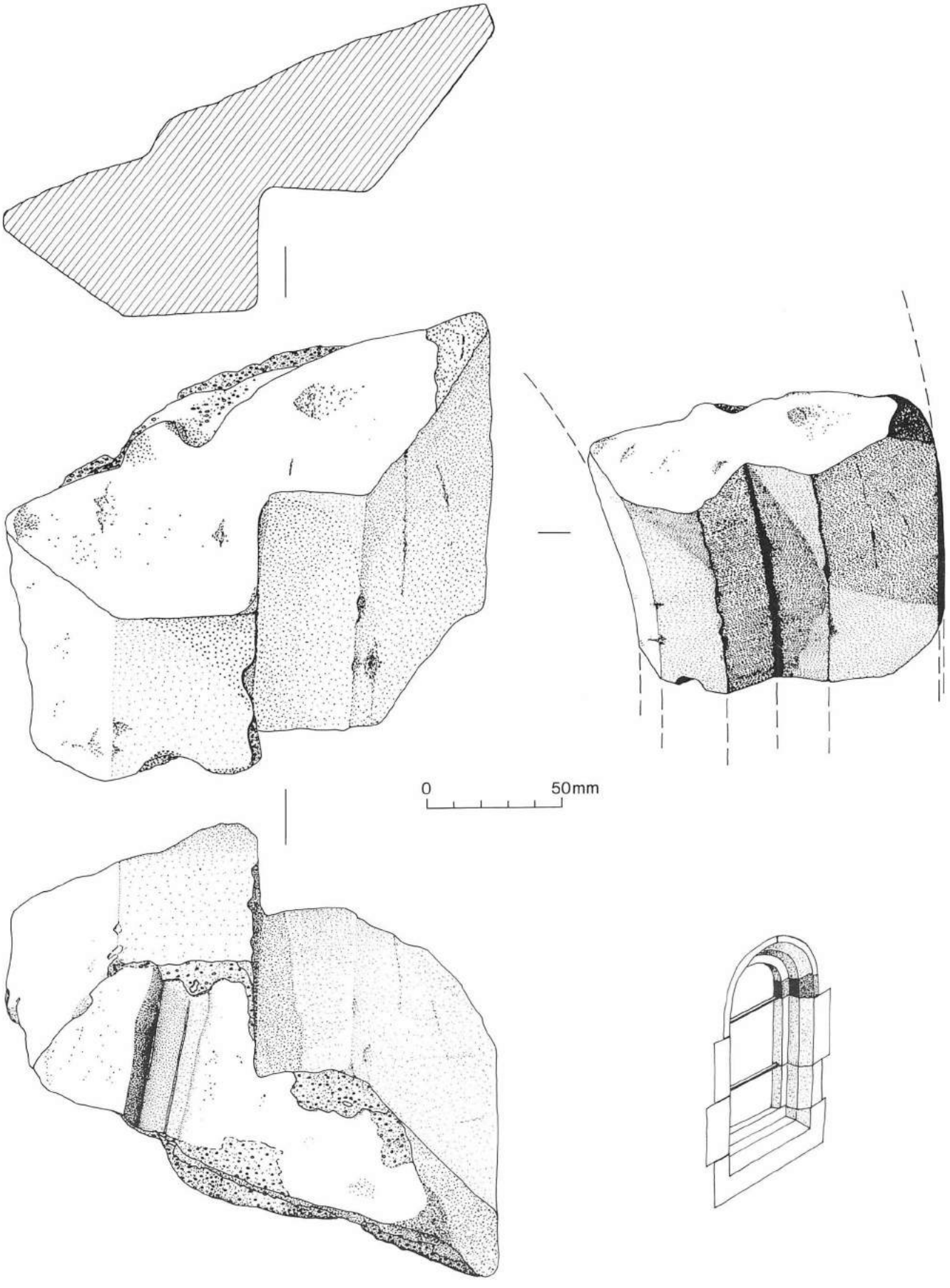

Fig. 9 Asheldham church. Stone window reveal, with a reconstruction drawing of the romanesque window.

wall must be associated. This east wall is made of two brick skins separated by a cavity about 300 mm wide. The outer skin is built of Flemish bond externally, but of English bond internally, being rendered internally below the gable. The inner skin is only half a brick thick. A visitation of 1638 refers to the need for work on the east wall (ERO D/AEV 7, f.3v). Drury and Rodwell (1978, 145) say that the chancel had been shortened by 1745, and restored to its former length by 1794. The existing east window is, however, 19th century, and must date from the time of a restoration that had taken place by 1867 (ERO D/AZ 6/1, p. 16). The RCHM (IV, 2) assumed that the rebuilding of the east end of the chancel was contemporary with the window, but a careful examination of the brickwork of the east wall shows that it has been inserted. This was certainly the conclusion of H.W. King who, when he visited the church in 1872, described the window as new and thought the end of the chancel with its brickwork dated from the 18th or earlier 19th century (ERO T/P 196/6).

What the excavation revealed is that the rebuilding of the east end in the late 18th century represents a slight shortening of the chancel, as the original east wall lies outside and to the east of the existing one. According to information received from Drury and Rodwell, the initial squaring-off of the apse (their phase 3) involved the construction of a wall inside the apse, to the west of the present east wall. Subsequently (their phase 4), the east wall was rebuilt to the east of the present east wall. They did not find this wall but predicted its existence. It seems therefore that the wall found in 1989 should be identified with their phase 4.

The observations made inside the church indicate that below the floor there are numerous burials; that the church preserves much of its medieval seven cant scissor roof datable to the 13th-14th centuries; and that white bricks of Flemish origin were used in the treads of the spiral stair of the 14th century tower. A notable find was a window reveal from the romanesque church.

Acknowledgements

The excavation was carried out by Martyn Smoothy, Steve Godbold and Raph Isserlin for Essex County Council, and funded by the Diocesan Board of Finance. The archive was prepared by M. Smoothy and is deposited at Colchester Museum. We are grateful to Sue Tyler, Helen Walker, Colin Wallace and Hilary Major for advice on the pottery and finds; to Paul Drury, Warwick Rodwell and Nick Wickenden for information on the 1975/76 excavations; and to the architect, John Lea of Purcell Miller Tritton, for help throughout this work. The illustrations have been prepared by Lesley Collett and John Lea.

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RCHM *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. Essex*, vol. IV, 1923, London: HMSO

The Site of the Medieval Hospital at Brook Street, Brentwood

by Steve Godbold

Introduction

In March 1989, excavations were carried out prior to development at the junction of Brook Street and Spital Lane, Brentwood, with the object of detecting any remains of a medieval hospital which existed in the area.

The actual site of the hospital is indicated on the Ordnance Survey Map as being *c.* 22 m east of the development area (Fig. 10). However, no excavations have previously been carried out there and its precise position remains uncertain.

Historical Evidence

The existence of the hospital at Brook Street is first recorded in 1201 (VCH V111 1983, 88), where, on the evidence of the first edition OS map of 1881, it is said that 'the building stood at the corner of Brook Street and Spital Lane'. Evidently, traces of the buildings were still apparent in the 18th century, as Salmon (1740-1742, 262) wrote that 'Traces of the Building are yet visible, and from it is the Way toward the Camp (South Weald Camp) named Spital Lane'.

The fullest account of this very poorly documented hospital is in Vol. II of the Victoria County History (1907, 192). It appears to have been known as Sideburbrok, Sedeburghbrok or Southbournebroke, probably because of its proximity to the brook which runs in the valley to the north. At first, it seems to have housed lepers, but later the hospital is reported as a free chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

After the dissolution, it was sold to Sir Anthony Brown and Richard Weston in 1553 with the messuage called 'le spytle', 80 acres of land and meadow, and other property.

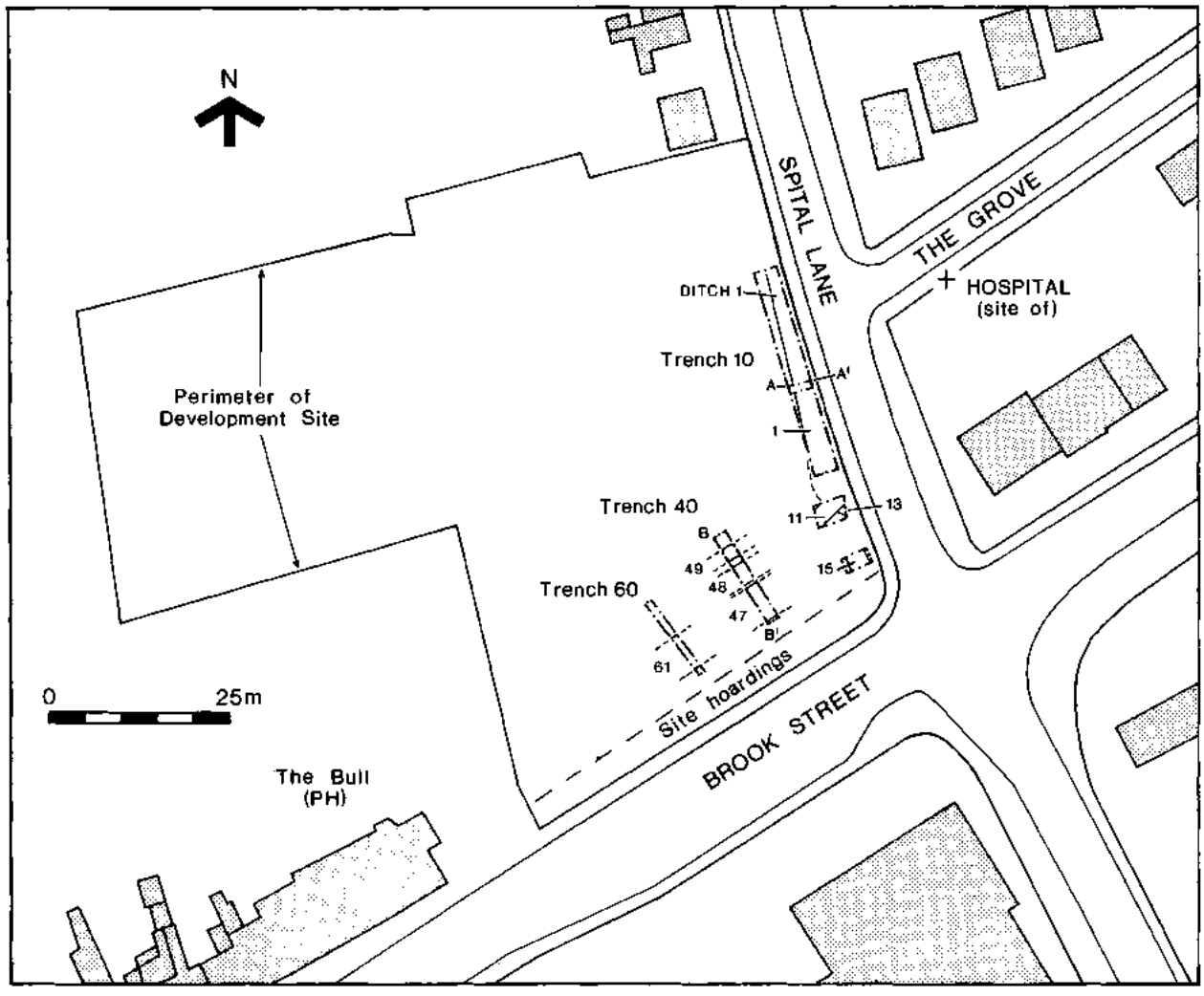
Excavation

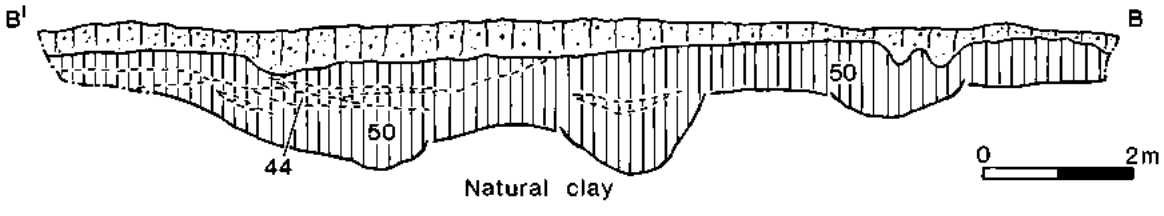
The area chosen for investigation was that part of the site nearest the location of the hospital marked on the OS map, where a trench was excavated by machine along Spital Lane. Boggy ground prevented one continuous trench being dug, and two gaps were left where the ground was too soft. This resulted in one long trench (trench 10) 29.5 m by 3.5 m wide with two smaller ones near the eastern corner of the site (Fig. 10). To check the results obtained in this trench, two further trenches were excavated at right angles to Brook Street.

Trench 10

This revealed the line of a ditch running throughout its length. The natural orange-yellow clay was lying on the west side with a mixed mid-brown silty clay, fill 2, lying to the east. It appeared there was a large ditch, 1, running parallel to Spital Lane and lying partly beneath the pavement outside the site. The depth and partial profile of this ditch were obtained by machining a trench at right angles across it (Fig. 10). It was steep sided, flat bottomed and was about 1.6 m deep and contained five fills.

With the exception of the top layer, these appeared to follow a sequence of natural silting. The uppermost of the natural silts, layer 6, yielded pottery of a 13/14th century





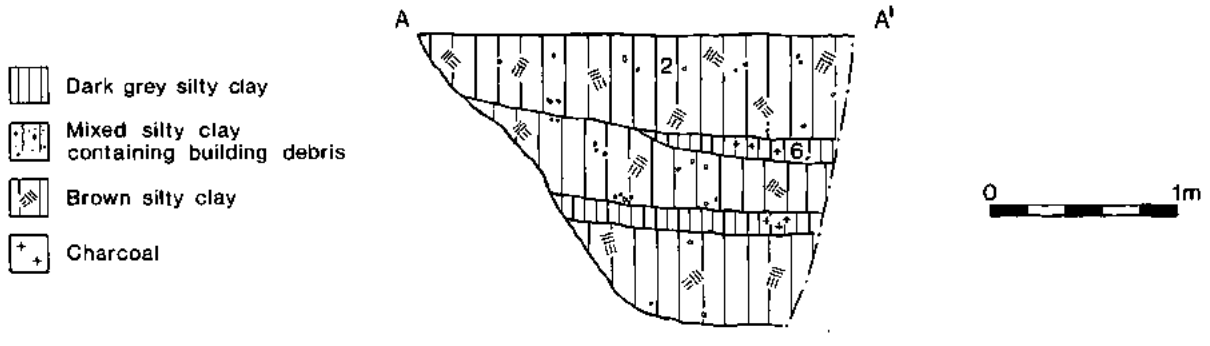


Fig. 10 Brook Street, Brentwood. Site location, plan and sections.

date. The top layer 2 contained 17th-century pottery and a clay pipe stem. It would appear that this ditch was dug originally in the medieval period and had silted up naturally by the late 15th century. It was deliberately levelled up sometime in the late 17th or early 18th century (layer 2).

In the smaller trenches at the south end of trench 10 a possible eastward continuation of ditch 1 was found, ditch 13. Two other smaller ditches 11 and 15 were also found. Both were truncated and contained post-medieval finds.

Trenches 40 and 60

In order to establish whether ditch 1 in trench 10 turned westward, a further trench (trench 40) was excavated by machine at right angles to Brook Street. This revealed three silted up cut features, which were probably ditches, running parallel to the road (Fig. 10). The largest of these, context 47, ran nearest to the road, about 7.0 m from the frontage. It was about 6.0 m wide, shallow sided and about 1.4 m deep. Close alongside this ditch ran context 48 which was about 2.0 m wide and 1.6 m deep. This was steep sided with a U-shaped profile. The third feature, 49, lay about 1.5 m to the north of 48. This was considerably smaller than the other two, being only 1.0 m deep and about 1.5 m broad. These features were different in character from ditch 1 in trench 10 and seem unrelated.

Trench 60 was dug 11.0 m to the west to check whether contexts 47, 48 and 49 were ditches. A large ditch, 61, was exposed here which was undoubtedly a continuation of 47 but the two smaller ones were not found. However, if their orientation was further to the north, they might have lain outside the trench.

The three features exposed in trench 40 had similar fills mostly composed of a dark grey clay, which seemed to represent gradual silting. Unfortunately, there were no clear cuts to show the sequence so the relationship between them remains uncertain.

From the main grey silty fill 50, a few sherds of pottery dating from the 1st-2nd centuries A.D. to the 16th century were recovered. None of these were in the lower part of the ditch cuts, but in a dark grey clay layer 44, within ditch 47, a Roman and two shell-tempered (either late Roman or early medieval) sherds were found, suggesting that this was a feature of some antiquity and could be of Roman origin.

The Finds

These comprised pottery and clay pipe fragments, neither very numerous. Of the former, a few pieces were of some interest. The shell-tempered sherds from ditch 47 which could be either late Roman or early medieval have already been mentioned. A flanged rim from a small Mill Green ware cooking pot (Fig. 11, no. 1) datable to the 14th century was found at the edge of ditch 49. From the fill of ditch 1 there was a recessed base from a London-type ware baluster jug (Fig. 11, no. 2). In the levelling layer over the same ditch, there was a thumbed rim from a storage jar in red earthenware with a glossy dark green glaze (Fig. 11, no. 3), and a flat disc-like base from a blackware mug, both datable to the 17th century. The former resembles products of the Stock kilns (Cunningham 1985, figs 7 & 50, and pp. 70, 83). In the fill of ditch 11 there were a number of sherds from a bowl in red earthenware with a purplish slip and an internal green glaze, of which it is possible to reconstruct the profile (Fig. 11, no. 4). This too may be dated to the 17th century.

Summary and Conclusions

The size of ditch 1 in trench 10, its date and its location immediately to the west of the site of the hospital all imply that this is the boundary ditch of the hospital.

Unfortunately the discontinuous nature of trench 10 in the eastern corner of the site made it difficult to determine the course of ditch 1 at this point, but ditch 13 may represent a change in alignment of 1 towards the south-east at a point about 15.0 m back from the Brook Street frontage. Ditch 1 was quite clearly not present in trenches 40 and 60. It must therefore, have turned either to the east or west, and its absence in trench 40 leaves little doubt that it was to the east.

The presence of Roman pottery suggests that ditch 47 in trench 40 and ditch 61 in trench 60, and features 48 and 49 if these too were ditches, were in origin roadside ditches to the old A12, which was the Roman route from London to Colchester. These seem to have silted up by the Middle Ages, and where these fills have settled, further levelling up took place in the 17th-18th centuries. This would imply that Brook Street was wider than it is today, and perhaps also that at this point it ran slightly to the north of its present

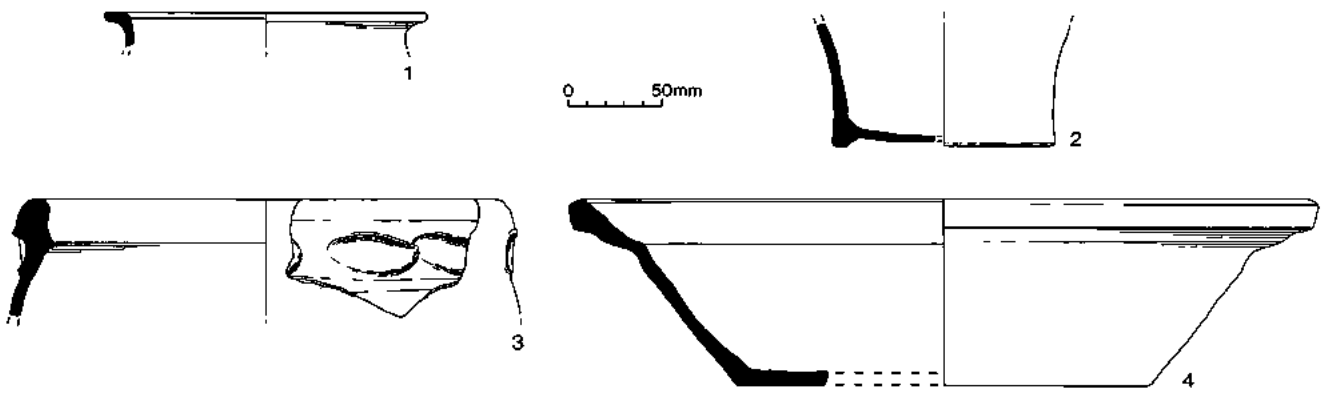


Fig. 11 Brook Street, Brentwood. Medieval and later pottery.

course. The line of Brook Street must have been established in pretty much its existing position by the 13th-14th centuries as the Golden Fleece, a medieval timber framed building part of which dates to the late 14th century and which stands a little to the east of this site, has a frontage on the modern pavement.

Although very little was seen of them, features 11 and 15 had the appearance of ditches parallel and at right angles to Brook Street respectively. Both had been filled in during the 17th-18th centuries and they could represent post-medieval boundaries. Ditch 11 approximately followed the line of former roadside ditches 47-49 which may have been evident at the time it was dug as a hollow in the surrounding terrain.

No evidence of medieval buildings was found on the Brook Street frontage during the excavations. This may be because investigation of the area within 5.0 m of the frontage was prevented by contractors trenches and pavement works; or because any remains had been destroyed by the foundations of later buildings.

Acknowledgements

The investigation of the site was financed by the developers, Trafalgar House, and carried out by David Andrews, Steve Godbold and Martin Smoothy for the Essex County Council. We would like to thank the developers for their active help and co-operation, and especially David Farries of Trafalgar House and Fred Hobbs of Willett Ltd.; also Colin Driver, who excavated the trenches by machine. Thanks are also due to Helen Walker and Colin Wallace for identifying the pottery.

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A Seal from an Imported French Textile

by Geoff Egan

The leaden seal illustrated in Plate II was found recently at Springfield in central Essex.[1] It consists of two discs, and is of a type used widely in Europe in the late-medieval and early-modern periods in the regulation of the textile industry. Seals like this were attached to each cloth by officials at the manufacturing centres to indicate that the fabric had been examined prior to marketing, and been found to be of good quality.[2] Some local East-Anglian seals of 16th/17th-century date which were found in Colchester have recently been published,[3] but the Springfield seal is from an imported foreign textile.

Plate II Lead seal from an imported from Lille textile (1:1).

The stamps on the seal are:

crowned fleur de lis over F, with (L)il l(e) to the sides (offstruck at the right) // lion rampant.

The seal has two rivets for attachment, which is a coninental trait — most English cloth seals have a single rivet.[4]

Lille, in Northern France, was a major producer in the 16th and 17th centuries of a range of cheap, lightweight, mixed fabrics of the kind known to contemporaries as 'new draperies'.[5] The fleur on the stamp is the badge of the city, and the F may possibly be a reference to France. The significance of the lion is unknown.

Lille's textile industry had two major branches in the 16th century — the products of the *sayetteurs* (particularly important early in the century), and a variety of lightweight fabrics woven by the *bourgetteurs* and known as *changéants*, which came to predominate after the 1550s. The main period of growth was up to the 1620s, but changéants were still a major manufacture there in the middle of the 18th century.[6] A number of these fabrics were exported to England. The demand that led to the manufacture of textiles known as 'russels' (from the Dutch name for Lille) in Norwich from 1547 onwards by immigrants from the continent, was presumably inspired at first by these imports.[7]

Several other Lille seals, with a variety of different stamps (all with the city name in the same distinctive style of lettering with bifurcated vertical strokes) have been found in Britain.[8] There is no precise parallel, and most of the recorded Lille seals are smaller than the present one.

It is not possible in the present state of knowledge to specify the particular fabric to which any of the recorded Lille seals was attached. The development in the late 16th century by immigrants from the continent of the weaving of says in Colchester and other towns in northern Essex,[9] and of russels etc. in Norfolk, perhaps makes an earlier date for the Springfield seal quite likely, but there would have been a market for specialised imported textiles that were not produced locally at all periods. It is not yet possibly to begin to suggest a chronology for the known Lille cloth seals.

Notes

1. Found by metal detector by Mr. J. Basham. I am grateful to Deborah Priddy for bringing this seal to my attention.
2. See W. Endrei and G. Egan, 'The Sealing of Cloth in Europe, with Special Reference to the English Evidence', in *Textile History* 13 (1) 1982, 47-75; G. Egan, 'Leaden Cloth Seals', Finds Research Group Datasheet 3, Coventry, 1985.
3. G. Egan, 'Leaden Seals for Cloths', in N. Crummy (ed.), *The Post-Roman Small Finds from Excavations in Colchester 1971-85*, Colchester Archaeological Report 5, Colchester Archaeological Trust 1988, 33-35.
4. Continental seals with two rivets come from north France, north Germany and the Low Countries. Immigrant communities in England also used seals with two rivets — see for example op. cit. in prev. note, 33 no. 1942.
5. R.S. Du Plessis and M.C. Howell, 'Reconsidering the Early Modern Urban Economy: The Cases of Leiden and Lille', in *Past and Present* 94, Feb. 1984, 63-79; on New Draperies in general, see D.C. Coleman, 'An Innovation and its Diffusion: "The New Draperies"', in *Econ. Hist. Review* 2nd series XXII No.3 1969, 417-29; J.E. Pilgrim, 'The Rise of the "New Draperies" in Essex', in *University of Birmingham Historical Jnl.* VI No.1 1959, 36-59.
6. Du Plessis and Howell, op. cit. in prev. note, 63-65, 70, 75-76 and 78-79; E. Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England*, Manchester 1985, 7, 60 and 221-23 (the last includes an extensive list of Lille's textiles). In the early 18th century, Lille began to imitate some English fabrics — ibid., 242.
7. A Russels Company was founded in Norwich in 1554 — Kerridge, op. cit. in prev. note, 22, 46, 62,67, 77 and 126.
8. Several have been found in London (e.g. Museum of London accession No.88. 107/48), one was found in Salisbury (Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum collection), one came from Postwick in Norfolk (Norwich Castle Museum collection) and one presumably found in Scotland has been published — *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh 1892, 250-51 nos. HR 148 and 149.
9. Pilgrim, op. cit. in note 5.

Book Reviews

Excavation at the North Ring, Mucking, Essex, by Dermot Bond, East Anglian Archaeology 43 and Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1988. 59 pages, 4 plates, 38 figures, 5 tables. Price £6. (Microfiche of archive available from Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England).

The North Ring at Mucking is one of a pair of Late Bronze Age circular enclosures now excavated which dominated the approach up the Thames on a low gravel ridge. Other examples are known from Essex (Buckley and Hedges 1988), Kent and further up the Thames (Champion 1980) as well as Yorkshire (Manby 1986). For a period about which we know very little about living structures and settlements, these rings are enigmatic. Were they settlements, ceremonial centres, chiefly residences or temples? Indeed, they combine so many different elements that perhaps there is nothing in the contemporary or historical world to compare them to.

The excavations were carried out in rescue conditions in 1978 when the enclosure and its immediate vicinity were stripped and excavated, while a larger area to the east was salvage recorded. The report is divided into five parts; the introduction, the 1978 excavations, the artefacts, the salvage excavations (by Margaret Jones) and the discussion.

Part 2 describes the excavations, the methods of working, the feature descriptions, the phasing and interpretation of the structures. The enclosure overlay part of a Middle Bronze Age field associated with three human cremations (one with gold (ear?) rings which are supposedly Late Bronze Age in date). It was constructed with an east entrance and a back entrance to the west, surrounded by a ditch with the fill heaped up into a bank inside it. A group of three east-facing roundhouses towards the back of the enclosure, a large timber row screening them from the entrance and a well worn path from the entrance to the centre of the enclosure were the main internal features. In its later stages, the enclosure ditch was recut but without an internal bank. The attribution of features to two periods (fig. 12) is broadly acceptable but I see no reason why the path and facade are not contemporary (the one leading to a narrow entrance through the other). Does the post row on the same alignment as the path really exist? Might the post structures in the north-east belong to phases earlier or later than the enclosure's use? These are perhaps unanswerable; at least the difficult task of phasing was attempted. Sensibly, the report has focused on the features important for artefact associations and structural associations. However, there could have been summarized information on the mass of scoops and holes between the timber facade and the houses — are they soil disturbance from a dug over midden or are they for posts?

Part 3 deals with the artefacts. It is refreshing to see them considered in context with distribution plots, comparisons of fine and coarse wares by feature and discussions of the various artefact distributions. With Nigel Brown's similar exercise on Lofts Farm (1988), it's good to see that Essex prehistorians are looking for associations in the deposition of material and avoiding the 'dead archaeology' of cataloguing and presenting finds as though artefacts' contexts and spatial patterning were irrelevant. Incidentally, the purpose of the perforated clay slabs is unknown (p. 39) but similar objects, also badly shattered, are also known from Iron Age Wessex where they are known from their contexts to be oven plates (Poole 1984).

Part 4 deals with the salvage excavations. These are important for providing a Late Bronze Age environs for the enclosure and demonstrating settlement concentrations in that period. The discussion (Part 5) is relatively brief. The search for local and regional comparisons can be widened by consulting Priddy and Buckley 1987. It is a shame that the enclosure is considered as no more than a mundane economic unit when there is so much potential symbolism in the layout and deposition patterns. Perhaps this doesn't matter — reports will always be reinterpreted. What is important is that a report provides cross-referenced finds and contexts, distribution maps of artefacts and different pottery types and discussions of the interpretable patterns. Here the report succeeds.

There are a few minor errors; the majority of perforated slab fragments come from between the north terminal of the entrance and Section 5, not Section 13 (p. 44); also a reference on p. 52 presumably refers to Part 2 Section IV and not Part 1 Section 5. These do not spoil another well produced EAA publication of an important site from one of the more intensively explored prehistoric landscapes, about which we will hear later.

Mike Parker-Pearson

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Robert Gibson, **Annals of Ashdon, No Ordinary Village**, Essex Record Office Publication, No. 99, 1988, x+ 346 pp. £7.50.
Angela Green, **Ashdon, A History of an Essex Village**, published by A. Green, Tintern Cottage, Aldham, Essex, xv+ 233 pp. £6.95.

Ashdon is fortunate in having two books on its history published in the last two years. Robert Gibson's interest in Ashdon stems from the time when he was sent there in 1944 to help with the harvest. Angela Green began work on her history when she was living in Ashdon in the 1950s, and continued her research while she was working as an archivist in other counties, completing it after her retirement and return to Essex.

The strength of Robert Gibson's book lies in his description of Ashdon in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but he uses selected record material to set Ashdon in its historical context. The first part of the book discusses what is known of Ashdon down to the eleventh century, and considerable space is devoted to the question of the site of Cnut's victory at 'Assandun' in 1016. The chapters on The Gentry, The Poor, and The Rule of Law discuss aspects of Ashdon in medieval and Tudor times, but give much more detail on the modern period when records became more plentiful and documents can be supplemented by oral evidence acquired through interviews with seventy-seven of Ashdon's present or former inhabitants. Use of the Tithe Apportionment, Enclosure Award and the 1851 census makes it possible to build up a detailed picture of the village in the mid-nineteenth century, while a wide range of documents and memories provide information on the state of the poor, the plight of agricultural labourers, and the schooling of the children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the chapter entitled Edwardian Summer, the transcribed interviews have been printed, and these cover all aspects of life in the village. Interviews are also used extensively for the period of the two world wars. Obviously the reader has to make an assessment as to how accurate the memories are likely to be, but a vivid picture is built up of life in Ashdon in this period.

Angela Green explains in her Preface that she is writing a history of the village from early times to the present day, and the book is based on a detailed and systematic use of the records available. It gives a thorough and well-balanced account of Ashdon, and the references in the notes will enable readers to take investigation further, whether they are interested in Ashdon itself, or are using Ashdon for comparison with other places. The Glossary will also prove useful. The chapters are arranged thematically so that it is possible to see how change took place over the centuries. Chapters on The Village Settlements, The Manors and the Parish, and The Land are followed by consideration of Life in Ashdon and Population. The chapter on Farms and Houses contains accounts of the history of the principal houses. Local Government is surveyed in depth. The chapters on The Church, Nonconformity, and Charities bring out the vital role of all three in the village in the past. The Appendices provide useful extra information, and those on the church's stained glass (most of which has now disappeared), and on the biographical details of the clergy will be particularly valuable.

The different approaches and emphases in these two books mean that they supplement each other. Both will be useful to the local historian, and have much of interest to offer the general reader.

Jennifer C. Ward

Essex Archaeology and History **21** (1990), 158

Essex Bibliography: January 1990

by P. Hills and A. Phillips

Both monograph and periodical literature are included: articles published in journals which are devoted exclusively to Essex (e.g. Essex Journal) are not included. Items which have been overlooked in earlier bibliographies are added for completeness of coverage.

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Williamson, T., 1988	'Settlement, hierarchy and economy in north-west Essex', in K. Branigan and D. Miles (eds.), *The economies of Romano-British villas*, 73-82.

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Cover illustration: Pedestal urn of the 1st century BC/1st century AD from Billericay. The vessel is 174 mm high (Photo by Ray Cobbett). See report on the 1987 excavation in this volume.